

# Thassos, Known Inscriptions with New Data

---

**Kozelj, Tony; Wurch-Kozelj, Manuela**

*Source / Izvornik:* **ASMOSIA XI, Interdisciplinary Studies on Ancient Stone, Proceedings of the XI International Conference of ASMOSIA, 2018, 131 - 141**

**Conference paper / Rad u zborniku**

*Publication status / Verzija rada:* **Published version / Objavljena verzija rada (izdavačev PDF)**

<https://doi.org/10.31534/XI.asmosia.2015/01.12>

*Permanent link / Trajna poveznica:* <https://urn.nsk.hr/urn:nbn:hr:123:209637>

*Rights / Prava:* [In copyright](#) / [Zaštićeno autorskim pravom.](#)

*Download date / Datum preuzimanja:* **2025-04-03**



*Repository / Repozitorij:*

[FCEAG Repository - Repository of the Faculty of Civil Engineering, Architecture and Geodesy, University of Split](#)



# ASMOSIA XI

Interdisciplinary Studies on Ancient Stone

## PROCEEDINGS

of the XI ASMOSIA Conference, Split 2015

Edited by Daniela Matetić Poljak and Katja Marasović



Interdisciplinary Studies on Ancient Stone  
Proceedings of the XI ASMOSIA Conference (Split 2015)

Publishers:

ARTS ACADEMY IN SPLIT  
UNIVERSITY OF SPLIT

and

UNIVERSITY OF SPLIT  
FACULTY OF CIVIL ENGINEERING,  
ARCHITECTURE AND GEODESY

Technical editor:  
Kate Bošković

English language editor:  
Graham McMaster

Computer pre-press:  
Nikola Križanac

Cover design:  
Mladen Čulić

Cover page:

*Sigma shaped mensa of pavonazzetto marble from Diocletian's palace in Split*

ISBN 978-953-6617-49-4 (Arts Academy in Split)

ISBN 978-953-6116-75-1 (Faculty of Civil Engineering, Architecture and Geodesy)

e-ISBN 978-953-6617-51-7 (Arts Academy in Split)

e-ISBN 978-953-6116-79-9 (Faculty of Civil Engineering, Architecture and Geodesy)

CIP available at the digital catalogue of the University Library in Split, no 170529005



Association for the Study of Marble & Other Stones in Antiquity

# ASMOSIA XI

Interdisciplinary Studies of Ancient Stone

Proceedings of the Eleventh International Conference of ASMOSIA,  
Split, 18–22 May 2015

Edited by  
Daniela Matetić Poljak  
Katja Marasović



Split, 2018

**Nota bene**

All papers are subjected to an international review.

The quality of the images relies on the quality of the originals provided by the authors.

# CONTENT

<b>PRESENTATION</b> .....	15
<b>NECROLOGY: NORMAN HERZ (1923-2013) by Susan Kane</b> .....	17
<b>1. APPLICATIONS TO SPECIFIC ARCHEOLOGICAL QUESTIONS – USE OF MARBLE</b>	
Hermaphrodites and Sleeping or Reclining Maenads: Production Centres and Quarry Marks <i>Patrizio Pensabene</i> .....	25
First Remarks about the Pavement of the Newly Discovered Mithraeum of the Colored Marbles at Ostia and New Investigations on Roman and Late Roman White and Colored Marbles from Insula IV, IX <i>Massimiliano David, Stefano Succi and Marcello Turci</i> .....	33
Alabaster. Quarrying and Trade in the Roman World: Evidence from Pompeii and Herculaneum <i>Simon J. Barker and Simona Perna</i> .....	45
Recent Work on the Stone at the Villa Arianna and the Villa San Marco (Castellammare di Stabia) and Their Context within the Vesuvian Area <i>Simon J. Barker and J. Clayton Fant</i> .....	65
Marble Wall Decorations from the Imperial Mausoleum (4 <sup>th</sup> C.) and the Basilica of San Lorenzo (5 <sup>th</sup> C.) in Milan: an Update on Colored Marbles in Late Antique Milan <i>Elisabetta Neri, Roberto Bugini and Silvia Gazzoli</i> .....	79
Sarcophagus Lids Sawn from their Chests <i>Dorothy H. Abramitis and John J. Herrmann</i> .....	89
The Re-Use of Monolithic Columns in the Invention and Persistence of Roman Architecture <i>Peter D. De Staebler</i> .....	95
The Trade in Small-Size Statues in the Roman Mediterranean: a Case Study from Alexandria <i>Patrizio Pensabene and Eleonora Gasparini</i> .....	101
The Marble Dedication of Komon, Son of Asklepiades, from Egypt: Material, Provenance, and Reinforcement of Meaning <i>Patricia A. Butz</i> .....	109
Multiple Reuse of Imported Marble Pedestals at Caesarea Maritima in Israel <i>Barbara Burrell</i> .....	117
Iasos and Iasian Marble between the Late Antique and Early Byzantine Eras <i>Diego Peirano</i> .....	123

Thassos, Known Inscriptions with New Data <i>Tony Kozelj and Manuela Wurch-Kozelj</i> .....	131
The Value of Marble in Roman <i>Hispalis</i> : Contextual, Typological and Lithological Analysis of an Assemblage of Large Architectural Elements Recovered at N° 17 Goyeneta Street (Seville, Spain) <i>Ruth Taylor, Oliva Rodríguez, Esther Ontiveros, María Luisa Loza, José Beltrán and Araceli Rodríguez</i> .....	143
<i>Giallo Antico</i> in Context. Distribution, Use and Commercial Actors According to New Stratigraphic Data from the Western Mediterranean (2 <sup>nd</sup> C. Bc – Late 1 <sup>st</sup> C. Ad) <i>Stefan Ardeleanu</i> .....	155
<i>Amethystus</i> : Ancient Properties and Iconographic Selection <i>Luigi Pedroni</i> .....	167
<b>2. PROVENANCE IDENTIFICATION I: (MARBLE)</b>	
Unraveling the Carrara – Göktepe Entanglement <i>Walter Prochaska, Donato Attanasio and Matthias Bruno</i> .....	175
The Marble of Roman Imperial Portraits <i>Donato Attanasio, Matthias Bruno, Walter Prochaska and Ali Bahadır Yavuz</i> .....	185
Tracing Alabaster (Gypsum or Anhydrite) Artwork Using Trace Element Analysis and a Multi-Isotope Approach (Sr, S, O) <i>Lise Leroux, Wolfram Kloppmann, Philippe Bromblet, Catherine Guerrot, Anthony H. Cooper, Pierre-Yves Le Pogam, Dominique Vingtain and Noel Worley</i> .....	195
Roman Monolithic Fountains and Thasian Marble <i>Annewies van den Hoek, Donato Attanasio and John J. Herrmann</i> .....	207
Archaeometric Analysis of the Alabaster Thresholds of Villa A, Oplontis (Torre Annunziata, Italy) and New Sr and Pb Isotopic Data for <i>Alabastro Ghiaccione del Circeo</i> <i>Simon J. Barker, Simona Perna, J. Clayton Fant, Lorenzo Lazzarini and Igor M. Villa</i> .....	215
Roman Villas of Lake Garda and the Occurrence of Coloured Marbles in the Western Part of “Regio X Venetia et Histria” (Northern Italy) <i>Roberto Bugini, Luisa Folli and Elisabetta Roffia</i> .....	231
Calcitic Marble from Thasos in the North Adriatic Basin: Ravenna, Aquileia, and Milan <i>John J. Herrmann, Robert H. Tykot and Annewies van den Hoek</i> .....	239
Characterisation of White Marble Objects from the Temple of Apollo and the House of Augustus (Palatine Hill, Rome) <i>Francesca Giustini, Mauro Brilli, Enrico Gallochio and Patrizio Pensabene</i> .....	247
Study and Archeometric Analysis of the Marble Elements Found in the Roman Theater at Aeclanum (Mirabella Eclano, Avellino - Italy) <i>Antonio Mesisca, Lorenzo Lazzarini, Stefano Cancelliere and Monica Salvadori</i> .....	255

Two Imperial Monuments in Puteoli: Use of Proconnesian Marble in the Domitianic and Trajanic Periods in Campania <i>Irene Bald Romano, Hans Rupprecht Goette, Donato Attanasio and Walter Prochaska</i> .....	267
Coloured Marbles in the Neapolitan Pavements (16 <sup>th</sup> And 17 <sup>th</sup> Centuries): the Church of <i>Santi Severino e Sossio</i> <i>Roberto Bugini, Luisa Folli and Martino Solito</i> .....	275
Roman and Early Byzantine Sarcophagi of Calcitic Marble from Thasos in Italy: Ostia and Siracusa <i>Donato Attanasio, John J. Herrmann, Robert H. Tykot and Annewies van den Hoek</i> .....	281
Revisiting the Origin and Destination of the Late Antique Marzamemi 'Church Wreck' Cargo <i>Justin Leidwanger, Scott H. Pike and Andrew Donnelly</i> .....	291
The Marbles of the Sculptures of Felix Romuliana in Serbia <i>Walter Prochaska and Maja Živić</i> .....	301
Calcitic Marble from Thasos and Proconnesos in Nea Anchialos (Thessaly) and Thessaloniki (Macedonia) <i>Vincent Barbin, John J. Herrmann, Aristotle Mentzos and Annewies van den Hoek</i> .....	311
Architectural Decoration of the Imperial Agora's Porticoes at Iasos <i>Fulvia Bianchi, Donato Attanasio and Walter Prochaska</i> .....	321
The Winged Victory of Samothrace - New Data on the Different Marbles Used for the Monument from the Sanctuary of the Great Gods <i>Annie Blanc, Philippe Blanc and Ludovic Laugier</i> .....	331
Polychrome Marbles from the Theatre of the Sanctuary of Apollo Pythios in Gortyna (Crete) <i>Jacopo Bonetto, Nicolò Mareso and Michele Bueno</i> .....	337
Paul the Silentary, Hagia Sophia, Onyx, Lydia, and Breccia Corallina <i>John J. Herrmann and Annewies van den Hoek</i> .....	345
Incrustations from Colonia Ulpia Traiana (Near Modern Xanten, Germany) <i>Vilma Ruppiniè and Ulrich Schüssler</i> .....	351
Stone Objects from Vindobona (Austria) – Petrological Characterization and Provenance of Local Stone in a Historico-Economical Setting <i>Andreas Rohatsch, Michaela Kronberger, Sophie Insulander, Martin Mosser and Barbara Hodits</i> .....	363
Marbles Discovered on the Site of the Forum of Vaison-la-Romaine (Vaucluse, France): Preliminary Results <i>Elsa Roux, Jean-Marc Mignon, Philippe Blanc and Annie Blanc</i> .....	373
Updated Characterisation of White Saint-Béat Marble. Discrimination Parameters from Classical Marbles <i>Hernando Royo Plumed, Pilar Lapeunte, José Antonio Cuchí, Mauro Brillì and Marie-Claire Savin</i> .....	379

Grey and Greyish Banded Marbles from the Estremoz Anticline in Lusitania <i>Pilar Lapuente, Trinidad Nogales-Basarrate, Hernando Royo Plumed, Mauro Brilli and Marie-Claire Savin</i> .....	391
New Data on Spanish Marbles: the Case of <i>Gallaecia</i> (NW Spain) <i>Anna Gutiérrez García-M., Hernando Royo Plumed and Silvia González Soutelo</i> .....	401
A New Roman Imperial Relief Said to Be from Southern Spain: Problems of Style, Iconography, and Marble Type in Determining Provenance <i>John Pollini, Pilar Lapuente, Trinidad Nogales-Basarrate and Jerry Podany</i> .....	413
Reuse of the <i>Marmora</i> from the Late Roman Palatial Building at Carranque (Toledo, Spain) in the Visigothic Necropolis <i>Virginia García-Entero, Anna Gutiérrez García-M. and Sergio Vidal Álvarez</i> .....	427
Imperial Porphyry in Roman Britain <i>David F. Williams</i> .....	435
Recycling of Marble: Apollonia/Sozousa/Arsuf (Israel) as a Case Study <i>Moshe Fischer, Dimitris Tambakopoulos and Yannis Maniatis</i> .....	443
Thasian Connections Overseas: Sculpture in the Cyrene Museum (Libya) Made of Dolomitic Marble from Thasos <i>John J. Herrmann and Donato Attanasio</i> .....	457
Marble on Rome's Southwestern Frontier: Thamugadi and Lambaesis <i>Robert H. Tykot, Ouahiba Bouzidi, John J. Herrmann and Annewies van den Hoek</i> .....	467
Marble and Sculpture at Lepcis Magna (Tripolitania, Libya): a Preliminary Study Concerning Origin and Workshops <i>Luisa Musso, Laura Buccino, Matthias Bruno, Donato Attanasio and Walter Prochaska</i> .....	481
The Pentelic Marble in the Carnegie Museum of Art Hall of Sculpture, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania <i>Albert D. Kollar</i> .....	491
Analysis of Classical Marble Sculptures in the Michael C. Carlos Museum, Emory University, Atlanta <i>Robert H. Tykot, John J. Herrmann, Renée Stein, Jasper Gaunt, Susan Blevins and Anne R. Skinner</i> .....	501
<b>3. PROVENANCE IDENTIFICATION II: (OTHER STONES)</b>	
Aphrodisias and the Regional Marble Trade. The <i>Scaenae Frons</i> of the Theatre at Nysa <i>Natalia Toma</i> .....	513
The Stones of Felix Romuliana (Gamzigrad, Serbia) <i>Bojan Djurić, Divna Jovanović, Stefan Pop Lazić and Walter Prochaska</i> .....	523
Aspects of Characterisation of Stone Monuments from Southern Pannonia <i>Branka Migotti</i> .....	537



The Budakalász Travertine Production <i>Bojan Djurić, Sándor Kele and Igor Rižnar</i> .....	545
Stone Monuments from Carnuntum and Surrounding Areas (Austria) – Petrological Characterization and Quarry Location in a Historical Context <i>Gabrielle Kremer, Isabella Kitz, Beatrix Moshhammer, Maria Heinrich and Erich Draganits</i> .....	557
Espejón Limestone and Conglomerate (Soria, Spain): Archaeometric Characterization, Quarrying and Use in Roman Times <i>Virginia García-Entero, Anna Gutiérrez García-M, Sergio Vidal Álvarez, María J. Peréx Agorreta and Eva Zarco Martínez</i> .....	567
The Use of Alcover Stone in Roman Times ( <i>Tarraco, Hispania Citerior</i> ). Contributions to the <i>Officina Lapidaria Tarraconensis</i> <i>Diana Gorostidi Pi, Jordi López Vilar and Anna Gutiérrez García-M.</i> .....	577
<b>4. ADVANCES IN PROVENANCE TECHNIQUES, METHODOLOGIES AND DATABASES</b>	
Grainautline – a Supervised Grain Boundary Extraction Tool Supported by Image Processing and Pattern Recognition <i>Kristóf Csorba, Lilla Barancsuk, Balázs Székely and Judit Zöldföldi</i> .....	587
A Database and GIS Project about Quarrying, Circulation and Use of Stone During the Roman Age in <i>Regio X - Venetia et Histria</i> . The Case Study of the Euganean Trachyte <i>Caterine Previato and Arturo Zara</i> .....	597
<b>5. QUARRIES AND GEOLOGY</b>	
The Distribution of Troad Granite Columns as Evidence for Reconstructing the Management of Their Production <i>Patrizio Pensabene, Javier Á. Domingo and Isabel Rodà</i> .....	613
Ancient Quarries and Stonemasonry in Northern Choria Considiana <i>Hale Güney</i> .....	621
Polychromy in Larisaeon Quarries and its Relation to Architectural Conception <i>Gizem Mater and Ertunç Denктаş</i> .....	633
Euromos of Caria: the Origin of an Hitherto Unknown Grey Veined Stepped Marble of Roman Antiquity <i>Matthias Bruno, Donato Attanasio, Walter Prochaska and Ali Bahadır Yavuz</i> .....	639
Unknown Painted Quarry Inscriptions from Bacakale at <i>Docimium</i> (Turkey) <i>Matthias Bruno</i> .....	651
The Green Schist Marble Stone of Jebel El Hairech (North West of Tunisia): a Multi-Analytical Approach and its Uses in Antiquity <i>Ameur Younès, Mohamed Gaied and Wissem Gallala</i> .....	659
Building Materials and the Ancient Quarries at <i>Thamugadi</i> (East of Algeria), Case Study: Sandstone and Limestone <i>Younès Rezkallah and Ramdane Marmi</i> .....	673

The Local Quarries of the Ancient Roman City of <i>Valeria</i> (Cuenca, Spain) <i>Javier Atienza Fuente</i> .....	683
The Stone and Ancient Quarries of Montjuïc Mountain (Barcelona, Spain) <i>Aureli Álvarez</i> .....	693
<i>Notae Lapidinarum</i> : Preliminary Considerations about the Quarry Marks from the Provincial Forum of <i>Tarraco</i> <i>Maria Serena Vinci</i> .....	699
The Different Steps of the Rough-Hewing on a Monumental Sculpture at the Greek Archaic Period: the Unfinished Kouros of Thasos <i>Danièle Braunstein</i> .....	711
A Review of Copying Techniques in Greco-Roman Sculpture <i>Séverine Moureaud</i> .....	717
Labour Forces at Imperial Quarries <i>Ben Russell</i> .....	733
Social Position of Craftsmen inside the Stone and Marble Processing Trades in the Light of Diocletian's Edict on Prices <i>Krešimir Bosnić and Branko Matulić</i> .....	741
<b>6. STONE PROPERTIES, WEATHERING EFFECTS AND RESTORATION, AS RELATED TO DIAGNOSIS PROBLEMS, MATCHING OF STONE FRAGMENTS AND AUTHENTICITY</b>	
Methods of Consolidation and Protection of Pentelic Marble <i>Maria Apostolopoulou, Elissavet Drakopoulou, Maria Karoglou and Asterios Bakolas</i> .....	749
<b>7. PIGMENTS AND PAINTINGS ON MARBLE</b>	
Painting and Sculpture Conservation in Two Gallo-Roman Temples in Picardy (France): Champlieu and Pont-Sainte-Maxence <i>Véronique Brunet-Gaston and Christophe Gaston</i> .....	763
The Use of Colour on Roman Marble Sarcophagi <i>Eliana Siotto</i> .....	773
New Evidence for Ancient Gilding and Historic Restorations on a Portrait of Antinous in the San Antonio Museum of Art <i>Jessica Powers, Mark Abbe, Michelle Bushey and Scott H. Pike</i> .....	783
Schists and Pigments from Ancient Swat (Khyber Pukhtunkhwa, Pakistan) <i>Francesco Mariottini, Gianluca Vignaroli, Maurizio Mariottini and Mauro Roma</i> .....	793
<b>8. SPECIAL THEME SESSION: „THE USE OF MARBLE AND LIMESTONE IN THE ADRIATIC BASIN IN ANTIQUITY”</b>	
Marble Sarcophagi of Roman Dalmatia Material – Provenance – Workmanship <i>Guntram Koch</i> .....	809

Funerary Monuments and Quarry Management in Middle Dalmatia <i>Nenad Cambi</i> .....	827
Marble Revetments of Diocletian's Palace <i>Katja Marasović and Vinka Marinković</i> .....	839
The Use of Limestones as Construction Materials for the Mosaics of Diocletian's Palace <i>Branko Matulić, Domagoj Mudronja and Krešimir Bosnić</i> .....	855
Restoration of the Peristyle of Diocletian's Palace in Split <i>Goran Nikšić</i> .....	863
Marble Slabs Used at the Archaeological Site of Sorna near Poreč Istria – Croatia <i>Đeni Gobić-Bravar</i> .....	871
Ancient Marbles from the Villa in Verige Bay, Brijuni Island, Croatia <i>Mira Pavletić and Đeni Gobić-Bravar</i> .....	879
Notes on Early Christian Ambos and Altars in the Light of some Fragments from the Islands of Pag and Rab <i>Mirja Jarak</i> .....	887
The Marbles in the Chapel of the Blessed John of Trogir in the Cathedral of St. Lawrence at Trogir <i>Đeni Gobić-Bravar and Daniela Matetić Poljak</i> .....	899
The Use of Limestone in the Roman Province of Dalmatia <i>Edisa Lozić and Igor Rižnar</i> .....	915
The Extraction and Use of Limestone in Istria in Antiquity <i>Klara Buršić-Matijašić and Robert Matijašić</i> .....	925
Aurisina Limestone in the Roman Age: from Karst Quarries to the Cities of the Adriatic Basin <i>Caterina Previato</i> .....	933
The Remains of Infrastructural Facilities of the Ancient Quarries on Zadar Islands (Croatia) <i>Mate Parica</i> .....	941
The Impact of Local Geomorphological and Geological Features of the Area for the Construction of the Burnum Amphitheatre <i>Miroslav Glavičić and Uroš Stepišnik</i> .....	951
Roman Quarry Klis Kosa near Salona <i>Ivan Alduk</i> .....	957
Marmore Lavdata Brattia <i>Miona Miliša and Vinka Marinković</i> .....	963
Quarries of the Lumbarda Archipelago <i>Ivka Lipanović and Vinka Marinković</i> .....	979

Island of Korčula – Importer and Exporter of Stone in Antiquity <i>Mate Parica and Igor Borzić</i> .....	985
Faux Marbling Motifs in Early Christian Frescoes in Central and South Dalmatia: Preliminary Report <i>Tonči Borovac, Antonija Gluhan and Nikola Radošević</i> .....	995
<b>INDEX OF AUTHORS</b> .....	1009

## THASSOS, KNOWN INSCRIPTIONS WITH NEW DATA

**Tony Kozelj and Manuela Wurch-Kozelj**

Ecole Française d'Athènes, Athens, Greece  
(tonykozelj@hotmail.com; manuela\_wk@hotmail.com)

### Abstract

An architectural approach is presented about four known inscriptions on Thassos, taking into account the blocks on which they are engraved, bringing out new proposals, about the content of the inscriptions of the Gate of Silenos (§ 3), new records about the relative chronology of the inscriptions of the Law of Wine (§ 4); and for the other two blocks to find out their purpose and place in *in antis* altars (§ 1 and 2).

### Keywords

Thassos, inscriptions, altars, Gate of the Theoroi, Gate of Silenos, Zeus agoraio, Poseidonion, Law of the wine

### 1. Agora, the inscription of Zeus Agoraio Thasio

The inscription<sup>1</sup> “Δίος Ἀγοραίο Θάσιο“ is engraved on three lines in *stoichedon* form, dated late 5th c. B.C. to early 4th century B.C. However the upper left edge of the block is broken, the three missing letters have been easily restored. Their height is 0.025 m.

This block<sup>2</sup> was published as a post in accord with its measurements<sup>3</sup>, belonging to the *peribole* border of the Temple of Zeus Agoraios in Agora.

A review of this marble block identified some precise measurements and features (Fig. 1.1).

Height: 1.133 m. Front inscribed side [a]: 0.348 m; smooth and polished surface. Left side [d]: 0.345 m; a smooth strip 0.03 m long with a zigzag limit, border on three sides the inner rough surface. Right side [b]: 0.308 m; symmetrical to the left side but with a recut on 0.037 m. Back side [c]: 0.348 m in two levels 0.15 m and 0.189 m, separated by 0.037 m; both smooth surfaces. Upper side [e]: *anathyrose* surround and two cavities, each 0.065 x 0.065 x

0,035 m (deep) with a channel to the side for iron fixations. An *anathyrose* surround is on [f] surface (Fig. 1.1).

In addition, the block is made out of white marble, presumably from the quarry of Mourgena.

According to the shape and the new measures, the block is no more a border post but an architectural piece of an *in antis* altar, precisely, the left pillar of the Altar of Zeus Agoraios.

A fragment of another marble block, reused as construction material in a wall of the Domus 5<sup>4</sup>, shows exactly the same -smooth strip 0.03 m large with a zigzag limit -, bordering the inner rough surface (Fig. 1.2). Recut in its height and length, the block is still 0.51 x 0.345 m. The similarity of the texture suggests the bringing together of this block with the left pillar, and it may be proposed that it is a fragment of the right pillar.

The location of the Zeus Agoraios sanctuary is advanced by the inscription “ Δίος κτισιο πατρωιο “, also in *stoichedon* form, engraved on a stele found in the ancient agora by P. Guillon<sup>5</sup>, near the foundation of a temple, an *euthynteria* and some blocks hollowed (for posts) surrounding all. The dimensions of this *euthynteria* allow us to reconstitute an *in antis* altar.

The *in situ* altar of the Poseidon Sanctuary (Fig. 1.4) is the reference that allows us to propose the restoration of the altar of Zeus Agoraios, on the *euthynteria* located in front of the temple (Fig. 1.3), to take into account the *anta*, - the left pillar with its inscription and the fragment of the right pillar<sup>6</sup> (Fig. 1.5).

1 The discovery belongs to G. Mendel, (MENDEL 1900, 270). The inscription is published in *IG XII*, 8, 361. Archaeological Museum at Thassos: Inv. Number 580.

2 The block was re-used as paving plate in the “kalderim“ from the Genovese Tower to the *Konaki*.

3 The measures given were: 0.33 x 0.25 x 1.10 m (high), MENDEL 1900, 270, n. 10.

4 Domus 5, an Early Christian residence located South-East from the ancient agora: for any references, see: BLONDE *et alii* 2014, p. 615, fig. 1 and p. 167, fig. 3. This block is located at “ESP23/PCE16, MUR22Ouest”, that is at the West side of the wall 22 between the spaces 23 and 16.

5 GUILLON 1937, 195-200. Dim. of the stele: 0.155 m high, 0.165 m wide and 0.085 m deep. The letters are 0.02 m high. Dated 400BC.

A similar inscription (also in *stoichedon* form) was found at Kariani (Pangeio) by M.P. Perdrizet: “Δίος έρκαιο πάτρωιο και Δίος κτήσιο”, and is published by J. Pouilloux (POUILLOUX 1954, pl. XVIII, 1).

6 The right pillar could be in one piece, or made of two pieces as at the Poseidonion altar.



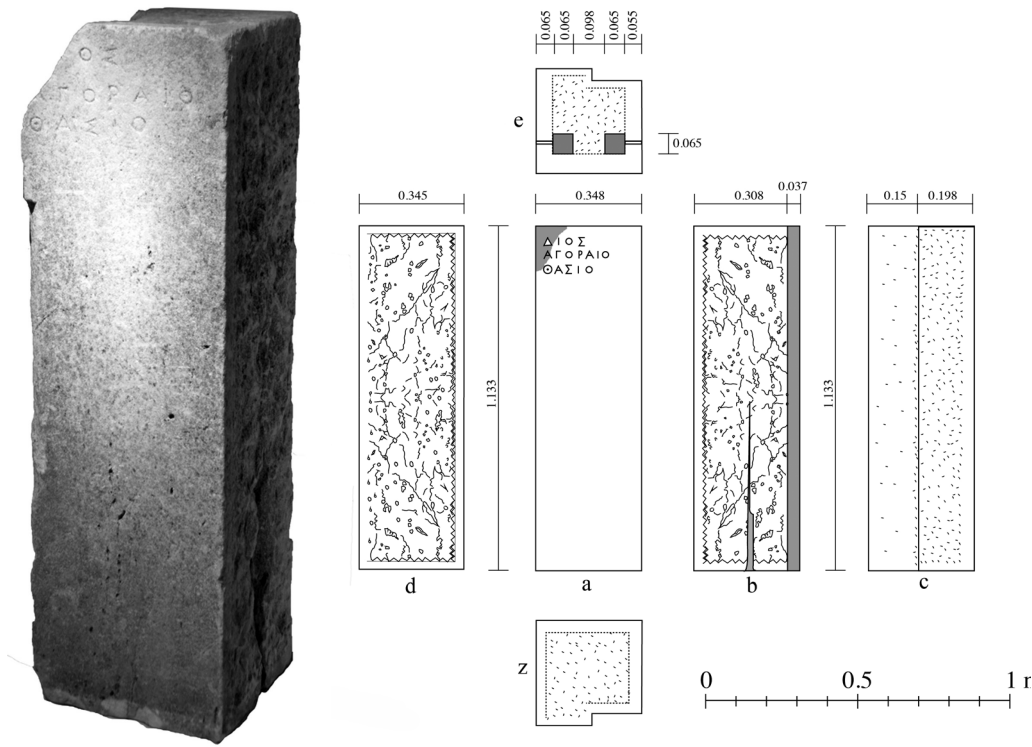


Fig. 1.1.  
Zeus Agoraio  
altar. Photography  
and measures  
of the left pillar  
(photo: T. Kozelj)



Fig. 1.2.  
A decorated  
fragment. Detail  
of the bordering  
(photo: T. Kozelj)

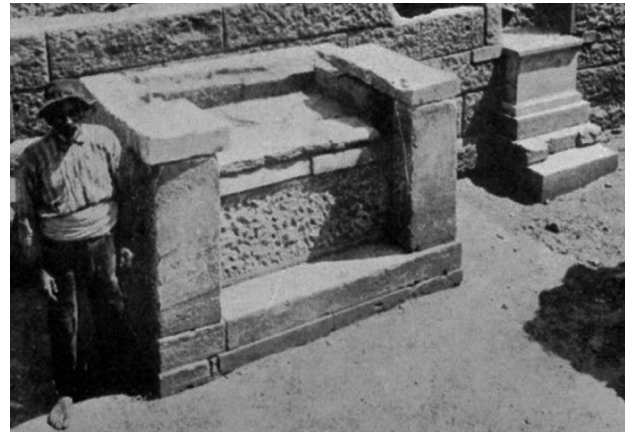


Fig. 1.4. Poseidonion. *Anta* Altar and (behind it) the oldest altar with niche. (cl. EFA, BCH 53, 1929, Pl. XXI)



Fig. 1.3. The *euthynteria* with proposal of the location of the altar of Zeus Agoraios (photo: T. Kozelj)

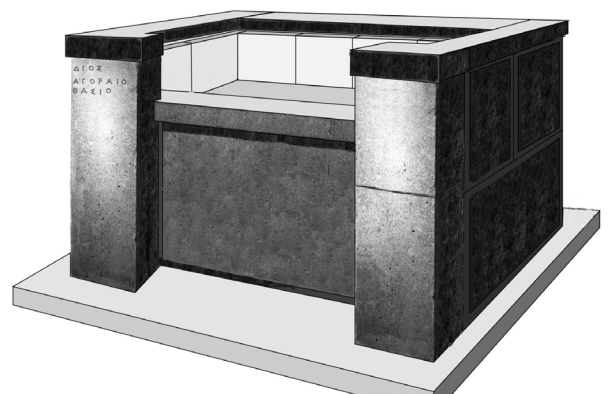
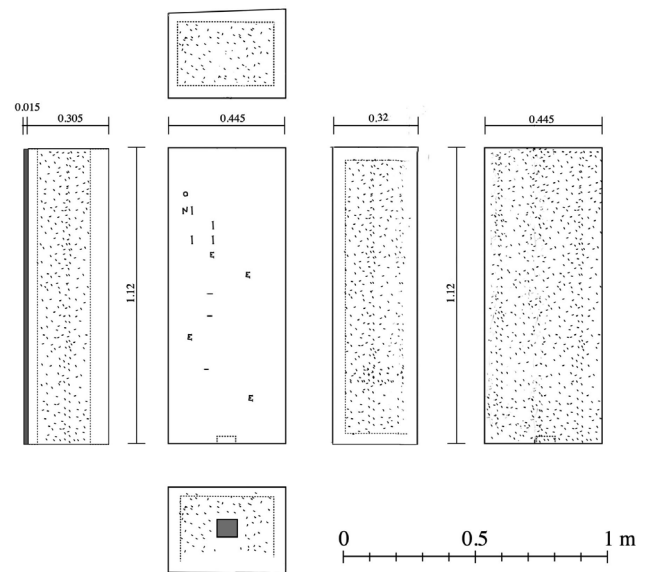


Fig. 1.5. Restitution of the *in antis* altar of Zeus Agoraios (photo: T. Kozelj)





Fig. 2.1. The marble architectural piece, Archeological Museum at Thassos: N. inv. 367 (photo: T. Kozelj)



## 2. The inscription from the Gate of the Theoroi

The inscription “Απόλλωνος λυκείου”<sup>7</sup> is engraved on a marble piece. The measurements and an interpretation of it were given by G. Daux<sup>8</sup>, as a marble base, dated *ca* 100 B.C.

A new consideration, with measurements and drawings of all details, of this piece put forward the idea that it was used twice, as a base with an inscription, but also as a pillar, that time with this inscription (Fig. 2.1 and 2.2).

Height 1.12 m. Front inscribed side: 0.445 m; smooth and inscriptions. Left side: 0.305 m; two smooth strips 0.05 m and 0.03 m large limit the picked surface. Right side: 0.29 m; three smooth strips 0.03 m are surrounding the picked surface; a recut on 0.03 m length. The maximum width is 0.32 m. The backside is on two levels, 0.19 m (the recut part) and 0.255 m. At the bottom, is a cavity, 0.07 x 0.05 x 0.035 m, for an iron tenon (fixation). At the upper face, a socket, 0.06 x 0.04 x 0.035 m, with a channel (which goes to the front side).

— The first use: a piece of an engraved stele (Fig. 2.2, 1).

The front part still shows many letters, which were sufficiently strong and deeply engraved for the re-smoothing of the surface not to erase them. They were engraved in *stocheidon* form. The block has been fixed by a tenon on a plinth.

7 The discovery of this marble piece (about 6 m of the Gate of the *Theoroi*) is due to C. Avezou, in 1913, November: AVEZOU 1913, 15-16.

8 DAUX 1928, 58. Length 0.44 m, height 1.09 m and width 0.29 m.

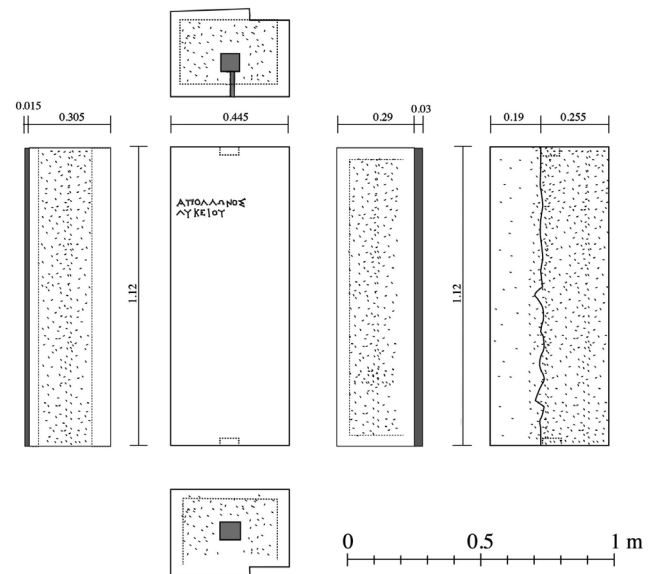


Fig. 2.2. Restitution of the block: first and second use

— The second use: the left pillar of an altar dedicated to Apollon Lykeiou (Fig. 2.2, 2).

The new inscription<sup>9</sup> “Απόλλωνος λυκείου” is engraved on the front surface. The angle of the block has been recut. The socket at the upper part is carved out as well as the channel. Its location as a left pillar of an *in antis* altar has been proposed.

The excavations of the Gate of the *Theoroi*<sup>10</sup> brought out many reshaping of the Gate during Antiquity, with rises in ground level according to the stratigraphy.

9 IG XII, 8, 389 (p. 161).

10 BLONDE *et alii* 1995, 981.



A) Relief of Apollon and the Nymphs



B) Relief of Graces



C) Relief of Hermes

Fig. 2.3.  
The three reliefs found by  
E. Miller, nowadays in the  
Musée du Louvre  
(photo: T. Kozelj)

At the first phase (or at the level + 2.23 m), an *eschara* appeared in front of the wall CD<sup>11</sup> of the Gate, indicating an archaic altar.

The two reliefs, the Graces and Hermes, as well as the relief of Apollo and the Nymphs were discovered by E. Miller<sup>12</sup>, as were the 97 blocks engraved with names of *Theoroi*. He suggested that the two small reliefs belonged to the wall CD, and were older than the large relief that in the wall AB (Fig. 2.3).

The Altar with the niche, which is still *in situ* in the wall of the Poseidonion, and the *eschara* (of which the remains of the foundation were found during the

excavations<sup>13</sup>), are the reference used for the restoration of altars constructed in the same period (Fig. 2.4 and *cf.* Fig. 1.4).

Without doubt an archaic altar was situated in the southern wall, CD, and may be restored from the *eschara*<sup>14</sup>, which is *in situ* and indicates the location of the altar, on its right side; and from the reliefs which framed the niche, the relief of the Graces on the left and the relief of Hermes on the right (Fig. 2.5).

The rise of the ground level has been observed at the Gate of the *Theoroi*<sup>15</sup> as well as at the Poseidonion, the roads and settlements of the Gate of Silenus or at the Gate of Hermes, so that new installations had to be done.

The remains in the wall CD indicate the disposition of an *in antis* altar, constructed into the wall. The traces show still the purposed place of the pillars and the orthostate on the front (Fig. 2.6).

11 GRANDJEAN, SALVIAT 2000, 82-87, fig. 37. Length of the walls: 11 m; length of the passage: 4.60 m. north-west wall: AB and south-east: CD.

12 MILLER 1889, 210. He discovered the blocks in 1864, from June 16<sup>th</sup> to July 2<sup>nd</sup> and organised the transport of the three reliefs and 28 blocks (from 97 found) to the Musée du Louvre. Musée du Louvre: N. inv. 696 —A, the Relief of Apollo and the Nymphs; —B, the Relief of Graces; and —C, the Relief of Hermes.

13 BON, SEYRIG 1929, 318-350, Pl. XVI-XXI.

14 SALVIAT 1956, 418-420, fig. 25a, b.

15 At the first phase or at the level + 2.23 m. Level rise at this phase: + 3.13 m.

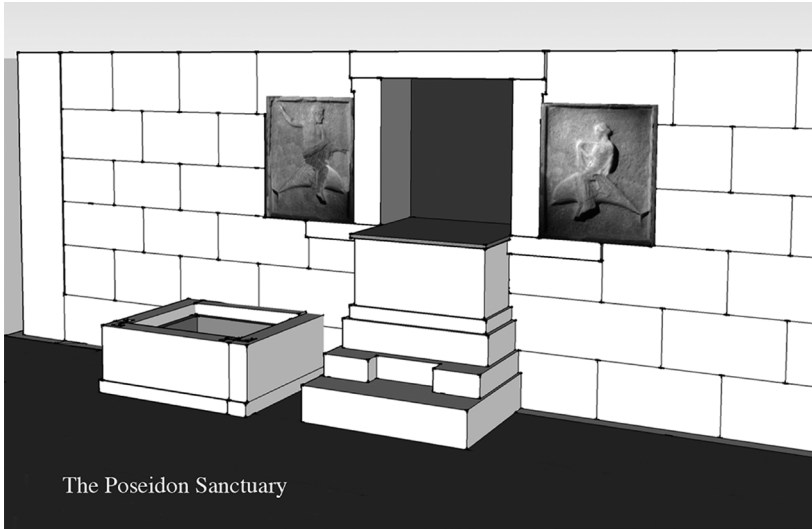


Fig. 2.4.  
The Altar of the Poseidonion,  
as reference (restitution: T. Kozelj)

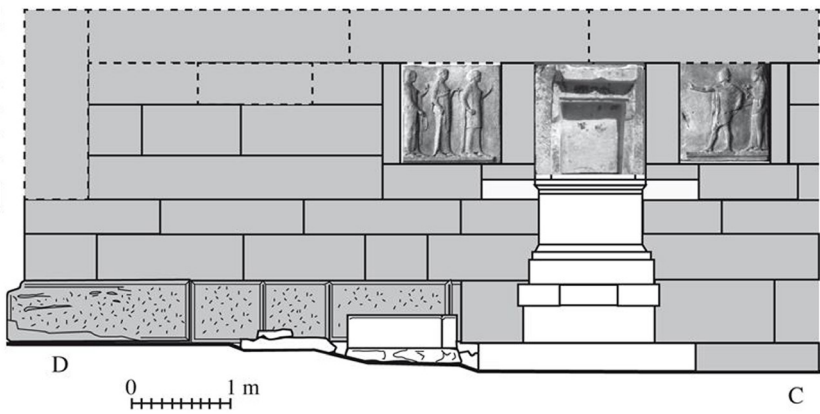


Fig. 2.5. Restitution of the  
Sanctuary of the Graces  
(restitution: T. Kozelj)

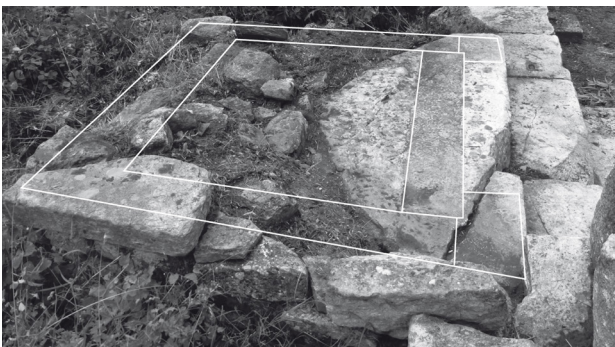


Fig. 2.6. The remains of the *anta* altar, built into the wall CD of the Gate of the Theoroi (photo: T. Kozelj)

The pillar with the inscription “*Ἀπόλλωνος λυκείου*” fits perfectly on the trace.

Again the Poseidonion, where the ground level is raised, with the new installation of an *in antis* altar (the reliefs being kept in place), attested by the remains still *in situ* (cf. Fig. 1.4) is the reference required to propose the restoration of the disposition of the altar at the Gate of the Theoroi.

The *in antis* altar was built into the wall CD, with the previous reliefs (Graces and Hermes<sup>16</sup>) on both sides. Stairs were put in front for an easier access to the *prothysis*, the space between the two pillars in front of the orthostate (Fig. 2.8).

As shown by the excavations<sup>17</sup>, the foundations of another altar and a base had also been set at the edge of the wall CD. On this base is engraved the inscription

16 The relief of the Graces was perhaps not moved from its original place. It may be possible that the enlargement made to build the altar had been done on the right, and it was necessary only to remove the relief of Hermes, which had been set in again.

17 SALVIAT 1956, 418. BLONDE *et alii* 1995, 981.





Fig. 2.7.  
The Gate of the Theoroi. Base  
with the inscription of Athina  
Propylaea (photo: T. Kozelj)

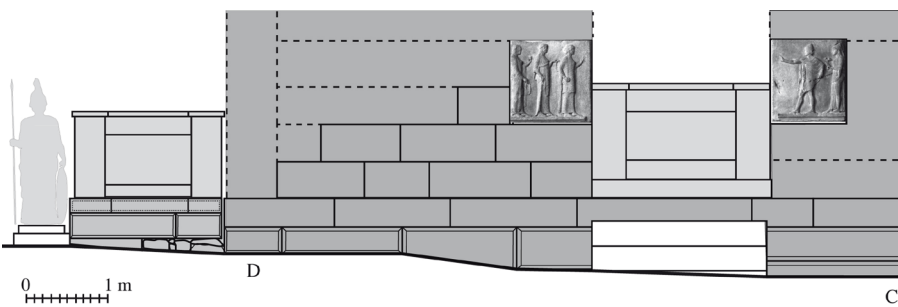


Fig. 2.8.  
The Gate of the Theoroi. Wall  
DC and location of the altars  
(restitution: T. Kozelj)

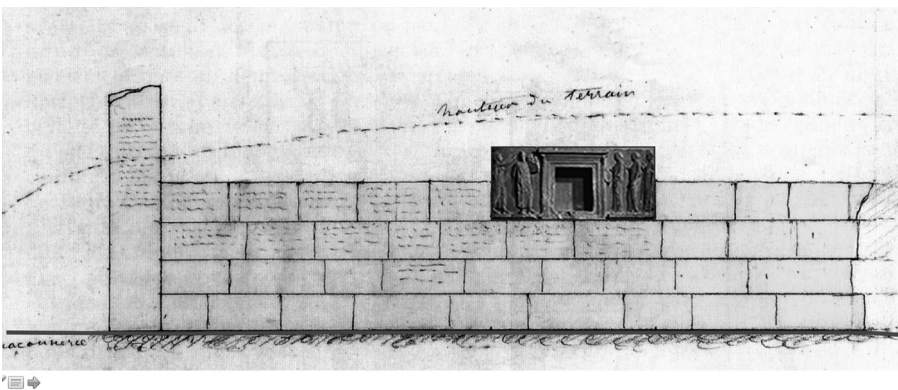


Fig. 2.9.  
The Gate of the Theoroi.  
Wall AB, with the relief of  
Apollo and the Nymphs

“Αθηνά Προπύλαεα“ (Fig. 2.7), which implies a facing Athena statue (bordered on one side by the *peribole* wall of the Sanctuary of Artemis).

The restoration of both *in antis* altars is represented Fig. 2.8.

On the wall AB, the relief of Apollo and the Nymphs was set into the wall opposite the altar, as a match (Fig. 2.8). The copy of the first list of the Theoroi was probably engraved on this wall,<sup>18</sup> at this time.

Elevation of the north wall AB of the Gate of the Theoroi, drawn by P.D. Guillemet (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris), published by B. Holtzmann, 1994, p. 33; with the location of the relief, T. Kozelj (2014).

The modifications of the place connected with the transformations of the Gate, will be presented in another paper<sup>19</sup>: the new entrance to the Sanctuary of Artemis *Hecate*, the transfer of the altar into the area of the sanctuary, the different acts of destruction and different

18 The shape of the wall AB is given by P. Bernard and Fr. Salviat (BERNARD, SALVIAT 1962, 578-611) and also by B. Holtzmann (HOLTZMANN 1994, 33, fig. 5). A review of the blocks at the Musée du Louvre and those (6) at the Archaeological Museum at Thassos, by M. Brunet and her team, put out new evidence, and will certainly achieve a new composition of the wall's layers, and by

consequence, the location of the first part of the list of the Theoroi: BRUNET *et al.* in process. Another proposition of the list of the Theoroi is also in progress by P. Hamon, in process.

19 The paper was presented at the annual conference AEMTh in 2016, March.



Fig. 3.1.a. The Gate of Silenos. Location of the block (photo: T. Kozelj)

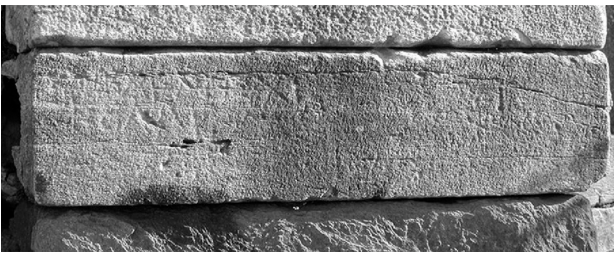


Fig. 3.1.b. The block with both inscriptions



Fig. 3.1.c. The block with both inscriptions (with the recognized letters)

buildings that affect the organization of the place.

In conclusion, the Gate of the Theoroi was always a preferential passage, probably considered at this time, as a monumental propylae, with the main altars of *Apollo Lykeiou* and *Athina Propylaea*, representing them in the city, on the way to the sanctuaries of *Apollo Pythion* and *Athina Poliouchou* located on the top of the hills.

### 3. The inscription at the Gate of Silenos

On the East embrasure splay of the Gate of Silenos, a block (built on the second row from the bottom) was engraved at two different times, as the letters of both inscriptions confirm. Both inscriptions are known<sup>20</sup>.

The first one was understood as “Ἐκατη” by H. Seyrig<sup>21</sup>, according to a dedication to *Hecate*, which is on a fragment of a small votive column found in the excavation of the plots of houses and workshops near the Gate<sup>22</sup>. The letters (0.13 m high) indicate the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> c. B.C.

The second inscription was transcribed as “ωσιων καλος ωσδ” and “ιε” by Ch. Avezou in 1912<sup>23</sup> and completed by Ch. Picard<sup>24</sup> with the name of *Sosiōn*, well known in Thasos (from the 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. until the 2<sup>nd</sup> – 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD<sup>25</sup>).

Oblique winter sunlight revealed more details in the form of some letters which change the interpretation of these inscriptions.

— The first inscription appears as “Ἐπίδημος τῆ πόλει”.

The rise of ground level<sup>26</sup> that was observed everywhere in the city, measures approximatively 1 m.

In the excavation, Y. Grandjean notes that the many transformations had affected the whole environment of

20 GRANDJEAN 2011, 584 and 585.

21 The inscription was read by H. Seyrig: PICARD 1962, 110.

22 PICARD 1921, 158, n. 10. *IG XII Suppl.* N. 401. Fin v<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C.

23 Archives at École Française d’Athènes (French Archaeological School at Athens, Greece): CH. AVEZOU, 2-C Thas 7 and 8, p. 6.

24 PICARD 1921, XX.

References for the inscriptions with “kalos” that have been found on blocks built in the fortification wall (Σκύμνος καλός, Ἀριστοτέλης ἠ καλός, or Μαθηταίος καλός Δημῆς ...): GRANDJEAN 2011, 582, 586. This interpretation was suggested.

25 DUNANT, POUILLOUX 1957, index.

26 The rise of the ground level might be a consequence of the deforestation in account of the urbanisation process inside the city wall, of the streamings or at other points, the rivers’s alluvions.





Fig. 3.2.  
The block with the new data (drawing: T. Kozelj)

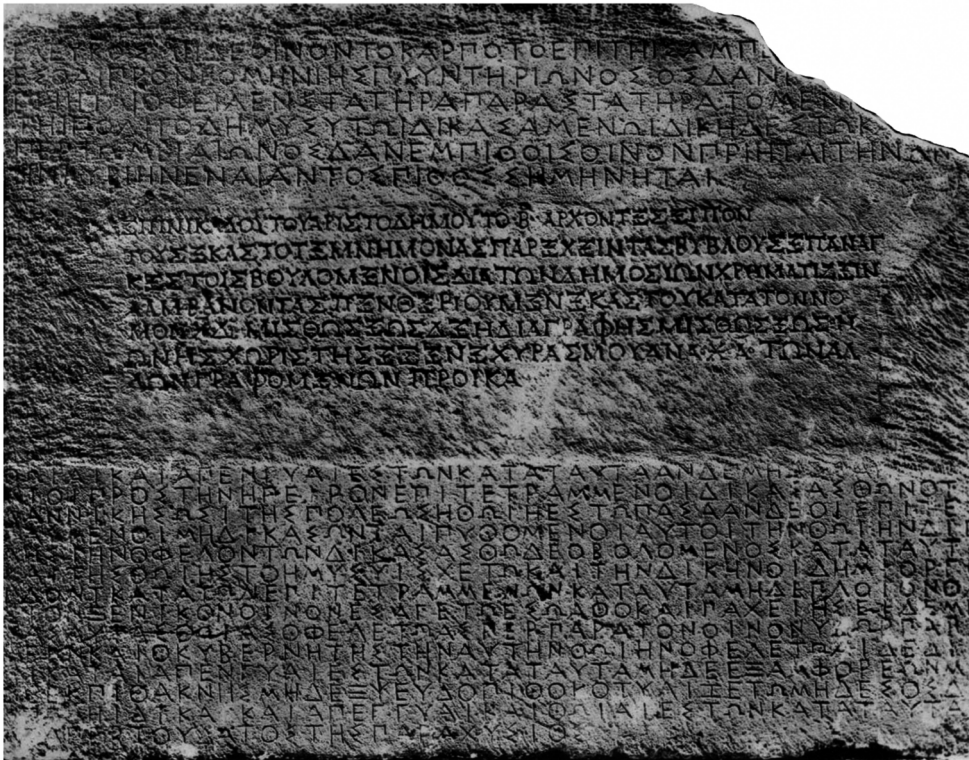


Fig. 4.1.  
The front surface of the engraved block

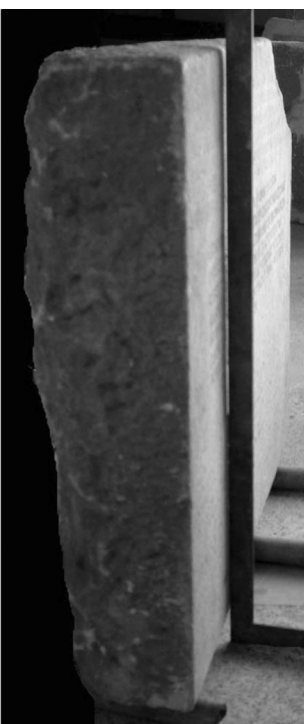


Fig. 4.2.  
The profile of the block showing the 3 mm of recutting (photo: T. Kozelj)

the Gate, not just the city wall, three times<sup>27</sup>, with the raising of the road's level and rebuilding of the Gate.

The proposition to make Epidemos as one of the rebuilders of the city wall is a hypothesis that could fit well with the level of the road II: the block with the inscription would be in a good position to be engraved and to be seen when going through the Gate. That would be dated *ca.* 420.

— The second inscription is engraved in small and irregular letters (0.025 m height), with a retractable ending. The reviewed proposal is “Θάσιων καλός ὠσδη” and on the row below “ιεν”. It might signify the perfumed air quality of Thasos<sup>28</sup>, a healthy climate.

27 GRANDJEAN, 2011, 184-189, 182-183, leaflet fig. 212 and 213. See p. 185, b) the second phase: road II was in use from *ca.* 420 to *ca.* 340-330.

28 GORSKI, MAJNARIČ 1976, 198. Translation: Thasos has a good air or climate. Ὄσδη seems to be ἀρομα (aroma) or οζόν (ozone); so as ιεν : εἶμι (eimi) to be.



#### 4. The Law of Wine

The three inscriptions have been acknowledged<sup>29</sup> and published<sup>30</sup> many times. The interest was in the tenor of the text, the law itself composed by the two inscriptions (Fig. 4.1). But no care was taken of the support on which they were engraved, the surface of the block.

The observation<sup>31</sup> of the block, apart from the measurements: 0.88 m length, 0.678 m height and 0.20 m thickness, brought out the different aspects of the surfaces of the front face (where the inscriptions are) and some unknown details. The consequence of this record is the relative chronology of the inscriptions, and not in the interpretation of the texts themselves.

We distinguish three surfaces (Fig. 4.3):

- The surface at the bottom of the block, 0.265 m high, is flat. The 15 rows of inscription on it are written in stoichedon form (with 45 columns), taking up the whole surface. This part is the oldest (ca 420 BC), because the engraving<sup>32</sup> was done on the primary surface of the block.

29 IG XII, suppl., n. 347.

30 DAUX 1926, 214 and 231 pl. XIII.  
HILLER DE GAERTRINGEN 1939, n. 347. I et II: annis 425-400, III: 2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD.  
POUILLOUX 1954, 40-41.  
DUNANT, POUILLOUX 1958, 363.  
MANTZOUFAS 1967, XXX.  
EFA 1967, 179-181 and fig. 111.  
GOFAS 1969, 337-370; especially p. 358-360, note 1.  
SALVIAT 1986, 145-161, esp. p. 147-150.  
VINAGROV 1986, 197-200.  
HOLTZMANN 1989, 186-188, fig. 146.  
BRUNET 1997, 229-242.  
GRANDJEAN, SALVIAT 2000, 183-185, fig. 124.  
GRANDJEAN, SALVIAT 2012, 108-116 (n. 47).

31 Our observations were presented as “A reinterpretation of the block concerning the wine law in Thassos” at the colloquium ASMOSIA VII at Thasos, in 2003 September 15<sup>th</sup> to 20<sup>th</sup>. As the proceedings of the Conference had to be published by the EFA, the Director did not want to consider our paper until Archaeologists of the EFA, specialists in Epigraphy, recognized our observations. All of them saw the recarved surfaces. One of them told us that G. Daux never saw the block by himself and that he worked from an estampage done by a friend of his. A few epigraphists admitted to guessing letters on the erased surface in accord with the *stoichedon* form of the first inscription. They also admitted their interest was in the text of the law itself and not the stone below it.

32 The letters on the “first” line of the right side of the row are missing, cut down by the tooth chisel.

- From the top of the block (but with an obliquity resulting from the chisel work), and more from the third row of the inscription, the surface was recut 3 mm down at 0.61 m height (Fig. 4.2 et 4.3, phase 2), from the primary surface (that remains on the bottom of the block).

The letters of the upper inscription (Fig. 4.3, phase 3) are not written with regularity, and they also are not carved from the left edge of the block (because of the carving<sup>33</sup>).

Over and above what is engraved, several letters can be found, as the ones constituting the first row Θεοι (with letters 0.05 m high), as many letters were placed along the length of the column or on the above parallel restored rows, confirming the *stoichedon* form of the first upper inscription, which was engraved on the whole surface of the block.

This first inscription — the restored upper part and the bottom part on the primary surface — is restored on 32 lines and 45 orthogonal columns, with 1444 letters in total and a part of text could be replaced by the remains of the letters (Fig. 4.3, phase 1).

What is left is to identify words and parts of the sentence engraved in the upper part, which means that a part of the original inscription was re-copied (letter after letter) on the top of the block. Part of the law was still in effect, while the other part (the text which was between both engravings) had to be erased to make space, probably for other rules to be engraved.

- The third surface, made of a central rectangle 0.71 x 0.165 m, which was again prepared with a tooth chisel, taking 0.5mm to 0.8 mm down, for the engraving of the inscription (Fig. 4.3, phase 4), and on the side of the rectangle, oblique lines could be the remains of a carved *tabula ansata* (Fig. 4.3, phase 5).

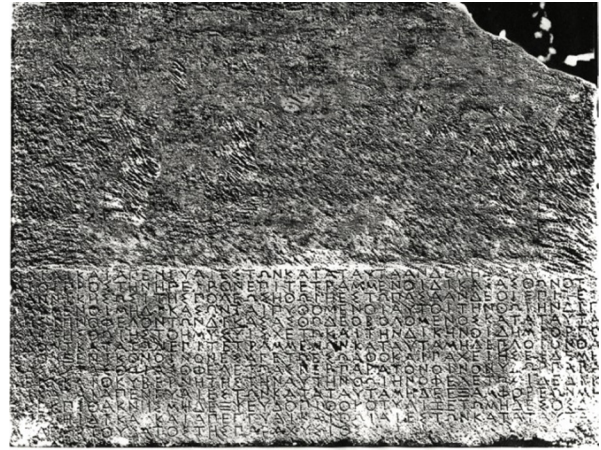
The inscription<sup>34</sup> is dated ca. 200 AD.

A review, with a fine observation of the details of the letters, could perhaps help us to find out when the copy of the law (the inscription on the top) was engraved. A copy of a law that is current can be done at any time. Until now, the two inscriptions are dated from ca. 420-400 BC, but if so, why did the surface remain “empty” until ca. 200 AD (Fig. 4.3, phase 3)? There might have been an intention to change a part of the law, but the

33 The block is built in a monument, when the tooth chisel has to recut the surface without damaging the other blocks, the work can't be done up to the edges, and a small obliquity may be observed. The new inscription could not be engraved from one edge to the other edge of the block.

34 DAUX 1926, 227.





4.3. Restitution Phases 1 and 2

1. The original surface of the block, with the first law engraved *ca* 400 BC (restoration: T. Kozelj)
2. The erased upper part to prepare the block for engraving (photo-montage: T. Kozelj)

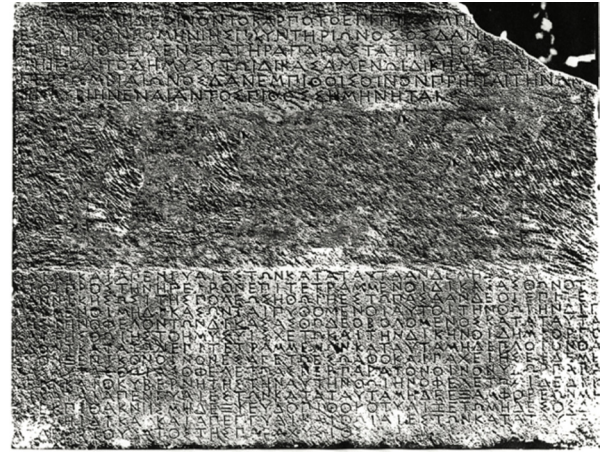
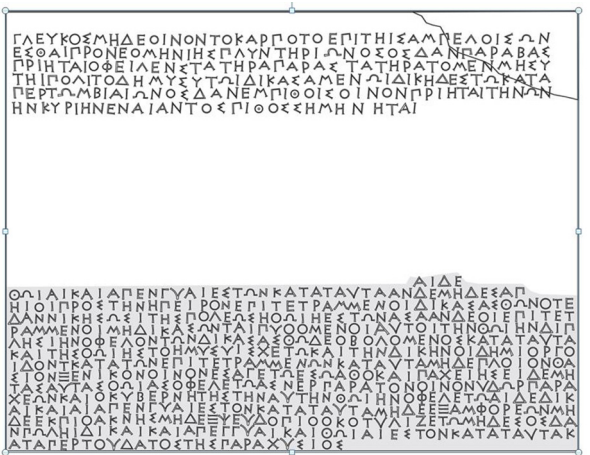


Fig. 4.3. Restitution. Phase 3

- 3a. The engraved copy of the part of the law which stays in effect during this period. *ca* 400 BC (restoration: T. Kozelj)
- 3b. The block, just after the engraving of the second inscription on the top of the block, the middle surface erased (photo-montage: T. Kozelj)

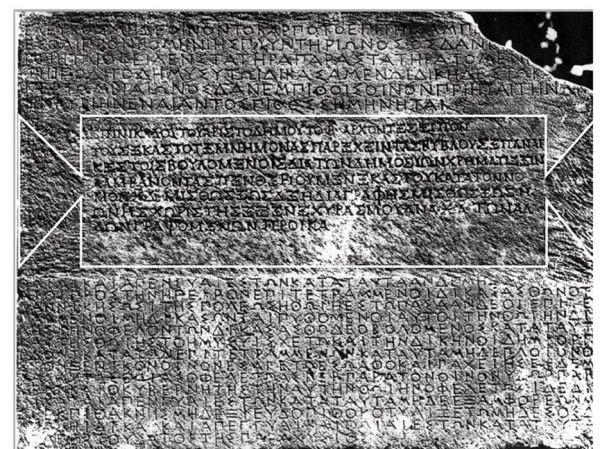
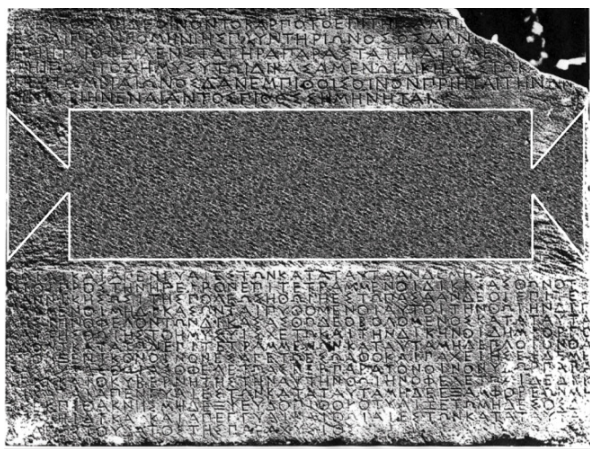


Fig. 4.3. Restitution. Phases 4 and 5

4. Prepared surface, recutting of the rectangular area, for engraving the tabula ansata and the third inscription
5. The third inscription engraved into a tabula ansata, in the middle erased surface, between the copy of the enforced law (top) and the stoichedon inscription (bottom). (photo-montage : T. Kozelj and see original photo: Fig. 4.1)



proposed new clause was not accepted and so was never engraved, leaving the surface free<sup>35</sup>. Or perhaps the copy was done later? Of course, at least before *ca.* 200 AD, before<sup>36</sup> the third inscription was engraved, which has nothing to do with the wine law.

Figure 4.3 illustrates the different phases of work on the surface of this architectural piece.

In conclusion, meticulous observation of the blocks on which the inscriptions are engraved authorized us to propose other restoration of their purpose and place in buildings, as the *in antis* altar of Zeus Agoraios (§ 1), or the one of Apollon Lykeiou (§ 2), as well as to recognize their previous states (Law of wine, § 4) and to reconsider the inscriptions (Gate of Silenos, § 3).

## ABBREVIATIONS

BCH        Bulletin de Correspondances Helléniques  
 Ét.Thas.    Études Thasiennes

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- AVEZOU C., Archives de l'EFA: 2-C Thas 7 and 8, p. 6.  
 AVEZOU C. 1913: Notebook of Excavations, carnet de feuilles 1913, 15-16.  
 BERNARD P., SALVIAT F. 1962: "Inscriptions de Thasos", BCH 86, 578-611.  
 BLONDÉ F., DADAKI S., MULLER A., PETRIDIS P., SANIDAS G. 2014: "Les abords Nord de l'Artémision (Thanar) Campagnes 2012-2013", with collaboration of AUBRY C., FOURNIER J., KOŽELJ T., WURCH-KOZELJ M. and the contribution of TSOKAS G., PAVLIDIS S. ET CHATZIPETROU A., GENEVEY A. ET KONTOPOULOU D., OUESLATI T., MARGARITIS E., PERRON M. ET TICHIT A., BCH 138, 613-661.  
 BLONDÉ F., MULLER A., MULLIEZ D. 1990: Μνήμη Δ. Λαζαρίδη, 359- 377.  
 BLONDÉ F., MULLER A., MULLIEZ D. 1995: "3- Abords Nord-Est de l'Agora (Terrain Valma)", with collaboration of MARC J.-Y., BCH 119, 681-688.  
 BON A., SEYRIG H. 1929: "Le sanctuaire de Poseidon à Thasos", BCH 53, 317-350.  
 BRAUN J.-P., ETIENNE E. 1986: Les Monuments de l'Ouest du Prytanée, Sites et Monuments 3.  
 BRUNET M. 1997: "Thasos et son épire à la fin du v<sup>e</sup> au début du iv<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C.", Esclavage, guerre, économie en Grèce ancienne, Hommage à Yvon Garlan, Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 229-242.  
 DAUX G. 1926: "Nouvelles inscriptions de Thasos (1921-1924)", BCH 50, 213-249.  
 DAUX G. 1928: "Inscriptions de Thasos", BCH 52, 58, n. 11.  
 DUNANT C., POUILLOUX J. 1957: Recherches sur l'Histoire et les Cultes de Thasos II, de 196 av. J.-C. jusqu'à la fin de l'Antiquité, Ét.Thas. V, Paris.  
 EFA 1967: Guide de Thasos.  
 GOFAS D. C. 1969: "Les carpologues de Thasos", BCH 93, 337-370.  
 GORSKI N., MAJNARIČ O. 1976: Grčko-Hrvatski ili Srpski Rječnik, Zagreb 1976.  
 GRANDJEAN Y. 2011: Le Rempart de Thasos, Ét.Thas. XXII.  
 GRANDJEAN Y., SALVIAT F. 2000: Guide de Thasos, 2000, 183-185.  
 GRANDJEAN Y., SALVIAT F. 2012: Οδηγός της Θάσου, 108-116.  
 GUILLON P. 1937: "Borne thasienne d'un lieu de culte de Zeus", Revue Archéologique 1937, 195-200.  
 HILLER DE GAERTRINGEN F. 1939: IG XII, suppl., N. 347. I et II: annis 425-400, III: 2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD.  
 HOLTZMANN B. 1989: Οδηγός της Θάσου, 186-188.  
 HOLTZMANN B. 1994: La sculpture de Thasos. Corpus des reliefs I. Reliefs à thème divin, Ét.Thas. XV.  
 MANTZOUFAS G. 1967: La loi thasienne Γλευκος μηδε οινον sur le commerce du vin, Athènes.  
 MENDEL G. 1900: "Inscriptions de Thasos", BCH 24.  
 MILLER E. 1889: Le Mont Athos, Vatopedi, L'Île de Thasos, Paris.  
 OHNESORG A. 2005: Ionische Altäre, Archäologische Forschung 21.  
 PICARD C. 1921: "Fouilles de Thasos (1914 et 1920)", BCH 45.  
 PICARD C. 1962: Les murailles, I. Les portes sculptées, images divines, Ét.Thas. VIII.  
 POUILLOUX J. 1954: Recherches sur l'Histoire et les Cultes de Thasos I, de 196 av. J.-C. jusqu'à la fin de l'Antiquité, Ét.Thas. III.  
 SALVIAT F. 1956: "IV- Monuments de l'agora, le "passage"", BCH 80, 1956, 418-420.  
 SALVIAT F. 1986: "Le vin, amphores, vin et sources écrites", BCH suppl. XIII, 145-161.  
 VINAGROV J. G. 1986: "Αν τος Πιθός σημηνήται IG XII suppl. 347", BCH Suppl. XIII, 197-200.

35 Still it would be curious to have this empty area between two parts of the same law, for about five centuries.

36 It could be that the erasing and the copy of the part of law were done purposely to fit into this "cleared" area the *tabula ansata* with the Roman inscription, but that is just a hypothesis.