

**Another “glue of the democracy”?
Public Building Contracts and Labor Market in Classical Athens – Handout**

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1 - Plutarch, *Life of Pericles* 12.5

τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἡλικίαν ἔχουσι καὶ ῥώμην αἱ στρατεῖαι τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν κοινῶν εὐπορίας παρῆχον, τὸν δ' ἀσύντακτον καὶ βάνουσον ὄχλον οὐτ' ἄμοιρον εἶναι λημμάτων βουλόμενος οὔτε λαμβάνειν ἀργὸν καὶ σχολάζοντα, μεγάλας κατασκευασμάτων ἐπιβολὰς καὶ πολυτέχνους ὑποθέσεις ἔργων διατριβὴν ἔχόντων ἐνέβαλε φέρων εἰς τὸν δῆμον, ἵνα μηδὲν ἤττον τῶν πλεόντων καὶ φρουρούντων καὶ στρατευομένων τὸ οἰκουροῦν ἔχη πρόφασιν ἀπὸ τῶν δημοσίων ὠφελεῖσθαι καὶ μεταλαμβάνειν.

«And it was true that his military expeditions supplied those who were in the full vigor of manhood with abundant resources from the common funds, and in his desire that the unwarlike throng of common laborers should neither have no share at all in the public receipts, nor yet get fees for laziness and idleness, he boldly suggested to the people projects for great constructions, and designs for works which would call many arts into play and involve long periods of time, in order that the stay-at-homes, no whit less than the sailors and sentinels and soldiers, might have a pretext for getting a beneficial share of the public wealth (trans. by B. Perrin)».

2 - IG I³ 476 - Erechtheum accounts, a. 408/7, l. 46-54, 270-280. Dionysodoros living in Melite, the encaustic painter.

1

6th prytany

λαιον πρίσταις : ΔΔΔΔΓΓ : ηενκ-
αυταῖς, τὸ κυμάτιον ηενκέα[ν]-
τι τὸ ηεπὶ τοῖ ηεπιστυλίω[ι τ]-
οἱ ηεντός, πεντόβολον τὸ[ν πό]-
50 δα ἡέκαστον, μισθοτὲς Δι[ονυ]-
σόδορος ἐμ Μελίτει ηοικ[ῶν, η]-
εγγυετὲς ηερακλείδες Ὁ[ἔθε]-
ν : ΔΔΔ : κεφάλαιον ηενκαυτ[αῖς]
ΔΔΔ : χρυσοχοῖς, χάλχας χ[ιρυσ]-

To painters in encaustic,
for painting the cymatium on the
inner epistyle, at 5 ob. a foot,
contractor, Dionysodoros living in Melite,
guarantor, Herakleides of Oa, 30 dr.
Sum total to painters in encaustic, 30 dr.

8th prytany

270 σθῶ, ΓΓΔΓΓ. ἐνκαυτῆι τὸ κυμάτι-
ον ἐνκέαντι τὸ ηεπὶ τοῖ ηεπι-
στυλίοι τοῖ ηεντός, πεντόβο-
λον τὸν πόδα ἡέκαστον, πόδας
ηεκατὸν δεκατρῆς, μισθοτῆι
275 προσηαπέδομεν πρὸς ἠὸι πρό-
τερον εἶχε, Διονυσσόδοροι ἐμ
Μελίτει ηοικῶντι, ηεγγυετῆ-
ς ηερακλείδες Ὁἔθεν, ΔΔΔΔΓΓ
ΓΓ : κεφάλαιον ηενκαυτῆι : ΔΔ
280 ΔΔΓΓΓΓ : λῆμμα : ΧΗΗΔΔΔΓΓΓΓ

To a painter in encaustic, for painting the
cymatium on the inner epistyle,
at 5 ob. a foot, 113 feet,
to the contractor, Dionysodoros, living in
Melite, we gave in addition to what he had
received before, Herakleides of Oa being the
guarantor, 44 dr., 1 ob.
Sum total of payments to the painter in
encaustic, 44 dr., 1 ob.

Unit price: 5 ob. per foot; painted surface: 113 feet; total price: 113 feet x 5 ob. = 94 dr. 1 ob.
Preserved payments: 30 dr. (6th pr., advance payment) + 44 dr. 1 ob. (8th pr., balance) = 74 dr. 1 ob.
[Other advance payment = 94 dr. 1 ob. – 74 dr. 1 ob. = 20 dr.].

3 - IG I³ 475 - Erechtheum accounts, a. 409/8, l. 97-132. Expenditures for chiseling the pediment blocks for the east gable and for shaping the blocks for the gable towards the Pandroseum.

vacat ἀναλόματα ἐργ[α]σ[ίας] αἰετία-
 [ῖοι] ἐπὶ τὸμ πρὸς ἔο [αἰετ]όν· [κορυφαῖο]
 [καὶ] ἀντιθέμα[το]ς, μῆκ[ος] πέν[τε ποδ]-
 100 [ὄ]ν, πλάτος τρι[ὄ]ν ποδῶ[ν] καὶ ἡε[μιποδί]-
 [ο], πάχος ποδιαῖο[ν], τὸ ἐλλ[οι]π[ῶ] ἔργο, Ἀ[χσι]-
 [ο]πείθει ἐμ Μελ[ί]τει οἰ[κ] : ἐνὸς καὶ ἀ[ν]-
 [τι]θέματος : ΔΔ[.] τ[ὸ]ν πρ[ὸ]ς τῷ κορυ[φα]-
 [ῖ]οι καὶ ἀντιθεμάτο[ν], μῆ[κ]ος ἑπταπόδ-
 105 [ο]ν, πλάτος τριπ[ό]δον, πάχος ποδιαῖον, τ-
 ὄ ἐλλοιπὸ ἔργο, Ἀχσιοπείθει ἐμ Μελίτει ο-
 ικ : ἐνὸς καὶ ἀντιθέματος : ΔΓ : Φανοκλε-
 ῖ ἐγ Κοίλει : οἰκ : ἡενὸς ΔΓΓ. Κεφισοδόροι
 ἐ Σκαμβονί. οἰκ., ἀντιθέματος τούτοι
 110 Δ : κερκιδιαῖοιν κ[αὶ] ἀντιθεμάτων μῆκο-
 ς πεντεπόδον, π[λά]τος τριεμιποδῖον,
 πάχος ποδιαῖο[ν], Λυσίαι Ἀλκίππο Κεφισ.,
 ἡενὸς καὶ ἀντιθέματος : Δ : Εὐδικοί Ἀγρ-
 υλῆ. οἰκ : ἡενὸς κ[αὶ] ἀντιθέματος : ΓΗΗ.
 115 λίθον ἀριθμός : [Γ : ἀν]τιθέματα : Γ : ἐργασ-
 ῖας τὸ πρὸς ἔο α[ἰετῶ] ἀργυρίο κεφ[ά]λαιον
 ΓΔΔΓΗΗΗ : ἐπὶ τὸμ π[ρ]ὸς τὸ Πανδροσεῖο
 αἰετόν· κορυφαῖον [μ]ῆκος καὶ πλάτος
 τετράποδα, π[ά]χος τριεμι[πό]διον, ἐκπ-
 120 οἴσαντι Ἀμεινιάδε[ι] ἐγ Κοίλει : οἰκῶ., ἡε-
 νὸς : ΔΔΔΔ· τὸ ὑπ[ὲ]ρ [οἰ]κορυφαῖο καὶ ἀ-
 ντι[θ]έματος μ[ῆ]κος ἑπταπόδον, πλάτ-
 [ος] τριπόδον, π[ά]χος ποδιαῖον, ἐκποιέσ-
 [αντι]μαγαθο[ι] : [Χ]συπεταιῶ : ἐνὸς κα-
 125 [ὶ] ἀντιθέματο[ς] : Δ[.] κερκιδιαῖο καὶ ἀν-
 [τι]θέματος μῆκος πεντέποδος, πλά-
 τος τριεμιποδῖο, π[ά]χος ποδιαῖο, ἐκπο-
 [ι]έσαντι Λυσανία[ι] ἐγ Κυδαθε : οἰκ : ἡεν-
 [ὸς] καὶ ἀντιθέμα[το]ς : ΓΗΗ : λίθον ἀρι-
 130 [θ]μός III, ἀντιθέμα[τα] : ΙΙ : ἐργασίας τὸ
 [πρὸς] τὸ Πανδροσεῖο αἰετῶ ἀργ[υ]ρίο κ-
 [εφ]άλαιον : ΓΔ ----] κατὰ ---

Expenditure for work. Pediment blocks for the east gable: for the remaining work on the central block and its backer, 5 feet long, 3 ½ feet wide, 1 foot thick, to Axiopethes living in Melite, 1 block and its backer, 20 dr. For the remaining work on the blocks next to the central block and their backers, 7 feet long, 3 feet wide, 1 foot thick, to Axiopethes living in Melite, for 1 block and its backer, 15 dr.; to Phanokles living in Koile, for 1 block, 16 dr.; to Kephisodoros living in Skambonidai for the backer for this block, 10 dr. For the two wedge-shaped blocks and their backers, 5 feet long, 1 ½ foot wide, 1 foot thick, to Lysias, son of Alkippos, of Kephisia, for 1 block and its backer, 10 dr. To Eudikos living in Agryle, for 1 block and its backer, 8 dr. Number of blocks, 5. Backers, 5. Total expenditures for work on the east gable, 79 dr. On the gable towards the Pandroseum: for shaping the central block, 4 feet long and wide, 1 ½ foot thick, to Ameiniades living in Koile, 1 block, 40 dr. For shaping the block next to the central block and its backer, 7 feet long, 3 feet wide, 1 foot thick, to [...]magathos of Xypete, for 1 block and its backer, 20? dr. For shaping a wedge-shaped block and its backer, 5 feet long, 1 ½ foot wide, 1 thick, to Lysanias living in Kydathenaion, for 1 block and its backer, 8 dr. Number of blocks, 3. Backers, 2. Total expenditures for work on the gable towards the Pandroseum, 60? dr.

East gable: 5 workers, 10 blocks, 79 dr.
 Gable towards the Pandroseum: 3 workers, 5 blocks, 60? dr.

4 - IG I³ 475 - Erechtheum accounts, a. 409/8, l. 240-256. Expenditures for a roof.

240 ----- χυλοργοῖς ἐς τὲ[ν]
 [ἐποροφία]ν ἡμάντας ἀποχσέσασιν
 [μῆκ]ος ἑπταπαλάστος, πλάτος δεκ-
 [αδα]κτύλος, τριὸν ἡμιοβελίον : ἥεκα-
[στ]ον : ΔΔΔΔΓ : Κ[ό]μονι ἐμ Με : οἰ : ΗΓ²ΔΔΔ,
 245 ΔΓΗ : Τιμομάχοι : Ἀχαρν[εῖ] : Γ²ΔΓIII, ΔΗII
II : Τλεσῖαι Κεττίοι : ΔΔΔΔΓII : ΔΔΗ : Μικ-
ῖονι : ἐμ Με : οἰκ : Γ²ΔΔΔIII : ΗΙΣ : Εὐθυδόμο-
ι Μελιτ : ΓIII : ἐς τὲν ἐποροφίαν ἡμάντ-
ον ἐργασίας ἀργυρίο κεφάλαιον : Γ²ΔΔ
 250 ΔΔΓΗ : τέκτοσι μισθόματα καὶ καθ-
εμερίσια. κεραμόσαντι ὑπὲρ τῆς ὀ-
ροφῆς ἐπὶ τῷ νεό, Κτέσονι Λακιάδει,
ΔΔΗΗΗ : τὸσφεκίσκος θεσι καὶ τὸς ἰ-
μάντας καθ' ἡμέραν, Γέρυι, ἡμερ-
 255 ὄν : ΓΙ : ΓΗ : Μικίονι, ἡμερῶν : III : ΗΗ : Κ-
ροῖσοι, ἡμερῶν : Γ : Γ : διαφάρχσαν-

To carpenters for planning cross-pieces for the roof, 7 palms long, 10 dactyls wide, at 1 ½ ob. each, 45 dr. to Komon living in Melite, for 180 cross-pieces; 17 dr. to Timomachos of Acharnai, for 68 cross-pieces; 11 dr., 4 ½ ob. to Tlesias of Kettos, for 47 cross-pieces; 21 dr. to Mikion living in Melite, for 84 cross-pieces; 2 dr., 1 ½ ob. to Euthydomos of Melite, for 9 cross-pieces. Sum total for work on the cross-pieces for the roof, 97 dr. Payments to artisans for piece-work and day labor. For laying tiles above the ceiling upon the temple, to Kteson of Lakiadai, 24 dr. For laying the rafters and the cross-pieces, by day labor, to Gerys, for 6 days' work, 6 dr.; to Mikion, for 3 days' work, 3 dr.; to Kroisos, for 5 days' work, 5 dr.

5 - IG I³ 475 - Erechtheum accounts, a. 409/8, l. 28-34. Expenditures for placing and dressing the blocks of the frieze on the north wall.

[μία]ν καὶ ἔμ[ι]συ, Σιμίαι [Ἄ]λοπε. οἰ : ΓII. [ἐπὶ]
 [τῶι] πρὸς βορέ[ο] τοίχ[οι] μῆκ[ο]ς] ὀκτόπο[δα]-
 30 [ς, ἡ]ύφσος δίποδ[ας], πά[χος] ποδιαίο[ς, θέ]-
 [ντι] Φαλάκροι [Παι]ανιεῖ, IIII : Δ : Δ : Δ : Δ. ἀντιθέ]-
 [ματα τ[ο]ύτ[οις, II], Πεντε[λεικά, τὸν ἀπὸ τ]-
 [ῆς στοᾶς, μῆκος] τετρά[ποδα, ἡύφσος]
 [δίποδ]α, πά[χος] τριπά[λαστα, θέντι τριῶ]-
 35 [ν ἕκασ]τον, Φα[λ]άκροι Π[αι]ανιεῖ : II : ΓΗ : ἕτερον]-
[α ἀντ]ιθέματ[α] με[τα]χσ[ύ] τὸν χσύλον, τῷ
[Αἰγίνα]ίο λίθο, τῷ[ν] ἀπὸ τῆς [στοᾶς, μῆκος]
[τετρά]ποδα, πλάτος δίπο]δα, [πάχος τριε]-
 40 [μ]ῶ[ν ἡέ]κασ[τον, Φαλάκ]ρ[οι] Παι[αν]ιεῖ : ΓIII
[ΔΔΗIIIII : ἐπεργ[ασαμ]ένοι ταῦτα, τ[ετραπ]-
[οδίας] ΔIII : Φαλάκροι Παι[αν]ιεῖ κα[ὶ] συνέ]-
[ργοι : Δ : Δ : Δ : Δ : ΓΗΗΗ. ἐπὶ τῶι τοίχ[οι] πρὸς]
 [τῷ Πανδροσεῖο -----]

On the north wall: for placing blocks 8 feet long, 2 feet high, 1 foot thick, to Phalakros of Paiania, 4 blocks, 40 dr. For placing backing-stones for these, 2 blocks of Pentelic marble, from the stoa, 4 feet long, 2 feet high, ¾ of a foot thick, at 3 dr. each, to Phalakros of Paiania, 2 blocks, 6 dr. For placing other backing-stones between the wooden beams, of Aeginetan stone, from the stoa, 4 feet long, 2 feet wide, 1 ½ foot thick, at 2 dr., 5 ob. each, to Phalakros of Painia, 8 blocks, 22 dr., 4 ob. For dressing the top surface of these, 14 tetrapodies, to Phalakros of Painia and his assistant, 49 dr.

Total amount paid to Phalakros, 117 dr. 4 ob.

6 - IG I³ 475 - Erechtheum accounts, a. 409/8, l. 206-224. Expenditures for a coffered ceiling.

[-- ἐμ Με]λί : οἰκ : ἐργάζετο τὸν ἐσ-
 [--- τα]ύτες τὸ πυχσίνο π[λ]αισί-
 [ο, δύο ὄντε, ἀ]ναχσέσαντι καὶ κολλέσ-
 α[ντι, ἐκάτ]ερον ἔχς δραχμ[ὸν] : ΔΗΨ : τὸ-
 210 ν [ἀστράγαλ]ον ἐπιγομφό[σ]αντι παρα-
 λ[αβ]ό[ντι τε]τορνευμένον, ΔΔΔΓΗΨ : κλ-
 [ιμ]ακ[ίδο]ιν δυοῖν τὸς ὄνυχας ἐγκολ-
 λ[ί]ε[σαν]τι καὶ ἐχσομαλίσαντι πρὸς τὸν
 κ[α]νόν[α τὸν] λίθ[ιν]ον, ἑκατέρας δέκα
 215 [δρ]αχμ[ὸν] : ΔΔ : τὸν πλαισίον τὸν τετρα-
 γό[νον], [τετ]τάρων ὄντων, τὸς ὄνυχας ἐ-
 γ[κολλέ]σαντι καὶ ἐχσομαλίσαντι πρ-
 ὸς τὸν [κανό]να τὸν λίθινον, ἑκάστον
 [τρ]ιὸν δ[ραχμ]ῶν : ΔΗΨ : τὰ κυμάτια τὰ
 220 [μικ]ρά, [δέκ]α ὄντα, κολλέσαντι καὶ ἀν-
 α[χσέ]σαντι πρὸς τὸν κανόνα τὸν λίθι-
 ν[ον], ἡ[έκασ]τον τριὸν δραχμῶν : ΔΔΔ : τ-
 ὸν ἀστράγαλον ἐπιγομφόσαντι παρ-
 α[λα]βό[ντι] τετορνευμένον [: -- : ---]

[...] living in Melite made [] for
 smoothing the two box-wood frames of
 this, and gluing them, at 6 dr. each, 12
 dr. For dowelling on the astragalus,
 having received it turned in the lathe, 37
 dr. For gluing in the moldings of two
 ladders and truing them up, tested by the
 stone straight-edge, at 10 dr. each, 20 dr.
 For gluing in four moldings of the square
 frame, 4 in number, and for truing them
 up, tested by the stone straight-edge, at 3
 dr. each, 12 dr. For gluing in ten small
 cymatia, 10 in number, and smoothing
 them, tested by the stone straight-edge,
 at 3 dr. each, 30 dr.

Total amount paid to [...] living in Melite, 111 dr.

7 - I.Eleusis 165 - Building specifications for the transport of the 14 column capitals of the portico of the Telesterion from Pentelikon to Eleusis, c. 333-307?

τὰ ἐπίκρανα τῶν κίωνων τῶν εἰς τὸ προστώσιον
 τὸ Ἐλευσίην τετρακαίδεκα ἀγαγεῖν Πειν-
 τεληθῆν Ἐλευσίναδε, τρία ὡς ἂν παρ<α>λάβ[η] πι-
 ἀρὰ τοῦ λιθοτόμου κατὰ λίθον τὴν μί[σθωσιν]
 5 ποιοῦμενος· μέγεθος τ[ῶν] λίθων· τῶν [μὲν δώδε]-
 κα μῆκος καὶ πλάτος ἄνωθεν κατ[ὰ] τὴν πλίνθο-
 ν ἐπτά ποδῶν παλαστής δεόντων [καὶ δακτύλου],
 κάτωθεν δὲ κατὰ τὸν αὐχένα στ[ενότερα] κατ[ὰ]-
 τὴν διάμετρον πέντε ποδῶν καὶ δυοῖν δακ-
 10 τύλοιν, ὕψος τριῶν ποδῶν δυοῖν δακτύλοιν
 δεόντων, τὰ δὲ γωνιαῖα δύο τὸ μὲν ὕψος ἴσον]
 τοῖς ἄλλοις, τὸ δὲ πλάτος καὶ τὸ μῆκος εἶνα-
 ῖ ἄνωθεν καὶ κάτωθεν [πρὸς τὸν ἀναγραφέα με]-
 ῖζω τῶν δώδεκα. καθ[ελέσθαι] δὲ πάντα εἰς τὸ]-
 15 ἐρὸν ὅπο ἂν κελ[εῦ]η ὁ ἀρχιτέκτων· παρ[εῖναι]
 δὲ συνεχῶς ἂν [Πεντεληθῆν ἐπὶ σκευῶν οἱ λί]-
 θοὶ κομίζωνται ἢ καθαιρῶνται· τοὺς δὲ π[ι]-
 ρώτους παρ[αλαμ]βάνειν αὐτίκα μάλα, ἐπειτα κ[α]-
 αὶ τοὺς δευ[τέρους] καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, οὓς οἱ λιθο-
 20 τόμοι ἐπο[ίησαν] τὰ μέτρα ἔχοντας· μισθωτῆς Β[ι]-
 οττος Π[ι]----- ca.20 ----- ἐγγυητ[η]-
 ῆς Δημ[ι]----- ca.26 ----- Πα[ν]-
 ιαν[ι]εὺς ----- ca.30 -----]

He shall bring the fourteen capitals for the portico
 at Eleusis from Pentelikon to Eleusis, three when
 he has received them from the stone-cutter,
 making the contract by the block. The size of
 twelve of the stones, in length and width, at the
 top, along the plinth 6 ¾ feet minus 1 dactyl, and
 at the neck where it is circular 5 feet and 2 dactyls
 in diameter, 3 feet minus 2 dactyls in height. The
 two corner blocks in height like the other capitals,
 in width and length, at the top and at the bottom,
 larger than the twelve capitals, as indicated in the
 design. He shall unload all of them in the
 sanctuary where indicated by the architect. And
 the latter shall be present whenever the blocks are
 brought and unloaded. And he shall take over the
 first at once, and then the next, and the rest which
 the stone-cutters have made, according to
 measurement. Contractor: Biottos P[- ca. 20 -],
 guarantor Dem[- ca. 26 - Pa]iani[us - ca. 30 .]

8 - Plutarch, *Life of Pericles* 14.1-2.

τῶν δὲ περὶ τὸν Θουκυδίδην ῥητόρων καταβοῶντων τοῦ Περικλέους ὡς σπαθῶντος τὰ χρήματα καὶ τὰς προσόδους ἀπολλύντος, ἠρώτησεν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ τὸν δῆμον εἰ πολλὰ δοκεῖ δεδαπανῆσθαι· φησάντων δὲ πάμπολλα· “Μὴ τοῖνον,” εἶπεν, “ὕμῖν, ἀλλ’ ἐμοὶ δεδαπανήσθω, καὶ τῶν ἀναθημάτων ἰδίαν ἔμαυτοῦ ποιήσομαι τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν.” εἰπόντος οὖν ταῦτα τοῦ Περικλέους, εἴτε τὴν μεγαλοφροσύνην αὐτοῦ θαυμάσαντες εἴτε πρὸς τὴν δόξαν ἀντιφιλοτιμούμενοι τῶν ἔργων, ἀνέκραγον κελεύοντες ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων ἀναλίσκειν καὶ χορηγεῖν μηδενὸς φειδόμενον.

«When the orators, who sided with Thucydides and his party, were at one time crying out, as their custom was, against Pericles, as one who squandered away the public money, and made havoc of the state revenues, he rose in the open assembly and put the question to the people, whether they thought that he had laid out much; and they saying, “Too much, a great deal,” “Then,” said he, “since it is so, let the cost not go to your account, but mine; and let the inscription upon the buildings stand in my name”. When they heard him say thus, whether it were out of surprise to see the greatness of his spirit or out of emulation of the glory of the works, they cried aloud, bidding him to spend on, and lay out what he thought fit from the public purse, and to spare no cost (trans. by R. Osborne)».

9 - *I.Eleusis* 159 - Accounts of the *epistatai* of the sanctuary a. 336/5 or 333/2, l. 64-89. Transport of 23 column drums from Pentelikon to Eleusis.

[ἀ] Κα[λ]ικράτους : Θορική : Η<Τ> <Τ> <Τ> <Τ> [ἠρξάμεθα κομίζειν Με[τα]γεινιωνίους . . . ca.6 . . . παρὰ . . .] Ἰστρούτου σφόνδυλον, ἐκομίσθη ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις, ἦγεν ζεύγη : ΔΔΔΙ
65 [III] : μισθὸς ἐκάστου τῶν ζευγῶν : [τῆς ἡμέρας [: Η<Τ> : . . . ca.8 . . .] ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις . . . ca.8 . . .] κατὰ ψήφισμα δῆμου ὁ Λυκούργος εἶπεν, γίγνεται τοῖς ζεύγεσιν : ΗΗ
[Η]Η<Τ> : ἔτερον σφόνδυλον ἠρξάμεθα κομίζειν [παρὰ . . . ca.10 . . .] Ο . [. . . Date ca.9 . . .] ἦγεν ζεύγη : ΔΔΔΙΙΙ : ἐκομίσθη ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις, μισθὸς τοῖς ζεύγεσιν : ΗΗΗΗ<Τ>
[: ἔτερον σφόνδυλον ἠρξάμεθα κομίζειν παρ’ Εὐκλήμορος . . . ca.6 . . .] Ἰσταμένου, ἦγεν ζεύγη : ΔΔΔΙΙΙ : ἐκομίσθη ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις, μισθὸς τοῖς ζεύγεσιν : ΗΗΗΗ<Τ>
[: ἔτερον σφόνδυλον ἠρξάμεθα κομίζειν παρὰ [. . . ca.20 . . .] ἦγεν ζεύγη : ΔΔΔΙΙΙ : ἐκομίσθη ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις, μισθὸς τοῖς ζεύγεσιν : ΗΗΗΗ<Τ>ΔΔΔΔ
[: ἔτερον σφόνδυλον ἠρξάμεθα κομίζειν παρὰ . . . ca.26 . . .] ἦγεν ζεύγη : ΔΔΔΙ : ἐκομίσθη ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις, μισθὸς τοῖς ζεύγεσιν : ΗΗΗΗ<Τ>Δ<Τ> [:
70 [ἔτερον σφόνδυλον ἠρξάμεθα κομίζειν παρὰ . . . ca.21 . . .] ἦγεν ζεύγη τῆ μὲν πρώτῃ : ΔΔΔΙΙΙ : τῆ δ’ ὑστεραὶ προσαπετέμφθη τρία, ἐκομίσθη ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέ-
[ραις, μισθὸς τοῖς ζεύγεσιν : ΗΗΗΗ<Τ>Δ<Τ> : ἔτερον σφόνδυλον ἠρξάμεθα κομίζειν . . . Date . . . παρ’ Εὐκλήμορος <ν>ος, ἦγεν ζεύγη τῆ μὲν πρώτῃ : ΔΔΔΙΙ : τῆ δ’ ὑστεραὶ
[προσαπετέμφθη . . . ἐκομίσθη ἐν . . . ἡμέραις, μισθὸς τοῖς ζεύγεσιν . . . : ἔτερος σφόνδυλος ἠρξάμεθα κομίζειν δὺ ἅμα ἐπὶ διττῶν σκευῶν δεκά-
[τῃ ἰσταμένου ἀπὸ μέσου ἡμέρας? τὸν μὲν παρὰ . . . , τὸν δὲ παρὰ . . . , ἦγεν ζεύγη . . . , ἐκομίσθησαν ἐν δυοῖν καὶ ἡμίσει ἡμέρας, μισθὸς τοῖς ζεύγεσιν : ΗΗΗΔ[.]
[. . . : ἔτερος σφόνδυλος ἠρξάμεθα κομίζειν δὺ ἅμα ἐπὶ διττῶν σκευῶν . . . δεκάτῃ τὸ μὲν παρ’ Εὐκλήμορος <ν>ος, τὸν δὲ παρὰ Μελανώπου, ἐκομίσθη-
75 [σαν ἐν . . . ἡμέραις, ἦγεν ζεύγη . . . : μισθὸς τοῖς ζεύγεσιν . . . : ἔτερον σφόνδυλον ἠρξάμεθα κομίζειν παρὰ Μελανώπου πέμπτη ἐπὶ δέκα, ἦγ-
[ἦγεν ζεύγη . . . : ἐκομίσθη ἐν . . . ἡμέραις, μισθὸς τοῖς ζεύγεσιν . . . : ἔτερον σφόνδυλον ἠρξάμεθα κομίζειν παρὰ Μελανώπου [ἐβ]δόμη ἐπὶ δέκα, ἦγ-
[εν ζεύγη . . . : ἐκομίσθη ἐν . . . ἡμέραις, μισθὸς τοῖς ζεύγεσιν . . . : ἔτερον σφόνδυλον ἠρξάμεθα κομίζειν παρ’ Εὐκλήμορος, δεκάτῃ προτεραίᾳ,
[ἦγεν ζεύγη . . . : ἐκομίσθη ἐν . . . ἡμέραις, μισθὸς τοῖς ζεύγεσιν . . . : ἔτερον σφόνδυλον ἠρξάμεθα κομίζειν ὀγδόῃ φθίνοντος ἀπὸ μέσου
[ἡμέρας παρὰ . . . , ἦγεν ζεύγη : ΔΔΔΙΙΙ : ἐκομίσθη ἐν δυοῖν καὶ ἡμίσει ἡμέρας, μισθὸς τοῖς ζεύγεσιν : ΗΗΔΔΔΔ<Τ> : ἔτερον σφόνδυλον ἠρξάμεθα κομίζειν πέμπτη[.]
80 [φθίνοντος παρὰ . . . , ἦγεν ζεύγη . . . : ἐκομίσθη ἐν . . . ἡμέραις, μισθὸς τοῖς ζεύγεσιν . . .] ΔΔ ἔτερον σφόνδυλον ἠρξάμεθα κομίζειν δευτέρᾳ φθι-
[νοντος παρὰ . . . , ἦγεν ζεύγη . . . : ἐκομίσθη ἐν . . . ἡμέραις, μισθὸς τοῖς ζεύγεσιν : ΗΗΔΔ<Τ>Η<Τ> : πάλιν τοῦτον ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἐλευσινίου
[ἠρξάμεθα κομίζειν . . . Date . . . , ἦγεν ζεύγη . . . : ἐκομίσθη ἐν . . . ἡμέραις, μισθὸς τοῖς ζεύγεσιν . . . : ΗΗΔΔΔΔ<Τ>Η<Τ> : ἔτερον σφόνδυλον ἠρξάμεθα κομίζειν πα-
[ρὰ . . . Date . . . , ἦγεν ζεύγη . . . : ἐκομίσθη ἐν . . . ἡμέραις, μισθὸς τοῖς ζεύγεσιν . . .] ΗΗ<Τ>Η<Τ> : ἔτερον σφόνδυλον ἠρξάμεθα κομίζειν παρὰ Δα-
[. . . Date . . . , ἦγεν ζεύγη . . . : ἐκομίσθη ἐν . . . ἡμέραις, μισθὸς τοῖς ζεύγεσιν : ΗΗΗΗ<Τ>ΔΔΔ<Τ> : ἔτερον σφόνδυλον ἠρξάμεθα κ-
85 [ομίζειν παρὰ . . . Date . . . , ἦγεν ζεύγη . . . : ἐκομίσθη ἐν . . . ἡμέραις, μισθὸς τοῖς ζεύγεσιν : ΗΗΗΗ<Τ>ΔΔ<Τ> : ἔτερον σφόνδυλον ἠρξάμε-
[θα κομίζειν παρὰ . . . Date . . . , ἦγεν ζεύγη . . . : ἐκομίσθη ἐν . . . ἡμέραις, μισθὸς τοῖς ζεύγεσιν : ΗΗΗΗ<Τ>ΔΔ<Τ> : ἔτερον σφόνδυλον ἠρξάμε-
[θα κομίζειν παρὰ . . . Date . . . , ἦγεν ζεύγη . . . : ἐκομίσθη ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις, μισθὸς τοῖς ζεύγεσιν : ΗΗΗΗ<Τ>ΔΔ<Τ>
[. . . : ἔτερον σφόνδυλον ἠρξάμεθα κομίζειν παρὰ . . . Date . . . , ἦγεν ζεύγη :]ΔΔΔΙ : ἐκομίσθη ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις, μισθὸς τοῖς ζ-
[εύγεσιν . . . : . . .] -λωι τῆς ἀγωγῆς Ἀριστοκρίται : Χολλεί-

Preserved cost of the transports

1st drum: 33 teams, 402 dr.; 2nd drum: 33 teams, 402 dr.; 3rd drum: 33 teams, 402 dr.; 4th drum: 32 teams, 390 dr.; 5th drum: 30 teams, 366 dr.; 6th drum: 28+3 teams, 366? dr.; 7th drum: 27+? teams, ???; 8th +9th drums: ??, 310? dr.; 10th -14th drums: ??, ???; 15th drum: 24? teams, 245 dr.; 16th drum: ??, ???; 17th drum: ??, 228 dr. + 244 dr.; 18th drum: ??, +108 dr.; 19th drum: ??, 385 dr.; 20th drum: ??, 318 dr.; 21st drum: ??, 371 dr.; 22th drum: ??, 376 dr.; 23th drum: 31 teams, ??? = Total amount +4,913 dr.

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