THE LISTS OF ATHENIAN *ARCHONTES*

CONTENTS

In Part I of this study all the lists of *archontes* will be scrutinized except *I.G.*² II 1706, to the recent edition of which (*Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 418–446) the present study is a sequel, and except also *I.G.*² II 2336, which involves primarily problems of another order.[1] Much of what follows herein is naturally the routine business of readings,

[1] Our knowledge of all that has to do with lists of *archontes* has advanced considerably since Sauppe first studied them as a group (*De Creatione Archontum Atticorum*, Göttingen, 1864), or even since Bates made them a basis for his study of *The Five Post-Kleisthenean Tribes* (*Cornell Studies in Classical Philology*, No. VIII, 1898). Fimmen (*Ath. Mitt.*, XXXIX, 1914, pp. 133 ff.), Graindor (*B.C.H.*, XXXVIII, 1914, p. 438, n. 2), and Roussel (*Rev. Et. Gr.*, XXXI, 1916, pp. 166 ff.) made additions and corrections. Graindor carried on the study in his *Chronologie des Archontes Athéniens sous l'Empire* (p. 55, n. 1, etc.), *Les Athéniens à l'époque d'Auguste* (*Musée Belge*, XXVII, 1923, pp. 261–304 *passim*), *Athènes sous Auguste* (pp. 109–115), and *Athènes de Tibère à Trajan* (p. 73, n. 5). By excavation Kastriotes (*Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1914, p. 165) and Philadelpheus (*Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1921, p. 90) have given us new lists. Keil utilized the lists in his useful posthumous essay, edited by Laqueur, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Areopags* (*Sächs. Akad. Wiss.*, 1919; pub. separately Leipzig, 1920), p. 64, etc. In the latest fascicule of *I.G.*² II–III, *pars alter* (fasciculus posterior), Kirchner has not only set down afresh in texts and commentaries the results of these several studies, but he has also been able to publish first editions of lists hitherto unknown. In the mass of minutely critical detail which follows

prosopography, offices, dates, and the like, familiar to all. During the course of the work, however, a novel element suggested itself. The notion germinated and grew into conviction that these inscriptions,—perhaps more than others,—are integrally related to the stones in which they are cut, so that in fact it is often-times no whit less important to measure a thickness, for instance, than to decipher a letter.[1]

PART I: REVISIONS[2]

We are dealing here with a group of smallish stelae, none of which was too large to be handled if not actually lifted by a man. Although the lettering on some is exquisite, the workmanship was never mechanically exact in other aspects. The design was often laid out by eye, the guiding lines being satisfactory to one's feelings, not to one's meter stick; and the letters were cut usually without being first drawn. Nevertheless such a stele has a curious degree of organic unity. Luck has given us two practically complete stelae, *I.G.*^{2} II 1717 and 1721, so that we may compare the proportions one by one. Naturally a stele must have a thickness roughly corresponding to its width. In 1717 the thickness is to the width as 1 : 4.7; in 1721 the ratio is 1 : 4.4. These two dimensions, in this instance, appear to be functions of each other. The tops of such stelae are here, as regularly, surmounted by a moulding. A decorative crowning of the flat surface below the moulding will naturally be given greater height on a wide stele than on a narrow one: in 1717 the thickness (which may stand in place of the width) is to the height of the moulding as 1 : 0.39; in 1721 the ratio is 1 : 0.38. It would also be natural to find that thick wide stelae would be cut taller than thinner, narrower slabs. Again

(Part I), that which is good in these productions is mostly passed over in silence, whilst only flaws are dwelt upon. Fortunately only the uninformed will undervalue these predecessors.

The MS has had the benefit of a reading and suggestions by Professor W. S. Ferguson, naturally without commitments. Mr. A. Philadelpheus, now Director of the National Museum, and his successor in the Directorate of the Epigraphical Museum, Mr. K. Kourouniotes, have coöperated. I take this opportunity to thank also the Committee on Sheldon Fellowships at Harvard for successive Fellowships which have enabled me to remain in Athens for two years. A study of the sort could not have been written elsewhere.

[1] This point of view is akin to what has been called Architectural Epigraphy in its rather different bearings on fifth and fourth century inscriptions (W. S. Ferguson, *The Treasurers of Athena*, p. VIII). One might define it as "the technique which studies epigraphical texts in integral relation with the stones on which they are cut," or more simply as "the study of design in inscriptions." In this broad sense, some form of the method can be applied to any inscription, though not necessarily with profit. In a low degree it is doubtless as old as Epigraphy itself; but its development has been recent and mostly American.

[2] For simplicity, the term "list of *archontes*" is retained, as by Graindor, although, as he says, it is not perfectly accurate. It is also convenient to let Archon refer to the eponymous, *archon* to any of the nine.

1717 with a thickness of 0.07 m. and a height of 0.66 m., compared with 1721 which is 0.10 m. thick and 0.90 m. high, confirm one's expectations. A tall stele, finally, will permit taller letters, set in lines farther separated, than a stele less tall. In 1717 the thickness of the stele is to the height of each line-plus-interspace as 1 : 2.5; in 1721 the proportion is 1 : 2.4. Naturally this proportion is relevant only where, as in the lists of *archontes*, the total number of lines is similar,—in this case about 21. The widths and horizontal spacings of letters might also be considered.

These proportions were doubtless fixed for the most part by instinct rather than by formula. One should not be surprised at considerable variation for no apparent reason; besides, a sound block of marble would naturally be cut thinner than one with veins; on others at any moment a bad piece might split off, or a chisel sink too deep. Hence the striking similarity of proportions which happens to exist between 1717 and 1721 is perhaps unfortunate, for it may seem from them that one could reconstruct all the dimensions of a stele, given only one of them. The material itself has forced an overstatement of the point, but it is amply clear that the comparative measurements of stelae and of letters-plus-interspaces are worth examining.

The following table embraces all lists of *archontes* on which I am able to offer the data. The brackets enclosing the height of the moulding of 1718 recall that it is not a true moulding but a flat fascia of normal dimension however. Parentheses enclosing widths denote that such measurements were restored on the assumption of the symmetry of the inscription. The height of the inscription, when enclosed in parentheses, was derived from the height of each line. By the height of a line is meant the height of a letter plus the interspace above (or below). The height of each letter-plus-interspace, when multiplied by the number of lines, gives approximately the height of the inscription. The inscription does not cover the entire surface of the stone: a short margin above line 1, and a larger space below the last inscribed line, must be allowed for. This dimension, namely the height of the area occupied by the inscription, plus its margin below the moulding at the top, and plus the margin above the setting line at the bottom, has been called the height of the flat surface. The total height naturally includes as well the pediment and ridge akroterion, the moulding, and the base for setting. Numbers in Roman type denote fractions of meters; in **black-face**, the proportions which other dimensions bear to the thickness, the thickness being rated normally as 1. For several reasons, the thickness is usually the natural basis of reference: chiefly because as a general rule the preserved thickness is original, and hence most inscriptions offer this dimension.

It is not impossible, considering especially the fact that 1721 was cut to be set in some given aperture, that the dimensions can in some cases be converted exactly into Attic or other ancient feet or simple fractions thereof. Five stelae, for instance, seem to have had a width of approximately an ancient foot. One cannot, so far as I know, go farther and make out standard sizes for stelae; it is a pity. Rather we must imagine that the blocks as they came from the quarry largely determined the sizes of stelae, and doubtless sometimes their proportions. If foot-rules were sometimes applied, the cuttings were not exact enough to help us. The foregoing applies to Hellenistic and Roman stelae; what such notions might yield if applied to the very different stelae of the fifth century, I have no idea.

TABLE OF DIMENSIONS AND PROPORTIONS OF STELAE

*I.G.*² II	1717	1727	1720	1719	1718	1721	1724	1734	1735	1736
Thickness	.07 **1.**	.078 **1.**	.066 **1.**	.06 **1.**	.06 **1.**	.10 **1.**	(.10) **1.**	.088 **1.**	.055 **1.**	.075 **1.**
Width	.33 **4.7**	.384 **5.**	(.30) **4.5**	(.29) **4.8**	(.38) **6.3**	.44 **4.4**	(.40) **4.0**	(.30) **3.4**	(.33) **6.0**	(.38) **5.0**
Height of Moulding	.027 **.39**	.039 **.50**		.023 **.38**	[.03] **[.50]**	.038 **.38**	.05 **.50**			
Height of Letter Plus Interspace	.016 **.23**	.019 **.24**	.016 **.24**	.014 **.23**	.016 **.27**	.023 **.23**	.025± **.25**	.025 **.28**	.016 **.30**	.022 **.30**
Total Height of Inscription	.36 **5.1**	.456 **5.8**	(.336) **5.0**	(.294) **4.9**	(.336) **5.6**	.48 **4.8**	(.55) **5.5**	(.525) **6.0**	(.336) **6.1**	(.44) **5.9**
Height of Flat Surface	.47 **6.7**					.66 **6.6**				
Total Height of Stele	(.66) **9.4**					.90 **9.**				

1730 is lost but we know that it was 0.10 m. thick (**1**) and 0.39 m. wide (**3.9**). The text ends at line 13, and presumably the stone was broken there, but since 0.62 m. of height are preserved, the total height must have been about 0.90 m. (**9**). The heights of letters were not recorded. Also omitted, for various reasons (see *below*) are 1714 and 1722.

On the only measurements which are discordant, three in all, a word may be said here. Of the width of both 1718 and 1735 one may say that both are excellent pieces of marble. The third case is the (restored) width of 1734, which seems to be one of those variations already shown to be natural, although even here an explanation can be given (see *below*, p. 162).

It appears that there has come to light, in the design of stelae, an interesting new tool. Thus far, however, we have no solid reason to hope for results on other stelae than the ten listed; and on them it must be used with caution.

The pattern of the inscription itself is a second and related organic element. Equally simple, the key to it is symmetry. The names themselves, always including the father's and the deme's, spread or tended to spread across the entire width of the stele. Regardless of their length, the first letters of the men's own names stood in an even vertical column near the left edge of the stone. Only one seeming exception to this rule is admitted, *EM* 4692. Hence there is no helpful symmetry in the disposition of the names; although a short name would be widely spaced, and a long name crowded, to fill the lines as evenly as possible. Symmetry then is restricted to the titles. Sometimes the titles began in an even line vertically (e.g., *I.G.*² II 1717); more often not (e.g., *I.G.*² II 1718). In either case, the tendency was to place them in the exact centre

of the stone. Except when titles and names are crowded in order to save space, there are no gross violations of this rule. If for example we have a fragment with part of a title and an edge, we can reckon the approximate width of the stele. To these simple principles there are no true exceptions and no difficult complications, although there are also such other organic elements as mouldings and sizes of letters to be considered, and although many special refinements of method are possible. Facts regarding the pattern of a list may be used more freely and with more assurance than the facts regarding the design of the stele. But to disregard, for instance, the thickness of a stele where it is relevant, or the placing of a title where *it* is relevant, is as gross an omission as to overlook a letter.

Since most of the remarks which follow were written with reference to the inscriptions as they now appear in *I.G.*² II, the reader will naturally turn to the proper fascicule at this point.

*I.G.*² *II 1714 of 88/7 B.C.* (Fig. 1)[1]

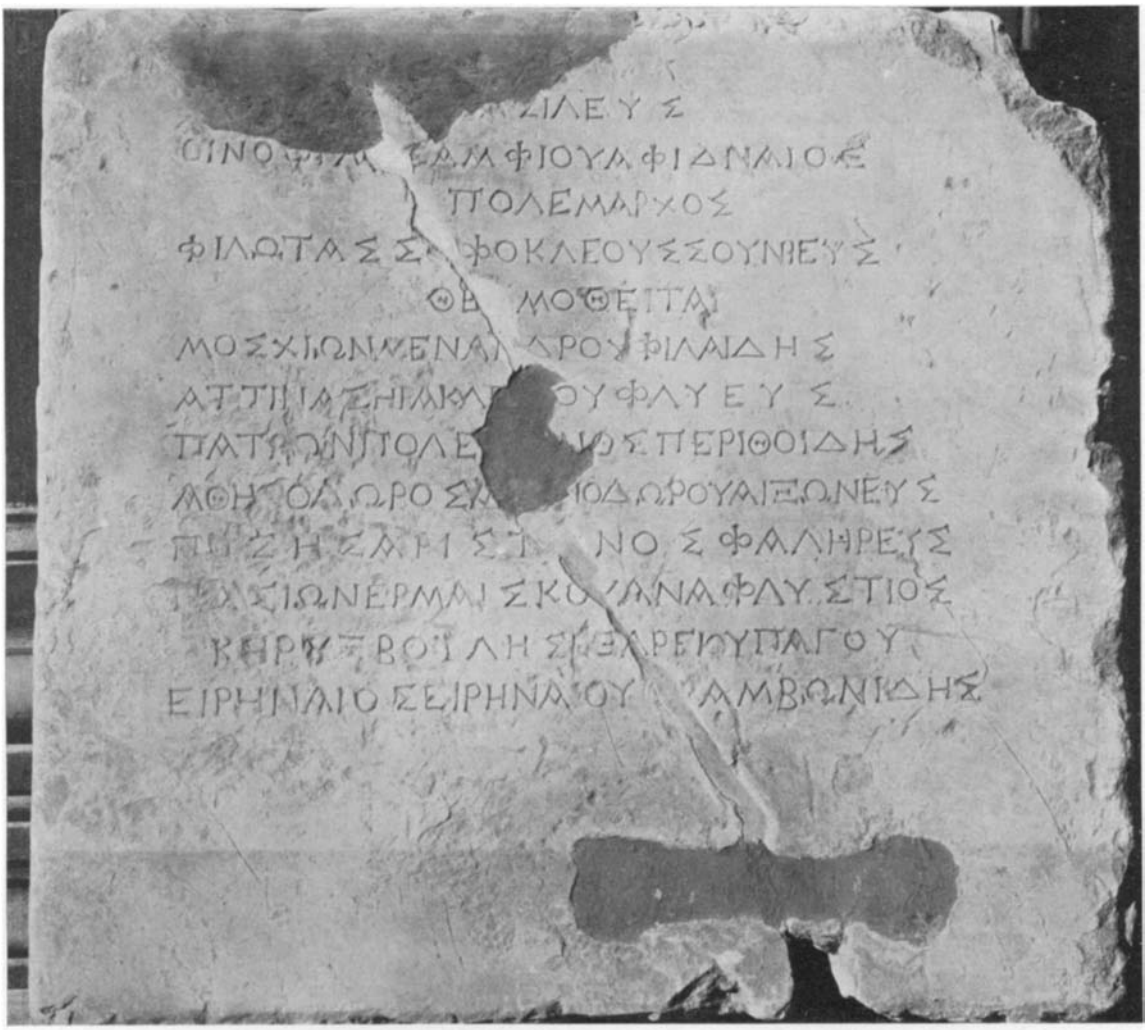
The inscription is on two fragments of a stele of white marble which join and have been clamped together. The sides, finished with light chisel strokes, are undoubtedly original; the bottom is probably original—if so, the stele was not set in a base, for the front is smooth even to the bottom, so that the original height *may* have been greater. The surface of the top is chiselled level, and is original, but a rough bevelling in front leaves it doubtful whether a small moulding has been removed, or whether a separately cut pediment was once superposed. To reduce weight for transport, the thickness was reduced in modern times to 0.045 m. There are at present no cuttings in the sides. The preserved height is 0.58 m., the width 0.615 m. The letters are inscribed between scratched lines (as is not uncommon in this period) 0.014 m. apart, with vertical interspaces of equal height. To the bibliographies of Koehler (*I.G.*¹ II 863) and Kirchner (*I.G.*² II), add Dinsmoor, *Archons*, pp. 448, 449, 462 n. 1, whose views are supported by Part II of the present study.

Readings. Line 5: a bit of the sigma is present; the mason cut the upright of the tau too near the epsilon, and partially erased the erroneous stroke; then he made a new tau. In line 7 the delta is quite gone. *Prosopography. Line 2*: *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 27.

Both squeeze and photograph (Fig. 1) show that no line was scratched above that on which ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ stands. It would seem then that no more lines were planned. Moreover, the space above the line scratched for line 1 measures 0.055 m. to the top of the stone. Since one line plus one interspace occupies 0.028 m., it is certain that there was never any intention of cutting the title and name of the Archon: for no space would be

[1] The stone was "olim Athenis in equili Turcae" (Boeckh, *CIG* 180), and is now in the Louvre. Prof. E. Michon, Conservateur du Département des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines, has kindly permitted the publication of the photograph. To Prof. J. Charbonneaux, Conservateur-Adjoint, I am indebted for squeeze, photograph, and a detailed description, transmitted through the good offices of M^lle P. de Sampigny.

left for a margin above the title. The only place conceivable for the Archon would therefore be on the hypothetical separately-cut pediment; but inscriptions on pediments were largely abandoned in the early third century, and moreover mouldings of *ca.* 100 B.C. have fascias too narrow for letters of 0.014 m.



Les Archives Photographique d'Art et d'Histoire

Fig. 1. *I.G.*² II 1714 of 88/7 B.C. Scale 1 : 3½

We are compelled consequently to believe, what has passed unnoticed hitherto, that this was a year in which the Archon was not listed: which means, one supposes, that there was no Archon.

The list has been assigned by Kirchner to "*c. a. 90 a.*" on grounds of prosopography. We find in the long Archon-list *I.G.*² II 1713 the word Ἀναρχία entered for the year 88/7.

Since Ἀναρχία means primarily the lack of the Ἀρχων (Kirchner in *Ditt.*[3] 733, n. 4, citing Aristotle *Ath. Pol.*, XIII, 1), it is tempting to assign 1714 to that year. The only possible objection might arise from the fact that we must suppose that the other eight *archontes* nevertheless held office. Is this so strong an objection as to force us to believe that there was an Archon in the year of 1714, whether simply not recorded, or else recorded on some unusual superposed block? Inscriptions from the Roman period do not reveal whether, in any of the six known years of Ἀναρχία, subordinate *archontes* held office (references from Graindor, *Chronologie*, p. 11 and n. 1, p. 12 f.); but it is not necessary to suppose that the causes which brought about Ἀναρχία in 88/7 involved the absence of the whole college and the consequent neglect of their various functions. The eponymous Archonship was now, or was becoming, what it remained under the Empire, a burden demanding wealth (Bergk, *Rh. Mus.*, XIX, 1864, p. 605, n. 22; Graindor, *loc. cit.*; Ferguson, *Klio*, IV, 1904, p. 7, n. 1 and *Hellenistic Athens*, pp. 435 f.); indeed that was the cause of later years of Ἀναρχία (Graindor, *loc. cit.*). It is probable that we should distinguish the office from those of the lesser *archontes*, whose duties were doubtless less burdensome. Supporting Kirchner's general date therefore, we may assign 1714 precisely to 88/7.[1]

The absence of two usual lines at the top, and the lack of rubrics and names of subordinate functionaries at the bottom, naturally made a considerable difference in the proportions of the stele as compared with later stelae bearing full lists of *archontes*; the original thickness moreover is lost. Hence 1714 was omitted from the table of proportions *above*, p. 143. We may remark its uncommonly wide margins at the sides.

Insofar as this reasoning can be credited, it gives us an interesting new fact about the year of Anarchy: eight *archontes* held office. This may mean that the date of the anarchy was not arbitrarily fixed by the Romans, as if they refused to recognize an Archon of the pro-Mithradatic party (cf. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, p. 440, n. 1, also 444, n. 1), but that the fact of Anarchy, in the technical sense, was generally recognized at the time. An alternative view is that 1714 was set up after the Roman victory in 86, and that the Romans compelled omission of the Archon. In this event, however, it is likely enough that no *archontes* at all would have been recorded. We may conclude tentatively that the Ἀναρχία of 88/7 was due not to foreign interference but to the lack of a rich and willing candidate.

I.G.[2] *II 1727 of "paullo ante 63/2(?)"* (Fig. 2)

After its discovery by Philadelpheus (Ἀρχ. Ἐφ., 1921, p. 90), the stone was deposited near the watchman's small house at the Theater of Dionysos, close to the entrance from the Street of Dionysos the Areopagite. It had not been studied since that time until

[1] If this dating of 1714 be acceptable, we have three interesting dates in the career of Attinas son of Herakleides of Phlya: παῖς πυθαιστής in 128/7 (*Fouilles de Delphes*, III 2, 12), age 9; ἔφηβος in 119/8 (*I. G.*[2] II 1009), age 18; θεσμοθέτης in 88/7 (1714, line 7), age 49. A parallel series of dates is not known, I believe, in the case of any other Athenian.

Dr. Mitchell Levensohn and his wife, Mrs. Ethel Levensohn, examined it in the course of a study of the inscriptions of the South Slope; they have kindly allowed me free use of their *MS.* Their contributions are acknowledged in detail below. The stone itself is now locked in the house.

The Table *above*, p. 143, gives the important dimensions. The original thickness is preserved, and the original width may be measured from the centre of the pediment; 0.28 m. are preserved. The present height is 0.405 m. The pediment is uncommonly high, and the eaves akroterion is hollowed at the side, following the line of the painted floral design with which such akroteria were generally decorated; the paint of course has gone. The side is only partly preserved and it appears that there was little or no taper. Of the tooling or supports there is no good evidence. The titles are within one space of being centred, the excess falling on the left. The demotic of the Archon must have been 7 full letters or less. The demotica in lines 4, 6, 8, 9, and 10 had each more space than the Archon's.

The text given by Philadelpheus and the Levensohns can be only slightly enlarged:

Ἄρχων
Νικόστρατος Νικοστρά[του - - 7 or less - -]
Βασιλεύς
Σωσίθεος Κλεομένους Μ[αραθώνιος?]
Πολέμαρχος
Θεογένης Δημητρίου [illegible]
Θεσμοθέται
Θεωρικὸς Συνδρόμου Σ[ειριεύς]
Μενεκράτης Ἄγνωνος Φ[- - - -]
Σέλευκος [Ἀγί?]ου Ἀ[θμ]ο[νεύς]
Νικ[όσ]τρ[ατος - - - - - - - -]

Line 4. Read by the Levensohns, except the last preserved letter; the slant of the preserved stroke makes M practically certain. The name Kleomenes was restricted to a few families in Athens (*PA* 8590–8595, *NPA*, pp. 112–113). The demotica of only two are known: one is of Melite (fourth century), the other of the prominent deme Marathon, Kleomenes son of Mantias, of whose family tree several members are now known (*PA* 8594, stemma under 9668, Theogenes son of Menippos in *NPA*, p. 92, Menon son of Menippos in *NPA*, p. 127, and *PA* 10043). The *floruit* of Kleomenes is *ca.* 97 B.C.; a son might have been Basileus *ca.* 64 B.C. The name Sositheos is unknown previously in Marathon, and it is very rare (*PA* 13223–13229, *NPA*, p. 155: three demotica). If therefore we choose to connect the father of our Sositheos with the Marathonian family, we must bear in mind how tenuous is the reasoning.

Line 6. The Levensohns point out that the last letter, read by them as [illegible], now excludes the identification with the family from Melite (*PA* 6716).

Line 8. Confirming the restoration by Philadelpheus and the Levensohns, part of final T is visible. *PA* 7221 of this name was ephebe in 107/6. *NPA*, pp. 153–154 gives him a son who was a *πυθαϊστὴς παῖς* in 97/6. Our *Thesmotheles* might be identified either with the ephebe of 107/6, in which case we must date 1727 in the first half of the first

Fig. 2. *I.G.*² II 1727 of *paullo ante* 63/2(?)

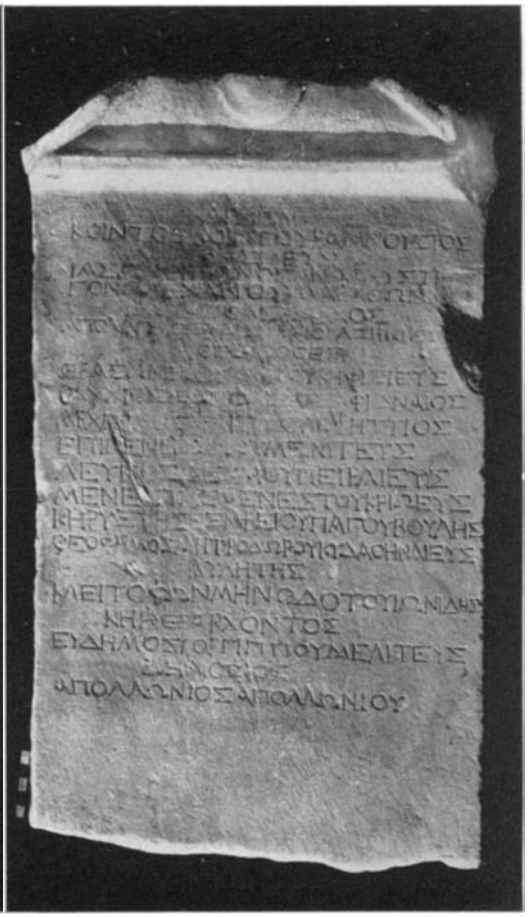


Fig. 3. *I.G.*² II 1717 of 56/5 B.C.

century; or with a hypothetical grandson, who might have held office toward the end of the century.

Line 9. The Φ was read by the Levensohns.

Line 10. The A and second O were read by the Levensohns. The patronymic might have four full letters (*Λῖος* is excluded), but no such name has been found by me. Among names in $4^1/_2$, the one given best fits the space. The deme might be Hagnous were it not that part of the Γ ought to show. Both demes are of Attalis, so that to avoid a violation of Beloch's law, a name in . . OYA . . O[Y] would have to be supplied.

Line 11. The Levensohns' suggestion seems to be confirmed by slight traces which by themselves would not have significance.

An Archon Nikostratos son of Nikostratos is dated by Delphian evidence close to 1 A.D. at the earliest (*Fouilles de Delphes*, III 2, p. 65, no. 64, and pp. 66–69; Graindor, *Chronologie*, p. 52, no. 18). Without regarding this evidence, Philadelpheus was led by prosopography to adopt a date near 80 B.C.; Hondius (*SEG* II, p. 6, no. 17) sustained this view, declaring for two Archons both named Nikostratos son of Nikostratos; Kirchner adopted the alternative view, suggesting that the two ephebes of the late second century were not our *archontes* but their grandfathers, thus necessitating only one Archon Nikostratos, namely him of *post ca.* 1 A.D.

As against such a date for 1727 the present study has revealed a new argument. In any case, the absence of the priesthood of the Consul Drusus in connection with an Archon dated soon after its establishment would be surprising. If it be thought that this additional office was not assumed by all Archons, or if assumed was not always inscribed in lists, the answer is that, excluding 1727, all seven of our lists which might show it, do show it; whereas no list dated after 9/8 certainly lacks it. Evidently, therefore, there were two Archons, Nikostratos II of *ante* 9/8, and Nikostratos III of *ca.* 1 A.D. (Nikostratos I was of 295/4). We cannot say whether Nikostratos II was or was not the father of Nikostratos III, the deme of each being unknown.

It remains to determine the period of Nikostratos II. Striking similarities of the stelae 1727 and 1717 of 56/5 at once attract attention (Figs. 2 and 3). Pediments[1] and mouldings are much alike; both stelae were found near the monument of Lysikrates; and curiously, both show the same kind and degree of corrosion by water. The reader may observe, moreover, that in both the lettering is closely similar, though not by the same hand. Resorting finally to the prosopographical evidence, we find it necessary to choose between an earlier date, satisfactory to the data set forth in the commentary on line 4 and especially on line 8, and a later date, making it more easily possible for Nikostratos II to be the father of Nikostratos III. The former evidence being the weightier, it seems better tentatively to set Nikostratos II shortly before the group listed in 1716, in a period now somewhat empty of Archons (*A.J.A.*, 1933, p. 582).

I.G.^{2} *II 1717 of 56/5 B.C.* (Fig. 3)

It so happens that among all the lists of *archontes*, of which 6 are now lost, most being small fragments and of uncertain date, we do have two which are practically complete and precisely dated.[2]

[1] Except that 1727 has a peculiarity in the eaves akroteria, and 1717 has a shield. Precisely identical stelae do not exist.

[2] The dates of both depend upon the overlapping of the two lists of Archons eponymous, *I.G.*^{2} II 1713 and 1716. New readings appear to make this secure: *A.J.A.*, XXXVII, 1933, pp. 578 ff.

(The other is 1721.) Of 1717 a photograph has been published by Dragoumes, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1905, cols. 183–184. We note that the feeling for a proper stele has almost been lost: there is little taper, the width being close to 0.325 m. just under the moulding, and 0.330 m. at the base; but the moulding still projects a little (0.007 m.) at either side. The preserved height is 0.59 m., so that originally the stele stood some 0.66 m. above ground. The stele was cut 0.07 m. thick. The moulding is short (0.027 m.) and simple. The right side was smoothed as usual, but the left was smoothed below the moulding to a distance of only 0.017 m. Below that it was left very rough. In the same side two holes for leaded attachments were cut, one 0.05 m., the other 0.11 m., from the preserved bottom. We shall find similar treatment in the lists 1720 of *ca.* 56/5 and 1718 of "*inter* 36/5–18/7," whereas 1721 of 14/3 was supported by clamps attached, not low on the side, but to the top between the akroteria. The precise chronological value of these interesting cuttings cannot be determined until all the other stelae of this size and period have been examined. In earlier times stelae were of course leaded into a base.

The lines of the inscription slant, merely from carelessness, and the symmetrical arrangement of the titles, approximately exact, is abandoned at the end in favor of symmetry over each name. The name *Χαρίον* in line 5 stands in an erasure, and in line 9 we should read *E[ὐ]θ[υ]χάρτον*.

Such is this specimen from the middle of the little known first century B.C. in Athens. More favorably let us note that the lettering itself, with deep, wide strokes forming plump letters, with enough serifs to accent without overweighting the ends of strokes, is as good as any lettering engraved in Athens since the very different styles of the fifth century.

*I.G.*² *II 1720 of ca. 56/5* B.C. (Fig. 4)

The broken top half remains lost, but the preserved lower half shows us the original thickness of 0.066 m.; the right side, badly preserved but apparently once fairly smooth; and a cutting for an iron 0.08 m. from the present lower edge of the stone. This cutting is slightly higher than those in 1717 and 1718, but otherwise it is precisely similar.

In dating this inscription we encounter a dilemma. One horn is this: the Herald of the Areopagos has the name of the Herald of 1721, which is firmly fixed in 14/3. The other horn is this: both the Flute-Player and the Public Slave have the same names respectively (there is some restoration, but it is highly plausible) as the Flute-Player and Public Slave of 1717, which is fixed equally firmly in 56/5. Without exception scholars have preferred to believe that the term of the Herald, Epikrates son of Kallimachos of Leukonoe, was shorter than that of the functionaries, Kleitophon son of Menodotos of Ionidai, the Flute-Player, and Apollonios the son of Apollonios, the Public Slave. Thus 1720 is dated in the age of Augustus, and Kleitophon and Apollonios functioned simultaneously, it is tacitly assumed, some thirty or forty years. This is possible.

In both 1717 (of 56/5) and 1720, the functionaries are listed in this order: Herald of the Areopagos, Flute-Player, Herald of the Archon, Public Slave. From this order the listing in both 1718 and 1721 (of 14/3) differs. As we shall see *below*, p. 157, 1718 must be read and restored with the Flute-Player in line 18, giving in common with 1721 the order: Herald of the Areopagos, Herald of the Archon, Flute-Player (1721 also preserves the *Leitourgos*). 1718 is dated by prosopographical links rather vaguely within 36/5–18/7. With regard then to the order of the functionaries, we may suggest this sequence:—

1717, date 56/5
1720, date Augustan (preferably *ca.* 20?)
1718, date 36/5–18/7 (preferably *ca.* 18/7?)
1721, date 14/3

The dates in parentheses are certainly not to be excluded.

If we examine the style of cutting of 1720, we find that it bears some resemblance to *I.G.*² II 1040: similar are the A, Γ, ≤, T, Y; mu alone shows a decided variation, and it is not unlikely, though 1720 is too small for it to be proved, that the two inscriptions are by the same hand. Especially notable is the wide spacing in each. I have found no other to which 1720 is thus related, but unluckily *I.G.*² II 1040 is not fixed precisely as to its date between *ca.* 45 and *ca.* 20 B.C.; the latter is favored at present (Graindor, *Chronologie*, p. 37, n. 1; Dinsmoor, *Archons*, p. 286). 1720 differs almost equally from both 1717 of 56/5 and 1721 of 14/3, but it is notable that in 1720, 1717 and, though the letters are smaller, in *I.G.*² II 1040, the letter rho has the form P whereas in 1721 it is Þ (see Graindor, *Chronologie*, pp. 31, n. 9 and 55).

Under these circumstances, the neglected horn of the dilemma, namely a date near 56/5, ought at least to be scrutinized. 1720 is tied to 14/3 by the seeming identity of the Herald of the Areopagos; but Epikrates son of Kallimachos of Leukonoe is also the name of the grandfather of the Herald of 14/3.[1] The earlier Epikrates was also a man of eminence. Aged probably between five and thirteen (see Ferguson in *Klio*, IX, 1909, pp. 323 and 307, n. 2) he went as a Pythaist in 106/5 (*Fouilles de Delphes*, III 2, no. 15, pp. 22 and 288). Later he held a monetary magistracy (Kirchner, *Zeit. f. Num.*, XXI, p. 100, no. 26; Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. 386; *Cat. Gr. Coins, Attica*, p. 59, no. LXXXIX (2), Sundwall, *Unters. über att. Münzen*, p. 113). This Epikrates, as Graindor rightly says, has not always been sufficiently distinguished from his equally eminent grandson.[2] It was the latter, for instance, who as Hoplite General a second time was concerned in Lemnian affairs (*I.G.* XII 8, 26): Graindor proved this merely by the style of the letters as they are copied in *I.G.* The later Epikrates, as Archon, also dates a statue base:

[1] For Epikrates and his grandson, see *PA* 4903, etc.; stemma under *PA* 8021; improved by Sundwall, *Nachtr.*, pp. 69, 105 (new stemma); also Roussel, *B.C.H.*, XXXII, 1908, p. 331, no. 222; Graindor, *Musée Belge*, 1923, p. 278, no. 206. The son, Kallimachos, was *Epimeletes* of Delos, *ca.* 80–60 B.C.: *PA* 8021, *Nachtr.*, pp. 105–106; Roussel, *Delos*, p. 115 and n. 9.

[2] *Athènes sous Auguste*, p. 106. Graindor has also dealt with the name in *op. cit.*, pp. 105, 114–115; *Chronologie*, pp. 27–28, no. 1; *Album*, p. 13, no. 3; *Musée Belge*, *loc. cit.*

the letters exhibit such forms as Δ, Є (also E), M, and Ρ. Graindor dates it on prosopographical grounds towards the beginning of the Empire (*Chronologie*, no. 1, pp. 27–28; *Album*, p. 13, no. 3 and pl. II; *I.G.*[1] III 136). He appears again in a list of nobles, *I.G.*[2] II 2464, which has enough prosopographical links to make its date certain, late in the first century B.C.[1] Graindor then ventures to connect this later Epikrates with an Epikrates mentioned in 44 B.C. by Cicero's son Marcus, then a student in Athens (Cicero, *Ep. ad Fam.*, XVI, 21, 5). Marcus called Epikrates "princeps Atheniensium." Such a suggestion, and such a text, are worthy of more than the neglect they have received.

Young Marcus, sowing wild oats in Athens, was criticized by one Leonides in a letter to Cicero, who ordered Marcus to change teachers. Marcus evaded a direct reply; he wrote instead to the secretary Tiro, announcing that he had dismissed Gorgias, and undertaking to prove that better teachers and worthier persons were his hourly companions. The philosopher Kratippos, who had come since 48 B.C. from Mitylene, is made out to be a friend as well as a teacher. Marcus continues, "Utor familiaribus et quotidianis convictoribus, quos secum Mitylenis Cratippus adduxit, hominibus et doctis et illi probatissimis. Multum enim mecum est Epicrates, princeps Atheniensium, et Leonides et horum ceteri similes." The letter then announces the instant dismissal of Gorgias, felicitates "mi Tiro"—and requests a secretary to write out lecture notes.

Marcus was making the most of his acquaintances. Aside from an otherwise unknown Bruttius, who *may* be an older man, all who are mentioned are known to us as pillars of respectability. Leonides, who had brought this trouble upon Marcus, must have been of an age suitable to a guardian.[2] Graindor asserts that Leonides was assuredly an Athenian, and even proposes to identify him with the Archon of 32 years later.[3] There is, however, no positive proof that Leonides was Athenian. The name, moreover, was borne by several Athenian families prominent at this time (*PA* 9123, etc.), and the identity of guardian as well as of Archon is uncertain. As to Marcus' acquaintance Epikrates, the text is somewhat perplexing. The force of *enim* taken by itself is to make one think that Epikrates and Leonides have come with Kratippos recently to Athens from Mitylene. It is not likely, however, that anyone who could be called "princeps Atheniensium" could be either a non-Athenian, or would go to Mitylene for his education. If moreover,

[1] The stone shows extensive erasures: in addition to those necessitated by the change to accusatives in lines 3–13, the first three letters of line 6, the entire second name in line 10, and the entire second name in line 12. Kabbadias, in the first publication, suggested that the *vacats* after lines 12 and 14 were to set off the names of the brothers in lines 13–14 (*Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1898, col. 22). This would be unusual. The gaps are each of exactly the proper width to accommodate one line and two interspaces. It is preferable then to suppose that two names were somehow omitted, and that the rest follow each other in a recognized order. If this is true, the position of Epikrates, line 10, might support the notion that he was not yet a "princeps Atheniensium."—In line 15 the second name is ΤΕΓ which can only be ΤΕΙΞ.—Below is just too little space to let us be certain that the list ends in line 16; but this impression would agree with the preserved thickness, which is original, of 0.073 m.

[2] Leonides is also mentioned in Cicero, *Ep. ad Attic.*, XIV, 16, 3; 18, 4; XV, 16.

[3] Graindor, *Chronologie*, pp. 28, 47, and 50, suggests that Leonides became Herald of the Areopagos *post* 9/8, *I.G.*[2] II 1722.

Epikrates and Leonides were merely pupils of Kratippos, rather than men of an equal age and dignity, Marcus would not be likely to instance his acquaintance with them. This reasoning would seem to indicate that, as Graindor suggested, we are dealing with a notable Athenian; he may have been obliged like Kratippos to flee with Pompey after Pharsalia in 48 B.C.; or the phrase "enim" may be loosely used, a looseness of style as the young culprit gained confidence in his plea. Leonides, too, if an Athenian, and not a newcomer and pupil, would be a more likely person to assume oversight of Marcus.

It appears on the whole that Graindor's theory of Epikrates and Leonides as Athenians, though without proof, is worth consideration; and I propose that if either Epikrates is to be thought of, it is rather the grandfather who comes in question. We have seen that in 106/5 he was at least five years of age; hence in 44 he was at least sixty-seven. Having been Herald of the Areopagos in some year near 56/5,—the period to which we may give 1720,—he would have attained the years and honors suitable to the "princeps Atheniensium." The later Epikrates was in 44 B.C. still thirty years from the Heraldship, and comparatively a young man.

If we admit that the Herald of 1720 is a different man from the Herald of 1721, we remove the only known second tenure of this office until the time of the Archon of 150/1 A.D. (*Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1883, cols. 137–141, no. 13, l. 13).

Thus an earlier date for 1720 accords better with the terms of the two functionaries, the order of listing the functionaries, the suggested identity of Epikrates, and an annual term of the Heraldship. Let us grant that a chain of such links is not binding, nor is the evidence of style, such as it is, confirmatory.

Line 7. The father was *Ἡρόδο̣[τος]* and not *Ἡρόδ[ωρος]*—the reading of the first omicron is quite clear and would seem to exclude Graindor's *Ἡρώδ[ου]* (*Musée Belge,* XXVII, 1923, p. 284, no. 282),—the decisive omicron being given us by the large amount of free space after the delta. In this space the base of an Ω, if this were the following letter, must have occurred.

Line 8. The stone reads ΚΗΡΥΣ (*sic*). All of the letters are cut to an unusual depth. ΞΑΡΕ stand *in rasura* but the traces of previous letters are not intelligible.

Line 12. Consonantly with the date suggested above, this line would be restored with *ἄρχοντος*.

Line 13. In the second space an O or Θ is certain. Before it there is the exact space for one letter, and after it, the exact space for three, as measured to the millimeter and compared with other spacings in this line. The only Greek names of any length whatsoever in *-στρατος* listed by Bechtel (*Hist. Gr. Personennamen,* pp. 408–410) which have O (or Θ) as a second letter are *Μοιρέστατος*, unknown in Athens, and *Πολύστρατος*. In this context the traces of the lambda are strong enough to be confirmatory, but would not by themselves be good evidence. The photograph (Fig. 2) has revealed the upsilon, otherwise unnoticed. Let us read *[Π]ολ̣ύ[σ]τρατος*.

After *line 15* there is a *vacat* of 0.03 m. to the broken lower edge of the stone.

Fig. 4. *I. G.*² II 1720 of *ca.* 56/5 B.C., the Preserved Fragment, Showing the Clamp Cutting

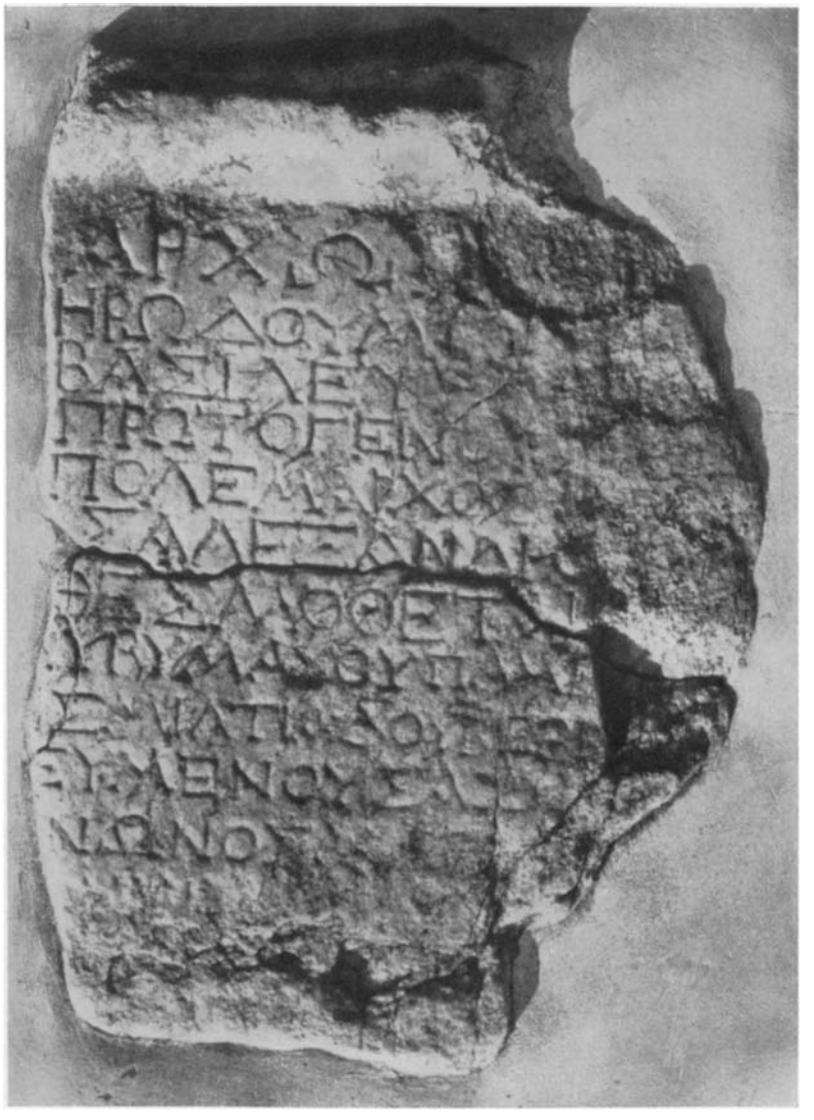


Fig. 5. *I. G.*² II 1719 of *ca.* 46/5 B.C. Scale 5 : 8

*I.G.*² *II 1719 of ca. 46/5* B.C. (Fig. 5)

The marble is Pentelic. It is water-worn in such a way that although traces of a twelfth and even a thirteenth line are visible, they are not legible. It is partly preserved behind to its full thickness, for the greatest thickness preserved, 0.06 m., is in accord with the very small moulding, 0.023 m. high.

In line 11 Kastriotes (*Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1914, pp. 165–166 and fig. 22) read no letters of the demotic. Graindor (*B.C.H.*, XXXVIII, 1914, pp. 437–441), setting forth the careful text which has rightly been adopted by Kirchner, read Χ̣Α̣Σ̣..Ε̣ (Kirchner omits the dots under the first three letters). This gave the only epigraphical mention of the deme Chastieis, known otherwise only from Hesychius (*sub verbo*), who does not give the tribe. Graindor adds, "L'état du marbre ne permet guère de songer à *Μαρ*[*αθώνιος*] et de restituer le nom de [*Ζήνων Ζήν*]*ωνος*, de Marathon, notable athénien du début de l'Empire (Sundwall, *Nachträge*, p. 86)." Examination of the stone and even of the photograph shows that reading X for the first letter means neglecting some of the traces, all of which fit M; that the third letter appears to be doubtful on a squeeze, whereas discoloration in the stone reveals a P; and that, after a gap in which the break by itself suggests an A, are discolorations which give part of the curve of a Θ, and indentations which reveal part of the cross bar. The reading Μ̣ΑΡΑ̣Θ, then, enables us to restore the line as Graindor mentioned.

Such a restoration would, moreover, have other advantages. The inscription was laid out with some strictness, as the relative positions of the letters beginning lines 1, 3, 5, and 7, which are in a vertical line, prove. Hence the names also began, as usual, exactly even vertically. If we restore, with Graindor, ΕΥΚΛΗΣ in line 2, we obtain for line 11 within half a space less than the exact room, disregarding the sizes of letters, for ΖΗΝΩΝΖΗ; and since the letters in line 2 are 0.011 m. in height, and those in line 11 are 0.008 m. (the Corpus is to be corrected; and line 1 has letters of 0.014 m.), this apparent discrepancy is really proper. With this confirmation, Chastieis disappears from our epigraphic records, and as in 1729 of "*init. s.* I *p.*" we have in one list of *archontes* two Marathonians.—Further restorations, aided by our conjectural determination of the left edge, must however be mere suggestions from earlier names. For line 6 Graindor offers [*Ἀλέξανδρο*]*ς Ἀλεξάνδρο*[*υ------*], but the space is insufficient; moreover (see Fig. 5) the O should appear in the space preserved before the Σ, so that we seem rather to have a shorter name in ΑΣ, such as *Αἰνέας* (Sundwall, *Nachträge*, p. 8: father of an ephebe *Ἀλέξανδρος*, deme unknown, of 106/5 B.C.), with letters widely spaced, as the gap before the first letter implies. In line 9 the space will exactly accommodate the restoration [*Μιλτιάδ*]*ης Μιλτιάδου Βερε*[*νικίδης*] (cf. *Nachträge*, p. 129, ephebe of 128/7 B.C., deme unknown), as measured by the spacing of the patronymic.

Reviewing now the evidence for the date, it seems natural to consider with Kolbe (*Archons*, p. 142), the known Archon Eukles II of 46/5 or about then (Kirchner, *I.G.*²

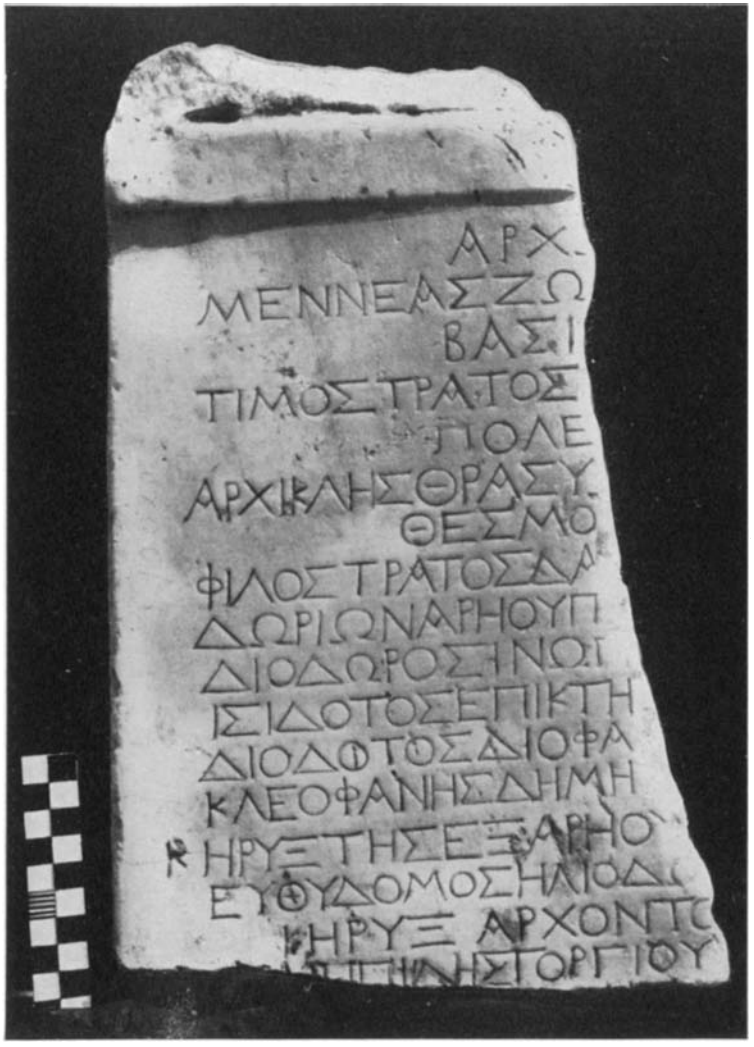


Fig. 6. *I.G.*² 1718 of 36/5–18/7 B.C.

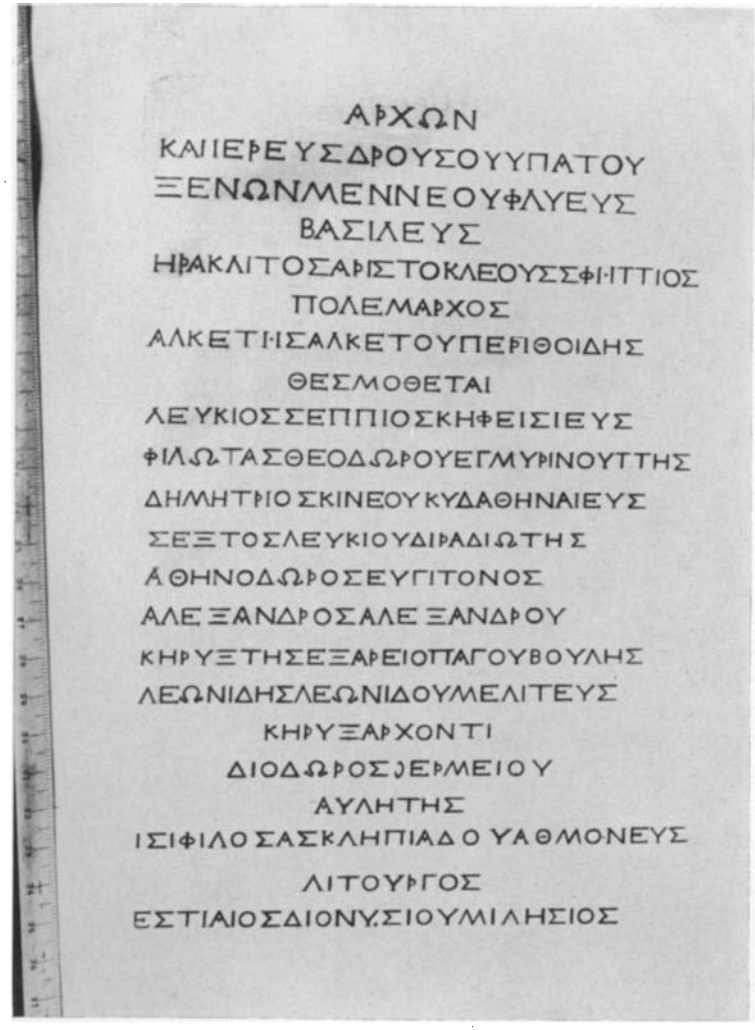


Fig. 7. *I.G.*² II 1722 of *ca.* 8 B.C., Montfaucon's Plate

II–III, iv, *Indices*, p. 25; Dinsmoor, *Archons*, pp. 280, 281, 284, 285). With this date accords the absence of the sign for a parent of identical name (which however was used in *I.G.*² II 1754 of "*init. s.* I *a.*"—Dittenberger *I.G.*¹ III 1066 dated it in the Empire—and *I.G.*² II 1756 of "*med. s.* I *a.*"). Zenon could be identified with the elderly Zenon (V), son of Zenon (II) of Marathon (*Nachträge*, p. 85); and in fact Graindor was willing to admit that this Zenon, son of Zenon of Marathon, *I.G.*² II 2464, line 11, could be the Archon of 54/3 (*Musée Belge*, 1923, p. 282, no. 244), but since such a date would also presuppose a lengthy career for the young Eukles (IV) (*Nachträge*, p. 78), doubt must remain. In any case, it would seem better in this period not to identify Zenon of Marathon, the *Thesmothetes* of 1719, with the Archon of 54/3 (see Ferguson, *Klio*, IX, 1909, p. 329 on single terms for *archontes*). The career of Eukles may have extended back to 46/5, for we know that he was priest of Pythian Apollo as early as the Archon Euthydomos of 42/1 (Dinsmoor, *Archons*, p. 285). On Eukles see Graindor in *Musée Belge*, 1923, pp. 280–281, no. 228.

*I.G.*² *II 1718 of "36/5–18/7"* (Fig. 6)

The unusual thinness of the stone (0.05 m.) is near the original, since the Pentelic marble is of excellent quality; its use as a paving slab has removed at least a centimeter. In place of a moulding, a simple fascia 0.03 m. high projects straight out a distance of 0.004 m.; the design above cannot be discerned. The preserved left side has been left rough except for a narrow band cut to make the front edge sharp. The break at the bottom comes just beneath a cutting similar in size and position to those noted under 1717 and 1720. The cutting would fit an iron 0.005 m. thick and 0.015 m. wide, the width being parallel to the front of the stele.

Another unusual feature in the design is the broad (*ca.* 0.03 m.) margin, into which line 14 projects so as to preserve symmetry—in other instances this long line begins even with the names and has to be crowded, which explains the margin here. The delta in line 17 was restruck, but otherwise there are no errors (i.e., erasures). The shapes and the cutting are indeed in their own manner peerless.

By a small error which has crept from Graindor's *Chronologie* (pp. 28, 30 and 291) into *I.G.*² II (text and commentary), the earlier limit for the Archon is given as 36/7; 36/5 was meant.

Line 6. A final K is visible and helps to confirm the restoration.

Line 12. A final upright |▒ is given us by the line of the break: the patronymic must be in any event *Διοφάν[ου]* or *Διοφάντου*; Sundwall (*Nachträge*, p. 54) and Graindor (*Musée Belge*, 1923, p. 275, no. 156) prefer the latter, which is a more common name in all periods and is the only one of the two known in Athens in this period.

Line 18. The faint traces can be read if only it be conceded that the word was either *ανλητής* or *δημόσιος*. From Graindor's squeeze (*Album*, pl. I b) or Fig. 6 one can see that the various titles are arranged with some regard to symmetry in relation to

the centre of Ἄρχω[ν]. The symmetry is not perfectly maintained, but assuredly we should read in line 18 [αὐλ]ητή̣[ς] rather than [δ]η̣[μόσιος], although the traces by themselves are slight.

*I.G.*² *II 1721 of 14/3* B.C. (see *below*)

This stele is our only other (see 1717) which is at once complete and accurately dated. Fimmen's photograph (*Ath. Mitt.*, XXXIX, 1914, p. 131) gives a truer perspective, Graindor's (*Album*, pl. IV) shows the erasures. The dimensions, for practically the entire stele is preserved, exhibit the goodly proportions which go with a thickness of 0.10 m. All are correctly recorded in *I.G.*² II; let us add the height of the moulding, 0.038 m. The sides were not intended to be seen: they were cut back at an angle and left rough behind the sharp trimmed edge. The stele was probably set between other stelae, but—perhaps because the iron supports let into the sides of slightly earlier stelae (1717, 1718, 1720) had pointed the way but had not been satisfactory—1721 was supported instead by clamps (0.015 m. long and 0.005 m. wide) let into the sloping roof between the akroteria. As was foreshadowed in the stele of 56/5 B.C., there is now no taper: it is merely a rectangular slab, from which the moulding does not project at the sides: for such projection there was perhaps no room. Again as in the earlier stele, the first titles (lines 1, 3, 5, 7) begin on the same vertical line, so that the longer of them are approximately centred; but the lower titles (lines 16, 18, 20) have, as not earlier, an even more symmetrical place. The design, then, has advanced a step, and indeed the stele as a whole is excellent work. Particularly sure and delicate in minute detail is the chiselling of some of the omicrons. Even the erasures were so competent,—shallow, smooth, and fairly thorough,—that their exact extent is determined with difficulty. The last 3 letters of *Βασιλεύς* stand in an erasure which extends two spaces beyond them: since traces of ΥΣ show at the end of the erasure, and since the entire erasure occupies approximately a length of space equal to 5 letters, Fimmen (*loc. cit.*) correctly inferred that dittography of ΑΕ occurred. In confirmation, one can read in the erasure with certainty ΑΕΥΣ. All of lines 9 and 10 has been erased, the latter so carefully that it can be detected in the middle of the line only by touch. Both erasures extend to the right edge. The few traces of previous letters I cannot interpret, but it is clear that they give no ground for supposing that the erasures were made to preserve the tribal order.

*I.G.*² *II 1722 of ca. 8* B.C. (Lost: see Fig. 7)

The plate in Montfaucon, *Palaeographia Graeca* (Paris, 1708), may be taken for a reasonably exact reproduction of letters and contents.[1] It omits the demotics of lines 13 and 14, given however in his text, simply because they would have overrun the edge

[1] Dr. C. G. Lowe, Director of the Gennadius Library of the American School in Athens, kindly permitted the making of this photograph.

(not visible in Fig. 7) of the plate. In line 12 his Σέξτος is probably to be preferred to Spon's Σέξστος (the only instance of this form in *I.G.*[1] III); but in line 15 Spon's Ἀρείον is more likely than Montfaucon's Ἀρείο, which would be unique in these lists.

For the dimensions Montfaucon reports (p. 146) that it was " duorum circiter ac dimidii pedum longitudinis, latitudinis vero unius ac dimidii." Since he may have measured only the inscribed area, or the stele may have been trimmed or broken, it seems best not to accept these proportions, which would of course be unusual for a complete stele.

I.G.[2] *II 1724 of " post 9/8 "* (Fig. 8)

Since the inventory of the *EM* under 8315 has "Acropolis 2195," evidently 1724 was found there; Pittakys (Ἀρχ. Ἐφ., 1859, p. 1866, no. 3612) says southeast of the Parthenon. The moulding, 0.051 m. high, is preserved and near it part of the left side. The preserved thickness (only 0.06 m.) is not original. The letters are large for these documents (line one, 0.020 m.; lines two and three, 0.016 m.; line four, 0.013 m.). The width must have been nearly 0.40 m., as reckoned by the preserved edge and the middle of Ἄρχ[ων]. Obviously this stele was one of the group of larger stelae, of which the prototype is 1721.

Line 1. Only AP/ is now preserved of Ἄρχ[ων]; Pittakys and Koehler-Dittenberger read no more.

Line 2. If we supply, as in *I.G.*[2], no word such as Ἐπώνυμος before the preserved words in line 1, we shall be forced to believe that a large margin existed, some 0.035 m. wide, as in 1718. Nevertheless it is better to accept this because with the present restoration line 2 is within $^1/_2$ letter of being symmetrically placed in relation to the centre of APX[ΩN].

Line 3. The same symmetry shows us that some 8 letters including γόνωι should be supplied at the end of line 3, which is spaced more widely than line 2. From this it seems that the patronymic was short. It is worth noting that the AN, supplied at the beginning of line 3, make the line begin exactly even with line 2 and thus confirm the unusual margin. ΠΡ (for Praxagoras) would not do this so well (Graindor, *Chronologie*, p. 54), for rho occupies less space.

Line 4. ΔΕ are exactly accommodated at the beginning, and again confirm the margin. To the right there are missing ΟΥ and some 9 letters.

Line 5. Pittakys and Koehler-Dittenberger both locate the lost Β beneath the Ξ of line 4. This confirms our notion of the approximate symmetry of the design.

I.G.[2] *II 1725 of " paullo post 9/8 "* (*Rev. Arch.*, 1917, p. 8, fig. 6)

The low (0.025 m.) and slightly projecting (0.005 m.) moulding (the moulding projects also at the sides, which are trimmed smooth), and still more the thinness of the stone (0.064 m.), which is original, show that this inscription should be restored with a minimum width. One cannot calculate exactly, because each letter of the alphabet in this ornate

large style has a width of its own; but since ΑΡΧ takes 0.07 m., Graindor's restoration, with *ἐπώνυμος* in line 1, would make line 1 extend to some 0.49 m. Comparison with other stelae of this class shows that such a width is unthinkable - 1717, with a width of 0.44 m., is 0.10 m. thick—and that *Ἄρχ[ων καὶ ἱερεύς]*, 13 letters requiring some 0.30 m., represent normal proportions (see Table, *above,* p. 143). Since moreover Graindor's authority for restoring *ἐπώνυμος* was partly its occurrence in 1735, line 1, which is an erroneous reading of that line (see *below*), we may attempt to follow the probably invariable custom in these lists, and omit it.

Line 2. If we omit *ἐπώνυμος* from line 1, it will have precisely the length of line 2, namely 13 letters. This is in itself a decisive advantage over Graindor's scheme with its excess of 8 letters in line 1.

Line 3. It follows that ΠΑΜ is the beginning of an Archon's name which should be short, *ca.* 13 letters with either the patronymic or demotic, but not both. Thus if Graindor's proposal (*Rev. Arch.*, VI, 1917, p. 8, no. 6; *Chronologie,* pp. 66–67, no. 32) be accepted, namely to identify this Archon with him of 26/7, either the patronymic *Νέστορος* or the demotic *Φλυεύς* could be inserted. Lacking analogies for this, we might better think of a different identification, perhaps with the sign [)] for a father of identical name.

Line 4. The missing name should consist of some 5 letters.

This scheme, or any scheme, must be highly uncertain in view of the observable variation on the stone between the spacings of the letters in lines 1 and 2; the scheme given is the simplest possible, in keeping with average spacings, the thickness, and the moulding. In order to give the Archon a name of three words, however, we might allow a widely spaced line 1, as indeed the stone indicates; making line 2 more crowded, so as to include a brief Archon's name; spacing line 3 widely to include the patronymic *Παμ-* and a demotic; and supposing line 4 to have included the adoptive father's name and perhaps his patronymic. This scheme would demand lines some 0.35 m. in length, a maximum.

It is obvious in any event that the stone would have had too little height for a full list of *archontes*, unless the minor *archontes* and functionaries were cut in disproportionately small letters.

I.G.^{2} *II 1730 of "init. s.* I *p. (ante 22/3 p.)"* (Lost)

Published in the *Δελτίον* for 1888 (pp. 136–137, no. 1) by Lolling, the stone was thereafter lost. The best that can be done now is to plot the letters on graph paper, making the design conform first to Lolling's printed copy, second to the usual pattern, and third to natural straight lines of breakage. This yields two results. First, it enables one to calculate the size, within flexible limits, of the gaps; it will suffice here to have indicated how this should be done, in case of a proposed restoration. Second, we perceive at once that if *Ἄρχων* be supplied above, instead of at the beginning of the first line, the design and the natural line of break (which ran obliquely down to the left, not to the

right) are both betrayed; whereas if *Ἄρχων* begins line 1, the full length of this line is within $1^1/_2$ letters of the length of line 2, and the break appears to be vertical. This is corrected to the proper oblique line by allowing wider spacing in (shorter) line 1. The thickness of the stone (0.10 m.) confirms a long line. In the only preserved instance where *Ἄρχων* is set in a separate line above the priestly title, there is reason to restore a short line (1724). The numbering of the lines in *I.G.*² II should therefore be changed.

Line 12. The numeral for Marathon (Aiantis) in *I.G.*² II should be X, not IX.

Line 13. *I.G.*² II omits Lolling's Σ, the first letter of the line.

In view of the theory that regularly in Roman times the Herald of the Areopagos was an ex-Archon (Ferguson, *Klio,* IX, 1909, p. 329), 1730 should be set before 1728.

*I.G.*² *II 1729 of "init. s. I p."* (Lost)

Fourmont's copy, as given in Boeckh, *C.I.G.* 182, shows four letters above ΘΕΣΜΟΘΕΤΜΙ (sic) which prove at least that this list had other items: ὁΗΘΖ.

Line 9. Fourmont (Boeckh, 182) read the demotic thus: ΤΙΟΥΤ . . . ΙΣ, which editors interpret as ΤΙΘΡΑΣΙΟΣ, thus keeping the first three letters and the last at the expense of extreme violence to the second T (= Α) and the second I (= Ο). Careful search leads to a preference for ΤΥΡΜΕΙΔΗΣ, which involves less violent changes.

After the last *Thesmothetes* a gap appears of one line only, as Boeckh gives it. No preserved inscription of this class has such a gap (cf. notes on 1723, *EM* 4692, and 1736a), and it occurs where the title and name of the Herald of the Areopagos were commonly inserted. Hence the suspicion arose (*I.G.*¹ III 1008) that this Herald was to be inscribed, or having been inscribed was deleted, although (to be sure) one line would be insufficient for both title and name.

*I.G.*² *II 1731 of "init. s. I p."* (Fig. 9)

As Graindor noted (*B.C.H.*, 1927, p. 292, no. 18), the stone came from the Acropolis.

The back is not original, so that the thickness may have been well over the present 0.075 m., as would seem to be required by the fact that in every line at least two and probably sometimes three names are to be supplied. On the other hand, the fact that titles and names are set in the same lines would suggest that the stele was of no great height, and hence of no great width. Consonantly, the lines are set very close to each other. We should keep then to a minimum: conceivably a hypothetical sign for a parent of the same name [)], if it were present in lines 3 and 4, explains the difficulty. Erosion has sometimes deepened, but it has also in some places obliterated, the original light strokes.

Line 1. The Ο is clear but the Σ is too doubtful to record. At most we can venture [*Κῆρυξ ἄρχοντ*]*ο*[ς], widely spaced.

Line 2. The letters are set nearer each other at the end than in the other lines, and there is little margin. The wide gaps between the words as they are printed in *I.G.*² II do not exist in this or the following line; there are no gaps whatever.

Line 3. The lambda is one of those letters which suffered obliteration instead of deepening, but faint traces exist. The iota is quite gone. Kirchner and Graindor read *Λιτοργός* but the position of the uncertain strokes suggest instead *Λ[ι]τουργός*.

Line 4. The H is clear. The wide space before it toward the top of the line would be explained only by a Λ preceding, were it not for a nick at the top which may be part of a different letter. Hence the restoration [*Μιλ*]*ήσιος* is doubtful.

*I.G.*² *II 1734 of "init. s. I p."* (Fig. 10)

The pattern was the same as in 1717 and 1721, the titles beginning in an even line vertically: this is clear from the positions of the titles in lines 2 and 4. On this basis the width may be estimated at around 0.30 m., an inference which is borne out by the crowding visible in lines 3 and 5. Since the thickness, however, reaches 0.088 m., the stele must have been unusually tall for its width: that it certainly was tall is proved by the size of the letters and interspaces. One letter-plus-interspace is 0.025 m. tall, as in 1721, which is 0.90 m. high. Conjectural limits could easily be set for the lengths of the various names.

The present top is cut exactly at right angles to the preserved smooth left side, and is tooth chiselled; but the top may have been finished along the front edge to support a block above. The front edge has been battered off obliquely, but there is not room for a moulding; instead, the front was doubtless smooth, and measurement shows that exactly the proper space for [ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ] was provided. The present top may therefore be regarded as original, but it is not easy to parallel, except from large funerary monuments, a stele in one piece and a pediment in another. The title and name of the Archon might have occurred on this hypothetical pedimental block. Thus may be explained the disproportionate thickness of the stone, for some such thickness would be needed to support a separate block above. As in 1714, the explanation most in accord with the stone is that 1734 refers to a year (hitherto unknown) of *Ἀναρχία*.

Since there is no trace of *Βασιλεύς*, it is better to number the lines from [*Ἄ*]*χαρνεύς*.

Line 1. A bit of initial X is visible.

Line 3. Part of initial Ω is visible.

Line 7. Dubious traces would fit - - - Ε̣Υ̣[Σ].

*I.G.*² *II 1723 of "paullo ante 13/4"* (Fig. 11)

Roussel excluded this item from his list (*Rev. Et. Gr.*, XXIX, 1916, p. 166, n. 3), because it seemed (as to Dittenberger, *I.G.*¹ III 1006) still "quelque peu énigmatique"; to Graindor, supporting in line 1 a formula not found elsewhere in such lists, and suggesting in line 6

Fig. 8. *I.G.*² II 1724 of *post* 9/8 B.C.

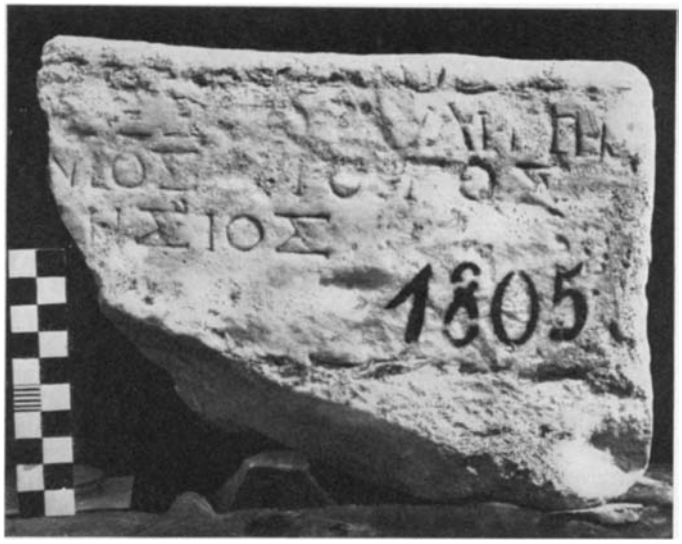


Fig. 9. *I.G.*² II 1731 of *init. s.* I A.D.

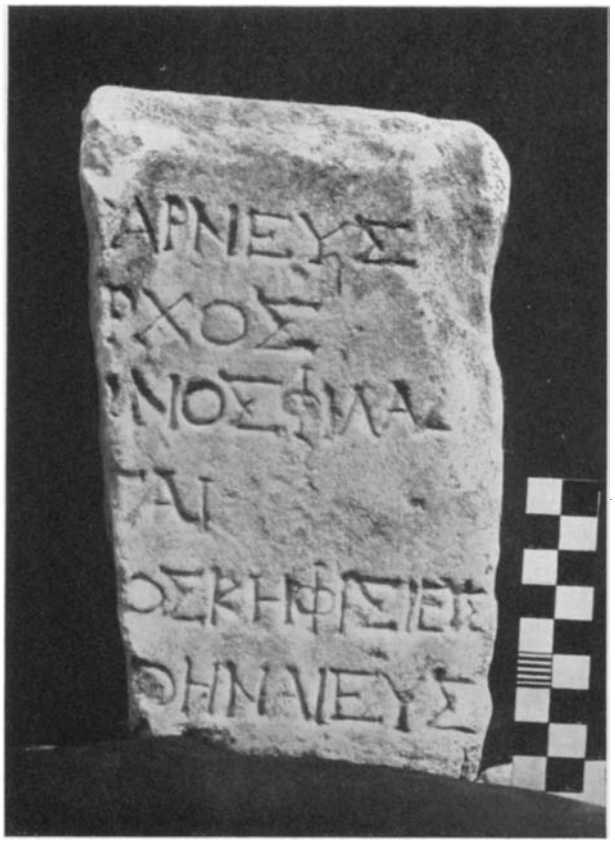


Fig. 10. *I.G.*² II 1734 of *init. s.* I A.D.

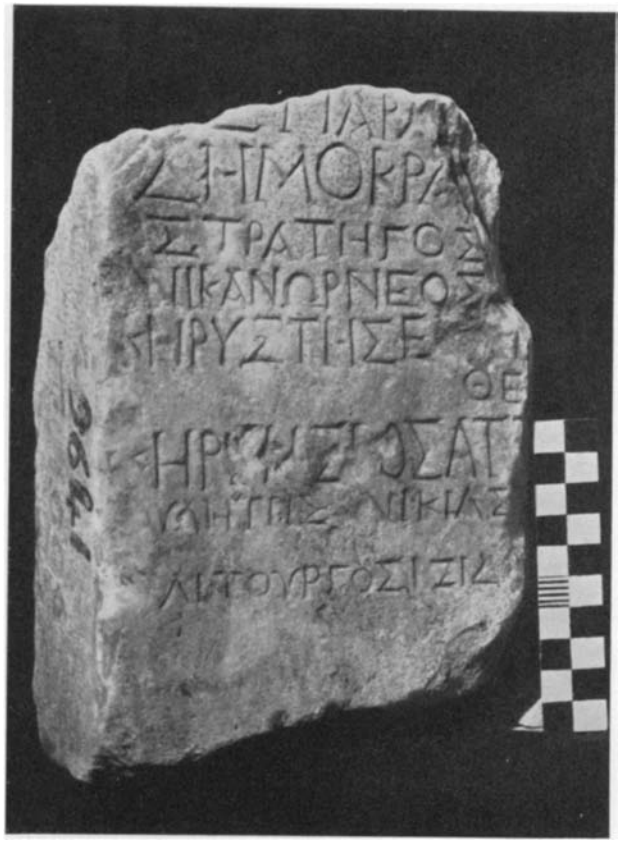


Fig. 11. *I.G.*² II 1723 of *paullo ante* 13/4 A.D.

a restoration not since heeded, "ce document n'a rien d''énigmatique'" (*Rev. Arch.*, 1917, pp. 9–11; *Chronologie*, p. 62 and n. 2).

The stone is Hymettian, and 0.085 m. thick, which should mean a width of (0.085 × 4.5 =) 0.38 m. more or less (see Table, *above*, p. 143). A curious result follows if we adopt Graindor's restoration of lines 1, 3, 4, and 5 (as copied also in *I.G.*² II). We may hope to approximate accuracy by reckoning I, P, and K as half letters; by measuring from the edge of the stone so as to include in the total the indentations; and by including all the preserved letters, assuming only that the spacing remained the same throughout each line. The results follow:—

Line	*Indented*	*Letters preserved*	*Space occupied*	*Total no. of letters demanded*	*Total space demanded*
1	.028	4½	.08	28	.525
2	.008	6	.105		
3	.011	8½	.11	28½	.38
4	.012	9½	.11	32	.382
5	.004	10½	.125	26	.315
6	.11	2			
7	.004	9	.125		
8	.004	13	.126		
9	.015	11	.11		

It would therefore seem that, on the basis of crude measurements, the stone was close to the width suggested by its thickness, let us say 0.38 m.; that the other restorations are correct, but that line 1 has been wrongly restored. At first, the calculated length of our only surely restored line (5) did indeed seem to be, I confess, decisively against line 1, but that crowding of letters might permit Graindor's plausible restoration of lines 3 and 4.

Since it is the restoration of the title Priest of the Consul Drusus in line 1 which bears decisively on the date of the document (so that its omission would force us to date the whole before Augustus or after Hadrian), that line must be examined with care. Line 1 has been restored (by Dittenberger, with the assent presumably of Koehler, in *I.G.*¹ III 1006, Addenda, p. 510) as [ΠΟΛ]ΕΜΑΡΧ[ΟΣ], but the second letter, as Graindor maintains, cannot be M. Of this there is no doubt, because the preserved uprights do not slant as do those of M in line 2; there is ample space for the middle strokes of M to show; and the wide space between the base of E and the first upright means that the second letter projected to the left at the top, thus: ΕΠ. Another proposed restoration (Neubauer, *Curae*, pp. 10 f.) is Ε[Π]Ω(ΝΥΜΟΣ) ΑΡΧΩΝ, hence instead ΕΠ(ΩΝΥΜΟΣ) might be considered; but we shall see that the epithet *ἐπώνυμος* is unknown in such lists (*below*, under 1725 and 1735). If we take into account the widest possibilities, we shall reckon

that there is space for a letter before the "E"; that the "E" may equally be Z, Ξ, or Σ; that the following uprights may not belong to a Π at all, but that the first may be part of T or Υ, the second being I:

$$? \left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{E} \\ \text{Z} \\ \Xi \\ \Sigma \end{matrix} \right\} \left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{TI} \\ \Upsilon\text{I} \\ \Pi \end{matrix} \right\} \text{APX}$$

This then exhausts the possibilities, and a glance through Bechtel's *Personennamen*, pp. 80–83, shows that the names Eparchides (or Eparchos) and Histiarchos fit the traces. Despite the face that neither name is known in Athens, we might urge some such name the more strongly because the formula proposed by Graindor, *Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος*, does not occur elsewhere in lists of this type; line 1 might be completed by the phrase *γόνωι δὲ*, so as to accommodate line 2. This solution cannot be excluded.

Graindor has, however, made out so clear a case for his dating and restoration of the document that we are bound to accommodate them in any reasonable way. His case can moreover be strengthened. The phrase *ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος* occurs, for instance, in later prytany lists (*I.G.*² II 1763 of 132/3, 1764–5 of 138/9, and later examples), developing the elision *ἐπ' ἄρχοντος* only in *I.G.*² II 1794 of 183/4. Earlier we have almost invariably the old form *ἐπὶ - - - - ἄρχοντος*. But in *I.G.*¹ III 68 a and 68 b, both of which have been plausibly dated late under Augustus (Graindor, *Chronologie*, pp. 55–59), we find *ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος καὶ ἱερέως Δρούσου Ὑπάτου*. Before attempting to date the list before Augustus or after Hadrian it would be well to scrutinize the crude measurements.

Turning again therefore to the inscription itself, we note that it begins with a large blank space and then two large letters, whereas APX take no more space than, for instance, ΤΗΣ in line 5. Apparently the mason realized, after a bold beginning, that he was cramped for space. In line 2 he began much nearer the edge, and in line 3 he used smaller letters. Apparently this line too was cramped at the end, for in line 4 he began by setting letters as close together as they can be cut, and in line 5 he actually invaded the small margin so as to use larger letters: he used larger letters because there were to be fewer of them, and the same must be true of line 7; whereas in line 8 title and name again compelled reduction. It seems possible then to use some such explanation to modify the crude measurements. Certainly if in line 1 we regard APX alone and not all the letters, the line would not need to exceed line 5 by more than 6 letters without cramping. If in addition we admit cramping—the final 4 letters could for example be telescoped thus ΑΤΟΥ into the space of $2^1/_2$—it is conceivable that the entire formula as proposed by Graindor can be accommodated within 0.38 m. If we did not accept this solution, we should have to dispute either the restoration of lines 3 and 4, or the dating of Julius Nikanor (*I.G.*² II 1069), and with the latter is involved the restriction of *Σεβαστὸς καίσαρ* to Augustus (Graindor, *Chronologie*, p. 56, n. 2), on which much now depends. Despite the difficulties of spacing and elision in line 1, we must at least explore the consequences of accepting the cramped formula in line 1.

Line 2 was doubtless shorter, about 22 letters. Line 5, even when reckoned by crude measurements, will not fill the space of 38 m.: at the end either the first name of the Herald was included, or the letters were more widely spaced. In line 6 Graindor's restoration *Θε[σμοθέτης]* would fall almost exactly in the middle of a 0.38 m.-line; but it is unlikely and unparalleled. Doubtless we have rather one of the names of the Herald, preferably his father's: some uncertainty caused the space before it to be left blank for later completion. Athenian records remained full of such omissions.

Certain unsuspected enigmatic elements of the pattern are thus resolved. It is the text, however, which has puzzled Roussel. There remained buried in the *Sitzungsber. Berl. Acad.* of 1888 the list *EM* 4692 until the year 1931, when Kirchner recalled it (without giving the text) in his commentary on *I.G.*² II 1723; and quite unpublished was *I.G.*² II 1736 a which Kirchner set forth in the new fascicule. These lists alone provide parallels for 1723. We may tabulate the officials (see *below* under *EM* 4692, pp. 173, 174, and 1736 a, p. 175) as follows:

1723	*EM 4692*	*1736 a*
Archon [and Priest]	[Archon and Priest]	[Archon and Priest, King, Pol.]
Hoplite General	Hoplite General	Secretary and 5 *Thesmothetae*
Herald of the Areopagos	(No Herald of Areopagos)	(No Herald of Areopagos)
Κηρυκίσκος	*Κηρυκίσκος*	*Κηρ[υκίσκος]*
Αυλητής	*Ἱεραύλης*	*Ἱερά[υλης]*
Λιτούργος	*Λιτῶν*	(The stone broken away here?)

We shall find reason for setting 1736 a in the second century A.D., and less reliable evidence for placing *EM* 4692 late in the first century. 1723 has been dated by Graindor under Augustus. The titles of the officials clearly make it earlier than *EM* 4692, which is for the same reason earlier than 1736 a. 1723 naturally follows lists which have the Archon's Herald, thus falling at the earliest late in the reign of Augustus—in the very period indeed from which come other instances of the formula *ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος καὶ ἱερέως Δρούσου ὑπάτου*. The Archon *Δάκων* (*I.G.*² II 1069; Graindor, *Chronologie*, pp. 59–62) is cited by a different order of words, *ἐπὶ Δάκωνος ἄρχοντος καὶ*, etc, but his connection with Julius Nikanor must move him also to that general period. As for the New Homer and New Themistokles himself, we have no more accurate a date than the present study has given (for the references to him, see Graindor, *Athènes sous Auguste*, p. 8, n. 7; the purchase of Salamis and gift of it to Athens doubtless preceded, and perhaps preceded by only one year, his generalship in the year of Demokrates, as has been supposed).

Returning finally to the stele 1723, we may note (as *below* under *EM* 4692) that the height of the inscription is disproportionately small for the probable height of the flat surface, as judged by the Table *above*, p. 143. Hence 1723 (like *EM* 4692) may be one of several such lists on the same stele. The place of breakage at the top suggests that only a moulding has been knocked off; hence 1723 should be the first list. Of course the others may never have been cut.

A band 0.01 m. in width was smoothed along the front edge of the side, the rest of the side being tooth-chiselled. The last line, 9, is preceded by a *vacat* of 0.012 m., which is too small for another line (Fig. 11). The purpose was therefore to set the *λιτουργός* slightly apart. This is never seen in lists of *archontes* (cf. note on 1729), and thus helps, together with content, style of cutting, and arrangement, to place 1723 in a somewhat different class from lists of *archontes*.

*I.G.*² *II 1735 of 40/1–53/4* (Fig. 12)

The thickness, 0.055 m., is original. Since the width must be reckoned at *ca.* 0.33 m., the stele was relatively thin. The left edge, though battered, is preserved opposite lines 2–4, and provides a basis for accurate measurement.

Line 1. Inasmuch as the title *Ἐπώνυμος Ἄρχων* does not occur in any other list preserved to us, and cannot in fact even be restored without difficulties (see 1725), its alleged appearance here is of some interest. The previous readings have this in common, that no one of them can be made to fit perfectly into the word ΕΠΩΝΥΜΟΥΣ: Pittakys (*Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1854, p. 1120, no. 2143) read ΝΙΑ, Koehler (for Dittenberger, *I.G.*¹ 1011) read ΝιΑι and Dittenberger restored [*ἐπώ*]*ν*[*υ*]. (sic) *ἄρχων*, Klaffenbach (for Kirchner, *I.G.*² II) read ϩΝΙ///Λ and Kirchner restored [*ἐπ*]*ώνυ*[*μ*]*ο*[*ς ἄρχων*]. Further difficulty would have resulted from the notion of a symmetrical design, for a full line requires (judging from lines 5–6, symmetrically: the 7½ letters of ΤΙΜΟΘΕΟΣ, plus the 10 of ΠΟΛΕΜ[ΑΡΧΟΣ], [plus 7½]), some 25 letters, and a two-word title, if shorter, should according to all precedent have been centred. If we examine the stone, or better a delicate squeeze, the N, on which all have agreed, is clear: it stands partly over the P and partly over the O of *Μητρόδωρος*. Next the N is an upright stroke which cannot by any stretch be even a narrow Υ; and Υ should be broad, as in line 6. Erosion has cut a curved jagged line to the base of the upright: this jagged line has neither the quality nor the position of part of any letter. Closer inspection shows a small line at the centre of the upright, thus Ϟ, and although by itself this might allow Η, taken in conjunction with the marks \Ι some 0.017 m. distant it can only be the first letter of ΚΑΙ. The N, just 3½ full spaces from the margin, can then be part, of course, of the crowded word *Ἄρχων*. As soon as this is seen, other traces immediately explain themselves, and if we dot those traces which by themselves are non-committal, but which lend solid confirmation, we read *Ἄρχων καὶ ἱ*[*ερεὺς Δρούσου Ὑπάτου*]. The total of 26 letters is in agreement with the estimate of 25 derived from lines 5–6, if we make a slight allowance for the crowding already observable in *Ἄρχων*.

The new reading of 1735 thus gives us an Archon who served as priest of Drusus dated plausibly under Claudius, "entre 40/1 et 53/4 (vers 44/5)" (Graindor, *Chron.*, pp. 81–82). By itself this priesthood is of no assistance in establishing dates within the years 9 B.C. and 124/5 A.D. (Graindor, *Chron.*, pp. 18–19); instead, 1735 appears to give

Fig. 12. *I.G.*² II 1735 of 40/1–53/4 A.D.

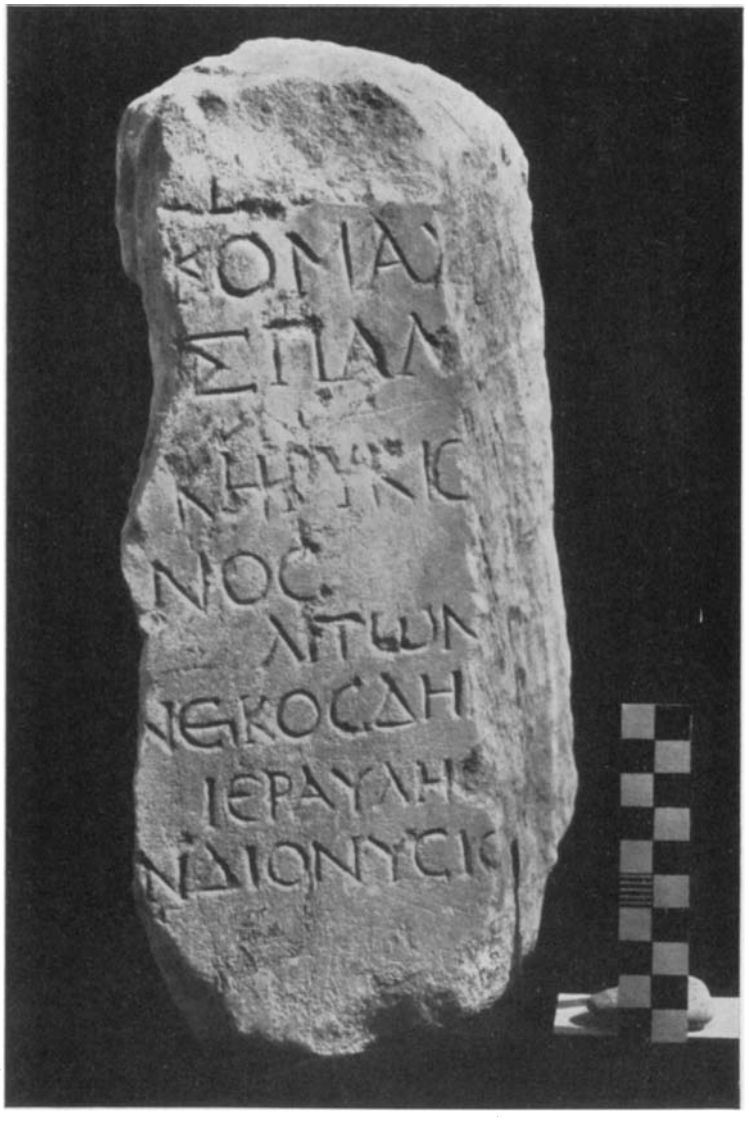


Fig. 14. *EM* 4692 of *fin. s.* I A.D.

us an instance of the cult in a reign which hitherto lacked any certain mention thereof (working from Graindor's list, *Chron.*, p. 63, n. 1).[1]

Line 3. A bit of the B gives us the beginning of *Β*[*ασιλεύς*] indented slightly further than *Πολέμ*[*αρχος*], which in turn is indented more than *Θεσμοθέται*.

Line 9. Final Σ is certain.

Line 10. Final Σ is not lunate.

Line 11. Leonardos coped vainly with the traces after . . . ΚΩΝ (which has always been correctly read), so that we find them set forth now in *I.G.*² II as . . . ΚΩΝΙΙΙ^^Ι-- and in fact no one has done better than Koehler-Dittenberger's *Ἡλι* . . . . . to interpret them. In reality the stone has . . . ΚΩΝΙΙΓ^Ι which may be interpreted without obstacle as [*Ἡρά*]*χων Ἡρᾰχ*-- the final K being substantiated by cuttings just at the edge. For the restoration of the first name other possibilities might suggest themselves, all of which must take into account the fact that no stroke appears next to the K, so that the vowel was A, O, or Ω, in all probability. Names with *any* first vowel in . . . ΚΩΝ are apparently rare: Sundwall's *Nachtr.* contains only *Δράχων* (p. 66), two instances, and one *Ἡράχων* (p. 89). Doubtless *PA* contains others. There is a slight presumption, however, in favor of *Ἡράχων*, since it has the same root as the father's name.

If we turn to the index of names in *I.G.*¹ III, we find 5 men called *Ἡράχων* but only one with a father in *Ἡρακ*-. This one is mentioned within a wreath as *Ἡράκω*[*να*] | *Ἡρακλεί*[*δου*] | *Μαραθ*[*ώνιον*] in lines 8–10 of *I.G.*² II 1973, the Archon being Metrodoros and the inscription being headed by the name of Claudius. Herakon is here crowned along with three other (of whom one is lost) " friends and co-ephebes." Thus by bonds, none of which is by itself irrefragable, the Archon Metrodoros mentioned in 1735 as being also priest of Drusus, is identified more closely than before with the Archon under Claudius (including possibly the year 40/1, Graindor, *Chron.*, p. 81, n. 5); conversely, the reading and restoration proposed for 1735, line 11 are strengthened.

*I.G.*² *II 1736 of* " *med. s.* I *p.*" (Fig. 13)

The text is set forth in *I.G.*² II with lines 1–2 and 12–13 projecting to the left beyond the others, an arrangement not to be found elsewhere among these lists. Actually parts of the first letters of lines 5 and 6 are preserved, and the present edge of the stone is 0.006 m. distant. Kirchner declares that the stone is " undique mutilum," but the edge at just these lines is fairly even and precisely vertical to the inscribed lines. Apparently then we have part of the original edge, worn to be sure, but with most of the margin, giving an exact indication of where the lines began.[2] If this is so, the un-

[1] *I.G.*² II 1968 (Archon Mithridates), an ephebic catalogue, seems in its general cast and particularly because of the mention of *φίλοι γοῳ*[*γοί*] to date under Claudius (Dittenberger, Graindor, Kirchner; references in *I.G.*² II).

[2] Recognizing this, Sauppe went on to miscalculate the gaps at the beginnings of lines, and restored words broken by the ends of lines and continued in the following lines (*De Creatione*, p. 14).

exampled arrangement in *I.G.*^{2} may be questioned, and the usual even vertical beginnings of lines may be substituted. If, in addition, no obstacles occur in restorations, a degree of confirmation may be claimed.

Line X. It is clear from the original publication by Pittakys (*Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1854, p. 1150, no. 2215) that no letters have been lost since then. There is and was no trace of the line numbered 1 in *I.G.*^{2} II, and it is less misleading to restore it without a number.

Line 1. Following ΣΩΣΙ, but not remarked by the editors (Pittakys, Koehler-Dittenberger, Kirchner; nor by Graindor) except Sauppe is a horizontal stroke at the base of the line. Like the base of the nearest Σ, it slants a little. This much of it is not long enough to serve as the base of a letter, but it may have continued to the right, with less depth, into an eroded area. Such variation in depth is natural when letters are made, as here, with a point; the constant difficulty is to maintain an even depth as the chisel is driven along. The Σ in line 7, for instance, lacks half its base line. Since the stroke in line 1 has precisely the quality of chisel work (as opposed to erosion), we may not safely disregard it. Equally clear, but noted already by Pittakys, is an upright next to the final O, which he and all his successors, disregarding the stroke just discussed, restored as part of ΣΩΣΙ[ΙΙΙ]Ο[Σ or Υ]. The other upright of the (second) [Π] is, however, totally lacking. Since both would show if one does, the erosion being uniform and very slight, the name of Sosippos may be queried, and the clear indications ΣΩΣΙ⎽.ΙΟ may be otherwise explained. In the entire inscription it is noticeable that some letters as wholes are cut deeper than others: the iotas, for instance, had to be cut deeper, for if they were mere scratches like strokes of the more complex letters, they would be in danger of total disappearance. The upright near the end of line 1 is just such a deep stroke; it shows no connecting strokes. Sauppe, reading ΣΩΣΙ[Β]ΙΟΣ, used the strokes but neglected a large gap before the second iota, where a delta shows. We have then no choice but to read ΣΩΣΙΣΔΙΟ, the dotted letter having been lightly cut; but reliable confirmatory traces show in the erosion. Preceding ΣΩΣΙΣ, in turn, are the strokes ⎽ ι Ξ, of which the upright is rather more distant from both the other letters than is the iota of ΣΩΣΙΣ: hence by itself it suggests Υ, which in this inscription is a narrow letter. The word one would expect here, now that the genitive *Σωσί[ππ]ο[υ]* cannot follow it, is the title *[Βασιλ]ε̣ὺς*, which indeed Sauppe and Dittenberger restored. The restoration is in some degree confirmed by the spacing, for the missing letters can be neatly accommodated within the margin already determined at lines 5 and 6. Further confirmation derives from the title *Πολέμαρ[χος]* in line 2, the position of which proves that the mason was trying to save space; otherwise it would occur one line lower. Since line 2 obviously preserves the ending of the King Archon's demotic, it is probable that his father's name was lengthy, Dio(nysodoros) for example.

Line 2. Judged by the line following, which began with four full letters, the demotic occupied five in all. *[Ὀῆθ]εν* for instance would fit, although we cannot be sure that part of the demotic did not occur in the preceding line. It happens that none of the lists except 1725, l. 5, however, shows a word thus broken. The name Sosis occurs in

Fig. 13. *I.G.*² II 1736 of *med. s.* I A.D.

PA and *Nachträge* only once, and once also (without demotic) in the Index to *I.G.*[1] III: the former, *PA* 13280, was ephebe in the year of Menander, 39/8 B.C. (*I.G.*[2] II 1043, l. 96: [*Σῶσι*]*ς Σώσιδος Οἰῆθεν*) as dated both by Kirchner (*I.G.*[2] II) and Dinsmoor (*Archons*, 84–7). The Sosis of 1736 may have been the grandson of the ephebe.—The *vacat* before *Πολέμαρ*[*χος*] is of one space only.

Line 4. It might have been thought that the title *Θεσμοθέ*[*ται*] would more naturally have been set at the beginning of a line, like the two preceding titles. This, however, would have confused the list of *Thesmothetae*. As it is, we are able to determine approximately by its aid the centre of the stele, and thus the right edge (see Fig. 13).

Line 5. Initial H visible.

Line 6. Initial Φ visible.

Line 7. Faint traces of the first Λ. The spacing is wider than in line 5, of course, because the whole line was to be shorter. The principle of filling as much of the line as possible is good design.

Line 8. Again the flexibility of this style enables wide spacing of short words. The final H is visible.

Line 9. The present reading, *Ναυσιμάχο*[*υ*], is beset by these partial difficulties: (1) the space preceding the N would require a very short (4-letter) name; (2) the name Nausimachos occurs to our knowledge only three times in Athens, all close to 400 B.C. (*PA* 10574, 10575, 10576), disappearing, naturally enough, along with sea power; and (3) the second letter has erosion which was taken for a straight high cross-bar, whereas all other preserved instances of alpha require a bent, low, crossed cross-bar which may and may not have existed on the stone in the erosion. One prefers then to read [. . . *ω*]*ν Λυσιμάχο*[*υ*]. [*Ἀρχω*]*ν* would fit the space, and the name is known in association with Lysimachos (*PA* 9520, of Lamptrai, tribe Erechtheis I, ephebe 119/8 B.C.).

Line 10. This is a third instance of expanded letters and spacing, similar to lines 7 and 8.—The reading of the demotic, which violates the tribal order, is absolutely certain.

Line 11. In this line, which included many letters ($26\frac{1}{2}$), the letters are crowded; but [*Κῆρυξ*] can be supplied without difficulty within the margin. Final P is visible.

Line 12. There is room before the Υ for at most 6 crowded letters, or more likely fewer. Thus the $4\frac{1}{2}$ suggested by Graindor are perfectly accommodated; the whole line would be $25\frac{1}{2}$ letters in length, 1 shorter than line 11.

Line 13. The space is insufficient for *γόνωι δέ*. None of the titles from other lists (*Κῆρυξ Ἄρχοντος, Κηρυκίσκος, Ἀνλητής, Ἱεραύλης, Δημόσιος, Λειτουργός*) will fit the indications, of which the first letter is E, Ξ, Σ, or T. It must belong to a title, and the first letter falls directly under the Θ of *Θεσμοθέ*[*ται*]. It is difficult not to think of *Στρ*[*ατηγός*], and impossible to confirm it.

There have now been supplied the beginnings of 9 lines. No difficulty of spacing has occurred. Rather it has been found that, with proper regard to the rule of flexibility, the first letter falls in every case on the edge of the margin given us by lines 5 and 6. If we measure from the edge to the middle of *Θεσμοθέται*, we obtain a width of *ca.* 0.38 m.,

which is midway between that of 1717 and 1721; the thickness of 1736 is 0.075 m., which is slightly greater than that of 1717. The total height of the inscription was not 21 lines, but something less; otherwise there would have been no crowding in lines 2 and 3. If computed at 20 lines, the height of the inscription is a maximum within the normal proportions (see Table, *above*, p. 143).

So high a degree of coherence gives pleasing confirmation to the reconstruction generally and hence to Graindor's restoration in line 12, [*Τι Κλ Λ*]*νσιάδ*[*ης Λεωνίδου Μελιτεύς*], which dates the inscription approximately.

EM 4692 of "fin. s. I p." (Fig. 14, p. 168)

The text on this fragment, mentioned in the commentary on line 7 of 1723 in *I. G.*² II, was published without commentary by Kirchhoff (with the coöperation of Lolling) in the *Sitzungsber. Acad. Berl.* of 1888, p. 318, no. 20, and has been since neglected. It was found on the Acropolis, east of the Erechtheum. Coming from the lower middle of the stele, the width of the preserved face is 0.105 m., the height 0.308 m. It is broken at the top and sides, but the bottom, which shows traces of modern cement, is cut so parallel with the inscribed lines that one is inclined to believe with Kirchhoff and Lolling that it is the original bottom. There are 0.05 m. of uninscribed stone between it and the last line. The marble (Pentelic) is preserved to its original thickness of 0.12 m., which implies a stele of goodish size: no other of our lists for single years was cut on a block with a preserved thickness of over 0.10 m. The preserved letters are cut in two styles, both by the same rude hand. In the first style, the upright strokes are 0.018 m. in height. This style persists for five lines, but we meet sigma as Σ in line 3, as C in lines 4 and 5. The remaining lines show lunate forms (Є, C, Ω) exclusively, and other peculiarities are emphasized (Ά, Δ, Λ); the letters are shorter (0.013 m.), but not from absolute necessity, for some 0.07 m. of uninscribed surface remain beneath. In line 7 the letters Є I are cut as Ⴑ. I repeat the somewhat inaccessible text with a few changes: —

1 —Ε⊥
2 [*Νι*]*κομαχ*[*ο*
3 ΣΠΑΛ
4 *Κηρυκίσ*[*χος*]
5 ΑΝΟΣ
6 *Λιτῶν*
7 ΝⴑΚΟCΔΗΜ
8 *Ἱεραύλης*
9 *Ν Λιοιτσίο*[*υ*]

In restoring and interpreting this fragment we may assume that the three preserved titles give us the approximate centre of the design. Lines 7 and 9 preserve nominative

endings: line 7 could be restored [*Στρατό*]*νεικος*, prefixing as many as, but not more than, 6 letters; line 9 demands at least 3. The margin which would be arrived at in this straight-forward way, however, we may for once reject, in view of the thickness of the stone. A wider stele is demanded, and we turn for guidance rather to the larger letters above. From the analogy of all other well-preserved lists, and particularly from 1723, we should expect traces in lines 1–3 of the words *Κῆρυξ τῆς Ἀρείου Πάγου Βουλῆς* but even line 1 does not contain them. As apparently in the inadequately preserved 1736 a, therefore, this Herald may have been omitted entirely. We may attempt next to insert in line 1, following 1723, the Hoplite General. This is quite feasible: [*Στρατηγὸ*]*ς ἐπ*[*ὶ τοὺς ὁπλείτας*], and it receives some confirmation from the fact that the first iota, occurring directly over the central letter K of *Κηρυκίσ*[*κος*], fixes an almost exactly equal number of letters on either side of the centre of the stele. Accepting this lead, we would supply *γόνωι δέ* after [*Νι*]*κομάχ*[*ου*] and thereby make line 2 only $1^1/_2$ letters shorter than line 1. Line 2 would then begin with a name of some $6^1/_2$ letters, line 3 with a name of $9^1/_2$ plus the preserved Σ, and we would understand the rest of line 3 as *Παλ*[*ληνεύς*], a populous deme under the Empire. The sole difficulty with this solution is the smaller letters beneath. We might conceive that, rather than throw the design out of balance by a mass of small letters close to the left margin, all these letters were moved nearer to the middle, and that the usual even margin was abandoned. This may explain the one difficulty: which is not to say that the scheme is solid enough to serve as a basis for arguments. Instead of the Hoplite General (see under 1723), for instance, we might of course restore the fourth *Thesmothetes*, although parallels could not be adduced. The scheme outlined above would in any event yield a stele of a width (some 0.50 m. including margins) in keeping with the preserved thickness. To secure the desirable height other lists, or at least several other dignitaries of the same year, must be imagined.

In the list of functionaries, so far as we can judge, no Herald of the Areopagos occurs, but naturally he is not excluded from a position above the [*Στρατηγό*]*ς*. The *Κηρυκίσκος* appears also in 1723, instead of an Archon's Herald, and probably also in 1736 a. The word *Λίτων* is indented so far that there can be no doubt that we have the entire word. It does not occur elsewhere, but obviously stands in place of the *Λ*(*ε*)*ιτουργός*. A verb *λειτορεύω* is known in Thessaly, and in an Egyptian(?) papyrus; in Athens we have a *λειτωρ*; the form *λήτωρ* occurs elsewhere (see Liddell-Scott-Jones, pp. 1036, etc.: *λίτων* is omitted). The *Ἱεραύλης* is also recorded in 1736 a, where he stands in place of the *αὐλητής*. We have then a unique list, but since each of the three subordinates obviously replaces a functionary who appears in other lists, we have a document which belongs in a related class, other members of which are 1723, 1736 a, and perhaps 1725.

From the lunate forms of letters in the lower lines, as well as from the peculiarities of the list, one might suggest a date in the first century A.D. The ligature in line 4 (ϵϩ) is lacking in Larfeld's list (*Handbuch*[2], II, p. 513); of course ligatures are rare before Hadrian's time. Possibly *EM* 4692 falls toward the end of the first century.

I.G.^{2} *II 1736 a* (*ibid.*, pp. 813–814) *of med. s.* II *p.*

Our only record, in *Codex Venetus Marcianus*, cl. XIV 200, apparently a reliable copy, preserves less than half of the inscription. The design of the whole, however, can easily be made out. The letters of lines 1–6 are indicated as more widely spaced than those below, and were probably larger, as in *EM* 4692. The titles [ΑΡΧΩΝ], [Β]ΑΣΙΛ[ΕΥΣ], [Π]ΟΛΕΜΑ[ΡΧΟΣ], and [Γ]ΡΑΜΜΑΤΕ[ΥΣ] were each set close to the left edge, and the name followed on the same line, being continued in the line following. The design is thus somewhat similar to that of 1736.

The remaining titles were centred: ΘΕ[ΣΜΟΘΕΤΑΙ] and ΙΕΡΑ[ΥΛΗΣ] present no difficulties. Line 13 has been restored by Kirchner as ΚΗΡ[ΥΞΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣ], but this gives an unparalleled and inadmissable excess of letters *on the right* (for an excess of letters on the left, which is not unlikely in itself, see 1717). ΚΗΡ[ΥΞ] alone is also without sanction, so that we think of ΚΗΡ[ΥΚΙΣΚΟΣ], apparently $2^1/_2$ letters too long; but as in *EM* 4692 we would then have, in company with the otherwise unknown Ἱεραύλης, the *Κηρυκίσχος*, who appears elsewhere only in 1723.

The period suggested by the connections with *EM* 4692 of *fin. s.* I *p.* or thereabouts is strengthened by the dating of the single dot interpunct in lines 4 and 11 (Larfeld, *Gr. Ep.*^{3}, pp. 303–304). More certain is the leaf in line 12. Larfeld (*Handbuch*^{2}, II, p. 586) gives *I.G.*^{1} III 267 as the first instance, but its isolation is an argument against the earlier limit of the date between Augustus and Hadrian, which Dittenberger gave it on the basis solely of letter forms. Investigation shows that the first recorded instance elsewhere, apart from sepulchral monuments and dedications, is *I.G.*^{2} II 1991 of "*s.* I *p.*," an ephebe list dated solely by one possible prosopographical link. Again the isolation of this instance suggests a later date, for the leaf occurs on dated inscriptions only in Hadrian's time and after (*I.G.*^{2} II 2040 of 127/8, 2041 of 128/9, 2055 of 145/6, 2058 of 146/7 or shortly after, 2079 of 158/9, 2085 of 161/2, and later examples). We may date 1736 a, then, *med. s.* II *p.*[1]

PART II: CONSPECTUS

The tribal affiliations of the *archontes* as given in Table III of Ferguson's *Tribal Cycles*, pp. 50–51, may be somewhat expanded.[2] As given below, two changes in its form have also been made. Through the year 224/3, the hypothetical year of the creation of Ptolemais,

[1] The small undated ephebe list *I.G.*^{2} II 2276, part of a herm which preserves a leaf, is therefore probably of the second century A.D.

[2] Dinsmoor's exposition for 1706 (*Archons*, Appendix E, pp. 460–463), which is ideally explicit, will also naturally be opened by the reader.

brackets enclose the number of the tribe which a given Archon would have, if Ptolemais had been created in 230/29. In assigning these bracketed numbers, the subdivision of Phlya[1] has been conceded. The second change from Ferguson's Table III is that the tribes are designated so that each tribe retains the same symbol throughout all the lists:—

A Antigonis
D Demetrias
1 Erechtheis
2 Aigeis
3 Pandionis
4 Leontis
P Ptolemais
5 Akamantis
6 Oineis
7 Kekropis
8 Hippothontis
9 Aiantis
10 Antiochis
11 Attalis

As in Ferguson's Table, an asterisk (*) denotes a year in which the *Thesmothetae* do not appear in the official order of the *phylae*; and daggers (†) denote a year in which a single *phyle* was represented by two or more *archontes*. Either of these symbols, when enclosed in parentheses, denotes a year in which it could possibly be alleged that there was, respectively, disturbed order, or double representation. The tables below include all existing lists of *archontes* and related lists (numbers of related lists in parentheses). **Black-face letters and numbers** in the tables denote such changes as are proposed in the present studies.

[1] As to Phlya, there is an element of uncertainty (Dinsmoor, *Archons*, pp. 450–451, 463 and n. 1), which is not resolved by the following peculiar fact. In all our lists of *archontes*, which represent 43 years, men of Phlya appear 11 times. No other deme is so prominent. Phaleron and Marathon (Aiantis) are next with 7 appearances each. No other deme except Kydathenaion (Antigonis, then Pandionis) scores even as high as 7 in a tabulation of the lists of *archontes*. As to Phlya: if, as the absence of proved negative instances suggests, the deme was not divided, we may note a connection between its prominence and the composition of the tribe Ptolemais. To make up this tribe at least 23, at most 25, demes (*I.G.*[2] II 2362) were selected and Berenikidai was somehow created. Of these demes many were apparently insignificant, and only Aphidna (formerly of Aiantis) and Phlya (formerly of Kekropis) appear to have been populous. Hence if *archontes* were to be drawn at all from Ptolemais, Phlya, Aphidna, and Berenikidai would naturally supply them, at least in a period like this when the lot was tampered with. In our records Aphidna supplied 6 and Berenikidai 5; no other deme supplied any. The lists show only one man from Phlya as a major Archon, and only 4 Archons eponymous under the Empire were from Phlya.

1706[1]

Date	Archon	*Phylae* of Archon	*Phylae* of King	*Phylae* of Polemarch	*Phylae* of *Thesmothetae*					
230/29	—									
229/8	Heliodoros	D (or A)	6	5 [P]	2	3	4	8	9	10
228/7	Leochares	10	3	6	A	2	5	7 [P]	8	9
227/6	Theophilos	8	9 [P]	6	D	1	3	4	7	10
226/5	Ergochares	5	—	4	A	D	1	7 [P]	8	9
225/4	Niketes	4	8	A or 1	D	2	5	6	7 [P]	10
* 224/3	Antiphilos	9 [P]	D	10	A	1 (or A)	7	4	5?	—
223/2	Kalli(as?)?									
222/1	Kalli - - ?									
221/0	Thrasyphon	D?	—	—	—	—	2	6	8	9
* 220/19	Menekrates	6	7	D (or 10?)	A	8 (or D?)	2	4	P	9
219/8	Chairephon	10	2	9	A	—	—	—	—	—
218/7	(K)all(i)..5..									
217/6	Euandros?	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	9	10
216/5	Hagnias	2	5	4	D	1	3	P	7	9
† 215/4	Diokles	A	3	2 (or 1?)	2	P	5	6	7	10
214/3	Euphiletos	3	8	6	A	1	P	7	9	10
213/2	Herakleitos	7	—	—	—	2?	—	5	6?	8 (or 10)

2336[2]

103/2	Theokles									
* 102/1	Echekrates	—	—	9	8	2	6	4	P	5
101/0	Medeios	8	11	3	1	P	5	6	7	*vac*
100/99	Theodosios	6	4	8	1	2	3	P	9	11
99/8	Prokles									
98/7	Argeios	9	5	7	3	P	6	8	10	11
97/6	Argeios									
96/5	Herakleitos	5	2	6	1	3	4	P	9	11 (or 10?)

[1] See the new edition, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 418–446; and *below*, p. 187.

[2] See *above*, p. 140. The numeral for the fifth Thesmothete of the year of Theodosios is given in Ferguson's Table as 11. The deme being Rhamnus (line 155), the numeral in his table should be 10 (Aiantis).

Date	Archon	*Phylae* of Arch.	King	Pol.	*Phylae* of *Thesmothetae*	Functionaries			
					1714[1]				
†88/7	**(Anarchy)**	—	P	11	2 P 6 7 9 10	H. Areo. 4			
					1715				
†85/4?	Pythokritos	—	2	4	4				
					1727				
***Ante* 63/2?**	**Nikostratos**	—	**9**	—	3 – **11** –				
					1717				
†56/5	Kointos	9	10	8	1 P 5 7 8 10	H. Areo. 3	Flut. 2	H. Arch. 7	Slave
					1720				
***Ca.* 56/5**				—	– – – – 9 –	H. Areo. 4	Flut. 2	H. Arch. –	Slave
					1719				
†46/5	Eukles	9	—	—	1 P 8 **9** –				
					1718				
36/5—18/7	Menneas	—	—	6	– 3 – – – –	H. Areo. –	H. Arch. 8	**Flut. –**	
					1721				
14/3	Polyainos	11	4	P	1 2 3 5 7 8	H. Areo. 4	H. Arch. 2	Flut. 5	Servant
					1722				
†*Ca.* 8 *a.*	Xenon	Pr	P	5	6	1 2 3 4 4 6	H. Areo. 7	H. Arch. 5	Flut. 11	Servant
					1724				
Post 9/8	Anaxagoras	Pr	—	—					
					(1725)				
Post 9/8	Pam - - ?	Pr	—						

[1] Lists, the numbers of which are enclosed in parentheses, are certainly not, or are doubtfully, lists of *archontes*. The Herald of the Areopagos is abbreviated H. Areo.; of the Archon, H. Arch.; and space is provided in 1722 ff. for the Priest of the Consul Drusus, abbreviated Pr. Deme affiliations of the Functionaries are included for completeness: they prove nothing (*contra*, references in *I.G.*^{2} II, *passim*), and are not considered elsewhere in this study, but they are potentially interesting: Ferguson, *Tribal Cycles*, p. 52, n. 1. In at least one instance the *Ἀθληπής* was not an annual officer: 1717 and 1720 have the same man, so that it would seem dubious whether the number of officials listed, 12, were related to the 12 *phylae*.

Date	Archon	*Phylae* of Arch.	King	Pol.	*Phylae* of *Thesmothetae*	Functionaries			
			(1726?)						
Post 9/8	————	Pr	—						
			1730						
††*Init. s.* I *p.*	Polycharmos	Pr	9	9	—	– 3 6 9 –			
			1728						
Init. s. I *p.*						– – – –	H. Areo. 9	H. Arch. –	Flut. –	Servant
			1729						
†*Init. s.* I *p.*						P 5 8 9 9 10	"*Vacat*"	H. Arch. –	Flut. –	Servant
			1731						
Init. s. I *p.*								H. Arch. 4,11	Flut. –	Servant
			1734						
Init. s. I *p.*	**(Anarchy)**		6	2	1 3 –				
			(1723)						
***Ante* 13/4**	Demokrates	Pr	—	The Hoplite General			H. Areo. –	Herald –	Flut. –	Servant
			1735						
†40/1–53/4	Metrodoros	**Pr**	—	—	9	– – – **9**			
			1736						
††**Med. s.* I *p.*				**6**	6	3 3 P 9 – 7	H. Areo. 7	**General? –**		
			(*EM* 4692)						
Fin. s.* I *p.				**The Hoplite General**			Herald –	*Λιτῶν* –	Sac. Flut. –	
			1736 a						
Med. s.* II *p.				—	—	Sec.	– – – – –	**Herald –**	Sac. Flut. –	

Our evidence is obviously meager in the earlier period and of limited and somewhat different significance in the later. Awaiting confirmation or refutation by new evidence, one can only derive from the old such hypotheses as it suggests.

I. There was a strong tendency to record *Thesmothetae* in their tribal order. The exceptions are in the years 224/3, 102/1, and a year toward the middle of the First Century A.D. (*I.G.*^{2} II 1736);[1] in the first of these only one tribe is out of place, in the

[1] Not perfectly certain is a fifth exception, dated *paullo ante* 63/2 B.C. (1727, line 10: *above*, p. 148).

second two, and in the last not more than two, perhaps only one. Beloch's Law is thus upheld, and exceptions are probably clerical errors. Let us note, however, three instances in which by itself the Law has been held to prove the subdivision of a deme. (A) Amphitrope, 1706, line 30 (Dinsmoor, *Archons*, p. 447). (B) Anakaia, 1706, lines 19 and 96 (Dinsmoor, *op. cit.*, p. 447), if retained entire in Hippothontis, upsets the order in the year of Menekrates (220/19). If subdivided, however, it causes a duplication of tribes in the same year, for Antigonis and Demetrias are already represented. Demetrias is represented, apparently, by Atene, whose membership in that tribe, rather than in its original Antiochis, is inferred by Beloch's Law solely from 1706, line 135. To avoid the duplication of Demetrias, therefore, it has been conjectured that Atene as well as Anakaia was subdivided (Dinsmoor, *Archons*, pp. 447–448, p. 463, n. 2; Ferguson, *Tribal Cycles*, p. 51, n. 2). In sum, two demes have been in theory subdivided in order merely to avert one breach of Beloch's Law. In each case the above is the sum total of evidence; and in each case the inference is from Beloch's Law alone. It is more plausible, especially in the case of (B), to suppose a clerical error, that is, a line out of order. See under II.

II. The tribal order of the *Thesmothetae* in our lists is naturally a detail of a different sort from the duplication of tribes: the former is a matter merely of drawing up and recording a list, the latter is the product of the electoral machinery. Exceptions to the electoral principle that no two *archontes* should be of the same tribe were freely made after the suppression of the Demos in 91 B.C.: every later list with more than four preserved demotics of *archontes*, except 1721 alone, shows such duplication. In 1706, on the other hand, the number of possible duplications has been steadily reduced until, in the latest discussion, none is allowed (Dinsmoor, *Archons*, p. 462). It is possible nearly always to avoid in any given year the duplication of a tribe by conjecturing that a deme was subdivided; and no one can deny that this procedure is correct. We may group the data in a descending order of probability as respects duplication. (A) Most probably containing duplication is the year of Diokles, where the stone at line 143 favors ΦΙΛΑ, which means two *archontes* of the tribe Aegeis. (B) Atene has just been discussed. (C) In order to avoid duplication of Aegeis in the year (229/8) of Heliodoros, Diomeia, 1706, line 1, is universally assigned to one of the Macedonian tribes. Doubt arises as to whether Antigonis or Demetrias received the whole. To keep the secretary of 307/6 in tribal order Demetrias has been favored (Dinsmoor, *Archons*, pp. 37, 448, 450, n. 3, with references; Ferguson, *Tribal Cycles*, p. 64, n. 1, p. 143, n. 1). Aegeis, the tribe to which Diomeia earlier belonged, was one of the first five tribes, all others of which contributed to Antigonis only, unless Diomeia was excepted in order to preserve the cycle, and perhaps also in order to bring Stratokles of Diomeia, the pro-Macedonian demagogue, into Demetrias. The same end could have been attained by letting the first five tribes contribute to Demetrias and the other five to Antigonis. If Aegeis gave up four demes in all, rather than three or two like the other tribes, surely that is proof not that Aegeis was especially victimized in order to honor Demetrias, but that the four

demes were comparatively small. [See the Notes *below*.] (D) Pergase, line 56 (Dinsmoor, *Archons*, p. 449) is supposed currently to have been divided between Erechtheis and Antigonis, merely to avoid the assumption that duplication of Antigonis occurred in 224/3; but it is known that there was an Upper and a Lower Pergase. (E) Apart from 1706, our meager records do not tell us whether in this period certain demes were wholly or partly transferred to other tribes, or retained by the original tribes. Judging from Schöffer's list (*PW* 5, columns 35–122), which I have not attempted to bring up to date, the following demes are now considered, solely from the evidence of 1706, to have been retained in their original tribes: Hamaxanteia, Thria, Keiradai, Lakiadai, Oion Dekeleikon, Paionidai, Probalinthos, Ptelea, Skambonidai, Sybridai. Similarly, 1706 supports the view that Deiradiotai was transferred as a whole to Demetrias (Dinsmoor, *Archons*, p. 448).

It is reasonable, surely, to suppose that in the case of (E) the current view is correct. As to (D), (C), (B), and (A), there is no decisive objective consideration to guide us. It is *not* invariably true that only large demes were subdivided, if one may judge by Kirchner's lists of demesmen (*PA* II, pp. 493–630).[1]

The fact that duplication was very frequent in lists after the suppression of the *demos* in 91 B.C. cannot be held as proof for lists before that date, for in the earlier period duplication, if any, was clearly infrequent. We can only hope for new evidence. In connection with these problems, we may recall that the system was admittedly tampered with in a quite different but possibly a cognate respect: " allotment " had become a mere phrase.[2]

III. As to the year of the first functioning of Ptolemais, we have to note that, the year of Menekrates being the first year in which the *Thesmothetae* are out of order if Ptolemais did not function, we have moved the *terminus ante quem* to 220/19 (from 222/1); but since Berenike died in 221, the change is small.

IV. In regard to Ptolemais one is struck by a peculiar fact, possibly an accident. Beginning with the year of Antiphilos (224/3) no year for which we have even a complete list of *Thesmothetae* lacks a representative of Ptolemais. Beginning with 224/3, we have

[1] Kirchner's lists show the following totals of known demesmen for demes known to have been divided: Agryle 75, Ankyle 79, Eitea 48, Eroiadai 41, Ikaria 120, Kolone 98, Lamptrai 356, Oinoe 99, Paiania 355, Pergase 68, Phegaia 64, Potamos 78, Semachidai 36. Demes of which the subdivision is doubtful have a slightly smaller average: Amphitrope 67, Anakaia 38, Atene 47, Kikynna 56, Philaidai 82. On populations of demes see A. W. Gomme, *The Population of Athens in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries* B.C. (Oxford, 1933), p. 55 and tables on following pages. For bouleutai he records: Amphitrope 2, Anakaia 4 (later 3, see p. 52), Atene 3, Kikynna 2, Philaidai 3. Of Phlya 224 demesmen are known, 2 (+?) bouleutai. In whatever connection, *I.G.*^{2} II 2468 lists 13 demesmen of Phlya.

[2] The new theory of Archon cycles (Ferguson, *op. cit.* pp. 48 ff.) is not affected.—Of successive stages in the break-down of the tribal system of allocating and ordering offices, a system deeply ingrained in the structure of the state (Ferguson, *Tribal Cycles*, p. 49), we are ill-informed. The evidence is summarized particularly for the Hellenistic period by Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, pp. 289, 420, 456, etc.; by Sundwall in *Klio*, Beiheft 14, pp. 68 ff.; particularly for the first century B.C. by Ferguson, *Klio*, IX, 1909, pp. 328–330, and Dinsmoor, *Archons*, pp. 281, 286, 287 and n. 1, and Ch. XVI *passim*; particularly for Roman times by Graindor, *Chronologie*, p. 14, n. 1.

19 lists whole, or mutilated in such a way that, if Ptolemais were represented, it might be expected in the surviving portion of the list. In 17 of these lists Ptolemais does in fact appear. The other two lists, which lack Ptolemais, lack at least one major Archon, so that Ptolemais is not excluded from these years.[1]

V. There follows a digest of the deme and tribal affiliations of Archons eponymous, that is, all not included in these lists, under the Empire. In making this digest, the dates given by Kirchner (*I.G.*² II–III, ii, pp. 789 ff.) and Graindor (*Chronologie des archontes athéniens sous l'Empire,* Mém. de l'Acad. royale de Belgique, Classe des Lettres, 8, 1922, pp. 291 ff.; *Athènes de Tibère à Trajan,* Université Égyptienne, Recueil de Travaux publiés par la Faculté des Lettres, 8ème fasc., pp. 73, n. 5 and 207–208) have been adopted without new investigation; but the readings of all lists of *archontes* (except *I.G.*² II 2336) now preserved in the Epigraphical Museum have been reviewed and changes signalized in Part I.

ARCHONS EPONYMOUS UNDER THE ROMAN EMPIRE

Symbol	Tribe	Prominent Demes[2]
A	(Antigonis)	
D	(Demetrias)	
1	Erechtheis	Lamptrai (3 times)
2	Aegeis	Gargettos (3)
3	Pandionis	Paiania (7), Steiria (6)
4	Leontis	———
P	Ptolemais	Phlya (4)
5	Akamantis	Sphettos (5)
	Hadrianis	Besa (2)
6	Oineis	Acharnai (3)
7	Kekropis	Melite (9)
8	Hippothontis	Azenia (3), Piraeus (3)
9	Aiantis	Marathon (16), Phaleron (10)
10	Antiochis	———
11	Attalis	———

TOTALS*

Archons under Empire	*Archontes* in all Lists	Total
	7 (+1)	7 (+1)
	7 (+2)	7 (+2)
4 (+2)	13 (+2)	17 (+4)
7 (+1)	16 (+2)	23 (+3)
14	18 (+1)	32 (+1)
1 (+3)	15	16 (+3)
4 (+1)	17	21 (+1)
7	15 (+1)	22 (+1)
2		2
4	20 (+1)	24 (+1)
7 (+2)	16 (+1)	23 (+3)
6	16 (+1)	22 (+1)
26	27 (+1)	53 (+1)
6	14 (+3)	20 (+3)
5 (+4)	5 (+1)	10 (+5)
93 (+13)	206 (+17)	299 (+30)

* Numbers in parentheses denote doubtful additions to the minima outside parentheses.

[1] The first year is that of [Thrasyphon, 221/0] *I.G.*² II 1706, ll. 87–90, with two major Archons missing; the second is that of *I.G.*² II 1730, which lacks the Polemarch. *If* Ptolemais were granted some sort of prerogative by which it furnished every year one of the nine *archontes*, it would follow that Ptolemais was not functioning in the year of Niketes (225/4), even if Phlya was a divided deme.—The division of Phlya, if admitted, would vitiate any theory of a "privilege" of Ptolemais.

[2] Various factors have induced discrepancies of not more than two, in some of the counts, between this list and Graindor's (*Chronologie*, p. 306). For the relative population of various demes at this time, cf. also Graindor, *Athènes sous Auguste*, p. 109. Since the Archonship was now a heavy burden, "anarchia" denoting a year in which no one could be found to carry it (Graindor, *Athènes de Tibère à Trajan*, pp. 19,

In view of the privilege of Aiantis (Ferguson, *op. cit.* pp. 78 ff.), it is curious to observe that among the *archontes* preserved in *I.G.*² II 1706, Aiantis provided 11, whereas no other *phyle* has more than 8. In all the later lists, not including the separate Archons, Aiantis again has a plurality, 15. The leading position of Aiantis is thus abundantly clear—however we try to explain it. It might be urged, for instance, that the prominence of this or that deme, which *happened* to be in Aiantis, misleads us; and to be sure the affiliations of Archons eponymous under the Empire with Marathon and Phaleron do by themselves make Aiantis conspicuous. But in the lists of *archontes* the same is not entirely true: Marathon is absent from *I.G.*² II 1706, and Phaleron from *I.G.*² II 2336.

Methods of erecting lists of *archontes* deserve a summary. Judging from the fact that, out of 2788 inscriptions (plus those in Addenda) published in *I.G.*² II–III, *partes* I–II, only one is a list of *archontes* prior to *ca.* 100 B.C., and remembering that *I.G.*² II 2336 is not primarily a list of *archontes* at all, one infers that such lists were commonly recorded elsewhere than on stone down nearly to the first century B.C. In the next period, when the Areopagos had grown strong, lists for one year each were thereafter not infrequently inscribed, each on a separate small stele, in the bold letters of the time. The marble in every instance is Pentelic, except the earliest of these small lists, 1714 of 88/7. In the first century B.C. we find a series (1717, 1720, 1718) which were supported by iron attachments to the side, low down; from 14/3 B.C. we have 1721 with clear indications that it was supported from the top of its gable. In all such cases the decline of the proper stele shape was hastened by the fact that the sides were not intended to be seen. Unluckily no other list in Athens has a side preserved at the point where such cuttings are found; but it is clear that the sides of 1723 and 1725, both of which we have supposed not to be lists of the *archontes*, were meant to be seen, and hence that for them the old support of a leaded base alone was used.

We possess whole or partial texts of 18 small lists.[1] Presumably they were set up at the end of the year during which the officials listed served, or else in the year following. It is not so easy for us to guess *why* they were set up; lists of other kinds almost invariably had explanatory headings, so that we must infer that the purpose

n. 2, 72 ff.), the list above evidently records some deme affiliations of the wealthy. They appear to have become concentrated in a comparatively few places. The lists of *archontes* have representatives of no fewer than 89 of the 177 demes, 1706 alone having 56; the Archons under the Empire were drawn from 38 demes.—It is interesting to set these data beside those given by A. W. Gomme, *The Population of Athens in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries* B.C. (Oxford, 1933), pp. 37–39, for important people in the earlier period.

[1] *I.G.*² II 1714, 1715, 1717, 1718, 1719, 1720, 1721, 1722, 1724, 1727, 1728, 1729, 1730, 1731, 1734, 1735, 1736, 1736 a (pp. 813–814). Either doubtfully or certainly different are 1723, 1725, 1726, *EM* 4692 (see *above*, p. 166). In a group by themselves are 1723 and *EM* 4692. In both apparently are recorded the Hoplite General; two minor functionaries are set apart at the end by smaller letters. 1736 a, a true list, but a late one, of *archontes*, is related to *EM* 4692 by the presence of the Ἱεραύλης and probably also the Κηρυκίσκος. 1725 may belong to the group, but the stone is very thin: 1723 and *EM* 4692 are cut on stelae which are conspicuously thick in relation to the sizes of the letters.

was universally understood, or perhaps was clear from their being set up in some obvious location near a public building or monument. Places of finding are recorded for 14; since 6 were found on the Acropolis, possibly all were originally set up there (Fimmen, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXIX, 1914, p. 137; *EM* 4692 was also found there). 1720 is the only earlier one of these from the Acropolis; others, mostly early, group themselves southeast of the Acropolis (1717, 1719, 1721?, 1727; also 1723; cf. Dragoumes, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1915, p. 6);[1] two more were found near the tower of Andronicus. Professor Shear has permitted me to mention that two small but fairly certain fragments have been discovered in the Greek Agora.

We are reduced to the inscriptions themselves for an answer to Keil's question (*op. cit.* p. 65) " Was in aller Welt hat der *Κῆρυξ* mit und unter neun Archonten zu tun? " His own answer, that the group served as a judicial commission, was rejected by Graindor, *Ath. sous Aug.*, pp. 110–111, and Kirchner (*I.G.*² II 1717). Keil explained the Herald's position as due to his late arrival on the board, but we shall see that the position was normal for him. There is nothing decisive for or against Keil. Another answer, proposed by Dragoumes (*Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1915, pp. 5–7, not considered by Graindor but mentioned by Kirchner), was that the lists recorded the leaders of the Pythais. This conjecture, though incapable of proof, nevertheless points in the right direction. The Delphian lists record (*Fouilles de Delphes*, III, 2), in addition to a group headed by the Hoplite General, the following leaders:

	No. 3	No. 4	No. 2
138/7	128/7	106/5	98/7
(not preserved)	Arch.	—	Arch.
	Bas.	—	Bas.
	Pol.	—	Pol.
	6 Thes.	—	6 Thes.
	Her. Areo.	[Her. Areo.]	Her. Areo.
		Her. Arch.	Her. Arch.
			Trumpeter

From *I.G.*² II 2336, where the Herald of the Areopagos appears once (and for whom a blank space was probably intended in a second instance) immediately after the nine *archontes*, it is impossible to prove much. Such appears to have been his normal position; yet his actual place in the state during the latter part at least of the period covered by the lists of *archontes* was certainly one of greater prestige, for eventually, though not originally, only the Archon and Basileus were enrolled in the Areopagos (Keil, *op. cit.* p. 84). Hence the position of the Herald in the lists was, or rather came to be, out of

[1] The similarity in workmanship and in deterioration of 1717 and 1727 (*above*, p. 149) suggests that they were set up, as they were found, near together, in the Street of the Tripods. This tends partially to confirm the view of Dragoumes.

keeping with his dignity. We should conceive that he continued to appear, as moderns would say, *ex-officio*, like some head of a corporation automatically a member of one of its committees. In *EM* 6083, as Graindor has pointed out (*Rev. Arch.*, 1917, p. 2–4), we find the nine *archontes* together honoring the Herald.[1]

Just what the group in question did as a unit we do not know. Conceivably the lists merely commemorated some cult performance symbolic of the initiation or completion of the term of the *archontes*. The leading of the Pythais was probably not the event: though it is curious that their enneeteric sequence (Ferguson, *op. cit.* p. 147, n. 1) is exactly fitted by 1714 in 88/7 and 1720 in 56/5; but some time in the first century the *archontes* ceased to be the leaders (*Fouilles de Delphes*, III 2, p. 62), nor did they later lead the Dodecade (Graindor, *Ath. sous Aug.*, p. 141). Lists of Pythaists should be longer, and indeed we do have a fragment of just such a document, *I.G.*^{2} II 1941 of 106/5, found at the Dipylon (set up in the Pompeion?) hence far from where lists of *archontes* were set up, and again unlike them, cut on a heavy post of Hymettian. The smooth sides of this post and its general aspect suggest that it bore originally, on front and sides above our fragment, the complete list of the great Pythais of its year, namely the full contents of *Fouilles de Delphes*, III 2, nos. 4, 5, 9, 13, 14, 15, 25, 28, 30.

A detailed study of the functionaries therein names is not called for here, especially after Graindor's discussions for two periods (*Ath. sous Aug.*, pp. 109–115; *Athènes de Tibère à Trajan*, pp. 72–73), but no chronological survey of them all has hitherto been made. Our earliest list (1714 of 98/7 B.C.) includes only the Herald of the Areopagos, who had already appeared with the *archontes* in lists of Pythaists inscribed at Delphi, and in *I.G.*^{2} II 2336 (of 103/2–96/5), as we have seen. Little is known of the rise of the Herald (summary in Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, p. 429, n. 2; see also Keil, *op. cit.* pp. 52f.). Keil compares this Herald with the Herald of the Boule and Demos. Though originally and much later they may have been analogous, the latter, at least in the earlier second century B.C., was not an annual but a long-term (life?) appointment, hereditary mainly in one family. He cannot even have been a member of the Boule. From the fact that he received no outstanding honor, it is doubtful whether, by dominating the *proedroi* of each meeting, he attained a position analogous to that of the Herald-President of the Areopagos. Indeed of all our lists, the latter Herald was probably absent only from *EM* 4692 and 1736a, of which we have conjectured that the former did not list *archontes*, while the latter, with its numerous peculiarities, is rightly supposed by Kirchner to be the last of the series.

The other persons whom I have termed "Functionaries" were doubtless quite inferior, and we should be wary of connecting with political changes (for which see Ferguson,

[1] The third letter of line 5, begun as N, was partially erased.—Treading on dangerous ground, one might wonder whether *EM* 6083 does not belong rather in the middle of the first century A.D.; the lettering is somewhat like that of 1736 of "*med. s.* I *p.*" The fact that the *archontes* honor the Herald suggests the latter's definite superiority: this favors the later date, for in the earlier period the Herald, whatever his actual influence, began by being listed after the ancient board.

Klio, IX, 1909, pp. 323–330, and 340) the various alterations of their order and personnel. Such an alteration took place (see Table) between 56/5 and 14/3, in that Flutist and Archon's Herald exchanged places, while the *Δημόσιος* gave way to a metic called a *Λειτουργός*. These changes *may* be due to the aristocratic restoration of *ca.* 53 B.C. At the time of Graindor's most recent study (*Athènes de Tibère à Trajan*, 1931, p. 73, n. 5) it appeared to him that no list could be dated after Claudius. It is now clear that 1736 is permitted to be slightly later, that *EM* 4692 probably falls toward the end of the century, and that 1736a dates from at least eighty years after Claudius. The absence of the Hoplite General from the regular lists is their most striking feature, explained by Graindor (*Ath. sous Aug.*, p. 113) as due to his non-civil character; among the Delphian Pythaists he heads the more specifically cult officials, the Hieromnemon changing from the other group to his. Conversely, his presence in 1723 and *EM* 4692 sets these two apart, perhaps in a class which shows that the old bonds which held the group together were slackening. Thus other variations in the Functionaries begin with 1723 and 1736, whether or not the Hoplite General appears in the latter; we meet now such titles as *Κηρυκίσκος* (at first replacing the Archon's Herald: 1723), *Λιτῶν*, and *Ἱεραύλης*, and on our latest fragments we miss the Herald of the Areopagos from his normal position.

Retaining Graindor's restoration of 1723, we can count seven positive and no negative instances to show that the Archon was always and not occasionally in these documents recorded as Priest of Drusus after 9/8 B.C. On the other hand, our study of 1723, 1725, and 1735 has removed all reason for supposing that the chief Archon was ever described in lists as *ἐπώνυμος*. In lists of this sort, where the titles of all the other Archons are given, to distinguish the first by *ἐπώνυμος* is strictly superfluous. Elsewhere it may not have been so, and for this reason we need not seriously question Graindor's assertion (*Ath. sous Aug.*, pp. 113–114) that the use of the title *ἐπώνυμος* began under Augustus. The one instance, however, is *I.G.*[1] III 130 of somewhat uncertain date; we have found independent reason to doubt the restoration of *ἐπώνυμος* in *I.G.*[2] II 1725. The next occurrence is secure in 41 A.D., where *I.G.*[1] III 458 alone in the reign of Claudius bears it; the word *ἄρχοντος* being again a restoration but scarcely to be doubted.

The unique appearance of a Secretary in 1736a, the latest of our lists, which had evidently only five *Thesmothetae*, reminds us of the Secretary of the *Thesmothetae* of an earlier time (Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, LV, 1); but at that time he was not one of the six, whereas from 1736a it might appear that he was chosen Secretary instead of or as well as *Thesmothetes*, the six being reduced possibly to five.—The omission of the secretary mentioned by Aristotle is significant for the history of that office, for Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.*, LXII, 2) mentions the Archon's Herald and the Flutist.

ADDENDUM ON *I.G.*² II 1706 (Fig. 15)

The edition in *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 418–446 should be amended to allow ΦḶΔ̣ rather than ΦΗΓ[ΟΥ] in line 143, as *above*. The argument against Dinsmoor's reconstruction is not sound as respects the alleged unlikelihood that small letters were cut two meters above the level of which the reader stood; no stele, to be sure, with letters that size cut at that height exists; but further inspection in the *EM* leads me to believe that by itself such a feature is possible. The complete lack of any sign of a means of attachment, on the other hand, conflicts with the theory of a revetment or pilaster; for stones naturally break where an iron is inserted. The force of this argument is increased somewhat by the discovery of a new fragment from the right edge of the stele. It is inevitable that in any excavation rich in inscriptions, inscribed blocks will continue to be found. In December 1933, the modern wall about the area where 1706 was found (see *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 427–429) having been demolished, the expert mender from the Agora, I. Bakoulis, hired by me and assisted by two boys, examined all the stones. Thirteen fragmentary inscriptions were found; Stavros Kontes, technical assistant in the *EM* and guard of the area, discovered two others; all were removed to the *EM*. There was also discovered the small piece of 1706 shown in Fig. 15: height 0.19 m., width 0.165 m., thickness 0.13 m. Right side and back, both original, show the characteristic treatment; veins, tooling, and discoloration are identical. The position of the fragment E should probably be somewhat more removed from B than Fig. 15 shows; for the smoothed side is wider on E (0.09–0.095 m.). There is no sign of any means of attachment. As to the hypothetical scheme of breakage (*op. cit.* pl. XII), E may be part of one of the missing larger blocks; or the lower right side may have been broken into small pieces.

Fig. 15. *I.G.*² II 1706, Fragments B and E

CLERICAL ERRORS IN LISTS

Among Athenian lists of all kinds, we find what appears to have been the proper order upset in the following instances (the latest summary is Dinsmoor, *Archons*, p. 463, n. 4, based on Ferguson, *Class. Phil.*, VIII, 1913, p. 222): (1) 1706, line 57. (2) 1706, line 96 (?). (3) 2336, lines 59, 61. (4) 1736, line 10. (5) 1008, col. II, line 110. (6) 1028, col. III, line 143. (7) 1996, col. II, line 75. (8) An instance not before clearly established will be proved by me elsewhere: in 800 certain *symproedroi* are listed out of order, though in all other known instances their order is perfect. I have examined the readings in all these cases and have found them correct. An instance formerly cited can be dropped: 1945, the first deme under Leontis (line 27), is omitted by Graindor (*B.C.H.*, LI, 1927, p. 320) and left blank by Kirchner. The traces are indeed difficult, but certainly the old reading *Ἐλεούσιοι* is wrong; the first letter, alone certain, is Γ or Γ, permitting *Ḥ*[*αιονίδαι*].

Deliberate corrections in order to restore the proper order are rare and difficult to detect. I shall show elsewhere that at least one such occurs in *I.G.*² II 2331. 1721 (*above*, p. 158), has erasures, but apparently for some other reason. The corrected formulae in the list of Delian Gymnasiarchs (Dinsmoor, *Archons*, p. 231) might be included here; but we need not go farther, to enumerate the scores of corrections in texts of all sorts.

The opposite of an omission, namely uncorrected dittography of an item, happens to be known to me in only one instance, *Fouilles de Delphes*, III 2, 14, line 15, pointed out by Kirchner in his commentary on *I.G.*² II 1941, the copy set up in Athens. The Delphian list has two previous disarrangements (lines 10 and 11) as judged by the Athenian; the disorder evidently occasioned the dittography. Lines 3, 10, and 18 have other evidences of carelessness.

We cannot of course speak of how errors may have arisen in the original redaction of any list. Once the copy was in the hands of the stone-cutter, an error in the sequence was easier perhaps than one realizes. In the first place, since any error, even if erased, leaves some sort of trace in the marble, the stone mason must attend nervously to every stroke; the work is vastly more exacting than writing or printing: letter-cutters cannot bear to be watched. Certainly not more than one item would be borne in mind at a time, and however careful the worker, he must needs glance at his copy after every line. Quite easily, absorbed by the effort of making good letters, the mason might overlook an item or two in his copy. Thus an error in a list occurs more readily than in a continuous text. Secondly, once the order was upset, there could be no inserting between-lines an omitted item; it is rare before the Empire. The alternatives then were to leave the error, or to erase and rectify. The rarity of such corrections is a proof that this alternative was avoided.

On the whole, it is remarkable how few clerical errors occur in Athenian lists; on the other hand, the absence of erasures whatever in a long list like 1706 is itself suspicious.

NOTES ON DEMES

There were in all about 175 Attic demes, and they were enrolled in the 10, 12, 13, 11, 12, and 13 tribes of the successive periods of Athenian history. The evidence for the affiliations of each of the demes in each of the periods is naturally a patch-work affair, strong in some places, weak or absent in others. In particular, Schöffer's (*PW* 5, cols. 35–122) and especially Dinsmoor's (*Archons*, pp. 444–451) painstaking studies of the tribal affiliations of the demes have called attention to certain difficulties, some of which can be resolved. Graindor has already done the ephebe lists (*B. C. H.*, LI, 1927, pp. 327–328): his correction of *I.G.*¹ III 1034, line 33 seems to have been too late for *I.G.*² II 1781; Leukonoe is saved from Antiochis. Systematic study by me, especially of *I.G.*² II 2362, must be postponed.

Anaphlystos. Elsewhere it will be made clear that *I.G.*² II 800 offers no evidence for subdivision, part going to Ptolemais (Johnson, *CP* IX, 1914, p. 438, noted in Dinsmoor, *Archons*, p. 510). Anaphlystos appears to have remained always in Antiochis.

Besa. Not to be connected with Antigonis by *I.G.*² II 912; see under Phegaia.

"Kaletea." Apparently appears by error in Dinsmoor's list, from Schöffer's, where its existence is doubted, or from Bates'. Its only possible occurrence, *I.G.*² II 1077, line 57, is rejected by Kirchner (*ibid.*), whose reading seems to me correct.

Kikynna. The original sub-division of this deme is a theory based on the lost *I.G.*² II 1927, of which line 37 was read K[. . . .]NEIΣ by Chandler. The inscription being non-stoichedon, the space occupied by IKΥN would be very nearly that required by ΘMO, so that only the reading of K stands in the way of restoring (A)[ΘMO]NEIΣ, a deme known to have belonged to Kekropis. Loeper, who has suggested the same demotic, also mentioned (T)[PINE](E)EIΣ; this is far more dubious; for A can, but T cannot, easily be confused with K. Chandler's copy of *I.G.*² II 1927 contained 15 proved errors. We may, therefore, query the view that Kikynna was a double deme, especially since the division of it would have to be between two of the original ten tribes.

Peiraios. That this deme was enrolled in Hippothontis during the period of the Macedonian tribes was conjectured from *I.G.*² II 478, line 21. The reading of another letter increases the certainty: [- - *Πει*]*ραιε*.

PHEGAIA. *I.G.*² II 912, line 24, listing apparently one of the demes of Antigonis, was read [*Βη*]*σαιεῖ*[*ς*] by Mylonas, [*Παιαν*]*ιεῖς* by Roussel, [*Φη*]*γαιεῖς* by Leonardos and Brückner; the latter version was accepted by Kirchner and Dinsmoor, although other authority is lacking for supposing that either deme of this name belonged to Antigonis. The stone shows that there can have been only one letter missing at the beginning; hence Phegaia is excluded. The third preserved letter has far too much space for iota; hence Paiania and Besa are excluded. My reading is ▒ΓΑ▒Ε▒, which possibly represents the name [*Ἐ*]*π̣αμεί*[*νων*], although the Γ might be Γ plus a scratch, and the M is faint.

POTAMOS. Originally all three demes of this name belonged to Leontis; one part went to Antigonis; finally, that part was transferred *not* back to Leontis (although every other known deme set free by the dissolution of Antigonis and Demetrias returned to its original tribe), but instead, according to the accepted reading of *I.G.*² II 1008, line 113, Potamos was given to another of the original ten tribes, Akamantis. This difficult assumption is erroneous. It is a tribute to Dinsmoor's rigid method, and to his ingenuity, that he suggested (*Archons*, p. 450) that the reading might be not *Ποτ*[*άμιος*] but *Πόρ*[*ιος*], to fit a deme known to be of Akamantis. The stone has *Πόρι*[*ο*]*ς*.

INDEX OF INSCRIPTIONS

Mentioned for special points (ordinary type)
Examined in some detail (**black-face type**)

STERLING DOW