

THE LIST OF *ARCHONTES*, I.G.² II 1706

PLATES XII, XIII, XIV

With reason Ferguson prompted a new examination of this inscription.¹ Roussel, concluding one of the better reviews of Dinsmoor's great *Archons of Athens in the Hellenistic Age*, remarks, "Attendons maintenant l'apport des fouilles [de l'agora d'Athènes] et rappelons que les fragments du catalogue d'archontes I.G.² II 1706 ont été trouvés 'dans la région de l'antique agora.'" ² Dinsmoor had already called this archon list "the keystone of [his] entire structure."³ Six editions, and a long list of articles and notices, have made it known outside the circle of specialists. It is our earliest and fullest list of the nine *archontes*; it has long supported the Ferguson Law of Secretary Cycles; its internal order is the basis for another Law, that of Beloch. No one, however, had studied the stones themselves with quite that meticulous curiosity which such a document demands; and in the course of the present article, which attempts some such treatment, a new source of importance is, I think, added to the rest. For it appears that the stones bear evidence, not known hitherto, which militates against Dinsmoor's arrangement of the cycles in this period, and in favor of the scheme of Ferguson.⁴

¹ On points architectural as well as epigraphical, Professor Ferguson, who has personally examined the stones, has been constantly helpful. I have had the advantage of conversation with Professor T. Leslie Shear, Director of the Agora Excavations, on matters especially of topography. Professor Richard Stillwell, Director of the American School; Professor Benjamin D. Meritt, Annual Professor at the American School; Dr. Homer A. Thompson and Dr. James H. Oliver, excavators of the Agora under Professor Shear, have all examined the stones and placed their knowledge at my disposal. To Professor Stillwell particularly I am grateful for what seems to me a solution of the riddle of the cuttings; to Professor Meritt for help with readings; to Dr. Thompson for other expert advice. From Professor W. B. Dinsmoor I have the honor of acknowledging my keenest criticism; if I still disagree, it is the disagreement of a student with a master. To Mr. A. Philadelphus, Director of the Epigraphical Museum, I owe not only kind permission to work on the stones, but also friendly interest during the undertaking. Thanking all, I wish to implicate none of these gentlemen either in agreement or in disagreement except as is expressly stated. The plates are the work of my sister, Miss Elizabeth Dow.

² *Rev. d. Et. Anc.* XXXIV 1932, p. 204.

³ *Archons*, p. 203.

⁴ Future scholars, following the exciting controversy over tribal cycles, will note that Ferguson's book, *Athenian Tribal Cycles in the Hellenistic Age*, Harvard Historical Monographs, I (Cambridge, 1932) had just gone to press when Meritt was able to obtain access to an inscription which had given Ferguson one of his points of attack on Dinsmoor. Here Meritt read hitherto unrecorded letters which showed that

The inscription consists simply of four fragments (A, B, C, and D, as shown in Pl. XII), which bear on their fronts a list of names with titles. The new evidence, which is derived from the backs of the four stones, will be presented first (Part I). This will illuminate the history of the stones themselves, of the text, and of the chronology based thereon, which together will compose Part II. Part III, a new reconstruction, is introduced by the refutation in Part II of certain previous theories, and is based on the new facts about the back (Part I). A new text follows (Pl. XIV). It has seemed best to discuss the matters based on the text, such as the tribal affiliations of the *archontes*, in another paper, to be published in *Hesperia*, on the various lists of *archontes*.

PART I: THE SIDES AND BACK

It did not escape Dinsmoor that, for the height demanded in his reconstruction, the recorded thickness of the stones (0.08 m. in I.G.² II 1706) was exceptionally small and but for his remark (*Archons*, p. 190) suspicions might never have occurred to anyone. The four stones were long since set in plaster in a wooden frame. The rear side was boarded over, and only the front was visible. The backs of stones, unless of course they are opisthographic, are almost never informative; and my removal of the blocks from the plaster was prompted by an editorial conscience rather than by hope, despite the curious thinness.

We shall look first at Fragment A, then at B, C, and D, in order (see the diagrams, Pl. XII), and we may begin with the side and the thickness. The left or outer edge of A shows a treatment common to all the fragments (see Fig. 1).¹ The side itself, as in B, C, and part of D, is trimmed with a tooth chisel. There is no anathyrosis. The sides vary from 0.09 to 0.10 m. in width. We may pause to note that this measurement is the one handed down from long ago and given as the total thickness (as in I.G.² II 1706) for fragments A, B, and C; for D no thickness was recorded. This was an error, for the stones are actually much thicker; along the two sides the back was chamfered down in a wide band, and the edge was trimmed sharp (Fig. 2). The effect produced, as Ferguson remarked, is that of a squared stone, whether the point of view is frontal or oblique; the irregularities of the back ordinarily pass unnoticed. In Fragment A, for instance, the stone at its thickest measures 0.127 m. and at its thinnest 0.114 m., and the edge is chamfered off with a pointed chisel in a band roughly worked and measuring about 0.065 m. wide; it terminates along the edge of this and the other fragments in an

what had appeared to be a decisive inscription was actually non-committal (*Am. Jour. Arch.* 1933, pp. 46-47; *Cycles*, Addenda, p. 179). Very shortly after this, the examination here recorded appeared to provide obstacles for Dinsmoor and to offer support to Ferguson.

¹ In Fig. 1, Frg. D is set near C merely for photographic purposes. It occupies, however, the position generally assigned to it until now, whereas we shall find reason later to set it not 0.06 but 0.26 m. below C (Part III).

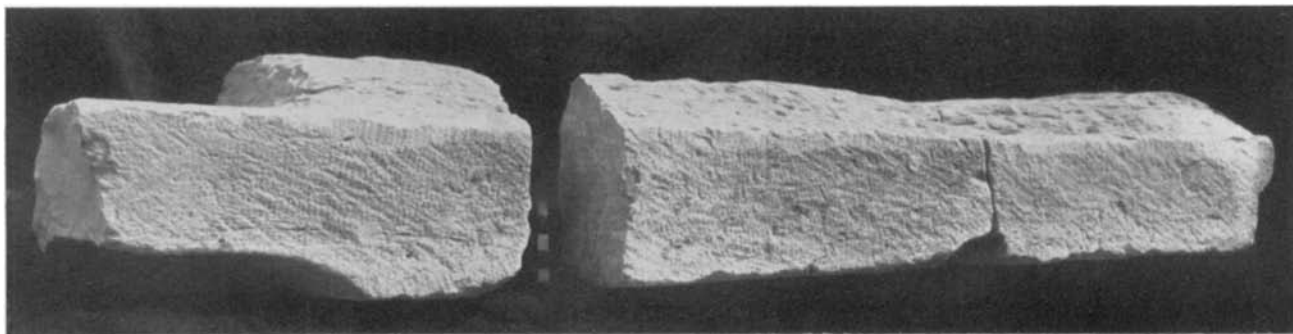


Fig. 1. The Left Side of the Stele *I.G.² II 1706*: Frgs. D, C, A

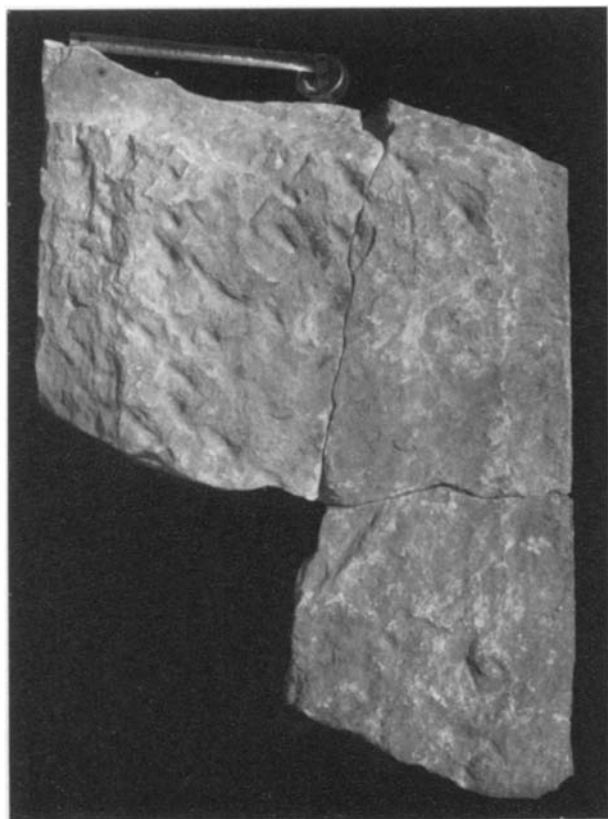


Fig. 2. *I.G.² II 1706*, the Backs of Frgs. B, A, C

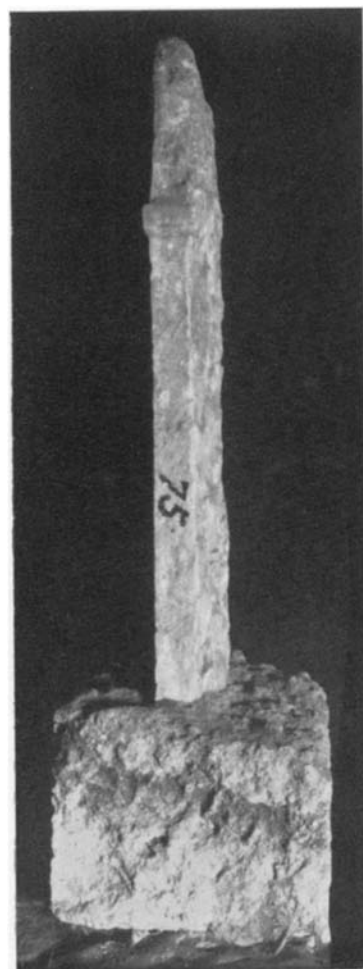


Fig. 3. Side View of Stele EM 75

irregular-edged flat strip about 0.01 m. wide. This flat strip on the back, and two others on the edges of the side, were cut to define the front and back edges of the stele.¹

The rest of the back is rough work, as in the other three fragments. There can be no doubt whatever that the back and all the other cuttings on the four stones are the original Greek work. This point may need insistence. Every detail in *I.G.*² II 1706, except the treatment of the top and bottom, can be paralleled many times on undoubtedly intact stelae; and the top and bottom are vouched for by other close if not precisely parallel examples, as well as by the tooling. The side edges of stelae at the back for instance were frequently chamfered down so as to narrow the width of the side, which was to be smoothed; to prove this point beyond dispute, we have a stele in its original setting, with the lead visible (EM 75, Fig. 3). A parallel yet closer is *I.G.*¹ II 1908, a large sepulchral stele of the Fourth Century (bottom missing, top entirely preserved; height 1.63 m., width at top 0.565 m.; total thickness 0.29 m.; the edges are chamfered down at the back in a band 0.10 m. wide, so that the finished side is only 0.235 m. thick). On this stele, which could not possibly have been a pilaster, we have sides treated exactly as in our list. Similar in treatment, and close in date, is *I.G.*² II 848 (Archelaos) of 212/1. The moulding at the top and tenon at the bottom assure us that this was a stele. The sides (Fig. 4) have the same thickness (*ca.* 0.10 m.) as *I.G.*² II 1706, and the total thickness is identical (up to 0.14 m.); 848 is somewhat narrower (0.376-0.423 m.) and shorter (1.14 m., being broken at the line of insertion into its base). The sides are chamfered very broadly, so that in section the back is roughly rounded. Again, the backs of stelae were commonly very roughly worked (doubtless at the quarry) with a blunt point as here, giving precisely the same effect. *The cuttings are accordingly the well attested cuttings of stelae.* We might conclude therefore from them alone that we are dealing with a stele, not as has been suggested, a revetment or pilaster. The absence of anathyrosis and the newly discovered greater thickness are equally compelling evidence on this point.

This conclusion is the first result of the new study; and we may introduce at this point a consonant fact, namely that the stone tapered (Fig. 2). When A and B were carefully cleaned and the join made, the whole was 0.482 m. wide at the level of the top of line 3, and 0.492 m. wide at the level of the top of line 28—these being the most widely separate points where a true measurement could be made. This fact was already patent to an observer who was not misled by the lines of the wooden frame; but the taper missed being recorded.

Fragment B produced the second result of the new study, namely the fact that *we possess almost the very top of the stele* (Fig. 5). The back of this stone at the top is

¹ In an irregular area about 0.25×0.15 m., mostly on the lower three fourths of Fragment A but spreading also to B and C, the pock-marks of the original chisel are lacking, along with a centimeter or so of the surface (Fig. 2). This whole area is weathered like the rest and its condition seems to be due to some insignificant accident.

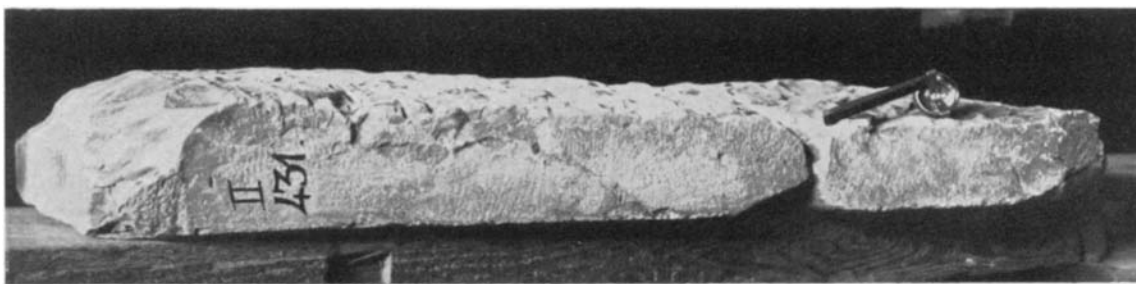


Fig. 4. Top and Right Side of *I.G.*² II 848

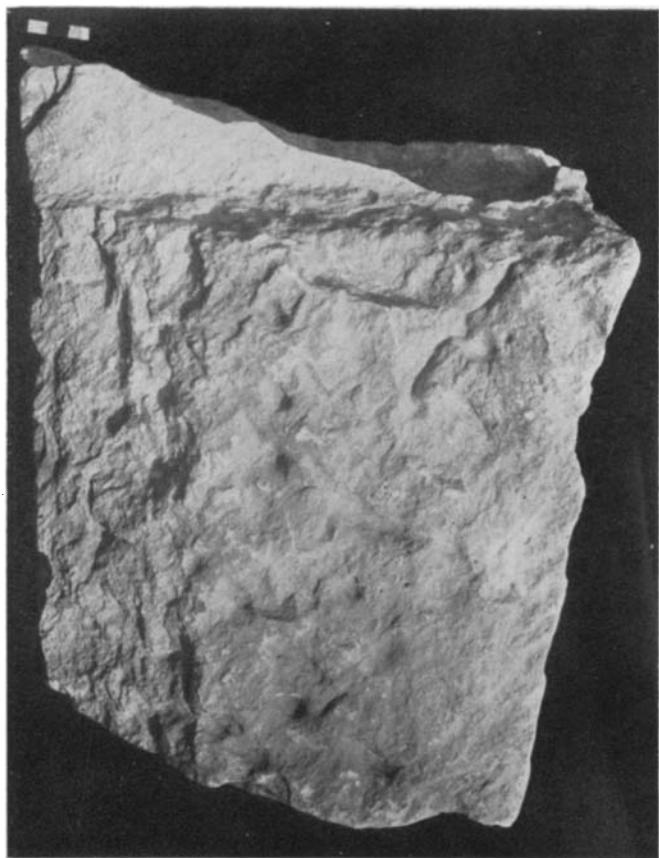


Fig. 5. Back of *I.G.*² II 1706, Frg. B

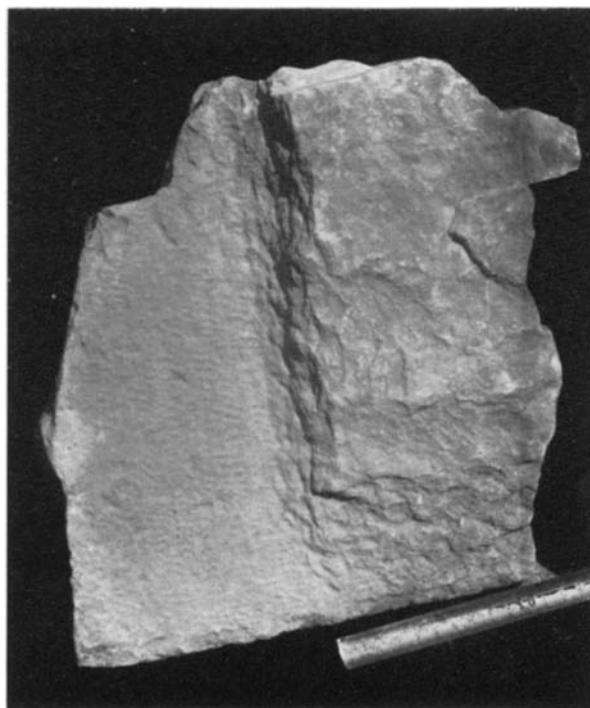


Fig. 6. Back of *I.G.*² II 1706, Frg. D

worked down until the stone is only as thick as the flat sides, which are uniformly between 0.09 and 0.10 m. thick. This thin portion of the stone is preserved, with the trimmed back, to a height of 0.06 m.; but the break in the middle of the stone allows the thin band to have been 0.072 m. high, although neither face is preserved to this

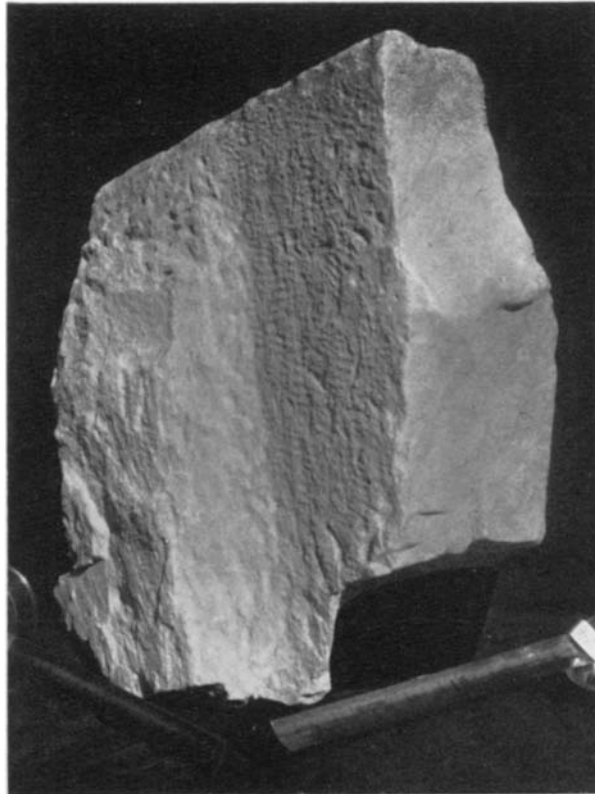


Fig. 7. Back and Bottom of *I.G.*² II 1706, Frg. D

height. (Part of this thinned top is seen also on A.) It is noteworthy that although the thinned top is fairly smooth behind, it was given very little treatment with the tooth chisel; hence no join with wood or stone behind is suggested. The purpose is scarcely doubtful: it was narrowly to avoid (without joining) some member.—Presumably the stele was trimmed level at the top (which probably had no pediment, but only a moulding, as in *I.G.*² II 848). The questions of just how much inscribed surface is lost at the top, and how the thinning is to be explained, will be approached in Part III.¹

¹ It should be noted also that on Fragment B, the side, instead of making a right angle with the front as on A, C, and D, is cut back 0.005 m. in 0.08 m. of thickness.—B is 0.128 m. thick; it is thinned down to 0.085 m. at the top.—The front bears traces of red paint and a patch of modern plaster. There was no trace of plaster on the back or sides.

Fragment C, which joins A, displays nothing unusual, but repeats features now familiar: the irregular but original back, the stone varying from 0.127 to 0.136 m. in total thickness; the chamfered band, here 0.07 to 0.08 m. wide; and the side, tooth-chiselled, 0.09 to 0.095 m. wide. The top joins A; the other two sides are broken irregularly.

Fragment D (Figs. 6, 7) is broken irregularly on three sides, and makes no join with the other three fragments; it had been set in the plaster with some 0.07 m. intervening between it and C, and thus was located just under the supposed middle of the inscription. Instead—this is the third and most important new discovery,—D *actually*

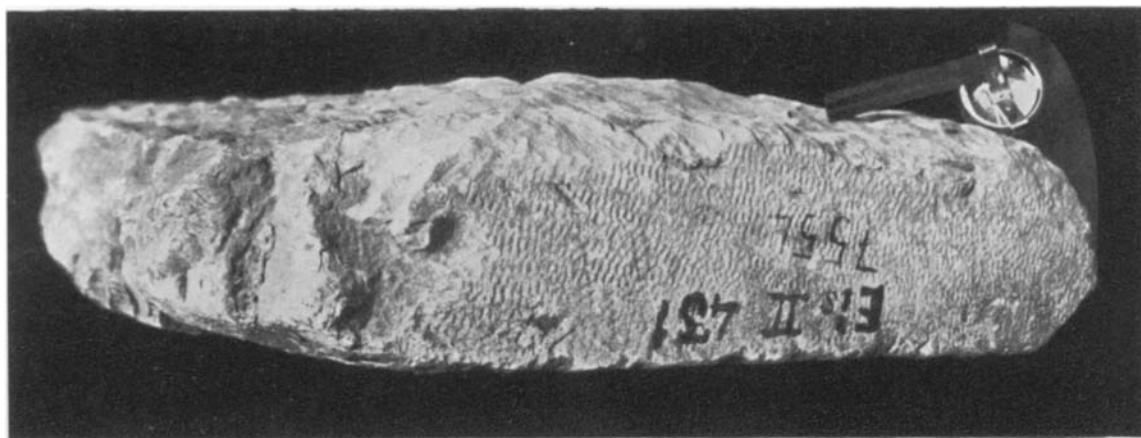


Fig. 8. I.G.² II 848, Left Side and Bottom (Frg. B)

belongs near the very bottom of the stele. The evidence consists of a trimming down of the back of the stone, which is just 0.14 m. thick at its maximum (the average thickness of D is *ca.* 0.131 m.), to a strip at the bottom which is equal in thickness to the sides¹ and the thinned top of the stele (on Fragment D the thinned part is 0.099 m. thick). The slope from rough back to tooled bottom is steep but is not, and was not intended for, a right angle. The thinner part is worked with a tooth chisel rather more generally than the top of Fragments A–B, but giving much the same effect, and is preserved on the back face to a height of 0.11 m., between the faces to 0.12 m. The bottoms of stelae are often irregular, but in this instance the absence of any trace of

¹ It is interesting to note (Fig. 1) that on D alone, some 0.07 m. of the side, measuring from the bottom of the stone, has been smoothed down, instead of being merely tooth-chiselled. Presumably this treatment began at the line of insertion into the base, but was continued only along the edges. On the back this treatment of the edge makes the edge lower than the rest of the thinned part of the back. Hence the treatment of the thinned part of the back, as Professor Stillwell pointed out, does not suggest contact with any member; for if joined our block would leave a crack between the stones just where anathyrosis should exist to prevent it.

leading or of a tenon proves that Fragment D is broken at the bottom. No exact parallel for this treatment of the lowest part of the back of a stele has come to light, but we have instructive analogies, such for example as I.G.² II 848 (Archelaos) of 212/1 (Fig. 8). Here the back is chamfered down on all four edges, and at the bottom there is preserved the beginning of a tenon, which was 0.048 m. thinner than the central portion of the back, and approximately equal to the smoothed sides in thickness. The near date (only a year or less later) and the similar size make this example important, and it proves that the amount of thinning in I.G.² II 1706 is regular for a stele. For the careful tooling on the lower back of I.G.² II 1706, however, no parallel has come to light. *Instead of the ordinary sloping down of the back to the tenon, a vertical cut was made to avoid contact with some architectural member.*

This thinning of the back is exceptional,¹ and exceptional also is the extent of the inscription, which in its present state continues to the break on the front, only 0.04 m. above the lowest point of preserved stone (Fig. 11, p. 441), and on any theory continued originally beyond. Athenian stelae were commonly inscribed only to within 0.20 m. or more of the setting line; although, as on I.G.² II 848, wreathes might extend almost to the base. The important point in any event is clear; an approximate limit is established for the top and bottom of the inscription. At both top (Fragments A–B) and bottom (Fragment D), it should end as immediately as possible. Every line restored above line 1 and below line 86 in the first column is by so much a strain on the clear evidence of the back.²

PART II: HISTORY OF THE STELE AND OF THE TEXT³

The stone, with light and dark blue and, in D only, three white veins, may have been quarried in a middle stratum of Mount Hymettos;⁴ the veins run in planes almost exactly

¹ The *weakening* of the back at the bottom is not exceptional, as I.G.² II 848, which is cut down (Fig. 8) from 0.143 to 0.095 m., proves; nevertheless it seems poor workmanship.

² In this footnote are set down various particulars which are usually given for completeness:

Maximum vertical measurement of A joined to C	0.69 m.
Width of inscribed area, lines 3 + 92	0.245 m.
Width of inscribed area, lines 28 + 158	0.2525 m.
Height of each letter	0.004–0.005 m.
Height of each letter plus interspace	0.010 m.

There is no true margin on the left. The horizontal spacing of letters varies generally with the length of the line: the word ΘΕΣΜΟΘΕΤΑΙ, which has 10 full letters (M making up for I) occupies 0.08 m. with the 9 interspaces. A small but definite *vacat* follows the abbreviations APX, ΒΑΣ, and ΗΟΑ.

³ The notes to this section make up a bibliography of all the titles which seem worth considering.

⁴ The upper stratum is darker blue: cf. G. R. Lepsius, *Griechische Marmorstudien*, pp. 26–27.

parallel with the front. The stele was shaped at the quarry by a dull pick, and the final dressing on front and sides was by a tooth chisel with six teeth: a cheap job, since no proper smoothing of the surface was attempted. As we shall see, in 213/2 or soon after, a secretary cycle having come to its end, the stele was inscribed with the names of all those who had held archonships in and since the year of liberation from Macedon, 230/29 B.C.; including, that is, a large part of the then membership of the Areopagos, 163 names in all, presumably the city's best. The lettering was wretched—Athens never produced worse,—the same hand perhaps being recognizable in two decrees (*I.G.*² II 846 and 847) erected two years earlier, and in several others of the period. A glance at the photographs (Figs. 9, 10, 11) shows the Α, Λ, and Δ, split at the top in the way which characterizes the lettering of this era;¹ one notes at the same time a certain regularity of spacing and uniformity of shape, for it is not the work of a beginner, and it is by no means without character. The stele was then² set up somewhere in the Agora, just where,³ however, we can only speculate. The surface had been prepared for the archons of exactly four tribal cycles,⁴ but the list was never continued beyond the middle of the second, where it terminates at the end not of an archon cycle, but of a secretary cycle.⁵ No more was ever added.⁶

The fall of the stele did not break apart our fragments A, B, and C, which lay in the soil in such a position that acid liquids, with which the much lived-upon Agora soil is rancid, trickled across the face and ate out little rows of pits and gashes or left a stoney deposit (see commentary on text, e.g., lines 131, 142, 143). In this period, too, apparently its position permitted part of the back to be worn down (see *above*, p. 421, note 1). That it lay near the surface is also vouched for by the fact that it was in all probability broken up in order to be used as fill in the "Valerian" wall, where it was found. Nicks were made so that it should split properly (hence for instance our loss at the beginnings of lines 31–35); no block was larger than one man could handle.

¹ Wilhelm, *Urkk. Dram.*, p. 63. Researches by the present writer in the technique and styles of Athenian inscriptions strongly confirm Wilhelm's words.

² Modern practice and common sense tell us that stelae were normally first inscribed and then erected. Those inscribed after erection, such as grave stelae to which more names were added later, are often badly inscribed (e.g. Conze, no. 1558, Pl. CCCXXVII). The last year on the Salaminian list (SIG II 9), that of the archon Eurykleides, was also added after the stele was erected: it is the same hand, cramped (see the squeeze, A. D. Keramopoulos, *Ὁ Ἀποτυπώνισμος*, p. 113, Pl. 18).

³ It was found near others which were to be set up *παρὰ τὸν Δία τὸν Ἐλευθέριον* (see list, *below*, p. 428). Some may be tempted to believe that the Archon List, with its beginning in the year of liberation, was also set up near Zeus Eleutherios. It may equally well have been set in some building associated with the Areopagos.

⁴ With this observation of Ferguson's (*Tribal Cycles*, p. 96, n. 2) accord the lack of a true margin on the left, and the measurements of the columns (*above*, p. 425, n. 2) which are as accurate as one should expect.

⁵ The secretary and other routine-office cycles with their prescribed order were regularly the basis of such lists, rather than the allotted archon cycles: Ferguson, *Tribal Cycles*, pp. 90–91.

⁶ Ferguson, *Tribal Cycles*, p. 96, n. 2.

The number of blocks that resulted was possibly eleven.¹ At least four of the blocks were inserted in the wall or buildings close to it; A, C, and D were now parted from B, which acquired some red paint. Fragment D was clearly built into a wall, for the back still had bits of plaster adhering in 1932; Dr. Thompson noted that it was decidedly too soft to be Greek plaster. The other three never, apparently, received plaster; for when they were examined in 1932 much dirt was still left, but no trace of plaster. The edges of all the fragments received wear, but the surface has reached us, aside from the pittings, for the most part as crisp as when the six-tooth chisel finished its work.

Thus it happened that in 1851, beneath the courtyard of the house which Stamates Psomas had bequeathed to his only child Louisa, B was discovered, along with parts of 31 other inscriptions, mostly fragments, many of them important. The house stood on or near the ruins of the church called of Christ, not far below that of Hypapantes, where among Turkish buildings inscriptions had been found as early as 1822.² The first publication³ of the new find, in handsome format, which contained among other things merely a drawing of B, had an account⁴ of the finding decidedly less factual than the one⁵ called forth by the hearty onslaught⁶ of Rangabé, who had not been allowed even to see the new pieces. The original publication was signed by Pittakys, Charames, and Eustratiades (in that order): credit is usually given⁷ to Eustratiades alone. It was Pittakys, however, who made the find and replied to Rangabé. Hoping that more bits were to be found, the officials overcame all obstacles and in 1852 made the most brilliant discovery of inscriptions ever made in the Agora region.⁸ Their work was thorough. Further excavation in the same spot by Kourouniotes in 1910 turned up a dozen more inscribed bits but they are of rather less importance.⁹ The wall found is certainly part of the "Valerian" wall.¹⁰

¹ The two from the top bore the moulding, the heading, and the beginnings of the columns of names; next below came our A and B; then C and a lost uninscribed piece; then a lost inscribed piece and a lost uninscribed piece; then D; and finally two lost parts of the lowest region (as in Pl. XII). This is of course schematic; as to the fragment lost between C and D, see *below*, p. 435.

² Pittakys in 'Εφ. Ἀρχ. 1853, p. 880, n. 1. For Hypapantes, an important land-mark for the *Fundorte* of inscriptions, see A. Mommsen, *Christianae Athenae*, pp. 22–24; for Christos, pp. 90–91.

³ The full title of this rare item is 'Επιγραφαὶ Ἀνέκδοτοι Ἀνακαλύφθεις καὶ Ἐκδόθῃσαι ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀρχαιολογικοῦ Συλλόγου. Ἀθήνησιν (1) 1851, (2) 1852, (3) 1855. Fragment B is there numbered 18 (4).

⁴ *Op. cit.* pp. 3 f.

⁵ 'Εφ. Ἀρχ. 1855 (not 1854 as in Judeich, p. 331, n. 1), p. 1280, n. 1; see also 'Εφ. Ἀρχ. 1853, p. 880, n. 1.

⁶ The bleak narrative of Larfeld (*Handbuch*, I, pp. 102–103, 106) makes no mention of eight pages in *Antiquités Helléniques* ("Au Lecteur," I–VIII) which are readable not so much for a personal attack as for a picture of the parlous state of Athenian inscriptions in 1855.

⁷ E.g., Larfeld, *Handbuch*, p. 106.

⁸ Pittakys, who had busied himself copying inscriptions even before the Turks left, declared that no larger lot had ever been found in Athens, in one place ('Εφ. Ἀρχ. 1853, p. 880, n. 1).

⁹ *Πρακτικά* for 1910 (pub. 1911), pp. 136–151.

¹⁰ See Judeich, *Topographie*², pp. 330–331 and note; p. 108; p. 165 and n. 2. Judeich seems not to have used the 'Επιγραφικοὶ Ἀνέκδοτοι of 1851 and 1852.

The new finds were set forth at once in a *Φυλάδιον Δεύτερον* (1852) over the same signatures. We learn that the excavation began within the area of the Psomas house and proceeded toward Hypapantes—uphill, that is, in the direction of the Acropolis. They were looking for the Bouleuterion, but had to admit that the large rough poros blocks actually discovered were rather the “Valerian” wall. These poros blocks compose the two faces of the wall. The architectural, sculptural, and epigraphical blocks discovered had been used chiefly as fill, packed in with earth, clay, or lime. The excavators noted with curiosity that the inscriptions found outside the wall were insignificant fragments, aside from the blocks extracted in the excavations of the previous year. The latter had come from what proved to be an enclosed area (the evidence did not enable Kourouniotes to determine whether it was synchronous with the wall itself¹) of which the wall formed the east side. A cistern had been built within the wall and it was on both sides of this that the new lot, over 100 inscribed blocks, were found. All these had been broken by the hand of man, declared the observant excavators;² and they noted that they had come upon the many fragments of comparatively few large stelae, rather than of many small stelae.

A list of the principal inscriptions has not been made hitherto, but it is worth scanning:—

PRINCIPAL INSCRIPTIONS FOUND BENEATH THE PSOMAS HOUSE

I.G. ² II	Archon	Date ³	Substance	Standort
43	Nausinikos	378/7	Second Athenian League	παρὰ τὸν Δία τὸν Ἐλευθέριον
487	Pherekles	304/3	Honors citizen	ἐμπροσθεν [τ]οῦ Βουλευτηρίου ⁴
665	Nikias Otr.	268/7	Honors ephebes	ἐν ἀγορᾷ
676	Glaukippos	275/4	Honors religious officials	ἐ[ν τε] ἀγορᾷ]
681	Polyeuktos	255/4	Honors ephebes	—
689	Arrheneides	262/1	Honors priest of Zeus	[πρὸς τ]εῖ στοᾶ[ι] τοῦ Διό[ς]
690	—	“c. 262/1”	Honors priest of Zeus	πρὸς τεῖ στοᾶι τε[ῖ τοῦ Διός]
766	Philoneos	241/0	Honors ephebes	[ἐν ἀγορᾷ]
787	Ekphantos	236/5	Honors ephebes	—
791 ⁵	Diomedon	253/2?	Contributions	ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ

¹ *Πρακτικά* for 1910, p. 138. A bolder opinion may be ventured, to wit that the protruding wall, being firmly bonded to the “Valerian” wall, is part of it; and that this tower or redoubt interrupted the (earlier) road along-side which, as a natural guiding line, the wall was built. The architectural blocks await study in connection with similar blocks in the area of the Agora excavations, particularly the Hymettian drums near the Stoa of Attalos.

² Inspection at the Museum shows that no one of the fragments is too large to be handled by one man.

³ In most of the disputed instances the dates are taken from Ferguson, *Tribal Cycles*, Table II, Scheme A, pp. 22 ff.

⁴ For topographical significance, Judeich², p. 347 and n. 4.

⁵ Incidentally, for the last
Ferguson, *op. cit.* pp. 16–17.)

(See

I.G. ² II	Archon	Date	Substance	Standort
792	(... bios)	"c. 230 "	Honors custodian of grain	[ἐν ἀγορᾷ οὗ τὸ ἄγαλμα τοῦ Δ]ιὸς ἐστίν
917 ¹	---c.8---	223/2?	Honors prytaneis	ἐ[ν] τῷ π[ρυτανικῷ]
920	—	"init. s. II "	Honors prytaneis	[ἐν τῷ πρυτανικῷ]ῶι
937	—	"c. s. II "	—	—
989	—	c. 150	Honors prytany officials	—
1706	(Herakleitos)	213/2	List of <i>archontes</i>	—
2336 ²	Prokles	99/8	Contributors	—

One has only to think of Athenian epigraphy deprived of I.G.² II 43, 791, 1706, and 2336, to realize the singular importance of the discovery. The number of inscriptions to be set up in front of the statue or the stoa of Zeus Eleutherios (and incidentally their content) is interesting; the more so since only one other inscription on which we can read that it was to be set up near Zeus has been discovered.³ (It was the mention in others of the Prytaneion and the Bouleuterion which started a persistent false legend that one or both of these buildings was *necessarily* close by.) We may imagine that a number of large stelae, having survived more or less entire, were broken into convenient sizes and collected from diverse parts of the former Agora to make the fill of the "Valerian" wall at this particular point.⁴

The later literature is in general more accessible and less neglected, so that we need dwell only on editions of the text and the decisive steps in establishing its chronology. Pittakys⁵ and his colleagues had already perceived that they were dealing with a Hellenistic list of the nine *archontes* inscribed all at one time, and that Fragment D, having but one column and a preserved left edge, should be placed beneath the other

¹ *Below*, p. 436–438.

² See now Ferguson, *op. cit.* p. 51.

³ I.G.² II 448, archon Archippos of 318/7, which honors Euphron of Sicyon; one copy was to be set πα[ρὰ τ]ὸν Αἶα τὸν Σωτῆρα, the other on the Acropolis (lines 27–28, 69–70). This former tall stele, somewhat water-worn, was found almost entire in the railway cut near the Theseion; doubtless, as Professor Shear has pointed out to me, it was used like several newly found stelae as a cover for the drain (Shear, *Hesperia* II [1933], pp. 103–6 and pl. IV) which passes in front of the buildings identified as the Stoa of Zeus and the Royal Stoa, and must have continued into the area of the railway cut. I.G.² II 448 was first published in *Δελτ. Αρχ.* 1892, pp. 56 f. Taken by itself, the topographical significance of this huge and well-preserved stele (dimensions *below*, p. 433, n. 2 would be suggestive; but the topographical evidence of the *Fundorte* of inscriptions is notoriously unreliable.

⁴ G. Guidi, *Annuario*, IV, 1921 (pub. 1924), pp. 33–54, has reviewed the evidence, largely epigraphical, for considering that the Diogeneion was near the church of Ag. Demetrios Kataphores, A. Mommsen, *Athenae Christianae*, no. 90. This was demolished by Koumanoudes, beginning in 1859: he dismantled a stretch of the eastern return of the wall. Inscriptions were abundant, mostly Roman.—A glance at Mommsen, *op. cit.*, will show how the majority of inscriptions found in the Agora were found in this wall: beginning at the western end, we find the following landmarks so often mentioned in the Corpus: Hypapantes (16), Christos (107), Panagia Pyrgiotissa (110), Demetrios Kataphores (90).

⁵ *Op. cit.*, 1852, pp. 19–22. Oddly enough, they fixed, though without sound reason, the limits 229–146 B.C.

three fragments, which they joined to each other. Meier (1854)¹ was content to use the very same plate. Rangabé, fuming, published the third edition in 1855.² For a date he hazarded, on the evidence of names and of Berenike's dates, not long after 252 B.C., and supported by his master, Boeckh, he noted correctly the characteristic lettering of the late Third Century.

Sauppe (1864)³ carried further the intelligent investigation of Rangabé, but unlike Rangabé, who thought that *archontes* were selected from the whole undivided citizenry, Sauppe was convinced that at this time selection was normally according to tribes. He was the first to list fully for this purpose our various archon lists. *I.G.*¹ II 859, Koehler's edition (1883),⁴ was based on a new reading of the original.⁵ He was content to follow Eustratiades and Sauppe in his dating, noting that two *archontes* had been ephebes under Philoneos.

Thus it was not until Beloch's brilliant article (1884)⁶ that any large contribution was made toward interpreting the data. Attacking the then current notion that the tribe Ptolemais was erected at the time of the Chremonidean War, Beloch set forth the entire list, using Koehler's edition, and affixing the tribal affiliations as they were then understood. The three senior archons, so he thought, were not necessarily of different tribes from the six thesmothetai. In this he was wrong; but his declaration that the six thesmothetai follow each other in the official order of the tribes is so generally true that it is called Beloch's Law. He was forced to admit only two exceptions (years of Antiphilos and of Menekrates), which he set down as errors by the lapidary.⁷ Making use, next, of his new Law, he ascertained that Ptolemais was created before the year of Menekrates, hence between 230 and 220 (the latter date being fixed by the correct data on Berenike and Berenikidai). The disappearance in this year of the tribe Demetrias attracted his attention; Antigonis (so he supposed) persisted without change of name, but he thought that Ptolemais supplanted Demetrias, though in a different place in the official order. He appears to have believed that there were then twelve tribes, but this did not prevent him from hailing the publication three years later of a decree (*I.G.*² II 1304) passed under the thirteenth prytany. Philios, who published it,⁸ also pointed out its confirmation of the Beloch Law, since Ptolemais had to coexist with the Macedonian tribes in order to make up thirteen; and he saw that Ptolemais was given precisely the middle position in the official order.

¹ M. H. E. Meier, *Commentatio Epigraphica Secunda*, Halle, 1854, pp. 69 f.

² A. R. Rangabé, *Antiquités Helléniques II*, Athens, 1855, No. 1238.

³ H. Sauppe, *De Creatione Archontum Atticorum*, Göttingen, 1864, p. 4.

⁴ *I.G.*¹ II, no. 859, pp. 331–333.

⁵ Before Koehler's edition a bit of Frg. A, at the beginnings of lines 2–5, was chipped off and lost. It may have happened at the time when the stones were set in plaster.

⁶ *Jahrb. d. Class. Phil.* (Fleckeisen), 1884, pp. 481 f.

⁷ See further *below*, p. 444, and the forthcoming article (*Hesperia*) on lists of *archontes*.

⁸ *Eq. 'Aqx.* 1887, cols. 175–188.

It was Russian scholars who first conjectured the correct initial date. Writing in 1888 (*Bull. Cor. Hell.* XII, p. 81), Schtschoukareff concluded, "On remarquera qu'en acceptant la première date de 228, le catalogue commencerait avec l'année dans laquelle la mort de Démétrius rendit à Athènes son indépendance." He used I.G.² II 1304 to establish the proper four-year intervals for Chairephon (whom he placed in l. 101 of I.G.² II 1706), Diokles, and Aischron, and he first adopted "Kalli - -" as the immediate predecessor of Menekrates. Of course he erred in putting the whole list too late, and it remained¹ for Schebelev, who adopted the scheme of Schtschoukareff, to date its beginning in 230/29.² This brought Chairephon (line 101) into 221/0. Schebelev wrote in the epigraphical *annus mirabilis* 1898.

During all of this time it could only be conjectured how great were the two gaps in the list,—how many years the list covered,—when it ended. Ferguson's discovery, published in 1898,³ of his Law of Secretary Cycles was crucial. It established the total length of the list and thereby the total length of the gaps; and it showed that the list ended with a secretary cycle. His dating of the whole list (Heliodoros in 237/6) was based on the then apparent continuity of the cycles, and before such a strong presumption, Schebelev's initial date, the year of liberation, had to give way.

In the next year, 1899, Von Schöffer⁴ was dissenting from Schebelev at the very time when Schebelev⁵ was claiming confirmation. The publication of the correct date for Thrasyphon had shown that the cycles would have to be broken twice, but Ferguson's internal ordering of the list was not upset, for Thrasyphon could be inserted in place of Chairephon in line 101. Kirchner⁶ too could claim confirmation, having foreshadowed Schebelev's dating. For the creation of Ptolemais, Kirchner considered that Schebelev, who had pointed out that Antiphilos was of Ptolemais, had thereby fixed 224/3 as the probable year when Ptolemais first functioned. De Sanctis⁷ adopted independently much the same solution, supplying Thrasyphon in line 101, and dating Chairephon in 219/8; for the first functioning of Ptolemais, guided by Beloch's Law and by historical considerations, he selected the year of Menekrates, 222/1 in this scheme.⁸ Kolbe's

¹ Kirchner, however, had already suggested "etwa 230–220," *Hermes*, XXVIII, 1893, p. 143, n. 1. Von Schöffer, *Pauly-Wissowa* 2 (1896), cols. 589–90, had moved the scheme of Schtschoukareff too far back.

² S. Schebelev, *Studies in the History of Athens*, 229–31 B.C. St. Petersburg, 1898 (in Russian: I have depended on a translator), pp. 39 f., and 95.

³ W. S. Ferguson, *The Athenian Secretaries*, Cornell Studies in Classical Philology VII, Ithaca, 1898, p. 53; with detail, *The Athenian Archons*, ditto, X, 1899, pp. 40–41.

⁴ (Berliner) *Phil. Woch.*, XIX, 1899, cols. 1026–1028.

⁵ *Jour. Rus. Min. Educ.*, 1899, March, pp. 115–120 (in Russian): I wish to thank Professor Robert P. Blake, Director of the Harvard University Library, for supplying me with a translation. In the same journal, Schtschoukareff (June, 1888) and Schebelev (June, 1897) had developed the scheme of dating which appeared in Schebelev's book of 1898. These two articles deserve mention in Dinsmoor's inclusive Bibliography (*Archons*, pp. 515–25).

⁶ *Gött. Gel. Anz.*, CLXII, 1900, pp. 446 f.; *Rh. Mus.* XLVII (1892), p. 551.

⁷ *Riv. di Fil.*, XXVIII (1900), pp. 60 f., 68.

⁸ In 1900 Michel, *Recueil d'Inscriptions Grecques*, ventured a poor text, no. 649.

work of 1908,¹ the most detailed before Dinsmoor's, was occasioned by Ferguson's *Priests of Asklepios*;² it adhered to the apparently established view of the list. Most helpful was Kolbe's insistence on four-year intervals between Chairephon, Diokles, and Aischron (*I.G.*² II 1304), with Chairephon in 219/8.

These views of Schtchoukareff, Schebeleff, Ferguson, Kirchner, De Sanctis, and Kolbe were disputed first by Beloch,³ who interrupted the cycle to place Archelaos near Heliodoros; later by Johnson,⁴ who retained the former ordering of the list by the cycles, but admitted mason's errors and subdivision of demes for the sake of the hypothesis that Ptolemais was created in 233/2. Most recently (1931) the accepted view has been disputed by Dinsmoor,⁵ who began and ended the list with a cycle, but attempted to lengthen it out far beyond what had ever been proposed.⁶ Dinsmoor's arrangement, apart from the evidence of the stones themselves, was marred only by his having to assume a break in the secretary cycles at the time (229/8 according to him) of the creation of Ptolemais. All in all, his scheme was the most daring but it was by no means reckless, so far at least as the evidence hitherto published of the stones themselves is concerned. In fact no one has respected more scrupulously the evidence of the text, nor has anyone studied it with more care. We can only deplore the ill fortune which led to its becoming "the keystone of the entire structure" before the back had been examined.

The arrangement of the cycles which led Dinsmoor to his solution can be learned best from his own attractive exposition.⁷ The result (see Pl. XII) is a list beginning in 240/39 and embracing twenty years, or 201 lines, in column one. Dinsmoor observed that this would make a very tall stele indeed (the list alone would occupy 2.01 m.) and, accepting the recorded thickness of 0.08 m., he suggested that this block or perhaps this block with another superposed, formed parts of a revetment or pilaster. We have already seen (Part I) that the stone is in fact comparatively much thicker than Dinsmoor supposed, that the sides are not worked for anathyrosis, that the right side does not make a right angle with the front, and that the sides slope upwards. If one approached such a block without bias, a stele and only a stele would suggest itself. Clearly we would never think of a revetment, to which all the aspects just enumerated are adverse.

¹ W. Kolbe, *Die Attischen Archontes von 293/2–31/0 v. Chr.*, Abh. d. K. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Gött., phil.-hist. Klasse, N. F. X, 1908, pp. 66 f., 47 f.

² W. S. Ferguson, *The Priests of Asklepios*, University of California Publications, Classical Philology, Berkeley, 1906 (reprinted 1907), Vol. 1, no. 5, pp. 131–173. In this (p. 167) Ferguson accepted the dating of Schebeleff and Kirchner.

³ J. Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*², IV 2, pp. 92 f., 95, retains this position.

⁴ *Am. Jour. Philol.*, XXXIV, 1913, pp. 381 f.; XXXV, 1914, pp. 79–80.

⁵ W. B. Dinsmoor, *The Archons of Athens in the Hellenistic Age*, pp. 190 f., and Appendix E, pp. 460–463.

⁶ G. Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*², Vol. II, had an edition, no. 542, signed [Ki] = Kirchner. *Inscriptiones Graecae*, Ed. Minor, II–III, iv, 1706, the most recent text, appeared in 1931: this is Kirchner's second edition of the list.

⁷ Dinsmoor, *Archons*, chapters on the Third Century, especially XII. For the list by itself, pp. 190 ff., 201–203, and Appendix E, pp. 460–463.

A pilaster is scarcely more favored. The natural ways to make a pilaster for a stone building are (1) to cut it on the faces of wall blocks, so that it is not a separate member, or (2) to make it a separate member with a flat back to set firmly against the wall, to which it would have to be clamped. Both types are found in Greek buildings,¹ but pieces such as ours obviously are of neither type. Should anyone wish nevertheless to consider that our blocks are part of a pilaster, he would have to suppose (1) that they were set into a wall constructed mostly of concrete (for the back, with its chamfered edges, will make no join with wood or stone); (2) that the concrete, unlike most Greek cement, was so soft as to disappear so utterly from the stones that not even in the deeper tool marks did any still adhere; (3) that somewhere toward the base the stone was cut to avoid contact with another stone, or with wood which was somehow part of the wall;—an easy supposition perhaps, but (4) that somewhere toward the top or middle the stone was weakened to avoid contact with wood or stone; (5) that the block (or blocks), with surface rudely finished and sides incorrect, was part of an Athenian building; (6) that, having the whole member uninscribed, they decided to begin the list at a height of something over 2.01 m., using letters only four millimeters in height in order that eventually, some fifty years hence, the remainder of 801 lines might be added.

In order then to retain Dinsmoor's cycles, we are obliged to consider what the stones naturally suggest, namely a stele: but a very tall stele. Necessarily a monolith, the stone would bear a text 2.01 m. high, heading *ca.* 0.05 m., moulding *ca.* 0.08 m., uninscribed surface at the bottom *ca.* 0.10 m., and base for insertion into the socket *ca.* 0.08 m.—a total height of some 2.32 m. Stelae of this height such as tribute lists, grave monuments, and a few decrees exist² though we never find four-millimeter letters inscribed so high. Suppose we disregard the smallness of the letters: we must still reckon with a stele that is too thin by at least half for such a height. Suppose we disregard also the unparalleled thinness of the stele: we must conceive (see Pl. XII) a (*Hymettian*) stele weakened in its middle in order to avoid contact with some architectural member just where close contact and thickness great enough to sustain cutting for an attachment are demanded.³ Greek stelae certainly, and I think Greek construction methods generally,

¹ *E.g.*, P. Schazmann, *Altertümer von Pergamon*, VI (Das Gymnasium), Text, Beiblatt 5; and large plate XXIX. Professor Stillwell, on examining the fragments with me, pointed out that the chamfering of the backs of all the fragments, and the smoothing of the side of Fragment D (*above*, p. 424, n. 1) are features most unlikely in pilaster blocks; that in fact it would be awkward if not impossible to use these blocks in a pilaster.

² For example I.G.² II 448 (Archon Archippos of 318/7) is 2.35 m. high, 0.60 m. wide (almost the dimensions of I.G.² II 1706, if Dinsmoor's reconstruction be applied to a stele): the thickness is not 0.14 m. but 0.30 m. The marble is Pentelic, a stronger stone in that it has no such veins as Hymettian.

³ The archons Leochares and Diokles are opposite each other on the stone (see Ferguson, *Tribal Cycles*, Table IV, p. 97). Between these archons Dinsmoor's system of cycles for virtually the entire period 263/2 to 145/4 demands an interval of twenty years: there is no escape, whether the list began in 240/39 or 233/2, as he admits (*Archons*, p. 203). In his view Column I *must* contain 201 lines. Thus it appears that his system as a whole for the period 263/2–145/4 is impaired; which is not to say that even here his method was faulty. His results remain fruitful, and his discussions (such as Appendix E) of separate problems, always models of workmanship, are still many of them valid.

offer no parallel for thus weakening a thin vertical stone in order to support it at its middle from behind. Such a solution would scarcely be acceptable if we were forced into it. We are free, on the contrary, to adopt the natural and simple evidence of the fragments: a stele not so high as to be illegible at the top, and having the usual thickness, the invariable taper of the sides, the common treatment of the back (see Pl. XII).

We have seen, then, that a majority of scholars agreed upon the dating 230/29–213/2, (Thrasyph)on being supplied in line 101; that among the three dissenters, Johnson and Beloch disagreed with each other; finally that Dinsmoor disagreed with both while advancing a scheme contradicted by the new evidence of the back. Even without this new evidence, therefore, Ferguson has recently defended a position already favored. He has been able, moreover, to give it powerful reinforcement. The reader will naturally turn to his pages at this point:¹ let him note as against Dinsmoor, (1) the stress laid on 230/29 for a suitable initial year, and as against Johnson and Dinsmoor, (2) the emphasis on the importance of dating Heliodoros after the liberation of Athens, (3) the historical situations in 229/8 and 224, of which the latter is more favorable for the creation of Ptolemais; as against Beloch and Dinsmoor, the solidifying of the sequence of secretaries, by (4) the welcome correction of the date for *Inscr. von Magnesia*, no. 37, to 209/8, and (5) by the nexus of "coincidences" involved in dating Diokles in 215/4. Even the new archon cycles contribute to this, the final establishment (so it seems to me) of the dating of *I.G.*² II 1706 as a whole.³ In Part III only the alteration of details is contemplated.³

PART III: A NEW RECONSTRUCTION

We may now resume without obstruction the argument at the end of Part I (p. 425) where it was proved, without reference to the content of the inscription, that the list on Fragment D should be set as near as possible to the end of the first column. The first two Thesmothetai being preserved in part at the present end of the first column, and the last two of some year being the first preserved names at the top of the second column, the question first arises, whether these four Thesmothetai are not of one and

¹ W. S. Ferguson, *Athenian Tribal Cycles in the Hellenistic Age*, Harvard Historical Monographs I, Cambridge, 1932, pp. 50 ff., 90 ff.

² The stones were removed from the plaster late in 1932 for the present study. Incidentally, this greatly facilitated reading. They will be re-set shortly with as much as possible of the back exposed. In the official inventory of the Epigraphical Museum the stones collectively bear the number 8046.

³ If we glance back over the 81 years of study of this inscription, two facts obtrude themselves. The first is the unexpectedly great difficulty of reading, transcribing, and printing without error all the traces of letters on stone: so that knowledge of the stones and text has lagged far behind knowledge of the chronology. The second is that although all who have dealt with it have been led into error, and although one view after another has had to be abandoned, nevertheless all the greater scholars—the scholars we have mentioned, that is—have advanced views of ultimate value.

the same year. This would enable us to restore two more lines at the top of column two, and to let line 86 end column one,—a seemingly ideal solution. Unhappily the Beloch Law would thereby be twice violated. It is therefore necessary to consider making the year of the last archon on Fragment D (. 5. 5. 0 N) precede an archon whose name is lost, but whose year is represented by the two Thesmothetai at the beginning of column two. We should then restore eight lines above column two, and four below column one. This solution must also be rejected; for it would bring Menekrates into the year (219/8) which Chairephon, with his secretary from Kydantide (VII),¹ must occupy. Consequently we are obliged to prefer a third solution (see Pls. XII, XIII) still less favored by the evidence of the back: to restore, namely, 14 lines after Fragment D, inserting Chairephon as the second archon eponymous mentioned on D. For accepting this we shall find other reasons. In both parts, therefore, we have restored a maximum where a minimum is favored: the top should not extend higher; the bottom should not extend lower.

To this arrangement,² which involves the insertion of (Chaireph)on in line 101, we may contemplate one and only one alternative. We must still view seriously the proposal, namely, to raise Fragment D nearer to C, setting it so that only six lines (= 0.06 m.) would appear to be lost in the gap (see Pl. XII): in other words, placing it more than two years (= 0.20 + m.) higher than the back would seem to favor. This involves supplying (Thrasyp)on in line 101, admitting that 34 lines (= 0.34 m.) of text were lost below, and conceding that the back was thinned down and carefully tooled for 0.20 m. higher than one would prefer to grant on the evidence of the back alone (or some 0.52 m. in all: *below*, p. 438). It is precisely this arrangement which was adopted by Eustradiades in 1852, and which has been retained in the accepted version since in 1899 Schebeleff suggested supplying Thrasypnon in line 101. The space in line 101, however, as the reader may discover for himself (*below*, p. 444), favors a shorter name. Secondly, the proposed gap of some 0.06 m. between C and D means an unnatural break in the stone: we have seen (*above*, p. 428) that the stele was intentionally split up into pieces suitable for building and convenient for handling. (The arrangement herein advocated, with a gap of some 0.26 m., yields just such a block: see *above*, p. 427, n. 1). A thin sliver, breaking moreover vertically to the grain (*above*, p. 425), is therefore in itself highly improbable. The evidence of the back would seem to offer potent confirmation; but the question may be raised whether the thinning and tooling were not just a narrow band across the back to accommodate possibly a string course on the top of a low wall. This hypothesis has already been rejected (*above*, p. 424, n. 1).³ Our evidence, then, for

¹ Ferguson, *Tribal Cycles*, pp. 27, 98; *Hesperia* II 1933, p. 161, no. 7.

² In Pl. XIII the new scheme is shown with names of archons and dates.

³ A fourth argument derives from the width of the chamfering (*above*, p. 419): on C, 0.08 m., on D, 0.11 m. This suggests but does not prove a wide separation. Fifth, the partial smoothing of the side of D shows that D is near the bottom (*above*, p. 424, n. 1). It is also noteworthy that neither the veins and faults, nor the tool marks on the faces, appear to relate the blocks closely. A counterargument derives from prosopography: the archon Chairephon, supplied in line 101, cannot be identified with a contributor in the

doubting the established arrangement is of three different kinds: the spacing of letters, the breakage of stone, the treatment of stelae; and different minds will be differently impressed.¹

In either arrangement, Column I lists exactly one cycle: no slight confirmation for the Kirchner-Ferguson cycles.² To obtain this, one year is supplied above line 1, so as to balance the remains of the first year of Column II (lines 129–130). The two columns being out of correspondence by one line, it has been thought that this one line in Column I was the title. It is more probable, in view of such diverse instances as *I.G.*² II 1699, 1742, 1926, 1937, 1955, 1958 and 2332,³ that the almost invariable custom was followed and that a title in large letters was inscribed above, just under the moulding. The dislocation of columns would then be explained by supposing a *suffectus*⁴ in the first year.⁵

For testing our arrangement there is only one method, namely to attempt to insert between Antiphilos of 224/3 (on Fragment C) and Hagnias of 216/5 (top of Column II) all the archons who must be placed there. If this can be done without violence, we may claim a degree of confirmation. If instead we encounter difficulties, grave doubts are justified. The following scheme may be ventured. It embodies, I believe, no gross improbabilities and no omissions; rather, it includes two items, the Archon Euandros and ...:̣:̣... (*I.G.*² II 917) which may belong later, but for which it is desirable

year of Diomedon (*I.G.*² II 791 of 253/2?, l. 20). Prosopography, one feels, sometimes confirms but seldom compels (see *below*, pp. 442 and 444); nevertheless this argument gives pause. Against it we may set an argument about Thrasyphon's demotic (*below*, p. 444).

¹ See also the new text of *I.G.*² II 1303, *below*, pp. 447–449.

² The stone was evidently prepared for exactly four cycles (Ferguson, *Tribal Cycles*, p. 96, n. 2; *above*, p. 426). There is, however, no parallel for thus equating a column with a cycle, although various lists and inventories as wholes begin and end with cycles (Ferguson, *Tribal Cycles*, pp. 48–49).

³ The present asymmetrical restoration of the heading of *I.G.*² II 2332 is clearly incorrect, but the reading of line 2 is so dubious that one dare not attempt another.

⁴ It is strange that we do not find other *suffecti* in *I.G.*² II 1706. They were apparently listed later (*I.G.*² II 1713, lines 5–6, *b.c.* 124/3, and presumably in one other year of the same document, Dinsmoor, *Archons*, p. 284). It is astonishing that only one other instance (in *A.D.* 95/6?) is provided for in our records, as one may see by combining *PW* II, cols. 581–588; Ferguson, *Tribal Cycles*, pp. 22–34, and P. Graindor, *Chronologie des archontes athéniens sous l'Empire*, *Mem. Acad. Belg.*, 2nd ser., VIII 2 (1922), pp. 291–300. We know of only three men, of an age to be archon eponymous, out of some 700–800, who died in office and were recorded along with their successors. (The problem is not restricted to Athens, Ferguson, *Tribal Cycles*, p. 76, n. 1.) Were years designated solely by the name of the eponymon first elected? In case of a death, did the other *archontes* ordinarily assume the duties, leaving the office vacant? It was not so in 411/0, when Theopompos, who followed Mnasilochos, dates a decree (*I.G.*² I, p. 297, line 109); but this was doubtless due to political feeling. Were the missing Basileus in *I.G.*² II 2336, after l. 56, and the missing Thesmothete, after l. 96 or 99, impoverished, recalcitrant, or dead?—Was the second Priest of Asclepius in the year 263/2 (Ferguson, *Tribal Cycles*, p. 21) a political replacement or a *suffectus*? Is it better to restore two archons or some unique entry (Dinsmoor, *Archons*, p. 466, n. 3) in *I.G.* 2323, l. 189?

⁵ To avoid this hypothesis some may prefer to let Column I consist of 132 lines—occupying perhaps the full height of the stone; or to imagine that an extra word of the title was allowed somehow to crowd the column down; or that a short decree preceded the list, ending at the beginning of Col. I.

provisionally to allow room. Counting these, there have to be accommodated, when all possible combinations are made, in the gap of seven years six inter-related archons.¹ In addition, we are obliged to observe the proper relations of ordinary and intercalary years:—

ARCHON LIST,² 224/3–215/4

Year	Archon	Secretary	No. of <i>Phyle</i>	Quality of Year	Documents (All I.G. ² unless specified)
224/3	Antiphilos		2	0	1706, l. 51
223/2	{ Kalli[as?]	[-----ξκ] Κῳδων	III	I	I.G. ² II 1591 ³ + 917 ³
222/1	{ Kalli---?		4	0	I.G. ² II 1591
221/0	Thrasymphon — ^c : ¹⁰ ... του Παιανιεύς	V	0	Magn. 16; 839
220/19	Menekrates		6	I	1706, l. 91
219/8	Chairephon ⁴ —	Φ[----- ^c : ¹⁵ -----Κν]δαν- τιδης	VII	0	1304; <i>Hesperia</i> II (1933), pp. 160–1, no. 7; 1706, l. 101
218/7	[K]all[i.. ⁵ ...] (genitive) ⁵	Ἀριστοτέλης Θεαινέτου Κε[φραλῆθεν]	VIII	0	1303 ⁵ + 843 ⁶
217/6	Euandros?	[Θ]έρος[εππος Θ]ρασ[εππου Ἀρχαρονεύς]	IX	I	II, iv, p. 17; ³ 845 ³
216/5	Hagnias —	Ποτάμιον Δοχ[ύμιον Ἀἰξω- νεύς?]	X	0	1706, l. 131; 794 ³
215/4	Diokles —	Ἀριστοφάνης Στρατοκλέους Κειριάδης	XI	I	1706, l. 141; 846–7

¹ It will be noted that, among names formerly appearing in this period, (1) “(Ka)lla(ischros)” has been changed to a better reading and placed in 218/7 (or 217/6?); (2) Philinos (Dinsmoor, *Archons*, p. 213), if dated in this period, must be placed either in 223/2 (I.G.² II 917?) or 222/1; (3) Pantiades is removed to near 206/5 (*below*, p. 445), “Pantias” being shown to be fictitious.

² The heavy bar connecting the names of certain archons with their secretaries denotes that such a connection actually exists on stone; the other conjunctions of archon and secretary are hypothetical.—The list of documents includes only those which are important for establishing a date.

³ A full treatment of these inscriptions must be deferred until a later time: I.G.¹ II 1591 (“Kalli---” is not necessarily an archon); I.G.² II 917, 845, and 794.

⁴ For the dating, see now Ferguson, *Tribal Cycles*, pp. 97 f.; for the prosopography, see *below*, p. 444.

⁵ Formerly read as “(Ka)lla(ischros),” it is clear from the stone I.G.² II 1303 (see the new edition, *below*, pp. 448) that the name is one letter shorter, and that the preserved letters were wrongly read and wrongly placed.

⁶ I.G.² II 843, with an archon's name of ten letters in the genitive, must be dated in this year, for it belongs by its calendar formula to the period of Thirteen Tribes, yet it is laid out *stoichedon*. Dinsmoor's argument for ΚΕΙΡΙΔΑΔΗΣ (*Archons*, p. 207) as the secretary's demotic may confidently be rejected, the likelihood of a split diphthong being unproved. There is ample space after ΚΕ for an iota. The mason was not trying to remain within a maximum of 39 letters, for in line 6, the fourth full line (line 1 is ΘΕΟΙ, line 4 is blank at the end), he has 40 letters, as in several other lines, even adding one outside his last column; usually he crowds letters back for 2 or 3 columns in order to end with syllables. Nor does he actually split a diphthong; for at the end of line 19 the Ε is crowded back for no reason whatever unless, as in every other such instance, another letter was to be added. The stone is broken just after the Ε; undoubtedly we should read χρε[ι]ας. Hence the deme of the secretary was Kephale, the tribe Akamantis (VIII). The physical indications of the stone (lettering, *stoichedon* arrangement, and others) would favor a date one cycle earlier (230/29), but this is disfavored by the unlikelihood that Ptolemais was functioning in 230/29.

"Kalli - -" finds room in either 223/2 or 222/1, depending on whether the name is to be inserted in *I.G.*² II 917, which is not excluded from 210/9. If our other doubtful item, Euandros, be removed from 217/6, then [K]αλλ[ι...⁵...] (genitive form) might equally well be dated in that year rather than in the year of *I.G.*² II 843, and the career of Theophrastos could be spaced out by another year (*I.G.*² II 1303).¹

We may now conjecturally reckon the total height of the stele. The list proper occupied 1.31 m. Above we supply a title in larger letters (say 0.05 m.) and a moulding (say 0.08 m.). If we add below a blank area 0.10 m. high, which is small, but more than the space left below the wreathes (0.045 m.) in *I.G.*² II 848, we must reckon a back thinned at the base to a height of 0.32 m. Some 0.08 m. more for insertion into the base at the bottom would complete the stele. The resulting height over all is 1.62 m., which may be compared with the 1.22 m. of *I.G.*² II 848 (Archelaos) of 212/1, which is of equal thickness, and has trimmed sides of the same width, but is not so wide (it averages 0.39 m. wide). It would seem that *I.G.*² II 1706 was of maximum height for its thickness; for it can be restored only a very little shorter.

With these measurements in mind, we may in conclusion seek an answer to the question, Why was the stele trimmed behind at top and bottom? To Professor Stillwell I am indebted for a most suggestive answer. In the Stoas of Eumenes and of Attalos, of slightly later date to be sure, we have wall bases (toichobate, orthostate, orthostate crown) constructed as shown in the diagram, Pl. XII. Against such a construction our stele could be perfectly accommodated. The trimming below answers to the toichobate; the trimming above to the orthostate crown: the height of these on the stele not being precisely fixed, either could be adjusted to the wall. The thicker rough area, however, is in our reconstruction an inflexible dimension, and it is the near approximation of this to preserved orthostates which makes this theory the more attractive.²

As a rule stelae stood free. Obviously we can only surmise what led to the setting of this stele close to a wall. A simple hypothesis does, however, suggest itself: finding that the stele was thin for its height, it was decided to set it where it would be less exposed, and where it could be secured at the top by clamps.³

¹ The crucial difference between this list and that in Ferguson, *Tribal Cycles*, p. 27, is simply that Menekrates now follows rather than precedes Thrasyphon. The former position enabled us to make "Kalli-...", Menekrates (*I.G.*¹ II 1591) a closed sequence. This minor disadvantage, combined with Chairephon's demotic (*below*, p. 444, line 101), forms at present the sole basis for doubting the placing of Fragment D.

² The dimensions are: stele above ground, minimum 1.52 m. (as shown in Pl. XII); Stoa of Attalos (159-138 B.C.), 1.61 m.; Stoa of Eumenes (197-159 B.C.), 1.66 m. If a less cramped space (say 0.15 m. instead of 0.05 m.) be allowed for a title, the stele becomes *ca.* 1.62 m. high above ground. The thick rough part of the back of the stele, according to our reconstruction, was 99.6 m. tall; the orthostates in the Stoa of Attalos, 1.067 m.; in the Stoa of Eumenes, 1.145 m.

³ There is, however, no similar instance, at least in my knowledge, from any period, and the hypothesis of clamps is not necessary for the theory, as several new stelae from the Agora, of similar dimensions, prove. If we admit clamps nonetheless for the smaller stele, it is natural to consider whether a stele of the height involved by Dinsmoor's cycles (a stele too thin by half), might not be supported by a series of clamps. This improbable support might be granted, were it not for the other objections, already listed (p. 433), to the tall stele.

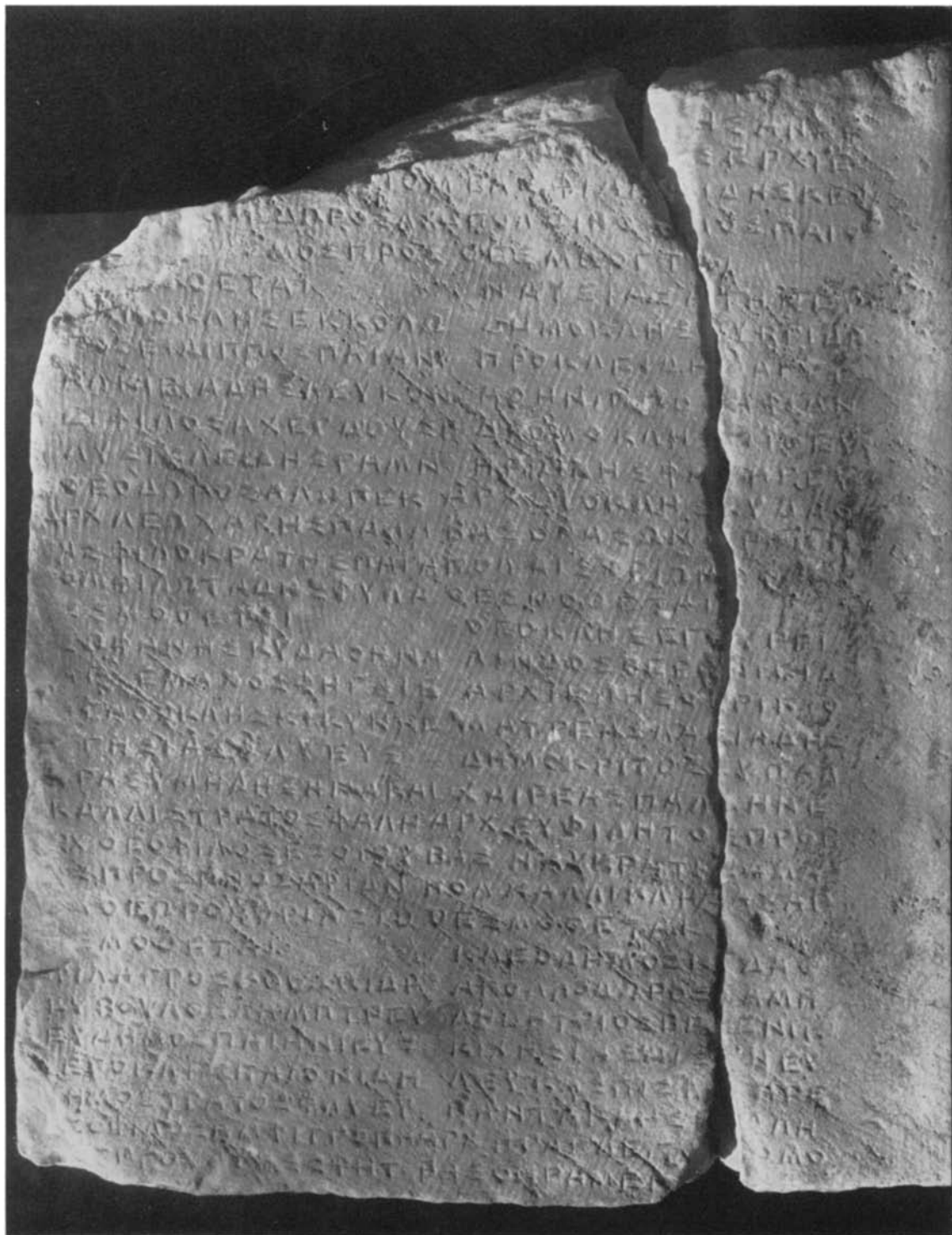


Fig. 9. I.G.² II 1706, Text on Frgs. A and B

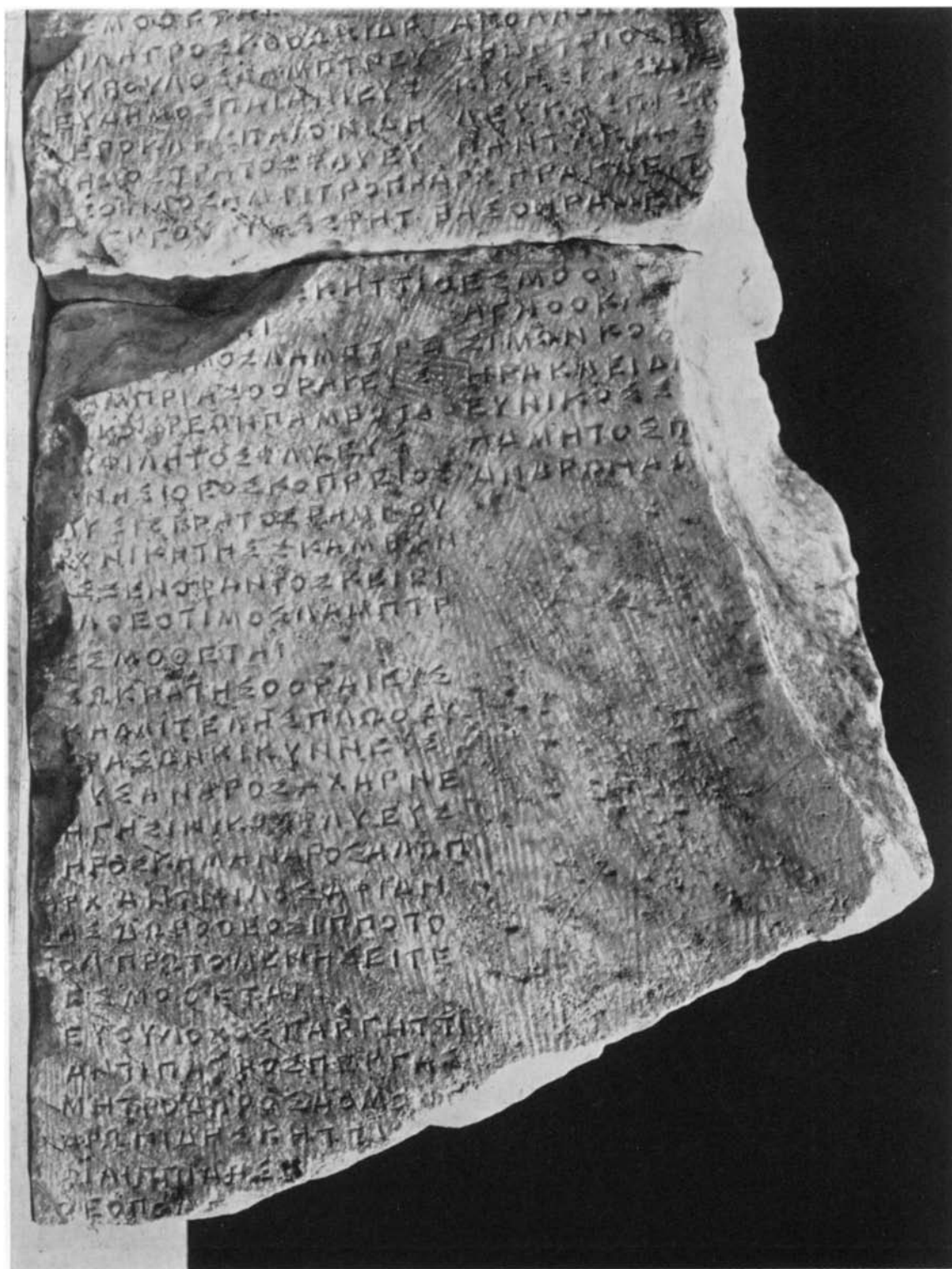


Fig. 10. *I.G.*² II 1706, Text on Frgs. A (part) and C

PART IV: VARIANT READINGS AND COMMENTARY

The list of variant readings which follows is intended to be complete.¹ Full titles of previous editions have already been given (*above*, Part II). It will suffice here to list them together with the abbreviations employed:

Eust. = Eustratiades, Charames, Pittakys *Ἐπιγραφὰὶ Ἀνέκδοτοι*, 1851–2, no. 66.

Rang. = Rangabé, *Antiquités Helléniques*, 1855, no. 1238.

Koe. = Koehler in *Inscriptiones Graecae* II, ii, 1883, no. 859.

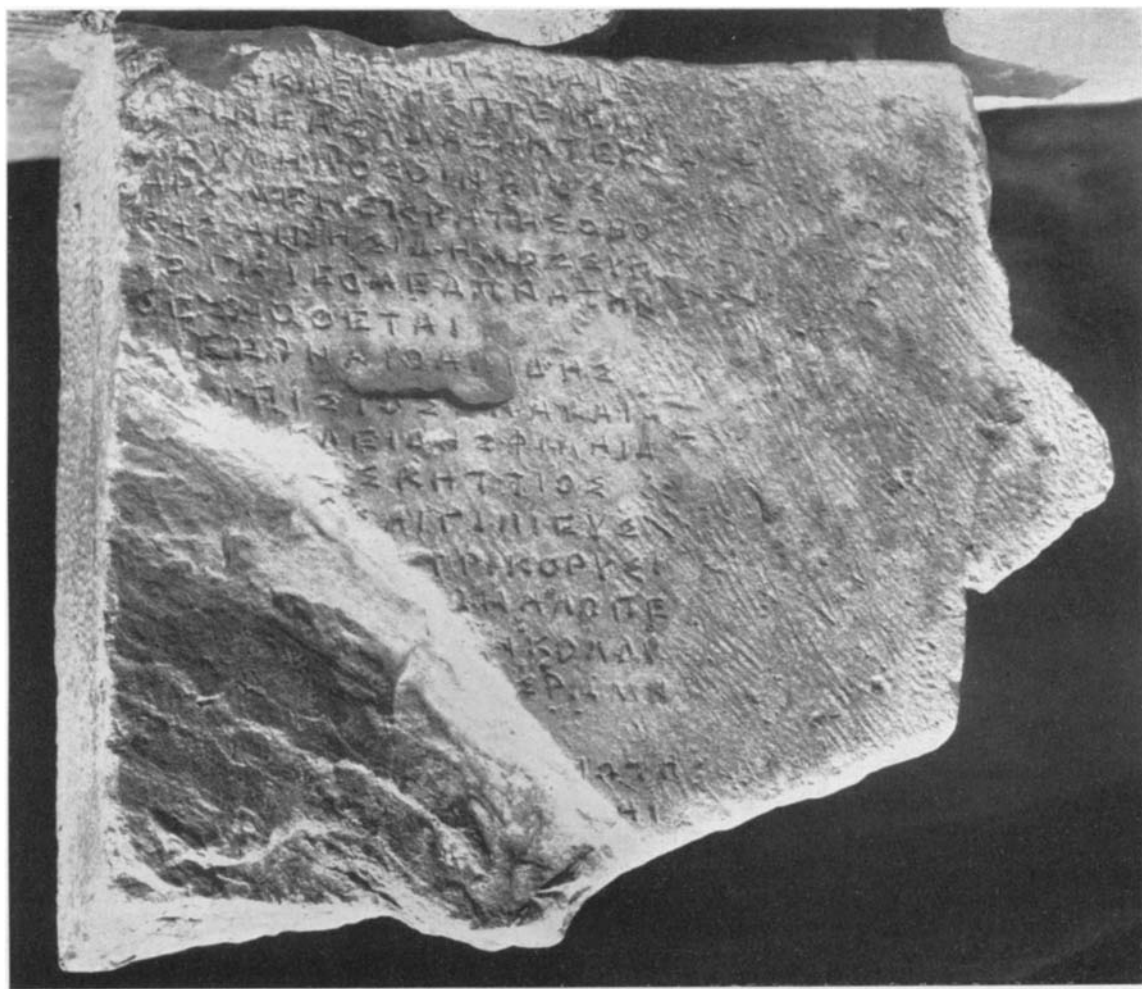


Fig. 11. I.G.² II 1706, Text on Frg. D

¹ Meier's *Commentatio Epigraphica Secunda* was accessible to me only in a copy which contained the plate (a direct copy of that of Eustratiadis), but not the text or commentary.

Mich. = Michel, *Recueil d'Inscriptions*, 1900, no. 649.

Dittb. = Kirchner in Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*³, 1917, no. 542.

Ki. = Kirchner, *Inscriptiones Graecae*, Ed. Minor II and III, iv, 1931, no. 1706.

For the sake of brevity I use "new" to mean "read by me for the first time"; "(error)" to denote a discrepancy between an editor's diagram and his text.

Figs. 9, 10, and 11 have the text: but as usual the stones themselves are the only satisfactory control.

There seemed to be no need to reprint here the fundamental data on the tribal affiliations of demes given by their discoverer, Kirchner, in Dittb.³ 542, and *I.G.*² II 1706.¹

Line 1. The lower right corner of delta (both strokes) is new. For the archon Ferguson was the first to suggest Heliodoros, his work (*Athenian Secretaries*, p. 53) appearing in the same year, 1898, with Schebelev's *History of Athens from 229 to 31 B.C.* (in Russian; pp. 39, 95), which had the same restoration. Historical evidence (*I.G.*² II 832, 833 and less clearly 844) and the secretary cycle both appeared to favor this position for Heliodoros. The story of Heliodoros since 1898 is complex, and the curious will naturally turn to Dinsmoor's model exposition (*Archons*, pp. 184–187). The principal heresy has been an attempted reduplication and the assignment (by some) of one Heliodoros to c. 240 (*I.G.*² II 832, 833) and the other to c. 217. Ferguson, Roussel, and Dinsmoor have opposed this, but Kirchner (*Gnomon*, VIII, 1932, pp. 456–8) has recently ventured 241/0 for one Heliodoros. Elsewhere I shall try to make it clear that the styles of *I.G.*² II 832 and 833, which are not by the same hand, tend by themselves to place Heliodoros at least a decade later, and are adverse to the suggested earlier dates. There will be something to be said, also, on the restoration of *non-stoichedon* inscriptions: the allowance of a half instead of a full space for iota is the main principle, and greater certainty is possible than is generally supposed.

As to the space in *I.G.*² II 1706, the only alternatives for Heliodoros thus far suggested are Johnson's (*Amer. Jour. Phil.*, XXXIV, 1913, pp. 390, 409–410; XXXV, 1914, pp. 79, 80). The space, he asserted, demands a name of ten letters, but since he supplied no more explicit statement nor any control, we cannot know the source of his error. He suggested Lysitheides (9 full spaces), Pythokritos (9½), or Alexandros (10). Measurement of the stone and of the average spacings of letters in well-filled lines has shown me that HAIOΔΩΠOΣ (8½ letters) is exactly correct. The reader may control this for himself with the aid of Fig. 9. The simplest method is to lay a straight edge parallel to the edge of the stone, basing it on the iota of ΔIOM, and then count the letters thus blocked off in some moderately well-filled line (7, for example). It must be remembered (a) that iota occupies the space of half a letter, (b) that after APX a space of half a letter was vacant, and (c) that APX, BAΣ, and HIOA project one full space. From measurement alone, however, we could merely question Lysitheides; for other reasons he may be rejected (Dinsmoor, *Archons*, pp. 181–182; Ferguson, *Tribal Cycles*, p. 81, n. 1).

¹ The suggested dates for the decree and list of contributors (*I.G.*² II 791) of the year of Diomedon are, by Ferguson (*Tribal Cycles*), in Scheme A,—which he prefers,—253/2; in Scheme B, 241/0; or admitting a hypothetical second Diomedon with a secretary dubiously from Leukonoe,—for which he merely concedes space in Scheme A,—232/1; by Dinsmoor (*Archons*, see Index), 247/6. This inscription preserves entire, or only slightly mutilated, the names-plus-demotic of 62 men. *I.G.*² II 1706 (230/29–213/2) preserves 94. In both cases the lists include,—the assumption is natural,—the leading men of the city. Generally speaking, prosopographical evidence is to be used warily: but even so, weight must be allowed to the fact that *neither list repeats a single name-plus-demotic of the other*. This argument from a large silence would seem to make the old date 232/1 somewhat improbable, to discourage the hypothetical reduplication of Diomedon, and to favor a date at least as early as 241/0.—For such prosopographical data as exist, see *I.G.*² II, and less positively, *below* under lines 37, 59, 81, 101, 131, 143, 170.

- Line 2—4. The beginning of each line, read by early editors, is now missing due to a break, as noted *above* (p. 430, n. 5). The missing letters are underlined in my text. The details follow. No other letters have been lost since 1852.
2. Eust. diagram shows traces of ΥΜΠΙ; text begins with the second Ο. Rang. has Μ in his diagram, Υ also (error?) in his text.
 3. Eust. Rang. diagrams have ΑΕΥΠ; Rang. text has also the first Ο (error).
 4. Eust. Rang. have ΕΣΜ.
 5. Eust. Koe. Dittb. Ki. lack Δ. Mich. lacks ΔΗ.
 6. Final Ι included by Eust. Rang., omitted by Koe. Mich. Dittb. Ki.
 11. Eust. text lacks initial Α (error).
 13. Eust. diagram and text lack initial Ο.
 14. Mich. has Θ.
 15. Eust. Rang. lack initial Σ.
 22. Eust. text has ΒΑΣ (error). Rang. lacks ΑΣ.
 23. Eust. Mich. lack Α.
 29. Δ new.
 30. Mich. lacks initial Σ.
 31. Rang. lacks the first Η, Mich. the Ε.
 32. Eust. has [ΒΑΣ] . . . Η . . . , others nothing. The break came through this line and destroyed all but the tips of some letters such as the fourth letter of the name, an upsilon or possibly a chi. One of the letters preceding it was, judging from the space, an iota, as for instance in [ΔΙΟΝ]Υ[ΣΙΟΣ], which would exactly conform to the space if the next preserved traces, below on Fragment C, begin the demotic. The traces preserved on C of the demotic appear to give Α.Α.^{1/2}.Α, and the deme, by Beloch's Law, should belong to Aigeis, Pandionis, Oineis or Antiochis, if there were still twelve tribes. The evidence does not enable a restoration.
 33. Eust. Rang. lack Σ. No previous estimate of space.
 34. Mich. lacks Α.
 35. Rang. has ΙΜΟΣ; no other edition has any trace before the Μ. Dittb. Ki. estimate 6 letters missing. Koe. (text, error) Mich. omit the line entirely.—Actually the traces of eta are clear, and the space fits such a name as Φυλόδημος (PA 14491).
 37. Rang. has - Κ - ΦΡΕΟΝ, all others - - ΚΟΙΦΡΕΟΝ, which did not admit of restoration by any known Greek name.—The first Ι is new. In emending ΙΦ, all the traces of which are clear on the stone, to Κ, which is equally clear, I follow a suggestion which others have considered. Oddly enough, this stone-cutter elsewhere confounded Φ with Κ, and as here simply cut the one over the other (cf. lines 59, 130). For the restoration given there appear to be no alternatives (see Pape, *Handwörterbuch*, III, pp. XXIX and 1005; Bechtel, *Historische Personennamen*, p. 262). The name Nikokreon is not to be found in Kirchner's and Sundwall's *Prosopographia Attica*. A Nikokreon is known in Salamis in Cyprus from Plut., *Alex.* 29 (not 19 as in Pape) and other sources (see Pape).
 41. The Α, which is new, is given us by the line of the break.
 42. Eust. Rang. lack the first Α. The Ρ has a tail (influence of Κ?).
 48. Α new.
 50. Eust. Rang. begin the name with a Π.
 52. Β, which is new, is given us by the line of the break.
 53. Eust. Rang. lack the first Π.
 54. Eust. text has initial Θ (error).

- Line 57. It is usually assumed (Dinsmoor, *Archons*, p. 463) that the tribe out of order in this year is Leontis in line 58, and that is still possible providing that in line 59 we restore ΠΕ[ΙΡΑΙ] or ΚΕ[ΙΡΙΑΔ] (Hippothontis). Otherwise it is line 57 which with line 143 alone remain among alleged violations of Beloch's Law. We cannot suppose, however, that Athmonon was subdivided, unless part were in some tribe other than Antigonis, Demetrias, or Ptolemais: for to give part of Athmonon to any of these would not improve matters in this year. There is no other evidence—Athmonon later went to Attalis, seemingly as a whole.
58. The rest of the demotic should be supplied, otherwise the line would be uniquely short.
59. Eust. Rang. lack any letter of the demotic. Koe. Mich. Dittb. Ki. have Π - - -, and actually Π is favored, although the stone permits Κ, and only Ο (Θ) would explain the short horizontal stroke at the bottom. This stroke was certainly made by the original stone-cutter, unlike the thinner spurious stroke in line 67; but I find no Ο made like this one, and hence exclude Θ. The shape of the break apparently gives us Ε for the second letter. The possible demotics are Κephale (Akamantis), Kerameikos (Akamantis), Perithoidai (Oineis), Keiriadai (Hippothontis), and Piraens (Hippothontis). Lolling's suggestion (*I.G.*² II 1706, commentary), Π[ροσπάλιος], is excluded; and Kirchner rightly came to reject (*S.I.G.*, no. 542, n. 6) Koehler's Π[αυριεύς] (PA 14359).
60. The Μ and Π are far from clear, as previous editors have recognized, but no other name in ΘΕΟΠΟ - - - is known.
81. For reasons given *above* pp. 435–6 and *below* l. 101, the archon Thrasyphon, hitherto commonly inserted in line 101, is now disassociated from Alopeke (line 101). The name was rare in Athens: we have only PA 7371, ephebe of the tribe Demetrias (to which Xypete belonged) in 305/4 (PA 7372 is the archon); PA 7373, spokesman of two decrees in the period of Hieron (254/3 or 242/1), demesman of Xypete; PA 7374, whose son Alkefes was ephebe in 107/6, demesman of the Piraeus (tribe Hippothontis). It is tempting to identify or connect the archon with PA 7373; in any case we may set this stronger prosopographical evidence against that in regard to Chairephon (*below*, l. 101).
87. Eust. has ΗΣ, Rang. has - - - ΙΗΣ, Mich. has - - - ΑΤΗΣ, Koe. and Dittb. have - - - ΙΙ.ΛΛΗΣ (= Π.ΛΤΗΣ). The base of the Κ has a short horizontal stroke, which is proved by its thinness to be an accidental scratch.
96. Eust. has [ΕΑ]ΠΙΣ[Τ]ΟΣ, Rang. has . ΑΠΙΣΙΟΣ.
97. Initial Α new.
98. Estimates of the space have been:, Eust.; Dittb. Ki.
99. Eust. estimates Σ, but the liberal spacing of the preserved letters suggests 4 1/2.
100. Eust. estimated 7 letters were missing, Dittb. Ki. 8.
101. Name unrestored in Eust. (who has ΟΝΑΑΛΟΠΕ *sic*), Koe.; Chairephon, Mich.; Thrasyphon, Dittb. Ki. As in line 1, we may use two methods to ascertain the number of letters missing; both prove that the space available is exactly that occupied by ΑΡΧ ΜΕΝΕΚ, or 0.075 m. Hence for the archon's name, allowing for a slight extra spacing for the mu, we should expect to supply either 5 or 5 1/2 letters. ΧΑΙΡΕΦ is decidedly favored over ΘΡΑΣΥΦ, but the latter is not excluded. We have already preferred Chairephon on other grounds (*above*, p. 435). This arrangement forces us to conclude that the archon was not Chairephon of Eitea (*I.G.*² II 791, l. 20, archon Diomedon of 253/2, 241/0, or 232/1?). In all we know 15 men of this name (PA 15189–15203); attached to their names are 9 different demotics.
- 102--106, 129--130. Lacking entirely in Mich.
103. Eust. estimates 6 letters of the name missing, 8 Dittb. Ki.
105. Eust. has [. ΣΔΕΙΡΑΔ]ΙΟΤΗ; others make no estimate.
106. Eust. estimates 11 letters missing.

- Line 129. Eust. Rang. omit this line. NΦ Koe. Dittb. Ki. without estimate of space. Preceding the nu is a trace of eta, or iota, or possibly omega. Either all three letters are part of the demotic, for which I find none suitable, or we must follow Beloch and accept the version given.
130. Eust. has ΗΣ. The last letter is apparently Φ cut over K (cf. lines 37, 59).
131. Eust. has Σ, Rang. has -- Σ, Mich. has [Α]P[ΧΤΑΛΥΚΙΠΠΟ]Σ, Koe. has ΑΡΛ without estimate of gap, Dittb. has [Α]PΧ Σ, Ki. has [Α]PΧ[ΠΑΝΤΙΑ]Σ.—The stone bears clear traces of ΑΡΧ; then a gap with enough stone preserved to show any letter with a long upright; a mark of corrosion; a damaged area; the end of an upright stroke slanting downward slightly to the right, and continued by the line of the break so that we have apparently a Γ or even a Π. The traces which follow can be a letter only if the break which appears to form the top of the preceding letter be disregarded. These traces have the shape of an Ο (Θ), but close examination shows that the contour of the marks is not that of the lower part of Ο, but is instead exactly similar to the corrosion by trickling nearby. Ο (Θ) is therefore excluded. The list of admissible readings which follows is arranged in order of preference; but (1) and (2) are favored considerably above the rest, which disregard the line of break, and must also presuppose a long gap after the preserved stroke:

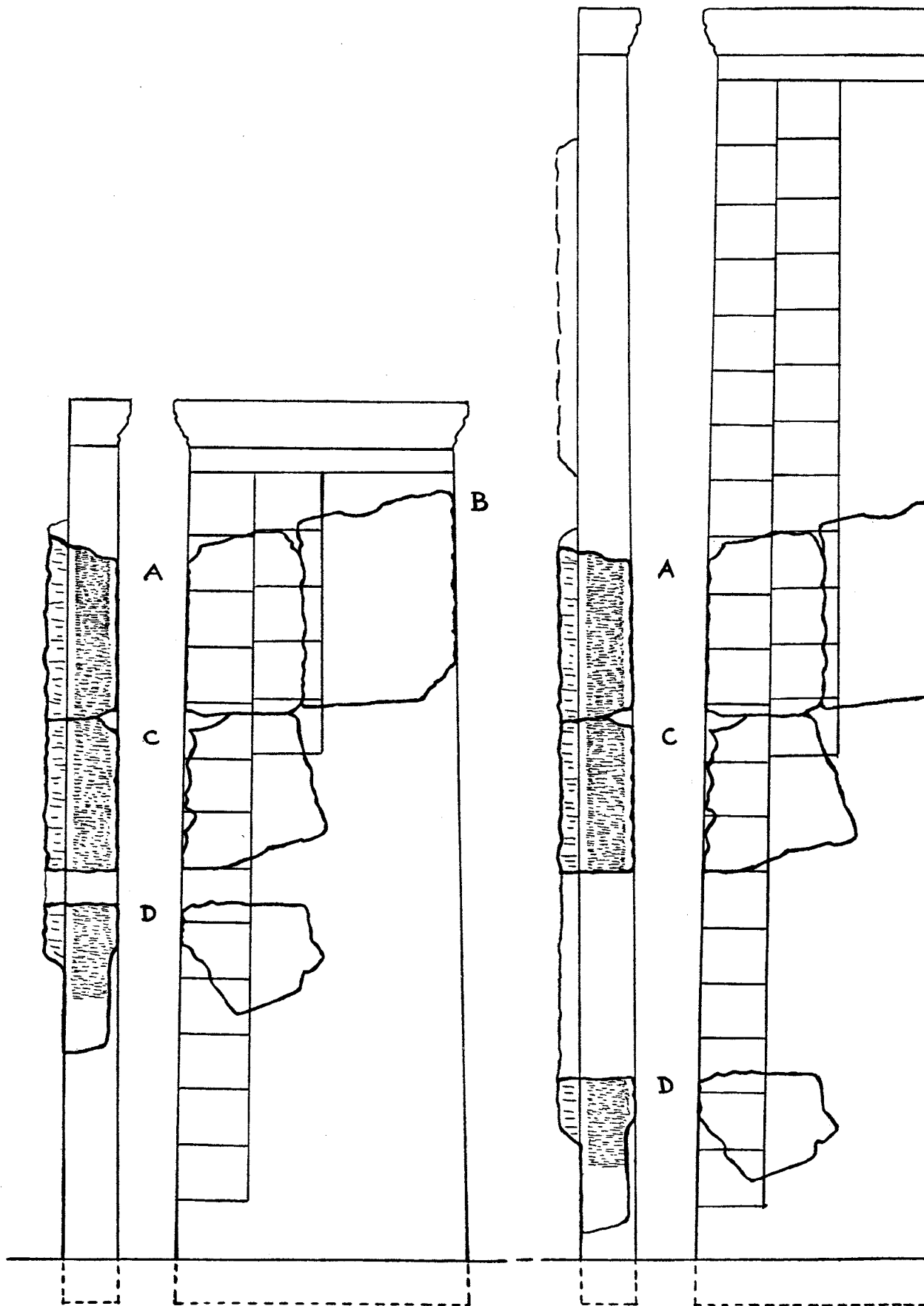
- (1) . Γ . ^{2 1/2} . Σ (e.g. ΑΓΝΙΑΣ)
- (2) . Π . ^{2 1/2} . Σ (e.g. ΙΠΠΙΑΣ)
- (3) Μ . ^{3 1/2} . Σ (e.g. ΜΟΑΙΙΣ)
- (4) Λ . ^{3 1/2} . Σ
- (5) Λ . ^{3 1/2} . Σ

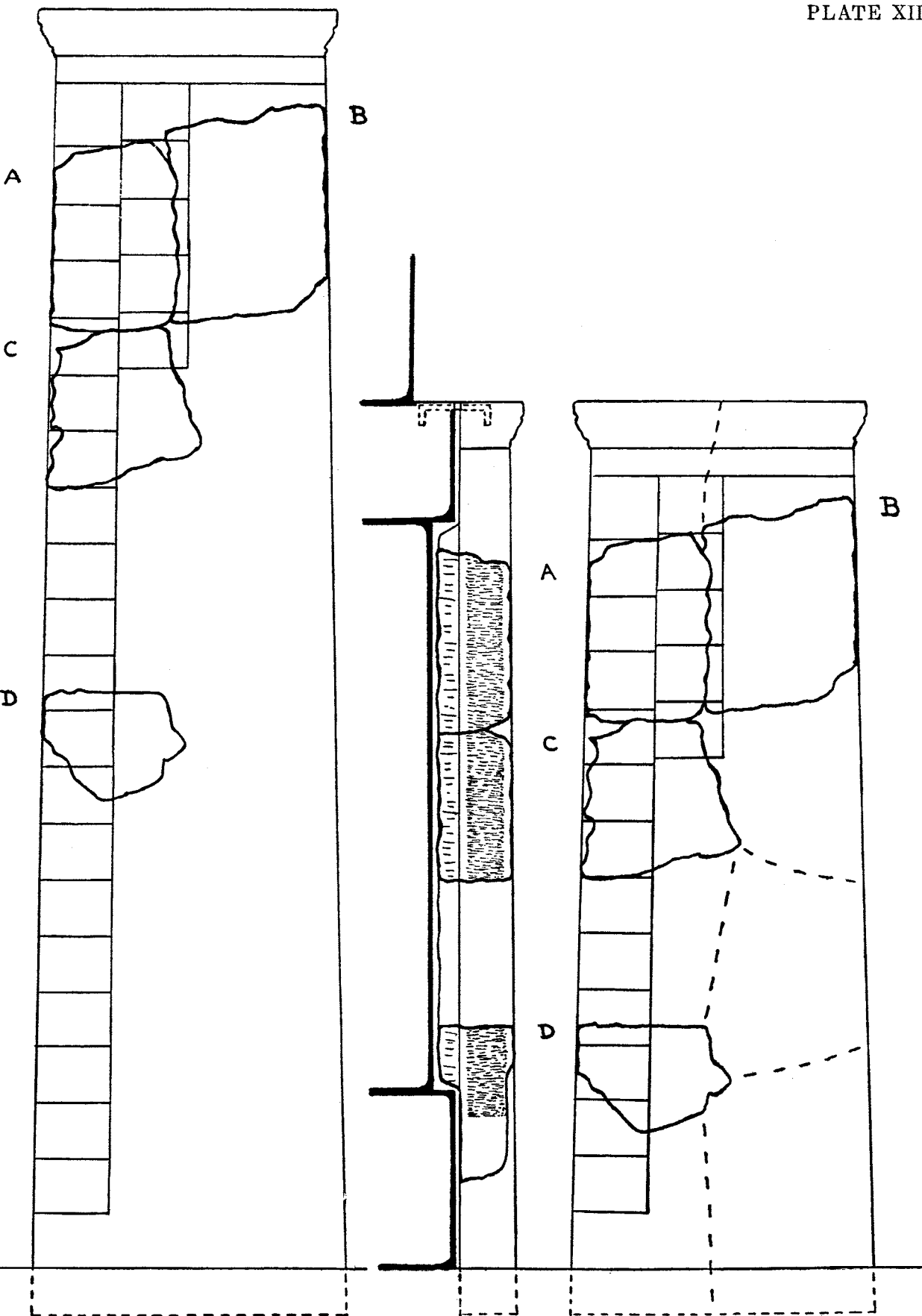
We therefore see that Dinsmoor's Philinos (*Archons*, p. 213) is excluded, because the initial Φ would inevitably show. The previous leading candidate, "Pantias," is excluded because there is no room for the Π (a small *vacat* must be allowed after ΑΡΧ). "Pantias" is also a full letter too long: the error may have arisen because Frgs. A and B were not set tightly together in the plaster. With the new date for Hagnias accord perfectly the styles of I.G.² II 794 and 1292 in which his name occurs; I intend to discuss them in a different setting; also Pantiades.

132. Eust. Rang. lack both Π's.
133. Eust. Rang. lack ΦΙΑ. Mich. lacks Φ.
134. The second epsilon is defective (Γ).
135. Eust. lacks the third Α.
137. Eust. diagram has the Σ (error). The first epsilon is defective (F).
138. Σ new.
139. Σ new.
140. Eust. lacks Α.
142. Eust. has P; Rang. has -- P ---; Koe. has . ΡΛΛ; Mich. has ---; Dittb. has [Π]ΡΑΣΙ; Ki. has [Π]ΡΑ[Σ]Ι. Π new. A final upright stroke is evidently the result of corrosion. Over part of this and the next demotic a deposit has formed.
143. Eust. Rang. lack any letters of the demotic; Koe. has - P ---; Mich. has - ΡΟ ---; Dittb. has ΦΡ[ΕΑΡ]; Ki. has [Ε]ΡΟ[ΙΑ]. The stone favors Φ[Α]Α, but corrosion has cut so sharply in this area that true strokes of letters cannot always be identified. The rigid application of Beloch's Law (on which see Part II of my forthcoming paper on lists of *archontes*) would lead us to adopt the reading given, though without insistence, in the text.—The Φ is absolutely certain, and no letter intervened between it and the name. Failure to observe the common shape given to phi led to its being read hitherto as rho.—The reading given in Ferguson, *Tribal Cycles*, p. 51, n. 3 is due to my former misconception of this difficult line.

- Line 145. Eust. Rang. Mich. lack M.
 146. B and second E new.
 148. Rang. Mich. lack K.
 152. Eust. has TI[OΣ].
 153. Eust. Rang. lack the Σ.
 159. Eust. Rang. have the second A.
 163. Eust. has ΠΟΑ ---; Rang. has no letters; Mich. has ΠΟΑ - Η ---; Koe. Dittb. Ki. have ΠΟΑ . Η ---.
 The traces on the stone would admit ΗΡΟΣΚΑΜΑΝΔΡΟΣ, the long name in line 50, except that they are not crowded. No restoration is possible.
 164. Eust. Mich. lack the second E.
 165. Final Α new. The demotic, by Beloch's Law, is Kollytos or Kolonos.
 167. Eust. lacks H.
 168. A small trace hitherto unrecorded after the last sigma is evidently spurious.
 169. The tribe of Admetos, by Beloch's Law, must be Oineis; hence the deme is Perithoidai or Ptelea.
 170. PA 920: if one is wary of Kirchner's identification of this Andron (the name is not common), the demotic $\mathcal{A}\mu[\varphi\iota\tau\varrho\sigma\pi\eta](\theta\epsilon\nu)$ is also possible (Dinsmoor, *Archons*, p. 462).

STERLING DOW

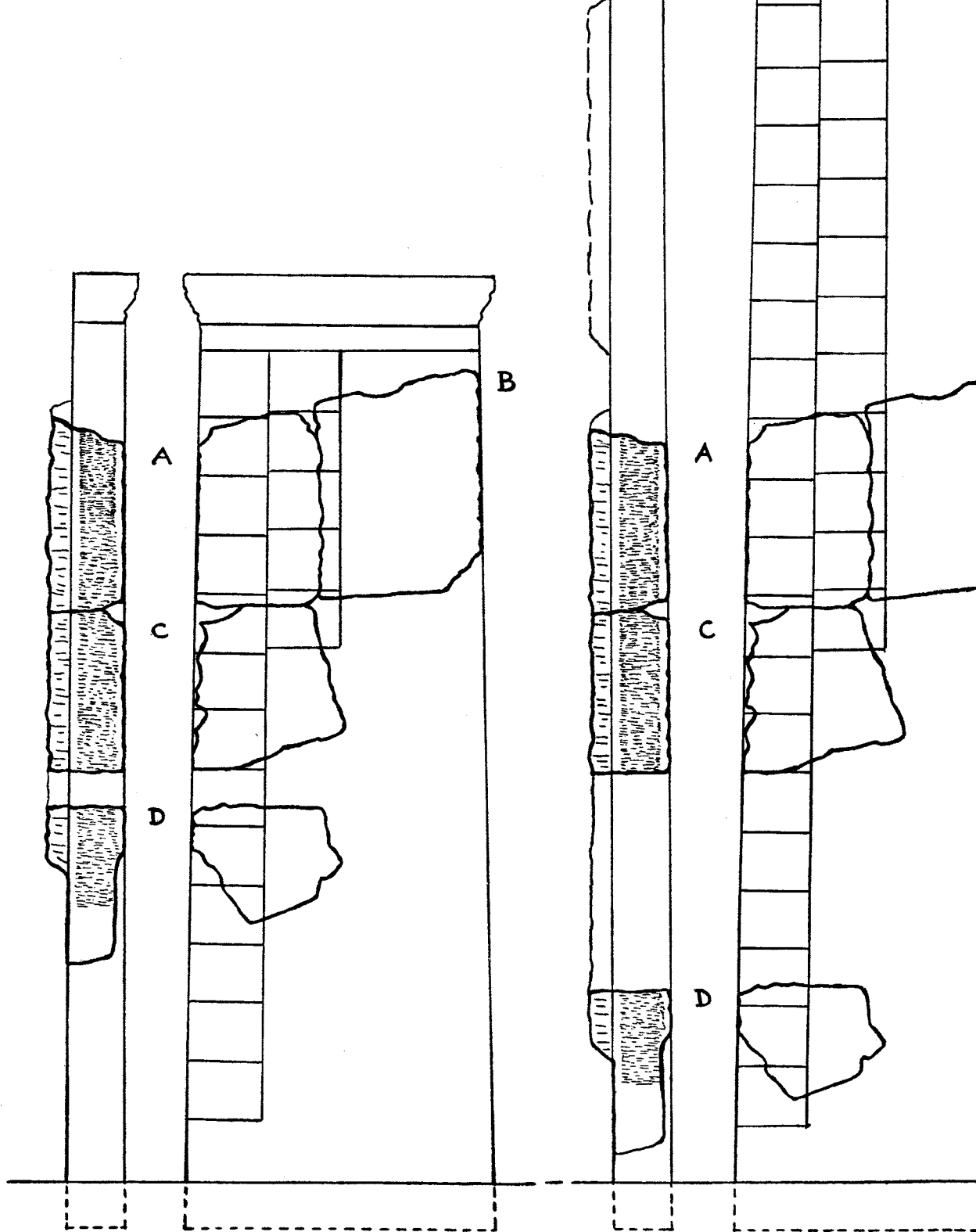




Rejected by Dinsmoor

Hypothetical Setting

Front with Hypothetical Lines of Breakage

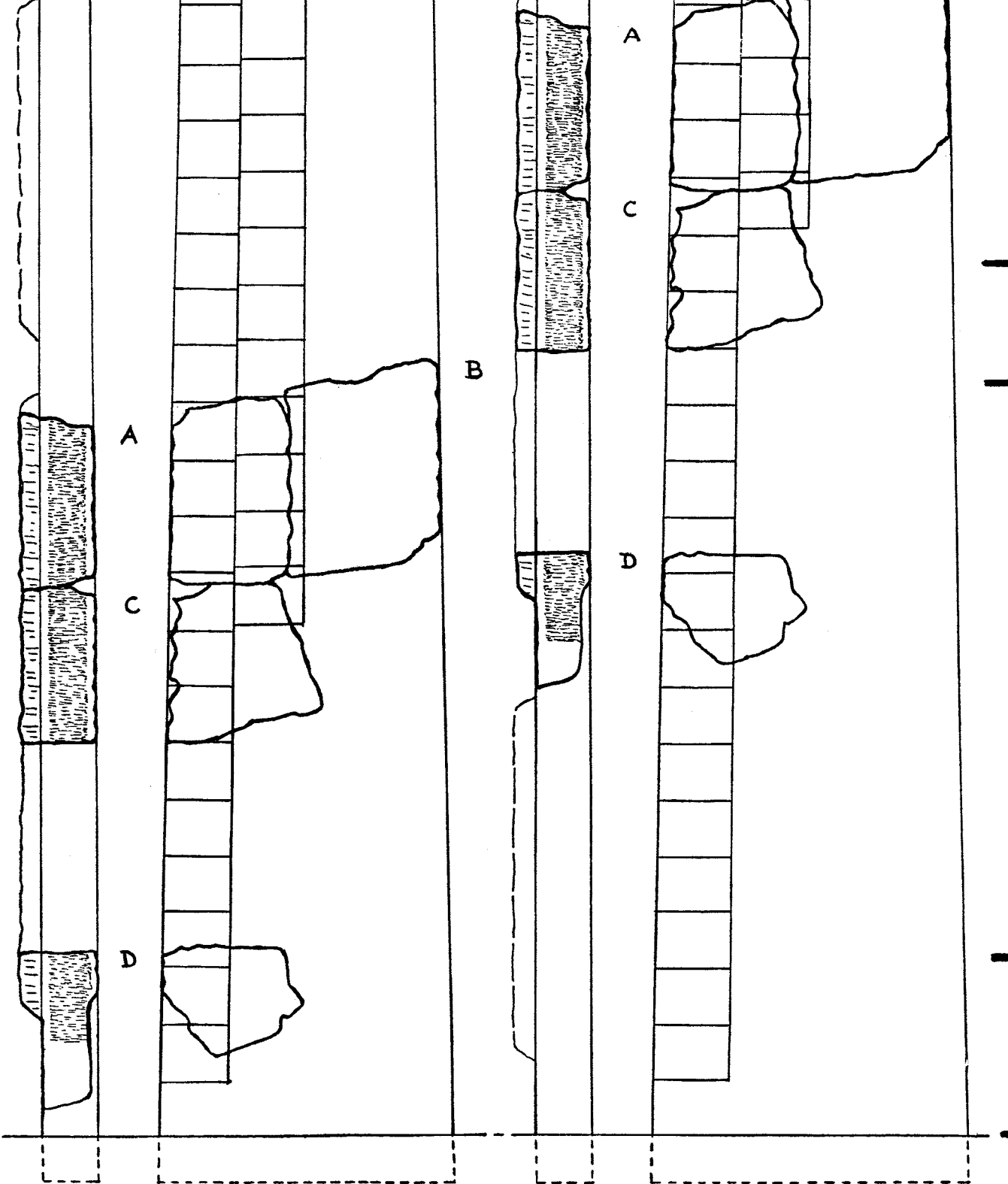


Eustratiades and Most Others

Preferred by Dinsmoor

Alternative Suggestions by Dinsmoor, Ar

The Stele *I.G.*² 1706: Left Side a



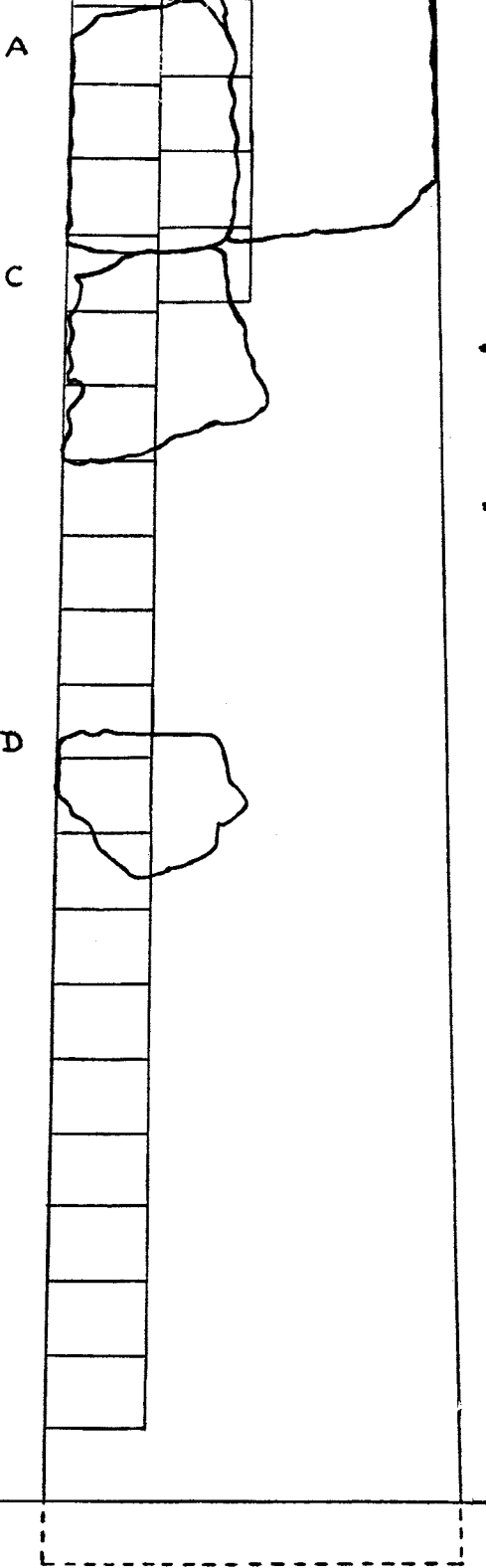
Preferred by Dinsmoor

Rejected by Dinsmoor

Alternative Suggestions by Dinsmoor, *Archons*, p. 203 (favoring a revetment or pilaster rather than a stele)

The Stele *I.G.*² 1706: Left Side and Front Reconstructed According to Variant Theories

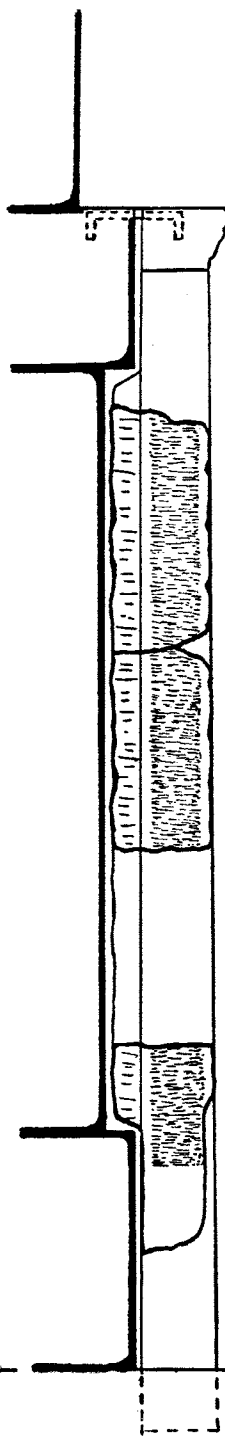
Scale 1 : 10



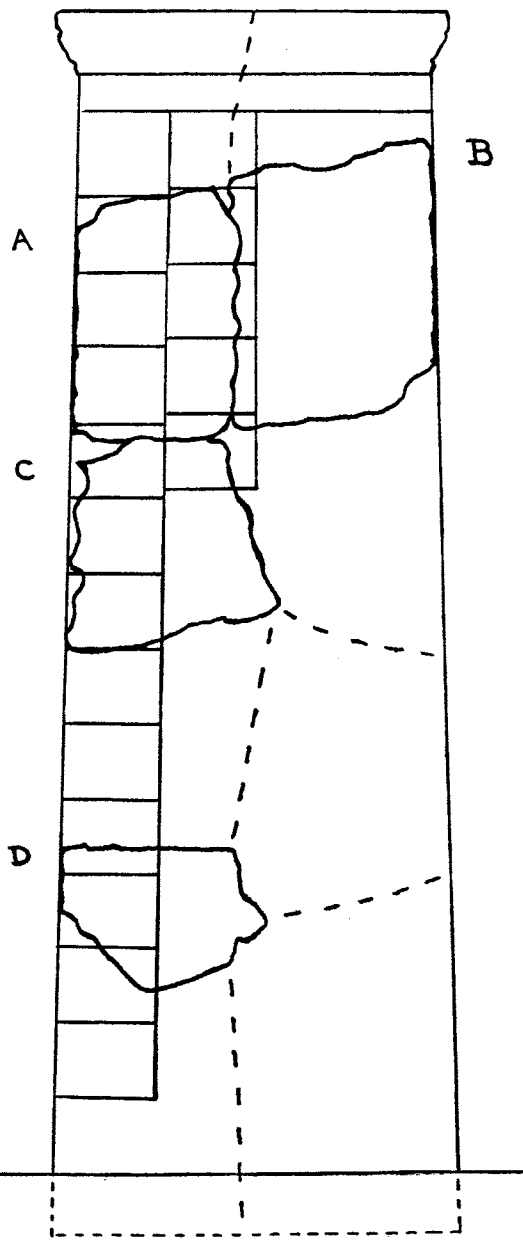
Rejected by Dinsmoor

evetment or pilaster rather than a stele)

ted According to Variant Theories

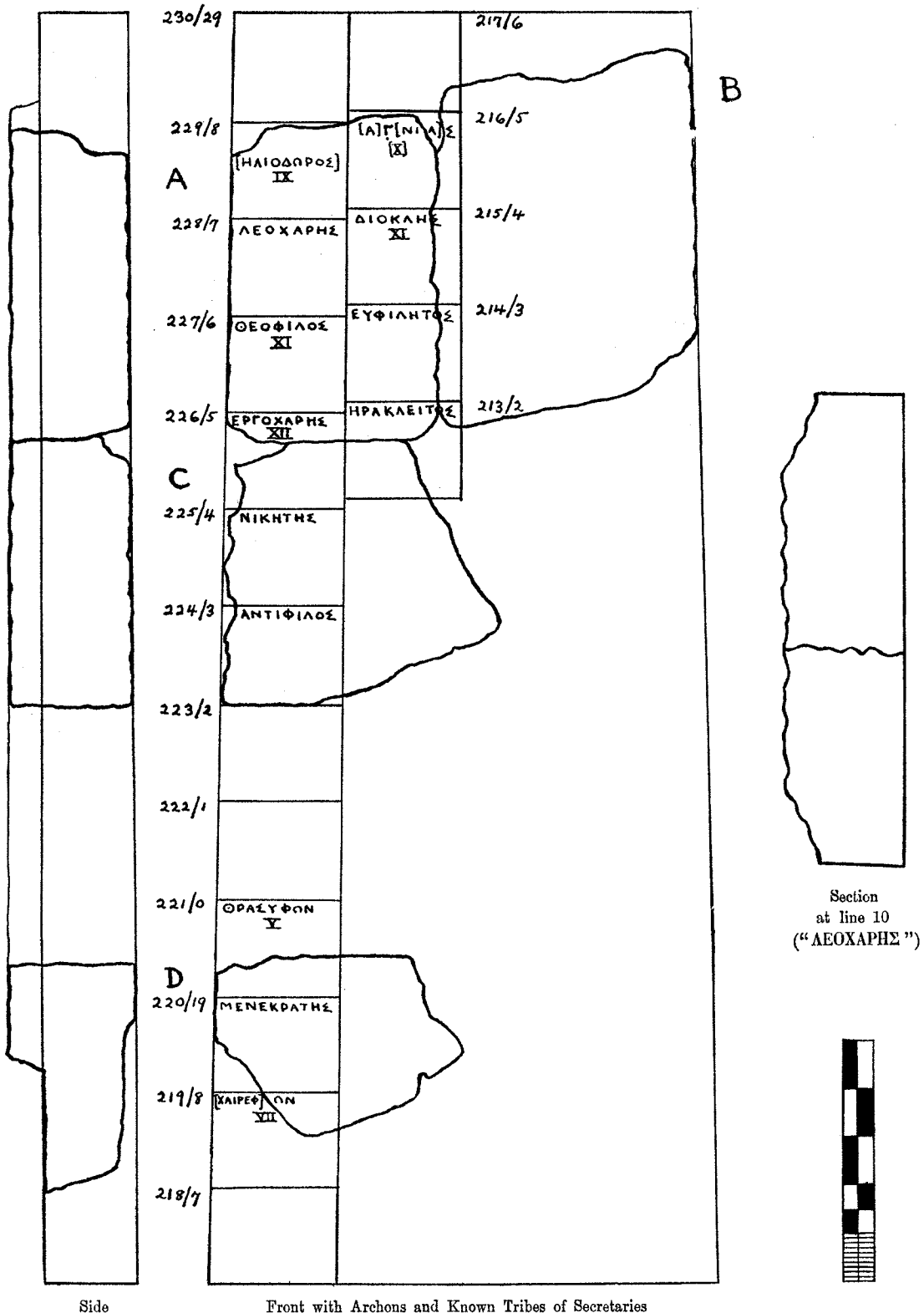


Hypothetical Setting



Front with Hypothetical Lines of Breakage

Dow, *Above*, Part III



Front with Archons and Known Tribes of Secretaries
I.G.² II 1706: Reconstruction of Area of Text

TEXT

Missing above the list itself:

A moulding without pediment (?)

A title of two lines in larger letters (?)

	Column I	Column II	(Column III)	(Column IV)
	[The following arrangement is that of the stele, line 1 being precisely opposite line 132, etc.]	Missing above line 129: lines 121–128, including—		The stone was prepared additional columns which never inscribed.
	Missing above line 1: 11 lines, including the archon of 230/29, and a <i>suffectus</i> (?)			
229/8	[Ἀρχ Ἑλιόδωρος] Διομ	[Ἀρχ Εὐάνδρος ---]	121	217/6
Fragment A	[Βας Ὀλ]υμπιόδωρος Ἀχα	...?...ων Φ[αληρ]		
	[Πο]λ Εὐπόμενος Προς	...?...ης Ἀναφ	130	
	[Θ]εσμοθέται	Ἀρχ [Ἀ]γ[νία]ς Ἐρχιε	216/5	Vacat
	5 Δημοκλῆς ἐκ Κολω	Βας Φιλι[π]πίδης Κερ		
	Ποσειδιππος Παιανι	Πολ Οἰνόφ[ι]λος Παιο		
	Ἀλκιβιάδης Λευκον	Θεσμοθέται		
	Δίφιλος Ἀχεροδοσί	Ναυσίας Ἀτηνέυ	135	
	Ἀνσικλείδης Ῥαμν	Δημοκλῆς [Σ]υβριδῆ		
	10 Θεόδωρος Ἀλωπεκ	Προκλείδης [Σ] Ἀγγε		
228/7	Ἀρχ Λεωχάρης Παλλ	Ἀθήνιππος Ἀφιδν		
	[Β]ας Φιλοκράτης Παια	Δρομοκλῆς Πιθεύ		
	[Π]ολ Φιλοτάδης Φυλά	Ἡρώιδης Φα[λ]ηρέυ	140	
	[Θ]εσμοθέται	Ἀρχ Διοκλῆς Κυδαθ	215/4	
	15 Σωφάνης Κυδαθηνα	Βας Θράσων Πρασι		
	Ἀρχέμαχος Φηγαιε	Πολ Αἰσχυρίων Φηγ[ού]		
	Ἀγαθοκλῆς Κικυννε	Θεσμοθέται		
	[Ἡ]γησίας Φλυεύς	Θεοκλῆς ἐγ Μυρρι	145	
	[Θ]ρασυμήδης Ἀνακαι	Αἰνδος Βερενικίδ		
	20 Καλλίστρατος Φαλη	Ἀρχικλῆς Θ[ο]ρίκιο		
227/6	[Ἀ]ρχ Θεόφιλος ἐξ Οἴου	Ματρεάς Λακιάδης		
	[Β]ας Πρόξενος Ἀφιδν	Δημόκριτος Συπαλ		
	[Πο]λ Θεώρος Θριάσιο	Χαιρέας Παλληνε	150	
	[Θε]σμοθέται	Ἀρχ Εὐφίλτος Προβ	214/3	
	25 Φίλαγρος Κοθωκίδη	Βας Ναυκράτης Ἀμαξ		
	Εὐβουλος Λαμπτρέυ	Πολ Καλλικλῆς Ἀχαρ		
	Εὐδημος Παιανιεύς	Θεσμοθέται		
	Ἱεροκλῆς Παιονίδη	Κλεόδημος Κυδαθ	155	
	Δημόστρατος Φλυεύ	Ἀπολλόδωρος [Ἀ]μιπ		
	30 [Γ]σόφιλος Ἀμφιτροπῆ	Δημήτριος Βε[ρ]ενικ		
226/5	[Ἀρχ] Ἐργοχάρης Σφήτ	Κιχησίας Αἰξ[ω]νέυ		
Fragment C	[Βας] . ³ / ₂ . Υ. ³ / ₂ . ΙΝ . . .	Λεύκασπις Φ[αλ]ηρε		
	[Πολ . . . ³ / ₂ . . .]ς Κήττι	Παντακλῆς Π[α]λλη	160	
		Ἀρχ Ηράκλειτος [ς Ἀ]θμο	213/2	
		Βας Θηραμέν[ης - - -]		
		Π[ο]λ . . .		
		Θεσμοθέ[ται]		

TEXT

Missing above the list itself:

A moulding without pediment (?)

A title of two lines in larger letters (?)

<i>Column I</i>	<i>Column II</i>	<i>(Column III) (Column IV)</i>		
Following arrangement is the stele, line 1 being opposite line 132, etc.]	Missing above line 129: lines 121—128, including—	The stone was prepared for two additional columns which were never inscribed.		
above line 1: 11 lines, the archon of 230/29, and a <i>suffectus</i> (?)	[Ἀρχ Εὐανδρος ---]	121	217/6	
	...ε.7. ¹ / ₂ ...ων Φ[αληρ]			
	...1...ης Ἀναφ	130		
	Ἀρχ [Α]γ[νία]ς Ἐρχιε	216/5	<i>Vacat</i>	<i>Vacat</i>
	Βας Φιλ[π]πίδης Κερ			
	Πολ Οινόφ[ι]λος Παιο			
	Θεσμοθέται			
	Νανσίας Ἀττηνέ	135		
	Δημοκλῆς [Σ]υβρίδη			
	Προκλείδη[ς] Ἀγγε			
	Ἀθήριππος Ἀφιδν			
	Δρομοκλῆς Πιθεύ			
	Ἡρώιδης Φα[λ]ηρεύ	140		
	Ἀρχ Διοκλῆς Κυδαθ	215/4		
	Βας Θράσων Πρασι			
	Πολ Αἰσχρίων Φηγ[ού]			
	Θεσμοθέται			
	Θεοκλῆς ἐγ Μυρρι	145		
	Αἶνδος Βερενικίδ			
	Ἀρχικλῆς Θ[ο]ρίκιο			
	Ματρέας Ακαιάδης			
	Δημόκριτος Συναλ			
	Χαιρέας Παλληγε	150		
	Ἀρχ Εὐφίλητος Προβ	214/3		
	Βας Νανκράτης Ἀμαξ			
	Πολ Καλλικλῆς Ἀχαρ			
	Θεσμοθέται			
	Κλεόδημος Κυδαθ	155		
	Ἀπολλόδωρος [Α]αμπ			
	Δημήτριος Βε[ρ]ενικ			
	Κιχησίας Αἰξ[ω]νεύ			
	Λένκασπις Φ[αλ]ηρε			
	Παντακλῆς Π[α]λλη	160		
	Ἀρχ Ηράκλειτο[ς] Ἀ[θ]μο	213/2		
	Βας Θηραμέν[ης] - -]			
	Π[ο]λ . . .			
	Θεσμοθέ[ται]			

Fragment
B

[B]ας Φιλοκράτης Παια

[Π]ολ Φιλοτάδης Φυλά

[Θ]εσμοθέται

15

Σωφάνης Κυδαθηνα

Ἀρχέμαχος Φηγαιε

Ἀγαθοκλῆς Κικυννε

[H]γησίας Φλυεύς

[Θ]ρασυμήδης Ἀνακαι

20

Καλλίστρατος Φαλη

227/6

[Ἀ]ρχ Θεόφιλος ἐξ Οὔου

[B]ας Πρόξενος Ἀφιδν

[Πο]λ Θέωρος Θριάσιο

[Θε]σμοθέται

25

Φίλαγρος Κοθωκίδη

Εὐβουλος Λαμπτρεὺ

Εὐδημος Παιαιεύς

Ἱεροκλῆς Παιονίδη

Δημόστρατος Φλυεύ

30

[Γ]σόφιλος Ἀμφιτροπῆ

226/5

[Ἀρχ] Ἐργοχάρης Σφήτ

Fragment
C[Bας] .³/₂. Υ .³/₂. ΙΥ . . Γ[Πο]λ . . ⁵/₂ . .]ς Κήττι

[Θεσμοθέτ]αι

35

. ⁴/₂ . ημος Λαμπτρε

[Λ]αμπτρίας Θοραιεύς

[N]ικοφρέων Παμβωτά

[E]ὐφίλητος Φλυεύς

[M]νησίθεος Κόπρειος

40

Ἀνσίστρατος ῥαμνοῦ

225/4

Ἀρχ Νικήτης Σκαμβων

[B]ας Ξενόφαντος Κειρι

[Πο]λ Θεότιμος Λαμπτρ

[Θ]εσμοθέται

45

Σωκράτης Θοραιεύς

Καλλιτέλης Πλωθεύ

[Θ]ράσων Κικυννεύς

Ἀύσανδρος Ἀχαρνε

Ἡγησίπικος Φλυεύς

50

Ἡροσκάμανδρος Ἀλωπ

224/3

Ἀρχ Ἀντίφιλος Ἀφιδν

Βας Ἀωρόθεος Ἴπποτο

Πολ Πρωτομένης ΕἼτε

[Θ]εσμοθέται

55

Εὐθύλοχος Γαργήττι

Ἀντίπατρος Περγας

Μητροδόωρος Ἀθμονε

Δρωπίδης Κήττι[ος]

Φιλιππίδης Πε - - -

60

Θεόπομπ[ος]

Πολ Αἰσχυρίων Φηγ[οῦ]

Θεσμοθέται

Θεοκλῆς ἐγ Μυρρι 145

Αἰνδος Βερενικίδ

Ἀρχικλῆς Θ[ο]ρίκιο

Ματρεάς Λακιάδης

Δημόκριτος Συπαλ

Χαιρέας Παλληγε 150

Ἀρχ Εὐφίλητος Περσβ

214/3

Βας Ναυκράτης Ἀμαξ

Πολ Καλλικλῆς Ἀχαρ

Θεσμοθέται

Κλεόδημος Κυδαθ 155

Ἀπολλόδωρος [Λ]αμπ

Δημήτριος Βε[ρ]ενικ

Κιχησίας Αἰξ[ω]νεύ

Λεύκασπις Φ[αλ]ηρε

Παντακλῆς Π[α]λλη 160

Ἀρχ Ηράκλειτο[ς] Ἀ[θ]μο

213/2

Βας Θηραμέν[ης] - - -

Π[ο]λ . . Γ . '

Θεσμοθέ[ται]

Ἀγαθοκλ[ῆς] - - - 165

Σίμων Κολ - - -

Ἡρακλείδης[ς] - - -

Εὐνικος Σ[φ]ήττιος]

Ἀδμητος Π - - -

Ἀνδρων Ἀμ[αζαντεύ] 170

Vacat

Missing on a fragment now lost:

lines 61—86 including—

ωχαρήης Παλλ
λοκραάτης Παια
υλοισάδης Φυλά
έται

της Κυδαθηνα

αχος Φηγαιε

οκλής Κικυννε

σρίας Φλυεύς

συνμήδης Ἀνακαι

στρατος Φαλη

θεόφιλος ἐξ Οἴου

ρόξενος Ἀφιδν

έώωρος Θριάσιο

έται

ρος Κοθωκίδη

λος Λαμπτρεύ

ος Παιανιεύς

λῆς Παιονίδη

τρατος Φλυεύ

φιλος Ἀμφιτροπῆ

εργοχάρης Σφῆτ

α. Υ. 312. 10 . . 1

α. 7 . .]ς Κήτι

ται

ημος Λαμπτρε

πτρίας Θοραιεύς

φρέων Παμβωτά

λλητος Φλυεύς

σίθεος Κόπρειος

τρατος ῥαμνού

ήτης Σκαμβων

νόφαντος Κειρι

εότιμος Λαμπτρ

έται

της Θοραιεύς

τέλης Πλωθεύ

σων Κικυννεύς

δρος Ἀχαρνε

νικος Φλυεύς

άμανδρος Ἀλωπ

τίφιλος Ἀφιδν

όθεος Ἴπποτο

ωτομένης Εἵτε

έται

ρχος Γαργήτι

ατρος Περγας

δωρος Ἀθμονε

ίδης Κήτι[ος]

πίδης Πε - - -

μπ[ος]

a fragment now lost:

61—86 including—

Βας Θραυών Περαι

Πολ Ἀισχρίων Φηγ[ού]

Θεσμοθέται

Θεοκλῆς ἐγ Μυρρι 145

Αἰνδος Βερενικίδ

Ἀρχικλῆς Θ[ο]ρίκιο

Ματρέας Λακιάδης

Δημόκριτος Συναλ

Χαιρέας Παλληνε 150

Ἀρχ Εὐφίλητος Περσ 214/3

Βας Ναυκράτης Ἀμαξ

Πολ Καλλικλῆς Ἀχαρ

Θεσμοθέται

Κλεόδημος Κυδαθ 155

Ἀπολλόδωρος [Α]αμπ

Δημήτριος Βε[ρ]ενικ

Κιχησίας Αἰξ[ω]νεύ

Λεύκασπις Φ[αλ]ηρε

Παντακλῆς Π[α]λλη 160

Ἀρχ Ηράκλειτο[ς] Ἀ[θ]μο 213/2

Βας Θηραμέν[της - - -]

Π[ο]λ . . .

Θεσμοθέ[ται]

Ἀγαθοκλ[ῆς - - -] 165

Σίμων Κολ - - -]

Ἡρακλείδης[ς - -]

Εὐνικος Σ[φῆ]τιος]

Ἀδμητος Π - - -

Ἀνδρων Ἀμ[α]ξαντεύ] 170

Vacat

		[Β]ας Ξερόφαντος Κεῖρι
		[Πο]λ Θεότιμος Λαμπτρ
		[Θ]εσμοθέται
45		Σωκράτης Θοραιεύς
		Καλλιτέλης Πλωθεύ
		[Θ]ράσων Κικυννεύς
		Ἀύσανδρος Ἀχαρνε
		Ἡγησίπικος Φλνεύς
50		Ἡροσκάμανδρος Ἀλωπ
224/3		Ἄρχ Ἀντίφιλος Ἀφιδν
		Βας Δωρόθεος Ἴπποτο
		Πολ Πρωτομένης Εἰτε
		[Θ]εσμοθέται
55		Εὐθύλοχος Γαργήτι
		Ἀντίπατρος Περγας
		Μητροδωρος Ἀθμονε
		Δρωπίδης Κήττι[ος]
		Φιλιππίδης Πε - - -
60		Θεόπομπ[ος]

Missing on a fragment now lost:
lines 61—86 including—

223/2	61	[Ἀρχ - - - - -]
222/1	71	[Ἀρχ Καλλι? - - - -]
221/0	81	[Ἀρχ Θρασυφῶν (ἐκ Ξυπετ?)]

Fragment		[Καλ]λίτ[ρ]άτης Ἀλαιε
D		[Ἡρ]ακλείδης Πτελεά
		Αἰνέας Ἀμαξαντεύ
90		Εὐμηλος Οἰναῖος
220/19		Ἄρχ Μενεκράτης Ὀῤῥ
		Βας Αἰνησιόδημος Σνπ
		[Π]ολ Κλεομέδων Ἀτην
		Θεσμοθέται
95		Ἰέρων Αἰθαλίδης
		[Ἡ]λπιστος Ἀνακαι
		[Ἡρ]ακλείδης Φιλαίδ
		... ⁵ ...ς Κήττιος
		... ^{4.1/2} ...ς Αἰγυλιεύς
100		... ^{7.1/2} ... Τριχορύσι
219/8		[Ἀρχ Χαιρεφ]ῶν Ἀλωπε
		[Βας ... ⁶ ...ω]ν Κολλν
		[Πολ ... ^{7.1/2} ...]ς Ῥαμν
		[Θεσμοθέται]
105		[... ⁶ ... Δειραδ]ιώτη
		... ^{c. 12} ...αι

Missing below line 106:
lines 107—120, including—

218/7	111	[Ἀρχ [Κ]αλλ[ι]... ⁵ ... - -]
-------	-----	---

νόφαντος Κεῖρι
 ἐσέτιμος Λαμπτρ
 ἔται
 τῆς Θοραιεύς
 πέλης Πλωθεύ
 σων Κικυννεύς
 ὄδρος Ἀχαρνε
 ἱνικος Φλυεύς
 ἀάμανδρος Ἀλωπ
 τίφιλος Ἀφιδν
 ὀθεος Ἴπποτο
 ωτομένης Εἰτε
 ἔται
 ρχος Γαργήτι
 τατρος Περγας
 ὀδωρος Ἀθμονε
 ἰδης Κήττι[ος]
 πίδης Πε - - -
 ρμπ[ος]

a fragment now lost:

61–86 including—

- - - - -]

λι? - - - - -]

τυφῶν (ἐκ Ξυπετ?)]

λιχ[ρ]άτης Ἀλαιε

κκλείδης Πτελεά

ς Ἀμαξαντιεύ

ς Οἰναῖος

νεκράτης Ὅθῃ

ησιδήμος Σνπ

κλεομέδων Ἀτην

ται

Αἰθαλίδης

πιστος Ἀνακαι

κκλείδης Φιλαίδ

ς Κήττιος

ς Αἰγυλιεύς

. . . Τρικορῦσι

αιρεφ]ῶν Ἀλωπε

⁶. . . ω]ν Κολλυ

^{7,1}κ. . .]ς Ραμν

ται]

. Δειραδ]ιώτη

^{1,12}. αι

below line 106:

120, including—

κλλ[ι] - - -]