THE ARCHONSHIP OF PYTHARATOS
(271/0 B.C.)

(PLATES 63 AND 64)

IN ONE of the many studies which during the past decades have been devoted to readjusting and shifting the archon list of Athens for the third century B.C., Meritt sixteen years ago opportunely remarked: " a named secretary for any one of the dated archons Anaxikrates (279/8), Demokles (278/7), or Pytharatos (271/0), possibly also for Peithidemos, Diognetos, or Antipatros, would establish definitely the chronology of the archons of the early third century. Until such a discovery, absolute certainty is impossible." [1]

Such a discovery with respect to one of the three vital archons—for Peithidemos, Diognetos, and Antipatros are not so vital, in that they are not actually dated archons [2] —has now been made. Two decrees of a single archonship, that of Pytharatos, have been successively recovered in the Agora Excavations during 1948 and 1954. I am deeply indebted to Benjamin D. Meritt for informing me of these discoveries, and for giving me the opportunity to study and publish, not only the decrees themselves, but also their implications as to the revision of the chronology of the third century B.C.,

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[1] Meritt, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 131; quoted in *Archon List*, p. 37. It may be noted that, to save space, the following works most frequently cited appear with abbreviated titles: *Archons* = Dinsmoor, *The Archons of Athens in the Hellenistic Age*, 1931; *Archon List* = Dinsmoor, *The Athenian Archon List in the Light of Recent Discoveries*, 1939; *Chronology* = Pritchett and Meritt, *The Chronology of Hellenistic Athens*, 1940; *Calendars* = Pritchett and Neugebauer, *The Calendars of Athens*, 1947. It will be well also to list here certain inscriptions which are conveniently referred to by their Agora Inventory numbers, in order to show the places and dates of their publication, as follows: I 15 + 96 = *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 156-158, no. 5; I 113 = *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 42-43, no. 31, and VI, 1937, pp. 460-461, no. 8; I 166B = *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, pp. 199-201, no. 40; I 226 = *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 3-4, no. 5; I 605 = *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 419-428, no. 15; I 787 = *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, 1937, pp. 73-76, no. 29; I 863 = *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 562-565, no. 40; I 940 = *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, pp. 177-178, no. 25; I 1804 + 1870 = *Hesperia*, X, 1941, pp. 273-274, no. 71; I 3068 = *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 59-66, no. 8; I 3238 + 4169 = *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 444-448, no. 2; I 3878 = *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 442-444, no. 1, and VII, 1938, pp. 476-479, no. 31; I 5191 = *Chronology*, pp. 24 ff., and *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 4; I 5228 = *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 104-111, no. 20; I 5824 = *Hesperia*, XIII, 1944, pp. 243-246, no. 8; I 6064 = *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pp. 3-13, no. 3; I 6096 (no. **183**, here published); I 6625 = *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, pp. 236-239, no. 7; I 6664 (no. **182**, here published).

[2] As will later be shown, the positions of Peithidemos, Diognetos, and Antipatros are variable and must be shifted (falling one year earlier in each case than shown, for instance, in *Chronology*, pp. xix-xx) with reference to the fixed positions of Anaxikrates, Demokles, and Pytharatos.

particularly of the period between the creation of the two new " Macedonian " tribes (Antigonis and Demetrias) and the new " Egyptian " tribe (Ptolemais). In the present article, however, we shall be concerned only with the year of Pytharatos.[3]

The date of the new inscriptions is fixed in 271/0 B.C. by the name of the archon Pytharatos, one of the four archons of the third century definitely located by ancient evidence in terms of Olympiads.[4] For both Cicero (*De Fato*, 19) and Diogenes Laertius (X, 15) place in his year the death of Epicurus, Diogenes adding that it was the second year of the 127th Olympiad (271/0 B.C.). Also Eusebius (Armenian version) dates the death of Epicurus in the year of Abraham 1746 = Ol. 127, 3, and so in 270/69 B.C.; but since the Armenian version locates all the Olympiads one year too early[5] we must correct this to Ol. 127, 2 = 271/0 B.C. The trustworthiness of this date has never been doubted;[6] and it agrees also with other definite evidence. For Metrodorus the philosopher died seven years before his master Epicurus (Diogenes Laertius, X, 23), in the archonship of Demokles (Philodemus, *Pap. Herc.*, 176),[7] who is exactly dated by Pausanias (X, 23, 14) in the third year of the 125th Olympiad (278/7 B.C.). The predecessor of Demokles, namely, Anaxikrates II, is likewise exactly dated by Pausanias (*ibid.*) in the second year of the 125th Olympiad (279/8 B.C.).[8] Thus there can be no doubt that in the new decrees we have accurately dated evidence of fundamental importance for the chronology of the third century B.C.

One of the great surprises to be found in these decrees is the fact that, both honoring boards of officials of the preceding year, the taxiarchs and *sitonai*, this preceding archonship is described as that of Lysitheides, who in most of the recent studies had been dated a quarter of a century later.[9] He was placed in the proximity

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[3] In view of the obligatory adjustments caused by these decrees of Pytharatos in the archon lists, as well as those of the secretaries and priests, of the third century in particular, based on detailed arguments which cannot be included in this article, and also for the purpose of discussing various transpositions of fourth-century decrees, I have prepared a third monographic study, *Problems of Athenian Chronology*. This will cover the following: I, The Secretary Cycles in the Period of the Ten Tribes; II, The Cycles of the Priests of Asklepios; III, The Creation of Antigonis and Demetrias in 307/6; IV, A Revision of the Third-Century Archon List; V, The Creation of Ptolemais in 222 B.C.; and VI, Prytany Days and Civil Days.

[4] Apart from the three mentioned above, the fourth of course is Thrasyphon (221/0).

[5] *Archons*, pp. 458-459.

[6] The date of Pytharatos has never been questioned: see *Archons*, pp. 30, 45, 50, 54, 77, 80-81; *Archon List*, pp. 21, 37, 47, 54, 64; *Chronology*, pp. xix, 33.

[7] Usener, *Epicurea*, p. 368; Gomperz, *Hermes*, V, 1871, p. 387; Vogliano, *Epicuri et Epicureorum scripta*, p. 54.

[8] Cf. Philodemus, *Ind. Stoic.*, V, V[b]; Crönert, *Kolotes und Menedemos*, pp. 28, 54.

[9] Lysitheides in 274/3 (Manni in 1952); after 274/3 (Kirchner in 1916 and 1918); 265/4 (Johnson in 1918, Beloch); 263/2 (Tarn); 259/8 (Flacelière); 253/2 (Dinsmoor in 1939); *ca.* 250 (Köhler, Ferguson in 1899, Kirchner in 1903, Kolbe); 249/8 (von Schöffer); 246/5 (Pritchett and Meritt in 1940); 245/4 (Ferguson in 1932, Meritt in 1935-38); 244/3 or 243/2 (Manni in 1949); 242/1 (Meritt in 1948); 236/5 (Dinsmoor in 1931); 229/8 (Johnson in 1913).

of Thersilochos and Hieron because the treasurer of the *thiasos* of Bendis under Lysitheides (*I.G.*, II², 1317) was the proposer of a decree of the same *thiasos* under Thersilochos (*S.E.G.*, II, 10) and was one of the *epimeletai* of the same *thiasos* under Hieron (*I.G.*, II², 1317b), and because the treasurer Stratokles held this position permanently in all three years.[10] But since the same people apparently were active in this *thiasos* for life, there is no reason why they should not have been mentioned in inscriptions covering a span of twenty-five years. We may conclude not only that Lysitheides must have held office before Pytharatos, but also, since such honors to the *sitonai* and other boards were normally decreed, if not on their last day of office, at least in the following year unless there was a backlog of overlooked omissions such as were rectified in the year of Kydenor,[11] that the year of Lysitheides should be regarded as the immediately preceding year 272/1. As a matter of fact, the only possible year for Lysitheides, in agreement with the new arrangement of the archon list, is actually the preceding year 272/1, where his name exactly fits the restoration [Λυσιθείδ]ου in *I.G.*, II², 704, with a secretary from Sounion (VI).[12]

The secretary of this year of Pytharatos appears in both decrees as Isegoros the son of Isokrates of Kephale. He is otherwise unknown, and even the name Isegoros was not hitherto known in Attica;[13] but he is of fundamental importance because we now learn that the tribe furnishing the secretary was Akamantis (VII), thus supplying the long-missing key to the rotation of the secretary cycles in the second quarter of the century.[14] Without going into greater detail at this point, it is now apparent that the block including at least twenty-one years, most of two secretary cycles, hitherto based on the archonship of Diokles III as a pivotal date, must now be shifted to fit another and more exact pivotal date, the archonship of Pytharatos. The successive adjustments may be illustrated with reference to a few of the archons who fall unequivocally within this period and are accompanied by known secretaries, as follows:[15]

[10] See *Archons*, p. 91.

[11] To be discussed elsewhere.

[12] If it were not for the necessity of inserting *I.G.*, II², 704 with the archon [....⁸....]ου in 272/1, as will later be demonstrated by means of the secretary cycle, it might be possible to insert Lysitheides in 274/3. But the only other unplaced archon's name of the period before 271/0, Εὐβούλου, is too short for restoration in *I.G.*, II², 704.

[13] Isegoros in Fick-Bechtel, *Griechische Personennamen*, 1894, p. 130.

[14] The hitherto unknown secretary for the year of Pytharatos (271/0) has been variously assigned to tribe I (Kolbe 1908, 1933), XI (Ferguson 1898-1907, Kirchner, Tarn, Kolbe 1943), X (Beloch), IX (Johnson, Dinsmoor 1931, Ferguson 1932, Meritt 1935-1938, Pritchett-Meritt 1940), VIII (Dinsmoor 1939), but never to VII (except in the recent articles of 1949-1953 by Manni and Deprado; see note 37).

[15] Systems with more confused arrangements, those of Kolbe, Johnson, Tarn, and Beloch, are here omitted.

Archon	Tribe of secretary	Ferguson-Kirchner	Dinsmoor 1931	Dinsmoor 1939	Pritchett-Meritt	Dinsmoor 1954
Diokles III	IV	290/89	288/7	287/6	288/7	286/5
Diotimos III	V	289/8	287/6	286/5	287/6	285/4
Euthios	VII	287/6	285/4	284/3	285/4	283/2
Nikias II	VIII	———	———	283/2	284/3	282/1
Ourias	IX	285/4	283/2	282/1	283/2	281/0
Olbios	III	251/0	276/5	276/5	277/6	275/4
Glaukippos II	V	277/6	275/4	274/3	275/4	273/2
Pytharatos	VII					271/0
"	VIII			271/0		
"	IX		271/0		271/0	
"	XI	271/0				
Menekles	XI	283/2	269/8	268/7	269/8	267/6
Nikias III	XII	282/1	268/7	267/6	268/7	266/5

We may now examine the two decrees individually, afterward returning to consideration of the year as a whole from the viewpoint of the calendar problem.

182 (Plate 63). The earlier of the two decrees of Pytharatos was found in Section Zeta of the Agora Excavations on April 22, 1954, lying in a fill of late Hellenistic or early Roman times just to the west of the Middle Stoa.[16] It is a stele of Pentelic marble preserved in a single piece, the flat top having crowning mouldings broken away at the left; and the bottom is broken off along a diagonal which extends from the beginning of line 42 at the left to a point 0.04 m. below the end of line 56 at the right.

Inv. No. I 6664.

Height as preserved, 0.765 m. The original height may have been about a meter allowing for the loss of blank space at the bottom.

Width at top, including mouldings, 0.375 m. The mouldings consist of an upper fascia 0.019 m. high (on which is inscribed line 1, the invocation $[\theta]\epsilon o \acute{\iota}$), and below this an ovolo 0.018 m. high and a lower fillet of 0.007 m. with a hollow congé receding to the main surface of the stele. The total projection of the fascia is 0.022 m. at the front and 0.0215 m. at the sides.

Thickness of stele, 0.10 m. excluding mouldings, the back roughly chamfered at both edges to 0.085 m.

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[16] I am informed by Homer Thompson that it was found in the ruins of " a sizeable building of the fifth-fourth centuries B.C. which had partially closed the gap between the Tholos and the Southwest Fountain House until it was demolished to make way for the west end of the Middle Stoa."

Width of stele (below mouldings), 0.332 m. at bottom of line 2 (the congé includes the height of line 2), 0.352 m. at bottom of line 36 (end of text), and 0.355 m. at lowest measurable point at bottom of line 41, indicating a taper of 0.023 m. in 0.487 m., an increase of 0.0476 m. per meter.[17]

The text proper consists of 35 lines covering 0.423 m. (from top of line 2 to bottom of line 36), the height of the letters being 0.005/0.006 m. and the 34 line-spacings averaging 0.01226 m. After line 36 was a clear space of 0.01466 m. (instead of the usual 0.0063/0.0073 m.), and this was followed by the first of the tribal names, completely erased, in line 37. Next, after the 35 lines of the decree, followed 20 lines (37-56) occupied by the names of ten of the twelve tribes and of their representatives, covering 0.2405 m. (from top of line 37 as restored to bottom of line 56), with a slightly increased line-spacing averaging 0.01233 m. From the top of line 2 to the bottom of line 56 was, therefore, a distance of 0.423 + 0.01466 + 0.2405 = 0.678 m.

The inscription is non-stoichedon, the lines ending with words (in 14 instances) or syllables (in the 21 others), and very variable in length, from 31 letters (line 32) to 33 (lines 24, 26-27), 34 (lines 2, 35), 35 (lines 4, 15, 20, 23, 28, 34), 36 (lines 5, 7, 16-19, 21-22, 29), 37 (lines 3, 12-14, 25, 33), 38 (lines 6, 8, 10, 30-31), 39 (lines 9, 36), or even 40 letters (line 11). The letters used for the names of tribes and taxiarchs are not appreciably larger than those in the text but are more widely spaced, so that in some instances it was impossible to include the final letters of the demotics (lines 38, 42, 56). The only scribal error occurs in line 31.

PRAISE OF THE TAXIARCHS

a. 271/0 a.   NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[Θ]   ε   ο   ι
Ἐπὶ Πυθαράτου ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀντιγονί
δος δευτέρας πρυτανείας, ἧι Ἰσήγορος Ἰσοκρά
του Κεφαλῆθεν ἐγραμμάτευεν· Μεταγειτνιῶ
5   νος ἐνάτει ἱσταμένου, ἐβδόμει τῆς πρυτανεί
ας· ἐκκλησία κυρία· τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψήφιζεν Αἰ
[σ]χίνης Νικομάχου Ἀναφλύστιος καὶ συμπρόε
[δρ]οι· ἔδοξεν τεῖ βουλεῖ καὶ τῶι δήμωι· Εὔβουλος
[Λυσ]ιδήμου Μελιτεὺς εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ οἱ ταξίαρχοι
10 [οἱ ἐ]πὶ Λυσιθείδου ἄρχοντος τάς τε θυσίας ὅσας
[ἔδε]ι αὐτοὺς θῦσαι μετὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν τεθύκασιν
ἁπάσας ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ὑπὲρ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δή

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[17] I am indebted to George A. Stamires for a preliminary copy of the text, and to Eugene Vanderpool of the Agora Excavation staff for a squeeze, photograph, and the numerous measurements which form the basis of the foregoing description.

μου, ἐπεμελήθησαν δὲ καὶ τῆς φυλῆς τῆς ἑαυτοῦ
ἕκαστος ὅπως ἂν ὡς βέλτιστα τοῖς ὅπλοις κατε
15 σκευασμένοι εἴς τε τὰς φυλακὰς καὶ τὰς ἐφε
δρείας καὶ τοὺς ἐξετασμοὺς πορεύωνται, διε
τέλεσαν δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν πειθαρ
χοῦντες τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ἀκολούθως τοῖς νό
μοις, ὅπως ἂν οὖν καὶ ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος φαίνη
20 ται τιμῶν τοὺς χρείας αὐτῶι παρεχομένους,
τύχει ἀγαθεῖ δεδόχθαι τεῖ βουλεῖ τοὺς προέ
δρους οἵτινες ἂν λάχωσι προεδρεύειν ἐν τῶι
δήμωι εἰς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἐκκλησίαν χρηματί
σαι περὶ τούτων, γνώμην δὲ ξυμβάλλεσθαι
25 [τ]ῆς βουλῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμον ὅτι δοκεῖ τεῖ βουλεῖ
[ἐ]παινέσαι τοὺς ταξιάρχους ἐπὶ Λυσιθεί
[δ]ου ἄρχοντος καὶ στεφανῶσαι ἕκαστον αὐ
τῶν χρυσῶι στεφάνωι κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἀρετῆς
ἕνεκα καὶ φιλοτιμίας τῆς εἰς τὴν βουλὴν καὶ
30 τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων· εἶναι δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ προ
⟨ε⟩δρίαν ἐμ πᾶσι τοῖς ἀγῶσιν οἷς ἡ πόλις τίθησιν·
ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γραμ
ματέα τὸν κατὰ πρυτανείαν ἐν στήλει λιθίνει
καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν ταξιάρχων, καὶ στῆσαι ἔμ
35 προσθεν τοῦ στρατηγίου· εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγρα
φὴν μερίσαι τοὺς ἐπὶ τεῖ διοικήσει : Δ: δραχμάς
[[Ἀντιγονίδος]]
Λυσικράτης Ναυσιφάνου Κυθήρριο(ς)
Ἐρεχθεῖδος
40 [Φ]ιλίσκος Μοσχίωνος Θημακεύς
Πανδιονίδος
Δημόστρατος Ἀριστοφάνου Παιανιεύ(ς)
Λεωντίδος
[Φι]λόθεος Διοδότου Σουνιεύς
45 Ἀκαμαντίδος
[.. ca. 6 ..] Χαρισάνδρου Κικυννεύς
[Ο]ἰνεῖδος
[... ca. 8 ...]ος Κόνωνος Οἰῆθεν
[Κεκροπ]ίδος
50 [.... ca. 11 ....κ]λέους Φλυεύς
[Ἱπποθωντί]δος
[....... ca. 15 ......]του Ἐλευσίνιος

$$[\text{Αἰαντίδος}]$$
$$[\ldots\ldots\ldots\overset{ca.\ 18}{\ldots\ldots\ldots}\ \text{Ἀ}]\phi\iota\delta\nu\alpha\hat{\iota}os$$
55　　　$$[\text{Ἀντιοχίδος}]$$
$$[\ldots\ldots\ldots\overset{ca.\ 20}{\ldots\ldots\ldots}\ \text{Ἀλ}]\omega\pi\epsilon\kappa(\hat{\eta}\theta\epsilon\nu)$$

vacat

NOTES

Line 9: For the patronymic of the spokesman, where it is certain that three letters are missing at the beginning because of a flake chipped from the stele, Stamires suggests [Χαρ]ιδήμου. The argument for restoring these three letters as ΛΥΣ rather than ΧΑΡ will be discussed in connection with the second decree.

Line 14: Meritt restored [κάλλιστα] in line 11 of Agora I 15 + 96 instead of βέλτιστα which appears at the corresponding point on the present stone.

Lines 14-15: In Agora I 15 + 96 in the corresponding position (line 12), Meritt restored [παρε]σκευασμένοι; but the word κατεσκευασμένοι as fully preserved in the present decree suggests that the same should be restored in the other.

Line 22: The final nu of λάχωσιν, which is present in other taxiarch decrees, *I.G.*, II², 500, Agora I 15 + 96 and 863, as well as in most other instances (*I.G.*, II², 199, 246 ?, 284, 330 A, 478, 591, 593, 682, 704, 710, 712, 716, 721, 729, 730, 735, 766?, 769, 772, 775, 776?, 782, 788, 802?, 808, 821, 832?, 847, 889?, and no. **183** below—followed by a vowel only in *I.G.*, II², 772, 786, 889) is here omitted (as in *I.G.*, II², 277, 330 B-C, 428, 479?, 650, 732?).

Line 23: This occurrence of εἰς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἐκκλησίαν is to be added to the list of examples of this formula antedating the end of the Chremonidean War (*Archon List*, pp. 18-19, 41, where Agora I 15 + 96 is included); cf. no. **183** below.

Lines 30-31: The word προεδρίαν was written on the stone as ΠΡΟΗΔΡΙΑΝ.

Line 31: The usual formula οἷς ἡ πόλις (as in *I.G.*, II², 385, 510, 555, 646, 708, 792, 900, etc., cf. no. **183** below) appears instead of οὓς ἂν ἡ πόλις as in other taxiarch inscriptions, *I.G.*, II², 500 and Agora I 15 + 96.

Line 37: The tribal name was erased in 201 B.C., but may be restored as [Ἀντιγονίδος] as shown below.

Lines 38, 42: The final sigma omitted for lack of space.

Line 56: The final ῆθεν omitted for lack of space.

COMMENTARY

The chairman of the proedroi, Aischines son of Nikomachos of Anaphlystos (XII), properly belongs to a tribe differing from that holding the second prytany (Antigonis, I). He was probably a descendant of the Aischines who was the father of Xenokrates of Anaphlystos, in a sepulchral inscription of the fourth century (*I.G.*, II², 5675).

The spokesman for this decree of 271/0 was Euboulos son of Lysidemos of Melite, who is otherwise unknown but was likewise spokesman, as we shall see, for the other new decree of this year (Agora I 6096). It may be noted that, among other spokesmen in decrees concerning taxiarchs, two repeatedly concerned themselves with that office. Thus the spokesman for both decrees of 302/1, that for the taxiarchs of 305/4 (*I.G.*, II², 500), and that for those of the current year (Agora I 5228), was Memnon son of Medon of Aphidna, who is otherwise unknown. The spokesman for the two decrees of 281/0 (Agora I 863) and of 275/4 (Agora I 15 + 96) was again a single individual, Leon son of Kichesias of Aixone, previously unknown, though his family is known for six generations.[18]

The new decree is the latest of eight inscriptions now known to be concerned primarily with the taxiarchs, three already in the *Corpus* and five added by the American Excavations in the Agora.

The taxiarchs are frequently mentioned in Attic inscriptions merely as military officers along with the generals and others (*I.G.*, II², 21, 105, 112, 120, 148, 334, 554, 687), without reference to their names or number. However, we are told by Lysias (XIII, 79), Demosthenes (IV, 26), Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.*, 61, 3), and Pollux (VIII, 94) that they commanded the regiments (τάξεις or φυλαί) of hoplites, just as the phylarchs commanded the squadrons of cavalry, and that they were ten in number, chosen from the ten tribes and each commanding the regiment forming the contingent from his own tribe (ταξίαρχοι δέκα, εἷς ἀπὸ φυλῆς ἑκάστης καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φυλὴν ἔχων).[19] This is corroborated by Thucydides (VIII, 92, 4), mentioning Aristokrates son of Skellias of Kekropis as taxiarch commanding his own tribe in 411 (καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φυλὴν ἔχων), also by *I.G.*, II², 1155, a tribal inscription honoring Boularchos son of Aristoboulos of Phlya, taxiarch of the tribe Kekropis in 339/8, and by Agora I 3068, another tribal inscription honoring Philokles son of Philotheos of Sounion, taxiarch of the tribe Leontis in 333/2. Boularchos is of a family known through five generations; his grandfather Boularchos and his father Aristoboulos are mentioned in *I.G.*,

[18] These are (1) Kichesias I and (2) his son Leon I, the spokesman in 281/0 and 275/4 (as cited above); also (2) Kichesias II (probably a brother of Leon I) and his sons (3) Leon II, an ephebe in 237/6 (*I.G.*, II², 787) and (3) Kichesias III, thesmothetes in 214/3 (*I.G.*, II², 1706); also the latter's son (4) Leon III who with his wife made an offering to Artemis (commemorated by Phaidimos, *Anth. Pal.*, VI, 271), and who was the accuser of the seditionist Apollodoros in 192 (Livy, XXXV, 50, 4) and was ambassador to Rome in 189 (Polybius, XXI, 31, 6 = XXII, 14; Livy, XXXVIII, 10, 4), as well as supervisor of the erection of statues at Delos in 160/59 (*I.G.*, XI 4, 1056); also his brother (4) Kichesias IV and the latter's son (5) Leon IV, agonothetes of the Theseia about 142 B.C. (*I.G.*, II², 960) and included in a list of notable Athenian citizens about 125 B.C. (*I.G.*, II², 2452); and finally (6) Kichesias V of the cavalry squadron of Kekropis in 128/7 (*Fouilles de Delphes*, III 2, no. 27, col. II, line 15).

[19] Cf. Xenophon (*Hell.*, I, 6, 29; 7, 30), speaking of the ten ships of the taxiarchs in 406 B.C. For modern references, see Busolt-Swoboda, *Griechische Staatskunde*, 1926, pp. 891, 1128; Kromayer-Veith, *Heerwesen und Kriegführung der Griechen und Römer*, 1928, p. 49; Lammert, *R.E.*, V, 2, *s.vv.* ταξίαρχος and τάξις.

II², 2814; his son Boularchos appears as one of a committee of ten in a late fourth-century catalogue (*I.G.*, II², 1933); and his grandson Kallitheos was *epimeletes* of the Dionysia in 266/5 (*I.G.*, II², 668).[20] And Philokles, of a family known through five generations, we shall meet again in connection with his presumable grandson Philotheos, taxiarch in 271/0 (Agora I 6664). These specific statements, however, all date from the period of the ten tribes; and whether the regiments were increased to twelve or thirteen in accordance with corresponding enlargements of the number of tribes, as would seem natural, is nowhere clearly indicated.

Among decrees of the State, two are for special services of the taxiarchs in the very years in which the decrees were passed. In Agora I 5228 the taxiarchs for 302/1, the archonship of Nikokles, are thanked as early as Pyan. 24/25 = Pryt. IV 25 of that year for their services in connection with the Eleusinia; and, while it is specified that their names should be appended (line 24), the list is broken away together with the bottom of the stele. Again, in Agora I 863 the taxiarchs for 281/0, the archonship of Ourias, are thanked for their services as a delegation to the Boeotians, primarily to the Basileia festival at Lebadeia, as early as Met. 28/29 = Pryt. II 28 of that year.[21] Furthermore, the taxiarchs of 281/0 are listed in the body of the text, but they are not in tribal order and only six in number (tribes II, III, VII, IX, XI, and XII not being represented), suggesting that exactly half of the taxiarchs were sent on this mission:

Deinostratos son of Deinidos of Cholleidai	(VI)
Eukleides son of Lysistratos of Peiraieus	(X)
Autias son of Autokles of Acharnai	(VIII)
Habron son of Epigenes of Halai	(IV)[22]
Aristodemos son of Aristophon of Steiria	(V)
Theophantos son of Nikostratos of Gargettos	(I)

One of them, Autias son of Autokles, was also honored in an inscription at Oropos (*I.G.*, VII, 4266), evidently in connection with this same mission.[23] He was presumably fairly young in 281/0, and so was undoubtedly identical with the contributor to the defense of the State in 247/6 (*I.G.*, II², 791, line 72);[24] thus he was probably a great-grandson of the Autokles son of Autias of Acharnai who was a councillor in 360/59 (*I.G.*, II², 1745) and again after the middle of the century

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[20] Kirchner (*P.A.*, 1770) gives the stemma (cf. *Chronology*, p. 55).

[21] At least the taxiarchs are not specified as of the preceding year, so that Meritt concludes that the Basileia must have been celebrated very early in the Athenian year.

[22] Halai here assigned to Aigeis (IV) rather than Kekropis (IX), because of the identification of Habron (see below).

[23] Raubitschek, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 305.

[24] See the text in *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pp. 290-291.

(*I.G.*, II², 2408), and also secretary in 327/6 (*I.G.*, II², 356-357; Agora I 226). Deinostratos is known from his sepulchral inscription (*I.G.*, II², 7795); his brother Deinidos son of Deinidos appears in a list of councillors of the middle of the third century (*I.G.*, II², 2434). Eukleides was a descendant of the Eukleides of Peiraieus who was father of Dionysios, one of the treasurers of Athena *ca.* 444 B.C. (*I.G.*, I², 359). Habron may have been a great-grandson of the Habron of Halai whose son Sokrates was a councillor of Aigeis at the middle of the fourth century (*I.G.*, II², 1747). Aristodemos was probably a grandson of the Aristophon of Steiria who was a councillor in 335/4 (*I.G.*, II², 1700). And Theophantos may have been a grandson of the Nikostratos of Gargettos whose son Epilykos is known from a votive inscription (*I.G.*, II², 2174).[25] Thus all six of the taxiarchs listed for 281/0 belong to known families.

Four other decrees honoring taxiarchs are of more stereotyped form, passed at or after the conclusion of their terms of office, those of the years 305/4, the archonship of Euxenippos (*I.G.*, II², 500), of 276/5, the archonship of Philokrates (*I.G.*, II², 685), of 275/4, the archonship of Olbios (Agora I 15 + 96), and of 272/1, the archonship of Lysitheides (the present decree, the latest of the known decrees honoring taxiarchs). Two were passed on the last day of the years to which they refer, Skir. 29/30 = Pryt. XII 32 of 276/5 (*I.G.*, II², 685) and Skir. 29/30 = Pryt. XII 29 of 275/4 (Agora I 15 + 96), these being successive years. Agora I 6664 (the present decree) was passed on Met. 9 = Pryt. II 7 of the following year 271/0, the archonship of Pytharatos. And *I.G.*, II², 500 was passed three years later, on ⟨Anth.⟩ 27/28 = Pryt. VIII 27 of 302/1, the archonship of Nikokles. Probably in all except *I.G.*, II², 500, which is complete and lacks the names,[26] the taxiarchs were listed at the end below the decree; but of *I.G.*, II², 685, we possess only the upper portion, while in Agora I 15 + 96 the lower portion is broken away so that, in view of the absence (as in *I.G.*, II², 500) of any prescription that the names should actually be inscribed, we cannot be certain that they were listed.[27] Only in the new decree, Agora I 6664, is the complete list preserved:

[25] Previously classified as a sepulchral inscription, and omitted in the *editio minor* where it is reclassified as votive (*I.G.*, II², iii 2, p. 900).

[26] Photograph in Ἀρχ. Ἐφ., 1910, col. 403.

[27] Possibly some of the unclassified lists of officers arranged in tribal order might have formed the terminations of taxiarch decrees: i. e., in the old order preceding 307/6, *I.G.*, II², 1701-1702 (but the latter found at Eleusis) and Agora I 940; of the first half of the third century, *I.G.*, II², 1704; of the second century, *I.G.*, II², 1712. An early fourth century list, *I.G.*, II², 2369, is not in the official order (VII, VIII, VI, so far as preserved). There seems to be no published piece which could be joined at the lower left corner of Agora I 6664. There may, however, be some relevant pieces among the unpublished material from the Agora.

Lysikrates son of Nausiphanes of Kytheros	(I)
Philiskos son of Moschion of Themakos	(III)
Demostratos son of Aristophanes of Paiania	(V)
Philotheos son of Diodotos of Sounion	(VI)
. . . . . . son of Charisandros of Kikynna	(VII)
. . . . os son of Konon of Oe	(VIII)
− − − − − − son of − − − − kles of Phlya	(IX)
− − − − − − son of − − − − − tos of Eleusis	(X)
− − − − − − son of − − − − − − of Aphidna	(XI)
− − − − − − son of − − − − − − of Alopeke	(XII)

The first was obviously from one of the two " Macedonian " tribes, as shown both by its position (preceding Erechtheis) and by the fact that the tribal name was erased in 201 B.C.; thus it offers welcome confirmation of Pritchett's argument that Kytheros was transferred in 307/6 from Pandionis to Antigonis,[28] so that this tribal name may be restored without question. The missing taxiarchs, therefore, were those of Demetrias (II) and Aigeis (IV).

Of the four completely preserved names, Lysikrates was undoubtedly an ancestor of Lysikrates of Kytheros, father of the ephebe Hierokles in 119/8 (*I.G.*, II², 1008, line 112). Of Philiskos we have his sepulchral inscription on a colonette of the third century (*I.G.*, II², 6209). Demostratos was evidently the grandson of a Demostratos of Paiania whose son appears as a dedicant in an inventory of silver paterae of the last third of the fourth century (*I.G.*, II², 1566, line 27). And Philotheos is of special interest because he was apparently the great-great-grandson of the Philokles of Sounion and his wife Philia, whose daughter Philylla is known from a votive base (*I.G.*, II², 4025, signed by Kephisodotos the sculptor) after the middle of the fourth century, and whose son Philotheos was *sophronistes* in 333/2 (Agora I 3068); and the son of Philotheos was Philokles, the taxiarch for Leontis in 333/2 (Agora I 3068), who was probably the father of Diodotos, whose son Philotheos held the same office as his grandfather. It is probable that if the six other names were fully preserved we should likewise be able to recognize their families.

In the case of the tribal decrees, that of Kekropis, *I.G.*, II², 1155, was found on the Acropolis, while in that of Leontis, Agora I 3068, it is specified that the stele should be set up in the sanctuary of the Hero, presumably that of the tribal hero Leos rather than the Ἥρως στρατηγός, since the latter would have been equivalent to the

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[28] Pritchett, *A.J.P.*, LXI, 1940, pp. 186, 188 = *Five Attic Tribes*, pp. 5, 7. The evidence comes from *I.G.*, II², 2413, listing names under five demotics, [Paian]ia, Kytheros, Kydathenaion, Aithalidai, and Potamos, of which four were known to have been transferred to Antigonis, so that Pritchett rightly claimed that the fifth (Kytheros) must likewise have belonged at this time (about 304/3) to Antigonis.

strategion. Furthermore, it was found in a wall of a modern house in front of the north end of the Stoa of Attalos, at a distance from the decrees mentioning the strategion. And Agora I 5228, honoring the taxiarchs for their participation in the Eleusinia, was directed to be set up against the Eleusinion (πρὸς τῶι Ἐλευσινίωι ἐν ἄστει), on the north slope of the Acropolis high above the southeast corner of the Agora, the region in which it was found, built into the " Valerian Wall " south of the church of Hypapanti and the site of the Eleusinion.[29] In the present decree (Agora I 6664), however, it is directed that the stele be set up in front of the strategion (ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ στρατηγίου), the same formula being employed in I.G., II², 500; similarly Agora I 863 was to be set up against the strategion (πρὸς τῶι στρατηγίωι). In Agora I 15 + 96 this particular phrase is broken away without the possibility of checking (Meritt restored ἔμπροσθεν κ. τ. λ.), and in I.G., II², 685, the entire lower portion is missing. Apart from the three preserved allusions, the only other epigraphical mention of the strategion is in the inventory of the treasurers of Athena and the Other Gods for 313/2 (I.G., II², 1479, line 66), where certain equipment is mentioned as hung up ἐν τῶι στρ[ατηγίωι]. But the building is mentioned several times in literature. From Aeschines (II, 85) we might infer that it was near the Bouleuterion, the envoys of Philip conferring in it after adjournment of the ekklesia in 343; from Demosthenes (XLII, 14) that it was convenient to the archives, i. e., the archeion or the Metroon, both of these passages intimating that it adjoined the Agora; from Plutarch (Nicias, V, 1; XV, 2) that councils of the generals were held here in the late fifth century; and from Diogenes Laertius (I, 2, 18) that it existed as early as the time of Solon, who is reported to have piled his arms πρὸ τοῦ στρατηγείου.[30] Here, too, was probably a cult of the Ἥρως στρατηγός (I.G., II², 1035, line 53). This general location is corroborated by the evidence of the provenance of most of the taxiarch decrees, four at least of the five general decrees having been found close together toward the southwest corner of the Agora. Thus I.G., II², 500, was found east of the Hephaisteion during further clearing of Dörpfeld's trial excavation in the vicinity of the temple of Apollo Patroos;[31] Agora I 15 + 96 was found built into a late wall just in front of the " Stoa of Zeus " as the Metroon was then called; Agora I 863 was found built

[29] For the location of the Eleusinion, and the provenance of inscriptions mentioning it, see the recent excavation evidence; Mrs. D. B. Thompson, Hesperia, II, 1933, p. 637; Thompson, Hesperia, III, 1934, p. 447 note 5, and V, 1936, p. 183; Shear, Hesperia, VIII, 1939, pp. 207-211; Pritchett, Hesperia, IX, 1940, pp. 101, 112 note 48; Shear, ibid., pp. 267-268; Oliver, Hesperia, X, 1941, p. 258; Broneer, Hesperia, XI, 1942, pp. 251, 261-264; Meritt, Hesperia, XIV, 1945, pp. 81, 89-90; Pritchett, Hesperia, XV, 1946, p. 150; Meritt, ibid., pp. 190, 253; Jeffery, Hesperia, XVII, 1948, pp. 86, 88; Vanderpool, Hesperia, XVIII, 1949, pp. 130, 134-136; cf. Dinsmoor, Hesperia, Suppl. V, p. 1 note 4.

[30] Cf. Wachsmuth, Stadt Athen, II, 1890, p. 344; Judeich, Topographie von Athen, 1931, p. 346; Kahrstedt, Untersuchungen zur Magistratur in Athen, 1936, pp. 296-299; McDonald, Political Meeting Places of the Greeks, 1943, pp. 295-298; Crosby, Hesperia, XX, 1951, p. 187.

[31] " Ad orientem versus a Theseo "; more closely defined by Oikonomos, Ἀρχ. Ἐφ., 1910, col. 1.

into a late well in front of the Tholos; and Agora I 6664, as noted above, was in fill of late Hellenistic or Roman times just west of the Middle Stoa; all lay in or close to Section Zeta, which runs southward from a point opposite the southeast corner of the Metroon complex, past the Tholos, to include the west end of the Middle Stoa.[32] In this region near the southwest corner of the Agora are the foundations of two unidentified public buildings, the somewhat trapezoidal " Greek building " southwest of the Tholos,[33] and the so-called " Poros building " farther southwest on the opposite side of the street.[34] Both are similar in character, broken up into offices; and one of them might well have contained the strategion,[35] preferably the " Greek building " nearer the Tholos in view of the provenance of so many of the inscriptions.[36]

183 (Plates 63 and 64). The later decree of the archonship of Pytharatos was found in Section Kappa of the Agora Excavations on April 7, 1948.[37] It had been re-used, face down, as one of the cover slabs of a drain which passes close to the northwest corner of the Fountain House near the southwest corner of the Agora. As a result, the letters at the top and bottom, where the stele rested on the side walls of the drain, are fairly well preserved, while those of the middle portion have been badly worn by the action of water. It is a stele of Pentelic marble, preserved in a single piece including the pedimental top; the apex of the pediment is broken away, and the bottom is likewise broken off along a diagonal which extends from the beginning

[32] *I.G.*, II², 685 may have come from the same region; when published by Durrbach (*B.C.H.*, VIII, 1884, pp. 327-331) it was housed in the Varvakeion.

[33] This structure appears in the recent plans but has not yet been studied in detail; cf. Thompson, *The Tholos* (*Hesperia*, Suppl. IV), p. 111; also *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 168; XX, 1951, pp. 183-184.

[34] Crosby, *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 168-187.

[35] Certainly the strategion was not in the so-called " Civil Offices " built against the west end of the north front of the Middle Stoa (Vanderpool, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 130-131, fig. 1 at 12; Stevens, *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, pp. 174-175, fig. 1 at A), these being of the early Roman period.

[36] According to a report now received from the Agora excavations, it is officially suggested that the " Greek building " was in fact the strategion. By letter, Homer Thompson informs me that the plan is in fact a Pentagon, though one of the angles is bent inward contrary to Washington standards.

[37] A preliminary notice of the discovery, appearing first in the fortnightly report of the Agora Excavations for April 5-17, 1948, was made in the annual report by Thompson, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 222-223. Some more detailed studies, based on the preliminary announcement, have already appeared in the articles by Manni, " Tre Note di Chronologia ellenistica " (*Rend. Acc. Lincei*, ser. 8, IV, 1949, pp. 53-85), " Pirro e gli stati greci nel 281/80 A.C." (*Athenaeum*, n.s. XXVII, 1949, pp. 102-121), and *Demetrio Poliorcete*, Rome, 1952, and also by Deprado, " La Liberazione di Atene nel 286 A.C." (*Riv. Fil.*, n.s. XXXI, 1953, pp. 27-42). I am informed that a new study of the life of Demetrios Poliorketes, in which this inscription likewise plays a part, is being prepared by Leonard C. Smith at the University of Liverpool. I regret that the actual publication of this inscription, so largely illegible, was delayed until I could return to Athens and personally examine the stone in 1953.

of line 44 at the left to a point corresponding to the end of the missing line 63 at the right.[38]

Inv. No. I 6096.

Height as preserved, 1.02 m. The original height was probably about 1.20 m., allowing for the missing apex acroterion and the blank space at the bottom. For the width of the pedimental top is 0.468 m. and the pedimental slope is 1 : 1.83, so that the apex of the pediment must have been 0.128 m. above the horizontal mouldings; and the combined height of the latter is 0.0515 m. The top of line 1 is 0.015 m. below the mouldings, and the total height of the inscribed portion (to be restored as 64 lines) was 0.798 m. as shown by the following calculation, thus accounting for 0.128 + 0.0515 + 0.015 + 0.798 = 0.992 m. apart from the missing apex and bottom.

The horizontal mouldings consist of an upper fascia of 0.024 m., below this an ovolo 0.020 m. high, and a lower fillet of 0.0075 m., with a hollow congé receding to the main surface of the stele. The total projection of the fascia is 0.022 m. on the front and 0.0225 m. on the sides. The pediment mouldings consist of an ovolo 0.012 m. high with a fascia of 0.013 m. below it; the tympanum, exactly in the plane of the face of the stele below, recedes 0.022 m. both from the pedimental ovolo and the horizontal fascia. There is no trace of any invocation (such as θεοί) on the horizontal fascia.

Thickness of stele, 0.12 m. above (excluding mouldings), 0.14 m. below.

Width of stele (below mouldings), 0.423 m. at top of line 1, 0.457 m. at lowest measurable point (bottom of line 45), indicating a taper of 0.034 m. in 0.565 m., an increase of 0.06018 m., per meter, or about 0.00127 m. per line.[39]

The text proper consists of remains of 51 lines covering 0.6415 m., that is, 0.636 m. (from top of line 1 to top of line 51) for 50 line-spacings averaging 0.01272 m., the height of the letters being 0.0055 m. But the upper lines are spaced 0.0120 m. (0.120 m. from top of line 1 to top of line 11, 0.132 m. to top of line 12), while those near the end are spaced 0.0130 m. (0.143 m. from top of line 38, 0.130 m. from top of line 39 to top of line 49), indicating a gradual increase of the spacing toward the bottom. After line 51 is a clear space of 0.013 m. (instead of the usual 0.0065/0.0075 m.), insufficient to be counted as an empty line. Next, after the 51 lines of the decree, must have followed 13 lines (52-64) occupied by the names of the representatives of the twelve tribes and their secretary, as specified within the decree

[38] I must record my obligations to Eugene Vanderpool, George A. Stamires, and John Travlos of the Agora Excavations staff, who have been so kind as to furnish copy, squeeze, and photographs, as well as details of the discovery of the stone and the necessary measurements.

[39] A nearly horizontal scratch line, 0.676 m. below the tops of the letters of line 1 at the right edge, running inward for a length of 0.175 m. (where it terminates at a distance of 0.681 m. below the tops of the letters of line 1), cuts through the letters of line 54 and so did not serve as a guide line. It is, however, exactly at right angles to the inclined right edge, and so may have been erroneously scratched for this purpose.

and as indicated by the remains of five of them (lines 52-56), with a line-spacing of only 0.0115 m. and so covering $(12 \times 0.0115) + 0.0055 = 0.1435$ m. From the top of line 1 to the bottom of line 64 was, therefore, a distance of $0.6415 + 0.013 + 0.1435 = 0.798$ m.

Spacing of letters on centers, average 0.01203 m. in line 1, 0.01216 m. in line 43. For in line 1: 0.009 m. from left edge to axis of first letter (epsilon), thence $16 \times 0.012125 = 0.194$ m. to axis of 17th letter (tau), thence $17 \times 0.011941 = 0.203$ m. to axis of 34th letter (omicron), thence 0.017 m. to right edge (total $0.009 + 0.397 + 0.017 = 0.423$ m.). Hence the final sigma would have been centered 0.005 m. from the right edge. But in line 43: 0.025 m. from left edge to axis of 2nd letter (omicron), thence $32 \times 0.012156 = 0.389$ m. to axis of 34th letter (sigma), thence 0.041 m. to right edge (total $0.025 + 0.389 + 0.041 = 0.455$ m.). Hence the first tau would have been centered 0.013 m. from the left edge, the final nu 0.005 m. from the right edge. Thus the width of the left margin increased by $0.013 - 0.009 = 0.004$ m. in this height; but on the other hand it is evident that half of the taper was 0.0162 m. in this height (0.539 m.), so that the axes of the *stoichoi* are not exactly vertical but, in the left half at least, diverge slightly toward the left as they descend. This is shown also by the fact that, while the axis of the 17th letter (tau) in line 1 is 0.203 m. from the left edge, the axis of the 17th letter (omicron) in line 46 is 0.207 m. from the left edge, with the same deviation of 0.004 m. from parallelism with the left edge. Toward the right, therefore, the distance from the axis of the 17th letter to the right edge increased from 0.220 m. in line 1 to 0.248 m. in line 46, for instance, more than enough for two letters extra. This enlargement was absorbed partly by increasing the number of letters toward the bottom, and partly by the very slight increase in the average spacing of the letters themselves. The stoichedon checker (10 spacings laterally by 10 lines vertically) varies from 0.1203×0.120 m. at the top to 0.1216×0.130 m. toward the bottom, and so from an exact square to a vertical oblong.

There were normally 35 letters per line at the beginning, 36 letters toward the middle, and 37 letters toward the end, with minor variations of one letter more or less effected by crowding or spreading at the ends of the lines, in order to terminate with full words (72.4 per cent or twenty-one instances: lines 1-3, 5-6, 9-10, 32-33, 35-36, 39-40, 42-44, 46-50) or at least with syllables (27.6 per cent or eight instances: lines 4, 7-8, 34, 37-38, 41, 45). Thus the number of letters (or letter spaces) becomes 34 (lines 2-3, 7), 35 (lines 1, 4-6, 8-10, 33, 38, 40), 36 (lines 34-35, 37, 39, 42, 46-47) 37 (lines 32, 36, 43-45, 58-59), or even 38 (lines 41, 50). There are at least three examples of crowding two letters into a single space (II in line 2, IE in line 4, EI in line 6); and there is one instance of haplography, two successive alphas being represented by only one (line 44). Other scribal errors occur in lines 38 and 39.

Lines 1-10 and 32-51 can be read and restored with a fair degree of plausibility; but the intervening lines 11-31, constituting part of the eroded surface, are represented

only by disconnected single letters or groups of letters for the most part unintelligible. The present version is based on a preliminary reading by Stamires, with revision after examination of the stele by the writer. Letters on which we both agree, as well as additional letters which the writer believes that he could detect, are shown without special indication. On the other hand, letters seen only by Stamires on a squeeze, which, though undoubtedly correct so far as they lie within the restored lines 1-10 and 32-50, could not be perceived by the writer on the stone itself, are marked by dots for editorial purposes. A few additional letters visible only in fragmentary form are likewise marked by dots:

Line 7: the 5th letter (nu)
Line 8: the 24th (upsilon), the 27th (delta), and the 33rd letter (epsilon)
Line 10: the 34th letter (omicron)
Line 46: the 5th letter (psi)
Line 48: the 9th letter (alpha)
Line 52: the 20th letter (alpha) and the 28th (eta)

Line 54: the 22nd letter (mu) and the 25th (sigma)
Line 55: the 24th and 25th letters
Line 56: the 26th and 27th letters (alpha, nu)
Line 57: the 26th and 28th letters
Line 58: the 27th and 29th letters

PRAISE OF THE SITONAI

a. 271/0 a.   ΣΤΟΙΧ. 34-38

Ἐπὶ Πυθαράτου ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς Λεωντίδο[s]
[ἐ]νάτης πρυτανείας, ἧι Ἰσήγορος Ἰσοκράτο[υ]
[Κ]εφαλῆθεν ἐγραμμάτευεν· Ἐλαφηβολιῶνο[s]
[ἐ]νάτει ἱσταμένου τετάρτει ἐμβολίμωι, ἑβδ[ό]
5 [μ]ει καὶ εἰκ[οσ]τεῖ τῆς πρυτ[α]νείας· ἐκκλησί[α·]
[τῶν προέ[δ]ρω[ν ἐ]πεψήφιζεν Πειθίας Θεοφίλο[υ]
['Α]θ[μο]ν[εὺς καὶ συμπρό[εδρ]οι· ἔδοξεν τεῖ βο[υ]
[λ]ε[ῖ κ]α[ὶ τῶι δήμωι· Εὔβουλος Λ]υ[σ]ιδήμου Με[λι]
τε[ὺς εἶπεν ʋ ἐπειδὴ οἱ πρότεροι] σιτῶναι ο[ἱ]
10 [ἐ]πὶ Λ[υσιθείδου ἄρχοντος ...⁷....]ουμενο[ι]
[.]ρηστονο[.....¹³........ τὸν ἐνι[α[υ]τὸν τὸν
[μ]ετ[ὰ Λυσιθείδην ἄρχοντα ------]οι
[.]ο[------------] καὶ [τὰ]
[σ]υμφ[έρ]ο[ντα τῶι δήμωι τῶι Ἀθηναίων...]λο[.]
15 [.]ιω[---------------]τ[....]
[.]η[---------------------]
[.]ατ[----------------------]
[..]οι[----------------------]η[.]
[.]γ[.]ε[.]ιαδιοτελ[.]να[---------]δ[.]
20 [.]αγ[....]ιοτ[---------------]ξ[.]

[. .]ι[— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —]ι[. .]
[. . . .⁶. . .]γκοπο[— — — — — — — — — — — — —]
[.]άντων ἐπὶ τον[— — — — — — — — — —]ησυ[.]
βουλῆς κατουσεδ[— — — — — — — — — — — — —]

25 [.]ιντω[— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —]
[. . . .]ν[.]ις[— — — — — — — — — — — —]ο[.]
[. . . .⁶. . .]τ[— — — — — — — — — — — — — —]
[. .⁵. .]λσ[— — — — — — — — — — — — — — —]
[. .⁵. .]η[— — — — — — — — — — — — — — —]

30 [— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —]θ[. . . .]
[— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —]
[. . . .⁹. . . . . ἀγαθεῖ τύχει δεδόχθαι τ]εῖ [βουλεῖ]
[τοὺς προέδρο]υ[ς οἳ ἂν λάχωσιν προεδ]ρεύε[ιν]
ἐ[ν τῶι δήμωι εἰς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἐκκλησίαν χρη]

35 [μα]τ[ίσαι περὶ αὐτῶν. γνώμην δὲ ξυμβάλλεσθαι]
τῆς βουλ[ῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμον ὅτι δοκεῖ τ]ε[ῖ β]ουλ[εῖ]
ἐπαινέσαι μὲν τοὺ[ς σιτώνας] τ[οὺς σι]των[ήσαν]
[τ]⟨α⟩ς ἐπὶ Λυσιθεί̣δου [ἄρχο]ν[τος καὶ στε]φανῶ
σαι αὐτῶν ἕκαστ⟨ο⟩ν χρυσῶι στεφάνωι κατὰ τὸν

40 [νόμ]ον φιλοτιμίας ἕνεκα τῆς πρὸς τὸν δῆμον·
[ε]ἶναι δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ προεδρίαν ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἀγ[ῶ]
σιν οἷς ἡ πόλις τίθησιν, καὶ [τ]ὸ[ν] ἀρχιτέκτον[α]
[τ]ὸν ἀεὶ καθιστάμενον κατανέ[μ]ειν αὐτοῖς τὴ[ν]
[θέα]ν· ἐπαινέσαι δὲ καὶ τὸν [γ]ραμματέα ⟨α⟩ὐτ[ῶ]ν κ[αὶ]

45 [στεφ]ανῶσαι θαλλοῦ στεφ[ά]νωι· ἀναγράψα[ι] δὲ [τό]
[δε τὸ] ψήφισμα καὶ τὰ ὀνόμ[α]τα τῶν σιτωνῶ[ν καὶ]
[τοῦ γραμ]ματέως αὐτῶν ἐν στήληι λιθίνη[ι τὸν]
[γραμματέ]α̣ τὸν κατὰ πρυτανείαν, καὶ στῆσ[αι ἐν]
[τῆι ἀγορᾶι· τὸ] δὲ ἀνάλωμα τὸ γενόμενον ε[ἰς τὴν]

50 [ποίησιν τῆς στή]λης καὶ τὴν ἀν[αγρ]α[φὴν] μερί[σαι]
[τὸν ταμίαν   vacat]   vacat
[. . . . . . . .¹⁷. . . . .]τρά[τ]ου Γα[ρ]γήττ[ιο]ς (I)
[. . . . . . . .¹⁸. . . . . . . Ξυ]πεται[ώ]ν   (II)
[. . . . . .¹⁶. . . . . . Εὐωνυ]μεύς   (III)

55 [. . . . . . . .²³. . . . .]ογ[— — —]   (IV)
[. . . . . . .²². . . . . . . Πα]ιαν[ιεύς]   (V)
[. . . . . . . .²⁴. . . . . . . Σ]ουν[ιεύς]   (VI)
[. . . . . Κεφα]λ[ῆ]θ[εν]   (VII)
(Oineis)— — — — — — — — — — — — —   (VIII)

60 (Kekropis)— — — — — — — — — — —   (IX)

(Hippothontis)— — — — — — — — — — — —   (X)
(Aiantis)— — — — — — — — — — — — — — —   (XI)
(Antiochis)— — — — — — — — — — — — — —   (XII)
[γραμματεύς — — — — — — — — — — — — —]   (?)

NOTES

Line 2: Two letters II in a single space.
Line 4: Two letters IE in a single space.
Line 6: Two letters EI in a single space.
Line 7: The 5th letter of the demotic of the proedros could be either mu or nu; and since the demotic was evidently limited to 8 letters, we may consider only Ποτάμιος (but hardly Κεραμεύς) on the one hand and ᾿Αθμονεύς, Αἰξωνεύς, ᾿Αχαρνεύς, or ᾿Οτρυνεύς (but hardly Κολωνεύς) on the other. Stamires felt that the 2nd letter was omicron; thus we should be limited to Ποτάμιος or ᾿Αθμονεύς. Either would fit the requirement that the proedros must not be from the prytanizing tribe (Leontis, VI); for, while part of Potamos was in Leontis (VI), two other parts were in Antigonis (I) and Demetrias (II), and Athmonon was in Kekropis (IX). With the feeling that the 5th letter more closely resembles nu, I restore [᾿Α]θ[μο]ν[εύς]. This would agree, furthermore, with the fact that the father's name Theophilos was known in the deme of Athmonon, at about 330 B.C. (I.G., II², 1575, Θεόφιλος Τρ[— — — —] ᾿Αθμονεύς in a list of silver paterae) and in the imperial period (I.G., II² 5335, ῾Ερμαγόρας Θεοφίλου ᾿Αθμονεύς in a sepulchral inscription). Neither of the names Peithias or Theophilos was associated with Potamos.

Line 8: The four last letters of the line must belong to the demotic of the spokesman; the initial M is well preserved and the second letter seems to be the vertical bar of E (though falling under the middle of the letter O above), but rising too high to be the vertical bar of Y (as in Μυρρινούσιος or Μυρρινούττης). Thus the third and fourth letters would seem to have been slightly crowded, and of the two available demotics we may select Με[λιτεύς] rather than the rare Με[λαινεύς]. This has now been confirmed by the earlier decree (Agora I 6664) of the same year, clearly proposed by the same spokesman. The preceding letters in line 8 obviously belong to the patronymic, for which Stamires suggested Χα[ρ]ι[δ]ήμου; and I could actually detect a portion of the delta as the fifth letter from the end, preceded by a vertical stroke. And Vanderpool, after examining the stone at my request, stated that " while I would not venture to read these marks, I do see in certain lights support in each letter for Stamires' [Char]idemou and this may well be the correct reading. Even if Charidemos should be accepted as the father's name, however, I think it would be well to keep the first three letters in brackets." Another reason for accepting [Χαρ]ιδήμου was the fact that this name is supposed to have been used in Melite (P.A..

15387). But the latter rests on very doubtful authority, a funerary inscription of the end of the fifth century (*I.G.*, II², 6879) with four names superposed: Μελι[– – –], Χαροπίδ[ης] Χαρίδημος, Χαριάδης. Restoring the first as Μελι[τεύς], this was supposed to be a demotic applying to the three following names, none of which is otherwise associated with Melite (*P.A.*, 15533, 15387, 15316).⁴⁰ The first line might equally well have been another name such as Μελί[ας], Μέλι[ς], Μελί[ττιος], or Μελί[των], all good Athenian names. Furthermore, on our actual stone itself (Agora I 6096) I was unable to perceive any trace of the initial chi, and instead of the doubtful second letter alpha there seems to be in this position a diagonal stroke like the upper right corner of kappa, upsilon, or psi, apparently eliminating Χα[ρ]ιδήμου. Assuming that the second letter was upsilon, and that the vertical stroke in the fourth space might likewise be restored as upsilon, it had seemed to me that the name might be read as [Ε]ὐ[θ]υδήμου, particularly as this name is known to have been used in the

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⁴⁰ Another element to be taken into consideration is the fact that in a list of councillors of Demetrias (Agora I 1804 + 1870 = *Hesperia*, X, 1941, pp. 273-274, no. 71), of the middle of the third century, Pritchett decides that a list of at least six names, including a Charopides, might very tentatively be assigned to Melite because of the large number and also because of the assumed identification of Charopides (*P.A.*, 15533); and all these are duly accepted as of Melite in the *Hesperia Index* (*I-X*). With due regard to representation quotas, to be sure, we are restricted to the large demes of Demetrias, that is, Hagnous (4 +), Melite (17 ?), Phyle (4 ?), Thorai (4 ?), and Xypete (number of councillors unknown), and for similar reasons a block of at least five names in the first column of the same inscription, likewise with the demotic missing, is tentatively assigned in the *Hesperia Index* to Hagnous. Thus we have a tenuous identification of eleven individuals resting on the doubtful identification of one (Charopides of Melite). It is obvious that we need more conclusive evidence before accepting these identifications. It so happens that, in the first group, three of the four certainly restorable names (['Αρίστ]αρχος, [Χαιρ]έας, and Χαιρέσ[τρατος]) actually occur in the deme of Hagnous (*P.A.*, 1659, 15095, 15155), and two others might be restored in agreement with this deme ('Αντί[πατρος], Σωσί[χιος], *P.A.*, 1167, 13301). On the other hand, only one of the certain names, ['Αλκίμα]χος, is known in the deme of Melite (*P.A.*, 620), while two others might fit appropriate restorations (Σώσι[ππος] = *P.A.*, 13278, and 'Αντι[κλῆς] or 'Αντι[φάνης] or 'Αντι[χαρμος] = *P.A.*, 1068-1069, 1240, 1320). The chances of equating the first group with Xypete are very slight, being limited to the restorations 'Αντι[γένης] or 'Αντι[κλῆς] (*P.A.*, 994, 1070) and Σωσι[άδης] or Σωσι[γένης] (*P.A.*, 13174, 13214), while the demes of Phyle and Thorai give even less satisfactory results. Thus there can be little doubt that the five names in the first column are rightly associated with Hagnous. This leaves for the second group Melite, Phyle, Thorai, or Xypete. In this second group, two of the twelve names certainly appear in Phyle ('Αριστοφῶν and Πολύευκτος, *P.A.*, 2119, 11955) and a third can be appropriately restored ('Αντι[γένης], *P.A.*, 1005). Only one name, the ubiquitous Διοκλῆς (*P.A.*, 4039-4040) certainly appears in Melite, apart from the possible restoration of another ('Αντι[κλῆς] or 'Αντι[φάνης] or 'Αντί[χαρμος], *P.A.*, 1068-1069, 1240, 1320) and the very doubtful [Χ]αροπίδης (*P.A.*, 15533). As for Xypete, Διοκλῆς (*P.A.*, 4043) would again fit, as well as the possible restorations 'Αντι[γένης] or 'Αντι[κλῆς] (*P.A.*, 994, 1070); and for Thorai we should have only the possible restoration 'Αντι[φάτης] (*P.A.*, 1259). Numerically, therefore, it would seem most reasonable to assign the second group to Phyle, thus eliminating the evidence for the identity of the so-called Charopides of Melite, and so depriving Charidemos likewise of this corroboration of the attribution to Melite. Furthermore, Stamires now suggests that the name with which this investigation started, Charopides in *I.G.*, II², 6879, should actually be read as Χαροπῖν[ο]ς.

deme of Melite (*I.G.*, II², 1927, after the middle of the fourth century; *I.G.*, II², 2394, of 340/39 or 313/2; Agora I 3238 + 4169, of 239/8).[41] The last had seemed particularly appropriate because the Euthydemos of Melite there mentioned as a *sitophylax* in 240/39 might be construed as a son of Euboulos son of Euthydemos in 271/0, continuing his father's interest in the grain supply. But this possibility is now eliminated by the perfectly clear iota as the fourth letter of the patronymic in the other decree of 271/0 (Agora I 6664). There remains a third Athenian name, Lysidemos, which would meet all the requirements except that it is not known in Melite. A certain Lysidemos was the target of one of the orations of Hyperides (fr. 119 = Pollux, VII, 149), and the name appears in inscriptions of the first half of the fourth century (*I.G.*, II², 1932, Λυσίδημος Λυσίου ᾿Αγκυλῆθεν in a list of prominent citizens liable for liturgies; *I.G.*, II², 2345, line 64, in a list of *thasiotai*), in 335/4 (*I.G.*, II², 1700, Λυσίδημος Λυσιθέου Παλληνεύς, a councillor), and at the beginning of the third century (*I.G.*, II², 3850, Λυσιφάνης Λυσιδήμου ᾿Αγνούσιος on a votive base on the Acropolis). While three of these are definitely not of Melite, either of two others might have been. Thus we may prefer the restoration [Λ]υ[σ]ιδήμου; and possibly even the extremely doubtful trace of the initial letter might be read, not as chi, but as lambda. All but the first three letters of the same patronymic appear in the earlier decree Agora I 6664, which must be restored similarly. For the missing nomen in our decree there remain 8 spaces, exactly fitting the name Εὔβουλος which is preserved in Agora I 6664.

Line 10: Stamires and Raubitschek suggest [φιλοτιμ]ούμενο[ι].

Lines 32-50: For the restoration of lines 32-50, inclusive, Stamires pointed out that we have a very close parallel in *I.G.*, II², 792, which exactly fits the remnants of our text with only a few minor changes.

Line 34: Cf. no. **182** (above), line 23.

Lines 37-38: Where Köhler and Kirchner had restored [σιτωνήσαντας] in *I.G.*, II², 792 (line 5), Meritt suggested [κατασταθέντας] (*Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 564 note 1). The preserved letters in our inscription would favor τοὺ[ς σιτώνας] τ[οὺς σι]των[ήσαντας τ]οὺς ἐπὶ Λυσιθείδου [ἄρχο]ν[τος], except that there is hardly room at the end of line 37 to crowd in the final letters of σιτωνήσαντας, and except (further) for the anomaly of τούς thrice repeated. It is better to assume here an error in the text, and to posit that the stonecutter should have inscribed the final syllable -τας at the beginning of line 38 instead of the article τούς. Reading [σιτωνήσαντας ἐπὶ ...]βίου in *I.G.*, II², 792, therefore, we have seven letters for the archon's name, or possibly eight with [ἐπ᾿ ....]βίου, the year, as we shall see, being 253/2 in agreement with Meritt (*Chronology*, pp. xxi, 99). The possibility of [σι]των[ησ]αμ[έ|ν]ους, as suggested with reservations by Stamires and Raubitschek, would have the somewhat unfortunate effect, if repeated in *I.G.*, II², 792, of limiting the name of the archon for 253/2 to [ἐπ᾿..]βίου, hardly another Olbios.

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[41] Crosby, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 444-448, no. 2, A 7 and B 8.

Line 39: The word ἕκαστον was erroneously cut as EKAΣTΩN.

Line 42: Cf. no. **182** (above), line 31.

Line 44: The alpha omitted following γραμματέα. The name of the secretary of the *sitonai*, given at this point (line 10) in *I.G.*, II², 792, is omitted and relegated to line 64.

Line 49: Where *I.G.*, II², 792 provided that the stele should be set up [ἐν ἀγορᾶι οὗ τὸ ἄγαλμα τὸ Δ]ιός ἐστιν, we are limited to a locality in 9 letters, which would, to be sure, fit [ἀκροπόλει], but this seems less fitting than [τῆι ἀγορᾶι] which was written out with the article in *I.G.*, II², 125, 676, 791, and 875.

Line 51: Where *I.G.*, II², 792 provided, as restored, that the expenditure should be met by τὸν τ[αμίαν τῶν στρατιωτικῶν], we are limited here by the existing blank space to a maximum of 14 letters, thus eliminating both the foregoing and also either [τὸν ταμίαν τοῦ δήμου] or [τὸν ἐπὶ τῆι διοικήσει] in 17 or 18 letters; furthermore, the treasurer of the demos functioned in this capacity for the last time in 302/1 (*Archons*, p. 64), while the single officer of administration could not have functioned in the period to which our decree belongs (*Archons*, pp. 58, 64-66, 76, 86, 87, 111; *Archon List*, pp. 18, 41). The vague term [τοὺς ταμίας] is improbable as differing from the singular form in *I.G.*, II², 792. Presumably we are to restore the equally vague term [τὸν ταμίαν] (as in *I.G.*, II², 845 A, 863, 908, 909, 924 add., 1008 C, 1038, cf. *Magn.* no. 37), and also to restore the same term in *I.G.*, II², 792, where the broken stone gives no authority for [τῶν στρατιωτικῶν].

Line 52: The axis of the first preserved letter tau is 0.239 m. from the right edge and so 0.223 m. from the restored left edge, and is directly beneath the 18th letter alpha of line 50, thus allowing, if the list of *sitonai* aligned with the left edge of the text, 17 + 6 = 23 letters for the nomen and patronymic, which is possible in view of the fact that the patronymic appears to have been rather long. The demotic belongs to Antigonis (I), indicating that the names are in tribal order.

Line 53: There would be 18 letters for the nomen and patronymic; the demotic belongs to Demetrias (II).

Line 54: The demotic ends with -εύς, limiting us within Erechtheis (III) to Εὐωνυμεύς, Κηφισιεύς, or Λαμπτρεύς; since the preceding letter appears to be either mu or nu, we are limited to [Εὐωνυ]μεύς. There would remain 16 letters for the nomen and patronymic.

Line 55: The only discernible traces of the demotic are so vague that no definite restoration can be proposed, though, since it must belong to Aigeis (IV), the possibilities are ['Αγκυλῆ]θε[ν], [Βατῆ]θε[ν], ['Εστιαιό]θε[ν], [Κολωνῆ]θε[ν], or [Πλω]-θε[ύς], allowing respectively 17, 19, 16, 17, or 20 letters for the nomen and patronymic.

Line 56: Since the alternative reading -ιδη[ς] would not fit a demotic of Pandionis (V), we may adopt -ιαν; the only suitable restoration [Πα]ιαν[ιεύς] would leave 22 letters for the nomen and patronymic.

Line 57: Of the presumable letters ουν, the second is very doubtful and the third retains only the left vertical stroke; nevertheless, since the demotic must belong to Leontis (VI), we may tentatively restore [Σ]ουν[ιεύς], leaving 24 letters for the nomen and patronymic.

Line 58: The presumable letters λ.θ might be, respectively, alpha, delta, or lambda, and theta or omicron; since they must belong to a demotic of Akamantis (VII), we may restore [Κεφα]λ[ῆ]θ[εν], leaving 22 letters for the nomen and patronymic.

COMMENTARY

The chairman of the proedroi, Peithias son of Theophilos of Athmonon (IX), properly belongs to a tribe differing from that holding the ninth prytany (Leontis, VI). He may have been a son or grandson of the Theophilos of Athmonon mentioned in a list of silver paterae at about 330 (*I.G.*, II², 1575).

The spokesman was the same Euboulos son of Lysidemos of Melite who appears in the same capacity in the other decree of this year (Agora I 6664), but is otherwise unknown.

This is the third or fourth of the known honorary decrees for the whole board of *sitonai*, the others being *I.G.*, II², 792, which we may assign to 252/1 B.C.,[42] Agora I 6064 of 244/3 B.C.,[43] and possibly also the fragmentary *I.G.*, II², 744 of the first half of the third century. It had been suggested that the board may have consisted of three members because of *I.G.*, II², 906, of 175/4 B.C., in which three Athenians were to be selected to form a commission εἰς τὰ σιτωνικά;[44] but this may have been a special situation. In our inscriptions it is obvious that the board of *sitonai* consisted of one representative for each tribe, as well as the secretary. For in *I.G.*, II², 792, there were twelve names arranged in four columns, three names in each column, each name preceded by the name of the tribe, while in our new decree the names were arranged in twelve lines, without the names of the tribes but following tribal order, Gargettos (I), Xypete (II), and presumably Euonymon (III), – – – – – – – (IV), Paiania (V), Sounion (VI), and Kephale (VII). Individuals known to have been members of such boards include Demosthenes (Demosthenes, XVIII, 248), Kallisthenes (Demosthenes, XX, 33), and Euboulides of Eleusis (E.M. 12825).[45]

There were also ταμίαι τῶν σιτωνικῶν, of whom one from Pergase appears in an inscription of the beginning of the second century (*I.G.*, II², 1708). Probably another was Miltiades of Marathon, mentioned in an honorary decree of 141/0 (*I.G.*, II², 968)

[42] The preceding archon . . . bios is to be placed in 253/2 B.C.

[43] Meritt, *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pp. 3-13, no. 3.

[44] For the *sitonai*, see Busolt-Swoboda, *Gr. Staatsaltertümer*, pp. 1027, 1121; Thalheim, in *R.E.*, III, A, s.vv. Σιτῶναι (cols. 396-397), Σιτωνία (cols. 397-398), Σιτοφύλακες (col. 399).

[45] Meritt, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 201-203.

as having served [ἐπὶ τοῖ]ς σιτωνικ[οῖς] in the archonship of Archon (147/6). And they likewise had a secretary, according to a decree of 267/6, the archonship of Menekles (*I.G.*, II², 1272), honoring a certain Dion who twice served as secretary, both earlier and in that year. Associated with them were the *sitophylakes*, originally one from each tribe, five for the Peiraieus and five for the city, according to Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.*, 51, 3), who adds that in his own time the number was increased to thirty-five, fifteen for the Peiraieus and twenty for the city. But this enlargement was doubtless temporary, caused by the emergency of the famine of 330/29 to 326/5 (cf. *I.G.*, II², 360). After the creation of the two Macedonian tribes, the number ten was doubtless increased to twelve, six for the Peiraieus and six for the city; and each board apparently had its secretary, according to an honorary decree of about 300 (Agora I 5824),[46] where six men were listed in tribal order (III, —, —, —, X, XI) together with a secretary whose name is lost, apparently the *sitophylakes* of the city—the beginning of the decree is lost, but the formulae so resemble the following as to leave little doubt. The *sitophylakes* of the city are again listed for 240/39 (Agora I 3238 + 4169), where there are only five names in confused order (tribes IV, VIII, I or III, XII, and II, repeated as IV, VIII, II, I or III and XII), with a secretary from Kropidai (VI). It has been suggested that by this time they had been reduced to the original number of five for each board, and that the two additional tribes were represented by the two secretaries, since in this instance the secretary happens to come from an otherwise unrepresented tribe.[47] But this was more probably accidental; and on the analogy of the earlier inscription it may be inferred that at this time each board normally consisted of six members with a secretary chosen at large, one name being here omitted for reasons beyond our control. The office of secretary of the *sitophylakes* is included also in a list of government officers dating from about 150 B.C. (Agora I 113).[48]

The day on which our decree was passed was Elaphebolion 9 (actually 9E), just as in the analogous decree Agora I 6064 (the prescript of the third similar decree, *I.G.*, II², 792, is lost), so that this may well have been regarded as the normal day for such business. We know, at present, eleven decrees passed on this day: [49]

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[46] Meritt, *Hesperia*, XIII, 1944, p. 243-246, no. 8.

[47] Crosby, *Hesperia*, XI, 1937, p. 446; Meritt, *Hesperia*, XIII, 1944, p. 244.

[48] Meritt, *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 42-43, no. 31; Crosby, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 460-461, no. 8.

[49] Lists of decrees passed on this day had been compiled by Kirchner (*I.G.*, II², iv, p. 30) and Ferguson (*Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 133, note 46, p. 136). Kirchner included only five (a, b, e, f, k), to which I added two (c, d; cf. *Archons*, p. 380; *Archon List*, pp. 213-214). Ferguson included only six (e, f, h, i, j, k), discarding four others (a, b, c, d) because of the doubts cast upon their combination by West and Meritt; their reinstatement will be discussed elsewhere. The dates given for boards honored in two instances (g, i) are those determined in the following argument.

(a)	307/6	*I.G.*, II², 460	unknown subject	ἐκκλησία
(b)		" 461	"	"
(c)		" 462	"	
(d)		*S.E.G.*, III, 86	honors to three Prienians	
(e)	295/4	*I.G.*, II², 646	honors to Herodoros	ἐκκλησία κυρία
(f)		" 647	unknown subject	
(g)	271/0	Agora I 6096	for *sitonai* of 272/1	ἐκκλησία
(h)	244/3	" 6064	for *sitonai* of 247/6	ἐκκλησία κυρία
(i)		" 5191	for *agoranomoi* of 246/5	" "
(j)	171/0	" 166B	for ephebes of 172/1	ἐκκλησία ἐν τῶι θεάτρωι
(k)	118/7	*I.G.*, II², 1008 B	for ephebes of 119/8	" " " "

Thus all the known decrees passed on this day in four of the years (271/0, 244/3, 171/0, 118/7) are concerned with honors to boards or bodies who functioned in preceding years. It will be noted that in two of the years (295/4, 244/3) it was the chief assembly of the prytany, and that in two other years (171/0, 118/7) the assembly was held in the theater of Dionysos.

The importance of this day is that it was the last day available for public business before the interruption caused by the Dionysia. The preliminary tryout or *proagon*, as well as the Asklepieia, had already been held on Elaph. 8; and probably the festival of the Soteres was held on Elaph. 9 itself.[50] The great *pompe* occurred on Elaph. 10 (cf. *I.G.*, II², 1368, lines 117-121), followed on the same day by the dithyrambic contests for men and boys, and then in succession by a day of five comedies, and by three days each with three tragedies followed by a satyric play (cf. sequence in law of Euegoros, in Demosthenes, XXI, 10), presumably on Elaph. 11, 12, 13, and 14. During the Peloponnesian War, at least after 429 (*I.G.*, XIV, 1097), the days following the *pompe* were reduced to three, each with three tragedies, a satyric play, and a comedy (Aristophanes, *Birds*, 786-789), the additional day being afterward reinstated.[51] Conflicts sometimes occurred between meetings of the Ekklesia and days

[50] On the sequence of events, see Dutoit, *Zur Festordnung des grossen Dionysien*, 1898, pp. 38 ff.; Mommsen, *Feste der Stadt Athen*, pp. 428-448; Deubner, *Attische Feste*, pp. 138 ff.; Bieber, *The History of the Greek and Roman Theater*, pp. 96-98; Ferguson, *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pp. 133-135 note 46; Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens*, 1953, pp. 61-65.

[51] Pickard-Cambridge argues that Ferguson's " view that the 9th of Elaphebolion was a day of inaction in the ritual of the Dionysia, and that the festival proper may have begun on the 10th, is not so convincingly proved," and this opinion that no day elapsed between the *proagon* and the *pompe* is followed by Bieber (*A.J.P.*, LXXV, 1954, pp. 307-308). Therefore Pickard-Cambridge prefers to date the *pompe* and the dithyrambic contests for men and boys on Elaph. 9, followed by four days (the 10th to 13th, shortened to three days, the 10th to 12th, during the Peloponnesian War) for the dramatic performances. But these dates for the *pompe* and the following contests seem to be controverted by the impressive array of stated meetings of the assembly on the 9th and by *I.G.*, II², 1368 with regard to sacrifices to Dionysos on the 10th (i. e., the occasion of the *pompe*), and so should evidently run from Elaph. 10 to 14 (during the Peloponnesian War from 10 to 13). The Pandia were celebrated on the (or a) day after the Dionysia (Photius, *s.v.* Πάνδια; the day left uncertain by Deubner, *op. cit.*, pp. 176-177 and final table, while Elaph. 17 as given by Treidler in

of the festival, as on the 8th,[52] the 12th,[53] and the 14th; [54] but no public meetings, so far as we can ascertain, occurred on the 10th,[55] the 11th,[56] and evidently not on the 13th.[57]

The most interesting and exceptional item of the prescript is the dating on a fourth intercalary day, Elaphebolion 9E, making it the 13th day of Elaphebolion. For the first time among Attic inscriptions do we find such a reference to the insertion of as many as four intercalary days; [58] hitherto we had known only as many as one [59] or two.[60] Usually such intercalary days were inserted at the end of one of the last

R.E., XVIII, s.v. Pandia, lacks authority), and, having apparently been an old full-moon festival (Mommsen, op. cit., p. 432 with sources; Wilamowitz, Glaube der Hellenen, I, p. 238 note 2), would probably have occupied the 15th, thus forming the limit before which the Dionysia were later inserted (cf. Wiliamowitz, Aus Kydathen, p. 133). A special assembly could be held in the agora (I.G., II², 1140) or in the theater (Demosthenes, XXI, 8-9) on the day following the Pandia, or on the 18th and 19th (Aeschines, II, 61; III, 68).

[52] Aeschines, III, 67 (in 346, for which Aeschines attacked Demosthenes); I.G., II², 359 (in 326/5; for the date see Archons, p. 372; Calendars, p. 54); I.G., II², 1496, lines 13, 78, 109.

[53] Agora I 3878 (of 319/8; Hesperia, VII, 1938, p. 476; Calendars, p. 63). But in I.G., II², 388 (of the same year) Elaphebolion 12 was written by mistake for Mounichion 12 (Crosby, Hesperia, VII, 1938, pp. 478-479; Archon List, p. 34 note 62; Pritchett, Hesperia, X, 1941, p. 269 note 7; Calendars, pp. 41, 63).

[54] Thucydides, IV, 118, 12 (in 423).

[55] As shown by Ferguson, loc. cit.

[56] Ferguson refers to I.G., II², 365 (in 323/2) as a possible exception; but this was actually dated on Hek. 11 (Archons, p. 373; Calendars, p. 57). Others were formerly assigned to Elaph. 11, as I.G., II², 670 A (of 280/79, now redated Skir. 11; cf. I.G., II², 670 A add.; Archons, pp. 389-391; Meritt, Hesperia, VII, 1938, p. 106; Calendars, p. 70) and I.G., II², 360 (of 325/4, now redated Pos. II 11; cf. Archons, p. 372; Meritt, Hesperia, IV, 1935, p. 536; Calendars, pp. 55-56), so that these likewise may be disregarded.

[57] For the 13th see Agora I 605 (of 196/5, ἐκκλησία κυρία in the Peiraieus; Hesperia, V, 1936, p. 422); but this was the 13th κατ' ἄρχοντα (Calendars, pp. 15, 75), and the date κατὰ θεόν was Elaph. 18, so that the seeming conflict might be explained. Possibly also I.G., II², 372 (of 322/1) might be dated Elaphebolion 13, if this were to be interpreted as an intercalary year; but since it was un-doubtedly an ordinary year, it is preferable to restore the date as Elaphebolion 19 (cf. Calendars, pp. 59-60). For meetings in the period Elaph. 17-19 see Wilhelm, Urkunden dramatischer Auf-führungen, p. 218 (wrongly quoting Aeschines, II, 61, for the 17th).

[58] The Euboean inscription I.G., XII 9, 207 (suppl., p. 178) permitted intercalations up to three days (cf. Calendars, pp. 20-21).

[59] I.G., II², 358, 471, 791, 1006 A, and Agora I 787. Compare also the days designated as προτέρα (I.G., II², 486, 495, 496, 497, 597 add., and E.M. 12952; cf. Archons, pp. 385-387; Calendars, pp. 69, 79), indicating that the following day was ἐμβόλιμος.

[60] I.G., II², 458, 838, and Agora I 6625. In the light of the new decree referring to a fourth intercalary day (certainly not a fourth intercalary month), I must withdraw my former interpre-tation (more or less following Kirchner), to the effect that δευτέραι ἐμβολίμωι might refer to a second intercalary month consisting wholly, therefore, of intercalary days (Archons, pp. 194, 378, 382; Archon List, pp. 215-216, 218-219, 230, 231-232, 236, 240-241; A.J.A., XLIX, 1945, pp. 615-616), a theory based primarily on the coincidence that both of the then known years showing this expression (307/6, 226/5) did, in fact, have irregular intercalary months. Beloch (Gr. Gesch., IV, 2, p. 22) had already inferred that the expression concerned rather an intercalary day; and this point of view

months in the year, as Skirophorion 29/30A and 29/30B in 304/3 and 303/2,[61] or Mounichion 29/30B in 306/5,[62] or Elaphebolion 29/30B in 333/2 and 247/6 B.C.[63] Earlier intercalary days, but still within the last decades of months, were Hekatombaion II 25B in 228/7,[64] Metageitnion 22C in 226/5,[65] and Gamelion 23C in 307/6 B.C.[66] The only occurrence in the middle decade is Metageitnion 16C in 214/3 (Agora I 6625). The only previously known analogy for an intercalary day in the first decade of a month is Boedromion 8B in 122/1 B.C.[67] The reason for the insertion of four extra days immediately after Elaphebolion 9 in 271/0 B.C. was undoubtedly the same as that permitting the intercalation of as many as three days as specified in the Euboean law (I.G., XII 9, 207, suppl., p. 178) dated about twenty years earlier, that is, in connection with the theatrical performances of the Dionysiac festival, which at Athens extended from Elaphebolion 10 to 14. Evidently the preparations for the Dionysiac festival of 271/0 B.C., presumably celebrated with special splendor as shown by the fact that the *agonothetes* Thrasykles rebuilt the upper part of the choragic monument of his father Thrasyllos to commemorate it, consumed more time than had been allowed, and the four extra days had to be inserted in order that the *pompe* might still be held on Elaphebolion 10.

We may now consider the calendar quality of the year as a whole, on the basis of the two new decrees. The year 271/0 was the tenth year of the ninth Metonic cycle (280-261), and the succession of ordinary and intercalary years within this cycle has appeared in the most recent arrangements, in accordance with the shifting of the years of the archons, as follows: [68]

was adopted by West (*Classical Studies Presented to Edward Capps*, pp. 359-360), Meritt (after momentary acceptance of my view, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 529-532, 537), and Pritchett (*Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 139; *Chronology*, pp. 14-15, 18; *A.J.P.*, LXIII, 1942, pp. 419-420 = *Five Attic Tribes*, pp. 19-20; *Calendars*, pp. 22, 33, 74).

[61] *I.G.*, II², 486, 495-497, 597 add., and E.M. 12952 (*Archons*, pp. 385-387; *Calendars*, pp. 69, 79).

[62] *I.G.*, II², 471 (*Archons*, p. 387; *Calendars*, p. 79).

[63] *I.G.*, II², 358, 791 (*Archons*, pp. 357, 387, 396; *Archon List*, p. 228; *Calendars*, pp. 48, 82).

[64] Agora I 787 (*Archon List*, pp. 230-231; *Calendars*, pp. 70, 73).

[65] *I.G.*, II², 838 (*Archons*, pp. 193-194; *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 531; *Archon List*, pp. 231-232; *Calendars*, pp. 70, 74).

[66] *I.G.*, II², 458 (*Archons*, pp. 378-379, 385; *Archon List*, pp. 215-216, 218-219; West, *Classical Studies Presented to Edward Capps*, p. 359; Meritt, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 139; *Chronology*, pp. 14-15, 18; *Calendars*, pp. 22, 33, 69, 74).

[67] *I.G.*, II², 1006 A (*Archons*, pp. 412, 418; *Archon List*, p. 247; *Calendars*, p. 86). The probable restoration of a similar early intercalation in 222/1 B.C., amounting to three days presumably again in Boedromion before the Eleusinian festival, will be discussed elsewhere.

[68] For the previously published arrangements see *Archons*, pp. 30, 392-394, 423; *Archon List*, pp. 20-21, 226-227, 249; *Chronology*, pp. xviii-xx; *Calendars*, pp. 70, 81, 84.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
Dinsmoor 1931	O*	O*	(i)	(o)	(i)	O	I*	O	(o)	(i)	O*	I	O*	O	I*	O	(o)	(i)	O*
Dinsmoor 1939	O*	I	O	I	O*	O	I*	O*	O	I	O*	O	I	O*	O	I*	O	I	O*
Pritchett-Meritt	O*	O	I	O*	O	I*	O*	I	O	I	O	I	O*	O*	I*	O*	O	I	O*
Pritchett-Neugebauer	O*	O*		O*		I*	O*				O	O*	O*	O*	I*	O*			O*
Dinsmoor 1954	O	O	I	O*	I*	O*	O	I*	O*	I*	O*	I	O*	I	O*	O	I	O*	O*

In all these arrangements, with one exception, it is possible to observe the normal rule that there are no consecutive intercalary years and that no more than two ordinary years should appear together. It is difficult to understand why Pritchett and Neugebauer show a succession of four ordinary years for 270/69–267/6, for the first of which, even with their distribution of the archons (Diogeiton with *I.G.*, II², 772 being assigned to 270/69), there is no evidence whatever as to the calendar quality. In any case, the tenth year 271/0 would be (or should be) intercalary in all these arrangements.

The calendar equation in the first decree of 271/0 (Agora I 6664) is Met. 9 = Pryt. II 7, dated on the 39th day of the year and thus showing that the first prytany had 32 days. It is hardly possible that the year could have been ordinary, with an excess of two days in the very first prytany. In other words, the year was definitely intercalary from the very beginning and should have contained twelve prytanies of 32 days each, making the total of 384 days.

The calendar equation in the second decree (Agora I 6096) being Elaph. 9E = Pryt. IX 27, it would appear that, if Elaph. 1 fell in the normal position on the 266/267th day of an intercalary year, Elaph. 9 should have been the 274/275th day, so that Elaph. 9E would have been the 278/279th day. This would suggest that, the last four months covering 384—265/266 = 118/119 days, but only 114/115 regular days after deduction of the four intercalary days, the remainder of the year would have consisted of four months averaging 28½ or 28¾ regular days (one day being suppressed in each). But the day of the decree was also the 27th of the ninth prytany; and since the prytanies should normally have averaged 32 days in an intercalary year, the 27th of the ninth prytany should have been the 283rd day of the year. Thus we must somehow obtain an equivalence between the 278/279th civil day and the 283rd prytany day, a discrepancy of 4/5 days. For the 278/279th civil day would leave 251/252 days for the eight preceding prytanies (averaging 31⅜ or 31½ days), or, conversely, the 283rd prytany day would require 270 days for the preceding nine months (averaging 30 days). It results that there would be a deficiency of 4/5 days in the normal arrangement of the prytanies, or an excess of 3/4 days in the months.[69]

[69] Before the discovery of the earlier decree Agora I 6664 it had been possible to obtain the same result, and the certainty that the year was intercalary, by eliminating the possibility of an ordinary year. For, in an ordinary year, Elaph. 1 would normally have been the 237th day, and Elaph. 9E the 249th day; but with prytanies averaging 29½ days it is evident that Pryt. IX 27 would have been the 263rd day. Between the 249th civil day and the 263rd prytany day we should have a discrepancy of 14 days, which could not have been reconciled under any circumstances.

It is evident that we must find some compromise, and that there must have been some further irregularities in the year apart from the intercalation of four days in Elaphebolion. It is essential that Elaph. 1 must coincide with Pryt. IX 15, and that this day, normally beginning $(4 \times 29\frac{1}{2}) = 118$ days before the end of the year (i. e., being the 267th business day), should be so located as not to give abnormally deficient final months or excessive final prytanies. If we deduct two days from $4 \times 29\frac{1}{2} = 118$ for the months, but add two days to $(4 \times 32) -14 = 114$ for the prytanies, Elaph. 1 = Pryt. IX 15 would begin 116 days from the end of the year (i. e., becoming the 269th business day). Since the year started in the normal intercalary form with prytanies of 32 days, we may assume that two of the first eight prytanies were shortened to 31 days, and that there was also a slight irregularity in the fixed alternation of full and hollow months (i. e., Hekatombaion and Metageitnion being successive full months), permitting us to restore the calendar preceding Elaphebolion as follows:

1.	Hek.	1	=	Pryt. I	1	148.	Maim.	29	= Pryt. V	21
30.	"	30	=	"	30	149.	Pos. I	1	= "	22
31.	Met.	1	=	"	31	159.	"	11	= "	32
32.	"	2	=	"	32	160.	"	12	= Pryt. VI	1
33.	"	3	=	Pryt. II	1	178.	"	30	= "	19
*39.	"	9	=	"	7	179.	Pos. II	1	= "	20
60.	"	30	=	"	28	191.	"	13	= "	32
61.	Boed.	1	=	"	29	192.	"	14	= Pryt. VII	1
64.	"	4	=	"	32	208.	"	30	= "	17
65.	"	5	=	Pryt. III	1	209.	Gam.	1	= "	18
89.	"	29	=	"	25	222.	"	14	= "	31
90.	Pyan.	1	=	"	26	223.	"	15	= Pryt. VIII	1
95.	"	6	=	"	31	237.	"	29	= "	15
96.	"	7	=	Pryt. IV	1	238.	Anth.	1	= "	16
119.	"	30	=	"	24	254.	"	17	= "	32
120.	Maim.	1	=	"	25	255.	"	18	= Pryt. IX	1
127.	"	8	=	"	32	267.	"	30A	= "	13
128.	"	9	=	Pryt. V	1	268.	"	30B	= "	14

An extra day (30B), for which we have many analogies, may have been added to Anthesterion in order to delay the beginning of Elaphebolion, a delay which proved to be inadequate for the preparations for the Dionysia. Then, after the beginning of Elaphebolion, with the intention of having four months of 29 days but with these shortened to 28 regular days because of the unexpected intercalation of four days, and with two of the prytanies lengthened to 33 days to compensate for the two shorter prytanies in the first part of the year,[70] the remainder of the calendar would have been as follows:

[70] This is but one of many instances through which I shall attempt to demonstrate the impossibility of the new hypothesis of Pritchett and Neugebauer, the basis of their book on *The Calendars*

269.	Elaph.	1	=	Pryt. IX	15		301.	Moun.	1	=	Pryt. X	15
277.	"	9A	=	"	23		318.	"	18	=	"	32
278.	"	9B	=	"	24		319.	"	19	=	Pryt. XI	1
279.	"	9C	=	"	25		328.	"	28	=	"	10
280.	"	9D	=	"	26		329.	Thar.	1	=	"	11
*281.	"	9E	=	"	27		351.	"	23	=	"	33
282.	"	10	=	"	28	(pompe)	352.	"	24	=	Pryt. XII	1
286.	"	14	=	"	32		356.	"	28	=	"	5
287.	"	15	=	Pryt. X	1		357.	Skir.	1	=	"	6
300.	"	28	=	"	14		384.	"	28	=	"	33

As thus computed, the two decrees of 271/0 were passed on the 39th and 281st days of the year, and so on the 3317th and 3559th days of the ninth Metonic cycle [71] which began on July 16, 280 B.C. (Julian day 1619350), falling on August 15, 271, and April 14, 270, respectively.

In order to avoid additional delay in the publication of the more vital chronological results based on these inscriptions and related investigations, there is appended a simplified table of the archons and of the tribal affiliations of the secretaries and priests of Asklepios, together with the calendar quality of the years in the corresponding Metonic cycles, for the purpose of illustrating the revised principles of rotation. Detailed discussion of the evidence must be postponed for a later publication.[72]

TRIBAL ROTATION OF SECRETARIES AND PRIESTS OF ASKLEPIOS
322–195 B.C.

	METONIC CYCLES	ARCHONS	DEMES OF SECRETARIES	DEMES OF PRIESTS
322/1	O	Philokles III	I Kephisia	i Lamptrai?
321/0	O*	Archippos I	II Kollytos	ii Erchia?
			REGISTRARS	
320/19	I*	Neaichmos	I Lamptrai	iii Kydathenaion?
319/8	O*	Apollodoros III	VIII Anakaia	iv Oion?

of Athens. They assume, for instance, that in an intercalary year of the periods of twelve tribes the prytanies were always rigidly and uniformly of 32 days (12 × 32 = 384), regardless of the irregularities, sometimes very striking, thereby resulting in the lengths of the months. Comparatively few Athenian years, either intercalary or ordinary, can be satisfactorily reconstructed on the basis of a rigid " Aristotelean " sequence of prytanies.

[71] The preceding nine years of the cycle covered 3278 days (cf. Archon List, p. 227).
[72] See note 3, above.

METONIC CYCLES		ARCHONS	DEMES OF SECRETARIES		DEMES OF PRIESTS
VII			SECRETARIES		
318/7	O	Archippos II	?		v Prospalta?
317/6	(i)	Demogenes			
316/5	(o)	Demokleides			
315/4	O	Praxiboulos			
314/3	I*	Nikodoros			
313/2	O	Theophrastos II	unnamed,		sortition,
312/1	(i)	Polemon	chosen by		order
311/0	(o)	Simonides	sortition		uncertain
310/09	O*	Hieromnemon			
309/8	I	Demetrios I of Phaleron			
308/7	O	Kairimos			
307/6	I*	Anaxikrates I	II/II Diomeia	9/11	(Aiantis)

Creation of tribes Antigonis and Demetrias

306/5	O*	Koroibos	XI Rhamnous	12	
305/4	O*	Euxenippos	XII Alopeke	1	
304/3	O*	Pherekles	I Gargettos	II	Melite
303/2	I*	Leostratos III	III Phegous	3	
302/1	O*	Nikokles	IV Plotheia	IV	Kolonos
301/0	I*	Klearchos	V Probalinthos	5	
300/299	O	Hegemachos	6	6	
VIII					
299/8	O*	Euktemon II	VII Kephale	7	
298/7	O*	Mnesidemos	VIII Phyle	8	
297/6	I	Antiphates	ix Halai	9	
296/5	O	Nikias I	X Azenia	10	
295/4	O*	Nikostratos	XI Phaleron	11	
294/3	I	Olympiodoros (a)	12	12	
			REGISTRARS		
293/2	O*	Olympiodoros (b)	XI Phaleron	1	
292/1	I	Philippos III	X Oion	2	
291/0	O	Telokles	9	3	
290/89	I	Charinos	VIII Phyle	4	

METONIC CYCLES	ARCHONS	DEMES OF SECRETARIES		DEMES OF PRIESTS
		SECRETARIES		
289/8	O* Aristonymos	I Aithalidai	5	
288/7	O Kimon I	ii Thorai	6	
287/6	I Xenophon	3	vii Sphettos?	
286/5	O* Diokles III	IV Halai	8	
285/4	O* Diotimos III	V Paiania	ix Phlya?	
284/3	I Isaios	6	X Eleusis	
283/2	O* Euthios	VII Cholargos	xi Phaleron?	
282/1	I* Nikias II	VIII Acharnai	xii Semachidai?	
281/0	O* Ourias	IX Aixone	1	
IX				
280/79	O Gorgias	x Eleusis	ii Koile?	
279/8	O Anaxikrates II	11 Trikorynthos?	3	
278/7	I Demokles	12	4	
277/6	O* Sosistratos II	1	V Probalinthos	
276/5	I* Philokrates II	II Melite	vi Oion?	
275/4	O* Olbios	III Euonymon	7	
274/3	O Euboulos II	4	8	
273/2	I* Glaukippos II	V Myrrhinous	9	
272/1	O* Lysitheides	vi Sounion	10	
271/0	I* Pytharatos	VII Kephale	XI Aphidna	
270/69	O* Philippides	8	XII Alopeke	
269/8	I	9	I Paiania	
268/7	O* Peithidemos	10	2	
267/6	I Menekles	XI Trikorynthos	III Anagyrous	
266/5	O* Nikias III	XII Alopeke	IV (Aigeis)	
265/4	O Diognetos	3	V Konthyle	
264/3	I Antipatros II	4	VI Sounion	
263/2	O* Arrheneides	5	VII Eiresidai	
262/1	O* Kleomachos	VI Kettos	VIII Lakiadai	
X				
261/0	O Philostratos?	7	IX Sypalettos	
260/59	O Antiphon II	8	X Peiraieus	
259/8	I* Thymochares	9	XI Rhamnous	
258/7	O Diogeiton	X Keiriadai	XII Eitea & Aigilia	
257/6	O Polystratos?	11	I Pergase	

	METONIC CYCLES	ARCHONS	DEMES OF SECRETARIES	DEMES OF PRIESTS
256/5	I*	Euboulos III	XII Alopeke	II Melite
255/4	O	Lykeas?	1	III Euonymon
254/3	I*	Alkibiades	ii Potamos	IV Ionidai
253/2	O*	. . . bios	iii Kephisia	V Oa
252/1	I*	Kallimedes II	IV Plotheia	VI Hekale
251/0	O*	Antimachos	V Myrrhinous	VII Eiresidai
250/49	O*	Thersilochos	VI Phrearrhoi	8
249/8	O*	Polyeuktos	VII Kephale	IX Phlya
248/7	I*	Hieron	VIII Oe	10
247/6	O*	Diomedon	iii Anagyrous	11
246/5	I	Philoneos II	4 Hyporeia?	12
245/4	O*	Theophemos I	5	1
244/3	I*	Kydenor	VI Eupyridai	II Xypete
243/2	O	Eurykleides	7	3
	XI			
242/1	O		8	4
241/0	I*	Lysiades II	9	5
240/39	O*	Athenodoros	X Hamaxanteia	6
239/8	I*	Lysias	XI Aphidna	7
238/7	O	Phanostratos II?	12	8
237/6	O	Kimon II	1	9
236/5	I*	Ekphantos	II Hippotomadai	10
235/4	O*	Lysanias III	III Euonymon	11
234/3	O*	Pheidostratos	iv Erchia	12
233/2	I		5	1
232/1	O	Jason?	6	2
231/0	(i)		7	3
230/29	(o)	Phanomachos?	8	4
229/8	O*	Heliodoros	IX Athmonon	5
228/7	I*	Leochares	X Oion	6
227/6	O*	Theophilos II	XI Aphidna	7
226/5	I*	Ergochares	XII Alopeke	8
225/4	O	Niketes II	1	9
224/3	O	Antiphilos	2	10
	XII			
223/2	O*	Kalli.	iii Kedoi	11

METONIC CYCLES	ARCHONS	DEMES OF SECRETARIES	DEMES OF PRIESTS
		Creation of tribe Ptolemais	
222/1	I* Archelaos	IV Ankyle	12/13 (Antiochis)
221/0	O* Thrasyphon	V Paiania	1
220/19	I Menekrates	6	2
219/8	O* Chairephon	VII Kydantidai	3
218/7	O* .all......	VIII Kephale	4
217/6	I Euandros II	9	5
216/5	O Hagnias	10	6
215/4	I* Diokles IV	XI Keiriadai	VII Oinoe
214/3	O* Euphiletos	XII Rhamnous	8
213/2	O Herakleitos I	13	9
212/1	I .	1	10
211/0	O Aischron	2	11
210/09	O Philinos?	3	12
209/8	I*	IV Erchia	13
208/7	O	5	1
207/6	I* Ankylos	6	2
206/5	O Kallistratos II	7	3
205/4	O Pantiades	8	4
XIII			
204/3	I* Apollodoros IV	IX Oe	5
203/2	O* Proxenides	X Aixone	6
202/1	O Euthykritos II?	11	7
		Dissolution of tribes Antigonis and Demetrias	
201/0	I* Isokrates	V Aigilia	1
		Creation of tribe Attalis	
200/199	O Nikophon?	6	2
199/8	(i)	7	3
198/7	(o)	8	4
197/6	O Dionysios I?	9	5
196/5	I* Charikles	X Rhamnous	6

WILLIAM BELL DINSMOOR

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY.

PLATE 63
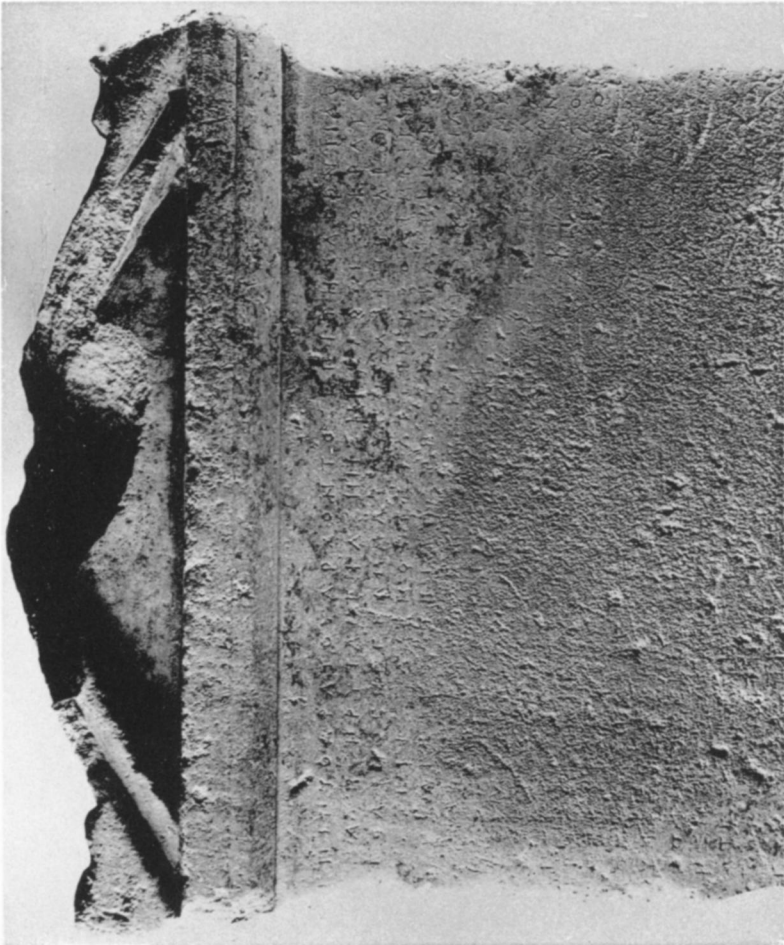
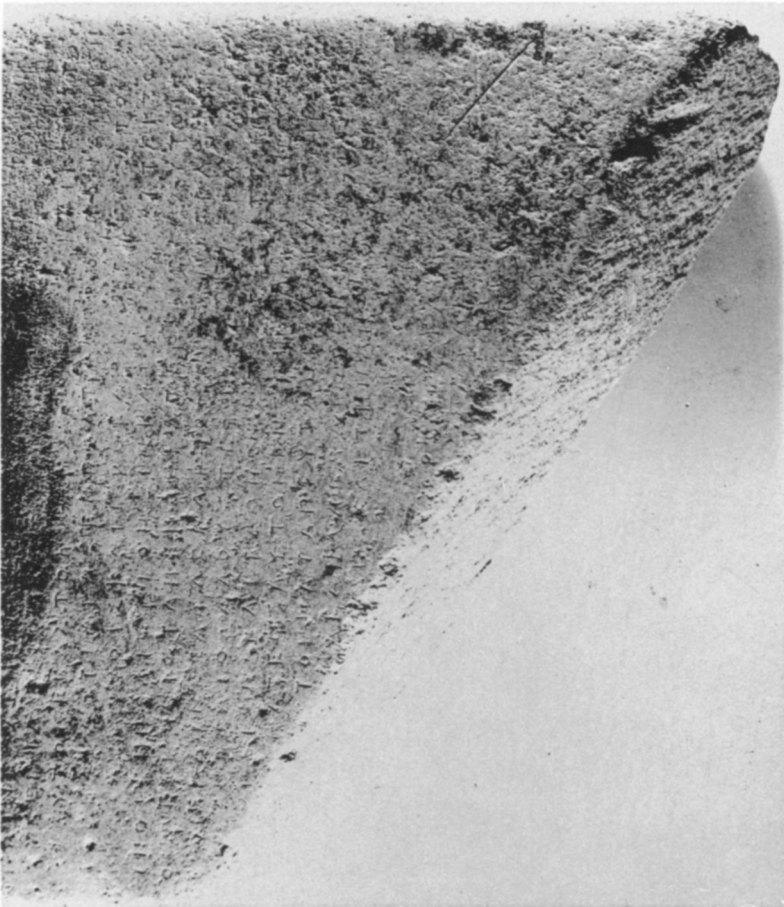WILLIAM B. DINSMOOR: THE ARCHONSHIP OF PYTHARATOS (271/0 B.C.)

PLATE 64
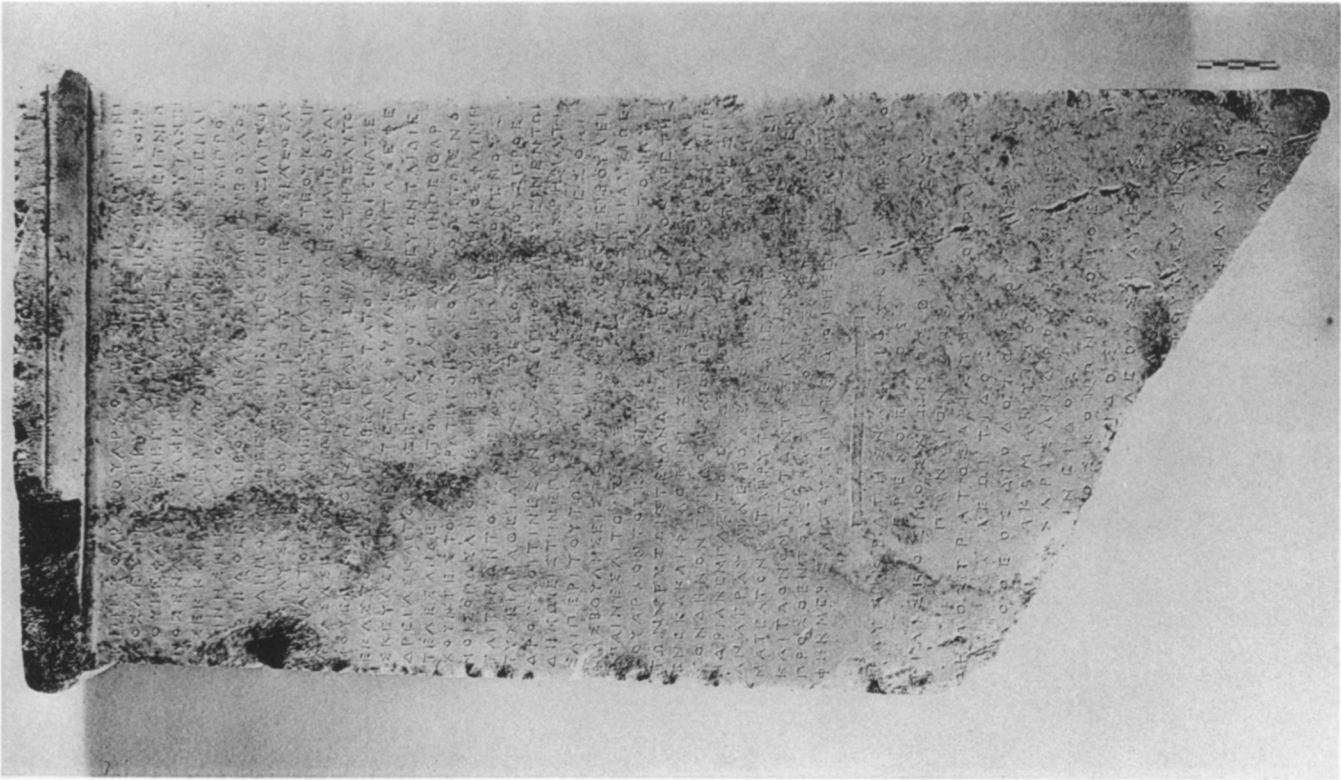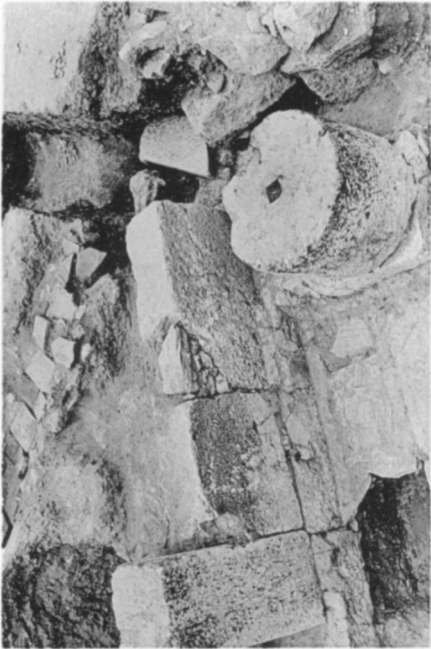

Detail of Bottom, Inv. No. I 6096

Detail of Top, Inv. No. I 6096

Northwest Corner of Southwest Fountain House (Inv. No. I 6096 serving as Drain Cover just beyond unfinished Doric Bottom Column Drum)

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