

# THE FIRST HALF OF A BOULEUTAI LIST OF THE FOURTH CENTURY B.C.

(PLATES 7–8)

IN the excavations at No. 7 Hadrian Street (*Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, pp. 291–293), an inscribed statue base of Hymettian marble was discovered built into a wall of a house of Byzantine times.<sup>1</sup> The base is preserved in a single piece, though several large cracks have begun to open across it. It is somewhat broken around the edges, particularly at the upper right part of the front face where some sizeable pieces are missing. The surface is more or less damaged at various points.

On the top of the base are cuttings for the feet of a bronze statue, a standing figure with the left foot slightly advanced and the toes turned outward.

The base (Pls. 7, 8) is inscribed on three sides, the left (A), the front (B), and the right (C). The back is roughly dressed and was evidently not meant to be seen. The inscription, which consists of a list of names arranged by phyle and deme, is laid out in columns, two columns for each phyle. On the left side are two columns which are carved on the right half of the face, the other half being left uninscribed. On the front and right sides there are four columns which cover the entire face. In each column the personal names are listed beneath the name of the deme to which they belong, and they are indented one letter space so that the deme name stands out clearly. At the head of each pair of columns is the name of the phyle written in letters twice the size of those used for the names and twice as widely spaced. The phylai are in the official order for the period before 306 B.C. Across the top of the front face in still larger letters a bit of the general heading is preserved. Only parts of the first two letters of this heading remain. It begins over the second column of the face, and, if placed symmetrically on the stone, must have contained approximately eight letters.

The dimensions of the base are: height, 0.49 m.; width, 0.50 m.; thickness, 0.52 m. The letters in the list are 0.005 m. high, those used for the phylai are 0.01 m. high. The height of the letters in the heading may have been about 0.015 m. The arrangement of the letters in the lists is generally stoichedon, but the letter *iota* usually, though not always, occupies rather less than a full letter space. The letters are generally deeply and clearly cut, making the inscription easy to read except where the surface is damaged.

<sup>1</sup> I wish to express my gratitude to John Meliades, ephor of the Acropolis, for permission to publish this inscription and to Eugene Vanderpool and Eva Brann, who have helped me in many ways in the preparation of the manuscript.

## SIDE A

## ΕΡΕΧΘΗΙΔΟΣ.

	Ε[ὺ]φ[ν]υμῆς	[Κ]ηφ[ισι]ῆς
	Ἄνυτος	[— — — —]
	[ . . . ]χάρης	Βλέπης
5	Ἰσώνυμος	Χαρίας
	Φίλλης	35 Στέφανος
	Ἀνθεμίων	Λεόντιος
	Ἰσῆγορος	Ἀντιφάτης
	Ὀμόφρων	Περγασῆς
10	Δημόστρατος	Ἀντίχαρμος
	Ἀντιφάτης	40 Νικόμαχος
	Μόσχος	Ἀριστοκράτης
	Ἐκ Κηδῶν	Ἐπιτέλης
	Πυθιάδης	Θημακειῆς
15	Ἰέρων	Ἀντίφιλος
	Ἀγρυλεῆς	45 Φηγοῦσιοι
	Λύσιππος	Μνησιφῶν
	Σώσιππος	Λαμπτρῆς
	Εὐθίδικος	Ἦγεμ[— —]
20	Τιμοκράτης	Ξεν[— —]
	Ἴππων	50 Λακρατ[— —]
	Παμβωτάδαι	Εὐθύμαχο[ς]
	Λυκῖνος	Ἀντοκράτης
	Ἀναγυράσιοι	Ὀψιος
25	Δόκιμος	Ἀριστοκλῆς
	Ἰσοκράτης	55 Διόδωρος
	Τείσανδρος	Ἀρχίας
	Δ[ημα]ίνετος	Πουλυδάμας
	Φι[ . . . ]ο[ς]	Λυσίθεος
30	Ἀρχ[ε]νός	Ἰσόνομος
		60 Ἀρχ[ι]κρ[άτης]
		Εὐδη[μ]ο[ς]

## SIDE B

vacat

Γ | [ - - - - - ]

[vacat]

[ΑΙΓΗ]ΙΔΟΣ

ΠΑΝΔ[ΙΟΝΙΔΟΣ]

65	[‘Αλαιή]ς [... <sup>6</sup> ...]ς [...] <sub>μαχος</sub> [Φιλόμ]ηλος [Χα]ιρ[ιδ]ημίδης [...] <sub>ινιππος</sub>	100	Ἐκ Κολωνοῦ Φίλιππος Ἀνθεμίων Ἑστιαῖς Σπίνθαρος Βατειῖς Λέων	135	Παιανίης Πολυνάρκης Φανοκλῆς Σωσθένης Δημοκλῆς Σωτάδης	170	[‘Ωαιή]ς Κι[ - - ] Νικο[ - - ] Δίων Ἀντίδοτ[ος] Κονθυλειή[ς]
70	[Διομε]ιῖς [...] <sub>ίθεος</sub> [Ἄρα]φήνιοι Εὐθυκλῆς Κλέων	105	Ἑρικειῖς Ἰασίμαχος Ὀτρυνῆς Ἀγάθαρχος	140	Βλεψίας Θρασυμήδης Φιλόδημος Θεόπομπος Δημάδης	175	Πρόξενος Μυρρινούσ[ιοι] Μεΐδων Δεινοκράτης
75	[Φη]γαίης Πυθόδωρος [Ἄ]ντισθένης [Π]ολυκράτης [Ἐκ] Μυρινούττης	110	Πλωθειῖς Ἀριστόδημος Ἐρχίης Νικίας Καλλίας	150	Χαρινάδης Θεόδωρος Κυδαθηναίης Πυθάρατος Θεοδωρίδης	180	Αἰσχυλίδης Καλλισθένης Θουφάνης Πρασιῖς Τίμανδρος
80	[Ν]εοπτόλεμος [Τει]θράσιοι [Πρ]οκλείδης [...] <sub>σις</sub> [...] <sub>ε[.]ος</sub>	115	Ἠγήτωρ Βάθυλλος Εὐθόινος Δίογνις vacat	150	Ἀριστόδημος Διόδωρος Δημήτριος Πασίας Ἰππεύς	185	Τιμοχάρης Χαρίας Στειριῖς Χαριδήμος Μυρτίλος
85	Εὐφ[ο]ρος [Ἄ]γκυ[λε]ιῖς Δίων Σώστ[ρα]τος [Ἰ]καριή[ς]	120	Γαργήττιοι Κτέων Προκλῆς Δρομοκλῆς Κλεόκριτος	155	Θεόφιλος Φιλόδημος Πυθέας Λεωκράτης Ἀριστογένης	190	Θεόπομπος Ἀγγελειῖς Εὐθυκράτης Ἑρμιππος Κυνήρριοι
90	Πειθ[ - - ] [...] <sub>ων</sub> [...] <sub>όθεος</sub> [... <sup>5</sup> ...]διππος [... <sup>6</sup> ...]λος	125	Ἰωγίδαί [...] <sub>ρξιμένης</sub> [Κυ]δαντίδαι [Κ]αλλιτέλης [Ξ]ενοκλῆς	160	Προβαλίσιοι Λεπτίας Χαρίσανδρος Πολυκλῆς Μειδοκράτης		Ἀρίσταρχος Διοκλῆς
95	[Κολλυτή]ς [...] <sub>οκλῆς</sub> [... <sup>7</sup> ...]ῆς	130	Φι[λα]ίδαί Πυθοκλῆς Ἀντικλῆς	165	Θεόφιλος		
97 bis	[... <sup>7</sup> ...]ς		Φανόστρατος				

## SIDE C

## [Λ Ε Ω Ν Τ] Ι Δ Ο Σ

## Α Κ Α Μ Α Ν Τ Ι Δ Ο Σ

195	[Σουνιῆ]ς [... <sup>5</sup> ...]αχος [... <sup>5</sup> ...]ράδης [....]λέης [....]ινος	Ἀλιμούσιοι Εὐβιόδημος Ἀθηνόδωρος Θεόγνητος	Θορίκιοι Διονύσιος Ἀριστοφάνης Μνησικράτης	Χολαργῆς Τιμοκλῆς Πρόξενος Τελεσαρχίδης
200	[Δειρ]αδιῶται [.]μίας [Ἀ]γαθωνίδης Ποτάμιοι Σωκλείδης	235 Χολλήιδαι Θεάγγελος Χαρίδημος Αἰθαλίδαι Νικόστρατος	300 Ἀγνόδημος Καλλιφάνης Κεφαλεῖς Ἴππαρχ<ί>δης Φιλιστίδης Ἱεροφῶν	Ἰφιστιάδαι Μολοττός Εἰτεαῖοι Κλεόβουλος
205	Φωκίων Διοπεΐθης Ἀριστοκλῆς Ἀντιφάνης Φρεάρριοι	240 Καλλίμαχος Παιονίδαι Λυσίστρατος Φιλέας Ὀνομακλῆς	275 Ἐργομέλης Ἀγάθαρχος Προκλῆς Φιλωνίδης Δημοτέλης	305 Δημοκλείδης Σφήττιοι Αὐτοκλείδης Θράσων Τιμοκλῆς
210	Ἀντιχάρης Δήμαρχος Ναυσίστρατος Ἀρχέστρατος Λύκων	245 Κολωνῆς Νικόστρατος Ἀριστοφῶν Ὑβάδαι Λάχης	280 Πόριοι Φιλοκράτης Ἰσχυρίας Στράτων	310 Φιλοκλῆς Εὐθυκράτης Ἀγνούσιοι Σπευσίας Ἰσανδρος
215	Φιλοκλῆς Ἀνδρομένης Κάλλαισχος [vacat] Σκαμβωνίδαι	250 Λυσανίας Εὐπυρίδαι Θεόδοτος Τιμοκλείδης Πήληκες	285 Καλλίας Θεόπομπος Εὐκτῆμων Μενέστρατος	315 Καλλίφημος Χαιρέδημος Λυσιμένης Προσπάλτιοι Ἱεροφῶν
220	Ἀρχέστρατος Καλλιάδης Ἀρχέστρατος Κήττιοι Μελανωπίδης	255 Φεΐδων Ὀνησίων Ἐξ Οἴου Χίονις Κρωπίδαι	290 Εὐκλέης Εἰρεσίδαι Καλλίας Ἑρμειοι	320 Ἐπι[.]άτης Τιμωνίδης Πολύευκτος Νικόστρατος Κικυννῆς
225	Σμίκυθος Δημόφιλος Λευκονοιῆς Λυσανδρίδης Ἀ>κεστορίδης	260 Δ[ί]πολις Ἐκαλειῆς Ἑμμενίδης	295 Εὐχειρίδης	325 Εὐφίλητος Καλλικράτης
230	Δα[μ]αῖς			

It is evident that we have on this base a list of bouleutai of the fourth century B.C. The phylai, which are arranged in the official order of the period prior to 306 B.C., are each represented by fifty men. In the cases of Aigeis and Leontis where only forty-nine names appear, a blank space has been left for the fiftieth. The names are distributed among the demes in the proportions familiar from other bouleutai or prytany lists of the fourth century.

A question arises, however, at the very start: why do we have only the first five phylai? We know of no other similar dedication, nor does it seem possible that a dedication could have been made by the "first half" of the boule. The boule was never divided in half in this manner, the order in which the phylai held the prytany being determined by lot.<sup>2</sup> Therefore, despite the fact that our base is a complete monument, there can be no doubt that it represents only one-half of the whole dedication and that there must have been another similar base standing near it with the names of the bouleutai of the last five phylai.

A second question cannot be answered so easily: what was the occasion for the dedication? The heading at the top of the front face (line 62) is almost entirely missing, and the few traces of letters do not admit of restoration. We can only say that the heading was very short and contained about eight letters.

ERECHTHEIS, lines 1-61. Fifty bouleutai are listed and their distribution among the demes is the same as that of the prytany decree of 367/6 B.C. published by Pritchett, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 235. In that list, however, the demes of Agryle and Lamptraia appear divided into their upper and lower halves, but the number of councillors for each deme as a whole is the same as here. The deme of Pergase appears divided in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1700 (335/4 B.C.). The only deme of Erechtheis that has been omitted is Sybridai which is listed with one representative in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1697 (first half of the fourth century B.C.) and in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 913 (about 200 B.C.); but these two lists, the first a fragmentary "bouleutai"<sup>3</sup> list and the second a complete list of the prytaneis of Erechtheis, differ considerably from our list in the number of representatives from each deme.

AIGEIS, lines 63-132. The total number of names, or traces of names, seen on the stone is 49. A blank space at the end of the names listed under the deme of Erchia (line 118) must have been reserved for the seventh representative, with whom the number of fifty councillors would be completed; this deme gives six councillors, too, in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1749 (341/0 B.C.), but here again the total number is 49. In this last inscription, which is the only other complete fourth-century list for Aigeis, two

<sup>2</sup> See C. Hignett, *A History of the Athenian Constitution*, Oxford, 1952, p. 237 and note 5 (cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 109b, lines 17-18).

<sup>3</sup> Which is certainly wrong; see below, note 5.

separate demes called Ankyle are mentioned, represented by three and one bouleutai respectively, whereas on our stone there are two bouleutai for this deme. In *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1747, there are likewise two bouleutai from Ankyle. On the other hand, this last inscription (dated *ca.* 350 B.C.) has two councillors from Ionidai as against one on our stone.<sup>4</sup> Another discrepancy is the omission from *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1749 (which is complete), and, perhaps, from *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1747 (which is not complete), of the deme Diomeia, which I have restored here in line 70 partly on the basis of the traces on the stone and partly to keep the number of bouleutai from Halai down to five, its usual number. Diomeia appears with a single representative (as here) in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1700, the bouleutic list of 335/4, which, as far as its portion concerning Aigeis is preserved (seven small demes), has no discrepancy at all from our list.<sup>5</sup>

PANDIONIS, lines 134-193. There are no problems concerning the representation of this phyle. In line 166 I restore Oaieis, since of the four demes not listed<sup>6</sup> this one occurs in both *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1740<sup>7</sup> and 1751 with four bouleutai, as here. This last inscription is the most nearly complete fourth-century list with bouleutai of Pandionis.<sup>8</sup> The single discrepancy between it and our inscription is in the number of Angeleeis, which is three there, as in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1740 and 1753 (dated end of the fourth century, but possibly not so late), instead of two here. In the last case this difference is counter-balanced by Kydathenaieis, who seem to have been eleven there as against twelve here.

LEONTIS, lines 194-262. The total number of names actually inscribed is 49, but there is a blank space for the fiftieth. Eight names were originally written under Phrearrioi,

<sup>4</sup> Now the suspicion of Kirchner, based on the evidence of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1747, that a name had been lost from *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1749, where one councillor is listed under Ionidai, seems groundless.

<sup>5</sup> I have not taken into account *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1697, a supposed bouleutai list, dated in the first half of the fourth century (too early a date, I think), because of the many and considerable differences from our list; thus no one of the four demes of Aigeis which are there wholly preserved has the same number of names as in our list; three of them have a greater number (Phegaieis six against three). On account of this considerably larger number this cannot be a list of *diaitetai*, either. I suggest the possibility of a casualty list, which would be one explanation for the non-occurrence of the names in later times despite the fact that in several instances their sons are met in documents of the second half of the fourth century B.C.; this exclusiveness is non-characteristic of the bouleutai list, because of the great span of age of the men who constituted the boule. If the loss were equally heavy for the other phylai too, the total would greatly exceed the number of five hundred; this indicates a very important battle (or war, if the list was referring to the activities of a whole year); the very fragmentary condition of the stone does not permit fruitful speculation as to the occasion.

<sup>6</sup> The others are Graeis, Kaletaeis, and Phegaieis.

<sup>7</sup> For the date (not before 388/7, as Kirchner believed) and the distribution of the demes in this inscription see A. W. Gomme, *The Population of Athens in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C.*, Oxford, 1933, p. 51, note 2.

<sup>8</sup> For a complete list of all the inscriptions set up by Pandionis see D. M. Lewis, *B.S.A.*, L, 1955, p. 22 where the last item must be corrected to *Hesperia*, XI (instead of X). Add now *Rev. Et. Gr.*, LXXIII, 1960, pp. 88-99 (northeast tower of Acropolis [= Belvedere?]).

but one was omitted by mistake; the last four names of this deme were therefore erased (lines 214-218) and rewritten with slightly less space between the lines so as to leave room for the ninth name in line 218. In the end, however, this ninth name was never actually written. The distribution of councillors is the same as in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1742,<sup>9</sup> except that there the Potamioi are divided into three groups whereas here they are all together. Since all the demes of Leontis are represented in our list, the restoration of Sounieis in line 195 is certain.

AKAMANTIS, lines 263-326. The list of this phyle is completely preserved except for slight damage in line 320. No other fourth-century document with the councillors of Akamantis is nearly so well preserved as this one. In *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1700 (335/4 B.C.) only a portion with three demes remains showing the same representation as here. Only two demes appear in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2397 + 2433 (combined and proved to be a bouleutai list by D. M. Lewis, *B.S.A.*, L, 1955, pp. 26-27).<sup>10</sup>

#### COMMENTARY <sup>11</sup>

Line 3. Probably the same as ἄνυτος [Ε]ὐώνυμ(εύς), trierarch in the year 323/2 B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1632, lines 224, 229-230, 237), certainly a descendant of his homonym, the accuser of Socrates, who is shown to have come from Euonymon (see below, line 7; cf. A. E. Raubitschek, *Dedications from the Athenian Akropolis*, Cambridge, Mass., 1949, p. 206).

Line 4. The restoration [Ἐπι]χάρης can be supported from *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1388, line 3, 1391, line 6, and 1392, line 4, and from the curse tablet published in *Sitzb. Akad. Berlin*, 1956, 3, p. 59, no. 205.

<sup>9</sup> Tentatively dated in 370/69 B.C. by B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, p. 151.

<sup>10</sup> There is one document, the fragmentary prytany list published by Sterling Dow in *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 30, no. 1, which shows considerable divergence from our list. The main difference consists in the number of Sphettioi, which is ten, twice that of our list. This difference can be reduced if we insert a demotic instead of a name in line 45 where no letters are preserved. This gives six names from Sphettos as against five on our list. But even after this improvement, which of course is only a guess and cannot be proved, there are other difficulties which cannot be overlooked. The difference in the number of representatives from Kephale (twelve against nine) is greater than normal and a disturbing factor. But the greatest difficulty arises from the arrangement of the list as a whole. It has only 58 lines instead of the 63 which would be required for a full register of 50 councillors and 13 demotics. Dow's explanations of this sub-normal representation seem to me not satisfactory. He suggests (*op. cit.*, pp. 28 and 34) that the year of the decree (327/6 B.C.) was a year of famine "when it seems that five small demes were unable to send bouleutai, and the larger demes made up the deficiency." But how can it be explained that the famine affected only the small demes? There is certainly an anomaly in this list, but no satisfactory explanation of it has been given as yet.

<sup>11</sup> On the probabilities of the proposed identifications see note p. 35.

Line 6. Φίλλης<sup>12</sup> sounds rather strange as a name; cf., however, Φίλλης, *Fouilles de Delphes*, III, 5, indices; F. Bechtel, *Historische Personennamen des Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit*, Halle, 1917, p. 453 and M. Mitsos, 'Αργολική Προσωπογραφία, Athens, 1952. See also *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 8377; *Inscriptions de Délos*, nos. 148-449 passim, (*Comptes des Hieropes*) and the "tableau synoptique" after no. 509 (archons, years 296, 275, 259, 204, and hieropes, years 297, 268). It is perhaps constructed from Φιλιάδης (cf. *Ath. Mitt.*, XXVII, 1902, p. 196).

Line 7. 'Ανθεμίων was the father's name of Anytos, the accuser of Socrates (Plato, *Menon*, 90a; Diodoros, XIII, 64, 6; Plutarch, *Alcibiades*, 4). As neither Anthemion nor Anytos is a very common name, it can be taken for granted that Anytos belonged to the deme of Euonymon and that both Anytos (line 3) and Athemion are among his descendants.

Line 9. The name 'Ομόφρων occurs for the first time in Attica.

Line 10. Identified perhaps with Δημόστρατος Λυσι[— —] Εὐωνυ(μεύς) on a *tessera iudiciaria* of the fourth century B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1874). See also *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1034, line 4, and 1759, line 36 (cf. *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 12, 52).

Line 11. Probably the same as 'Αντιφάτης 'Αντιφάνους Εὐωνυμεύς, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 6159; his father must then be the same as 'Αντιφάνης Εὐωνυμεύς, who was *epistates* of the *proedroi* in 337/6 B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 240, line 6). For another 'Αντιφάνης 'Αντιφ[άτους], perhaps the son of our Antiphates, see *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, p. 275, no. 130 (= *S.E.G.*, XIV, 232).

Line 14. The name Πυθιάδης occurs here for the first time on an inscription. Our Pythiades belongs certainly (Kedoi being one of the smallest demes in Attica) to the family of Πύθων Πυθοδώρου known from both *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1, line 57, and 6383, where the stemma of the family in *P.A.*, 12471, is rearranged; Pythiades must be put in the fourth generation of this stemma, on the same line with Πυθοκλής and Πυθόδωρος. For members of the same family in the third century B.C., see *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, no. 9, line 66 (for the date, 256/5 B.C., see *Chronology*, p. xxi) and *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 681, line 19 (249/8 B.C. according to W. B. Dinsmoor, *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, p. 315).

Line 18. The name Σώσιππος 'Αγρυλῆθεν occurs twice on a stele of the early fourth century B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 5294; A. Conze, *Attische Grabreliefs*, no. 708, pl. 38). As this monument appears to be earlier than our inscription, we cannot identify either of the men with our councillor who might, however, be the son of one of them.

Line 21. An 'Ιππων 'Αγρυλῆθεν is included in a list of *thiasotai* of the first half of the fourth century B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2345, line 78).

<sup>12</sup> [Φ]ίλλης, instead of [Κ]ίλλης, can now be restored and perhaps identified on a fragmentary list from the end of the fourth century B.C. Κίλλης is very rare and of later date (*Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 77, no. 11, line 6).



Line 29. Φι[λιν]ος seems to be the more plausible restoration; Φί[λαι]ος is also possible.

Line 31. [Κ]ηφ[ισι]ή[ς] is restored here with complete certainty, on account of the traces of letters (especially the φ) and because, apart from the small deme of Sybridai, no other deme of Erechtheis is missing from our list. This deme is known to have supplied also six councillors in 367/6 B.C. (*Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 235).

Line 33. Βλέπης is a name hitherto unknown; cf. Βλέπυς in *I.G.*, XII, 3, 776, 777 (Thera). Cf. also Βλεπαῖος in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1675, line 32, and in *Hesperia*, Suppl. IX, pp. 13-15, no. 26.

Line 34. Cf. *I.G.*, XII, 8, 101 (dated in the fourth century B.C. by Kirchner, *P.A.*, 160).

Line 36. By restoring the demotic Λεοντεὺς Ἀντικλείδου Κ[ηφισι(εὺς)] in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1590, line 16 (343/2 B.C.) we bring our Leontios into connection with Ἀντικλείδης Κηφισιεύς, trierarch in 356/5 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1612, line 36 and possibly, too, 1616, line 97) and perhaps councillor in the first half of the fourth century B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1697, line 2). If the construction holds good, then Leontios was the brother of Leonteus and son of Antikleides.

Line 37. Ἀντιφάτης Κηφισιεύς is certainly related to Ἀντιφάνης Κηφισιεύς (cf. line 11), of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1697, line 3 (thought to be a bouleutai list and dated in the first half of the fourth century B.C., but see what is said on the character of this inscription above, p. 35, note 5) and *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3105 (line 37), dated after 333 B.C. by J. Pouilloux, *La Forteresse de Rhamnounte*, Paris, 1954, pp. 111-112, no. 2 *bis* (cf. also here lines 49, 54, and 61). Our Antiphates belongs certainly to an intermediate generation between the two and thus the one Antiphates is not the son of the other, as Kirchner supposed.

Line 42. The full name of this man, Ἐπιτέλης Σωινόμου Περγασήθεν, is known from an Athenian decree of the year 329/8 B.C., found at the Amphiareion near Oropos, where he served as one of the commissioners of the festival (*I.G.*, VIII, 4254, lines 26-27; cf. D. M. Lewis, *B.S.A.*, L, 1955, pp. 34-35), together with Demades (here in line 144). There is no hint that he or any of them was a councillor at that time. We soon meet Epiteles at Delphi, as one of the *ναορῶν* in the year of Kaphis (327/6 B.C., according to La Coste-Messelière, *B.C.H.*, LXXIII, 1949, p. 236; for the inscription see *Fouilles de Delphes*, III, 5, 58, line 22 = Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>3</sup>, 252N, line 22). This same year he was rewarded with the honor of proxeny for his good services (*F. de D.*, III, 1, 408,<sup>13</sup> where again his full name and demotic are cited). From other

<sup>13</sup> For a new fragment of the inscription, see *B.C.H.*, LXXVIII, 1954, pp. 375-376, where its date has been corrected by G. Daux.

Delphic documents<sup>14</sup> we learn that he continued serving as *naopoios* for at least three years. In the late summer of 323/2 B.C. he proposed a decree at Athens (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 365). For his ancestors see *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 580; A. E. Raubitschek, *Dedications from the Athenian Akropolis*, no. 384; and *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 233, line 32. Cf. also *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 929, line 150 (for the date see *Athenian Tribute Lists*, III, p. 174); *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 943, line 4; *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 506 (corrected by Raubitschek, *op. cit.*, no. 90); *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 507 (= Raubitschek, *op. cit.*, no. 10).

Line 48. Two restorations are possible: 'Ηγέμ[αχος] and 'Ηγέμ[ων].

Line 49. This is probably the father of Ξενοφῶν Λαμπτ(ρεύς), one of the *lampade-phoroi* at Rhamnous (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3105, line 26). Cf. also *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 6685 and 6655, both of much later date.

Line 50. The only possible restorations are Λακράτ[ης] and Λακρατ[είδης].

Line 51. For descendants of this man see *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 6363 and *I.G.*, XII, 8, 51 (and *B.C.H.*, LXXX, 1956, p. 464, line 16).

Line 54. This man must be the grandfather of another 'Αριστοκλήης Λαν(πτρεύς), *lampadephoros* at Rhamnous (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3105, line 15; see line 37, above, and cf. lines 49 and 61).

Line 55. Diodoros' son is probably Δίων Διοδώρου Λαμπτρεύς, prytanis in the first half of the third century B.C. (*Hesperia*, Suppl. I, no. 9, line 28); cf. also *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 6708 (middle of the third century B.C.).

Line 56. Archias' son is probably the 'Αρχεδμήιδης 'Αρχίου Λαμπτρεύς of the fragmentary list, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 497-498, no. 13, line 12 = 499, no. 14.<sup>15</sup>

Line 57. The form Πουλδάμας occurs also on a dedicatory inscription of the middle of the fourth century B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4375), possibly, then, erected by the same man.

Line 61. Εὔδη[μ]ο[ς] seems the only possible restoration, the name Εὔδηλος being unknown in Attica (and known only from Pausanias, V, 21, 9); two men of this name are in a list of dedicants from Lamptrai (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2967, lines 4 and 5); one of the two can be fairly well identified with our councillor, the inscription being dated in the middle of the fourth century B.C.

Line 64. The restoration of the deme name ['Αλαιή]ς seems certain because of the

<sup>14</sup> *F. de D.*, III, 5, no. 20, lines 33 and 38, no. 61 IIB, line 25; cf. also no. 58, line 22 and no. 91, line 26; nos. 47B, line 11, and 60A, line 11, are restorations not entirely sure.

<sup>15</sup> I do not agree with Dow (*Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 43, no. 8) that the inscription must be dated between 280 and 230 B.C.; the similarity of the cutting with our stone and also with the list of *diatetai* *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1926 (325/4) points to an earlier date and I think that any year immediately after 307/6 B.C. cannot be excluded.

final *sigma* in the right place and on account of the number of the councillors, whose names follow: five, as in both *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1747 and 1749. The only other deme of Aigeis with five representatives is Ikaria, which appears below in line 89.

Line 67. [Φιλόμ]ηλος, the only Attic name in -ηλος having exactly the length required, is known from a decree of the year 285/4 B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 654; for the date see *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, p. 314) which was passed on the day that a Φιλόμηλος Φιλ[ομ]ήλου Ἀλαιεύς, probably our councillor's son, was *epistates* of the *proedroi* (cf. also *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 5523).

Line 70. I restore [Διομε]ιῆς, because this is the only one of the demes with a demotic ending in -εύς missing from the list of Aigeis. This deme appears also with one councillor in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1700 and 1749.

Line 71. The restoration of the rather unusual [Τιμασ]ίθεος (fitting well since the space requires a little more than four letters) is supported by *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 353, line 3.

Line 72. The reading [Ἀρα]φήνιοι is beyond doubt; this deme appears, with two representatives as here, in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1747 (*ca.* 350 B.C.) and 1740 (341/0), and with three representatives in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1697 (first half of the fourth century B.C.).

Line 74. The Araphenian family to which Κλέων belonged is known from the speech of Isaios, *On the Estate of Astyphilos* and from a number of fourth century inscriptions; the stemma of the family is established by Kirchner in *P.A.*, 8669 (but he does not mention the sister of Astyphilos; cf. Isaios, IX, 29); it is hard to tell if we can identify our councillor with Κλέων Θουδί[ππου Ἀρα]φήνιος, treasurer of Athena in the year 377/6 B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1411, 1412), since, by that time older than thirty, he must have been very old after *ca.* 340 B.C. Our Kleon should rather be his grandson, either the son of Θούδιππος, trierarch in 323/2 B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1631, lines 470, 592, 600, 679) or the son of Μυρωνίδης, prytanis in one of the years between 354 and 335 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1747, line 31, as dated by Raubitschek, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 306).

Line 76. The same as Πυθόδωρος Φηγαι[εύς] (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1632, lines 182 and 334).

Line 78. Probably the same as Πολυκράτης Πολυ[ε]ύκτου, known from *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1747 (line 18), a prytany list dated 354-335 (for the date see above, note on line 74). If the identification is correct, he is now serving a second time as councillor. This same man also proposed a decree in the year 349/8 B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 207 A, line 2).

Line 79. The spelling Μυρινοῦττα with one *rho* is exceptional.

Line 82. The restoration [Πρ]οκλείδης, which seems to be the only possible one, is confirmed by *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1749, line 58 of 341/0, when a Προκλείδης Προξενίδου Τειθράσιος was prytanis of Aigeis. If he is in fact the same man, he will have been councillor twice, this being his second term.

Line 84. [Θεός]ε[νος] is the most likely name which can be restored here.

Line 90. I restore Πείθ[ων], following *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2816, a dedication of Πείθων Σωσιγέ-  
*νους* and three other *pythaistai* coming undoubtedly from Ikaria (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2816; cf.  
also here, line 92). A. Boethius, *Die Pythais*, Uppsala, 1918, p. 27, has shown that  
these *pythaistai* were the children represented in a relief which he illustrates (plate  
facing p. 148, fig. 2 taken from *La Collection Baracco*, pl. 50); one of them was  
councillor in 341/0 B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1749, line 36) and he must have been born before  
*ca.* 370 B.C.

Line 91. [Δί]ων seems the more obvious restoration, but [Αἴ]ων, [Βί]ων, and [Χί]ων  
occur also in Attica.

Line 92. We may restore [Ἄγν]όθεος from the father's name of one of the *pythaistai*  
referred to above, line 90 (the son of an elder brother).

Line 93. [Ποσει]διππος seems the only probable restoration; the name is known from  
Ikaria in later times (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2445, line 4, middle of the second century B.C.).

Line 95. I restore [Κολλυτῆ]ς, which fits exactly the space available; this deme has  
also three representatives in both *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1747 and 1749.

Line 98. For the distinction between ἐκ Κολωνοῦ (from Kolonos of Aigeis) and  
Κολωνεύς or Κολωνῆθεν (from Kolone of Leontis) see the remarks of D. M. Lewis,  
*B.S.A.*, L, 1955, p. 12.

Line 106. The name Ἰασίμαχος was known before in Attica only from two mid-fifth  
century red-figured lekythoi (see J. D. Beazley, *Attic Red-Figure Vase Painters*,  
Oxford, 1942, p. 927).

Line 113. Ἐγέρτιος Καλλίου Ἐρχιεύς, of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 6105 (Conze, *op. cit.*, no. 1557,  
pl. 326), dated 360-350 B.C.<sup>16</sup> was perhaps Kallias' father, though we must not forget  
that Kallias is one of the commonest Attic names. Our Kallias is perhaps the same as  
the trierarch of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1622, line 626, serving in 359/8 B.C. (cf. lines 574-575).  
Probably of the same family are the persons appearing in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 6121, 6122, and  
6123. Cf. Isaïos, XII, 6 and 12 (*Pro Euphiletō*, delivered in 344/3 B.C.).

Line 115. In all probability it was Bathyllos' father, Βράχυλλος Βαθύλλου Ἐρχιεύς,  
who proposed a decree in 342 B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 223 C, line 10) and another later, *ca.*  
330 B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 408, line 5).

Line 118. A blank space has been left for the seventh councillor from Erchia, whose  
name, however, was never inscribed. Erchia is represented by six councillors in *I.G.*,

<sup>16</sup> H. Möbius, *Die Ornamenten der griechischen Grabstelen*, Berlin, 1929, p. 89 dates it  
340-317 B.C.; but I prefer the earlier date accepted by Kirchner in the *Corpus*.

II<sup>2</sup>, 1749 of 341/0 B.C. (No other fourth century list concerning Erchia is preserved). Line 120. The same as [Κτέω]ν [Μ]ίκωνος [Γ]αργήτιος (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 5936; Conze, *op. cit.*, no. 1322).

Lines 121, 122. The ending -έης, instead of the usual contracted form in -ῆς occurs rather frequently in our list; there are seven instances of it (lines 121, 122, 128, 136, 198, 277, and 290) and twelve of the contracted form (lines 73, 96, 130, 138, 163, 193, 207, 215, 244, 297, 309, and 310).

A. Wilhelm (*Jahreshefte*, VII, 1904, p. 116) remarks that this form is not to be found later than the fourth century B.C. (more precisely not after the time of Demetrios of Phaleron) and therefore does not occur down to the third century B.C. as K. Meisterhans, *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*<sup>8</sup>, 1900, p. 132, note 1177, misled by inaccurate dating of some inscriptions, wrongly asserts.

We can identify Δρομοκλέης with Δρομο[ — — Γα]ργήτιος of a fragmentary decree (*Ath. Mitt.*, LXVI, 1941, p. 236, lines 6-7) and restore Δρομο[κλέης] instead of Δρομο[κλείδης]; this decree is dated roughly in the second half of the fourth century B.C. (*ibid.*, p. 235) and, owing to the rarity of the name, the identification here proposed is highly probable.<sup>17</sup>

Line 125. [Ἐ]ρξιμένης occurs only in a casualty list of *ca.* 460 B.C. (*I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 929, line 125; for the date see *A.T.L.*, III, p. 174).

Line 127. This man is probably the same as Καλλιτέλης [ — — ]ους Κυδαν[τίδης], who was praised in the year 337/6 B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 343) and who served as *diaitetes* twelve years later (325/4 B.C.: *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1926, line 28; cf. here, lines 281 and 323).

The chances of our Kalliteles being one of the contributors to a dedication of the *boule* to Amphiaraios in 328/7 B.C. are equal to those of Καλλιτέλ[ης Ἐρριάδης], since he, too, was *diaitetes* in 325/4 B.C. (cf. Lewis, *B.S.A.*, L, 1955, p. 35) and, in addition, by the existence of a decree (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 243) honoring him, seems to be a more important personality. On the other hand the fact that another of our councillors (Demades, line 144) and possibly still another (see line 326) appear in this list of contributors gives some support to the candidature of our man.

Line 128. Ξενοκλήης Κυδαντίδης appears on a curse tablet (*Sitzb. Akad. Berlin*, 1954, p. 1023, no. 1A 69).

Line 130. This name suggests the restoration [Πυθ]οκλῆς Φι[λαίδες] in *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 37 (the demotic has been already restored by Hiller; for the date of this fragment see Meritt, *Hesperia*, XIII, 1944, pp. 224-226).

Line 132. The same Φανόστρατος Φιλαίδης served also as councillor in 333/2 B.C., and he was *proedros* on the day the decree *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 337 was passed (lines 29-30); but

<sup>17</sup> Equally arbitrary is the restoration Δρομοκλε[ίδο] made by Kirchner in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1370, line 7.

this did not happen during his term commemorated by our dedication, since in the same inscription (lines 5-6) we find that on another day of this year a certain Theophilos Phegousios held the same office and he does not figure among the Phegousioi of our list. See also *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 338, which offers similar negative evidence.

Line 135. Πολυάρκης Παιανιεύς, who served as councillor at the beginning of the fourth century B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1740, line 37), is in all probability our councillor's grandfather, if the dating of the inscription before 388/7 is right (but see A. W. Gomme, *The Population of Athens*, p. 51, note 2).

Line 140. Βλεφίας is a name which occurs here for the first time in an inscription; cf. Pindar, *Olympian Odes*, VIII, 75.

Line 141. See *I.G.*, XII, 8, 47, line 16.

Line 142. Φιλόδημος Παιανιεύς may be the grandson of Aischines' father-in-law, who sponsored Demosthenes when he was enrolled as an Athenian citizen (Aischines, II, 150; Demosthenes, XVIII, 312; see also P. W., *R.E.*, XIX, col. 2444). [Φι]λόδημος [Δη]μοκύδου on a grave stele from Liopesi (the site of ancient Paiania) is identified with him by D. M. Robinson, *A.J.A.*, LI, 1947, p. 367. See also Πολέμων, VI, 1956/7, pp. μέ f., no. 15, fig. 20.

Line 143. Α Θεόπομπος Παιανιεύς is also mentioned in the sepulchral inscription *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 7054, of unknown date.

Line 144. Δημάδης Παιανιεύς is, in all probability, to be identified as the well-known orator; his career can afford at least some negative evidence for the date of this dedication. We do not know much about his activity before 338/7, when he was taken prisoner at the battle of Chaironeia. He was liberated by Philip in order to arrange the peace with Athens (cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 236); he could not have been a councillor this year, since councillors were exempted from military service (Lykourgos, *In Leocratem*, 37). We also know that he was not a councillor in the year 328/7, when he is mentioned after the councillors, among the other citizens who participated in an offering to Amphiaraios (Ἀρχ. Ἐφ., 1917, p. 41, α line 20). The previous year (329/8) he was one of the ten commissioners for the festival at the same sanctuary, with another of our councillors, Epiteles of line 42 (*I.G.*, VII, 4254).

We cannot fix the year when he was sent as a member of the Pythais to Delphi (*F. de D.*, III, 1, 511) and apparently on this occasion (see Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>3</sup>, note on 297 A)<sup>18</sup> he was awarded proxeny by Delphi (cf. also *B.C.H.*, LXVIII, 1934, pp. 168-172). As Lewis has rightly remarked (*B.S.A.*, L, 1955, p. 34) these three boards are interrelated by the presence of a number of persons in all three of them

<sup>18</sup> But his restoration with the resulting chronology is arbitrary; see below and cf. the commentary on line 42.

and the events which led to their creation must also be closely related in time (the last years of Lykourgos' prominence at Athens); Lewis is willing to take 326/5 as the year of the Pythais; but the evidence is not conclusive and such a dating breaks the connection of the corresponding events. If we draw up a list of the persons who participated in more than one of these manifestations we obtain the following table:

	<i>F. de D.</i> , III, 1, 511 Pythais (Delphi)	<i>I.G.</i> , VII, 4254 Amph. Games (329/8)	' <i>Αρχ.</i> , ' <i>Εφ.</i> , 1917, p. 41 Dedication (328/7)
Phanodemos	v	v	v
Demades	v	v	v
Lykourgos	v	v	—
Nikeratos	v	v	—
Kephisophon	—	v	v

It is thus evident that the board of the *agonothetai* at the Amphiareia constitutes the backbone of the common elements in all three committees, sharing five names with the two other boards together, which, in their turn, share only two with one another, both of them present in all three boards. Thus the Pythais is nearer to the festival at Oropos and more remote from the dedication of the boule. I do not think, as Lewis does, that 329/8 is "nearly impossible," but as this special Pythais (as he also suggests) seems to be associated with the dedication of the new temple at Delphi, which probably was in a Pythian year, 330/29 comes into account with the strongest evidence.

During the years 324-322, as a result of the Harpalos affair, Demades is said to have lost his political rights (Plutarch, *Demosthenes*, 31; *Phocion*, 26, 2-4 and 30; Diodoros, XVIII, 48).<sup>19</sup>

Line 150. 'Αριστόδημος Κυδαθηναίεύς, one of the most fervent disciples of Socrates (Plato, *Symposium*, 173 and *passim*), was probably an ancestor of this man, possibly his grandfather.

Line 152. This man is perhaps related to, if not identified with, the [Δημή]τριος

<sup>19</sup> For the epigraphical evidence concerning Demades see the article of A. N. Oikonomides in *Πλάτων*, VIII, 1956, pp. 105-129. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 400 must be omitted from the list of the decrees proposed by him (no. 16 of this list, p. 106; see also pp. 119-120) and put at the end, under Demades the Younger (p. 128), since it is now dated in the beginning of the third century B.C. (See W. B. Dinsmoor, *The Archons of Athens*, p. 28). For the literary sources concerning Demades see V. de Falco, *Demade Oratore: Testimonianze e Frammenti*<sup>2</sup>, Naples, 1954, which offers very poor biographical data. Cf. also M. N. Tod, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, II, Oxford, 1948, p. 238, no. 181).

Δημοστράτου Κυδαθηναίους of a catalogue dated *ca.* 400-350 B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2370, line 7).

Line 155. For other members of the same family see *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2370, line 3, and *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 665, line 47 (for the date, 267/6 B.C., cf. *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, p. 314).

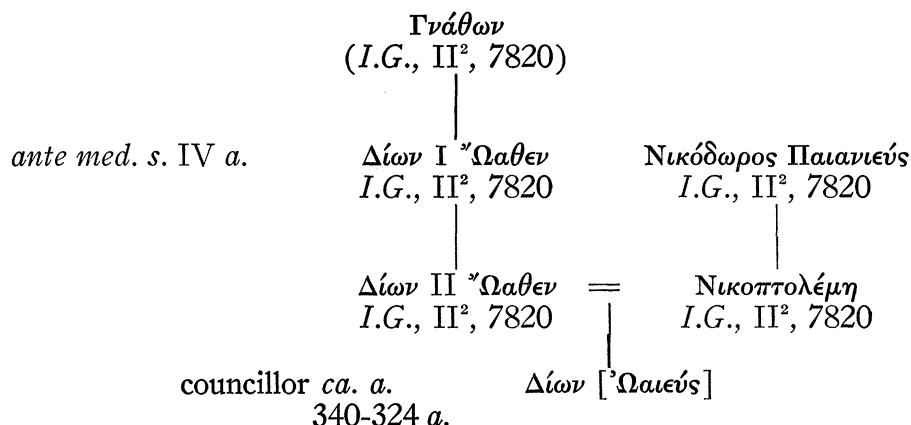
Line 157. An Ἀντιφῶν Πυθέου from Kydathenaion, the son or the father (or just a relation?) of our Pytheas, is to be found in a prytany list of the second half of the fourth century B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1751, line 48). An uncle of this last, according to Kirchner, but evidently rather a cousin, must be Ἀντιφῶν Ἀρχίου, curator of the dockyards in 349/8 B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1620, line 48).

Line 163. Πολυκλῆς is related to Πουλυτίων Πολυκλέους, councillor in the year 335/4 B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1700, lines 60-61). It is hard to tell whether he is the father or a son (for a similar case see the note on line 247).

Line 164. The name Μειδοκράτης occurs for the first time, but several other composites with Μειδο- are known in Attica; cf. here, line 174 (Μείδων).

Line 166. The restoration [Ῥαιῆς] is based on the fact that, of the three demes of Pandionis which do not appear on the stone, this is the only one which supplies four councillors, according to the existing epigraphical evidence (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1740<sup>20</sup> and 1751, of the second half of the fourth century B.C.).

Line 169. For the immediate ancestors of this man, probably his father and grandfather,<sup>21</sup> see *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 7820 (Conze, *op. cit.*, no. 1138, pl. 241). On the monument the wife of the younger Dion, consequently our councillor's mother, is commemorated and we can here with some certainty establish the family's stemma.



<sup>20</sup> For the date, before 388/7 B.C. according to Kirchner, see above, commentary on line 135.

<sup>21</sup> Dion himself is apparently the child represented between the two men on the relief; cf. Kirchner's argument.



Unfortunately we cannot fix the date of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 7822, and so we cannot tell whether Ἡράκλεια Δίωνος Οἰαθεν γυνή could be our Dion's wife; the name Herakleia sounds late, but it is met from the fourth century B.C. on (see *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 11594).

Line 176. The date of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 6900 is not well known and thus we cannot be sure of the relationship or, possibly, of the identity of our councillor with Νίκανδρος Θεογένους Μυρρινούσιος.

Line 177. Probably the same as Αἰσχυλίδης Ἀριστάρχου, councillor in another year in the second half of the fourth century B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1751, line 29).

Line 178. See *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1152, lines 4-6 (but the restoration of the demotic is not entirely certain).

Line 183. The last two letters of the name Χαρίας have been cut in a *rasura*; it seems that the stonecutter had written at first another, longer, name beginning also with Χαρι- (Χαρίδημος, I think) which was to be cut just two lines below, first among the representatives of Steiria, the deme inscribed immediately after Charias' name.

Line 195. The restoration [Σουνιή]s is not only absolutely certain but also necessary, since this is the only deme of Leontis not appearing in this list; it supplies the same number of bouleutai as in both *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1742 and 1752 (first and second half of the fourth century B.C. respectively), being the only deme of this phyle represented by four councillors.

Line 196. We may restore [Φανόμ]αχος from *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 7429/30 (end of the fourth century B.C.) and *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 7449 (341/0 B.C.).

Line 197. [Κλεοφ]ράδης seems the only possible restoration; the name occurs once in Attica, restored with certainty from [...]οφράδης: *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 381, lines 2-3 = *S.E.G.*, X, 111; cf. *Sitzb. Akad. Wien*, 217, Abh. 5, p. 39.

Line 198. [Προκ]λέης seems the more probable restoration; the name is quite common in Attica and a Προκλῆς Σουνιεύς was demarchos in 329/8 B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1672, line 273); see also *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2434, line 6; *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 58, no. 16, line 11; *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 113, no. 28, line 8; and *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 417, line 16<sup>22</sup> (dated ca. 330 B.C.).

Line 199. [Εὔθο]ινος, a rather common name in Attica, seems the more plausible restoration; of other names, only [Ἐρασ]ίνος occurs (rarely) in Attica.

Line 201. [Δα]μίας, which occurs in line 230, is a possible restoration, as well as [Σα]μίας and [Σι]μίας.

<sup>22</sup> Whence it has been safely restored in *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 153, no. 3, line 37 (cf. here, line 196) = *Hesperia*, X, p. 288, no. 78, line 33.

Line 210. An Ἀντιχάρης Φιλίωνος was prytanis in the first half of the fourth century B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1942, lines 45-46; possibly of 370/69 B.C.); we cannot tell whether our councillor is the same as this man or his grandson or even his son.

Line 211. Διεύ[χη]ς Δη[μ]ά[ρ]χου Φρ[εάρρι]ος, secretary in 348 B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 206, 207A, 208, and 209) and *diatetes* in 330/29 B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2409,<sup>23</sup> lines 50-51), was probably Demarchos' father (but, as always, possibly an uncle, since we do not know his father's name).

If this is true, then the earliest possible date for his son serving as a councillor would be *ca.* 340 B.C.<sup>24</sup> (see also lines 294 and 367); if Lewis is right in lowering the date of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4359, then Ἐπεύχη[ς] Διεύχος and Διάκριτος Διεύχος are Demarchos' younger brothers (or possibly cousins; see above).

Line 213. Two men from Phrearrioi bearing the name Ἀρχέστρατος are known: the one, active at the end of the fifth century B.C., died perhaps in 406 B.C. (Lysias, XXI, 8; see *P.A.*, 2430); the second was among the heirs of Plato (according to Diogenes Laertios, III, 41) who died in 348/7 B.C.; he may, then, be the same as our councillor or one of his nearest relations.<sup>25</sup>

Line 214. This man is to be identified with Δύκων Θεοσίου Φρεάρριος, a polemarch praised in a decree of the klerouchs of Lemnos dated between 318 and 307 B.C. (*I.G.*, XII, 8, 47, lines 7 and 14; *B.C.H.*, VII, 1883, p. 154). Cf. also line 141.

Lines 214-218. Four names were originally written in this space; they were erased and rewritten with slightly closer spacing to allow a fifth to be added. This was never done, and so line 218 remains blank. Together with the name that was to have been written in line 218 we count nine councillors from Phrearrioi, which is the same number as in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1742 and gives fifty councillors for Leontis.

Line 215. I cannot tell whether this man is the same as the Φιλοκλήης Φρεάρριος of a Samian inscription dated 346/5 (C. Curtius, *Inschriften und Studien zur Geschichte von Samos*, Luebeck, 1877, p. 10, no. 6, line 3; Ch. Michel, *Recueil d'Inscriptions Grecques*, Brussels, 1900, no. 832), serving then as a treasurer of Athena, and, being a klerouch, a regular resident at the island. He belongs perhaps to the family of Themistokles.

<sup>23</sup> Proved to be a list of *diatetai* by D. M. Lewis, who combined it with *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1924; see *B.S.A.*, L, 1955, pp. 25, 32-33.

<sup>24</sup> There can be no doubt that all who were sixty years old (fifty-nine by modern reckoning) served for one year as *diatetai*, as is expressly stated by Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, 53, except those who held another office or were not in Athens. Cf. Lewis, *op. cit.*, pp. 64-65 and P. Roussel, *Rev. Arch.*, XVIII, 1941, p. 219.

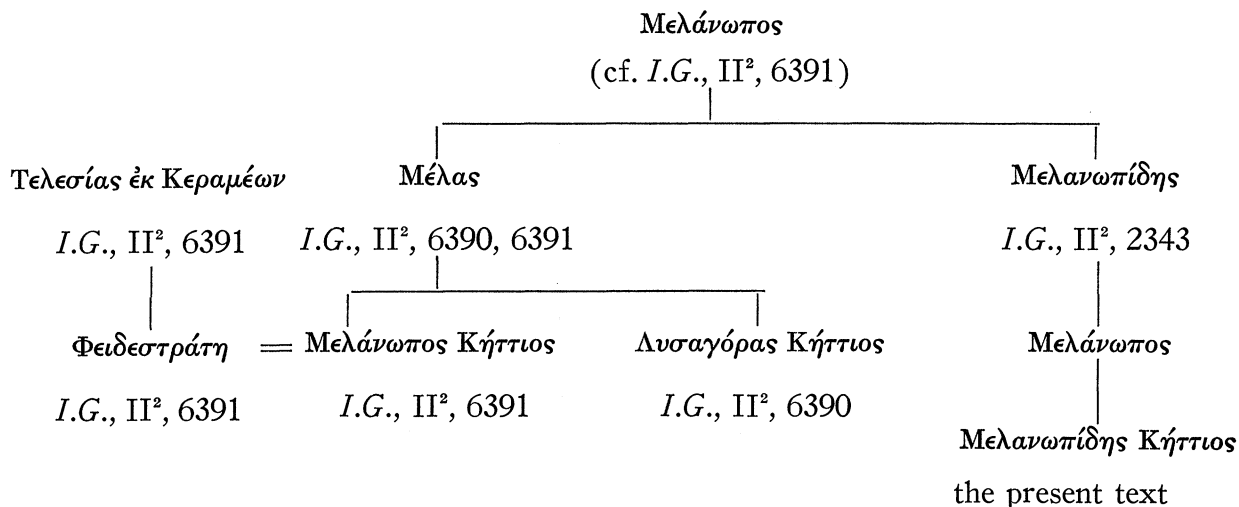
<sup>25</sup> [Ἀρχέσ]τρατος is now a tempting restoration in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1742, line 59 (possibly 370/69; cf. *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, p. 151).

Line 217. For a possible ancestor of this man, perhaps his grandfather, see *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 847 *b* = *S.E.G.*, III, 49; cf. *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, p. 3, no. S2, line 8.

Lines 220 and 222. The appearance of the same name twice in one small deme is not unparalleled (cf. line 323) and can be explained in more than one way.<sup>26</sup> Related to this family must be the Ἀρχεστράτη Σωστράτου of a funeral inscription of the fourth century B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 7731). The name Sostratos brings them also into connection with Φιλοκράτης Σωστράτου Φρεάρριος, *daitetes* in 329/8 B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1925, line 5), identified by Peek with one of the *lochagoi* of an ephebic inscription from Rhamnous or Sounion (*Ath. Mitt.*, LXVII, 1942, p. 21, no. 24, line 8).

Line 221. Cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 7404; Conze, *op. cit.*, 1460, pl. 302.

Line 224. In the light of the evidence obtained from our list, it is possible to restore Μελανωπ[ίδης] instead of Μελάνωπ[ος] in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2434, line 18, a prytany list of the middle of the third century B.C., republished in *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 58, no. 16 (line 28) and in *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 113, no. 122 (line 25), in each case with the addition of a new fragment. The name Μελανωπίδης also appears (written twice) in a catalogue of *thiasotai* of the fourth century (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2343). See also *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 6391 (and cf. 6390, of his brother very probably). If all those datings prove right, we can tentatively build the following stemma:



Line 225. Σμίκυθος Ξενοκλέους Κήττιος, probably a grandson of our councillor, was ephebe in the year 324/3 B.C. (Ἀρχ. Ἐφ., 1918, p. 75, line 38).

<sup>26</sup> Cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1926, lines 76-77 and comments, and J. W. Headlam-Morley, *Election by Lot at Athens*, 2nd edition, revised by D. C. Macgregor, Cambridge, 1933, p. 56 (4). For the danger of identifications based only on name and demotic cf. *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, p. 277, and *B.S.A.*, L, 1955, p. 29.

Line 229. *Κεστορίδης* is incised on the stone; the name sounds strange and is so close to *Ἀκεστορίδης* that we may assume an error of the stonecutter (cf. line 271).

Line 230. *Δα[μ]ίας* occurs for the first time in Attica (but see line 201).

Line 232. The name *Εὐβιόδημος* appears for the first time in Greek prosopography; but its formation is easily understood: *Εὐβιος* is not an unusual name; cf. also *Βιόδαμος* on Lakonian inscriptions (*I.G.*, V, part I, 93, line 18, and 1127).

Line 236. *Θεάγγελος Χολλήιδης* is apparently related to *[Ε]ὐάν[γελ]ος Θεανγέλου Χολλ[είδης]* in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1556, line 33, republished with the addition of a new fragment (and combined with *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1554, 1555, 1557, 1558, and 1559) by D. M. Lewis, *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, pp. 208-238 (221, line 8) who dates it *ca.* 320 B.C.

Line 243. This man is probably the same as *Φιλέας Ἀντιγένου Παιονίδης* of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 348 (331/0 B.C.), where his patronymic and demotic have been restored from *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 410, a decree dated *ca.* 330.

Line 245. For *Κολωνῆς* see the note on line 98.

Line 247. *Ἀριστοφῶν* is related to *Εὐμηλος Ἀριστοφώντος Κολωνεύς*, councillor in the year 335/4 B.C., (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1700, lines 90-91 = *Ath. Mitt.*, XXIX, 1904, p. 244). It is hard to tell whether he is the father or a son (for a similar case see the note on line 163).

Line 255. This man's father was probably *Ἱεροκλείδης* *Φείδωνος Πήληξ*, prytanis of Leontis in the first half of the fourth century B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1742, lines 77-78<sup>27</sup>). His son served as an ephebe in 324/3 B.C. (*Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1918, p. 75, line 33); thus we know four generations, as the following stemma will illustrate:

<i>fin. s. V / init. s. IV</i>	<i>Φείδων</i> <i>I.G.</i> , II <sup>2</sup> , 1742, line 78
<i>ante med. s. IV</i>	<i>Ἱεροκλείδης</i> [s] <i>I.G.</i> , II <sup>2</sup> , 1742, line 77
councillor <i>ca. a.</i> 340-324 <i>a.</i>	<i>Φείδων</i> our present text
ephebe <i>a.</i> 324/3 <i>a.</i>	<i>Ἱεροκλῆς</i> <i>Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.</i> , 1918, p. 75, line 33

Line 256. The name *Ὀνησίων* occurs for the first time in Attica (but *Ὀνήσιμος* and *Ὀνήσιππος* are known).

<sup>27</sup> Tentatively dated 370/69 B.C.; see note 25.

Line 260. Δ[ί]πολις, despite its regular construction and the great number of names which have as their second component -πόλις<sup>28</sup> appears for the first time as a personal name. The word was used as an epithet of place-names, especially of islands having two towns (see Strabo, III, 4, 8 and XIV, 2, 15 and *Et. Mag.*).

Line 265. A Διονύ[σ]ιος Καλλιάρχου [Θορίκ]ιος is met with on a fragmentary inscription in the Agora, which was recognized by G. A. Stamires as part of a prytany list (*Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, p. 236, no. 95, line 10).

Line 269. Καλλιφάνης is probably the same as Καλλιφάνης Λυσανίου Θορίκιος of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 6226, dated in the second half of the fourth century B.C.; for his position in Lysanias' family see the stemma at *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 6217.

Line 271. The second *iota* of Ἱππαρχίδης was omitted by the engraver. This is his only obvious error (but see also line 229). Hipparchides is probably the same as Ἱππαρχίδης Καλλίππου Κεφαλῆθεν mentioned twice in a list dated *ca.* 330 B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1561, lines 24 and 28-29).

Line 273. Hierophon is probably the same as Ἱεροφῶν Κεφαλῆθεν of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 6358; Conze, *op. cit.*, no. 1060, pl. 215. (Cf. also *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 6357; Conze, *op. cit.*, no. 1326, pl. 280).

Lines 274, 275. The names Ἐπαγρος and Ἐργομέλης, both of quite normal formation, occur here for the first time in Greek prosopography, so far as I have been able to discover. The word ἔπαγρος (meaning "in quest of prey") occurs in Aristotle (*Hist. Anim.*, 616b, 34). Cf. also the name Εὔαγρος (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 7314, of the first half of the fourth century B.C.).

Line 281. This man is very probably the same as Φιλοκράτης Πόριος, who was trierarch *ca.* 342/1 B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1632, line 238). From this inscription Φιλοκ[ράτης] Πόριος has been restored in the *diatetai* list of the year 325/4 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1926, line 86), where two more names occur which can be attributed to persons included in our catalogue (see lines 127 and 323). This gives another year which must surely be eliminated from the possible dates of our dedication.<sup>29</sup>

Line 285. This man's father, or perhaps another member of the same family, is Διόφαντος Καλλίου ἐκ Κεραμέων of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4385.

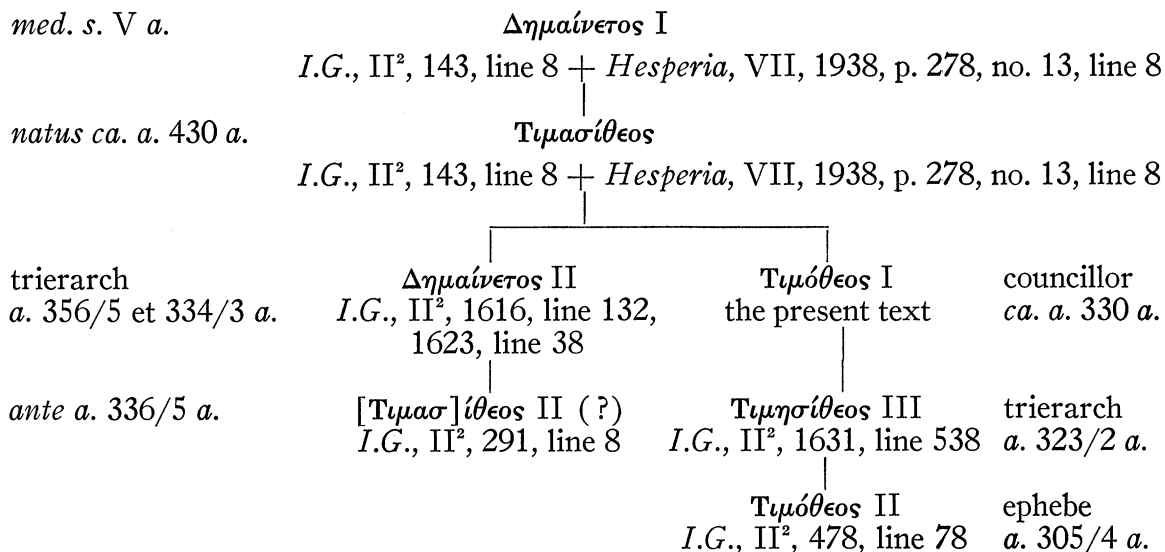
Line 286. This man is possibly the same as [Θε]όπομ[πος ἐκ] Κερα[μέ]ων of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2410, line 21.

<sup>28</sup> Fr. Bechtel (*Historische Personennamen*, pp. 375-376) has a list of forty-seven such names.

<sup>29</sup> In *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, p. 217, no. 7, we may venture to restore [Φιλοκράτης] Φιλάδου Π[όριος] on account of the patronymic and the length required; if the restoration, as well as the dating of the inscription in the middle of the fourth century B.C., prove right, we have here not our councillor himself but rather his grandfather.

Line 288. *Μενέστρατος* is perhaps a member of the family known from *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 6313 (see also W. Peek, *Ath. Mitt.*, LXVII, 1942, p. 212, no. 3; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 6333 is possibly also related).

Line 289. With the new evidence brought by our inscription and a re-examination of the older data, the stemma of the family to which *Τιμόθεος* belonged, as given in *P.A.*, 3273, may be rearranged as follows:



It seems that there was a fluctuation of spelling between *Τιμασίθεος* and *Τιμησίθεος*. I have retained the restoration [*Τιμασ*] *ίθεος* of the *Corpus* for the practical purpose of making a distinction between the two cousins, since *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 291 seems considerably earlier than *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1631, a difference in time which accords with the activities of Demainetos on the one hand and those of Timotheos I on the other.<sup>30</sup>

Line 294. The stele of an *Εὐάγγελος Θεοφίλου Ἑρμείου* and his wife (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 6077; Conze, *op. cit.*, no. 661, pl. 120) is, very probably, the funeral monument of this man. If this identification is correct, we also know his father, *Θεόφιλος Εὐα[ργέλο] Ἑρ[μείου]* (*Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 4, no. 2, lines 9-11). If, as Raubitschek thinks, Theophilos was married soon after the year this dedication was made (*Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 308), then his son Euangelos could not have been born before *ca. 370* and so could not be at an age to be elected councillor before *ca. 340* B.C. For descendants, see *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 787 c, line 12, and 6078.

<sup>30</sup> Kirchner in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1966, line 2, rejects the restoration proposed by Sundwall, *Epigraphische Beiträge*, 1906, p. 46: *Δημαίνετος* [*Τιμασιθέων ἐκ Κεραμείων*] for one of the epistatai of the Eleusinia in the years 356/5-353/2 B.C., on account of the letter-spacing.

Line 295. The name *Εὐχειρίδης* appears for the first time in Attica (where *Εὐχειρ* and *Εὐχειρος* exist).

Line 299. *Τελεσαρχίδης* is evidently related to *Τελέσαρχος Χολαργεύς*, who made a dedication to Asklepios in 340/39 B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1533, line 14); certainly the one is son of the other but we cannot tell whether our councillor was the son or the father of the dedicant.

Line 300. *Λυσιφῶν* is evidently the son of *Κηφισοφῶν Λυσιφῶντος Χολαργεύς*, one of the commissioners of the Amphiareia in 329/8 B.C. (*I.G.*, VII, 4254, lines 30-31); we know his age from the fact that he served as *diaitetes* in 330/29, as Lewis has shown by combining *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1924 with 2409 in *B.S.A.*, L, 1955, p. 27, where (p. 33) more information is given about this important Athenian of the Lykourgan period.

Line 305. This man is possibly the same as *Δημοκλείδης Φιλοκλέους [Ε]ἰταῖος*, epistates of the Eleusinia in the years 336/5-333/2 B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1543, lines 3-4; cf. 1544, lines 2-3);<sup>31</sup> his father was evidently *Φιλοκλέης Δημοκλείδου Εἰταῖος* (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 6010 of the fourth century B.C.).

Line 307. Autokleides' father, *Εὐετίων Αὐτοκλείδου Σφήττιος*, seems to have been a very busy man; his activities are known from *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1582, lines 50-51 (after 348/7 B.C.); 1925, lines 16-17 (*diaitetes* in the year 329/8 B.C.); *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1917, p. 41,<sup>32</sup> line 12 and *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 354, line 32 (councillor in 328/7); and 1632, lines 11-12 (trierarch in 323/2 B.C.). Autokleides could hardly have reached the age of thirty and so become a councillor by 340 B.C. See further *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 7522 (beginning of the fourth century) and *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 7503 and 7529.

Line 308. This man's grandfather and father were probably *Θράσων Ἄρρωνος Σφήττιος* and *Ἄρρων*<sup>33</sup> *Θράσωνος [Σφήττ]ιος* (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1635, lines 130 and 132; cf. *B.C.H.*, VIII, 1884, p. 317, lines 18 and 19).

Line 309. This man is probably the same as *Τιμοκλῆς Σφήττιος* (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2411, line 20). For one of his descendants, probably his grandson, see *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 59, no. 17, line 6. Members of the same family are probably all those inscribed in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 7501 and 7528, both dated at the middle of the fourth century B.C.

Line 310. Of the same family, possibly his daughter, is *[ΙΙ]αμφίλη Φιλοκλέους Σφήττιος* (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 7525; Conze, *op. cit.*, no. 1637, pl. 345). For a member of the same family in the second century B.C. see *P.A.*, 14561.

<sup>31</sup> This identification could be very important, since, as is shown below (p. 56), the year 336/5 in which Demokleides was appointed to this office has the greater probability of being the very year of his councillorship; but there is always a possibility of homonymy (cf. here, lines 220 and 323).

<sup>32</sup> Published also in *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, pp. 171-172.

<sup>33</sup> Sometimes corrected to *Ἀβρων*; cf. *P.A.*, 17.

Line 311. The mother of Εὐθυκράτης was perhaps Τιμήσυλλα Εὐθυκράτου Κειριάδου, wife of [Τ]ε[ισαμε]ν[ός?] (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 7527, dated at the middle of the fourth century B.C.).

Line 315. The name Καλλίφημος, though of a normal formation, appears here for the first time in Attica.

Line 316. This man is possibly identical with Χαιρέδημος Ἀγνού(σιος), lessee of the mine of Leukippeion in 367/6 B.C. (*Hesperia*, X, 1941, p. 17, no. 1, line 83 = *S.E.G.*, XII, 100. Cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 5273, 5280, and 5279 a).

Line 317. Λυσιμένης apparently belongs to a family from Hagnous, several members of which were active at about the same period (see *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3850, 1622 line 660, 1672 line 278).

Line 320. Restored as Ἐπι[κρ]άτης this man can be identified with Ἐπικράτης Καλλίου Προσπάλτιος (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 7307). Another possible restoration is Ἐπι[στ]άτης, of which we know but one example in Attica (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2398, line 14).

Line 322. This man is probably the father of [...]ίας Πολυνέκτου Προσπάλτιος of a list of the year 327/6 B.C. (*Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 31, no. 1, line 52).

Line 323. Two men from Prospalta with the name Νικόστρατος are included in the list of *diaitetai* of 325/4 B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1926, lines 76, 77).

Line 325. This man is possibly the same as Εὐφίλ[ητ]ος Εὐφι[λ]ήτ[ον], who proposed a decree in 323/2 B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 448).<sup>34</sup>

The inscription here published is the most extensive list of bouleutai available up to date. Unfortunately, it gives only the first names and the demotics of the councillors; no father's names are given, which would have been of great value in identifying the persons named and would have eliminated the danger of the identifications attempted.<sup>35</sup>

The type of the offering is quite peculiar and the unusually short heading is not sufficiently preserved to help in understanding it. Since we must assume a similar stone for the other five phylai, we are justified in envisaging the whole dedication as consisting of two separate bases supporting two bronze statues (personifications of

<sup>34</sup> His demotic is there restored as [Κηφισιεύς], a repetition of a hypothetical restoration by Lolling, who proposed it with a question mark (*Δελτ.* Ἀρχ., 1892, p. 58). This restoration was not adopted in *I.G.*, II, 5, 231b; but it was taken over, without any question mark, in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 448; both demotics fill equally well the space available, the inscription being stoichedon.

<sup>35</sup> I wish to point out that all the identifications proposed in this paper are within the limits of a certain degree of probability, even when that caution is not expressed. One case, which concerns the dating of the inscription itself, is dealt with in note 31.



the Boule and the Demos perhaps; but there are, of course, other possibilities). Bases of Hymettian marble, like ours, are preserved also in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2400, an unspecified fragmentary list of Aiantis, possibly a list<sup>36</sup> of prytaneis of the second half of the fourth century B.C., and in a prytany decree of 341/0 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1749; inscribed, too, on three sides). Other name-lists, arranged like ours, make their appearance in the first half of the fourth century B.C. Most of them are prytany lists;<sup>37</sup> some of them are also bases and thus they share this common feature with our list. Examples are the prytany records *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1749 (341/0 B.C.), a base of Hymettian marble (dimensions 0.46 m. x 0.78 m. x 0.78 m.) inscribed, too, on three faces, and *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1751, a similar base but not for a statue (dimensions 0.37 m. x 0.64 m. x 0.47 m.). The main difference in the arrangement of these two inscriptions is that they include the patronymic also, written on the same line with the councillor's name.

Apart from the purely epigraphical data which place our inscriptions not very early in the second half of the fourth century B.C., the upper limit in time is deduced from the estimated age of four of the men, who could not have been born before *ca.* 370 B.C. and consequently could not have been elected councillors before *ca.* 340 B.C. (see lines 211, 294, 300, and 307, and the argument below concerning the possibilities of the years 340/39 and 339/8). The lower limit in time is given by Demades' death in 320/19 B.C.

The activity of several of our councillors is attested for a period including these years but also extending in either direction beyond the limits established; this is explained by the difference in age of those who served at the same time as councillors, namely, men hardly above thirty and others perhaps well above sixty. The earliest well attested year in which one of our men is mentioned is 367/6 (see the commentary on line 316; but see also line 210). The lowest date for the career of one of our councillors lies between 318 and 307 (see the commentary on line 214).

Upon reviewing one by one all the years taken into account we can eliminate a number of them:

341/0: excluded (prytany list of Aigeis, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1749).

340/39 }  
339/8 } : No document; possible, but rather early.

338/7: excluded (see line 144; Demades at Chaironeia).

377/6: excluded (see line 11).

336/5: possible (see below).

335/4: excluded (bouleutai-list, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1700).

<sup>36</sup> Certainly not the other half of our list, primarily because of the difference in the size of the letters (0.01 m. as against 0.005 m. of our inscription).

<sup>37</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1740 (dated by Kirchner before 388/7 B.C., too early a date, as Gomme rightly thinks, *Population*, p. 51, note 2); 1742 (first half of the fourth century B.C.); 1745 (360/59); 1749 (341/0); 1751 and 1752 (second half of the fourth century B.C.).

- 334/3: excluded (see *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 335, 336, 405, 414a, and cf. *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 339-340, and *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2791).
- 333/2: excluded (see line 132 and cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 337 and 358).<sup>38</sup>
- 332/1: excluded (see *I.G.*, VII, 4253 and cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2792).
- 331/0: excluded (see *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 349).<sup>39</sup>
- 330/29: excluded (see *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 351 + 664 [*Addenda*, p. 660]).
- 329/8: excluded (see *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 353).<sup>40</sup>
- 328/7: excluded (see commentary on lines 144 and 307).
- 327/6: excluded (see *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 3, no. 5).<sup>41</sup>
- 326/5: possible, but see commentary on line 42.
- 325/4: excluded (list of *diaitetai*, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1926; see lines 127, 281 and 323 of our text); cf. also *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1629, line 273, 1631, lines 250-252, 241-242, and 245-246.
- 324/3: possible, but see commentary on line 42.
- 323/2: excluded (*atimia* of Demades; see commentary on line 144).
- 322/1 } possible.
- 321/0 } possible.
- 320/19: excluded (see *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 380, 381, 382, 383 + 399<sup>42</sup> and *Hesperia*, XIII, 1944, p. 234, no. 6, line 7).

Seven years out of twenty-two are not certainly excluded, but special considerations make certain of these years less likely than others. Thus, the first two possible years (340/39, 339/8) seem a bit too early, since we have one case (line 307) when the father of a councillor was born in 388/7 and two other cases (lines 211 and 300) when the fathers were born in 389/8, as is shown by the fact that they served as *diaitetai* in 329/8 and 330/29<sup>43</sup> respectively. In another case (line 294) it is probable

<sup>38</sup> The date of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 358 has been fixed to 333/2 by Dinsmoor, *The Archons of Athens*, 1931, p. 357.

<sup>39</sup> Dorotheos from Halai was proedros; this could be only Halai Araphenides of Aigeis, since Halai Aixonides belongs to Kekropis, which was then the prytanizing phyle. There is a missing name in our list under the heading of this deme (line 65), but before the final *sigma*, which is clearly preserved, there is a space for exactly six letters and Δωρόθεος needs seven.

<sup>40</sup> The day this decree was passed [...] ππος was proedros; we have two incomplete names under the heading of this deme in our list (lines 167, 168) but neither of them can be restored to a seven-letter name ending in -ππος.

<sup>41</sup> The demotic of the proedros has been restored to Πάμφιλος II[αιανιεύς] by A. W. Gomme, see *Hesperia*, Index to Volumes I-X, Supplements I-VI, s.v. Πάμφιλος. I do not take into consideration the list in *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, 1, because of the doubts about its character I expressed when dealing with Akamantis (see above, note 10; cf. also the preceding note).

<sup>42</sup> Combined by Leonardos, Δελτίον, I, 1915, p. 222, completing Πάμφιλος Φι[λαίδης] in line 3 (cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, *Addenda*, p. 660).

<sup>43</sup> I reckon the years as Lewis does (see his argument in *B.S.A.*, L, 1955, p. 29). It must also be noted that the list of *diaitetai* of 329/8 is poorly preserved, with only ten names (and some of

that the father of one of our councillors was married after 373/2 B.C. It seems difficult to suppose that in three or four known cases it happened that these men had sons born when they were hardly twenty years old<sup>44</sup> and that in all these cases their sons became councillors as soon as they reached the age of thirty.

The next year possible is 336/5; its probabilities are greatly strengthened by two facts: (1) First, no father's name can be detected in the wholly preserved list of *diaitetai* of 325/4 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1926) and thus we do not encounter the difficulties which arose for the years 340/39 and 339/8; on the contrary, we have three probable cases of identity between our councillors and the *diaitetai* of 325/4 (see lines 127, 281, 323). (2) Secondly, in the partly preserved list of bouleutai of the following year (335/4 B.C., *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1700) there is no one name which appears in our list;<sup>45</sup> this may be accounted for by the fact that it was not possible to hold the bouletic office for two consecutive years.<sup>46</sup>

There is difficulty about this year, because of the possible identification of one of the councillors (Demokleides, line 305) with one of the epistatai of the Eleusinia appointed for the same year; but against strong evidence this difficulty may be overcome as suggested in footnote 31, above.

The year 326/5 is also possible, but its candidature is considerably weakened by the fact that Epiteles was almost certainly at Delphi in this year (see commentary on line 42). The same is true of 324/3.

No conclusive evidence can be brought against 322/1 and 321/0, but for historical reasons it seems unlikely that any important dedication was set up by the boule in those difficult years. We can, I think, take the year 336/5, with a large degree of probability, as the year of the councillorship of the men recorded in the list here published.

This was an important year for Athens, the first year of recovery after the disaster at Chaironeia. Philip's death and Alexander's absence in Thrace gave the Athenians respite. We know that a number of warships were built (see *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1623, lines 286-289), and this could be a very appropriate occasion for the boule to receive

them incomplete) and this may account for the fact that we have but one case of a father of one of our men serving then as *diaitetes*; moreover, since we do not have the patronymics of our councillors, there are probably cases where the relation of father and son has escaped us, since not every child took his paternal grandfather's name and some of the names in the list of *diaitetai* are given without the patronymic.

<sup>44</sup> That a marriage at a very young age was not the usual case for men in fourth-century Athens is seen from Demosthenes, *Against Boiotos*, II, 56, where the defendant, married at eighteen (*ibid.*, 12) says that his daughter, when seen, will be thought to be his sister and not his daughter.

<sup>45</sup> It is worth noting that we have two cases of father and son (lines 163 and 247).

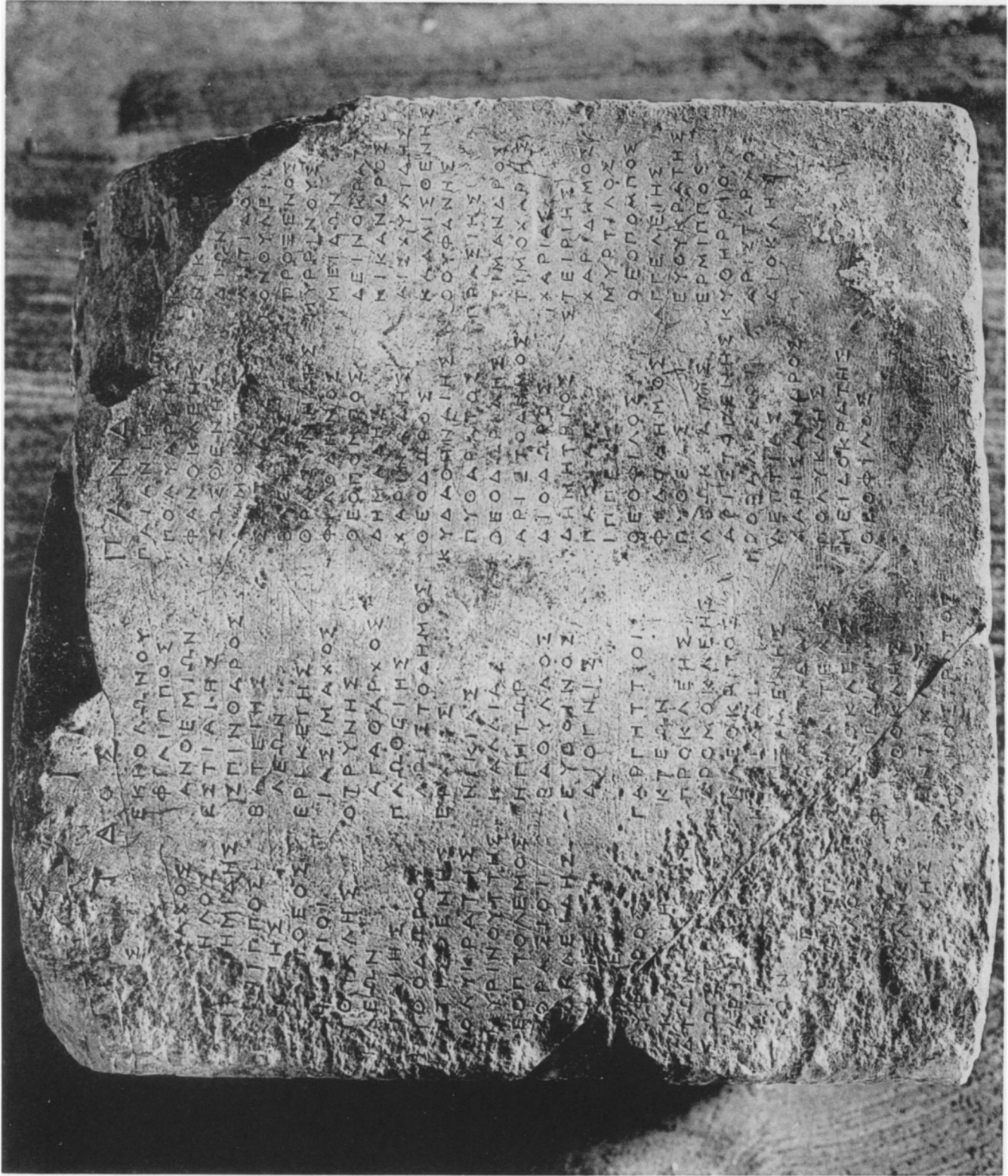
<sup>46</sup> See Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, 45, 3 and 55, 2; cf. also Hignett, *op. cit.*, p. 228, note 3; U. Kahrstedt, *Studien zum öffentlichen Recht Athens*, II, pp. 135-136, maintains that by analogy with Erythrai (*I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 10, line 11) we may assume that there was a rule forbidding one to be councillor more than once in four years.

some special honor, for it was the boule who had charge of and took care of the building of ships (Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, 46, 1). Indeed, it was strictly forbidden to award honors to the boule which failed in this duty (Demosthenes, *Against Androtion*, 8, 12, 16).<sup>47</sup> We already know that the boule of Pythodelos' year made a dedication, possibly of a silver cup (according to the restoration introduced into the inscription), to the sanctuary at Eleusis (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1544, line 47).

S. CHARITONIDES

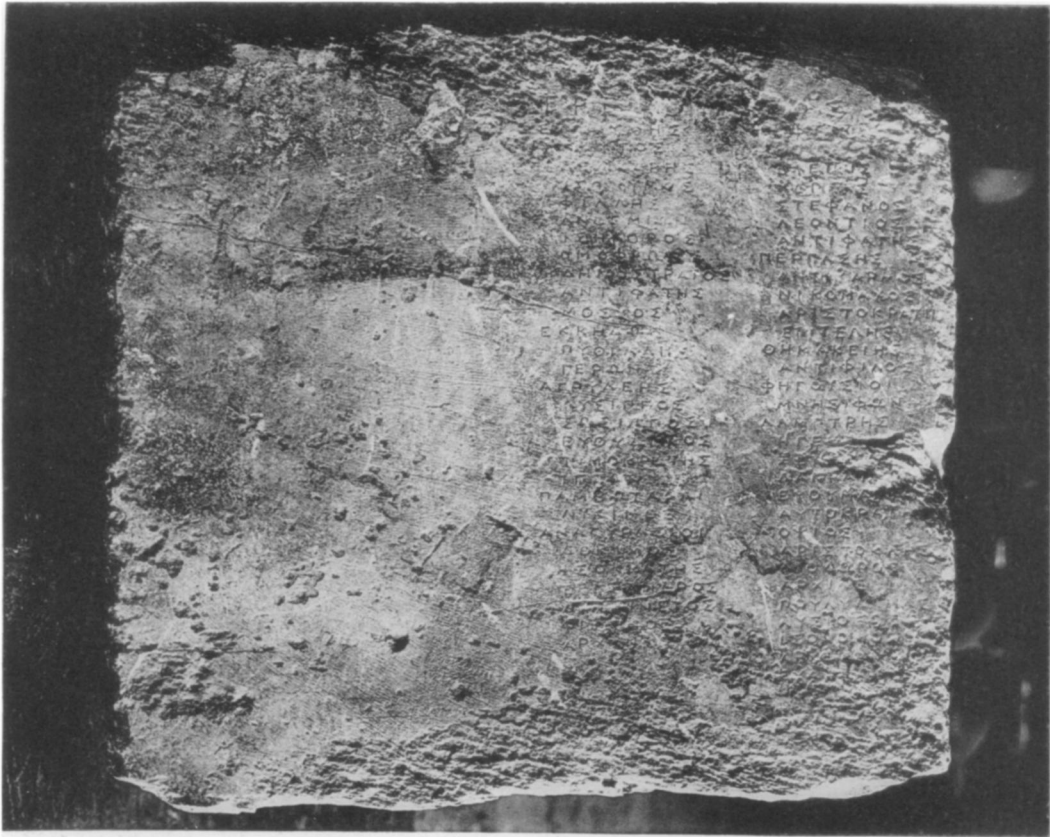
ATHENS, GREECE

<sup>47</sup> Ten ships (at least) had to be built, according to the scholia of the *Anonymus Argentinensis* (*Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, p. 164, lines 9-11).



Side B, Front

S. CHARITONIDES: THE FIRST HALF OF A BOULEUTAI LIST OF THE FOURTH CENTURY B.C.



Side A, Left Side



Side C, Right Side

S. CHARITONIDES: THE FIRST HALF OF A BOULEUTAI LIST OF THE FOURTH CENTURY B.C.