

THE PREAMBLES OF ATHENIAN DECREES CONTAINING LISTS OF SYMPROEDROI

(PLATE 84)

IN the developed Athenian constitution, the Boule of 500, and also the Ekklesia itself, if it met on that day, were presided over by a one-day committee known as the *πρόεδροι*. Aristotle says that the Proedroi were chosen one each from all tribes except the tribe in prytany; the tribe in prytany was not represented on the committee (*Ath. Pol.*, 44, 1-3). Thus in the period of ten tribes (i. e. through 308/7 B.C.), the committee would consist of nine men, viz. the Chairman and eight associates. In the period of twelve tribes (i. e. 307/6-224/3 B.C.) the committee would consist of eleven men, viz. the Chairman and ten associates.

Inscriptions amply confirm and illustrate this.¹ Twenty-two preambles are now known in which the whole committee was listed. The Chairman is always given first, the form being: *τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψήφισεν ὁ δέινα*. Then his eight or ten associates, never including a representative of the tribe in prytany, are listed consecutively: (*καὶ*) *συμπρόεδροι ὁ δέινα, ὁ δέινα, ὁ δέινα, κτλ.* It will be convenient to follow Greek usage, and to use the term "Proedroi" to mean the whole committee of nine or eleven members, including the Chairman; and to use "Symproedroi" for the eight or ten members who appear in the consecutive list, i. e. for all the Proedroi except the Chairman.

The lists of eight or ten Symproedroi regularly follow the order of the tribes, but of course with two gaps, one for the tribe in prytany, and one for the Chairman's tribe. In the past, the chief importance of the lists has been the help they gave in determining the tribal affiliations of demes.

STUDY OF THE PROEDROI. The subject has a long history in modern scholarship, for which see J. Sandys, *Aristotle's Constitution of Athens*, ed. 2, 1912, p. 176. Among comparatively recent studies, W. W. Goodwin's (*T.A.P.A.*, XVI, 1885, pp. 165-175) was the first to utilize to the full, and decisively, the epigraphical evidence; today his paper is still valuable for its discussion of Sokrates as Chairman. On the Proedroi

¹ From Athens, R. S. Stroud and D. F. Ogden sent observations on several inscriptions. In the British Museum, D. E. L. Haynes of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities made possible a protracted study of *I.G.*, II², 697; I am also indebted to the Museum for permission to publish photographs of it. A. G. Woodhead showed me in advance of publication the text of the last of the inscriptions in the present series. D. F. Ogden reviewed the demes. In addition, three students have made contributions to knowledge of the texts; I have mentioned them in the appropriate places. To all of these generous persons I give hearty thanks.

generally G. Glotz, *R.E.G.*, XXXIV, 1921, pp. 1-19, is important, and Stanley B. Smith's admirable treatment, "The Athenian Proedroi," *C.P.*, XXV, 1930, pp. 250-276. D. M. Lewis has re-examined the evidence for the date when they were instituted, *B.S.A.*, XLIX, 1954, pp. 31-34.

The Athenian Kleroukhoi on Samos also had the institution of Proedroi: C. Michel, *Receuil d'inscriptions grecques*, pp. 678-680, no. 832, contains three complete lists of 346/5 B.C. (on them Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 32). The Kleroukhoi had a board of ten. The date is interesting in that the Symproedroi are listed earlier in Samos than in Athens, to judge from the preserved inscriptions. On Imbros also Athenian institutions were retained and/or imitated, but the population was smaller and the committee consisted of three, viz. an ἐπιστάτης and two Symproedroi. In *I.G.*, XII, 8, 47 the tribes are IV, VI, and IX respectively; I was in prytany. This was in the period 318-307 B.C.

In some sense *I.G.*, II², 12 may be considered a predecessor, early and isolated, of the Athenian inscriptions which contain a full list of Symproedroi. I have made no study of *I.G.*, II², 12 but merely note that the list, in lines 5-7, was apparently of five men. The second is from Kekropis (VI) and the fourth is from Akamantis (V), making it evident that the list is not arranged in the official tribal order. The introductory formula was also different. Recent studies of this text and its lists will be accessible through W. S. Ferguson, in *Mélanges Glotz*, I, p. 354. Among other lists of comparable content and value may be noted *I.G.*, II², 488, lines 5-15, a list of magistrates by tribe.

For a collection of epigraphical evidence on the Proedroi and related matters in decrees, see J. Kirchner, *I.G.*, II², iv, 1, 1918, pp. 56-57. In this, the only previous attempt to enumerate actual lists of Symproedroi, 15 such lists were collected; but it was not the place to study them.

TABULATION. Despite all the good work, the inscriptions themselves have never been studied as a group. Several have only recently, or have never, been correctly read, interpreted, and dated. In a few the list appears to contain irregularities. Clearly it would be desirable to have knowledge as exact as possible of this whole body of texts. The best way to meet this need appears to be a tabulation of all the lists, followed by notes on the ones which need fuller study.

In the tabulation, the order has been made chronological; the dates are taken, without independent investigation, from B. D. Meritt, *The Athenian Year*, pp. 231-238 (some of the dates in the third century might be disputed, but for our present purposes the exact year is immaterial; for more complete data, see also W. K. Pritchett—B. D. Meritt, *Chronology of Hellenistic Athens* [with its index]; and W. B. Dinsmoor, *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, pp. 312-315), except the dates of *I.G.*, II², 336 III, 378, 727, and 800, for which the discussions *infra* are anticipated. Restorations are [bracketed]; only those restorations are given which seem fairly certain on

grounds which are other than chronological; *not* the restorations which the table, or mere chronology, suggests. Other restorations, those based on the table, i.e. on nothing but chronology, are in (parentheses). The third column answers the question, "Was the Chairman's patronymic given?" The fourth column answers the question, "Was *καί* inserted between the demotic of the Chairman and *συμπρόεδροι*?" The next column records the number of Proedroi whose demotics are sufficiently preserved to be restored.

LISTS OF PROEDROI IN PREAMBLES OF ATHENIAN DECREES ²

<i>I.G.</i> , II ²	<i>Date</i> B.C.	<i>Chairman's</i> <i>Patronymic</i> <i>Given?</i>	<i>KAI</i> <i>Included?</i>	<i>Number of</i> <i>Demotics</i> <i>Preserved</i>	<i>Tribal</i> <i>Order</i>
336 III	333/2	[No]	No	4	[Correct]
452	328/7	No	(No)	6	[Correct]
800	326/5 (or 314/3-311/0, 309/8?)	[No]	[No]	5	3 (+?) violations
454	324/3	(No)	(No)	3	[Correct]
547	324/3	[No]	[No]	3	[Correct]
378	321/0	[No]	[No]	1	[Correct?]
546	321/0?	[No]	(No)	4	[Correct]
449	—	No	No	8	[Correct]
451	313/2	[No]	[No]	0	?
420	ca. 330- 308/7	[No]	[No]	0	?
548	ca. 330- 308/7?	(No)	(No)	1	?
727	ca. 330- 308/7	No	(No)	3	[Correct]
—	—	—	—	—	—
472	306/5	Yes	(Yes?)	2	[Correct]
797	305/4	[Yes]	(Yes)	5	[Correct]
502	302/1	Yes	Yes	9	[Correct]
389	293/2	Yes	[Yes]	2	One [+?] violation
697	288/7?	Yes	(Yes)	4	One [+?] violation
770	262/1?	Yes	[Yes]	6	[Correct]
700	258/7	Yes	Yes	5	[Correct]
832	229/8	Yes	Yes	10	Correct
852	229/8-224/3	Yes	[Yes]	6	[Correct]
Agora I 5090	229/8-224/3	Yes	[Yes]	6	[Correct]
22 Preambles (12 before 307/6 and 10 after)				93	Demotics

² All except 502 and Agora I 5090 are discussed *infra* in the order of the *I.G.*, II² numbers.

REASONS FOR INSCRIBING THE LIST. Only one list is in wild disorder; in two others the order is violated at least once each. Three more are too fragmentary to diagnose. The other 16 appear to preserve the tribal order. Contrary to what has sometimes been supposed, except for one or two instances duly noted, the evidence in these lists does not favor altering the now accepted attributions of demes to tribes. The evidence of the lists is that the structure is sound. Perfect order in the lists of Symproedroi was not really essential; anyone could see whether the tribes were properly represented. A serious matter, indeed a violation of the constitution, would be two or more proedroi from one tribe; there is no such instance proved or probable. Nor is any of the lists proved to be deficient in the total number of Proedroi. Thanks more to other inscriptions, especially the lists of Bouleutai, the tribal lists of demes are now probably perfect down to 307/6 B.C.; for the period of the Macedonian tribes a few changes may still be necessary. Having played their part in this problem, the Symproedroi are now interesting rather for certain neglected general aspects, and individually for problems of dating.

Individually, several of the texts are treated fully *infra*. Among the general questions, one, the reason(s) for listing Symproedroi at all, has never been raised. At first, for some two decades, the Symproedroi were merely entered paratactically, but when *καί* was introduced, the verb remained in the singular, *τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψήφισεν ὁ δεῖνα καὶ συμπρόεδροι ὁ δεῖνα, ὁ δεῖνα, ὁ δεῖνα, κτλ.* Their presence, so to speak, was not really felt, but this in turn may well have been because the Chairman did actually make the decision about putting each motion to the vote. Perhaps it was because of this that the Symproedroi were rarely listed, and indeed it is puzzling to find them at all in the third century, seeing how sporadic the lists are.

Of two decrees passed on the same day in 293/2 B.C., one, *I.G.*, II², 389, lists the Symproedroi; another, *I.G.*, II², 649, does not (Dinsmoor, *Archons*, 1931, pp. 7-8, 21; a third decree, passed on the same day, breaks off too soon to tell, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 97). Both decrees are now known to have awarded crowns (for 389, *infra*). Of the two, 649 is the finer inscription; its mere length may have been decisive against including 18 more words, but it seems unlikely. *I.G.*, II², 547 of 324/3 B.C. is a decree apparently about Symproedroi; if so, it is the only one, and it may attest popular interest in the board at this period. They appear thereafter under Demetrios of Phaleron, when seven Nomophylakes, never listed, had veto powers, and also had prominent seats along with the Symproedroi in the Ekklesia (W. S. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, pp. 44-45). Lists of Symproedroi occur with seeming indifference in all other types of regime, but after *ca.* 224 B.C., throughout the second and first centuries B.C., when the decrees reach their maximum length, the Symproedroi are no longer listed, although regular mention (*καὶ συμπρόεδροι*) attests their continued existence.

To some extent these general notions are borne out by examining the subjects of the inscriptions, though only 13 at most of the 22 lists are sufficiently preserved so

that their contents can be known (add to the ones clear in *I.G.*, II², the following: *I.G.*, II², 452 [*infra*], 378 [as augmented by *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 174, No. 38], 389 [*infra*], 852 [*infra*]). All 13 *can* have been honorific inscriptions (*I.G.*, II², 452, 547, 548, and 852 are the only ones which cannot be determined). The recipients are varied: magistrates (? 452, 547), Epheboi and their officers (700), an Eleusinian cult official (? 852), even a public slave (502); foreigners individually (336, 832) and in groups (546, 548[?]). It is hard to say what this proves. The large majority of Athenian Hellenistic decrees were honorific, and many examples, having no list of Symproedroi, could be given for all kinds of recipients (except perhaps public slaves!). The omission of lists of Symproedroi from all the (now very numerous) prytany decrees is notable.

The causes, and the explanation, may therefore be general and vague. For instance, the list of Symproedroi added to the length and impressiveness of the preamble. The listing might conceivably be due to mere assiduity on the part of the Secretary, or to vanity on the part of the Symproedroi. But the material fact is that to some extent they shared the legal responsibility; that is why the board existed. In theory at least, Sokrates should not be without advice in refusing (or deciding) to put a motion to the vote.

In any case the suggestion may be offered that all preambles, in the official copy deposited in the State Archives (i. e. in the Metroön), did regularly list the Symproedroi. This may have begun when the board was instituted, in 378/7 B.C. or whenever; it may have ended late in the first century B.C., when other vital features of the constitution were modified. The decision whether or not to include the list in the copy to be inscribed would then be a matter of no great moment.

EARLY MENTION OF THE SYMPROEDROI. When *I.G.*, II² was published (1913), and for 20 years thereafter, it was believed that any mention of the Symproedroi (either *συμπρόεδροι* alone after the Chairman; or *καὶ συμπρόεδροι* after the Chairman; or either followed by a list) was only to be found after 319/8 B.C. (*I.G.*, II², i, 2, p. 168). In 1933 the study of *I.G.*, II², 800 and of other (mis-dated) preambles led me to realize that this was an error, and that the word *συμπρόεδροι*, followed in some instances by a list, certainly occurs several times in preambles of the preceding two decades. *I.G.*, II², 800 could therefore, and should, be dated to the period of ten tribes, and if necessary before 318/7 B.C.—for it has a Secretary, whereas it appeared that no decree positively dated under Demetrios of Phaleron (317/6-308/7) does have a Secretary (this observation has almost become a criterion [W. K. Pritchett—B. D. Meritt, *Chronology*, pp. 1-2, 4-5, and references] but the evidence is scant and inconclusive [W. K. Pritchett—O. Neugebauer, *Calendars*, p. 39]). At the time I published a note that Anaphlystos is saved from subdivision (*Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 188), and that various other decrees, among them *I.G.*, II², 547, should be dated earlier (in B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 536; many years ago A. Wilhelm,

Hermes, XXIV, 1889, pp. 147-148, had seen that the criterion in question was dubious). With my study as a whole I was not satisfied and it never appeared; but B. D. Meritt, in W. K. Pritchett—B. D. Meritt, *Chronology of Hellenistic Athens*, 1940, pp. 2-7, enunciated and applied the general principle.

TEXTUAL UNIFORMITIES. The next step was to tabulate the lists of Symproedroi. Most of the problems of deme affiliation having meantime been settled, the tabulation proved to be useful for the most interesting result of the present study, viz. the dating of individual decrees. Apart from order and grammar, there is striking regularity. Down to a year which may be specified as 307/6, when doubtless many changes were made, the Chairman's patronymic is never given; after that year, always. Similarly, when *καί* was added after his name, and before *συμπρόεδροι*, the innovation stuck. Kirchner (*loc. cit.*) mentions one apparently contrary instance, *I. G.*, II², 662, line 4; but in this inscription a blank space has been left precisely where *καὶ συμπρόεδροι* should be entered. The stone is broken away, so that one cannot determine whether the Chairman's name, patronymic, and demotic were actually inscribed or not. I suggest that they were lacking in the mason's copy and that he left a space for them and for *καὶ συμπρόεδροι* to follow them. An irregularity is definitely present in *I. G.*, II², 545, where the text reads *καὶ οἱ συμπρόεδροι*, but this preamble is not one of the present series.

One finding, which is new, should be added: in no proved or probable instance is the patronymic of a Symproedros given. This fact has been helpful particularly in considering *I. G.*, II², 697, 727, and 800. Any patronymic appearing at or near the apparent end of a list indicates that its owner was not a Symproedros but the Spokesman of the decree.

One general epigraphical fact is worthy of note. Each mason was faced with the same problem, viz. to inscribe a list of eight or ten names-plus-demotics. Without undue trouble, it would have been possible to design the preamble in such a way that these items would come in pairs, one pair in each line, thus: name, demotic, *stop*, name, demotic. Oddly, although in *I. G.*, II², 697 this arrangement was approximated, it is achieved only at or near the last of the series, *I. G.*, II², 852, where the somewhat careless mason probably stumbled into it by accident; but he did maintain it throughout, following it with an imperfect version of the "perfect design" for the *ἔδοξεν*-clause.

INDIVIDUAL INSCRIPTIONS

Since only three of the 22 lists contain proved irregularities in the tribal order, restorations have usually been suggested *infra* on the assumption that regularity prevailed; the reader will easily see where this has been done.

The order of presentation of the inscriptions is the numerical order of *I. G.*, II², and is therefore not chronological.

I.G., II², 336, Decree III

Two fragments of *I.G.*, II², 336 (see also the Addenda, p. 659) survive. The two fragments are united by these facts: the thickness is the same; the mason is the same; the spacing of letters is the same; and both deal with a certain Arkhippos. This is not disputed.

There seem to have been three decrees. Frag. *a* preserves much of Decree I, firmly dated by the Secretary to 334/3; Frag. *b*, of a different, later, year, preserves the end—only four lines—of Decree II; and also much of Decree III, which contained a list of Symproedroi. The list itself has no special interest (*infra*), but the dating of Decree III is a nice problem. A secretary was named in III, but no Arkhon; it is assumed that the Arkhon must have been named in II, in fact that is the reason for assuming the existence of II. Of the Secretary's demotic in III only the end survives; there was no patronymic. Decree III has been given various dates from 333/2 (the earliest being the year after Decree I) down to 320/19. The limit must be the lifetime of the honoree, Arkhippos, already a person of note in 334/3.

The date most recently proposed is 320/19, i. e. in the period of the oligarchy (W. K. Pritchett—B. D. Meritt, *Chronology*, pp. 6-7). The reasoning is that the Secretary is mentioned after the day, and this (most unusual) order suggests that, as under the oligarchy, Secretaries were changed every prytany. The argument does not proceed into further detail, but examination will show that the decrees of the oligarchic Anagrapheus years always mention the Secretary immediately after the prytany, just as is done in all other periods, but here (as earlier) the position is correct, in that the Secretary's term coincided with the prytany. *I.G.* II², 336 III is however quite different. The prytany is not named, but only the day by month and by prytany. The Secretary may be there merely because in all democratic years he is named in a post-positive position. The normal position, after the tribe and number of the prytany, was illogical ever since the Secretary began to be annual. To cite the Secretary after the day was equally, but similarly, illogical. Citing the Secretary after the day does not prove that he held office for one prytany. It would seem that a Secretary holding office for a year might, in this decree, where all other preceding elements of the preamble are omitted, be cited in this very way.

On the other hand, the Secretary's term is not *proved* by the foregoing considerations to have been annual. There are, however, reasons against conceiving that Decrees II and III were passed in 320/19, some 14 years after Decree I of 334/3. In brief: (1) Decree I conferred Athenian citizenship, but a rider to Decree II (336*b*, line 4) makes it clear that in [14] years Arkhippos has not become a citizen. (2) One may doubt whether under an oligarchic regime honors would be voted to an old-time honoree of the democracy, and whether an old democratic decree would be drawn out and at last inscribed. (3) Most weighty is the observation of P. R.

Vasquez that *if*, as the calendar seems to require (B. D. Meritt, *Athenian Year*, p. 119), the prytany was the eighth, then the Secretary was of [— — —]νεύς, whereas the Secretary of *Hesperia*, XIII, 1944, pp. 234-235 was of 'Οῦθ(εν). (This fact escaped notice because only the calendar data for *I.G.*, II², 336 III were quoted.)

The Secretary's demotic can, moreover, be read to the extent of one more letter. Whereas others had read the demotic as ending -νεύς, B. Leonardos claimed to have read it as -ννεύς, which fits only Κικυ]ννεύς. Actually the marks taken by him to give the diagonal stroke are a scratch, but the right vertical is so placed, and has so completely the character of a chisel stroke, that the reading -||INEΥΞ is mandatory. Only three demes end in this way: besides Leonardos' Κικυ]ννεύς, which the reading does not exclude, there are 'Ατ]ηνεύς and Παλλ]ηνεύς. It can hardly be an accident that, whereas the Secretary here in *I.G.*, II², 336 III is [.....]||INEΥΞ, the Secretary for the year 333/2 (the year after Decree I) exactly fits: ['Αρχέλας Παλλ]ηνεύς.

I.G., II², 336 III should be dated, therefore, in 333/2. The details are obscure because of the loss of most of Decree II, but clearly the motions with regard to Arkhippos were passed in two successive years. The results for the calendars of 333/2 and 320/19 do not concern the present study.

The one difficulty is created by the assignment of *I.G.*, II², 358 to this same year (W. B. Dinsmoor, *Archons* 1931, p. 357). W. K. Pritchett—B. D. Meritt, *Chronology*, p. 6, pointed out that the calendar equation is irreconcilable; but as B. D. Meritt, *Athenian Year*, pp. 84-85, is careful to state, the designation of the Secretary for 333/2, restored in *I.G.*, II², 358, is one letter too long. It would seem preferable therefore to remove *I.G.* II², 358 from this year—the Arkhon's and Secretary's names are almost completely missing—or to suppose that there was an error in the day (in any case apparently an error has to be assumed in the number of the prytany).

If the foregoing is correct, *I.G.*, II², 336 III of 333/2 B.C. becomes the first preserved Athenian decree listing Symproedroi.

The *Corpus* states that instead of the regular 31 letters, line *b*2 has 32. This is an error: as restored in the *Corpus*, line *b*2 has 31. Thus *no* modification of the stoikhedon order is known in 336*a*, except lines 1-2, on the moulding; or in 336*b* except line 4, which was added late between decrees.

In line 10 the demotic should be of Aigeis; and only Τε[ιθράσιος] will fit. The epsilon is fairly clear, but the top only of the tau is at all sure.

I.G., II², 378

With an Anagrapheus replacing the Secretary, this inscription was involved at once in the work which 30 years ago initiated the more recent phase in the study of Athenian Hellenistic chronology, W. B. Dinsmoor, *Archons of Athens*, 1931, p. 391.

Despite much study, and O. Broneer's new fragment added by E. Schweigert, the date of the inscription is still in doubt.

Photographs: Frag. *a*, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 98 (none too sharp; scale, not given, *ca.* 1:2); Frag. *b*, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 174, and B. D. Meritt, *Epigraphica Attica*, p. 95 (same).

The latest text of the whole is that of B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 99. In Meritt's *Athenian Year*, p. 27, a text of lines 1-5 corrects the spacing of his (earlier) text of the whole in line 3:

I.G., II², 378, former restoration

294/3 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 33

[ἀρχων Ὀλυμπιόδωρος ἐπ'] ἀναγραφέως Θρασ

[.....¹⁹ Φυ]λασίου· ἐπὶ τῆς

[...⁷... ἰδος ἑκτῆς πρυτανείας· Ποσιδεῖ

[ῶνος ἐβδόμῃ μετ' εἰκάδας, τε] τάρτει καὶ ε

5 [ἰκοστῇ τῆς πρυτανείας· ἐκκλ]ησία κυρία·

The formula for the Arkhon was supported by three instances, all later; the calendar equation made the year ordinary (*infra*).

I have worked from two squeezes of Frag. *a*, one made with special care, the other made to be marked; but for Frag. *b* the published photograph has been used.

The stele was trimmed to be only 0.033-0.040 m. thick, an absolute minimum, and the lettering, though I think not the work of a beginner, is wretched. This inscription is perhaps the meanest public decree ever set up in Athens.

In its petty dimensions—it is no wider than the present page—and poor lettering, *I.G.*, II², 1252, a decree of orgeones, is closely similar. (The stone is lost, but an excellent photograph is published in O. Kern, *Tabulae in usum scholarum*, 7: *Inscriptiones Graecae*, 1913, pl. 29, left.) The date has been given as *post med. s. IV a.* Prosopographical evidence points to *ca.* 325/4, and the close similarity to *I.G.*, II², 378, though the mason is apparently not the same, helps to establish a date for both *ca.* 320. *I.G.*, II², 1252 is uncommon as combining in one inscription interpuncts and a syllabified non-stoikhedon arrangement.

In the case of *I.G.*, II², 378, the arrangement of letters has been disputed. Not stoikhedon: W. B. Dinsmoor, *Archons*, p. 25 and note 2; W. K. Pritchett and O. Neugebauer, *Calendars*, p. 71. Stoikhedon: W. K. Pritchett—B. D. Meritt, *Chronology*, pp. 87-88; B. D. Meritt, *Athenian Year*, p. 27, and *Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, p. 291. In fragment *a*, nearly every preserved letter, except at the ends of the lines, and except the letters of line 6, where the preserved spacing is looser, fits the stoikhedon order. Line 7 may have been regular, but the traces in line 8 do not fit; evidently the mason had begun to disregard whatever vertical guide-lines he had drawn. In

fragment *b* (where I have copied my predecessors' texts, with a few adjustments at the ends of lines), although the number of letters per line continues for a while to be 33, the preserved letters do not conform to the stoikhedon arrangement; and in the last two preserved lines, normal restorations give an excess of four and three letters respectively.

Applying these facts to the unrestored parts of the preamble, we can only note that they create a presumption, though not an absolute necessity, for restoring the first five lines with 33 letters each. As we shall see, this means, preferably, some alteration in the designation of the Anagrapheus (the omission of *τοῦ* has been suggested, but no parallel has been cited); or unusual crowding. In any case, line 2 may be regarded as a proved irregularity, precisely like, perhaps, the four- and three-letter excesses in lines 18 and 19. In line 4, *if* the gap of 17 stoikhoi cannot be filled with 17 letters to harmonize with the equation in *Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, p. 290 (see Meritt's discussion there), then any restoration could be admitted with say 18-20 letters. I should go further than Meritt in urging that his experimental restoration *ibid.*, p. 291, with four blank spaces, is excluded.

In line 3 must be restored the tribe in prytany. The only tribe preserved is that of the first Symproedros, Παι]ανιεύ[s, III. The tribe in prytany should therefore be Erekhtheis or Aigeis. Neither will fit exactly if the prytany number must be restored πέμπτης to conform with the apparent indications of the new preamble (*supra*). Hence there is doubt as to whether the tribal order is preserved. In line 8 there are definite traces of letters, and they occur where a demotic might be expected; but none of Akamantis (V) will fit them.

Line 2. Theretofore restored as Θρμ]ασίου, so as to give a known person, the demotic was claimed by B. D. Meritt as Φν]λασίου on the strength of a report from Athens by E. Schweigert, who is quoted in *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 99, note 1: "The sloping stroke of the lambda lies along the fracture, but enough remains to justify the reading." In *Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, p. 291, note 129, however, Meritt wrote that "subsequent investigation shows that the stroke of lambda, if read at all, is very faint." The squeeze does show a slant just here, but it is too far to the left, and much too deep to be a stroke; in addition it would put the lambda out of its stoikhos. The alleged stroke is rather a break; it is continued in the next line below, where no stroke can be thought of. On the other hand, enough stone is preserved in line 2 for iota to show, exactly in its stoikhos, and in fact a small trace of iota is visible. Thria and Phlya belong to the same tribe (Oineis VI; the only other demotics in -άσιος are Anagyrasios I, Teithrasios II, and Pteleasios VI).

An inscription found in 1952 and published by B. D. Meritt in *Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, pp. 289-292, has some interest in relation to this reading. The year of the new text is evidently 321/0, [ἐπὶ Ἀρχίππ]ου ἄρχοντος. The Anagrapheus is [Θρασ]υκλῆς Ναυσικράτου[s] Θ[ριάσιος]. *I.G.*, II², 378 was assigned by Meritt, followed by

Pritchett and Neugebauer, *Calendars*, pp. 70-72, to the first year of Olympiodoros, 294/3. So long as the deme of the Anagrapheus was read as Φυ]λασίον, no problem arose. Now, however, we have to compare:

I.G., II², 378 (genitive) Θρασ|[.....^{19?}..... Θρ]ιασίον
Hesperia, XXX, 1961, p. 290 [Θρασ]υκλής Ναυσικράτου[s] Θ[ρ]ιάσιος]

The lacuna in the first is three letters too short for an unconditional identification, i. e. for Θρασ[υκλέους τοῦ Ναυσικράτους Θρ]ιασίον. Meritt, though fully recognizing the possibility of the identification, had not read the iota, and preferred still to retain the former dating, with the demotic Φυ]λασίον; i.e., not to identify the two names.

There are three new aspects to consider. The first is the reading of a (dotted) iota. The second is the finding (*supra*) that after 308/7 B.C. the Chairman's patronymic is apparently always given when Symproedroi are listed; and *I.G.*, II², 378, line 7 has insufficient room for a patronymic. The third new fact is that after 308/7 the word καί is always included (*supra*) but for it also the space in *I.G.*, II², 378 is so short as to be virtually prohibitive.

Despite the very real difficulties of the spacing and the calendar, there need no longer be hesitation in identifying the two Anagrapheis. Thrasykles son of Nausikrates of Thria was Anagrapheus in the year of Arkhippos, 321/0 B.C. — He has long been recognized as the pro-Macedonian Spokesman of *I.G.*, II², 450, where his demotic is curtailed: lines 9-10, Θρασυκλής Ναυσικράτο[υ]|ς Θριάσι.

I.G., II², 378

321/0 B.C.

Loose ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[ἐπὶ Ἀρχίππου ἄρχοντος] ἀναγραφέως Θρασ	33
[υκλέους τοῦ? Ναυσικράτους Θρ]ιασίον ἐπὶ τῆς	36?
[..... πρυταν]είας Ποσιδεῖ	
[ῶνος ^{ca. 17} τε]τάρτει καὶ ε	
5 [ἰκοστῇ τῆς πρυτανείας· ἐκκλ]ησία κυρί[α]	33
[τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψήφισεν Ἀρ]ιστοφά[νης]	32
[— ^{ca. 6±} — · συμπρόεδροι — ^{ca. 5±} — Παι]ανιεύ[ς . .]	
[— ^{ca. 25} —] ΑΙΦΛΛ[—]	

Lacuna of 10-20 (+ ?) lines

Not ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[.....] Traces [.....]	
10 [— ^{ca. 10} — καὶ σ]τεφανῶσα[ι χρυσῶ]	33
[ι στεφάνωι εὐνοίας ἔνεκ]α τῆς εἰς τὸν [δῆμ]	33
[ον τὸν Ἀθηναίων· εἶναι δ']αὐτὸν Ἀθηναῖο[ν κ]	33
[αὶ ἐγγόνους αὐτοῦ· γρά]ψασθαι δ' αὐτὸν φυ[λ]	33
[ῆς καὶ δήμου καὶ φρατρί]ας ἧς ἂν βούληται[ι]	33

- | | | |
|----|--|----|
| 15 | [κατὰ τὸν νόμον· τοὺς δὲ] πρυτάνεις εἰς τὴν | 33 |
| | [πρώτην ἐκκλησίαν δοῦναι] ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τὴν ^ν | 33 |
| | [ψῆφον — — — ^{ca. 16} — — — ἐ]κκλησίαν· ἀν[α] | |
| | [γράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα ἐν στ]ήλῃ λιθίνῃ κ | 37 |
| | [αἱ στῆσαι ἐν ἀκροπόλει· εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀ]ναγραφὴν | 36 |
| 20 | [τῆς στήλης μερίσαι τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει τὸ] | |
| | [γεγόμενον ἀνάλωμα] | |

I.G., II², 389

This inscription, which gives Olympiodoros his second year as Arkhon (line 1), was the basis for a study by A. Wilhelm, *Jahresh.*, XI, 1908, pp. 82-100 (photograph, p. 83), deservedly called "inspiring" by W. B. Dinsmoor, and was fundamental for Dinsmoor's own great study, *The Archons of Athens* (1931: see pages 18-21). It was next studied by B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 97-100, with a text, repeated, of lines 1-3. Meritt there published a preamble of the same day as I.G., II², 389. Dinsmoor had shown that I.G., II², 649 was also passed on this day (*Archons*, 1931, p. 21).

The stone is broken at the top, and the space above line 1 has always been considered to have been left blank; the height of this space is 0.11 m., which is enough for ten lines. D. H. Gill has discovered, however, on the squeeze traces of what is almost certainly an inscribed wreath. They are on the edge, beginning 0.022 m. above the last two preserved letters of line 1. The leaves were apparently of the naturalistic olive type, curving with the diameter of the wreath, not the type shown for golden crowns (and in actual examples so made), of which the leaves, all uniformly small, radiate outward from the circumference. A second wreath, near the other edge of the stele, doubtless balanced the preserved one. Fr. Gill's discovery tells us for the first time that the decree was honorary. The Ekklesia doubtless awarded one crown, but the grantor of the other cannot be conjectured.

The mason was careless. He either made line 5 one letter too long, or he omitted a letter near the end (or in the missing beginning of line 6). The middle strokes of alpha and epsilon are frequently omitted, and five times the letter rho is merely a vertical stroke, usually placed correctly for a rho, at the left side of its chequer, not in the center, where iota regularly was inscribed.

Readings. In line 1 the iota of [Ὀλυμπ]ιοδώρου shows faintly; [Ἀπολλ]οδώρου is all but excluded. The three preserved letters of line 8 are usually dotted but they are perfectly clear. After the letters **ΞΑΤ**, the stone is preserved in such a way that the upper left corner of an eta ought to show; but eta, if slightly misplaced, is not excluded.

The text proposed by Dinsmoor, *Archons*, 1931, p. 21, is not free of difficulties, but his explanation of line 8 as the beginning of a list of Symproedroi is surely correct.

We may read:

6 τῶν προέ[δρων ἐπεψήφισ]
 7 [εν Νικόβουλος] Νικίου Φρε[άρριος καὶ συμ]
 8 [πρόεδροι⁸ . . .]ς Ἀτ[ηνεύς⁹ . . .]

The restoration Ἀτ[ηνεύς] has not hitherto been made, but there is no other demotic in Ἀτ[— — — —], and there is no other restoration whatever which does not involve assumptions more violent still.

The tribe in prytany was Pandionis (V), and the Chairman was from Leontis (VI). The first Symproedros is from Atene, which had been transferred entire from Antiokhis to Demetrias (II). The first Symproedros was therefore out of order.

I.G., II², 420

This fragment preserves the upper right corner of a preamble. It is stoikhedon: ten letters plus ten interspaces occupy horizontally 0.133 m.; vertically, five letters plus five interspaces occupy 0.065 m. The tallest letters are 0.007 m. in height. The style is *volg. fin. s. IV*, the strokes tending slightly to a wedge shape.

Hitherto no attempt has been made to fill out line 4, where ἐκκλησία has been restored without any modifiers. The result is too short a line. Unless there was a unique irregularity, the restoration of maximum length is:

Line 4. [είας· ἐκκλησία κυρία ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ τῷ]μ προέδ[ρων ἐ], a total of 41 letters. This is still too short, because with an Arkhon's name of only five letters in the genitive, and with the other elements also reduced to a minimum, line 1 demands 44 letters. Also, the mu in τῷμ is unusual in this period. It seems preferable to interpret the letters ΜΠΡΟΕΔ more naturally, and to restore the whole with a line of at least 50 letters:

I.G., II², 420

ca. 330-308/7 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. [50]

[ἐπὶ — — — — — ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς — — — — — ἰδος — — —] τῆς πρυτανείας
 [ς ἦν³³ ἐγρ]αμμάτευεν [. . .]
 [.³⁹] εἰ τῆς πρυτ[αν]
 [είας· τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψήφισεν¹³] συμπρόεδροι . . .
 5 [.³⁸] Εὐ[ρυκράτ]ης . . .
 [.⁴⁰] Θ[εόμνη]στος
 [.⁴³]ς [.⁶ . . .]

Here too lines 4 and the rest have a near-minimum length; one or two more letters might be conceded, or one or two less. The omission of ἐκκλησία is exceptional, but from 336/5 to 308/7 B.C. some 14 preambles lack any mention of an assembly at

this point. A line of *ca.* 50 letters is also exceptional, but cf. *I.G.*, II², 329, 333, and 404, each of which has more than 50 letters; *I.G.*, II², 330 has 46 letters, and 410 has 45. In *I.G.*, II², 420, ten letters horizontally occupy 0.133 m., so that 50 letters would require a width of *ca.* 0.68 m. The thickness is 0.09 m. (Kirchner), which is less than normal; the restoration should be held to a minimum. In accord with spacing and with the tabulation on p. 337, the patronymic of the Chairman and the word *καί* are omitted. We may therefore recognize in this preamble a list of Symproedroi, Eurykrates being the third, and Theomnestos the sixth, out of eight.

I.G., II², 449

B. D. Meritt, *Athenian Year*, p. 130, gives a text of lines 1-3.

The patronymic of the spokesman began with a zeta, xi, or tau: the left end of the top horizontal stroke shows. Pi is barely possible.

I.G., II², 451

This decree is notable as listing Symproedroi under Demetrios of Phaleron: it suggests that the Boule continued to be organized, formally at least, as in the past. The stele was a fine large one, with large letters; above them, a space left blank (for a painted design or for inscribed small crowns?—cf. *I.G.* II², 389); then a moulding, and above that another area left blank (only a corner remaining), presumably for a painting with figures; and surmounting all, doubtless, a second moulding.

In line 5, the mark read as the second peak of a mu is not a stroke but spurious. Read -] OΞ^ [-, the letter being alpha, delta, or lambda.

I.G., II², 452

Until the 1930's the restoration of line 1 was [*ἐπὶ Θεοφράσ*]του ἄρχοντος, and the year was 313/2. When I had shown, in the (unpublished) earliest version of the present article, that the phrase *καὶ συμπρόεδροι* did not exclude a date earlier than 318/7, and that *I.G.*, II², 454 could be moved back to 324/3, B. D. Meritt proposed that *I.G.*, II², 452 be moved back to [*ἐπὶ Εὐθύκρι*]του ἄρχοντος, i.e. to the year 328/7 (*A.J.P.*, LIX, 1938, p. 499). No other year is open to a Secretary from Akamantis (V). The (confirmatory) restoration of the Spokesman was first given in W. K. Pritchett—B. D. Meritt, *Chronology*, p. 2, note 7. The reading for the day of the month is discussed by W. K. Pritchett—O. Neugebauer, *Calendars*, p. 51.

In *The Athenian Year*, p. 96, Meritt gives a new text of the whole, based as in earlier editions on a line of 36 (stoikhedon) letters, which seems to be demanded by lines 5-6. The main source of difficulty has been the reading for the day of the month. On the other hand, in this latest text it is necessary to restore a one-space *vacat* before the Secretary, which is very uncommon (restored in *I.G.*, II², 679); to omit nu-

movable from [ἐ]γρ[αμμάτευε], also against regular usage; to leave two spaces blank after the last Symproedros, which at this period is unexampled; and to assume a gross anomaly (i.e. a flaw in the stone?) in the restored beginning of line 11, putting 16 letters where 17 would be expected.

With respect to readings, the context establishes other lines as correct in former editions (except the last two lines), but line 4 has been disputed. The previous versions of what immediately follows ΔΕΚΑ have been:

[M]I[A]IK	Koehler, <i>I.G.</i> , II, 236.
[.] [-	v. Premierstein in <i>I.G.</i> , II ² 452; hence
= [π]έ[μπτει]	Kirchner.
[E]NAΤΕ[I]	Meritt in 1938.
[πέμπτει]	Pritchett-Neugebauer.
[-	Klaffenbach, from a squeeze, <i>Gnomon</i> , XXI, 1949, p. 135, reported nothing could be positively read.
ΜΙΑΙΚ	Meritt in 1961.

I have not re-examined the stone, but it seems unlikely that discoloration, invisible to von Premierstein, should by itself give five letters, four of them so certain as not to require dots. If color is not a factor, then a squeeze ought to show all or nearly all of the remains of letters. I have examined the area on two squeezes, one of which was made by me with some care. The area is indeed damaged, so much (it seems to me) that only one letter can be printed without a dot. For the first letter, mu, the final stroke *may* be there. It is a little off center to the right, but study of the spacing shows that the placing of letters in their stoikhoi is irregular. In the second place, the whole of an iota stands out clearly. In the third place, nothing whatever is part of a letter: a diagonal mark, evidently what was taken to be alpha, is much too far out of the stoikhos even for this inscription. Next is the lower part of a central upright; finally, an upright and an oblique stroke, the latter faint, but kappa being strongly suggested. The words may therefore be considered certain, the reading being

MI[A]IK

The lengths of lines 4-5 and 5-6 are thus determined, and we are left with the difficulties mentioned *supra*. In lines 10 and 11 most of the last Symproedros and the Spokesman are restorations, however plausible. Abandon one or the other or both and three more letters can be allowed for. This leaves the gap at lines 2-3, which is one letter short and the gap at lines 3-4, which is one letter long. I can find no cure.

Line 1. Print as more widely spaced, from the left margin. [ἐπὶ Εὐθυκρί]του is of minimum length but acceptable.

Lines 12-13. Meritt follows former editors in reading line 12 with a round letter

at each end, but the marks in question are spurious, and naturally have never suggested a restoration. Instead read:

12 ΞΕΓΙΜΕ
13 ΞΓΕ/

The first letter in line 12 might by itself be upsilon. The decree may have praised an Epimeletes.

I.G., II², 454

Following the realization that preambles with *καὶ συμπρόεδροι* could be dated earlier than 318/7 B.C., I suggested that this one, then dated 308/7, be moved back to 324/3, and be restored with a 38-letter line (in B. D. Meritt, *A.J.P.*, LIX, 1938, p. 499). In *The Athenian Year*, p. 106 (omitted from the index, p. 245), Meritt gives a text of lines 1-4. The three letters of line 8 come at or near the place where the patronymic or the name of the Spokesman should fall. The first two letters are clear; the third looks like rho corrected to iota, thus HPP to HP|, as in e.g. [Θ]ηρι[κλέους], [Θ]ηρι[ππίδου].

I.G., II², 454

324/3 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 38

[ἐφ' Ἡγησίου ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς Ἑρε]χθίδος^I δεκάτ
[ης πρυτανείας ἥι Εὐφάνης Φρύνων]ος Ῥαμνούσιο
[ς ἐγραμμάτευεν Σκιροφοριῶνος ἔκ]τει μετ' εἰκά
[δας ἐκκλησίᾳ τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψήφισεν] Χαρίδη
5 [μος ----- συμπρόεδροι -----]ος Ἀλαιο
[ύς^{II} ----- III -----]ς Φρεάρ
[ριος^{IV} ----- V -----] Λακ]ιάδης^{VI} Ξ
[-----] Καλλ
[----- ἔδοξεν τῷ δήμῳ ----- Θ?]ηρι
10 [.....³⁶.....] ΟΙ
[.....³⁷.....] Ρ

I.G. II², 472

For a new fragment, *I.G.*, II², 169, added by A. Wilhelm, see the Addenda in *I.G.*, II², i, 2, p. 661. Other observations: W. K. Pritchett—O. Neugebauer, *Calendars*, pp. 39, 79 note 1.

Since Oineis (VIII) was in prytany, and the Chairman was of Aiantis (XI), the first Symproedros should have been of Antigonis (I), and the demotic was either K[υδαθηναίεύς] or K[υθήρριος]. Of his name, -]άτης can be read: [Κρ]άτης e.g. will fit.

I.G., II², 546

W. K. Pritchett—B. D. Meritt, *Chronology*, pp. 4-6 ("possibly 321/0"); B. D. Meritt, *Athenian Year*, pp. 112-113, with a text of lines 1-5 (treating the year as established); and *Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, p. 290 (keeping the year but altering the Anagrapheus to Thrasykles). The inscribed area was surmounted by sculpture: reading downward: [moulding]; relief sculpture, little preserved, subject undetermined; small moulding; gap; text, lines '2' (Meritt) ff. The authors of *Chronology* were uncertain about whether the Anagrapheus was inscribed in the gap, but it is clear from an excellent squeeze that no letters were inscribed on the preserved part. At the left, [ΘΕΟΙ] in large letters may have been present. The Anagrapheus, if inscribed, must therefore have been on the [moulding at the very top], which is possible (*Chronology*, p. 5), but confirmation would be welcome.

I.G., II², 547

The dating is mentioned *supra* in the introduction. W. K. Pritchett—B. D. Meritt, *Chronology*, pp. 2-3, give a new text of the whole; B. D. Meritt, *Athenian Year*, pp. 105-106, gives a text of lines 1-5. In the present notes the lines are numbered as in these texts.

Assuming that the tribes were listed in order, Pandionis should be the tribe of the second Symproedros: in line 8 the demotic should be Κ[υδαθηγηναίεύς] or Κ[υθήρριος].

Line 9. The next demotic, from Leontis, can only be [Ἐκαλ]ῆθε[ν].

Line 10. The reading is clearly chi, not kappa, giving not [Καρ?]κίν[ος] but some such name as [Ἄρ]χίν[ος].

Line 11. Before the sigma, space makes an omicron unlikely, an upsilon likely. After the epsilon read a doubtful pi.

Line 13. More space should be allowed before εἰπεν, since the spokesman's patronymic would be included.

Line 15. The fifth letter is alpha, delta, or lambda, followed by eta, kappa, or nu. No third letter shows.

Line 16. The letter read as eta can be only nu (more likely) or eta. After it, one end of a gamma or tau shows.

I.G., II², 548

The demotic in line 1 may well be correct, but my squeeze shows no trace of the alpha; the direction of the break does not here reveal a stroke. The nu is represented by only a bit of one stroke. Hence this inscription gives no help with Symproedroi or demes. The lettering I cannot date closer than *ca.* 330-*ca.* 300; as A. Wilhelm saw, the demotic makes it ante-307/6.

I.G., II², 697

(Plate 84)

History of the Text. The first known transcription of the text was by L. Ross. From it A. Boeckh published the first edition, in 1828: *C.I.G.*, I, 97. By then the stone had been taken by Lord Elgin and was in the British Museum, where it was numbered 195. Apparently Ross did not see, and certainly Boeckh did not know, that one side is preserved. Ross failed to read a number of letters, but the Boeckh publication is notable because no letter seen by Ross has disappeared since: the stone has had 132 years of good care.

The second edition was by E. L. Hicks (not C. T. Newton, as in *I.G.*, II²) in 1874, *Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, I, no. IX, p. 20. "Nothing has been lost on the right side: at the ends of lines (6) and (9) a vacant space has been left." Hicks was correct about the existence of the vacant spaces, but his inference, based on the observation that the original right side of the stele was preserved, was not tested by a fresh examination of the stone. He had studied it earlier, for readings, with some care: his text is a distinct advance on Boeckh's. He also detected a departure from the tribal order.

The third edition, by U. Koehler in 1877, was *I.G.*, II, 245. Koehler copied Hicks' transcription precisely, added very little, and repeated the statement about the right side.

In the fourth edition, by J. Kirchner in 1913, *I.G.*, II², 697, the text and description of the stone were again taken from Hicks: Kirchner had a squeeze but it gave no significant help. He saw, however, that line 12 had been read as having one extra letter apparently (and inexplicably) at the very edge. This edition was the first in which the text was properly spread out with restorations, with the order of the Symproedroi exhibited, etc.

In *Archontenforschung* the inscription has been a source of speculation and uncertainty: the Secretary was from Demetrias (II) and the text as given necessitated an Arkhon in seven letters. Complete references would serve no purpose: a sample is W. B. Dinsmoor, *Archon List*, 1939, pp. 16, 43, 49, 51, 63.

Kharinos as the Arkhon (*C.P.*, IX, 1914, pp. 256, 432), was a restoration which persisted (notably in W. K. Pritchett—B. D. Meritt, *The Chronology of Hellenistic Athens*, 1940, p. xvii, where the date assigned is 290/89 B.C.), down to 1954. In that year Dinsmoor restored Kimon I (*Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, p. 314); and in 1957 it was found that in any case the Secretary in the year of Kharinos came from a different deme, Trikorynthos (B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, pp. 53-54, no. 10).

Otherwise the text had not been altered. Some time ago, in connection with the study of the lists of Symproedroi, I received from the British Museum a squeeze which

showed, in the seventh stoikhos, i.e. in the stoikhos in which the projecting omicron (line 12) had been read, a (new) letter in each of six other lines.

In *The Athenian Year*, 1961, p. 232, note 34, B. D. Meritt made use of this observation, which was confirmed by having the stone inspected, and Meritt ventured a restoration (*ibid.*). But the facts about which side is preserved continued to escape notice.

On 9 and 10 August 1960 I was able, through the kindness of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, to make a detailed personal examination and to secure photographs (Pl. 84, Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum).

Description. The inscribed face is very smooth, as if from footwear sufficient to polish the surface without obliterating letters, and the edges too are worn: there is damage at both side edges (see photograph); down the right side of the front, a deep water trickle has obliterated much of the stoikhos from the top down to Hicks' omicron in line 12.

The stone is broken away at both top and bottom, and on a jagged slope (i. e. not perpendicularly), at the *right* side. Working evidently from notes only, and judging by blank spaces in lines 5 and 8, Hicks slipped. The side which is preserved is the *left* side (Pl. 84). Originally evened off, apparently with a tooth chisel, this side was subjected to direct contact with water (not mere condensation) which caused extensive erosion. Something over half the original surface of the side, however, is preserved, and along the front it is perfectly straight: the front edge was saved from the water by some block overlapping it about 0.015 m.

Behind, the entire surface is broken away. The stele was first split (tool marks show) into brick-size fragments of which the present fragment is one. The original thickness may well have been considerably greater; it was a fairly large stele, such as the moderately large and wide-spaced letters indicate. The foot-and-water-wear were subsequent to its breaking up.

The statistics should be given as follows. Height (not original) 0.311 m.; width 0.127 m. (left side only preserved); thickness (not original) 0.146 m. Of the letters, ten lines plus ten interspaces occupy 0.190-0.193 m. (a notable amount of variation) vertically; five letters plus five interspaces occupy 0.079 m. horizontally. The letters are 0.007-0.008 m. in height. Larger-than-average letters of this sort are to be found in about a score of inscriptions dating from *ca.* 330-*ca.* 290 B.C. The combination of large letters and long lines is rare, however, in the fourth century; the nearest parallel is Dinsmoor's famous inscription, *Archons*, 1931, pp. 7-8 (= *I.G.*, II², 649 plus a new fragment) of 293/2 B.C. So far as I can determine, *I.G.*, II², 697 will not make a part of any of the aforesaid score of inscriptions of *ca.* 330-*ca.* 290.

Text. In the following text, new readings are given.

I.G., II², 697

288/7 B.C. ?

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 37

- 1 [ἐπὶ — — {⁷/₇} — — — ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς {Πανδιονίδος
Λεωντίδος
Ἀκαμαντίδος} δω]
- 2 [δεκ]άτη[ς πρυτανείας ἦι¹⁷.....ο]
- 3 υς Θορα[ιενὸς ἐγραμμάτευεν Σκιροφοριῶνος δε]
- 4 κάτῃ υς[τέραι δευτέραι καὶ εἰκοστήι τῆς πρυ]
- 5 τανεία[ς ^v ἐκκλησία κυρία τῶν προέδρων ἐπειρή]
- 6 [φ]ύζεν ^v [.....²⁶..... ^v καὶ σ]
- 7 [ν]μπρόε[δροι ^v — — — — — I — — — — — ^v — — — — — II Κοθ]
- 8 [ω]κίδης [^v — — — — — III — — — — — ^v — — — — — IV {Ἀλ
Ἔστι
Φηγ}]
- 9 αἰενὸς ^v [— — — — — {^v/_{VI}}
{^v/_{VII}} — — — — — ^v — — — — —]
- 10 σ ^{VIII} Ἀχαρνε[ὺς ^v — — — — — X — — — — — ^v — — — — —]
- 11 σ ^{IX} Φλυνεύς [^v — — — — — XI — — — — — ^v — — — — — XII Ἀνα]
- 12 φλύστιο[ς ^v ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῶι δήμῳ ^{vv}]
- 13 Θεοσιμι[.....¹⁵..... εἶπεν ^v ἐπειδὴ νῦν]
- 14 καὶ πρότ[ερον²⁶.....]
- 15 οὐς Ευρι[.....²⁹..... εἶ]
- 16 φάμιλλα[.....²⁸..... δ]
- 17 εἰκνυσ[ι ν — — — — —]

(Uncertain number of lines missing.)

Readings. The following notes deal with the traces themselves, irrespective of context. —Line 2. The mark which might seem to make the alpha a delta is spurious. (All three letters are certain only from the context.) —3. The sigma could be read as epsilon. —4. The sigma is suggested by the form of the water erosion. —9. The new first letter is alpha, or less likely, lambda. —10. The epsilon is suggested by the form of the water erosion. —11. The second sigma shows at the edge. —13. The second iota can be read. —14. Of the tau, part of the upright remains. —16. J. Kroll has read part of alpha instead of omicron. The plural appears to be unique in Athenian inscriptions. —17. The final letter could be epsilon.

Length of Line. The shortest possible line is first determined by line 3, where a minimum of 11 letters is demanded for the month. This means that in line 5 [κυρία] must be restored, and hence that the lines must be at least 36 letters in length. A length of 36 letters will not fit line 3, however, where the last four months of the year will fit only 35 letters (which is too short) or 37 letters. Unless there is strong reason to doubt it, therefore, 37 is correct. In line 4, moreover, [δευτέραι καὶ εἰκοστήι] will fit 37, whereas for 38 letters no number can be found.

The Tribes. There is good reason, therefore, and no obstacle, for adopting a line of 37 letters. This is the length assumed to have been correct in all studies since *I.G.*, II². There is, however, one consequential new reading: the first proedros of line 9 has a demotic in -αιεύς or in -λιεύς. Between the demotics of lines 8 and 10 there intervene three demotics, as follows:

Lines 9-10 [— — —] s 'Αχαρνε[ύς (VIII)^v, κτλ.]

Line 1. [Tribe in prytany, V or VI or VII]
 Line 6. [Chairman ^v _____ ²⁶ _____ ^v V or VI or VII]
 Line 7. [_____ ^v I]
 Lines 7-8. [_____ Κοθ|ω]κίδης[^v]II
 Line 8. [_____ ^v III]
 Lines 8-9. [^{Ἀλ}_____ ^{Ἑστ}ι]|αιεύς ^v IV
 Φηγ

Line 9.	[_____ °V or VI or VII]
Lines 9-10.	[_____] s 'Αχαρνε[ύς °] VIII
Line 10.	[_____ °X]
Lines 10-11.	[_____] s Φλυεύς [°] IX
Line 11.	[_____ °XI]
Lines 11-12.	[_____ 'Ανα] φλύστιο[s °] XII

The tribe in prytany therefore required eleven or nine letters, and the prosopographical data for dating the preamble may be set down as follows:

Arkhon, in genitive after [ἐπὶ], [...⁷....] (tribe in prytany [Πανδιονίδος] or [Ἀκαμαντίδος]),

OR [...⁹....] (tribe in prytany [Λεωντίδος]);

Secretary, [...¹⁷.....o]υς Θορα[ιεύς], in all 28 letters.

On this basis, the current restoration (Dinsmoor's of 1954), [ἐπὶ Κίμωνος], is somewhat strengthened.

There is no way of avoiding the assumption that one error was committed in listing the Symproedroi: those of IX and X got interchanged. This might give some small reason for assuming that other errors were committed; but in general so few such errors are known, and in particular the rest of the present list falls so easily into order, that the preference for assuming a correct order is compelling.

I.G., II², 700

Hesperia, VII, 1938, pp. 110-114, no. 20, adds a new fragment. The date is discussed by W. B. Dinsmoor in *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, p. 134, and by B. D. Meritt in *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, p. 97; the calendar restorations in W. K. Pritchett—B. D. Meritt, *Chronology*, p. 97; in W. K. Pritchett—O. Neugebauer, *Calendars*, p. 81 note 9; and in B. D. Meritt, *Athenian Year*, pp. 141-142. No violation of the stoikhedon order can be proved in the preamble, nor any blank spaces: whatever the restoration ought to be, Meritt is sustained, as against Pritchett—Neugebauer, with respect to the epigraphical facts. A blank space in line 3 is unlikely: no inscription in I.G., II², has a blank space in the calendar equation except I.G., II², 770, where the sequence may seem to demand it: ἐνδεκάτει ° ἐνδεκάτει.

Line 5. Restore a single blank space after συμπρόεδροι, as in I.G., II², 697, 770.

Line 7. The theta, which is the only real basis for Θ[ορίκιος], should at least be dotted. It seems to be a round letter, but no more can be said.

I.G., II², 727

This is the first and hitherto the only edition. D. F. Ogden examined the stone, and reports the height of the face as 0.087 m., the width as 0.113 m.; and the thickness, definitely not original, as 0.045 m. Lettering: five letters plus five interspaces occupy

horizontally 0.053 m.; four lines plus four interspaces occupy vertically 0.046 m. The tallest letters are 0.0055 m. in height.

Kirchner's date *init. s. III* is apparently based on letter-forms alone, which seem to me *volg. fin s. IV*. There are no omitted strokes, but the forms are often hasty, rho and omicron being crude, and phi appears as +.

No part of either side is preserved. In the restoration *infra*, the length of line is based on line 6, but the precise position of the fragment within the 28-letter framework is not fixed. As the tabulation *supra* showed, the absence of a patronymic for the Chairman of the Proedroi indicates a date before the creation of the Macedonian tribes, and in line 7, *καί* should not be restored.

Parts of three letters are preserved in line 3. The first consists of one clear vertical stroke centered in its stoikhos. The second place has a thin mark as of the bottom of a sigma, but too long; part of a vertical stroke, in the middle of the stoikhos, may show dimly. The third place has a vertical mark at the left of the stoikhos, but it extends too far down and appears to be accidental.

About in these spaces the end of the Secretary's demotic, or more likely the beginning of *ἐγγραμμάτευν*, ought to occur. Some of the traces may well be deceptive, and the following text gives the only solution which presents itself. Since the Chairman was of Antiokhis X, and the tribe of the first Symproedros was Erekhtheis (I), the second Symproedros, [...|.....]δης, should be restored to give II or III. With so many spaces to fill, the other two of the only demotics in -δης in II or III, Φιλαί]δης and Ἰωνί]δης, are definitely less probable than the ones given.

I.G., II², 727

ca. 330-308/7 B.C. ΣΤΟΙΧ. 28

	[ἐπὶ -----	ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς ---]			
	[-----	-----	πρυτανείας ἦι ---]		
	[---	-----	ἐξ Οἴο]υ ἐγ[ραμμά]		
	[τευν· ---	^{ca. 11?} ---	ὀγδ]όῃ ἐπ[ὶ δέκ]		
5	[α ¹⁶]	ἡι τῆς πρυ[ταν]			
	[είας· ἐκκλησία κυρία·]	τῶν προέ[δρων]			
	[ἐπειψήφιζεν . . . ⁶ . . .]	μος Ἀτην[εύς· συ]			
	[μπρόεδρου· . . . ⁶ . . .]	ων Κηφι[σιεύς, . .]			
	[. ⁸	Κυδαντί?			
	[.	Κονθυλί?	δης, [. ¹⁰]		
10	[. ¹⁶]	π[-----]			

I.G., II², 770

The dating has been discussed most recently by B. D. Meritt in *Athenian Year*, p. 226, with references.

Line 6. The first half of this line is misprinted in *I.G.*, II². Read an iota and print [.....¹².....]ιος[^v.....⁵... Ἀναγν]ράσιος, κτλ. The name-and-demotic [.....¹².....]ιος should be of Demetrias; the deme is Hagnous, Poros, Potamos, or Phyle.

Line 8. Read two new letters: [^v-----²⁶^v-----]ιος, κτλ. The tribe is Oineis, the deme Epikhephisos, Thria, or Ptelea.

I.G., II², 797

A decree discovered by J. H. Oliver and published by B. D. Meritt (*Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 201-203) proved that *I.G.*, II², 797 should be dated in 305/4 B.C. The Chairman of the Symproedroi was given with patronymic; in all, his designation occupied 22 spaces when nu-movable is restored in line 6; *I.G.*, II² omitted the nu because it seemed to be omitted in line 5, but the new restoration by B. D. Meritt (*Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 555) rightly gives that nu also. Some plaster still on the stone obscures a squeeze, but R. S. Stroud has examined the stone itself. In line 7 all of συμπρόεδροι is clearly visible. The Chairman belonged to Tribe IV, V, or VI, depending on which of the three is absent from lines 8 and 9. All the other tribes fall into place. In line 9 read two new letters, confirming Διόγνητος Προσπάλτ[ιος].

In line 10, a new letter gives -υεύς, and for tribe IX, Kekropis, which the order requires here, the restoration should be Φλ]υεύς. The demotic of the second Symproedros in this line is confirmed, Τελεσίνος ἐξ Ο[ίου], by Stroud's reading of the penultimate omicron.

I.G., II², 800

(Plate 84)

I.G., II², 800 was the first and only publication of this interesting preamble (1913), the text being based by Kirchner on his own reading from the stone and from a squeeze. No change has hitherto been made in his text, which is here reproduced:

Photostat of *I.G.*, II², 800

med. s. III.	[Ἐπὶ - - - ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς] Λεων-	non στοιχ.
	[τίδος - - - с πρυτανείας, ἡι Κηφ]ισοκλ-	
	[Ἰς - - - - - ἐγραμ]μάτ[ευ]εν·	
	- - - - - ἐκκλησία·	
5	[τῶν προέδρων ἐπευμήριζεν Θε]όπομπος	
	[- - - καὶ συμπρόεδροι· - -]μένης Λ - -	
	-, - - - - -, Εὐξείδημ[ος]	
	- - -, - - - - - Ἰθρεν· Θεοκλ[Ἰς]	
	[- - -, - - - Ἀναφλ]ύστιος, <i>vacat</i>	
10	[- - - - -, - - - - - -] Φήτιος,	
	- - - - -, - - - - - τόρου Κυ[πα]-	
	[λήτιος, - - - - - -] λεως - -	

Kirchner evidently dated it in the period of the 12 tribes because his text showed that originally it recorded ten Symproedroi. He also noted that the Symproedros with the demotic [Anaph]lystios (XII) was out of place, since he was followed by a [S]phettios (VII) and a Sy[palettios] (IX). In 1914, A. C. Johnson suggested that perhaps the correct date should be the period of the 13 tribes, and that possibly Anaphlystos was then divided, part being in Ptolemais; thus permitting the demotics somehow—he does not go into detail—to appear in their proper order. Johnson's suggestion has not been tested until now.⁸ Late in 1933 I prepared a study of *I.G.*, II², 800 which showed that Anaphlystos was definitely out of order and hence probably not divided. This paper was to be part of a larger study which dealt with lists of Symproedroi, particularly those which ought to have been dated earlier than 318/7. The result for Anaphlystos I mentioned in *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 188, and for the Symproedroi lists, especially *I.G.*, II², 547, in (B. D. Meritt) *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 536; but with the study as a whole I was not satisfied and it never appeared.

It will be simplest to make a complete new edition.

The provenience is unknown. The thickness, 0.09 m., is original, and is ample for the width which restoration demands. The original right edge is preserved, and the maximum preserved width is 0.13 m. At the top, the moulding and the rest of the pediment have been broken off—a necessary and easy, hence a frequent, operation prior to the use of fragments of a stele as building blocks. Bits of plaster still adhere. The preserved height is 0.18 m.

The lettering is careless. Two different shapes of upsilon occur in line 11: both are made with the corner of the chisel, the mason thus saving himself the trouble of putting down the longer, and picking up the shorter chisel, which he should have used. The straight strokes have a tendency to be deeper at one end; thin, sharp, and shallow at the other. Altogether the lettering suggests the end of the fourth century B.C., perhaps after Demetrios of Phaleron had dealt the masons' craft a severe blow by his sumptuary laws; but by itself the lettering does not preclude a date somewhat

⁸ Since new data were not available, the inscription was merely mentioned by W. B. Dinsmoor, *Archons*, 1931, pp. 188 and 510; by W. S. Ferguson, *Ath. Tribal Cycles*, p. 23; and by W. K. Pritchett and B. D. Meritt, *Chronology Ath.*, p. xxxv, as containing an undated secretary, and (Dinsmoor) as the subject of Johnson's hypothesis about Anaphlystos. W. K. Pritchett in *Five Tribes* does not consider Anaphlystos in connection with Ptolemais.

In 1933 there came into my possession a number of volumes, including all the known volumes of his *Corpus*, from the library of B. Leonardos, the late Director of the Epigraphical Museum. These volumes are in Widener Library 690 and are open to inspection. Most of his pencilled annotations, which are numerous, are of published *addenda et corrigenda*; they are conscientious and helpful, but seldom crucial. With regard to *I.G.*, II², 800, Leonardos had done more than usual. He noted that lines 9-12 were stoichedon (actually lines 6, 7, and 8 are also), he conjectured that *ἐλευ* might properly be restored in line 12, but he failed to make the new readings which clinch the restorations in line 12 and elsewhere. My own observations were made independently of the notes by Leonardos. He deserves credit for working in the right direction.

earlier than 317/6, or later than 308/7. Earlier than 317/6 the only similar lettering I have found is that of *I.G.*, II², 361 of 325/4 B.C. The hand is not the same, but *I.G.*, II², 361 is similar enough to establish the possibility that the lettering of *I.G.*, II², 800 may be as early as the 320's.

A curious and very uncommon feature of this inscription is that the first five lines are not stoikhedon, whereas lines 6-12 are stoikhedon practically throughout, the horizontal spacing averaging 0.010 m. on centers. (The vertical spacing is the same throughout the inscription: ten lines plus ten interspaces occupy 0.136 m.) That lines 1-5 are not stoikhedon, i.e. are not based on guide-lines of their own, is clear at a glance (see the photographs) and is confirmed by the position of iota (the acid test), e.g. in line 2. For some reason, then, the mason did not draw vertical guide-lines until he had finished line 5: another proof of his careless attitude. Compare *I.G.*, II², 378 (*supra*), where the change is the opposite: there lines 1-5 and 7 are stoikhedon, the rest not. Note also *Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, p. 227, with photograph, pl. 41; and *I.G.*, II², 832 (*infra*).

It is notable also that the style appears to change, and the hypothesis suggests itself that there were two masons, one making larger letters (0.007 m. in height) not in stoikhoi, and a second making smaller letters (0.005 m. in height) in stoikhoi. The hand, however, is really the same throughout (note the sigmas), and the point of change of style is line 10, not line 6.

Only line 5 can be restored in full, and since it presumably was not stoikhedon in the missing portion, there is no choice but to count iota as half a letter and to consider the result merely approximate. Luckily, however, only one iota has to be restored, and the (missing) epsilon of [Θε]όπομπος is not crowded like the rest of the name, which is compressed in order to complete it in that line. The epsilon fell, in fact, on one of the stoikhos lines used in lines 6 ff., so that possibly line 5 was wholly stoikhedon in its missing portion; the same hypothesis *could* be made about lines 1-4, though without authority. The difference in any case is small, since lines 2 and 10 could hardly be any shorter than the restoration *infra* makes them. Thus although all estimates of space available for restoration depend on line 5, the estimates may be regarded as fairly close approximations. For instance, *κυρία* cannot be restored at the beginning of line 5 because it would cause line 1 to become too long.

Some 12 new letters are legible, some of these are important, and none of the important letters is doubtful. The new readings are incorporated in the following text.

I.G., II², 800

326/5 B.C. ?

(or 314/3-311/0,

309/8 ?)

[ἐπὶ — — ^{ca. 9} — — ἀρχοντος ἐπὶ τῇ]ς Λεων
[τίδος ἑκτης? πρυτανείας ἦν Κη]φισοκλ⁹

Lines
1-5

	[ἡς ----- ^{ca. 15½} ----- ἐγρα] μμάτευεν	Not ΣΤΟΙΧ.
	[----- ^{Date: ca. 21} -----] ἐκκλησία	ca. 29
5	[τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψήφισεν Θε] ὅπομπος	
	[----- ^{ca. 8? : Demotic} ----- : συνπρόεδροι ----- ^{ca. 3?} -----] μένης Λ[α]	Lines
	[μπτρεύς : ----- ^{ca. 9 : Name} ----- Παια] νιεύς : Δημ[.]	5-12
	[----- ^{ca. 19} ^{Demotic} ----- : ----- ^{Name} ----- 'Ο?] ἡθεν : Θεοκλ	ΣΤΟΙΧ.
	[ἡς ----- ^{Demotic} ----- ^{ca. 14} ----- : ----- ^{Name} ----- 'Αναφ] λύστιος ^{vv}	ca. 29
10	[----- ^{Name} ----- ----- ^{ca. 20} ^{Demotic} ----- : ----- ^{Name} ----- Σ] φήττιος εἶ	
	[δοξεν τῶι δῆμωι ----- ^{Name} ----- ----- ^{ca. 8} -----] τόρου Σν[^β _π]	
	[^{ρίδης} αλήττιος εἶπεν ἐπειδὴ ----- ^{ca. 6-8} -----] λεως [.]	

Notes on the Text and Figures. The following notes treat of details which are largely independent of the text as a whole.

The line drawn on the squeeze to show the edge is set at a minimum distance from the last letters. Probably the actual edge was a few millimeters to the right. But since the mason refrained from inscribing letters at the end e.g. of line 2, it is reasonably certain that no letter was inscribed after the last preserved letters of lines 8 and 10.

Line 4. Either the date by prytany, or more likely by month, was omitted (see the tables in *I.G.*, II², iv, 1, pp. 27-35; cf. also Dinsmoor, *Archons*, p. 355 and *passim*). This fact tends to favor a date in the fourth century.

Line 7. The triple interpuncts, perhaps also a flaw in the stone, displaced the delta from its stoichos. The only other demotic in -νιεύς is Ἀζηνιεύς (VIII).

Lines 7 and 9. The preserved letters permit no other demotics.

Lines 8 and 9. The name Θεοκλ[είδης] was also common, but its restoration here would restrict the demotic and the next name to 12 letters in all.

Line 12. The last trace recorded is either accidental, or part of a letter cut outside its stoikhos.

Commentary. It is interesting to note the use of interpuncts, not hitherto read in this inscription. Their presence favors a fourth century date, though they were used down into the first third of the third century, when blank spaces replaced them insofar as they were replaced at all.

Since no other patronymic is given to any other Symproedros in this or in any other preamble (*supra*, p. 340), the patronymic in line 11 should belong, not to a Proedros, as hitherto supposed, but rather to the Spokesman. The reading of a new epsilon at the end of line 10 is confirmation, since it enables us to restore the εδοξεν-clause where it ought to fall. If then the last of the Symproedroi named was not ----- λεως (line 12) nor the Sypalettian (lines 11-12), but rather the Sphettian

(line 10), it follows necessarily that only eight Symproedroi were listed, and that the decree belongs in the period of the ten tribes, i.e. before 307/6 B.C. This conclusion conforms to the evidence, already noted, from lettering, arrangement, punctuation, and formulae for date and Proedroi.

Before attempting to ascertain more exactly the date of the preamble, it will be well to scrutinize the list of Symproedroi, since conceivably it may throw light on the conclusion thus far reached. The data are as follows:

PROEDROI OF *I.G.*, II², 800

	Leontis	IV	[ἐπὶ τῇ]ς Λεων[τίδος ἑκτης [?] πρυτανείας]
	[Aigeis?	II]	[τῶν προέδρων ἐπειρήφιζεν Θε]όπομπος [- ^{ca.} ^{8?} -]
1	[Erekhtheis	I]	[^{ca.} ^{3?} -] μένης Λ[αμπτρέυς :]
2	[Pandionis	III]	[- ^{ca.} ⁹ - - - - Παια]νιεύς :
3			Δημ[- - - - - :]
4	[Oineis?	VI]	[- - - - - 'Ο]ῆθεν :
5		VII	Θεοκλ[ῆς - - - - - :]
6	Antiokhis	X	[- - - - - 'Αναφ]λύστιος ^{vv}
7		IX	[- - - - - - - - - - :]
8	Akamantis	V	[- - - - - Σ]φήττιος

The list makes it obvious that complete chaos of order may have prevailed. If, however, we assume that [- - -] μένης was of Lamptrai (I) instead of Lakiadai (VI), the only other possibility, then we can start off with Erekhtheis (I). The next demotic could be restored [Ἀζῆ]νιεύς (VIII); but [Παια]νιεύς (III) preserves the order at the beginning; if so, the chairman Theopompos may have been of Aigeis (II). Oineis (VI), viz. [Ὀ]ῆθεν, is indicated for the fourth Symproedros. If the fifth was of VII, then only the third, sixth and eighth need be out of order.

The list cannot be made more orderly. Since several of the demes are out of order, it seems natural to assume that the copy given to the mason already had them out of order—not that he arbitrarily disarranged them. In any case we have no list of Symproedroi nor (I believe) any other tribal list from any period which violates so grossly the order of the tribes. Clearly *I.G.*, II², 800 provides no evidence that part of Anaphlystos was in Ptolemais, nor indeed can it be cited to prove anything concerning the division or tribal membership of any deme.

In attempting to date *I.G.*, II², 800, we may first examine the possibilities from 322/1 back to 356/5 B.C., the latter of which dates seems definitely earlier than the lettering of *I.G.*, II², 800 warrants. The following six years and Arkhons might be considered, because for them the secretary is unknown: 352/1, 350/49, 348/7, 344/3, 339/8, and 326/5. Because of the lettering, because it is desirable to avoid isolating

I.G., II², 800 from its fellows, and because *Χρέμητος* comes nearest to nine letters, the year 326/5 is certainly a strong contender.

The years 321/0-319/8 are occupied largely by the oligarchy, the Anagrapheus appears in preambles, and the secretaries held office for one prytany each. The only remaining possibilities are the years 318/7-308/7, during which (except for short intervals at the beginning and end), Demetrios of Phaleron dominated Athens. Pritchett and Meritt (*Chronology*, p. 7) have shown reason to believe that in this period the Secretary was rarely if ever mentioned in preambles: they find no positive instance. It is these years, however, that the style of lettering favors. The year 318/7 is excluded by a known secretary. The Arkhon of 308/7 had a name of only seven full letters, *Καρίμουν*; the Arkons of 316/5, 315/4, and 310/9 had long names. This leaves, as likely possibilities, 314/3-311/0 and 309/8. The only bar to the acceptance of some one of these dates is the mention of the Secretary. Pritchett and Meritt admit that a Secretary mentioned in the year 317/6-308/7 would not astonish them (*Chronology*, p. 5). Moreover, in several decrees earlier than 317/6 B.C. the secretary is absent—*I.G.*, II², 330 II and III, 333 II, 337, 349, 359, and 366—yet they are a small minority of the decrees of the years 336/5-322/1 B.C., and several of them are perhaps special cases. On the whole, it seems best at present to admit a preference for 326/5 as the date of *I.G.*, II², 800, and to conceive that at this early time, when the practice of listing Symproedroi had only begun, carelessness in the order was more natural than later.

I.G., II², 832

The only new edition, by J. Kirchner in W. Dittenberger, *S.I.G.*, ed. 3 (1915), no. 496, adds nothing.

As is indicated somewhat inaccurately in *I.G.*, II², a gap has been left before the name of each Symproedros, and after the last (cf. *I.G.*, II², 852, *infra*). The second gap in line 7 is however only $\frac{1}{2}$ a space, so also the gap in line 9, and the first gap in line 10. The last gap, that in line 11, is almost non-existent.

Syllabification is never violated at the ends of lines. To maintain it, gaps are left at the ends of lines 5 (one space) and 10 ($1\frac{1}{2}$ spaces). As editors have noticed, the name of the last Symproedros was wholly erased, but none of his demotic. I can read no positive trace of the name. No other was inscribed in the space.

The lettering is not the Disjointed Style of the new (post-230/29) period. The Disjointed Style begins in a decree from late in the present year, *I.G.*, II², 833, and is exemplified also by *I.G.*, II², 852 *infra*. But for this one, the present, decree there was no change of masons. Instead we have the neat, well-formed, regular letters of the 240's and 230's. Hence it is no surprise to find that, although the inscription is labelled non-stoikhedon, parts—I think all of lines 11-23—are regular stoikhedon throughout. This observation, which I shall hope to exploit elsewhere, does not affect the Symproedroi.

I.G., II², 852

This was a small stele: the thickness, 0.075 m., is original, and the width can be reckoned (*infra*) as *ca.* 0.32 m. As Kirchner notes, the left side is preserved, and the restorations at the beginnings of lines, mostly by Kirchner, conform to it. The hand, or at least the style, is the one common in the two or more decades after 229/8. The mason may well be the same as the mason of I.G., II², 1706, in relation to which the principle of giving iota a half-space was first put forward (S. Dow, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 442). The same principle applies here.

The principle of syllabification was doubtless observed throughout, blank spaces being left at the ends of lines, line 4 for instance. The great distinction of the arrangement is the uniquely perfect solution of how to list Symproedroi (*supra*); several spaces must have been left blank at the ends of lines 7-11. Line 11 shows that single blank spaces were left between the Symproedroi in lines 7-10. In line 12, two full blank spaces, not one, preceded the ἔδοξεν-clause, indicating a none-too-careful effort to center it. The intent is clear, and I.G., II², 852, belonging where W. B. Dinsmoor placed it, among examples of what I had called the "perfect design" in preambles (Dinsmoor, *Archon List*, 1939, p. 17, note 116), is in a sense the best arranged of all Athenian decrees.

The inscription was found at Eleusis, and doubtless was set up there. The subject was therefore Eleusinian. Attention is therefore drawn to the possibility that the decree was passed in connection with the Mysteries, i.e. in Boedromion, and that the day was the same as the day of the month. The day of the prytany, in line 4, was the 18th, ὁ[γδόμῃ καὶ δεκάτῃ], or a day in the 20's, ὁ[γδόμῃ καὶ εἰκοστῇ]. The latter alternative would be admissible; but study of the days of the Mysteries showed that a date early in the 20's of Boedromion is impossible (S. Dow, *H.S.C.P.*, XLVIII, 1937, pp. 11-120). On the 18th meetings were often held: to the four instances there cited, add *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 121. It seems altogether likely, though beyond proof, that the present is a sixth instance of a decree passed on 18 Boedromion.

Kirchner's text, the only one, can be improved in several places:

I.G., II², 852

229/8-225/4 B.C.

Not ΣΤΟΙΧ. *ca.* 31½

Lines 1-4: restorations conjectural	Ἰπποθωντί]	
	[ἐπὶ — — — — — ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς	Κεκροπί]
	[δος τρίτης πρυτανείας ἥι — — — — —]	
	[— — — ^{ca. 7½} — — — ἐγραμμάτευν· Βοηδρομιῶνος]	
	[ὁγδόμῃ ἐπὶ δέ]κα, ὁ[γδόμῃ καὶ δεκάτῃ τῆς ^{vv}]	
5	[πρυτα]νείας· ἐκκ[λησία κυρία ἐν τῷι θεά ^{vv}]	
	[τρῶ]ι τῶν προέδρων [ν ἐπειρήφιζεν — — ^{ca. 7(ε)} — —]	

[Ξε
 Φα] νοτίμου Τειθρ[άσιος καὶ συμπρόεδροι ^v]
 [Μ] ενεκλῆς Λαμπτρ[εύς · ----- - - - - -]
 [Μ] όσχος Φηγούσιος [^v ----- - - - - -]
 10 [Νι] κοκράτης Σουν[ιεύς ^v ----- - - - - -]
 [Δη
 Ερ] μοκλῆς Ἀχαρνε[ύς ^v ----- - - - - -]
 [Χ] άρης Ἀφιδναῖος ^v [----- - - - - -]
 [^v ^v] ἔδοξεν τεῖ βουλ[εῖ καὶ τῶι δήμῳι ^{vvvvvv}]
 [...] ΟΙ[...] Φιλοθ[ή]ρ[ου --- εἶπεν ---]

Lines 1-2. The missing demotic of line 11 was of tribe IX or X; the other tribe furnished the tribe in prytany. If the restoration of line 3 is correct (*infra*), then the prytany was the third. In any case, the indications are strong that the Arkhon's and Secretary's names were of minimum length: thus 227/6 B.C. is virtually excluded.

Line 4. The only other numeral which will fit the 5½ spaces available is [ένάτη], but no decree is known to have been passed on this day.

Lines 5-6. The place of meeting fits. The Ekklesia is not known to have met in the Eleusinion, which was large enough to hold the Boule (*H.S.C.P.*, XLVIII, 1937, pp. 110-111), but doubtless not the demos.

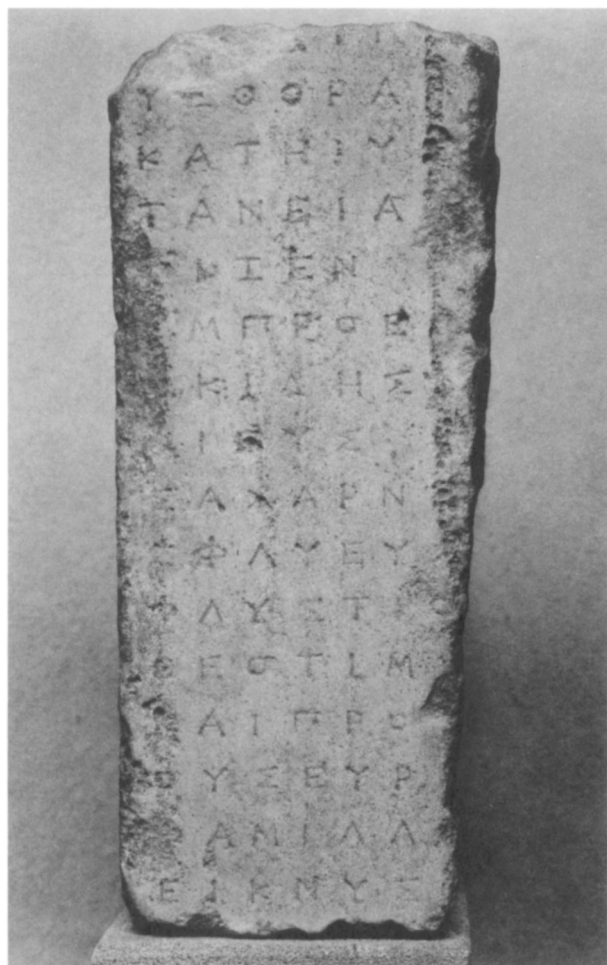
Line 7. Bechtel, *Hist. gr. Personennamen*, gives no other name that will fit.

Line 11. Two full letters are missing; drop Kirchner's [Τι]μοκλῆς. Bechtel also gives [Ἴσι], [Κω], and [Σα]μοκλῆς, but these names are not in *P.A.* nor *N.P.A.*

Line 14. Kirchner, by a slip, restored the second name, undoubtedly the Spokesman's patronymic, in the nominative. The man's own name cannot be conjectured (but [Κόρ]οι[βος] would fit) because the doubtful iota shows as only the top of a stroke, and other letters are possible.

STERLING DOW

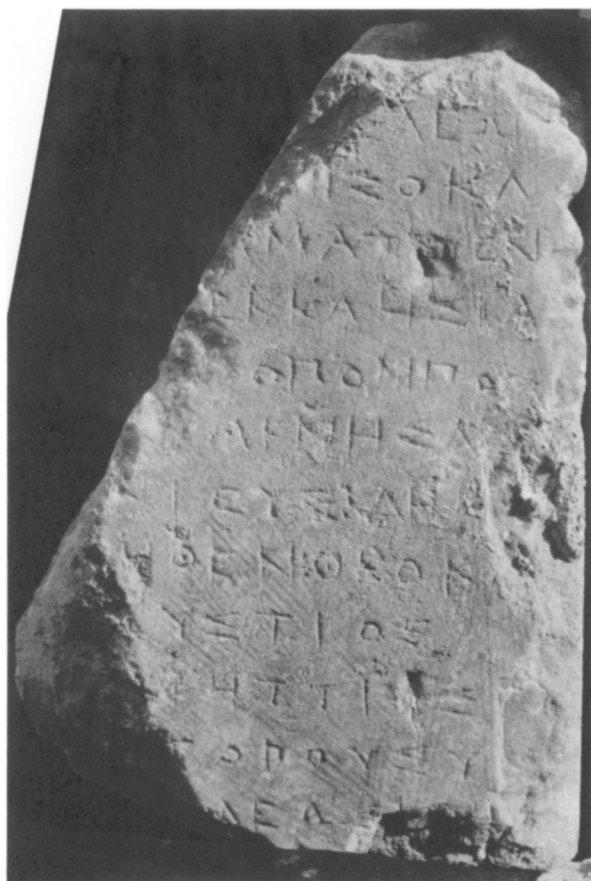
HARVARD UNIVERSITY



I. G., II², 697.



I. G., II², 697, Left Side.



I. G., II², 800.



I. G., II², 800, Squeeze, Reversed. Vertical Guide-lines in Pencil.

STERLING DOW: THE PREAMBLES OF ATHENIAN DECREES
CONTAINING LISTS OF PROEDROI