# THE BOULEUTIC LIST OF 303/2 B.C.

(Plates 1-3)

## INTRODUCTION

DESCRIPTION OF THE FRAGMENTS OF THE INSCRIPTION

WENTY fragments <sup>1</sup> of Pentelic-type marble, all discovered in the Agora Excavations, represent two stelai listing the bouleutai honored by the *Demos* in the year 303/2 B.C. Eighteen fragments are numbered I 4720, and two others, I 5094 and I 6475, have been associated as belonging to the same monument.<sup>2</sup> Those numbered I 4720 are further distinguished by the letters A (four pieces), B (three pieces), C, etc. through M, and in the following discussion they are often referred to simply by these letters.

The fragments can most conveniently be handled with the aid of photographs (Pls. 1-3) and a diagram (Fig. 1) illustrating the relative sizes and positions of the assigned fragments of Stele II. Since only two fragments can be assigned to Stele I (only one of them positively), a diagram of it is unnecessary.

The fragments, together with a physical description and their dates and places of finding, are as follows:

## STELE II

A = I 4720a (Pl. 2). Four joining pieces, broken on all sides, found between April 15 and 19, 1937, in surface fill over the Panathenaic Way west of the Eleusinion (T 20).

Overall height, 0.525 m.; width, 0.138 m.; thickness, 0.105 m.

<sup>1</sup> The author acknowledges an immense debt to S. Dow, who founded and has constantly assisted this study, and to H. J. Carroll and D. F. Ogden, who contributed much of the substance. The intention of us all remains as outlined in the introductory note to "The Bouleutic List of 304/3 B.C." (*Hesperia*, XXXV, 1966, pp. 205-240). A great debt is also due to B. D. Meritt and Lucy Shoe Meritt for their kind and considerable help. Helen Besi has drawn the diagrams for this article and "The Bouleutic List of 304/3 B.C." Much of the work was completed under a Canada Council Fellowship during 1966-67.

<sup>2</sup> None of the twenty Agora fragments belonging to the bouleutic list of 303/2 has hitherto been published, although one fragment, I 4720c, is illustrated as No. 28 in *Inscriptions from the Athenian Agora*, Excavations of the Athenian Agora Picture Books, No. 10, 1966. I 4720 (the number used for the inscription in general) is also referred to passingly in the following: *Hesperia*, X, 1941, p. 46, in connection with the list of officers; *Hesperia*, XXIX, 1960, p. 365, where the discovery of fragment I 4720m is mentioned; and *Hesperia*, XXXV, 1966, pp. 205-240, where I 4720 is cited on several occasions, usually for the sake of comparison. In addition, the profile of the moulding of fragment I 4720b is illustrated in the same issue of *Hesperia*, p. 148, fig. 3. After this article was in type the discovery was made that *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1746 also belongs. Column I of the text has been re-set and the lower part of Column II re-set with the lines of it re-numbered. The text of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1746 has been incorporated without further description or commentary.

Hesperia, XXXVII, 1

B = I 4720b (Pl. 1). Three joining pieces, of which the third was formerly numbered I 5558. The face, flat top, back, and left side are preserved. I 4730b¹ (i. e. the first of the three) was found on April 17, 1937 in the same context as I 4720a. I 4720b² was found on May 23, 1939 in a modern wall southwest of the Eleusinion and west of the Panathenaic Way (R 21). I 4720b³ was found on September 12, 1938 in a modern house wall southeast of the Market Square and west of the Panathenaic Way (Q-R 20). A moulding is preserved above the inscribed surface and carries around the side and onto the back. Though badly broken, it is nevertheless definitely traceable. For the profile of the moulding see the reference in footnote 2 (p. 1).

Overall height, 0.353 m.; width, 0.315 m.; thickness (top), 0.139 m.; thickness (bottom), 0.142 m.

C = I 4720c (Pl. 3). Broken on all sides, found on April 17, 1937, in the same place with I 4720a.

Height, 0.105 m.; width, 0.102 m.; thickness, 0.05 m.

D-E = I 4720d and I 4720e (Pl. 3). Two joining pieces, broken on all sides, found on April 19, 1937, in the same place with I 4720a.

Overall height, 0.209 m.; width, 0.067 m.; thickness, 0.118 m.

F = I 4720f (Pl. 3). Broken on all sides, found at the same time and place as I 4720e. This fragment joins I 4720i.

Height, 0.17 m.; width, 0.04 m.; thickness, 0.06 m.

G = I 4720g (Pl. 2). Broken on all sides, found in sandy fill on April 20, 1937, over the Panathenaic Way west of the Eleusinion (T 20). This fragment joins I 4720a.

Height, 0.087 m.; width, 0.045 m.; thickness, 0.039 m.

H = I 4720h (Pl. 3). Broken on all sides, found at the same time and place as I 4720g.

Height, 0.065 m.; width, 0.062 m.; thickness, 0.013 m.

I = I 4720*i* (Pl. 3). Broken on all sides, found on March 23, 1939, in a modern wall west of the Eleusinion (S 20). This fragment joins I 4720*f* with the following combined measurements:

Height, 0.19 m.; width, 0.115 m.; thickness 0.065 m.

J = I 4720j (Pl. 3). Broken on all sides, found in the wall of a modern cellar southwest of the Market Square (C-D 19-20) on April 12, 1939.

Height, 0.108 m.; width, 0.045 m.; thickness, 0.061 m.

K = I 4720k (Pl. 3). Broken on all sides, found on April 24, 1939, in a modern context east of the Late Roman Fortification Wall over the Library of Pantainos (R 14).

Height, 0.043 m.; width of face, 0.064 m.; thickness, 0.097 m.

L=I 4720l (Pl. 1). Broken on all sides, but with original back preserved, found on April 1, 1957, among collected marbles near the Eleusinion (Q 19).

Overall height, 0.26 m.; height of face, 0.227 m.; overall width, 0.20 m.; width of face, 0.08 m.; thickness (top), 0.146 m.; thickness (bottom), 0.147 m.

M = I 4720m (Pl. 2). A block, broken above, below, and at the left, but preserving the right side and the original thickness, found on June 9, 1959, over the propylon of the Eleusinion (T 20).

Height, 0.675 m.; width, 0.583 m.; thickness (top), 0.147 m.; thickness (bottom), 0.15 m.

This fragment joins I 4720a and I 4720g with the following combined measurements:

Overall height, 0.73 m.; overall width, 0.69 m.

N = I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 1746 (see above, note 2).

#### Stele I

I 6475 (Pl. 3). Broken on all sides, found on March 20, 1952, in a Turkish wall north of the Church of the Holy Apostles (P 15). This fragment was identified by D. F. Ogden in 1960 as belonging to this inscription.

Height, 0.105 m.; width, 0.06 m.; thickness, 0.065 m.

I 5094 (Pl. 1). A block, broken above, below, and at the left, but preserving the right side and the original thickness, found on December 21, 1937, in a modern house wall south of the Market Square. This fragment was identified by D. F. Ogden in 1960 as belonging to the first of the two stelai which composed this monument.

Height, 0.467 m.; width, 0.285 m.; thickness (top) 0.149 m.; thickness (bottom), 0.153 m.

## TECHNICAL DATA

1. THE LETTERING: Of all the lettering preserved on this inscription, only the title and the name of the Secretary for the Boule and the Demos and the list of eight servants on the first stele differ in any respect from the regular lettering used throughout. The tribal headings, the demotics, and the names within the lists as well as the titles and names of the first eight officers are all inscribed in non-stoichedon letters,

a shade less than 0.006 m. in height. The title and the name of the Secretary for the Boule and the Demos were written in somewhat larger letters, 0.007 m. in height.

Vertical interspacing of the lines is similarly uniform, slightly less than 0.007 m.; the average for one line and one interline is consistently 0.0126 m. Blank lines were left only between the last names in the tribal lists and the first names of the officers which were inscribed at the bottoms of the five shorter columns on Stele II. In three instances, namely in columns III, V, and VI, a thin horizontal line 0.016 m. long, serving as a paragraphos, is preserved, incised at the top of the blank space (or, in the case of column VI, where two blank spaces were left, at the top of the first blank space) in such a way that it protrudes 0.008 m. (i. e. half its length) into the left margin. Officers, with the accompanying separating spaces, also occur below the rosters in columns I and II, but the fragments we have do not preserve the left margin where the paragraphoi would, in all probability, have appeared. The names of the officers are so distributed that the bottoms of all the columns form one horizontal line running across Stele II. The title and name of the Secretary for the Boule and the Demos, which stretched across the bottom of the stele, occur 0.008 m., i. e. slightly more than one normal blank space, below the last entries in the columns.

The list of eight names preserved under the roster of Pandionis on Stele I (text, lines 313-320) is headed by a title,  $[innpéral \tau \hat{\eta}]s$   $\beta ov \lambda \hat{\eta}s$ , which occurs immediately under the last name (the only one preserved on fragment I 5094) of Pandionis, with neither a blank space nor a paragraphos. The first name of this list similarly lies immediately below the title. Whereas on the rest of Stele I and throughout Stele II the lettering is clearly non-stoichedon, these eight names are written in widely-spaced, nearly-stoichedon letters. They begin at the left margin of column V of Stele I. The letter-height and vertical interspacing agree perfectly with those of the tribal lists (i.e. letters 0.006 m. high and 0.007 m. between lines). The lettering is, however, somewhat less deeply cut and the hand is clearly different. These names were doubtless a later addition.

#### 2. THE MARGINATION:

- A. The tribal heading AKAMANTI $\Delta$ O $\Sigma$  is preserved in full. It appears 0.020 m. below the moulding on fragment I 4720b. The first letter, alpha, was written exactly at the margin formed by the list of names. Of the heading for Oineis, only the first iota is preserved, but it occurs in such a position as to indicate that the first letter, omikron, appeared as the alpha of Akamantis, exactly at the left margin of the column. The horizontal interspacing of the heading AKAMANTI $\Delta$ O $\Sigma$  is 0.006 m. to 0.008 m. which approximately centers it over the column.
- B. The *demotics* are consistently indented 0.014 m. to 0.015 m., or two letterspaces. The horizontal interspacing is such that the demotics are carefully centered over the columns (letter interspacing is often as much as 0.010 m. or more).

- C. The names of the *bouleutai* are consistently written beginning at a carefully observed left margin of their respective column. Horizontal interspacing is 0.002 m. to 0.005 m., but there is little or no effort to expand short names or crowd longer ones. Abbreviation, i. e. curtailment, is common when the name is too long for the width of the column, which is fairly consistently eighteen letter-spaces.
- D. The *officers* are written in such a way as to begin exactly at the left margin of the respective column, and so disposed as to fill the width of the column but not to encroach on the intercolumnar spaces. The horizontal interspacing is quite irregular, some officers being crowded into two lines (i.e. title, name, patronymic, and demotic); the normal spacing is three lines, but the Treasurer of the Boule is spread out into four lines. In the case of the Herald of the Boule and the Demos, a space of 0.021 m. is left between the end of his title and the beginning of his name. The horizontal interspacing of the letters of the Secretary for the Boule and the Demos averages 0.010 m. The first letter, a gamma, though not preserved, probably occurred at the left margin of column I.
- 3. THE DIMENSIONS OF THE STELAI: The overall dimensions of Stele II can be reconstructed with a great deal of certainty. Those of Stele I, however, can only be approximated, and that approximation must rely, to a great extent, on a comparison with the second stele. No estimate can be made of the length of the heading which must have stood at the top of Stele I.
- A. The *height* of Stele II can be calculated by adding the following measurements: the height of one column (demotics, 50 prytaneis, tribal heading at the top, and officers at the bottom), i.e. 0.810 m.; the height of the last line at the bottom of the stele, i.e. 0.015 m.; the maximum uninscribed height at the bottom of fragment I 4720m, i.e. 0.255 m.; the moulding at the top of I 4720b, i.e. 0.072 m.; and the distance between the moulding and the first inscribed line, i.e. 0.020 m. Thus, the total height of Stele II was at least 1.172 m. and it may have reached as much as a meter and a half. Stele I, with a heading, but no list of officers, probably reached about the same height.
- B. The width of Stele II is easily determined from the following measurements: six columns, each 0.133 m. wide; five intercolumnar spaces, each 0.015 m. wide; and two margins, each of 0.012 m. Thus, the total width of Stele II was 0.897 m. The preserved margin on I 4720b shows that there was no taper in width. Judging from the width of the columns, intercolumnar space, and margin on I 5094, the first stele must have been identical in total width to the second.
- C. The original *thickness* is preserved on three fragments of Stele II and on one fragment of Stele I. The fragments of Stele II show that there was a consistent taper in thickness from 0.139 m. just below the moulding at the top to 0.150 m. where I 4720m is broken at the bottom. Since I 5094 occupies the same respective position

on Stele I as I 4720m does on Stele II and since both fragments have a similar taper in thickness, we conclude that the two stelai were very similar in this dimension also.

Thus, in general, the bouleutic list of 303/2 was composed of a pair of matching stelai, each about a meter and a half high by about a meter wide. They were both freestanding, as proved by the lack of cuttings and the moulding preserved on the front, left, and back of Stele II.

RELATIONS OF THE FRAGMENTS AND THE DESIGN OF THE WHOLE INSCRIPTION

(Fig. 1)

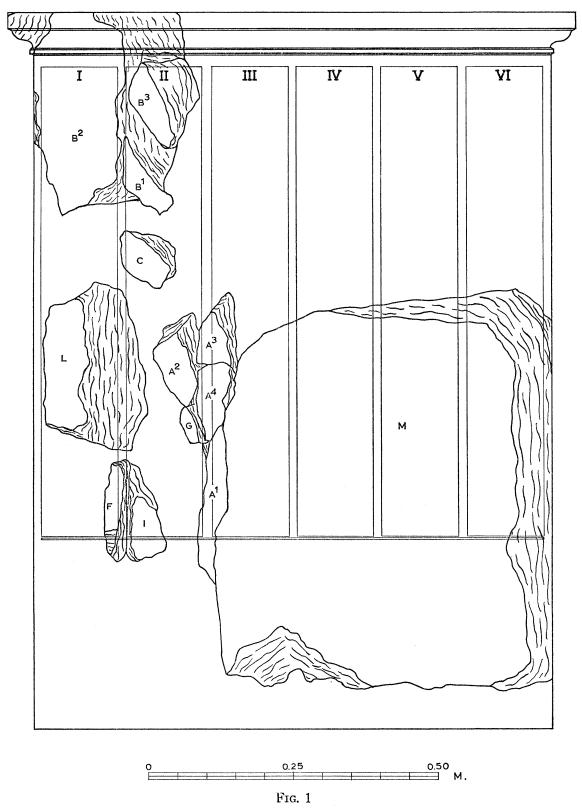
Of the two fragments that can be assigned, one certainly, the other probably, to Stele I (which listed the first six phylai, i.e. Antigonis through Leontis), I 5094 belongs to the bottom right corner of the stele and preserves the ends of the rosters of Pandionis and Leontis. Two demotics are preserved in column VI, Hekale and Potamios, the first of which belongs *only* to Leontis, and thus identifies the phyle with certainty. The tribal list in column V is seven lines shorter than that in column VI. We know from other documents of this period that Pandionis had only eight demotics while Leontis had fifteen, a difference of precisely seven. Clearly both phylai were represented in full and the respective lists began on the same line with relation to the top of the inscription.

Fragment I 5094 tells us little about the design of Stele I as a whole. The best we can do is to turn to Stele II and assume, as is most probable, that Stele I was similar in arrangement. It is almost certain that some sort of heading, even if but one line, to identify the inscription stood at the top of the first stele, although no such heading is preserved on the second.

Fragment I 4720b preserves the top left corner of Stele II together with the crowning moulding. The first phyle listed is Akamantis (heading preserved), the seventh in a twelve-phyle list, thus proving that the first six were listed separately. The back of the stele is preserved on this as well as on several other pieces. It was finely picked, but not polished, and shows absolutely no trace of any lettering; the stele thus was not opisthographic.

Of the top of the stele, however, no other part is preserved. Only the headings for Akamantis and Oineis are traceable, and both begin on the same line (0.02 m. below the bottom of the moulding). The first demotics in columns I and II, namely those of Sphettos and Acharnai respectively, occur immediately beneath the tribal headings, and the first bouleutai similarly occur immediately beneath the demotics. There is no reason to suspect that the last four phylai did not begin in exactly the same way as Akamantis and Oineis.

We are fortunate in having most of the bottom of Stele II preserved. Fragment I 4720m together with the joining fragments A and G contains the bottoms of the last four columns. The joined fragments F and I preserve part of the bottoms of



Diagrammatic reconstruction of the second stele of the bouleutic list of 303/2 B.c. Assigned fragments are designated by letters. Roman numerals show approximate positions of the headings of the last six phylai.

the first two columns and a few letters from the title of the Secretary for the Boule and the Demos. Thus we can place F-I in exact vertical and horizontal relationship with M. This gives us the relative lengths of all six columns on Stele II. Since each column contained, presumably, fifty bouleutai plus the demotics of one phyle, the difference in length of a column must depend solely on the number of demotics it contained. Aiantis is known with certainty to have had six demes in this (as in the preceding) period. The other columns compare with it as follows:

|              | Col. I    | Col. II | Col. III  | Col. IV      | Col. V  | Col. VI   |
|--------------|-----------|---------|-----------|--------------|---------|-----------|
| Phyle        | Akamantis | Oineis  | Kekropis  | Hippothontis | Aiantis | Antiochis |
| No. of lines | 60        | 60      | <i>57</i> | 64           | 56      | 60        |
| No. of demes | 10        | 10      | 7         | 14           | 6       | 10        |

From other prytany and bouleutic lists we know for certain that Akamantis had ten demes in this period. Oineis had ten or eleven, depending on whether Phyle was a split deme (cf. Hesperia, IX, 1940, pp. 80-83, No. 13). If it was a split deme, then one of the smaller demes, perhaps Phyle itself, was not represented on I 4720. The omission of a small deme from a bouleutic list is not an unusual thing for the Athenian system, least of all for Oineis. On the prytany list of 360/59 (I.G., II², 1745) and the bouleutic list of 335/4 (I.G., II², 1700) Oineis lacks one deme. In the case of the former, it is Tyrmeidai which is missing; in the case of the latter the deme is not known. Kekropis apparently had eight demes in the Macedonian period. The tiny deme Epieikidai, thus, probably did not send a representative in 303/2. Likewise, Kolone in Antiochis probably was not represented on I 4720. Hippothontis is not well known in either the time of the original ten phylai or the period of the twelve. Two tiny demes, probably Korydallos and possibly Auridai, apparently did not appear in this roster (one or both may have been transferred to the Macedonian phylai).

The framework and general arrangement of Stele II is now clear and it remains only to fit the other fragments into this pattern. The easiest is fragment I 4720l. It contains four demotics and is assigned with certainty to Akamantis, i.e. column I. Its approximate vertical position within the column may be determined from the taper in its thickness, for the general taper of the stele is known from fragments B (top) and M (bottom). On this basis the top of L should occur about halfway down the column.

We may, however, define the position of L with even greater precision. All ten demes of Akamantis, with their quotas, are known in this period, and six of them are accounted for on I 4720. Of the remaining four, three, namely Thorikos, Kerameikos, and Cholargos, each had a quota of six bouleutai, and one deme, Iphistiadai,

had a quota of one representative. There is good reason to restore the last-mentioned demotic in line 77 of our text. The right portion of this line was not inscribed (unless there be just a trace of the last iota of the demotic preserved), indicating either a short name, or, what is more likely, a demotic. Small demes appear at the bottom of the rosters on this inscription, cf. Col. VI, Stele I and Cols. II, III, IV, and VI, Stele II (Col. V, Aiantis, had no small demes). Line 77 then probably belongs to the demotic of Iphistiadai, and lines 40-53 and 56-60 must belong to the remaining three demes. The latter have been assigned on prosopographical grounds (see Commentary) to Cholargos; the former have been assigned to Thorikos and Kerameikos.

I 4720c preserves one demotic, that of Thria, which can belong only to Oineis. The fragment, therefore, is assigned positively to column II of the second stele.

We are fortunate in having a large amount of the roster of Oineis preserved on this inscription. Fragment B gives us the tribal heading and the demotic and nineteen bouleutai of Acharnai. Fragments A-G, which are joined to M, give us four demotics, and fragment I gives us Epikephisia and its one representative at the bottom of the roster. Since all these fragments are fixed in position, it is an easy matter to determine that fifteen lines must intervene between the last name on B and the demotic of Oe on A.

As shown above (p. 8), there were ten demes in this column. The quotas of the eight smaller ones are known in the Macedonian period and their total representation was seventeen bouleutai. Acharnai and Thria, whose individual quotas after 307/6 are not known, therefore must have had thirty-three representatives between them. In the time of the ten phylai Acharnai had twenty-two bouleutai and Thria seven (I.G., II², 1745, dated to 360/59). Their respective quotas after 307/6 were probably twenty-five and eight, or twenty-four and nine.

The four names inscribed on fragment C above the demotic of Thria must belong to the roster of Acharnai, for, Thria excluded, the only other deme in this phyle with a quota of four or more bouleutai, Oe, is already accounted for below. Fragment C therefore must be placed in column II one or two lines below the last name on fragment B. The mica fault in C, which agrees perfectly with those in B and A, alone would have led us to assign a position for this fragment between B and A. Unfortunately, the mica fault does not allow us to fix the vertical position of C exactly, but it does appear to favor the position whereby Acharnai would have twenty-five representatives.

Fragment I 6475 preserves parts of seven lines, the third of which contained a demotic ending in  $[---]\acute{v}\sigma\iota o\iota$ . The fragment obviously occupied a position close to the right margin of a column, and the restoration of the last part of several patronymics allows us to estimate fairly accurately just where both the right and left margins of the column must have appeared relative to the fragment. Using this

information, together with a careful measurement of the spacing of the five preserved letters of the demotic, we estimate the total number of letters to have been ten at the least. An eleven- or twelve-letter demotic would best fit. There are only three such which satisfy the requirements of length and ending and which do not appear elsewhere on these stelai (an obvious requirement): Μυρρινούσιοι, Τρικορύσιοι, and 'Αλιμούσιοι. The last two must be ruled out on the basis of quota, for both apparently had a representation of three bouleutai in this period, yet there are four names preserved on this fragment below the demotic (for the quota of Halimous, see Hesperia, XXXV, 1966, p. 227, lines 179-182, where the reading in lines 179 should be corrected to 'A[λιμούσιοι]; the deme definitely cannot be Leukonoion, which had five representatives in this period; for the representation of Trikorynthos, see I 5105, lines 233-237, publication forthcoming in Hesperia). By elimination, then, the demotic on I 6475 must belong to Myrrhinous and the fragment be assigned to column V of the first stele.

The joined fragments D and E, though large enough in size, are really quite barren in information and cannot be assigned a definite position on either stele. Because of the preserved indentation, the sixth line in the right column (text, line 262) must have contained a demotic, and it is possible that the ninth inscribed line in the left column (text, line 250) preserves the omikron-iota ending of a demotic, but the letters seem slightly too closely spaced even for the longest demotic, and, in addition, it is far from certain that the second letter is an iota. Physically, these fragments are heavily streaked with mica and we might try to assign them on this basis. Unfortunately, however, there is insufficient space in either of the two most likely positions along the mica-faults of Stele II, i.e. between columns I and II or between columns II and III. The remaining evidence, viz. two adjacent columns, one with a deme of at least eight representatives, and the other with two demes of at least five representatives each, is too slim to make an assignment, although the most likely position is Aiantis-Antiochis on the second stele.

The tiny fragments, H, J, and K, have been associated with the other fragments of I 4720 on the basis of material, lettering, spacing, and in addition for fragment H, place of discovery. All three preserve too little information to be assigned definite positions on either of the two stelai.

#### THE DATE OF THE INSCRIPTION

The date of this inscription is triply sure: (1) Stratios, the son of Philotimos, of the deme Sphettos (line 21) was chairman of the proedroi in the archonship of Leostratos (*I.G.*, II², 498, line 7); (2) Charisos, the son of Theodotos, also of Sphettos (line 20) proposed a motion in the archonship of Leostratos (*I.G.*, II², 489, line 8); and (3) three letters of the name of the prytany-secretary of 303/2, Diophantos, the son of Dionysodoros, of the deme Phegous, are preserved (line 291).

### TEXT AND COMMENTARY

The text is arranged by phylai rather than by fragments. The particular fragment on which any given portion of the text is preserved is indicated by designations at the left side. The line numbers run consecutively, the various parts being numbered as follows: Catalogue of Councillors (Stele I), lines 1-17; Catalogue of Councillors (Stele II), lines 18-239; Unassigned Fragments, lines 240-289; Officers of the Council (Stele II), lines 290-311; Servants of the Council (Stele I), lines 312-320.

Техт

a. 303/2 a.

#### CATALOGUE OF COUNCILLORS

STELE I  $\Delta \iota \delta \delta \omega \rho o \Omega \Omega$  [----]Έκαλ $\hat{\eta}\theta$ ε $[\nu]$ Col. I—Col. IV: Φωκίδης Κλειτίο [υ] missing 15 Ποτάμιο [ι] 'Αριστοτέλης 'Οψιάδο [υ] Col. V Λάχης Χαρίνου [ΠΑΝΔΙΟΝΙΔΟΣ] Line 17 ends roster of Leontis lacuna<sup>3</sup> STELE II NON-ΣTOIX. I 6475 Col. I  $[--\frac{ca.}{2}, --]\alpha\rho[---]$ NON-ΣTOIX.  $[-\frac{ca.7}{}-N\iota]$ κοβούλ[ov]B ΑΚΑΜΑΝΤΙΔΟΣ [Μυρρινο?]ύσιοι Σφήττιοι 5  $\left[--\frac{ca.}{a}\right]^{10}$  --  $v\sigma iov$ 20 Χάρισος Θεοδότου  $\left[--\frac{ca. 9}{-}--\right]$   $\int \Lambda \epsilon o \nu \tau o \left[ \varsigma \right]$ Στράτιος Φιλοτίμου  $\begin{bmatrix} -\frac{ca.}{8} - - ]\dot{\lambda}\acute{a}\nu\delta\rho o [\upsilon] \\ [-\frac{ca.}{4} - - E]\dot{\upsilon}\theta\upsilon\delta [---] \end{bmatrix}$ 'Αρεσίας 'Αρεσίππου Καλλισθένης Καλλίππ 'Αριστώνυμος 'Αριστοφ  $\left[--\frac{ca.}{a}\right]^{-1}$   $\left[--\frac{ca.}{a}\right]^{-1}$   $\left[--\frac{ca.}{a}\right]^{-1}$ 25 Θηραμένης Θηριππίδο I 5094 Line 9 ends roster of Pandionis Ξεναίος Έπαινέτου Κεφαλείς Col. VI 'Αριστόκριτος 'Αριστο  $[\Lambda E \Omega N T I \Delta O \Sigma]$ 10 'Αρίστων 'Αψέφους lacuna of 58 lines 4 [Δ] ημόφιλος Τιμοκράτο 30

<sup>8</sup> Supply 6(?) additional Μυρρινούσιοι. Missing from the total roster of Pandionis: 3 Στειριεῖs, 5 Προβαλίσιοι, 15(?) Παιανιεῖs, 1 Κονθυλίδηs, 8(?) 'Ωαεῖs, 5(?) Πρασιεῖs, and 3(?) 'Αγγελεῖs.

[Λυ] σίμαχος Πολυκράτο

Κ [ρωπίδαι]

<sup>4</sup> Missing from the total roster of Leontis: 3 'Αλιμούσιοι, 3 Κήττιοι, 5 ἐκ Λευκονοίου, 4 Σκαμβωνίδαι, 5 Χολλείδαι, 6 Σουνιεῖs, 9 Φρεάρριοι, 2 Εὐπυρίδαι, 2 Κολωνεῖs, 3 Παιονίδαι, 2 Πήληκες, and 2 Ύβάδαι.

|   | 35 | [Κη] φισόδωρος Κηφισοδ ['Αν] τίμαχος 'Αντιμάχο [Λά] χης Λαχιππίδου [Θεαί?] νετος Θεαγένου [ $\frac{ca. \frac{3}{4}}{1}$ ] κράτης Κτη[ $\frac{ca. \frac{4}{4}}{1}$ ] κράτης Γ. | F |      | [] ίστρατος Χρ[ca.3]ων ["Ε]ρμειο[ι] []ου ["Ιφιστιάδαι?] []ου vacat   |
|---|----|---|---|------|--|
|   | 40 | []<br>[Θορίκιοι?]   |   | Line | 78 ends roster of Akamantis  |
|   |    |   | В | 80   | Col. II<br>[O] I [N Η Ι Δ Ο Σ]<br>'Αχᾳ[ρνεῖς]<br>[Ε]ὐθύδη[μος]   |
|   | 45 | []<br>[]<br>[]<br>[Κεραμεῖς]  |   |      | Χαιρίων []<br>[Φ]ιλόδημο[ς]<br>[Δ]ημήτριο[ς]   |
|   | 50 | []<br>[]<br>[]<br>[]  |   | 85   | $egin{aligned} & \{\Phi\iota\} & \lambda \circ \chi \acute{a}  ho \eta \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ $                       |
| L |    | [] $[Χολαργεῖs]$ $[]$ $[]$ $[]$ $[]$ $[$  |   | 90   | $A[]$ $A\rho[]$ $T\epsilon\iota[]$ $^{\prime}A\gamma\rho\omega[\nu]$ $\Phi\iota\lambdao\chi\alpha[\rho]$                           |
|   | 60 | $\begin{bmatrix} -ca_{-}^{4} - \end{bmatrix}$ ιππος $Xa[ιρ]$ ήμονο $[\Xi \epsilon]$ νοκλής $\Xi \epsilon \nu [οδή]$ μου ? $[\dots]$ ικλής $\Sigma \tau \rho \dot{a} [\tau \omega \nu]$ ος $\Pi \rho o \sigma \pi \dot{a} \lambda \tau [\iota o \iota]$ $[\Delta]$ ημοτίων $E \dot{\nu} \epsilon [-ca_{-}^{4} - ]$ νος                                 |   | 95   | Παυσίμα [χος] Νικόλβιος Ν[] [Φιλ]οκράτης Φιλ[] [Κηφι?]σόδωρος [] [- <sup>ca. 61</sup> / <sub>2</sub> -]ίδης []                     |
|   | 65 | [Φρ]ύνιχος Γνα[θίο] υ<br>[- <sup>ca.3‡</sup> -]στρατος Ν[ικο]μάχο<br>['Αρ]χίας 'Απολλο[δώ]ρου<br>[Κλ]εόμηλος Εὐμ[ηλ]ίδου  | C | 100  | lacuna of 2 (?) lines<br>N <sub>i</sub> []<br>Εὐβου[λ]<br>Καλλιστ[]  |
|   | 70 | [K] ικυνν [εί] ς [] γένης Εὐ [-ca3 o] υ [-ca3 -] όστρατο [ς -ca5 -] ρα [Σμί] κυθος Πο [-ca6 -] ς [Ε] ἰρεσ [ίδαι] [-ca3 -] όδημος Καλ []   |   | 105  | Διονυσόδω[ρος] Θριά[σιοι] Χαιρέας Χαρ[] ['Εό]ρτιος Θεοτ[] [- $\frac{ca}{2}$ $\frac{4}{3}$ $\sigma$ ]τρατ[ος] lacuna of 2 (?) lines |

| A          | []"  |              |      | Κα[]<br>'Αμυ[]   |
|------------|--|--------------|------|--|
| 110        | $\begin{bmatrix} \\ \end{bmatrix} \sigma \ \begin{bmatrix} \\ 0 \\ \hat{\eta} \end{bmatrix} \theta \begin{bmatrix} \epsilon \nu \end{bmatrix}$ | Διλ          |      | `A[λαιεῖς?]  `Επώ[νυμος Σω?]σιβίου                                 |
| +N         | $\left[-\frac{ca.6}{-} - \delta \eta \mu o_{S} A \left[-\frac{ca.4\frac{1}{2}}{-}\right] \right]$  | •            |      | 'Αστ[ύαναξ?] 'Αριστομά   |
| 7-14       | $\mathrm{E}[-\frac{ca.4}{2}-]$ ίων $\mathrm{E}\mathring{v}\beta$ ίου   | 10           |      | Γλαύ[κιππ]ος Σαννιάδο  |
|            | $\text{E}\dot{\beta}[o\nu\lambda i]\delta\eta s A\pio\lambda[\lambda o\delta]\dot{\omega}$   |              |      | Μέλη [το] ς Λάχητος  |
| 115        | Αυσίσ [τρα]τος Αυσ[ιστ]ρ   |              |      | Φύτ[ιος?] Πολυεύχου  |
| 110        | 'Αναξιμ[έν]ης Θεοφίλου   |              |      | Βρέτ [ω]ν Διοδώρου   |
|            | 'Αριστοφῶν [Φ]ωκιάδου  | 14           |      | Νικοξενίδης Νικήτο   |
|            | Περιθ[ο] ίδαι  |              |      | Βρύων Δρύωνος  |
|            | Εὐκλῆς Αἰσ [χύλ]ου   |              |      | Δημ[ά]ρατος Ἡφαιστοκλ  |
| 120        | $\Gamma$ λαύκω $\left[\nu - \frac{ca.}{5} - o\right] \nu$ ς  |              |      | Λακράτης Λακλέους  |
| + G        | $\text{Καλλικ}[-\frac{ca.6}{} - ]\epsilon[]\iota\theta v$  |              |      | $\Pi \iota 	heta \epsilon \hat{\iota}_{S}$                         |
|            | $\operatorname{Bov}[	aulpha\delta]$ αι   | 14           | 45   | Τᾳ [υ] ρέας Πυθοκλέους   |
|            | Κηφισόδο [τος Δε]ινί[ου]   |              |      | Εὐθυκράτης Εὐθυδήμ   |
|            | Λακι [άδ] αι   |              |      | 'Εργοκλῆς Λάχωνος  |
|            | Διοπεί $	heta\eta$ ς $\left[rac{ca.}{2} ight]$ κλέ $\left[o ight]$  |              |      | Θεόφιλος Εὐχάρους  |
| 125a       | Χαρικλ $\hat{\eta}$ ς Σ $[]^{\mathfrak{5}}$  |              |      | $	ext{T}$ ρι $ u$ εμε $\epsilon$ îς                                |
|            | Στράτων Κλε[οφῶντος]   | 15           | 50   | Θεοτέλης Καλλισθένο  |
| 125c       | $\Lambda o  u \sigma \iota \left[ \epsilon \widehat{\iota} \varsigma  ight]$   |              |      | Κηφ[ι] σόδοτος Κηφισοδ   |
|            | Χαρίας Εὐκτή[μονος]  |              |      | Συπαλήττιοι  |
|            | $\Pi$ τελεά $[\sigma$ ιοι $]$  |              |      | Διόδωρος Μελανούρου  |
|            | Δημήτριος Φίλ [ωνος]   |              |      | Θαλίαρχος Θρασυδήμ   |
| _          | Τυρμεῖ [δαι]   | _            |      | vacat  |
|            | [ ]στρατος Καλ[λιστρ]  | I            | Line | 154 ends roster of Kekropis  |
| I + N      | <b>&gt;</b>  |              |      | Col. IV  |
| 126        | 'Επικηφίσιοι   | 1            | 55   | [ΙΠΠΟΘΩΝΤΙΔΟΣ]   |
| + A 123    | $\left[ \Theta \epsilon_0 \right] \pi  ho \sigma \pi \left[ i \right] \delta \eta_{\rm S} \ { m E} \left[ \frac{ca-5}{} \right] 	au$           | 1.           | 55   | lacuna of 33 lines <sup>7</sup>                                    |
| <b>.</b> . | vacat  | $\mathbf{M}$ |      | $\begin{bmatrix} -ca. & 5 \\ -ca. & 5 \end{bmatrix}$ ς 'Αλεξάνδρου |
| Lv         | ne 127 ends roster of Oineis   | IVI          |      | Θυμοτέλης Φιλοκράτο  |
|            | Col. III   |              |      | Κλέανδρος Κλεάνορος  |
|            | [ΚΕΚΡΟΠΙΔΟΣ]   |              |      | 'Επικλείδης Εὐθυδήμο   |
|            | lacuna of 31 lines 6   | 1            | 60   | Κόπρειοι   |
| A          | $\Pi[]$  | , -          |      | Αἴσχρων Φιλιστίδου   |
| 130        | X[]  |              |      | Καλλικλής Λέοντος  |
|            |  |              |      | •  |

 $<sup>^{5}</sup>$  With this line begin the additional names from I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 1746.

<sup>6</sup> Missing from the total roster of Kekropis: 12(?) Αἰξωνεῖs, 10(?) Αθμονεῖs, and 10(?) Φλυεῖs.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Missing from the total roster of Hippothontis: 2 Κειριάδαι, 3 'Ανακαιείς, 2 'Αμαξαντείς, 4(?) Οἰναῖοι, 3 ἐξ Οἴου, 10(?) Ἑλευσίνιοι, and 6(?) Δεκελεείς.

|                                      |              | 'Αχερδούσιοι  |              | 195          | Δημοφῶν Στρατοκλέου   |
|--------------------------------------|--------------|---|--------------|--------------|---|
|                                      |              | Θεόπομπος 'Αντιγένο   |              |              | Λυσικλείδης Λυσικλέ   |
|                                      | 165          | Πειραιείς   |              |              | Νίκανδρος Φάνου   |
|                                      |              | Πολύστρατος Πολυκλέο  |              |              | Λυσίμαχος Λυσιστράτ   |
|                                      |              | Φιλιστίδης Λαμπροκλ   |              |              | Πολυκράτης Καλλικρά   |
|                                      |              | Κτήσιππος 'Ολυμπιοδώ  |              | 200          | 'Αντίφιλος Κλεοχάρου  |
|                                      |              | Παυσανίας Πεισίου   |              |              | Φαληρεῖς  |
|                                      | 1 <i>7</i> 0 | Σωκράτης Σωκράτους  |              |              | Καλλίοχος Καλλιμάχο   |
|                                      |              | Σώφιλος Σωσίου  |              |              | 'Επιχαρίδης 'Επιχάρου   |
|                                      |              | Σύμμαχος Εὐμάχου  |              |              | 'Αρεσίας Στρατονίκου  |
|                                      |              | Δημοκλῆς Δημοκλείδο   |              | 205          | Πλειστίας Χαιρεδήμο   |
|                                      |              | Σώφιλος 'Αριστομάχου  |              |              | Φίλυλλος Σμικρίου   |
|                                      | 1 <i>7</i> 5 | Σώφιλος Σωστράτου   |              |              | Κηφισοφῶν Κηφισοφῶν   |
|                                      |              | Θυμαιτάδαι  |              |              | Λύανδρος Θεοδωρίδου   |
|                                      |              | Δίυλλος Φανοδήμου   |              |              | Εὔβιος Τείσιδος   |
|                                      |              | Διοπείθης Διογείτου   |              | 210          | Σωκλης Δημητρίου  |
|                                      |              | 'Εροιάδαι   |              |              | vacat   |
|                                      | 180          | Σάτυρος Νικίου  |              | Lin          | e 210 ends roster of Aiantis  |
|                                      |              | Λυσικλείδης Στρατ   |              |              | •   |
|                                      |              | 'Αζηνιεῖς   |              |              | Col. VI   |
|                                      |              | Μεγακλης Μοσχίωνος  |              |              | [ΑΝΤΙΟΧΙΔΟΣ]  |
|                                      |              | Σπουδίας Σπουδίου   |              |              | lacuna of 32 lines 9  |
|                                      | 185          | 'Ελαιούσιοι   | $\mathbf{M}$ |              | $\begin{bmatrix} -\frac{ca}{5} & \frac{5}{5} \\ -\frac{5}{5} & -\end{bmatrix} \delta \begin{bmatrix} \\\end{bmatrix}$ |
| _                                    |              | 'Αρίστων 'Αριστοφάνου   | IVI          |              | 'Αρισ[τ]  |
| Line 186 ends roster of Hippothontis |              |   |              | Τρεφέλεως [] |   |
|                                      |              | Col. V  |              | 215          | Αἰγιλ[ιεῖς]   |
|                                      |              |   |              | 213          | Tιμόθεος Tι[]   |
|                                      |              | $\begin{bmatrix} A & I & A & N & T & I & \Delta & O & \Sigma \end{bmatrix}$ |              |              | Φανίας Εὐτ[]  |
| 7\ /T                                |              | lacuna of 33 lines <sup>8</sup>   |              |              | "Αρχανδρος Αρ[]   |
| $\mathbf{M}$                         |              | 'Αριστομέν $[η]$ ς $[-\frac{ca.}{4}]$ τοδ                                   |              |              | 'Αρχάνορος Αρ[]   |
|                                      | 190          | Φιλοκράτης Αυσικράτ   |              | 220          | Σώφιλος Διοφάν[]  |
|                                      | 190          | Μνησίφιλος Τιμωνίδο   |              | 220          | Κλεόμηλος Κλεο[]  |
|                                      |              | Χαιρέστρατος 'Αντιγέ  |              |              | ' $Aρχίλοχος 'Aρι[]$  |
|                                      |              | 'Ραμνούσιοι<br>Νιμόφουρα 'Αριστομέν   |              |              | `Αμφιτροπα[ιεῖς]  |
|                                      |              | Νικόφημος 'Αριστομέν  |              |              | 'Αρχίας ['Αρ]χί[ου?]  |
|                                      |              | $\Pi$ ερικλ $\hat{\eta}$ ς $M$ ενεσ $	heta$ έως                             |              |              | Apxins [ Ap]Xilov.]   |

<sup>\*</sup> Missing from the total roster of Aiantis: 16 'Αφιδναΐοι, 4 Οἰναΐοι, 3 Τρικορύσιοι, and 10 Μαραθώνιοι.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Missing from the total roster of Antiochis: 11 'Αναφλύστιοι, 12(?) 'Αλωπεκείs, and 9(?) Παλληνείs.

```
225
        Χαιρεφάνης [----]
                                                                 M\nu\eta\sigma i\epsilon\rho\gamma os [----]
        Διότιμος [----]
                                                         235
                                                                 Πείσανδρος [----]
                                                                    'Εροιά [δαι]
           Κριω [είς]
        Tιμόθεος [----]
                                                                 \mathbf{E}\dot{\mathbf{v}}\kappa\lambda\hat{\mathbf{\eta}}\mathbf{s}\ \mathbf{E}\dot{\mathbf{v}}\theta\mathbf{v}[----]
        Πολυκράτη [ς ----]
                                                                    Σημαχίδ[αι]
230
                                                                 \Delta \omega \phi \acute{a} \nu \eta s \Delta \omega \phi [---]
           Βησα [ιείς]
       Κηφισόστρ [ατος ----]
                                                                              vacat
        Ναυκράτης [----]
                                                                              vacat
                                                           Line 239 ends roster of Antiochis
           Είτεα [ ιοι ]
```

## Unassigned Fragments

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> This fragment has been damaged since discovery.

#### OFFICERS OF THE COUNCIL

| STELE      | II   |          | Καλλιστράτου Οἰναῖος                                     |
|------------|--|----------|--|
|            | Under Col. I   | 300      | ἐπὶ τοὺς νόμους Φάϋλλος<br>Φαίακος Ἑστιαιόθεν            |
| ΝΟΝ-ΣΤ     | OIX.   |          |  |
| F 290      | [ό? κατὰ πρυτανεί]αν   |          | Under Col. V   |
|            | [γραμματεύς Διόφαν] τος  | ${ m M}$ | κῆρυξ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ                                     |
|            | [Διονυσοδώρου Φηγούσιος]   |          | τοῦ δήμου <sup>νν</sup> Εὐκλῆς                           |
| I+A<br>295 | Under Col. II  | 305      | Φιλοκλέους Τρινεμεεύς<br>ταμίας τῆς βουλῆς               |
|            | $[\dot{\epsilon}]\pi \imath  	au \dot{a}  \psi [ \eta \phi i \sigma \mu a 	au ] a$ |          | Νικόστρατος  |
|            | $[\Delta]\omega ho \delta	heta\epsilon$ ၀၄ $[-rac{ca.}{}^6-]$ ၀၄                  |          | 'Αριστάνδρου   |
|            | $[\Pi]$ αλλη $[\nu \epsilon]$ $\acute{v}$ ς  |          | Δειραδιώτης  |
|            | Under Col. III   |          | Under Col. VI  |
| A+M        | ἀναχραφεὺς Πάνδιος<br>Πυθοδήλου ἐξ Οἴου  | ${f M}$  | κῆρυξ ἐπὶ το $\left[-\frac{ca. 6\frac{1}{2}}{-}-\right]$ |
|            |  | 310      | Δίαιτος Δίων [ος Φρεά]                                   |
|            | ἀντιγραφεὺς Ἐπικράτης  |          |  |

Line across the bottom of Stele II:

I+A+M 311 [γραμματεὺς] τῆι βου[λῆι] καὶ τῶι δήμωι Προκλείδης Παμφίλου Ξυπεταιώ[ν]

#### SERVANTS OF THE COUNCIL

#### Under Col. V

STELE I

I 5094 [ὑπηρέται τῆ]ς βουλῆς

ΣΤΟΙΧ. [.] ι μ ἱ α ς

['A] ρ ι σ τ ἱ ω ν

315 Φ? ἱ λ ο ς

[Σ] ω τ η ρ ἱ δ η ς

#### COMMENTARY

- Lines 2-8. The restoration of the demotic in line 4 and the assignment of this fragment have been discussed above (see pp. 9-10).
- Line 9. The last two letters are uncertain; only the bottom part of the vertical strokes is preserved. The name Menephilos would also fit.
- Line 11. Only the bottom part of the vertical stroke of the first letter of a demotic is preserved here.  $K\rho\omega\pi i\delta a\iota$  and  $E\kappa\alpha\lambda\eta\theta\epsilon\nu$  are the only demotics in Leontis

which will fit the preserved trace and the representation of one bouleutes; and of these,  $\mathbf{E} \kappa a \lambda \hat{\eta} \theta \epsilon \nu$  is accounted for below.

Line 14. Kleotekton of Hekale, the son of the Phokides who is certainly our councillor, appears on a gravestone of the third century (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 6014).

Lines 15-17. One part of Potamos, probably Upper Potamos, was transferred to Demetrias in 307/6; the other part remained in Leontis and its representation was increased from one to two bouleutai. The councillor in line 17 is surely the son of Charinos who was son of Laches and a councillor himself for Potamos on a prytany list of Leontis dated to the first half of the fourth century (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1742).

Lines 19-26. Sphettos had a quota of five bouleutai in the period prior to 307/6. This inscription testifies that this quota was raised to seven in the time of the twelve phylai.

Line 20. Charisos, the son of Theodotos, of Sphettos was spokesman for a decree of 303/2 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 489, line 8, where the demotic can now be restored).

Line 21. The name Stratios is well known in Sphettos (cf. *Hesperia*, XXXIV, 1965, p. 91, No. 3, line 19) and our councillor, Stratios, the son of Philotimos, was ἐπιστάτης προέδρων in 303/2 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 498, lines 7-8).

Line 23. The traces of the last letter of the patronymic resemble an epsilon more than a pi, but what appear to be parts of the middle and lower cross-strokes of the epsilon are probably chance markings on the stone. Kallipeithes is the only name which will fit an epsilon.

Line 26. Xenaios is in all probability the older brother of Xenophon who was also a councillor for Sphettos, on another bouleutic list, I 5105 of 281/0.

Lines 27-39. Kephale had a representation of nine in the pre-Macedonian period (*Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, p. 33). Agora Inscription 1997 (*Hesperia*, Suppl. I, 1937, pp. 31-33, No. 1), now to be redated to the period after 307/6, shows that this quota probably increased to twelve with the creation of Antigonis and Demetrias. On this basis line 39 is assigned to the twelfth representative of Kephale in 303/2, and line 40 must belong to the next demotic on the list, either Thorikos or Kerameikos.

Line 34. This is the only occurrence of the name Lachippides in Attic prosopography.

Line 35. The name Epainetos would also fit, but Theainetos is much more likely because of the similarity of the patronymic and because it recurs in Kephale.

Lines 40-78. For a discussion of the relative positions of the fragments B, L, and F, and consequently the restoration of this column see pp. 6-9. The demotics in lines 40 and 47 might be interchanged.

Line 59. This man is probably the father of the Xenokles who was ephebe in 305/4 (I.G.,  $II^2$ , 478, line 74) and councillor in 281/0 (I 5105, line 84). It is on the basis of these identifications that lines 55-60 are assigned to Cholargos and the demotic tentatively restored in line 54.

- Line 63. The upsilon is not at all certain, only the slightest traces of a letter being preserved where the stone breaks off. Phrynichos, however, is the only restoration possible, though it requires close spacing between the first two letters.
- Line 65. The traces of the first preserved letter in this line favor a chi, although a kappa is also just barely possible. Archias is restored as the name which will best fit the spacing and the preserved letters and traces. In addition, one Apollodoros, the son of Archias and probably the father of our councillor (hence the restoration of the patronymic here), was a representative of Prospalta in the boule of 335/4 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1700, line 121).
- Line 70. The name Smikythos may seem perhaps a shade too short for the spacing. No other name, however, will fit.
- Lines 71-73. This is our only evidence for the increase in the quota of Eiresidai. It had one representative annually prior to 307/6.
- Line 79. Only the first iota of this tribal heading is preserved, but its position opposite AKAMANTIΔOΣ and the wide spaces on either side of the iota are decisive.
- Line 81. Euthydemos of Acharnai, who appears on two gravestones of the first half of the fourth century, his own (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 5797) and his daughter's (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 5845), is perhaps the grandfather of the councillor in this line.
- Line 85. Philochares is a name well known in Acharnai and is probably also to be restored in line 94 below.
- Line 97. This name should in all likelihood be restored as Philokrates. One Philokrates from Acharnai, possibly this councillor, was trierarch in 323/2 (I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 1632, line 56).
- Line 98. Part of the top stroke of a letter is preserved at the left edge of this fragment. It appears to slope slightly and would therefore most likely belong to a sigma, although a tau is just barely possible. With a sigma, the restoration must be Kephisodoros and he may be identified with the Kephisodoros of Acharnai who occurs on a manumission list of ca. 330 (I.G., II², 1560, line 23). If a tau, the name must be restored Aristodoros.
- Lines 99-100. The relative positions of these two fragments, B and C, have been discussed above (see p. 9) where it was shown that approximately one or two lines, more likely the latter, intervened in this column between the bottom of B and the top of C. This would give Acharnai a total of twenty-four or twenty-five councillors in the boule of 303/2. Consequently, Thria would have nine or eight respectively.
- Line 111. The wide space on either side of the theta tells us that it must belong to a demotic. The only one which will fit is  $\hat{O}\hat{\eta}\theta\epsilon\nu$ , a deme which had a representation also of six bouleutai annually in the previous period (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1745).
- Line 115. The patronymic might be Lysistratos, Lysandros, Lysandrides, or Lysagoras, of which only the first is known in this deme, more than a century earlier  $(I.G., I^2, 302, line 20)$ .

Line 133. It is not certain that this deme must be Halai, the alternative possibilities being Athmonon and Aixone. The bouleutic quota of Halai in this period is known to have been ten representatives annually (*Hesperia*, XXXV, 1966, p. 228), the same number as listed here. The quotas of Athmonon and Aixone are not known in either period, but from Gomme's *Population* figures we might expect something of the order of ten for each of them. It is primarily on the basis of prosopography (see following notes) that the councillors in lines 134-143 are assigned to Halai and the demotic restored in line 133.

Line 134. If the patronymic be restored correctly here, this bouleutes may be an older brother of the representative of Halai on I 5105 of 281/0.

Line 135. The most attractive restoration of this name is Astyanax, who would then be the son of Aristomachos and grandson of Astyanax, both of Halai and known from a mid-fourth century votive tablet (*I.G.*, II², 2820, line 10). This same Aristomachos had a brother Astydamas, which is another possible, though less likely, restoration here. Both Aristomachos and Astyanax of Halai appear on a catalogue of land sales, likewise dated to the mid-fourth century (*I.G.*, II², 1593).

Line 136. A possible relative of this councillor, one Glaukippos of Halai, appears on a military list of the mid-third century (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1958, line 32). The patronymic, Sanniades, is unknown elsewhere in Attic prosopography, though Sannios and Sannion are attested and one Sanno was wife of Philophron of Halai in the mid-fourth century (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 5524). Epigraphically, it is to be noted that the omikron in the patronymic is much lighter and smaller than usual and is placed very close to the delta.

Line 138. The rare name Phytios seems perhaps a shade too short for the available space, but the other possibilities, Phytaios and Phyton, are definitely too long and too short respectively.

Line 140. Only traces of the top and bottom horizontal strokes of the xi are preserved. No other name will fit the traces and preserved letters.

Line 141. The name Bryon is not otherwise known in Attic prosopography though it has an interesting history in Asia Minor (cf. L. Zgusta, *Kleinasiatische Personennamen*, p. 129, and L. Robert, *Noms indigènes dans l'Asie-Mineure grécoromaine*, p. 164). Dryon is also unknown elsewhere as an Attic citizen-name.

Line 142. This is the only occurrence of the name Hephaistokles in Attic prosopography.

Line 143. One Lakles, the father of Eukles and quite possibly also the father of our councillor, is known from the mid-fourth century in Halai (I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 1594, line 20, and I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 4653). The name is otherwise rare.

Lines 144-148. Pithos had a quota of only three representatives prior to 307/6, i.e. one less than here.

Line 148. The father of our councillor is probably to be identified with the Euchares, son of Leonides, who is known from the mid-fourth century (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2385, line 106).

Lines 149-151. Trinemeia kept the same quota, two bouleutai, after 307/6 as in the previous period.

Line 150. One Kallisthenes, possibly to be identified with the father of our bouleutes, occurs in an inscription of Trinemeia in the mid-fourth century (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1641, line 17).

Lines 152-154. Sypalettos had two annual representatives on the council in the pre-Macedonian period. This inscription is the only evidence for its quota, the same, in the time of the twelve phylai.

Line 153. The name Melanouros is unknown elsewhere in Attic prosopography. Lines 156-159. Although information on the representation of the demes of Hippothontis is very sparse, a study of what material exists reveals that there are three demes not yet accounted for on this inscription which probably had a representation each of at least four councillors in the Macedonian period, namely, Eleusis, Dekeleia, and possibly Oinoe. From I 5105 we learn that Eleusis had a quota of at least ten bouleutai annually after 307/6. Dekeleia appears to have had four councillors on a list dating to the first half of the fourth century  $(I.G., II^2, 2377)$ , a quota which may have increased anomalously to six in 335/4 (I.G., II2, 1700). In any case, its quota after 307/6 could hardly have been less than four bouleutai. If line 342 of I 249 (Hesperia, XXXV, 1966, p. 230) is restored correctly as the demotic of Oinoe, then its quota in the Macedonian period was four councillors. Of these three demes, Eleusis is the most probable for the assignment of the names in lines 156-159 on prosopographical grounds. The Philokrates of line 157 may be the son of Epikrates who is known ca. 330 (I.G., II2, 1558, line 39; cf. Hesperia, XXVI, 1957, p. 4, No. 2, lines 36-37, etc.). Epikleides and Euthydemos of line 159 are both known as names belonging to Eleusis. Indeed, the latter may possibly be identified with the priest of Asklepios of ca. 350 (Hesperia, VIII, 1939, pp. 178-180, and I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 47, line 24), who was also the father of Moirokles (I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 1191, line 6, and I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 2845) and grandfather of another Euthydemos (I.G.,  $II^2$ , 1194).

Lines 163-164. This inscription is our first evidence for the quota of Acherdous, one bouleutes annually, in the period of proportional representation of the council.

Lines 165-175. This is the only place where the quota of Peiraeus is preserved during the time of proportional representation.

Line 167. Lamprokles, the son of Arkesias, known in Peiraeus ca. 350, is possibly the father of our bouleutes  $(I.G., II^2, 1436, line 5)$ .

Line 168. Olympiodoros of Peiraeus, probably the father of this councillor, was trierarch about 323/2 (I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 1632, line 317).

Line 174. Sophias, the son of Aristomachos of Peiraeus, who appears on an inscription dated to the mid-fourth century  $(I.G., II^2, 7189)$ , may be a brother of our councillor.

Line 175. I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 7188, dated to the fourth century, lists a man who is probably

father of our councillor, one Sostratos, son of Sophilos. The name Sophilos, of course, is extremely well known in Peiraeus and occurs three times within this list of ten councillors.

Lines 176-178. This is the only complete evidence for the quota of Thymaitadai during the period of proportional representation, though we have a fragmentary list of the early fourth century (*Hesperia*, XV, 1946, p. 228, No. 55).

Line 177. This councillorship in 303/2 adds one more scrap of information to the meager amount known of the Atthidographer Diyllos, the son of Phanodemos and grandson of Diyllos, a man cited by Plutarch as ἀνὴρ ᾿Αθηναῖος οὐ τῶν παρημελημένων ἐν ἰστορίᾳ (cf. P.A., 4451-4452, and Jacoby, Frag. Gr. Hist., II A, No. 73, pp. 130-132 and II C, pp. 112-113). His famous father, also an Atthidographer, was spokesman of and praised by a decree of 343/2, proposer of a decree of 329/8, etc. (cf. P.A., 14033, and Jacoby, Frag. Gr. Hist., III B, No. 325, pp. 77-85 and III B (Supplement), Vol. II, pp. 156-164).

Lines 179-181. Prior to 307/6 Eroiadai sent one councillor to the boule (*Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 56-57, No. 5). Our inscription shows that this quota was raised to two in the Macedonian period.

Line 180. One Nikias of Eroiadai, perhaps the father of our councillor, was trierarch on an inscription of 356/5 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1612, line 124).

Line 181. The curtailment of the patronymic prevents us from knowing this name precisely, but it is possible that he is the Straton of Eroiadai known as trierarch on naval lists of 342/1 and 323/2 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1622, lines 353, 365, and *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1632, lines 152, 166, and 341).

Lines 182-184. Azenia had a representation of two bouleutai on the council in the mid-fourth century  $(I.G., II^2, 2377)$ . Our inscription is the first evidence of its quota, the same, in the period after 307/6.

Line 184. Probably the Spoudias, son of Philistides, who was a representative of Azenia on the bouleutic list mentioned in the previous note, is to be identified with the father of the councillor in this line.

Lines 185-186. Elaious had but one representative on I.G.,  $II^2$ , 2377, and kept the same quota after the creation of Antigonis and Demetrias, as is proved by our inscription alone.

Lines 188-191. These bouleutai may belong to Aphidna, Oinoe, or Marathon, the last being the most likely although no strong prosopographical ties can be found with any of the three.

Line 188. The first four letters of the patronymic probably should be restored  $[\Lambda \rho \iota \sigma]$ .

Lines 192-200. This inscription gives us the quota of Rhamnous. Since Aiantis lost no demes to the Macedonian phylai, Rhamnous must have had a quota of eight representatives annually prior to 307/6 also.

Line 194. We cannot tell whether Menestheus, the father of our councillor, ought to be identified with the Menestheus of Rhamnous who was trierarch on naval lists of 342/1 and 325/4 (I.G.,  $II^2$ , 1622, lines 199 and 731, and I.G.,  $II^2$ , 1629, line 486), and may be the same man as the Menestheus, son of Iphikrates, who was trierarch about 333 (I.G.,  $II^2$ , 1623, lines 47-48; cf. P.A., 9988), or with the Menestheus, son of Menesthides, of Rhamnous who appears on a mid-fourth century stele (I.G.,  $II^2$ , 7341).

Line 198. Quite probably the father of our councillor is one of the two men named Lysistratos who appear as diaitetai of Rhamnous in 325/4 (I.G., II², 1926, lines 148-149).

Line 202. This councillor belongs to the family of Kallias, the son of Kalliochos, of Phaleron who appears on a mid-fourth century dikast's pinakion  $(I.G., II^2, 1878)$ .

Lines 215-222. Aigilia sent six members of the council in 334/3 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1750). Our inscription is the only evidence for its representation in the period after 307/6.

Lines 223-226. Amphitrope sent two members to the council in 334/3 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1750). Our inscription shows that the part of this deme which remained in Antiochis (it appears to have been a split deme, at least after 307/6) increased its representation to three bouleutai in the Macedonian period.

Lines 227-229. On the evidence of this inscription Krioa increased its quota of representation by one in the period after 307/6. It had only one councillor in 334/3 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1750).

Lines 230-232. This inscription is our only evidence for the quota of Besa in the Macedonian period, two bouleutai, i.e. the same representation as in the time of the ten phylai.

Line 234. Mnesiergos of Eitea is well known from the bouleutic lists of this period. One man so named was father of the councillor of 304/3 (*Hesperia*, XXXV, 1966, p. 229, line 314). Another, probably his grandson, was bouleutes in 281/0 (I 5105, line 273). With which of the two, if either, our councillor is to be identified is not clear.

Lines 240-273. The problems of assigning the joined fragments D and E have been discussed above (see p. 10).

Line 241. If a councillor appeared in this line, his name was a short one, since the last two spaces are uninscribed. However, it is not at all certain that it was a demotic either. A similar problem exists in line 254 below.

Line 250. Only an omikron and traces of a following letter, perhaps an iota, are preserved. The spacing, however, seems slightly too close for even the longest demotic.

Line 257. Only the bottom part of a vertical stroke is preserved in the first letter of this name. It may be an iota.

Line 258. This name was probably Asiades.

Line 262. A demotic was definitely inscribed in this line, as is proved by the preserved indentation.

Lines 268 and 271. The surface of the stone is too damaged to tell anything concerning these lines.

Lines 274-289. As discussed above (see p. 10), these fragments, H, J, and K, cannot be assigned to any particular deme or phyle.

Lines 290-311. In these lines, which appear at the bottom of the rosters of councillors on the second stele, are listed what must have been the full complement of the officers of the council in the period immediately following 307/6: six secretaries, two heralds, and one treasurer. We find a similar list, though not preserved to such an extent, at the bottom of the bouleutic list of the previous year (*Hesperia*, XXXV, 1966, pp. 215-216, 230).

Lines 290-292. These lines undoubtedly belong to the only officer of the council noticeably unaccounted for at the bottom of this inscription, the prytany-secretary, who was the most important secretary officially and the one who would most naturally head a list of officers. Indeed, in line 290 the last two letters of the title κατὰ πρυτανείαν are preserved. Their wide spacing would indicate a line of fourteen or fifteen letters, a suitable number for this restoration. The following lines, then, should contain the name, patronymic, and demotic of this secretary, who happens to be known for 303/2: Diophantos, the son of Dionysodoros, of the deme Phegous. In line 291 the last three letters of the name Diophantos are preserved. Their spacing would indicate a line of about twenty letters. Obviously this name will account for only about half of the required number. The beginning of the line apparently was taken up by part of the title of the prytany-secretary. This title is usually abbreviated to κατὰ πρυτανείαν when it appears in a list of officers, but the full title would be either  $\delta \gamma \rho \alpha \mu \mu \alpha \tau \epsilon v \delta \delta$ κατὰ πρυτανείαν or ὁ κατὰ πρυτανείαν γραμματεύς. The former word-order is far more common than the latter, but the latter does occur (e.g. I.G., VII, 4252, an Athenian inscription found at Oropos; I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 463, 551, and 1073, though the last examples appear in restoration). Our inscription appears to be another example. One cannot be sure that the article was used in line 290.

Lines 303-304. Eukles, the son of Philokles, of Trinemeia, the well-known herald from the well-known family of heralds, appears on a number of inscriptions of this period. There are two uninscribed letter-spaces in line 303 between the end of the title and the beginning of the herald's name, undoubtedly left so that the name would fill the width of the column.

Line 309. Though admittedly our knowledge of the titles and officers of the council is not so great as we should like it to be, it is nevertheless surprising to come upon the title of an officer for which we have no other occurrence. The secretary  $\dot{\epsilon}n\dot{\epsilon}$   $\tau o \dot{\nu} s$   $\nu \delta \mu o \nu s$  is well known, as is the treasurer  $\tau \delta \nu \dot{\epsilon}n\dot{\epsilon}$   $\tau \delta \dot{\alpha} \nu \delta \theta \eta \mu a$ , but there is no known herald which will fit the title  $\dot{\epsilon}n\dot{\epsilon}$   $\tau o [-\frac{ca}{2}, \frac{61}{2}]$ . The surface of the stone is lost after the omikron, although there may be just a trace of another letter. The other officers are so spaced as to reach the right margin of their respective columns. If the

same be true in this case, as seems likely, then we have room for about six and one half letters after the omikron.

Line 310. Both the name of this officer and his patronymic are known in the deme Phrearrhoi. Indeed, one Diaitos, the son of Dion, of Phrearrhoi, probably this very herald, was trierarch in 325/4 and 323/2 (*I.G.*, II², 1629, lines 585, 597, 782, and 837; also *I.G.*, II², 1631, lines 140, 164-165, 191, and 195). The father, Dion, the son of Diaitos, was also trierarch, in 334/3 (*I.G.*, II², 1623, line 84).

Line 311. This line, written in slightly larger letters than the others and spaced more widely, stretches clear across the bottom of the stele.

Lines 312-320. This heading and list of eight names which appear immediately below the last name in the roster of Pandionis, column V of the first stele, have been mentioned earlier (see p. 4). It is almost certainly a list of non-citizens. Three of the names do not occur in P.A., viz. Philos, Attis, and Posideos. All, or very nearly all, persons given the unaltered names of deities are slaves (M. Lambertz, Die griechischen Sklavennamen, LVII-LVIII Jahresberichte, Staatsgymnasium im VIII. Bezirke Wiens, 1907, 1908, pp. 26-30). The name Attis can be added to Lambertz' list; it is known in Attica from two grave monuments (I.G., II², 10903, and 10904), neither of which has a demotic. There need be no doubt about the restoration of the heading. Inscribed evidently as an afterthought (the hand, spacing, style of lettering, etc. are different), these lines are notable as giving us the longest preserved list of Athenian public slaves. The present list is an interesting mixture of what might be thought of, somewhat loosely apart from Attis, as slave-names, along with names like Aristion usually thought of as belonging to the upper classes.

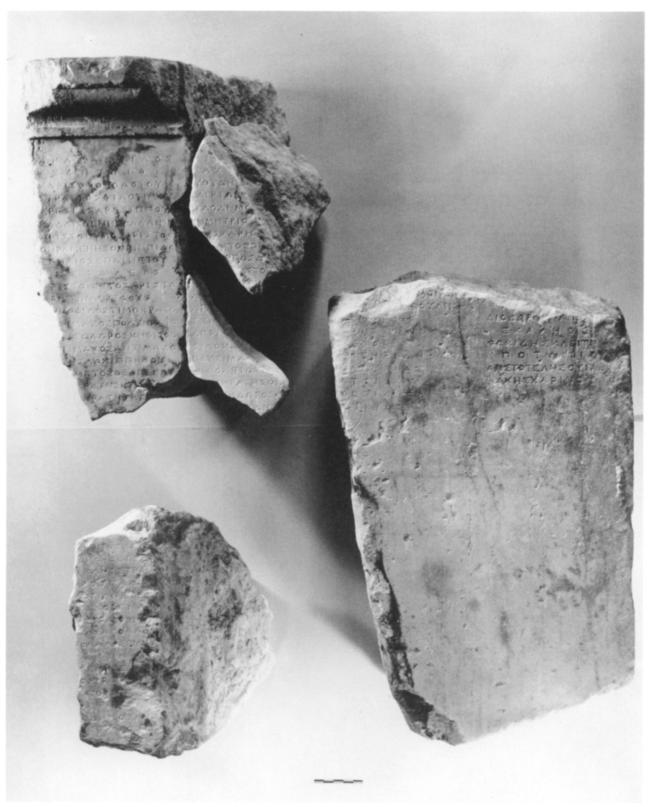
Line 313. This name might be either Simias or Timias.

Line 315. Only a trace of the first letter of this name is preserved, but it is consistent with a phi.

Line 317. Glaukias is apparently the only name possible here. The first alpha is uncrossed, but no name in [.]λλυκίας is known. This is the only example of an incomplete letter or proved error on either of the two stelai.

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Stele II: 4720 b (above) and l (below)

Stele I: I 5094

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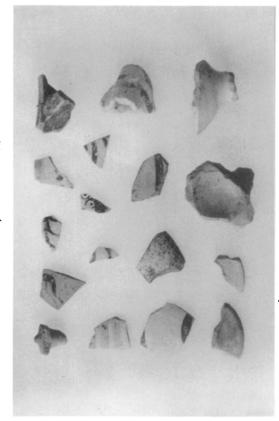


I 4720 a + g Stele II

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a. Section Ge, Southeast End



OSCAR BRONEER: THE CYCLOPEAN WALL ON THE ISTHMUS OF CORINTH, Addendum b. Mycenean Sherds from Ge

I 4720 Stele II

Stele I: 6475

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