

# THE BOULEUTIC LIST OF 281/0 B.C.

(PLATES 119-123)

## DESCRIPTION OF THE FRAGMENTS OF THE INSCRIPTION

THIRTY<sup>1</sup> fragments of Hymettian-type marble, all but one discovered in the course of the excavations in the Athenian Agora, have been associated as belonging to two blocks of a large, three-block monument which listed the bouleutai honored by the *demos* in the year 281/0. Twenty-seven of the fragments were originally assigned the number I 5105,<sup>2</sup> each being further designated by a letter, A, B, C, etc., through X, Y, Z, and A'. One of these fragments, I 5105E, was subsequently proved not to belong to this monument. Two other inscriptions from the Athenian Agora, I 6704 and I 4038, the latter published as *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, p. 235. No. 4, and one inscription from the Epigraphical Museum, E.M. 6085, published by Kirchner as *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2427 (cf. *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 69, No. 26) and now numbered Agora I 5105B', were later correctly associated as part of this same bouleutic list.

The fragments can most conveniently be handled with the aid of tables of physical data and circumstances of finding, photographs (Pls. 119-123), and a diagram (Fig. 1) illustrating the relative sizes and positions of the assigned pieces. Table I, below, provides pertinent information concerning dimensions and preserved sides. The dimensions are given first for the individual pieces and then for the joined fragments. Where separate figures are not given for the overall size, it is to be understood that it is not at all, or negligibly, different from the size of the inscribed face. As is usual, "height" and "width" refer to the maximum dimensions obtained by measuring, respectively, perpendicularly to or parallel with the inscribed lines. In no case is the original thickness preserved.

<sup>1</sup> The author thanks S. Dow, H. J. Carroll, Jr., and D. F. Ogden for their many and important contributions to this study. B. D. Meritt and Lucy Shoe Meritt have, as always, given much assistance. S. V. Tracy provided advice on the identification of hands. The majority of the work was completed in Athens with the aid of a Canada Council Fellowship.

<sup>2</sup> One of these fragments, I 5105A' was noticed by Pittakys in 1834 near the church named 'Υπαπαντή in the region which was then thought to belong to the ancient Metroon (southeast corner of the Agora). It was published by him in 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. (1853, No. 1849), and, the stone subsequently being lost, was republished from Pittakys' text by the following: Rangabé (*Antiquités Helléniques*, p. 1012, No. 2350), Koehler (*I.G.*, II, 1030), and Kirchner (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2411). This fragment, somewhat damaged since the time of Pittakys, was rediscovered in the Agora Excavations. I 5105 in general is referred to *passim* in the following: "The Bouleutic List of 304/3 B.C." (*Hesperia*, XXXV, 1966, pp. 205-240) and "The Bouleutic List of 303/2 B.C." (*Hesperia*, XXXVII, 1968, pp. 1-24).

The preserved sides are further classified according to the treatment of the surface, i.e. whether it is smoothly polished, roughly picked, or finished with a toothed chisel, and whether it shows anathyrosis. Several fragments have an incised tapering band along one side. The width of this band, at the top and bottom of the fragment, is given.

TABLE I: PHYSICAL DATA

| <i>Fragment</i>             | <i>Height</i>               | <i>Width</i> | <i>Thick-<br/>ness</i> | <i>Original-Side-<br/>Preserved Side</i> | <i>Treatment</i>  | <i>Width of<br/>Incised<br/>Band</i> |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------|------------------------|--|-------------------|--------------------------------------|
| A                           | 0.231                       | 0.331        | 0.109                  | Top                                      | Anathyrosis       |                                      |
| B (joins M)                 | 0.173                       | 0.105        | 0.103                  |  |                   |                                      |
| C (joins H, D,<br>P and B') | 0.256                       | 0.214        | 0.127                  |  |                   |                                      |
| D (joins C, P)              | 0.172                       | 0.135        | 0.130                  |  |                   |                                      |
| E                           | rejected from this monument |              |                        |  |                   |                                      |
| F (joins V,<br>I 4038)      | 0.312                       | 0.229        | 0.134                  | Right                                    | Toothed<br>chisel | Top 0.0430<br>Bot. 0.0396            |
| G (joins J, A')             | 0.154                       | 0.148        | 0.072                  |  |                   |                                      |
| H (joins C, B')             |                             |              |                        |  |                   |                                      |
| face                        | 0.235                       | 0.252        | 0.150                  |  |                   |                                      |
| overall                     | 0.358                       | 0.361        |                        |  |                   |                                      |
| I (joins O, K)              | 0.156                       | 0.102        | 0.047                  | Left                                     | Smooth            |                                      |
| J (joins G, A')             |                             |              |                        |  |                   |                                      |
| face                        | 0.290                       | 0.314        | 0.118                  | Top                                      | Anathyrosis       |                                      |
| overall                     | 0.330                       | 0.314        |                        |  |                   |                                      |
| K (joins O, I)              | 0.133                       | 0.115        | 0.06                   | Top,<br>Left                             | Smooth<br>Smooth  |                                      |
| L face                      | 0.093                       | 0.098        | 0.088                  |  |                   |                                      |
| overall                     | 0.202                       | 0.177        |                        |  |                   |                                      |
| M (joins B, N)              | 0.275                       | 0.283        | 0.149                  |  |                   |                                      |
| N (joins M, U<br>and V)     | 0.298                       | 0.282        | 0.163                  |  |                   |                                      |
| O (joins K, I)              | 0.241                       | 0.280        | 0.047                  | Top                                      | Smooth            |                                      |
| P (joins D, C)              | 0.305                       | 0.213        | 0.131                  | Right                                    | Toothed<br>chisel | Top 0.0512<br>Bot. 0.0475            |
| Q face                      | 0.195                       | 0.114        | 0.13                   | Left                                     | Anathyrosis       |                                      |
| overall                     | 0.318                       | 0.136        |                        |  |                   |                                      |

| <i>Fragment</i>                     | <i>Height</i> | <i>Width</i> | <i>Thick-<br/>ness</i> | <i>Original-Side</i> | <i>Side-Preserved<br/>Treatment</i> | <i>Width of<br/>Incised<br/>Band</i> |
|-------------------------------------|---------------|--------------|------------------------|----------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| R (joins Z)                         | 0.190         | 0.285        | 0.146                  |                      |                                     |                                      |
| S (joins Z)                         | 0.150         | 0.093        | 0.065                  |                      |                                     |                                      |
| T (joins Z) face                    | 0.087         | 0.150        | 0.247                  |                      |                                     |                                      |
| overall                             | 0.356         | 0.228        |                        |                      |                                     |                                      |
| U (joins N, V)                      | 0.347         | 0.380        | 0.155                  | Bottom               | Rough picked                        |                                      |
| V (joins F, N,<br>U, and<br>I 4038) | 0.430         | 0.309        | 0.165                  |                      |                                     |                                      |
| W                                   | 0.041         | 0.052        | 0.010                  |                      |                                     |                                      |
| X                                   | 0.304         | 0.185        | 0.124                  | Left                 | Anathyrosis                         |                                      |
| Y                                   | 0.388         | 0.310        | 0.119                  | Right,<br>Bottom     | Anathyrosis<br>Anathyrosis          |                                      |
| Z (joins S, T)                      | 0.295         | 0.247        | 0.145                  |                      |                                     |                                      |
| A' (joins G, J)                     | 0.452         | 0.320        | 0.183                  | Left                 | Toothed<br>chisel                   | Top 0.054<br>Bot. 0.051              |
| B' (joins H, C,<br>and I 6704)      | 0.141         | 0.176        | 0.055                  |                      |                                     |                                      |
| I 6704 (joins B')                   | 0.175         | 0.191        | 0.058                  | Right                | Toothed<br>chisel                   | Top 0.0558<br>Bot. 0.0536            |
| I 4038 (joins<br>F, V)              | 0.057         | 0.135        | 0.036                  |                      |                                     |                                      |

| <i>Joined Fragments</i>     | <i>Overall Height</i> | <i>Overall Width</i> | <i>Overall Thickness</i> |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|--------------------------|
| G-J-A' (joined)             | 0.646                 | 0.618                | 0.183                    |
| I-K-O (joined)              | 0.261                 | 0.362                | 0.060                    |
| B-M-F-N-U-V-I 4038 (joined) | 0.747                 | 0.739                | 0.165                    |
| R-S-T-Z (joined)            | 0.443                 | 0.570                | 0.247                    |
| C-D-H-P-B'-I 6704 (joined)  | 0.620                 | 0.534                | 0.150                    |

#### DATES AND PLACES OF FINDING

Table II, below, gives the date and place of discovery of each fragment, together with such details of context as are pertinent. The *sections* referred to are those of the City Grid superimposed on the Agora. The reader is referred to *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, plate 12, where a grid plan of the whole Agora is published.

TABLE II: DATES AND PLACES OF FINDING

| <i>Fragment</i> | <i>Date of Finding</i> | <i>Section</i> | <i>Details of Context, etc.</i>  |
|-----------------|------------------------|----------------|--|
| A               | Nov. 15, 1937          | O 17           | Modern house wall, outside the market square and south of the Church of the Holy Apostles. |
| B               | Nov. 16, 1937          | O 17           | Same   |
| C               | Nov. 16, 1937          | O 17           | Same   |
| D               | Nov. 18, 1937          | O 17           | Same   |
| E               | Nov. 24, 1937          | Q 18           | Same   |
| F               | Nov. 25, 1937          | P 17           | Same   |
| G               | Nov. 30, 1937          | O 17           | Same   |
| H               | Nov. 30, 1937          | O 21           | Same   |
| I               | Dec. 1, 1937           | O 18           | Same   |
| J               | Dec. 2, 1937           | O-P 18         | Same   |
|                 | Mar. 2, 1938           | O-P 18         | Same   |
| K               | Dec. 6, 1937           | O 17           | Same   |
| L               | Dec. 17, 1937          | O 18           | Same   |
| M               | Jan. 9, 1938           | O 18           | Same   |
| N               | Nov. 16, 1937          | O 17           | Same   |
| O               | Mar. 3, 1938           | O-P 18         | Surface fill, outside the market square and south of the Church of the Holy Apostles.      |
| P               | Mar. 4, 1938           | O 18           | Same   |
| Q               | Mar. 9, 1938           | O-P 18         | Modern house wall, outside the market square and south of the Church of the Holy Apostles. |
| R               | Mar. 31, 1938          | O 18           | Same   |
| S               | Apr. 1, 1938           | O 18           | Same   |
| T               | Apr. 1, 1938           | O 18           | Same   |
| U               | Apr. 1, 1938           | O 18           | Same   |
| V               | Apr. 1, 1938           | O 18           | Same   |
| W               | Apr. 2, 1938           | O 18           | Loose fill, outside the market square and south of the Church of the Holy Apostles.        |
| X               | May 9, 1938            | O 18           | Modern house foundation, south of the Church of the Holy Apostles.                         |
| Y               | May 12, 1938           | O 18           | Modern house wall, outside the market square and south of the Church of the Holy Apostles. |
| Z               | May 16, 1938           | O 18           | Same   |

| <i>Fragment</i> | <i>Date of Finding</i> | <i>Section</i>      | <i>Details of Context, etc.</i>                                   |
|-----------------|------------------------|---------------------|---|
| A'              | Feb. 20-22, 1939       | P 22                | Marble dump with marble fill, in northeast part of section P 22.  |
| B'              | ca. 1879               | Findspot<br>unknown | From the Greek Archaeological Society.                            |
| I 6704          | Feb. 17, 1955          | O-P-Q<br>16-17      | Marble pile in the southeast part of the market square.           |
| I 4038          | April 21, 1936         | F 6                 | Modern context over the Hellenistic Building on Kolonos Agoraios. |

## TECHNICAL DATA

1. THE LETTERING: Only the title and name of the *στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν* differ in any respect from the regular lettering used throughout this inscription. The names of the phylai, demes, bouleutai, servants, and the titles and names of the first two officers on fragments X and Y are all inscribed in letters of approximately the same size and character. Although there are slight variations, the full letters are usually between 0.006 m. and 0.007 m. in height. The title, name, patronymic, and demotic of the Provisioner-General, however, are written in much larger letters, approximately 0.011 m. high.

2. VERTICAL INTERSPACING: The normal vertical interspacing of the lines is slightly less than 0.007 m. The average for one line and one interline varies between 0.0123 m. and 0.0126 m. Blank lines are rare: between the last name in the roster of Demetrias and the heading of Oineis a space of 0.020 m. intervenes, enough for one line with normal interspacing above and below—this was undoubtedly intended for the servant of Demetrias; and in the roster of Antiochis under the eighth representative of Pallene a blank line was left—this was probably meant for a ninth councillor from this deme (see commentary to lines 238-247).

There are, however, some real exceptions to the normal vertical interspacing. (a) Between the last councillor in the roster of Leontis and the tribal heading of Antiochis in the sixth column no servant's name was inscribed and a space of only 0.012 m. was left, i.e. more than the normal interspacing between lines, but not enough for a blank line as in the case of Demetrias. (b) Since the fifth column ends with its lines in exact horizontal alignment with those of the sixth, we must assume a similar irregular interspacing within it, and this irregularity probably occurred in a like position, i.e. between the two rosters of Pandionis and Aiantis, a part of the inscription not preserved. (c) In the third column at the bottom of the roster of Erechtheis a servant's name was inscribed (his title is preserved). Under this line an anomalous space of 0.012 m. was left above the tribal heading of Kekropis. This may explain

why the last line in the column appears a half space above the corresponding line in Oineis, the second column, where no abnormalities in vertical interspacing are apparent. (d) Finally, since the third column ends with its lines in exact horizontal alignment with those of the fourth, we naturally suspect an irregularity in the vertical interspacing of the latter, and such an irregularity does exist: below the demotic of Hestiaia (bouleutic quota of one) in Aigeis in the top part of the column no name was inscribed and a space of 0.014 m., or slightly more than half the normal space required for a full line, was left blank (see commentary to line 53).

At the bottom of the monument the names and titles of three officers are partially preserved; the first two appear on the left half of the monument; the third, in large letters, appears on both halves. Between the servant's name at the bottom of the roster of Oineis and first officer and between the second officer and the *στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τὴν παρασκευήν* spaces of 0.021 m. intervene, i. e. approximately the normal amount for a line and two interspaces.

3. HORIZONTAL INTERSPACING: All lettering on this inscription is clearly *non-stoichedon*. Nevertheless, horizontal interspacing is relatively uniform. Occasionally a short name is stretched out, but long names are never crowded. In general, the same horizontal interspacing is used for tribal headings, demotics, and the names of the bouleutai and servants. The widest spacing appears in line 195, 0.011 m., but this is an exception. The usual spacing varies between 0.004 m. and 0.007 m. The titles and names of the officers have more widely spaced lettering. In the case of the first officer it varies between 0.007 m. and 0.012 m.; for the second, between 0.010 m. and 0.018 m.; and for the third, between 0.008 m. and 0.016 m.

There is only one certain example of the use of interpuncts on this inscription: three dots, one above another, appear between the title and name of the servant in line 5. They do not recur, however, as one would expect, where the titles and names of other servants are preserved, i.e. at the bottom of the rosters of Aiantis, Antiochis, and Oineis, although in the last case it is difficult to be certain since the surface of the stone has been damaged.

4. MARGINATION: The first letters of the tribal headings of Oineis and Antiochis are still visible and these extend 0.021 m. and 0.020 m. respectively into the left margins of their columns. Although no heading is preserved in full, it is apparent that the tribal names were not centered over the columns.

The demotics are without exception indented, but the amount of indentation varies considerably. The first letter of the demotic of Koile, for example, appears 0.024 m. to the right of the margin, although the indentation in Cholargos and Trinemeia is as much as 0.037 m. The most common indentation, however, is approximately the mean between these extremes, 0.031 m.

The names of the bouleutai are consistently written in columns beginning at a scrupulously observed left margin, but there is no attempt to form a right margin. Long names extend as far as necessary; e.g. the last letter of the patronymic in line 192 occurs only 0.032 m. from the margin of the next column. There is no example of a name which has been curtailed.

The first two officers were inscribed in the free space under the rosters on the left side of the monument (the first three columns were much shorter than the fourth). Judging from the natural restoration of the title of the first officer, they were inscribed beginning at the left margin of the second column (cf. commentary on lines 286 and 287). The title of the third officer began apparently under the left margin of column one (cf. commentary on line 288).

5. DRAFTED EDGES: Four fragments, *viz.* F, P, A', and I 6704, have an incised band, or drafted edge, 0.004 m.—0.005 m. deep along one side, fragment A' along the left, the other fragments along the right. In every case the band is wider at the top than at the bottom (for the actual widths, see above, pp. 460-461). Careful measurement of the width of this band at various positions along it shows that the decrease is uniform: *ca.* 0.0016 m. for every ten centimeters of height. This information allows us to establish roughly the vertical positions of these fragments. The purpose of the band was doubtless purely decorative, perhaps to give the monument the appearance of a slightly tapering stele.

6. GUIDE-LINES: Almost every fragment shows evidence of lines which have been incised on it. They run both vertically and horizontally and are usually, though not always (a guideline on fragment R clearly slopes slightly), either exactly parallel or exactly perpendicular to the lines of lettering. They may, however, be further classified as follows: (a) those which appear above and/or under some particular lines but do not extend across the whole monument, e.g. the first two of the three officers at the bottom; and (b), those which appear at wider, though not regular, intervals and extend, either vertically or horizontally, through the whole inscription. The first type is usually lightly inscribed, the second, more heavily and sometimes with two strokes, e.g. the line across the middle of fragment N. Doubtless both varieties were used by the mason to help in arranging his text. For us they are obviously a great assistance in fixing or confirming the relative positions of a number of fragments.

7. THE HANDS: The lettering on this monument was inscribed by two masons whose hands are very similar. The strokes of the first (hand A) tend to be rounder, e.g. in the upsilon, and often, particularly at the angles, do not meet perfectly. The strokes of the second are straighter and more careful, i.e. they almost always meet at the angles. Mason A inscribed the first, second, the top of the third, the fifth, and the sixth columns, i.e. fragments G-J-A', S-T-Z, A, C-D-H-P-B'-I 6704, B-M-F-

N-U-V-I 4038, and probably the third officer (with the larger lettering it is difficult to distinguish the hands). Mason B inscribed the central part of the monument, the bottom of the third and all of the fourth column and the first two officers, i.e. fragments R, I-K-O, Q, X, and Y. Of the unassigned fragments, L certainly and W probably (a very tiny fragment) belong to hand B and should therefore be assigned to the central part of the inscription.

#### DESIGN OF THE WHOLE INSCRIPTION AND THE RELATIONS OF THE FRAGMENTS (Fig. 1)

All bouleutic lists, including I 5105, have this in common: the names of the bouleutai, with or without patronymics, are grouped under the respective demotics and inscribed in columns below tribal headings. The form, however, may vary considerably: a single stele (*Hesperia*, XXXV, 1966, pp. 205-240; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1700), a pair of matching stelai (*Hesperia*, XXXVII, 1968, pp. 1-24), a block inscribed on several faces (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2377), a pair of such blocks (*Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, pp. 30-57), and the present inscription, i.e. a large three-block monument whose design has been determined from the preserved fragments in the following manner.

Fragment A' preserves part of the left side and, at the left edge of the inscribed surface, an incised tapering band. The fragment accordingly must belong to the left side of the monument. The fourth line from the top on A', as now preserved, reads [— —]ANTIΔΟΣ, immediately below which appears the demotic of Cholargos. Thus we have what can only be the tribal heading of Akamantis, the seventh phyle in the Macedonian period.

Fragment J joins the right side of A' and preserves part of a second column. Exactly on the same line as the tribal heading of Akamantis appear the first six letters of the heading of Oineis. Above it are listed a number of names and the two demotics of Melite and Koile, demes which, taken together, can only belong to Demetrias. The arrangement of the inscription therefore must be as follows:

| I         | II        | III        | IV           | V         | VI        |
|-----------|-----------|------------|--------------|-----------|-----------|
| Antigonis | Demetrias | Erechtheis | Aigeis       | Pandionis | Leontis   |
| VII       | VIII      | IX         | X            | XI        | XII       |
| Akamantis | Oineis    | Kekropis   | Hippothontis | Aiantis   | Antiochis |

The names above the heading of Akamantis on A' must accordingly be assigned to Antigonis.

The other fragments confirm this arrangement of phylai and columns. The joined piece, B-M-F-N-U-V-I 4038, preserves parts of the right side, including the incised band, and the bottom. It must accordingly be assigned to the lower right corner



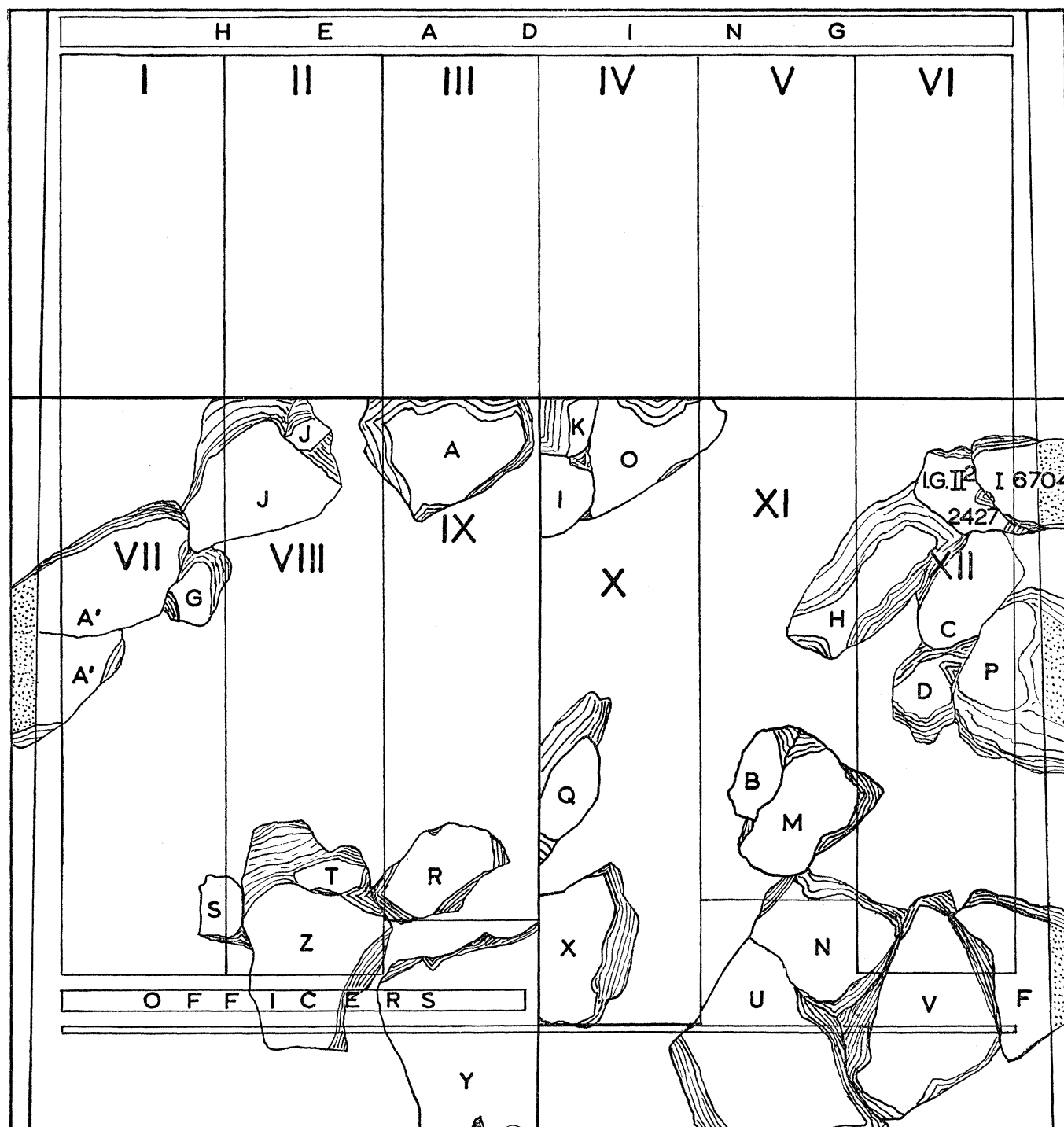


FIG. 1. Diagrammatic Reconstruction of the Bouleutic List of 281/0. Assigned fragments are designated by letters (*I.G.*, *II*<sup>2</sup>, 2427 = *B'*). Roman numerals show approximate positions of the headings of the several phylai.

of the monument. Of the ends of the two rosters preserved, the column on the left contains demotics from Aiantis and the column on the right, demotics from Antiochis.

Another large piece, C-D-H-P-B'-I 6704, also preserves part of the right side and incised band (on fragments P and I 6704), as well as the full width of one column and the partial width of another. The right-hand column gives us the bottom of the roster of Leontis and the first half of the roster of Antiochis, including five letters from the tribal heading. The left-hand column accordingly must belong to Aiantis and the whole piece clearly must occupy a position above B-M-F-N-U-V on the right side of the monument. The number of missing lines in Antiochis, twenty-six, can easily be calculated from the known number of demotics and prytaneis in the roster. This figure agrees remarkably well with what we should estimate to have been the relative positions of these two large pieces using the information given by the widths of the tapering bands on I 6704, P, and F.

No other fragments preserve incised bands, although several have *sides*, *tops*, and *bottoms*. Fragment A, for instance, preserves a top which runs parallel to the lines of lettering and represents, therefore, very probably an original, and not a recut, surface. For several centimeters back from the inscribed face the surface of the top is smoothly polished, behind which the stone is roughly picked, i. e. anathyrosis. Obviously this is a joining surface and another block must once have rested on top of A. This conclusion is confirmed by the epigraphical contents of the fragment. Though the face is much damaged, the demotics of Sybridai, Phegous, Themakos, and Kedoi, as well as the title of the servant, can be made out, i.e. the last part of the roster of Erechtheis. The first part of this roster must have been inscribed above A (it could not have appeared at the bottom of column two, for this part of the inscription is preserved on Z and contains only the roster of Oineis).

Fragment J also preserves a *top* of a similar nature to that preserved on A, namely, a surface which shows anathyrosis. That both tops belong to the same original surface is quite obvious and confirmed, if confirmation were needed, by the horizontal guide-line which appears between the two councillors named Kephisodoros on fragment J (lines 13-14) and reappears on A at exactly the same distance from the top (between lines 31 and 32). It is easily observed that the two rosters preserved at the top of the J, i.e. Antigonis and Demetrias, both end five lines below the roster of Erechtheis on fragment A.

The joined fragments I-K-O also preserve a *top* and, in addition, part of a left side (without incised band), both being smoothly polished, as on A. I-K-O, however, is too thin to show the rough picking, characteristic of anathyrosis, which must surely have once belonged to these surfaces. Although the inscribed face is much damaged, like that of A, several demotics can still be read and they leave no doubt but that the fragment belongs to the phyle Aigeis, i.e. column four of this inscription. Beyond question the top of this fragment fell in line with those of fragments A and J. If

further confirmation were needed, the faint traces of a guide-line on A and J recur at exactly the same distance from the top of I-K-O. Very probably the roster of Aigeis began on the same line as those of Antigonis, Demetrias, and Erechtheis.

Thus, the design of the bottom of the monument seems clear: one block on the left listing the ends of phylai I, II, and III and the whole of VII, VIII, and IX, and another block on the right listing the ends of IV, V, and VI, and the whole of X, XI, and XII. Doubtless a third capping block which contained the beginnings of the first six phylai rested on top of these two blocks. There are many parallels for this type of monument, though it is unique among bouleutic lists.

Fragment Y preserves part of a right *side* (without incised band) and bottom, both surfaces showing anathyrosis. The bottom undoubtedly fitted on to a base, as we should naturally expect from the type of monument, although there is no evidence of clamps or dowels on this or any other fragment (the pieces are too thin). Fragment Y therefore must belong to the bottom right corner of the left block of the monument.

The bottom of fragment U, the only other piece which preserves such a surface, appears to have been treated in a different manner from that of Y, i.e. rough picking as opposed to anathyrosis. The evidence, however, demands that the two bottoms must once have been aligned. Guide-lines, one at the top right corner and another at 0.177 m. from the bottom of Y reappear on B-M-F-N-U-V at identical distances from the respective bottom. In addition, the large nu and the *rasura* in the third line on Y occur in perfect alignment with lettering of the same size and character on the joined fragments.

From the evidence of the preserved demotics, R-S-T-Z must be assigned to the end of the rosters of Oineis and Kekropis, i.e. the bottom of columns two and three. Below the servant of Oineis occurs a space of 0.021 m. and then two lines which agree in lettering and horizontal and vertical interspacing with the first two lines on fragment Y. Judging from their position at the bottom of the monument and their content, especially the first line, these definitely belong to a list of officers. Indeed, part of the title of the first officer can be restored in the space which lies between the two fragments. Guide-lines on Y and B-M-F-N-U-V reappear on R-S-T-Z and confirm these relative positions, not to mention information obtained from calculating the number of missing lines in Oineis and Kekropis between A and R, and J and T, respectively. Finally at the bottom of Z occurs large lettering of the same height, interspacing and character as that on Y and B-M-F-N-U-V. It all belongs to the title and name of the third officer. In fact part of the title can be restored between Z and Y, the word *παρασκ[ευή]ν* from the office *στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τὴν παρασκευήν*.

Other fragments fit easily into, indeed often confirm, the proposed scheme of arrangement. Both Q and X preserve part of a left *side*, without incised band but with anathyrosis. Both also contain demotics belonging to Hippothontis and thus must be placed in the bottom half of column four. Their left sides align exactly with

that of I-K-O and all were undoubtedly once part of the lower right block of the monument.

Fragment X, however, can be assigned an exact vertical position within column four. The horizontal guide-line which cuts the demotic of Azenia reappears at the top of Y and also on B-M-F-N-U-V, and the guide-line which occurs at the top of X recurs near the top of T and middle of R. In addition, at the bottom of X there are traces of *rasura* which align perfectly with those on Y (see commentary on lines 178 and 288). Finally, when fragments X and Y were placed together so that the above-mentioned guide-lines joined and the *rasurae* aligned, the two pieces showed matching damage and scratches along their common edge. There can be little doubt concerning the relative positions of these two fragments.

The exact vertical position of fragment Q, which, as just mentioned, also belongs to the roster of Hippothontis, but higher up in the column, is more difficult to ascertain. Line 155 (see commentary) on this fragment apparently belongs to the demotic of Peiraeus, a deme which had a quota of ten representatives in this period. Lines 157-161 at the top of X can belong only to Dekeleia or Peiraeus, the two demes in Hippothontis not otherwise accounted for on I 5105 which had possible quotas of five or more bouleutai. Prosopography favors their assignment to the latter (see commentary on lines 157-161). Thus, probably four lines intervened between the bottom of Q and the top of X.

Fragments L and W contain too little information to be assigned definite positions within the monument. That both belong to I 5105 appears certain from the nature of the stone, the place of finding, and the lettering and spacing. In fact, on the evidence of the hand, they should probably be assigned to the central part of the inscription (see above, pp. 465-466).

Fragment E appears to preserve part of two names and was once associated with this monument on grounds similar to those for L and W. It must now, however, be rejected. Its style of lettering is different from either hand on the rest of I 5105. More important, there is no possible position for it within the inscription. The *vacat* under the second name would require a position at the bottom of the monument, i.e. at the end of the first column, since the bottoms of the other five columns are preserved. Yet if it were to appear here, it would have to preserve part of the list of officers, something it clearly does not do. Moreover, the obvious restoration of the second name would require a margin far to the right of that preserved on the other fragments in this column.

It remains to consider the relative lengths and composition of the columns and the restoration of the roster of Aiantis. The bottoms of all the columns, except the first, are preserved and their relative lengths can easily be compared. Taking the shortest column, the fifth, as the reference point, i.e., 0, the other columns are seen to be the following number of lines longer than it:

| <i>column</i> | One | Two | Three | Four | Five | Six |
|---------------|-----|-----|-------|------|------|-----|
| <i>length</i> | ?   | 10½ | 2     | 16   | 0    | 11  |

And the probable composition of the columns was as follows (the half-line irregularities are outlined above, pp. 463-464) :

|                              | I         | II        | III        | IV     | V         | VI      |
|------------------------------|-----------|-----------|------------|--------|-----------|---------|
| <i>heading</i>               | Antigonis | Demetrias | Erechtheis | Aigeis | Pandionis | Leontis |
| <i>bouleutai</i>             | 50        | 50        | 50         | 50     | 50        | 50      |
| <i>demotics</i>              | 15        | 15        | 10         | 16-17  | 8         | 15      |
| <i>servant</i>               | 1         |           | 1          | 1?     | 1         |         |
| <i>space between rosters</i> |           | 1         | ½          |        | ½         | ½       |

|                  | VII       | VIII   | IX       | X            | XI      | XII       |
|------------------|-----------|--------|----------|--------------|---------|-----------|
| <i>heading</i>   | Akamantis | Oineis | Kekropis | Hippothontis | Aiantis | Antiochis |
| <i>bouleutai</i> | 50        | 50     | 50       | 50           | 50      | 50        |
| <i>demotics</i>  | 10        | 10     | 7        | 16-15        | 6       | 11        |
| <i>servant</i>   | 1?        | 1      |          |              | 1       | 1         |
| <b>TOTAL</b>     | 127?      | 127    | 118½     | 132½*        | 116½    | 127½      |

\*(The half-line discrepancy in Aigeis-Hippothontis is accounted for by the fact that only that amount of space was left for the one representative of Hestiaia.)

Pandionis, Leontis, Akamantis, Oineis, Aiantis, and Antiochis were represented, apparently, by the expected number of demes. The number of demes belonging to Antigonis and Demetrias has not hitherto been known, but fifteen in each is not unreasonable. The composition of the fourth column is more problematical, since both the exact position of the bottom of the Aigeid roster on this inscription and the number of demes belonging to Hippothontis in the Macedonian period are uncertain. Aigeis had as many as seventeen demes on the prytany list of 254/3 (see above, pp. 419-420), but it is possible that in 281/0, or any other year, one of its tiny demes may have failed to be represented. Hippothontis had only fourteen demes on the council of 303/2 (*Hesperia*, XXXVII, 1968, pp. 8, 13-14, 20) when probably one, or possibly even two, of its small demes were not represented. In that same year Kekropis had only seven demes on the council, the same number as, apparently, here; probably the tiny Epieikidai was omitted in both cases. Erechtheis normally had eleven demes in the Macedonian period, but apparently the small deme Pambotadai was not represented on I 5105. As we can see, there is nothing unusual in such an occurrence, least of all in Erechtheis, for Sybridai did not appear on the bouleutic list of *ca.* 336/5 (*Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, p. 31) and either Pambotadai or

Sybridai was omitted from the prytany list of 367/6 (*Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 233) and the bouleutic list of 335/4 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1700).

Since the fragments belonging to the roster of Aiantis are fixed in position, the restoration of the demotics appears certain. Oinoe had precisely four representatives in the Macedonian period (cf. *Hesperia*, XXXV, 1966, p. 229, lines 284-287, and commentary). Thus a demotic must have occurred in line 232, and the only deme in Aiantis which could have had a quota as small as three is Trikorynthos. Marathon must be restored in line 180, since either Phaleron, with a quota of nine, or Aphidna, with a quota of sixteen, inscribed there would require demotics in line 190 or 196, both quite impossible. For a similar reason Phaleron cannot have been inscribed in line 191.

#### THE DIMENSIONS OF THE MONUMENT

Since the top, bottom, and sides of the lower blocks are partially preserved and since the fragments on which these features occur are fixed in relation to one another, the dimensions of these blocks are easily obtained: height (of each block), 1.352 m., and width (of each block), 0.975 m. The approximate height of the upper block, computed by estimating the space required for the forty-seven lines missing from the top of each column and adding in a certain arbitrary amount (*ca.* seven lines) for the heading, comes to 0.710 m. Thus, the face of the monument measured approximately two meters by two meters. No accurate estimate, however, can be made of the thickness, but that it was considerable is obvious from the style of monument, the general dimensions, and the partial width preserved on fragment T (0.247 m.).

#### THE DATE OF THE INSCRIPTION

This inscription must, of course, be dated to the period of the twelve phylai, i.e. *post* 307/6. One of the councillors, however, permits a more precise date. Diokles, son of Ischyrias, of Ptelea (text, line 117) was chairman of the proedroi in the archonship of Ourias, i.e. 281/0 (*Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 562, No. 40, lines 6-7; cf. *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 305, note 14). Other prosopographical evidence supports this dating; e.g. the bouleutes in line 97 is almost certainly the ephebe of 305/4; and the bouleutai in lines 231, 272, etc. are the sons of councillors who served in 303/2 (see commentary on these and other lines). Moreover, in the style of lettering, especially the phi written with only the upper round part, I 5105 resembles very closely an inscription of 282/1 which honored the hipparchs and phylarchs (*Δελτ.*, XVIII, 1963, pp. 104-105).

#### 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 side. The line numbers run consecutively, the various parts being numbered as follows: Catalogue of Councillors, lines 1-277; Unassigned Fragments, lines 278-285; Officers, lines 286-288.

## TEXT

## a. 281/0 a. Catalogue of Councillors

## Col. I, Top

## NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[Α Ν Τ Ι Γ Ο Ν Ι Δ Ο Σ]

*lacuna of 62 lines*<sup>3</sup>A' [--- <sup>ca. 11</sup> ---] αοντι [---] (?)[--- <sup>ca. 11</sup> ---] φύτου (?)[--- <sup>ca. 7</sup> ---] ος Ἑγησικρά[τ]ου

[ύπ]ηρέτης : Βίων

5

*Line 5 ends roster of Antigonis*

## Col. II, Top

[Δ Η Μ Η Τ Ρ Ι Α Δ Ο Σ]

*lacuna of 50 lines*<sup>4</sup>J [--- <sup>ca. 16</sup> --- ο]υ[<sup>ca. 3</sup>] ιλ [--- <sup>ca. 8</sup> ---] έρου[Ξ] εναιος [Πο] λυμνήστο [υ]Μελιτε [ις]

10

Σωκλής Κωμ [ά] ρχουΔημήτριος Πα [.] ίσουΚηφισόδωρος Κ [ηφ] ισοδ [---]Κηφισόδωρος Αν [σ] ι [στράτου] (?)Ἑγήσιππος Ἀριστο [μάχου]

15

Πυθοκλής Ἀνθεμοκρ [ίτου]Ἀντιφών Ἐπιτρόπουἐκ ΚοίληςΕὐβουλος Νεάρχ [ου]Ἀριστοκλής [-----]

20

Δημοφών [-----]*vacat**Line 22 ends roster of Demetrias*

<sup>3</sup> Missing from the total roster of Antigonis: 3 Ἀγρυλείς, 2 Περγασείς, 5 Λαμπτρέις, 1 Ἀγκυλεύς, 6 Ἰκαριείς, 7 (?) Γαργήττιοι, 1 Παιανιεύς, 2 Κυθήριοι, 12 Κυδαθηναίς, 2 Αἰθαλίδαι, 2 Ποτάμοι, 2 Δειραδιῶται, 2 Εἰτεαῖοι, and 3 (?) from two unknown demes.

<sup>4</sup> Missing from the total roster of Demetrias: 1 Διομεεύς, 1 ἐξ Οἴου, 2 Ποτάμοι, 3 Πόριοι, 5 Ἀγνούσιοι, 1 Ἰπποτομάδης, 2 Κοθωκίδαι, 6 Φυλάσιοι, 1 Δαιδαλίδης, 7 Ξυπεταῖονες, 3 (?) Ἀνακαίς (?), 4 (?) Ἀτηνείς, and 4 (?) Θοραεῖς.

## Col. III, Top

[ΕΡΕΧΘΕΙΔΟΣ]

*lacuna of 49 lines*<sup>5</sup>

|   |  |    |
|---|--|----|
| A | [Κα?]λλι[-----]                          |    |
|   | Εὐχαρίδ[ης?-----]                        | 25 |
|   | Συβρ[ί]δαι                               |    |
|   | Κλεαρ[-----]                             |    |
|   | Φηγούσ[ιοι]                              |    |
|   | Μνησιφῶν Αἰσχύλου                        |    |
|   | Θημακεῖ[ς]                               | 30 |
|   | Σιμωνί[δης-----]                         |    |
|   | ἐκ Κ[η]δῶν                               |    |
|   | Χαρίσιος Ἀθ[-----]                       |    |
|   | Νικόδημος [-----]                        |    |
|   | ὑπηρέτη[ς-----]                          | 35 |
|   | <i>Line 35 ends roster of Erechtheis</i> |    |

## Col. IV, Top

[ΑΙΓΕΙΔΟΣ]

*lacuna of 46 lines*<sup>6</sup>

|     |   |    |
|-----|---|----|
| K-O | [ <sup>ca. 23</sup> -----]οκλήσ Φα[-----]   |    |
|     | [Κα?]λλίας Ἀπολλο[-----]                    |    |
|     | Κυδαντίδαι                                  |    |
|     | [ <sup>ca. 23</sup> -----]όδωρος Πυθίωνο[ς] | 40 |
|     | [Εὐθ]ύδημος Νικωνύμου                       |    |
|     | [Ὀ]τρυνεῖς                                  |    |
|     | [Ἀν]τιφάνης Πολυκράτου                      |    |
|     | Φηγ[α]ιεύς                                  |    |
|     | [ <sup>ca. 7</sup> -----]δης Νικηράτου      | 45 |
| I-O | Φίλ[ιππ]ος Φιλίππου                         |    |
|     | Ἰσόφιλος Ἰ[σ]οκλ[έ]ου                       |    |
|     | Οἰνανθίας Τιμοκρίτου                        |    |
|     | Πλωθεῖς                                     |    |
|     | Ἀλέξαν[δ]ρος Ἀ<λ>εξάνδρου                   | 50 |
|     | Φρύ[νιχ]ο[ς] Καλλίου                        |    |

<sup>5</sup> Missing from the total roster of Erechtheis: 3 Ἀγρυλεύς, 12 Εὐωνυμείς, 9 (?) Ἀναγυράσιοι, 10 Λαμπτρέις, 8 Κηφισαίς, and 3 Περγασαίς.

<sup>6</sup> Missing from the total roster of Aigeis: 1 Ἀγκυλεύς, 4 Κολλυτεῖς, 2 ἐκ Κολωνοῦ, 9 Ἀλαιεύς, 2 Ἀραφήνιοι, 1 ἐγ Μυρρινούττης, 3 Φιλαΐδαι, 10 (?) Ἐρχαίς, 1 Ἰωνίδης, 4 Τευθράσιοι, and 1 (?) Βατεῦς.



|   |  |    |
|---|--|----|
|   | Ἐστ[ια]ίς                                |    |
|   | <i>vacat</i>                             |    |
|   | Ἐρ[ι]κεῖς                                |    |
| I | Βασ[ι]λείδης? - - - - -]                 | 55 |
|   | Ἀθ[η]ν - - - - -]                        |    |
|   | [ὑπηρέτης - - - - -] (?)                 |    |
|   | <i>Line 57 (?) ends roster of Aigeis</i> |    |

## Col. V, Top

[Π Α Ν Δ Ι Ο Ν Ι Δ Ο Σ]

*lacuna of 49 lines*<sup>7</sup>

|   |   |    |
|---|---|----|
| O | Ἀν[ - - - - - ]                         |    |
|   | [Πρασιεῖς] (?)                          | 60 |
|   | Κα[ - - - - - ]                         |    |
|   | Φα[ - - - - - ]                         |    |
|   | Οἰ[ - - - - - ]                         |    |
|   | [Στειριεῖς] (?)                         |    |
|   | [ - - - - - ]                           | 65 |
|   | [ - - - - - ]                           |    |
|   | [ - - - - - ]                           |    |
|   | [ὑπηρέτης - - - - ]                     |    |
|   | <i>Line 68 ends roster of Pandionis</i> |    |

## Col. VI, Top

[Λ Ε Ω Ν Τ Ι Δ Ο Σ]

*lacuna of 55 lines*<sup>8</sup>

|           |                                       |    |
|-----------|---------------------------------------|----|
|           | [Πήληκες]                             | 70 |
| B'-I 6704 | [Ἱεροκ?]λῆς Δεξ[ι]θέου                |    |
|           | [ <sup>ca. 4</sup> -]κίδης Εὐκτῆμονος |    |
|           | [Κ]ολωνεῖς                            |    |
|           | [Ἑρμ?]όδωρος Κλ[ε]οδήμου              |    |
|           | [Θεο]φάνης Δ[ι]ο[κ]λέους              | 75 |
|           | [Ἐ]καλεῖς                             |    |
|           | [ <sup>ca. 4</sup> -]οφῶν Αὐτοβούλου  |    |
| B'        | [Κρωπ]ίδαι                            |    |
| H-B'      | Μν[ <sup>ca. 4½</sup> -] Νικ[ί]ο[υ]   |    |
|           | <i>Line 79 ends roster of Leontis</i> |    |

<sup>7</sup> Missing from the total roster of Pandionis: 5 Προβαλίσιοι, 22 Παιανεῖς, 1 Κονθυλίδης, 4 Ὀαεῖς, 8 Μυρρινούσιοι, and 4 Ἀγγελεῖς.

<sup>8</sup> Missing from the total roster of Leontis: 3 Ἀλιμούσιοι, 3 Κήττιοι, 5 ἐκ Λευκονοίου, 4 Σκαμβωνίδαι, 5 Χολλεῖδαι, 6 Σονιεῖς, 9 Φρεάρριοι, 2 Εὐπυρίδαι, 3 Παιονίδαι, 2 Ποτάμιοι, and 2 Ὑβάδαι.

## Col. I, Bottom

|      |  |     |
|------|--|-----|
| A'   | [A K A M] A N T I Δ O Σ                  | 80  |
|      | Χολαργεῖς                                |     |
|      | Ξενοκλῆς Ξενοκλέους                      |     |
|      | Ἀριστόδημος Ἀριστοῦ[ύ]μ[ου]              |     |
|      | Νικήρατος Νικοστράτου                    |     |
| A'-G | Ὀλυμπιόδωρος Ἀγνο[τ]έλ[ου]               | 85  |
|      | Κηφισόβουλος Πεδι[έ]ως                   |     |
|      | Εὐφάνης Εὐκλέους                         |     |
|      | Σφήττιοι                                 |     |
|      | Καλλιτέλης Καλλιάδο[υ]                   |     |
|      | Ξενοφῶν Ἐπαινέτου                        | 90  |
|      | Φοξίας Ἀντιπάτρου                        |     |
|      | Λυσίμαχος Θ[εοφ]άντου                    |     |
|      | Θέωρος Ἐργο[χάρο]υ                       |     |
| A'   | Νικόμαχος [-----]                        |     |
|      | Τιμοκλῆς [-----]                         | 95  |
|      | Κεφαλῇ[θεν]                              |     |
|      | Διόγνητος [-----]                        |     |
|      | Ἀρχέστρατος [-----]                      |     |
|      | Σωκράτης [-----]                         |     |
|      | Πολυχάρης [-----]                        | 100 |
|      | Μεγακλ[-----]                            |     |
|      | Παραμ[-----]                             |     |
|      | Λυσι[-----]                              |     |
|      | [.]ρυ[-----]                             |     |
|      | <i>lacuna of 36 lines</i> <sup>9</sup>   |     |
|      | [ὑπηρέτης -----] (?)                     | 105 |
|      | <i>Line 105 ends roster of Akamantis</i> |     |

## Col. II, Bottom

|   |   |
|---|---|
| J | O I N E I Δ [O Σ]                       |
|   | <i>lacuna of 43 lines</i> <sup>10</sup> |
| T | [-- <sup>ca. 10</sup> -- Τι]μοδήμο[υ]   |
|   | [-- <sup>ca. 8</sup> -- Π]ολυόχου       |
|   | [-- <sup>ca. 6</sup> -- Αἰ]σχύλου       |

<sup>9</sup> In this *lacuna* 4 additional Κεφαλῇθεν are to be restored, and also 5 Προσπάλτιοι, 3 Κικυννεῖς, 2 Εἰρεσίδαι, 2 Ἑρμειοι, 6 Θορίκιοι, 6 Κεραμεῖς, and 1 Ἴφιστιάδης.

<sup>10</sup> In this *lacuna* are to be restored: 3 Περιθοῖδαι, 6 Ὀῆθεν, 8 (?) Θριάσιοι and 25 (?) Ἀχαρνεῖς, to one of which demes must belong lines 107-109.

|       |                                       |     |
|-------|---------------------------------------|-----|
|       | [Λακιά]δαι                            | 110 |
|       | [— <sup>ca. 7</sup> —] Φιλιστίδου     |     |
| S-T   | Τιμορ[— <sup>ca. 4</sup> —Π]άνθηρος   |     |
| S-Z-T | Κτήσ[ιπ]πος Ἀμ[φι?]σίου               |     |
| S-Z   | Λ[ου]σιεῖς                            |     |
|       | Πολυνμήδης Χαρίου                     | 115 |
|       | Πτελεάσιοι                            |     |
|       | Διοκλῆς Ἰσχυρίου                      |     |
|       | Ἐπικηφίσιοι                           |     |
|       | Λεόντιχος Καλλιάδου                   |     |
| Z     | [Bo]ντάδαι                            | 120 |
|       | [— <sup>ca. 5</sup> —]ας Κηφισοδώρου  |     |
|       | [Ty]ρμεῖδαι                           |     |
|       | [Tλήσ?]ων Τλήσωνος                    |     |
|       | [ύπη]ρέτης Νικων                      |     |
|       | <i>Line 124 ends roster of Oineis</i> |     |

## Col. III, Bottom

|   |   |     |
|---|---|-----|
| A | [Κ Ε Κ Ρ] Ο Π Ι Δ Ο Σ                   | 125 |
|   | <i>lacuna of 43 lines</i> <sup>11</sup> |     |
|   | [Ἀλαιεῖς] (?)                           |     |
| R | [— — <sup>ca. 8½</sup> —]ς Ἀμ[— — — —]  |     |
|   | [— — <sup>ca. 7</sup> —]ης Σωσιβ[ίου]   |     |
|   | [Ἀρισ]τόφιλος Λυσιμ[— — —]              |     |
|   | [ <sup>ca. 3</sup> —]ἰνος Ἀρίστων[ος]   | 130 |
|   | [Αἴ]σχρων Αἰσχύλου                      |     |
|   | [Α]ἴσχρων Ἀθηνοδώρ[ου]                  |     |
|   | [Φ]ρασίας Φρασίου                       |     |
|   | Τελέσιππος Τελ[— — —]                   |     |
|   | Ἐπαμείνων Ἐπ[— — — —]                   | 135 |
|   | Θεόδοτος Θε[— — — —]                    |     |
|   | Τρινεμε[εῖς]                            |     |
|   | Φιλοκρα[τ — — — — —]                    |     |
|   | Φιλέ[α]ς [— — — — —]                    |     |
|   | <i>Line 139 ends roster of Kekropis</i> |     |

<sup>11</sup> In this *lacuna* are to be restored: 4 Πιθεῖς, 2 Στυπαλήττιοι, 12 (?) Αἰζωνεῖς, 10 (?) Ἀθμονεῖς, and 10 (?) Φλυεῖς.

## Col. IV, Bottom

|   |   |     |
|---|---|-----|
|   | [Ι Π Π Ο Θ Ω Ν Τ Ι Δ Ο Σ]                   | 140 |
|   | <i>lacuna of 22 (?) lines</i> <sup>12</sup> |     |
|   | [Ἐλευσίνιοι] (?)                            |     |
| Q | [ <sup>ca. 4½</sup> —]ο[—————]              |     |
|   | [ <sup>ca. 8½</sup> —]ο[—————]              |     |
|   | [Φι]λῖν[ο]ς? [—————]                        |     |
|   | Πείθιππο[ς —————]                           | 145 |
|   | Ἀριστοτ[—————]                              |     |
|   | Δημοκρά[της —————]                          |     |
|   | Θεόδωρ[ος —————]                            |     |
|   | Λεώστρ[ατος —————]                          |     |
|   | Φιλιστί[—————]                              | 150 |
|   | Στρατο[—————]                               |     |
|   | Ἀμαξ[αντεῖς]                                |     |
|   | Ἀριστ[—————]                                |     |
|   | Ἀρισ[τ —————]                               |     |
|   | Π[ειραιεῖς]                                 | 155 |
|   | .. [—————]                                  |     |
|   | <i>lacuna of 4 (?) lines</i> <sup>12</sup>  |     |
| X | [ <sup>ca. 6</sup> —]δε[—————]              |     |
|   | [ <sup>ca. 5</sup> —]νης [—————]            |     |
|   | [Δι]όδωρος [—————]                          |     |
|   | Στρατοφῶ[ν —————]                           | 160 |
|   | Ἀρχίας Ἀψ[—————]                            |     |
|   | Ἀνακα[ιεῖς]                                 |     |
|   | Ἀνδροκλῆ[ς —————]                           |     |
|   | Μεγακλῆ[ς —————]                            |     |
|   | Ἀριστοκλ[ῆς —————]                          | 165 |
|   | Ἀζηνι[εῖς]                                  |     |
|   | Μειδύλος [—————]                            |     |
|   | Ἐστιόδωρο[ς —————]                          |     |
|   | Ἀχερδο[ύσιοι]                               |     |
|   | Ἀντιγέν[ης —————]                           | 170 |
|   | Κεiri[άδαι]                                 |     |
|   | Κριτόδη[μος —————]                          |     |
|   | Χαιρεφῶ[ν —————]                            |     |

<sup>12</sup> Below line 156 supply 9 additional Πειραιεῖς, including probably lines 157-161. Missing from the entire roster of Hippothontis: 2 Θυμαϊτάδαι, 2 Ἐπριάδαι, 3 ἐξ Οἴου, 4 Οἰναῖοι, and 6 (?) Δεκελεεῖς.

Κόπρει[οι]  
 Δεινόστρα[τος - - - - -] 175  
 Στρατοφῶν [- - - - -]  
 Ἐλαιο[ύσιοι]  
 [- rasura - [-] - - - -]  
*Line 178 ends roster of Hippothontis (?)*

## Col. V, Bottom

[ΑΙΑΝΤΙΔΟΣ]  
 [Μαραθῶνιοι] (?) 180  
 [- - - - -]  
 [- - - - -]  
 [- - - - -]  
 [- - - - -]  
 [- - - - -] 185  
 [- - - - -]  
 [- - - - -]  
 H [- - - - -] *vacat*  
 [- ca. 16½ - - - -] του  
 [- ca. 15 - - - -] δου 190  
 [Ἀφιδναῖοι] (?)  
 [- ca. 14½ - - - -] τοδήμου  
 [- ca. 15 (-?) - -] *vacat*  
 [- ca. 13 (-?) - -] *vacat*  
 [- ca. 10 - - - -] φνος 195  
 [- ca. 7½ - -] ης Φοξίνου  
 [- ca. 7 - -] ς Λεωστράτου  
 [- ca. 8 - -] ἰδης Μελαν[- - -]  
 [- ca. 12 (-?) - -] *vacat*  
 [- ca. 12 - - - -] νικ[- -] 200  
 [- ca. 12 - - - -] σ[- - -]  
 [- - - - -]  
 [- - - - -]  
 [- - - - -]  
 [- - - - -] 205  
 [- - - - -]  
 [- - - - -]  
 [Φαληρεῖς] (?)  
 [- - - - -]  
 [- - - - -] 210

|     |   |     |
|-----|---|-----|
|     | [-----]                                     |     |
| B   | [ <sup>ca. 3½</sup> -----]ι[-----]          |     |
|     | [. .]οθ[-----]                              |     |
|     | [. .ω]ν Λυ[-----]                           |     |
| B-M | [Λυ?]σίμαχ[ος] Πυθ[---]                     | 215 |
|     | [Πο]λυκράτης Πολυ[---]                      |     |
|     | [Δη]ικράτης Δηικράτ[ους]                    |     |
|     | ῥαμν[ο]ύσιοι                                |     |
|     | [ῥΑ]ρχεπτόλεμος Φιλιππ[---]                 |     |
|     | [Λ]υκέας Κηφισίου                           | 220 |
|     | [ῥΑ]ντοχος Λυσίου                           |     |
|     | [Εὐ]βουλίδης Εὐβουλίδου                     |     |
|     | [Ξενο?]κράτης Φανοκράτου[ς]                 |     |
| M   | [Κλεοδ]ωρίδης Στρομβιχίδ[ου]                |     |
|     | [ <sup>ca. 4</sup> -----κ]λής Τιμοστράτου   | 225 |
|     | [Διογ]είτων Σμικυθίων[ος]                   |     |
|     | [Οἰ]γαῖοι                                   |     |
|     | [ <sup>ca. 4½</sup> -----]νος Κυδίππου      |     |
|     | [Πανσα]νίας Φυλέω[ς]                        |     |
|     | [ <sup>ca. 5½</sup> -----]δωρος Θεοδ[ώρου?] | 230 |
|     | [ <sup>ca. 7</sup> -----]Λυσανί[ου]         |     |
|     | [Τρικορύσιοι]                               |     |
| N   | [ <sup>ca. 10</sup> -----]ο[-----]          |     |
|     | [ <sup>ca. 8½</sup> -----]ινο[-----]        |     |
|     | [ <sup>ca. 7</sup> -----]ς Πλάτων[ο]ς       | 235 |
|     | [ύπηρέ]της Σωσίας                           |     |
|     | <i>Line 236 ends roster of Aiantis</i>      |     |

## Col. VI, Bottom

|     |  |     |
|-----|--|-----|
| H   | A N T I O [X I Δ O Σ]                        |     |
| H-C | Π[αλλην]εῖς                                  |     |
|     | Λεω[ <sup>ca. 4</sup> -----]ς Νικοκρά[τους]  |     |
|     | Σάτ[υρο]ς Λεωστράτ[ου]                       | 240 |
|     | ῥΑρ[ιστο]τέλης ῥΦιλίππ[ου?]                  |     |
|     | Ε[ <sup>ca. 5</sup> -----] Σμικύθου          |     |
| C   | [ <sup>ca. 4</sup> -----κ]ράτης ῥΙσοκράτ[ος] |     |
|     | [ <sup>ca. 3</sup> -----δ]ημος Νικομάχ[ος]   |     |
|     | [ <sup>ca. 3</sup> -----]ας Δώρωνος          | 245 |
|     | [ῥΑντ]ίφαντος Θεοφάντου                      |     |
|     | <i>vacat</i>                                 |     |

|            |   |      |
|------------|---|------|
|            | Ἀναφλύστιοι   |      |
|            | [ <sup>ca. 21</sup> —] κλη̃ς Ἐπεοκλέους               |      |
|            | [ <sup>ca. 4</sup> —] ἰστρατο[ς] Φιλῶκλ[ε—] 250       |      |
|            | [ <sup>ca. 5</sup> —] λης Π[ <sup>ca. 23</sup> ] ἰδου |      |
|            | [ <sup>ca. 6</sup> —]ς Δη[μη]τρίου                    |      |
|            | [— <sup>ca. 12</sup> —] ου                            |      |
| D-P        | [ <sup>ca. 4</sup> —] χίδης [Λ]υ[σ]ιμάχου             |      |
|            | [ <sup>ca. 3</sup> ] των Δ[ωροθ]έου 255               |      |
|            | [. .] οκλη̃ς Ἐ[ικ]ωνος                                |      |
|            | [Δ ?] ἰων Θεαίο[υ]                                    |      |
|            | Καλλιφῶν Πανσ[ιά]δου                                  |      |
|            | Μνησίμαχος [ <sup>ca. 8</sup> ] λίδος                 |      |
|            | Ἀλωπεκε[ῖ]ς 260                                       |      |
|            | [Ἡδ ?] ἰφίλος Π[υ]θ[ <sup>ca. 4</sup> —] ου           |      |
|            | [Λάο ?] σσος [ <sup>ca. 3</sup> ] θ[— — —]            |      |
| P          | [— <sup>ca. 10</sup> —] Οἶν[οβί?] ου                  |      |
|            | [— <sup>ca. 14</sup> —] <i>vacat</i>                  |      |
|            | [— <sup>ca. 15</sup> —] . . 265                       |      |
|            | <i>lacuna of 19 lines</i> <sup>18</sup>               |      |
| I 4038     | Ἀμφι[ροπαιεῖς] 265a                                   |      |
|            | Ἡγ[ή]μων Ἡγησίφ[υ]                                    | 265b |
|            | Πυθάνγελος Π[— — — —] 265c                            |      |
| V-I 4038-F | Ἀρ[κ]εσίλας Εὐβ[ου]λίδ[ου] 266                        |      |
|            | Κριω[εῖ]ς   |      |
| V-F        | Χαρείδη[ς] Ἐ[χ]εκλέους                                |      |
|            | Φορύσκος Φιλιστίδου                                   |      |
|            | Εἰτεᾶ[ο]ι 270   |      |
|            | Μνησίεργος [Βόω?] νος                                 |      |
|            | Πεισίθεος Π[εισ]άνδρου                                |      |
|            | Ἐροιάδα[ι]  |      |
|            | Χρέμης Πολυ[. .] χου                                  |      |
|            | Σημαχίδαι 275   |      |
|            | Ὀνήσανδρος Φ[αν]οστράτου                              |      |
|            | ὑπηρέτης Κα[λ]ικράτης                                 |      |
|            | <i>Line 277 ends roster of Antiochis</i>              |      |

<sup>18</sup> In this *lacuna* are to be restored: 5 (?) additional Ἀλωπεκεῖς, 7 Αἰγυλιεῖς, 2 Βησαιεῖς, and 2 (?) Κολωνεῖς.

## Unassigned Fragments

|   |               |     |
|---|---------------|-----|
| L | [-----]ου     |     |
|   | [-----ο]υ     |     |
|   | [-----]έλου   | 280 |
|   | [-----]ου     |     |
|   | [-----ο]υ     |     |
|   | [-----] vacat |     |
| W | Φιλ[-----]    |     |
|   | Αρ[-----]     | 285 |

## Officers

|          |   |       |
|----------|---|-------|
| Z-Y      | [γραμματε]ὺς βουλῆς καὶ δ[ήμου] Νικοκράτης Ἀνκυλῆθεν  |       |
|          | [κῆρυξ Φι]λοκλῆς Φιλ[οκλέ]ου Τρινεμεεύς   |       |
|          | <i>Line across bottom of monument</i>   |       |
| Z-Y-     | [στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τῇ]ν παρασκ[ευή]ν [- - <sup>ca. 12</sup> - -]                                    | } 288 |
| -X-U-V-F | [ <sup>ca. 2</sup> ] [- - <sup>ca. 7</sup> - - Μν?]ησιγένης Διο[- <sup>ca. 6</sup> -] Λαμπτρέύς |       |

## COMMENTARY

Line 2. The stone has been broken off where this line should appear. The reading of Pittakys is retained, though with considerable doubt, since no name is readily apparent which has this sequence of letters. Different editors have altered the alpha to either lambda or delta, readings which will fit a number of possible names, e.g. Wilhelm's [Με]δοντί[δου] (?), all of them rare.

Line 3. Pittakys read ΦΙΣΟΥ. The stone has been broken off where the phi was once read by him and only the bottom tip of his iota is preserved. Where he read sigma the stone shows the bottom two-thirds of a vertical stroke, i.e. probably an iota or tau. Although Pittakys' phi is tentatively retained, there is no attractive restoration for this sequence of letters and traces. Koehler's [Κη]φισ(ί)ου (?) is not possible.

Line 4. That Pittakys failed so badly in reading this line lends some support for questioning his readings in the two previous lines.

Line 11. The Sokles who lived in Melite and appears on a manumission inscription of ca. 330 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1569, line 22) may be the grandfather of this councillor. A brother is surely Kephisophon who was himself bouleutes in 304/3 (*Hesperia*, XXXV, 1966, p. 225, line 103).

Line 12. The patronymic cannot readily be restored. The second letter might also be lambda; only the lower left slanting stroke is preserved. The names Pamisos and Parisos would fit but are applied apparently only to rivers and Plaisos is not otherwise known. Perhaps the mason intended to inscribe the name Pausias, the error being simply one of metathesis.



Line 14. The father's name should probably be restored as Lysistratos. He appears to belong to the family of Lysistratos, son of Kephisodoros, of Melite, who appears on a dikast's pinakion of the mid-fourth century (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1851). Kirchner gives a stemma of possible earlier members of this family (*P.A.*, 11473).

Line 15. Although epigraphically a number of other names are possible for the patronymic, Aristomachos is restored with much probability on prosopographical evidence. This bouleutes was very likely also the secretary of 276/5 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 684, lines 2-3 and *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 685, line 3; *S.E.G.*, III, 94, lines 2-3; *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 584; and *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 134).

Line 17. One Antiphon, the son of Epitropos, was an ephebe of Kekropis in 334/3 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1156, line 10). Although in reference to this very inscription Gomme issues a warning against rash prosopographical identifications (*The Population of Athens in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C.*, p. 62, where, incidentally, his text should read *Antisthenes* instead of *Antiphanes*), the evidence seems now quite sufficient to assign lines 1-11 of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1156 to the deme Melite, for, in addition to Antiphon, two other names on the same list, Lysistratos and Smikythos, are known in this deme at this time (*P.A.*, 9619 and 4624). Our councillor, then, is very likely the ephebe of 334/3 and he would accordingly be seventy-one years of age during his term as bouleutes.

Lines 18-21. This is our only evidence for the quota of Koile in either the Macedonian period or in the time of the original ten phylai. Since line 22 is uninscribed it might be argued that this deme had four representatives on the Council. This hypothesis, however, is distinctly ruled out by the relative lengths of the columns. Moreover, according to the usual pattern on this inscription, at the end of the rosters either the name of a servant is inscribed or, as here, a blank space is left for such.

Line 19. Nearchos of Koile, probably the son of this councillor, was a donor to Asklepios during the archonship of Diomedon, 247/6 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1534, line 280).

Line 25. The surface of this fragment is in very bad condition and readings are often difficult and uncertain, as in this particular line. There appear to be traces of the vertical strokes of a rho and iota and of the outline of the delta. The name accordingly is restored with some doubt as Eucharides.

Line 29. One Mnesiphon, probably the grandfather of this councillor, was himself a councillor for Phegous on the bouleutic list of ca. 336/5 (*Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, p. 31, line 46). The father's name is very difficult to read, but it appears to be Aischylos. Aischines might also be possible, but the traces favor lambda rather than nu.

Line 31. The lower left corner of what appears to be an epsilon occurs in the sixth letter-space of this line. The horizontal stroke, however, slopes slightly and is almost certainly a chance marking on the stone. This councillor therefore may be identified with the representative of Themakos, or his father, also named Simonides, in 256/5 (*Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 46, No. 9, line 71).

Line 33. The first letter of the patronymic may be either alpha or lambda, more probably the former since there appears to be a slight trace of the cross-bar. Only a trace of the second letter is preserved, slightly more widely spaced than we should expect. It may belong to either an omikron or a theta, but the reading is far from certain.

Lines 39-41. The quota of Kydantidai appears to have been two bouleutai annually in the period of the original ten phylai (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1749; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1700; and *Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, p. 32) although on one occasion (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1747) it seems to have had a single representative. In the Macedonian period the favored representation is one (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 678; and above, p. 420) although here it has two bouleutai.

Line 43. Although only traces of the tau, phi, and alpha are preserved in this name, the restoration does seem sure and this councillor may be identified with the paredros of the archon Nikias of Otryne in 266/5 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 668, line 20).

Lines 44-48. The quota of Phegaia both in the time of the original ten phylai and in the Macedonian period seems to have been three bouleutai annually (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1749; *Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, p. 32; and *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 678), although twice, once in each period, this quota appears to have been increased to four representatives (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1747; and here; cf. also above, pp. 419-420, 422).

Line 47. The preserved traces appear to demand the restoration of the name Isophilos. The names Isonikos, Isodikos, and Isotimos might also be possible, but of the crucial letter, the phi, a bit of the top of the vertical stroke and what may be a trace of the curved stroke are preserved. The patronymic could be Diokles, known in Phegaia from a gravestone dated by Kirchner to the third or second century (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2624) or Isokles, more consistent with what seems to be the preserved trace of a vertical stroke and, though new to Attic prosopography, defensible on the grounds of the common occurrence of identical roots in names from the same family. For the second declension genitive ending see Meisterhans, *Grammatik der Attischen Inschriften*<sup>3</sup>, p. 133 and also below, line 287.

Line 48. Oinanthias is new to Attic prosopography, though Oinanthis, Oinanthia, Oinantes, and Oinante are known (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 11996; 12876; 2360, line 35; 10698; 5133; and 12349).

Line 50. The mason has clearly omitted the lambda from the father's name, probably because he was misled by the similar shape of the alpha.

Line 51. The son of this councillor served as a representative of Plotheia on the council of 254/3 (above, p. 420, line 94).

Line 53. Between the demotics of Hestiaia and Erikeia a blank space of 0.014 m., or about two-thirds of the normal vertical interspacing for one line, was left. Hestiaia had a well attested quota of one representative.

Line 55. This reading is not at all certain. The first letter resembles an extremely thin beta. The alpha follows very closely. The fourth letter appears to be

gamma, but the horizontal stroke is too long and probably represents a chance marking on the stone.

Lines 60 and 64. Because of the indentation these lines must belong to demotics. The quotas, three representatives each, limit them to Steiria and Prasiai, though which demotic belongs to which line is not certain.

Lines 70-71. The uninscribed space at the end of line 70 shows that a demotic probably appeared here. It is restored as Pelekes on the basis of the identification of the patronymic in line 71 as the representative of this deme in 304/3 (*Hesperia*, XXXV, 1966, p. 227, line 194). The first name is restored on the analogy of the grandfather's name. The bottom stroke and perhaps a trace of the lower right slanting stroke in the delta are preserved. The lower right quarter of the theta is still visible.

Line 74. Although a number of restorations are possible, Hermodoros seems most likely since the name is well known in this deme. Our councillor is probably related to two men both identically named Hermodoros son of Hermolykos and both representatives of Kolone on Leontid prytany lists, one dated *ca.* 350 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1742, lines 113-114), the other dated about a century later (*Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 113, No. 22, line 62).

Line 75. This man again represented Kolone when he served his second possible councillorship about the middle of the century (*Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 113, No. 22, line 63). Only a trace of the upper left part of the omikron is preserved in the patronymic. Where the iota once appeared the surface of the stone now has been completely lost.

Line 78. There is a nick in the stone at the left edge just where a trace of the pi should appear.

Line 79. Only the left vertical stroke is preserved in the second letter of this name, slightly more widely spaced than normal, i.e. *ca.* 0.009 m. of interspacing. The letter was probably nu and the name Mneson or Mnesias.

Line 82. This bouleutes was very probably the ephebe of 305/4 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 478, line 74, where the first name may now be restored). He would, presumably, then have been forty-two years of age during his councillorship. His father may have been the bouleutes of 303/2 (*Hesperia*, XXXVII, 1968, p. 12, line 59) and another relative may be the Xenokles of Cholargos who appears on an unidentified list of *ca.* 330 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2409, lines 60-61).

Line 83. Pittakys read the patronymic as ΑΡΙΣΤΟΔΗΜΟΥ. Judging from the spacing of the letters now preserved, his delta should occur exactly where on fragment J the upper left portion of a nu appears. Although Pittakys read correctly the ends of lines 82, 90, and 91 (our numbering) as if he had seen them (all were easy and obvious guesses), that he saw neither fragment J nor fragment G is quite clear from the fact that he gives nothing else from the text which appears on

J and misses the ends of lines 86, 89, 92, and 93 on fragment G. Beyond question then he did not see the last part of the patronymic in line 83 (cf. Koehler's remark *sub I.G.*, II, 1030). Indeed, the stone must have been broken off after the tau or, at the very most, after the omikron. In the second letter-space following the partially preserved nu the upper left portion of a mu appears. The patronymic must accordingly be restored as Aristonymos and the councillor is probably a brother of another councillor who appears on a prytany list of Akamantis now dated to 305/4 (*Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 33, No. 1, line 30; for the date see above, p. 424, note to line 77; lines 28-31 of this inscription, limited on the basis of quota to two demes, should therefore be assigned to Cholargos).

Line 84. As mentioned in the previous note Pittakys could not have seen the last letters of the patronymic in this line, although he may have seen one more letter than now preserved. The restoration, however, is quite certain and this bouleutes' father may be identified with Nikostratos, son of Nikostratos, of Cholargos who appears on a list of *hippeis* set up on Salamis *ca.* 320 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1955, line 7).

Line 85. Pittakys read, without restoration, the demotic of Hagnous in place of the patronymic, an obvious error and distinct proof of Koehler's criticism (cf. note on line 83). Where Pittakys read sigma iota, fragment G appears to preserve the bottom stroke of an epsilon, although it seems rather closely spaced to the next letter which must be alpha or lambda. The name is probably Hagnoteles, the less likely alternative being Hagnophilos.

Line 87. This councillor appears to be the father of Nikostratos of Cholargos who is known from a grave column of the third century (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 7787). This family then may also be related to the Nikostratos of line 84.

Line 90. Xenophon was undoubtedly a brother of Xenaios who represented Sphektos on the council of 303/2 (*Hesperia*, XXXVII, 1968, p. 11, line 26). The last three or four letters of the patronymic could not have been seen by Pittakys, but their restoration was easy and obvious.

Line 91. The trace of the top stroke of the tau just at the left edge of fragment G makes the restoration of the patronymic certain. Though Pittakys could not have seen the last three letters, since they appear on G, he may have seen the alpha, if this part of fragment A' had not yet been broken away.

Line 92. Pittakys read the first letter of the father's name as theta, though only a trace of it is now visible on the stone.

Line 93. The patronymic is restored on the basis of the following: the reading of Pittakys, the one letter preserved on fragment G, and the prosopography. On fragment A' the stone now shows only the first two letters of the father's name. Since Pittakys gives nothing beyond the first letter of the patronymic in the preceding line, probably the stone broke off at precisely that point. On the basis of a similar state

of preservation in this line (the break in A' clearly visible on the photograph probably took place after Pittakys' reading and hastened the deterioration of this part of the fragment), he could have seen four letters, and possibly part of a fifth letter, of the patronymic. Fragment G preserves the last letter of the name and thus shows us the number of missing letters. No name will fit 'Εργου[. . .]υ. Hence, Pittakys' fifth letter is probably not to be trusted. If he saw anything at all in this letter-space, it may have been the upper oblique stroke of a chi, which would resemble part of an upsilon. Of the names which fit 'Εργο[. . .]υ, Ergochares is well known in Sphettos. One man so named was archon in 226/5 and it is probably he who appears on a grave inscription of ca. 200 (*Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, p. 259, No. 65). A descendant of our bouleutes is undoubtedly the Ergochares, son of Theoros, of Sphettos who is known from a grave column dated by Kirchner to the second century (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 7518; for a stemma of the family see Sundwall, *Nachträge*, p. 72).

Line 94. Whether Pittakys saw all the letters of this name which he recorded is not certain, though he undoubtedly saw several more than are now preserved.

Line 97. This is almost certainly the same Diognetos of Kephale who was honored as ephebe in 305/4 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 478, line 88). He would, presumably, then have been forty-two years of age during the year of his councillorship.

Line 98. It is likely that the last letters of this name were not preserved on the stone when Pittakys saw it. The restoration, however, is quite sure and our councillor may be identified with the father of Chairephon, the secretary of 249/8 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 679 and *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 680; cf. *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 136, No. 24, line 2).

Line 100. As Pittakys probably did not have the last letters of this name, the rare Polycharides is also possible.

Lines 107-109. Of the Oineid demes to which the bouleutai of these lines may belong, *viz.* Acharnai, Thria, Oe, and Perithoidai, the name Timodemos occurs only in Acharnai, on a dedication of 307/6 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3209, line 29; cf. also *Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, pp. 260-261, No. 69, line 5), and it is just possible that he should be identified with the father of the councillor in line 107.

Line 108. The name Polyochos is new to Attic prosopography.

Line 110. The preserved letters and quota, three bouleutai, are satisfied by the demotics of only Perithoidai and Lakiadai. The spacing requires the latter, a choice which is confirmed by the prosopography (see following note).

Line 112. Although the name Pantheros (genitive Πανθήρου) is well enough known, particularly in later times, there appears to be no other Athenian named simply Panther. The father of this councillor was the son of Demonikos of Lakiadai and served as trierarch in 337/6 and 326/5 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1623, lines 307-308; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1628, lines 364-365; and *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1629, lines 884-885).

Line 113. The name Amphisias, known at Akraiphia (Bechtel, *Die historischen Personennamen*, p. 43), seems perhaps a shade too short for the two full letters

required in restoration but is preferable to the very rare and strange Ameusias (Bechtel, *op. cit.*, p. 43) which would fit the spacing better.

Line 117. This councillor, Diokles, son of Ischyrias, of the deme Ptelea, was chairman of the proedroi in the archonship of Ourias, 281/0 (for the date see *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, p. 314), when a decree was passed praising the taxiarchs who went to Boiotia (*Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 562, No. 40, lines 6-7). This fact dates our inscription to 281/0.

Line 123. Either this councillor or more probably his father was the representative of Tyrmeidai in 304/3 (*Hesperia*, XXXV, 1966, p. 228, line 235).

Line 126. The deme to which the bouleutai of lines 127-136 should be assigned is not certain. Halai had ten representatives on the Council in the Macedonian period, as is proved by the bouleutic list of 304/3 (*Hesperia*, XXXV, 1966, p. 228, lines 243-253). But the other large demes of Kekropis, *viz.* Aixone, Athmonon, and Phlya, each may have had at least as many, though their quotas are not known precisely. Possible prosopographical connections can be found with Halai, Aixone, and Athmonon, but the strongest are with Halai (see following notes) and on this basis the demotic is tentatively restored in line 126.

Line 127. Only the bottoms of the letters are preserved and the readings are not certain but they do exclude the possibility of a demotic in this line.

Line 128. This councillor is probably a younger brother of Eponymos who was a representative of Halai on the council of 303/2 (*Hesperia*, XXXVII, 1968, p. 13, line 134), if the patronymic there and the demotic here are restored correctly.

Line 131-132. The name Aischron occurs in Halai in the fourth and second centuries (*P.A.*, 403-404), and in Aixone, as father of Theodotos, in *ca.* 320 (*P.A.*, 401-402). Aischylos is known in Athmonon in *ca.* 340 (*P.A.*, 439) and Athenodoros in Aixone, but at a much later period (*P.A.*, 266 and *P.A.*, 286).

Line 133. Of the four possible demes for the assignment of these bouleutai, Phrasias is known only in Athmonon, from a lekythos (*Ath. Mitt.*, LXVII, 1942, p. 91, No. 146).

Line 136. The name Theodotos is known in both Halai and Aixone. One Theodotos of Halai was father of Theoboulos, a chairman of the proedroi in 293/2 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 649, line 5). Theodotos, son of Theaitetos, and Theoboulos, son of Theodotos, appear on a list of members of Halai who dedicated a statue to Aphrodite *ca.* 360-350 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2820, lines 23 and 27). Another Theodotos, the son of Theodotos and perhaps father of this councillor, was honored by a decree dated to the end of the fourth century (*Δελτ.*, XI, 1927-28, p. 40, No. 4, line 10). These are our strongest prosopographical connections with Halai, but the name Theodotos admittedly occurs also in Aixone as the son of Aischron and ephebe in 334/3 on a decree concerned with sacrifices (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1199). Another Theodotos of Aixone was epimeletes of the dockyards in 362/1 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1622, line 502).

Line 139. The name Phileas should be restored here; there may even be a trace of the alpha. Below this line there is enough space preserved so that if the title of the servant were inscribed there should be a trace of the first letter. Since none appears, we conclude that no servant's name was inscribed at the end of this column. A similar omission occurs under the rosters of Demetrias and Leontis.

Line 141. The restoration of the demotic in this line is not absolutely certain. Only two demes in Hippothontis could have had as many as ten bouleutai, Peiraeus, which had precisely that number on the list of 303/2 (*Hesperia*, XXXVII, 1968, p. 14, lines 166-175), and Eleusis, whose quota is not known, but which, on the basis of its size, might be expected to have had a representation of this order. If line 155 below is correctly restored as the demotic of Peiraeus, then lines 142-151 can belong only to Eleusis. That this deme should have had a quota of more than ten councillors seems out of the question. In fact, a study of the quotas of all the other demes of Hippothontis indicates that ten bouleutai very probably was the representation of Eleusis. The demotic accordingly is restored in line 141. Prosopography tends to confirm this assignment (see following notes).

Lines 142-143. The position of the letters in these two lines prevents either from belonging to any of the possible demotics in Hippothontis.

Line 144. There are only traces of the outline of a letter, probably a sigma, in the seventh letter-space in this line. The preceding letter also is far from certain.

Line 145. The name Peithippos is new to Attic prosopography. Peisippos or Teisippos are more natural but the stone shows quite clearly theta.

Line 147. This councillor's son may be the Theodotos who was spokesman for a decree of the Eleusinians honoring a certain Aristophanes and dated *post* 236/5 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1299, line 51).

Line 149. This bouleutes is possibly a later member of the well known Eleusinian family at least two members of which were named Leostratos (Demosthenes, XLIV, 9, 17; and XLIV, 17, 19; for a stemma, cf. *P.A.*, 5638).

Line 152. This demotic is very difficult to make out, but the traces of the first four letters appear to indicate the deme Hamaxanteia.

Line 155. The reading of this line is important both for the arrangement of this roster and for the study of the representational quotas of Hippothontis. The indentation demands a demotic and the traces of the first letter would indicate a pi. The left vertical stroke is clear and there also appear to be parts of the top and right vertical strokes preserved. In the following line there are traces of several letters but nothing can be read with certainty. The one deme in Hippothontis which begins with pi is Peiraeus. Since it had ten representatives in this period, line 156 and nine lines following, probably including 157-161 of our text, should be given to the bouleutai of this deme, but see following note.

Lines 157-161. Of the two demes available for these bouleutai on the basis of a

minimum quota of five representatives, namely Peiraeus and Dekeleia, the former is the more likely on prosopographical evidence, although the proposed connections are not strong. One Diodoros (cf. line 159) of Peiraeus served as a proedros in 318/7 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1214); another was spokesman of a Peiraeus decree in honor of Kallidamas of Cholleidai, dated by Kirchner to the first half of the third century (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 449). Archias (cf. line 161) of Peiraeus was a well known contributor to Athena and is found many times on the records of the treasurers of Athena (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1388, line 68; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1400, line 59; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1407, line 44; etc.) dated to the end of the fifth or the beginning of the fourth century. None of the names in these lines is found in Dekeleia.

Lines 162-165. Prior to 307/6 Anakaia had a quota of three bouleutai. After the creation of the Macedonian phylai part of this deme apparently was transferred to Demetrias (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1706, line 76), while the other section remained in Hippothontis. Our inscription is the only evidence for its quota in the Macedonian period.

Line 170. This bouleutes is very likely the son of the representative of Acherdous in 303/2, Theopompos, son of Antigenes (*Hesperia*, XXXVII, 1968, p. 14, line 164).

Line 178. The single representative of Elaious should appear in this line (for the quota of this deme, see *Hesperia*, XXXVII, 1968, p. 14, lines 185-186). The upper portion of the first two letter-spaces is preserved, beyond which the stone breaks off, but they show only *rasura* and no traces of either the original or any reinscribed lettering. For a possible explanation of this *rasura* see commentary below on line 288.

Lines 179-236. For the restoration of the demotics in this roster see above, p. 472.

Line 195. Only the bottom right stroke of the base of the omega is preserved and several other letters would be possible epigraphically. The omega, however, gives a regular sequence of letters for a genitive ending. The omikron and sigma are very widely spaced, i.e. *ca.* 0.010 m. of interspacing.

Line 196. This name is new to Attic prosopography, though it is known at Pharsalos in the third century (*I.G.*, IX, ii, 234, line 133).

Line 199. If a bouleutes was inscribed in this line, his name and patronymic together could not have had more than twelve letters. Such short names, though rare, do occur; e.g. line 257 below has only ten letters.

Line 215. The name Sosimachos is also possible.

Line 217. The name Deikrates is new to Attic prosopography. The first name is restored on the analogy of the patronymic, although the much more common Epikrates, as well as several rare names, would also fit.

Line 220. One Lykeas of Rhamnous (without patronymic) was priest of Asklepios during Diomedon's archonship (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1534, line 213). He is probably to be identified with Lykeas, son of Hierokles, of Rhamnous who appears on a decree of this deme honoring Dikaiarchos of Thria in the archonship of Ekphantos (Ἐλλη-



νικά, III, 1930, p. 154, lines 45-46; cf. Pouilloux, *La Forteresse de Rhamnonte*, pp. 129-132). In any case, the Lykeas, son of Kephisios, of Rhamnous, whose grave monument is extant (*B.C.H.*, LXXXVI, 1962, p. 683), must be our councillor.

Line 221. This bouleutes was very probably the councillor of 304/3, Antochos of Rhamnous, now serving his second possible term on the Council (cf. *Hesperia*, XXXV, 1966, p. 229, line 292, where the patronymic may now be restored). No other Athenian is known to have had this name, although it appears in Larisa and on the grave monument of a man from Herakleia (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 8565).

Line 223. Our councillor is probably to be identified with the Xenokrates who appears on a block belonging to a theater monument at Rhamnous (Pouilloux, *op. cit.*, p. 142, No. 27; cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2849, where the patronymic is better restored as [Φα]νοκράτους). His father is very likely the Phanokrates, son of Xenokrates, of Rhamnous who appears on a funerary naiskos dated to the end of the fourth century (Pouilloux, *op. cit.*, p. 143, No. 29) and his uncle may be the Nikokrates, son of Xenokrates, of Rhamnous who is known to have acquired property in Aphidna from a mining lease of 342/1 (?) (*Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 402, No. 10, line 184). Either our councillor or his father (the first two letters of his name have been lost) appears on a fragment of cornice also found at the theater of Rhamnous (Pouilloux, *op. cit.*, pp. 142-143, No. 28).

Line 224. This bouleutes was the father of Kleochares, who appears on a decree of Rhamnous from the archonship of Antipatros (Pouilloux, *op. cit.*, p. 116, No. 6, line 2), and of Strombichos, who appears on another decree of Rhamnous from the archonship of Ekphantos (*ibid.*, p. 130, No. 15, line 46).

Line 229. The father of this councillor, Phyleus, son of Pausanias, was hieropoios in 336/5 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 330, lines 33, 39, etc.) and spokesman for a decree honoring Herakleides of Salamis in 325/4 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 360, line 66).

Line 230. The father of this bouleutes, if restored correctly as Theodoros, is probably to be identified with a symproedros in 302/1 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 502, line 10).

Line 231. Lysanias, the father of this councillor, was himself a representative of Oinoe in the Council of 304/3 (*Hesperia*, XXXV, 1966, p. 229, line 287). Our bouleutes might be restored as Lysippos on the basis of his grandfather's name.

Lines 232-235. The restoration of the demotic in line 232 has been discussed above, p. 472. This inscription is our only evidence for the representation of Trikoynthos before the system of quotas broke down *ca.* 200 B.C.

Lines 238-247. Pallene had six councillors in the Council of 335/4 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1700) and seven in 334/3 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1750). On the latter list, however, Eitea had only one representative instead of its normal quota of two. After 307/6, on the evidence here, the quota of Pallene was increased to at least eight bouleutai (lines 239-246), and probably nine, since a blank line has been left between the eighth representative of Pallene and the demotic of Anaphlystos. Blank lines of this type

within prytany and bouleutic registers are almost invariably intended for missing names.

Line 241. The patronymic might of course be Philippides, but Philippos is known in Pallene, as the son of Phoruskos, on a fourth-century grave stele (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 7135).

Line 245. The name Doron is new to Attic prosopography.

Line 255. This councillor's father is probably to be identified with the Dorotheos of Anaphlystos known from a manumission inscription of *ca.* 330 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1569, col. I, line 4).

Line 256. The father, if the restoration is correct, was himself a councillor for Anaphlystos on a bouleutic list belonging to the beginning of the third century (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2423, line 38).

Line 257. Other restorations are possible, but Dion is known in Anaphlystos, albeit a century earlier than this inscription (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 5663).

Line 261. There is only a trace of what appears to be the right sloping stroke of an upsilon in the first preserved letter-space.

Line 262. Laossos, one of a very few rare names which will fit the spacing and preserved letters and traces here, may be a descendant of the workman on the Erechtheion in 408/7 who bore the same name and demotic (*I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 374, lines 226, 228, etc.; cf. Stevens, Caskey, *et al.*, *The Erechtheum*, pp. 382 ff., and *S.E.G.*, X, p. 121, No. 281, lines 8-9 and 11).

Line 263. The restoration of the patronymic is not certain. One Oinobios of Alopeke is known as the father of a councillor on a fragment of a bouleutic list dated to the end of the fourth century (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2407, line 39; cf. *B.S.A.*, L, 1955, pp. 13-14).

Line 265. There are traces of two letters at the end of this line but neither can be read with any certainty.

Line 268. The councillor's name is new to Attic prosopography.

Line 271. Mnesiergos of Eitea is a well known name on the bouleutic lists of this period. One was father of the councillor in 304/3 (*Hesperia*, XXXV, 1966, p. 229, line 314). Another was a bouleutes in 303/2 (*Hesperia*, XXXVII, 1968, p. 15, line 234). Our councillor is probably the grandson of the former, and possibly the nephew of the latter. The patronymic here might be restored as Boön and identified with the father of Himeraios of Eitea who appears among those bouleutai crowned by the demos in Telekles' archonship, 290/89 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2797).

Line 272. The father of this councillor was undoubtedly, along with Mnesiergos, a representative of Eitea in the Council of 303/2 (*Hesperia*, XXXVII, 1968, p. 15, line 235).

Line 274. Only a trace of the chi is preserved. The name might be either Polyarchos or Polyeuches.

Line 276. This bouleutes, Onesandros, the son of Phanostratos, of Semachidai

was a member of the *board of eleven* (one from each phyle, except Aiantis), who administered the *euthynai* in 304/3 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 488, line 14).

Lines 278-285. Fragments L and W preserve too little information to be assigned precise positions within the monument (see above, p. 470).

Lines 286-288. These lines belong to the list of officers of the boule. The total number in this period was about ten (the catalogue of 303/2 had nine). Accordingly, the remaining approximately seven officers, if they appeared at all on this monument, must have been inscribed at the top, along with the heading.

Line 286. Just at the left edge of this fragment is preserved the upper slanting stroke of a letter, probably an upsilon. This Nikokrates may be identified with the Nikokrates, the son of Dion, of Ankyle who was councillor and treasurer of the prytaneis of Aigeis during the archonship of Euboulos, almost certainly the Euboulos of 256/5 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 678, lines 5, 10-11, etc.; cf. *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, pp. 47-52).

Line 287. This man is another member of the famous family of heralds from Trinemeia which may be traced down through three centuries. He cannot, however, be the son of the herald in 303/2 (*Hesperia*, XXXVII, 1968, p. 16, lines 302-304) who was named Eukles, but he may be a nephew. He is in turn the father of the Eukles of Trinemeia who appears on *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 678 of 256/5 (see above, p. 433). There is insufficient space in this line, even if it began at the left margin of the first column, for the full title *κῆρυξ (τῆς) βουλῆς καὶ (τοῦ) δήμου*, with or without the articles. Even the abbreviated form *κῆρυξ τῆς βουλῆς*, which occurs apparently only in a later period (*Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 178, No. 110, lines 9-10, and p. 188, No. 116, line 84), is slightly too long. Moreover, it is natural to expect this line to have begun at the same point as the closely associated line above it, i.e. at the left margin of the second column, and the restoration of the single word *κῆρυξ* precisely satisfies this requirement. The second declension genitive ending of the father's name is relatively common (see above, line 47).

Line 288. Part of the title and name of a third officer is preserved in this line which ran across the bottom of the inscription. Just at the right edge of fragment Z the vertical stroke and the suggestion of the arms of a kappa are visible. The word, accordingly, is restored *παρασκ[ενή]ν* and the title, *[στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τῇ]ν παρασκ[ενή]ν*, a restoration which nicely fits the allotted space beginning at the left margin of the first column and ending about a third of the way across the monument. On the right-hand side of the inscription his name, patronymic, and demotic are partially preserved. The name should probably be restored as Mnesigenes, though the man is not otherwise known.

Between the last letter of the title on fragment Y and the first letter of Mnesigenes there is space in the middle of the line for about twenty or twenty-one letters. More than half of this space is preserved and it shows clearly *rasura*. For the first ten letter-spaces on Y (after the nu) it is deep and slightly more than the full height

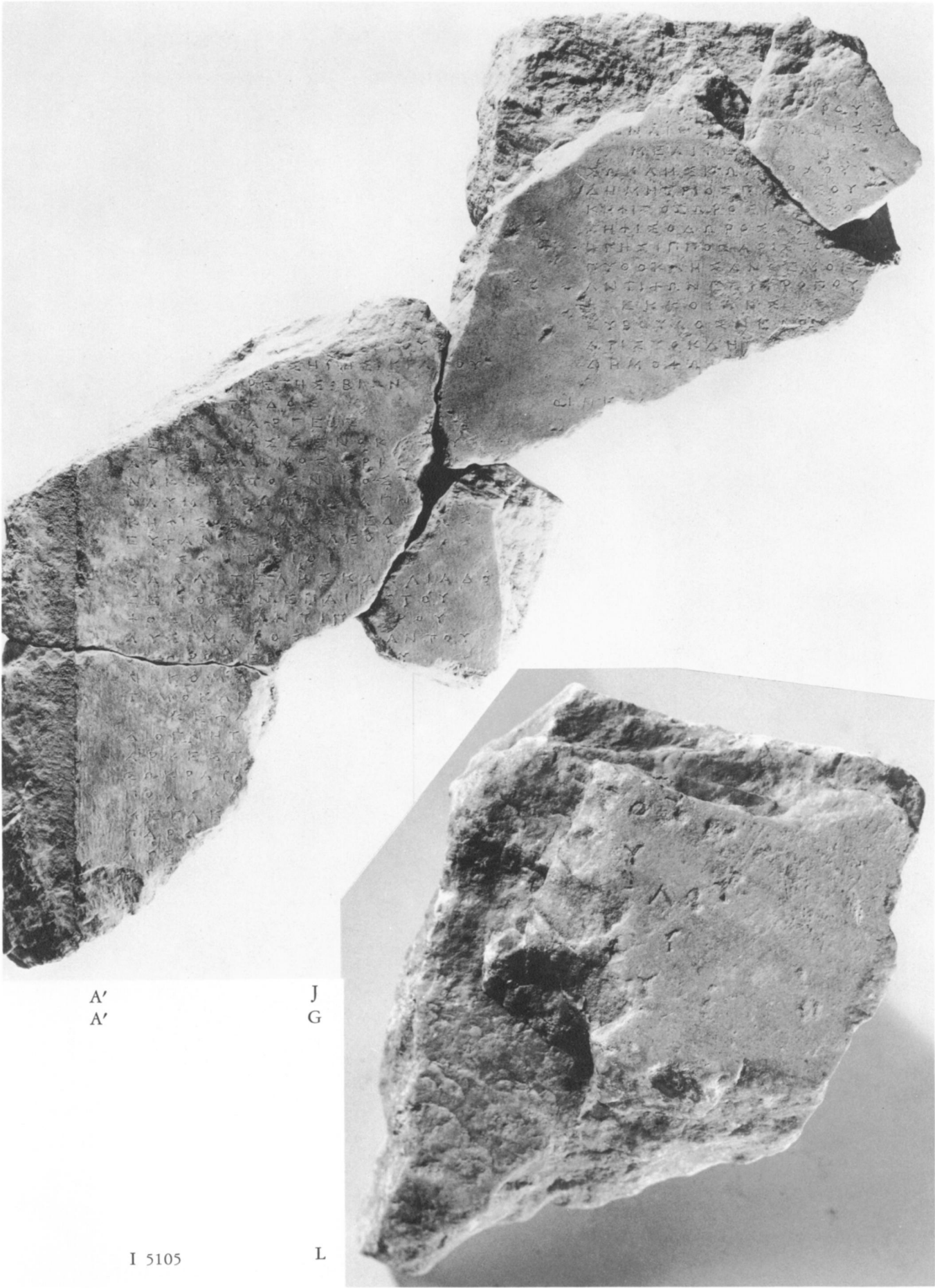
of the line, i.e. 0.012 m., but for the last two it is only half the height, i.e. 0.007 m., and shallower, as if trailing off. No letter can be read within this erasure.

The *rasura* at the bottom of fragment X has already been mentioned (see commentary on line 178). It aligns exactly with the erasure on Y, yet it also occurs precisely where the one bouleutes of Elaious ought to have been inscribed. The full height of the line is not preserved and we cannot tell therefore whether this erasure simply obliterated this name or whether it was a continuation of the large *rasura* on Y (nothing can be read through the *rasura* on X either). What is certain, however, is that an error occurred here in the setting up of the text of I 5105, for the bottom of the Hippothontid roster clearly extended into the line given to the title and name of the Provisioner-General.

Beyond this we can only form conjectures or compound what are already unattractive hypotheses. Perhaps the mason inscribed the title, name, etc. of the Provisioner-General, centering the line under the two officers in lines 286-287, then when the conflict with column IV became apparent made alterations so that the title and name were centered under the whole monument. It is curious, however, that the bouleutes of Elaious was not then inscribed in the erasure in line 178. Moreover, in one obvious case of error in this line, *viz.* where the mason omitted the epsilon from the demotic of Lamptraí (the upsilon sigma are still visible under the epsilon upsilon), the erasures are very light and quite different in character from the one on fragment Y. The alternative, *viz.* to assume that the *rasurae* on Y and X arise from *damnatio memoriae*, is not attractive either, for precisely what was erased cannot easily be conjectured (the title apparently is complete with the nu on Y, and the name also, with the addition of the first two letters of Mnesigenes). Moreover, such an assumption still leaves unexplained the conflict between the bottom of column IV and line 288.

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JOHN S. TRAILL: THE BOULEUTIC LIST OF 281/0 B.C.



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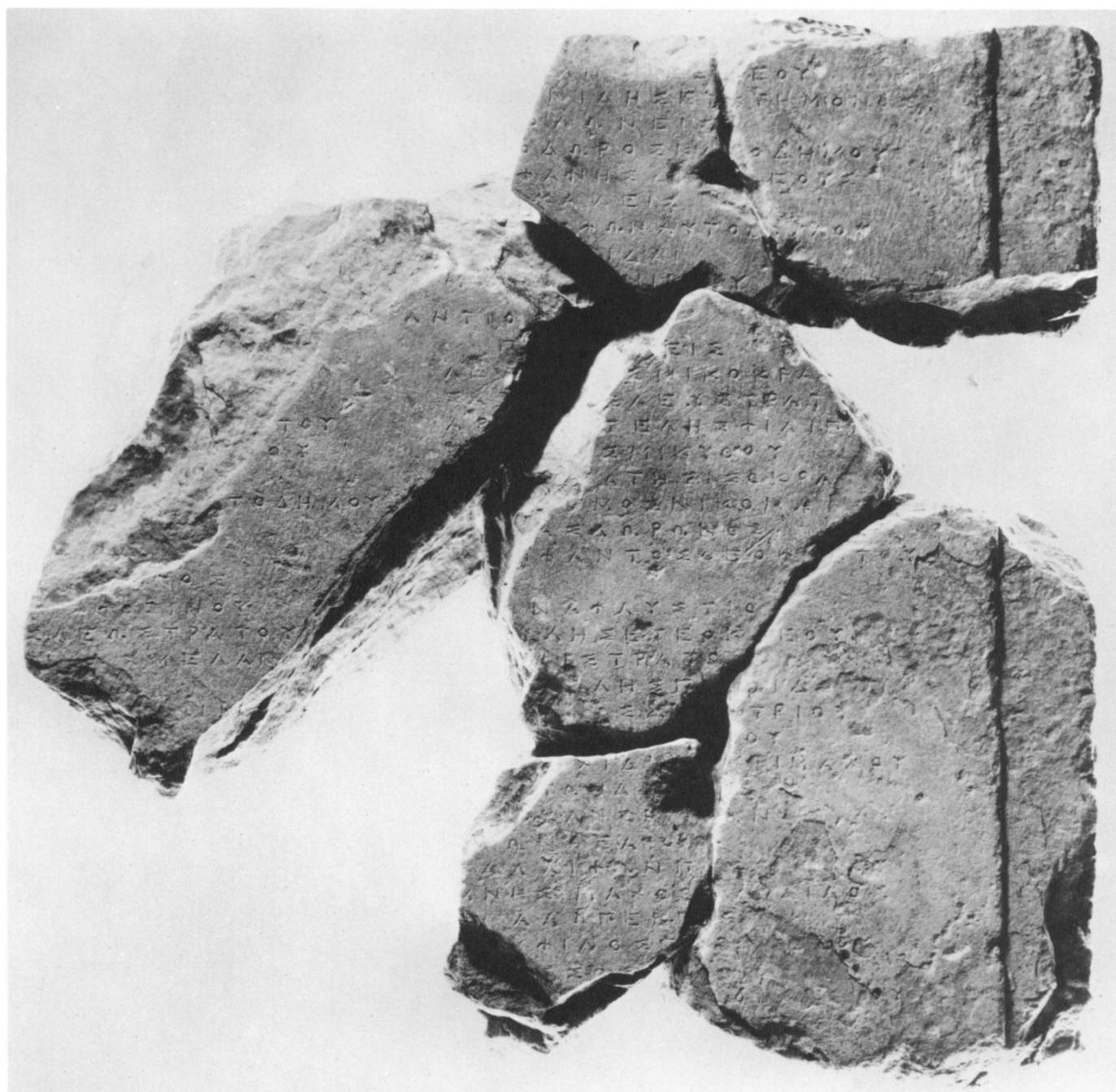
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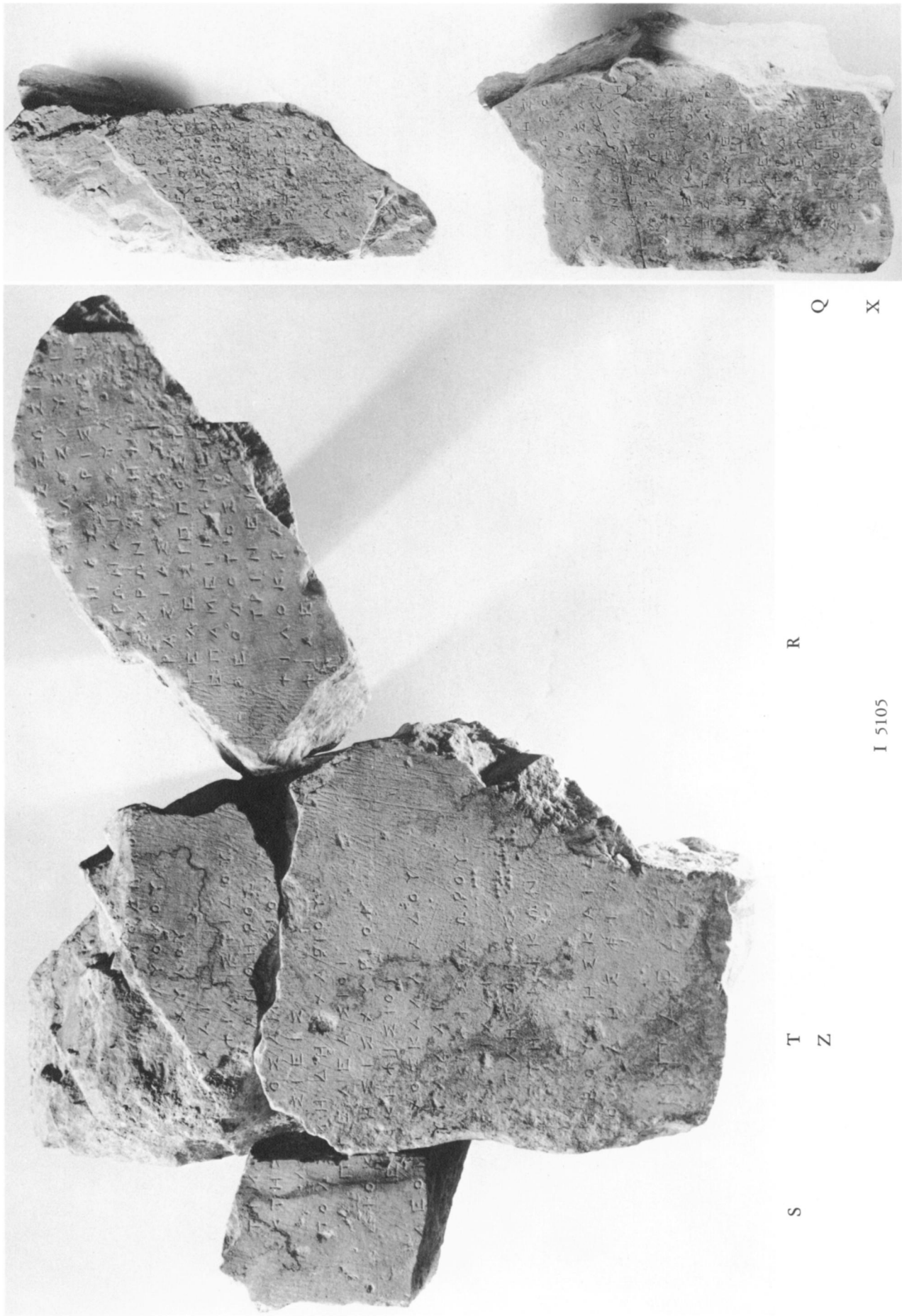
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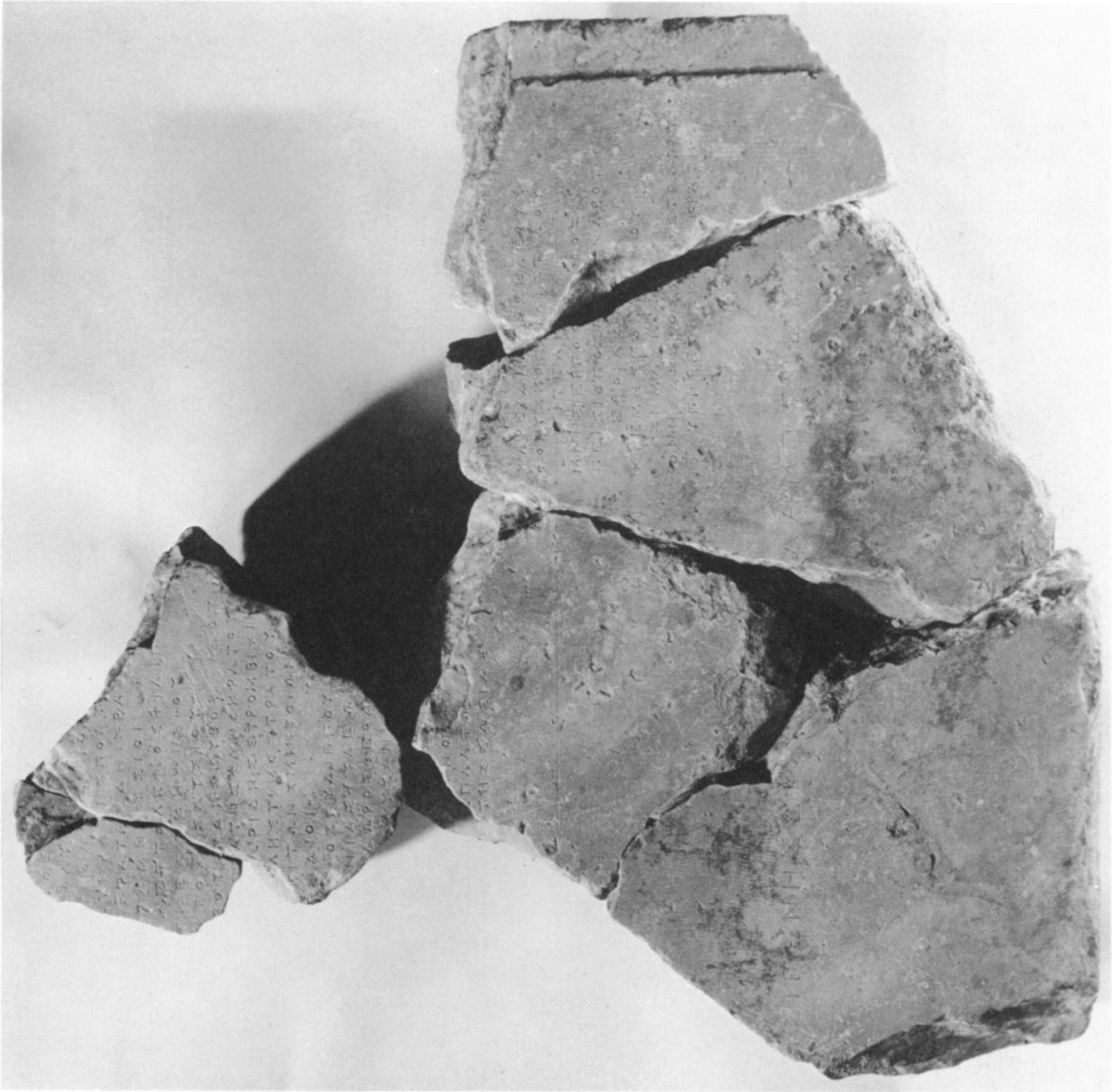
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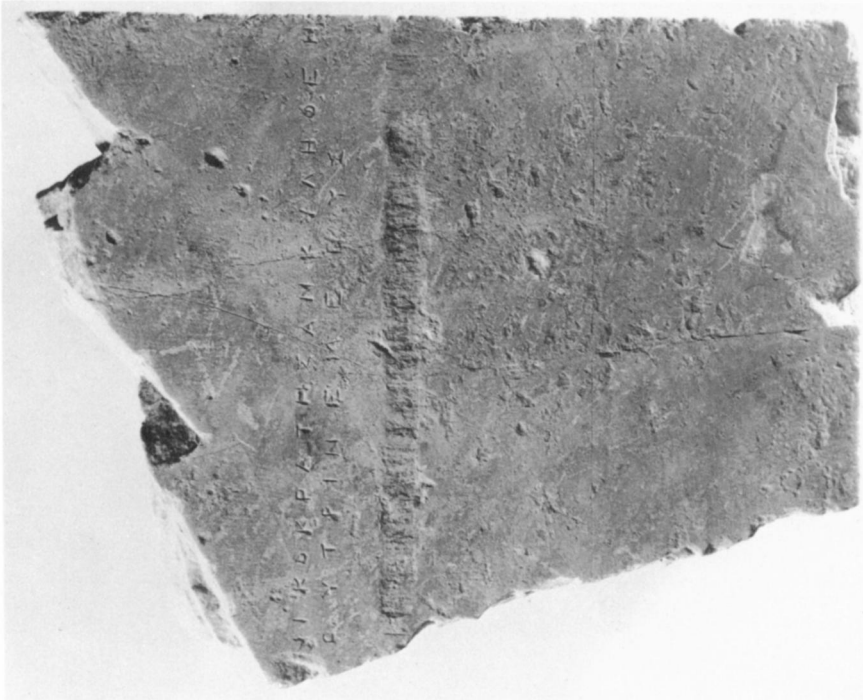
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Y

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