THE BOULEUTIC LIST OF 304/3 B.C.

(Plates 61–64)

Note

After the publication of Prytaneis (Hesperia, Suppl. I, 1937), a collection of the lists of the Athenian Bouleutai was planned as a companion volume. Systematic material, first the inscriptions themselves, then matter on the demes, on representation, and on numerous other aspects, was collected by the undersigned, and beginnings were made of detailed studies of all the Bouleutic lists of the fourth century ante-307/6 B.C. These texts had been published, most of them in I.G., II², ii, 2 (1931), but in every case much remained to be done. H. J. Carroll, Jr. undertook and in 1955 completed a dissertation (Harvard University) which included texts and commentary for the entire group. Carroll made interesting studies of other aspects also, notably, following J. Sundwall, the economic and social status of the bouleutai.

The Agora excavations had produced scores of fragments that belonged to three lists of soon after 307/6 B.C. These lists were like the earlier ones, but longer, i.e. they included the whole Boule, now of 600 men; with patronymics, each list originally had 1200 names. The editing, including preliminary texts, was begun by the undersigned, and I was able to discover the principle of organization of the Macedonian phylai. Further progress could be made only in Athens, and D. F. Ogden, who was there, devoted most of a year to the task. Working systematically on the present inscription and on the two others, he solved various problems of detail and of the design of the whole; he was further assisted by B. D. Meritt, with prosopographical work in Princeton.

Unfortunately Ogden’s progress toward the doctorate was so seriously interrupted by several years of military service that at the end he decided against a return to academic life. After being briefed during the spring of 1965 in Cambridge, in the summer J. S. Traill, Norton Fellow of Harvard University, was able to resume the work in Greece. In three months of continuous study he completed the present edition of Agora Inv. No. I 249 and of other fragments belonging with it. Although it incorporates the work of his predecessors, whose participation will be acknowledged as co-authors signing the eventual book, the present article is Traill’s in the sense that apart from slight additions to his typescript, all of it was re-studied and drafted by him. Moreover it includes notable contributions of his own.

The content of the present publication, in respect to all matters that it treats in detail, is intended to be as nearly final as is now possible. A variety of topics remain for the eventual book, but first the other two lists of post-307/6 must be published, and Traill has now undertaken the study of them.

S. Dow

Hesperia, XXXV, 3
INTRODUCTION

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Of the twenty-five fragments belonging to the bouleutic list of 304/3 only three have been published: one appears in the Corpus as I.G., II², 2413, a fragment which has long since disappeared and which cannot be studied in any better detail than what the Corpus itself offers; the other two, I 249a and I 351, have been published in Hesperia. Seven other fragments that belong to I 249, viz. I 1858, 1859, 1864, 1865, 1867, 1868, and 1960, are cited briefly in a footnote along with fragments of various other inscriptions which were found together in a heavy Roman screen wall of the first century after Christ discovered on the west side of the Market Square. The following list gives the dates and places of these publications:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agora Inventory Number</th>
<th>Our Fragment Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I 249a</td>
<td>G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I 351</td>
<td>U</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I 1858</td>
<td>P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I 1859</td>
<td>R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I 1864</td>
<td>K</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I 1865</td>
<td>J</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I 1867</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I 1868</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I 1960</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Four parallel inscriptions, fragments of Prytany Lists of Antigonis and Aiantis of the same year, have also been published in Hesperia:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agora Inventory Number</th>
<th>Publication</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I 597b</td>
<td>J. H. Oliver, Hesperia, II, 1933, pp. 499-500, No. 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I 5456</td>
<td>W. K. Pritchett, Hesperia, XVI, 1947, pp. 184-185, No. 91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I 5258</td>
<td>B. D. Meritt, Hesperia, XXIX, 1960, p. 53, No. 71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I 6143</td>
<td>B. D. Meritt, Hesperia, XXXIII, 1964, p. 169, No. 23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE FRAGMENTS

The twenty-four¹ fragments that were discovered in the Agora excavations can most conveniently be described in a table of physical data together with the aid of photographs and a diagram representing the relative sizes and positions within

¹ No statistics are recorded for I.G., II², 2413, now lost.
the stele of the various fragments. The existing individual and joining fragments are illustrated in the photographs on Plates 61-64. The drawing (Fig. 1 on p. 218) provides a reconstruction of the whole stele showing the proper or probable position of each fragment, including I.G., II², 2413.

Pertinent information about inventories, dimensions, and preserved thicknesses and sides is given in Table I, below. Where in the table 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.

Joins are indicated in the table by brackets connecting the joined fragments, and the resulting increased dimensions have also been given. All the joins except that of fragments K-L-M have been known for many years, and the pieces have long been cemented together. When fragment L was found in 1952 it was recognized immediately and joined with cement to fragment K. The fact that fragment M also joined was discovered only more recently.

Fragments E and F (I 622b and I 622a, respectively) were so numbered as to suggest either that they were found together or that they joined. The record shows that in fact they were not found together, and there is no join between them. Their relative positions will be discussed below (pp. 212-214).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Our Fragment Number</th>
<th>Agora Inventory Number</th>
<th>Height</th>
<th>Width</th>
<th>Original Thickness Preserved</th>
<th>Original Side Preserved</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>I 1867</td>
<td>face</td>
<td>0.066</td>
<td>0.026</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>I 1868</td>
<td>face</td>
<td>0.038</td>
<td>0.023</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A and B joined</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0.105</td>
<td>0.028</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>I 1878</td>
<td>face</td>
<td>0.082</td>
<td>0.071</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>I 1852</td>
<td>face</td>
<td>0.139</td>
<td>0.080</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>I 622b</td>
<td>face</td>
<td>0.103</td>
<td>0.144</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>I 622a</td>
<td>face</td>
<td>0.109</td>
<td>0.063</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>I 249a</td>
<td>face</td>
<td>0.148</td>
<td>0.168</td>
<td>0.215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>I 1729a</td>
<td>face</td>
<td>0.189</td>
<td>0.312</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>I 701</td>
<td>face</td>
<td>0.256</td>
<td>0.298</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J</td>
<td>I 1865</td>
<td>face</td>
<td>0.094</td>
<td>0.107</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Our Fragment Number</td>
<td>Agora Inventory Number</td>
<td>Height</td>
<td>Width</td>
<td>Original Thickness</td>
<td>Original Preserved</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>overall</td>
<td>0.170</td>
<td>0.110</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F, G, H, I and J joined</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.618</td>
<td>0.480</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K</td>
<td>I 1864</td>
<td>face</td>
<td>0.097</td>
<td>0.061</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>I 1864²</td>
<td>face</td>
<td>0.264</td>
<td>0.173</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>overall</td>
<td>0.400</td>
<td>0.260</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>I 1960</td>
<td>face</td>
<td>0.017</td>
<td>0.025</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>overall</td>
<td>0.180</td>
<td>0.130</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K, L and M joined</td>
<td>face</td>
<td>0.262</td>
<td>0.215</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>overall</td>
<td>0.440</td>
<td>0.260</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>I 1729b</td>
<td>face</td>
<td>0.195</td>
<td>0.158</td>
<td>0.239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>overall</td>
<td>0.260</td>
<td>0.330</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>I 1856</td>
<td>face</td>
<td>0.099</td>
<td>0.038</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N and O joined</td>
<td>face</td>
<td>0.210</td>
<td>0.170</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>I 1858</td>
<td>face</td>
<td>0.112</td>
<td>0.107</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q</td>
<td>I 1729c</td>
<td>face</td>
<td>0.078</td>
<td>0.065</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>overall</td>
<td>0.130</td>
<td>0.150</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>I 1859³</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.034</td>
<td>0.041</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>I 1872</td>
<td>face</td>
<td>0.116</td>
<td>0.053</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td>I 1873</td>
<td>face</td>
<td>0.045</td>
<td>0.061</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U</td>
<td>I 351</td>
<td>face</td>
<td>0.068</td>
<td>0.075</td>
<td>0.217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>overall</td>
<td>0.290</td>
<td>0.250</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>I 249b</td>
<td>face</td>
<td>0.388</td>
<td>0.330</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W</td>
<td>I 249b</td>
<td>face</td>
<td>0.189</td>
<td>0.182</td>
<td>0.221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>overall</td>
<td>0.360</td>
<td>0.490</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V and W joined</td>
<td>face</td>
<td>0.498</td>
<td>0.342</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>overall</td>
<td>0.580</td>
<td>0.390</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>I 1765</td>
<td>face</td>
<td>0.116</td>
<td>0.092</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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. This information was gathered from

² This fragment, though found many years later than fragment K and in a different location (see Table II, below), was never given a separate inventory number but was recognized and joined to fragment K (I 1864) immediately.

³ This tiny fragment has disappeared and is not available for measurement. The dimensions given are taken from the card for I 1859 in the Agora Inventory File.
the cards in the Agora Inventory Files and, when necessary for closer details, from the field notebooks of the excavators. 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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Our Fragment Number</th>
<th>Agora Inventory Number</th>
<th>Date of Finding</th>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Details of Context</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>I 1867</td>
<td>April 25, 1934</td>
<td>F 11</td>
<td>In late fill; cement as if from heavy Roman wall.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>I 1868</td>
<td>April 25, 1934</td>
<td>G 11</td>
<td>In late fill; cement as if from heavy Roman wall.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>I 1878</td>
<td>April 26, 1934</td>
<td>F 11</td>
<td>Marble dump; region of the Tholos.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Marble dump; north-west corner of Market Square.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>I 1852</td>
<td>April, 1934</td>
<td>H 10-11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>I 622b</td>
<td>February 22, 1935</td>
<td>N-O 14</td>
<td>Among marbles from the “east cut.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>I 622a</td>
<td>March 28, 1933</td>
<td>H 12</td>
<td>Marble dump, in mixed fill.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>I 249a</td>
<td>1933, pre-excavation</td>
<td>H 12</td>
<td>Modern House (632/2B)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>I 1729a</td>
<td>March 31, 1934</td>
<td>H 9</td>
<td>Late wall on south side of Metroon, Room iii, of Period V, at one meter.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>In “Trench M” in a modern cellar wall.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>I 701</td>
<td>April 19, 1933</td>
<td>J 13</td>
<td>In late fill; cement as if from heavy Roman wall.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J</td>
<td>I 1865</td>
<td>April 25, 1934</td>
<td>G 11</td>
<td>In late fill; cement as if from heavy Roman wall.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K</td>
<td>I 1864</td>
<td>April 25, 1934</td>
<td>G 11</td>
<td>In late fill; cement as if from heavy Roman wall.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>I 1864</td>
<td>February 2, 1952</td>
<td>O-Q 16-17</td>
<td>From modern house beside Church of the Holy Apostles.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Our Fragment Number</td>
<td>Agora Inventory Number</td>
<td>Date of Finding</td>
<td>Section</td>
<td>Details of Context</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>I 1960</td>
<td>May 11, 1934</td>
<td>F 11</td>
<td>Marble dump; cement as if from heavy Roman wall.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>I 1729b</td>
<td>March 31, 1934</td>
<td>H 9</td>
<td>Late wall on south side of Metroon, Room iii, of Period V, at one meter.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>I 1856</td>
<td>April 24, 1934</td>
<td>F 11</td>
<td>In late fill.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>I 1858</td>
<td>April 24, 1934</td>
<td>F 11</td>
<td>In late fill; cement as if from heavy Roman wall.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q</td>
<td>I 1729c</td>
<td>March 31, 1934</td>
<td>H 9</td>
<td>Late wall on south side of Metroon, Room iii, of Period V, at one meter.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>I 1859</td>
<td>April 24, 1934</td>
<td>F 11</td>
<td>In late fill; cement as if from heavy Roman wall.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>I 1872</td>
<td>April 25, 1934</td>
<td>F 11</td>
<td>In late fill.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td>I 1873</td>
<td>April 25, 1934</td>
<td>F 11</td>
<td>In late fill.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U</td>
<td>I 351</td>
<td>1933, pre-excavation</td>
<td>I-L 5-8</td>
<td>Marble dump near altar of the Twelve Gods.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>I 249b</td>
<td>May 17, 1937</td>
<td>K 7</td>
<td>East wall of modern Room H.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W</td>
<td>I 249b</td>
<td>May 25, 1937</td>
<td>K 7</td>
<td>Marble Pile.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>I 1765</td>
<td>April 11, 1934</td>
<td>F 11</td>
<td>In late fill.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Original Position of the Stele**

Reference to the plan of the Agora will show that no fewer than eighteen of the fragments come from a region between and just west of the Tholos and the Metroon, that is, from an area very close to the Old Bouleuterion, where a stele listing the bouleutai honored by the Demos might naturally stand (at least prior

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4 For this fragment no exact location on the old section letters is given; hence the provenience cannot be “translated” more accurately than as listed here. The section letter in question is H.
to ca. 190 B.C., after which date such inscriptions were set up elsewhere). Of the remaining six fragments three come from the region of the Altar of the Twelve Gods (U, V, and W) and one comes from the Middle Stoa (I). Only two fragments were found at a considerable distance from the area of the Old Bouleuterion, one (E) near the Church of the Holy Apostles, and the other (L) further to the south-east. That both belong to this inscription is demonstrated by the fact that fragment E is closely associated with F and that lines may indeed be restored between them (cf. p. 220) and by the fact that fragment L joins K and M, which were discovered near the Old Bouleuterion.

Only one of the eighteen fragments of inscriptions listed by H. A. Thompson (Hesperia, VI, 1937, p. 168, note 2) as coming from the heavy Roman screen wall of the Bouleuterion has a positive date as late as ca. 190 B.C. (I 1492). The great bulk of the fragments date from the late fourth and from the third centuries. Seven of the total eighteen belong to our catalogue (cf. above, p. 206), but no other bouleutic list appears to be represented among the remaining pieces.

It seems, therefore, that this inscription stood in the area south of the Old Bouleuterion, probably down to the destruction of the Agora by Sulla’s soldiers in 86 B.C., when it was doubtless broken or badly damaged. Some of the fragments were probably broken again before being incorporated into the screen wall, while others were carted away at later dates and either re-used or merely dumped as fill.

Assignment and Rejection of Fragments

Lettering and spacing provide the basic criteria by which fragments belonging with I 249 can be recognized. Since, however, in this inscription the lettering and spacing are of two kinds, and since the lettering is not perfectly consistent, extreme caution must be exercised and other criteria considered. The technical data of lettering, spacing, margination, indentation and other details of this nature are outlined below (pp. 214-216).

Joins have reduced the number of independent fragments from twenty-five to sixteen (or fifteen if I.G., II², 2413 joins fragments F-G-H-I-J) and also linked the numerous proveniences with the region of the Old Bouleuterion, where the core of the original stele was found. These sixteen fragments are divided by lettering and spacing into two groups, those which belong to the heading (stoichedon) and those which belong to the body of the inscription (non-stoichedon). Fragment F, which preserves part of the heading and is joined to fragment G which belongs to the body of the inscription, provides a link between the two groups and a positive criterion by which to test other fragments assigned to the heading but preserving no part of the

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6 This was published in Hesperia, Suppl. I, 1937, pp. 96-100, No. 47. The date has more recently been given either as 181/0 or as 193/2; cf. Meritt, The Athenian Year, p. 236, and T.A.P.A., XCV, 1964, p. 240.
main text. Four such fragments have been assigned: fragments A-B (I 1867 and I 1868), fragment C (I 1878), and fragment D (I 1852). All four come from the region of the Old Bouleuterion, though D was somewhat separated from the others and quite possibly does not belong to this inscription. In terms of lettering they all agree with information provided by fragment F and hence are tied in with the main body of the inscription. Comment has already been made on the only other preserved member of the heading, fragment E (cf. p. 211), which appears to be closely associated with fragment F and which in addition contains part of the rasura of the name of the phyle Demetrias which was inscribed as a heading over the second column in the body of the catalogue.

The lettering and spacing of the other fragments assigned to the catalogue, except for I.G., II², 2413, for which no statistics are preserved and whose association with this inscription will be discussed below, agree with the information of the joined fragments G-H-I-J. With the exception of the fragments E, I, and L (see p. 211) and V-W and U, which may possibly not belong to this inscription, all the fragments assigned to the catalogue can be linked in provenience with the area of the Old Bouleuterion.

The assignment of the fragment I.G., II², 2413, the text of lines 56-78, presents a special problem. It was first published in J. L. Ussing, Graeske og Latinske Indskrifter i Kjöbenhavn (Copenhagen, 1854), p. 23, No. 2. Ussing based his text on a reading of the inscription made in Athens by P. O. Brönsted. Brönsted died in 1842. His Reisen appeared in 1826 and 1830 and he probably saw the present inscription before 1825. Thereafter it became, and is still, lost. Ussing's version of Brönsted's copy was itself copied by A. Kirchhoff for U. Koehler who published it in I.G., II, 1024. From this it was republished by Kirchner as I.G., II², 2413. Naturally any particular detail can be suspected, but the pedigree is a good one, and indicates that for a majority of the particulars of the spacing, and for the text, we should trust it.

I.G., II², 2413 was first associated with our catalogue by W. K. Pritchett (per litt. to S. Dow), who by discovering the date of I 249 and by proving that I.G., II², 2413 belonged to Antigonis and to the same year (304/3) was able to bring the two inscriptions together into one text. He had not, however, drawn up the complete text; hence the minor problem which arises, and which is discussed here, is new.

Nothing is known about the fragment except what can be inferred from the copy. It appears that the left edge of the stone was preserved from about line 3 (our 58) to about line 22 (our 77). Evidently the stone was broken at the top and bottom. As to the right side, see below. No measurements or other physical details are available, except that the condition of the marble appears to have been good, i.e. the letters were legible, at least. The text as we have it contains three significant errors, which were presumably made by the mason: line 14 (our 69) reads ΤΕΙΣΑΜΕΝΗΣ ΠΙΤΟΝΙΚΟΤ (for Τείσαμενὸς Πιθονίκον) and line 22 (our 77) reads ΠΟΤΑΜΙΟΣ (for Ποτάμιοι).

The association of I.G., II², 2413 with the present inscription was suggested
chiefly by the text, which ends on fragment H with six Gargettioi, after which the surface and a few millimeters more are missing for a distance of about three lines, and which begins on I.G., II², 2413 with the very demotic which one would expect to occur next, namely, Paianieis. By placing I.G., II², 2413 as close as would seem hypothetically possible to fragment H, we would have to allow for at least nine Gargettioi, a rather large increase from a previously known representation of four, although fragment H by itself shows that there definitely was an increase at this time. Nor is there any other known deme in Antigonis which could be inserted in the space and preserve the demotic order. The Macedonian phylai do tend to list their demes in the order of the phylai from which they were taken, but there are exceptions, e.g. Demetrias on this inscription lists demes from Kekropis and Hippothontis omitting Xypetaiones, and it is perhaps wrong to assume a strict conformity to a demotic order. The Deiradiotai and the Eiteaioi may have been listed here, or even an unknown deme of Antigonis, although this seems unlikely.

Another possibility, however, ought to be considered. For this same year (304/3) we have a fragment of the list of prytaneis of Antigonis, viz. Hesperia, II, 1933, pp. 499-500, No. 14 = I 597b (cf. Hesperia, Suppl. I, p. 43, No. 8). The arguments for uniting I.G., II², 2413 with this list of prytaneis are as follows: (1) The mason of I 597b could commit an error (ΚΑΙΣΘΕΝΗΣ in line 9) not unlike those already noted on I.G., II², 2413, whereas there are almost no errors in the scores of names in the catalogue of which I 249 is a part. (2) The mason of I 249 spaced the letters of his demotics almost twice as widely as the letters of the names. Although in I 597b no demotic is preserved beyond the first letter, it is notable that the Corpora show I.G., II², 2413 (= I.G., II, 1024) with the demotics spaced only slightly more widely than (or identically with) the names. (3) In I.G., II², 2413 the final letter of every single line is preserved except that of the last line, which has only two letters (or in the better copies three letters) anyway. It would be a curious accident if a stone such as that on which the present inscription is cut should break vertically exactly down through the gap between Cols. I and II, a gap which is in places less than 0.03 m. wide. The breaks of our inscription are mostly not vertical but oblique, and the appearance of the preserved fragments is such as to suggest that the fragment missing below fragment H and to the left of fragment I was also broken obliquely, so that it ought to preserve a portion of Col. II. In I 597b, on the contrary, the unusually wide margin at the left suggests an arrangement of the whole in two columns with a wide gap between. I 597b was a thin stele, and it is a familiar fact that post-classical builders commonly attempted to split such stelai by blows down the middle, in order to form brick-like building stones of proper width. (4) Finally, the surface of I 597b is well preserved, every letter being clearly visible, whereas the surface of our catalogue was originally rougher and every fragment has suffered some degree of defacement. This again suggests a connection between I.G., II², 2413 and I 597b.
Admittedly this all falls short of being decisive. The problem is a minor one in any case, since the text was undoubtedly the same. The text of I.G., II\textsuperscript{a}, 2413 is given here as lines 56-78, but it is perhaps safer at present to concede that the actual inscription was probably a part of I 597\textsuperscript{b}, a prytaneis list of the same year. In any case the representation of Gargettos in 304/3 must depend on other considerations.

**Technical Data**

1. **The heading (Text, lines 1-25):** Preserved only in bits, but evidently of unusual extent; there are at least seven lines of it, and perhaps more. There is no reason to believe that it did not run clear across the top of the stele.
   
   A. **Lettering:** Stoichedon.
   
   B. **Letter Height:** Widest chisel used, in the height of the iota, is slightly under 0.008 m.
   
   C. **Vertical Interspacing:** 0.008 m. or slightly less. Height of one letter and one vertical interspace averages 0.015 m.
   
   D. **Horizontal Interspacing:** 0.008 m. or slightly less. Distance from the center of one stoichos spacing to the center of the next averages 0.015 m.

2. **List of the bouleutai (Text, lines 26-319 and 326-351):** The names of the bouleutai were inscribed in vertical columns varying in width from 0.147 m. to 0.150 m. Between the columns of names a free space was left, 0.020 m. to 0.025 m. wide. At either edge of the inscription a narrow margin was carefully observed; on the left this margin is consistently 0.013 m. wide, and on the right never less than 0.012 m. wide. Within the columnar lists there were three elements: the headings of the phylai, the demotics, and the names of the individual bouleutai.

A. **The Headings of the Phylai:** Of these twelve headings only those of Erechtheis and Aiantis (in part) and of Antiochis (in full) are preserved (fragments J and V-W, lines 118, 255, and 295 of the text). The initial alpha of Ἀντιοχίδος is written one and a half spaces to the left of the margin formed by the lists of names. The letters are widely spaced, probably so as to center the heading over its column. There are no blank lines above or below either of the headings for Aiantis and Antiochis; they were set off from the rest of the inscription simply by being written partly in the margin with widely spaced letters. The space above the heading for Erechtheis presents a problem, for which a solution is suggested below. The headings for Antigonis and Demetrias were erased, evenly and deeply; portions of these rasurae can be seen on fragments E, F, and G (see Plate 61).

   (a) **Lettering:** Non-stoichedon, but widely spaced to center the names of the phylai over the columns.
   
   (b) **Letter Height:** For Aiantis and Antiochis about the same as in the
demotics and names, i.e. 0.006 m. or slightly less. The rasurae obliterating Ἀντιγονίδος and Δημητριάδος are a full 0.011 m. to 0.012 m. high.

(c) Vertical Interspacing: Exactly the same as that of the demotics and names, i.e. 0.005 m. to 0.006 m. A free space of 0.027 m. intervenes between the last line of the introduction and the headings of Antigonis and Demetrias.

(d) Horizontal Interspacing: Depending on the length of the names of the phylai the letters were more closely or more widely spaced. For Aiantis about two and a half normal letter spaces intervene; for Antiochis only two or slightly less.

B. *The Demotics*: Fifty-five (possibly fifty-six) demotics are preserved in part or in full.

(a) Lettering: Non-stoichedon, but sometimes widely spaced to center the words over the columns.

(b) Letter Height: Exactly the same as the lettering of the names, i.e. 0.006 m. or slightly less.

(c) Vertical Interspacing: 0.005 m. to 0.006 m., again agreeing with the lists of names.

(d) Horizontal Interspacing: Dependent on the length of the demotic in question; the demotics were roughly centered over the columns, causing long demotics to be more closely spaced than short ones. In very short demotics as much as 0.014 m. may intervene between the letters.

C. *Names of the Individual Bouleutai*: Long names are commonly curtailed so as not to encroach on the free space left between the columns.

(a) Lettering: Non-stoichedon.

(b) Letter Height: Generally 0.006 m. or slightly less. The widest chisel used, in the height of the iota, was a shade under 0.006 m. Towards the end of the list, and most remarkably on fragment X, the letters are slightly smaller, averaging 0.005 m. or slightly more.

(c) Vertical Interspacing: 0.005 m. to 0.006 m. Ten lines and ten vertical interspaces vary slightly between 0.108 m. and 0.110 m.

(d) Horizontal Interspacing: Letters are inscribed with little or no attempt to crowd long names so as to make them fit, or to spread out short names to fill the available space. Abbreviation, i.e. curtailment, of long names is common.

3. *The List of the Officers of the Boule* (Text, lines 320-325): Fragment N preserves the ends of six lines, three of which are definitely the ends of demotics or of names and demotics. A fourth line is similar and a fifth is uncertain. The sixth line is either blank or a very shallow rasura (see text and commentary on line 322).
Since one of these lines (323) contains the end of the name and the demotic of a well-known herald of this period, we are safe in assuming that what is preserved on this fragment is at least part of the list of officers of the Boule.

Since successive lines end with demotics, it appears that in this list each line contained a title, name, patronymic, and demotic. This would normally require about forty letter spaces, or just a little more than the width of two columns of names and one intercolumnar space. Two of the demotics are curtailed to fit the allowed space, and the last letters of these are only 0.015 m. from the column of names to their right (see Plate 62). Clearly this list was allowed to encroach slightly on the free space left between the columns, which was usually at least 0.020 m. wide.

The lettering, letter height, and spacing in this list are the same as those of the lists of names of the individual bouleutai. In general the lettering and arrangement of the text of the present inscription are similar to those of other bouleutic lists, and the use of indentation and spacing, as well as the size of letters, agrees with that of other similar monuments both of better and of inferior quality.

The mason appears to have been the same throughout. Though not of the highest quality or consistency his lettering is generally accurate and legible. His most noteworthy habit is the occasional omission of the cross-bar of alpha. This characteristic appears more toward the end of the list, especially on fragment X (see Plate 64). Instances of misspelling are few, and usually result from the confusion of letters of similar form (e.g. lines 109, 308, and 311 in addition to those already mentioned above in I.G., II², 2413), as are cases of incomplete entries (e.g. lines 214, 215, and 345). One glaring error appears in line 236 where an incomplete alpha was left unerased in the indentation of a demotic.

**Relations of the Fragments and the Design of the Whole Inscription (Fig. 1)**

Before we turn to the reconstruction of the design of the inscription as a whole it is perhaps worthwhile to consider the form of bouleutic inscriptions in general, and in this it must be admitted that we are severely restricted since we have no example of this type of document which is preserved completely. One of the most nearly complete is a fourth century list of the first five phylai, an inscription somewhat peculiar in form, inscribed on three faces of a block instead of on a stele. Yet is preserves the basic formal characteristics of a bouleutic list. Other more conventional and fragmentary examples from the Corpus together with two additional bouleutic lists discovered in the Agora Excavations (I 4720 and I 5105) show that although these inscriptions are by no means identical from year to year they do bear a certain affinity to one another, an affinity which is imposed upon them by the inscribed

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material. There are only a limited number of ways in which ten or twelve phylai with fifty names each can be arranged on one, or more than one, surface. The arrangement of the lists determines the design of the monument. Whatever other material is included (heading, lists of officers and servants, special decrees, decorative ornaments) must be fitted into this basic design, and the possibilities for the disposition of such accompanying material, without its unduly upsetting the lists themselves, are limited.

Fragments V-W alone show conclusively that all twelve phylai of the bouleutic list to which they belong were inscribed on one face of stone and that these phylai were arranged in two horizontal rows of six columns each, the first six on top and the last six below. The evidence is provided by the two preserved headings and by the demotics which lie above them. The headings in question are those of Aiantis, the eleventh phyle in a twelve-phylai list, and of Antiochis, the twelfth phyle. Of the demotics preserved above these headings two belong to Pandionis, the fifth phyle, and seven to Leontis, the sixth phyle. The demotics of Pandionis lie above the heading for Aiantis, and those of Leontis above the heading for Antiochis. The lists must have been arranged on the surface of the stele in this fashion:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>VI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Antigonis</td>
<td>Demetrias</td>
<td>Erechtheis</td>
<td>Aigeis</td>
<td>Pandionis</td>
<td>Leontis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akamantis</td>
<td>Oineis</td>
<td>Kekropis</td>
<td>Hippothontis</td>
<td>Aiantis</td>
<td>Antiochis</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The heading, written in larger letters, stoichedon, was placed directly above the columns of names. Fragments E and F-G show the exact relation of these two parts of the inscription. Directly beneath the rasura in Col. I appears the first demotic of Antigonis, and beneath that, again without any blank lines, the first bouleutes from that deme. Since but six stoichoi are missing to the left of fragment F it would appear that the heading ran clear across the top of the stele, and we are led to assume that Cols. III through VI were related to the heading in exactly the same manner as Cols. I and II. Certainly Cols. V and VI were so related, as indicated by fragments V-W, on which the heading for Antiochis occurs seven lines lower than that for Aiantis (see Plate 63). This difference arises from the fact that Leontis, lying above Antiochis, required seven more lines than did Pandionis, lying above Aiantis. It is known that at this time Leontis had fifteen demes and Pandionis eight, a difference of seven, and surely the explanation of the discrepancy. In all likelihood Pandionis and Leontis did begin on the same line, and there is no reason to believe that they were not placed in the same relation to the heading as were Antigonis and Demetrias.

On fragment J, however, there are the traces of a letter written in the eighteenth line of Col. III; it is inscribed one and a half letter spaces into the left margin and is clearly the left-hand part of epsilon. We have already noted that the headings for
Diagrammatic reconstruction of the Bouleutic list of 304/3. Assigned fragments are designated by letters. Roman numerals show approximate positions of the headings of the several phylai. (ca. 1:10)
the phylai, and most probably only such headings, were so written as to protrude into the left-hand margin. It appears, therefore, that this epsilon is the first letter of the heading for Erechtheis, the phyle belonging to the top half of Col. III. But it is written in the eighteenth, not the first, line of its column, and there were seventeen lines at the beginning of the third column which did not contain demotics and names of Erechtheis.

We must therefore revise our assumption about the arrangement of the top of Col. III, and perhaps also for the top of Col. IV for which there is no preserved evidence. An instinctive horror vacui leads us to search for something that will fill the unaccounted-for space at the top of Col. III.

The answer might seem to lie with fragments N-O which preserve six lines of the list of officers on the left side and most of the width of a column containing the demotic ['A]αεί[ς] and its ten representatives on the right side. Beneath the last name for Halai there is a blank space of 0.053 m. (equivalent to about five lines), and a bit less than that appears below the list of officers. Beyond this point the stone is broken and it is impossible to tell how much, if any, blank space or other inscribed material occurred in this position (see Plate 62).

The position of these fragments depends on the assignment of the deme Halai. There are two demes so named: one belongs to Aigeis and the other to Kekropis. The former has a known representation of five in the fourth century and eight in mid-third century, neither agreeing with the ten representatives listed here. Hence the fragments almost certainly belong to Kekropis, though the argument is ex silentio, for the representation of this Halai is not otherwise known. But there are other reasons for assigning fragments N-O to the bottom half of Cols. II and III. The blank space of about five lines after the last entry for Halai threaded would seem to indicate the end of a column, since the evidence of other fragments assures us that no such blank spaces were left within a column. Besides, the examples of Agora inscriptions I 4720 and I 5105, two other bouleutic lists of the same period, show the list of officers at the bottom, and not in the middle, of the inscription.

It is notable that the gap at the top of Col. III was square, or nearly square. It was probably to be filled by a square or round object, and there need be no real doubt that it was filled by a wreath, i.e. the crown won by the bouleutai. The wreath may have been incised, with or without paint added; less probably the wreath may simply have been painted on the marble. The position of the wreath is also no problem. Unless the wreath was to be far down at the bottom, and centered below Col. III and IV, symmetry was unattainable. So the wreath was put at the top. Column III

7 For a square space which doubtless contained a painted design, square, squarish, or circular, see the photograph of a fragment of I.G., I2, 66 in B. D. Meritt, Documents on Athenian Tribute, p. 44; that the area was square, cf. Sterling Dow, A.J.A., XLVI, 1942, p. 602. For a carved relief in the upper right corner of the face of an inscribed stele see I.G., II2, 2496.
was selected because it was near the center and was short. This solution had the further advantage of not forcing Col. IV, the longest column, to end far below all the others. The number of officers, probably six, was in the normal range. There is no need to assume an unusual division of them: all were listed together beneath Cols. I and II.

It now remains to fit the other fragments, so far as possible, into this basic framework.

Fragments A-B. Lettering and spacing agree perfectly with fragment F, already located at the top of Col. I and extending into the heading. The joined fragments A-B preserve but seven lines of one to two letters each (see text, lines 1-7). Since all the lettering is stoichedon these fragments must belong to the heading. Unless the number of lines of heading was incredibly great, fragments A-B must have come somewhere to the right of fragment E, i.e. over Cols. III-VI. Its position cannot be fixed more exactly.

Fragment C. Five lines of stoichedon lettering (lines 8-12) which agree perfectly with fragment F; as in the case of fragments A-B, fragment C must have come somewhere to the right of fragment E.

Fragment D. Six lines of stoichedon lettering followed by a rasura 0.011 m. high which is followed in turn by two more lines of letters, perhaps non-stoichedon (see text, lines 13-21 and Plate 64). The rasura is probably not that which obliterated the heading of a Macedonian phyle, since there are two lines of stoichedon lettering immediately below it. The surface of fragment D is badly pitted and the readings are by no means certain, although the lettering and spacing do agree with the other fragments of the heading. For this reason it has been here assigned to this inscription and placed entirely in the heading, but it is possible that it does not belong to the stele at all. If, however, it does it must have come somewhere to the right of fragment E.

Fragment E. Four lines of stoichedon lettering beneath which, after a blank space of two lines, occurs a small patch of rasura. The lettering on this fragment and the position of the rasura agree perfectly with the pattern given by fragment F. Fragment E should be placed close to the right of F so as to fill out the demotic 'Ax0[ρωε]ı̂ς in line 25, a restoration which is confirmed by the restoration of a known name in the preceding line (see text).

Fragment I.G., II², 2413. The relationship of this fragment to the rest of the inscription has already been discussed (above, pp. 212-214). If it did belong it probably contained part of the left-hand edge of the stele, and a lip of it was either attached to or occurred very close to fragments H and I.

Fragments K-L-M. The left-hand side and the original thickness of the stele are preserved, together with three demotics belonging to Akamantis and two to Oineis
(see text, lines 206-238). Fragments K.L.M. therefore must lie in the bottom half of Cols. I and II.

Fragment P. This fragment preserves the ends of five demotics and five names in the left-hand column and a vertical stroke (as of kappa) in the right (see text, lines 150-162). One of the demotics ends in — νννννννν; this can only be [ἐκ Κολω]νοῦ of the phyle Aigeis, and the fragment belongs in the upper part of Cols. IV and V.

Fragment Q. This fragment preserves the end of one demotic and parts of six names (see text, lines 326-332). The demotic ends in upsilon and can only be [ἐξ Οἰο]ν, since Kolonos is already accounted for on fragment P. Two phylai contain an Oion: Demetrias (from Leontis) and Hippothontis. Possible positions for fragment Q are, therefore, the top half of Col. II (Demetrias) and the bottom half of Col. IV (Hippothontis). The latter choice seems preferable, for the Oion of Demetrias is known to have had, some years later, only one representative (Agora Inv. I 1804, I 4221, I.G., II¹, 2437), but there are at least three bouleutai here. The Oion of Hippothontis was once thought to be one of the tiniest demes of Attica, on the basis of Gomme's Population figures. These are now seen to be entirely misleading and, although no figures of its representation are known, nothing is inconsistent with the quota of at least three bouleutai.

Fragment R. This fragment preserves only four lines of the first few letters of names. Its exact position cannot be determined, but the lettering, spacing, and provenience all point to its belonging to this inscription (see lines 333-336).

Fragment S. This fragment preserves a demotic ending in — α which is followed by four names which in turn are followed by traces of a second demotic (see text, lines 337-347, and commentary on line 347). In the first demotic there is a space of 0.013 m. between the omikron and the iota. Only the very short demotics are so widely spaced, e.g. [ἐκ Κοι]λης (line 112), Ο[υ]α[ι]ο (line 283), and [Ετερε]α[ιο] (line 313). Thus the demotic on fragment S was doubtless only seven or eight letters long. There are only four demotics of this length ending in — α which are not already accounted for and which may have had a representation of four: (1) Ευτερειοι in Antigonis is unlikely because of a previously known quota of two representatives and impossible because the fragment contains more lines than necessary to complete the list of Antigonis; (2) Κηπτιοι in Leontis had a previous representaton of three, though its quota at this time is unknown; Ἐρμεωι in Akamantis is improbable because its previous representation is known to have been two; and (4) Ὀιναιοι in Hippothontis has no known figures of representation, and on this negative basis is probably the most likely candidate. One hesitates to assign this fragment to Hippothontis and to restore the demotic [Ὀιναι]αι on evidence as unsure as this.

Fragment T. Like fragment R this fragment preserves only a few letters and

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cannot be placed on the basis of its text. But its time and place of finding in close association with fragments R and S suggest that it may belong to the same part of the stele as they (see text, lines 348-351).

Fragment U. This fragment preserves a upsilon in the left-hand column and the beginnings of four names and two demotics in the right. The right side of the stele is preserved (though not the edge), indicating that the fragment belongs to Col. VI. The demotics begin with a lambda or an alpha (see text and commentary, line 179) and what may be phi rho (line 183) though the readings are barely legible. The second of these, if correctly read, can only be Φρ[εάρπιοι], a demotic of the phyle Leontis, Fragment U, therefore, probably belongs in the upper half of Col. VI, somewhere above the top of fragment V.

Fragment X. The letter height and spacing are identical with those of the other fragments, but the incisions are thinner and shallower than usual, causing the letters to seem a bit smaller in appearance. By measurement they are almost negligibly smaller (see p. 215). All the alphas are uncrossed, whereas generally only a few are missing their cross-bars. But the fragment's place of finding plus its overall similarity to the other fragments indicates that it does in fact belong with this inscription. The endings of several patronyms and three demotics are preserved. A patch of the right-hand edge of the stele is also preserved. The demotics end in -- aiou, -- δαυ, and -- αυ. Of the two phylai in Col. VI to which this fragment must belong only Antiochis has a demotic in -- aiou. The other two demotics (lines 316 and 318 of the text) are restored on the basis of three other inscriptions which preserve the end of the list for Antiochis (I.G., II², 1750, and Agora Inv. I 4720 and I 5105). On all three the demes Eiteaioi, Semachidai, and Eroidai conclude the list for Antiochis. It seems most likely, therefore, that fragment X preserves the very last ten lines of the inscription (lines 310-319).

**The Stele as a Monument**

With the information provided by the various fragments we can reconstruct and represent on a diagram the complete stele and the positions within that reconstruction of the assigned fragments (Fig. 1).

The sides of the stele are preserved on the left by fragments G-H, K-L-M, and probably I.G., II², 2413, and on the right by fragments U, V-W, and X. Both sides were dressed down flat with a toothed chisel, the stone being left slightly rough. A narrow band on each side was made smooth so as to square off the two edges to the front surface. The front surface was dressed quite smooth but was not polished. The uninscribed margin on the sides measures 0.013 m.

Neither the top nor the bottom of the stele is preserved. Since, however, no clamp holes, anathyrosis, or other signs of architectural cuttings are to be found on the sides,
it is clear that the monument was a free-standing stele. The back was roughly picked ("quarry face").

The overall dimensions, except the thickness, cannot be reconstructed with perfect certainty, but close approximations can be made:

1. Height. The longest column in the main body of the text was probably Col. III, ca. 139 lines or ca. 1.52 m. high. The heading was at least seven lines but not likely to have been many more; let us assume ten lines for the sake of rough calculation. This will add another 0.15 m. to the height. Adding at least 0.20 m. at the bottom to be left blank at the ground level, we gain a total height of ca. 1.87 m.

2. Width. The six columns were just about equally wide, 0.150 m. Five inter-columnar spaces of about 0.023 m. each and the margins at the far left and right, each of 0.013 m., plus the width of the six columns comes out to ca. 1.15 m. Since the margin at the left of Col. I is consistently the same (0.013 m.) on the fragment G at the top and on fragment K toward the bottom there was apparently no taper in width.

3. Thickness. The original thickness is preserved on four fragments, as shown in the table on pp. 207-208. Fragment G is demonstrably at the top of the inscription and N at the bottom with U and W disposed somewhere in the middle. A slight but consistent degree of taper (0.024 m.) is observable in the thickness from top to bottom.

In general appearance, the monument was a free-standing stele about two meters high by just over one meter wide. Although by no means the most expensive or elaborate of inscriptions, it must have been an impressive monument. It certainly ranks among the largest stele set up in the Athenian Agora.

The Date of the Inscription

As is obvious, this inscription dates from the time of the twelve phylai, and hence must be later than 307/6 B.C. The name of the bouleutes Ἐδχθόνος Ἐπιμηθείδου Κυδαθηναίου (line 66) led Pritchett to date I.G., II², 2413 to 304/3 B.C.⁹ He is known to have been ἐπιστάτης προεδρῶν in the archonship of Pherekles, which fixes the date, on a day when three known decrees were passed.¹⁰ This date is confirmed, for the bouleutes of line 138 Φυλαξίας Φανίο[ν] Ἀναγυράσιος, is also known to have been ἐπιστάτης προεδρῶν in 304/3 from a decree honoring a Rhodian doctor named Pheidas.¹¹

¹⁰ I.G., II², 486; I.G., II², 597, with Addenda, p. 662 (= L. Robert, Collection Froehner, No. 3); Hesperia, VII, 1938, p. 297, No. 22. See also commentary, below, on line 66.
¹¹ I.G., II², 483. See also commentary, below, on line 138.
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: (I) the heading, lines 1-25, (II) the bouleutai, lines 26-319 and 326-351, (III) the list of officers, lines 310-325. Note that the unassigned fragments with bouleutai are placed at the end.

The fragments belonging to the heading preserve so little text and the lines are so long that it is impossible to determine either their horizontal or vertical position (except for F and E). Fragments A-D, therefore, have simply been listed in the order of their letters and the lines numbered consecutively.

Text

a. 304/3  a.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A-B</th>
<th>D</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(ΣΤΟΙΧ.)</td>
<td>(ΣΤΟΙΧ.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Λ-Β</td>
<td>[-----]ο[-----]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[- - -]εο [-----]</td>
<td>[- - -]ια [-----]</td>
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<tr>
<td>[- - -]ων [- - -]</td>
<td>[- - -]χσ [-----]</td>
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<tr>
<td>[- - -]το [- - -]</td>
<td>[- - -]ρτ [-----]</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>[- - -]οι [- - -]</td>
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<tr>
<td>[- - -]η [- - -]</td>
<td>[- - -]ωι [- - -]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[- - -]τ [- - -]</td>
<td>rasura</td>
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</table>

<table>
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<th>20</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(ΣΤΟΙΧ.)</td>
<td>[- - -]οι [- - -]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[- - -]οβουλ [- - -]</td>
<td>[- - -]ρη [- - -]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[- - -]τω δη [μωι -]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[- - -]ον χρ [- - -]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[- - -]ο [-----]</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
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<th>30</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(ΣΤΟΙΧ.)</td>
<td>[-----]ιαν [- - -]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[. . .]έδου [-----]</td>
<td>[-----]εκε [- - -]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[. . .]ιας [-----]</td>
<td>[-----]ιν [- - -]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[. .] Καλλάιας [-----]</td>
<td>[-----]αμιχον [- - -]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[. .] Καλ -</td>
<td>[-----]επι [- - -]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>[-----] Δαξα [ρνε] ύς, Καλλ [- - -]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Col. I (Top)</th>
<th>30</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>F + G</td>
<td>[-----] Εξηκέκτεστος [- - - -]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ΑΝΤΙΓΩΝΙΔΟΣ]</td>
<td>[-----] Π ε ρ γ α [σ ε ι ς]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Αγριον</td>
<td>Καλλικράτης [- - - -]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Αντικράτης</td>
<td>Ανοίχανος Ανο [-----]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ερασιφών</td>
<td>Δαμα μ π τ ρ [ε ι ς]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Καλλισθένης Διο [-----]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'Αρχεδημίδης 'Αρχίον</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
THE BOULEUTIC LIST OF 304/3 B.C.

12 Perhaps one additional Ἐπαγγέλτης is here to be supplied.
13 Perhaps one more Ποσάμος is to be here supplied. From the entire roster of Antigonis there are missing still about two Δειπαδίσται, about two Εἰπεταῖοι, and about three of deme(s) unknown.
One additional demesman ἐκ Κόλυμας is to be here supplied. From the whole roster of Demetrias are missing one Διαμεθέοις, two Ποτάμης, and one demesman ἔξ Ολου, also about 6-7 Ξυπηρετοὶ, about 3-4 Ἀνακαῖες, about 4 Ἐθνακαῖες, and about 3 Ἀρτηρές.

Seven additional Δαμπτρεῖς are to be supplied. In addition, missing from the total roster of Erechtheis are two demesmen ἐκ Κηδῶν, 8 Κρησιαῖος, 1 Παμβοστάδης, 3 Παργασίες, 1 Ἐθνακεῖς, 1 Συβρίδιος, and 1 Φυλαῖος.

One or two Ματᾶς are to be supplied. In addition the following are missing from the roster of Aigeis: 8 Ἀλαιεῖς (Ἄραφηνίδαι), 4 Κολλυτεῖς, 2 Ἀραφῆνος, about 1 ἐκ Μινυρινώνης, 2 Ἐρυκεῖς, about 3-4 Ψηφαῖος, 3 Φιλαίδαι, 10 Ἐρχεῖος, 1 Τωίδης, about 1-2 Κιδαντίδαι, 2 Πλωθεῖς, and 4 Τειθράσιον.
THE BOULEUTIC LIST OF 304/3 B.C.

Col. V (Top)

160 [ΠΑΝΔΙΟΝΙΔΟΣ]

lacuna

P

K

lacuna

U

lacuna

V 165

[--- ca.-10 --] Φι λοκ[λέο]ν

lacuna

V 170

[--- ca.-8 ---] Προ Λ [ρ σ ιν ο]

lacuna

V 175

[--- ca.-5 ---] Αμ Λ [ω]ν Δωσίων

[?Αρνίων] χος Πίθ<ων>νος

end of the roster of Pandionis

Col. VI (top)

[AΕΩΝΙΔΟΣ]

lacuna

U

Ε

Δ [ευκον ο εις]

lacuna

180 Δυκά [φρων (?)] ---

Δεωκ[ράτης (?)] ---

Τέλεστορ

Col. I (Bottom)

205 [ΑΚΑΜΑΝΤΙΔΟΣ]

lacuna

L

[--- ca.-10 ---] Ε ι[---]

[--- ca.-7 ---] Φι λοκ[έους]

[--- ca.-9 ---] Ε[---]

\[27\] In the upper part of Col. V (above Frag. V) are to be supplied, approximately, 12-14 Παναιτ (from Lower Paanai), 4-5 Οανίς, 1 Κοντηλίδης, 3-4 Πρασιάς, 6-8 Μυρμονίος, 3 Αγγελίς, and 10 from other demes.

\[18\] About 9 Φρέαρρων are to be supplied below line 183. Also missing from the roster of Leontis above Frag. V are 2 Ποτέμων, about 4 Σκαρβονίδα, about 5 Χολάειδα, about 6 Σουνίεις, about 3 Αλιμούσι, and about 3 Κηφίσιοι.

\[19\] Two additional Κεφάλεις are to be supplied below line 228. Missing from the entire roster of Akamantis are 2 Ειρηνίδα, 7 Σφήττοι, 6 Χολάργεις, 6 Κεραμίδος, 2 Ερμείων, about 6 Θερίκωι, and possibly 1 Τιφωτάδος.
210 [--- ca. 8 ---] 'Δμενοκλέας
[--- ca. 9 ---] Τελεσιατηρητής
[Π ρ σ π ι] ἀ λ τ ι ι ι
[--- ca. 7 ---] ισπειδήνον
[--- ca. 1 ---] εξει διεκέχον
Π[-------------------]
lacuna 20

Col. III (Bottom)

[ΚΕΚΡΟΠΙΩΝΟΣ]
lacuna 21

N 240 [--- ca. 7 ---] χ[--- ---]
[--- ca. 3 ---] άνων Δ[--- ---]
[. . .] νο[--- ---]

'Α λ σ ι ι [εις ---]

['Η]φαιοτόδος [ορι--- ---]

245 'Αμφικλής Φ[--- ---]

Θεόφιλος Ε[--- ---]

Σωκράτης Ε[--- ---]

Χαρεθής [μοι ---]

Φιλοκράτης [ηζ ---]

240 'Επικλής [--- ---]

Φίλων Φ[--- ---]

Φάων Φα[--- ---]

Νικόβουλ[ορι--- ---]

end of the roster of Kekropis

210 [--- ca. 8 ---] 'Δμενοκλέας
[--- ca. 9 ---] Τελεσιατηρητής

Κ [εφ α λ ε ις]

Δευνόστρατος 'Αντιδότ

220 'Αρχεστόλεως Δυνατάκλ

Μενιάς 'Αντικάρνον

Μορνχίδης Μελανώπιδ

Κύδιππος Κύδιππον

Μελανώπιδης Μελανω

225 'Επι[ε] γήνης Εὐφρονίον

L-M [--- ca. 21 ---] οκλείδος Φιλονέα

[Δυ] 'σιμαχός 'Ιπποκράτο

[. . .] φι[--- --- - - ---]
lacuna 19

[ΟΙΝΕΙΔΟΣ]
lacuna 20

L 230 Θη[--- --- ---]

Δλ[--- --- ---]

Κτη[--- --- ---]

Καλ[--- --- ---]

Τ [ν ρ μ ε ι δ α ι]

235 Τλή[σων Τλήσωνος] ( ?)

{α} 'Ο [η θ ε ν]

Φ[--- --- --- ---]

Π[-------------------]
lacuna 20

Col. II (Bottom)

204 Four additional demesmen from 'Ογι are to be supplied below line 238. Missing from the entire roster of Oineis are about 25 'Αχαρνείς, about 8 'Θράσσιοι ( ?), 3 Λακιάδαι, 3 Περιβοίδαι, 1 Βοντάδης, 1 'Επικρήσιος, 1 Λονιείς, and 1 Πτελεάστοι. But the names of lines 230-233 belong either to Acharnai or Thria.

21 Missing from the roster of Kekropis are 2 Τρενεμείς, 4 Πεθείς, 2 Συναλήττων, 1 'Επικρήσιος, about 11 Αλξώνείς ( ?), about 10 'Αθροινείς ( ?), and about 11 Φλυείς ( ?).

22 The entire panel for Hippothontis is missing. Demesmen were probably distributed as follows: 2 'Ερωτάδαι, 2 'Θερματίδαι, 2 Κερείδαι, 10 Πειραίες, 3 'Ανακείσες, 1 'Ελαιούνια, 2 Κόπρειοι, 2 'Αξινείς, 2 'Αμαζάνεις, 1 'Αχεροδύτας, about 3-4 Οίναίοι ( ?), about 1-2 άνω Οίνοι ( ?), about 7-9 'Ελευσί-

ναι ( ?), about 1-2 Αφίδαι ( ?), about 6-7 Δεκέλεις ( ?), and possibly 1 Κορυδάλλείς ( ?).
THE BOULEUTIC LIST OF 304/3 B.C.

and 8 Ὄραμνοῦσιν, including

three from Inv. No. I 6143

["Αντοχός ——————]

[Πάμφυλος Π ——————]

[Κηφυσοκλείδης — ca. 5 —]

[end of the column]

Col. VI (Bottom)

V 295 ΑΝΤΙΟΧΙΔΟΣ

'Αν τ α φ λ ύ σ τ ι ο ι

'Ερατόστρατος Ναυτικός [ύδ (ου)]

Διοςκόρης "Ιππόνος

'Αντιφάνης Διωνυσίου [ου]

300 Νικόμαχος Νικοδήμου [ου]

'Ολυμπιόδωρος 'Απολλος [δώ (ρου)]

Ξενοφόνος 'Αλεξίαδου

Δισχήρων Δεσκίδου [νς]

Φιλοκράτης Πνητα [γόρου]

305 Καλλικράτης Έστικρ [άτου]

'Εστικράτης "Αλ [εξίαδου]

Νικόφημος [—————]

ιaptops [τρο φ ε ν]

<Α> μ φ ι [τ ρ ο π ι ε ις]

'Επιχ [———————]

lacuna 24

X 310 [—— ca. 13 ————] μι [—————]

[—— ca. 10 ————] s <Κα>λλιμ [—————]

[—— ca. 74 ————] s Φιλοθήρου

[Ε ι τ ε] α ι ο ι

[—— ca. 6 ————] Μηνη σιέρουν

315 [—— ca. 74 ————] Ε [ψάλ]κουν

[Σ η μ σ χ] ι δ α

[—— ca. 5 ————] s Κομαίου

[Ε ρ ο ι α δ] α ι

[—— ca. 8 ————] ρουκλέου

end of the roster of Antiochis

23 See above, p. 206.

24 In this lacuna 2 additional 'Αμφιτροπαιεῖς are to be restored, and also 2 Κρωεῖς, 7 Ἀλεχῖεῖς, 2 Ἄρσαι, 8 Παλληρεῖς, 10 'Αλωπεκεῖς, about 2 Κολωνεῖς, and possibly 1 'Αττικεῖς.
APPENDIX WITH OFFICERS

N 320 [-------------]υς
[------------- Συ]β[p]δης
[------------- rasura (?)]
[κηρυξ βουλη και δήμου Εικλής Φιλοκλέους] Τρινεμε
[-------------]άτου Κήττι
325 [-------------] Βησαεν

UNASSIGNED FRAGMENTS

Q

[--- ca. 10 ---] μυ[---]
[--- ca. 8 ---] οι[---]
[--- ca. 7 ---] Χηνησι[---]
[ε ξ ι ο] ν

330 [--- ca. 9 ---] ος Κηφισο[---]
[--- ca. 9 ---] είπτονυ
[--- ca. 10 ---] κανίο[ν]
lacuna

340 [--- ca. 13 ---] νικον
[--- ca. 12 ---] Ίέρωνο[ν]
[--- ca. 8 ---] Κηφι]σοβουλ[ον]
[--- ca. 5 ---] ο

335 [--- ca. 11 ---] οδότου
[--- ca. 10 ---] Σπρατ[---]
[--- ca. 11 ---] ρως vacat
[--- ca. 12 ---] οδώ[ρου]
lacuna

435 [--- ca. 6 ---] ε [ι ο]
lacuna

R

Σ[---]
Τση[---]

335 Δω[---]
Μ[---]
lacuna

350 [--- ---] έους
lacuna

S

[--- ca. 10 ---] Φι]λοκρατ[ου]
[--- ca. 12 ---] κ]Λέον

COMMENTARY

Lines 1-25. The six fragments belonging to the heading provide very little clue to its original content, and its abnormal length makes reconstruction virtually impossible. The last four lines, however, appear to have contained citizens’ names with patronymic and demotic. For the position of the fragments within the heading see above, p. 220.

Line 7. Only the top stroke of the letter is preserved; it might also have been gamma, epsilon, zeta, or pi.

Line 11. Very faint traces of the omikron are visible.

Lines 13-21. The pitted condition of Fragment D makes readings most difficult. The rasura in line 19 is deep and even.

Line 22. Cf. I.G., Π', 4610 for the name: [Κ]αλαίδης Άντιδ[ον ---] (fin. saec. IV a.).

Line 24. This same Kallias, or a homonym, was sponsor of a decree honoring
Nikon of Abydos in 303/2 (I.G., II¹, 493, lines 11-12). A man of the same name appears as secretary of the prytaneis of Akamantis in Hesperia, Suppl. I, 1937, 31-33, No. 1, lines 94-96, an inscription which should be redated, in my opinion (on the basis of new deme statistics), to the period later than 307/6. On a busy day in 283/2 Kallias, of the same name, proposed two decrees, one having to do with measures for the preparation of the festival of Aphrodite Pandemos (I.G., II¹, 659, lines 7-8) and the other moving honors to the prytaneis of Aiantis (Hesperia, IX, 1940, p. 84, No. 15, line 8).

Lines 32-39. Parts of these lines appear also on Inv. No. I 597b (Hesperia, II, 1933, p. 499, No. 14), which was presumably a prytany list of Antigonis of the same year. The line order in both inscriptions is the same.

Line 36. One Ἀρχιας was councillor from Lamptrai in 336/5 (?), probably the father of Ἀρχεδημίδης here (Hesperia, XXX, 1961, p. 31, line 56). A columnar grave shaft recently discovered in downtown Athens bears the legend Δημο[σ]τράτη Ἀρχίων Δαμπτρεώς θυγάτηρ (B.C.H., LXXXIV, 1960, p. 642).

Line 37. Α [Δυσ]εύθης of Lamptrai, probably the father of the councillor here, was λαμπαδηφόρος in the second half of the fourth century (I.G., II¹, 3105). A funeral stele of the same period was found near the town of Koropi in Attica bearing the legend Δυσεύθης Ἀμοβίχου Δαμπτρεύς, recorded by G. A. Stamires in 1949.

Line 39. In the available space of approximately five letters one might restore the beginning of the name Ἐριστοκλῆς; an Ἀριστοκλῆς was councillor from Lamptrai in 336/5 (?) (Hesperia, XXX, 1961, p. 31, line 54). An Ἀριστοκλῆς of Lamptrai, also, was λαμπαδηφόρος on an inscription (I.G., II¹, 3105, line 15) dated by J. Pouilloux after 333 B.C. (La Forteresse de Rhammonte, Paris, 1954, pp. 111-112) and by Kirchner in the Corpus) post med. saec. IV a. For a discussion of its date see Hesperia, XXX, 1961, pp. 38-39, with notes on lines 37, 49, 54, and 61 of the bouleutic list there published.

Line 44. Ὁσυκαδῆς of Ikaria appears in a list of diaitetai of 330/329 B.C. (I.G., II¹, 2409, lines 17-18; cf. D. M. Lewis, B.S.A., L, 1955, pp. 27-28). He may have had a son who was demarch of Ikaria about 330 B.C. (Hesperia, XVII, 1948, p. 143, No. 3, lines 6-7), also named Thucydides, who in turn may have been uncle and father respectively to the two councillors of 304/3 in this inscription in lines 44 and 47.

Line 45. Πεισικράτης Ἀκρότιμος, perhaps the brother of the councillor here, was Pythaios from Ikaria towards the end of the fourth century (I.G., II¹, 2817). One Ἀκρότιμος Αἰσχύνος of Ikaria appears in 268/7 as the sponsor of a decree compelling doctors to observe sacrifices (I.G., II¹, 772, line 8); and a man named Ἀκρότιμος of Ikaria appears in the inventories of Asklepios (I.G., II¹, 1534, lines 266 and 273) in association with dedications made in 254/3 and 253/2 when Philokrates and Praxiteles were priests (cf. Pritchett and Meritt, Chronology, p. xxi).
Line 46. The unusual name Γόργουνος seems to occur on only one other occasion: Γόργουνος Οινείδου of Ikaria was treasurer of the Other Gods in 423/2 (S.E.G., X, 227, lines 55-56, 76, 77, 94, and 96). Gorgias was doubtless a descendant. One Δρομόκλεα Γοργίου Ίκαρίεως θυγάτηρ was the wife of Βύοστος Συβρίδης (I.G., Π², 6278).

Line 50. A marble lekythos, dated before the middle of the fourth century, bears the name Πολύμνηστος Καλλιμάχο Γαργήτη (I.G., Π², 5949). One Πολύστρατος of the same deme appears in a catalogue of 343/2 (I.G., Π², 1699, line 9).

Line 54. One Μνησυκλῆς Μνησυκλέους Γαργήττιος was an ephebos in 107/6 (I.G., Π², 1011, line 98), evidently a descendant.

Lines 56-78. See above, pp. 212-214.

Line 56. The demotic [Παίαν] εις is restored with certainty; it is the only remaining demotic in Antigonis which will fit the preserved letters, and the known representation of this part of Paania as one fits the representation here.

Line 62. One Γνωσίας Χαϊρήμουνος Κυδαθηναίεως, perhaps the father of the councillor Aischylos here, was praised as ἱεροποιός in a decree ca. a. 330 a. (I.G., Π², 410, lines 28-29 and citation X).

Line 64. The councillor here was probably the same as that Ἀμελνοκλῆς Ταχύλλου Κυδαθηναίεως who proposed a decree early in the third century, before the Chremonidean War (I.G., Π², 1280). His father may have been Τάχυλλος Κυδαθηναίεως, who appears in a catalogue of 343/2 (I.G., Π², 1699, line 14), but Πύρρος Ταχύλλου Κυδαθηναίεως (I.G., Π², 6592) could hardly have been his brother, as Kirchner thought, if that inscription (a grave stele) is correctly dated to the middle of the fourth century.

Line 65. Both the names Στρεφένεως and Εὐδωρος are known in Kydathenaion. Αριστείδης Στρεφένεως Κυδαθηναίεως was secretary in an Athenian decree of 369/8 found on Delos (B.C.H., III, 1879, p. 473). One Εὐδωρος Κυδαθηναίεως, probably a descendant of the same family, was a contributor in 183/2 (I.G., Π², 2332, line 117). The restoration of the name Στρεφένεως Κυδαθηναίεως in I.G., Π², 1442 is too uncertain to be used as evidence.

Line 66. This man, Εὐθύμονος Ἐπιμηδείδου Κυδαθηναίεως, was ἐπιστάτης πρεσβυρῶν on a day when three known decrees were passed in the archonship of Pherecles, 304/3 (I.G., Π², 486; I.G., Π², 597 with addenda; Hesperia, VII, 1938, p. 297, No. 22). His identification is part of the evidence for the date of this inscription.

Line 67. Ἐπιγένης Ἐπιγένους belongs to an old Kydathenaion family which can be traced from the fifth to the third century. Kirchner gives a stemma for at least part of the family in P.A., 10807.

Line 69. Τευσαμενῶς Πυθιονίκου of Kydathenaion appears on a prytany list of Pandionis dated to the last half of the fourth century (I.G., Π², 1570, line 49). One
THE BOULEUTIC LIST OF 304/3 B.C.

Τευσαμενός Τευσάνδρον of this deme appears in a catalogue of manumissions ca. a. 330 a. (I.G., Π², 1570, lines 49-50).

Line 73. Φανόμαχος Δίων Κυδαθηναίος] was ἐπιστάτης προέδρων, and hence a councillor, in a decree of 307/6 (I.G., Π², 358, lines 6-7; for the text and date see B. D. Meritt, Hesperia, XXXII, 1963, p. 436).

Line 75. One Χαρ[ρ]ίνος Θρασσωνίδου (Δίθαλίδης) was an ephebos in 267/6 (I.G., Π², 665, line 43). Two other members of this family are known: Χαρ[ρ]ίνος Χαρ[ρ]ωνίδου Δίθαλ[δης] from a gravestone of the last half of the fourth century (I.G., Π², 5399), and [Θρ]ασσωνίδ[ης] Α[λ]θαλίδης of the third century (Hesperia, XXIII, 1954, p. 260, No. 57 = S.E.G., XIV, 147).

Line 79. Part of the rasura obliterating the name of the phyle Demetrias occurs on the bottom of Fragment E. As in the case of Antigonis no letters can be made out. There are thirteen lines missing before Fragment H begins in this column. The demotics Διομεείς (from Aigeis), εἰς Οἶον (from Leontis), and Πιστάμοι (also from Leontis) probably appeared here, but with their normal representation not all the missing lines can be accounted for. Some other deme—at least one—must be restored in these lines, out of order, from the last in official order of the pre-Macedonian phylai (cf. above, p. 213).

Line 80. Only a vertical stroke, indented for the normal spacing of a demotic, is preserved. Since Hagnous is listed directly after the entries of this demotic, and since Poros is not elsewhere listed, the restoration Π[όμαι] concurs well with the assumed demotic order of Demetrias. Both Poros and Hagnous came from Aka-mantis and no other deme from that phyle is known to occur in Demetrias. The figure of three councillors agrees well with its past history of representation. The demotic Π[στάμοι] is the next most likely possibility.

Line 81. Since only the bottom part of a central vertical stroke is preserved in the fourth letter of this name either upsilon or phi is also possible.

Line 87. Ἐπιχάρης Ἀγνούσιος, perhaps the father, was ἐπιστάτης προέδρων in two decrees of 332/1 found at the Amphiareion (Ἑφ. Ἀρχ., 1891, p. 79, line 8, and p. 83, lines 8-9).

Line 89. The name Σπουδωνιδῆς is new in Attic prosopography.

Line 92. One Ἀριστόθημος Κοθωκίδης, father of Ἑξηκεστίδης, trierarch in 353/2, is known from a gravestone (I.G., Π², 6474). He was also the father of Σιλανίων and Δημόκλεια (I.G., Π², 6480 and 5479). Either he or the councillor of this inscription was father of the Ἀριστοφῶν whose dicast ticket has been found (I.G., Π², 1849). Ἑξηκεστός Κοθωκίδης, possibly the father of the councillor, was secretary of the poletai in 367/6 (Hesperia, X, 1941, p. 14, No. 1, lines 5-6). Kirchner gives a stemma of the later descendants of this family (P.A., 1816).

Line 96. Both names Ἀριστοκλείδης and Ἀριστοτέλης occur several times in
Phyle (cf. e.g., *I.G.*, Π², 1566, 2976, 4386; *I.G.*, VII, 4254, lines 24-25; *Hesperia*, IX, p. 62, No. 8, Col. II, lines 11-12 and the discussion in *A.J.P.*, LXVI, 1945, pp. 234-239). The 'Δρωστοφόν of line 98 is probably a brother of the councillor here.

Line 101. One 'Ελπίνης 'Αλθηνοδόρον 'Ιπποτομάδης, probably the father of the councillor here, is named on a fragment of epistyle dated in the fourth century (*I.G.*, Π², 3840).

Line 103. [Κηφι]σοφόν seems to be the only name which will fit the available space. The Κηφισοφόν of line 107 is undoubtedly a relative.

Line 108. The names Φίλαγρος Αλέξιδος Μελιτεύς and Αλέξις Φιλάγρον Μελιτεύς, probably father and son, appear on a grave stele of the fourth century (*I.G.*, Π², 6874). A Φίλαγρος of the same deme, possibly to be identified with the former, was a witness in an oration of Demosthenes (LIX, 32) dated 343-340 B.C. A dedication to Asklepios of the mid fourth century has been restored to read [Φιλαγρος Σ Μελι]τεύς (*I.G.*, Π², 4378).

Line 109. An alpha is inscribed for what must have been meant as a delta.

Lines 110 and 112. Letter spacing shows that these lines must have contained demotics, and Δαιδαλίδαυ and ἐκ Κοῖλης are the only remaining ones in Demetrias which will fit the preserved letters.

Line 113. The name Εὐεργέτης is well known in Koile (*Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 79, No. 12, line 7; *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 123, No. 25, line 65; *I.G.*, Π², 1008, Col. III, line 108). One 'Επιγένης Εὐεργέτου ἐκ Κοῖλης, possibly to be identified with the councillor here, is known from the end of the fourth century (*I.G.*, Π², 1230, line 2).

Line 118. For the restoration of this heading and the beginning of the roster for this phyle see pp. 217-220.

Line 119. The demotic ['Αγρυλεῖς] is restored here with some doubt. After 307/6 only Agryle and Pergase had exactly three representatives, both being half-demes with the other halves belonging to Antigonis. The three available spaces for councillors would allow either restoration. Agryle is slightly preferred because of trittys affiliation, though there is considerable doubt about the listing of demes by trittys.

Line 123. Only the bottoms of the first three letters are preserved, but their spacing shows this to be a demotic. The first letter is definitely epsilon and only Εὐωνυμεῖς in Erechtheis so begins.

Line 129. One Τιμοκλῆς Τιμοδήμον(ν), presumably the son of the councillor here, was councillor himself from Euonymon in 256/5 (*Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 46, No. 9, line 36). Τιμοκλῆς Δεοκράτο(νς) is a relative (*ibid.*, line 35).

Line 133. The councillor here belongs to a well-known family of the fourth century (cf. *I.G.*, Π², 1374, 1375, 1377, 1378, 1574).

Line 137. Medias is a common name in the deme Anagyrous throughout the fourth
century (cf. P.A., 9719-9720). The occurrence of the name here as councillor in 304/3 raises a prosopographical problem, for Meidias son of Meidias of Anagyrus is supposed to have moved a decree honoring Phokion (posthumously) in 305/4. The Meidias of P.A., 9720 has been taken to be the son of the Meidias of P.A., 9719. Plutarch (Orat. X Vitae, 850b) says that Hypereides failed in a γραφῆ παραδόμων against this decree which Meidias proposed ἡπὶ Ξενίου ἀρχινος. But Hypereides died in 322 and there is no archon Xenias. Arnold Schaefer suggested (Philologus, IX, 1854, pp. 163-165) that ἡπὶ Ξενίου should be emended to ἡπὶ Εὐξενίππου (to which Ξενίου bears some resemblance) and that the γραφῆ παραδόμων be attributed to Hypereides’ son Glaukippos. The emendation of the archon’s name is made more plausible by the fact that some of the manuscripts of Diodoros read simply Xenippos, and Glaukippos is otherwise known to have spoken bitterly against Phokion (Orat. X Vitae, 848b). But if Meidias II proposed the decree for Phokion in 305/4 he must have been sixty years of age or more, and a son of the same name could have been of age to be councillor in the following year. Whether father or son was councillor in line 137 is uncertain. One man cannot have been councillor in two successive years, for though an Athenian could be twice a councillor the formality of the εἴθνυα would debar him from serving the two years in succession. Yet it does not argue that the Meidias of 305/4 was a councillor because he proposed a decree. Stratokles of Diomeia, for example, is known to have proposed decrees in every year from 307/6 to 301/0 (except possibly in 305/4 for which there is little evidence) and again in 293/2. H. N. Fowler, in his edition of Plutarchs’ Moralia (Loeb Classical Library, Vol. X, p. 445, note c), would emend Ξενίου to Ἄρχιου (346/5).

Line 138. The councillor Φυλαξίας Φανίω[ν] was επιστάτης προέδρων in 304/3 (I.G., Π1, 483, lines 8-10). This identification is part of the evidence for the date of this inscription. Perhaps Φυλαξίας Φανίω[ν] of I.G., Π1, 1558, line 87, is the same man (ca. 325-320: cf. D. M. Lewis, Hesperia, XXVIII, 1959, p. 224, line 240, and commentary on p. 237).

Lines 150-159. For the restoration of line 154 and the assignment of Fragment P see p. 221. The letter spacing of lines 150, 152, 154, and 157 makes these certainly demotics. Line 157 must be restored [Ἐορτία]ίεις, the only demotic of this phyle which suits the preserved letters and the representation of one councillor. The spacing in line 159, where only the last letter is preserved, requires a demotic of seven letters or less; Βατείς is the most likely candidate, although Ἐρκεῖς is also possible. The positions of Ἀγκυλεῖς and Ὀρπυνεῖς might be interchanged; each had only one representative. So far as length is concerned Ἐρκεῖς might be substituted for either, but its representation was probably two.

Line 161. The left stroke of a letter is clearly visible; the legs of kappa are faintly suggested just at the spot where the stone is broken.

Line 162. Under the traces of line 161 there is enough stone preserved that a
name, if it occurred here, would be in evidence. Since the space is blank a demotic is presumed.

Line 163. Two blank spaces occur above the upsilon on the left edge of Fragment U in line with Δυκό[φρων] of line 180. Either a demotic or a councillor is possible.

Line 172. The name should probably be restored [Εινθμο]ίδης; cf. Εινθμος Εινθμίδου in a prytany list of Pandionis in the latter half of the fourth century (I.G., Π², 1751, line 59). One Εινθμος [ο]δημο occurs on a prytany list, also from the deme Probainthos, dating from the early fourth century (R.E.G., LXXIII, 1960, p. 89, line 55).

Line 176. This line is restored with reference to I.G., Π², 488, lines 8-9, where the name of Pithon’s son should be restored as Αν[τιόχο]ν.

Line 179. The demotic is probably Α[ευκονείς]. The first letter has no cross-bar, but since the cross-bar of alpha in this inscription is sometimes omitted the possibility of reading the demotic as Α[λιμούσιοι] is not excluded.

Line 185. The position and spacing of the three letters preserved here indicate the short demotic [Τβά]δαι.

Line 194. One Ιεροκλείδης Φείδωνος, probably a relative of the councillor here, was a councillor for Leontis in a prytany inscription of the first half of the fourth century (I.G., Π², 1742, lines 77-78).

Line 196. The councillor Γλαύκον Φιλοκτήμων(ς) Κρυπτίδης appears later as the father of two sons: one son, Καλλιστράτο[ς], proposed a decree, dated 267/6 (I.G., Π², 661), praising the epimeletai of the mysteries; the other son, [Φιλοκτήμων, was one of the two epimeletai honored. Kallistratos proposed another decree in the same year honoring the prytaneis of Akamantis (Hesperia, XVII, 1948, p. 3, No. 2, line 3; cf. Hesperia, XXXII, 1963, p. 7, No. 7).

Line 202. One Μενέστρατος Μενεκράτο[ς] (Κολωνεύς), possibly the father of the councillor here, was a councillor from Kolonai in a prytany list dated roughly to the first half of the fourth century (I.G., Π², 1742, line 111).

Line 204. Μενέ<σ>τρατος Εκαλήθεν (med. saec. IV a.) appears on a fine marble lekythos now in the Peiraeus museum (I.G., Π², 6015).

Line 206. Only traces can be seen; hence the readings are unsure. The close spacing rules out a demotic.

Line 208. Κυκυνείς is the only demotic in Akamantis which the preserved letters will fit.

Lines 214 and 215. There are here evidently parts of patronymics which the mason did not complete.

Line 228. Definite traces of closely spaced letters occur in this line, indicating another name.

Lines 230-233. The number of these councillors, at least four, requires that they belong to one of the two remaining large demes in Oineis: Acharnai and Thria.
Line 234. Τυρμείδαι is the only deme in Oineis beginning with tau, and hence is restored with certainty. It has a known representation of one in this period.

Line 235. Τλήσων Τλήσωνος, councillor for Tyrmeidai in another bouleutic list of this period as yet unpublished (I 5105), is restored here, albeit with some doubt, because the deme is small and the name Τλήσων Τ[υρ]μεῖδ[ης] appears in patronymic form as father of [Γ]λυκέρα on a gravestone of the middle of the fourth century (I.G., Π1, 7578).

Line 236. A very shallow and incomplete alpha is inscribed right at the margin of this line. After the space of one normal letter the omikron is deeply and clearly cut where a demotic would begin. There is enough space following for a letter to appear were this the name of a councillor. Since this space is vacant, the omikron must belong to the demotic of Oe, generally written 'Οθθευ, the only demotic in Oineis which begins with omikron.

Line 240. Only the bottom left quarter of one letter, either beta or epsilon, is preserved in this line. There is not enough stone on either side to indicate whether it belonged to a demotic. If it did, [Τρω]νεῖδος would be the most suitable restoration since it would fit the space requirements with the normal indentation, and its known representation (two) would be in accord with that here. In addition, one of the councillors (line 242) could be restored as a known member of this deme.

Line 242. ["Αν]νων would be a natural restoration here of the first name and ["Αν]νωνος] a possible restoration of the second name, since either might be identified with one ["Αννων] [Τ]ρωμεῖδος father of [Λ]έων or, I believe, preferably [Κ]λιέων (for reasons of symmetry) from a gravestone dated to the end of the fourth century (I.G., Π2, 7572; but cf. S.E.G., XIII, 133), were the restoration of line 240 as [Τρω]νεῖδος more nearly certain.

Line 246. Θεόφιλος is a common name in Halai.

Line 252. The name Φωνυ is new in Attic prosopography.

Lines 255-294. For Aiantis we are fortunate in having a prytany list of this same year (cf. above, p. 206).

Line 260. Χαιρ[ί]ων Χαριναύ[τ]ο Φαληρεύ[ος] was secretary in 361/0 (I.G., Π2, 116; cf. also I.G., Π2, 117).

Line 261. Κτησικλής Κηφισοφώντος (Φαληρεύς) appears in a list, probably of diaitetai, dated in the second half of the fourth century (I.G., Π2, 1927, lines 108-109).

Lines 267-282. Most of these names, and the demotic, are preserved completely or in part on the Aiantid prytany list of this year, though in a different order (cf. above, p. 206).

Line 269. [Δι]οκρέων, restored from the prytany list of the same year, is new in Attic prosopography.

Lines 271-272. Father and son occur together here as councillors.
Lines 274, 277, and 278. The restorations are made on the basis of what is preserved of the prytany inscription.

Line 279. Because the surface of the bottom part of this fragment is much damaged, reading is extremely difficult in this line and in the lines below it. The restoration, made with some hesitancy, is based on line 2 of I 6143 (part of the prytany list), the only available line in that inscription which will fit the preserved letters here.

Line 280. The stone preserves Μο'φ[. . .] Ἀρχαγάθου, where the mu is only partly visible. Line 4 of I 5258 (part of the prytany list) reads in Meritt’s publication [. . .]νυς Ἀρχαγά[θου]. This is naturally associated, but the first name presents problems. On the left side of the prytany list, just where the stone is broken, Meritt thought to see a vertical stroke, which he restored most naturally as ν. But the stroke may be only the fracture of the stone, and the restoration would conform to the spacing in both texts with [Μο'φ]υς in Hesperia, XXIX, 1960, p. 53, No. 71, line 4, and with Μο'φ[υς] in line 280 here.


Lines 284-287. These names are restored from the prytany list. Nothing of line 287 exists on this inscription, but since the prytany list contains the same names, though in a different order, it is restored with certainty. The name Μενεβέφου, as Pritchett points out, seems to be unique (Hesperia, XVI, 1947, p. 185).

Lines 288-291. These names do not appear in this inscription, but are restored from the prytany list. Since the demotics, but not the councillors beneath each demotic, seem to occur in the same order in both inscriptions, the demotic Μαραθώνιοι probably appeared in line 288. The councillors listed in lines 289-291 must have occurred under this demotic, but their order and the exact line of each are uncertain.

Line 289. Πυθίππος Πυθίωνος Μαραθώνιοι[ς], probably a brother of the councillor here, was ἔπιστάτης προέδρου in the archonship of Koroibos in 306/5 (I.G., Π Ι', 471, lines 9-11).

Line 290. Timotheos of Marathon is known from a naval list and a gravestone of the mid fourth century (I.G., Π Ι', 1617, line 80, and I.G., Π Ι', 6814).

Lines 292-294. These names are restored from the prytany list, and probably belong to Rhamnous. Their order and exact position within this list are not known.

Line 292. Ἀρτοχος, as Meritt points out (Hesperia, XXXIII, 1964, p. 169), does not seem to be an Athenian name, though it is known in Larisa and appears on the grave monument of a man from Heracleia (I.G., Π Ι', 8565).

Line 293. Pamphilos of Rhamnous is known from Demosthenes’ speech Against Phainippos (XLII, 28) dated ca. 330, and may be the same man as that Πάμφιλος Θεογέitonos who was secretary in the archonship of Koroibos (I.G., Π Ι', 470). The beginning of the patronymic in line 292 precludes the identification of the latter with the councillor here.
THE BOULEUTIC LIST OF 304/3 B.C.

Line 297. Ἐρατόστρατος Ναυσικ[δ(ν)] is restored on the basis of the occurrence of the name for a councillor from Anaphlystos in 334/3 (I.G., Π², 1750, lines 6 and 77-78). Because of lack of space probably nothing beyond the delta was inscribed on the stone. This may be the same man as the Ἐρατόστρατος Ἀναφλί(στος) who appears on a mortgage stone of the mid fourth century (I.G., Π², 2723, lines 6-8).

Line 298. Ἀὐτοκλῆς of this deme is known also from a mortgage stone (I.G., Π², 2693, lines 5-6 and 7-10).

Line 299. Ἀντιφάνης of Anaphlystos was trierarch in 356/5 (I.G., Π², 1612b, line 106).

Line 300. [Ν.|κόδημος] of Anaphlystos was secretary in 320/19 (I.G., Π², 381; cf. also I.G., Π², 382). His son Νικόμαχος was probably the father of Άι[σ]χινης, the latter appearing in a decree praising the taxiarchs in 271/0 (Hesperia, XXIII, 1954, p. 288, No. 182, line 7).

Line 301. Ὀλυμπιόδωρος belongs to a family of Anaphlystos well attested in the fourth, third, and second centuries B.C. For a stemma of some of the members of the fourth century family see P.A., 1408 or I.G., Π², 5678. The restoration Ἀπόλ-λο[δ(ν)] seems probable since the name is known in this family, but his exact relationship with the stemma given by Kirchner is uncertain. The [−−−]ρος Ἀπόλ-λοδώρου of the Antiochid ptyrant inscription (I.G., Π², 674, line 25) of 273/2 belongs to the same family.

Lines 302 and 306. Ἐπικράτης Ἀλεξιάδου of Anaphlystos was a councillor for Antiochis in 334/3 (I.G., Π², 1750, line 10) and may also have been registrant of a mine in 342/1 (I.G., Π², 1582, line 159; cf. Hesperia, XIX, 1950, p. 200, note 35, and p. 250). [Ἐπικράτης] Ἀλεξιάδου, probably a grandson, was councillor for Antiochis in 273/2 (I.G., Π², 674, line 26).

Line 304. Πυθα[γόρου] is new in Attic prosopography.

Line 305. Of the kappa and the rho in Ἐπικρ[άτου] only traces are visible. For this name in Anaphlystos see the note above on lines 302 and 306.

Line 308. In <Α μφε[,] tropeuë] the alpha appears as a delta. The following letters, however, make the restoration certain.

Lines 310-319. For the assignment of Fragment X see above, p. 222.

Line 311. The kappa appears as a sigma and the alpha is uncrossed.

Line 317. Κομιάοις Κόμωνοι[ς] (Σημαχίδης), very likely the father of the councillor here, was himself a councillor for Antiochis in 334/3 (I.G., Π², 1750, line 75) and trierarch sometime about the middle of the fourth century (I.G., Π², 1611, line 353, and I.G., Π², 1622, line 707).

Lines 320-325. The contents of this part of Fragment N have been discussed above, pp. 215-216.

Line 322. The photograph (Plate 62) of Fragments N + O shows clearly what seems to be a shallow even erasure in this line. Traces of an omikron and a
upsilon can perhaps be made out. This is certainly not a *rasura damnationis*, as in the case of the names of the phylai Antigonis and Demetrias (lines 26 and 79), where the erasures are deep and effective.

Line 323. The demotic Τρινεμε (for Τρινεμεευς) appearing within the list of officers at once suggests the famous family of heralds, Εὐκλῆς Φιλοκλέους Τριν., Φιλοκλῆς Εὐκλέους Τριν., so very well known from the inscriptions of this period. The formula for the restoration of the first part of this line is not absolutely certain, but since four lines, and possibly five, seem to end in demotics it is reasonable to assume that each contained the name of one officer with his title. The restoration [κήρυξ βουλῆς καὶ δήμου Εὐκλῆς Φιλοκλέους] fits the requirements of space and has been here made. Among the other officers certainly a secretary and a treasurer must have appeared, and possibly an anagrapheus and an antigrapheus.

Lines 326-351. Fragments Q, R, S, and T are presented here unassigned. For their possible positions on the stele see p. 221 (Q), (R), (S), and pp. 221-222 (T).

Line 326. The iota is preserved completely, but only a trace of a preceding letter is visible.

Line 328. Only the vertical stroke of the last letter is preserved. The spacing is perhaps too wide for an iota but no name with a tau seems to be known.

Line 342. For a discussion of the possible restorations of this demotic see p. 221, where the assignment of Fragment S is also discussed.

Line 345. This is evidently another case of a very much abbreviated patronymic.

Line 347. Only the top part remains of what was most likely an epsilon. There is barely enough space following to indicate that it probably belonged to a demotic, hence one ending in — εἰς.

Lines 348-351. Like Fragment R, Fragment T contains only a few letters and cannot be assigned except arbitrarily. It appears to show the endings of the names of four councillors.

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Fragments E, F, G, H, I and J

JOHN S. TRAILL: THE BOULEUTIC LIST OF 304/3 B.C.
Fragments N and O (Top), K, L and M (Left), U (Right)

John S. Traill: The Bouleutic List of 304/3 B.C.
Fragments V and W

JOHN S. TRAILL: THE BOULEUTIC LIST OF 304/3 B.C.
JOHN S. TRAILL: THE BOULEUTIC LIST OF 304/3 B.C.