THE AMERICAN EXCAVATIONS IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA HESPERIA: SUPPLEMENT I

PRYTANEIS

## A STUDY OF THE INSCRIPTIONS HONORING THE ATHENIAN COUNCILLORS



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## INSCRIPTIONS HONORING PRYTANEIS

During the last few years many "prytany decrees" have been discovered in the Agora, particularly while the excavations were laying bare what has since proved to be the area about the Tholos. This area, as Koehler and Kirchner long since maintained, and as the excavator, Eugene Vanderpool, has now proved, was the Prytanikon. In the Prytanikon there once stood rank upon crowded rank of these inscribed stelae, of which nearly a hundred pieces have survived. Students everywhere had always considered such documents uninformative, as perhaps they appear to be when read one by one, with the result that the " literature" of any value on the subject amounts to just eight pages, by H. Francotte, ${ }^{1}$ who treats only one aspect; and even these pages are in need of revision.

The present study was begun as a publication of a new prytany decree. ${ }^{2}$ It seemed to me that not much could be made of the document by itself, and that comparison with other prytany decrees might be the only way of exploiting such content as they have. Three of the earlier findings indicated the type of result which might be expected. The problem of the " single officer" of administration, a problem of which the only honest solution had been the theory of several chaotic changes in the government, was solved, and theorizing about governmental chaos is no longer necessary. The principle of precedence was established, and Meritt discovered a tendency toward regular step-bystep changes, which is helpful for chronology. It therefore seemed likely that when once they had all been collected, read, and restored; when the contents had been tabulated and inductions made; and when finally the inductions had been applied once more to the separate documents, the "prytany decrees" would be more useful than in a series of isolated publications.

When the relevant inscriptions had been collected, they were found to constitute the longest series of homogeneous public decrees from any Greek city. The particular historical

[^0]results obtained from studying them are set forth in the following essay. Since the texts include a larger number of words restored with certainty than in any other comparable body of texts, a general discussion of methods is included at the end (p. 29). Apart from such historical and epigraphical lore, there is doubtless much of a broader nature which is yet to be learned: the language, the use of formulae, the practices of the citystate's legislative bodies, secretariat, and stone masons-practices which changed constantly but remained deeply conservative-are only touched upon in this study. ${ }^{1}$

The inscriptions specified under 74 (p. 136) were at first thought to be concerned with prytaneis. This view proved to be erroneous, but the stones in question, which had never been seriously studied, presently revealed themselves as actual Athenian machines for performing allotments. When this theory was demonstrated by observation of a real prytany decree (79), it was decided to include a final chapter dealing with all the allotment machines which search disclosed.

Lists of bouleutai, and the various findings in regard to the representation of the demes, a subject which needs as complete data as the excavations may provide, have been reserved for future publication.

Scope of the Present Study. Decrees in honor of the prytaneis may have been voted frequently from the time of Kleisthenes, but the first preserved inscribed decree is of $327 / 6$ в.c. (1). The earlier practice had been for the tribe honored to set up mere lists of the prytaneis who had been praised (I.G., $\mathrm{I}^{2}, 398$; I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 1740-1753$, etc.), omitting entirely the public decree. This practice, resumed in the first century b.c. (98), was continued until ca. 225 a.d. (I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$, 1832) at least; but these later lists sometimes leave us in doubt as to whether the prytaneis had been honored by any one; in most cases they merely set up their own names.

The present study is concerned with the intervening period, the period of the inscribed public decrees. Beginning at $327 / 6$ в.c. and ending at the end of the reign of Augustus, all known documents of whatever sort relating to the prytaneis have been included, both decrees and other inscriptions. The study therefore includes all such inscriptions previously published, and all those from the Agora Excavations which have been identified among inscriptions discovered down to August, 1935. ${ }^{2}$ The public decrees proper continue even into the time of Hadrian (121), thus overlapping in time the lists set up by the

[^1]prytaneis themselves. Of these later lists none is included after the time of Augustus; of decrees, only one (121) after his time is preserved. ${ }^{1}$

General Analysis of the Inscriptions. There were four bodies which might be likely to honor the prytaneis: the Demos and the Boule of Athens, their fellow-tribesmen, and those who had dined with them for a month, the deioivol. The honors by the two latter groups, which were of less consequence, can be studied more conveniently below, pp. 24, 47.

The first decrees to be inscribed were those passed by the Demos. The list of prytaneis and other officials was of course added, below the decree: the list of names is indeed the permanent feature of all the inscriptions for prytaneis, the one part never omitted in any period. The Demos regularly praises the group as a whole, not individuals in it. By virtue of this antecedent decree of the Demos, the Boule was provided an occasion for praising individual prytaneis and other officials, ${ }^{2}$ who were, of course, either members of the Boule, or functionaries thereof. We do not know when the Boule first began this practice; doubtless early, long before 9 of 260/59 в.с., the first preserved instance. Below the two decrees and the list of prytaneis were added the names of the persons particularly praised in the second decree, that of the Boule. These names were carved each within a wreath (the wreath itself was generally painted), and above the name was inscribed the designation of the body conferring the crown. These symbols of special honors may be conveniently termed " citations," and the list of prytaneis (to pick a distinctive word) is called herein the " register."

Between the two decrees were inscribed the three most important citations: in the centre, the crown awarded the prytaneis by the Demos; to the left, the crown awarded the Treasurer of the prytaneis by the Boule; and on the right, the corresponding crown for their Secretary, also awarded by the Boule.

The whole design, in a developed form which may conveniently be regarded as typical, is shown on p. 4. For about 250 years, from ca. 327 to the time of Sulla, this design was followed, though with numerous minor variations ( p .26 ). After the time of Sulla, the whole scheme was changed, and for that period a separate discussion is needed (p. 25).

[^2]Acroteria
Pediment
Moulding


In sum, the main types of inscriptions honoring prytaneis are the following:

1. List of 50 prytaneis. Some officials of the Boule also listed. Fifth and fourth centuries, to ca. 327 в.c.
2. List of 50 prytaneis preceded by a decree of the Demos. Some officials of the Boule and of the Prytany cited. Ca. 327-ca. 260 в.c. 1, etc., to 8.
3. List of 50 prytaneis preceded by a decree of the Demos honoring the prytaneis, and a decree of the Boule honoring officials of the Boule and Prytany, particularly the Treasurer of the prytaneis. Citations of officials of the Boule and Prytany. Ca. 26088 в.с. 9, etc., to 96. See design, p. 4.
4. List of 50 prytaneis preceded by a decree of the Boule, honoring the Treasurer of the prytaneis alone. Citations of officials including others than officials of the Boule and Prytany. Ca. 88 в.c.-ca. 120 A.d. 97, etc. See pp. 25 ff .

5 . List of 50 prytaneis inscribed on the base of a statue of some official. Citations of officials including both officials of Boule and Prytany and high officials of the state. Mostly first century b.c. 98, etc.
6. Lists of 50 or fewer prytaneis. Some officials (deícıvoı) of the Boule and Prytany, and some other officials, listed, and occasionally cited. First, second, and third centuries A.D.

Those inscriptions which fall outside these six types will be readily understood as they occur in the series. Our detailed, elaborate knowledge is derived mostly from the second and especially the third of these types, with which the following commentary is mainly concerned.

Distribution of the Honors Among Tribes. The number of inscriptions honoring prytaneis is so large that the statistics of tribes honored may have meaning. One might expect Aiantis, for instance, to be a favorite, in view of its "privilege," ${ }^{1}$ or that the tribe with the greatest population would get most honors, or again that the honorary tribes would receive numerous awards. Out of 79 decrees which can be positively assigned, we find that Erechtheis leads with 12, and that Pandionis and Antiochis have least with 3 decrees each. Erechtheis was of medium size, so far as we know, and the other two were next to the smallest. ${ }^{2}$ Aiantis, the smallest, has $8 ;^{3}$ Aigeis, of which the most members are known, has 4. In the period of Antigonis and Demetrias, we have 28 assignable decrees: Antigonis received 2, and for Demetrias none has survived. Ptolemais was honored only 3 times; ${ }^{4}$ Attalis 4.

[^3]Conclusions can only be tentative. Honors may have been given for conduct in actual crises, in which case the figures are not significant. Yet the small number of awards to Hippothontis, Antiochis, Antigonis, Demetrias, and Ptolemais does seem to mean something in the way of lack of popularity and influence. The facts suggest that awards, especially in later periods, were for other reasons than conduct in historical crises.

Date of Passage within the Year and Prytany. No doubt all the prytaneis of any given year could be honored in their tribal groups. Actually no more than two tribes are known to have been honored in any given year ( $260 / 59,159 / 8$ or $157 / 6,125 / 4$ b.c.). ${ }^{1}$

The data on whether awards were more likely to be made in any one period of the year rather than in another are too limited to yield a conclusion; the existent dates are well distributed.

Within the prytany, knowledge can be more definite. Here we have to consider first the decree of the Demos, then the subsequent decree of the Boule. The Demos might wait until the prytaneis to be honored were out of office; in 10 instances they did so, even delaying in one case (91) until the 24 th day of the next prytany; there is no recorded instance of longer delay. ${ }^{2}$ In an equal number of instances, plus one which is very doubtful (55), the Demos introduced its measure and made its award under the auspices of the very prytaneis who were to be honored. This occurred once as early as the 18th day of the prytany (69); the other such dates are all in the third decade of the prytany. ${ }^{3}$

In the matter of the honors conferred by the Boule on the officials a strict rule was observed. The "second" decrees regularly date from the next prytany: the officials might vote for, but could not propose in the Boule, honors for themselves. One surviving decree of the Boule was passed on the 13 th; the rest are earlier, mostly in the first five or six days.

No prytaneis were honored in the year after they left office; the next Boule was presumably concerned only with honors for its own members. The last prytany of any given year, if it was to be honored at all, must be honored in its own term by both Demos and Boule. One such instance has survived, 49, in which the Demos conferred its award on the 30th of the prytany; the preamble of the decree for the Boule is missing. Here it is notable that the normal order of decrees is reversed: the decree of the Boule stands first. The explanation is inevitable that the Boule had actually made its award first, especially since the decree of the Demos was passed on the last day of the year. In 48 also we find the order of decrees reversed. The same explanation is

[^4]to be applied, the formulae for the date being obliterated. Later on, usage may have become looser: 75 is a "second" decree in first place.

Place of Sessions of the Elcklesia. It is amply clear that the Ekklesia could meet in any place, even in the Piraeus $(\mathbf{3 8}, \mathbf{7 1}, \mathbf{7 9}$ ) for the purpose of honoring the prytaneis. The meeting could, but need not, be an $\dot{\varepsilon} \% \% \lambda \eta \sigma i \alpha$ xv@ía.

The Sacrifices. The sacrifices were offered by the prytaneis or their officers (a) on behalf of certain official bodies, (b) to certain deities, (c) for the "health and safety" of certain third parties. This is recorded in the first decree; we shall examine the second presently.

The sacrifices were offered (a) $\pi \varrho o ̀ \tau \tilde{\omega} \nu \varepsilon x \chi \lambda \eta \sigma \iota \tilde{\omega} \nu$. Down to the time of Sulla, the phrase is never once modified or omitted. The sacrifices, then, were an act of the whole body of members of the Ekklesia (which evidently constituted the state in its relation to the deities), an act delegated by the Ekklesia to the successive prytanies of the year.

As to (b) the deities to whom the sacrifices were made, it happens that the first two inscriptions which preserve this detail, 4 and 6, are exceptional. In them the emphasis is on two festivals of Pyanopsion, the Stenia and Chalkeia, which never reappear in these documents. By $178 / 7$ b.c., the time of 64 , which is also of Pyanopsion, either the prytaneis no longer offered these particular sacrifices, or (less likely) mention of them is suppressed. In 4 it is said that the prytaneis offered the "traditional" sacrifices, but none of these, which evidently for the prytaneis stand in distinction to the Stenia and Chalkeia, is specifically mentioned. In 6 the offerings were to "Apollo Prostater and the other gods to whom it is traditional." In the next instance, 27, we meet $\tau \tilde{\omega} \iota$
 $\eta^{r} \nu$. Down through 92 these words are invariably present. The only change is by way of adding items, usually after the word Boviaios. We shall deal presently with the Soteres. The next addition, that in 48, has not been restored. The second expanded list, that of 55 , is the longest. It includes first a missing name of a deity, then Artemis Phosphoros, and finally Athena with an epithet restored as Archegetis. Of these, the only one we meet again is Artemis Phosphoros, who always hereafter is simply $\eta$ $\Phi_{\omega \sigma \varphi o ́ \varrho o s . ~}^{\text {. }}$ Her appearances are semi-regular: she is absent in 59, 64; present in 69, 71, 72, 79 ; absent in 84, 85; present in 88, 91.

From this it is clear that soon after $182 / 1$ b.c., Artemis Phosphoros came to be looked upon as important in the state cults. Legend had connected her shrine at Munychia with the events of 411 b.c., so that her cult there seemed to have had a political origin. She was certainly worshipped in Athens earlier than 411, but our knowledge is fragmentary. ${ }^{1}$

[^5]No. 93 of $122 / 1$ в.c., in which we find Apollo Prostater alone, introduces the next period (the first century b.c.), when the gods are forgotten, so far as honors to prytaneis are concerned, interest having shifted to the beneficiaries of the sacrifices. How great was the interest in the deities themselves prior to the first century? Were the deities just listed carelessly, or do the formulae have real meaning? It seems clear that in the beginning $(\mathbf{4}, \mathbf{6})$ the sacrifices are important in the eyes of those conferring the honors. It seems highly probable that in the long intervening period, the presence, or absence, of Artemis Phosphoros does mean, in each case, the performance, or neglect, of sacrifices to her.

The regular phrase for (c) the list of beneficiaries is $\bar{\varepsilon} \varphi \varphi^{\prime}$ iyııía $x \alpha i \quad \sigma \omega \tau \eta{ }^{\prime} i \alpha \iota ~ \tau \tilde{\eta} s$
 These two optional additions are merely rhetorical and insignificant. The other additions deserve full consideration. ${ }^{3}$

The Boule and the Demos continue to hold first and second place in the list of beneficiaries down to the time of Augustus. After ca. 200 в.c. they are never alone.
 It is apparent that the mention, or omission, of the children and women is a variation of no consequence. The mention of the allies, beginning with 48, our first preserved formula after 200 в.c., can hardly be so regarded, in view of the complete absence of such mention before 200 , and its numerous occurrences thereafter. This accords precisely with historical facts. In the middle of the third century (262-229), subjugation to Macedon, acknowledged in the sacrifices as we shall see, was followed by thirty years of neutrality, real or nominal. In 200 в.c., Athens committed herself to close relations with Pergamon, Rhodes, and Rome. The nature of these relations has lately been much debated, the question being whether Athens entered into a $\sigma \nu \mu \mu \alpha \alpha^{\prime} \alpha$ (societas) with Rome. Since the decrees have now revealed to us that Athens had a $\sigma v \mu \mu \alpha \alpha_{i} \alpha$ with at least one party (the plural might not be significant), and since they reveal also that that party was sufficiently important to be included in the list of beneficiaries of the official state sacrifices, the presumption is reasonable that Athens was formally an ally of Rome. ${ }^{5}$

[^6]As time went on, Athens found herself a party in relationships more hearty than mere alliances. To the formal allies, who remained steadfast, were added various philAthenian kings. For all such the term was pídor, and it denoted in most cases, if not all, an element of gratitude for substantial gifts. This attitude presently found expression in the state's list of beneficiaries of the official sacrifices. In I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 929$ of " $c$. init. s. $I I$ " we find that an Archon had distinguished himself for sacrifices for the Demos of
 The sacrifices of the prytaneis were conservative in this respect. Evidence for the preceding twelve years is lacking, but the preserved decrees begin in $155 / 4$ (84) to have the full
 this time on there is no variation. We have six preserved instances ${ }^{1}$ and no exception down to the time of Sulla.

Thus it appears that we have, in the "first" decrees for prytaneis, throughout two centuries, an accurate reflection, hitherto unnoticed, of the city's foreign relations. In the "second" decrees the Treasurer is praised by the prytaneis for the same set of sacrifices. The phrases did not need to be, and regularly were not, explicit. The Treasurer is not said to act (a) on behalf of any one, and (b) no deity is specified. Beneficiaries (c) are regularly omitted down to $223 / 2$ b.c.; after that, the Boule and Demos alone appear in nearly every instance. ${ }^{2}$

In the light of these findings we may go back to examine the sacrifices of the period of Macedonian domination, $262-229$ b.c., when sacrifices to the Soteres might be made, and when the royal house might be specified as additional beneficiaries. There are now six inscriptions honoring prytaneis to be considered:

260/59 9 The end of Decree I, with $\varphi \iota \lambda o \tau \iota \mu i \alpha, ~ x \tau \lambda . ;$ no mention of the royal house, and none called for in this part of decree. Decree II, complete, mentions no beneficiaries.
260/59 10 (Decree I missing.) Decree II, with $\varepsilon \dot{v} \sigma \varepsilon \beta \varepsilon i \alpha_{\mathcal{S}}$, $x \tau \lambda$; no mention of the royal house, and none called for. Decree III, special honors to the Treasurer of the Boule, probably mentions sacrifices to the Soteres: [ $\Sigma \omega \tau \tilde{\eta} \varrho] \sigma \iota \nu$. This decree, passed in the last prytany, refers to the whole year.
ca. 250-240 22 (Decree I missing, and doubtless never passed) Decree II, honoring
 first occurrence of this formula in a second decree), and then the royal house in what is now a rasura of $c a .75$ (or at least 65 ), or more, letters.

[^7]$c a .250-24020$ (Decree I missing.) Decree II mentions no beneficiaries.
235/4 23 Decree I, complete, mentions sacrifices to the Soteres. The beneficiaries of (all) the sacrifices appear as follows: $\bar{\varepsilon} \varphi \varphi^{\prime} \hat{v} \gamma \iota \varepsilon i \alpha \iota \quad x \alpha i$ $\sigma \omega \tau r_{\rho i \alpha \iota} \tau \tilde{\eta} S \beta o v \lambda \tilde{\eta}_{S}$ «ai $\tau 0 \tilde{v} \delta \dot{\eta} \mu o v$ and then the royal house in what is now a rasura of 54 letters. Passed in the eleventh, the decree refers to the tenth prytany of the year. (Decree II missing.)
$234 / 3-230 / 29$ ? 27 The body of Decree I complete. The usual sacrifices, to Apollo,
 жаi $\tau 0 \tilde{v}$ dý $\mu o v$ toz ${ }^{\prime} A \theta r \nu \alpha i \omega \nu$. No Soteres, no royal house mentioned.

The last of these, which from its letter forms and the general fulness of formulae should belong in the 230 's, could be earlier than 235/4. Apart from this decree, we have only one "first" decree, 23 ; this shows as late as $235 / 4$ the observance of all the honors to the Macedonians. Nothing prevents our believing that such honors were observed and recorded in decrees for prytaneis throughout the period 263/2-236/5.

Study of the other sacrifices has shown that a high degree of regularity is to be expected. It should be noted that we are dealing with two different things. One is sacrifices to the Soteres, Antigonos I and Demetrios I, a sacrifice which meant a ceremony and an expense over and above the ordinary obligations. ${ }^{1}$ The omission of this rite might be forgivable. Quite different is the mention or omission of the royal house from among the beneficiaries. To include them cost nothing; it was merely a matter of inscribing a few words. The absence both of sacrifices to the Soteres, and of any mention of the royal house, in 27 is accordingly a serious reason for dating that decree in the days of Macedonian weakness which preceded the liberation in 229 b.c. ${ }^{2}$

The Officers Who Paid for the Inscribed Stelae. The public decrees for prytaneis were set up at public expense. The titles of the officers who made the payments, thanks to Dinsmoor and his predecessors, are clear and intelligible down to 229 в.c. Thus in the late fourth century, payment is by the $\tau \alpha \mu i \alpha_{S} \tau o \tilde{v} \delta \dot{\eta} \mu o v ;{ }^{3}$ in the years of domination by Demetrios, 303-301, and 295-288, the single officer of administration ( $\begin{gathered}\boldsymbol{c} z \pi i \tau \tilde{\eta} \iota \\ \imath\end{gathered}$ $\delta \iota o \iota x \eta(\sigma \varepsilon \iota)$ makes his appearance; in the third century, during the period of independence

[^8] and in the period of Macedonian domination, 262-229, by a single officer of administration ( $\delta \quad \dot{\varepsilon} \pi i \quad \tau \tilde{\eta} \iota \quad \delta \iota o \iota x \eta \dot{\gamma} \iota) .^{2}$ These appear to be rigid principles, applying not only to decrees for prytaneis, but to all public decrees of whatever kind. In the period of freedom, a plural board made payments; in the Macedonian period, a single officer, presumably under the control of the king.

It seemed to scholars that, when the yoke of Macedon was cast off in 229, the single officer should have been abolished, and such appeared to be the fact. ${ }^{3}$ The single officer was admitted to have made payments only in five scattered instances thereafter, beginning about 200 b.c. or later. ${ }^{4}$

This picture, such as it was, was spoiled by the date of $\mathbf{3 0}$, which was set up by the single officer, just seven years after the Macedonians left (Hesperia, II [1933], p. 436). Soon there were instances, in one and the same period, of the single officer, of the $\tau \alpha \mu i \alpha_{\varsigma} \tau \tilde{\omega} \nu \sigma \tau \varrho \alpha \tau \iota \omega \tau \iota x \tilde{\omega} \nu$, and of this $\tau \alpha \mu i \alpha_{\varsigma}$ assisted by the old plural board.

The confusion of officers, with the possible implication of a chaotic series of régimes, seemed hopeless until the present study quite early revealed the solution. It became apparent that after 229 в.c. decrees for prytaneis are paid for by the single officer: the
 $\gamma \varepsilon \nu o ́ \mu \varepsilon v o \nu \alpha \nu \alpha \dot{\alpha} \lambda \omega \mu \alpha$. This formula occurs or should be restored in every decree for prytaneis down to an indeterminate year after $178 / 7$ в.с. (64) and before $169 / 8$ в.с. (71). ${ }^{5}$ In that period the burden of payment was assumed by the Treasurer of Military Funds. In decrees for prytaneis, he is never assisted by the plural board, and his title is shortened only once to $\tau \grave{\partial} \nu \tau \alpha \mu i \alpha \nu(77)$. He appears in the last preserved formula of payment, in 104/3 в.с. (96).

Going further, it is possible to formulate a fairly rigid principle about the payment for decrees after 229 b.c. other than decrees for prytaneis. At present only two such decrees are known to have been paid for by the single officer. ${ }^{6}$ These two constitute unintelligible and probably unimportant exceptions. Apart from them, the single officer paid for all decrees of the prytaneis dated $262-169$ в.c.; all other decrees of $229-169$
${ }^{1}$ W. B. Dinsmoor, Archons, pp. 65-66; in the present series, 5 and 6.
${ }^{2}$ Dinsmoor, op. cit., p. 111; 9 and 10.
${ }^{3}$ Dinsmoor, op. cit., pp. 203-204.
${ }^{4}$ Dinsmoor, op. cit., p. 251. Without examination of the stones, Dinsmoor has in this passage reduced the number to an absolute minimum. The five instances were stubborn. Better many more, if all could not be abolished: Dinsmoor was led to suggest that the phrase was an error for the alternative phrase. A. C. Johnson had already tried to show to what conclusions the evidence, taken logically, pointed (A.J.P., XXXIV [1913], pp. 412-415; XXXVI [1915], pp. 448-449). Neither the evidence, nor historical facts generally, bore out his results.

5 The difficulty in 58, where an error is probable, should not be overlooked.
${ }^{6} I$. G., II, 398 published as part of $I . G ., I I^{2}, 978$ (see below, p. 104); and $I . G$., $I^{2}, 991$, now part of Hesperia, IV (1935), pp. 71-81, no. 37, dated to $127 / 6$ в.c. The latter shows that the office had persisted some 40 years after the last previous record of it. Possibly some small funds had accumulated and lain idle, which finally were appropriated for the expensive stele in question.
were paid for by other officers (the Treasurer of Military Funds, the plural board, or both). Why the decrees for prytaneis should be set apart and paid for separately, is not difficult to understand: they were numerous and they were a well-defined class. Why the officer paying for them should continue to bear the name of the officer who had paid for all decrecs under the Macedonians is also not a hard question: his position may not have been particularly odious under that régime, and the office simply was
 $\pi \tilde{\eta} \iota \delta \iota o x \dot{\eta} \sigma \varepsilon \varepsilon$. The latter appear almost always as assisting the Treasurer of Military Funds; their position is subordinate. It seems probable that the title is a product of the effort to segregate decrees into classes for payment,-a new departure,-without upsetting too much the established institutions. ${ }^{1}$

The "Second" Decree: Place of Session of the Boule. In respect to the "second" decree, we have already examined the period of its origin; its dating and position relative to the "first" decree; its mention of sacrifices; the officer paying for its erection, who is always the same, as would be expected, as in the first decree; and its specification as to the place of setting up, in which again it copies the first decree. The mention of deioıtoc will be considered below, pp. 22-24, and also the crowns, pp. 20-21.

The sessions of the Boule which honored the prytaneis were held in the Bouleuterion. Special circumstances once caused an adjournment elsewhere (36). The only real exception appears to be the queer fragment 44, which seems to record a meeting in Piraeus.


The Officials Honored. The "second" decree contains honors to certain officials, who are also cited, and some of whom appear yet a third time in the register of prytaneis. Hence the discussion of each official must go beyond the bounds of the decree.

In regard to the offices, the principle observed throughout every document is that precedence of mention connotes superiority in prestige, and, conversely, that superiority in prestige carried with it the privilege of priority of mention. A secondary principle is to group together at the top the officials of the prytany or tribe (Treasurer, Secretary, Priest), as distinct from the $\dot{\alpha} \varepsilon i \sigma \iota \tau o l$ (the others).

The Treasurer of the Prytaneis. The Treasurer, whom they elected from among themselves, was necessarily one of the prytaneis. A seemingly contrary instance is explicable as an error (47). His title is merely o $\tau \alpha \mu i \alpha_{\rho}$ except in two instances, where he appears as $\boldsymbol{o} \tau \alpha \mu i \alpha_{S} \tau \tilde{\eta}_{S} \varphi v \lambda \tilde{\eta} s$. The first instance ( I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 1749$ ) is from a period when such honors were infrequent, and the need was felt for a full title. Of course the possibility has to be admitted that there existed two different offices, the Treasurership of the prytaneis, the tenure of which was necessarily for about a month, and the Treasurership of the Tribe, which might be tenable for a year. Our second instance tends to refute

[^9]this view : a man honored in an Augustan decree as Treasurer (of the prytaneis) is cited later in the document as Treasurer of the Tribe (113). The citations also show that the terms $\varphi v \lambda \dot{\varepsilon} \tau \alpha \iota$ and $\pi \varrho v \tau \alpha \dot{\nu} \varepsilon \iota s$ might in certain contexts be interchangeable ( p .20 ).

The earliest decree to mention his title is $I$.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 1749$ of $341 / 0$, in which his fellow tribesmen confer honors first of all on him. His name and demotic are not first, however, in the list of prytaneis. In 1 of the present series he receives the most prominent citation. In 10 the Treasurer of the prytaneis is also Treasurer of the Boule: he is listed first and cited first and also third, the second citation being that for the prytaneis as a group. From the very beginning of the record, then, the Treasurer's position is that of the chief prytanis. This is recognized thereafter in the following ways: (1) He is not only the first to be praised in the second decree; he is singled out for special praise apart from the other officials. ${ }^{1}$ (2) He is cited in the first citation, namely the citation on the left among the three citations between the two decrees. ${ }^{2}$
(3) He is the first prytanis in the list of 50 prytaneis, thereby causing his demotic to head the list. Of this the stones themselves preserve six clear instances, and thereby establish the principle, which happens not to have been noticed hitherto. It has enabled readings, restorations, or interpretations in eight instances, always in conformity with spatial and other requirements. A breach of the rule may perhaps be interpreted as a slight. In any case, the stones force us to admit two clear exceptions, 20 and $\mathbf{3 9}$; the only other exception is $\mathbf{1 1 0}$, in which the Treasurer was conceivably cited but not listed, so as to save space. (4) Mention of officers betrays by its degree of fulness the prestige of the officer. Thus a title might, if lengthy, be cut down; and the patronymic, or even the demotic, might be omitted. The only qualifications to this principle, which I believe to be a new observation, are scribal variations, which are rare, and the demands of space, which might pinch the designation of one official as much as of another. Of course his title ( $\delta \tau \alpha \mu \alpha^{\prime} \alpha_{S}$ ) could not be shortened. His demotic was invariably present. His patronymic was omitted only in 22, 46, 78, and 96, in all of which it is apparent, or is to be inferred, that no patronymics of any officials were given. Obviously in all of these space was being conserved. ${ }^{3}$ It is notable, on the other hand, that in 71, where none of the other seven officials is mentioned with a patronymic, the Treasurer's patronymic is specified.

The Treasurer's primacy, emphasized thus by all the means available, rhetorical and epigraphical, is not difficult to explain. ${ }^{4}$ The second decree states plainly that it was
${ }^{1}$ The Secretary may be grouped with him for special praise: see the discussion of that office.
${ }^{2}$ This observation throws light on a problem in I.G., II ${ }^{2}, 1750$ of $334 / 3$, where two prytaneis are cited without titles. Koehler's suggestion, that they were Treasurer and Secretary, was doubted by Kirchner. They were certainly officials, but which was Treasurer and which was Secretary-they are listed third and second-cannot be said.
${ }^{3}$ Patronymics are omitted in one of the two mentions of the Treasurer in 31, again to save space. In 48 the omission appears to be a clerical error.
${ }^{4}$ Another aspect of the Treasurer's position, namely his prestige in the government as a whole, might be studied from the prosopographical data on the various Treasurers.
the Treasurer who offered the sacrifices. Probably he bore at least part of the expense, even in earlier times; eventually, in some three instances, he is stated to have borne it all (113, 119, 120). The decree was doubtless mainly his reward for a generous outlay. In post-Sullan times, the sole decree fittingly specifies honors only to the Treasurer. Politics may have made him eminent in certain cases; one cannot say. Ability and willingness to pay the bill were presumably the regular prerequisites.

The Secretary of the Prytaneis. Also elected from among themselves, and, in every instance which can be tested, one of the prytaneis, the Secretary ( $\delta$ y@ $\alpha \mu \mu \alpha \tau \varepsilon v_{S}$ ) is paired with the Treasurer, in certain instances, for special praise (10, 30, 36, 95, 96). These instances are exceptional. Comparing his honors to the Treasurer's, we note (1) generally no special praise; (2) the Secretary's citation is the third, namely the citation on the right among the three citations between the two decrees. His position in the list (3) is regularly first under the second demotic. The stones preserve five clear instances, but also one clear (36) and one probable (31) exception; one would expect somewhat less rigid adherence to the principle than in the case of the Treasurer. Four readings or restorations have been made on the authority of the principle, and all fit the other conditions. The Secretary's patronymic (4) may be omitted when the Treasurer's is not (39, 71, 75), but in all three of these instances the Secretary was presumably not alone in being slighted. In sum, the Secretary appears always as second only to the Treasurer, but definitely inferior.

The Priest of the Eponymos. The other officers whom we have to consider do not always occupy the same places, relative to each other, in the decree. Thus the Priest
 fourth place, following the Treasurer of the Boule. We shall notice that the Treasurer of the Boule declines gradually from third to eighth place. The Priest had ousted him from third place by $203 / 2(40)$, and third place thereafter belonged to the Priest.

His title may have been shortened to còv ieq́́c in 37, ${ }^{1} \mathbf{4 8}, \mathbf{7 5},{ }^{2} \mathbf{8 0} .^{2}$ His patronymic is omitted in seven instances. More peculiar is the fact that his name simply is not given, though the title appears, in 37. In 47 and 81 there is no mention of him, either by name or by office. The natural inferences from these data are that the office was respected insofar as to give the Priest precedence over all but the prytany's own members, the Treasurer and Secretary; but that from time to time no one could be found to fill the office of Priest. This latter inference may help in the understanding of a peculiar fact. The Priest served the tribal eponymos, of course; one would expect that the Priest, of all people, would necessarily belong to the tribe whose eponymos he served. No. 64 itself shows that this was not always the case: the decree honors prytaneis of Hippothontis, but the Priest appears clearly as $\Theta_{\varrho}[\dot{\alpha}] \sigma \iota \pi \pi о \nu$ K $\alpha \lambda \lambda i o v$ Г $\alpha \underline{\rho} \eta^{\prime} \tau \tau \iota o r$. Gargettos was originally

[^10]of Aigeis, was transferred to Antigonis, and then returned to Aigeis. There is no whit of evidence that it was divided or that it ever belonged to any other tribe. The same Priest's name, moreover, can be restored where the Priest's name should occur in 60, which also honors Hippothontis. It seems probable that in 31 and 61 also the Priest was not of the tribe honored; and indeed it happens that we do not have, between 229 and 169 в.c., any clear instance where the Priest does belong to the tribe honored (unless in 36). This is the very period when he is praised once, as we have seen, but not named, and twice he is omitted entirely, title and all: the period, that is, when there were few candidates for this Priesthood. The gross irregularity whereby an outsider became Priest is thus placed in a setting which makes it at least partially intelligible. One man may have held office for several years, and for several tribes. ${ }^{1}$

Beginning in 169/8(71), and continuing no doubt regularly thereafter, the Priest belonged to the proper tribe. In 36 and 77 he was certainly not a prytanis, but nothing prevented his taking a seat in the Boule: 71, the one instance known, has him listed second (i.e., after the Secretary) under the second demotic, an exact indication of his inferior status.

The Secretary of the Boule and Demos. The Undersecretary. The $\gamma \varrho \alpha \mu \mu \alpha \tau \varepsilon v_{S} \tau \tilde{\eta} S \beta o v \lambda \tilde{\eta}_{S}$ $x \alpha i \tau o \tilde{v} \delta \dot{\eta} \mu o v$ and the $\hat{v} \pi \sigma \rho \varrho \alpha \mu \mu \alpha \tau \varepsilon v_{s}$ are always listed and cited in succession without any officer intervening. Their place is last ca. 260 b.c. ( 9 and 10 ), and they precede only the Flutist when he first appears. The Herald presently moves down next the Flutist, and the two secretaries rise to fifth and sixth places (39). The final step in the decline of the Treasurer of the Boule promotes the secretaries to their permanent places, fourth and fifth, about 178 в.c. (64).

The title of the major secretary is shortened to $\gamma \rho \alpha \mu \mu \alpha \tau \varepsilon \dot{s}$ vo $\delta \dot{v} \mu \boldsymbol{\eta}$ in 1 (where other titles are abbreviated to save space), and in the citations of $10,34,37$, and $\mathbf{8 9}$; never in a decree. Their patronymics are omitted whenever space is needed; but see 37, a curious exception. The patronymic of the Undersecretary might be omitted when his superior's was given (84), but the patronymic of the Undersecretary appears only once when his superior's was omitted. ${ }^{2}$

A history of the offices is not called for here. ${ }^{3}$ In the period we are studying, the Secretaryship of the Demos and the Boule became a political post to which a man graduated from the Undersecretaryship, and so to better things (see for instance 48, the career of Euthymachos, son of Ergochares, of the Kerameikos). ${ }^{4}$

[^11]The Herald of the Boule and Demos. The Flutist. These are the only officers in the present study who held office longer than a year; in the nature of the case, they were skilled professionals. It is the more notable that, despite their long terms, in which they had no rivals, their prestige was low for centuries. Toward the age of Augustus, when the Herald of the Areopagos was becoming a leader of the state, the Herald of the Boule and Demos (Kallikratides was his name) became more prominent, but until then no holder of the office had realized its potentialities.
' $O x \tilde{\eta} \varrho v \xi \tau \tilde{\eta} S \beta o v \lambda \tilde{\eta} S$ x $\alpha i$ vov $\delta \dot{r}_{\mu} \mu o v$ is cited third when he first appears (9) in the regular group (cf. 1, where he is in second place). By $203 / 2$ (40) he is sixth, and a decade later, seventh (48). In the end, the degradation of the Treasurer of the Boule saved the Herald from remaining next to the last (64). ' $O \alpha u \lambda \eta \tau \eta$ 's does not appear before 28 of ca. 229 ; he is omitted in 36 and 37 ; finally he occupies seventh place. In other words, the Herald declines from a better position to precede the Flutist, who always remained, when they bothered to mention him, at or next the end.

Naturally their patronymics were often omitted. Twenty-five mentions of the Herald are extant; in seven the patronymic is given. Twenty-one mentions of the Flutist reveal only two instances where the patronymic was given. It is notable that the Herald's title is only


Their chronological value to us is out of proportion to their contemporary prestige. The Heraldship was held generation after generation by the famous family from Trinemeia. Meritt has listed the members in Hesperia, III (1934), p. 27. Since I.G., II ${ }^{2}, 678(=10)$ has now been dated $260 / 59$ b.c., it seems likely that (Philokles III) had a brief career, since in ca. 229 we meet another Eukles (28). The alternative is that the two named Eukles are the same man, whose active career extended from 260/59 to 212/1 (36).

Without attempting to decide the matter, we may list the known Heralds of the period covered by the inscriptions of our series:

DATE
$327 / 6$
$260 / 59$
$229-212 / 1$
$203 / 2-$ post $-178 / 7$
$169 / 8-166 / \mathrm{o}$
$161 / 0-145 / 4$
40 's-30's
ca. $29 / 8-22 / 1$
ca. 20 в.с.

HERALD







Oivópıios $\Sigma \iota v \delta \varrho o ́ \mu o v \Sigma \tau \varepsilon \iota \rho!\varepsilon v^{4}{ }^{4}$
$M \ldots-.-\operatorname{ci}^{\prime} \delta[o v] \ldots--^{4}$

## INSCRIPTIONS

 19, ${ }^{1} 10$
28, ${ }^{1} 31, ~ 36{ }^{1}$
$37,{ }^{1}$ etc.,${ }^{2}$ through $58{ }^{1}$
71, 73
75, etc., through 86
$106,{ }^{1} 107,{ }^{1} 108$
110
116
${ }^{2}$ The patronymic appears in five of this series.
${ }^{3}$ No patronymic ever given.
4 'Title: x $\eta \varrho v \xi$ च $\eta s$ ßovג $\tilde{\eta} s$.

The Flutists also are important for dating inscriptions:

## DATE <br> FLUTIST

$229-c a .215$
ca. $210 / 9-$ ante-178/7
$178 / 7-$ ca. $158 / 7$
$155 / 4$
$145 / 4$
ca. $40-30$ в.с.
$\Delta \varepsilon \xi i \lambda \alpha o s{ }^{\prime} A \lambda \alpha t \varepsilon v_{S}{ }^{1}$

 $\boldsymbol{T} \dot{\varepsilon} \chi \nu \omega \nu \Phi_{\eta \gamma} \alpha \iota \varepsilon \dot{S}_{S}{ }^{1}$

-     -         -             -                 -                     -                         - ca. ${ }^{\text {cal }}$
$\Delta \iota o ́ \delta \omega \varrho o s \quad \Delta \eta--$ ov 'A $\lambda \omega \pi \varepsilon \varepsilon x \eta \theta \varepsilon \nu \quad 105$


## INSCRIPTIONS

28, 31
39, etc., through 60
64, etc., through 80
84, 82
86

The Treasurer of the Boule. The basic changes in the order of the officials reduce themselves practically to two. One change is the lowering of the Herald to a position just above the Flutist. The other change is the lowering of the $\tau \alpha \mu i \alpha_{S} \tau \tilde{\eta} S \beta o v \lambda \tilde{\eta}_{S}$ from a position near the $\tau \alpha \mu i \alpha_{S}$ of the prytaneis to eighth place. The latter process was gradual but not steady; hence the chronological value of his position in any given list is less than the value of other criteria.

From the very beginning there are irregularities in his position: see the commentary on 1. Thus in $343 / 2$ в.c. there are two $\beta$ ov $\lambda \tilde{\eta} s \tau \alpha \mu i \alpha \iota$; in $335 / 4$ there is one $\tau \alpha \mu i \alpha{ }_{s} \tau \tilde{\eta} \iota$ $\beta o v \lambda \tilde{\eta} \iota$, in sixth place; by $327 / 6$ the $\tau \alpha \mu i \alpha \alpha_{S} \tau \tilde{\eta}_{S} \beta o v \lambda \tilde{\eta}_{S}$ could hold third place. The latter form of the title was not changed again.

In one isolated year, $260 / 59$ в.c. (10), this Treasurer was also Treasurer of the prytaneis. He seems to have paid for sacrifices during the entire year: an extraordinary third decree was passed in his honor. Even allowing for unusual circumstances, it is apparent that the office was itself no obstacle to such glory as a prytanis might enjoy.

In $228 / 7$ b.c. (29) our Treasurer occupies the second magistrate's citation, but in 28, 31, 36, and 39, he is listed third. Next, in 37 and 40, he is entirely omitted. No. 47 has him in last place, but 48 lists him fourth. By $178 / 7$ b.c. (64) he has reached the eighth place, where he remains until after Sulla.

His title could not be shortened without danger of confusion with the other $\tau \alpha \mu i \alpha c$. His patronymic was frequently omitted, but not quite so often as those of the Herald and Flutist. They, to be sure, were well known persons, and the slight involved by omitting their patronymics was less serious than in the case of an annual officer. There can be no doubt that the Treasurer of the Boule lost power; presumably he lost control of whatever funds he once did control. Like $\delta \vec{\varepsilon} \pi i \quad \tau \tilde{\eta} \iota \delta \iota o x x \eta \sigma \varepsilon \iota$, who ceased to pay for decrees for prytaneis at about the same time that the Treasurer of the Boule reached eighth place, his rival was the $\tau \alpha \mu i \alpha_{S} \tau \tilde{\omega} \nu \sigma \tau \varrho \alpha \tau \iota \omega \tau \iota x \tilde{\omega} \nu$. The latter probably acquired considerable influence with the bouleutai: after Sulla he appears more frequently in citations than does the Treasurer of the Boule, who continued to be appointed, and even became $\tau \alpha \mu i \alpha_{S}$ t $\tilde{r}_{S} \beta$ ov $\lambda \tilde{\eta}_{S}$ x $\alpha i$ тov $\delta \eta_{\mu} \mu$ (116).

[^12]T'he Checking Clerk. The principle that position in the list was determined by prestige seems to be confirmed by the facts about the Checking Clerk ( $\left.\alpha \nu \tau \iota \gamma \rho \alpha \varphi \varepsilon v_{s}\right)$. For his low position in the fourth century b.c., see 1 and commentary. He appears at the very end of the list, in ninth place, and without patronymic, on the one occasion when he is praised (86). It is likely that he was admitted at about this time to the deíoıvol, for his name appears in certain decrees of the period ${ }^{1}$ and he is present in all later lists of גعíaıo of which the relevant part is preserved (105; I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 1773$, etc.).

Spokesmen of the Decrees. It might be thought that law or custom would forbid a member of any given tribe from proposing honors to prytaneis of that tribe. In 13 preSullan instances we are able to judge whether the spokesmen of the " first" decree belonged to the tribe honored. In two of these they did belong (49, ${ }^{2} \mathbf{8 8}$ ). For the "second" decree we have 12 instances by which to judge. Again two of the spokesmen were members of the tribe honored, and were in fact necessarily among the very prytaneis honored $(64 ?, 96) ;^{3}$ the latter document has other peculiarities (p.165). From this total of 21 out of 25 instances, it seems fair to suppose that custom opposed what amounted to self-honors. Ten of our instances fall before 200 , and in no one of these instances did the spokesman belong to the tribe honored; the four exceptions come in the second century. If the regular custom then or later was to urge honors for one's own tribe, we should have far more instances. ${ }^{4}$

Spatial Position of Citations. Various periods may be distinguished:

1. Fourth century b.c. No inscription arranged like 1 has been discovered.
2. Third century to 229 b.c. The order is: decree (or decrees), register, all citations. ${ }^{5}$
3. 229-ca. 88 в.c. The order is: " first" decree, three citations, " second" decree, register, six or fewer citations (cf. design, p. 4). ${ }^{6}$
4. ca. 88 в.c. to the end. The order is irregular, but never can a register precede a decree.

Aside from the three exceptions mentioned in the foot-notes, the above principles are never violated. It will be noted that the periods generally synchronize with historical periods and with changes in the content of the inscriptions themselves.

[^13]The Citations as Representations of Crowns. The crowns ${ }^{1}$ were regularly painted, not carved, down to ca. 125 в... ${ }^{2}$ There appears above the decree 93 of 125/4 в.c. an elaborate crown; some form of carved crown is regular ( $\mathbf{8 7}, \mathbf{8 9}, \mathbf{9 6}$, etc.) from $c a .125$ on. The date when carved crowns became regular is thus close to the date of the first known monumental stele honoring ephebes (Hesperia, IV [1935], pp. 71-81). A comparison is fair, because the costly items were elaborate crowns, many letters, and large stelae. The decrees for prytaneis, though they became grandiose at the same time as those for ephebes, did not become so long, large, costly, and numerous as did the latter in the period ca. $130-c a .30$ в.c. Each decree for ephebes honored some one or two hundred of the sons of the wealthy, and all their teachers; the decrees for the prytaneis honored only fifty citizens of lower status, and their Treasurer. The forms of the monuments are therefore in themselves a true reflection of social facts.

The Crowns and the Bodies Which Awarded Them. The crown awarded to prytaneis as a group is always specified, and is always to be made of gold, from the beginning down to the time of Sulla. After that, the prytaneis are no longer " praised and crowned" until the solitary instance 116 of Augustan times, which merely praises them. ${ }^{3}$

The crowns, if any, awarded by the Boule to the Treasurer and the other officials are regularly specified, and are always to be made of olive, from ca. 200 в.c. to the time of Sulla. When, after Sulla, honors to the Treasurer replaced all other honors whatsoever, the Treasurer's crown is still to be of olive, not of gold. ${ }^{4}$ In view of such exactitude, it is curious that prior to ca. 200 в.c., the decrees merely praise the officials, without specifying any award of crowns except those granted by the prytaneis. The strict interpretation would be that no crown was awarded by the Boule.

To test this view, we must turn to the citations themselves, of which about 150 in all are preserved. The name of the body conferring the honors is regularly, in the earlier periods, inscribed within the crown. In such instances as are preserved down to
 ( 9 with its unique general heading for citations; 11, 12). For this early period, then, the strict interpretation holds. The Boule awarded no crowns; otherwise $\eta$ $\beta$ ovi $\dot{\eta}$ would appear in citations, along with, or supplanting, the tribesmen. The crowns which appear as citations are those mentioned at the beginning of the decree, where it says $\varepsilon \pi \varepsilon \varepsilon \delta \dot{\eta}$ oi


[^14]At some time in the third century after $260 / 59$, the Boule began to award crowns, but such awards were not specified in the decrees of the period. ${ }^{1}$ The inscribed decrees are to be thought of, therefore, as being condensed from the measure as actually passed, as indeed their brevity throughout would lead one to think. There can be no doubt that the crowns were actually awarded by the Boule, because $\gamma \beta \beta o v \lambda \dot{\eta}$ begins ${ }^{2}$ to appear regularly in the citations, and indeed is only twice $(\mathbf{2 4}, \mathbf{8 9}$ ) absent therefrom "down to the time of Sulla.

Gradually crowns awarded to the officials by the Boule began to be specified in the decrees, at first only for the Treasurer (28? and 31 of somewhat uncertain date: note that 36 and 37 mention no crowns; then 39 crowns the Treasurer). No. 40 of $203 / 2$ is the first decree to specify crowns for all the officials. The crowns are regularly specified after that date. ${ }^{3}$

The principle already stated, that the order of mention of the various officials in the decree is always observed in the order of the citations, admits of no exceptions.

This completes the main study of the bodies which praised the officials down to the time of Sulla. ${ }^{4}$ Yet to be examined are the bodies which praised the prytaneis as a whole, as tested by the citations. We have seen that regularly the prytaneis are praised and

[^15]crowned (in the "first" decree) by the Demos. The citations show that in the early inscriptions of the series, the probouleutic part played by the Boule was also recognized. The regular heading is not $\delta \delta \tilde{\eta} \mu o_{\mathrm{S}}$ by itself, as always after $223 / 2$ b.c. (30), but $\tilde{\eta} \beta o v \lambda \grave{\eta}$ $\mid \delta \delta \tilde{\eta} \mu o s(9,11,25,29) .{ }^{1}$ Consonantly, 23 is evidence that at least one "first" decree was recorded as passed by both Boule and Demos. Other " first" decrees may have been so passed, prior to ca. $223(\mathbf{3 0})$; but 6 and 21 were recorded with mention of the Demos alone in the formula of sanction.

The áioııoı. It will be convenient to mention here the deioızoı, of whom in the pre-imperial periods little that is definite has been known. The word appears just twice in the third century в.c., each time as the heading of a citation of the Treasurer ( $\mathbf{9}$,

 begins to be used in 210/9-201/0 в.c. (39), and thereafter is regularly present. ${ }^{2}$ In the similar forms used after Sulla, oi deíitoı are invariably present. ${ }^{3}$ Apart from these two uses, the word never appears in the present documents. Only in Roman Imperial times do we have labelled and complete lists of $\alpha\langle\varepsilon\rangle i \sigma \iota \tau o \iota$. The earliest complete list is I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 1774$ of $167 / 8$ a.d. It invites comparison with a typical list of the fourth century (see under 1) and with typical lists in "second" decrees of ca. 260-ca. 88 b.c. ${ }^{4}$

| FOURTH CENTURY (1) | HELLENISTIC | ROMAN |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  |
| $\delta \chi^{\prime} \mu$ ov | $\chi \alpha i$ toṽ $\delta \dot{\eta} \mu \boldsymbol{\nu}$ |  |
|  | vлобן $\chi^{\mu \mu \alpha \tau \varepsilon v_{S}}$ | $\delta \alpha \delta O \tilde{v} \chi$ OS |
|  | $x \tilde{\eta} \varrho \nu \xi$ $\tau \tilde{r} S ~ \beta o v \lambda \tilde{\eta}_{S}$ x $\alpha i$ $\tau o \tilde{v} \delta \eta \dot{\eta} \mu v$ |  |
| $\chi \alpha \tau \grave{\alpha} \pi \varrho v \tau \alpha \nu \varepsilon i \alpha \nu$ | $\alpha \dot{c} \lambda \eta \tau \eta_{S}$ | $x \tilde{\eta} \varrho v \xi \beta 0 v \lambda \tilde{\eta} s$ x $\alpha i$ drjuov |
|  | $\tau \alpha \mu i \alpha_{S} \tau \tilde{\eta}_{S} \beta$ アovג $\tilde{\eta}_{S}$ |  |
| $\alpha \nu \alpha \gamma \varrho \alpha \varphi \varepsilon v^{\prime}$ | $\alpha \nu \tau \iota \gamma \varrho \alpha \varphi \varepsilon v_{s}{ }^{5}$ |  |
| દ̇лi $\tau \grave{\alpha} \psi \eta \varphi i \sigma \mu \alpha \tau \alpha$ |  | $\dot{\alpha \nu \tau \iota}$ ¢ $¢ \alpha \varphi \varepsilon v_{S}$ |
| $\alpha{ }^{\alpha} \nu \tau \iota \gamma \varrho \alpha \varphi \varepsilon v_{S}$ |  | iع@avidrs |
|  |  |  |
|  |  |  |

Whether each of these lists is actually complete for its period does not greatly matter. What does matter is the fact that they are substantially the same group in each list. They are specifically called $\alpha\langle\varepsilon\rangle i \sigma \iota \tau o \iota$ in the Roman period. The Hellenistic decrees which

[^16]list their titles refer to deiбivoı. ${ }^{1}$ The point is that throughout more than five centuries of our records, certain functionaries, who were early called deíoızoı, receive honors in the same documents as the prytaneis, in such a way as to suggest the most intimate official relationship. The duties as well as the honors of the functionaries are also closely related to those of the prytaneis. In fact no one should doubt that the functionaries, from the time when the state began to provide their board, dined in the Tholos with the prytaneis. ${ }^{2}$

Yet today the accepted view is apparently that, for instance, of Kahrstedt, ${ }^{3}$ who would group the $\alpha$ díбı兀o with those other permanent state boarders, who dined in the Prytaneion. ${ }^{4}$

We know with equal exactness the composition of the group which was given board for life in the Prytaneion. They were descendants of famous men, the greater contemporary statesmen and generals whom the people had thus honored (toward the end of their careers), the victors in the great games, and so on; and in the Prytaneion were entertained foreign ambassadors. ${ }^{5}$ The diners in the Prytaneion, in other words, were persons of very considerable personal distinction, and of no official duties as state boarders-for-life: they did not earn their meals, that is, by their present services to the state. The deíotvoı were mainly clerks, young fellows on the make; or Heralds and Flutists, men with strong lungs and vocal chords. Like the prytaneis, they were given a food allowance in return for active services during a fixed term.

To think of these two groups as dining together is to mistake the character of each. It is also to conceive that the Athenians would allow a small group of permanent boarders to exercise influence, year in and year out, over the annually changing Secretaries and Treasurers of the public assemblies. ${ }^{6}$ It is to suppose, finally, that the group which dined in the Prytaneion undertook from time to time to praise an official of the prytaneis, as if the acts of the prytaneis were subject to their approval. Even Marindin (op. cit.),

[^17]who advanced the philological and chronological objections to this view, did not realize the large political implications of a corps of permanent boarders at the heart of the government. Obviously, there were two distinct groups, and they had no official contact. The one group was the grandees of Athens, who dined in state by the city hearth. The other was the group of some six to twelve officials, and some 50 members of the Boule, all of whom took their meals, worked, conferred honors, and received honors, together in the Tholos. ${ }^{1}$

The difficulty is the meaning of $\alpha \varepsilon i$, which has a second meaning less simple than "always" or "ever." Thus a common expression is of the type oi $\dot{\alpha} \varepsilon i \quad \pi \varrho v \tau \alpha \nu \varepsilon \dot{v} o v \tau \varepsilon \zeta$ (I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$, 223, B, line 12; several others in Liddell-Scott-Jones, s.v.). The translation is usually "for the time being," or more accurately, in Marindin's understanding of deifotou, "for the times of their (various) offices." The objection to this as a translation is that it emphasizes the wrong aspect of this second meaning of $\alpha \varepsilon i$; the limitation of time is stressed, so that it seems to mean the opposite of "always" or "ever." The meaning of the Greek, however, is clear enough: the expression $\delta \dot{\alpha} \varepsilon i$ followed by the name of an office means "for the term of the office, tenure of the office by a series of persons being con-
 'Asiotios need not mean "always fed," but rather "fed during the term of the office, tenure of which by a series of persons was continuous." It will be seen that those who dined in the Prytaneion were only deioıvoc in the sense of "always fed." Pollux (IX, 40) can apply the word to those who ate in the Prytaneion, and it may have been so used.

History of the Pre-Sullan Decree. In brief outline we have noted the six main types of document (p.6). The earlier decrees (type 2) divide naturally into those of the fourth century (1) which probably recorded a victory over the other prytaneis, and the somewhat full decrees of the early third century (6). As soon as a "second" decree is introduced, the phraseology is shortened or at least is always very curtailed in the "second" decree (9). There is some expansion and some regularity before 200 в.c., but actually the whole century seems not to have found a stable form until near the end. ${ }^{2}$ Stability was attained soon before 200 ; by that date the second decree had become explicit as to crowns; the officials honored were eight in number; the deiotoot, along with the prytaneis, were mentioned in it as having praised and crowned the Treasurer, a thing which they had doubtless been doing for some time; and the citations were regularly placed.

In the present study there appear 42 documents from the whole period from $327 / 6$ в.c. to 200 в.c. For the succeeding period, documents actually dating from ca. 200 to $155 / 4$ в.c. are also 42 in number, an average of about one a year. The first half of the second century is obviously the time when the Athenians were most interested in the prytaneis. It was not until $169 / 8$ (71) or thereabouts that the documents became, so to speak, "regular."

[^18]The order of officials was stable from then on; the Priest henceforth belonged to the proper tribe; and the Treasurer of Military Funds began to pay for the stelae. It was not until $155 / 4(84)$, however, that the full " regular " list of beneficiaries of the sacrifices was included; and only in $145 / 4$ was the $\alpha \nu \tau \iota \gamma \varrho \alpha \varphi \varepsilon v_{S}$ honored.

The documents from $145 / 4(\mathbf{8 5}, \mathbf{8 6})$ to the time of Sulla are all fragmentary; they usually show "irregularities," which, after a lacuna of some years, are very pronounced in $104 / 3$ (96). From this half century we have only 12 decrees. It is no accident; interest has shifted to decrees for ephebes, which began long before 128/7 (Hesperia, IV [1935], pp. 71 ff.), a far more gaudy development.

The Post-Sullan Decree. The post-Sullan decrees (type 4 in the whole series, p. 6) appear first along with some degree of recovery from the severe shock of Sulla's attack, and persist through the reign of Augustus. The form is based on the old "second" decree, in that every one is a decree of the Boule, and every one praises a particular person.

All the details, however, bespeak a new age. The preamble, including even the name of the spokesman, is omitted. The reason for this is not that another decree, like the old " first" decree but not published, had been passed, and had contained the proper dating and other details. Other decrees of the period regularly have preambles. The explanation seems to be simply that in this age no need was felt, in this class of monuments, for all that the old preamble had certified-for an exact date, and for the names of persons and assemblies responsible. More than this, the Demos had lost its position.

The only compensation for the lack of preamble is a date by the year in which the prytaneis were serving. Honors are awarded to the Treasurer of the prytaneis, and to him alone. This is done, as before, on the basis of a good report by the prytaneis and the $\dot{\alpha} \varepsilon i \sigma \iota \tau o \iota$. The $\dot{\alpha} \varepsilon i \sigma \iota \tau o \iota$ individually receive a few citations, and in general hold a position subordinate to that of the greater dignitaries and the Treasurer. The reason given for praising the Treasurer, as before, is the sacrifices; but (a) he is never said to offer them on any one's behalf; (b) no deity is mentioned by name, but only the traditional ones as a group; and (c) the beneficiaries are the Boule and the Demos (cf. 113, 116, 121). In all of these respects, the old " second" decree is strictly copied; but, in the absence of any " first" decree, the unspecific character of the "second" makes it seem that no one cared to tell or be told the various particulars of the sacrifices. The whole document is devoted rather to the Treasurer, who is praised (without forgetting the patronymic) and crowned, as before, with olive. Now, however, the main point is a request by the prytaneis to be allowed to erect a statue of him in gilded armor, with an inscription on the base; the Boule grants the request without mentioning the cost of inscribing the decree. The Treasurer, one suspects, often paid for both statue and stele. The decree was followed by the inevitable list of 50 prytaneis, and by citations. The citations are now, however, crowns awarded by the prytaneis, as in the third century before ca. 229 в.c.; and the most prominent are now awarded to the great dignitaries of the
state, to the Hoplite General and the Treasurer of Military Funds, as well as to some of the deiourou. ${ }^{1}$

It is not the fashion at present to pronounce on the general moral quality of a period, and in any case the decrees for prytaneis are only one part, though they are one of the most definite parts, of the evidence. Suffice it to say that the post-Sullan decrees for prytaneis form the natural prelude to the period when the prytaneis praise themselves.

Meaning of the Decrees. From all of this it should be clear that there was just one major break in the whole series of inscriptions for prytancis, the break at the time of Sulla. It is also clear that, although there were real types of decree before and after his time, there was never any really rigid, stereotyped, "regular" form which endured. As soon as such a form seemed to have been attained (ca. 169 b.c.), it began to be modified. Through five and a half centuries the story is one of ceaseless change, usually of only one or two features at a time, mostly independent of historical crises, making in general a gradual, vital sort of development.

In spite of this, the Hadrianic decree is recognizably a descendant of the earliest in the whole series; a careful reading will prove it. Two aspects of the decrees as a whole, two family traits as it were, may be noted. One is their formal, abstract character, their refusal to mention personal, specific actions by the prytaneis. In almost every period one meets nothing but austere formulae, as in no other group of decrees: contrast, for example, the decrees for ephebes. No immediate historical occasion has been connected reliably with any decree for prytaneis.

The second notable aspect is their piety. Always the first reason for praise is the sacrifices they have offered. After that, vague clauses speak of their having tended to the meetings of the Boule and the Demos, and other routine duties.

Doubtless the mention of sacrifices, especially after Sulla, became a mere form. Doubtless also the formulae had varying degrees of real meaning from one age to the next. One cannot help asking, nevertheless, what was the real reason for the passage of such decrees?

The true initiative in the passing of the decree did not lie with the Boule; at least, in point of time the "second" decree follows resolutions by the prytaneis themselves, and the deícıtol, in praise of the Treasurer. The "second" decree also follows the " first" decree, that of the Demos; and the " first" is normally (cf. 96) not probouleumatic in form. In the fourth century the prytanies of each year had competed for a crown awarded by the Ekklesia, to the most deserving prytany (I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 1142,1741,1742$, etc.). In that time the true initiative obviously had lain with the Ekklesia, though the actual business-as a routine matter of form-may have been put on their docket by the Boule; and if the winning prytaneis had already crowned their Treasurer, or proceeded to do so

[^19]later, such action was immaterial. After the time of Sulla, on the contrary, it was plainly at the request of his admiring fellow-prytaneis that the Treasurer was crowned by the Boule.

For the period between the fourth and first centuries b.c., we have significant data. The contest between the prytaneis is never mentioned. The distribution of awards among tribes seems uneven. In four instances the spokesmen belonged to the very tribe to be honored. These are few items and of little weight. The spokesmen were mostly of other tribes. The reason some tribes were not honored may have been the lack of large demes and rich Treasurers who could offer praiseworthy sacrifices.

Beyond this it might be rash to venture. It is to be pondered, however, that the decrees do seem to give some real reasons why the prytaneis were honored. The whole discussion of the sacrifices tends to make them seem a real thing. The work done by the prytaneis in preparing for the assemblies was of course even more real. Praise for these actions would come more naturally as a genuine expression of gratitude from the Demos, rather than from the prytaneis themselves. It seems that on the whole the preSullan decrees should be taken in most instances as meaning exactly what they say; merely personal, petty self-honoring is post-Sullan.

Places of Setting Up and of Discovery. In a recent article, E. Vanderpool has combined the literary evidence, the specifications in the texts of decrees, and the data on the places of finding of the decrees, to prove that the Prytanikon, in which the decrees for prytaneis were set up, was the area which included also the Tholos. ${ }^{1}$ Since this article appeared, furthèr study of the decrees has confirmed the epigraphical basis of his article, and has brought to light some further details.

Beginning with 5 of $280-275$ b.c., and continuing with no exception through 76 of $c a$. 160 в.с., all the decrees in which this part can be read, or where a restoration is possible, were to be set up $\varepsilon \nu \tau \tilde{\omega} \iota \pi \varrho v \tau \alpha \nu \iota \kappa \tilde{\omega} \iota$. There are some 30 such texts in the present collection. None had been taken far; none was found, for instance, on the Acropolis.
 It is evident that the custom of setting up the decrees in the Prytanikon (called by that name) began in the period $327 / 6-c a .280$, which means in the period soon after decrees for prytaneis began to be inscribed.

The first decrees for prytaneis to be set up elsewhere are 79 and $\mathbf{8 0}$ of $159 / 8$ or 158/7, which will be considered in the chapter on $\alpha \lambda \eta \varrho \omega \tau \eta \rho \iota \alpha$. Nos. 81 of $c a .169 / 8-156 / 5$ and 84 of $155 / 4$
 and 101 were to be set $\bar{\varepsilon} \nu \tau \tilde{\omega} \iota \beta o v \lambda \varepsilon v \tau \eta \varrho i \omega t$, which probably means what it says-actually within the building itself. The various places considered in the present paragraph show that the regular practice before $159 / 8$ b.c. gave way after that date to confused irregularity.

There is no inscription after $155 / 4$ which actually preserves the phrase $\bar{\varepsilon} \nu \tau \tilde{\omega} \iota \pi \varrho v \tau \alpha \nu \iota x \tilde{\omega} \iota$. It fits the space required in 96 of $104 / 3$ b.c., of which fragment $B$ was found on the floor of the Tholos. The same old phrase also fits neatly in 93, which, like the fragment 90

[^20]of three years previous, was found on the Acropolis. In the case of 93, we can only hazard the guess that yet another place, or places, were found for setting up the decrees. It is not impossible that 90 and 93 were carried up to the Acropolis for use as building material. The case of 16 may be revealing, since part was found on the Acropolis and part in the Agora, and according to its date it should have stood in the Prytanikon. ${ }^{1}$

The Register of Prytaneis. ${ }^{2}$ The full number of fifty prytaneis, arranged under the full number of demotics proper to the given tribe, is regularly present or to be supplied. ${ }^{3}$ Two exceptions only have to be admitted. The first (1) is from a year of famine, $327 / 6$ в.c., when it seems that five small demes were unable to send bouleutai, and the larger demes made up the deficiency. The second (36) is from 212/1 в.c., when all the demes seem to have been represented, but by a total of only 46 prytaneis: there is no obvious explanation. One conceivable reason may be rejected: the names of the missing prytaneis are not lacking because the men had died during their term. Our records of prytaneis show clearly enough either that names were regularly inscribed as if the men still lived, or that their place was taken by suffecti, whose names alone appear. ${ }^{4}$

There are eleven lists in which it is certain or probable that all 50 prytaneis and all the requisite demotics were present. ${ }^{5}$ Since these lists are well distributed as to periods, and cover seven tribes (all Kleisthenian), the conclusion is permitted that Athens maintained a population sufficiently large to supply at least 600 or 650 new bouleutai every other year. Yet the number was not so great that the requisite number of bouleutai could always be secured in a critical period. The data here considered thus agree perfectly with actuarial computations based on the census figure 21,000 citizens in ca. 311 в.c. ${ }^{6}$

The amount of data is now so large that it is possible to form an exact idea of how the registers were drawn up. The general principle was again that of precedence, as in the list of officials in the "second" decree (p.13). The Treasurer and Secretary have already been dealt with (pp.14, 15), also the Priest (p.16). ${ }^{7}$ The principle of precedence was carried out to some extent in the order also of the demotics. Tabulation shows that (1) most of the demes with only one or two representatives appear in the last column ; (2) demes with large representation almost never appear in the last column. There is a general tendency (3) for large demes to appear early in the list, according to their sizes,

[^21]and for small demes to appear late. No. 37 has the only register in which the order is perfectly graduated from beginning to end. In a word, the principle of precedence, applied to demotics, will sometimes, but only sometimes, enable positive restorations. ${ }^{1}$

The principle that the demotics of Treasurer and Secretary must appear first and second often advanced such demotics to a place higher than that which they would normally hold. In this connection it is interesting to enquire to what extent the large demes were able to elect their members to the Treasurership. The fact is that many more Treasurers were of small demes than of large. Membership in any except the smallest demes was no obstacle whatever; the big demes did not " run the government." Before Sulla there is no proved instance, indeed, of a Treasurer and a Secretary from the same deme. ${ }^{2}$

The Texts. It is my hope that certain advances in the craft of reading inscriptions and of restoring texts may appear in this study. Here it must suffice merely to outline the methods used.

There are new readings, sometimes of as many as a hundred letters, in nearly every text which was already published. These readings have been obtained chiefly by the use of better squeezes, of which as many as six have been made for each of the more difficult documents. It cannot be claimed that every letter which might be read has been read; but the results show, I think, how improvements may be effected.

Nearly all the inscriptions we have to deal with are not stoichedon. These texts, both new and old, have been copied on square-ruled " graph" paper, the letters being spaced so as to give iota half a space, in contrast with "full" letters or spaces, by which is meant the breadth of every letter except iota. The lengths of lines are always stated in terms of full letter-spaces: thus if a line has 28 " full" letters and 4 iotas, its length is given as 30 (full) letter-spaces. This would be a useless refinement if iota occurred regularly the same number of times in every line, as it would tend to do, for instance, in lines a thousand letters long.

It will also seem to be a useless refinement to those who believe that an inscription which is not stoichedon is necessarily so irregular that counting half-letters is idle. The answer to this is that some inscriptions are irregular (up to a general maximum divergence

[^22]of about ten percent between the extremes), but that most show a high degree of regularity. The only accurate procedure is obviously to discover first how regular the lettering in question really is, and to make allowances according to the observable spacing in the preserved part of any given line. This procedure has been followed for all the texts contained herein, and has justified itself throughout, bringing certainty where before there was uncertainty or mere probability.

A second principle of restoration concerns the ends of lines. The general use of the stoichedon design broke down gradually during the third century. The change was accompanied by the growth of a principle, always inherent in the minds of those who laid out inscriptions, ${ }^{1}$ that lines should end with the ends of complete words, or of syllables. This principle, which we may call that of syllabification, has long been known, ${ }^{2}$ but exceptions have been admitted after $230 / 29$, in a period, that is, when very few need be admitted. ${ }^{3}$ In the following pages, the principle will be found to have been applied regularly and, I would claim, successfully, both in readings and in restorations. A concomitant principle is that blank spaces are left at the ends of lines when there is insufficient space for the next syllable, or else the next syllable is crowded in. The choice between crowding and leaving blanks is almost always determinable.

The documents are presented and numbered (bold-face) in actual, or approximate, chronological order. The presence of the Agora inventory number (e.g., Agora I 1997) after the bold-face number means that the document is published for the first time. Otherwise the most recent place of publication is given. The date is not exact when preceded by ca.; the commentary explains the basis for the date in doubtful cases, unless the evidence is from the style of lettering alone.

Texts republished here are meant to supplant previous editions throughout, and minor changes are not specifically noted; as to previous commentary, etc., facts which are correct are generally not repeated, but are assumed to be known. The republications, for this reason, have a critical tone which I hope my predecessors, seeing the need for brevity, will not misunderstand.

All of the names have been looked up in P.A. (J. Kirchner's Prosopographia Attica, including the Addenda thereto), in N.P.A. (Sundwall's Nachträge zur Prosopographia Attica, Öfversigt af Finska Vetenkaps-Societetens Forhandlingar, LII, 1909-1910), in P. Graindor's "Les Athéniens à l'époque d'Auguste," Musée Belge, XXVII (1923), pp. 261-264, and in the indices Hesperia, III (1934), pp.115-122, and Hesperia, IV (1935), pp. 93-99. The expression "new in Athens" will be understood to mean that the name is absent from the above prosopographies, and from the indices to I.G., II and III. If a name is said to be "new" to Greek, it will also be absent from Pape-Benseler, Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen (third edition of Pape), and from F. Bechtel's Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen.

[^23]
## TEXTS

1. Agora I 1997. Group of connected fragments of Pentelic marble found on May 16, 1934 , in a wall at $9 / \Lambda \mathrm{E}$ in Section B, 22 m . west of the Tholos. The stele had been broken on the spot into brick-sized building blocks. The significance of the place of finding will appear in connection with forthcoming topographical studies. The lower part of the stele is well represented, including the setting line at the base. How much is lost above cannot be determined.

Height, 0.83 m. ; width (original), 0.49 m. ; thickness (original), 0.10 m .
Height of letters, 0.006 m .

| 327/6 в.c. | Akamantis | CTOIX. 42 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | \% $\alpha \lambda \lambda$ |
|  | 8 | .] $\sigma \omega \lambda[$. |
|  | 37 | dote¢ |
|  | . . . . $\boldsymbol{\tau}$ | d] $\underline{\nu}^{\prime}$ |
| [ $\alpha \gamma \varrho \alpha<\psi \alpha$ | $\alpha$ тòv $\gamma \varrho \alpha \mu \mu$ | ] $\eta$ [ $i] \lambda_{1} \theta i$ |
| [ $\nu \eta$ « $<\ldots$ | $\theta \varepsilon \nu \quad \tau o \tilde{v}] \beta$ ßo? | S dè $^{\text {c }}$ |
|  | $\left.\dot{\eta}_{\lambda r S} \delta o \bar{i}\right] \cdot \alpha$ | $\underline{T}$ ¢ $\tilde{v}[\delta] \dot{r} \boldsymbol{\mu}$ |
| [ov: $\Delta \Delta$ |  | $\alpha \tau \alpha[\alpha \nu] \alpha \lambda_{l}$ |
|  |  |  |

vacat

Missing in the first column:

Names
of 14 prytaneis,
and 4 demotics, namely :
K $\varepsilon \propto \alpha \mu \varepsilon \tilde{I}_{S}$

'Ayvov́бıo
'Eguzıo

[-------] $o \pi \alpha[-\cdots-----]$

| vacat |  |
| :---: | :---: |
| $\left[\begin{array}{lllll}\Sigma & \varphi & \dot{\eta} & \tau & \tau\end{array}\right] \quad \iota \quad 0 \quad \iota$ | $M \varepsilon \gamma \alpha \lambda[0] \chi \lambda \tilde{\eta}_{S} \quad M \varepsilon \lambda \alpha \nu \theta[i o v]$ |
| [---. - - - - - - - ]tégov |  |
|  |  |
| [-- - - - - - - - - - $\mathrm{l}^{\text {- }}$ ov |  |
| [-- - . . . . . . - - - ] ่̇ 2 ov |  |
| [-------------- - - - - $0 v$ |  |
| [-- - - - - - - - - - $] v$ |  |
| 45 [- - Name - . - - - Patronymic - - ] |  |
| [----- - ] To Toh[----] |  |
| [--...-.--] $\lambda$ cídov | $[\Theta] \quad 0 \quad \varrho \quad\left[\begin{array}{llllll}i & \chi & \iota & o & \iota\end{array}\right]$ |
| [-......... - $]$ ] oклдźovs |  |
| $\left[\begin{array}{lllll}\Pi & \varrho & o & \sigma & \pi\end{array}\right] \quad \alpha \quad \lambda \quad \tau \quad \iota \quad o \quad \iota$ |  |
| 50 [--ca $\underline{6}_{--}$]os AПIOY | Кә ¢ьбо́бот [оऽ . . . . . . . - - ] |
|  | Ev̇d@র́wv $M$ [- . . . . . . - - $]$ |
|  |  |
|  |  |
|  | vacat |
|  |  |
|  | $\underset{3^{*}}{\operatorname{Auv} \tau \varrho\left[\chi \lambda \tilde{\eta}_{S} \text { Aíviov 'A } \chi \alpha \varrho v \varepsilon v_{S}\right]}$ |



No. 1. Lines 1-88
[------]s Ezodßiov
[------]s Ezodßiov
${ }^{30}[-----] \nu \eta S^{\prime} A \varrho[\iota] \sigma \tau \omega \nu v{ }^{\prime} \mu[o v]$
${ }^{30}[-----] \nu \eta S^{\prime} A \varrho[\iota] \sigma \tau \omega \nu v{ }^{\prime} \mu[o v]$
[ca. $\left.{ }^{3}.\right]$ I
[ca. $\left.{ }^{3}.\right]$ I


[---.---] $\omega v o s$ er $\gamma$ Mv@oıv
[---.---] $\omega v o s$ er $\gamma$ Mv@oıv
$[x \tilde{\eta} \rho v \xi \beta o v] \lambda\left[\tilde{\eta}_{S} x\right] \alpha \grave{\iota} \delta \dot{\eta}[\mu] o v$
$[x \tilde{\eta} \rho v \xi \beta o v] \lambda\left[\tilde{\eta}_{S} x\right] \alpha \grave{\iota} \delta \dot{\eta}[\mu] o v$


[ $\left.\tau \alpha \mu \mu^{\prime} \alpha\right]_{S}$ v $\tilde{\eta}_{S} \beta\left[o v \lambda \tilde{\eta}_{S}\right]$
[ $\left.\tau \alpha \mu \mu^{\prime} \alpha\right]_{S}$ v $\tilde{\eta}_{S} \beta\left[o v \lambda \tilde{\eta}_{S}\right]$


vacat
vacat

 vacat
In an olive wreath:

тò̀ $\tau \alpha \mu i \alpha \nu$
còv [ $\varepsilon \alpha v \tau \tilde{\omega} \nu]$
$\boldsymbol{\Lambda}[-\cdots---]$
[------]
[--- - -
$\Delta \eta \mu[-\cdots \cdot-\cdots]$
$\alpha \nu\left[\alpha \gamma \varrho \alpha \varphi \varepsilon v_{\varsigma}\right]$


80

द̀ $\pi[\grave{i} \tau \grave{\alpha} \psi \eta \varphi i \sigma \mu] \alpha \tau \alpha$

$\hat{\alpha}[\nu \tau \iota \gamma \varrho \alpha] \varphi \varepsilon v_{s}$
 vacat
In an olive wreath:
Citation missing
[oi $\varphi \cup \lambda]$ ह́v $\alpha \iota$
$\boldsymbol{\tau} \grave{o}[\nu \quad \gamma \varrho \alpha] \mu \mu \alpha \tau \varepsilon \varepsilon^{\prime} \alpha$
$\tau \grave{o}[\nu \varepsilon \varepsilon \alpha v] \tau \tilde{\omega} \nu$
$K \underset{\sim}{\boldsymbol{\alpha}}[\lambda \lambda i] \underset{\sim}{\alpha}[\nu]$
${ }_{95} \quad \boldsymbol{\Lambda}[v \sigma \iota \mu \dot{\alpha} \chi o v]$
"'Епиєıov

The concluding formulae (lines 6-9) are those of a public, not a tribal, decree. The content may have been an award to the prytaneis of Akamantis for conduct in office superior to that of the other tribes (p. 7, n. 1). In line 6 the restoration gives one letter too few; dittography may have occurred.

Decrees were only rarely set up before the Bouleuterion (I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 298$, a mere fragment; I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 304$, honors for services to the Boule; no others). So far as we know, this was one of the earliest prytany inscriptions to be set up in the Agora. ${ }^{1}$

The register of demes provided for 58 items-demotics and names of prytaneis. Since Akamantis contained 13 demes, the possibilities are (1) that there were 50 prytaneis, distributed among 8 demes, the 5 other domes being unrepresented; or (2) that the entire 13 demes were represented, the total of prytaneis being only 45 ; or (3) that the number of demes represented, and the total number of prytaneis, were both subnormal. ${ }^{2}$

It is particularly notable that Kephale has as many as 12, and Sphettos 10, representatives. Quotas so unusually large for these two demes (Kephale, of moderate size, should have had about 8, while Sphettos had 7) suggest that five of the little domes-

[^24]namely Eiresidai, Iphistiadai, Poros, Kikynna, and Eitea-were unable to send prytaneis, and that the quotas for the larger demes were accordingly increased to make up the total of 50 .

It seems clear that, however the deficiency be explained, the stable conditions reflected in lists of bouleutai down to $336 / 5$ had been seriously upset. ${ }^{1}$ The cause in $327 / 6$ b.c. was doubtless the great famine; we know that in 328 Demosthenes had served on a commission then created to meet the need, and it was only in 325 that conditions improved. ${ }^{2}$

Several of the names require comment.
Line 57: cf. $\Lambda v \sigma \iota[----] K \varepsilon \varphi \alpha \lambda \tilde{\eta} \theta \varepsilon v$ in a list of bouleutai(?) of $c a .330$ в.c. (I.G., II ${ }^{2}$, 2411, line 28). For possible descendants see P.A., 9460.

Line 59: I. G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 2441$, a list probably of bouleutai, dated $c a .330$, contains the name $M \varepsilon \gamma \alpha \lambda$ - in line 26 , which is probably to be restored as the name of the present prytanis. The name $M_{\varepsilon \gamma \alpha} \lambda_{0 x} \lambda \tilde{\gamma}_{S}$ is new in Athens.

Line 61: probably a relative (uncle?) of the famous comic poet (P.A., 14356; stemma under P.A., 14546).

Line 64: a grandson(?), $\Phi_{\iota} \lambda o x \varrho_{\alpha} \tau_{\eta} \eta_{s} K_{\varepsilon \varphi \alpha} \lambda \tilde{\eta} \theta_{\varepsilon} \nu$, was ephebe in 269/8 (I.G., II ${ }^{2}, 665$, line 57).

Line 70: the father was possibly ' $A \mu \varepsilon \iota \psi i \alpha_{s} A v z o \mu \dot{\eta} \delta o v_{s}$, who was Treasurer of Athena in $376 / 5$ (P.A., 710).

Line 72: Eủd@áwv Go@ixıos had been Trierarchos in $342 / 1$ and was to be again in $c a .323$ (P.A., 5444).

Lines 94-96: the name may be restored from P.A., 7829, a comic poet of the fifth century, $K \alpha \lambda \lambda i \alpha_{\varsigma} A v \sigma \iota \mu \alpha \dot{\chi} \circ \boldsymbol{v}$ (deme unknown), who has been conjectured to be an ancestor


Below the first and third columns there are listed, under an illegible line (31) which may be mere scratches, eight officers of the assemblies. The space was small, so that compressed titles are to be taken as abbreviations for epigraphical convenience, rather than as full official designations. Only two comparable lists are preserved to us. In I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 223$ the list, which is preserved entire, reads:
(1) $[\gamma \varrho \alpha \mu \mu \alpha \tau] \varepsilon[\grave{v}] \varsigma \quad \chi \alpha \tau \grave{\alpha} \pi[\varrho v \tau \alpha] \nu \varepsilon i \alpha \nu$,
(2) $\grave{\varepsilon} \pi i ̀ \tau \grave{\alpha} \psi \eta \varphi i \sigma \mu \alpha \tau \alpha$,
(3) દ̇лi tò $\theta \varepsilon \omega \varrho$ ィxóv (abolished in 339),
(4) $\beta$ ov $\lambda \tilde{\eta}_{S} \tau \alpha \mu i \alpha \iota$ (two names under this title).

The date is $343 / 2$.

[^25]The other list, which dates from $335 / 4$ в.c. (I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 1700$ ) is also complete, and may be compared with that of the present document:

335/4 в.c. (I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 1700$ )
$\gamma \varrho \alpha \mu \mu \alpha \tau \varepsilon \grave{\varrho}{ }_{\mathrm{S}} \varkappa \alpha \tau \grave{\alpha} \pi \varrho v \tau \alpha \nu \varepsilon \dot{\alpha} \alpha$
$\gamma^{\prime} \varrho \mu \mu \alpha \tau \varepsilon \grave{v}_{\varsigma} \tau \tilde{\omega} \iota \delta \dot{\eta}_{\mu} \omega \omega \iota$
$\dot{\alpha} \nu \alpha \gamma \varrho \alpha \varphi \varepsilon v_{S}$
દ̇лi $\tau \grave{\alpha} \psi \mu \varphi i \sigma \mu \alpha \tau \alpha$
д̀vtıү@ $\alpha \varphi \varepsilon v_{S}$
$\tau \alpha \mu i \alpha_{S} \tau \tilde{\eta} \iota \beta$ воvд $\tilde{\eta} \iota$

$x \tilde{y} \varrho v \xi$

327/6 (1)
$[\gamma \varrho \alpha \mu \mu \alpha \tau] \varepsilon \grave{S} \beta \beta o v \lambda \tilde{\eta} S \quad x \alpha[i] \delta \eta_{\varphi} \mu o v$
$[x \tilde{\eta} \varrho v \xi \beta o v] \lambda[\tilde{\eta} S x] \alpha i \delta_{\eta}^{\prime}[\mu] o v$
$[\tau \kappa \mu i \alpha]_{S} \tau \tilde{\eta}_{S} \beta\left[o v \lambda \tilde{\eta}_{S}\right]$
$\chi \alpha \tau \grave{\alpha} \pi \varrho[v \tau \alpha \nu \varepsilon i \alpha \nu]$
$\stackrel{\varepsilon}{\varepsilon} \pi i \quad \tau[\grave{o} \alpha \nu \dot{\alpha} \theta \eta \mu \alpha]$
$\alpha \nu\left[\alpha \gamma \varrho \alpha \varphi \varepsilon \dot{v}_{\varsigma}\right]$
$\varepsilon \bar{\varepsilon} \pi\left[\begin{array}{lll}i & \tau \alpha & \psi \eta \varphi i \sigma \mu\end{array}\right] \alpha \tau \alpha$ $\dot{\alpha}[\nu \tau \iota \gamma \varrho \alpha] \varphi \varepsilon^{\prime} v_{S}$

In line 76 enough letters are preserved to show the name of a secretary who dates the Agora document in 327/6 (cf. Hesperia, III [1934], no. 5), eight years after I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 1700$, and sixteen after I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 223$. It seems probable, since other preserved lists of bouleutai and prytaneis do not contain all eight officials, that there was too little opportunity in this period for the order to become fixed in detail. It will be noted, however, that the $\gamma \varrho \alpha \mu \mu \alpha \tau \varepsilon v_{S} \chi \alpha \tau \grave{\alpha} \pi \varrho v \tau \alpha \nu \varepsilon i \alpha \nu \nu$ occupies a prominent place in all three. The $\gamma \varrho \alpha \mu$ -
 223 , holds first place in the new list, second in 1700, and appears alone of the whole eight, or with one other, in $1740,1741,1744(\gamma \varrho \alpha \mu \mu[\alpha \tau \varepsilon \grave{\varsigma}]$ | $\beta o v \lambda \tilde{\eta} s), 1747,1750,1751$. The order of the clerical officials in 1700 is seen also in the new list, where they appear last: $\dot{\alpha} \nu \alpha \gamma \varrho \alpha \varphi \varepsilon v_{s}, ~ ह \pi \pi i \quad \tau \alpha ̀ \psi \gamma \varphi i \sigma \mu \alpha \tau \alpha$, and $\alpha \nu \tau \iota \varrho \alpha \varphi \varepsilon \varepsilon v_{s}$. The grouping and the priority are doubtless significant. It was the $\alpha \nu \alpha \gamma \varrho \alpha \varphi \varepsilon^{\prime} s$ who supplanted the Prytany Secretary in 321/0-318/7.

In a suggestive foot-note, Ferguson points out that the $\dot{\alpha} \nu \tau \iota \varrho \rho \alpha \varphi \varepsilon v_{j}^{\prime}$ of $109 / 8$ в.c. followed him of $145 / 4$ in tribal order, the tribe being III in each case. ${ }^{1}$ The order could equally be the reverse of the official order. The new $\alpha \nu \tau \iota \gamma \rho \alpha \varphi \varepsilon v_{s}$ is of II, so that he follows him of $335 / 4$, who is of X , in the reverse of the official order. Hence it is this direction of cycle, not the regular, which we must look to see confirmed or refuted by new evidence.

[^26]

No. 1. The combined fragments

The new document shows that the cyclical order of the officials $\varepsilon \quad \pi i \quad \pi \grave{\alpha} \psi \eta \varphi i \sigma \mu \alpha \tau \alpha$, which Ferguson (ibid.) observed for the two years $343 / 2$ (I) and $335 / 4$ (IX), is either a cycle abandoned before $327 / 6$, or a mere coincidence. The reading of line 82 is perhaps none too clear; but quite definitely the letters fit no demotic of VII.
2. I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 656$ with Addendum. $286 / 5$ b.c. Aigeis.

For a photograph of the lettering, see Kirchner, Imagines Inscriptionum Atticarum, no. 76.
Wilhelm (Ath. Mitt., XXXIX [1914], pp. 177 ff.) insisted that this was not a decree of the demos. A bit of external evidence can be added: the stone was found on the Acropolis. Significant also are the script and the non-stoichedon arrangement, both of which differ, as in I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 659$ of $285 / 4$, from the work of masons employed on public decrees of this period. The stele likewise was smaller than any known public inscription for prytaneis: there were probably only two columns in the register of names, and there may have been only the one decree. The text, in any case, unlike that of any public decree, honors the tribesmen primarily as bouleutai.

Line 7 should end TA[Y], line 8 beginning [TA]. The only lines which do not begin with syllables appear to be 7 and 12.


3. Agora I 25553. Fragment of Hymettian marble, with part of the left side preserved, found on March 6, 1935, in mixed red fill at $47 / \mathrm{I} \Delta, 16 \mathrm{~m}$. south of the Tholos, in Section $\mathrm{B}^{\prime}$.

Height, $0.12 \mathrm{~m} . ;$ width, 0.218 m . ; thickness, 0.098 m .
Height of letters, $0.005-0.006 \mathrm{~m}$.
ca. 290-280 в.c.
$\left[\begin{array}{llllllll}{ }^{\prime} \mathcal{A} & \chi & \alpha & \varrho & \nu & \varepsilon & \tilde{\iota} & \varsigma\end{array}\right]$
Some eight
lines missing
[ 4$] \varepsilon \iota \nu \nu^{\prime} \alpha[s----]$
$[K] \alpha \varrho \nu \varepsilon i ̈ \sigma x[o s] \Theta \varepsilon[-\cdots-]$
$\Phi \alpha i \delta \omega \nu \Phi\left[\alpha \iota \delta v v^{\prime}\right]$ ג̣ $o v$
$\Delta \eta \mu \alpha i \nu \varepsilon \tau[o s] \Delta \eta \mu \alpha \iota \nu$

N८хóvтৎんтo[c] IIv[ $\theta o] \delta \dot{\omega} \varrho$




$\Pi \varepsilon \varrho \varrho \varepsilon i \delta \alpha \iota$
[...'...] $\quad$ ¢ $\kappa \alpha \lambda \lambda \iota x \lambda \varepsilon ́$ [vacat?]

The preserved side and the thickness are suitable for a small stele bearing honors to one tribe. The difficulties which the text presents are not to be solved by the theory that the fragment comes from a list of the entire Boule.

The lettering is not easy to date, but it will be seen that the period suggested accords well with the theory that several grandfathers of the men named are known.

The restoration of the first demotic also depends on the following identifications of ancestors: Line 1: N.P.A., pp. 46-47: $\Delta \varepsilon i \nu \omega \nu ~ \Delta \varepsilon ı v i o v ~ ' A \chi \alpha \varrho \nu \varepsilon v v_{S}$ was a treasurer in 349/8.


No. 3

Line 5: P.A., 12440: $\Pi v v_{0} \alpha \lambda \tilde{\eta}_{S}{ }^{\prime} A \chi \alpha \varrho \nu \varepsilon v_{S}$ was thrice trierarch $c a .325$. Line 6: P. $A ., 12413$ :
 5-6 confirms Kirchner's view that the families were related. Line 8: note the brother

 the fifth century.

Incidentally, the names [K] $\varrho \rho \varepsilon \varepsilon i \sigma x[o s]$ (line 2) and ©ovz $\lambda \varepsilon\left[i \delta \gamma_{s}\right]$ (line 14) are new to Athens.
Beyond any reasonable doubt, then, the names in lines $1-10$ are to be assigned to Acharnai. The two demotics which are actually present on the stone are less certain.

Line 19 appears to have begun with a circular letter, which seemed to the mason too small for the dot in the middle; he made a slight erasure, apparently, and began again. ${ }^{1}$ Thria was of Oineis.

Line 19 was intended to begin even with the margin of the other lines. Line 11, also a demotic, likewise begins even with the same margin; but no deme named 'Eg@zídoı is known in any tribe. That a deme hitherto entirely unknown should appear now is most improbable. We have, for instance, one complete (I.G., $I^{2}, 1745$ ) and six partial lists of bouleutai of Oineis. If we accept 'E@gsi $\delta \alpha \prime$, the difficulty might be eased a little by noting a peculiar fact. The quota for Acharnai in the fourth century was 22. If we admit 22 Acharneis in Column I, then that column would have at least 25 items. This is impossible, because the whole register must have at least three columns, and the total number of items should be 61, which means columns of 21,20 , and 20 items. Hence Acharnai cannot have had more than 18 prytaneis in the present list. The difficulty from this source increases if we remember that quotas in the third century should be increased over those for the fourth; Oineis had given three demes with a total quota of 5 bouleutai to Demetrias. Now Acharnai, the largest of the demes, was so large that by itself it constituted a trittys. To have prevented it from attaining a near-majority of the votes, some section of it may have been given separate existence as a deme. ${ }^{2}$
4. Agora I 2448. Fragment of Hymettian marble with inscribed face only preserved, found on February 23,1935 , in late mixed fill at $42 / \mathrm{I} \Theta$, some 15 m . south of the Tholos, in Section $\mathbf{B}^{\prime}$.

Height, $0.10 \check{\jmath} \mathrm{~m} . ;$ width, $0.09 \mathrm{~m} . ;$ thickness, 0.044 m.
Height of letters, 0.006 m .

|  | ca. 290-275 b.c. Akamantis ca. 43 |
| :---: | :---: |
|  |  |
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|  |  |
|  |  <br>  |
|  |  |
|  |  |
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|  |  |
|  |  |

${ }^{1}$ The reading $\Theta \rho \rho[$ [ $x<0 \iota]$, to fit Akamantis, seems unlikely. No name in lines $1-10$ will fit a known member of any large deme of Akamantis.
${ }^{2}$ An alternative theory. Though it would stand in the margin, the possibility cannot be denied absolutely that a $\Pi$ preceded the letters preserved in line 11 ; there is a small nick in the stone spaced

The lettering is of the early third century, and the restoration, based on 6 of $275 / 4$ в.c., offers no difficulties. The fact that sacrifices to Apollo are not specified, though doubtless they were performed, dates this inscription earlier than all others in which this part of the decree is preserved. Emphasis is placed rather on two of the festivals of Pyanopsion: the Stenia, celebrated on the ninth (Deubner, Attische Feste, p. 52), and the Chalkeia, on the last day of that month (op. cit., p. 35).
5. Agora I 625. Four fragments of Pentelic marble, preserving the right side of the stele, found on March 30, 1933. For the place of finding, see Vanderpool, Hesperia, IV (1935), p. 474.

Height of $\mathrm{C}-\mathrm{D}, 0.44 \mathrm{~m}$. ; width, 0.175 m. ; thickness, 0.136 m .

Height of letters, 0.005 m .


No. 4


Gap of uncertain length

 $\left[\begin{array}{lll}\nu \varepsilon \iota S & \chi \alpha i & \sigma \tau \varepsilon \varphi \alpha \nu \tilde{\omega}\end{array}\right] \sigma \alpha \iota$ [ $\left.\alpha \boldsymbol{\alpha} \tau \tau o ̀ ̀ S ~ \chi \varrho v \sigma \tilde{\omega} \iota \quad \sigma \tau \varepsilon \varphi\right]$ ]



rather too close to the E . This would give a new spelling of $\Pi \varepsilon \rho \rho(\delta \alpha \iota$, not a single demesman of which is known. Its tribal affiliation is dubious (Pauly-Wissowa, s. v. A $\tilde{\eta} \mu o$, , p. 95), but it has never been connected with Oineis. This solution, which involves an irregularity by the mason, seems preferable.

Gap of uncertain length

| 15 | --------.]N |
| :---: | :---: |
| $\underset{\text { C }}{\text { Fraguent }}$ | [-----------------------] ON |
|  | ---------- - ${ }^{\text {- }}$ AKT |
|  |  |
|  |  |
| ${ }^{20}$ |  |
|  | -----------------] $\alpha \tau \alpha$ к $\alpha \grave{ }$ |
|  |  |
|  |  |
|  | [-----------------]THГГ[...] |
| 25 | [-----.------------] СГ [. . . ] |
| $\begin{gathered} \text { Fragment } \\ \text { D } \end{gathered}$ |  |
|  |  |
|  |  |
|  |  |
| ${ }^{30}$ |  <br>  |
|  |  |
|  |  |
| ${ }_{35}$ |  |
|  |  vacat 0.042 m . |
|  |  |
|  |  |
|  |  |
| ${ }^{40}$ |  |
|  |  |
|  | $\therefore 5^{50}[---]_{0 S} \quad[--] \theta v_{S} X \alpha \lambda \times!\left[\delta \varepsilon \omega_{S}\right]$ |

Of the original text there remain to us part of a decree of the Demos, a citation, and the beginning line of the register of names. Most of the decree was doubtless stoichedon, as Fragment B indicates. The mason presently abandoned that framework more or less, and tried only to make his final letters of the lines fall in an even column vertically. In doing this, rather than trying to end each line with a syllable, he was

providing one of a very few exceptions to the general rule (p. 30). The irregular lettering of Fragment A suggests that the bit is from near the right edge, but not at it. Fragment B cannot be placed within the lines; the position given in the text is arbitrary. Lines 8-9 lack one letter, probably from the end of line 8, if the restoration is correct.

Lines 29-36 can be restored, however, as if the order were exactly stoichedon, allowing only one letter too few in line 31. The upper lines, above 29, offer difficulties both of reading and of restoration. In line 23 a letter seems to have been restruck. In line 24 $\tau \tilde{\eta} S \pi \varrho v \tau \mid \alpha \nu \varepsilon i \alpha \alpha_{S}$ is of little help. Line 20, clear enough on the stone, is manifestly a reference to King Ptolemy, part of a narrative with specific historical details of what the prytaneis had done to deserve praise. ${ }^{1}$ Probably the $\nu \tilde{\nu} \nu$ of the previous line was part of the same sentence.

The lacuna in line 33 is a puzzling gap to fill. The usual title, vòv $\gamma \varrho \alpha \mu \mu \alpha \tau \varepsilon ́ \alpha$ $\boldsymbol{o} \boldsymbol{\partial} \nu$ $\boldsymbol{x} \tau \boldsymbol{\alpha} \pi \varrho \nu \tau \alpha \nu \varepsilon i \alpha \nu$, is five letters too long. The usual alternative, $\tau \grave{\nu} \nu \wp \alpha \mu \mu \alpha \tau \varepsilon ́ \alpha$ $\tau о \tilde{v} \delta \dot{r} \mu о v$ (I.G., II ${ }^{2}, 660,696,710,712,725,741$ ), is four letters too short. The space can be exactly filled by $\tau \grave{\partial} \nu \gamma \varrho \alpha \mu \mu \alpha \tau \varepsilon ́ \alpha$ tò̀ $\tau \tilde{\eta} \varsigma \beta o v \lambda \tilde{\gamma} s$, but that officer is unknown in this function since the fourth century, and is never, or very rarely, mentioned in this precise form (Ferguson, Secretaries, p. 8; Dinsmoor, Archons, p. 352). It therefore seems that some five letters were accidentally omitted from the prytany secretary's title. ${ }^{2}$

The general period of the inscription is given by the designation of the board which paid for the stele, $\tau o v_{S} \varepsilon \pi i \tau \tilde{\eta} \iota \delta \iota o \iota x \eta \sigma^{\sigma} \varepsilon \iota$. This (plural) board paid for prytany inscriptions only in the period 288-263 (Dinsmoor, Archons, p. 65), and it is near 275 that we should attempt to date the present document. The Ptolemy in question might be Philadelphos of Egypt; in that case the date would be $280-275$ в.c., when Athens was free of direct Macedonian control. It is equally probable that the reference is to Ptolemy Keraunos, who in the years 281-279 (after he had murdered Seleukos and before the Gauls had killed him) was dominant in Europe and could well have been an object of consideration on the part of the Athenians.
6. I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$, 674 with Addenda, p. 663. 275/4 в.c. Anriochis.

None of the letters read by Oikonomos has disappeared, though this is denied in I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$, Addendum.

For the broad significance of the arrangements for payment in lines 16-21, see Meritt in A.J.P., LVI (1935), pp. 317-319.

Since there is no known instance of a decree inscribed below the register of prytaneis, this becomes our last dated example of the type of document which regularly has one decree only (type 1, p. 6).

[^27]7. Agora I 603. Fragment of Pentelic marble, found on March 24, 1933, in loose filling at $30 / E$ in Section $H^{\prime}$.

Height, 0.132 m. ; width, 0.04 m ; thickness, 0.128 m .
Height of letters, 0.006 m .

## Kekropis

| Early third century |  |
| :---: | :---: |
|  | $\lambda[-$ |
|  | [ $' I] \alpha \sigma[-\ldots . . .-.-]$ |
|  | $\Gamma \nu[\ldots-\cdots]$ |
|  | $\boldsymbol{T} \boldsymbol{\mu} \boldsymbol{\mu}[-\cdots \cdots$ |
| 5 | Nex! [ |
|  | $E v \grave{v}$ [- - - - - - - - $]$ |
|  | Ev̉o [- - - - . . - - $]$ |
|  | [A] $\quad \boldsymbol{i} \begin{array}{lllllll}\xi & {\left[\begin{array}{lllll}\omega & v & \varepsilon & i & s\end{array}\right]}\end{array}$ |
|  | , $\lambda[-\cdots-\cdots-\cdots-]^{-}$ |



No. 7

The list is probably of prytaneis, with patronymics (p.29, n.1). The style of the lettering is the only evidence for the date.
8. Hesperia, II (1933), p. 498, no. 14. Antigonis. The thickness is original: unlike No. 13, the monument was a stele; hence it was smaller, and the list may have been part of a register of prytaneis following decrees. The large margin is unusual in any case.

The lettering is of a kind which occurs from the 280 's to the 230 's. A more exact dating will depend on study of Agora I 249 (the No. 13 mentioned above; Hesperia, II [1933], p. 497), a list of bouleutai of which several more fragments have been found. (The hand is not the same in Nos. 13 and 14: note particularly 0 and $\Sigma$.)
9. Agora I 1024. Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken only at the top, found on June 26, 1933. For the place of finding, and photographs of the stele and base, see Hesperia, IV (1935), pp. 473, 474. The stele is leaded into its original heavy rectangular base of limestone. The base is roughly dressed on all its faces; the stele is dressed
with a toothed chisel on the sides, rough-picked behind. Cement has been cleaned from certain parts in order to establish readings, but as little as possible of this delicate work has been attempted.

Height of stele above base, 0.71 m ; height of base at left, 0.285 m ; at right, 0.22 m ; width of stele at bottom, 0.425 m .; width of base, 0.55 m .; thickness of side at bottom, 0.118 m. ; greatest thickness, 0.138 m. ; depth of base, 0.39 m .

Height of letters, $0.005-0.006 \mathrm{~m}$.




The stone-cutter several times disregarded the vertical ovoĩou, with the result that in certain instances a group of letters occupies one less than its proper number of spaces. This is true of $\triangle O X \ominus A I$ in line 12, KAI $\Phi I \wedge$ in line 14 , EI $\Sigma$ and the first ПA $\Sigma I$ in line 16 , IKAIOEYN in line 17. We shall find reason to suspect that a similar compression occurred in the missing part of line 5 .

The lettering, in which lines normally curved are rendered by strokes with the (straight) edge of the chisel, is evidence for a date in the middle decades of the third century.

The second group of evidence for the date is prosopographical.
Line 20: the Treasurer's family is probably represented four generations earlier by N८хох $\lambda \tilde{\eta}_{S}$ A $\alpha \mu \pi \varrho \varepsilon v_{S}$, trierarch in $373 / 2$ (P.A., 10904). His own son would seem to be


Line 27: K $K \lambda \lambda_{\iota} \tau \varepsilon \varepsilon^{\prime} \eta_{S} K \alpha \lambda \lambda i o v$ A $A \mu \pi \tau \varrho \varepsilon v_{s}(N . P . A ., ~ p .108)$ is praised as Secretary of Egavıotai in the document now published as I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 1322$. The date of this is uncertain. ${ }^{1}$ Prominent mid-fourth-century relatives are P.A., 7873 (a trierarch of $353 / 2$ ) and 8213.


 (P.A., 13070) which can now be extended two more generations.

Line 46 : cf. P.A., 4531 of the early fourth century.

Line 64: evidently a mis-spelling for 'Avסoxidrs.
Line 66: a son, $[\Pi] v \theta o ́ \delta \eta \mu o s ~ \Pi \nu \theta[o] \delta \dot{\omega} \varrho o v ~ \varepsilon ُ x ~ K[\eta] \delta \tilde{\omega} v$, was an ephebe in $2 \overline{5} 5 / 4$ or $243 / 2$, the year of Polyeuktos (P.A., 12385). Supposing that $\Pi \dot{v} \theta \omega \nu$ (III) was the grandfather of our prytanis, we may reconstruct generations IV-VII in the stemma of this notable family (P.A., 12471) as follows:-
$\Pi v^{\prime} \theta \omega \nu$ (III) Dated $c a .318$ by the floruit of his grandfather
$\Pi v \theta o ́ \delta \eta \mu{ }^{\text {(I) }}$ (I)
חvөódwoos (II) Prytanis in 260/59 (9)
$\Pi \nu \theta o ́ \delta \eta \mu \circ$ (II)
Ephebe in $255 / 4$ or $243 / 2$
Line 67: the name $E z^{\prime} \gamma \nu \omega \tau o s$ is new in Athens.
The third body of evidence for the date is offered by 10, and a summary of the data is presented with that inscription.

The deívıto appear for the first time in these documents; they reappear in 10. These occurrences are isolated (p.22). Line 114 contains, beside the first and last letters, traces of others in an erasure. I cannot decipher the original, which was presumably oi deíoıvo七 or oi $\varphi v \lambda \varepsilon ́ \tau \alpha \iota$.
10. I. G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$, 678. 260/59 (?) b.c. Aigeis. The Figure reproduces Pococke's printed transcription. Boeckh's principal emendations (C.I.G., 15) have all been accepted by Koehler (I.G., II, 329) and by Kirchner. The fact that all the lines begin with syllables, if we supply a pi at the beginning of line 5 rather than at the end of line 4 , assures us that the original was not stoichedon. Pococke's transcription contains upward of seventy-five proved errors, and a tabulation of these helps towards improving the



[^28]
 namely those which are indicated by dots, can be paralleled elsewhere in the transcript. By a clerical error in I.G. ${ }^{2} \boldsymbol{\tau} \dot{o}[\nu]$ is omitted before $\bar{\varepsilon}\left[\pi^{\prime}\right]$ in line 11. The date in that
 To question this may be idle, but it is the part of caution to note that Pococke gives other upsilons for I or K, other omicrons for $\Theta, \Pi$, or $\Omega$, and other lambdas for $\mathrm{A}, \Delta$, or $P$; and he made several interpolations or omissions of one or two letters each. ${ }^{1}$

In lines $14-15$ a tempting restoration is $\tau o i{ }_{c}$ s $[----\Sigma \omega \tau \tilde{\eta} g] \sigma \tau \nu$. The third decree is stated to have been passed in the twelfth prytany: i.e., it reviews the entire year. Sacrifices to the Macedonian deities should have been made, and should probably, in this explicit decree, be mentioned (cf. p. 10).

We come to the problematical line 15 , the history of which is as follows. Feeling that the sense demanded more words than seemed to exist at the end of line 14 and the beginning of line 16, Boeckh inserted our line 15 exactly in the form in which it now stands in I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$. "Excidit enim integer versus," he explained, and the excision came to be grouped among those made in the year 200, when many references to things Macedonian were erased. The inscription was dated before $271 / 0$. Gradually the other inscriptions in which references were made to sacrifices to the Macedonian King, such as Boeckh thought had been erased in our line 15, were removed from the period before the Chremonidean War. At length line 15 was the sole remaining instance, providing only that Polyeuktos and his group of Archons were dated later, for in an inscription of this group such reference occurs, and was in fact coupled by Kolbe (Hermes, LXVIII [1933], p. 453) with our line 15 in an effort to support the earlier date for Polyeuktos. In this connection it was suggested by me that the line was in fact cut on the stone, but that Pococke's eye was misled by חA at the end of line 15 as well as of line 14 , so that he omitted one line (A.J.P., LV [1934], p. 318, n. 4); and Ferguson added (ilid.) that the stone-cutter may have made the error. This is not unlikely: a parallel may be Broneer's Hesperia, II (1933), p. 406, no. 24.

If we turn to page 56 of Pococke's publication, we find no indication that he omits a line at this point. He seems to indicate carefully such an omission in line 26, column III. Ferguson (ibid.) points out that parts of line 15 were innocuous; whereas in Boeckh's theory the entire line, including part of a word at the beginning and part at the end, was erased. Since Ferguson wrote his article, a bit of research lends considerable weight to his observation. We have now sixteen inscriptions with erasures of things Macedonian ${ }^{2}$ (references ibid.); the list is $I . G ., \mathrm{II}^{2}, 665,677,681,682,766,775,780,781,790,791$, 798, 825 (see rather I.G., II, 5, 374d); Hesperia, IV (1935), p. 526, no. 39; Hesperia, II (1933),

[^29]| $\Sigma \Phi E I \Omega \Sigma A \Sigma I I I$ <br> NAПOФAINOTรINEIETHNBO |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ．．．．．．．．NII ．．．．．．．IOEAIKA ．OIKPINENTHNIIPYTANEIAN IINƠ $\Delta$ ET $\Omega N K A I . . . . .$. ．．$\Lambda J I I T \Omega T A \Theta H I T Y X E I \Delta E \Delta O X \Theta A I T H I B O \Upsilon \wedge E I E ~$ |  |  |
|  |  |  |
| AINE三IATONTAMIAN |  |  |
| MATEMA |  |  |
| TIङAENHNONHEIФ， |  |  |
| $\Sigma \Theta E O N \Sigma$ ． |  |  |
| ФI＾OTIMIA THEEI |  |  |
| KA $\Lambda \Lambda I M \Omega$ |  |  |
| THNKPA $\triangle$ TTEAEПAINE $A I \Delta E K A I T O N K H P \Upsilon K A T H \Sigma B O \Upsilon \Lambda H \Sigma K A I T O \Upsilon \Delta H$ MOTETK $\Lambda$ H |  |  |
| ФI $\Lambda 0 K \Lambda E O \Upsilon \Sigma T P I N E M E I A ~$ |  |  |
|  |  |  |
| EM ．．E $\triangle$ HNKOYPA |  |  |
| THГBO؟ $\Lambda$ ETEIN $\Lambda A X \Omega N T \Omega N E N A \Upsilon T O N T O . E . . ~ \Upsilon B O \Upsilon \Lambda O \Upsilon A P K O N T O \Sigma \Delta I ~$ |  |  |
| ATETE $\Lambda$ EKEN |  |  |
| $\Lambda$ EГ $\Omega N K A I \Pi P A T T \Omega N A \Gamma A ө \Omega N O T I H \Delta \Upsilon_{N} A T O \Upsilon T E T H \Sigma B O \Upsilon \Lambda H \Sigma K A I T O \Upsilon \Delta H$ MOTKAITA |  |  |
|  |  |  |
| MIAAIPEOEIETHOTHEBOTAHEEIETETAEOYEIAETOIE，I ．．．．．．．．．．． <br>  |  |  |
|  |  |  |
| NПA |  |  |
| इA |  |  |
| NBOTAHN |  |  |
|  |  |  |
|  |  |  |
|  |  |  |
| AГKイAHOENET |  |  |
| ェEBEIA |  |  |
| 人HN |  |  |
| ATKYAEİ | AAAIEIX | inniatis |
| NIKOKPATHEPAEIO | MHEIAOXOEMNAEIMIOY | ПAM＠Eİ |
| Antiseenhionhileontoi | ПEAIOKAHEE．MIKYeor | NIKתNeEOASPOT |
| ПOAEETPATOEAOPKERE | MNHEAPXOEMNHEAPXISOY | mepinidpozatzeior |
| ӨЕопомпогEY＠T＠PONOE | aөhnimiozaehnimior | ekkoasnor |
| anenotenhlantianpor | EпIXAPIAHEAYEipaxou |  |
| EPxieis | MNHEAPOPAENINHIOHOE | ayett heateikazote |
| kanaiztpatoz ．teneriot | hoareeaoz－kaeinninior | eitiaiooen |
| erienozeyzeeeor |  | apxiazkpitsnoi |
| emirenheemaminondoz | KAMAIKPATHEEY ${ }^{\text {a }}$ OHAOY | 1．ISANTiAAh |
| manaitiozainsnoz | KaEITHINEIKSNOE | АНMOKAHEAHMOKAEOT |
| zoknhineictodiaor | －ISNAISNOE | EPIKEEIE |
| etbiozetionemot | APILTERNIOAYKPATOY | antianporaiokaiou |
|  | ¢גuATEIE | ATAOKAHEAPIETO＠ANOT |
| АМФIK AHEITY®OASPOT | Xaiteetatoznonyektor | APa＠hilior |
| ATEIKPATHEEYOIAHTOX | ANTİRNRIOAYEKTOY | kamammozantandpor |
| EY¢inhtozariikpator | AMNIKPATHEAMNIKAEOTE | kanaizeenhi¢anomaxot |
| ． 1. otphneiz | ¢IAAYAAI | ETMYPPINOTTeE |
| ¢IAIETLAAHEAIOARPOT | menaixmozapietor | aKadhmozneokaeor |
|  | AIOTIMOEMEAANOIOT |  |
|  | efaitheainioy |  |
| orqafetai | однмог | oiaisitas |
| TONTAMIAN NIKOKPATHN | ＇roymipytaneid | tontamian |
|  |  | NiKOKPATHN |
|  | oidtaetat |  |
|  | Kanaikpathn |  |
|  | KOnaytea |  |
| oidraetal tontpammatea anezoinhn | oidtaetas | oidtaetai |
|  | Tonkhpyka | tonipamatea |
|  | EYKıhn | тorahmor |
|  | t．nymorpammatea | neotitonemon |
|  | EIKNHN |  |

No．10．Photostatic copy of Pococke，Inscriptiones Antiquae，p． 63 Courtesy of the Harvard University Library
p. 497, no. 13, and p. 500, no. 15 (22 of the present series); A.J.A., XXXVII (1933), p. 46. In six of these, excisions are merely of the tribal names. As to $775^{1}$ and our 22, we cannot judge. ${ }^{2}$ All the others are erasures in continuous texts, and every one of these is a careful erasure, so far as we can determine, of precisely those words which referred to things Macedonian, and of no more. There is not a single proved instance of the erasure of one entire isolated line, to set against twelve erasures of the type just defined. In this neatness one perceives a calculating venom; for to destroy the context of an erasure might have made it impossible to tell who was contemned. One is impelled, then, to doubt whether the document in question ever at any stage contained Boeckh's line 15. We may not be able to construct a sound text on the shifty foundation given by Pococke; but at least we need no longer burden ourselves with the drastic theory of erasure of an entire line.

If we turn yet again to the photostatic copy, we may note that the text in lines 14 and 16 has three peculiar difficulties. In line 14 Koehler gave up on $\Omega \Sigma$, setting it down merely as $\omega$. In line 16 the first verb is an aorist; not a perfect in the series of perfects, but possibly subordinate in some way. Thirdly, the editors have all expanded the first A of AKAI into $\dot{\alpha}[\nu \dot{\gamma} \lambda \lambda \omega \sigma \varepsilon \delta \dot{\varepsilon}]$. Pococke's text never errs otherwise by more than two spaces, and the resulting line as a whole is unduly long. Hence this emendation, also Boeckh's, is excluded. In addition, we have the fact that line 14 connects with line 16 without emendation, to form $\pi \dot{\alpha} \mid \sigma \alpha_{\varsigma}$.

Though it seems we can never be certain how the original document read in these lines, some meaning can perhaps be grasped. It may be suggested thus:

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { 14. - - - } \alpha \alpha i \alpha v ̀ \iota o ̀ S ~ \sigma v \nu \varepsilon \pi \iota \mu \varepsilon[\mu \varepsilon ́] \lambda \eta \tau \alpha \iota \omega_{S} \alpha v \hat{\tau} \tilde{\omega} \nu \pi \dot{\alpha}
\end{aligned}
$$

This has words certainly incorrect, but the notion that the manner of his coöperating consisted precisely in sacrificing all the sacrifices at his own expense may be valuable. Whether this action by the Treasurer of the Boule was mentioned as a regular part of his duties, or as being extraordinary, we cannot be sure; more likely it was extraordinary (see p. 18). It appears that Nikokrates in his capacity as Treasurer of the Boule had continued throughout the entire year, perhaps in a bitter period for Athens, to bear the expense. In the last days (presumably) of the last prytany a special decree (lines 10-19) cast appropriately in the perfect tense, was passed in his honor. It was to emphasize the fact that his beneficence was forthcoming all the year that the name of the year, possibly memorable in other ways, was inserted. ${ }^{3}$

From this point we may follow the explanation given by Kirchner in I.G., II ${ }^{2}$. Nikokrates is plainly entitled Treasurer both of the prytaneis of Oineis, and of the Boule.
${ }^{1}$ Line 15 shows only a rasura; the words in $I . G .{ }^{2}$ should be bracketed.
${ }^{2}$ Johnson included doubtfully $I$. G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$, 708. The stone shows no trace of erasure.
${ }^{3}$ It is notable that the enthusiasm for Nikokrates was not shared by his fellow-bouleutai of Erechtheis, who did not include him in their list of honors (9).

The special decree (lines $10-19$ ) in his honor was inscribed below the two regular decrees, of which we have only part of the second. The tribesmen had honored, besides their officers, a member who held no office: Kallikrates of Kollytos, who is designated merely as $\varepsilon^{2} x \tau \tilde{\omega} \nu \varphi v \lambda \varepsilon \tau \tilde{\omega} \nu$; the Boule also honored him (lines 7-8, 45-48). Parallels for this appear in 9 and in I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$, 1749.

The register ${ }^{1}$ contains only 45 prytaneis; as Kirchner has seen, it also has 5 gaps. It appears that Pococke omitted names of which he could make no sense; or possibly they had been erased (cf. 77 and p. 28).

Ferguson has given four important prosopographical items in A.J.P., LV [1934], p. 319, n. 5. One may be elaborated. Line 28: a stemma for the Erchian family based on a date ante-271/0 is given under P.A., 8165. A later date yields a simpler scheme:


A fifth item may be added. Line $3 \bar{\jmath}$, column I: presumably the father of that Pythodoros of Erchia who appears in 29 of 228/7, lines 42-44.

Meritt first noticed that the new Agora inscription 9 is of the same year as Pococke's. The proof lies in the probable identity in each of the Secretary of the Boule and of the Demos, Neoptolemos, and in the possible identity of the Agora Epikles with Pococke's . $\boldsymbol{\Sigma I K} \boldsymbol{A H} \boldsymbol{\Sigma}$, the Undersecretary. The proof is compelling: if we were to doubt the second identification, and to suppose that the name Neoptolemos occurred twice by mere coincidence, we should nonetheless be forced by prosopographical evidence to place the two inscriptions within one short period.

A certain Euboulos was Archon before 271/0. ${ }^{2}$ We have seen that there are reasons for believing that the two inscriptions do not date from before $271 / 0$. We may now

[^30]sum up the evidence on each side. Among arguments for the earlier date, the "rasura" has been dealt with above, with a reference. More serious is the spacing in line 5 of the Agora inscription, where one must suppose crowding of one letter to accommodate $\mu \varepsilon \varrho i \sigma \alpha \iota$, whereas $\delta o \tilde{v} v \alpha \iota$ fits perfectly. The latter formula, however, belongs in 289/8 or earlier, which is impossibly early for the Archon Euboulos of I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 682$, line 58 (the son of Phaidros as Agonothetes). One might think of crowding two letters, so as to attain the formula of $289 / 8-263 / 2$, $\mu \varepsilon \rho_{i} \sigma \alpha \iota$ vò̀s $\varepsilon \pi i, \not, \tau \lambda$. This would be admissible only if it were compulsory. Not quite so drastic, but still undesirable, would be the abandonment of Pococke's reading of the Archon's name. A second Euboulos, moreover, would have to be dated near the first. The orator of I.G., II ${ }^{2}, 780$ (Archon Kallimedes) was identical with the secretary Neoptolemos, and we may assume a career rising, like that of Aischines of the Attic canon, from a secretaryship to prominence in the Demos: this would place our inscriptions earlier than 246/5. The floruit of the Herald Eukles should also fall as early as possible. Hence a second Euboulos should be dated ca. 260 or a little later,



The case for the later date is based on the restoration $\tau \dot{\partial} \boldsymbol{v} \boldsymbol{\varepsilon} \pi i$, on the style of the lettering, and on the phraseology and arrangement especially of $\mathbf{9}$, which are more developed than those of 6 of $275 / 4$ (p.6). There is no need to discuss these points further, nor to dwell on the favorable prosopographical arguments to be derived from 9 , lines 20 and 66, and the five others from the present text. This evidence appears to be the more weighty, and Meritt's exact date, 260/59 (Hesperia, IV [1935], p. 584), has been inserted. The difficulties remain. The important consequences of the later date, or of abandoning the theory of a rasura, have been properly stressed in Ferguson's article already cited (A.J.P., LV [1934], pp. 318 ff .).
11. Agora I 1884. Group of joined fragments of Hymettian marble, with toothed left side and rough back preserved. The surface is eaten away at the top by acids. Found on April 27, 1934, in a modern bothros at $29 / \mathrm{E}$ in Section B, ca. 5 m . southeast of the Tholos.

Height, 0.27 m. ; width, 0.242 m. ; thickness, 0.08 m .
Height of letters, 0.008 m .

| ca. 260 в.c. Oineis |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| [ $-\cdots \cdot . \cdot-$ ] | [-...- ] - voiov | $\Phi_{1} \boldsymbol{\lambda}$ [----] |
| [--...-- $]$ | [-----]ßovs | 'Y $\boldsymbol{\tau} \varepsilon[----]$ |
|  | $\left[\begin{array}{ll}\delta & \delta \tilde{\eta}_{M}^{\prime}\end{array}\right] 0 S$ | [oi m@vtáveıs] |
| Пеох入ќа | $10 \quad[\eta \beta o] v \lambda \grave{\eta}$ | [-.....-] |
| © $\varepsilon 0 \% \lambda$ ¢́ous | [ $\tau$ oùs $\pi \varrho] v \tau \alpha \dot{\nu} \varepsilon$ ıS | [--.... - $]$ |
| [Ao]volća |  | [ $-\cdots-\cdots$ ] |


|  | oi лevtársıs | oi $\pi \varrho[v \tau \alpha \dot{\nu} \varepsilon!¢]$ |  | $\pi \varrho v \tau \dot{\alpha}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  |  | ［ $E \cup \sim \times \lambda \tilde{\eta} \nu$ ］ |
| ［－－－－］＾ジiov | Eùq＠úrooos | ［－－－－－］ | ${ }^{30}$ | ［Фıлox入źovs］ |
|  | Пeot日oidrv | ［－．．－－－］ |  |  |

The lettering resembles that of $\mathbf{9}$ ；the text is close to $\mathbf{9}$ and $\mathbf{1 0}$ ．The citations in the first row of the present inscription（lines 5－15）are in larger letters than those of the second row．This fact，and the analogy of 9 and 10，clearly identify lines $6-8$ as the Treasurer and lines $13-15$ as the Secretary．The Herald probably appeared in lines 29－31，since the other three citations do not contain either of the familiar names （p．17）．Since in line 23 we have a demotic of Oineis，its bearer may have been cited as $\varepsilon x \tau \tilde{\omega} \nu \varphi \nu \lambda \varepsilon \varepsilon \tilde{\omega} \nu$ ．The demotic in line 19 can be restored to fit Oineis；one thinks first of the Priest，but he is absent from 9 and $\mathbf{1 0}$ ．In them，however，there appear the Secretary of the Boule and Demos and the Undersecretary，who should probably be

given places in the present text. Hence the assignment of the citations in the second row should probably be: first, the $\varepsilon x \tau \tilde{\omega} \nu \varphi v \lambda \varepsilon \tau \tilde{\omega} \nu$; second, the Secretary of the Boule and Demos; and third, the Undersecretary. This leaves the fourth place free for the Herald.

The reversed order of Boule and Demos in lines $9-10$ is unique (cf. p. 22).
12. Agora I 828. Two fragments of Hymettian marble, with both sides preserved, and the original back. Fragment B was found on May 20, 1933, in a late wall at $54 / \mathrm{LE}$, some 11 m . east of the Tholos, in Section Z. Fragment A was found on January 30, 1934, in House 636a/16, in Section $\Lambda$.

Height, $0.157 \mathrm{~m} . ;$ (restored) original width of stele, 0.40 m. ; thickness, 0.10 m .
Height of letters, 0.005 m .


No. 12

Leontis or Antiochis

| $\underset{\mathrm{A}}{\mathrm{Fragment}}$ | Middle of the third century в.c. |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | oो $\pi \varrho v \tau \alpha \dot{\alpha} \nu \varepsilon \iota$ |  |  | oi $\pi \varrho 勹 \tau \alpha \dot{\nu} \varepsilon$ ¢ | Fragment |
|  | $\tau o ̀ \nu \tau \alpha \mu i \alpha \nu$ | [ $\begin{array}{ll}\eta & \beta \text { Ove }\end{array}$ |  | Invoriura | B |
|  | ${ }^{\text {'Eлix }}$ ¢оно⿱ | [ $\delta \quad \delta \bar{j} \mu \sigma_{s}$ ] | 10 | Hveríuvos |  |
|  | $K \alpha \lambda \lambda \iota \sigma \tau \varrho \alpha \tau!$ ! ${ }^{\text {¢ }}$ | $\tau 0 \grave{v}[\varsigma \pi \varrho v \tau \dot{\alpha} \nu] \varepsilon \iota \varsigma$ |  | А $\alpha \mu \pi \tau \varrho \varepsilon ์ \alpha$ |  |
| 5 | $K o \lambda \omega \nu \tilde{\eta} \theta_{\varepsilon \nu}$ |  |  |  |  |

The lettering is of the early or middle third century, but the hand has not been identified, and we must work from the names. The Treasurer, or a man of the same
name, proposed I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 650$ of $288 / 7$ в.c. and 685 of $266 / 5$ (P.A., 5017). A relative of the other official cited may be $\Pi v \varrho \gamma i \omega \nu$ ' $\mathcal{A} \gamma \alpha \theta \dot{\alpha} \varrho \chi o v ~ A \alpha \mu \pi \tau \varrho \varepsilon v_{S}$, chairman of the proedroi in I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 672$ of $279 / 8$ (P.A., 12487).

The Treasurer, and hence the prytaneis honored, were of Leontis or Antiochis. The other official cited, who was of Erechtheis, or Antigonis, was therefore not the Secretary of the prytaneis, and preferably not the Priest. He may have been Treasurer of the Boule. The absence of a title is peculiar (p. 21, n. 4).

Carved wreaths are unusual in this period (p.20).
13. Agora I 775. Fragment of inscribed stele of Hymettian marble, broken all around, found on May 5, 1933, at 22/KさT in Section H.

Height, $0.05 \mathrm{~m} . ;$ width, $0.10 \mathrm{~m} . ;$ thickness, 0.10 m .
Height of letters, 0.005 m .
Middle of the
third century b.c.

> vacat
> [ $\llcorner 0]$ v $\delta \eta_{\eta} \mu o v$
> [vacat] vacat


No. 13

This bit is irregular because of (1) the omission of $\tau \tilde{\eta} S \beta$ קou $\tilde{r}_{S} \varkappa \alpha i$, (2) the omission of the name, and (3) the blank line. The lettering is of the middle of the third century, when the formulae of the citations had not been regularized. The blank line may have been left for a straight sprig, painted: contemporary parallels appear in I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$, 1317 b, etc. See also 16 and pp. 21 (note 1), 22 (note 4). The irregularities are all due to lack of space.
14. Agora I 974. Inscribed fragment of Pentelic marble, with part of left side, smooth-picked, preserved. Found on June 17, 1933, with marble fragments in front of the Propylon of the Bouleuterion in Section Z.

Height, $0.078 \mathrm{~m} . ;$ width, $0.042 \mathrm{~m} . ;$ thickness, 0.037 m .
Height of letters, ca. 0.005 m .

Middle of the third century b.c.
CTOIX. 39?



vacat
vacat [Demotic]

5
$E \hat{u}[-\cdots \cdot-\cdots]$
$K \alpha\left[-\right.$ or $\left.K \lambda[-\cdots-]^{-}\right]$


No. 14

The formula restored in the first preserved line is unusual, but the alternative seems to be a line of 84 letters, too long for this period. A break in the stone might be taken for the first stroke of 'Y[ $\beta \dot{\alpha} \delta \alpha \iota]$ (Leontis), were the mark a little higher. Presumably Erẹ̣ [- was the Treasurer.
15. Agora I 999. Fragment from upper right corner of a stele of Hymettian marble, the front part of the corner akroterion broken away, the left side and bottom broken. Found on June 22, 1933, in late walls at 66/İT, some 22 m . northeast of the Tholos, in Section Z.

Height, 0.223 m. ; width, 0.18 m ; thickness, 0.178 m .
Height of letters, 0.005 m .
Middle of the third century в.c. ca. 45-48


The spacing in line 1 and the minimum-length restorations in line 2 show that the lines had at least 45 full letters. The name of the spokesman in line 7, which therefore
had at least 30 letters, can hardly have been much longer, and thus fixes the upper limit as ca. 48 letters. The two gaps in line 2 must have contained in all ca. 9-12 letters.
16. (A) I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$, 2434 plus (B) Agora I 1636. The Agora fragment (B) is of Hymettian marble, with part of the right side preserved, smooth at the edge, then toothed. Found on March 23, 1934, at $18 / \mathrm{r}$ at $c a .1 .50 \mathrm{~m}$. above the Tholos, in late fill, in Section B.
(A) Height, 0.14 m. ; width, of face, 0.09 m ; thickness, 0.06 m .

Height of letters, $0.003-0.004 \mathrm{~m}$.
The relative positions of the fragments in the photograph are approximate rather than exact.


No. ${ }^{15}$



Pittakys, in his original publication of Fragment A ('Ep. 'A@X, no. 1371), is fairly

 This would be exceptional for a public decree honoring prytaneis (p.28), although the decree might have been merely tribal (cf. 2). The provenience of the Agora fragment is helpful, since it was found just over the Tholos.

A register of Leontis requires 66 items in the period $307-200$. Had there been four columns, the first two must have had 17 items each, and the other two must have had 16 items each. This is impossible by reason of the citation preserved (line 67),

[^31]which must have been level with the other citations. Now between it and line 66 intervene only 3 spaces; there would be, with four columns, only 2 spaces between the ends of the columns and the citations. This is too small a space for circular wreaths to be painted. Hence the scheme given provides the correct number of columns. It follows that after the five preserved names of Phrearrhioi, and before the four names at the head of Column II there intervened 5 items. If these 5 items were all Phrearrhioi, that deme would have in all 14 bouleutai, whereas it had 9 in the fourth century and only 10 after Ptolemais was created; 14 Phrearrhioi, moreover, would reduce the other demes unduly. Line 25 was therefore a demotic. Isaios, a rare name, is not helpful; the Melanopos mentioned below is the only clue to the demotic. The position of Fragment A as a whole is probably correct, since 5 Cholleidai is the usual number, and Column II could not end with a demotic; the restoration of Skambonidai in line 1 gives that deme also its normal number. The larger demes are thus provided for, as is proper, in the first two columns. The scheme as a whole, then, would seem to be correct, and the arbitrary elements are merely the restorations of a few demotics.

The quotas of prytaneis suggest a date later than 307 b.c., and the occasional square shapes of certain letters, such as the 中 in line 38, agree with Koehler's date, the middle of the third century. Kirchner is therefore right in identifying $A v \sigma \alpha \nu i \alpha s$ Avoáv $\delta \varrho-$ of line 37 with an ephebe of $269 / 8$ b.c. (I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 665$, line 54 ).
 monument.

The irregular arrangement of the citation is explained under 13. Which secretary was here cited it is impossible to say with certainty, probably the Secretary of the prytaneis.
17. Agora I 966. Fragment of Hymettian marble, broken on all sides, found on June 15, 1933, from late walls at 66/I, in front of the Propylon of the Bouleuterion in Section $\mathbf{Z}$.

Height, ca. 0.205 m. ; width, 0.29 m. ; thickness, 0.132 m .

Height of letters, 0.006 m .
ca. 260-240 в.c.
Akamantis

|  | $\begin{array}{lll} \mathrm{c} & \mathrm{a} & \mathrm{t} \\ { }_{5} & & \Sigma\left[\varphi \eta^{\prime} \tau \tau \iota O \iota\right] \end{array}$ |
| :---: | :---: |
| [ --- --] vacat | $T \iota \mu о \chi \lambda \tilde{\eta}_{S}$ [-- |
| [---.-- ] vacat | Tí $\boldsymbol{\prime}\langle\omega\rangle \boldsymbol{\nu} \boldsymbol{A} \dot{v}[-$ |
| [------ $]$ óvov | -Mvroiuczoos [- |
|  |  |
| At least five lines |  |
| missing | [--ca.6--]os $\Theta[$ |
|  | [--ca. $\left.61 \frac{112}{}--\right] o s[-$ |
|  | [------- $] x<[$ |



No. 17

The lettering places the fragment in the middle of the third century. The demotic restored in line 5 is undoubtedly correct; no other deme in $\Sigma \ldots \ldots$ can have had so large a representation as eight.

Line 6: An ancestor may be P.A., 13739.
 (253/2, or possibly $241 / 0$ or $232 / 1$ ): I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 791$, $d$, line 25 ; P.A., 13852 .
18. Agora I 1967. Fragment of Hymettian marble, with left side preserved; otherwise broken away. Found on May 7, 1934, at $27 / \mathrm{KB}$, near the church of the Prophet Elias and Saint Charalambos, in an area dug by Dörpfeld (Judeich, Topographie ${ }^{2}$, p.333) in Section K.

Height, $0.145 \mathrm{~m} . ;$ width, 0.087 m. ; thickness, 0.047 m .
Height of letters, 0.004 m .

Middle of the third century $\mathbf{\text { b.c. }}$

```
[. . .51/2. .] ] [-......-- - ]
[Av\sigmai]\sigma\tau\varrho\alpha[\tauоз? --...--]
Mugi\sigma[\tau\varrho]@[ros - - - - - ]
*
\Deltaוo*[\lambda\tilde{\eta}s]K[\cdots.....--]
'A\varrho\iota! [\tauó]\r,[\muOs- - - - - - - ]
'A@\chi[\varepsiloń\sigma\tau] @\alpha[ro; - . - . - - ]
Eṽ^\lambda\tilde{\eta}s Evi!\mu[-\cdots.....--]
    vacat
```



No. 18

The list comes from the end of the first column of a register. The first line is probably ['A@toto] $\gamma^{\prime}\left[\nu \gamma_{S}-\right]$ or ['A $\left.\varrho \iota \sigma \tau o\right] \gamma \varepsilon[i ́ \tau \omega \nu-]$. The number of possible demes is of course limited; comparatively few demes have so many as 8 representatives. Even so, the names are too common to permit restoration of a demotic. The lettering is good evidence for the date.
19. Agora I 1764. Fragment of Hymettian marble, broken on all sides, found on April 11, 1934, at $20 / \Lambda \mathbf{B}$, in late fill 15 m . west of the Tholos, in Section B.

Height, 0.25 m .; width, 0.166 m ; thickness, 0.10 m .
Height of letters, 0.005 m .

## Hippotiontis

```
ca. 250-230 в.c.
                * }\begin{array}{c}{v[Demotic]}\\{[M\varepsilon]\cdot\varepsilonx[------]}
    10 ['A] @ı\sigma\tauo\gamma[\varepsilon------]
```



```
                -]v 'v '\mathcal{A}[\alpha\xi\alpha\nu\tau\varepsiloníc]
            -] v 'O\psi\iota'\alphá\deltars \ [-----]
        -]o*\lambda\varepsiloń Фи́\lambda\alphav0os[-------]
        -]\alphá\tauov 15 'EOO![^\alphá\delta\alpha\iota]
        -o]v \lovv́\sigma\iotaoṣ [------]
        -]\alphaeidov Ai\sigma\chiir\etaS! [-------]
        5 -]\varepsilonx\lambda\varepsilońovS
        -]\varphị!\imathоv X\alpha\iotaю\etá\mu\omega[\nu------]
        -] v 20 O\varepsilonó\varphi!io[s Orodózov]
        vacat ] vacat [ vacat ]
```



No. 19

Since the smaller demes are listed at the end of the second preserved column, that column was the last.

In line 20 we probably have the son of the secretary, ©sódotos ©eopỉov Kzı@tód $\eta \mathrm{s}$, in the year of Diogeiton, who has been dated by Meritt in 270/69 (I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 771,772$; Hesperia, IV [1935], p. 582). The lettering strongly supports the date thereby suggested.
20. Agora I 1999. Two fragments of Hymettian marble. The inscribed face only is preserved on Fragment A, with part of a clamp cutting at the back; Fragment B is broken off above, below, and to the left. The right side of this fragment is preserved, with the back broken. A was found on March 20,1935 , about 24 m . south of the Tholos, in Section B. B was found on May 15, 1934, in a marble pile in Section I.'
(A) Height, 0.185 m. ; width, 0.203 m. ; thickness, 0.091 m .
(B) Height, 0.219 m. ; width, 0.15 m. ; thickness, 0.098 m .

Height of letters, 0.006 m .
The relation of the fragments in the photograph is not correctly shown.


Also missing : the other citations

The first fragment bears parts of two decrees. The margin on the left is given by the name of the proposer. Restoration has to be as curtailed as possible, giving in lines 6-7 an unusual compression: ó $\sigma \alpha \iota$ $\varkappa \alpha \theta \tilde{\eta} \chi o \nu$, or $\tau \alpha \alpha_{S} \tau \alpha \theta \eta \chi o v i \sigma \alpha_{S}$ is omitted.

The Treasurer's name presumably appeared in line 25 (cf. p. 14), and the Secretary's in line 17. Apparently the Treasurer of the Boule received his patronymic (cf. p. 18). In line 13 the traces will not fit the names of a known Herald (cf. p. 17). In the register, $[\Theta \varepsilon] \mu i \sigma \tau \iota o s ~ m a y ~ b e ~ c o n n e c t e d ~ w i t h ~$ P.A., 6645, a fourth century occurrence of the name $\Theta \varepsilon \mu i \sigma x \iota o s ~ A i \gamma \iota \lambda \iota \varepsilon v_{S}$ on a gravestone.
 $\tau \eta s$, was Secretary of the Boule and Demos in $260 / 59$ в.c. ( 9 and 10 ), and in $246 / 5$ в.с. he proposed a decree (I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 780$ ). The lettering would fit a date in the 240 's. With this period the compressed formulae (cf. 9, 10, and 22; and p.24) exactly agree.
21. I. G., $\mathrm{II}^{2} ; 702=$ Agora I 1125. The fragment was rediscovered in the Agora. Letters lost since the stone was first edited


No. 20 are underlined. Fragment with pediment top, of Hymettian marble, the right side of the gable preserved; the stone broken away below and on the left. Found on October 28, 1933, in House 635/9, in Section K.

238/7 в.с.
[ $\Theta$ ]




 [ $\varepsilon \delta \varrho \circ \iota$ ] vacat $\underline{\xi}^{\prime} \delta о \xi \varepsilon v \quad \tau \tilde{\omega} \iota \quad \delta \dot{\eta} \mu \omega \iota \quad$ vacat vacat ca. 45
i]

$\varepsilon$.






No. 21

The lettering within each line is regular enough to enable approximate determinations of missing parts. Thus the length of the Archon's name agrees with Kirchner's estimate in I.G., II ${ }^{2}$, and with Meritt's in Hesperia, IV (1935), p. 556. The name of the tribe honored was brief, perhaps one of the shortest. Meritt's dating is here adopted. His arguments from the style of the decree, which are substantial by themselves, may be reinforced by noting the position of the $\neq \mathcal{\varepsilon} \delta o \xi_{\varepsilon v}$-clause. Not only is this clause set in the middle of the line; it is also separated by a quite unusual blank space from the body of the decree. Set off thus, it belongs in a period as late as $255 / 4$ r.c. and preferably later (A.J.A., XL [1936], p. 66). The lettering itself suggests $194 / 3$ в.с.
22. Hesperia, II (1933), p. 500, no. 15. The second upright of $N$ is as long as the first in two instances, but in two others it is shorter. Hence in the first preserved line, where we cannot safely disregard the small trace at the beginning, and where a second upright of $N$ may be visible but cannot be proved, we should prefer the restoration
 be assigned to $\Sigma$; hence the restoration must be altered. Apparently the secretary was praised, as was usual soon after this time, in clauses which followed $\dot{\alpha} \gamma \alpha \theta \varepsilon \tilde{\imath} \tau v i \chi \varepsilon \iota, x \tau \lambda$, and the resolution to praise the Treasurer. We may restore line 3 with certainty, except that there are only eight spaces at the end of line 2 for the patronymic and demotic of the Treasurer-i.e., his patronymic was omitted. Possibly space was being saved: thus in line 1 the otherwise invariable $\varepsilon \pi \alpha \alpha \iota \nu \varepsilon \sigma \alpha \nu \tau \varepsilon \varsigma ~ x \alpha i \quad \sigma \tau \varepsilon \varphi \alpha \nu \omega \sigma \alpha \nu \tau \varepsilon \varsigma$ was omitted. The part following the erasure can only be restored, as by Oliver, exempli gratia; the last line however cannot have contained only the clause of passage, unless this inscription was unique; instead, restore with only two or three blank spaces before and after.

Neither margin can be determined. In the following text, the fragment is located near the right side merely for convenience.

```
Oineis or Aigeis?
ca. 52
Late 240 's or early 230 's в.c.
```










The mention, erased in 200 в.c., of the Macedonian royal house as beneficiaries of the sacrifices indicates a date after $263 / 2$ в.c. (10 and references). Occurring thus in a "second" decree, such a mention is unparalleled in any period (see p. 10). A second unique peculiarity is the absence of the phrase $\dot{\varepsilon} \pi \sigma \alpha \iota \varepsilon^{\prime} \sigma \alpha \nu \tau \varepsilon \varsigma ~ \chi \alpha i \sigma \tau \varepsilon \varphi \alpha \nu \dot{\omega} \sigma \alpha \nu \varepsilon \varepsilon \varsigma$. This is not to be taken as a clerical whim, but as proof that the prytaneis actually had not yet praised and crowned their Treasurer (p. 27). Our fragment is therefore from the very first decree which was passed. ${ }^{1}$ Normally, that is, when there were two decrees, the reference to sacrifices in the second decree could be a compressed version of the passage relating to (the same) sacrifices in the first decree; in the compressed version it was permitted to omit the Macedonian royal house. In the present decree, where no passage relating to the sacrifices had preceded, omission of the Macedonian royal house would have appeared to be an intentional slight. Hence the mention here of the royal house is explained by the absence of the phrase $\varepsilon \pi \alpha \alpha \iota \nu \dot{\varepsilon} \sigma \alpha \nu \tau \varepsilon \varsigma ~ \chi \alpha i \quad \sigma \tau \varepsilon \varphi \alpha \nu \dot{\omega} \sigma \alpha \nu \tau \varepsilon \varsigma$.

[^32]The length itself of the erasure is a matter of some interest. In the first edition, the text is printed as if the formula preserved in $I . G ., \mathrm{II}^{2}, 1299$ (and only there) could be accommodated. That formula demands 58 full letter-spaces. The version above shows that some $75^{1 / 2}$ at least were available, and perhaps many more. The only possible reduction of this total would result from inserting $\tau o \tilde{v}{ }^{\prime} \mathcal{A} \theta \eta \nu \alpha i \omega v$ after $\delta \eta^{\prime} \mu o v$,-a rare but a permissible addition (p.9),-yielding 65 full letters as a minimum for the erasure. ${ }^{1}$ Hence the formula of I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{\nu}, 1299$, or a similar formula for Antigonos, cannot be restored without elaboration. Every other formula hitherto proposed for any erasure of the Macedonian royal house as beneficiaries in Athens is likewise too short. It will appear again from 23 that restoration of such erasures, at least in decrees for prytaneis, is at present impossible. In fact it becomes highly dubious to what extent the formulae at Athens for the royal house as beneficiaries were regular in every passage of every inscription (cf. Tarn, Class. Quart., XVIII [1924], p. 19); but that is another field of investigation.
23. I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 790$. $235 / 4$ b.c. Pandionis. This decree is unique among " first " decrees in being certified as passed by the Boule along with the Demos, instead of by the Demos alone (p.3, n. 2).

The text is one of two which preserve mention of sacrifices to the Soteres (see p.10). The other reference to things Macedonian, namely the erased mention in lines $16-17$ of the royal house, has been the subject of much discussion. Tarn restored the gap [[x $\alpha$
 omits a sigma, and omits $\alpha \dot{v} \tau \tilde{\omega} \nu$ at the end; but the subsequent students of the problem, Dinsmoor ${ }^{3}$ and J.V.A. Fine, ${ }^{4}$ have accepted Tarn's restoration.

The estimate of 56 letters was based on the assumption that the stoichedon order was " abandoned" after line 17. This assumption is quite wrong. ${ }^{5}$ The present document is regularly stoichedon through line 18 , except at the ends of lines. In line 19 two letters stand outside of their stoichoi; in line 20 , nine; in line 21 , nineteen; in line 22 , four; in line 23, five. In all these cases the irregularity is early in the line. Only when we reach line 24 do we find a line entirely out of the stoichoi. Hence there is no good reason to assume that lines 16 and 17 were anything but perfectly stoichedon, unless at the end of line 16. Here one extra letter could be added (making 45 in line 16), providing such an addition involved iota and brought a syllable to its end, on the

[^33]
authority of lines 11 and $13 ;^{1}$ or one letter could be omitted (making 43 in line 16), providing such an omission brought a syllable to its end, on the authority of line 3 . The erased gap was therefore certainly of 54,55 , or 56 spaces; preferably of 55.

Tarn's restoration demands 56 letters: the addition involves no iota, and forces us to break $x \alpha i$ thus, $x \alpha \mid i$. Hence that restoration is contrary to the evidence from the stone.

Careful study of the text reveals another important fact. Each clause in the decree proper is regularly marked off-punctuated-from the preceding and following clauses by a single blank space. The uninterrupted succession of two clauses in line 26 is false:
 other exception now admitted occurs at the end of the erased area in line 17. The reader will note here two spurious marks which fit no letter, and are in fact too thick to be strokes; their position also is wrong. Clearly the space was left blank for punctuation. Hence the whole erased passage was certainly of 53,54 , or 55 letters; preferably of $54 .{ }^{2}$

Trial will show, I believe, that no relevant formula preserved in any Athenian inscription will fit the gap. Hence no argument can be based on its former contents.
24. Agora I 664. Fragment of Hymettian marble, all sides broken except for the left, which is finely picked. The left edge of the inscribed face is damaged; it has a smooth band of 0.015 m . in width at the edge. Found on April 6, 1933, in the main drain at $10 / \Lambda Z$, from the channel proper, in Section $H^{\prime}$.

Height, $0.09 \mathrm{~m} . ;$ width, 0.15 m ; thickness, 0.060 m .
Height of letters, 0.005 m .
Aiantis
ca. 240-230 в.c.


Mevex@́́trs $\quad \Sigma$ [----]
['Av'?]rıoxis $r_{S}$ Ev̀ $\varphi ı \lambda$
5
Мцœа日்́vıo七
$\Delta \eta \mu о \varphi \tilde{\omega} \nu \quad$ vacat

```
        \tauòv t\alpha\mui
        [\begin{array}{lll}{\alpha}&{\tau\tilde{r}S}&{\betaov}\end{array}]
        [\lambda\tilde{\eta}\mp@subsup{|}{~}{----]}
        [-------]
            [-----]
```



No. 24

[^34]The fragment, which is dated by its lettering, is from the end of the first column of the register. Citations follow; the Treasurer is probably of the Boule (28, 31). In line 4 the first two letters must have been crowded.
25. Agora I 1551. Fragment of Hymettian marble, broken on all sides, found on March 12,1934 , in the wall of a late pithos at $8 / 1,4 \mathrm{~m}$. north of the Tholos, in Section B.

Height, $0.076 \mathrm{~m} . ;$ width, $0.13 \mathrm{~m} . ;$ thickness, 0.044 m .
Height of letters, 0.006 m .
ca. 240-230 в.c.
In a gold crown :

$$
\begin{gathered}
{\left[\begin{array}{ll}
\hat{\eta} & \beta o
\end{array}\right] v \lambda \grave{\eta}} \\
{[\delta \quad \delta] \tilde{\eta} \mu O S} \\
{[\tau o \grave{v}] S} \\
{[\varrho \varrho v} \\
{[\tau \dot{\alpha} \nu] \varepsilon \iota S}
\end{gathered}
$$



No. 25

The lettering and the technique of the crown (p.20) permit a date ca. 240-230, or soon after 200 в.с. The presence of the Boule points decisively to the earlier date (p. 22).
26. I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 2427$. ca. $240-230$ b.c. Leontis. Published among the lists of uncertain nature, the fragment seems to have been found in an excavation by the Greek Archaeological Society about the year 1879. The thickness ( 0.06 m .) is original, which means a small stele: hence the list was not of bouleutai. Since, moreover, the representation is normal for Hekale and Kolonos, the list is undoubtedly of prytaneis.

Line 1: - $x] \lambda \hat{\eta}\left[\begin{array}{ll}s & \Delta\end{array}\right] \varepsilon \xi[-$.


Line 8: [K@ $\omega] \pi i \delta \alpha \iota$.
27. Agora I 1679. Fragment of Hymettian marble with part of toothed right side preserved; otherwise broken. Found on March 26, 1934, at 20/A', in wall trench of the Tholos, behind the porch, in Section B.

Height, $0.265 \mathrm{~m} . ;$ width, 0.077 m . ; thickness, 0.13 m . Height of letters, 0.005 m .
ca. 234/3-230/29 в.c.
CTOIX. 48
[-------------------------------------



[ $\sigma \iota \nu$ oi $\pi \varrho v \tau \alpha \dot{\alpha} \varepsilon \iota \varsigma \tau \tilde{\eta}_{S} \ldots . .^{8} \ldots$.










 [ $\nu \alpha i \omega \nu, x \tau \lambda$.

The restorations proposed involve certain difficulties. Lines 5, 6, and 7 have each one letter too few, and line 9 lacks four letters. The others are regular in length, but lines 11 and 12 have restorations not to be paralleled exactly.

Despite these difficulties, it is clear that no sacrifices to the Saviour Gods were mentioned. This fact points to a date earlier than the Macedonian domination (263 -230 в.c.), since the stoichedon order virtually excludes a date after 230. The lettering, however, seems to be of the 30 's, not of the 70 's or 60 's. At the ends of lines the stoichedon arrangement is modified in order to


No. 27 end each line with a syllable: this too was a practice of the 30 's. The design of the preamble, with the ${ }_{\varepsilon}^{\boldsymbol{z}} \delta 0 \xi_{\varepsilon \nu}$-clause set by itself in the middle of the line, is unknown before ca. 255 , and is frequent' in the 40 's and 30 's (Dow, A.J.A., XL [1936], pp. 57-70, and especially pp. 62-65). These facts hardly permit an earlier date. For the importance of this finding, and a closer dating, see p. 11.
28. Agora I 1640. Fragment of Hymettian marble, with part of toothed right side and rough back preserved, found on March 23,1934 , in a late Roman wall at $38 / \Lambda \Sigma T$, some 23 m . west of the Tholos, in Section B. The stone appears to have been trimmed to a roughly rectangular shape for its use in the wall.

Height, $0.435 \mathrm{~m} . ;$ width, 0.372 m. ; thickness, 0.17 m .
Height of letters, $0.005-0.006 \mathrm{~m}$.



Line 23: Cf. P.A., 9381, a fourth century ancestor, a $\delta_{\iota} \alpha \iota \tau \eta \tau \eta \eta_{s}$ of the same name.
Line 24: Avoitros Eqodó@ov T@ıxoov́бıos was priest of Asklepios in 344/3¹ (P.A., 9407, who is now to be identified with 9408). ${ }^{2}$ In 269/8 a descendant, Oعódwoos Avoı日éov T@ıxo@́v́øos, was prytany secretary (I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 661$ ). Єعódw@os T@ıxo@v́oıos, a son or nephew of the present prytanis, also served as a prytanis (48, line 96). Yet another Lysitheos was Ambassador from the Tetrapolis in 128/7 (N.P.A., p. 122).
 (P.A., 1586 ; also 1581 ?), prominent in the period ca. 100 в.с.

Line 28: Possible descendants are P.A., 3447 and 3448 of the first half of the first century в.c.

Line 31: A son or nephew, ${ }^{\prime} E \lambda_{\iota} \xi_{o s} \Phi_{\alpha} \lambda_{\eta} \varrho \varepsilon \mathcal{v}_{S}$, appears as prytanis in 48, line 77.
 (I. G., $\mathrm{II}^{3}, 953$ ). Cf. also P.A., 13211, another Sosigenes of Marathon, evidently a grandson of the Secretary.

Line 53: $\Theta \varepsilon o ́ \delta \omega \varrho o s ~ \Sigma \tau \varrho \alpha ́ \tau \omega \nu o s ~ M \alpha \varrho \alpha \theta \omega ́ v \iota o s ~ w a s ~ a ~ D e l i a n ~ o f f i c i a l ~ i n ~ c a . ~ 156 / 5 ~ в . c . ~$ (P.A., 6880).

Line 54: For descendants see P.A., 6473, also Hesperia, III (1934), p. 169, line 11.
 It is probable that he is the Priest of the present text, which, in that case, should antedate $227 / 6$. Proxenos has been taken to be a descendant of the tyrranicide Harmodios (stemma, P.A., 2232).

Lines 81-83: A possible ancestor is P.A., 13773.
The lettering is of $229-c a .210$, and the identification of the Priest (lines 69-71) can be taken as fixing the date more exactly. Aphidna was transferred to Ptolemais when that tribe was created, ca. $224 / 3$ b.c., a fact which strengthens the dating proposed.

The order of officials parallels that in 31 if we restore the Treasurer of the Boule in lines 65-67, and the Secretary of the Boule and Demos in lines 77-79.
29. Agora I 787. Upper half of a stele of Hymettian marble, found on May 8, 1933, in a late fill in Section Z. (See Hesperia, IV [1935], p. 474.) The arrangement is stoichedon except for line 30 and other minor irregularities; each line begins with a syllable, and the ends of lines were arranged accordingly. The inscription is therefore a perfect example of the transition from the stoichedon to the non-stoichedon style.

Height, 0.58 m ; width near bottom (stele tapers slightly toward the top), 0.375 m ; thickness, ca. 0.11 m .

Height of letters, 0.005 m .

[^35]228／7 в．c．Kekropis 36：see above









 $\pi \varrho \grave{~} \tau \tilde{\omega} \nu \quad \varepsilon \pi<\lambda \eta \sigma \iota \omega \nu \quad \tau \tilde{\omega} \iota \tau \varepsilon$＇$A \pi \dot{\partial} \lambda \lambda \omega \nu \iota \tau \tilde{\omega} \iota ~ \Pi \varrho о \sigma$










 $\nu \varepsilon \iota S ~ \tau \tilde{\eta} S ~ K \varepsilon x \varrho о \pi i \delta o s ~ \chi \alpha i ̀ ~ \sigma \tau \varepsilon \varphi \alpha \nu \tilde{\omega} \sigma \alpha \iota ~ \chi \varrho \nu \sigma[\tilde{\omega} \iota]$








| $[\hat{\eta} \beta 0] \times \lambda \grave{\eta} \delta \delta \delta \tilde{\eta}$ | ${ }^{35} \hat{\eta} \beta$ 人v入入 |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\delta$ din $\mu$ O |  |
|  | tov̀s $\pi \varrho \cup \tau \alpha$ | $\mu i \alpha \nu \tau \tilde{\gamma} S \beta$ |
| －－－$\varphi \alpha$ | $\nu \varepsilon \iota ¢$ | ovañs חuvó |
| ［－－－－］ |  | ¢w＠ov＇Eoxı |

Second decree：modified CTOIX． 37
 ［ $x \tau \lambda$ ．］

The Archon Leochares is fixed in $228 / 7$ в.с. by the list I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 1706$. The Secretary, unknown hitherto, fits the cycle.

The first calendar equation is Hek. II, $25(?)=$ Pryt. II, 31. The day in Hekatombaion may be a day earlier, or a day later, depending on the length of the month, and on the meaning of $\mu \varepsilon \tau^{\prime} \varepsilon i \chi \alpha \dot{\alpha} \alpha_{S}$ (Meritt, Hesperia, IV [1935], pp. 525-561): $\varepsilon \mu \beta o \lambda_{i}^{\prime} \mu \omega \iota$ may be redundant, referring to the fact of an intercalary month. The day cannot in any case be later than the (real) 27 th of the second month. If the first month had 30 days, then the first prytany had 26 days, assuming that the civil and calendar years began on the same day. This assumption, almost invariably made, is borne out by I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$, 833, which shows exact correspondence in the eleventh month of the previous year. Since $\mu \tilde{\alpha} \iota \varkappa \propto i \quad \tau \varrho \iota \alpha \sim \sigma \tau \varepsilon \imath \imath$ would scarcely have been written by error for a number in the twenties, we are left with the anomaly of successive prytanies of 26 and $31(+?)$ days. The irregularity was presumably connected with the decision to intercalate a second Hekatombaion; even so, the arrangement must seem to us one of the most irrational in the whole docket of calendar problems.

The second equation offers a possible date $\pi \varepsilon ́ \mu \pi \tau \varepsilon \iota ~ \mu \varepsilon \tau \tau^{3} \varepsilon i x \alpha \dot{\alpha} \delta \alpha$, which must follow the day (lines 3-4) $\varepsilon^{\prime} \not x \varepsilon \varepsilon \iota ~ \mu \varepsilon \tau^{\prime}$ عixád $\delta \varsigma$. It is here assumed that the count was backward, but forward count is also possible.

The name of the secretary (line 2), Theokrisios, is new to Athenian prosopography.


No. 29 The orator (line 8) may be related to P.A.,
 the proedroi in the year of Lysiades (I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 775$, line 31 ; P.A., 6145). The orator himself, proposer of this decree of 228/7, was already an Areopagite in 221/0 (I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 839$, line 52 ); he was one of the archontes in $223 / 2,221 / 0$, or in some year previous to $229 / 8$, since $I . G ., \mathrm{II}^{2}, 1706$ excludes him from the intervening years. The Treasurer of the Boule, cited where later we expect the Secretary of the Prytany (lines 40-44), was presumably the son of ' $A \mu \varphi \iota x \lambda \tilde{\eta}_{S} \Pi \nu \theta o \delta \dot{\omega} \varrho o v{ }^{\prime} E \varrho \chi \iota \varepsilon v_{S}$, a prytanis in the year of Euboulos (I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 678$, line 35 ; P.A., 766); for the bearing of this on the dating of Euboulos, see under 10.

In line 45 the second decree begins; the first two and a half lines are omitted, probably to save space; see also No. 30. The citations prove that the second decree was passed by the Demos as well as by the Boule (p. 22).
30. I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 917$. Editors since Boeckh have adopted an arrangement of the text in which lines $2-6$ project to the left in a way which is unexampled in any Athenian decree; in such an arrangement the body of the text is made to disregard the centre of the stele as fixed by the pediment; and violations of the rule of syllabification are tolerated. All of these difficulties are overcome in the following version, which is mainly based on the observable slightly closer spacing of lines 2-6, compared with the body of the text.


No. 30. Fragment A

223/2 в.c.

## Akamantis

ca. 45

Fragmert
A
[




 [. . . . . . . ${ }^{\text {a. }}{ }^{16}$.














B
 vacat 0.032 m ．

| خ $\beta$ ov ${ }^{\text {n }}$ خ | 30 ［ $\eta$ ßov $\left.{ }^{\prime} \dot{\eta}\right]$ |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| тòv $\tau \alpha \mu i$ | $\delta \delta[\tilde{\eta} \mu \circ \leqslant]$ | ［ $\boldsymbol{\tau}$ òv $\gamma ¢ \propto \mu \mu$ ］ | Citation |
| $\alpha \nu{ }^{\prime}{ }^{\prime} \nu \tau \tau \varphi \tilde{\omega}$ | $\tau o\left[\grave{v}_{S} \pi \rho v\right]$ | ［ $\left.\mu \alpha \boldsymbol{\tau} \boldsymbol{\varepsilon}^{\prime}{ }^{\prime}{ }^{\prime} A \pi\right]$ | missing |
| ${ }^{25} \nu \tau \tau \alpha{ }^{\prime \prime}$ ¢¢ $\mu$ | $\tau \alpha^{\prime}[\nu \varepsilon \iota \varsigma]$ | ［o入入ód $\omega \varrho o \nu$ ］ | ？ |
| عıо⿱ |  | ［－－ca．${ }^{\text {g－－}}$ ］ |  |














This document was moved back to $223 / 2$ в．c．by the evidence of the lettering（Dow， A．J．A．，XL［1936］，pp．57－60；Hesperia，II［1933］，pp．436－438；more elaborate study of the spacing yields a slightly greater probable length for the name of the archon）．That date now finds support in the circumstance that the second decree，as in 29 of $228 / 7$ ， likewise begins abruptly with the date by month．

31．Agora I 1860．Two joining pieces of Hymettian marble，with the original left side preserved．Fragment A was found on February 22，1935，in Section N；Fragment B was found on April 24，1934．For the place of finding of B see Hesperia，IV（1935），p． 475.

Height， $0.32 \mathrm{~m} . ;$ width， $0.123 \mathrm{~m} . ;$ thickness， 0.069 m ．
Height of letters， 0.006 m ．
ca． 215 в．c．Kekropis ca． 40




















 $\nu \varepsilon i \alpha \nu \quad \varepsilon \nu \quad \sigma \tau \eta \dot{\eta} \lambda\left[\begin{array}{llll}\gamma \iota & \lambda \iota \theta_{i}^{\prime} \nu \eta \iota & x \alpha i & \sigma \tau \tilde{r} \sigma \alpha \iota \\ \varepsilon \nu & \tau \tilde{\omega} \iota & \pi \varrho v \tau \alpha \nu \iota x \tilde{\omega} \iota\end{array}\right]$

| 'Eлıєихіठаı | Ф, V\% |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 'Ao [- | [Two columns |
| इvinaiñtııo | $\boldsymbol{K}[----]$ | of 15 lines |
| $\Sigma \omega \sigma i \alpha s$ | [12 lines | each missing] |
| [12 lines missing] | missing] |  |

[Six citations missing]
As restored above, the normal order of mention for the officials (cf. 28) is preserved. This arrangement is the most normal interpretation. Neither it nor any other will avert certain difficulties which must be accepted as peculiarities of the document.


No. 31 These are: (1) the Secretary of the Prytaneis was not listed first under the second demotic; ${ }^{1}$ (2) the Priest of the Eponymos was not of Kekropis, the tribe honored. ${ }^{2}$ One notes also (3) that the formula signifying that the Single Officer was to pay the expense is omitted, by error, presumably; in any case it should already have occurred at the end of the first decree.

The beneficiaries of the sacrifices, finally (4) include the children and women, a formula of rare occurrence in a "second" decree; the gap which follows, moreover, cannot be filled by any known formula (p. 10).

[^36]For the Herald and Flutist see pp. 17-18.
The order of officials is the same as in 28, but the lettering warns us against so early a date. In any case, the date must be earlier than that of 39 , where the Flutist is different; and probably earlier than 36 of $212 / 1$, which omits mention of the Flutist altogether.
32. Agora I 1423 b . Fragment of Hymettian marble with part of the left side preserved, but otherwise broken, found in a marble pile in Section B on March 13, 1934. The place of finding makes it probable that the list is of prytaneis.

Height, 0.13 m. ; width, 0.135 m. ; thickness, 0.029 m .
Height of letters, 0.005 m .

```
    229-214/3 в.с.
    [Kv\delta\alpha|\etav\alpha|\varepsilonis??]
    Uncertain number
    of lines missing
    ['E]\pi\iota\chi\alpha[\varrho--]
    Eic\varphií\lambda\etav[os]
    \Deltalo\gamma\varepsilońvrs
    K\lambda\varepsilonı\nui\alphas
5 K\lambda\varepsilono\gamma\varepsilońv\etaS
    ['A]?\@óvıxos
    [. . .. . .] \omega\nui\delta\eta\zetaS
    [-- -ca 8_1/2--]r,S
    Uncertain number
    of lines missing
```



No. 32

The deme can only be conjectured: Kydathenaion had 12 representatives earlier, and the following identifications are possible. The chief is that of the uncommon name $K \lambda \varepsilon о \gamma^{\prime} \nu \eta_{S}$ : a thesmothetes of $214 / 3$ в.с., K $\lambda_{\varepsilon \sigma} \gamma^{\prime} \nu \gamma_{S} K v \delta \alpha \theta \eta \nu \alpha \iota \varepsilon v_{S}^{\prime}$ (P.A., 8563). The common name $\Delta \iota o \gamma \varepsilon \varepsilon_{r} \boldsymbol{j}_{s}$ belonged to a thesmothetes of $96 / 5$ b.c. (P.A., 3834), of Kydathenaion. $E v u^{\prime} \lambda_{r i o s, ~ a l s o ~ c o m m o n, ~ i s ~ k n o w n ~ i n ~ t h a t ~ d e m e ~ i n ~ t h e ~ l a t e ~ f i f t h ~ c e n t u r y ~(P . A ., ~ 6071) . ~}^{\text {com }}$ ${ }^{\prime} \mathcal{A} \nu \delta \varrho o ́ v ı x o s ~ i s ~ a ~ n a m e ~ a t t a c h e d ~ t o ~ n o ~ o t h e r ~ l a r g e ~ d e m e: ~ ' A v \delta \varrho o ́ r ı x o s ~ K v \delta \alpha \theta r \nu \alpha \iota \varepsilon v_{s}$, whose daughter is known (P.A., 8610), may be the prytanis.

The lettering is of 229-206 and the date given is based on the identification for line 5.
33. Hesperia, III (1934), p. 10, no. 13. ca. 230-215 b.c. Erechineis. A citation from between the two decrees. The lettering is of $229-206$ в.c., probably from about 215. The unique mention in one crown of the Boule and the prytaneis, each of which groups conferred a crown, has been commented on above (p. 21, n. 1) ; it confirms the date given.
34. Agora I 1655. Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides; the face covered with plaster, which flaked off easily, disclosing red color in the letters. Found on March 21, 1934, built into the wall of a tomb below the church of the Prophet Elias and Saint Charalambos, in Section K.

Height, $0.08 \mathrm{~m} . ;$ width, $0.085 \mathrm{~m} . ;$ thickness, 0.035 m .

Height of letters, 0.004 m .

> Late third centiury b.c. $[\boldsymbol{\eta} \beta o v \lambda \eta ̀ \tau] o ̀ v \gamma$ $[\varrho \alpha \mu] \mu \alpha \tau \varepsilon ́ \alpha \tau$ [oṽ] $\delta \eta \mu o v \Pi \tau$
> [o] $\lambda \varepsilon \mu \alpha i ̃ o \nu$

The fragment is part of one of the lower citations. On abbreviations of the title, see p. 16.


No. 34
35. Agora I 2897. Fragment of Pentelic marble with inscribed face only preserved, found on May 21,1935 , in Well 7 at $-15.50 \mathrm{~m} ., 40 \mathrm{~m}$. south of the Tholos, in Section $\mathbf{B}^{\prime}$.

Height, 0.125 m .; width of face, 0.09 m .; thickness, 0.075 m .
Height of letters, 0.006 m .

$$
\text { ca. } 215 \text { в.с. }
$$

ca. 35






 $[x \alpha \theta \tilde{\eta} x o \nu]$ हैv $\tau \varepsilon \tilde{\imath} \pi \varrho v[\tau \alpha \nu \varepsilon i ́ \alpha \iota \quad \chi \alpha \lambda \tilde{\omega} s$ ж $\alpha i \quad \varphi \iota \lambda o \tau i]$





No. 35

The locations suggested for the edges are merely illustrative; actually neither edge can be fixed.

The lettering is of the latter part of the period 229-ca. 206 в.с.
36. I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$, 848. Fragment A, listed in the Acropolis Catalogue (1369) had either been carried up there, or more likely was found on the slopes. Fragment B was found in the German excavations on the north slope of the Acropolis. Wilhelm (Urk. Dram. Ausf., p. 214) saw that they were from the same stele, but hitherto the pieces, both of which are ponderous, have evidently never been moved into close contact. They do in fact join across the entire breadth of the stele. The whole, thus virtually complete, measures 1.13 m . in height. In the period before it was broken in two, it was used as a threshold block; hence the present condition of the lettering. In this period some one reached in next the door post and cut $\ominus E$, decided on larger letters and cut ӨЕОФРАГTO乏, and finally began a small portrait head.

It has been possible to establish a virtually complete text.

212/1 в.c.
Leontis
ca. 46 (irregular)















 $\varphi \iota \sigma[\mu \alpha]$ тòv $\gamma[\varrho \alpha \mu \mu \alpha \tau \varepsilon ́ \alpha$ тòv $x \alpha \tau \grave{\alpha} \pi \varrho v \tau \alpha \nu \varepsilon i ́] \alpha \nu \quad$ हैv $\sigma \tau \dot{\eta} \lambda \varepsilon \iota$

 $[\mu] \varepsilon \nu O \nu \dot{\alpha} \nu[\alpha \dot{\alpha} \omega \omega \alpha]$





 $\varphi \alpha \lambda \tilde{\eta} \theta \varepsilon \nu \quad \underset{\sim}{x}[\alpha i \quad \sigma v \mu \pi \varrho o ́ \varepsilon \delta \rho o \iota]$

$$
\left[\begin{array}{llll}
\tilde{\prime}] \\
] & o & \xi & {[\nu} \\
\nu & \tau
\end{array}\right] \varepsilon \tilde{\imath} \quad \beta \text { ov } \lambda \varepsilon \tilde{\imath}
$$



















|  |  | ${ }_{5}$ 核[. . $]$ of[--] | [ $\bar{\xi} \xi$ Oiov] | [ $\Pi \dot{\eta} \lambda \eta \eta \propto \varepsilon \varsigma]$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ${ }_{60}$ | [ $\Pi \alpha \tau \varrho] o x \lambda \tilde{r}{ }_{\text {c }}$ |  | [--------] | [--------] |
|  |  | \ıovórıo[¢] | [ $K \dot{\eta} \boldsymbol{\tau} \tau \boldsymbol{\tau} \downarrow$ ]o[ı] | 珓[.]^[- |
|  | [ $\Sigma$ ] $\omega^{\prime}$ ب[ $[1] \times 0 \mathrm{c}$ |  |  | 110 Eu̇nvoídat |
|  | [.]c[. . ] $]$ [-] |  | ${ }_{95}[E \chi] \xi \varepsilon \nu_{0}$ | $M \alpha \lambda \dot{\alpha} \alpha \omega \nu$ |
|  | $K \lambda \varepsilon[\downarrow] \tau 0 \varphi \tilde{\varphi}[\nu]$ |  | $\Pi[\alpha] i o v i \delta \alpha \iota$ | NıхобӨ̇́vท[s] |
| 65 | [D] ¢̣cự@ $¢[0] \iota$ |  | Ti'jus Tıио | Пота́нıо |
|  | [ $\left.{ }^{214} \cdot{ }_{2}\right] 0!\pi[-]$ | ب̧vzovozĩs | Өzo¢óv ${ }^{\text {¢ }}$ ¢ | Mórzos |
|  | $\Phi_{1} \lambda[\hat{l}]$ ¢ $[0] s$ | ITợv ${ }^{\text {dos }}$ | $K \alpha \lambda \lambda i \xi \varepsilon v 0$ ¢ |  |
|  | ['O]גvилıódwoos |  | ${ }_{100}[\Sigma \chi] \alpha \mu \beta[\omega] \nu i \delta \alpha \iota$ |  |
|  | ['I] $]$ [- | ${ }_{85}$ Єeoyér ${ }_{\text {S }}$ |  | 'E¢иódvzos |



The lettering, though regularly spaced in most of the lines, is crowded in the preserved portions of lines $7,9,10$, and 38 . Hence in these lines one would expect to restore more letters than in other lines, and line 7 does in fact require many, even if the proposer of the second decree is not the correct restoration. Line 8 is also necessarily long, whereas 9 and 10 are not; 11 is, and likewise 17 . The irregularity thus evident is more extreme, so far as I know, than in any Athenian decree. The spelling is as irregular as the spacing: note the month; also $\varepsilon \tilde{i}$ and $\tilde{\eta_{l}}$, in lines 2 and 36. Spaces are freely left blank at the ends of lines; the rule of syllabification, as careful study has shown, was not violated. There is no gap between lines 40 and 41 ; the measurement recorded in I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$, is between lines 39 and 41.

Apart from spacings, the decrees are apparently regular in formulae. Meritt's solution of the calendar problem is adopted (see Hesperia, IV [1935], p. 557). Restorations have hitherto confused the Secretary and Undersecretary, whose order of citation, lines 131-137, leaves no doubt as to how the text at lines $54-55$ should be read.
 Wilhelm's proposal to identify him with the Archon of $236 / 5$ в.c. is less tempting now that the present inscription is dated 24 years later. Besides, the spokesman of the second decree is necessarily a bouleutes. It is generally assumed to be unlikely that an Areopagite would thus accept a seat in the Boule. He may have done so ; he may also
 was thought by Wilhelm to be the son of the Archon-general-spokesman Ekphantos. If so, then father and son were prytaneis together. More likely the spokesman and

Treasurer were the same man, who also had been, or was to be, an honored strategos (I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 1958$ ).

Line 68: Three earlier Phrearrioi of this name are known (P.A., 11412-11414).
 Фosdootos, appears as chairman of the proedroi in $I$.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 890$ of $188 / 7$ в.c.

Line 80: A possible descendant is P.A., 14566, ephebe in 107/6.

Line 84: A grandfather may be P.A., 6565.

Line 85: A possible grandson, $\Theta_{\varepsilon}$ o-
 of a decree in $134 / 3$ (P.A., 6715). The family was greatly distinguished in several generations (Hesperia, III [1934], pp. 151-153 has all references).

Line 87: A possible grandson was rogator of a decree in 144/3 (P.A., 249).

Line 106: A possible descendant was ephebe in 101/0 (P.A., 12056).

Line 117: A possible ancestor appears as a prytanis in the earlier part of the fourth century в.c. (P.A., 5141).

The register is even more difficult to read than the decrees (witness I.G., $I I^{2}$ ), and several names have defied repeated efforts. It will be noted that the Treasurer's name can be deciphered (line 60), in its normal position. The Secretary's, in line 94 , is merely the first under his demotic, the position of which, but for his name, might not have been detected. Thus there can be read decisive parts or the whole of every demotic, except $\varepsilon \xi$ Oion and $\Pi \dot{\eta} \lambda \eta<\varepsilon \mathrm{s}$, which are absent entirely on the portions of stele preserved.


The register is arranged in three columns of 16 items each, followed by one column of 13 : it comprises in all 61 items. Leontis at this time contained 15 demes, of which 13 are now fixed in position on the stone. This means that only 48 prytaneis at most were listed; if the two missing demotics be supplied, then there were but $46 .{ }^{1}$

To decide between these alternatives, we note first that column IV should begin with a demotic, so as to keep the larger demes first in the column, the successive quotas of prytaneis being $2-2-2-1-1$. This means that Hybadai, at the end of column III, had its probably normal quota, which was one bouleutes. Of the two missing demes, Pelekes normally had two bouleutai, and Pelekes is the logical demotic to restore in line 107. For Oion there remain two possibilities. The first is line 71, where the difficult traces favor a longer word. In line 74, moreover, we have plausibly identified a known member of Phrearrhioi. Hence line 91 is where Oion should go. Placing it there correctly limits Halimous to two representatives; Halimous had three earlier and two later.

The scheme given allows both Phrearrhioi and Oion their normal quotas of ca. 365335 b.c., in contrast to those of 77 . The same considerations make it probable that demesmen, not demes, were omitted.

Whether, however, the prytaneis listed were 46 or 48 is less important than the inescapable conclusion that the register was published incomplete. We have one other positive instance of this (p.28).

The four missing prytaneis may well be from the quota of Cholleidai, which had nine after 200 в.с.
37. I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 913$ of $211 / 0-202 / 1$ b.c. Erechtheis. The lettering is similar to that of I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$, 844 and others of just after 200 в.c.; the style began as early as $217 / 6$ b.c. More exactly, the name of the Herald fixes the date after 212/1 (see p. 17); and the quotas of the demes, practically identical with those of 9 , show that Antigonis was still in existence, so that the later limit is 201 b.c. The sequence of the officials would place the document before 39.

The omission of the $\alpha v^{3} \lambda r_{r} \tau_{r} s$, who re-appears in 40 and is always present thenceforward, would suggest a date certainly ante-203/2; but this indication has less than full value because the formulae of our inscription are extraordinarily curtailed. No Treasurer of the Boule is mentioned, and the Priest's name, as well as $\tau o \tilde{v} \dot{\varepsilon} \pi \omega \nu v \dot{u} \mu o v$, are omitted. The Flutist also may have been omitted to save space. The Secretary of the Boule and Demos and his Undersecretary, curiously enough, appear with patronymics (cf. 39 and p. 16).

From indubitable restorations, the length of line may be fixed at $42^{1 / 2}-44^{1} / 2$ letters. Within these limits, the name of the first prytanis can be restored as Treasurer (line 2),

[^37] line 6 the patronymic may have had less than 9 letters, and in line 7 the restoration should be $M \varepsilon\left[-\underline{c c} \cdot 4 \frac{112}{}-\right]$.

Turning to the register of prytaneis, we note that the erasure of the Treasurer's name (line 13) was probably occasioned by a careless error, as in lines 20 and 23; certainly if there was a change of Treasurers, the name originally inscribed and erased was too long, as the erasure shows, to have been inserted in line 2 . In line 20, Col. I, the last four letters are not in rasura. Line 26: the space shows that three and a half letters are to be supplied; in line 27, four and a half; in line 28 , three and a half; in line 29 read ${ }^{211^{12}}$. ANSP, as for $[\Phi t \lambda] \alpha \alpha^{\prime} \omega \rho$; in line $\left.31,{ }^{〔} E\right] \lambda i x \omega \nu$.

Thin incised circles indicate the positions of the (painted) wreaths, as in 61. It is notable that Eukles alone is cited without his title, as if every one knew it; and that the title of the Secretary of the Boule and Demos appears simply as tòv $\gamma \varrho \alpha \mu \mu \alpha \tau \varepsilon ́ c$; and particularly that the Priest, as in the decree above, was cited by title alone, and not by name.
38. Agora I 2498. Fragment of Hymettian marble, used where it was exposed to footwear, broken off diagonally from the upper right corner. Found on February 28, 1935, at $65 / \mathrm{I}$, built into a Late Roman wall, at 38 m . south of the Tholos, in Section B'. The lengths of the lines increased, from. 37 (line 1) to 41 (line 13) full letters. All of the first 16 lines can, however, be read or restored exactly, except for the name and patronymic of the chairman.

Height, 0.52 m .; width (complete at upper right corner), 0.45 m .; maximum thickness, 0.125 m .; thickness of stele proper, 0.10 m .

Height of letters, 0.004 m .

$$
\begin{aligned}
& 210 / 9 \text { (?) в.c. Kekropis ca. } 40
\end{aligned}
$$

[^38]

No. 38







The document gives us an archon hitherto unknown, Ankylos. This is also the first known occurrence of the name "A $1 \times x \lambda^{\prime}$ os in Athens. The lettering is in the "disjointed" style of the late third century, and the particular crude forms here visible should fall between $215 / 4$ (I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 846-847$ ) and 206/5 (I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$, 849). The years available are $210 / 9$ and $208 / 7 ;^{1}$ of these we might prefer $210 / 9$ on account of the orator (line 6),
 of a committee of four charged by the various garrisons with the duty of erecting a statue to the general Demainetos of Athmonon (I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$, 1304, line 52).

The name of the chairman of the proedroi occurs on a columella which had been dated "s. II ut ridetur" (P.A., 8953). We have also the grave monuments of his wife and daughter (I.G., II, 2259, 2260). All three were buried in the Dipylon cemetery.

It seems that after line 1 , more than an entire line was omitted. It is plausible to guess that the mason's eye jumped from the numeral defining the place of the prytany to the (similar) numeral denoting the day of the month. The year was evidently ordinary, with a discrepancy in the tenth prytany of three days between month and prytany dates.
39. I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$, 912. $210 / 9-201 / 0$ b.c. Antigonis. The lettering is of a style first known in 215/4. The Herald and the tribe honored fix the date more exactly; see further under 37.

The formulae of the present decree are notably full; hence the small letters and the long lines (contrast e.g. 37). No. 39 is in fact the first document in the series to show the lengthy phrases characteristic of the second century.

The lettering is spaced in a fairly regular way: one can be certain that the prytany secretary (lines 1-2) had a long designation, close to 30 letters; that some 14 letters are missing from the name and patronymic of the orator; that line 6 began xai oi, and line $7-\alpha \nu$; and that the Herald's patronymic Eux $\lambda \boldsymbol{\varepsilon}$ ovs should be supplied in line 16. In line 13 the name, as Kirchner saw, is from ' $O \varphi \varphi^{\prime}[\lambda \alpha \varsigma]$ or ' $O \varphi^{\prime}{ }^{\prime}[\lambda \omega \nu]$; the second letter is not rho. Spacing compels a short demotic and no patronymic; and the name of the $\tau \alpha \mu i \alpha_{s} \tau \tilde{\eta}_{S} \beta o v \lambda \tilde{\eta}_{s}$, which should also be supplied in that line, must also have been of the briefest, and without patronymic. ${ }^{2}$

[^39]The demotic (no patronymic was given) likewise of the Priest ' $I \varepsilon$ ' $\varrho \omega \nu^{1}$ (line 14) must have been of about 9 letters; the Undersecretary's name may have had 11 letters (line 15). It was probably some descendant who set up an athletic dedication, I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 3145$, the type of which is later. For the reading of line 24, ['E] $\pi \alpha \mu \varepsilon i ้[\omega \nu]$, see Hesperia, III (1934), p. 189 ; it should be added that Gargettos normally had more than two representatives, so that the reading of a name, instead of a demotic, is confirmed.

The register of prytaneis had seven columns. The Treasurer, by exception, was not listed first (p.14).
40. I. G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$, 915 joined to Agora I 764. Three contiguous fragments of Hymettian marble preserving the original back and sides. $\mathrm{A}=I . G ., \mathrm{II}^{2}, 915, \mathrm{~B}=\mathrm{I} 764, \mathrm{C}=I . G ., \mathrm{II}^{2}$, 915. The Agora fragment was found on May 5, 1933, at $38 / \mathrm{I}$, in a late wall, 5 m . east of the Tholos; in Section $\mathbf{Z}$.

Height, $0.75 \mathrm{~m} . ;$ width (original), 0.54 m ; thickness (original), 0.085 m .
Height of letters, 0.005 m .


[^40]


The fragment from the Agora is welcome because it brings us the demotic of the secretary in the year of Proxenides, who has hitherto been dated only approximately. The deme Aixone remained in Kekropis, which furnished the secretary in 203/2 and again in 198/7. The calendar equation, Pryt. II $5=$ Metageitnion 2, is decisive, since obviously only an ordinary year of the period of thirteen tribes will do. The tribes were twelve in number after 200 в.c., hence Proxenides is necessarily to be dated 203/2.

As a fixed point, the document is helpful in several ways. It shows us that in 203/2 в.c. the $\dot{\alpha} \varepsilon i \sigma \iota \tau o \iota$ were mentioned, and that the $\tau \alpha \mu i \alpha_{S} \tau \tilde{\eta}_{S} \beta$ oulings was not. We may note that the arrangement is conventional throughout, if we assume that the register of prytaneis, preceded or followed by citations of Herald and Flutist, is missing at the end.

As to the names, one notes that the prytaneis chose a Treasurer and a Secretary of the same name, or perhaps merely of similar, names-for lines 29 and 15 leave doubt. The Undersecretary's father П@шiouźvrs Eitcaĩos was Polemarchos in $224 / 3$, as Dinsmoor observed (Archons, p. 253). A descendant of the spokesman (lines 20-21) is probably P.A., 13730.
41. Agora I 1871. Fragment of Pentelic marble, with toothed left side preserved. Found on April 25, 1934, at $23 / \mathrm{KZ}$ in late fill, 10 m . west of the Tholos, in Section B. The surface is slightly pitted from acids of the bothros near which it was found.

Height, 0.14 m. ; width, 0.155 m ; thickness, 0.054 m .
Height of letters, 0.005 m .

Kekropis
ca. 49
ca. 200 в.c.
[ $\eta \quad \beta o v \lambda \grave{\eta}$ ]
[ $\tau \grave{\partial} \nu \quad \tau \alpha \mu i] \alpha \nu$ [- $\left.{ }^{-a}-{ }^{3}-\right]$ 亿 $\iota \nu o \nu$ $\Pi \iota \theta \varepsilon \boldsymbol{\varepsilon} \alpha$
[ $\tau \grave{\nu} \nu$ ү@ $\mu \mu \mu \alpha \tau^{\prime} \alpha$ ]

[--- - - $]$



``` \([\delta \rho \omega \nu \varepsilon \pi \varepsilon \psi \dot{\gamma}] \varphi!\zeta \varsigma \varphi[x \tau \lambda\).
```

```
    [र्\eta \betaov\lambda\grave{\eta}]
```

    [र्\eta \betaov\lambda\grave{\eta}]
        lov \tau\alpha\mui]\alpha\nu 5 [% [\delta\tilde{\eta}\mu\mp@subsup{O}{G}{\prime}]
    ```
        lov \tau\alpha\mui]\alpha\nu 5 [% [\delta\tilde{\eta}\mu\mp@subsup{O}{G}{\prime}]
```




```
[\eta \betaov\lambda\etaे]
```

[\eta \betaov\lambda\etaे]
[\tauò\nu \gamma\varrho\alpha\mu\mu\alpha\tau\varepsiloń\alpha]
[\tauò\nu \gamma\varrho\alpha\mu\mu\alpha\tau\varepsiloń\alpha]
[\tauov̀S \pi\varrhov]
[\tauov̀S \pi\varrhov]
[\tau\alphá\nu\varepsilon\iota\varsigma]

```
    [\tau\alphá\nu\varepsilon\iota\varsigma]
```



No. 41
This fragment from the beginning of a second" decree attests the existence of a second Archon Euthykritos, hitherto unknown. ${ }^{1}$ The beginnings of the "second" decrees in 29 and 30 are even more curtailed, since even the name of the year is omitted. Hence a date between $223 / 2(30)$ and the full formulae of $212 / 1$ (36) might be considered. The year $222 / 1$ alone is available. ${ }^{2}$

The lettering is by the same hand as that of 40 of $203 / 2$ and 48 of 199/8-189/8. Hence it is better to regard the shortened preamble as a mere indication that the stele was none too large for the text (cf. 22), and to consider a later date. The years not positively assigned at this writing are $210 / 9-207 / 6,205 / 4,202 / 1-197 / 6,195 / 4,194 / 3$, etc.
42. Agora I 515. Fragment of Hymettian marble, the left side, picked fine, with a smooth-dressed band along the edge, being preserved. Found on March 3, 1933, in a marble pile; probably from late walls at M-ME, in Section $\mathbf{H}^{\prime}$.

[^41]Height, 0.173 m. ; width, 0.056 m. ; thickness, 0.07 m . Height of letters, 0.007 m .

$$
\begin{aligned}
& c a .215-180 \text { в.с. } \\
& \eta \beta[o v \lambda \grave{\eta}] \\
& Z \eta[\nu---] \\
& \Pi \varepsilon[---]
\end{aligned}
$$

This is a citation of one of the minor officials, i.e., one who appeared at some point in the list after the Secretary.


No. 42
43. Agora I 2987. Fragment of Hymettian marble, found on June 4, 1935, in Seetion II. The right edge, though badly battered, seems to be preserved.

Height, $0.133 \mathrm{~m} . ;$ width, $0.097 \mathrm{~m} . ;$ thickness, 0.036 m .
Height of letters, $0.005-0.006 \mathrm{~m}$.

The restoration given accords best with all the traces, but too few letters are preserved in the last four lines to permit a substantial version of the list of officers. The lettering is reliable evidence for a date soon before or after 200 b.c. The Berenikid Herald is first known in 37 (p. 17), and there is a strong presumption that the name of the Flutist has been correctly restored (p. 18).


No. 43
44. Agora I 1680. Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found on March 26, 1934, at $16 / \mathrm{A}^{\prime}$, in a stony fill above the wall trench of the Tholos, in Section B.

Height, $0.069 \mathrm{~m} . ;$ width, 0.088 m .; thickness, 0.019 m .

Height of letters, 0.006 m .
Early second century b.c. ca. 39


$[\pi \varrho v \tau \alpha r \varepsilon i \alpha c \cdot \beta o v \lambda \grave{\eta} \dot{\varepsilon}]]_{\mu} \Pi \varepsilon \iota \rho \alpha[\iota \varepsilon \tau \quad$ vacat $]$
[ vacat $\left.{ }_{\varepsilon}^{\boldsymbol{z}} \delta 0 \delta \xi \varepsilon\right] \nu \quad \tau \varepsilon \tilde{\imath} \beta o[v \lambda \varepsilon \tilde{\imath}$ vacat ]






No. 44

The lettering is of the early second century b.c., and with this period accord the mention of the deívioo and of a meeting of the Boule in the Piraeus. Beyond these facts there is considerable uncertainty: the $\pi \varrho \delta \delta \delta \varrho o \iota$ cannot be accommodated, and line 7 (or 8) should contain more formulae; but the length of line seems to be defined by lines $5-7$, so that the proper phrases cannot be admitted.
45. Agora I 2010. Fragment of Hymettian marble, with smooth left side preserved, but otherwise broken. Found on May 29, 1934, in a marble pile, in the west central area in front of the Tholos in Section Z .

Height, 0.152 m. ; width, 0.142 m ; thickness, 0.078 m .
Height of letters, 0.006 m .

Akamantis or Antiochis
First half of second century? в.c.
Small trace of citation? vacat

['A] ${ }^{\prime}$ クr'ód $\omega \varrho$ os
گُє́v $\omega \nu$
$[K] \eta \varphi \iota \sigma \rho \rho^{\prime}[\delta \omega] \rho \sigma \varsigma$
5 Mevex@d́тr! $S$


$\left[.{ }^{c a .4}.\right] \varepsilon \sigma[--]$
Several lines lost

A row of citations evidently preceded the register (cf. p. 19), of which the beginning is preserved.
¿A $\begin{array}{r}\text { rıód } \omega \varrho o s ~ E i t \varepsilon \alpha i ̃ o s ~ w a s ~ p r e s u m-~\end{array}$ ably the Treasurer. Line 4: an ephebe of $84-78$ в.c. may have been


No. 45 a descendant (P.A., 14280). The reading of the demotic in line 1 seems certain; we must admit that in the period of this text Eitea-one part of it or the other-had at least 6 bouleutai. The lettering has puzzled me: it may be considerably earlier.
46. I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$, 864. The stele is remarkable for its great thickness ( 0.27 m .), which seems to have been due to the inferior quality of the marble.

The preserved line of the central citation gives us the approximate centre of the stele, so that the regular formulae of lines 21 ff . enable a fairly close determination of both edges:-

|  | 200--ca. 185 в.c. | Akamantis |  | ca. 62 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | [ $\left.\begin{array}{ll}\delta & \delta \tilde{\eta} \mu \mathrm{O}\end{array}\right]$ |  |  |
|  | [ $\tau$ òv $\tau \alpha \mu i \alpha \nu$ ] | [ ovò $_{\text {c }}$ ] | 10 |  |
|  |  | [ $\pi \varrho v \tau \dot{\alpha}]$ |  | [ $\left.\mu \alpha \tau \varepsilon \varepsilon^{\prime} \alpha-{ }^{-}\right]$ |
|  | [------] | $\nu \varepsilon \iota S$ |  | [----- $]$ |
| 5 | [ $\Sigma \varphi \eta$ 亿̇tiov $]$ |  |  | [----- $]$ |

vacat 0.05 m .














The Archon's name was evidently not one of the longest, whereas the Secretary of that year had a name of almost maximum length. The lettering is of the 190's; and it so happens that in the very same decade the system of double reckoning of the date- $\chi \alpha \tau^{\prime} \chi^{\prime} \varrho \chi o \nu \tau \alpha$ and $\chi \alpha \tau \alpha ̀ \quad \theta \varepsilon o ́ \nu-b e g i n s$. This may explain the lengthy gap in lines $15-16 .{ }^{1}$

Of the Treasurer's demotic we have only -- $\boldsymbol{\tau t} \boldsymbol{\tau} \circ \mathrm{os}$ : Gargettos, Kettos, and Sypalettos might be considered (though no Zoilos appears in any of them), but Wilhelm's identification of Zoilos with the Sphettian who appears in a list of contributors of $183 / 2$ (I.G., II ${ }^{2}$, 2332 , line 142 ; P.A., 6246) is convincing. This is our authority for believing that the prytaneis honored were of Akamantis.

This text has the full formulae and long lines typical of the period. Thus the formula in line 25 , specifying the Secretary as elected by the prytaneis from among themselves, is usually reserved for the Treasurer alone.
47. Agora I 1462. Two groups of fragments of Hymettian marble, preserving the toothed right side, part of the bottom, and the rough-picked back, but otherwise broken. Fragment A was found on April 13, 1934, B on April 18, 1934, both in Section B. For a detailed account of the place of finding see Hesperia, IV (1935), p. 475.
(A) Height, 0.42 m. ; width, 0.225 m. ; thickness, 0.14 m .
(B) Height, 0.32 m ; width, 0.40 m. ; thickness, 0.16 m .

Height of letters, ca. 0.005-0.006 m.

[^42]200/199-190/89 в.c.
Erechtheis
ca. 51






















vacat

| [Restore here one |  | [--8 ${ }_{\text {or less }}^{\text {l }}$ - - $]$ |  | $\Theta \varrho \alpha<\sigma \omega \nu$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| column of 16 and | 55 | [-- - 9 orleass - - - | 70 | $\Pi \varepsilon ¢ \gamma \alpha \sigma \varepsilon \tilde{\iota}_{S}$ |
| one of 15 lines, viz., |  | [-- - $\mathbf{1 0}_{0}^{0} \underline{\text { r less }}$ - - - $]$ |  | 'A ${ }^{\text {giórizos }}$ |
| the demotics |  |  |  | K $\alpha \lambda \lambda i \sigma \tau \varrho \alpha<0$ ¢ |
| ${ }^{3}$ A $¢ \varrho \cup \lambda \varepsilon і$ is |  | [--ca.g--] $]$ ĩS |  | 'A@ıбtíws |
| КП甲ıбıєĩS |  | [--- ca, 9--- $]_{S}$ |  | $K r \delta o i ́$ |
| Фəүov́rıoı | 60 |  | 75 | ${ }^{\text {'A }}$ Múvias |
| and either |  | [-- - $\mathrm{Ca}_{-} \mathrm{7}_{-}-\mathrm{-}$ ]os |  |  |
| Ev̀ $\omega v$ vusĩs or <br>  |  | $[--7$ or_less --$]$ $[--7$ or_less --$]$ |  |  'Avarv@́́бıoı |
| (cf. line 58); and | 65 |  | 80 | А $\varepsilon \omega \nu$ <br> Tıцól $\alpha o s$ |
| 27 names. Lines 23 -53.$]$ |  | $[\Sigma v \beta \varrho i \delta] \alpha \iota$ |  | $\Pi \alpha \mu \beta о \tau \alpha \dot{\alpha}$ ¢ |
|  |  |  |  | [ $\Sigma$ ] $\omega$ к@ ${ }^{\text {ctr }}$ S |




The lettering is not perfectly regular; hence the spacings calculated are approximate only, except in lines 62 and 63 , where no demotic of Erechtheis can have occurred.


No. 47. Fragment B

The proposer is probably that $\mathcal{M} \alpha \times \propto \dot{\alpha} \tau \eta$ ) Mériooos (P.A., 8973) who served as chairman of the proedroi in 188/7 (I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$, 891), and who proposed a decree (I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$, 889) which the lettering dates in the 170 's or 160 's, or even later.

In line 8 we meet a treasurer of the prytaneis from Angele, a deme of Pandionis, rather than from the tribe honored, Erechtheis. So definitely was the Treasurer [ $\delta \nu$ $\varepsilon \varepsilon^{i} h o v t o \quad \varepsilon \xi \varepsilon\{\alpha v \tilde{\omega} \nu]$, the chief of the prytaneis (p. 13), that his membership in another tribe is virtually out of the question. It seems necessary to suppose that a scribal error was committed, whereby ${ }^{'} \mathcal{A} \gamma \gamma^{\prime} \varepsilon \tilde{\eta} \theta \varepsilon \nu$ was inscribed in place of ${ }^{~} \mathcal{A} \gamma \varrho v \lambda \tilde{\eta} \theta \varepsilon \varepsilon .^{1}$ The Secretary was from Euonymon, Agryle, Kephisia, Lamptrai, or Phegous. The Priest is entirely omitted. Since the Undersecretary's patronymic was given, that of the Secretary of the Demos and Boule was also given (p. 16). The Undersecretary appears as Secretary in 48, and his identity, along with the date of the present inscription, are discussed under that number.

The register of prytaneis should probably be restored with the irregularly long first column, so as to give the full number of 50 prytaneis. [ $E i \omega v v \mu] \varepsilon \pi /$ rather than the larger deme $[\Lambda \alpha \mu \pi \tau \varrho] \varepsilon i \tau_{S}$ is probably to be restored in line 58 ; $[K \eta \varphi \iota \sigma \iota] \varepsilon i \tilde{s}$, which should have about 7 bouleutai, is virtually excluded by the spacing.

In any case the preserved quotas, particularly that of Anagyrous, plainly indicate a date after the tribal re-organization in 200 в.о. The lower limit is set by the data on the Undersecretary, which prove that the inscription precedes 48 of ante-188/7.

Line 71 has a name, ' $\mathcal{A} \xi t \quad \partial v i x o s, ~ n e w ~ i n ~ A t t i c a . ~$
For line 73 cf. $P . A ., 1752$, possibly a remote relative.
For line 82 a more certain connection is P.A., $8236+$ N.P.A., p. 108, K $\alpha \lambda \lambda \iota \varphi \tilde{\omega} \nu$ $\Sigma \omega \times \varrho \alpha ́ \tau o v ~ \Pi \alpha \mu \beta \omega \tau \alpha \dot{\delta} \eta \mathrm{~s}$, agoranomos in 124/3. ${ }^{2}$

The sole remaining citation is evidently that of the Treasurer of the Boule.
48. Hesperia, III (1934), no. 16, plus a new fragment (B).

For the place of finding, see Hesperia, IV (1935), p. 475, n. 3. Two contiguous fragments, both preserving the original right side and thickness of the stele. The lower fragment preserves the original tenon from the bottom.

Present total height, 1.01 m .

[^43]

No. 48













 [ $\tau \varepsilon i ̃ \delta ı o ı \dot{\imath} \sigma \varepsilon \iota ~ \tau o ̀ ~ \gamma \varepsilon v o ́ \mu \varepsilon v o \nu ~ \alpha \nu \dot{\alpha} \lambda \omega \mu \alpha]$
vacat 0.05 m .


| $\hat{\eta} \beta o[v \lambda \grave{\eta}]$ |  |
| :---: | :---: |
|  | тòv [ $\left.¢ \varrho \alpha \mu \mu \alpha \tau \varepsilon \alpha^{\prime} \alpha\right]$ |
|  | [-------] |
|  | ${ }^{\prime} \mathrm{P} \cdot \mathrm{O} \mu \mu[\nu 0$ 'soıov] |




















As in Nos. 49 and 75, the decree of the Boule stands first, probably because the prytany was the last of the year (p. 7). Traces of the second preamble appear on both fragments (lines 28-31), but so vaguely, except for the three letters printed without dots, that further attempts at reading would yield nothing substantial. The


Sacrifices were made to deities not mentioned elsewhere in these texts (line 34).
Line 2: The name $\Sigma x \eta \sigma i x o \varrho[0 s]$ is new in Athens.
Line 10: Since all the demotics of Aiantis are lengthy, probably no patronymic appeared.
 Wilhelm and Woodward, independently (letters to Meritt), before the discovery of Fragment B. In 47 we have met him as Undersecretary; and in a third decree of this period he appears as chairman of the proedroi. ${ }^{1}$ A distinguished grandson of the same name, and his descendants, are given under P.A., 5636.
 of the Attic canon, and the spokesman of 9 , rose to be an orator: he proposed I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 891$ of $188 / 7$ and 897 of $185 / 4$ (P.A., 3441).

Line 60: The name $\Sigma \tilde{\omega} \sigma \sigma_{\mathrm{s}}$ ['Paurovóos] appears also in the register of 73, line 35.
Line 61: The name Mít@wv is new in Athens.
Line 62: A grandson, Aıoбxoveídךs Sıoбxov@idov 'Pauvov́oıos, was gymnasiarch in Delos in 127/6 (P.A., 4361; N.P.A., p. 64; Roussel, Délos Colonie Athénienne, p. 197).

[^44] Undersecretary in 39 (N.P.A, p. 9, possibly identical with P.A., 516).

 line 30. See also under line 69 .

Line 69: The patronymic is doubtless to distinguish this 'A@iotcur from the father of $\boldsymbol{\Phi}_{1} \lambda_{o} \xi_{\varepsilon \nu i \delta \eta_{S},}$ line 66.
 2524-252よ.


Line 84: The name Z $\dot{\omega} \alpha \nu \delta \varrho o s$ is new in Athens.
Line 92: 'Aoxias 'Aotiov T@ıxo@v́oıos, a son or grandson, was Priest of Sarapis in 136/5 (P.A., 2643 ; Ferguson, Tribal Cycles, p. 157).

Line 93: For the father, or an uncle, and numerous others, see 28, line 24.
Line 96: In Fouilles de Delphes, III, 2, p. 17, no. 7, an ambassador from the Tetrapolis is listed as $\Pi v \theta^{\prime} \omega \nu$ [ $\Pi$ ] v $\theta^{\prime} \omega \nu o s$, the year being $138 / 7$. N.P.A., p. 147 restores the demotic as $M \alpha \rho \alpha \theta \omega^{\prime} r o s$, on the authority of a Pythion of the late fourth century, P.A., 12371. More likely he was a son of our prytanis.

There can be no doubt that the names in lines $56-71$ are of Rhamnousioi. The exact apportionment of Column I is of course uncertain. Perfectly certain is the fact that no demesmen of Oinoe appear in the register. That deme was transferred to Attalis in 200 b.c. Hence the document is after 200 ; it should not be as late as $188 / 7$, because the Undersecretary, as we have seen, proposed a decree in that year. Within the period $200-188 / 7$, the date must follow that of 47 by an unknown interval, on account of the career of Euthymachos, who was successively Undersecretary and Secretary of the Boule and Demos.

The Priest's citation is missing; the others follow in the order of mention in the decree.

Note on I. G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 978$.
 because of the identification of this Ergochares with the one whose career, given under P.A., 5636 , undoubtedly dates from that period. The lettering shows rather that I.G., II ${ }^{2}, 978$ belongs in the period shortly after 200 в.c., and hence the Ergochares in question is the one now known in the two Agora inscriptions. The stemma of the family can be extended back two more generations, making five in all.

The correct dating of I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 978$ involves moving the Prytany Secretary Ḱ́ $\varphi \alpha \lambda o s$ $K \varepsilon \varphi \dot{\alpha} \lambda o v \ldots{ }^{c a .} .^{8} . . \eta s$ back to the period shortly after 200 b.c. The demotic cannot be restored. The Archon's name had ca. 9 letters, and the year was intercalary.

For improvements in the restoration, see Wilhelm's contribution in Ath. Mitt., XXXIX (1914), pp. 307-310, also given in the Addenda to $I . G ., \mathrm{II}^{2}, 978$, on p. 670 of that
volume. Wilhelm conjectures that I.G., II, 398 is part of the same decree. The style is certainly similar; but a disparity in the vertical spacing forbids the union. Retaining I. G., II, 398 in the same period, we have to reckon with an instance of payment by the Single Officer for a decree not in honor of prytaneis. The text may relate to an officer of the ephebes (line 11), and may have been set in the Agora (it was found near the Stoa of Attalos, whereas I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 978$ was found on the Acropolis). If so, then it relates to Hesperia, IV (1935), pp. 71--81, no. 37, which also honors ephebes, has the Single Officer, and was set in the Agora.
49. I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$, $916^{1}$ (Fragment A) plus Agora I 973 (Fragment B). The Agora fragment is of Pentelic marble, with part of the smooth right side preserved, and the back, rough-picked. Found on June 17, 1933, in late walls at 66/I, in front of the Propylon of the Bouleuterion, in Section Z.

Height, $0.275 \mathrm{~m} . ;$ width, $0.18 \mathrm{~m} . ;$ thickness, 0.101 m .

Height of letters, ca. 0.007 m .
${ }^{1}$ For a photograph and squeezes of the published fragment, now in the British Museum, I am indebted to Mr. E. J. Forsdyke, Director of the Museum.


No. 49. Fragment A
No. 49. Fragment B

Early second century (191/0?) в.c.

Ptolemais $41-46^{1 / 2}$


A

[ $\nu \omega \iota \cdot \alpha \nu \alpha \gamma \varrho \alpha ́ \psi \alpha \iota$ dغ̀ tódє $\tau o ̀ ~ \psi \dot{\eta} \varphi \iota] \sigma \mu \alpha$ тòv $\gamma \varrho \alpha \mu \mu \alpha \tau \varepsilon ́ \alpha$



[ $\nu o ́ \mu \varepsilon \nu o \nu \quad \dot{\alpha} r^{\prime} \alpha(\omega \mu \alpha$ ]
[Gap $0.00 \overline{\mathrm{~m}}$. greater than the normal inter-space]














5 Four other lines missing, ending: [xai gi $\lambda_{0 \tau \iota}$ ]



 $\left[\gamma \varepsilon \nu o ́ \mu \varepsilon \nu o \nu \alpha \alpha^{\alpha} \alpha \dot{\alpha} \lambda \mu \alpha\right]$


Four columns missing


The chief peculiarity in the text is the reversed order of the decrees, which caused the citations usually set between the decrees to follow the two of them, thereby preserving the order: (1) decree of Demos, (2) citation by Demos (inscribed between citations by Boule). The reversed order of the decrees themselves is explained above, p. 7.

The official in the one preserved citation, doubtless the secretary of the prytaneis, may be a distant descendant of P.A., $858,^{\prime} \mathcal{A} \nu \delta \varrho o x \lambda \tilde{\eta} s^{\prime} A \varphi \iota \delta \nu(\alpha \tilde{\iota} o \mathrm{~s})$, a trierarch of $c a .323$.

For a probable fragment from the register of prytaneis, see the following inscription (50).
To secure a date, one's first impulse is to locate the document as near as possible to the other year, which we have conjectured to be 210/9, when Xenophon son of Euphantos of Berenikide proposed another decree honoring prytaneis (38). Yet there are obstacles: (1) the lettering is by the same hand as that of 73 of $166 / 5$; (2) the numeral for the (last-in-the-year) month, as Kirchner saw, seems to have been shorter than teıбxaıdzxátrs, hence the period was one of twelve tribes-after 200 в.c.; and (3) a date very soon before or after 200 suits best the facts about the Flutist Neokles of Berenikidai. We know that the orator Xenophon was prominent, in the eyes of the garrisons at least, in $211 / 0$; his career may have extended well into the second century. The date of the present inscription is therefore about midway between $211 / 0$ and $166 / 5$, the date of the inscription by the same hand. The eligible years are 195/4-194/3, 192/1-191/0, and 181/0-180/79. Of these we might prefer 192/1 for Phanarchides, and $191 / 0$ for his successor ${ }^{1}--67$.
50. Agora I 1690, part of 49 (?). Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found on March 27, 1934, in a late fill, 22 m . west of the Tholos, in Section B.

Height, 0.138 m. ; width, 0.077 m. ; thickness, 0.055 m .
Height of letters, 0.006 m .

| Ptolemais? |  |
| :---: | :---: |
| ca. $215-190$ в.c. |  |
|  | [ $П]<\theta^{\prime} \omega \nu$ |
|  | Dıoк入vidr, |
|  | Lıódwoos |
|  | Avo ${ }^{\text {vio }}{ }_{\text {S }}$ |
| 5 |  |
|  | . . ósovios |
|  | $2{ }^{1 / 2} \dot{\alpha}$ ' $\tau \omega \nu$ |

. . ${ }^{c a} .{ }^{6}$. . os


No. 50

[^45]The fragment is probably part of the register in 49: style, width of column, and spacing of letters are the same. If so, the demotic was almost certainly 'A $\varphi \iota \delta \nu \alpha i o \iota$ or Фu $\downarrow \dot{\alpha} \sigma \iota \circ \iota$.

In line 4 the scribe spaced the fourth, fifth and sixth letters too far from the third; he made a partial erasure so as to keep the long name within the small column limit.
 preserving syllabification. In line 13 restore pı $\lambda o \tau i \mu \omega s$ in place of $\mu \varepsilon \gamma \alpha \lambda o \pi \rho \varepsilon \pi \tilde{\omega} s$. In line 22 restore $\left.\boldsymbol{\tau}\left[\begin{array}{ll}\partial \nu & \varepsilon\end{array}\right] \pi\left[\begin{array}{lll}i & \pi \tilde{y} \iota & \delta \iota o \iota x \eta \\ \sigma & \varepsilon \iota, & x \\ \tau\end{array}\right].\right]$.
52. Agora I 1029. Fragment of Pentelic marble, with part of the right side dressed with toothed chisel preserved; otherwise broken. The edges and face are water-worn. Found on June 27, 1933. For place of finding see Hesperia, IV (1935), p. 474.

Height, 0.202 m. ; width, 0.106 m. ; thickness, 0.068 m .

Height of letters, 0.005 m .

The formulae are identical with those of No. 51, which dates from 188/7. No difficulty occurs except in line 6, which exceeds the average length by six letters; perhaps three of these letters were crowded in at the end of the preceding line. Otherwise the spacing is so regular ${ }^{1}$ as to necessitate, for the name of the tribe in line 8 , one of the longer names: 'Iл $\pi 0 \theta \omega \nu \tau i \delta o s$ fits exactly.


No. 52
to investigate IIomolle's old suggestion that the archon's name in the present inscription might be Dionysios. Spacing is opposed; and even if the name could be supplied, he would be a sixth (or seventh) Dionysios, not one of those already known (Hesperia, IV [1935], p. 78). Kolbe (Archonten, pp. 90-92) suggested $\boldsymbol{\varepsilon}_{\boldsymbol{\pi}} \mathrm{i}$ कi $\lambda \omega v o s$, in agreement with his correct determination of the spacing. This involves virtually creating two l'hilons; but see below, p. 122.
${ }^{1}$ Maximum excess, 1 letter; maximum deficiency, $1^{1 / 2}$ letters.
ca. 188/7 в.c.
ca. 52












 vacat
53. Agora I 632. Fragment of a stele of Hymettian marble, with part of the right side, picked fine, and back, rough-picked, preserved; other edges broken. Inscribed by the hand of 73. Found on March 31, 1933, in a marble pile, 5 m . north of the Porch of the Tholos, in Section Z.

Height, $c a .0 .195 \mathrm{~m}$. ; width, 0.215 m. ; thickness, $c a .0 .103 \mathrm{~m}$.
Height of letters, 0.007 m .


This fragment, which preserves parts of the first wreaths and of the second decree, has lettering similar to that of 73. Possibly we should allow a date as much as twenty years earlier, for the brother apparently of the chairman of the proedroi was praised in
a decree of $186 / 5$ (P.A., 6268; I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$, 896), and in fact the fragment can and perhaps should be restored to fit the Archon, Secretary, and calendar (Pryt. IX, $20=$ Elaph. 5) of that very year. The name of the tribe honored is determined by the Secretary's deme, Atene, line 11. That part of this deme did not belong at this time to Antiochis was shown by me to be probable (Hesperia, III [1934], p. 180) and seems now to be certain (see below, p. 133).


No. 53
54. I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$, 899. Foot-worn: hence, as usual, numbers of "new" letters to be read. From these a text continuous except for names has been built up.

185/4 в.с.
Leontis
ca. 55

| [ $\boldsymbol{\eta} \beta$ Oov $\lambda \grave{\eta}$ ] |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $[\tau \grave{o l v} \boldsymbol{\tau}] \times \mu \boldsymbol{i}$ | [ $\left.\begin{array}{ll}\delta & \delta \tilde{r}_{\mu} \mu O_{S}\end{array}\right]$ | 10 | [ $\boldsymbol{\tau}$ òv $\quad$ ¢¢ $\alpha \mu$ ] $]$ |
| [ $\alpha \nu$ ' ${ }^{\prime}$ ] $\pi 0 \lambda$ | [ $\tau 0$ ìs $\pi \varrho v$ ] |  | [ $\left.\mu \alpha \tau \dot{\varepsilon} \alpha-]^{\prime}\right]$ |
| $\lambda o ́ \delta \omega$ | [ $\tau \boldsymbol{\alpha} \nu \bar{\nu}$ ¢¢¢ |  | [-----]. |
| @ov |  |  | [---] |








$\left[\begin{array}{lll}\sigma \alpha \nu \tau \varepsilon \varepsilon_{S} & \chi \alpha i & \sigma \tau \varepsilon \varphi\end{array}\right] \alpha \nu \dot{\omega} \sigma \alpha \nu \tau\left[\begin{array}{lllllll}\varepsilon_{S} & \alpha \pi o \varphi \alpha i \nu o v \sigma \iota \nu & \tau \tilde{\eta} \iota & \beta o v \lambda \tilde{\eta} \iota & \tau o ̀ \nu & \tau \alpha\end{array}\right]$













 [ $\mu \varepsilon \nu о \nu \dot{\alpha} \nu \alpha \dot{\alpha} \lambda \omega \mu \alpha]$
vacat 0.02 m .
'Aeıбtouévins

The proposed readings and alterations in the text, notably at lines $6-8,16,17,20,23$ (before $\boldsymbol{v} \pi \grave{\varrho} \varrho$ the phrase $\bar{\varepsilon} \nu \tau \tilde{\eta} \iota \pi \varrho v \tau \alpha \nu \varepsilon i \alpha \iota$ was omitted for brevity, or by error), 26, 33-36, and 40 , show that the formulae were in the main regular. The spacing tends to become more crowded, so that the lower lines have more letters; the change is not very regular nor can it be gauged. Thus line 15 , the shortest, has 52 "full" letters, and line 25 , the longest, has 58.

The crux is of course the list of officials in lines 26-32. Near the beginning, in line 28 , a secure reading gives us the end of a patronymic and the first letter of a demotic. ${ }^{1}$ These can belong only to the third official. Equally secure readings give us part of the title of the last official, who is either [ $\tau \partial \nu \tau \alpha \mu i \alpha \nu \tau] \tilde{\eta} S \beta$ ov $\lambda \tilde{\eta}[s]$ or the Herald, as given. The choice depends on line 30 , where the two secure letters will not permit the known Herald and Flutist of this period; nor will they permit the Herald alone. The Herald must, however, be included, and in this part of the list. Evidently then it was he who was last, and the Flutist was omitted (as in 36, 37). The Treasurer of the Boule probably came fourth at this time, just after the Priest, for whom one demotic alone will do, provided he was of Leontis (see p. 16). Since the list was compressed by the omission of one official, the officials after the third must have lacked patronymics; in the scheme given, short names are called for. By the omission, as in 58 and 80, of any name at all for the Undersecretary the other names could be lengthened.
55. I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$, 902. The letters are small, crude, and half are water-worn. In I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$, where 13 lines are read, 6 of them do not begin with syllables, and the restoration allows a variation between 64 and 70 letters to the line. As it stands, the document contributes nothing except half a preamble. Careful study of the spacing in the first 13 lines shows that each of them began with a syllable. In a (new) fourteenth line the

[^46]principle of syllabification, thus upheld, confirms the reading for the first time of the name of the tribe honored. The spacing of the letters throughout is highly regular, the maximum variation being between 63 and 65 full letters.

182/1 в.с.
Attalis
ca. 64












 $[\tau] \alpha \lambda i[\delta o s, x \tau \lambda$.

The document is unique in the extent of its list of sacrifices. The chief question is
 supplements them with a list of unusual sacrifices; or whether in fact the whole passage is to be taken strictly and literally. From 6 one may judge that sacrifices which certainly were "customary" might be offered by the prytaneis and might then be enumerated after the routine phrase just quoted. Two other reasons enforce this interpretation for the present passage: the Phosphoros was later often included before the routine phrase, never after it (p. 8); and the spacing accommodates the restoration in line 8 , which 6 also supports.
56. Agora I 2145. Fragment of Hymettian marble, of which the left edge is preserved, found on December 15, 1934, in House 637/2, in Section $\Xi$.

Height, 0.17 m. ; width, 0.09 m . ; thickness, 0.175 m .
Height of letters, $0.00 \overline{-}-0.006 \mathrm{~m}$.
The lettering being of the first quarter of the second century, the archon must be Dionysios II or III (see the table in Hesperia, IV [1935], p. 78).


No. 56

First quarter of the second century b.c.
ca. 61
vacat







 $[x] \underset{\varepsilon}{\varphi} p[\alpha t, x \tau \lambda$.
57. Agora I 2967. Fragment of Hymettian marble, with inscribed face only preserved, found on May 10, 1935, on the Bouleuterion Plateia, in a late pit beneath the foundation for the colonnade of the Bouleuterion, in Section B.

Height, ca. 0.121 m. ; width, $c a$. 0.146 m. ; thickness, 0.045 m .

Height of letters, 0.006-0.008 m.
Attention should be called to the peculiarity of formula in line 2 , and to the difficulty provided by line 7 , where the seemingly plural form will not make part of any demotic. It is barely possible that the last letter is $\Delta$, not $\Sigma$.

The lettering is good evidence for the date.


No. 57

First quarter of the second century b.c.

 [ $\nu o ́!!\varepsilon \nu o \nu ~ \alpha \nu \alpha ́ \lambda \omega \mu] \alpha$
58. Agora I 1813. Two fragments of Hymettian marble. The toothed left side of $A$ is preserved; otherwise broken. $B$ is broken on all sides. A was found on April 19, 1934, at $20 / \mathrm{K} \Theta$ in late fill, 12 m . west of the Tholos, in Section B. B was found on May 7, 1934, at $16 / \mathrm{IB}$, in a Turkish pit in the floor of the Tholos in Section B.
(A) Height, 0.108 m. ; width, 0.063 m. ; thickness, 0.024 m .

Height of letters, 0.006 m .
(B) Height, 0.132 m. ; width, 0.16 m. ; thickness, 0.029 m .

Height of letters, 0.006 m .


No. 58. Fragment A


No. 58. Fragment B

Soon before $178 / 7$ в.c.
ca. 46
 A











The formulae were evidently compressed (cf. 30, 37). Lines $9-11$ give us the most reliable restoration, with a line so short that (1) patronymics must have been omitted for several of the officials; (2) uniquely, the Herald's title omits $\tau \tilde{\eta} s \beta o v \lambda \tilde{\eta} s$ x $\alpha i$ to $\boldsymbol{v}$ d $\dot{\eta} \mu o v$;
(3) the Undersecretary cannot have been named; (4) the Flutist's name, as supplied, makes the line $4 \frac{1}{1} / 2$ letters too long; (5) after his name the phrase $x \alpha i \sigma \tau \varepsilon \varphi \alpha \nu \tilde{\omega} \sigma \alpha \iota \frac{\varepsilon^{\prime} x \alpha \sigma \tau o \nu}{}$ $\alpha \dot{v} \tau \tilde{\omega} \nu$ must have been omitted.

The occurrence of a ninth official in the midst of the list (line 5) is unique. The only candidate is the $\alpha \nu \tau \iota \gamma \varrho \alpha \varphi \varepsilon v_{s}$ of later decades (p.19).

The date is certainly ante-169/8, because the Single Officer paid, and probably ante-178/7, because the $\tau \alpha \mu i \alpha_{S} \tau \tilde{\eta}_{S} \beta o v \lambda \tilde{\eta} S$ is not listed last, and no Berenikid Herald is positively dated after $178 / 7$.
59. Agora I 1712. Three fragments of Hymettian marble. Part of the smooth right side of $A$ is preserved; on B part of the toothed left side; on C part of the smooth right side. Otherwise broken. A was found on April 18, 1934, at 19/Kr in late fill of Section B. B was found on April 19, 1934, at $19 / \mathrm{K} \Delta$, in late fill of Section B. C was found on March 28, 1934, at $12 / \mathrm{KH}$ in late fill of Section B. All about 10 m . west of the Tholos.
(A) Height, 0.088 m. ; width, 0.069 m. ; thickness, 0.024 m .
(B) Height, 0.093 m. ; width, 0.058 m. ; thickness, 0.028 m .
(C) Height, 0.097 m. ; width, 0.073 m. ; thickness, 0.022 m .

Height of letters, 0.009 m .



The hand is the same as in 58 , whence the date, but the spacing is different. The letters are extremely regular. Their forms as well as their date suggest that the mason was only just learning the use of serifs (" apices ").

The three fragments are undoubtedly part of the same document, but B and C may come from the second decree.
60. I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 914$.

Soon before 178/7 в.c. Hippotiontis ca. 40










$[\gamma \varepsilon \nu \dot{\beta} \mu \varepsilon \nu о \nu \dot{\alpha} \nu] \dot{\alpha} \lambda \omega \mu \alpha$

| Column missing |  | Пєı@ $K \gamma \varphi \iota \sigma о х \lambda \tilde{\eta}_{S}$ | Column missing |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| except | 15 | Bíwv |  |
|  |  | $K \tau \eta \sigma \iota \sim \lambda \tilde{\eta}_{S}$ |  |
| - - - - - $]_{S}$ |  | इ ${ }^{\text {K̇tv@os }}$ |  |
|  |  | 'A¢ıбто[-- - - ] |  |
|  |  | Síuos |  |
|  | 20 | $M \alpha \nu \tau[\iota---]$ |  |

The restoration of this fragment made with the assumption that the left edge is preserved has led to violations of the rule of syllabification and to the assumption that there was a margin before the first column. When these peculiarities attracted attention, and examination of the stone showed that the left edge is post-classical, it also appeared that one letter of a preceding column can be read in the " margin," as indicated in the line numbered (for convenience) 12. To judge by measurements, there were three columns; we have the central, and the restoration given in the text conforms exactly to the measurements and to the principle of syllabification.

The name of the Priest is supplied, with precise conformity to spacing, from 64 (q. v.) of $178 / 7$, where also he was not a member of the tribe honored. The $\boldsymbol{i \alpha \mu i \alpha} \boldsymbol{s}_{s} \tau \tilde{\eta} s$ $\beta o v \lambda \tilde{\eta}_{s}$ is certainly absent (p. 18). The Flutist, however, is not Kallikrates of Thorikos, who appears first in 64. The dating is based on these two facts.

The Treasurer of the Boule is omitted, as in other inscriptions of the period down to $178 / 7$ в.c. (p. 18).
61. Agora I 838. Lower left corner of large stele of Hymettian marble, the back rough-picked and much worn; the left side rough-picked, with a toothed chiselled band $c a .0 .075 \mathrm{~m}$. wide along the front edge. At the bottom, the start of a tongue for setting is preserved; above this the lower part of the stele is left rough for ca. 0.06 m . Top and right broken. Found on May 20, 1933, at 20/Mr, in a Byzantine wall in Section $\Theta$.

Height, 0.345 m. ; width, 0.27 m ; width of face, $0.105 \mathrm{~m} . ;$ thickness, 0.224 m .
Height of letters, 0.006 m .


The incised guiding lines plainly indicate the design: a column of names above each citation. There should be 6 citations, all in one row, or part in a second row. That all six were in one row is proved by the unusual thickness of the stele, which is appropriate for a stele at least six times as wide as the preserved column-citation. Since Kekropis had at this time 9 demes, the list of 59 items was drawn up in columns of 10 each, except the last, which had $9 .{ }^{1}$

The panel for the large deme Aixone undoubtedly extended through the second column; hence Aixone had 11 ( + ?) representatives. The 7 prytaneis in lines $2-8$ must be of either Melite, Xypete, or Halai. The preference for Halai is based on the identifications of two names. ${ }^{2}$ The date is suggested by the second of these, and by the style of the lettering.

Line 3: cf. P.A., 4602, 4603, and 4604, possible relatives of the fifth, fourth, and first centuries.

Line 4: P.A., 9918, $M \varepsilon \nu \varepsilon \propto \lambda \tilde{\eta}_{S} \mathcal{A}[\overline{\prime \prime} \sigma-$



Line 15: The names Ev $\xi_{i v i \delta} \eta_{S}$ (P.A., 5882 ) and $E v \xi^{\prime} \varepsilon v o s(P . A ., 5891)$ are both known in Aixone.

Lines 22-24: A descendant, Nıxó-
 in 107/6 (I.G., II ${ }^{2}$, 1011, line 105).


No. 61

The citation preserved should from its position be that of the Priest: if so, it is notable that he was not of Kekropis (p. 16).
62. Agora I 1561. Fragment of Hymettian marble, broken on all sides, found on March 14, 1934, at 10/I, in a late wall, 2 m . north of the Tholos in Section B.

Height, $0.242 \mathrm{~m} . ;$ width, 0.135 m. ; thickness, 0.075 m .
Height of letters, 0.004 m .

[^47]| Early second century |  |
| :---: | :---: |
|  | -]s |
|  | -]vios |
|  | vacat |
|  | 0.03 m . |
|  | ๆ $\beta$ oud̀ |
|  | 'A@ıбтọ́! $\lambda$ ov |
| 5 | Xодаœ $\gamma^{\prime} \alpha$ vacat |
|  | 0.125 m . |

The fragment bears a citation beneath the register of prytaneis, which is represented by five letters. The small lettering, and the blank beneath, indicate that a single row of five or six citations extended across the stele. The preserved citation cannot have been either the first or the last in this row.


No. 62
63. Agora I 907. Fragment of a stele of Pentelic marble, broken away on all sides. Found on June 1, 1933, at 28/1 $\Theta$ in Section H.

Height, $0.075 \mathrm{~m} . ;$ width, $0.07 \mathrm{~m} . ;$ thickness, 0.05 m .
Height of letters, 0.007 m .

## Leontis

Early second century b.c.

[-ca. $\left.{ }^{4}-\right] \varepsilon \mu \varepsilon$ 核[--]
$\left[\begin{array}{lll}\boldsymbol{l}^{\boldsymbol{A}} & \lambda & \iota\end{array}\right] \mu \boldsymbol{\rho}$

$5 \quad[-\underset{ }{c a}-]_{S}$ vacat


No. 63

The wide spacing in line 3 must indicate a demotic. This being so, the list is not arranged as if for ephebes, and it must be taken as being probably a list of prytaneis. The style fixes the date.

In this period patronymics are given only to distinguish homonymous demesmen (p. 29, n. 1), and apparently we must admit one such in line 4.
64. Agora I 1025. Photograph, p. 5. Stele of Hymettian marble, with the upper left akroterion broken away; broken also at the lower left corner, but here there is a small joining fragment with a few letters. Found on June 26, 1933. For the place of finding see Hesperia, IV (1935), p. 475.

Height of stele, 1.285 m. ; width near bottom where it is widest, 0.61 m ; thickness near bottom, 0.145 m .

Height of letters, $0.005-0.006 \mathrm{~m}$.

178/7 в.с.
Hippothontis
ca. 72















vacat

| $\hat{\eta} \beta$ oudi |  |  |  | i) $\beta$ ovin |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| тòv $\tau \alpha \mu i \alpha \nu$ | ${ }^{20}$ | $\delta \delta \bar{\eta} \mu 0{ }^{\prime}$ |  | то̀ү $\gamma$ ¢ $\mu \mu \mu \alpha$ |
| Osódozov |  |  |  | $\tau \varepsilon$ ¢́ ${ }^{\prime}$ |
|  |  | тov̀¢ $\pi \varrho v \tau \alpha{ }^{\prime} \nu \varepsilon \iota ¢$ | ${ }^{25}$ |  |
|  |  |  |  | ${ }^{\text {'Elevoivo }}$ |

















vacat

| ${ }_{\text {z }} \times$ K Koilins | 60 | Sírulos |  | Пòvíurgotos |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ©ródotos ©rodótov |  | ＇AXe¢doúato |  | Nixav |  | Пohvív |
|  |  | Ezvicos |  | $N ı x \circ<\lambda \tilde{\eta}_{S}$ |  |  |
| $\Sigma_{\eta}[\mu \omega]$ vid $\gamma_{S}$ |  | Evióxoitos |  | $\Pi \alpha \tau \varrho о \chi \lambda \tilde{r}_{S}$ |  |  |
| Kไécuv |  |  | 80 | इ́úcı̇os | ${ }_{95}$ | Novainıos |
|  | 65 | Eıuias |  | Єvuaıcód $\alpha \downarrow$ |  | Aveídat |
| ＇A ¢ох́бт¢атоs |  |  |  | ${ }^{\prime} \boldsymbol{A} \nu \delta \varrho$ ¢́ćas |  | ＇Enivizos |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Өéneos |  | ${ }^{\prime} \mathcal{A}^{\prime} \hat{\nu}^{\prime} \nu \tau \alpha_{S}$ |  | Фı $\lambda$ ótros |  | Aioxivns |
| Tıиохоф́trs |  |  | 85 | ＇E2alov́otot | 100 | П¢ө́т $\chi^{\text {¢ }}$ |
|  | 70 | $\triangle \varepsilon x \varepsilon \lambda \varepsilon \varepsilon \tau_{S}$ |  | Фincuvidrs |  | ${ }^{\prime} A \nu \alpha \times \alpha 1 \varepsilon \varepsilon_{S}$ |
| $\Sigma \omega \sigma$ Ixoćlıs |  | ${ }^{\prime}$ I¢¢ох入й ${ }_{\text {c }}$ |  | Xaı¢ín |  |  |
|  |  | $\Pi \varepsilon$ ¢¢ $<1 \varepsilon$ ¢ |  | ＂Avtalos |  | ＇Eooıód $\alpha \iota$ |
| Aiódouos |  | Orópouros |  | K $\alpha \lambda \lambda i \sigma \tau \varrho \alpha \tau$ о |  | Nexox＠⿰́九rrs |
| ＇H¢о́x入вıos |  | Qródwoos | 90 |  | 105 | Кд́л¢єıо |
|  | 75 | Oródozos |  |  |  | ${ }^{\text {＇Onjoix＠itos }}$ |
| Nıxódnuos |  |  |  |  |  |  |

vacat
रु ßovג̀े
Ө＠র́б兀лто⿱

in $178 / 7$ в.c.; Dinsmoor's exposition is clear and final. ${ }^{1}$ Philon's secretary, on the other hand, is new to us. The demotic חotáuıos shows that he was of Leontis (IV), which according to Ferguson's scheme ${ }^{2}$ did in fact furnish the secretary in 178/7. Dinsmoor's scheme, which called for an Archon from Tribe V in this year, is thus proved for the second time to be wrong. In fact it is difficult not to regard the cycles for the period in question, $200-158 / 7$ b.c., as finally established. This conclusion was first enforced by the inscription of the year of Eunikos (Meritt, Hesperia, III [1934], no. 18, p. 20; cf. also Hesperia, V [1936], no. 17), and is confirmed again in an inscription of 196/5 (Hesperia, V [1936], no. 15).

It was unknown hitherto that the predecessor of Philon was a Menedemos. A Delian dedication has the name of an archon Menedemos who must be dated after $106 / 5$ b.c. ${ }^{3}$ There were therefore two archons of this name; to the period of one of them must be assigned the papyrus Herculaneum 1780, an elaborate, fragmentary, and largely illegible account of the Garden, which mentions an archon Menedemos near its present end. Crönert assigned the document to the period ca. 210-180 b.c. ${ }^{4}$ His clue was merely a name, and when the Delian dedication appeared, scholars disregarded Crönert's reasoning and gave the papyrus the later date. The discovery of an earlier Menedemos opens wide the possibility that Crönert was right. ${ }^{5}$

Since it was felt necessary to distinguish the Philon who dates the present text from a predecessor, we must consider dating a new archon Philon within the generation which preceded $178 / 7$ b.c. We have seen (p. 107, n. 1) that the name can be supplied, as Kolbe suggested, in 49 ; the supposition of a third Philon is unobjectionable, since the name was very common. Kolbe's daring suggestion may well have been correct. Several years are available for this, and perhaps for yet a third, Philon. ${ }^{6}$

For calendar equations we have

$$
\begin{aligned}
\text { I Pryt. IV, } 30 & =\text { Pyanopsion } 22 \text { (backward count) } \\
& =\text { Pyanopsion } 29 \text { (forward count) } \\
\text { II Pryt. V, } 10 & =\text { Maimakterion } 6
\end{aligned}
$$

${ }^{1}$ Archons, pp. 256-257, with references.
${ }^{2}$ Athenian Tribal Cycles (1932).
${ }^{3}$ Dinsmoor, Archons, pp. 289-290.
${ }^{4}$ W. Crönert, Kolotes und Menedemos (Studien zur Paläographie und Papyruskunde, ed. C. Wessely), pp. 81-87, 181.
${ }^{5}$ It seems clear that any study of the question should be preceded by painstaking scrutiny of the papyrus. Crönert admits (op. cit., p. 181) that his reading of the name of an archon otherwise unknown needs to be checked: [ $\left.\bar{\varepsilon} \pi^{\prime}{ }^{\prime} I\right] \sigma o x \varrho \alpha ́ \tau o v s ~ \alpha, ~ \rho[\chi o v \tau o s]$, in a context where a date might occur. If the reading is correct, then we must consider moving Isokrates also back again from his present date ca. 94/3 (cf. Dinsmoor, Archons, p. 289). The name might be supplied in the difficult I.G., II ${ }^{2}, 934 / 5$ (archon's name, in genitive, --- tovs), which is currently assigned to $189 / 8$ в.c.
${ }^{6}$ At this writing they are $208 / 7,205 / 4,202 / 1-197 / 6,195 / 4,194 / 3,190 / 89,184 / 3,180 / 79$ (of which the latter two are improbable in view of possible confusions).

From these it appears that the interval between the two decrees was at least ten days; hence the forward count in I is excluded. The interval (Pyan. 22 to Mai. 6) must have been at least 14 days. This means that Pryt. IV was of at least 34 days. Since in an intercalary year the prytanies should have averaged 32 days each, it must be assumed that the year was intercalary, and that at least one prytany had as many as 34 days. But the disposition of the early months and prytanies of the year leaves problems that are still unsolved and in need further of study.

Lines 1 and 27: the archon Menedemos is probably the mint magistrate, P.A., 9889.
Line 3: two daughters of Herakleides of the Kerameikos: P.A., 6438 and 10430.
 ह̇лi $\tau \grave{\eta} \nu \quad \sigma \iota \tau \emptyset \varrho \alpha \dot{\nu} \nu(P . A ., 6795) .{ }^{1}$ It was presumably his grandfather, $\Theta \varepsilon[o ́ \delta o \tau o s ~ \Theta \varepsilon o \delta o ́ v o] v$ éx Koil $\eta_{S}$ (as we should read in line 8 of $I$.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 838$ ) who served as chairman of the proedroi in 226/5.

Line 30: the spokesman is listed in a low position in the register (line 83). See p. 19. He appears again, as spokesman of 73.

Lines 36, 108-109: the Priest $\Theta \varrho \alpha \alpha^{\prime} \sigma \iota \pi \pi o s ~ K \alpha \lambda \lambda i o v ~ I \alpha \varrho \gamma \gamma^{\prime} \tau \tau \iota o s, ~ w h o s e ~ t r i b a l ~ m e m b e r s h i p ~$ has been discussed above ( p .15 ), belongs to a family of which five generations are known. ${ }^{2}$

| ca. 273 |  |
| :---: | :---: |
| 240 |  |
| Soon before |  |
| 178/7 |  |
| 178/7 |  |
|  | inscription. |
| century | $\Theta \varrho \dot{\alpha} \sigma \iota \pi \sigma_{S}$ (II) $K a \lambda \lambda[i] a$ (I) ['A] $\vartheta_{\eta} \nu a\left[\tilde{i} \sigma_{S}\right]$, the same, was made a proxenos (?) of a Cretan city, I.G., II ${ }^{2}$, 1130 , lines 2, 11. |
| ca. 178/7 |  äлоßátทs, I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$, 2314, line 37 (P.A., 7835). |
| ca. 156 |  D.C.A., p. 136). |
| ca. 153/2 |  <br>  |
| 124/3 | The same, Agoranomos in Delos (Roussel, D.C.A., p. 183: N.P.A., p. 99). |

[^48]Lines 37, 114-115: the Undersecretary is known from I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$, 2332, lines 128-130, as having made a contribution in $183 / 2$ b.c. on behalf of himself, his wife, and his son Diphilos (P.A., 3540, 4488; cf. also 10020, 10021, grave monuments of Mevé $\sigma \tau \varrho \alpha \tau o s$


Lines 39, 122-124: K $\alpha_{\lambda} \lambda \iota \pi \pi o s ~ A \varepsilon ́ o v \tau o s ~ A i \xi \omega \nu \varepsilon v_{s}$, himself hitherto unknown, was the son of one of the leading statesmen of Athens and a member of one of the most prominent houses of the period. For the stemma of the family, see P.A., 8445 ; for Leon the father, P.A., 9108 and N.P.A., p.117. The name Kallippos occurs in another famous family of Aixone (P.A., 14825 has the stemma; add N.P.A., p. 106). The occurrence of the name in Leon's family suggests that the two houses were allied earlier by marriage. It is notable that Kallippos, presumably at the beginning of his career, did not scorn to be Treasurer of the Boule.
 [K]oìirs.

Line 50: a possible ancestor is P.A., 8633.
Line 51: a possible ancestor is P.A., 7226.
Line 52: a possible ancestor is P.A., 13765.
Line 53: a possible ancestor is P.A., 6031.
Line 56: possible relatives are P.A., $3894,3895$.
Line 59: the same man was probably elected $\varepsilon \pi i \grave{\tau} \eta_{\nu}^{\nu} \varphi v \lambda \alpha \kappa \grave{\nu} \nu \tau \tilde{\omega} \nu$ iع@ $\tilde{\omega} \nu \chi \varrho \eta \mu \alpha \dot{\alpha} \tau \omega \nu$ in Delos in the archonship of Archon, 147/6 в.c. (P.A., 10866).
 (P.A., 5618; N.P.A., p. 77).

Line 66: the name Reovaućvrs is otherwise known in Athens only from a mint magistrate of 186-146.
 (P.A., 1860).

Line 73 : possibly related to P.A., 6679 , who was prominent in the preceding generation.
Line 75: a prominent family which had this name is P.A., 6802, etc.
Line 80: possible ancestors: P.A., 13419, 13420.
Line 83: See under line 30.
Line 87: a possible descendant was ephebe in 101/0 (P.A., 15262).
Line 91: the name $\Pi o \hat{\imath} v v^{\prime} \omega v$ is new in Athens.
 ca. 130-128 (I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$, 1939, line 9: P.A., 346).
65. Agora I 1057. Fragment of a stele of Hymettian marble, with the upper left corner, including part of the pedimental top, preserved. Side worked with tooth chisel; back rough-picked. Found on November 23, 1933; for place of discovery see Hesperia, IV (1935), p. 474.

Height, 0.25 m. ; width, 0.108 m. ; thickness of pediment, 0.131 m. ; thickness of inscribed part, 0.102 m .

Height of letters, 0.006 m .

> 177/6 в.c. 65-68
$\sigma \iota \tilde{\omega} \nu \tau \tilde{\omega} \iota \tau[\varepsilon$ ' $A \pi \delta \dot{\prime} \lambda \lambda \omega \nu \iota \tau \tilde{\omega} \iota ~ \Pi \varrho о \sigma \tau \alpha \tau \gamma \varrho i \omega \iota, x \tau \lambda$.

The letters are by the same hand as I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 904$, archon Hippakos, of $176 / 5$. The archon and secretary, neither of whom has hitherto been known, must have served in a year when Ptolemais (V) provided the secretary. The very year before Hippakos is eligible, whereas we must ascend to $201 / 0$ (latter part) or descend to ca. 153/2 in order to find room elsewhere for a secretary from Phlya. The stele and text probably resembled 64.

Only three Athenians are known to have been named Speusippos: one mentioned by Andokides (P.A., 12845); the philosopher, Plato's nephew, of Myrrhinous (P.A., 12847); and a Speusippos of Azene, on whose behalf his brother Alexion contributed in $183 / 2$ b.c. (I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$, 2332, line 15 : P.A., 12846). The archon Speusippos was probably the Azenian, or an elder, homonymous relative.
66. I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$, 919. Soon after $178 / 7$ b.c. Oineis. The stone has suffered since Sundwall read it; not all he saw can now be made out. The style should keep the date as early as payment by the Treasurer of Military Funds will allow; i.e., soon after $178 / 7$ b.c.

In the register, only abbreviated patronymics were given when necessary. Thus we have in line 10 ©eódotos $1[-$. There were probably four columns of $15-16$ items each (63 in all). We have the third, and a bit of the second,


No. 65
since lines 5-6 are Acharneis, and that deme had over 20 representatives. Line " 20 " appears-the stone is difficult-to be blank, giving 15 lines in the preserved column. Bits of strokes in lines 25 and 26 may belong to a citation.
67. I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$, 920. Soon after $178 / 7$ b.c. Erechthers. The stone is broken on both sides. In the text, as drawn up by Koehler, we have a first decree, and one citation following it: the person named must have been either the Treasurer (cited on the left) or the Secretary (cited on the right). Between should be the crown given the prytaneis by the Demos. Actually, two letters of this central citation are preserved. Hence between the first and the (lost) second decree, we have:

| [ $\left.\begin{array}{l}\dot{\gamma} \\ \beta\end{array}\right)$ | [ $\left.\delta \delta \tilde{\eta}_{\mu} 1\right]$ ¢S | if Bounh |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| [name and | [ $\boldsymbol{\text { où }}$ ¢ л@ v] | ${ }^{\prime} O[\varrho] \theta \alpha \gamma$ ó $¢[\alpha \nu]$ |
| demotic of | [ $\tau \boldsymbol{\alpha} \boldsymbol{\nu} \varepsilon$ ıऽ $]$ | $\Lambda \alpha \mu \pi\left[\tau \varrho \varepsilon^{\prime} \alpha\right]$ |
| Treasurer] |  |  |

The text should be re-arranged accordingly, with the bulk of the words shifted to the left of the citation of the secretary. Restorations are not affected. Line 1 is probably
 are ONHN. In line 6 the adverb was [ $\varphi, \lambda o \tau i \mu \omega \varsigma]$. Since the secretary was of Lamptrai, the prytany honored was of Erechtheis (restore in line 8). The style might seem earlier, ca. 200 b.c. in fact, but payment by the Treasurer of Military Funds probably imposes a date after $178 / 7$ b.c. (p. 12).
68. I. G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$, 921 (lost). Ante169/8 b.c. Attalis. In line 1 Pittakys read AПANTA. The arrangement was peculiar, since after the (preserved) first decree there were cited the treasurer, the prytaneis, the secretary, and a third official, the Priest(?); cf. 84. The latter is not a member of the prytanizing tribe; this by itself suggests a date ca. 178/7 (p. 16). Lines 8-9 should be shortened by
 тòv $\tau \alpha \mu i ́ \alpha \nu$ т $\tilde{\omega} \nu \quad \sigma \tau \varrho \alpha \tau \iota \omega \tau \iota x \tilde{\omega}$ י. This gives a date ante-169/8.
69. Agora I 656. Upper left corner of a pediment-topped stele of Pentelic marble, with the back rough-picked, the left side somewhat smoother, and

the surface at the left side rather flaky. Found April 5, 1933; for the place of finding, see Hesperia, IV (1935), p. 474.

Height, ca. 0.265 m. ; width, $c a .0 .25 \mathrm{~m}$. ; thickness, $c a .0 .135 \mathrm{~m}$.
Height of letters, 0.005 m . to 0.006 m .
The patronymic of the secretary is shown to be Bıo七ślov, as was formerly believed, and not $B ı o ́[\tau \tau] o v$, as lately.

It is notable that already on the eighteenth day of the prytany, the councillors were honored by the Demos. No others are known to have been honored quite so early (p. 7).

> 175/4 в.с.

Kekropis
ca. 55













70. Agora I 2913. Seven broken pieces of Hymettian marble. Fragment $D$ and another tiny uninscribed bit were not photographed. The larger part of Fragment A is in places badly discolored by burning. Some smaller pieces fit directly on to a discolored face of the other. Found on May 23 and 24,1935 , at $54 / \mathrm{NH}$, under a Late Roman wall, in wall trench of the Odeion, in Section $\Xi$. Fragment $A$ is broken on all sides and on the back. $B$ and $C$ preserve the left edge. $D$ and $G$ are from the sides. $G$ is not inscribed.
(A) Height, 0.17 m. ; width, 0.22 m. ; thickness, 0.082 m .

Height of letters, 0.005 to 0.006 m .

## Ptolemais? or Antiochis?

182/1-170/69 (nearer the latter) в.c. ca. 43





Frag．
B
［ $\alpha \alpha i]$ тòv $\gamma \varrho \alpha \mu \mu \alpha \tau \varepsilon \dot{\varepsilon} \alpha{ }^{\prime}$＇A $\pi o \lambda[$




 ［ $\alpha v \lambda \lambda \eta \tau \grave{\nu} \nu K \alpha \lambda \lambda]!x \varrho \alpha ́ \tau \eta \nu \quad K \alpha \lambda \lambda \iota x \varrho[\alpha \dot{\tau} \tau 0 v$ Oo＠ixıov x $\alpha i$ тòv $\tau \alpha]$


 $[\lambda \varepsilon \iota \quad \lambda \iota \theta i v \varepsilon \iota \varkappa \alpha i \quad \sigma \tau \tilde{\gamma} \sigma \alpha]!$ ह̇v［ $\tau \tilde{\omega} \iota \pi \varrho v \tau \alpha \nu \iota x \tilde{\omega} \iota, x \tau \lambda$ ．］

| $\begin{gathered} \text { Frag. }^{\text {B }} \end{gathered}$ | ［Ф］$\_\lambda o x \varrho \alpha ́[\tau \eta s]$ <br> $[\Theta] \varepsilon \circ \varphi \alpha \nu[-$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { Frag. } \\ \mathrm{E} \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \sum_{\mathrm{K}} \mathrm{I} \end{aligned}$ | Frag． F |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | ${ }^{\text {＇Hy }}$ ¢ $\lambda$ ox［os］ |  | $\wedge$ |  | vvo |
|  | Níx 0 ¢ $[0 ¢]$ |  |  |  | $v v$ |
| 20 | ［．．．］$\mu$［ | Frag． <br> D | $\Delta$ |  |  |
| Frag． | 涪 |  |  |  |  |
| C | $\wedge$ |  |  |  |  |
|  | E |  |  |  |  |

The officials praised were either of Ptolemais or Antiochis，if we may judge from the demotic of the Priest（line 7），a doubtful criterion（p．15）．


A


The name of the Treasurer of the Boule (line 12) might be [ $E z \sigma] \tau \varrho \alpha \tau o s$, for instance,


The Secretary of the Boule and the Demos, $\boldsymbol{\Phi}_{i} \lambda \omega \nu$ $\boldsymbol{\Phi} i \lambda \omega \nu o s$ Evinvoid $\eta_{s}$, appears in I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$, 2332, line 211, where we read that on behalf of Philon (no patronymic given) of Eupyridai a certain ' $\mathcal{A} \varrho \chi \iota \kappa \lambda \tilde{\eta}_{S}{ }^{\prime} A t \varrho \alpha \mu v \tau[\eta] \nu\left[o_{S}\right]$ made a contribution. Philon was presumably a minor at that time, 183/2 в.c. Our inscription probably dates from his akme in the 170's (P.A., 14840), not in or after 169/8, when Philokles of Trinemeia was Herald.
 fourth century (N.P.A., p. 29). A possible grandson of the latter is [. . . . ${ }^{10} . .^{\prime}$. A $\left.\rho \iota \sigma\right]$ vo-
 lines 6-7).
71. I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 910$ (Fragment A) plus Agora I 600 (Fragment B: two joined pieces). The stele is of Hymettian marble; the pieces do not join, but the hand is the same, the spacing (vertically, 0.009 m . to a line) is identical, the thickness is equal, and the width is 0.02 m . greater in the Agora piece, as would be proper in a tapering stele. Fragment B was found on March 23, 1933; for the place of discovery see Hesperia, IV (1935), p. 475.
(B) Height preserved, 0.73 m. ; width at bottom, $0.472 \mathrm{~m} . ;$ width at top, 0.445 m. ; thickness, 0.11 m .

Height of letters, 0.006 m .

169/8 в.с.
Antiochis
44-47










 $\left.\varrho!\left[\begin{array}{ll}\alpha \iota & \tau \tilde{\eta}\end{array}\right] s \in\left[\varepsilon \beta o v \lambda \tilde{\eta} \tilde{S}_{S}-\right)^{-}-\right]$

Supply end of Decree I, wreaths, and beginning of Decree II, as in 64.
 B





No. 71. Fragment B

 $[\delta \dot{\eta} \mu o v,] \quad \grave{\varepsilon} \pi \iota \mu \varepsilon \mu \varepsilon \lambda \tilde{\eta} \sigma \theta \alpha \iota \quad \delta \grave{\varepsilon} \quad x\left[\begin{array}{lllll}\alpha i & \tau & \tilde{\omega} \nu & \alpha \\ \lambda\end{array} \lambda \omega \nu \quad \alpha \pi \alpha \dot{\alpha} \nu \tau \omega \nu \quad x \alpha \lambda \tilde{\omega}_{S} \quad x \alpha i\right]$











 $\tau \iota x \tilde{\omega} \nu$ тò $\gamma \varepsilon \nu o ́ \mu \varepsilon \nu \circ \nu \alpha \nu \alpha \dot{\alpha} \lambda \omega \mu \alpha$ ．

| ${ }^{\prime} \mathcal{A} \mu \varphi \iota \tau \varrho о \pi \tilde{\eta} \theta \varepsilon \nu$ <br> ［X］$\alpha$ iюıллоя |  |  Кл $\eta \sigma \iota \varphi \tilde{\omega} \nu$ |  |  Tí $\mu \omega \nu$ |  | $\Sigma \eta \mu \alpha \chi i \delta \alpha \iota$ Фì $\lambda \omega \nu$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Ev̇vídıxos |  | ${ }^{\prime} \boldsymbol{A} \nu \propto \varphi \lambda$ v́бтıo七 |  | Zwithos |  | Ev̉x＠র́tı |
| 35 ［＇O］$\lambda v \mu \pi \iota \circ$ d $\omega$＠os | 50 | ${ }^{\top} O \varphi \varepsilon ์ \lambda \alpha{ }^{\prime}$ | ${ }^{65}$ |  | 80 |  |
| ．${ }^{\text {．}}$ v $\nu$ ¢ 0 S |  | Kа＠$\pi$ ód $\omega \varrho$ оя |  | Evo ${ }^{\prime} \nu \delta \varrho O^{\prime}$ |  | ＇A＠ıтi＇$\omega \nu$ |
| $\Pi \alpha \lambda \lambda \eta \nu \varepsilon \tau_{S}$ |  | Фúбzos |  | Ti $\mu \omega \nu$ |  | По́лv ${ }^{\text {os }}$ |
| Ev̋ $\delta \eta \mu \mathrm{os}$ |  | ＇Avdৎóvıxos |  | Nıxógavtos |  | ＇A＠ıбтох＠о́tךs |
| ＇Avtıx入ñs |  |  |  |  |  | ${ }^{\prime \prime} A \lambda \varepsilon \xi \iota ¢$ |
|  | 55 | ${ }^{\prime} \dot{A} \lambda \omega \pi \varepsilon \chi \tilde{\eta} \dot{\theta} \varepsilon \nu$ | 70 | $B \eta \sigma \alpha \iota \varepsilon i{ }_{S}$ | 85 |  |
|  |  | $\underline{T} \eta[\lambda] \varepsilon[\varphi \dot{\alpha}] \underline{\eta} \eta[\varsigma]$ |  |  |  | Aiбu＠ovidrs |
| ［ $\Sigma$ ］$\omega \sigma i \beta \iota o s$ |  |  |  | $K \varrho \iota \omega \varepsilon \tau ¢$ |  | ${ }^{\prime} E \varrho O \iota \alpha^{\prime} \delta^{\circ} \alpha \iota$ |
| ［Name］ |  | $\Delta[\eta] \mu[\dot{\eta}]$ ¢ $¢!0 s$ |  | Mevíбos |  | $\Theta \varepsilon о \alpha \lambda \tilde{\eta} S$ |
| ［．$\left.{ }^{c a} .{ }^{5} .{ }^{1 / 1 / 2}.\right] o[\mathrm{~S}]$ |  | ［Name］ |  |  |  | $\Theta o \varrho \alpha \iota \varepsilon \tau_{S}$ |
| $45 \begin{aligned} & 2^{21 / 2} \cdot \alpha \varrho \chi O S \\ & \\ & \quad[E i \tau] \varepsilon \alpha \tilde{i} o[\iota] \end{aligned}$ |  | $\begin{aligned} & {\left[. c a: 5^{51 / 2} .\right] o[5]} \\ & \text { [Name] } \end{aligned}$ | 75 | ${ }^{\prime}{ }^{\prime} \gamma \alpha \theta o \kappa \lambda \tilde{\eta} s$ Побєıбஸ́vıos | 90 | ＇A＠っбтох＠$\alpha t \eta$ s <br> ［．］$v_{\alpha}^{\alpha} \propto \eta_{S}$ |
| vacat |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| ［ $\hat{\eta} \beta$ Oov $\lambda \grave{\eta}]$ |  | ［ $\hat{\eta} \beta$ Oov ${ }^{\text {r }}$ ］ |  | ［ $\left.\begin{array}{l}\eta \\ \beta\end{array}\right)$ |  | $\eta \beta$ Ovגウ |
| ［＇Avtıxג ${ }^{\prime} \nu$ ］ |  | ［＇A＠xźve ${ }^{\text {c }}$ |  | ［ $1 . . o v$ ］ |  | ［ $\Phi, \lambda] 0 x \lambda \tilde{\eta} \nu$ |
| ［ $\left.\Pi \alpha \lambda \lambda r>\varepsilon^{\prime} \alpha\right]$ |  |  | 100 | ［＇A ${ }^{\prime} \alpha \iota \varepsilon$＇$\alpha$ ］ |  | T＠ıv¢ $\mu$ |
|  |  |  |  |  |  | $\varepsilon ¢ \varepsilon ์ \alpha$ |
|  |  |  |  | ［ $\eta$ ］$\beta$ ov ${ }^{\text {［ }}$［ $]$ |  |  |
|  |  | $K \alpha \lambda \lambda \iota x \varrho \alpha \dot{\tau} \eta \nu$ |  | ［ $\Sigma \dot{\omega} \pi \alpha \alpha \varrho \rho \nu]$ |  |  |
|  |  | ©oo［ixıov］ |  | $\left[\begin{array}{l}\bar{\varepsilon} \gamma \\ M\end{array} \mathrm{Mv} \mathrm{\varrho}\right] \rho \iota \nu$ |  |  |
|  |  |  |  | ov́r［ $\tau \eta s$ ］ |  |  |

Minor differences between the text above and that of I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 910$ need not be specified. Certain stubborn peculiarities in the text call for brief comment. In line 1 after the name of the prytany I find no clear trace of any letter, and for at least two spaces there is no erasure. The spaces apparently blank occupy in all 0.005 m . less than $\varepsilon[\beta] \delta \delta \dot{\varepsilon} \mu \mathrm{s}$, so that apparently a blank was left for the numeral to be inserted, and it did not fill the space. In lines 16-17, an irregularity must be the explanation of the gap.The mason wrote $\Sigma$ TE

Line 34: The same man, or a relative, appears on a columella: Eviv́dixos Evóíxov ${ }^{\prime} \mathcal{A}^{\prime} \varphi \iota \imath \varrho о \pi \tilde{\eta} \theta \varepsilon \nu($ I. G., IV, 2, 1839 b).

Line 39: The Priest is listed immediately after the Secretary. It is notable that the Priest is also a prytanis (p. 16). For his father, perhaps, or his son, see the grave monument I.G., II, 2429, 'Avtıy'́vrs 'Avtıx

Line 42: Two Palleneans named Sosibios, apparently of different families, contributed in 183/2 (I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 2332$, lines 62,134 ).

Line 50: An uncle, or perhaps the father, was thesmothetes of 183/2: ' $O \varphi \varphi^{\prime} \lambda \alpha_{S}{ }^{\prime} \mathcal{A} \nu \alpha-$ $\varphi \lambda v ́ \sigma \tau \iota o s\left(I . G ., \mathrm{II}^{2}, 2332\right.$, line 125).
 1008, line 93).
 line 7) is probably the same man.
 3377), may have been a grandson.

Lines 63, 67: The presence of two Timons in Alopeke is noteworthy; see also under line 42 . No patronymics whatever appear in the present register.

Line 64: Various possible relatives are collected under P.A., 6236: one is Prytany Secretary of $226 / 5$.

Line 81: 'A@ıбt[--] S $\eta \mu \alpha x i \delta \eta s$, who proposed a decree in or before $168 / 7$ (I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$, 945 , lines 5-6), may be the same man.

Line 82: The letters are clear: is $\Pi \dot{\alpha} \pi v \lambda o s$ a name new to Greek, or a more radical error than we have in line 80 ? See also line 91.

Line 91: Here the first letter is uncertain and the third might of course be lambda.
The register of prytaneis is to be completed as indicated: we have all the demotics. The absence of Atene now substantiates the theory recently advanced that Atene was not subdivided (Hesperia, III [1934], p. 180).
72. Agora I 3054. Upper part of an inscribed stele of Hymettian marble, broken off diagonally at the bottom, found on June 24,1935 , in a modern fill in Section $\mathrm{N}^{\prime}$.

Height, 0.87 m. ; width of pediment, 0.62 m. ; width at first line, 0.57 m .; thickness, 0.16 m . Height of letters, $0.007-0.009 \mathrm{~m}$.


167/6?

## Oineis

ca. 45




















The citations are obliterated. Traces of some four lines of the second decree are illegible.

On the somewhat uncertain date of Nikosthenes the new decree throws no light. The lettering fits the period, and the year can be restored as ordinary, though with a slight preference for a numeral which gives the forward count.

The erasure of line 6 was probably made in order to include some phrase omitted by error.
73. Hesperia, III (1934), p. 21, no. 19. 166/5 b.c. Aiantis. The stone was found as a cover slab of the great drain in front of the Metroön (see Hesperia, IV [1935], p. 475). The first decree and the citations of the treasurer, prytaneis, and secretary, are altogether broken away; that the stele originally bore more text is proved by the amount of uninscribed stone above the preserved decree. The spacing of the letters is none too regular, but it seems certain that the name of the tribe in prytany (line 1) was of the shortest, probably Oiveidos. Stamires (letter to Meritt) corrects the reading $\beta$ ov $\lambda \tilde{\eta} \iota$ to $\beta o v \lambda \eta$ in line 3. The name of the spokesman, line 5, should be read as $\Pi \varrho \circ \alpha \lambda[\tilde{\eta} S$ П@o$x] \lambda \varepsilon \varepsilon_{0} v_{S} \Theta v \mu \alpha \iota \tau \alpha \dot{\delta} \eta \mathrm{~s}$, who proposed the second decree of 64 . In line 8, in place of ot
 Secretary's name, in line 13, had in all some 26 letters. For the Priest, Meritt's suggestion ${ }^{\prime} A \lambda_{\varepsilon} \xi_{i} \mid o v \alpha M \alpha \rho \alpha \theta \dot{\omega} \nu i o v(P . A ., 566)$ is reasonable, but the space excludes any demotic, since the title of the Secretary of the Boule and Demos is never abbreviated in the body of the decree (p. 16). The Flutist, line 17, was K $\alpha \lambda \lambda \iota x \varrho \alpha \dot{\tau} r \nu \nu$ Oo@ixıov (p. 18).

The mu at the beginning of line 5 belongs (in brackets) at the end of line 4 ; so also the nu at the beginning of line 21 should be restored at the end of line 20 , where the marble is chipped. Hence the principle of ending lines with syllables was not violated. In line 24 the third preserved letter is delta, not mu.

The register contained four columns of eleven items each, and a fifth of ten; the total, 54 , correctly permits the appearance of the four demotics Phalereis (which came first owing to the Treasurer), Marathonioi, Trikorusioi, and finally, as the names show, Rhamnousioi. Since the demotic was probably not the last entry in column III, there were at least 22 Rhamnousioi. Of these, Meritt has identified two; Mévvえдos (line 37) is a name known in only one other deme. Four identifications may be added.
 103/2 в.с. in a list of Sabaziastai (I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$, 1335, line 54; P.A., 12535).

 vov́бıos], appears in No. 48, line 66.

Line 34: for a possible ancestor of the fourth century see P.A., 15457.
Line 35: the name $\Sigma \tilde{\omega} \sigma o s{ }^{\text {'Pap }}$ Pov́olos appears also in No. 48, line 60, possibly an uncle (see note on line 30 ).

The missing citations in the first row were for the Priest and the Secretary of the Boule; in the second row, for the Flutist.
74. I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$, 2864, mentioning a treasurer $\grave{\varepsilon} \pi \grave{\iota} \tau \grave{\alpha} \pi \varrho \nu \tau \alpha \nu \varepsilon \tilde{\alpha} \alpha$, is treated below, p. 198 f., where it is shown that this treasurer has no relation to the prytaneis.
75. I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$, 952. $161 / 0$ b.c. Aigeis. The preserved decree is the one normally second. Here it was set at the top of the stele, as the (preserved) moulding shows. The reason is probably that it was passed in the last prytany of the year, though unlike other similarly placed "second" decrees, it honors the next-to-the-last prytaneis (p.8).

The letters were inscribed by the same hand as 64. It is instructive to note what are presumably the mason's personal preferences in final consonants: $\tau \dot{o} \gamma \gamma \varrho \alpha \mu \mu \alpha \tau \varepsilon \alpha \alpha$ (both texts), $\tau \tilde{\omega} \mu \pi \varrho о \varepsilon ́ \delta \varrho \omega \nu$ (only the present text).

[^49]The name of the Treasurer should be restored in place of $x \alpha i$ $\tau \grave{\partial} \gamma \gamma \varrho \alpha \mu \mu \alpha \tau \varepsilon ́ \alpha$ in line 7. The name of the Undersecretary began with $A, \Delta$, or $\Lambda$. The Herald was $E v \tilde{x} \lambda \tilde{\eta} S$


Lines $9-10$ should be divided $\delta \varepsilon \delta o \dot{o} \mid[\chi \theta \alpha \iota]$.
76. Agora I 728. Fragment of a stele of Hymettian marble, preserved at the bottom and to its full width. The sides were dressed with a toothed chisel; the back was roughpicked, but worn smooth near the top where there is a shallow rut worn by wagon wheels. The surface of the stone is very crumbling. The stele formed part of a late Roman street paving, and was found on April 2ŏ, 1933, at 48/KГ, in Section Z, over the fork of the Great Drain.

Height, ca. $0.81 \mathrm{~m} . ;$ width, $0.465 \mathrm{~m} . ;$ thickness, $c a .0 .105 \mathrm{~m}$.
Height of letters, 0.006 m .
The water-worn surface makes squeezes impossible, and readings have to be made from the stone or from photographs. One photograph was taken in diffused natural light, and three others were made by artificial light, each with the rays directed from a different side. The photograph here published reveals clearly the exact number of lines in the decree. (It will be noted that 84 has 24 lines with about 44 letters in a line.) On this finding the text is based.

$$
\text { 160/59? в.c. Akamantis? } \quad c a .48
$$







 ${ }_{23} \quad[\alpha \nu \tau \tilde{\omega} \nu \quad \sigma \tau \varrho \alpha \tau \iota \omega \tau \iota \kappa \tilde{\omega} \nu$ tò $\gamma \varepsilon \nu o ́ \mu \varepsilon \nu \circ \nu \alpha \nu] \alpha[\lambda \omega \mu \alpha]$

## vacat




No. 76


The reading in line 1 is rendered highly doubtful by the absence of letters nearby; but the date suggested accords well with the dates of other slabs used as covers of the drain (169/8, 166/5, and 163/2: see Hesperia, II [1933], p. 16). The letters that have been read conform exactly to the formulae of a second decree, and establish the nature of the document beyond a doubt.

The limits of the register are vague at the end of Column V, and Column IV was abnormally long. There were, then, 61 items at least. Since no tribe should have 62, the length of Column V is fixed, and the number of demotics, if all was regular, was 11 , fitting Akamantis and Oineis. The reading given for line 50 appears to be easily the best interpretation of the traces, whatever the tribe. Cholargos was of Akamantis. In line 83, where a demotic should appear, the best reading of traces, which are indented as for a demotic, will fit none.

There were no citations after the register. Here the stone is comparatively well preserved. The citations are omitted also in 77, which has been dated on entirely other grounds to this very period. Above the decree also no citations appear, but in this area the stone is heavily worn.
77. I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$, 918. ca. 160 b.c. (same year as 78). Leontis. In the widely spaced last line of the (second) decree, $\tau \grave{\nu} \nu \bar{\varepsilon} \pi i ̀ \imath \varepsilon \tilde{\imath} \delta \iota o \iota \times \dot{\eta} \sigma \varepsilon \iota$ has been supplied, but the spacing excludes it. The line must read [uòv $\tau \alpha \mu i \alpha \nu$ дò $\left.\gamma \varepsilon v \gamma^{\prime} \mu \varepsilon \nu о \nu ~ d\right] \nu \dot{\alpha} \lambda \omega \mu \alpha$. This abbreviated formula is unique in the decrees for prytaneis, but is common in other decrees of the period. The year is the year of 78, as is proved under that title. Several restorations of names thereby become possible.

Line 1 ends with the name of the Treasurer; it reads [- $\left.{ }^{c a_{4}}{ }_{5}^{5}-\right] \nu$. This should be supplied in line 17, as the first prytanis. In lines $6-7$ the Secretary should not be identified with the 'A ${ }^{\prime}$ ívtuv listed under Aithalidai but rather with the first prytanis listed under the second demotic, [. ${ }^{41 / 2}$. $] \omega \omega$. This is the correct spacing in line 20 . Lines $6-7$


The register of prytaneis has names in erasures, col. III, lines 27 (where the erasure is as long as the next name), and 29 (where the erasure does not extend beyond the
name now in it); and line 30 has an erasure now almost empty (read [[...ca: ?...s]]), as is also the first line of col. IV. The erasures are all similar in appearance, and presumably are the work of the scribe who cut the text, for it was he who inscribed the two names in erasures. There are only 48 prytaneis apart from the two erasures. It seems preferable to regard the latter as incomplete corrections in a list intended to contain, among 50 prytaneis, 9 Cholleidai.

Another apparently careless feature of the list is its arrangement in columns successively of $17,15,15$, and 17 items each. A point of some importance is whether we should connect with these errors a third possible mistake. The Phrearrhioi were 10 in $212 / 1$ (36), and are here 3 ; whereas the Paionidai were 3 , and are here 10 . Gomme suggested that the mason cut $\phi P E A P P I O I$ for MAIONIDAI, and then made the opposite error (Population, p. 51, n.) ; but in his table (p. 59) he entered the figures given on the stone. Those who are tempted by the emendation must remember that it involves two uncorrected confusions of names which resemble each other only in length. The difficulty increases when we recall that corrections actually were made in the next two columns. The suggestion none the less has weight, especially when we recall the other apparently careless details, and when we note that the one demotic succeeds the other in the list. At present the names of the prytaneis involved give us no help, but there is light to be had from other sources. P.A. lists a total of only 59 demesmen from Paionidai. None of the individual lists of annual boards of archons contains a citizen of Paionidai, nor did the deme furnish one known Archon Eponymos under the Roman Empire. ${ }^{1}$ In the lengthy record of small contributions in $183 / 2$ в.c. (I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 2332$ ), no $\Pi \alpha \iota \nu i \delta \gamma_{\mathcal{S}}$ appears; there is none in the shorter lists I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 2333$ and 2334 ; the extensive record of officials I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 2336$ contains two. In the seven substantial panels of ephebes from Leontis, dated from $128 / 7$ to $38 / 7$ в.c., there are preserved 50 demotics; 7 demotics are lacking. Of the 50 preserved, only one is $\Pi \alpha \iota o v i \delta \eta s$, and that one is in the list of 38/7. Every other deme of Leontis sent more than one ephebe, except Oion (1) and Pelekes (0). Paionidai, therefore, can hardly have outnumbered every other deme in Leontis in the middle of the second century. The text is to be emended, substituting Matovida for Ф@сќ@@ioi, and vice versa.

The list as it stands contains no Potamioi (2 bouleutai in 212/1 b.c.), no Potamioi Deiradiotai (2 in the fourth century, subsequently a member of Antigonis, and now, of course, in Leontis), and no Koloneis ( 2 in the fourth century, 1 in $212 / 1$ b.c.). It is virtually out of the question that the first erased space contained a demotic (the second space itself immediately precedes a demotic). Were the two names erased so as to inscribe two other names, under other demotics, in another part of the list? If so, the intention was not carried out, as careful examination of the area under columns I and II, where the stone is injured, clearly shows. In any case it could not have been the mason's

[^50]error, for the roll of prytaneis would be in final form when placed in his hands, certainly as respects demotics. The conclusion is that in this particular year three small demes simply were not represented.

The inscription was published after N.P.A., and the data on the names seem not to have been examined in detail. Thus for Col. I, line 29 (reading difficult and insecure) cf. I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 2442$, line 4 (P.A., 13703), possibly identical; that inscription is otherwise known only to be post-200 в.c. Other readings are secure:-

Col. II. Line 17: Ke@@ĩos is not found elsewhere; I cannot explain it, unless an error for, or corruption of, Keoxivos (in Bechtel, p. 582; not in Athens).

Line 21: $\Sigma$ wxoativos is absent from P.A. and N.P.A. Chandler read the same name in I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$, 1927, line 177, but Boeckh (C.I.G., 172) corrected it to $\Sigma \omega x \varrho \alpha \tau i\langle\delta\rangle o v$. Pape (s. v.) objected to the emendation, rightly, as it now appears.

Line 23: Read [ 4$] \alpha \dot{\alpha} \mu \omega \nu$.
Line 25: Mei ${ }^{\prime} \xi \omega$ is unique in Greek (Bechtel has this instance, p. 303) but cognate forms are not uncommon.

Line 28: Eüryidrg is new in Athens.
Col. III. Line 28: Possibly descended from a notable family (stemma, P.A., 5003).

Col. IV. Line 19: The name $\Sigma \dot{\omega} \sigma \tau \varrho \omega \nu$ is new in Athens.

The surface of the stele below the register is little if any more damaged than the rest of the surface. The stele is preserved almost completely at the bottom. No slightest trace of a citation can be detected: although there was ample room ( 0.33 m .), the citations simply were not inscribed, probably through mere neglect, although there is one contemporary parallel (76).
78. Agora I 1325. Fragment of Hymettian marble, broken on all sides except the right, found on February 10, 1934, from a modern house wall at the northwest corner of the excavation, actually belonging to Section $\Theta$.

Height, 0.189 m. ; width, 0.092 m. ; thickness, 0.084 m .

Height of letters, 0.006 m .


No. 78
ca. 160 в.c.
Attalis?
ca. 36





















In both No. 77 and the present document, the name of the Secretary of the Boule and Demos appears as $\Delta r \mu \eta-$, and the Treasurer of the Boule as $-\cdots \nu$. It may be assumed that they are of the same year, and when the various restorations of names are made from one document to the other, the assumption is confirmed. Its most important result is that study of the spacing in both yields a preference for the shorter
 the date as $165 / 4$ or later (p.17); the lower limit is the Flutist's, $156 / 5$-a period which suits the distinctive style, familiar to us in Nos. 84, $\mathbf{7 1}$ and 77 itself.
79. Agora I 2539. Fragments of Pentelic marble. The descriptions of fragments, proveniences, and measurements are discussed below, p. 206 f.

Height of letters, 0.008 m .

|  | 159/8 or $158 / 7$ b.c. Erechtheis CTOIX. 37 |
| :---: | :---: |
| $\begin{gathered} \text { Frag. } \\ \text { A } \end{gathered}$ |  |
|  |  |
|  |  |
|  |  |
|  |  |



No. 79
The relation between the fragments is approximately correct, except that the mass at the top should be higher







 $\left[\begin{array}{lllllllll}\theta \varepsilon \tau & \tau u ́ \gamma \\ \varepsilon & \delta \varepsilon \delta \delta \dot{\chi} \theta \alpha \iota & \tau \varepsilon \tilde{\varepsilon} & \beta o v \lambda \varepsilon \tau & \tau \alpha & \mu \dot{\varepsilon} \nu & \alpha \gamma \alpha \theta \grave{\alpha} & v\end{array}\right]$











 $\left[\begin{array}{lll}\alpha \nu \dot{\alpha} \theta \varepsilon \sigma \iota \nu & \tau o \tilde{v} & \alpha \lambda \eta \varrho \omega \tau \eta \varrho i\end{array}\right] o v \mu \varepsilon \varrho i \sigma \alpha \iota ~ \tau \dot{o}\left[\begin{array}{ll}\nu \alpha \mu i \alpha \nu\end{array}\right]$
 vacat
vacat











The arrangement is definitely stoichedon. We can observe on Frag. C that there was a wide margin between the left edge and the first stoichos. A similar wide margin on the right of the text is to be inferred; but it is also clear that this margin was generally neglected in the interest of syllabification. Thus one space (or, in line 5 , two) might be left blank before the right margin proper; or the right margin might be invaded, but apparently only by one letter.

This is what one would expect, granted the stoichedon; but the arrangement is also violated by an excess of one letter in the missing first parts of lines 32 , 56 , and 59. Syllabification is violated in lines 28-29 and 38-39. Vital parts of the restoration are not affected by these irregularities, and there can be no doubt, for instance, that the Herald was Eukles of Trinemeia and that the Flutist was Kallikrates of Thorikos. The date must therefore be after $166 / 5$ and before $155 / 4$ (pp. 17-18).

The stoichedon arrangement was generally abandoned in the period after 230. Modified as in the present instance, it occurs a very few times in the course of the second century (I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, ~ 973$; another at the Agora). Whether or not such instances are evidence of conscious archaizing, the models for the stoichedon design were of course abundantly visible on the Acropolis.

The document gives us the name of a hitherto unknown secretary; his patronymic may be guessed (N.P.A., p. 63), but the name Dionysodoros is common, and names in
$\Phi_{\iota-}$ are numerous. Inspection of the list of archons (Ferguson, Tribal Cycles, pp. 29-30) shows that the year must be $159 / 8$ or $158 / 7$.

The numerals for the tribes in prytany have been restored as being the most likely. They yield proper equations for an ordinary year.

The Treasurer of the Boule in $\mathbf{8 0}$, which is dated by its lettering to the period ca. 180-150, was from Acharnai, and accordingly that inscription may be dated in the same year as the present document. The Treasurer (line 58) was probably named Diokles, Theokles, or Neokles.

The spokesman appears to be the same in both decrees (lines 8 and 41). A relative is presumably $\mathcal{1} \dot{v} \sigma \alpha \nu \delta \varrho o s, A v \sigma \alpha \dot{\alpha} \delta \varrho o v ~ K v \delta \alpha \theta \eta \nu \alpha \iota \varepsilon v_{S}$, known from a grave monument attributed to the second century b.c. (I. G., II, 2242).

Among the other names, that of $K \alpha{ }^{\circ} \rho \pi o s$, lines 45 and 49 , is new to Athens.
A peculiar feature of the text is that the document, like 80, is to be inscribed $\varepsilon i \boldsymbol{s}$ $x \lambda \eta \varrho \omega \tau$ ŕgov $\lambda i \theta \iota v o v$. This has enabled identification of one type of Athenian $x \lambda \eta \varrho \omega \tau \eta \varrho \iota o v$, for which see below, pp. 198 ff . With this in mind, the long gap between Fragments A and $B$ has been restored (lines $11-24$ ). Although the restoration offends against neither the stoichedon arrangement nor the formulae of the period, it can only be claimed that the number of lines restored is within one of being correct.
80. I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 972$. See p. 207 below.
$159 / 8$ or $158 / 7$ в.c.
Ptolemais
$c a .57$












 [бтৎ $\alpha \tau \iota \omega \tau \iota x \tilde{\omega} \nu$ тò $\gamma \varepsilon \nu o ́ \mu \varepsilon \nu о \nu$ $\alpha \nu \alpha ́ \lambda \omega \mu \alpha]$

Register of prytaneis missing, except:
$15[---] \delta \omega \varrho \circ s$
[--- $]$ ]

The right side of the stele is preserved, as $I . G ., I^{2}$, implies. The use of slightly larger letters for the register is a sign of lateness; the lettering agrees with the date.

In the portion preserved, the lettering is very regular. The gaps left in lines 10 and 11 are explained by the assumption of dittography rather than of irregular spacing. The part missing in line 12 is probably to be restored from 79 which is of the same year (see commentary on 79). That inscription, with careful study of spacing, is the basis of most of the new restorations. It is clear that the Undersecretary was not named in the body of either decree. From the Secretary's demotic in line 5 we learn that the prytaneis honored were of Ptolemais.
81. Hesperia, II (1933), p. 162, no. 8. ca. 169/8-156/5 в.c. Most of the lines have close to 48 full letters, but line 5 has 51 . No violation of syllabification need be admitted (lines 3, 5, 15, 18). Line 4: allow for the patronymic. Line 5: the letters preserved are PYTANE Ẹ. Line 8: no blank spaces; insert $\alpha \dot{\tau} \tau o ̀ \nu$ after $\sigma \tau \varepsilon \varphi \alpha \nu[\tilde{\omega} \sigma \alpha \iota$. Line 9: the Secretary was not $M \alpha-$ - but $M \nu-$. See the photograph (loc. cit.): as often, anything except a
 Line 13: the Flutist's demotic: [ $\Theta o \varrho i x ı o \nu]$. Line 15: no blank spaces. The Priest was not cited even by title (see p. 15).
82. Agora I 706. Lower part of stele inscribed in three columns, of Hymettian marble; the left side is smooth-dressed with a shoulder cut near the bottom; the right side is more roughly dressed, the back rough-picked, the bottom jagged. Found on May 8, 1933, in the wall of a late pit, inside the colonnade of the Hellenistic Metroön.

Height, 0.365 m. ; width, below, 0.467 m. ; width, above, 0.45 m .; thickness, 0.11 m .
Height of letters, 0.005 m .
The fragment preserves only the lower three of a probable six citations below the register of names:
ca. 169/8-ca. 148/7 в.с.

| ŋj $\beta$ ov入̀े |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| E $\quad \cdots \sim \lambda \tilde{\eta} \nu$ | $T \chi^{\prime} \chi \nu\langle\omega\rangle \nu \alpha$ | Avxioxor |
|  |  | ${ }_{\text {c }} \xi$ O'ov |

-the Herald (p. 17), the Flutist (p. 18) and presumably the Treasurer of the Boule. The latter is listed in a catalogue of hieropoioi of the archonship of Lysiades (ca. 148/7?): I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$, 1938, line 43 (P.A., 9225). The lettering would by itself favor a date slightly earlier, since the style appears in 71.


No. 82
83. Agora I 1582. Fragment of Hymettian marble made up of two joining pieces broken all around, found on March 16, 1934, in a late fill 15 m . northwest of the Tholos, in Section B.

Height, $0.10 \mathrm{~m} . ;$ width, 0.166 m. ; thickness, 0.047 m .

Height of letters, 0.0050.006 m .

The spacing in the version given does not work out perfectly, and it is possible that more syllables should be subtracted from the ends and added to the beginnings of lines. The uncertainty is so small as not to affect the restoration, which accords with
 the period, $c a$. 180-155 b.c., to which the lettering belongs. It is in this period that the health and safety of the parties mentioned in lines $3-4$ begin to be specified (p. 10).









84. Hesperia, III (1934), pp. 31-35, no. 21, plus four new fragments. There are now seven connected fragments of Hymettian marble from a stele broken near the bottom and preserved on the right edge very nearly to the moulding, the beginning of which, a slight outward curve, is preserved at the top. The thickness is original. The lower two fragments were found late in 1932 in the wall of a modern house 632/1B in Section Z, and on March 30, 1933 in the same place a third fragment was discovered. These were published by Meritt in Hesperia, III (1934), pp. 31-35, no. 21. On June 29, 1933, too late for more than brief notice at the end of Meritt's article, four more fragments were discovered in the removal of more of the foundations of the same house, which had not been accessible theretofore. It appears likely
from the freshness of the breaks that the builders of this house found the stele at a classical level in digging for their deep cellar, and broke it up for use in walls. The same vicinity produced several other prytany decrees. For the place of finding, see Hesperia, IV (1935), p. 474.

The fragments have been joined and measured as one.
Height, 0.84 m. ; width, 0.43 m. ; thickness; 0.135 m .
Height of letters, 0.005 m .

155/4 в. . .
Pandionis
ca. 44






















 $[\tau \iota \omega] \tau \iota x \tilde{\omega} \nu$ тò $\gamma \varepsilon \nu o ́ \mu \varepsilon \nu[o v \alpha \nu \alpha \alpha \lambda \omega \mu \alpha]$.
vacat
























 65 [ó] $\mu \varepsilon \nu 0 \nu \alpha \alpha^{2} \dot{\alpha} \lambda \omega \mu \mu$.
vacat


The text given above is complete in that it includes the part previously published by Meritt; but his discussion is naturally not repeated here, since further work has merely confirmed his conclusions. The restoration of the first decree may seem somewhat bold in view of the small number of letters actually preserved. This impression is not deceptive, but more can be said for the restoration as it stands than appears at first glance. It is based on a careful study of the spacing of the letters as determined by the (preserved) second decree; the spacing is highly regular. Even so, not certainty but mere probability has been attained. The name of the proposer, for instance, supplied in line 6 from line 36 , gives a line of $45 \frac{1}{2}$ letters, and the chairman of the proedroi, supplied as ' $A \gamma \alpha \sigma i \alpha{ }_{s}$ (or some such name) conforms to requirements equally well. There is more uncertainty in connection with the numerals in line 3 , which has been restored exactly as line 44 , where however the space available was greater.

A peculiar circumstance is to be noted in connection with the probability, yielded by the spacing, that the decrees were passed on the same day. The first decree, instead of being passed by the Demos, was passed by the Boule. This is a unique instance (p.3, n. 2). Since the Demos did in fact crown the prytaneis (lines 25-27), the constitutional irregularity is slight. It becomes intelligible in any case that the two decrees, one honoring the prytaneis and the other their officers, should have been voted in the same session, and even proposed by the same orator.

Also irregular are the citations between the two decrees. Besides the customary three, there is a fourth, for the Priest; possibly this additional honor was due to his having served as a prytanis (line 110). The citations for the other five officers probably followed the register.

Meritt's restoration of the secretary of the year of Mnesitheos in I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 979$ is now confirmed, and with it the new early date for the expressions $\chi \alpha \tau^{\prime} \chi^{\prime} \varrho \chi o v \tau \alpha$ and
 specify in the sixth or seventh prytany had not appeared in the beginning of the second. The tampering with the correct astronomical calendar, which $\chi \alpha \tau^{\prime}$ Zá $^{\prime} \varrho \chi o v \tau \alpha$ implies (Meritt in Hesperia, II [1933], p. 26), therefore took place at some time between the date of the present decree and of $I . G ., \mathrm{II}^{2}, 979$. The total divergence of three days suggests an accumulation due to one day of discrepancy in each of three successive months, or in each of three pairs of months. For the count $\mu \varepsilon \boldsymbol{\tau}^{\boldsymbol{\prime}} \varepsilon i x \alpha \dot{\alpha} \delta \alpha$, see Meritt in Hesperia, IV (1935), p. 559.

Line 54: the patronymic of Nikomachos may have been, from the spacing, T\& $\lambda \varepsilon \mid[\sigma i o v]$.
Line 58: the whole word $\tau 0 \tilde{v}$ is accommodated in line 59, and the traces of T at the end of 58 are in a careless erasure.

Line 68 : P.A., 10823, possible relatives of the fifth century b.c. and the second century a.d.
Line 80: The restoration has been made by Gomme (letter to Meritt), with reference to P.A., 4513, 4514.

Line 106: the third space from the end is scratched, forming one bar of a spurious sigma.

Lines 114 and 121: two misspellings, Ei $\mu \alpha \sigma i \theta \varepsilon o s$, and $\Sigma^{\prime} \dot{v} \nu \nu$. The same mason inscribes $\delta \varepsilon \delta \delta \dot{\sigma} \theta a \iota$ in I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$, 979, line 31.

Lines 107-110 and 123: there can be no doubt that the missing lines are to be restored as indicated. Gomme (by letter) has made the same determinations independently.
85. I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$, 967. $145 / 4$ b.c. Erechtheis. Erosion by moisture has ruined most of the surface, and one cannot read the two or three more lines for which there is room on the fragment. The design, so far as one can observe, is normal: in particular, there is no gap of one blank line after the ${ }_{\varepsilon}^{\ell} \delta 0 \xi \varepsilon v$-clause. The phrase $\boldsymbol{v} \pi \varepsilon \varepsilon_{\varrho} \tau \varepsilon \tau \eta \tilde{\eta}_{S} \beta o v \lambda \tilde{\eta} S$ xai $\tau o \tilde{v} \delta \dot{\eta} \mu o v$ is unusual in line 11, and is doubtless a mere clerical variation.
 in I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$, the space available actually calls for close to 10 letters. An inscription from the Agora recently published (Hesperia, IV [1935], p. 71, no. 37), contains five decrees in honor of ephebes, of which the third honors the kosmetes, Apollonios of Sounion. The decree was proposed originally by Típaexos ${ }^{\dagger} E \pi\langle\iota x\rangle \varrho \alpha \tau i \delta o v \quad \Sigma \varphi[\eta \dot{\eta} \tau \tau \iota o s]$ (line 59 ). Obviously it is he who, seventeen years earlier, had proposed not only the present decree, where the patronymic fits exactly, but also 86 of the same year, in honor of prytaneis. It seems likely enough that he is the Timarchos who was Archon in 138/7, and possibly
 $\Sigma \varphi \eta^{\prime} \tau \tau 0$, was conspicuous in Athens in the fourth century (P.A., 13636).
86. Agora I 737. Two fragments of Hymettian marble, preserving both the original sides of the monument; $A$ preserves the top, dressed to receive a block above; part of the smooth right side is also preserved. Found on May 16, 1933, in a late Roman fill directly in front of the Tholos, in Section Z. Fragment B was found on April 29, 1933, also in a late fill of Section Z. Part of the left side is preserved.
(A) Height, 0.13 m .; (restored) original width of monument, ca. 0.36 m .; thickness, 0.10 m .
(B) Height, 0.125 m ; thickness, 0.285 m .

Height of letters, $0.007-0.012 \mathrm{~m}$.

|  |  | 145/4 в.c. Erechitheis? |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\begin{gathered} \text { Frag. } \\ \text { A } \end{gathered}$ |  |  |
|  |  |  |
|  |  |  |
|  |  |  |
|  |  |  |
|  |  |  |
|  |  |  |



On the right side of the monument, opposite line 3, in smaller, crude letters:

$$
\dot{\eta} \beta o c \lambda \eta
$$

vacat 0.015 m . to break


No. 86
The physical appearance of the monument is important for understanding the problem which it presents; for, unlike $\mathbf{8 5}$ of the same year, for instance, it is a monument, and not a stele of the regular type. The thickness, the bevelled edge and flat top, and particularly the citation on the side ${ }^{1}$ are parts of a design otherwise unknown to us since the fourth century. The original, in fact, was a comparatively thick and narrow slab inscribed with the second of two decrees only, and below the decree citations and the register. Doubtless a dedicatory offering, in the form probably of a statue, was set in the top. The monument was, in other words, a statue base erected by the prytaneis.

[^51]A copy of the tirst decree would have been superfluous, ${ }^{1}$ and in repeating the second, the one inscribed, it was not necessary or appropriate to specify the exact day, or the chairman of the proedroi with his colleagues. Finally, the lettering itself, cuneiform, ornate, laid out carefully between incised guiding lines, with small gaps in the text for punctuation, is monumental, in contrast to the lettering of the regular stele 85.

The present inscription therefore pre-supposes decrees honoring the prytaneis similar to the decrees regularly inscribed on regular stelae. Whether the decrees passed, having been thus inscribed, have survived as 85 itself, is the problem.

85 is in fact a first decree of this very year, and the orator (spacing confirms the
 The present decree is from a prytany the numeral of which is $\Delta \mathrm{E}[-$, that is to say, the second or tenth. It was not, however, Akamantis. The tribe in prytany had a name not in $-\mathrm{TI} \triangle \mathrm{O} \Sigma$, but in $-\mathrm{EI} \triangle \mathrm{O} \Sigma$ (Erechtheis, Aigeis, Oineis), or -AI $\triangle O \Sigma$ (Ptolemais), or -XIDO (Antiochis), or - $\mathrm{AI} \triangle \mathrm{O} \Sigma$ (Attalis).

On this evidence, the preference might be for dating the decree in the second prytany: $-I \Delta O \Sigma \Delta E[Y T E P A \Sigma]$. It will be observed, however, that after the $\Delta$ there is fair space for one letter only. Only the most ungraceful crowding, which the author of this monument would avoid (line 3, the most crowded, has $1 \frac{1}{2}$ letters in an equal space), will accommodate $E Y$ at the end of line 1. $\triangle E \mid[Y T E P A \Sigma]$ would violate the principle of syllabification. On this additional evidence, which tends to prove that the numeral was the tenth, the preference is for looking upon the decree as a copy of the lost second decree of 85 , and for assuming that an error was made in recording the name of the tribe in prytany. This error may have been made either in 85 or in the present text.

In sum, the combined circumstances of spacing, of the nature of the monument, and of the name of the proposer, outweigh, though only by a little, the ordinary assumption of scribal rectitude.

In the present decree the antigrapheus makes a unique appearance among the officials listed. His name was already known from the preamble of $\mathbf{8 5}$.
87. Hesperia, III (1934), p. 38, no. 26. ca. 140 в.c. There were at least six, and probably eight, wreaths. The wreaths and letters were cut by the same hand as in I. G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 971$ of $140 / 39$. In this period an ephebic inscription would have crowns in one row, not in two; nor can the decree have been similar to the decree of $I . G$., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 971$. Quite certainly then the citation is of an officer of the Boule, and was appended in the regular manner to a pair of decrees honoring prytaneis. For carved wreaths see p. 20.
88. I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$, 977. $131 / 0$ b.c.? Attalis. This decree is notable as the first in which we can read that it was to be set up, not in the Prytanikon, but o $\tilde{v} \ddot{\alpha} \nu$ [ $\varepsilon \pi \iota \iota \tau \dot{\eta} \delta \varepsilon \iota o \nu$

[^52]$\left.\varepsilon^{i} \nu \alpha \iota ~ \varphi \alpha i \nu \eta \tau \alpha \iota\right]$ (p. 27). Frag. A was found in Ceramico exteriore, and B came from the Library of Hadrian; the stele most likely stood in the Agora.

The year of Epikles, who dates this inscription, is not precisely fixed (the latest treatment is Ferguson, Tribal Cycles, p. 179). The Secretary appears in I.G., II ${ }^{2}$ as
 possible. A demotic in $\Delta$ would narrow the number of possible tribes to four (131/0, for instance, would be excluded); so likewise a demotic in $\boldsymbol{A}$; with $\boldsymbol{A}$ any tribe except Akamantis might be eligible.

Klaffenbach, at my request, has kindly examined the fragment in Berlin; as well as photographs, squeezes, and a plaster cast, and he has sent me the cast. He found, and the cast shows, a small stroke (not an accidental break) which can only be the end of one bar in a (broken-barred) A. The stroke in question is visible in the photograph in Kirchner, Imagines, no. 106. Hence, if the year is $131 / 0$, the demotic is ' $\mathcal{A}[\gamma \varrho v \lambda \tilde{r} \theta \varepsilon \nu]$ or ${ }^{\prime} \boldsymbol{A}[\gamma \alpha \gamma v \varrho \dot{\alpha} \sigma \iota o s]$. The latter, being the larger deme, is somewhat the more probable.

The lettering on the preserved portions is so regular as to permit a reasonably precise restoration of the preamble.

Honors to prytaneis were seldom voted by the Demos as late as the latter third of the next prytany. They were often voted in the latter third of the term of the prytaneis who were praised (p. 7). Hence 'Avtalidos is the correct ${ }^{\wedge}$ restoration in line 1. This means a numeral of close to $8 \frac{1}{2}$ letters: only $\tau \varepsilon \tau \alpha \dot{\alpha} \tau \eta_{S}$ (8), and $\varepsilon v \delta \varepsilon x \alpha \dot{\tau} \tau \eta_{S}(9)$ need be considered. ${ }^{1}$ Since the names of the months involved are of equal length, both are possible:
ca. 57





The discrepancy which the stone attests between the day of the month and the day of the prytany points to an intercalary year. Meritt has shown (Hesperia, IV [1934], p. 560) that the later date means backward count in a hollow month (Thargelion 22). The earlier date is equally correct for the backward count in a full month (Pyanopsion 23). Neither possibility at all favors the forward count, which is thus virtually excluded.
89. Agora I 138. Three fragments of a stele of Pentelic marble: Fragment A is broken all around; Fragment B has the right side preserved, and all others broken away; Fragment C preserves part of the interlacing stalks of a wreath, with parts of five lines. A was found on March 1, 1933, built into a bothros, at 17/KA, in Section I. B was

[^53]found on April 26, 1933, in the fill of the "Valerian" wall, disturbed in later times, in Section 1. C was found on February 6, 1932, in Section $\Delta$.
(A) Height, 0.18 m .; width, 0.17 m .; thickness, 0.12 m .
(B) Height, 0.195 m. ; width, 0.082 m .; thickness, 0.058 m .
(A) and (B) Height of letters, $c a .0 .01 \mathrm{~m}$.
(C) Height, 0.12 m. ; width, 0.065 m .; thickness, 0.06 m .

Height of letters, 0.009 m .
The position of the fragments in relation to each other cannot be precisely fixed.


No. 89. Fragments C, A, B

са. 128 в.с.
$\begin{array}{cc}\text { Frag. } & {[----] o s} \\ \text { A } & \text { Three lines blank }\end{array}$

Kerropis

5

|  | $\begin{gathered} \text { Frag. } \\ \text { B } \end{gathered}$ |
| :---: | :---: |
| [----] vacat |  |
| $[\Delta \alpha \iota] \delta \alpha \lambda i \delta \alpha \iota$ |  |
| [----] ${ }^{\text {c }}$ ¢ $\nu_{\eta}$ |  |
| [----]s |  |
| $\left.{ }^{\prime} E \pi \iota \varepsilon \iota x\right] i \delta \alpha \iota$ |  |
| [------] Oos $^{\text {- }}$ |  |
| [------ ${ }^{v}$ |  |
| [vacat] |  |

$[\eta \quad \beta o] v \lambda \grave{\eta} \quad$ ò̀ $\gamma \propto \alpha \mu \mu[\alpha]$

15
[ $\beta$ ov] $\lambda \tilde{\eta}_{s}$
In an olive crown:
[--- - ] \nu
[--- - ] \nu
[---------]
[---------]
[-------]
[-------]


The fragments are evidently part of an elaborate inscription like Hesperia, IV (1935), no. 37 , which is by the same hand. The phrases in lines 21 and 22 are puzzling.
90. I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$, 1003. $125 / 4$ b.c. The subject was identified by Meritt, and the text was restored by him so far as that is possible, in Hesperia, II (1933), p. 165. The restoration stands the test of the more refined procedure for restorations outlined above (p. 30), line three occupying $58 \frac{1}{2}$. full letter-spaces, and line six, 58. The numeral of the tribe in line 1 should have about $5 \frac{1}{2}$ letters.
91. Hesperia, II (1933), pp. 163-165, no. 9. 125/4 в.c. Erechtheis. The text was restored successfully throughout by Meritt, with but two exceptions. The rule about division of syllables need not be violated at the end of line 16: sigma should begin the next line. The end of line 14 is more difficult. In the drawing line 15 is over-crowded. The solution is probably to move the letters AT back to the end of the previous line, where the crowding becomes no worse than at the end of line 6 (in line 6 the final sigma is visible). It would be better to leave the place of setting up the stele unrestored (see p. 28).
92. An Unpublished Inscription from the Collection of David M. Robinson. (The following is by Professor Robinson.)

Some years ago there came into my collection of antiquities in Baltimore through a dealer an inscription said to have been found in Athens. It is of Pentelic marble and originally had a moulding at the top. It is now 0.215 m . in greatest width, 0.145 m . in greatest height, 0.035 m . thick (cut down perhaps from 0.085 m .). The letters are from 0.007 to 0.01 m . high.

124/3 в.с.
ca. 58









The inscription is non-stoichedon but had about 58 letters in a line. Most of it can be easily restored from formulae used in other inscriptions of this category. 88 and Hesperia, II (1933), p. 163, no. 9 have the addition of Phosphoros, an epithet of Artemis ${ }^{1}$ which seems to be needed to complete line 7. The letters resemble in their beauty and fixed ornamental forms with apices those of 88, ${ }^{2}$ which dates from the year $131 / 0$, and those of Hesperia, loc. cit., which dates from 125/4. The letters of 93 from the year 122/1 are also similar. The character of the lettering, then, indicates a date in the latter part of the second century b.c. ${ }^{3}$

The date is more accurately given by the demoticon of the secretary. According to the cycle of secretaries possible dates are $148,136,124,112$ b.c., etc. The date 148 scems too early for the writing and the date 112 is impossible because Lamios is already known as the secretary for that year. ${ }^{4}$ The approximate date 136 or 124 is also indicated prosopographically from the name of the orator in line 5. An ${ }^{\prime} E \pi \iota-$
 ca. 80 в.c. from I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$, 1039, line 88 (P.A., 4813) and probably he is the same
 appears as a thesmothete in I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$, 1717 of $56 / 5$, and in I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 1716$, line 30 , under a heading for $54 / 3$ (Dow, A.J.A., XXXVII [1933], pp. 586, 588). The orator of our present document is evidently the grandfather. If then we restore his


No. 92 name in line 5 , the left margin of the stone is determined. The phrase ${ }_{\varepsilon}^{z} \delta o \xi_{\varepsilon \nu} \tau \tilde{\omega} \iota \delta \gamma^{\prime} \mu \omega \iota$, which must have preceded the name Epigenes, came as a rule either at the end of the preceding line or on a separate line of its own, so as to allow the orator's name to begin a new line. ${ }^{5}$ Now the archon of 136 в.c., Timarchides, has too long a name to be restored in line 1 , where the left margin is determined by Epigenes in line 5. But the name of the archon of 124, Nikias, is possible in line 1 , as Meritt has suggested to me, and should in fact be restored there. The date is thus definitely fixed as $124 / 3$ в.c. In line 2 the name is undoubtedly "Ar $\delta$ owv
${ }^{1}$ Cf. Paus. IV, 31, 10; and 55.
${ }^{2}$ Cf. photograph in Wilhelm, Urkunden dramatischer Aufführungen in Athen, p. 228.
${ }^{3}$ The use of $\eta$ without iota in line 7 , although we have $\omega$, also points to the end of the second century b.c. For example, Schwyzer-Meisterhans, Grammatiik der attischen Inschriften ${ }^{3}$, p. 67 gives only five examples of $\eta$ for the second century b.c. but 108 for the first century b.c. as against 161 cases of $\eta$ e in the second century.
${ }^{4}$ Cf. Dinsmoor, The Archons of Athens, p. 33.
${ }^{5}$ Cf. 90.
rather than $A^{\prime \prime} i^{\prime} \sigma \varrho \omega \nu$, as the traces of $\Delta$, not $X$, seem to remain. It may be that we should restore the name $\Pi$ Ǿœœхos ${ }^{1}$ at the end of line 1 and the beginning of line 2 or that the end of line 1 was short and that the secretary's name was [" $A \nu \delta \rho \omega \nu$ " $A \nu] \varrho \rho \omega \nu o s$ Фaגrosís. Such a man was ephebe in $119 / 8$ b.c. ${ }^{2}$ He could not have been the present Secretary, but may have been his son, and he may be related also to "Avס@فv IV@@ixov Ф $\alpha \lambda \eta \varrho \varepsilon v^{\prime} s$.

The margin fixed by the restoration of Epigenes as orator and the necessity of supplying Nikias as Archon raise two further points. The name of the tribe honored should be one of the longer names: Aigeis, Leontis, and Oineis are excluded. The restoration of Nikias, rather than of his suffectus Isigenes (I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 1713$, line 7) suggests that the decree was not passed at the very end of the year. The Archon Isigenes ( $\dot{\varepsilon} \pi i$ Eioıý́rov d’́@xovtos) alone dates a dedication in Delos (Roussel, Cultes, p. 138).
93. I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$, 1004. 122/1 b.c. Erechtheis. Above line 1, part of one of three(?) carved crowns is preserved (cf. p. 20). Minor changes in the text: line 9 , the first letter belongs at the end of line 8 ; line 10 , a similar correction; line 18 , the first two letters belong at the end of line 17. Line 12, in place of $\mu \varepsilon \gamma \alpha \lambda_{0 \pi \rho \varepsilon \pi} \tilde{\omega}_{S}$ restore $\approx \alpha \lambda \tilde{\omega}_{s} x \alpha i$ $\varphi \iota \lambda o \tau i \mu \omega s$. At the end (as lines 17-18) restore and read: $\tau \tilde{\eta}[s \sigma \tau \dot{\eta} \lambda \eta s \mid \mu \varepsilon \varrho i \sigma \alpha \iota \tau o ̀ \nu$ $\tau \alpha \mu i \alpha \nu \nu \quad \tau \tilde{\omega} \nu \quad \sigma \tau \varrho \alpha \tau \iota \omega \tau \iota x \tilde{\omega} \nu$ тò $\gamma] \varepsilon \nu o ́ \mu[\varepsilon \nu o \nu$ $\alpha \dot{\alpha} \alpha \dot{\alpha} \lambda \omega \mu \alpha]$.
94. Hesperia, III (1934), p. 35, no. 22. Late second century b.c. Oineis. Further study has contributed little toward the decipherment of the decree itself. The photograph shows a squeeze marked ${ }^{3}$ with such readings as seem reasonably certain in this area. In line 9 we may

[^54]

No. 94. Reverse of a marked squeeze
 Hence we lose a clue to the date.

The letters of the decree are a third smaller than those below. This by itself is a sign of late Hellenistic date. The letters of the register have small apices, so that again we must consider a late period, ca. 150 b.c. or rather later. ${ }^{1}$

More exact data are to be found in the register. In line 18 a few more letters give $\Lambda \alpha x \iota \alpha \dot{\alpha} \alpha$. The tribe honored was therefore Oineis, and line 14 must be read as [Ao]voleis. The treasurer, line 15, seems not to be otherwise known. [Bo]vios Bovi $\lambda o[v]$, who is listed next, is the father of, or even identical with, an homonymous ephebe of the late second century b.c. (I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$, 2981; cf. I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$, 2986). The next line is

 should probably be identified with $\Theta \varepsilon o \delta \delta \omega \varrho o s \in \varepsilon o \delta \omega \varrho o v ~ M \alpha \approx \iota \alpha \delta \eta S$, one of the $\varepsilon \pi \iota \mu \varepsilon \lambda \eta \tau \alpha i$ honored in ca. 130-120 в.c. (I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$, 1939, line 11).
95. Agora I 1773 a. Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides. Found on April 12, 1934, at 24/B, in late fill on the floor of the Tholos, in Section B.

Height, 0.15 m . ; width of face, $c a .0 .028 \mathrm{~m}$. ; thickness, 0.048 m .

Height of letters, 0.005 m .
Although most of the estimates of space are highly conjectural, we have some check on the length of the archon's name. The trace of olive crown is sufficient to show that the name can have been little, if any, shorter. We can tell also that the formulae in line 5 were compressed. Otherwise the details of spacing are so unreliable that one cannot know, for instance, whether the $\varepsilon \nu$ at the end of line 6 may not really belong at the beginning of line 7. In general, the restoration and date depend on 96, which was cut by the same hand. That the present decree is the earlier is suggested by its having been passed by the Boule alone, and by its mention of the deíaıtor.

[^55]

No. 95

Shortly before $104 / 3$ в.c. Trace of olive crown ca. 67











96. I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$, 989 (Fragment B) plus Agora I 1773 (Fragment A, joining the top of B; and a small unconnected Fragment, C).

Fragment A was found on April 8, 1935, in late Roman fill, 45 m . south of the Tholos, in Section B'. Fragment C was found on April 12, 1934, in late fill on floor of the Tholos, in Section b.
(A) Height, 0.088 m. ; width, 0.11 m. ; thickness, 0.119 m .
(C) Height, ca. 0.05 m. ; width, 0.097 m .; thickness, 0.048 m .

Height of letters, 0.006 m .



No. 96. Fragment C, upper left, is not in position












 40



 [ $\kappa \tau \lambda$.

Gap of several lines, the same decree concluding:



vacat

Fragment B (I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$, 989) is important as bearing the demotic of an otherwise unknown secretary. Koehler's opinion, that the date was " med. s. II," was accepted as authoritative, but his reason-he wished to avoid conflict with documents of the type of 97, 101 now dated " med. s. I,"-is of no weight.

The lettering of the present inscription is by the hand of I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 1028$ of $101 / 0$ в.c., of I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$, 1023 (A.J.A., XXXVIII [1934], p. 102, n. 4), of 95, and of others. The demotic of the secretary, "Eo $\mu \varepsilon \iota o g$, shows that the year must be one in which Akamantis (VI) furnished the secretary. The only year available is $104 / 3$; if we recede, the latest date would be 157/6-147/6 (and here in fact he has been located most recently); if we choose to descend to the period when we are ignorant of whether the cycles went on, we find obstacles in $91 / 0$ (archon's name too brief, I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$, 1054 already assigned to that year). The date $104 / 3$, therefore, accords exactly with all the evidence.

In this period the cycles of the Secretarics were synchronized with those of the Priests of Asklepios, so that in $10 t / 3$ the Priest should also have been of Akamantis (VI), and in fact Roussel proposed to date the Priest $\Phi_{1} \lambda \eta \eta_{\mu} \omega \nu \quad M \eta \tau \varrho o \delta \omega \varrho o v{ }^{\prime \prime} E \rho \mu \varepsilon \iota o s$ in that year. ${ }^{1}$ The date has been considered acceptable, if not compulsory. ${ }^{2}$ It is interesting that both Priest and Secretary for the yoar should have been chosen from the little deme of Hermos, which is not known ever before or after to have furnished either Priest or Secretary; though one would not press the fact as confirmation of the Priest's date.

The archon Theodotos has been dated in 104/3 (Dinsmoor, Archons, p. 278, etc.), and his name fits the space exactly: a name more than one letter longer or shorter could hardly be admitted.

The document itself has many peculiarities which accord well with the position now given to it as the latest in the series of regular dated decrees of Type III. Thus the phrases of lines 43 ff . are not known in earlier members; the crowns are represented by incised outline ( p .20 ); the name of the body conferring the honors is set above the crown; the Secretary as well as the Treasurer is specially honored (cf. p. 15) ; and both decrees appear in probouleumatic form, it being explicitly stated that the second was passed by the Demos as well as by the Boule (p.3). This irregular and quite isolated appearance of the Demos in a second" decree is at least curious, in view of the impending constitutional changes; ${ }^{3} \mathbf{9 5}$, however, seems to have been regular.

The text given differs in many particulars from that in I.G., II ${ }^{2}$. The changes are all supported by refined determinations of spacing.

It seems reasonably certain that the stele was erected in the Prytanikon (see p. 27).
97. I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$, 1050. Early first century (ca. 80 в.c.?). Pandionis. The lettering is crude, but still fairly regular: line 1 may have had wider spacing (omitting the word $\varphi v \lambda \tilde{\eta} s$, not here used at this date), and the letters of the register are larger than those of the decree. Lines $3,8,9,11,12,14,16$, and 17 should all begin with the syllables which now end the preceding lines. Line 4 is obviously too long and the words $\tau \tilde{\omega} \nu$ $\nless \alpha \lambda \lambda \omega \nu \dot{\alpha} \pi \alpha \dot{\alpha} \nu \tau \omega \nu$ should be omitted; the line ended with $\varepsilon \quad \varepsilon \pi \iota \mu \varepsilon$. In line 12 the word $\varphi \cup \lambda \tilde{\eta} s$ should again be omitted. Even apart from these changes much of the restoration is dubious.

The register reads as follows:
${ }^{1}$ B. C.H., LII (1928), pp. 1 ff .
${ }^{2}$ Dinsmoor, Archons, pp. 248-250; Ferguson, Tribal Cycles, p. 32.
${ }^{3}$ On which see Ferguson, Tribal Cycles, pp. 147 ff .

|  |  |  | vvvv [- - demotie - - - ${ }^{1}$ | The third |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | [Oivógilos] |  | $\Delta \iota 0$ [----- $]$ | and fourth |
| 20 | [-7 ${ }^{1 / 2}$ or less - ] |  | $A[-----]^{\prime}$ | of four |
|  |  |  | [-------] | columns |
|  | [Kал入io ? $]$ r¢ $\alpha \tau \boldsymbol{s}$ | 35 | $\Sigma[---)^{---]}$ | are |
|  | [-- ¢ - $\left.\left.{ }^{7}-\right]^{-}\right]_{S}$ |  | W/in[------] | missing |
|  | [--cr. $\left.\mathrm{f}^{-}-\right] \lambda \tilde{\eta}_{S}$ |  |  |  |
| 25 | [--cr.6-- $]^{\text {¢ }}$ los |  |  |  |
|  | [-- $\left.{ }^{c a} \cdot 7^{11_{2}}--\right] o s$ |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
|  | [- $\left.-a_{-} \underline{6}^{1 / 2}-2\right] \mathrm{cxos}$ |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| 30 |  |  |  |  |

About one line missing
From this version it is clear that Steiria sent at least eleven bouleutai; since column II begins with a demotic, very likely the quota of Steiria filled all the first column, giving that deme about thirteen in all. It is also clear (for the last time in our series of inscriptions of prytaneis) that patronymics were omitted. This fact favors a date early rather than late in the first century. The treasurer Oinophilos son of Syndromos of Steiria is probably not the man of the same name who was prominent later (110), but an otherwise unknown son of Syndromos I (P.A., 13038).
98. Hesperia, III (1934), p. 54, no. 41. The stone was found in front of the Tholos. Its original thickness has not been preserved.

Further study has made possible a much improved text, which is printed here:

Soon before 60 в.c.
The demotics $M \alpha \rho \alpha-$ $\theta \dot{\omega} v \iota o \iota$ and 'Pauırov'$\sigma \iota o \iota$ and twenty-five names of prytaneis missing, i.e. the entire first column. In all, there were 22 Marathonioi and 13 Rhamnousioi (cf. 102).

Aiantis
Seven names missing


${ }^{3} I \dot{\alpha} \sigma \omega \nu$ ' $I \dot{\alpha} \sigma[0] \nu[o c]$

$$
\Phi \alpha \lambda \eta \varrho \varepsilon \tilde{i}_{S}
$$

5 'Avtioxos O[-.....--]
Ai $\alpha \nu t o \varrho^{\prime}[\delta \omega \varrho \circ s-\cdots---]$
Aioxivךs Aiv\%[ivov?]




[^56]
\[

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { Mãox[o]s } \Pi \lambda[o v] \tau \dot{c} \varrho \underline{\varrho} \underline{x}[o v] \\
& \text { Qrọoun[Évns ca. } \left.{ }^{2}{ }^{2}\right] i o v \\
& \text { Toıxooụ́!o }
\end{aligned}
$$
\]

$$
\begin{aligned}
& { }_{15} v \text { Aádozos Klémvos }
\end{aligned}
$$

$\Theta \propto \dot{\alpha} \sigma \omega\langle\nu\rangle$ Tı $\sigma \dot{\alpha} \nu \delta \rho o v$
Sıovívoos $\Sigma x[$ ¢ód $] \omega \nu 0$ s
Tıиох@átrys vacat
'A@ítor 'A@ítruvos

Two citations missing, perhaps of the Herald and of the Treasurer of the Boule
 In an olive wreath: In an olive wreath:

$$
30 \quad[\tau \tau \varrho \alpha]
$$

$$
[\tau] \eta \gamma \dot{\rho} \nu
$$

$$
\text { tò } \tau[\hat{\varepsilon}] \tau \alpha \varrho
$$

$$
{ }_{\text {rvv }} \text { Tov vvo }
$$

'Hеш́дrı
${ }_{35} E \dot{v}[x]$ dŕous
$M \alpha[0] \alpha 0 \dot{\omega}$
$[\nu 1] o[\nu]$

Line 5: the last preserved letter may be $\Theta$. Cf. 114, line 15.
Line 6: a possible ancestor is P.A., 291.
 (see also P.A., 367).

Line 8: 'A $\rho \alpha \pi i \delta r_{s}$ would not quite fill the space.
Line 12: the reading is mostly doubtful, but there can be no doubt that the line existed.
Lines 16, 19: since in line 3 the father's name, which is the same as the son's, was inscribed in full, it seems unlikely that in lines 15 and 18 the sign for a parent of identical name was used, whether reversed or in its normal form. I can find no trace of such. It is likely rather that in each line a gap was left to be filled in by the father's name, and that, as often, it was never filled in.

The type of monument - a base for a statue - is known in other examples of this period (99, 102, 103, 106).

The reading of the third citation (lines $22-28$ ) is difficult throughout. A slight gap separates lines 22 and 23 , but I cannot say whether it represents a line. The demotic Ma@atívıov or 'Pauloúaıov ought to appear, but it has proved impossible to find either. Such letters as can be guessed at are recorded in the text. Part of the citation is completely broken away.

The last citation records the fourth Hoplite Generalship of 'H@ஸ́dr, Eủx whose descendant in the fifth generation was the famous Herodes Atticus. After the
researches of Graindor ${ }^{1}$ and Kirchner ${ }^{2}$ there is little to be added about the other members of the family, which is known to us in twelve generations. ${ }^{3}$. The present Herodes is most notable in our eyes because it was he to whom Julius Caesar entrusted the building of the great Forum of Caesar and Augustus: the inscription (I.G., $I^{2}{ }^{2}, 3175$ ) is still extant of the dedication to Athena Archegetis on the surviving entrance colonnade. Eukles, his son, according to the inscription as interpreted by Graindor, led the embassy to Caesar after Pharsalos ( 47 вс.) and received the initial grant. The Forum was dedicated in the year $10 / 9$ b.c. or shortly thereafter: the son's career was, as is believed on other grounds, very lengthy. ${ }^{4}$ Except where his name appears as a patronymic, this is the only positive mention of Herodes. He has been plausibly identified with the Archon of $60 / 59$ b.c., ${ }^{5}$ and with a correspondent of Cicero who also taught Cicero's son Marcus in Athens. ${ }^{6}$ As in these instances, the demotic is absent also in I.G., $I^{3}$, 1051 b , lines $1-2$, which should
 inscription strengthens all these identifications, especially the last. We can see in Herodes the leading Athenian, i.e., the leading pro-Roman Athenian, of his age, a position precisely equivalent to that which another Hoplite General, Antipatros (below, p. 190) was to fill again soon after.

Herodes sent Eukles to Caesar after Pharsalos: taken together with the fact that he also handed over to his son the superintendence of the building operations, the inference is that after ca. 47 b.c. Herodes was no longer in his prime. The theory may be conceived that the Archonship of Herodes in 60/59 b.c. marked his retirement from generalships to the Areopagos. This would agree with such other evidence as exists for dating the inscription, namely the spelling of $M \tilde{\alpha} \rho \varkappa o s$ with one alpha (see commentary on I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$, 2461 ), and the absence of the sign for a parent of identical name. The fact that Herodes is cited last by himself favors a date comparatively early in his career. The similar list 102 follows after an indeterminate interval.

If this dating is correct, then the period assigned to $I . G ., I^{2}, 1051$ (see commentary) must be reconsidered. Its present date, post-38/7 в.c., is based on historical reasonings too elaborate to be reviewed here.
99. I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$, 17055. Middle of the first century b.c. Ptolemais. This post-not a herm, for no attribute of a herm is preserved ${ }^{7}$-was a dedication by the prytaneis of Ptolemais in honor principally of the Priest of the Phosphoroi, and accordingly the

[^57]monument was erected in Demeter's precinct. The occasion for the dedication was doubtless the fact that the Priest was himself of Ptolemais. Just above line 1 are traces of a pair of smaller wreaths set side by side. The traces of line 16 are sufficient to make it clear that a name, not a demotic, was inscribed there.

Oivópıios 'Aupiov 'A ${ }^{\prime}$ idvaĩos was doubtless the Treasurer; Kirchner has seen that a man of the same name became Archon Basileus (I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 1714$ ) in the year now fixed as $88 / 7$ в.c. (Dow, Hesperia, III [1934], pp. 144-146). The evidence on line 13, as given in I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$, fixes an early limit at $101 / 0$. The lettering, it seems to me, is of the middle of the first century b.c. The Treasurer was possibly a nephew or grandson of the Basileus.

In any case the text contains an early, isolated mention of the Priest of the Phosphoroi, otherwise mentioned-the same man is later $\varepsilon$ éri $\Sigma \not \approx \iota \alpha \delta o s$ in addition-only in the second and third centuries a.d. (references under I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 1755$, and on p. 8, above).
100. Agora I 2320. Fragment of Hymettian marble, with the inscribed face and part of the bottom edge, only, preserved. Found on January 31, 1935, - in the foundation of a mediaeval wall, south of the Tholos, in Section B.

Height, $0.18 \mathrm{~m} . ;$ width, 0.223 m. ; thickness, 0.05 m .

Height of letters, 0.007 m .
Middle of the first century b.c.
Trace of In an olive wreath: olive wreath



No. 100

The citations might equally well be assigned to some one of the ephebic inscriptions, were it not that in those the title of the official honored (lines 1-2) was usually inscribed above the wreath.
101. I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$, 1049. $57 / 6$ b.c. Oineis. Since as many as four archons named Diokles have been dated within nineteen years (57/6-39/8) of each other (Dinsmoor, Archons, pp. 284 -286), it is of some interest to know whether the archon's name in line 1 was qualified by a demotic, or by the name of the immediate predecessor. Study of formulae and
particularly of spacing enables us to do this, and likewise to remedy the defects of a text allowing such disparities of lengths of line as $I$.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$ admits.

The preserved fragment shows that the first three lines were the longest. In line 1 one may insert the words xai oi deiбıtou in their usual place, giving the line a length of $53 \frac{1}{2}$ letters. In line 2 the phrase oi $\pi \varrho v \tau \alpha \dot{\alpha} \varepsilon \iota s$ should be inserted before $\hat{\varepsilon} \xi$, also giving $53 \frac{1}{2}$ letters. In line 3 insert $\tau \varepsilon$ after $\tau \alpha \dot{s}$, giving $52 \frac{1}{2}$ letters. This close agreement is not fortuitous. Although the lines are otherwise broken with syllables, we find line 17 beginning with an isolated sigma. This indicates that the full breadth of the stele was being filled, and that (since the sigma was not crowded in at the end of line 16) the lettering remained regular to the ends of lines. ${ }^{1}$

In line 12, accordingly, add xai $\tau$ oĩs $\dot{\alpha} \varepsilon \iota \sigma i \tau o ı s ;$ in $15, \tau o ̀ \nu \tau \alpha \mu i \alpha \nu$ before the name; in 16, $\varkappa \alpha i \varepsilon v \dot{v} \nu i \alpha{ }_{S}$ after ${ }^{\prime} v \varepsilon \varepsilon \chi \alpha$. The one serious difficulty is with line 6 . This line has the loosest spacing of any line in the preserved part, yet it has been restored with the most letters. It may be suggested that the mason omitted $\hat{\varepsilon} \alpha v \tau o i{ }_{S} \pi o \iota \dot{r} \sigma \alpha \sigma \theta \alpha \iota$, thinking for the moment that he had completed the second infinitive, whereas he had merely cut $\varepsilon \pi \tau \iota x \omega \varrho \tilde{\eta} \sigma \alpha \iota$.

The main point is settled: the archon Diokles appeared without qualification. Presumably he was the first ( $57 / 6$ b.c.) of that name in this period.
102. I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 1756$. Aiantis. Mr. Alexios Pales, who inherited the inscription as part of a collection which goes back several generations, ${ }^{2}$ has kindly allowed me to examine the stone, and thus to recover the scheme of the original.

The preserved thickness, 0.115 m ., is original, and shows that the fragment is from a stele. Such a thickness would ordinarily imply a width of at least 0.46 m . (Hesperia, III [1934], p. 143). Since each of the carved wreaths occupies 0.12 m ., four of them would require a stele of normal width, 0.48 m . This in turn would accommodate the ideal arrangement of the register, namely three columns of 18 items each.

Undoubtedly a decree, and probably four citations, preceded the register, of which a more exact text may be given:


Aiantis
5 lines
missing,
plus

5 lines
missing

15 lines

| missing | [T¢ıхо@и́бıoı] | 1\% ${ }^{\text {a }}$ [- |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| in addition | - o]v | ' $\mathcal{A} \sigma \times[\lambda$ |

[^58]

The Marathonians are likely to have elected the treasurer, especially since that deme was listed first, but this element of the restoration is conjectural.

Line 24 is restored on the basis of $\mathbf{9 8}$, which is slightly earlier and has 8 Phalereis, as in the present list.
 ephebe in 107/6: for the stemma see N.P.A., p. 18.

Line 50 : the same individual, or his father, appears as Aivivyrs Aivx[ivov?] in 98, line 7.

Line 75: the last letter is probably $\Sigma$ or $T$ (cf. P.A., 4390). The evidence adduced in I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$, on lines 49, 51, and 54, together with the new finding on 36 , points to a date close to 50 в.с.
103. I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$, 1754. Middle of the first century b.c. Leontis. Broken away behind, the block is still thick enough to show that it was a monument base, like 98 and 106, i.e., there was no published decree. This confirms Kirchner's opinion of the date of the lettering.

A bit of the left side is preserved, just 0.05 m . from the first letter of $\mathcal{A} i \theta \alpha \lambda i \delta \alpha u$. The demotic in line 8 was probably [IIocó口u]ou. Line 9 reads [---]ovs. The line before the last was a demotic.
104. I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 3217$.


The fragment, which is broken away on all sides, bears a citation from a decree which can be dated only by the lettering. Lolling read - $\sigma \delta \delta \omega \rho o v$, wishing to restore [K $\eta \varphi \iota$ ] $\sigma o \delta \sigma \omega \rho \nu$, but no trace of sigma remains, and the letters would be crowded. There are slight but decisive differences in style between this inscription and 111. The hand may, however, be the same, and likewise the Treasurer honored.
105. I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 1059$, which also found its way into a later fascicle as $I . G ., \mathrm{II}^{2}, 1758$. Part of the left edge is preserved, but the stone is elsewhere broken away.

```
    ca.40-30 в.с.
    . .os M\alphav[i]@ụ vacat
    Eṽ\delta\alpha\iota\muох@\alphá\tau\etas M\etavo\varphii\o[v----]
    \alphaঠ̈\lambda\eta\tau\etàे
    ov 'A\lambda\omega\pi\varepsilonx\tilde{\eta}0\varepsilon\nu
```



```
    \alpha\nu\tau\imathү\varrho\alpha\varphi\varepsiloǹ̀s K\lambda\varepsilonо́\mu\alphaхоя [-----]
    v\piоү\varrho\alpha\mu\alpha\tau\varepsilonv̀s \Pi\alpha\dot{\alpha\varrho\varrho\nu\nu v [vacat]}
    Ф\iota\lambda\etă\muovos \lambda\varepsilonı\tauove\gammao\tilde{v}v[os vacat]
        oi \pi\varrhov\tau\alpháv\varepsilon\iota!
    In an olive wreath: Trace of an olive wreath
        \tauòv द̀\piì \tauov̀s
            \delta\pi\lambda\varepsiloni\tau\alpha\varsigma
        [\sigma\tau]@\alpha\taur\gammaòv
        ['A\nu] xi\pi\alpha\tau\varrhoO\nu)
            [\Phi\lambda]v\varepsiloń\alpha
15 [oi \pi\varrhov\tau]\alphárets
    Trace of an olive wreath
```

In line 3 the patronymic was first omitted by error, and the demotic was inscribed, running over into line 4: [[ $\mathcal{A} \lambda[\omega \pi \varepsilon \mid x] \tilde{\eta} \theta \varepsilon v]]$. These letters were only partially erased;
they make it quite clear that the number of letters missing in each line was only about five. There must have been abbreviations, to make room for a second column.

The reading in line 13 of , which is perfectly clear, assures us that this is the Antipatros by which the inscription is to be dated (see under 116). 110 records his third generalship, and 116 his fifth.
106. I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$, 1757. ca. $40-30$ в.c. Erechtheis. The block served as the base of a statue, doubtless of Kallikratides. No decree was published on the monument: we have nearly the entire block. Accordingly, the treasurer (line 3) had to be specified as such. Kallikratides and his title-the title compressed and patronymic omitted to save space-were inserted after the list had been cut. The lettering is similar to 116, but probably is not by the same hand.

Line 5: the reading seems good. Neóloos is unique in Greek.
Line 8: read $\Pi \omega \lambda \lambda i \omega \varphi![-$
Line 17: the double lambda is inscribed $M$.
 (P.A., 13735).

Line 48: read 'Avtioxoç ), no erasure.
Line 49: read $\Delta \omega \sigma i \theta\left(\varepsilon_{0}\right.$, which confirms Graindor's restoration in Musée Belge, XXVII (1923), p. 277, where also his descendants are indicated.

Graindor pointed out that the name in line 4 was the same as that of an ephebe in
 $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 1963$ is dated $13 / 2$ b.c., Graindor inferred that the list of prytaneis must be later. ${ }^{1}$

This argument is not recognized in I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$. Instead a contrary argument, one
 enough at least to have a son who served in the same prytany (line 45), became thesmothetes in $14 / 3$ b.c. (I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$, 1721). In the interval between his being Councilman and Archon, we should allow enough time for him to be kosmetes (I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 1964$ ). Argaios also headed his fellow tribesmen in the great list of Amynandridai, I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$, 2338, line 13 , dated in the period $27 / 6-18 / 7$. This implies seniority. ${ }^{2}$

Either horn of this dilemma might be seized, but it is preferable to suppose that the
 of $13 / 2$ в... (I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 1963$ ). This permits dating 106, and the Heraldship of Kallikratides in the late 40 's or in the 30 's (cf. 107, etc.), and hence as long before $14 / 3$ as seems reasonable to allow Argaios a career which culminates with his archonship in 14/3. ${ }^{3}$

[^59]Kallikratides was succeeded, probably, in the Heraldship by his brother Oinophilos ( 110 of $29 / 8-22 / 1$ ).

There is also a problem connected with the Herald Kallikratides, son of Syndromos, of Trikorynthos (line 1). He appears as Herald also in 107 and 108, and as Hoplite General in I.G., $I^{2}$, 3500. A Kallikratides, son of Syndromos, of Steiria, appears as gymnasiarch in I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$, 2875, and in the list of notables, I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$, 2464 . Is this the same man, who changed demes by adoption, without indicating the fact in the inscriptions, and without altering his patronymic? The archon of $38 / 7$, or slightly later, also named Kallikratides (an uncommon name) was probably the same person. The effect of our dating of $\mathbf{1 0 6}$ is to place the Trikorysian in the period when the Steirian is known to have flourished, for the list of notables, I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 2464$, would seem by the names to date from the twenties. For references on Kallikratides see Graindor, Musée Belge, XXVII (1923), pp. 285-286; for descendants, I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 3546$ and 3548 a .
107. I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$, 3502. From the three copies in Le Bas, Mégaride et Péloponnèse, p. 21, no. 88, the disposition of the lines can be accurately recovered:

Leontis


The original was doubtless a statue base with two wreaths. For similar long inscriptions in wreaths, see 98. The only uncertain detail in the text is the abbreviation at the end of line 7 for $\mu \dot{\varepsilon} \sigma o s$. The best copy gives the lunate mu, as above; in the others
the strokes are straight, and in all the epsilon is not lunate. We may take the mu as an early cursive form in epigraphy, rather than as a reason for questioning the date.

We have found that Kallikratides was Herald probably in the late forties and early thirties (see under 106). The Treasurer, Demetrios of Oion, who is qualified as the second of three consecutive scions all bearing the same name, is known from I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$, 2461, line 36, a list which we shall find reason to date toward, or just before, the beginning of the Augustan Age (see p. 191, n. 1).

The inscription itself is similar to those which are specified in decrees of this period (97, lines 12-14, etc.).

That the block should have been taken to Corinth and up into the Acrocorinth, where it was last seen, is not surprising, for Corinth has no marble near at hand. It is curious rather that no other Athenian inscriptions should have been discovered in Corinth.
108. I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$, 3503. Late forties or early thirties b.c. The fragment is from the lower right corner of a regular stele; the original thickness of 0.10 m ., part of the right side, and part of the base have been preserved. Below the decree and the register of prytaneis, both missing, there were two rows of citations, the upper probably of four, the lower of five (painted) crowns. Each had a heading: the first citation should be restored to correspond to the others. Restore $[\tau \alpha]$ at the end of line 8.

The date is approximately fixed by the Heraldship of Kallikratides (see Nos. 106 and 107).

It is interesting that the leitourgos, a foreigner, did win a citation, but at the end of the series, and without the superscription oi $\pi \varrho \vartheta \tau \alpha \dot{\prime} v \varepsilon \varepsilon_{s}$ to show that they had praised him.
109. Agora I 1508. Fragment of Hymettian marble, with the back rough, and broken on all sides. Found on March 10, 1934, in a late wall at $6 / \mathrm{IA}, 7 \mathrm{~m}$. north of the Tholos, in Section B.

Height, 0.28 m. ; width, 0.22 m. ; thickness, 0.115 m .
Height of letters, 0.013 and 0.009 m .

| 30/29? в.c. | Kekropis |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| [^EINIOINE]IKAIITHEAIE[NT- |  |  |
|  |  |  |
| -] | $M_{\varepsilon} \lambda_{\iota \tau \varepsilon}\left[\tilde{c}_{S}\right]$ | (Columns III and IV |
| [----- - $]$ |  | missing) |
| [------] | Гóor [ıTло¢ Evónjuov] |  |
|  | $\left.{ }^{20} M_{\varepsilon} \lambda[-\cdots-\cdots-]^{-}\right]$ |  |
|  | $Z \dot{\nu} \nu \omega[\nu$-------] |  |
|  | $\Delta \operatorname{lovv[~} \sigma$-------] |  |



[---------- - $]$ o [- - - - - - $]$

The estimates of spacing in Column I are in all cases minima: the actual length may in each case have been greater.

It seems clear that there were four columns. The first has 14 lines, the second 13 ; there may have been vertical crowding in the other two; in any case small demes like Trinemeia and Epieikidai were probably omitted. The first demotic (line 3 ) should be Halaieis or Athmoneis.

Line 18: the grandfather was $\pi о \boldsymbol{\pi} \pi \mathbf{o}$ бтólos (N.P.A., p. 51 ).

Line 19: The same Gorgippos was $\boldsymbol{x \tilde { \eta } \rho v \xi}$ $\boldsymbol{\tau} o \tilde{v}{ }^{\prime} A \pi \dot{\prime} \lambda \lambda \omega \nu o s$ in the year of Architimos, - the restoration in 109 is conjectural, and his tenure of two offices dubious,- and he was Treasurer of the prytaneis in the course of some year soon before or after (110); see also P.A., 3079 with addendum, and for the family, N.P.A., pp. 45-46; further Kourouniotes, 'EגEvaıvı $\alpha x \dot{\alpha}, \mathrm{I}, \mathrm{p} .225$, line 15 and p. 229.

Line 21: possibly the family of N.P.A., p. 86, etc.

Line 25: the same man is possibly 'Iri-


Line 28: an ancestor is probably
 107/6 в.c. (I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$, 1011, line 105). See also 110, lines $83,91$.


No. 109

The date given by restoring line 30 is based on line 19 and on Dinsmoor, Archons, pp. 292-293. Line 30 probably indicated that the prytaneis, listed above, crowned the deícıtoı, listed below: titles for the latter seem to have been omitted; for the nominatives cf. 105.
110. I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$, 2467. The left side and the bottom are original. In the period ca. 170-180 a.D. a list of prytaneis of Kekropis, I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 1790$, was inscribed on the reverse face. The preserved portion, one column plus a third of another, shows that half as much again of the total preserved width may be missing. Now the arrangement of the obverse face suggests four crowns in a row at the top, disposed symmetrically over the two crowns preserved at the bottom. The width indicated by the inscription on the reverse plainly shows that this symmetrical scheme was followed.

From this determination of the width, it follows also that a decree is missing above our fragment, because a considerably greater height is needed to conform to the proportions observed in shaping stelae. The inscription on the reverse confirms this deduction also, since about the latter half only remains.

The trimming down of the stele was to enable it to serve as a flat member of a monument. The left side bears the (unpublished) later Roman inscription O ${ }^{v}$ Ǎ CWNIA which was then added. Subsequently erosion by water (the neighborhood of the Sacred Gate is the wettest spot in Athens) made the main inscription a source of despair to modern editors. Pittakys, the first editor, published readings which were adopted by Koehler and Dittenberger who, because of them, declared it was impossible to ascertain the purpose of the inscription; in particular, they rejected the theory that it was for prytaneis. Kirchner expunged the demotics in question but found no evidence for the nature of the document. With the aid of squeezes and of Wagner's photograph, it is now possible to establish not only the nature of the document-oi $\pi \varrho v \tau \alpha \dot{\alpha} \nu \varepsilon \iota \varsigma$ has been read in three places-but also to settle all major points except the distribution in demes of the prytaneis.
ca. 29/8-22/1 в.с.
Kekropis
Decree missing
[oí $\pi \varrho v \tau \alpha \dot{\alpha}]$


In an olive wreath: In an olive wreath: In an olive wreath: [In an olive wreath:]

|  | róo | [Oi] ${ }^{\text {có }}$ | 20 cò |  | [---] |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\gamma \iota \pi \pi 0 \nu$ | $\varphi[\iota] \lambda o v$ | т@íтov |  | [-----] |
| 5 | Eùdrgu[ov] | इuvdoó | ${ }^{\prime} A v \tau i \pi \alpha$ | 30 | [-----] |
|  | $\left[M_{\varepsilon}\right] \lambda_{\iota}$ |  | $\tau \varrho[o v]) \Phi$ |  | [-----] |
|  | [ $\tau \boldsymbol{\varepsilon} \alpha$ ] | 15 ¢léa | $\lambda\left[v^{\prime}\right] \alpha$ |  | [---] |



| $\begin{aligned} & \text { [Demotic] } \\ & {[\text { name] }} \end{aligned}$ | Seven lines illegible | Four lines illegible | One column missing |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ${ }_{35}$ [patronymic] |  |  |  |
| [name] |  |  |  |
| ${ }_{v 0}[]$.IE ¢ $\wedge$ [---] | ${ }^{65}$ | Avixuos [-- -] |  |
| ['I]cíooros |  |  |  |
| ${ }_{v 0}$ [patronymic] | $\downarrow$ | ${ }_{85} \operatorname{A\varepsilon } \varepsilon \omega \sigma\left[\theta \varepsilon ์ \nu \eta_{S}\right.$ ? $]$ |  |
| $40[-\cdots--]_{\text {os }}$ | $v{ }^{\prime} E[\pi \tau \varepsilon \iota] \times$ id $\alpha \iota$ | ${ }^{\prime} A \lambda \hat{\prime} \xi \times \nu \delta \rho o s[-]$ |  |
| ${ }^{\text {vv Maơọou }}$ | 'Apıбtóvios | ${ }^{v 0} \tau \alpha \ldots o v$ |  |
| [Name, patronymic] | \%0 $v$ ¢íhavos |  |  |
| [--- - 0 ore . os | NLe. . . . - | Stovóalos Zrı ${ }^{\text {[-- }}$ |  |
| - 'Apıtoxoćtov | ${ }^{\text {vevv }}$ @ov |  |  |
| ${ }_{45}[-\cdots-]$ ] ${ }^{\text {os }}$ | M $\varepsilon^{1} \lambda \tau \varepsilon \varepsilon \tau_{S}$ | Avíxıos ${ }^{\text {E }}$ ¢ $\hat{\varepsilon}^{\prime}[\mathrm{Vov}$ ?] |  |
|  |  |  |  |
| ${ }^{\text {vo }}{ }^{\text {'Exivelxos }}$ | ${ }_{55}{ }^{\text {vve }}$ ¢ ¢iov | ${ }^{\text {vov }}$ tooos |  |
|  |  | $K \alpha \lambda \lambda \iota x \lambda \tilde{\eta} S \quad \Sigma_{\varepsilon}[--]$ |  |
| [.] $] \sigma \pi[\ldots] \delta[\omega] \rho o s$ | ${ }^{\text {vv }}$ 入íллоv |  |  |
| 50 [...] ] vaiov | Фavódıxos [)] | Stovvaódwoos [--] |  |
| [. . .] ¢os Гhavxiov | vacat | o[i] $\pi \varrho \cup \tau \alpha \dot{\alpha}[\nu \varepsilon \iota \varsigma]$ |  |
| [. . . ] $] r r a[--]$ | oi $\pi \varrho v \tau \dot{\alpha} \nu[\varepsilon \iota ¢]$ | ${ }^{105}$ vòv $\tau \alpha\left[\begin{array}{ll}\mu i \alpha \nu \nu & \tau \tilde{\omega} \nu\end{array}\right]$ |  |
|  |  | $\sigma \tau \varrho \alpha \tau[\iota \omega \tau \iota \chi \tilde{\omega} \nu]$ |  |
|  | In an olive wreath: | In an olive wreath: |  |
|  | [---] | ['Al'̇ं] |  |
|  | 100 [-----] | $\xi \alpha \nu$ |  |
| ${ }_{\text {vvvo }}^{\text {vé }}$ ( $\Pi \tau 0 \lambda \varepsilon$ | [----] | deov ' $A$ |  |
| ${ }^{\text {vve }} \mu$ 人ãov vov | Sovve | $110 \gamma \alpha \theta 0 x \lambda$ |  |
|  | [ $¢ 1]$ ¢ | fovs 18 |  |
|  |  | vxovo |  |
|  |  | $\varepsilon^{\prime} \alpha$ |  |

The six citations (lines $1-32,97-113$ ) are read and restored on the analogy of the new Agora document 116. The order of citation is not the same, but similar. The title and name of the Undersecretary (lines $56-58$ ) are not, I think, later additions, as is the stray prytanis of lines $59-60$. It is notable that the Undersecretary received no carved wreath, and it is especially remarkable that, as for a slave or metic, only his name is given (p.16).

The clue to deciphering the register proved to be the more or less regular alternation of names and patronymics in successive lines. The sign ) for a parent of identical name might interrupt this sequence. Column III, becoming irregular in this respect, must have overlapped the area of Column IV, at least at the bottom. Of prytaneis and
demotics we can read forty-one, or assign space on the preserved stone to them. Hence a fourth, crowded, column is a necessary assumption. We have seen that there was space. The result must have looked awkward, but the inscription, as we shall see, was a tribal, not a public, monument. The later addition of the prytanis in lines 59-60 is by the same hand as the rest. Whether or not the list, when thus amended, had 50 prytaneis, we cannot be sure; there is no reason to doubt it.

The first demotic (line 33) baffles me. In line 68 we have a demotic: there were possibly two or three others between lines 33 and 68 . Probably Column II began with a demotic (cf. 116, 109). All of Column III should be assigned to Melite.

Lines 3-7: Gorgippos is a known figure of the period (109, with commentary).
Lines 11-15: For Oinophilos see Graindor in Musée Belge, XXVII (1923), p. 294; also 97.
Lines 20-24: Antipatros is fully treated under 116, which records his fifth generalship.

 line 105), and Пóтлıos [-- -] Mعдıтєv́s of 109, line 28.
 same man.
 years $25 / 4-18 / 7$ b.c. (Fouilles de Delphes, III, 2, 61, line 7). This is interesting in view of the new reading of his title in lines 105-106 of the present inscription. His Treasurership of Military Funds probably preceded his Treasurership of the Dodecade. He appears also in Kourouniotes, ' $E \lambda \varepsilon v \sigma \iota \nu \iota \alpha x \alpha$, p. 225, line 29. A son was an ephebos in $13 / 2$ в.c. (Graindor, Musée Belge, XXVII [1923], pp. 262-263).

Kirchner correctly fixed the date of the document, by the evidence of the names, in the early part of the Principate of Augustus. If the restorations in 109 are correct, the career of Gorgippos gives $30 / 29$ b.c. as the early limit, and the career of Antipatros points to a date somewhat earlier than $20 / 19$ в.с.

In the period $170-180$ A.D. the catalogue of prytaneis of Kekropis I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 1790$ was inscribed on the back of the stele. Since it is now abundantly clear that the obverse face also listed prytaneis of Kekropis, the hypothesis suggests itself that the stone was the property not of the Demos, but of the tribesman of Kekropis. A heavy block, it was found not in the Agora, but near the Sacred Gate in the Kerameikos. It seems not unlikely that a precinct of Kekrops, used by the tribe, was near.
111. Hesperia, IV (1935), pp. 40-41, no. 8. ca. 40-20 b.c. Akamantis. The stone was found 14 m . east of the Tholos. In line 1 read preferably XỌ $\wedge \underset{\sim}{\text { EN }}$ or alternately (dotted letters) K $\Theta \wedge$ ẠE!̣. No combination of these possibilities has suggested a solution. Line 10 is probably the first of the register.

The lettering suggests the period, and the variations of formulae between this text and 116 may be held to confirm the earlier date for the present text.
112. Agora I 866. Fragment of Pentelic marble with part of the smooth-picked right side preserved. It is otherwise broken, but apparently preserved near the top, where there are traces of the start of a moulding, at the top of the right side. Found on May 25,1933 , in the wall of a late pit at $52 / \mathrm{IE}, 12 \mathrm{~m}$. east of the Tholos, in Section $\mathbf{Z}$.

Height, 0.157 m. ; width, 0.098 m. ; thickness, 0.087 m .
Height of letters (average), 0.01 m .
$c a$. third quarter of the first century b.c. ca. 37?








 10

The type of the decree is evidently that of 97, etc., but the regular formulae cannot be restored; no one line can be definitely fixed.


No. 112
113. I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$, 1048 plus Hesperia, III (1934), p. 39, no. 28. ca. $45-20$ b.c. Erechtheis. The text in I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$, is correct, except that $\tau \varepsilon$ should be supplied at the beginning of line 6 , moving $\tau \alpha \rho$ to the end of 5 . This preserves the usual formula and the rule of syllabification. A new text of the Agora fragment is given here:

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { End of Column I: } \\
& \text { [--] } \mathbb{Z} \mathrm{E}[- \text { - - - - - - }]
\end{aligned}
$$

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { [--] }] \stackrel{\varepsilon}{[---------]}
\end{aligned}
$$

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { vacat }
\end{aligned}
$$

$$
\begin{aligned}
& {[\alpha \nu] \tau \tilde{\eta}_{S} \varphi \cup \lambda\left[\tilde{\eta}_{S}\right]} \\
& \text { In a crown: } \\
& \text { [ } \left.\Sigma] \omega x \propto^{\alpha} \tau[\eta \nu)\right] \\
& {[K \eta] \varphi \varphi_{!}[\varepsilon \dot{\varepsilon} \alpha]}
\end{aligned}
$$

The crown contained space for 3 more lines

The letters are by the same hand as those of I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 1048$; the vertical spacing in lines $1-5$ is greater, but since these lines now appear to contain the register, the difference of size is not, in the first century b.c., a reason against associating the two fragments. Meritt's assumption that the two fragments are part of one stele is therefore correct. I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 1048$ had wandered as far as the Royal Gardens.

The restoration of the demotic is indubitable, but the names cannot certainly be restored. That in line 5 might be Xoi@ı $\pi \pi \rho_{\rho}$, etc. There are difficulties in the citation, The heading is slightly asymmetrical. For the title $\delta \tau \alpha \mu \alpha_{S} \tau \tilde{\gamma_{S}} \varphi v \lambda \tilde{r}_{j}$ see p. 14 . Below the name in the crown there was space, which would normally be filled, for many letters: one thinks of $\gamma o ́ v \omega \iota ~ \delta \grave{\varepsilon}, x \tau \lambda$., a form which occurred first in $60 / 59$ b.c. (I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$, 2992, partly restored but reading correct: see photograph in A.J.A., XXXVII [1933], p. 584).

The archon Apolexis (designated without patronymic, demotic, or $\mu \varepsilon \tau \grave{\alpha}$ and his predecessor) who dates I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 1040$ and 113 (I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$, 1048) was placed by Kolbe (Archonten, pp. $148-150$ ) in the years $47 / 6-43 / 2$ в.c. The reasoning was historical, and, since the sources are scant for the period, the result was conjectural. An archon Apolexis (likewise without other designation), who appears in Delphian records, was securely fixed by Graindor ${ }^{1}$ in the years $25 / 4-18 / 7$ в.c. Graindor twice suggested (loc. cit.), that I.G., $I^{2}{ }^{2}, 1040$ and 113 should perhaps be assigned to the Apolexis of $25 / 4-18 / 7$, i.e., he suggested that there was only one archon Apolexis who appears without additional designation. ${ }^{2}$

If the reader will turn to $I . G ., \mathrm{II}^{2}, 1048-1050$, he will find there three decrees dated in the middle of the first century. Of these we have found reason to date 1050 earlier (97), and to put 1049 in $57 / 6$ в.c. (101). 1048 is obviously different in formulae, as well as in length of line, from the other two. The new Agora documents show where its affinities are: the formulae, the place of erection, and the length of line also, are generally similar to those of 114,116 , etc. The long list of beneficiaries, which is that of $c a .155-100$ в.c., is met with after Sulla only in 116 and 121 (p.25). The formulae themselves are perhaps somewhat earlier than those of 116. The lettering seems to be earlier, but not much earlier. At this writing it is impossible to decide whether there was an Apolexis of ca. 45 b.c., and whether 113 should be dated in that period. It is amply clear, however, that 113 belongs after 97 and 101, and probably before 116.
114. Agora I 995. Four fragments of Pentelic marble. Fragment A is made up of two joining pieces, found on March 24, 1934, and June 19, 1933, one in a stony fill over the porch of the Tholos and the other in a marble pile in the northwest corner of Section Z. Fragment B was found on April 2, 1934, in the brown earth on the floor of

[^60]the Tholos. Fragment C was found on April 18, 1934, in a late fill in the wall trench of the Tholos. Fragment D, preserving the left edge of the stone, was found on April 11, 1934, in a late fill over the Tholos.
(A) Height, 0.065 m. ; width, 0.21 m. ; thickness, 0.07 m .
(B) Height, 0.066 m. ; width, 0.087 m. ; thickness, 0.029 m .
(C) Height, 0.041 m. ; width, 0.07 m ; thickness, 0.023 m .
(D) Height, 0.081 m. ; width, 0.137 m. ; thickness, 0.068 m .

Height of letters, 0.011 m .


A


B


No. 114

Aiantis
Age of Augustus (ca. 30-20 в.c.?)
ca. 33




Gap of several lines


The four fragments seem to be by the same hand, but $B$ shows some differences in style, while C is more closely spaced vertically than the others. Such variations are not serious in the Roman period, but doubt is possible as to whether all four belong together. The tribe Aiantis is honored in A; the demotic in B can be restored to give Phaleron, a deme of Aiantis; and in D the name Himeraios, rare in Athens (four in all are now known) can be connected with P.A., 7578, Himeraios the brother of the famous Demetrios of Phaleron. In 98, moreover, the list of Phalereis is headed by an Antiochos; and an Ariston appears under the same demotic in 102 (see commentary in I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$ ) of the same period. Fragment $C$ is thus the most dubious member. Line 11 may end in $Y$ or $X$; in the latter case, it should be a proper name (cf. 102, lines 47 and 50 for possible restorations). The restorations from this fragment are all uncertain.
115. Agora I 877. Two fragments of a stele of Pentelic marble crowned by a moulding. Fragment A was found on May 22, 1933, in a marble pile in Section H. Fragment B was found on February 27, 1934, in a late Roman-Byzantine fill, in Section $\mathbf{H}^{\prime}$.
(A) Height, 0.11 m. ; width, 0.105 m. ; thickness, 0.045 m .
(B) Height, 0.125 m. ; width, 0.113 m. ; thickness, 0.05 m .

Height of letters, 0.008 m .


In line 3 the spacing is observably closer, but even so the regular formulae, those restored below, make too long a line.

The dating of the one or two archons named Apolexis (without qualification) is a problem which cannot be settled at this writing. The lettering fits the date proposed by Graindor in Chronologie, pp. 37-38.

116. Agora I 807. Stele of Pentelic marble, broken at the bottom and rough-picked at the back, with a pediment at top with akroteria, mostly broken away. On the right, the side is original; on the left it has been cut back with filled flutings and a clawed foot, probably a Byzantine re-use. Found on May 12, 1933, in a loose fill some 35 m . east of the Tholos, in Section $\Theta$.

Height, 1.015 m. ; width, 0.492 m. ; thickness, 0.11 m .
Height of letters, (upper), 0.01 m ; (lower), 0.007 m .



No. 116


vacat

Паıаขıві̃ऽ
Фì $\lambda \omega \nu{ }^{\text {＇}} \boldsymbol{H} \gamma \varepsilon \lambda \delta \chi \chi 0 v$
［П］oбعıס＇́vıos $\triangle \varepsilon ı \varphi i ́ \lambda o v ~$
［ 4$]!o ́ \delta \omega \varrho \circ s$ ）

$[M] \frac{\varepsilon}{\delta} \tau \omega \nu{ }^{\text {＇}} \mathrm{H} \varrho \alpha[\alpha \lambda] \varepsilon ́ \omega \nu 0 \varsigma$
$\Delta \iota o ́ d o \tau o s ~ \triangle \varepsilon \iota[\nu i] o v$

Фı $\lambda \varepsilon і ̃ \nu o s ~ М \varepsilon \nu \varepsilon x @ \alpha ́ t o v ~$
${ }_{30}$ 「ขаĩos Kógtıos
Mí入 $\omega \nu \quad \Sigma \varepsilon \lambda \varepsilon$ úxov
Дıovv́olos Г入aúzov

© $\varepsilon$ ód $\omega \varrho$ ○s［－－－－－］
${ }_{35} \quad N \varepsilon i x \omega \nu$ Гoo $[i \omega \nu o c]$
［［＇Eגлілвıхоя Z［－－－－］］］




$\Phi_{1} \lambda \eta{ }_{\eta} \mu \omega \nu$ Ev̉r $\alpha \varrho \pi i \delta o v$

M $\varepsilon \nu \varepsilon \varepsilon \lambda \tilde{\eta}_{S}{ }^{\prime} A \pi o \lambda \lambda \omega \nu i \delta o[v]$
Kö̈̀vos $\Sigma \omega \sigma \iota \gamma \varepsilon ́ \nu \eta s$

по́upiスos Aizíov
$\Theta \varepsilon o ́ \delta o \tau o s ~ ’ A \lambda \varepsilon \xi^{\prime} \omega \nu o s$
vacat
vacat

|  | vacat |
| :---: | :---: |
| oi $\pi \varrho v \tau \alpha \dot{\mu} \nu \varepsilon \iota \varsigma ~ \tau o ̀ v ~ \sigma \tau \varrho \alpha ~$ <br>  <br>  |  |
|  | In an olive wreath： |
| 80 | ＇Aviitateov <br> ${ }^{\prime}{ }^{\prime} \nu \tau \tau \iota[\pi \alpha \dot{\alpha}] \tau \varrho \circ v$ <br> $\Phi \lambda \varphi[\hat{\varepsilon}] \underset{\alpha}{\alpha}$ |
|  |  <br>  <br> In a laurel wreath： |
| 85 |  |


| $\Sigma \tau \varepsilon \iota \rho \iota \varepsilon \tilde{\Omega}$ |  |
| :---: | :---: |
| 50 |  |
|  |  |
|  |  |
|  |  |
| 55 | K $\alpha \lambda \lambda \omega \nu$ ） |
|  | ${ }^{3} \boldsymbol{A} \gamma \alpha \theta 0 x \lambda \tilde{\eta}_{S}$ ） |
|  |  |
|  |  |
|  | ＇Aviitat¢оs ） |
| 60 |  |
|  |  |
|  | Mv＠＠ıvov́бıo七 |
| 65 |  |
|  | $K v \delta \alpha \theta \eta \nu \alpha \iota ¢ \frac{1}{S}$ S |
|  | \ทur̃́t＠ıos Kııvéov |
|  |  |
|  |  |
|  |  |
|  |  |
|  |  |
| 70 | ［－－－－ca．${ }^{17}$－．－－－$]$ dov |

［Line 71 or 72：a demotic， probably＇$A \gamma \gamma \varepsilon \lambda \tilde{\eta} \theta \varepsilon \nu$ or $\left.{ }^{\text {＇}}{ }^{\alpha} \alpha \varepsilon \varepsilon \tilde{i}_{\varsigma}\right]$
［－－－са． $11-\cdots-\Pi] \alpha \nu \chi \varrho \dot{\tau} \tau о v$
$K v \theta$ ŕ $\varrho[\rho \iota]$ oı
 K $\dot{\sigma} \sigma \tau \omega \varrho)$

${ }_{90}[\alpha \nu \tau \tilde{\omega} \nu \pi \varrho v \tau \alpha \nu \varepsilon \varepsilon \omega \nu] \quad 95 \mu i \alpha \nu \tau \tilde{\eta}_{S} \beta o v \lambda \tilde{r}_{S} x \alpha i \quad \tau \tilde{\omega} \nu \sigma \tau \varrho \alpha \tau \iota \omega \tau \iota x \tilde{\omega} \nu$
［In an olive wreath：］ $\boldsymbol{\tau o \tilde { v }} \delta \dot{\eta} \mu o v \quad$ In an olive wreath：In an olive wreath： In a laurel wreath：$\quad \Theta \varepsilon \sigma \gamma^{\prime} \nu \eta \nu$

| ［Фi ${ }^{\prime} \lambda \omega \nu \alpha$ ］ | ［－－－－－］ $\boldsymbol{\nu} \nu$ | ©eoүévov |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ［＇Hү ${ }^{\text {dózov］}}$ | ［－－－oo $v_{S}$ |  | 110 |
| ［ $\Pi \alpha \iota \alpha \nu \iota \varepsilon \alpha]$ | ［－－－－－］ |  |  |
|  |  | Eünv＠íd［ov］ |  |

［vacat to base］

As good as complete, the decree has revealed one peculiarity after another as this study has progressed: (1) The spokesman is mentioned (cf. 121). (2) The deioıvoı are not mentioned as such. (3) As beneficiaries of the sacrifices, the prytaneis themselves are mentioned, and in first place: the mere mention of them in this connection would have seemed shocking in the pre-Sullan days, when the theory (at least) was that the Treasurer offered the sacrifices as the agent of the prytaneis, and as one of them. (4) The long list of beneficiaries is otherwise that of ca. $155-88$ в.c.; cf. also 113 and 121. (5) As in no other post-Sullan decree, nor in any decree passed by the Boule alone, the prytaneis receive praise; but it is to be noted that the Boule refrains from conferring any crown upon them. Hence they are not cited. (6) No statue of the Treasurer is contemplated.

The tenor of all of these peculiarities is the same: they are an attempt to combine the old " first" and "second" decrees: the document is deliberately archaistic in form, with modern improvements in the text and in the stele. The language itself, and the orthography, reveal what the spokesman, Apolexis of Oion, evidently considered to be elegant style.

The archon $\Delta \eta \mu \varepsilon \varepsilon^{\prime} \mathcal{S}^{\prime} \mathcal{A}_{\zeta} \eta_{\eta \nu \iota \varepsilon v_{S}}$ has been hitherto unknown. ${ }^{1}$. The two archons named Apolexis, who served less than a generation apart in the early Augustan period, were distinguished by the addition of the patronymic, and once of the demotic also, to the name of the second. It is not unlikely, though in this period by no means certain, that the demotic of Demeas similarly may have been specified to distinguish him from an earlier archon Demeas, until now unknown to us. His own period must be fixed, in any case, by the evidence of names, which we may conveniently set forth line by line. A date in the later 20 s b.c. will be seen to be probable.
 dating $F$. Delph., III, 2, no. 63. The year is $8 / 7-2 / 1$ b.c. (Graindor, Chron., p. 51; Musée Belge, XXVII [1923], p. 266; I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$ ii, 2, p. 789). At some time previous to this the ephebes had honored him as $\tau \alpha \mu i \alpha_{s}\left(I . G ., I^{2}, 1965\right)$, - doubtless $\tau \tilde{\omega \nu \nu} \sigma \tau \varrho \alpha \tau \iota \omega \tau \iota x \tilde{\omega} \nu$. His name occurs again in a list of tribesmen of Leontis, I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$, 2461, line 5, which has been taken to be the name not of the archon, but of an otherwise unknown uncle or grandfather; but see below. The same archon also dates I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 2997,3505,3909$.

Lines 5, 16, 22, 91-93: Relatives, uncertain and somewhat remote, are recorded in P.A., 14861, 14862. Philon himself is otherwise unknown.

Line 6: the rasura is a mere correction.
Line 23: cf. P.A., 12144, ephebe in $123 / 2$, possibly a grandfather.
Line 27: cf. P.A., 3905, ephebe in 119/8, possibly a grandfather.

[^61]Line 28: for possible ancestors cf. N.P.A., 60.
Line 29: for possible ancestors see P.A., 7543.
Line 31: for possible ancestors see P.A., 12622, 12623, N.P.A., 151.
 of Dionysos, was an ephebe in $38 / 7$ b.c. (I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 1043$, line 94).

Line 34: for a possible ancestor see P.A., 6890.
Line 35: N.P.A., 45 has a grave-stone conjectured to be of the first century: we may now restore $[\Gamma] o o \gamma_{i} \omega \nu$ [ $\left.N \varepsilon i x\right] \omega \nu$ os $[\Pi \alpha] \iota \alpha \nu \iota \varepsilon v_{s}$. This might be the father. I have not found the stone.

Line 39: for a possible ancestor see P.A., 7934.
Line 44: for possible ancestors see P.A., 13215, 13216.
Line 45: for possible ancestors see P.A., 1558, 1559; N.P.A., 121, 122.
Line 46: for possible ancestors see P.A., 11555. The name of the father, $\mathcal{A} i \xi \xi \operatorname{los}$ or Aisías seems to be new to Greek in that form; Aívios and Aioías are known.

Line 47: for a possible ancestor see P.A., 6799.
Line 50: the same Ozódwoos Anurt@iov (P.A., 6901) was paidotribes in $c a .38 / 7$ b.c. (I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 1043$, lines 56, 127).

Line 52: an ephebe of $107 / 6$ is possibly the father (P.A., 517). The Treasurer of

 a son: if so, the immigrant Roman gave his son a patriotic name favoring his new country. Descendants: P.A., 230.

Line 58: a possible ancestor is P.A., 6566. See also under line 52.
Line 62: In the first name two letters, the spacing, and the total length are sure; the name suggested is itself very uncertain.
 in $9 / 8$ в.c. or shortly thereafter (I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$, 1722). For possible ancestors see P.A., 3415, 3416.

Line 67: for possible relatives see P.A., 3415, 3416.
Line 73: No Пavхó́rys has been known hitherto in Athens.
 three highest offices in the state, has been recognized by Graindor (Musée Belge, XXVII [1923], p. 265, with reference and enumeration of descendants; add his son, the present list, line 57) as the proposer of $I . G ., \mathrm{II}^{2}, 1071$. The date would seem to be close to $27 / 6$ в.c. (Graindor, Ath. sous Aug., p. 26). It is more to our purpose that he appears as Hoplite General in the first crown of 105. Since no record of another tenure is given,
this was presumably his first. His third tenure is recorded in the third crown of 110 , which we have dated in the 30 's. Our document, in the first crown, proclaims his fifth tenure.

In line 84 the title $x \tilde{\eta} \varrho v \xi \tilde{r}_{S} \beta o v \lambda \tilde{\eta}_{S}$ has been restored from 110 ; possibly $\chi \alpha i$ vov $\delta \dot{\eta} \mu$ ov ought to be added, to give this Herald's full title (cf. 106).

In lines $85-87$ a tempting restoration is the name of the familiar Herald of a decade
 slight though they are, all but exclude this interpretation. Why the Herald and the Treasurer of Military Funds should receive crowns of laurel is not apparent.

Lines 102-106: Theogenes is known as Hieromnemon in an inscription at Delphi
 ['A $\left.\lambda_{\varepsilon} \xi \alpha \dot{\alpha} \nu \delta \varrho o v\right] \mid E v j \pi v \varrho i \delta \eta s$. The date, given by the archon, who is the same as the spokesman of the present inscription, is $8 / 7-2 / 1$ в.c. The suppression of the demotic of the adoptive father in both the Delphian and the Agora inscriptions suggests plainly that the adoptive father was also of Eupyridai, and in fact $\Theta \varepsilon o \gamma^{\prime} v \eta_{S} \Theta \varepsilon \sigma \gamma^{\prime} v o v$ Evirv@ídrs, presumably the adoptive father himself, appears in a list of members of Leontis (I.G., II ${ }^{2}$, 2461, line 70 -he heads the list for his deme-; in line 85 appears a son, Zopyros, and in line 77 another son, $\left[\Phi_{\varepsilon \iota}\right.$ ? ] $\delta^{\prime} \alpha_{\varsigma}$ ). The list is commonly dated to the middle of the first century b.c. ${ }^{1}$ The same inscription at line 71 gives us the actual father, ' $\mathcal{A} \lambda \dot{\varepsilon} \xi \alpha \nu \delta 0 o s$ ); at line 87,
 some reason $\Theta \varepsilon \sigma \gamma \delta \varepsilon \eta \eta$, the son, was himself not recorded.

The period of our inscription is obviously late in the first century b.c. The precise year should probably be earlier than $9 / 8$ в.c., because the archon is not specified as being also Priest of the Consul Drusus. In any case the archonship in 8/7-2/1 of the rogator, Apolexis, in our inscription a member of the Boule, fixes a lower limit (cf. also line 64). A vague upper limit is set by the careers of Apolexis and of Theogenes (lines $102-106$ ) both of whom were active after $8 / 7$. The year $10 / 9$ is occupied only by a conjectural candidate; earlier than $10 / 9$ there is no opening until $18 / 7$ or before. The evidence is not decisive between these two possibilities, but there is a small presumption in favor of an earlier date, ca. 20 b.c.

Such a date brings the third and fifth generalships of Antipatros near to the time when he proposed the important decree I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$, 1071. He thus emerges as one of the first citizens of Athens at the opening of the Augustan period.

[^62]117. I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$, 2877. Early in the reign of Augustus. The block is still preserved where Wilhelm rediscovered it, serving as part of one step in a stairway in the house at 20 Tripod Street. A rectangular block, the inscribed face is 0.53 m . wide and 0.20 m . high ; the text just fills this area, and shows that the dimensions given are original. The depth of the stone at present is 0.50 m .: doubtless it was nearly square. The block was part, therefore, of a base of some sort, for an offering or a smallish statue.

The officer $\varepsilon \pi \tau \iota \varepsilon \lambda \eta \tau \grave{\eta} s \pi \varrho \tau \tau \alpha \nu \varepsilon i o v$ is not otherwise known. The social position of Theophilos, and the style of the monument, would both suggest that the position had come to be, as it very well might, one of moderate consequence and dignity.

The monument would naturally have been erected in the Prytaneion. Its weight and condition suggest that it has not travelled far, and in fact, the block is now not far from the neighborhood where Pausanias (I, 18, 3) saw the Prytaneion.
118. Agora I 1252. Fragment of Pentelic marble, inscribed in two columns; part of seven lines in the left hand column and of ten lines in the right hand column have been preserved. Found on January 29, 1934, in a late fill, 15 m . northwest of the Tholos, in Section B.

Height, $0.176 \mathrm{~m} . ;$ width of face, 0.10 m. ; thickness, 0.072 m .

Height of letters, 0.009 m .

|  | Late first century b.c. |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | [-------o]v |  | シ[- |
|  | [------o] $v_{S}$ |  | A [- |
|  | [----- - ${ }^{v}$ |  | A [- |
|  |  |  | A [- |
| 5 |  | 15 | $I_{\varepsilon}[-$ |
|  | $[---\varepsilon \tilde{\iota}]_{S}$ |  | $v$ [Dem.] |
|  | [------]vגyos |  | $\boldsymbol{X}$ [- |
|  | [--- - - ${ }^{v}$ |  | $N \mathrm{C}$ [ ${ }^{-}$ |
|  | [------o]v |  | $\boldsymbol{\Pi}[-$ |
| 10 | [-------] $v$ | 20 | $\Theta[-$ |
|  |  |  | $\boldsymbol{1}$ [- |

Lines 3, 6, 8, and 16 presumably were demotics, preceded in each case by a short blank space.


No. 118
119. I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$, 1070. Early Christian era, before 19 a.d. Orneis. The stone is $E M$ 638. Lattermann's reading in I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$, would seem to provide for an over-lengthy decree, whereas the stone shows clearly that line 24 belongs to the register of prytaneis: read -]fvos ). Line 22 is probably the first entry in the last, which was the third, column. $\operatorname{Read}[\Phi \cup \lambda] \dot{\alpha} \sigma \iota o \iota$ or $[\Theta \stackrel{\varrho}{!}] \underset{\dot{\alpha} \sigma \iota o \iota . ~ " L i n e ~}{21 "}$ is blank; the decree ended in line 20. Of the text of the decree itself I have not made a strict examination. The list of the same demesmen continues at least through line 27, which reads -]s ). Graindor's date, not long before 19 a.d. (Chronologie, pp. 52-54), seems acceptable.
120. Hesperia, IV (1935), pp. 38-40, no. 7. Early first century a.d. A few minor points may be noted. In line 5 the first letter is $M$, perhaps of [ $\left.\gamma \varepsilon r r^{\prime}\right] \mu \varepsilon v o v$. Lines 2 and 11-14 should each begin with the three or four letters restored at the end of each previous line, the division being by syllables. The length of line is thus fixed as close to 49 letters. As Oliver noted, the restorations cannot be rigidly determined, but those of lines 9 and 11 should hold. In line 1 the words $\alpha \alpha i$ oi à $\varepsilon i \sigma \iota \tau o \iota$ should be restored, omitting $\varphi v \lambda \tilde{r}_{\mathcal{S}}$, which never occurs; the name of the tribe in prytany was therefore of the shortest. The date should perhaps be late in the reign of Augustus.
121. I. G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 1073+1074$. As between 1073 and 1074 , the closeness of date and subject had already led Graindor to declare that "il paraît bien certain que les deux décrets ont été votés à la même occasion " (B.C.H., XXXVIII [1914], p. 415, n. 3). ${ }^{1}$ The contours of the moulding are precisely the same in each. Mouldings on different stelae are rarely identical in contour. When a quantity of baked mud had been cleaned from the bottom of 1074 , the stones joined.

Fragment C, of 1073, not found by Kirchner, has been located: it is $E M 5723$. The right side has been trimmed straight in post-classical times. The small fragment D is still lost; the letters on this fragment are underlined in the text here given.

The total preserved height is now 0.73 m . The thickness is original, 0.14 m . There was certainly a third column : the length of line is such as accommodates three columns each as wide as the (preserved) first column. On this basis the original width may be reckoned at 0.74 m . over all. In the third column were probably listed the deioıtoı (cf. I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 1759$ of $90-100$ A.D.). ${ }^{2}$

[^63]



We arrive, then, at an original width almost exactly equal to the height now preserved. There is no such thing, to my knowledge, as a square stele; it can hardly be doubted that the original height was considerably greater than the height preserved. Doubtless space must be allowed for elaborate carved crowns containing citations. There was room, accordingly, for the list of prytaneis to continue below the preserved last lines 47 and 74.

Whether the list did in fact so continue is important for the date of the whole. In $124 / 5$ a.d. the tribe Hadrianis was formed, and Aiantis gave to the new tribe the deme Trikorynthos. The Boule was at the same time reduced to 500 members, which meant 38 or 39 from each tribe. ${ }^{1}$ Now it so happens that our fragments bear the names of just 39 prytaneis; also that Trikorynthos is lacking, but its place, as the smallest deme, would naturally be last. We have seen that there was space for more names, and in fact eleven names and one demotic can be restored, so as to give Trikorynthos the number of representatives which it had under Hadrianis (I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 1793$ ), and so as to preserve columns of equal length. Since the stone offers a small presumption that the list did continue, it has been so restored; but the alternative, namely that the preserved 39 prytaneis may be the correct total, must of course be kept in mind.

This reasoning has not before been advanced, and the difficulties in line 7 have likewise been neglected. Hadrian did not become 'Oג́́utios until ca. 132 a.d., according to Graindor, who would omit that word from line 7. If it be included, the line is still some 5 letters short of the ideal requirement; that is barely allowable in a carefully cut inscription with lines of ca. 54 letters. To omit 'Onvuniov, however, is to leave a gap of $c a .12$ letters. It is surprising to find that this gap, which must have contained a full list of official titles, cannot be filled, so far as I can see, by any obvious restoration.

[^64]The possibility remains open that the proper date is ca. 132, with 'Olvuriov restored in line 7 , and the register limited to the 39 names now preserved. The preference for the early date is nevertheless clear, particularly since it accords with the date, 101 a.d., assigned by Kirchner as the akme of Claudius Atticus (I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$, 35̃95, stemma).

Whatever the exact date may be, it does not seem to have been realized that what we have is a modified post-Sullan, " second" decree (cf. 116). Hence the date appeared in line 2, and the list of beneficiaries of the sacrifices, a list more elaborate than in any previous decree, explains the genitives in lines 7-10. Hence also Claudius Atticus, listed first (line 28), is not (as scholars have supposed) the famous Herodes Atticus, but his father, who is specially honored in the decree, as the Treasurer of the prytaneis (line 4). Phidias probably proclaimed in line 1 the title suggested by his position in the register (line 58; see pp. 14, 15).

In line 6 Graindor would insert a reference to tenure by Claudius of the gymnasiarchate of the gymnasium of the deified Hadrian, $\gamma v[\mu \nu \alpha \sigma i \alpha \nu, x \tau \lambda$. This is opposed by the spacing, because it leaves very few letters with which to introduce the reference in the next line to Hadrian. Since the wife of Claudius is mentioned for large honors in the resolution proper (line 22), it seems that her name should appear early in the preliminary statement of reasons for honors. She is mentioned, to be sure, at the end of that statement (lines $17-18$ ). In any case it is clearly necessary, on the analogy of 113, 116, and the pre-Sullan decrees, to introduce a list of beneficiaries about at this point.

Line 15: attention should be called to this unexplained series of letters.
Line 26: with but very few exceptions, inscriptions found on the Acropolis were set up there.

In the register patronymics probably appeared regularly, though most are lost; systematic restoration is futile until the appearance of indices for I.G., II ${ }^{2}$. The stemma for the family of Herodes Atticus, whose father is honored in the present decree, has been drawn up by Kirchner under I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$, 3595. ${ }^{1}$

[^65]
## ALLOTMENT MACHINES

The text in 79, lines $29-30$ and $59-61$, as also in 80 , lines $9-11$, of the same year,
 rows of slots precisely similar to rows of slots in certain other peculiar monuments, three of which have long been published. Study of these monuments had already suggested, before 79 was observed, that they were to be recognized as actual Athenian machines for performing allotment. 79, which proved that this identification was correct, stimulated search for others, with the result that at this writing eleven Athenian allotment machines are represented by the preserved fragments which have been recovered. ${ }^{1}$

Since no ancient author describes the operation of a $\chi \lambda \eta \varrho \omega \tau \eta \varrho \iota o v$, the process has to be inferred from the details of the various preserved stones, of which a catalogue follows. The dates and the administrative uses can best be discussed afterward.
I. ${ }^{2}$ The first specimen, which is the simplest and most nearly complete, provides clues for an understanding of all. The general appearance of the object is that of a small grave monument from which the sculpture has been omitted. Merely as a convenient frame, and as decoration, the sides are treated like pilasters, and the top like a Doric entablature, with three regulae having six guttae each. The top was cut to receive one end of a hook clamp, ${ }^{3}$ in order to fasten the whole in an upright position against some stone backing, presumably a wall. The back of the object itself was naturally left rough.

These details are all incidental. As a $x \lambda \eta \varrho \omega \tau \eta o v$, the stone received in front a vertical row of slots. The slots in this, and in all the other machines, are slightly irregular in dimensions. They average 0.02 m . in length, 0.02 m . in depth and 0.006 m . in height: such dimensions as would permit the ends of a row of four or five lead pencils to be inserted together into each. Some slots have a slight inclination downward into the stone, so that a pencil stuck into one would protrude upward; all the rest are cut at right angles to the surface. In other words, an object which fitted into a slot would not fall out. No slot in any machine has revealed any trace of lead by which

[^66]objects would have been fastened in. Clearly therefore the slots were intended to hold removable objects, objects which might be removed for the purpose of changing their order in relation to each other.

At the left side of the front, close to the pilaster, there appears a rounded groove, having almost no depth at its bottom end. The groove deepens evenly toward the under side of the cornice. Here it widens into the shape of an inverted cone, passes through the cornice, and opens out to the top of the stone. The scheme may best be realized by noting that a straight rod or tube could be lowered into the top of the stone, down through the inverted cone, to emerge in the groove on the front below. At the top of the groove, the tube would lie half enclosed by stone. When lowered to the bottom end of the groove, the tube would fit close against the straight back of the groove. The lower end of the tube, since the groove is there very shallow, would be almost entirely exposed.

The inverted cone, open at the bottom, suggests immediately that objects in a group were to be dumped into the cone as into a hopper, so as to emerge singly through the hole at the bottom. This is not the only use conceivable for a cone-shaped opening, but it commends itself particularly if one imagines a tube emerging from the lower end of the cone. A tube in this position has already suggested itself from observation of the groove; and the particular attraction of the notion is that the lower end of the tube, where the groove is shallow, would be so nearly free of the stone that whatever had fallen into the tube from the hopper (cone) above could emerge from the end of the tube, clear of the stone, below. In sum, the stone has cuttings, namely a cone-and-groove, as if spherical counters of some sort were meant to be dropped into a hopper-and-tube, so as to be taken out at the bottom in an order determined thus by "chance." The stone also has a row of slots as if for the insertion of objects in various changeable orders from time to time. Even before it was known that the monument was in fact a $x \lambda \eta \varrho \omega \tau \eta \dot{\eta} \varrho\left(\begin{array}{l}\text {, the various cuttings had indicated quite easily that spherical counters marked }\end{array}\right.$ with symbols were dumped into the hopper, removed from the tube one by one, and recorded by plaques inserted into the slots.

A detailed theoretical reconstruction of $I$ is offered in the diagram on p.201. The plaques can have been of wood or of metal suitably inscribed, with tabs for insertion. The tube was certainly of metal; its diameter is given by the size of the groove, and the spherical counters would be slightly smaller than the inner diameter of the tube. The tube was held in place by two cleats set into deep cuttings in the groove, one toward the top, the other at the bottom end. Above and below the lower cleat cutting are nail-holes, which show that this cutting served for something more than mere support: doubtless for a catch which would release one ball at a time. The simplest form for this catch, though not the only device which is conceivable, would be a hemisphere operated by a crank.

The tube was probably a separate piece of metal, since it would be difficult to set it in place if it were joined to a metal hopper fitting the cone above. The cone itself


No. I


Drawing of No. I, to show Operation
need not have contained any metal lining. Whether it did or not, a notable aspect of the $x \lambda \eta \varrho \omega \tau \eta \varrho \circ \rho$ is that in it the balls could not be mechanically juggled so as to make their order a matter of chance. Since this juggling is really the essential feature of a machine made for allotments, doubt must remain as to whether some device was not mounted on top of the stele. Such a device could consist, for instance, of a revolving sphere, or of a stationary sphere the contents of which could be churned from outside by a crank. Since, however, a device of this sort is more complicated in its nature than the rest of the machine, and since no cutting attests its presence, it is more reasonable


View of the Top of No. I, Showing Hopper and Cutting for the Clamp
to suppose that the spherical counters were merely shaken publicly in a separate vessel, which was made to fit neatly into the cone, thus releasing the counters out of sight into the hopper and tube.

As a whole, the machine was designed only in part for the actual allotment. The more prominent place is given to the row of slots for plaques, that is, for the publication of the results of the allotment. The $x \lambda \eta \varrho \omega \tau \eta \varrho \iota o v$ is essentially a public notice board with a mechanism on one side for determining the content of the notice.

Of the inscription, one line is entirely missing (cf. II).
II. ${ }^{1}$ The second monument differs from the first in having two rows of slots, 7 being preserved in the first row, and 8 in the second. The proportions of the stele suggest that each row originally had as many as 10 and not more than 15 . The groove at the left side, though its edges are rounded, is nearly rectangular, - a remarkable feature, as


No. II
will be shown. Two deep cleat-holes were cut to secure the tube in place. Since one cleat-hole would be enough, and since the second is probably too high to serve as backing for the device which released the balls, some mechanical peculiarity must be inferred, the nature of which is uncertain. The cornice shows how I, and probably all the others,

[^67]should be reconstructed: enough overhang to shelter the face from the weather, suggesting that the machines may have stood out-doors.

Traces of a new first line of the inscription can be detected:

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \tau \alpha \mu t \varepsilon \dot{v} \circ \nu \tau o s \text { देлi } \tau \grave{\alpha} \pi \varrho v \tau \alpha \nu \varepsilon i \alpha \alpha \\
& \text { "Aßowvos toz K } K \lambda \lambda i o v B \alpha \tau \tilde{\eta} \theta \varepsilon \nu
\end{aligned}
$$

Med. s. II


The Top and Front of No. II
III. ${ }^{1}$ Traces remain of four rows of slots; and a fifth and final column is to be inferred from the spacing, although the top slot must have been cut some 0.003 m . lower than the other slots in the top row. The cone was cut to hold more balls than in $I$


No. III
and II; it is several times as large, and a cutting is preserved such as might serve to fasten a metal lining in place. A peculiar feature on the face of the machine is the shallow depression above the slots, roughened, and curving at the left end to a tab-like projection. The rough surface might hold paste, perhaps to attach a piece of papyrus on which was written the heading of the allotment, such as the name of a tribe; or the papyrus might be colored, to indicate, for instance, a particular jury-court.
${ }^{1}$ I. G., II ${ }^{2}, 2864 \mathrm{c}$. Found in the church of Demetrios Kataphores, part of the "Valerian "Wall just east of the Roman Agora. Pentelic marble. Height, 0.25 m .; width, 0.46 m ., original; thickness just below pilaster capital, 0.153 m ., also original. Space between the rows of slots, 0.04 m . The cutting for the tube is as much as 0.035 m . deep; deeper than in $I$, where it is 0.01 m . The back and top of the machine are evenly rough.

Of the inscription, a first line is probably again missing. The hand is the same as in II.

> [--- - - - - - - - - - - - - ?
> [ $\tau \alpha \mu \iota \varepsilon]$ v́ovtos द̇лi $\tau \grave{\alpha} \pi \varrho v \tau \alpha \nu \varepsilon i ̃ \alpha$

## Med. s. II $\left.\quad{ }^{\text {c }} \boldsymbol{A} \beta \varrho \omega \nu\right]$ os $\tau 0 \tilde{v}$ K $\alpha \lambda \lambda i o v ~ B \alpha \tau \tilde{\eta} \theta \varepsilon \nu$

 far as preserved, except only that the depression in the centre is not roughened. The taper of the pilaster suggests that the lower fragment comes from far enough down on the stone to necessitate a minimum of 20 slots in each column, or of at least 100 in all. The inscription is by a different hand from that of the others.


No. IV.
Showing the Approximate Relative Position of the Fragments

$\left.{ }^{[\prime} A \beta \varrho \omega \nu o s \tau o \tilde{v} K \alpha \lambda\right] \lambda i o v B \alpha \tau \tilde{\eta} \theta \varepsilon \nu$
V. ${ }^{2}$ Agora I 3965. In this fragment the workmanship is excellent. The slots were unusually long ( 0.035 m . at least) and were cut carefully to slope slightly downward
${ }^{1}$ I. G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 2864 \mathrm{~b}$. Found in the same place and at the same time as III. Pentelic marble. Slots spaced vertically at 0.023 m . on centres. The thickness under the pilaster capital would be $c a .0 .135 \mathrm{~m}$., thus 0.015 m . thinner than III. The width was the same or a little greater. Other measurements vary from those of III by small amounts, and it is clear that the two were not cut to the same pattern. Thus the space between rows of slots in IV is 0.035 m . (increasing to 0.04 in the lower fragment); and the cornice had four shorter regulae instead of three longer. The back and top, just as in III, are evenly rough.
${ }^{2}$ Found in the spring of 1936 in a marble pile near the southwest corner of the Odeion (Section M). Pentelic marble. Height, 0.17 m .; width, 0.08 m ; thickness, 0.10 m . Broken on all sides. Remains of 7 slots, spaced 0.25 m . on centres.


No. V
into the stone. The original monument, to judge from the spacing of the preserved slots, belongs in a class with III and IV, namely $\varkappa \lambda \eta \varrho \omega \tau \eta \varrho \iota \alpha$ with $c a .100$ slots.
VI. ${ }^{1} 79$ above. The compound diagram shows a restoration of the text of $\mathbf{7 9}$ with the principal features of the back also indicated, the preserved slots being shown in

horizolly, the Pizontally, the columns are separated by 0.025 m . Provenience: with the exception of a single piece which comes from the Stoa of Attalos, where it had been left by previous excavators, the numerous



No. VI. The Reverse of 79. Fragments with Slots, not in Correct Relative Position


No. VI. Restored to Show both the Reverse (text, citations) and the Obverse (slots, tube)
heavier black. The stone seems to have accommodated six rows, and there was space for as many as 50 slots in each row; hardly for more than 50. For the tube, part of one cleat-cutting remains, opposite lines 32 ff .
 is preserved on the back. The stone was hardly a counterpart of VI, though the side inscribed with decrees has a similar text of the same year. VII differed in being Hymettian, and especially in being only about 0.52 m . wide, some 0.13 m . narrower than VI. The text likewise is compact, so that the total height was considerably less than that of VI. It is doubtful whether the original can have held the possible 300 slots of VI.
VIII. ${ }^{1}$ Agora I 3966. Fragment of a xirowtท่gov of moderate size, possibly with as many as 300 slots.


No. VIII
IX. ${ }^{2}$ Agora I 3272. Poor marble and poor workmanship: large drill holes were left at the end of each slot. The spacing suggests some 600 slots.
fragments of this inscription were found during the year 1935 in Section 0 along the south side of the Odeion. Some of the pieces were actually found in the debbris on the floor of the cryptoporticus of the building, and most of the rest can be associated with this same fill.
${ }^{1}$ Pentelic marble. Height, 0.19 m ; width, 0.11 m . The thickness is original, 0.119 m . in the middle; there is some taper. The back shows tool marks and hence was not inscribed at the level from which the fragment comes. There are traces of the last 3 slots in the column, spaced 0.023 m . on centres. This column was the first, since no slots show on the left side, 0.04 m . distant. The present left side was cut when the block was re-used: the pilaster and all the stone behind it were cut away. The present top was trimmed for the same re-use. Found in the autumn of 1935 in a marble pile in the southern part of the Odeion (Section 0).
${ }^{2}$ Found in the autumn of 1935 in the demolition of houses in Section $\Sigma$. Hymettian, or greyish Pentelic marble. Height, 0.19 m .; width, 0.13 m. ; thickness, 0.08 m . Broken in back and on all sides. Traces of 21 slots, spaced 0.02 m . on centres, the columns being separated by $c a .0 .028 \mathrm{~m}$.


No. IX
X. ${ }^{1}$ Agora I 3967. The preserved fragment was nearly half of the original, since in nearly all the 11 columns, 19 slots are preserved, and the original doubtless had 50 slots in a column. This $x \lambda r \rho \omega \tau \eta \varrho \iota \nu$ stood free, being set into a base, as the preserved tongue shows. Pilasters, which have been chiselled away, originally reached down to the base. Two deep cuttings on the left show that the tube extended about as far down as the


No. X
slots; a long tube was necessary, in order to contain at one time as many balls as there were slots in each column. Two smaller cuttings below where the tube ended may have held in place a receptacle for the balls as they dropped out.

[^68]XI. ${ }^{1}$ Agora I 3968. This was the largest of the preserved $\chi \lambda \eta o \omega \tau \eta \varrho \iota \alpha$, if one may judge from the width of the pilaster, and from the fact that the thickness without the pilaster is 0.136 m ., whereas the corresponding thickness of $\mathbf{X}$, which has eleven columns of slots, is only 0.083 m . The original total of slots may have been as many as 1000 .

When the monuments are considered as a group, it appears that I and II, the best preserved, were much smaller than the rest; consequently, though they illustrate how $x \lambda \eta \varrho \omega \tau$ ŕ $\iota \alpha$ worked, they may not be typical in every detail. ${ }^{2}$

As to the dates: I was dedicated, as we learn from the inscription, in 162/1 b.c. VI and VII were inscribed on the reverse in $159 / 8$ or $158 / 7$. II, III, and IV all mention the year when Habron, son of Kallias, of Bate was $\tau \alpha \mu i \alpha{ }_{S} \varepsilon$ ह̇ì $\tau \grave{\alpha} \pi \varrho v \tau \alpha \nu \varepsilon \tilde{\imath} \alpha$. The same person is mentioned as iع@oлоь $\dot{\eta}^{\sigma} \alpha \varsigma \tau \grave{\alpha}{ }^{\prime} A \theta \dot{\eta} \nu \alpha \iota \alpha$ in the year of Kallistratos, $156 / 5$ b.c. ${ }^{3}$ Thus six of our preserved $x \lambda \eta \rho \omega \tau \eta \rho \iota \alpha$ - all those which bear inscriptions-are associated with a period of seven years. Approximately in this period, I was dedicated, and doubtless also II, since it was found on the Acro-
${ }^{1}$ Found in the autumn of 1935 in a marble pile in the southern part of the Odeion, a pile which also contained fragments of VI. Pentelic marble. Height, 0.308 m .; width, 0.149 m . The thickness is original, 0.163 m . at the top end, 0.167 m . at the bottom. The side was worked smooth like the front. The back was left with tool marks showing; it was not inscribed, unless above the preserved part. The taper of the thickness is repeated in the pilaster, which is $0.086-0.083 \mathrm{~m}$. in width. There are traces of the last 7 slots, spaced 0.022 m . on centres. The bottom end has been reworked in post-classical times.


No. XI
${ }^{2}$ We have as yet no fragment from a large $x \lambda \eta \varrho \omega$ tigoov to show details of the hopper. It is notable that in $\mathbf{X}$ the tube was not sunk into the face of the stone; to cut so long a groove with an even slanting inclination would be difficult and wasteful. The spacing of the slots is naturally closer on those machines which had most slots. This principle has been used above to suggest the original sizes of some of the machines. Again I is an exception, with its narrowly separated slots.
${ }^{3}$ I. G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$, 1937, line 9. See commentary on this inscription, also on I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 2864$, for references to the other members of the family.
polis. This probably means that these two machines were then retired from use. VI and VII were inscribed with decrees and, since a place of erection is specified, they were moved from where they had stood. The prytaneis had been able to utilize two stelae which had been used theretofore as $\alpha \lambda$ nowtroca, but evidently were now no longer needed for that purpose. ${ }^{1}$ These two machines were not moved into the Prytanikon, however, but either into some temenos from outside, or possibly the formula merely means that they were to stand near where they had been used. In any case it appears likely that these two machines also had been retired. Thus four of our eleven $x \lambda$ ro $\omega \tau \eta{ }^{\prime} \rho c \alpha$-the only ones about which we have information of this sort-seem to have been retired at about the same time. No explanation can be more than merest theory. ${ }^{2}$

The specific administrative use of each of the preserved machines, unless the inscription happens to reveal it, is also conjectural; but a possible use ought in each case to be discoverable.

I has 12 slots, and would naturally serve for allotment among the tribes, which had been 12 in number since 200 в.c. The simplest way of using the machine would be to dump 12 balls into the hopper and to draw them out at once, registering in the slots the order of emergence from the tube. Two variations on this process were practicable. Let us suppose that one of the most usual functions of allotment was to be performed: the determination of the order of tribes in prytany during the year. It has been shown by Ferguson that the order was not determined in advance for the whole year; instead, the tribe which was to function during any given prytany was regularly determined only in the last days of the prytany immediately preceding. ${ }^{3}$ The operation of I , as
${ }^{1}$ If they had been made anew for simultaneous display of decrees and for use as $x \lambda \eta \rho \omega \tau \dot{\eta} \rho c \alpha$, then the decrees would be expected to say something about the making of a $\alpha \lambda \eta \rho \omega t \eta \rho o v$. It is clear that the stele VI, with its wide stoichedon lettering, was made as a $x \lambda \eta \varrho \omega \tau \dot{\eta} \rho \circ o v$ primarily, not for bearing decrees for prytaneis. It is also clear that VII, which was about a fifth smaller, was not designed as a mate for VI.
${ }^{2}$ Possible explanations are that allotment was being abandoned on a large scale; or that a new type of machine supplanted the marble-and-metal devices; or that several machines were worn and needed replacement. For none of these propositions is there any evidence. Several slots are broken in such a way that they can be examined for wear. The top (or bottom) surface in each case is fairly smooth, as if from use, but the wear is not heavy.
${ }^{3}$ The Athenian Secretaries, pp. 19-27; resumed in Brillant, Les Secrétaires Athéniens, pp. 23-24. Kirchner (I. G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 103$ and 448) independently, and Meritt (Am. Journ. Philol., LVII [1936], pp. 180 ff .) are of the same opinion; but Ferguson's argument seems to have been overlooked in Busolt-Swoboda, and some consideration of it is called for in Tod's Greek Historical Inscriptions, p. 90. The decisive text is in

 orator, and was to be determined in the future by chance.

The point is of considerable importance. To have allotted simultaneously the prytanies for the entire year would have been to open the doors wide to all manner of collusion. The successive allotments of the prytanies, one at a time, just before each tribe was to serve, is wholly in accord with the spirit of the Athenian constitution: a precise parallel is furnished by the courts. The Athenians allotted not only the office, whether of dikast or of prytanis, but also the task to be performed by those on whom the lot fell, whether the task was a legal case or a specific period of councillorship.
inferred from the cuttings, would lend itself to this function. If, for example, Aiantis is now in prytany, serving as the second prytany of the year, the x roowt $\eta \rho o v$ will appear as it is shown in the diagram of I on p.201. When the time comes to determine the tribe for the third prytany, one ball is released. Merely for the purpose of a diagram, a cross-section of the tube is shown, so that to us the order is visible; in actuality it would not be known, before the turn of the crank, that Kekropis was to prytanize third. Immediately upon the release of the ball for Kekropis, the proper plaque will be inserted in the third slot, and the bouleutai from Kekropis will learn that they are to make preparations to dine for a month in the Tholos. The other balls remain in their allotted, but as yet unknown, order, waiting to be released, each at the proper date.

A machine with 12 slots could also be used to choose the membership of a commission of 12 men from among groups of candidates, when there were several candidates from each tribe. Thus, for instance, to begin with the first tribe, Erechtheis, as many balls would be used as there were candidates from Erechtheis. The ball to emerge first, when all of that group had been poured in, would represent the successful candidate. A plaque with his name would then be inserted in the first slot, the slot for the first tribe in the official order, i.e., Erechtheis. The rest of the balls would then be drawn out, their order being disregarded. Another group of balls-or the same balls, numbered, each number being assigned to one candidate-would then be used to choose the commissioner from the second tribe, Aigeis; and so on.

II quite possibly had 12 slots in each of its two columns, and thus could serve for selecting a board of 24 members. Since most Athenian boards in periods of 12 tribes had 12 members, a more likely alternative is that the allotment was, so to speak, double: in the first column, the order of tenure, or of precedence, might be posted; in the second, the men chosen. No candidate, previous to the allotment, would know that he was going to be selected, or if selected, for what position or in what order. Such a double allotment may have been called $\sigma v \gamma \lambda \lambda \eta{ }^{\prime} \rho \omega \sigma \iota \varsigma^{1}$ For this particular xגŋowtク́otor, II, a specific use will be suggested presently; but it is convenient to point out here that its type would suit the mechanical needs of $\sigma v \gamma \alpha \lambda \eta \eta_{\rho} \omega \sigma \iota s$.

Except for $\mathbf{X}$, the other surviving machines which are not identified by an inscription can hardly be discussed with profit, since in every case the size cannot be definitely established. $\mathbf{X}$ doubtless had 550 slots, and is to be associated, because of the place of finding as well as the number of the slots, with the Boule. Its most probable use was to allot the seats, since we know that the bouleutai were under oath to sit in the place

[^69]allotted to them. ${ }^{1}$ If the allotment of seats was annual, then this machine must belong in the year 201/0, the brief period in which there were eleven tribes ( 550 bouleutai). In that case each bouleutes kept the same (allotted) seat during the entire year; the prytaneis, who sat together in a special section, would leave their regular seats vacant during the term of their prytany. It is quite possible, however, that seats were allotted afresh for every prytany. In that case the seats for the then prytaneis could be omitted from the allotment, and only the remaining bouleutai would receive seats. On this theory, our machine with 550 slots implies a Boule of 11 non-prytanizing tribes, plus 1 tribe in prytany: any date in a period of 12 tribes would be satisfactory. A positive choice between these theories is impossible. The length of the tube shows clearly, in any case, that a whole column of 50 was to be allotted at once.

More informative are III and IV, both of which are inscribed

## $\tau \alpha \mu \iota \varepsilon$ v́ovtos ह̇̇i $\tau \dot{\alpha} \pi \varrho \iota \tau \alpha \nu \varepsilon i ̃ \alpha$ " Aß@

Since the inscriptions are cut on the principal obverse areas, it is safe to assume (as is not the case in VI and VII), that the inscriptions " belong," i.e., that both machines came within the sphere of action of Habron as Treasurer $\bar{\varepsilon} \pi i \tau \tau \grave{\alpha} \pi \varrho v \tau \alpha \nu \varepsilon \tau \alpha$. This treasurership, of which almost nothing has been known, has been considered to be a treasurership connected with the affairs of the prytaneis, ${ }^{2}$ but the title $\tau \alpha \mu i \alpha \alpha \varepsilon \pi i \quad \tau \alpha ̀ \pi \varrho v \tau \alpha \nu \varepsilon i \alpha \alpha$ never occurs in the now numerous decrees for prytaneis. The term $\tau \grave{\alpha} \pi \varrho v \tau \alpha \nu \varepsilon i \alpha \alpha$ was familiar in Athens in both technical and popular usage as denoting the deposits made with the state prior to lawsuits, ${ }^{3}$ and Lipsius (Das attische Recht, III, p. 825, n. 75) plausibly claimed that meaning for the present inscriptions. If it" can be shown, then, that these particular $x \lambda \eta \varrho \omega \tau \eta \varrho \iota \alpha$, namely III and IV, have to do with the courts, we shall learn that the treasurer in charge of the prytaneia had also within his sphere the $x \lambda \eta \varrho \omega \tau \eta \varrho \iota \alpha$. He is perhaps the most likely official to have to stand the expense of new machines, since the Thesmothetai undoubtedly had other burdens.
${ }^{1}$ Philochorus, Frg. 119 (F.H.G., I, 403).
${ }^{2}$ Ferguson, Hellenistic Athens, p. 471.
${ }^{3}$ Aristophanes, Clouds, 1136, 1180, 1191; Wasps, 659. Demosthenes $43_{71}, 47_{64}$. The other occurrences in inscriptions are I.G., $\mathrm{I}^{2}, 3,22$, and 28 ; and I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 971$. On I.G., $\mathrm{I}^{2}$, 22 see now Oliver in Trans.
 of Lipsius. If the restoration is correct, it would seem that a special treasurer for $\pi \varrho v \tau \alpha v \varepsilon \tilde{i} \alpha$ was created in the interval ca. $450-150$. At the latter date, we know of two holders of the treasurership: Habron, as above, who was evidently a man of family and of means, and the Telesias of I.G., II ${ }^{2}$, 971. Telesias, a citizen of Troezen, was awarded Athenian citizenship in 140/39. At some time thereafter he erected on the Acropolis a stele (I.G., $I^{2}, 971$ ) bearing (1) the decree of citizenship, (2) doubtless other decrees now missing, and (3) representations of at least 20 crowns. The inscriptions in the crowns record his honorary offices (i.e., his gifts) in Troezen, Thebes, Orchomenos, Thespiae, and Epidauros. In Athens he had been crowned (after being made a citizen, since he could not have held public offices before) for his services as priest, as marshal in the Dionysiac procession, and as treasurer of the deposits ( $\tau \alpha \mu \iota \varepsilon v \dot{\sigma} \alpha \nu \tau \alpha \pi \rho v \tau \alpha \nu \varepsilon \iota \omega \nu)$. The latter office is thus shown to be one of dignity. Aristotle makes no mention of it; probably therefore the post was created between his time and ca. 150 в.c.

In discussing the relation of III and IV to the courts, we are helped by specific literary evidence, the only defect of which is that allowances must be made for the fact that it is some 180 years older. Aristotle, in his Constitution of the Athenians, uses the word $\chi \lambda \eta \varrho \omega \tau \eta \varrho \iota \nu$ (or its plural) in three passages, all dealing with the courts. The meaning is clearest in the third passage (ch. 66), which describes the allotment of magistrates to courts.
"When all the courtrooms are full, there are placed ( $\boldsymbol{\text { cificalal }}$ ) in the first courtroom two $\mu \lambda \eta \varrho \omega \tau \eta \varrho a$, together with bronze dice ( $\kappa \dot{v} \beta \cdot \circ$ ), on which are painted the colors of the courtrooms, and other dice, on which are inscribed the names of the magistrates. Two of the Thesmothetai, chosen by lot, separately ( $\chi \omega \varrho i S \dot{\varepsilon} k a \tau \dot{\varepsilon} \varrho \omega \nu$ ) throw in ( $\dot{\varepsilon} \mu \beta \dot{a} \lambda \lambda o v \sigma \iota \nu$ ) the dice, the one [Thesmothetes throwing] the colored dice into the one $\kappa \lambda \eta \varrho \omega \tau \dot{\eta} \varrho \iota o v$, the other magistrate the [dice with] names into the other [ $\kappa \lambda \eta \varrho \omega \tau \dot{\eta} \varrho \circ \nu$ ]. The magistrate whose name is first drawn ( $\lambda \dot{a} \chi n$ ) is thereupon proclaimed by the crier as assigned for duty in the court which is first drawn, and the second in the second, and similarly with the rest." ${ }^{1}$

Several points are worth noting. In the first place, the passage with $\tau i \theta \varepsilon \tau \alpha \iota$ suggests plainly enough that two $x \lambda \eta \varrho \omega \tau \eta \varrho \iota \alpha$ were brought into the "first" courtroom. A stone $x \lambda$ ŋo $\omega \tau \eta \rho \iota o v$ is not convenient to move about-the difficulty is as much the danger of chipping the edges as the clumsiness of the sheer weight-; hence it would appear that the $\boldsymbol{\gamma} \lambda \eta \varrho \omega \tau \eta \varrho \iota \alpha$ referred to here by Aristotle were of wood. It is notable also that cubes (dice) were thrown in, and not balls. The funnel-and-tube device known to us would be likely to become clogged if operated with cubes. Probably, therefore, the machines used in the courts in Aristotle's day were different in construction from those of 180 years later. ${ }^{2}$

It is nevertheless a striking fact that if we read the passage in Aristotle with II in mind, thinking of it as a permanent fixture in the court, and supposing that balls were now used instead of cubes, it could be made to serve admirably. The two columns of slots in II have already suggested the process of $\sigma v \gamma \alpha \lambda \dot{\varrho} \varrho \omega \sigma \iota \varsigma$, which Aristotle describes without using the actual word. He says, to be sure, that the Thesmothetai performed their allotments separately; but with the machine in question, II, which may have been an improvement on the older ones, the danger of collusion by the Thesmothetai could easily be averted. The reason for urging that II fulfilled this function in the courts is the inscription, which is identical with those of III and IV, and was in fact cut by the same hand as that of III. ${ }^{3}$
${ }^{1}$ Based on Kenyon's translation.
${ }^{2}$ Combining the data from this passage, one may guess at the nature of the $x \lambda \eta \rho \omega \tau \dot{\eta} \rho o v$ as it was known to Aristotle. (1) It was portable, hence mostly or all wooden. In confirmation, it will be recalled that VI and VII were to be inscribed on "stone" $x \lambda \eta \varrho \omega \tau \eta \dot{\eta} \rho \alpha$. (2) It was so imperfect that two officials could not be trusted to perform a $\sigma v \gamma \lambda \lambda \eta$ 兑 $\omega \sigma t s$ near together because of the ease of collusion. (3) The counters were cubical, hence they could hardly pass through an opening without often clogging it: the opening must have been accessible to fingers, i.e., it was the lower end of a hopper with almost no tube. Probably the archon shook the dice in one hand, held the opening with the other, and tossed the dice into the hopper. Then he let them drop out one at a time.
${ }^{3}$ The tube in II, as has been noted, was almost rectangular, and therefore suggests the possibility that dice were still being used. If so, a congestion in the hopper could only be remedied by reaching in from above; and in place of a hemispherical catch on the tube, a human hand must have controlled the exit.

The word $火 \lambda \eta \varrho \omega \tau \eta \varrho \iota o v$ in the above passage has always been taken, necessarily, to mean " allotment machine," or something of the sort. Aristotle mentions $x \lambda$ rg $\omega \tau \dot{\jmath} \varrho \iota \alpha$ in another passage also, where the meaning has been disputed. The equipment for the courts

 which the dikasts have their several courts assigned to them." ${ }^{1}$ The consequence is that no fewer than 20 rooms are called for, each large enough to provide standing room for half of all the candidates for the juries from each tribe.

The use of these $x \lambda \eta \rho \omega t r \rho \iota \alpha$ is described in ch. 64. They are used to select the dikasts who are to serve on the day in question. First the tickets ( $\pi \iota \nu \alpha \alpha^{\prime} \iota \alpha$ ) of the candidates who are present are inserted ( $\varepsilon \mu \pi \eta \gamma \nu v \sigma \iota)$ by the dikast allotted for this
 hanger," and $\varepsilon \mu \pi \dot{\gamma} \gamma \nu v \sigma \iota$ is given as "hangs"; but the root really means to insert, to plug in. K $\alpha \nu o v i s ~ h a s ~ t o ~ b e ~ r e n d e r e d ~ " b a r " ; ~ t h e r e ~ i s ~ o n e ~ b a r ~ f o r ~ e a c h ~ o f ~ t h e ~ t e n ~ s e c t i o n s, ~$ designated by a letter ( $\alpha-\alpha$ ), into which the dikasts of each tribe are divided. Hence there are 10 к $\alpha$ rovid $\delta S$ in all, and the next sentence has been correctly restored $\varepsilon i \sigma \iota \quad \delta \grave{\varepsilon}$
 tribe, together contain accommodation for all the tickets of that tribe. Dice (xú $\beta o t$ ) are thrown into (again the word is ${ }_{\xi} \mu \beta \alpha^{\prime} \lambda \eta$ ) the $\chi \lambda \eta \varrho \omega \tau \eta \varrho \iota \nu \nu$. White and black dice are used: one white die for each five jurors to be chosen, one black die for each five of the number of candidates who will be rejected. The archon draws out ( $\varepsilon\left[\xi \varepsilon_{t} \lambda_{t}\right]$, a plausible restoration) the dice one at a time; if the first die is white, then the five dikasts whose tickets are set in the first places of the five $\chi \alpha \nu 0 \nu i \delta \varepsilon \varsigma$ are selected; if the die is black, the same five are rejected.

We note that this account also specifies $x \dot{v} \beta o t$, cubes, and again it must be argued therefrom that the preserved $\chi \lambda \eta \varrho \omega \tau \eta \varrho \iota \alpha$, which are not suited to cubes, are different in respect to the tube and hopper from the machines known to Aristotle. It is curious, however, that III and IV each had 5 columns of slots, and that the slots are in even rows horizontally. Substitute balls for dice, and III and IV fit the text of Aristotle, except for one difficulty: it would seem unnatural to refer to a column of slots as a $x \alpha \nu o v i s$, a word more properly meaning "bar." Our xגrowtク́@ı appear, then, to be descendants, rather than copies, of those used 180 years earlier. ${ }^{2}$

[^70]The question remains whether the current translation of $x \lambda$ rowtróo as Losungsräume
 suggested that the machines themselves, rather than any rooms, bore the $\alpha \alpha \nu o v i \delta \varepsilon \varepsilon$, and that two each of the type of III and IV would serve the needs of each tribe. Aristotle says nothing of a machine contained in each $\chi \lambda \eta \varrho \omega \tau \eta \varrho \iota o v$; if the word referred to a room, he would certainly have specified also the most important article of equipment in that room. The word therefore means a machine, here as well as in its every other occurrence. ${ }^{1}$

It is appropriate merely to note here the topographical significance of the findingplaces of the various fragments. II, from the Acropolis, was probably dedicated there. I, III, and IV, from the church of Demetrios Kataphores, are therefore associated with the masses of inscriptions taken there from the eastern part of the Agora. $\mathbf{X}$, from close to the Bouleuterion, had not been moved far from where it was used. The other six all come from débris thrown in near the (later) Odeion, i.e., from the central part of the Greek Agora. It was somewhere in this region that the allotments to the courts were performed. It was in this area also that the statues of Harmodios and Aristogeiton stood, and it is here that part of a base of the statues has actually been found (Hesperia, V [1936], no. 1). Aristophanes, in the Eklilesiazousai (681-683) makes allotment take place near the Tyrannicides, quite as if that were the natural place:

BA. $\tau \alpha ̀ ~ \delta \varepsilon ̀ ~ \chi \lambda \eta \varrho \omega \tau ク ̆ \varrho \iota \alpha ~ \pi о и ̃ ~ \tau \varrho \varepsilon ́ \psi \varepsilon \iota \varsigma ; ~$




would have been unnecessary: each member of the new tribes could have been assigned one of the (ten) letters $\alpha-x$ and the system would have continued to function as before (except of course that new equipment would be needed for the new tribes). It is incredible that in each succeeding change of the number of tribes, a new division of dikasts into a new number of sections, involving new xinowingoc, should have been made. Hence the ten columns of slots in III and IV are no obstacle to their assignment to a period of 12 tribes.
${ }^{1}$ Th. Reinach alone maintained the correct view; Kenyon's earlier translation was correct. The literary references are given by Sandys in his commentary on ch. 73. The three which seemed to favor the meaning "allotment-room" are easily compatible with the meaning "allotment machine."

In inscriptions found outside of Athens, the word occurs once: O.G.I.S., 229, line 53: ह̇ $\pi 1 \times \lambda \eta \rho \omega \sigma \alpha \dot{\sigma} \omega \sigma \sigma \nu$
 (C.I.G., 3137) and Dittenberger take the word to mean "lists," but clearly the prescription is that the names obtained by the allotment are to be inscribed on the machines which served for the allotting. Liddell-Scott-Jones is also to be corrected.

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$\tau \varepsilon, 64[6], 8,9,10,11,32$.
$\tau \varepsilon ่ \lambda \varepsilon \omega_{S}: \tau \varepsilon \lambda \varepsilon i_{S},\left[\begin{array}{ll}120 & 10\end{array}\right]$.
$\tau \varepsilon \lambda \dot{\varepsilon} \omega:$ т $\varepsilon \tau \varepsilon \lambda \varepsilon \kappa \varepsilon ́ v a, ~ 11616$.
$\tau \dot{\varepsilon} \mu \varepsilon \nu{ }_{S}$ : $\tau \varepsilon \mu \dot{\varepsilon} \nu \varepsilon \ell, 79$ 30, [8013].
$\tau \varepsilon ่ \tau a \varrho \tau o s: ~ \tau \varepsilon \tau a ́ \varrho \tau \eta S, 61,36$ 35, 64 1; $\tau \varepsilon \tau \dot{\varrho} \varrho \tau \varepsilon \iota$, $234,382,753,7937,84$ 3, [44], 913.
$\tau \varepsilon \tau \varrho \dot{a}$ : $: \tau \varepsilon \tau \varrho a ́ \delta \iota, ~ 234,\left[\begin{array}{ll}36 & 3\end{array}\right], 75$ 2, $\left[\begin{array}{ll}79 & 37\end{array}\right]$, 84 [3], 44, [ $\left.\begin{array}{ll}91 & 3\end{array}\right]$.
$\tau \iota \mu \dot{\alpha} \omega: ~ \tau \varepsilon \mu \tilde{\omega} \sigma a, 97$ 17, $\tau \varepsilon \mu \tilde{\omega} \nu \tau \varepsilon \varepsilon_{S}, 978$.
то́лоs: то́л $\varphi$, [97 11].
тюıанобто́s: т@เакобтвї, 29 5, [49 11], 64 ะ.
 [39 2], 46 16, [51 3]; т@iтov, 1204.
$\tau \dot{\chi} \chi \eta: \tau \dot{v} \chi \varepsilon \iota, 64$ 7, 34.
$\dot{v} \boldsymbol{\gamma} \iota i a:$ vivıial, 648.

vंлغ́ $\varrho$ with gen., $644,5,33$.
$\dot{v} \pi \dot{\prime}$ with gen., [531], 1013.
 $3119,3654,377,33,3915,40$ [32], 52, [43 7], 47 15, [48 12], [54 30], 58 7, 604,64 37, [70 8], 71 23, [7315], 75 13, [779, 7814, 7954], 807 , 81 11, 84 57, [86 10], 105 7, 11056.
v́ло $\varepsilon \dot{\varepsilon} \nu \omega: ~ \dot{v} л \dot{\varepsilon} \mu \varepsilon \iota \nu \varepsilon \nu,[12013] ;$ v̇ло $\mu \varepsilon i \nu \alpha \nu \tau \alpha, 11615$. v̈бтє＠os：v́бтغ́＠aı，［41］， 214,29 3， 794.
paiv ：ф фaiv
qaiv $\omega \nu \tau \alpha$, ［977］．
$\varphi \eta \mu i: ~ \varphi а \sigma \iota, ~[49] . ~$
甲ıдápaখos：甲ıдаүáv $\omega_{S}, 975,1195$.
piдos：pi $\lambda \omega \nu,[7917], 8412,[8514,8811],[9112]$ ，
93 10，$[964,1138], 1169$.

рілотєиіа：філотıиіая， 6412.
甲ıдо́тı $\rho_{\varsigma}: ~ \varphi ı \lambda о т і \mu \omega_{S}, 64$ 9， 33.
$\varphi v \lambda \varepsilon ̇ \tau \eta S: ~ \varepsilon ̇ \kappa ~ \tau \tilde{\omega} \nu \varphi v \lambda \varepsilon \tau \tilde{\omega} \nu, 107,2010 ; \varphi v \lambda \varepsilon ̇ \tau a \iota, 185$,
 $\varphi v \lambda \dot{\eta}: \varphi v \lambda \tilde{\eta} S, 25,[11,15] ; \varphi v \lambda \varepsilon \tilde{\iota},[210] ; \varphi v \lambda \eta \dot{\eta}, 1073$.
$\chi а \lambda \kappa o ่ S: ~ \chi а \lambda \kappa \tilde{\omega \nu}, 12110$.
$\chi \dot{\alpha} \varrho \iota s: \chi \dot{\alpha} \varrho \iota \nu, 959,\left[\begin{array}{ll}96 & 39\end{array}\right]$.
$\chi \varrho \eta ̃ \mu a: \chi \varrho \eta \mu \alpha \dot{\tau} \omega \nu, 531$.
$\chi \varrho \eta \mu a \tau i \zeta \omega: \chi \varrho \eta \mu a \tau i \sigma a \iota, 9641$.
$\chi \varrho v \dot{\sigma}{ }^{\circ}$ S：$\chi \varrho v \sigma \tilde{\iota} \iota, 6412$.

чї甲ıб $\mu a$（асс．），［51 2］， 64 13，40， 88 4；$\psi \eta \varphi і \sigma \mu а \tau а, ~$ 46 15， 64 11， 67 2， 79 3，36，［86 4］．

INSCRIPTIONS PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED

| Inscriptiones Graecae，II ${ }^{2}$ | PRYTANEIS No． | Inscriptiones <br> Graecae，II ${ }^{2}$ | PRYTANEIS No． | Hesperia，II No． | PRYTANEIS No． |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 656 | 2 | 977 | 88 | 8 | 81 |
| 674 | 6 | 989 | 96 | 9 | 91 |
| 678 | 10 | 1003 | 90 | 14 | 8 |
| 702 | 21 | 1004 | 93 | 15 | 22 |
| 790 | 23 | 1048 | 113 |  |  |
| 848 | 36 | 1049 | 101 | Hesperia，III |  |
| 864 | $4 \overrightarrow{6}$ | 1050 | 97 | No． |  |
| 890 | 51 | 1059 | 105 | 13 | 33 |
| 899 | 54 | 1070 | 119 | 16 | 48 |
| 902 | 55 | 1073 | 121 | 19 | 73 |
| 910 | 71 | 1074 | 121 | 21 | 84 |
| 912 | 39 | 1754 | 103 | 22 | 94 |
| 913 | 37 | 1755 | 99 | 26 | 87 |
| 914 | 60 | 1756 | 102 | 41 | 98 |
| 915 | 40 | 1757 | 106 |  |  |
| 916 | 49 | 1758 | 105 | Hesperia，IV |  |
| 917 | 30 | 2427 | 26 | No． |  |
| 918 | 77 | 2434 | 16 | 7 | 120 |
| 919 | 66 | 2467 | 110 | 8 | 111 |
| 920 | 67 | 2864 | 74 |  |  |
| 921 | 68 | 2877 | 117 |  |  |
| 952 | 75 | 3217 | 104 |  |  |
| 967 | 85 | 3502 | 107 |  |  |
| 972 | 80 | 3503 | 108 |  |  |


[^0]:    ${ }^{1}$ De la Législation Athénienne sur les Distinctions Honorifiques, reprinted at Louvain in 1900 from the Musée Belge, vols. III and IV, pp. 21-29 in the reprint.
    ${ }^{2}$ Acknowledgment is made to T. Leslie Shear, Director of the Agora Excavations, for the privilege of studying the inscriptions found in the Agora. Professor B. D. Meritt, who has charge of all epigraphical material from the Agora, has helped with the study of the texts and has read the entire work in manuscript and in proof. Professor Edward Capps, Chairman of the Managing Committee of the American School, has cordially assisted the work. Some of the problems have been discussed with Professors J. Kirchner and W. S. Ferguson. The manuscript has likewise benefited from suggestions by C. F. Edson, E. Schweigert, and E. Vanderpool. Gratitude is expressed to Professor David M. Robinson for publishing herein (No. 92) an inscription in his possession.

[^1]:    ${ }^{1}$ L. Robert has recently pointed out the need for, and the value of, intensive synthetic studies of complete bodies of related inscriptions (Revue de Philologie, 1934, pp. 406-408). It may be doubted whether his words will find stronger confirmation than in the present study. The question should be raised, whether the arrangement of the Attic Corpus ought to be modified in any future edition, so as to group together all the inscriptions such as those relating, for instance, to prytaneis, or to ephebes, each group being published in a chronological series of its own. The old system was useful for calendar studies and the like, but the divisions were quite artificial. With equal reason the same text is published first as part of a decree (I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 1059$ ), then again (I.G., $I^{2}, 1758$ ) as a catalogue of prytaneis; whereas one cannot say positively what the original document was like.

    2 The consecutive inventory numbers of inscriptions examined run from Agora I 1 through Agora I 3054.

[^2]:    ${ }^{1}$ A list of prytaneis follows the last preserved Athenian decree, I. G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 1077$, but the substance of the decree has little conncction with the prytaneis, and study of it here would not be in place. The stone itself, set in the courtyard of the Museum, has been exposed to the weather for decades. A preliminary examination convinced me that thorough study would be lengthy and probably fruitless.

    Hesperia, III (1934), p. 7, no. 8 has been restored as if it had been set up in the Prytanikon. The formulae, now that we have many to compare, do not suggest a prytany decree. In the crucial line 18, merely the top of a round letter ( $\theta, 0, \Omega$ ) shows. Just before it comes $\Upsilon$ or $T$; just after, the upper end of I (or $\Phi, \Psi$ ). Whatever it is, the phrase seems not to have been met with hitherto.

    Hesperia, III (1934), p. 36, no. 23 is doubtful. The spaces between the lines seem too large for a decree honoring prytaneis.
    ${ }^{2}$ Irregularities: 23, a first decree by the Boule and the Demos (see p. 22); 84, the first decree by the Boule alone. 96 is transitional to the post-Sullan form. Cf. pp. 21-22.

[^3]:    ${ }^{1}$ Ferguson, Tribal Cycles, passim. See also Hesperia, III (1934), p. 183.
    ${ }^{2}$ A. W. Gomme, The Population of Athens, p. 50.
    ${ }^{3}$ If we go back to include fourth century lists, we find none for Aiantis, and among the many lists of Imperial times, only 4.

    4 There is only one list under the Empire for Ptolemais.

[^4]:    ${ }^{1}$ Francotte, op. cit., p. 22, has the references for the earlier contest among the prytanies of each year for an award by the Demos at the end. This contest is not evidenced by any text herein included, though it may have lasted into the third century.
    ${ }^{2}$ The examples are 21, 23, 30, 38, 71, 84, 85, 90, 91, 93.
    ${ }^{3} 6,29,36,49,55,64,69,72,79,88,92$.

[^5]:    ${ }^{1}$ References in Pape-Benseler, Handwörterbuch, s. v. See, for instance, Euripides, Iph. Taur., l. 21; Aristophanes, Lys., 1. 443; Kallimachos, Hymn III, 11. 11, 204; Anth. VI, 267. Other references in PapeBenseler, Gr. Eigennamen ${ }^{3}$, s. v. Modern treatments, L. R. Farnell, Cults of the Greek States, II, p. 458; S. Solders, Die außerstädtischen Kulte, p. 23. A dedication to her by the prytaneis appears as 99 . In

[^6]:     1796, 1798; Hesperia, III [1934], p. 56, no. 43; Hesperia, IV [1935], pp. 47-49, no. 11). The plural form has never been satisfactorily explained: Schöll (Hermes, VI [1872], p. 18) suggested the Dioskouroi; Marindin, in W. Smith's Dictionary s. v. Prytaneum, thought of a connection with the deities honored in the Lampadedromia.-See also Roussel, Cultes, p. 105.
    ${ }^{1}$ Only in 27 and 96.
    ${ }^{2}$ Only in 36 of $212 / 1$, then in 49 and 69 only, before their regular appearance in 84 ff .
    ${ }^{3}$ The first is that of the Antigonid royal house in the period 263-229, to which we shall return presently.
     an erroneous clerical variant.
    ${ }^{5}$ Cf. A. Heuss in Klio, Beiheft XXXI, Neue Folge, Heft 18 (1935), pp. 33-35 and notes; and the references there given. A decree of $343 / 2$ в.c. in honor of a bouleutes (I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 243$ ) praises him for his attitude toward the Boule, the Demos, and the $\sigma \dot{v} \mu \mu \alpha \chi o$. This too is probably significant.

[^7]:    ${ }^{1}$ The last, 96, has toz $\delta \dot{\eta} \mu \rho v$ тov ' $A \vartheta \eta \nu \alpha \epsilon \omega \nu$.
    ${ }^{2}$ Exceptions: the peculiar 31 with children, women, and ca. 30 unrestored letters; 39 with $\tau o \tilde{v}{ }^{\text {' }} \mathbf{A}{ }^{2} \eta \nu \alpha i \omega v$; 48 with the children and women; 73, 79, and 84 with no beneficiaries named. The last-named proves, incidentally, that its list of six parties in the first decree is not mere expansion for the sake of rhetoric; otherwise the second decree would likewise have a list. This applies to the lists of beneficiaries generally: the friends and allies are not just rhetoric.

[^8]:    ${ }^{1}$ We do not know, but it seems unlikely, that sacrifices to the Soteres were offered only in the tenth month (23).
    ${ }^{2}$ A closer dating is possible. Mr. Charles F. Edson writes: "If the omission of sacrifices for the Antigonid king is to be taken as evidence for a date late in the period $263-230$ b.c., 27 must be placed later than $233 / 2$, for in Aratus' seventh generalship (233/2) he was badly defeated by Bithys of Lysimacheia, the general of Demetrius II (Beloch, Gr. Gesch., IV ${ }^{2}$, p. 226 and pp. 529-530; Tarn, C. A.H., VI, pp. 746-747). I. G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 808$ (no archon or secretary) is a decree in honor of Bithys and was clearly passed after Bithys' victory over Aratus and because of it (Tarn, loc. cit.). If in 233/2 the Athenians honored a Macedonian general, they would hardly omit to sacrifice on behalf of the Macedonian king. It therefore seems most probable that 27 is to be placed at the very end of the period of Macedonian rule, in the years 231 or 230 when the Dardanian menace forced Demetrius II to abandon the Athenians to their own devices."
    ${ }^{3}$ In the present series, only 1.

[^9]:    ${ }^{1}$ Ferguson (letter) has suggested that $\delta \quad \xi \pi i \tau \tilde{\eta} \iota \quad \delta \iota \iota x \dot{\gamma} \sigma \varepsilon \iota$ was one of a board containing as many members as there were tribes. In the matter of erecting stelae for the prytaneis, one member, presumably the member representing the tribe honored, acted alone.

[^10]:    ${ }^{1}$ Only six officers in all: the decree was curtailed to a minimum to save space.
    ${ }^{2}$ Evidently most patronymics were omitted.

[^11]:    ${ }^{1}$ It may have been in this very period that the Priesthoods of the Eponymoi were created; there is no record of them earlier nor mention in such decrees as 9 and 10, where they should appear if they existed and if they were concerned with the affairs of the prytaneis.
    ${ }^{2}$ The exceptional instance in 9 , being a citation, is explicable on the grounds of space within the wreath.
    ${ }^{3}$ Ferguson, Tribal Cycles, p. 160, n. 1, will lead the reader to the relevant discussions.
    ${ }^{4}$ Curiously enough, the demotics of the Secretaries of the Boule and Demos in 169/8 (71), 166/5 (73) and $155 / 4$ (84) follow each other in the reverse of the official order of the tribes. That this Secretary was not chosen according to any cyclical order of rotation seems to be certain. 77 is only one of several obstacles to a cycle in reverse order.

[^12]:    ${ }^{1}$ No patronymic given.
    ${ }^{2}$ In 60 only.
    ${ }^{3}$ In 70 only.

[^13]:    ${ }^{1}$ 85, 86; Hesperia, IV (1935), p. 74, line 58 (cf. ibid., p. 79); I. G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$, 1014. Cf. also 58.
    ${ }^{2}$ No. 49 was passed on the very last day of the year, and the circumstances may have been unusual (p. 7).
    ${ }^{3}$ The name of the spokesman of 64 is preserved in the register, line 83 . His demotic fell in an obscure position, and under it, among only three names, his is second. See p. 123.
    ${ }^{4}$ It may be noted that in some four instances the same man proposed both the first and the second decrees (36, 79, 84, 86). All four involve much restoration. In 64 and 71, the only other inscriptions preserving the names of both spokesmen, each decree has a different name.
    ${ }^{5}$ An exception is 20, in which (three?) citations followed the second decree and preceded the register. No. 45, of uncertain date, is similar.
    ${ }^{6}$ An exception is 93 , in which three (?) crowns precede the first decree.

[^14]:    ${ }^{1}$ An explanation of the baffling fragments 13 and 16 is that the crowns were represented as straight sprigs. This was done, as on the Salaminian list, to save space; 13 and 16 are both in minute lettering.
    ${ }^{2}$ The exceptions are scattered: 1, 12, merely incised outlines of leaves and stems; 25 , the usual way of indicating a gold wreath in that period; 37 and 61, just incised circles.
    ${ }^{3}$ The gold crown awarded to prytaneis is twice represented sculpturally (25, 96). Gold crowns of this type, if not of this use, have survived.
    ${ }^{4}$ In 121, where Herodes and Vibullia are praised as $\varepsilon \dot{v} £ \rho \gamma \varepsilon \tau \alpha \iota$, the crowns were probably of gold, as currently restored.
    ${ }^{5}$ Such decrees of the tribesmen are preserved in I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 1749$.

[^15]:    ${ }^{1}$ A transitional form, 33, exhibits the only use of a connective in a citation, and the only instance when the Boule and the prytaneis united in crowning an official. No. 29 is remarkable as the one preserved instance in which the Demos, as shown by the citations, crowned individual officials. The citations of 96 , although the second decree is explicitly stated to have been passed by both Boule and Demos-our only instance, besides 29 -are headed merely $\dot{\eta} \beta o v \lambda \dot{\eta}$. Cf. p. 3, n. 2.
    ${ }^{2}$ The early instances are $13,16,28,36$, etc.
    ${ }^{3}$ The only exceptions are 58 and $\mathbf{6 0}$, both of condensed form.
    ${ }^{4}$ In this note the citations of officials are treated with particular regard to principles of restoration.
    There were only three possible elements in each citation: first, the name of the body which conferred the crown; second, the title of the man or group honored; and third, the name of the man or group honored. The third element, the name of the recipient, naturally had to appear. It is lacking only when the man's name was not given in the decree above. Of this we have full evidence in only one proved instance (37): the Priest is mentioned in the decree, and cited below it, merely by title and not by name. (An easily explicable exception is 13.) A man might be cited with patronymic and demotic, or without the patronymic; space was a factor.

    No name ever appears alone, i.e., without either the name of the body which conferred the honor, or his title. Many citations exist as fragmentary inscriptions which bear a man's name alone: they are all from other forms of honorific inscriptions, not from inscriptions for prytaneis.

    The name of the body conferring the honor is present in all save four insignificant exceptions (10, 24, 89, 110 ) and all texts where that element is broken away or illegible are to be restored accordingly.

    The presence or absence of the title of the official honored is governed by an equally strict rule: the title can be omitted only when it has already appeared in the decree itself. Thus, for instance, titles are regularly given to the Treasurer and Secretary in their citations, which generally precede the "second" decree, in which they are first mentioned. Having no official title, a man crowned $\varepsilon x \tau \tilde{\omega} v$ $\varphi v \lambda \varepsilon \tau \check{\omega} \nu$ is cited without a title (1). See also 12.

    Until ca. 230 в.c., in actual practice, the title is always given in the citation except in 11; after that date, the officials are often cited without repetition of the title. Such repetition had been made unnecessary by the introduction of the "second" decree with its explicit list of honors. After ca. 200, the minor officials, cited below the second decree, always appear without titles. The titles re-appear in the ornate inscriptions of the later part of the second century b.c., and remain.

[^16]:    ${ }^{1} 10$, as read by Pococke, is the only exception. 76 and 77 seem to have lacked citations at the end.
    ${ }^{2}$ The exceptions, 48 and 96, have other exceptional, but unrelated, features.
    ${ }^{3}$ No. 116 does not come within the scope of this principle.
    4 The names in the first and third lists do not appear in citations because they were not crowned. They were merely "praised" or "honored" along with the prytaneis.
    ${ }^{5}$ First mentioned ca. 145 в.c. (p. 19).

[^17]:    ${ }^{1}$ Whether they had begun to be called by the same title in the fourth century is immaterial. Since Aristotle does not mention where the secretaries ate, it may be that in his day the state did not provide their board.
    ${ }^{2}$ This point is to be found in G. E. Marindin's article "Prytaneum" in William Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities, 1891, in the revision of which W. Wayte and Marindin collaborated. Koehler had briefly indicated the same view (Hermes, V [1871], p. 340), but, like Marindin's, his reason is not political.
    ${ }^{3}$ Staatsgebiet und Staatsangehörige in Athen, Teil I, Göttinger Forschungen IV, Stuttgart-Berlin, 1934, p. 336.
    ${ }^{4}$ We do not know, except from late sources, any term for the boarders in the Prytaneion. They also may have been called dं $\varepsilon i \sigma \tau \tau o r$.
    ${ }^{5}$ A convenient summary in Marindin, op. cit. The chief document is $I . G ., I^{2}, 77$, the chief articles Schöll in Hermes, VI (1872), pp. 14-54; and Preuner in Hermes, LXI (1926), pp. 470-474. A related problem is that of the "Hellenistic," or "third," Prytaneion, in which Judeich believes (Topographie ${ }^{2}$, p. 304). The theory is that the prytaneis went up there to dine; the Tholos was abandoned; the area of the "new" Prytaneion was the "Prytanikon." For the Hellenistic period all these propositions are false, and probably, though evidence is scant, for the Roman period also.
    ${ }^{6}$ Not to mention the opportunity which would be given to foreign ambassadors to influence the officials of the Boule and Demos over the wine.

[^18]:    ${ }^{1}$ The inside area of the Tholos was close to 250 square meters. That seems large enough to accommodate prytaneis and $\dot{\alpha} \varepsilon \ell \sigma \iota \tau o \iota$.
    ${ }^{2}$ It is notable that the year $230 / 29$ marks no definable change.

[^19]:    ${ }^{1}$ For purposes of restoration particularly one should note that there are at least two kinds of decree
     $\pi \varrho o ́ \sigma o \delta o v ' \pi o \iota r_{1} \alpha^{\prime} \mu \varepsilon v o \iota, x \tau \lambda$. $(113,114,119)$. No. 116, the new and complete decree from the Agora, is in many respects sui generis. Different from all is the last of the series (121).

[^20]:    ${ }^{1}$ Hesperia, IV (1935), pp. 470-475.

[^21]:    ${ }^{1}$ The foregoing discussion mentions afl prescribed places for erecting stelae, and all notable data on the places where they have been found, and the related problems. Only the decrees have been dealt with. As to the other decrees and monuments for prytaneis, no collective treatment would be of value. The commentary to the individual texts contains the appropriate notices.
    ${ }^{2}$ A study of the representation of demes will be published shortly in Hesperia, in connection with the publication of certain new lists of bouleutai.
    ${ }^{3}$ Cf. 10, 47, 77.
    ${ }^{4}$ Substitutes alloted for bouleutai: G. Gilbert, Constitutional Antiquities (Eng. trans., 1895), p. 266, n. 1.
    ${ }^{5}$ 9, 10, 28, 37, 48, 64, 71, 73, 77, 84, 116.
    ${ }^{6}$ Ferguson, Hellenistic Athens, pp. 54, 97 n. 2, 316.
    ${ }^{7}$ Also the Treasurer $\bar{\xi} \chi \tau \tilde{\omega} \nu \varphi v \lambda \varepsilon \tau \tilde{\omega} \nu, 10$, first under his demotic; likewise the various men prominent in the decrees of $I . G ., \mathrm{II}^{2}, 1749$. The man cited last in 9 , however, has no precedence under his demotic.

[^22]:    ${ }^{1}$ Other principles for restoring the register are helpful. Thus patronymics are omitted, except when given to distinguish one prytanis from another of the same name (and not always even then), in the whole period from ca. 229 в.c. (28) to $c a .80$ в.c. (97). Before $c a .229$ в.c., and after ca. 80 в.c. the patronymics are always present in the documents here studied. The only exception is 20 of not later than ca. 240 b.c., which has no patronymics.

    In the period down to 229 , the presence of patronymics made each column in the register so wide that only three columns could be accommodated on the stele, and three is the invariable number in that period. After 229, the absence of patronymics made room for four columns (the minimum, and the usual number), or five, or six (the usual maximum). Only 39 has seven.

    No column should end with a demotic. The only exception is once in 71. The demotics are never omitted from a register.
    ${ }^{2}$ The Secretaries tend to come from the larger demes, but the office was decidedly inferior, as we have seen. Demes with only one representative never elected a Secretary, and only one Treasurer was the sole representative of his deme (10).

[^23]:    ${ }^{1}$ Wilhelm, Beiträge I, see index.
    ${ }^{2}$ Meisterhans-Schwyzer, Grammatik ${ }^{3}$, pp. 7-8.
    ${ }^{3}$ Thus in I. G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 860$.

[^24]:    ${ }^{1}$ I. G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 1750$ of $334 / 3$ was found in the Valerian Wall and probably was set up somewhere in the Agora.
    ${ }^{2}$ The normal requirement being space for 63 items, the register would naturally be arranged in three columns of 21 each. Actually the mason set out as if to inscribe a complete number; he made two columns of 21 each and at the end of the last he left 5 blank lines. Had there been an omission of 5 items merely by error? Probably not, since the quotas sent by Kephale and Sphettos, as we are about to see, presuppose a complete list.

[^25]:    ${ }^{1}$ We know positively only one other deficient list of bouleutai in all periods (p. 28).
    ${ }^{2}$ C.A.H., VI, pp. 448-449.

[^26]:    ${ }^{1}$ Tribal Cycles, p. 160. The later clerk was of Phegaia, which can only be III, not II or III (Dow, Hesperia, III [1934], p. 189).

[^27]:    ${ }^{1}$ In lines $11-12$ the restoration $\tau_{1}^{\prime} \partial \nu \quad \beta \alpha \sigma \iota \lambda \varepsilon \alpha$ would fill the gap, but is probably out of the question, because there is, I believe, no instance where a king is given precedence in an inscription over the A thenians.
    ${ }^{2}$ The space would be exactly filled by the words $x \alpha i \tau \alpha \dot{\partial} \dot{\nu} \nu \dot{\mu} \mu \tau \tau \alpha \tau \tilde{\omega} \nu \pi \rho v \tau \alpha \dot{\nu} \varepsilon \omega \nu$.

[^28]:    ${ }^{1}$ The lettering of $I . G ., I I^{2}, 1322$ has no counterpart known to me in Athens. For the names: Column I. Line 36: N.P.A., p. 160, has an erroneous reference; no ancestor is known. Lines 37-38: the long stemma on N.P.A., p. 18 needs adjustment to the proper period for Polyeuktos, but this will not settle the date of the inscription. Column II. Line 35 : cf. P.A., 3062, an ancestor of $340 / 39$ r.c.

[^29]:    ${ }^{1}$ Incidentally, the demotic in line 9 was probably spelled Totr\& $\mu \varepsilon \varepsilon \varepsilon$, as always in this period.
    ${ }^{2}$ It is always stated that the decree of the garrisons, I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 1299$, found in Eleusis, bears an erasure which deleted the name of Queen Phthia (line 11). Actually the letters were obliterated by some form of erosion, quite accidentally. The name of Demetrios is preserved in line 36.

[^30]:    ${ }^{1}$ The register of prytaneis and the citations were doubtless inscribed in letters of the same size as the rest. Pococke's printer set them in small type to get the whole on one page.
    ${ }^{2}$ Philodemos in Herc. Pap. 1005; Crönert, Rh. Mus., 1901, p. 617; Dinsmoor, Archons, p. 80. Ferguson, Tribal Cycles, pp. 44, 46, 55-56; idem, A.J.P., LV (1934), p. 333. Meritt's date is 272/1 (Hesperia, IV [1935], p. 584).

[^31]:    ${ }^{1}$ Rangabé follows this (Antiquités Helléniques, II, p. 808, no. 1273): "trouvé en 1848 derrière les Propylées."

[^32]:    ${ }^{1}$ As the sole decree in the form of a "second" decree, 22 anticipates the post-Sullan type (p. 25).

[^33]:    ${ }^{1}$ The theory would be that our fragment preserves almost the entire part of the inscription in which the erased lines overlap; in other words that the beginning and end of the erasure lay just outside our fragment.
    ${ }^{2}$ Class. Quart., XVIII (1924), p. 20.
    ${ }^{3}$ Archons, p. 104. The omission of $\alpha \hat{v} \tau \omega ั v$, Dinsmoor suggested, tactfully left unspecific the parentage of the children.
    ${ }^{*}$ Class. Quart., XXVIII (1934), pp. 101-102.
    ${ }^{5}$ The historians have been misled. The epigraphists have failed to recognize a class of modified stoichedon inscriptions.

[^34]:    ${ }^{1}$ Extra letters are regularly added only in lines 21 ff .
    ${ }^{2}$ Without violating any published fact or any current conception of stoichedon, Dinsmoor (loc. cit.) could estimate the limits at between 55 and 59 letters.

[^35]:    ${ }^{1}$ Dinsmoor, Archons, p 456.
    ${ }^{2}$ I. G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 1934$.

[^36]:    ${ }^{1}$ P. 15. Since 'Eлєદıx८ $\alpha \iota \iota$, though it has but one representative, stands first in the register, that representative is almost certainly the Treasurer (pp.14, 28-29).
    ${ }^{2}$ Cf. 36 lines 51, 52, 125-127, where the Priest is also of Potamos, Evjßovגí $\eta$ s Потс́ $\mu \iota o s$, and see above, pp. $15-16$.

[^37]:    ${ }^{1}$ It is worth noting that the deficiency is not due to accidental omission by the mason of four items in the course of cutting the list. If his copy had contained the full 65 items, he would have planned one column of 17 , followed by three of 16 items each. Since the register was actually allowed to stand as incomplete, it is likely that the discrepancy was not a clerical error at any stage of publication.

[^38]:    ${ }^{1}$ The only alternate might be the second prytanis listed, but spacing excludes $\Delta \alpha \mu o ́ x \rho \iota \tau o v$ Evinvv $\mu$ z $\alpha$.

[^39]:    ${ }^{1}$ The archon of $209 / 8$ had a name of $c a .10-11$ letters in the genitive, as a squeeze of Kern, Magnesia, no. 37 shows. Various factors prevent an exact calculation.
    ${ }^{2}$ The Treasurer of the Boule was a member of it. In the register below, the first place-the place of honor-under Ikarieis is held by a name of only $51 / 2$ letters, 'Auplas. Since the Treasurer was an Ikarian, the suggestion seems natural that he was Amphias.

[^40]:    1 The name is not uncommon, but a suggestion may be ventured for the demotic, namely a member of a prominent family of Aithalidai. 'I $£ \rho \omega \nu$ (II) had been a $\vartheta \varepsilon \sigma \mu \circ \vartheta \varepsilon \varepsilon \tau \eta$ in $220 / 19$ (P.A., 7527). He, or a son, may have held the Priesthood somewhat later. The deme is of Antigonis and the space is correct.

[^41]:    ${ }^{1}$ Euthykritos I was Archon of $328 / 7$ b.c.
    ${ }^{2}$ Hesperia, II (1933), p. 437.

[^42]:    ${ }^{1}$ Meritt (letter) has confirmed this. "The dating" (he writes), "is double dating of the characteristic early second century variety, i.e., the words $x \alpha \tau^{\prime} \dot{\alpha} Q \chi o v \tau \alpha$ are omitted from the first date by month."

[^43]:    ${ }^{1}$ It seems not to have been widely noticed that by a similar error 'Ay@viŋ̀ $\theta \varepsilon v$ was inscribed for ${ }^{\prime} A \gamma x v \lambda \tilde{\eta} \vartheta \varepsilon \nu$ in I.G., $I^{2}, 1028$, line 124. An unlikely type of error, of course, for an Athenian: but the stone-
    
     tribe, an error even more flagrant, since it must have been committed by a secretary.
    ${ }^{2}$ In I.G., $I I^{2}, 840$, which should be dated about at that time, the same $К \alpha \lambda \lambda \iota \varphi \omega \check{\nu} \Pi \alpha \mu \beta \omega \tau \alpha \delta \eta \xi$ is stated to have been elected as one of three who were to repair a shrine.

[^44]:    ${ }^{1}$ See note on p. 104.

[^45]:    ${ }^{1}$ Since the mention of his predecessor implies a second archon of the same name within a generation preceding him, and since we know five (or six) archons named Dionysios within this century, it is natural

[^46]:    ${ }^{1}$ Rather than parts of $\left.\tau \grave{v} v i \varepsilon \varrho \varepsilon ́ \alpha \tau\right] o \tilde{v} \bar{\xi}[\pi \omega v \dot{v} \mu o v$, because this restoration would force the Secretary to have a name of some 36 letters.

[^47]:    ${ }^{1}$ It is possible that only 7 officials were praised: in that case, there would be 4 columns of 12 each, plus one of 11 . The thickness favors the scheme given above.

    2 There is no possible identification in Xypete. Melite had 7 representatives earlier, and Straton is a name known in that deme; hence it is the second choice.

[^48]:    ${ }^{1}$ The inscription, I. G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$, 1707, has always been dated ca. $250-200$ by its style, but the lettering belongs rather $c a .217 / 6-180$. Hence Tıцохৎ́́t $\eta \boldsymbol{s}$ ©oৎfxıos (line 7) is identical with, not an ancestor of,
    
    ${ }^{2}$ The first prominent member occurs in an inscription published after N.P.A., and the genealogy has not before been compiled. Roussel suggests connecting the grave monument I.G., II, 5,1967 D, with this family (B.C.H., XXXII [1908], p. 344: N.P.A., p. 103).

[^49]:    ${ }^{1}$ The reading seems to me certain in itself. In any case $\Pi \delta \delta \delta \pi \pi o s$ would be a name new to Greek.

[^50]:    ${ }^{1}$ In I. G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 1706$ two Paionidai had been listed. For the demes which furnished Archons Eponymoi, see Graindor, Chronologie, p. 306.

[^51]:    ${ }^{1}$ The citation was of course surrounded, like all others, by a painted wreath. Apparently the letters, in this instance, were carved after the monument was erected-so rude are they compared to the others - ; it is as if they had been done by the painter of the wreath as he put the last touches on the stone.

[^52]:    1 The suggestion might be made that the first decree was inscribed on the reverse face. Such a scheme, requiring that the stele be visible from four sides, is rare after the fifth century.

[^53]:    ${ }^{1}$ Had the numeral been $\delta \omega \delta \varepsilon x \alpha \dot{r} \eta \eta s$, the decree of the Demos should appear second on the stone (p. 7).

[^54]:    ${ }^{1}$ In I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$, 2609, we have "Avס@wv Hvo-
    
    ${ }^{2}$ I. G., II ${ }^{2}$, 1008, Col. III, line 120.
    ${ }^{3}$ The reverse of the squeeze is shown. The pencilled markings are not on the strokes, but beside them, as if in the shadow cast by a light from the left. This method of marking has the advantage that no stroke of a letter is destroyed by the pencil; readings can still be verified and corrected.

[^55]:    1 The size of the lettering in the preserved decree also proves that there were originally two decrees. This sets a limit to the date. Our last two-decree document is of $104 / 3$ в.c.; our first single decree is of the middle of the first century b.c.

[^56]:    ${ }^{1}$ The demotic was $\Pi \alpha \iota \alpha \nu \iota \varepsilon \tilde{s}$ or $K v \delta \alpha \vartheta \eta v \alpha \iota \varepsilon i \bar{\varsigma}$.

[^57]:    ${ }^{1}$ Hérode Atticus, especially pp. 1-17; Athènes de Tibère à Trajan, and Athènes sous Hadrien, passim.
    ${ }^{2}$ Especially the complete stemma under I.G., II ${ }^{2}, 3595$, with references.
    ${ }^{3}$ New items are I. G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$, 3979 a; Hesperia, IV (1935), pp. 58-59, no. 21; and under 121 below.
    ${ }^{4}$ References and some data in Hesperia, III (1934), pp. 105-157.
    ${ }^{5}$ I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$, 1716, edited in A.J.A., XXXVII (1933), pp. 585-588.
    ${ }^{6}$ Pauly-Wissowa, Suppl. III, p. 1130. Cf. Hesperia, III (1934), pp. 152-153.
    ${ }^{7}$ The first herm bearing an honorary inscription appears to be $I$. G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 1095$ of ca. 112 A. D. There are other inscribed posts of $c a .100$ b.c., such as $I . G ., I I^{2}, 1941$, which also lacks attributes. Such posts probably bore appropriate offerings set in the top.

[^58]:    ${ }^{1}$ Note that iota " subscript" is suppressed in the inscription when it might follow omega (lines 11, 19),
    
    ${ }^{2}$ B. C. H., V (1881), p. 251.

[^59]:    ${ }^{1}$ Musée Belge, XXVII (1923), p. 261.
    ${ }^{2}$ It is notable that his son does not appear in the (complete) panel for Erechtheis.
    ${ }^{3}$ The alternative is to identify the ephebe .. ${ }^{5}$. $\dot{\omega}^{\omega} \nu l o s$ with the prytanis, dating 106 after $13 / 2$, as Graindor proposed. This would make it necessary that the thesmothetes of $14 / 3$, Argaios, should have had an homonymous grandson, the prytanis of 106. But since this grandson must himself have a son who is of age, this alternative solution is improbable.

[^60]:    ${ }^{1}$ Chronologie, pp. 37--38; Musée Belge, XXVII (1923), pp. 265-266.
    ${ }^{2}$ Both Dinsmoor (Archons, p. 286) and Ferguson (Tribal Cycles) have tacitly adopted Graindor's view.For the later Apolexis, who always appears as 'A ${ }^{\prime} \dot{\prime}^{\prime} \eta \xi \iota \varsigma \xi^{\xi} \xi$ O'ov, see Graindor, Chronologie, p. 51 ; Roussel, Mélanges Bidez, p. 822.

[^61]:    ${ }^{1}$ Unless in a dedication of post-9/8 b.c. (I. G., $I I^{2}, 3505$ ), where a Demeas (restore demotic) appears with Apolexis of Oion, spokesman of 116. Demochares of Azene (I.G., II ${ }^{2}, 3176$ ), an archon of post-9/8 в.c., was presumably a relative of Demeas of Azene.

[^62]:    ${ }^{1}$ The date is based on the spelling Mácozos (line 97), and on prosopography. Neither forbids setting it ca. 35 в.c. The Apolexis son of Philokrates (line 5) could then be the rogator of the present decree, not an otherwise unknown uncle. A similar hypothetical duplication could be avoided for line 117 also. With such a dating, one must suppose that the men listed in lines 4,39 , and 117, who are attached to earlier dates, were fairly old: but each of these heads the list for his deme, and in each case he was probably the senior member of the group. Line 78 -the only real difficulty-must list a very old man (cf. line 79 ; also 110). The lettering favors this later date. In any case the stemma under P.A., 1361 needs to be re-examined. The date proposed would allow the Apolexis son of Apellikon, whose prominence is attested by his place at the head of the whole list, to be identified with the archon Apolexis of 25/4-18/7.

[^63]:    ${ }^{1}$ Graindor has used these inseriptions in Hérode Atticus, p. 20, n. 1; p. 28, n. 4; p. 31, n. 2; p.235; and in Athènes sous Hadrien, especially pp. 87-88; see also his Album, pl. XXXVII, 47 and p. 35. S.E.G., III, no. 106.
    ${ }^{2}$ It is interesting that the next preserved decree with a list of prytaneis, I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}, 1077$ of 209/10, has precisely this scheme. On this decree see p. 3, n. 1 .

[^64]:    ${ }^{1}$ See Graindor, Athènes sous Hadrien, pp. 30 ff ., 73 ff .

[^65]:    ${ }^{1}$ It may be noted that the lost inscription from Corinth, which honors Claudius Atticus, now appears in Corinth, Vol. VIII, Part II, Latin Inscriptions, no. 58.

[^66]:    ${ }^{1}$ Doubtless others will be discovered; hence the following account is offered as subject to correction. My search for these objects has been restricted to Athens.
    ${ }^{2}$ I.G., $\mathrm{II}^{2}$, 2864 a ("Instrumentum cuius usus incertus est"). Found in the Library of Hadrian. Hymettian marble. First published by Koumanoudes in 'AQ .' $E \varphi ., 1862$, p. 25 . Height 0.49 m., but broken at the bottom. All the other original dimensions are preserved. Width below the pilaster capitals, 0.32 m .; thickness at the same point, 0.157 m ; diameter of cone at top, 0.065 m ; diameter of hole at bottom of cone, 0.025 m . The slots, 12 in number, are spaced 0.018 m . on centres.
    ${ }^{3}$ Hook clamps date from the latter half of the fourth century r.c. and all subsequent classical periods.

[^67]:    ${ }^{1}$ Annuario, IV/V (1921/2), p. 63, no. 124 and fig. 6; also under I. G., II $^{2}$, 2864. Found by B. Tamaro on the Acropolis, and now in the courtyard in front of the museum there. Pentelic marble. Marks of a toothed chisel on the back. Effective thickness through pilasters, 0.1 m . Diameter of hole for tube at base of cone, 0.032 m .

[^68]:    ${ }^{1}$ Found toward the close of the season of 1935 between the Metroön and the Tholos, near the Bouleuterion (Section B). It had been re-used to form the bottom of a pit in Turkish times. Pentelic marble. Height, 0.59 m. ; width, at top, 0.725 m ., at bottom, 0.74 m .; thickness in centre, 0.083 m . The slots, spaced vertically 0.18 m . on centres, the columns being separated by only 0.02 m ., are crowded. The back, having been used as a threshold, is so foot-worn that its original condition cannot be established.

[^69]:    ${ }^{1}$ The word does not occur in Aristotle, but a definite instance of the practice is specified by him (see below); the notion was familiar, and there can be no doubt that $\sigma v \gamma x \lambda \dot{\eta} \rho \omega \sigma$ 的 was often practiced. Thus Demosthenes, $\pi \varepsilon \rho i \tau \tilde{\omega} v \sigma v \mu \mu o \rho \iota \tilde{\omega} v, 18$, proposes to allot squadrons of 15 ships to each of 20 boards
    
    

[^70]:    ${ }^{1}$ Kaibel and Kiessling, Poland, Haussoullier, Lipsius, Kenyon in his translation (1920), Sandys, and most recently Hommel in his admirable study Heliaia (Philologus, Supplementband XIX, Heft II, 1927). The form is considered to be analogous to that, e.g., of $\sigma \varphi \alpha \iota \varrho \iota \sigma \tau j \rho \iota o v$.
    ${ }^{2}$ The depressed areas at the top in each of III and IV, as noted above, would be suitable for a colored or inscribed paper to indicate the tribe, as if in the later period the same tribe did not always use the same pair of machines. The slots are of the right width for holding dikasts' tickets. One might expect a letter to be inscribed over each column of slots, but it must have been felt to be superfluous: the Greeks were quite familiar with the numerical positions of the letters of the alphabet.

    In Aristotle's day, the dikasts of each of the (ten) tribes were divided into ten sections. Whether the creation of two new tribes caused a new division, each tribe into twelve sections, has never been known. It

