

T H E A T H E N I A N B O U L E

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by

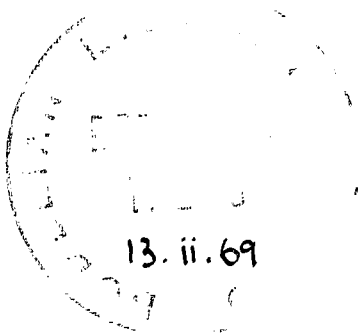
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VOLUME II

NOTES, ADDITIONAL NOTES,
TABLES, BIBLIOGRAPHY, PLANS

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CONTENTS

VOLUME II

Notes	to Chapter I	239
	to Chapter II	279
	to Chapter III	312
	to Chapter IV	362
	to Chapter V	403
Additional Notes		
A	The Bouleutic Calendar	411
B	HMA 87, 33-8	420
C	φυλακὴ τῆς χώρας and σωτηρία τῆς πόλεως	423
D	οἱ ἐπὶ τὸ θεωρικόν	432
E	The Date of the <u>Thesmophoria-</u> <u>zusae</u>	443
Tables illustrating Chapter I		
A	Deme-Representation in the Boule	448
B	Trittys-Divisions in Prytany Lists	484
Tables illustrating Chapter II		
-	Introductory Note .	492
C	Probouleumatic Decrees	494
D	Non-Probouleumatic Decrees	521
E	Decrees of the Demos with Special Origins	539
F	Decrees of the Boule, other than the Ratified Probouleumata in Table C	541
G	Formulae in νόμοι	551
H	Decrees quoted with Formulae in Literary Texts	552
I	Riders to Decrees	554
J	Clauses requiring Immediate Action (αὐτίκα μάλα)	556
K	ἄλλο ἀγαθόν Clauses	557

Bibliography 562

Plans illustrating Chapter I at end

- A Area of Bouleuterium in the Last Quarter of the Sixth Century
- B Area of Bouleuterium at the End of the Sixth Century
- C Area of Bouleuterium in the Middle of the Fifth Century (with Additions to the Early Third Century)
- D Area of Bouleuterium in the First Century A.D. (with the Addition of the West Annexe)
- E Old Bouleuterium: Restoration of Interior Arrangements
- F New Bouleuterium: Restoration of Interior Arrangements.

NOTES TO CHAPTER I

1. On the Solonian boule see Ch. V, pp. 221-2.
2. A.P. 22.ii; cf. Appendix to Ch. IV, pp. 204-5.
3. A.P. 21.iii.
4. 600, Pl. Demetr. 10.vi; 650, IG ii² 687,53, 847,26; 600 again, IG ii² 1013, 7, 16, 1072,10.
5. E.g. IG ii² 4210. For the date, cf. J. A. Notopoulos, TAPA LXXVII 1946. The exact size of Hadrian's boule is uncertain: S. Dow, Hesp. Supp. I 1937, 196, assumed that 500 was the correct figure; P. Graindor, Athènes sous Hadrien, 83-5, envisaged a total of about 540, with tribal contingents varying between 40 and 42; A. E. Raubitschek, Γέρας Ἀντωνίου Κεραμοπούλου, 242-55, believes in a boule of 13 x 40, ^{or 520,} and is followed in this by D. J. Geagan, Hesp. Supp. XII 1967, 95-6. Raubitschek argues that the wealthy patron who acted as ἐπόνομος to the tribe (cf. p. 13 and n. 88, below) should be regarded as a member of the prytany only in those prytany-dedications where he is named with the prytanes and not apart from them, and claims that there were 40 prytanes in each of the twelve complete lists which have survived from this period. These lists, of which further details will be found in Table A, are :-

AEGEIS	<u>IG ii</u> ² 1765	138/9	40 members
	<u>SEG</u> XIV 92	182/3	37 + 4 <u>rass.</u> + πρ. βουλ.
PANDIONIS	<u>IG ii</u> ² 1773	166/7	40 incl. γρ.
	1776	169/70	40 incl. γρ.
	1077	209/10	?41 incl. γρ.
ACAMANTIS	1774	167/8	39 + γρ. + ἐπων.
			+ ἀείσιτοι
	1775	168/9	40
CECROPIS	1782	177/8	?40 incl. γρ. but not ἐπων.

(AIANTIS	<u>P</u> 121	?	Traces of 39 names, but probably part of list of 50, c.120. Not discussed by Raubitschek)
ANTIOCHIS	<u>IG</u> ii ² 1783	221/2	40 incl. γρ.
	1817	c.220	(no demotics) 40 incl. γρ.
ATTALIS	1794	180/1	40 incl. γρ.
	1824	221/2	(no demotics) 40?+

Regular lists of 40 cannot be obtained without forcing the evidence, and it seems better to admit the possibility of variation.

6. 600, IG ii² 3664 (c.200? - presumably a mere slip if the date is right); 750, IG ii² 3669(269/70); 300, IG ii² 3716, 4222 (C4). It has been suggested by D. J. Geagan, Hesp. Supp. XII 1967, 75, that from the third century all eligible citizens were admitted to the boule for life.
7. X. M. I. ii. 35, D. XXII. Andr. hyp. i. 1; cf. "Draco" in A.P. 4. iii, "constitutions" of 411 in A.P. 30. ii, 31. i. It is possible that the age requirement was not that a man should have reached the age of thirty but that he should have entered on his thirtieth year (and so have reached the age of twenty-nine). Cf. Ch. IV, pp. 179-80 and especially n. 175.
8. Arist. Pol. III. 1275 A (2-) 15-19.
9. Lys. XXXI. Phil. 33, Harp., Suid., E.M. ἐπιλαχών; cf. (on ἄρχαί in general) [Lys]. VI. And. 4, Is. XV. Ant. 150.
10. Phot., Suid. s.v.
11. And. I. Myst. 75. Cavalry service under the Thirty was probably made another bar to membership: Lys. XXVI. Evand. 10.
12. A. I. Tim. 19 - 20, cf. 29.

	Φηγ.	Polycrates	<u>IG ii</u> ² 1747 (c.350), <u>SEG</u> XIX 149 (336/5?)
	Φιλ.	Dionysius	<u>IG ii</u> ² 1747 (c.350), 1749 (341/0).
PANDIONIS	Μυρρ.	Aeschylides	<u>IG ii</u> ² 1751 (after mid C4), <u>SEG</u> XIX 149 (336/5?).
	Πρασ.	Timandrus	REG 1960, 88 - 99 (first qr. C4), <u>SEG</u> XIX 149 (336/5?)
	'Ωα.	Eupolemus	<u>REG</u> 1960, 88 - 99 (first qr. C4), <u>IG ii</u> ² 1751 (after mid C4)
ACAMANTIS	Σφηττ.	Timarchus	A. I. <u>Tim.</u> 109 (361/0), <u>ibid.</u> 80 (347/6)
OENEIS	Θρι.	Cleopompus	<u>IG ii</u> ² 1745 (360/59), 1698 (before mid C4)
	Περτ.	Callicrates	<u>IG ii</u> ² 1745 (360/59), 1746 (c. 350).
CECROPIS	Συπ.	Antidotus	<u>IG ii</u> ² 337 (333/2), <u>'Αρχ. 'Εφ.</u> 1917, 40 - 8 (328/7).
		Autobulus	<u>IG ii</u> ² 2384 (360 - 50), 1700 (335 - 4) (cf. n.19, below)
AIANTIS	'Αφ.	Demetrius	³ <u>SIG</u> 287 (332/1), <u>'Αρχ. 'Εφ.</u> 1917, 40 - 8 (328/7).
		Euthycrates	<u>IG ii</u> ² 242/3 (337/6), <u>'Αρχ. 'Εφ.</u> 1917, 40 - 8 (328/7).
	Οίν.	Phyleus	<u>IG ii</u> ² 330 (336/5), 360 (325/4).
ANTIOCHIS	Παλλ.	Philostratus	<u>IG ii</u> ² 1700 (335/4), 410 (c.330).
		Theodorus	<u>IG ii</u> ² 1700 (335/4), <u>'Αρχ. 'Εφ.</u> 1917, 40 - 8 (328/7).

(Not all the identifications are certain.) For Demosthenes see
below, n. 29.

19. IG ii² 1772, 6 (162/3); 1773, 13 (166/7); SEG XXI 610, 13 (end C2); cf. Geagan, Hesp. Supp. XII 1967, 75 (but Raubitschek, Γέρας Κεραμοπούλλου , 244, writes as if the old rule still applied): Geagan also cites Heliodorus Ἄρτέμωνος Κυδαθηναῖος, in Hesp. XI 15 (c. 160); IG ii² 1773 (166/7); 1776 (169/70); and also 2478 (mid C2) - but the last, a fragment with 9 names and no demotic, may not belong to a list of prytanes. Autobulus Ἀὐτοσόφου Συπαλήττιος appears in IG ii² 2375 (before mid C4 B.C.) as well as in the two lists mentioned in n.18, above, but this list with 4 Συπαλήττιοι is probably not a list of bouleutae. It is likely that the oligarchic régimes of the late fourth and early third centuries had to relax this rule: cf. Ferguson, Hellenistic Athens, 25 - 6.
20. In the democratic constitution imposed on Erythrae perhaps in 453 a man might serve once in four years (HMA 26, 12) - but pace Kahrstedt (U.M.A., 135 - 6) this need have no implications for practice in contemporary Athens.
21. Gomme, Population of Athens, 26, and Ehrenberg, The Greek State, 33, have estimated the numbers of adult male citizens as follows (Gomme's figures do not include men over 60) :-
- | | GOMME | EHRENBERG |
|--------|--------|-----------------|
| C. 480 | 35,000 | 25,000 - 30,000 |
| C. 432 | 43,000 | 35,000 - 45,000 |
| C. 400 | 22,000 | 20,000 - 25,000 |
| C. 360 | - | 28,000 - 30,000 |
| 323 | 28,000 | - |
| 313 | 21,000 | 21,000 |
- 21A. So Larsen, Representative Government, 10 - 11.

22. Ar. Eq. 774 - 6.
23. Stated as a fact by Wilamowitz, Aristoteles und Athen, I. 129 n.11.
24. Ar. Ach. 379 - 81: it is not certain that Cleon did this as a bouleutes.
25. Cf. the chronological tables in Henderson, Great War, 494, Gomme, Hist. Comm. Thuc., III. 718.
26. In 421/0: IG i² 84, 5 with 44.
27. Plat. Com., frs. 166 - 7 (Kock).
28. "Before 378/7": IG ii² 61, 6 - 7 (for possible years ^{before and after 378/7} see D. M. Lewis, BSA XLIX 1954, 34); and in or before 356/5: D. XXII. Andr. 38 (for 356/5, B. R. I. Sealey, REG LXVIII 1955, 89 - 92, G. L. Cawkwell, C & M XXIII 1962, 50 - 5; for 359/8, D. M. Lewis, BSA XLIX 1954, 43 - 4, cf. E. Schweigert, Hesp. VIII 1939, 12 - 17).
29. D. XIX F.L. 154, 234, A.II. F.L. 17, &c., cf. S. Perlman, Athen. ² XLI 1963, 343. It has been supposed on the basis of A.III Ctes. 160, Pl. Dem. 22.i that he served again in 337/6, but Kahrstedt (U.M.A., 136 n. 3) has shown that the evidence is far from compelling.
30. SEG XIX 149, 144; cf. the original publication by S. Charitonides, Hesp. XXX 1961. I am not convinced by the arguments of J.A.O. Larsen, CP LVII 1962, for an earlier date.
31. IG ii² 1672, 302 (cf. Ch. II, p. 64 with n. 96, and n. 155 to Ch. III).
32. Schol. A. III. Ctes. 4.

33. J. Sundwall, Epigraphische Beiträge, Ch. i.
34. J. A. O. Larsen, Representative Government, 11.
35. A.P. 62. ii. G. T. Griffith, in Ancient Society and Institutions, 123, notes that the bias towards the rich must have been considerable before the introduction of pay for members.
36. In the accounts of the Eleusinian epistatae for 329/8 unskilled labourers are paid $1\frac{1}{2}$ drachmae a day, skilled 2 or $2\frac{1}{2}$ drachmae (IG ii² 1672, cf. Jones, 143 - 4 n. 86); in the Erechtheum accounts of 409 - 7 unskilled workers received 3 obols and skilled 1 drachma (IG i² 373 - 4, cf. Gomme, Hist. Comm. Thuc., II. 45).
37. Most of the bouleutae of 405/4 were sufficiently congenial to the Thirty to be reappointed for 404/3 (Lys. XIII. Ag. 20), but what happened in the last years of the Peloponnesian War when the fleet was absent from Athens cannot be regarded as typical.
38. [D]. XLVII Ev. & Mnes. 21.
39. D. XIV. Symm. 16.
40. A. III. Ctes. 222, Hyp. fr. 134 (Kenyon), Din. I. Dem. 42.
41. On all these bouleutae, see Charitonides' notes in Hesp. XXX 1961. I have also consulted J. K. Davies, Athenian Propertied Families, and bracket here and in n. 42 the three bouleutae whom he does not include in his Register. Trierarchs under Periander's law: Callias (113), Philocrates (281) (discharges a trierarchic debt for some one else, IG ii² 1622, 247). Trierarchs under Demosthenes' law: Anytus (3), [Pythodorus(76)], Demades (144) (συντέλης).

42. Related to trierarchs under Periander's law: [Pythiades (14)], [Leontius (36)].

Related to trierarchs under Demosthenes' law: Athemion (7), Cleon (74), Timotheus (289), Autoclidides (307).

43. Homophon (9), Pythiades (14), Blepes (33), Blepsias (140), Midocrates (164), Damias (230), Eubiodemus (232), Onesion (256), Dipolis (260), Epagrus (274), Ergomeles (275), Euchirides (295), Calliphemus (315).
44. Note that Pythiades (19) may come from a trierarchic family.
45. T. VIII. 69. iv, A.P. 32. i.
46. T. VIII. 67. iii.
47. A.P. 31. i. I imagine that A.P. 31 is a regularisation of the Four Hundred's position for future use; A.P. 30 is a promise made to appease those who were unhappy about the extreme oligarchy, a promise which few of the oligarchs intended to keep (i.e. an authentic document published by the Four Hundred but not a genuine statement of intent).
48. T. VIII. 86. vi.
49. Hignett, 372 cf. 378, on And. I. Myst. 96. Cf. G. E. M. de Ste Croix, Hist. V 1956, 22.
50. And. I. Myst. 96 - 8, with GHI 83; cf. B. D. Meritt, Athenian Financial Documents, 106 - 9.
- 50A. Who appointed congenial men as bouleutae: cf. X.H. II. iii. 2, 11 (quoted p.29), and Lys. XIII. Ag. 20.
51. A.P. 43. ii, [D]. LIX. Near. 3, A. III. Ctes. 62.
52. IG ii² 514, 5 - 6, 678, 11.

53. A.P. 22. v.
54. We can safely argue (with Larsen, Representative Government, 9) from this clause in the decree for Erythrae, HMA 26, 8 - 9. G. T. Griffith, Ancient Society & Institutions, 123, regards appointment by lot as Cleisthenic.
55. Harp., Suid., E.M. ἐπιλαχῶν , L.S. 256. 3, Schol. Ar. Thesm. 808 - 9 = Plat. Com. frs. 166 - 7 (Kock), A. III. Ctes. 62 with schol. citing Plat. Com.; perhaps cf. D. LVIII. Theocr. 29.
56. Cf. p. 10.
57. For the few exceptions to this rule cf. p. 11 and n. 66 - 7, below.
58. On the different kinds of prytany-inscription cf. S. Dow, Hesp. Supp. I. 1937, 1 - 29.
59. The evidence for deme-representation is set out in detail in Table A. Some texts, mostly of the Hellenistic period, still await publication.
- 59A. There are noticeable differences between these and our fifth-century list.
60. So Larsen, Representative Government, 8.
61. P 1 used to be dated 327/6, with the famine from which Athens suffered invoked to explain the non-representation of some small demes. Traill's dating after 307/6 (Hesp. XXXV 1966, 231) lessens but does not eliminate the abnormality of this list. See Table A.
62. Here it seems that demotics were inscribed on a pattern that would leave room for 50 members, and the names of some but not all of the prytanes were added under their demes. Raubitschek writes (D.A.A., p. 190) :-

It must have been an intentional act on the part of these prytaneis whose names are omitted, to cancel their participation in the common dedication; but the mystery remains.

63. Under Κρωπιδαι we have one member and three vacancies.

64. So Schoeffer, R.E., V, Cols. 9, 28, s.v. Δῆμος.

65. Cf. p. 30 and n. 215, below.

66. In the following lists members are given their demotics but are not grouped by demes (all dates here and in n. 67 are A.D.) :-

PANDIONIS	<u>IG ii</u> ² 1826	222/3
OENEIS	1803	215 - 20
HIPPOTHONTIS	1808	170 - 6
	1819	c. 200
PTOLEMAIS	<u>Hesp.</u> XI 25	180 - 92

67. In the following lists members are not given their demotics :-

ANTIOCHIS	<u>IG ii</u> ² 1817	c. 220
ATTALIS	1824	221/2
	1825	222/3
	1827	223/4?
	1828	224/5
HADRIANIS	1832	231/2

68. For δοκιμασία conducted by the boule, cf. Ch. IV, pp. 179-87. Notice in particular the questions asked at the archons' δοκιμασία, p. 184.

69. Notice the arguments employed in Lys. XVI. Mant. (N.B. § 9), XXXI. Phil.

70. For the content of the oath at different times see the appendix to Ch. IV, pp. 201-11.

71. T. VIII. 70. i; Cf. also D.XIX. F.L. 190, XXI. Mid. 114.

72. Lyc. Leocr. 122 (other ἀρχαί : Lys. XXVI. Evand. 8, D.XXI. Mid. 32 - 3, 54, *XXVI Aristog. ii. 5).
73. Ar. Av. 794 with schol., Hes. βουλευτικόν , Suid. βουλευτικός, Poll. IV. 122 (this last passage is oddly explained by W. A. McDonald, Political Meeting-Places of the Greeks, 147). For tokens which could have been used in this connection see M. Crosby, Tokens, 79 - 80, 112 - 3.
74. Demosthenes in his year of office served on the first and second embassies to Philip of Macedon (A.II. F.L. 18 - 20, 94, D. XIX. F.L. 12 - 13, 154 - 5 &c.); in 411 the Four Hundred, who began by threatening fines for non-attendance ("future constitution" in AP. 30. vi, cf. "Draco" in A.P. 4. iii), found it convenient to grant leave of absence to their less enthusiastic members (cf. Lys. XX. Poly. 14, 16).
75. Lyc. Leocr. 37.
76. T. VIII. 69. iv.
77. Presumably this was payment for attendance, not an automatic daily grant.
78. A.P. 62. ii.
79. Foucart's restoration (RPh² XLII 1918) of a corrupt passage in A.P. 62. ii has won little favour, and does not seem very likely (cf. p. 22).
80. A.P. 41. iii with Ar. Eccl. 184 sqq., &c.
81. A.P. 61. ii with Ar. Eq. 797 - 800, &c. The view that Cleon had raised the fee from 2 obols rests on the emphasis given by Aristophanes to the τριώβολον and an emended version of schol. Ar. Vesp. 88.

82. G. T. Griffith, Ancient Society & Institutions, 125, dates the introduction of bouleutic pay not long after 462.
83. It is assumed that this is why jury pay was taken to be symbolic of the ἔμμισθος πόλις, as in A.P. 27. iii - iv.
84. Cf. S. Dow, Hesp. Supp. I 1937, 14 - 15, on the treasurer of the prytanes. There might be other liabilities too: the second century A.D. regulations of the Iobacchi make membership of the boule one of many offices for which, if he was appointed to it, a member of the guild was required to offer a worthy σπονδή (IG ii² 1368, 131).
- We learn from Cassius Dio (LXIX. 16. ii) that under a law of Hadrian bouleutae were forbidden to engage in tax-farming.
85. P 121, 12 - 15, with J. H. Oliver, AJP LXX 1949, 302.
86. Cf. IG ii² 3597.
87. Cf. Fronto ad M. Caes. III. 3 (= I. 64, Haines).
88. J. H. Oliver, Hesp. XI 1942, 30, cf. AJP LXX 1949, A. E. Raubitschek, Γέρας Κεραμοπούλλου, 242 - 55, D. J. Geagan, Hesp. Supp. XII 1967, 98 - 100. Hesp. XXXII 1963, 73 - 4, I, may commemorate special help given by Hadrian.
89. E.g. IG ii² 1817.
90. SEG XII 95 with J. H. Oliver, Hesp. XXI 1952, 381 - 99.
91. IG ii² 956, 14, with commentary; 957, 9; 958, 12; 959, 11.
- 91A. Towards the end of 343/2 the boule honoured its best speaker and invited the demos to join in the honours (IG ii² 223 A); in 290/89 the demos crowned the three best bouleutae of the year (IG ii² 2797); and about the same time the boule was honoured by one of its members (SEG XXI 360).

92. A. III. Ctes. 20, cf. And. II. Red. 19. In addition to this corporate responsibility of the boule, individual members could be attacked within a year in the γραφαὶ παρανόμων and νόμον μὴ ἐπιτηδεῖτον θεῖναι for measures which they had proposed, even if their proposals were adopted by the boule and demos ([D]. LIX. Neaer. 4 - 5, &c., cf. Ch. II, pp. 62³); and prytanes or proedri who had put an illegal or inexpedient motion to the vote could be prosecuted for that (cf. pp. 21, 26).
93. It was laid down in particular that the boule was not entitled to this δωρεὰ unless it had built new triremes as required (A.P. 46. i: for the shipbuilding requirement cf. Ch. III, pp. 115-7).
94. This is the natural inference from A.I. Tim. 111 - 2, D. XXII. Andr. 36, 38 - 9.
95. Kahrstedt, S.S.A., 330.
96. IG ii² 223 B, 13 - 14.
97. E.g. IG ii² 672, 13 - 15; D. XXIII. Arist. 23, 89.
98. D. XXII. Andr. 38. For the date see above, n. 28.
99. Ibid. 8.
100. IG ii² 223B, 5 - 6, 7 - 8.
101. Cf. IG ii² 223A, 1 - 3 - but this may be another reference to the crown awarded for the Dionysia.
102. A. III. Ctes. 9 - 12.
103. The index in IG ii² IVi, p. 51.i, s.vv. εὐθύνας δοῦναι, lists IG ii² 223A, 13; B, 13; C, 13 (343/2); 330, 42 (336/5); 338, 18 (333/2); 410, 22 (c. 330); 415, 27 (c. 330/29); 354, 21 (328/7); and I can add 'Apx. 'Eφ. 1917, pp. 40 - 8, no. 92,

33 - 5 (328/7). There is a fifth-century example in IG i² 46, 19, but here it appears that officials concerned with the foundation of a colony were not to sail there until they had passed their euthynae in Athens.

104. IG ii² 672, 35 (280/79); 780, 20 (252/1). Hellenistic prytanes were regularly honoured while still bouleutae and even, if theirs was the last prytany of the year, while still prytanes (cf. S. Dow, Hesp. Supp. I 1937, 7 - 8).

105. A.P. 46.i.

106. A.P. 43.ii, cf. *lexica* and *scholia* s.v. In the earliest passages cited by LSJ a *πρύτανις* seems to be a "ruler" or "chief".

107. On the Tholos and neighbouring buildings in general see pp. 30-4, and on the date of the Tholos and its possible implications see pp. 17-18.

The Tholos and its immediate surroundings are probably to be identified with the *πρύτανικόν*, where decrees honouring prytanes were regularly published in the third and second centuries (cf. E. Vanderpool, Hesp. IV 1935, R. E. Wycherley, Testimonia, p. 184). It should not be confused - as it frequently was by lexicographers and scholiasts - with the *πρύτανεῖον*, or town hall, where those whom the city wished to honour were entertained (cf. D. Levi, ASAA VI - VII 1923 - 4, S. Dow, Hesp. Supp. I 1937, 22 - 4, Wycherley, Testimonia, p. 166): it will be seen from pp. 16-18 that I am not prepared to accept Mr MacDowell's compromise suggestion that the prytaneum was the original headquarters of the prytanes (commentary on And. I. Myst., p. 69).

108. A.P. 62. ii; cf. p. 12.

108A. G. T. Griffith, Ancient Society & Institutions, 123, mentions the absence of early evidence for the *epistates* of the prytanes, but nevertheless thinks that the office, with at any rate the duty of presiding in the boule, was created by Cleisthenes.

109. Pl. Quaest. Conv. 628 E - F.
110. Hermes LXXXIX 1961. Even if the document goes back to an authentic text of Miltiades, such details as the tribe in prytany could have been invented by a later editor in the interests of supposed verisimilitude. Cf. Hignett, Xerxes' Invasion of Greece, 14.
111. IG i² 4, 21 - 5.
112. E.G.H., 180 - 200, on GHI 32. I explain my reasons for doubt in n. 387 to Ch. IV. If this inscription can be dated c. 450 the earliest epigraphic reference to prytanes may be HMA 21 (c. 457?). Another possible piece of evidence for prytanes before 462 is the "Xanthippus Ostrakon" as interpreted by A. Wilhelm, Anz. Wien LXXXVI 1949, but his explanation seems a little too ingenious to be credible. For other attempts to solve this problem see A. E. Raubitschek, O. Broneer, E. Schweigert, AJA² LI 1947, LII 1948, LIII 1949. My disbelief in pre-Ephialtic prytanes is not much weakened by Plat., Gorg. 516 D - E, or by Teleclides' comedy, Πρυτάνεις (Ath. XII. 553 E).
113. IG i² 3, 16 - 17; 4, 26 - 7.
114. On the bouletic calendar see Additional Note A, pp. 411-9.
115. IG i² 4, 17 sqq.
166. Phil. 328 F 30, schol. Ar. Eq. 855, Pl. Arist. 7. iv - v, cf. [And].
IV Alc. 7.
117. S.S.A., 125 n.1, U.M.A., 88, Klio XXXIII 1940, 10 - 11.
118. Cf. A.P. 43. v.
119. Agora Guide,² 45; c. 470, Hesp. Supp. IV 1940, 126 - 8, 153.
- 119A. Hesp. VI 1937, 134 - 5, 212, cf. Hesp. Supp. IV 1940, 27, 153. But Professor Thompson now dates the Old Bouleuterium rather later: cf. n. 215A, below.

- 119B. See Plans A & B, and Hesp. Supp. IV 1940, 8 - 44, 153.
120. Hesp. Supp. IV 1940, 43.
121. I have been helped in this matter by correspondence with Professor E. Vanderpool. He reminds me that the earlier buildings seem better suited than the Tholos to the needs of the prytanes - which remains a problem regardless of when prytanes were instituted and when the Tholos was built.
122. On the pre-Ephialtic boule see the appendix to Chapter IV, pp. 201 sqq., and on the problem in general cf. Chapter V, pp. 222-3.
123. A.P. 49. ii. For an allotment-machine which could have been used for this purpose, see Professor Dow's ἀληρωτήριον I, Hesp. Supp. I 1937, 198 - 202, 210 - 1.
124. See W. S. Ferguson, Athenian Secretaries, 19 - 27. The decisive phrase is
 τοὺς π[ρ]υτάνει[ς οἱ ἄν τυγχάνω]σι πρυτανεύοντες
 μετὰ τ[ῆ]ν Οἰνη[ῖ]δα φυλήν]. (IG ii² 553, 16 - 17).
125. Kahrstedt (Klio XXXIII 1940, 9 - 10) maintained that the system was introduced at the time of the Peloponnesian War in place of a single sortition which had been used to determine the order for the whole year: but IG i² 166 is no longer restored with the text on which he relied (cf. SEG X 96), and all the fifth-century evidence we possess now seems compatible with the practice of separate sortitions (cf. B. D. Meritt, AJP LXIX 1948, 69 - 70).
126. The latest inscription I know which betrays ignorance of the next tribe in prytany is IG ii² 654, 50 - 3 (287/6) (there is no positive evidence that any of the régimes under which Athens passed c.300 used a different system). The order of

prytanies in different years continued to vary as long as we have any evidence, and it may be assumed that the lot continued to be used (D. J. Geagan, Hesp. Supp. XII, 1967, 96).

127. GHI 92 with W. S. Ferguson, Athenian Secretaries, 26 n.A, B. D. Meritt, TAPA XCV 1964, 203. W. K. Pritchett, BCH LXXXVIII 1964, 467 - 70, refuses to make the inference.
128. A.P. 43. iii - vi, 44. iv, cf. 45. iv, D. XXI. Mid. 8 - 9. In citizenship grants under some fourth-century and third-century régimes the prytanes were ordered to
 δοῦναι περὶ τοῦ δεῖνος τὴν ψῆφον ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ
 (presumably to order and organise the meeting, as the proedri now presided): references given at IG ii² IVi, p. 61, s.v. πρυτάνεις. Cf. also HMA 46, 35 - 7, 40 (where I would read ^{n 300 to Ch IV} πο[τέσθον]; ()); 87, 26 - 31, 33 - 8.
129. L.S. 296 - 8, Phot. πρόπεμπα.
130. Our best evidence for advance publication of agenda is in connection with νομοθεσία (D. XXIV Tim. 23, cf. 18, XX. Lept. 94), but in a system where for example ἐκτελεῖσθαι were permitted at one ecclesia in each prytany (A.P. 43. vi) there must surely have been some notice of what matters were to come up on which occasions. The last sentence of A.P. 43. iii might be read as evidence that the boule received advance notice of matters to be discussed, and in the law for rebuilding the walls usually dated to 337/6 the boule is to be given the opportunity to study in advance the συγγραφαί on which it will have to vote (IG ii² 244, 6 - 9).
131. References in IG i², p. 369. ii - iii, s.v. πρύτανις, IG ii² IVi, p. 60. ii (paragraphs 6 - 7) s.vv. πρυτάνεια κτλ.
132. D. XVIII. Cor. 169 - 70. ἄνεπετάγγυσαν is Girard's conjecture, cf. schol. Ar. Ach. 22; the MSS read ἐνεπέμπρασαν.

133. Cf. Ch. III, pp. 132.
134. P 23 (235/4) to Hesp. XVII 12 (95/4).
135. Cf. [~~p. 132~~] pp. 25 - 8.
136. E.g. Ar. Ach. 167 - 73, X.H.I.vii. 14 - 15. Before the creation of the prytanes I imagine that presidency of the ecclesia and probably of the boule also rested with the archon, or with the college of archons (cf. Hignett, 150 - 1); and I do not see why this practice should not have lasted until the reforms of Ephialtes.
137. Cf. p. 32.
138. For the ecclesia see Ar. Ach. 23 - 6, cf. 40 - 2, Eccl. 86 - 7.
139. E.g. Ar. Ach. 54 with scho1. (ecclesia), Eq. 665 (boule).
140. Ar. Ach. 169 - 73; cf. Eq. 674.
141. HMA 46, 35 - 7.
142. Ar. Eq. 300 - 2. In Lucian, D. Meretr. 15. ii, a foreigner who has committed a drunken assault is to be denounced to the prytanes - but it is not clear what powers the prytanes are here thought to possess or how closely Lucian is following Athenian procedure in any period. See J. Delz, Lukians Kenntnis der athenischen Antiquitäten, 150, D. J. Geagan, Hesp. Supp. XII 1967, 103.
143. Pl. Per. 32. iii: for the date see F. J. Frost, JHS LXXXIV 1964.
144. HMA 87, 51 - 4. There is a more unusual appearance of a prytanis in the judicial sphere in Hesp. V 10, 116 - 7, cf. 12 - 13, where courts confiscating property are attended by a κυρωτῆς παρὰ πρυτάνεων ; Meritt (comm. on 12 - 13) would make a similar restoration in IG ii² 1678, aA 27.

145. GHI 51A, 7 - 13. Cf. GHI 88, 33 - 8, where the prytanes are to supervise the deletion of certain records.
146. SEG X 96. I am not happy about the restoration: l. 5 seems to entail an unfortunate situation in which the new prytany's colacretae will be liable to punishment if they do not deal promptly with a payment left to them by the slackness of their predecessors, who themselves will escape punishment; and there is no good parallel to the punitive power ascribed to the prytanes in ll. 7 - 8.
147. Ar. Ach. 53 - 4.
148. T. VI. 14.
149. X. H. I. vii. 14 - 15.
150. The prytanes are to be fined if they fail to set in motion the machinery for the reassessment of the Delian League at the time of the Great Panathenaea (HMA 87, 26 - 31), and Thudippus' decree itself seems to have been enacted under a similar sanction (ibid. 33 - 8; cf. Additional Note B, pp. 420-2); cf. HMA 46, 35 - 7. The document in Demosthenes' speech against Timocrates which outlines the procedure for an annual ἐπιχειροτονοῦσα τῶν νόμων states that both prytanes and proedri may be prosecuted (by ἔνδοξεῖς to the thesmothetae) if they prevent the lawful appointment of nomothetae (D. XXIV. Tim. 22).
151. Hesp. XVIII 1949, 78 - 83. = SEG XII 32; cf. Ch. IV, p. 167.
152. IG ii² 1142 (beg, C4).
153. IG ii² 1742, 2 (370/69?).
154. IG ii² 1743, 1. In Hesp. XVI 41 we find dedications by prytanies of 362/1, 361/0, 370/69 and 363/2, but we are not told what occasioned them; the preamble to Hesp. XXXVI 34 (381/0) seems not to have named the awarding body; in DAA 167 (408/7) Raubitschek restores a formula similar to that in IG ii² 1743.

155. In 164/3 the prytanes of Erechtheis (SEG XVI 96), Ptolemais (P80) and Hippothontis (SEG XVI 95) were honoured.
156. E.g. IG ii² 1749, 1750.
157. Prytany "first" decrees, passim.
158. Prytany "second" decrees, passim.
159. A.P. 44. i, cf. lexica and scholia. Under the Roman Empire one man seems to have served as ἐπιστάτης for the whole prytany: P. Graindor, Athènes de Tibère à Trajan, 68 n. 2, Geagan, Hesp. Supp. XII 1967, 102 - 3.
160. Until the proedri were created to preside in the boule and ecclesia it will not have been possible for them to remain in the Tholos for the whole 24 hours - but doubtless it was only intended that they should be available there when not otherwise occupied with public business.
161. IG ii² 204, 39 - 40. In A.D. 38/9(?) the public seal is used by the herald of the Areopagus (IG iv² 83, 17 - 19).
162. RPh² XLII 1918, 55 - 9 (on A.P. 62. ii). Cf. p. 12.
163. Cf. schol. Plat. Gorg. 473 E. s.v. ἐπιψηφίζειν.
164. X. H. I. vii. 14 - 15.
165. U.M.A., 38 with n.3., cf. D. M. Lewis, Hist. XII 1963, 35 with n. 122. The idea that lists of prytanes were regularly organised by trittyes goes back to R. Loeper, AM XVII 1892.
166. The table is based on the pre - 307/6 figures in Table A. Some attributions of demes to trittyes are uncertain, and figures for some demes change during the century, but this summary must be somewhere near the truth. Compare the table in C. W. J. Eliot, Coastal Demes of Attika, 143, whose grading my figures do not wholly support.

167. Hist. XV 1966. For an unfavourable reaction to this article, stressing the exceptions which have to be allowed, see C. W. J. Eliot, Phoen. XXI 1967.
168. For a detailed presentation of the evidence, see Table B.
- 168A. IG ii² 1748 (Pandionis, 348/7) was avowedly organised by trittyes of some kind, but the arrangement which this entailed has not survived.
169. It does not clash with what little information we have from other inscriptions of Cecropis, but I fear this is accidental.
170. A.P. 44. ii - iii, Poll. VIII. 96, Eust. Od. XVI. 455, Harp, Suid. ἐπιστάτης, L.S. 244. 31, 290.8, cf. A.I. Tim. 104, II. F.L. 84. The number of tribes determined the number of proedri, so that in the twelve-tribe periods, for example, there were eleven proedri (e.g. IG ii² 502, 5 sqq.). The ban on repeated service as epistates seems ultimately to have broken down: Stratophon was twice epistates of the proedri in 106/5 (IG ii² 1011, 63 sqq., 73 sqq.).
171. S. B. Smith, CP XXV 1930, 267.
172. S. Dow, Hesp. XXXII 1963.
173. Schol. A. III. Ctes. 3, 4, D. XXII. Andr. hyp. ii. 7 (which adds an annual five-day interregnum), E.M. ἐπιστάται.
174. Schol. D. XXII. Andr. 5.
175. REG XXXIV 1921.
176. BSA XLIX 1954, 31 - 4.
177. GHI 97, IG ii² 2, Hesp. X 78.
178. GHI 123, 124.

179. GHI 124, 6.
180. Lys. XIII. Ag. 37.
181. Ar. Ecc1. 86 - 7.
182. Schol. Ar. Ecc1. 87. Dr. Lewis says he is inclined to discount these passages, as the prytanes would still need to be well placed at meetings (cf. e.g. D. XVIII. Cor. 169): his caution may be justified with regard to the passage from Aristophanes, but the Thirty, before whose régime the proedri had certainly not come into existence, must surely have occupied the presidential benches.
183. Cloché delivered a powerful blow against the view that the boule was thought to be growing too powerful (REG XXXIV 1921), but the idea has persisted (e.g. S. B. Smith, CP XXV 1930, and cf. A. Andrewes, Ancient Society & Institutions, 13 - 14). Avoidance of that continuity and access to the best information which we should regard as essential seems almost wilful, but I am reluctant to believe in an attack on the boule when in a fairly well documented period there are no traces of controversy on the matter. Compare my remarks in Ch. V, pp. 231², with notes referring to my discussions of related problems.
184. For what little is known about discipline after the institution of the proedri, see Ch. IV, pp. 146-50.
185. Cf. the νόμος in D. XXIV. Tim. 50.
186. A.P. 59. ii.
187. A. III. Ctes. 3.
188. Hyp. II. Phil., esp. 4 - 6.
189. IG ii² 204, 31 - 9.
190. Ibid., 65 - 70.

191. It is scarcely more likely that the poletae should have performed these duties : cf. Ch. III, pp. 97 - 9 (on the poletae in general), 125 - 6.
192. (For νομοθεσία and νόμοι cf. Ch. II, pp. 49 - 52, and Table G.) Cf. SEG XII 87 and (restored) IG ii² 333; also the νόμος in D. XXIV Tim. 71.
193. IG ii² 222, 41 - 6; 330, 18 sqq; vii 4254 = SIG³ 298, 35 - 41.
194. A. III. Ctes. 39, νόμος in D. XXIV Tim. 33.
195. IG ii² 222, 48 - 52.
196. T. VIII. 67. iii.
197. T. VIII 70. i: retention of the lot by an oligarchic boule is a little surprising.
198. IG ii² 12 = IG i² p. 297, 4 - 8: cf. G. E. M. de Ste Croix, Hist. V. 1956, 17 - 19. Dr D. M. Lewis has noted (Hist. V 1956, 18 n. 85a) that if reference to a prytany is wanted ll. 1 - 2 might be restored:
- [— 8 —] HN [— 14 — ἔδοξεν]
 [τῆι βολ]ῆι· ἦν τε[τάρτη τῆς πρυτανείας].
- Ferguson, Mélanges Glotz, 354, linked the restoration of π[ρῶδρουον] with A.P. 30; but even if that chapter reflects an actual constitution, which I do not believe, the title πρόεδρος does not appear there or elsewhere in the A.P.'s account of the year 411.
199. Kahrstedt, Klio XXXIII 1940, 12, therefore preferred to restore π[ρυτάνες ? ἔσαν]. Notice also A.P. 29. iv, where we are told that salaries were abolished for all but the nine archons and τῶν πρυτάνεων οἱ ἄν ᾤσιν.

200. A.P. 30. iv - v : sortition is again specified.
201. Cf. n. 47, above.
202. Cf. p. 6
203. [P1]. X.Or. 833D - 834 B: I quote from 833E (ἔδοξε and Παλληνεὺς are emendations, but are certain). See on this prescript de Ste Croix, Hist. V 1956, 16 - 17.
204. The secretary and epistates belonged to the same tribe, which was not possible before the fourth-century changes in presidency and secretaryship (cf. Ch. III, p. 138); and a count of days within the prytany was not used in the prescripts of decrees under the democracy until the 360's (cf. Additional Note A, p. 415). Failure to specify the prytany by name or number may well be due to careless transmission of the text.
205. X. H. II. iii. 2.
206. X.H. II. iii. 11.
207. Cf. the trials of Theramenes (X.H.II. iii. 23 - 56, esp. 50) and of Agoratus' victims (Lys. XIII. Ag. 37: see p. 26 and n. 182, above).
208. A.P. 43. iii, Lucian, Pseudo1. 12. I would agree with D. W. Bradeen (TAPA LXXXVI 1955, 27) that in the immediately post-Cleisthenic period meetings were probably less frequent.
209. Schol. Ar. Vesp. 663. The Athenians had more festivals than other cities; cf. O.O. iii. 2, 8, T. II. 38.i, [Plat]. Alc. ii. 148E.
210. Pl. Alc. 34. i.

211. Ar. Thesm. 79 - 81.

212. D. XXIV. Tim. 26.

213. Ath. IV. 171E.

214. Cf. p. 13 and n. 91, above.

215. Texts concerning the bouleuterium are collected by R. E.

Wycherley, Testimonia, pp. 128 - 37; concerning the Metroum, ibid. 150 - 60; concerning the Tholos, ibid. 179 - 84. For excavation reports see on the bouleuteria and Metroum H. A. Thompson, Hesp. VI 1937, 115 - 224; on the Tholos and on the whole complex of buildings H. A. Thompson, Hesp. Supp. IV 1940; and for a recent summary see Agora Guide², pp. 45 - 50. The buildings under discussion are illustrated in my Plans A - F; on the sixth- and early fifth-century buildings see my remarks on pp. 17-18. I shall not give references for activities and their dates which can be found in the Chronological Index in Hesp. Supp. IV. 1940, 153 - 6.

215A. The statement made in the text has not yet been disowned in print, but I understand from Professor Wycherley that Thompson now believes that the Old Bouleuterium and Temple of the Mother were not built until after the Persian Wars: this will be justified in a forthcoming book on the Agora by Thompson and Wycherley.

216. The external measurements of the Old Bouleuterium (whole building) are 23.30 X 23.80 m.; the wall separating the vestibule from the chamber is centred 6.20 m, from the south wall, making the external measurements of the chamber 23.30 X slightly more than 17.60 m. (Hesp. 1937, 128 - 32).

The external measurements of the New Bouleuterium (chamber only) have been variously reported. The plan in Hesp. 1937,

plate viii (which I take as correct) gives us 21.40 X 16.90 m., but in the text (Hesp. 1937, 142) we are given 22.50 X 17.50 m. (which seem from the plan to be foundation measurements), and W. A. McDonald (Political Meeting-Places, 172) compromises on 22.50 X 16.90 m.

Thompson thought that the Old Bouleuterium "might have accommodated about 700 persons" (Hesp. 1937, 134, cf. McDonald, op. cit., 172), but I would modify his restoration (cf. pp. 31-4 with n. 227 and Plan E). On the excavators' allowance of $\frac{1}{2}$ m. of bench per member my plan has comfortable room for 50 prytanes on the benches against the south wall, and about 490 places on the other benches - but some deduction must be made for aisles providing access to the seats. The maximum for the New Bouleuterium after wooden benches had given way to stone is calculated as "just over 500" with an allowance of $\frac{1}{2}$ m. per member (Hesp. 1937, 160).

This compares with external measurements of about $22\frac{3}{4}$ X $16\frac{3}{4}$ m. for the chamber of the House of Commons (S. Rossiter [ed.], Blue Guide : London,⁹ plan on pp. 16 - 17), which at present has 630 members and seats for 602 (ibid., 18).

217. Hesp. 1937, 135 - 40.

218. Paus. I. 3.v, Arr. Peri. 9.

219. Plin. N.H. XXXVI. 17.

220. Hesp. 1937, 206 - 10.

221. From c. 450 (HMA 34, 7 sqq.) to 342 ([D]. VII. Hal. 33) but not thereafter we find references to stelae ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ, while throughout the fourth century (And. I. Myst. 95 [400] to IG ii² 487, 19 - 20 [304/3]) stelae might be erected ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ βουλευτηρίου. In 353/2 a νόμος

was to be published ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ Μητροῦ (IG ii² 140, 34 - 5); from 343 (D. XIX. F.L. 129) until the third century A.D. documents were kept ἐν τῷ Μητροῦ, but late in the fourth century A.D. Julian, V. 159 A - B, uses the past tense for this practice.

The area in front of the bouleuterium/Metroum is probably denoted also by the ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ συνεδρίου or πρὸς τῷ συνεδρίῳ found in three inscriptions of the third century B.C. (Hesp. VI 2A, 12; VII 18, 39 - 40; VII 19, 5); but Professor Wycherley in his note on συνέδριον (Testimonia, 126 - 8) seems too willing to apply to a building uses of the word which probably refer to a meeting.

The area in front of the Old Bouleuterium could also be regarded (more loosely) as in front of the New Bouleuterium, but it seems likely that from about the 340's the Old Bouleuterium was becoming known as the Metroum.

222. SEG XII 87, 24 - 6.

223. Hesp. XXII 1953, 52. On this passage see also Meritt, Hesp. XXI 1952, 358, XXII 1953, 129, Wycherley, JHS LXXV 1955, 118 - 21, Testimonia, 127. βουλευτήριον in this law must surely refer to the council-chamber of the Areopagus, and συνέδριον to meetings of the Areopagus in its βουλευτήριον or anywhere else.

224. Hesp. 1937, 158 - 60.

225. Cf. Plans C and D.

226. Hesp. 1937, 171 - 2.

227. Cf. W. A. McDonald, Political Meeting-Places of the Greeks, 131 - 8. I reproduce his plan of the New Bouleuterium (plate xviii) as Plan F, and suggest a similar reconstruction of the internal arrangements of the Old Bouleuterium in Plan E. (Until stone benches were installed it is assumed that the seats in the

New Bouleuterium, as in the Old, were arranged to form three sides of a rectangle : Hesp. 1937, 134, 150.).

228. McDonald applies all the evidence to the New Bouleuterium: this is certainly wrong for some passages.
229. Ant. VI. Chor. 40.
230. Lys. XIII. Ag. 37: cf. p. 26 and n. 182, above.
231. From 410/09 each member had to sit in the seat allotted to him (Phil. 328 F 140): at that time prytanes certainly sat apart from the other members, and they apparently occupied special seats, perhaps front benches or, say, "right wing" benches later (cf. Din. II. Arist. 13). A location for the presidential benches is suggested at no. 4 in Plans E and F: McDonald failed to allow for the change in presidency. The seven νομοφύλακες instituted in the late fourth century sat with the proedri (Phil. 328 F 64b). (For a machine which could have been used for the allotment of seats see Dow's κληρωτήριο III, Hesp. Supp. I 1937, 204 - 5, 211 - 2.).
232. But contrast [D] XXV. Arist. i. 23, Harp. ἀπεσχοινοισμένος. Perhaps there was an outer barrier at the entrance to the precinct and/or to the vestibule (of the Old Bouleuterium), and this too was called a κίγκλις (cf. Hesp. 1937, 134, 213, McDonald, 172. The bases of two pairs of posts which may have supported such a κίγκλις are marked K on Plan C, and there is a similar pair, not shown on the plan, due south of the west wall of the Old Bouleuterium).
233. Ar. Eq. 625 sqq., esp. 641 - 2.
234. Ibid., 674 - 5.
235. X. H. II. iii. 50.
236. Ibid., 52, cf. D.S. XIV. 4. vii, 5. iii, [Pl]. X.Or. 836 F.

237. X. H. II. iii. 55.
238. Poll. VIII. 17, cf. 124.
239. See Plans E and F : δρύφακτοι , no. 3; κίγκλις , nos. 5 (E), 8 (F).
240. Ar. Eq. 665.
241. Cf. Plans B, C, E. The New Bouleuterium had nothing corresponding to this vestibule until a porch was added on the south side shortly before 275, but the force of Scythian archers was disbanded early in the fourth century (cf. Busolt & Swoboda, 979 - 80) and it is not known that their police duties at meetings of the boule passed to any other body (for the ecclesia, cf. Ch. IV, pp.¹⁴⁹⁻⁵⁰).
242. And. I. Myst. 44.
243. And. II. Red. 15.
244. A. II. F.L. 45, Din. fr. 8 (Burttt) = ²XVIII. i. (Sauppe).
245. See Plans E and F: ἐστία , no. 1; βῆμα, no. 2.
246. Ant. VI. Chor. 45.
247. Paus. I. 3. v.
248. IG ii² 3543.
249. IG ii² 5054.
250. Hesp. XII 16 and 17 (Cl. B.C.)
251. IG ii² 1813, 16 (c. A.D. 200).
252. Meeting-Places, 135, cf. Plan F, nos. 6 and 7.

253. Schol. A.II. F.L. 45, s.vv. καὶ τὴν ἐστίαν κτλ.,
Bachmann, Anecdota Graeca, I. 181. 9; cf. McDonald, Meeting-Places, 137 n. 51, D.M. MacDowell, commentary on And. I. Myst. 44.
254. McDonald, Meeting-Places, 141 - 7, discusses meeting-places other than the bouleuterium.
255. H. IX. 4. ii - 5.i., Lyc. Leocr. 122, Arist. XLVI. Quatt. 217. 11 sqq. (pp. 286 - 7, Dindorf).
256. And. I. Myst. 45.
257. GHI 51 A. 18 - 21.
258. X. H. VI iv. 20.
259. GHI 61, 53 - 4.
260. GHI 200, 247 sqq. We may wonder how formally such a meeting was organised and how many members attended it.
261. Pl. Phoc. 32. iv. Athens had lost most of her ships in 322 (D.S. XVIII. 15. ix, Pl. Demetr. 11. iv, Marm. Par. 239 B 9).
262. P 44, 3.
263. IG ii² 783, 4.
264. IG ii² 1072, 3, cf. McDonald, Meeting-Places, 145 (citing Graindor, Album d'Inscriptions Attiques d'Époque Impériale, 28).
265. And. I. Myst. 111, cf. P 36, 30 - 1. (On IG ii² 794, 4, see Pélékidis, REG LXIII 1950, 112 - 7).
266. IG ii² 1039, 3.
267. Chron. Hell. Ath., 114, 11. 6 - 7.
268. IG ii² 1043, 4 - 5.

269. IG ii² 893, 5 - 7, restored by Meritt (AJP LXXVIII 1957) to read

[βου]λη

[καὶ ἐκκλησία ἐν τῶι] θεάτρῳι μεταχθε[τ]σα ἐκ
[Παναθηναϊκοῦ σταδίου],

(letters underlined read by Lolling but not by Meritt)

"this being an abbreviated form ... probably implying that the deliberations had been begun with a meeting of the Council in the Panathenaic stadion and concluded with a meeting of the Assembly in the theater" (p. 397). I should like to see a more secure parallel to this odd formula.

270. Poll. VIII. 86 (not in A.P.).
271. Pl. Per. 10. i.
272. Pl. Cim. 17. iv - v.
273. Cf. p. 12 and n. 75, above.
274. And. I. Myst. 36.
275. Ar. Vesp. 689 - 90.
276. Ar. Thesm. 277 - 8 and schol.
277. A. I. Tim. 23, cf. Ar. Ach. 44 and schol., Eccl. 128 and schol., Harp., Suid., Phot. καθάρσιον, Suid. περιστράρχος, Poll. VIII. 104.
- 277A. Cf. A. G. Woodhead, Hist. XVI 1967, 134.
278. Din. II. Arist. 16, Lyc. Leocr. 31.
279. Din. II. Arist. 14.
280. D. XIX F.L. 70.

281. Din. I. Dem. 47, II. Arist. 16.
282. D. XXIII. Arist. 97.
283. D. XVIII. Cor. 282, XXIII. Arist. 97, Din. I. Dem. 47.
284. Is. IV. Paneg. 157, cf. Pl. Arist. 10. vi.
285. Cf. Ar. Thesm. 295 - 311.
286. Cf. ibid. 331 - 9.
287. From texts cited above, nn. 281 - 3.
288. Cf. Ar. Thesm. 347 - 51. There is a considerable overlap with the specific strand of the νόμος εἰσαγγελτικός (cf. IV, pp. 169-70); and compare also the bouletic oath (appendix to Ch. IV, p. 206).
289. Cf. p. 19 and n. 128, above.
290. Compare the order in which items are listed for the third and fourth assemblies of the prytany, in A.P. 43, vi; and also the "future constitution" of 411 (A.P. 30.v). For the προχειροτονία held before the ecclesia settled down to serious debate, cf. n. 65 to Ch. II. There is no evidence for προχειροτονία in the boule. •
291. A. I. Tim. 23.
292. Pl. An Seni 784 C - D.
293. A. III. Ctes. 2. Ἰσηγορία in the ecclesia has recently been discussed by Mr. G. T. Griffith (Ancient Society & Institutions 115 - 38) and Mr. A. G. Woodhead (Hist. XVI 1967). Mr. Griffith would date the appearance of complete freedom of speech there to the period immediately after 462 (p. 125), but Mr. Woodhead has stressed that there must always have been freedom of speech

- in the Cleisthenic boule and its Solonian predecessor (cf. Griffith, p. 122). On Aeschines' allegation of priority for older citizens see Mr. Griffith's remarks, pp. 119 - 20.
294. Ar. Ach. 45, Thesm. 379, Eccl. 130; cf. D. XVIII. Cor. 170 (but if the longer formula was in use Demosthenes would no doubt have shortened it here for rhetorical effect).
295. Lucian Deor. Conc. 1, Jupp. Trag. 18. On these passages in Lucian see J. Delz, Lukians Kenntnis der athenischen Antiquitäten, 121 - 4.
296. Lucian Jupp. Trag. 7.
297. Ibid. 10. I do not imagine that the right to address the assembly was even formally defined in terms of these property-classes.
298. Cf. e.g. L. Robert, BCH LVIII 1934, 513.
299. IG i² 59, 19; post- 403/2 references collected IG ii² IVi under lemmata cited at p. 62.i s.v. ν . $\pi\rho\omega\tau\omicron\nu$ μετὰ τὰ ἑσπρά.
300. IG ii² 772, 14 - 16.
301. IG ii² 1224 ab, 17 - 18. Wade-Gery and Meritt wrote of the arrangements for carrying of Thudippus' assessment decree (HMA 87, 33 - 8) :-

It seems that on the second day the adjourned
business came $\pi\rho\omega\tau\omicron\nu$, not merely $\pi\rho\omega\tau\omicron\nu$
μετὰ τὰ ἑσπρά.

(AJP LVII 1936, 387 - 8 n. 28.)

It would perhaps be fairer to say that if the matter could not be settled in one day the assembly would be adjourned, and business would naturally be resumed where it had been interrupted. For a short discussion of this passage, see

Additional Note B, pp. 420-2.

302. Lys. XXIV. Pens. Inv. 26. But voting was by show of hands in the δοκιμασία of archons (A.P. 55. iv), and surely in that of bouleutae also.
303. [D]. XLVII. Ev. & Mnes. 42.
304. νόμος in A. I. Tim. 35.
305. A. I. Tim. 112.
306. Cf. Lys. XIII. Ag. 37.
307. Cf. Busolt-Swoboda, 454 - 5. For voting by show of hands in the ecclesia at the end of the fifth century cf. X.H. I.vii. 7, Lys. XII. Erat. 75.
308. GHI 61, 5 sqq; IG i² 88, 1 - 5; GHI 77A, 1 - 3; 114, 13 sqq; 166, 5 sqq; IG ii² 674, 18 - 20. Compare the boule's vote on whether to fine Theophemus 500 drachmae or refer the case to a δικαστήριον for a heavier penalty [D]. XLVII. Ev. & Mnes. 42).
309. Cf. p. 12 and n. 74, above.
310. D.XXII. Andr. 36 - 8.
311. Plat. Legg. VI 758 B.
312. Cf. p. 30 and n. 215, above.
313. D. VIII. Chers. 4.
314. D. XIX F.L. 17 (the scholiast ad loc. thinks that the ἰδιώται were mingling with the members).
315. A. III. Ctes. 125. μεταστησάμενος τοὺς ἰδιώτας surely means "having the public removed" (cf. Budé and Loeb translations), but Professor Jones oddly translates it as "pushing aside the ordinary members" (Athenian Democracy, 120).

316. Plat. Menex. 234 A - B.
317. Ar. Eq. 625 sqq.
318. Cf. Plans E and F.
319. ἰδιώται could certainly enter the chamber when a meeting was not in progress: cf. Ant. VI. Chor. 40.
320. References collected by G. E. M. de Ste Croix, CQ² XIII 1963, 115 n. 1.
321. D.S. XV. 39. v.
322. Ibid. 42. v.
323. Cf. n. 185 to Ch. II.
324. Perhaps Ephorus misunderstood the use of ὑπερπύλων in T. I. 90. iv (so Gomme, Hist. Comm. Thuc., I. 258, after Pfister). The Piraeus story is dubious in the extreme, and our confidence in it is not increased by Cicero's application of part of the mechanism to a different story about Themistocles (Cic. Off. II. 49).
325. Ar. Eq. 647 - 50.
326. And. I. Myst. 11 - 12.
327. Ibid. 45.
328. D.S. XIII. 2. vi.
329. And. II. Red. 3, 19, 21.
330. Lys. XIII. Ag. 21.
331. H.O. 6. i - ii (Bartoletti).
332. D. II. Ol. ii. 6.
333. CQ² XIII 1963.

334. A. III. Ctes. 125, quoted p. 39.
335. D.S. XVII. 111. iii, cf. XVIII. 9. ii - iii.
336. Professor F. W. Mitchel wants to believe in a secret agreement with the Aetolians, negotiated on behalf of the boule (Phoen. XVIII 1964, 16 - 17), but see Mr de Ste Croix's article, cited n. 333 above.
337. [D]. XXV. Aristog. 23, cf. Harp. ἄπεσχοινοισμένους.
On the implications of this for the internal arrangements of the bouleuterium, cf. p. 32 and n. 232, above.
338. Lys. XXXI. Phil. 31.
339. Ar. Eccl. 441 - 4.
340. Schol. Ar. Pax 905, cf. Lys. VI. And. 29, 33, O.O. iii.3; request to be in writing, D.XXIV. Tim. 48, cf. Is. VII, Areop. 15; ἐκετηρία to the boule, A.I. Tim. 104.
341. References IG i², p. 369. i. s.v. πρόσσοδος, IG ii² IVi, 59, ii. s.v. πρόσσοδος.
342. E.g. GHI 42, 12 - 14, D.XIX. F.L. 185. For two foreign representatives who did not get beyond the boule see H.IX. 5.ii, X.H. VI. ix. 20.
343. SEG X 86, 40 - 2, cf. D.XIX F.L. 18 - 19.
344. A.II. F.L. 16 - 17.
345. E.g. Athenian ambassadors, IG i² 40, 207; generals, IG ii² 108, GHI 143, IG ii² 187, 408, 414a cf. Hesp. IX 1940 340 - 1, IG ii² 735; religious functionaries, IG ii² 47, 330, 365, 403, 410, 661, 689, 775, 780, 783, 807, 839, 976, SEG XVIII 22, 26, XIX 124;

other officials, on their religious and other duties, IG ii² 491, 665, 668, 781, 929, 941, 949, 1011, 1039, 1042, 1043, SEG XIV 64, 65, prytany decrees passim (on religious reports cf. Ch. III, p. 135);
 ἰδιώται, GHI 108 (probably), IG ii² 70, 243, 276 (probably a metic), 502 (a δημόσιος);
 foreigners, GHI 122, 124, 126, 131, 133, 134, 135, 146, 147, 159, 167, 168, 175, 178.

346. E.g. GHI 168, cf. Lyc fr. 105 (Sauppe).

347. E.g. GHI 133, 167, IG ii² 387, 486, cf. [D] XII. Ep.Phil.

348. E.g. Hignett, 246 - 7, W. Schwahn, RE, Supp. VI. 1079.

349. Pl. Nic. 5.i.

350. Pl. Per. 7. v, cf. Praec. Ger. Reip. 800 C (βῆμα and bouleuterium).

351. E.g. SEG X 53, 105, GHI 90, 173, 178, 181.

352. GHI 42, 3 - 4. In ll. 64 - 9 the boule is ordered to appoint three of its members to join with Hierocles in sacrificing for Euboea; and so that this can be done as soon as possible the generals are to συνεπιμελῶσθον and to provide the money.

353. SEG X 54, 10 - 11.

354. SEG X 80, 27 - 30.

355. T. IV. 118. xi - 119.ii.

356. T.V. 19. ii cf. 24. On the Athenian signatories see A. Andrewes and D. M. Lewis, JHS LXXVII 1957.

357. GHI 68, 8 - 9.

358. T.V. 47. ix.
359. GHI 103, 10 - 12.
360. As in IG ii² 21, 11 - 13; GHI 122, 16 sqq.; 144, 38 sqq.
361. SEG X 86, 13.
362. GHI 61, 55 - 6.
363. T. IV. 118, xiv.
364. T.II. 22.i, cf. Pl. Per 33. vi.
365. T. II. 59. iii.
366. Hist. Comm. Thuc., II. 76. I agree that regular meetings of the assembly are unlikely to have been suspended; but contrast de Ste Croix, Dover, Brunt, cited in n. 369, below.
367. Ibid., 167. The assumption that the prytanes were bound to be "little men" is unfortunate.
368. Pp. 246 - 7; he believed that the generals were ex officio members of the boule, but had no special powers beyond that.
369. For more recent discussions of this topic see Jones, 124 - 5, G. E. M. de Ste Croix, Hist. V 1956, 3 n. 12, K. J. Dover, JHS LXXX 1960, 74 - 5, P. A. Brunt, Phoen. XIX 1965, 265.
- Hignett seems to have exaggerated the involvement of the generals with the boule: they did not attend the secret meeting which considered the Hermocopid scandal, and I have little confidence in the secret meeting which Diodorus makes them attend to decide what to do with Sicily when it has been conquered (cf. p. 40 and nn. 327 - 8, above).
370. SEG XII 26, 7 - 9.
371. SEG X 84, 32 - 4.
372. GHI 77A, 14 - 19.

373. Cf. Ch. II, pp. 54-8, 64, on προβούλευσις.
374. HMA 66 (revised from SEG X 86), 47 sqq.
375. IG ii² 27, cf. Hesp. VIII 1939, 68.
376. References HMA, p. 377.
- 376A. Three other texts illustrate the relations of the generals and the boule during the Peloponnesian War. In Thudippus' assessment decree the generals are to apply to the boule, directly rather than via a court unless the ecclesia decrees otherwise, if they want an extra collection from the allies (HMA 87, 44 - 50); in a naval decree of about 409/8 the generals are to apply to the boule if they need more oars (SEG X 131, 10 - 12); and about the same time we find the ecclesia ratifying an on-the-spot agreement made by the generals with Clazomenae (GHI 89). None of these texts suggests anything approaching ex officio membership of the boule.
377. Cf. n. 325, above: the last inscription cited there is of the third century, the others are of the fourth.
378. Pl. Phoc. 21.i.
379. In that case he must have been inside the chamber (cf. pp. 39-40) - but it is unwise to rely too much on the background details of a story of this kind.
- 379A. On the στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα see now D. J. Geagan, Hesp. Supp. XII 1967, 18 - 31; he discusses the general's relationship with the boule and ecclesia on pp. 27 - 9, cf. 92.
380. IG ii² 897, 4 - 6; 911, 6 - 7; 954, 2; cf. SEG XV 108, 50 - 4.

381. IG ii² 1039.
382. IG ii² 1072 (A.D. 136/7). In IG iv² 82 - 4 (A.D. 38/9?)
the same man is author of the decree of the Areopagus and of
the decree of the boule and demos, but there is no reason
why he should not have been a bouleutes.
383. SEG XV 108, 50 - 4.
384. IG ii² 1078/9 (c. A.D. 220).
385. IG ii² 1077, 5 - 17 (A.D. 209/10).
386. Hesp. Supp. VI 31/2 with SEG XXI 506/5 (A.D. 229/30 or 230/1).
387. See W. Dittenberger, Hermes XII 1877, 15 - 16, H. Swoboda, RM²
XLV 1890, 309 - 10, cf. Die griechischen Volksbeschlüsse,
190 - 3, W. S. Ferguson, Klio IX 1909, 328, P. Graindor,
Athènes de Tibère à Trajan, 70. (Kirchner at IG ii² 3618 has
rejected Dittenberger's restoration of [γνώμη] στρατηγοῦ
in IG iii 726). Cf. now D. J. Geagan, Hesp. Supp. XII 1967,
86 - 7.

NOTES TO CHAPTER II

1. Hyp. III. Ath. 22.
2. A. I. Tim. 177 (Sauppe's text), D. XX. Lept. 92, XXII. Andr. 49, XXIII. Arist. 86 - 7, 218, XXIV. Tim. 29 - 30, *LIX. Neaer. 88, [Plat]. Def. 415 B, Arist. Pol. IV 1292 A 4 - 7, 23 - 5, 32 - 7, cf. A.P. 41. ii. fin.
3. For a sensible discussion of the difference between νόμοι and ψηφίσματα in Athens see U. Kahrstedt, Klio XXXI 1938, 1 - 19.
- 3A. The inclusion of περί νόμων θέσεως in the list of the boule's interests in O.O. iii.2 will then refer to the part played by the boule in the making of decrees.
4. Lys. XXX. Nic., esp. 2 - 5.
5. And. I. Myst. 83 - 4, 87.
6. A. III. Ctes. 38 - 9, D. XXIV. Tim. 20 - 3.
7. The distinction is acknowledged but belittled in three decrees which authorise expenditure not provided for in the annual μερισμός and order the nomothetae to make the necessary change (IG ii² 222, 41 - 6; 330, 15 - 23; vii 4254 = SIG³ 298, 35 - 41 [not 39 - 45]; in GHI 167, 39 - 44, no νόμος is needed, presumably because what is ordered is only a temporary adjustment. The theoric fund was regulated by a mixture of νόμος (D. III. Ol. iii. 10 - 11) and ψηφίσματα ([D] XLIV. Leoch. 38); Apollodorus attempted to divert theoric monies to the stratiotic fund by ψηφίσματα ([D] LIX. Neaer. 4 - 5), and the change achieved by Demosthenes seems likely to have been by ψηφίσματα (Phil. 328 F 56a); Hegemon's measure weakening the position of financial officials was a νόμος (A. III. Ctes. 25).

8. Syncellus 521, Dem. Phal. 228TT 1 - 2, F45 &c.; cf. S. Dow & A. H. Travis, Hesp. .XII 1943.
9. IG ii² 487.
10. SEG XV 108. The title νομοθέτης was borne by Tib. Claudius Novius in A.D. 61 (IG ii² 1990, 6) and by Annus Pythodorus from 118/9 to 124/5 or after (Inscr. de Délos, 2535 ~ 7), but we know nothing of their activities.
11. This is not the place for a full discussion of the subject, though one is badly needed. The only recent studies of nomothetic procedure are by U. Kahrstedt, Klio XXXI 1938, 1 - 19, and K. M. T. Atkinson, Bull. John Ryk. Lib. XXIII 1939 (briefly reviewed by A. W. Gomme, CR LIV 1940, 38); cf. A. R. W. Harrison, JHS LXXV 1955, 35.
12. And. I. Myst. 83 - 4.
13. D. XXIV Tim. 20 - 3, XX. Lept. 94, 137. A. III. Ctes. 38-9 seems to move rather awkwardly from a meeting of the ecclesia to appoint nomothetae, to the resulting meeting of the nomothetae to pass judgment on the laws.
14. Great as the difficulties are, I cannot believe in the complex procedure outlined by Mrs Atkinson, whereby a man who wanted to change the law had to undertake a γραφή against the old law and persuade the ecclesia to adopt his proposal in a ψήφισμα, before the appointment of nomothetae was even discussed, and it is suggested that the decision of the nomothetae may have required ratification by the ecclesia. It seems reasonably clear that the assembly's involvement was limited to deciding (by ψήφισμα) that νομοθεσία was needed and setting the machinery in motion.

15. For a list of surviving νόμοι and their formulae see Table G: SEG XII 87 was enacted in the ninth prytany of 337/6. I have argued in Ch. I. (p.28) that the proedri mentioned in connection with νόμοι are proedri of the nomothetae, to be distinguished from those of the boule.
16. D.XXIV. Tim. 27. The documents quoted in this speech are in general acceptable, and this decree ought if possible to be explained rather than dismissed as a clumsy forgery. Nonetheless the difficulties are considerable: nomothetae exist on 11.i (Hec.) and can be ordered to meet on the following day, but the appointment ought not to be made until a later assembly (these might perhaps be the nomothetae of the previous year, still in office).
17. A.III. Ctes. 40. The easiest inference from these two passages is that the prytanes on behalf of the ecclesia drew up a πρόγραμμα specifying the dates of the nomothetae's meetings and the topics to be discussed.
18. D. XXIV. Tim. 26.
19. Another instance of the boule's combining with a heliastic panel is found in the trial of Cleophon, for which see the appendix to Ch. IV, p. 191.
20. Is. XII. Panath. 144.
21. D.XVIII. Cor. 120 - 1, A.III. Ctes. 32 sqq. Aeschines' argument, that there can be no contradiction as a procedure of δεικνῶσις exists to eliminate contradictions, is not wholly convincing.
22. A.P. 45.iv, cf. Pl. Sol. 19.i, *X.Or. 835F - 6A, D.XXII. Andr. hyp.i.2, hyp. ii.9.

23. W. Hartel, Studien über attisches Staatsrecht und Urkundenwesen.
24. H. A. E. O. Miller, De Decretis Atticis Quaestiones Epigraphicae.
25. As has been supposed by B. D. Meritt, Documents on Athenian Tribute, 32 - 3, and G. L. Cawkwell, REG LXXV 1962, 458, and CQ² XIII 1963, 133.
26. The view of A. H. M. Jones, 118, cf. A. W. Gomme, JHS LXXIX 1959, 183.
27. G. Gilbert, pp. 295 - 6; cf. 293 - 4 n.4, citing exchanges between Gilbert and Hartel.
28. Ar. Ach. 51 - 60.
29. D. XXIV. Tim. 48, confusing (no doubt deliberately) the procedures for decree-making and νομοθεσία.
30. D. XIX. F.L. 185, cf. schol. 17.
31. [D] XXV. Arist. i, hyp. 1 - 2 (probably deriving its information from Lycurgus' lost speech).
32. D XVIII. Cor. 170 with 173.
33. H. IX 5. i - ii. There are no procedural indications in Herodotus' account of earlier negotiations (VIII. 140 - 4), and I am not disposed to place much faith in Plutarch's version of this story (Arist. 10. ii - vi). On the boule and the generals see Ch. I, pp. 43-8.
34. T. V. 45. i.
35. X.H. VI. iv. 20.
36. Cf. X.H. /i. 2, 11.
VII.
37. A. II. F.L. 16 - 17.
38. A. II. F.L. 45 - 6.

39. D. XIX. F.L. 17 - 18, 31.
40. D. XVIII. Cor. 169 - 70.
41. Ar. Ach. 40 - 2.
42. Ibid. 43 - 5.
43. Ibid. 46 - 60: though no subject for debate has been mentioned, this attempt to raise a topic from the floor of the house is quickly ruled out of order.
44. Ibid. 61.
45. He can order silence (ibid. 59, 64), call for the archers (54), and on the prytanes' behalf dissolve the assembly (173).
46. Ibid. 124 - 5.
47. Ibid. 134.
48. Ibid. 173.
49. On debates περὶ φυλακῆς τῆς χώρας see Additional Note C, pp. 123-31.
50. A. Reusch, De Diebus Contionum Ordinarium apud Athenienses, predicted that the division of business between the second, third and fourth assemblies in Poll. VIII. 96 would not be found in the A.P.: it is interesting to note that this has only partly been borne out. Professor Jones argues (108 with n. 77) from a similar clause in the "future constitution" of 411 (A.P. 30. v) that the items for discussion at the third and fourth assemblies were picked by lot from those put forward; Wilamowitz thought that the selection was made by προχειροτονία (cf. n. 65, below).

51. For ἵκετηρία at any rate Wilamowitz thought that each individual supplication had first to receive the boule's approval: Aristoteles und Athen, II. 252 - 3.
52. Is. XV Antid. 314, L.S. 288. 18, E.M. προβάλλεσθαι, cf. Poll. VIII. 46; but in Poll. VIII. 87 οἱ θεσμοθέται εἰσάγουσι.
53. See pp. 72-3 and notes.
54. IG ii² 192.
55. GHI 74, 53 - 4, with commentary, p. 184.
56. P. Guillon, BCH LXXXVI 1962, 467 - 75, thinks he can find one.
57. Similarly, when the συγγραφεῖς of 411 made their report, the democratic constitution had not yet been upset: to minimise the obstacles to its being upset they

πρῶτον μὲν ἔγραψαν ἐπανάγκες εἶναι τοὺς πρυτάνεις
 ἅπαντα τὰ λεγόμενα περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας ἐπιψηφίζειν
 (A.P. 29. iv).
58. A.III. Ctes. 125. For other probouleumata obtained in this way see A.P. 29; (cf. p. 64 with n. 96,* and p. 74), D.XXIII. Arist. 9, 14; cf. also n. 69, below.
59. T.V. 45, cf. Pl. Nic. 10. iv - vi, Alc. 14 vi - ix.
60. T.VIII. 69 - 70. Further details would have been particularly welcome of the debates on the alliances offered by Corinth and Corcyra in 434/3, on the fate of Mytilene in 427 (when Cleon, author of the original decree, was probably a bouleutes - cf. Ch. I, p. 3) and on the institution of the πρόβουλοι in 413. Professor Andrewes, noticing

Thucydides' silence on the Spartan gerousia, shows insufficient surprise at his near-silence on the Athenian boule (Ancient Society & Institutions, 4 - 5).

61. H. IX. 5. i - ii, cf. Lyc. Leocr. 122, D.XVIII. Cor. 202, 204.
62. X.H. VI. iv. 20: another instance of the boule's refusal to act at II. ii. 15. G. T. Griffith, Ancient Society and Institutions, 129, believes that the boule's right to prevent action was restricted during the fifth century: I imagine that the right remained, but was exercised only when the boule was confident that public opinion was on its side. J. A. O. Larsen, Representative Government, 16 - 17 with n. 38, thinks that such negative action was "not rare."
63. [D]. LIX. Neaer. 4.
64. Ibid. 5. The only ground of illegality which we know is that Apollodorus as a state debtor was temporarily ἄτιμος and so not entitled to sponsor decrees.
65. The procedure of προχειροτονία is first found in the fourth century. The clearest statement of what it involved is given by Harpocration and Suidas s.v. (Suidas omits the final sentence):
- ἔοικεν Ἀθηναῖσι τοιοῦτό τι γίνεσθαι, ὁπόταν τῆς βουλῆς προβουλευσάσης εἰσφέρεται εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἡ γνώμη· πρότερον γίνεται χειροτονία ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, πότερον δοκεῖ περὶ τῶν προβουλευθέντων σκέψασθαι τὸν δῆμον, ἢ ἄρκεῖ τὸ προβούλευμα. ταῦτα δ' ὑποσημαίνεται ἐν τῷ Λυσίου πρὸς τὴν Μιξιδήμου γραφῆν.
- (Cf. A.P. 43. vi, where there is a clear lacuna, A.I. Tim. 23, D. XXIV. Tim. 11 - 12).

If, as seems to have occurred in the case of Euctemon, there was an open element in the probouleuma the προχειροτονία must have determined not whether the probouleuma should be accepted at once or discussed but whether the matter should be discussed or rejected outright. Wilamowitz, Aristoteles und Athen, II. 254 - 6, referred this particularly to the limitations in A.P. 43, vi, and thought that by προχειροτονία the ecclesia decided which of the items offered to it by the boule it would discuss, and in what order.

66. D.XXIV. Tim. 11 - 14.

67. Cf. Wilamowitz, Aristoteles und Athen, II. 255 n. 5.

68. D.XVIII Cor. 169 sqq., cf. A.III. Ctes. 142 sqq., Pl. Dem. 18, D.S. XVI. 84 - 85. i: on the nature of this probouleuma see p. 429.

For other possible open probouleumata in literary texts see A.II. F.L. 45 - 6 with 53, cf. III. Ctes. 66 - 7, D.XIX. F.L. 234; and also the debate on 16.xii. (Scir.) 347/6 (D.XIX. F.L. 17 - 18, 31 [denied A.II. F.L. 121 - 2], 35). In the latter case it is far from clear what happened: Mr Cawkwell believes that on learning that Philip was beyond Thermopylae the boule met again, suppressed the original probouleuma, and issued another more appropriate to the changed circumstances (REG LXXV 1962, 458); but Demosthenes' ἔπεισα ταῦτα τὴν βουλήν (818) is perhaps a little weak for inclusion in the probouleuma, and it is possible that the probouleuma, though including a pro-Phocian motivation clause indicating what kind of action was envisaged, was open in that it did not contain

a definite proposal, and that such probouleumata did not need to be read out in full. (On this point we have only the evidence of parodies: in Ar. Thesm. 372 - 9 a short open probouleuma is read out, and cf. Ecccl. 394 - 8; in Lucian, Deor. Conc. 1, the probouleuma is not read.).

For open probouleumata in inscribed decrees see Table F: the clearest instance is the first decree in GHI 189. Larfeld, Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik, II.ii. 675 - 6, thought that open probouleumata were very rare and that most "non-probouleumatic" decrees were carried against a probouleuma. This assumption cannot be checked, but if it is correct and the criteria I shall use in this chapter for identifying non-probouleumatic decrees are sound the boule must have been "defeated" alarmingly often in the fifth and fourth centuries.

69. A. III. Ctes. 125 - 7 (Demosthenes' practice may have been sharp, but it can hardly have been illegal, or we should have heard much more about it). For other decrees which are or may be ratified probouleumata see D.XIX. F.L. 286, A.II. F.L. 16 - 17; perhaps A.II. F.L. 19; and perhaps D.S. XVII. 111. iii; many inscribed texts contain a clear indication that this procedure has been followed, in the probouleumatic formula (cf. p. 65 and Table C). The friends who sponsored decrees on Demosthenes' behalf after Chaeronea may well have been bouleutae: Pl. Dem. 21. iii gives a sensible compromise between D.XVIII. Cor. 248 and A.III. Ctes. 159, though in Din. I. Dem. 78 - 80 we have one post-Chaeronea decree γραφέντος ὑπὸ Δημοσθένους.
70. In Ar. Thesm. 431 - 2 the speaker, having outlined her proposal from the floor of the ecclesia (under an open probouleuma), promises to draft the final version with the help of the secretary. At the second assembly to discuss peace with

Philip, on 19. ix. (Elaph.) 347/6, Demosthenes had a ready-drafted motion with him in case Philocrates let him down (A.II. F.L. 67 - 8).

71. X.H. VII. i. 1 - 14. Mr Cawkwell has suggested (CQ² XIII 1963, 133) that we have another motion carried against a probouleuma in 344/3 - [D]. VII. Hal. 19 - 20 - but though the motion was proposed from the floor of the house I am not satisfied that there was a specific probouleuma with which it conflicted.
72. D.XXI. Mid. 162 - 3. It has been suggested that news of Phocion's victory arrived while the assembly was in progress: Schaefer, Demosthenes und seine Zeit,² II.82, Cawkwell, CQ² XII 1962, 128 - 9.
73. The final decision on new alliances was taken by the ecclesia, though we should perhaps conclude from the συνέδριον's declared willingness to abide by the decision of the ecclesia in 346 - A.II. F.L. 60 - that even at this late stage the allies could not be committed without their formal approval. In any case, they could still refuse the oath to a new member.
74. GHI 133, 8 - 13.
75. GHI 144, 12 - 16.
76. A.III. Ctes. 67 - 8.
77. A.II. F.L. 61, 65, cf. III. Ctes. 68. What I have identified as a probouleuma Aeschines calls a ψήφισμα. Dr D. M. Lewis believes that the assemblies for 18 and 19.ix were fixed by decree of the demos at the abortive assembly on 8.ix - BSA L 1955, 25 - 6 - but having been

- thwarted once the Athenians will probably have waited until the envoys arrived before committing themselves again to a date, and I suspect that on their arrival Demosthenes was the author of a probouleuma appropriating for the discussion of the peace terms on assembly previously arranged for other business.
78. A. II. F.L. 60.
79. I should perhaps stress that there could be different degrees of openness in probouleumata: compare the probouleuma of Demosthenes which was not read out on 16.xii (Scir.) 347/6 (n. 68, above) and the open probouleuma at the assembly in the Thesmophoriazusae (ibid.), in each case indicating a line of action but not offering a definite suggestion.
80. A. II. F.L. 61.
81. Ibid. 65.
82. D.XIX. F.L. 159, A.II. F.L. 67 - 8, cf. 64. I cannot share Mr Cawkwell's view (REG LXXIII 1960, 434 - 5) that "the proposal of Philocrates was the Council's προβούλευμα."
83. A III. Ctes. 69 - 70.
84. D.XIX. F.L. 321, A.III. Ctes. 71 - 2.
85. D.XIX. F.L. 159.
86. X.H. I. vii, esp. 14 - 15, 34; cf. M. I.i.18, IV.iv.2, Plat. Apol. 32 B - C, Gorg. 473 E - 4 A, *Axioch. 368 D - E.
87. A.II. F.L. 82 - 4, cf. III. Ctes. 73 - 4.
88. [D].XXV. Arist. i, hyp. 1 - 2. Cf. p. 54

89. D.XXII. Andr. 5 - 6, cf. hyp. i. 2, hyp. ii. 9.
90. See most recently D. Hereward, BSA XLVII 1952, esp. 111 - 3.
91. [Pl]. X.Or. 835F - 6A, cf. A.III. Ctes. 195.
92. And. I. Myst. 17.
93. E.g. Lipsius, 36, 383, Glotz & Cohen, HG, II. 140.
94. D.XXIII. Arist. 92.
95. Schol. D.XXIII. Arist. 92.
96. Cf. A.III. Ctes. 125, where Demosthenes' guileless accomplice is ὁ γράψας; and almost certainly A.P. 29.i:

εἰπόντος τὸν μὲν πρὸ τοῦ ψηφίσματος λόγον ἰηλοβίου,
τὴν δὲ γνώμην γράψαντος Πυθοδώρου

(on which see p. 74). I would conclude from IG ii² 1672, 302, that Lycurgus was a member of the boule in or before 329/8 (cf. Ch. I, p.3 with n. 31, and n. 155 to Ch. III).

97. There is no undoubted instance of this, but it is the most likely form of proboulema when a decree is the work of συγγραφεὺς (commissioned by the demos at a previous assembly?) or follows a γνώμη στρατηγῶν (for the powers of the generals vis-à-vis the boule and ecclesia see Ch. I, pp. 43-8), or for the proposals envisaged by Lampon in his rider to GHI 74. Decrees of the demos with special origins are listed in Table E.
98. For an exhaustive analysis of the formulae in inscriptions known C.1900 (none has since been attempted) see Larfeld, Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik, II.ii, esp. 601 - 81. In vol. I, 465 - 87, and in his Griechische Epigraphik³

(HdA, vol. I.v) he compares the formulae employed in different states. For a brief modern discussion see Klaffenbach, Griechische Epigraphik,² 70 - 5.

99. Found occasionally from the late third to the early first century. (I repeat these abbreviations in the introductory note to Tables C - K, pp. 492-3).
100. Found frequently but not invariably from 336/5 onwards: IG ii² 330 &c.
- 100A. BV and B could be misapplied to probouleumata ratified in the ecclesia: cf. n. 144, below.
101. SEG X 1 (C6), IG i² 3, 4 (485/4).
102. SEG XVIII 153 (purporting to be of 480, but inscribed later), IG i² 5 (c. 475 - 450? - D. M. Lewis per epistulam), GHI 32 (c. 469 - 450), HMA 21 (458?) &c. The only apparent exception is ετδ given by all MSS of Thucydides for the one-year truce with the Peloponnesians in 422 - T.IV. 118. xi. SEG X 86, 47, restored [ετ]δ in the decree for an alliance with Perdiccas of Macedon, but the longer line of the latest text allows [ετβκτ]δ : ATL, III. 313 n. 61 = HMA 66, cf. more cautious text at Svt 186.
103. Decree ap. And. I. Myst. 83 (403/2) GHI 114 (387/6), &c.
104. In IG ii² 243 (337/6) a careless mason cut ετδκτβ.
105. ἐψηφίσθαι δὲ Ἀθηναίων τῶν δήμων
in rider, GHI 97.i(403/2), cf. IG ii² 19, 26; ἐψηφίσθαι Ἀθηναίοις,
GHI 100 (403?); ψτδ, IG ii² 47, 23 sqq. ("beg. C4"); δτδ,
GHI 114 (387/6); &c.
106. GHI 133 (369/8) &c. And cf. n. 107, below.

107. GHI 124 (378/7); cf. IG ii² 79, 82 ("before 378/7") &c.
108. Preserved in GHI 96 (405/4), IG iv.² 84 (c. A.D. 40 - 2), ii² 1072 (A.D. 116/7); restored in IG ii² 895 (188/7) (unnecessarily; not in new text, SEG XXI 436), Kerameikos, III. A5 (c. 100), IG ii² 1040. i & ii (mid 40's). It is a common formula in other states, and if not standard it at any rate became common in Athens under the Roman Empire (cf. J. Delz, Lukians Kenntnis der athenischen Antiquitäten, 138, D. J. Geagan, Hesp. Supp. XII 1967, 66).
109. Three decrees require special notice:-
- | | | | |
|-------------------------------|----------|--------------------------|---------------|
| <u>GHI</u> 100 | 403? | ετδ; ἐψηφίσθαι Ἀθηναίοις | |
| <u>IG</u> ii ² 672 |) | (E; [ετ]βκτδ;) | |
| |) 280/79 | (δτδ) | two copies of |
| <u>Hesp.</u> X 1941, |) | (E; [ετδ];) | same decree |
| 338 - 9 |) | ((stone ends)) | |
| <u>IG</u> ii ² 839 | 221/0 | ετβ; PF | |
110. For an analysis of ἄλλο ἀγαθόν clauses see Table K.
111. Mr G. L. Cawkwell has suggested to me that IG ii² 360 comprises one commissioning of a probouleuma and four probouleumata ratified by the ecclesia. My analysis is, I believe, confirmed by the fact that we are told of only two acts on account of which Heraclides deserved to be honoured.
112. Cf. A. Billheimer, AJA² XLII 1938, 467 n. 3. Larfeld, Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik, II. ii. 676 - 7, thought that amendment by reformulation was rare; but we cannot tell.
113. J. Tréheux has however suggested that this is the procedure underlying a Lampsacene document of c. 100 B.C. (SEG XIII 458) which he published in BCH LXXVII 1953, 426 - 43 (discussion of procedure, 438 - 40), and the arguments used against his interpretation by J. and L. Robert, REG LXVII 1954, 159 - 62, no. 209, have failed to convince Mr W. G. G. Forrest (Phoen. XXI 1967,

14 with n. 9). The inscription comprises two decrees: the first, with the formulae ΨB; ετβκτδ ; δτβκτδ , commissions a probouleuma and cites a law which permits the demos to do this; the second, with the formulae ΨB; ετδ; δτβκτδ , begins with a reference to the demos' having commissioned a probouleuma. It seems to me that the content of the decrees makes the procedure followed so clear that there is no need to resort to the prescript-formulae: the first decree is the measure by which the demos commissioned the probouleuma, and the second is the resulting probouleuma, which we may assume from its publication as the second and last decree of this document to have been ratified verbatim by the ecclesia. If this is correct the secretary will have been very careless in his adding of minute-headings and enactment-formulae - but such carelessness did happen. (My interpretation of this document is very close to that of the Roberts.)

114. GHI 154 (357/6), IG ii² 193 (before 353/2), 360. iii (330/29), Chron. Hell. Ath. 104 - 8 (204/3) - see Table D. Cf. G. Klaffenbach, Griechische Epigraphik,² 74.
115. IG ii² 336 (334/3), 338. i (333/2), 552 (after 318/7), Hesp. Supp. VI 31/2. ii (A.D. 229/30 or 230/1) - see Table D.
116. Cf. pp. 75-6.
117. GHI 193 also seems to have a preamble which has been over-condensed. It reads:

ἔδοξεν [τῆι βουλ]ῆι καὶ τῶι δήμωι • Νόθ[ιππος Λυσίου Διο]
 μειεῖ[ς εἶπε • π]ερὶ ᾧν ὁ δήμος πρό[τερον ἐψηφίσται ἐπὶ]
 [τῆς —]ς κρυτανείας τ[οῦς προέδρους οἱ ἂν λαχ]-
 [ωσιν ἐν τῶι δήμ]ωι προεδ[ρεύειν — stone ends].

Most of this is restored, but what is on the stone makes the restorations disturbingly likely: yet it should be the boule in its probouleumatic formula, not the ecclesia, which gives orders to the proedri in this way.

I offer this reconstruction exempli gratia:

περὶ ὧν ὁ δῆμος ἐψηφίσται ἐπὶ τῆς — πρυτανείας
 <τὴν βουλήν προβουλεύσασαν ἐξενεγκεῖν εἰς τὸν δῆμον
 περὶ Ἐρηβοῦλου ὅτι ἂν αὐτῆι δοκεῖ ἄριστον εἶναι,
 ἐψηφίσθαι τῆι βουλῆι> τοὺς προέδρους κτλ.

118.Cf. Kahrstedt, U.M.A. 291 - 2 with 292 n. 1. He thought that in such cases the proposer offered his motion to the boule, which then accepted it as a probouleuma - but I believe that if the boule chose formally to adopt a proposal rather than to commend it to the demos in an open probouleuma a bouleutes should figure as the nominal proposer: cf. p. 64 with n. 96, and p.74.

119.Cf. GHI II, p. 128. The decrees are:

<u>GHI</u> 142 363/2	ετβκτδ; δτδ
<u>IG</u> ii ² 118 361/0?	[ετδ]; [δτ]δ; [πε]ρὶ ὧν [λέγουσιν κτλ.]
121 357/6	[ετβ]κτδ <u>ONLY</u>
130 355/4	ετβκ[τδ] <u>ONLY</u>
289 before 336/5 Ar. is the author of an RP.	

Aristophon is notorious as the man who claimed to have been acquitted in 75 γραφαὶ παρανόμων (A.III.Ctes.194).

120. <u>IG</u> ii ² 328 336/5	ετ[βκτδ]; PF
333 335/4	a religious νόμος
<u>GHI</u> 189.ii 333/2	ετδ; δτδ (in response to an open probouleuma)
<u>IG</u> ii ² 345 332/1	ετδ <u>ONLY</u>

<u>IG ii</u> ² 351	330/29	ετ[δ]; δτδ
1672, 302	in or before 329/8	a decree of the boule
452, revised <u>Ath. Yr.</u> , 95-6	328/7	E <u>ONLY</u> (date accepted by Dow, <u>Hesp.</u> XXXII 1963, 438-50; rejected by Pritchett, <u>Ancient Athenian Calendars on Stone</u> , 281-3)
414a	before 325/4	ετ[δ] <u>ONLY</u>

121. Demades' decrees have been collected by A. N. Οικονομίδης, Πλάτων VIII 1956, 109 sqq.: I give in my first column the numbers of the decrees in his list.

2.	<u>Hesp.</u> IX 35	337/6	[ετδ] <u>ONLY</u> ; refers to boule in 11, 12, 15, 16.
4.	<u>GHI</u>	181 337/6	[δ]τδ
5.	<u>IG ii</u> ²	241 337/6	δ[τ]δ
6.	<u>SEG XXI</u>	274 334/3	E; ε[τδ] <u>ONLY</u>
8.	<u>IG ii</u> ²	346 332/1	ετδ <u>ONLY</u>
9.		405 334/3 (sic)	E; ε[τ]δ <u>ONLY</u> (cf. <u>Hesp.</u> IX 1940, 340)
10.		353 329/8	[ετ]δ <u>ONLY</u>
11.		372 322/1	E; ε[τδ] <u>ONLY</u> (see n. 128, below)
12.		380 320/19	ετδ; δτδ
13.	<u>SEG XXI</u>	306 320/19	E; [ετβκτδ] is the latest restoration of both Dow and Meritt: Pritchett declines to restore. Correct text uncertain.
14.		305 320/19	E; ετβκτδ <u>ONLY</u>
(16.	<u>IG ii</u> ²	400	now dated beg. C3 and ascribed to Demades the younger)

For the possibility that the ban on more than two years' service was lifted under the oligarchy cf. Ch. I, p. 2 with n. 19.

122.	<u>IG ii</u> ² 231	340/39	[ετδ] <u>ONLY</u>
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123. Cf. Kahrstedt, U.M.A., 292 n. 1. The decrees are:

(<u>IG ii</u> ² revised <u>Chron.</u> <u>Hell. Ath.</u> , 20	455	307/6	[ετβκτδ] <u>ONLY</u> . [Στρατοκλής] restored as proposer by Larfeld, <u>Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik</u> , II.ii. 941, for no apparent reason)
<u>IG ii</u> ²	457	307/6	ετδ <u>ONLY</u> (no enactment-formula, [P1]. <u>X.Or.</u> 851 F - 2 E)
	461	307/6	ε[τδ] <u>ONLY</u>
	471	306/5	ετδ <u>ONLY</u>
	486	304/3	ετ[δ] <u>ONLY</u>
<u>Hesp.</u> VII	22	304/3	[ετ]δ <u>ONLY</u>
<u>IG ii</u> ²	492	303/2	[ετδ] <u>ONLY</u>
	495	303/2	ετδ; δτδ
	496	303/2	ετδ <u>ONLY</u>
	499	302/1	[ετ]δ <u>ONLY</u>
	503	302/1	ετδ <u>ONLY</u>
<u>Hesp.</u> I	^{ACR} _{iv}	302/1	[ετ]δ <u>ONLY</u>
<u>IG ii</u> ²	560	307/6 - 301/0	[ετδ] <u>ONLY</u>
	568	end C4	[ετδ] <u>ONLY</u>
	640	301/0	[ετ]δ <u>ONLY</u>
	641	299/8	ετδ; δτδ
<u>Arch. Ath.</u> , 1-15		293/2	ε[τ]δ; δτδ
124. <u>GHI</u>	133	369/8	PF
	136	368/7	[ετδ]; δτδ

125. Jones, 112 - 3. Larfeld thought that RP was restricted to probouleumatic decrees but RI could be used with either kind: Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik, II.ii. 678 - 81.

126. Professor Meritt has worked on the assumption that all Athenian decrees were probouleumatic (even as I define the term), that the first rider to any decree must be introduced by RP, and

that RI must always introduce a second or subsequent rider (Documents on Athenian Tribute, 32 - 3 with n. 36, A.T.L., I. 213).

There is a rider to Cleonymus' tribute decree, ATL D 8, beginning at l. 27, which must be καθάπερ ὁ δεῖνα, and this is the first and only rider of which traces are preserved, but to fit the decree to his presuppositions Meritt restored a previous rider with RP in l. 10. A new fragment has been discovered, which makes it clear that ll. 27 - 8 should read καθάπερ Κλεόνυμ[ος] , and in view of this Meritt has withdrawn his first rider (AJP LXXXVIII 1967; withdrawal of first rider, p. 32) but without discussing the principle which had led him to suggest it. Nevertheless the dating of the decree to Cleonymus' year in the boule, 426/5, appears sound. Cleonymus was the author of a probouleumatic decree for Methone in the first prytany of 426/5 (GHI 61, 32 - 56, N.B. 51 sqq; dated from GHI 64, 5); in the Cecropid prytany of one year he was the author of ATL D 8. i, D 8. ii and SEG X 73 (the last two on the same day). Cecropis held the second prytany of 426/5 (GHI 64, 4 - 5); in Cleonymus' decree for Methone, in the first prytany of that year, we read that priority is to be given in the second prytany to one or more debates on the other cities, and it is tempting to see in D 8 the decrees resulting from these debates (cf. Meritt, AJP 1967, 31 - 2). There is no reason why a decree which is technically non-probouleumatic should not stand in the name of a bouleutes.

There is no second rider in which RP is found; GHI 167 provides the only instance of RI in what is demonstrably a first rider; but there are only nine inscribed examples of RI in all.

Some mention ought to be made of two fifth-century documents where we seem to have riders without an orthodox rider-formula. GHI 40, the first decree for the priestess of Athena Νύκκη, contains two motions introduced by the name of the proposer alone: Meritt has argued (Hesp. X 1941, 307 - 15) that these are both riders to an original motion which was inscribed on a superimposed block of stone, now lost. In GHI 42 we have first a motion by Diognetus; in l. 40 a motion of Anticles begins, introduced simply by Ἐντικλῆς εἶπε; and in l. 70 Archestratus proposes a rider καθάπερ Ἐντικλῆς. The relationship between the motions of Diognetus and Anticles is uncertain: the manner in which Anticles prescribes the oath suggests that his may be the earlier of the two motions, but Meritt, Documents on Athenian Tribute, 33 n. 36, regarded Anticles' motion as a first rider.

In IG ii² 448. i a rider is introduced with the unparal-
lelled τᾶδε Πανφίλου Εὐφ[ι]λήτου.

127. Including IG ii² 235 (340/39), with a new enactment-formula (ετ[ὸ]), and IG ii² 373 (322/1), where the rider has a complete new prescript (Ε; ετδ) with the date in both archontic and bouleutic calendars. The latter must surely and the former may possibly have been enacted on a later occasion than the original decree (perhaps on the resumption of an adjourned assembly?). This process has developed further in IG ii² 682 (after 256/5) and perhaps SEG XXI 359 (beg. C3): here a probouleumatic decree is followed by a pseudo-rider, not embodying one of the old formulae, to the decree as previously enacted (τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πράττειν κατὰ τὸ πρότερον ψήφισμα). With this we may compare IG ii² 140, a νόμος which was framed as an amendment to an already existing νόμος.

128. I include among these decrees IG ii² 289. E. Schweigert linked with this the prescript-fragment IG ii² 372, where the formulae are E; ετδ (Hesp. VIII 1939, 173 - 5, cf. SEG XXI 300; this is one of Demades' decrees, cf. n. 121, above). Since the fragments are very different in colouring and do not join, his case is not compelling, and the evidence for Demades' career and for the association of RP with probouleumatic decrees makes it safer to keep the two fragments apart.

(After I had written this note Dr D. M. Lewis drew my attention to J. Pečírka, LF LXXXIX 1966, 262 - 6, cf. The Grant of Enktesis, 57, who dissociates the fragments on epigraphic grounds.)

129. ἔδοξεν . . . ἐν τῇ βουλῇ:

<u>IG</u> ii ²	218	346/5	PF
	276	before 336/5	(discussed in text)

ἔδοξεν . . . ἐν τῷ δήμῳ:

<u>IG</u> ii ²	196	before 353/2	PF
	218, 22 sqq.	346/5	in RP; cf. above for probouleuma
	336. iii*	333/2	(no indication of origin: date Dow, <u>Hesp.</u> XXXII 1963, 341 - 2)
	502*	302/1	E; ετδ

* ἐν τῷ δήμῳ restored to fit στοιχηδόν arrangement; ἐν τῇ βουλῇ has same number of letters, but is unlikely this late.

GHI 166 (348/7) has [περὶ ὧν οἱ Ὀλύμπιοι ἔδοξαν ἔννομα ἰκετεύειν ἐν τε τῷ δήμῳ καὶ ἐν τοῖς συμμ]άχοις

restored (!) and an open proposal which might but need not belong to a probouleuma.

GHI 189. ii (333/2), a non-probouleumatic decree published with an open probouleuma, has ἔδοξαν ἔννομα ἱκετεύειν αἰ-
τουῦντες τὸν δῆμον χωρῆς ἔνκτησιν.

In IG ii² 404 (before mid C4) the ἱκετεύειν - clause cannot safely be restored.

130. Most of the ἱκετεύειν - clause is restored, and we ought perhaps not to rule out the possibility that it has been restored wrongly.
131. An open clause in a probouleuma seems particularly likely in financial matters: cf. IG ii² 223A, 13, p 16; and notice also as examples of the caution prescribed in finance the three orders from the ecclesia for νομοθεσία to adjust the μερισμός: IG ii² 222, 41 - 6; 330, 15 - 23; SIG³ 298, 35 - 41.
132. IG ii² 61, 6 - 7. Dr D. M. Lewis lists possible years before and after 378/7 at BSA XLIX 1954, 34.
133. D.XXII. Andr. 38. For 356/5, B.R.I. Sealey, REG LXVIII 1955, 89 - 92, G. L. Cawkwell, C & M XXIII 1962, 40 - 5; for 359/8, D. M. Lewis, BSA XLIX 1954, 43 - 4, cf. E. Schweigert, Hesp. VIII 1939, 12 - 17.
134. Epigraphische Untersuchungen. See A. Billheimer, AJA² XLII 1938, for a detailed reply.
135. And notice τοιόνδε here (29. ii), but ταύτην 4. i, τᾶδε 30. i, τήνδε 31. i, τᾶσδε 39. i.
136. In SEG X 84, 30 sqq., Meritt claims to have detected a rider added while the probouleuma was still before the boule: Hesp. X 1941, 320 - 6.

137. Jones, 113 with 156 n. 96. In Table J I give a classified list of the relevant decrees, showing that the phrase is used in some certainly non-probouleumatic decrees.
- 137A. Except IG ii² 174, ordering proclamation [ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ] κα μάλλα ἐν ᾧσται [ἄγωνι].
138. IG ii² 30 (386/5), GHI 144 (362/1), GHI 146 (362/1). See Table J, § ii, and for GHI 144 cf. p. 70.
139. See Table D for details of formulae. The decrees marked with an asterisk are based on some one's report, and the probouleuma may have been that the demos should hear what the man in question had to say and make up its mind accordingly.
140. It was normal Hellenistic practice to publish a (non-probouleumatic) decree of the demos honouring the prytany ("first" decree) and a decree of the boule honouring the officials of the prytany ("second" decree) - cf. S. Dow, Hesp. Supp. I 1937, 3 with n.2. Dow makes inferences as to the origins of decrees from the nominatives in "citations" (op. cit., 22, 76): I would rather suppose that after the demos had voted to honour a prytany (under a probouleuma that it should hear the prytany's report) the boule also voted to honour the prytany, in a separate, unpublished decree. Cf. Pritchett's review of Dow, AJP LX 1939, 260.
- The only known exceptions to normal practice are P 84.i (155/4), where the prytany is honoured in a decree of the boule; SEG XVI 100 (104/3), where the "first" and "second" decrees are both probouleumatic; and Kerameikos, III. A5 (c. 100), where the "second" decree (the only one surviving) is probouleumatic. Etiquette did not prevent Euctimenus Εὐδοτήμου Εἰσαετός, who in 140/39 was both treasurer and secretary of his prytany, from proposing the "first" and "second" decrees in honour of that prytany: Hesp. XVII 9.

141. I include here IG ii² 26 (394 - 387), whose formulae are ετδ; ἐπαινέσαι μέν; ἐψηφ[ίσθαι δε —].

142. GHI 124.

143. Cf. Jones, 115 - 6.

144. Mr R. Meiggs has suggested to me that these "crossbreeds" are probouleumatic decrees with δ/ψτδ inserted to emphasise the demos' approval of them: he could follow Miller (who believed that ετβκτδ and/or PF is a guarantee of a probouleumatic decree; only those with ετδ and δ/ψτδ are non-probouleumatic) in leaning heavily on IG ii² 109 (363/2), where δτδ seems uniquely to be dependent on the δοκεῖ τῆι βουλήι of the probouleumatic formula. Against this I would cite GHI 144, one of the most substantial decrees with mixed formulae, which can hardly be probouleumatic as I define the term (cf. p. 69).

For carelessness in the application of formulae, cf.

<u>IG ii²</u>	32	385/4	ετ[β]; RP
	839	221/0	[Δ]Ψ; E; ετβ; PF
	847	215/4	BΨ; B; ετβκτδ; PF
	1072	A.D. 209/10	B; δτβκτδ

(For other possible misapplications of ετβ , cf. pp. 34-7).

145. See Table C for details of formulae. The decrees marked with an asterisk are again based on some one's report. On Hesp. XI 56 see further, Additional Note C, esp. p. 430.

146. Cf. Klaffenbach, Griechische Epigraphik,² 74 - 5.

147. Cf. Jones, 114.

148. I include decrees earlier than 403/2 for completeness' sake only: the figures signify nothing as we cannot guess at the origins of most fifth-century decrees. 403 and 321 are obvious dividing-points; the next line could be drawn anywhere between about 285 and about 260 to yield the same result; 200 and 100 are of course purely arbitrary. So many decrees are only approximately dated, or are tied to magistrates whose date is insecure, that it seems unwise to attempt further precision. A survey of dated decrees from the troubled period 321/0 - 263/2 yields the following results :-

321/0 - 319/8	decrees of both kinds (esp. non-prob.)
318/7	no probouleumatic decrees; 5 non-probouleumatic
317/6 - 308/7	no probouleumatic decrees; 1 non-probouleumatic
307/6 - 302/1	many decrees of both kinds (esp. non-prob.)
301/0 - 263/2	decrees of both kinds (no prob. before 291/0)

I have marked with an asterisk in Tables C and D those decrees which I am regarding as substantial for the purposes of these statistics. Alliances, tribute regulations and the like clearly are matters of substance, while at the other extreme purely honorific decrees (though it may be of great significance that at a particular time the political climate is favourable to a particular man, and a bitter controversy may underly a motivation-clause, as in the rider to GHI 116) cost the state little and are easily drafted; but in many cases it is hard to give a verdict.

149. Ar. Ach. 19 - 22; contrast D.XVIII. Cor. 169.

150. IG ii² 845 (204/3).

151. As Professor Jones believes (p. 118).

152. E.g. D.VIII. Chers. 4.
153. Non-members in the boule: D.VIII. Chers. 4, XIX F.L. 17 and schol., A.III. Ctes. 125, Plat. Menex. 234 A - B. Cf. Ch. I, pp. 39-40.
154. Cf. D.XVIII. Cor. 170, 173; A.III. Ctes. 2, Pl. An Seni 784 C - D; Lucian, Iup. Trag. 18 and schol., Deor. Conc. 1; Ar. Thesm. 372 - 9.
155. GHI 31.
156. GHI 61. ii.
157. HMA 87.
158. GHI 96 - 7.
159. GHI 124.
160. GHI 126.
161. GHI 157.
162. GHI 159.
163. GHI 133, 136.
164. SEG XVII 19.
165. IG ii² 334.
166. GHI 114.
167. GHI 154.
168. GHI 144; cf. p. 70
169. P. 59 with nn. 61 - 2, above.
170. A.III. Ctes. 160 cf. 77, Pl. Dem. 22.

171. GHI 77A, 19 - 21; 86, 36 - 8. The same principle seems to be taken for granted in Thudippus' assessment decree of 425 (HMA 87, 42 - 4).
172. SEG X 84, 39 - 40. The same seems to be implied by the Neapolis decree of 407/6 as restored by Merritt and Andrewes (SEG XII 37, 56), but I would restore $\eta\omicron\ \tau\iota\ \alpha\upsilon\ \delta\omicron\kappa\epsilon\iota\ \acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\theta[\omicron\nu\ \eta\delta\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\iota]$ to produce an $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\ \acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\theta\acute{\omicron}\nu$ clause of my first type (Table K). The decree concerning the goddess Bendis contained a clause giving the boule some kind of authority or duty, possibly that of filling gaps in the original decree: for different reconstructions see SEG X 64a, 36 (Roussel), 64b, 27 (Ferguson); XVII 5, 23 (Bingen - who offers no restoration of this clause); XXI 52, 23 (Sokolowski).
173. SEG XIV 47, B 3 sqq.; GHI 157, 34 - 6; IG ii² 204, 85 - 6; 435, 7 - 9; GHI 200, 264 - 9 (the clause added in (IG ii² 1629) 272 sqq. is presumably a supplementary decision made under this provision by the boule).
174. GHI 200, 264 - 9. Cf. SIG³ 736, 180 - 94, the final clause of a law of Andania of 92 B.C.
175. The commonest form of this is an order to protect honorands from injustice and to see that they enjoy the right of $\pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\sigma\omicron\delta\omicron\varsigma$ to the boule and demos that has been conferred upon them: HMA 80, 2 - 9; SEG X 53, 17 sqq.; 105, 14 - 19; &c. For the coupling of the generals with the boule and prytanes in responsibilities of this kind cf. Ch. I, pp. 43-4 ; on the provisions for stopping gaps in decrees see further Additional Note C, pp. 423-31
176. The proxeny inscriptions to be considered here are GHI 98, IG ii² 49, 13, Hesp. VII 11, IG ii² 32, 63, 77, 95; compare the citizenship award in IG ii² 17. The questions which I discuss are

treated by A. Lambrechts, Textst en Uitzicht van de Atheense Proxeniëdecreten, chs. ii A 4 (French summary, pp. 141 - 2) and ii B 2 a (French summary, pp. 142 - 3): she seems far too eager to give precise dates to different formulaic practices.

177. So Kirchner, in his notes on IG ii² 13, 32, 63; cf. 17 and 77; also Lambrechts, ii A 4. Heydemann, De Senatu Atheniensium, thought that the boule could give this permission only if no public expense was involved.
178. Francotte, MB IV 1900, 55 sqq.
179. GHI 98, IG ii² 9; cf. the confirmation of the honours for Samos, GHI 96 - 7.
180. GHI 98.
181. The question is bedevilled by formulaic ambiguity. In the fifth and early fourth centuries a decree conferring a proxeny might use either the formula εἶναι αὐτὸν πρόξενον or ἀναγράψαι αὐτὸν πρόξενον (IG i² index s.v. πρόξενος, p. 368. iii; IG ii² IV i index s.v. πρόξενος καὶ εὐεργέτης, p. 58. i - ii: Miss Lambrechts, ii B 2 a, violently redates decrees so as to make the second formula standard until 389/8 and the first standard from 388/7). Of the decrees listed in n. 176 IG ii² 13, 32, 63, 77. i and 95 all have the ἀναγράψαι formula (ἀναγράψαι αὐτὸν εἶναι πρόξενον in 63), while 77.ii alone has the εἶναι formula. In 77 (where both decrees have the enactment-formula εἰς κατὰ τὸ τοῦ δήμου ψήφισμα) it is clear that decree i is ordering the publication of decree ii -

(ἀναγράψαι αὐτὸν πρόξενον) . . . [κατὰ τὸ ψήφισμα]
 ὃ ἐνέκρησε περὶ αὐτοῦ πρό[τερον] (5 - 6) -

and so we see that the ἀναγράψαι formula could be used not only for the award but alternatively for the publication of an award already made. (Compare IG ii² 17, where decree ii, whose prescript cannot be recovered, makes a grant of citizenship and orders its publication, and decree i (ετβ) introduces with the words

[ἀναγράψαι Σθόρυι] . . . τὰ ἐψηφι[σμένα περὶ
Σθόρυος τῶι] δήμωι (8 - 11)

a modification of the publication order.)

It must be admitted that towards the middle of the fourth century the boule did refer a mere publication order to the assembly: IG ii² 172 (PF) deals with the renewal of an hereditary proxeny where the original stele has disappeared.

182. GHI 103. The words

[ἔλεσθαι δὲ πρ]έσβες αὐτίκα μάλ[α] τῆ[ν βουλήν] (17 - 18)

tell us nothing about the origin of the decree (cf. pp. 75-6).

183. I have placed in my Table C only those decrees where we have some reason to presume ratification by the demos, and have listed the others among decrees of the boule in Table F.

184. GHI 103.

185. See for example S. Accame, La Lega ateniese, 234 - 5. Special delegations of power to the boule are discussed by P. Cloché, REG XXXIV 1921, 254 - 8, and G. E. M. de Ste Croix, CQ² XIII 1963, 114 - 5 with 115 n. 2. Though it may not always have been clear how extensive the power conferred was (cf. Ch. IV. pp. 178 with n. 172, 189 with n. 230, and 196-8) it seems that duties specially delegated were of the same order as the boule's regular duties, subsidiary to the major decisions of the ecclesia, and there is no evidence that the demos was willing to surrender its right to take these major decisions.

186. GHI 108. Tod accepts this as a decree of the boule alone (GHI II, p. 25).
187. For the question of who might honour whom see Francotte, MB III 1899, 246 - 81, IV 1900, 55 - 75, 105 - 13 ; and see further on the honours conferred by the Athenians Heydemann, De Senatu Atheniensium, 11 - 21, and Kahrstedt, S.S.A., 332 - 3. Most of the honorific decrees inscribed in the name of the boule honour the officials of a prytany when the demos has honoured the prytany as a whole; but it is likely that when the demos had honoured a prytany the boule would add its own honours but not publish the decree (cf. n. 140, above).
188. IG ii² 145.
189. BSA XLIX 1954, 36 - 7.
190. Elections in general, like other acts of the demos, were held under a probouleuma (A.P. 44. iv): I imagine that except when there was an obvious candidate, such as the retiring herald's son, the probouleuma will have been open, simply providing that a man be elected to a specified office.
191. See appendix to Ch. IV, pp. 193-4
192. See my remarks in Ch. V, pp. 231-2 , with notes referring to my discussions of related problems.
193. There are however signs that disagreement persisted as to who should count as members of the demos (in addition to the vexed question of how generously non-citizens who had helped the democrats could be rewarded, notice Phormisius' proposal to restrict citizenship to landowners: D. H. 525 - 33. Lys. 32 - 3). Archinus' irregular use of the boule to condemn a man to death

(A.P.40.ii, cf. appendix to Ch. IV, pp.¹⁸⁹⁻⁹⁰) probably sprang from a desire for rapid action rather than constitutional dogmatism; the circumstances in which Thrasybulus brought forward his ἀπροβούλευτον ψήφισμα are not clear (cf. pp.⁶²⁻³).

194. P 84. i. It is possible that the ecclesia ratified the honours voted for the priest of Asclepius in 94/3 (SEG XVIII 29: the ecclesia honoured the ephebi at this time).
195. IG ii² 839.
196. IG ii² 840. S. Dow, Hesp. Supp. I 1937, 100 with n. 2, suggests a date c. 124/3, but his argument is not such as to rule out a date some twenty years later.
197. W. S. Ferguson, Klio IV 1904; Hellenistic Athens, 427 sqq. with 427 - 8 n. 4.
198. See Tables C and D, where decrees of the demos continue until 94/3.
199. On the general structure of decrees honouring ephebi cf. O. W. Reinmuth, Hesp. XXIV 1955, 226 - 8.
200. IG ii² 1046.
201. In IG ii² 1042 (c. 41/0) the "acceptance decree" is of the boule alone, but the two decrees which follow it are probouleumatic decrees of the demos.
202. IG ii² 1043.
203. E.g. IG iv² 84 (A.D. 38/9?). On changes in the Athenian constitution from 91 until the Sullan settlement see Ferguson, Hellenistic Athens, 440 sqq., 454 sqq. On the restoration of democracy under Caesar and return to oligarchy under Antony see Kirchner's notes on these inscriptions in IG ii², following Kolbe, Die attischen Archonten: their view has been general^{-ly} accepted, though Ferguson

dated the democratic interlude c. 70 - 54/3 (Klio IX 1909, 323 - 30, 340).

204. Cf. Ch. I, pp. 46-8

205. On decree-making under the Empire cf. P. Graindor, Athènes sous Auguste, 100 - 5, Athènes de Tibère à Trajan, 62 - 7, Athènes sous Hadrien, 86 - 90; and now D. J. Geagan's study of the post-Sullan constitution, Hesp. Supp. XII 1967, esp. 32 - 6, 64 - 7, 71 - 81, 83 - 90. Geagan does not consider the possibility that minute-headings (βουλῆς ψηφίσματα , &c.) may have been misapplied (see n. 144, above), and I cannot share his faith in the reliability of genitives after ἀγαθῆι τύχηι as a guide to the origins of a decree: whether it is on the demos of Athens or the boule and demos that good fortune is invoked in a decree surely tells us nothing about the procedure by which that decree was enacted. I agree with Geagan, 66 - 7, against Delz, Lukians Kenntnis der athenischen Antiquitäten, 138 - 9, that the formula δτβκτδ (cf. p. 66 and n. 108, above) should not be taken to imply that there were now joint sessions of the boule and ecclesia. Geagan does not make his own view of the extent to which the different decree-making bodies were independent of each other entirely clear: on pp. 79 - 80 he seems to accept Keil's view (Beiträge zur Geschichte des Areopags, 29) that the boule "had the ability to formulate decrees in the name of the whole community;" on p. 85 he writes that "the demos, like the boule, was able to pass valid decrees by itself, although probably subject to the approval of the other corporations" (i.e. Areopagus and boule).

Decrees of the boule and ecclesia continue into the reign of Hadrian, with IG ii² 1072 (116/7) and probably 1073 and 1075; later still we have a non-probouleumatic decree in IG ii² 1078/9 (c. 220), and a decree which is thought to be probouleumatic but does not exhibit any of the older formulae in Hesp. Supp. VI

31/2 with SEG XXI 506/5, ii (229/30 or 230/1). Beside these, however, we find resolutions of the Areopagus (ὑπομνηματισμοί to c. 200, e.g. IG iv² 83 [38/9?]; ἐπερωτήματα from c.150 or δόγματα from c. 200, e.g. Hesp. Supp. VI 31 &c., iii [229/30 or 230/1] - see Geagan, 42 - 8), and at any rate in the first of the cases cited the resolution of the Areopagus came last and determined the wording of the dedication (IG iv² 82 - 4: Geagan, 33 - 5, after Keil). Meritt has suggested (Hesp. XXXII 1963, 29) that the third-century document contained as its first item a decree of the Sacred Gerousia, established under Marcus Aurelius.

Dedications (listed by Geagan in his Appendix I, pp. 140 - 59) show that honours could be awarded or permitted by the Areopagus, boule and ecclesia together, or by one or two of these bodies alone : Geagan notes (pp. 63, 68, 82 - 3) that honours of the boule, the demos or the two together are found particularly in the time of Augustus; there is a further group of honours by the demos in the time of Claudius and of honours by the boule in the time of Hadrian.

NOTES TO CHAPTER III

1. Cf. Ch. IV, pp. 152-6.
2. D. XXIV. Tim. 99.
3. D. XXXIX. Boe. Nom. 17.
4. E.g. HMA 67B, 15 - 17.
5. O.O. iii. 2.
6. Lys. XXX. Nic. 22.
7. Ar.. Eq. 773 - 6.
8. This is not the place to discuss Mr H. B. Mattingly's attempt to downdate various documents assigned to the mid-fifth century, in a series of articles published since 1961 (most recently in Ancient Society & Institutions, 193 - 223; on HMA 46 see Hist. X 1961, 150 - 69). Though his warning that we should not be too confident in assigning dates on a basis of letter-forms is not to be ignored, I do not think he has succeeded in showing that "the forms of sigma and rho have put many decrees in contexts where they do not really make full sense" (JHS LXXXI 1961, 132).
9. HMA 46 (ATL D 7), 5 - 11.
10. Cf. O.O. iii. 2, giving <περὶ τῶν ἐν> τοῖς συμμάχοις as one of the topics discussed by the boule and φόρον δέξασθαι as one of the boule's responsibilities.
11. HMA 46, 11 - 18.
12. Ibid., 31 - 43: cf. Ch. IV, pp. 156, 200-1.
13. ATL D 8; new fragment B. D. Meritt, AJP LXXXVIII 1967. On the date see n. 126 to Ch. II.

14. ATL D 8, 11 - 16.
15. Ibid. 52 - 7.
16. HMA 87 (ATL A 9); cf. translation and commentary in ATL, III. 70 - 8. The rider formula in l. 51 shows that this decree was drafted in the boule.
17. HMA 87, 4 - 7.
18. Ibid., 8 - 12. The number is restored from [And]. IV. Alc. 11.
19. For the elimination of the archon, see ATL, IV. ix n. 10.
20. In line 16 ATL restore [νομο] θετα [ι] after Meritt and West, The Athenian Assessment, 44, cf. 59. This was challenged by Kahrstedt (GGA CXCVII 1935, 51 - 2, U.M.A., 284 n. 2, Klio XXXI 1938, 9, cf. Wade-Gery, CR XLIX 1935 186, Nesselhauf, Gnomon XII 1936, 297; Meritt defends the restoration in AJP LVI 1935, 323, Epigraphica Attica, 132 - 6 with 150 nn. 26 - 7) on the grounds that nomothetae are not attested for the fifth-century democracy. In view of the task to be performed by these officials I feel certain that [θεσμο] θετα [ι] must be the correct restoration, even though it requires the crowding of five letters into four spaces (so Wade-Gery, op. cit.).
21. HMA 87, 12 - 26.
22. Ibid., 38 - 44.
23. Ibid., 44 - 50.
24. ATL list 25, iii. 60 - 1, list 26, ii. 43 - 4. For a recent discussion of the rubrics, see F. A. Lepper, JHS LXXXII 1962.

25. Cf. Lepper, op. cit., 32 - 4.
26. ATL, III. 77.
27. GHI 61 (ATL D 3), 5 - 9, 29 - 32.
28. ATL D 21, 17 - 18 (largely restored).
29. A.P. 47. i, cf. Poll. VIII. 97. For these treasurers' control of all sacred treasures at this time, see W. S. Ferguson, Treasurers of Athena, 118.
30. GHI 51 A, 18 - 22.
31. Ibid., 2 - 7. The background to these decrees is not directly relevant to the present study, but I believe that both the 3,000 talents paid to Athena and the smaller sum paid to the Other Gods represent the repayment, with interest, of sums borrowed at the time of the Samian War. The authors of ATL regard the 3,000 talents as the total of a planned series of payments made for building purposes from the tribute (ATL, III. 118 - 32, 326 - 41, B. D. Meritt, Hesp. XXIII 1954, 185 - 231, H. T. Wade-Gery & B. D. Meritt, Hesp. XXVI 1957); Gomme believed that until 434/3 there was a substantial surplus in the state treasury, which Callias transferred to Athena for safer keeping (Hist. II 1953 - 4, III 1954 - 5, Hist. Comm. Thuc., II. 26 - 32). Mr Mattingly has attempted to revive the old date of 422/1 for these decrees (PACA VII 1964).
32. On the logistae, see p. 111.
33. GHI 51 A, 7 - 13.
34. IG ii² 120; for the date see E. Schweigert, Hesp. VII 1938, 281 - 9, ACR 16, publishing a new fragment of IG ii² 1938, which mentions the inventory made in accordance with this decree.

35. This part of the inscription is too fragmentary to allow a continuous text to be reconstructed.

36. IG ii² 120, 7 - 24.

37. Ibid., 24 - 32. Dr. D. M. Lewis tells me that J. Tréheux, in an unpublished Paris thesis, reads l. 27 as

[ν]αγιγνωσκομένων τ[ῶν περ]ιόν[των ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τῆ<ι>] χαλκο[θ]

or . . . ἐκ τῶν ἐν τῆι . . .

and comments :

L' intention du Conseil est claire. Il veut, pour aviser aux moyens de le combler, apprécier le déficit de la collection (ll. 30 - 1 τὰ ἐλλείποντα) entre 362/1 et la date de l' ἐξετασμός . Il comparera donc la consistance du lot dans les dix années écoulées, telle que la décrivent les παραδόσεις, avec ce qu' il en rest effectivement au début de 353/2.

38. IG ii² 1492, 103 - 18.

39. Ibid., 118 - 24.

40. Ibid., 124 - 31.

41. Ferguson, Treasurers of Athena, 134; for "certification" (epistates named) see ll. 95, 110 of the inscription.

42. Ferguson, Hellenistic Athens, 99.

43. HMA 41, 14 - 17, 28 - 30. The decree is dated after 432, Mattingly, Hist. X 1961, 171 - 3; c. 448, Meritt & Wade-Gery, JHS LXXXIII 1963, 111 - 4.

44. D. XXIV. Tim. 96; see Ch. IV, pp. 152-6 , for the part played by the boule in the collection of public debts.

45. GHI 74. The decree has been variously dated between 445 and 415, though most scholars place it in the last decade of this period. In particular, there has been disagreement as to whether it should precede or follow IG i² 311, which records the handing over by the hieropoei to the epistatae of the proceeds from the sale of corn offered at Eleusis in the quadrennium 422/1 - 419/8: the arguments on both sides are summarised by Ziehen in Prott & Ziehen, Leges Graecorum Sacrae, II. i, pp. 21 - 2, who fails to convince me that GHI 74 is the earlier inscription. The American calendar specialists agree in dating the decree in or after 418 (Dinsmoor, Archons of Athens, 335 - 41, and this is currently accepted by Meritt, CW LVI 1962 - 3, 41 n. 2, with AJP LXXXV 1964, 416 n. 7, cf. Meritt & McGregor, Phoen. XXI 1967, 88 - 9); recently arguments for 422/1 have been presented by P. Guillon (BCH LXXXVI 1962) and Mattingly, having first accepted these (BCH LXXXVII 1963, 391) would now revert to Ziehen's date of 423/2 (PACA VII 1964, 53 - 5, IX 1966, 66 n. 42, 76).
46. GHI 74, 22 - 4.
47. Ibid., 30 - 2. We have seen that heralds were also under the supervision of the boule in the assessment decree of 425/4 (p. 91 and n. 22); but in Clearchus' coinage decree they were dispatched by the demos (HMA 39 = ATL D 14, § 9: fr.iii (Aphytis), 11. 23 - 4, reads ἐλέσθαι τὸ[ν δῆμον], with the o clearly visible in ATL, II, pl. vi). Herald's are again dispatched by the boule in ATL D 8, 52 - 7 (426/5), [SEG X 136, 15 - 17 (407/6) - wholly restored] and GHI 137, 14 sqq. (367/6). It seems fashionable to assume that the boule began as a powerful body and was gradually weakened to the profit of the ecclesia (e.g. A. G. Woodhead, Hist. XVI

1967; see my remarks in Ch. V, pp. 226-9, esp. 228-9), but at any rate in matters of this kind I should expect what in the early fifth century was a prerogative of the demos to be delegated to the boule as the volume of diplomacy increased; and if I am right we have here slight support for an early dating of HMA 39 and a late dating (i.e. 425 - 415 rather than c. 445) of GHI 74.

48. GHI 74, 36 - 44. On the hieropoei, see pp. 130-3
49. GHI 74, 27 - 30.
50. IG ii² 140, 8 - 10. Substantial fragments of Chaeremonides' law have now been discovered, and await publication.
51. IG ii² 140; Elter's restorations incorporated in IG ii² Addenda, SIG³ 200; most recent text Sokolowski, Lois Sacrées (Suppl.), 13 (cf. SEG XXI 253).
52. IG i² 79: discussed by B. D. Meritt, Greek Historical Studies, 25 - 6, with revised text of ll. 7 - 9 at 26 n. 34 (cf. SEG XXI 441).
53. IG i² 79, 9 - 11.
54. Ibid., 15 - 18.
55. SEG XXI 80 with W. E. Thompson, Mnem.⁴ XIX 1966, 338 - 9. The inscription is dated to 404/3, but the decree of the boule which is cited could be earlier.
56. IG ii² 839.
57. On the general ἐπὶ τὴν παρασκευήν and the architect ἐπὶ τὰ ἱερά, cf. pp. 127-8. The general worked with a committee of Areopagites and other citizens to check the treasures of Asclepius in 247/6 (IG ii² 1534, 149 - 51) and in 215/4 (IG ii² 1539).

58. IG ii² 839, 36 - 7, cf. the more fragmentary decrees 841 and 842.
59. IG ii² 840. For the date see Ch. II, p. 87 and n. 196.
60. A.P. 47. ii - iii (cf. Harp., Suid. πωληταί, L.S. 291. 17): the asterisked [ι'] is printed in Kenyon's Oxford Text; but R. J. Hopper has shown that whereas a term of ten years is compatible with the literary evidence surviving mine leases point to a term of seven years for categories other than ἐργάσιμα (BSA XLVIII 1953, 226, 237), and M. H. Chambers reads γ' and accordingly regards this as an error for ζ' (TAPA XCVI 1965, 36 - 7).
61. See p. 105 and n. 133, below.
62. See Additional Note D, p. 432. The office clearly was collegiate when A.P. 47 was written.
63. Cf. pp. 107-8 and Additional Note D, p. 442.
64. A.P. 7. iii. The latest dated evidence for their existence is IG ii² 463, 36, 1589, 1 (both 307/6).
65. Down to 405/4 only (references IG i², p. 369. iii, s.v. πωλητής: N.B. ἀπομισθοσάντο[ν hoi πολεταί ἐν τέι βο] λῆι [GHI 86, 34 - 5]; οἱ δὲ πολεταί ἀ[π]ομ[ισθοσάντων κατὰ τὸν νό]μον [GHI 87, 8]). After the restoration of the democracy in 403/2 the reference to the poletae disappears, and for much of the fourth century it was customary to state how much would be spent on the stele; later the treasurer was ordered to disburse simply τὸ γεγόμενον ἀνάλωμα (references IG ii² IV i, pp. 37 - 8, s.v. ἀναγραφή).
66. On contracts for public works see pp. 125-6.

67. And. I. Myst. 134.
68. A. I. Tim. 119.
69. SEG XXI 37, 6 - 7.
70. SEG XIX 133, 1 - 2 (cf. Hesp. V 9, 4 - 5, with commentary suggesting that the ratification might be made by any one of the archons, with his σύμβουλοι or πρόεδροι).
71. A.P. 47. iv. Presumably the poletae also were involved, as in IG i² 94, 11 - 13.
72. IG i² 94, most recently studied (for its topographical interest) by R. E. Wycherley, BSA LV 1960.
73. IG i² 94, i - ii.
74. See n. 87, below.
75. Aegeis was not in prytany when the decree was passed, and the decree must therefore belong to the ninth prytany, when it would be known by elimination that Aegeis would hold the tenth and last prytany of the year (cf Ch. I, p. 18 with n. 124). On the interpretation of ll. 18 - 20 see B. D. Meritt, CQ XL 1946, 45 - 6.
76. IG i² 94. 11 - 28.
77. Ibid., 29 - 38.
78. SEG XVIII 13; cf. original publication and commentary by D. M. Lewis, Hesp. XXVIII 1959, 239 - 47. For a discussion of the Νέα see L. Robert, Hellenica XI - XII 1960, 189 - 203, suggesting that the revenue in question comprises the customs dues from Oropus.

79. SEG XVIII. 13, 11 - 15.
80. D. XXI. Mid. 161 - 2.
81. Hesp. XI 56, 9 - 12.
82. Ibid., 17 - 19.
83. A.P. 47. v.
84. In view of Thucydides' contempt for technicalities and the pre-454 context of the passage this cannot be inferred with certainty from T.I. 96. ii. Pollux, indeed, would have imperial revenue like domestic paid in the first instance to the apodectae (VIII. 97):
- ἀποδέκται δὲ ἦσαν δέκα, οἱ τοὺς τε φόρους καὶ τὰς
εἰσφοράς καὶ τὰ τέλη ὑπεδέχοντο,
- and this is accepted in ATL, III. 12 - 13. But despite the Cleisthenic origin alleged for the apodectae in Andr. 324 F 5 they are not mentioned before 418/7 (p. 100 with n. 87, below) and if they did in the 440's exist and receive tribute their absence from HMA 46, 16 - 22, is surprising.
85. A.P. 48. i, cf. E.M. ἀποδέκται, L.S. 198.1, 427.13. For the part played by the boule in the collection of fines and overdue debts see Ch. IV, pp. 152-6.
86. A.P. 48. ii. Cf. ^{also} Ch. IV, p. 151 with n. 22.
87. IG i² 94, 15 - 18, where they are to pass their receipts to the treasurers of the Other Gods κατὰ τὸν νόμον : Dr. D. M. Lewis suggests that the νόμος may be simply GHI 51 A, which established this board of treasurers.
88. Ibid., 28; they appear also in GHI 74, 51 - 2 (perhaps to be dated to 416/5 - cf. n. 45, above); an allusion in Ar. Av. 1541

(414) does not guarantee their continued existence. The "future" constitution of 411 provides for an enlarged board of 20 Hellenotamiae in charge of all non-sacred monies (A.P. 30. ii), and we do find that in and after 410 the Hellenotamiae numbered 20 (GHI 83 with Meritt, Athenian Financial Documents, 98 - 103) and made payments which earlier would have been made by the colacretae (cf. p. 103 with n. 106, below). It is likely therefore that in or perhaps shortly before 411 the imperial and city treasuries were finally merged, (the fact that the treasuries could have been merged earlier than 411 is noted by W. K. Pritchett, BCH LXXXVIII 1964, 474 with n. 3 - but I do not find his speculations about the Hellenotamiae in pp. 474 - 80 attractive) and though the authors of ATL believe that under the democracy the colacretae were revived to handle jury pay there is no evidence for this. (Like the poletae, the colacretae are said in A.P. 7. iii to have existed in the time of Solon.).

For recent discussions of financial organisation in the late fifth century see ATL, III. 359 sqq., and Jacoby's commentary on Andr. 324 F 5.

89. Cf. again p. 103 with n. 106, below.

90. But see n. 95, below, on SEG X 138.

91. They are last found in IG ii² 365, b 6; 1631, 324 - 5 (both 323/2). On the question of their continued existence in the heyday of the theoric officials, and on the relationship to them of the antigrapheus, see Additional Note D, pp. 439-41.

92. Hesp. XI 56, 9 - 10, cf. 1 - 2 (247/6).

93. See the examples given in IG ii² IV i, p. 38. i - ii, s.vv. ἀναγραφῆ &c., and cf. pp. 109-10 on IG ii² 674.

94. SEG X 138, 4 - 9. For the trieropoei and ναυπηγοί, cf. pp. 115-8.
95. B. D. Meritt, Classical Studies presented to E. Capps, 246 - 52, cf. ATL, III. 361. For immediate use of income a little earlier cf. GHI 83, 3 (410/09).
- Dr. D. M. Lewis has suggested to me that we have here a foreshadowing of the fourth-century μερισμός - with emergency arrangements being made because the shipbuilding grant is temporarily exhausted. But revenue from a specified source could be allocated in advance for a particular purpose as early as 434/3 (GHI 51 A, 4 - 7) and if similar arrangements had been made here for a particular consignment of new ships I do not think this decree need presuppose a significant departure from fifth-century practice.
96. GHI 116, 18 - 22 (386). This decree is our earliest clear evidence for the fourth century μερισμός.
97. GHI 117, 14 - 17 (386/5). A. C. Johnson, CP IX 1914, 417 - 23, proposed to restore a similar mention of the apodectae in two other decrees which he assigned to this date, IG ii² 33 and 81 (cf. W. B. Dinsmoor, AJA² XXXVI 1932, 158 with n. 4); but the verb ὄσναται makes it more likely that in these cases a treasurer or treasurers paid.
98. IG ii² 40, 21 - 3. Johnson proposed to associate this decree with those cited above, but it seems settled in 378/7, and the verb μερίσσει should guarantee the restoration of the apodectae (Kirchner, IG ii² IV i, p. 37. ii, s.vv. ἀναγραφή &c., against Wilhelm in IG ii² Add. Johnson recognised in his notes on IG ii² 301 and 520 that μερίσσει was not an appropriate verb for treasurers: CP IX 1914, 424 - 5, 428.).

99. The fund is attested, with variations of title, from the second quarter of the fourth century. Its first dated appearance is in 368/7 (IG ii² 106, 18 - 19), but the ταμίνας τοῦ δήμου, who administered it, is mentioned in IG ii² 21 (c. 376? - Johnson, CP IX 1914, 421) and GHI 129 (c. 375 - 3), and the fund was probably set up about 376. For payment for stelae in the first quarter of the century, see n. 119, below; and on the fund after 323 see pp. 108-9.
100. IG ii² 222, 41 - 6. We have two other decrees calling on the treasurer of the demos to make a payment and on the nomothetae to see that he is reimbursed: IG ii² 330, 15 - 23 (335/4); IG vii 4254 = SIG³ 298, 35 - 41 (not 39 - 45) (329/8).
101. GHI 167, 39 - 44.
102. [D]. XL. Boe. Dot. 20.
103. Ibid. 22.
104. IG ii² 1622, 566 - 72.
105. IG ii² 1631, 505 - 11.
106. They are best described as ταμίαι τῶν πολιτικῶν χρημάτων (schol. Ar. Av. 1541 = Andr. 324 F 36). (Notes in scholia and lexica are conveniently assembled by J. Oehler, RE, XI. 1068). They were responsible for jury pay (Hes., Suid. κωλακρέται, L.S. 190.15, 275.22, cf. Ar. Vesp. 695, 725, Av. 1541) and for various other stipends - for theori (Andr. 324 F 36), for heralds (HMA 87, 50 - 1), for hieropoei (IG i² 84, 22 - 3) and for the priestess of Athena Ἰέρκη (GHI 73) - and also for the publication of documents (e.g. GHI 31, 11 - 13; HMA 87, 23 - 6; GHI 74, 51 - 2) and for various other state payments (e.g. IG i² 80, 7 - 9; 336, 4 - 5;

- SEG X 84, 26 - 30, 41 sqq; 243, ii. 24 - 5; SEG XXI 52, 20 - 2).
107. Cf. HMA 79, GHI 64, where the sacred treasurers provide money either for the Hellenotamiae or for generals in immediate need.
108. The authors of ATL write of a single fund, τὸ δημόσιον, from which the colacretae or Hellenotamiae made payments as appropriate (ATL, III. 360 - 1), but records of borrowing from the sacred treasuries show that the fifth-century Athenians were careful to note which sums of money belonged to whom, and as long as the city's officials were distinct from those which she supplied to the Delian League it seems more realistic to think in terms of two separate funds.
109. SEG X 84, 26 - 30, and 96 (but here I have doubts about the restoration: see n. 146 to Ch. I), with A. Wilhelm, Sb. Wien CCXVII. v. 1939, 52 - 72; cf. Wilamowitz, DLZ XIX 1898, 383, on GHI 73.
110. Cf. n. 88, above.
111. GHI 86, 34 - 6; 87, 4 - 9; 96, 39 - 40.
112. GHI 86, 10 - 12.
113. On the logistae cf. p. 111.
114. D.XXI. Mid. 174 (on the date I follow G. L. Cawkwell, C & M XXIII 1962).
115. A.P. 50. i.
116. A.P. 56. iv (at an earlier date they had been expected to defray their expenses out of their own pockets).

117. IG ii² 380, 14 - 17. We have seen that the use of the verb μερτζεῖν continued into the Hellenistic period, but with a weakened meaning (p. 101 and nn. 92 - 3, above).
118. Cf. p. 102 and n. 99, above.
119. On the assumption that at any one time there should be only one source of payment for stelae W. B. Dinsmoor, AJA² XXXVI 1932, 158 - 9 (modifying the views of A. C. Johnson, CP IX 1914, 417 - 23) suggested that payments were made by the joint sacred treasurers from 404/3 until 387/6, by the apodectae in 386/5, by the treasurers of Athena from 385/4 to 377/6 (from a special 10 - talent fund in the last two years of this period : GHI 123 is dated to 378/7; the other decrees mentioning the fund are IG ii² 22, 84, GHI 139, IG ii² 173); and by the treasurer of the demos from 376/5. The succession of joint sacred treasurers, treasurers of Athena, treasurer of the demos may be accepted; but one of the three likely references to the apodectae seems later than 386/5, and it is easier to believe that they might make a direct payment in any emergency (cf. p. 102 and nn. 97 - 8, above); and it is an obstacle (though perhaps not fatal) to Dinsmoor's view of the 10 - talent fund that many have thought the content of GHI 139 to be better explained by a date in the 360's (see Tod's commentary).

There is no justification beyond the actual sum involved for the attempt of some scholars to identify the 10 - talent fund with the proceeds of the levy imposed on metics (IG ii² 505, 14 - 15). For a recent discussion of the fund see S. Accame, La Lega ateniese, 65 - 6 (not aware of Johnson and Dinsmoor); Jones simply identifies the fund with the ecclesia's expense-account (102 with 154 n. 33).

120. E.g. IG ii² 120, 21 - 2.
121. E.g. IG ii² 223A, 7; B, 15; Kahrstedt (S.S.A., 332 - 3) has noticed that although in the Demosthenic period the boule could award gold crowns it later awarded only green crowns, except in those oligarchic periods in the first century when the boule made awards which at other times would have been ratified by the demos (cf. Ch. II, pp. 57 - 8). This is presumably due to Athens' comparative poverty and to the great increase in honours in the Hellenistic period, rather than to any deliberate desire to reduce the boule's financial independence.
122. U.M.A., 193.
123. E.g. IG ii² 223B, 5; P 10, 10 sqq.
124. U.M.A., 193 with n. 6: Kahrstedt should have specified the Tholos, not the Prytaneum.
125. The ὀρεστωτοί in "second" prytany decrees thank not the prytanes but the prytanes' treasurer, and the payments specifically attributed to him are for sacrifices, not for board residence. We cannot rule out (as Kahrstedt did, S.S.A., 223) the possibility that the prytanes received a separate allowance for expenses of this kind, which their treasurer administered; but since in IG ii² 674, 16 - 21, sacrifices of the prytanes were to be charged to the boule's expense-account it is certainly possible that the prytanes' expenses were always considered to form a subsection of the boule's.
126. Philocles was appointed c. 368 - 358 by the boule and demos (IG ii² 145. ii), and I argue in Ch. II, p. 86 ,

that the appointment of his father c. 398 - 390,
 [κηρυκεύεν . . . τῆι βολῆι καὶ τῶι δήμῳ-
 [ι τῶι Ἀθηναίων] , was made by the demos
 (IG ii² 145. i).

127. Cf. Ch. IV, pp. 183-4.

128. This is the figure for the quorum at an ὄστρακοφορέα
 or an assembly to ratify a grant of citizenship.

129. P. 111.

129A. I am greatly indebted to Dr D. M. Lewis for letting me
 see his unpublished essay on Eubulus and Lycurgus, and
 notes on it by Messrs. G. E. M. de Ste Croix, A. R. W.
 Harrison and G. L. Cawkwell.

130. [D] XLIX. Tim. 12, 16; cf. for 362 [D]. L. Poly. 10.
 Glotz' view that the fund was a creation of the 340's
 (RH CLXX 1932) has been answered by G. L. Cawkwell,
Mnem.⁴ XV 1962, who thinks it possible that a stratiotic
 fund existed as early as the 390's. A ταμίᾳ στρατιωτικῶν
 first appears in 344/3 (IG ii² 1443, 12 - 13), but there
 is no reason why the office should not be as old as the
 fund.

131. According to [D]. LIX Nearer.4, when Apollodorus made his
 illegal proposal in 349/8 the laws prescribed

ὅταν πόλεμος ᾖ, τὰ περιόντα χρήματα τῆς
 διοικήσεως στρατιωτικὰ εἶναι,

but Athens had been formally at war with Philip since his
 capture of Amphipolis in 357 (Is. V. Phil. 2, A. II. F.L.
 21, 70, 72, III. Ctes. 54) and in 349/8 surplus money was
 clearly going to the theoric fund. Presumably the creation
 of the latter fund after the Social War had in fact upset

the arrangement to which the speaker alludes.

132. I would however infer a μερισμός to the stratiotic fund from GHI 167, 39 - 44 (347/6). The fund is mentioned also in 349/8 (IG ii² 207, bcd 11) and its treasurer in 344/3 (cf. n. 130, above), and as at this time surpluses went to the theoric fund an allocation in the μερισμός seems inevitable.
133. J. van Ooteghem, LEC I 1932, cf. G. L. Cawkwell, JHS LXXXVIII 1963, 55 - 6 with n. 53, relying on Justin, VI. ix.1 - 5 and schol. A. III. Ctes. 24 (in edition of F. Schultz, 1865, or ap. NJhb XCIII 1866 (i), 27); J. J. Buchanan, Theorika, 48 - 53, prefers the attribution to Agyrrhius in Harp. θεωρηκᾶ. Eubulus seems at any rate to have been responsible for the name θεωρηκᾶ (Philinus ap. Harp. s.v.) and for the important position held by the theoric officials in the 340's (A. III. Ctes. 25).
134. Apollodorus' attempt to divert surpluses to the stratiotic fund in 349/8 was thwarted by a γραφὴ παρανόμων ([D]. LIX. Neaer. 4 - 6). According to Libanius (D. I. Ol.i. hyp. 5) the death penalty was threatened for repetitions of this proposal. •
135. Phil. 328 F 56a: the change is unlikely to have outlasted the settlement of 338/7 (but for a different view see F. W. Mitchel, TAPA XCIII 1962, 224 - 5 with 224 n. 33).
136. References given by G. E. M. de Ste Croix, CR² XIV 1964, 191.
137. In 349/8 Demosthenes thought that the large-scale expedition he wanted to send to Olynthus could be financed from the theoric fund (D. I. Ol.i. 19 - 20, III. Ol.iii. 10 - 11), and in 346 Eubulus thought it necessary to warn the Athenians that if they did not make peace on terms acceptable

to Philip the theoric monies would have to be diverted to the stratiotic fund (D. XIX. F.L. 291).

138. A. III. Ctes. 25 (the asterisked insertion is my own; Kaibel suggested καὶ νεωρῶν ἤρχον ; the Teubner and Budé editors retain the MSS' text unchanged). The powers of the theoric officials, their term of office, and whether there was a single man, ὁ ἐπὶ τὸ θεωρικόν, or a board, have all been disputed: see Additional Note D, pp. 432-42.
139. Phil. 328 F 56a, Harp. θεωρικὰ . Since Demosthenes spent 10 talents ἐκ τῆς διοικήσεως on the walls (A. III. Ctes. 31), and διοίκησις was the business of the theoric officials (A. III. Ctes. 25; Hyp. V. Dem., col. 28, referred by D. M. Lewis ap. G. L. Cawkwell, JHS LXXXIII 1963, 58 n. 68, to Demosthenes as a theoric official) it is likely that the fund also financed Eubulus' work on the fortifications (schol. D. III. Ol.iii. 29).
140. Pl. Quaest. Plat. 1011 B.
141. See Additional Note D, pp. 437-42.
142. Quoted on p. 97 . Similarly in 307/6 ὁ ἐπὶ τῆ διοικήσει combined with the poletae to make a wall-building contract: IG ii² 463, 36.
143. A.P. 43. i.
144. A. III. Ctes. 24.
145. [Pl]. X.Or. 841B, decree ap. 852B.
146. D.S. XVI. 88. i.
147. Decree ap. [Pl]. X.Or. 852 B, D.S. XVI. 88.i.

148. ταχθεῖς δὲ ἐπὶ τῆ διοικήσει τῶν χρημάτων,
 Hyp. fr. 118 (K); cf. [P1]. X.Or. 841 C, D.S. XVI. 88.i,
 D. Ep. iii.2. D.H. 660. Din. 11 describes Menesaechmus
 δημοσίων
 as μετὰ Λυκούργον τὴν διοίκησιν τῶν/χρημάτων παραλαβών.
149. [P1]. X.Or. 841B, decree ap. 852B.
150. [P1]. X.Or. 841C.
151. IG ii² 1493/4/5 with F. W. Mitchel, TAPA XCIII 1962,
 esp. 219 - 25, arguing that Demades was treasurer of the
 stratiotic fund for the Panathenaic quadrennium 334 - 0
 (cf. Additional Note D, pp. 435-6): he was at any rate
 treasurer in 334/3. If we are to be tied to Panathenaic
 quadrennia for Lycurgus, which at any rate in the case of
 an extraordinary appointment does not seem inevitable,
 I should prefer to think that the twelve years began in
 334 and that Lycurgus did not live to the end of the third
 quadrennium (cf. [P1]. X.Or. 842F).
152. For Hyperides see n. 148, above. In Hesp. XXIX 3 = SEG
 XIX 119 [Ξενοκλῆς Ε]εινύδος Σ[φήτιος] is
 said to have been κ<α>τ[ασταθεῖς δ' ἐπ]ὶ τῆ διοι[κῆσει
 τῆς π]όλεως (κ<α>τ[ή]ρημένος ἐπ]ὶ, D. M. Lewis) (7 - 9),
 and his activities to have involved ἐμέρισε[ν τὰ εἰς τὸ
 εἰ]ερά θῦσαι [τὸ γένος τὸ Κ]ηρύκων (10 - 13).
 Xenocles was active from 346/5 to 306/5 (PA 11234, cf.
 Meritt's commentary on this inscription), but Meritt thinks
 the letters "too well cut to fit comfortably into the last
 years of the century" (Dr Lewis tells me that he concurs)
 and regards ὁ ἐπὶ τῆ διοικήσει as the title
 borne first by Lycurgus and then by his friends, and Xenocles
 as one of these friends.

153. Possibly this is an element which later misunderstanding has allowed to enter the tradition, but SEG XIX 119 would seem to confirm it, and we have so little detailed information on Lycurgus' position that it is dangerous to reject anything we are told. One could nevertheless perhaps argue against this element from IG ii² 1672, 11. recording an order issued by Lycurgus in 329/8 (certainly after the end of his first quadrennium) that an architect should be paid in advance.
154. Hyp. fr. 118 (K), [P1]. X.Or. 841 C - D, 842F, decree ap. 851F - 852E cf. IG ii² 457, b (1-) 3 - 9.
155. ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως worked with the poletae in 307/6 (n. 142 above). If Lycurgus' office was extraordinary rather than established, this may have seemed a sufficient reason for its omission from the Athenaion Politeia; if Lycurgus' own tenure was limited to one quadrennium any constitutional power will have passed with the office to his deputy - but it was the right of every citizen to request an audience with the boule and to address the assembly, and Lycurgus will surely have exercised this to the full. He was the author of a decree of the boule in or before 329/8 (IG ii² 1672, 302), but the safest inference from this is that he was a member at the time (Ch. II, p. 64 with n. 96; cf. Ch. I, p. 3 with n. 31). Mitchel, TAPA XCIII 1962, 222 n. 26, confuses the right of πρόσδοος with the members' right to propose motions.
156. E.g. IG ii² 393, 11 - 15 (322/1 - 319/8); 448, 85 - 7 (318/7); 505, 62 - 4 (302/1).
157. E.g. IG ii² 463, 36 (307/6 - but we have no reference to his paying for stelae in this first year); 500, 40 - 3 (302/1).

- On this overlap cf. W. K. Pritchett, Hesp. X 1941, 270 - 3.
158. IG ii² 806, 6 - 9; 809, 4 - 8; Hesp. VIII 12, 5 - 9; IX 45, 29 - 32 - with E. Schweigert's commentary on Hesp. IX 45, p. 351.
159. IG ii² 558, 29 - 31.
160. IG ii² 657, 70 - 3; 672, 16 - 17. IG ii² 675 is linked with 525 and dated to 306/5 by W. K. Pritchett, AJP LVIII 1937, 329 - 33; for 806, 809 cf. n. 158, above.
161. IG ii² 641, 29 - 32, 643, 9 - 12.
162. W. S. Ferguson ap. S. Dow, Hesp. Supp. I 1937, 13 n.1.
163. On financial officials from 295 see S. Dow, Hesp. Supp. I 1937, 11 - 13, B. D. Meritt, Hesp. XXXII 1963, 18 n. 36.
164. At the end of the third century an honorific decree almost certainly of the boule (IG ii² 863: it ends with the "citation", ἡ βουλῆ [τῆ]ν ἑρέριαν, 11. 10 - 11) was to be paid for simply by ὁ ταμίαις (11. 7 - 9). Kirchner quotes the opinion of Hartel and Fellner that this was the ταμίαις τῆς βουλῆς, but in view of the absence of any parallel after 323 the ταμίαις τῶν στρατιωτικῶν is more likely.
165. For the history of the office see n. 456, below.
166. IG ii² 674, 16 - 21. A different interpretation underlies the remarks of D. J. Geagan, Hesp. Supp. XII 1967, 116 n. 179.
167. Cf. p. ¹⁰¹ and n. 93, above.
168. Notice that here and in Hesp. XI 56 (cf. p. ¹⁰⁰) the treasurer of the stratiotic fund still exists, though at this time he is not involved in payment for stelae.

169. Cf. Ch. I, p. 12 with n. 84.
170. The ἀγορᾶνομοί still had funds at their disposal in 320/19 (cf. p. 104 and n. 117, above).
171. A.P. 47. ii, 49. v.
172. A.P. 45. ii.
173. ATL list 1, 2, p.s.; list 2, 1; list 3, 1.
174. GHI 51 A, 7 - 9.
175. GHI 64. The similarity of function makes it as good as certain that we are dealing with the same board again. Logistae, again with no number stated, reckoned up the expenditure of the Eleusinian epistatae: HMA 41, 22 - 8.
176. A.P. 48. iii, Poll. VIII. 99, cf. Lys. XXX Nic. 5.
177. A.P. 54. ii, cf. scholia and lexica. Phot., E.M. εὐθύνα confuse these with the εὐθύνοι, on whom see n. 22 to Ch. IV.
178. A. III. Ctes 9 - 23, esp. 22.
179. Though little trust can be placed in such general charges as A.III. Ctes. 9-10.
180. Phil. 328 F 121, cf. Pl. Per. 31. ii - v, D.S. XII. 39. i - ii, Suid. Φελοδράς.
181. Pl. Per. 32. iii - iv with F. J. Frost, JHS LXXXIV 1964.
182. Ant. VI Chor. 35.
183. Ibid. 49.
184. A.I. Tim. 110.
185. O.O. iii. 1 - 3.

186. Ar. Thesm. 936 - 8.

187. A.III. Ctes. 62.

188. Hyp. IV. Eux. 8; cf. Ch. IV, pp. 169-70.

189. Cf. Ch. IV, pp. 163-4.

ὄρθω γὰρ ὡς τὰ πολλὰ ἐνίοις οὐκ εἰς τοὺς αἰτίους, ἀλλ' εἰς τοὺς ὑπὸ χεῖρα μάλιστα τὴν ὀργὴν ἀφιέντας.

(D. VI. Phil.ii. 34 - on a different matter)

190. D.XXII. Andr. 17 - 20.

191. Notice, for example, T.III. 27 - 8.

192. IG i² 114, l. 35 in the enumeration of H. T. Wade-Gery, BSA XXXIII 1932 - 3, 113 - 22. I discuss this inscription in the appendix to Ch. IV, pp. 208-11, and argue:

(i) that δῆμος πληθύων means simply "people in assembly", and that clauses in which this phrase rather than δῆμος alone is used are likely to be older than 450 B.C., but that the whole document need not represent a single enactment, with a single date;

and (ii) that the imposition of an oath (whose text was given at the beginning of this inscription) on the boule in 501/0 does not justify the inference that anything which the boule then swore not to do it had previously been allowed to do (that is, I regard the oath as consolidating Cleisthenes' reform, not as modifying it).

193. Representative Government, 15 - 18.

194. Though Aristophanes was prepared to consider it as a comic possibility: Ach. 26 - 39. Cf. Ch. II, p. 59 with nn. 61 - 2.

195. T. VI. 8 - 26.
196. D.XXI. Mid. 162 - 3.
197. A.P. 42. iv.
198. Lys. XIV. Alc. i. 6, XV. Alc. ii. 7, cf. D.S. XI. 81. iv.
199. A.P. 42. i - ii, &c. I discuss this δοκιμασία in Ch. IV, pp. 179-81.
200. IG ii² 1156, 1189. On the date of the institution see the discussions cited in n. 186 to Ch. IV.
201. So Beloch, Klio V 1905, 351; GG², III. ii. 402; Gomme, Population of Athens, 11; Jones, 82. A.P. 42 and Lyc. Leocr. 76 imply that ephebic service was compulsory for all Athenians: I find it incredible that the thetes should have been subjected to a two-year programme of hoplite training, but my incredulity is not shared by Pélékidis, Histoire de l'Éphébie attique, 113 - 4.
202. A.P. 42. iii - v.
203. IG ii² 1156, 64.
204. Cf. Pélékidis, Histoire de l'Éphébie attique, part III.
205. The earliest instance is Hesp. VII. 20, 17 - 18.
206. A.P. 49, i - ii, &c. For these δοκιμασία see again Ch. IV, pp. 181-3.
207. A.P. 46. i.
208. The ΔΕ was first deleted by Kenyon, followed by Blass, Sandys, Opperman and Mathieu & Haussoulier, cf. Gilbert, 278 - 9 n. 3;

δ' was read by Keil; δέκα by Thalheim, Kolbe and Wilcken, cf. Busolt & Swoboda, 1032, Miltner, RE, VII A. 121.

209. D.S. XI. 43. iii.

210. ATL, I, T9, II, D 13 as amalgamated in HMA, p. 51.

211. H. T. Wade-Gery and B. D. Meritt, Hesp. XXVI 1957, 164, using a markedly longer line than previous reconstructions.

212. E.g. Keil, Anonymus Argentinensis, 74 - 5; Kolbe, AM XXVI 1901, 411 - 3; Wilcken, Hermes XLII 1907, 387 - 9 cf. 399 - 402. Keil dotted the ε, but nowhere discussed the reading; Wilcken printed the ε as certain.

213. Hesp. XXVI 1957, facing p. 164.

214. I have obtained this photograph through the cooperation of Professor J. Schwartz and Mr R. G. Maber, and Dr J. D. Thomas has kindly examined with me this, a photograph taken for Professor B. R. I. Sealey (lent to me by Dr D. M. Lewis) and the photograph published in Hesp. XXVI 1957. Schwartz' opinion, based on an examination of the papyrus, is that
le kappa est absolument sûr et il est précédé
d'une lettre ronde que l'on est tout naturellement
porté à lire epsilon.

215. Cf. n. 212, above. He accepted Keil's readings and restored:

τριή-

[ρων τῶν ἔτι πλωτῶν ἐπιμελ]ε[τ]σθαι, καινὰς δ' ἐπι-
ναυπηγεῖν ἑκατό[ν]

[ἐλομένην ἐξ αὐτῆς ἄνδρας δ]έκα.

216. IG ii² 1611, 9.

217. G. L. Cawkwell, C & M XXIII 1962, 41 - 2, arguing against D. M. Lewis, BSA XLIX 1954, 44. Even if full details of the ἐξάρετοι had survived, we do not know when any of the πρώται, δεύτεραι and τρίται were built.
218. Cf. D. XXII. Andr., hyp. i. 1, hyp. ii. 8.
219. IG i² 74, cf. SEG X 41: ναυπεγός, ll. 23, 31.
220. IG i² 73, 4.
221. Ibid., 13 - 14.
222. SEG X 131, 8 - 13.
223. SEG X 138, 4 - 9: cf. pp. 101-2 and n. 95, above. Cf. SEG X 226, ll sqq., (largely restored) where the sacred treasurers in 431/0 provide money for the ναυπεγός and trieropoei.
224. SEG X 138, 9 - 14.
225. Ibid., 14 - 20.
226. The funds must have been voted by the assembly - presumably a special vote for each consignment of ships in the fifth century and in the fourth an allocation in the μερισμός (which can have been a regular sum only if there was a regular quota). Meritt and Wade-Gery restore in ll. 17 - 18 of the Anonymus Argentinensis a note that money for building triremes was voted by the boule (Hesp.XXVI 1957, 164 cf. 177); earlier editors (e.g. Wilcken, Hermes XLII 1907, 407 - 9) did not attempt to restore a full text of this section.
227. Cf. Ch. I, pp. 43-6.

228. There is a full treatment of the epimeletae by G. Glotz, DA, II. i. 669.i - 673.i. For the boule's interest in the dockyards cf. O.O. iii. 2.
229. SEG X 142, 5, 6 (c. 406).
230. E.g. IG ii² 1627, 214 - 6.
231. E.g. IG ii² 1628, 339 sqq. Further references, DA, II.i. 672. ii with n. 156.
232. [D]. XLVII. Ev. & Mnes., esp. 33, 41 - 2. On the misdeeds of Theophemus see Ch. IV, pp. 159-61.
233. IG ii² 1609. 111.
234. IG ii² 1623, 200 sqq.
235. IG ii² 1629, 272 sqq.; cf. the enabling clause, 264 - 9.
236. IG ii² 1627, 49 - 51; 1628, 231 - 3; 1629, 358 - 61.
237. IG ii² 1628, 297 sqq.
238. IG ii² 1629, 417 - 20, 1133 - 6; 1631, 196 - 9, 326 sqq.
239. IG ii² 1629, 430 - 6.
240. IG ii² 1627, 374 - 95; 1628, 533 - 51; 1629, 1010 - 29; 1631, 237 - 51.
241. GHI 61, 53.
242. IG ii² 1627, 279 sqq.; 1628, 501 sqq.; 1629, 976 sqq.
243. IG ii² 1631, 212 sqq.
244. IG ii² 1629, 11 - 15, 31 - 6, 53 - 7, 99 - 104, 113 - 23, 133 - 8, 152 - 7, 277 - 97 marg.
245. IG ii² 1631, 655 - 8.

246. Similarly the decree cited in [D] XLVII. Ev. & Mnes. 21 probably made general provisions for the working of Periander's law.
247. IG ii² 1622, 379 - 85.
248. Ibid., 420 - 2.
249. Ibid., 444 - 8.
250. See Additional Note D, p. 441.
251. IG ii² 1629 = GHI 200, 165 - 170 - 271 (325/4).
252. The lacuna must have included detailed provisions as to the fleet which Miltiades was to take with him: cf. ll. 165 - 9.
253. τῆι βουλῆι is, I think, best interpreted as a dative of the agent, so that this clause will place the ἀποστολεῖς under the supervision of the boule.
254. [D]. XLVII. Ev. & Mnes. 26.
255. Ibid. 33.
256. A.II. F.L.^{177.} The office is not mentioned by Demosthenes, pace Jacoby and others: the passages cited in the commentary on Phil. 328 F 63 refer to dispatches but not to dispatchers.
257. Texts conveniently assembled at Phil. 328 F 63 and commentary.
258. Cf. IG ii² 1953.
259. D. LI. Cor. Tri. 4. Cf. Ch. IV, p. 158

260. Ar. Eq. 912 - 8 with schol., D.XXXV. Lacr. 48. XXXIX
Boe. Nom. 8, A.P. 61.i; cf. the "decree of Themistocles",
SEG XVIII 153, 18 - 23, with the remarks of M. H.
 Jameson, Hist. XII 1963, 395 - 7: when the preliminary
 lists had been drawn up the boule and the generals were
 to πληροῦν the ships (ll. 35 - 40).
261. GHI 77A, 5 - 6.
262. Ibid., 10 - 12.
263. Pp. 158-64
264. D.XXII. Andr. 20. The final αὐτή is Jurinus' generally
 accepted emendation for the αὐτήν or αὐτή of the MSS.
265. Schol. D.XXII. Andr. 20 (not in Sauppe; 679. 15, Dindorf;
 quoted O.C.T. app.).
266. A.P. 43. i.
267. A.P. 61. vii, cf. D.XXI. Mid. 171.
268. In Ch. II, p. 86, I argue from IG ii² 145 that the
 herald of the boule and demos was appointed by the ecclesia,
 which could accept a recommendation made in a specific
 probouleuma.
- Dr D. M. Lewis has suggested the following alternative
 solution. There is some evidence to support a theory that
 the office rotated among the tribes:
- | | | |
|----|-------|--|
| I | 346/5 | <u>IG</u> ii ² 1622, 387 - 90; |
| V | 332/1 | <u>IG</u> ii ² 1627, 23 - 4, 374 - 5; 1628, 3 - 6,
83 - 6; |
| IX | 328/7 | <u>IG</u> ii ² 1628, 11 - 14; 1629, 275; 1632, 14 - 15; |
- but the treasurers for 363/2 and 359/8 were both from X.

Such an officer would probably be appointed by lot, and the boule's offence would then lie in having a man elected.

But this is incompatible with the scholium cited in n. 265, above, and Demosthenes' emphasis seems to me to be on the part played by the boule rather than on the fact of election.

269. A.P. 49. iii: in 60.i. the athlothetae appointed to manage the Panathenaea τούς ἀμφορεῖς ποιοῦνται μετὰ τῆς βουλῆς.
270. GHI 40, 1 - 13.
271. Ibid., 14 sqq.
272. So Tod, GHI, I, p. 80.
273. HMA 45.
274. IG i² 88, 1 - 5.
275. IG i² 81.
276. SEG XXI 37, a 7 - 10.
277. IG i² 84, 38 - 9.
278. IG ii² 204, 5 - 12, cf. 69 - 70, 74 sqq. (352/1).
279. Ibid., 67 - 70.
280. Cf. Ch. I, p. 27.
281. IG ii² 244. G. L. Cawkwell, JHS LXXXIII 1963, 66 with n. 109, would prefer to date this a little earlier and connect it with the activities of Eubulus, and his argument may be strengthened by the appearance of the antigrapheus in 1. 23 (cf. Additional Note D, pp. 438-9).
282. IG ii² 244, 6-10.
283. Ibid., 40 - 2.

284. IG ii² 463, 6 - 7, cf. 9.
285. Ibid., 21, 32, 117. In the IG text the architects, both singular and plural, are linked with ὁ ἐπὶ τῆ διοικήσει, though the sum total of the evidence for this is that in 1. 9 the architect is followed by καὶ and in 1. 36 ὁ ἐπὶ τῆ διοικήσει is combined with the poletae. An additional fragment (Hesp. IX 9) makes it clear that at any rate the division of the work into sections (117 - 8) was made by the architects alone, and all the restorations of this combination disappear in the latest text, Maier, GMbi 11.
286. IG ii² 463, 23, retained by Maier.
287. Cf. pp. 97-9.
288. GHI 40, 5 - 8.
289. HMA 45, 8 - 11.
290. HMA 67B, 10 - 11, has the restoration [εὐτελέστατα]; Wilhelm's text (SEG XII 18) does not, but he agreed that further expenditure on the Acropolis was to be severely limited.
291. ATL D 19/HMA 69, 7.
292. IG ii² 204, 66 - 7. Cf. Ch. I, p. 27 with n. 191.
293. IG ii² 1669, 8, 21, &c.
294. IG ii² 1678, 27 - 8. This must antedate the loss of Delos in 314.
295. IG ii² 463, 36. Cf. pp.¹⁰⁶⁻⁷ with n. 142, above.

296. A.P. 46. ii. On the καταγνοῦσα of the papyrus text see n. 92 to Ch. IV. The ἑρᾶ whose ἐπιμέλεια is credited to the boule in O.O. iii. 2 are probably religious buildings rather than ceremonies.
297. But the Eleusinian epistatae are known to have been elected: HMA 41, 7 - 13.
298. IG i² 335 sqq , e.g. GHI 47 (chryselephantine Athena), 52 (Parthenon), 53 (Propylaea).
299. Cf. p.111. . The boards of epistatae seem to have kept their accounts by the bouletic calendar: see Additional Note A, p. 417.
300. HMA 67B, 2 - 12.
301. SEG XII 18, cf. his article in JHS LXVIII 1948. I cannot, however, see why the treasurers should require the architect to produce a παράδειγμα : Wilhelm offers this restoration of ll. 8 - 9 without comment in his final sentence (p. 129).
302. SEG X 44, 3 - 6.
303. IG ii² 244, 28 - 9. For the election of ἐπιστάται τῶν δημοσίων ἔργων cf. A.III. Ctes. 14.
304. IG ii² 244, 38 - 40.
305. Ibid., 26 - 7, 36 - 7.
306. Cf. p. 125 with n. 286, above.
307. IG ii² 463, 25.
308. IG ii² 244, 6, 40 - 1.

309. D.XVIII. Cor. 28, cf. A.II. F.L. 55. This architect appears twice in inscriptions, IG ii² 456, 32 - 3; 792, 7 - 9.
310. A.P. 61. i, cf. W. S. Ferguson, Klio IX 1909, 314 - 23.
311. The office is not mentioned in A.P. 61. i. Ferguson noted that IG ii² 1487,^{80 - 4,} /shows six στρατηγῶν τῶν ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ πολέμου παρασκευῆν κεχειροτονημένων] in 307/6, and ll. 91 sqq. record the handing over of military equipment by generals to the treasurers of Athena in 306/5. Shortly afterwards the treasurers of Athena were abolished (cf. Ferguson, Treasurers of Athena, 126) and στρατηγός ὁ ἐπὶ τὴν παρασκευήν became a regular office (apparently so in IG ii² 682, 21 - 4 [296/5]). Ferguson suggested that this general was primarily responsible for military stores, some of which were kept in the temples, and through this came to be concerned with everything that was kept in the temples.
312. Cf. n. 57, above.
313. IG ii² 839 (221/0): on the decrees concerning this shrine
cf. pp 96-7
314. IG ii² 841, 842.
315. IG ii² 840.
316. Hesp. XVI 64; I quote l. 15.
317. Hesp. Supp. IV 1940, 137 - 41.
318. IG ii² 1046.
319. IG ii² 1039. ii, 1043. ii.

320. E.g. P 97.
321. But in the second century A.D. the boule built the ἀγορανόμιον and dedicated it to Antoninus Pius: IG ii² 3391 with H. S. Robinson, AJA² XLVII 1943, 304 - 5, D. J. Geagan, Hesp. Supp. XII 1967, 78.
322. IG i² 5, 2 (c. 475 - 450).
323. SEG X 6, 89 - 92 (c. 460).
324. GHI 74: see pp. 95-6 and especially n. 45, above.
325. GHI 74, 8 - 10, 16 - 18, 34 - 5.
326. Ibid., 10 - 12.
327. Ibid., 40 sqq.
328. Ibid., 9 - 10, 17 - 18. The title is given as ἑροποιοῖ Ἐλευσινόθεν Ἐλευσινάδε by Oehler, RE, VIII. 1585, but Ἐλευσινάδε is surely to be read with παραδιδόναι.
329. IG i² 311, 18 - 19 (422 - 418).
- 329A. HMA 41 (after 450), IG i² 311. .
330. IG ii² 1672, 279 sqq.
331. Cf. p. 96 and nn. 50 - 1, above.
332. IG ii² 140, Add., cf. SIG³ 200, 25 - 6.
333. Lois Sacrées (Suppl.), 13, cf. SEG XXI 253.

334. IG ii² 1749, 80 - 4, honouring τοὺς ἱεροποιοὺς τοὺς τὰ μυστήρια ἱεροποιήσαντας Ἐλευσίνια. All ten were members of the tribe Aegeis (which was presumably in prytany at the time of the festival); one of them was the treasurer of the prytany, and another was also a συλλογεὺς τοῦ δήμου. The honours for the συλλογεῖς were proposed by a ἱεροποιός; the honours for the hieropoei, by a συλλογεύς; and honours for the ἱεροποιός who had proposed the συλλογεῖς' honours, by another ἱεροποιός; the proposer of the honours for the hieropoei also proposed the honours for the treasurer of the prytany. A friendly set of men.

Demosthenes addressed to (hypothetical) dicasts the following comment on Midias :-

ἔχειροτονήσατε τοῦτον . . . μυστηρίων ἐπιμελητὴν καὶ ἱεροποιόν ποτε καὶ βοῶνην (D. XXI. Mid. 171).

It is perhaps unwise to insist from this passage on the same mode of appointment to all three offices, but it is at any rate possible that before 353/2 the Eleusinian hieropoei were not appointed by the boule, and that Midias held office under the old dispensation.

In 329/8 the Eleusinian epistatae spent 70 drachmae on sacrificing an ἄρεστήριον to each of the two goddesses, in accordance with a decree of the boule proposed by Lycurgus (IG ii² 1672, 302).

335. IG i² 84, 19 - 21.

336. Ibid., 23 - 5.

337. GHI 83, 6 - 7.

338. IG ii² 334: title in ll. 31 - 2.

339. Ibid., 34 - 5.

340. IG ii² 410.

341. A.P. 54. vi.

342. A.P. 54. vii.

343. IG vii 4254 = SIG³ 298.

344. In reply to suggestions by Foucart and Wilhelm that Ἀμφιάρεια should be restored Keil quoted (in Hermes XXX 1895, 474) a letter from Kenyon stating that the restoration was impossible; and Dr J. D. Thomas tells me that he would read [ῥ H] φαῖστ [ι α] from the 1891 facsimile. More recently the Dr. D. M. Lewis has favoured the Amphiarea, and/suggestion has been mentioned by J. K. Davies, JHS LXXXVII 1967, 35 with n. 36.

345. Cf. Ch. I p. 19. For the number compare the three from Aegeis in 341/0 (IG ii² 1749, 75 - 9: cf. n. 334, above) with Poll. VIII. 104, Hes., Phot. τριάκοντα. Glotz, The Greek City, 189, suggested that one of the three was appointed from each trittys; but the three men named as συλλογεῖς in IG ii² 1749, 79, represent only two of W. E. Thompson's τριττύες τῶν πρυτάνεων, and only one Cleisthenic trittys.

IG ii² 1425, 126 - 30, records gold crowns dedicated by the συλλογεῖς in the treasury of Athena in 370/69 and 369/8 ("and perhaps annually thereafter" - D. M. Lewis, BSA XLIX 1954, 45); IG ii² 2821 records a further dedication in 351/0.

346. IG ii² 1257A.

347. IG ii² 1257B.
348. IG ii² 1496, 82 - 3, 113 - 4.
349. IG ii² 330.
350. Kirchner in IG ii² I i, p. 135.
351. Cf. 11. 6 - 7, 33 - 4.
352. D.XXI. Mid. 114 - 5.
353. Cf. pp. 134-6.
354. S.v. ἑεροποιοί.
355. S.v. ἑεροποιοί . The conclusion is based on a fragment of Dinarchus' speech against Lycurgus (fr. ²viii. 1, Sauppe); D.XXI. Mid. 115 is quoted without the words τρίτον αὐτόν.
356. In the fifth century the boule also provided some religious treasurers: cf. p. 96 and nn. 53, 54, above.
357. See nn. 264 and 265 to Ch. I.
358. IG ii² 223 B, 7 - 9, cf. 5 - 6.
- 358A. D.XIX. F.L. 128.
359. GHI 42, 64 - 9.
360. IG ii² 204, 5 - 6.
361. Ibid., 42 sqq.
362. Ibid., 23 - 42.
363. Ibid., 16 - 23.
364. Is. XVII Trap. 33 - 4, with Pickard-Cambridge, Dramatic Festivals of Athens, 96 - 8.

365. Cf. Ch. I, pp. 33-4.
366. D.XXI. Mid. 114 - 5 (quoted p. 133), XIX. F.L. 190
(quoted p. 136), cf. T. VIII. 70. i. Cf. Ch. I, p. 12.
367. Cf. Ch. I, p. 36
368. Cf. Ch. I, pp. 37-8
369. Cf. Ch. I, pp. 42-3.
370. E.g. IG ii² 689, 775, 976, SEG XVIII 22, 26. (I make no claim to completeness for the list of references in nn. 370 - 80. The decrees cited are, inevitably, late: honours were not awarded, or at any rate their award was not published, on such slight pretexts before the Hellenistic period).
371. IG ii² 410.
372. IG ii² 783 (a decree of the boule).
373. IG ii² 661.
374. SEG XIX 124.
375. IG ii² 403.
376. IG ii² 365.
377. IG ii² 780.
378. IG ii² 668, 781, 929.
379. IG ii² 1011, 1039, 1042, 1043.
380. IG ii² 949.
381. Prytany "first" decrees, passim.

382. Cf. S. Dow, Hesp. Supp. I. 1937, 8 - 11. Artemis appears commonly but by no means invariably; the friends and allies of the Athenians are added to the list of beneficiaries from c. 200. Two third-century inscriptions add further sacrifices :-

[ἔθυσαν δὲ καὶ]

[τὰ Στήνια καὶ τὰ] Χαλκεῖα κα[τὰ τὰ πατρία ὑπὲρ τε τῆς βουλῆς
[καὶ τοῦ δήμου]. (P 4, 6 - 8)

[ἔθ]-

υσαν δὲ καὶ τὰ Στήνια παρ' α[ὐ]τῶν τεῖ Δημητρὶ καὶ τεῖ Κόρηι
ὑπὲρ τ[ῆς βουλῆς]-
ς καὶ τοῦ δήμου. (IG ii² 674, 6 - 8)

Artemis βουλαία (of whom there was an altar in the precinct of the Tholos: Hesp. VI 3, 19 - 20), Artemis Φωσφόρος and αἱ Φωσφόροι seem to have been particularly associated with the Tholos: see H. A. Thompson, Hesp. Supp. IV 1940, 137 - 41. In the second century A.D. an official with responsibilities for the Tholos acted also as ἱερεὺς Φωσφόρων : cf. n. 465 below. See also on sacrifices in the Tholos or its precinct Paus. I. 5. i.

383. IG ii² 2790.

384. IG ii² 2791 with A. E. Raubitschek, Hesp. XXXI 1962, 238 - 43.

385. IG ii² 2792.

386. IG ii² 1544, 47 - 50.

387. E.g. Hesp. XVI 41.

388. IG ii² 956, 14 - 15; 957, 9 - 10; 958, 12 - 13; cf. restoration of 959, 11 - 12.

389. SEG XXI 469 C, 58 - 61.
390. Theoph. Char. xxi. 11.
391. Ant. VI. Chor. 45.
392. D.XIX. F.L. 190.
393. SEG XXI 38, 7 - 8.
394. IG ii² 47, 35 sqq.
395. IG ii² 334, 10 - 16.
396. IG ii² 847, 25 - 6. The inclusion of this in a decree of the demos reflects the dominant position which the boule had by now acquired in the enactment of decrees.
397. Ibid., 17 - 20.
398. SEG XII 95 (J. H. Oliver, Hesp. XXI 1952, 381 - 99).
399. A.P. 54. iii - v.
400. W. S. Ferguson, The Athenian Secretaries, Chs. vi - vii.
401. In 403/2 Cephisophon appears both as author of a probouleumatic decree (GHI 97. i) and as secretary* (GHI 97. ii).
402. E.g. GHI 31, 12; 32, 24; 42, 59; HMA 87, 24 - 53.
403. GHI 87, 6 - 7, where Dr R. S. Stroud reads $\kappa\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\ \tau\omicron\ \beta\grave{\iota}\alpha\sigma\grave{\iota}\tau\grave{\iota}\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\mu\epsilon\tau\grave{\alpha}\ \tau\omicron\ \gamma\rho\alpha\mu\mu\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\varsigma\ \tau\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma\ \beta\omicron\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$ (information supplied by Dr D. M. Lewis).
404. This title used to be restored in the passage quoted in n. 403, above.

405. See Ferguson, The Athenian Secretaries, Ch. viii, suggesting that the secretary had himself named for purposes of ostentation in the headings of inscriptions recording alliances and grants of proxeny or citizenship; Brillant, Les Secrétaires athéniens, Ch. I, § ii, arguing that the secretary was named in the heading to date a document, and in the prescript when it was inscribed at public expense to guarantee the official nature of the publication (on this last point I would prefer to say that the whole prescript was the mark of a text derived from the official records, whoever was responsible for publication).
406. On the assimilation of the bouletic to the archontic year see Additional Note A, pp. 412, 415. The secretary is named in two headings shortly after the reorganisation: IG ii² 119 (360/59), GHI 157 (356/5).
407. GHI 134, contr. 131, 135, 136.
408. IG ii² 109, 110, 111 = GHI - , 143, 142.
409. IG ii² 223 C with 224, 225 (343/2).
410. IG ii² 1749, 63 - 5, with 228 - 9 (341/0). κληρωτὸς ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς (Poll. VIII. 98) seems to be a simple misquotation from A.P. 54. iii.
411. Ferguson discovered that this office normally rotated among the tribes in their official order, and in Klio XIV 1914 - 15 he suggested that the regular cycles beginning with tribe VII in 356/5 were preceded by a cycle in which each tribe took by lot one of the ten years 366/5 - 357/6, and that 366 was therefore a likely year for the institution of annual secretaries. This may be right, but many have doubted it.

412. T. VII. 10.

413. He is first found as γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τῶι δήμωι in IG ii² 1740 (before 350?) and the title is used also in IG ii² 1747 (c. 350), Hesp. III 54 (where γτδοκτβ [sic] was restored by Wilhelm, Abh. Berlin 1939, xx, and [independently] by Raubitschek, Hesp. XI 1942, 305 - 6) (same year, but Raubitschek's argument for a date after 355 is weak - cf. n. 462, below), and Ag. I 4720 (303/2) (unpublished; information from Dr D. M. Lewis). In IG ii² 1700 (335/4) and Hesp. X 11 (324/3) he is styled γραμματεὺς τῶι δήμωι; in P 10 (256/5) he is called γραμματεὺς τοῦ δήμου (but the usual version of the title is found in P 9, another inscription of the same year), and this form occurs in two other third-century documents, P 13 and 34. (It is not clear which secretarial office was held by the γραμματεὺς of REG LXXIII 1960, 88 - 99, ll. 60 - 2 [first quarter C4] and the γραμματεὺς βουλῆς of IG ii² 1744, 18 - 21 [before 350].).

Some scholars have claimed to find supporting evidence for the identification of this secretary with the Reader in IG ii² 223 A, 10 (343/2):-

ἀναγ[νῶ]ναι τὸδε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸγ γραμματέα τῶι δήμωι

(so Brilliant, Les Secrétaires Athéniens, 113, Schulthess, RE, VII. 1725). They may be right to interpret τὸγ γραμματέα τῶι δήμωι as a title, but we have seen that this was not the usual form of the title, and it seems to me equally likely that the author of the decree intended τὸγ γραμματέα as the title (ἀναγνῶναι makes it clear which secretary is meant) and τῶι δήμωι as indirect object.

According to A.P. 54. v

οὗτος οὐδενός ἐστι κύριος ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἀναγνῶναι,

but modern scholars have disagreed. Brillant, op. cit., 110 - 1, 122, claimed that the actual reading aloud of documents would be performed by the herald under the guidance of this secretary, whose duties would make him a highly influential Keeper of the Statute Book. Dow, Hesp. Supp. I 1937, 16, identified him with the γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς (cf. n. 422, below) and claimed that in the Hellenistic period this was "a political office" : one holder of the office, Euthymachus, was earlier ὑπογραμματεὺς and later a member of the boule (Dow, op. cit., 103 - 4, on P 48). Contrast however K. J. Dover in his commentary on T. VII. 10 (regarding γραμματεὺς τῶι δήμῳ as the normal fourth-century version of the title).

414. E.g. IG ii² 222, 27 - 8.
415. E.g. GHI 147, 42 - 3; 166, 11.
416. The Athenian Secretaries, Chs. iii - iv; Les Secrétaires athéniens, Ch. III.
417. RE, VII. 1711 - 22.
418. IG ii² 120, 13 - 19 (353/2).
419. Hesp. VII ^{ACR} 16 B, 13 - 14.
420. IG ii² 138, 139.
421. Cf. n. 409, above.
422. Schweigert in publishing this text failed to draw the obvious conclusion from it (Hesp. VII 1938, 286 - 7). The list of ἀεῖσιτοι in P 1 (305/4?) includes both the γραμματεὺς

- κατὰ πρυτανείαν and the γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς
καὶ τοῦ δήμου, and Schweigert was misled by Dow's
identification, in Hesp. Supp. I 1937, 35, of the latter
(the elected reader? - cf. p. 139 and n. 413, above) with
the γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς (who in the
fourth century published decrees) into thinking that the
γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς and γραμματεὺς κατὰ
πρυτανείαν must be distinct.
423. E.g. Brillant, Les Secrétaires athéniens, 28, Glotz & Cohen,
HG, III. 164.
424. See my remarks in Ch. V, pp. 231², with notes referring
to my discussions of related topics.
- 424A. The office was one which a man might hold in middle life:
Dieuches, secretary in 349/8 (IG ii² 206, 2 - 3; 208, 3 - 4;
209, 2 - 3), was 40 years old at the time (IG ii² 2409, 50,
with D. M. Lewis, BSA L 1955, 32 - 3).
425. Hesp. X 11 (324/3); P 1 (305/4?) (Meritt, Hesp. X 1941, 45 - 6,
substitutes ἐπὶ τῶν νόμων] for Dow's ἐπὶ τῆ ἀνά-
θημα]); Ag. I 4720 (303/2). Pol. VIII. 98, in
contradiction to the Athenaion Politeia, states that this
secretary was elected by the boule.
426. The Athenian Secretaries, Ch. XV.
427. Les Secrétaires athéniens, Ch. VI. Ferguson announced his
conversion to this view in Athenian Tribal Cycles, 160 - 1
n. 1.
428. Hesp. X 1941, 45 - 6, suggesting that both were included in
Hesp. X 11 and P 1; both are now found in Ag. I 4720; ἐπὶ τὰ
ψηφίσματα appears also in IG ii² 223 C.
429. What their duties were, we cannot say, but the only two νόμοι
in which the publication-clause survives were, like contempo-

rary decrees, published by the γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς
(IG ii² 140, 31; SEG XII 87, 23 - 4).

430. IG ii² 1700, Hesp. X 11, P 1, Ag. I 4720: it is probably the holder of this office who is honoured in IG ii² 415 (c. 330?) for his attention to the ἀναγραφὴ τῶν γραμμάτων (cf. S Dow, HSCP LXVII 1963, 39 - 40). He is not to be confused with the ἀναγραφεῖς τῶν νόμων of the late fifth century (Lys. XXX. Nic. 2 cf. 25; GHI 87, 5 - 6) and the man or men probably given the same title in 304/3 (cf. IG ii² 487).
431. IG ii² 1700, P 1, Ag. I 4720. On this "ἀντιγραφεὺς τῆς βουλῆς" and the earlier "ἀντιγραφεὺς τῆς διοικήσεως" see Additional Note D, pp. 437 41
432. IG ii² 120, 15 - 17.
433. E.g. the ὑπογραμματεὺς (Ant. VI. Chor. 35) or γραμματεὺς (A.P. 55. i - ii) of the thesmothetae; the γραμματεὺς of the Eleven (Poll. VIII. 102; IG ii² 1631, 377 sqq., 389 sqq.).
434. Lys. XXX. Nic. 29. The rule seems not to have been in force in the Periclean period: Satyrus χσυνεγραμμάτευε in ATL, lists 12, 36 and 13, 2 (444/3 and 432/1): and Anticles was probably secretary to the epistatae of the Parthenon throughout the period of the work (IG i² 339 - 53; esp. 349, i; 351, 55; 352, 1 - 2; 353, 1 - 3; in the earlier lists he χσυνεγράμμάτευε but no colleague is named).
435. D. XIX. F.L. 70, cf. 237, 249, [Pl.]. X.Or. 840 A, F.
436. HMA 39, § 12.

437. SEG XII 37, 58.
438. GHI 87, 4 - 7 (on the text of l. 6 see n. 403, above).
439. GHI 97, 22 - 3.
440. GHI 96, 25 - 8.
441. Ar. Thesm. 431 - 2.
442. HMA 87, 51 - 4.
443. D. XIX. F.L. 249 cf. 314; the scholiast on § 249 says that
in the Tholos

ἔσιτοδοτοῦντο ἀπὸ τοῦ δημοσίου γραμματεῖς οἱ χειρο-
τονηθέντες ἀπὸ (ὑπὸ? — P.J.R.) τῆς πόλεως.

Kahrstedt, S.S.A., 336, combined these ἄεσιτοι with those
whom the state entertained as a mark of distinction in the
Prytaneum; but see S. Dow, Hesp. Supp. I 1937, 22 - 4.

444. S. Dow, Hesp. Supp. I. 1937, 13 - 19.
445. W. B. Dinsmoor, Archons of Athens, 16 - 28; most recently
S. Dow, HSCP LXVII 1963, 37 - 54, B. D. Meritt, Hesp. XXXII
1963. .
446. The fact of election is attested for the treasurer in prytany
"second" decrees, passim; for the secretary in Hesp. III 16,
8 - 9.
447. Once called ὑπογραμματεὺς τοῦ [δήμου]: P 84.
448. The priest is first found in Hesp. XXXIII 26 (c. 250); the
ἀθλητῆς in P 28 (c. 229 - 7).

449. P 86 (145/4); restored in Hesp. XXXIII 37 (c. 150). His restoration at a higher place in the list in P 58 (before 178/7) seems less likely, but some additional officer must be found to fill this place.
450. SEG XII 101, Hesp. XXXII 21 (both 135/4); Hesp. X 77 (131/0); Kerameikos, III, A5, Hesp. XXXIV 5 (both c. 100); Hesp. XVII 12 (95/4).
451. Cf. S. Dow, Hesp. Supp. I 1937, 25 - 6.
452. The principal lists of the intervening period are P 110, 116, SEG XVIII 53 (Augustan); Hesp. XI 2, IG ii² 1759, Hesp. XI 13, IG ii² 1769 (A.D. CC 1 - 2). One official in SEG XVIII 53 is described as γρ[αμματεὺς] τοῦ α[νεδρότου] γ[ενόμενος]. On the post-Sullan ἀείσιτοι in general, see now D. J. Geagan, Hesp. Supp. XII 1967, 103 - 12.
453. IG ii² 1077, 2 with 50 (col. iii) shows that περὶ τὸ βῆμα was a title of the eponymous secretary.
454. E.g. Hesp. XVI 87B (A.D. 177/8 or 188/9), IG ii² 1796 (c.180), 1808 (end C2). See Geagan, Hesp. Supp. XII 1967, 101, who notices especially IG ii² 1775 (168/9): the heading names
 •
 ὁ γραμματεὺς τῶν βουλευτῶν τῆς Ἀκαμαντίδος
 φυλῆς Φιλούμενος Ἔρωτος Κεφαλήθεν,
- and there follows a full list of 40 members, not including this man. But normally this office seems to have been held by one of the prytanes.
455. Cf. pp. 104-5, 109-10.

456. The treasurers of the boule are mentioned in the plural in IG ii² 120, 20 - 2 (353/2), and there are two of them in IG ii² 223 C, 7 - 9 (343/2); in IG ii² 1700, 218 - 9 (335/4) we find one ταμίαις τῆς βουλῆς and one ταμίαις τῶν εἰς τὸ ἀνάθημα.

Thereafter the boule's funds were regularly administered by a single treasurer (A. C. Johnson, CP IX 1914, 418, explained as an error the apparent mention of a single treasurer of the boule in IG ii² 24, b 8 - 10, an early fourth-century decree), but increasing financial centralisation lessened the importance of this officer (cf. pp.¹⁰⁹⁻¹⁶ and S. Dow, Hesp. Supp. I 1937, 18). On the treasurer after Sulla see Geagan, Hesp. Supp. XII 1967, 98 - 9, 115 - 6: he appears in P 108 (c. 40 B.C.) and (restored) in P 110 (29/8 - 22/1); the ταμίαις τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου in P 116 (c. 20) Geagan regards as an erroneous description of him; in the Christian era, when the boule was largely dependent on private benefactions (cf. Ch. I, pp.¹²⁻¹³) no comparable treasurer is regularly listed, but we do find a ταμίαις, not further specified, in IG ii² 1759 (A.D. 90 - 100) and 1799 (c. 180), and a [ταμίαις] ας φυλῆς in IG ii² 1827 (C3).

457. Cf. p.¹⁰⁴ and n. 125, above.

458. Cf. S. Dow, Hesp. Supp. I 1937, 15 - 16 on the priest (who might but need not be a member of the boule), 17 - 18 on the herald and ἀθλητῆς.

459. A.P. 47. v, 48. i.

460. D. XIX. F.L. 129; IG ii² 463, 28 - 9; 583, 5 - 7. In IG ii² 120, 11 - 13, Eucles the δημόσιος was to write down what was found in the Chalcothece.

461. IG i² 879.

462. Hesp. XI 1942, 305 - 6, reediting Hesp. III 54. A. E.

Raubitschek ad loc. suggests that he had taken the place of the old antigrapheus, mentioned after the secretary in IG ii² 1740 (before 388/7); but there is far too little evidence to make this a safe inference. Wilhelm, Abh. Berlin 1939, xx, restored [ὕπ] ηρέτης Βίων in IG ii² 2411, 4, and argued that each tribe in the boule had its ὑπηρέτης. (He also made the restoration of secretary and ὑπηρέτης in Hesp. III 54.)

In L.S. 248. 7, E.M. ἐκφυλλοφορία, the origin of this unusual method of voting on the fate of a bouleutes (for which see Ch. IV, pp. 146 - 9) is ascribed to the fact that a ὑπηρέτης had once tampered with the ordinary ballots.

463. P 105 (40 - 30 B.C.), P 108 (45 - 30 B.C.), Hesp. XI 2

(late A.D. C1).

464. IG ii² 1759 (A.D. 90 - 100), Hesp. XI 11 (first half C2).

465. E.g. Hesp. XII 23 (165/6?); IG ii² 1774 (167/8); Hesp. XI 18, IG ii² 1775 (both 168/9); 1794, 1797 (c. 180). The man who is styled ἐπὶ Σκιάδος in the last two inscriptions elsewhere bears the title ἑρεὺς Φωσφόρων καὶ ἐπὶ Σκιάδος : IG ii² 1795, 1796, 1798, Hesp. III 43 (all c. 180); SEG XIV 92 (182/3); in IG ii² 1077 (209/10) the title ἑρεὺς Φωσφόρων alone is used. On the development of this office see now D. J. Geagan, Hesp. Supp. XII 1967, 14 - 15, 110: The δημόσιος gives way to a metic λειτουργός between c. 56/5 and 14/13 B.C., and the office is first held by a citizen in A.D. 168/9. For the cult of the Phosphori cf. n. 382, above.

466. IG ii² 1799, 25 sqq. (c. 180): six names are preserved.
467. Cf. H. A. Thompson, Hesp. Supp. IV 1940, 141 - 2.
468. IG ii² 1013, 37 - 43 (the other copy, in which this passage has not survived, is published as Hesp. VII 27).
469. IG ii² 1013, 45 - 7.
470. Lys. XIII. Ag. 21 - 9, cf. Ch. IV, pp. 171-2. In Ar. Thesm. a τοξότης is available to the prytanis to fasten Mnesilochus to his plank (ll. 931, 940): obviously the bouleutae would always make use of attendants for work of this kind.
471. Sophilus, fr. 2 (Kock), ap. Ath., VI. 228B.
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NOTES TO CHAPTER IV

1. A. I. Tim. 110 - 1.
2. Ibid. 112.
3. In L.S. 248.7, E.M. ἐκφυλλοφορῶα , the origin of this strange practice is ascribed to the fact that a ὑπηρέτης had once tampered with the ordinary ballots.
4. Ant. VI. Chor. 49.
5. D.H. 651. Din. 10.
6. X.H. I. vii. 8.
7. Ibid. 35.
8. H. IX. 5. i - ii, cf. Lyc. Leocr. 122, D. XVIII. Cor. 202, 204.
9. X.H. II. ii. 15.
10. E.g. the condemnation of Cleophon - p. 191.
11. A.I. Tim. 35.
12. Phil. 328 F 140.
13. Ar. Eq. 665 (boule); Ach. 54 with schol., &c., Plat. Prot. 319c (ecclesia).
14. A.I. Tim. 33 with schol., III. Ctes. 4 with schol., [D].
XXV Arist. i. 90.
15. Gilbert, 290 with n. 4.
16. Earliest dated inscription, IG ii² 1006, 20 - 1 (122/1).
17. X.H. II. iii. 50, 55.
18. A.P. 45. ii.

19. For this story and its implications see the appendix to this chapter, pp. 188 sqq.

20. Notice especially [D]. XLVII. Ev. & Mnes. 43,

ταῖς πεντακοσίοις, ὅσου ἦν κυρία κατὰ τὸν νόμον:

GHI 74, 57 - 9, and 200, 234 - 6, are less decisive. Lipsius, 198 with n. 67, was prepared to believe in an appeal against any verdict of the boule on an official, but see Bonner & Smith, II. 240 - 3 (For δοκιμασῆαι see pp. 179-87.)

21. The εἰσαγωγεῖς could fine up to 10 drachmae in petty cases (A.P. 52. ii - iii), and in the νόμοι of A.I. Tim. 35 the proedri could fine up to 50 drachmae; it seems that in the later fifth and fourth centuries the archons retained limited punitive powers (e.g. νόμος ap. [D]. XLIII. Mac. 75, cited by Wade-Gery, E.G.H., 185 n. 2; and cf. Hignett, 222 - 3).

22. A.P. 48. iii, Poll. VIII. 99; cf. Lys, XXX Nic. 5. The boule was only slightly involved in the process of εὐθυναί which all officials had to undergo on retirement. The annual board of ten λογισταί and ten συνηγοροί was appointed from the whole demos to look into the strictly financial side, and referred men to the δικαστήρια for conviction or clearance; the ten εὐθυνοί and twenty πάρεδροι who received miscellaneous complaints were bouleutae, but if they found there was a case to answer they referred the charges to the δικαστήρια or the δικασταί κατὰ δῆμους. Cf. Ch. III, p. 111.

Another check which the boule made each prytany in the fourth century concerned the μερισμός. After the

apodectae had completed their allocation of revenue to the various spending authorities the boule was given the opportunity to consider any offences (A.P. 48. ii). Cf. Ch. III, pp. 100-1.

The boule's concern with weights and measures committed it to another regular inspection: the Tholos was one of four places where a standard set was kept (IG ii² 1013, 37 - 47; cf. Ch. III, p. 144), and this late second-century inscription makes it the duty of the boule to compel the ἀρχαί if they do not συνεπισχύωσι τοῖς ἰδιώταις (6 - 7) and to check in the month of Hecatombaeon each year that the traders are using correct measures (16 - 18).

23. Ant. VI. Chor. 35.
24. Ibid. 49. Cf. Lipsius, 198 - 9 with n. 69.
25. X.H. I. vii. 1.
26. Ibid. 3.
27. Ibid. 4 - 24. The involvement of the ecclesia makes this act of rough justice analogous to the procedure called εἰσαγγελία, on which see pp. 169 - 78.
28. A.P. 48. i.
29. And. I. Myst. 73 - 4.
30. Ibid. 92 - 3.
31. D.XXIV. Tim. 39 - 40, largely confirmed in the text of §§41 - 95.
32. Ibid. 82 - 3, cf. 86.

33. Ibid. 96.
34. Schol. D. XXIV. Tim. 40 (ἐξῆν αὐτοῖς, Sauppe; ἐξῆν αὐτῆς, Dindorf).
35. In 369 Xenoclidēs, who had bought the right to collect the 2 per cent corn tax, had to pay an instalment in the bouleuterium every prytany ([D]. LIX. Neaer. 27); in 343/2 Mixodemus was guarantor to three men who defaulted on prytany-payments (Hesp. V 10, 118 - 53); and cf. A.P. 47. iii.
36. Cf. And. I. Myst. 134.
37. Agyrrhius spent many years in prison ἕως τὰ χρήματα ἀπέτεισεν ἃ ἔδοξε τῆς πόλεως ὄντ' ἔχειν (D. XXIV. Tim. 134 - 5); in the bouleutic oath not to imprison any citizen offering three guarantors from his own property-class an exception was made ἐάν τις . . . τέλος πριάμενος ἢ ἐγγυησάμενος ἢ ἐκλέγων μὴ καταβάλη (ibid. 144). Mixodemus in Hesp. V 10 (cf. n. 35, above) has had an apartment house confiscated and sold to pay the debts of the three men he was backing. In [D]. X̂L. Boe. Dot. 20 we read of the collection from the bouleuterium of the surplus proceeds of a sale of confiscated property, after the debt to the state had been paid.
38. A.I. Tim. 35, D. XLIII. Mac. 71; cf. two fragmentary inscriptions, IG i² 75, ii² 45. In the amnesty after Aegospotami, the boule and πράκτορες were ordered to cancel records of outstanding debts (And. I. Myst. 77 - 9).
39. Commentary on And. I. Myst. 93.
40. On precautionary and penal imprisonment cf. Bonner & Smith, II. 275. In the fourth century, at any rate, the boule seems to have had powers of precautionary imprisonment only (cf. n. 225, below).

41. Fines, D. XXIV. Tim. 60, 63 - 5 (another νόμος of Timocrates, though the clause providing for imprisonment until the fine has been paid was probably not an innovation), 103, 105; restitution of stolen property, 105, 114 - 5; of misappropriated public property, 111 - 2, cf. 135.
42. D. XXIV. Tim. 97 - 8 with schol. The term perhaps also covers other items of revenue which could not be calculated in advance, such as πρυτανεῖα (Jones, 102 with 154 n. 29).
43. Cf. Lipsius, 944 - 7.
44. Imprisonment in connection with κλοπή (cf. n. 41, above) is an obvious red herring. κλοπή was an ἰδέα δόκη (§ 114), and the optional five days ἐν τῇ ποδοκώκῃ were a mark of disgrace, not a precaution against the offender's absconding without paying his debt.
45. HMA 46, 31 - 43. Since each of the prytanes could be fined a sum which must be restored as 1,000 or 10,000 drachmae if they failed to bring the case before the boule, any "suitable" penalty would obviously be in excess of the boule's 500-drachmae limit. See pp. 200 - 1, where I quote the text.
46. ATL D 8, 55 - 7.
47. Pp. 90 - 3.
48. HMA 87, 38 - 40.
49. HMA 39, § 12.
50. Cf. GHI 142, 11 sqq., 156, 16 sqq. For jurisdiction left to or shared with the allies in the early years of the League, see GHI 123, 41 - 6, 51 - 63.

51. D.XXIV. Tim. 11 - 14, cf. hyp. ii. 1 - 3.
52. On φάσις in general, see Lipsius, 309 - 16.
53. Ar. Ach. 818 sqq. The authority to whom this φάσις would be made is not specified.
54. Ar. Eq. 300 - 2.
55. Is. XVII. Trap. 42.
56. Lys. XXII. Frum. 2. On this speech see R. J. Seager, Hist. XV 1966, and on the implications of these two cases for the judicial powers of the boule see pp. 189, 193.
57. Is. XVIII. Call. 5 - 6.
58. IG ii² 1623, 6 sqq., 26 sqq., 118 sqq., 129 sqq.; 1629, 545 sqq., * 572 sqq., * 1085 - 92.; 1631, 184 - 6.
(*In these two cases the trierarch ὁμολόγησεν as elsewhere, but there is no reference to the punishing authority, or to the ἔμβολος of the old ship.).
59. IG ii² 1629, 646 - 9; 1631, 116 sqq., 141 - 3, 342 - 7.
60. IG ii² 1623, 144 sqq.
61. IG ii² 1628, 339 - 44, cf. 484 - 8; 1629, 859 - 63, cf. 788 - 92; 1631, 60 - 1.
62. IG ii² 1631, 430 - 3.
63. IG ii² 1627, 241 - 8 with 271 - 4; 1628, 460 - 4 with 492 - 4; 1629, 722 - 9 with 805 - 7; 1631, 100 - 5.
64. D.LI. Cor. Tri. 4: cf. Ch. III, p. (2) . But in 361, when trierarchs who had made over their duties to contractors were held responsible for Athens' defeat by Alexander of

Pherae, the case probably went as an εἰσαγγελία to the assembly (cf. n. 228, below).

65. IG ii² 1623, 50 sqq., * 60 sqq., 87 sqq., 91 sqq., 105 sqq., 136 sqq., 218 sqq.; 1628, 621 sqq., 631 sqq.; 1629, 1100 sqq.; 1631, 289 sqq., 297 sqq., 304 sqq., 312 sqq., 319 sqq. (* In 1623, 50 sqq., the punishing authority is not named.)
66. IG ii² 1631, 350 - 403.
67. Probably to be interpreted as twice the original debt plus a fine (Boeckh, Urk. Seew., 212).
68. Boeckh (Urk. Seew., 536 - 7) thought this would be possible only if full powers for the collection of naval debts had been delegated to the boule. There must obviously have been some legal basis for the boule's passing an adjusting decree of this kind, but I suspect that the ordering of a penalty in excess of the boule's 500-drachmae limit indicates a gap in the law which no one had thought of plugging.
69. [D]. XLVII. Ev. & Mnes.
70. § 20.
71. § 44.
72. The navy lists published by the ἐπιμεληταὶ τῶν νεωρῶν constitute a record of the παραλαμβάνειν and παραδιδόναι of these officials (cf. the headings of IG ii² 1607, 1611, 1623), so it must surely be the epimeletae and not the boule (as Kahrstedt would prefer, U.M.A., 2) to whom the speaker refers as ἡ ἀρχή.
73. §§ 21 - 2.
74. § 26.

75. § 28.
76. § 33.
77. Perhaps the arrangements for the transfer of equipment directly from one trierarch to another were an innovation, and Theophemus and his fellow-offenders were taking advantage of uncertainties caused by the new law. See pp. 162-3.
78. § 34.
79. § 35.
80. § 36.
81. § 37.
82. § 38.
83. § 41.
84. § 42.
85. § 43. The verb used is προστιμηθῆναι, denoting an additional penalty.
86. We are not told that Theophemus surrendered the equipment even now, but it is to be presumed that he did: the inventory was produced in the course of the hearing (§ 43), and the speaker was somehow enabled to leave Athens with his ship (§ 45).
87. Hesp. IV. 1935, 1 - 32, ^{nos.} 1 - 2; text of the naval law (1) reprinted as SEG X 142. For the revision of the law code cf. Lys. XXX. Nic. 2 - 5, and on its publication see S. Dow, Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc. LXXI. 1953 - 7.

88. [D]. XLVII. 26, with Lipsius, 114. Since ἀποστολεῖς were an extraordinary commission (Ch. III, p. 121) the duty was probably assigned specifically to the ἀποστολεῖς of that year.
89. [D]. XLVII. 33. Cf. n. 77, above.
90. D. XXIV. Tim. 11 - 14. I take it that § 9 is to be referred to this: Androtion was condemned by the boule, which made a probouleuma to bring Euctemon before the assembly; by the assembly, which enacted Euctemon's decree; and by the courts which upheld the legality of the decree and found against Androtion in the διαδικασία. Since what we should expect to be a legal process found its way to the assembly, Euctemon's μῆνυσις was presumably regarded as or converted into an εἰσαγγελία (for such conversion, see n. 169, below.).
91. D. XXIV. Tim. 13.
92. A.P. 46. ii. καταγνοῦσα is the reading of the papyrus: Kaibel and Wilamowitz, followed by most subsequent editors, proposed καταγνόντος, but Opperman and the Budé editors retain καταγνοῦσα. See also, for the emendation, B. Keil, AM XX 1895, 46 - 7 n. 2; against it, P. Foucart, R Ph² XVIII 1894, 247 - 8 (who appreciated the real difficulty), Lipsius, 197 n. 61, 981, Kahrstedt, U.M.A., 207, n. 2. For καταγνοῦσα of a case to be referred to a δικαστήριον, cf. HMA 46, 38 (quoted on p. 176), A.I. Tim. 111 (quoted on p. 146), D. XXIV. Tim. 63.
93. As the champions of the emendation believe.
94. L.S. 315. 16.

95. A. III. Ctes. 25.
96. IG ii² 463, 25. The xi was read by early editors, but not by Koehler (IG ii 167): it is still printed in the most recent text (F. G. Maier, G Mbi 11).
97. So Kahrstedt, U.M.A., 226 n. 2. The surviving portion of the inscription mentions no body which is likely to have been specified as ἡ ἀρχή.
98. GHI 74, 57 - 9.
99. Cf. pp. 196-8.
100. Cf. And. I. Myst. 121: this is the charge in connection with which the speech was written. ἔνδεξις was a formal pointing-out that a man was using rights to which he was not entitled (cf. Lipsius, 331 - 7, MacDowell, edition of this speech, p. 13 and commentary on § 111): when the rights in question were secular the charge was not heard by the boule.
101. On some charges, presumably those for which there was a fixed penalty, a man who confessed his guilt could be punished without a formal trial (D. XXIV. Tim. 65, cf. ^{xxv.} *Arist. i, hyp. 1). We cannot tell certainly from Lysias' verbal jugglings whether the σιτοπώλαι of Lys. XXII. Frum. admitted their guilt, but even if they did they claimed the authority of the σιτοφύλακες for what they had done (§§ 5 - 6).
102. And. I. Myst. 110 - 6.
103. Ibid. 29.
104. Commentary on § 111.
105. [D]. XXV. Arist. i, hyp. 1 - 2, Din. II. Ar. 12.

106. [D]. XXV. Arist. i. 14.

107. ἀπαγωγή - physically taking the accused to the authorities - was permitted when an offender was caught in the act. See in general Lipsius, 317 - 31, and compare the right of arrest possessed by all British citizens who are sure that the offence they see committed is a felony.

Though Aristogeiton's decree was first proposed in the ecclesia, it is not clear from the hypothesis in what way it was technically ἀπροβούλευτον : see Ch. II, p. 54.

108. Hesp. XVIII. 1949, 78 - 83 = SEG XII 32.

109. GHI 86, 41 - 4. Lipsius, 184 n. 23, suggested παραδιδοῖσα]ν, but an infinitive here seems preferable.

110. See especially H. Hager, JP IV 1872, Lipsius, 176 - 211, Bonner & Smith, I, 294 - 309.

111. A.P. 8. iv. εἰσαγγελία appears also in the "Draconian" constitution (A.P. 4. iv), apparently for charges against the ἀρχαί.

112. Pp. 211-4

113. Poll. VIII. 51, L.S. 244. 14, Harp., L.R.C. εἰσαγγελία (cf. Suid. εἰσαγγελία, schol. Plat. Rep. VIII 565 C).

114. Hyp. IV. Eux. 7 - 8, Poll. VIII. 52, L.R.C. εἰσαγγελία.

115. Hyp. § 8, Poll., L.R.C., cf. Lys. XXXI. Phil. 26.

116. Hyp. § 8, Poll., L.R.C.

117. Poll., L.R.C.

118. IG ii² 1631, 398 - 401. Cf. pp 158-9.
119. D. H. 651. Din. 10 (εἰσαγγελία is added from Harp., ἀντιβληθέντος), D. XXXIV. Phorm. 50.
120. T. Thalheim, Hermes XXXVII 1902. The first two of these charges would probably be covered by the law as quoted by Hyperides.
121. Bonner & Smith, I, 307.
122. Hyp. IV Eux. 1 - 3.
123. German scholars have rejected the non-specific strand, and have tried to deduce from the trial of relevant cases when "the νόμος εἰσαγγελτικός " was enacted (Lipsius, for instance, dated "the νόμος " about the middle of the fourth century, and supposed that the non-specific rule applied to εἰσαγγελία before this date: this is now repeated by Berneker in Der Kleine Pauly, II. 218.) But this is to make too rigid a thing of "the νόμος ": before 410 any measure providing for εἰσαγγελία was a νόμος εἰσαγγελτικός ; the revision of the laws at the end of the fifth century probably resulted in the compilation of a list of offences which at that time were eisangeltic, and which we may call the νόμος εἰσαγγελτικός ; but a procedure existed in the fourth century for altering the νόμοι, and unless the late fifth-century compilation was so framed as to limit εἰσαγγελία to certain charges (which is unlikely) an ordinary ψήφισμα would probably have sufficed to make further offences eisangeltic. (But the decree in IG ii² 1631 is merely bringing an offence under an already existing heading.).

The offences specified as eisangelitic bear a strong resemblance to those for which men were solemnly cursed in the prayer which began all meetings of the boule and ecclesia (cf. Ch. I, p. 36). The oaths taken by archons, bouleutae and (no doubt) other officers of state may be regarded as distant relatives.

124. [D] XLVII. Ev. & Mnes. 41 - 3.

125. Lys. XIII. Ag. (cf. XII. Erat. 48).

126. §§ 1 - 19.

127. §§ 20 - 2.

128. § 23.

129. §§ 24 - 8.

130. § 29.

131. §§ 30 - 1.

132. § 32.

133. §§ 34 - 5.

134. § 55. •

135. §§ 35 - 7.

136. § 38.

137. § 56.

138. § 50.

139. § 56.

140. εἰσαγγεῖλαι is surely technical here, pace Lipsius, 208.
141. Lys. XXVIII. Erg., especially § 9.
142. Hyp. I. Lyc. 3.
143. A.P. 43. iv, Poll. VIII. 95, Harp., Suid., κυρτα ἐκκλησία, L.R.C. κυρτα ἡ ἐκκλησία . It is stated elsewhere that the thesmothetae
- τὰς εἰσαγγελίας εἰσαγγέλλουσιν εἰς τὸν δῆμον.
- (A.P. 59. ii, Poll. VIII. 87, Phot. θεσμοθέται,
- cf. schol. Plat. Phaedr. 235 D).
- That the thesmothetae should have presided at an eisangelitic session of the ecclesia is unlikely, and what is needed is a statement that they were the εἰσάγουσα ἀρχή when an εἰσαγγελία was referred to a δικαστήριον, which is what the Plato scholiast seems to mean. Blass (A.P., 4th edition) and Lipsius (207 n. 99) read <αῖς> εἰσαγγέλλουσιν, and Dr D. M. Lewis has suggested <τοῖς> εἰσαγγέλλουσιν. The appearance of προβολαί later in the list may possibly be a sign of more serious corruption, but many if not most of the cases which were the subject of προβολαί (informal complaints in the ecclesia, which need have no legal consequence - cf. Lipsius, 211 - 9) would come to the courts of the thesmothetae, and carelessness on the part of the author is a more likely explanation.
144. W. S. Ferguson, Mélanges Glotz, I, 349, cf. T. Thalheim, RE, V. 2140. Lipsius, 184, 206, also cited by Ferguson, does not support the part of his account which I have quoted. For the condemnation of Antiphon see [P1]. X.Or. 833D - 4B, with G. E. M. de Ste Croix, Hist. V. 1956, 16 - 17, and p. 192 of this thesis with notes.

145. HMA 46, 37 - 9 (quoted on p. 200).
146. Cf. p. ¹⁷⁷ with n. 167, and pp. 209-10.
147. Is. XV. Antid. 314.
148. Harp. εἰσαγγελία.
149. And. I. Myst. 11.
150. And. I. Myst. 27.
151. Is. XVI, Big. 6. (Lipsius, 195 with n. 57, follows Isocrates, regarding Andocides' version as rhetorical exaggeration.).
152. Cf. pp. 196-8.
153. Cf. n. 143, above.
154. Cf. Ch. II, pp. 53-7.
155. Din. I. Dem. 13 - 14 = III. Phil. 17, Nep. XIII. Timoth. 3. v, cf. Is. XV Ant. 101.
156. Hyp. IV. Eux. 28, cf. schol. A. I. Tim. 64, where Hager (JP IV 1872, 85 - 6) accepted Meier's παρ' ὀλίγον for παρανόμων.
157. Hyp. IV. Eux. 29, cf. the inscription recording the sale of his property, Hesp. V 10, 45 - 50, 105 - 15.
158. Hyp. IV. Eux. 1 - 2. Cf. also the νόμος in D. XXIV. Tim. 63 (n. 160, below).
159. Cf. n. 92, above.
160. When a case was referred to the ecclesia, the boule would make a probouleuma in the normal way. For procedure when a case was referred to a δικαστήριον, Timocrates' habeas corpus

law (D. XXIV. Tim. 63) is our best guide: the boule's κατάγνωσις was given to the thesmothetae by the chief secretary, the γραμματεὺς κατὰ πρυτανείαν, and (subject to the limitations in the bouletic oath - cf. pp. 206-7) ~~and~~ ^{the} accused could be kept under arrest to await his trial; prosecution was not taken over by the boule but remained the responsibility of private citizens. If the charge did not carry a fixed penalty the boule's κατάγνωσις could probably include a recommendation (cf. HMA 46, 39 - 41, where the prytanes are to γνώμας πο[ιέσθον] - which I would restore in place of πο[ιόντων] ^(n. 300 below) / - on the penalty in an official case.

161. Ar. Vesp. 590 - 1.
162. Cf. p. 217 and n. 387.
163. HMA 46, 37 - 9 (447?).
164. GHI 42, 75 - 6 (446/5); cf. Ant. VI. Chor. 21 (419), where the same court is called the heliaea of the thesmothetae and a δικαστήριον.
165. HMA 87, 49. A reference to the heliaea in line 14 is said to be to the building (ATL III, 71).
166. IG i² 114 (on this inscription see pp. 208-11). I translate δῆμος πληθῶν as "people in assembly."
167. In the Mysteries investigation a δικαστήριον condemned to death (And. I. Myst. 66), but this right is reserved for the δῆμος πληθῶν in IG i² 114, 37 (= 1. 36, Wade-Gery, BSA XXXIII 1932 - 3). Cf. pp. 209-10.
168. The boule's acquisition of official jurisdiction cannot of course be dated. I believe that the process was started by Ephialtes (cf. pp. 214 sqq.) and greatly encouraged by the need to administer

the Delian League, and that the situation in the fourth century will have been more nearly static than in the fifth.

169. Many factors will have assisted the confusion. It takes time to build up a vocabulary of technical terms, and verbs like εἰσαγγέλλειν, μηνύειν and φαίνειν could easily be used in contexts that were not technically appropriate. (A.P. 45. ii,

ἔξεστι δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἰδιώταις εἰσαγγέλλειν ἢν ἂν βού-
λωνται τῶν ἀρχῶν μὴ χρῆσθαι τοῖς νόμοις,

may be a case in point; in Lys. X. Theomn. i. 1 εἰσήγγελλε is used in a case which should have been an ἔνδειξις - the Budé editors have suggested the more innocuous ἐπήγγελλε.)

Lipsius, with A.P. 45. ii particularly in mind, was brought to the conclusion (196 - 7):

Von dieser probuleutischen Tätigkeit des Rats bei
Eisangelien über Verbrechen wider den Staat ist nun
aber zu scheiden seine selbstständige Strafgewalt. ...
Von Anzeigen über Vergehen, die von Beamten oder Privaten
an ihn gelangen, ist εἰσαγγέλλειν der herkömm-
liche Ausdruck.

I should prefer to say that there was a tendency to use εἰσαγγέλλειν, technically incorrectly, of cases heard by the boule which were not even thought to be covered by the νόμοι εἰσαγγελτικοί.

It appears also that a laying of information might be converted into an εἰσαγγελία, or be treated as an εἰσαγγελία in retrospect. The speaker of [D]. XLVII. Ev. & Mnes. consulted the boule informally and was told to εἰσαγγέλλειν (§§ 41 - 2); Agoratus began by being arrested on an eisangelitic charge, but was finally released διότι ἔδοξε τᾶληθῆ εἰσαγγεῖλαι (Lys. XIII. Ag. 50).

170. This in turn will have encouraged the use of εἰσαγγελία for cases that were not of major importance.
171. Cf. Lipsius, 184, Bonner & Smith, I. 300 - 1.
172. This last, rather than enhanced punitive power, is perhaps what was intended when the boule was made αὐτοκράτωρ in a judicial matter (cf. n. 230 & pp. 196 - 8) - but I suspect that the implications of this term were never openly formulated.
173. A.P. 42. i - ii. On this δοκιμασία, see Ch. Pélékidis, Histoire de l'Éphébie Attique, part ii, Ch. 2.
174. Cf. Lys. XXI. Pec. Acc. 1; D.XXX. Onet. i. 15 is not decisive against this.
175. ἐγγράφονται . . . ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἔτη γεγονότες (A.P. 42. i); κἄν τις δόξῃ νεώτερος ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἔτων εἶναι (A.P. 42. ii). It has now been argued by J. M. Carter, BICS XIV 1967, that these expressions mean not "at the age of 18" but "in the 18th year".
176. D. XXVII. Aphob. i. 19 contr. 21 - 3, 63, 69. Cf. B. R. I. Sealey, CR² VII 1957, 195 - 7.
177. X.M. I. ii. 35.
178. Heliastic oath ap. D. XXIV. Tim. 150.
179. A.P. 53. iv.
180. GHI 105, with Pélékidis, op. cit., 94 n. 2. Dexileos was born in 414/3 and killed in 394/3; Pélékidis dates his birth in 413/2 but makes him 21 years old at his death!
181. Ar. Vesp. 578.

182. There are several references in Lysias to the δοκιμασῆαι of young citizens, but they throw no light on the procedure: X. Theomn. i. 31, * XI. Theomn. ii. 12, XXI. Pec. Acc. 1, XXVI. Ev. 21, XXXII. Dio. 9.
183. IG i² 79, 5 - 7, Isae. VII. Apoll. 27, Lyc. Leocr. 76, Lucian Iup. Trag. 26 with schol., Harp. ληξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον. Habicht argues from IG i² 79 that in the fifth century the thetes were excluded from the ληξιαρχικὰ γραμματεῖα (Hermes LXXXIX 1961, 5 - 6), but he has been sufficiently answered by Meritt (Greek Historical Studies, 25 - 6) and Jameson (Hist. XII. 1963, 399 - 400).
184. [D]. XLIV. Leoch. 35. Were the πύνακες perhaps instituted when assembly-pay was introduced?
185. X.M. III. vi. 1 (οὐδέπω εἴκοσιν ἔτη γεγονώς — if pressed, this would support the A.P. view that registration followed the eighteenth birthday - but see n. 175, above, for a suggestion that the phrase should mean "in the 20th year"), cf. Lucian Iup. Trag. 26. See Gilbert, 199.
186. Wilamowitz, Aristoteles und Athen, I. 193 - 4. Recent arguments for an earlier origin: O. W. Reinmuth, TAPA LXXXIII 1952; Ch. Pélékidis, op. cit., part i.
187. GHI 204, 5 - 20, cf. Lyc. Leocr. 76, Poll. VIII. 105 - 6, Stobaeus, Flor. xliii. 48.
188. A.P. 42. iv.
189. Earliest dated inscription Hesp. VII 20, 17 - 18. (258/7).
190. [D]. LVII. Eub., hyp. The speech gives us a fascinating account of the proceedings in the assembly of the deme Halimus (§§ 9 - 14);

§8 shows that Ebulides was a member of the boule as well as demarch (cf. IG ii² 218, 6 sqq. [346/5]).

191. X. Hipparch. i. 8.
192. A.P. 49. i - ii.
193. Threpsiades and Vanderpool, ΑΔ VIII 1963, 103 - 9, 1 = SEG XXI 525.
194. X. Oec. ix. 15, Hipparch. i. 13 cf. iii. 9 - 14.
195. Hes. τρυσόπιον.
196. Phot. ἵππου τρόχος.
197. Poll. VII. 186.
198. X. Oec. ix. 15.
199. [Lys]. XIV. Alc. i. 10, cf. 1. [Lys]. XIV. Alc. i. 8, XV. Alc. ii. 7, Lys. XVI. Mant. 13, Harp., Suid. δοκιμασθεῖς mention the δοκιμασία of the cavalry without specifying the examining authority.
200. Berlin 2296; Beazley, ARV², 412, no. 1; illus. AZ XXXVIII 1880, pl. 15.
201. G. Körte, AZ XXXVIII 1880. We have no evidence on the organisation of the cavalry as early as this vase, and it is at any rate possible that in the pre-Ephialtic period the examining authority was not the boule. (For my view of the boule between Cleisthenes and Ephialtes, cf. pp. 205 sqq). W. Helbig, Mém. Ac. Inscr. XXXVII 1904, ch. vi, discussed this vase and three others depicting Athenian cavalry, quoted from Hauser a date of 485 - 455 for the vases, and suggested that they are to be linked with a reorganisation of the Athenian armed forces

- shortly after 477. He would identify one at least of the inspectors as a hipparch, and Körte's hipparch as an ordinary member of the public (op. cit., 230 - 1).
202. A.P. 49. iv, A. I. Tim. 103 - 4 with schol.
203. Lys. XXIV. Pens. Inv. 7, 26.
204. Pl. Sol. 31. iii - iv, cf. schol. A. I. Tim. 103, whose rate of 3 obols is perhaps due to a confusion with jury pay (so Boeckh, Jacoby).
205. Lys. XXIV. Pens. Inv. 13, 26.
206. A.P. 49. iv, Hes. ἀδύνατοι.
207. Philochorus, 328 F 197A, with Jacoby's commentary. (F 197B, from L.S. 345. 15, has the figure of 5 obols!) Earlier in the fourth century the grant was being paid once a prytany (A. I. Tim. 104).
208. Lys. XXIV. Pens. Inv. (boule, §1, &c.).
209. §§ 4 - 5 , 10 - 12.
210. §§ 4 - 6.
211. A.P. 45. iii.
212. A.P. 55. ii - iv, cf . Poll. VIII. 85 - 6.
213. The papyrus reads [καὶ] τὰ τέλη τελεῖ . Most editors have followed Kaibel and Wilamowitz in inserting <εἰ> before τελεῖ from L.R.C. θεσμοθετῶν ἀνάκρισις, and in referring this to payment of taxes; but Gilbert, 219, compared A.P. 7. iv and thought that the question referred to membership of a Solonian property-class. The latter must be the interpretation of Pollux, who paraphrases: καὶ τί τὸ

- τῶν μὲν ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς (VIII. 86: τῶ is Koch's suggestion in RE, V. 1271, for εἶ), but the orthodox interpretation is confirmed by Cratinus Junior, fr. 9 (Kock), and Dinarchus, II. Arist. 17 - 18.
214. D.XX. Lept. 90 (ascribing the rule to Solon, as usual).
215. E.g. Lipsius, 271, Kahrstedt, U.M.A., 62. Reference of all archontic δοκιμασῶν to a court is accepted by Bonner & Smith, II. 243 - 4, and also by Professor Wade-Gery, E.G.H., 194 - 5, whose view is slightly different from that advocated in the text. He believes that confirmation by the heliaea was always required when the boule accepted a candidate, but originally the boule's rejection was final: in the time of the Athenaion Politeia "the Archon designate must (before he can take office) be scrutinised twice, by Boulê and lawcourt: two fences must be taken but only the second need be cleared," but "formerly, the Archon had to clear both fences." He would date the introduction of appeal against the boule's rejection late and thinks that in Lys. XXVI Evand. 14 - 15 "it is perhaps rather implied that there is none."
216. Lys. XXVI Evand. 6 - 7. •
217. This has happened on previous occasions (§ 8).
218. The passage is normally taken to mean that there will be no time for an appeal before the new year if the boule rejects Evander, but it is Evander and his friends who are stressing the dire consequences of his rejection; the objector's reply ought to be that this argument is irrelevant as Evander will not be able to play his part in the inaugural sacrifices

- even if he is accepted. § 8 will to some extent be a red herring, as the sacrifices will be presided over by the basileus whether Evander is ultimately allowed through or not.
219. If pressed, the wording of A.P. 55. iv might point to the conclusion that in the author's day the boule did not vote unless objections were raised, but this is more probably an unfortunate condensation.
220. This does not, of course, rule out changes: πόθεν τῶν δήμων must be post-Cleisthenic. Kahrstedt (U.M.A., 61 - 2) thought that the archaic state with its small ruling class did not need δοκιμασία, and suggested that their introduction might be linked with that of the bouleutic oath; but I do not think that a formal, rather than genuinely fact-finding, interrogation before the swearing of the archontic oath would be impossible in the sixth century.
221. Cf. p. 218.
222. We have two speeches of Lysias written for delivery at the δοκιμασία in the boule of a prospective bouleutes: XVI. Mant. (so Blass, Attische Beredsamkeit,² I. 517), XXXI. Phil. (cf. § 2); and cf. XXVI. Evand. 10 - 11.
223. A.P. 45. i.
224. See p. 151 and n. 20, above.
225. The boule could order the arrest of the generals accused of misconduct at Arginusae (p. 152), of defaulting state debtors (pp. 152-6) and of men whom it found guilty on an εἰσαγγελία, whose case it intended to refer to

a δεικαστήριον for a heavy penalty (D.XXIV. Tim. 63); but it swore not to imprison a man who could provide three guarantors from his own property-class except on a charge of treason or conspiracy against the demos or under the νόμοι τελωνικοῦ (p. 206 with n. 324). These are all cases of precautionary imprisonment, to ensure that a man discharged a debt or stood trial (cf. n. 40, above): I imagine that it was left to the boule to decide in any case for which it was responsible whether these precautions were necessary (so Lipsius, 813, on εἰσαγγελταί).

If we refer this passage to penal acts only, however, the Athenaion Politeia seems to be right in denying that the boule possessed such powers in the author's day; but I have suggested on pp. 155-6 that in the fifth century penal imprisonment may have been automatic when a man defaulted on a debt to the state.

226. D. XXI. Mid. 116.
227. Lys. XXII. Frum. 2.
228. Is. XVII. Trap. 42. We should not see in [D]. LI. Cor. Tri. 8 - 9 another instance of temptation to the boule, in 361. Though the speech is addressed to the boule the case alluded to here probably came before the ecclesia as an εἰσαγγελταί (Lipsius, 190 - 1 n. 41, Gernet, Budé edition of D's Plaidoyers Civils, III. 62 - 3 n. 3).
229. Lys. XXII. Frum. 5, Is. XVII. Trap. 3 - 4.
230. GHI 142, 37 - 41. Perhaps the boule had been made κυρτά to enquire into this matter - in which case there may have been more doubt than ever as to what the boule's powers were (cf. n. 172 above, and pp. 196 8).

231. A.P. 40. ii.
232. Though the letter of the law gave him a convenient excuse to attack Thrasybulus' citizenship decree (A.P. 40. ii, A. III. Ctes. 195, [P1] X.Or. 835F - 6A), Archinus was prepared to upset the original arrangement made with the oligarchs who had withdrawn to Eleusis (A.P. 40. i), and until the new code of νόμοι had been ratified there was genuine uncertainty as to what was law (cf. And. I. Myst. 81).
233. D. XXIV Tim. 144 - 8, cf. pp. 206-8.
234. The story in its present form belongs to the period when it was held that the full judicial power of the demos was vested in the δικαστήρια, but οὐ . . . ἄνευ δικαστηρίου γνώσεως could be a fourth-century paraphrase of an earlier οὐκ ἄνευ τοῦ δήμου.
235. A.P. 41. ii. It is not clear how widely κρῖσεις should be interpreted: its coming shortly after δικαστηρίοις should mean that strictly judicial matters are at any rate included; if the δοκιμασία of bouleutae and archons (45. iii) and the choice of παραδελγματα and the Panathenaic πέπλος (49. iii) are to be included as well, it would be dangerous to assume that all these changes must have taken place at the same time.
236. Aristoteles und Athen, II. 195 - 7: change between 386 (Lys. XXII. Frum.) and 352 (D. XXIV. Tim.).
237. Commentary² on A.P. 45. i, ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ τυπέου.
238. X.H. II. iii. 12.

239. D.S. XIV. 4. v, X.H. II. iii. 23.
240. X.H. II. iii. 50 - 1.
241. Lys. XIII. Ag. 36 -8.
242. X.H. II. iii. 51. A.P. 37. i.
243. X.H. II. iv. 8 - 10.
244. A.P. 38. ii.
245. D.XXIV. Tim. 56.
246. Lys. XXX. Nic. 10 - 11, cf. XIII. Ag. 12.
247. X.H. I. vii. Cf. p. 152.
248. Decree quoted [P1]. X.Or. 833E - F.
249. A.P. 33. i.
250. Athenian Financial Documents, 106 - 9.
251. We are given the date within the prytany, not otherwise found in dating a decree before 368/7 (GHI 136); and the secretary and ἐπιστάτης are from the same tribe, which under the democracy could not occur before the reorganisation of the secretarial office between 368/7 and 363/2 (GHI 136, Additional Note A, p. 415, and contr. IG ii² 109). Cf. Ch. III, p. 138.
252. This is not the place to discuss the general nature of the constitution of the 5,000, but I may remark that I am not persuaded by Mr G. E. M. de Ste Croix's arguments (Hist. V. 1956) that the property qualification applied only to office-holding and not to membership of the ecclesia.
253. GHI 86, 38 sqq.

254. P. Cloché, REG XXXIII 1920 (except where otherwise stated, all references to Cloché are to this article). This is the most important study of the problems examined in this appendix.
255. Compare also the arrest of Archestratus, with what result we do not know, for proposing in the boule that the terms offered by Sparta after Aegospotami be accepted (X.H. II.ii. 15).
256. No charge specified, Lys. XXX. Nic. 10 - 11. πρόσφασιν μὲν ὅτι οὐκ ἦλθεν εἰς τὰ ὄπλα ἀναπαυσόμενος, Lys. XIII. Ag. 12 - but the penalty for ἀστράτεια or λιποταξία was not death but ἄτιμία (A.I. Tim. 29, III. Ctes. 176, Lys. X. Theomn. i.1, D. XV. Rhod. Lib. 32 cf. XXI. Mid. 58) without loss of property (And. I. Myst. 74), and the charge was heard not in a regular court but by the generals and soldiers ([Lys]. XIV. Alc. i. 5, XV. Alc. ii. 1, D. XXXIX. Boe. Nom. 17). Doubtless this was one of the charges made against Cleophon but it was probably not the only one.
257. D. XXIV. Tim. 144 - 8.
258. BSA XXXIII 1932 - 3, 113 - 22. I cite by Wade-Gery's line numbers throughout; to obtain the correct reference in IG i² 114, add one.
259. The evidence of this inscription must be used with extreme caution, as fragment a is very badly preserved: I am prepared to assume that letters read both in IG i² and by Wade-Gery were safely identifiable thirty to forty years ago, but when examining the stone on my own in 1964 I was unable to make out any part of the word δραχμάς in l. 31 (traces of

the first letter seemed most like a K; beyond that I could identify nothing, nor more than faint traces of [θ] α [ν α τ] ϝ [ι] in l. 36; θοάν ἐπιβαλῆ[ν] is clearly legible on the better-preserved fragment b: see further on the readings nn. 340, 341A, 343, below.

260. He agreed that the death sentence passed at the instance of Archinus very shortly after the restoration in 403 was probably illegal.
- 260A. For other suggestions that the boule was deprived of various powers in the early part of the fourth century see my remarks in Ch. V, pp. 231-2, with notes referring to my discussions of related problems.
261. T. VIII. 67. iii.
262. And. II. Red. 13 - 15.
263. T. VIII. 70. ii.
264. V. Coulon in the introduction to the Budé edition of Aristophanes, M. Platnauer in the Oxford Classical Dictionary, and W. Kraus in Der Kleine Pauly, I, all give this date without hesitation.
265. Ar. Thesm. 76 - 80.
266. cf. Ar. Vesp. 661 - 3.
267. A.P. 43. iii, cf. Ch. I, p. 30.
268. Mr P. A. Brunt has suggested to me that if this passage has any implications for the powers of the boule, arrest pending trial might suffice.
269. Ar. Thesm. 943 - 4.
270. Cf. Bonner & Smith, II. 279 - 87.

271. And. I. Myst. 11, cf. 14, 27.
272. § 12.
273. § 15.
274. § 17. We do not know what was illegal about this proposal.
275. § 13, cf. 15, 16. 25.
276. § 19.
277. § 15.
278. Profanation, § 14.
279. § 36.
280. § 43.
281. §§ 44 - 5.
282. § 61.
283. §§ 64 - 5.
284. §§ 65 - 6.
285. §§ 67 - 8.
286. Is. XVI. Big. 6 - 7, Pl. Alc. 19 - 20 (esp. 20. v), 22. iv,
T. VI. 28. i, 61. i.
287. Is. XVI. Big. 7.
288. T. VI. 60. i.
289. Ibid. iv.
290. Ibid. 61. iv, cf. 53. i.
291. Ibid. 61. vii.

292. Mr MacDowell in his commentary on And. I. Myst. 66 points out that Diocledes was not guilty of mutilating the Hermae and we do not know the charge on which he was condemned; but his implication in the affair ought to have been sufficient to bring him within the scope of the boule's special powers.
293. Cf. nn. 172 and 230, above.
294. See n. 45 to Ch. III.
295. GHI 74, 57 - 9.
296. Ar. Vesp. 590 - 1, cf. Kahrstedt, U.M.A., 208 with n. 2. For my view of this passage, see pp. 175-7.
297. Ar. Ach. 379 - 81.
298. GHI 42, 4 - 10.
299. Cf. p. 189 and n. 230.
300. HMA 46, 31 - 43. Cf. n. 45, above. πο[τέσθον] in l. 40 is my suggestion for the usual πο[τόντων]; cf. T. III. 36. ii. The prytanes are surely expected to hold a debate in the boule rather than to make proposals on their own account.
301. Most recently, B. B. Rogers, in his edition of the Thesmophoriazusae.
302. Cf. p. 192 and notes.
303. My arguments are set out in Additional Note E, pp. 443-7
304. H. IX. 5. i - ii, cf. Lyc. Leocr. 122, D.XVIII. Cor. 202, 204.
305. l. 35 (Wade-Gery). Cf. p. 193.
306. A.P. 22. ii.

307. Some of which have already been made by W. Peremans (LEC X 1941, 193 sqq.). Cloché's reply (LEC XII 1943 - 4) deals only with the interpretation of IG i² 114 by J. Sencie and W. Peremans (LEC X 1941, 329 sqq.).
308. It is important to distinguish between the decisions of individual magistrates and corporate bodies. Solon gave the people the right to appeal against a magistrate's verdict, but the Areopagus retained considerableⁱⁿ⁻appellable powers until 462/1 (similarly in Rome the right of provocatio ad populum against a magistrate's decision was granted very early, but senatorial quaestiones passed capital sentences in the second century B.C. until prevented by a law of C. Gracchus).
309. Representative Government in Greek & Roman History, 15; cf. A. G. Woodhead, Hist. XVI 1967, 140 n. 33.
310. Ibid. 18. Cf. most recently A. G. Woodhead, Hist. XVI 1967, 139 - 40 with n. 33.
311. Phil. 328 F 140.
312. Arist. Pol. IV. 1299 B 31 - 1300 A 4, cf. VI. 1317 B 28 - 38.
313. REG XXXIV 1921.
314. Schol. A. III. Ctes. 4.
315. Cf. Ch. I, pp. i-6.
316. Cf. V. L. Ehrenberg, Hist. I 1950, 545 = Polis und Imperium, 294; C. W. J. Eliot, Coastal Demes of Attika, 145 - 7 with n. 18.
317. Most recently, B. R. I. Sealey, Hist. IX. 1960, 176.

318. Bonner & Smith, I. 343 n. 1.
319. Mr A. N. Sherwin-White has drawn my attention to T.I.
18.i:

 ἔτη γάρ ἐστι μάλιστα τετρακόσια καὶ ὀλίγη πλεῖω ἐς τὴν
 τελευτὴν τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου ἀφ' οὗ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῆ
 αὐτῆς πολιτείας χρῶνται.
320. Cf. A.P. 55 v.
321. I number the clauses as in Wade-Gery's study, BSA XXXIII
1932 - 3, 113 - 22, and bracket those whose inclusion in
the oath I doubt.
322. X.M. I.i. 18 (407/6).
323. Lys. XXXI. Phil. 1 (soon after 403/2), [D], LIX. Nearer. 4
(shortly before 339); we can perhaps trace this back to
405/4 from Lys. XXX. Nic. 10.
324. D.XXIV. Tim. 144, cf. 147 - 8 (353/2). § 148 calls the
oath "Solonian."
325. [And]. IV. Alc. 3 (putative date c. 415; perhaps written
early C4 but probably much later - see, most recently,
A. E. Raubitschek, TAPA LXXIX 1948 [genuine speech of
Phaeax], A. R. Burn, CQ² IV 1954 [late school composition]).
326. Lys. XXXI. Phil. 2 (soon after 403/2).
327. Lys. XXVI. Evand. 8 (383/2).
328. Phil. 328 F 140.
329. HMA 39, § 12.
330. In heliastic oath, D. XXIV. Tim. 150; same age requirement
for bouleutae, X.M. I. ii 35 (during lifetime of Socrates).

331. And. I. Myst. 91.

332. GHI 42, 4 - 10.

333. X.M. I. i. 18 implies that as late as 407/6 or when Xenophon wrote this was covered by κατὰ τοὺς νόμους βουλευθεῖν, but this is the one clause of which these seem to be reliable traces in the oath in IG i² 114 - cf. p. 208.

Glötz, The Greek City, 183, included in the oath an undertaking "to maintain secrecy on the affairs of the State;" but, likely as this is, I know no evidence for it.

334. Compare the summary of the archontic oath in A.P. 55. v: since the archons ceased to be powerful magistrates there was less need to add to this later.

335. Cf. Ch. I, p. 1 with n. 7.

336. Pp. 184-7

337. HMA 39, § 12.

338. In his enumeration; in IG i², 1 - 17.

339. A few more letters can be read "dotted".

340. Line 31: I read [πεν] τᾰκο [σ] ι [. .] κ [-]
(the κ was very doubtful, and I would not rule out δ —
cf. n. 259, above). Hiller von Gaertringen read [πε]ντακοσῆας
δ ρ α χ [μ ᾰ ς] (sic); Wade-Gery [πεντ] ακοσι [. .]
δ ρ α [χ μ -]; Dr D. M. Lewis, who has examined the stone
recently, tells me he would read] ντᾰκοσι [..] δρα [—].

341. At any rate in l. 25.

341A I could make out only [θ]α [ν α τ] ᾰ [ι] (l. 36); Dr Lewis reads θαν[α]τᾰι [ζεμι] ᾰ [σαι], and in l. 37
[δ] ἔμο τᾰ 'Αθηναῖον πλεθ[ύ]οντος [. . .] δόχσιν ἀτιμ[ί]τας.

342. Publishing the inscription as IG i 57.

343. IG i² 3, 16; 4, 26 (485/4). Dr Lewis reads the line as

τᾶδε ἔδοχσεν ἐλ Λυκεῖο [τ]ῶι δ[έμοι τῶι 'Α]θ[ε]·[να]·[το]ν
[πλ]εθ[ύ] / [οντι],

344. The other citations in LSJ are Od. II. 192, Il. XIII. 169, Archilochus, 109, Democritus, 262, and two fifth-century inscriptions. The verb θοάζειν is found as late as the end of the fourth century. Cf. n. 353, below.

345. Similar phrases occur in the Olympian bronze inscriptions of the sixth or fifth century, where certain matters require the approval of the boule and the δῆμος πληθύων (HMA 124 b, c).

346. Cf. p. 177 and n. 167, above.

347. See Lys. X. Theomn. i. 15 - 19 for some examples.

348. Compare the requirement of 6,000 voting citizens at an ostracism (Pl. Arist. 7. v - vi - all relevant texts quoted at Phil. 328 F 30, and recent discussions cited by I. C. Limentani, edition of Pl. Arist., pp. xlviiii - xlix).

349. LEC X 1941, 329 sqq.

350. Compare the use of πληθός as a near-synonym for δῆμος or ἐκκλησία. Larsen arrives by a very different route at a conclusion with the same practical effect, regarding the δῆμος πληθύων as the "entire demos", as opposed to the boule (Representative Government, 15 - 16).

351. GHI 42, 9 - 10.

352. JHS LXXXVII 1967, 132. I am grateful to Dr Lewis for letting me see the manuscript of this before publication.
353. The exact meaning of $\thetaοῶν \acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\beta\alpha\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ is not clear. In the Hecatompedon Inscription $\thetaοῶν$ is used of small fines, up to 3 obols (IG i² 4, 7 - 8, 12 - 13), and $\epsilonῖθῦν\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ of larger (100 dr.) (13 - 17 cf. 23 - 4); $\thetaοῶζειν$ is used of a 50 dr. fine in the late fourth century edict of the priest of Apollo Erithaseus (IG ii² 1362). Dr Lewis has suggested to me that $\epsilonῖθῦν\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ may refer specifically to fines imposed at an official's $\epsilonὔθυνα\iota$ (cf. HMA 87, esp. 28 - 31, where there is some contrast between $\delta\phi\epsilon\tau\lambda\epsilon\iota\nu$ and $\epsilonῖθῦν\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$).

For non-Attic instances, where $\theta\omega\alpha\iota$ seem to be punishments in general and fines in particular, see

Gortyn	<u>Inscr. Cret.</u> IV, 13m	CC 7 - 6
Chios	<u>GHI</u> 1, 14 - 16 (= L.H. Jeffery, <u>BSA</u> LI 1956, 157 - 67, 11. C 5 - 7): the $\beta\omicron\lambda\eta\grave{\eta}$ $\delta\eta\mu\omicron\sigma\tau\eta$ is $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\theta\acute{\omega}\iota\omicron\varsigma$.	c.600 - 550
Elis	Buck, <u>Greek Dialects</u> , 64, 1: an ox and full purification	C6
Locris	<u>GHI</u> 34, 9: "double".	c.450
Miletus	<u>GHI</u> 35, 12: 100 staters	c.450
Thasos	<u>BCH</u> L 1926, 214, no. 2.	c.415
Delphi	Buck, <u>Greek Dialects</u> , 52, D 19: (fines of 1 obol mentioned in a later clause).	c.400

354. H.VI. 21. ii.

355. Ibid. 104. ii.

356. Ibid. 136. i.
357. Lyc. Leocr. 117. His treachery probably belongs to the war with Xerxes (Wilamowitz, Aristoteles und Athen, I. 114 - 5, Burn, Persia and the Greeks, 352).
358. L.R.C. εἰσαγγελία.
359. Pl. Them. 23. i. Both texts at Craterus, 342 F 11.
360. T. I. 135. ii - iii.
361. A.P. 25. iii - iv, Is. VII. Areop., hyp.
362. A.P. 27. i.
363. Pl. Per. 10. vi.
364. Pl. Per. 10. vi, Cim. 14. iii, 15. i.
365. Pl. Cim. 14. iv.
366. Lipsius, 179 - 81, Bonner & Smith, I. 299 - 300.
367. I accept the Solonian boule as historical: see Ch. V, pp. 221-2.
368. Bonner & Smith, I. 299. Against this view see A. G. Woodhead, Hist. XVI 1967, 136. •
369. Cf. H. T. Wade-Gery, E.G.H. 176 - 8, B. R. I. Sealey, CP LIX 1964, 18.
370. Even on Professor White's estimate (JHS LXXXIV 1964) Themistocles' condemnation was at least four years before Ephialtes' reform. But the most incredible stories must originate somehow, and this one will be more intelligible if it was the Areopagus that had condemned Themistocles.
371. B. R. I. Sealey, CP LIX 1964, 18 - 20. Cf. p. 217.

372. The rejection of Mardonius' peace offer is ascribed to the boule (cf. pp.201-2 and n. 304, above); Diodorus tells rather unlikely stories of two secret meetings of the boule shortly after the defeat of the Persians (D.S. XI. 39. v, 42. v; cf. ^{ch.}/I, p. 40); and Plutarch in one of his two accounts makes it the boule which by passing a decree prevented Cimon's rejoining the Athenians at Tanagra, a few years after the Ephialtic reform (Pl. Cim. 17. v, contr. Per. 10. i; cf. Ch. I, p. 35).
373. A.P. 25. (i-) ii.
374. Pl. Cim. 15. ii.
375. Phil. 328 F 64 b (α).
376. Arson, D. XXIII. Arist. 22; sacred olives, Lys. VII. Ol. 22, A.P. 60. ii; other religious cases, [D]. LIX. Neaer. 79 - 80.
377. I am not directly concerned with the enactment of the reforms. Some have been tempted by the mention of Ephialtes and Archestratus in A.P. 35. ii and by what is said of Pericles in A.P. 27. i and Arist. Pol. II. 1274 A 7 - 8 to postulate a reform in two or more stages: but A.P. 27. i may well be an attribution to Pericles of a share in the reform of 462/1, not properly coordinated with Ch. 25, and Archestratus was a common fifth-century Attic name. See Hignett, 197 - 8.
378. D.S. XI. 77. vi, Paus. I. 29. xv.

Professor Sealey has suggested (CP LIX 1964, 13) that the talk of ἐπιθετα derives not from the propaganda of the time but from an attempt in the third quarter of the fourth century to compare the pre-Ephialtic powers of the Areopagus with the enhanced powers which it exercised at that time, but the slogan is older than that, for the word was

used of the Areopagus' powers in a lost speech of Lysias:

ἐλέγετο δὲ παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ἄλλα ἐκίθετά τινα, ὅποσα
μὴ πάτρια ὄντα ἢ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλῆ ἐδίκαζεν, ὡς
σαφὲς ποιεῖ Λυσίας ἐν τῷ πρὸς τὴν Μιξιδήμου γράφῃν.

(Lys. fr. 178a [Sauppe], from Harpocration)

379. A.P. 3. vi.

380. A.P. 4. iv.

381. A.P. 8. iv.

382. Pl. So1. 19.

383. A.P. 9. i. Cf. p. 213 and n. 369, above.

384. Examples cited by Hignett, 208 with nn. 4, 5.

385. E.g. Hignett, 208 - 9.

386. D. XVIII. Cor. 134, cf. [Pl]. X.Or. 850A, Hyp. frs. 67 - 76

(Kenyon); Pl. Phoc. 16. iv. Every citizen had the right of πρόσοδος
πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον, and could hardly be
prevented from stating that the view he advanced had the
backing of some corporate body to which he belonged. On
the enactment of decrees in general see Ch. II, and notice
especially the decrees with special origins listed in Table
E.

387. This brings him into conflict with Professor Wade-Gery (E.G.H.,
180 - 200) over the interpretation of the Athenian decree for
Phaselis, GHI 32. Wade-Gery sees references to the archon's
personal jurisdiction in the words

παρ[ὰ τῷ πο]λεμάρχῳ (9 - 10)

and

[ε]ἰ μὲν καταδικάσ[ει, ἢ καταδικ]η ἄκυρος ἔστω (18 - 1

and, assuming an abrupt reform which Aeschylus celebrated in the Eumenides, dates this decree before it; Sealey thinks this language would be entirely possible even after such a reform, and for καταδικάζειν compares Plat. Legg. XII. 958 B-C. To add to the uncertainty, Mr W. W. Wyndham has pointed out in an unpublished essay that we could restore the more innocuous καταδικασ[θήσεται, ἡ δίκ]η or καταδικάσ[εταί τι, ἡ δίκ]η; and the decree is one of the many for which Mr H. B. Mattingly would like a much later dating (PACA VII 1964, 37 - 9, cf. Ancient Society & Institutions, 216 - 7 n. 29).

There may well have been a law at some point, possibly enforcing a change but more probably confirming an evolution that had already taken place; but new language for new procedures does not become established overnight, and even if Wade-Gery were right in principle the decree could belong to a period of overlap when the old language was used of the new procedure. The changes in judicial procedure which I would ascribe to Ephialtes will probably have made necessary the division of the heliaea into δικαστήρια, if this division had not already been made, but I am not convinced that Ephialtes must have abolished the archons' personal jurisdiction.

388. I prefer to think that Ephialtes made a point of attacking those about to join the ranks of the Areopagus, in the εὐθύνας which they had to undergo on retiring from the archonship (cf. Wade-Gery, E.G.H., 177).

389. I should not like to say exactly how this was done, as I find it hard to believe in the Ephialtic νομοφύλακες of Philochorus. Wilamowitz (Aristoteles und Athen, II. 188) regarded a purely negative clause as impossible, but ensuring that the ἀρχαί kept the laws became one of the responsibilities of the boule (cf. A.P. 45. ii), and the duty of νομοφυλακεῖν may have been assumed by the boule and demos. Aeschylus' Eumenides (704 - 6) suggests to me that the issue of νομοφυλακεῖν was raised in some form at this time, and that at any rate after the event the poet thought the Areopagus ought to have retained this privilege (cf. E. R. Dodds, PCPS² VI 1960, esp. 22).

390. A.P. 22. v.

391. A.P. 26. ii.

392. ἐπειδὴν δὲ τεθῆσι οἱ νόμοι, ἐπιμελεῖσθω ἡ βουλή ἢ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου τῶν νόμων, ὅπως ἂν αἱ ἀρχαὶ τοῖς κειμένοις νόμοις χρῶνται.

(decree ap. And. I. Myst. 84).

What in practical terms Tisamenus meant by this I do not know, and I doubt whether he knew. MacDowell ad loc. discusses various possibilities.

393. The fragment of Lysias quoted in n. 378, above, suggests that about this time the arguments about "accretions" and "established rights" were resurrected.

394. A fact doubtless far less appreciated at this time than by the political theorists of a century later.

395. A.P. 45. i.

396. A.P. 41. ii.

397. But the correct form of address to the Areopagus remained,

ὁ βουλή (Lys. III. Sim. 1, IV. Vuln. Praemed. 1,
VII. OL. 1).

398. A.P. 25, passim.

NOTES TO CHAPTER V

1. A.P. 8. iv. cf. 21. iii, Pl. Sol. 19. i. My quotation is from Plutarch: the Athenaion Politeia says nothing of the functions of this boule.
2. For a full statement of the case for the Solonian boule see Cloché, REG XXXVII 1924, 1 - 26; of the case against it, Hignett, 92 - 6. Recent writers who believe in the Solonian boule include W. G. G. Forrest, The Emergence of Greek Democracy, 164 - 6; A. Andrewes, Ancient Society and Institutions, 16 with 20 nn. 26 - 7, and (more cautiously) G. T. Griffith, ibid., 121 with 135 n. 35; A. G. Woodhead, Hist. XVI 1967, 135 - 6.
3. Diogenes Laertius (I. 49) has a story that when Solon tried to warn the ecclesia against Pisistratus ἡ βουλή, Πεισιστράτιδας ὄντας, said that he was mad.
4. H. V. 72. ii.
5. A.P. 31. i. For a brief statement of my views on the constitutional documents in A.P. 30 - 1 see n. 47 to Ch. I.
6. Pl. Sol. 19. ii.
7. K. Freeman, The Work and Life of Solon, 79 with n. 1.
Of the inscriptions which have been adduced in this connection GHI 1 (= L. H. Jeffery, BSA LI 1956, 157 - 67) with its emphatic mention of a δημοσκή βουλή makes it very likely that two βουλαὶ coexisted in Chios before c. 550; a new fragment of GHI 11 makes it virtually certain that the boule was mentioned in l. 12 (SEG X 1), but this decree need not be pre-Cleisthenic.
8. For discipline in the fifth and fourth centuries see Ch. IV, pp. 46 - 50.

9. Cf. Ch. IV. pp. 184-7.
10. Cf. n. 136 to Ch. I.
- 10A See Hignett, 115 - 23: We do not know in what ways or to what extent Pisistratus influenced the deliberations of the boule and ecclesia.
11. On the membership of the Cleisthenic boule see Ch. I, pp. 1-15. I do not know the authority for Mr Woodhead's statement (Hist. XVI 1967, 135) that the members of Solon's boule were "elected, apparently for life."
12. Cf. appendix to Ch. IV, p. 213 . Mr Woodhead agrees that Cleisthenes left the boule's powers unchanged, but makes the sixth-century boule a powerful body (Hist. XVI 1967, 135 - 6 with 135 n. 17).
13. Cf. n. 372 to Ch. IV.
14. Cf. appendix to Ch. IV, pp. 212-4
15. Cf. Ch. IV, pp. 184-6
16. Cf. appendix to Ch. IV, pp. 212-4
17. A.P. 22. ii. •
18. Cf. appendix to Ch. IV, pp. 201-11.
19. Cf. Ch. I, pp. 16-18
20. A.P. 22. v.
21. A.P. 25. ii.
22. Cf. appendix to Ch. IV, pp. 212-4, 218.
23. Cf. Ch. IV, pp. 179-87.
24. Cf. Ch. IV, p. 151 with n. 22.

25. Cf. Ch. I, p. 42 ; Ch. II, pp. 54-5 , (In this paragraph I concentrate as far as possible on duties which the boule is known to have acquired before the end of the fifth century; but I have made use of some fourth-century material where we have no reason to believe that there had been a change in practice since the fifth century.)
26. Cf. Ch. I, pp. 42-3 ; Ch. III, p. 135.
27. Cf. Ch. II, pp. 53-83.
28. Cf. Ch. III, pp. 89-113.
29. Cf. Ch. III, pp. 114-23.
30. Cf. Ch. III, pp. 124-9.
31. Cf. Ch. III, pp. 130-7.
32. Cf. Ch. III, pp. 138-41.
33. Cf. Ch. IV, pp. 151-68.
34. Cf. Ch. IV, pp. 169-78.
35. History² XXXVI 1951 = More Essays, 177 - 93.
36. More Essays, 178. Cf. Jones, 117 - 9; Gomme, JHS LXXIX 1959, 183, reviewing Jones.
37. Cf. Ch. II, pp. 53-83, esp. 79-83
38. Cf. Additional Note A, pp. 416-7.
39. Cf. n. 79, below.
- 39A. O.O. iii. 1 sqq. (variously dated between c. 445 and c. 415: see most recently G. W. Bowersock, HSCP LXXI 1966, 33 - 8, arguing for an early date; but I would prefer to date the pamphlet after 431) emphasises the amount of business transacted by the boule and perhaps provides a terminus ante quem.

40. Cf. Ch. I, p. 12.
41. Cf. Ch. I, pp. 5-6.
42. Cf. Ch. I, pp. 2-3.
43. More Essays, 185.
44. On the members of the boule cf. Ch. I, pp. 2-5.
45. This point is stressed by Mr Woodhead, Hist. XVI 1967.
46. More Essays, 186.
47. Recently, D. W. Bradeen, TAPA LXXXVI 1955, 27, A. G. Woodhead, Hist. XVI 1967, 139 - 40, cf. G. T. Griffith, Ancient Society and Institutions, 129 - 31.
48. The growth of ἰσθγορία in Athens is discussed by G. T. Griffith, Ancient Society and Institutions, 115 - 38, and A. G. Woodhead, Hist. XVI 1967. The machinery of the full democracy required the active participation of a large number of citizens, and the spread of willingness to take part in the assembly's debates must have been roughly paralleled by a spread of willingness to hold public office, each factor encouraging the other.
49. W. L. Ehrenberg, The Greek State, 63. Professor Ehrenberg's account of the relationship between the boule and ecclesia, ibid., 61 - 5, is the one with which I am most in sympathy.
50. Arist. Pol. IV 1299 B 31 - 1300 A 4 (quoted in appendix to Ch. IV, p. 203), cf. VI. 1317 B 28 - 38.
51. T. VIII. 1. iii.

52. A.P. 29. ii., cf. for their number D.S. XII. 75. iv; L.S. 298. 25 gives their number as nine (but one from each tribe). For a discussion of the πρόβουλοι see F. D. Smith, Athenian Political Commissions, Ch. iii.

53. Produced in 411. I prefer to date the Thesmophoriazusae to 410 (cf. Additional Note E, pp. 443-7) and therefore cannot use that play as evidence for powers retained by the boule and prytanes during the existence of the πρόβουλοι.

54. Ar. Lys. 420 - 3.

55. Ibid. 430 - 66.

56. Ibid. 598 - 610.

57. Ibid. 980 - 1013.

58. T. VIII 69. iv, cf. A.P. 32. i.

59. A.P. 29. ii, quoting a decree of Pythodorus, cf. T. VIII. 67. i: on debates περί σωτηρίας see Additional Note C, pp. 426-31

Details of the means by which the four hundred came to power need not be discussed at length here; but I believe that the accounts of Thucydides and the Athenaion Politeia can be reconciled without great difficulty if we remember that the first is giving an account of "what really happened" in so far as an exiled Athenian could discover that, while the second account is based, whether directly or at second hand, on the documents through which the oligarchs hoped to make their rule seem respectable.

60. T. VIII. 67. ii - 68. i. init., A.P. 29. iv - v with 31. i init. Quotations are from A.P. 29. v. on the five thousand, A.P. 31. i and T.VIII. 67. iii on the four hundred. The

motion may have stood formally in the name of the συγγραφεῖς (A.P. 29. v), but Pisander doubtless spoke for it (T.VIII. 68. i).

61. T.VIII. 70. i, A.P. 32. iii cf. 33. ii.
62. Notice the assurances sent to the fleet at Samos, reported in T. VIII. 72. i.
63. T. VIII. 89 - 96, A.P. 33.
64. T. VIII. 97. i, A.P. 33. i. I cannot accept the account of this constitution given by Mr G. E. M. de Ste Croix, Hist. V 1956.
65. T. VIII. 97. ii; for the admiration cf. A.P. 33. ii.
66. On the membership and organisation of the βουλαί of 411 - 410 see Ch. I, pp. 5-6, 28-9 ; on the judicial power which they wielded, appendix to Ch. IV, pp. 194-5 for the four hundred, 192 with 195-6 , 201 and Additional Note E, pp. 443-7 (date of the Thesmophoriazusae) for the boule under the five thousand.
67. For the date cf. n. 50 to Ch. I.
68. X.H. II. iii. 2 - 3, A.P. 34. iii, D.S. XIV.3. vi - vii, Pl. Lys. 15.
69. X.H. II. ii. 2, 11, quoted in Ch. I, p. 29.
70. On the boule under the thirty see Ch. I, pp. 6 with n. 50A, 29 , appendix to Ch. IV, pp. 190-1.
71. Cf. Ch. IV, pp. 157-8 with n. 57.
72. See especially And. I. Myst. 81 sqq.
73. But some seem still to have hankered after a restrictive qualification for membership of the citizen body: see n. 193

74. Cf. Ch. II, pp. 84-7
75. Cf. appendix to Ch. IV, pp. 193-4.
76. Cf. Ch. I, pp. 25-8
77. Cf. Ch. III, pp. 139-41.
78. Cf. Ch. III, pp. 105-4
79. A.P. 41. iii, dated by references to the τριώβολον in (392?) Ar. Eccl. 183 - 8, 289 sqq., &c.
80. Cf. p. 229 with n 50, above.
81. For a full statement of this view, see P. Clöché, REG XXXIV 1921.
82. The strategia, always a military office even when it was also of political importance, was the main exception to this rule: generals were elected and could be reelected. For elective offices in the 320's see A.P. 43.i, 61.
83. I have attempted to give an explanation of the view which I adopt in Ch. III, pp. 105-8 , with Additional Note D, pp. 432-42
84. A. III. Ctes. 25, quoted on p. 106
85. Ibidem.
86. A.P. 47. ii (treasurer of the stratiotic fund elected: 43. i.).
87. The poletae are last found in 307/6, combining with ὁ ἐπιτῆν δλοικησεε to make a contract (IG ii² 463, 36, cf. 1589,1); the apodectae are last found in 323/2 (IG ii² 365, b6; 1631, 324 - 5)
88. IG ii² 244, 6 - 10. On the date see Ch. III, p. 125 with

n. 281.

89. Ibid., 28 sqq. For the appointment of $\tau\epsilon\lambda\chi\omicron\kappa\omicron\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ by tribes see IG ii² 1658, 1 (394/3); 1660, 1 - 3 (393/2); cf. A. III. Ctes. 30.
90. Cf. Ch. III, pp. 127-8
91. Cf. Ch. III, p. 127 with nn. 306 - 7.
92. See, for example, Plat. Protag. 319 B 5 - C 8.
93. See W. S. Ferguson, CP XXIV 1929, 9, on IG ii² 644, and compare Professor Meritt's calendar studies, cited in Additional Note A, p. 414
94. Ch. Ch. II, pp. 79-83.
95. Cf. Ch. I, p. 1 with n. 4.
96. Cf. Ch. I, p. 30.
97. Cf. Ch. I, pp. 7 - 11.
98. Cf. Ch. II, pp. 87-8 with notes.
99. Cf. Ch. I, p. 1 with n. 5.
100. Cf. Ch. I, p. 2 with n. 19.
101. Cf. Ch. III, p. 143.
102. Cf. Ch. I, p. 31

Additional Note A : The Bouleutic Calendar

Modern study of the bouleutic calendar began with Keil's discovery (published in two articles in Hermes XXIX 1894) that for part of the fifth century the archontic and bouleutic years were not conterminous, and was given a new impetus by Professor Meritt's recognition (The Athenian Calendar) that the independent bouleutic year was a solar year. This led to a series of studies in which assumptions about the archontic calendar were allowed to dictate a good deal of irregularity in the bouleutic, a practice that was challenged in 1947 by Professors Pritchett and Neugebauer (The Calendars of Athens). Of more recent publications the most impor-

- tant are W. K. PRITCHETT Calendars of Athens again BCH LXXXI 1957
B. D. MERITT The Athenian Year U. of California P., 1961
W. K. PRITCHETT Ancient Athenian Calendars on Stone
U. of California P., 1963
W. K. PRITCHETT Expenditure of Athena, 408-406 B.C., and
the Hellenotamiai BCH LXXXVIII 1964
B. D. MERITT Athenian Calendar Problems TAPA XCV 1964

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In addition to the "festival" or archontic calendar, in which the year, identified by its archon, was divided into twelve or thirteen lunar months, the Athenians found it convenient to use a "civil" or bouleutic calendar, in which the year was divided into ten (or more) prytanies. For much of the fifth century the bouleutic year was wholly independent of the archontic calendar, being a solar year of 365 or 366 days (thus Meritt, TAPA 1964, 200; invariably 366 days, Pritchett & Neugebauer, 94 - 7, Pritchett, BCH 1957, 294): the bouleutic year 419/8 began on 16.i (Hec.) by the archontic calendar (Ant. VI. Chor. 44 - 5, with Meritt, Athenian Calendar, 121 - 2),

and the bouletic year 411/0 would have begun, but for the revolution, on 14. xii (Scir.) (A.P. 32. i). At some time in the last decade of the century it was decided that the boule's term of office should be the lunar, archontic year of c. 354 or c. 384 days (for the boule's serving an archontic year in the fourth century cf. schol. D.XXI. Mid. 114, in BCH I 1877, 16). Meritt first used GHI 83 and 92 to date the change between 410/09 and 407/6, in CP XXV 1930, and he now regards 407/6 as the first year under the new dispensation (TAPA 1964, 201, 211): Pritchett, who takes a different and to me less convincing view of GHI 92, regards the date of the change as uncertain (BCH 1964, 470 - 3). There has been much disagreement as to when the independent bouletic year was instituted: Keil (Hermes XXIX 1894, 74 - 5) and Meritt (Ath. Cal., 71 - 2, 124 - 6) ascribed it to Cleisthenes; Dinsmoor (Archons of Athens, 327 n. 1) and Giffler (AJP LX 1939) linked it with the adoption of Meton's calendar in 432; Kahrstedt (U.M.A., 88) with the introduction of prytanies, which he attributed to Ephialtes. Meritt for a time thought that the independent bouletic year might have been instituted about 450 (Hesp. V. 1936, 374 - 8) but in Ath. Yr., 203 n. 4, he accepted the demolition of the argument on which this was based (Pritchett & Neugebauer, 105 - 6) and reverted to his original opinion. Methods of dating employed in fifth-century documents (cf. below) make it very likely that the independent bouletic year goes back at any rate to the middle of the century, and I like Kahrstedt would associate it with an Ephialtic division of the boule into prytanies (cf. Ch. I, pp. 16 - 18): the prestige of the archons was under attack at the time, and this seems a suitable occasion for the creation of an alternative to the archontic year.

Neither kind of year is divisible into ten equal units, and the prytanies like the months must therefore have been unequal in

length. For the fourth century we are told explicitly in A.P. 43. ii that the first four prytanies in the year were of 36 days each and the remaining six of 35. Pritchett and Meritt disagree strongly in their attitude to "the rule of Aristotle". Meritt now accepts that there were normally four prytanies of 36 and six of 35 days (though tampering with the calendar might sometimes lead to departures from this), but he regards the Athenaion Politeia's placing of the long prytanies at the beginning of the year merely as one possibility, which was not followed every year (Ath. Yr., passim, esp. Ch. V, TAPA 1964, 200 - 12) while Pritchett insists that until positive disproof can be found this arrangement should be accepted as a binding rule (Pritchett & Neugebauer, 34 sqq., Anc. Ath. Cals., 356, BCH 1964, 467 - 70), and even postulates a similar rule for the fifth century (e.g. Pritchett & Neugebauer, 94 - 7). We possess many documents giving "calendar equations" between a date in the archontic calendar and a date in the bouleutic calendar: a few of these equations are intact or can be restored with certainty, but the great majority can be restored in more than one way according to the restorer's presuppositions concerning the calendar. So far Meritt and Pritchett have both been able to fit all the evidence to their own assumptions; there is no text which cannot be compatible with Pritchett's strict reliance on the Athenaion Politeia, and detailed and uncontroversial information for a number of years would be needed to throw serious doubt on Meritt's freer interpretation. Both scholars have found it necessary to postulate errors and irregularities in other calendar rules and in the inscription of calendar equations, and Pritchett by refusing to allow irregularities of this one kind has inevitably had to admit more and greater irregularities of other kinds (cf. D. M. Lewis, JHS LXXXIII 1963, 195, reviewing

Ath. Yr.). Because his scheme is less neat than Meritt's it is not necessarily wrong, but I believe he is unwise to assume that the Athenaion Politeia is telling not merely the truth and nothing but the truth, but even the whole truth. The very text on whose completeness he relies makes no mention of leap years, in which there should normally have been four prytanies of 39 and six of 38 days (e.g. Meritt, TAPA 1964, 202), or of ordinary years with a total of other than 354 days (e.g. D. M. Lewis, BSA L 1955, 25); and there are various other matters of which the account given in that treatise cannot be accepted as the whole truth (see, for example, my Ch. IV, pp. 151 and 188-9, on A.P. 45. ii, and Ch. III, pp. 138-42, on A.P. 54. iii - v). Though the general structure of the calendars is clear, room has to be found within it for many irregularities, and it seems unwise to make one rule sacrosanct because it happens to be stated in the Athenaion Politeia.

The bouleutic calendar continued with modifications after the creation of new tribes. In leap years when there were thirteen tribes and in ordinary years when there were twelve there will have been as many months as prytanies, but it is agreed that months and prytanies were not made conterminous (pace Poll. VIII. 115: Pritchett & Neugebauer, 78 - 9, Meritt, TAPA 1964, 202). Meritt believes that in 307/6 it was decided to add the intercalary month only when the year was in progress, and six prytanies of 30 days were therefore followed by six of 34 (Ath. Yr., 1976 - 8, TAPA 1964, 243); in 296/5 what was left of the year after the fall of Lachares' tyranny was shared among the twelve tribes (Ath. Yr., 178 - 9, TAPA 1964, 244); and the bouleutic years 222/1 and 166/5 each ended a month early (TAPA 1964, 256 - 9, 242 - 7).

It was obviously convenient to use the bouletic calendar rather than the archontic in connection with the proceedings of the boule and ecclesia. Our earliest public document from Athens, the late sixth-century decree for Salamis, seems now to have borne no date (the new fragment has made an archon-year in 1. 12 unlikely: cf. SEG X 1), and the decrees of the Hecatompedon Inscription are dated to the archon-year 485/4 (IG i² 3, 16, 4, 26); but the series of decrees which begins probably in the 450's relies for dating on the bouletic year, specifying the tribe in prytany and the secretary of that prytany (HMA 21 [c. 457?], 26 [453/2], 28 [451/0], 29 [c. 450], &c.; cf. Ch. I, p. 16 with n. 112), and shortly afterwards we find a previous year identified by the secretary of its first prytany (GHI 44, 16 - 17 [c. 445]). In the course of the next century more detail found its way into the prescripts of decrees, and there was an increasing tendency to give the date in both calendars, but it appears throughout that the bouletic date was still felt to be the more important. Early in the fourth century the tribe in prytany was not only named but was given its ordinal number within the year (first found in heading, GHI 108 [394/3]; in prescript, GHI 126 [375/4]), and from the 360's a count of days within the prytany allowed greater precision (first found in prescript, GHI 136 [368/7]; in heading, IG ii² 109 [363/2]; in financial documents, on which see below, this manner of specifying a day is found as early as GHI 55 [433/2], but in decrees the day had previously been identified by the name of the epistates only). Mention of the archontic year became common from about 420 (there are probably a few earlier examples, e.g. GHI 22 [458/7?], but not, I believe, enough to lend much support to the restoration of an archon-date in HMA 26, 2; Mr H. B. Mattingly by redating decrees would eliminate all archon-dates before 421/0 [JHS LXXXI 1961, 128 with

n. 36, Hist. XII 1963, 272 n. 73, Hist. XIV 1965, 274 - 5 with n. 10]), and the month and day are first found shortly before 350 (IG ii² 140 [353/2], 223 B, 6 [343/2], &c.).

A.P. 43. iii - vi reports provisions for four regular meetings of the ecclesia in each prytany, with definite items of business allocated to each; and annual matters such as nomothesia (D.XXIV. Tim. 20), ostracism (A.P. 43.v) and elections (A.P. 44. iv) were assigned to dates in the bouletic year. It is uncertain how old this practice is: elections certainly and ostracisms possibly took place before Athens had a boule divided into prytanies; but the designation of one ecclesia in each prytany as κυρῶα (A.P. 43. vi) suggests that there may have been a time when these ten were the only guaranteed meetings in the year (cf. G. T. Griffith, Ancient Society & Institutions, 124 with 136 n. 43). The indication ἐκκλησία or κυρῶα ἐκκλησία is not found in prescripts before 336/5 (IG ii² 330), so there is no help to be obtained from this source, but the Peloponnesian War and Cleon's courting of the people provide as likely an occasion as any for an increase in the number of regular assemblies. Many ancient commentators say that there were three regular assemblies a month, and that these were called κυρῶα (schol. Ar. Ach. 19, A. I. Tim. 60, III. Ctes. 24, D. XVIII. Cor. 73, XXIV. Tim. 20; Phot. κυρῶα ἐκκλησία): this yields nearly the same annual total as four assemblies a prytany, and after 307/6 there may have been three regular assemblies in each of the twelve prytanies (cf. Busolt-Swoboda, 987 n. 4), but as far as we know the term κυρῶα was always restricted to one meeting in each prytany. I do not think HMA 69, 8 - 10, need imply that there was more than one κυρῶα ἐκκλησία, or even more than one regular ecclesia, per prytany in the 430's; and IG i² 42 (SEG X 37), 22, is of no help

in this connection.

We find both calendars used in other aspects of Athenian public life. The bouletic year was in general the state's financial year (cf. schol. A. I. Tim. 104, s.v. πρυτανεΐας), with a general reckoning in the ninth prytany (cf. Ch. IV, pp. 152-6). The colacretae, important financial officers in the fifth century, held office for a term of one prytany (A. Wilhelm, Sb. Wien CCXVII. v 1939, 52 - 72), and the various boards in charge of public works in the fifth century seem to have regarded the bouletic year as the more relevant to their activities :-

Parthenon accounts: first ten years identified by ἀρχή (ordinal number, secretary) and boule (first secretary); remaining five/epistatae (i.e. ἀρχή) (secretary), boule (ordinal number, first secretary) and archon - IG i² 339 - 48; 349 - 53.

Chryselephantine Athena: by epistatae (secretary) and commonly boule (first secretary) - IG i² 354 - 62 cf. SEG X 257 - 63.

Propylaea: first year by epistatae (secretary), archon and boule (first secretary); next three years by ἀρχή (ordinal number, secretary) and boule (first secretary)- IG i² 363; 364 - 6.

It is normally accepted that the Hellenotamiae held office for a Panathenaic year (dependent on the archontic calendar):

Pritchett has recently challenged this view (AJP LXXXV 1964, 44 - 6, BCH 1964, 455, 477 - 9) but Meritt upholds it (TAPA 1964, 212). In the headings of most of the quota lists of the Delian

League they date by years of their own ἀρχή alone, but in three late lists references are added to the archon and the first secretary of the boule (ATL Lists 33, 34, 39: the list published as 33 should in fact be 37 - R. Meiggs, CR² II 1952, 99, B. D. Meritt & M. F. McGregor, Phoen. XXI 1967). The inscription of the logistae, GHI 64, gives dates in the bouleutic calendar alone for sums which the state borrowed from the treasurers of Athena, and dates in both calendars for sums borrowed from the treasurers of the Other Gods (cf. J. A. Notopoulos, AJP LXVI 1945) - yet the beginning of the inscription defines some kind of accounting period with reference to the Panathenaea (cf. Additional Note D, pp. 434-5). It is normally believed that the sacred treasurers held office for a Panathenaic year (e.g. Ferguson, Treasurers of Athena, 138 - 9 n. 1); Pritchett has recently suggested that the logistae's year of office was the Panathenaic year while the treasurers served for the bouleutic year (Hesp. XXXIV 1965, 145 - 7), but this can scarcely be reconciled with any interpretation of GHI 51A, 24 - 9. However the interaction of calendars is to be explained, it seems clear that the sacred treasurers worked primarily on the bouleutic calendar (in addition to GHI 64, see GHI 55, HMA 79, GHI 75, 83, 92; for the fourth century cf. IG ii² 1493); and the Hecatompodon Inscription's orders to the treasurers to check the contents of the Hecatompodon on three specified dates in each month provide one of my reasons for suspecting that in 485/4 the division of the boule into prytanies, and the bouleutic calendar based on it, had not yet come into existence (cf. Ch. I, pp. 16 18). The poletae worked under the close supervision of the boule (cf. Ch. III, pp. 97 - 9, 125 - 6), but their function of selling

confiscated property brought them into contact with the courts, and in view of the archons' presidency we might expect the courts to work on the archontic calendar. Thus in SEG XII 100, a document of 307/6, confiscated property is sold on a date specified in the archontic calendar (1 - 39), and mines are hired out in certain prytanies (40 sqq). The tenth of the stelae relating to the property of the Hermocopids has dates in both calendars (SEG XIII 21); a document of the 340's, again giving sales of confiscated property, uses the archontic calendar to date the relevant court orders (Hesp. V 10; cf. again IG ii² 1578, 1 - 2). In GHI 200 (325/4) we find the archontic calendar used for the sessions of a law-court (204 - 17) and to specify the day by which trierarchs must have their ships ready to sail (183 - 90; cf. [D]. LI. Cor. Tri. 4).

But though the Athenians were a good deal more successful than the French revolutionaries in their creation of a civil calendar, the archontic calendar remained the religious calendar, by which all festivals were fixed, and it also remained the "natural" calendar, by which the ordinary citizen instinctively dated (cf. J. A. Notopoulos, AJP LXVI 1945, A. G. Woodhead, The Study of Greek Inscriptions, 115 with 132 n. 14.). The reader of Demosthenes and Aeschines can give precise dates for many of the events of 347/6, but although these events were very much bound up with the proceedings of the boule and ecclesia our dates for them are all dates in the archontic calendar. Archontic dates occasionally appear in other places where a bouleutic date might be expected: in GHI 167 a certain item of business is reserved for debate [τῆς ὄγ]δότης ἐπὶ δέκα (53 - 9), and this must be 18.ix (Elaph.) 347/6 (cf. A. II. F.L. 61). The bouleutic calendar was well established for official purposes, but it never became more than an official calendar.

On p. 19 I remark that the prytanes could be held responsible for ensuring that an item of business came before the boule and ecclesia: the editors of ATL have suggested that Thudippus' assessment decree of 425/4 ought to have been put to the ecclesia by a specified prytany but was in fact delayed until the beginning of the following prytany.

The decree was carried when a seven-letter tribe was in prytany :-

ἔδοχσεν τεῖ[ι βολῆι καὶ τοῖι δέμοι· Λεοντίς] ἐπρ[υτάνευε, κτλ.

(1. 3) (Λεοντίς preferred to Αἰαντίς,

Hesp. XIV 1945, 119). In the course of the decree, however, we come across a typical piece of Athenian carelessness, provisions for bringing the decree before the assembly which will have been entirely appropriate in a probouleuma but ought not to have survived in the text as ratified in the assembly (for this kind of oversight, cf. the retention of the rider in GHI⁹⁰). A certain prytany is threatened with heavy penalties if it fails to get the decree through the assembly before the end of its term of office, and there are only six letters for the name of the tribe :-

ἐχ[ισενε]γκέτο δὲ τ-

αὐτα ἐς [τὸν] δῆμον [ἡε Οἶνε]ίς π[ρ]υτα[νεύ]α ἐπάναγκες
ἐπει[δὲν ἡέκει ἡε] στρα[τία] ἐς .. τρίτην ἐ-

μέραν [πρὸτ]ον μετ[ὰ τὰ ἡιε]ρά· ἐ[ὰν] δὲ [μὲ δ]ιαπ[ρ]αχθεῖ
ἐν ταύ[τει χρεματί]ζεν πε[ρ]ὶ τοῦτο πρὸ[τ]-

ον τεῖ [ἡυσ]τερατα[ι χουνε]χῶς [ἡέ]ος [ὰν δ]ιαπ[ρ]αχθεῖ ἐπὶ
τεῖ[ς εἰρεμένε]ς πρυτανείας· ἐὰν δι[ὲ μ]-

ὲ ἐχσε[νέγ]χοσι ἐς [τὸν δῆμ]ον ἢ [μὲ] δι[ακρά]χο[ο]σι ἐπὶ
σφῶν α[ὐτῶν εὐθύν]εσθο μυρίασι δρ[ιαχμῆ]-

σιν ἡέ[καστ]ος τῶμ [πρυτάν]εργ [φό]ρον ἡος] διακολύον
ἐπιδ[ῶναι ἐς τὰ]ς στρα[τία]ς.

That is, despite the penalties with which it was threatened the prytany of l. 34 did not get Thudippus' decree through the assembly as it had been ordered.

The editors of ATL explain this as follows (Meritt & West, Athenian Assessment, 52 - 7, Wade-Gery & Meritt, AJP LVII 1936, cf. Meritt, AJP LVIII 1937). The expedition of line 34 is that with which Cleon has captured the Spartans on Sphacteria: on hearing the news of this victory Thudippus put his decree to the boule and had it adopted as a probouleuma, but he wanted Cleon to take part in the final debate in the assembly, and believed that this would be possible before the end of the second prytany of the year. Cleon had promised to bring back the Spartans alive within 20 days (T. IV. 28. iv), and to Thucydides' surprise he kept his promise (39. iii), but he need only have spent four days at Pylos (AJP 1937, 392) and probably had ample time after his victory. Without breaking his promise he arrived home later than expected, and it proved impossible for the prytanes of Oeneis to discharge the duty laid on them by Thudippus: the decree was therefore submitted to the assembly early in the third prytany, and whether or not the threatened penalty was imposed no one saw fit to remove the clause under discussion from the published text.

It seems to me entirely possible that if this reconstruction of the course of events is correct ll. 33 - 8 should have been retained in the official text of the decree; a supplementary decree declaring that as the delay was not their fault the prytanes concerned were to go unpunished might well have been inserted, but its absence is not enough to refute the theory. Nevertheless this is a great deal to build on a difference of one letter between the tribe to be restored in l. 3 and that to be restored in l. 34. Where he can be checked, the mason who cut

this text was careful with his aspirates and kept strictly to a στοιχηδόν pattern, but a glance at The Athenian Assessment, plate I, shows clearly how little of the text has survived. At another point the editors have been able to save the στοιχηδόν pattern only by restoring

hoi δὲ [νομο]θέτα[ι δικαστέριον] νέον κα[θ]ιστάντων
 χ[ιλτος δικαστάς] (l. 16)

although nomothetae are not otherwise attested at this time and [θεσμο]θέτα[ι] though one letter longer yields a far more satisfactory sense (cf. n. 20 to Ch. III). To postulate an epigraphic irregularity and restore the same tribe, Leontis, in ll. 3 and 34 may strain credulity less than to insist on regular aspirates or a regular στοιχηδόν pattern whatever the historical consequences (cf. H. B. Mattingly, Hist. X 1961, 154 - 5). What the authors of ATL suggest could have happened, but a far more secure text would be needed to demonstrate that it must have happened.

Additional Note C : φυλακὴ τῆς χώρας and σωτηρία τῆς πόλεως

We possess four Athenian decrees which are said to have been enacted "for the defence of the country" :-

- IG ii² 435 after 336/5 (prescript lost) Honours for exiles from (somewhere).
13: [ταῦτα δὲ εἶναι] εἰς φυλακὴν τῆς χώ[ρας].
- GHI 200 325/4 ψτδ. Colony to Adriatic.
270 - 1: ταῦτα δ' εἶναι ἅπαντα εἰς φυλακὴν τῆς χώρας.
- IG ii² 1631, 350 sqq. 324/3 ψτβ. Relaxing harsh treatment of naval debtor.
401 - 3: τὸ δὲ ψήφισμα τόδε ἅπαν εἶναι εἰς φυλακὴν τῆς χώρας, ἐπειδὴ ἐστιμὲν περὶ χρημάτων εἰσπραξέως.
- Hesp. XI. 56 247/6 Ε; ετδ; PF. Appeal for contributions to stratiotic fund.
16 - V: ἐπιδιδοῦ[ναι εἰς τὴν σωτηρία] τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὴν φυλακὴν τῆς χώρας. ·
27 - 9: τὸ δὲ ψήφισμα τόδε, ἐπειδὴ περὶ πόρου χρημάτω[ν] ἐστὶν στρατιωτικῶ[ν, εἶναι ἅπαν εἰς φυ]λακὴν τῆς χώρας.
Cf. also 30 - 2.

With these we may compare a decree of the Athenian cleruchs on Salamis, enacted in 116/5 :-

IG ii² 1228

15 - 18: τὸ δὲ ψήφισμα τόδε, [ἐ]πειδὴ ἐστὶν περὶ ἱερῶν ἐπισκευῆς καὶ τῆς ἐπι-
κοσμήσεως τῶν κοι[νῶν, ἐ]πειδὴ καὶ ὁ
στρατηγὸς κα[ὶ] οἱ ἐ]πιμεληταὶ συναπο-
φ[αί]νονται, ἅπαν ἔ[στω] εἰς φυλακὴν.

SIG³ displays similar formulae in third and second century decrees of Chios (SIG³ 402, 38), Erythrae (412, 13 - 14) and Magnesia (589, 67 - 8) - none of them concerned with defence.

The defence of the country is included in the Athenaion Politeia's list of items which appeared on the agenda of a κυρσία ἐκκλησία :

ἐν ᾧ δεῖ τὰς ὀρχὰς ἐπιχειροτονεῖν εἰ δοκοῦσι καλῶς ἔρχειν, καὶ περὶ σίτου καὶ περὶ φυλακῆς τῆς χώρας χρηματίζειν.

(A.P. 43. iv)

(Reusch, De Diebus Contionum, p. 72, noted that of the examples given above Hesp. XI. 56 was enacted not at an ἐκκλησία κυρσία but at one of the other ἐκκλησίαι). Sandys in his commentary on the passage remarked that the defence of the country is one of the five major topics of deliberation named in Aristotle's Rhetoric:

ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶν περὶ τε πόρων, καὶ πολέμου καὶ εἰρήνης,
ἔτι δὲ περὶ φυλακῆς τῆς χώρας, καὶ τῶν εἰσαγομένων καὶ
ἐξαγομένων, καὶ νομοθεσίας.

(Arist. Rhet. I. 1359 B 21 - 3, cf. 1360 A 6 - 7)

It does not figure in Aristotle's expansion of τὸ βουλευόμενον
περὶ τῶν κοινῶν in the Politics:

κύριον δ' ἐστὶ τὸ βουλευόμενον περὶ πολέμου καὶ εἰρήνης
καὶ συμμαχίας καὶ διαλύσεως, καὶ περὶ νόμων, καὶ περὶ
θανάτου καὶ φυγῆς καὶ δημεύσεως, καὶ περὶ ἀρχῶν αἰρέσεως
καὶ τῶν εὐθυνῶν.

(Arist. Pol. IV. 1298 A 3 - 7, cf. 1299 A 1 - 2)

Defence does however appear in a list provided by Xenophon, when
he makes Socrates, in order to curb Glaucon's desire to speak in
the ecclesia, expose his complete ignorance of the city's revenue
and expenditure, the strength of its own and of its enemies'
forces, the φυλακὴ τῆς χώρας, the mines, and the corn supply
(X.M. III. vi. 1 - 13). But in none of these three lists do I
think there is any conscious echoing of official decree-categories :
the topics mentioned are matters with which any Greek city was
bound to concern itself. (When particular "departments" were
assigned to particular generals in the fourth century one man was
designated στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν (e.g. Phil. 328 F
155, referring to 350/49); the earliest reference to this general
calls him τὸν στρατηγὸν τὸν ἐπὶ τὴν φυλακὴν τῆς χώρας
κεχειροτονημένον (IG ii² 204, 19 - 20 :
352/1). But the division of his duties in the first half of the
third century between the στρατηγὸς ἐκ' Ἐλευσίνας
and the στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τὴν παραλίαν shows that again

φυλακὴ τῆς χώρας is to be interpreted literally. (See W. S. Ferguson, Klio IX 1909, 314 - 23).

Since Boeckh studied the Athenian navy-lists it has been recognised that to place a decree in the category εἰς φυλακὴν τῆς χώρας ought to have given it some special importance, which would lend some point to the inclusion in this class of decrees which had little or nothing to do with the defence of the country (Urk. Seewesens, 467 - 8, commenting on GHI 200, 270 - 1; cf. SIG³ 305, note 17; 402, note 12; 589, note 23). Most recently Dr Tod has written, "By the final clause ... the present decree is placed in the highest class of priority" (GHI II, p. 288, commenting on GHI 200). One clear result of a motion's being assigned to this class is that it could be discussed at a κυρία ἐκκλησία; but the classification must have meant more than this, for one of our examples is a decree of the boule, with which the ecclesia was not concerned. We should expect to find some kind of priority granted for the execution of the decree (so Boeckh, though neither he nor any one else has been able to suggest what this could have involved): it may be significant that the three decrees of the ecclesia include two of the five post-403 decrees which authorise the boule to make supplementary enactments if necessary (IG ii² 435, GHI 200. See Ch. II, p. 84 and n. 173).

We have seen that contributions were requested in Hesp. XI. 56 [εἰς τὴν σωτηρίαν] τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὴν φυλακὴν τῆς χώρας, and σωτηρία τῆς πόλεως is a phrase which we find elsewhere. Very close to Hesp. XI. 56 is Isaeus, V. Her.Dic. 37:

εἰσφορῶν τοίνυν τοσούτων γεγενημένων πᾶσι τοῖς πολίταις εἰς τὸν πόλεμον καὶ τὴν σωτηρίαν τῆς πόλεως Δικαιογένης οὐκ ἔστιν ἦντινα εἰσενήνοχε.

(Other references to money given εἰς φυλακὴν : IG ii² 283, 12 - 13; 768, 12; 798, 19 - 20; money given εἰς σωτηρίαν: IG ii² 479, 8 - 9). Here the subject-matter is adequate to explain the choice of phrase, but in Isaeus and in three other passages Wilamowitz was inclined to regard σωτηρία τῆς πόλεως as a technical term (Aristoteles und Athen, I. 102 n. 7). In 411 the ten πρόβουλοι were joined by twenty colleagues, and the thirty men were to συγγράψουσι περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας (A.P. 29. ii); and Isocrates begins his Areopagiticus with the words,

πολλοὺς ὑμῶν οἷμαι θαυμάζειν, ἥντινά ποτε γνώμην
ἔχων περὶ σωτηρίας τὴν πρόσοδον ἐποίησάμην.

(Is. VII. Areop. 1)

Neither of these passages by itself compels us to accept Wilamowitz' view (though on A.P. 29 see below), but the principal text on which he relied was Aristophanes, Ecclesiazusae, 394 - 402:

ΒΛ. ἀτὰρ τί τὸ πρῶγμ' ἦν, ὅτι τοσοῦτον κρῆμ' ὄχλου
οὕτως ἐν ᾧρα ξυνελέγη;

ΚΡ. τί δ' ἄλλο γ' ἦ
ΕΔΟΞΕ ΤΟΙΣ ΠΡΥΤΑΝΕΣΙ ΠΕΡΙ ΣΩΤΗΡΙΑΣ
ΓΝΩΜΑΣ ΚΑΘΕΙΝΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΠΟΛΕΩΣ; κἄτ' εὐθέως
πρῶτος Περικλείδης ὁ γλάμων παρείρπυσεν.
κἄπειθ' ὁ δῆμος ἀναβοᾷ πόσον δοκεῖς,
" οὐ δεινὰ τολμᾷν τουτονὶ δημηγορεῖν,
καὶ ταῦτα περὶ σωτηρίας προκειμένου,
ὅς αὐτὸς αὐτῷ βλεφαρτίδ' οὐκ ἐσώσατο;"

This does make it seem likely that *περὶ σωτηρίας* was a recognised formula analogous to the Romans' *de re publica* (cf. Livy, XXII. 1. v, Varro *ap.* Gellius, XIV. vii. 9), which would permit any proposal for the general good of the state (cf. F.D. Smith, *Athenian Political Commissions*, 49 : "In such cases the Senate virtually abrogated its privilege of offering a *probouleuma*"). More pertinent, perhaps, than *A.P.* 29. ii is the commendation finally produced by the thirty *συγγραφεῖς*, which Wilamowitz did not cite:

οἱ δ' αἰρεθέντες πρῶτον μὲν ἔγραψαν ἐπάναγκες εἶναι τούτους κρυτάνεις τὰ λεγόμενα περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας ἐπιψηφίζειν, ἔπειτα τὰς τῶν παρανόμων γραφὰς καὶ τὰς εἰσαγγελίας καὶ τὰς προκλήσεις ἀνεῖλον ὅπως ἂν οἱ ἐθέλοντες Ἀθηναίων συμβουλεύσῃ περὶ τῶν προκειμένων.

(*A.P.* 29. iv)

Thucydides, as often, eschews technical language:

ἐσήνεγκαν οἱ συγγραφῆς ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν, αὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο, ἐξεῖναι μὲν Ἀθηναίων ἀνατεῖ εἰπεῖν γνώμην ἣν ἂν τις βούληται· ἣν δὲ τις τὸν εἰπόντα ἢ γράψῃται παρανόμων ἢ ἄλλῳ τῷ τρόπῳ βλάβῃ, μεγάλας ζημίας ἐπέθεσαν.

(T. VIII. 67.ii)

The appearance of *περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας* both in the *συγγραφεῖς'* commission in *A.P.* 29. ii and in their quasi-*probouleuma* in § iv can hardly, I think, be accidental.

The phrase must at any rate originally have meant what it says, and have been employed in times of crisis. I should not like to

guess when this form of completely open probouleuma was first used, but it appears from A.P. 29 and the Ecclesiazusae that the standard formula had come into use by the end of the fifth century. A very likely occasion for its use in the fourth century may be found in 339, when the news reached Athens that Philip had occupied Elatea (D. XVIII. Cor. 169 - 70; cf. Ch. II, pp. 55, 60); and Demosthenes himself uses the phrase, περὶ σωτηρίας τῆς πόλεως, in connection with the crisis brought upon Athens by the battle of Chaeronea:

μετὰ γὰρ τὴν μάχην εὐθὺς ὁ δῆμος . . . πρῶτον μὲν
 περὶ σωτηρίας τῆς πόλεως τὰς ἐμὰς γνώμας ἐχειροτόνει,
 καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα τῆς φυλακῆς ἔνεκ' ἐπράττετο . . . διὰ
 τῶν ἐμῶν ψηφισμάτων ἐγένετο.

(D. XVIII. Cor. 248)

Demosthenes' claim is denied by Aeschines (cf. note 69 to Ch. II, above), but whether or not that is true it is possible that at this time the words περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας appeared in an open probouleuma, and that decrees were enacted εἰς φυλακὴν τῆς χώρας - though there can be nothing merely technical in the περὶ φυλακῆς τοῦ Πειραιέως reported by Lycurgus from Hyperides' decree (Lyc. Leocr. 37).

There is some temptation to link "the safety of the city" with "the defence of the country" (though so far as I know no one has tried to establish this link), but there are important differences to be noticed. περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας belongs to the deliberative stage, before a decree is enacted, while εἰς φυλακὴν τῆς χώρας is a classification applied to enacted decrees, as well as to a part of the agenda at a κυρία ἐκκλησία.

Furthermore, *περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας* is an "open" category (removal of the usual safeguards may, as Wilamowitz thought, regularly have accompanied a debate *περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας*, but the prytanes could only propose such a removal and ask the demos to clear the way for a free debate by ratifying it); but it appears that *εἰς φυλακὴν τῆς χώρας* was a "closed" category, and there was some law specifying which decrees could be included in it: the Salaminian decree and two of the four Athenian decrees contain a clause explaining their qualification for the title (IG ii² 1228, 1631, Hesp. XI. 56). Of these decrees, only Hesp. XI 56 (which in lines 16 - 17 and 30 - 2 does couple *σωτηρία* with *φυλακὴ*) seems at all likely to have been proposed in a general debate *περὶ σωτηρίας*, yet here despite *ἔδοξεν τῷ δήμῳ* we have the probouleumatic formula. The text of the decree is not complicated, and could have been produced in a hurry, but I feel that for clarity and straightforwardness it ranks well above the Athenian average. I am inclined to think that this is an ordinary probouleumatic decree (cf. Ch. II, pp. 77-8): conceivably the prytanes arranged a debate *περὶ σωτηρίας* in the boule, but the safety of the city is perfectly appropriate to its context, and need have no intended connection with the technical use of the phrase. There remains the possibility (which cannot be checked) that any decree which was enacted in a debate *περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας* would have been classified as *εἰς φυλακὴν τῆς χώρας* (it is not likely that the reverse was true).

We are no nearer, I fear, to discovering what was involved in this classification. The benefits must be applicable to independent decrees of the boule as well as to decrees of the ecclesia, and it is possible that the clauses authorising the

boule to stop gaps in decrees of the ecclesia are instances of a more general provision for the rapid execution of these decrees. Beyond this point we can only guess.

Additional Note D : οἱ ἐπὶ τὸ θεωρικόν

In the 320's this office was certainly collegiate (in A.P. 43.i and 47.ii there are references to τοῦ ταμίου τῶν στρατιωτικῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τὸ θεωρικόν), and it is widely assumed that the theoric officials always formed a board (G. L. Cawkwell, JHS LXXXIII 1963, 47 with n. 4, G. E. M. de Ste Croix, CR² XIV 1964, 191; J. J. Buchanan, Theorika, 57 - 60, accepts this view without discussion). Outside the Athenaion Politeia there is very little evidence: A. III. Ctes. 24 is certainly not decisive for the existence of a single officer, but § 25 (quoted p. 106) need not be decisive for a board, if for some years the office was monopolised by Eubulus and his associates. A. II. F.L. 149 and D. XXIII. Arist. 209 likewise seem to prove little or nothing. There remains one text which does seem to me to point to the existence of a single official in the 340's, IG ii² 223 C, 5. This is a document relating to the boule, not to one tribal prytany, but among the officials named in the heading to the decree is Cephisophon, ἐπὶ τὸ θεωρικόν . Those who believe in a board suppose that this one member was particularly associated with the boule, but I think it may be an easier hypothesis that Cephisophon is named alone because he was the sole theoric official at that time. One of the ways in which Hegemon's law (A. III. Ctes. 25) weakened the position of the theoric officials will then have been by substituting a college for the single officer.

The office was elective, in the time of the Athenaion Politeia (43. i, 47. ii) and a fortiori before the law of Hegemon; if A.P. 62. iii may be pressed reelection was forbidden during the 320's, but the scope of τὰς . . . κατὰ πόλεμον ἀρχάς was so nearly coextensive with τὰς χειροτονητὰς ἀρχάς that I would not wholly exclude the possibility that our author

has formulated the ban on repetition incorrectly even for the 320's (on the claim that Lycurgus was unable to hold his office for more than one quadrennium, see Ch. III, p. 108 with n. 153), and I would certainly not rule out reelection before the law of Hegemon. Dr D. M. Lewis has suggested that Hegemon enacted

μη̄ πλεῖω πέντε ἔτων διέπειν τὸν χειροτονηθέντα
ἐπὶ τὰ δημόσια χρήματα

([P1]. X.Or.841 C),

and that this measure, aimed at the theoric officials, was held to apply to Lycurgus (unpublished essay, cited by G. L. Cawkwell, JHS LXXXIII 1963, 55. n. 52): I think it quite likely that this may have been among the effects intended, though I should prefer not to base any arguments on the words used to describe the officials.

The officials' term of office also has been disputed. In A.P. 43. i we read that all the elective financial officers, the treasurer of the stratiotic fund, the theoric board, and the epimelete of the springs, ἄρχουσιν ἐκ Παναθηναίων εἰς Παναθήναια. This was at first interpreted as meaning the four-year period from one Great Panathenaea to the next; Ferguson (Hellenistic Athens, 474 - 5) argued that the purpose of the words was simply to define the year of office as the Panathenaic (beginning on 28. i [Hec.]) rather than the archontic or bouleutic, and most subsequent writers have ignored rather than actively disputed this; but the case for the original interpretation has been restated by F. W. Mitchel, TAPA XCIII 1962, 220 - 1, cf. J. A. Davison, JHS LXXVIII 1958, 23, 31 - 3. We must therefore examine the arguments.

In the fifth century the treasurers of Athena (IG i² 232 sqq.)

and of the Other Gods (GHI 51 A, 24 - 7) were manifestly annual officials; when the board of the Other Gods was established this order was given:

καὶ ἐκ Παναθηναϊ-
 ον ἐς Παναθήναια τὸν λόγον διδόντων, καθάπερ ἦοι τὰ
 τῆς Ἀθηναίας τ-
 [α]μειύοντες.

(GHI 51 A, 27 - 9)

This, coming immediately after a sentence making it clear that the office was annual, ought to be a definition of the year of office. The treasurers of Athena, though each board left its separate record, were for some purposes combined in groups of four, with the standard rubric,

τάδε παρέδοσαν αἱ τέτταρες ἀρχαί, αἱ ἐδίδοσαν τὸν
 λόγον ἐκ Παναθηναίων ἐς Παναθήναια.

(IG i² 232 sqq., 256 sqq., 276 sqq.)

A similar rubric introduces the record kept by the logistae of borrowings from the sacred treasuries during the Archidamian War:

[τάδε ἐλογίσαν]το ἡοι λογιστα[ὶ ἐν τοῖς τέτ]ταρσιν
 ἔτεσιν ἐκ Παναθηναίων ἐς [Παναθήναια ὀφειλόμενα],

(GHI 64, 1 - 2)

In each of these cases the four-year period is in fact a quadrennium from Great Panathenaea to Great Panathenaea, and I find it hard to resist the conclusion that this is what the rubrics mean. It must be admitted that in the inscription of the logistae the four years are preceded by seven (with no sign of subdivision), and that the fragments left by the treasurers of the Other Gods (IG i² 310) probably began in the non-Panathenaic year 429/8 (the only main rubric, dated to that year, heads one face); but

this need not affect my argument that in the rubrics quoted
 ἐκ Παναθηναίων εἰς Παναθήναια refers to
 Panathenaic quadrennia. But Davison's view that Παναθήναια
 alone always refers to the major festival is difficult to main-
 tain: GHI 51 A, 24 - 9 (part quoted above), and 75, 61, cannot
 easily be fitted to this interpretation. I am inclined to think
 that the phrase was left to take its meaning from its context,
 and that its use in fifth-century inscriptions does not there-
 fore fix its meaning in A.P. 43. i.

We must now consider the actual offices whose term the
Athenaion Politeia defines in these words. On the theoretic offi-
 cials themselves there is no evidence that can help us, but we
 are a little better informed on the other officials. The treasurer
 of the stratiotic fund in the last years of the century served
 for one year (at any rate, the office changed hands in a non-
 Panathenaic year), but his year was not bounded by the
 Panathenaea (Habron was treasurer in xii [Scir.] 306/5, Philippus
 on 14. i [Hec.] 305/4: IG ii² 1492, 118 - 24, 124 - 38), and where
 one change is certain a second is possible. Callias Ἀβρωνος
 Βατήθευ is described as τοῦ ταμειύσαντος στρατι-
 ωτικῶν ἐπὶ Χαϊρώνδου ἄρχοντος (338/7: [P1]. X.Or.
 842 F) in a context where one would most naturally assume that
 he held office for a year only (but how would the Athenians have
 identified one in a series of quadrennial offices?). Demades was
 certainly treasurer in 334/3 (IG ii² 1493, restored by Mitchel
 after Wilamowitz: SEG XXI 552, XXII 133); and in an anecdote re-
 ported by Plutarch we are told that in 331 he τὰς προσόδους
 εἶχεν ὄφ' ἑαυτῷ τῆς πόλεως (Pl. Praec. Ger. Reip.
 818E; for the date cf. E. Badian, Hermes XCV 1967, 190 - 2).
 Mitchel combines these passages to argue that Demades was treasurer
 for the quadrennium 334 - 330 (TAPA XCIII 1962, 219 - 25: he

seems to bring forward the Great Panathenaea of 330 to 331). It is central to Plutarch's anecdote that Demades held a financial office which enabled him to provide money for the Choes, and the story should not be dismissed too lightly: if the office in question is the treasurership of the stratiotic fund we must therefore allow either the possibility of reelection (perhaps up to a maximum of four years' tenure - cf. pp. 432 3, above) or a quadrennial office. On balance, however, what we know of the office makes annual appointment seem more likely than quadrennial. The same is true of the third office which ran ἐκ Παναθηναίων εἰς Παναθήναια, that of the epimelete of the springs. The reference to Cephisodorus in IG ii² 215 is too generously restored for this text to carry much weight -

[Κηφισο]-

δώρο Καλλι[ο Ἀγνουσίου ἀίρεθέ]-
ντος ἐπ[ὶ] Θε[μιστοκλέους ἄρχον]-
τος ἐπι[μελεσθαι τῶν κρηνῶν]

(11. 9 - 12; the year in question is 347/6) -

but a Panathenaic quadrennium seems unlikely in the case of Pytheas, ἀίρεθεὶς ἐπὶ τὰς κρήνας, who on 9. ii (Metag.) 333/2, more than a year after the quadrennium 334 - 330 had begun, was honoured for what he had done in this capacity, subject to his passing his euthynae (IG ii² 338). Unlikely, but not impossible: once it is realised that at this time a man could be provisionally honoured, before he had presented his accounts on retirement from office (cf. Ch. I, p. 14), there is no real reason why such provisional honours should not be decreed at any time; and although to us a three-year wait seems rather long the end of Pytheas' first year may have been considered a suitable occasion for such a decree. (It is even possible, I suppose, that a quadrennial officer would be required to pass his euthynae on each year separately.)

Nevertheless an annual office again seems the likelier solution, and with annual appointment likely for the epimelete of the springs and the treasurer of the stratiotic fund it is likely for the theoric officials too. But it is to be hoped that one day further evidence will allow us to decide the matter with certainty.

The most important text on the powers of the theoric officials is A. III. Ctes. 25, which I quote on p. 106. The sentence begins with a mention of ἀρχαί which the theoric officials ἤρχον before the law of Hegemon was passed, and ends with a list of other tasks which these officials performed. This second part need imply no interference with other offices of state: for the theoric officials to have built the σκευοθήκη and to have been ὀδοποιοί, it is enough for an orator that they should have provided the money, and perhaps have taken the initiative in having the work undertaken (though ὀδοποιοί was the title of an Athenian office: A.P. 54. i). The first part of the sentence, however, should mean (if Aeschines is not very seriously exaggerating) that the theoric officials either replaced or at any rate became the acknowledged superiors of other officials - the antigrapheus, the apodectae, and probably the epimeletae of the dockyards (on the textual dispute here see n. 138 to Ch. III: if Kaibel's text is adopted it can perhaps be argued that the clause concerning the dockyards belongs to the end of the sentence rather than the beginning).

We are certainly intended to think that the office of the ἀντιγραφεύς was abolished or drastically changed. Aeschines' previous sentence reads

πρότερον μὲν τοίνυν, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀντιγραφεύς ἦν χειροτονητὸς τῇ πόλει, ὃς καθ' ἑκάστην πρυτανείαν ἀπελογίζετο τὰς προσόδους τῷ δήμῳ,

and it ought to follow from A.P. 43. ii that Aeschines' anti-grapheus, if still in existence, was in the 320's no longer elected. Harpocration has the following entry (cf. Poll. VIII. 98):-

ΑΝΤΙΓΡΑΦΕΥΣ • ὁ καθιστάμενος ἐπὶ τῶν καταβαλλόντων τινὰ τῆ πόλει χρήματα, ὥστε ἀντιγράφεσθαι ταῦτα. Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ κατ' Ἀνδροτέωνος (XXII, 38, 70) καὶ Αἰσχίνης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Κτησιφῶντος (III. 25 — cf. above). διττοὶ δὲ ἦσαν ἀντιγραφεῖς, ὁ μὲν τῆς διοικήσεως, ὡς φησι Φιλόχορος (328 F 198 — known only from this reference), ὁ δὲ τῆς βουλῆς, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία (no — some think this is an amalgamation of the secretaries in 54, iii — v, but I am not convinced).

I believe that the best interpretation of this passage is one rejected without much discussion by Brillant, Les Secrétaires athéniens, app. i, that Harpocration's two ἀντιγραφεῖς did not exist simultaneously. Aeschines' antigrapheus can easily be identified with the official of that name in D. XXII. Andr. (355/4? — cf. n. 28 to Ch. I) and IG ii² 1740 (before 350? — he and the secretary are the only officials named), and this will be the man who could later be described as ἀντιγραφεὺς τῆς διοικήσεως. In the heyday of the theoric officials this office was abolished, and its responsibilities taken over by the theoric officials: thus there is no anti-grapheus among the officials heading IG ii² 223 C (343/2), but the officials include Cephisophon, ἐπὶ τὸ θεωρικόν. (The antigrapheus of IG ii² 244, 23, is probably the older official,

and this would strengthen Mr G. L. Cawkwell's argument for dating the inscription earlier than 337/6: cf. Ch. III, p. 125 with n. 281). But at any rate by 335/4 the title existed again, for an antigrapheus ranks fifth among the eight officials listed in IG ii² 1700: he appears also in other lists of officials connected with the boule in the late fourth century, occasionally in the following three centuries, and regularly in the Christian era. This man I should like to identify with Harpocraton's ἀντιγραφεὺς τῆς βουλῆς. His duties are uncertain: they may, but need not, have been financial (according to two lexica [L.S. 185.16, Suid. γραμματεὺς] which do not name their authority he had secretarial duties in the boule; in the prescript of IG ii² 967 he is named after the eponymous secretary).

A change of this kind could mean that the title, antigrapheus, ceased for a few years to be used at all, and was brought back into use when a new office was created; but it could equally mean that in the one act of reorganisation the title was transferred directly from one office to a totally different one. (From 321/0 to 319/8 and from 294/3 to 292/1 the title of ἀναγραφεύς, at other times used by one of the lower secretaries, was borne by the principal public secretary, who at other times was commonly called γραμματεὺς κατὰ πρυτανείαν - see Ch. III, pp. 142-3). ἤρχον . . . τὴν τοῦ ἀντιγράφως ἀρχὴν will therefore mean that the old office of antigrapheus disappeared; but a part of his work may have been done by a similar official, now subordinated to ὁ ἐπὶ τὸ θεωρικόν, and his title will either immediately or after a few years' disuse have passed to another office.

What Aeschines says of the antigrapheus he seems also to be

saying of the apodectae. In 347/6 the apodectae were ordered to advance ἐκ τῶν στρατιωτικῶν χρημάτων (which I take to mean, from the sum which they would normally have allocated to the stratiotic fund) money which was thereafter to be paid from the ecclesia's expense-account (GHI 167, 39 - 44), about 343 the apodectae were mentioned in connection with an adjustment to the μερισμός (IG ii² 222, 41 - 6; but A. C. Johnson, CP IX 1914, 424, dated the decree in or after 331), and another reference to the μερισμός performed by the apodectae occurs c. 336 - 4 (SEG XVIII 13, 19 - 21); the navy lists attest various payments to the apodectae in the 320's (IG ii² 1627, 227 - 9; 1628, 424 - 7, 628 - 30). If the apodectae did disappear, they did not do so for long, and there is no evidence that their powers after about 335 were less than their powers before 350. But I have suggested above that responsibility, duties and title may be three different things; and I would suggest that in this case ὁ ἐπὶ τὸ θεωρικόν was deemed to have ultimate responsibility for revenue, while men very like the apodectae continued to do much of the routine work, and these may or may not have retained the title, apodectae. It seems from the passages quoted on pp. 437-8, above, that the ἀντιγραφεὺς τῆς διοικήσεως was concerned with revenue, and may have acted as an expert adviser to and spokesman for the apodectae; and though some work may have been left to a lower official it is likely that the more public and distinctive part of his duties passed to ὁ ἐπὶ τὸ θεωρικόν. Supersession of the apodectae, however, may have been more formal than real, and if ὁ ἐπὶ τὸ θεωρικόν had to some extent supplanted the antigrapheus, and had also (as I suggest in Ch. III, pp. 106-7) been allowed to co-operate with the financial boards in bringing business to the boule, that might have been enough to justify the claim that he

ἤρχεν τὴν τῶν ἀποδεκτῶν ἀρχήν.

It is not certain that Aeschines' mention of the dockyards is parallel to his mention of the purely financial offices. But if what he says is to be understood in this way, what I have said of the apodectae must be said even more forcibly of the epimeletae of the dockyards: though responsibility may have passed to the theoretic officials, much of the work must have been done by successors to the old epimeletae, and these successors may or may not themselves have been called epimeletae. Dr Lewis has noted that the epimeletae are not directly attested between 348/7 (IG ii² 1622, 549 - 52) and 334/3 or later (IG ii² 1623, 1 - 3 [title restored]; date, l. 285), and that IG ii² 1622 is a very different document from the other navy-lists: among other things, the officials responsible, in or after 342/1 (379 - 85), refer to a ταμίας ἐς τὰ νεώρια who in 347/6 performed duties which would normally have fallen to the epimeletae (444 sqq). He argues from this document (unpublished essay, cited by G. L. Cawkwell, JHS LXXXIII 1963, 57 n. 62) that for a time the epimeletae ceased to exist, and I would accept that the epimeletae as known at other times may have ceased to exist, though the work still had to be done and the title may have survived with the work. The transfer of their ἀρχή to ὁ ἐπὶ τὸ θεωρητικόν may have had the same implications as I have suggested in the case of the apodectae, but the epigraphic evidence does seem this time to point to a more drastic change.

The law of Hegemon established a board, if the theoretic office had previously been exercised by a single man, and it may also have set limits to any one man's tenure of a financial office. The old

antigraphus seems to have disappeared for ever, though the title survived or was revived for another office, but any major change affecting the apodectae or the epimeletae of the dockyards seems to have been reversed. The only trace in the Athenaion Politeia of what must have been a serious upheaval is the passage on which I have tried to base an account of how the theoric officials became so powerful, which reveals that in the 320's the theoric board and the treasurer of the stratiotic fund joined with the poletae in presenting leases and tax contracts to the boule (A.P. 47. ii). I have suggested that before the law of Hegemon ὁ ἐπὶ τὸ θεωρικόν by sharing in the work of the different boards was able to acquire that general knowledge of the state's finances which had previously been the monopoly of the boule, and I imagine that power which had seemed dangerous in the hands of one man was innocuous enough when divided among a board of limited tenure. At some time the treasurer of the stratiotic fund was admitted to these privileges, and in some way Lycurgus acquired great financial powers ἐπὶ τρεῖς πενταετηρίδας, but neither of these innovations need have been made by Hegemon.

Additional Note E : The Date of the THESMOPHORIAZUSAE

(I am grateful to Mr W. G. G. Forrest for reminding me that the fashionable date of 411 for this play has not always been accepted.)

We have no hypothesis to this play, whose dating depends mainly on allusions to Euripides. Scholars have been divided between 411 and 410, but 411 has always been the more popular date, and so far as I know no one since Rogers has seriously challenged it (cf. appendix to Ch. IV, pp. 195 and n. 264, 201 and n. 301; the case for 411 is presented by Wilamowitz, Aristoteles und Athen, II. 343 sqq.).

Rogers made six points in favour of a dating to 410 (I cite by pages of the 1920 reprint of his edition of the play) :-

1. (xxxiii - xxxiv) The difference in tone between Lysistrata and Thesmophoriazusae. This is too subjective: Rogers, arguing for 410, found Lys. tense but Thesm. cheerful and carefree; Professor Andrewes, arguing for 411 (Oxford lectures, H.T. 1962) finds general uneasiness in Thesm. but no trace of it in (two months earlier, as he believes) Lys.
2. (xxxiv - xxxvii) The allusion in Thesm. 804 to the defeat of Charminus, which can hardly be earlier than Dec./Jan. 412/1 (T. VIII. 41 - 2: Henderson, Great War, 495, dates it winter 412/1). This certainly rules out Lenaea 411 for Thesm., but it would not rule out Lenaea 411 for Lys. (whose hypothesis specifies the year but not the festival) and Dionysia 411 for Thesm.
3. (xxxvii - xxxviii)

ἀλλ' Εὐβούλης τῶν κέρυσίν τις βουλευτῆς ἔστιν ἀμείνων
παραδοῦς ἑτέρῳ τὴν βουλεύαν; (Thesm. 808 - 9)

Champions of 411 refer this to the institution of the πρόβουλοι (T. VIII. 1. iii); champions of 410, to the paying-off of the boule of 412/1 before its year of office was over (T. VIII. 69. iv, cf. A.P. 32. i). I do not feel that either interpretation is obviously better than the other: the boule of 412/1 was paid off by oligarchs who before the spring of 410 had been deposed, so that by then it could safely be said that its acquiescence had been a weak betrayal; but similar remarks might well have been made with reference to the πρόβουλοι in March 411. (Wilamowitz, though dating the play to 411, thought that 410 provided the better explanation of this passage.)

4. (xxxviii) The general civic arrangements. In Lys. the

πρόβουλοι are in office: they intervene to keep order, employ the Scythian archers, and in general perform the duties of the boule (see esp. Lys. 421 - 66, 980 - 1013); in Lys. 1011 - 2 the πρόβουλος even issues orders to the boule. But in Thesm. the πρόβουλοι make no appearance, while one of the prytanes does appear, and has the archers at his disposal. Rogers comments:

The constitutional Council of 500 had been restored to, and was in quiet enjoyment of, its normal privileges; and accordingly in the Thesmophoriazusae order is kept and the Scythian archers employed in the normal manner by the council acting through its prytanes, just as in the Acharnians and the Knights.

In fact the boule seems to be enjoying more than its normal privileges: Thesm. 76 - 80 may prove nothing, but in 929 - 44 the boule exercises powers for which I have found no parallel under the democracy (cf. appendix to Ch. IV, pp. 195-6). But,

avoiding the temptation to a circular argument, I think Rogers' point can be accepted. Lys. was not produced immediately after the institution of πρόβουλοι : if that is to be assigned to the Lenaea and Thesm. to the Dionysia of 411 the institution will have been as topical at the second date as at the first, and if the πρόβουλοι perform boule - and prytany - like functions in Lys. we should expect them to do the same in Thesm. Wilamowitz attempted to counter this argument, but he seems to me to have over-stressed Lys. 980 - 1013 at the expense of 421 - 66.

5. (xxxviii - xl)

ἐπαινεῖ τὸν Λαμαχὸν νῦν· ἤδη γὰρ ἐτεθνήκει ἐν
Σικελίᾳ, τετάρτῳ ἔτει πρότερον. (Schol. Thesm. 841)

Lamachus died in the summer of 414 (T. VI. 101. vi : Wilamowitz, p. 343, says winter 415/4). Rogers seizes on Diodorus' date of 414/3 (D.S. XIII. 8. i : Rogers wrongly prints XIV), from which inclusive counting would place the play in 411/0 (and exclusive in 410/09). Professor Dover in his recent school edition of Thucydides VI dates this episode with some probability to April - June, i.e. before the end of 415/4 (which would place Thesm. in 412/1 or 411/0) - but this is immaterial: what matters is not the actual archon-date but the archon-date given by the scholiast's source, of which we can only say that we know one user of archon-dates who gave 414/3.

6. (xl - xli)

γέρων γὰρ τότε Εὐριπίδης ἦν· ἕκτῳ γοῦν ἔτει
ὑστερον τελευτᾷ. (Schol. Thesm. 190)

Euripides' death is variously dated to 407/6 (Marm. Par. 239 A 63) or 406/5 (Apollodorus ap. D.S. XIII. 103. v). Wilamowitz preferred 407/6 (edition of Eur. Her., Vol. I, p. 3), which is indeed generally accepted as the more likely (e.g. Lesky, Hist. Gk. Lit., 363); Rogers seems not to have known that any

alternative to 406/5 was possible. 407/6 would mean a date for Thesm. of (413/2 by exclusive counting or) 412/1 by inclusive counting, 406/5 would date the play to 412/1 or 411/0. But again we need to know not the real date but the date which the scholiast found in his source, and we know only that both dates were current in antiquity.

Nothing is proved by points 1 - 3; 4 seems to me to favour 410, though it is not on its own conclusive; 5 and 6 can be manipulated to favour either date. There remains a point which Andrewes regards as decisive in favour of 411 (cf. Rogers, pp. xli - xlii). As well as containing a single allusion to Euripides' Palamedes, Thesm. frequently parodies his Helen and Andromeda. The Helen is recent:

τὴν καινὴν Ἑλένην μιμήσομαι.

(Thesm. 850)

and we have no reason to doubt that it was produced at the same time as the Andromeda (Schol. Thesm. 1012). But that play can be dated to the year before Thesm.:

Ἦχω, λόγων ἀντιφῶδες ἐπικοκκίστρια,

ἥπερ πέρυσιν ἐν τῷδε παύτῳ χωρίῳ

Εὐριπίδῃ κατὰ τὴν ξυνηγωνιζόμεν.

(Thesm. 1059 - 61)

(ἐπεὶ πέρυσιν ἐδιδάχθη ἡ Ἀνδρομέδα. [Schol. Thesm. 1060])

Andromeda is dated also from a scholium on the Frogs, which places it eight years before that play, i.e. 413/2 even on inclusive counting (and 414/3 on exclusive) (Schol. Ran. 53), and if this is correct 411 is the only possible date for Thesm. Confirmation has been sought from a passage in Lys. :

ποῖος γὰρ ἂν ἦ νέφος ἀντίσχοι,
 ποῖα ψυχῆ, ποῖοι δ' ὄρχεις,
 ποῖα δ' ὄσφύς; (Lys. 962 - 4)
 (ΠΟΙΟΣ ΓΑΡ ἌΝ ΚΤΛ · παρὰ τὰ ἐξ Ἀνδρομέδας "ποῖα
 λιβάδες, ποῖα Σειρήν;" [Schol. Lys. 962])

If the Andromeda is indeed parodied in Lys., then the Andromeda cannot be later than 412 and Thesm. must be dated to 411. However, Rogers (ad loc.) regarded the scholiast's note as remarking on a resemblance rather than an actual parody, and compared Vesp. 1326 & schol., where a similar scholium with παρὰ compares a play which the writer admits to be later than the Wasps. He could well be right about this scholium, but even if he is not and the scholiast did think he had detected a parody (and had not checked the dates of the plays) a string of ποῖος's need not have been written in parody. The argument from the Andromeda must be taken seriously, but the possible parody in Lys. does not much help it.

Essentially the conflict is between schol. Ran's dating of the Andromeda and the general civic arrangements of Lys. and Thesm. The reappearance of the prytanes in Thesm. is not conclusive, but it perhaps ought to reflect a change in the government of Athens; the scholiast's date could be wrong, but nothing apart from the civic arrangements of Lys. and Thesm. seriously suggests that in fact it may be wrong. At any rate the case for 411 is not proven, and if the account of the boule's jurisdiction which I have put forward in the appendix to Chapter IV can be accepted the case for 410 will be strengthened.

Table A: Deme-Representation in the Boule

I record here the figures from all the lists which I believe are or may be lists of prytanes or bouleutae, and add references to lists which I have considered but rejected.

I use [square brackets] to indicate that the demotic is restored; question marks outside the brackets to show that the demotic is doubtful and inside to show that the figure is doubtful; 0 to indicate certain absence from a full list and [0] to indicate probable absence; and X to show that the demotic is wholly or partly restored but nothing survives of any name assignable to that deme. Figures for the numbers of demesmen listed in PA are as adjusted by Gomme (op. cit. infra).

I am indebted to Dr J. K. Davies and Dr D. M. Lewis for information on unpublished Agora inscriptions.

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I. ERECHTHEIS

TRITYS	DEMES- MEN IN P.A.		DAA 167	Hesp. xxxvi 34	Hesp. xi 43	SEG xix 149	IG ii ² 1700	Hesp. xxxv 11-205-4 ⁺	P 9	SEG xxi 594	P 37	Hesp. xxx 15	P 47 (+67)	P 106	SEG xxi 600	P 113	Hesp. xxxvi 48		Hesp. xi 29
			408/7	381/0	367/6	336/5?	335/4	304/3	256/5	c.220	21/0- 202/1	end c3	181/0	40-30	40-30	45-20	end c1	A.D.	c.220
A	83	'Αγρυλεῖς	{ K Y	2 1	5	2 3*	5	[?3]	3		3	3	*	0	2		2		
[ONE PART TO ANTIGONIS, 307/6-201/0; TO ATTALIS FROM 201/0]																			
A	227	Εύωνυμεῖς		?6*		[10]	10	[5?+]	[12]	12	?+	12	11		3			X	
A	25	Θημακεῖς				1	1	1	*	1									
[TO PTOLEMAIS FROM 224/3]																			
π	142	'Αναγυράσιοι		3 vac.	6	6	6	8	8		8	8	2	5					
π	391	Λαμπρεῖς	{ K Y	[18]* ?[17]*		5 9†	14												
[TO ANTIGONIS, 307/6-201/0]																			
π	44	ἐκ Κηδῶν		2		2	2		2		2		3	0					
[3?+]																			
π?M	34	Παμβωτάδαι				[?1]†	1		1		2	2	1	6					
[TO HADRI-ANIS, 126/7]																			
π?M	23	Φηγούσιοι				?1	1	1	1		1	1		1					
M	250	Κηφισιεῖς		3vac.†		6	6		8		8			21					
M	71	Περγασεῖς	{ K Y	1vac. X		2 [2]	4	2* 2*	3		3		3	0					
[ONE PART TO ANTIGONIS, 307/6-201/0]																			
M	22	Συβρίδαι				†	0		1		1	1	3	1	1?+		1		
+ one other deme 4?+																			
						50	50		50		50		50*	50					

SEE NEXT PAGE FOR NOTES.

ERECHTHEIS: NOTES

DAA 167

* Figures for $\Lambda\mu\pi\tau\rho\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ and $\text{Ε}\acute{\omicron}\omega\nu\nu\mu\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ conjectured by Raubitschek.

+ Two names have been inserted here by another hand.

Hesp. XI 43

* $\text{'}\text{Α}\gamma\rho\nu\lambda\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ tout court.

+ $\Lambda\mu\pi\tau\rho\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ $\text{Π}\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha\lambda\omicron\iota.$

‡ $\text{Π}\alpha\mu\beta\omega\tau\acute{\alpha}\delta\alpha\iota$ or $\Sigma\upsilon\beta\rho\acute{\iota}\delta\alpha\iota$ [?1].

IG ii² 1700

* $\text{Π}\epsilon\rho\gamma\alpha\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ not differentiated as K and Y.

Hesp. XXXV

* See Hesp. for figures conjectured by Traill to fill list.

P 47 (+61)

* $A + K + \delta + (E \text{ or } \Lambda) = 31; \Lambda \text{ or } E = 7.$

I have also considered:

IG ii² 2366 (beg. C4);

IG ii² 1697 (before mid C4).

I have not included in the table IG ii² 1759 (c. A.D. 90 - 100), which lists men who paid a visit to Salamis, including 24 of the 50 prytanes. The figures are:

$\text{Ε}\acute{\omicron}\omega\nu.$ 2, $\text{'Α}\nu\alpha\gamma.$ 1, $\Lambda\mu\pi\tau.$ 8, $\text{Κ}\eta\phi.$ 13.

II. AEGEIS

ΤΡΙΤΥΣ	DEMES- MEN IN P.A.		IG ii ² 1747	IG ii ² 1749	SEG XIX 149	IG ii ² 1706	SEG XXI 520	Hesp XXXV pp. 205-40	P 10	SEG XXI 595	Hesp. XXXVI 40	SEG XIX 93	Hesp. XXXVI 44		IG ii ² 1765	Hesp. XI 13	SEG XXI 605	Hesp. XI 14	Hesp XXIII 23	SEG XXI 606	Hesp. XVI 79 A	Hesp. XVI 79 B	SEG XIV 92	SEG XXI 611	IG ii ² 1815	
			c. 350	341/0	336/5?	335/4	331/0 or 330/29	304/3	256/5	after mid C3	c. 225	C2	c. end C2	A. 2.	138/9	130-50	after 138/9	148/9	C2	before 165/6	165/6	c. 180	182/3	end C2	c. 200?	
A	98	Ἀγκυλεῖς { K Y	2	1	2			[1]	1	[ONE PART TO ANTIGONIS, 307/6 - 201/0; TO ATTALIS FROM 201/0]					0									0		
A	45	Βατεεῖς	2	1	1	1		[X]							0										0	
A	37	Διομεεῖς		1	1	1		[TO DEMETRIAS, 307/6 - 201/0]							2		X								1	
A	22	Ἔστιαιεῖς		1	1	1		[1]	1	[1]*			[1?]		2									1	4	
A	106	Κολλυτεῖς	3	3	3				4	4					0			6?+	1			2?+			0	
A?Π	58	ἐκ Κολωνοῦ	2	2	2			[2]	1 vac. + 1						0										0	
Π	47	Ἀραφῆνιοι	2	2	2				2						2										1	
Π	195	Ἀλαιεῖς (Ἀραφηνίδες)	5	5	5				8						0										0	
Π	47	ἐκ Μυρρινούττης		1	1				1						6										2	4?+
Π	91	Φιλαΐδαι	3	3	3				3						3	???		3							5	
Π?Μ	23	Ἐρικεεῖς		1	1	1			2	*			2		2		1								1	
?Π	60	Ἵοτρυνεῖς		1	1	1		[1]	1				1		0										0	
?Π	68	Φηγαιεῖς	4?+	3	3				3																	
Μ	138	Γαργήττιοι	4	4	4			[TO ANTIGONIS, 307/6 - 201/0]							23	[6?+]				2?+			[10?+]	4 rass. + 21	[5?+ + 1 rass. + 5?+]	
Μ	202	Ἐρχιεῖς		6	6 + 1 vac.	[3?+]			10		S?+				0					2			4?+	2		
Μ	128	Ἰκαριεῖς		5	5			[PART TO ANTIGONIS, 307/6 - 201/0; TO ATTALIS FROM 201/0]																		
Μ	30	Ἰωνίδαι	2	1	1				1						0										0	
Μ	44	Κυδαντίδαι	1	2	2	2			1						0										0	
Μ	46	Πλωθεῖς	1	1	1	1									0										0	
Μ	55	Τειθεράσιοι		4	4		4		4		3?+				0										0	
										+ one other deme ?4?8?+	+ one other deme 4?+		+ one other deme 1?+				+ one other deme 2?+									
				49	49 + 1 vac.										40										37 + 4 rass., + 1 frag. designated πε. βου- λευτῶν	

AEGEIS: NOTES

'Ικαριεῖς * Transfer of part to Ptolemais doubted by
D. M. Lewis, BSA LI 1956, 172.

Hesp. XXXV * See Hesp. for figures conjectured by
Traill to fill list.

SEG XXI 595 * 'Εστιατεῖς or 'Ερικεεῖς [1].

I have also considered:

IG ii² 1697 (before mid C4);

IG ii² 2388 (mid C4);

IG ii² 1699 (343/2?) (names not grouped by
demes).

III. PANDIONIS

TRITYS	DEMES- MEN IN P.A.		IG ii ² 1740	REG 1960 pp. 88-99 with REG 1961 pp. 407-9	IG ii ² 2370	IG ii ² 1751	IG ii ² 1748	SEG XIX 149	IG ii ² 1700	IG ii ² 1753	Hesp. XXXV pp. 205-40	Hesp. XVII 1	SEG XXI 596*	Hesp. XI 47	P 84	Hesp. XXXIII 44	P 116
			early C4	first qr. C4	before mid C4	after mid C4	348/7	336/5?	335/4	before 307/6*	304/3	279/8	C3	235/4	155/4	c. 100	c. 20
A	295	Κυδαθηναίεις	? 12	[? 11]	8?+	11		12							13		7?8
π	61	Ἀγγελῆθεν	3	3		3		2		3	*				12		?[2?1]*
π	136	Μυρρινούσιοι	7	(1?)6		6		6		5		3?+			?7		1
π	35	Πρασιεῖς	3	[3]		3		3		2?+				3?+	?1		[0]
π	91	Προβαλίσιοι	?5*	5		5		5	5	[4?+]	5						[TO ATTALIS FROM 201/0]
π	74	Στειριεῖς	3	3		3		3	3	3	[3]				2		12
π?M	-	Φηγαιεῖς	0	[0]		0		0							0		[0]
M	24	Κονθυλίδαι	1	1		1		1		1							[TO PTOLEMAIS FROM 224/3]
M	63	Κυθήρριοι	[0]*	2		2		2							6		2
M	377	Παιανιεῖς	{ K Y 1 11	[? 12]		12	1 4?+	12	1	10					16	6?+	26
M	67	Ἦλαθεν	4	4	2?3?+	4		4		22					?3		*
?	ATTESTED IG ii ² 2362 30, ONLY	Γραῆς	0	[0]		0		0							0		[0]
			? 50	? 50		50		50							? 50		50

+ one
other
deme
2?+

III. Pandionis, continued

	Hesp. XXXIV 6	Hesp. XI 15	IG ii ² 1772	IG ii ² 1773	Hesp. XI 20	IG ii ² 1776	Hesp. XI 22	SEG XXI 610	IG ii ² 1077	IG ii ² 1826*
A.D.	"Aet. Rom."	c. 160	162/3	166/7	c. 168	169/70	150-90	end C2	209/10	222/3
Κυδαθηναίεις	8?+	9?+		14	[8?+]	10		?4?+	4	1?+
Ἄγγελῆθεν	1(?+)			1		2			0	
Μυρρινούσιοι				0		2	4		0	
Πρασιεῖς				1		1			0	
[Προβαλίσιοι	TO ATTALIS FROM 201/0									
Στειριεῖς			4?+	4		4	9		4	9?+
Φηγαίεις				0		0			0	
[Κονθυλίδαι	TO PTOLEMAIS FROM 224/3									
Κυθήριοι	1			0		0			0	
Παιανίεις			8?+	19 + ye.		20		5?+	? 32 + ye.	14? 15?+
Ἶλαθεν	[TO HADRIANIS FROM 126/7									
Γεαῆς				0		0			0	
						+ ye.		+ one other deme 7?+		
				40 with ye.		40 with ye.			241* with ye.	

PANDIONIS: NOTES

- IG ii² 1740 * Gomme, Pop. Ath., 51-2 n.2, suggested
Προβαλίσιοι 4, Κυθήριοι [1].
- IG ii² 1753 * So Gomme, Pop. Ath., 51-2 n.2, 58, mis-
reported as "after 307/6" by D. M. Lewis,
BSA L 1955, 19 with n. 20.
- Hesp. XXXV * See Hesp. for figures conjectured by Traill
to fill list.
- SEG XXI 596 * Published as possibly part of a prytany list.
- P 116 * 'Αγγελῆθεν or "Ωαθεν [2?1].
- IG ii² 1077 * "Number seems to have been 40" (A. E.
Raubitschek, Γέρας Κεραμοπούλλου, 252 n.4)
- IG ii² 1826 * Names not grouped by demes.

I have also considered:

IG ii² 1699 (343/2?) (names not grouped by
demes).

IV. LEONTIS

TRITYS	DEMOS- MEN IN P.A.		IG ii ² 1742	IG ii ² 1744	IG ii ² 1752	SEG XIX 149	IG ii ² 1700	Hesp. xxxv pp.205-40	Ag. I 4720	Hesp. IX 22	P 26	P 36 with Hesp. IX p. 78	Hesp. XXXIII 32	P 77	Hesp. xxxvi 45	P 103		IG ii ² 1760 + 1761	Hesp. III 52
			370/69*	before mid C4	after mid C4	336/5?	335/4	304/3	303/2	mid C3	c.240 -230	212/1	185/4	c.160	end C2	mid C1	A-D	before mid C2	165-70
A	55	Κήττιοι	3			3		*		?[4]		[4]		2		1			
A	23	Κολωνεῖς	2			2	2	2		2	2	1		0					1
A	153	Λευκονοεῖς	3			3		?[3]		5		5		5					8
A	140	ἔξ Οἴου (Κεραμεικοῦ)	1			1	1	[TO DEMETRIAS, 307/6-201/0]				1?+	4						
A	24	Πήληκες	2			2		2		2		2		2					
A	79	Σκαμβωνίδαι	3			3				[?4]		4	X	1					[TO HADRI- ANIS, 126/7]
A	36	Υβάδαι	2			2		?[2]		1		1		1					
A?Π	51	Ποτάμιοι	2 1	{ κ γ		5*	1	2	2	?[2]		2		2					[1?+]
Π	55	Δειραδιῶται	2		X	2		[TO ANTIGONIS (OR DEM.?), 307/6-201/0]					1						
Π	35	Ποτάμιοι Δειραδιῶται	2		2	-*		[TO ANTIGONIS, 307/6-201/0]					0						
Π	154	Σουνιεῖς	4		4	4				6		5	[TO ATTALIS FROM 201/0 —]						
Π	191	Φρεάριοι	9	7?+	[7?+]	8+ 1 vac.	?[2?+]	X		2		10		10*	6?+			1	2
Μ	94	Αἰθαλίδαι	2			2		[TO ANTIGONIS, 307/6-201/0]				1?+	5			4			
Μ*	79	Ἀλιμούσιοι	3			3	3			?[2]		2		2					2?+
Μ	28	Ἐκαλεεῖς	1			1		1	1	1	1	[TO PTOLEMAIS FROM 224/3 —]							
Μ	97	Εὐπυρίδαι	2		[2]	2	2	2		2		2		3		X		6?+	
Μ	39	Κρωπίδαι	1			1		1		1	1?+	1+ 3 vac.		2				2?+	
Μ	59	Παιονίδαι	3		[2?+]	3		3		?[4]		3		3*					
?Μ	110	Χολλεῖδαι	2			2	2			?5		5		0			4		
				+ one other deme 3?+	+ three other demes each 2			+ two other demes each 1?+					+ two other demes each 4?+						+ one other deme 5?+
				one other deme 2?+									one other deme 2?+						

LEONTIS: NOTES

- Ἀλιμοῦσιοι * M, Kirsten; A, D. M. Lewis, Hist. XII 1963,
32 with n. 98, assuming that IG ii² 1742
was arranged by Cleisthenic trittyes.
- IG ii² 1742 * So B. D. Meritt, Hesp. XVI 1947, 151.
- SEG XIX 149 * Presumably all Ποτάμιοι together.
- Hesp. XXXV * See Hesp. for figures conjectured by Traill
to fill list.
- P 77 * Assuming demotics interchanged in error.

I have also considered:

- IG ii² 2382 (360-350);
IG ii² 1699 (343/2?) (names not grouped by
demes);
IG ii² 2410 (after 330).

V. ACAMANTIS

TRITYS	DEMES- MEN IN P.A.		Ag. I 1864	IG ii ² 1741	SEG XVII 44	SEG XIX 149	IG ii ² 1700	IG ii ² 2397 (+2423)*	P 1	Hesp. XXXV pp. 205-40	Ag. I 4720	P 17	IG ii ² 2438	Ag. I 5105*	Hesp. XXXVI 36	Hesp. XXXVI 37	Hesp. IX 23	P 45*	IG ii ² 1774	IG ii ² 1775	Hesp. XI 12	Hesp. XXXIII 35	Hesp. XXXVI 20	Hesp. XXXVI 20 A	IG ii ² 1820	IG ii ² 1821	
			?	378/7	c.340	336/5?	335/4	before 307/6	after 307/6*	304/3	303/2	260- 240	C3	C3	mid C3	mid C3	223/2	first half C2	A.D. 167/8	168/9	c.170	end C2	end C2: same yr.		c.200	c.200	
A	21	Εἰρεσίδαι				1	1			*	2								4	1	[5]					3?4?+	
A	54	Ἑρμεῖοι				2	2												4	2							
A	40	Ῥιφιστιάδαι				1	1												0	0							
A	151	ἐκ Κερκρέων				6											6		1	0							
A	123	Χολαργεῖς				4					6			6		X			7	4	[7]	5					
A?Π	-	Κυρτεῖδαι				0													0	2	1						
?A	38	Πόριοι			3	3				[TO DEMETRIAS,			307/6 -						0	0							
?A		Ῥακίδαι				0													0	0							
Π	134	Θορίκιοι			6	5			6				4?7?+					1?+	1	3	[3]	X					
Π	130	Κεφαλεεῖς	9?+		*	9			12	10?+	11?+		8?+						3	0	4						
Π?Μ	32	Εἰτεαῖοι				2				[TO ANTIGONIS,			307/6 -						5			[TO HADRIANIS FROM 126/7]					
Π?Μ	40	Κικουνεῖς				2	2			[3]	3								2	0	1			2?+			
Μ	99	Ἀγνούσιοι		4?+		5				[TO DEMETRIAS,			307/6 -									TO ATTALIS FROM 201/0					
Μ	90	Προσπάλιοι	5		[5?+]*	5	5		5	5	5										[TO PTOLEMAIS FROM 224/3						
Μ	178	Σφῆττιοι				5			6?10		7	8?+		7	(4?)5?+			[2?+]	17	28			4?+		[29?+]	28	
			+ one other deme 5?+				+ one other deme 4?+				+ one other deme 4?+			+ one other deme 6?+				+ two other demes each 2?+			+ two other demes each 1?+	+ one other deme 1 + two + 2?+					
						50													39*	40							

ACAMANTIS: NOTES

- SEG XVII 44 * Perhaps Κεφαλαεῖς [5?+], to fit
W. E. Thompson's τριτύς-theory
(cf. p. 488 , below)?
- IG ii² 2397 (+ 2423) * Cf. D. M. Lewis, BSA L 1955, 26-7.
- P 1 * If this was a full list of 50 there were
probably 10 Σφήττιοι and only four of
the seven (or, with 'Ρακίδαι , eight)
demes not accounted for can have been re-
presented. The problems are less with
Traill's dating (Hesp. XXXV 1966, 231) in
the twelve-tribe period than with the old
date of 327/6, but they still exist. See
the cautionary note of S. Charitonides,
Hesp. XXX 1961, 36 n. 10.
- Hesp. XXXV * See Hesp. for figures conjectured by Traill
to fill list.
- Ag. I 5105 * This fragment = IG ii² 2411. Cf. Gomme,
Pop. Ath., 60 n. 2.
- P 45 * Cf. B. D. Meritt, Hesp. XXXIII 1964, 188-9
n. 67.
- IG ii² 1774 * List followed immediately by γρ., ἔπων.,
then ἀείσιτοι : A. E. Raubitschek,
Γέρας Κεραμοπούλλου, 248 des-
cribes the placing of the ἔπων. as
"apart from panel." Total 40 if γρ. is
included but not ἔπων.

I have also considered:

IG ii² 1699 (343/2?) (names not grouped
by demes);

IG ii² 2410 (after 330);

IG ii² 2435 (mid C3).

VI. OENEIS

TRITYS	DEMES- MEN IN P.A.		IG ii ² 1745	IG ii ² 1698	IG ii ² 1746	IG ii ² 1700	Hesp. xxxv pp. 205-40	Ag. I 4720	SEG xxi 593	P 3	Ag. I 5105	IG ii ² 2438	IG ii ² 2440*	Hesp. xxxii 11	Hesp. xxxiii 28	SEG xix 153	SEG xxi 597	P 66	P 94	Hesp. xxxvi 46		
			360/59	before mid C4	c. 350	335/4	304/3	303/2	C4-3	290- 280	C3	C3	C3	c. 230	c. 225	late C3	beg C2	after 178/7	late C2	c. 50-40		
A	36	Βουτάδαι	1		1				*													
A	42	Ἐπικηφίσιοι	2		1?+						1	1?+		1(?+)								
A	97	Λακιάδαι	2		3																3?+	
A	30	Λουσιεῖς	1	1	1						1										3	
A	18	Τυρμεῖδαι	0		1		[1]														[TO ATTALIS FROM 201/0]	
A?Π	69	Περιθοῖδαι	3		3	3				1?+*												
A?Π	23	Πτελεάσιοι	1		1						1											
Π	101	Θριάσιοι	7	4?+	?[5?6?]*		?[4?+] [†]	3?+		2?+			8?+	5?+							9?+	
Π	12	Ἴπποτομάδαι	1				[TO	DEMETRIAS,													307/6 - 201/0 ———]	
Π	57	Κοθωκίδαι	2				[PART*	TO DEMETRIAS,													307/6 - 201/0 ———]	
Π	105	Ῥῶθεν	6		?[5?+]*		[2?+]			[5?6?]		7										
Π	83	Φυλάσιοι	2	3			[PART TO	DEMETRIAS,		2?+											307/6 - 201/0 ———]	
Μ	452	Ῥακρυεῖς	22		?[9?+]*		† 23	[4?+]		[?18]											2?+	7?+
							+ one other deme 6?+							+ one other deme 3?+								+ one other deme 74?+
			50																			

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VI. Oeneis, continued

	1G ii ² 1780	1G ii ² 1796	1G ii ² 1801	1G ii ² 1802	1G ii ² 1803	1G ii ² 1784
	<u>A.D.</u>	after mid C2	186/7	215-20	215-20	215-20 c.221
[Βουτάδαι —————]	TO PTOLEMAIS FROM 224 / 3 —————]					
Ἐπικηφίσιοι						
Λακιάδαι						
Λουσιεῖς						
[Τυρμείδαι —————]	TO ATTALIS FROM 201/0 —————]					
Περιθοῖδαι						
Πτελεάσιοι						33?+
Θριάσιοι	[TO HADRIANIS FROM 126 / 7]					
Ἰπποτομάδαι		1?+				22
Κοθωκίδαι						
Ῥοῦθεν	1?+	3			1?+*	26
Φυλάσιοι	8				2?+*	
Ἀχαρνεῖς		35	6?+	6?+	2?+*	[15]

OENEIS: NOTES

- Κοθωκίδαι * Despite the evidence of IG ii² 2438
it is commonly stated that the whole
deme was transferred to Demetrias.
- IG ii² 1746 * These restorations are very uncertain:
for an alternative guess see Gomme, Pop.
Ath., 51 n. 2.
- Hesp. XXXV * See Hesp. for figures conjectured by
Traill to fill list.
+ Θριάσιοι or 'Αχαρνεῖς [4?+].
- P 3 * The stone has Περρείδαι. Dow sug-
gests that this was a new deme created
out of 'Αχαρνεῖς ; Eliot, Coastal
Demes, 152 n. 37, disbelieves and suggests
a simple error - in which case Περιθοῖδαι
is a fairly easy correction; most recently
B. D. Meritt, The Classical Tradition,
32 - 5, has identified Περρείδαι with
the later Περρίδαι, suggesting that it
was separated from 'Αφιδναῖοι (Aiantis)
in 307/6 and formed part of Oeneis until
its transfer to Ptolemais in 224/3.
- IG ii² 2440 * W. Peek, AM LXXVII 1942, 32, no. 31.
- IG ii² 1803 * Names not grouped by demes.

VII. CECROPIS

TRITYS	DEMES- MEN IN P.A.	SEG XIX 151	IG ii ² 1698	IG ii ² 1743	IG ii ² 2377*	SEG XXI 589	IG ii ² 2384	IG ii ² 1700	SEG XXI 590	SEG XXI 591	Hesp. XXXV pp. 205-40	Ag. I 4720*	Hesp. III 50	Hesp. XXXVI 39	P 31	Hesp. XXX 17	P 61	Hesp. XIII 12	SEG XIX 155	Hesp. XVII 12	P 110	SEG XVII 46
		early C4	before mid C4	before mid C4	before mid C4	before mid C4	360- 350	335/4	c.330	c.321	304/3	303/2	mid C3	c.250 -230	c.215	after 200	180- 160	c.128	before end C2	95/4	29/8- 22/1	21/0
A	257	Μελιτεῖς	?[17?]*	4?5?+	[4?+]	78				9+ 4 vac.	[TO DEMETRIAS, 307/6-201/0]							?[14?]		17/19?+	72?+	
A	108	Συπετκίονες	7							3	[TO DEMETRIAS, 307/6-201/0]							7		2?+		
Π	237	Αἰξωνεῖς									*					[(10?)]11	1?+		[1]			
Π	119	Ἀλαιεῖς (Αἰξονίδες)		* 4?+						10							?[7]*				2	
Π?Μ	17	Ἐπιεικίδαι													1			?2		2		
Μ	141	Ἀθμονεῖς										10							[TO ATTALIS FROM 201/0]			
Μ	17	Δαιδαλίδαι						1		x	[TO DEMETRIAS, 307/6-201/0]							2				
Μ	82	Πιθεῖς						3				4		?[3?]*			5					
Μ	83	Συπαλήττιοι					213?+	2		1+ 3 vac.		2		1?+	1?+	2(?)			2?+			
Μ	29	Τρινεμεεῖς										2		2					[PART TO ATTALIS FROM 201/0 ? -			
Μ	224	Φλυεῖς		2?+					5?+				9?+						* [TO PTOLEMAIS FROM 224/3			
?	19	Κικυννεῖς																				
			+ one other deme 6 (?+)		+ one other deme ?6?+	+ one other deme 3?+	+ one other deme 2?+				+ one other deme 2?3?+			+ one other deme 4?+							+ one other deme 14?+	
														one other deme 1?+								

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VII. Cecropis, continued

	IG ii ² 1790	Hesp XI 21	IG ii ² 1782	Hesp. XVI 85	SEG XVII 48	SEG XXI 614
<u>A.D.</u>	170-80	174/5	177/8	c. 180	c. 180	beg. c.3
Μελιτεῖς			227		[23]	
Συπεταῖνες			0			
Αἰξωνεῖς	6	6	1	3?+		4
Ἀλαιεῖς (Αἰξονίδες)		5	5			
Ἐπιεικίδαι	1?+	1?+	0			
[Ἀθμονεῖς ——— TO ATTALIS FROM 201/0 ———]						
Δαιδαλίδαι			[TO HADRIANIS FROM 126/7]			
Πιθεῖς	1		3			
Συπαλήττιοι			3 incl. yr.			3?+
Τρινεμεεῖς [PART TO ATTALIS FROM 201/0 ? ———]			1			
[Φλυεῖς ——— TO PTOLEMAIS FROM 224/3]						
Κικυννεῖς			0			
			740 * incl. yr.			

VIII. HIPPOTHONTIS

TRITYS	DEMOS- MEN IN P.A.		Hesp. XV 55	Hesp. IX 5	IG ii ² 1698	IG ii ² 2377	IG ii ² 1700	Ag. I 4720	Ag. I 5105	Hesp. XV 11	SEG XXI 598	P 60	P 64	Hesp. IX 24	Hesp. IX 25	SEG XII 101	Hesp. XII 14	Hesp. XXXVI 47	Hesp. XII 15	IG ii ² 1808	IG ii ² 1819	IG ii ² 1811	
			early C4	first half C4	before mid C4	before mid C4	335/4	303/2	C3	c.240	bc C2	before 178/7	178/7	176- 169	165/4 -150	135/4	50-40	c.50-40	A.D.	c.145	170-6	<200	after 217
A	26	Θυμαϊτάδαι	1?+					2					3		0	1							
A	39	Κειριάδαι		2(?+)	3				1	2	x		1		2 (+1vac)*	4							
A	78	ἐκ Κοιλῆς			*			[TO DEMETRIAS, 307/6-201/0]					4	6	4	4			x	2?+*	2?+*		
A	14	Κορυθαλλεῖς										[TO ATTALIS FROM 201/0]											
A	235	Πειραιεῖς			?[10?+?]*			10		*		7?+	8	4	15	10	?[13?+]				10?+*	7?+*	7
?A	21	Ἐροιάδαι		1	†			2		2			1		0	2							
π	71	Ἄσθνιεῖς			3	2		2	2				2	6	5	6	16?+	21?+	14	5?+ incl. ye.	10?+*		
π	198	Ἐλευσίνιοι			*					?[8?+]*			6	8	6 (+1vac)*	5							
π	72	Οἰναῖοι					*					[TO PTOLEMAIS FROM 224/3]											
?π	64	Ἀμαξαντεῖς				2?+				2	1		6		8 (+1vac)*	5							
?π	39	Ἀνακαιεῖς			4?+	3	3	[PT. TO DEM., 307/6-201/0]	2				1	3	0	2							
?π	24	Αὐρίδαι											4		0	5							
?π	43	Ἀχερδούσιοι						1	1				8	6?+	3	2							
?π	30	Ἐλαιούσιοι			?[1]†	1		1					5		1	4							
?π	41	Κοπρεῖοι			3			2	2		2		1		1	0							
M	64	Δεκελεεῖς				4	[?6]*						1		4	0							
M	18	ἐξ οἴου (Δεκελεικῶ)										[TO PTOLEMAIS, 224/3 - 201/0; * TO ATTALIS FROM 201/0]											
?		NOT FOUND BEFORE A.D. C2 ATTESTED STRAB. BYZ. ONLY											0		0	0							
?		Ἀμυμνιεῖς											0		0	0							
?		Σφενδάκλεις											0		0	0							
				+ one other deme 2?+				+ one other deme 4?+		+ one other deme 3			50		49	50							

CECROPIS: NOTES

- IG ii² 1698 * Μελιτεῖς or 'Αλατεῖς [17?+].
'Αλατεῖς now seems more likely: cf.
B. D. Meritt, Hesp. XXXIII 1964, 207-8,
on the representation of Μελιτεῖς.
- IG ii² 2377 * Cf. B. D. Meritt, Hesp. XXXIII 1964, 207-8.
- Hesp. XXXV * See Hesp. for figures conjectured by Traill
to fill list.
- Ag. I 4720 * Cf. B. D. Meritt, Hesp. XXXIII 1964, 208
with n. 98.
- P 61 * Μελιτεῖς or 'Αλατεῖς or
Ευπεταῖνες [7].
- IG ii² 1782 * A. E. Raubitschek, Γέρας Κεραμοπούλλου, 251.
describes the ἔπων. as "above panel," but
perhaps he should be regarded as heading
the panel, to make a total of 41.

I have also considered:

- IG ii² 2375 (before mid C4);
IG ii² 2383 (360-350) (cf. B. D. Meritt,
Hesp. XXXIII 1964, 207-8);
IG ii² 1699 (343/2?) (names not grouped by
demes).

HIPPOTHONTIS; NOTES

- ἐξ Οἴου * Transfer to Ptolemais, 224/3 - 201/0,
now confirmed by Hesp. XXXIV 3.
- IG ii² 1698 * ἐκ Κοιλῆς or Πειραιεῖς or Ἐλευσίνιοι
+ Ἐροιάδαι or Ἐλαιούσιοι [10 ? 11 ? +].
- IG ii² 1700 * Οἰναῖοι or Δεκελευεῖς [? 6].
- Hesp. XV 11 * Πειραιεῖς or Ἐλευσίνιοι [8 ? +].
- Hesp. IX 25 * In col. ii a name overflows into a
second line, which is left blank in
the other columns.
- IG ii² 1808 * Names not grouped by demes.
- IG ii² 1819 * Names not grouped by demes.

I have also considered:

IG ii² 1699 (343/2?) (names not grouped
by demes).

IX. AIANTIS

TRITYS	DEMES- MEN IN P.A.		IG ii ² 1700	IG ii ² (2397+) 2423 *	Hesp. XXXV pp. 205-40	Hesp. XVI.91+ XXIX.71+ XXXIII.23 (= SEG XIX 592) *	Ag. I 4720	SEG XIX 84	Ag. I 5105	P 28	P 48	P 73	P 98	P 102	Hesp III 19	P 114		P 121	IG ii ² 1767	SEG XXI 613	IG ii ² 1806	IG ii ² 1813	IG ii ² 1814			
			335/4	before 307/6	304/3		303/2	C3	C3	229/8 or 228/7	199/8 - 189/8	166/5	before 60	c. 50	C1	30-20	A.D.	c. 120	or slightly later	mid C2	C2	192-5	c. 200	260-4		
A	108	Φαληρεῖς		9?+	9		9			13	17		8	8	?15	5?+		?10	9	4						
π	247	Μαραθῶνιοι			*	3?+				13	[8±]		?[22]	?[22]				?29	23	7?+	6?+	?12?+	15?+	?16		
π	36	Οἰναῖοι			3?+	4				6	[TO ATTALIS FROM 201/0]															
π	203	ῤαμνούσιοι	?[4?+]			[3?+]	8		8	[10±]	[17±]	20/22?+	?[13]	13				7	7	3?+						
π	96	Τρικορῦσιοι								6	8		7	[7]				?[4]	[TO HADRIANIS FROM 126/7]							
M	229	Ἄφιδναῖοι			16	?13?+		?[18?+]		[2±]	[TO PTOLEMAIS FROM 224/3]															
M	-	Θυργωνίδαι								[0]	[TO PTOLEMAIS FROM 224/3]															
M	-	Κυκαλεῖς								[0]	[0]		[0]	[0]				[0]	[0]							
M	-	Περρῖδαι *								[0]	[TO PTOLEMAIS FROM 224/3]															
M	ATTESTED STEM BYZ ONLY NOT FOUND BEFORE A.D. C2	Τιτακίδαι								[0]	[TO PTOLEMAIS FROM 224/3]															
?		Ψαφίδαι								[0]	[0]		[0]	[0]				[0]	[0]							
				+ one other deme 7?+		+ one other deme 1 ras. + 5?+	+ one other deme 4?+				50	50		50	50			50	39		+ one other deme 7?+		one other deme 8?9?+			

AIANTIS: NOTES

- Περρῶδα * See note on OENEIS, under P 3.
- IG ii² (2397 +) 2423 * Cf. D. M. Lewis, BSA L 1955, 26 - 7.
- Hesp. XXXV * See Hesp. for figures conjectured by Traill to fill list.
- Hesp. XVI 91 &c. * Cf. Hesp. XXXV 1966, 206, 229, 237.
Hesp. XXXIII 23 (= SEG XXI 592) was originally published as a list of Oeneis.

I have also considered:

IG⁻ⁱⁱ² 2400 (after mid C4).

X. ANTIOCHIS

TRITYS	DEMES- MEN IN P.A.		Hesp. xxxvi 35	IG ii ² 1700	IG ii ² 1750	IG ii ² (2397+) 2423 *	Hesp. xxxv pp. 205-40	Ag. I 4720	Ag. I 5105	SEG xiv 66	P 20	P 71	Hesp. xxxiii 37	Hesp. xvii 9	Hesp. xxx 73
			c. mid C4	335/4	334/3	before 307/6	304/3	303/2	C3	mid C3	c. 240	169/8	c. 150	140/39	end C2
A	225	'Αλωπεκεῖς			10	? [9?+]	*					14	12	[12?~]*	
π	93	Αἰγυλιεῖς			6			7			6	[TO PTOLEMAIS FROM 224/3]			
π	73	'Αμφιτροπαιεῖς			2			12+ [PART TO DEMETRIAS]	3	3?+	4	4	6		
π	172	'Αναφλύστιοι			10	10(?+)	11		11			5	2		
π	47	'Αθηνεῖς			3			[PART TO DEMETRIAS, 307/6-201/0]				TO ATTALIS FROM 201/0			
π	28	Βησαιεῖς			2			2				1	0		
π	55	Θοραιοῖς	4		4			[TO DEMETRIAS, 307/6-201/0]				2	3		
π?m	20	Εἰτεαῖοι		2	1		[2]	2	2			2	3?+†		
?π		NOT FOUND BEFORE A.D. C2			0							0	0		
π?m	21	'Εροιάδαι	1?+		1		[1]	1	1			1	1		
π?m	23	Κολωνεῖς	[3?+]		2							[TO PTOLEMAIS FROM 224/3]			
μ	187	Παλληνεῖς		6	7				8			8	15?+	9?+*	[11?+]
μ		ATTESTED STERN.BYZ. ONLY			0							[TO PTOLEMAIS FROM 224/3]			
μ	37	Σημαχίδαι			1		[1]	1	1			9	[10?~]†		
?μ		ATTESTED HESYCH. ONLY			0							0	0		
?	47	Κριωεῖς			1			2	2			4	4	4	
?		NOT FOUND BEFORE C2 A.D.			0							0	0		
?		ATTESTED STERN.BYZ. ONLY			0							[TO PTOLEMAIS FROM 224/3]			
?		NOT FOUND BEFORE C2 A.D.			0							0	0		
								+ one other deme 3?+	+ one other deme 2?+						
												50		50	

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X. Antiochis, continued

	SEG XXI 601	SEG XXI 602	SEG XXI 603	IG ii ² 1764	Hesp. XI 11	Hesp. XVI 84	IG ii ² 1792	IG ii ² 1805	SEG XXI 609	IG ii ² 1818	IG ii ² 1783			
A.D.	CI	CI	beg. C2	138/9	first half C2	c.180	187/8	195/6	end C2	c.220	221/2			
Ἀλωπεκεῖς					7		4			3	4			
[Αἰγυλιεῖς	TO PTOLEMAIS FROM 224/3													
Ἀμφιτροπαιεῖς											0			
Ἀνκφλύσπιοι		? II	II	9	8	7	4	7		2	1			
Ἀθηνεῖς	[PART TO ATTALIS FROM 201/0													
Βησικεῖς	6?+		12	[TO HADRIANIS FROM 126/7										
Θορακίεῖς											0			
Εἰτεαῖοι											0			
Ἐργαδεῖς											1			
Ἐροσάδαι						2?+		3?+			0			
[Κολωνεῖς	TO PTOLEMAIS FROM 224/3													
Παλληνεῖς		22		18?19?+			?16	?6?+	[11?+]	?6	29			
[Πεντελῆθεν	TO PTOLEMAIS FROM 224/3													
Σημακίδαι			1	5?+			5?+			2	2			
ἐκ Λευκοῦ											0			
Κριωεῖς							3				1			
Λευκοπυρεῖς											0			
[Μελαινί	TO PTOLEMAIS FROM 224/3													
Φυρρινήσιοι				1			1			2?+	1			

+49.

40
incl. 49.

ANTIGONIS (307/6 - 201/0)

TRIPYS	PREVIOUS TRIBE		PREDICTED RE-PRESENTATION *	Hesp. II 14 *	Hesp. XXXV pp. 205-40	P 8	P 32	SEG XVI 70
				304/3		290-230	229-214/3	210/09 - 201/0
A	AEG.	PART OF 'Αγκυλείς (Κορυ) *	-		1			
A	ER.	PART OF 'Αγρυλείς (Κορυ)	3		3	3		
A	PAND.	Κυδαθηναίεις	12		12		8?+	
Π	LE.	Δειραδιῶται (or DEMETRIAS?)	2		*			
Π	ER.	PART OF Λαμπυρεῖς (Κ)	5	5?+	5	5?+		
Π	LE.	Ποτάμιοι Δειραδιῶται	1 or 2		1?+			
Π?Μ	AC.	Εἰτεαῖοι	?					
Μ	LE.	Αἰθαλίδαι	2		2			
Μ	AEG.	Γαργήττιοι	?4		6?7			3?+
Μ	AEG.	PART OF 'Ιμαριεῖς ("Α")	4 or 5		6			1?+
Μ	PAND.	Κυθήραιοι	2		2			
Μ	PAND.	PART OF Παικνιεῖς (Κ)	2		[1]			
Μ	ER.	PART OF Περγασεῖς (Κορυ)	2	[2?+]	2	2		X

ANTIGONIS: NOTES

'Αγκυλεῖς

- * Assignment rejected by Pritchett, op. cit infra, but Hesp. XXXV list confirms.

Predicted representation

- * W. K. Pritchett, AJP LXI 1940 = 1942 thesis, ch. i.

Hesp. II 14

- * Cf. Hesp. XXXV 1966, 206, 231.

Hesp. XXXV

- * See Hesp. for figures conjectured by Traill to fill list.

DEMETRIAS (307/6 - 201/0)

TRITYS	PREVIOUS TRIBE		PREDICTED RE-PRESENTATION *	Hesp. XXXV 11-205-90	Ag I STOS	Hesp. X 71	IG ii ² 2437	Hesp. IX 11
				304/3	C3	mid C3	mid C3	last yr. C3
A	ARG.	Διομεεῖς	1	*				1
A	HIP.	ἐκ Κοιλῆς	1	[2?+]	3			
A	CEC.	Μελιτεῖς	?17 *	7	7	[6?+]		
A	CEC.	Ζυπεταῖονες	?					
A	LE.	ἔξ Οἴου (Κερκμεικού)	1			1	1	1
?A	AC.	Πόριοι	?	[3]				
A?Π	LE.	PART OF Ποτάμιοι (Κor Y)	2				2	
Π	ANT.	PART OF Ἀθηνεῖς ("B")	13					
Π	ANT.	Θορκιεῖς	14					
Π	OEN.	Ἰπποτομάδαι	1	1		1	1	1
Π	OEN.	PART OF Κοθωκίδαι *	2	2			2	
Π	OEN.	PART OF Φυλάσιοι ("B")	4	6			4*	
Π	ANT.	PART OF Ἀμφιτροπικεῖς ("B")?	?1					
?Π	HIP.	PART OF Ἀνακμαεῖς ("B")	?2					
M	AC.	Ἀγνούσιοι	4?+	5				4?+
M	CEC.	Δαιδαλίδαι	1	1		1		

DEMETRIAS: NOTES

Μελιτεῖς

- * But see note on CECROPIS, under IG ii² 1698.

Κοθωκίδαι

- * Whole deme normally assigned, but IG ii² 2438 shows that a part remained in Qeneis (q.v.). Pritchett's predicted representation is for the whole deme.

Predicted representation

- * W. K. Pritchett, AJP LXI 1940 = 1942 thesis, ch. i.

Hesp. XXXV

- * See Hesp. for figures conjectured by Traill to fill list.

IG ii² 2437

- * J. Sundwall, Eranos XXV 1927 (in Finnish) notes that there were no more than 4 Φυλάσιοι.

PTOLEMAIS (from 224/3)

ATTALIS (from 201/0)

TRITTYΣ	PREVIOUS TRIBE	C3 RE-PRESENTATION IN PREVIOUS TRIBE	P 49	SEG XIX 154	P 99	SEG XXI 612	Hesp. XI 18	Hesp. XI 32	TRITTYΣ	PREVIOUS TRIBE(S)	C3 RE-PRESENTATION IN PREVIOUS TRIBE	SEG XVI 91	Hesp. XI 19	IG ii ² 1794
			192/1	C2	mid C1	A.D. early C2	148/1	221/2			173/2	A.D.	169/70	180/1
A	OEN.	ΒΟΥΤΑΔΑΙ	?1						A	ΑΕΓ, ΑΝΤΙΩ.	PART OF 'Αγκυλαίς (Κ or Υ)	1	?[3]*	0
A	ΕΡ.	ΘΗΜΑΚΕΪΣ	1						A	ΕΡ, ΑΝΤΙΩ.	PART OF 'Αγκυλαίς (Κ or Υ)	3	5	0
Π	ΑΝΤ.	ΑΪΓΙΛΙΕΪΣ	6-7			?4			A	ΗΙΡ.	Κορυθαλλεΐς	?1	2	1
Π	ΗΙΡ.	ΟΪΝΑΪΟΙ	?3-4						A	OEN.	Τυρμεΐδαι	1	*	1
Π?Μ	ΑΝΤ.	ΚΟΛΩΝΕΪΣ	?2						Π	ΑΝΤ, ΔΕΜ.	PART OF 'Αθηνεΐς ("B")	?3	2	0
Μ	ΑΙ.	'Αφιδναΐοι	16		8?+	13	[TO H 126/7]		Π	ΑΙ.	ΟΪΝΑΪΟΙ	4-6	4	[TO HADRIANIS, 124/7]
Μ	ΛΕ.	'Εκαλεεΐς	1						Π	ΡΑΝΘ.	Προβαλίσιοι	5	3	1
Μ	ΑΙ.	Θυρψωνίδαοι	?0						Π	ΛΕ.	Σουυιεΐς	5-6	10	15
Μ	ΑΕΓ.	PART OF 'Ικαριεΐς ("B")?*	*						Μ	ΑΕΓ, ΔΕΜ.	'Αγνούσιοι	5	4	4?+
Μ	ΡΑΝΘ.	Κουθυλίδαοι	?1						Μ	ΣΕΚ.	'Αθμονεΐς	10	8	18
Μ	ΑΕΓ.	Κυδακντίδαοι	1						Μ	ΑΕΓ, ΑΝΤΙΩ.	PART OF 'Ικαριεΐς ("A")	6	1	0
Μ	ΗΙΡ.	Ξ ΟΪΟΥ (Δεκελεικῶ)*	?1-2	[TO ATTALIS FROM 201/0]					Μ	ΗΙΡ, ΠΤΟΛ.	Ξ ΟΪΟΥ (Δεκελεικῶ)	?1-2	3	0
Μ	ΑΝΤ.	Πεντελήθεν	?0						Μ	ΣΕΚ.	PART OF Τρινεμεεΐς?	*	*	0
Μ	ΑΙ.*	Περρίδαοι	?0						NEW DEME		'Απολλωνιεΐς	5		0
Μ	ΑΕ.	Προσπάλιοι	5	X										
Μ	ΑΝΤ.	PART OF Σημαχίδαοι ("A")	?*											+ye.
Μ	ΑΙ.	Τιτακίδαοι	?0											
Μ	ΣΕΚ.	Φλυεΐς	?9-11		1?+							50		40 ind. ye.
?	ΑΝΤ.	Μελκιναί	?0											
NEW DEMES		'Ακυκιεΐς												
		Βερενικίδαοι				[?16?+]		3?+						
		Εϋνοστίδαοι												
		Κλωπίδαοι				2								
		Πετακίδαοι												
		'Υπωρεεΐς*												

i²

s)

1-

'3

tion,

PTOLEMAIS: NOTES

Ἰκαριεῖς

- * Transfer doubted by D. M. Lewis, BSA LI 1956, 172.

On the deme-list of 200 B.C., IG ii² 2362, 53, see W. K. Pritchett, TAPA LXXXV 1954.

Representation: C4 whole deme 5, C3 part "A" 6.

ἔξ Οἴου

- * Cf. Hesp. XXXIV 3.

Περρῖδαι

- * See note on Oeneis, under P 3.

Σημαχῖδαι

- * Representation: CC4-3 whole deme 1, C2 part "B" 9-10.

Ἰπωρεεῖς

- * For the suggestion that this deme was created out of Ἰαλιδαῖοι (Aiantis) in 307/6 and formed part of Aegeis until its location in Ptolemais in 224/3 see B. D. Meritt, The Classical Tradition, 32-5.

Hesp. XI 25

- * Names not grouped by demes.
-

ATTALIS: NOTES

Τρινημεεῖς

* Representation: whole deme 2.

SEG XVI 91

* Ἀγκυλεῖς or Τυρμεῖσαι or Τρινημεεῖς [

The following lists of Attalis have no demotics:

IG ii² 1824 (A.D. 221/2);

IG ii² 1825 (A.D. 222/3);

IG ii² 1827 (A.D. 223/4?);

IG ii² 1828 (A.D. 224/5).

IG ii² 1824 is a full list. A. E. Raubitschek, Γέρας Κεραμοπούλλου, 255, n. 1, reports the total as "probably only 40" but I do not think the possibility of one or two more can be excluded.

HADRIANIS (from A.D. 126/7)

TRITYS	PREVIOUS TRIBE(S)	A.D.	IG ii ² 1764 B	IG ii ² 1770	IG ii ² 1793	Hesp. XV 71	IG ii ² 1795	IG ii ² 1807	IG ii ² 1779	IG ii ² 1810	Hesp. IV 12	SEG XIV 94
A	LE. Σκαμβωνίδαι											
Π	ANT. Βησκιεῖς		5?+		8	5?+			1?+		11?+	
Π	OEM. Θριάσιοι											
Π	AI, ATT. Οἰναῖοι				1?+					1?+		
Π	AI. Τρικορύσιοι				4							1?+
Π?M	AC. Εἰτεαῖοι				2					2		
?Π	HIP. Ἐλκιδεύσιοι			4?+	1		1	1?+				
Π?M	ER. Παμβωτάδαι											3
?Π	AEG. Φηγκιεῖς							1?				
M	AI, PLO. Ἀφιδναῖοι											
M	CEC. Δαιδαλίδαι									*		
M	PAND. Ἶλαθεν						110?+	3				
NEW	DEME Ἶαντινοεῖς				4							

+ one other deme 5?+

one other deme 9?+

DEMES LISTED IN RE V, s.v. δήμοι, WHOSE TRIBAL AFFILIATION IS UNKNOWN

Γεφυρεῖς EM 229
 Ἐχελίδαι Steph. Byz.
 (Οἰσία) Arkad. 99.11, Barker
 Σποργίλιοι Steph. Byz.
 Χαστιεῖς Hesych.
 (Χελιδωνία) Arkad. 99.15, Barker

HADRIANIS: NOTES

IG ii² 1810

* Σκαμβωνίδαι or Δαιδαλίδαι [4?+].

IG ii² 1832 (A.D. 231/2) has no demotics.

Table B : Trittys-Divisions in Prytany Lists

I note here the arrangement of all lists of the ten-tribe period which are substantial enough to be of use in this respect.

The letters A, Π and M denote Cleisthenic trittyes; the arabic numerals 1, 2 and 3 denote W. E. Thompson's trittyes (Hist. XV 1966) in the order in which they occur in SEG XIX 149 (Aegeis to Acamantis), IG ii² 1745 (Oeneis) or 1750 (Anti ochis); the roman numerals i, ii and iii denote the columns of the inscribed lists. The lists discussed by Thompson are indicated by an asterisk.

ERECHTHEIS

DAA 167 (408/7)

	Π		Π	
i	[Λαμπτ. Κ.]		?[Λαμπτ. Υ.]	
	A	Π	Π	A
ii	'Αγρ. Κ.	Κηδ.	'Αναγ.	Εδων.
	A	M	M	M
iii	'Αγρ. Υ.	Κηφ.	Περγ. Κ.	Περγ. Υ.

Hesp. XXXVI 34 (381/0)

. . . Π *Αναγ. Π 'Αγρ. . . .

* Hesp. XI 43 (367/6)

	A	Π	M		
i	[Εδων.]	'Αναγ.	Κηφ.		
		Π	M	Π	A
ii	(Κηφ. contd.)	'Αγρ. Κ.	Περγ. Κ.	Λαμπτ. Π	Θημ.
		Π	Π	Π	Π/M
iii	(Θημ. contd.)	'Αγρ.	Κηδ.	Λαμπτ. Κ.	Φηγ. [Περγ. M
		Π/M	M		
		[Παμβ. or Συβρ.]			

* SEG XIX 149 (336/5?)

i A Π A Π/Μ Π
 Εδων. Κηδ. 'Αγρ. Παμβ. 'Αναγ.
 ii M M A Π/Μ Π
 Κηφ. Περγ. Θημ. Φηγ. Λαμπτ.

IG ii² 1700 (335/4)

. . . A M M Π/Μ A
 [Εδων.] Περγ. Περγ. Φηγ. Θημ. (ends)

AEGEIS

IG ii² 1747 (c. 350)

i . . . Π 3 M 3 Π 1 ?Π 1
 Φιλ. 'Ιων. 'Αλ. Φηγ.
 ii . . . A 1 M 3 A/Π 2 A 2 Π 1
 'Αγκ. Κυδ. Κολων. Βατ. 'Αραφ.
 iii . . . M 3 A 2 M 2
 Γαργ. Κολλ. Πλωθ.

* IG ii² 1749 (341/0)

i M 3 M 3 Π 3 M 3 M 3
 'Ερχ. Γαργ. Φιλ. Κυδ. 'Ιων.
 ii M 2 A 2 A 2 A/Π 2 A 2 M 2 ?Π 2 Π/Μ
 'Ικαρ. 'Εστ. Βατ. Κολων. Κολλ. Πλωθ. 'Οτρ. 'Ερ
 iii Π 1 M 1 ?Π 1 Π 1 Π 1 A 1 A 1 A 1
 'Αλ. Τειθ. Φηγ. 'Αραφ. Μυρρ. 'Αγκ. Διομ. 'Αγκ.

* SEG XIX 149 (336/5?)

(1) i Π A Π ?Π Π M A
 'Αλ. Διομ. 'Αραφ. Φηγ. Μυρρ. Τειθ. 'Αγκ.
 (2) i/iι M A A/Π A A Π/Μ ?Π
 'Ικαρ. Κολλ. / Κολων. 'Εστ. Βατ. 'Ερικ. 'Οτρ
 M
 Πλωθ.
 (3) ii M M M M Π
 'Ερχ. Γαργ. 'Ιων. Κυδ. Φιλ.

IG ii² 1700 (335/4)

. . . M 3 A 2 ?Π 2 Π/Μ 2 A 2 M 3 M 2
 ?['Ερχ.] 'Εστ. 'Οτρ. 'Ερικ. Βατ. Κυδ. Πλωθ.
 A 1
 Διομ. (ends)

PANDIONIS

* IG ii² 1740 (early C4)

i Π 3 Μυρρ. Π 3 'Αγγ. Π 3 Πρασ. Π 3 Στεερ.

ii A 2 Κυδ. Π 2 Προβ. M 3 Κυθ. (cf. col. i)

iii M 1 Πατ. M 1 Πατ. K. M 1 Κονθ. M 1 'Ωαθ.

REG LXXIII 1960, 88-99, with LXXIV 1961, 407-9 (first gr.)

i M 1 Πατ. M 1 Κονθ. M 1 'Ωαθ. Μυρρ. (cf. col.

ii Π (Μυρρ. contd.) Π 3 'Αγγ. Π 3 Πρασ. Π 3 Στεερ. M 3 Κυθ.

iii A 2 Κυδ. Π 2 Προβ.

IG ii² 2370 (before mid C4)

top of i A 2 Κυδ.

middle of ii M 1 'Ωαθ.

* IG ii² 1751 (after mid C4)

i M 1 Πατ. M 1 'Ωαθ. Π 1 Κονθ.

ii Π 3 Μυρρ. Π 3 'Αγγ. M 3 Κυθ. Π 3 Πρασ. Π 3 Στεερ.

iii A 2 Κυδ. Π 2 Προβ.

* SEG XIX 149 (336/5?)

(1) top i / top ii M Πατ. / M 'Ωαθ. M Κονθ.

(2) i A Κυδ. Π Προβ.

(3) ii Π Μυρρ. Π Πρασ. Π Στεερ. Π 'Αγγ. M Κυθ.

IG ii² 1700 (335/4)

. . . Π 2 Προβ. Π 3 Στεερ. M 1 Πατ. K. (ends)

IG ii² 1753 (before 307/6)

i M 1 M 1 M 1 Π 3
 Πατ. Κονθ. 'Ωαθ. Πρασ.

ii Π 3 Π 3 Π 3 Π 2
 'Αγγ. Μυρρ. Στειρ. [Προβ.]

If a third column is missing, which contained Κυθ. (M 3) and Κυδ. (A 2) the list will in general arrangement (apart from the displacement of Κυθ.) but not in column division fit Thompson's theory. "De dispositione tituli non constat" — IG ii² 1753; at IG ii 873 the majuscule copy and minuscule transcription show significant differences. (A two-column arrangement might fit Thompson's theory even more neatly, but would be ruled out if the majuscule copy were to be accepted as correct.)

LEONTIS

* IG ii² 1742 (370/69?)

i A 2 M 2 A/Π 1 A/Π 1 A 2 A 2 ?M 2
 Κηττ. 'Αλιμ. Ποτ. Κ. Ποτ. Υ. Σκαμβ. Λευκ. Χολλ.

ii Π 1 Π 1 Π 1 Π 1
 Φρε. Σουν. Δειρ. Ποτ. Δ.

iii A 3 A 3 A 3 M 3 M 3 M 3 M 3 M 3 A 3
 Πηλ. 'Υβ. Οί. 'Εκ. Κρωπ. Πατ. Εδπ. Αίθ. Κολ.

IG ii² 1752 (after mid C4)

i . . . M 3 M 3
 [Πατ.] [Εδπ.] . . .

ii . . . Π 1 Π 1 Π 1 Π 1
 [Φρε.] Σουν. Ποτ. Δ. Δειρ. . . .

* SEG XIX 149 (336/5?)

(1) i Π Σουν. Π Δειρ. Π, A/Π Ποτ. (Δ, Κ, Υ) Π Φρε.

(2) i/ii A Σκαμβ. A Κηττ. A Λευκ. / M 'Αλιμ. ?M Κολλ.

(3) ii M Αίθ. M Πατ. A Κολ. A 'Υβ. M Εδπ. A Πηλ. A Οί. M Κρωπ. M 'Εκ.

In IG ii² 1742 (above), where Ποτ. are divided, Κ and Υ are included among the demes of 2.

IG ii² 1700 (335/4)

. . . Π 1 Μ 2 Μ 3 Α 3 ?Μ 2 Α/Π 1
 ? [Φρε.] 'Αλιμ. Εύπ. Κολ. Χολλ. Ποτ. Υ.
 Α 3
 Οί. (ends)

ACAMANTIS

SEG XVII 44 (c. 340)

i missing

ii . . . Μ 3 Π 1 ?Α 1
 ? [Προσπ.] Θορ. Πορ.

But another possibility for the first demotic (based on the patronymic *Λυσανίου* in l. 5) is Κεφ. (Π), the third deme of (1).

* SEG XIX 149 (336/5?)

(1) i Π Π ?Α
 Θορ. Κεφ. Πορ.

(2) i/ii Α Α Α / Α Α Π/Μ
 Κερ. Είρ. 'Ερμ. / Κολ. 'Ιφ. Είτ.

(3) ii Μ Μ Μ Π/Μ
 Σφηττ. 'Αγν. Προσπ. Κικ.

IG ii² 1700 (335/4)

. . . Μ 3 Α 2 Α 2
 Προσπ. 'Ερμ. Είρ. (ends)

IG ii² 2397 (& 2423) (before 307/6)

. . . Α 2 Π/Μ 3
 'Ιφ. Κικ. (ends)

OENEIS

* IG ii² 1745 (360/59)

(1) i Α Α Α/Π Π Α Α Α Α/Π
 'Επι. Φυλ. Πτελ. 'Ιπκ. Λακ. Βουτ. Λουσ. Πεπιθ.

(2) ii Π Π Π
 Κοθ. Θρι. 'Οη. 'Αχ. (cf. col. iii)

(3) iii Μ
 ('Αχ. contd.)

IG ii² 1698 (before mid C4)

A 1 Π 1 Π 2
Λουσ. Φυλ. Θρι. . . .

IG ii² 1746 (c. 350)

i missing
ii . . . ?[^{Π 2}'Οη.] ^{A/Π 1}Περιθ. ^{A 1}Βουτ. ^{A 1}Λακ. ^{A 1}Λουσ. ^{A/Π 1}Πτελ. ^{A -}Τυρμ.

 ^{A 1}
 'Επι. . . .

CECROPIS

IG ii² 1743 (before mid C4)

top of i ^MΦλυ. top of ii ^Π'Αλ. top of iii ^AΜελ.

IG ii² 1700 (335/4)

. . . ^MΣυπ. ^MΠιθ. ^MΔατδ. (ends)

SEG XXI 591 (c. 321)

i ^MΣυπ. ^MΔατδ.

ii ^AΜελ. ^AΕυπ.

HIPPOTHONTIS

Hesp. IX. 5 (first half C4) .

. . . ^AΚειρ. ^{?A}'Εροι. (column ends)

IG ii² 1698 (before mid C4)

i ^Π'Αζ. ^AΚειρ. ^{?Π}Κοπρ. ^{?Π}'Ανακ. . . .

ii . . . ^A[Πειρ. or ^Π'Ελευσ.] [^{?Π}'Ελατ. or ^{?A}'Εροι.] . . .

IG ii² 2377 (before mid C4)

Π ?Π Μ ?Π ?Π
'Αζ. 'Ανακ. Δεκ. 'Ελατ. 'Αμαξ. . . .

IG ii² 1700 (335/+)

. . . Μ Π ?Π
 [Δεκ. or Οίν] 'Ανακ. (ends)

AIANTIS

Nothing substantial enough to merit inclusion.

ANTIOCHIS

Hesp. XXXVI 35 (c. mid C4)

. . . Π/Μ 3 Π 2 Π/Μ 3
 Κολ. Θορ. 'Εροτ. . . .

IG ii² 1700 (335/+)

. . . Μ 2 Π/Μ 3
 Παλλ. Είτ. (ends)

IG ii² 1750 (334/3)

(1) i Π Π Π Π
 'Αναφ. 'Αμφι. Βησ. 'Ατ.

(2) ii Π Π Μ
 Αίγ. Θορ. Παλλ.

(3) iii Α ? Π/Μ Π/Μ Π/Μ Μ
 'Αλωπ. Κρι. Κολων. Είτ. 'Εροτ. Σημ.

Summary

ERECHTHEIS: no agreement.

AEGEIS: IG ii² 1749 and SEG XIX 149 agree; IG ii² 1747
and 1700 do not fit.

PANDIONIS: IG ii² 1740, REG 1960 38-99, IG ii² 1751, SEG
XIX 149 agree; IG ii² 1753 seems to come near to
pattern and 2370 is not incompatible with it; but
IG ii² 1700 does not fit.

- LEONTIS: IG ii² 1742 and SEG XIX 149/^{effectively}agree; IG ii² 1752 fits this pattern; but IG ii² 1700 does not.
- ACAMANTIS: SEG XVII 44 may fit pattern of SEG XIX 149; IG ii² 1700 and 2397 do not.
- OENEIS: IG ii² 1746 fits pattern of 1745; IG ii² 1698 does not fit.
- CECROPIS: IG ii² 1743, 1700 and SEG XXI 591 all small, but fit division by Cleisthenic trittyes.
- HIPPOTHONTIS: insufficient evidence.
- AIANTIS: insufficient evidence.
- AITIOCHIS: Hesp. XXXVI 35 and IG ii² 1700 do not fit pattern of IG ii² 1750.

Tables C - K, illustrating Chapter II

In compiling Tables C - J I have examined every Attic decree published in IG i² and ii², in SEG X - XXI, and in Hesperia (regular issues and supplements to the end of 1965), together with others known to me for any reason; Table K is limited to decrees published in IG i² and ii². Hellenistic dates have been taken over uncritically from Pritchett and Meritt, The Chronology of Hellenistic Athens, and Meritt, The Athenian Year, and within each table or category decrees are arranged as far as possible in chronological order.

In listing formulae I use brackets to give some idea of how much has to be restored: many of the restorations are certain, and I draw attention to all serious doubts; restorations which I reject are [bracketed and underlined], and decrees for which the whole entry is so treated are not included in my statistics. Since I am inclined to place more faith in the motion - than in the enactment - formulae I stress with an ONLY in Tables C and D those decrees where only the enactment formula is available. Where there is no entry in the contents column of Tables C and D the decree is honorific, of a familiar type.

Abbreviations for formulae (cf. pp. 64-6):-

1. Minute-headings:

βουλῆς ψηφισμα(τα)	BΨ
δήμου ψηφισμα(τα)	ΔΨ

2. Records of meeting:

βουλή	B
ἐκκλησία <u>σ</u> ἐκκλησία κυρία	E
(unusual records of meeting-place are transcribed in full)	

3. Enactment-formulae:

ἔδοξεν τῶι δήμωι	ετδ
ἔδοξεν τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τῶι δήμωι	ετβκτδ
ἔδοξεν τῆι βουλῆι	ετβ

4. Motion-formulae:

δεδοχθαι/ἐψηφίσθαι τῶι δήμωι	δ/ψτδ
δεδοχθαι/ἐψηφίσθαι τῆι βουλῆι	δ/ψτβ

	probouleumatic formula	PF
	probouleumatic formula revealing that the demos has commissioned a probouleuma	CPF
5.	Commissioning of probouleuma δεδοχθαι/ἐψηφισθαι τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τῶι δῆμῳ ὄψις κτδ	CP
6.	Mention of probouleuma:	MP
7.	Rider formulae: τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καθάπερ τῆι βουλῆι τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καθάπερ ὁ δεῖνα	RP RI

An asterisk in the Contents column denotes a decree which I regard as substantial for the purposes of the discussion in ch. II, pp. 79-83 (cf. especially n. 148 to ch. II).

Table C : Probouleumatic Decrees

REF.	DATE	FORMULAE	CONTENTS
<u>GHI 31</u>	458/7	RP	* Alliance with Egesta
[<u>SEG X 20</u>	c.450/49	[RP] restored	Judicial benefits for men of Parium]
<u>GHI 40 +</u> <u>SEG X 30</u>	c.449	?[ΧΡΗΜΑΤΙΣΑΙ -formula]; 2 riders? (both simply δέδωκα εἶνε). (See n.126 to ch. II)	* Priestess and temple of Athena Νίκη)
<u>HMA 41</u>	aft. 450	RP; second rider καθά[περ θεοπεύς]	* Eleusinian epistatae
<u>HMA 69</u> } <u>ATL D 19</u> }	bef. 431	R[P] both texts; second rider RI	Work on water supply
<u>SEG X 60</u>	c.430	RP	* Eleusinian law
<u>GHI 61.ii</u>	426/5	χρηματισσαι -formula 51-6	* Second Methone decree
[<u>ATL D 8</u>	426/5	SEE TABLE D]	
<u>HMA 87</u>	426/5	χρηματισσαι -formula 27 sqq; RP	* Thudippus' assessment decree
<u>SEG X 84.i</u>	?	RP	
ii	424/3	30-40 seem to incorporate rider added in boule (Meritt, <u>Hesp. X 1941, 320-6</u>); RP	
<u>IG ii² 8</u>	424/3 or c.386	RP	(date uncertain; see most recently J. Pečírka, <u>The Grant of Enktesis, 22-5</u>)

<u>SEG X 91</u>	421/0	R[P]			
<u>IG i² 84</u>	421/0	RP			* Regulations for the Hephæstia
94	418/7	RP			Work on sanctuaries
i ² 174	c.412	[RP]			(date Weston, <u>AJP LXI</u> 1940, 353-4)
[<u>SEG X 127</u>	i ² 113 + 410/09	[RP] restored			Citizenship grant
<u>GHI 86</u>	410/09	[RP]; second rider [RI]			Honours for Phrynichus' assassins
90	408/7	RP			
<u>SEG X 136</u>	407/6	bouleutic formula, 3-6; [RP wholly and wildly restored]			* Alliance with Carthage
		(complete text repeated Svt 208 but labelled weithin hypothetisch)			
<u>SEG XII 37.</u>					
ii	407/6	bouleutic formula, 56? (I would read [hō δέοντα] for [τέτ βοῦλῆι]; see n.172 to ch. II); RP			Second, honorific Neapolitan decree
<u>GHI 96</u>	405/4	δετβκτδ; RP (ψώμη) and rider by prytanes; cf. Table E)			* First Samian decree
<u>Hesp. XXI 3</u>	end c5	RP			
<u>GHI 97.i</u>	403/2	[ετβκτδ]; RP (ψτδ)			Second Samian decree
ii	403/2	[ετβ]κτδ; RP			Third Samian decree
<u>IG ii²</u>	403/2	[ετ]βκτ[δ] ONLY			
7	soon aft. 403/2	[ετβκτδ]; ἐψηφοσ[θααι δὲ -6-] βολλην			

Hesp. <u>XXVI</u> 53	beg. c4	ετβ[κτδ]	<u>ONLY</u>	?
Hesp.X <u>1941</u> , 336 - 7	first qr. c4	RP		
<u>GHI</u> 103	394/3	ετβ but E should ratify (cf.p. 85)		* Alliance with Eretria
<u>GHI</u> 108	394/3	ετβ but assembly should ratify (cf.pp.85-6)		(Honours for Dionysius I)
<u>IG</u> ii ² 19	394/3	[ετβκτδ]; ἐψηφίσθησαν[—]α6; rider κ[αθάνατος —] b4; ἐψηφίσθησαν δ[ε τῶν θύμων] b5		
<u>GHI</u> 110.i	aft. 394/3	[ετ]βκτδ	<u>ONLY</u>	* Honours and privileges for Carpathus
<u>Hesp.</u> X 66	aft. 389	[ετ]βκ[τδ]	<u>ONLY</u>	
<u>IG</u> ii ² 23	388/7	ετβ[κτδ]; ἐπαινεῖσθαι μὲν —]6; [ἐψ]ηφί[σθησαν δέ —] 9-10		
<u>GHI</u> 116	387/6	ἐὰν κκ[ι τῶ]ι θύμων φησὶν[ι]; RP		(386/5, Dinsmoor, <u>AJA</u> ² XXXVI 1932, 158 with n.4: see nn. 97,119 to ch. III)
117	386/5	[ε]τβκτδ	<u>ONLY</u>	
<u>IG</u> ii ² 32	385/4	ετ[β]		but assembly's ratification proved by RP
<u>Svt</u> 255 <u>(IG</u> ii ² 40)	378/7	RP (CP)		* Treaty with Thebes & Mytilene?
<u>GHI</u> 122	378/7	[ετβκτδ]	<u>ONLY</u>	* Alliance with Methymna

{GHI 124 IG ii ² 155	378/7	ετβκτδ [ετβκ]τδ;	; PF (stone ends)	(two copies)	* Alliance with Chalcis
IG ii ² 59	bef. 378/7	ετβ[κτδ]	<u>ONLY</u>	?	
60	---	[ε]τβ[κτ]δ	<u>ONLY</u>		
61	---	[ετ]βκτ[δ]	<u>ONLY</u>		
77.ii	---	ετβ κατὰ τὸ τ[ῶ δ]μου φήσις]μκ. wrongly repeated from decree i (Table F): See ch. II, pp. 84-5 with n.181			(Proxeny)
80	---	RP			
85	---	[ετβκτ]δ	<u>ONLY</u>	?	
86	---	[ετβ]κτδ	<u>ONLY</u>		
SEG XVII 16	c4	ετβ[κτδ]	<u>ONLY</u>	?	
[IG ii ² 95	377/6	SEE TABLE F]			
IG ii ² 76	385-76?	ετ[βκτδ]	<u>ONLY</u>		(date, Dinsmoor, <u>AJA</u> 1932, 158 with nn. 5-6)
22	378-6?	[RP] far from certain			(date, Dinsmoor, <u>AJA</u> 1932, 158 with nn. 5-6, but <u>Svt</u> 238 still dates 390/89)
84	---	RP			(date, Dinsmoor, <u>AJA</u> 1932, 158 with nn. 5-6)
79	aft. 378/7	PF (no dated example before 378/7)			

<u>IG ii² 82</u>	aft. 376	PF			(date, Dinsmoor, <u>AJA</u> 1932, 159 with n.6)
<u>GHI 126</u>	375/4		ε[τβκτδ]; περὶ ὧν λέγ[ουσι] ἐν τῆ βουλή]ι οἱ πρεσβ[ῆς];	PF	* Alliance with Corcyra, &c.
[<u>IG ii² 98 +</u> <u>Hesp. IX 33</u> <u>= Svt 267</u>]	373/2	[RP]	restored: no speaker!		Treaty with Cephalonia
<u>GHI 131.ii</u>	369/8	ετ[β]κτδ	<u>ONLY</u>		Praise and apologies for Mytilene
133	369/8	δ[τ]β	ordering allies to submit δόγμα to ecclesia; then PF to confer honours immediately		*Relations with Dionysius I
<u>SIG³ 158.i</u>	369/8	PF; RP			
[ii	363/2	unsatisfactory restoration includes [δεδοχθα]	tout court		
<u>GHI 135</u>	368/7	ετβκτ[δ];	PF		Praise for Mytilene
131.i	368/7	ετβκτδ ;	PF; RP		Concerning the Aetolian League
<u>GHI 137</u>	367/6	[ετ]βκτδ	<u>ONLY</u>		?
<u>IG ii² 108</u>	366/5	ε[τ]β[κτδ]	; [PF]		
109	363/2	PF(δτδ);	RP		
<u>SEG XXI 241</u>	363/2	ετβκτδ	<u>ONLY</u>		Ordering register of gifts to Ammon

<u>GHI</u> 143	363/2	ετβκτδ	; PF; RP	
<u>IG</u> ii ² 115	362/1	ετβκ[τ]δ	<u>ONLY</u>	
<u>SEG</u> XVII 19	c.362-355	ε[τβκ]τδ	<u>ONLY</u>	* Judicial relations with Siphnos
<u>IG</u> ii ² 117	361/0	[ετβκτδ]	; PF	
145.ii	368-358	[ετβκ]τδ	; PF	(for decree i see Giving son father's heraldship Table D)
121	357/6	[ετβ]κτδ	<u>ONLY</u>	
<u>Hesp.</u> VIII 4	357/6	[ετ]βκτδ	; PF	Concerning Elaeus
<u>Hesp.</u> XIII 3	357/6	[ετβκτ]δ	; proclamation ^{δίκην τῆς δῆ[μων, δαμῆ]} 10-11	Citizenship grant <u>not</u> decisive; R[P]([δτδ]).
<u>GHI</u> 156	357/6	ετβκτδ	<u>ONLY</u>	Appointment of general for Andros
157	356/5	[ετ]βκτδ	; PF	* Alliance with Thracian &c kings
159	356/5	ε[τ]βκτδ	; PF	* Alliance (?) with Neapolis
<u>IG</u> ii ² 130	355/4	ετβκ[τδ]	<u>ONLY</u>	
248	bef. 354	[ετβ]κ[τδ]	; CPF	(date Johnson, <u>CP</u> IX 1914, 424)
136	354/3	ετβ[κτδ]	; PF	
137	354/3	[ετβ]κτδ	<u>ONLY</u>	
152	bef. 353/2	ετβκτδ	; CPF	
153	---	[ετβκτ]δ	<u>ONLY</u>	?

<u>IG ii</u> ² 155	-bef.353/2	[ετβκτ]δ	<u>ONLY</u>	?	
172	-...-	PF			On occasion of proxeny renewal, to replace lost stele
176	-...-	[PF]; R[P](Ψ[τδ]) for <u>IG's</u> [τῆ βολῆ]ι.			
180	-...-	PF			Extending proxeny to descendants
181	-...-	PF			
182	-...-	RP			
188	-...-	PF; RP			
191	-...-	PF			
192	-...-	[ῆ]εῖ[ν] ἐδοξεν -18-]s ἐν τῶ[ι] δ[ι]μ[ω] ἔνομα ἰκετεύειν]; PF			
199	-...-	PF		?	
205	351/0	[ε]τβκτ[δ]	<u>ONLY</u>		
246	c.350	PF		?	
206	349/8	ετβκτδ ; PF; RP			
208	349/8	ετβκτδ ; PF			Echina; refers to σύμβολα
<u>IG ii</u> ² 215	346/5	ετβκτδ ; GPF			Honours for epimelete of springs

<u>IG</u> ii ² 218	346/5	περὶ ὧν . . . ἔδοξεν ἔγννομα ἐκετεύειν ἐν τῆς βουλῆς, 22 sqq new speaker; περὶ ὧν ἔδοξεν ἐν τῶι δήμωι . . . ἔγννομα ἐκετεύειν,	PF;
<u>GHI</u> 170	c.345		
<u>Hesp.VIII</u> <u>EP. NOTES</u> 3	345/4	[ετ]β[κτδ] <u>ONLY</u>	?
223A	343/2	δτβ on B's prize for best speaker, turning to PF at 8 sqq.	
<u>GHI</u> 173	c.342	χρηματίζσαι -formula 33-5; RP	
<u>IG</u> ii ² 227	342/1	ετβ[κτ]δ <u>ONLY</u>	?
229	341/0	ετβκ[τδ]; PF	
232	340/39	PF; RP	
235	340/39	bouleutic formula 0-3; ετ[δ] _{new speaker} , RP([ψτ]δ) 4 sqq:	
<u>SEG</u> XVI 52	339/8	ε[τδ]; PF	?
<u>IG</u> ii ² 243	337/6	[ετ]δκτβ (sic); CPF	
<u>SEG</u> XXI 340	aft. mid c.4	PF	
<u>IG</u> ii ² 255	bef. 336/5	PF	?
265	-...-	RP	?
273	-...-	PF	Praise for Byzantium

[276 -...- SEE TABLE D]

<u>IG</u> ii ² 277	bef.336/5	PF	
284	---	PF	
<u>IG</u> ii ² 289	bef. 336/5	RP (Schweigert, <u>Hesp.</u> VIII. 1939, 173-5, links with <u>IG</u> ii ² 372, which I place in Table D. See n. 128 to ch. II.)	
328	336/5	ετ[βκτδ] ; PF	
330.iii	336/5	E; ετβκτδ ; PF	Honours for a hieropoeus
423	aft.336/5	PF	
428	---	PF	
442	---	PF	?
334	c.335/4	(ψτδ) RP	* Regulations for Panathenaea
538	334-1	PF	Citizenship grant (date, Johnson <u>CP</u> IX 1914, 428)
340	333/2	[E]; [ετβ]κ[τδ] <u>ONLY</u>	
<u>SIG</u> ³ 287	332/1	E; ετδ ; PF	
<u>GHI</u> 193	331/0	ε[τ]βκτδ; and an unlikely formula, discussed in n. 117 to ch. II.	
<u>IG</u> ii ² 410	c.330	PF	Honours for priests and hieropoei
415	---	ετβκτδ ; PF	Honours for ἀναγραφεύς

<u>IG ii² 416</u>	c.330	PF			
<u>Hesp. IX 41</u>	c.325	PF		?	
<u>IG ii² 373</u>	322/1	PF.	16 sqq complete new prescript: Εἰς τὸ δ; speaker; RP(ψτδ)		
	403	350-320	PF		Repairs to statue of Athena Νεωτῆ
	394	321/0-319/8	PF		Citizenship grant
<u>SEG XXI 305</u>	320/19	E; ετβ[κτδ]	<u>ONLY</u>	?	
<u>SEG XXI 306</u>	320/19	E; [ετβκτδ] <u>ONLY</u> , Dow, HSCP LXVII 1963, 67-75, & Meritt, Hesp. XXXII 1963, 431-2. But Meritt formerly restored [ετδ], and the text is far from settled, so I exclude this from my statistics.			
<u>SEG XXI 312</u>	319/8	Ε[κκ]λ[η]στὰ κατὰ ψ[ηφ]ισμα	βουλή; ετβκτδ		<u>ONLY</u>
	310	319/8	E; ετβ[κτ]δ; PF		Citizenship grant
<u>IG ii² 548</u>	318/7-308/7	ε[τβκτ]δ	<u>ONLY</u>		
<u>SEG XXI 341</u>	318/7-300	[ετ]βκτδ; PF			Citizenship grant and στήσις
<u>Chron. Hell. Ath. p.20</u>	307/6	[E]; [ετβκτδ]	<u>ONLY</u>		
<u>IG ii² 456</u>	307/6	[ετβκτ]δ; E <u>ONLY</u> (order sic)			Honours for Colophon
<u>IG ii² 466</u>	307/6	PF			* Judicial relations with Tenos

<u>IG ii² 675</u> + 525	306/5	[E]; PF	* Dispatch of embassy to Antigonus (Pritchett, <u>AJP</u> LVIII 1937, 329-33)
470	306/5	E; PF	Honours for Colophon
<u>SEG XXI 336</u>	aft. 306/5	PF	Honours for a bouleutes
<u>IG ii² 557</u>	---	PF	
478	305/4	E; <u>ετβκτ[δ]</u> ; PF	Honours for ephebi
479/80	c. 305/4	PF	
482	304/3	E; [<u>ετθ</u>]κτδ <u>ONLY</u>	
<u>Hesp. VI^{EM} 4</u>	304/3	e[τβκτδ] <u>ONLY</u>	
<u>IG ii² 491</u>	303/2	PF	
498	303/2	[E]; PF	
<u>SEG XIV 58</u>	302	PF	
<u>IG ii² 691</u>	aft. 303/2	PF	
500	302/1	PF	Honours for taxiarchs
505	302/1	E; ετβκτδ; PF	
562 with <u>Hesp. IX</u> 1940, 341-2	302/1	[E]; ε[τβκτδ] <u>ONLY</u>	
<u>IG ii² 561</u>	307/6 -301/0	[ετ]βκ[τδ] <u>ONLY</u>	

<u>IG ii² 566</u>	end c4	PF				Citizenship grant
572	-...-	PF				
<u>IG ii² 574</u>	end c4	PF				
583	-...-	PF				
587	-...-	[ετ]βκ[τδ]		<u>ONLY</u>		
591	-...-	PF				
592	-...-	[E]; ε[τβκτδ]		<u>ONLY</u>		
593	-...-	PF				
<u>Hesp.XXVIII</u> 6	c4=3	PF				?
<u>IG ii² 716</u> with Add.	c3?(4?)	PF				Confirming citizenship grant
<u>Hesp.XXVIII</u> 8	beg. c3	PF				?
<u>SEG XXI 359</u>	-...-	PF. 8 sqq	[-- εἴπεν. περι μὲν --]	-- [δτδ πάντα τὰ ἄλλα πρόπτειν κτλ.]		Citizenship grant
<u>IG ii² 693</u>	-...-	PF				
708	-...-	PF				
717	-...-	PF				Citizenship grant
718	-...-	[PF]				Citizenship grant

Citizenship grant

IG ii²721 PF

722 --- PF

725 --- [CPF]

729 --- PF

730/1 --- PF

732 --- PF

751 --- PF

753 --- [PF]

Hesp.X 21. early c3 [E]; [ετβκτδ]; [δτβ - end of stone: PF?] Honours for [theori]

IG ii² 669 291/0 E; [ετβκτδ] ONLY

698 c.289/8 [ετβκτδ] ; PF

650 288/7 E; ε[τβκ]τδ; PF

SEG XXI 356 288/7? [E]; [ετβκτδ] ONLY

IG ii² 652 aft. 288/7 PF

Citizenship grant

662/3

with

SEG XVI 62 286/5 E; ετβκτδ ; [PF]

IG ii² 657 285/4 E; ετβκτδ ; PF

Honours culminating in statue and στέγησις

<u>IG</u> ii ² 659	285/4	PF		Rite of Aphrodite Πιδνδημος
660 ii	283/2	[E]; ετβκτδ ; κερί δν -[- τα.]ι τει βουλει; PF		Praise for Tenos. See p. 70
<u>Hesp.</u> IV 40	283/2	E; ετβκτδ; PF		Honours for taxiarchs
<u>Hesp.</u> IX 48	287- 278	PF		Citizenship grant
<u>Hesp.</u> XXVIII 12	c3	[E]; [ετβκτδ] <u>ONLY</u>		?
<u>IG</u> ii ² 677	aft. 277	PF		Honours for agonotheite (?) of Panathenaea.
<u>Hesp.</u> II 5	277/6	E; ετβκτδ; PF		Honours for taxiarchs
<u>IG</u> ii ² 710	295/4- 276/5	PF		Citizenship grant
712	---	PF	.	
676	275/4	E; [ε]τβκ[τδ]; PF		Honours for epimeletae ⁱ /c sacrifices to ζωτήρες
770	274/3	E; [ετβ]κτδ <u>ONLY</u>		
<u>SEG</u> XVI 64	272/1	[E]; ε[τβκτδ] <u>ONLY</u>		Honours for priest of Zeus ζωτήρ
65	272/1	E; [ε]τβ[κτδ]; PF		Honours for astynomi
<u>IG</u> ii ² 701	aft. 272	PF (reading [δ/ψτβ] for <u>IG's</u> [δτδ])		
<u>SEG</u> XIV 64	271/0	E; ετβκτδ ; PF		Honours for taxiarchs

<u>SEG XIX 70</u>	c3	PF		
<u>IG ii² 734</u>	-...-	E; [ετ]β[κτδ]	<u>ONLY</u>	
735	-...-	[ετ]δ	; PF	
801	mid c3	PF		Citizenship grant
804	-...-	PF		Citizenship grant
807	-...-	PF		Honours for epimeleetae of mysteries
822	-...-	PF		?
<u>IG ii² 823</u>	mid c3	[PF?]		
<u>Hesp. VII 23</u>	250/49	E; ετβκτ[δ]	; PF	Lamian arbitration between Athens & Boeotia
<u>IG ii² 779</u>	250/49	PF		Honours for Lamian arbitrators
782	250/49	E; [ετβκτδ]	; PF	?
798	250/49	ετδ	; PF	
<u>SEG III 92</u>	249/8	[E]; [ετβκτδ];	stone ends, [looks as if leading to PF]	
<u>IG ii² 683</u>	248/7	E; ετβκτδ	<u>ONLY</u>	
<u>Hesp. XI 56</u>	247/6	E; ετδ	; PF	* Scheme of voluntary contributions to stratiotic fund
<u>Hesp. VII 21</u>	247/6	[E]; [ετ]β[κτδ]	<u>ONLY</u>	?

Hesp. XVII 1948, 7-13	246/5	ἐκ[κλη]σ[σ]α ἐν Δι[ονύ]σου [σύ]κλητος κατὰ ψήφισμα ὃ --- εἶπ[εν]; ετβκτδ <u>ONLY</u>	
<u>SEG XXI</u> 391	245/4	E; [ετβκτδ] <u>ONLY</u>	Honours for ephebi
392	244/3	[E]ἰ[ετ]β[κτδ]; PF	
<u>Hesp.</u> XVII 3	244/3	E; ετβκτδ <u>ONLY</u>	Honours for sitones
<u>SEG</u> <u>XVIII</u> 19 i	244/3	[E]ἰ[ετβκτδ]; PF	} Honours for priest of Asclepius
ii	241/0	E; [ε]τβκτδ; PF	
<u>Hesp.</u> XVII 24	243/2	E; [ε]τ[βκτδ] <u>ONLY</u>	
<u>IG</u> ii ² 784	240/39	E; ε[τ]βκτδ <u>ONLY</u>	Honours for ephebi
<u>SEG XIX</u> 78	239/8	[E]ἰετ[βκτδ]; PF	Honours for architect
<u>Hesp.</u> VI 2A	239/8	PF	Honours for σιτοφύλακες
<u>IG</u> ii ² 786	soon aft. 239/8	PF	
<u>IG</u> ii ² 787	236/5	Eἰ[ετβ]κτδ <u>ONLY</u>	
788	235/4	Eἰετβκτδ; PF	Honours for priest of Calliste
808	239-229	PF	
821	---	PF	

<u>IG ii²</u> 832	229/8	ΔΨ; E; PF	
<u>SEG XIX</u> 80	soon aft. 229/8	PF	
<u>IG ii²</u> 836	---	PF	
837	227/6	E;[ετ]βκτδ] <u>ONLY</u>	?
<u>Hesp.</u> IV 39	226/5	E;ετθκτδ; PF	
<u>IG ii²</u> 851	bef.224/3	PF	Citizenship grant
<u>SEG XXI</u> 396	---	E;ετβ[κτδ] <u>ONLY</u>	?
<u>IG ii²</u> 857	---	Δ[Ψ] ; E;ετβκ[τδ] <u>ONLY</u>	Honours for a banker
839	221/0	[Δ]Ψ ; E;ετβ; PF	Dedication to Hero Doctor
<u>HSCP</u> {105- <u>XLVIII</u> { 11 1937 {120-6	216/5 c.215	βουλή ἐν τῷ[ι 'Ελευσινίων καὶ ἐκκλησίᾳ] ;ετ[βκτδ] <u>ONLY</u> [ετβκτδ]; PF .	Honours for ephebi Refounding of Lycea
<u>IG ii²</u> 847	215/4	ΒΥ;B;ετθκτδ; PF	Honours for epimeletae of mysteries
<u>IG ii²</u> 853	end c3	PF	Citizenship grant
858	---	PF	
859	---	PF	Concerning Cyme

<u>IG ii²</u> 861	end c3	[E];[ετθκτδ] PF [Meritt, Ath. Yr. 166, restores [ετδ] for no apparent reason]	
862	---	PF	Honours for Lamian arbitrators
<u>SEG XXI</u> 411	end c3	PF	Honours for ephebi
<u>IG ii²</u> 867	end c3?	[ε.τ.βουλ]εε κ[αι τ.δ] <u>ONLY</u>	
869	---	PF	
871	---	PF	
872	c3?	PF	?
<u>IG ii²</u> 850	shortly bef. 200	E; PF	Citizenship grant
<u>Hesp.</u> X 23	c.200	PF	
<u>Hesp.</u> XIII. 10	---	PF	Praise for Ephesus
<u>Hesp.</u> XVI 55	---	[PF?]	Honours for[epimeletae of mysteries]
<u>IG ii²</u> 922	beg.c2	PF	Citizenship grant
923	---	PF	Citizenship grant
927	---	PF	
931	---	PF	

<u>IG ii²</u> 936	beg. c2	PF	
926	beg. c2?	PF	
978	199/8	ΔΨ ; E; εἴβητε; PF	
785	196/5	E; εἴβ[κτ]ο; PF	
<u>Hesp.v</u> 15	196/5	ΔΨ ; E; εἴβητε; PF	
<u>IG ii²</u> 886	193/2	[E]; ε[τβκτδ] <u>ONLY</u>	Honours culminating in statue and στήσις
844			
iii	193/2	PF	
<u>SEG XVI</u> 77	193/2	[E]ε[τβκτδ] <u>ONLY</u>	
<u>IG ii²</u> 892	188/7	[ἐκκλησία] ἀρχαιρεσία κατὰ τὴν μαν- τ[είαν τοῦ θεοῦ]; ετβκτδ <u>ONLY</u>	
<u>SEG XVI</u> 84	188/7	[βουλή] [καὶ ἐκκλησία ἐν τῶν] θεάτρῳ ἐκ [Παναθηναϊκοῦ ἀγῶνος]; [ε]τβκτδ <u>ONLY</u>	Citizenship grant
<u>SEG XXI</u> 435 i	187/6	PF	
<u>Hesp.xv</u> 38	186/5	PF	Honours for ephebi
<u>IG ii²</u> 897	185/4	βουλή ἐμ βουλευτηρίῳ σύγκλητος στρατ[ηγῶν] παραγγειλάντων καὶ ἀπὸ βουλῆς ἐκκλησία [κυρία] ἐν τῶν θεάτρῳ; [ε]τβκτδ <u>ONLY</u>	
900	185/4	PF	Honours for ephebi

<u>IG ii²</u> 889	181/0	E;[ετβ]κτδ; PF	Citizenship grant
<u>IG ii²</u> 905	175/4	E; ετβκτδ <u>ONLY</u>	
<u>Hesp. X</u> 75	173/2?	[E];[ε.τ.β.κ.τ.δ.]η[μω] <u>ONLY</u>	?
<u>SEG XVI</u> 92	173/2	[ΔΨ]; E;[ε]τβκτδ] <u>ONLY</u>	Honours for epimeleetae of mysteries
<u>Hesp. XXVI.</u> 4	173/2	E; [ετβκτδ] <u>ONLY</u>	
<u>SEG XIX</u> 97	c184- 171	PF	Honours for ephebi
<u>SEG XXI</u> 452	173/2 -168/7	E; [PF]	
<u>Hesp. XV</u> 40	171/0	i E; ετ[β]κτδ; PF ii E; ετβκτδ <u>ONLY</u>	}Honours for ephebi and cosmetes
<u>IG ii²</u> 907	c170	PF	
908	----	PF	
909	----	PF	
<u>Hesp. IV ACR</u> 37	----	PF	
<u>Hesp. XXXVI</u> 6	c170	[E];[ετδ] ; PF	

<u>Hesp.</u> V 17	169/8	E; εἰβκεῖτο ; PF	
<u>IG</u> ii ² 945	168/7	ἐκκλησία σύγκλητος ἐν τῶι θεάτρῳι κατὰ τὸ ψήφισμα ὃ --- εἶπεν; εἰβκεῖτο[δ]; PF	
946	166/5	E; [εἰβκεῖτο] ONLY	
947ii	166/5	E; εἰβκεῖτο[κτ]δ ONLY	
i	aft. 166/5	[ψτ]β but E should have ratified	(proxeny)
949	165/4	E; εἰβκεῖτο ; PF	Honours for demarch of Eleusis (conduct of Eleusinia)
<u>SEG</u> XVIII 22	165/4	E; εἰβκεῖτο ; PF	Honours for Priest of Asclepius
<u>Hesp.</u> III 20	163/2	E; εἰβκεῖτο[---] ONLY	Honours for taxiarch
<u>IG</u> ii ² 956	161/0	PF	Honours for Agonothete of Thesea
<u>Hesp.</u> II 16	161/0	[ετδ] ; PF	Honours for cosmetes of ephebi
<u>Hesp.</u> XVI 64	161/0	E ; [εἰβκεῖτο] ; condensed PF	Repairs to sanctuary
<u>IG</u> ii ² 953	160/59	E; [εἰβκεῖτο]δ ONLY	
954	bef. 159	[βουλή σύγκλητος στρατηγῶν παραγγεῖλαιωντων και ἀπό τῆς βουλῆς ἐκκλησία ἀρχαιρεσσαι κατὰ τὴν μαντεῖαν τὴν τοῦ] θέου; PF	
955	---	ἐκκλησία ἀρχαιρεσσαι κτλ.; εἰβκεῖτο]; PF	
957	157/6	PF	Honours for agonothete of Thesea

<u>IG ii²</u> 979	155/4	E; [ε]τβκτϕ ; PF	Citizenship grant
958	152/1?	PF	
966	159-133	PF	Honours for agonotheete of Thesea
986 i	mid c2	[ε]τβ[κτδ] ; PF	
ii	Aft.143/2	E; [ετβκτδ] <u>ONLY</u>	Honours for agonotheete
980	mid c2	PF	Citizenship grant
981	---	PF	Citizenship grant
<u>IG ii²</u> 984	mid c2	PF	
985	---	PF	
990	---	PF	
992	c2	PF	
<u>Hesp. IV</u> ACR 36	---	PF	<u>perhaps</u> concerned with Salamis
<u>SEG</u> XVIII 27	---	PF	Honours for priest of Asclepius
28	aft.mid c2	[ετβ]κτδ <u>ONLY</u>	Honours for priest of Asclepius
<u>IG ii²</u> 982	---	PF	Citizenship grant

<u>IG ii² 988</u>	-aft.mid c2	PF	Citizenship grant
<u>Hesp. II</u> <u>ACR 24</u>	-...-	PF	Citizenship grant
<u>SEG XVI 102</u>	C.150- 100	PF	Honours for a priestess
<u>IG ii² 971</u>	140/39	E;ετβκτδ ; PF	
<u>SEG XVIII</u> 24	140/39?	PF	Honours for priest of Asclepius
<u>SEG XIX 102</u>	139/8?	E; [ετβκ]τδ	ONLY
<u>SEG XVIII</u> 25	138/7	[E]; [ετβκτδ]; PF	Work in temple of Asclepius
26	137/6	E; ετβ[κτδ]	ONLY
<u>SEG XXI 469</u>	129/8	ετβκτδ	Honours for priest of Asclepius
<u>SEG XV 104</u>	127/6	i [E];[ετδ]; PF ii E;[ετδ]; PF	* Regulations for cult of Apollo } Honours for ephebi and cosmetes
<u>IG ii²</u> <u>1006 +</u>	122/1	i E; ετβκτδ ; PF	} Honours for ephebi and cosmetes
<u>SEG XIX 108</u>		ii E; ετβκτδ ; PF	} Honours for ephebi and cosmetes
<u>SEG XXI 476</u>	c.120	[E]; [ετβκτδ]	ONLY

IG ii ² 1008	118/7	i E; [ετβκ]τδ; PF ii E; ετβκτδ; PF	} Honours for ephebi and cosmetes }
1134, 64 sqq.	117/6	ΔΨ ; PF	Amphictyonic business
1009 with Hesp. XVI 67	116/5	i E; ετβκτδ; PF ii E; ετβκτδ; PF	} Honours for ephebi and cosmetes }
[IG ii ² 1014	109/8	[B]; ε[τβκτδ] scarcely secure]	
1036	108/7	E ; [ετβκτδ]; fathers have made πρόσθοδος to boule; PF	Honours for makers of the πέλλος
1011	107/6	i E; ετδ; PF ii E; ετδ; PF	} Honours for ephebi and cosmetes }
SEG XVI 100	104/3	i E; ε[τβκτδ]; PF ii E; ετβκτδ; PF	} "First" and "second" decrees for } prytaes and officials (usually } i is non-prob.; ii boule alone)
IG ii ² 1023	end c2	PF	Honours for cosmetes of ephebi
1024	---	PF	Honours for theori to Thespiæ
1027	---	[ετβκτδ]; PF	Honours for treasurer of prytaes and great variety of officers
IG ii ² 1054	bef. 100?	PF	
<u>Keram.</u> III A5	c.100	δ[τβκτδ] ONLY	

IG ii ² 1028	100/99	i E; ετδ; condensed PF ii E; ετδ; condensed PF	} Honours for ephebi and cosmetes
1034	98/7	E; ετβκτδ; fathers have made <i>ἡρώρεδος</i> to boule	Honours for makers of the <i>πέπλος</i>
IG ii ² 1030	aft. 96/5	δτβ very prob. to be restored condensed PF (cf. 1028, above)	Honours for ephebi
1029	94/3	E; ετβκτδ; PF	Honours for ephebi
SEG XVIII 29	94/3	B; [ετβ] but E perhaps ratified (cf. ch. II, p. 87 with n. 194)	Honours for priest of Asclepius
IG ii ² 1047	49/8	[E]; [ετβκτ] <u>ONLY</u>	?
1041	mid 40's	i PF ii PF	} Honours for cosmetes and ephebi (order <u>sic</u>)
1040 + 1025	c. 43/2	i [δτβκτδ] <u>ONLY</u> ii E; [ετβκτδ]; [δτ]βκτδ	} Honours for cosmetes and ephebi (<u>sic</u>) (date O.W. Reinmuth, <u>Hesp.</u> XXXIV 1965)
1042	c. 41/0	ii PF iii PF	} Honours for cosmetes and ephebi (<u>sic</u>)
iv ² 84	A.D. 38/9?	E; δτβκτδ (83, with <i>ἔδοξε tout court</i> , is a decree of the Areopagus, with many departures from the language of decrees of the boule and demos)	
ii ² 1072	A.D. 116/7	βουλή τερά ἐν Ἐλευσινίωι; δεδόχθαι τῆς βουλής τῶν Χ. καὶ τῶν δημῶν	
1077	A.D. 209/10	(for early part of prescript see ch. I, p. 47), Sacrifices for house of Septimus Severus δεδοχθαι [τῆς] ἐ[ξ] Α[ρ]εῖου] κἀγου βουλή καὶ τῆ βουλή τῶν Φ καὶ τῶ δημῶ τῶ Αθηναίων	

Hesp. IV
ACR 34

no date PF
offered:
c4?

Citizenship grant

I omit the second decree in Hesp. Supp. VI 31/2 with SEG XXI 506/5 (A.D. 229/30 or 230/1), which is thought to be probouleumatic but does not exhibit any of the older formulae (1. 29/18 describes the enactment as a δὲγμα). The third decree is a resolution of the Areopagus; 31 fr. a probably belongs to a decree of the Sacred Gerousia.

Table D : Non-Probouleumatic Decrees

REF.	DATE	FORMULAE	CONTENTS
<u>SEG X 26</u>	c.450	RI	Lease of public property
<u>GHI 44</u>	c.445?	RI (περὶ μὲν ... καθάπερ Δ εἶπε)	* Colony at Brea
<u>HMA 66,</u> 47 sqq	c.436?	[ετρωκτ]δ ; [γνόμει] στυκτερον; CP (cf. ATL, III, 313 n.61, more cautious text SVT 186: older texts e.g. <u>SEG X 86</u> read [ετ]δ)	* Alliance with Perdikkas & Arrhabaeus
<u>SEG XII 26</u>	c.430	CP	* Tribute collection
<u>ATL D 8</u>	426/5	[No reason to restore RP at 10;] RI, 27-8 See n.126 to ch. II	* Cleonymus' tribute decree
<u>SEG X 87</u>	c.423/2	[τὸς δὲ πρυτάνες τῆς Αἰ]αντίδος πρυτανείας [χρεματέζεν ἐπιναγκες περὶ τὸν ἔργον * Coinage τὸν ἐ]πὶ λαυρεῖοι ἥστος ὧν [φσεφρίσεται ho δέμως] 10-12, rest P.J.R. and D.M. Lewis	
<u>IG ii² 3</u>	c.400?	[ετδ]	D.M. Lewis, <u>BSA XLIX</u> 1954, dates c5 and probably before 412 from fr. b, but post-403 safer)
<u>GHI 100</u>	403?	[ετρωκτδ]; ἐψηφίσθαι 'Αθηναίους	Rewards for Phyle metics (see D. Hereward, <u>B.S.A. XLVII</u> 1952, esp. 111-3)
<u>IG ii² 145</u>	402-399	[ετδ] better than [ετβ] : see ch.II, p. 86	Appointing herald
47,23 sqq	bef. c4	ψτδ twice	Cult of Asclepius

IG ii² 26 394-387 ετδ ; ἐπαυέσαι μέν, 7; ἐψηφ[ίθηαι δέ], 10-11

51 bef.387/6 [ετδ] ONLY

GHI 114 387/6 ετδ ; δτδ

* Regulations for Clazomenae

IG ii² 30 386/5 εῤῥαοθαυ-formula (of ch.II, pp. 75-6);
δτδ

* Cleruchs on Lemnos

GHI 118 384/4 ψτδ

* Alliance with Chios

IG ii² 62 bef.378/7 ετδ ONLY

70 -... [ετ]βκ[τδ] ; ψτδ

72 -... ε[τδ] ONLY

78 -... [ψτ]δ

83 -... ψ[τδ]

GHI 123 i 378/7 ετβκτδ ; ψτδ

* Prospectus of Second Athenian League

[ii
...
the decree beginning in l. 91 seems to
have been appended without an enactment-
or rider-formula

IG ii² 99 375/4 ετ[δ] ONLY ?

HespIII 3 373/2 [ετδ] ONLY

SEG XIV 45 371/0? [ετδ] ONLY

IG ii² 104 368/7 [ψ]τ[δ]

Reply to ambassadors

<u>GHI</u> 136	368/7	[ετδ] ; δτδ	* Alliance with Diogenes I
139	c.367?	RI	* Diplomatic relations with Sidon
<u>SEG</u> XIV 47	365/4	[ετδ] <u>ONLY</u>	Transfer of sacred property
<u>GHI</u> 142	363/2	ετβκτδ ; δτδ	* Regulations for Iulis
144	362/1	ετβκτδ ; εὐχεσθαι -formula; mention of allies' δόγμα; MP; δ[τδ]	* Alliance with Arcadia
<u>GHI</u> 146	362/1	ετβκτδ ; εὐχεσθαι -formula; ψτδ	* Cleruchy for Potidaea
¹ 147	361/0	ετβκτδ ; ψτδ	* Alliance with Thessaly
<u>IG</u> ii ² 118	361/0?	[ετδ]; [δτ]δ	
<u>GHI</u> 154	357/6	[ετ]δ:[ψ]τδ ; CP	* Regulations for Eretria
<u>IG</u> ii ² 132	355/4	i e[τδ] <u>ONLY</u> ii e[τδ] <u>ONLY</u>	
133	355/4	ε[τδ] ; ψτ[δ]	
134	354/3	[ετ]βκτδ ; [ψτ]δ	
177	bef.353/2	δ[τδ]	
193	---	CP	
138	353/2	ετβκ[τδ] ; [δτδ]	
252	mid c4	[δτδ]	
660 i	c.350-325	δ[τδ]	

(Date A.C. Johnson, CP IX 1914, 429)

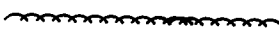
<u>IG i²</u> 207	349/8	ετδ	<u>ONLY</u>	
	209	349/8	ετδ	<u>ONLY</u>
<u>GHI</u> 167	347/6	no enactment-formula, bouletic χρηματιστικὴ formula, 55-7; RI. See ch.II, pp.73-4		
168	347/6	[ε]τβκτδ ;	δτδ	* Renewal of alliance with Mytilene
<u>IG i²</u> 220 i	344/3	[ψ]τδ		Order to inscribe honorific decree
225	343/2?	[ετδ]	<u>ONLY</u>	* Alliance with Messenians and others
249	bef.343/2	ετδ	<u>ONLY</u>	?
<u>GHI</u> 174	341/0	ετδ	<u>ONLY</u>	
175	340/39	ετδ	<u>ONLY</u>	
<u>IG i²</u> 231	340/39	ετδ	<u>ONLY</u>	
<u>SEG XVI</u> 51	340/39	δτδ		
<u>GHI</u> 178	338/7	ετδ ;	δ[τ]δ	
<u>IG i²</u> 404	aft. 338/7?	ετδ ;	δ[τδ]	* Ratifying Chabrias' alliance with Ceos
<u>GHI</u> 181	337/6	[δ]τδ		
<u>IG i²</u> 241	337/6	δ[τ]δ		
<u>SEG XVIII</u>	11	337/6	[δ]τδ	

<u>Hesp.VII</u> ACR 19	337/6	[ετ]δ ; δ[τδ]	
<u>Hesp. IX 35</u>	337/6	[ετδ] 15, 16.	<u>ONLY</u> ; refers to boule 11. 12,
<u>IG ii² 263</u>	bef. 336/5	[ετδ]	<u>ONLY</u>
276	----	ἰπερὶ ὧν ἔδοξε ... ἐν τῷ βουλευτικῷ ἔγγραφῳ ἰκατετεύειν, ψ[τδ] ; but RP, 23 sqq. See ch.II, pp.72-3	
283	----	[δτ]δ	
285	----	δ[τδ]	
<u>IG ii² 288</u>	----	δ[τδ]	
304	----	[δ]τδ	
436	aft.336/5	E; ε[τδ] <u>ONLY</u> .	?
330 i	335/4	E; ετδ;[δτδ]	Honours for a hieropoeus
<u>SEG XXI 274</u>	334/3	E; ε[τδ] <u>ONLY</u>	?
275	334/3	E; ε[τ]δ <u>ONLY</u>	Citizenship grant
276	334/3	[E]; ετ[δ] <u>ONLY</u>	?
<u>IG ii² 336</u>	334/3	E; ετ[δ]; MP; ψτδ	Citizenship grant
<u>GHI 189 i i</u>	333/2	ετδ ; δτδ; published with OPEN PROBOULEUMA	Allowing Citian merchants to build temple

<u>IG</u> ii ² 338 i	333/2	ετδ ; mention of E's commissioning a probouleuma (which perhaps begins 32 sqq); δτδ	Honours for a hieropoeus
<u>RIG</u> 106	332/1	E; ετδ <u>ONLY</u>	
<u>IG</u> ii ² 345	332/1	E; ετδ <u>ONLY</u>	
346	332/1	ετδ <u>ONLY</u>	
347	332/1	ετδ ; δ[τδ]	
<u>Hesp.</u> VIII 6	332/1	[E] ; [δ] τ [δ]	
<u>IG</u> ii ² 350	331/0?	E; [δ] τ [δ]	
<u>SEG</u> XXI 281	331/0	[E] ; [ε] τ δ <u>ONLY</u>	(date <u>Ath. Yr.</u> , 88-9)
<u>IG</u> ii ² 408	c.330	[E] ; ε [τ δ] ; [δ] τ δ	
409	---	[δ] τ δ	
<u>Hesp.</u> IX 39	---	[δ τ] δ .	
<u>GHI</u> 198	330/29	ετ [δ] ; δτδ	
<u>IG</u> ii ² 343	aft.329	δτ [δ]	(date A.C. Johnson, <u>CP</u> IX 1914, 425)
<u>SIG</u> ³ 298	329/8	E; ετδ; δτδ	Honours for men chosen for ἐπιπέλευα of festival of Amphiaras
<u>IG</u> ii ² 353	329/8	[ετ] δ <u>ONLY</u>	?

IG ii ² 354i	328/7	E; [ε]τδ; [δ]τδ; published with specific PROBOULEUMA	Honours for priest of Asclepius
356	327/6	E; ε[τ]δ ONLY	
Hesp. III 5	327/6	[E]; [ετ]δ ONLY	Honours for some board
SEG XXI 288	327/6	[ετ]δ ONLY	
IG ii ² 407	330-326	[δτ]δ	
SEG XXI 289	326/5?	E; [ετδ] ONLY	?
IG ii ² 414	bef.325/4	ετ[δ] ONLY	
360ii	330/29	46-50 ψτδ	Telemachus commissions probouleuma;
iv	51-65	CPF	Cephisodotus' motion adopted as probouleuma;
ii	28-45	ψτδ	Telemachus' motion adopted in place of probouleuma, on which it improves.
v	325/4	66-79 PF	•Phyleus' motion adopted as probouleuma;
i	1-27	δτδ	Demosthenes' motion adopted in place of probouleuma, on which it improves.
GHI 200	325/4	ψτδ	
SEG XXI 292	324/3	[E]; [ετδ] ONLY	* Dispatch of colony to the Adriatic
293	324/3	[E]; [ετδ] groundlessly restored ONLY	Concerning the proedri?
IG ii ² 365	323/2	ετδ ; δ[τδ]	?

See pp. 67-8



IG ii² 366 323/2

ετδ ONLY. Summary only, perhaps especially liable to careless use of formulae &c., whence Johnson's argument (CP IX 1914, 425) for date c.366/5 from absence of patronymic and demotic seems inconclusive.

367 323/2

E; ετδ ONLY

Concerning the Phocians

343, revised

Hesp. IX,

1940, 342-3 323/2

[E]; δτ[δ]

SEG XXI 298 323/2

[δτ]δ

Citizenship grant

IG ii² 372 322/1

E; ε[τδ] ONLY (I dispute connection with 289: see n.128 to ch. II)

?

Hesp. XIII

5

shortly

bef.321/0 [ετ]δ ; δ[τ]δ

Citizenship grant

SEG XXI 303 321/0

[E]; ε[τδ] ONLY

?

IG ii² 380 320/19

ετδ ; δτδ

* Duties of agoranomi

381 320/19

E; ετ[δ] ONLY

Reply to ambassadors?

382 320/19

[ετ]δ ONLY

?

388 319/8

ε[τδ] ONLY

?

<u>IG</u> i i ² 389	319/8	[E]; [ετδ]	<u>ONLY</u>	?
401	321-19	δ[τ]δ		
402	bef.319/8	ετδ	; [δτ]δ	Concerning Antipater
421	bef.318/7	E; ετδ	<u>ONLY</u>	
422	325-318/7	ε[τδ]	; [δτ]δ	(date, A.C. Johnson, <u>CP IX</u> 1914, 425)
448.i	323/2	[E];[ε]τδ; δ[τδ]	; RIDER τώδε Πανφύλου	Citizenship grant made;
i i	318/7	Εὐφ[ι]λήτου δτδ		and confirmed
449	318/7	[E]; [ετδ]	<u>ONLY</u>	
<u>SEG</u> XXI 318	318/7	[E]; ετ[δ]; δ[τδ]		Honours for ἐπικλεῖστοι
319	318/7	[E]; [ετδ]; [δτδ]		Citizenship grant
320	318/7	Εέν Δε[ονύσου]; δτ[δ]		Citizenship grant (date, A.C. Johnson, <u>CP IX</u> 1914, 425)
<u>IG</u> i i ² 374	318/7-308/7	[ετδ]	; δτ[δ]	
546	---	[ε]τδ	<u>ONLY</u>	
545	aft.318/7	[ψτδ]		Decree for Thessalian exiles
552	---	ε[τδ]	; MP; ψ[τδ]	?
549	c.315/4	[ψ]τδ		

<u>IG ii²</u> 450	314/3	E; δτδ			
551	bef.309/8	δτδ			
<u>IG ii²</u> 585	bef.307/6	[E] [ετδ]	<u>ONLY</u>		
553	c.307	δτδ			
<u>SEG XXI</u>	307/6	E; [ε]τδ	<u>ONLY</u>		
326					
<u>IG ii²</u> 457	307/6	ετδ <u>ONLY</u> on stone, δτδ in [PI].X.Or. 852 E			
461	307/6	[E] ε[τδ]	<u>ONLY</u>	?	
<u>Chron. Hell.</u> <u>Ath.</u> , 16	307/6	[έκκλησία κατὰ τ]οῦ [δήμου ψήφισμα]	<u>ONLY</u>	?	
<u>IG ii²</u> 463	307/6	ετδ ; [δτδ]			
464	307/6	E; [ε]τ[δ]	<u>ONLY</u>		* Rebuilding of city walls
<u>SEG XXI</u> 334	307/6	[E]; ε[τδ]	<u>ONLY</u>	?	
<u>IG ii²</u> 467	306/5	δ[τδ]		?	
(Add)					
471	306/5	E; ετδ	<u>ONLY</u>		
472 + 169	306/5	[E]; [δ]τδ			
554	306/5?	E; [ετ]δ ; δτδ			

Honours culminating in σίγησις and statue

Citizenship grant

Hesp. III 6 306/5 [E]; ετδ ONLY

IG ii² 703 305/4 E; ε[τδ] ONLY

796 305/4 E; [ετδ] ONLY ?

797 305/4 [E]; [ετδ] ONLY Concerning Mytilene

Hesp. V
1936, 201-5 305/4 [E]; ε[τδ] ONLY

IG ii² 483 304/3 E; ετδ ; δτδ

486 304/3 E; ετ[δ] ONLY

SEG XVI 58 304/3 E; [ετ]δ ONLY

IG ii² 540 bef.303/2 [δτ]δ

558 c.303/2 δτ[δ]

(Add)
559 + 568 --- [ετδ] ONLY •

492 303/2 [ετδ] ONLY

(Add)
493+518 303/2 E; ετδ ; δτδ

494 303/2 E; [ετδ] ONLY

495 303/2 E; ετδ ; δτδ

(Add)
496 + 507 303/2 [E]; ετδ ; δτδ

499 302/1 E; [ετ]δ ONLY

Citizenship grant

Citizenship grant

Citizenship grant

<u>IG ii² 502</u>	302/1	E; ετδ ; honours for a δημόσιος	who ἔδοξεν ἐν ταῖσι δήμοις ἔννοιομα ἕκαστ[τ]εύσειν
503	302/1	E; ετδ <u>ONLY</u>	
<u>Hesp.IV 6</u>	302/1	[E]; ετ[δ] <u>ONLY</u>	
<u>Hesp.IX 20</u>	302/1	E; ετδ ; δτδ	Honours for taxiarchs
<u>IG ii² 640</u>	301/0	E; [ετ]δ <u>ONLY</u>	
<u>Hesp.VII ACR 25</u>	310-300	δτ[δ]	?
<u>IG ii² 568</u>	end c4	[ετδ] <u>ONLY</u>	
573	---	[δτδ] <u>BUT</u> citations (1) ο δημοσ ; (2) ο δημοσ	ΠΑΡΙΑΝΟΥΣ Η ΒΟΥΛΗ Ο ΔΗΜΟΣ
586	---	[δ]τ[δ]	
400	beg. c3	ε[τδ] ; δ[τδ]	
695	---	δτδ .	
707	---	δ[τδ]	Citizenship grant
713 ii	---	δ[τδ]	Concerned with a festival
750	---	[ετ]δ <u>ONLY</u>	Honours (?) for ephebi
<u>Hesp.XIII 7</u>	301/0-295/4	δτδ	
<u>SEG XXI 361</u>	beg. c3	[δτδ]	
362	---	[δτ]δ	

<u>SEG XVI 63</u>	272/1	E; ετδ	<u>ONLY</u>	Honours for those elected for ἐπιμελεία of sacrifices to <u>ἑωτήρες</u>
<u>SEG XXI 369</u>	271/0	[E] ; [ετδ] ; δτδ		Honours for prytanes
<u>IG ii² 668</u>	268/7	[ετδ] ; [δτ]δ		Honours for archon and epimeleetae of <u>πομπή</u>
(Add) <u>687+686</u>	267/6	E; ετδ ; δτδ		* Alliance with Sparta
<u>SEG XXI 372</u>	267/6	E; [ετδ]	<u>ONLY</u>	Honours for Prytanes
<u>SEG III 94</u>	266/5	E; ε[τδ]	<u>ONLY</u>	
<u>Hesp.VII</u> <u>1938, 140-2</u>	261/0	E; ετδ	<u>ONLY</u>	
<u>SEG XXI 376</u>	257/6	E; ετδ ; [δτδ]		Honours for prytanes
<u>IG ii²780i</u>	252/1	E; ε[τδ] ; δτδ		} Honours for an agonotheete } } }
ii	250/49	[E] ; ετδ	<u>ONLY</u>	
781	250/49	E;[ετ]δ; [no grounds for restoring PF with IG]		Honours for archon
<u>P 15</u>	mid c3	[E] ; [ετδ]	<u>ONLY</u>	Honours for prytanes
<u>IG ii² 680</u>	249/8	ετδ	<u>ONLY</u>	
<u>Hesp.XIII 9</u>	c.246	[δ]τδ		Right of asylum at Smyrna
<u>Hesp. VI 2B</u>	239/8	[δτδ]		Honours for <u>οἰτοφύλακες</u>

<u>P 21</u>	238/7	ετδ	<u>ONLY</u>	Honours for prytanes
<u>P 23 +</u> <u>Hesp. XI 47</u>	235/4	ετβγτδ ;	δτδ	Honours for prytanes
<u>P 27</u>	234/3- 230/29	[ετδ] ;	[δτδ]	Honours for prytanes
<u>IG ii² 833</u>	229/8	E; ετδ	<u>ONLY</u>	Honours for prytanes
<u>P 29</u>	228/7	E; ετδ ;	δτδ	Honours for prytanes
<u>IG ii² 838</u>	226/5	E; [ετ]δ; [δτδ	restored at end of fragment]	Honours for prytanes
<u>SEG XXI 400</u>	226/5	[E]; ε[τδ]	<u>ONLY</u>	Honours for prytanes
<u>Hesp. IX 23</u>	223/2	E; ετδ ;	δτδ	Honours for prytanes
<u>IG ii² 844i</u>	229/8	δτδ		Grants statue on Acropolis;
<u>ii</u>	221/0	δτδ		allows erection in Τέμενος of Demos and Charites instead
843	218/7	E; ετδ	<u>ONLY</u>	
<u>SEG XIV 68</u>	214/3	E; δτδ		Honours for prytanes
<u>P 36</u>	212/1	[E]; [ετδ];	δ[τδ]	Honours for prytanes
<u>P 38</u>	210/09?	E; ετδ ;	δ[τδ]	Honours for prytanes
<u>Chron. Hell.</u> <u>Ath., 104-8</u>	204/3	δ[τδ] ;	CP (17-18 restore [προέδρους] for [πρυτάνεις] ?)	
<u>SEG XVII 29</u>	203/2	δτδ		Honours for prytanes
<u>SEG XVI 70</u>	210/09- 201/0	[ετδ];	[δτδ]	Honours for prytanes

<u>SEG XIX 91</u>	c3-2	[δτδ]	Honours for prytanes
<u>IG ii² 884</u>	c.200	δ.τ.δ[ημωι]	
922	beg.c2	[E]; [ετδ] <u>ONLY</u>	Honours for archon
929	---	[Δ] Ψ ; E; [ετδ]; [δτδ]	Honours for archon
<u>Hesp.XXXII</u>			
14	---	[δτδ]	
<u>Hesp.XV 52</u>	---	[ετ] δ ; δτδ	Honours for prytanes
<u>SEG XXI 422</u>	---	E; ετ[δ] <u>ONLY</u>	Honours for prytanes
<u>P 48 ii</u>	199/8- 189/8	[E]; ε[τδ]; [δτ] δ	Honours for prytanes
<u>P 49 ii</u>	192/1	E; [ετδ] ; δ[τδ]	Honours for prytanes (cf. <u>Chron. Hell. Ath.</u> , 113-6)
<u>P 51</u>	188/7	[ΔΨ] ; E; ε[τδ] ; δτδ	Honours for prytanes
<u>P 52</u>	c.188/7	[δ] τ[δ] .	Honours for prytanes
<u>Hesp.XV 6</u>	188/7	[ΔΨ] ; [E]; [ετδ] <u>ONLY</u>	?
<u>IG ii² 891</u>	188/7	[E]; [ετ] δ ; δτδ	
896	186/5	i E; ετδ ; δτδ ii E; ετδ ; δτδ	} Honours for Canephorus and epimeletae of κομπή
<u>P 55</u>	182/1	E; ετδ ; δτδ	Honours for prytanes
<u>SEG XVI 86</u>	182/1	E; ετδ ; δτδ	Honours for prytanes

<u>SEG XXI</u> 440	181/0	βουλή ἐμ βουλευτηρίῳ σύνκλητος στρατη- γῶν παραγειλάντων καὶ ἀπὸ βουλῆς ἐκ- κλήσια κυρία ἐν πῶι θεάτρῳ; ετδ; δτδ	Honours for prytanes
	442	181/0	[δτδ]
<u>IG ii²</u> 888	180/79	[E]; [ετ]δ <u>ONLY</u>	Honours for prytanes
<u>P</u> 64 i	178/7	E; ετδ; δτδ	?
<u>SEG XXI</u> 447	177/6	[E]; [ετδ]; [δτδ]	Honours for prytanes
<u>SEG XVI</u> 89	175/4	E; [ετ]δ; [δτ]δ	Honours for prytanes
	90	174/3	E; ετδ; δτδ
	91.i	173/2	E; ετδ; [δτ]δ
<u>P</u> 71	169/8	E; ετδ; [δτδ]	Honours for prytanes
	72	167/6?	Δ[Ψ]; [E]; ετδ <u>in ras</u> ; δτδ
<u>SEG XVI</u> 95	164/3	E; ετδ; [δτδ]	Honours for prytanes
	96.i	164/3	ΔΨ; E; [ετδ]; [δτδ]
<u>P</u> 83	180-155	[δτ]δ	Honours for prytanes
	65	153/2	[E]; [ετδ] <u>ONLY</u>
<u>SEG XVI</u> 87	c.182-150	[E]; [ετδ] <u>ONLY</u>	Honours for prytanes
<u>Hesp. XVI</u> 96	mid c2	[ετδ]; [δτδ]	Honours for prytanes
<u>P</u> 85	145/4	E; [ε]τδ; [δ]τδ	Honours for prytanes
<u>Hesp. XVII</u>			
	9i	140/39	E; [ετδ]; [δτδ]

<u>SEG XII</u> 101i 135/4	E; ετδ ; δτδ [ἐκκλησία ἐν τῶι] θεάτρῳ ἢ μεταχθεῖ- [σα] ἐκ Πειραιώς κατὰ τὸ ψήφισμα ὃ εἴπεν; ετδ; [δ]τδ [E]; [ετδ] <u>ONLY</u>	Honours for prytanes
<u>P</u> 88 131/0		Honours for prytanes
<u>SEG XXI</u> 468i c.130		Honours for prytanes
<u>SEG XV</u> 104 128/7	iii E; [δ]τδ iv [ετ]δ ; [δτδ]	} Honours for ephebi and cosmetes } ("acceptance decrees")
<u>P</u> 90 125/4	[E]; ε[τδ] <u>ONLY</u>	Honours for prytanes
91 125/4	E; ετδ ; δτδ	Honours for prytanes
92 124/4	E; [ετδ] ; [δτδ]	Honours for prytanes
93 122/1	[E]; [ε]τδ ; δ[τδ]	Honours for prytanes
<u>SEG XXI</u> 478 118/7	E; [ετδ] <u>ONLY</u>	Honours for prytanes
<u>IG</u> ii ² 1011 107/6	iv E; ετδ ; δτδ v E; ετδ ; δτδ	} Honours for ephebi and cosmetes } ("acceptance decrees")
1020 end c2?	[ε]τδ <u>ONLY</u>	?
1038 beg. c1	δ[τδ]	
<u>SEG XXI</u> 490 -...-	[E]; ε[τδ]restored for no cogent reason]	Honours for ephebi?
<u>IG</u> ii ² 1035 c1?	δτδ	Restitution of sacred lands
<u>SEG XVII</u> 121 95/4	E; [ετ]δ ; [δτδ]	Honours for prytanes
A.D.		
<u>IG</u> ii ² 1078/9 c.220	[ε]τδ ; [δ]τδ	of Revival/Eleusinia

Table E : Decree of the Demos with Special Origins

REF.	DATE	FORMULAE	CONTENTS
HMA 26	453/2?	[γνόμε τὸν χουγγραφῶν]	Regulations for Erythrae
30	450/49	[τῶδε ἡοι χ]συγγρα[φῶς χουγγραφῶν]	Regulations for Mytilene
<u>GHI</u> 74	416/5?	τῶδε ἡοι χουγγραφῶς χουγγραφῶν RIDER τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καθάπερ αἱ χουγγραφαί· περὶ δὲ τὸ ἐλαίον τῶς ἀπαρχῆς χουγγραφῶς Ἀδαμίου ἐπιδειχάτο τῷ βολεῖ ἐπὶ τῶς ἐνάτης πρυτανείας, ἡε δὲ βολὴ ἐς τὸν δῆμον ἐχσενενκίετο ἐπάναρχες	Eleusinian first-fruits
<u>ATL</u> D 9	410/09	[γνόμε]ε τὸν συγγραφῶν	Repayment of sacred monies to Athena
<u>SEG</u> X 123	c.410	[γνόμε τὸν συγγραφῶν	Sacred Law
		And compare decree of Demophantus <u>ap. A</u> ind. I. <u>Myst.</u> 96-8 - SEE TABLE H	
HMA 66, 47 sqq.	c.436?	[γνόμε] στρατεῶν. NON-PROBOULEUMATIC DECREE: SEE TABLE D	Alliance with Perdiccas &c.
<u>IG</u> ii ² 27	416/5	γνόμε στρατηγῶν	Proxeny (date, B.D. Meritt, <u>Hesp.</u> VIII 1939, 68)
<u>GHI</u> 96	405/4	Original motion and RP both γνώμη Κλεόδοο καὶ συνηυτέων. PROBOULEUMATIC DECREE: SEE TABLE C	First Samian decree

<u>GHI</u> 133	369/8	Boule orders allied $\sigma\upsilon\nu\epsilon\delta\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ to submit $\delta\acute{\omicron}\gamma\mu\alpha$ to ecclesia. SEE TABLES C & F	Relations with Dionysius I
144	362/1	$\sigma\upsilon\nu\epsilon\delta\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ submits $\delta\acute{\omicron}\gamma\mu\alpha$ to boule, which submits probouleuma to ecclesia. SEE TABLES D & F	Alliance with Arcadia &c.

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Table F: Decrees of the Boule, other than the Ratified Probouleumata in Table C

REF.	DATE	FORMULAE	CONTENTS																																
SEG XIV 38	409-3?	[ετβ] : [ετδ] would fit. (In either case, later date perhaps safer.)	?																																
		*	*																																
GHI 98	soon after 403/2	[ε]τβ (On this formula in proxeny decrees see ch. II, pp. 84-5)	To republish proxeny decree																																
<table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="width: 10%; border: none;">IG₂ II 145.i</td> <td style="width: 10%; border: none;">402-399</td> <td style="width: 50%; border: none; text-align: center;">S E E T A B L E D</td> <td style="width: 30%; border: none;"></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border: none;">IG₂ II 49</td> <td style="border: none;">beg C4</td> <td style="border: none; text-align: center;">ετβ</td> <td style="border: none;">Concerning a proxeny</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border: none;">12.ii</td> <td style="border: none;">399/8</td> <td style="border: none; text-align: center;">ετβ</td> <td style="border: none;">May be PROBOULEUMA relating to 12.i (whose prescript is lost)</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border: none;">13</td> <td style="border: none;">399/8</td> <td style="border: none; text-align: center;">[ετ]β</td> <td style="border: none;">Concerning a proxeny</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border: none;">Hesp VII 11</td> <td style="border: none;">C.398-0</td> <td style="border: none; text-align: center;">[ετβ]</td> <td style="border: none;">Concerning a proxeny</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border: none;">[GHI 103</td> <td style="border: none;">394/3</td> <td style="border: none; text-align: center;">S E E T A B L E C]</td> <td style="border: none;"></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border: none;">[GHI 108</td> <td style="border: none;">394/3</td> <td style="border: none; text-align: center;">S E E T A B L E C]</td> <td style="border: none;"></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border: none;">IG₂ II 17.i</td> <td style="border: none;">394/3</td> <td style="border: none; text-align: center;">ετβ</td> <td style="border: none;">Revision of publication order in citizenship decree 17.ii (see n. 181 to ch.II)</td> </tr> </table>				IG ₂ II 145.i	402-399	S E E T A B L E D		IG ₂ II 49	beg C4	ετβ	Concerning a proxeny	12.ii	399/8	ετβ	May be PROBOULEUMA relating to 12.i (whose prescript is lost)	13	399/8	[ετ]β	Concerning a proxeny	Hesp VII 11	C.398-0	[ετβ]	Concerning a proxeny	[GHI 103	394/3	S E E T A B L E C]		[GHI 108	394/3	S E E T A B L E C]		IG ₂ II 17.i	394/3	ετβ	Revision of publication order in citizenship decree 17.ii (see n. 181 to ch.II)
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[32	385/4	S E E T A B L E C]																																	
58	before 378/7	[ε]τβ	Honorific decree																																

IG 63 <u>ii</u> ²	before 378/7	ετβ		Concerning transfer of proxyeny from father to son
77.i	-"-	ε[τ]β	κατὰ τὸ τοῦ δήμου ψήφισμα.]	To publish proxyeny decree
[ii	-"-	S E E	T A B L E C	(cf. n. 181 to ch. II)]
95	377/6	[ετ]β		Concerning a proxyeny
GHI 133	369/8	δ[τ]β	ordering allies to submit δόγμα to ecclesia;	Diognysius I
			leading to PF (cf. TABLE C)	
<u>IG</u> <u>ii</u> ² 157	before 353/2	ετβ; [ψτ]β		?
223 A	343/2	δτβ;		Boule's prize for best speaker
			leading to PF (cf. TABLE C)	
B		i	ἐλεσθαι τῆν βουλὴν ἀντίκα μάλα not conclusive	
		iii	ψτβ	
		δτβ		Honorific decrees
1155.i	339/8	δ[τβ]		
330.ii	336/5	B; ετβ; [δτβ];		Honours for taxiarch
			leading to OPEN PROBOULEUMA (no directly resultant decree of the ecclesia published)	Honorific decree
GHI 189.i	333/2	ετβ; ψτβ ;	OPEN PROBOULEUMA (SEE TABLE D for resulting non-probouleumatic decree of ecclesia)	Citian merchants' request for temple

<u>IG</u> <u>ii</u> ² 338.ii 333/2	[ετβ]; B. Probably beginning of PROBOULEUMA mentioned in i - SEE TABLE D)	Honorific decree
<u>IG</u> <u>ii</u> ² 354.ii 328/7	ψτβ : SPECIFIC PROBOULEUMA (SEE TABLE D for i, the non-probouleumatic decree which superseded it)	Honorific decree
'Eφ. 'Aox. 1917, no. 92 328/7	δτβ	Honours for bouleutae i/c a dedication by 21 bouleutae and 10 others
<u>IG</u> <u>ii</u> ² 360.iv 330/29	CPF } (PROBOULEUMATA WITH OPEN CLAUSES, published with other relevant decrees (SEE TABLE D))	Honorific decrees
v 325/4		
361 325/4	B; perhaps ψ[τβ]	?
1631,350sq 324/3	ψτβ	Relaxing harsh treatment of defaulting naval treasurer's brother
487 304/3	*	*
<u>SEG</u> <u>XXI</u> 360 beg. C3	[ετ]β	Honours for an ἀναγγραφεύς of the laws
<u>Hesp</u> <u>VIII</u> 11 early C3	[δτβ]	Honours for a bouleutes
<u>SEG</u> <u>XXI</u> 376 257/6	[δτβ]	Honours for officials of prytanes

SEG XXI 377.i	256/5	δτβ	Honours for officials of prytanes
ii	256/5	δτβ	Special honours for treasurer of boule
<u>P</u> 9.ii	256/5	δτβ	Honours for officials of prytanes
22	250-230	[δτ]β	Honours for officials of prytanes
SEG XXI 393	bef. 230/29	[δτβ]	Honours for officials of prytanes
Hesp IX 23.ii	223/2	B; [ετβ]; [δτ]β	Honours for officials of prytanes
16 II 794	216/5	βουλή ἐν τῷ Παναθηναϊκῷ Σταδίῳ]; ετ[β]	? (cf. Ch.Pélékidis, <u>REG</u> LXIII 1950, 112-7)
<u>P</u> 31	c.215	[δτβ]	Honours for officials of prytanes
36.ii	212/1	βουλή ἐ[ν βουλευτηρίῳ καὶ ἐκ] τοῦ βουλευτηρίου ἐν τῷ Πλευσίῳ; ε[τ]β; δτβ	Honours for officials of prytanes
SEG XVII 29.ii	203/2	B; ετβ; δτβ	Honours for officials of prytanes
SEG XVI 70.ii	210/09 -201/0	B; [ετβ]; δ[τβ]	Honours for officials of prytanes
SEG XXI 409	end C3	B; [ετβ]	Honours for officials of prytanes
<u>P</u> 43	C.205 -179	δτβ	Honours for officials of prytanes
SEG XXI 423	beg.C2	ε[τβ]	Honours for officials of prytanes

<u>P</u> 44	early C2	[B]; ετβ	Honours for officials of prytanes
<u>SEG</u> <u>XIX</u> 93	C2	[δτβ]	Honours for officials of prytanes
<u>Hesp</u> <u>IX</u> 16	199/8	B; [ετβ]	?
<u>P</u> 46	193/2	BΨ; [B]; δτβ	Honours for officials of prytanes (cf. <u>Hesp.</u> XXXII 15)
<u>Chron.Hell.</u> <u>Ath.</u> , 113-6	192/1	[βουλλῆ ἐν τῷ Παναθηναϊκῷ Σταδῶν]; ετβ; [δτ]β	Honours for officials of prytanes
<u>P</u> 48.i	199/8- 189/8	[ετβ]; [δτβ]	Honours for officials of prytanes
<u>SEG</u> <u>XVI</u> 80	C.190	B	Honours for officials of prytanes
81.i	189/8	B; [δτβ]	Honours for officials of prytanes
<u>P</u> 53	186/5?	B; [ετβ]	Honours for officials of prytanes
<u>IGii</u> ² 898	185/4	B	Honours for officials of prytanes
<u>P</u> 54	185/4	BΨ; [B]; [δτβ]	?
<u>Hesp</u> <u>X</u> 74.ii	184/3	[BΨ]; B; [ετ]β	Honours for officials of prytanes
<u>Chron.</u> <u>Hell.</u> <u>Ath.</u> .119	183/2?	[B]; [ετβ]	Honours for officials of prytanes
<u>SEG</u> <u>XXI</u> 444	181/0	BΨ	Honours for officials of prytanes
			?

<u>P</u> 47	181/0	B; ετβ; δτβ	Honours for officials of prytanes
<u>Hesp</u> <u>Supp.</u> IV 1940, 144-7	181/0	[BΨ]; [B]; δτβ	Honours for 3 bouleutae i/c equipment in the Scias
<u>P</u> 58	before 178/7	[δτβ]	Honours for officials of prytanes
64.ii	178/7	B; ετβ; δτβ	Honours for officials of prytanes
<u>SEG</u> XVI 91.ii	173/2	B; ετβ; δτβ	Honours for officials of prytanes
<u>P</u> 70	182/1- 170/69	[δτβ]	Honours for officials of prytanes
<u>Hesp</u> IX 24	176-169	[ετβ]; [δτβ]	Honours for officials of prytanes
<u>P</u> 71.ii	169/8	δ[τβ]	Honours for officials of prytanes
73	166/5	BΨ; B; ετβ; δτ[β]	Honours for officials of prytanes
<u>IG</u> <u>ii</u> 948	166/5	B; [ετβ]	Honours for performance of some sacrifice
<u>P</u> 80	164/3	[δ]τβ	Honours for officials of prytanes (date, Meritt, <u>Hesp</u> XXVI 1957, 74)
<u>SEG</u> XVI 96.ii	164/3	BΨ; B; [ετβ]; [δτ]β	Honours for officials of prytanes

<u>IG</u> <u>ii</u> ² 783	163/2	BV; [B]; ετβ; [δτ]β	Honours for priest of Zeus Soter at Piraeus
<u>P</u> 75	161/0	B; ετβ; δ[τβ]	Honours for officials of prytanes
77	C.160	δτβ	Honours for officials of prytanes
78	C.160	δ[τβ]	Honours for officials of prytanes
81	169/8- 156/5	[δ]τβ	Honours for officials of prytanes
84.i	155/4	[B]; [ε]τβ; [δτβ]	Honours for officials of prytanes
ii		B; ετβ; δτβ	UNIQUELY AS B-DECREE, Honours for prytanes
<u>Hesp</u> <u>IX</u> 25	165/4 -150	[δτ]β	Honours for officials of prytanes
<u>SEG</u> <u>XXI</u> 462	Mid 62	B; ετ[ρ]	Honours for officials of prytanes
<u>IGii</u> ² 990	- " -	δτβ	Honours for performance of some sacrifice
1000	after mid 62	ετ[β]; δτβ	Honours for some officials
<u>P</u> 86	145/4	[EY]	Honours for officials of prytanes
<u>Hesp</u> <u>XVII</u> 9.ii	140/39	βουλῆ [δ]μ Πειραιεῦ ἐν τῶν Φωσφοροῦσι; ετβ; δτβ	Honours for officials of prytanes
<u>SEG</u> <u>XII</u> 101.ii	135/4	B; [ετβ]; [δτβ]	Honours for officials of prytanes

<u>P</u> 95	before 104/3	[B]; [ετβ]; [δτβ]	
<u>Igi</u> ² 840	end C2	δτβ	
<u>SEG</u> <u>XXI</u> 487	99/8?	[βουλή ἐν Ἐλευσίῳ]	ἑλω
<u>Hesp</u> <u>XVII</u> 12.ii	95/4	B; [ε]τβ; δτβ	
<u>SEG</u> <u>XXI</u> 489	C.95/4	[δτβ]	
<u>SEG</u> <u>XVIII</u> 29	94/3	S E E	T A B L E C
<u>P</u> 97	C.80?	[δτβ]	
<u>Hesp</u> <u>XVII</u> 13	C.80	δτβ	.
<u>IG</u> ² <u>ii</u> 1039.i	83-73	Bψ; B; [δ]τβ	
	ii	δτβ	
	iii	δτβ	
<u>ASAA</u> ² <u>III-IV</u> , pp.83-7, No.6	75/4	ετβ; δτβ	
<u>Hesp</u> <u>XVII</u> 14	64/3	B; ε[τβ]	

Honours for officials of prytanes

Repairs to sacred objects in shrine of Hero Doctor

?

Honours for officials of prytanes

Honours for officials of prytanes

Allowing prytanes to honour treasurer

Allowing prytanes to honour treasurer

Honours for ephebi and cosmetes

Honours for hieropoei

Allowing prytanes to honour treasurer

P 101	57/6	[δτβ]	
<u>IG</u> ii ² 1046	52/1	B; ετβ; δτβ	
1042.i	C.41/0	δ[τβ]	
<u>SEG</u> XXI 495	C1	[δ,τβ]	
<u>IG</u> ii ² 1043.i	39/8	[β]ουλή ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ἢ μεταχ[θεῖσα] ἐκ τοῦ IIa.[ναθη]ναῖκου Σταδίου ; δτβ	
ii		δτβ	
iii		[δτβ]	
iv		δ[τβ]	
P 111	C.40-20	δ[τβ]	
113	C.45-20	δτ[β]	
114	C.30-20?	[δτ]β	
<u>Hesp</u> XXVI 98	22/1?	[ετβ]; [όπσσα μὲν προ]ότερον ἐψηφίσασατο δ δ[ήμος]	
<u>SEG</u> XVII 46	21/0	formulae leading up to [δτβ]	
P 116	C.20	δτβ	

Allowing prytanes to honour treasurer

Allowing Priest of Asclepius to rebuild shrine at own expense

Honours for ephebi and cosmetes ("acceptance decree")

Honours for treasurer of prytanes

Honours for ephebi and cosmetes
(date O.W.Reinmuth, Hesp XXXIV 1965, 264)

Allowing prytanes to honour treasurer

Allowing prytanes to honour treasurer

Allowing prytanes to honour treasurer

Concerning Augustus' birthday

Allowing prytanes to honour treasurer

Praising prytanes and honouring officials

SEG <u>XXI</u> 497	end C1	δτβ	Allowing prytanes to honour treasurer
	<u>A.D.</u>		
<u>P</u> 119	1-19	[δτβ]	Allowing prytanes to honour treasurer
120	early C1	[δτβ]	Allowing prytanes to honour treasurer
SEG <u>XXI</u> 499	27/8	[B]; [ε]τβ	Honorific decree
<u>P</u> 121	C.120	[δτβ]	Praising prytanes and various officials
SEG <u>XVII</u> 35	before 138	δτβ	Honours for officials of prytanes

TABLE G: FORMULAE IN νόμοι

In general the prescripts are modelled on those of contemporary ψηφίσματα, giving date, name of ἐπιστάτης τῶν προέδρων who put the question, and name of proposer.

p 28
(cf. ch.I, /)

The following decrees contain a formula commissioning a νόμος:
IG ii² 222, 41-6; 330, 15-23; SIG³ 298, 35-41 (not 39-45).

REF.	DATE	FORMULAE	COMMENTS
<u>IG</u> ii ² 140	353/2	[δεδοχθαι τοῖς νομοθέταις· τὰ [μὲν ἄλλα καθ' ἑαυτὰς τὸν Χαίρημον, - ὁ νόμον περὶ τῆς ἀπαρχῆς	Eleusinian first-fruits
244	337/6?	δεδοχθαι τοῖς νομοθέταις	Rebuilding of Piraeus walls
<u>SEG</u> <u>XII</u> 87	337/6	δεδοχθαι τοῖς νομοθέταις	Law against tyranny
<u>SEG</u> <u>XVIII</u> 13	336-4	δεδοχθαι τοῖς νομοθέταις	Regulations for Panathenaea
<u>IG</u> ii ² 333	335/4	refs. to τὸνδε τὸν νόμον, 7, 11; νόμο[θετῶν ἔδρα], 13	Religious laws
<u>SEG</u> <u>XV</u> 108	<u>ε.Α.Δ.</u> 124	κε(φάλατα) νο(μο)θε(στας) 'Αδριανού	Compulsory purchase of olive oil

Table H: Decrees quoted with Formulae in Literary Texts

REF.	DATE	FORMULAE	COMMENTS
T.IV.118. xi-xiv	423	ετδ (all MSS; <ετβκ>τδ, Gomme); έκκλησιαν δὲ ποιήσαντας τοὺς στρατηγούς καὶ τοὺς πρυτάνεις πρῶτον περὶ τῆς εἰρηνῆς ἰ. βουλευσασθαι Ἀθηναίους καθ' ὅτι ἂν ἐσίγη ἡ κρησβεσία περὶ τῆς καταλύσεως τοῦ πολέμου	
A.P.29.i- iii	411	(εἰπόντος τὸν μὲν πρὸ τοῦ ψηφίσματος λόγον Μηλοβίου, τὴν δὲ γνώμην γράψαντος Πυθοδώρου τοῦ Αναφλυστίου). Κλειτοφῶν δὲ τὸ μὲν ἄλλα καθάπερ Πυθοδώρος εἶπεν	Year's truce with Sparta
[Pl.]X.Or. 833 E-F	411/0	ετβ(ἔδοξεν, MSS)	To draft new constitution
And.I. Myst.96-8	410	(quoted as ΗΟΙΙΟΞ) ετβκτδ; τάδε Δημόφραντος συνέγραψεν.	Trial of Archeptolemus and Antiphon
Ibid. 77-9	405	ψηφισασθαι τὸν δῆμον with first clause	Safeguards for democracy
Ibid. 83-4	403	ετδ	Reinstatement of ἄτιμοι
Ath.IV. 171 E	366/5 or 323/2	ψτβ	Providing for νομοθεσία
[Pl.]X.Or. 851 E-2F	307/6	SEE IG ii ² 457 IN TABLE D	Boule gives itself 5 days' holiday for Apaturia

D.L. VII. 260/59 E; δτδ Language bears signs of reediting Honours for Zeno
10-12

Jos. A.J. 106/5 E; <ε>τδ; δεδδχθατ haut court

On the mock decrees in Lucian see F.W. Householder, Jr., TAPA LXXI 1940; J. Delz, Lukians Kenntnis der athenischen Antiquitäten, 134-50.

Table I: Riders to Decrees

1. Riders proposed by mover of original motion: IG i² 94 (418/7), GHI 96 (405/4), 97.i (403/2) (Clisophus and his fellow-prytanes), 97.ii (?) (403/2), IG ii² 109 (?) (363/2), GHI 143 (363/2), IG ii² 182 (?) (before 353/2), 206 (349/8), 334 (C.335/4), pseudo-rider 682 (after 256/5). Rider by mover's son, IG ii² 448.i (323/2).
2. Riders of real substance: GHI 31 (?) (458/7?), Hesp. XIV 4 (?) (C.450), HMA 41 (after 450), GHI 40 with Hesp. X 1941, 307-15 (C.449), GHI 42 (446/5), 44 (C.445?) (for different interpretations of this rider see G.E.M. de Ste Croix ap. Jones, Athenian Democracy, 168, P.A. Brunt, Ancient Society & Institutions, 71), ATL D 19/HMA 69 (before 431), SEG X 60 (?) (C.430), ATL D 8 (426/5), SEG X 87 (?) (C.423/2), IG i² 94 (418/7), SEG XII 32 (418/7), GHI 74 (416/5?), GHI 86 (410/09), Svt 255 (378/7), GHI 139 (C.367?), IG ii² 176 (before 353/2). An amending νόμος of substance, IG ii² 140 (353/2). HMA 87 (425/4) a small point, but not purely routine.
3. Riders extending to further recipients some or all of the honours granted in the main decree: Hesp. XXI 3 (end C5), GHI 97. ii (403/2), IG ii² 32 (385/4), Svt. 255 (378/7), IG ii² 84 (378-6), GHI 131.i (368/7) (see note at end of this table), 167 (347/6).
4. Riders making more or less routine additions (mostly in honorific decrees; some may deal with what was intentionally omitted from the original motion, but one or two certainly and perhaps many more are repairing accidental omissions):

PUBLICATION - IG i² 84 (421/0), GHI 74 (416/5?), 96 (405/4), 97.ii (403/2), IG ii² 19 (394/3) (repeating from original motion), SIG³ 158. i (369/8), IG ii² 109 (363/2), 206 (349/8), 232 (340/39), 289 (before 336/5) (publication at private expense?), 373 (322/1).

INVITATION TO PRYTANEUM - GHI 97.i (403/2), IG ii² 19 (394/3), GHI 116 (386), IG ii² 109 (363/2), all repeating from original motion; GHI 96 (405/4), IG ii² 182 (before 353/2), 206 (349/8), 265 (before 336/5).

RIGHT OF ΠΡΟΣΟΔΟΣ AND/OR PROTECTION FROM INJUSTICE - SEG x 76 (425/4), IG ii² 80 (before 378/7), SIG³ 158.i (369/8), IG ii² 188 (?) (before 353/2), 373 (322/1).

ΓΗΣ/ΟΙΚΙΑΣ ΕΓΚΤΗΣΙΣ, &c - SEG x 84.i (424/3) (ἀτέλεια, ἄλλο ἀγαθόν) (cf. J. Pečírka, The Grant of Enktesis, 2-4), 91 (421/0 (ἔγκτεσις, ἄλλο ἀγαθόν) (cf. Pečírka, op.cit., 8-12), IG ii² 8 (424/3 or C.386) (motivation, ἔγκτησις καθάπερ τοῖς ἄλλοις προξένοις) 80 (before 378/7) (ἀτέλεια, ἔγκτησις, judicial privileges καθάπερ τοῖς ἄλλοις προξένοις), 265 (before 336/5) (same as 80), 373 (322/1) (olive crown, ἔγκτησις).

Perhaps likely to be genuine additions:

Addition to other honours of METIC PRIVILEGES - IG ii² 218 (346/5);
of status of ΕΥΕΡΙΤΕΤΗΣ - SEG x 76 (425/4);
of PROXENY - GHI 116 (386), IG ii² 235 (340/39);
of CITIZENSHIP - IG ii² 19 (394/3), 109 (363_/2).

Certainly to be thought of as corrections:

prytanes to δοῦναι ψῆφον for citizenship grant - IG ii² 448.i (323/2);
thesmothetae to hold a δοκιμασία δωρεᾶς - pseudo-rider IG ii² 682 (after 256/5); revised motivation for honours - GHI 116 (386);
cf. a manifest verbal correction - GHI 90 (408/7).

5. Riders following up open clause in probouleuma: SEG XII 37.i (407/6), and probably GHI 173 (C.342).

NOTE. The rider to GHI 97.i simply repeats two clauses, one of them καθάπερ ἡ βουλὴ προβουλεύσασα [ἐς τὸν δῆμον ἐσ]ήνεγκεν, from the substantive motion (by the same man): perhaps the rider is to repair an unintentional omission, and the secretary has altered the main decree accordingly while preserving the rider (so Jones, 115; cf. GHI 90,

7-8 with 26 sqq., SEG XII 37, 7-8 with 58-9). Miller, de Decretis Atticis, 46sqq, followed Reifferscheid in claiming that here and in GHI 131.i the true purpose of the rider is to delete those clauses which are not repeated: this I find very hard to believe. In GHI 131.i Tod thought that the purpose of the rider was to extend the honours to further recipients (GHI, II, p.97); alternatively, if as some have supposed the ambassadors of 31-3 are identical with those of 24-5, I presume the point of the rider will be to have them named in the decree and/or to read "Lesbos" for "Mytilene".

For IG ii² 19, GHI 116 and IG ii² 109, where the rider includes a repetition of the invitation to the prytaneum, Miller's solution (p.51) was similar but not identical: he did not suggest that any clauses in the probouleuma were in fact to be rejected, but he nevertheless thought that the invitation was repeated to ensure that no one supposed the clause was to be rejected. I know no satisfactory explanation of these riders.

Table J: Clauses requiring Immediate Action (αὐτῶκα μάλα)

(I use SUPERIOR LETTERS to indicate: ^A αὐτῶκα or αὐτῶκα μάλα, ^H ἤδη.

In other decrees there is no adverb of immediacy).

1. In the ecclesia, indicating an open clause in an otherwise specific probouleuma or συγγραφαί or motion produced from the floor of the house, and proving nothing about the origin of the notion: GHI 61, 5 sqq with 29 sqq. ^A; IG i² 88, 1-5; GHI 77A, 1-3^A; SEG XII 37, 56-3 (in manifest probouleuma)*; GHI 114, 13 sqq with 22 sqq (ετδ, δτδ)^A; 166, 5 sqq ^A; 173, 33-5* ; IG ii² 360, 62-3 with 35 sqq., 75 with 17 sqq (probouleumata); P 6, 18-20 (ετδ, δτδ).

(* In SEG XII 37 and GHI 173 the resultant decision is presented in a rider (RP) instead of the more usual bare footnote).

2. In the ecclesia, ordering the herald to make a vow on the spot: IG ii² 30 (δτδ); GHI 144 (ετβκτδ, mention of δόγμα and probouleuma, δτδ.)^A; GHI 146 (ετβκτδ, ψτδ)^A.
3. In the ecclesia, proving nothing:
- (a) men to be elected for some job - HMA 30, 4 sqq (συγγραφαί)^A; GHI 42, 45-7^A; IG ii² 24B, 12-14^A; GHI 123, 72-5 (ετβκτδ, ψτδ)^A; 156, 4-6 (ετβκτδ)^A; IG ii² 204, 5 sqq^A with 74 sqq; 244, 28 sqq (νόμος)^A; 360, 37 sqq with 46-7 (ψτδ: enlarging on probouleuma); 409, 10 sqq.^A; 555, 16 sqq. ([δτδ] unnecessarily restored); 646, 40 sqq (ετδ, δτδ); 648, 6 sqq with 15-16; 653, 42 sqq (ετδ, δτδ); 672, 36-7^H with 43 (ετβκτδ, δτδ but second copy has ετδ); 682, 84 sqq^H with 98 sqq(PF); Add 687, 48 sqq^A with 68-9 (ετδ, δτδ); 793, 8-11 with 21-2; Hesp VI 3 + XIII 1944, pp. 250-4, 11.5-6 with 23; IG ii² 839, 25 sqq with 47 sqq (ετβ,PF); iv² 84, 38 sqq with 45-6 (δτβκτδ); also D.L. VII. 11^H with 12.
- (b) instructions to men in an official position - T.IV.118.xiv (ετδ, MSS)^A GHI 97, 21-2 (ετβκτδ; RP)^A; 142, 42-5 (ετβκτδ, δτδ)^A; IG ii² 148, 11 (?)^A; 204, 34-6^A. cf 174, 5-11 (ετβκτδ ; [RP]) (herald to make proclamation [ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ] κα μάλᾳ ἐν ᾧσται [ἄγωνι]).
4. In the ecclesia, giving instructions or authority to boule: GHI 103, 17 sqq (ετβ but ecclesia must have ratified)^A; 137, 14 sqq (ετβκτδ)^A.
5. In the boule: IG ii² 223 B, 2^A, 14^A; 840, 19 sqq with 32 sqq.
6. Footnotes implying a lost clause requiring immediate action: ATL D 21, 17-18 (type 1); SEG XII 32, 5-6 (type 1); GHI 121, 16 sqq (type 3a).

Table K: ἄλλο ἀγαθόν Clauses

Several Athenian decrees contain a clause in which further benefits are offered to an honorand: εἶναι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἄλλο παρὰ τοῦ δήμου εὔρεσθαι ἀγαθόν οὗτον ἂν δοκῆι ἄξιός εἶναι, vel simile quid (for verbal variations, see IG ii² IV i index, p.51.ii, s.v. εὔρεσθαι).

This normally takes the form either of an OPEN CLAUSE in which the proposer

provides for further benefits to be added to his own, or of a FUTURE PROMISE of further benefits if the honorand remains loyal to Athens. The table which follows lists ἄλλο ἀγαθόν clauses in decrees published in IG i² and IG ii² only (though I cite more recent texts when available).

SEG X 84	424/3	5-7	προσα[γ]αγόν[τον αὐτὸν ἡοι στρατεγοὶ καὶ ἡοι πρυτάρ]νες πρὸς τὲμ βο[λὲν καὶ τὸν δῆμον εὐρεσθαι ἡὸ τι ἄν δ]ύνηται ἀγαθόν taken up in RP		
SEG XII 37.ii	407/6	56	καὶ νῦν ἡευρισκεσθαι αὐτὸς παρὰ τ[ὶ]δ δ]έμο τῷ Ἀθηνάϊον ἡὸ τι ἄν δοκεῖ ἀγαθ[ὸν ἡὸ δέοντα] (P.J.R.; published text ἀγαθ[ὸν τῷ βουλεῖ]) (RP takes up different point)		
GHI 97.ii	403/2	ετβκτδ		20-1	OPEN CLAUSE, taken up in RP
143	363/2	ετβκτδ ;		17-18	OPEN CLAUSE, taken up in RP
IG ii ² 169	Bef.353/2	[δ]τδ		6 sqq	FUTURE PROMISE rest. <u>haesitantes Kirchner</u>
223c	343/2	decree of boule: δτβ		14-13	OPEN CLAUSE (referring to demos: almost a probouleuma)
232	340/39	PF		12 sqq	OPEN CLAUSE, taken up in RP
235	340/39			0-3	OPEN CLAUSE, taken up in 4 sqq ετδ RP
330 ii	336/5	ετβ; [δτβ]			turning at 42 sqq into probouleuma containing simply this OPEN CLAUSE
424	aft.336/5				small fragment with OPEN CLAUSE
360 iv	330/29	CPF		62 sqq	OPEN CLAUSE, taken up in decree ii
6	325/4	PF		75 sqq	OPEN CLAUSE, taken up in decree i
415	C.330/29	ετβκτδ ; PF		27 sqq	perhaps OPEN CLAUSE (stone ends).

456b	(<u>h</u> 307/6)		20-2	OPEN CLAUSE
478	305/4	[ετ]βκτ[δ] ; PF	23	OPEN CLAUSE (decree very fragmentary)
479	305/4	PF	23-5	OPEN CLAUSE
501	302/1		1-4	OPEN CLAUSE; 5 sqq new decree (small fragment)
567	end C4		13-14	OPEN CLAUSE (narrow fragment)
579	end C4		5 sqq	[καὶ ἄλλο εὔρεσθαι ἐ]ῖδν του δεη[ται ἀγαθόν, καὶ πρόσοδο]ν αὐτῶι [ε]ῖνα[ι πρόσ τήν βουλῆν καὶ] τὸν δῆμον μετ[ὶ δὲ τὰ τερα]. <u>FUTURE PROMISE</u> crossed with πρόσοδος- clause
IG ii ² 582	end C4	.	4-6	FUTURE PROMISE
IG ii ² Add. 687+686	267/6	ετδ; δτδ	61-3	OPEN CLAUSE for further benefit from boule of <u>demos</u> - agonothete praised now; 20-2 promised further benefit after <u>exthynae</u>
IG ii ² 780 i	252/1	[ετδ]; δτδ	28 sqq	FUTURE PROMISE
786	aft.239/8	PF	27-8	FUTURE PROMISE
844 i	229/8	δτδ	17 sqq	FUTURE PROMISE
851	bef.224/3	PF	48 sqq	FUTURE PROMISE
847	215/4	ετβκτδ ; PF	8 sqq	FUTURE PROMISE
856	end C3			

861	end C3	[ετβκτδ]	;	PF	24-6	OPEN CLAUSE
862	end C3	PF			8-9	FUTURE PROMISE
884	C.200	δτ[δ]			17 sq q	FUTURE PROMISE
926	beg. C2	PF			11-13	FUTURE PROMISE
844 iii	193/2	PF			68-70	FUTURE PROMISE
891	188/7	[ετ]δ; δτδ			15-17	FUTURE PROMISE
892	188/7	(ετβκτδ ; lacuna prob. containing beginning of fresh decree)			12 sq q	FUTURE PROMISE
<u>SEG XVI</u> 84	188/7	[ε]τβκτδ			23-5	FUTURE PROMISE
<u>SEG XXI</u> 435	187/6	PF	.		8-9	FUTURE PROMISE
<u>IG ii²</u> 907	C.170	PF			10 sq q	FUTURE PROMISE
908	C.170	PF			15-17	FUTURE PROMISE
909	C.170	[ετβ]κτδ;		PF	17-19	FUTURE PROMISE
980	mid C.2	PF			20 sq q	FUTURE PROMISE
982	aft.mid C2	PF			13-15	FUTURE PROMISE
<u>SEG XIX</u> 108	122/1	ετβκτδ ;		PF	96	OPEN CLAUSE (cosmetes of ephebi)
<u>IG ii²</u> 1023	end C2	PF			23 sq q	FUTURE PROMISE
<u>IG ii²</u> 1028 ii	100/99	ετδ;		PF	102-3	OPEN CLAUSE (cosmetes of ephebi)

The OPEN CLAUSE occurs almost always with formulae of the probouleumatic type (IG ii² Add. 687 + 686 (267/6) is the only instance with non-probouleumatic formulae: it is also unique in providing for further benefits from the boule or demos - so that this is not a pure open clause but looks ahead to future meetings of the boule or ecclesia). But open clauses are possible in non-probouleumatic motions, and we cannot use the clause to argue a probouleumatic origin for decrees with no other indicating formulae. The open clause, like other indications that the demos might be expected to make up its own mind on a point, is very rare after the end of the fourth century.

The FUTURE PROMISE is found principally in the third and second centuries: probouleumatic decrees predominate (as in all enactments of the period) but there are some non-probouleumatic decrees containing this clause.

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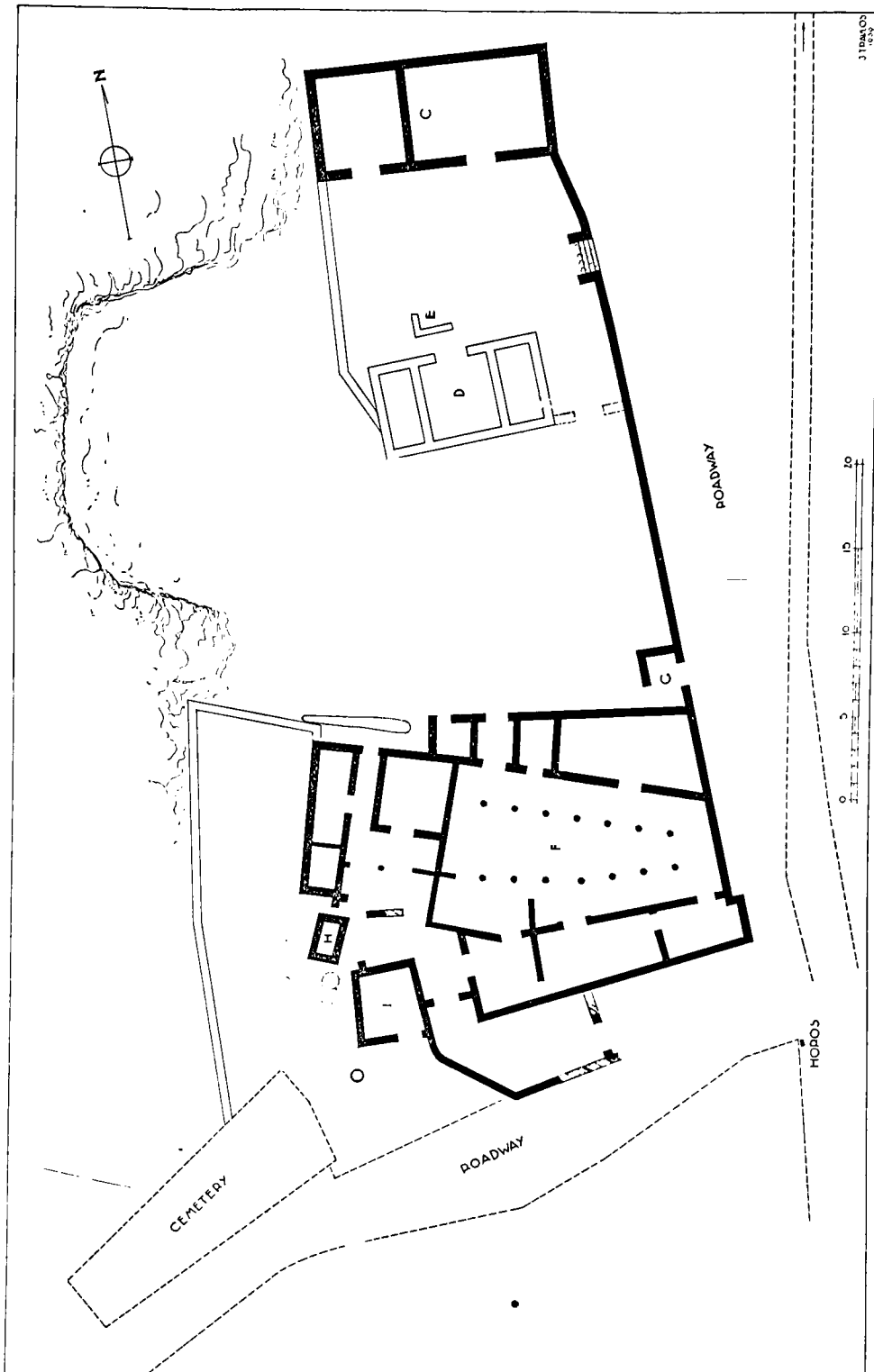
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PLANS

- A. Area of Bouleuterium in the Last Quarter of the Sixth Century (Hesp. Supp. IV 1940, Fig. 13)
- B. Area of Bouleuterium at the End of the Sixth Century (Hesp. Supp. IV 1940, Fig. 32)
- C. Area of Bouleuterium in the Middle of the Fifth Century (with Additions to the Early Third Century) (Hesp. Supp. IV 1940, Fig. 62)
- D. Area of Bouleuterium in the First Century A.D. (with the Addition of the West Annexe) (Hesp. Supp. IV 1940, Fig. 63)
- E. Old Bouleuterium: Restoration of Interior Arrangements (P.J.R.)
- F. New Bouleuterium: Restoration of Interior Arrangements (W. A. McDONALD, The Political Meeting Places of the Greeks, Plate XVIII)

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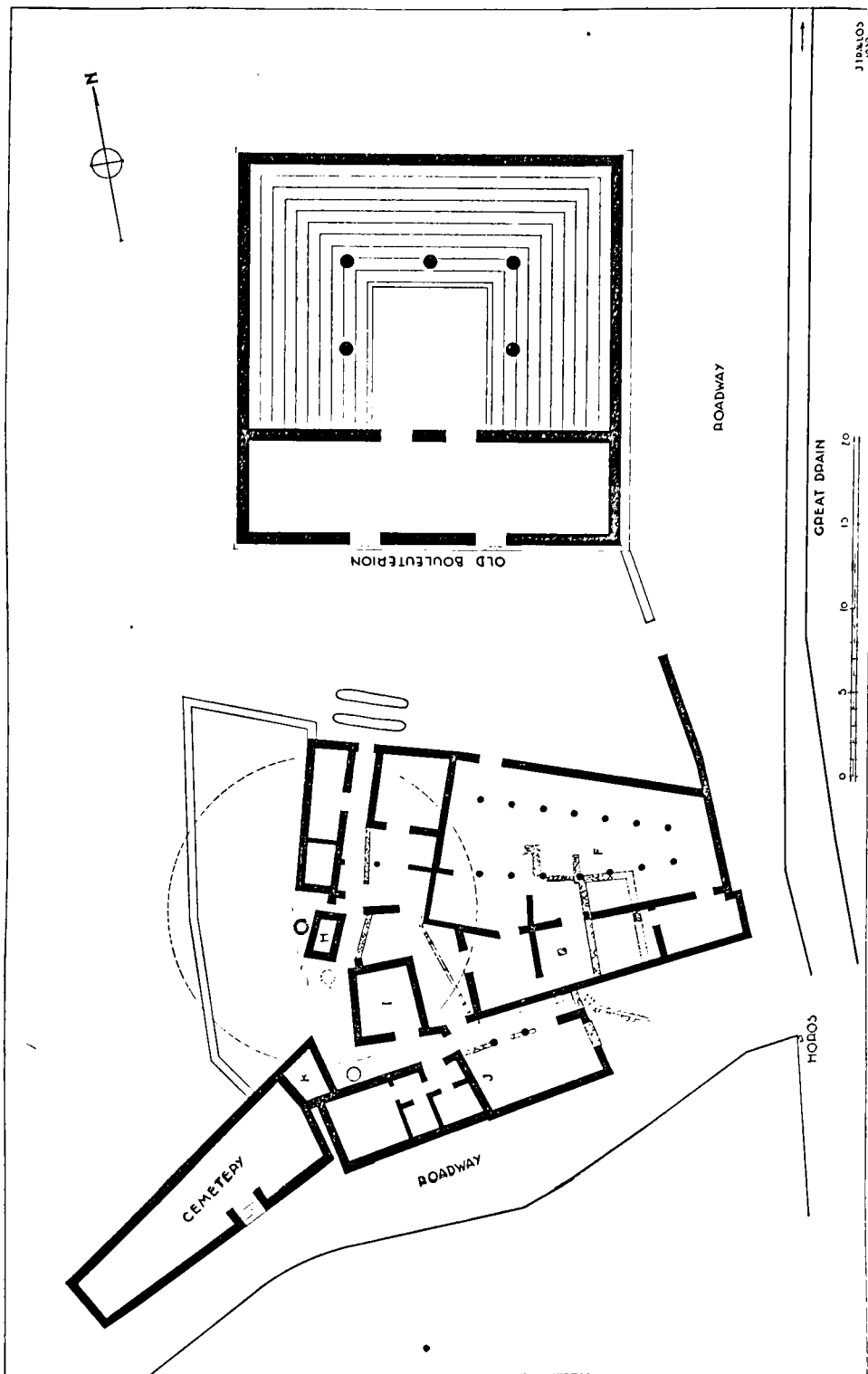


PLAN A

Area of Bouleuterium

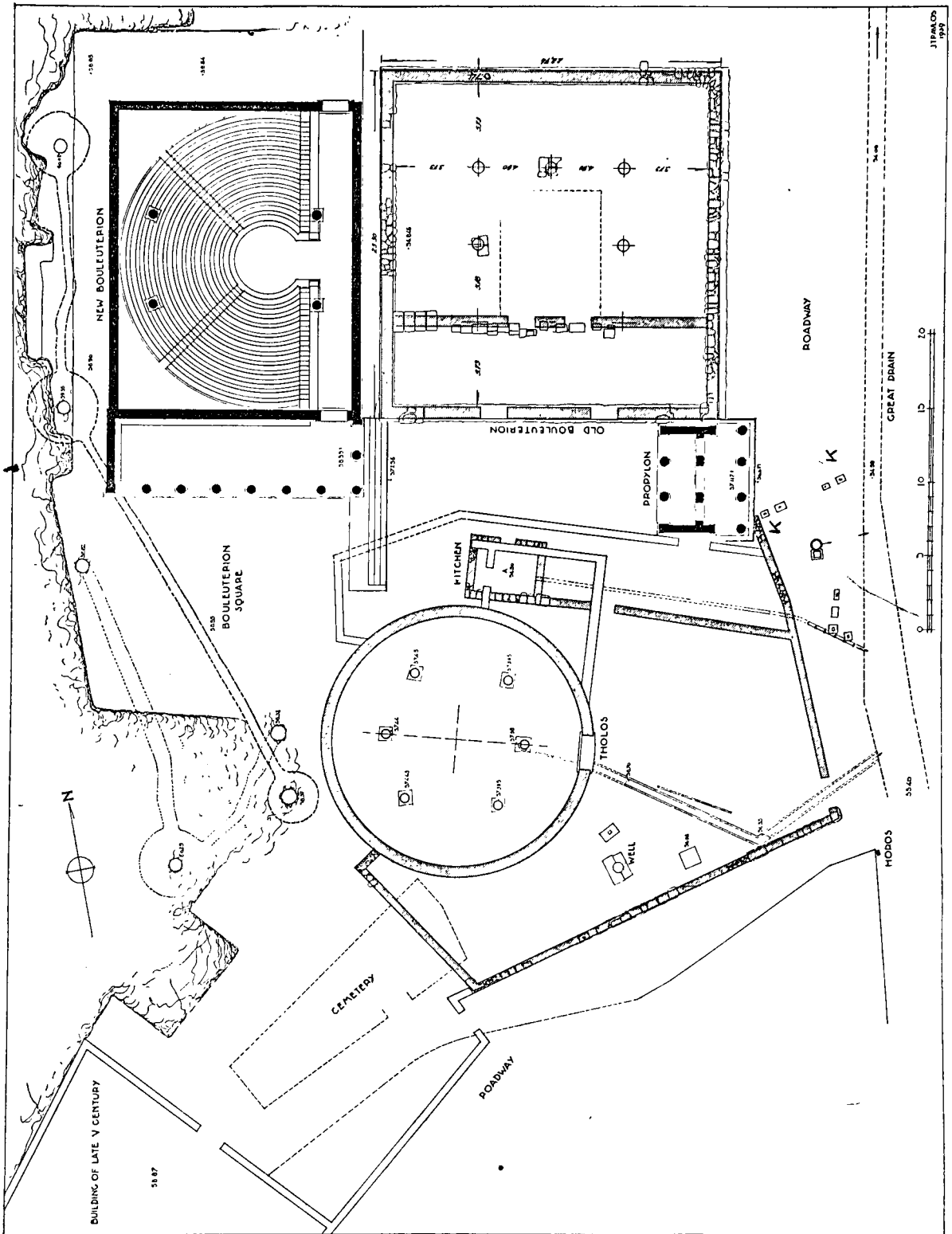
in the Last Quarter of the Sixth Century

Hesp. Supp. IV 1940, Fig. 13



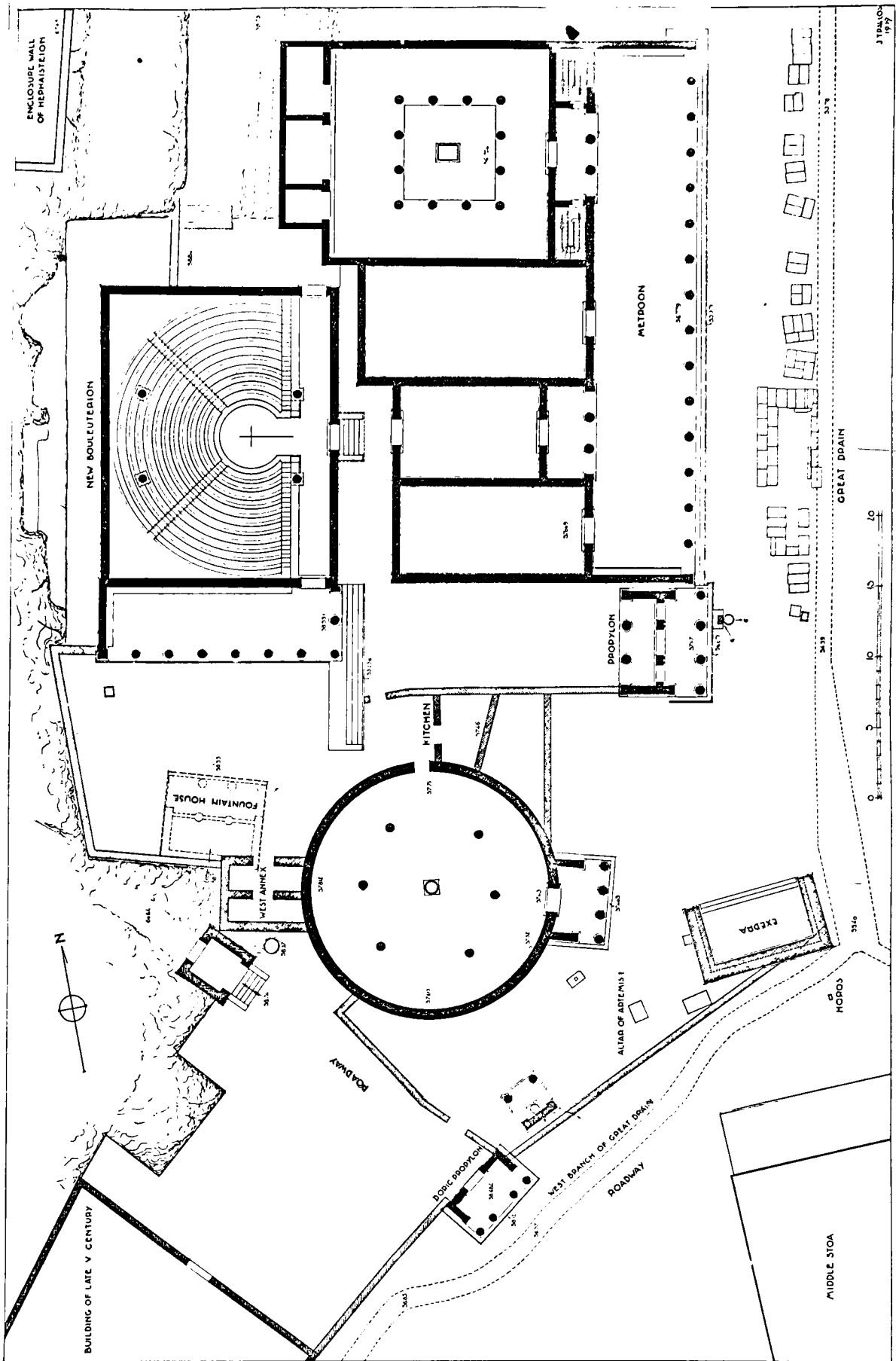
PLAN B
Area of Bouleuterium
at the End of the Sixth Century

Hesp. Supp. IV 1940, Fig. 32



PLAN C
Area of Bouleuterium
in the Middle of the Fifth Century
(with Additions to the Early Third Century)

Hesp. Supp. IV 1940, Fig. 62



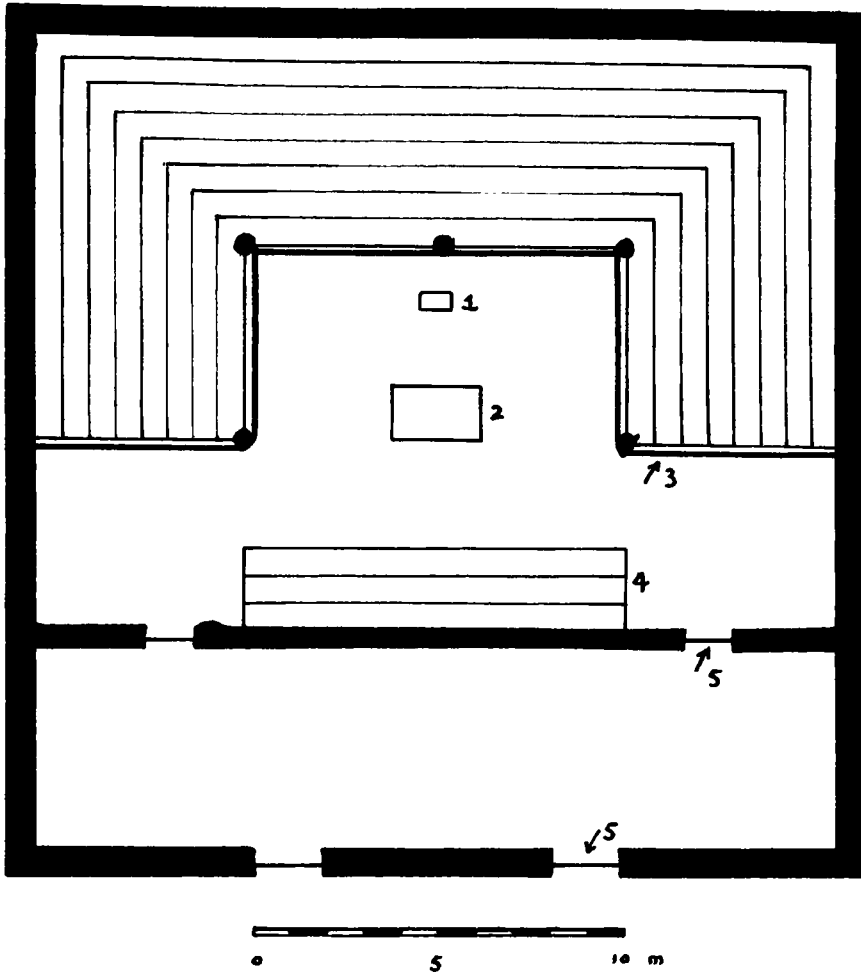
J. TRAVLOS
1972

PLAN D

Area of Bouleuterium in the First Century A.D.
(with the Addition of the West Annexe)

Hesp. Supp. IV 1940, Fig. 63

"The second room from the south in the Hellenistic Metroon should possibly be restored with a solid back wall, hence with a temple-like scheme" (Addenda, Hesp. Supp. IV, p. v). It is thus restored by J. Travlos, Hesp. Supp. VIII 1949, Fig. 2, facing p. 390, and in subsequent Agora publications.

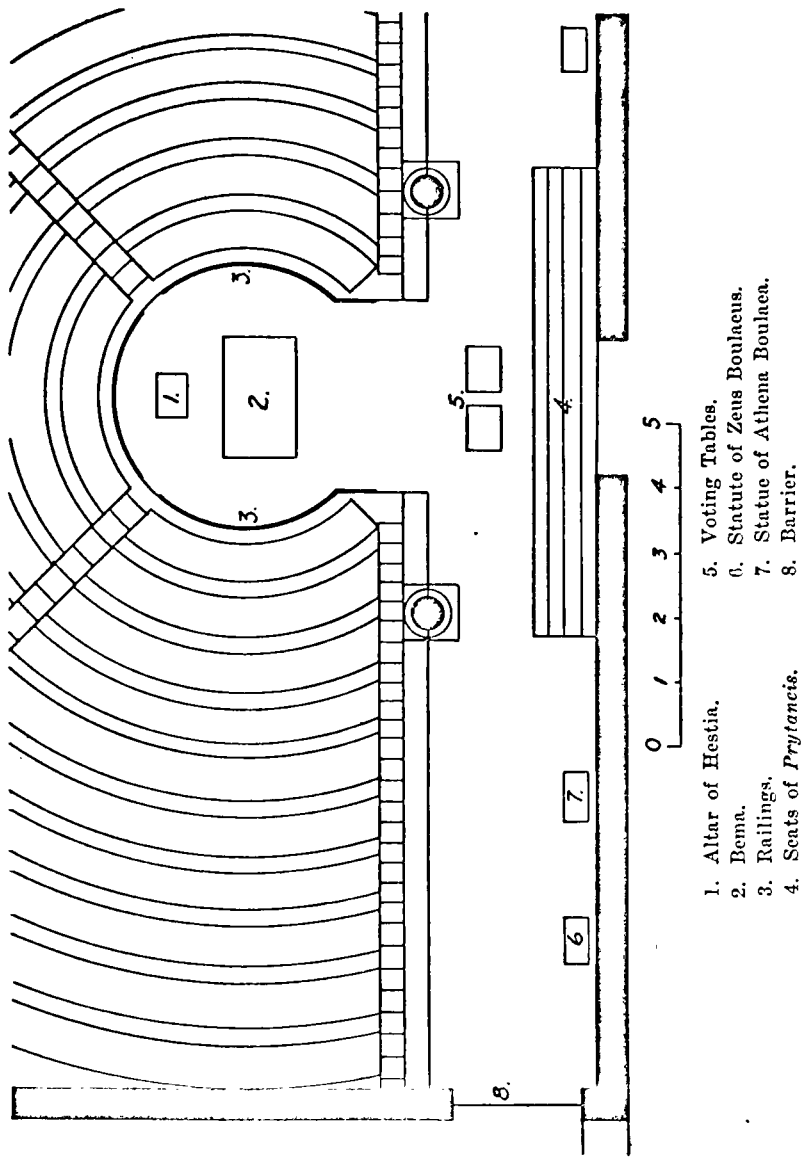


1. ἑστία
2. βῆμα
3. δρύφακτοι
4. Prytanes' benches
5. κυκλίδες (?)

PLAN E

Old Bouleuterium

Restoration of Interior Arrangements (P.J.R.)



- 1. Altar of Hestia.
- 2. Bema.
- 3. Railings.
- 4. Seats of *Prytaneis*.
- 5. Voting Tables.
- 6. Statue of Zeus Boulaeus.
- 7. Statue of Athena Bouleuca.
- 8. Barrier.

PLAN F
New Bouleuterium
Restoration of Interior Arrangements

W. A. McDONALD, The Political Meeting Places
of the Greeks, Plate XVIII

