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THE CHRONOLOGY OF ATHENS IN THE MID THIRD CENTURY B.C.

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The struggle to elucidate the chronology of Athens in the third century B.C. has been protracted, and it is far from over yet, but it is indisputable that great advances have been made and that the crucial factor in these advances has been the discovery and application to new evidence of the secretary cycles.\*<sup>1</sup> Thus the attribution of archons in the years from 300/299 to 266/5 is all but uncontroversial,<sup>2</sup> and a considerable measure of agreement has been reached for the period commencing in 229/8.<sup>3</sup> But, in contrast to these two periods, a convincing disposition of the archons from 265/4 to 230/29 remains infuriatingly elusive, defying both the apparent promise of the secretary cycles and the ingenuity of scholarship.<sup>4</sup> The treacherous nature of the evidence is strikingly illustrated in the widely divergent lists of

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\* Abbreviations:

Agora 15 = B.D.Meritt and J.S.Traill, *The Athenian Agora XV The Inscriptions The Athenian Councillors* (Princeton 1974).

Dinsmoor, *Archons* = W.B.Dinsmoor, *The Archons of Athens in the Hellenistic Age* (Cambridge Mass. 1931).

Dinsmoor, *List* = W.B.Dinsmoor, *The Athenian Archon List in the Light of Recent Discoveries* (New York City 1939).

Habicht, *Studien* = Chr.Habicht, *Studien zur Geschichte Athens in hellenistischer Zeit: Hypomnemata 73* (1982).

Habicht, *Untersuchungen* = Chr.Habicht, *Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte Athens im 3. Jahrhundert v.Chr.* *Vestigia 30* (1979).

Heinen, *Untersuchungen* = H.Heinen, *Untersuchungen zur hellenistischen Geschichte des 3. Jahrhunderts v.Chr.* *Historia Einzelschrift 20* (1972).

Meritt, *Year* = B.D.Meritt, *The Athenian Year* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1961).

Osborne, *Naturalization* = M.J.Osborne, *Naturalization in Athens*, *Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België No.98* (Brussels 1981) [= Vol. I], *No.101* (Brussels 1982) [= Vol.II], *No.109* (Brussels 1983) [= Vols. III and IV].

Osborne (1981) = M.J.Osborne, *Entertainment in the Prytaneion at Athens*, *ZPE 41* (1981) 153-170.

Osborne (1985) = M.J.Osborne, *The Archonship of Nikias Hysteros and the Secretary Cycles in the Third Century BC*, *ZPE 58* (1985) 275-296.

Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology* = W.K.Pritchett and B.D.Meritt, *The Chronology of Hellenistic Athens* (Cambridge Mass. 1940).

Rhamnonte = J.Pouilloux, *La Forteresse de Rhamnonte* (Paris 1954).

All dates in this paper are BC.

<sup>1</sup> The discovery of the cycles was announced by W.S.Ferguson, *The Athenian Secretaries* (Cornell Studies in Classical Philology VII Ithaca 1898) and they have been basic ever since to all studies of the chronology of Hellenistic Athens.

<sup>2</sup> The only seriously controversial attribution is Peithidemos, for whom Meritt continues to advocate the year 265/4 (*Hesperia 50* (1981) 78ff. Cf. *Historia 26* (1978) 174; *Year 223*; *Hesperia 26* (1957) 97; etc.) the present author the year 268/7, following Heinen, *Untersuchungen* 100ff. The controversy is discussed further below (in note 93).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Habicht, *Studien* 176ff; Meritt, *Historia 26* (1977) 177ff. But numerous modifications in detail may be anticipated. See most recently Sara B.Aleshire, *Hesperia 57* (1988) 253ff.

<sup>4</sup> For a recent summary cf. Habicht, *Untersuchungen* 113ff.

archons published by the chronological protagonists of the last pentekontaetia (for which see Table I).<sup>5</sup>

All of the schemes summarized in Table I have accepted the paramount importance of the secretary cycle and, upon examination, it is clear that they are grounded on the twin assumptions that tribal cycles are operational, unless there is absolutely indisputable evidence to the contrary, and that, when disruption is necessitated, it should be kept to the barest minimum. But these assumptions as prerequisites for study of these years are fatally flawed. Indeed, paradoxically, it seems certain that one of the main reasons for the apparent intractability of this period has been, and remains, the perception of the elucidation of the chronology as a struggle to discover the cyclic pattern of secretaries exemplified in these years. This has certainly been the attitude of Meritt, the most authoritative writer of recent times, who claims in his latest disquisition an unbroken secretarial cycle which comes down from 291/0 to 246/5 with no irregularity, thereby improving upon earlier schemes, which necessitated at least one break before Hieron.<sup>6</sup> Indeed, so strong is the spell of the cycles that even a relative sceptic such as Habicht, whose fundamental discussion of this period is in many respects critical of orthodoxy (as the views of Meritt and his predecessors may be termed) betrays an underlying predilection for them.<sup>7</sup> The critical objection to this approach is its tacit assumption that the presence of the tribal cycles can be divorced from political events, so that they can be expected to be evidenced whatever the complexion of the government. For this is in direct conflict with the evidence, which indicates plainly that the secretary cycles were an invention of, and are attested as a feature of, democratic government.<sup>8</sup> Under more authoritarian regimes they are absent - observably during the overt oligarchies of 321/0-318/7 and 294/3-292/1 and during the dictatorship of Demetrios of Phaleron, and probably during the tyranny of Lachares. In such circumstances there is a

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<sup>5</sup> The selection here denotes the main stages in the chronological debate since 1930. The constituents of Table I are: -

- (1) WBD (1931) = Dinsmoor, *Archons* (1931) 222ff.
- (2) WBD (1939) = Dinsmoor, *List* (1939).
- (3) WKP + BDM (1940) = Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology* (1940) xix ff.
- (4) WBD (1954) = W.B.Dinsmoor, *Hesperia* 23 (1954) 284ff.
- (5) BDM (1961) = Meritt, *Year* (1961) 231ff.
- (6) BDM (1977) = B.D.Meritt, *Historia* 26 (1977) 168ff.
- (7) BDM (1981) = B.D.Meritt, *Hesperia* 50 (1981) 78ff.

Habicht, *Untersuchungen* 145, does not attempt to assign the archons who precede Kallimedes to individual years. The list given by A.E.Samuel, *Greek and Roman Chronology* (München 1972) 214ff., follows Meritt, *Year* 231ff., with the modifications made in *Hesperia* 33 (1964) 207 and *TAPA* 95 (1964) 200ff. The archon list proposed by E.Manni, *Historia* 24 (1975) 17ff., exhibits many strange features and it is discounted here.

<sup>6</sup> *Hesperia* 50 (1981) 78ff. See Table I for his earlier versions.

<sup>7</sup> *Untersuchungen* 142ff.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Osborne (1985) 283ff. For the inception of the system of tribal rotation see now S.Alessandri, *ASNP* 12 (1982) 7ff. (noted in *SEG* 32.346), confirming the theory of W.S.Ferguson, *Klio* 14 (1914) 393f. (cf. Dinsmoor, *Archons* 354) that tribal rotation of secretaries began in 356/5.

DATE	TABLE I. ARCHONS AND TRIBAL AFFILIATIONS OF SECRETARIES 266/5 - 229/8													
	WBD (1931)	WBD (1939)	WKP + BDM (1940)	WBD (1954)	BDM (1961)	BDM (1977)	BDM (1981)							
266/5	Philokrates	II	Philokrates	II	Nikias	XII	Nikias	XII	Nikias	XII	Nikias	XII	Nikias	XII
265/4	Philippides	III	Philippides	3	Diognetos	3	Peithidemos	1	Peithidemos	1	Peithidemos	1	Peithidemos	1
264/3	Diognetos	4	Diognetos	4	Antipatros	4	Diognetos	4	Diognetos	2	Diognetos	2	Diognetos	2
263/2	Antipatros	5	Antipatros	5	Arrhenides	5	Antipatros	5	Antipatros	3	Antipatros	3	Antipatros	3
262/1	Arrhenides	VI	Arrhenides	VI	Kleomachos	6	Arrhenides	4	Arrhenides	4	Arrhenides	4	Antipatros	4
261/0	Polystratos	7	Kleomachos	7	Philostratos	7	Philostratos	7	Polystratos	5	Polystratos	5	Arrhenides	5
260/59	[-]	8	Polystratos	8	Antiphon	8	Antiphon	8	Kleomachos	VI	Polystratos	VI	Polystratos	VI
259/8	Thymochares	9	[-]	9	Lykeas	9	Thymochares	9	Antiphon	9	Antiphon	9	Lykeas/Alkibiades	7
258/7	Diogeiton	X	Antiphon	10	Antiphon	10	Thymochares	10	Thymochares	10	Thymochares	10	Antiphon	8
257/6	?Lykeas	11	Thymochares	11	Diogeiton	X	Polystratos	11	Thymochares	10	Lykeas	XI	Thymochares	9
256/5	Philoneos	XII	Alkibiades	XII	Euboulos	XII	Euboulos	XII	Euboulos	XII	Euboulos	XII	Athenodoros	X
255/4	Alkibiades	1	Euboulos	XII	Alkibiades	1	Alkibiades	1	Alkibiades	1	Alkibiades	1	[-]	XI
254/3	Philostratos	2	Philostratos	II	Philostratos	II	Philostratos	II	Philostratos	II	Philostratos	II	Euboulos	XII
253/2	Phanostratos	3	Lysitheides	2	[-] bios	III	[-] bios	3	[-] bios	III	[-] bios	III	Lysiades	I
252/1	Pheidostros	IV	?Lykeas	III	Kallimedes	IV	Kallimedes	IV	Kallimedes	IV	Kallimedes	IV	Philonos	II
251/0	Antimachos	V	Kallimedes	IV	Antimachos	V	Antimachos	V	Antimachos	V	Antimachos	V	Phanomachos	3
250/49	Kleomachos	VI	Antimachos	V	Thersilochos	VI	Thersilochos	VI	Thersilochos	VI	Thersilochos	VI	Kallimedes	IV
249/8	Polyeuktos	VII	Thersilochos	VI	Polyeuktos	VII	Polyeuktos	VII	Polyeuktos	VII	Polyeuktos	VII	[-] bios	V
248/7	Hieron	VIII	Polyeuktos	VII	Hieron	VIII	Hieron	VIII	Hieron	VIII	Hieron	VIII	Thersilochos	VI
247/6	Diomedon	VI	Hieron	VIII	Diomedon	III	Diomedon	3	Diomedon	III	Diomedon	III	Polyeuktos	VI
246/5	Theophemos	7	Diomedon	4	Lysitheides	4	Philoneos	4	Philoneos	4	Philoneos	4	Thersilochos	VI
245/4	Kydenor	8	Theophemos	5	Theophemos	5	Theophemos	5	Theophemos	5	Theophemos	5	Hieron	VIII
244/3	Eurykleides	9	Philoneos	?VI	Philoneos	VI	Kydenor	VI	Kydenor	VI	Kydenor	VI	Diomedon	XII
243/2	Athenodoros	X	Kydenor	?VII	Kydenor	VII	Eurykleides	7	Eurykleides	7	Eurykleides	7	Philoneos	VI
242/1	Charikles	XI	Eurykleides	8	Eurykleides	8	[-]	8	Eurykleides	8	Phanomachos	8	Theophemos	(?)
241/0	Lysias	XII	Lysiades	9	Lysiades	9	Lysiades	9	Lysiades	9	Lysiades	9	Kydenor	(?)
240/39	Kimion	I	Athenodoros	X	Athenodoros	X	Athenodoros	X	Athenodoros	X	Athenodoros	X	Eurykleides	(?)
239/8	Ekphantos	II	Lysias	XI	Lysias	XI	Lysias	XI	Lysias	XI	Lysias	XI	Kleomachos	VI
238/7	Lysanias	III	Pheidostros	XII	Panostratos	12	Panostratos	(?)12	Panostratos	12	Ariston	12	Lysias	XI
237/6	Kallimedes	IV	Kimion	I	Kimion	I	Kimion	1	Kimion	I	Kimion	1	Ariston	12
236/5	Lysitheides	5	Ekphantos	II	Ekphantos	II	Ekphantos	II	Ekphantos	II	Ekphantos	II	Kimion	I
235/4	Thersilochos	VI	Lysanias	III	Lysanias	III	Lysanias	III	Lysanias	III	Lysanias	III	Ekphantos	II
234/3	Lysiades	7	?Phanostratos	IV	Pheidostros	IV	Pheidostros	IV	Pheidostros	IV	Pheidostros	IV	Lysanias	III
233/2	Jason	8	[-]	5	[-]	5	[-]	5	[-]	5	Antimachos	V	Philostratos	4
232/1	Heliodoros	IX	Jason	VI	Jason	VI	Jason	6	[-]	6	Phanostratos	6	Antimachos	V
231/0	Leochares	10	[-]	7	[-]	7	[-]	7	[-]	7	Jason	7	Phanostratos	4
230/29	Theophilos	XI	?Phanomachos	8	?Phanomachos	8	Phanomachos	(?) 8	Phanomachos	8	Jason	8	Phanostratos	4
229/8	Ergochares	XII	Heliodoros	IX	Heliodoros	IX	Heliodoros	IX	Heliodoros	IX	Heliodoros	IX	Antimachos	V

*prima facie* unlikelihood that they should be attested under the regime imposed upon Athens by Antigonos Gonatas after the Chremonidean War, since, whatever the exact details, that regime obviously was not democratic, initially at the very least. Indeed from the constitutional point of view there is a clear expectation that the cycles should endure with the democracy until and into the year of Antipatros, but that from the year of his successor, Arrheneides, when other changes are evidenced,<sup>9</sup> they should fall into disuse. In the second half of the 240s, as even the most ardent proponents of cycles have been forced to acknowledge, this expectation is met, since the evidence for disruption is unequivocally attested on stone.<sup>10</sup> In reality similar confusion is also clear for the 250s and can only be obviated by arbitrary treatment of the preserved data. The inescapable implications for disruption provided by the sequence of archons and secretaries associated with the military career of Thoukritos of Myrrhinous have been dealt with elsewhere, and it is necessary here only to recall that a cycle is feasible solely as the result of gross manipulation of the evidence for his career.<sup>11</sup> Such manipulation is justified by the assertion that "the evidence of the secretary cycles is more reliable" [than the testimony of the documents which date his career].<sup>12</sup> The self same assertion is also used to dispose of the inconvenient testimony that

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<sup>9</sup> In the financial sphere the plural board gave way to the single officer of administration, and this latter official is already attested in the decree for Zenon from the fifth prytany of the year of Arrheneides (Diogenes Laertius 7.10). It has, of course, become fashionable of late to deny that this constitutes a change at all and to suggest that the designations simply refer to the board of administration and to one of its members respectively (cf. J. and L.Robert, REG 96 (1983) 96f.). This does less than justice to the available evidence, which provides no instance of the single officer in the period 286-261 and one single example of the plural board in the period 261-229. (See most recently A.S.Henry, Chiron 14 (1984) 74ff.; ZPE 72 (1988) 129ff.). It is now generally accepted that the first of these periods was democratic and, given the relatively large number of decrees attested therein, it is little short of incredible that not a single one can be shown to have had the single officer as paymaster for decrees, if this official could be named as readily as the board to which he belonged. (It should be noted en passant that, even if IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 808 = Osborne, Naturalization D 87 is to be re-dated to the 280s in the light of the text published by M.B.Hatzopoulos, Une Donation du Roi Lysimaque = Meletemata 5 (Athens 1988), it will not serve to change this situation, since the identity of the paymaster for the decree is strictly hypothetical). By contrast, the second of these periods exhibits every sign of turbulence in the political sphere (disruption in the secretary cycles, extraordinary delays in the honouring of officials, etc.) and there is every possibility that there were changes of which we are ignorant. Thus, given that the sole instance of the plural board occurs in isolation from numerous documents in which the single officer figures, it is quite possible that it indicates a (transitory) change. See further below.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. SEG 2.9. (discussed fully below).

<sup>11</sup> See further Osborne (1985) 287ff. IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 2856 shows that Thoukritos was general four times in the archonships of (in order) [ - - ], Kleomachos, Kallimedes, and Thersilochos. Cf. J.Pouilloux, Rhamnonte 124ff. From IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 1279, with the improved readings of Y.Garlan, BCH 89 (1965) 342, comes the additional information that he was hipparch in the year of Philinos. This clearly provides a sequence of archons Philinos (II) - [ - - ] - Kleomachos (VI) - Kallimedes (IV) - Thersilochos (VI). Cf. Habicht, Untersuchungen 126ff. But the tribal affiliations of the secretaries for these archons (recorded here after the name of each archon) will not permit a cycle before Thersilochos (247/6; 248/7 Meritt) however the list is arranged (cf. Osborne, op.cit. 288f.). Rather than accept this as evidence for the absence of cycles in the 250s, Meritt (Hesperia 50 (1981) 82; 87; 94ff.) has defied logic to assign Kleomachos to 240/39, and identified the lost archon as [Eurykleides] and assigned him to 241/0 - with strange effects for the military career of Thoukritos, who moved from hipparch in 252/1 to general in 250/49 and 248/7 but then was not re-elected general until 241/0.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Meritt, Hesperia 50 (1981) 82, 89.

the archon Athenodoros, with his secretary from tribe X, served in a Great Panathenaic year - for no such year is suitable for a secretary from tribe X, if a cycle is in operation.<sup>13</sup> Thus in this case "the evidence of the cycles" is taken to be sufficient to contradict the clear implications of a decree from the last prytany of the year praising the *athlothetai* for their organization of the Great Panathenaia,<sup>14</sup> and these hapless officials may be assumed, as on almost all cyclic schemes,<sup>15</sup> to have had to wait just short of three years for what were surely routine thanks at the end of their period of office.<sup>16</sup> To permit this reckless treatment of the other sources it may reasonably be supposed that the "evidence of the cycles" is weighty, indeed compelling. But the reality is far different. For the cycles, so far from providing independent or reliable testimony, are strictly hypothetical, and the manipulation of other evidence is in reality designed not to suit their pattern but to impose it. As is well known, but perhaps not always fully appreciated, the cycles find never a mention in the ancient sources, not even in the Aristotelian *Athenaion Politeia*, where a reference to such an admirably democratic process of ensuring a spread of magistrates over the tribes would have been singularly appropriate. They were, of course, the discovery of Ferguson (in 1898)<sup>17</sup> and, although no convincing rationale for their operation other than in democratic regimes has

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<sup>13</sup>Meritt, *op.cit.* 79.

<sup>14</sup> IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 784. For the *athlothetai* cf. Aristotle *Ath. Pol.* 60.1, with P.J.Rhodes, *A Commentary on the Aristotelian Athenaion Politeia* (Oxford 1981) 669ff. The evidence for their activities in the third century and beyond and for their relationship to the *hieropoioi*, who organized the lesser Panathenaia (cf. IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 334), is scanty. But in the Lykourgan period it is clear that the position of the *athlothetai* was an impressive one (with an extended term of office and special dining rights) and that the incumbents were responsible for the organization of the Great Panathenaia. There is nothing to suggest that things changed subsequently (and nothing to indicate a stronger role for the *hieropoioi*). In the absence of clear evidence to the contrary (i.e. other than the hypothetical needs of a tribal cycle) it must thus be assumed that the *athlothetai* are praised in IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 784 for the organization of the Great Panathenaia. (So Habicht, *Untersuchungen* 137ff. Cf. Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte* IV.2.91; A.Mommsen, *Feste der Stadt Athen* (1898) 127ff.). Meritt (*op.cit.* 82f.) protests that the *athlothetai* do have some role in the Lesser Panathenaia, so that the praise here need not imply a Great Panathenaia. But, leaving aside the fact that the sole evidence which he cites is a payment of the Treasurers of Athena to the *athlothetai* for the Panathenaia in 415/4 - the only case, according to J.A.Davison, *JHS* 78 (1958) 23, where Panathenaia alone "necessarily, or even probably, refers to anything but the greater Panathenaia" - there is nothing to indicate that the *athlothetai* took over the organization of the lesser Panathenaia (as opposed to having a role in its celebration). Quite the reverse. For IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 334 (mid 330s) specifically links the *hieropoioi* to the conduct of τὰ Παναθήνια τὰ κατ' ἐνιαυτόν (terminology which implies that the unqualified term τὰ Παναθήνια normally refers to the Great Panathenaia and that it is the lesser festival which needs to be specified) and IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 212 (347/6) clearly relates the organization of the Great Panathenaia to the *athlothetai*. In such circumstances it flies in the teeth of the evidence to suggest that the *athlothetai* who are praised in IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 784 because they ἐπεμελήθησαν [τῆς διοικήσεως τῶν Παναθηναίων] were not praised for organization of the Great Panathenaia.

<sup>15</sup> An exception is that of Manni, *Historia* 24 (1975) 28, but his scheme is in other respects unconvincing, and it sets Athenodoros improbably late (in 242/1). See n.88 below.

<sup>16</sup> If a back reference of more than two years were in point, it would be a reasonable expectation that the Panathenaia in question would be qualified by an archon date (as in other cases where officials are praised for activities in earlier years). The reference here is clearly to officials who have acted appropriately earlier in the current year and who are now praised at its end. On this see also Habicht, *Untersuchungen* 137ff.

<sup>17</sup> See n.1 above.

ever been advanced, they have been foisted uncritically upon the third century as a whole, and hypothetical breaks have been assumed to accommodate them without reference to political or other considerations.<sup>18</sup> In the face of the paradoxical combination of a growing multitude of inscriptions bearing archon/secretary 'dates' and a dearth of literary (or other) materials to facilitate the disposition of archons, and in the light of the successful application of the cycles to other (democratic) periods, this is perhaps understandable. But the cumulative weight of the evidence for disruption in the 250s and 240s and the unlikelihood of the continuation of cycles in the absence of democracy strongly suggest that the difficulties so clearly visible in attempts to base the chronology of this period on the cycles are indicators of faulty methodology. In other words the cycles should not be *assumed* to be fundamental to this period, or certainly not to all of it, and the time is ripe for an attempt at reconstruction without cyclic preconception.

The starting point for any investigation must be the thiasotic decree from Salamis, first published by Keramopoulos in 1923,<sup>19</sup> but most readily accessible as SEG II 9. This decree from the year of Kydenor provides for the annual inscription of the lists of officials who have taken care of the sacrifices from the archonship of Polyeuktos to that of Theophemos (...ἀναγράφαι κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκάστην τὴν ἐπιμελείαν ἀπὸ Πολυεύκτου ἄρχοντος μέχρι Θεοφήμου), and beneath the text of the decree there follow in two columns the lists of officials, each list preceded by the appropriate archon. Paradoxically, the arrangement of the lists reveals that the *thiasotai* did not act entirely in accordance with their decree. For all of the entries required by the terms of the decree figure in the left column beneath the text, an arrangement which would have meant an extraordinarily asymmetrical design, if only the stipulated entries were to be inscribed. The *stèle* is fragmentary, so that only the first three archons are preserved in this (left) column, but the right column is headed by the archon Kydenor, who must be the immediate successor of Theophemos. Clearly therefore it must have been decided after the passing of the decree, but before inscription, to continue the practice of recording the groups of officials beyond the archonship of Theophemos and so to leave the right column for additional entries. Thus the entries up to and including the year of Kydenor formed part of the original inscription, and they were clearly cut by the same hand (each also having an olive branch carved between the name of the archon and the list); the next entry was cut in the following year, possibly by a different mason<sup>20</sup> (and without olive

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<sup>18</sup> Thus (for instance) Dinsmoor, *Hesperia* 23 (1954) and Meritt, *Year* (1961) envisaged a break directly after the archonship of Nikias of Otryne (in 266/5) and then an unbroken sequence until the year of Hieron (248/7). Subsequently Meritt has proposed unbroken sequences down to Kleomachos (260/59) [*Historia* 26 (1977) 174f.] and Hieron (246/5) [*Hesperia* 50 (1981) 79]. In all of these cases the constitutional change in the year of Antipatros has been assumed to have left the secretariat unscathed, only for it to be interfered with later for no obvious reason.

<sup>19</sup> A.D.Keramopoulos, Ἀποτυμπανισμός (Athens 1923) 113ff. See also G. de Sanctis, *Riv.Fil.* 51 (1923) 170ff., and especially Sterling Dow, *AJA* 40 (1936) 65ff. (with excellent photographs - Plate 3).

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Meritt, *Hesperia* 50 (1981) 82.

branch between archon name and list). The chronological significance of this otherwise unprepossessing document is that it provides secure evidence for two chains of archons. Thus the preserved entries in the left column attest the series Polyeuktos-Hieron-Diomedon, and, since the secretarial affiliations of these three archons are otherwise known as tribes VII, VIII and XII respectively,<sup>21</sup> it is possible to see that they do not offer support for the operation of secretary cycles at this point. The second chain of archons comprises Theophemos, up to whose year the listing was originally supposed to run, Kydenor, in whose year the decree was passed, and Eurykleides, who follows Kydenor in the right column. The implications for a possible cycle are again unpromising, since the secretary for the year of Kydenor is known to have come from tribe VI.<sup>22</sup> It is clear, however, that these two chains cannot be directly linked, since decrees passed in the year of Kydenor praise respectively the *ephebes* and the *agoranomoi* who served in the year of Philoneos,<sup>23</sup> and Philoneos must thus have figured in the lost part of the left column of SEG II 9. The natural upshot would be to regard Philoneos as the immediate predecessor of Kydenor, but obviously this is impossible because Theophemos must be such.<sup>24</sup> The gap is surprising at first glance but becomes less so when it is noted that another decree of the year of Kydenor praises the *sitonai* of the year of Diomedon,<sup>25</sup> which must be at least three years earlier. Clearly there had been some problems in the years prior to that of Kydenor leading to the failure of the Athenians to decree some, or all, of the routine honours for their officials, and it is tempting to identify these troubles with the financial crisis that led to the emergency *epidosis* for the salvation of the city and the protection of its territory (... *τὴν κο[τηρίαν τῆς πό]λεως καὶ φυλακὴν τῆς [χώρας]* in the year of Diomedon.<sup>26</sup> Whatever the exact details here,<sup>27</sup> the financial situation had apparently improved by the year of Kydenor, so that an attempt to clear the backlog of undecreed honours could be undertaken. The ramifications for the chronology are firstly that the second chain of archons may be expanded to read Philoneos-Theophemos-Kydenor-Eurykleides, and secondly that, since the secretaries for both Philoneos and Kydenor come from tribe VI, the absence of a secretary cycle is certified.

<sup>21</sup> For the respective secretarial details of these archons see IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 679+584 +SEG 3.92; IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 680+ SEG 21.390; 23.66; IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 681; SEG 33.115 (Polyeuktos); IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 683+ SEG 29.112 (Hieron); IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 791+ SEG 26.94; 29.113; 32.118 (Diomedon).

<sup>22</sup> For the secretary of the year of Kydenor cf. IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 766+ SEG 21.392; *Hesperia* 17 (1948) 3ff. no.3; Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology* 25f. (+*Hesperia* 17 (1948) 3ff.).

<sup>23</sup> IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 766 + SEG 21.392 (*ephebes*); Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology* 25f. (*agoranomoi*).

<sup>24</sup> Unless one is prepared to subscribe to the highly improbable thesis that the *thiasotai* decreed a listing of officers not up to the year immediately preceding Kydenor but to the year before that.

<sup>25</sup> *Hesperia* 17 (1948) 3ff. no.3.

<sup>26</sup> IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 791 + SEG 26.94; 29.113; 32.118.

<sup>27</sup> The appearance of the plural board as paymasters for a decree in the archonship of Polyeuktos (SEG 33.115) seems to indicate some transitory changes in financial administration in these years. See n.9 above. See also S.V.Tracy, *Hesperia* 57 (1988) 321, for the turmoil of these years.

It is not certain that the addition of Philoneos to the second series of archons is sufficient to link the two chains, since it has long been clear that there could be room for a further entry in the left column on the *stele*,<sup>28</sup> and David Lewis has recently made a strong case for the inclusion of Lysiades in the list between Diomedon and Philoneos.<sup>29</sup> The determinants of this case are twofold - firstly, the identification of Lysiades as the archon in both of the two decrees inscribed on a single *stele* for a priest of Asklepios, whose name is lost but whose deme was Xypete in tribe II;<sup>30</sup> secondly, the dating of this priest to the year after Diomedon to accord with the supposed chronological data of IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 1534 B. This latter comprises a fragmentary inventory of the priests of Asklepios decreed in the year of Diomedon, and it is generally agreed that it covers the period from the archonship of Peithidemos to that of Hieron and that it contains a sequence of thirteen priests serving in tribal order.<sup>31</sup> Since the period from Peithidemos to Hieron covers exactly twenty four years on the best dates for these archons,<sup>32</sup> it has been concluded by Habicht<sup>33</sup> that the inventory was designed to cover precisely two cycles of priests and, on the assumption that a priest from tribe I served in the initial year of Peithidemos (268/7), that the priests can thus be correlated with archons. Accordingly, since the preserved chain of priests begins, and ends, with an incumbent from tribe IX, it is deduced that these priests served in 260/59 and 248/7 respectively and that the priest attested from tribe II (Theodoros of Melite) served in 255/4. As Lewis has seen, this necessitates the view that the priest from Xypete held office *after* the archonship of Hieron (i.e. after 245/4 on Habicht's analysis) and in such circumstances the natural year for him is the year after Diomedon, when the cycle would require a priest from tribe II. Given that the priest from Xypete served in the archonship of Lysiades, this sets Lysiades in the year after Diomedon - the only available place for an additional archon between Polyeuktos and Eurykleides.

This is certainly a most attractive scenario, although it must be qualified to the extent that, on the arguments advanced, Lysiades could belong *later* (that is, in the next cycle of priests

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<sup>28</sup> Cf. Habicht, *Untersuchungen* 133.

<sup>29</sup> D.M.Lewis, *ZPE* 58 (1985) 271ff.

<sup>30</sup> IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 775 + 803 = SEG 18.19 (+ SEG 29.109; 31.96; 32.115). Habicht, *Untersuchungen* 135ff., *Studien* 75ff., follows R.Hubbe, *Hesperia* 28 (1959) 174ff. (= SEG 18.19) in assigning the two decrees recorded on this stele to different archons. He attributes the first decree to 243/2 (when a priest from tribe II should serve) and attributes this year to Philoneos; he dates the second decree, which belongs to the archonship of Lysiades, prior to the group of archons which commences with Thersilochos (247/6). But, as Lewis demonstrates (*loc.cit.*), the case for both decrees being of the same year, argued long ago by A.C.Johnson, *CP* 9 (1914) 435, is compelling. For the main fragment (= IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 775 = EM 7457) see Plate XIV a.

<sup>31</sup> This chronological view goes back to Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology* 33f., and has obtained the status of orthodox belief. Thus it is maintained by Meritt, *Hesperia* 50 (1981) 78, and by Habicht, *Studien* 64ff. There are actually fourteen priests in the list, but it has been generally agreed since Dinsmoor, *Archons* 228, that one is a suffect.

<sup>32</sup> That is, with Peithidemos in 268/7 and Hieron in 245/4, as argued below (especially in n.93).

<sup>33</sup> *Studien* 69ff.

after that which began in the year of Diomedon).<sup>34</sup> There are, however, two potential impediments which require attention. The first is the longstanding suggestion that the inventory attested in IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 1534 B is based not on priestly cycles but on secretary cycles, with the implication that the year of Peithidemos did not witness the beginning of a priestly but rather of a secretary cycle.<sup>35</sup> The second is the claim that the universal belief that the said inventory commenced in the archonship of Peithidemos is incorrect, because the relevant reference (which is almost wholly restored) should be not to an archon but to a priest.<sup>36</sup> If either of these claims is correct, the basis for the correlation of priests and archons, which is fundamental to Habicht's chronology and to Lewis' dating of Lysiades, disappears.

The view that the 'controlling cycles' of this, and other, inventories of the priests of Asklepios were secretarial rather than priestly has been resolutely defended by Meritt since 1940.<sup>37</sup> But it is singularly lacking in weight and plausibility, not the least because of the absence of sound evidence for such inventories starting or finishing at the beginning or end of secretary cycles. In the case of this inventory there is also the specific consideration that, on the dates for Peithidemos and Hieron currently embraced by Meritt (265/4 and 246/5 respectively), it does not in fact embrace two cycles of secretaries.<sup>38</sup> This is an unpromising beginning, and it is scarcely enhanced by the lack of evidence for, or likelihood of, the existence and operation of secretary cycles in the 250s.<sup>39</sup> In addition, of course, the use of the secretary cycle to serve as such a chronological determinant is unexplained, and surely inexplicable - for the regular means of determining a period of years was by reference to the eponymous archons (as, for instance, in SEG II 9). It has, of course, been urged by Lewis<sup>40</sup> that there is no particularly cogent reason why the state should use the cycles of the priests of Asklepios for a public inventory. The point is well taken, but such a consideration certainly does not advance the claims of the secretary cycle, whose importance in Athenian life is very

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<sup>34</sup> It must be remembered too that there was a break in the priestly cycle at some point after the year of Diomedon and before that of Diokles (215/4). But the evidence of SEG 2.9, the block of five archons tied to the Demetrian War (discussed further below), and the known archons of the 220s would force Lysiades into the late 230s, if he does not belong in 243/2.

<sup>35</sup> This view was first elaborated by Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology*, *passim*.

<sup>36</sup> As will be argued by Sara B. Aleshire in her forthcoming book *The Athenian Asklepieion* (to be published in 1989). I am extremely grateful to her for allowing me access to the typescript of this work prior to publication; also for much fruitful discussion.

<sup>37</sup> Most recently in *Hesperia* 50 (1981) 78.

<sup>38</sup> On his 1977 schema the characterization of the period as one of two cycles was even less convincing. For only eighteen years were involved and there was an unexplained break after Kleomachos (then set in 260/59).

<sup>39</sup> Meritt states (*Hesperia* 50 (1981) 79) that "the inscriptions give evidence that the tribal cycles were continued unbroken until the year of Diomedon" and he cites W.S.Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens* (London 1911) 183, in support of the view that the "rotation of office continues after 262/1 as before". In his list (p.94f.) only five of the eleven secretaries from 261/0 to 251/0 are credited with tribal affiliations at all, and not a single one is positioned other than on the sole basis of his (hypothetical) cycle. In one case (Euboulos) the secretarial details belong with another archon, and in at least three other cases the evidence shows the proposed date to be incorrect. Cf. Osborne (1985) 287ff., and further below.

<sup>40</sup> *Op.cit.* 272.

much a modern phenomenon. Nor indeed does it receive any stimulus from the text of IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 1534 B, since this document, as preserved, observably uses the names of the priests to differentiate the individual years of review.<sup>41</sup> On Meritt's dates for Peithidemos and Hieron the period covered by the inventory is twenty years, and, if these dates are accepted, rather than hypothesize manifestly irregular secretary cycles it would surely be more plausible to suggest that it was decided in the year of Diomedon to undertake a review covering twenty years, the appropriate limits being designated by reference to the eponymous archons. In any event the critical point is that the inventory itself uses priests to designate each year and, according to general (but possibly incorrect) belief, archons to indicate the years of commencement and termination - the importation by way of hypothesis of a third determinant is as gratuitous as it is incredible.

The claim that the period of review in the document was not to commence from the archonship of Πε[ιθίδημος] but from the priesthood of Πε[ - - ] is at once plausible and pernicious - plausible in the light of the observable use of the priests to date the years in this and other such documents,<sup>42</sup> pernicious since it undermines the foundations for a correlation of the dates of archons and priests. Indeed, assuming it to be valid, it has the effect of cutting adrift from its moorings the chain of priests and causing it to float in some indeterminate period of thirteen years between the archonships of Euboulos (when an earlier review was decreed)<sup>43</sup> and Diomedon (when the current exercise was voted). An inevitable result is that the priest from Xypete also loses his anchorage in the year after Diomedon and with him drifts the archon Lysiades, although, as will be seen shortly, the direction of their drift must be downwards, since there is no room for Lysiades before Polyeuktos. In the face of such a fundamental doubt over the methodology generally used to reconstruct the priestly cycles it is clear that the location of Lysiades must be established by some independent means, and this objective is best attempted in the context of a discussion of the absolute chronology of the archons of SEG II 9 and their successors.

As is notorious, the absolute dating of the group of archons in SEG II 9 depends on the date of Polyeuktos, in whose year was passed the decree accepting the *Soteria* for the (earlier) victory over the Kelts. It is generally agreed that these *Soteria* were celebrated in 245/4, but what has become a point of dispute is the year of their acceptance in Athens. The logical date is the preceding year (246/5) when (for instance) Smyrna accepted, and it is unnecessary to rehearse here the strong arguments in favour of this date which have been advanced by Habicht, Nachtergaele and others.<sup>44</sup> But this date cannot be made to suit any of

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<sup>41</sup> Whether or not the start and finish years were indicated by archons.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 1532; 1534 A. IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 1533 utilizes both priest and archon.

<sup>43</sup> For the date cf. Dinsmoor, *Archons* 160. Dr Aleshire argues in detail for this same date in her forthcoming book (for which see n.36 above).

<sup>44</sup> Cf. Habicht, *Untersuchungen* 133ff; G.Nachtergaele, *Historia* 25 (1976) 62ff.; *Les Galates en Grèce et les Sotéria de Delphes* (Brussels 1975) 211ff.

the schemes which are based on tribal cycles, and it has been strenuously resisted by the orthodox protagonists.<sup>45</sup> Thus in his most recent scheme Meritt sets Polyeuktos in 247/6 on the basis of a secretary cycle which according to him comes down from 291/0 with no irregularity.<sup>46</sup> But, given the evidence already adduced for the non-operation of a cycle in the 250s and the observable chaos in the archon list after Hieron, this assertion is worthless and the argument is circular. Accordingly, in the absence of other grounds, the case for 246/5 becomes irresistible, and to the considerations already available in favour of this year another tiny, but significant, piece of evidence may be added. For in a decree of the year of Thersilochos,<sup>47</sup> who is universally acknowledged to have been the immediate predecessor of Polyeuktos,<sup>48</sup> sundry honours are voted for some dikasts from Lamia, and these honours are to be publicly proclaimed at both the Great *Dionysia* and the Great *Panathenaia*. The precise date of the decree is Metageitnion 12, so that the *Panathenaia* of the current year have just concluded (in Hekatombaion). The Panathenaic proclamation is thus to be made at the beginning of the following year (after announcement at the Great *Dionysia* of the current year) and it is to be deduced that the next year is a Great Panathenaic year. If Polyeuktos belongs in 246/5 (which is his natural location without cyclic prejudice) this need is clearly met.<sup>49</sup> The archons from Thersilochos to Diomedon can thus be set in the years 247/6 to 244/3, to be followed by a group comprising *either* Philoneos - Theophemos - Kydenor - Eurykleides in the years 243/2 to 240/39, *or else* [--] - Philoneos - Theophemos - Kydenor - Eurykleides in the years 243/2 to 239/8.

This chain of archons can be extended for a further five years as the result of a block of archons who appear in decrees associated with the Demetrian War of the early 230s. As is known from an Eleusinian decree honouring Aristophanes of Leukonoe,<sup>50</sup> this conflict broke out in the archonship of Lysias, who must thus belong very early in the 230s - in 238/7 if there is an additional archon in the earlier chain, in 239/8 if Philoneos is the direct successor of Diomedon. The war affected Athens, and Eleusis in particular, because of the invasions by Aratos of Sikyon, and both the decree already mentioned and another for

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<sup>45</sup> See Table I for the various schemes.

<sup>46</sup> Meritt, *Hesperia* 50 (1981) 79ff. He claims (p.82) that the position of Polyeuktos is also determined by the need for seven rather than six archons between Polyeuktos and Lysias, but, as will be seen below, this condition, which is unconvincing to the extent that it results from the improper interpolation of Kleomachos into the group of seven, could as easily be met with Polyeuktos in 246/5. In *Historia* 26 (1977) and in earlier works, of course, Meritt had positioned Polyeuktos in 249/8.

<sup>47</sup> IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 778 + *Hesperia* 7 (1938) 118ff. no.23 = SEG 32.117.

<sup>48</sup> The link depends upon the ephebic document *Hesperia* 7 (1938) 121f. no.24.

<sup>49</sup> On Meritt's latest scheme, where Thersilochos and Polyeuktos are set in 248/7 and 247/6 respectively, the dikasts have to wait two years for the proclamation of their honours at a Great Panathenaic festival, and on earlier schemes the wait is four years. Such protracted delays are improbable, and the hypothetical needs of the hypothetical secretary cycle are not enough to diminish the improbability. The provision for proclamation of honours at the Great Panathenaia is relatively rare in honorific decrees, and this is surely a reflection of the fact that such a proclamation was only appropriate quadrennially.

<sup>50</sup> IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 1299.57.

Paidikos<sup>51</sup> specifically refer to the difficulties experienced at Eleusis. The war clearly lasted for a number of years - for Aristophanes was commended for his services as a general there in the archonships of Kimon and [ --], and Paidikos for good deeds in the archonship of [A]ristion. Kimon was followed as archon by Ekphantos, as is to be deduced from an ephobic decree,<sup>52</sup> and the natural implication of another decree from the year of Lysanias, praising a priest of the year of Ekphantos,<sup>53</sup> is that Ekphantos was succeeded by Lysanias.<sup>54</sup> The archonship of [A]ristion could fall either directly after Lysias or after the group Kimon - Ekphantos - Lysanias (and the restoration of the second archon in the decree for Aristophanes could as easily be [A]ristion as Ekphantos). But to put [A]ristion after the group necessitates extending the duration of the war to five years and setting the battle of Phylakia, which signalled its conclusion, very late in the 230s.<sup>55</sup> In practice all have followed Vanderpool<sup>56</sup> in setting [A]ristion directly after Lysias,<sup>57</sup> although the rationale has not been the dating of the battle of Phylakia but rather the desire to produce a secretary cycle from the earliest point possible after the observable confusion of the late 240s. For the secretaries of Ekphantos and Lysanias come from tribes II and III respectively, and with Lysias, whose secretary is from X, XI (or possibly II)<sup>58</sup> set two years before Ekphantos (i.e. with [A]ristion and Kimon intervening) the temptation to accept that the secretary of

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<sup>51</sup> SEG 24.156.

<sup>52</sup> IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 787 + SEG 29.114.

<sup>53</sup> IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 788.

<sup>54</sup> This sequence has long been accepted (see Table I) and the fact that the secretaries for Ekphantos and Lysanias come from successive tribes has been viewed as confirmation. So too Habicht, *Untersuchungen* 144.

<sup>55</sup> For the battle of Phylakia cf. Plutarch *Aratos* 34. The case for believing that IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 808 = Osborne, *Naturalization D 87* honours the victorious general in this battle has been thrown into question as the result of the text recently published by M.B.Hatzopoulos, *Une Donation du Roi Lysimaque = Meletemata 5* (Athens 1988). This text (EM 13476 - from Kassandreia) reveals that the father of the Bithys who notoriously was a close confidant of Lysimachos (cf. *Athenaios* 246 e, 614 f) was called Kleon. Given that this is the patronymic of the Bithys honoured in IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 808, the case for identification seems strong, and Hatzopoulos not unreasonably has found attraction in the case for a Lysimachean military presence in Attica in the mid 280s argued by S.M. Burstein, *CSCA* 12 (1980) 39ff. This is not the place for a review of this matter, but it should be emphasized that there are real difficulties in imputing to Lysimachos a military presence in Attica in ca. 285 - for instance, the evidence of IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 657, which indicates that such assistance had not materialized as late as autumn 283; also the silence about any such aid in the later decree for Demochares (Plutarch *Moralia* 851 E). See most recently on this E.Lanciers, *Rev. Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 65 (1987) 78.

<sup>56</sup> AD 23 (1968) 1ff.

<sup>57</sup> So Meritt (1977) and (1981); also Habicht, *Untersuchungen* 144. A lone dissenter has been J.Pouilloux, *ZPE* 4 (1969) 1ff., who has questioned whether [A]ristion is an eponymous archon at all. But [A]ristion is probably to be identified as Ἀριστίων Θημακ(εύς) of IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 791 + SEG 32.118, II 78, and, since six other eponymous archons of this period are recorded as donors in this list, the likelihood is high that he too was an eponymous archon.

<sup>58</sup> The preserved data for the secretary for the year of Lysias are [ - - - 20 - - - ]ναῖος, restricting the possible demotics to [Ἀφιδ]ναῖος and [Οἰ]ναῖος. Aphidna belongs to Aiantis (XI) in this period; Oinoe was originally in Hippothontis (X in this period) but it has been suggested by J.S.Traill, *Hesperia Suppl.* 14 (1975) 27, that it was transferred to Demetrias (II) in 307.



in his account, but in his list he leaves vacant the year before Thersilochos and indicates that Lysiades precedes him. Given the determinant of the available letter spaces and given that no archon in his list from the period from Kallimedes (249/8) to the middle of the 240s (and beyond) other than Lysiades is of appropriate length, the inevitable ramifications of his scheme are that Lysiades should be recognized as the archon of IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 774 and that he should be attributed to the year 248/7. The second of these propositions is not compatible with his reconstruction of the chronology of the priests of Asklepios, but the first is surely inescapable (with awkward implications for the interpretation of the decree for Aristomachos, since the earliest possible date for Lysiades is 243/2).

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preserved letters better, but rejected the notion because there was not enough room for so many letters at the end of line 37 and because of the anomaly of a third τούς. He mentioned, but dismissed, the possibility of [ci]των[ηc]αμ[έ]/[v]ουc (raised by Stamires and Raubitschek) because, if that term were restored in IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 792, it "would have the somewhat unfortunate effect .... of limiting the name of the archon ... to [ ἐπ'..]βίου, hardly another Olbios". He was, of course, assuming that IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 792 (and its archon [ - ] bios) had to belong to 253/2. But this assumption is certainly questionable, and the very close similarity of the texts of IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 792 and SEG 14.65 favours proximity rather than a distance of twenty two years (on Meritt's dates) or even more (nearer forty years on the lowest possible dating). Names ending in -bios are relatively uncommon in Athens (Olbios is the only archon with a name ending thus in the third and second centuries) and it thus seems distinctly likely that IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 792 and SEG 14.65 should both be restored to give the term *κτωνηαμένουc* and that the archon in IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 792 should be restored as [OI]bios (archon in 275/4). It should perhaps be noted that Meritt once broached this possibility, albeit with the restoration [κατακαθένταc ἐπὶ Ὀλ]βίου (Hesperia 4 (1935) 564 n.1) but subsequently discarded it. The virtue of an identification is to bring together two very closely similar texts. The possible drawback is that Eriotos, son of Demophilos, of Melite, who is one of the sitonai of IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 792, has been identified as the Eriotos of Melite who is one of the contributors in IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 791 + SEG 32.118 (244/3 - archon Diomedon). But a gap of some thirty years between service as a sitones and a benefaction is far from impossible (as, for instance, the career of Phaidros of Sphetos indicates - see further below) and the identification proposed is in any event not de rigueur. The patronymic of the donator is not recorded, and there is every likelihood that the sitones could be another member of the family. As can easily be demonstrated, when family stemmata are known at all extensively, homonymous relatives are common, and in general terms there would be some virtue in a more conservative approach to the identification of homonyms by prosopographers. See now S.V.Tracy, Hesperia 57 (1988) 309f., who argues similarly. Given that IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 792 is the work of Tracy's Cutter IV (cf. Tracy, op.cit. 305ff.) and that the archonship of Olbios falls within his working life, it may be proposed with some confidence that the archon of IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 792 is [OI]bios.

In the light of several examinations of the stone in recent times the opening lines of this decree may be presented thus: -

IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 774 + SEG XXV 103; XXIX 108; XXXI 95. EM 8048

Non Cτοιχ. ca. 38/40

[ 'Επί - ca. 4 1/2 - ] .ου ἄρχ[οντος ἐπὶ τῆς - - ca. 14-16 - - - ]

[ - - ca. 7 - - - ] πρυτανε[ί]ας ἦι - - - - ca. 20 - 22 - - - ]

[ - - ca. 7 - - - ] ΙΕΥCEII[ - - - - - ca. 24 - 26 - - - - - ]

[ - - ca. 7 - - - ] δεκάτηι [ - - - - - ca. 24 - 26 - - - - - ]

Line 1: the very bottom part of a circular letter is faintly visible before the *upsilon*. Before this the surface is worn, but close examination suggested the possibility of part of a lower horizontal stroke right against the break.

Line 3: the first trace of a letter is an upright, which could be *iota* or part of a *nu*. After this the earlier editors read *omikron* (cf. IG ii (5) 371 c). The surface of the stone is badly worn at this point and a cursory glance does give the impression of a circular letter, but a close examination reveals a lower horizontal stroke suitable for *epsilon*. There is also a faint trace of a central cross bar.<sup>66</sup>

The only archons between ca. 255 and 229 whose names will fit the available data in line 1 are [Λυσιάδ]ου (7 1/2), [Λυκανί]ου (7 1/2), and perhaps [Θεοφήμ]ου (8) and [Ἐκφάντ]ου (8).<sup>67</sup>

The secretarial details of these archons are as follows:

*Lysiades*: Ἄριστόμαχος Ἄριστο[ - - - ca. 15 - 16 - - ]

(Cf. IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 775 + 803): i.e. ca. 32 letters non-stoichedon.

*Lysanias*: Εὐμηλος Ἐμπεδίωνος Εὐωνυμεύς

(Cf. IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 788): i.e. ca. 25 1/2 letters non-stoichedon.

*Theophemos*: Προκ[λ]ῆς Ἄπ[ ..... 15 ..... ]

(Cf. IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 795): i.e. ca. 24 letters non-stoichedon - possibly less, since IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 795 is stoichedon.

*Ekphantos*: [ ... 7 ..... ]ος Δημητρίο[υ] Ἴπποτ[ο]μ[ά]δης

(Cf. IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 787): i.e. ca. 28 letters non-stoichedon - possibly less, since IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 787 is stoichedon.

<sup>66</sup> S.V.Tracy, *Hesperia* 57 (1988) 310 n.6, discusses the traces in line 3 in considerable detail, utilizing the squeeze at the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton. His readings are identical to those given here from an inspection of the stone, except for the second letter, which he believes could as easily be epsilon as omikron, though neither is certain. His preferred restoration is: - [ - - ]υ[ο]ῦς Εἰ(τ)ε[ἰ]ός. But this is difficult because it leaves a minimum of 27 letters for the name and the first part of the patronymic of the secretary. In such circumstances the restoration above, to which Tracy is prepared also to subscribe albeit 'with less conviction', is, I think, preferable.

<sup>67</sup> Strictly ἐπ' Ἀντιμάχου (10 1/2) is feasible, but the secretarial details are obviously not consonant with the traces on IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 774, and Antimachos can hardly be so late.

The only set of secretarial details which will readily fit the opening lines of IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 774 is clearly that of Lysiades,<sup>68</sup> and the appropriate restoration may be set out as follows: -

[ Ἐπὶ Λυσιάδου ἄρχ[οντος ἐπὶ τῆς - - - ca. 14 - 16 - - ]

[ - ca. 7 - ] πρυτανε[ίας ἢ Ἄριστόμαχος Ἄριστο - - 5 - ]

[ - ca. 7 - ]. εὐς ἐ(γρ)[αμμάτευεν· κτλ. - - - - - ]

The attribution of this decree to Lysiades will not allow the dating of the decree to the early 240s - for, as will be seen shortly, there is no room for Lysiades before Thersilochos. Indeed the earliest date possible is 243/2. Despite the worries of Habicht, this is not necessarily too late, and it is obviously far preferable to a date in the late 230s. The decree for Aristomachos was a lengthy one, detailing at first the benefactions of his father, and the citation of Aristomachos' virtues has not concluded when the text breaks, although it appears to have moved on to the vaguer manifestations of friendship supposedly exhibited towards the Athenians. There is thus no absolute need for the decree to have fallen *directly* after the last *specific* event mentioned, and it is perfectly possible that another honorific decree (now lost) had been voted in respect of that event. The decree here may quite readily be viewed as fitting the pattern of honorific decrees which were voted a few years after the last specific deed mentioned.<sup>69</sup> The upshot is that the decree can be envisaged as falling in 243/2 without difficulty, whereas a date in the late 230s is very implausible, and it thus strongly favours the attribution of Lysiades to 243/2.

If Lysiades does indeed belong to 243/2 the effect is to set Lysias and the outbreak of the Demetrian War in 238/7 and to generate the chronological dilemma for the 230s that EITHER [A]ristion follows Lysanias and a new secretarial cycle was commenced after the archonship of Lysias,<sup>70</sup> OR ELSE there remained no secretarial cycle in the 230s and this essentially democratic practice recommenced with the democracy of Eurykleides and Mikion in the year of Heliodoros (229/8). The schemes representing these two possibilities can be presented thus: -

	SCHEME A		SCHEME B	
246/5	Polyeuktos	VII	Polyeuktos	VII
245/4	Hieron	VIII	Hieron	VIII
244/3	Diomedon	XII	Diomedon	XII
243/2	Lysiades	[-]	Lysiades	[-]

<sup>68</sup> Only very desperate expedients can make Theophemos, who would have served in 243/2 if Lysiades were later, suit the date, viz.

[ Ἐπὶ Θεοφήμου ἄρχ[οντος ἐπὶ τῆς - - ca. 14 - 16 - - ] / [ - ca. 7 - ] πρυτανε[ίας ἢ Προκλήης Ἄπ - - - 15 - - - ] / [ ἐγραμμά(τ)ευ(ε· C)κι[ροφοριῶνος κτλ. - - ]. The lack of the final nu for ἐγραμμάτευεν, the need to assume substantial errors on the part of the cutter, and the difficulty of producing a date in lines 3-4 are all against such a reconstruction.

<sup>69</sup> Cf. (e.g.) IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 505; 682; etc.

<sup>70</sup> In this case the cycle could have begun with tribe I in the year of Kimon.

242/1	Philoneos	VI	Philoneos	VI
241/0	Theophemos	[-]	Theophemos	[-]
240/39	Kydenor	VI	Kydenor	VI
239/8	Eurykleides	[-]	Eurykleides	[-]
238/7	Lysias <sup>71</sup>	XI(?)	Lysias	X, XI or II
237/6	[A]ristion	[-]	Kimon	[-]
236/5	Kimon	[-]	Ekphantos	II
235/4	Ekphantos	II	Lysanias	III
234/3	Lysanias	III	[A]ristion	[-]
233/2	[ - - - ]	[-]	[ - - - ]	[-]
232/1	[ - - - ]	[-]	[ - - - ]	[-]
231/0	Jason or [ - - - ]	[-]	Jason or [ - - - ]	[-]
230/29	[ - - - ] or Jason	[-]	[ - - - ] or Jason	[-]
229/8	Heliodoros	IX	Heliodoros	IX

The evidence of IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 774 renders almost inevitable a date of 243/2 for the archon Lysiades,<sup>72</sup> thus seemingly confirming Habicht's reconstruction of the chronology of the priests of Asklepios in IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 1534 B. But there remains the problem posed by the distinct possibility that the inventory in question commenced in the year not of the archon Pe[ithidemos] but of the priest Pe[ - ]. The preserved portion of IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 1534 B contains a clear sequence of fourteen priests, covering a period of thirteen years, since one of the incumbents is clearly a suffect, and at the extremes this block of priests must sit somewhere between the archonship of Euboulos (274/3)<sup>73</sup> and that of Diomedon (244/3).<sup>74</sup> At the very least two priests must have figured in the inventory before the first fully preserved name with which the tribal sequence begins (Lysikles of Sypalettos - tribe IX), namely Amein[-] (line 197) and Pe[-] (*ex hypothesi qua* priest in whose year the listing commenced). The earliest possible block of thirteen years for the sequence of priests is thus 271/0-259/8. The latest is 258/7-246/5. In such circumstances the priest in the block from tribe II, who is sixth in the sequence, could have served at the extremes in any year from 266/5 to 253/2. If the priest from Xypete is his successor (he cannot be his predecessor)<sup>75</sup> this appears at first glance to leave available for him any year from 254/3 to 242/1. But the evidence of IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 774 (already discussed) excludes the years prior to 249/8 and demands a date as early as possible in the 240s. Since the chain Thersilochos - Polyeuktos - Hieron - Diomedon fills the years

<sup>71</sup> The tribal affiliation could be either X, XI or II (cf. n.58 above) so that any link with a cycle is quite hypothetical.

<sup>72</sup> For 249/8 is the earliest possible year and all of the years from 249/8 to 244/3 are spoken for. See further below.

<sup>73</sup> See n.43 above.

<sup>74</sup> The date when the review embodied in IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 1534 B was decreed.

<sup>75</sup> For he is tied to the archon Lysiades, whose earliest date has already been determined as 249/8.

247/6 to 244/3, and since the sequence Philoneos - Theophemos - Kydenor - Eurykleides (followed by the group of archons associated with the Demetrian War) cannot begin later than 242/1, the possible years are immediately reduced to three, namely 249/8, 248/7 and 243/2. But Kallimedes must hold either 249/8 or 248/7, and, as will be seen shortly, Pheidostratos must have whichever of these two years remains vacant.<sup>76</sup> The only year left for Lysiades is thus 243/2, and by a curious paradox the reconstruction of IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 1534 B without the presupposition that a priestly cycle began in the year of Peithidemos has the unexpected outcome of demonstrating that it almost certainly did!<sup>77</sup> This does not, of course, prove that the inventory of IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 1534 B covered exactly two cycles of priests; nor is that point strictly of relevance to the present discussion.<sup>78</sup> What is crucial for the chronology is that everything points to 243/2 as the year of Lysiades.

Arising from the foregoing it seems clear that the Demetrian War must be dated slightly later than has become customary<sup>79</sup> in the period 238/7-234/3. Since the archon Jason is anchored in either 231/0 or 230/29,<sup>80</sup> an important ramification is that the group of four archons linked to the career of Kallisthenes of Prospalta (Philostratos, Antimachos, Phanostratos, and Pheidostratos) cannot belong in the 230s, where they have been set by Meritt in recent publications.<sup>81</sup> These archons must in fact belong in the disturbed period after Arrheneides and before the long chain which starts with Thersilochos.<sup>82</sup>

The year of Arrheneides was the first to experience from its inception the constitution imposed upon the Athenians by Antigonos Gonatas after the Chremonidean War. The new constitution (and the garrison on the Mouseion hill) had of course been introduced in the second half of the previous year of Antipatros, but clearly the year of Antipatros will have *commenced* with the existing, democratic institutions intact, and overt signs of constitutional change, such as the discontinuation of the secretary cycle, should be first exhibited in the

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<sup>76</sup> The only alternative would be to follow Meritt (*Hesperia* 50 (1981) 92ff., cf. *Historia* 26 (1977) 177) and set Pheidostratos and his group (for whom cf. IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 2854) in the late 230s. But the arguments against this are formidable; cf. Habicht, *Untersuchungen* 128ff., and most recently S.V. Tracy, *Hesperia* 57 (1988) 320f. If, of course, Kleomachos is the eponymous archon of IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 798 (as argued below) Antimachos, who is one of the Pheidostratos group, must belong in the 250s, since he is mentioned in this decree. With him must go the rest of the group, as has been generally recognized. For the date of Kleomachos cf. Osborne (1985) 288ff.

<sup>77</sup> Or, for those who refuse to believe that Peithidemos belongs in 268/7, that a priestly cycle began in 268/7.

<sup>78</sup> None the less, it is obviously a remarkable coincidence that the initial two letters of the official in whose year the inventory commenced should be identical to those of the eponymous archon exactly twenty four years (two cycles) earlier.

<sup>79</sup> Cf. (e.g.) M.Feyel, *Polybe et l'histoire de Béotie au III<sup>e</sup> siècle avant notre ère* (Paris 1942) 83ff. [237/6]; F.W.Walbank, *Commentary on Polybios Vol. I* (Oxford 1957) 237f. [237/6]; E.Will, *Histoire politique du monde hellénistique I<sup>2</sup>* (Nancy 1979) 343ff. [237/6].

<sup>80</sup> Cf. Heinen, *Untersuchungen* 182ff.

<sup>81</sup> *Hesperia* 50 (1981) 92ff; cf. *Historia* 26 (1977) 177.

<sup>82</sup> As has been argued, albeit for different reasons, by Habicht, *Untersuchungen* 128f. and S.V. Tracy, *Hesperia* 57 (1988) 320f.

year of Arrheneides.<sup>83</sup> As Heinen has demonstrated,<sup>84</sup> the archonship of Arrheneides, which also witnessed the death of the philosopher, Zenon, is best set in 261/0 (although 262/1 is not absolutely excluded) and this date has won general acceptance.<sup>85</sup> There are thus thirteen years between Arrheneides and Thersilochos (247/6), and thirteen archons are in fact available to demand positions in these years. The constituent thirteen comprise the three identifiable archons who precede Thersilochos in dating the career of Thoukritos of Myrrhinous (Philinos, Kleomachos and Kallimedes),<sup>86</sup> the four archons who date the career of Kallisthenes of Prospalta (Philostratos, Antimachos, Phanostratos, and Pheidostratos),<sup>87</sup> Athenodoros, who needs one of the Great Panathenaic years of the 250s (either 254/3 or 250/49 - the only other available year, 234/3, is far too late),<sup>88</sup> the pair Antiphon and Thymochares, who belong early in the period of close control,<sup>89</sup> Euboulos II, who is

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<sup>83</sup> In this respect it is noteworthy that the single officer of administration is attested in the only decree preserved from the year of Arrheneides (Diogenes Laertius 7.9). As argued above (n.9) the case for seeing the plural board and the single officer as separate manifestations of the same body of officials is far from secure. The plural board is evidenced as late as 265/4 (IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 668 - for the archon Nikias of Otryne) and between 286/5 and 265/4 not a single instance of the single officer is certainly attested. The obvious interpretation of such data is in line with the traditional view that the (democratic) plural board was supplanted by the single officer after the capitulation of the city to Antigonos Gonatas.

<sup>84</sup> Untersuchungen 139f; cf. Habicht, Studien 13 n.1.

<sup>85</sup> So Meritt, *Hesperia* 50 (1981) 96ff; Habicht, loc.cit.

<sup>86</sup> IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 1279 + Y.Garlan, *BCH* 89 (1965) 339ff; IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 2856; both discussed in detail by Osborne (1985) 288ff.

<sup>87</sup> IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 2854 = J.Pouilloux, *Rhamnonte* no.9.

<sup>88</sup> IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 784 (+ SEG 29.110), the only decree preserved from the year of Athenodoros, was inscribed by Cutter IV in the system of S.V.Tracy, *GRBS* 14 (1973) 190ff. + *Hesperia* 57 (1988) 304ff. The dated endeavours of this cutter, excluding IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 784, fall in the period 286/5 - 244/3 (archon Diomedon). This is already a very substantial career, and clearly it would be implausible to extend it by thirteen years to accommodate a single text. (The transfer of Athenodoros to the 250s has the incidental effect of narrowing the date of IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 707 = Osborne, *Naturalization D* 88 to ca. 261-243).

<sup>89</sup> As has been generally recognized since the discovery of the additional fragment of the ephebic document from the year of Thymochares, revealing that it praised the incumbents of the year of Antiphon (IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 700 + *Hesperia* 7 (1938) 110ff. no.20).

mentioned in the documents of the early 250s,<sup>90</sup> Diogeiton, whose secretary is from tribe X, for which there is no vacancy in the cyclic years of the late 260s and for whom the 230s are far too late,<sup>91</sup> and probably Alkibiades.<sup>92</sup> The effect of this at the upper end of the period is to leave the two years 265/4 and 263/2 vacant prior to Arrheneides - for Peithidemos belongs in 268/7, directly before Menekles and Nikias of Otryne, both of whose locations are

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<sup>90</sup> The evidence for the existence of the archon Euboulos II is perhaps open to question. Of the three bouleutic decrees attributed to him Agora 15.87 is incorrectly restored, and belongs rather in the year of Ankylos (cf. Osborne (1985) 294); Agora 15.85, known only from the faulty copy of Pococke, could, and perhaps should, be attributed to Euboulos I; and Agora 15.86 should accompany Agora 15.85. (See further n.107 below). What is most significant is the reference in IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 682 to Phaidros' assistance to his son Thymochares as agonothetes in the year of Euboulos. If this is taken to refer to 274/3 (as, for example, by J.K.Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families* (Oxford 1971) 527) it presupposes that Thymochares performed his agonothesia when he was in his twenties - and surely in his early twenties to judge from the fact that his (eldest) son, Phaidros, was born in ca. 238 (cf. Davies, *op.cit.* 528) - a mere seven years after his famous, if controversial, father, who was clearly little short of fifty years of age when he undertook this duty. This does not seem very likely, especially for a family which politically was in the wilderness in the years 286-261, and it should be noted that the rest of Thymochares' attested career falls in the 250s and 240s, when the political climate was favourable to his family (for instance, involvement in the statue for Phaidros in the early 250s, archon eponymous in the first years of the 250s, and donor in 244). There is also the problem (discussed further below) that, if the Euboulos referred to in IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 682 is the archon of 274/3, then Phaidros' claim for *sitesis* was flagrantly illegal since it covered a political career of only twenty years or so, in contravention of the legal requirement of thirty years (for which prerequisite cf. Osborne (1981) 160ff.). The assistance to his son in his agonothesia was scarcely an impressive deed in support of his case (particularly as the only contribution in at least a decade) and it is much more likely that it was a desperate attempt to find something for one who had been 'in the cold' for little short of thirty years. There is also the problem posed by the decree from Rhamnous for Apollodoros (Rhamnonte no.7). This is fragmentary, but it must belong early in the 250s, and the possibilities for the restoration of the archon's name are very restricted. If Euboulos is not restored, a major difficulty arises, since no obvious alternative is to hand. Cf. J.Pouilloux *ad loc.*

<sup>91</sup> The only substantial fragment from the year of Diogeiton is IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 772, which was inscribed by Cutter IV in the scheme of S.V.Tracy (for which see n.88 above). A date much after the middle of the 240s is thus improbable.

<sup>92</sup> Alkibiades is known from Pollux 10.126 and from a fragmentary text for the priestess of Athena Polias who was daughter of Polyeuktos of Bate (IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 776). If the reference in the text of the latter is to Antigonos Gonatas rather than to Demetrios II, a date in the first half of the 250s, probable on other grounds (cf. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families* (Oxford 1971) 172) is certain. For the relevant data cf. Dinsmoor, *Archons* 172. The only alternative would be to put him in the later 230s and to set either Lykeas or Polystratos in the early 250s. For these two archons see further below.

uncontroversial,<sup>93</sup> Diognetos is definitely set in 264/3,<sup>94</sup> and Antipatros, as the immediate predecessor of Arrheneides, belongs in 262/1.<sup>95</sup> There is no reason for a break in the tribal cycles in these years, so that Peithidemos, Diognetos and Antipatros may be expected to have secretaries from tribes X, II and IV respectively, and the two missing archons to have incumbents from tribes I and III respectively. In the 230s there remain three vacant years - 234/3, 233/2 and either 232/1 or 231/0 - but, as noted above, it is not entirely clear whether these years were cyclic. For the five vacant years the names of three archons are available,<sup>96</sup> all unfortunately lacking secretarial affiliations - Lykeas, Polystratos, and Phanomachos. Of these archons Phanomachos should certainly be set in the 260s. For the inscription exhibiting his name was inscribed by Cutter IV in the scheme of Tracy, a cutter whose

<sup>93</sup> The positions of Menekles and Nikias of Otryne in 267/6 and 266/5 respectively have been points of general agreement ever since the publication in 1954 of the decrees containing the secretarial details of the independently dated archon, Pytharatos. See Table I for details. As for Peithidemos, Meritt continues to argue for 265/4 (*Hesperia* 50 (1981) 79f.) and he has attracted support recently from Janice J. Gabbert, *CJ* 82 (1987) 230ff., who seeks an 'anarchic dating of the Chremonidean War' and finds in her quest evidence for 'the placement of the archon Peithidemos in the year 265/4 and the archon Antipater in the year 263/2, which exactly corresponds to the dating of these archons otherwise suggested by ... Meritt' (p.235). In practice her evidence is a 'reasonable hypothesis' (p.234) rather than a compelling argument, and Meritt has, of course, re-dated Antipatros to 262/1 (*Hesperia* 50 (1981) 94). More important, the attempt is not so much 'anarchic' as 'anepigraphic' in that it ignores much pertinent epigraphical testimony, notably the evidence of documents from the years of the archons Menekles and Nikias of Otryne, who indisputably belong in the years 267/6 and 266/5 respectively. In SEG 24.154 which is cited (p.231) it is recorded that Epichares was elected general in the archonship of Peithidemos and inter alia that πολέμου ὄντος he preserved the fortress and helped to get in [τούς τε κίτικούς καὶ] τοὺς ξυλίνοὺς καρποὺς μέχρι τριάκοντα σταδίων .... The war mentioned here is clearly the Chremonidean War. In IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 665 (archon Nikias of Otryne - 266/5) the epebes of the preceding year (archon Menekles) are praised for activity .... πο[λέμου κατέ]χοντος τὴν πόλιν, and in IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 666/667 = Osborne, *Naturalization D 78* (also archon Nikias of Otryne) the mercenary Strombichos is praised not only for earlier deeds but because (most recently) τοῦ πολέμου γενομένου ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἦν περὶ τὸν δῆμον. What war can this be, if the archonship of Peithidemos, which saw the outbreak of the Chremonidean War, belongs after the archonships of Menekles and Nikias? Surely the unqualified reference must be to the Chremonidean War, just as in SEG 24.154, and, if so, the year of Peithidemos must be 268/7. It is worth adding that, quite apart from these references to the war as being in progress in the years of Menekles and Nikias, there are numerous other indications of crisis in these years. Thus, for instance, a decree from Eleusis (IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 1272) praises Dion for his vigour ... περὶ τὴν τοῦ δήμου δόξιν καὶ τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν τῶν διδομένων ἐπὶ τὸν δήμον, and another (IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 668) praises the archon Nikias for his sacrifices for the health and soteria of the Council, the demos, κα[ὶ τῶν κ]αρπῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ. The obvious implications are that the war was in progress in the years of Menekles and Nikias and that Peithidemos must precede them. It must be emphasized that Meritt's resistance to such a date depends almost entirely upon the groundless hypothesis that a secretary cycle began in the year of Peithidemos. The supposed problem attendant on the displacement of Diogeiton with his secretary from tribe X from 268/7 (adverted to most recently by S.V. Tracy, *Hesperia* 57 (1988) 309) disappears, if the cycles were not operating in the early 250s, as argued above.

<sup>94</sup> The Parian Chronicle (IG xii (5) 444) was composed in the year of Diognetos, and the date of 264/3, established by Boeckh, *CIG* 2374, has never seriously been questioned. Cf. Dinsmoor, *Archons* 46; also Table I for a conspectus of views since.

<sup>95</sup> The sequence Antipatros/Arrheneides is certified by Apollodoros FGH (Jacoby) 244 F 44. Cf. Heinen, *Untersuchungen* 180f.

<sup>96</sup> As argued above (n.65) [...]bios, who figures in all of the orthodox lists of archons from 1940 onwards (see Table I) is a ghost.

clearly dated endeavours fall in the years 286 to 243.<sup>97</sup> Lykeas and Polystratos are known only from two private decrees of a group of orgeones from the Peiraius but, significantly, the text from the year of Polystratos was also the work of Cutter IV.<sup>98</sup> In both documents the speaker is Sosias, son of Hippokrates, and this favours the chronological proximity of the two archons. Since the activities of Cutter IV did not extend beyond ca. 244 and since there are no vacancies in the archon list between 262/1 (Antipatros) and 234/3 (Lysanias or [A]ristion), this should mean that both belong in the 260s. The only alternative would be the hypothesis of an improbably lengthy gap of at least thirty years between the only two known proposals of this parochial luminary (that is, with Polystratos in the 260s and Lykeas in the late 230s). The difficulty is that, with Phanomachos in the 260s also (probably in 265/4) there does not at first glance appear to be room for both Polystratos and Lykeas in this decade. The solution is to eject Philippides from 269/8, a year to which he has no particular claim, and to set him either in 277/6 or else in one of the vacant years of the 230s.<sup>99</sup> It may then be proposed that Phanomachos belongs in 265/4 and that Polystratos and Lykeas belong in one or other of the years 269/8 or 263/2.

In addition to these archons there is the secretary from tribe XI, known only as [ - - ]ηϛ *Λυσιπράτου Μαρ[αθώνιος*, whose archon is lost but who has sometimes been associated with the archon Lykeas, albeit without cogent reasons.<sup>100</sup> He cannot belong in the late 260s, when a cycle was still operational, since there is no place there for a secretary from tribe XI. He must therefore have served as secretary in one of the years between 261/0 and 229/8 for which secretarial details remain lost.<sup>101</sup>

In attempting to order the thirteen archons who served between Arrheneides and Thersilochos the critical factor is Philinos. From the first prytany of his year there survives

<sup>97</sup> For the working life of this cutter see n.88 above. In practice there is every chance that Phanomachos belongs in 265/4. IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 1273 is a thiasotic decree from the Peiraius honouring Sotirichos of Troizen and Kephalion of Herakleia for their activities in the archonship of Nikias. The decree belongs in the following year, when the name of the archon in the genitive occupied precisely 9 letters. (Kirchner did not count iota as a half letter in his detailed calculation, ad loc., and hence over-estimated the space by one half of a letter - making his restoration of Aristonymos as the archon doubly flawed). The named archon cannot be Nikias I (296/5) or Nikias II (282/1) because the successors of these two archons had names of 10 1/2 and 5 1/2 letters respectively; he must therefore be Nikias III of Otryne, and his immediate successor must have exactly 9 letters in his name in the genitive. Phanomachos thus becomes a strong candidate. (Exponents of the late date for Peithidemos will, of course, take heart from the consideration that his name too has 9 (full) letters in the genitive. But for real problems in the late dating of Peithidemos see n.93 above).

<sup>98</sup> IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 1283 (archon Polystratos); 1284 (archon Lykeas). For the hand of IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 1283 cf. S.V.Tracy, *Hesperia* 57 (1988) 305.

<sup>99</sup> Philippides is attributed to 269/8 by Meritt, *Historia* 26 (1977) 174. Earlier he had been set in 270/69 (cf. Meritt, *Year* 233; W.B.Dinsmoor, *Hesperia* 23 (1954) 314). He is known only from a dedication of the hieropoioi (IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 2859) and his precise location in the third century is entirely speculative. Certainly there is nothing specific to tie him to 269/8.

<sup>100</sup> So, for instance, Meritt and Traill, *Agora* 15.84 = SEG 21.376. Cf. Meritt, *Historia* 26 (1977) 177.

<sup>101</sup> The possible archons are Arrheneides, Antiphon, Euboulos, Alkibiades, Phanostatos, Eurykleides, [A]ristion, Kimon and Jason, although the last three would be excluded if the secretarial cycles were operational in the 230s. For Philostratos see further below.

intact a bouleutic *stèle* comprising a "first decree" of the *demos* proposed by Lyandros Lysiadou Anaphlystios and a "second decree" of the *boule*, which praises (*inter alios*) the self same Lyandros for his activities as treasurer of the *boule* (somewhat prematurely, one might suppose, since he had only been in office for eleven days).<sup>102</sup> Lyandros was thus a councillor in the year of Philinos. But Lyandros is known also as the orator of the probouleumatic decree for Phaidros of Sphettos, and so was a councillor when he made this substantial proposal.<sup>103</sup> Since Philinos must have served as archon in one of the middle years of the 250s (Antiphon, Thymochares and Euboulos must come between him and Arrheneides; [ - ca. 10-], Kleomachos, Kallimedes, Phanostratos, Pheidostratos and surely Athenodoros at the very minimum must intervene between him and Thersilochos) and since the decree for Phaidros also belongs in the same period, it is a reasonable conclusion that the decree for Phaidros was proposed by Lyandros as *bouleutes* in the year of Philinos.<sup>104</sup> It may, of course, be objected that Lyandros could have been councillor on two occasions, and so he is listed by Rhodes.<sup>105</sup> But it should be noted that many of the instances of double service collected by Rhodes are very doubtful (as he acknowledges) and that many come from the second century BC and beyond, when the system of deme quotas had broken down and the regulation of service may not have been so close.<sup>106</sup> The percentage figure for double service is extremely low overall, but in the fourth and third centuries BC it is minimal. Indeed on the preserved evidence the percentage of those in the fourth and third centuries who served a second time in less than ten years is under 0.5%, and the total number of those who can be affirmed with certainty to have served a second time in less than six years is only one or two.<sup>107</sup> Almost all of the clearly attested cases served their second term at least ten years after their first, and the most plausible instance of a very short gap is

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<sup>102</sup> Agora 15.89.

<sup>103</sup> IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 682.92. Cf. D.M.Lewis, JHS 100 (1980) 257f; P.J.Rhodes, ZPE 57 (1984) 200.

<sup>104</sup> This was noted as a possibility by Meritt, Hesperia 38 (1969) 433.

<sup>105</sup> ZPE 57 (1984) 200.

<sup>106</sup> For the breakdown of deme quotas after 200 BC cf. J.S.Traill, Hesperia Suppl. 14 (1975) 61ff.

<sup>107</sup> It must, of course, be acknowledged that the preserved array of evidence is rather unhelpful in that it does not provide many samples within a short period from the same tribe (for which problem cf. M.H.Hansen, Demography and Democracy (1986) 51ff.). A cursory glance at the reasonably well established cases of double service in the fourth and third centuries BC tends to indicate that most served a second term after a gap of some ten years or more, and, perhaps significantly, two indubitable instances from the literary sources (Timarchos and Androtion) exhibit gaps of 14 and 22+ years respectively. The most striking instance of speedy iteration appears to be the group of 6 councillors from Aigeis who served in the archonship of Euboulos (IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 678 = Agora 15.85) and then in that of Philinos (Agora 15.89) - discussed by P.J.Rhodes, ZPE 38 (1980) 197ff. But three of the cases here are not absolutely certain (in that homonyms are quite feasible) and there remains the possibility that Agora 15.85, which is known only from the faulty copy made by Pococke in the 1750s, could belong in the archonship of Euboulos I (274/3). This would mean a gap of some 19 years for the incumbents who served also in the year of Philinos, but there are plenty of examples to indicate that such an hiatus is not improbable.

Lykomedes of Konthyle, who appears to have served both in the year of Philinos and in that of Antimachos (a two year gap at minimum, probably a four year gap at maximum).<sup>108</sup> The very rarity of so proximate a second spell is striking, and it is perhaps relevant to note that Konthyle was one of the smallest demes of Attica, regularly returning only one member for the *boule* per year.<sup>109</sup> Anaphlystos certainly was not such a small deme (its regular quota was eleven in the Macedonian period)<sup>110</sup> and the chance of a shortfall of candidates is slim. Consequently the likelihood that Lyandros served twice within a quinquennium or less in the 250s is remote.

A precise date for the archonship of Philinos in the 250s can be achieved by the combination of two factors. In the first place the decree for Phaidros of Sphettos should belong quite early in the 250s. He was awarded *sitesis* in the *Prytaneion* and associated honours in response to an *aitesis* indicating that he had been a statesman for thirty years.<sup>111</sup> The citation indicates that the starting point of this thirty year period fell in the archonship of Nikias I (296/5) and that it concluded with his assistance for his son as *agonothetes* in the archonship of Euboulos II. As noted above,<sup>112</sup> the reference here cannot be to Euboulos I (274/3). For, quite apart from the enormous gap in time that would then ensue between Phaidros' last attested benefaction and the grant of honours, this would not cover the thirty years required of a claimant for *sitesis* on the grounds of a career of statesmanship. The earliest possible year for the archonship of Philinos is 257/6, and by this time thirty nine years will have elapsed since his first appropriate deed for this career honour, and, assuming that he was at least thirty years of age when he first served as general, he will have been at least seventy years of age. In practice Phaidros' claim for *sitesis* was exceedingly unimpressive compared with other candidates. Almost all of his specific deeds of note fell in the brief period 296/5-287/6; thereafter apart from the routine and vague references to his contributions to liturgies and *epidoseis* there is specific mention only of his own term of office as *agonothetes* (in 282/1 - archon Nikias II) and of his assistance to his son on the occasion of his *agonothesia*. It is clear that Phaidros did not find favour with, and certainly did not obtain office (apart from the largely cosmetic *agonothesia* ) in the democratic governments headed by Demochares of Leukonoe and his successors, and this is not in the slightest degree surprising in the light of his frequent office-holding in the regimes from 296/5 until 287/6 - years which were regarded by Demochares and others as *κατάλυσις τοῦ*

<sup>108</sup> Λυκομήδης Διοχάρου Κοῦ[θ]υλη[θε]ν is the orator of a second decree of the Boule in the archonship of Philinos (Agora 15.89.23); in IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 769 Λυκομήδης Δι[.....16.....] is the proposer of a probouleumatic decree in the archonship of Antimachos. For the identification see J.S.Traill, *Hesperia* 38 (1969) 423; Meritt and Traill, *Agora* 15 p.422; Habicht, *Untersuchungen* 129.

<sup>109</sup> Cf. Traill, *Hesperia* Suppl. 14 (1975) 69, with Table III (Pandionis).

<sup>110</sup> Cf. Traill, *op.cit.* Table X (Antiochis).

<sup>111</sup> IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 682. For the thirty year requirement cf. Osborne (1981) 160ff.

<sup>112</sup> See n.90 above.

δήμου if not oligarchy.<sup>113</sup> In such circumstances the aspirations of Phaidros for the city's highest honours to crown his career were only likely to be met after the fall of the democracy at the end of the Chremonidean War. Given his age by this time a speedy *aïtesis* is certainly to be expected, and his honours should thus come as early as possible in the 250s. In view of his (enforced) political inactivity throughout the democratic years and his obvious failure to qualify on the thirty year criterion it was doubtless necessary for the matter to be delayed until he could enhance his claim by reference to assistance in his son's *agonothesia*. A date after the middle of the 250s is thus unlikely.

The second factor having a bearing on the date of Philinos is the fact that the decree for Phaidros was passed in the second year of an Olympiad. For the text provides for the honours to be proclaimed at the *Dionysia* (of the current year) and the Great *Panathenaia* (of the following year). The pre-Great Panathenaic years of the 250s are 259/8, 255/4, and 251/0. Of these 259/8 is impossibly early, since Euboulos II and surely Antiphon and Thymochares must precede Philinos,<sup>114</sup> and 251/0 is improbably late. The year of Philinos should thus be 255/4.<sup>115</sup>

The location of Philinos in 255/4 provides a pivot for the thirteen archons who are to be attributed to the period between Arrheneides and Thersilochos. Euboulos, Antiphon, and Thymochares certainly belong before Philinos in the years of close control, with the result that two years remain vacant before Philinos. On the other hand the monuments detailing the career of Thoukritos reveal that [ - ca.10 - ], Kleomachos and Kallimedes must follow Philinos;<sup>116</sup> so too must Athenodoros, who needs one of the Great Panathenaic years (254/3 or 250/49),<sup>117</sup> though he could be identical to [ - ca.10 - ]. There must, of course, be at least one year gap between Philinos and Kleomachos, because of the presence of [ - ca.10 - ] in the career of Thoukritos. Four years thus remain available between Philinos and Thersilochos, corresponding neatly with the four archons associated with the career of Kallisthenes of Prospalta, who must belong in the 250s. Kallisthenes was phylarch in the year of Philostratos, hipparch in the year of Antimachos, and then general in the years of

<sup>113</sup> As is clear, for instance, in the honorific decree for Demochares of Leukonoe (Plutarch *Moralia* 851 F). ... καὶ φυγόντι μὲν ὑπὲρ δημοκρατίας, μετεσχικότι δὲ οὐδεμιᾶς ὀλιγαρχίας οὐδὲ ἀρχὴν οὐδεμίαν ἤρχότι καταλελυκότος τοῦ δήμου .... See also the decree for Kallias of Sphettos for similar sentiments (SEG 28.60.79ff.).

<sup>114</sup> If, of course, the Euboulos mentioned in IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 682 was the archon of 274/3, it would be possible to think of 259/8 as the year of Phaidros' honours - a not unattractive possibility, since his son, Thymochares, was probably archon in that year. But the case for retaining Euboulos II is very strong. See n.90 above.

<sup>115</sup> And such a location for Philinos would confirm, what is already clear, that the secretary cycles were not operational in the middle of the 250s. For the secretary in the year of Philinos is from tribe II, and such an affiliation will not suit a cycle either on the scheme adumbrated here or on any of the schemes listed in Table I.

<sup>116</sup> Thoukritos was hipparch in the year of Philinos (IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 1279 + Y.Garlan, BCH 89 (1965) 339ff.) and then general in the years of [ - ca.10 - ], Kleomachos, Kallimedes, and Thersilochos (IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 2856). See n.11 above.

<sup>117</sup> See notes 14 and 88 above.

Phanostratos and Pheidostratos.<sup>118</sup> Philostratos and Antimachos should be close together (marking as they do Kallisthenes' tenure of junior offices) and Phanostratos and Pheidostratos must go after Philinos, since only two years are available before him. But it is difficult, if not impossible, to set Antimachos before Philinos, because Lykomedes of Konthyle apparently was a councillor under both archons, and this clearly requires a one year interval between them at the very minimum. Antimachos would thus have to be set in 257/6 and Philostratos before that, with the result that there would be no room for the three archons Antiphon, Thymochares and Euboulos before 257/6. But Antimachos also figures as the only preserved archon in a decree detailing the career of Demetrios.<sup>119</sup> The length of the names of the other archons in this decree are calculable, and it is possible to see that Demetrios was phylarch in the archonship of Antimachos, hipparch (shortly afterwards) in the archonship of [...10....], and then general twice in the archonships of [...8....] and [ - ca.10 - ] respectively. The only archons available for the hipparchy of Demetrios are Athenodoros (254/3 or 250/49) and Kallimedes (who must belong to 249/8 or 248/7).<sup>120</sup> The first available sequence for [...8....] and [ - ca.10 - ] is Theophemos (241/0) and Eurykleides (239/8), and it would clearly be implausible to have a fourteen year break between the hipparchy of Demetrios and his first generalship, as would be necessary if Antimachos preceded Philinos by two years and the hipparchy was served under Athenodoros in 254/3. Equally, of course, a gap of eight or more years between Demetrios' tenure of the phylarchy and hipparchy respectively would imply implausibly gross doubts about his abilities. The conclusion is that Antimachos must belong in the period after Philinos. The earliest possible year is 253/2 (because of the need for an interval of at least one year between him and Philinos); the latest possible year is 251/0 (because Phanostratos and Pheidostratos must follow him, as must Kallimedes). The need for Philostratos to be close to Antimachos brings him into the post Philinos phase too.

The name of Antimachos is also fragmentarily preserved in a rather obscure decree from the year of his successor (IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 798+). The first few lines of this decree (re-edited below) have been cut in a different pattern from the rest of the text, which is inscribed in a rather loose *stoichedon* format, but it is possible to calculate that the secretarial details (name, patronymic, and demotic) occupied approximately twenty two letters. Depending on the identity of the prytanizing tribe, only the last part of which is preserved, the name of the archon had either 11 1/2, 11, 9 or 8 1/2 letters. The only possible candidates appear to be Kleomachos, whose secretary has an entry of twenty two letters, and just possibly Phanostratos, whose secretarial nomenclature is obscure. But the military career of Kallisthenes is conflated into a very short period and his service as hipparch and general falls

<sup>118</sup> For the career of Kallisthenes cf. IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 2854 = Pouilloux, Rhamnonte no.9.

<sup>119</sup> IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 1285 + SEG 32.154. Cf. S.V.Tracy, *Hesperia* 57 (1988) 320f.

<sup>120</sup> See further below.

into successive years, if Phanostratos is seen as the immediate successor of Antimachos, so that it seems best to envisage Kleomachos, whose secretarial details fit the available space in IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 798 + exactly, in this position.<sup>121</sup> Also in favour of this view is the consideration that the year in IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 798 + appears to have been Ordinary, as was that of Kleomachos.<sup>122</sup> The text of this decree may be presented as follows:

IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 798 (+ Hesperia 4 (1935) 582ff.).

Fragments of grey marble with yellowish streaks running diagonally downwards from left to right. The original back is partly preserved; parts too of the top, including a portion of the *aetoma*. The stone is rather worn and friable but it is likely that the right edge is preserved sporadically.

EM 7449 + 7455 (Plate XV a)

Non - Cτοιχ.

[Ἐπὶ Κλεομάχου ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀκαμαν]τίδος ἐβδόμ[ης πρυτανείας ἦι

Ἄφ]-

[θόνητος Ἀρχίνου Κήττιος ἐγραμμάτε]υεν ν Γαμηλιῶν[ος - - ca.7 - - ]

[ - ca.4 - ν τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψήφισεν Ἀ]ρχίλοχος Ἀρχενί[κου (?) Ἴκαρι]-

[εὺς καὶ συμπρόεδροι· ν ἔδ]οξεν τῶι δήμω[ι· ν - - - ca. 6 - - - - ]

5 [ .....18..... Κυδαθη]νιαεὺς εἶπεν· ἐπ[ε]ιδὴ [π] -

Cτοιχ.42

[ρότερόν τε οἱ πρόγονοι οἱ Χα]ρίου διετέλεσεν φιλο[τ]-

[ιμούμενοι εἷς τε τὴν βουλῆ]ν καὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθη[να]-

[ίων καὶ αὐτὸς Χαρίας εἰς ὅ]α ποτε ὁ δῆμος ἐπιμελε[ί]-

[ακ κατέστησεν αὐτὸν λελε]ι]τούργηκεν φιλοτίμω[ς, καὶ

(43)

10 [χειροτονηθεὶς ἀγωναθέτης] εἰς τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν τὸν ἐπ' Ἀ-

[ντιμάχου ἄρχοντος τάς τε θ]υσίας πάσας ἔθυσεν ὅσα[ς]

[προσῆκεν .....14..... ]ι τῶν Διονυσίων βοῦς πέν-

[τε .....13.... Ἀθηναί]οις καὶ Αἰτωλῶν τοῖς ἐπι[δ]-

[ημήσασιν καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας] πάντα ἐποίησεν καλῶς [κα]-

15 [ὶ φιλοτίμως, ἀνέθηκεν δὲ κ]αὶ τοὺς τριπόδας τοὺς τε [.]

[ [ [ - - - - - ] - - - ] ] ἔδωκε [δ]ὲ κα[ὶ]

[ .....17..... ἐπεμ]ελήθη ὅπως ἂν πάντες λάβ[ω]-

[σιν .....17..... τ]ῆν ἀγωναθεσίαν ἐκ τῶν ἰδ[ί]-

<sup>121</sup> This was the attribution proposed by Meritt, Hesperia 4 (1935) 582ff. Subsequently he has preferred to restore Phanostratos and to date the decree to 232/1 (Historia 26 (1977) 177; Hesperia 50 (1981) 96).

<sup>122</sup> The nature of the year of Kleomachos may be deduced from IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 770 which provides the equation Prytany XI.11 = Thargelion (XI) 11. The year of IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 798 + was surely Ordinary too. It is true that the prescript is abbreviated in that it records only the date by month, but the month is Gamelion (VII) and the prytany is VII. If the year were intercalary, the expectation would be for the month Posideon. A further consideration is that the designation of the date by reference to the month only strongly favours a year in which there was correspondence between months and prytanies.

- [ων .....17..... τάλ]αντα· ν καὶ τῆς ἐπιδοσέω[ς]  
 20 [γεγενημένης εἰς τὴν φυλακὴν τ]ῆς χώρας ἐπέδωκεν .[.]  
 [ .....13..... καὶ τῆς ἐπιμελε]ίας λόγον καὶ εὐθύ[ν]-  
 [ας ἔδωκεν· ν ὅπως ἂν οὖν καὶ τοῖ]ς ἄλλοις τοῖς εἰς τό [.]  
 [ .....23..... ἐφ]άμιλλον εἰ τὸ φιλοτ[ι]-  
 [μεῖσθαι εἰδόντι ὅτι παρὰ τοῦ δή]μου ἀξία κομιοῦ[ντ]-  
 25 [αι χάριτας· ν ἀγαθεῖ τύχει δεδόχ]θαι τεῖ βουλευί το[ύς]  
 [προέδρουσ οἱ ἂν λάχουσιν προεδ]ρεύε[ι]ν ἐν τεῖ πρώτ[ει]  
 [ἐκκλησίαι χρηματίσαι περὶ τ]οῦτων, γνώμην δὲ ξυμ[βά]-  
 [λλεσθαι τῆς βουλῆς εἰς τὸν δή]μον ὅτι δοκεῖ τεῖ β[ουλ]-  
 [εῖ ἐπαινέσαι Χαρίαν ...7... ]ίου Κυδαθηνα[ί]α κα[ὶ] σ[υ]-  
 30 [τεφανῶσαι αὐτὸν χρυσῶι τε]φ[άν]ωι κατὰ τὸν νόμον [..]  
 [ - - - - - ]

## Notes on the text

Lines 1-4: these lines are of variable length and inscribed non-*stoichedon*. Thereafter the text is cut *stoichedon* with a chequer measurement of *horizontal* ca. 0.0103 m; *vertical* ca. 0.0140 m.

Line 3: the date is given only by the month, and the available space renders likely the restoration of one of the two 'regular' meeting days of the Assembly in the calendar month, viz. Day 11 (ἐνδεκάτη) or Day 30 (ἐνῆ καὶ νέαι). For these days cf. J.D.Mikalson, *The Sacred and Civil Calendar of the Athenian Year* (Princeton 1975) 185. The former is likely, if the vacant space for punctuation is correctly restored. Meritt, *Hesperia* 4 (1935) 583, does not give an exact date at all, but restores the term ἐκκλησία κυρία. But the mention of a specific day is very probable, and there is not room for the whole phrase ἐκκλησία κυρία. Meritt also has vacant space both between καὶ συμπρόεδροι and ἔδοξεν and for the rest of the line after δήμωι; but there is not room for the first *vacat*. It is possible, however, that the last part of the line was left blank. The name Archeni[kos] is rare in Attica - only two certain instances apart from the one here, viz. PA 2371 (= IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 1622, etc.) without demotic; and IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 6274, where the demotic is Ἴκαριεύς (PA 2373 is defective). In the light of the space available the demotic Ἴκαριεύς thus becomes a distinct possibility.

Lines 4ff: the text printed here is similar to that of Meritt in having 42 letters per line (*stoichedon*), but numerous minor changes have been made. For line 20 see now S.V.Tracy, *Hesperia* 57 (1988) 320 - I was unable to see the traces clearly enough to read a *chi* as the last preserved letter.

Another fragmentary decree which has proved controversial is perhaps relevant here, namely IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 477 (Plate XV b), which has in recent times been attributed by Meritt to

Alkibiades and subsequently to Polystratos.<sup>123</sup> The significant data are that the name of the archon had ca. 10 1/2 letters in the genitive (the last letter being *upsilon*),<sup>124</sup> that the secretary was from tribe I, II or VI (the demotic is *Ποτά[μιος]*), that the year *prima facie* was intercalary, and that the contents, which mention friendship (*φιλία*) with King Antigonos Gonatas, set it after the end of the Chremonidean War. Excluding archons of suitable length and date whose name in the genitive ends with *sigma* (Antiphon, Thymochares, Diogeiton) or whose secretarial details are observably different (Diogeiton, Athenodoros, Kallimedes, Thersilochos, Polyeuktos) the only candidate appears to be Philostratos (10 1/2) who definitely belongs to the middle of the 250s - Alkibiades (9) is too short and Phanostratos (11) is too long. Since Philinos (255/4) served in an intercalary year, the earliest possible year for Philostratos is 253/2; and, given that Antimachos, Phanostratos and Pheidostratos as well as Kallimedes must serve between him and Thersilochos, 252/1 is the latest possible year. The upshot of this is that the following two schemes are possible, although Scheme A is to be preferred because of the strong likelihood that Kleomachos was the immediate successor of Antimachos.

		Scheme A		Scheme B
255/4	I	Philinos	I	Philinos
254/3	0	Athenodoros	0	Athenodoros
253/2	[I]	Philostratos	0	Kleomachos
252/1	0	Antimachos	[I]	Philostratos
251/0	0	Kleomachos	0	Antimachos
250/49	[I]	Phanostratos	[I]	Phanostratos
249/8	0	Pheidostratos	0	Pheidostratos
248/7	I	Kallimedes	I	Kallimedes

On this analysis a direct link of the (exiguously preserved) contents of IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 477 and the alleged liberation of Athens (in 256/5 or 255/4) is not feasible. But it is not necessary, since diplomatic exchanges between Athens and Gonatas are likely to have been relatively frequent in these years.

The archon Diogeiton with his secretary from tribe X needs to be in a non-cyclic period and not later than ca. 245, and Alkibiades, as suggested earlier, probably was in office during the lifetime of Gonatas - two years remain vacant in the early 250s and the pair should join Antiphon, Thymochares and Euboulos to fill the quinquennium between Arrheneides and Philinos.

<sup>123</sup> Cf. SEG 31.93.

<sup>124</sup> The upper right stroke of *upsilon* is preserved, as has also been observed by Meritt, *Hesperia* 50 (1981) 88. Allowing for an appropriate margin it may be calculated that there are 13 letters before the alpha of APXONTOC. The name of the archon thus had 10 1/2 letters, assuming that ἐπί was employed.

The archon Kallimedes is attested not only in the dedication for Thoukritos (already mentioned)<sup>125</sup> but also in public decrees. One of these latter figures as the first of two decrees inscribed upon a single *stele*, where the second is from the archonship of Thersilochos, and, because the secretaries of Kallimedes and Thersilochos come from tribes IV and VI respectively, it has invariably been assumed that there is a gap of one year between the two.<sup>126</sup> Obviously the rationale for such a view is grounded in the cycles, and the case is not without attraction in the light of the indisputable evidence that the secretaries for the successive archons Thersilochos, Polyektos, and Hieron came from tribes VI, VII, and VIII respectively. The difficulty is that, without prejudice, the case for setting Kallimedes immediately prior to Thersilochos is strong.

The evidence consists of two decrees inscribed on a single *stele* in favour of the *agonothetes* Agathaios of Prospalta, earlier a contributor to the success of the Great *Panathenaia* in the archonship of Athenodoros.<sup>127</sup> The first decree (from the year of Kallimedes) was passed on 20 Elaphebolion at the customary, annual meeting of the Assembly *ἐν Διονύσου* at the end of the *Dionysia*. It records thanks to Agathaios for his activities at the *Dionysia* and provides for him to receive an appropriate reward from the *demos* as soon as he has submitted his *euthynai*. The second decree, from the year of Thersilochos, was voted on the same day in Elaphebolion at the same annual meeting *ἐν Διονύσου*. Without (cyclic) preconception it is hard to see how the latter can date to anything other than the year after that of Kallimedes.<sup>128</sup> Indeed these two documents seem to exemplify the procedure whereby the *agonothetes* is decreed initial praise and thanks in the annual meeting *ἐν Διονύσου* immediately after the *Dionysia* which he has supervised, and subsequently receives appropriate honours at the same meeting in the following year, after he has successfully submitted his accounts.<sup>129</sup> An interval of two years seems highly improbable, and without cyclic considerations it can hardly be doubted that Kallimedes and Thersilochos would be regarded as successive.

<sup>125</sup> IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 2856 = Pouilloux, Rhamnonte no.12.

<sup>126</sup> See Table I; so too Habicht, Untersuchungen 143.

<sup>127</sup> IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 780; cf. 784 for his earlier contribution.

<sup>128</sup> It may be salutary to note here that many of the archon links upon which the chronology of Hellenistic Athens depends are of precisely this nature. To give but one example, the sequence Ekphantos - Lysanias depends on the evidence of IG ii<sup>2</sup>. 788, a decree from the year of Lysanias praising a priest of the year of Ekphantos. Thus, to tamper with individual instances for the sake of producing cycles is clearly to play with fire.

<sup>129</sup> For the annual meeting *ἐν Διονύσου* see W.A.McDonald, *The Political Meeting Places of the Greeks* (Baltimore 1943) 47ff. To the evidence assembled by McDonald may be added SEG 25.89. This decree dates from the month Gamelion in the year of Nikias II (282/1) and praises the archon of the previous year, Euthios, for his conduct of the *Dionysia*. In the course of the citation it notes that Euthios has already been praised and crowned in the meeting *ἐν Διονύσου* which followed the *Dionysia* (of 283/2) ... καὶ διὰ ταῦτα αὐτὸν καὶ πρότερον ὁ δῆμος ἐπήνεσεν καὶ ἐτεφάνωσεν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ ἐν Διονύσου (lines 17-19). The context confirms that the meeting *ἐν Διονύσου* was an annual event.

As has been noted elsewhere,<sup>130</sup> it is quite possible that the cyclic sequence from Thersilochos to Hieron is a coincidence, but the unexpected appearance in a decree from the year of Polyeuktos of the plural board as paymasters for a decree compels some hesitation.<sup>131</sup> For the history of this board is democratic,<sup>132</sup> and it thus raises the possibility of a constitutional change in the early 240s - a short one, to be sure, since the single officer of administration associated with the government imposed by Gonatas is evidenced as late as the year of Antimachos (between 253/2 and 251/0 at the extremes) and then again in 244/3 (archon Diomedon), although this latter would witness the abandonment of tribal cycles, if, of course, they were ever re-introduced in these years.<sup>133</sup> Given that the plural board could be restored as readily as the single officer in the decree of the year of Kallimedes already mentioned, it is not impossible that there was a (temporary) change in financial arrangements towards the end of the 250s.<sup>134</sup> If so, this could have stemmed from a more liberal attitude on the part of Antigonos Gonatas, although it cannot be tied directly to his restoration of Athenian freedom, which is dated by Eusebios to 256/5 or 255/4.<sup>135</sup> This latter in any event surely covered the removal of the garrison from the Mouseion hill, an action which, unlike a change in the composition of a financial board or the re-introduction of secretary cycles, could appropriately be styled a restoration of freedom. But, if a re-introduction of the secretary cycle did take place, it cannot be taken back beyond 250/49 - for the secretaries before that year attest the absence of cycles, however they are arranged. In such circumstances a possible (and economical) scenario would be to envisage a reintroduction of certain democratic features of administration, including the secretary cycles and the plural board of administration, in (or for) the year 249/8. In the case of the secretary cycle there must, however, remain a strong doubt, particularly in view of the weakness (and obvious circularity) of the sole argument for setting Kallimedes at an interval of one year from Thersilochos. But the detailed political shifts of these years are quite ill-known, so that changes are perfectly feasible. If therefore a cycle is to be seen as briefly in operation, a re-commencement in the year of Kallimedes and with a secretary from tribe IV would be appropriate, since the earlier cycle was broken in the year of Antipatros, when the secretary

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<sup>130</sup> Cf. Osborne (1985) 295.

<sup>131</sup> SEG 33.115.

<sup>132</sup> See n.9 above.

<sup>133</sup> As noted earlier, the sequence Polyeuktos/Hieron/Diomedon is guaranteed by SEG 2.9, and the respective secretaries are known to have come from tribes VII, VIII, and XII respectively (cf. n.21 above). Thersilochos has a secretary from tribe VI and is assumed to have been the immediate predecessor of Polyeuktos on the basis of the ephobic decree Hesperia 7 (1938) 121f. no.24. Since his secretarial affiliation produces a sequence of three secretaries in consecutive tribal order, the impetus to envisage a cycle in operation is strong.

<sup>134</sup> A.S.Henry, *Chiron* 14 (1984) 77, envisages such a change and sets it in or after 251/0, but this depends upon his attribution of the decree for Phaidros of Sphettos to this year. As argued above, this seems to be too late for these honours.

<sup>135</sup> For the date cf. Habicht, *Studien* 16. There is a discrepancy between the Greek and the Armenian versions of Eusebios.

should have come from tribe IV. Such a location for Kallimedes would require Pheidostratos to be down-dated by one year (to 248/7) and an added source of attraction for all cyclic enthusiasts will be the revelation that it would be possible, though not necessary, to restore the secretary of the year of Pheidostratos as an incumbent from tribe V. The only decree to survive from his year is broken and desperately worn, but a close examination suggests that the demotic of the secretary has a maximum of five letters only (restricting the possibilities to *Ὅαθεν* V, *Ὅηθεν* VIII, and *Πήληξ* VI).<sup>136</sup> The revised text of the fragment may be presented thus: -

SEG 32.126 (= Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology*, 100f. Cf. E.Vanderpool AD 23 (1968) A 5).

[Ἐπι] Φειδοστράτου [ἄρ]χ[οντος ἐπι τῆς Π]-	(28 1/2) Non-Clay.
[ανδ]ιονίδος δωδε[κάτ]ης [πρυτανείας ἦι]	(29)
[.3. .]οχάρης Κτησικ[ράτ]ου [ca. 5 ἐγραμμ]-	(ca. 30)
[άτευ]εν· Κυροφορ[ιῶ]νος π[έμπτη μετ' εἰκ]-	(30)
5 [άδας ἔκτηι καὶ] εἰκο[ς]τῆι [τῆς πρυτανείας·](30 1/2)	
[ἐκκλησία] κυ[ρ]ία· [-----]	

The conclusions for the chronology of the period may be summarized in the Table which follows (Table II). A number of matters remain unresolved, but this is inevitable in the present state of the evidence. No chronological scheme proposed to date has survived entirely intact from the discovery of a new document bearing an archon or secretary date, and it remains to be seen how drastic a revision will be needed when the *stèle* discovered in Aristophanes street some ten years ago, and advertised as likely to hold the key to the chronology of these years, is eventually published.<sup>137</sup> Given that it is reportedly a *stèle* containing two decrees, it is unlikely to offer a solution to all of the problems of this period. The desiderated contribution of this paper to the debate is to suggest a more judicious approach to the employment of the secretary cycles and one which not only allows for the assessment of other evidence but which takes cognisance of the essentially democratic nature of the cycles.

<sup>136</sup> This fragment from the Agora (= Agora Inv. I 5796) was first published by Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology* 100f., with line 3 restored as follows: - [.3..]οχάρης Κτησικ[ρατου] Ἐρχιεὺς ἐγραμμ/άτευ]εν. Subsequently Vanderpool reported that the traces of the dotted pi and the dotted epsilon were illusory (AD 23 (1968) A 5). A close examination of line 3 on a number of occasions revealed the following traces: - (letter 14 - after the iota): the top of an upright stroke with a tiny mark to the right consonant with the top of kappa. (Letter 18): 0.045 m to the right of the iota the right half of a circular letter is visible. This seemed clear on a squeeze. (Letter 19): a faint trace of a stroke to the right of the omikron consonant with the top left part of epsilon. Ktesikrates appears to be the only available name which suits the preserved traces and allows for the restoration of a demotic.

<sup>137</sup> The discovery was announced in AD 33 (1978) B (1) 13 (published 1985).

TABLE II

ATHENIAN ARCHONS AND SECRETARIAL AFFILIATIONS 268/7 - 228/7

269/8	(?) POLYSTRATOS or LYKEAS	[9]
268/7	PEITHIDEMOS	<X>
267/6	MENEKLES	XI
266/5	NIKIAS (OTRYNEUS)	XII
265/4	(?) PHANOMACHOS	[1]
264/3	DIOGNETOS	[2]
263/2	(?) LYKEAS or POLYSTRATOS	[3]
262/1	ANTIPATROS	[4]

Break in secretary cycle, as democracy falls.

261/0	ARRHENEIDES	[-]
260/59	ANTIPHON	[-]
259/8	THYMOCHARES	[-]
258/7	EUBOULOS	[-]
257/6	DIOGEITON	X
256/5	ALKIBIADES	[-]
255/4	PHILINOS	II

The exact order of these archons is unclear.

SCHEME A

SCHEME B

(?) SCHEME C  
(with possible cycle)

254/3	ATHENODOROS	X	ATHENODOROS	X	
253/2	PHILOSTRATOS	[-]	KLEOMACHOS	VI	
252/1	ANTIMACHOS	V	PHILOSTRATOS	[-]	
251/0	KLEOMACHOS	VI	ANTIMACHOS	V	
250/49	PHANOSTRATOS	[-]	PHANOSTRATOS	[-]	PHANOSTRATOS [-]
249/8	PHEIDOSTRATOS	[-]	PHEIDOSTRATOS	[-]	KALLIMEDES IV
248/7	KALLIMEDES	IV			PHEIDOSTRATOS [V]
247/6	THERSILOCHOS	VI			THERSILOCHOS VI
246/5	POLYEUKTOS	VII			POLYEUKTOS VII
245/4	HIERON	VIII			HIERON VIII
244/3	DIOMEDON	XII			
243/2	LYSIADES	[-]			
242/1	PHILONEOS	VI			
241/0	THEOPHEMOS	[-]			
240/39	KYDENOR	VI			
239/8	EURYKLEIDES	[-]			
238/7	LYSIAS	X or XI (or II)			

SCHEME A (Non Cyclic)

SCHEME B (Cyclic)

237/6	[A]RISTION	[-]	KIMON	[-]
236/5	KIMON	[-]	EKPANTOS	II
235/4	EKPANTOS	II	LYSANIAS	III
234/3	LYSANIAS	III	[A]RISTION	[-]
233/2	[ - - - ]	[-]		
232/1	[ - - - ]	[-]		
231/0	JASON or [ - - - ]	[-]		
230/29	[ - - - ] or JASON	[-]		

229/8	HELIODOROS	IX
228/7	LEOCHARES	X

Democracy of Eurykleides and Mikion

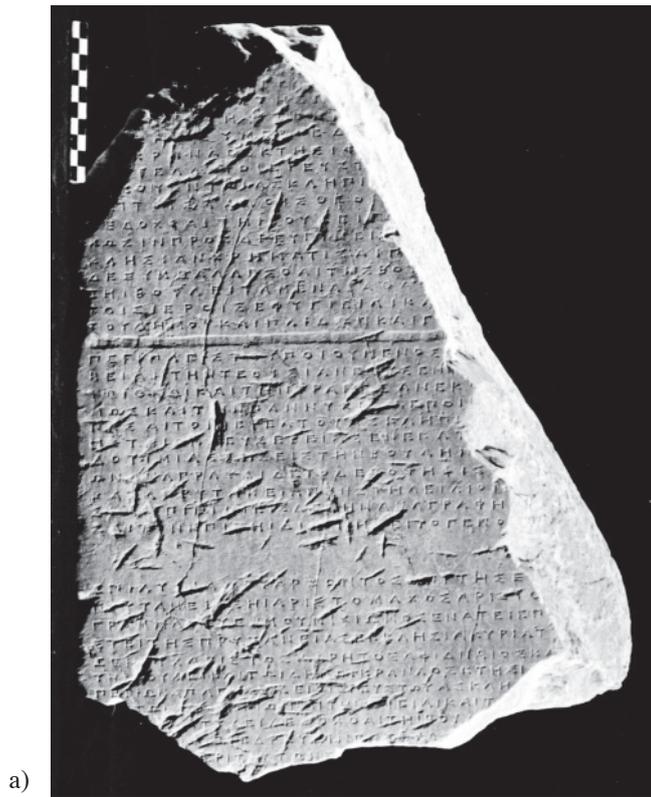
It is not at all clear that the secretary cycles held such a gripping fascination for the ancients as they have come to do for modern interpreters, and there is a danger that they will be credited with a significance much greater than is either useful or appropriate.<sup>138</sup>

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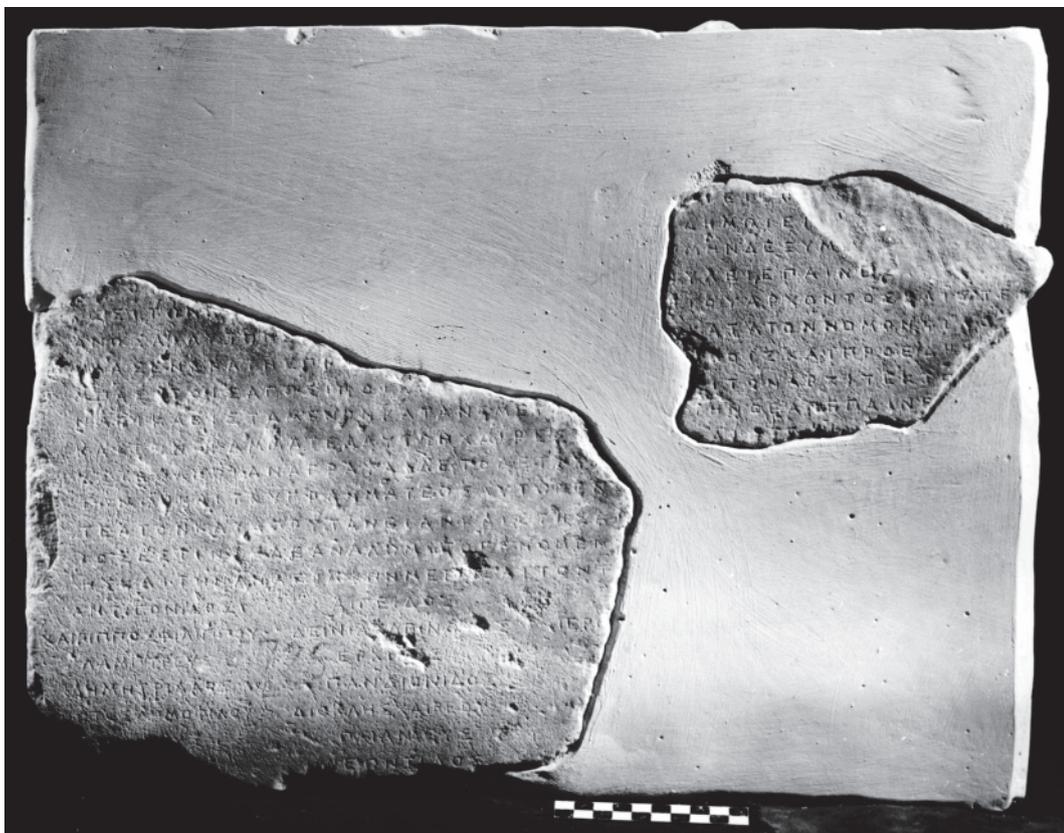
Michael J.Osborne

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<sup>138</sup> I should like to express my gratitude to Professor D.Delmouzou Peppas, the Director of the Epigraphical Museum, for permission to study the texts discussed above; also to Mrs Chara Karapa-Molisani for facilitating such study.

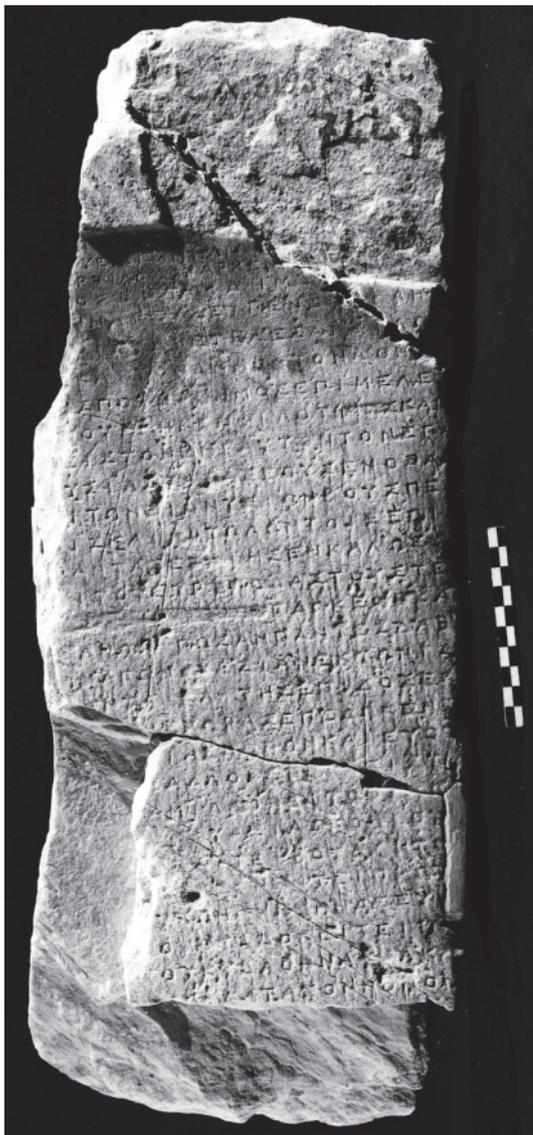


a)



b)

a) IG II² 775; b) IG II² 792



a)



b)

a) IG II<sup>2</sup> 798; b) IG II<sup>2</sup> 477