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# Greek Historical Inscriptions 404–323 BC

EDITED BY

P. J. Rhodes and  
Robin Osborne

GREEK  
HISTORICAL  
INSCRIPTIONS  
404–323 BC

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*Edited*  
*with introduction, translations, and commentaries*  
*by*

P. J. RHODES  
*and*  
ROBIN OSBORNE

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## PREFACE

The first volume of M. N. Tod's *Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions* (following earlier selections by E. L. Hicks and G. F. Hill: published in 1933, second edition 1946) was superseded by the volume compiled by Russell Meiggs and David Lewis in 1969 (revised 1988). David Lewis had hoped to produce a volume to supersede Tod's second volume (published 1948): he first considered in 1977 what might be included, and again in 1991–2 he consulted a number of colleagues including both of us; but after he had finished editing *Inscriptiones Graecae*, 1<sup>3</sup>, he saw work on the tablets from Persepolis as his highest priority. After his death in 1994 Rhodes, as his literary executor, invited Osborne to join him in persevering with the project; and this volume, which we dedicate to the memory of David Lewis, is the result.

Our collection stands in the tradition of Tod and of Meiggs and Lewis in being aimed primarily at historians, and we have retained *Greek Historical Inscriptions* as our title. There is, of course, a sense in which all inscriptions are historical documents, but some make a greater contribution in their own right than others to the questions which historians are interested in asking, and it is on inscriptions of that kind that we, like our predecessors, have concentrated. We took as our starting-point Lewis' 1991–2 list of candidates for inclusion and the responses to it of ourselves and the others whom he consulted, and we continued the process of consultation before settling on the collection of texts assembled here. Significant new texts have been found since Tod's collection was published, and there have been significant new fragments and new interpretations of some which he included; beyond that, while adhering to the aim of presenting texts which are important not just as typical of their genre but in their own right, we have aimed to broaden the thematic range and to include a greater selection of material from outside Athens. We hope that our collection will offer a way in to all aspects of fourth-century history: political, institutional, social, economic, and religious. We have therefore endeavoured to make our commentaries accessible to those unfamiliar with the areas in question, and have translated all our texts. Since inscribed stones and bronzes are physical objects, whose nature and appearance is important for their impact, we have included a number of photographs.

All that Lewis found time to do towards this volume after his consultation of 1991–2 was to type into his computer a few texts and translations: we have studied these, but for the sake of stylistic uniformity we have made our own translations of the texts in question. More importantly, over many years he had compiled and circulated among students and teachers of fourth-century Greek history in Oxford notes on significant work concerning Tod's inscriptions subsequent to the publication of his volume, and texts of some additional fourth-century inscriptions; and these were invaluable to us when we embarked on our work.

One of us accepted the primary responsibility for each of the texts included here: attentive readers may detect different styles of thinking, and of writing, but each of us has read and commented on all that the other has written, each of us has responded

constructively to the comments of the other, and we accept joint responsibility for this book in its final form. Like Meiggs and Lewis, 'we . . . compliment one another, for we have found a surprising measure of agreement and our few differences of opinion have never escalated'.

Beyond that, we have many thanks to express. At the institutional level, Rhodes thanks the University of Durham for research leave in 1998, when we were starting work, and in 2001, when we were finishing our text; All Souls College, Oxford, for a visiting fellowship in 1998; and Corpus Christi College, Oxford (which awarded him a visiting fellowship in 1993), for continuing hospitality. Osborne thanks Corpus Christi College, Oxford, where he was Tutorial Fellow in Ancient History when this work was done; and the British Academy, for a Research Readership in 1999–2001. We both thank the staff of the Bodleian Library and the Ashmolean → Sackler Library in Oxford for providing almost all the publications which we needed to consult. Though neither of us is now based in Oxford, almost all of this book was written there.

We should like to thank a great many individuals, but they are not to be blamed for what we have done in response to their advice. Our list must begin with Dr S. D. Lambert, who has been exceptionally generous with his time and expertise, and his colleagues Dr A. P. Matthaiou and Dr G. J. Oliver, who are re-editing fourth-century Athenian decrees for the first phase of a third edition of *Inscriptiones Graecae*, II, and who generously checked readings, scrutinized our drafts, and showed us their drafts. Others who have helped us include Mr D. J. Blackman; Dr H. Bowden; Professor J. Buckler; Professor J. McK. Camp; Professor A. Chaniotis; Mr G. T. Cockburn; Dr C. V. Crowther, of the Centre for the Study of Ancient Documents in Oxford; Dr B. Currie; Professor P. D. A. Garnsey; Professor P. Gauthier; Dr K. Hallof, of *Inscriptiones Graecae* in Berlin; Dr M. H. Hansen; Professor P. Hellström; Dr H. King; Mrs E. Matthews, of the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*; Professor A. Morpurgo Davies; Mr N. Papazarkadas; Professor R. C. T. Parker; Miss J. M. Reynolds; Dr I. Ruffell; Dr M. Sayar; Professor A. C. Scafuro; Professor S. Scullion; Dr J. Shear; Professor R. S. Stroud; Professor D. Whitehead; Dr G. M. Williamson; and Dr P. J. Wilson.

We are indebted to those who have supplied and allowed us to reproduce photographs and a line drawing, who are indicated in the list of illustrations. We thank Mr J. W. Roberts and the LACTOR Committee for permission to reuse material from Rhodes's LACTOR volume, *Greek Historical Inscriptions, 359–323 BC*. And we are grateful to the Oxford University Press for publishing this successor to its distinguished predecessors, and to the staff of the Press and the printers for the care which they have devoted to our book.

Durham  
Cambridge  
December 2001

P.J.R.  
R.G.O.

Changes in the 2007 paperback edition are limited to the correction of errors. We are again particularly grateful to Dr S. D. Lambert.

P.J.R.  
R.G.O.

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## REFERENCES

### ANCIENT TEXTS

Most abbreviations should cause no difficulty; but the following should be noticed:

Ar.	Aristophanes
Arist.	Aristotle
<i>Ath. Pol.</i>	[Aristotle], <i>Athenaion Politeia</i>

Where there is a choice between numbering systems, we use the following:

Aristotle, <i>Politics</i>	books in manuscript order (as in Oxford Text); then, not chapters and sections, but Berlin pages
Pausanias	sections within chapters as in M. H. Rocha-Pereira's Teubner text
Plutarch, <i>Lives</i>	sections within chapters as in Teubner and Budé texts
Strabo	Casaubon's pages followed by book, chapter, and section numbers

### MODERN WORKS

Numerals in **bold type** refer to the numbered items in this book.

Articles in periodicals are cited in sufficient detail for identification in the course of the book. In general we use the abbreviations of *L'Année philologique*, with the usual English divergences (*AJP* for *AJPh*, etc.; also *BSA* for *ABSA*); but the publications of continental academies are abbreviated as *Abh. Berlin*, *Sb. Leipzig*, etc. (cf. *Ann. Pisa* of the Scuola Normale Superiore), the *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung*, as *AM*, and the titles of Greek-language periodicals are given (abbreviated or in full) in the Greek alphabet.

Collections of inscriptions which we cite are listed in section 1 of the Bibliography, and other books which we cite are listed in section 2, and except where we use shortened titles of a kind which will cause no difficulty we indicate in the Bibliography the abbreviations which we use.

# INTRODUCTION

## I

Nowadays inscriptions on stone or metal are used in two main contexts: on public buildings (to announce the identity of the building, or to record the laying of the foundation stone or the formal opening of the building), and on tombstones, war memorials, lists of officials or benefactors and the like. In the ancient world, with no printing or duplicating, or other modern means of communication, inscription was used not only for these purposes but for many others as well. Public announcements could not be made in the newspapers or delivered to individual members of the public: either a proclamation had to be made at a meeting attended by large numbers of the citizens, or a text would be set up in the centre of the city in the hope that members of the public would come and read it. Temporary notices—lists of candidates for office, proposals for new legislation and so on—were written on whitewashed boards, and have not survived for us to read; for permanent publication bronze or wood was sometimes used, but the normal medium was stone. For example, texts of a city's religious calendars, of its laws and decrees, and of its alliances with other cities; schedules of work on a public building project, and accounts of public expenditure on the project; inventories of precious objects in the temple treasuries or of ships in the dockyards; epigrams commemorating a famous victory; honours voted to a native or foreign benefactor; lists of office-holders and benefactors—all these and comparable documents might be inscribed on stone for members of the public to see. However, by far the largest number of inscriptions are texts set up by private individuals—mostly dedications and funerary monuments—and these no less than public inscriptions provide information of importance for historians (for private inscriptions in our collection see 7, 30, 65, 92).

We have deliberately used the verb 'see' rather than 'read'. Though in theory the purpose of a published text is that it should be available to be read, some texts were published in such a way that they were not easy to read, and the purpose of a lengthy inventory of items received by one board of treasurers from its predecessors and transmitted to its successors may have been to serve as a symbolic demonstration that the board had done its duty as much as to furnish material for an investigator who wanted to check that none of the items had disappeared. Nevertheless, some other texts were laid out in ways designed to aid intelligibility (e.g. 45, where the lines containing the total for the year project beyond the left-hand margin of the column); and we think it would be a mistake to make too much of the symbolic aspect of inscription and too little of the notion that texts were published so that they could be read.<sup>1</sup> Expressions such as 'Write up . . . so that all other men also may know . . .'

<sup>1</sup> On the symbolic aspects of publication see, e.g., J. K. Davies and D. Harris in *Ritual, Finance, Politics . . . D. Lewis*, 201–12 and 213–25; on this and on other aspects of publication see Rhodes, *G&R*<sup>2</sup> xlviii 2001, 33–44, 136–53.

(ὅπως ἂν ὀν καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἅπαντες εἰδῶσι . . . ἀναγράψαι: e.g. *IG* π<sup>2</sup> 223 = *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 227, *A.* 13–16) are strictly compatible with either function.

Very large blocks of stone were sometimes used for extensive documents or series of documents (in this collection, **22** measures about  $1.93 \times 0.45 \times 0.14$  m. =  $6' 4'' \times 1' 6'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$ , **64** measures about  $2.17 \times 0.55 \times 0.16$  m. =  $7' 1'' \times 1' 10'' \times 6\frac{1}{4}''$ ), but Greek inscriptions were not necessarily 'monumental'. Very often the *stèle* would be a slab of stone no larger than a modern tombstone (**71** measures  $0.5 \times 0.3 \times 0.05$  m =  $1' 8'' \times 1' \times 2''$ , **77**  $0.54 \times 0.43 \times 0.08$  m. =  $1' 9'' \times 1' 5'' \times 3\frac{1}{4}''$ ), and both on these and on the larger *stelai* the text was usually inscribed in letters  $0.005$ – $0.01$  m. =  $0.2$ – $0.4''$  high.<sup>2</sup> Documents emanating from the public authorities were normally published at public expense; but sometimes a man who had been honoured would himself pay for the publication of his honours, and see on **35** for the suggestion that that text of ephemeral significance was published by the Eleusinian officials. Publication was not cheap. In Athens in the fourth century it became common to specify in advance how much the state would spend on the *stèle*: **22**, a large stone (cf. above), cost 60 drachmas; 30 drachmas were allowed for the even larger **64** (cf. above) and for the elaborate **70** (but see commentary), and also for the small **77** (cf. above); surprisingly, only 20 drachmas were allowed for two copies of **79**, though the stone containing our surviving copy measures about  $1.57 \times 0.42 \times 0.11$  m =  $5' 2'' \times 1' 5'' \times 4\frac{1}{4}''$  and has at the top a sculptured relief. The *stèle* would be set up in a public place, commonly the acropolis (the rocky citadel) or the agora (the main square) of the city. Sometimes texts would be inscribed not on a separate *stèle* but, e.g., on a building: **86** comprises the first two of a series of texts inscribed on a temple at Priene, in Asia Minor.

Although there had been earlier attempts on a small scale, the view that for Athens, with its unusually large body of texts, it should be possible to identify the work of particular stone-cutters from their particular idiosyncrasies was first seriously advanced by S. Dow, and has been followed up most thoroughly by S. V. Tracy. In *Athenian Democracy in Transition* he seeks to identify cutters whose activity falls at least partly within the period 340–290, and of the texts in our collection he assigns **31**, **34**, **41** (one cutter), **72**, **81** (one cutter), **91**, and **100** to cutters. Identifications cannot always be certain, and Tracy himself remarks that in this period 'many of these cutters inscribed letters which are very much alike' (p. 2). He claims to have been conservative in his assignments (*ibid.*); some might still be challenged;<sup>3</sup> but he has pursued investigations of this kind more thoroughly and systematically than anybody else, and only a scholar who had been equally thorough and systematic could reject his assignments with confidence.

Sometimes more than one copy of a text would be published—an alliance, naturally, would be published in each of the cities participating; **69** was published in two (or,

<sup>2</sup> Exceptionally, **7. B**, a grave stone, has letters  $0.04$  m. =  $1\frac{1}{2}''$  high; **86. A**, on a temple wall, has letters  $0.052$ – $0.057$  m. =  $2$ – $2\frac{1}{2}''$  high. Some epigraphists use the Greek *stèle* as the technical term for a comparatively thin slab and *cippus* (the Latin term for a marker, particularly of a grave or a boundary) as the technical term for a block which is more nearly square in cross-section, but the words were not used in antiquity in accordance with that distinction.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the review of *Athenian Democracy in Transition* by M. B. Walbank, *Phoen.* li 1997, 79–81.

as restored by some editors, three) places within Athens, and **79** in two places within Athens; the *dossier* **40** was published in Athens, and the decrees of the individual Cean cities were published in the city in question—and where more than one copy of a text has been found it has become apparent that the Greeks lacked our notion of word-for-word accuracy: instead they seem to have had the potentially dangerous belief that, as long as the sense was correctly recorded, small differences in wording did not matter. In spite of that, however, it was the inscribed text rather than the original text in the archives which was in some sense the official text of a public document: thus the Thirty in Athens in 404 ‘took down from the Areopagus’ the laws of Ephialtes and Archestratus (*Ath. Pol.* 35. ii), and in the prospectus of the Second Athenian League Athens undertakes that if for cities which join ‘there happen to be unfavourable *stelai* at Athens, the council currently in office shall have power to demolish them’ (**22**. 31–5; cf. **39**. 31–3).<sup>4</sup>

Some *stelai* have survived intact—unbroken and completely legible. Far more often, however, only part of the original *stele* survives, some letters even on the part that does survive are hard or impossible to read, and modern scholars have had to do their best to reconstruct the text. Where only a few letters on the edges of a *stele* are missing, restoration is easy, often inevitable; where large parts of the text are illegible and/or missing, reconstruction is far more difficult. If the historical context to which a document belongs can be identified, this may provide clues as to what the lost parts of the text should have contained. If a piece of standardized documentary language can be recognized, this can be reconstructed by comparison with other documents (though the Greeks could not retrieve a standard clause from a data-base, and variations tend to be found even within ‘standard’ formulaic expressions: compare, for instance, the different forms of the Athenian probouleumatic formula in **24**, **31**, **33**, **38**, **95** §§iv, v). If two or three lines can be reliably restored, the approximate length of the lines is fixed, and this limits the possibilities of restoration in the rest of the document. In this period most Athenian decrees, and some decrees of other states, were inscribed in a style known as *stoichedon* (a genuine Greek word, though not used of inscriptions in any ancient text), with the letters regularly spaced on a grid, precisely the same number of letters in each line, and little or no punctuation: this, though it made the *stelai* more attractive as monuments, cannot have made for easy reading, but for us it has the advantage that very often a formulaic expression can be found which allows enough reconstruction at one point to reveal the exact number of letters to be restored in each line. With a few exceptions, where a text is fragmentary but of sufficient importance to deserve inclusion, we have limited ourselves in this collection to inscriptions where a substantial stretch of continuous text survives or can be reconstructed.

Beyond that, we have tried to choose texts which are both important in themselves and give an indication of the range available; and readers whose interests are thematic can use our texts and commentaries to study not only the main narrative thread of fourth-century history but such matters as political institutions and administrative organization; religious cults and religious financing; coinage, building funds and

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Rhodes with Lewis, 3–4 with n. 4.

regulations, trade agreements, and other economic matters. Geographically, we have material from Athens and other states of the Greek mainland, from the Aegean islands, from Macedon, Thrace, and the Cimmerian Bosphorus, from western Asia Minor, and from Cyrene (and among the Athenian texts we have one concerned with Sidon, in Phoenicia)—but not from the Greek states of Italy and Sicily, which produced very few inscriptions at any date, though we include some texts from mainland Greece concerned with Sicily. Many of our documents are inter-state treaties, or laws or decrees of single states (especially Athens, which in the fifth and fourth centuries inscribed public documents on a much larger scale than other states). However, our material includes texts from bodies within a state (demes, **46, 63**; gentilicial groups, **1, 5, 37, 61, 87**; a contingent of ephebes, **89**, cf. Athens' ephebic oath, **88**) as well as from the state itself; from Athens we have documents issued by the *poletai* (**36**) and by the *epistatai* of the dockyards (**100**); from Athens and from elsewhere we have such items as commemorations of men who died in war (**7, 30**; cf. a celebration of victory, **74**); religious regulations of various kinds (**1, 62, 73, 81, 97**; cf. **37, 63, 87**); accounts of sacred treasurers (**28**), financial records of different kinds (**28, 45, 60, 66, 67**; cf. **100**); a lease of sacred land (**59**); a record of donations of grain (**96**); accounts of people cured of diseases at Epidaureus' sanctuary of Asclepius (**102**).

## II

Since many of our texts are public documents of the Athenian state, and since other Greek states had constitutions which, whether democratic or oligarchic, were similar in their general pattern though different in their detail and their balance, some information on the mechanics of the fourth-century Athenian constitution will help to make the texts intelligible.

Since the reforms of Cleisthenes (508/7) the citizens of Athens had been organized in ten *phylai* ('tribes'). In what for some purposes was an official order, these were:

I Erechtheis	VI Oeneis
II Aegeis	VII Cecropis
III Pandionis	VIII Hippothontis
IV Leontis	IX Aiantis
V Acamantis	X Antiochis

Each tribe consisted of three *trittyes* ('thirds'), in different parts of Attica; and the *trittyes* consisted of one or more *demoi* ('demes': local units), of which there were 139 altogether. To be a citizen of Athens a man had to belong to a deme and to the *trittys* and the tribe of which that deme formed a part (membership of these units was hereditary, and by the fourth century not all Athenians lived in the deme in which they were registered). Demes and tribes, though perhaps not *trittyes*, acted as independent decision-making bodies, and sometimes published their decrees (bodies outside this structure, such as phratries, made and published their decisions in the same way: **5, 37, 46, 63**). Beyond that, a good deal of Athens' governmental machinery was based on this structure.

The body with the ultimate right of decision in most matters was the *ekklesia* ('assembly'), open to all full (i.e. adult male) citizens, which had forty regular meetings a year and could probably have extraordinary meetings in addition (see on 64 and, for the *ekklesia kyria*, 98): for certain categories of business, affecting a named individual, a quorum of 6,000 was required. Since there are limits to what can be done by a large body meeting infrequently, day-to-day affairs were in the hands of the *boule* ('council') of five hundred. This body comprised fifty members from each tribe; within the tribe seats were allocated to demes approximately in proportion to their size, so that in the fourth century several small demes had one member each but the largest deme, Acharnae, had twenty-two. Appointment was made by lot from those who stood as candidates; service was for one year at a time, and no man could serve for more than two years in his life. Within the council, the fifty members from each tribe in turn served as the *prytaneis* ('prytany': standing committee) for a tenth of the year, in an order fixed by lot; all business went to them in the first instance; each day one of their members was chosen, again by lot, to be *epistates* ('chairman'), and for twenty-four hours he and some of his colleagues were permanently on duty. In the fifth century one of the duties of the prytany and its chairman had been to preside at meetings of the council and assembly. By the beginning of the 370s they had been relieved of this duty, and meetings were instead presided over by a board of *proedroi*—nine members of the council, one from each tribe except the current prytany, and one of them designated *epistates*, picked by lot for one day (for the change see on 22).

In the fourth century most decisions of the Athenian state (but not all: see below) were embodied in a *psephisma* ('decree') of the assembly. Every matter on which the assembly was to make up its mind was first discussed by the council, which drew up the assembly's agenda (if a new matter was first raised in the assembly, it would be referred to the council, with instructions to bring the matter back to a later assembly: e.g. 69). On each matter which it sent forward to the assembly the council issued its *probouleuma* ('preliminary deliberation'). Sometimes the *probouleuma* contained a positive recommendation, which the assembly might if it chose accept as it stood (e.g. 24, which contains a version of the 'probouleumatic formula': 'bring them forward to the people, and contribute the opinion of the council that the council resolves'); on other occasions the council put a question to the assembly without making any recommendation of its own (as in 91, where we have first the *probouleuma*—'contribute the opinion of the council to the people that the council resolves that the people shall listen . . . and deliberate as they think best'—and then the resultant decree of the assembly); sometimes the council made its own recommendation up to a point but left certain details open (e.g. 2. 49–50, 60–1. The *probouleuma* was read out at the beginning of the debate in the assembly; then—whether it had contained a positive recommendation or not—members were free to propose alternative motions, to propose amendments to a motion already before the assembly (if an amendment was carried, it was published after the original motion which it modified, and sometimes but not always the text of the original motion was modified in the light of the amendment (see, e.g., on 2), or to amend a motion by taking it over and rewriting it (usually this can be reliably detected only in the rare cases where the original motion

has been published with the final version, e.g. 95, but see also on 41, 64). When the assembly approved a recommendation of the council, in a ‘probouleumatic decree’, from the beginning of the 370s the council’s probouleumatic formula was often left in the published version of the text (the earliest example in our collection is 24); and the Athenians also continued using the fifth-century enactment formula which mentioned the council. In ‘non-probouleumatic decrees’, when the assembly did not approve a recommendation of the council (either because the council made a recommendation which it rejected or because the council made no recommendation) the Athenians in the fourth century took to using enactment and motion formulae which did not mention the council (cf. below, pp. xix–xx, and Rhodes, *Boule*, 66–78).

The alternative to a decree of the assembly in fourth-century Athens was a *nomos* (‘law’). At the end of the fifth century the accumulation of nearly two hundred years’ decrees since the codification of the law by Solon (594/3) had produced a great deal of confusion, and an attempt was then made to assemble all currently valid enactments in an organized code of laws. Thereafter, in principle, matters which were permanent and of general application were to be dealt with by laws while matters which were ephemeral and/or of particular application were, as before, to be dealt with by decrees, and decrees were to rank below laws in importance and validity. There are uncertainties about the application of the principle and the working of the new law-making procedure (*nomothesia*). A revised code of laws was completed in 400/399.<sup>5</sup> Any subsequent enactment which would change or add to that code of laws should itself have taken the form of a law; the procedure for enacting new laws was set in motion by the assembly but the final decision lay not with the assembly but with a special board of *nomothetai* (‘law-enactors’); references in speeches of the fourth century suggest that the procedure should have resembled that of a law-court, with the *nomothetai* sitting in judgment on the rival merits of the current law and the new proposal; but the surviving texts of laws (in our collection 25, 26, 79, 81. A) have introductory material which matches that of decrees as closely as possible (the *proedroi* and their chairman in 79 are *proedroi* of the board of *nomothetai*).<sup>6</sup> In practice, although this new procedure seems except in occasional crises to have been used on those occasions when it ought to have been used—with the proviso that, because there were no such matters in the new code of laws, all decisions in the area of foreign policy, even on treaties intended to last for all time, were embodied in decrees—the record of surviving texts suggests that it was not used very often (one matter for which it was used was modification of the annual budget, on which see below). It presumably conferred extra importance and solemnity on an enactment; but it was more cumbersome than the procedure for making decrees, and the Athenians continued to take most of their decisions by decree.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>5</sup> See Rhodes, *JHS* cix 1991, 87–100, and other works cited there.

<sup>6</sup> On *nomothetai*, juries, and assemblies see Rhodes, *CQ* llii 2003, 124–9.

<sup>7</sup> On the distinction between laws and decrees see M. H. Hansen, *GRBS* xix 1978, 315–30, xx 1979 27–53 = *Ecclesia* (I), 161–76(–7), 179–205(–6), believing that the Athenians adhered to the principle; Rhodes, in *L’educazione giuridica*, v. ii. 5–26 at 14–15, suggesting that a law was needed to change the code of laws. For a list of inscribed laws see Stroud, *The Athenian Grain-Tax Law*, 15–16, to which S. D. Lambert, *ZPE* cxxxv 2001, 51–62

By the fourth century the layout of an Athenian decree or law had become more or less standardized. Not every text contains every possible element, but in a complete text we should find the following:<sup>8</sup>

- (i) The *stele* is often surmounted by a pediment or a horizontal moulding, and sometimes has a sculptured relief, often set in an architectural frame, above and/or below the text (**70** has a relief above the text and another relief below; **79** has a pediment and a relief above). The style and detail of the sculpture can sometimes help to indicate the date of the inscription (cf. **88**).
- (ii) **Invocation**: ‘Gods’—perhaps reflecting the prayer with which proceedings in the assembly began (e.g. **31**, **35**).<sup>9</sup> The four letters  $\theta \epsilon \omicron \iota$  are regularly spread across the full width of the *stele*, and may (for instance) be inscribed on the moulding above the main inscribed surface.

Some other states also mention (good) fortune in this position (e.g. Helisson and Mantinea, **14**; Arcadian federation, **32**). When the Athenians mention good fortune they do so in the main text of the decree (e.g. **22**, 7–9).<sup>10</sup>

- (iii) **Heading**, in larger letters (for easy identification of text):<sup>11</sup>  
 archon and/or secretary of the year (e.g. **11**; **18**; cf. **10**, with the beginning of the prescript presented in the style of a heading);  
 subject of decree (e.g. **6**; **11**).
- (iv) **Prescript** (formal details taken from the secretary’s records):  
 archon of the year (since we know the names of all the archons from 481/0 to 292/1, this provides us with the most reliable means of dating a decree: for a list of archons from 403/2 to 323/2 see p. 543);  
 prytany: the name of the tribe and its number in the year’s sequence of prytanies;  
 secretary;  
 date: eventually specific to the day, both within the prytany and within the month;  
 chairman, who ‘put to the vote’;  
 enactment formula: for a decree of the assembly, either ‘resolved by the people’ or ‘resolved by the council and the people’ (for the significance of the two formulae cf. above, and see, for instance, **22**, **41**, with commentary); for a decree of the council, ‘resolved by the council’ (for decrees of the early fourth century which mention only the council but may be decrees of the assembly see on **10**); for a law, ‘resolved by the *nomothetai*’;  
 proposer, with the verb *eipen* (literally ‘spoke’).  
 (**77** and **94** are among those which contain all these elements.)

at 52–60, adds *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 417; on the procedure see Rhodes, *Boule*, 28, 50–2, and the alternative reconstructions of D. M. MacDowell, *JHS* xcvi 1975, 62–74; Hansen, *C&M* xxxii 1980, 87–104, *GRBS* xxvi 1985, 345–71; Rhodes, *CQ*<sup>2</sup> xxxv 1985, 55–60.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Rhodes, *Boule*, 64–5; Rhodes with Lewis, 4–5.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. R. L. Pounder, *Studies* . . . *S. Dow*, 243–50.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. S. V. Tracy, *Hesp.* lxiii 1994, 241–4.

<sup>11</sup> For a study of variations in headings and prescripts see Henry, *Prescripts*.



(v) **Main text:**

often beginning with an invocation of good fortune (cf. above);  
 motivation clause, in its fully developed form in two parts, the first beginning ‘since . . .’ and the second beginning ‘so that . . .’ (no example of that in our collection; but the first part e.g. **11**, **23**, the second part e.g. **4**, **22**);  
 motion formula: either ‘be it resolved/decreed by the people’ in a non-probouleumatic decree or the probouleumatic formula in a probouleumatic decree (cf. above and see, for instance, **22**, **41**, **95**, with commentary);<sup>12</sup> ‘be it resolved/decreed by the *nomothetai*’ in a law;  
 and then the positive proposals, commonly ending with an invitation to the *prytaneion* (town hall) for envoys or the recipients of honours;  
 orders for the publication of the text.

(vi) **Amendments:**

were published after the original motion. They normally begin with:  
 proposer of amendment (omitted in **70**);  
 either ‘in other respects in accordance with the council’, when what is amended is a motion contained in the *probouleuma*, or ‘in other respects in accordance with [name of proposer]’, when it is not (see in particular on **64**).  
 (A decree could also be amended by rewriting it [cf. above]; when the clauses of a decree are presented in an illogical order, that has led some scholars to suppose that the misplaced clauses are the result of ‘concealed amendments’, for which see on **20**, **44**, **64**.)

Athenian administration was based on the principle that any good citizen could and should play a modest part in the running of the state: large numbers of annual boards were set up (mostly of ten men, one picked by lot from the candidates in each tribe), and were given strictly limited jobs to do; all worked under the general supervision of the council, which also had judicial powers in matters concerned with the running of the state. In the course of the fourth century there was a move away from the fifth-century democracy’s principle of equal participation, towards entrusting greater powers to men of proved ability, but in matters illustrated by the texts in this collection there was little change.

The collection of taxes was not made by state officials, but was farmed out to contractors. The contract (like other state contracts, e.g. for rentals or public works) was auctioned to the highest bidder or syndicate of bidders, in the presence of the council, by the *poletai* (‘sellers’: *Ath. Pol.* 47. ii–iv; for a document published by the *poletai* see **36**); the record of the contract was kept by the council; and in due course the contractors had to pay the sum agreed (irrespective of the amount they had actually collected) to the *apodektai* (‘receivers’), again in the presence of the council (*Ath. Pol.* 47. v–48. ii); if they defaulted they would be pursued by a board of *praktores* (‘exacters’: e.g. law *ap.*

<sup>12</sup> **22**, **39**, and **44** have the enactment formula which mentions the council but the motion formula which does not; cf. **4**, with the non-standard motion formula ‘be it decreed by the Athenians’. It took time for the distinction between the two kinds of formula to become established; the enactment formula mentioning the council had previously been standard; and we prefer to rely on the motion formula and class these decrees as non-probouleumatic (cf. Rhodes, *Boule*, 75–7).

And. 1. *Myst.* 77–9; for an instance of default on a tax-collecting contract see *Agora* xix P 26. 462–98). In the fifth century all revenue was paid into a central treasury, and all state payments were made from that treasury—by yet another board, the *kolakretai* ('ham-collectors').<sup>13</sup> In the fourth century the *apodektai* made a *merismos* ('allocation') to various spending authorities (first attested in 19, of 386): amongst these authorities were the assembly, which had an expense account, 'the people's fund for expenditure on decrees' (first directly attested in 367/6: e.g. 35, but its treasurer, the 'treasurer of the people', is first datably attested in 29, of 372, and the fund was probably created c.376), and the council, which had a similar expense account. Two other funds, over which there was some controversy between the 350s and the 330s, were the stratiotic (military) fund and the theoric fund: the latter was established to make grants to cover the cost of citizens' theatre tickets at festivals, but its activities were extended beyond that. The year's allocations to the spending authorities were fixed by a law and could only be altered by a law: in 64 the cost of crowns for the Bosporan princes is accepted for the future as a charge on the assembly's expense account (which will have to be given an increased allocation for the purpose), but for the current year the *apodektai* are to provide the money 'from (what they would otherwise allocate to) the stratiotic fund'.

One area in which the fourth century saw an increase in professionalism was the office of secretary. Until the 360s the principal state secretary, who kept the records of the council and assembly, and was responsible for publishing documents when required, was a member of the council, from a tribe other than the current prytany, serving for one prytany (i.e. one tenth of the year) only. Between 368/7 and 363/2 there was a change: the office was detached from membership of the council, and service was now for a whole year. Curiously, it is almost certain that after this change two different titles, the old 'secretary to the council' and the new (but more appropriate to the old system) 'secretary by the prytany' were used indiscriminately to denote the same official.<sup>14</sup>

Each Greek state had its own calendar. Years were not counted from any real or imagined fixed point (the Olympic records, counting from a supposed first festival in 776, could be used to correlate the systems of different states; but their four-yearly basis was inconvenient, and the system did not pass into everyday use), but were identified by reference to an eponymous official, usually an annual official who gave his name to the year in which he served. In Athens the eponymous official was the archon (though it did not become standard practice to date decrees by the archon until c.420), and the year began with the first new moon after the summer solstice: thus the year which we call 378/7 (c. July 378–June 377: the year in which 22 and 23 were enacted) was to the Athenians the year of Nausinicus' archonship. In Athens, as in most states, the year was not a solar year of c.365 days, but was based on lunar months, of 29 or 30 days. In an 'ordinary' year of 12 months there were c.354 days; in an 'intercalary' year a thirteenth month was added and there were c.384 days (and because of this

<sup>13</sup> Rhodes, *Boule*, 102 with n. 5.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Rhodes, *Boule*, 134–8. *κατὰ πρυτανείαν* seems to have meant 'prytany after prytany', not 'for one prytany': Ferguson, *The Athenian Secretaries*, 36; A. S. Henry, *Hesp.* lxxi 2002, 91–118.

discrepancy interest was commonly reckoned by the month rather than by the year). Decisions as to how long particular months were to be, and how many months there were to be in a particular year, seem to have been taken on an *ad hoc* basis, not in accordance with a fixed rule; and what was decided one way in Athens might be decided differently elsewhere. Because of these irregularities it is rarely possible to give the exact equivalents in our calendar of dates in a Greek calendar. The names of the months at Athens were:

i Hecatombaeon	v Maemacterion	ix Elaphebolion
ii Metageitnion	vi Posideon	x Munychion
iii Boedromion	vii Gamelion	xi Thargelion
iv Pyanopsion	viii Anthesterion	xii Scirophorion

Hecatombaeon corresponded roughly to our July, and so on. In an intercalary year the extra month was usually a second Posideon, added after the first. Within the month the days were counted in three decades: after 'new moon' (νομηνία) came the 'second of the rising (month)' (δευτέρα ἰσταμένου) and so on; in the middle decade 'eleventh' and 'twelfth' were followed by 'third on top of ten' (τρίτη ἐπὶ δέκα) and so on; and in the last decade there was a backward count from the 'tenth of the waning (month)' (δεκάτη φθίνοντος) until the last day, which was designated 'old and new' (ἔνη καὶ νέα).<sup>15</sup>

The council worked to a calendar of its own, in which the year was divided into ten prytanies, in each of which one of the tribal contingents in the council acted as standing committee; and there were four regular assemblies, with their own items of business, prescribed for each prytany (cf. above, and for the regular assemblies and their business see *Ath. Pol.* 43. iv–vi). Until the late fifth century the council's year was a solar year independent of the archontic calendar, but thereafter the council used the archontic year as its year of office.<sup>16</sup> As prescripts of decrees became increasingly detailed in the course of the fourth century, dates tended to be given both by prytany and by month (cf. on 29, 77).

The same names were used in different states for units of money, but the values of the different currencies varied in accordance with the weights of precious metal (usually silver) to which the names were applied in each state. The scale used in Athens was:

6 obols	= 1 drachma
100 drachmas	= 1 mina
60 minas	= 1 talent

<sup>15</sup> On the count of days in the last decade see Meritt, *The Athenian Year*, 38–51.

<sup>16</sup> On the Athenian calendar see Samuel, *Greek and Roman Chronology*, 57–64. There has been much controversy over the regularity of 'intercalary' years (with a thirteenth month) and of 'hollow' 29-day and 'full' 30-day months in the archontic calendar and of the lengths of prytanies (an 'ordinary' 12-month year of 354 days will have required four prytanies of 36 days and six of 35; according to *Ath. Pol.* 43. ii the first four prytanies were the long ones). For summaries with references see Rhodes, *Boule*, 224–9; *Comm. Ath. Pol.* 518–20: we believe with B. D. Meritt against W. K. Pritchett that in an area where there must have been irregularities of various kinds it is unwise to insist on scrupulous adherence to the pattern stated in *Ath. Pol.* (though we do not rule out the possibility that what *Ath. Pol.* states is what the laws stated).

Sums of money were often expressed in talents, drachmas, and obols, without the use of a mina as an intermediate unit. The word 'stater' is often used to denote the standard coin of a state, irrespective of its value on a scale like the above: in Athens (which did not use the word of its own coins) the stater was a 4-drachma coin, weighing c.17.2 grammes (c.0.6 oz.). For exchange rates used to convert sums in one currency to another, see 45, 57; for measures of capacity, again different in different states, see 45.

In the second half of the fourth century, payments for attending meetings of public bodies in Athens (juries, the council, the assembly, etc.) varied between  $\frac{1}{2}$  drachma (for juries: not increased since the 420s) and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  drachmas a day (*Ath. Pol.* 62. ii). At this time an unskilled labourer could earn  $1\frac{1}{2}$  drachmas a day, a skilled 2 or  $2\frac{1}{2}$  drachmas.<sup>17</sup> A man was regarded as rich enough to be liable for such burdens as the trierarchy or a festival liturgy if his total property was worth 3–4 talents or more, while liability for the property tax known as *eisphora* perhaps extended a little further down the scale (cf. commentary on 21, 100), and he would have been one of the richest Athenian citizens if his property was worth as much as 15 talents. In 341 Demosthenes claimed that in the past few years the annual revenue of Athens had increased from 130 talents to 400 talents (Dem. x. *Phil.* iv. 37–8), whereas in 431, at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War, her annual revenue was about 1,000 talents (X. *Anab.* vii. i. 27; Thuc. ii. 13. iii claims 600 talents tribute from the Delian League, but the tribute lists suggest not more than 400 talents).

### III

The use of inscriptions as evidence by historians goes back to Herodotus (e.g. inscriptions at Thermopylae, vii. 228; inscriptions commemorating the conquests of the Egyptian king Sesostris, some of which Herodotus had seen, ii. 102–6; the story of Nitocris' inscriptions in Babylon, i. 187). Thucydides used inscriptions more in the modern academic manner (e.g. Pausanias' arrogant inscription on the Serpent Column at Delphi, subsequently deleted and replaced by a list of Greek states which resisted the Persian invasion, i. 132. ii–iii; an inscription whose lettering he described as faint, and an inscription cited to show that Hippias was the eldest son of Pisistratus, vi. 54. vii–55. i). In the fourth century Theopompus argued that the inscription recording the alleged Peace of Callias between Athens and Persia was a forgery, because it used not Athens' local alphabet but the Ionic alphabet which Athens adopted at the end of the fifth century (*FGI* 115 F 153–5: he also rejected the authenticity of our 88 §ii). In the third century Craterus (*FGI* 342) made a collection of Athenian decrees; in the second Polemon of Ilium collected epigraphic texts and was called a 'glutton for *stelai*' (*stelokopas*: Ath. vi. 234 D). On the use of inscriptions by Pausanias, the traveller of the second century A.D., cf. on 102.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>17</sup> See M. M. Markle, III, *Crux* . . . *G. E. M. de Ste Croix*, 293–7; and cf. the detailed collection and analysis of data in Loomis, *Wages, Welfare Costs and Inflation*.

<sup>18</sup> And see Habicht, *Pausanias' Guide to Ancient Greece*, 64–94 ch. iii.

In the modern world, inscriptions have long been found and recorded by explorers and archaeologists. The first work planned explicitly as a corpus of Greek inscriptions was A. Boeckh's *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, published between 1828 and 1877. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, responsibility for a corpus of Greek inscriptions from Europe was accepted by the Berlin Academy, which undertook and is still continuing publication of the work which came eventually to be known as *Inscriptiones Graecae*, the first part of which appeared in 1873 (some parts have reached a second or third edition, others have yet to appear in a first edition, and in some cases planned volumes have been rendered unnecessary by volumes published under other auspices). Responsibility for Asia Minor was accepted by the Vienna Academy, which issued the first volume of the series *Tituli Asiae Minoris* in 1901. Other series devoted to Asia Minor are *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiquae*, begun in 1928; and *Inschriften griechischer Städte von Kleinasien*, begun in 1972 and proceeding very rapidly. Many inscriptions are first published in classical and archaeological periodicals; and, when a large number of inscriptions are found on one site, often one or more volumes of the excavation report for the site are devoted to a corpus of the site's inscriptions.

Every year sees the discovery of new inscriptions, and the publication of new inscriptions, new fragments of inscriptions already known, and new contributions to the reading and interpretation of familiar texts. Keeping up to date with the stream of publications is rendered easier by chronicles of new work. *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* was founded by J. J. E. Hondius in 1923 with a survey of work published in 1922, continued by A. G. Woodhead, and after an interruption resumed by a team of editors who have produced annual surveys of work published since 1976–7: this commonly reprints new and revised texts if they have been published otherwise than in a major corpus. For each text in our collection, the references in our introductory rubric include publication in a major corpus and/or in *SEG*, which will enable treatments in *SEG* to be traced through its indexes.<sup>19</sup> The *Revue des Études Grecques* regularly includes a Bulletin épigraphique: between volumes li 1938 and xcvi 1984 this was the work of J. & L. Robert, who were renowned for their vast knowledge and ability to make connections, and for their trenchant opinions; from vol. c 1987 this too has been continued by a team, with different members focusing on different themes or geographical areas.<sup>20</sup> An epigraphical bulletin on Greek religion is published in the periodical *Kernos* by A. Chanotis. More general chronicles of classical work, which include Greek epigraphy, are *L'Année Philologique*, begun in France with a volume for 1924–6<sup>21</sup> and again now produced by an international team; and the Bibliographische Beilage published in the periodical *Gnomon* (from vol. i 1925). The periodical *Lustrum* is devoted to bibliographical surveys of work on particular classical topics (from vol. i 1956).

Information on individual Greeks may be found in the *Lexicon of Greek Personal*

<sup>19</sup> Each volume of *SEG* has concordances covering the major collections; an index volume is now being produced for each decade.

<sup>20</sup> Plans for the continuation of the Bulletin were announced by P. Gauthier in *REG* xcix 1986, 117–18.

<sup>21</sup> Only the first part, Auteurs et textes, was published of a backward projection into *Dix Années de bibliographie classique (1914–1924)*.

*Names* (regional volumes: names with collections of references). For Athens what was known a century ago is presented, with source references and Latin text, in Kirchner's *Prosopographia Attica*; more recent, and with more discussion, but limited to those attested as rich and paying more attention to their wealth and their families than to their careers, is Davies's *Athenian Propertied Families*;<sup>22</sup> Traill's *Persons of Ancient Athens* is an exhaustive collection of *testimonia* organized under short rubrics.<sup>23</sup> For Sparta Poralla's *Prosopographie der Lakedaimonier*, of 1913, was reissued in 1985 with an appendix by A. S. Bradford.

The best general introduction to Greek inscriptions is Woodhead, *The Study of Greek Inscriptions*; Cook, *Greek Inscriptions*, is a short book written at a more popular level; on what can be learned from different kinds of inscription see Bodel, *Epigraphic Evidence: Ancient History from Inscriptions* (which makes more use of Roman than of Greek examples).

## IV

The texts in this collection are arranged in approximate chronological order, but we have taken advantage of the fact that not all texts can be precisely dated to do some thematic grouping.

We have not fully re-edited the Greek texts; but our texts are our own, in that we have reconsidered the texts of our predecessors and have made changes wherever we have thought it necessary: we have tried to verify readings where we thought it would be profitable to do so, but not otherwise. In the introductory rubric for each text we mark with an asterisk the edition whose text has served as the basis for ours: our critical apparatus is selective, and we have not felt bound to provide a full history of the text and attribute every reading or restoration to its originator, but the apparatus includes a note on any point at which our text differs from that of the asterisked edition (except that we have restored original spellings without comment where Tod substituted standard spellings). Where the sign = is used, the references before and after the sign are to editions of the same inscription, but not necessarily to editions printing exactly the same text. Where the sign ~ is used, the edition cited before the sign gives a Greek text, the edition cited after gives an English translation.

We number every fifth line in the Greek texts, the line corresponding with the beginning of each of our paragraphs in the translations. Practice is different in some older editions, but like most more recent editions ours uses dots and brackets in the Greek texts in accordance with the 'Leiden system':

- |                   |   |
|-------------------|---|
| $\alpha\beta$     | letters which survive in part, but not sufficiently to exclude alternative readings |
| [ $\alpha\beta$ ] | letters not now preserved which the editors believe to have been inscribed          |

<sup>22</sup> This too is now somewhat dated: a new edition is in preparation.

<sup>23</sup> For an account of the project and of the computer-searches which it allows see J. S. Traill & P. M. Wallace Matheson, *hópos* vii 1989, 53–76.

$\{\alpha\beta\}$	letters inscribed in error by the cutter and deleted by the editors
$\langle\alpha\beta\rangle$	letters supplied by the editors <i>either</i> because the cutter omitted them <i>or</i> because the cutter inscribed other letters in error
$(\alpha\beta)$	letters supplied by the editors to fill out an abbreviation in the inscribed text
$[[\alpha\beta\gamma\delta[\epsilon\zeta]]]$	a passage which has been erased and can [or cannot] now be read
$[\dots], [\text{---}\frac{\epsilon\delta}{\text{---}}]$	lost letters which cannot be restored, of the number indicated
----	a lacuna or space of indeterminate size
<i>h</i>	aspirate, when this is indicated by an inscribed character in the original text
<i>v</i>	one letter-space uninscribed
<i>vacat</i>	(remainder of) line uninscribed

Features peculiar to a single inscription are explained in the rubric to that inscription

*Numerals.* The Athenian system of numerals was acrophonic, the symbol being taken from the first letter of the word represented (e.g.  $\Gamma = \piέντε = 5$ ,  $H = \acute{\epsilon}κατόν = 100$ ). Some intermediate symbols were constructed by combining two others ( $\text{P} = 50$ ,  $\text{P} = 500$ ). Complex numerals were produced by aggregation, the largest always appearing first. The basic scheme is therefore:

I	= 1
II	= 2
III	= 3
IIII	= 4
$\Gamma$	= 5
$\Gamma I$	= 6
$\Delta$	= 10
$\Delta\Delta\Gamma I$	= 26
$\text{P}$	= 50
$\text{P}\Delta\Gamma I$	= 66
H	= 100
$\text{P}$	= 500
X	= 1,000
$\text{P}$	= 5,000
M	= 10,000
$\text{P}$	= 50,000

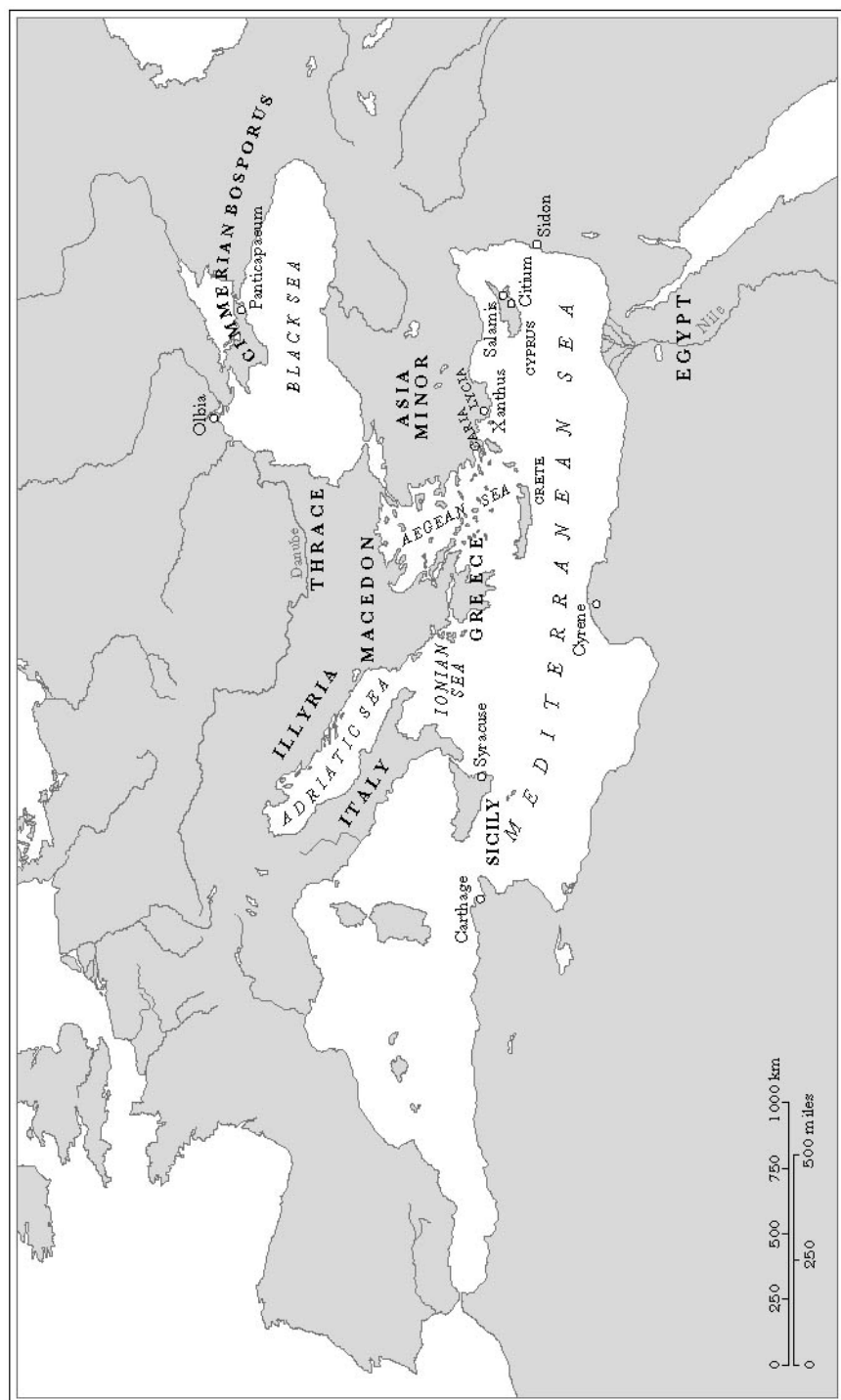
The basic numerical system is regularly used to indicate sums of between 5 and 5,999 drachmas. Sums in talents are indicated by the symbol T and its compounds ( $\text{P}$ ,  $\Delta$ ,  $\text{P}$ ,  $\text{H}$ ). For sums of 1–4 drachmas the sign  $\dagger$  (or at Tegea, see **60**,  $\zeta$ ) is used; I is used to indicate 1 obol. Halves and quarters and eighths of an obol are indicated by the signs C (at Tegea E), T, and X. Outside Athens it is in some places the practice to use drachmas only up to 99 dr. and to indicate larger sums in minas (M, see **60**).

Since readers can see in the Greek texts how much is preserved, in the translations we have not distinguished between what is preserved and what is not, except to attach question marks to restorations about which we are seriously uncertain. While in the translations we have not strayed unnecessarily from the word order of the Greek, we have not felt bound to keep to it when to do so would produce unnatural or obscure results. We have not thought it necessary invariably to use the same English word for the same Greek word and a different English word for a different Greek word, but we have done that except when there was good reason to do otherwise.

The rendering of Greek words and names in the roman alphabet has been a matter of controversy for a long time: rigid adherence either to latinized forms or to direct transliteration tends to produce some results which are widely regarded as unacceptable, and most scholars take refuge in an awkward compromise. We have tended, though not with complete consistency, to use English or Latinate forms for names of persons and places and familiar words which we print in roman letters (Athens, Corinth, Olynthus; Callistratus, Lycurgus; drachmas, talents), transliteration for some names, including epithets of deities, and for words which we print in italic letters (Zeus Eleutherios; *eisangelia*, *proedroi*, *prytaneion*).



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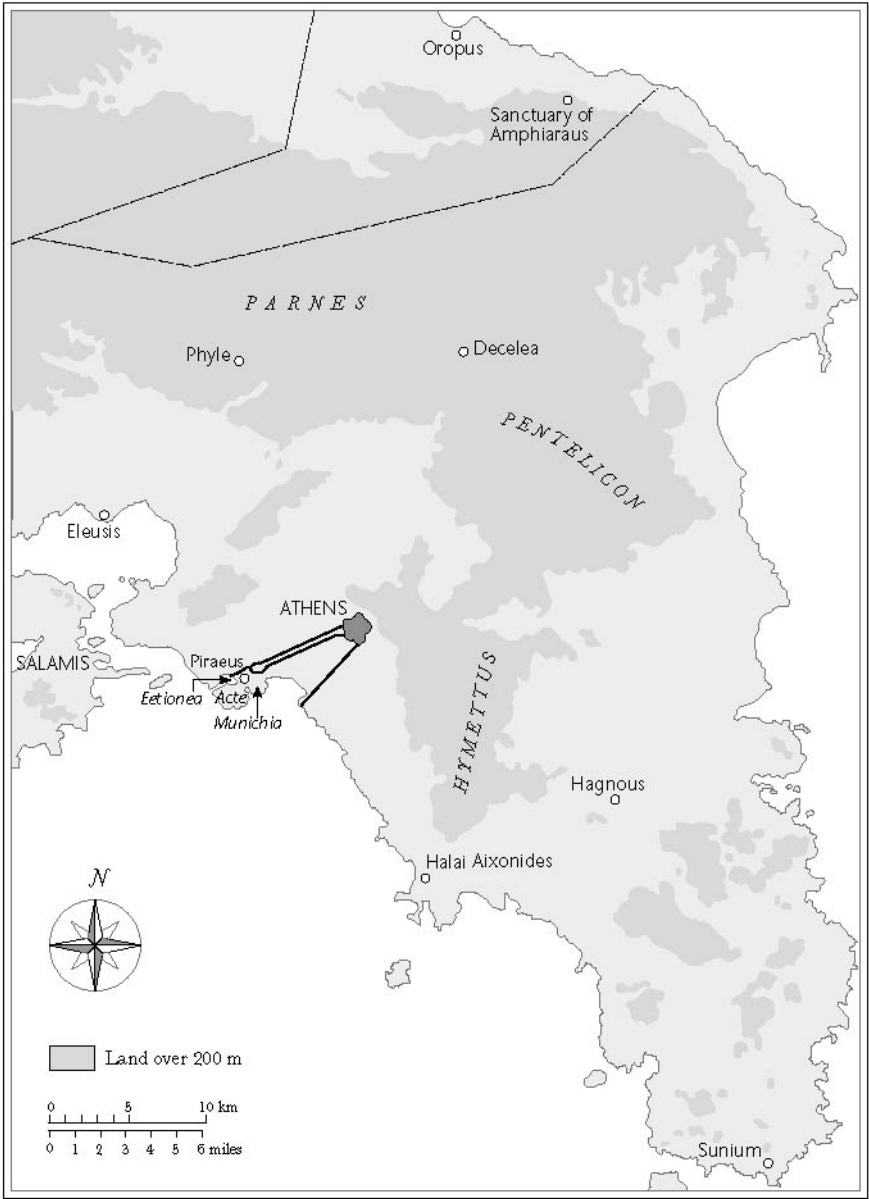


Map 1. The Greek world



Map 2. Greece and the Aegean





Map 3. Attica

# THE INSCRIPTIONS

# Law of the phratry (?) of the Labyadai, Delphi, fifth/fourth century

Block inscribed on all four faces, broken at top, found in a late-antique wall in front of the Portico of the Athenians at Delphi. Now in the Museum at Delphi. Phot. *BCH* xix 1895, pls. xxi–xxiv; *C. Delphes*, i, pls. v–viii.

Script includes *F* and *H* (eta) and aspirates indicated by  $\theta$ ; *ov* sometimes represented as *o* with a dot in the middle. *Stoichedon* 20 (*A* and *C*), 18 (*B*), 19 (*D*).

Homolle, *BCH* xix 1895, 5–69; Buck 52; *C. Delphes*, i 9\*; Koerner 46. See also V. Sebillotte, *Cahiers du Centre Gustave-Glotz* viii 1997, 39–49.

## A

$\Theta\Xi$  [-----]  
 1 ἔστω· ταγε[υ]σέω δι[κ]α[ί]ως κ]-  
 α[τ]ὰ τοὺν νόμους [τ]ᾶς [π]ό[λ]ι]-  
 ος καὶ το[ῦ]ς τῶν Λαβυαδ[ᾶν]  
 πέρ τῶν ἀ[π]ελ[λ]αίων καὶ [τᾶ]-  
 5 ν δαρατᾶν· καὶ τὰ χρήμ[α]τ[α]  
 συμπραξέ[ω] κ[αὶ] ποδειξέ[ω] [δ]-  
 [ι]καίως τοῖς Λαβυάδαις [κ]-  
 ωῦτε κλειφέω οὔτε βλα[φ]έ[ω]  
 [ο]ῦτε τέχνη οὔτε μηχανᾶ-  
 10 [ι] τῶν τῶν Λαβυαδᾶν χρημ[ά]-  
 [τ]ων καὶ τὸς ταγοῦ[ς] ἐπ[ὶ] αξέ-  
 ω τὸν ἥρκον τοὺς ἐ[ν] ν[έ]ω[τ]  
 α κατὰ τὰ γεγραμμένα· ἥρκ-  
 ος· “ἡνπίσχομαι ποὶ τοῦ Δ[ι]-  
 15 ὸς τοῦ Πατρῴου· εὐορκέο-  
 γτι μέμ μοι ἀγαθὰ εἶη, αἱ [δ’]  
 ἐφιορκέοιμ[ι, κ]ακῶν (?) τὰ κ[α]-  
 κά ἀντὶ τῶν ἀγ[α]θων.” *vacat*  
 ἔδοξε Λαβ[υ]άδαις Βουκατ-  
 20 ίου μηνὸς δεκ[ά]τ[α]ι, ἐπὶ Κ[α]-  
 μπου, ἐν τῇ ἀ[λ]ί[α], σὺμ ψά[φ]-  
 οῖς ἑκατὸν ὀγδοήκοντ[α]  
 δυοῖν. τοῦ[ς] ταγοὺς μὴ δέκ-  
 εσθαι μήτε δαρατᾶν γάμξ-  
 25 λα μήτε παιδῆμα μήτ’ ἀπελ]-  
 λαῖα, αἱ μὴ τὰς πατριᾶς ἐπ-  
 αιεύσας τὰς πληθύος ἐ-  
 ξ ᾧς κα ἦι. αἱ δὲ τί κα πάρ ν[ό]-

μον κελεύσωντι, τῶν κελε-  
 30 νσάντων ὁ κίνδυνος ἔστ[ω].  
 τὰ δ[ε] ἀπελλαῖα ἄγεν Ἀπέ[λ]-  
 λαις, καὶ μὴ ἀ[λ]λ[α]ι [ἀ]μέρ[α]  
 μήτε ἄγεν τοὺς ἄγο[ν]τας, μ-  
 ἦτε τοὺς ταγ[ο]ὺς δέκεσθα-  
 35 ι. αἱ δὲ κα δέξωνται ἄλλαι  
 [ἀ]μέραι ἢ Ἀπέλλαις, ἀποτε-  
 [ι]σάτω Φέκαστος δέκα δρα-  
 χμᾶς· ὁ δὲ χρήζων καταγορ-  
 εῖν τῶν δεξαμένων, ἐπὶ τῶ-  
 40 ν ὑστέρων ταγῶν καταγο-  
 ρεῖτω ἐν τῇ ἀλλίαι τῇ με-  
 [τ]ὰ Βουκάτια, αἱ κ’ ἀμφιλλέ-  
 γωντι τοὶ ταγοὶ τοὶ δεξά-  
 μενοι. ἄγεν δὲ τὰπελλαῖα  
 45 ἀντὶ Φέτεος καὶ τὰς δαρά-  
 τας φέρειν. ὅστις δὲ κα μὴ  
 ἄγῃ τὰπελλαῖα ἢ τὰν δαρ-  
 άταν μὴ φέρῃ, ἀμμόνιον κ-  
 ατθέτω στατήρα ἐπὶ Φεκα-  
 50 τέρων· τῷ δὲ ὑστέρωι Φέ-  
 τει ἀγέτω τὰπελλαῖα καὶ  
 τὰν δαράταν φερέτω αἱ δὲ  
 κα μὴ ἄγῃ, μηκέτι δεκέσθ-  
 55 ελλαῖα, ἢ ἀποτεισάτω Φίκ-  
 ατι δραχμᾶς ἢ ὑπογραφά-  
 μενος τόκιομ φερέτω· καὶ

A. 17 κακῶν Bousquet, *BCH* xc 1966, 83–4; [Φ]κῶν Bourguet, *REG* xxvi 1913, 106–7.  
*Π* on stone.

A. 54 15th letter

## A

let the oath be: 'I will serve as officer justly, according to the laws of the city and those of the Labyadai, as regards offerings of sacrificial victims and of cakes. I will exact money and will publish accounts justly for the Labyadai and I will not steal nor do any harm by any means or device to the property of the Labyadai. I will make the *tagoi* for next year swear the oath according as it is written.'

13 Oath: 'I promise by Zeus Patroios. If I keep my oath may good things happen to me; if I break my oath, may evil result from evil rather than good.'

19 Resolved by the Labyadai. On the tenth of the month Boukatios, in the archonship of Kampos, at the Assembly, by 182 votes. The *tagoi* are to receive no cake offerings on the occasion of marriages or for children, and no sacrificial victims unless the collectivity of the *patria* from which the person making the offering comes endorses the offering. If they order

anything that breaks the law let the risk be on those who gave the order.

31 Sacrificial victims are to be brought at the Apellai and those who bring them are not to bring them, and the *tagoi* are not to receive them, on any other day. If they do receive them on a day other than the Apellai, each of them is to pay a fine of 10 drachmas. Whoever wishes to accuse those who have received the sacrificial victims should bring his accusation under the succeeding *tagoi*, at the assembly after Boukatia, if the *tagoi* who received the victim dispute the accusation.

44 The sacrificial victims are to be brought and the cakes offered in the same year; anyone who does not bring the sacrificial victims or offer the cakes is to deposit a stater in each case. In the following year he is to bring the sacrificial victims and offer the cakes. If he does not bring, no deposit is to be accepted: either he is to bring the victims or he is to pay 20 drachmas, or he is to be listed and pay



τὰν δαράταν τῷ ἡυστέρω-  
ι φέτει φερέτω, ἣ ἀποτ[ε]ισ-  
vacat

## B

[άτω -----]

lacuna

1 -----

... H .....

. ΠΙΑΣΑΙ .....

[π]ατριώτα[ς· πάντες δὲ τ]-

5 οὶ Λαβυάδα[ι .....

ς περὶ τὰν δα[ρατᾶν ἐπι]-

κρινόντων καὶ [Ἀπέλλαι]

ις περὶ τῶν ἀπελ[λαίων,]

παρεόντες μὴ μείο[ς ἡε]-

10 γὸς καὶ ἡεκατόν· τὰ[ν δὲ]

ψάφον φερόντων ἀνδ[εξ]-

άμενοι ποὶ τὸ Ἀπόλλω[ν]-

ος καὶ τοῦ Ποτειδάνος

τοῦ Φρατρίου καὶ τοῦ Δ-

15 ιὸς Πατρώιου δικαίως

οἰσεῖν κατὰ τὸν νόμου

τῶν Δελφῶν· κῆπευχέσθ-

ω δικαίως τὰν ψάφον φ[έ]-

ροντι πόλλ' ἀγαθὰ τοῖς

20 [θ]εοῖς διδόμεν, αἱ δὲ ἄ[δ]-

ίκως, τὰ κακά. τοῦτα δὲ τ-

οὶ ταγοὶ ἐπιτελούντω-

ν καὶ τῷ δεομένῳ συν-

αγόντων τοὺς Λαβυάδα-

25 ς. αἱ δὲ κα μὴ ποιῶντι κα-

[τ]ὰ γεγραμμένα ἢ μὴ το-

[ὺ]ς ταγοὺς τὸν ἡόρκον ἐ-

παγάγωντι, ἀποτεισάτ-

[ω] Φέκαστος ἐπὶ Φεκατέ-

30 [ρ]ωὶ δέκα δραχμᾶς. ἡόστ-

[ι]ς δὲ κα μὴ ὁμόση, μὴ τα-

γευέτω. αἱ δὲ κ' ἀνώμοτο-

ς ταγεύη, πεντήκοντα

δραχμᾶς ἀποτεισάτω. "

35 αἱ δὲ κα δέξωνται τοὶ τ-

αγοὶ ἢ γάμελα ἢ παιδῆι-  
α παρὰ τὰ γράμματα, ἀποτ-  
εισάτω πεντήκοντα δρ-  
αχμᾶς Φέκαστος τῶν δε-

40 ξαμένων. αἱ δὲ κα μὴ ἀπο-

τείσει, ἄτιμος ἔστω ἐγ

Λαβυαδᾶν καὶ ἐπὶ τούτ-

ω καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις

ζαμίαις ἥεντε κ' ἀποτε-

45 ἴσην· καὶ ἡὸ κα δέξωντα-

ι ἢ δαράταν ἢ ἀπελλαῖα

παρὰ τὰ γράμματα μὴ ἔστ-

ω Λαβυάδας μὴδὲ κοινα-

νεύτω τῶν κοινῶν χρημ-

50 ἄτων μὴδὲ τῶν θεμάτων.

αἱ δὲ τίς κα τῶν ταγῶν κ-

αταγορῇ ποιῆσά τι π-

ὰρ τὰ γράμματα, ἡὸ δὲ ἀν-

τιφᾶι, τοὶ ταγοὶ ἐν ταῖ

vacat

## C

[-----<sup>17</sup>-----]ΑΤ[.]

[-----<sup>13</sup>-----δικ]άζο[ν]-

[τι μὲν δικαίως (?) ἐπε]υχέσ[θ]-

[ω πόλλ' ἀγαθὰ το]ῖς θεοῖς δ]-

5 [ιδόμεν, αἱ δ' ἐ]φιόρκεοι κα-

[κά. αἱ δὲ κα μ]ὴ δικάζηαι-

[ρεθείς, ἀπ]οτεισάτω πέντ-

[ε δραχμᾶ]ς, ἄλλον δ' ἀνθελό-

[μενοι τ]ὰν δίκαν τελεόντ-

10 [ων. ἡὸ]στις δὲ κα παρὰ νόμον

[τ]ὴ ποιόντα τῷ δίκαι ἡέ-

ληι, τό ἡήμισσον ἐχέτω. το-

ι δὲ ταγοὶ τῷ καταγορέο-

ντι τὰν δίκαν ἐπιτελεόν-

15 των· αἱ δὲ μὴ, τὸ διπλὸν [Φ]έκ-

αστος ἀποτεισάτω. ἡόστι-

ς δὲ κα ζαμίαν ὀφείληι, ἄτ-

ιμος ἔστω ἥεντε κ' ἀποτεί-

σῃ. " ἡὸ δ' ὁ τετμὸς πέρ τῶ-

20 ν ἐντοφῆων· μὴ πλεον πέν-

interest. And he is to offer the cakes in the following year or else pay a fine of . . .

### B

- 4 members of the *patria*. All the Labyadai are to decide at . . . about the cake offerings and at the Apellai about the sacrificial victims, provided that not less than 101 are present. They are to vote after they have promised by Apollo and Poseidon Phratris and Dionysos Patroios that they will vote justly according to the laws of Delphi. Everyone is to pray that, if he votes justly, the gods will give him many good things, and, if he votes unjustly, evil. The *tagoi* are to accomplish this, and if anyone asks them they are to gather the Labyadai together. If they do not act according to what has been written or do not make the *tagoi* swear the oath, each of them is to pay a fine of 10 drachmas for each offence.
- 30 Anyone who does not swear may not be a *tagos*. If someone serves as a *tagos* without swearing he is to pay a fine of 50 drachmas.
- 35 If the *tagoi* receive the marriage or childbirth offerings contrary to what is written, let each of those who received the offerings pay 50 drachmas. If he

does not pay he is to lose his rights among the Labyadai, both in this case and in the case of other penalties, until he pays the fine. The person whose cake offering or sacrificial victim they receive contrary to what is written is not to be a member of the Labyadai nor share the common funds or institutions.

- 51 If any of the *tagoi* makes an accusation of doing anything contrary to what is written, and he denies it, the *tagoi* in the . . .

### C

- 3 making just judgements, let him pray that the gods give many good things, and if he breaks his oath, evil. If he is elected but does not pass judgement, let him pay a fine of 5 drachmas, and let them elect another and complete the case.
- 10 Whoever is responsible for the conviction of anyone doing something contrary to the law is to have half (the fine). The *tagoi* are to bring this to pass for the person who brought the accusation. If they do not each of them is to be fined double. Anyone who owes a penalty is to lose his rights until he pays.
- 19 This is the law about things to do with

τε καὶ τριάκοντα δραχμ[ά]-  
 ν ἐνθέμεν, μήτε πριάμενο-  
 ν μήτε Φοίκω· τὰν δὲ παχεῖ-  
 αν χλαῖναν φωτὰν εἶμεν.  
 25 [α]ἰ δέ τι τούτων παρβάλλο-  
 [ι]το, ἀποτεισάτω πεντήκο-  
 ντα δραχμάς, αἶ κα μὴ ἔξομ-  
 όση ἐπὶ τῷ σάματι μὴ πλ-  
 έον ἐνθέμεν. στρώμα δὲ ἡ-  
 30 ν ἠυποβαλέτω καὶ ποικεφ-  
 άλαιον ἡὲν ποτθέτω. τὸν δ-  
 έ νεκρὸν κεκαλυμμένον φ-  
 ερέτω σιγᾷ κτὴν ταῖς στρ-  
 οφαῖς μὴ καττιθέντων μη-  
 35 [δ]αμεῖ μῆδ' ὅτοτυζόντων ἐ-  
 [χ]θός τᾶς Φοικίας πρίγ κ' ἐ-  
 πὶ τὸ σᾶμα ἡίκωντι, τηνεῖ  
 ΔΕΝΑΤΟΣ ἔστω ἡέντε κα ἡα  
 ΘΙΓΑΝΑ ποτθεθῆι. τῶν δὲ π-  
 40 [ρ]όστα τεθνακόων ἐν τοῖς  
 σαμάτεσσι μὴ θρηνεῖν μη-  
 δ' ὅτοτύζεν, ἀλλ' ἀπίμεν Φο-  
 ίκαδε ἕκαστον ἔχθω (ἡ)ομε-  
 στίων καὶ πατραδελφεῶν  
 45 καὶ πενθερῶν κησγόνων [κ]-  
 αὶ γαμβρῶν. μῆδὲ τᾷ ἡυσ[τ]-  
 εραῖα(ι) μῆδ' ἐν ταῖς δεκάτ[α]-  
 ις μῆδ' ἐν τοῖς ἐνιαυτοῖ[ς]  
 [μ]ήτ' οἰμώζεν μήτ' ὅτοτυ[ζ]ε-  
 50 [ν]. αἰ δέ τι τούτων παρβ-  
 άλλοιτο τῶν γεγραμ-  
 μένων *vacat*

## D

[—<sup>7</sup>—δρ]αχμαν ΚΑΙΛΕ-  
 [—<sup>7</sup>—]. θοῖναι δὲ ταῖδ-  
 [ε νόμι]μοι· Ἀπέλλαι καὶ Β-  
 ουκάτια, Ἡηραῖα, Δαιδαφ-  
 5 [ό]ρια, Ποιτρόπια, Βυσίου  
 [μην]ὸς τὰν ἡεβδέμαν καὶ  
 [τ]ὰν ἡενάταν κηῦκλει[α κ]-

ἄρταμίτια καὶ Λάφρι[α κ]-  
 αὶ Θεοξένια καὶ Τελχ[ίν]-  
 10 ια καὶ Διοσκοурῆια, Μεγ-  
 αλάρτια καὶ Ἡηράκλει[α],  
 καῖ κ' αὐτὸς θύη ἡιαρῆ[ι]-  
 ον, καῖ κα λεκχοῖ παρῆι, κ-  
 αῖ κα ξένοι Φοι παρέωντ-  
 15 ι ἡιαρῆια θύοντες καὶ κ-  
 α πενταμαριτεύων τύχη-  
 ι. αἰ δέ τι τούτων παρβάλ-  
 λοιτο τῶν γεγραμμένων,  
 θωεόντων τοῖ τε δαμιορ-  
 20 γοὶ καὶ τοῖ ἄλλοι πάντε-  
 ς Λαβυάδαι, πρασόντων  
 δὲ τοῖ Πεντεκαῖδεκα· α[ἰ]  
 δὲ κα ἀμφιλλέγηι τᾶς θω-  
 ιάσιος, ἔξομόσας τὸν νό-  
 25 [μιμ]ον ἡόρκον λελύσθω. α-  
 [ἰ δ' ἂ]λίαν ποιόντων ἀρχῶ-  
 [ν ἂ]πέιη, ἀποτεισάτω ὀδε-  
 λόν, καὶ συγχέοι, ἀποτει-  
 σάτω ὀδελόν. ΤΟΙΑΔΕ κῆμ  
 30 Φανατεῖ γέγραπται ἐν τ-  
 αὶ πέτραι ἐνδῶ· τάδε Φά[ν]-  
 οτος ἐπέδωκε τᾷ θυγατ-  
 ρὶ Βουπύγαι· τὰ ἡεμυρῆ-  
 νια κῆκ τᾶς δυωδεκαῖδ[ο]-  
 35 ς χίμαιραν καὶ τῆμ Προν-  
 αῖαν δάρματα καὶ τὰ τῷ  
 Λυκείωι δάρματα καὶ τὰ-  
 ν ἁγαῖαν μόσχον· πάντων  
 καὶ Φιδίων καὶ δαμοσίω-  
 40 ν τὸμ προθύοντα καὶ προ-  
 μαντευόμενον παρέχεν  
 τὰ γεγραμμένα Λαβυάδα-  
 ις. ταῖδε θυσίαι Λαβυαδ-  
 ᾶν· τῷ πελλαίου μηνὸς τῷ-  
 45 [ι] Διονύσωι, Βουκατίοις  
 τῷ Δι πατρῷωι καὶ τῷ π-  
 ὄλλωνι τὰν ἀκρόθνια κα-  
 ἰ συμπιτίσκεν ἡαμεῖ το-

C. 43 17th letter E on stone.

C. 47 ΕΡΑΙΑΜΗΔ on stone.

D. 31–2 Φά[ν]οτος after Panopeus text Camp; Κά[σ]οτος Rougement, *Hommage Roux*, 225–9, after Kritzas, *BCH* cx 1986, 611–17; !Α[.]ΟΤΟΣ C. Delphes.

D. 45 initial letter T on stone.

burials. No more than 35 drachmas to be spent, either on articles bought or on things from the house. The thick shroud is to be brown. Anyone who breaks any of these rules is to pay a fine of 50 drachmas, unless he denies on oath at the tomb that he spent more.

29 One mattress is to be put underneath and one pillow placed at the head. The corpse is to be carried covered up, in silence, and is not to be put down anywhere, even at the corners of the road, and there is to be no wailing outside the house before they have come to the tomb, and there let there be . . . until the . . . are brought.

39 At the tombs there is to be no lamenting or wailing over those who died earlier, but everyone is to go away homewards except members of the immediate household, paternal uncles, fathers- and brothers-in-law, descendants, and sons-in-law.

46 There is to be no groaning or wailing at the second-day commemoration, the tenth-day commemoration or the annual commemoration. If anyone transgresses any of these written rules . . .

### D

2 These are the customary feasts: Apellai and Boukatia, Heraia, Daidaphoria, Poitropia, those on the seventh and the ninth of Busios,

Eukleia, Artamitia, Laphria, Theoxenia, Telchinia, Dioskoureia, Magalartia, and Herakleia, and if anyone sacrifices a victim himself, and if he is present at childbirth, and if foreigners with him sacrifice victims and if he is serving in the five-day office.

17 If any of these written rules is broken, the *damiorgoi* and all the other Labyadai are to exact a fine and the Fifteen are to enforce it. If anyone disputes the fine, he is to swear the customary oath and be released.

25 If, when they hold an assembly, a magistrate is absent, let him pay a fine of one obol, and if he disrupts it let him pay a fine of one obol.

29 The following regulations have been written also at Panopeus on the rock inside. Phanotos gave this as dowry to his daughter Boupyga: a half-sheep and a goat from the sacrifice of twelve victims and the skins in the sanctuary of Pronaia and the skins for (Apollo) Lykeios, and the beautiful calf.

38 The man who offers preliminary sacrifice and consults the oracle, whether in public or private capacity, is to provide the items recorded in writing to the Labyadai.

43 These are the sacrifices of the Labyadai: in the month Apellaioi to Dionysos, at the feast of the Boukatia to Zeus Patroos and first fruits to Apollo; and the Labyadai drink together. The other feasts to be held in their season.

ὅς Λαβυάδας· τὰς δ' ἄλλας  
 50 θοίνας κατὰ τὰν ἡώραν {αγ}  
 ἄγεσθαι.

The surviving, lower, part of this block gives us part of the regulations of a Delphic gentilicial group. The group never identifies itself as of a particular type, and modern identification of it as a phratry depends upon Hesychius s.v. *Laphyadai* (λ 436) identifying that group as a phratry at Delphi. As Sebillotte has pointed out, there were many different names for gentilicial groups in different Greek cities, and use of the name phratry for the Labyadai may be unduly Athenocentric, but the functions that they perform are broadly similar to those of phratries at Athens, and they include Poseidon Phratris among the gods by whom they swear oaths (see 5, 61; on the variety of gods termed 'Patroos'/'Phratris' see Plato, *Euthydemus* 302 B-D, Lambert, *Phratries*, 205 ff.).

Gentilicial groups often traced themselves back to a single eponymous figure, in this case Labys, said by the scholiast on Plato, *Philebus* 48 c, to have been a eunuch temple-servant at Delphi who invented the proverb 'Know yourself' (Chilon and Thales were also credited with that proverb). An inscription carved into a rock above the road from Arachova to Delphi also mentioned the Labyadai (*RA* 1969, i. 47-56), and two further versions of at least part of the regulations inscribed here survive, one (recording what is here lines *D.* 10-23) from Delphi (*C. Delphes* 9 bis) and one (recording what is here lines *D.* 31-8), recently discovered and to be published by John Camp, from Panopeus. The other Delphi version is in late sixth- or early fifth-century lettering and was presumably the text which this block replaced; the Panopeus version is presumably that mentioned in *D.* 30. What survives of the late archaic inscription seems to be word for word the same as this inscription, but we cannot know whether the earlier law was simply reinscribed on this block or whether this block incorporated the earlier law into more extensive regulations. The text on the block seems to have been at least partly up-dated in its language and orthography, and this up-dating, together with the letter forms, suggests a late fifth-century or early fourth-century date. The inscription provides a striking example of the common difficulty of deciding what is new in a surviving inscription and what is taken over from earlier texts.

This text gives us a rare glimpse of a gentilicial group at work outside Attica. It offers instructive parallels to and contrasts with not only the Attic inscription of the Demotionidai (5), and inscriptions from Tenos and Chios (61, 87), but the sacrificial calendars of Athenian *gene* and demes (compare here 37 and 63), and the late fifth-century funeral regulations from Ceos (*IG* xii. v 593 = *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 1218). The Labyadai clearly constituted an important part of the Delphian citizen body: the 182 votes recorded here (A. 22-3) are to be compared with the 454 and 353 votes recorded in two fourth-century records of decisions by the Delphian citizen body (*F. Delphes*, iii. i 194; *RPh* xvii 1943, 62-86), and this law raises important issues about the relationship between Labyadai and state.

Sides *A* and *B* concern the role of the *tagoi*, who appear to be the main officers of the Labyadai, in particular with regard to the sacrifices and offerings which were the mark of admission to the group. Side *C* opens with regulations about the settling of disputes and proceeds with regulations about burial. Side *D* is concerned with the calendar of festivals, although much on this side is obscure.

The Labyadai seem to have quite a complicated administrative structure. We do not know how many *tagoi* there were in office at once, but they are the executive officers and have a very wide remit. (Although the name *tagos* has been taken to be a sign of Thessalian influence, the word seems to have been widely used for magistrates over the whole of central Greece: see Helly, *L'État thessalien*, 27–9.) Decisions are taken by the Labyadai as a whole at an assembly (*ἀλλία*; the Delphians refer to their assembly in this period as an *agora* (*teleios*)), which holds at least some stated meetings and which can be summoned by a single phratry member (*A.* 42–3, *B.* 23–4). The Labyadai record the number of votes by which a motion was passed (*A.* 22–3) and have a quorum (*B.* 9–10 cf. 99). They also apparently form a court before which cases involving group business are heard, and which has the power to remove membership rights and to impose fines. In addition, the inscription mentions *damiorgoi*, a term of disputed meaning (see Rhodes with Lewis, p. 137 and n. 17) which perhaps covers all group officials (*D.* 19–20), *pentamaritai* ('five-day officials' *D.* 16) who appear to have sacrificial responsibilities, and 'the Fifteen' (*D.* 22) who are here made responsible for collecting fines. Whether these are all officials of the Labyadai is not entirely clear: part of the oath of new members, which they swear by Apollo the god of Delphi as well as by Poseidon Phratrios, is to vote according to the laws of Delphi (*B.* 10–17); this implies a close relationship between entry to the phratry and entry to political life at Delphi, and it may be that one or more of the magistracies mentioned is Delphian rather than Labyad.

Like many early laws, these regulations lay great stress on controlling the officers—so much so that the admissions procedure is not itself clearly laid out. Indications in the text and parallels from phratries elsewhere (Lambert, *Phratries*, ch. iv) suggest that there are three points of admission to the Labyadai. Offerings of cakes (called here *daratai*) are made to mark some sort of recognition by the group of children and wives—recognition probably of boys only at birth or in their early years, and of wives at marriage. Then at maturity boys (probably) become full members by offering a sacrificial victim (called here *apellaia*). In all cases permission for the offerings to be made has to be given at a quorate meeting (*B.* 5–8), and then confirmed by the particular *patria* (sub-group of the Labyadai) to which the new member will belong (*A.* 23–8). The offerings are to be made within a year of the decision, and the offering of *apellaia* has to happen at the festival of the Apellai (the Delphic equivalent of the Ionian festival of the Apaturia: compare 5). The offerings can be postponed for one

year on payment of a stater deposit (the word ἀμμόριον occurs only here), but for one year only (A. 46–58).

Side *C* opens with the end of regulations about the bringing and hearing of complaints which begin at the end of *B*. Too much is lost for it to be at all clear what is at issue here. *C* then continues with regulations about burial (on such regulations see Engels, *Funerum sepulcrorumque magnificentia*, and R. Garland, *BICS* xxxvi 1989, 1–15). Here the point is extremely clear: funeral expense and funerary display are being strictly limited. This law is closely comparable both to laws mentioned in literary sources (e.g. regulations of burial attributed to Solon at Athens, Plutarch, *Solon* 21. v–vii, [Dem.] *XLIII. Macartatus* 62, and the regulations collected by Cicero, *De Leg.* II. 62–6) and to other epigraphic laws, especially those from late fifth-century Iulis on Ceos and from third-century Gambreion (*LSAM* 16 = *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 1219): all are concerned to limit the possibility of turning a funeral into a display of wealth and power (compare the interesting remarks of Seaford, *Reciprocity and Ritual*, ch. iii). At Iulis no more than three funerary vestments were allowed, and they had to be white and cost less than 300 dr. At Gambreion the clothes of the mourners are regulated: brown for women, and brown or white for men. Here three vestments are mentioned, and although the specification of the thick shroud perhaps implies that there might be a thin shroud also, the spirit of the legislation appears to be that the only item visible would be the brown shroud. The monetary limit is very low, by comparison not just to Ceos but to the regulations in Plato's *Laws* (xii. 959 d), which allow 100 dr. for a member of the fourth class, 500 for a member of the highest class. This raises the question of whether the sums here, as perhaps elsewhere in the inscription, where the level of fines is also very low, were not brought up to date when the old regulations were reinscribed. These regulations share the Cean insistence on processing in silence, but by comparison with Ioulis, which is interested in consumption of wine and food at the tomb and with purification of the house of the dead, and Gambreion, which is interested in the length of mourning, the Labyadai are notable for their interest in limiting lamentation and in controlling exactly who can remain at the tomb. In this the closest parallel is with Solon's legislation (see also Plato, *Laws* xii. 960 a). The various visits to the tomb subsequent to the burial are not forbidden here, as the thirtieth-day commemoration is at Iulis, but lamentation is banned.

Side *D* is the most difficult to understand. The matter ought to be straightforward: we have here a list of festivals giving rise to group feasts. (On sacred calendars generally see on 62.) But into this list are inserted two almost incomprehensible clauses. The opening list gives (civic) festivals in chronological order (the Delphic year, like the Athenian, began in midsummer). Many of them bear the name of the month that they fall in, and this enables us to see that the distribution is not even. Five fall in the first half of the year (one in each month except the third month, Boathoos); no festival occurs in the seventh month, Amalios, and none in the last month, Ilaios, but ten in the intervening four months (roughly February to May). Of the fifteen festivals mentioned, eleven are not otherwise known at Delphi, and many cannot even be attributed to a particular deity, but they certainly include a wide range of deities (Hera, Artemis, the Dioscuri, Heracles, Demeter, almost certainly Dionysus)

and several of them have titles paralleled by festivals elsewhere. With the exception of the Apellai, the festivals seem to be festivals celebrated generally at Delphi, to which a feast of the Labyadai is attached. But the Labyadai do not feast on the occasion of all the city festivals: they celebrate the festival of the birth of Apollo on 7th Bysios, traditionally held to have been originally the only day of the year on which the Delphic oracle could be consulted (Plutarch, *QG* 292E–F), but do not themselves mark the Pythia, which fell in the month Boukatios (August). (For an attempt to show that the Labyadai celebrate a coherent annual cycle of festivals see E. Suarez de la Torre, *Kernos* x 1997, 153–76 at 164–7 and 175–6.)

At the end of the main list of civic festivals which are occasions for feasts (*D.* 2–11) is a list of other occasions when Labyadai sacrifice (*D.* 12–17). What is the point of this list? Two interpretations are possible. On one, this is an addition to the list of festivals: that is, the group also feasts whenever a member sacrifices, is present at a birth, entertains foreigners, and so on. On the other, this is a list of invalid excuses for not taking part in the group feasts: giving a strong sense to *καὶ κα*, one is to join the Labyadai feasts at the festival *even* if one is otherwise sacrificing oneself, present at a birth, entertaining foreigners, and so on. The first interpretation renders the potential number of group feasts very large indeed (cf. *Ath.* iv. 173E on Delphi in general), and the potential number of people turning up to a private sacrifice equally large (note the 182 voting members at *A.* 22–3); the latter presupposes that the group feasts are occasions to which members are obliged to go. On the former interpretation the fines for contravention of the regulations would presumably be levied on someone who failed to make the group members welcome at a sacrifice which they were holding; on the latter interpretation the fines would be levied on a person who failed to attend group feasts. The latter interpretation has the advantage of explaining why the regulations immediately move to clauses about non-attendance (and misbehaviour) at the assembly, regulations which seem to have nothing to do with religious festivals. But despite the difficulties, we favour the view that this law obliges group members to admit other members who wish to attend to feasts on the occasion of private sacrifices, rather than the view that all Labyadai were obliged to attend every feast; penalizing non-attendance at a feast would be surprising given that an *officer's* non-attendance at an *assembly* brings only a one obol fine (*D.* 26–8).

There follow provisions for enforcement (*D.* 17–29). In the middle of these, reference is made to what is inscribed inside a rock at Panopeus and we are told about the sacrificial animals and perquisites which Phanotos gave to his daughter Boupyga (*D.* 29–38). We are then told that the stated items are to be given to the Labyadai by any individual or representative of a city who sacrifices in advance of consulting the oracle (*D.* 38–43). The inscription ends with a curiously brief list of Labyad sacrifices and feasts (*D.* 43–51).

Of the various problems that this sequence of items raises, one has recently been solved: it is now known what was inscribed at Panopeus, since the inscription has been found. That text, as John Camp has kindly informed us, resolves one question of reading: the character who gave the sacrificial animal and perquisites to his daughter is now revealed as Phanotos, presumably the eponymous hero of Panopeus/Phano-



teos. These gifts seem to form the basis and precedent for the offerings demanded of oracular consultants. Scholars have doubted whether every party consulting the Delphic oracle can have been expected to provide animals and perquisites on this scale to a Delphic phratry, and the identity of the giver as Phanotos offers some support to restriction to consultants from Panopeus, suggested by Vatin (*C. Delphes*, pp. 80–1). The final list makes it clear that the Labyadaï sacrifice on the occasion of the first two feasts mentioned at *D.* 2–11 and specifies the deities honoured, but what the statement that ‘feasts are held in their season’ adds to that earlier list is quite unclear.

The puzzles posed by *D* turn on precisely the area about which the inscription is in other ways most revealing: the relationship between this group and the city. Civic sub-groups, as many other inscriptions in this volume will show, frequently have institutional structures and concerns closely parallel to those of the city as a whole. But here at a number of points we find ourselves not at all clear as to the limits of Labyad authority. Is admission to the Labyadaï at maturity also admission to civic life at Delphi? Does the group have judicial rights over its members, or do Delphic officials have a role in group regulation? Why are the Labyadaï regulating funerals at Delphi when parallel legislation elsewhere is issued by the whole civic body? (or is this

## 2

## Athens honours loyal Samians, 403/2

Three contiguous fragments of the lower part of a stele, of which the upper part contains M&L 94 ~ Fornara 166; at the top of the stele are a relief showing Athena and Samian Hera clasping hands, and a heading relating to the whole *dossier*. These fragments found between the theatre of Dionysus and the odeum of Herodes Atticus in Athens; now in the Acropolis Museum. Phot. Kern, *Inscriptiones Graecae*, Taf. 19; Schede, *The Acropolis of Athens*, pl. 101 (cf. pp. 114–16); Kirchner, *Imagines*<sup>2</sup>, Taf. 19 Nr. 43; Meyer, *Die griechischen Urkundenreliefs*, Taf. 10 A 26;

## §ii

[ἔδοξεν τῇ βολῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ. Πανδ]ιονὶς ἐπρυτάνευε· Ἀγύρριος Κ[ολλυτ]εὺς  
[ἐγράμματ]ευσ· Εὐκλείδης ἥρχε· Κα[λλίας] Ὡθεν ἐπεστάτει. Κηφισοφῶν [εἶπεν]·  
[ἐπαινέσαι μὲν Σαμῖος ὅτι ἐσὶν] ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ περὶ Ἀθηναίους, καὶ ἅπ[αντα]  
[κύρια ἐναὶ ἂ πρότερον ὁ δήμος] ἐψηφίσατο ὁ Ἀθηναίων τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Σα[μίων].  
45 [ἐμύψαι δὲ τὸς Σαμῖος ὥσπερ αὐ]τοὶ κελεύουσιν ἐς Λακεδαίμονα ὄντινα [ἂν αὐ]-  
[τοὶ βόλωνται· ἐπειδὴ δὲ προ]σδέονται Ἀθηναίων συνπράττειν, προσελέσ[θαι]  
[πρέσβες, οὗτοι δὲ συνπρα]ττόντων τοῖς Σαμίοις ὅτι ἂν δύνωνται ἀγαθ[ὸν καὶ]  
[κοινῇ βουλευέσθων μετὰ] ἐκένων. ἐπαινοῖσι δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι Ἐφεσίου καὶ Νοτ[ιᾶς]  
[ὅτι προθύμως ἐδέξαντο] Σαμίων τὸς ἕξω ὄντας. προσαγαγὲν δὲ τὴν πρεσβεία[ν]

M. J. Osborne differs from earlier edd. at a few points on how many letters can be read.  
SIG<sup>3</sup>: τὸς Σαμῖος IG<sup>2</sup>.

43 μὲν Σαμῖος

the Delphian law, adopted and reiterated by the Labyadai?) Do the Labyadai have a privileged interest in Delphic civic festivals and the sacrificial activities that surround the Delphic oracle? In the past gentilicial groups have sometimes been thought of as pre-*polis* institutions, or at least as institutions which became increasingly sidelined by the growth of civic institutions. The reinscription, and perhaps revision and expansion, of the regulations of the Labyadai, along with the parallel activities of the Demotionidai in Attica at about the same time (5), remind us that institutions which traced their history into the distant past, and which in some of their rituals continued to repeat actions which had already been going on for centuries, continued to assert their place in the life of the Greek city in the fourth century.

The inscription contains various dialectal features which mark it out from Attic, some of which are general features of (North-)West Greek dialect and some of which are particular to Delphi. These include *ἑέντε* for *ἔστυ* (*B.* 44), *-οντι* for *-ουσι*, infinitive in *-εν* rather than *-ειν* (*A.* 31 etc.), use of *κα* rather than *άν*, use of *τοί* and *ταί* for the plural of the article, use of both *ποτ* (*C.* 31) and *ποί* (*A.* 14, *C.* 30) for *πρός*, the apocope of *παρά* (*A.* 28 etc.), the assimilation of final *ν* and final *ς* (*A.* 3, 10, 57 etc.), crasis of and to (*B.* 17, *D.* 7 etc.), *α* for *αι* in *φαιωτός* (*C.* 24) and *ο* for *α* in *ἐντοφήων*.

Lawton, *Reliefs*, pl. 38 no. 71 (last three top of *stele*, with relief); our Pl. 1.

Attic-Ionic, mostly retaining the old *ε* for *ει* and *ο* for *ου*; *stoichedon* 57–62, often ending a line with the end of a word or syllable.

*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1; *SIG<sup>3</sup>* 117; Tod 97\*; Pouilloux, *Choix*, 24; M. J. Osborne, *Naturalization*, D 5. Trans. Harding 5 (ll. 41–55 only). See also Shipley, *History of Samos*, 131–5.

## §ii

- 41 Resolved by the council and the people. Pandionis was the prytany; Agyrrius of Collytus was secretary; Euclides was archon [403/2]; Callias of Oa was chairman. Cephisophon proposed:
- 43 Praise the Samians because they are good men with regard to the Athenians; and everything shall be valid which the people of Athens decreed previously for the people of Samos. The Samians shall send to Sparta, as they themselves demand, whoever they themselves wish; and, since in addition they ask the Athenians to join in negotiating, choose envoys in addition, and these shall join with the Samians in negotiating whatever benefit they can, and shall deliberate in common with them. The Athenians praise the Ephesians and the Notians because they received enthusiastically those of the Samians who were outside. Bring the Samian embassy before the people to do

- 50 [τῶν Σαμίων ἐς τὸν δῆμ]ον χρηματίσασθαι ἂν το δέωνται. καλέσαι δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ  
[δείπνον τὴν πρεσβ]είαν τῶν Σαμίων ἐς τὸ πρυτανεόν ἐς αὔριον· Κηφισοφῶν  
[εἶπε· τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κ]αθάπερ τῇ βολῇ· ἐψηφίσθαι δὲ Ἀθηναίων τῷ δήμῳ κύρια  
[εἶναι τὰ ἐψηφισμ]ένα πρότερον περὶ Σαμίων καθάπερ ἡ βολὴ προβολεύσασα  
[ἐς τὸν δῆμον ἐσ]ήνεγκεν. καλέσαι δὲ τὴν πρεσβείαν τῶν Σαμίων ἐπὶ δείπνον  
55 [ἐς τὸ πρυτανε]όν ἐς αὔριον. *vacat*

## §iii

- [ἔδοξεν τῇ βολῇ]ι καὶ τῷ δήμῳ. Ἐρεχθίδης ἐπρυτάνευσεν· Κηφισοφῶν Πα[ια]νιεύ[ς]  
[ἐγραμμάτευε· Εὐκλ]είδης ἥρχε· Πύθων ἐκ Κηδῶν ἐπεστάτει. Εὐ[—<sup>68</sup>— εἶπεν]·  
[ἐπαινεῖσαι Ποσὴν τὸν] Σάμιον ὅτι ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός ἐστιν περὶ Ἀθηναίος, καὶ ἀνθ' ὧν  
[εὐ πεπόηκε τὸν δῆμον δ]όναι αὐτ[ῷ τὸν δῆμ]ον δωρεῖαν πεντακοσίας δραχμὰς  
60 [ἐς κατασκευὴν στεφάνο, οἱ δὲ ταμί]αι δόντων τὸ ἀργύριον. προσαγαγὲν δὲ αὐτὸ-  
[ν ἐς τὸν δῆμον καὶ εὐρέσθαι πα]ρὰ τὸ δῆμο ὅ τι ἂν δύνηται ἀγαθόν. τὸ δὲ βιβλίον  
[τὸ ψησίματος παραδόναι αὐτ]ῷ τὸν γραμματέα τῆς βολῆς αὐτίκα μάλα.  
[καλέσαι δὲ ἐπὶ ξένια Σαμίος τὸ]ς ἥκοντας ἐς τὸ πρυτανεόν ἐς αὔριον. *vacat*  
[—<sup>10</sup>— εἶπε· τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καθά]περ τῇ βολῇ· ἐπαινεῖσαι δὲ Ποσὴν τὸν  
65 [Σάμιον καὶ τὸς υἱές, ἐπειδὴ ἄνδρες ἀγ]αθοὶ ἐσιν περὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων.  
[καὶ κύρια εἶναι τὰ ἐψηφισμένα πρότε]ρον ὑπὸ τὸ δῆμο τὸ Ἀθηναίων· καὶ ἀναγρα-  
[ψάτω ὁ γραμματεὺς τὸ ψήφισμα ἐστῆλ]ηι λιθίνῃ, οἱ δὲ ταμίαι παρασχόντων  
[τὸ ἀργύριον ἐς τὴν στήλην. δόναι δὲ Πο]σῇ δωρεὰν τὸν δῆμον χιλίας δραχμὰς  
[ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα τῆς πρὸς Ἀθηναίος, ἀπὸ δ]ὲ τῶν χιλίων δραχμῶν στέφανον ποῆσα-  
70 [ι, καὶ ἐπιγράψαι τούτῳ στεφανοῦν αὐ]τὸν τὸν δῆμον ἀνδραγαθίας ἔνεκα καὶ  
[ἀρετῆς τῆς ἐς Ἀθηναίος. ἐπαινεῖσαι δὲ] καὶ Σαμίος ὅτι ἐσὶν ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ  
[περὶ Ἀθηναίος· ἂν δέ το δέωνται παρὰ] τὸ δῆμο, προσάγειν αὐτὸς τὸς πρυτάνες  
[πρὸς τὸν δῆμον πρῶτος αἰὲ μετὰ τὰ ἱερ]ά. προσαγαγὲν δὲ καὶ τὸς υἱές τὸς Ποσὸ  
[τὸς πρυτάνες ἐς τὸν δῆμον ἐς τὴν πρῶτ]ην ἔδραν. καλέσαι δὲ κ[αὶ ἐπὶ ξ]ένια  
75 [ἐς τὸ πρυτανεόν καὶ Ποσὴν καὶ τὸς υἱές] καὶ Σαμίων τὸς ἐπ[ιδιμῶντα]ς.

57, 64 Εὐ[ριπιίδης], [Εὐριπιίδης] (with rough breathing) W. Bannier, *BPW* xxxiv 1914, 1599.

68 τὴν

στήλην A. Wilhelm *ap. SIG*<sup>3</sup>: ἀναγραφὴν IG II<sup>2</sup>.

74 τὸν δῆμον P.J.R.: τὴν βολὴν previous edd.: see com-

mentary.

Samos loyally supported Athens, and served as Athens' principal base in the Aegean, from 412 to the end of the Peloponnesian War in 404; it continued to hold out against Sparta after the capitulation of Athens; but eventually it submitted to Lysander, who expelled the pro-Athenian democrats (or at any rate some of them), restored the anti-Athenian oligarchic exiles (cf. Thuc. viii. 21, referring to 412), and installed a governor and a decarchy, a ruling clique of ten men (X. H. ii. iii. 6–7, D.S. xiv. 3. iv–v). In 405/4, before either city had surrendered to the Spartans, in the first decree recorded on this *stèle* (M&L 94 ~ Fornara 166) the Athenians awarded citizenship to the Samians, promised them independence and the freedom to choose their own form of government, and undertook to join them in negotiation with Sparta. If that

business if they ask for anything. And also invite the Samian embassy to dinner in the *prytaneion* tomorrow.

- 51 Cephisophon proposed: In other respects in accordance with the council; but the Athenian people shall decree that there shall be valid what the people of Athens decreed previously for the people of Samos, as the council in its *probouleuma* brought before the people. And invite the Samian embassy to dinner in the *prytaneion* tomorrow.

### §iii

- 56 Resolved by the council and the people. Erechtheis was the prytany; Cephisophon of Paeania was secretary; Euclides was archon; Python from Kedoi was chairman. Eu—proposed:
- 58 Praise Poses of Samos because he is a good man with regard to the Athenians; and, in return for the benefits which he has conferred on the people, the people shall give him a grant of five hundred drachmas for the making of a crown: the treasurers shall give the money. Bring him before the people, and he shall find from the people whatever benefit he can. The book of the decree the secretary of the council shall hand over to him immediately. And invite the Samians who have come to hospitality in the *prytaneion* tomorrow.
- 64 ——— proposed: In other respects in accordance with the council; but praise Poses of Samos and his sons because they are good men with regard to the people of Athens. And what the people of Athens decreed previously for the people of Samos shall be valid; and the secretary shall write up the decree on a stone *stèle*, and the treasurers shall provide the money for the *stèle*. The people shall give Poses a grant of a thousand drachmas for his goodness towards the Athenians, and from the thousand drachmas shall make a crown, and shall inscribe on this that the people crown him for his goodman-ship [*andragathia*] and for his goodness with regard to the Athenians. Praise the Samians also because they are good men with regard to the Athenians. And if they want anything from the people, the *prytaneis* shall bring them forward to the people always first after the sacred business. The *prytaneis* shall also bring forward the sons of Poses before the people at its first session. Invite also to hospitality in the *prytaneion* Poses and his sons and those of the Samians who are present.

---

decree was inscribed in Athens at the time, the *stèle* was probably demolished by the oligarchy of the Thirty.<sup>1</sup> This *stèle* has a heading naming Cephisophon as the secretary—which he was when the last of these decrees was enacted (§iii: ll. 56–7): the three decrees were inscribed together after the enactment of the last; the relief stresses the continuing friendship between Athens and Samos. How many Samians took up the offer of Athenian citizenship and migrated to Athens, we do not know; Shipley sees

<sup>1</sup> For demolition by the Thirty and republication afterwards cf., e.g., Tod 98; the same was to happen at the end of our period, when a decree for Euphron of Sicyon enacted in 323/2 was demolished by the subsequent oligarchy and republished with a further decree in 318/17 (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 448).

Sparta's imposition of a decarchy as a sign that the bulk of the population stayed in Samos and needed to be controlled in the Spartan interest.

In the second decree (i.e. §ii, the first printed here) the secretary, Agyrrhius, was one of the leading politicians in Athens in the late fifth and early fourth centuries, *inter alia* being the man who introduced payment for attending the assembly (*Ath. Pol.* 41. iii), and was the uncle of another leading politician, Callistratus (for Agyrrhius cf. on 26; for Callistratus cf. on 31); Cephisophon, the proposer, is presumably the man who was secretary when the last decree was enacted, and according to X. H. II. iv. 36 was one of the envoys sent to Sparta 'from the private citizens in the city' before the restoration of the democracy in 403 (see *APF*, 148). The provisions of the first decree are reaffirmed (cf. below). The Samians whose demand is granted here will be the pro-Athenian exiles; joint negotiation with Sparta had been promised in the first decree (II. 24-5); the negotiation now envisaged presumably concerns the return of these exiles to Samos, and Athenian involvement may help because of the links established with Pausanias and others when the democracy was restored at Athens. Ephesus and Notium, on the Asiatic mainland north-east of Samos, will have been natural places of refuge for men driven out of Samos (A. Andrewes suggested that at the time they were in the hands not of Lysander but of the Persian Tissaphernes: *Phoen.* xxv 1971, 214). The council had responded to the Samians' requests with the *probouleuma* which it sent to the assembly; the clause about access to the assembly, which has several parallels, is in effect an open clause in the *probouleuma*, in which the council invites the assembly to add to the benefits which it is itself recommending (cf. Rhodes, *Boule*, 281-3). The hospitality offered to honorands is regularly called *xenia* ('hospitality') when offered to foreigners but *deipnon* ('dinner') when offered to Athenians, who are not *xenoi* (cf. Rhodes, *ZPE* lvii 1984, 193-9; and in our collection notice particularly 31, 70)—and as a result of the first decree the Samians are now Athenians. Invitations for 'tomorrow' are almost invariable; but two fifth-century decrees invite for 'the customary time' (*IG* I<sup>3</sup> 11, 165), and one of 369/8 invites for 'the third day' i.e. the day after tomorrow, presumably because some special observance made the usual day impossible (*SIG*<sup>3</sup> 158 = *I. Délos* 88).

The *probouleuma* is supplemented by an amendment, proposed in the assembly by the same man, Cephisophon, with the formula which indicates that the proposal being amended was contained in the *probouleuma*. It was common Athenian practice both to correct the original proposal in the light of the amendment and to publish the amendment after the corrected proposal (M&L 90 ~ Fornara 160 provides a particularly clear example); but in the last of these decrees, below, the original proposal is not corrected. Here the *probouleuma* has been corrected: it is possible that both of the items mentioned in the amendment had been omitted from the *probouleuma* (the first, because reaffirmation of the first decree was thought unnecessary—and the Samians may have taken advantage of the open clause to ask for it; the second out of inadvertence); another possibility is that the inadvertence corrected in the second item was not omission of the invitation but failure to remember that the Samians ought to be invited to *deipnon* rather than *xenia* (cf. Rhodes 1984—but see also below).

In the final decree (§iii) Cephisophon appears as secretary; Python, the chairman,

is the earliest known member of a family attested over seven generations (*APF*, 485–6); a possible proposer, both of the original motion and of the amendment (though this is far from certain, and indeed the same man need not have proposed both), is Eurip(p)ides, a major figure of the 390s (*APF*, 202–4). Characteristically, we are not told what Poses' particular benefits to Athens were; we know nothing else about him. Giving him 'a grant . . . for the making of a crown' is an unparalleled formulation: commonly honorands are awarded a crown of a specified value (e.g. 33), and from the mid fourth century the decree sometimes specifies who is to have the crown made (e.g. 64): see Henry, *Honours and Privileges*, 22–8, 34–6. A crown of 1,000 drachmas was awarded in M&L 85 ~ Fornara 155. There is no exact parallel for an amendment's increasing the value of the crown, but in *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 223. A the council awards a crown of 500 drachmas on its own account and in a *probouleuma* invites the assembly to award a crown of 1,000 drachmas. 'The treasurers', who make the payments prescribed here and in other decrees of the early fourth century, are the treasurers of Athena and the Other Gods, from 406 to 385 a single board (cf. Rhodes, *Boule*, 103 n. 7). 'The book (*biblion*) of the decree' will be a text written on papyrus (*hyblos*). On this occasion, apparently in the original proposal and certainly in the amendment, the Samians are invited to *xenia* (to explain this, some have suggested that only Samians who were in Athens by a certain date received citizenship; but perhaps here we have an oversight which was not rectified).

The amendment extends the honours to Poses' sons, and increases the value of the crown. What is reaffirmed is probably what was voted to the Samians in the first and second decrees, and this clause is to be read with the publication clause which follows: this is an oblique way of ordering the publication not only of the decree for Poses but of the whole *dossier*. The Samians are now granted priority access to the assembly on subsequent occasions if they have any request ('first after the sacred business', which had absolute priority: cf. Rhodes with Lewis, 14 with n. 19, 543 with n. 40). Elsewhere *hedra* ('session') is used of meetings of the council rather than the assembly (e.g. M&L 85, 100, though B. D. Meritt restored *hedra* of the assembly in an adventurous reconstruction of *SEG* x 87 = *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 90): linguistic usage was fluid in the fifth century, and it would be procedurally more appropriate if here Poses' sons were to be brought before the assembly, as in the original decree Poses himself was to be brought before the assembly.

We do not know what resulted from the negotiations with Sparta; but there is evidence of enthusiasm for Lysander among those who remained in Samos, Samos remained under a pro-Spartan régime at least until 398/7 and probably until the battle of Cnidus in 394, and it was recovered by Sparta for a time c.391 (see Shipley, 134–5).

## Sparta liberates Delos, 403 or shortly after

Two fragments of a *stèle* found on Delos; now in the Epigraphical Museum in Athens. Phot. *a+b* *BCH* lxxi–lxxii 1947–8, 417 fig. 30; *REA* ciii 2001, 253 fig. 1, 254 fig. 2; *b* *LSAG*, pl. 38.

*a* and *b*. 1–6 are in Laconian Doric, in a script old-fashioned for the date (*LSAG*, 198); *b*. 7–16 are in Attic-Ionic, in a smaller Ionic script. Both sections *stoichedon*.

*IG* v. i 1564; *Choix Délos* 8; *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 119a; Tod 99; *LSAG* 407 no. 62 (all these *b* only); *I. Délos* 87\*; the promised full publication of *a* never occurred; F. Prost, *REA* ciii 2001, 241–60 at 253–60.

<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>
θιός.	[τὸν] τ[εμέν]-
ἠιάλε τὰ τ-	[ο]ν καὶ θ[υᾶ]-
έλε τὸν Λα-	[ν] καὶ ναῖδ-
κεδαμμον-	ν καὶ τὸν χ-
5 ιον ἐς Δᾶλ-	5 ρεμάτων τ-
ον κα τὰς σ-	ὦν τὸ θιῶ.
υνθέκας ἡ-	ἐβασίλευον
[ό]σπερ κατ-	Ἄγισ, Πανσανίας.
[ὰ τ'] ἄλλοῖα	ἔφοροι ἦσαν
10 [σύμβ]ολ[α].	10 Θυωνίδας,
-----	Ἀριστογενίδας,
	Ἀρχίστας,
	Σολόγας,
	Φεδίλας.
	15 ἐν Δήλοι ἤρχεν
	[Ἀ]νδ[ρόδικ]ος (?).

The two fragments do not join: it is not certain how far apart on the *stèle* they were. *b*. 1–3 J. Tréheux, *ap.* C. Vial, *Délos indépendante*, 92 n. 12. *b*. 7–8 added later Prost. *b*. 16 Tréheux, *RA*<sup>6</sup> xxxi–xxxii 1949, 1023 n. 11: Lewis read [Ἀ]ΝΔ[—<sup>8</sup>—]ΟΣ, but according to *I. Délos* the doubtful letter is Δ or Λ but not Α.

Delos and its sanctuary of Apollo ('the god') were under Athenian influence throughout the duration of the Delian League: in particular, the Athenians 'purified' Delos in 426/5; expelled the Delians in 422; allowed them back in 421 (Thuc. iii. 104 with S. Hornblower's commentary *ad loc.*; v. 1 cf. viii. 108. iv; v. 32. i). This inscription must be later than 404/3 (since none of the ephors appears in the list of eponymous ephors in X. H. ii. iii. 10), but earlier than c.400, when king Agis died: the Spartans after defeating Athens have sent dues (*tele*: offerings to which they have committed themselves in the agreement) to Delian Apollo and presumably have acknowledged the Delians' right to control their precincts, sacrifices, temples, and sacred monies. The inscription begins with a Spartan text in Laconian Doric (e.g. θιός for θεός; the characters include *F* and *Θ* = *h*). ἠιάλε is the aorist passive of ἰάλλειν: the same form is found on

*a*

God.

- 2 The dues of the Spartans  
were sent to Delos in accord-  
ance with the agreement  
as in accordance with the  
other mutual pacts [*symbola*].  
-----

*b*

. . . of the precincts and the  
sacrifices and the temples and  
the monies of the god.

- 7 The kings were Agis, Pausa-  
nias. The ephors were  
Thyionidas, Aristogenidas,  
Archistas, Sologas, Phedilas.  
In Delos the archon was  
Androdicus.

---

a fifth-century lead tablet from Himera, in Sicily, where it has been interpreted as aorist passive or aorist active (Dubois, *Inscriptions grecques dialectales de Sicile*, 13–14 no. 1; contr. R. Arena, *ΣΡΕ* ciii 1994, 157–8). The note of the Spartan kings and ephors and of the Delian archon (*b.* 7–18) has presumably been added by the Delians, since it is Attic-Ionic (nothing is known about the men other than the Spartan kings: the normal spelling of the last ephor would be Pheidilas). The Delian records include dedications by the Spartans Lysander and Pharax (*IG* xi 161. *B.* 59, 92; 87). For the further history of Delos see 28.

The meaning of *symbola* in l. *a.* 10 is discussed by Gauthier, *Symbola*, 380–1. Sparta is not otherwise known to have entered into judicial conventions (cf. his pp. 85–9), and here the reference must be to agreements concerning the sacred treasures.



## Rewards for men who had fought for democracy at Athens, 401/0

Five fragments of a *stele* inscribed on both faces: (a) found on the Athenian Acropolis, now in the Epigraphical Museum; (b + c) found on Aegina, now in the Epigraphical Museum; (d) once in the Piraeus Museum, now lost; (e) found in the Agora. Phot. *BSA* xlvii 1952, pl. 27 (b + c); *Hesp.* lxiii 1994, pl. 38 (e). Facs. *BSA* 1952, 103 fig. 1 (a), 105 fig. 2 (b + c), 106 fig. 3 (d, from a squeeze).

Attic-Ionic, the decree normally retaining the old  $\epsilon$  for  $\epsilon\iota$  and  $\omicron$  for  $\omicron\upsilon$ . In the decree, ll. 1–2 are in larger letters, ll. 3 sqq. *stoichedon* 87 (in the reconstruction here followed); below the decree there were four columns of names, ll. 3 and on the back seven (in this reconstruction), with tribe-names in larger letters than men's names.

*IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 10; *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 120; Tod 100 (all these *a* only); *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 2403 (d only); D. Hereward, *BSA* xlvii 1952, 102–17 (full

### FRONT: top

[Λυσιάδης ἐγ]ραμμάτευε·

[Ξεναίνετ]ος ἦρχε.

[ἔδοξεν τῇ βολῇ καὶ τῶι δήμῳ. Ἱπποθωντὶς ἐπρυτάν]ευε· Λυσιάδης ἐγραμμάτευε·  
Δημόφιλος ἐπ[εστάτε. Θρασύβ]-

[ολος εἶπε· ὅπως ἂν ἀξίας χάριτας κομίσωνται οἱ ξέν]οι ὅσοι συνκατηῆλθον ἀπὸ  
Φυλῆς ἢ τοῖς κατελ[θόσι συνελάβ]-

5 [οντο ἐς τὴν κάθοδον τὴν εἰς Περαιᾶ, περὶ μὲν τούτων] ἐψηφίσθαι Ἀθηναίους εἶναι  
αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐκγόν[οις πολιτεῖ]-

[αν· καὶ νέμει αὐτὸς αὐτίκα μάλα ἐς τὰς φυλὰς δέκαχα]· νόμοις δὲ τοῖς αὐτοῖς περὶ  
αὐτῶν τὰς ἀρχὰς χρ[ῆσθαι οἷς κ]-

[αὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἀθηναίων. ὅσοι δὲ ἦλθον ὕστερον], συνεμάχησαν δὲ τὴν  
μάχην τῇμ Μονιχίαισιν, τὸν δὲ [Περαιᾶ δ]-

[ιέσωισαν, ὅσοι δὲ παρέμενον τῶι ἐμ Περαιεὶ δήμῳ ὅ]τε αἱ διαλλαγὰι ἐγένοντο, καὶ  
ἐποιῶν τὰ προσστατ[τόμενα, τ]-

[ότοις εἶναι ἰσοτέλειαν οἰκῶσι Ἀθήνησιν κατὰ τὴν δοθείσαν ἐ]γγύησιν καθάπερ  
Ἀθηναίους. ὃ τὸς δὲ [—<sup>9</sup>—]

[-----]

### FRONT: below

col. i should have begun:

[οἷδε συνκατηῆλθον ἀπὸ Φυλῆς]

col. ii should have included:

[οἷδε συνεμάχησαν τῇμ]

[μάχην τῇμ Μονιχίαισιν]

col. iii (perhaps Pandionis):

[-----]ς

[-----]ση

[—<sup>9</sup>—]β]υρσο

[—<sup>9</sup>—]κάπη

5 [—<sup>6</sup>—]κ]αρυοσπώ

text of *b + c*, discussion of *a-d*); P. Krentz, *Phoen.* xxxiv 1980, 289–306 (full text of decree, discussion of *a-d*: heterodox); M. J. Osborne, *Naturalization*, D 6\* (*a-d*); M. B. Walbank, *Hesp.* lxiii 1994, 169–71 no. 2 (cf. *SEG* xlv 34) (e). Trans. Austin & Vidal-Naquet 70 (the decree, and some names and descriptions); Harding 3 (*a* only). See also D. Whitehead, *LCM* ix 1984, 8–10.

We number the columns continuously, so that the first column on the back is v. For convenience we follow M. J. Osborne’s numbering of lines within columns, with the warning that the placing of the fragments is only approximate: in cols. iii and iv l. 1 is the first line of which any text survives (iv. 1 being probably lower than iii. 1), but in v–viii l. 1 is the first line of each column, whether preserved or not.

FRONT: top

Lysiades was secretary; Xenaenetus was archon [401/0].

- 3 Resolved by the council and the people. Hippothontis was the prytany; Lysiades was secretary; Demophilus was chairman. Thrasybulus proposed:
- 4 So that worthy gratitude may be obtained by the foreigners who joined in returning from Phyle or who joined with those who had returned in coming back to Piraeus: concerning these, be it decreed by the Athenians that there shall be citizenship for them and their descendants; and distribute them immediately into the tribes tenfold; and the officials shall use the same laws concerning them as concerning the other Athenians.
- 7 Those who came later, joined in fighting the battle at Munichia and made the Piraeus safe, who remained with the People in Piraeus when the reconciliation took place, and were doing what they were instructed: for these there shall be *isoteleia* if they live in Athens, in accordance with the pledge given (?), as for the Athenians. The — —

FRONT: below

In accordance with the decree there should have been three lists, each organised in tribal sections. The first list, beginning at the top of col. i, should have been headed:	battle at Munichia.	
	The following fragments will have belonged to the second list:	
	col. iii (perhaps Pandionis (III))	
The following joined in returning from Phyle.	_____	_____
	_____	_____
The second list, beginning in the course of col. ii, should have been headed:	_____	tanner
	_____	retailer
The following joined in fighting the	5 _____	nut-seller

[—<sup>5</sup>—] ἄλφιτοπό  
 [ . . . ] οριος σακχυφά  
 [ . . . ] ων σκυτοτόμ  
 [ . . ] ρμω[ . . ] ν σακκ  
 10 [Σ]ωκράτης τραπεζοποι  
 Σωσίβιος σκυτοπό  
 Ἑρμων κάπηλος  
 Γῆρυς λαχανοπω  
 Βλέπων τραπε  
 15 Ἀπολλωνίδης Σ . . [— — —]  
 . [ . ] φ [— — —]  
*col. iv:*  
 [—<sup>8</sup>—] γ[εωρ  
 [(?) Αεωντῖδ]ος  
 [—<sup>6</sup>—] κρομμυνοπ  
 [ . . . ] ος ἄμαξορ  
 5 [—<sup>10</sup>—] ορ[— — —]  
 [—<sup>12</sup>—] λ[— — —]  
 [— — — — — — — —]  
 [(?) Ἀπολ]λό[δ]ωρ[ος γν]α  
 [ . . . . ] . [ . ] η[— — —]  
 10 [— — — — — — — —]

[—<sup>6</sup>—] σ[— — —]  
 [— — — — — — — —]  
 [ . . . . ] ω[ν] κᾶπη  
 [—<sup>6</sup>—] ος γλ[— — —]  
 15 [—<sup>6</sup>—] γ[εωρ  
 [ . . . . ] λης χαλ[κεύ]ς  
 [ . . . . ] ἰων ἀλ[ιεύ]ς  
 [ . . . . ] χος ἔριοπ  
 [ . . . ι]ππος χρυσο  
 20 [ . . . . ] ἰστρατος σιτ  
 [ . . . . ] ρίας γναφ  
 [ . . . . ] ἰας λιβαν  
 [ . . . . ] σς δορ[— — —]  
 [ . . . ιπ]πος ι.[ . . ] ο[— — —]  
 25 [—<sup>12</sup>—] ντ[— — —]  
 [—<sup>10</sup>—] λ[— — —]  
 [—<sup>9</sup>—] ος ἀ[λ]φ  
 [—<sup>8</sup>—] ὄνο  
 [—<sup>7</sup>—] νος πριφ[— — —]  
 30 [—<sup>7</sup>—] ἀλφιτ[— — —]  
 [—<sup>610</sup>—] . [— — —]

## BACK

*col. v includes (Oeneis):*

40 [—<sup>5</sup>—] s γεωρ  
 [—<sup>5</sup>—] αγόρα[s — — —]  
 [ . . . ] ώτας ἀ[— — —]  
 [—<sup>6</sup>—] ω[— — —]  
 [— — — — — — — —]  
 45 Κ[εκροπί]δ[ος (?)]  
 [—<sup>6</sup>—] . [ . ] . [— — —]  
 [—<sup>5</sup>—] . [ . . ] . ανι[— — —]  
 [—<sup>6</sup>—] . [ . ] ἔμπο  
 [—<sup>8</sup>—] .  
 50 [—<sup>5</sup>—] κ[άπη  
 [—<sup>5</sup>—] κερாமολό  
 [ . . . . ] ῥης κηρυ  
 [—<sup>5</sup>—] s σκ[υ]το  
 [—<sup>6</sup>—] αρ  
 55 [—<sup>6</sup>—] μ[ισθω

*col. vi includes (Aiantis):*

Χαιρέδημος γεωρ  
 Λεπτίνης μαγε  
 Δ[η]μήτριος τέκτ  
 Εὐφορίων ὄρεωκ  
 5 Κ[η]φισ[ό]δωρος οἶκο  
 [Ἥγ]ησίας κηπορ  
 Ἑπαμείνων ὄνοκο  
 . [ . . . ] ωπος ἐλαιο⟨π⟩  
 [Γλ]αυ[κ]ίας γεωρ  
 10 [—<sup>5</sup>—] ν καρνο  
 [Διονύ]σιος γεωρ  
*and, lower down (Antiochis):*  
 [Ἀ]ριστο[— — —]  
 Δέξιος σ[— — —]  
 Χάρων κι[— — —]  
 Ἥρακλείδη[s — — —]

—	barley-groat-seller	10	—	—
—orius	sailmaker	—	—	—
—on	leather-worker	—	—	—
...rmo . n	sackcloth-maker/ -seller	—on	retailer	—
10 Socrates	table-maker	15	—	farm-worker
Sosibius	shoe-seller	—les	bronze-smith	—
Hermon	retailer	—ion	fisher	—
Gerys	vegetable-seller	—chus	wool-seller	—
Blepon	table- —	—ippus	gold- —	—
15 Apollonides	—	20 —istratus	grain- —	—
-----		—rias	fuller	—
<i>col. iv</i>		—ias	incense-dealer	—
—	farm-worker	—as	spear- —	—
LEONTIS (IV) (?)		—ippus	—	—
—	onion-seller	25	—	—
—us	cartwright	—	—	—
5	—	—	barley-groat- —	—
—	—	—	ass-herd	—
—	—	—nus	saw- —	—
Apollodorus	fuller (?)	30	barley-groat- —	—
—	—	—	—	—

## BACK

*col. v includes (Oeneis (VI))*

40	—	farm-worker
	<i>and, lower down</i>	
45	CECROPIS (VII) (?)	
—	trader	
—	—	
50	—	retailer
—	tiler (?)	
—des	herald	
—s	leather-worker	
—ar		
55	—	hired labourer

*col. vi includes (Aiantis (IX))*

	Chaeredemus	farm-worker
	Leptines	butcher/cook
	Demetrius	carpenter
	Euphorion	muleteer
5	Cephisodorus	builder
	Hegesias	gardener
	Epaminon	ass-herd
	—opus	olive-seller
	Glaucias	farm-worker
10	—n	nut- —
	Dionysius	farm-worker
	<i>and, lower down (Antiochis (X))</i>	
	Aristo—	—
	Dexius	s—
	Charon	ki—
	Heraclides	

40	Ἐπιγένης κ---]	Ἐρεχθίδος [] ( <i>this occupies the vertical space of two lines</i> )
	Γλαυκίας σ[---]	
	Ἀντίδοτος σ[---]	60 Ἀβδης ἀ[ρτ]ο[π]
	Δίκαιος στα[---]	Ἀριστοτ[έλης ---]
	Ἀνδρέας φορ[τη]	Ἰδύης κάπ[η]
45	Σωσίβιος σι[---]	<i>and, lower down:</i>
	Φάνος φορπη	74 Χαίρις ἰσχα
	Γλαυκίας ξ. [---]	<i>col. vii includes (Erechtheis):</i>
	Ἀστυάγης μι[σθω]	Βε[ν]διφάνη[ς σ]κ[
	Δεξανδρίδης [ς ---]	Ἐμ[π]ο[ρ]ίων γ[ε]ω[ρ]
50	Σωταιρίδης [---]	Παῖδ[ι]κος ἀ[ρτ]ο[π]
	Σωτα[ <sup>5</sup> ] [---]	Σωσί[α]ς γνα[φ]
	Πάμφιλος α[---]	5 Ψάμμις γε[ω]ρ
	Κρίθων σκ[---]	Ἐγερος <i>vacat</i>
	[Κ]ορυνθιάδ[ης ---]	[...]μ[ <sup>7</sup> ]ο
55	Κν[ί]ψ γεωρ	[Εὐκ[ο]λίων μισ[θ]ω
	οἷδε [π]αρέμ[ενον τῶι]	Καλλίας ἀγαλμ
	ἐμ Περαιεῖ δ[ήμωι]	10 Ἀἰγυγίδ[ο]ς
		Ἀθηνο[γ]ῆ[των] [---]

During the oligarchic regime of the Thirty in Athens, in 404–403, Thrasybulus with about seventy supporters set out from Thebes and occupied Phyle, in the north-west of Attica (X. H. ii. iv. 2); he attracted more supporters, while attempts to dislodge him failed; when his numbers had reached about a thousand he moved to the Piraeus, occupied the hill of Munichia and defeated the oligarchs in a battle (§§10–22); after that he remained at the Piraeus, attracting further supporters (§§24–7); and eventually a reconciliation was arranged.

References to rewards for those who had supported Thrasybulus are plentiful but hard to fit together. For further detail on the items listed see Rhodes, *Comm. Ath. Pol.*, 474–7.

- After the battle of Munichia the democrats promised *isoteleia* to any *xenoi* who would join them in the struggle (X. H. ii. iv. 25).
- Thrasybulus proposed, and Archinus attacked in a *graphe paranomon*, a measure to give Athenian citizenship to all who ‘joined in the return from the Piraeus’ (*Ath. Pol.* 40. ii).
- Thrasybulus proposed to give citizenship to the orator Lysias, and this was approved by the assembly but successfully attacked in a *graphe paranomon* by Archinus ([Plut.] *X Or.* 835F–836A).
- Two other texts allude to Archinus’ attacking Thrasybulus in a *graphe paranomon* (*P. Oxy.* xv 1800, frs. 6–7; Aesch. iii. *Ctes.* 195).
- By a decree of Archinus the ‘men of Phyle’ were awarded an olive crown and a

40	Epigenes	<i>k</i> —	58/9	ERECHTHEIS (I)
	Glaucias	<i>s</i> —	60	Abdes bread—
	Antidotus	<i>s</i> —		Aristoteles ———
	Dicaeus	<i>sta</i> —		Idyes retailer
	Andreas	porter		<i>and later there survives:</i>
45	Sosibius	<i>si</i> —	74	Chaeris fig-seller
	Phanus	porter		<i>col. vii includes (still Erechtheis (I))</i>
	Glaucias	<i>x</i> —		Bendiphanes <i>sk</i> —
	Astyages	hired labourer		Emporion farm-worker
	Dexandrides	———		Paedicus bread—
50	Sotaerides	———		Sosias fuller
	Sota[—]	———	5	Psammis farm-worker
	Pamphilus	<i>a</i> —		Egersis <i>vacat</i>
	Crithon	<i>sk</i> —		———
	Corinthiades	———		Eucolion hired labourer
55	Cnips	farm-worker		Callias sculptor
<i>Then follow the heading and the beginning of the third list:</i>			10	AEGEIS (II)
56–7	The following remained with the People in Piraeus.			Athenogiton ———

sum of money (Aesch. III. *Ctes.* 187–90; *Hesp.* x 1941, 284–95 no. 78).

- (f) By a decree of Theozotides the legitimate sons of citizens who died fighting for the democracy became, like war-orphans, the responsibility of the state and were given a grant of 1 obol a day (*P. Hib.* i 14, frs. *a–b* = Lys. fr. vi Gernet & Bizos; *Hesp.* xl 1971, 280–301 no. 7).
- (g) Non-citizens who died fighting for the democrats at the Piraeus were given a public funeral and ‘the same honours’ as the citizens (Lys. II. *Epit.* 66)
- (h) The decree in our collection, probably not enacted until 401/0, probably gives rewards falling short of citizenship to some if not all of the beneficiaries.

(b), (c) and (d) may all be interpreted as references to the same, general proposal (Lysias was far more distinguished than most of the potential beneficiaries, so a general proposal could easily have been remembered as a proposal for Lysias). (e), (f), and (g) are three independent but compatible measures; and our text, (h), is best not identified with (bcd) or with (e) but regarded as a fourth measure together with (e), (f), and (g).

We now know that there were at any rate three categories of honorand in this document: ‘those who joined in the return from Phyle’ and ‘those who joined in fighting the battle at Munichia’, preserved in the text of the decree, and ‘those who remained with the People in Piraeus’, preserved as the heading of the list which begins in col. vi. M. J. Osborne has reconstructed the inscription so as to include all three categories in the decree and to have three tribally-organized lists corresponding to those categories, with c.70–90 names in the first list, c.290 in the second and c.560–580 in the third. He

supposes that those in the first category were given citizenship (nothing at all survives of the first list); and the second and third categories were both given *isoteleia*, ‘equality of obligations’ with the citizens in terms of taxation and military service (regarded as higher than standard metic status, for which see on 21), in accordance with the promise after the battle of Munichia mentioned in X. H. ii. iv. 25. (*Engyesis* in l. 9 of the decree has usually been interpreted to refer to rights of inter-marriage with citizens (*engye* is the regular term for ‘betrothal’), but Osborne follows those who refer it to that ‘pledge’ or promise.) However, Krentz argued that all the honorands received *ateleia* (‘freedom from obligations’), and Whitehead argued that all received citizenship. Osborne restores as the proposer of the decree Thrasybulus, who wanted generous honours for his supporters; since the name of the archon ended *-os* (an alternative reconstruction by Krentz is highly improbable), the only likely archon available is that of 401/o.

Men granted citizenship would have to be assigned to a deme and to the *trittys* and tribe of which that deme formed a part. In the second and third lists, at any rate, the men are listed by tribe but not by *trittys* or deme, and (typically for non-citizens) they are identified not by patronymic but by occupation. Since the Athenian army was organized by tribes, *isoteleis* who were to serve with the citizens in the army will probably have needed a tribe affiliation though not a deme affiliation (but

## 5

## Athenian phratry decrees from Decelea, 396/5 and after

A marble *stèle*, inscribed on both faces, found at Decelea. Now on the estate of ex-King Constantine at Tatoi. Phot. Hedrick, *The Decrees of the Demotionidai*, ill. 1–6; Jones, *The Associations of Classical Athens*, 209 fig. 7.1.

Attic-Ionic but retaining the old *o* for *ou* regularly, and *ε* for *ει* irregularly, in lines 1–113. *Stoichedon* 25 (ll. 2–12); 30 (ll. 13–113) (in both cases occasionally violated after erasures, see apparatus); non-*stoichedon* ll. 113–26.

IG II<sup>2</sup> 1237; SIG<sup>3</sup> 921; Hedrick, *The Decrees of the Demotionidai* \*; Lambert, *Phratries*, 285–93 T3 with 95–141; P. J. Rhodes *CQ*<sup>2</sup> xlvii 1997, 109–20. Trans. H. T. Wade-Gery, *CQ* xxv 1931, 131–4 (= his *Essays in Greek History*, 119–22) (lines 1–113 only), Hedrick, 14–17, Lambert, 288–91, Rhodes, 112–13. See also S. D. Lambert *CQ*<sup>2</sup> xlix 1999, 484–9, Le Guen-Pollet, 2.

## Face A

## §i

Διὸς Φρατρίο.

ἱερεὺς [[ [Θεόδωρος] ] Εὐφρα[[ντίδ]ο<sup>vv</sup>]] ἀν-

έγραψε καὶ ἔστησε τὴν στήλην.<sup>v</sup>

ἱερεῶσιννα τῶι ἱερεὶ διδόναι τ-

- 5 ἀδε· ἀπὸ τοῦ μείο κωλήν, πλευρόν, δ-  
s, ἀργυρίο III. <sup>v</sup> ἀπὸ τοῦ κορείο κωλήν-

2 For the two consecutive erasures after ἱερεὺς see commentary below.

Whitehead disputes this); and two bearers of rare names can be identified with men who are described as *isoteleis* in their epitaphs: Dexandrides (vi. 49 cf. *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 7864 with *SEG* xviii 112) and Gerys (iii. 13 cf. *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 7863).

It was important on such an occasion to have a public list, both to publicize the honours and to avoid any dispute about who received what (cf. 14).

In the surviving parts of these lists, the occupations of the honorands are consistently humble (whereas the metics of whom we hear in law-court speeches are often of higher status); many of the names are unremarkable Greek names, but some, such as Cnips (vi. 55) and Egersis (vii. 6), are unparalleled; and others, such as Abdes (vi. 60: Semitic), Gerys (iii. 13: Thracian), Idyes (vi. 62: Carian?) and Psammis (vii. 5: Egyptian), are non-Greek, and their bearers are likely to have been slaves or freedmen before they were made *isoteleis*. Cf. the remark of *Ath. Pol.* 40. ii that some of those who returned from the Piraeus were 'palpably slaves', and the remark of *X. H.* ii. iv. 12 that Thrasybulus' force in the battle of Munichia included many light-armed men from there. For comparable lists of non-citizens and their occupations see the lists of *phialai exeuleuthrikai*, silver bowls dedicated by manumitted slaves in the late fourth century, *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1553–78, with D. M. Lewis, *Hesp.* xxviii 1959, 208–38, xxxvii 1968, 368–80 (re-editing and adding new fragments to 1554–9: cf. *SEG* xviii 36–50, xxv 178–80).

#### Face A

##### §i

Of Zeus Phratrios.

- 2 The priest, Theodorus son of Euphantides, inscribed and set up the *stèle*.
- 4 The following are to be given as priestly dues to the priest: from the *meion* a thigh, a rib, an ear, 3 obols of money; from the *koureion* a thigh, a rib, an ear,



ν, πλευρόν, δς, ἐλατήρα χωνικια-  
 ἰον, οἶνο ἡμίχον, ἀργυρίο Γ.<sup>vvvv</sup>

## §ii

- τάδε ἔδοξεν τοῖς φράτερσι ἐπὶ  
 10 Φορμίωνος ἄρχοντος Ἀθηναῖοι-  
 ς, φρατρίαρχόντος δὲ Παντακλέ-  
 ος ἐξ Οἴο. *vacant* 18  
 Τεροκλῆς εἶπε· ὅποσοι μήπω διεδικάσ-  
 θησαν κατὰ τὸν νόμον τὸν Δημοτιωνιδ-  
 15 ῶν, διαδικάσαι περὶ αὐτῶν τὸς φράτερ-  
 ας αὐτίκα μάλα, ὑποσχομένους πρὸς τὸ Δ-  
 ιὸς τὸ Φρατρίο, φέροντας τὴν ψήφον ἀπ-  
 ὸ τὸ βωμό. ὃς δ' ἂν δόξῃ μὴ ὦν φράτηρ ἔσα-  
 χθῆναι, ἐξαλειψάτω τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ὁ ἱερ-  
 20 εὺς καὶ ὁ φρατρίαρχος ἐκ τοῦ γραμματεῖ-  
 ο τοῦ ἐν Δημοτιωνιδῶν καὶ τοῦ ἀντιγράφ-  
 ο. ὁ δὲ ἐσαγαγὼν τὸν ἀποδικασθέντα ὀφε-  
 ιλέτω ἑκατὸν δραχμὰς ἱερὰς τῷ Διὶ τ-  
 ῶι Φρατρίῳ· ἐσπράττειν δὲ τὸ ἀργύριο-  
 25 ν τοῦτο τὸν ἱερέα καὶ τὸν φρατρίαρχο-  
 ν, ἢ αὐτὸς ὀφείλειν. τὴν δὲ διαδικασίαν  
 τὸ λοιπὸν εἶναι τῷ ὑστέρωι ἔτει ἢ ὡς ἂ-  
 ν τὸ κόρεον θύσῃ, τῇ Κορεώτιδι Ἀπατ-  
 ορίῳ· φέρεν δὲ τὴν ψήφον ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ. ἐ-  
 30 ἂν δέ τις βόληται ἐφεῖναι ἐς Δημοτιων-  
 ἰδας ὧν ἂν ἀποψηφίσωνται, ἐξεῖναι αὐ-  
 τῷ. ἐλέσθαι δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς συνηγόρος τ-  
 ὸν Δεκελειῶν οἶκον πέντε ἄνδρας ὑπέ-  
 ρ τριάκοντα ἔτη γεγονότας, τούτους δὲ  
 35 ἐξορκωσάτω ὁ φρατρίαρχος καὶ ὁ ἱερε-  
 υς συνηγορήσεν τὰ δικαιότατα καὶ ὃκ  
 ἐάσεν ὁδὲνα μὴ ὄντα φράτερα φρατρίζ-  
 εν. ὅτο δ' ἂν τῶν ἐφέντων ἀποψηφίσωντα-  
 ι Δημοτιωνίδαι, ὀφειλέτω χιλίας δρα-  
 40 χμὰς ἱερὰς τῷ Διὶ Φρατρίῳ, ἐσπρ-  
 αττέτω δὲ τὸ ἀργύριον τοῦτο ὁ ἱερεὺς  
 τῷ Δεκελειῶν οἴκῳ, ἢ αὐτὸς ὀφειλέτω. ἐ-  
 ξεῖναι δὲ καὶ ἄλλῳ τῷ βολομένῳ τῷ-  
 ν φρατέρων ἐσπράττειν τῷ κοινῷ. ταῦ-  
 45 [τ]α δ' εἶναι ἀπὸ Φορμίωνος ἄρχοντος. ἐπι-  
 ψηφίζεν δὲ τὸν φρατρίαρχον περὶ ὧν ἂ-

8 I Hedrick, in error. 19 and 22 have extra letters squeezed into them.  
 seems simply to follow an initial error by the cutter.

42 The erasure here

a cake weighing one choinix, half a chous of wine; 1 drachma of silver.

§ii

- 9 The following was resolved by the *phrateres* when Phormio was archon among the Athenians [396/5], and when Pantacles of Oion was phratriarch.
- 13 Hierocles proposed: Those who have not yet undergone adjudication in accordance with the law of the Demotionidai, the *phrateres* are to adjudicate about them immediately, after swearing by Zeus Phratrios, taking their ballot from the altar. Whoever is judged to have been introduced, not being a *phrater*, the priest and the phratriarch shall delete his name from the register in the keeping of the Demotionidai and from the copy. The man who introduced the rejected person shall owe 100 drachmas sacred to Zeus Phratrios: this sum of money shall be exacted by the priest and the phratriarch, or they themselves shall owe it.
- 26 The adjudication is to take place in future in the year after that in which the *koureion* is sacrificed, on the Koureotis day of the Apaturia. They shall take their ballot from the altar. If any of those who are voted out wishes to appeal to the Demotionidai, that shall be permitted to him: the *oikos* of the Deceleans shall elect as advocates in their cases five men over thirty years old, and the phratriarch and the priest shall administer the oath to them to perform their advocacy most justly and not to allow anybody who is not a *phrater* to be a member of the phratry. Whomever the Demotionidai vote out after he has appealed shall owe 1,000 drachmas sacred to Zeus Phratrios: this sum of money shall be exacted by the priest of the *oikos* of the Deceleans, or he himself shall owe it; it shall also be permitted to any other of the *phrateres* who wishes to exact it for the common treasury.
- 44 This shall apply from the archonship of Phormio. The phratriarch is to take the vote each year on those who have to undergo adjudication: if he does not take the

ν [[διαδικά]] ζεν δέηι κατὰ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν  
 ἔκαστον. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἐπιψηφίσῃ, ὀφελέτ-  
 ω πεντακοσία[s] δραχμὰς ἱερὰς τῶι Διὶ  
 50 [τ]ῶι Φρατρίῳ[ι. ἐ]σπράττεν δὲ τὸν ἱερέα  
 [κ]αὶ ἄλλο[ν τὸν βο]λόμενον τὸ ἀργύριον  
 τοῦτ[ο τῶι κοινῶι]. τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἄγεν τὰ  
 [μεία καὶ τὰ κόρει]α ἐς Δεκέλειαν ἐπὶ τ-  
 [ὸν βωμόν. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ θ]ύσῃ ἐπὶ τῷ βωμῷ, ὀφ-  
 55 εἰλέτω πεντήκοντ]α δραχμὰς ἱερὰς τῶ-  
 [ι Διὶ τῶι Φρατρίῳ, ἐ]σπραττέτω δὲ ὁ ἱερ-  
 [εὺς τὸ ἀργύριον τοῦτο] ἢ αὐτὸς ὀφειλέ-  
 [τω—————<sup>28</sup>—————]

Face B

ἐὰν δέ τι τούτων διακωλύῃ, ὅποι ἂν ὁ ἱ-  
 60 ερεὺς προγράφηι, ἐνθαῦθα ἄγεν τὰ μεί-  
 α καὶ τὰ κόρεια. προγράφειν δὲ προπέμπ-  
 τα τῆς Δορπίας ἐν πινακίῳ λελευκωμ-  
 ἐνῶι μὴ ἴλατον ἢ σπιθαμαίῳ ὅπο ἂν Δ-  
 εκελείης προσφοιτῶσιν ἐν ἄστει. τὸ δ-  
 65 ἐψηφίσιμα τόδε καὶ τὰ ἱερεώσυνα ἀναγ-  
 ράψαι τὸν ἱερέα ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ πρ-  
 ὅσθεν τῷ βωμῷ Δεκελειᾶσιν τέλεσι το-  
 ῖς ἑαυτῷ.

§iii

Νικόδημος εἶπε. τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατ-  
 [[ὰ τὰ πρότερα ψηφίσματα ἃ κέται περὶ τ-]]  
 70 [[ἐς εἰσαγωγῆς τῶν παίδων καὶ τῆς διαδ-]]  
 [[ικασίας. τὸς δὲ μάρτυρας τρεῖς ὃς εἶρη-]]  
 [[ται ἐπὶ τῇ ἀνακρίσει παρέχεσθαι ἐκ τ-]]  
 [[ῶν ἑαυτῷ θιασῶν μαρτυρόντας τὰ ὑπερωτώμε(να)]]  
 καὶ ἐπομνύντας τὸν Δία τὸν Φράτριον.  
 75 μαρτυρεῖν δὲ τὸς μάρτυρας καὶ ἐπομνύ-  
 ναι ἐχομένος τῷ βωμῷ. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ὦσι ἐν τ-  
 ῶ[ι] θιάσῳ τότε τοσοῦτοι τὸν ἀριθμόν, ἐ-  
 κ τῶν ἄλλων φρατέρων παρεχέσθω. ὅταν  
 δὲ ἦι ἡ διαδικασία, ὁ φρατρίαρχος μὴ π-  
 80 ρότερον διδότη τὴν ψήφον περὶ τῶν παί-  
 δων τοῖς ἄπασι φράτερι πρὶν ἂν οἱ αὐ-  
 τὸ τὸ εἰσαγομένον θιασῶται κρύβδην ἀ-  
 πὸ τῷ βωμῷ φέροντες τὴν ψήφον διαψηφ-

69–73 This major erasure marks the replacement of what was initially inscribed by a longer text resulting in *stichedon* irregularities; further *stichedon* irregularities occur in lines 100 and 106.

vote he shall owe 500 drachmas sacred to Zeus Phratrios; the priest and any other who wishes shall exact this sum of money for the common treasury.

- 52 In future the *meia* and the *koureia* shall be taken to Decelea to the altar. If he [*sc.* the phratriarch] does not sacrifice at the altar, he shall owe 50 drachmas sacred to Zeus Phratrios: this sum of money shall be exacted by the priest, or he himself shall owe it. (*lacuna*)

*Face B*

- 59 . . . but if any of these things prevents it, wherever the priest gives notice, the *meia* and the *koureia* shall be taken there. The priest shall give notice on the fifth day before the *Dorpia* on a whitewashed board of not less than a span, at whatever place the Deceleans frequent in the city.
- 64 This decree and the priestly dues shall be inscribed by the priest on a stone stele in front of the altar at Decelea at his own expense.

§iii

- 68 Nicodemus proposed: In other respects in accordance with the previous decrees which exist concerning the introduction of the boys and the adjudication. But the three witnesses, who it is specified are to be provided for the *anakrisis*, shall be provided from the members of his own *thiasos* to give evidence in response to the questions and to swear by Zeus Phratrios. The witnesses shall give evidence and swear while holding on to the altar. If there are not that number in this *thiasos*, they shall be provided from the other *phrateres*.
- 78 When the adjudication takes place, the phratriarch shall not administer the vote about the boys to the whole phratry until the members of the introducer's own *thiasos* have voted secretly, taking their ballot from the altar. The phratriarch shall count the ballots

ἴσωνται. καὶ τὰς ψήφος τὰς τότων ἑναν-  
 85 τίον τῶν ἀπάντων φρατέρων τῶν παρόν-  
 των ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ὁ φρατρίαρχος διαρ-  
 ιθμισάτω καὶ ἀναγορευέτω ὅποτερ' ἂν  
 ψηφίσωνται. ἐὰν δὲ ψηφισαμένων τῶν θ-  
 ιασωτῶν ἔναι αὐτοῖς φράτερα οἱ ἄλλο-  
 90 ι φράτερες ἀποψηφίσωνται, ὀφείλοντ-  
 ων ἑκατὸν δραχμὰς ἱερὰς τῷ Διὶ τῷ Φ-  
 ρατρίῳ οἱ θιασῶται, πλὴν ὅσοι ἂν τῶν  
 θιασωτῶν κατήγοροι ἢ ἐναντιόμενοι  
 φαίνωνται ἐν τῷ διαδικασίᾳ. ἐὰν δὲ  
 95 ἀποψηφίσωνται οἱ θιασῶται, ὁ δὲ εἰσά-  
 γων ἐφήι εἰς τὸς ἅπαντας, τοῖς δὲ ἅπασ-  
 ι δόξει ἔναι φράτηρ, ἐνγραφέσθω εἰς τ-  
 ᾶ κοινὰ γραμματεῖα. ἐὰν δὲ ἀποψηφίσω-  
 νται οἱ ἅπαντες, ὀφειλέτω ἑκατὸν δρα-  
 100 χμὰς ἱερὰς τῷ Διὶ τῷ Φρατρίῳ. ἐὰν δὲ  
 ἀποψηφισαμένων τῶν θιασωτῶν μὴ ἐφή-  
 ι εἰς τὸς ἅπαντας, κυρία ἔστω ἡ ἀποψήφ-  
 ισις ἢ τῶν θιασωτῶν. οἱ δὲ θιασῶται με-  
 τὰ τῶν ἄλλων φρατέρων μὴ φερόντων τὴν  
 105 ψήφον περὶ τῶν παίδων τῶν ἐκ τοῦ θιάσο  
 τοῦ ἑαυτῶν. τὸ δὲ ψήφισμα τόδε προσαναγ-  
 ραφάτω ὁ ἱερεὺς εἰς τὴν στήλην τὴν λι-  
 θίνην. ὄρκος μαρτύρων ἐπὶ τῇ εἰσαγω-  
 γεῖ τῶν παίδων· μαρτυρῶ ὃν εἰσάγει ἑα-  
 110 υτῷ ὅν ἔναι τότον γνήσιον ἐγ γαμετ-  
 ῆς· ἀληθῆ ταῦτα νῆ τὸν Δία τὸν Φράτρι-  
 ον· εὐορκῶ(ν)τι μὲν μοι πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ ἐν-  
 [[αι, εἰ δ' ]] ἐπιορκόην, τάναντία. *vacant* 7

§iv

Μενέξενος εἶπεν· δεδόχθαι τοῖς φράτερσι περὶ  
 115 τῆς εἰσαγωγῆς τῶν παίδων τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κα-  
 τὰ τὰ πρότερα ψηφίσματα, ὅπως δ' ἂν εἰδῶσι οἱ  
 φράτερες τοὺς μέλλοντας εἰσάγεσθαι, ἀπο-  
 γράφεσθαι τῷ πρώτῳ ἔτει ἢ ὧι ἂν τὸ κούρεο-  
 ν ἄγει τὸ ὄνομα πατρόθεγ καὶ τὸ δῆμον καὶ τῇ-  
 120 ς μητρὸς πατρόθεν καὶ τοῦ [δ]ήμου πρὸς τὸν  
 φρατρίαρχον, τὸν δὲ φρατρία[ρχον ἀπογραφ]-  
 αμένων ἀναγραφαντα ἐκ[τιθέναι ὅπου ἂν Δεκ]-  
 ελέες προσφοιτῶσι, ἐκτιθ[έναι δὲ καὶ τὸν ἱερέα]

of the introducer's *thiasos* in the presence of the whole phratry present at the meeting, and shall announce which way they vote. If the members of the *thiasos* vote that the candidate should be a *phrater* of theirs, but the other *phrateres* vote him out, the members of the *thiasos* shall owe 100 drachmas sacred to Zeus Phratrios, apart from any members of the *thiasos* who accuse him or are obviously opposed to him in the adjudication. If the members of the *thiasos* vote him out, but the introducer appeals to everyone and everyone decides that he is a phratry member, he shall be inscribed on the common registers. But if everyone votes him out, he shall owe 100 drachmas sacred to Zeus Phratrios. If the members of the *thiasos* vote him out and he does not appeal to everyone, the unfavourable vote of the *thiasos* shall stand. The members of the *thiasos* shall not case a ballot with the other *phrateres* in connection with boys from their own *thiasos*.

106 The priest is to inscribe this decree in addition on the stone *stèle*.

108 The oath of the witnesses at the introduction of the boys: 'I witness that this candidate whom he is introducing is his own legitimate son by a wedded wife. This is true, by Zeus Phratrios: if I keep my oath, may there be many benefits for me, but if I break it, the opposite.

#### §iv

114 Menexenus proposed: That it should be resolved by the *phrateres* concerning the introduction of the boys in other respects in accordance with the previous decrees. But, so that the *phrateres* may know those who are going to be introduced, they shall be recorded with the phratriarch in the first year after which the *koureion* is brought, by name, father's name and deme, and by mother and her father's name and deme; and, when they have been recorded, the phratriarch shall display the record at whatever place the Deceleans frequent, and the priest shall inscribe the record on a

ἀναγράφαντα ἐν σανιδ[ίωι λευκῶι ἐν τῶι ἱερ]-  
 125 ῶι τῆς Ἀητοῦς. τὸ δὲ φρ[ατερικὸν ψήφισμα ἀναγρ]-  
 [άψαι εἰς τὴν σ]τήλην [τὴν λιθίνην τὸν ἱερέα---]  
 -----

Classical Athens had strict criteria for citizenship: from 451/0 onwards, only those born of an Athenian mother and an Athenian father were citizens. But there was no central register of births, and the effective responsibility for policing membership of the citizen body fell upon the demes and the phratries. Every Athenian citizen had to be recognized by his deme as fulfilling the birth and age criteria for active citizenship (*Ath. Pol.* 42). Although no text explicitly states that recognition by a phratry was also required of citizens, phratry membership is regularly included in Athenian citizenship grants to individuals (but not to groups: Lambert, *Phratries*, 51–4), would-be archons were asked about their ancestral shrines of Apollo Patroos, which was probably tantamount to asking about their phratry membership (*Ath. Pol.* 55 iii with Rhodes *ad loc.*), and Athenians repeatedly used membership of a phratry to bolster claims to citizenship when challenged in the courts (e.g. Dem. LVII. *Euboulides* 54), or disputed phratry membership to undermine status (e.g. And. I. *Mysteries* 125–6). Phratries were themselves legally required to accept as members those who had been recognised by phratry sub-groups (Philochorus, *FGrH* 328 F 35a), which further implies that phratry membership was something that had consequences for the city as a whole. Phratries explicitly demanded that the father and mother were properly married (see lines 109–111 here), though that did not mean that false infiltration into phratries was not suspected (Isoc. VIII. *Peace* 88). (On whether legitimacy was demanded for citizens see Rhodes *CQ*<sup>2</sup> xxviii 1978, 89–92, Ogden, *Bastardy*, ch. iv.)

Much evidence for phratries outside Athens concentrates on their cultic activities (cf. I, 87). Athenians enjoyed an active religious life as members of demes (46, 63), of *gene* (37), and of other religious associations; members of Athenian phratries appeared as witnesses for one another in court, borrowed money from the phratry (36. 16–35), held phratry meetings, and honoured each other, but our evidence for phratry religious life centres on the phratry festival of the Apaturia and the ceremonies introducing children to the phratry at that festival (see generally Lambert, *Phratries*; note also Jones, *Associations*, ch. vii).

This inscription, which is by far the longest and most informative Attic phratry inscription (the only other substantial document is a lease of land by the phratry Dyaleis, *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1241), is further testimony to the importance of phratry membership. After a brief list of the perquisites due to the priest, it records a decree passed in 396/5 and two further decrees which declare themselves to be amendments to earlier decrees, and which have no separate enactment formula. The first amendment was perhaps passed not long after 395, for it is inscribed by the same hand although on a very slightly different *stoichedon* grid; the second amendment was passed rather later, and inscribed by a different hand in larger letters not in a *stoichedon* arrangement; on

white tablet and display it in the sanctuary of Leto.

- 125 The priest is to inscribe the phratry decree on the  
stone *stele* . . .

---

linguistic grounds (use of *ov* rather than *o* as the genitive ending), and on the basis of letter forms, a date after 360 has been suggested. All three decrees are concerned with the introduction of new members to the phratry, explicitly new child members in the second and third decrees.

The first decree (13–67) introduces immediate adjudication by (all) the members of the phratry of those who have not previously been adjudicated ‘according to the law of the Demotionidai’. If the majority vote against the candidate’s being a member then his name is to be expunged from the register kept by the Demotionidai and from the copy; whoever was responsible for introducing him is to be fined and the fine collected by priest and phratriarch. The decree then lays down the future regular procedure according to which adjudication will take place in the year after the *koureion*. The *koureion* was the ceremony at which boys, on reaching physical maturity, were initiated into the phratry during the festival of the Apaturia, and the adjudication too is to take place during the Apaturia, but a year after the *koureion*. In the case of this regular adjudication, appeal by a rejected candidate is allowed. The appeal is made to the Demotionidai, and the *oikos* (‘house’) of the Deceleans is to choose advocates (*synegoroi*) to put the phratry case against admission. The fine, in the event of an unsuccessful appeal, is 1000 dr., to be exacted by the priest of the *oikos* of the Deceleans. The phratriarch is made responsible for holding the adjudication, and for seeing to the sacrifice. The priest is to fine the phratriarch if he fails in either of these duties, and it seems to be the priest’s responsibility, the details of which are lost in the lacuna at 58, to decide on an alternative site for the *meia* and *koureia* if it is not possible to hold them at Decelea (presumably the phratry remembers being excluded from its phratry sanctuary during the Decelean war, 413–404, and so makes provision for any similar problems in future).

The second decree enlarges on the process of adjudication itself. It refers back to regulations, not contained in the first decree but perhaps contained in the ‘law of the Demotionidai’, for the preliminary judgement (*anakrisis*), a procedure which parallels the *anakrisis* before trials in the *dikasterion*, and specifies that the three witnesses shall be from the introducer’s own phratry sub-group (*thiasos*). It goes on to specify a preliminary vote by the introducer’s sub-group followed by a vote by the rest of the phratry members (for secret voting see on 63), and then deals with the various possibilities for disagreement between sub-group and phratry to which this procedure may give rise. In the case of rejection by the sub-group the candidate may appeal to the whole phratry. Whether there is further appeal possible to the Demotionidai, as in the first decree, is not stated, but in the absence of contrary indication should be assumed. It is only after the positive vote of the whole phratry that the new member is inscribed:



this strongly implies that it was only after the *koureion*, and not after the earlier *meion* sacrifice, which perhaps normally happened in the first three or four years of a boy's life, that names were inscribed on the phratry register.

The third decree adds the provision that the names of those who are going to be introduced be written up in advance and displayed, both by the phratriarch and by the priest.

The decrees reveal a good deal about the organization of these *phrateres*. They have one phratriarch (the Dyaleis had two), and since he is treated as a chronological reference point (ll. 11–12) he presumably served for a year. The phratriarch is solely responsible for conducting the scrutiny of candidates, overseeing the voting, and conducting the sacrifices. They also have a priest who, remarkably, has to bear the cost of inscribing not only the list of his perquisites, but also at least the first two, and most probably all three, decrees. The name of Theodorus son of Euphantides which appears in line 2 of the inscription is the third priest's name to be inscribed in that line, implying that every time a decree was added to the stone, the name of the priest was updated, but that does not necessarily mean that the priesthood was an annual office. As well as responsibility for the inscription of the decrees, the priest is charged with deciding the location of the sacrifices (lines 59–60) and with collecting fines. Together with the phratriarch, he is responsible for expunging names from the phratry register, collecting fines from those who introduced any who are expelled, and administering the oath of the *synegoroi* appointed to make the phratry case. At the point at which the priest is charged with collecting fines from those who have appealed to the Demotionidai and had their appeal rejected (ll. 41–2), he is named priest of the *oikos* of the Deceleans.

The relationship between the *oikos* of the Deceleans and the Demotionidai has excited much scholarly controversy. The decrees are decrees of the *phrateres*, but they do not make it clear whether 'the *phrateres*' are 'the Demotionidai' or 'the *oikos* of the Deceleans'. The *oikos* of the Deceleans not only provides the priest but is the body which elects advocates (*synegoroi*) to argue the case against admission to the phratry when a rejected candidate appeals. The Demotionidai, on the other hand, are responsible for the law under which the adjudication is carried out, keep the principal copy of the register of phratry members, and vote on appeals. If the Demotionidai are the phratry, what is the *oikos* of the Deceleans and why does it and its priest have a special role? If the *oikos* of the Deceleans is the phratry, why is it the law of the Demotionidai that it operates under? The phratry has sub-groups known as *thiasoi* (mentioned many times in the second decree); if either the Demotionidai or the *oikos* of the Deceleans are themselves a phratry sub-group, how do they relate to these *thiasoi*? Are we dealing with a long-term arrangement, or are we seeing a phratry in the process of change, with one group of *phrateres* beginning to differentiate themselves from the rest as a prelude to splitting from the rest of the phratry altogether (so Lambert, *Phratries*; cf. 37 for fission in a *genos*).

The question of the identity of *phrateres* and the relationship between the Demotionidai and the *oikos* of the Deceleans is important because of its implications for the structure of both archaic and classical Athenian society. If the Demotionidai are the phratry and the *oikos* of the Deceleans are a sub-group of the phratry (so Hedrick,

following Wilamowitz), then a particular phratry sub-group could evidently play a dominating role within a phratry. This would imply some hierarchy within the phratry. We would then have, within democratic Athens, the existence of phratry sub-groups with privileged roles—roles presumably inherited from an earlier period but crucial in determining a question that might affect a man's citizenship. (For the nature and role of the *genos* see 37.)

The form of the two names does not solve the question. The *-idai* patronymic ending is found in other phratries, but so is the *-eis* ending (as with the Dyaleis). *Oikos* is not a term used technically elsewhere at Athens (cf. MacDowell, *CQ*<sup>2</sup> xxxix 1989, 10–21), but it is used of phratries elsewhere in the Greek world (Ceos, *IG* xii. v 1061. 16 etc.). One possibility is that the term *oikos* is used here in order to distinguish this group of Deceleans from the members of the deme Decelea (and from members of a phratry who belonged to the deme Decelea but not to this phratry). (It is very likely that the priest Theodorus son of Euphantides was of the deme Decelea, but evidently some in the phratry were not: the phratriarch is from Oion (Dekeleikon), the neighbouring deme.)

In the end the issue rests on whether it is more plausible that the phratriarch and the priest, who do so much together, belong to different groups or to one group, whether it is more plausible that the same body hears the appeal as initially voted against the candidate or that appeal be entrusted to some group within the phratry, and whether it is more plausible that championing the phratry's initial vote be entrusted to elected members of the whole phratry or to men elected by some group within the phratry. We regard it as more plausible that phratriarch and priest come from the same group, that the body hearing the appeal is not the whole phratry, and that advocates are elected by the phratry as a whole; in other words, that the *oikos* of the Deceleans is the phratry (so Wade-Gery). The statement of Philochorus cited above attests to legal interference to reinforce the opinion on a candidate's membership credentials of a group that was not the phratry itself, in a way exactly comparable to the role which, on this interpretation, is played by the Demotionidai. The Demotionidai surely must have cut across the *thiasoi* rather than being one of them, and it is perhaps most plausible to identify them as a *genos*, that is, a descent group independent of the phratry structure and probably distinguished by a priestly function (cf. 37). We take them to be a group known for the rigour of their own membership criteria, whose practices the phratry as a whole chose to adopt, perhaps in the face of concern at some laxness in the past, and to whom the phratry then entrusted the ultimate policing of their own rules.

Why was this phratry so much concerned with membership procedures in the early fourth century? Pericles' citizenship law had been re-enacted with the restoration of democracy in 403 after a period during which the law seems to have been allowed to sleep. A number of references are made in fourth-century authors to demes failing to observe the rules strictly (Dem. XLIV. *Leochares* 35–9, LVII. *Eubulides* 49, 55, 59; Anaxandrides fr. 4, Harpocration ( $\pi$  86) Potamos (Menander); Whitehead, *Demes*, 292–3). The demise of Athens' empire had reduced the opportunities for profiting from service as an Athenian magistrate, but the introduction of payment for

attending the Assembly created a new source of income restricted to citizens alone. Was there a particular issue at Decelea? According to Lysias' speech against him, Panceleon claimed to be a citizen by virtue of being a Plataean, and when challenged to state his deme identified it as Decelea. He turns out, so the speaker alleges, to be unknown to the Deceleans who meet at the barber's shop near the Stoa of the Herms. We do not know why Panceleon chose to claim Decelea as his deme, but the likelihood that the meeting-place of the Deceleans mentioned by Lysias (xxiii. *Panceleon* 2–3) is

## 6

## Alliance between Boeotia and Athens, 395

Two fragments of a *stèle*: (a) found on the Athenian Acropolis, now in the Epigraphical Museum; (b) found in the Agora, now in the Agora Museum. Phot. (b) *Hesp.* viii 1939, 2.

Attic-Ionic, sometimes retaining the old ε for εἰ and ο for οὐ; ll. 2–3 in larger letters; ll. 4 sqq. *stoichedon* 30.

*IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 14; *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 122 (these *a* only); E. Schweigert, *Hesp.* viii 1939, 1–3 no. 1; Tod 101; *Svt.* 223; *Agora*, xvi 34\*. Trans. Harding 14. A.

[-----]  
 [ . . ] οἱ [-----]  
*vacat*  
 [συμ]μαχία Βοιω[τῶν καὶ Ἀ]θηναί[ων ἐς τὸ]-  
 [ν ἀεὶ] χρόνον. *vacat*  
 [ἐάν τ]ις ἴηι ἐπ' [Ἀθηναίος] ἐπ[ι] πολέμω[ι ἦ]  
 5 [κατὰ] γῆν ἢ κατ[ὰ θάλαττ]αν, βοηθέν Βοι[ω]-  
 [τὸς π]αντὶ σθέ[νι καθ]ότι ἂν ἐπαγγέλλ-  
 [ωσιν] Ἀθηναί[οι κατὰ τὸ] δυνατόν· καὶ ἐ[ά]-  
 [ν τις ἴ]ηι ἐπὶ [Βοιωτὸς ἐ]πὶ πολέμω ἢ [κα]-  
 [τὰ γῆν ἢ] κατὰ [θάλατταν], βοηθέν Ἀθηνα[ί]-  
 10 [ος παντὶ σθένει καθότι] ἂν ἐπαγγέλλ[ω]-  
 [σι Βοιωτοὶ κατὰ τὸ δυνα]τόν. ἐὰν δέ τ[ι δ]-  
 [οκῇ ἢ προσθεῖναι ἢ ἀφελεῖν] Ἀθην[αίο]-  
 [ις καὶ Βοιωτοῖς κοινῇ βουλευομένο]-  
 [ις (?) -----]

1. U. Koehler, *IG* ii<sup>1</sup> 6: [θε]οί Koehler, *Hermes* v 1987, 1; but A. G. Woodhead (*Agora*, xvi) stresses that that word is normally centred on or displayed across the full width, so that this is more probably the last line of another text: see commentary.

the same as is mentioned in this decree (63–4) raises the possibility that he was trying to take advantage of the ambiguity between being a member of the deme Decelea and a member of the *oikos* of the Deceleans. Decelean residence patterns are likely to have been particularly disrupted during the latter part of the Peloponnesian War when the Spartans established their garrison there, and that, along with the increased attractions of citizenship in the 390s, may account for the particular timing of these decrees.

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<sup>2</sup> Alliance of the Boeotians and Athenians for all time.

<sup>4</sup> If any one goes against the Athenians for war either by land or by sea, the Boeotians shall go in support with all their strength as the Athenians call on them, as far as possible; and if any one goes against the Boeotians for war either by land or by sea, the Athenians shall go in support with all their strength as the Boeotians call on them, as far as possible.

<sup>11</sup> And if it is decided to add or subtract anything by the Athenians and Boeotians in common deliberation

— — —

In 395 the Corinthian War developed out of a dispute in which Sparta supported Phocis and Boeotia supported Locris; Boeotia was joined by other Greek states hostile to Sparta, including Athens, Corinth, and Argos (X. *H.* iii. v. 1–17, *Hell. Oxy.* 18 Bartoletti/McKechnie & Kern = 21 Chambers, D.S. xiv. 81. i–iii). Boeotia was at this time a federal state, centred on Thebes (see especially *Hell. Oxy.* 16. iii–iv = 19. iii–iv).

This is the copy of the alliance published in Athens: the text that survives gives simply a subject-heading and the treaty, without the decree by which the Athenians approved it, but if our interpretation is correct it is probable that the decree was inscribed above the treaty (cf. below); for this pattern cf. Tod 124 ~ Harding 38, of 377; for the more usual practice, by which the heading precedes the decree, cf. Tod 103 ~ Harding 2, of 394.

The subject-heading includes the provision ‘for all time’, which is not included in the surviving text of the treaty which follows: alliances made for all time rather than for a specified period are known from the sixth century (cf. M&L 10 ~ Fornara 29), and at Athens from the fifth century (cf. M&L 63, 64 ~ Fornara 124, 125). The alliance is a standard defensive alliance, in which each party undertakes to respond to the call of the other if attacked (but it is called a *symmachia*: the Greeks do not always distinguish a defensive alliance as an *epimachia*, as in Thuc. i. 44. i). Provision for amendment by

## 7

## Athenian casualties in the Corinthian War, 394

A. The upper part of a stele found in the Outer Ceramicus; now in the National Museum (No. 754). Under an ornate *anthemion* is an epistyle, on the left-hand half of which the text is inscribed; below it there will have been a relief, now lost. Facs. *AM* xiv 1889, 407; phot. Möbius, *Die Ornamente des griechischen Grabstelen*, Taf. 9. d (right-hand half); Bugh, *The Horsemen of Athens*, fig. 11a (text not legible).

Attic-Ionic, but twice (for different kinds of ending) using the form -εης, for which see Threatte, *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions*, ii. 183, 188; 239–42. The final column appears to be a subsequent addition to the original text.

*SIG*<sup>3</sup> 131; *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 5222\*; Tod 104. Trans. Harding 19. B.

## A

οἷδε ἱππεὺς ἀπέθανον ἐν Κορίνθῳ· Μελισσίας, Ὀνητορίδης, Λυσίθεος, Πάνδιος, Νικόμαχος, ἐν Κορωνεαίῳ.  
 φύλαρχος Ἀντιφάνης, Θεάγγελος, Φάνης, Δημοκλῆς, Δεξίλεως, Ἐνδηλος, Νεοκλείδης.

## B

Δεξίλεως Λυσανίο Θορίκιος.  
 ἐγένετο ἐπὶ Τεισάνδρῳ ἄρχοντος·  
 ἀπέθανε ἐπ’ Εὐβολίδῳ,  
 ἐγ Κορίνθῳ τῶν πέντε ἱππέων.

agreement of both parties, conjecturally restored in ll. 11 sqq., is a common feature of inter-state documents (cf. Rhodes with Lewis, 517).

There also survives, in a similar script and with similar formulation, an alliance between the Athenians and the Locrians (Tod 102 ~ Harding 16). In that case there was definitely a text, very probably the Athenian decree, before the subject-heading and the treaty. Unfortunately, the treaty is simply with the 'Locrians', and does not enable us to resolve the disagreement between X. H. III. v. 3 (the eastern, Opuntian Locrians) and *Hell. Oxy.* 18. ii = 21. ii, Paus. III. 9. ix (the western, Ozolian Locrians): both were to fight on the anti-Spartan side in the war; but the eastern Locrians adjoined the Boeotians, and the Boeotians would be more likely to support them in a dispute with the Phocians (cf. J. Buckler, in Tuplin (ed.), *Xenophon and His World*, forthcoming, suggesting a valley in the north-east of Phocis as the disputed territory).

The Corinthian War was ended by the Peace of Antalcidas (the King's Peace) in 386, one consequence of which was the dissolution of the Boeotian federation with which Athens had made this alliance. It is possible that immediately after that dissolution Thebes still considered itself to be an ally of Athens, but renounced the alliance after the Athenian Thrasybulus of Collytus was involved in an unsuccessful plot (Lys. xxvi. *Evand.* 23, Aristid. *Panath.* 173 Dindorf = 294 Behr, with schol. [iii. 280 Dindorf], discussed by E. Schweigert in *Hesp.* viii 1939).

*B.* A gabled *stèle* found in the Ceramicus outside the Dipylon Gate; now in the Ceramicus Museum (P 1130). The text is inscribed below a relief showing a cavalryman striking a fallen enemy with a spear. Phot., e.g., Bury & Meiggs<sup>4</sup>, 340 ill. 12. 1; Sealey, *History of the Greek City-States*, 391; Bugh, fig. 12; Spence, *The Cavalry of Classical Greece*, pl. 11; Osborne, *Archaic and Classical Greek Art*, 14 pl. 3.

Attic-Ionic, retaining the old *o* for *ov*; inscribed in letters 0.04 m. (= 1½ in.) high.

*SIG*<sup>3</sup> 130; *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 6217\*; Tod 105. Trans. Harding 19. C.

See in general Brueckner, *Die Friedhof am Eridanos*, 57–64 (*B*); E. Pfuhl, *AA* 1932, 1–7 (*B*); Clairmont, *Patrios Nomos*, 212–14 no. 68b (*A*), id., *Classical Attic Tombstones*, II, no. 2.209 (*B*); S. Ensoli, *MAL* xxix 1987, 155–329 (*B*); G. Németh, *ΣPE* civ 1994, 95–102; Osborne, *Archaic and Classical Greek Art*, 13–16.

## A

The following cavalrymen died at Corinth: Melesias, Onetorides, Lysitheus, Pandius, Nicomachus, At Coronea: the phylarch Antiphanes, Theangelus, Phanes, Democles, Dexileos, Endelus, Neoclides.

## B

Dexileos son of Lysanias of Thoricus. Born in the archonship of Tisandrus [414/13]; died in that of Eubulides [394/3], at Corinth as one of the five cavalrymen.

The appearance of Dexileos in *A* as well as *B* allows us to date both monuments to the same year, and we can associate with them a third monument of which a fragment survives, a list in tribal columns of those who died 'in Corinth and Boeotia', including at least two generals (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 5221 ~ Harding 19. A, cf. Clairmont, *Patrios Nomos*, 209–12 no. 68a, noting that the texts of this and *A* are the work of the same mason), inscribed below a relief (see below: phot. Bugh, fig. 11b; Spence, pl. 13, Osborne, 13 pl. 2). Paus. i. 29. xi mentions the tomb of those who died 'around Corinth'.

In the second year of the Corinthian War, 394, the Spartan regent Aristodemus was victorious at the River Nemea, near Corinth, in the early summer (X. *H.* iv. ii. 9–23, D.S. xiv. 83. i–ii), and then king Agesilaus, recalled from Asia, was victorious at Coronea, in Boeotia, in late August (X. *H.* iv. iii. 13–23, *Ages.* ii. 6–16, D.S. xiv. 84. i–ii, Plut. *Ages.* 18. i–19. iv). It is likely that the battle of the Nemea was fought at the end of 395/4, that *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 5221 and *A* refer to the whole campaigning season of 394, and that Dexileos' death 'at Corinth' in 394/3 was not in the major battle (e.g. Beloch, *GG*<sup>2</sup>, iii. ii. 217–18, arguing from X. *H.* iv. iii. 1, on Agesilaus' return, Aristid. *Four* 286 Dindorf = 578 Behr, probably meaning to date the battle to 395/4), but many believe that the major battle was fought at the beginning of 394/3 and that Dexileos did die in that battle (argued fully by E. Auccello, *Helikon* iv 1964, 31–6).

There remain uncertainties about the scope of *A*, with eleven cavalymen including Dexileos killed 'at Corinth' and one at Coronea, and about the body of five cavalymen to which Dexileos belonged. According to Diodorus, about 2,800 on the anti-Spartan side were killed at the Nemea and over 600 at Coronea; according to X. *H.* iv. ii. 17 there were 600 Athenian cavalry at the Nemea, but Németh casts doubt on Xenophon's figures for this battle. If in the major battles most of the fighting was done and most of the casualties were suffered by the infantry, it is conceivable that very few of the Athenian cavalry were killed in 394 and that *A* lists all the Athenian cavalry killed in that campaigning season. Dexileos, of Thoricus, belonged to the tribe Acamantis; it is possible though far from certain that the Mantitheus of Lys. xvi. *Mant.* belonged to the same tribe (cf. Davies, *APF*, 364–5), and his tribe suffered particularly heavy losses at the Nemea, but he appears to have been fighting as a hoplite (§§15–16 cf. 13). Certainly, *A* contains no indication that it is limited to members of one tribe, and probably it lists all the cavalymen killed that year (cf. Pritchett, *Studies* . . . *Topography*, ii. 83; Németh). There have been various guesses about the body of five men to which Dexileos belonged: men who cooperated in some particular exploit (Dittenberger, *SIG*); an élite group, of the kind recommended in X. *Hipparch.* viii. 23–5 (Pfuhl, 4–7); or, less probably, a group of officers (Brueckner, *JDAI* x 1895, 204–7), or

those of the cavalrymen killed at the Nemea who belonged to Acamantis (Bugh, dating that battle to 394/3; Németh).

The phylarchs were the commanders of the tribal cavalry regiments (*Ath. Pol.* 61. v). Nothing is known about the men listed in *A* other than Dexileos; Endelus is the only bearer of that name attested in Athens (*LGPN*, ii). Dexileos belonged to a family which has left us a number of funerary monuments, placed with *B* in a single enclosure (see *PA* 3229 or *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 6217 for a *stemma*, and cf. Brueckner, *Die Friedhof am Eridanos*; S. Humphreys, *JHS* c 1980, 119; R. Garland, *BSA* lxxvii 1982, 135–6. A 1); his brother Lysistratus is mentioned in Dem. xl. *Boe. Dorey* 52 (a speech concerned with a family to which the Mantitheus mentioned above possibly belonged) as lending money, and Lysistratus' son Lysanias is listed as his tribe's member of a board of ten men (*IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 2825).

After their involvement in the oligarchy of the Thirty 404–403 the cavalry were under suspicion (cf. Lys. xvi. *Mant.*, and *Ath. Pol.* 38. ii with Rhodes *ad loc.*), and it has been suggested that they took advantage of this campaign to demonstrate that they too had fought and died for Athens (Bugh, Spence). *B*, uniquely, gives both Dexileos' year of birth and his year of death, and that may have been done in order to stress that he was too young to have been involved in the misdeeds of the oligarchy (lecture by C. N. Edmondson, cited by Bugh). It may be a further indication of the politics of this memorial that one of the five pots buried with Dexileos' monument bears images of the tyrannicides (E. Vermeule, *JDAI* lxxxv 1970, 94–111).

On the reliefs see Pfuhl, 1–4; Robertson, *History of Greek Art*, i. 369; Clairmont; Osborne. Images of a mounted cavalryman rearing over a fallen naked enemy soldier, such as are found both on Dexileos' relief and on *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 5221, and closely related scenes, appear also on other reliefs, both from public and from private memorials, in the late fifth and early fourth centuries (Clairmont, *GRBS* xiii 1970, 49–58 with plates; Spence, app. 2 nos. 12, 14, 25, 26, 27, cf. 10, 13, 23, 29). The peculiarity of Dexileos' monument appears particularly clearly from comparison with a monument for —ylus of Phlya executed ten or twenty years earlier (*IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 7716; *Classical Attic Tombstones*, ii. 130; Spence, app. 2 no. 14): although the iconography is very similar and the *stelai* were originally of much the same width, the Dexileos composition has been elongated, and, whereas the earlier monument has two elegiac couplets neatly written in small letters above the relief, Dexileos' monument has its much more starkly informative inscription in unusually large letters below the relief. The skilful way in which Dexileos' monument has been constructed to suit its, very prominent, site is explored by Ensoli.

See also P. Low, *PCPS*<sup>2</sup> xlviii 2002, 102–22.



## Erythrae honours Conon, 394

The upper right part of a *stèle*, found in the church of the Theotokos near Erythrae; now lost. Phot. *IK Erythrai und Klazomenai*, Taf. iii (squeeze).

Ionic, with iota adscript omitted in l. 1 and at least one instance each of the old  $\epsilon$  for  $\epsilon\iota$  and  $o$  for  $o\upsilon$  (cf. on l. 16); sometimes  $\eta$  is used where Attic uses long  $a$ , but in 6 the Athenian spelling is taken over with the Athenian technical term  $\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\alpha$  (J. Wackernagel, *AM* xvii 1892, 143). *Stoichedon* 17–20, ending each line with the end of a word or syllable.

*SIG*<sup>3</sup> 126; Tod 106; *IK Erythrai und Klazomenai* 6\*. Trans. Harding 12. D.

[ἔδοξεν] τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ  
 [δῆμῳ]. Κόνωνα ἀναγράψαι  
 [εὐεργ]έτην Ἐρυθραίων  
 [καὶ π]ρόξενον· καὶ προε-  
 5 [δρί]ην ἀντῶι εἶναι ἐν Ἐρυ-  
 [θρ]ῆσιν καὶ ἀτέλειαν  
 [π]άντων χρημάτων καὶ  
 [ἐ]σαγωγῆς καὶ ἐξαγωγῆς  
 [κ]αὶ πολέμο καὶ εἰρήνης·  
 10 [κα]ὶ Ἐρυθραῖον εἶναι,  
 [ἦν] βούληται. εἶναι δὲ  
 [ταῦ]τα καὶ ἀντῶι καὶ ἐκ-  
 [γόνοι]ς. ποήσασθαι δὲ  
 [αὐτοῦ] ἐκὼν χαλκῇν  
 15 [ἐπί]χρυσον καὶ στήσαι  
 [ὅ]πο ἂν δόξηι Κόνωνι.  
 [—<sup>11</sup>—]ι καὶ [— —]

16 Dittenberger, *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 65;  $\delta\pi\upsilon\alpha\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\ \delta\acute{o}\xi\eta$  'also possible' Tod;  $\delta\pi\upsilon\alpha\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\ \delta\acute{o}\xi\eta$  *IK*, cf. Bechtel, *Die Inschriften des ionischen Dialekts*, no. 199, but that is one letter too long.

Conon of Athens escaped after the battle of Aegospotami in 405, went first to Evagoras of Salamis in Cyprus, and then entered the service of Pharnabazus, the satrap of Hellenistic Phrygia. Erythrae, on the mainland of Asia Minor opposite Chios, had been a member of the Delian League, but was one of the first to revolt against Athens in 413/12 (Thuc. viii. 5. iv – 6, 14. ii); an Erythraean is probably to be restored in the description of Lysander's 'navarch's monument' at Delphi (Paus. x. 9. ix with Rocha-Pereira's apparatus), and it remained allied to Sparta after the Peloponnesian War. But when in 394, after their naval victory at Cnidus, Pharnabazus and Conon toured the Aegean, detaching states from Sparta and promising them autonomy, Erythrae is one of the states mentioned by Diodorus as having responded (X. *H.* iv. viii. 1–2, D.S. xiv. 84. iii–iv).

Resolved by the council and the people.

- 2 Write up Conon as a benefactor and *proxenos* of the Erythraeans; and he shall have a front seat at Erythrae and immunity [*ateleia*] for all commodities, both for import and for export, both in war and in peace; and he shall be an Erythraean if he wishes. This shall be both for him and for his descendants.
- 13 Make a bronze, gilded likeness of him, and set it up wherever Conon resolves. — — — and  
— — —

---

Erythrae here uses a standard enactment formula but does not identify men in office or the proposer of the decree. The honours are typical of those awarded by a Greek state to distinguished foreigners: the rank of benefactor and *proxenos* (the latter technically a representative in his own state of the interests of the other state, but in this case, as often when combined with the former, an honorific rather than a functional appointment (cf. F. Gschnitzer, *RE* Supp. xiii. 651–2): for a striking extension of the idea cf. 55); a front seat in the theatre at festivals; immunity from taxation (*ateleia*); citizenship; the extension of the honours to his descendants. Conon is given not immunity from taxation in general but immunity from a particular tax which was particularly likely to impinge on him as a non-resident. Some drafters of decrees were more skilful than others in the phrasing of their texts: here ll. 7–9 offer a remarkable

string of genitives used in different senses.

The erection of statues of leading figures seems to be a phenomenon which spread after the Peloponnesian War, and there was perhaps competition between friends of Sparta who honoured Lysander and friends of Athens who honoured Conon. Paus. vi. 3. xvi mentions statues of Conon at Ephesus and Samos; and Conon was the first Athenian to be honoured publicly and in his lifetime with statues in Athens (Dem. xx.

9

Rebuilding of Piraeus walls, 394–391

Two blocks of masonry built into the hellenistic wall at Eetionea (Piraeus); *A* now lost; *B* now in the Piraeus Museum. Facs. *BCH* xi 1887, 130–1; phot. Maier, *Griechische Mauerbauinschriften*, Taf. 5 Nr. 11 (*B*).

Attic-Ionic, retaining the old *o* for *ov*.

*SIG*<sup>3</sup> 124–5; *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1656–7; Tod 107; Maier 1–2\*. See in general P. Funke, *ZPE* liii 1983, 148–89.

*A*

ἐπὶ Διοφάντο ἄρχον-  
τος, (Σ)κιροφοριῶνος  
μηνός, ἐ[*s*] τὰ κατ' ἡ-  
μέραν ἔργα· ζεύγ-  
5 εσι τὸς λίθος ἄγοσι  
μισθός : ΗΠΔ·  
σιδηρίων μι-  
σθός : ΠΤΤ

*B*

ἐπὶ Εὐβολίδο ἄρχοντο[*s*].  
ἀπὸ τοῦ σημείου ἀρξάμε-  
νον μέχρι τοῦ μετώπ-  
ου τῶν πυλῶν τῶν κατὰ  
5 τὸ Ἀφροδίσιον ἐπὶ δεξ-  
ιὰ ἐξίοντι· ΓΗΗΠΔΔΔΔ· μι-  
σθω(τῆς) Δημοσθένης Β-  
σιώτιο[*s*] αὐτῇι προσα-  
γωγῇ[*ε*] τῶν λίθων.

*A*. 2 The stone has τος κίροφοριῶνος. *B*. 8 Maier, cf. the α[ὐ]τῇι of P. Foucart, *BCH* xi 1887, 131–2: there were alternative conjectures before Maier confirmed the reading.

One of the conditions imposed on Athens at the end of the Peloponnesian War was the destruction of the long walls and the Piraeus walls (X. *H.* ii. 10–23, cf. *Ath. Pol.* 34. iii with Rhodes *ad loc.*). In the negotiations with Sparta in 392/1 one of the improvements of which Andocides boasted was that Athens was again allowed to build walls (iii. *Peace* 11–12, etc.). Our literary sources tell us that, when Conon came to Athens in 393, he brought money from Pharnabazus and made the crews of his ships available to help with the wall-building (X. *H.* iv. viii. 9–10, D.S. xiv. 85. ii–iii); the first of these inscriptions, dated to the last month of 395/4, shows that the Athenians, after declaring themselves independent of Sparta by joining in the Corinthian War, were at work on the walls even before Pharnabazus and Conon defeated the Spartan fleet at Cnidus (dated 394/3 by Lys. xix. *Arist.* 28, cf. X. *H.* iv. iii. 10, mentioning the eclipse of 14 August).

*Lept.* 68–70, *Isoc.* ix. *Evag.* 57, *Paus.* i. 3. i; 24. iii with Tod 128). See in general on the awarding of major honours to benefactors Gauthier, *Les Cités grecques et leurs bienfaiteurs*; and for statues in Athens of Chabrias and of Conon's son Timotheus see on 22.

For Erythrae's relations with Athens and with Persia shortly before the Peace of Antalcidas see 17.

## A

In the archonship of Diophantus [395/4], in the month Sciophorion, for the daily-paid work.

- 4 For yoke-teams bringing the stones: payment 160 dr.  
7 For iron tools: payment 53 dr.

## B

In the archonship of Eubulides [394/3].

- 2 Beginning from the sign, as far as the *metopon* (central pillar?) of the gates by the Aphrodisium on the right as one goes out: 790 dr. Contractor Demosthenes of Boeotia, with the actual bringing-up of the stones.

Other texts concerned with this programme have been found, covering the years 394/3–392/1: *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 1658–64 = Maier 3–9, to which can be added *SEG* xix 145 and xxxii 165: they are inscribed on *stelai* and were set up by tribal boards of *teichopoioi* ('wall-builders'). Conon is a common name at Athens, and it is not likely that the Conon who appears as a contractor in *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 1658 is the famous Conon (*U. Koehler, AM* iii 1878, 52–3, generally agreed; contr. *J. Buckler, CP* xciv 1999, 210 n. 1).

In *B* 'the sign' will be a marker set up to indicate the starting-point of the work; the *metopon* perhaps a 'central pillar'; and 'the gates' the Eetionea Gate (cf. Maier). 'The Aphrodisium' may be the Aphrodisium established by Conon (*Paus.* i. 1. iii; cf. schol. *Ar. Peace* 145 = *FGH* 370 F 1 and *SEG* xxvi 121 (revision of *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 1035), 45–6), planned but not yet built, while the attribution of an Aphrodisium in the Piraeus to Themistocles by Ammonius *FGH* 361 F 5 may simply be wrong (cf. Funke). Sciophorion

(A. 2) was the last month of the Athenian year, and Funke has suggested that Conon arrived shortly before that, not later than the ninth prytany of 394/3. He notes (p. 187) that this part of the fourth-century wall did not follow the line of the fifth-century wall but was a new wall, running further south and excluding the *Kophos Limen* (cf. Hammond, *Atlas*, map 10b).

We have a mixture of daily-paid work, in *A*, and piece-work, in *B*: cf. the varying

## 10

### Athens honours Dionysius of Syracuse, 394/3

The upper part of a *stèle*, with a relief showing Athena, with shield and snake, holding out her right hand to Sicily (?), holding a torch. Found in the Theatre of Dionysus in Athens; now in the Epigraphical Museum. Phot. K. F. Stroheker, *Dionysios I* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1958), Taf. v; Lawton, *Reliefs*, pl. 9 no. 16; our Pl. 2.

Attic-Ionic, retaining the old *o* for *ou*; ll. 1–4 in larger letters; ll. 5 sqq. *stoichedon* 34.

*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 18; *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 128; Tod 108\*. Trans. Harding 20.

- ἐπ' Εὐβολίδο ἄρχοντος· ἐπὶ τῆς Π[ανδιο]-  
 νίδος ἔκτης πρυτανευούσης· *vacat*  
 ἥι Πλάτων Νικοχάρος Φλυεὺς ἐγγρα]-  
 μιμάτευε. *vacat*  
 5 ἔδοξεν τῇ βολῇ. Κινησίας εἶπε· π[ερὶ ὧν Ἄν]-  
 δροσθένης λέγει, ἐπαυέσαι Δι[ο]ν[ύσιον τὸ]-  
 [ν Σικ]ελίας ἄρχοντ[α] καὶ Λεπτίνην [τὸν ἀδελ]-  
 [φόν] τὸν Διον[ύ]σ[ι]ο καὶ Θεαρίδην τὸν ἀδελφόν]-  
 [ν] τὸν Διονυσ[ί]ο καὶ Πολύξενον τὸν κηδεστή]-  
 10 [ν τὸν Διονυσίον] — —

In the course of the fourth century there was an increase in the amount of information provided in the headings and prescripts of Athenian decrees: this is the earliest surviving decree which identifies the prytany not only by tribe but also by number; in this instance, rather than having a separate heading, it presents the beginning of the prescript in larger letters, in the style of a heading, and then continues in normal *stoichedon* lettering (cf. Henry, *Prescripts*, 24–5, and see Introduction, p. xix): the sixth of the ten prytanies will have been about January–February 393.

It is striking that this decree honouring an eminent foreigner is formulated as a decree of the council, not of the assembly. The same is true of some other Athenian decrees of the early fourth century, including Athens' alliance with Eretria in the same year (Tod 103), and *Hell. Oxy.* 6 Bartoletti/McKechnie & Kern = 9 Chambers shows that the council could try to act on its own account in the 390s; but it does not seem credible to us that the council on its own should have made that alliance or

methods of payment used for the building of the Erechtheum in the late fifth century (*IG* 1<sup>3</sup> 474–9 with R. H. Randall, Jr., *AJA* 2 lvii 1953, 199–210). It is appropriate to find a Boeotian contractor (*B.* 6–8), since Xenophon and Diodorus single out the Boeotians among those who helped with the work (whereas in 404 they had wanted Athens to be totally destroyed: e.g. *X. H.* ii. ii. 19 with Krentz *ad loc.*). Cf. 94, where a Plataean contributes yoke-animals for a building project in Athens.

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In the archonship of Eubulides [394/3]; in the sixth prytany, of Pandionis; to which Plato son of Nicochares of Phlya was secretary.

- 5 Resolved by the council. Cinesias proposed:
  - 5 Concerning what Androstenes says, praise Dionysius the *archon* of Sicily and Leptines the brother of Dionysius and Thearides the brother of Dionysius and Polyxenus the brother-in-law of Dionysius — — —
- 

have honoured Dionysius, without gaining the approval of the assembly; in this case either the wrong formula has been used in l. 5 or the council honoured Dionysius and commended him to the assembly for further benefits (cf. 2. 49–50, 60–1), after which the assembly enacted a further decree which will have been inscribed below that of the council (cf. Rhodes, *Boule*, 82–5). Androstenes was probably not a member of the council but a man who had been in touch with Dionysius and exercised his citizen's right of access to the council to raise the question of honouring Dionysius, or else raised the question at an earlier assembly, which referred it to the council (cf. Rhodes with Lewis, 12, 27–9).

Dionysius, first heard of as a supporter of the Hermocrates of Syracuse known from Thuc. iv. 58–65, vi–viii, seized power in 405 in the course of a war against Carthage and formed marriage alliances with Hermocrates' family; Sparta gave him some support; in the late 390s he was in a relatively strong position against Carthage, and was

ambitious to control the toe of Italy as well as Sicily. Politically, these honours represent an attempt to win over Dionysius' support from the Spartan to the anti-Spartan side in Greece: according to *Lys.* xix. *Arist.* 19–20, at the instigation of Conon (and therefore slightly later than this decree) an Athenian embassy urged him to form a marriage alliance with Evagoras of Salamis (cf. 11) and to support Athens against Sparta, and did persuade him not to send ships to support Sparta. Lawton, 90–1, notes that the subject of the relief is more appropriate to an alliance than to an honorific decree, and wonders if the complete document contained inter-state agreements of some sort; but that does not seem very likely.

Nothing is known about Plato, the secretary, or Androstenes; but the proposer Cinesias, since the name is rare, is almost certainly the dithyrambic poet of that name, mocked as thin and unhealthy by Aristophanes from *Birds* (1373–1409) to *Ecclesiazusae* (329–30) and by others. He could have proposed these honours for purely political reasons (he must have been a member of the council this year); but, since he was a poet, since this *stèle* was set up in the Theatre of Dionysus, and since Dionysius

11

Athens honours Evagoras of Salamis, 394/3

Three fragments of a *stèle*, with a relief: (a) found in the Athenian Agora, now in the Agora Museum; (b) acquired by the Marquess of Sligo in 1810, now in the British Museum; (c) found on the south slope of the Acropolis, now in the Epigraphical Museum. Phot. *Hesp.* xlviii 1979, pls. 60–1; Lawton, *Reliefs*, pl. 44 no. 84 (a only).

Attic-Ionic, retaining once (l. 4) the old ε for εἰ and commonly ο for οὐ; ll. 1–2 in larger letters; ll. 3 sqq. *stolichedon* 50.

*IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 20; Tod 109 (these (c) only); D. M. Lewis & R. S. Stroud, *Hesp.* xlviii 1979, 180–93\*. See also P. Funke, *ZPE* liii 1983, 149–89, esp. 152–61.

(a)

[Εὐαγόρα τῷ Σαλαμ]ινίῳ.  
[Ἀριστοκλῆς ————— <sup>ε.19 20</sup> —————]σιος ἐγραμμάτευε.  
[ἔδοξεν τῇ βολῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ. Αἰαντῖς / Λεωντῖς ἐ]πρυτάνευε· Ἀριστοκλ-  
[ῆς ἐγραμμάτευε· Εὐβολίδης ἡρχε· —<sup>7</sup>— ἐ]πεστάτε. Σώφιλος εἰ-  
5 [πε· ἐπειδὴ ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός ἐστιν περὶ τὸν δῆμον] τὸν Ἀθηναίων καὶ ν-  
[ὦν καὶ ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν χρόνῳ Εὐαγόρας ὁ Σαλ]αμινίων βασιλεὺς  
[————— <sup>36</sup> —————]ι πεμφθέντας ὑπ[ὸ]  
[————— <sup>37</sup> —————]ς δὲ τῆς πόλε[ως . ]  
[————— <sup>43</sup> —————]ιρ [—<sup>5</sup>—]

3 Αἰαντῖς/Λεωντῖς Funke (the only tribe-names of the right length). 4 Εὐβολίδης Funke: see commentary.

himself was a poet (cf. D.S. xiv. 109, xv. 6, 7. ii, 74. i–iv), it is likely that Dionysius had prompted the hope that Athens might win his support by entering one or more of his compositions in a competition at Athens. One of Athens' dramatic festivals, the Lenaea, was celebrated in the seventh month, Gamelion, about the time of this decree.

Dionysius is given the same title, *archon* of Sicily, in the later Athenian decrees for him: presumably he had made it clear that this was his preferred title (cf. D. M. Lewis, *CAH*<sup>2</sup>, vi. 136–8). His brothers Leptines and Thearides appear in the literary sources as his subordinates, often as his admirals; Leptines quarrelled with him later, but died in his service. Polyxenus, the brother of Hermocrates' wife, married Dionysius' sister Theste (D.S. xiii. 96. iii): he too served Dionysius as a subordinate, but eventually quarrelled with him and went into exile. Such use of relatives was a common feature of tyrannies, particularly in Sicily.

For later relations between Athens and Dionysius, see 33, 34.

(a)

Of Evagoras of Salamis.

- <sup>2</sup> Aristocles [*patronymic*] [*demotic*] was secretary.
- <sup>3</sup> Resolved by the council and the people. [*tribe*] was the prytany; Aristocles was secretary; — was archon; — was chairman. Sophilus proposed:
- <sup>5</sup> Since Evagoras of Salamis has been a good man with regard to the people of Athens both now and in the time past — sent by — of the city —



(b)

[traces]

10 [ ————— 48 ————— ] ον  
 [ ————— 41 ————— ] Ἑλλ]ήνες Εὐ-  
 [αγόρα ————— 41 ————— ] . ι . τ  
 [ ————— 44 ————— ] ἀνειπε-  
 15 [ιν ————— 36 ————— ] ἀγω]νίζωντα[ι] ο  
 [ ————— 36 ————— ] Σαλα]μ[ι]νίων βασι[ι]-  
 [λε ————— 27 ————— ] ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλ]άδος Ἑλλην [ . . ]  
 [ ————— 37 ————— ] κ]ηρύξει προ[ . . ]  
 [ ————— 39 ————— ] σθ[ . . ]ν Ἀθην[ . . ]  
 20 [ ————— 32 ————— ] ὁ γραμ]ματεὺς ὁ τ[ῆ]ς βο[ο]λ]-  
 [ῆς ————— 30 ————— ] πρόσθ]εν τοῦ ἀγάλμα[το]-  
 [ς ————— 30 ————— ] ἐπαινε]σαι δὲ κ[α]ὶ τὸς [ . . ]  
 [ ————— 39 ————— ] οτ[ ————— 6 ————— ]ν[ . . ]

one line vacant?

[traces?]

(c)

25 [ ————— ]ην[ ————— ]  
 [ ————— ]επα[ ————— ]  
 [ ————— ]π]ρυται[ ————— ]  
 [ ————— ] Κόνω<sup>vv</sup>ν[ ————— ]  
 [ ————— ]ἐπαιν]έσαι τε αὐ[τ] ————— ]  
 [ ————— ]στεφ]άνωι, ὁ δὲ κῆ[ρυξ] ————— ]  
 30 [ ————— ]ι ὅταν οἱ τρα]γωδοὶ ————— ]  
 [ ————— ]Ἀθη]ναίων Εὐαγόρ[α ————— ]  
 [ ————— ]ης ἐς Ἀθη]ναίους ————— ]  
 [ ————— ]α]ὐτὸν καὶ τὸς ἐκ[γόνους] ————— ]  
 [ ————— ]πάντας τοὺς α[ ————— ]  
 35 [ ————— ]ι[ . . ] ἀγραι]ψα[ ————— ]

Some people in Cyprus used the Greek language from at least the end of the Bronze Age, and Cypriots claimed kinship with Greeks in their foundation myths; but Greeks tended to regard Cyprus as a distinctly foreign place (Reyes, *Archaic Cyprus*, 11–13). In the fifth century both the Persians and, intermittently, Athens and the Delian League had laid claim to it. Evagoras, of a dynasty which claimed descent from Teucer and Aeacus of Aegina, after a period of exile established himself as ruler of Salamis under the Persians in 411. In this inscription he is given the title *basileus*, ‘king’: cf. Lys. vi. *And.* 28, though in Isoc. ix. *Evag.* 27 etc. he is called ‘tyrant’. Not long after 411 he was honoured by the Athenians, in a decree which refers optimistically to his services to ‘Athens, the King and the other allies’ and mentions the satrap Tissaphernes (*IG* i<sup>3</sup> 113 = M.J. Osborne, *Naturalization*, D 3, quoting ll. 35–7, 39); that is probably the occasion

(b)

10 --- Greeks Evagoras --- proclaim --- contends --- king of Salamis --- on  
 behalf of Greece Greek --- shall proclaim --- the secretary of the council --- in  
 front of the image --- praise also the ---

(c)

26 --- prytany --- Conon --- praise --- crown. The herald --- when the trage-  
 dians --- Evagoras --- to the Athenians --- himself and his descendants --- all  
 the --- write up ---

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when he was awarded Athenian citizenship (Isoc. ix. *Evag.* 54, cf. [Dem.] xii. *Ep. Phil.* 10). Conon took refuge in Salamis after the battle of Aegospotami in 405 (X. *H.* ii. i. 29, D.S. xiii. 106. vi), and it was with Evagoras' support that he became admiral of the satrap Pharnabazus' fleet (Isoc. ix. *Evag.* 55-6, cf. D.S. xiv. 39. i-ii). Although the victory over Sparta at Cnidus in 394 was technically a Persian victory, Athens honoured both Conon and Evagoras with statues afterwards (Isoc. ix. *Evag.* 56-7, Paus. i. 3. ii: cf. commentary on 8), though there is no evidence that Evagoras himself visited Athens. At Conon's instigation the Athenians urged Dionysius of Syracuse not only to become an ally of Athens but to form a marriage alliance with Evagoras (Lys. xix. *Arist.* 20-1, cf. commentary on 10).

What we have here is presumably the decree which awarded Evagoras his statue

and other honours after Cnidus (cf. the mention of Conon in l. 27); since fragments (*b*) and (*c*) appear to have been similar in content but different in grammar, it is likely that (*c*) contained a substantial amendment to the original proposal. L. 15 seems to have claimed that (although in fact in Persian service) Evagoras was fighting as a Greek on behalf of Greeks (cf. Isoc. ix. *Evag.* 56, 68: as a result of the battle the Greeks gained freedom/autonomy in place of slavery); 18 and 29 sqq. both refer to the proclamation of the honours; 20–1 probably referred to the publication of the text in front of the ‘image’ of Zeus *Eleutherios* in the Agora, a location chosen to emphasize the view of Evagoras as a champion of Greek freedom (cf. 22. 63–72 with commentary), since by the fourth century *agalma* is not used for statues of human beings and so would not refer to the statue of Evagoras.

Subsequently Evagoras’ power in Cyprus and beyond came to be perceived by

## 12

### Alliance between Amyntas III of Macedon and the Chalcidians, 390s–380s

The upper part of a *stèle*, inscribed on both faces; found at Olynthus; now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. Phot. Hatzopoulos, *Une Donation du roi Lysimaque*, pls. xiv–xv; id., *Macedonian Institutions*, pls. i–ii. Facs. *AEMÖ* vii 1883, Taf. i.

Euboean-Ionic, with some Atticisms; ending each line with the end of a word or syllable.

*SIG*<sup>3</sup> 135; Tod 111; Pouilloux, *Choix*, 25; *Sot.* 231; Hatzopoulos, *Macedonian Institutions*, no. 1\*. Trans. Harding 21. See in general Beloch, *GG*<sup>2</sup>, iii. ii. 57–8; J. R. Ellis, *Μακεδονικά* ix 1969, 1–8; Zahrt, *Olynth und die Chalkidier*, 122–4; Hammond [& Griffith], 172–7; D. A. March, *Hist.* xlv 1995, 257–82.

#### Front

συνθήκαι πρὸς Ἀμύνταν τὸν Ἐρριδαίῳ.  
 συνθήκαι Ἀμύνται τῶι Ἐρριδαίου  
 καὶ Χαλκιδεῦσι. συμμάχους εἶν  
 ἀλλήλοισι κατὰ πάντας ἀνθρώπου[s]  
 5 ἔττα πεντήκοντα. εἰάν τις ἐπ’ Ἀμύν-  
 ταν ἦι ἐς τῇ[ν χώραν ἐπὶ π]ολέμοι  
 [ῆ] ἐπὶ Χα[λκιδέας, βοηθ]εῖν Χαλκιδέ-  
 [ας] Ἀμύ[νται καὶ Ἀμύνταν Χαλκιδεῦσιν]

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#### Back

ἐ(ξ)αγωγή δ’ ἔστω καὶ πίσεως καὶ ξύλων  
 10 οἰκοδομστηρίων πάντων, ναυπηγῃ-

9 ἐσαγωγή J. Arneth in 1845, ἐξαγωγή edd., Ξ carved originally but changed to Σ Hatzopoulos, but cf. ἐξαγωγή in l. 13.

the Persians as rebellion, and Athens' support for him was an embarrassment (see especially X. H. iv. viii. 24). Evagoras was eventually made to submit to the Persians; he survived as ruler of Salamis until assassinated in 374/3 (D.S. xv. 47. viii); for his son Nicocles Isocrates wrote ix. *Evagoras* as an encomium, and also two works of advice, ii. *To Nicocles* and iii. *Nicocles*; the dynasty remained in power until 310. On the dynasty's coinage, increasingly Greek in style, see Kraay, *Archaic and Classical Greek Coins*, 308.

Sophilus, the proposer of this decree, was the proposer of another honorific decree in 394/3 (*IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 19 = M. J. Osborne, *Naturalization*, D 7): probably this decree belongs to the same year, perhaps even to the same meeting (Funke), and he proposed both as a member of the council. A Sophilus is listed among the democrats who occupied Phyle in 404/3 (*SEG* xxviii 45. 53), but the name is not rare.

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*Front*

Agreement with Amyntas son of Errhidaeus.

- 2 Agreement between Amyntas son of Errhidaeus and the Chalcidians.
- 3 They shall be allies of one another in respect of all men for fifty years. If any one goes against Amyntas, into his land for war, or against the Chalcidians, the Chalcidians shall go to support Amyntas and Amyntas the Chalcidians — — —

*Back*

- 9 There shall be export of pitch and of all building

- σίμων δὲ πλὴν ἐλατίνων, ὅ τι ἄμ μὴ τὸ  
κοινὸν δέηται, τῷ δὲ κοινῷ καὶ τούτων  
εἰν ἔξαγωγὴν, εἰπόντας Ἀμύνται πρὶν ἔξ-  
άγειν, τελέοντας τὰ τέλεα τὰ γεγραμμέν[α].
- 15 καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἔξαγωγὴν δὲ εἰν καὶ δια-  
{α}γωγὴν τελέουσιν τέλεα καὶ Χαλκιδεύ-  
σι ἐκγ Μακεδονίης καὶ Μακεδόσιν ἐκ  
Χαλκιδέων. πρὸς Ἀμφιπολίτας, Βοττ[ι]-  
αίους, Ἀκανθίους, Μενδαίους μὴ π[οιεῖ]-
- 20 [σ]θαι φιλίην Ἀμύνταμ μηδὲ Χαλκιδ[έας]  
[χωρῖ]ς ἑκατέρους, ἀλλὰ μετὰ μιᾶ[ς γνώ]-  
[μης, ἐὰν ἀ]μφοτέροις δοκῇι, κοιν[ῇι]  
προσθέσθαι ἐκεῖ[νους]. ὄρκος συμμ[αχί]-  
[ης· φυλάξω τὰ συγκεί]μενα Χαλκιδ[έων]-
- 25 [σι, καὶ ἑάν τις ἦτι ἐπ' Ἀ]μύνταν [ἔς]  
[τὴν χώραν ἐπὶ πολέμοι βοηθήσω Ἀμ]ύν[ται]
- 

According to Diodorus, after the death of Archelaus of Macedon in 400/399, a period of instability led to the accession of Amyntas III (xiv. 37. vi, 84. vi, 89. ii), who reigned until 370/69 (xv. 60. iii). Under 393/2 he reports that Amyntas was expelled by the Illyrians, made a gift of land to the Olynthians, but was restored by the Thessalians; 'some say that' when Amyntas was expelled Argaeus ruled for two years (xiv. 92. iii-iv); under 383/2 he reports that Amyntas was defeated by the Illyrians and made a gift of land to the Olynthians, but he recovered unexpectedly and they refused to return the land, so he urged Sparta to make war on the Olynthians (xv. 19. ii-iii). In X. H. v. ii. 12-14 Cleigenes of Acanthus tells the Spartans that Olynthus has tried to liberate the cities of Macedon from Amyntas and is occupying various cities including Pella, and Amyntas has been virtually expelled from the whole of Macedon. According to Isoc. vi. *Archid.* 46 Amyntas once lost the whole of Macedon but recovered it within three months. With Beloch, we do not think the differences between Diodorus' two accounts are such as to make it certain that the references are to two episodes rather than to one in the 380s, just before Sparta's war against Olynthus (but against see Ellis, Hammond, March).

Olynthus, immediately to the north of the western prong of Chalcidice, aspired to be the centre of a Chalcidian state (e.g. Thuc. i. 58. ii). The cities which it had absorbed ought to have recovered their independence after the Peace of Antalcidas in 386, but either they did not or Olynthus rapidly set about absorbing them once more: for Xenophon the excuse for Sparta's war against Olynthus was that Olynthus was forcing neighbouring cities to *sympoliteuein* ('share citizenship': on *sympoliteia* cf. 14) with it, and had taken over much of Macedon, but Acanthus and Apollonia wanted to retain their independence and appealed to Sparta for support (cf. above). The war lasted from 382 to 379, and ended in victory for Sparta and presumably the dissolution of the Chalcidian state. For the Chalcidians later see 22. 101-2; 50.

timbers, and of shipbuilding timbers except firs, whatever is not needed by the *koinon*, and for the *koinon* there shall be export even of these, on telling Amyntas before exporting them and paying the dues that have been written. There shall be export and transport of the other things on paying dues, both for the Chalcidians from Macedon and for the Macedonians from the Chalcidians.

- 18 With the Amphipolitans, Bottiaeans, Acanthians, and Mendeans friendship shall not be made by Amyntas nor by the Chalcidians apart from the others; but with a single opinion, if it is resolved by both, they shall attach them jointly.
- 23 Oath of the alliance: I shall guard what has been established by the Chalcidians; and if any one goes against Amyntas, into his land for war, I shall go to support Amyntas — — —

---

Here we have an alliance made by the state which describes itself as ‘the Chalcidians’ and as a *koinon* (‘community’: a term applied both to units larger and to units smaller than a single *polis*) with Amyntas of Macedon. This text was found at Olynthus, and the first line of the heading and the first clause of the oath are formulated from the viewpoint of the Chalcidians; but a second heading has an impartial formulation: this is curious, but not so much so as to justify Zahrt’s view that this heading (along with the back) was inscribed later, after the balance of power had changed. On the front is the beginning of a standard defensive alliance (cf. 6), made for fifty years; on the back are clauses to the advantage of the Chalcidians, allowing them to export even ship-building timber from Macedon as long as they notify Amyntas and pay customs dues, and binding each party not to make friendship with neighbour states of Olynthus (evidently outside and hostile to the Chalcidian state) without the concurrence of the other. ‘Transport’ (*diagoge*: ll. 15–16) refers to the carriage through the territory of goods destined for a third party. Amyntas is in control of at least part of Macedon, but agrees to terms favourable to the Chalcidians: it seems unwise to us to guess at a precise date between Amyntas’ accession and 383. Later in his reign Amyntas was to make an alliance with Athens (Tod 129).

Of the hostile states, the Bottiaeans lived to the north of Olynthus, but none of the others was very near: Mende was on the western prong of Chalcidice, Acanthus north of the eastern prong, and Amphipolis 50 miles (75 km.) north-east of Olynthus. If Olynthus was a threat to all of these, it was indeed powerful.

Fir was the preferred timber for ship-building, and Macedon was one of the best sources of it; pitch was important for waterproofing ships and other timber structures (Meiggs, *Trees and Timber*, 118–32; 467–8). Timber for building as well as for ships is

mentioned. The guarantee of export rights to the Chalcidians is an indication that such rights might have been refused: Amyntas does not want his ship-building timber to get into the hands of potential enemies. For regulations concerning trade and customs dues, cf. the recently-discovered inscription from Pistirus, on the Hebrus (Maritza) west of Philippopolis (Plovdiv): *SEG* xliii 486 = *IGBulg.* v (pp. xliii–xliv) 5557

## 13

### Dedications of the Lycian dynast Arbinas,

c.390–c.380

Found in the Letoum of Xanthus (between the city and the coast); now in the depot there.

A. A statue-base subsequently reused in a Roman portico, with Greek texts on the front (i, ii) and right (iii), and Lycian texts on the rear and left (iv, v). Phot. *CRAI* 1975, 144 fig. 2 (i, ii); *F. Xanthos*, ix, pls. 72–9.

J. Bousquet, *CRAI* 1975, 138–48 (i, ii); *CEG* 888; *F. Xanthos*, ix. 149–87\*.

B. A statue-base with Greek texts on the front (i, ii) and a Lycian text on the left (iii). Phot. *CRAI* 1975, 141 fig. 1; *F. Xanthos*, ix, pls 74. 1 (i, ii), 76. 2 (iii).

#### A. i

- [– ∪ ∪ – Ἀρβίν]ας παῖς Γέργ[ιος – ∪ ∪ – –]  
 [– ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ –] ἀρετῆς οὐνεῖ[ ∪ ∪ – –]  
 [– ∪ ∪ – εἰκῶν] δὲ ἥδε ἔστη μνημα θ[εῶσθαι (?)]  
 [– ∪ ∪ – ἄρ]ξας συνέσει δυνάσει τε κ[ράτιστος].  
 5 ἀρ[χῇ] ἐφ' ἡλικίας πέρσας ἐμ μνηνί τρία ἄσ[τη]  
 Ξάνθον τε ἡδὲ Πάρα καὶ εὐλίμενον Τελ[εμησόν],  
 πολλοῖσιν Λυκίοισι φόβον παρέχων ἔτυρά[ινει].  
 τῶμ μνημεῖα ἀνέθηκε θεοῦ φραδαῖ Ἀπόλλ[ωνος].  
 Πυθῶνι ἔρωτήσας Λητῶνι με ἀνέθηκεν ἑαυτο[ῦ]  
 10 εἰκόνα, τῶν δὲ ἔργων τὸ σχῆμα ἐπιδείκνυ[ται] ἀ[λκήν].  
 κτείνας γὰρ πολλός, πατέρα εὐκλείσας τὸν ἐ[αυ]το[ῦ],  
 πολλὰ μὲν ἄστυα ἔπερσε, καλὸν δὲ κλέος κ[ατὰ] πᾶ[σαν]  
 γῆν Ἀσίαν Ἀρβίνας ἑαυτῶν προγόνους τε λέλοιπ[ε],  
 πάντα ἐμ πᾶσι πρέπων ὅσαπερ σοφοὶ ἄνδρες ἴ[σασιν],  
 15 τοξοσύνης τε ἀρετῇ τε, ἵππων τε διώγματα εἰδ[ώς].  
 εἰς τέλος ἐξ ἀρχῆς, Ἀρβίνα, μεγάλα ἔργα τελ[έσσ]ας  
 ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖς κεχαρι(σ)μένα δῶρα ἀ[νέ]θηκα[ς].

17 The stone has κεχαριμένα.

#### A. ii

Σύμμαχος Εὐμήδεος Πελλανεύς μάντις ἀ[μύμων]  
 δῶρον ἔτευξε ἐλεγῆμα Ἀρβίναι εὐσυνέ[τω]ς.

ter, 20–5 (original publication in French *BCH* cxviii 1994, 1–15, in English in Bouzek *et al.* (edd.), *Pistiros*, i. 205–16; collection of studies including revised text *BCH* cxix 1999, 247–371).

Among the Euboean features of the language is  $\epsilon\hat{\nu}$  for  $\epsilon\hat{\nu}\alpha\iota$  (3 etc.); but in contrast with Euboean  $\phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\acute{\iota}\gamma\eta\nu$  (20) the text has Attic  $\mu\acute{\upsilon}\alpha\varsigma$  (21).

J. Bousquet, *CRAI* 1975, 138–48; CEG 88g; *F. Xanthos*, ix. 149–87\*.

The texts given here are those of Bousquet in *F. Xanthos*: in his original publication he reconstructed more boldly. See in general L. Robert, *CRAI* 1975, 328–30, *JSt* 1978, 3–48; C. Herrenschmidt, *REA* lxxxix 1985, 125–35; Bryce & Zahle, *The Lycians*, i. 94–6, 110–14; I. Savalli, *AC* lvii 1988, 103–23; Keen, *Dynastic Lycia*, 141–7.

#### A. i

— — — Arbinas son of Gergis — — — courage — — — this likeness has been set up as a memorial to gaze on (?) — — — he ruled, mightiest in intelligence and power. At the beginning of his prime he sacked in a month three cities, Xanthus and Pinara and well-harboured Telmessus, and inspiring fear in many of the Lycians he was a tyrant.

- 8 The memorial of these things he has set up by pronouncement of the god Apollo. Having consulted Pytho, he has set me up as a likeness of himself, whose appearance makes manifest the might of his deeds.
- 11 For he killed many, making famous his own father; he sacked many cities, and a fine reputation throughout all the land of Asia Arbinas has left for himself and his forebears, pre-eminent among all in all the things that wise men know, in archery and courage and knowing the pursuit of horses. To the end from the beginning, Arbinas, having accomplished great deeds, to the immortal gods you have dedicated welcome gifts.

#### A. ii

Symmachus son of Eumedes, of Pellana, blameless seer, wrought these elegies as a gift to Arbinas with good intelligence.



## A. iii

(A long text, in the same idiom as A. i and B. i, but too fragmentary to allow a full reconstruction.)

## A. iv, v

(Fragmentary Lycian texts.)

## B. i

Γέρργιος ὦν υἱὸς τ[υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ]  
 Ἄρτεμι θεροφόνα, [-υ υ υ υ υ υ υ]  
 Ξάνθον καὶ Τελεμ[ησσὸν ὁ πέρσας (?) ἡδὲ Πίναρα]  
 Ἀρβίνας Λυκίων [. . .] κλ[υ υ υ υ υ υ]  
 5 ἔργων καλλίστων ἐπιδ[ει υ υ υ υ υ υ υ]  
 εἶδος καὶ ψυχὴν [π]ρωτος υ υ υ υ υ

This could be all in hexameters rather than in elegiac couplets.

## B. ii

παιδοτρίβας ἐπ[υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ]  
 δῶρ' ἐποίησε ἐλ[εγῆια (?) —]

This could be in two hexameters rather than in an elegiac couplet.

## B. iii

(A Lycian text, which has been translated: '[Erb]ina has dedicated it as an offering to Ertemi, himself the son of [Kher]iga and Upeni'.)

Lycia, to the east of Caria in south-western Asia Minor, was on the edge of the Greek world in the fifth century, but easily accessible, and sometimes, though not regularly, penetrated by the Athenians (e.g. Thuc. II. 69); in the late fifth and early fourth centuries, when Caria was under Persian control, it managed to remain effectively independent of both Athens and Persia. The family with which we are concerned here used some Iranian names (Harpagus, Arbinas), but absorbed a good deal of Greek cultural influence: here we see it not only employing Greek poets to advertise its achievements to a Greek-reading audience, but also worshipping Greek gods and consulting the Delphic oracle. Sculpture influenced by Greek works is known from Xanthus from the middle of the sixth century, and contact with the East Greek world seems to have increased during the period when Lycia was controlled by Persia. The earliest sculpture comes from tombs, but during the fifth century sculpture appears also on buildings which may have had cult purposes, and is increasingly hellenized in iconography as well as form.

The most striking of the hellenizing monuments, the so-called Nereid Monument, dated c.380 (now in the British Museum) is perhaps a monument to Arbinas. A tomb in the form of an Ionic temple on a podium which bears two sculpted friezes one above

## B. i

Being the son of Gergis — — — Artemis slayer of beasts — — — who  
sacked (?) Xanthus and Telmessus and Pinara, Arbinas of the  
Lycians — — — of the finest deeds he displays — — — in appearance  
and soul first — — —

## B. ii

The trainer — — — made as a gift the elegies (?) — — —

---

the other, with a sculpted frieze at architrave level, sculpted pediments and *akroteria*, and further free-standing figures standing between the columns, this monument surpasses in its elaboration anything constructed in any classical Greek city. The scenes shown have clearly been determined by the Lycian responsible for commissioning the Greek sculptures, and are not simply 'off-the-peg' Greek temple sculptures; notable for the parallels they offer to *A* here are the scenes of hunting on horseback and the siege of a city, but hoplite warfare, sacrifice, sympotic feasting, the reception of elders by a ruler and other 'court' scenes also appear. Although the execution varies, the finest work, as in the so-called Nereids themselves, is of very high quality indeed. See *F. Xanthos*, viii; Boardman, *Greek Sculpture: The Late Classical Period*, 188–92 with pls. 218. 1–16.

A similar dedication by the son of Harpagus, whose name can now be restored as Gergis, has been known for some time (on the 'Xanthus *stèle*': Greek text M&L 93, *CEG* 177): these stones were found in 1962 (*B*) and 1973 (*A*). Gergis (Kheriga) the son of Harpagus (Arppakhu) ruled c.440–410; he was succeeded by his brother (?) Kherēi (not mentioned in the Greek texts, but known from his coinage and from the Lycian texts on the Xanthus *stèle*), who ruled c.410–c.390; Arbinas (Erbinā) ruled c.390–c.380.

Despite the extravagant claims which they make, these rulers seem to have been powerful only in the western part of Lycia, adjacent to Caria, and Arbinas at the beginning of his reign—when he was only twenty years old: *A.* iii. 4–6—had to conquer Xanthus, Telmessus, and Pinara.

This family attracted the services of at least two Greeks, the ‘trainer’ of *B.* and Symmachus of Pellana in Achaea, the composer of *A.* i–ii. For the *motif* of the poet’s gift of his poetry to the honorand cf. Kurke, *The Traffic in Praise* (on Pindar), esp. 135–59 ch. vi. There were ships from Pellana in the Peloponnesian fleet in 412/11, which went to Caunus, in eastern Caria (Thuc. viii. 3. ii, 39. iii): it is possible that that is how Symmachus made contact with the Lycians. ‘Archery, courage and . . . the pursuit of horses’ (*A.* i. 15) reminded Robert (*CRAI* 1975) of the remark of Her. i. 136. ii that Persian education concentrated on ‘horse-riding, archery, and telling the truth’, and Herrenschmidt tried to develop the idea that the inspiration of these verses was Persian. However, *arete* was not the same as telling the truth (we translate it here as ‘courage’), and it is generally agreed that these verses are Greek in background as well as in language (though among the Greeks we should expect ‘justice’, *dikaïosyne*, rather than ‘archery’, *toxosyne*, in *A.* i. 15): in particular, the poets remembered the *Iliad* (including its Lycian passages), and what is said of these dynasts matches what is said in Greek about other monarchs (see especially Savalli). The fact that the virtues ascribed to these rulers are rather old-fashioned Greek virtues may be due simply to the models used, or it may be more deliberate. The language is a dialectal mixture, with phrases remembered from Homer and other early poetry. The verses are metrically correct hexameters and pentameters, with the proviso that syllables of Lycian names can be treated as long or short in accordance with metrical need.

## 14

### Helisson becomes a *kome* of Mantinea, early fourth century

The upper part of a *stèle* found at Mantinea; now in the museum at Tripolis. Phot. *BCH* cxi 1987, 168 fig. 1.

Arcadian, with — as a punctuation mark between paragraphs.

G.-J.-M.-J. Te Riele, *BCH* cxi 1987, 167–90\*; *SEG* xxxvii 340; *IPArk.* 9. See also L. Dubois, *REG* ci 1988, 395–7 no. 621; Nielsen & Roy (edd.), *Defining Ancient Arkadia*.

[θεός]. τύχα [ἀγα]θά.

[σύ]νθεσις Μα[ντ]ινεύσ[ι] καὶ Ἐλισφασίοις [ι]ν ἄμα[τα]

[πά]ντα. ἔδοξε τοῖς Μαντινεύσιν καὶ τοῖς Ἐλισφασίοις[ς]. τὸς [Ε]λ[ι]-

[σ]φασίος Μαντινέας ἦναι Φίσος καὶ ὑμοῖος, κ[ο]ινάζοντα[ς πάν]-

A. i. 4: cf. Thuc. vi. 54. v, attributing to the Pisistratid tyrants of Athens the combination of *arete* and intelligence (*xynesis*). A. i. 5, 12: cf. Hom. *Il.* ii. 660, Tlepolemus 'sacked many cities (*astea*)', and the Xanthus *stele*, M&L 93. 7–8; in the classical period that was something done by the Persians (e.g. Aesch. *Pers.* 65–6) rather than the Greeks; and lists of wars fought and enemies defeated are a common feature of texts set up by near-eastern monarchs (see, for instance, the Babylonian and Assyrian historical texts in Pritchard [ed.], *ANET*<sup>3</sup>, 265–317); we do not know what acts of destruction lie behind these claims. A. i. 6: Robert remarked that Fethiye, the port of Telmessus, is one of the finest harbours in the eastern Mediterranean (*JS* 1978, 26–30). A. i. 7: for rulers inspiring fear cf. Thuc. i. 9. iii (Agamemnon), vi. 55. iii (Hippias of Athens); 'tyrant' has not yet become the irredeemably pejorative term which it is to be made by Plato and Aristotle, and it can be used unashamedly of Arbinas. A. i. 11: cf. *Il.* v. 679, Odysseus 'would have killed even more of the Lycians'. A. i. 11–12: cf. Her. vii. 220. ii, 'a great reputation (*kleos*) was left' for the Spartan king Leonidas after the battle of Thermopylae. A. i. 14: 'wise men' (*sophoi andres*) in an old-fashioned sense, cf. e.g. Her. vii. 130. i. A. i. 14: cf. *Il.* vi. 151, 'many men know it'. A. i. 17: cf. *Il.* xx. 298–9, Aeneas 'always gives welcome gifts to the gods'. A. ii. 1: cf. *Il.* i. 92, Calchas a 'blameless seer'. A. iii. 20 sqq. (not included here) contained a comparison with the heroes of the Trojan War. B. i 6: cf. X. *Cyr.* i. ii. 1, Cyrus was 'fairest in form and [various superlatives] in soul'. B. i, iii: Artemis retains in Lycian her Greek name (Ertemi), and *therophonos*, 'slayer of beasts', is a traditional epithet of Artemis (and Apollo) in Greek poetry; whereas other gods are assimilated to Lycian gods.

God. Good fortune.

- 2 Agreement between the Mantineans and the Heliswasians for all days.
- 3 Resolved by the Mantineans and the Heliswasians.
- 3 The Heliswasians shall be Mantineans, equal and alike, sharing in all the things in

- 5 των ὅσων καὶ οἱ Μαντινῆς, φέρ[ο]ντας τὰν χώραν καὶ τὰν πόλιν  
 ἰμ Μαντιν[ε]αν ἰν τὸς νόμος τὸς Μαντινέων, μινόνσας τὰς [πό]-  
 λιος τῶν Ἐλισφασίων ὥσπερ ἔχε[ι] ἰν πάντα χρόνον, κῶμα[ν] ἔα-  
 σαν τὸς Ἐλισφασίους τῶν Μαντινέων. — θεαρὸν ἦναι ἐξ Ἐλισό[ν]-  
 τι κατὰπερ ἐς ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλιν. — τὰς θυσίας θύεσθαι τὰς ἰν Ἐ-  
 10 λισόντι καὶ τὰς θεαρίας δέκεσθαι καὶ τὰ πάτρια. — τὰς [δ]ίκας δῶ-  
 [ξ]αι τὸς Ἐλισφασίους καὶ τὸς Μαντινέας ἀλλάλοις καὶ τὸς νόμος  
 τῶν Μαντινέων, ἀφῶτε Μαντινῆς ἐγένοντο οἱ Ἐλισφάσιοι, τῶι  
 ὕστερον· τὰ δὲ προτερᾶσια μὴ ἰνδικο ἦναι. — ὅσα δὲ συνβόλ[α]ια ἐτύ-  
 γχανον ἔχοντες οἱ Ἐλισφάσιοι αὐτοὶ πὸ αὐτὸς πάρος Μαντινῆς  
 15 ἐγένοντο, κύρια σφῆσιν ἦναι καὶ τὸς νόμος τὸς αὐτοὶ ἦχον ὅτε ἔ-  
 βλωσκον ἰμ Μαντινέαν. τὸς Ἐλισφασίους πάντας ἀπυγράψα-  
 θαι ἰν τὸς ἐπιμελητὰς πατριᾶφι κατ [ἀ]λικίαν ἰν δέκ' ἀμέραις ἄμα-  
 ν οἱ σταλογράφοι μόλωνσι. τὸς δὲ ἀπυγραφέντας ἀπ(ε)νυ[κ]τὴν τὸς  
 ἐπιμελητὰς ἰμ Μαντινέαν καὶ ἀπυγράψαι τοῖς θεσμοτοάροις ἐπ-  
 20 ἰ Νικῇ δαμιουργοί, τὸς δὲ θεσμοτόαρος γράψαντας ἰν λευκώματ[α]  
 δεφαλῶσαι πὸς τὸ βωλήιον· ἂν δὲ τις τῶν ἀπυγραφέντων μὴ φάτοι  
 τινα ἦναι Ἐλισφάσιον, ἔξεστ[ι]ν ἰμφᾶναι τοῖς θεσμοτοάροις ἰν  
 τῶι ὕστερον φέτ[ε] ἰ Νικῆς ἐδαμιόργη, τὸ[ν] δὲ ἰμ φανθέντα ἐπιδι-  
 κεύσασθαι ἰν τοῖς [τ]ριακαίοις αὐτοῖ [μηνὸς ? δευτ]έρω ἀ[μ]ὰν ἰμ-  
 25 φανθῇ, καὶ ἀ[μ] μὲν νικᾷ,] ἔστω Μαντι[ν]ῆς, εἰ δὲ μὴ, τᾶι/ τοῖ θε[ο]οῖ ὀφλέτω

6 νόμος = 'laws' Dubois: νομός = 'territory' Te Riele.

18 the stone has ΑΠΟΝΙΤ[ . ]ΗΝ

23 δὲ Dubois: . . . Te Riele.

24 αὐτοῖς . . . δευτ]έρω Te Riele: αὐτοῖ, and ὕστ]έρω another possibility,

Dubois.

25 Dubois.

This is perhaps the earliest surviving text relating to the kind of *synoikismos* by which a lesser community makes a pact of *sympoliteia* ('joint citizenship') with a greater, it is absorbed into the greater community, and its citizens become citizens of the greater community. Other instances include Buck 21 = *Sot.* 297 = *IPArk.* 15, revised by S. Dusanič, *BCH* cii 1978, 333–46, by which Euaemon was similarly absorbed into Arcadian Orchomenus, perhaps c.378 (to be cited below as Orchomenus); *OGIS* 229 = *Sot.* 492 = *IK Magnesia ad Sipylum* 1 ~ Austin 182, by which Magnesia ad Sipylum was absorbed into Smyrna, in Asia Minor, after 243 (to be cited as Smyrna); *IG* ix. i 32 = *SIG<sup>3</sup>* 647 = Buck 56, by which Medeon was absorbed into Stiris, in Phocis, 2nd century (to be cited as Stiris); a recently discovered agreement by which Pidasia was absorbed into Latmus, in Asia Minor, 323–313/12, calls the arrangement a *politeuma* (*EA* xxix 1997, 135–42 = *SEG* xlvii 1563, to be cited below as Latmus: *politeuma* ll. 32–3, 41).

Before this inscription was found, the 'Elisphasians' were known from a coin and from Polyb. xi. 11. vi: Helisson was one of the Maenalian communities south-west of Mantinea.<sup>1</sup> Mantinea was originally synoecized c.470 (Str. 337. viii. iii. 2 with S. & H.

<sup>1</sup> For the site (slightly more than half-way on a straight line from Megalopolis to Orchomenus) see I. A. Pikoulas, *hóros* xiii 1999, 97–132 at 125–6 with 113–14 maps 1–2, cf. in Nielsen & Roy, 262–3, 312 (but *Barrington*

which the Mantineans share too, conveying their land and their *polis* to Mantinea to the laws of the Mantineans, the *polis* of the Heliswasians remaining as it is for all time, the Heliswasians being a *kome* of the Mantineans.

- 8 There shall be a religious delegate (*thearos*) from Helisson as for the other *poleis*.
- 9 The sacrifices shall be sacrificed at Helisson and religious delegations (*theariai*) shall be received in accordance with tradition.
- 10 Lawsuits shall be pursued by the Heliswasians and the Mantineans against one another in accordance with the laws of the Mantineans, from the time when the Heliswasians have become Mantineans, for the future: earlier matters shall not be justiciable.
- 13 Whatever contracts the Heliswasians happen to have had, themselves with themselves, before they became Mantineans shall be valid for them in accordance with the laws which they themselves had when they were going to Mantinea.
- 16 All the Heliswasians shall be registered with the *epimeletai* by father in accordance with their age, within ten days from when the *stele*-engravers come. Those who have been registered shall be reported by the *epimeletai* to Mantinea, and shall be registered for the *thesmootaroai* during the demiurgship of Nices, and the *thesmootaroai* shall write them on whitened boards and publish them to the council-house.
- 21 If any one declares that one of those who have been registered is not a Heliswasian, it shall be permitted to him to make an *imphasis* to the *thesmootaroai* in the year after that in which Nices was *damiorgos*, and the man who is the subject of the *imphasis* shall have the case tried for him before the Three Hundred in the second (?)/next (?) month after the *imphasis* is made, and if he is victorious he shall be a Mantinean, but if not he shall owe to the god(dess) — — —

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Hodkinson, *BSA* lxxvi 1981, 239–96 at 256–61); it was interested in neighbouring communities in the late fifth century (Thuc. iv. 134, etc.); it was split into its component villages by Sparta in 385 after the Peace of Antalcidas (X. *H.* v. ii. 5, 7, D.S. xv. 5. iv, 12. ii) but reunited in 370 (X. *H.* vi. v. 3–5). Helisson will not have been one of the original component villages, but will have most probably been absorbed into Mantinea either shortly before 385 or shortly after 370 (Te Riele prefers the former; but Thür & Taeuber in *IPArk.* date this text c.350–340 (?) and Orchomenus c.360–350): according to Paus. viii. 27. iii, vii, it was one of the communities incorporated into the new city of Megalopolis in the 360s, but it appears to have been independent in the hellenistic period and many disbelieve in Pausanias' list (e.g. T. H. Nielsen in Hansen & Raafaub [edd.], *Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis*, 85 n. 16).

LL. 3–10 have figured prominently in the discussions of the Copenhagen Polis Centre about the significance of the words *polis* and *kome*.<sup>2</sup> We believe that what is

*Atlas*, map 58, has a site further to the north-west). Mantinea, Helisson, and Orchomenus are all shown in Nielsen & Roy, map 3; the location of Euaemon is unknown.

<sup>2</sup> See M. H. Hansen in Hansen [ed.], *Sources for the Ancient Greek City State*, 39, *Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis*, 73–4, Nielsen [ed.], *Yet More Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis*, 29, 35; Rhodes in *Sources*, 96–7; Nielsen in *Studies*, 85 with n. 16; id. in Hansen & Raafaub [edd.], *More Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis*, 67–70; Hansen in Flønsted-Jensen [ed.], *Further Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis*, 196–7.

meant here is that the Heliswasians are to convey their *polis* to Mantinea in such a way that politically the *polis* of Helisson will become a *kome* (constituent village) of the *polis* of Mantinea, but in other respects the *polis* of Helisson will remain unchanged as a distinct community. We deliberately avoid giving a cut-and-dried answer to the question whether Helisson was still a *polis* after its absorption into Mantinea. Strictly, at the point when this agreement was made, the absorption should not yet have taken place: what is described in 3 as ‘resolved by the Mantineans and Heliswasians’ may in fact have been resolved separately by the two communities.

For the ‘equal and alike’ status of the Heliswasians as Mantineans (4) cf. Orchomenus 4–6, Smyrna 44, Stiris 12; also the grant of Samian citizenship to Gorgus and Minnion (90. B. 27–8). It is also an expression used in connection with colonial foundations (e.g. M&L 5 ~ Fornara 18. 27–8, with A. J. Graham, *JHS* lxxx 1960, 94–111 at 108); here the implication is not that all should have equal shares of land but that new citizens and old citizens of Mantinea should have the same legal status. *Thearoi* (*theoroi*) are commonly religious delegates; in Thuc. v. 47. ix Mantinea has *theoroi* who with the polemarchs administer to the appropriate Mantinean officials the oath to the alliance of 420 with Athens, Argos, and Elis; presumably each *polis* which was constitutionally a *kome* of Mantinea supplied one *theoros*. As a distinct community, Helisson was to retain its own religious observances, and the right to receive religious delegations to them from outside Helisson: cf. Orchomenus 6 sqq., Stiris 18–24, 51–4; the Pidasans were guaranteed a share in all the rites of Latmus-with-Pidasas (Latmus 10–13). P. Perlman in Hansen (ed.), *Sources*, 113–64 at 108, concludes that ‘communities which had lost other aspects of their former status maintained a place in the list of invitees to the panhellenic festivals and in the itinerary of the *theoroi* sent out to announce their celebration’.

Judicial arrangements (10–16) are straightforward. Procedures for registering Heliswasians as Mantineans and for challenging any one who falsely claims to be a Heliswasian (16 sqq.) are likewise straightforward, but include some interesting details: the closest parallel is Smyrna 45–52. Identifying men by their patronymic is common practice; their age will be needed to determine their civic rights and obligations (including military obligations); no mention is made of indicating their

## 15

### Grants of citizenship by the Triphylians, c.400–c.370

See in general on Triphylia J. Roy in Hansen (ed.), *The Polis as an Urban Centre*, 282–320; T. H. Nielsen in Nielsen (ed.), *Yet More Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis*, 129–62.

#### A

A bronze plaque, with holes for pinning it to a wooden board, found in a temple at Mazi, c.6 km. (4 miles) south-east of Olympia; now in the museum at Olympia. Phot. Triante, *ὁ γλυπτὸς διάκοσμος τοῦ ναοῦ σὸ Μάζι*

wealth, which might also be relevant in that connection. Helisson apparently does not have resident *stèle*-engravers (so does not set up public inscriptions often), but has to send for them (from Mantinea?). The connection of this with registration suggests that a permanent list of those registered was to be inscribed, probably below this agreement: the purpose of that will have been to avoid disputes about who had been registered (cf. 4).

*Epimeletai*, ‘overseers’, are found with a variety of responsibilities; Nielsen argues that these are officials of Helisson (Hansen (ed.), *Introduction to an Inventory of Poleis*, 159–60 n. 56), but this inscription seems to have been set up in Mantinea. *Thesmotaoroi* (from *thesmos* and *terein*) are ‘guardians of the laws’, equivalent to *thesmophylakes* elsewhere (e.g. Elis, Thuc. v. 47. ix: F. M. J. Waanders *ap. Te Riele* 189). For *damiorgoi* as principal magistrates (Nices was presumably the eponymous *damiorgos* in Mantinea in the year of the enactment) cf. Thuc. v. 47. ix (where Mantinea has a plurality of *damiorgoi*); also 32. Whitened boards, on which texts were written in charcoal, were a common medium for the display of temporary notices (e.g. *Ath. Pol.* 47. ii).

For *imphasis* cf. *phasis* and *endeixis*, Athenian judicial procedures initiated by ‘exposing’ or ‘indicating’ men exercising rights or otherwise doing things to which they are not entitled (e.g. Harrison, *The Law of Athens*, ii, 218–32; Hansen, *Apagoge, Endeixis and Ephegesis*; D. M. MacDowell and Hansen, in *Symposion 1990*, 187–98 and 199–201, showing that in Athens *phasis* was used primarily of objects and *endeixis* of persons; for *imphasis* at Tegea see 60. 24–5, and for *phasis* at Athens see 22, 25, 40). The Three Hundred are perhaps the council of Mantinea: cf. the body of the same size in (smaller?) Tegea, 60. A. 8. For *nikan* (‘to be victorious’) cf. 82. 13.

Distinctive features of the Arcadian dialect to be seen here include *νσ* in the participle (6) and the 3rd person plural (18); *υ* for *ο* (4, 12, 16, etc.); *ιν* for *εν*, both normally (22) and in place of *εις* (3: *ἡμαρ* for *ἡμέρα* is largely poetic, but *ιν ἄματα πάντα* is a standard expression in Arcadian inscriptions); *πὸ* and *πὸς* for *πρὸς* (14, 21). *πατριᾶφι* (17) has not been found elsewhere; *βωλήιον* (21) is an Arcadian form of *βουλευιον*, used in some places as equivalent of *βουλευτήριον*. However, *ἄν δέ τις* (21) is Attic, where we should expect *εἰ δ’ ἄν τις*; and this inscription does not use *κὰς* instead of *καὶ*, as the earliest Mantinean inscriptions do (*IG* v. ii 261, 262).



τῆς Ἡλείας, πιν. 2; *Tyche* ii 1987, Taf. 17; Kyrielis (ed.), *Archaische und klassische griechische Plastik* . . . 1985, ii. 167 εἰκ. 5.

Elean dialect, using punctuation marks of 3–6 dots in a vertical line (we use 2 dots for typographical convenience).

Triante, ὁ γλυπτὸς διάκοσμος, 25–33 with 143–7; P. Siewert, *Tyche* ii 1987, 275–7; *SEG* xxxv 389\*. See also Triante in Kyrielis (ed.), *Archaische und klassische griechische Plastik*, ii. 155–68 at 166–8; L. Dubois, *REG* ci 1988, 399–401 no. 631.

ἔδοξε τοῖρ Τριφυλίοιρ. ὅσσοι ἐν τοῖ  
 πίνακι ἐνηγράφονται, Μακιστί-  
 οῖρ ἦμεν. αἱ δέ τιρ συλαία τὰμ  
 πολιτείαν, αἴτε ἐκ τελέων  
 5 ἀποστέλλοι δικαίωρ πο-  
 λειομένοιρ καὶ κατ  
 τὸν <νόμον>, ἀσεβήτω πὸτ τὰρ Ἀ-  
 θανᾶρ. Δαϊμάχο δαμω-  
 ργὸ, Κατακόω, Ἀγησιδά-  
 10 μω· Δίω μῆνός· Λυσιάδας· Ἀγίας,  
 Μενάλλης· Ἀγεμονεύς· Φίλιππος, Συλεύς,  
 Ἀπελλίς· Ἐταίριχος· Προνόα· Φίλυκος· Χάροψ,  
 Δαϊμένης· Πυθίων traces

7 νόμον is absent from the bronze.

9 κατακόω, i.e. not name but title, Siewert: but see commentary.

### B

A bronze discus, probably found at Krestena, c.6 km. (4 miles) south-west of Olympia; now in the Louvre, Paris. Phot. de Ridder, *Les Bronzes antiques du Louvre*, pl. 123; Jacobsthal, *Diskoi*, 29 Abb. 21 (better).

Elean dialect (cf. commentary); inscribed on one side in a clockwise spiral beginning at the circumference, using punctuation marks of 2 or 3 dots in a vertical line (we use 2 dots for typographical convenience).

De Ridder, *Les Bronzes antiques du Louvre*, ii. 4069; Jacobsthal, *Diskoi*, 29–30 no. 2; *SEG* xl 392\*.

θ[εο]ῖ: ἔδωκαν· τοῖ: Τριφύλιοι· Πυλάδαι καὶ Γνάθωνι· καὶ Π[ύ]ρωι πολιτηίαν· καὶ  
 ἀτέλειαν· πάντων· αὐτοῖς· καὶ γένει· δαμιοργοῖ· τοῖ ἀμφὶ Ὀλυμπιόδωρον.

Between the *ωκα* of ἔδωκαν and the *πο* of πολιτηίαν are sandwiched the letters Γ or Π and Ν or Λ.

Triphylia was the region on the west coast of the Peloponnese between Elis and Messenia, bounded by the R. Alpheus on the north and the Neda on the south; it was reduced to perioecic status by Elis in the fifth century (cf. Her. iv. 148. iv, mentioning Macistus as one of the cities), though a text of c.450–425 concerning Scillus suggests that cities here could retain a degree of autonomy (*I. Olympia* 16: date Jeffery, *LSAG*, 220 no. 17; discussion Osborne, *Classical Landscape with Figures*, 126; Roy, 296–7). As a result of Sparta's war against Elis at the end of the fifth century, this region was detached from Elis (X. H. iii. ii. 21–31, mentioning Macistus; D.S. xiv. 17. iv–xii, 34. i). There then appears to have been created a Triphylian state, which took the decisions recorded in our texts; that is last mentioned when Elis objected to the common peace treaty of autumn 371 because it guaranteed the autonomy of the Triphylians and

## A

Resolved by the Triphylians.

- 1 As many as have been inscribed on the tablet shall be Macistians. If any one robs them of their citizenship, or excludes them from offices when they are living as citizens justly and in accordance with the law, let him be impious before Athena.
- 8 Daïmachus being *damiorgos*, Catacous, Agesidamus; in the month Dios.
- 10 Lysiadas, Menalces, Agemoneus, Philippus, Syleus, Apellis, Hetaerichus, Pronoa, Philycus, Charops, Daïmenes, Pythion, — — —

## B

Gods.

The Triphylians gave to Pyladas and Gnathon and Pyrus citizenship and immunity from all obligations, to themselves and their issue.

*Damiorgoi* Olympiodorus and colleagues.

---

others (X. H. vi. v. 2); soon afterwards Triphyly joined the new Arcadian federation (cf. X. H. vii. i. 26), and whether within the federation there continued to exist an entity called Triphyly is uncertain (cf. 32, where among the *damiorgoi* are not 'Triphylians' but 'Lepreans').

A was found at Mazi, south-east of Olympia: probably that is the location of Macistus and the site of Scillus is south-west of Olympia (cf. Pritchett, *Studies . . . Topography*, vi. 64–70, 78; map in Nielsen (ed.), *Yet More Studies*, 130), though formerly scholars located Macistus on the coast further south and Scillus at Mazi, while Siewert has regarded Mazi as an isolated sanctuary site. The sculptures of the temple there are dated to the first quarter of the fourth century, i.e. to the period of Triphyly's independence (cf. Osborne, *Archaic and Classical Greek Art*, 213 with fig. 129, identifying Mazi with Scillus).

It is remarkable that in this decree the regional unit, the Triphylians, asserts the right to award citizenship in one of its constituent cities, Macistus: normally when there is a federation of cities (like Boeotia) as opposed to a large city composed of demes (like Athens) the right to award citizenship rests with the individual cities (cf. Rhodes in Hansen (ed.), *Sources*, 91–112 at 102–12); for another exception to that rule notice the third-century League of Islanders (e.g. *IG* xi. iv 1039). A few other fragmentary plaques have been found which may be from documents of the same kind.

*B* was probably found close to the site of Scillus and not far from Mazi, and must belong to the same thirty-year period, but it awards citizenship not in a constituent city but in Triphylia.

Neither of the texts tells us anything about the men given citizenship apart from their bare names (most of the names are otherwise attested elsewhere in the Peloponnese but not in Elis). *B* reads as a standard grant of citizenship to distinguished and beneficent foreigners (cf. 8); the use of a discus for the text may point to a connection with the Olympic games, control of which had been disputed in the war which led to Triphylia's independence (X. *H.* ii. ii. 31). *A* concerns a larger number of men who

## 16

### Arbitration between Miletus and Myus, 391–388

Two fragments of a *stèle*, found in the council-house at Miletus: location of upper fragment unknown; lower in the Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen, Berlin. Phot. *Sb. Berlin* 1900, 112; Piccirilli, *Gli arbitrati interstatali greci*, i, tav. iv (both *b*).

Ionic, normally using the old *o* for *ou*; *stoichedon* 27–9.

*I. Priene* 458; *Milet*, i. ii 9; *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 134; Tod 113\*; Piccirilli, *Gli arbitrati*, 36. Trans. Harding 24. See in general Adcock & Mosley, *Diplomacy in Ancient Greece*, 210–14.

	[	22	]	Διονυσ-	
	[	22	]	μπων Αχ-	
	[	22	]	ἐξαιτρ-	
	[απ	19	]	σης διεφ-	
5	[	ἐροντο περὶ τῆς γῆς τῆς] ἐμ	Μαϊάνδρ-		
	[ο	πεδίωι	12	]	ς γενέσθαι
	[	19	]	ἀμφισβητητ-	
	[	18	]	ας τῆς πόλεω-	
	[ς	16	]	β]ασιλεῖ καὶ σ-	
10	[	18	]	Στ]ρούσην, ὅπ-	
	[ως οἱ τῶν Ἰώνων δικασταὶ συ]	νελθό[ν]	-		
	[	τς?	20	]	νι[ . . . ]
	<i>lacuna</i>				
	[	. . . .	]	δη[ς	20

live or are going to live in Macistus and may hold offices there, and may belong to the process of setting up the independent Triphyly and its constituent cities.

In *A Κατακόω* (l. 9) is best interpreted as a proper name, with Triante (cf. another instance of the name, *I. Olympia* 44. 10), so that we have a board of three *damiorgoi*. The month Dios is otherwise attested on the Greek mainland only for Aetolia (e.g. *SGDI* 1853), though it is widespread in and to the east of the Aegean.

Siewert compares *A* with Olympian texts and uses it to distinguish between Olympian and (south) Triphylian dialects; but A. Striano in Rizakis (ed.), *ἀρχαία Ἀχαΐα καὶ Ἡλεία*, 139–43, cf. *SEG* xli 400, argues against the idea of a separate Triphylian sub-dialect. *B* is closer than *A* in language to *koine*: it has *αὐτοῖς* whereas *A* (in ll. 1–8) has the Elean features of *ρ* for final *ς* and accusative plural ending *-οιρ* (i.e. *-οις*).

*Sylan* ('seize', *A*. 3–4: cf. on 75) with citizenship as object is a striking expression: Dubois cites passages in tragedy where the verb is used with the genitive of *patra*, 'fatherland', and other passages in tragedy where *apostellein*, used in *A*. 4–5 to mean 'exclude' from office, is used of banishment from one's country.

--- Dionys--- --- mpon Ach--- ---  
 satrap--- were in dispute about the land in the  
 plain of the Maeander--- become--- dispute  
 --- of the city--- King and--- Struses, so  
 that the Ionians' jurors may assemble---

*lacuna*

13 ---des---medes---son of---lon.

- [ . . . . . ]μηδης, A[<sup>17</sup>—]
- 15 [ . . . . . ]λωνος. Ἐρυθραί[ων· <sup>10</sup>—]  
 [ . . . ]ανεος, Διχόλεως Πεδι[έος, . . . . .]  
 [ . . ]ς Ἀπολλάδος, Ἐπικράτης A[<sup>6</sup>—]  
 [ . . ]εος, Πυθῆς Ἀνακρίτο. Χίων· Σώσ[τρα]-  
 [τ]ος Κλεινίω, Ἀγγελῆς Ἰππώνακτος [K]-
- 20 τήσιππος Εὐπτολέμο, Φάνων Ἐρμομά-  
 χο, Ἀλέξανδρος Ἰκεσίω. Κλαζομενίων·  
 Ἰσθμέρμιος Θεομβρότο, Ἀρτέμων Ἀπ-  
 ολλωνίο, Ἀθηναγόρης Πολυάρχο, Ζήν-  
 ις Εὐάνδρο, Ἡρογείτων Ἀναξιτίμιο.
- 25 Λεβεδίων· Νυμφόδωρος Καλλίω, Ἀρις-  
 τιππίδης [ . . . . . ]λεω, Δηϊκλος Ἀπολλ-  
 ωνίο, Κλεινίας Ἡγησίωνος, Δημοκρά-  
 τῆς Ἐγδήλ[ο. Ἐφε]σίων· Πολυκλῆς Θευδ-  
 ώρο, Πυθο[κλει]δης Διονυσίο, Εὐερμ-
- 30 [ο]ς Ἀθηναίο, [Εὐ]αίων Ἐρμίων, Θεόδωρο[ς]  
 Ἡρακλείδω. καὶ τ[ε]θείσης τῆς δίκῃ-  
 ς ὑπὸ Μιλησίων καὶ Μυησίων καὶ τῶμ  
 [μ]αρτύρωμ μαρτυρησάντων ἀμφοτέρ-  
 [ο]ις καὶ τῶν οὐρων ἀποδεχθέντων τῇ-
- 35 [ς] γῆς, ἐπεὶ ἔμελλον οἱ δικάσται δικ-  
 ᾶν τὴν δίκην, ἔλιπον τὴν δίκην Μυή[σ]-  
 [οι]. οἱ δὲ προδικασταὶ ταῦτα γράψ[α]-  
 [ν]τες ἔδοσαν ἐς τὰς πόλεις αἴτνε[ς]  
 τὴν δίκην ἐδίκάζομ, μαρτυρίας εἶν-
- 40 αι. ἐπεὶ δὲ Μυήσιοι τὴν δίκην ἔλιπο-  
 ν, Στρούσης ἀκούσας τῶν Ἰώνων τῶν [δ]-  
 [ι]καστέων, ἐξαιτράπησ ἐὼν Ἰωνίης, [τ]-  
 [ε]λος ἐποίησε τὴν γῆν εἶναι Μιλησ[ί]-  
 ων. προδικασταὶ Μιλησίων· Νυμφ[ . . . ]
- 45 [ . . ]ελλεονίο, Βάτων Διοκλ[ε—<sup>7</sup>—]
- 

For a speculative reconstruction of 1–12, *exempli gratia*, by Hiller von Gaertringen see *SIG*<sup>3</sup> or Piccirilli.

This inscription illustrates the involvement of Persia, and Persia's use of Greek institutions, among the Asiatic Greeks at a time when Persia was claiming but had not yet achieved control of them. Miletus and Myus, both now inland (Myus is about 10 miles (16 km.) north-east of Miletus), were in antiquity situated on the Latmian Gulf on the coast of Asia Minor, into which the River Maeander flowed: they are two of the twelve cities listed by Her. 1. 142 as sharing in the Ionians' sanctuary of Poseidon, the Panionium. At the end of the Ionian Revolt, in 494, Miletus was captured and destroyed by the Persians; and in 493 the satrap of Lydia, Artaphernes, required the Ionian cities

- 15 Of the Erythraeans: — son of —anes,  
Dicholeos son of Pedieus, — son of Apollas,  
Epicrates son of —, Pythes son of Anacritus.
- 18 Of the Chians: Sostratus son of Clinias, Angeles  
son of Hipponax, Ctesippus son of Euptolemus,  
Phanon son of Hermomachus, Alexandrus son  
of Hicesius.
- 21 Of the Clazomenians: Isthmermius son of  
Theombrotus, Artemon son of Apollonius,  
Athenagores son of Polyarchus, Zenis son of  
Euandrus, Herogiton son of Anaxitimus.
- 25 Of the Lebedians: Nymphodorus son of Callias,  
Aristippides son of —, Deiclus son of Apollo-  
nius, Clinias son of Hegesion, Democrates son  
of Ecdelus.
- 28 Of the Ephesians: Polycles son of Theodorus,  
Pythoclides son of Dionysius, Euermus son of  
Athenaeus, Euaeon son of Hermias, Theodor-  
us son of Heraclides.
- 31 The lawsuit having been undertaken by the  
Milesians and Myesians, the witnesses having  
witnessed for each party and the boundaries of  
the land having been displayed, when the jurors  
were about to judge the suit, the Myesians  
abandoned the suit. The *prodikastai* wrote this  
and gave it to the cities which were judging  
the suit, to be a witness. When the Myesians  
had abandoned the suit, Struses the satrap of  
Ionia heard the Ionians' jurors and made the  
final decision that the land should belong to the  
Milesians.
- 44 *Prodikastai* of the Milesians: Nymph— son of  
—, Baton son of Diocl—, — —

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to make treaties with one another providing for the settlement of disputes (Her. vi. 42. i). In the time of the Delian League Miletus had recovered sufficiently to be one of the major Ionian cities in terms of tribute paid (commonly 5 tal.); Myus was one of the cities granted to the exiled Athenian Themistocles by Persia (D.S. xi. 57. vii, Plut. *Them.* 29. xi), but it appears in the tribute lists as a payer of 1 tal.

Now, at a time when Sparta was at war with the Persians on behalf of the Asiatic Greeks but was not doing well, Miletus and Myus were sufficiently under Persian influence to refer their dispute to King Artaxerxes II, and he delegated it to Struses,

presumably the man whom our literary sources call Struthas, the King’s chiliarch or grand vizier, who between 391 and 388 was also satrap, probably of Lydia, not just of ‘Ionia’, and defeated and killed the Spartan Thibron in the Maeander valley (X. *H.* iv. viii. 17–19, v. i. 6.)<sup>4</sup> Struses in turn arranged for the dispute to be heard by a jury of fifty, comprising five men from each of the remaining states sharing in the Panionium (the jurors from Phocaea, Teos, Colophon, Samos, and Priene will have been listed

<sup>4</sup> His authority over Ionia was what was relevant to this document: Lewis, *Sparta and Persia*, 118–19 n. 75. For Struses’ position see T. Petit, *BCH* cxii 1988, 307–22 at 309–12; a different view S. Hornblower, *CAH*<sup>2</sup> vi. 77–8).

17

Athenian decree for Erythrae, shortly before 386

Fragment of a *stèle* found at Erythrae; now in the museum at Izmir. Phot. *Belleten* xl 1976, facing 570.

Attic-Ionic, with iota adscript omitted in l. 5, the old *o* for *ov* in l. 6, *ε* for *ει* in l. 10; *stoichedon* 20.

S. Şahin, *Belleten* xl 1976, 565–71\*; *SEG* xxvi 1282. Trans. Harding 28A. See also K. Aikyo, *Acme* xli 1988, iii. 17–33.

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[.]λησ[<sup>15</sup>]  
ντων ἐν [Ερ]υθρα[ι]ς· [δεδόχθ]-  
αι τῷ δήμῳ. μὴ ἐξεῖνα[ι τ]-  
ῶν στρατηγῶν διαλλάξαι  
5 μηθενὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τῇ πό-  
λει ἄνευ τοῦ δήμου τῶ Ἀθη-  
ναίων· μηδὲ τῷ μ φυγάδων, ο-  
ὗς ἂν ἐξελάσωσιν Ἐρυθρα-  
ῖοι, μηθενὶ ἐξεῖναι κατὰ-  
10 γεῖν ἐς Ἐρυθρὰς ἄνευ τοῦ  
δήμου τοῦ Ἐρυθραίων. περ-  
ὶ δὲ τοῦ μὴ ἐκδίδοσθαι Ἐρ-  
υθραίους τοῖς βαρβάροι-  
ς, ἀποκρίνασθαι τοῖς Ἐρυ-  
15 θραίοις ὅτι δέδοκται [τῷ]-  
ι δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων [...]  
-----

For the relations of Erythrae, Pharnabazus, and Conon after the battle of Cnidus in 394 cf. 8. This decree must belong to the end of the period between c.390, when Thrasybulus re-established an Athenian presence in the Aegean, and 386, when the

before l. 15). Before the jurors could vote, the representatives of Myus abandoned the case: the *prodikastai* will be the advocates acting for Miletus, who called on the jurors to note that Myus had withdrawn; the jury then reported in favour of Miletus to Struses and he confirmed the decision.

In a world of many small states disputes about boundaries were frequent, and resort to external arbitrators was a frequent means of resolving them: Piccirilli assembles and comments on attested instances down to 338, and there are many more in later Greek history; for another example in our collection see 78; for the use of foreign judges in disputes internal to a single city see 101.

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— — — in Erythrae; be it resolved by the people:

- 3 It shall not be permitted to any of the generals to make a reconciliation with those on the Acropolis without the consent of the people of Athens; nor shall it be permitted to any one to reinstate in Erythrae any of the exiles whom the Erythraeans drive out, without the consent of the people of Erythrae.
- 11 Concerning not giving up Erythrae to the barbarians, reply to the Erythraeans that it has been resolved by the people of Athens — — —
- 

‘giving up . . . to the barbarians’ of the Asiatic Greeks, which had been a possibility since 392, finally happened as a result of the Peace of Antalcidas. Antalcidas’ first attempts at making peace with Persia, in 392/1, had signalled the possibility of



reconciliation between Sparta and Persia; after the failure of those attempts, Persia replaced the pro-Spartan Tiribazus with the pro-Athenian Struses (cf. on 16); but the activities of Thrasybulus led to the reinstatement of Tiribazus (cf. S. Hornblower, *CAH*<sup>2</sup> vi. 74–8). In this inscription Athens responds to a party in Erythrae which does not want to be ‘given up to the barbarians’, and in 18 it gives generous treatment to Clazomenae. Activity by Athenian generals in the region of Erythrae and Clazomenae at this time is not reported by our literary sources. When the Peace of Antalcidas was made, Erythrae and Clazomenae were both ceded to Persia—and 19 is evidence for recriminations among the Athenians after a trick had placed them in a weak position.

## 18

## Athens honours Clazomenae, 387/6

Three contiguous fragments of a *stèle*, with a relief showing two bulls facing each other: found on the south slope of the Athenian Acropolis; now in the Epigraphical Museum. Phot. Kern, *Inscriptiones Graecae*, Taf. 23; Kirchner, *Imagines*<sup>2</sup>, Taf. 23 Nr. 49; Lawton, *Reliefs*, pl. 9 no. 17 (relief and ll. 1–11).

Attic-Ionic, sometimes retaining the old ε for ει and ο for ου; ll. 2 sqq. *stoichedon* 42.

*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 28; *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 136; Tod 114; *IK Erythrai und Klazomenai* 502\*. Trans. Harding 26. See also R. Merkelbach, *ZPE* v 1970, 32–6; S. Rudzicka, *Phoen.* xxxvii 1983, 104–8; K. Aikyo, *Acme* xli 1988, iii. 17–33.

Θεόδοτος ἦρχε· Παράμυθος Φιλάγρο Ἐρχιεὺς ἐγρ[αμμ]άτε[υε].  
 ἔδοξεν τῷ δῆ[μ]ωι. Θεόδοτος ἦρχε· Κεκροπίς ἐπρυτάνε-  
 υε· Παράμυθος ἐγραμμάτευε· Δαῖφρων ἐπεστάτει. Πολι-  
 αγρος εἶπεν· ἐπαι[ν]έσαι μὲν τὸν δῆμον τὸν Κλαζομενί-  
 5 ων ὅτι πρόθυμός ἐσ[τι]ν ἐς τὴν πόλιν τὴν Ἀθηναίων κα[ὶ]  
 νῦν καὶ ἐν τῷ πρόσθε[ν] χρόνῳ. περὶ δὲ ὧλ λέγοσι, δε[δ]-  
 όθθαι τῷ δῆμῳ, [ὕπ]οτε[λ]όντας Κλαζομενίου τὴν ἐπὶ  
 Θρασυβούλο εἰκοστὴν πε[ρὶ σ]πονδῶν καὶ ἀσπονδιῶν π-  
 ρὸς τοὺς ἐπὶ Χυτῷ, καὶ τῷ[ν] ὁμήρων] οὓς ἔχουσι Κ[λαζομ]-  
 10 ἐνίω τῶν ἀπὸ Χυτοῦ, κύριο[ν] εἶναι τὸν δῆμον τὸν Κλαζ]-  
 ομενίων καὶ μὴ ἐξεῖναι τῷ[ν] δῆμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ μ[ὲν] ἤτε τ]-  
 οὓς φεύγοντας κατὰγειν ἄ[νευ] τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Κλαζομε]-  
 νίῳ μ[ὴ] τε τῷ μενόντῳ μ[ὴ] δ[ὲ] ἑνα ἐξαιρεῖν. περὶ δὲ ἀρχ]-  
 15 κα μάλα, εἴτε χρῆ καθιστάναι εἰς Κλαζομενίαν εἴτε αὐ]-  
 τοκράτορα εἶναι περὶ τούτων [τὸν δῆμον τὸν Κλαζομε]-  
 νίων, εἰάν τε βούληται ὑποδέχεσ[θαι] εἰάν τε μ[ὴ]. τῷ πό]-  
 [λεω]ν ὅθεν σιταγωγόνται Κλαζομε[νιοι, Φωκάας καὶ Χί]-

A few letters were read by earlier editors but are bracketed in *IK*; *IK* in error prints 8 σ]πονδῶν, 11 Ἀθηναίων, 23 ἀλλά. 11 There is one space too few for the obvious supplement.

There is a group of dissident Erythraeans ‘on the Acropolis’ of Erythrae (for which this decree uses the old term *polis*: in decrees ordering publication on the Athenian Acropolis, *en akropolei* replaced *en polei* c.386 (cf. on 19)), with whom Athens will not let its generals come to terms without obtaining authorization from Athens; other dissidents are being driven into exile, and Athens undertakes that these will not be reinstated without the consent of ‘the people’, presumably a democratic group controlling the outer city, of Erythrae; and it is presumably that democratic group which is pro-Athenian and has expressed anxiety about being given up to the barbarians (who may *inter alia* support the oligarchs). For the provisions for dealing with the dissidents, cf. the decree for Clazomenae (18).

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Theodotus was archon [387/6]; Paramythus son of Philagrus of Erchia was secretary.

- 2 Resolved by the people. Theodotus was archon; Cecropis was the prytany; Paramythus was secretary; Daiphron was chairman. Poliagrus proposed:
- 4 Praise the people of Clazomenae because they have been enthusiastic towards the city of Athens both now and in the time past.
- 6 Concerning what they say, be it resolved by the people: that, if the Clazomenians pay the five-per-cent tax imposed under Thrasybulus, then concerning a treaty or the refusal of a treaty with those at Chytum, and concerning the hostages whom the Clazomenians have from those at Chytum, the people of Clazomenae shall have power, and it shall not be permitted to the people of Athens either to restore the exiles without the consent of the people of Clazomenae or to remove any of those who have remained.
- 13 Concerning a governor and a garrison, the people shall vote immediately whether they ought to establish them in Clazomenae or whether the people of Clazomenae are to have authority in these matters, whether they wish to receive them or not.
- 17 For the cities from which the Clazomenians import corn—Phocaea, Chios (?) and

[ο (?) καὶ Σ]μύρνης, εἶναι ἔνσπονδον αὐ[τοῖς (?) ἐς τὸς λιμένα]-  
 20 [ς ἐσπλῆ]ν. τοὺς δὲ στρατηγοὺς τοὺς [μετὰ Διονυσίο/Λεοντίχο (?) ἐπι]-  
 [μεληθῆναι ὅπω]ς ἔσσονται σπονδα[ὶ πρὸς Φαρνάβαζον (?) Κ]-  
 [λαζομενίους α]ἱ αὐταὶ καὶ Ἀθηνα[ίοις. ἐχειροτόνησεν]  
 [ὁ δῆμος αὐτὸς τέ]λη οὐχ ὑποτελοῦ[ντας ἄλλα οὐδὲ φρου]-  
 [ρὰν ἐσδεχομένους] οὐδὲ ἄρχοντα ὑ[ποδεχομένους ἐλευθ]-  
 25 [έρος εἶναι καθὰ Ἀθη]ναίους. περὶ [δὲ —————<sup>15</sup>]  
 [—————<sup>12</sup> (?) κύριον εἶ]ναι βα[σιλέα —————<sup>12</sup>]  
 [—————<sup>20</sup> ————— ψ]ηφι[—————<sup>18</sup>]  
 -----

18–19 A. Wilhelm, *IG* II<sup>2</sup> Addenda: *Χίο καὶ Μλήτῳ* Ziebarth, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Seeraubs*, 128.  
 19–20 ἐς τὸς λιμένας ἐσπλῆ]ν Dittenberger, *SIG*<sup>2</sup> 73: unrestored *IK*. 20 Διονυσίο/Λεοντίχο  
 Merkelbach, cf. *X. H.* v. i. 26 (these two names having the right number of letters): unrestored previous  
 edd. 21 Φαρνάβαζον Merkelbach: unrestored previous edd. 26 κύριον εἶ]ναι A. Wilhelm *ap. IG*  
 II<sup>2</sup> addenda: unrestored *IK*.

Clazomenae was on an island just off the south coast of the Gulf of Smyrna in Asia Minor (now joined to the mainland by a mole), and Chytum was on the mainland facing it (Eph. *FGH* 70 F 78, Arist. *Pol.* v 1303 B 7–10, Str. 645. xiv. i. 36). It was explicitly awarded to the Persians by the Peace of Antalcidas in 386 (*X. H.* v. i. 31), so this must be a short-lived agreement made a few months earlier (P. J. Stylianou, *Hist.* xxxvii 1988, 466–7 with n. 15, suggests the first or second prytany of 387/6). Clazomenae was evidently one of the states won for Athens by Thrasybulus in his Aegean campaign of c.390 (*X. H.* iv. viii. 25–30, D.S. xiv. 94, 99. iv), and here the Athenians decide to treat it generously in order to retain its support. However, they are responding to an embassy from Clazomenae; since this is a non-probouleumatic decree (cf. below), the council either made some other recommendation which was rejected in favour of what we have here or (as in 91) it made no recommendation; and the proposer of this decree left the assembly to decide whether to send a governor and a garrison, without himself making a recommendation on that point (13–17: for this procedure for making and recording a separate decision cf. Rhodes, *Boule*, 75): this suggests divided opinions in Athens.

Thrasybulus' five-per-cent tax is mentioned also in connection with Thasos (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 24. a. 3–6): cf. the five-per-cent harbour tax which the Athenians substituted for the tribute of the Delian League from 413 (Thuc. vii. 28. iv), probably until 410/09. For

Smyrna—it shall be within their treaty rights for them to sail into their harbours (?).

20 The generals with Dionysius/Leontichus (?) shall take care that there shall be the same treaty with Pharnabazus (?) for the Clazomenians as for the Athenians.

22 The people voted that they shall pay no other dues and not receive a garrison or receive a governor but shall be free like the Athenians.

25 Concerning ——— the King shall have power (?) ——— decree ———

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the provisions for dealing with the dissidents at Chytum, cf. the decree for Erythrae, 17: Aikyo suggests that the Athenians are less interventionist in their dealings with Clazomenae than with Erythrae because Clazomenae had a better record of loyalty to Athens. Whether Clazomenae's sources of corn are Phocaea, Chios, and Smyrna (Wilhelm) or Chios, Miletus, and Smyrna (Ziebarth), it is striking that they are nearby cities, not the distant sources of which Athens has accustomed us to think (cf. 64, 95, 96).

It has been suggested that in ll. 25 sqq. the Athenians were careful to acknowledge the Persian King's rights on the Asiatic mainland (Ryder, *Koine Eirene*, 34 with n. 5); on the other hand, they may have been more optimistic than that (cf. the decree for Erythrae), and Rudzicka stresses the importance of the Gulf of Smyrna to Persia's preparations for the war against Athens' friend Evagoras of Salamis (cf. D.S. xv. 2. ii) and Persia's insistence on recovering Clazomenae in the Peace of Antalcidas.

This decree has enactment (2) and motion (6–7) formulae mentioning only the people, not the council and the people: from the beginning of the fourth century the Athenians used these formulae to mark out those 'non-probouleumatic' decrees in which, for whatever reason, what was enacted by the assembly had not been recommended by the council in its *probouleuma* (cf. Introduction, pp. xvii–xviii, xix–xx).

## Athens honours Phanocritus of Parium, 386

The bottom of a *stèle* found in Athens; now in the Louvre, Paris.

Attic-Ionic, retaining occasionally the old  $\epsilon$  for  $\epsilon\iota$  and usually  $\epsilon\iota$  for  $\eta\iota$  and  $o$  for  $ou$ ; *stoichedon* 28.

*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 29; *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 137; Tod 116\*.

26

[—  $\acute{\alpha}\gamma$ ]—  
 [γελί]ας ἔνεκα [παραδοῦ]ναι, ἐὰν κα[ῖ τ]-  
 [ῶ]ι δῆμ[ωι] δοκ[ῇι, καὶ] τὴν εὐεργ[εσίαν]  
 [ᾶ]ναγράψ[αι ἐν στ]ῆλει λιθίνει ἐν [ᾶ]κ-  
 [ρ]οπόλει. κ[αλέ]σαι δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ ξέν[ι]-  
 5 α εἰς τὸ πρυτανεῖον εἰς αὔριον. *vacat*  
 Κέφαλος εἶπε· τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καθάπερ [τ]-  
 ῆι βολῇ· ἀναγράψαι δὲ Φανόκριτο[ν]  
 τὸν Παριανὸν πρόξενον καὶ εὐεργ[ε]-  
 τὴν αὐτὸν καὶ τὸς ἐκγόνους ἐν στήλ[ε]-  
 10 ι λιθίνει καὶ στήσαι ἐν ἀκροπόλ[ει]  
 [τ]ὸν γραμματεῖα τῆς βολῆς, ἐπειδὴ π[α]-  
 [ρ]ήγγελε τοῖς στρατηγοῖς περὶ [τῶν]  
 [ν]εῶν τὸ παράπλο, καὶ εἰ οἱ στρατ[ηγο]-  
 [ι] ἐπίθοντο ἐάλωσαν ἂν α[ῖ] τρ[ι]ήρε[ι]ς  
 15 αἱ πολεμῖαι· ἀντὶ τούτων εἶναι [κ]αὶ τ-  
 ῆν προξενίαν καὶ τὴν εὐεργεσί[αν. κ]-  
 αὶ καλέσαι αὐτὸν ἐπὶ ξένια εἰς τ[ὸ π]-  
 ρυτανεῖον εἰς αὔριον. μερίσαι δὲ τ-  
 ὸ ἀργύριον τὸ εἰρημένον τὸς ἀποδέ-  
 20 κτας ἐκ τῶν καταβαλλομένων χρημᾶ-  
 [τ]ῶν, ἐπειδὴ τὰ ἐκ τῶν νόμων μερ[ίσω]-  
 [σι.]

This text is important for the light which it throws both on a particular historical episode and on Athens' financial organization in the early fourth century.

In 387 a Spartan fleet under Nicolochus was blockaded at Abydus, on the Asiatic side of the Hellespont, by an Athenian fleet under Iphicrates and Diotimus. Antalcidas reached Abydus by land and took out the Spartan fleet at night, spreading a rumour that he was going to Calchedon but in fact going only a short distance, to Percote. The Athenians, with four generals, followed, and passed the Spartans. The Spartans then returned to Abydus, and caught a further squadron of Athenian ships under Thrasybulus of Collytus; they were then themselves joined by reinforcements and gained full control of the Hellespont (X. *H.* v. i. 25–8; cf. Polyæn. ii. 24, according to

— — — hand over for his message, if it is resolved by the people also, and write up his benefaction on a stone *stèle* on the Acropolis.

4 Invite him to hospitality in the *prytaneion* tomorrow.

6 Cephalus proposed:

6 In other respects in accordance with the council; but Phanocritus of Parium shall be written up as a *proxenos* and benefactor, himself and his descendants, on a stone *stèle* and it shall be placed on the Acropolis, by the secretary of the council, because he passed over to the generals a message about the passage of the ships, and if the generals had believed him the enemy triremes would have been captured: it is in return for this that he is to receive the status of *proxenos* and benefactor.

16 And invite him to hospitality in the *prytaneion* tomorrow.

18 The said sum of money shall be allocated by the *apodektai* from the funds being deposited, when they make the allocations required by the laws.

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whom Antalcidas hid in the territory of Cyzicus). It will have been in connection with that trick that Phanocritus of Parium, on the Asiatic coast where the Hellespont opens into the Propontis, gave the information which the Athenians to their cost did not believe (on the problems of reconciling this with the details of Xenophon's account see Tuplin, *The Failings of Empire*, 174–5). He must then have gone (not necessarily alone) to Athens to tell his story; the council in its *probouleuma* will have recommended honours for him, but in fairly bland terms (and it included a cautious clause stressing that the honours were not valid unless approved by the assembly also (ll.1–2), on which see Rhodes with Lewis, 517–18). In the assembly an amendment spelling out precisely why Phanocritus was to be honoured (as the original decree must not have done: for

the significance of this see Osborne in Goldhill & Osborne (edd.), *Performance Culture and Athenian Democracy*, 341–58 at 351–2) was proposed by Cephalus, a leading figure in Athenian politics from his defence of Andocides in 400 (And. 1. *Myst.* 115, 150) and his eagerness for war against Sparta in the 390s (*Hell. Oxy.* 7. ii Bartoletti/McKechneie & Kern = 10. ii Chambers, Paus. iii. 9. viii) to his support for the liberation of Thebes from Sparta in 379/8 (Din. 1. *Dem.* 38–9) (he will appear as an envoy to Chios in 20).

Given that original motions may be rewritten to take account of amendments (cf. 2), and that here only the end of the original motion survives, we cannot be sure what other changes were made by Cephalus' amendment (cf. Rhodes, *Boule*, 278–9). It is possible, but by no means certain, that the original motion gave Phanocritus the status of benefactor but not of *proxenos* (2 would favour that, and Osborne, *loc. cit.*, supports it, but 15–16 would not), and/or that it did not extend the honour to his descendants. It is possible that the original motion did not include an invitation to the *prytaneion*, but more likely that it did and that the amendment is simply repeating that invitation. 'The said sum of money' (18–19) will have been either the payment for the inscription of the *stele* or else an award to be spent on a crown (for the latter cf. 2), and it may well be that the original motion did not specify as the amendment does where the money was to come from.

In the fifth century Athens' revenues were received by the *apodektai* ('receivers') and paid into a central treasury; expenditure was made from that central treasury on the

## 20

### Alliance between Athens and Chios, 384/3

Five fragments of a *stele*, with a relief: found on the Athenian Acropolis (but finding-place of fr. ε, the top of the *stele*, unknown); now in the Epigraphical Museum. Phot. Meyer, *Die griechischen Urkundenreliefs*, Taf. 14 A 43; Lawton, *Reliefs*, pl. 10 no. 19 (both relief only).

Attic-Ionic, sometimes retaining the old ε for ει and ο for ου; *stoichedon* 30, with irregularities.

IG 11<sup>2</sup> 34; SIG<sup>3</sup> 142; Tod 118\*; Pouilloux, *Choix*, 26; *Sot.* 248. Trans. Harding 31. See also Accame, *La lega ateniese*, 9–14, 34–5.

[συμ]μαχ[ί]α Ἀθη[ναίων καὶ Χίων. ἐπὶ Διεῖ]-  
 [τ]ρέφος ἄρχοντ[ος· ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰπποθωντῖδ]-  
 [ος] πρῶτης πρυτ[ανείας· ἦμ —————<sup>10</sup>]-  
 [. . .] ἄνος ἐ[ξ] Οἷο[υ ἐγραμμάτευεν ———]  
*lacuna*  
 5 [. . .] ο [—————]  
 ταῦτα με[—————<sup>18</sup>—————] τῶν κο]-

Readings verified by Dr. A. P. Matthaiou, who reports that some letters read earlier cannot be read now: we note differences from earlier readings only when they lead to a different reconstruction of the text. 2–3 Ἰπποθωντῖδ]ος is the only tribe-name of the right length. 3–4 Matthaiou: —————<sup>9</sup>— Σ[τρεφ]άνο[υ] edd. 6–7 κο]ινῶν ἀ[γαθ]ῶν Matthaiou, reading ΑΘΛΩΝ on the stone.

authorization of the assembly, until c.411 by the *kolakretai* ('ham-collectors'), after the amalgamation of the treasuries of the city and of the Delian League by an enlarged board of *hellenotamiai* ('Greek treasurers'). This decree is our earliest datable evidence for the system of devolved budgeting adopted in the fourth century, by which the *apodektai* made a *merismos* ('allocation': this decree uses the verb *merizein*) of funds, in accordance with a law, to separate spending authorities, who were free to spend the money allocated to them as long as they submitted satisfactory accounts at the end of the year (cf. *Ath. Pol.* 48. i–ii with Rhodes *ad loc.*: that uses the same verb, *kataballein*, 'deposit', as is used in l. 20). In this text and in Tod 117 ~ Harding 29, of 386/5, the *apodektai* are instructed to make an allocation for a particular payment (whereas normally in the early fourth century payments for inscription were made by the sacred treasurers: cf. 2): that suggests that c.386 Athens was short of funds and the *apodektai* had to make a supplementary allocation to cover the payment as soon as they were able to do so (cf. Rhodes, *Boule*, 98–101; A. S. Henry, *Chiron* xii 1982, 104–7; and see also 64; but for another discussion, suggesting that this is a sign not that there was a crisis but that the Athenians could be careful to observe proper procedure even for a small change in the *merismos*, see W. E. Thompson, *A. Class.* xxii 1979, 149–53).

This is also one of the earliest Athenian decrees in which the word *akropolis* replaces the older *polis* in publication orders (A. S. Henry, *Chiron* xii 1982, 91–118).

There survives part of another *stèle* (*IG* 11<sup>2</sup> 35), of which the lower fragment, *a*, corresponds to ll. 7–24 of this inscription, but with longer lines and variations in spelling: possibly this alliance was reaffirmed and republished when the Second Athenian League was organized, with Chios as a founder member (Accame, cf. D.S. xv. 28. iii). In the text below, letters which are preserved in *IG* 11<sup>2</sup> 35 but not in 34 are printed within brackets but underlined.

#### Alliance of the Athenians and Chians.

- 1 In the archonship of Diitrephes [384/3]; in the first prytany, of Hippothontis; to which ——— son of Stephanus (?) from Oion was secretary;  
———
- 6 ——— these ——— the common discussion (?)



- ἠὼν λόγων (?) [τῶν γεγενημένων τοῖς Ἑλλ]-  
 ησιν μέμνην[ται διαφυλάξεν καθάπερ]  
 Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν ἐ[ῖρήνην καὶ τὴν φιλίαν]  
 10 [κ]αὶ τὸς ὄρκ[ο]ς κα[ὶ] τὰς οὐσας συνθήκας],  
 [ᾧ]ς ὥμοσεν βασιλ[εὺς καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ]  
 Λακεδαιμόνιοι κ[αὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες],  
 καὶ ἦκοσιν ἀγαθὰ [ἐπαγγελλόμενοι τῷ]-  
 ι δῆμῳ τῷ Ἀθηνα[ίῳ καὶ ἀπάσῃ τῇ Ἑ]-  
 15 λλάδι καὶ βασιλεῖ, [ἐμψφίσθαι τῷ δ]ῆμ-  
 ωι· ἐπαινεῖσαι μὲν τ[ὸν δῆμον τὸν] τῶν Χί-  
 [ω]ν καὶ τὸς πρέσβεις [τὸς ἦκον]τας· ὑπάρχ-  
 ε[ν δὲ τ]ὴν ἐρήνην κα[ὶ] τὸς ὄρκος καὶ τὰς  
 σ[υνθήκας] [τὰς νῦν ὄσας]· συμμάχος δὲ ποι-  
 20 ε[ῖ]σ[θαι] [Χί]ος ἐπ’ ἐλευ[θε]ρίαι καὶ αὐτον-  
 ομί[α]ι, μὴ παραβαίνω[ν]τας τῶν ἐν ταῖς σ-  
 τήλαις γεγραμμένων [π]ερὶ τῆς ἐρήνης  
 μηδέν, μηδ’ ἕαν τις ἄλ[λο]ς παραβαίνει π-  
 ειθομένος κατὰ τὸ δυ[να]τόν. στήσαι δὲ σ-  
 25 τήλην ἐν ἀκροπόλει [πρ]όσθεν τὸ ἀγάλμ-  
 ατος· ἐς δὲ ταύτην ἀν[αγρ]άφειν, ἕαν τις ἔ-  
 ημι ἐπ’ Ἀθηναῖος βοηθῇ[ν Χ]ίος παντὶ σθε-  
 [νε]ι κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν, [καὶ] ἐ[άν] τις ἦμι [ἐπ]-  
 [ὶ Χί]ος βοηθῇ Ἀθηνα[ί]ος π[αντὶ] σθε[νε]ι  
 30 [κατὰ τ]ὸ δυνατόν. ὁμόσα[ι] δὲ τοῖς [ἦκοσι]-  
 [ν Χίοις] μὲν τῇμ βολὴν κ[αὶ] τὸς [στρατηγ]-  
 [ὸς καὶ τα]ξιάρχος, ἐγ Χί[ω]ι δὲ [τῇμ βολὴν]  
 [καὶ τὰς ἄλλ]ας ἀρχάς. ἐλ[έ]σθαι δὲ πέντε]  
 [ἄνδρας οἵτι]νες πλεύ[σαντες ἐς Χίον ὅρ]-  
 35 [κώσουσι τῇμ] πόλιν [τὴν Χίων. ὑπά]ρ[χεν δὲ τ]-  
 [ὴν συμμαχία]ν [ἐς τὸν ἅπαντα χ]ρόνον[ν. καλ]-  
 [έσαι δὲ τὴν πρεσβείαν τῇ]ν τῶν Χί[ων ἐπὶ]  
 [ξένια ἐς τὸ πρυτανε]ῖον ἐς αὐρι[ον. <sup>ν</sup> <sup>ν</sup>]  
 [οἷδε ἡρέθησαν πρ]έσβεις· Κέφαλος[ς Κολ]-  
 40 [λυτεύς, —<sup>65</sup> Ἀ]λωπεκῆθεν, Αἰσιμ[ος . . .]  
 [—<sup>610</sup>—]ς Φρεάρριος, Δημοκλείδ[ης]  
 [ς —<sup>64</sup>· οἷδ]ε ἐπρέσβευον Χίων· Βρύων, Ἀπε-  
 [(?) λλῆς, Θεόκ (?) ]ριτος, Ἀρχέλας.

7 γεγενημένων P. Foucart *ap. IG* 11<sup>2</sup> Add., p. 656: γεγραμμένων other edd.

19 μάχος inscribed in

erasure. 42–3 Matthaiou (but leaving both names unrestored): Ἀπε[λλ]ῆς Dittenberger, *SIG*<sup>1</sup> 59,

Θεόκ]ριτος S. Dušanić, *JHS* cxix 1999, 6–9.

which took place among the Greeks, have remembered to preserve, like the Athenians, the peace and the friendship and the oaths and the existing agreement, which were sworn by the King and the Athenians and the Spartans and the other Greeks, and have come offering good things to the people of Athens and to all of Greece and to the King; be it decreed by the people:

- 16 Praise the people of Chios and the envoys who have come; and there shall remain in force the peace and the oaths and the agreement now existing; and make the Chians allies on terms of freedom and autonomy, not contravening any of the things written on the *stelai* about the peace, nor being persuaded if any one else transgresses, as far as possible.
- 24 Place a *stèle* on the Acropolis in front of the image; and on it write up that, if any one goes against the Athenians, the Chians shall go in support with all their strength as far as possible, and if any one goes against the Chians, the Athenians shall go in support as far as possible.
- 30 The oath shall be sworn to the Chians who have come by the council and the generals and the taxiarchs; and in Chios by the council and the other officials.
- 33 Choose five men who will sail to Chios and administer the oath to the city of Chios.
- 35 The alliance shall remain in force for all time.
- 36 Invite the Chian embassy to hospitality in the *prytaneion* tomorrow.
- 39 The following were chosen as envoys: Cephalus of Collytus, — of Alopece, Aesimus of —, — of Phrearrhii, Democrides of —.
- 42 The following were the Chian envoys: Bryon, Apelles (?), Theocritus (?), Archelaus.

The large island state of Chios remained one of the ship-providing members of the Delian League until it defected to Sparta in 413/12 (Thuc. viii. 5. iv–14); in the last years of the Peloponnesian War it was torn between pro-Athenian and pro-Spartan factions, but the Chians fought on the Spartan side at Aegospotami in 405 (Paus. x. 9. ix). However, they were among those offended by Sparta's conduct after the war, and after the battle of Cnidus in 394 they expelled a Spartan garrison and defected to Pharnabazus and Conon (D.S. xiv. 84. iii); they were allied to Athens in Thrasybulus' Aegean campaign of c.390 (D.S. xiv. 94. iv). According to Isoc. xiv. *Plat.* 28, after the Corinthian War 'the Chians, Mytilenaeans, and Byzantines remained on our side'; cf. D.S. xv. 28. iii and 22 with commentary.

This is the earliest known Athenian alliance with a Greek state subsequent to the Peace of Antalcidas of 386. The Peace had stipulated that outside Asia, with the exception of the islands of Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros, conceded to Athens, 'the other Greek cities, both small and large, should be autonomous' (X. *H.* v. i. 31, D.S. xiv. 110. iii). After Sparta had invoked this principle to break up the Boeotian federation and the merged state of Argos and Corinth (X. *H.* v. i. 32–4), and probably had invoked it again to split Mantinea into its component villages (X. *H.* v. ii. 5, 7, D.S. xv. 5. iv, 12. ii), there must have been some uncertainty as to what forms of association were still possible. Here the Athenians make a defensive alliance with Chios, 'on terms of freedom and autonomy', and explicitly within the framework of the Peace; and in the 370s this will serve as a model for the Second Athenian League (cf. 22). They are responding to an embassy from Chios, which offers 'good things to the people of Athens and to all of Greece and to the King' (13–17) at a time when the Athenians were overawed by the Peace but scarcely pleased with it; there is perhaps an allusion to 'the common discussion which took place among the Greeks' (6–8), presumably when they swore to the Peace, and perhaps it was the Chians who had advanced the idea that defensive alliances were compatible with the Peace.

Ll. 11–12 state that 'the King and the Athenians and the Spartans and the other Greeks' swore to the Peace. From our other evidence we should not expect the Persian King to swear as an equal partner with the Greeks, and in spite of what is stated here

## 21

### Athens honours Strato of Sidon, c.378–c.376 (?)

A *stèle* broken at the top, found on the Athenian Acropolis; now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Phot. Austin, *Stoichedon Style*, pl. 11.

Attic-Ionic, retaining the old *o* for *ou* sometimes and *ε* for *ει* in l. 36; *stoichedon* 27.

*IG* 11<sup>2</sup> 141; *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 185; Tod 139\*. Trans. Austin & Vidal-Naquet 71; Harding 40. See also R. P. Austin, *JHS* lxiv 1944, 98–100; Gauthier, *Symbola*; R. A. Moyssey, *AJAH* i 1976, 182–9; Whitehead, *The Ideology of the Athenian Metec*.

we may doubt if he did (cf. E. Badian, *JHS* cvii 1987, 27 = *From Plataea to Potidaea*, 41–2; *Georgica* . . . G. Cawkwell, 37–9). Nor, though the Peace was intended to apply to all the Greeks, can we be sure how many of them swore to it (cf. Badian, *Georgica*, 39–40, 43).

‘The image (*agalma*)’ will be that of Athena *Promachos*, the great statue facing those who entered the Acropolis through the Propylaea. It is surprising that the formulation of the alliance as a defensive alliance comes only after the publication clause (26–30), and that the specification that it is to be a permanent alliance comes later still (35–6). Departures from natural order have led tidy-minded scholars to suspect that such misplaced clauses were originally omitted and have been added to the original motion by way of a ‘concealed amendment’, even when as here there is no formal record of an amendment: that is possible, but it is equally possible that the proposer on his own simply put down the various items as he thought of them and did not afterwards rewrite his material in a more logical order (cf. Rhodes, *Boule*, 73–4).

Different collections of officials swear to different treaties in fourth-century Athens (cf. D. J. Mosley, *PCPS*<sup>2</sup> vii 1961, 59–63); the taxiarchs were the commanders of the tribal infantry regiments (*Ath. Pol.* 62. iii). In the list of Athenian envoys to Chios, for Cephalus cf. 19; Aesimus led the democrats in their return from the Piraeus in 403 (Lys. xiii. *Agor.* 80–2); unlike Cephalus, he with Thrasybulus did not wish to risk trouble with Sparta in 396 (*Hell. Oxy.* 6. ii Bartoletti/McKechne & Kern = 9. ii Chambers); and he was to be involved in the admission of Methymna to the Second Athenian League in 377 (23). It does not follow from Aesimus’ being opposed to Cephalus in the 390s that the same was true in the 380s, but it was not unusual for opponents to be appointed to the same board when each had a substantial body of supporters (cf., most notoriously, the appointment of both Alcibiades and Nicias to command the great Sicilian expedition of 415, and see Mitchell, *Greeks Bearing Gifts*, 92–5, cf. 106). On the possible Chian envoys see Dušanić: Theocritus was the father of the atomist Metrodorus, and another Metrodorus was a teacher of a younger Theocritus (Berve, *Das Alexanderreich*, ii. 176–7 no. 364), of whom a biography was written by a younger Bryon.

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[.] Ἀθηναί[ων, κ]αὶ ἐπεμελ[ήθη] ὅπως ὥς  
 κάλλιστα πορευθήσονται οἱ πρέσ-  
 βεις ὥς βασιλέα οὗς ὁ δῆμος ἐπεμψ-  
 εν. καὶ ἀποκρίνασθαι τῷ ἥκοντι π-  
 5 ἀρὰ τῷ Σιδωνίων βασιλέως ὅτι καὶ  
 ἐς τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ὡς ἀνὴρ ἀγαθ-  
 ὸς περὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων οὐ-  
 κ' ἔστι ὅτι ἀτυχῆσει παρὰ Ἀθηναίω-  
 ν ὡς ἂν δέηται. εἶναι δὲ καὶ πρόξεν-  
 10 ον τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων Στράτω-  
 να τὸν Σιδωνος βασιλέα, καὶ αὐτὸν  
 καὶ ἐκγόνοσ. τὸ δὲ ψήφισμα τόδε ἀν-  
 αγραφάτω ὁ γραμματεὺς τῆς βολῆς  
 ἐστήληι λιθίνῃ δέκα ἡμερῶν καὶ  
 15 καταθέτω ἐν ἀκροπόλει· ἐς δὲ τὴν ἀ-  
 ναγραφὴν τῆς στήλης δοῦναι τοὺς  
 ταμίαις τῷ γραμματεῖ τῆς βολῆς Δ-  
 Δ δραχμὰς ἐκ τῶν δέκα ταλάντων. π-  
 οισασθαι δὲ καὶ σύμβολα ἢ βολῇ πρ-  
 20 ὅς τὸν βασιλέα τὸν Σιδωνίων, ὅπως  
 ἂν ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων εἰδῇ ἐάν τι  
 πέμπῃ ὁ Σιδωνίων βασιλεὺς δεόμ-  
 ενος τῆς πόλεως, καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ὁ Σ-  
 ιδωνίων εἰδῇ ὅταμ πέμπῃ τινὰ ὡ-  
 25 σ αὐτὸν ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων. καλέσα-  
 ι δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ ξένια τὸν ἥκοντα παρὰ  
 τῷ Σιδωνίων βασιλέως ἐς τὸ πρυτα-  
 τεῖον ἐς αὔριον. *vacat*  
 Μενέξενος εἶπεν· τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καθά-  
 30 περ Κηφισόδοτος· ὁπόσοι δ' ἂν Σιδω-  
 νίων οἰκόντες ἐς Σιδῶνι καὶ πολι-  
 τευόμενοι ἐπιδημῶσιν κατ' ἐμπορ-  
 ῖαν Ἀθήνησι, μὴ ἐξεῖναι αὐτοὺς μετ-  
 οίκιον πράττεσθαι μηδὲ χορηγόν  
 35 μηδένα καταστήσαι μηδ' εἰσφορὰν  
 μηδεμίαν ἐπιγράφειν. *vacat*

Strato, vassal king of Sidon within the Persian empire, is said to have been the rival in luxury of Nicocles of Salamis in Cyprus, who succeeded Evagoras (11) in 374/3 (Anax. *FGH* 72 F 18, Thp. 115 F 114, *ap.* Ath. xii. 531 A–E, Ael. *V.H.* vii. 2). In the Satraps' Revolt he gave refuge to the deposed Tachos of Egypt, after which he died violently,

— of the Athenians, and has taken care that the envoys to the King whom the people sent should travel as finely as possible.

- 4 And reply to the man who has come from the king of Sidon that if in the time to come he is a good man with regard to the people of Athens there is no possibility that he will fail to obtain whatever he needs from the Athenians. Also Strato the king of Sidon shall be *proxenos* of the people of Athens, himself and his descendants.
- 12 This decree shall be written up by the secretary of the council on a stone *stele* within ten days and set down on the Acropolis: for the writing-up of the *stele* the treasurers shall give to the secretary of the council 30 drachmas from the ten talents.
- 18 Also the council shall make tokens (*symbola*) with the king of Sidon, so that the people of Athens shall know if the king of Sidon sends anything when in need of the city, and the king of Sidon shall know when the people of Athens send any one to him.
- 25 Also invite the man who has come from the king of Sidon to hospitality in the *prytaneion* tomorrow.
- 29 Menexenus proposed: In other respects in accordance with Cephisodotus; but as many of the Sidonians, living in Sidon and enjoying civic rights, as are visiting Athens for purposes of trade, it shall not be permitted to exact the metic tax (*metoikion*) from them or to appoint any of them as *choregos* or to register them for any *eisphora*.

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presumably c.360 (X. *Ages*. II, 30, Hieron. *Adv. Jov.* I, 45 (xxiii, 274–5 *Patr. Lat.*), cf. D.S. xv, 90, iii).

The beginning of this decree is lost, and its date is disputed. There are two details which have been used as pointers to different dates. The publication of the text is to

be paid for by ‘the treasurers’ (plural: i.e. of Athena) from ‘the ten talents’ (ll. 16–18: cf. 22). Various arrangements for funding publication are found in the early fourth century; but, if we assume that at any one time this payment should be made by one official or board from one source, this decree should be dated c.378/7–c.377/6 (W. B. Dinsmoor, *AJA*² xxxvi 1932, 158–9): A. S. Henry rejected that principle (*Chiron* xii 1982, 91–118, esp. 110–12); and it must be admitted that no Athenian embassy to the King in those years is otherwise attested. L. 14 states that the publication is to be done ‘within ten days’, other instances of that formula are to be dated between c.357 and c.336 (Austin, *JHS*), and most scholars have thought it easier to find an occasion in the 360s when Strato might have helped such envoys (on account of which Rhodes, *Boule*, 103 n. 7 was undecided). Tod followed the earlier scholars who associated this text with the peace negotiations of 367—but they were not negotiations with whose outcome the Athenians were pleased. Austin (*JHS*) thought that Athens supported those rebelling against Persia in the Satraps’ Revolt at the end of the 360s and connected this text with that—but Athens probably did not support the rebels then (cf. 42), and in any case when Strato was involved in the Revolt he will hardly have helped Athenian envoys bound for the King. Moysey suggests that Athens may have sent an embassy in 364, and have sent it via Sidon because of the turmoil in western Asia Minor, and that may be the occasion when the King recognized Athens’ claim to Amphipolis and the Chersonese (see on 38)—which is at any rate a more plausible scenario than the others (and an embassy then might be accepted even if we did not follow Moysey on Amphipolis and the Chersonese). However, a requirement to publish within ten days could more easily float in time than the source of payment for the publication. In the early 370s Pharnabazus was in Phoenicia, with the Athenian Iphicrates under him, preparing for one of Persia’s attempts to reconquer Egypt (D.S. xv. 41. iii), and it is not inconceivable that there should have been an Athenian embassy to the King which travelled via Sidon at that time, perhaps to reassure the King that Athens was still friendly and he had nothing to fear from the foundation of the Second Athenian League. Our current inclination is to follow Dinsmoor in dating the decree 378–376 (cf. D. Knoepfler, in Frézouls & Jacquemin [edd.], *Les Relations internationales ... 15–17.vi.1993*, 309–64, at 329–30).

The original decree was proposed by Cephisodotus, apparently as a non-probouleumatic decree since he rather than the council is mentioned in the amendment formula (cf. Rhodes, *Boule*, 71–4). Cephisodotus is a common name, but this is very probably the politician, ‘second to none as a clever speaker’ (Dem. xx. *Lept.*

150), who was among Athens' envoys to Sparta in 371 (X. H. vi. iii. 2) and was afraid that Athens' alliance with Sparta in 369 would give too much power to Sparta (X. H. vii i. 12–14): he is also the proposer of 35, and remained active in the 360s and 350s. The amendment was proposed by one Menexenus: there are too many possible identifications to make any one of them likely.

The *symbola* of ll. 18–25 will be the two halves of a token, separated by a unique jigsaw cut so that authenticity is guaranteed when they are successfully fitted together (Gauthier, 76–85). For another use of such *symbola* see M&L 46 ~ Fornara 98. 11–18; also, perhaps, IG II<sup>2</sup> 207. bcd. 6 (on which see M. J. Osborne, BSA lxvi 1971, 297–321 at 312). The reason for this exceptional provision is perhaps that Athens and Sidon were not in frequent contact with each other, and that the Sidonians were not merely non-Greek but non-hellenized; the Athenians may have been affected also by the Phoenicians' (and specifically the Sidonians') reputation for trickery (Hom. Od. xv. 415–84), though the charge of Phoenician perfidiousness (e.g. Polyb. iii. 78. i, Sall. Bell. Jug. 108. iii, Liv. xxi. 4. ix) seems to have become a specifically Roman charge, made specifically against the Carthaginians.

Probably all free non-Athenians who visited Athens for a more than a certain period (perhaps a month) were required to regularize their position by registering as metics (*metoikoi*) (Whitehead, 7–10), after which they would normally be subject to various burdens, including those from which the amendment exempts Sidonians 'visiting Athens for purposes of trade' (ll. 30–6). The *metoikion* was a poll tax levied on metics, 12 dr. per annum for a man, 6 dr. for an independent woman; rich metics could on some occasions be required to perform the liturgy of *choregia*, accepting general and in particular financial responsibility for a team performing in a festival; and when the property tax known as *eisphora* was levied metics were required to pay a contribution which could be described as 'the sixth part' (Dem. xxii. Andr. 61, IG II<sup>2</sup> 244. 20): see Gauthier, 118–23; Whitehead, 75–82; and cf. 77. More generous treatment in general for metics in Athens was to be recommended by Xenophon in the 350s (*Ways and Means*, ii). What the status in Sidon was which the Athenians could identify with 'enjoying civic rights' (*politeuomenoi*: ll. 31–2) we do not know, but there is evidence that at any rate the upper-class inhabitants might have opinions which the king had to take into account (F. G. Maier, CAH<sup>2</sup>, vi. 323).

A third-century *stèle* contains two decrees enacted by a community of Sidonians in the Piraeus: IG II<sup>2</sup> 2946 (in Greek) and W. Ameling, ZPE lxxxi 1990, 189–99 (in Phoenician).



## Prospectus of the Second Athenian League, 378/7

Twenty fragments of a *stele*, inscribed on the front and on the left-hand side: found in the Athenian Agora; now in the Epigraphical Museum. Phot. Kirchner, *Imagines*<sup>3</sup>, Taf. 23 Nr. 50; Accame, *La lega ateniese*, tavv. i-ii; *Hesp.* xxxvi 1967, pl. 30 (these all partial); Sealey, *History of the Greek City-States*, 413; *Chiron* xi 1981, Taf. 4; *Anc. W.* ix 1984, 41-2; our Pl. 3.

Attic-Ionic, retaining the old ε for ει or η in ll. 121, 128, and ο for ου normally; ll. 1-6 in larger letters; ll. 7-77

## Front

ἐπὶ Ναυσινίκο ἄρχοντος·

*vacat*

Καλλίβιος | Κηφισοφώντος

Παιανιεύς | ἐγραμμάτευεν·

*vacat*

ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰπποθωντίδο[ς ἐβδ]όμης πρυτα-

5 νείας. ἔδοξεν τῇ βολ[ῇ κα]ὶ τῷ δήμω-

ι· Χαρίνος Ἀθμον[εὺς ἐπ]εστάτει.

Ἀριστοτέλης εἶ[πεν· τύχ]η ἀγαθῇ τῇ Ἀ-

θηναίων καὶ [τ]ῶν [συμμ]άχων τῶν Ἀθηναίω-

ν. ὅπως ἂν Λακεδ[αιμό]νιοι ἐώσι τὸς Ἑλλη-

10 νας ἐλευθε[ρ]ος [καὶ] αὐτονόμος ἡσυχίαν

ἄγειν, τῇ[ν χώραν] ἔχοντας ἐμ βεβαίωι τῇ-

[ν ἐαντῶν πᾶσαν, [κα]ὶ [ὅπ]ω[ς κ]υ[ρ]ία ἡ κ[α]ὶ δι-

[αμένηι ἢ τε εἰρήνῃ καὶ ἡ φιλία ἦν ὥμοσ]α-

[ν οἱ Ἕλληνες] καὶ [β]α[σι]λεὺς κατὰ τὰ[ς σ]υν-

15 [θήκας], ἐβηφύ[σθαι τῷ δήμῳ· ἐάν τις βόλ-

[ηται τῶν Ἑλ]λήνων ἢ τῶν βαρβάρων τῶν ἐν

[Εὐρώπῃ ἐν]οικόντων ἢ τῶν νησιωτῶν, ὅσ-

[οι μὴ βασι]λέως εἰσίν, Ἀθηναίων σύμμαχ-

[ος εἶναι κ]αὶ τῶν συμμάχων, ἐξεῖναι αὐ[τ]-

20 ὦ[ι ἐλευθέρ]ωι ὄντι καὶ αὐτονόμῳι, πολι-

τ[ενομέν]ωι πολιτείαν ἦν ἂν βόληται, μῆ-

τε [φρορ]ὰν εἰσδεχομένῳι μῆτε ἄρχοντα

ὑπο[δεχ]ομένῳι μῆτε φόρον φέροντι, ἐπὶ

δὲ τ[οῖς] αὐτοῖς ἐφ' οἷσπερ Χίοι καὶ Θηβαί-

12-15 The text within the erasure was reconstructed by Accame, 51: his reconstruction has been doubted (e.g. by Cawkwell, 1973, 60 n. 1; Cargill was sceptical about many of the readings), but study of squeezes and enhanced photographs in Oxford supports most of his readings (cf. C. V. Crowther, forthcoming; meanwhile *CSAD, Newsletter* Spring 1996, 4-5): here undotted and dotted letters outside brackets represent P.J.R.'s readings, *v* in κ[α]ὶ *v*[ρ]ία (12), *s* in [β]α[σι]λεὺς, and *a* in τὰ[ς] (14) not read by Crowther; underlined and dotted letters inside brackets represent letters read undotted and dotted by Crowther but not by P.J.R. 12 restored Accame. 13 restored Crowther (suggesting as alternative [ατηρηται ἡ εἰρήνη]: [αμένηι εἰς ἀεὶ ἡ κοινὴ εἰρήνη] ἦν Accame.

14 restored Accame.

17 Εὐρώπῃ Wade-Gery *ap. Tod*, *addenda: ἡπείρωι* other edd.

*stoichedon* 31 (32 letters in l. 24); ii. 80–4 *stoichedon*; for the different hands see translation and commentary.

*IG* 11<sup>2</sup> 43; *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 147; Tod 123\*; Pouilloux, *Choix*, 27; *Sot.* 257; Cargill, *The Second Athenian League*, esp. 14–47. Trans. Harding 35. See also S. Accame, *La lega ateniese*; A. G. Woodhead, *AJA*<sup>2</sup> lxi 1957, 367–73; G. L. Cawkwell, *Hist.* xii 1963, 84–95; Cawkwell, *CQ*<sup>2</sup> xxiii 1973, 47–60; Cawkwell, *JHS* ci 1981, 40–55; F. W. Mitchel, *Chiron* xi 1981, 73–7; E. Badian, in Eder (ed.), *Die athenische Demokratie im 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, 79–106, esp. 86–93.

### Front

In the archonship of Nausinicus [378/7]; Callibius, son of Cephisophon, of Paecania, was secretary; in the seventh prytany, of Hippothontis; resolved by the council and the people; Charinus of Athmonum was chairman. Aristoteles proposed:

- 7 For the good fortune of the Athenians and the allies of the Athenians. So that the Spartans shall allow the Greeks to be free and autonomous, and to live at peace occupying their own territory in security, [and so that the peace and friendship sworn by the Greeks and the King may be in force and endure in accordance with the agreements,] be it decreed by the people:
- 15 If any of the Greeks or of the barbarians living in Europe or of the islanders, who are not the King's, wishes to be an ally of the Athenians and their allies, he may be — being free and autonomous, being governed under whatever form of government he wishes, neither receiving a garrison nor submitting to a governor nor paying tribute, on the same terms as the Chians and the Thebans and the other allies.

- 25 οἱ κα[ι] οἱ ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι. τοῖς δὲ ποιησ-  
 αμέν[οι]ς συμμαχίαν πρὸς Ἀθηναίους καὶ  
 τὸς συμ[μ]άχους ἀφείναι τὸν δῆμον τὰ ἐγκ-  
 τήματα ὅσος ἂν τυγχάνῃ ὄντα ἢ ἴδια ἢ [δ]-  
 ημόσια Ἀθ[η]ναίων ἐν τῇ χ[ώ]ρῃ τῶν ποιο-  
 30 μένων τὴν συμμαχίαν κ[αὶ] περὶ τούτων π[ι]-  
 ῖστιν δόναι Ἀ[θη]ναίους. ὅτωι δὲ τ[υ]γχάν[η]-  
 ι τῶν πόλεων [τῶν ποιομένων] τὴν συμμαχ-  
 íαν πρὸς Ἀθην[αίους σ]τῆλαι δοῦναι Ἀθήνησ-  
 ι ἀνεπιτήδευ[οι, τ]ῇμ βολὴν τὴν αἰετοβολε-  
 35 ὕσαν κυρίαν ε[ἶ]ναι καθαιρεῖν. ἀπὸ δὲ Ν-  
 αυσινίκο ἄρχον[τ]ος μὴ ἐξεῖναι μήτε ἰδ-  
 íαι μήτε δημοσ[ί]αι Ἀθηναίων μηθενὶ ἐγ-  
 κτήσασθαι ἐν τ[α]ῖς τῶν συμμάχων χώρα-  
 ι μήτε οἰκίαν μήτε χωρίον μήτε πριαμέ-  
 40 νωι μήτε ὑποθεμένωι μήτε ἄλλωι τρόπω-  
 ι μηθενί. ἐὰν δέ τις ὠνήται ἢ κτᾶται ἢ τι-  
 θῇται τρόπωι ὁτωῖον, ἐξεῖναι τῷ βολο-  
 μένωι τῶν συμμάχων φῆναι πρὸς τὸς συν-  
 ἑδρος τῶν συμμάχων· οἱ δὲ σύνεδροι ἀπο-  
 45 [δ]όμενοι ἀποδόντων [τὸ μὲν ἦ] μυσυ τῶ[ι] φήναντι, τὸ δὲ ἄ-  
 [λλοι κοί]νον [ἔσ]τω τῶν συμ[μ]άχων. ἐὰν δέ τι-  
 ς ἴ[η]ι ἐπὶ πολέμωι ἐπὶ τ[ὸ]ς ποιησαμένους  
 τὴν συμμαχίαν ἢ κατὰ γ[ῆ]ν ἢ κατὰ θάλαττα-  
 50 αν, βοηθεῖν Ἀθηναίους καὶ τὸς συμμάχους  
 τούτοις καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλαττα-  
 ν παντὶ σθένει κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν. ἐὰν δέ τι-  
 ς εἴπηι ἢ ἐπιψηφίσῃ ἢ ἄρχων ἢ ἰδιώτη-  
 ς παρὰ τὸδε τὸ ψήφισμα ὥς λύειν τι δεῖ τι-  
 ῶν ἐν τῷδε τῷ ψηφίσματι εἰρημέν[ων, ὅ]-  
 55 παρχέτω μ[ὲν] αὐτῷ ἀτίμωι εἶναι καὶ [τὰ]  
 [χρ]ήμα[τα αὐ]τῷ δημόσια ἔστω καὶ τῆς θ[ε]οῦ  
 [τ]ὸ ἐπιδ[έ]κτον, καὶ κρινέσθω ἐν Ἀθην[αί]-  
 [ο]ις καὶ τ[ο]ῖς συμμάχοις ὥς διαλύων τὴν  
 συμμαχία[ν]. ζ[ημιόντων] δὲ αὐτὸν θανάτω-  
 60 ι ἢ φυγῇ δ[ι]περ[ε] Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ οἱ σύμμαχο-  
 ι κρατοῦσι[ν· ἐὰν] δὲ θάνατο τιμωθῇ, μὴ τα-  
 φήτω ἐν τῇ[ι Ἀττ]ικῇ [μ]ηδὲ ἐν τῇ τῶν συμ-  
 μάχων. τὸ δ[ι]ψήφισμα τὸδε ὁ γραμματεὺς  
 ὁ τῆς βολῆ[ς ἀναγρ]αφάτω ἐν στήλῃ λιθί-  
 65 νῃ καὶ καταθε[ῖ]τω παρὰ τὸν Δία τὸν Ἑλευ-

31 Ἀ[θη]ναίους. ὅτωι δὲ Wade-Gery *ap. Tod, addenda*, Ἀθ[η]ναίους. ἐὰν τιιν R. S. Stroud *ap. Cargill*, cf. [Ἀθη]ναίους. ἐὰν δὲ U. Koehler, *IG II<sup>1</sup> 17* (one letter too short): α[ὐ]τοῖς. ἐὰν δὲ τω[ι]. J. Kirchner, *IG II<sup>2</sup> 43*. 45 The underlined letters were originally omitted in error and have been added above the line.

- 25 For those who make alliance with the Athenians and the allies, the people shall renounce whatever Athenian possessions there happen to be, whether private or public, in the territory of those who make the alliance, and concerning these things the Athenians shall give a pledge. For whichever of the cities which make the alliance with the Athenians there happen to be unfavourable *stelai* at Athens, the council currently in office shall have power to demolish them.
- 35 From the archonship of Nausinicus it shall not be permitted either privately or publicly to any of the Athenians to acquire either a house or land in the territory of the allies, either by purchase or by taking security or in any other way. If any one does buy or acquire or take as security in any way whatever, it shall be permitted to whoever wishes of the allies to expose it to the *synedroi* of the allies; the *synedroi* shall sell it and give one half to the man who exposed, while the other shall be the common property of the allies.
- 46 If any one goes for war against those who have made the alliance, either by land or by sea, the Athenians and the allies shall go to support these both by land and by sea with all their strength as far as possible.
- 51 If any one proposes or puts to the vote, whether official or private citizen, contrary to this decree that any of the things stated in this decree ought to be undone, the result shall be that he shall be deprived of his rights, and his property shall become public and a tenth belong to the Goddess, and he shall be judged by the Athenians and the allies for breaking up the alliance. He shall be punished with death or with exile from wherever the Athenians and the allies control; and, if he is assessed for death, he shall not be buried in Attica or in the territory of the allies.
- 63 This decree shall be written up by the secretary of the council on a stone *stèle* and set down beside Zeus Eleutherios; the money for the

θέριον· τὸ δὲ ἀρ[γύ]ριον δόναι εἰς τὴν ἀν-  
 αγραφήν τῆς στ[ήλη]ς ἐξήκοντα δραχμὰς  
 ἐκ τῶν δέκα ταλ[άν]των τὸς ταμίας τῆς θε-  
 ᾠ. εἰς δὲ τὴν στήλην ταύτην ἀναγρά-  
 70 φειν τῶν τε οὐσ[ώ]ν πόλεων συμμαχίδων τ-  
 ᾶ δνόματα καὶ ἧτις ἂν ἄλλη σύμμαχος γί-  
 (γ)νηται. ταῦτα μὲν ἀναγράψαι, ἐλέσθαι δ-  
 ἐ τὸν δῆμον πρέσβεις τρεῖς αὐτίκα μάλ-  
 [α] εἰς Θήβας, [ο]ῖτινες πείσοσι Θηβαίους ὁ  
 75 [τ]ι ἂν δύνω[ν]ται ἀγαθόν. οἶδε ηἰρέθησαν·  
 [Ἀ]ριστοτέλης Μαραθώνιος, ὁ Πύρρανδρο-  
 ς Ἀναφλύσ[τ]ιος, Θρασύβολος Κολλυτεύς.  
 Ἀθηναίων πόλεις αἶδε σύμμαχοι·  
 Χίοι Τενέδιοι Θηβαῖοι  
 80 Μυτιλη[ν]αῖοι Χαλκιδῆς  
 [Μ]ηθυ[μν]αῖοι Ἐρετριῆς  
 Ῥόδιοι Ποιήσσιοι Ἀρεθόσιοι  
 Βυζάντιοι Καρύστιοι  
 Περὶνθιοι Ἴκιοι  
 85 Πεπαρήθιοι Παλλ[—]  
 Σκιάθιοι [—]  
 Μαρωνῖται [—]  
 Διῆς [—]  
 Πάρ[ι]οι Ο[—] [—]  
 90 Ἀθηνῖται Π[—] [—]  
 Ἀριστοτέλης εἶπε· [— ἐπει]-  
 δὰν πρῶτο[ν —————]  
 ἐκόντες π[ρο]σχωρῶσι [— ἐψη]-  
 φισμένα τῶι δῆμῳ καὶ τ[—]  
 95 νήσων εἰς τὴν συμμ[αχίαν —————]  
 τοῖς τῶν ἐψηφισμένων —————  
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*Left-hand side*

*beginning level with l. 7, more widely spaced vertically than the text on the front, ending level with l. 62:*

[Πυρ]ραίων  
 [ὁ δ]ῆμος  
 [Ἀβδη]ρίται  
 100 [Θάσι]οι  
 [Χαλκι]δῆς

ii. 85 We follow Cargill in dotting the second λ.

97 [Πυρ]ραίων G. Scuccimarra, *RSA* xvii–xviii 1987–8, 39–53; [Θη]ραίων J. E. Coleman & D. W. Bradeen, *Hesp.* xxxvi 1967, 102–4; [Κερκν]ραίων earlier edd., but the space is insufficient: see commentary.

writing-up of the *stele* shall be sixty drachmas, given from the ten talents by the treasurers of the Goddess. On this *stele* shall be inscribed the names of the cities which are allies and any other which becomes an ally. This is to be inscribed.

- 72 The people shall choose immediately three envoys to Thebes, who are to persuade the Thebans of whatever good thing they can. The following were chosen: Aristoteles of Marathon, Pyrrhandrus of Anaphlystus, Thrasymbulus of Collytus.

*For the list of allies see below. Underneath the names of allies inscribed on the front is the beginning of another decree:*

- 91 Aristoteles proposed: — — — since first — — — they come forward willingly — — — decreed by the people and — — — of the islands into the alliance — — — to those of the things decreed — — —

*We give the names of the members in the order in which they seem to have been inscribed.*

*In the same hand as the decree:*

- 79–83 Chios; Mytilene; Methymna; Rhodes; Byzantium.

*In the same hand again, heading a second column:*

- 79 Thebes.

*In a second hand, below Thebes in the second column:*

- 80–4 Chalcis; Eretria; Arethusa; Carystus; Icus.

*Perhaps all in a third hand, below Byzantium in the first column:*

- 85–9 Perinthus; Peparethus; Sciathus; Maronea; Dium.

*Other names on the front:*

- 79 Tenedos (*inserted beside Chios*);

- 82 Poessa (*inserted beside Rhodes*);

- i. 89–90 Paros; O—; Athenae (Diades); P—;

- ii. 85–90 Pall(?)—; —; —; —; —; —.

*On the left-hand side, beginning level with the list on the front:*

- 131–4 The People of Zacynthus in Nellus.

*On the left-hand side, beginning level with the normal-size text of the main decree:*

- 97–130 The People of Pyrrha; Abdera; Thasos; the Chalcidians from Thrace; Aenus;

ἀπὸ [Θράικης]  
 Ἀῖνιοι  
 Σαμοθράικ[ες]  
 105 Δικαιοπολίται  
 Ἀκαρνᾶνες  
 Κεφαλληνῶν  
 Πρώνιοι  
 Ἀλκέτας  
 110 Νεοπτόλεμος  
 || [ <sup>c6</sup> ] ||  
 Ἄνδριοι  
 [Τ]ήνιοι  
 [Εσ]τιαῖς  
 115 Μυ[κ]όνιοι  
 Ἀντισσαῖοι  
 Ἑρέσιοι  
 Ἀστραιούσιοι  
 Κεῖων  
 120 Ίουλιῆται  
 Καρθαῖες  
 Κορήσιοι  
 Ἐλαιόσιοι  
 Ἀμόργιοι  
 125 Σηλυμβριανο[ί]  
 Σίφνιοι  
 Σικινῆται  
 Διῆς  
 ἀπὸ Θράικης  
 130 Νεοπολίται  
*beginning level with l. 79:*  
 Ζακυν[θ]ίων  
 ὁ δῆμος  
 ὁ ἐν τῷ Νήλλ-  
 ωι

111 || [Ἰάσω]ν|| edd., but if the vertical at the r.h. end of the erasure is part of a letter the name ought to be longer (Woodhead); see commentary. 125 Cargill claims that there was no room on the stone for the final ι.

130 λι: τα carved originally and λι superimposed (Cargill).

According to D.S. xv. 28 (misplaced under the year 377/6), after the liberation of Thebes from Sparta (which in fact occurred in winter 379/8) the Athenians sent envoys to the cities subject to Sparta, urging them 'to hold on to the common freedom'; this secured a response first from Chios and Byzantium, then from Rhodes, Mytilene, and some others of the islanders, and as the movement grew many cities joined. The Athenians set up a *synedrion* of the allies, to meet in Athens with each

Samothrace; Dicaeopolis; Acarnania; of  
 Cephallenia: Pronni; Alcetas; Neoptole-  
 mus; ~~[[erasure]]~~; Andros; Tenos; Hestiaea;  
 Myconus; Antissa; Eresus; Astraeus; of  
 Ceos: Iulis, Carthaea, Coresia; Elaeus;  
 Amorgus; Selymbria; Siphnus; Sicinus;  
 Dium from Thrace; Neapolis.

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member state having one vote, and all members were to be autonomous, with the Athenians as *hegemones*. The Thebans were in alliance with Athens and the members of the *synedrion*. After devoting 29. i–iv to Persia's war against Egypt, Diodorus continues with the raid of the Spartan Sphodrias (whom he calls Sphodriades) on the Piraeus while Spartan envoys were present in Athens, and his acquittal despite protests from Athens. Then he mentions the admission of the Thebans to the *synedrion* and a decision



by the Athenians to give up all cleruchies and to forbid Athenians to farm land outside Attica (29. v–viii). Xenophon mentions the various stages in Thebes' liberation from Sparta, including the raid of Sphodrias, but does not mention the foundation of the Second Athenian League (the nearest he comes to it is *H.* v. iv. 34, after the raid of Sphodrias). We have, however, a rich collection of inscriptions to illustrate the foundation and early history of the League: see also 23, 24, and the other texts cited in the commentaries on them.

The major decree here, enacted in spring 377, is a prospectus, inviting states outside the area reserved in the Peace of Antalcidas for Persia to join an already existing League. It spells out the objective of the League: a defensive alliance, within the framework of the Peace of Antalcidas, to resist encroachments on the freedom of the Greeks by Sparta. (Sparta cannot at this date have presented a serious threat to island states, as most of the members listed were; but perhaps perception lagged behind reality, and what seems clear to us now may not have seemed so clear before Sparta's weakness was revealed at Leuctra in 371.) It spells out what is to be understood by freedom and autonomy, in effect promising that Athens will not do to the members of this League various things which it had done in the fifth century to the members of the Delian League. It threatens with penalties any one who attempts to change the basis of the League. It does not, however, provide a constitution of the League (probably an earlier document, not now extant, did that): nothing is said about Athens' powers as *hegemon*; and nothing is said about the working of the *synedrion*, though there is an incidental mention of it in ll. 43–4. It provides for, and the *stele* includes, a list of members, to which names were added on various occasions during the early years of the League; it provides for further negotiations with Thebes; and below the names inscribed on the front of the *stele* is the fragmentary beginning of another decree.

Diodorus' absolute dating is certainly wrong; but many scholars have believed in his relative dating, with the original foundation of the League before Sphodrias' raid but the full incorporation in it of Thebes and the renunciation of Athenian property overseas after (e.g. Cawkwell 1973; Cargill, 57–60; contr., e.g., Accame, 26–31; D. G. Rice, *JCS*xxiv 1975, 95–130; Badian, 89–90 n. 34). Diodorus may well be right to distinguish two stages: Chios alone is the model for Byzantium (Tod 121 ~ Harding 34), but Chios and Thebes are models here; Thebes, though inscribed by the first hand, heads a second column in the list of members, and further negotiations with it are planned in ll. 72–7; and it is from the year 378/7 that Athens renounces overseas possessions. However, Athens was very careful to comply with the Peace of Antalcidas, and would not be likely to found an anti-Spartan League before the raid of Sphodrias had put Sparta clearly in breach of the Peace; and it is striking that by spring 377 the League still had only six members. We think Diodorus was wrong in placing the foundation of the League before the raid.

4–6: In the prescript of the main decree the deme of the chairman is given, and it is not a deme which belongs to the tribe in prytany. In this and some other decrees until c.340 the old formula, 'X was chairman', is still used, rather than the new formula, 'X of the *proedroi* was putting to the vote' (for which see, e.g., 33: cf. Henry, *Prescripts*, 27–8 n. 32), but the presiding body in the assembly must nevertheless be the *proedroi*,

one councillor from each tribe except the tribe in prytany (cf. *Ath. Pol.* 44. ii–iii), and not the *prytaneis*. The earliest attestation of the *proedroi* is now *CSCA* v 1972, 164–9 no. 2 (*SEG* xxxii 50), of 379/8: for discussion of the date and purpose of the change see Rhodes, *Boule*, 25–8 with (1985 reissue) 306. This is one of several decrees from the first half of the fourth century which combine the enactment formula ‘Resolved by the council and the people’ with the motion formula ‘Be it resolved/decreed by the people’ (l. 15, below). This was the time when the Athenians were beginning to distinguish between decrees which did and decrees which did not ratify a recommendation of the council (cf. Introduction, pp. xvii–xviii, xix–xx); in the second half of the fifth century the enactment formula mentioning the council had been standard for all decrees. Probably the motion formula is the more reliable and this and other such decrees are non-probouleumatic (cf. Rhodes, *Boule*, 75–8). On this occasion, then, the council will either have made no recommendation or have made a recommendation which was supplanted by this decree.

7: Aristoteles, the proposer of the main decree, reappears below as one of the envoys to Thebes and as the proposer of the second decree. He is mentioned by Diog. Laert. v. 35 as a writer of law-court speeches; and he may be the father of Aristonicus, proposer of a law and joint proposer with Lycurgus of a decree in the 330s (*Agora* xvi 75, *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 1623, 276–83, with A. M. Woodward *ap.* D. M. Lewis, *Hesp.* xxviii 1959, 241 = *Selected Papers*, 255).

9–12: The Peace of Antalcidas was based on the principle of autonomy for all cities: here it is made clear that Sparta is now seen as a threat to the autonomy of the Greeks. 12–15: A passage has been deleted: Accame claimed to see traces, and recent investigation supports him, allowing the reconstruction of a favourable reference to the Peace of Antalcidas (this peace and its renewals are often referred to as the ‘common peace’ because they embodied terms which were common to all the Greeks: the expression is first used in And. iii. *Peace* 17). The deletion presents an insoluble problem: the Athenians are not likely to have deleted such a passage until 367, when the Thebans won Persian support for terms unfavourable to Athens (X. H. vii. i. 33–40: this is championed as the occasion for the deletion by Ryder, *Koine Eirene*, 81 n. 9, cf. Cargill, 31–2; 31 and 33 show Athens still supporting the Peace of Antalcidas in 369/8)—but since from 369 Athens had been an ally of Sparta (X. H. vii. i. 1–14) we should have expected ll. 9–12 to be deleted also. Presumably the deletion reflects a sudden feeling of anger against the Persians.

15–46: Athens promises not to indulge in various practices in which it had indulged in the Delian League. It is useful to review those practices and the extent to which Athens kept her promises. Imposition of a constitution: Chares was to discredit Athens by intervening in Corcyra (D.S. xv. 95. iii: 361/o), and see 39. Garrisons and governors: see commentary on 24. Tribute: there was no collection of ‘tribute’ (*phoros*) from this League, but by 373 at the latest ‘contributions’ (*syntaxeis*: cf. Thp. *FGH* 115 F 98 ~ Harding 36) were being collected; in 72 it is the *synedrion*, the council of the allies, which assesses *syntaxeis*. This clear promise suggests that at first it was perhaps thought that each member would pay for its own forces and no common funds would be needed, and/or that *ad hoc* arrangements would suffice (e.g. Cawkwell 1963, 91–3;

1981, 48 n. 31; contr., e.g., Mitchel; Badian, 91–2 n. 37). At the same time the Athenians revised their own arrangements for collecting the property tax called *eisphora* (Philoch. *FGrH* 328 F 41). Athenian-owned property: Diodorus' renunciation of all cleruchies is wrong; Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros did not join the League and were not affected; it is not clear how much Athenian-owned property in members' territory there was to be given up. The promise for the future likewise applies to states which join the League, and as far as we know it was not broken in the case of states included in the list of members, but from the 360s Athens did establish some cleruchies elsewhere (e.g. Samos, taken from the Persians in 365: D.S. xviii. 18. ix; Potidaea, taken from the Chalcidians c.364/3: Tod 146 ~ Harding 58). Demolition of *stelai*: the published text of a decree, though not the original text and not necessarily a complete and *verbatim* copy of it, was in some sense the official text, so to annul a published decree the Greeks would demolish the *stèle* on which it was inscribed (see 2, Rhodes with Lewis, 3 with n. 4, and cf. the importance of inscribing lists of citizens in 4, 14). Badian, 91, sees a threat, that Athenian property will be given up and that *stelai* will be demolished, for states which join but not for states which do not; but again it is unlikely that at this date there were many *stelai* which potential members might want to have demolished. 'Expose' in ll. 43, 45, is a technical term (*phainein*, with the cognate noun *phasis*: see on 14, and cf. 25, 40): since the provision about property is one which could be committed only by Athenians against the allies, charges are to be tried by the allies' *synedrion*, and in this way if not yet in any other it is envisaged that the allies as a body can acquire funds. The prospect of gaining half of the property concerned (which was normal in such cases: cf. 25) would be a strong incentive to citizens of allied states to 'expose' breaches of the rule (cf. 40).

46–51: It is made clear, belatedly, that the alliance is to be a standard defensive alliance (whereas the Delian League had been a full offensive and defensive alliance: *Ath. Pol.* 23. v).

51–63: Proposals to depart from the prospectus could presumably be made by an Athenian in the council or assembly or by a *synedros* in the *synedrion*, or perhaps by a citizen of an allied state in his own state. In theory a meeting of an assembly could reverse decisions taken at previous meetings: on 'entrenchment clauses', intended to protect decisions against reversal, see D. M. Lewis, *Φόρος* ... B. D. Meritt, 81–9 = *Selected Papers*, 136–49; Rhodes with Lewis, 16–17, 524–5. Here charges are to be tried 'by the Athenians and the allies': though some have envisaged a joint court (e.g. Tod), more probably the *synedrion* and an Athenian body would try the case separately (Larsen, *Representative Government*, 63–4): Lewis compared *eisangeliai* in Athens for major offences, on which the assembly might have the last word, and suggested that the *synedrion* might act as an extra chamber of the Athenian state for this purpose as it did for decision-making purposes (*Φόρος* ... B. D. Meritt, 88–9 with n. 39 = *Selected Papers*, 147–8 with n. 39; and see 33, 41). For a possible instance, in the 340s, see 69. In the Delian League, Athens on its own had claimed the right to exile from the territory of Athens and the allies (M&L 40 ~ Fornara 71. 31).

63–72: The statue (and the Stoa, but the reference in this form is more probably to the statue; for treating the statue as the god see R. L. Gordon, *Art History* ii 1979,

5–34) of Zeus Eleutherios—the god of freedom, appropriate to the declared aim of the League (cf. 12)—were towards the north on the west side of the Agora (cf. Paus. i. 3. ii–iii and Camp, *The Athenian Agora*, 105–7). Until c.330 the normal payment for inscribing an Athenian decree was 20 or 30 drachmas: 60 drachmas here represent an exceptional payment for an exceptional *stele* (cf. Loomis, *Wages, Welfare Costs and Inflation*, 122–66 ch. viii).<sup>1</sup> This is one of a number of decrees of about this date which stipulate that the payment for inscription is to come from a fund of ten talents (see on 21); the treasurers of ‘the Goddess’ are those of Athena, separated once more from those of the Other Gods in 385 (Ferguson, *Treasurers of Athena*, 14).

72–7: There have been various suggestions as to the purpose of the further embassy to Thebes: perhaps to persuade the Thebans to accept membership of the League as ‘Thebans’ rather than ‘Boeotians’ (Accame, 69; Cawkwell 1973, 48–9). ‘Persuade . . . of whatever good thing they can’ is standard language, and we need not suspect deliberate vagueness. Of the envoys, Aristoteles is the proposer of the decree (cf. above); Pyrrhandrus is an envoy to Byzantium in Tod 121 ~ Harding 34, and the proposer of Tod 124 ~ Harding 38, both connected with the League; Thrasybulus of Collytus was a leading figure from 406 (Plut. *Alc.* 36. i–ii) to 373/2 (when he was general: *Hesp.* viii 1939, 3–5 no. 2). Aesch. iii. *Ctes.* 138–9 mentions the last two among men who were pro-Theban and served on embassies to Thebes.

91–6: Nothing significant can be reconstructed of the second decree. It was presumably enacted and inscribed after names of members had been inscribed on the front of the *stele* but before they were inscribed on the side.

List of members: The decree prescribes that the list is to be added to as members join (69–72), and for a time that was done. The first group of names was inscribed by the same hand as the decree, and therefore contains states which were members by spring 377: it comprises the states mentioned in D.S. xv. 28. iii, and Methymna, for which see 23.

The second hand added a group of Euboean cities and nearby Icus, which must have joined by the end of 378/7 (see Tod 124 ~ Harding 38, cited in the commentary on 23). Arethusa, inscribed in ii. 82 between Eretria and Carystus, we should expect to be in Euboea, and there was a well-known spring of that name near Chalcis (e.g. Eur. *I.A.* 170, Str. 449. x. i. 13). Only Steph. Byz. *s.n.* refers to a city of that name; and Accame, 72–3, is among those who have thought the city referred to must be the one north of Chalcidice, perhaps a colony of Chalcis (Str. 331. viii. fr. 36: in favour of that see also D. Knoepfler, *BCH* xcvi 1971, 223–44 at 239 with n. 43; P. Flensted-Jensen & M. H. Hansen in Hansen & Raaflaub [edd.], *More Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis*, 158). But geographically that seems unlikely, and we think it more likely that at this date a Euboean city of Arethusa was deemed to be independent of Chalcis. There exists also a small fragment of an Athenian decree concerning Arethusa (*Agora* xvi 43). Other Euboean cities appear in i. 88, i. 90 and 114. For Hestiaea’s delay in joining cf. D.S. xv. 30. i: according to the literary sources its name had been changed to Oreus, but it

<sup>1</sup> An unpublished dissertation by B. T. Nolan, ‘Inscribing Costs at Athens in the Fourth Century B.C.’ is summarized at *SEG* xlv 257.

continued to call itself Hestiaea on inscriptions and coins; by the 350s it had absorbed Dium and Athenae Diades (only four Euboean cities are mentioned in 48, and in [Scyl.] 58).

Those inscribed by the third hand (but for doubts about the unity of this group see Cargill, 34, 38–9) were won by Chabrias in 377 (D.S. xv. 30. v, mentioning Peparethus and Sciathus). The other names on the front of the *stèle*, though not a block inscribed by one hand on one occasion, could all have been added in the course of 376 (for Chabrias' campaign that year, which included the defeat of a Spartan fleet off Naxos, see X. H. v. iv. 60–1, D.S. xv. 34. iii–35. ii). Of the cities of Ceos, Poeessa appears as an insertion in l. 82, the others appear as a block in 119–22. It is noteworthy that these cities are listed separately, while some of the Ceans would have preferred Ceos to be treated as a single entity: see on 39.

On the left-hand side of the *stèle*, ll. 131–4 are placed level with the first names on the front, so that they are a long way below and are best considered to be earlier than the other names on the side (Woodhead, 371 n. 15; but the view that they are the latest entry has been reasserted by C. M. Fauber, *Ath.*<sup>2</sup> lxxxvii 1999, 481–506 at 494–6). This entry must be connected in some way with Timotheus' campaign of 375: these democratic exiles are likely to be the men who fought for him at Alyzeia, and whom he enabled to occupy a fort on the island after the Peace of Antalcidas had been renewed; but it is possible that the *Nellus* of our inscription was not that fort (which Diodorus calls Arcadia), but was on the mainland and was occupied by the exiles before Timotheus' campaign, and that this entry belongs to the beginning rather than the end of 375 (X. H. v. iv. 63–6, vi. ii. 2–3; D.S. xv. 36. v–vi, 45. ii–iv [apparently regarding the exiles as oligarchs]: Cawkwell 1963, 88; Mitchell).

The remaining names begin with another democratic faction (ll. 97–8). This used to be restored as belonging to Corcyra, with reference to Tod 127 ~ Harding 42 (cited in the commentary on 24); but Coleman & Bradeen showed that there is not room for more than three letters at the beginning of the name. They restored Thera, and it is credible that Thera should have become democratic and should have joined the League not long after the battle of Naxos, but there is no positive evidence; Scuccimarra suggests Pyrrha, on Lesbos, which is known to have been a member of the League (cf. 31. 29) but is not listed either with Mytilene and Methymna on the front or with Antissa and Eresus on the side, and that is a better conjecture (but see below on Astraeus, l. 118).

In ll. 101–2 we should expect 'the Chalcidians from Thrace' to be the state centred on Olynthus. That was defeated and presumably dismantled by Sparta in 379 (X. H. v. iii. 26, D.S. xv. 23. iii, stating that Olynthus was made a subordinate ally of Sparta but not stating what became of the federation); but it is clear from the coinage that a state called 'the Chalcidians', though much reduced, did continue to exist in and after 379 (Robinson & Clement, *Excavations at Olynthus*, ix, 141, 157–8; U. Westermark, *Studies in Ancient History and Numismatics Presented to R. Thomsen*, 91–103, suggests a revision of their chronology but does not challenge their view of the continuing existence of 'the Chalcidians' after 379), and (unlike Tod) we should accept that it is that state, defecting from Sparta, which is referred to here. An inscription recording Athens' alliance with

'the western Chalcidians from Thrace' (Tod 119) perhaps belongs to this occasion (see Accame, 87–9; Zahrnt, *Olynth und die Chalkidier*, 95–100, 124–7).

In l. 111 is a deletion: Jason, the tyrant of Pherae in Thessaly, has often been restored below his ally (X. H. vi. i. 7) Alcetas, and Alcetas' son Neoptolemus, of the Molossi in Epirus; but Woodhead has confirmed earlier protests that the erasure is too long for the traditional interpretation to be plausible (see critical note). In 374 Jason is represented as claiming that Athens would like him as an ally but he sees Athens as a rival (X. H. vi. i. 10); but in winter 373/2 Alcetas and Jason went to Athens to speak for Timotheus at his trial, and a speech describes both as allies of Athens ([Dem.] XLIX. *Tim.* 10, 22). It would be epigraphically possible to restore Jason in the deletion if the vertical at the end were regarded as the edge of the deletion rather than as part of a letter; but we do not claim to know what was in this deletion.

Astraeus (l. 118) is not otherwise known: P. Brun, *ZPE* cxxi 1998, 103–8, rejects the restoration of Pyrrha in l. 98 and suggests that Astraeus was an alternative name for Pyrrha, which would appropriately be inscribed with Antissa and Eresus from Lesbos (ll. 116–17).

Some of the names on the left-hand side certainly belong to 375: for Abdera cf. D.S. xv. 36. i–iv; for Acarnania and Cephallenia cf. 24. Some, including Tod, have associated the later names with Timotheus' campaign of 373 (X. H. vi. ii. 10–13, D.S. xv. 47. ii–iii), but it is more likely that all these names belong to 375 (Cawkwell 1963, 91 n. 61; 1981, 42–5). After this set of names was completed, although there was room for further additions, no more were made. Sealey suggested that there were later accessions to the League, but the promises made in the prospectus were not extended to them (*Phoen.* xi 1957, 107–9); Cargill goes beyond that to argue that, although various forms of alliance were made thereafter, there were no later additions to the membership of the League. But to reach his conclusion he forces the evidence (cf. on 24): it is better to believe that the membership of the League was not closed, and the application of the promises was not formally limited, yet for some reason the practice of adding names to the list on this *stele* ceased (Cawkwell 1981, 45–6). About 58 members were listed on this *stele* (we do not know the reason for the deletion in l. 111; Alcetas and Neoptolemus should perhaps be counted as one 'member'); but D.S. xv. 30. ii mentions 70 members, and Aesch. ii. *Embassy* 70 mentions 75.

As a result of their campaigns during the early years of the League Chabrias and Timotheus were both honoured with statues in the Agora (as had been Timotheus' father Conon: cf. on 8). For Chabrias see Aesch. iii. *Ctes.* 243, Arist. *Rhet.* iii. 1411 B 6–7, Nep. xii. *Chab.* i. iii, D.S. xv. 33. iv, cf. Dem. xx. *Lept.* 75–86: the inscribed statue base (A. P. Burnett & C. N. Edmondson, *Hesp.* xxx 1961, 74–91) records honours awarded by various bodies resulting from his campaigns of 376 and 375, including the *demos* of Mytilene and 'soldiers' (another Athenian garrison?) at Mytilene. For Timotheus, whose honours followed his victory at Alyzeia, see Aesch. iii. *Ctes.* 243, Nep. xiii. *Tim.* 2. iii, cf. Dem. xx. *Lept.* 84–5, and Tod 128; he and Conon were honoured in other places too, and C. Vatn has read texts referring to him and the year 375/4 on the base of the 'dancing girls' column north-east of the temple of Apollo at Delphi (*CRAI* 1983, 26–40, cf. *SEG* xxxiii 440).

## Methymna joins the Second Athenian League, 378/7

A *stèle* broken at the top: found on the Athenian Acropolis; now in the Epigraphical Museum.

Attic-Ionic, retaining the old  $\epsilon$  for  $\epsilon\iota$  in l. 3,  $\omicron$  for  $\omicron\upsilon$  regularly; ll. 5 sqq. *stoichedon* 28 (29 letters in l. 22).

IG II<sup>2</sup> 42; SIG<sup>3</sup> 149; Tod 122\*; *Stt.* 258. Trans. Harding 37. See also V. Ehrenberg, *Hermes* lxiv 1929, 322–9; G. L. Cawkwell, *CQ* xxiii 1973, 50–1; Cargill, *The Second Athenian League*, esp. 102–3, 107 n. 24.

[ἔδοξεν τῇ βολῇ καὶ τῶι δῆμῳι. —]  
 [. . . ἰς ἐπρυτ]άνευεν· Ἐαλ[λ—<sup>7</sup>— Ἀλω]-  
 πεκῆθεν ἐγραμμάτευεν· Σίμων [—<sup>5</sup>—]-  
 ιος ἐπεστάτε. Ἀστύφιλος εἶπεν· περὶ  
 ὧν οἱ Μηθυμναῖοι λέγουσιν, ἐπειδ-  
 5 ἡ σύμ[μ]αχοὶ εἰσιν καὶ εὖνοι τῇ πόλῃ-  
 ι τῇ Ἀθηναίων Μηθυμναῖοι, ὅπως ἂν  
 καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους συμμάχος τοὺς Ἀθ-  
 ηναίων ᾗ αὐτοῖς ἡ συμμαχία, ἀναγρ-  
 ἀψαι αὐτὸς τὸν γραμματέα τῆς βολῆ-  
 10 ς, ὥσπερ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι ἀναγ-  
 εγραμμένοι εἰσίν. ὁμόσαι δὲ τὴν πρ-  
 εσβείαν τῶν Μηθυμναίων τὸν αὐτὸν  
 ὄρκον ὅμπερ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι  
 ὥμοσαν, τοῖς τε συνέδροις τῶν συμμ-  
 15 άων καὶ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς καὶ τοῖς  
 ἑπάρχοις· ὁμόσαι δὲ τοῖς Μηθυμνα-  
 ῖοις τὸς τε συνέδρους τῶν συμμάχω[ν]  
 καὶ τοὺς στρατηγὸς καὶ τοὺς ἑπάρχο-  
 ς κατὰ ταῦτά. ἐπιμεληθῆναι δὲ Αἰ[σι]-  
 20 μον καὶ τοὺς συνέδρους τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν [νϵ]-  
 ῶν ὅπως ἂν ὁμόσωσιν αἱ ἀρχαὶ αἱ Μ[ηθ]-  
 υμναίων καθάπερ οἱ ἄλλοι σύμμαχο[ι].  
 ἐπαινεῖσαι δὲ τῇ πόλιν τὴν Μηθυμν-  
 αίων καὶ καλέσαι τοὺς πρέσβεις τῶν  
 25 Μηθυμναίων ἐπὶ ξένια. *vacat*

5 the stone has σύμαχοι. 20–1 [νϵ]ῶν Sauppe, *Ausgewählte Schriften*, 807–9 (item first published 1890), p[ε]ῶν A. Wilhelm, *AM* xvii 1892, 191–3; no trace of the first letter can be seen on two squeezes in Oxford, but the restoration is greatly preferable to any other that has been suggested.

In addition to the prospectus of the Second Athenian League (22), we have a number of inscriptions concerned with the admission of individual member states to the League during the 370s: we include two of these in our collection, and cite the others in the commentaries.

Resolved by the council and the people.  
 — was the prytany; Call— of Alopece  
 was secretary; Simon of — was chair-  
 man. Astyphilus proposed:

- 3 Concerning what the Methymnaeans say,  
 since the Methymnaeans are allies and  
 well disposed to the city of Athens, so that  
 their alliance may be with the other allies  
 of Athens also, they shall be written up by  
 the secretary of the council, as the other  
 allies have been written up also.
- 11 The embassy of the Methymnaeans shall  
 swear the same oath as the other allies  
 have sworn, to the *synedroi* of the allies and  
 the generals and the hipparchs; and the  
*synedroi* of the allies and the generals and  
 the hipparchs shall swear to the Methym-  
 naeans in the same way.
- 19 Aesimus and the *synedroi* on the ships shall  
 take care that the officials of the Methym-  
 naeans swear like the other allies.
- 23 Praise the city of Methymna and invite the  
 envoys of the Methymnaeans to hospital-  
 ity.

“The first who obeyed the call to defect (from Sparta) were the Chians and Byzantines, and after them the Rhodians and Mytilenaeans and some others of the islanders’ (D.S. xv. 28. iii). For a general discussion of the chronology of the League’s institution, see the commentary on 22. An Athenian decree of 379/8, restored as honouring a



man called Euryphon in connection with ‘the Athenian envoys for the alliance’ ([τὸς πρέσβεις τῶν Ἀθηναίων] ν τοὺς τῇ συμ[μαχίαι]), was published by W. K. Pritchett in *CSCA* v 1972, 164–9 no. 2 (*SEG* xxxii 50): he saw this as evidence that the organization of the League was already under way in that year. However, his restorations are insecure; R. Kallet-Marx, *Class. Ant.* iv = *CSCA* xvi 1985, 138 n. 48, rightly comments that a reference to an alliance is likely, but it may be an ordinary bilateral alliance, and that inscription proves nothing for the chronology of the League.

For Byzantium we have Tod 121 ~ Harding 34. The beginning of the stone, with the prescript which would give us the date, is lost; prior to the decree the Byzantines appear to have been well disposed to the Athenians but not allies; by this decree ‘the Byzantines shall be allies of the Athenians and of the other allies; the alliance shall be for them as for the Chians’ (ἐναὶ Βυζα[ντίος Ἀθηναίων] | συμμάχος κ[αὶ τῶν ἄλλων συ]μμάχων· τῇν [δὲ συμμαχίαν ἐ]ναὶ αὐτ[οῖς καθάπερ Χίοις]: ll. 4–7); Byzantium is inscribed by the original hand in the list of 22.

The position of Methymna, on the island of Lesbos, is more complicated. It already has a bilateral alliance with Athens (ll. 4–5: probably, as in the case of Chios, made after the Peace of Antalcidas: it had been captured by Sparta in 406 (X. *H.* i. vi. 13, D.S. xiii. 76. v), and was still allied to Sparta c.390 (X. *H.* iv. viii. 29)). According to this decree, it is to be added to a list of members which already exists; it is to swear the same oath as the other members have done, and it is to swear to and receive the oath from the members of an already existing *synedriōn*. But in the list of 22 Methymna is inscribed by the original hand, below Chios and Mytilene but above Rhodes and Byzantium. Ehrenberg inferred that Methymna joined the League between the enactment and the publication of 22; Cawkwell, that the list referred to in this decree is not the list of 22 but a preliminary list: the fact that the earliest members have already appointed their *synedroi* inclines us to Ehrenberg’s explanation. The hipparchs, who are among those who swear on behalf of Athens, were two in number and were the

## 24

### Corcyra, Acarnania, and Cephallenia join the Second Athenian League, 375/4

Four fragments of a *stèle*, found on the Athenian Acropolis; now in the Epigraphical Museum. Phot. Kirchner, *Imagines*<sup>2</sup>, Taf. 24 Nr. 51 (ll. 16–27).

Attic-Ionic, sometimes but not always retaining the old ε for εἰ and ο for οὐ; l. 1 in larger letters; ll. 2 sqq. *stichedon* 40.

*IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 96; *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 150; Tod 126\*; *Stt.* 262. Trans. Harding 41. See also Cargill, *The Second Athenian League*, esp. 71–4, 109–11; C. Tuplin, *Ath.*<sup>2</sup> lxii 1984, 537–68.

overall commanders of the cavalry (*Ath. Pol.* 61. iv). For Aesimus cf. **20**; presumably he and the founder *synedroi* are visiting actual and potential recruits to the League.

Thebes is another member inscribed in the list of **22** by the original hand, at the head of a second column; when the main decree of that inscription was enacted, negotiation with Thebes was not yet complete (ll. 72–7). A very fragmentary inscription contains an amendment to a decree concerning Thebes (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 40: cautious text and discussion Cargill, 52–6; trans. of a speculative reconstruction, Harding 33); that is likely to belong to some stage in the negotiations between Athens and Thebes in 378/7.

Tod 124 ~ Harding 38 belongs to the same year (378/7) as, but is later than, **22**. It accepts the offer of Chalcis in Euboea to join the League; and it gives a specification of the terms of membership based on the specification of **22**, but it qualifies, as **22** does not, the list of impositions to which Chalcis will not be subjected with the words ‘contrary to the resolutions of the allies’ (*παρὰ τὰ δόγματα τὰ τῶν συμμάχων*): ll. 25–6) —which could mean either ‘because these would be contrary . . .’ or ‘except when authorized by . . .’, or could originally have been intended to mean the first but later have been exploited to mean the second. The addition of the cities of Euboea to the League is mentioned by D.S. xv. 30. i, and Chalcis and three of the other cities are added below Thebes by a second hand in the second column of the list of **22**.

In all of these documents the decision to admit a member to the League is made simply by Athens: in the case of Methymna the allies are involved in the oath-taking, and if *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 40 is concerned simply with Thebes a Chian and a Mytilenaeon were involved with Thebes; but there is no sign of allied involvement in the case of Byzantium, or in the case of Chalcis, where the heading before the alliance proper reads, ‘Alliance of the Chalcidians in Euboea and Athenians’ (*συμμαχία Χαλκιδέων τῶν ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ καὶ Ἀθηναίων*: ll. 20–1). Even when they were trying to be conciliatory, the Athenians did not think such language would be offensive.

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- Φιλοκλῆς Ω[—————ἐγγραμμάτευεν.]  
 [ἐ]πὶ Ἱπποδάμαν[τος ἄρχοντος· ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀντιοχίδος δ]-  
 [ευ]τέρας πρυταν[είας· ἥι Φύλακος —————<sup>8</sup> Οἰναίο]-  
 [ς ἐ]γγραμμάτευε. ἔδοξ[εν τῇ βολῇ καὶ τῶι δήμῳ]ι. Κρ[ιτ]-  
 5 [ι]ος εἶπε· περὶ ὧν λέγ[ουσιν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ]ι οἱ πρέσβ[ε]-  
 [ς] τῶν Κερκυραίων καὶ τ[ῶν Ἀκαρνάνων κα]ὶ τῶν Κεφα[λ]-  
 λήνων, ἐπαινεῖσαι μὲν τ[οὺς πρέσβες Κερκ]υραίων κα-  
 ἰ Ἀκαρνάνων καὶ Κεφαλ[λήνων ὅτι εἰσὶ ἄ]νδρες ἀγαθ-  
 οὶ περὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν [Ἀθηναίων καὶ τὸς] συμμάχους [κ]-  
 10 αὶ νῦν καὶ ἐν τῶι πρόσθ[εν χρόνῳ· ὅπως δ'] ἂν πραχθῇ[ι]  
 ὧν δέονται, προσαγαγε[ῖν αὐτὸς ἐς τὸν δ]ῆμον, γν[ώ]μ[η]-  
 ν δὲ ξυμβάλλεσθαι τῆς β[ουλῆς ὅτι δοκεῖ] τῇ βουλῇ-  
 ι· ἀναγράψαι τῶν πόλεων τ[ῶν ἡκουσῶν τὰ ὀ]νόματα [ἐ]ς  
 τὴν στήλην τὴν κοινὴν τῶ[ν συμμάχων τὸν γραμμα]τ[ε]-  
 15 α τῆς βουλῆς. καὶ ἀποδοῖν[αι τὸς ὄρκους τα]ῖς πόλε[σι]  
 ταῖς ἡκόσαις τὴν βουλὴν [καὶ τὸς στρατηγὸς καὶ το]-  
 υς ἱππέας· καὶ τὸς συμμά[χους ὁμόσαι ὡσαύτως τὸν ὄρ]-  
 κον. πραχθέντων δὲ τούτ[ων τὸ λοιπὸ κύριον εἶναι ὅ]  
 τι ἂν δόξει τῶι κοινῶι· [ἐλέσθαι δὲ ἄνδρας τρεῖς/πέντε ἀπ]-  
 20 οληψομένους τὸς ὄρκους [παρὰ τῶν πόλεων, τὸς καὶ ἀνα]-  
 γραφῆ[σομέν]ος εἰς τὴν στή[λην τὴν κοινὴν οὗ οἱ σύμ]-  
 μαχοι ἐ[γγ]εγραμ[μ]ένοι εἰσὶν. π[έ]μψαι δὲ καὶ συνέδρο-  
 ς τῶν πό[λ]εων ἐκάστην ἐς τὸ συν[έδριον τῶν συμμάχων]-  
 [ν] κατὰ τὰ δόγματα τῶς συμμάχων[ν καὶ τὸ δῆμό το Ἄθην]-  
 25 [α]ίων. περὶ δὲ τῶν Ἀκαρνάνων σκ[εῖσθαι κοινῇ μετ]-  
 [ὰ Ἀ]ἰσχύλο κ[α]ὶ Εὐάρχο καὶ Εὐρύν[———— καὶ ———]  
 [ . . ]ος καὶ Γ[————<sup>7</sup> κα]ὶ Πυσιάδ[ο —————]

18–20 τούτ[ων τὸ λοιπὸ κύριον εἶναι ὅ] | τι ἂν δόξει τῶι κοινῶι· [ἐλέσθαι δὲ τὸν δῆμον τὸς ἀπ]||οληψομένους H. G. Lolling, reported by Tod, [ἐλέσθαι δὲ ἄνδρας τρεῖς / πέντε ἀπ]||οληψομένους P.J.R.: τούτ[ων ἐλέσθαι τὸν δῆμον καθ' ὅ] | τι ἂν δόξει τῶι κοινῶι [τῶν συμμάχων ἄνδρας τὸς ἀπ]||οληψομένους edd. 20–2 is still unsatisfactory: neither the oaths nor the men receiving them (20–1 could refer to either) have been inscribed on 22, and no one familiar with that inscription would expect them to be inscribed there. 23 The stone omits one μ.

The secretary named in the heading is different from the secretary named in ll. 3–4: presumably the complete *stèle* contained a *dossier* of two or more documents, the last document ordered the inscription of the whole *dossier*, and Philocles was secretary when that last document was enacted. (At this date secretaries served for one prytany: see commentary on 39). In ll. 11–13 we have the earliest example in this collection (but the earliest example known is in *CSCA* v 1972, 164–9 no. 2 = *SEG* xxxii 50, of 379/8) of the ‘probouleumatic formula’, the form of words by which the council in its *probouleuma* makes a recommendation to the assembly, which is frequently retained in the wording of the assembly’s decrees from the 370s onwards (cf. Introduction, pp. xvii–xviii, xix–xx).

- Philocles of ——— son of ——— was secretary.
- 2 In the archonship of Hippodamus [375/4]; in the second prytany, of Antiochis; to which Phylacus son of ——— of Oenoe was secretary. Critias proposed:
- 5 Concerning what is said in the council by the envoys of Corcyra and Acarnania and Cephallenia, praise the envoys of Corcyra and Acarnania and Cephallenia because they have been good men with regard to the people of Athens and the allies both now and in the time past. So that what they need may be done, bring them forward to the people, and contribute the opinion of the council that the council resolves:
- 13 The names of the cities that have come shall be written up on the common *stèle* of the allies by the secretary of the council.
- 15 And the oaths shall be given to the cities that have come by the council and the generals and the cavalry; and the allies shall swear the oath likewise.
- 18 When this has been done there shall be valid for the future whatever is resolved by the common body of the allies. Choose three/five men who shall receive the oaths from the cities, and they shall be written up on the common *stèle* where the allies have been written in.
- 22 Also *synedroi* shall be sent by each of the cities to the *synedrion* of the allies in accordance with the resolutions of the allies and of the people of Athens.
- 25 Concerning the Acarnanians consider in common with Aeschylus and Evarchus and Eury—— and ——us and G—— and Rhysiades  
— — —

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This document concerns the addition of north-western states to the League, as a result of the campaign of Timotheus in 375 (X. H. v. iv. 62–6, mentioning Corcyra; D.S. xv. 36. v, mentioning Acarnania and Cephallenia). All three had been allied to Athens during the Peloponnesian War, but c.388 Acarnania, on the mainland, had been forced to make an alliance with Sparta (X. H. iv. vii. 1, *Agex.* ii. 20). Timotheus' campaign in 375 was ended by a renewal of the Peace of Antalcidas (X. H. vi. ii. i, D.S. xv. 38); in further campaigning involving Athens and Sparta in 374–372 Athens defeated Sparta, retained its hold on Corcyra, supported its friends in Acarnania, and, in the face of some opposition, gained control of Cephallenia (X. H. vi. ii. 5–39, D.S. xv. 45. ii – 46. iii, 47. i–vii).

Since there is no doubt about the date of this inscription, and names were still added to 22 in 375, we should expect to find Corcyra, Acarnania, and Cephallenia all included in the list of members there; but in fact, though Acarnania is present (l. 106), it is followed by only one of the four cities of Cephallenia (107–8), and the names of the others are not preserved or likely to have been inscribed (Corcyra is not to be restored in 97).

A separate inscription, undated, contains an alliance and oaths for Corcyra (Tod 127 ~ Harding 42): it is formulated as a defensive alliance between Corcyra and Athens, but includes the clauses, 'It shall not be permitted to the Corcyraeans to make war and peace without the Athenians and the mass of the allies; they shall do the other things in accordance with the resolutions of the allies' (πό[λ]ε[μ]ον δὲ καὶ εἰ|ρήνην μὴ ἐξεῖναι Κορκυραίοις ποιήσασθαι [ἄ]νευ Ἀθηναίων καὶ [τοῦ π]λήθους τῶν συμμάχων· ποιεῖν δὲ καὶ ἄλλα κατὰ τὰ δόγ|ματα τῶν συμμάχων: ll. 11–15, cf. the corresponding clauses in the oaths); and despite the arguments of Cargill this supports the view that by this alliance Corcyra became a member of the League (Tuplin, 553–61). From the absence of Corcyra from 22 we may conjecture that the admission of Corcyra to the League was completed not in 375/4 before the resumption of the war but in 372/1 when the war in the north-west had ended (contr. C. M. Fauber, *CQ*<sup>2</sup> xlviii 1998, 110–16, who thinks Corcyra and the missing Cephallenian cities were inscribed on 22). Reference to democracy in Tod 127 is perhaps not as emphatic as has

## 25

### Athenian law on approvers of silver coinage, 375/4

A *stèle* found in the Athenian Agora (built into a wall of the Great Drain, in front of the Stoa of the Basileus); now in the Agora museum. Phot. *Hesp.* xliii 1974, pls. 25–7; *JNG* xxxvi 1986, Taf. 3. 1.

Attic-Ionic, usually retaining the old *o* for *ov*, and *ε* for *ει* must be restored in l. 53; ll. 1–2 in larger letters; ll. 3 sqq. *stoichedon* 39, with *ει* cut in a single space in l. 55 in order to finish the text at the end of a line.

R. S. Stroud, *Hesp.* xliii 1974, 158–88; Bogaert, *Epigraphica*, iii. 21; *SEG* xxvi 72\*; G. Stumpf, *JNG* xxxvi 1986, 23–40. Trans. Austin & Vidal-Naquet, *Economic and Social History of Ancient Greece*, 328–30 no. 102; Harding 45. See also T. R. Martin, *Mnemata* . . . *N.M. Wagoner*, 21–48.

ἔδοξε τοῖς νομοθέταις. ἐπὶ Ἰππο[δάμαντος]  
 ἄρχοντος : Νικοφῶν εἶπεν·  
 τὸ ἀργύριον δέχεσθαι τὸ Ἀττικὸν ὅτ[αν εὐρίσκητ]-  
 αι ἀργυρὸν καὶ ἔχη τὸν δημόσιον χα[ρακτῆρα. ὁ δὲ]  
 5 δοκιμαστὴς ὁ δημόσιος καθήμενος με[ταξὺ τῶν τρ]-  
 απεζῶν δοκιμαζέτω κατὰ ταῦτα ὅσαι ἡ[μέραι πλήν]  
 ὅταν ἡ[ι] χρημάτων καταβολή, τότε δὲ ἐ[ν τῷ βουλευτ]-  
 ηρίῳ. εἰάν τις προσενέγκῃ ξ[ε]ν[ικὸν ἀργύριον]

sometimes been claimed, given that it is paralleled by reference to democracy in Athens, but it is undoubtedly there—e.g. ‘into the land of Corcyra or against the People of Corcyra’ (ε[ι]ς τ[ῆ]ν χ[ώ]ραν τῆν Κορκυραίων ἢ ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Κορκυραίων: ll. 2–4): Timotheus in 375 did not ‘change the laws’, so presumably left an oligarchy undisturbed (X. H. v. iv. 64), but a rising against a democracy led to Sparta’s intervention in 374 (D.S. xv. 46. i).

In the light of the literary evidence it is not surprising that only one Cephallenian city is listed in 22. A fragmentary text, presumably to be dated to 372, appends to an alliance between Athens and Cephallenia clauses concerning the deletion of texts, garrisons, and the sending of three Athenian *epimeletai* to Cephallenia for the duration of the war (IG II<sup>2</sup> 98 + *Hesp.* ix 1940, 321–4 no. 33 = *Svt.* 267 = *Agora* xvi 46). Those measures presumably had the approval of those Cephallenians who were pro-Athenian, and may also have been authorized by the *synedrion* of the League: they were nevertheless contrary to the unqualified promise of 22, as was the installation of a garrison in Abdera in 375 (D.S. xv. 36. i–iv). For governors and garrisons in the 350s see 51, 52.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup> 5224 is the epitaph, in lettering of the early fourth century, of two Corcyraean envoys who died ‘by accident’ (κατὰ συντυχίαν) in Athens and were given a public funeral. It used to be associated with the admission of Corcyra to the Second League; but further investigation has shown that the inscription belongs to a fourth-century restoration of a grave of the third quarter of the fifth century: the envoys probably died in 433 (U. Knibbe, *AA* 1972, 591–605).

Resolved by the *nomothetai*. In the archonship of Hippodamas [375/4]. Nicophon proposed:

- 3 Attic silver shall be accepted when it is found to be silver and has the public stamp.
- 4 The public approver (*dokimastes*) shall sit between the tables and approve on these terms every day except when there is a deposit of money, but then in the *bouleuterion*. If any one brings forward foreign silver having the same stamp as the Attic — —, he shall give it back to the man who brought it forward; but if it has

- ἔχον τὸν αὐτὸν χαρακτῆρα τῶι Ἀττι[κῶ]ι ἐκ[—<sup>6</sup>—],  
 10 ἀποδιδότω τῶι προσενεγκόντι· ἐὰν δὲ ὑπ[ό]χαλκον]  
 ἢ ὑπομόλυβδον ἢ κίβδηλον, διακοπτέτω πα[ραυτίκ]-  
 α καὶ ἔστω ἱερὸν τῆς Μητρὸς [τ]ῶν Θεῶν καὶ κ[αταβαλ]-  
 λέτω ἐς τὴν βολήν. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ καθήτ[α]ι ὁ δοκι[μαστής],  
 ἢ μὴ δοκιμάζηι κατὰ τὸν νόμον, τυπ[τ]όντων [αὐτὸν ο]-  
 15 ἰ τὸ δῆμο συλλογῆς πεντήκοντα πληγὰς τ[ῆ]ι μάστι-  
 γι. ἐὰν δὲ τις μὴ δέχεται τὸ ἀ[ρ]γύ[ρ]ιον ὅ [τ]ι ἂν ὁ δοκι-  
 μαστὴς δοκιμάσῃ, στερέσθω ὦν ἂμ [π]ωλήι [ἐν ἐκεῖν]-  
 ηι τῇ ἡμέρῃ. φαίνειν δὲ τὰ μὲν ἐν [τ]ῶι σ[τ]ῶι πρὸς]  
 τὸς σιτοφύλακας, τὰ δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ κ[α]ὶ [ἐν τῶι ἄλ]-  
 20 λωι ἄστει πρὸς τοὺς τὸ δῆμο συλλογέ[ας], τὰ [δὲ ἐν τῶ]-  
 ι ἐμπορίῳ καὶ τῶι Πει[ρ]αιεὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιμελητ]-  
 ἀς τοῦ ἐμπορίου πλὴν τὰ ἐν τῶι σίτωι, τὰ δὲ [ἐν τῶι σί]-  
 τωι πρὸς τοὺς σιτοφύλακας. τῶν δὲ φανθε[ντων, ὅπο]-  
 σα μὲν ἂν ᾖ ἐντὸς δέκα δραχμῶν κύριοι ὅ[ντων οἱ ἄ]-  
 25 ρχοντες διαγιγνώσκειν, τὰ δὲ ὑπὲρ [δ]ε[κ]α [δραχμὰς]  
 ἔσαγοντων ἐς τὸ δικαστήριον. οἱ δὲ θε[σ]μ[ο]θε[ταί] π[ρ]-  
 αρεχόντων αὐτοῖς ἐπικληρόντες δικα[στήριον ὅ]-  
 ταμ παραγγέλλωσιν ἢ εὐθυνέσθω[ν X(?)] δραχ[μαῖς. τῶι]  
 δὲ φήναντι μετέστω τὸ ἥμισυ ἐ[ὰ]ν ἔλῃ ὅ[ν] ἂν φήνηι].  
 30 ἐὰν δὲ δόλος ᾖ ὁ πωλὼν ἢ δόλη, ὑπ[ε]ρχέτω μ[ὲν αὐτῶι]  
 τύπτεσθαι ἑπ[τ]ὰ πληγὰς τῇ μάστιγι ὑπὸ [τῶν ἀρχόντων]-  
 ν οἷς ἕκαστα προστέτακται. ἐὰν δὲ τις [τῶ]ν ἀ[ρ]χόντ]-  
 ων μὴ ποιῇ κατὰ τὰ γεγραμμένα, εἰσαγ[γελλέτω μὲ]-  
 ν ἐς τὴν βολήν Ἀθηναίων ὁ βολόμενος οἷς [ἔξεστιν],  
 35 ἐὰν δὲ ἄλῳ ὑπαρχέτω μὲν αὐτῶι πεπαύσθ[αι ἀρχον]-  
 τι καὶ προστιμάτω αὐτῶι [ἢ] βολὴ μέχρι [ἑ]π[τ]ὰ δραχμῶν. ὅ]-  
 πως δ' ἂν ᾖ καὶ ἐμ Πειραιεὶ δοκιμαστής [τοῖς ναυκ]-  
 λήροις καὶ τοῖς ἐμπόροις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλο[ις πάσιν],  
 κατασθησάτω ἢ βολὴ ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων ἐὰν ὑπάρχηι]  
 40 ἢ ἐσπριάσθω, τὴν δὲ τίμην οἱ ἀποδέκται [μερίζοντ]-  
 ων. οἱ δὲ ἐπιμεληταὶ τοῦ ἐμπορίου ἐπιμελέ[σ]θω[ν ὅπ]-  
 ως ἄν καθήται πρὸς τῇ στήλῃ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνο[ς, κα]-  
 ἰ χρήσθων τῶι νόμῳ καθάπερ περὶ τῷ ἐν ἄστ[ρ]ει δοκ]-  
 ιμαστὸ εἴρηται κατὰ ταυτά. ἀναγράφαι δὲ ἐν σ[τ]ήλῃ]-  
 45 ηι λιθύνῃ τὸν νόμον τόνδε καὶ καταθεῖναι ἐν [ἄσ]-

9 EK read by A. P. Matthaiou: ἐπ[ίστημον] T. R. Martin, *SEG* xxxiii 77, ἐπ[ιστήμῳ] F. Bourriot, *ΖΠΕ* 1 1983, 275–85, ἐπ[ιστήμῳ] Stumpf; ἐπ[ιστήμῳ] H. Engelmann, *ΖΠΕ* 1 1985, 170–3; ἐπ[ιστόφας] R. Kallet-Marx *ap. Martin*, 27 n. 10 (cf. *SEG* xli 41).  
 11–12 πα[ραυτίκα] Stroud: πα[ραχρήμα] an alternative possibility Bogaert.  
 16 ἀ[ρ]γύ[ρ]ιον read by Matthaiou. 17 [π]ωλήι [ἐν Matthaiou: [π]ωλήτ[αι] Stroud. 28 [X (?)]  
 Stumpf; unrestored Stroud. 29 Matthaiou: ὁ [ἀνόμενος] Stroud: ὁ [πρωτοῦ] an alternative possibility  
 Bogaert 30 The stone has ΥΠΑΡΧΕΤΩ. 33 εἰσαγ[γελλέτω μὲ]ν Hansen, *Eisangelia*, 28 n., P.  
 Gauthier, *RPh* civ = 2<sup>lii</sup> 1978, 32–6: εἰσαγ[αγέτω αὐτὸ]ν Stroud. 39 ἐὰν ὑπάρχηι Stroud: ἐπ[ιστήμῳ]  
 Stumpf; cf. X. *Oec.* xix. 16.

a bronze core or a lead core or is counterfeit, he shall cut through it immediately and it shall be sacred property of the Mother of the Gods and he shall deposit it in the council.

- 13 If the approver does not sit, or does not approve in accordance with the law, he shall be beaten by the conveners of the people (*syllogeis tou demou*) with fifty lashes with the whip. If any one does not accept the silver which the approver approves, he shall be deprived of what he is selling on that day. Exposures (*phaseis*) shall be made for matters in the corn-market to the corn-guardians (*sitophylakes*), for matters in the Agora and the rest of the city to the conveners of the people, for matters in the import-market to the overseers of the import-market (*epimeletai tou emporiou*) except for matters in the corn-market, and for matters in the corn-market to the corn-guardians. For matters exposed, those that are up to ten drachmas the *archontes* shall have power to decide, those that are beyond ten drachmas they shall introduce into the jury-court. The *thesmothetai* shall provide and allot a jury-court for them whenever they request, or they shall be fined 1,000 (?) drachmas. For the man who exposes, there shall be a share of a half if he convicts the man whom he exposes. If the seller is a slave-man or a slave-woman, he shall be beaten with fifty lashes with the whip by the *archontes* commissioned in each matter. If any of the *archontes* does not act in accordance with what is written, he shall be denounced (*eisangellein*) to the council by whoever wishes of the Athenians who have the right, and if he is convicted he shall be dismissed from his office and the council shall make an additional assessment up to 500 drachmas.

- 36 So that there shall also be in the Piraeus an approver for the ship-owners and the import-traders and all others, the council shall appoint from the public slaves if available or shall buy one, and the *apodektai* shall make an allocation of the price. The overseers of the import-market shall see that he sits in front of the *stele* of Poseidon, and they shall use the law in the same way as has been stated concerning the approver in the city.

- 44 Write up this law on a stone *stele* and put it down in the city between the tables and in Piraeus in front of



τει μὲμ μεταξὺ τῶν τραπεζῶν, ἐμ Πειραιεὶ δὲ πρό[σ]-  
 θεν τῆς στηλῆς τοῦ Ποσει[δ]ῶνος. ὁ δὲ γραμματε[ὺ]ς [ὁ]  
 τῆς βολῆς παραγγελάτω μίσθωμα τοῖς πωλ[ηταῖς],  
 οἱ δὲ πωληταὶ ἐσνεγκόντων ἐς τὴμ βολήν. τ[ὴν δὲ μ]-  
 50 ισθοφορίαν εἶναι τῶι δοκιμαστῇ τῶι ἐν τῶι [ἐμπ]-  
 ορίω ἐπὶ μὲν Ἰπποδάμαντος ἄρχοντος ἀφ' οὗ [ἀν κα]-  
 τασταθῇ, μεριζόντων οἱ (ἀ)ποδέκται ὅσομπερ τ[ὴν]  
 ἐν ἄστει δοκιμαστῇ, ἐς δὲ τὸν λοιπὸν χρόν[ον] ἐνα]-  
 ι αὐτῶι τὴμ μισθοφορίαν ὅθεμπερ τοῖς ἀργυ[ροκό]-  
 55 ποις. εἰ δέ τι ψήφισμα γέγραπται πο ἐστήληι πα[ρά τ]-  
 ὄνδε τὸν νόμον, καθελέτω ὁ γραμματεὺς τῆς βολ[ῆς].

52 μεριζόντων (δέ) οἱ Matthaiou. The stone has ΑΠΟΔΕΚΤΑΙ.

This is not a decree (*psephisma*) enacted by the council and assembly but a law (*nomos*) enacted by the *nomothetai* (cf. Introduction, p. xviii). *Edoxe* (without final *n*) is rare (Stroud, 161; Threatte, *Grammar*, i. 642).

On one or more occasions in the fifth century Athens tried to require all members of the Delian League to use Athenian silver coinage (M&L 45 ~ Fornara 97, cf. Ar. *Birds* 1040–1; Figueira, *The Power of Money*, has recently challenged the standard doctrine that Athens went so far as to forbid the members to issue silver coinage of their own): this law was enacted for a world in which Athens had to counter not reluctance to use Athenian silver coinage but a temptation to imitate it in non-Athenian, and less pure, silver. For the ‘approval’ (*dokimasia*) of silver coins cf. the *dokimasia* of men appointed to offices, of the cavalry’s horses and special units, and of invalids claiming a maintenance grant (*Ath. Pol.* 45. iii, 55. ii–iv; 49. i; 49. iv). There already exists an approver of coins for the city, and this law adds one for the Piraeus (ll. 36–44): normally the city approver works ‘between the tables’ (l. 56 cf. 46), presumably those of the bankers and money-changers in the Agora, but on days when there is a ‘deposit of money’, i.e. a payment of revenue made in the presence of the council (cf. *Ath. Pol.* 48. i) he works in the *bouleuterion* to check the coins tendered there. For foreign coins of Athenian design see below; for examples of the cutting-through of coins which he rejects as base or counterfeit see Stroud’s pl. 25. It appears that the bronze coins mentioned by Aristophanes (*Frogs* 718–37 with schol. 725, *Eccl.* 815–22), issued in the last years of the Peloponnesian War, were in fact silver-plated coins with a bronze core (reasserted by J. H. Kroll, *GRBS* xvii 1976, 329–41, against Giovannini, *GRBS* xvi 1975, 185–90). The approver is subject to flogging if he fails in his duty because he is a *demosios*, a public slave (cf. ll. 36–41).

The *syllogeis tou demou* were three members of the council from each of the ten tribes (Rhodes, *Boule*, 21, 129–30): this is probably the earliest mention of them; their duties here have no connection with their other attested duties. For *phasis* (‘exposure’), a means of initiating legal proceedings in connection with objects, used *inter alia* in connection with breaches of trading regulations, see on 14; and cf. 22, 40. For the

the *stele* of Poseidon. The secretary of the council shall commission the contract from the *poletai*, and the *poletai* shall introduce it into the council.

- 49 The salary payment for the approver in the import-market shall be in the archonship of Hippodamas from when he is appointed, and the *apodektai* shall allocate as much as for the approver in the city, and for the time to come the salary payment shall be from the same source as for the mint-workers.

- 55 If there is any decree written on a *stele* contrary to this law, the secretary of the council shall demolish it.

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granting to the initiator of a *phasis* of half of the sum in question cf. 22. 41–6. Because of the special importance of the corn trade Athens had special regulations for it, special *sitophylakes* to enforce the regulations (cf. *Ath. Pol.* 51. iii with Rhodes *ad loc.*), and a special corn-market (cf. *sitikon emporion*, *Ath. Pol.* 51. iv); see Garnsey, *Famine and Food Supply*, 134–49. For the *epimeletai tou emporiou* cf. *Ath. Pol.* 51. iv with Rhodes *ad loc.*: this is the earliest mention of them. It appears that the import-market, and a corn-market separate from that in the city, were at the Piraeus.

It was common practice that officials could settle disputes or impose fines up to a certain limit but beyond that limit had to take cases to a jury-court or other authority (cf. *Ath. Pol.* 53. ii, where the Forty can decide private cases up to the same limit of ten drachmas). *Archontes* is used here not in its narrower sense, of the nine archons (and secretary), but in its broader sense, of officials in general. For the allotment of courts by the *thesmothetai* to *archontes* with cases to introduce see *Ath. Pol.* 59. i. *Eisangelia* of *archontes* who fail in their duty is an instance of the procedure laid down in *Ath. Pol.* 45. ii. ‘Whoever wishes of the Athenians who have the right’ is a standard formulation (e.g. law *ap.* Dem. xxi. *Mid.* 47), denoting all citizens who are in full possession of their rights and have not been subjected to *atimia* (for which see on 29). For the assessment of an additional penalty cf. *Ath. Pol.* 63. iii (penalty additional to rejection of an unqualified juror): as in all cases of assessment a choice had to be made between the proposals of prosecutor and defendant (Harrison, *Law of Athens*, ii. 80–2, 166–7; Todd, *The Shape of Athenian Law*, 133–5); here by limiting this penalty the law kept it within the competence of the council (Rhodes, *Boule*, 147, commenting on *Ath. Pol.* 45. ii) and avoided the possibility of reference to a jury-court.

Ll. 36–41 provide the most detailed account that we have of the purchase of a public slave. On the provision for the purchase, and for the salary of the man purchased, in the *merismos* by the *apodektai* cf. on 19: since this law commits the state to extra expenditure, the *apodektai* are to provide the money for the current year directly and make suitable arrangements for the future. Ll. 47–9 in the clause ordering publication are without parallel: our translation is in accordance with Stroud’s commentary (pp. 183–

4), but his translation is ‘report the price to the Poletai’. For the *poletai* (‘sellers’) as makers of public contracts see 36 and *Ath. Pol.* 47. ii–v: except in this text all references to a contract for publication are earlier than c.400 (e.g. M&L 85, 86 = *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 102, 104 ~ Fornara 155, 15. B). Since no decree could have greater validity than a law (e.g. And. 1. *Myst.* 87), any decree that would conflict with this new law will be rendered invalid by it, and so ll. 55–6 order the demolition of any *stelai* on which such decrees are inscribed (for demolition of *stelai* cf. 22).

What has provoked the most controversy in the interpretation of this law is the question of how the Athenians reacted to ‘foreign coined silver having the same stamp as the Attic’ (ll. 8–9). Stroud believed that if imitation coins were as good as Athenian they were approved (cf. Giovannini, *Rome et la circulation monétaire en Grèce*, 39; H. Engelmann, *ΣΠΕ* lx 1985, 170–3); a majority view has developed that such coins were neither approved like good Athenian coins nor defaced and confiscated like base or counterfeit coins but simply returned to those who tendered them, to use in whatever way they could, i.e. wherever they could gain acceptance for them (e.g. Giovannini, *GRBS* xvi 1975, 191–5; Stumpf; Martin, 26–7); but the fact that there would be no way to distinguish subsequently between coins which were approved and coins which were returned but not approved is an obstacle to that, and we prefer Stroud’s view.

Martin concentrates on the appointment of slaves as approvers: he suggests that for this specialized task it will have been appropriate to use men who could be disciplined without the due process to which free men were entitled, but more probably, as with other *demosioi*, slaves were used here as men possessing a particular skill but not one associated with free men. For another decree on local and foreign coinage, in Olbia in

## 26

### Athenian law taxing Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros, 374/3

A complete marble *stèle* found in the east wall of the Great Drain in Athens, near the north-east corner of the Stoa Basileios in 1986, now in the Agora Museum (Agora inv. no. I 7557). Above the moulding on which the inscription begins is a slightly recessed panel with irregular contour at top: this may have had a painting, possibly of heaps or sacks of grain, although no traces survive. Phot. Stroud, *The Athenian Grain-Tax Law*, figs. 1–4.

Attic-Ionic, but retaining the old *o* for *ou* in lines 8, 11, 14, 19, 40, and 55, and *ε* for *ει* in lines 42 and 46. *Stoichedon* 31 except in line 58 which has 32 letters.

Stroud, *The Athenian Grain-Tax Law*\*; *SEG* xlvii 96. Trans. Stroud, 9. See also E. M. Harris, *ΣΠΕ* cxxviii 1999, 269–72; M. Faraguna, *Dike* ii 1999, 63–97; J. Engels, *ΣΠΕ* cxxxii 2000, 97–124.

⟨θ⟩εοί.

ἐπὶ Σωκρατίδο ἄρχοντος

νόμος περὶ τῆς δωδεκάτης τοῦ σίτου<sup>77</sup>

τῶν νήσων. *vacat*

1, 23, 24, 25, 26, 29, 34, 37, 55, 60, 61: supplements occasioned by failure to cut crossbars etc.

the fourth century, see *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 218 = *CIRB*<sub>24</sub> = *IK Kalchedon* 16 ~ Austin & Vidal-Naquet, 330–3 no. 103. *IG* XII. ii 1 = Tod 112, now thought to belong to the fifth century, contains the end of an agreement by which Mytilene and Phocaea were to alternate in the issuing of electrum coins.

Clearly before the enactment of this law the Athenians had already been conscious of problems in connection with imitation, base, and counterfeit coins, and with the rejection of genuine coins by the over-suspicious, and they had appointed the city approver: the development of the Second Athenian League had perhaps added to the problems, and so in 375/4 they appointed a second approver to work in the Piraeus. We cannot tell how far what is said about the city tester is repeated from an earlier law and how far it represents an addition to or modification of an earlier law: S. Alessandri, *Ann. Pisa*<sup>3</sup> xiv 1984, 369–93, cf. xii 1982, 1239–54, suggests that it is repeated from a law for which an appropriate context would be c.402–399 (a box of counterfeit coins appears in the *Hekatompedon* inventories from 398/7 [*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1388. 61–2], though there is no suggestion that they have been cut as required by this law, and it is not likely that, as suggested by Stroud, 176–7, the Lacon from whom the box was received was the approver); Stumpf, thinking that Athens will not have needed to make provision for imitations of Athenian coinage before the institution of the Second Athenian League (cf. on 22) and of the symmories for *eisphora*, suggests that it is repeated from a law of c.378. The clause requiring the *poletai* to contract for the publication of the text (ll. 47–9) is not otherwise found after c.400 (cf. Stroud, 183–4 with n. 107), and that supports Alessandri's date for the earlier law.

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Gods. In the archonship of Socratides. Law concerning the one twelfth of the grain of the islands.

- 5 Ἀγύρριος εἶπεν· ὅπως ἂν τῷ δήμῳ σί[το]-  
 ς ἦι ἐν τῷ κοινῷ, τὴν δωδεκάτην πωλ[εῖ]-  
 ν τὴν ἐν Λήμνῳ καὶ Ἰμβρῳ καὶ Σκύρω[ι κ]-  
 αὶ τὴν πεντηκοστὴν σίτο· ἡ δὲ μερὶς ἐκ[ά]-  
 στη ἔσται πεντακόσιοι μέδιμνοι, πυ[ρῷ]-  
 10 ν μὲν ἑκατόν, κριθῶν δὲ τετρακόσιοι· [κο]-  
 μίει τὸν σίτον κινδύνῳ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ ὁ π[ρ]-  
 ιάμενος εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ καὶ ἀνακομι[ε]-  
 ῖ εἰς τὸ ἄστυ τὸν σίτον τέλεισιν τοῖς α[ύ]-  
 τῷ καὶ κατανήσει τὸν σίτον εἰς τὸ Αἰῶ[κ]-  
 15 ειον· στέγον δὲ καὶ τεθυρωμένον παρε[ξ]-  
 εἰ τὸ Αἰάκειον ἢ πόλις καὶ ἀποστήσει[ι τ]-  
 ὸν σίτον τῇ πόλει τριάκοντα ἡμερῶν [ὁ]  
 πριάμενος, ἐπειδὴν ἀνακομίσει εἰς [ἄσ]-  
 τυ, τέλεισιν τοῖς αὐτῷ· ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἀνακ[ομ]-  
 20 ῖσει εἰς τὸ ἄστυ, ἐνοίκιον οὐ πράξει [ἡ π]-  
 ὀλις τοὺς πριαμένους· τοὺς πυροὺς ἄ[πο]-  
 στήσει ὁ πριάμενος ἔλκοντας πέντε ἔ[κ]-  
 τέ(α)ς τὸ τάλαντον, τὰς δὲ κρι(θ)ᾶς ἔλκο[ύσ]-  
 (α)ς τὸν μέδιμνον τάλαντον ξηράς ἀποσ[τ]-  
 25 ῖσει καθαρὰς αἰρών, τὸ σ(ή)κωμα ἐπὶ τῇ[ι ζ]-  
 ῶν(η)ι σηκώσας, καθάπερ οἱ ἄλλοι ἔμ[π]ορ[ο]-  
 ι· προκαταβολὴν οὐ θήσει ὁ πρίαμε[ν]ο[ς α]-  
 λλ' ἐπώνια καὶ κηρύκεια κατὰ τὴν [μ]ερ[ί]δ[ι]-  
 α εἴκοσι δραχμ(ά)ς· ἐγγυητ(ά)ς καταστήσ[ε]-  
 30 ι ὁ πριάμενος δύο κατὰ τὴν μερίδα ἀξι[ό]-  
 χρεως, οὓς ἂν ἡ βουλὴ δοκιμάσῃ· συμ[μορ]-  
 ῖα ἔσται ἡ μερὶς τρισχίλιοι μέδιμ[ν]οι,  
 ἔξ ἄνδρες· ἡ πόλις πράξει τὴν συμμορ[ί]α]-  
 ν τὸν σίτον κ(α)ὶ παρ' ἐνὸς καὶ παρ' ἀπάν[τ]ω]-  
 35 ν τῶν ἐν τῇ συμμορίᾳ ὄντων, ἕως ἂν τ[ὰ α]-  
 ὑτῆς ἀπολάβῃ· αἰρείσθω δὲ ὁ δῆμος δ[έκ]-  
 (α) (ἄ)νδρας ἐξ Ἀθηναίων ἀπάντων ἐν τῇ [έκ]-  
 κλησίᾳ, ὅταν περ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς α[ἱρ]-  
 ῶνται, οὔτινες ἐπιμελήσονται τοῦ σί[τ]-  
 40 ο· οὗτοι δὲ ἀποστησάμενοι τὸν σίτον κ[α]-  
 τὰ τὰ γεγραμμένα πωλόντων ἐν τῇ ἀγ[ορ]-  
 αῖ, ὅταν τῷ δήμῳ δοκῇ· πωλῆν δὲ μὴ ἐ[ξ]ε-  
 ῖναι ἐπιψηφίσαι πρότερον τοῦ Ἀνθεσ[τ]-  
 ηριῶνος μηνός· ὁ δὲ δῆμος ταξάτω τὴν τ[ε]-  
 45 μὴν τῶν πυρῶν καὶ τῶν κριθῶν ὀπόσου χ[ρ]-

19 punctuation, Lambert (personal communication).  
 ξ[ί]ων(η)ι or χ[ί]ων(η)ι ('funnel').

25 ἐπὶ TH[...]]ΩN(H)I Stroud suggesting either

- 5 Agyrrhius proposed: in order that the people may have grain publicly available, sell the tax of one twelfth at Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros, and the tax of one fiftieth, in grain.
- 8 Each share will be five hundred *medimnoi*, one hundred of wheat and four hundred of barley. The buyer will convey the grain to Piraeus at his own risk, and will transport the grain up to the city at his own expense and will heap up the grain in the Aiakeion. The city will make available the Aiakeion covered and with a door, and the buyer will weigh out the grain for the city within thirty days of whatever the date when he transports it to the city, at his own expense. When he transports it to the city, the city will not exact rent from the buyers.
- 21 The buyer will weigh out the wheat at a weight of a talent for five *hekteis*, and the barley at a weight of a talent for a *medimnos*, dry and clean of darnel, arranging the standard weight on the balance, just as the other merchants.
- 27 The buyer will not make a down payment but will pay sales taxes and auctioneers' fees at the rate of 20 drachmas per share. The buyer will nominate two creditworthy guarantors, whom the Council has scrutinized, for each share.
- 31 A symmory will consist of six men, and the share 3000 *medimnoi*. In the case of a symmory the city will exact the grain from each and all of those who are in the symmory, until it recovers what belongs to it.
- 36 Let the people elect ten men from all the Athenians in the assembly, when they elect the generals, to have oversight of the grain. When these officials have the grain weighed according to what has been written, let them sell it in the Agora at whatever moment the people decide is right; but it is not to be possible to put to the vote the question of selling before the month of Anthesterion.
- 44 Let the people set the price at which those elected must sell the wheat and the barley. Let the buyers

ἡ πωλὲν τοὺς αἰρεθέντας· τὸν δὲ σ(ι)τον [ο]-  
 ἱ πριάμενοι τὴν δωδεκάτην κομισάντων-  
 ν πρὸ τοῦ Μαιμακτηριῶνος μηνός· οἱ δὲ α-  
 ἰρεθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ἐπιμελούσθω-  
 50 ν ὅπως ἂν κομίζεται ὁ σίτος ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ-  
 ωι τῷ εἰρημένῳ· ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἀποδῶντα-  
 ι οἱ αἰρεθέντες τὸν σίτον, λογισάσθω[ν]  
 ἐν τῷ δήμῳ καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἡκόντων φ[έ]-  
 ροντες εἰς τὸν δῆμον καὶ ἔστω στρατι[ω]-  
 55 τικ(ᾶ) τὰ ἐκ τοῦ σίτου γενόμενα· τὴν δὲ προ[κ]-  
 αταβολὴν τὴν ἐκ τῶν νήσων μερίσαι το[ῦ]-  
 ς ἀποδέκτας καὶ τῆς πεντηκοστῆς, ὅσο[ν]-  
 περ πέρυσιν (ἡ)ῦρεν ἐκ τοῖν δυοῖν δεκάτ[.]-  
 ν, τὸ μὲν νῦν εἶναι εἰς τὴν διοίκησι[ν κ]-  
 60 αὶ τὸ λοιπὸν μὴ (ᾶ)φαιρεῖν τῷ δύο δεκάτ[.]  
 ἐκ τῶν κατ(α)βαλλομένων χρημάτων. <sup>vvvv</sup>

46 The iota of *σίτον* has an additional diagonal stroke at the top.

58–9 δεκάτ[α]||ν or δεκάτ[ο]||ν.

60 δεκάτ[α] or δεκάτ[ω].

This law, passed in the year after Nicophon's law on silver coinage (25) and in the wake of the renewal of the King's Peace, is important both for its form and for its content. It legislates for the collection of the tax of one twelfth from the islands of Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros, and introduces the collection of that tax in grain. Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros had been long in the possession of Athens, were occupied by Athenians, and after being released from Athenian control at the end of the Peloponnesian War had been regained by Athens in 393 and confirmed as Athenian in the King's Peace. Their importance for Athens lay in their position as stepping stones for grain ships from the Black Sea bound for Athens, but their own contribution to Athenian needs for grain was itself significant.

The law was moved by the veteran politician Agyrrius (*APF* 278). Active before 405, when he combined with Archinus to reduce the payment to comic poets at the Dionysia and Lenaea (Ar. *Frogs* 367 and scholiast), he was a secretary to the council in the first year of restored democracy (403/2, see 2. 41–2), farmed the tax of one fiftieth on imports and exports in 402/1 (And. 1. *Myst.* 133–4; see further below), was responsible for introducing assembly pay and then raising it to 3 obols per meeting (*Ath. Pol.* 41. iii), and gained a reputation in the 390s as a man of the people (he is much mocked in Ar. *Eccl.*). After serving as general c. 389, he was for a long time imprisoned for illegal possession of public money, perhaps between 388 and 374 (Dem. xxiv. *Tim.* 134–5). This law is the only evidence for his political activity after release from prison.

The most important feature of the law is not in doubt: tax payments in money are changed into payments in grain. Henceforth the tax income comes from city officials selling the tax grain at a price fixed by the assembly rather than directly from tax-farmers who have made their payments in coin. The advantages of the new system

of the twelfth transport the grain before the month Maimakterion. Let the men elected by the people exercise oversight so that the grain is transported at the stated time.

51 When those who have been elected sell the grain, let them render their accounts before the people and let them come before the people carrying the money and let the money raised from the grain be stratiotic.

55 The Receivers are to allocate the down-payment from the islands and as much of the fiftieth tax as was last year brought in from the two tenths; on this occasion it is to be for the financial administration, in future the two tenths are not to be taken away from the moneys deposited.

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are succinctly stated at the beginning of the law (ll. 5–6; compare 81. A. 5–7 and the further parallels in Stroud, p. 25), in a clause which, by giving the aims of the law, anticipates the preambles that Plato gives to his legislation in *Laws*: ‘in order that the people may have grain publicly available’. The implication seems to be that Athens suffers from being unable to secure grain at a price that the people are willing to pay. The law ensures that the grain taxed on Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros will come to Athens, rather than being sold elsewhere. The Athenian state still ends up with a cash income, but that income comes from selling the grain to Athenians rather than others. Other evidence shows that Athens in these years suffered from piratical attacks (X. H. vi. ii. 1); such attacks will have deepened any crisis in grain supplies but this problem will not have been solved by this law.

If the aim of the law is tolerably clear, the precise mechanisms that it sets up are far less clear. The heading of the law and most of its text seem to concern ‘the twelfth of the grain of the islands’, although both at the beginning (l. 8) and the end (l. 57) a second tax, the fiftieth, is also mentioned (for which, see below). Harris has argued that the twelfth is a twelfth of the grain in transit through the islands, which form a string between the Hellespont and southern Greece. A twelfth is indeed a very similar proportion to the tenth which the Athenians are known at various times to have levied as a transit tax at the Hellespont. It was not in Athens’ interest, however, to do anything to divert grain ships coming to southern Greece, and a transit tax imposed at any point east of the Hellespont would seem in danger of being counter-productive. Merchants who faced such a tax would be more likely to seek markets in Asia Minor or to take longer routes via Lesbos, Chios, and Samos before crossing the Aegean, routes which might lead them never to cross to southern Greece at all. The



natural way to understand ‘the grain of the islands’ (ll. 3–4) is ‘grain produced in the islands’, and the timetable laid down in the inscription is tied into the harvest season (not the same as the marketing season). This argues that this is a tax on produce, even though produce taxes are not otherwise known in classical Athens. That one twelfth of capital value was a very common level of rent may have encouraged the choice of this tariff.

Those who bid to collect the tax are expected to bid in fixed amounts of grain. The law stipulates that bids are to be made in set units of 500 *medimnoi*, each unit consisting of 100 *medimnoi* of wheat and 400 of barley. In the event of a number of individuals grouping together as a ‘symmory’ to put in a bid, as we know to have happened with some other taxes, the group apparently has to consist of six men, the unit of bidding has to be 3,000 *medimnoi* (presumably 2,400 *medimnoi* of barley and 600 *medimnoi* of wheat) and the members of the symmory are regarded as their own guarantors. The figures for the first-fruits of wheat and barley sent by these three islands to Eleusis in 329/8, preserved in *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1672, suggest that the largest of the islands, Lemnos, did produce about four times as much barley as wheat (56,750 *medimnoi* of wheat, 248,525 of barley—a twelfth of the harvest would be about fifty 500-*medimnoi* shares), but that Imbros produced very much more wheat than barley (44,200 *medimnoi* wheat, 26,000 barley); we cannot know how typical the figures for that year are, but the case for the harvest of Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros having been comparatively normal is strong: see Garnsey, *Famine and Food Supply*. The proportion of barley to wheat that makes up a bid seriously over-estimates the proportion of barley grown, at least in 329/8 when for the three islands the proportion of barley to wheat was 2.74 : 1 (303,325 *medimnoi* barley, 110,550 *medimnoi* wheat). This emphasizes the concern of the law with provision of a cheap staple food: barley was less desirable food, but it generally retailed for not much more than half the price of wheat. It was, of course, open to successful bidders to sell wheat that they had collected and buy barley (or vice versa) in order to render to the city the exact quantities of each promised in their bid. One reason for organizing the bidding in this way was presumably the scale of the operation. The region for a twelfth of the grain produced in which bids were made must have been specified, and since no sub-divisions are referred to we conclude that each island was the object of a single bid. Bids for the grain tax from Lemnos could be expected to be in the region of 50 even of these large units. Given Agyrrhius’ own background in working the tax-farming system to his own profit we might also suspect that the size of the bids was also to discourage competition: to increase a bid by one unit required one to reckon the harvest 6,000 *medimnoi* (two shiploads) greater (roughly 2% greater in the case of Lemnos, but over 8% in the case of Imbros, and 15% in the case of Scyros).

The *medimnos* is a unit of capacity (approximately 52.5 litres (see on 45)), but the buyers of the tax are required not to measure out but to weigh in their grain, at a rate of  $\frac{5}{6}$  of a *medimnos* per talent for wheat and a *medimnos* per talent for barley. The insistence on weighing causes us to prefer to read ζ[ι]ών<η>ι (literally ‘belt’), which we understand as a reference to the fulcrum of the balance, rather than χ[ι]ών<η>ι (literally ‘funnel’), which implies measurement, at ll. 25–6. Weighing rather than measuring avoids the problem that grain newly poured into a measuring vessel does not compact

and therefore the city is likely to sell itself short (the Eleusis first-fruit payments, which are measured rather than weighed, require additional measures to be supplied to counter this problem (*IG II<sup>2</sup>* 1672. 254, 281, 285)). The probable weight of an Athenian talent in this period is 27.47 kg., so 400 *medimnoi* of barley would weigh 10,987 kg.; and 100 *medimnoi* of wheat would weigh 3,296 kg. Theophrastus (*CP* iv. 9. vi) says that Lemnian wheat was heavy but the weights given here for a *medimnos* of barley (27.47 kg.) and a *medimnos* of wheat (32.96 kg.) are very significantly lower than the weights that can be derived from other ancient sources: the lightest weight given by Pliny, *NH* xviii. 66–70 works out at 39.3 kg./*medimnos*. It is implausible that weights of grains increased so much during the 400 years that separate this inscription from Pliny, but it is very puzzling that the Athenians should build in profit for the tax farmers by counting less than a *medimnos* of grain as a *medimnos*. Were wheat and barley indeed as light as they are reckoned to be here this would have a marked effect on the nutritional value of standard Greek grain rations (for which see H. Forbes and L. Foxhall, *Chiron* xii 1982, 41–90).

The whole process with regard to the twelfth seems to be as follows. At a date in the Athenian year which is never stated, but which must have been close to, but in advance of, the harvesting of the grain on the islands, an auction was held in Athens at which individuals and groups put in bids for the right to collect one twelfth of the grain of each of the islands. They made such bids in the knowledge of the previous year's bids and what they knew of the profit or loss made by the bidders, and of the season and prospects for the harvest in the current year. The successful bidders, those referred to as 'the buyers' in this law, had to supply guarantors to back their bids (and such guarantors could indeed be forced to pay up, as can be seen from *Hesperia* v 1936, no. 10). They also had to pay a sales tax and auctioneer's fee of 20 drachmas per 500-*medimnos* share (ll. 28–9), which amounts to around 1% if we assume a value of 6 dr. per *medimnos* for wheat and 3 dr. for barley (Stroud, p. 63). The buyers of the tax then went off to the islands, endeavoured to extract one twelfth of the grain produced as efficiently as possible, no mean task, and arranged for the shipment to Athens of the amount of grain they had bid before the end of Pyanopsion (October). The costs of shipment and of subsequent transport from Piraeus to Athens will have had to be met through the sale of that grain which they collected which was in excess of the amount that they had bid. What was left after the bids had been fulfilled, and these expenses met, was the tax-farmer's profit.

Meanwhile, at some date not before the seventh prytany (March), when the generals were elected (the precise date depended upon securing good omens: *Ath. Pol.* 44. iv), ten officials had been elected to oversee the tax grain and its sale. The decision to elect such men, rather than choose them by lot, is remarkable. The lot was the regular way of choosing magistrates at Athens, and election was otherwise used only to select men to perform offices which required that every individual be skilled (primarily military officials, but later also some with financial responsibilities). The duties given to these ten men, who are never given a title, seem very comparable to those of the allotted *poletai* and do not require individual skills (they act together as a board); the decision to hold an election was perhaps made in order to stress the importance of the task.

Athens already had officials known as *sitophylakes* at this time, who oversaw the sale of grain, but they were chosen by lot (25. 18–23; *Ath. Pol.* 51. iii).

Although elected in the spring, the ten men probably came into office only at the start of the civil year: certainly their only duty before the spring of the following year was to ensure that the amounts of grain the buyers of the taxes had contracted to bring were actually transported to the Aiakeion in time. The assembly is forbidden by this law to vote before Anthesterion (February) to sell the grain that has been brought in. Once the assembly has voted to sell it, and fixed the prices of the wheat and barley, the elected officials oversee the sale and publicly hand over the money raised at a meeting of the assembly. That money—which might amount to 15–20 talents, depending on the price set for the grain—is paid into the stratiotic fund, this being the earliest surviving mention of such a fund (for which see 64).

The final lines of the inscription instruct the Receivers (*apodektai*) on what to do with the down-payment from the islands and with the fiftieth, stipulating that for the current year it is assumed to be the same as the two tenths last year, and for the future the two tenths are not to be separated from the moneys deposited. Harris has argued convincingly that the two tenths refer to the standard proportion of a tax bid that had to be made in advance; since under the new law there are no down-payments, this down-payment is presumably one already promised under the old arrangements in which bids were in money and is direct to the general fund because that is where proceeds from the tax had previously gone. It remains unclear why the same amount as last year's two tenths is involved, and not two tenths of whatever the bid actually was in the current year. Conceivably the old arrangements in fact already took *bids* in amounts of grain, with those amounts only translated into money when grain prices became known at harvest.

These final lines are the second occasion when the fiftieth tax is mentioned. A fiftieth tax on imports and exports is widely attested—it was this tax that Agyrrhius had farmed in 402/1. The fiftieth tax mentioned here has to be paid in grain, and it is therefore likely that it was a tax on grain. We do indeed hear in a speech by Apollodorus of a 'fiftieth tax on grain', usually assumed to be a tax on grain imports, at Athens in 368, just five years after this law was passed ([Dem.] LIX. *Neaera* 27), but that tax is paid in money and paid in instalments. At both its mentions in this inscription the fiftieth tax is distinguished from 'the twelfth tax on Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros' or 'the advance payment from the islands', and could therefore be a tax at Athens. If the tax mentioned in Apollodorus' speech is the same tax legislated for here then Agyrrhius' law was repealed or replaced after being only briefly in operation, but that is not necessarily unlikely.

A veteran politician, himself very familiar with the tax-farming system, might be expected to display his expertise in the drafting of his law. In some respects this is true: as Stroud has suggested, the unique succession of future tenses in the section of the law dealing with the buyer of the tax (ll. 8–36) seems to reflect the linguistic patterns normal in commercial contracts; and the 'artless' way in which both individual words and whole phrases are repeated in successive clauses seems also to reflect a desire for the maximum clarity. In other respects, however, the drafting of the law leaves much

to be desired, and as a result it is very hard to reconstruct exactly what the law intends. This is partly because, although it enacts a permanent rule for the future (see above on 25), the law revises a system already in operation, rather than setting up a new system from scratch, but it is also because the order of presentation, and the consequences of the change that the law effects, have not properly been thought out. The clause requiring the buyers of the tax to transport the grain before Maimakterion (November) (ll. 46–8) is not included in the section in which the buyers are instructed, but in the section on the duties of the officials elected to oversee the sale of the grain. The final clause of the law, which very inappropriately for a permanent rule makes reference to ‘last year’, seems written on the assumption that in the future, as in the past, the tax revenue will be paid in instalments of money, when this law both substitutes grain for money and replaces the ten annual instalments by an annual transportation of the grain. The law does not stipulate that it is to be inscribed or where it is to be set up. From its findspot it is safe to deduce that it was set up in the Agora, perhaps at the Aiakeion (see below).

The desirability of passing this law shows two important things (for the background to both see Garnsey, *Famine and Food Supply*, ch. ix). First, it confirms that the guarantee of a large market at Athens was not enough to deter merchants from either taking their grain to places where the price was higher or charging high prices and risking selling smaller quantities at Athens itself (compare X. *Oec.* xx. 27–8). Other fourth-century sources attest two laws which the Athenians applied to merchants: any citizen or metic living at Athens who was engaged in the grain trade, either directly or by lending money for the purchase of cargoes of grain, had to bring that grain to Athens, and any merchant who brought grain to Athens could re-export only one third of it. Our evidence for these laws all comes from the 330s or later (Dem. xxxiv. *Phormio* 37 (327/6), xxxv. *Lacr.* 51 (pre-338) and Lyc. *Leoc.* 27 (330) for the former, *Ath. Pol.* 51. iii for the latter), and we cannot know whether this grain-tax law was, when passed, additional or alternative to those other measures. Even our earliest evidence for Athens electing grain buyers (*sitonaí*) to secure supplies by purchase elsewhere dates to the 350s (Dem. xx. *Leptines* 33–4).

The second important thing that this law shows is that the city was prepared to make a very major intervention in the food supply. The figures for grain production on the three islands which can be extrapolated from the returns of first-fruits of wheat and barley that they made to Eleusis in 329/8, and the dimensions of the Aiakeion, which we believe Stroud is correct in identifying with the rectangular structure in the south-west of the Agora sometimes thought to be the Heliaea, both indicate that Athens could reckon on something over 30,000 *medimnoi* of grain a year from this tax. That quantity of grain would sustain perhaps 6,000 individuals for a year, or around 70,000 individuals for a month. This law made a month’s grain available to all adult Athenians in the spring, when prices were rising as home-grown supplies became exhausted, at whatever price the people chose (ll. 44–5; compare the assembly fixing the price at which the first-fruits of grain collected at Eleusis were sold, *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1672. 282–3, 286–7). Politically the law is a masterstroke: who would vote against a measure that promised to ensure there was grain enough on the market in the lean months of

every year? Those who wished to curry favour with the poor would be particularly keen to support it since the annual vote on the price at which the grain would be sold

## 27

## Cult of Amphiaraus, Oropus, 386–374

A marble *stèle* broken into three pieces, found at the Amphiareum and now in the Amphiareum Museum (A 236). Phot. Petrakos, *ὁ Ὀρωπὸς καὶ τὸ ἱερόν τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου*, pl. 60, *GRBS* xxii 1981, pls. 2–4.

Euboean Ionic. *Stoichedon* 35.

*IG* vii 235; *SIG*<sup>3</sup>1004; Buck 14; *LSCG* 69; Petrakos, *Ὁ Ὀρωπός*, no. 39; A. Petropoulou, *GRBS* xxii 1981, 42–57 (= *SEG* xxxi 416), Petrakos, *οἱ ἐπιγραφές τοῦ Ὀρωποῦ* (Athens, 1997), no. 277\*. Trans. Petropoulou, 50. See also Le Guen-Pollet, *La Vie religieuse*, 40.

θεοί.

- τὸν ἱερέα τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου φοιτᾶν εἰς τὸ ἱερό-  
ν ἐπειδὰν χειμὼν παρέλθει μέχρι ἁρότου ὥρ-  
ης, μὴ πλέον διαλείποντα ἢ τρεῖς ἡμέρας, καὶ  
5 μένειν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς μὴ ἔλαττον ἢ δέκα ἡμέρας  
τοῦ μηνὸς ἐκ[σ]στοῦ· καὶ ἐπαναγκάζειν τὸν ν-  
εωκόρον τοῦ τε ἱεροῦ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι κατὰ τὸ-  
ν νόμον καὶ τῶν ἀφικνεμένων εἰς τὸ ἱερόν.<sup>19</sup>  
ἂν δέ τις ἀδικεῖ ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἢ ξένος ἢ δημότ-  
10 ης, ζημιούτω ὁ ἱερεὺς μέχρι πέντε δραχμῶν  
κυρίως καὶ ἐνέχυρα λαμβανέτω τοῦ ἐζημιω-  
μένου, ἂν δ' ἐκτίνει τὸ ἀργύριον, παρεόντος τὸ  
ἱερέος ἐμβαλέτω εἰς τὸν θησαυρόν· δικάζει-  
ν δὲ τὸν ἱερέα, ἂν τις ἰδίῃ ἀδικηθῇ ἢ τῶν ξέ-  
15 νων ἢ τῶν δημοσίων ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς μέχρι τριῶν  
δραχμῶν· τὰ δὲ μέζονα, ἡχοὶ ἐκάστοις αἱ δίκ-  
αι ἐν τοῖς νόμοις εἰρήται ἐν τῷ ὅθῳ γινέσθων·<sup>20</sup>  
προσκαλεῖσθαι δὲ καὶ αὐθημερὸν περὶ τῶν ἐ-  
ν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἀδικιών· ἂν δὲ ὁ ἀντίδικος μὴ συν-  
20 ωρεῖ, εἰς τὴν ὑστέρην ἢ δίκην τελείσθω· ἐπαρ-  
χὴν δὲ διδοῦν τὸμ μέλλοντα θεραπεύεσθαι ὑ-  
πὸ τοῦ θεοῦ μὴ ἐλ(α)ττον [ἐννέ' ὀβολοὺς δοκί]μου ἀργ-  
υρίου καὶ ἐμβάλλειν εἰς τὸν θησαυρόν παρε-  
όντος τοῦ νεωκόρου [—————<sup>19</sup>—————]  
25 [—————<sup>9</sup>—————]. κατεύχεσθαι δὲ τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ ἐπ-  
ὶ τὸν βωμόν ἐπιτιθεῖν, ὅταν παρῇ, τὸν ἱερέα,

Erasures in lines 6, 22, 30, 37 after Petropoulou.

inserted between the lines.

17 The ν of ἐντῶθα was initially omitted and then

22 *ΕΛΑΤΤΟΝ* on stone.

would give them a chance to show their populist colours by proposing a low price (albeit to the detriment of Athens' war finances; see Stroud, p. 75).

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Gods. The priest of Amphiaraus is to frequent the sanctuary from when winter has ended until the season of ploughing, not being absent for more than three days, and to remain in the sanctuary for not less than ten days each month. He is to require the keeper of the temple in accordance with the law to look after both the sanctuary and those who come to the sanctuary.

- 9 If anyone commits an offence in the sanctuary, either a foreigner or a member of the community, let the priest have power to inflict punishment of up to five drachmas and let him take guarantees from the man who is punished, and if he pays the money let him deposit it into the treasury when the priest is present. The priest is to give judgement if anyone, either a foreigner or a member of the community, is wronged privately in the sanctuary, up to a limit of three drachmas, but let larger cases take place where it is stated in the laws for each. Summons to be issued on the same day in the case of offences in the sanctuary, but if the defendant does not agree let the case be completed on the following day.
- 20 Whoever comes to be cured by the god is to pay a fee of not less than nine obols of good silver and deposit them in the treasury in the presence of the keeper of the temple. (*Lacuna*) The priest is to make prayers over the offerings and place them on the altar if he

ὅταν δὲ μὴ παρὲι, τὸν θύοντα καὶ τεῖ θυσίει α-  
 ὑτὸν ἑαυτοῖ κατεύχεσθαι ἕκαστον, τῶν δὲ δη-  
 μορίων τὸν ἱερέα. <sup>ν</sup> τῶν δὲ θυομένων ἐν τοῖ ἱε-  
 30 ροῖ πάντων τὸ δέρμα [[ἱερὸν εἶναι]]. θύειν δὲ ἐξ-  
 εῖν ἅπαν ὅ τι ἂν βόληται ἕκαστος, τῶν δὲ κρεώ-  
 ν μὴ εἶναι ἐκφορῇν ἔξω τοῦ τεμένεος. <sup>ν</sup> τοῖ δὲ  
 ἱερεῖ διδοῦν τὸς θύοντας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱερέου ἐκ-  
 35 ἄστο τὸν ὦμον, πλὴν ὅταν ἡ ἑορτὴ εἴ. τότε δὲ ἀπ-  
 ὁ τῶν δημορίων λαμβανέτω ὦμον ἀφ' ἑκάστου <sup>ν</sup>  
<sup>ν</sup> τοῦ ἱερέου. <sup>ν</sup> ἐγκαθεύδειν δὲ τὸν δειόμενο-  
 [[ν μ[ε]χρ[ι] [—————<sup>23</sup>—————]ς ἐπὶ το]]  
 ὑ αὐ[το]ῦ [—————<sup>23</sup>—————] πειθόμ-  
 ενον τοῖς νόμοις. <sup>ν</sup> τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἐγκαθεύδον-  
 40 τος, ὅταν ἐμβάλλει τὸ ἀργύριον, γράφεσθαι τ-  
 ὸν νεωκόρον καὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἐκ-  
 τιθεῖν ἐν τοῖ ἱεροῖ γράφοντα ἐν πετεῦροι σ-  
 κοπεῖν ⟨τ⟩οῖ βουλομένοι. ἐν δὲ τοῖ κοιμητηρίο-  
 ι καθεύδειν χωρὶς μὲν τὸς ἄνδρας χωρὶς <sup>ννν</sup>  
 45 δὲ τὰς γυναῖκας, τοὺς μὲν ἄνδρας ἐν τοῖ πρὸ ἡ-  
 [ό]ς τοῦ βωμοῦ, τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας ἐν τοῖ πρὸ ἡεσπέ-  
 ρης ο[—————<sup>12</sup>—————τὸ κοι]μητήριον τοὺς ἐν-  
 κα⟨θ⟩[εῦδοντας —————<sup>15</sup>—————τὸν δ]ε θεῶν  
 ἐγκ[—————<sup>32</sup>—————]  
 50 ο ἐξ[—————<sup>29</sup>—————]θω[.].  
 ορο[—————<sup>24</sup>—————ἐγκεκ]οιμ-  
 ημέ[ν —————<sup>29</sup>—————]λε-  
 ρω[—————<sup>28</sup>—————]ει [τ]ο-  
 ι Ἀμφ[ιαράοι —————<sup>21</sup>—————]ι ζημ-  
 55 ιον[—————<sup>27</sup>—————] δὲ τὸ-  
 ν βολ[όμενον —————<sup>16</sup>—————τὸν ἱε]ρέ⟨α⟩. <sup>ν</sup>

The earliest evidence for cult activity at the sanctuary of Amphiaraus in the territory of Oropus, which lay on the east coast of the Greek mainland between Attica and Boeotia, dates to the last quarter of the fifth century. In 414 Aristophanes put on a play entitled *Amphiaraus*, and it seems likely that this reflects the establishment of the cult at Oropus (rather than the cult at Thebes). Originally closely linked with Eretria (*FGrH* 376 F 1), and preserving traces of that origin in its dialect (see below) and indeed its name (plausibly derived from the river Asopos via rhotacism), Oropus was under Athenian control from some time before the middle of the fifth century (*IG* 1<sup>3</sup> 41. 67–71) until 411 (Thuc. viii. 60); Athenian promotion of a cult site for Amphiaraus to rival that at Thebes may have had political motives (Parker, *Athenian Religion*, 146–9). Thebes took over control in 411 and seems initially to have used a light touch, but civil strife in Oropus led to more direct Theban control (D.S. xiv. 17. i–iii), which contin-

is present; but whenever he is not present the person sacrificing (is to do so) and each is to make his own prayers for himself at the sacrifice, but the priest is to make the prayers at the public sacrifices.

- 29 The skin of every animal sacrificed in the sanctuary is to be sacred. Any animal anyone wishes may be sacrificed, but there is to be no taking meat outside the boundary of the sanctuary. Those who sacrifice are to give to the priest the shoulder of each sacrificial animal, except on the occasion of the festival; on that occasion let him receive the shoulder of each of the victims at the public sacrifices.

- 36 Whoever needs to incubate in the sanctuary [———] obeying the laws. The keeper of the temple is to record the name of whoever incubates when he deposits the money, his personal name, and the name of his city, and display it in the sanctuary, writing it on a board for whoever wants to look. Men and women are to sleep separately in the dormitory, men in the part east of the altar and women in the part west [———] those incubating in the dormitory [———]

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ued until the Thebans were forced to give Oropus up under the terms of the King's Peace. For just over a decade after that Oropus was independent before being taken over by the Athenians in perhaps 374 (Isoc. xiv. *Plat.* 20; on the date see D. Knoepfler, *Chiron* xvi 1986, 90f.). The Athenians held it until in 366 some Oropians whom they had exiled seized the territory with Eretrian help, and the Athenians ceded it to Theban control (X. *H.* vii. iv. 1; D.S. xv. 76. 1; Aesch. iii. *Ctes.* 85–6 with schol. (186 Dilts)). On the history of Oropus see Knoepfler, *Dossier/Histoire et archéologie* xciv May 1985, 50–5. For subsequent events see on 75.

This sacred law is most plausibly dated to the period of Oropus' independence between 386 and c.374. The Oropians refer to themselves as *demotai* rather than *politai*; even under Athenian domination Oropus was never an Attic deme, although in 329/8 grain 'from the area around the Amphiaraon' was brought to Eleusis by a man



described as ‘demarch’ who was a native of Sounion (Whitehead, *ΣΡΕ* xlvii 1982, 40–2, suggests demarch of Sounion, but see Osborne, *Demos*, 75 n. 28). Although it has the opening invocation of the gods that is standard in decrees at Athens and elsewhere, this, like many sacred laws, admits to no issuing authority and makes no attempt to date itself (in a brief period of independence from 338 to 335 Oropian decrees refer to decisions of the *ekklesia*: see 75 and Rhodes with Lewis, 116). Times of the year are defined seasonally rather than according to a sacred calendar, perhaps because of the political implications of using either Attic or Theban calendars.

The law gives a rare glimpse into the operation of a relatively minor sanctuary in a community so small as to have no stable independent existence. Pausanias (i. 34. ii) claims that it was the Oropians who first worshipped Amphiaraus as a god, and it appears that it was only with the foundation of this sanctuary that Amphiaraus became not merely a source of dream oracles but of healing. This sacred law reveals a sanctuary set up for healing, with provision for sleeping in the sanctuary overnight, but served simply by a non-resident priest and a caretaker. Since in other decrees the priest is used in dating formulae, the priesthood seems to be an annual appointment, but the caretaker, who is always present, is likely to be a long-term fixture. The priest has to deal with minor offences (compare the role of the *hieropoioi* in 81. 34); more major offences are referred to the courts described ‘in the laws’, with the implication that what precisely the arrangements were would be varied depending on the judicial agreements between Oropus and the home city of any foreigner involved. Between them the priest and the temple-keeper act as treasurer, overseeing the payment of fines and of fees (for the role of the temple-keeper as treasurer compare *Antike Kunst* xli 1998, 101–15, on Eretria; for priests imposing fines compare *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 1362). A decree from the brief period of Athenian domination (c.374–c.366) has itself paid for from this treasury (Petrakos, *οἱ ἐπιγραφές*, no. 290) and also refers to money from shops/booths; it also shows that during this period an Athenian, a citizen of Decelea, was the priest and control of the sanctuary was entirely in the hands of Athenian citizens.

This decree is one of the clearest pieces of evidence for priests not being required for sacrifice (compare also *LSS* 129, *LSAM* 24. A. 27–30). If the priest is present he is in charge of the sacrifice and prays over the offerings, but if he is not the sacrifice goes on without him and each man makes his own sacrificial prayer (ll. 25–8). For the question of what is placed on the altar, see van Straten, *Hiera Kala*, 118–44.

The law allows the sacrifice of any animal, and the priest is rewarded not, as regularly, with the skins but with a shoulder; a votive relief (Petrakos, *ὁ Ὠρωπός*, pl. 41a) shows a ram and a pig, but only ram skins were used for incubation. The destination of the skins is one of a number of aspects of the law that were altered subsequent to its initial inscription. The provision that the skins should be sacred (i.e. belong to the sanctuary) was chiselled out, though no substitute clause was inserted. Under Lycurgus the Athenians went in for selling the skins of sacrificial beasts (see *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 1469 = *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 1029 of 334/3), and *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 333. 21 provides for money from the ‘dermatic fund’ to be spent on the Amphiareum; it seems likely that by this time skins from Amphiareum sacrifices were among those sold though whether this was a new prac-

tice enabled by altering this the law is uncertain. Pausanias (I. 34. v) claims that those seeking healing at the Amphiareum first sacrificed a ram and then slept on its skin, and this is shown on various reliefs (see Petropoulou in Roesch and Argoud, *La Béotie antique*, 169–77) of c.400 B.C.; one relief shows similar incubation on a ram skin occurring in the Asclepieum and it has been suggested that practice there was influenced by practice at Oropus. For incubation generally see Ar. *Plutus* 653–747 and 102). The provision that the meat cannot be taken out of the sanctuary is not uncommon in sacred calendars (see 62. A. 57–62); here one effect is to ensure that every sacrifice by a person seeking healing creates a group occasion to which, presumably, the officials at the sanctuary could be expected to be invited to take part.

Of the three other erasures in the decree, one involves the amount of the fee (*eparche*) to be paid (where nine obols seems to have replaced one drachma), but nothing can be read or deduced of the content of the two longer clauses erased in lines 24–5 and 37–8. The presence of such erasures implies that this law remained in force for a substantial period, and underlines the fact that what was written on this stone mattered: it is the stone which is the law in a very strong sense (compare Thomas, *Oral Tradition*, 46–60). By contrast the lists of names of those incubating seem to have been temporary records, the equivalent of the ‘whitened boards’ used at Athens for temporary notices (Rhodes on *Ath. Pol.* 47. ii; Davies in *Ritual, Finance, Politics . . . D. Lewis*, 205–7). The word used for the board here (*peteuron*) is used similarly on Delos but not at Athens; it is otherwise used simply to refer to a plank, and in particular to an acrobat’s spring-board.

The Amphiareum is extremely well preserved (Travlos, *Attika*, s.v.). The law mentions an altar and a sleeping place. Other inscriptions and archaeology reveal that there were at this time a small temple, a fountain, and a theatral area, and that the sleeping-place was perhaps wooden. All these facilities were clustered at the west end of the later sanctuary. The concern with good order among the visitors may reflect their increasing numbers at the time this law was made (compare *LSCG* 83=SIG<sup>3</sup> 1157. 8 ff. regulating behaviour at the oracular shrine of Apollo Coropaeus at Corope c.100 B.C.) The Athenians invested in repair and building work in the period 374–366 (Petraikos, *Οι επιγραφές*, no. 290), and in the middle of the century, while under Theban control, the sanctuary was greatly elaborated and extended east: a stoa some 110 m. long was built (see Coulton, *BSA* lxiii 1968, 147–83) along with a larger temple, a stadium, and perhaps a theatre; further building and refurbishment occurred when the Athenians regained control in the 330s. The growing popularity of the sanctuary is also indicated by the survival of fourth-century votive reliefs which show the healing process; most famous is the relief of Archinos (Osborne, *Archaic and Classical Greek Art*, fig. 127) dated on stylistic grounds to the first quarter of the century. The famously cold baths at the Amphiareum feature in X. *Mem.* iii. xiii. 3.

The festival for which victims are provided at public expense (lines 34–5) is presumably the Amphiaraia, and is the earliest extant reference to this festival. In the late 330s and early 320s the Athenians much enlarged the Amphiaraia, partly at least on the initiative of the Atthidographer Phanodemus, instituting a procession and athletic and equestrian competitions (*IG* vii 4253–4, *Ath. Pol.* 54. vii with Rhodes’s note; cf. 4252

in which Amphiaraos himself is given a 1000 dr. gold crown for his services to Athens; Parker, *Athenian Religion*, 149).

The dialect of this inscription, which offers the best evidence for the first dialect used at Oropus, is very similar or identical to the west Ionic of Eretria (see e.g. *εἰρήται* and *ἐντόθα*, 17; *δημορίων* 35; compare 73). Later inscriptions from Oropus use Boeotian or Attic dialect depending on the period (see further A. Morpurgo Davies in E. Crespo *et al.* (edd.), *Dialectologia Graeca*, 261–79 at 273–8). The mason's use of empty

## 28

### Accounts of the Athenian Amphictyons of Delos, 377–373

Two fragments of a marble *stèle* found in Athens. Fr. a, 'the Sandwich marble', now in Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, preserves the top of the *stèle*, it has on its obverse A. 1–40 and on its reverse B. 1–41; fr. b, in the Epigraphical Museum at Athens (EM 8022) and found on the right bank of the Ilissus, has a lower part, but not the bottom, of the *stèle* with A. 41–110 on its obverse, B. 42–52 on its reverse.

Attic-Ionic, retaining the old *o* for *ou* throughout. *Stichedon* 51 (A(a)), 52 (A(b)), 44 (B(a)).

IG II<sup>2</sup> 1635, Tod 125, *I. Delos* 98\*. See also J. Coupry, *Atti del III Congresso Internazionale di Epigrafia Greca et Latina* 1957, 55–69; A. P. Matthaiou, in Traill, *Lettered Attica* (forthcoming).

#### A(a)

[θ]εο[ί].

- τάδε ἔπραξαν Ἀμφικτύονες Ἀθηναίων ἀπὸ Καλλέο ἄρχοντος μέχρι  
 τὸ Θαραγλιῶνος μηνὸς τὸ ἐπὶ Ἰπποδάμαντος ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησι,  
 ἐν Δήλῳ δὲ ἀπὸ Ἐπιγένοιο ἄρχοντος μέχρι τὸ Θαραγλιῶνος μηνὸς  
 5 τὸ ἐπὶ Ἰππίο ἄρχοντος, χρόνον ὅσον ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ἥρξεν, οἷς Διό-  
 δωρος Ὀλυμπιοδῶρο Σκαμβωνίδῃς ἐγραμμάτευεν, ἀπὸ Χαρισάνδρ-  
 ο ἄρχοντος Ἰδιώτης Θεογένος Ἀχαρνέος μέχρι τὸ Ἐκατομβαιῶνο-  
 ς μηνὸς τὸ ἐπὶ Ἰπποδάμαντος ἄρχοντος, Σωσιγένης Σωσιάδο Ἐυπε-  
 ταιῶν ἐνιαυτὸν ἐπὶ Καλλέο ἄρχοντος, Ἐπιγένης[ς M]εταγένος ἐκ Κο-  
 10 ἴλης, Ἀντίμαχος Εὐθυνόμο Μαραθώνιος, Ἐ[π]ικρά[τη]ς Μενεστράτο Π-  
 αλληνεύς. αἶδε τῶν πόλεων τ[ὸ] τόκο ἀπέδο[σ]αν· Μυκόνιοι ΧΗΗΠΔ, Σύρ-  
 οιοι ΧΧΗΗΗ, Τήνιοι Τ, Κεῖοι [ΓΗΗΗ]ΗΠΔΔΔΗΗΙΙΙΙ, Σερίφιοι ΧΓΗ, Σίφνιοι  
 ΧΧΧΗΠΔΔΔΔΔΗΗΗ, Ἰγῆται ΓΗΗΗ, [Πάριοι] ΧΧΓΗΗΗΗΠΔΔ, Οἰναῖοι ἐξ Ἰκάρο Χ  
 [Χ]ΧΧ, Θερμαῖοι ἐξ Ἰκάρο ΗΗΗ[Η· κ]εφάλαιον τόκο παρὰ τῶν πόλεων ΤΤΤ-  
 15 [Τ]ΧΧΧΓΗΗΗΗΠΔΔΔΔΗΗΙΙΙ· οἷδε τῶν ἰδιω(τῶ)ν τὸ τόκο ἀπέδοσαν· Ἀρίστω-  
 [ν] Δήλιος ὑπὲρ Ἀπολλοδώρο Δήλιό ΓΗΗΗΗ· Ἀ[ρ]τυσι[λ]εως Δήλιος ὑπὲρ  
 Γλαυκέτο Δήλιό ΓΗΗ· Ὑφοκλέης Δήλιος ΗΗ[Η]· Ἀγασ[ι]κλέης Δήλιος ὑπ-  
 ἐρ Θεοκύδος Δήλιό ΓΗΔ[Δ]Δ· Θεόγνητος Δήλιος ὑπὲρ Ὑφοκλέος Δήλί-  
 [ο] ΗΗΗΔΗΗΙΙΙ· Ἀντίπατρος Δήλιος ὑπὲρ Ὑφοκλέος Δήλιό ΗΗΠΔΔΔΓΗ-  
 20 [ΙΙ]· Πολυ...ς Τήνιος ὑπὲρ Μ...μένος Τηνίό ΗΗΗΗ· Λευκῖνος Δήλι-

A. 6–10 the punctuation of these lines is uncertain.

A. 15 ΔΙΩΝ on stone.

spaces as punctuation is found at Athens, but not otherwise at Oropus; the subsidiary punctuation with three dots is otherwise only a feature of Attic inscriptions at Oropus; and the writing of  $\epsilon$  as  $\epsilon\iota$  before a vowel in  $\delta\epsilon\iota\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$  for  $\delta\epsilon\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$  in line 36 could be an Attic or a Boeotian dialect feature (Threatte, i. 147–59, Buck §9. 1). Lines 17 and 19 display mason's errors where letters have been omitted and have subsequently had to be squeezed in between other letters, and  $\acute{\alpha}\phi\iota\kappa\nu\epsilon\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega\nu$  at line 8 is more likely to be a mistake than a curious dialectal feature.

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## A

Gods. These are the actions of the Athenian Amphictyons from the archonship of Calleas (377/6) until the month of Thargelion in the archonship of Hippodamas (375/4) at Athens, and from the archonship of Epigenes until the month of Thargelion in the archonship of Hippias on Delos, during the time when each of them held office, their secretary being Diodorus son of Olympiodorus of Scambonidae; Idiotes son of Theogenes of Acharnae, from the archonship of Charisander until the month of Hekatombaion in the archonship of Hippodamas; Sosigenes son of Sosiades of Xypete, for the year under Calleas as archon; Epigenes son of Metagenes from Koile; Antimachus son of Euthynomus of Marathon; Epicrates son of Menestratus of Pallene.

11 Of the cities, these paid interest: Myconos 1,260 dr.; Syros 2,300 dr.; Tenos 1 talent; Ceos 5,472 dr. 4½ obols; Seriphos 1,600 dr.; Siphnos 3,190 dr. 4 obols; Ios 800 dr.; Paros 2,970 dr.; the Oinaians from Icaros 4,000; the Thermaians from Icaros 400: total interest from the cities 4 talents, 3,993 dr. 2½ obols.

15 Of individuals, these paid interest: Ariston of Delos, on behalf of Apollodorus of Delos 900 dr.; Artysilos of Delos on behalf of Glaucetos of Delos 700 dr.; Hypsocles of Delos 300 dr.; Agasicles of Delos on behalf of Theocydes of Delos 630 dr.; Theognetus of Delos on behalf of Hypsocles of Delos 312 dr. 3 obols; Antipater of Delos on behalf of Hypsocles of Delos 287 dr. 3 obols; Poly...s of Tenos on behalf of M...menus of Tenos 400; Leucinus of Delos on behalf of Cleitarchus of Delos 935 dr., Leophon of

- [ο]ς ὑπὲρ Κλετάρχο Δηλίο ΓΗ[ΗΗΗΔ]ΔΔ[Γ]. Λεωφῶν Δηλῖος ὑπὲρ Πιστοξέ-  
νο Δηλίο ΗΗΗΓ. Πατροκλῆς Δ[ήλ]ιος ὑπὲρ Ὑψοκλέος Δηλίο ΗΗΗ. Ἀρι-  
τείδης Τήνιος ὑπὲρ Οἰνάδο Τηνίο ΗΗΔ. [κ]εφάλαιον τόκο παρὰ τῶν ἱ-  
[δ]ιωτῶν ΓΗΗΗΔΔΓ. εἰσεπράχθη μηνυθὲν ἐκ τῶν Ἐπισθένης Δηλίο ΗΗ-  
25 [Η]ΓΔΔΔ. εἰσεπράχθη μηνυθὲν[ν] παρὰ Πύθωνος Δηλίο ΧΗ. ἐκ τῶν ἐνεχύρ-  
[ω]ν τῶν ὠφληκότων τὰς δίκαι[ς], τιμῆς κ[ε]φ[ά]λαιον ΧΓΗΗΗΔΔΔΔΓ. μισθώ-  
[σ]εις τεμενῶν ἐξ Ῥηνείας ἐπὶ ἀρχόντων Ἀθήνησι Χαρισάνδρο, Ἰππ-  
οδάμαντος, ἐν Δήλῳ δὲ Γαλαίο, Ἰπ[πί]ο [Τ]ΤΧΗΗ[Δ]Δ. μισθώσεις τεμενῶ-  
ν ἐν Δήλῳ ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀρχόντων ΧΧΗΗΗΗΓΔΔΔΓΗΗ. οἰκίων μισθώ-  
30 [σ]εις ἐπὶ Ἰπποδάμαντος ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησι, ἐν Δήλῳ δὲ Ἰππίο ΗΗΓ-  
[Δ]ΔΔΔΓΗ. λήμματος κεφάλαιον ΓΤΤΤΧΧΧΧΓΗΔΔΔΔΓΗΗΗΙΙ. ἀπὸ τότο  
τάδε ἀνηλώθη· στέφανος ἀριστεῖον τῷ θεῷ, καὶ τῷ ἐργασαμένῳ  
μισθός, ΧΓ. τρίποδες νικητήρια τοῖς χοροῖς, καὶ τῷ ἐργασαμένῳ  
μισθός, Χ[.]. ἀρχιεθεῖροις Τ. εἰς κομιδὴν τῶν θεωρῶν καὶ τῶν χορῶ-  
35 [ν] Ἀντιμάχῳ Φίλωνος Ἑρμείῳ τριηράρχῳ ΤΧ· ἀριθμὸς βοῶν τῶν ε-  
[ἰς τῇ]ν ἐορτὴν ὠνηθέντων ΗΓΗΗΗ, τιμὴ τῶτων ΤΧΧΗΗΗΗΗΔΓΗΗΗ. πέταλ-  
[α χρυσ]ᾶ καὶ χρυσωτεῖ μισθός, ΗΔΔΓ. εἰς τὰ προθύματα τῆς ἐορτῆς  
[... κομ]ιδῇ τῶν τριπόδων καὶ τῶν βοῶν [κα]ὶ πεντηκοστῇ καὶ τρο[φῇ]  
[τοῖς βοσ]ῇ καὶ ξύλων τιμῇ τῶν ἐπὶ τ[—————<sup>16</sup>—————ω]ν τιμ[ῇ..]  
40 [—————<sup>8</sup>—————]καταλλα[γῇ(?)— -- ]

A(b)

- [—————<sup>31</sup>—————]σ[—————<sup>20</sup>—————]  
[—————<sup>29</sup>—————]σαι[—————<sup>20</sup>—————]  
[—————<sup>29</sup>—————]ννε[—————<sup>20</sup>—————]  
[—————<sup>28</sup>—————]κυλι[κ(?)—————<sup>17</sup>—————]  
45 [—————<sup>15</sup>—————]κα[—————<sup>11</sup>—————]αλαι[—————<sup>20</sup>—————]  
[—————<sup>14</sup>—————]αι[—————<sup>12</sup>—————]ιηρα[—————<sup>20</sup>—————]  
[—————<sup>10</sup>—————]ς καὶ εἰ[—————<sup>12</sup>—————]τῷ χ[—————<sup>20</sup>—————]  
[—————<sup>9</sup>—————]ι τὸν πελα[νὸν καὶ τὰ (?)]χορεῖα τ[—————<sup>20</sup>—————]  
[... Ἀμφικτ]ύουσιν εἰς τὰ [ἐπιτή]δεια καὶ γ[ραμματεῖ καὶ ὑπογραμμα]-  
50 [τεῖ————<sup>5</sup>————]ΔΔΔ. κεφάλαιον ἀναλώματος Γ. Τ[—————<sup>10</sup>————]τοῖσδε ἔδαν]-  
[εἰσάμεν ἐ]πὶ ταῖς αὐταῖς συνθήκαις κα[θάπερ οἱ ἄλλοι τὰ ἱερὰ χρή]-  
[ματα τῷ Ἀπ]όλλωνος τῷ Δηλίο δεδανεισμ[ένοι εἰσί· —————<sup>13</sup>————]  
[————<sup>6</sup>————]ωι Γ. Πασικλέει Δεικράτος Την[ί]ωι —————<sup>18</sup>————]  
[————<sup>5</sup>————]ωι ΔΔΔΓΗΗ. Φοινικλ[έ]ει Λεωπρέπ[ος —————<sup>19</sup>————]  
55 [————<sup>6</sup>————]Δηλίω ΔΔΓ. κεφάλαιον ἀναλώμα[τος σὺν τοῖς δανείσμασιν]  
[ΓΤΤΓΗΗΓ]ΔΓΗΗ. περίεστι ΤΧΧΧΓΗΗΗΗΗΓΔΔΓΗ[ΗΗΗ. vacat]  
[τάδε εἰ]πραξαν Ἀμφικτύονες ἀπὸ τῷ Σκι[ροφοριῶνος μηνὸς τὸ ἐπὶ Ἰπ]-  
[ποδάμ]αντος ἄρχοντος μέχρι Σωκρατίδ[ο] ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησι, ἐν Δήλ]-  
[ωι δέ] ἀπὸ Πανήμο μηνὸς μέχρι Πυρραίθ[ο] ἄρχοντος, οἷς Διόδωρος Ὀλ]-  
60 [υμπι]οδώρο Σκαμβωνίδης ἐγραμμάτευ[εν, Ἀθηναίῳν —————<sup>12</sup>————]

Delos on behalf of Pistoxenus of Delos 350 dr.; Patrocles of Delos on behalf of Hypsocles of Delos 300 dr., Aristеides of Tenos on behalf of Oinades of Tenos 210 dr.: total of interest from individuals 5,325 dr.

24 Following denunciation 380 dr. were exacted from Episthenes of Delos. Following denunciation 1,100 dr. were exacted from Python of Delos. From the pledges of those who have lost court cases, total value 1,845 dr.

26 Rents of sacred properties from Rheneia in the archonships of Charisander and Hippodamas at Athens and of Galaïos and Hippias on Delos: 2 talents 1,220 dr. Rents of sacred properties on Delos in the same archonships: 2,484 dr. Rents of houses during the archonship of Hippodamas at Athens and Hippias on Delos: 297 dr.

31 Total income 8 talents 4,644 dr. 2½ obols.

31 From this the following was spent: a crown as prize of honour for the god, including pay to the craftsman, 1,500 dr.; tripods as victory prizes to the choruses, including pay to the craftsman, 1,000 dr. +; to the leaders of the *theoria* 1 talent; for transport for the *theoroi* and the choruses, to the trierarch Antimachus son of Philon of Hermеios, 1 talent 1,000 dr.; number of cows bought for the festival 154, price of these 1 talent 2,419 dr. Gold leaves and payment to the goldsmith 126 dr. For the preliminary sacrifices at the festival... Transport of tripods and cows and one fiftieth tax and food for the cows and price of wood for... and price of...

(several lines at start of (b) illegible or missing at this point)

48 the cake(?) and the choral dance... to the Amphictyons for necessary supplies and to the secretary and under-secretary — 30 dr. Total expenditure 6 talents (+).

50 We made loans to the following on the same conditions as others had borrowed from the sacred money of Delian Apollo: to — of -os 500 dr.; to Pasicles son of Deicrates of Tenos —; to — of -os 37 dr.; to Phoinicles son of Leoprepes — to — of Delos 25 dr. Total expenditure including the loans: 7 talents 667 dr. Surplus of income over expenditure: 1 talent 3,979 dr. ½ obol.

57 The Amphictyons did this from the month of Scirophorion in the archonship of Hippodamas until the archonship of Socratides at Athens (374/3), and from the month Panemos until the archonship of Pyrraitus on Delos, their secretary being Diodorus son of Olympiodorus of Scambonidae. The Athenian amphictyons were

- [...]δο Ὁθήεν, Νικομέρης Τέρωνος Ἀλα[ιεύς, Ἐπιγένης Μεταγένος ἐ]-  
 [κ Κοί]λης, Ἀντίμαχος Εὐθυνόμο Μαραθώ[νιος, Ἐπικράτης Μενεστράτ]-  
 [ο Πα]λληνεύς, Ἀνδρίων Δαμάλης Δαμάλο, [—————<sup>22</sup>]  
 [Λε]ωγορί[δ]ο, Θεοτέλης Ἀνδροκρίτο, Με[—————<sup>21</sup> μ]-  
 65 [ισθ]ώσεις τεμενῶν ἐ[ξ] Πηγε[ί]ας ΤΗΗΗΠ[....· μισθώσεις τεμενῶν ἐγ Δ]-  
 [ήλο] ΧΠΔΔΗ· μ[ι]σθώσεις οἰκ[ι]ῶν ΗΗΠΔΔ[ΔΔΓΗ· ἐκ τῶν ἐνεχύρων(?) ....]  
 [...]· λήμματος κεφάλαιον ΤΧΧΧΔΗ· ἀπὸ [τότο τάδε ἀνηλώθη· εἰς ἱερὰ τ]-  
 [ὰ κ]ατὰ μῆνα καὶ μουσικῆς ἄθλα καὶ γυμ[νικῆς καὶ ἱερὰ ἐξ Ὑπερβορέω]-  
 [ν(?) κ]αὶ σαλπικτεῖ καὶ κήρυκι καὶ τῶι ὕ[πηρέτει —————<sup>16</sup>]  
 70 [..κον ΧΠΗΠΔΔΗΗΠΠΙΙΙ· τὸ τειχίον ἀνοι[κο]δομ[η]σα —————<sup>15</sup>]  
 [...] καὶ εἰς ἐπισκευὴν τὸ ἐπιστάσιό [κα]ὶ τὸ Ἀ[νδρίων οἴκο(?) ....· εἰς]  
 [ἀν]άθεσ[σ]ιν τὸ στεφάνο καὶ εἰς τὰς σ[υμμαχ]ίδας [πόλεις ἀνδράσω τ]-  
 [οἷς] ἐπὶ τὰς δίκας πεμφθεῖσιν ὑπὸ τ[ῆς] βολῆς· ΗΓ[—————<sup>15</sup>]  
 [...]ων ΠΠ· Ἀμφικτύουσιν Ἀθηναίων εἰς [τ]ἀπ[ι]τῆςδε[ι]α καὶ γραμματεῖ κα]-  
 75 [ὶ ὕ]πογραμματοῖ ΧΧΠΗΠΓ[Η]Π· Ἀμφικτ[ύ]οισιν Ἀνδ[ρίων εἰς τὰ]πιτῆςδε[ι]-  
 [α Χ]ΧΗ· κεφάλαιον ἀναλώματος· ΤΧΗΔΔΓΗΗΗΠΠΙΙΙ· [περίεστι ΧΠΗΗΗΠΔΔ]-  
 [ΔΗΓ· κεφάλαιον τὸ περιόντος σὺν τ[ῶ]ι ἐκ τὸ προτ[έ]ρο λόγο ΤΠΓΗΗΗΠΔ]-  
 [Η· ἀπ]ὸ τότο τοῖσδε ἐδανείσαμεν Δη[λ]ίων ἐ[π]ὶ τα[ῖς αὐταῖς συνθήκαι]  
 [ς, καθά]περ οἱ ἄλλοι τὰ ἱερὰ χρήματα τῷ Ἀπόλλων[ος τὸ Δηλίο] δεδαν[ε]-  
 80 [ισμένοι] εἰσίν<sup>ο</sup>, ΧΧΧ· τότο ὀφείλο[σ]ιν δανειστ[αῖ —————<sup>14</sup>]  
 [—————<sup>6</sup> Ἀπ]ολλοδώρο, Κοῖβων Τηλ[ε]μνήστο, Ἀριστ[—————<sup>15</sup>]  
 [—————<sup>12</sup> ο]κλείδο, Ἀρτυσί[λ]εως Νικάρχο, [—————<sup>16</sup>]  
 [—————<sup>15</sup> Ε]ὐτ[ύχ(?)]ίδης Δ[ι]ονυσσοδώρο, [—————<sup>17</sup>]  
 [—————<sup>26</sup> ]ωστράτο, Πα[—————<sup>17</sup>]  
 85 [—————<sup>25</sup> ]Πιστότιμος [—————<sup>17</sup>]  
 [—————<sup>25</sup> ]ο, Εὐθυκράτ[ης(?) —————<sup>16</sup>]  
 [—————<sup>15</sup> δανεισμα] ἔτ[(?)]ερον<sup>ο</sup>· Τ· τὸτ[ο ὀφείλοισιν —————<sup>8</sup>]  
 [—————<sup>25</sup> ]ίο, Δ[ημ]οκλ[έ]ης(?) —————<sup>16</sup>]  
 [—————<sup>23</sup> Δη]μοφάνης Δη[—————<sup>18</sup>]  
 90 [—————<sup>24</sup> ]δο, Ἀρίστων Α[—————<sup>18</sup>]  
 [—————<sup>24</sup> ]ς, Τύννων Θε[—————<sup>19</sup>]  
 [—————<sup>24</sup> ]το, Πατροκ[λέ]ης(?) —————<sup>16</sup>]  
 [—————<sup>24</sup> ]ς, Τιμώναξ [—————<sup>20</sup>]  
 [—————<sup>23</sup> ]ο· Σε[ρ]ιφίοις[—————<sup>20</sup>]  
 95 [—————<sup>23</sup> ]ΗΗΗ· παρέδομ[εν —————<sup>17</sup>]  
 [—————<sup>7</sup> Ἀνδρίων Ἀμφικτύοσ]ι Δαμάλει κα[ὶ συνάρχουσι(?) —————<sup>9</sup>]  
 [—————<sup>21</sup> ]ιεροποιῶι Πυθ[—————<sup>19</sup>]  
 [—————<sup>22</sup> ]ωι ΓΗ[Η]Η· κεφάλ[αιον ἀναλώματος σὺν ἀρ]-  
 [γυρίω] ὧι ἐδανείσαμεν καὶ παρ[έδ]ομ[εν ΤΤΤ —————<sup>10</sup> περίεστι(?)]  
 100 [—————] vacat  
 [—————<sup>17</sup> μισθ]ώσεις τῶν τεμε[νῶν τῶνδε(?)· ἐπὶ Χαρισάνδρ]-

A. 66 restored by Kent.

A. 68, 76 restored by Coupry.

A. 78 EHI on stone.

A. 87, 94, 98–9 restored by Coupry.

— son of —dos of Oe, Nikomenes son of Hieron of Halai, Epigenes son of Megagenes of Koile, Antimachus son of Euthynomos of Marathon, Epicrates son of Menestratos of Pallene; the Andrian amphictyons were Damales son of Damales, — son of —, — son of Leogoridos, Theotheles son of Androcritus, and Me— son of —.

64 Rents of sacred properties from Rheneia: 1 talent 350 dr. +. Rents of sacred properties from Delos 1,522 dr. Rents of houses 297. From the pledges (?) —

67 Total income 1 talent 3,012 dr.

67 From this the following was spent: on monthly sacred expenses and the musical and gymnastic contests and the Hyperborean rites and to the trumpeter and herald and assistant — 1,672 dr. 5½ obols; for building the wall — — and repair of the office and of the building of the Andrians, and for the dedication of the crown and to the men sent to the allied cities by the Council to plead cases in court: 105 dr. + — — 550 dr. To the Athenian Amphictyons for necessary supplies and to the secretary and under-secretary 2,658 dr. To the Andrian Amphictyons for necessary supplies 2,100 dr. Total expense: 1 talent 1,129 dr. 5½ obols. Surplus of income over expenditure: 1,882 dr. ½ obol. Total surplus, including that from the earlier account: 1 talent 5,861 dr. 1 obol.

78 From this money we made loans to the following Delians on the same conditions as others had borrowed from the sacred money of Delian Apollo: 3,000 dr.: they owe this as borrowers, — son of Apollodorus, Coibon son of Telemnestus, Arist— son of —, — son of —kleidos, Atysileos son of Nicarchus, — son of —, — son of —, Eutyichides son of Dionysodorus, — son of —, — son of —ostratos, Pa— son of —, — son of —, Pistotimos son of —, — son of —, — son of —os, Euthycrates son of —. And another loan, 1 talent: they owe this as a loan — son of —ios, Democles son of —, — son of —, — son of —, Demophanes son of De—, — son of —, — son of —dos, Ariston son of A—, — son of —, — son of —es, Tynnon son of The—, — son of —, — son of —tos, Patrocles son of —, — son of —es, Timonax son of —, — son of —os. To the people of Seriphos — — 300 dr. We handed over to the Andrian Amphictyons, Damales and his fellow magistrates — —. To the *hieropoios* Pyth— and to — 800 dr. Total of expenditure along with the money which we lent and handed over: 3 talents...

100 — rents of the following sacred lands, in the archonship of Charisander at Athens and



[ο ἄρχοντας Ἀθήνησι, ἐν Δ]ήλῳ δ[ε] Γαλαίο, [—————<sup>20</sup>—————]  
 [—————<sup>20</sup>—————] Γ· ἐγγυητῆς Νικ[—————<sup>20</sup>—————]  
 [—————<sup>8</sup>—————] ἐπὶ Ἰπποδάμαν[τος ἄρχοντας Ἀ]θήνησι, ἐν Δήλῳ δὲ Ἰππίο]  
 105 [—————<sup>22</sup>—————] σιμβρότο Δ[ήλιος —————<sup>8</sup>————— ἐγγυητῆς]  
 [—————<sup>20</sup>—————] Δήλιος, τὸ χωρ[ί]ο(?) —————<sup>18</sup>—————]  
 [—————<sup>19</sup>—————] ος ΗΗ<sup>Π</sup>, ἐγγυητῆ[ς —————<sup>20</sup>—————]  
 [—————<sup>16</sup>—————] ὁ ἦν(?) Ἐπισθένης· Γο[—————<sup>22</sup>—————]  
 [—————<sup>18</sup>—————] ἐγγυητῆς Νικη[—————<sup>22</sup>—————]  
 110 [... ἐπὶ Σωκρατίδῳ ἄρχο]ν[τ]ος Ἀθήνησι, [ἐν Δήλῳ δὲ Πυρραίθῳ —————<sup>5</sup>—————]  
 [—————<sup>21</sup>—————] ρος [—————<sup>28</sup>—————]

## B(a)

1 αἶδε τῶν πόλεων τὸ τό[κ]ο, ὃν ἔδει αὐτὰς ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας  
 ἀρχῆς ἀποδοῖναι, [ἐ]νέλιπο[ν] καὶ ὁκ ἀπέδοσαν τῶν τεττάρω-  
 ν ἐτῶν· Κεῖοι XXXXHΔΔΓΓΗC· Μυκόνιοι HHHHΔΔ; Σύριοι XXX-  
 X<sup>Γ</sup>HHHH; Σίφνιοι XX<sup>Π</sup>ΔΔΔΓΓΗΗΠ· Τήνιοι XXHHHH· Θερμαῖο-  
 5 ι ἐξ Ἰκάρου HHHH· Πάριοι TTTTXX<sup>Γ</sup>HHHΔΔΔ· Οἰναῖοι ἐξ Ἰκάρου  
 T<sup>Π</sup>ΔΔΔ· αἶδε τῶν πόλεων τὸν τόκον ὁκ ἀπέδοσαν τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ-  
 ς ἡμετέρας ἀρχῆς τεττάρων ἐτῶν ἐπὶ ἀρχόντων Ἀθήνησι  
 Καλλέο, Χαρισάνδρο, Ἰπποδάμαντος, Σωκρατίδῳ, ἐν Δήλῳ  
 δὲ Ἐπιγένος, Γαλαίο, Ἰππίο, Πυρραίθῳ· Νάξιοι TXXX<sup>Γ</sup>H· Ἀνδ-  
 10 ριοι TT· Καρύστιοι TXXHHHH· [[.....]] οἷδε τῶν ἰδιω-  
 τῶν τὸν τόκον ὁκ ἀπέδοσαν τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀρχῆς τ-  
 εττάρων ἐτῶν ἐπὶ ἀρχόντων Ἀθήνησι Καλλέο, Χαρισάνδρ-  
 ο, Ἰπποδάμαντος, Σωκρατίδῳ, ἐν Δήλῳ δὲ Ἐπιγένος, Γαλαί-  
 ο, Ἰππίο, Πυρραίθῳ· Ἀγάθαρχος Ἀρίστωνος Δή[λι]ος HHHH, Ἀγ-  
 15 ακλῆς Ὑφοκλέος Τήνιος HH.., Εὐφραῖντος Εὐφ[ά]ντο Δή-  
 λιος HΔ, Ἀλκμεωνίδης Θρασυ[δαί]ο Ἀθηναῖος <sup>Π</sup>Δ, Γλαύκιππ-  
 ος Κλειτάρχο Δήλιος HHHH· Δ(?)[...]ων Καρύστιος HH· Σκυλλί-  
 ας Ἀνδριος HH· Ὑφοκλῆς Θεο[γνή]το Δήλιος HHHH· Πριαυν-  
 ς Σύριος Γαλήσιος ΔΔΔΔΓΓ[ΗΗ]· Ἡρα]κλειδῆς Θρασυννάδο  
 20 Δήλιος ΓΓ· Ἀβρων Θράσωνος [Σφήττ]ιος H<sup>Π</sup>ΔΔΔΔ· Λάχης Λάχ-  
 ητος Στειριεύς ΓΓHH[.]· Μαισι[άδης] Νυμφοδώρο Δήλιος HΔΔ-  
 ΔΔ· Θράσων Ἀβρωνος Σφήττιο[ς ... Ἀ]ριστηίδης Δεινομέν-  
 ος Τήνιος ὑπὲρ Οἰνάδο Κλεο[.... Τ]ηνίῳ HHHΔ· *vacat*  
 οἷδε ὠφλον Δηλίων ἀσεβείας [ἐπὶ X]αρισάνδρῳ ἄρχοντος  
 25 Ἀθήνησι, ἐν Δήλῳ δὲ Γαλαίο τ[ίμημα] τὸ [ἐ]πιγε[γ]ραμμένον  
 [κ]αὶ ἀειφυγία, ὅτι [καὶ] ἐκ τοῦ ἱε[ρ]οῦ τὸ Ἀπόλλωνος τὸ Δηλίου ἡ-  
 γον τὸς Ἀμφικτύονας καὶ ἔτυπ[τον] Ἐπιγένης Πολυκράτο-  
 ς Μ· Πύρραιθος Ἀντιγόνο Μ· Πατρο[κλέ]ης Ἐπισθένης Μ· [[.....]]  
 [[—————<sup>14</sup>—————]] Ἀριστοφῶν Λε[υκί]ππο Μ· Ἀντιφῶν Τύννω-

B. 19 ΔΔΔΔΓΓ[ΗΗ]· Ἡρα]κλειδῆς Osborne (to give a sum roundly divisible by 4), ΔΔΔΔΓΓ[—————<sup>6</sup>—————]κλειδῆς I. Delos.  
 B. 20 and 22 Ἀβρων Coupry: Ἀβρων Tod.

of Galaïos on Delos — 5 dr., surety Nic- — — In the archonship of Hippodamas at Athens and of Hippias on Delos, — — son of —simbrotus of Delos —, surety — — of Delos; the land — — — 250 dr., surety — — son of Episthenes; — — surety Nic- — — In the archonship of Socratides at Athens and of Pyrraethus on Delos — — —

*B(a)*

- 1 Of the cities these failed to pay the interest that they should have paid during our magistracy and did not pay during the four years: the people of Ceos 4,127 dr., 1½ obols; the people of Myconos 420 dr.; the people of Syros 4,900 dr.; the people of Siphnos 2,089 dr. 2 obols; the people of Tenos 2,400 dr.; the Thermaians from Icaros 400 dr.; the people of Paros 4 talents 1,830 dr.; the Oinaians from Icaros 1 talent 80 dr. Of the cities these did not pay the interest during the four years of our magistracy during the archonships of Calleeas, Charisander, Hippodamas and Socratides at Athens and of Epigenes, Galaïos, Hippias, and Pyrraethus on Delos: the people of Naxos, 1 talent 3,600 dr.; the people of Andros 2 talents; the people of Carystus 1 talent 2,400 dr.
- Rasura*
- 10 Of individuals, the following did not pay the interest due in our magistracy during the archonships of Calleeas, Charisander, Hippodamas, and Socratides at Athens and of Epigenes, Galaïos, Hippias, and Pyrraithos on Delos: Agatharchus son of Ariston of Delos, 400 dr., Agacles son of Hypsocles of Tenos, 200 dr. +; Euphraenetos son of Euphantus of Delos 110 dr.; Alcmeonides son of Thrasydaeus of Athens 510 dr., Glaucippus son of Cleitarchus of Delos 400 dr., D—on of Carystus(?) 200 dr., Skyllias of Andros 200 dr., Hypsocles son of Theognetos of Delos 400 dr., Prianeus son of Syris of Galessos 48 dr., Heracleides son of Thrasynnades of Delos 52 dr., Habron son of Thrason of Sphettos 280 dr., Laches son of Laches of Steiria 700 dr. +, Maisiades son of Nymphodorus of Delos 140 dr., Thrason son of Habron of Sphettos —, Aristeides son of Deinomenes of Tenos on behalf of Oinados son of Cleo— of Tenos 220 dr.
- 24 The following fines were imposed on those Delians found guilty of impiety during the archonship of Charisander at Athens and of Galaïos on Delos and also sentenced to perpetual exile because they dragged the Amphictyons from the temple of Delian Apollo and struck them: Epigenes son of Polycrates, 1,000 dr.; Pyrraethus son of Antigonus, 1,000 dr.; Patrocles son of Episthenes, 1,000 dr.; *name erased*. Aristophon



son of Leucippus, 1,000 dr.; Antiphon son of Tynnion, 1,000 dr., Odoiteles son of Antigonus, 10,000 dr.; Telephanes son of Polyarces, 10,000 dr.

- 31 Sacred houses of Delian Apollo: on Delos: house at Colonus which used to belong to Euphantus, the neighbour of which is Alexus; pottery which used to belong to Euphantus, the neighbour of which is the bath of Ariston; at Pedios: a house which used to belong to Leucippus, the neighbour of which is Agesileos; a house, which used to belong to Episthenes, the neighbour of which is the road; a bronze foundry, which used to belong to Leucippus, the neighbour of which is the buildings of the —deis; a house — — a house, which used to belong to Episthenes, the neighbour of which — — which used to belong to Leucippus, the neighbour of which — — the neighbour of which is the buildings — — which used to belong to Euphantus — —

*B(b)*

- 42 — — upper room — — and fuller's shop — — and building — — were Episthenes' — — whose neighbour was Dei — — neighbour — doros. House which was — — which was Leukippos' — — neighbour Caibon — —.

signed. This inscription seems to be the first in a series marking renewed Athenian control: the Athenian amphictyons inherit no 'float' and there are no arrears of payments of interest. An unpublished inscription from shortly before this date seems to record the Chians repaying a debt to Delian Apollo via the Athenians, and the Delians paying a sum of money to the Athenians (see Lewis, *Gnomon* xlvii 1975, 718–19). Athenian control survived the upheavals associated with Alexander's restoration of exiles (see 101), but Delos gained its independence in 314 and retained it until 166 when Rome handed the island back to Athens.

Five Athenian amphictyons, from the last five Athenian tribes in the official Athenian tribal order, are named for the period 377–374, but one of them serves only for the first year and a second only from the second year onwards; but for 374/3 five Athenians serve, three identical to those serving during the previous three years and two new but chosen from the same tribes as those they replace, and five Andrians are added; the Athenian Diodorus serves as secretary throughout the period (an under-secretary is mentioned but not named). In subsequent years there is no trace of official tribal order among Athenian amphictyons although when, in 367 or shortly afterwards, the office becomes annual (and the Andrians disappear) the secretary (also

annual) follows first inverse and then regular tribal order. The form of record changed with the change to annual magistrates (see *I. Délos* 104), to include records of dedications as well as of financial transactions, and from 359 a second board of Athenians, *naopoioi*, also appears. The rate of pay for amphictyons is given by *Ath. Pol.* 62. ii as one drachma a day: the preserved payments here for 374/3 (*A.* 75–6) amount to 420 dr. for each of the Andrian amphictyons and 2,658 dr. for the Athenian amphictyons along with the secretary and under-secretary. This appears to be a rate of a drachma a day for a year of 420 days (i.e. including two intercalary months) for the amphictyons themselves and the secretary, and 2 obols a day for the under-secretary.

These accounts show the amphictyons responsible for lending money to cities and individuals and claiming interest payments (at 10% per annum: see M&L 62. 12) on the loans; leasing sacred land on Rheneia and buildings on Delos; receiving money from confiscated estates and distraint on goods; exacting fines from men condemned for impiety; providing for the various Delian festivals, in particular the great quadrennial festival of Delian Apollo celebrated in this case in 375/4 (*A.* 32–40); and looking after the buildings of the sanctuary.

Most of the loans to cities are to other Cycladic islands, but two separate communities on Icaros are also recorded. Athens does not borrow from Delos. Of the 13 cities borrowing money (*A.* 11–14, *B.* 3–10), only two, Seriphos and Ios, pay all the interest due, and three cities, including Andros, fail to pay any interest at all. Are the cities suffering severe economic pressure, or are they taking advantage of an Athens too keen to court goodwill in the Aegean to press these claims? Almost all the loans seem to have been of round sums, although the payments made are not always round sums. So the Ceans, recorded as a single body (contrast 22, 39, 40), pay interest of 5,472 dr. 4½ obols, and are recorded as owing a further 4,127 dr. 1½ obols, but this makes the total interest of 9,600 dr. or 2,400 dr. a year, which is the interest on a 4-talent loan. Similar calculations show the other loans to have been (in descending order): to Paros 48 talents, to Andros 5 talents, to the Oinaians from Icaros 4 talents 1,520 dr., to Naxos 4 talents, to Tenos 3½ talents, to Carystus 3½ talents, to Syros 3 talents, to Siphnos 2 talents 1,187 dr. 2 obols, to Myconos 4,200 dr. (they seem to have failed to pay one annual instalment of interest); to Seriphos 4,000 dr., to Ios 2,000 dr., to the Thermaians from Icarus 2,000 dr. Both the capacity and willingness of the Delian sanctuary to loan sums as large as 48 talents to Paros and the need of islands like Seriphos or Ios to borrow sums of less than a talent are to be noted. This wide variation is comparable to the variation in the amount of tribute that the Athenians demanded from different islands in the fifth century: Paros seems regularly to have paid 18 talents, Seriphos 1 talent, and Ios half a talent (see further Nixon and Price in Murray and Price, *The Greek City*). In 341/0, when the Delian amphictyons agreed to make Paros a further loan of 5 talents (*I. Délos* 104–28. *bA.* 21), Paros passed a decree in their honour (*IG* XII. v. 113).

Just as most of the loans to cities are local, so the loans to individuals are to men from Delos itself, from Athens, Andros, Carystus, Galessos on Syros, and Tenos. The largest loan is of 4,000 dr., to Hypsocles of Delos: he himself pays interest of 300 dr., three other Delians pay sums of 312 dr. 3 obols, 287 dr. 3 obols, and 300 dr. on his

behalf, and he is still held to be owing 400 dr. of interest. The smallest loan from which interest is due is one of perhaps 120 dr., to the man from Syros, who failed to pay any interest during the four-year period. But the fragmentary record of moneys newly loaned seems to include loans of 25 and 37 dr. Only 6 of 24 individual borrowers pay any interest, and all who pay are from either Delos or Tenos; all the Athenians who borrow money fail to pay any interest.

The largest single item of income is the rent from sacred properties on Rheneia and Delos; these properties seem normally to have been leased for a ten-year term. The rents of the estates on Rheneia and Delos for 376–373 and the rents of the buildings on Delos for 375–373 come to just over 4 talents, the largest part (2 talents 1220 dr. for 376–374, 6,350 or a drachma or two more in 374/3) coming from the estates on Rheneia (*A.* 26–31, 64–5), with 4,006 dr. coming from the Delian estates. The buildings on Delos seem to be a new item for 375/4, although the record of their leasing is not recorded on the surviving part of the stone; they bring in just 297 dr. a year. One new estate lease is recorded for 376/5 and two for 375/4 (*A.* 100–9); the total sum of money paid for the Rheneia estates suggests that the new rents may have been slightly lower than the old. Certainly the Rheneia estates raised significantly less in 374 than in 432, when the annual income from them had been 7,110 dr., and there was a marked further decline in rents between 374 and 359/8 (*I. Délos* 104–11; see J. Tréheux in *Mélanges d'archéologie . . . Picard*, 1017): this may be another sign of economic crisis. In this inscription no names and ethnics of lessees are preserved, but in the middle of the century some inscriptions reveal more lessees to be Athenian than Delian (particularly in the case of houses), and after 375/4 none of the 23 guarantors are certainly Delian and 16 are certainly Athenian. The very end of the inscription seems to be a catalogue of the buildings, including a bronze foundry and a pottery next to a bathhouse; the identification of these buildings by the names of their former owners points to their origin in property confiscation. Two of the buildings listed (*B.* 35, 37) were once owned by Episthenes, who is presumably to be identified as the man recorded paying a fine of 380 dr. at *A.* 24–5 and who is also likely to be the father of the Patrocles fined 10,000 dr. (see further below).

The list of expenditure gives a good idea of the particular expenses of putting on a big festival on Delos. Alongside the 8,419 dr. spent on 109 cows for sacrifice (compare on 81), the 125 dr. + spent gilding their horns, and the 2,500–3,000 dr. spent on a gold crown for Apollo and tripods for victors, the Delians spend 13,000 dr. on supporting and transporting the *theoroi*, the official pilgrims sent to the festival.

One entry in these accounts is not routine. This is the exaction of fines from seven men who had been found guilty of impiety in 376/5 and condemned both to a fine and to perpetual exile (*B.* 24–30). Their offence had been to drag the Amphictyons from the temple of Delian Apollo and beat them up. This is an important incident both for our understanding of what might be included in a charge of impiety and because of its implications for relations between Athens and Delos. Those implications become particularly fascinating if the Epigenes son of Polycrates involved is the man who had been Delian archon in 377/6, and still more so if the Pyrraethus son of Antigonus involved is the same Pyrraethus who was elected archon of Delos in 374/3 (*B.* 8–9) (in



the Amphictyony look more respectable, and the repair of the Andrian *oikos* (A. 71 if correctly restored) may have been the price exacted by the Andrians. We may wonder whether the Athenians moved, in or after 367, to an annual board rather than a five-year term because the Delians made the life of an Athenian Amphictyon unattractive. The Delians certainly continued to argue against Athenian overlordship: in the 340s they took their case to the Delphic Amphictyony (and lost: Demosthenes xviii. *Crown* 134–6); in the 330s the Athenians honoured with citizenship and maintenance a Delian who had maintained the Athenian cause against opposition (*IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 222 with M.J. Osborne, *Eranos* lxxii 1974, 175–84).

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# §i

— — — in accordance with tradition, and to the Panathenaea a cow and panoply, and to send to the Dionysia a cow and phallus as a commemoration, since they happen to be colonists of the people of Athens.

- 7 Write up the decree and the reconciliation which the allies have decreed for the Parians, and place a *stele* on the Acropolis: for the writing-up of the *stele* the treasurer of the people shall give 20 drachmas.
- 12 Also invite to hospitality in the *prytaneion* tomorrow the envoys of the Parians.



## §ii

ἐπὶ Ἀστ[ε]ίο ἄρχοντος· Σκιροφο-

- 15 [ρίω]νος ἔνι καὶ [νέ]αι· ἐπ[ιψήφί]ζοντος  
 [ . ] ν [ . . . Θ ]ηβαίο. ἔδοξεν το[ι]ς [συ]μμάχοις·  
 [δ]π[ως ἄ]ν οἰκῶσι Πάρ[ιο]ι [ὁ]μονό[ως καὶ μη-  
 δέν [? αὐτ]όθι βίαιο[ν] γίγ[νηται]· ἐ[ά]ν τις ἄ-  
 ποκ[τείν]η [τινὰ ἀδίκως ?], τ[ο]ὺς αἰτίος τ-  
 20 ὁ θα[νάτ]ο [—<sup>8</sup>— ? διδόν]αι [δίκ]ην κατ-  
 ἅ το[ὺς ν]ό[μ]οις [—<sup>12</sup>—] ε[ . . . ] ηἷ ἡ φυ-  
 γαδ[ε]ῖ[ν] ηἷ [τιν]ᾶ παρὰ [το]ὺς ν[ό]μοις καὶ τὸ [ψ]-  
 [ή]ισ[μα τ]όδε, [—<sup>13</sup>—] ιαν[ε]στ[ . . . ]  
*traces of letters on three further lines*

17 Crowther, comparing reconciliation clauses in other decrees, e.g. 85. A, B: [μ]ηδ[έν]α οἰκω[ν] ἡ κλ[ήρο] ἐ[ξελάσ]αι Accame, [ἀ]πὸ τῶν οἰκω[ν] μηδέν[α] ἐξελάσαι Dreher. 18 Crowther: [πράξ]αι βίαιο[ν] παρ[ᾶ] τάδε Accame. 19 Crowther: [τ]εθ[ν]ά[ν]αι καὶ τ[ο]ς Accame. 20 Crowther: θα[νάτ]ον κρ[ί]ναι [δῆ]μον καὶ [βο]λήν Accame. 21 Crowther: τὸς [θ]εσμός. ἐ[άν] δ[ε] τις [ἐξελ]αί[ν]η Accame. 22 Crowther: τὸς [θεσ]μός Accame. 23 Crowther: τ[ό]δ[ε], ᾗ[τις] [ε]στ[ . . . ] Accame.

The Athenian decree which is inscribed first (§i) will be the later of the two, and the decision of the allies which follows (§ii) will be the 'reconciliation' referred to in ll. 7–8. There has been civil war in Paros (Dreher was the first to stress that the reconciliation is between parties in Paros, not between Paros and Athens): probably in 373 Timotheus' failure to act promptly against the Spartans in the west (X. H. vi. ii. 11–13, D.S. xv. 47. ii–iii) encouraged an anti-Athenian party there; as Athens gained the upper hand in the west the pro-Athenian party in Paros gained the upper hand there. The *synedrion* of the allies has been invoked, and has imposed terms of reconciliation limiting the vengeance that is permitted (cf. the reconciliation in Athens on the restoration of the democracy in 403; *Ath. Pol.* 39); and Athens treats Paros as a colony, requiring it to send offerings to Athenian festivals as in the fifth century it required offerings from colonies (M&L 40 ~ Fornara 71. 3–8; 49 ~ 100. 15–17) and ultimately from all members of the Delian League (M&L 46 ~ Fornara 98. 41–3; 69 ~ 136. 55–8).

For the offerings the closest parallel to this decree is provided by Athens' decree setting up a colony at Brea (M&L 49 ~ Fornara 100: a cow and panoply at the Panathenaea, a phallus at the Dionysia). According to one tradition, Paros was colonized from Arcadia ([Arist.] fr. 611. 25 Rose [Teubner] = Heracl. fr. 25 Dilts); but according to another tradition the Cyclades were colonized from Athens (Thuc. i. 12. iv, Isoc. xii. *Panath.* 43), and two texts mention Paros in that connection (schol. Dion. Perieget. 525 [ii. 451 Müller], Vell. Pat. i. 4. iii). On the payment for the inscription see Rhodes, *Boule*, 101 n. 3, 103 n. 7; A. S. Henry, *Chiron* xii 1982, 91–118: the assembly's expense account, receiving an allowance in the *merismos* and managed by the treasurer of the people, was probably instituted c. 376 (though Henry gives a more complex account of financial developments in the early fourth century); this is the earliest securely dated mention of the treasurer; there is no surviving reference to the account itself until 367 (cf. 35).

## §ii

- 14 In the archonship of Asteius [373/2]; on the last day of Scirophorion; with — of Thebes putting to the vote. Resolved by the allies:
- 17 So that the Parians shall live in agreement and nothing violent shall happen there (?):
- 18 If any one kills any one unjustly (?), he shall be put to death; and those responsible for the death shall pay the penalty (?) in accordance with the laws. — — or exiles any one contrary to the laws and this decree, — —

§ii is our only surviving document of the *synedrion* of the league. It dates by the Athenian archon, and by month and day, here the last day of the year (but not by prytany and day, since the *synedrion* is not convened by members of the Athenian council): Athenian decrees do not habitually give month and day as well as prytany and day until the second half of the century.<sup>1</sup> It is almost certain that Athens was not represented in the *synedrion* (the only texts which might suggest otherwise are Dem. xxiv. *Tim.* 127, 150): here we have evidence that the *synedrion* was presided over not by an Athenian but by one of its own members; and it is striking to find a Theban acting in this capacity as late as 372, when both Thebes' lack of support for the League (X. *H.* vi. ii. 1) and its growing power in Boeotia and central Greece, marked especially by the destruction of Plataea (X. *H.* vi. iii. 1, cf. Isoc. xiv. *Plat.*) were causing disquiet in Athens.

After 'Resolved by the allies', this document launches very abruptly into the substance: ll. 7–8 lead us to expect the full text of their resolution, not just an extract; perhaps allies with less experience of decree-drafting than the Athenians had actually did produce a very abrupt document. For the exception of murderers from the amnesty imposed on Paros cf. Athens in 403 (*Ath. Pol.* 39. v). The laws referred to in ll. 21–2 will be those of Paros. This enactment calls itself a 'decree' (*psaphisma*: ll. 22–3): for that cf. X. *H.* vi. v. 2; but the word more commonly used of decisions of the allies is 'resolution' (*dogma*): e.g. Tod 127. 14–15, 33. 10–11, Dem. xix. *Embassy* 15.

<sup>1</sup> First dated instances *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 229, 341/0 (day specified but not month; but again in fact the last day of the year); *SEG* xvi 52, 339/8 (restored with month but not day); 77, 338/7 (month and day; see commentary); see Henry, *Prescripts*, 37–8; but Henry overlooks E. Schweigert, *Hesp.* viii 1939, 14 n. 1, on *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 122 (an unreliable fragment, restored with a date of 357/6) and 404 (for whose dating c.356–c.355 see on 39).

## A Theban monument after Leuctra, 371

A limestone block found in a suburb of Thebes; now in the museum there. Phot. K. Demakopoulou & D. Konsola, *Archaeological Museum of Thebes: Guide*, 31 fig. 1.

In a mixed dialect (see commentary); ll. 1–3 in larger letters.

*IG* vii 2462; Tod 130\*; *CEG* 632. Trans. Harding 46. See also H. Beister, *Chiron* iii 1973, 65–84; C. Tuplin, *Klio* lxiix 1987, 72–107 at 94–107.

Ξενοκράτης,

Θεόπομπος,

Μνασίλαος.

άνίκα τὸ Σπάρτας ἐκράτει δόρυ, τηνάκις εἶλεν  
 5 Ξενοκράτης κλάρωι Ζηνὶ τρόπαια φέρειν,  
 οὐ τὸν ἀπ' Εὐρώτα δείσας στόλον οὐδὲ Λάκαιναν  
 ἀσπίδα. “Θηβαῖοι κρείσσονες ἐν πολέμωι”,  
 κάρυσσει Λεύκτροις νικαφόρα δουρὶ τρόπαια,  
 οὐδ' Ἐπαμεινώνδα δεύτεροι ἐδράμομεν.

Since it appears that nothing stood on it, and there is no indication in the text that it is a dedication, this is almost certainly a gravestone. The three men presumably died on the same occasion, either in the battle of Leuctra (altogether 47 Boeotians are said to have died in the battle (Paus. ix. 13. xii: D.S. xv. 56. iv has 300)) or in some later episode. There is no convincing explanation of the text's first naming three men but then mentioning an achievement of just one: perhaps this was the best that the versifier could manage. The dialect is mainly literary Doric, but with epic elements (e.g. *κρείσσονες*, l. 7), coming close to the language of Pindar: it enables Xenocrates' name to be given the long first syllable which the metre requires.

Xenocrates was one of the Boeotarchs, the senior officials of the Boeotian federation, in 371, named as one of those who supported Epaminondas' plan for an immediate attack on the Spartans at Leuctra (Paus. ix. 13. vi–vii cf. D.S. xv. 53. iii). Four texts contain stories in which, in one way or another, the Boeotians were encouraged by the oracle of Trophonius at Lebadea to fight at Leuctra (Callisth. *FGrH* 124 F 22 [a] *ap.* Cic. *Div.* i. 74, D.S. xv. 53. iv, Polyae. ii. 3. viii, Paus. iv. 32. v–vi). In Pausanias' story the Thebans were instructed to demoralize the Spartans by setting up before the battle a trophy bearing the shield of the seventh-century Messenian hero Aristomenes. That has often been associated with these verses; Beister has argued that it is in fact a distortion of a story alluded to in them, that they were to carry a trophy into the battle (his interpretation of *pherein* in l. 5: it is not a normal verb for setting up a trophy). The Messenian dimension of the story is surely an invention subsequent to the liberation

Xenocrates, Theopompus, Mnasilaus.

- 4 When the Spartan spear was dominant, then Xenocrates took by lot the task of offering a trophy to Zeus, not fearing the host from the Eurotas or the Spartan shield. 'Thebans are superior in war', proclaims the trophy won through victory/bringing victory by the spear at Leuctra; nor did we run second to Epaminondas.

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of Messenia by Thebes and others in 370/69 (D.S. xv. 62. i–66. i). Beyond that, it would be remarkable if the story about Leuctra postulated by Beister were true but had subsequently been replaced by a less vivid story, when there is no direct trace at all of Beister's story, and no trace of the less vivid story in any literary text earlier than Pausanias. Tuplin argues convincingly that (whatever may be the origin of Pausanias' story) in spite of the unusual verb it is easier to interpret the verses as referring to the ordinary erection of a trophy after the battle. Strictly, it was when he was drawing lots that Xenocrates did not fear the Spartans: that would be appropriate whether the lots were drawn before the battle or after the victory, when some of the Spartans wanted to contest the erection of the trophy (X. H. vi. iv. 14). If he died in the battle, we must assume that the lots were drawn before and he did not live to carry out the task.

'When the Spartan spear was dominant' (l. 5) probably refers to the era ended by the battle of Leuctra rather than to the particular time when the lots were drawn. Trophies were often connected with Zeus (Tuplin, 106 n. 104). For 'proclaims' (*karyssei*) with direct speech cf. *Anth. Pal.* vii. 431 = Sim. lxxv (Page, *Epigrammata Graeca*). Not running second to the Theban commander Epaminondas could mean either literally, that Xenocrates or the three men were not behind him in running to attack the Spartans or, metaphorically, that he/they did not perform less well than him: there is no need to suppose, as Tod considered possible, that this is 'a veiled protest against the undue glorification of that general'.

## Athenian decrees for Mytilene, 369/8 and 368/7

Four fragments of a *stele*: one found south of the Athenian Acropolis, the others in the north of the city; now in the Epigraphical Museum.

Attic-Ionic; ll. 1–6 in larger letters (3–6 *stoichedon* 26); 7–34 non-*stoichedon*; 35 sqq. *stoichedon* 31. This is the work of Tracy's Cutter of *IG II<sup>2</sup> 105* (cf. **34**, **41**): *Athenian Democracy in Transition*, 67–70.

*IG II<sup>2</sup> 107*; *SIG<sup>3</sup> 164*; Tod 131\*. Trans. Harding 53. See also T. A. Tonini, *Aome* xlii 1989, 47–61.

§i

[θ]εοί.

[Μυτ]ιληναίων.

[Ναυσιγ]ένης ἥρχεν· Αἰαντὶς ἐπρυ-

[τάνευε]ν· Μόσχος Κυδαθηναίεὺς ἐ-

5 [γραμμιά]τευνεν· Ἀρίστυλλος Ἐρχι[ε]-

[ὺς ἐπεσ]τάτει. *vacat*

*vacat*

[ἐδο]ξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῶι δήμῳ.

*vacat*

[Διο]φ[αντος ε]ἶπεν· [π]ερὶ ὧν οἱ πρέσβεις οἱ ἐχ' Λέσβου ἤκοντ[ες] λέ-

[γο]ύσων, [ἐψηφ]ίσθαι τῇ βουλῇ· προσαγαγεῖν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸν δῆ-

10 [μον τοὺς] προέδρους οἱ ἂν λάχωσιν προεδρεύειν εἰς τὴν πρῶ[τῃ]-

[ν ἐ]κκλησίαν, γνώμην δὲ ξυββάλλεσθαι τῆς βουλῆς εἰς [τὸν] δ[ὲ] ἥμο]-

ν ὅ[τι] δοκῇ τῇ βουλῇ· ἐπ[ε]ιδὴ Μυτιληναῖοι ἄνδρες [ἀγαθοί ε]-

[ῖσι] π[ε]ρ[ὶ] τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων κα[ὶ] νῦν κ[α]ὶ ἐν τῷ ἀπρόσθεν χ]-

[ρόνῳ], ἐ[π]α[ι]νέσαι τὸν δῆμον τὸν Μυτιληναίων ἀρε[τ]ῆς ἐ[ν]εκ[α] [τῇ]-

15 [ς ἐς τὸν δῆμον] τὸν Ἀθηναίων· καὶ εἶναι πρόσσοδ[ον α]ὐτοῖς [ἐάν το]-

[ν δέωνται] πρὸς τῇ[ν] βουλῇ· τὸν δῆμον πρῶ[τοις] μετ[ὰ τ]ὰ [ε]ρά.

[ἐπαινέσ]αι δὲ καὶ Ἱερο[λί]ταν ὅτι ἐστὶν ἀ[ν]ήρ ἀγαθὸς περ[ὶ τ]ὸ [ν]

[δῆ]μον τὸν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τὸν Μυτ[ι]λη[να]ίων. ἀναγράψαι δ[ὲ τ]ὸ δ-

[ε τὸ ψ]ή[φ]ισμα τὸν γραμματέα τῆς [βου]λῆς ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ-

20 [ι καὶ σ]τήσαι ἐν ἀκροπόλει. [ἀν]αγράψαι δὲ κα[ὶ] τ[ὸ] ψήφ[ισμα] ε-

[ῖς τὴν α]ὐτὴν στήλῃν ὃ ἀπε[κρ]ύατο ὁ δῆμος τοῖς πρέσβεσι

[τοῖς Μυ]τιλην[α]ίων τοῖς μετ[ὰ] [Τε]ροίτ[α]. εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφ-

[ὴν δοῦναι τῆς στή]λης [τ]ὸν ταμίαν τοῦ δήμου τῶι γραμματεῖ τ-

[ῆς βου]λῆς ΔΔ δραχμᾶς. ἐπαινέσαι δὲ τοὺς πρέσβεις τοὺς

25 [πεμφ]θέντας εἰς Μυτιλήνην καὶ καλέσαι ἐπὶ δέπνον εἰς

[τὸ πρυ]τανεῖον εἰς αὔριον. καλέσαι δὲ καὶ τοὺς συνέδρο[ν]-

[ς τοὺς] Μυτιληναίων ἐπὶ ξένια εἰς τὸ πρυταν[ε]ῖον εἰς αὐ[ρι]-

[ον. κ]αλέσαι δὲ καὶ τοὺς συνέδρους τῶι Μηθυμναίων

3–7 Cf. Tod 135 (which states that the prytany of Aiantis was the seventh in the year): that has a different chairman, so was enacted on a different day, but Diophantus was the proposer. Cf. also the older restoration (which we reject) of **34**. 15 The stone omits the ι.

## §i

Gods.

<sup>2</sup> Of the Mytilenaeans.

<sup>3</sup> Nausigenes was archon [368/7]; Aiantis was the prytany; Moschus of Cydathenaeum was secretary; Aristyllus of Erchia was chairman.

<sup>7</sup> Resolved by the council and the people. Diophantus proposed:

<sup>8</sup> Concerning what is said by the envoys who have come from Lesbos, be it decreed by the council: The *proedroi* to whose lot it falls to preside in the first assembly shall bring them forward to the people; and contribute the opinion of the council to the people, that the council resolves:

<sup>12</sup> Since the Mytilenaeans have been good men with regard to the people of Athens both now and in the time past, praise the people of Mytilene for their goodness towards the people of Athens; and if they need anything there shall be access for them to the council or the people first after the sacred business.

<sup>17</sup> Praise also Hieroetas because he is a good man with regard to the people of Athens and of Mytilene.

<sup>18</sup> This decree shall be written up by the secretary of the council on a stone *stele* and placed on the Acropolis. There shall be written up also on the same *stele* the decree which the people gave in reply to the envoys of Mytilene with Hieroetas. For the writing-up of the *stele* the treasurer of the people shall give to the secretary of the council 20 drachmas.

<sup>24</sup> Praise the envoys who were sent to Mytilene and invite them to dinner in the *prytaneion* tomorrow. Also invite the *synedroi* of Mytilene to hospitality in the *prytaneion* tomorrow. Also invite

[καὶ Ἀ]ντισσαίων καὶ Ἐρεσίων καὶ Πυρραίων ἐπὶ ξ[ένια]  
 30 [εἰς τ]ὸ πρυτανεῖον εἰς αὔριον. Αὐτόλυκος εἶπεν· τὰ μέ[ν]  
 [ἄλλ]α καθ[άπ]ερ τῇ βουλῇ· ἐπαινέσαι δὲ τοὺς πρέσβεις  
 [του]ς πεμφθέντας εἰς Λέσσον Τ[ι]μόνοθον καὶ Αὐτόλυκ-  
 [ον κ]αὶ Ἀ[ρ]ιστοπείθην, καὶ καλέσαι αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ δειπνον εἰ-  
 [ς τ]ὸ πρυτανεῖον εἰς αὔριον. *vacat*  
*vacat*

## §ii

35 [ἐπὶ Λυ]σιστράτου ἄρχοντος. ἔδοξεν τῇ[ι]  
 [βουλῇ] καὶ τῷ δήμῳ. Καλλίστρατος [εἶ]-  
 [πεν· ἐπ]αινέσαι μὲν τὸν δῆμον τὸμ Μυτ[ιλ]-  
 [ηναίω]ν ὅτι καλῶς καὶ προθύμως συν[διε]-  
 [πολέμ]η[σα]ν τὸμ πόλεμον τὸν παρελθό[ντ]-  
 40 [α. ἀποκρίνασ]θαι δὲ τοῖς πρέσβεσι[ν τοῖ]-  
 [ς ἡκουσιν ὅτι Ἀ]θ[η]ναῖοι ἐπολέμησ[αν ὑπ]-  
 [έρ τ]ῆς ἐλευθερίας[ς τῶν Ἑλλήνων· κα]ὶ ἐπε[-  
 [ιδῇ Λακεδαιμόν]οι ἐπεστράτευσ[αν τοῖ]-  
 [ς Ἑλλήσιν παρὰ τ]οὺς ὄρκους καὶ τὰ[ς συν]-  
 45 [θήκας, αὐτοὶ τε ἐβ]οήθουν καὶ τοὺς [ἄλλο]-  
 [υς συμμάχους π]αρεκάλεσαν βοηθ[εῖν τῇ]-  
 [ν καθήκουσαν Ἀ]θηναίοις βοηθ[εῖ]αν, ξ[ε]μ[υ]-  
 [έοντες ἐν τοῖ]ς ὄρκοις, ἐπὶ τοὺς π[αραβ]-  
 [αίνοντας τὰ]ς σπονδάς, ἀξιο[ύσ]ιν δὲ [ . . . ]  
 50 [—<sup>10</sup>— ἐν] τῷ πρόσθ[εν χ]ρόνῳ ν[ . . . ]  
 [—<sup>13</sup>—]αι τῷ δ[ήμῳ]ι τῷ Μυτι[λ]-  
 [ηναίων —<sup>7</sup>— δῆ]μ[ω]ι τῷ Ἀ[θη]ναίων [ . . . ]  
 [—<sup>22</sup>—]αι συντε[ . . . ]  
 [—<sup>22</sup>—]ερο[ . . . ] αλλο [ . . . ]  
 55 [—<sup>21</sup>—]ι μετ' Ἀθην[αῖ]-  
 [ων —<sup>19</sup>—] ὅπως ἐγ[ . . . ]  
 [—<sup>20</sup>—]ι καὶ [—<sup>7</sup>—]  
 [—<sup>20</sup>—]ιν λ[—<sup>8</sup>—]  
 [—<sup>18</sup>—]ο[ . . . ] ε[—<sup>10</sup>—]  
 60 [—<sup>17</sup>—]θαι [—<sup>11</sup>—]

The decree which is inscribed first (§i) is the later of the two, and orders the inscription of both. (B. T. Nolan in an unpublished thesis, reported in *SEG* xlv 36 cf. 257, has observed that l. 7 conforms to the *stoichedon* grid used for §ii but the remainder of §i is inscribed in an erasure: apparently when it was first inscribed the amendment was omitted; §ii was then inscribed; and the original text of §i had to be erased and replaced with a version in more crowded lettering which did include the amendment.)

the *synedroi* of Methymna and Antissa and Eresus and Pyrrha to hospitality in the *prytaneion* tomorrow.

30 Autolycus proposed:

30 In other respects in accordance with the council; but praise the envoys who were sent to Lesbos, Timonothus and Autolycus and Aristopithes, and invite them to dinner in the *prytaneion* tomorrow.

## §ii

35 In the archonship of Lysistratus [369/8]. Resolved by the council and the people. Callistratus proposed:

37 Praise the people of Mytilene because they joined well and enthusiastically in fighting the war that is over. Reply to the envoys who have come, that the Athenians fought the war for the freedom of the Greeks; and when the Spartans were campaigning against the Greeks, contrary to the oaths and the agreement, they themselves went in support and they called on the other allies to go and render the support due to the Athenians, abiding by the oaths, against those contravening the treaty.

49 They claim — — — in the time past — — — the people of Mytilene — the people of Athens — — —

---

It is a conventional honorific decree, and was presumably prompted by a favourable response from Mytilene and the other cities of Lesbos to the reply (contained in the other decree) which Athens had given to the embassy of Hieroetas and his colleagues. The purpose of the amendment is uncertain: Tod thought that the envoys 'to Lesbos' (ll. 31–2) were sent to the cities other than Mytilene and were different from those sent to Mytilene; Rhodes (*Boule*, 279) that there was one embassy, and the purpose of the



amendment was to have the envoys named and/or to read ‘Lesbos’ for ‘Mytilene’; another possibility is that there was one embassy, it was not mentioned in the original motion, and the reference in ll. 24–6 has been added as a result of the amendment. It is in any case striking that Autolycus proposed the amendment in favour of an embassy of which he was a member (in M&L 49, 73 ~ Fornara 100, 140, amendments refer the proposers of the amendments to the council; in 22 Aristoteles is proposer and an envoy elected under his decree). The series of invitations to the *prytaneion* is a good illustration of the rule that non-citizens were invited to *xenia* (‘hospitality’) but citizens to *deipnon* (‘dinner’): cf. on 2. On this occasion no envoys had come from Lesbos to Athens, so Athens took the unusual step of inviting the *synedroi* present in Athens to the *prytaneion*.

The earlier decree (§ii) is the more important of the two, and it is exceptionally frustrating that the preserved text ends where it does. The Second Athenian League had been founded, within the framework of the Peace of Antalcidas, to oppose the threat presented by Sparta to the freedom of the Greeks; Mytilene had been a founder member, and the other cities of Lesbos had joined too (22). However, after the battle of Leuctra in 371 the Athenians came to see Thebes as a greater threat than Sparta, and this change of stance was confirmed by an alliance between Athens and Sparta in 369 (X. H. vii. i. 1–14, D.S. xv. 67. i). Sparta had ceased to be a threat to the other Greeks as well as to Athens; Thebes, itself a founder member of the League, was presumably no longer a member after Leuctra, but was not at this stage a threat to the island Greeks who formed most of the League’s membership; yet Athens kept the League in being, as it had kept the Delian League in being when it gave up regular warfare against Persia in the middle of the fifth century. Members might well be puzzled or indignant; and Mytilene evidently was. Athens replied that it had led the opposition to

## 32

### The Arcadian federation honours an Athenian, 369–367

A tapering *stèle* with a relief showing Fortune (*Tyche*) holding a helmet and touching a trophy: found at Tegea; now built into the wall of a church and inaccessible. Facs. *AM* xxxvi 1911, Beilage zu 351; *IG* v. ii.

Ionic for the decree, with : as a punctuation mark, Arcadian for the list; in the list, city names project to the left, l. i. 39 is in larger letters.

*IG* v. ii 1; *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 183; Tod 132\*. Trans. Harding 51 (ll. 1–9 + names of cities and numbers of *damiorgoi*). See also J. Roy in Brock & Hodkinson (edd.), *Alternatives to Athens*, 308–26.

θεός : Τύχη.  
 ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ τῶν  
 Ἀρκάδων : καὶ τοῖς

Sparta when the Spartans were breaking the Peace of Antalcidas and threatening the Greeks; unfortunately what was said about the new state of affairs has not survived. Tonini stresses the importance of the decision to publish this decree with the later one, in 368/7: that was the time when Thebes began to show signs of wanting to follow its challenge to Sparta with a challenge to Athens, and when Athens might well have wanted to reinforce its links with its Aegean allies.

Moschus, secretary in 368/7, was to be treasurer of Athena in 366/5 (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1428. 5–6). Diophantus, restored as the proposer of the first decree, is probably Diophantus of Sphettus, a politician active until the 340s, and probably with Eubulus creator in the 350s of the theoric fund (schol. Aesch. III. *Ctes.* 24 with Rhodes, *Comm. Ath. Pol.* 514): in the same prytany he proposed honours for a Spartan (Tod 135). Autolycus may be the man who was a respectable spokesman for the Areopagus in 346 (Aesch. I. *Tim.* 81–4) but was condemned after the battle of Chaeronea in 338 (Lyc. *Leocr.* 53). Callistratus will be the leading politician, nephew of Agyrrius (Dem. XXIV. *Tim.* 135), who was influential in Athens during the anti-Spartan 370s, but made the crucial speech at the peace conference in Sparta in spring 371 (X. *H.* VI. III. 10–17, cf. D.S. XV. 38. III (writing of 375)) and here defends Athens' change of policy. He remained influential during the 360s, but was condemned in 361 (we do not know why), went into exile, and was put to death when he later attempted to return (Lyc. *Leocr.* 93).

§i of our text has the unique ἐχ Αέσβου (l. 8) but Tod 135, proposed by the same man in the prytany served by the same secretary, has ἐγ Λακεδαίμονος (l. 7); ours the unique ξυββάλλεσθαι (l. 11) but Tod 135 ξυνβάλλεσθαι (l. 10); ours indicative δοκηί, a use of ηι for ει which is increasingly found from c.360 but rare earlier (l. 12), but Tod 135 δοκεί (l. 11) (on these phenomena see Threatte, *Grammar*, I. 586–7, 637, 356). The scope for variation between texts which we should expect not to vary is considerable.

God; Fortune.

- 2 Resolved by the council of the  
Arcadians and the Ten Thousand.

	μυρίοις [:] Φύλαρχον	
5	Λυσικράτους : Ἀθηναίων	
	πρόξενον : καὶ εὐεργέτην	
	εἶναι Ἀρκάδων πάντων	
	αὐτὸν : καὶ γένος.	
	δαμιοργοὶ οἷδε ἦσαν·	
10	Τεγεᾶται	Κυνοῦριοι
	Φαιδρέας	Τιμοκράτης
	Ἀριστοκράτης	Καλλικλῆς
	Νίκαρχος	Λαφάνης
	Ξενοπείθης	Σαῖς
15	Δαμοκρατίδας	Σαῖς
	Μαινάλιοι	Ὀρχομένιοι
	Ἀγίας	Εὐγείτων
	Εὐγειτονίδας	Ἀμύντας
	Ξενοφῶν	Πάμφιλος
20	Λεπρεᾶται	Πανσανίας
	Ἰππίας	Καλλίας
	Γάδωρος	Κλητόριοι
	Μεγαλοπολίται	Τηλίμαχος
	Ἀρίστων	Ἀλκμᾶν
25	Βλύας	Αἰσχύτης
	Ἀρχέψιος	Δαμάγητος
	Ἀτρεστίδας	Πρόξενος
	Γοργέας	Ἡραῆς
	Σμίνθις	Ἀλεξικράτης
30	Πλεισιτέρως	Συμίας
	Νίκις	Θεόπομπος
	Λάαρχος	Ἀγίας
	Πολυχάρης	Ἱπποσθένης
	Μαντινῆς	Θελφούσιοι
35	Φαῖδρος	Πολέας
	Φάχος	Ἀλεξίας
	Εὐδαμίδας	Ἑχίας
	Δαῖστροτος	Πανσανίας
	Χαρείδας	Λύκιος

Mantineia, in eastern Arcadia (cf. 14), was split into its component villages by Sparta in 385 (X. H. v. ii. 5, 7, D.S. xv. 5. iv, 12. ii), but reunited in 370 (X. H. vi. v. 2–5). That was followed by further stages of Arcadian synoecism: the uniting of the separate states of Arcadia in a federation (X. H. vi. v. 6, D.S. xv. 59. i), and the amalgamation of communities in southern Arcadia to form a new great city, Megalopolis (D.S. xv. 72. iv, 368/7; Paus. viii. 27. i–viii, 371/0: on the date see S. Hornblower, *BSA* lxxxv

- 4 Phylarchus son of Lysicrates of Athens  
shall be *proxenos* and benefactor of  
all the Arcadians, himself and his  
descendants.
- 9 The following were *damiorgoi*:
- i. 10 Tegeates:  
Phaedreas, Aristocrates, Nicarchus,  
Xenopithes, Damocratidas.
- i. 16 Maenalians:  
Hagias, Eugitonidas, Xenophon.
- i. 20 Lepreates:  
Hippias, Gadorus.
- i. 23 Megalopolitans:  
Ariston, Blyas, Archepsius,  
Atrestidas, Gorgeas, Sminthis,  
Plistierus, Nicis, Laarchus,  
Polychares.
- i. 34 Mantineans:  
Phaedrus, Wachus, Eudamidas,  
Daistratus, Chaeridas.
- ii. 10 Cynurians:  
Timocrates, Callicles, Laphanes,  
Sais, Sais.
- ii. 16 Orchomenians:  
Eugiton, Amyntas, Pamphilus,  
Pausanias, Callias.
- ii. 22 Clitorians:  
Telimachus, Alcman, Aeschyles,  
Damagetus, Proxenus.
- ii. 28 Heraeans:  
Alexicrates, Simias, Theopompus,  
Hagias, Hipposthenes.
- ii. 34 Thelphusians:  
Poleas, Alexias, Echias, Pausanias,  
Lycius.

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1990, 71–7; J. Roy, *CAH*<sup>2</sup>, vi. 193). Orchomenus, Heraea, and Lepreum (on the last see below) were forcibly incorporated in the federation in the course of 370 (X. *H.* vi. v. 10–22, D.S. xv. 62. i–ii). In 363, however, the federation split into opposing factions, with Mantinea on one side and Tegea and Megalopolis on the other (X. *H.* vii. iv. 33–40, D.S. xv. 82. i–iii); and after the battle of Mantinea, in 362, some of the people who had been drafted into Megalopolis tried to return to their old homes

but through Theban intervention were forced to remain in Megalopolis (D.S. xv. 94. i–iii).

The date of this inscription has been much disputed, but it must surely belong to the 360s, when the federation included Mantinea and Tegea, Orchomenus, Heraea and Lepreum, and also Megalopolis. No northern city is listed except Clitor, whereas Stymphalus was a member and provided the federation's general in 366 (X. H. vii. iii. 1), so the date is most probably c.367 or slightly earlier (M. Cary, *JHS* xlii 1922, 188–90), though J. Roy suggests that the northern states were members but were not represented at this meeting (*Hist.* xx 1971, 569–99 at 571–2), in which case a date as late as c.363 would be possible. Since the inscription was set up at Tegea and the *damiorgoi* of Tegea are listed first, it is likely that the meeting which enacted this decree was held at Tegea. Nothing is known about the Athenian honorand. The decree is very austere in its wording, but that is not unusual for proxeny decrees.

Of the federal institutions, this inscription mentions the *damiorgoi* (fifty in all, ten or five or three plus two according to the size of the unit); the council (presumably a more numerous body than the *damiorgoi*), and the Ten Thousand (D.S. xv. 59. i, cf. e.g. X. H. vii. i. 38: the number suggests that they were the citizens satisfying a property qualification but not a high one, perhaps all those of hoplite rank and above (cf. Rhodes with Lewis, 507)). The *damiorgoi* were not merely a federal college but the principal

## 33

### Athens begins negotiations with Dionysius I of Syracuse, 369/8

A fragment of a *stèle* found in Athens; now in the Epigraphical Museum and in very poor condition.

Attic-Ionic, retaining the old  $\epsilon$  for  $\epsilon\iota$  in l. 16 and  $\omicron$  for  $\omicron\upsilon$  sometimes; *stoichedon* 31.

*IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 103; *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 159; Tod 133; M. J. Osborne, *Naturalization*, D 10\*.

[ἐπὶ Α]υσιστράτο ἄρχοντος· ἐπὶ τ[ῆς Ἑρεχ]-  
[θηίδ]ος δεκάτης πρυτανείας· ἡμὶ Εξή[κεσ]-  
[τος] Παι[ωνίδ]ο Ἀζηνιεύς ἐγραμμάτε[υεν].  
[τῶν π]ροέδρων ἐπειρή[φ]ιζε Εὐάγγελ[ος . . .]  
5 [—<sup>5</sup>—· ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῶι δήμῳ].  
corona corona  
[Πά]νδιος εἶπεν· περὶ ὧν οἱ πρέσβεις ο[ἱ π]-

The stone has deteriorated greatly since it was first seen: we enclose within brackets only those letters which no scholar has been able to read.

3–4 Osborne: ἐγραμμάτε[υε \* | υ· τῶν earlier edd.

5 Our restoration: ————λι——— earlier edd.; patronymic and demotic followed by ἔδοξεν τῶι δήμῳ Osborne; but demotic only is normal for secretary (Henry, *Prescripts*, 27, 32), and for this decree with probouleumatic formula we should expect the longer enactment formula which mentions the council.

magistrates of the individual units (cf. 14); they may be the same as the *archontes* of X. H. vii. iv. 33–4.

Of the units which provide *damiorgoi*, most are cities. However, the Maenalians (west of Mantinea and Tegea) and the Cynurians (west of the Maenalians) were tribal units with towns within them. Lepreum is problematic. It was in Triphylia, the coastal region between Elis and Messenia which Elis sought to control. It participated independently in the Persian War of 480–479 (Her. ix. 28. iv, M&L 27 ~ Fornara 59. 11). Subsequently, for protection against Arcadia, it accepted a position of dependence on Elis, but in and after 421 Sparta championed it against Elis (Thuc. v. 31. i–v, 34. i, 49–50). Lepreum and its neighbours joined Sparta in its war against Elis c.402–c.400, and were left free at the end of that war (X. H. iii. ii. 25, 30–1; in the early fourth century there is evidence for a Triphylian federal state (cf. 15); but in this inscription it is not ‘Triphylia’ but ‘Lepreum’ which forms part of the Arcadian federation (cf. also X. H. vi. v. 11). It is not clear whether Lepreum is to be distinguished from the Triphylian federation, or was regarded as equivalent to it by the Arcadians. See T. H. Nielsen in Nielsen (ed.), *Yet More Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis*, 129–62; also J. Roy in Hansen (ed.), *The Polis as an Urban Centre and as a Political Community*, 282–320.

For another, fragmentary decree of the federation of the 360s see *SEG* xxii 339 → xxix 405 → xxxii 411. For the Arcadians after the battle of Mantinea see 41.

In the archonship of Lysistratus [369/8]; in the tenth prytany, of Erechtheis; to which Excectus son of Paconides of Azenia was secretary; of the *proedroi* Euangelus of ——— was putting to the vote. Resolved by the council and the people.

*crown*

*crown*

- 6 Pandius proposed: Concerning what is said by the envoys who have come from Dionysius, be it resolved by the council:
- 8 Concerning the letter which Dionysius sent about the building of the temple and

- [αρὰ] Διονυσίο ἤκοντ[ε]ς λέγουσι[ν], δεδ[όχθ]-  
 [αι τῇ]ι βουλῇ· περὶ μὲν τῶν γραμματέων ὧ-  
 [ν ἔπε]νθεν Διονύσιος τῆς ο[ἱκ]δομομ[ας τ]-  
 10 [οῦ νε]ῶ καὶ τῆς εἰρήνης, τὸς συμμάχ[ους δ]-  
 [όγμ]α ἐξενεκε[ῖ]ν εἰς τὸν δῆμον, ὃ [τι ἂν α]-  
 [ὕτο]ις βουλευομένοις δοκῇ ἀρι[στον ε]-  
 [ῖνα]ι. προσαγαγεῖν δὲ τὸς πρέσβεις [εἰς]  
 [τὸν] δῆμον εἰς τὴν πρώτην ἐκκλη[η]σί[αν πρ]-  
 15 [οσκ]αλέ[σ]αντας τοὺς συμμάχους [τοὺς πρ]-  
 [οέδ]ρος, [κ]αὶ χρηματίζεν περὶ ὧν [λέγουσ]-  
 [ιν· γ]νώμ[ην] δὲ [ξ]υμβάλλουσ[θ]αι τῇ[ς βουλῆς]  
 [ἐς τ]ὸν δῆμον, ὅτι δοκεῖ τῇ βουλ[ῇ]· ἔπαι-  
 [νέσ]αι μὲν Διονύσιον τὸ[ν] Σικελ[ίας ἀρχ]-  
 20 [ον]τα κ[α]ὶ τοὺς ὑεῖς τοὺς [Δ]ιονυ[σί]ου Διο-  
 [νύ]σιοι[ν] καὶ Ἑρμόκριτον, ὅτι εἰ[σὶν ἄνδρ]-  
 [ες] ἀγαθοὶ [π]ερὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων  
 [καὶ] τοὺς συμμάχους, καὶ βοηθο[ὺ]σιν τῇ  
 [βασ]ιλέως εἰ[ρή]νῃ, ἣν ἐποήσα[ντο Ἀθηνα]-  
 25 [ῖοι] καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι[ν] καὶ ο[ἱ ἄλλοι Ἑλ]-  
 [ληνες]. καὶ Διονυσίῳ μὲν ἀ[π]ο[πέμψαι τὸ]-  
 [ν στέφ]ανον ὃν ἐψηφίσ[α]το ὁ [δῆμος· στεφα]-  
 [νῶσαι δὲ τὸς] ὑεῖς τὸς Διονυσί[ου χρυσῶ]-  
 [ι στεφάνω]ι ἐκότερον ἀπὸ χ[ιλίων δραχμ]-  
 30 [ῶν ἀνδραγαθί]ας εἶνε[κα καὶ φιλίας. εἶνα]-  
 [ι δὲ Διονύσι]ον καὶ το[ὺς] ὑε[ῖς αὐτὸ Ἀθην]-  
 [αῖος, αὐτοὺς] καὶ ἐγόνους, [καὶ φυλῆς κα]-  
 [ὶ δῆμον καὶ φ]ρατρίας ἥ[ς] ἂν β[όλωνται. τὸ]-  
 [ς δὲ πρυτάνε]ις τὸς τῆς [Ἑ]ρ[εχθίδος δοῦ]-  
 35 [ναι τὴν ψήφω]ν περὶ αὐ[τῶν] [ἐν τ]ῇ[ἐκκλησι]-  
 [αί]α π[ε]ρὶ [πολιτε]ίας αὐτ[ῶν. καὶ εἶναι αὐ]-  
 [τοῖς πρόσδο]ο[ν π]ρὸς [τ]ῇ[ν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν]  
 [δῆμον πρ]ώ[τοις] [μετὰ τὰ ἱερά· τοὺς δὲ στρ]-  
 [ατηγ]ο[ὺς] κ[αὶ] τοὺς πρ[υτάνεις ἐπιμεληθ]-  
 40 [ῆναι ὅ]πως ἂν γίγ[νη]ται ταῦτα. ἀναγράψα]-  
 [ι δὲ τ]ὸ δ[ό]ε[ε] τὸ ψήφισμα τὸ[ν] γραμματέα τῆς  
 [βουλῆς]

35–6 Osborne: end of 35 and beginning of 36 unrestored earlier edd.

This is the earliest Athenian decree in our collection which contains the new formula identifying the chairman as one of the *proedroi* (the earliest surviving is Tod 124 ~ Harding 38): for the survival of the old formula, ‘X was chairman’, see on 22. The same man, Pandius, proposed this as a probouleumatic decree in 369/8 and 34 as

the peace, the allies shall bring out a resolution to the people, whatever seems best to them in their deliberation.

13 The *proedroi* shall bring them forward to the people at the first assembly, inviting the allies also, and shall deal with the matter about which they speak; and contribute the opinion of the council to the people, that the council resolves:

18 Praise Dionysius the *archon* of Sicily, and the sons of Dionysius, Dionysius and Hermocritus, because they are good men with regard to the people of Athens and the allies, and come in support of the King's Peace, which was made by the Athenians and the Spartans and the other Greeks.

26 Send to Dionysius the crown which was voted by the people; and crown each of the sons of Dionysius with a gold crown of a thousand drachmas for their good-manship [*andragathia*] and friendship.

30 Dionysius and his sons shall be Athenians, themselves and their descendants, and of whichever tribe and deme and phratry they wish. The *prytaneis* of Erechtheis shall give the vote concerning them in the assembly concerning their citizenship.

36 And they shall have access to the council and the people first after the sacred business: the generals and the *prytaneis* shall take care that these things happen.

40 This decree shall be written up by the secretary of the council — — — —

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a non-probouleumatic decree in 368/7: presumably he had a particular connection with or at least interest in Dionysius, and was a member of the council in 369/8 (cf. Rhodes, *Boule*, 70).

This text throws light on Athenian foreign policy in the aftermath of Leuctra and



on the working of the Second Athenian League. Despite an attempt to win him over to the Athenian side in 393 (10), Dionysius of Syracuse remained an ally of Sparta, sending ships to Corcyra which were defeated by the Athenians in 372 (X. H. vi. ii. 33–6, D.S. xv. 47. vii), and soldiers to fight in the Peloponnese in the early 360s (X. H. vii. i. 20–2, 27–32, D.S. xv. 70. i). After Athens and Sparta had become allies, in 369 (cf. on 31), the way was open for Athens and Dionysius to become allies. For Dionysius as ‘archon of Sicily’ see on 10.

‘The building of the temple and the peace’ the council refers to the *synedrion* of the Second Athenian League, which in an additional stage of *probouleusis* is to submit a resolution to the assembly, which will make the final decision: contrast 41, where the *synedrion* takes the initiative and then refers the matter to the council. The temple is that of Apollo at Delphi, which had been damaged by fire and/or earthquake in 373/2 (*Marm. Par. FGrH* 239 A 71, Macrobian. *Sat.* iii. 6. vii); a proposal to set up a building fund was perhaps made after the peace of spring 371 (X. H. vi. iv. 2); for the arrangements that were eventually made see 45. The peace must be the King’s Peace, which Dionysius is said to support (ll. 23–6), and what is referred to the allies must be the question of admitting Dionysius to the League, which was based on the King’s Peace. Since in 34 an alliance is made between Dionysius and Athens, with no involvement of the League, the *synedrion* must have decided that it wished to have nothing to do with Dionysius, and Athens will have been sufficiently attentive to the will of the allies to accept their decision.

The council forwards directly to the assembly, for an immediate decision, matters

## 34

### Alliance between Athens and Dionysius of Syracuse, 368/7

A fragment of a *stèle* found on the Athenian Acropolis; now in the Epigraphical Museum. Phot. Kirchner, *Imagines*<sup>2</sup>, Taf. 26 Nr. 53; Woodhead, *The Greeks in the West*, pl. 45 (both ll. 9–28); Tracy, *Athenian Democracy in Transition*, 68 fig. 1 (squeeze of ll. 7–13).

Attic-Ionic, occasionally retaining the old *o* for *ou*; *stichedon* 33. This is the work of Tracy’s Cutter of *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 105 (= this text: cf. 31, 41): *Athenian Democracy in Transition*, 67–70.

*IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 105 + 523; *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 163; Tod 136\*; *Skt.* 280. Trans. Harding 52. See also K. Maltezos, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.* 1915, 135–7; D. M. Lewis, *BSA* xlix 1954, 37–8; Stroheker, *Dionysios I*, 149–50 with 239 n. 17; Buckler, *The Theban Hegemony*, 234–7.

[ἐπὶ Ναυσικλέν]ος ἀρχ[οντος· ἐπὶ τῆς Αἰγυγίδ / Οἰνυγίδ]-  
[ος δευτέρως (?) π]ρυταν[είας· —————<sup>13</sup>]

1–3 Following Lewis, we have restored ἐπὶ τῆς Αἰγυγίδ- / Οἰνυγίδος δευτέρως (?) π]ρυταν[είας, and have not restored the secretary: earlier edd. restored Αἰαντῆδος ἐβδόμης π]ρυταν[είας· Μόσχος Κυδαθηνη]αίων, to match Tod 135; but see commentary.

which concern Athens only (but the members of the *synedrion* are invited to attend: ll. 14–15). A crown has already been voted to Dionysius (presumably recently, since it has still to be sent); crowns for his sons are added (for the award of crowns cf. on 2); and all three are awarded Athenian citizenship (Dionysius' citizenship is mentioned in [Dem.] xii. *Ep. Phil.* 10) and the right of priority access to the council and assembly. Dionysius II and Hermocritus were Dionysius' sons by Doris, his wife from Locri: he had two other sons, Hipparinus and Nysaeus, by Dion's sister Aristomache, but they appear to have been much younger (Plut. *Dion* 3. vi).

This is the earliest surviving text in which a grant of citizenship cannot be made by a single decree but requires ratification at a second meeting of the assembly—with a quorum of 6,000 voting in a secret ballot (cf. [Dem.] LIX. *Neaer.* 89–90; and see M. J. Osborne, *BSA* lxxvii 1972, 129–58 at 132–40; M. H. Hansen, *GRBS* xvii 1976, 115–34 = *Ecclesia* (I), 1–20(–23), at 124–30 = 10–16; M. J. Osborne, *Naturalization*, iii–iv. 161–4 (suggesting that the requirement was introduced in or soon after 385/4)). Osborne notes also that from this decree onwards explicit inclusion of the honorand's descendants in a grant of citizenship is standard practice (*BSA* 140 with n. 49; *Naturalization*, iii–iv. 150–4). Dionysius and his sons are to be admitted to 'whichever tribe and deme and phratry they wish' (ll. 32–3); choice of a deme would entail membership of the *trittys* and tribe of which that deme formed a part (*trittyes* are never mentioned in this connection); choice of phratry ('brotherhood': a body based on supposed kinship: cf. 5) was subjected to some restrictions from c.334 (Osborne, *BSA* 132–43; *Naturalization*, iii–iv. 176–81).

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In the archonship of Nausigenes [368/7];  
in the second prytany, of Aegeis /

- [—<sup>5</sup>— ἐγραμ]μάτευε[ν· πέμπτη / ἐβδόμη καὶ τριακο]-  
 [στῇ τῆς πρυ]τανεία[ς· τῶν προέδρων ἐπειφ]-  
 5 [φιζε —<sup>6</sup>—]ς Δαῖππο [Μαραθ. ἔδοξεν τῷ δῇ]-  
 [μωι. Πάν]δ[ιος εἶπεν· τὴν ἀγαθῇ τῇ Ἀθην]-  
 [αίων]· δ[εδόχθ]αι τῷ δῆμ[ωι· ἐπαυέσαι μὲν Δ]-  
 [ιονύσι]ο[ν] τὸν Σικελία[ς ἄρχοντα ὅτι ἐστὶ]-  
 [ν ἀνὴρ] ἀγαθὸς περὶ τὸν [δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων]-  
 10 [ν καὶ τ]ὸς συμμάχους. εἶ[ναι δὲ συμμάχος αὐ]-  
 [τὸν κα]ὶ τοὺς ἐκγόνους [τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθην]-  
 [αίων ἐ]ς [τ]ὸν αἰὲ χρόνον [ἐπὶ τοῖσδε, ἐάν τις]  
 [ἦν ἐπ]ὶ [τ]ὴν χώραν τὴν Ἀ[θηναίων ἐπὶ πολέμ]-  
 [ωι ἢ κατ]ὰ γῆν ἢ κατὰ θάλα[ατταν, βοηθεῖν Διο]-  
 15 [νύσιον] καὶ τοὺς ἐκγόν[ους αὐτὸ καθότι αὖν]  
 [ἐπαγγέ]λλωσιν Ἀθηναί[οι καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ]  
 [κατὰ θά]λατταν παντ[ὶ σθένει κατὰ τὸ δυνα]-  
 [τόν· καὶ] ἐάν τις ἦν ἐ[πὶ Διονύσιον ἢ τοὺς ἐ]-  
 [κγόνου]ς αὐτὸ ἢ ὅσων ἄ[ρχει Διονύσιος ἐπὶ]  
 20 [πολέμω]ι ἢ κατὰ γῆν ἢ κα[τὰ θάλατταν, βοηθε]-  
 [ῖν Ἀθη]ναίους καθότι αὖν ἐπαγγέλλωσιν κα]-  
 [ὶ κατὰ γ]ῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλα[τταν παντὶ σθένει]-  
 [ὶ κατὰ τ]ὸ δυνατόν. ὅπλα δ[ὲ μὴ ἐξεῖναι ἐπεν]-  
 [εγκεῖν] Δ[ιο]νυσίωι μηδ[ὲ τοῖς ἐκγόνου]ς αὐ]-  
 25 [τοῦ ἐπὶ] τ[ὴν] χώραν τὴν Ἀ[θηναίων ἐπὶ πημ]ον]-  
 [ῇ μήτε] κ[ατ]ὰ γῆν μήτε κ[ατὰ θάλατταν· μηδὲ]  
 [Ἀθηναί]ο[ι]ς ἐξεῖναι ὅπ[λα ἐπενεγκεῖν ἐπὶ]  
 [Διονύ]σι[ο]ν μηδὲ τοῦ[ς] ἐκ[γόνους αὐτοῦ] μηδὲ  
 [ὅσων ἄ]ρχ[ε]ι Διονύσιος [ἐπὶ πημ]ονῇ μήτε κ]-  
 30 [ατὰ γῆν] μ[ὴ]τε κατὰ θάλα[τταν, λαβεῖν δὲ τὸν]  
 [ὄρκον] τὸμ περὶ τῆς συμ[μαχίας τοὺς πρέσβ]-  
 [εις τοῦ]ς παρὰ Διονυσί[ου ἦκοντας, ὁμόσαι]  
 [δὲ τήν τε] βουλὴν καὶ τὸ[ς στρατηγούς καὶ τ]-  
 [οὺς ἱππ]άρχους καὶ τοῦ[ς ταξιάρχους, ὁμόσαι]-  
 35 [ὶ δὲ Διο]νύσιον καὶ τοῦ[ς —————<sup>14</sup>—]  
 [—<sup>5</sup>—] τῶν Συρακοσί[ων —————<sup>14</sup>—]  
 [—<sup>6</sup>—]ράρχους. ὁμνύ[ναι δὲ τὸν νόμιμον ὅ]-  
 [ρκον ἐκ]ατέρους. τοῦ[ς δὲ ὄρκους ἀπο]λ[αβεῖν]  
 [Ἀθηναί]ων τὸς πρέσβ[εις τοὺς πλ]έοντ[ας εἰ]-

3 We have restored ἐγραμ]μάτευε[ν· πέμπτη / ἐβδόμη: earlier edd. restored ἐγραμ]μάτευε· [δεντέροι, and τετάρτη also would fit that space; but ἐγραμ]μάτευεν is more usual: see M. H. Hansen, *GRBS* xxxiii 1982, 338 with 341 = *Ecclesia* (I), 90 with 93. 23–4, 27 ἐπενεγκεῖν Lewis, *CQ*<sup>2</sup> xi 1961, 64 n. 1: ἐπιφέρειν earlier edd., which is one letter too short.

28 The stone has ΤΟΥΕΚ. 35–7 A. Wilhelm *ap. Michel* 1452, followed by other edd., restored τοῦ[ς ἄρχοντας καὶ τὴν | βουλὴν] τῶν Συρακοσί[ων καὶ στρατηγούς καὶ τριη]ράρχους; but Strohecker has shown that that and other proposed restorations are dubious.

Oeneis (?); — of — was secretary; on the thirty-fifth/thirty-seventh day of the prytany; of the *proedroi* — son of Daippus of Marathon was putting to the vote. Resolved by the people.

- 6 Pandius proposed: For the good fortune of the Athenians; be it resolved by the people:
- 7 Praise Dionysius the *archon* of Sicily, because he is a good man with regard to the people of Athens and the allies.
- 10 He and his descendants shall be allies of the people of Athens for all time on the following terms. If any one goes against the territory of Athens for war either by land or by sea, Dionysius and his descendants shall go in support as the Athenians call on them, both by land and by sea with all their strength as far as possible; and if any one goes against Dionysius or his descendants or what Dionysius rules for war either by land or by sea, the Athenians shall go in support as they call on them, both by land and by sea with all their strength as far as possible.
- 23 It shall not be permitted to Dionysius or his descendants to bear arms against the territory of the Athenians for hurt either by land or by sea; nor shall it be permitted to the Athenians to bear arms against Dionysius or his descendants or what Dionysius rules for hurt either by land or by sea.
- 30 The oath about the alliance shall be received by the envoys who have come from Dionysius, and shall be sworn by the council and the generals and the hipparchs and the taxiarchs. It shall be sworn by Dionysius and the — — — of Syracuse — — — —rarchs. Each party shall swear its lawful oath. The oaths shall be received by the Athenian envoys sailing to Sicily.

40 [ς Σικελί]αν. ἀναγράφ[αι δὲ τὸ ψήφ]ισμα [τὸδε]  
 [τὸν γραμ]ματέα τῆς [βολῆς ἐν στ]ήλῃ [ι λιθίν]-  
 [ηι καὶ στῆσαι ἐν ἀκροπόλει· εἰς] δὲ τ[ὴν ἀνα]-  
 [γραφὴν δοῦναι τὸν ταμίαν τοῦ δ]ήμ[ου ΔΔΔ (?) δ]-  
 [ραχμάς. vacat]

43 edd.: at this date either ΔΔ or ΔΔΔ is to be expected (cf. Loomis, *Wages, Welfare Costs*, 124–5).

For the background to this alliance see 33, proposed by the same man in 369/8. If we are right in dating this to 368/7 (cf. below), the *synedrion* of the Second Athenian League will have refused to accept Dionysius as a member (but contr. G. L. Cawkwell, *JHS* ci 1981, 50, who suggests that this alliance is all that was proposed to the allies and they gave it their blessing). Here Dionysius is still said to be ‘a good man with regard to the people of Athens and the allies’ (ll. 9–10), but what follows is a simple defensive alliance between Athens and Dionysius; to the usual clause about supporting each other if attacked is added a clause about not attacking each other (*peponē*, ‘hurt’, is otherwise a poetic word, but for its use in this context cf. the treaties of Thuc. v. 18. iv; 47. ii = Tod 72 = *IG* i<sup>3</sup> 83. 4). It is clear that, apart from Dionysius himself, some body or bodies swore on behalf of Syracuse, but we cannot recover the details: it is likely enough that Dionysius maintained an appearance of constitutional government in Syracuse, but we are not attracted to the view of Caven that there was a formal division between the citadel of Ortygia ruled directly by Dionysius and the outer city with constitutional government (Caven, *Dionysius I*, 156–9, 183–5).

The dating of the alliance has been much discussed. Even the year depends on restoration, and there are other archons whose names have the correct number of letters and the correct ending; but we think Buckler, who will not even decide between Dionysius I and Dionysius II, carries scepticism much too far and the usual year of 368/7 should be accepted. Apart from *IG* i<sup>3</sup> 227 bis = *SEG* xli 9, a decree of 422/1 included on a *stèle* inscribed at the end of the fifth century (for which see M. H. Hansen, *AJP* cxiv 1993, 103; Sickinger, *Archives and Public Records in Classical Athens*, 89–90), this happens to be the earliest surviving decree which specifies the day within the prytany (Henry, *Prescripts*, 27): there are four possibilities, not far apart (see critical note); nothing hangs on the decision.

## 35

### An Athenian protest to the Aetolian League, 367/6

Three contiguous fragments of a *stèle*, found in the Athenian Agora near the Eleusinium; now in the Agora museum. Phot. *Hesp.* viii 1939, 6 (frs. a + b only); *Agora*, xvi, pl. 4.

Attic-Ionic, retaining the old *o* for *ou* in ll. 2, 5; ll. 2–3 in larger, clumsier letters; ll. 4 sqq. *stoichedon* 32 (in l. 22 *νοταν* occupies four spaces).

40 This decree shall be written up by the  
 secretary of the council and placed on  
 the Acropolis; and for the writing-up the  
 treasurer of the people shall give 30 (?)  
 drachmas.

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More importantly, the tribe and number of the prytany, and the name and demotic of the secretary, are wholly restored. This is the last year in which each secretary is known to have served for one prytany only (contrast Tod 134, 135; and see on 38). Editors have seized on the fact that the space available can be filled by making this a decree of the seventh prytany, of Aiantis, to match Tod 135, but that gives rise to problems. To give the chairman's patronymic was unusual (Henry, *Prescripts*, 27, 32), but there is no doubt that it was given here; since Daippus is a rare name, and no deme other than Marathon is attested for a bearer of it, the restoration of the chairman's demotic is very probable (there are sufficient parallels about this time for the use of an abbreviation: Buckler, 236, and see on 36)—but Marathon belongs to the tribe Aiantis, so now that the chairman is one of the *proedroi* (cf. on 22) the tribe in prytany cannot be Aiantis. Moreover, there is a story that at the Lenaea of 368/7 Dionysius won the first prize for his tragedy, *The Ransom of Hector*, and that his death was caused by excessive celebration of that victory, thus fulfilling an oracle that he would die when he had defeated his betters (D.S. xv. 74. i–iv): the story is more likely to have arisen if Dionysius did in fact die shortly after the Lenaea; but that festival occurred in Gamelion (the seventh month, roughly equivalent to the sixth prytany), so Dionysius is likely to have been dead by the last days of the seventh prytany. Maltezos proposed the sixth prytany, to place the alliance about the time of the Lenaea; but we should not expect the *synedrion* to take long to reject Dionysius, and ought to look for the earliest possible date in the year. The first prytany is not possible (tribe + number has the right number of letters but secretary + demotic has one letter too few: *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 104), but the second is possible, and we restore that.

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E. Schweigert, *Hesp.* viii 1939, 5–12 no. 3; Tod 137 (both frs. *a* + *b* only); *Agora*, xvi 48\*. Trans. Harding 54 (frs. *a* + *b* only). See also Larsen, *Greek Federal States*, 78–80; A. B. Bosworth, *AJAH* i 1976, 164–81.

θ[ε]οί.  
 Δημόφιλος Θεώρο Κεφαλῆ-  
 θεν ἔγραμμάτ[ε]νε. *vacat*  
 ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῶ[ι] δήμῳ. Οἰνηὶς  
 5 ἔπρυτάνε[ν]ε· Δημόφιλος Θεώρο Κεφαλῆθε-  
 ν ἔγραμμάτευν· Φί[λι]ππος Σημαχίδης ἐπ-  
 εστάτει· [Ι]ολύζηνλος [ῆρχ]ε. Κηφισόδοτος ἐ-  
 [ῖ]πεν· ἐπε[ι]δὴ Αἰτωλῶν [τ]οῦ κ[ο]ινοῦ δεξαμέ-  
 [ν]ων τὰς μ[υ]στηριώτιδ[α]ς [σ]π[ο]νδὰς τῆς Δήμ-  
 10 [η]τρος τῆς [Ε]λευσινίας καὶ τῆς Κόρης τοῦ-  
 [ς] ἐπαγγέλαντας τὰς σπονδὰς Εὐμολπιδ-  
 ῶν καὶ Κηρύκων δεδέκασι Τ[ρ]ιχονειῆς Πρ-  
 [ό]μαχον καὶ Ἐπιγένην παρὰ τοὺς νόμους τ-  
 [ο]ὺς κοι[ν]οὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων· ἐλέσθαι τῇμ βο-  
 15 [ν]λὴν αὐ[τ]ίκα μάλα κήρυκα ἐξ Ἀθηναίων ἀπ-  
 ἄντων ὅς[τ]ις ἀφικόμενος πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν  
 [τὸ Αἰ]τωλῶν ἀ[παιτῇ]σει τοὺς] ἄνδρας ἀφεί-  
 [ναι] καὶ [—————<sup>18</sup>—————] δικ[α]ίῳ  
 [ό]πως ἂν μ[—————<sup>22</sup>—————]ς κα-  
 20 ἰ Αἰτωλο[—————<sup>22</sup>—————]ρ  
 οὐ εἰς το[—————<sup>25</sup>—————]  
 ἀν οἱ ἂν τ[—————<sup>21</sup>—————] Εὐμολ]-  
 πίδας κ[αὶ Κήρυκας —————<sup>17</sup>—————]  
 ας βουλ[—————<sup>26</sup>—————]  
 25 ἦσοντ[αι —————<sup>25</sup>—————]  
 οὺς δώσ[ουσι (?) —————<sup>22</sup>—————]  
 ἐς ἐφόδ[ια τὸν ταμίαν τοῦ δήμου ΔΔΔ δραχ]-  
 μὰς ἐκ τ[ῶν κατὰ ψηφίσματα ἀναλίσκομέν]-  
 ῶν τῶι [δῆμῳ. *vacat*?]  
*vacat*?

There was a truce of fifty-five days for the Lesser Mysteries in the spring and for the Greater Mysteries in the autumn (*IG* i<sup>3</sup> 6 ~ Fornara 75. *B*): another inscription (*Agora*, xix, P 5. 60) indicates that Oeneis held the third prytany of 367/6, so this text is concerned with the truce of autumn 367. 'Forthwith' (*autika mala*) is often used of action to be taken by the enacting body on the occasion of enactment; but there is no reason why it should not be used of any action to be taken as soon as a decree has been enacted (Rhodes, *Boule*, 75, 280), and it was common practice for heralds to be dispatched by the council (*op. cit.*, 94 with n. 4). Heralds (*kerykes*), as opposed to envoys (*presbeis*), were sent to proclaim rather than to negotiate, and by 'the common laws of the Greeks' (i.e. generally accepted convention) were regarded as inviolable.

Gods.

- 2 Demophilus son of Theorus from Cephale was secretary.
- 4 Resolved by the council and the people. Oeneis was the prytany; Demophilus son of Theorus from Cephale was secretary; Philippus of Semachidae was chairman; Polyzelus was archon [367/6]. Cephisodotus proposed:
- 8 Since the Aetolians of the *koinon* have accepted the truce for the Mysteries of Eleusinian Demeter and of Kore, but those of the Eumolpidae and Kerykes announcing the truce, Promachus and Epigenes, have been imprisoned by the Trichonians, contrary to the common laws of the Greeks, the council shall forthwith choose a herald from all Athenians, who on arrival at the *koinon* of the Aetolians shall demand the release of the men and — — — judge so that — — — Aetol — — — Eumolpidae and Kerykes — — — for travelling expenses the treasurer of the people 30 drachmas from the people's fund for expenditure on decrees.

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This inscription reveals the existence of an Aetolian League, which Athens held responsible for the misconduct of one of its member cities (Trichonium, in the south-west of Aetolia, north of Calydon), half a century before its first appearance in a literary text (D.S. xix. 66. ii, 314/13). Thucydides wrote of the Aetolians as living in villages and comprising three 'parts' (iii. 94. iv–v, cf. 96. iii); again, in 335 the Aetolians sent embassies 'by peoples' to Alexander the Great (Arr. *Anab.* i. 10. ii), and in 322 they abandoned their unfortified *poleis* and moved their non-combatants and property to the mountains for safety (D.S. xviii. 24. ii). Bosworth has argued from Thp. *FGtH* 115 F 235, unemended, that the Aetolians captured Naupactus in 338/7 after Chaeronea and that in retaliation Philip of Macedon drove them out in 337 and broke up the



*koinon* attested in this inscription.<sup>1</sup> D.S. xv. 57. i mentions the Aetolians among the peoples of northern Greece who became friends of Thebes after Leuctra: that is compatible with this attested existence of the League; but it would be fanciful to follow Tod in supposing that the influence of Thebes, and of Epaminondas in particular, led to the foundation of the League.

Philippus, the chairman, is perhaps to be identified with the proposer of Tod 146 ~ Harding 58. For the proposer Cephisodotus cf. 21. Of the men arrested, Promachus may be the father of —lus of Eleusis (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 3126), and Epigenes may be the Epigenes of Eleusis whose tombstone is known (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 6031). However, while the Eumolpidae claimed an Eleusinian origin the Kerykes did not (cf. Rhodes, *Comm. Ath. Pol.* 637), and of all the Eleusinian sacred officials known, of either *genos*, only one is attested as belonging to the deme of Eleusis (the third-century hierophant Chaeretus: *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1235; see Clinton, *The Sacred Officials of the Eleusinian Mysteries*, 8), so we cannot be confident in identifying Promachus and Epigenes as men of Eleusis.

<sup>1</sup> Another Athenian decree referring to the Aetolian *koinon*, *SEG* xxi 326 (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 358), is probably to be dated not in Alexander's reign but 307/6 (Bosworth, 167–8).

## 36

### Sales of public property at Athens, 367/6

A marble *stèle*, found beneath floor of Tholos in Athenian Agora, Agora Inv. I 5509. Phot. *Hesp.* x 1941, 15, *Agora*, xix pl. 8.

Attic-Ionic, retaining old *o* for *ou*. *Stoichedon* 39.

M. Crosby, *Hesp.* x 1941, 14–27 no. 1; *SEG* xii 100; *Agora*, xix P<sub>5</sub>\*. Trans. Crosby 17–19.

ἐπὶ Πολυζήλο ἄρχοντος πωληταί·  
 Πόλυευκτος Λαμπρεύς, Δεινίας Ἐρχιεύς, Θεαῖος  
 Παιανιεύς, Θεότιμος Φρεάρριος, Ἀριστογένης Ἰφ-  
 ιστιάδης, Γλαύκων Λακιάδης, Κηφισοκλῆς Πειρα-  
 5 ιεύς, Νικοκλῆς Ἀναφλύστιος, οἷς Ἐξήκεστος Κοθ-  
 ωκίδης ἐγραμμάτευεν, τάδε ἀπέδοντο παραλαβόν-  
 τες παρὰ τῶν ἑνδεκα Φαίακος Ἀφιδναῖο καὶ συναρ-  
 χόντων· Μονιχίωνος δεκάτη ἰσταμένο, Θεόμνηστ-  
 10 ος Δεισιθέο Ἰωνίδης ἀπέγραψεν Θεοσέβος τοῦ Θε-  
 οφίλο Εὐπεταίωνος οἰκίαν Ἀλωπεκῆσιν δημοσίαι-  
 ν εἶναι, ἥμι γείτων βορρά· ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ ἐς τὸ Δαιδάλειον  
 φέρουσα καὶ τὸ Δαιδάλειον, νοτόθεν· Φίλιππος Ἀγ-  
 ρυλλῇ, ἀλόντος Θεοσέβος ἱεροσυλίας καὶ οὐχ ὑπομ-  
 εῖναντος τὴν κρίσιν ὅσωι πλείονος ἀξία ἢ ὑπόκε-  
 15 ιται Σμικύθωι Τειθρασίωι· ἩΨ δραχμῶν, κλητῆρ Δι-

For 'the people's fund for expenditure on decrees' cf. on 29: the fund, and the treasurer who administered it, were probably instituted c.376, but the earliest datable references to the fund are in decrees of this year (cf. Tod 135). Here the fund is used to pay not for the publication of the decree but for travelling expenses authorized by the decree (cf. 44, 48, 95): it could be alleged (then as now) that men sent on missions abroad were lavishly supported (e.g. Ar. *Acham.* 61–89), but 30 drachmas for the arduous journey to Aetolia were hardly great riches.<sup>2</sup> The decree does not in fact contain a clause ordering its publication: that in itself could be accidental (the Athenians were erratic in such matters, and absence of the clause from the published text does not prove that it was absent from the original text or that publication was not intended); but, coupled with the fact that the inscription seems to have been set up in the Eleusinium, it suggests that it may have been the Eleusinian officials who chose to publish this text: their interest would make it easier to understand why a decree of such an ephemeral nature should have been published in permanent form.

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<sup>2</sup> Travelling expenses preserved or to be restored in fourth-century Athenian inscriptions range from 5 drachmas in 95. 43 to 50[?+] in *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 207. 24, so 30 drachmas here is the likeliest 3-character restoration.

In the archonship of Polyzelus (367/6) the *poletai* Polyeuctus of Lamptrae, Deinias of Erchia, Theaeus of Paeania, Theotimus of Phrearrhii, Aristogenes of Iphistiadae, Glaucon of Laciadae, Cephisocles of Piraeus, and Nicocles of Anaphlystus, to whom Execestus of Cothocidae was secretary, sold the following, having taken them over from the Eleven—Phaeax of Aphidna and his fellow magistrates.

- 8 On the 10th of Mounichion Theomnestus son of Deisitheus of Ionidae registered as public property the house of Theosebēs son of Theophilus of Xypete at Alopece, of which the neighbours are, on the north, the road leading to the sanctuary of Daedalus and the sanctuary of Daedalus, and, on the south, Philippus of Agryle, since Theosebēs had been convicted of theft of sacred property and had not awaited judgment; the amount at issue being the excess of the sale once the loan of 150 drachmas from Smicythus of Teithras secured on the property was paid.

- ογείτων Ἀλωπεκήθεν, Φιλοίτιος Ἰωνίδης· Κιχωνί-  
 δης Διογείτονος Γαργήτ καὶ κοινὸν φρατέρων Με-  
 δοντιδῶν ἐνεπησκήψατο ἐνοφείλεσθαι ἑαυτῶι κ-  
 αὶ τοῖς φράτερσι ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τῇ Ἀλωπεκῇσι Η δ-  
 20 ραχμῆς, ἣν ἀπέγραψεν Θεόμνηστος Ἰωνί Θεοσέβος  
 εἶναι Ἐυπετα ἥ γείτων βορρᾶ ἡ ὁδος ἡ ἐς τὸ Δαιδά-  
 λε(ι)ον φέρουσα καὶ τὸ Δαιδάλειον, νοτόθεν Φίλιπ-  
 πος Ἀγρυλῆ, ἀποδομένο ἔμο(ι) καὶ τοῖς φράτερσιν τῇ-  
 ν οἰκίαν ταύτην Θεοφίλου Ἐυπε: τὸ πατρὸς τοῦ Θεο-  
 25 σέβος· ἔδοξεν ἐνοφείλεσθαι. Ἰσαρχος Φίλωνος Ἐυ-  
 πε{:}ται: ἀμφισβητεῖ ἐνοφείλεσθαι ἑαυτῶι ἐν τῇ οἰ-  
 κίᾳ τῇ Ἀλωπεκῇσι ἣν ἀπέγραψεν Θεόμνηστος Δε-  
 ισσιθέο Ἰωνίδης, θάψαντος ἔμο Θεοφίλον δ ἦν ἡ οἰκ-  
 ῖα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα τὴν Θεοφίλου, ΔΔΔ: δραχμῆς, ἔδοξ-  
 30 ἐν ἐνοφείλεσθαι. Αἰσχίνης Μελιτε(ὺς) καὶ κοινὸν ὀ-  
 ργεῶνων ἐνεπησκήψαντο ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ ἣν ἀπέγραψ-  
 ἐν Θεόμνηστος Ἰωνίδης ἐνοφείλεσθαι ἑαυτοῖς:  
 ΔΔΗΗΗ δραχμῆς, πριαμένων ἡμῶν τὴν οἰκίαν ταύ-  
 την παρὰ Θεοφίλου τούτου τοῦ ἀργυρίου ἐπὶ λύσει. ἔδο-  
 35 ξεν ἐνοφείλεσθαι. ὠνητής, Λυσανίας Παλαθίωνο-  
 ς Λακι ΓΓΔΔΓ· τούτου τὴν προκαταβολὴν τὸ πέμπτον  
 μέρος ἔχει ἡ πόλις καὶ τὰ ἐπώνια καὶ τὰ κηρύκεια  
 καὶ Σμίκυθος Τειθράσιος τὰς πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκ-  
 ατόν· ἀθρόον κατὰ τὴν ἀπογραφὴν. *vacat*  
*vacat*  
 40 μέταλλα ἐπράθη ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰπποθωντίδος πρώτης, Δε-  
 ξιακὸν ἐν Νάπει ἐπὶ Σκοπιᾷ, ὦι γεί πανταχόθεν Ν-  
 κίας Κυδαν, ὦνη Καλλίας Σφήττι ΔΔ: Διακὸν ἐπὶ Λα-  
 υρείῳ, ὦι γεί: πρὸς ἡλίο ἀνιόντος τὰ χωρία τὰ Ἐξω-  
 πίου, δυομένο τὸ ὄρος, ὦνη Ἐπιτέλης ἐκ Κερα ΔΔ: ἐπὶ  
 45 Σουνίῳ ἐν τοῖς Χαρμύλο παίδων, ὦι γεί: βορρᾶ Κλε-  
 ὀκριτος Αἶγι, νοτό: Λεύκιος Σουნი, ὦνη: Φεῖδιππος  
 Πιθεὺς ΔΔ: Ποσειδωνιακὸν ἐν Νάπηι τῶν ἐκ τῆς στή-  
 λης ἐν τοῖς Ἀλυπήτου, ὦι γεί Καλλίας Σφήττι καὶ Δ-  
 ιοκλῆς Πιθεὺς, ὠνητής Θρασύλοχο(ς) Ἀναγυρά: ΧΓΓ·  
 50 Ἀγνωσιακὸν τῶν ἐκ τῆς (σ)τήλης, ὠνη: Τελέσαρχος Αἰξ-  
 ω: ΧΓΓ· Ἀρτεμισιακὸν τῶν ἐκ τῆς στήλης ὠνη: Θρασύλ-  
 οχος Ἀναγυρά: ΗΓ· ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀντιοχίδος δευτέρας ἐπ-  
 ῖ Λαυρείῳ αὐτὸ καὶ τὰς κατατομῆς, ὦι γεί: βορρᾶ Δ-  
 ιοπεΐθης Εὐωνν: καὶ Δημοστράτο κάμινος Κυθήρ, ν-  
 55 οτὸ τὸ Διοπεΐθος ἐργαστήριον καὶ ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ ἄμαξι-  
 κῇ καὶ ἡ χαράδρα ἡ Θορικίων: ὠνη: Κηφισόδοτος Αἰθ-

21–2 Δαιδάλειον on stone.

23 ἔμοσι on stone.

30 Μελιτε on stone.

49 Θρασύλοχον

Ἀναγυρά on stone.

50 τηστηλῆς on stone.

Witnesses to the registration: Diogeiton of Alopece and Philoetius of Ionidae. Cichonides son of Diogeiton of Gargettus and the group of the *phrateres* of the Medontidae put in a prior claim that there was a debt of 100 drachmas to himself and the members of the phratry on the house at Alopece which Theomnestus of Ionidae registered as public property, on the grounds that it was the property of Theosebes of Xypete of which the neighbours were, on the north, the road leading to the sanctuary of Daedalus and the sanctuary of Daedalus, and, on the south, Philippus of Agryle, 'Theophilus of Xypete the father of Theosebes having sold (i.e. mortgaged) this house to me and to the members of the phratry'. It was decided that the debt was owed. Isarchus son of Philo of Xypete claimed a debt of 30 drachmas owing to him on the house at Alopece which Theomnestus son of Deisitheus of Ionidae registered as public property, 'having buried Theophilus, whose house this was, and the wife of Theophilus'. It was decided that the debt was owed. Aeschines of Melite and the group of *orgeones* put in a prior claim on the house that Theomnestus of Ionidae registered as public property that a debt was owing to them of 24 drachmas, 'we bought this house upon redemption from Theophilus for this money.' It was decided that the debt was owed. Purchaser: Lysanias son of Palathio of Laciadae for 575 dr. The city has the fifth part of this as deposit along with the sales tax and herald's fee, and Smicythus of Teithras has the 150 dr. In one payment in accordance with the registration.

40 Mines sold during the first prytany, of Hippothontis: (1) *Dexiakon* at Skopiai in Nape, the neighbour of which on all sides is Nicias of Cydantidae, purchaser Callias of Sphettus, 20 dr.; (2) *Diakon* at Laurium, the neighbour of which, to the east, is the land of Exopius, to the west, the mountain, purchaser Epiteles from Cerameis, 20 dr.; (3) at Sunium on the property of the sons of Charmylus, the neighbour of which, on the north, is Cleocritus of Aigilia, on the south, Leucius of Sunium, purchaser Pheidippus of Pithus, 20 dr.; (4) *Poseidoniakon* in Nape, one of those on the *stele*, on the property of Alypetus, the neighbours of which are Callias of Sphettos and Diocles of Pithos, purchaser Thrasylochus of Anagyrous, 1,550 dr.; (5) *Hagnosiakon*, one of those on the *stele*, purchaser Telesarchus of Aixone, 1,550 dr.; (6) *Artemisiakon*, one of those on the *stele*, purchaser Thrasylochus of Anagyrous, 150 dr.

52 In the second prytany, of Antiochis, (7) at Laurium (the mine) itself and the cuttings, the neighbour of which, on the north, is Diopeithes of Euonymon and the furnace of Demostratus of Cytherrus, on the south, the workshop of Diopeithes and the waggon road and the Thoricians' torrent, purchaser Cephisodotus of Aethalidae, 20 dr.; (8) *Demetriakon*

α ΔΔ: Δημητριακὸν ἐν τοῖς Τιμησίῳ ἐν Νάπηι, ὦι γει-  
 ῖ: Νικίας Κυδαν: νοτό Διοκλέης Πιθεύς, ὦνη Δήμων Ἀ-  
 γρυ: ΔΔ: ἐν Μαρωνεαί Ἐρμαικόν, ὦι γει Διοφάνης Σου-  
 60 νι: ὦνη: Φιλίνος Σουνι: ΔΔ: ἐπὶ τῆς Οἰνείδος τρίτης,  
 ἐπ[ι] Λαυρεῖωι Θεογνίδειον ἐκ τῆς στήλης, ὦι γει τ-  
 ὸ Ἐξωπίω χωρίον, ὦνη: Καλλίας Λαμπτρ<sup>ρ</sup>: ἐπὶ τῆς Κεκ-  
 ροπίδος τετάρτης, ἐπὶ Σουνί(ω)ι ἐν Νάπει Πυρρίει-  
 65 ῖας Κυδαν, ὦνη Καλλίας Σφήτ ΔΔ: Θορικοῖ Ἀρχηγέτε-  
 ῖον ἐν τοῖς Δημοφίλου, ὦι γει: βορρά: καὶ νοτό Δημό-  
 φίλος, ὦνη Κηφισοφών Συβρί ΔΔ: ἐν Νάπηι ἐν τοῖς χω-  
 ρίοις τῆς Χαρμύλο[ι] γυναικός, ὦι γει: τὸ χωρίον τ-  
 ῆς γυναι(ι)κός τῆς Ἀλυπήτο, βορρά Τελέσων Σο(υ)νι: προ-  
 70 ς ἡλίο ἀνιόν: χωρίον Τελέσωνος Σουνι, δυσμένο Ἐπ-  
 ικράτης Παλλη: ὦνη: Ἐπικλέης Σφήτ: ΔΔ: ἐπὶ τῆς Αἰγη-  
 ῖδος πέμπτης, Ἀρχηγέτειον καὶ τὰς κατατομάς, στ-  
 ῆλην οὐκ ἔχον, Βήσησιν ἐν τοῖς Κηφισοδότο καὶ Κα-  
 λλίο, ὦι γει πρὸς ἡλίο ἀνιόν: Καλλίο Λαμπ: πύργος κ-  
 75 αὶ οἰκία, βορρά: τὸ {ι} Κηφισοδότου ἐργαστή: νοτό τὸ Ἀ-  
 ρχηγέτειον, ὦνη: Κηφισοδότος Αἰθα: ΔΔ: ἐπὶ τῆς Λεω-  
 ντίδος ἐβδόμης, ἐπὶ Σουνίωι ἐπὶ Θρασύμωι Κεραμ-  
 εικόν, ὦι γει: Διοπεΐθης Εὐωνν: ὦνη Ἀλεξίμαχος Πή-  
 ληξ: ΔΔ: ἐπὶ Σουνίωι ἐν Νάπηι ἐν τοῖς Χαρμύλο παίδ-  
 80 ων, ὦι γει βορρά: Πύρρακος Αἰγι: νοτό: Λεύκιος Σουν,  
 ὦνη: Φεΐδιππος Πιθεύς: ΔΔ: ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐρεχθείδος ἐνά-  
 τῆς, ἐπὶ Σουνίωι τῶν ἐκ τῆς στήλης Λευκίππειον Β-  
 ῆσησι, ὦνη Χαυρέδημος Ἀγνού: Η<sup>ρ</sup> vacat

63 Σουνιαὶ on stone.

68 Χαρμύλο{σ}υ Crosby.

69 γυναικός, Σουνι on stone.

*Ath. Pol.* 7. iii claims that Athens had *poletai* ('sellers') from the time of Solon. Their fourth-century duties are laid out at *Ath. Pol.* 47. ii–iv (see further Rhodes *ad loc.* and Langdon, *Agora*, xix, pp. 57–69) as selling (= leasing) mines ('working' mines (*ergasima*) for three years, and 'conceded' mines for [seven] years), selling taxes and recording payments each prytany, selling confiscated property and the property of those condemned in court (*Ath. Pol.* also implies, but does not explicitly state, that the *poletai* leased sacred property, something confirmed by *IG*<sup>3</sup> 84).

The records of the sale of the property of those convicted of mutilating the Herms and profaning the Mysteries in 415 B.C. (the 'Attic *Stelai*', extract M&L 79) were the responsibility of the *poletai*, but the inscription of those records in permanent form and their display in the Eleusinium in Athens seems to be an extraordinary rather than a routine matter, connected with the religious nature of the offences. By contrast the present *stèle* is the earliest surviving of a series of fourth- and early third-century

- on the property of Timesius in Nape, the neighbour of which is Nicias of Cydantidae, on the south, Diocles of Pithos, purchaser Demon of Agryle, 20 dr.; (9) at Maroneia *Hermaikon*, the neighbour of which is Diophanes of Sunium, purchaser Philinus of Sunium, 20 dr.
- 60 In the third prytany, of Oineis, (10) at Laurium the *Theognideion*, from the *stele*, the neighbour of which is the land of Exopius, purchaser Callias of Lamptrae, 50 dr.
- 62 In the fourth prytany, of Cecropis, (11) at Sunium in Nape *Pyrrheion*, the neighbour of which, on the east, is Callias of Alopece, on the west, Nicias of Cydantidae, purchaser Callias of Sphettus, 20 dr.; (12) at Thoricus the *Archegeteion* on the property of Demophilus, the neighbour of which, on the north and south, is Demophilus, purchaser Cephisophon of Sybriidae, 20 dr.; (13) in Nape on the lands of the wife of Charmylus, the neighbour of which is the land of the wife of Alypetus, on the north, Teleson of Sunium, on the east, the land of Teleson of Sunium, on the west, Epicrates of Pallene, purchaser Epicles of Sphettus, 20 dr.
- 71 In the fifth prytany, of Aigeis, (14) *Archegeteion* and the cuttings, lacking a *stele*, at Besa on the property of Cephisodotus and Callias, the neighbour of which, on the east, is the tower and house of Callias of Lamptrae, on the north, the workshop of Cephisodotus, on the south, the shrine of the Archegetes, purchaser Cephisodotus of Aithalidae, 20 dr.
- 76 In the seventh prytany, of Leontis, (15) at Sunium at Thrasymos, *Kerameikon*, the neighbour of which is Diopeithes of Euonymon, purchaser Aleximachus of Peleces, 20 dr.; (16) at Sunium in Nape on the property of the sons of Charmylus, the neighbour of which, to the north, is Pyrrhacus of Aegilia, on the south, Leucius of Sunium, purchaser Pheidippus of Pithus, 20 dr.
- 81 In the ninth prytany, of Erechtheis, (17) at Sunium, *Leukippeion*, one of those on the *stele*, at Besa, purchaser Chaeredemus of Hagnous 150 dr.

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inscriptions found in the south-west corner of the Agora and perhaps put up in the court of the New Bouleuterion, where the sales seem to have been held (*Agora*, xix, pp. 66–7). These inscriptions suggest that from 367/6 at latest the *poletai* transferred at least some of the temporary white-board records mentioned in *Ath. Pol.* into permanent form at the end of the year (for the whole series see *Agora*, xix P 1–56). Demotics abbreviated by curtailment feature prominently here from line 13 onwards; a sign of an advancing documentary culture, they appear regularly in Athenian catalogues from the second half of the fifth century onwards but their first certain appearance in a decree is in 375–373 (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 102); see Whitehead, *ZPE* lxxxix 1990, 105–61. For the principles of the punctuation that appears in association with some abbreviations and figures see Threatte, i. 73–84 esp. 83–4.

The surviving inscribed records of the *poletai* record only some of their activities (see Davies in *Ritual, Finance, Politics... D. Lewis*, 209–11): the selling of confiscated property

and the leasing of mines are recorded but not the sale of taxes, and although there are epigraphic records of leases of sacred lands from the later 340s onwards (*Agora*, xix L 6, 9–12, 14) these leases never appear on the same stones as the mining leases and property sales and the inscribed examples may not in fact be the responsibility of the *poletai*. Why did the *poletai* record only some of their activities in permanent form? Those who rented sacred land and those who leased mines were in exactly parallel positions, and both would have an interest in there being a permanent record of their entitlement to the facilities for which they were paying. Equally it was in the public interest to know that the person collecting a particular tax was indeed the man who had been granted the privilege of doing so. The tendency of the Athenians to inscribe lists that had religious relevance as a way of showing the gods that they were doing their duty might explain the inscription of the names of offenders whose property had been confiscated, since religious offences figure among those for which confiscation was the penalty, but it should also lead to inscribing leases of sacred property. The absence of permanent records of tax contracts may result from those contracts being re-leased annually, leaving no legacy from one board of *poletai* to another; the decision to inscribe leases of mines and sales of confiscated property and not leases of sacred land may result from the greater public interest in the first two activities or the involvement of the *basileus* as well as the *poletai* in the latter activity.

This *poletai* list opens with the names of the members of the board for the year of the archonship of Polyzelus (367/6). Eight names are listed, each from a different tribe. Ten names would be expected, but either ten volunteers could not be found or only eight survived to the end of their term of office. Offices with financial responsibilities may not have been popular, and it is possible that there was a property qualification for service as *poletes* (but see below).

The *poletai* declare the property they sold to have been handed over to them by the Eleven (l. 7). *Ath. Pol.* 52. i (with Rhodes *ad loc.*) records among the responsibilities of the Eleven the bringing to court of registrations of property that was forfeit (because of debt or judicial condemnation): once the registration had been recognized as valid, and prior claims to the proceeds of the sale had been agreed, the *poletai* then oversaw the actual sale. Here, as in later records, sales of confiscated property are dated by the day of the month, whereas leases of mines are dated by prytany; this is presumably because the former were random events, but the latter had a regular slot which, since the council was involved, was related to the council year. The sale itself was conducted by a herald (hence the ‘herald’s fees’ [*kerukeia*] deducted, l. 37), by auction (see M. Langdon, *Ritual, Finance, Politics* . . . *D. Lewis*, 253–65), and the city took both what was left of the proceeds and a sales tax (*eponia*) of perhaps 1/100th (see Lambert, *Rationes Centesimarum*, 270 and n. 209).

The one case of property confiscation in this year concerns the house of a man found guilty of temple robbery. Robbery from temples was an offence for which it was open to any Athenian to prosecute. It was perhaps an offence which priests and those closely involved with temples were particularly likely to be charged with (cf. Hierocles, *hyp.* to Dem. xxv), and here that the convicted man is one Theosebes son of Theophilus raises the possibility that he was from a family with cult links. The man

registering the property for confiscation, Theomnestus son of Deisitheus, has similar godlike associations in his nomenclature and we may suspect that he also was involved in the cult from which the theft has been made; he may also have been the man who prosecuted Theosebes for the crime. On theophoric names see R. Parker in *PBA* civ 2000, 53–79.

The house confiscated, which must be the sole property of the condemned man, lies immediately south of the sanctuary of Daedalus. This inscription provides the only direct evidence we possess for the cult of Daedalus at Athens, although the deme name Daedalidai affords possible indirect evidence (see Morris, *Daidalos*, ch. x, esp. 258–9). It is possible that this was the cult from which the theft was made. The house is situated in Alopece, a deme just outside the south-east corner of the city wall, and the small deme of Daedalidae may indeed have been right next to it (Traill, *Demos and Tritheis*, 135). Similarly it is possible that the property immediately to the south of Theosebes' house was in the neighbouring deme of (Upper) Agryle, to which its owner belonged.

Whatever Theosebes' relationship to the cult of Daedalus, he certainly had connections with other groups: both the phratry of the Medontidai and a group of *orgeones* claim to have lent him money on the security of the house, and it is likely, though not necessary, that he was a member of both. The group of *orgeones* may have been a subgroup of the phratry of the Medontidai, although it appears that 'orgeones' was a title that might be given to any group with a cultic focus (see Lambert, *Phratries*, 75–7 on *orgeones*, 314–20 on this case; he collects texts relevant to the Medontidai as T 7–10). The evidence for corporate groups (demes, phratries, religious associations) lending money is copious (see also on 63), and the scale of the funds they had available to lend was large (Millett, *Lending and Borrowing*, 171–8) although lent in small sums. The loan by the *orgeones* here is in fact smaller than any loan recorded on a *horos*.

The three loans on the security of the house show how it was possible for citizens to raise multiple loans on real estate in Attica. Most of our evidence for mortgaging of property comes from the boundary stones (*horoi*) erected to give notice to potential buyers (and other potential lenders) that the property was already encumbered. Some *horoi* mark security for orphan estates that are leased out or for land that is given as a dowry (the so-called pupillary and dotal *apotimema*), the rest divide between those that describe the transaction involved as *hypotheke* and those that describe it as 'sale upon redemption' (*prasis epi lysei*): most probably these are two different ways of describing the same arrangement (see E. M. Harris, *CQ*<sup>2</sup> xxxviii 1988, 351–81 at 377–8). In this case the debt to Smicythus is described in the terminology of *hypotheke*, but those to the phratry and *orgeones* are described in the language of sale upon redemption (although the qualification *epi lysei* is omitted in the record of the claim from the phratry as it is also in similar references in law-court speeches). *Horoi* mostly (but note Finley *SLC* nos. 107–8) record loans taken out on a single occasion, although sometimes with more than one creditor (compare Finley, *SLC* nos. 11, 13, 19, 22, 32, 35, 41, 46, 97, 146, 147, and table p. 173). Here we have good evidence for a single property bearing multiple charges which seem independent of one another: the debt to Smicythus seems to be known at the moment when the property is registered for confiscation, the debts to the phratry and the *orgeones* only appear in the course of the court consideration. This



is the clearest case of a number of separate loans being secured by the same piece of property, and is crucial to our understanding of the nature of mortgage transactions (see M. I. Finley in *Studi . . . V. Arangio-Ruiz*, iii. 473–91, and more briefly *SLC* nos. 111–13). It indicates clearly that the owner of real estate used as security for a loan retained an interest in the excess value: the property did not stand as a substitute for the loan, it was collateral security (compare Cohen, *Athenian Economy and Society*, 212 n. 132, E. M. Harris, *CQ*<sup>2</sup> xxxviii 1988, 366–7).

One further claim allowed on the property was not formally secured by the property at all. This is the claim by Isarchus of Xypete for 30 drachmas spent burying Theosebēs' father and mother. The order of events is not entirely clear, but it would appear that both parents had died in the interval between Theosebēs' fleeing the country and the time when the property was registered for confiscation (there is perhaps more to this story than merely temple robbery?). The house that is here confiscated had then been inherited by Theosebēs, who seems otherwise to be property-less. The man who took responsibility for the burial is a fellow demesman of Theosebēs, and Lambert (*Phratryes*, 318–19) has suggested that he may have been demarch of Xypete and carrying out his duty to bury the dead not buried by their relatives (see law *ap.* Dem. XLIII. *Macartatus* 58); but note that this house, in which Theophilus and his wife were presumably living at the time of their death, is in Alopece, not Xypete. The figure of 30 dr. for the burial is ten times lower than lowest of a number of figures for the expense of burials which are found in literary sources (*APF* xix n. 3). This may represent only the outstanding balance of a larger sum, but it is more plausible that it represents the total cost of the burials and associated rituals and offerings, perhaps done on the cheap by the demarch, but does not include any memorial stone. Some larger sums recorded for burials explicitly relate to a memorial, but the cost of simple memorial stones is disputed by modern scholars (see G. J. Oliver in Oliver (ed.), *The Epigraphy of Death*, 59–80).

The second half of this record of *poletai* activities for 367/6 is the earliest surviving epigraphic record of mine leases (we simply do not know the procedures involved in operating the mines before this). Mines are leased in seven of the ten prytanies of this year, including each of the first five prytanies, with six of the seventeen mines leased in the first prytany. Just as *Ath. Pol.* 47. ii divides mines into two categories, 'working mines' and 'conceded mines', so here there seem to be two groups of mines: those 'from the *stèle*' and others. The twelve 'others' are uniformly leased out at 20 dr., while of those 'from the *stèle*' two are leased at 1,550 dr., two at 150 dr., and one at 50 dr. Later *poletai* records describe mines as 'from the *stèle* in the archonship of X', and the most plausible interpretation of 'from the *stèle*' is that these are active working mines which are being leased again immediately on the expiry of an earlier lease. The potential of such mines would be known and the different rents would reflect competitive bidding (1,550 dr. looks like an auction price); the 20 dr. leasings, by contrast, are of mines that are not currently active, whose working is much more speculative. That those mines have, in eight cases, established names suggests that they may be mines formerly worked which have gone out of use. Later *poletai* lists (*Agora*, xix P 2–51) have three categories of mines, 'working mines' (*ergasima*) 'new cuttings' (*kainotomiaí*), and

'(old) piled-up mines' ((*palaia*) *anasaxima*), dividing the non-current mines into two groups depending on whether they were previously worked. (The above interpretation is that argued by Hopper, *BSA* xlviii 1953, 200–54; in the standard account of the physical remains from Laurium and the mining process Conophagos, *Le Laurium antique*, 428–37, offers a different interpretation which depends upon 'conceded' mines not appearing in the *poletai* lists at all.)

Neither the *poletai* records nor *Ath. Pol.* indicate the frequency with which lease payments were made: were the sums recorded on this *stele* paid once a prytany, once a year, or once in a lease? The small size of the smallest rents makes it unlikely that we are dealing here with one payment for a seven-year lease; the large size of the largest rent suggests that the output of the most productive mines must have been very considerable indeed if payment once a prytany is involved. Recording the prytany in which the mine is leased makes most sense if annual payments which become due in different prytanies are at issue. The question is difficult to resolve because we do not know whether there were other ways also in which the city profited from the mines; fifth-century epigraphic texts talk of payments 'from the treasurers of the Hephaestic fund from Laurium' (M&L 60.14), a later *poletai* record mentions a fiftieth tax 'in the works' (*Agora*, xix P 26. 474–5), and the *Souda* (α345 ἀγράφου μετᾶλλον δίκη), perhaps relating to a much later period, mentions a standard charge of 1/24th of the yield. If the sums here are payments per prytany then in a full year the city stood to gain 6 talents 900 dr. a year in rent; if payments are once a year then only 3,690 dr. (Note also the discussion in Shipton, *ZPE* cxx 1998, 57–63.)

The *poletai* records regularly locate the mines and often, although not invariably, indicate whose land the mine is on. Later inscriptions referred to that land as *edaphe*. The city claimed the right to lease out the sub-surface, but the surface was in private hands. Some landowners are also lessees, but others never feature as lessees. Although the public records never reveal it, it seems likely that lessees also had to negotiate with landowners who would expect some monetary return for allowing access to the sub-surface, and individuals known from literary sources to have made their fortunes in mining all appear as landowners as well as lessees (see Osborne, *Demos*, 115–18). One mine (ll. 67–71) here is located on the land 'of the wife of Charmylus' and land neighbouring it belongs to 'the wife of Alypetus'. Women might carry property with them at Athens, but they were not free themselves to dispose of that property and it would normally be listed under the name of a husband. It appears that we have two cases here of women widowed recently enough not yet to have passed into the control of a man (see further L. Foxhall, *CQ*<sup>2</sup> xxxix 1989, 22–44).

The mines on this inscription are simply listed as they are leased. Later *poletai* records lay out the procedure more fully: the would-be lessee first registers the mine, its position is then described, and the amount that the mine is leased for recorded. It was presumably possible for someone else to outbid the registrant, but if this happened it is not recorded in surviving inscriptions.

It is clear that mining was not happening on a very large scale in 367/6. That only five mines have their lease renewed and that only one *stele* is referred to (by contrast to later records) suggests that mining may only just have begun again after the decline

occasioned by the Peloponnesian War. This would conform to the implications of Xenophon's discussion of the mines in *Poroi*, which was written a decade later than this record. The mines operating in 367/6 also seem to have been largely concentrated in one area: locations are recorded for fifteen mines, of which eight are in Sunium, with six of the eight located at Nape and one at Thrasymos; one is at Maroneia, site of the mines that gave famous profits early in the fifth century (*Ath. Pol.* 22. vii), three at Laurium, two at Besa, and one at Thoricus. Nape hardly features in later leases, but Thrasymos is frequently mentioned, and two sites which do not appear at all here appear later, Aulon and Bambideion.

*Poletai* lists show that by the 340s many more mining concessions were being leased (*Agora*, xix P 26 has traces of at least 45 leases in 342/1, and must originally have had well in excess of that number), although, curiously, surviving figures for rents tend to be low (20 and 150 dr.). A number of notorious court cases from the later fourth century, some of which seem to have been politically motivated, indicate both that individuals were making enormous profits out of the mines and that they were known to be doing so (see especially Hyp. iii *Against Euxenippos* 34-6, [Plut.] *X Or.* 843 D). Our records are rich enough for us to be able to say something about the social and geographical origins of those who profited from silver mining and about what activities led to the greatest profit (see Osborne, *Demos*, ch. 6).

Four of the nine different individuals who lease mines and eleven of the nineteen different owners of land or plant in the mining district named in this inscription are men otherwise known to be wealthy because they or their family performed liturgies (see *APF*, pp. xx-xxiv). This high frequency of men from known wealthy families contrasts with the circles revealed in the first half of the inscription. Although two of the *poletai* and their secretary are from known wealthy families, not one of those named in connection with the confiscation of Theosebēs' property comes from such a family.

## 37

### Decree of the Athenian *genos* of the Salaminioi, 363/2

A marble *stèle* found SW of Hephaestum. Now in Agora Museum, Agora Inv. I 3244. Phot. *Hesp.* vii 1938, 2.

Attic-Ionic, retaining old *o* occasionally for *ou*; *stoichedon* 38 (lines 2-68), quasi-*stoichedon* 39-41 (lines 69-79), non-*stoichedon* 79-102 (lines 80-97)

W. S. Ferguson, *Hesp.* vii 1938, 1-68; *SEG* xxi 527; *Agora*, xix L 4a; S. D. Lambert, *ζPE* cxix 1997, 85-106\*. Trans. Ferguson, 5-8; Roebuck, *Greek Arbitration*, 288 (part). See also S. C. Humphreys, *ζPE* lxxxiii 1990, 243-8; R. Osborne in Alcock and Osborne (edd.), *Placing the Gods*, 143-60; Parker, *Athenian Religion*, 308-16; Scafuro, *The Forensic Stage*, Appendix 2(F), p. 399; Taylor, *Salamis and the Salaminioi*, 47-63; Lambert, *ζPE* cxix 1999, 93-130; H. Lohmann, *ζPE* cxxxiii 2000, 91-102; Roebuck, *Greek Arbitration*, 287-91.

The following individuals are particularly notable for the other activities which we know them or their families to have engaged in. Nicias (II) of Cydantidae (*APF*, p. 406) (landowner, ll. 41–2, 58, 64–5) is a grandson of the fifth-century general Nicias son of Niceratus who is recorded by Xenophon (*Poroi* iv. 14) to have had 1,000 slaves whom he hired out to work in the mines at 1 obol a day (yielding 10 talents a year from a capital of around 15–20 talents: 1,000 slaves at 100 dr. a slave = 16  $\frac{2}{3}$  talents capital tied up in slaves). Leucius of Sunium (*APF* 9057) (landowner, ll. 46, 80) gave land for a new agora for his deme in around 330 because the old one had become overcrowded (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1180). (For the location of the agora see Goette, *AM* cx 1995, 171–4). Thrasylochus of Anagyrous (*APF*, pp. 385–6) (lessee of two mines, ll. 49 and 51–2) was the (older) brother of Demosthenes' antagonist Meidias (Dem. xxi) and himself challenged Demosthenes to an *antidosis* in 363 over a syntrierarchy (Dem. xxvii. 17). He appears as owner of a workshop in the mines in the 350s and again as a trierarch at an even later date. Diophanes of Sunium (*APF*, pp. 167–8) (landowner, ll. 59–60) was the brother of the archon of the Salaminioi (37. 69) of 363/2. Callias of Alopece (*APF*, p. 269) (landowner, l. 64) belongs to the notoriously wealthy and politically involved family one of whose fifth-century members, Callias (II), was said to have been worth 200 talents and to have had 600 slaves working in the silver mines (X. *Poroi* iv. 15, cf. Nepos, *Cimon*, 1. iii). Both literary and epigraphic sources show that Callias vaunted his pedigree both in his political and in his equestrian activities (X. *H.* vi. iii. 4, *SEG* xlii 466). He appears later purchasing confiscated property from the *poletai* in 342/1 (*Agora*, xix P 26. 455) and was active on Delos. Epicrates of Pallene (*APF* 4909) (landowner, l. 70), is either identical or related to the Epicrates alleged, when prosecuted in the 320s, to have made a profit of 300 talents from the mines in three years (Hyp. iv. *Euxenippos* 35), and the Epicrates who proposed the ephebic law (see on 88).

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θεοί.

- ἐπὶ Χαρικλεῖδ(ο) ἄρχοντος Ἀθηναίους· ἐπὶ τοῖσδε  
 εἰ διήλλαξαν οἱ διαιτηταὶ Σαλαμινίους τὸς ἐκ τῶ-  
 ν ἐπὶ φυλῶν καὶ Σαλαμινίους τοὺς ἀπὸ Σονίου ὁμο-  
 5 λογόντας ἀλλήλοις καλῶς ἔχειν ἃ ἔγνωσαν οἱ δι-  
 αιτηταὶ Στέφανος Μυρρινόσιος, Κλεάγορος Ἀχα-  
 ρνεύς, Ἀριστογείτων Μυρρινόσιος, Εὐθύκριτος  
 Λαμπτρεύς, Κηφισόδοτος Αἰθαλίδης· τὰς ἱερεωσ-  
 ῦνας κοινὰς εἶναι ἀμφοτέρων εἰς τὸν αἰεὶ χρόν-  
 10 ον τῆς Ἀθηνάας τῆς Σκιράδος, καὶ τὴν τὸ Ἡρακλέο-  
 ς τὸ ἐπὶ Πορθμῶι, καὶ τὴν τὸ Εὐρυσάκος, καὶ τὴν τῆ-  
 ς Ἀγλαύρο καὶ Παιδρόσο καὶ τῆς Κοροτρόφο· καὶ κ-  
 ληρόσθαι κοινῇ ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων ἐπειδὰν τελευτ-  
 ῇσει τις τῶν ἱερείων ἢ τῶν ἱερέων· τὸς δὲ λαγχάν-  
 15 οντας ἱερεῶσθαι ἐφ' οἷσπερ καὶ οἱ πρότερον ἱερ-  
 εῶντο· τὴν δὲ γῆν τὴν ἐφ' Ἡρακλείωι τῶι ἐπὶ Πορθμ-  
 ῶι καὶ τὴν ἀλλήλῃ καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν τὴν ἐν Κοίλῃι νε-  
 ῖμασθαι δίχα ἕσθαι ἑκάτερος, καὶ ὅρος στήσαι τῆ-  
 ς ἑαυτῶν ἑκάτερος· θύειν δὲ τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἡ-  
 20 ρωσι κατὰ τάδε· ὅσα μὲν ἡ πόλις παρέχει ἐκ τῆς δημο-  
 σίου ἢ παρὰ τῶν ὠ[σ]κοφόρων ἢ παρὰ τῶν δειπνοφόρ-  
 ων γίγνεται λαμβάνειν Σαλαμινίους, ταῦτα μὲν  
 κοινῇ ἀμφοτέρως θύοντας νέμεσθαι τὰ κρέα ὦμ-  
 ᾶ τὰ ἡμίσεια ἑκάτερος· ὅσα δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς μισθώσεως ἔ-  
 25 θυνον Σαλαμίνιοι παρὰ σφῶν αὐτῶν θύειν κατὰ τὰ  
 πάτρια, τὸ ἡμυσυ ἑκάτερος συμβαλλομένος εἰς ἅ-  
 παντα τὰ ἱερά· τοῖς δὲ ἱερεῦσι καὶ ταῖς ἱερεῖαι-  
 ς ἀποδιδόναι τὰ γέρα τὰ γεγραμμένα· τῶι δὲ τῷ Ἡρ-  
 ακλέος ἱερεῖ ἱερεῶσυνα ΔΔΔ δραχμάς· εἰς πελαν-  
 30 ὀν δὲ ΗΗ δραχμάς· τούτων τὸ ἡμυσυ ἑκάτερος συμ-  
 βάλλεσθαι· τῶν δὲ ἱερείων ὧν ἂν κατάρξῃται τῶν  
 κοινῶν λαμβάνειν ὀρεῖν δέρμα καὶ τὸ σκέλος, εὐ-  
 στοῖν τὸ σκέλος· βοὸς δὲ ἐννέα σάρκας καὶ τὸ δέρμα·  
 τῶι δὲ τῷ Εὐρυσάκος ἱερεῖ ἱερεῶσυνα ΓΓ δραχμά-  
 35 ς· εἰς πελανὸν ἀμφοτέρωσιν ΓΓΓ δραχμάς· σκέλος κ-  
 αὶ δέρματος ἐν Εὐρυσάκειω ΔΔΔ δραχμάς· τούτ-  
 ων τὸ ἡμυσυ ἑκάτερος συμβάλλεσθαι· τῶι ἡρωὶ τῶ-  
 ι ἐπὶ τῇ ἀλῇ τῶν θυομένων λαμβάνειν τὸ δέρμα  
 καὶ τὸ σκέλος· νέμειν δὲ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι καὶ ταῖς ἱ-

The mason, the same throughout, inscribed long strokes first and frequently failed to return to inscribe the short strokes; these omissions are not generally recorded here, but can e.g. obliterate the difference between the sign for a drachma and that for an obol, and on five occasions lead to a space being left for a letter that does not involve long strokes but that letter never being inscribed (ll. 2, 72, 88, 89, 91).

10–11 *Ἡρακλέοι*

Ferguson, *Ἡρακλέοι*; Walbank; Lambert reports insufficient traces to allow confirmation of reading.

Gods. In the archonship of Chariclides at Athens [363/2], the arbitrators Stephanus of Myrrhinous, Cleagorus of Acharnae, Aristogeiton of Myrrhinous, Euthycrates of Lamptrae, and Cephisodotus of Aithalidae settled the disputes between the Salaminioi of the Seven Tribes and the Salaminioi from Sunium on the following terms, both parties being agreed with one another that the proposal was good:

- 8 The priesthoods shall be common to both for all time, namely those of Athena Sciras, of Heracles at Porthmus, of Eurysaces, and of Aglaurus and Pandrosus and of Kourotraphos. An allotment is to be made jointly from both groups when one of the priestesses or priests dies, and those who obtain the office by lot shall serve as priests on the same conditions as the earlier priests served.
- 16 The land at the Heraclium at Porthmus and the saltpan and agora at Koile shall be divided into two equal parts for each party, and each party shall set up boundary markers of its own land.
- 19 All (the sacrificial victims) that the city provides at public expense, or that the Salaminioi happen to receive from the *oschophoroi* or from the *deipnophoroi*, these both parties are to sacrifice in common and divide the raw meat, half for each party; but all (the sacrificial victims) that the Salaminioi have been wont to sacrifice from the income from rents they are to sacrifice from their own resources in the ancestral manner, each party contributing half for all the sacrifices.
- 27 The perquisites prescribed here are to be given to the priests and priestesses. To the priest of Heracles, as dues, 30 drachmas; for *pelanos*, 3 drachmas; each party is to contribute half of these sums. Of the victims which he sacrifices for the whole group he is to take the skin and the leg of a victim that has been flayed, the leg of a victim that has been singed; but in the case of a cow he is to take nine pieces of flesh and the skin. To the priest of Eurysaces, as due, 6 drachmas; for *pelanos* for both cults 7 drachmas; in place of the leg and skin in the Eurysacium 13 drachmas; each party is to contribute half these sums. Of the victims sacrificed to the hero at the saltpan he is to take the skin and the leg. A portion from each party is to be distributed to the priests and priestesses in the shrines where each are priests. They are to distribute the loaves from Sciras in the following way, once they have taken out from the total number those which it is ancestral custom to exempt: a loaf for the herald, a loaf for the priestess of Athena, a loaf for the priest of Heracles, a loaf to the priestess of Pandrosus and

40 ερείαις ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ὅπο ἂν ἕκαστοι ἱερεῶν-  
 αι μερίδα παρ' ἐκατέρων· τὸς ἄρτος ἐς Σκιράδος ν-  
 έμειν κατὰ τάδε, ἀφελόντας ἐξ ἀπάντων τὸς νομι-  
 ζομένους ἀφαιρεῖσθαι κατὰ τὰ πάτρια· κήρυκι ἄρ-  
 τον, Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερεῖαι ἄρτον, Ἡρακλέος ἱερεῖ ἄρτο-  
 45 ν, Πανδρόσο καὶ Ἀγλαύρο ἱερεῖαι ἄρτον, Κοροτρό-  
 φο καὶ καλαθηφόρῳ ἄρτον, κώπαις ἄρτον· τῶν δὲ ἄ-  
 λλων νέμεσθαι τὰ ἡμίσεα ἐκατέρως· ἄρχοντα δὲ κ-  
 ληρὸν ἐμ μέρει παρ' ἐκατέρων ὅστις καταστήσει  
 τὸς ὠσκοφόρος καὶ τὰς δειπνοφόρος μετὰ τῆς ἱε-  
 50 ρείας καὶ τὸ κήρυκος κατὰ τὰ πάτρια· ταῦτα δὲ ἄν-  
 αγράψαι ἐς στήλην κοινῇ ἀμφοτέρως καὶ στήσα-  
 ι ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Σκιράδος· τὸν δὲ αὐ-  
 τὸν ἱερέα εἶναι τῷ Εὐρυσάκει καὶ τῷ ἥρῳ τῷ  
 ἐπὶ τῇ ἀλῇ· ἐὰν δέ τι δέη ἐπισκευεῖν τῶν ἱε-  
 55 ρῶν, ἐπισκευάζειν κοινῇ συμβαλλ{λ}ομένος τὸ ἡμ-  
 υσιν ἐκατέρως· ἐπὶ Χαρικλείδῳ ἄρχοντος οἱ ἐκ τῶ-  
 ν ἑπτὰ φυλῶν παρέσχον ἄρχοντα· τὰ δὲ γραμματεῖ-  
 α κοινὰ εἶναι ἀμφοτέρων ἅπαντα· τὴν δὲ γῆν ἐργά-  
 ζεσθαι τὸμ μεμισθωμένον ἕως ἂν ἐξέλθῃ ὁ χρόν-  
 60 ος ὃν ἐμισθώσατο, ἀποδιδόντα τὴν ἡμίσειαν μίσ-  
 θωσιν ἐκατέρως· τὸ δὲ πρόθυμα τὸ ἀμίλλο ἐμ μέρ-  
 ει ἐκατέρως κατάρχεσθαι· τῶν δὲ κρεῶν τὰ ἡμίσε-  
 α ἐκατέρως λαμβάνειν καὶ τῶν δερμάτων· τὴν δὲ ἱ-  
 ερεωσύνην τὸ κήρυκος εἶναι Θρασυκλέος κατὰ τ-  
 65 ἄ πάτρια· τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἐνκλημάτων ἅπαντων ἄφε-  
 ῖσθαι τῶν τε ἰδί(ω)ν καὶ τῶν κοινῶν εἰς τὸν ὃ Βοηδ-  
 ρομῶνα μῆνα τὸν ἐπὶ Χαρικλείδῳ ἄρχοντ<sup>ος</sup>.<sup>vv</sup>

*vacat*

ἐπὶ Διφίλῳ Διοπεΐθους Σουινέως Σαλαμινίους ἄρχ-  
 70 οντος οἷδε ὥμοσαν Σαλαμινίων τῶν ἀπὸ Σουνίου· Διο-  
 πεΐθης Φασυρκίδο, Φιλόνεως Ἀμεινονίκου, Χαλκιδ-  
 εὺς Ἀνδρομένους, Χαριάδης Χαρικλέος, Θε(ο)φάνης  
 Ζωφάνους, Ἠγίας Ἠγησίου, Ἀμεινίας Φιλίνου, ἐπὶ Ἀν-  
 τισθένους Ἀντιγένους Ἀχαρνέως ἄρχοντος Σαλαμι-  
 75 νίους οἷδε ὥμοσαν ἐκ τῶν ἑπτὰ φυλῶν· Θρασυκλῆς Θρά-  
 σωνος Βουτά, Στρατοφῶν Στράτωνος Ἀγρυ, Μελίτιος  
 Ἐξηκεστίδου Βουτά, Ἀρίσταρχος Δημοκλέους Ἀχαρ,<sup>ο</sup>  
 Ἀρκέων Εὐμηλίδου Ἀχαρ, Χαιρέστρατος Πανκλείδῳ Ἐ-  
 πικηφί, Δήμων Δημαρέτο Ἀγρυλῇ. *vacat*

80 Ἀρχένεως εἶπεν· ὅπως ἂν Σαλαμῖνιοι τὰ ἱερὰ θύωσι αἰεὶ τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἥρωσι  
 κατὰ τὰ πάτρια καὶ

Aglaurus, to the basket-bearer of *Kourotrophos* also a loaf, to the oarsmen a loaf; of the rest each party is to have a half share.

- 47 They shall allot an archon in turn from each group to join with the priestess and the herald in appointing the *oschophoroi* and *deipnophoroi* in the ancestral manner. Both groups are to write these things up on a common *stele* and set it up in the temple of Athena Sciras. The same man is to serve as priest for Eurysaces and for the hero at the saltpan. If there is any need to do building work in the shrines, they are to do it jointly, each group contributing half the costs.

- 56 In the archonship of Chariclides, the Salaminioi of the Seven Tribes provided the archon. All the written records are to be common to both. The lessee is to work the land until the time for which he leased the land expires, paying half the rent to each group. Each group is to undertake in turn the preliminary sacrifice before the contest. Each is to take half the meat and the skins. The dues of the herald are to belong to Thrasycles according to ancestral custom. All other claims, whether against individuals or groups, up to the month of Boedromion in the archonship of Chariclides are to be dropped.

- 69 When Diphilos son of Diopeithes of Sunium was archon of the Salaminioi, the following of the Salaminioi from Sunium swore the oath: Diopeithes son of Phasyrcides, Philoneos son of Ameinonicus, Chalcideus son of Andromenes, Chariades son of Charicles, Theophanes son of Zophanes, Hegias son of Hegesias, Ameinias son of Philinos. When Antisthenes son of Antigenes of Acharnae was archon of the Salaminioi, the following took the oath from the Seven Tribes: Thrasycles son of Thrason of Boutadae, Stratophon son of Straton of Agryle, Melittius son of Execestides of Boutadae, Aristarchus son of Democles of Acharnae, Arceon son of Eumelides of Acharnae, Chaerestratus son of Panclides of Epicephisia, Demon son of Demaretus of Agryle.

- 80 Archeneos proposed: in order that the Salaminioi may always make the holy sacrifices to the gods and heroes in the ancestral manner and that what is done may conform to the terms on which the arbitrators reconciled both parties and to which those elected swore oaths, be it decreed by the Salaminioi that Aristarchus the archon shall inscribe all the sacrifices and the prices of the victims on the *stele* on which are the settlement terms, in order that those who are archons at any time in the future from both groups may know what money it is necessary for each to contribute for all the sacrifices from the rent



γίγνητα[ι] ἐφ' οἷς διήλλαξαν οἱ διαλλακταὶ ἀμφοτέρους καὶ οἱ αἰρεθέντες ὤμοσαν,  
 ἐψηφίσθαι Σαλαμινί-  
 οῖς τὸν ἄρχοντα Ἀρίσταρχον ἐγγράψαι τὰς θυσίας ἀπάσας καὶ τὰς τιμὰς τῶν ἱερέων  
 εἰς τὴν στήλην ἐν εἰ  
 αἱ διαλλαγαὶ εἰσιν, ὅπως ἂν οἱ ἄρχοντες αἰεὶ παρ' ἀμφοτέρων εἰδῶσι ὅ τι δεῖ  
 ἀργύριον συνβάλλεσθαι εἰς τὰ[ς]  
 θυσίας ἀπάσας ἐκατέρους ἀπὸ τῆς μισθώσεως τῆς γῆς τῆς ἐφ' Ἡρακλείω, καὶ  
 στήσαι τὴν στήλην ἐν τῷ  
 85 Εὐρυσακείῳ. <sup>v</sup> Μουνιχιῶνος. ἐπὶ Πορθμῶν· Κουροτρόφῳ αἶγα Δ, Ἰολέῳ οἶν  
 ὀλόκαυτον ΔΓ· Ἀλκμήνῃ οἶν  
 ΔΗ, Μαίαι οἶν ΔΗ, Ἡρακλεῖ βούν ΓΔΔ, ἥρωι ἐπὶ τέϊ ἀλέϊ οἶν ΔΓ, ἥρωι ἐπ'  
 Ἀντισάραι χοῖρον ΗΗΙΙΙ, ἥρωι Ἐπι-  
 πυργιδίῳ χοῖρον ΗΗΙΙΙ, Ἴον(ι) οἶν θύειν ἐναλλὰξ παρ' ἑτοσ· ξύλα ἐφ' ἱεροῖς καὶ οἷς  
 ἡ πόλις δίδωσιν ἐκ κύρβεω(ν)  
 Δ. ὀγδόεϊ ἐπὶ δέκα Εὐρυσάκεϊ ὦν ΔΔΔΔ· ξύλα ἐφ' ἱεροῖς(ς) καὶ εἰς τᾶλλα ΗΗ.  
 Ἐκατονβαιῶνος. Παναθηναίους Ἀθηνᾶι  
 ὦν· ΔΔΔΔ· ξύλα ἐφ' ἱεροῖς καὶ (εἰ)ς τᾶλλα ΗΗ. Μεταγειντιῶνος. ἐβδόμῃ Ἀπόλλωνι  
 Πατρῴῳ· ὦν ΔΔΔΔ, Αἰγυπιοῖ χοῖρο(ν)  
 90 [Η]ΗΗΙΙΙ, Ἀρτέμειδο χοῖρον ΗΗΙΙΙ, Ἀθηνᾶι Ἀγελάῃ χοῖρον ΗΗΙΙΙ· ξύλα ἐφ' ἱεροῖς καὶ  
 εἰς τᾶλλα ΗΗΙΙΙ. Βοηδρομιῶνος. Ποσει-  
 δῶνι Ἱπποδρομίῳ ὦν ΔΔΔΔ, ἥρωι Φαίακι χοῖρ(ο)ν ΗΗΙΙΙ, ἥρωι Τεύκρωι χοῖρον  
 ΗΗΙΙΙ, ἥρωι Νανσεῖρωι χοῖρον ΗΗΗΙΙΙ·  
 ξύλα ἐφ' ἱεροῖς καὶ τᾶλλα ΗΗΗΙΙΙ· Πυανοψιῶνος. ἕκτει Ἰθυσίῳ ὦν ΔΔΔΔ· εἰς τᾶλλα  
 ΗΗ. Ἀπατουρίῳ Διὶ Φρατρίῳ ὦν ΔΔΔΔ· <sup>vv</sup>  
 ξύλα ἐφ' ἱεροῖς καὶ τᾶλλα ΗΗ. Μαμακτηριῶνος. Ἀθηνᾶι Σκίραδι οἶν ἐνκύμονα ΔΗ,  
 Σκίρωι οἶν ΔΓ· ξύλα ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ΗΗ[Η].  
 κεφάλαιον οὐ δεῖ ἀναλίσκειν ἀμφοτέροισι ἑς ἅπαντα τὰ ἱερά ΓΔΔΔΙΙΙ. ταῦτα θύειν  
 κοινῇ ἀπὸ τῆς μισθώσεως τῆς γῆς τῆς(ς) ἐφ' Ἡρακλ-  
 95 ῶνι Σονίῳ, ἀργύριον συνβαλλομένους ἐκατέρους ἑς ἅπαντα τὰ ἱερά· ἔαν δέ τις εἴπει  
 ἢ ἄρχων ἐπιψηφίσῃ τούτων τι καταλύ-  
 [σ]αι ἢ τρέψῃ ποιᾶν ἄλλοσε τὸ ἀργύριον, ὑπεύθυνον εἶναι τῷ γένει ἅπαντι καὶ τοῖς  
 ἱερεῦσι κατὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἰδίαι ὑπό-  
 δικον καὶ τῷ βουλομένῳ Σαλαμινίων. *vacat*

94 ΓΔΔΔΙΙΙ Ferguson, Lambert; ΓΔΔΔΗΗ also possible, Lambert (neither figure easily equates with the sum of perquisites and sacrifices recorded). No space left for missing s. 94–5 Ἡρακλ(εῖω) Σονίῳ Lambert, Ἡρακλ(εῖω) | τῷ Σονίῳ also possible, Lambert, Ἡρακλ(εῖω) | [ἐπ]ὶ Σονίῳ Ferguson.

This is the longest of all extant documents from an Athenian *genos*, and as such vital evidence in the disputed questions of the origins, nature, and functions of the *genos* (see Parker, *Athenian Religion*, 56–66, S. D. Lambert, *CQ*<sup>2</sup> xlix 1999, 484–9 at 484–7). We know of more than fifty Athenian *gene*, and some twenty-five can more or less certainly provide priests for city cults. It is not improbable that all *gene* in fact had cultic

- of the land at the Heraclium, and to set up the *stele* in the Eurysacium.
- 85 In Mounychion: at Porthmus, to *Kourotrophos* a goat, 10 dr.; to Iolaus a sheep burnt whole, 15 dr.; to Alcmene a sheep, 12 dr.; to Maia a sheep, 12 dr.; to Heracles an ox, 70 dr.; to the hero at the saltpan a sheep, 15 dr.; to the hero at Antisara a piglet, 3½ dr.; to the hero Epipyrgidius a piglet, 3½ dr.; to Ion to sacrifice a sheep every other year. Wood for the sacrifices including those for which the city gives money according to the *kyrbeis*, 10 dr. On the eighteenth to Eurysaces a sow, 40 dr. Wood for the sacrifices and for other purposes, 3 dr.
- 88 In Hecatombaion: at the Panathenaea, to Athena a sow, 40 dr. Wood for the sacrifices and other purposes, 3 dr.
- 89 In Metageitnion: on the seventh to Apollo Patroios a sow, 40 dr.; to Leto a piglet, 3½ dr.; to Artemis a piglet, 3½ dr.; to Athena Agelaas a piglet, 3½ dr. Wood for the sacrifices and for other purposes, 3½ dr.
- 90 In Boedromion: to Poseidon Hippodromios a sow, 40 dr.; to the hero Phaiax a piglet, 3½ dr.; to the hero Teucer a piglet, 3½ dr.; to the hero Nausirus a piglet, 3½ dr. Wood for the sacrifices and for other purposes, 3½ dr.
- 92 In Pyanopsion: on the sixth to Theseus a sow, 40 dr; for other things, 3 dr.; at the Apaturia to Zeus Phratrios a sow, 40 dr. Wood for the sacrifices and for other purposes, 3 dr.
- 93 In Maimakterion: for Athena Sciras a pregnant ewe, 12 dr.; for Scirus a sheep, 15 dr.; wood for the altar, 3 dr.
- 94 Total that it is necessary that both spend on all the sacrifices, 530 dr. 3 obols. They are to sacrifice these in common from the rents of the land at the Heraclium at Sunium, each party contributing money for all the sacrifices.
- 95 If anyone makes, or if any archon puts to the vote, a proposal to rescind any of these or diverts the money elsewhere, he is to be liable to scrutiny by the whole *genos* and the priests on the same basis, and privately also to prosecution by any of the Salaminioi who wishes.

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responsibilities (and that all archaic public priests were provided by *gene*). *Gene* were certainly descent groups; most had names of the patronymic form, ending in *-idai* (as with the Eumolpidai who were jointly responsible for cult at Eleusis with the Kerykes). Some names related to function (so the Kerykes, 'heralds'), a link which suggests a group formed initially to perform a particular duty. Aristotle treats *gene* primarily as

communities (*Pol.* I. 1252 B 17–18 with Philochorus *FGrH* 328 F 35), and the Salaminioi share with just two other firmly attested *gene*, the Colieis and the Cephisieis, a name with geographical reference. It may well be that not all *gene* had the same origin.

The Colieis probably were responsible for a cult connected to the locality to which their name referred, the cult of Aphrodite Colias, but the Salaminioi are responsible for four cults, located not on Salamis but in central Athens (the sanctuary of Eurysaces on the hill just west of the Agora where the inscription was erected, l. 85, seems to be their main meeting place), at or near Phaleron, and perhaps at Sunium. There is no certain evidence that any of their cult activities took place on the island of Salamis, although Eurysaces, as son of Aias, was associated with that island and the name Scira was apparently another name for Salamis: Herodotus viii. 94 notes a cult of Athena Sciras on Salamis, but the sacrifices to Athena Sciras mentioned here were held at her shrine at Phaleron as is shown by their close association with the Oschophoria (ll. 41–52). In literary texts ‘Salaminios’ is used to denote a person from the island rather than a member of the *genos*, and the existence of two different bodies of people with the same name is unexpected (but compare the Deceleieis, 5), but the evidence for any links between members of the *genos* and the island remains tantalisingly slight (see Lambert in *JPEx* cxxv).

The link with festivals more or less certainly of great antiquity argues for an origin that is at least pre-Cleisthenic, but the *genos*’s conception of itself had changed subsequently: the Salaminioi here have two branches, Salaminioi who belonged to the deme Sunium, and Salaminioi who were scattered over much of the rest of Attica and belonged to seven tribes, that is, presumably, seven out of the ten Cleisthenic tribes. Each branch has its own archon (69–70, 74), and this inscription records the formal division by arbitrators of rights, duties, and property between the two branches.

ll. 1–67 record the identity of the arbitrators, and then their proposal. It must have been inscribed in consequence of a *genos* decision, but in this case the decision to inscribe is not itself recorded (contrast ll. 80–2). Five arbitrators are named, their number a measure of the importance of the judgement: private arbitrations recorded in the orators use one, two, three, or four arbitrators (Scafuro, 130). The arbitrators, who come from four different demes, are unlikely to be themselves Salaminioi since none is from Sunium, but one is from Acharnae, a deme from which some Salaminioi ‘of the Seven Tribes’ came. The arbitrators decide that *genos* priesthoods, which are evidently held for life, should continue to be allotted from both branches and on the existing conditions, which are subsequently set out in detail, but they order *genos* property to be divided equally between the two branches. Each branch is to contribute equally to sacrifices for which the *genos* pays, but both branches are to enjoy in common the sacrifices paid for by the city. *Genos* admission procedures (for which see [Dem.] lxi. *Neaera* 59, And. i. *Myst.* 127), are evidently not subject to dispute. The names of the seven members of each branch who took oaths to abide by the decisions of the arbitrators are recorded, and then the proposal of one Archeneos to inscribe the calendar of the traditional sacrifices (already partly assumed in the arbitrators’ listing of priestly perquisites), and that calendar. (On sacred calendars generally, see on 62.) The inscription concludes with an ‘entrenchment clause’ (see above, p. 102)

threatening scrutiny of and court action against anyone who proposes or puts to the vote breaking the agreement or diverting money to other purposes.

The description of the duties of the *genos* reveals the complexity of ritual responsibility. There are some religious events which are internal to the *genos*, others that the *genos* performs for the city and at city expense. Among the former are the sacrifice of a pig on the occasion of the Panathenaea (88–9), a sacrifice on the occasion of the phratry festival of the Apaturia, and sacrifices to Poseidon Hippiodromius, Hero Phaiax, Hero Teucer, and Hero Nausirus, perhaps on the occasion of the Cybernesia at Phaleron (see Parker, 314–15). We should perhaps envisage the sacrifices by this *genos* at the Panathenaea being held at the Eurysaceum in Athens. Athenians needed to be together with their fellow demesmen at the occasion of the main Panathenaic sacrifice if they were to receive their festival payment or their share of the meat (Dem. XLIV. *Leochares* 37, 81. 24), and members of this *genos* clearly came from many different demes. In the case of the Apaturia, this was celebrated at different locations by different phratries, and to make a common sacrifice practical this *genos* must have been a sub-group of a single phratry descent group; this implies either that it was historically later in formation than the phratry descent group or that it or/and the phratry was a fictive creation not originally formed from common descent.

The sacrifices which the *genos* performs at public expense must be deduced from the differences between the list of priesthoods and the list of ancestral sacrifices. The *genos* selects and provides ‘*oschophoroi* and *deipnophoroi*’ (47–50), and indeed receives money through their agency (21). The Oschophoria celebrated the return of Theseus after slaying the Minotaur, and we know quite a lot about its rituals (see Jacoby, *FGH* III. b. Supplement i. 286–9, for the evidence, Vidal-Naquet, *Black Hunter*, for its interpretation): it began with a procession from Athens to the shrine of Athena Sciras made up of boys and led by two boys disguised as girls and carrying the branches (the *oschophoroi* referred to in 49); it also included a race in which two youths from each tribe competed and for which the victor was rewarded with a drink made of oil, wine, honey, cheese, and flour. The festival ended with a revel back to Athens. Yet the only sign of the festival in the sacrificial calendar here is a ‘pre-sacrifice’ (61) either that of a pig to Theseus at what has been regarded as the most probable date for the festival in Pyanopsion (92), or that of a pregnant sheep to Athena Sciras at a conceivable alternative date in Maimacterion (see Parker, 315–16); all else must have been financed by the city. Similarly, in the case of ‘the priestess of Pandrosus and Aglaurus’ and ‘the basket-bearer of *Kourotrophos*’, we hear of loaves being given (45–6) but of nothing more in the way of sacrifices than a goat to *Kourotrophos*: the substantial sacrifices to these deities were evidently funded entirely by the city. Curiously our later evidence for city cult differentiates between the three deities and makes no mention of any Salaminian connection (see Parker, 311; Lambert, *ZPE* cxxv).

The Salaminioi meet and sacrifice on at least seven or eight occasions in six different months of the year (there may have been further meetings for city-funded sacrifices). It was presumably on such an occasion that they agreed to this arbitration and conducted the business of renting properties (cf. 58–60), allotting priesthoods (12–16), electing archons, and admitting and honouring members (as in *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1232 from the

mid fourth century). The biggest *genos*-only occasion is in Mounychion (April) when they hold multiple sacrifices, including the sacrifice at Porthmus of an ox to Heracles, the only occasion when the priest of Heracles sacrifices for the *genos* itself. The location of Porthmus is disputed. It has traditionally been located near Sunium (*AA* xxxii 1977, *Mel.* 206–7; xxxiv 1979, *Mel.* 161–73) but Lohmann has recently argued for a location near Piraeus, a location which would mean that the *genos* never certainly met in Sunium. On the 18th of the same month the *genos* assembles again, this time in the city centre, to sacrifice to Eurysaces, again the only annual duty of the priest of Eurysaces for the *genos*. Two months later the *genos* sacrifices to Athena at the Panathenaea, and in each of the following two months (August and September) sacrifices a sow and piglets. The two months after that see two further pig sacrifices and the sacrifice of two sheep. Two of the sacrifices in this four-month period take place at Phaleron, but the location of the other three is not known. The *genos* did not meet or sacrifice at all, at least not at its own expense, in December to March inclusive. The Salaminioi calculate their annual expenditure at 530 dr. 3 obols (or perhaps 533 dr.) (94), and reckon to pay for this from the rents of land (24–5, 94). Some 59 dr. of this is the cost of the priestly perquisites, the rest the cost of the 22 (23 every other year) sacrificial animals. The assumption here, as in some other sacrificial calendars, of a fixed price for livestock is to be noted, as is the comparison with the number of animals sacrificed by demes: Erchia sacrificed 56 animals in a year, Thoricus something over 42. (On sacrificial animals see further on 81.)

The tendency for private disputes in Athens to run on and on has been much commented on by scholars recently (Scafuro, 129–31). This dispute is no exception. A century after this inscription was erected the Salaminioi put up another *stèle* in the sanctuary of Eurysaces recording another agreement between what had now become not branches of a single *genos* but separate *gene*. It is clear that during the classical and

## 38

### Athens honours Menelaus the Pelagonian, 363/2

The upper part of a *stèle* with a relief at the top, found on the Athenian Acropolis; now in the Epigraphical Museum. Phot. Kern, *Inscriptiones Graecae*, Taf. 23; Kirchner, *Imagines*<sup>2</sup>, Taf. 25 Nr. 54; Meyer, *Die griechischen Urkundenreliefs*, Taf. 17 A 56; Lawton, *Reliefs*, pl. 12 no. 23 (the last two, relief and ll. 1–8 only).

Attic-Ionic, retaining the old *o* for *ou* once in l. 22; ll. 1–3 in larger letters.

*IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 110; *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 174; Tod 143\*; M. J. Osborne, *Naturalization*, T 56.

[*M*] ἐνέλαος Πελαγῶν εὐεργέτη[s].  
 ἐπὶ Χαρικλείδου ἀρχοντος· ἐπὶ  
 τῆς Οἰνηίδος ἔκτης πρυτανείας.  
 ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῶι δήμῳ. Οἰνεὶς ἐπρυτάνευσεν· Νικ-  
 5 [ό]στρατος ἐγραμμάτευεν· Χαρικλῆς Λευκονοεὺς ἐπεστά-

early hellenistic period the two groups of the Salaminioi were growing increasingly apart: but how did the two groups form in the first place?

Scholars have offered various speculations about the early history of the Salaminioi. Two aspects of the *genos* cause particular surprise: that a *genos* linked to marginal Salamis should be central in the cult life of the city, and that it should have a large and distinct part of its members linked to Sunium. Some scholars reject all links between the Salaminioi and Salamis (so Taylor, as earlier Ferguson and Robertson). Scholars who accept that there is a link differ as to whether they think it more plausible that the *genos* was made up of men who originated in Salamis, had moved, perhaps as early as the Dark Ages, to Attica (so e.g. Humphreys, Osborne), and had become settled by the end of the sixth century in various demes, or of men who originated in various parts of Attica but moved to Salamis (so Lambert). The former view makes it possible to believe that the *genos* was truly a kin group, descended from a relatively small number of 'original' members. The latter view would give a striking case of the creation of a *genos* in the sixth century, and would involve families that settled on Salamis taking pre-existing cult responsibilities with them, transferring them to the new group of which they became part, but never ceasing to think of themselves as groups connected to their place of origin. Our inability conclusively to resolve this argument is a measure of our ignorance about both *gene* and Salamis.

Of the 18 certain or probable members of the *genos* (Lambert, *ZPE* cxxv. 109–14) Hegias son of Hegesias of Sunium, brother of two rich and famous fourth-century politicians Hegesandrus and Hegesippus (see *APF* 6351), is the only one from a known wealthy family. There has been some speculation that Alcibiades was a member of this *genos*, since Plato has him say that his family traces its descent to Eurysaces, but no other member of the deme Scambonidae is known to have been a member of this *genos*.

Menelaus the Pelagonian, benefactor.

2 In the archonship of Chariclides [363/2]; in the sixth prytany, of Oeneis.

4 Resolved by the council and the people; Oeneis was the prytany; Nicostratus was secretary; Charicles of Leuconoe was

- [τ]ει. Σάτυρος εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ Τιμόθεος ὁ στρατηγὸς ἀποφα[ί]-  
 [ν]ει Μενέλαον τὸν Πελαγόνᾳ καὶ αὐτὸν συνπολεμο[ύ]-  
 [ν]τα καὶ χρήματα παρέχοντα εἰς τὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρ-  
 [ὸς] Χαλκιδέας καὶ πρὸς Ἀμφίπολιν, ἐψηφίσθαι τῇ β-  
 10 [ουλ]ῇ προσάγειν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν δῆμον εἰς τὴν πρῶ-  
 [την] ἐκκλησίαν, γνώμην δὲ ξυνβάλλεσθαι τῆς βουλ-  
 [ῆς] εἰς τὸν δῆμον ὅτι δοκεῖ τῇ βουλῇ· ἐπαινέσαι μὲ-  
 [ν αὐ]τὸν ὅτι ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός ἐστιν καὶ ποιεῖ ὅ τι δύνατα-  
 [ι ἀγ]αθὸν τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων. ἐπιμελεῖσθαι  
 15 [δὲ] αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς τοὺς ὄντας περ-  
 [ὶ Μα]κεδονίαν, ὅπως ᾖν, ἐάν του δέηται, τυγχά-  
 [νῃ]· εἶναι δὲ καὶ εὐρέσθαι αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ δήμο-  
 [υ] ἐάν τι δύνηται καὶ ἄλλο ἀγαθόν. καλέσαι δὲ [καί]  
 [Με]νέλαον ἐπὶ ξένια εἰς τὸ πρυτανεῖον εἰς [αὔριον].  
 vacat  
 20 [Σάτυ]ρος εἶπεν· τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καθάπερ [τῇ βουλῇ].  
 [ἐπει]δὴ [δ]ὲ καὶ πρόγονοι οἱ Με[νε]λάου εὐεργ[ε]-  
 [ταί] ἦσαν τοῦ δήμο τοῦ Ἀθη[ναίων, εἶναι καί]  
 Μενέλαον εὐεργ[ε]τήν[υ -----]

In 368 Athens began a war in the north, to recover Amphipolis (colonized in 437/6 after earlier attempts but lost in 424/3) and the Chersonese (in which Athens had had an interest since the mid sixth century, but where Athens was encountering rivalry from the Thracian king Cotys). The Athenians were to claim that the Persian King and all the Greeks had recognized their claim to Amphipolis and the Chersonese (e.g. Dem. xix. *Embassy* 137, ix. *Phil.* iii. 16): it is hard to find an occasion or occasions when that might have happened, but it is possible that one or more of the common peace treaties stated that the participants were 'to possess what belonged to them' (ἐχέειν τὰ ἐαυτῶν: cf. e.g. Isoc. viii. *Peace* 16) and that what we read in Athenian speeches is a tendentious interpretation of that. A much-reduced form of the Chalcidian state based on Olynthus had joined the Athenian League in 375 (22. 101–2): it perhaps felt threatened by Athens' revived interest in Amphipolis and withdrew from the League c.367 (Cargill, *The Second Athenian League*, 168). Timotheus, the son of Conon, who was general frequently from 378/7 until he was condemned after refusing to fight at Embata in 355, succeeded Iphicrates in the western sector of the war in 365/4. He did not capture Amphipolis (which Philip of Macedon was to take for himself in 357) or Olynthus, but he did take several cities of Chalcidice, in particular Olynthus' near-neighbour Potidaea (D.S. xv. 81. vi, cf. Dem. xxiii. *Arist.* 149–51, Isoc. xv. *Antid.* 108, 113: for Athens' cleruchy at Potidaea see Tod 146 ~ Harding 58). This decree belongs to the winter of 363/2, and presumably results from the campaigning season of 363.

Pelagonia was part of Upper Macedonia, north-west of the Thermaic Gulf. Menelaus was probably related to P— king of the Pelagonians, whom the Athenians hon-

chairman. Satyrus proposed:

- 6 Since Timotheus the general demonstrates that Menelaus the Pelagonian is both joining in the war himself and providing money for the war against the Chalcidians and against Amphipolis, be it decreed by the council: Bring him forward to the people at the first assembly, and contribute the opinion of the council to the people, that the council resolves:
- 12 Praise him because he is a good man and does what good he can to the people of Athens. Also the generals who are in the region of Macedonia shall take care of him, so that if he needs anything he may obtain it; and it shall be possible for him to find from the people of Athens any other benefit if he can.
- 18 Also invite Menelaus to hospitality in the *prytaneion* tomorrow.
- 20 Satyrus proposed:
- 20 In other respects in accordance with the council; but, since the forebears of Menelaus also were benefactors of the people of Athens, Menelaus also shall be a benefactor — —

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oured apparently in 371/0 (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 190: date D. M. Lewis, *BSA* xlix 1954, 38–9; P[atraus] suggested by Papazoglou, *Les Villes de Macédoine à l'époque romaine*, 276–9). Soon after the enactment of this decree he probably fled to Athens and received Athenian citizenship, and is the 'Menelaus son of Arrhabaeus of Athens' honoured by Ilium in Tod 149, and the Menelaus mentioned as a commander of cavalry against Philip in Dem. iv. *Phil.* i. 27.<sup>1</sup> For the period in which the Macedonians cooperated with Athens in their northern war cf. Dem. II. *Ol.* ii. 14, Polyaen. III. 10. xiv.

Satyrus' *probouleuma* provided for Menelaus to receive 'any other benefit' from the people (II. 17–18), and Satyrus himself added the title of benefactor in an amendment (cf. Rhodes, *Boule*, 278–9; this decree should have been mentioned with *SEG* x 276 on p. 279).

This decree is interesting from a secretarial point of view. Until at earliest 368/7 the principal secretary of the Athenian state was a member of the council, serving for one prytany, and appointed from a tribe other than the current prytany in such a way that each tribe provided one secretary during the year (cf. on 34); from at latest the year of this decree, 363/2, the secretary was not a member of the council and served for a whole year (this decree and 39 were enacted in different prytanies but have the same secretary); the change in the method of appointment from election to sortition (*Ath.*

<sup>1</sup> Beloch identified as his father the Arrhabaeus of Arist. *Pol.* v. 1311 B 12 and as his grandfather the Arrhabaeus of Thuc. iv. 79. ii etc. (*GG*<sup>2</sup>, III. ii. 76–7); but Thucydides' Arrhabaeus, at any rate, was king of Lyncestis, to the south of Pelagonia, Arrhabaeus is a common name in the region, and Hammond was right to protest against this further identification (Hammond [& Griffith], II. 19–20, cf. Osborne, *Naturalization*, III–iv. 61 n. 174).



*Pol.* 54. iii) presumably took place at the same time; ironically the title ‘secretary by the prytany’ (γραμματεὺς κατὰ πρυτανείαν), used in *Ath. Pol.*, is attested as an alternative to ‘secretary of the council’ only after the change (e.g. 48). The change to a longer term of office and to appointment from all citizens is presumably to be seen as a small step in the direction of greater efficiency. See Rhodes, *Boule*, 134–8.

The secretary responsible for the publication of this decree, Nicostratus, belonged to a family with a tradition of public service (see *stemma PA*, ii. p. 390; but *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1700.

## 39

## Athenian arrangements for Iulis, 363/2

The upper part of a *stèle*, found on the south slope of the Athenian Acropolis; now in the Epigraphical Museum.

Attic-Ionic, sometimes retaining the old  $\epsilon$  for  $\epsilon\iota$  and  $o$  for  $ou$  (but  $\acute{\alpha}\omicron\lambda\epsilon$  at the end of l. 7 is ‘probably a careless omission or abbreviatory shortening’: Threatte, *Grammar*, i. 301; ll. 2–56 *stoichedon* 43, 57 sqq. *stoichedon* 45.

*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 111; *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 173; Tod 142\*; *Skt.* 289. Trans. Harding 55. See also D. M. Lewis, *BSA* lvii 1962, 1–4; Cargill, *The Second Athenian League*, 134–40; E. Ruschenbusch, *ZPE* xlviii 1982, 177–83; P. Brun, *ZPE* lxxvi 1989, 121–38.

θεοί.

- ἐπὶ Χαρικλείδῳ ἄρχοντος· Αἰαντὶς ἐπρυτάνευεν· Νικό-  
στρατος Παλληνεὺς ἐγραμμάτευεν· Φιλίττιος Βοτάδης  
ἐπεστάτει. ἔδοξεν τῇ βολῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ. Ἀριστοφῶν  
5 ἔειπεν· ἐπειδὴ Ἰουλιῇται οὐς κατήγαγον Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπο-  
φαίνουσιν ὀφείλοσαν τὴν π[ό]λιν τὴν Ἰουλιητῶν τῇ πόλει  
τῇ Ἀθηναίων τρία τάλαντα τὰ ἐκ τοῦ λογισθέντος ἄργυ-  
[ρ]ου κατὰ τὸ ψήφισμα τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ὁ Μενέξενος  
ε[ἶ]πεν, δεδόχθαι τῷ δήμῳ· ἀποδοῖναι Ἰολιγίας Ἀθηνα-  
10 ῖοις ταῦτα τὰ χρ[ή]ματα ἐν τῷ Σκιροφοριῶνι μηνί τῷ ἐ-  
πὶ Χαρικλείδῳ ἄρχοντος. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἀποδιδῶσιν ἐν τῷ χι-  
ρόνῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ, ε[ἶ]σπραξάντων αὐτὸς οἱ ἡιρημέν-  
οι ὑπὸ τῷ δήμῳ εἰσπράτ[τ]εν τὰ ὀφειλόμενα χρήματα παρ-  
ὰ τῶν νησιωτῶν τρόπ[ω]ι ὅτῳ ἂν ἐπίστωνται, συνεισπρα-  
15 ττόντων δὲ αὐτοῖς κ[αὶ] οἱ στρατηγοὶ οἱ Ἰουλιητῶν Ἐχέ-  
τιμος καὶ Νικόλεω[s κ]αὶ Σ[ά]τυρος καὶ Γλαύκων καὶ Ἡρακ-  
λείδης. ὅπως δ’ [ἀ]ν κ[αὶ] οἱ ὄρκοι καὶ αἱ συνθήκαι ἄς συνέθ-  
ετο Χαβρίας ὁ στ[ρ]ατηγὸς κα[ὶ] ὥμοσε Κεῖοις ὑπὲρ Ἀθηνα-  
ίων καὶ Κεῖων ὅς κα[τ]ήγαγον [Ἀ]θηναῖοι κύριαι ὧσι, ἀναγ-  
20 ράψαι τὸς στρατηγ[ο]ς τὸς [Ἰ]ουλιητῶν ὅς εἴρηται ἐν τῷ  
ψηφίσματι συνεισπράττεν τὰ χρήματα ἐν στήλῃ λιθί-  
νῃ καὶ στήσαι ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνος τῷ Πυθίῳ, καθ-  
άπερ ἐν Καρθαίαι ἀναγεγραμμέναι εἰσί. ἀναγράψαι δὲ

195–7 = *Agora*, xv 43. 209–11, shows that the younger Philostratus was the son of Nicostratus, not of his brother Philotades). Nicostratus, one of the first secretaries of the new kind, seems to have had a distinctive style in the formulation of decrees: K.J. Dover has pointed out that ll. 16–17, deferring the finite verb of a clause until after an inserted sub-clause, are paralleled in another decree of the same year, 39. 17–19 (*TPS* 1981, 1–14 at 8–11 = his *Greek and the Greeks*, 31–41 at 35–9, cf. *SEG* xxxii 60); see further on 39.

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Gods.

- 2 In the archonship of Chariclides [363/2]; Aiantis was the prytany; Nicostratus of Pallene was secretary; Philittius of Butadae was chairman. Resolved by the council and the people. Aristophon proposed:
- 5 Since the Iulietans whom the Athenians reinstated demonstrate that the city of Iulis owes to the city of Athens three talents from the money calculated in accordance with the decree of the people of Athens proposed by Menexenus, be it resolved by the people:
- 9 The Iulietans shall give back this money to the Athenians in the month Scriophorion in the archonship of Chariclides. If they do not give it back in the time stated, it shall be exacted from them by the men elected by the people to exact from the islanders the money that they owe, in whatever way they know, and there shall also join with them in the exaction the generals of Iulis Echetimus and Nicoleos and Satyrus and Glaucon and Heraclides.
- 17 So that the oaths and the agreement may have force which Chabrias the general agreed and swore to the Ceans on behalf of the Athenians and those of the Ceans whom the Athenians reinstated, they shall be written up, by the generals of Iulis who were stated in the decree to join in exacting the money, on a stone *stèle* and placed in the sanctuary of Pythian Apollo, as they have been written up in Carthaea. They shall be written up also

καὶ τὸν γραμματέα τῆς βολῆς ἐς στήλην κατὰ ταῦτα καὶ  
 25 στήσαι ἐν ἀκροπόλει, εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν δῶναι τὸν τ-  
 αμίαν τὸ δῆμον ΔΔ δραχμὰς ἐκ τῶν κατὰ ψηφίσματα ἀναλι-  
 σκομένων. ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἰουλιτῶν οἱ παραβάντες τὸς ὄρκ-  
 ος καὶ τὰς συνθήκας καὶ πολεμήσαντες ἐναντία τῷ δῆ-  
 μῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Κε[ί]οις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις συμμάχο-  
 30 ις, καὶ θάνατον αὐτῶν καταγνωσθέντος κατελθόντ[ε]ς ἐς  
 Κέω τὰς τε στήλας ἐξέβαλον[ν] ἐ[ν αἰ]ς ἦσαν ἀναγεγραμ[μ]έν-  
 αι αἱ συνθήκαι πρὸς Ἀθηναίους καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν παρα-  
 βάντων τὸς ὄρκος καὶ τὰς συνθήκας· καὶ τὸς φίλος τὸς Ἀ-  
 θηναίων ὃς κατήγαγεν ὁ δῆμος τὸς μὲν ἀπέκτειναν, τῶν  
 35 δὲ θάνατον κατέγνωσαν καὶ τὰς ὁ[σ]ίας ἐδήμειυσαν παρὰ  
 τὸς ὄρκος καὶ τὰς συνθήκας (Σατυρίδο καὶ Τιμοξένο κα-  
 ῖ Μιλτιάδο), ὅτι κατηγόρον Ἀντιπά[τ]ρο ὅτε ἡ βολή ἡ Ἀθην-  
 αίων κατέγνω αὐτὸ θάνατον ἀποκτ[εῖ]ναντος τὸν πρόξε-  
 νον τὸν Ἀθηναίων {α.} Αἰσίωνα παρὰ [τ]ὰ ψηφίσματα τοῦ δη-  
 40 μου τὸ Ἀθηναίων κ[α]ὶ παρα[βά]ντα τὸς ὄρκος καὶ τὰς συνθή-  
 κας· φεύγειν αὐτὸς Κέω καὶ Ἀθήνας καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτῶ-  
 ν δημοσίαν εἶναι τοῦ δῆ[μο] τοῦ Ἰουλιτῶν· ἀπογραφάμει δ-  
 ἐ αὐτῶν τὰ ὀνόματα αὐτῶ[ν] κα μάλ[α] ἐναντίον τῷ δῆμῳ τῷ γ-  
 ραμματεῖ τὸς στρατηγῶ[ν] τ[ο]δ[ε]ς Ἰουλιτῶν τὸς ἐπιδημόν-  
 45 τας Ἀθῆνῃσι. ἂν δέ [τινες τῶν] ἀπογραφέντων ἀμφισβη-  
 τῶσι μὴ εἶναι τούτων τῶ[ν] ἀνδρῶ[ν], ἔξεῖναι αὐτοῖς ἐγγυη-  
 τὰς καταστήσασιν πρὸς [τ]ὸ[ν] σ[τ]ρατηγὸς τὸς Ἰουλιτῶν τρ-  
 ιάκοντα ἡμερῶν δικά[σ]αι ὑ[π]ὸ [σ]χ[ε]ν [κα]τὰ τ[ὸ]δ[ε]ς ὄρκος καὶ τὰς  
 συνθήκας ἐν Κέῳ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκ[λ]ήτῳ [πό]λει Ἀθῆνῃσι. Σ-  
 50 ατυρίδην δὲ καὶ Τιμό[ξ]ενον καὶ Μ[ι]λτιάδην ἀπιέναι εἰ-  
 ς Κέω ἐπὶ τὰ ἐαυτῶν. ἐπ[α]ν[έ]σ[α]ι α[ἰ]δ[ε] τ[ὸ]ς ἥκοντας Ἰουλιτῶ-  
 ν Δημήτριον, Ἡρακλε[ίδ]ην, Ἐ[χ]έτι[μο]ν, Κ[α]λ[ί]φαντον· ἐπαι-  
 νέσαι δὲ καὶ Σατυρ[ίδ]ην κα[ὶ] Τιμ[ό]ξ[ε]νον καὶ Μιλτιάδην·  
 ἐπαινέσαι δὲ καὶ [τ]ὴν [π]όλιν τὴν Κα[ρ]θαίων καὶ Ἀγλώκρι-  
 55 τον· καὶ καλέσαι αὐτὸς ἐπὶ [ξ]έ[ν]ια εἰς τ[ὸ] πρυτανεῖον ἐς  
 αὐριον. *vacat*  
 τὰδε συνέθεντο καὶ ὤμοσαν οἱ στρατηγοὶ οἱ Ἀθηναίων πρ-  
 ὸς τὰς πόλεις τ[ὰ]ς ἐν Κέῳ κα[ὶ] οἱ σύμμαχοι· ὁ μνησικακήσω  
 [τῶ]ν πα[ρ]εληλυθότων πρὸ[ς] Κείος οὐδ[ε]νὸς οὐδὲ ἀποκτενῶ Κ-  
 60 [εἰων] ὁ[δ]ένα, οὐδὲ φυγάδα ποιήσω τῶν ἐμμενόντων τοῖς ὄρκο-  
 [ις καὶ τ]αῖς συνθήκαις ταῖςδε, εἰς δὲ τὴν συμμαχίαν εἰσά-  
 [ξω καθάπ]ερ τὸς ἄλλος συμμάχος. ἂν δέ τι[ς] νεωτερίζῃ τι  
 [ἐν Κείῳ παρ]ὰ τὸς ὄρκος καὶ τὰς συνθήκας, οὐκ ἐπιτρέψω οὐ-

39 {α.} Αἰσίωνα Hiller von Gaertringen *ap. IG* II<sup>2</sup>, approved *LGPV*, i: Α[γ]αισίωνα Hiller *ap. SIG<sup>3</sup>*.

49 [βό]λει M. Feyel, *RPH* lxxi = \*xix 1945, 152–7, taking his ἐκκλητος βολή to be not the Athenian council but a joint court of Athenians and allies; but ἐν Κέῳ should be balanced by Athens as a whole, and βολή would not be used as he supposed.

by the secretary of the council on a *stele* in the same way and placed on the Acropolis, and for the writing-up the treasurer of the people shall give 20 drachmas from the fund for expenditure on decrees.

- 27 Since those of the Iulietans who broke the oaths and the agreement and made war against the people of Athens and the Ceans and the other allies, and when they had been condemned to death returned to Ceos and overturned the *stelai* on which were written the agreement with Athens and the names of those who had contravened the oaths and the agreement; and of the friends of the Athenians whom the people had reinstated they killed some and condemned others to death and confiscated their property contrary to the oaths and the agreement (the latter being Satyrides and Timoxenus and Miltiades), because they had spoken against Antipater when the Athenian council had condemned him to death for killing the Athenian *proxenos* Aeson contrary to the decrees of the Athenian people, and contravening the oaths and the agreement:
- 41 They shall be exiled from Ceos and Athens and their property shall be public property of the people of Iulis; and their names shall be declared forthwith in the presence of the people to the secretary by the generals of Iulis who are visiting Athens.
- 45 If any of those declared assert in dispute that they are not among those men, it shall be permitted to them to establish guarantors with the generals of Iulis that they will submit to trial within thirty days in accordance with the oaths and the agreement, in Ceos and in Athens the city of appeal.
- 49 Satyrides and Timoxenus and Miltiades shall return to Ceos to their own property.
- 51 Praise those of the Iulietans who have come, Demetrius, Heraclides, Echetus, Calliphantus; praise also Satyrides and Timoxenus and Miltiades; praise also the city of Carthaea and Aglocritus; and invite them to hospitality in the *prytaneion* tomorrow.
- 57 The following was agreed and sworn by the Athenian generals with the cities in Ceos and by the allies:
- 58 I shall not harbour grudges for what is past against any of the Ceans, nor shall I kill or make an exile any of the Ceans who abide by the oaths and this agreement, but I shall bring them into the alliance like the other allies. But if any one commits an act of revolution in Ceos contrary to the oaths and the agreement, I shall not allow him by any craft or contrivance as far as possible.
- 64 If any one does not wish to live in Ceos, I shall allow him to

- [τε τέχνηι οὐ]τε μηχανῇ ὀδεμῶι εἰς τὸ δυνατόν. εἰ δέ τις  
 65 [μὴ βούλεται οὐ]κεῖν ἐν Κέωι, ἔάσω αὐτὸν ὅπου ἂν βόληται τῷ-  
 [ν συμμαχίδων πόλ]εων οἰκόντα τὰ ἑαυτοῦ καρπόσθαι. ταῦτα  
 [ἐμπεδορκήσω νῇ τὸν] Δία, νῇ τὴν Ἀθηναίαν, νῇ τὸν Ποσειδῶ, νῇ  
 [τὴν Δῆμητρα· εὐορκόντι] μὲν πόλλ' ἀγαθὰ εἶναι, ἐπιορκόν[τ]-  
 [ι δὲ κακά. ὅ]ρκοι καὶ συνθῇ] καὶ τῶν πόλεων τῶν ἐν Κέωι πρό-  
 70 [ς Ἀθηναίος καὶ τὸς συμμαχός] καὶ Κείων ὃς κατήγαγον Ἀθ[η]-  
 [ναῖοι· ὃ] συμμαχῆσω Ἀθηναίοις καὶ τοῖς συμμαχοῖς, καὶ οὐ-  
 [κ ἀποστήσομαι ἀπ' Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῷ]ν συμμαχῶν οὔτε αὐτὸς  
 [ἐγὼ οὔτε ἄλλωι πείσομαι ἐς τὸ δυνατό]ν. τὰς δὲ δίκας καὶ τ-  
 [ὰς γραφὰς τὰς κατ' Ἀθηναίων ποιήσομαι] πάσας ἐκκλήτος κ-  
 75 [ατὰ τὰς συνθήκας, ὅ]πόσαι ἂν ὦσιν ὑπὲρ εἰ]κατὸν δραχμῶν. ἔα-  
 [ν δέ τις τολμᾷ ἀδικῆν Κείων τὸς κατελθ]όντας ἢ Ἀθηναί-  
 [ς ἢ τῶν συμμαχῶν τινὰ παρὰ τοὺς ὅρκους καὶ] τὰς συνθήκας,  
 [οὐκ ἐπιτρέψω οὔτε τέχνηι οὔτε μηχανῇ οὐδ]ἐμῶι, βοηθή-  
 [σω δὲ παντὶ σθένει κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν. ταῦτα ἐμ]πεδορκήσω ν-  
 80 [ῇ τὸν Δία, νῇ τὴν Ἀθηναίαν, νῇ τὸν Ποσειδῶ, νῇ τὴν Δ]ῆμητρα· εὐ-  
 [ορκόντι μὲν πόλλ' ἀγαθὰ εἶναι, ἐπιορκόντι δὲ κα]κά. *vacat*  
 [τάδε ὥμοσαν Κείων ὃς κατήγαγον Ἀθηναῖοι· οὐ] μιν]ησι κακ-  
 [ήσω τῶν παρελλυθότων ὀδενός, οὐδὲ ἀποκτενῶ Κε]ίων ὀδέ-  
 [να \_\_\_\_\_<sup>39</sup> \_\_\_\_\_]μενο  
 85 [\_\_\_\_\_<sup>43</sup> \_\_\_\_\_]ου  
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83-4 Krech, *De Crateri ψηφισμάτων συναγωγῇ*, 106: unrestored edd.

On Ceos, the first substantial island to the south-east of Attica, there were four cities: Carthaea, Coresia, Iulis, and Poessa. Fifth-century texts regularly refer to Ceos as a whole; but it could be argued that the principle of the Peace of Antalcidas that all islands and cities should be independent ought to be applied to the individual cities of Ceos. In the list of members of the Second Athenian League, Poessa appears on its own on the front of the *stèle* while the other three appear on the side under the rubric 'of Ceos' (22. i. 82 insert, 119-22); but 'the Ceans' incompletely repaid a Delphic loan in the 370s (28. 12, 113 = *I. Délos* 98. A. 12, B. 3), and perhaps c.364, in the period of rebellion against Athens which precedes our text, 'the Ceans' established rights of *isopoliteia* with Histiaea and Eretria, and had a federal council and officials (Tod 141 = *Svt.* 287; *SEG* xiv 530 = *Svt.* 232). A list of names in *IG* xii. v 609 is interpreted by Ruschenbusch as representing a short-lived amalgamation of coastal Coresia and inland Iulis c.360, by Brun as representing the federation of all the cities c.364. In a decree whose content suggests a date about the time of Athens' Social War, 356-355 (but see on 29) Athens was to insist that 'the Ceans shall be governed by cities' (πολιτεύεσθαι Κ[είων]ς κατὰ πόλεις: *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 404. 13 = *SEG* xxxix 73. 14 (suggesting a date of 363/2)); and in dealing with Ceos on a commercial matter, probably in the 350s, Athens treated the

live wherever he wishes in the allied cities and enjoy his own property.

- 66 To this I shall be steadfast in my oath, by Zeus, by Athena, by Poseidon, by Demeter: to him who keeps the oath there shall be much good, but to him who breaks the oath ill.
- 69 Oaths and agreement of the cities in Ceos with the Athenians and the allies and those of the Ceans whom the Athenians reinstated:
- 71 I shall be an ally of the Athenians and the allies, and I shall not defect from the Athenians and the allies myself nor shall I allow another as far as possible.
- 73 All private and public lawsuits against Athenians I shall make subject to appeal in accordance with the agreement, as many as are for more than a hundred drachmas.
- 75 If any one dares to wrong those of the Ceans who have returned, or the Athenians or any of the allies, contrary to the oaths and the agreement, I shall not allow him by any craft or contrivance, but shall go in support with all my strength as far as possible.
- 79 To this I shall be steadfast in my oath, by Zeus, by Athena, by Poseidon, by Demeter: to him who keeps the oath there shall be much good, but to him who breaks the oath ill.
- 82 This was sworn by those of the Ceans whom the Athenians reinstated:
- 82 I shall not harbour grudges for anything that is past, nor shall I kill any of the Ceans — — —

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cities separately, with no mention of Poessa (40). It appears that after the Peace of Antalcidas Athens preferred to deal with the cities separately but some of the Ceans preferred to think of themselves as belonging to a single community; the usage of our text is conditioned by the fact that the first round of trouble could be represented as involving Ceos as a whole but the second was limited to Iulis.

The background to this decree is probably to be sought in the Theban naval programme mentioned under 364/3 by D.S. xv. 78. iv–79. i (cf. Isoc. v. *Phil.* 53). The Thebans will have encouraged opponents of Athens in Ceos; an initial revolt (involving at any rate Carthaea (l. 11); the other cities are not mentioned) was dealt with by the Athenian Chabrias, and the agreement of ll. 57 sqq. was set up in Carthaea and Iulis. There was no further trouble in Carthaea (cf. ll. 54–5), but in Iulis men who had gone into exile returned, demolished the text of the agreement and secured judicial verdicts which Athens could regard as infringing the original settlement (ll. 27–41). After Athens had again recovered control, with the support of its sympathizers, Aristophon, who (though in his seventies: *APF*) had been to Ceos as a general (schol. Aesch. i. *Tim.* 64 (145 Dilts) cf. Hansen, *Sovereignty*, 31 no. 10), proposed the further settlement embodied in this decree.

The title of the men elected to exact money from the islanders (ll. 12–14) suggests that Ceos' debt was part of a larger phenomenon, perhaps outstanding *syntaxeis* due to the League (cf. the similar language in 52. 16–17). The stipulation that an outstanding debt is to be paid in Scirophorion, the last month of the Athenian year, suggests that this decree is to be dated towards the end of 363/2. That suggests a very tight timetable: if Diodorus' date for the Theban naval programme is right, the initial revolt may have been earlier than that; alternatively, Diodorus' date may be wrong.

For problems which could arise from the return of exiles cf. in general 84, 85, 101; and on how states dealt with the rival claims to property of former owners who had been exiled and new owners who had bought the property in good faith R. Lonis in Goukowsky & Brixhe (edd.), *Hellenika Symmikta*, 91–109; in this case opponents of Athens lose their property, supporters who are reinstated recover their property. For difficulties in Athens after the democratic restoration of 403 see *P. Oxy.* xiii 1606. 1–238 = Lys. fr. i Gernet & Bizos; Isoc. xviii. *Call.* 23; cf. *Ath. Pol.* 39. iii–iv, 40. iii. For trouble caused when returning exiles try to change the political stance of their state cf. e.g. Megara in 424, where the democrats would rather have given in to Athens than take back the exiles, but their plot miscarried, and the exiles returned and established an extreme oligarchy (Thuc. iv. 66–74); Phlius in the 380s, where pro-Spartan exiles secured first Spartan pressure to obtain their reinstatement and then Spartan military intervention when they claimed that they were unfairly treated on their return (X. *H.* v. ii. 8–10, iii. 10–17, 21–5). For the killing of a *proxenos* cf. an episode in Corcyra in 427, where an Athenian *proxenos* called Peithias was first put on trial but after he was acquitted he and others were murdered (Thuc. iii. 70. iii–vi).

The original settlement, after the first crisis, imposed a general amnesty and allowed men who felt insecure in Ceos to live in any member state of the League. However, Antipater, the man who killed the Athenian *proxenos*, was condemned to death by the Athenian council (ll. 37–41): the council could not sentence an Athenian citizen to death; probably there was no specific statement of its powers with regard to non-citizens, and if the council had been 'made *kyria*' (given authority, without a clear statement of how great its authority was) to investigate the killing that may have increased the uncertainty; but in any case in a crisis legal safeguards might fail to work (cf. Rhodes, *Boule*, 180). Also all lawsuits against Athenians were to be made 'subject

to appeal' (i.e. to Athens: ll. 73–5) (for the Athenian distinction between private and public lawsuits, *dikai* and *graphai*, see on 40). There is more that we should like to know: was Antipater taken to Athens and tried and executed there?

After the further trouble in Iulis, Athens still punished only a limited number of dissidents and gave them the opportunity to plead that they had been wrongly identified as such. Those who did so were to be tried 'in Ceos and in Athens the city of appeal' (l. 49). 'Declared' in ll. 42, 45, is an allusion to the procedure of *apographe*, 'declaration', of property to be confiscated, and to a law-suit in connection with confiscations (cf. Harrison, *The Law of Athens*, ii. 211–17; Osborne, *JHS* cv 1985, 40–58 at 44–7). The word *ekkletos*, referring to appeal or transfer, appears also in *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 404. 17 = *SEG* xxxix 73. 18, and in a decree for Naxos (*IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 179. 14); the regular Athenian term *epheis* appears in 40. 21, and the adjective *ephesimos* in *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 179. 16. Transfer of lawsuits is not specifically renounced in the promises of 22. 20–41, but it was a practice for which the Athenians were notorious in the Delian League (e.g. [X.] *Ath. Pol.* i. 16–18), and the revival of the practice here will surely have been seen as a breach of the promise of freedom and autonomy (despite Cargill, 136–40).

Aristophon, the proposer of the decree, was a leading figure in Athens throughout the first and second thirds of the century (cf. Hyp. iv. *Eux.* 28: see *APF*, 64–6): he was particularly active as a proposer of decrees, and claimed to have been prosecuted unsuccessfully in seventy-five *graphai paranomon* (Aesch. iii. *Ctes.* 194; according to schol. Aesch. i. *Tim.* 64 (145 Dilts) unemended he was successfully prosecuted by Hyperides); he appears in a list of *proxenoi* of the Cean city of Carthaea (*IG* xii. v 542. 43). For Menexenus, the author of the earlier decree cited in ll. 8–9, see 21. Chabrias (*APF*, 560–1) was frequently general between 390 and 356, when he died at Chios (see on 48): it is possible, but far from certain, that he is to be restored as another *proxenos* of Carthaea (*IG* xii. v 542. 40). For Nicostratus, the secretary responsible for the publication of this decree, see 38. We may note in addition that ll. 27–42 contain 'the most formidably complex sentence so far to be found in classical Athenian decrees' (K. J. Dover, *TPS* 1981, 1–14 at 8–11 = his *Greek and the Greeks*, 31–41 at 35–9, cf. *SEG* xxxii 60). In fact the proposer or the secretary or the stone-cutter lost control of that complex sentence, and in l. 40 *παρα[βά]ντα* has been inscribed where the grammar requires *παραβάντος*.



## Athenian regulation of Cean ruddle export, mid fourth century

Two joining fragments of a bluish marble *stèle* found on the Acropolis, now in the Epigraphical Museum.

Attic-Ionic, retaining old *o* for *ou* in *Ἰολιγτῶν* (ll. 25, 26, 37). Non-*stoichedon* 63–73 letters a line, as restored, average 68.

*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1128, XII v 1277; Tod 162\*. Trans. Austin and Vidal-Naquet, *Economic and Social History*, no. 86 (ll. 9–24 only); Meijer and van Nijf, *Transport*, no. 47 (ll. 9–24 only). See also J. F. Cherry *et al.* in Cherry, Davis, & Mantzourani, *Landscape Archaeology*, 299–303; E. Photos-Jones *et al.*, *BSA* xcii 1997, 359–72; R. Osborne in Hunter and Edmondson, *Law and Social Status*, 75–92.

- [.] \E[-----]  
 [.] ἐξαγον[τ-----τάτ]-  
 ε μέρη ὁ ἄγ[ων-----]  
 ντι καὶ ἐὰ[ν-----]  
 5 [K]αρθαιεῦσι [ἐ]ψ[η]φισ[-----· καλέσαι δὲ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐπὶ ξένια εἰς τὸ]  
 πρυτανεῖον. [ὅ]πως δ' αἶ[ν-----γ]-  
 ἔγραπται, ἐπ[ι]μεληθῆν[αι-----ὄτι]  
 ἂν δύνωνται ἀγαθὸν [-----].  
 Θεογένης εἶπεν· δεδόχθαι τῇ βο[υλῇ καὶ τῶι δήμῳ τῶι Κορησίῳν· περὶ ὧν  
 λέγουσι οἱ παρ' Ἀθη-  
 10 ναίων, εἶναι τῆς μίλτου τὴν ἐξ[αγωγὴν Ἀθηναζε-----κ]-  
 αθάπερ πρότερον ἦν. ὅπως δ' ἂν κύρια ἦι [τ]ὰ ψηφίσματα [τὰ πρότερον γεγενημένα  
 Ἀθηναίων κ]-  
 αὶ Κορησίῳν τὰ περὶ τῆς μίλτου, ἐξάγειν ἐμ πλοίοις ὧι [ἂν Ἀθηναῖοι ἀποδείξωσιν, ἐν  
 ἄλλωι]  
 δὲ πλοίοις μηδενί, ναύλλον δὲ τελεῖν ὀβολὸν τοῦ [ταλάντου ἐκάστου τοῖς ναυκλήροις  
 το]-  
 [ὕ]ς ἐργαζομένους· ἐὰν δέ τις ἐν ἄλλωι πλοίοις ἐξάγ[ηι, ἔνοχον εἶναι -----].  
 15 [ἀ]ναγράψαι δὲ τὸδε τὸ ψηφίσμα ἐς στήλῃι λιθίνῃ κα[ὶ καταθεῖναι -----τ]-  
 [ο]ῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, καὶ τὸν νόμον καθάπερ πρότερον εἶχ[ε κύριον εἶναι. τὴν δὲ ἐνδείξιν  
 εἶν]-  
 αι πρὸς τοὺς ἀστυνόμους, τοὺς δὲ ἀστυνόμους δοῦνα[ι τὴν ψηφον περὶ αὐτῆς  
 τριάκοντα ἡ]-  
 μερῶν εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον· τῶι δὲ φήναντι ἢ ἐνδείξωτ[ι-----τῶν ἡμι]-  
 σ[έ]ων· ἐὰν δὲ δοῦλος ἦι ὁ ἐνδείξας, ἅμ μὲν τῶν ἐξαγόν[των ἦι, ἐλεύθερος ἔστω καὶ  
 τὰ τρι]-  
 20 τα μέρη ἔστω αὐτῶι, ἐὰν δὲ ἄλλου τινὸς ἦι, ἐλεύθερος ἔστ[ω καὶ -----]. εἶν]-

19–20 [τρί]τα μέρη Osborne (cf. Lewis, *Selected Papers*, 172 n. 67), [τρ]ί(ῃ)α μέρη Tod (Koehler in *IG* II read *TAM* at the beginning of line 20).

exporting . . . , the prosecutor . . . even if . . . the Carthaeans have decreed . . . summon the Athenians to hospitality at the *prytaneion*. In order that . . . as has been written, . . . are to take care . . . whatever good they can . . .

- 9 Theogenes proposed: be it resolved by the council and people of the Coresians: with regard to what those from the Athenians say, the export of ruddle shall be to Athens . . . as it was previously. And so that the decrees of the Athenians and Coresians about ruddle that were made previously shall be valid, it is to be exported in whatever vessel the Athenians single out and in no other vessel, and those who work it are to pay to the shipowners as a shipping-charge a fee of one obol per talent. If anyone exports it in any other vessel he is to be liable . . . Write up this decree on a stone *stele* and deposit it . . . of Apollo, and the law as it was previously shall be valid. Indication (*endeixis*) to be to the *astynomoi* and the *astynomoi* are to give the vote about it to the court within thirty days. To the man who makes the exposure (*phasis*) or indication (*endeixis*) . . . of the halves. If a slave brings the indication, if he is slave of the exporters let him be free and receive a third; if he is the slave of

αι [δε] καὶ ἔφεσιν Ἀθήναζε καὶ τῶι φήναντι καὶ τῶι ἐνδεί[ξαντι. ἐὰν δέ τι ἄλλο  
ψηφίζωντα]-  
ι Ἀθηναῖοι περὶ φυλακῆς τῆς μίλτου, κύρια εἶναι κατακομι[σθέντα τὰ ἐψηφισμένα.  
τε]-  
λεῖν δὲ τῇ πεντηκοστῇ τοῖς πεντηκοστολόγοις τοὺς ἐ[ργαζομένους. καλέσαι δὲ]  
[κ]αὶ ἐπὶ ξένια εἰς τὸ πρυτανεῖον τοὺς Ἀθηναίους εἰς αὖριον. *vacat*  
25 [ἐδ]οξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῶι δήμῳ τῶι Ἰολιητῶν· περὶ [ὧν οἱ παρ' Ἀθηναίων  
λέγουσι, δεδό]-  
[χθ]αι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῶι δήμῳ τῶι Ἰολιητῶν εἶναι τῇ[ν] ἐξαγωγῇ τῆς μίλτου  
Ἀθήναζ]-  
ε, ἄλλοσε δὲ μηδαμῇ, ἀπὸ τῆσδε τῆς ἡμέρας· ἐὰν δέ τι[ς] ἄλλοσε ἐξάγῃ, δημόσια  
εἶναι τ]-  
ὸ πλοῖον καὶ τὰ χρήματα τὰ ἐν τῶι πλοίῳ· τῶι δὲ φήν[αντι ἢ ἐνδείξαντι εἶναι τὰ ἡ]-  
μίσεια· ἐὰν δὲ δούλος ἦ ὁ μηνύσας, ἐλεύθερος ἔσ[τω] καὶ ———— c19 ———— τῶν χρημ]-  
30 ἄτων μετέστω αὐτῶι. τὸν δὲ ἐξάγοντα ἐκ Κέω μίλτον ἐξ[άγειν] ἐμ πλοίῳ ὧι ἂν  
Ἀθηναῖοι ἀποδ]-  
εῖξωσιν· ἐὰν δέ τις ἐν ἄλλῳ ἐξάγῃ πλοίῳ, ἔνοχον [εἶναι ———— c14 ————. ἐὰν δέ τι ἄλ]-  
λο ψηφίζωνται Ἀθηναῖοι περὶ φυλακῆς τῆς μίλ[του] ———— c21 ————, κύρια εἶ]-  
ναι ἂ ἂν Ἀθηναῖοι ψηφίζωνται. ἀτέλειαν δὲ εἶναι [————— c29 —————]-  
ίου ἀπὸ τοῦ μηνὸς τοῦ Ἑρμαίωνος. καλέσαι δὲ τοῦ[ς] Ἀθηναίους ἐπὶ ξένια εἰς τὸ  
πρυτανεῖ]-  
35 ον. τὴν δὲ ἐνδείξιν εἶναι Ἀθήνησι μὲν πρὸς τοὺς [ἔνδεκα, ἐν Ἰουλίδι δὲ εἰσαγωγέας  
εἶν]-  
αι τοὺς προστάτας· ὅποσοι δ' ἂν δόξωσιν ἐξάγειν [παρὰ τὸν νόμον, τῶν χρημάτων  
τὰ μὲν ἡ]-  
μίσεια εἶναι τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἰολιητῶν, τὰ δ' ἡμίσεια [τοῦ φήναντος. ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε  
τὸ ψ]-  
ήφισμα τῇ βουλῇ καὶ καταθεῖν[α]ι ἐν τῶι λιμ[ένι]. *vacat*  
οὔδε ἡρέθησαν· Ἄνδρων ἐκ Κεραμῶν, Λυσια[————— c34 —————]  
40 Φλυεύς, Εὐφρόσυνος Παιανεύς.

The general background of Athenian relations with Ceos is set out in the commentary on 39. This inscription records Athenian action to secure a monopoly in the ruddle trade with three of the cities of Ceos. The top and right-hand side of the stone have been lost, and the text is heavily restored; in detail the restorations are insecure, but the general content is beyond dispute and shows this to be both a puzzling and a revealing document. It is puzzling because we know of no obvious reason why Athens should want a monopoly on Cean ruddle. It is revealing because it shows both the extent to which Athens was prepared to interfere in allies' activities and their policing of them, and the degree of flexibility that was allowed in allies' responses.

As ll. 39ff. of the inscription reveal, this is an Athenian decree recording Athens' decision to send five (probably, ll. 40–41) envoys to Ceos in order to persuade the cities there to submit the ruddle trade to closer controls. It incorporates parts of three

someone else let him be free and . . . Whoever makes the exposure or indication is to have right of appeal to Athens. If the Athenians pass any other decree about the security of the ruddle, the decree is to be valid once received. The producers are to pay the fiftieth tax to the collectors of the fiftieth tax. Invite the Athenians to hospitality at the *prytaneion* tomorrow.

- 25 Be it resolved by the council and people of the Iulietans: with regard to what those from the Athenians say, the export of ruddle shall be to Athens and nowhere else, from this day. If there is any export elsewhere, the vessel and the property in the vessel are to be public. Half to go to the person who makes the exposure or indication. If the informant is a slave, let him be free and . . . have a . . . share of the money. Whoever exports ruddle from Ceos is to do so in the vessel which the Athenians single out. If anyone exports it in any other vessel, he is to be liable . . . If the Athenians pass any other decree about the security of the ruddle, what the Athenians decree is to be valid. There is to be exemption from taxes . . . from the month Hermaion. Invite the Athenians to hospitality in the *prytaneion*. Indictment at Athens is to be to the Eleven, in Iulis those responsible for introducing the case are to be the *prostatai*. All who are adjudged to be exporting contrary to the law, half their property is to belong to the people of the Iulietans and half to the person making the exposure. The council is to write up this decree and place it at the harbour.
- 39 The following were chosen: Andron from Cerameis, Lysia . . . , . . . from Phlya, Euphrosynus from Paeania.

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Cean decrees passed in consequence. Was there also a decree of the fourth Cean city of Poessa on the lost part of the *stele*? The relative independence of Poessa from the other three cities (compare 22. 82 and 119 ff.), and the absence of ruddle sources from its territory, suggest there may not have been need or occasion for intervention at Poessa). At Coresia it is clear that this was not the first such intervention, since previous Athenian and Coresian decrees are mentioned and apparently reaffirmed. To judge from the actions of the three cities, the major Athenian concerns were: that particular vessels be identified as the only ones in which ruddle is to be exported; that prosecution of offenders be encouraged by the offering of rewards to prosecutors; and that agreement be secured to accept future Athenian decisions related to the security of the ruddle trade.

The context of the Athenian intervention is not clear. There is no internal date,

and letter forms do no more than indicate that the decree belongs somewhere in the middle of the fourth century. The one man who is otherwise attested, Euphrosynus of Paeania, appears in a list of members of *thiasoi* of Heracles dated to the middle of the fourth century (*ZPE* cxxv 1999, 98–9). We do know quite a lot about Athenian relations with the cities of Ceos in the first half of the fourth century (see above on 39), but not enough to place this decree precisely.

*Miltos*, translated here as ruddle, was the word used for ochres, characteristically but not only for red ochre (red iron oxide mixed with clay and sand). Theophrastus, *On Stones*, viii. 51–4, identifies Cean ruddle as the best, although later in antiquity more reference is made to ruddle from Sinope. It was used to impart (red) colour to a variety of objects, from pottery, to stones used in building (*SIG*<sup>3</sup> 972. 155), to the rope used to gather Athenian citizens from the Agora into the Pnyx for the Assembly in the fifth century (*Ar. Ach.* 21–2, *Eccl.* 378–9) to triremes (*Her.* iii. 58; but it was pitch not ruddle that made triremes watertight), and it was also used for medical purposes (Dioscorides, *De Mat. Med.* v. 96, 126. v). The accounts from Eleusis for 329/8 (*IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 1672) show expenditure of 14 dr. 3½ obols, 7 dr., and 2 dr. 3 obols on ruddle in three separate prytanies; the one supplier named is a non-Athenian, but his origin is unknown; the price varies between 3 dr. and 3 dr. 3 obols per stater (a stater weighed just over 100 g.).

Recent work (Photos-Jones *et al.*) has shown that ochres of various colours (yellow and purple, as well as red) were available on Ceos, and that the red ochre from Orkos in north-east Ceos (close to the border between the territory of Iulis and the territory of Carthaea) had very good staining power. Nevertheless, the Athenians also derived ochre from the Laurium mines, and, even allowing for the higher quality of Cean ochre, it is hard to see any functional necessity for Athenian import of ochre from Ceos.

We do not know how the Athenian envoys persuaded Carthaea, Coresia, and Iulis to conform to their demands. It is hard to see how the agreement to export ruddle only to Athens and in specified vessels could be presented as in the Cean interest, except as a way of avoiding even more direct interference. But the Athenians seem to have obliged the Cean cities to agree to these measures without actually dictating their laws to them. The decisions of Coresia and Iulis are not verbally identical, and while this is in part the consequence of reference being made at Coresia to earlier Athenian decrees, which may not have applied in the case of Iulis, not all the differences can be accounted for in that way. Clauses appear in different orders, substantive items appear in one decree that do not appear in the other, and the cities choose different types of location for the display of their decision. Neither decree is well framed. The Coresia decree has its publication clause, illogically, in the middle, before setting out the details of the legal procedures. The Iulis decree resumes substantive matters after recording the invitation of the Athenian envoys to hospitality, and proceeds to repeat in slightly greater detail matters already dealt with (compare 36–7 with 28–9).

The legal procedures which are referred to by Coresia and Iulis bear names which

are familiar from Athens. On *phasis* and *endeixis* see on 14. It is more likely that Athenian and Cean law shared closely similar procedures than that the Athenians stipulated the procedure to be employed. At Athens a slave could not be the person responsible for an *endeixis*, but whether the possibility of slave *endeixeis* at Coresia (19) indicates that *endeixis* meant something slightly different there, or whether it simply indicates that the Coresians (unlike the Iulietans, who refer simply to slave informers (29)) did not fully understand what *endeixis* meant, is not clear. The two cities name different magistrates as responsible for dealing with cases, but we cannot tell how far other variations reflect differences in pre-existing legal structures. Certainly the variations between the procedures set up by the two cities (Coresia distinguishes between slaves owned by the exporter and those owned by others, Iulis does not) once more suggest that Athens did not simply supply a blueprint to be adopted.

The Athenians here effectively impose legislative changes upon the Cean cities, which those cities are expected to adopt at a single assembly meeting. But the Athenians themselves after 403/2 distinguished between laws and decrees and passed legislation for themselves not at a single meeting of the assembly but only through the lengthier deliberations of the *nomothetai* (see Introduction, and see 63 for the divergent practices of demes). More importantly, the legislation passed by the Cean cities includes a provision, unparalleled in Athenian law, that slaves who inform on their masters will be rewarded with freedom (as well as with part of the value of the goods confiscated). The Athenians did reward prosecutors in some commercial cases (e.g. in the *phasis* procedure), but they seem to have offered freedom to slave informers only in cases which involved religious offences (Osborne). To offer a reward as attractive as freedom to a slave in return for the slave's giving information against his master is potentially subversive in the extreme. Hunter has argued (*Policing Athens*, esp. ch. 3) that in any circumstances slaves' knowledge of their masters' activities acted to police citizens' behaviour; rewarding slave informers with freedom will have powerfully increased the citizen's sense of being under surveillance.

The highly subversive way in which Athens seeks to enforce its ruddle monopoly, and the likelihood that Athens had no vital need for ruddle from Ceos, indicate this Athenian intervention in the affairs of the three Cean cities to be extremely high-handed (comparable indeed with M&L 45). Putting these visible signs of the Cean cities submitting to Athenian orders on display on this *stèle* on the Acropolis made this exercise of Athenian power highly visible. It is the more frustrating, therefore, that no precise date or political context can be established. This intervention goes directly against the spirit, if not the letter, of 22. Whether the proximity of Ceos made the Athenians particularly obsessive in their control, or whether the interventions in the cities of Ceos are prominent in the record of the Second Athenian Confederacy merely by fluke of epigraphic survival, cannot currently be established. The worst that modern scholarship has to say on the decree ('here is another piece of evidence to show that Athens was very ready to seize any opportunity of lessening the rights of the members of the Confederacy to her own advantage' Marshall, *Second Athenian Confederacy*, 50) markedly understates the situation.

## Alliance between Athens, Arcadia, Achaea, Elis, and Phlius, 362/1

Two fragments of a *stèle*, (a) found between the theatre of Dionysus and the odeum of Herodes Atticus in Athens, (b) found on the Acropolis; now in the Epigraphical Museum. At the top of fr. a are the remains of a relief showing Zeus enthroned, approached by Peloponnesus (? — but Lawton, 94, suggests Hera), with Athena standing behind. Phot. Svoronos, *Das athenen. Nationalmuseum*, Taf. cvi Nr. 1481 (fr. a); Meyer, *Die griechischen Urkundenreliefs*, Taf. 17 A 58; Lawton, *Reliefs*, pl. 13 no. 24 (the last two, top of fr. a, with relief and ll. 1–6).

Attic-Ionic, occasionally retaining the old *o* for *ou*; l. 1 in larger letters; ll. 2 sqq. *stoichedon* 40. This is the work of Tracy's Cutter of IG II<sup>2</sup> 105 (cf. 31, 34): *Athenian Democracy in Transition*, 67–70.

IG II<sup>2</sup> 112; SIG<sup>3</sup> 181; Tod 144\*; *Syll.* 290. Trans. Harding 56. See also L. J. Bliquez, *ΣΡΕ* xxxv 1979, 237–40.

ἐπὶ Μόλωνος ἄρχοντος.  
 συμμαχία Ἀθηναίων καὶ Ἀρκάδων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν καὶ Ἡλ-  
 είων καὶ Φλειασίων. ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμ-  
 ωι, Οἰνήϊς ἐπρυτάνευσεν· Ἀγάθαρχος Ἀγαθάρχο Ὅθηε-  
 5 μ' ἐγραμμάτευ[εν]· Ξάνθιππος Ἑρμείος ἐπεστάται. Πε-  
 ριάνδρος εἶπεν· εὔξασθαι μὲν τὸν κήρυκα αὐτίκα μ-  
 ἀλα τῷ Διὶ τῷ Ὀλυμπίῳ καὶ τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ τῇ Πολιά-  
 δι καὶ τῇ Δήμητρὶ καὶ τῇ Κόρῃ καὶ τοῖς Δώδεκα [Θ]-  
 εοῖς καὶ ταῖς Σεμναῖς Θεαῖς, ἐὰν συνενείγκῃ Ἀ[θη]-  
 10 ναίων τῷ δήμῳ τὰ δόξαντα περὶ τῆς συμμαχίας, [θν]-  
 [σί]αν καὶ πρόσδοον ποιήσεσθαι[ι], τελουμένων [τούτω]-  
 [ν, κα]θότι ἂν τῷ δήμῳ δοκῇ. τα[ῦ]τα μὲν ἠδύχθ[αι. ἐπει]-  
 [δῇ] δ' ἐοὶ σύμμαχοι δόγμα εἰσήνειγκαν εἰς τ[ὴν βουλ]-  
 [ὴν, δ] ἔχεσθαι τὴν συμμαχίαν καθὰ ἐπαγγέλλονται ο]-  
 15 [ῖ] Ἀρκάδες καὶ Ἀχαιοὶ καὶ Ἡλείοι καὶ Φλε[ιάσιοι, κα]-  
 [ὶ ἡ βο]υλὴ πρόβουλευσεν κατὰ ταῦτά, δεδό[χθαι τῷ δ]-  
 [ήμῳ· εἶ]ναι συμμάχους τύχῃ ἀγαθ[ῇ τοῦ δήμου εἰς]  
 [τὸν αἰεὶ] χρόνον Ἀθηναί[ων τὸν δῆμον καὶ τοὺς συμμά]-  
 19 [χος καὶ Ἀ]ρκάδ[ας καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς καὶ Ἡλείους καὶ Φλε]-  
 [αίους 34]  
 20 [ . . δ] ἐ Ἀχ[αι 32]  
 [ . . ] αν τὴν [ 33]  
 [ πό]λεων μῆ [ 32]  
 [ . . ] εραν μῆδ' [ 30]  
 [ . . ] ἐν τῇ στήλ[ῃ ταύτῃ. ἐὰν δέ τις ἦμ' ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττι]-  
 25 [κῇ] ν ἢ τὸν δῆμον [καταλύῃ τὸν Ἀθηναίων ἢ τύραννον]  
 [κα]θιστῇ ἢ ὀλι[γαρχίαν, βοηθεῖν Ἀρκάδας καὶ Ἀχαι]-  
 [ὸς] καὶ Ἡλείους κ[αὶ] Φλειασίους Ἀθηναίους παντὶ σ]-  
 [θέ]ναι καθότι ἂν [ἐπαγγέλλωσιν Ἀθηναῖοι κατὰ τὸ δ]-  
 [υν]ατόν· καὶ ἐάν [τις ἦμ' ἐπὶ ταύτας τὰς πόλεις ἢ τὸν]

In the archonship of Molon [362/1].

- 2 Alliance of Athens and Arcadia and Achaea and Elis and Phlius.
- 4 Resolved by the council and the people. Oeneis was the prytany; Agatharchus son of Agatharchus from Oe was secretary; Xanthippus of Hermus was chairman. Periander proposed:
- 6 The herald shall vow forthwith to Zeus Olympios and to Athena Polias and to Demeter and to Kore and to the Twelve Gods and to the August Goddesses, that, if what is resolved about the alliance is to the advantage of the people of Athens, a sacrifice and procession shall be made on the accomplishment of these things as the people shall resolve.
- 12 That is to be vowed. And, since the allies have brought in a resolution to the council, to accept the alliance as offered by Arcadia and Achaea and Elis and Phlius, and the council has made a *probouleuma* on the same terms, be it resolved by the people:
- 17 For the good fortune of the people, the people of Athens and the allies and Arcadia and Achaea and Elis and Phlius shall be allies for all time — — — on this *stele*.
- 24 If any one goes against Attica or overthrows the people of Athens or sets up a tyrant or an oligarchy, the Arcadians and Achaeans and Eleans and Phliasians shall go in support of the Athenians with all their strength as called on by the Athenians as far as possible; and if any one goes against those cities,



- 30 δῆμον καταλύει τὸν Φλειασίων ἢ ἐὰν τὴν πολιτείαν]-  
 ν τὴν Ἀχαιῶν ἢ τ[ὴν Ἀρκάδων ἢ τὴν Ἠλείων καταλύῃ ἢ]  
 μεθιστῇ, ἢ φυγα[δεύῃ τινας, βοηθεῖν Ἀθηναίους τ]-  
 οὔτοις παντὶ σθ[ένει καθότι ἂν ἐπαγγέλλωσιν οἱ ἄ]-  
 δικούμενοι κατ[ὰ τὸ δυνατόν. ἡγεμονίαν δὲ ἔχων ἐ]-  
 35 ν τῇ αὐτῶν ἐκά[στοις. ἐὰν δέ τι ἄλλο δοκῇ ἀπάσαις]  
 [τ]αῖς πόλεσι πρ[οσθεῖναι, ὅ τι ἂν δόξῃ εὖορκον εἶν]-  
 αι. ὁμόσαι δ' [ἐν ἐκάστῃ πόλει τὰ μέγιστα τέλη Πελο]-  
 πονησίων, [τῶν δ' Ἀθηναίων τοὺς στρατηγούς καὶ το]-  
 ῦς ταξιάρχ[ους καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ ἀρχοὺς καὶ τοὺς φυλάρχ]-  
 40 χους καὶ τ[οὺς ἐπὶ ἀρχοὺς <sup>23</sup> ]  
*traces*

In 365 a war had broken out between Elis and Arcadia; but in the course of it a split occurred between a pro-Theban faction in Arcadia led by Tegea and an anti-Theban faction led by Mantinea, and in 363/2 the Mantinean faction made peace with Elis and appealed for support to Sparta (X. *H.* vii. iv. 12–v. 3, cf. D.S. xv. 77. i–iv, 78. ii–iii, 82. i–iv). The battle of Mantinea, between Thebes and her allies and Sparta and her allies, was fought at the end of the Athenian year 363/2 ([Plut.] *X Or.* 845 E, cf. Plut. *Glor. Ath.* 350 A, X. *H.* vii. v. 14). In that battle the Mantinean faction within Arcadia (cf. on 32), Elis, and Achaea fought on the Spartan side, and so did Athens, but Phlius, which together with Corinth had made peace with Thebes in 365 (X. *H.* vii. iv. 10–11) is not mentioned (X. *H.* vii. v. 1–3). Athens at that stage had alliances with Sparta (since 369) and with Arcadia (since 366: X. *H.* vii. iv. 2–3). This alliance of 362/1 therefore belongs to the period after the battle, when a common peace treaty had been made from which Sparta was excluded, and the Mantinean faction was claiming to be ‘Arcadia’ (D.S. xv. 89. i–ii: on the chronology see Buckler, *The Theban Hegemony*, 260–1). Phlius has now joined the Peloponnesians who fought on the Spartan side (it is striking to see this small city listed along with three regional states), and they have made a joint approach to Athens and the League. The alliance cannot be placed within the year, and may be a response either to the battle and the treaty which followed it or to the return of the Thebans to the Peloponnese in 361 to support the Megalopolitan faction in Arcadia (D.S. xv. 94. i–iii).

In 33 the Athenian council took the initiative and referred business to the *synedrion* of the League to submit its opinion to the assembly: here the *synedrion* has taken the initiative in recommending the alliance, and the council in its *probouleuma* has added its own recommendation. However, the motion must to some extent have been rewritten in the assembly, since, although the decree has the longer enactment formula which mentions the council (ll. 3–4), it has the shorter motion formula which does not mention the council (ll. 16–17), and it refers to the *probouleuma* in a way in which the *probouleuma* itself ought not to have done (see Rhodes, *Boule*, 68–9 cf. 76–8). The proposer of the decree, Periander, will be the man, a member of a prominent family (*APF*, 461–4) who reformed the trierarchic system in 358/7 ([Dem.] xlvii. *Ev.* & *Mnes.* 21), and was himself a trierarch in 357/6 (*IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 1611. 292, 1953. 5).

or overthrows the people of Phlius or overthrows or changes the constitution of Achaea or Arcadia or Elis, or exiles anybody, the Athenians shall go in support of these with all their strength as called on by those who are being wronged as far as possible.

- 34 Each shall have the leadership in their own territory.  
 35 If it is resolved by all the cities to add anything else, whatever is resolved shall be within their oath.  
 37 The oath shall be sworn in each city by the highest officials of the Peloponnesians, and of the Athenians by the generals and the taxiarchs and the hipparchs and the phylarchs and the cavalry — — —

The vow of a sacrifice and procession is paralleled in Tod 146 ~ Harding 58, of the same year, and in *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 30 = *Agora*, xvi 41 of 387/6. The August Goddesses are the Erinyes, worshipped euphemistically in Athens under that title (cf. Paus. I. 28. vi). Bliquez is certainly right to insist that 'as the people shall resolve' is to be understood with the making of the sacrifice and procession; he reads the genitive absolute 'these things being accomplished' as a future on which that clause depends, but more probably it is present and logically misplaced, and refers to the actual making of the alliance.

The alliance is a defensive alliance; and, although the members of the Athenian League took the initiative in recommending its acceptance, and they are mentioned in ll. 18–19, they have been omitted from the clauses about mutual support. Whereas Athens' alliances are commonly with democratic states, and each party may undertake to support the other against attempts to overthrow 'the people', i.e. the democracy (e.g. Athens and Corcyra in 372/1: Tod 127 ~ Harding 42, cited in the commentary on 24), of the Peloponnesian states here only Phlius is democratic, and the others are to be protected against attempts to overthrow or change the constitution (*politeia*, restored: ll. 29–34); in the case of Athens both tyranny and oligarchy are envisaged as alternatives to democracy (ll. 24–9: contrast 79, of 337/6, where only tyranny is envisaged). There will have been more danger of a threat to the constitution in the Peloponnesian cities than in Athens: the weakness of Sparta after Leuctra had removed a force making for stability (cf. X. H. VI. v. 2–11, D.S. xv. 40 (often referred to the period after Leuctra, though not by Stylianou, *Historical Commentary*, *ad loc.*), 57. iii–58); and in the aftermath of the battle of Mantinea the risk of constitutional upheaval will have persisted.

For the provision that each state should command in its own territory (ll. 34–5) cf. X. H. VII. v. 3 (before the battle of Mantinea): this clause too will have meant more to the Peloponnesian states than to Athens. For the provision for modification of the treaty by joint agreement (ll. 35–7) cf. 6 and, for 'within their oath', Thuc. v. 18. xi, 23. vi. For the restored reference to 'the highest officials' of the Peloponnesian states (l. 38) cf. X. H. VII. v. 3.

## Greek response to the Satraps' Revolt, 362/1

A fragment of a *stèle* found at Argos, now lost.

Ll. 1–17 Attic-Ionic, with the old  $\epsilon$  for  $\epsilon\iota$  retained in l. 15; restored as non-*stichedon*.

*IG* iv 556; *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 182; Tod 145\*, *Stt.* 292. Trans. Harding 57. See also A. Wilhelm, *JÖAI* iii 1900, 145–62 = *Abh. u. Beitr.* i. 85–102; M. Fränkel, *RM*<sup>2</sup> lvi 1901, 234–46; Wilhelm, *RM*<sup>2</sup> lvi 1901, 571–86; Ryder, *Koine Eirene*, 142–4; Bauslaugh, *The Concept of Neutrality in Classical Greece*, 211–14.

We omit a second document, apparently in Doric dialect, referring to judges and disputed territory, of which a little is preserved in ll. 18–21.

- [ ————— ]νου φύγ[ —————  $\epsilon^9$  ]  
 [ —————  $\epsilon^{18}$  ————— ] μετ[έχουσιν τῆς κοινῆς [εἰρήνης. δηλ]-  
 [ώσαι δὲ τῶι παρὰ τ]ῶν σατραπῶν ἤκοντι διότ[ι] οἱ [Ἑλληνες πρ]-  
 [εσβεύσ]αντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαλέλυνται τὰ <δ>[ιάφορα πρὸ]-  
 5 [ς κ]οινην εἰρήνην, ὅπως ἀπαλλαγέντες τοῦ π[ρὸς αὐτοὺς πολ]-  
 [έ]μου τὰς πόλεις ἕκαστοι τὰς αὐτῶν ὡς μεγί[στας καὶ εὐδαίμων]-  
 [α]ς ποιῶσιν, καὶ χρήσιμοι μένωσιν τοῖς φίλο[ις καὶ ἰσχυροῖ].  
 [β]ασιλεῖ δὲ οὐδένᾳ πόλεμον οἶδασιν ὄντα πρ[ὸς αὐτούς. ἐὰν ο]-  
 ὦν ἡσυχίαν ἔχῃ καὶ μὴ συνβάλλῃ τοὺς Ἑ[λληνας, μηδὲ τήν ν]-  
 10 [ὺν] γεγεννημένην ἡμῖν εἰρήνην ἐπιχειρή[ι διαλύειν τέχνη μ]-  
 [ηδ]εῖμᾱι μηδὲ μηχανῇ, ἔξομεν καὶ ἡμεῖς [ἡσυχίαν τὰ πρὸς β]-  
 [α]σιλέα. ἐὰν δὲ πολεμῇ πρὸς τῶν [ὁμοσάντων τὸν ὄρκον ἢ χ]-  
 [ρή]μᾱτᾱ τισι παρέχῃ ἐπὶ διαλύσει τῆς εἰρή[νης] τῆσδε, ἢ αὐ]-  
 [τὸς] ἐναντίον τοῖς Ἑλλησιν τοῖς τήνδε [τὴν εἰρήνην ποῆσα]-  
 15 [σιν] ἢ ἄλλος τις τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἐκένου χώρ[ας, ἀμνησθῆναι κοινῇ]  
 [πάντε]ς ἀξίως τῆς τε νῦν γεγεννημένης εἰρήνης καὶ ὧν πρὸ τ]-  
 [οῦ ἐπράξα]μεν. vacat

8–9 οἶδασιν ὄντα πρ[ὸς αὐτούς. ἐὰν ο]ἶν Fränkel, accepted Wilhelm 1901: οἰδαισινοντα E. Fourmont's copy; οἴσουσιν οὔτε πρ[άγματα] παρέξουσιν, ἀλλ' ἐ[ὰν] Wilhelm 1900, J. Hatzfeld, *BCH* lxx 1946, 241 n. 4.  
 11 ἡσυχίαν τὰ Wilhelm 1900: εἰρηνικῶς Wilhelm 1901; τὴν ἡσυχίαν Bauslaugh, noting τὴν εἰρήνην also possible. 12 ὁμοσάντων τὸν ὄρκον P.J.R.: ἐνσπόνδων ἡμῖν Wilhelm 1900; συσπόνδων ἡμῖν B. Leonardos *ap.* Wilhelm 1901; ὁμοσασῶν (with rough breathing, in error) τὸν ὄρκον Bauslaugh, cf. X. H. vi. v. 2.  
 12–13 ἢ χρή[μᾱτα] Hatzfeld, 242 n. 1, Bauslaugh (who omits ἢ in error): ἢ πράγ[μᾱτα] Wilhelm 1900.

The stone has been lost, and the text transcribed contains no indication of date: all the interpreter can do is look for a context in which the text that can be reconstructed makes sense. Suggested dates have ranged from 386 (A. Boeckh, *CIG* 1118) to 338–334 (U. Koehler *ap.* *SIG*<sup>3</sup>). Beloch linked this with the declaration of the Athenians in 344 that they would stay at peace with the King if he stayed at peace with them, but would not help him in the recovery of Egypt (Didym. *In Dem.* viii. 7–26 = [e.g.] Philoch. *FGrH* 328 F 157, cf. D.S. xvi. 44. i [misdated to 351/0]: *GG*<sup>2</sup>, iii. i 534–5). Most scholars, however, have followed Wilhelm 1900 in believing that this is a response to satraps

— — — share in the common peace.

- <sup>2</sup> Show to the man who has come from the satraps that the Greeks have resolved their disputes towards a common peace, so that, being freed from the war against themselves, they may each make their own cities as great as possible and happy, and remain useful to their friends and strong. They are not aware that the King has any war against them. If, therefore, he keeps quiet and does not embroil the Greeks, and does not attempt to break up the peace that has come into being for us by any craft or contrivance, we too shall keep quiet in matters with regard to the King; but if he makes war on any who have sworn the oath or provides money for the breaking-up of this peace, either himself in opposition to the Greeks who have made this peace or any one else of those from his territory, we shall all resist in common, worthily of the peace that has now come into being and of what we have done before now.

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who are soliciting Greek support against the Persian King, and in dating it to 362/1, when a common peace treaty had been made after the battle of Mantinea (cf. on 41: if correctly dated, this text will give us the earliest surviving documentary use of the phrase 'common peace') and the Satraps' Revolt was reaching its climax. Agesilaus was sent to support Tachos of Egypt officially by Sparta, which was not a party to that peace treaty, but the other Greeks were not officially involved after Mantinea, though Chabrias went from Athens as a free-lance (D.S. xv. 92. ii–iii).

Since we lack the beginning, we do not know what the status of this document is,

to whom the man from the satraps went or who authorized this reply. A. Momigliano insisted because of the dialect that this must emanate from Athens, and therefore dated it to 371/0, after the common peace treaty organized by Athens, and supposed that the satraps were already then looking for support against the King (*RFIC* lxii = <sup>2</sup>xii 1934, 494–8 = <sup>3</sup>*Contributo*, 403–6). P. Charneux has announced, but has not yet fulfilled, his intention of restoring it as a letter from Athens (*BCH* cvii 1983, 251 n. 3). However, ll. 2–3 point not to a letter but to a reply composed for the benefit of a man who is present (cf.

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### The Boeotians honour a Carthaginian, 360s–350s

A *stèle* found at Thebes; now lost.

Boeotian.

*IG* vii 2407; *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 179; P. Roesch, *REG* xcvi 1984, 45–60 at 47\*. Trans. Harding 48. See also A. Wilhelm, *Bull. Int. Ac. Pol.* 1930, 139–45 = *Akademischeschriften*, ii. 293–9; G. Glotz, *Mélanges . . . N. Jorga*, 331–9; Buckler, *The Theban Hegemony*; D. Knoepfler, *Historia Testis . . . T. Zawadzki*, 37–60; G. Vottero in Brixhe (ed.), *Hellénika Symmiktá*, ii. 121–32.

[θ]εός· τύχα. [. . .] οτε[λε]-  
 os ἄρχοντος. ἔδοξε  
 τοῖ δάμοι. πρόξενον  
 εἶμεν Βοιωτῶν καὶ εὐε-  
 5 ργέταν Νώβαν Ἀξι-  
 ούβω Καραχαδόνιον· καὶ  
 εἶμεν <F>οι γὰς καὶ Φοικία-  
 s ἔπ<π>ασιν καὶ ἀτέλιαν  
 καὶ ἀσυλίαν καὶ κατὰ γὰν  
 10 καὶ κατ θάλατταν καὶ πο-  
 λέμω καὶ ἱράνας ἰώσας.  
 [B]οιωταρχιόντων Τίμων[ος],  
 [Δ]αιτώνδαο, Θίωνος, Μέ[λ]-  
 ωνος, Τηπίαιο, Εὐμαρί[δ]αο,  
 15 Πάτρωνος.

1 Θ: Dittenberger, *IG*; Δ: Dittenberger, *SIG* (all edd.); *LGPV*, iiii, has five Boeotian instances of Theoteleis to one of Dioteleis. 5–6 Ἀνώβαν Clermont-Ganneau, *Recueil d'archéologie orientale*, iii. 142–4; Ἀζρούβω

Blass, *Über die Aussprache des Griechischen*, <sup>2</sup>100 = <sup>3</sup>119—i.e. Hannibal son of Hasdrubal; but, whatever the original Phoenician names may have been, it is unwise to think that the Boeotians cannot have written what R. Pococke read (and see note in *SIG*). 7 νοι Pococke's transcript: see commentary. 8 επασιν Pococke's transcript.

13 Δαιτώνδαο Wilhelm, cf. his reading of *IG* vii 2408. 16, and see commentary: Αἰτώνδαο in both inscriptions earlier edd.

21. 4–5; 31. 40–1); but we remain uncertain before what body he was present, or why this Attic text was inscribed in Argos. Ll. 5–7 are striking for their praise of peace, not just as the absence of war but as a foundation for prosperity and cooperation between cities: elsewhere praise of peace is focused on benefits for the internal life of the city and for individuals within it (e.g. Ar. *Acham.*, *Peace*). For the expression 'They are not aware . . .' (l. 8) cf. Thuc. iv. 78. iv: this appears to be formal diplomatic language.

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God; Fortune (*Tycha*).

- 1 In the archonship of —oteles. Resolved by the people.
- 3 Nobas son of Axioubas of Carthage shall be *proxenos* and benefactor of the Boeotians; and he shall have the right to acquire land and a house, and immunity both by land and by sea, during both war and peace.
- 12 The Boeotarchs were: Timon, Daetondas, Thion, Melon, Hippias, Eumaridas, Patron.

This is one of three similar decrees, enacted in different but not far-separated years by the Boeotian federation. One for a Byzantine (*IG* vii 2408, revised Roesch, 47–8, cf. *SEG* xxxiv 355), has a list of Boeotarchs which includes two of the men listed in our text (Hippias and Daetondas) and Malacidas and Diogeiton, the first to be restored as Boeotarch in 371 (Paus. ix. 13. vi) and both mentioned in the context of 364 (Plut. *Pel.* 35. ii). The other, for Athenaeus son of Demonicus of Macedon (Roesch = *SEG* xxxiv 355), has a list of Boeotarchs including one of the men listed in our text (Patron), and also Damophilus (Boeotarch in 371: Paus. ix. 13. vi) and the famous Pelopidas. Epaminondas does not appear in any of the lists. Thebes is known to have been interested in Macedon in the 360s but not in the 370s: for the Macedonian decree, with Pelopidas Boeotarch but not Epaminondas, 368 is excluded by the Boeotarchs named in Paus. ix. 15. i, and 365 or early 364 look most likely. Possible years for the other two, with neither Pelopidas nor Epaminondas Boeotarch, are 365, late 364 (after the death of Pelopidas at Cynoscephalae), 363, or else some time after the death of Epaminondas at Mantinea in 362, but not 361, when the Boeotarchs included Pammenes (D.S. xv. 94. ii), who is not listed in the inscriptions (on the chronology we follow Buckler, 233–62).

It was suggested by Glotz that the Carthaginian was made *proxenos* because Thebes needed outside skills in developing the naval programme proposed by Epaminondas (D.S. xv. 78. iv–79. ii, foreshadowed in the peace talks of 367, X. *H.* vii. i. 36). Many have been attracted by that suggestion, and Roesch built on it to link all three decrees with the naval programme, noting that Byzantium was among the allies of Athens whose support Epaminondas tried to win (D.S. xv. 79. i: for its support for Thebes after the Social War of the 350s see 57), and that Macedon would be important as a source of ship-building timber (cf. 12), and the honorand's son, another Demonicus, was appointed as a trierarch by Alexander the Great in 326 (Arr. *Ind.* 18. iii). In that connection we may now note a recently discovered inscription in which Cnidus, on a promontory of south-western Asia Minor between Cos and Rhodes, makes Epaminondas its *proxenos*, and the fact that Rhodes was one of the states visited by Epaminondas (*SEG* xlv 901; text reprinted and discussed by Buckler, *Mnem.*<sup>4</sup> li 1998, 192–205). However, the Thebans were not without naval experience; and in view of the chronological uncertainties, and of the fact that Carthaginian traders were not a

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### Alliance between Athens and the Thessalian *koinon*, 361/0

A *stèle* with a relief at the top showing a mounted warrior, found on the south slope of the Athenian Acropolis; now in the Epigraphical Museum and in poor condition. Phot. Svoronos, *Das athenen Nationalmuseum*, Taf. ccix Nr. 1; Meyer, *Die griechischen Urkundenreliefs*, Taf. 20 A 59; Lawton, *Reliefs*, pl. 13 no. 25 (the last two, relief and opening lines only).

great rarity in fourth-century Greece (Gsell, *Histoire ancienne de l'afrique du nord*, iv. 152 n. 3), we agree with those who regard this reconstruction as unduly speculative (G. L. Cawkwell, *CQ*<sup>2</sup> xxii 1972, 272 n. 1; Buckler, 308 n. 27).

Whereas the pre-386 Boeotian federation had eleven Boeotarchs, based on eleven electoral units, and its decision-making body was a council of 660 (*Hell. Oxy.* 16. iii–iv Bartoletti/McKechnie & Kern = 19. iii–iv Chambers), these inscriptions show that the federation as revived in the 370s had an *archon*, an assembly to make decisions, and seven Boeotarchs (for the last cf. D.S. xv. 53. iii, Paus. ix. 13. vi–vii). It is often supposed that seven of the old units were used, with those assigned to Orchomenus and Thespieae abolished (e.g. Buckler, 23), but there are problems with that view; Knoepfler, 47–8 n. 42, has argued that all seven Boeotarchs in the new federation were Theban; and it may well be that there was now no rule about the affiliation of the Boeotarchs, and Thebans managed to obtain many if not all of the appointments. Daetondas was probably an ancestor of the sculptor Daetondas of Sicyon (Paus. vi. 17. v). Knoepfler suggests also that our Daetondas should be read in place of Diagondas in Cic. *Legg.* ii. 37 as the author of a law forbidding nocturnal religious rites, but Vottero (130–1) thinks the legislator was a man of the Solonian period. Of the other Boeotarchs listed in this inscription Melon was one of the liberators of Thebes in 379/8 (X. *H.* v. iv. 2–3, Plut. *Pel.* 8).

A somewhat later federal decree (Roesch, *Études béotiennes*, 271–2 = *SEG* xxxii 476) has been found in the sanctuary of Poseidon at Onchestus, which became the federal administrative centre after the destruction of Thebes in 335 (Roesch, *Études béotiennes*, 265–75). It confers honours on a man from Pellana, in Achaea; the cities of the Boeotarchs are specified (the first from Thespieae, the second from Tanagra, after which the text breaks off); the names of the *archon* and of the first Boeotarch have been deleted. The error *νοι* for *φοι* appears both in l. 7 of our inscription and in *SEG* xxxii 476: Vottero (121–8) suggests that we have here an Athenian model for the award of proxenies, not fully absorbed by the Boeotians: he argues for a short period of uncertainty and dates *SEG* xxxii 476 to the same period, but in view of its location and the cities of the Boeotarchs we prefer Roesch's dating. Apart from the use of *digamma*, Boeotian features of the language include *εἴμεν* for *εἶναι* (4, 7), and *ἐππασις* (i.e. *ἐμπασις*) for the Attic *ἐγκτησις*.

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Attic-Ionic, usually retaining the old *o* for *ou*; ll. 1–4 in larger letters; ll. 5 sqq. *stoichedon* 41.  
*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 116; *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 184; Tod 147\*; *Stt.* 293. Trans. Harding 59.

θε[ο]ί.

ἐπὶ Νικοφῆμο ἄρχοντος.

συμμαχία Ἀθηναίων καὶ

Θετταλῶν εἰς τὸν αἰὲ χρόνον.

- 5 ἔδοξεν τ[ῆ]ι [β]ουλῇ κα[ὶ] τῶι δήμῳ. Α[ε]ωντὶς ἐπρυτάνε-  
 νειν· Χαιρ[ί]ων Χαρυναύ[τ]ο Φαληρεὺ[s] ἐγραμμάτευεν· Ἀρ-  
 χιππος Ἀμφ[ι]τροπῆθε[ν] ἐπεστάτει· δωδεκάτει τῆς πρ-  
 υτανείας. Ἐ[ξ]ηκεστίδης εἶπεν· [π]ε[ρ]ὶ ὧν λέγουσιν οἱ π-  
 [ρ]έσβεις τῶν Θετταλῶ[ν], ἐψηφίσθα[ι] τῶι δ[ῆ]μῳ· δέχεσθ-  
 10 αὶ τὴν συμμαχίαν, τύχ[η]ι ἀγαθῇ, κ[α]θὰ ἐπ[α]νγέλλοντα-  
 [ι] οἱ Θετταλο[ι]· εἶναι δὲ αὐ[τ]ο[ῖ]ς τῇ[ν] συμμ[α]χίαν πρὸς Ἀ-  
 θηναίους εἰς [τ]ὸν αἰὲ χρόνον. εἰ[ν]αι δὲ καὶ τοὺς Ἀθην-  
 αίων συμμ[α]χ[ο]ς ἅπαντας Θετταλῶ[ν] συμμ[α]χος καὶ τὸς  
 [Θ]ετταλῶν Ἀ[θη]ναίων. ὁμόσαι δὲ Ἀ[θη]ναίων μὲν τὸς στρ-  
 15 [α]τ[η]γὸς καὶ τ[ῆ]ν βολὴν καὶ τὸς ἱπάρχους καὶ τὸς ἱππέ-  
 [α]ς τόνδε τὸν ὄρκον· βοηθήσω π[α]ντὶ σθένει κατὰ τὸ δυ-  
 νατὸν ἕαν τι[ς] ἔη ἐπὶ τὸ κοινὸν τὸ Θετταλῶν ἐπὶ πολ-  
 [έ]μῳ, ἢ τὸν ἄρχοντα καταλύει ὃν εἴλοντο Θετταλοί, ἢ  
 [τ]ύραννον καθ[ι]στῆναι ἐν Θετταλῶν. ἐπομύναι δὲ τὸν  
 20 [νό]μιμον ὄρκον. ὅπως δ' [ἄ]ν καὶ Θετταλοὶ ὁμόσωσι τῇ π-  
 [ό]λ[ε]ι, ἐ[λ]έσθαι [τ]ὸν δῆμον πέντε ἄν[δ]ρας ἐ[ξ] Ἀθηναίων ἀ-  
 πά[ν]των, οἷτινες ἀφικόμενοι εἰς Θετταλίαν[ν] ἐξορκώ-  
 [σ]ουσιν Ἀγέλαο[ν] τ[ὸν] ἄρχοντα καὶ τὸς [π]ολ[ι]τ[ὰ]ς [μ]ά[ρ]χος καὶ  
 τὸς ἱπ[α]ρχούς καὶ τὸς ἱππέ[α]ς καὶ τὸς ἱερ[ο]ῖς [μ]ήμονας  
 25 καὶ τοὺς ἄλλο[ι]ς ἄρχοντας ὁπόσοι ὑπέ[ρ] τὸ κοινὸν τὸ Θε-  
 τταλῶν ἄρχουσ[ιν] τόνδε τὸν ὄρκον· βο[η]θήσω παντὶ σθένει  
 κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν ἕαν τις ἔη ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν τὴν Ἀθ-  
 [ην]αίων ἐπὶ πολέμῳ ἢ τὸν δῆμον καταλύει τὸν Ἀθηνα-  
 [ίων]. ὁμόσαι δὲ [κ]αὶ τὸς πρέσβεις τὸς τῶν Θετταλῶν ἐν  
 30 τ[ῇ] βολῇ τὸς ἐπιδημό[ν]τα[ς] Ἀθήνησιν τὸν αὐ[τ]ο[ῖ]ς ὄ[ρ]κον·  
 ο[ν]. τ[ὸ]ν δὲ πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον μὴ [έ]ξέειν[αι] κ-  
 [α]ταλ[ύ]σασθαι [μ]ήτε[ρ] Θετταλοῖς [ἄ]νευ Ἀθηναίων μ[ή]τε[ρ] Ἀ-  
 [θη]ναίοις ἄνευ τ[ῶ]ν ἄρχοντος καὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ [τοῦ Θεττ-]  
 [αλῶν]. ἐπαυ[έ]σαι [δὲ] Ἀγέλαον τὸν ἄρχοντα [τα[ . ] ] [καὶ τὸ κ]-  
 35 [οινόν] τῶν Θετ[ταλῶν], ὅτι εἴ κ[α]ὶ προθύμ[ω]ς ἐπ[ο]ιοῦν πά-  
 [ντα] περὶ ὧν αὐ[τ]ο[ῖ]ς [ἡ] πόλ[ι]ς ἐ[π]η[γ]αί[ε]ται. ἐπ[α]νέσαι  
 [δὲ καὶ] τὸς πρέ[σβεις] τῶν [Θ]ετταλῶν τὸς ἡκ[ο]ν[τας], κ[αὶ] κ-  
 [αλέ]σαι αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ ξ[έ]νια [ε]ἰς [τὸ] πρ[ο]υτα[νέ]ον [εἰς αὔρι-  
 [ον]. τῇ[ν] δὲ στ[η]λ[ῇ] τῇ[ν] πρὸς Ἀλ[έ]ξανδρον [κα]θελ[έ]ν τὸς  
 40 [ταμῖα]ς τῆς θεῶ [τῇ]ν περὶ τῇ[ς] [σ]υμμαχί[ας]. τοῖς δὲ πρέσ-

34 If the *stoichedon* pattern was maintained a third letter must have been inscribed in error: *IG* II<sup>2</sup>.

Gods.

- 2 In the archonship of Nicophemus [361/0].
- 3 Alliance of the Athenians and Thessalians for all time.
- 5 Resolved by the council and the people. Leontis was the prytany; Chaerion son of Charinautes of Phalerum was secretary; Archippus from Amphitrope was chairman; on the twelfth day of the prytany. Excestides proposed:
- 8 Concerning what is said by the envoys of the Thessalians, be it decreed by the people:
- 9 Accept the alliance, for good fortune, as the Thessalians offer; and there shall be an alliance for them with the Athenians for all time. Also all the allies of the Athenians shall be allies of the Thessalians, and those of the Thessalians allies of the Athenians.
- 14 Of the Athenians the generals and the council and the hipparchs and the cavalry shall swear the following oath: I shall go in support with all my strength as far as possible if any one goes against the *koinon* of the Thessalians for war, or overthrows the *archon* whom the Thessalians have appointed, or sets up a tyrant in Thessaly. They shall swear the lawful oath.
- 20 So that the Thessalians may swear to the city, the people shall appoint five men from all Athenians, who shall go to Thessaly and have Agelaus the *archon* and the polemarchs and the hipparchs and the knights and the *hierommemones* and the other officials who hold office on behalf of the *koinon* of Thessaly swear the following oath: I shall go in support with all my strength as far as possible if any one goes against the city of Athens for war or overthrows the Athenian people. The Thessalian envoys who are visiting Athens shall swear the same oath in the council.
- 31 It shall not be permitted to put an end to the war against Alexander, either to the Thessalians without the Athenians or to the Athenians without the *archon* and *koinon* of the Thessalians.
- 34 Praise Agelaus the *archon* and the *koinon* of the Thessalians, because they have been doing well and enthusiastically everything concerning the city's offer to them. Praise also the Thessalian envoys who have come, and invite them to hospitality in the *prytaneion* tomorrow.
- 39 The *stèle* for Alexander concerning the alliance shall be demolished by the treasurers of the Goddess.

[βεσι δ]όναι τὸν [ταμί]αν τ[ο]ῦ [δήμ]ο εἰς ἐφόδια ὧ ΔΔ δραχ-  
 [μὰς] ἐκάστωι. τῇ[ν δέ] συμ[μα]χί[αν] τῇ[ν]δε ἀναγράφαι τὸν  
 [γρ]α[μ][μ]ατέα τῆς β[ολή]ς ἐν [σ]τ[ήλη]ν λιθίνῃ[ι καὶ σ]τῆσαι  
 [ἐ]ν ἅκ[ρ]ο[π]όλ[ε]· ἐ[ἴ]ς [δ]ὲ [τῇ]ν [ἀναγραφ]ὴν τῆς [σ]τ[ή]λης δόνα-  
 45 [ι] τὸν ταμίαν τὸ δῆ[μο] ΔΔ ὧ [δρ]α[χμὰ]ς. εἶναι δὲ καὶ [Θ]ε[αί]τ-  
 ῶν τὸν Ἐρχικέα ὧ[ς] λέγο[ν]τα [ἄρ]ιστα [κα]ὶ [πρ]άττοντα ὅ  
 [τ]ι ἂν δύνηται ἀγα[θ]ὸν τῷ [ι] δῆμ[ω] τῷ Ἀ[θη]ν[α]ῖ[ω]ν κα[ὶ] Θε-  
 τταλ[ο]ῖς ἐν τῷ τεταγμέ[ν]ωι. *vacat*

45 ΔΔ<sup>o</sup> IG II<sup>1</sup>. v 59b, G. Klaffenbach, *DLZ* lxi 1948, 501, *Sbt.*: ΔΔ[Δ] S. A. Koumanoudes, *ATH*. v 1876, 424–6; ΔΔΔ IG II<sup>2</sup>, *SIG*<sup>3</sup>, Tod.

Although it is framed as an alliance for all time, this treaty resulted from a particular emergency and did not last long.

The power of the principal cities in Thessaly had been growing during the fifth and early fourth centuries, but there was still a Thessalian *koinon*, with an *archon*, and it was still possible for a military leader of all Thessaly to be appointed, with the title *tagos*; and Jason, the tyrant of Pherae in south-eastern Thessaly, claimed this position in the 370s (X. *H.* vi. i. 8–9, 12, 18–19). He was assassinated in 370, and succeeded by two brothers, Polydorus and Polyphron, of whom the second soon killed the first; in 369 Polyphron was killed and succeeded by Polydorus' son Alexander (X. *H.* vi. iv. 29–35; compressed account D.S. xv. 60. v, 61. i). The Thessalians opposed to Alexander appealed first to Macedon and then, when Macedonian help proved a doubtful blessing, to Thebes; and we learn from this inscription that they claimed to be the Thessalian *koinon* and continued to appoint an *archon*.<sup>1</sup> Since Athens and Thebes were now enemies, in 368 Athens made an alliance with Alexander, set up a statue of him, and sent forces to support him (D.S. xv. 71. iii–iv, cf. X. *H.* vii. i. 28, Plut. *Pel.* 31. vi). In 364 the Thebans defeated Alexander, limited his power to Pherae, and made him a subordinate ally (D.S. xv. 80. vi). Alexander, not allowed to expand on the mainland and linked to a Thebes which was challenging Athenian power at sea (cf. on 39, 43), undertook naval expeditions in the Aegean: in 362 he attacked Tenos ([Dem.] I. *Poly.* 4); in 361 he attacked Peparethus and defeated an Athenian force under Leosthenes, after which he raided the Piraeus (D.S. xv. 95. i–iii, Polyae. vi. 2; and cf. Dem. xxiii. *Arist.* 120).

Athens consequently approached his enemies, the Thessalian *koinon*: we read in ll. 8–11 that Thessalian envoys have come to Athens offering an alliance, but ll. 34–6 suggest that they did so in response to a first move by Athens. The result is a defensive alliance in which the Athenians promise their support explicitly to the *koinon* and its

<sup>1</sup> On offices and titles in Thessaly see Helly, *L'État thessalien*, 13–68, 329–53, with M. Sordi, *Topoi* vii 1997, 177–82, and (reviewing Helly) *Gnomon* lxx 1998, 418–21. It should be accepted that *archon* was the normal title for the head of the *koinon*, and *tagos* referred to a military leader and the position was perhaps reinvented by Jason; but Helly's claim that tetrarch was another title for the *archon* and the heads of the tetrads should have been tetradarchs is less likely to be right.

- 40 To the envoys the treasurer of the people shall give for travelling expenses 20 drachmas each.
- 42 This alliance shall be written up by the secretary of the council on a stone *stele* and placed on the Acropolis; for the writing-up of the *stele* the treasurer of the people shall give 20 drachmas.
- 45 Also Theaetetus of Erchia, for speaking best and doing what good he can for the people of Athens and the Thessalians, shall be deemed to have done his duty.

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*archon*, against the setting-up of a tyrant in Thessaly; neither party is to end the war against Alexander without the agreement of the other; to mark the ending of Athens' alliance with Alexander, the *stele* on which it is inscribed is to be demolished (by the treasurers of Athena (ll. 39–40), presumably because it was on the Acropolis and they had a general responsibility for monuments there: for the demolition of *stelai* cf. 22). Theaetetus, the man who is 'deemed to have done his duty' (ll. 45–8: for the expression cf. 64. 63–5), perhaps proposed and/or served on the Athenians' exploratory mission to the *koinon*. That is added almost as an afterthought: it is possible that it was added by way of a 'concealed amendment', although no explicit amendment is included in this text (on problems over amendments cf. 2, 19, 20, 64). Whereas in the previous year Athens had allowed the *synedrion* of her League to make the first move towards accepting the alliance offered by Peloponnesian states (41), here Athens commits them and any other allies she has without any sign that they have been consulted or will be asked to swear.

Execestides, the Athenian proposer of the decree, could be identical either with the envoy to Byzantium of Tod 121 ~ Harding 34. 18 or with the general of 48. 22, but despite Tod not with both, as those two men are from different demes, and the name was in any case a common one in this period (cf. *APF*, 175–8). Agelaus, the *archon* of the Thessalian *koinon*, probably belonged to the Daochid family of Pharsalus, whose monument at Delphi names a fifth-century Agelaus (*SIG*<sup>3</sup> 274 = *F. Delphes* III. iv 460 = *CEG* 795). Bengtson in *Svt.* follows Beloch (*GG*<sup>2</sup>, III. i. 218 n. 2) in linking with this alliance *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 175, which contains the end of an Athenian decree, a list of Athenian envoys, and a list of Thessalian oath-takers, beginning with four polemarchs (cf. the mention of the polemarchs after the *archon* in l. 23 of our text). It would be economical to suppose that the four polemarchs replaced the four tetrarchs based on the archaic tetrarchies, units which were to be revived by Philip of Macedon c.342 (Dem. IX. *Phil.* III. 26; or c.344 if δεκαδρχίαν in Dem. VI. *Phil.* II. 22 were to be emended to τετραρχίαν), but it is not clear how many polemarchs there were in the 450s (*SEG* xvii 243 with J. A. O. Larsen, *CPlv* 1960, 241–2). We have translated *hippeis* in l. 24 as 'knights', since it is hard to believe that all of Thessaly's large body of cavalry would have sworn to this alliance (Larsen, *Greek Federal States*, 24). *Hieromnemones* ('sacred remembrancers') is the

title given to the voting representatives in the Delphic Amphictyony, two from each of the twelve member peoples (Roux, *L'Amphictyonie, Delphes et le temple d'Apollon*, 20–36); but it is also a title attested for local officials in various places including some cities of Thessaly (e.g. *IG* ix. ii 459, Crannon; 541, Larisa), and it is more likely that the *hieromnemones* of our text were officials of the *koinon* (contr. Tod). For travelling expenses (ll. 40–2) cf. 35, 44, 48, 58, 95.

Alexander survived until 358/7, when he was assassinated by his wife Thebe, the daughter of Jason, and her brothers; he was succeeded by Tisiphonus, the eldest brother (*X. H.* vi. iv. 35–7, *D.S.* xvi. 14. i [under 357/6]), and the Thebans used Tisi-

## 45

## Contributions to the rebuilding of the temple at Delphi, 361/0

Fragments of a large slab, found on the pavement of the Sacred Way at Delphi; now in the museum there. Phot. *BCH* xxxvii 1903, pl. vi; *F. Delphes*, iii. v, pl. ii; *C. Delphes*, ii, pl. iii fig. 3.

Mixed Phocian and Ionic dialect; a line marking the left-hand margin; *stoichedon* with irregularities towards the ends of lines, ending each line with the end of a word or (occasionally) a syllable. Ll. i. 57–60 are indented to avoid a damaged part of the stone; ll. ii. 23–9, containing the total for the year, project beyond the left-hand margin of the column.

(i)	(ii)
<p>ἐπὶ Αἰσ[χύλου ἄ]ρχοντος, τὰς [ῆ]ρήνας Πυλαίας, τρίτας καὶ δεκάτας, ταῖδε τὰμ πο- λίων ἥ[νι]καν τοῦ ὀδελοῦ τοῦ 5 δευτέρου.</p>	<p>Ἀπολλων[ιάται]· κριθᾶν μεδίμνους Φειδωνείους τρισχίλους· ἐκ τοῦ- 5 των ἐγένοντο μέδι-</p>
<p>Μεγαρε[ῖ]ς· Ἄνδρων· δραχμὰς τρισχιλίας τετρακοσίας τεσσαράκοντα τέσσαρας. Τροζάνιοι· δραχμὰς τριακο- 10 σίας τρι[ά]κοντα τέσσαρας· ἥνικεν Φ[ύ]γων. Κυφαρ[ρεῖ]ς· Κόμβος· δραχμὰς έκατ[όν] ἐβ[δε]μήκοντα.</p>	<p>μνοι Δελφικοὶ χίλιοι ὀκτακόσιοι έβδεμήκοντα πέντε· τοῦτου τιμὰ ἐγένετο 10 δραχμαὶ τρισχίλια πεντακόσια ὀγδο- ήκοντα ἐπτά, τρεῖς ὀβολοί, ἡμιωβέλιον. τοῦτο δὲ ἄγαγον τὰι</p>
<p><i>vacat</i> τάδε πόλεις καὶ ἰδιῶται 15 ἐπάρ[ξαν]το ταῦται τὰι Πυλαίαι. Νάξ[ιοι]· δραχμὰς τριακοσίας πεντήκοντα· ἥνικαν Τελεσικράτης Τιμοκλείδου,</p>	<p>αὐτῶν δαπᾶναι εἰς Δελφοὺς ἐπὶ τὰν θάλασσαν τοῖ Ἀπολλωνιάται· ἄγαγε τὸ σίτον</p>

phonus' ships against the Athenians in Euboea in 357 (schol. Aristid. *Panath.* 179 Dindorf = 319 Behr (iii. 298 Dindorf): for the episode see 48). However, by the late 350s Lycophron and Pitholaus were in power, and in the Third Sacred War for the control of Delphi the Phocians were supported by both Athens and the tyrants of Pherae (Isoc. *Ep.* vi. 3 points to an alliance between them) and opposed by both Thebes and the *koinon*; in 352 the tyrants were expelled from Pherae by Philip of Macedon (D.S. xvi. 35, 37. iii), and Philip was elected *archon* of the *koinon* ([Hammond &] Griffith, ii. 220–4; but some have argued for a later date for his election, and Z. M. Papastylou, *Δωδώνη* viii 1979, 37–53, denies that Philip ever took that position).

*SIG*<sup>3</sup> 239. *B; F. Delphes*, iii. v 3; Tod 140; *C. Delphes*, ii 4\*. Trans. Harding 60. See also Roux, *L'Amphictionie, Delphes et le temple d'Apollon*; J. K. Davies, *Modus Operandi* . . . *G. Rickman*, 1–14; Sánchez, *L' Amphictionie*, 124–32, 168.

The whole inscription is in three columns, containing the records for spring 361/0 (ll. i. 1–ii. 29) and autumn 360/59 (ll. ii. 30–iii. 63): like Tod, we give the spring section only.

In the translation which follows we give sums of money in figures, although the Greek text gives them in words. The contributors marked with an asterisk are women.

## (i)

In the archonship of Aeschylus [361/0], in the spring *Pylaia*, the thirteenth, the following of the cities brought their share of the second obol.

6 Megara: Andron: 3,444 drachmas.

9 Troezen: 334 drachmas: brought by Phygon.

12 Cyphaera: Combis: 170 drachmas.

14 The following offerings were made by cities and individuals at this *Pylaia*.

16 Naxos: 350 drachmas: brought by Telesicrates son of Timoclides, Aristo-

## (ii)

Apollonia: 3,000 Pheidonian *medimnoi* of barley: from this there were 1,875 Delphic *medimnoi*: the price of this was 3,587 drachmas, 3½ obols. The Apolloniates brought this at their own expense to Delphi to the sea: the grain was brought by Aenesidamus of

(i)

- Ἀριστόδημος Αἰσίμου.  
 20 Στρόμβων Νάξιος· δραχμὰς δύο.  
 Δημαίνετος Νάξιος· Ἀττικὰς  
 δραχμὰς δέκα· τούτου  
 Αἰγυναῖον δραχμαὶ ἑπτὰ.  
 Τελεσικράτης Νάξιος·  
 25 δραχμὰς δύο.  
 Ἀριστόδημος Νάξιος·  
 δραχμὰς δύο.  
 Μεσσάνιοι Λυσίξενος[ς],  
 Φίλλης, Κ[... ]θ[... ], Εὐ[ρ]ύ[... ]ος·  
 30 δραχμὰς ἑβ[δεμήκ]οντα.  
 Σωσίβιος Φαρσάλιος·  
 δραχμάν.  
 Ἄνδοκος Λακεδαιμόνιος·  
 δραχμὰς δύο.  
 35 Λύδαμος Τραγίλιος·  
 δραχμὰς ἕξ, ὀβολοὺς τέσσαρας.  
 Ναυκρατῖται ἔξ Αἰγύπτου·  
 Πυθάγορας ἤνεικε· δραχμὰς  
 τριακοσίας πεντήκοντα.  
 40 Εὐδαμος Συρακόσιος·  
 δραχμὰς τριάκοντα.  
 Σάραυκος Ἀρκάς· δραχμὰς δύο.  
 Κότταβος Ἀρκάς· δραχμὰς τρεῖς.  
 Εὐρυδίκη Λαρισαία·  
 45 δραχμὰς δύο.  
 Αἰσχυλὶς Σελινυσία·  
 δραχμὰς δύο.  
 Ἐπίχαρμος Ἀρκάς· δραχμάν.  
 Κλεωνῶι Φλειησίη·  
 50 ὀβολοὺς τρεῖς.  
 Ἑχενίκη Φλειησίη·  
 ὀβολός, ἡμιωβέλιον.  
 Κλεονίκη Φλειησίη·  
 ὀβολός, ἡμιωβέλιον.  
 55 Φιλοστρατὶς Λακεδαιμονία·  
 ὀβολοὺς τρεῖς.  
 Κλεογένης· Ἀττικοῦ  
 δραχμὰς τέσσαρας· τούτου  
 Αἰγυναῖον δραχμαὶ δύο,

(ii)

- 20 Αἰνησίδαμος Δελφός,  
 Ἀριστοκλείδας  
 Ἀπολλωνιάτας.  
 κεφάλαιον λήμματος  
 ταύτας τὰ[ς] Πυλαίας  
 25 ἐπὶ Α[ἰ]σχύλον· δραχμαὶ  
 ὀκτα[κ]ισχίλια  
 πεντα[κ]όσια  
 τριάκοντα, ὀβολός,  
 ἡμιωβέλ[λ]ιον.

(i)

demus son of Aesimus.

20 Strombon of Naxos: 2 drachmas.

21 Demaenetus of Naxos: 10 Attic drachmas: of this 7 Aeginetan drachmas.

24 Telesicrates of Naxos: 2 drachmas.

26 Aristodemus of Naxos: 2 drachmas.

28 Messene: Lysixenus, Phillis, C—th—, Eury—us: 70 drachmas.

31 Sosibius of Pharsalus: 1 drachma.

33 Andocus of Sparta: 2 drachmas.

35 Lygdamis of Tragilus: 6 drachmas, 4 obols.

37 Naucratis from Egypt: brought by Pythagoras: 350 drachmas.

40 Eudamus of Syracuse: 30 drachmas.

42 Saraucus of Arcadia: 2 drachmas.

43 Cottabus of Arcadia: 3 drachmas.

44 \*Eurydice of Larisa: 2 drachmas.

46 \*Aeschylis of Selinus: 2 drachmas.

48 Epicharmus of Arcadia: 1 drachma.

49 \*Cleinoi of Phlius: 3 obols.

51 \*Echenice of Phlius: 1 ½ obols.

53 \*Cleonica of Phlius: 1 ½ obols.

55 \*Philostratis of Sparta: 3 obols.

57 Cleogenes: 4 drachmas of Attic: of this 2 Aeginetan drachmas, 4 obols.

(ii)

Delphi, Aristoclidias of Apollonia.

23 Total receipt in this Pylaia under Aeschylus: 8,530 drachmas, 1 ½ obols.



(i)

- 60 ὀβολοὶ τέσσαρες.  
 Πείσιος· Ἀττικοῦ δραχμὰς  
 τέσσαρας· τούτου Αἰγυναῖον  
 δραχμαὶ δύο, ὀβολοὶ τέσσαρες.  
 Κτήσων· Ἀττ[ι]κοῦ δραχμὰς  
 65 τέσσαρας· τούτου Αἰγυναῖον  
 δραχμαὶ δύο, ὀβολοὶ τέσσαρες.  
 Θεόδωρος Ἀθηναῖος  
 ὑποκριτάς· δραχμὰς  
 ἑβδεμήκοντα.  
 70 Εὐτέλης· δραχμὰς δύο.  
 Ἡγήμων· ὀβολοὺς τρεῖς.  
 Δαμόθεμις Εὐφάνευσ  
 Φασηλίτας· δραχμὰς ἑπτὰ.  
 Ἀρίστων· δραχμάν.  
 75 Πάγκων Θηβαῖος· δραχμάν.  
 Τιμέας Ἀπολλωνιάτης·  
 δραχμὰς ἑβδεμήκοντα.  
 Θρασὺς {συ}βουλος Θεσπιεύς·  
 δραχμάν.

The temple of Apollo at Delphi was destroyed by fire and/or earthquake in 373/2; a proposal to set up a building fund was perhaps made after the peace of spring 371 (cf. on 33). This was eventually done through the Amphictyony ('league of neighbours'), the body, consisting mostly of central Greek states, which was responsible both for the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi and for the sanctuary of Demeter at Anthela (near Thermopylae: whence the name *Pylaia* given to the two major sessions each year). Davies surveys the different series of documents generated by this operation, and the politics behind the bureaucracy. These payments are dated by the archon of the city of Delphi.

A commission of *naopoioi* ('temple-builders'), representing the various states within the Amphictyony, collected and spent the funds for the rebuilding of the temple. The 'first obol', a levy of 1 obol per person (*epikephalos obolos*) on the states belonging to the Amphictyony, was collected from spring 366 to spring 361 (the first to the eleventh *Pylaiai* in the numbered series), and a 'second obol' from spring 361 to autumn 356 (the eleventh to the twenty-second *Pylaiai*). Some member states seem to have paid the exact sums which they collected; others paid round sums; voluntary contributions were made by states outside the Amphictyony and by individuals; and the city of Delphi made available a very substantial 'credit' (*opheilema*: *C. Delphes*, ii 31-2, and cf. 66. 9-16). The figures for Megara and Troezen which begin this list would reflect populations of 20,664 and 2,064 respectively. [Arist.] *Oec.* ii. 1346 A 5 mentions a poll tax (*epikephalion*) as one kind of tax, and the examples of devices for raising money

(i)

- 61 Peisius: 4 drachmas of Attic: of this 2  
Aeginetan drachmas, 4 obols.  
64 Cteson: 4 drachmas of Attic: of this 2  
Aeginetan drachmas, 4 obols.  
67 Theodorus of Athens, actor: 70  
drachmas.  
70 Euteles: 2 drachmas.  
71 Hegemon: 3 obols.  
72 Damothemis son of Euphanes of  
Phaelis: 7 drachmas.  
74 Ariston: 1 drachma.  
75 Pancon of Thebes: 1 drachma.  
76 Timeas of Apollonia: 70 drachmas.  
78 Thrasybulus of Thespieae: 1 drachma.

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which follow include several poll taxes.

The collection of money and work on the temple were interrupted by the Third Sacred War of 356–346 but resumed afterwards (cf. 66), and the major work was completed in 334 and the statues were placed in the pediments in 327/6. The *naopoioi* were kept in existence for maintenance work, and continue to be attested until the mid third century.

Income is reckoned in Aeginetan currency, with 6 obols = 1 drachma and 70 drachmas = 1 mina (so that the larger payments tend to be 70 drachmas or a multiple of that). Athenian currency is converted, at 10 Athenian drachmas = 7 Aeginetan (II. i. 21–3; cf. *Ath. Pol.* 10. ii with Rhodes *ad loc.*, Plut. *Sol.* 15. iv) or 3 Athenian = 2 Aeginetan (i. 57–66; but contr. *C. Delphes*, ii 1, where the total shows that a small sum was converted at the rate of 10 = 7 and rounded up to the nearest obol). Likewise Lygdamis of Tragilus (i. 35–6) probably contributed 10 drachmas in his own currency and that has been converted at a rate of 3 = 2. Burford, *The Greek Temple Builders at Epidauros*, 83–5, notes that contributions both by cities and by individuals to the building fund of the sanctuary of Asclepius at Epidauros were on the same scale as at Delphi; but the total collection of 8,530 drachmas (c.2 talents: ii. 23) in a semester pales into insignificance by comparison with the sums which Athens had collected annually in tribute from the Delian League, or with the 6,000 talents which Athens had in the treasury of Athena at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War (Thuc. ii. 13. iii).

The people of Apollonia contributed a shipment of barley, 'at their own expense

... to the sea', i.e. to Cirrha, the harbour below Delphi on the Gulf of Corinth: the Delphian named with the Apolloniate as bringing it presumably escorted it from there to Delphi. 3,000 Pheidonian *medimnoi* (the measures associated with the archaic tyrant Pheidon of Argos: Her. vi. 127. iii; cf. *Ath. Pol.* 10. ii with Rhodes *ad loc.*) were converted at a rate of 8 Pheidonian = 5 Delphic *medimnoi*, and the barley was sold, apparently for 2 Aeginetan drachmas per Delphic *medimnos* (half the price of wheat), with a loss of just under 4½% of the barley in transit (J. Bousquet, *BCH* cix 1985, 233–4 = his *Études*, 123–4). The Athenian *medimnos* was c.52.5 l. (c.1½ bushels: Hultsch, *Griechische und römische Metrologie*, 107–8, 703; M. Lang, *Agora*, x. 44, 55), the Spartan half as much again (Dicaearchus *ap. Ath.* iv. 141 c with Plut. *Lyc.* 12. iii: c.72.75 l. according to Hultsch, 505); we do not know which standard the Delphians used. For the quantity cf. the consignments of corn sent by Cyrene in 96. Despite Tod, the 'golden harvest' of Plut. *Pyth. Or.* 401 F–402 A was surely a golden image and not this consignment of actual barley.

Of the less well known places, Cyphaera (l. i. 12) was in Phthiotic Achaea, in southern Thessaly; Tragilus (i. 35) near Amphipolis in Thrace; Apollonia (ii. 1) near the coast of Illyria. It is noteworthy that contributors come from such distant places as Phaselis in southern Asia Minor (i. 72–3), Naucratis 'from Egypt' (i. 37), and Syracuse (i. 40) and Selinus (i. 46) in Sicily. 'Arcadia' (ll. 42–3) will be the Mantinean faction which was claiming to be the Arcadian federation (cf. 41). Among the individual

## 46

## Athenian deme decree from Halai Aixonides, c.360

Inscribed upon the front surface of a blue-grey marble cult table in the temple of Apollo Zoster at modern Vouliagmeni. In situ. Phot. *AD* xi 1927–8, p. 40 fig. 35; Gill, *Greek Cult Tables*, pl. 7.

Attic-Ionic. The inscription of the letters is unusually shallow.

K. Kourouniotis, *AD* xi 1927–8, 40–1 no. 4\*; W. Peek, *AM* lxvii 1942, 9–10 no. 7; Gill, *Greek Cult Tables*, no. 20; *SEG* xlii 112.

ἔδοξεν Ἀλαιοῦσιν. Ἀγνόθεος Ἐκφαντίδου εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ Πολύστρατος]  
 ἱερεὺς γενόμενος τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Ζωστήρος καλῶς καὶ ε[ὐ]σεβῶς  
 καὶ ἀξίως τοῦ θεοῦ ἐξάγει τὴν ἱερωσύνην, καὶ [λ]ίαν φιλοτίμ[ω]ς [ἐπ]ε-  
 σκεύακεν τὸ ἱερόν, καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα κεκόσμηκεν μετὰ τῶν αἰρεθέντων  
 5 ἐκ τῶν δημοτῶν, ἐπεμελήθη δὲ καὶ τῆς θυσίας τῶν Ζωστηρίων κατὰ τὰ  
 πάτρια, καὶ λόγους τῆς ἐπιμελείας ἔδωκεν τοῖς δημοταῖς. ὑπὲρ τούτων  
 οὐδὲν ἀπάντων ἐπαινέσαι τὸν ἱερέα τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος Πολύστρατον  
 Χαρμαντίδου Ἀλαιοῦ, καὶ στεφανῶσαι δάφνης στεφάνῳ εὐσεβείας ἔνεκα  
 καὶ δικαιοσύνης· ἐπαινέσαι δὲ καὶ τοὺς αἰρεθέντας μετ' αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν ἐπιμέ-  
 10 λειαν τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ στεφανῶσαι ἕκαστον αὐτῶν δάφνης στεφάνῳ Θεόδοτον Θεο-  
 δότου Ἀλαιοῦ, Αἰσχέαν Φιληρίφου Ἀλαιοῦ, Παντακλέα Σωκράτου Ἀλαιοῦ, Ἀγνί-

contributors six are women. The two men who brought the Naxian contribution added contributions of their own, and other Naxians made individual contributions too (i. 16–19 with 20–7); but the Apolloniate who made the large individual contribution of 70 drachmas was not the man who brought his city's offering of barley (i. 76–7 with ii. 19–22). The other large individual contribution was made by Theodorus the Athenian actor (i. 67–8), who was one of the most famous actors of the time (e.g. Arist. *Pol.* vii. 1336 B 27–31, *Rhet.* iii. 1404 B21–3, Plut. *Glor. Ath.* 348 E; *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 2325. 31 [?], 262, cf. Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens*<sup>2</sup>, 112–20: see F. Salviat in *Thasiaca*, 157–60): it is likely that the uncharacterized men named with him were actors and Athenians too (cf. *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 239. B, n. 11). The very small individual contributions will hardly have covered the cost of their inscription; but it was important to the contributors that they should be listed, and the inscription is not likely to have been costed with great precision in the late-twentieth-century manner.

Variations in spelling within the document depend on the *naopoios* who recorded each contribution (Bousquet, *C. Delphes*, ii, p. 49): notice particularly the Phocian  $\delta\delta\epsilon\lambda\omicron\upsilon$  in i. 4 but  $\delta\beta\omicron\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  etc. regularly in the individual entries.

For other fourth-century Delphian documents see **1**, **66**, **67**; and for a recently discovered document of the Amphictyony from the first half of the century see F. Lefèvre, *BCH* cxviii 1994, 99–112, F. Salviat, *BCH* cxix 1995, 565–71 (cf. *SEG* xlv 425. A, xlv 469).

Resolved by the demesmen of Halai. Hagnotheus son of Ecphantides proposed: since Polystratus, when he had been made priest of Apollo Zoster, executed his priestly duties in a fine and pious manner and worthily of the god, and equipped the temple in a way that displayed extreme love of honour, and has, with those elected from the demesmen, adorned the statues and looked after the sacrifice of the Zosteria according to the ancestral fashion, and gave account to the demesmen of his stewardship. For all this praise the priest of Apollo, Polystratus son of Charmantides of Halai, and crown him with a crown of laurel for his piety and uprightness. And praise also those elected with him to look after the temple, and crown each of them with a crown of laurel, Theodotus son of Theodotus of Halai, Aescheas son of Phileriphus of Halai, Pantacles son of Socrates of Halai, Hagnias son of Melesias of Halai. Write up this



decree and set it up in the temple of Apollo. Whatever expense is incurred the treasurer is to provide and to reckon it to the demesmen.

The people of Halai  
 {crowned} Polystratus

The people of Halai  
 {crowned} the elected officials

individuals for their love of honour, but it became common after the middle of the fourth century for men to be honoured for their love of honour and for bodies giving honours to declare that they did so to encourage love of honour (Whitehead, *C&M* xxxiv 1983, 55–74; *Demes*, 241–52). This decree is one of three deme decrees more or less securely dated before 350 (see below), which represent the earliest uses of ‘in a way that displayed love of honour’ as a term of epigraphic approbation. The particular phrase ([*ἀν φιλοτιμ[ω]ς*]) here is unique, which itself may suggest linguistic innovation. Arguably the coining of this new turn of phrase by a deme should cause little surprise: small groups were particularly dependent upon the good services of individuals, particularly affected by bad service, and so needed to encourage competitive acts of benefaction. More surprisingly, singling out ‘honesty’ and ‘piety’ as reasons for crowning is also a practice first attested by the sub-groups of the *polis*: ‘honesty’ first appears in tribal documents of the early fourth century and only from 342 in city decrees, ‘piety’ first appears at the deme level, either in this decree or in a decree of Eleusis (*IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 1186; see further Whitehead, *C&M* xlv 1993, 37–75 at 65).

All but one of the eleven inscriptions which record or result from decisions by the demesmen of Halai Aixonides seem to have some religious connection (the remaining inscription concerns the scrutiny of demarch and treasurers, requiring them to submit monthly accounts of income and expenditure; compare 63). This inscription is unusual (the closest parallel is an honorary decree of *orgeones*, *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 1246), in being inscribed not on a *stèle* but on a cult table, used to lay out bloodless offerings. The cult of Apollo Zoster is also mentioned, along with cults of Artemis, Leto, and Athena, by Pausanias, but this is the only testimony to a Zosteria festival. Ancient lexicographers refer also to a cult of Apollo Kunneios (Parker, *Athenian Religion*, 304), and inscriptions testify to priestesses of Demeter Chloe, Dionysus, and Heroine, and to a statue of Aphrodite. An inscription found in the Zoster excavations recording honours from the council and people of Athens for a priest suggests that at least one of the cults attracted the interest of the city as a whole. (For demes and religion see Osborne, *Demos*, ch. viii, Whitehead, *Demes*, ch. vii, R. Parker in Linders and Nordquist (edd.), *Gifts to the Gods* . . . 1985, 137–47, and 63).

Inscribed decrees frequently show demes spending large sums of money on honouring individuals with gold crowns (100 dr. each in two cases, 500 dr. each in 13 cases, and 1000 dr. each in 3 cases: Whitehead, *Demes*, 162–3; the *polis* regularly spends 500 dr. or 1000 dr.: see Henry, *Honours*, ch. ii, and 88). In the most extreme case known to us the deme of Athmonon spent half a talent honouring six of its members with gold crowns for religious services (*IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 1203 of 324/3). Halai Aixonides itself honoured one man, whose name is lost, with a crown to the value of 500 dr. (*AM* lxvii 1942, 8–9

no. 6). Foliage crowns may have been more frequently awarded than was recorded on stone. In this case the deme gives crowns of laurel (presumably because of the connection between laurel and Apollo; foliage crowns given by demes were normally of olive, although Icarion gives ivy in a Dionysiac context). The expense incurred here will therefore have been largely the expense of having the decision inscribed. Paying this money is made the responsibility of the treasurer (*tamias*); a treasurer, as here, or more commonly treasurers, are the most widely attested of all deme officials apart from demarchs, but in some demes the demarch himself may have had sole financial responsibility and often the demarch is involved with the treasurer(s) in financial affairs.

The priest honoured here is not otherwise known (unless he is the Polystratus of Halai whose allotment plate has been discovered (Kroll, no. 155)). We do not know how he was chosen for the priesthood; if he was a member of a priestly *genos* it was not, on this showing, particularly socially distinguished. By contrast three of the four *epimeletai* are among, or related to, members of a commission, almost certainly made up of wealthy men, responsible for erecting a statue of Aphrodite (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2820). Aescheas son of Phileriphus was part of that commission and perhaps father of the

# 47

## Treaty between Athens and Thracian kings, 357

A fragment of a *stèle* found on the Athenian Acropolis; now in the Epigraphical Museum.

Attic-Ionic; *stichedon* 39 (length of lines guaranteed by the kings' names).

*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 126; *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 195; Tod 151\*; *ATL*, ii. 104, T 78d (ll. 4–16, right-hand edge)\*; *Svt.* 303†. Trans. Harding 64†. See also *ATL*, iii. 310; Kahrstedt, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der thrakischen Chersones*, 28–31†; C. Veligianni, *Τεκμήρια* i 1995, 136–70, esp. 161–8 (*SEG* xlv 55, 830) (largely †). († denotes unaware of *ATL* text.)

[ ————— 17 ————— (?) βο]ι[η]θε[ῖν ————— 14 ————— ]  
 [ ————— 15 ————— κα]ὶ οἱ σύμμα[χοι ————— 11 ————— ]  
 [ ————— 15 ————— ἐὰ]ν μὴ δο{δο}κ[ῇι (?) ————— 12 ————— ]  
 [ — 4 — τῶν δὲ Ἑλληνίδ]ωμ πόλεων ὅσ[αι (?) ἐ]γράφησαν ἐν  
 5 [ταῖς στήλαις τελοῦ]σαι Βηρισάδε[ι ἢ Ἀμαδόκωι ἢ Κ]-  
 [ερσεβλέπτηι τοὺς] φόρους καὶ Ἀθην[αίοις ὑπάρχω]-  
 [υσαι σύμμαχοι, ἐὰ]μ μὴ ἀποδώσω Ἀθην[αίοις πάσας]  
 [τὰς συντάξεις, πρ]άττειν Βηρισάδην [καὶ Ἀμάδοκο]-  
 [ν καὶ Κερσεβλέπτ]ην κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν· κ[αὶ ἐὰμ πον (?) Β]-

*ATL* pointed out that the right-hand edge of the stone is preserved and that editors had misplaced the line divisions. 4 τῶν δὲ Ἑλληνίδ]ωμ D. M. Lewis, MS: περὶ δὲ τ]ώμ edd. 4–5 ἐγράφησαν ἐν | ταῖς

στήλαις seems doubtful. 6–7 *ATL*: ὑποτελεῖς ὑπάρχουσι edd. 7–8 πάσας | τὰς συντάξεις P.J.R.: ἅπασαν τὴν σύνταξιν *ATL*; Cawkwell, *JHS* ci 1981, 45 n. 25, wondered about τὴν πρόσσodon (comparing Dem. xxiii. *Arist.* 110) or, better, (ἅπαντα) τὰ καθήκοντα, here and in 16; αἱ πόλεις τὸς φόρους edd. 9 πον makes up the number of letters, but does not seem very likely.

man who appears in the *hekatostai* inscriptions as demarch of Halai Aixonides later in the century (Lambert, *Rationes Centesimarum*, F 9A.17–18 with 175–6) selling off at least three properties, two of which together fetch four talents; Theodotus son of Theodotus is likely to be related to one or both of [Theo]boulus son of [Th]eodotus and [Theo]dotus son of Theaetetus; Pantacles son of Socrates might be related to Diotheides son of Socrates and his son (for whom see *ZPE* cxxv 1999, 121 n. 26). Hagnotheus son of Ecphantides, the proposer of this decree, is the likely father of Euphiletus son of Hagnotheus and Theodorus son of Hagnotheus who were part of that commission, his own grave *stèle* may have been discovered in the Athenian Agora (*Agora*, xvii no. 52), and his grandson may be the proposer of a decree found in the Aphrodision (*AM* cxiii 1998, no. 3). The links with *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 2820 provide the best evidence for the date of this decree. ii<sup>2</sup> 2820 is dated by the associations of those named in it, in particular Astyphilus son of Philagrus, who is known to have proposed decrees in the city in 377 and 373/2, and Nicomenes son of Hiero, who was an amphictyon to Delos in 375/4–373/2 (28) (whose presence points to a date c.360) and Euctemon son of Euthemon, syntrierarch in 322, who appears along with his own father and whose presence perhaps argues for a date closer to 350 than 360.

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---go in support (?)---and the allies---if it is not resolved  
(?)---

- 4 Of the Greek cities which are written on the *stelai* (?) as paying tribute to Berisades or Amadocus or Cersebleptes and as being allies of the Athenians, if they do not give up to the Athenians all their *syntaxeis*, they shall be exacted by Berisades and Amadocus and Cersebleptes as far as possible; and if anywhere (?) they do not give to Berisades or Amadocus or Cersebleptes all their tribute, it shall be exacted by the Athenians and the generals in charge of the force as far as possible.



- 10 [ηρισάδει ἢ Ἀμαδόκ]ωι ἢ Κερσεβλέπτηι μὴ [ἀποδῶσι]-  
 [ν πάντας τοὺς φόρου]ς, πράττειν Ἀθηναίον[ς καὶ το]-  
 [ὺς στρατηγούς τοὺς ἐ]πὶ τῇ δυνάμει ὄντας [κατὰ τ]-  
 [ὸ δυνατόν. τὰς δὲ πόλει]ς τὰς Ἑλληνίδας τὰς ἐ[ν τῇ]  
 [Θράκιῃ, ὑποτελούσας Β]ηρισάδει καὶ Ἀμαδόκ[ωι κ]-  
 15 [αὶ Κερσεβλέπτηι τὸμ φό]ρον τὸμ πάτριον καὶ Ἀ[θην]-  
 [αίοις τὴν σύνταξιν, ἐλε]υθέρως εἶναι καὶ αὐτονό-  
 [μους, συμμάχους οὖσας Ἀ]θηναίους καθὰ ὥμοσαν κα-  
 [ὶ Βηρισάδει καὶ Ἀμαδόκω]ι καὶ Κερσεβλέπτηι. ἐὰν  
 [δέ τις τῶν πόλεων ἀφιστῇ]ται ἀπ' Ἀθηναίων, βο[ηθεῖ]-  
 20 [ν Βηρισάδην καὶ Ἀμάδοκον] καὶ Κερσεβλέπτ[ην καθ]-  
 [οτι ἂν ἐπαγγέλλωσι Ἀθηναῖοι]. ἐὰν δὲ [———<sup>9</sup>———]
- 

10–11 P.J.R.: ἀπόδωσι τοὺς φόρους ἅπαντα]s edd.

11–12 ATL: τῶν ἀρχόντων τοὺς ἀεὶ edd.

13–14 P.J.R.: ἐ[ν Χερρονήσῳ] edd., but G. T. Griffith in Garnsey & Whittaker (edd.), *Imperialism in the Ancient World*, 138 with 313 n. 35, expressed scepticism on the restorations in general, and in particular doubted whether the cities of the Chersonese were members of the League.

16 see above on 7–8.

About the end of 360 king Cotys of the Odrysian Thracians was murdered, and his son Cersebleptes (second vowel *e* in inscriptions; *o* in literary texts, probably under the influence of ‘Chersonese’) was challenged by two rivals, Berisades and Amadocus. On this kingdom see Archibald, *The Odrysian Kingdom of Thrace*, esp. 93–125 ch. iv, 213–39 ch. ix; K. Jordanov in *Pistiros*, i. 223–40 ch. xxi. The kingdom included the north-east Aegean coast, the Chersonese, and the European coast of the Propontis. The Athenians, who were always anxious to secure their trade route from the Black Sea, had revived their interest in the region soon after the end of the Peloponnesian War, and in the 360s had begun to reassert their territorial claims there (cf. on 38). A series of agreements was attempted, which gave Athens no satisfaction: this inscription presumably reflects the final treaty, negotiated by Chares in 357 (Dem. xxiii. *Arist.* 163–78). It appears that essentially the kingdom was divided, with Berisades taking the western part, Amadocus the central, and Cersebleptes the eastern; but for some purposes, as in our inscription, the three were regarded as joint rulers of the whole.

There are still uncertainties of detail, though the reconstruction in ATL marks a great improvement on earlier reconstructions, but the general purport of the decree is clear from what survives on the stone. Kahrstedt follows P. Foucart (*MAI* xxxviii. ii 1911, 83–120 at 97–9) in thinking that ll. 4–13 and 13–18 are concerned with different groups of cities, but that need not be the case. Some Greek cities in Thrace seem to have been simultaneously tributary dependants of the Thracian kings (perhaps since the beginning of the century, which would be long enough to justify ‘traditional’ in

- 13 The Greek cities in Thrace, paying to Berisades and Amadocus and Cersebleptes the traditional tribute and to the Athenians the *syntaxis*, shall be free and autonomous, being allies of the Athenians as they swore and of Berisades and Amadocus and Cersebleptes.
- 18 If any of the allies defects from Athens, Berisades and Amadocus and Cersebleptes shall go in support as called on by the Athenians; if — — —

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l. 15) and owing something to the Athenians, most easily interpreted as the *syntaxeis* due from members of their League (if the *syntaxeis* were not technically due 'to Athens', the language of this decree will be a sign that the Athenians were becoming careless in such matters), and each party agrees to exact what is due to the other. The cities are to be free and autonomous, in a relationship with both parties, and have sworn an oath to the Athenians. If they defect from Athens the kings are to support Athens; and probably the text continued by stating that if they defect from the kings Athens will support the kings.

Berisades, in the west, died in 357/6 and was succeeded by his sons, the eldest of whom was Cetriporis, and they joined Athens and others in an ineffective alliance against Philip (cf. 53). Philip gradually pushed eastwards into Thrace. Amadocus, in the centre, resisted Philip in 353 (D.S. xvi. 34. i, Dem. xxiii. *Arist.* 183, Polyæn. iv. 4. xxii: see [Hammond &] Griffith, ii. 264–6), but in 352 his son, another Amadocus, supported Philip in a campaign against Cersebleptes (schol. Aesch. ii. *Embassy* 81 [178 Dils], Thp. *FGtH* 115 F 101: see [Hammond &] Griffith, ii. 282–3). In 353 the Athenians under Chares captured Sestos in the Chersonese; but Cersebleptes was sufficiently alarmed by Philip to make an alliance with Athens and allow cleruchies to be established in the Chersonese (D.S. xvi. 34. iii–iv, cf. *IG* 11<sup>2</sup> 1613. 297–8): Philip fought against him in 352/1 and 346, and finally in 342/1 removed both him and Teres, the current ruler of the central kingdom.

## Alliance between Athens and Carystus, 357/6

Three contiguous fragments of a *stele*; fr. *a* (bottom left) found below the cave of Pan, on the north-west slope of the Athenian Acropolis, finding-places of frs. *b* and *c* unknown; all now in the Epigraphical Museum.

Attic-Ionic, retaining the old  $\epsilon$  for  $\epsilon\iota$  once (ll. 11) and  $o$  for  $ou$  sometimes; ll. 1–17 *stoichedon* 45; 18 sqq. non-*stoichedon*.

*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 124; *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 190; *Tod* 153; *Svt.* 304\*. Trans. Harding 65. See also E. Schweigert, *Hesp.* viii 1939, 12–17 no. 4; G. L. Cawkwell, *C&M* xxiii 1962, 34–40; S. Peake, *LCM* xix 1994 [publ. 1997], 130–2 = *G&R*<sup>2</sup> xliv 1997, 161–4; D. Knoepfler, in Frézouls & Jacquemin (edd.), *Les Relations internationales*, 309–64, esp. 331–7 (cf. *SEG* xlv 54).

- [ —————<sup>30</sup> ————— ] κλ[ —————<sup>5</sup> ————— τὸ δὲ ψήφει]-  
 [σμα τότε ἀναγράφαι ἐν ἀκροπόλει τὸν γραμ[ματέα τὸν κατ]-  
 [ὰ πρυτανείαν· τὸ δὲ ἀργύριον δόναι] εἰς τὴν [στήλην τὸν τα]-  
 [μίαν ἐκ τῶν εἰς τὰ κατὰ ψηφίσματα] ἀναλ[ι]σκο[μένων. ἐλέσθ]-  
 5 [αι δὲ πέντε ἄνδρας οἵτινες ἤξουσ]ι ἀποληψόμε[νοι τὸς ὄρ]-  
 [κους παρὰ Καρυστίων. ὁμόσαι δὲ το]ύτοις τὸς τ[ε στρατηγὸ]-  
 [ς τὸς Ἀθήνησι ὄντας καὶ τὴν βο]υλ[ή]ν. ἐπαυέσαι δὲ [τὸν δῆμ]-  
 [ον τὸν Καρ]υστίων καὶ [τοὺς πρ]έσβ[ει]ς τῶν Καρυστίων [καὶ τ]-  
 [ὸν σὺν]εδρον, καὶ καλέσ[αι α]ὐτὸς ἐ[π]ὶ ξένια εἰς τὸ πρυ[τανε]-  
 10 [ίον] εἰς αὖριον. ἐπαυέ[σαι] δὲ καὶ Μ[έ]νωνα τὸν στρατηγ[ὸν κ]-  
 [αὶ] τὸς πρέσβεις τὸς πεμφ[θέ]ντας εἰς [Κάρυστον, καὶ καλ]έσαι-  
 [ι] ἐπὶ δειπνον εἰς τὸ πρυτ[α]νείον ἐς [α]ὖριον. ἀποδόναι δ[ε] α]-  
 [ὐ]τοῖς καὶ ἐφόδια τὸν ταμ[ία]ν τοῦ δῆ[μ]ο [Δ]δ δραχμὰς ἐκ τῶν [ε]-  
 [ἰ]ς τὰ κατὰ ψηφίσματα ἀναλ[ι]σκομένω[ν τῶ]ι δῆμωι. ἀποδοῦν[ν]-  
 15 [α]ι δὲ τὸν ταμίαν τὸ δῆμο κα[ὶ τ]οῖς πρέ[σβεσ]ι τοῖς πρεσβευ-  
 [σ]ασι εἰς Ἑρετρίαν καὶ Χαλ[κ]ίδα καὶ ἐς [Ἑστ]ίαιαν ΔΔ δραχμ-  
 ἀς ἐκάστωι. ἀποδόναι δὲ κα[ὶ] τοῖς τὴν συ[μ]μα[χί]αν πρεσβε[ῦ]-  
 σασι τὸν ταμίαν τὸ δῆμο Δ δ[ρ]αχμὰς [ἐκάστωι. ο]-  
 ἴδε ὥμοσαν· ἢ βουλή ἢ ἐπ' Ἀγαθ[οκλέους ἀρχοντος· ο]ἱ σ-  
 20 τρατηγοὶ [ [Χα]βρίας [Αἰ]ξω], ὃ Χα[—————<sup>69</sup>—————], ὃ Ίφικράτης] Παμνο,  
 Μένων Ποτα, ὃ Φιλοχάρης Παμ[νο],  
 Ἐξηκεστιδης Θορικι, ὃ Ἀλκί[μαχος Ἀναγυρ],  
 Διοκλῆς Ἀλωπεκῆθεν. vacat

3–4 δόναι δὲ τὸν ταμίαν] εἰς τὴν [ἀναγραφὴν ὃ Δ|Δ ὃ δραχμὰς ἐκ τῶν κατὰ Knoepfler, substituting new anomalies for old. 5–6 Knoepfler (either τοὺς ὄρκους or τὸς ὄρκους); ἀποληψόμε[νοι τὸς ὄρκους παρὰ τῶν

Καρυστίων. ὁμόσαι δ' α]ὐτοῖς earlier edd. 6–7 G. Klaffenbach, *DLZ* lxxix 1948, 501–2: τ[α]ξίαρχος καὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς καὶ τὴν earlier edd. 13 ΔΔ B. Leonardos, *AD* i 1915, 213; ὃ earlier edd (cf. Knoepfler, supposing that these men paid less were the Athenian ὀρκωταί).

20 Perhaps Χα[βρίας Αἰξω] Cawkwell: Χά[ρης Ἀγγελη] earlier edd; see commentary.

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- 1 This decree shall be written up on the Acropolis by the secretary by the prytany: the money for the *stele* shall be given by the treasurer of the people from the fund for expenditure on decrees.
- 4 Appoint five men who shall go to receive the oaths from the Carystians. The generals who are in Athens and the council shall swear to them.
- 7 Praise the people of Carystus and the Carystian envoys and *synedros*, and invite them to hospitality in the *prytaneion* tomorrow. Praise also Meno the general and the envoys sent to Carystus, and invite them to dinner in the *prytaneion* tomorrow. They shall also be given as travelling expenses by the treasurer of the people 20 drachmas from the people's fund for expenditure on decrees. The treasurer of the people shall also give to the envoys who served on embassies to Eretria and Chalcis and Hestiaea 20 drachmas each. Also to those who negotiated the alliance the treasurer of the people shall give 10 drachmas each.
- 18 The following swore: the council of the archonship of Agathocles [357/6]; the generals [[Chabrias of Aexone]], Cha— of —, Iphicrates of Rhamnus, Meno of Potamus, Philochares of Rhamnus, Excestides of Thoricus, Alcimachus of Anagyrus, Diocles of Alopece.

On the history of Athens' relations with the cities of Euboea in the fourth century see Knoepfler. They had joined the Second Athenian League soon after its foundation (22. ii. 80–4, i. 88, i. 90, 114, cf. commentary on 23), but after Leuctra they were allied to Thebes rather than Athens (X. *H.* vi. v. 23, D.S. xv. 76. i, 85. ii); it appears from l. 16 that by now there were only four cities in Euboea (cf. on 22). In the early 350s a dispute between pro-Theban and anti-Theban factions led to an invasion by Thebes and, urged by Timotheus, a prompt response by Athens, which after a campaign of only thirty days brought Euboea back into the Athenian League (D.S. xvi. 7. ii, Dem. xxi. *Mid.* 174, viii. *Chers.* 74, Aesch. iii. *Ctes.* 85). Our text is the end of a document embodying a new alliance with Carystus, at the south-eastern end of Euboea, and suggesting that there are similar new alliances with Eretria, Chalcis, and Hestiaea (but not referring to the smaller cities mentioned separately in 22: for four cities in Euboea cf. [Scyl.] 58 [i. 47 Müller], of about the same date). By the time of the decree Carystus has rejoined the League, and has a *synedros* who can be praised (ll. 8–9).

This inscription is one element in a complicated chronological problem. Diodorus narrates the Euboean episode under the year 358/7. He narrates Athens' Social War under 358/7 and 356/5, stating at the beginning that it lasted three years and at the end that it lasted four (xvi. 7. iii–iv, 21–2), whereas Dionysius of Halicarnassus assigns the war to the two years 357/6 and 356/5 (*Lys.* 12 (i. 21 Usener & Rademacher = i. 44–5 Usher)). In the battle of Chios, early in the war, Chares was in command of the Athenian infantry, and Chabrias was with the navy (as a general according to Diodorus; as a *privatus* according to Nepos, perhaps supported by Demosthenes) and was killed (D.S. xvi. 7. iii–iv; Nep. xii. *Chab.* 4, cf. Dem. xx. *Lept.* 82). Chares was also the man who negotiated the final treaty with the Thracian kings, in 357 (Dem. xxiii. *Arist.* 173: cf. on 47).

In the list of generals in this inscription the first man named is Chabrias, and he has been deleted; the second is Cha—, whom editors have restored as Chares. We then have to construct a timetable which will allow Chares to be in Athens and to swear to the treaty, and to explain why Chabrias should have been deleted. It has come to be widely accepted that Athens' recovery of Euboea belongs to 358/7, and the beginning of the Social War, including the battle of Chios, also belongs to summer 357 (Schweigert: no discussion of this with the republication of that text as *Agora*, xvi 53). It is then said that Chabrias was deleted from our inscription, which belongs to 357/6 (l. 19), because he was expected to swear but was not available to do so because in the meantime he had been killed (Schweigert, Peake), or, allowing the battle to fall in 357/6 and our inscription to precede it, because he was deposed after his own attempt to negotiate with the Thracian kings (Tod: cf. Dem. xxiii. *Arist.* 171–2); as a variant on this, Kahrstedt suggested that Chabrias' name should never have been included, was inscribed in error for Chares', and was immediately deleted (*op. cit.*, 28 n. 80). However, it is difficult to construct a credible timetable for Chares on this assumption, and these explanations of Chabrias' deletion are less than satisfactory, so we prefer the alternative reconstruction of Cawkwell: he suggests that the second name in the list of generals was not Chares but Chabrias, inscribed twice in error and so deleted once; the recovery of Euboea is to be dated late 358/7 or early 357/6, Chares will have

been unavailable to swear because he went to Thrace immediately afterwards, and the Social War will have occupied the Athenian years 357/6 and 356/5 and the Julian years 356 and 355. Klaffenbach's restoration of ll. 6–7 matches the list of those who swore the oath and explains why only seven did so.

For Chabrias cf. 39. Chares is frequently attested as general between 367/6 (X. *H.* vii. ii. 17–23, D.S. xv. 75. iii) and 338/7 (D.S. xvi. 85. ii), and is said to have been in command of the mercenary force at Taenarum, in Laconia, in 324 ([Plut.] *XOr.* 848 E). Iphicrates is first mentioned as commander of the mercenary force established at Corinth by Conon in 393 (Harp. *ξενικὸν ἐν Κορίνθῳ* (§ 2 Keaney), Dem. iv. *Phil.* i. 24, cf. X. *H.* iv. iv. 9–12, D.S. xiv. 86. iii); in the battle of Embata, towards the end of the Social War, he and Timotheus were not willing to fight when Chares was (D.S. xvi. 21. iv), after which they were put on trial, and Timotheus was condemned but Iphicrates was acquitted (Isoc. xv. *Antid.* 129; D.S. has both condemned). Meno, the general praised in l. 10, had served as a general in the Hellespont in 362/1, after which he was prosecuted but acquitted or not severely punished ([Dem.] l. *Poly.* 12–14 cf. Dem. xxxvi. *Phorm.* 53). For Execestides see on 44. Alcimachus had been general previously in 364/3 (schol. Aesch. ii. *Embassy* 31 (67a Dils)); his generalship this year is mentioned by [Dem.] xlvii. *Ev. & Mnes.* 50, 78; and he was perhaps general again later (Harp. *Ἀλκίμαχος* (a 76 Keaney)). Diocles presumably served in Euboea, and made a treaty with Thebes at the end of the campaign (Dem. xxi. *Mid.* 174); he is attested more than once as a trierarch (*APF*, 157).

Whether or not Chares was listed in this inscription, he was certainly a general in 357/6. We thus know eight of the ten generals for this year: two are from the same tribe, and indeed from the same deme (Iphicrates and Philochares), but otherwise each is from a different tribe (the three unaccounted for being Aegeis, Oeneis, and Hippothontis). From at any rate c.440 the original principle of one general per tribe had been retained as a norm, but at least one exception in a year had been allowed and possibly more than one; by the time when *Ath. Pol.* was written, in the 330s, ten generals were elected irrespective of tribal membership (*Ath. Pol.* 22. ii, 61. i, with Rhodes *ad locc.*: for an up-to-date treatment of the subject see L. G. Mitchell, *Klio* lxxxii 2000, 344–60). This is the last year for which we can be reasonably confident that the system of the late fifth and early fourth centuries was still in operation. In ll. 2–3 we have (restored, but reliably) perhaps the first surviving occurrence of the new title, 'secretary by the prytany', for the principal secretary (cf. on 38). It is not clear to the modern reader who 'those who negotiated the alliance' (ll. 17–18) are: perhaps the envoys to Athens from Carystus, though it would be surprising to find Athens paying their expenses.

Athens was to be involved with Euboea again in 348, when an attempt to support a pro-Athenian leader misfired and Athens lost the allegiance of the Euboeans (cf. on 69), and in 343–341, when Philip of Macedon supported partisans of his but Athens successfully supported men who favoured Athens. Of other inscriptions concerned with Euboea, *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 147, a small fragment of an alliance mentioning Chalcis, and 149, an alliance with 'the Euboeans', have been dated in the 350s (but are perhaps to be dated earlier: M. B. Walbank, *BSA* lxxxv 1990, 437 no. 3 (147), Knoepfler, 324–

31 [149]), and 230 (revised Knoepfler, *REG* xcvi 1985, 243–59 = *SEG* xxxv 59), an alliance with Eretria, in the late 340s (in 341, *Les Relations internationales*, 346–59); another

## 49

## Opponents of Philip II of Macedon expelled from Amphipolis, 357/6

A *stèle* found at Amphipolis; now in the Epigraphical Museum, Athens. Phot. Hatzopoulos, *Une Donation du roi Lysimaque*, pls. xvi–xvii.

Euboean-Ionic (εο for εϵ is an East Ionic feature, found also in Amphipolis and Thasos: Buck §33; *stoichedon* 16.

*SIG*<sup>3</sup> 194; Tod 150\*; Buck 12; Hatzopoulos, *Macedonian Institutions*, no. 40. Trans. Harding 63.

ἔδοξεν τῶι δήμῳ. Φί-  
λωνα καὶ Στρατοκλέ-  
α φεόγειν Ἀμφίπολι-  
ν καὶ τήγ γῆν τήν Ἀμφ-  
5 ἱπολιτέων ἀειφυγί-  
ην, καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ τὸς  
παῖδας, καὶ ἥμ πο ἀλί-  
σκωνται πάσχειν αὐ-  
τὸς ὡς πολεμῖος καὶ  
10 νηπουινεὶ τεθνάναι.  
τὰ δὲ χρήματ' αὐτῶν δ-  
ημόσια εἶναι, τὸ δ' ἐπ-  
ιδέκατον ἱρὸν τῷ Ἀ-  
πόλλωνος καὶ τῷ Στρ-  
15 υμόνος. τὸς δὲ προστ-  
άτας ἀναγράψαι αὐ-  
τὸς ἐστήλην λιθίνην.  
ἣν δέ τις τὸ ψήφισμα  
ἀναβηφίξει ἢ καταδ-  
20 ἔχεται τούτος τέχν-  
ῃ ἢ μηχανῇ ὅτεωιδ-  
ν, τὰ χρήματ' αὐτὸ δημ-  
όσια ἔστω καὶ αὐτὸς  
φρογέτω Ἀμφίπολιν  
ἀειφυγίην.      *vacat*

treaty between Athens and Eretria, of uncertain date, was published by Knoepfler, 362–4 (cf. *SEG* xlv 1218); see also 73.

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Resolved by the people.

- 1 Philon and Stratocles shall be exiled from Amphipolis and the land of the Amphipolitans for perpetual exile, both themselves and their children, and if they are caught anywhere they shall be treated as enemies and killed with impunity. Their goods shall be public, the tenth being sacred property of Apollo and Strymon.
- 15 The *prostatai* shall write them up on a stone *stele*.
- 18 If any one reverses this decree or receives them by any craft or contrivance whatsoever, his goods shall be public and he shall be exiled from Amphipolis for perpetual exile.



Since 368 the Athenians had been trying to recover their colony of Amphipolis (cf. on 38). Philip of Macedon, when trying at the beginning of his reign to detach support from rival claimants, withdrew the garrison which Perdiccas had sent to defend it against Athens (D.S. xvi. 3. iii), and encouraged the Athenians to think that he would allow them to regain possession of it (D.S. xvi. 4. i, cf. Dem. xxiii. *Arist.* 116, 121, ii. *Ol.* ii. 6 with Thp. *FGrH* 115 F 30, [Dem.] vii. *Hal.* 27–8, Polyae. iv. 2. xvii: there were perhaps secret talks but not a treaty (cf. G. E. M. de Ste Croix, *CQ*<sup>2</sup> xiii 1963, 110–19)). In 357, however, having dealt with his rivals, he attacked Amphipolis and, though sending reassurances to Athens, took it for himself, leaving the Athenians to feel cheated (D.S. xvi. 8. ii). There was a party in Amphipolis which had wanted an alliance with Athens: among the envoys to Athens we hear of Hierax, named in *IG* iv<sup>2</sup>. i 94. 18 as the recipient of sacred envoys (*thearodokos*) in Amphipolis from Epidaurus, and Stratocles, named in our inscription, but not of Philon, the other man named in our inscription (Dem. i. *Ol.* i. 8, Thp. *FGrH* 115 F 42). Diodorus writes that after taking Amphipolis Philip ‘exiled those who were unfavourably disposed to him’, and this decree presumably shows the city passing sentences of exile on his behalf (but Errington, *History of Macedonia*, 272–3 n. 3, wonders if the decree is to be dated before Philip’s capture of the city).

## 50

## Alliance between Philip II and the Chalcidians, 357/6

A fragment of a block of limestone, found a short distance to the west of Olynthus; now in the museum at Thessaloniki (no. 2276). Phot. *TAPA* lxxv 1934, pl. i; Hatzopoulos, *Macedonian Institutions*, pl. iii. Facs. *TAPA* 1934, 104.

Ll. 1–11 Euboean-Ionic, 12 sqq. (oracle) Delphian; irregular script, inscribed with horizontal guidelines.

D. M. Robinson, *TAPA* lxxv 1934, 103–22 no. 1; M. Segre, *RFIC* lxiii = <sup>2</sup>xii 1935, 497–502; Tod 158\*; *Svt.* 308; Hatzopoulos, *Macedonian Institutions*, no. 2. Trans. Harding 67. See also [Hammond &] Griffith, ii. 243–52.

[—] traces  
 [—] συμμα[χί]σιν [—] s<sup>o</sup>  
 συμμαχί[σ]ω κατ-  
 [ἀ τὰ ὁμολογημένα. <sup>o</sup> Χαλκιδέων] μὲν ὁμνύει[ν] Φιλίπ[π]ω]ι τὰς [ἀρ]χάς τὰ(ς)  
 ξυνὰς καὶ τοῦ-  
 [ς] πρεσβευτάς (?) τοῖς δὲ Χαλκιδέοις αὐτὸν καὶ οὓς ἄν ἄλλους Χαλκιδεῖς κελεύσω-  
 5 [σι. ὁμνύει δ’ αὐτοὺς ἀδόλως κ]αὶ ἀτεχνέως, ναὶ μὰ Δία, Γῆν, Ἥλιοι, Ποσειδῶνα,  
 εὐορ-  
 [κέουσι μὲμ πολλά καὶ ἀγαθὰ γί]νεσθαι, ἐπιορκέουσι δὲ πολλ[ὰ] καὶ κακά. ὁμνύει  
 δὲ τᾶμνο-

3 τὰς [ἀρ]χάς Tod: τὰ[ς] τε ἀρ]χάς τὰ(ς) ξυνὰς καὶ τοῦ[ς] πρεσβευτάς Segre: see commentary.

It is certainly significant that formally the sentences are decreed by the city rather than proclaimed by Philip, but commentators have gone too far in remarking on 'its democracy unimpaired' (quotation from [Hammond &] Griffith, ii. 351). The enactment formula, 'Resolved by the people', is not a very strong pointer to democracy; on the other side of the balance, there is no indication of the proposer of the decree or of any responsible officials. In our translation of the entrenchment clause (cf. 22, 54) we use 'reverses' for *anapsephizein* (l. 19); the verb is found also in Thuc. vi. 14; it is not clear whether it refers here to a presiding official who puts a decree of reversal to the vote (which is how *epipsephizein* is used) or to citizens who propose or vote for such a decree.

Amphipolis had been colonized by Athens, but a large proportion of the settlers were not Athenians (Thuc. iv. 106. i) and it had been independent of Athens since 424/3. The dialect of our inscription is the Euboean form of Ionic, as used also at Olynthus (12, 50). In ll. 12–15 tithes are dedicated to Apollo and to Strymon: Amphipolis was situated on the River Strymon, near its mouth; Strymon already appears as a god in Hes. *Theog.* 339; in 480 the Magi sacrificed to Strymon when Xerxes crossed the river (Her. vii. 113. ii).

--- having --- alliance ---

- <sup>2</sup> I shall be an ally in accordance with what has been agreed.
- <sup>3</sup> Of the Chalcidians there shall swear to Philip the common officials and the envoys; to the Chalcidians, himself and such others as the Chalcidians command. They shall swear without deceit and without craft, by Zeus, Earth, Sun, Poseidon, that to those who keep the oath there shall be much good but to those who break the oath much ill. Both parties shall swear with oath-sacrifices.

- [ντας ὄρκια ἀμφοτέροισι. τὰ] δὲ γράμμ[α]τα τάδε γράψαι κη[στή]λην καὶ τῆμ  
μαντείην τῆ-  
 [ν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ δεδομένην περ]ὶ τῆς συμ[μ]μαχίης Χαλκιδέ[ας μ]ὲν ἀναθεῖν ἐς τὸ  
ἱε[ρ]ὸν τῆ-  
 [ς Ἀρτέμιδος ἐν Ὀλύνθοι, Φίλιππον δ' ἐ]ν Δίοι ἐς [τὸ] ἱερὸν τοῦ Διὸς τ[οῦ]  
Ὀλυμπίου, καὶ ἐς Δελφοὺς μα-  
 10 [ντείης τε καὶ στήλης ἀντίγρα]φᾶ θεῖναι. τῶν δὲ γραμμάτ[ω]ν τῶνδ' ἐξεῖν κοινῶ  
λόγωι χρό-  
 [νωι τριῶν μηνῶν (?) διορθοῦσθαι ὅ] τι ἂν δοκῇ Φιλίππῳ καὶ [Χαλ]κιδεῦσι. *vacat*  
 [ἔχρησεν ὁ θεὸς Χαλκιδεῦσι κ]αὶ Φιλίππῳ λῶ[ι]όν τε κα[ὶ] ἅμεινον εἶμεν φίλους τε  
καὶ  
 [συμμάχους γίνεσθαι κατὰ τὰ ὥμο]λογημένα. θῶσαι δὲ καὶ [καλ]λιερῆσαι Διὶ  
Τελέοι καὶ  
 [Υπάτῳ, Ἀπόλλωνι Προστατηρίῳ], Ἀρτέμιδι {||ο||ρ} Ὀρθ[ω]σίαι, Ἑρμ[ῇ]·  
καὶ κατὰ τύχην ἀγαθὰν  
 15 [ἐπεύχεσθαι τὰν συμμαχίαν] ἐσσεῖσθαι· καὶ Πυθ[ῶδ]ε τῶ[ι] Ἀ[πό]λλωνι  
χαριστήρια *vacat*  
 [ἀποδιδόναι, καὶ μνασιδωρ]εῖν. *vacat*

9-10 μ[ε]τ' ἀλλήλων ξυνὴν στήλην ἀ[ναθεῖναι] G. Klaffenbach *ap. Stt.*

10-11 χρὸ[ν]ωι τριῶν μηνῶν

διορθοῦσθαι Segre: Tod hankered after χρῶ[με]νοις ἀμφοτέροις μεταθεῖναι; see commentary.

For the Chalcidians and Macedon earlier in the fourth century see **12, 22, 101-2, 38**. Philip succeeded his brother Perdiccas as king of Macedon in 359, when the Dardanian Illyrians, to the north-west of Macedon, had defeated and killed Perdiccas, and the Paeonians, to the north, were making raids on Macedon. While beginning to revive the Macedonian army he made peace with the Paeonians; but in 358 he attacked and defeated first the Paeonians and then the Illyrians. At the same time he had to deal with rival claimants to the throne: Argaeus, backed by the Athenians, to whom he suggested that he would allow them to take Amphipolis (cf. on **49**), and Pausanias, backed by Berisades, the king of western Thrace (cf. on **47**), whom he bought off (D.S. xvi. 2. iv-4. vii, cf. 8. i). In 357 he alienated the Athenians by taking Amphipolis for himself, after which they declared war on him; he outbid the Athenians in gaining an alliance with the Chalcidian state centred on Olynthus, eventually in 356 capturing Potidaea from the Athenians and giving it to the Chalcidians; and meanwhile, moving further east, he captured Crenides and refounded it as Philippi (D.S. xvi. 8. ii-vii: cf. **53**). We learn from other sources that Philip offered the Chalcidians Anthemus (on the river which flows from the east into the Thermaic Gulf: cf. Zahrt, *Olynth und die Chalkidier*, 152-4) as well as Potidaea (Dem. vi. *Phil.* ii. 20), that the war against Athens was to be waged jointly and ended jointly, and that (as in ll. 10-11 of our inscription) there was provision for amendment by agreement (Lib. *hyp.* 2 to Dem. i. *Ol.* i). This alliance will have preceded the campaigning season of 356; the surviving part of the inscription gives us not the formulation of the alliance proper but the provisions for oath-taking, publication and amendment, and the text of a Delphic oracle.

- 7 These writings shall be written on a *stele*, and the oracle given by the God about the alliance the Chalcidians shall dedicate in the sanctuary of Artemis at Olynthus, and Philip at Dium in the sanctuary of Olympian Zeus, and copies of the oracle and *stele* shall be placed at Delphi.
- 10 It shall be permitted to amend these writings by common discussion in a period of three months (?), whatever is resolved by Philip and the Chalcidians.
- 12 The God responded to the Chalcidians and Philip:
- 12 It is preferable and better to become friends and allies in accordance with the agreement. Sacrifice and obtain good omens from Zeus Teleos and Hypatos, Apollo Prostaterios, Artemis Orthosia, Hermes; and pray that the alliance will be with good fortune; and give back thank-offerings to Pythian Apollo, and remember your gifts.

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If Segre and Tod were right in their interpretation of l. 3 there were 'common officials' of a Chalcidian state which could be distinguished from the *polis* of Olynthus. D. J. Mosley has objected to the restoration of ll. 3–4 that it was not normal practice for the envoys who negotiated a treaty to swear to it (*PCPS*<sup>2</sup> vii 1961, 59–63), the clearest exception being the Peace of Nicias in 421, where on each side the seventeen oath-takers seem to have included ten men who had conducted preliminary negotiations (Thuc. v. 18. ix, 19. ii, D.S. xii. 75. iv, with A. Andrewes & D. M. Lewis, *JHS* lxxvii 1957, 177–80). Zeus, Earth, Sun, and Poseidon (l. 5) represent Empedocles' four elements of air, earth, fire, and water: they appear in other oaths in 53, 76. For good or bad consequences for keeping or breaking the oath (ll. 5–6) cf. 39. For oath-sacrifices (ll. 6–7) cf. e.g. M&L 32 ~ Fornara 70. 44, and in our collection 68.

For publication the Chalcidians were to use the sanctuary of a goddess (ll. 8–9), and Robinson suggested that since Apollo was prominent at Olynthus Artemis is likely to have been prominent there too. For Philip's sanctuary of Olympian Zeus at Dium cf. Dem. xix. *Embassy* 192 with schol. (383 Dilts), D.S. xvi. 55. i). For publication in the participating states and in a major panhellenic sanctuary cf. Thuc. v. 18. x, 47. xi: in this case the obtaining of an oracle from Delphi made publication there particularly appropriate.

We know no good parallel for Segre's restoration of a provision for amendment but only within three months (ll. 10–11); but an early text from Elis allows amendment up to a limit of three times (*I. Olympia* 7 = Buck 64). The text which Tod 'hankered after'

would mean 'It shall be permitted to both parties to change using joint decision'; but the omicron at the end of l. 10 is clear in the photograph.

The Delphic oracle (ll. 12–16) is the most striking feature of the document. States commonly consulted the oracle on religious matters (cf. 58), or else on matters which were controversial at home, in order to obtain external support for the line of action proposed (cf. R. C. T. Parker, *CruX* . . . *G. E. M. de Ste Croix*, 298–326). This consultation followed the standard form, of asking whether it was 'preferable and better' to do *X* or not, or to do *X* or *Y*; but universal silence suggests that it was not normal practice to obtain an oracle before agreeing to a treaty. Philip will not have needed external support for the policy to which he chose to commit Macedon. Segre stressed that, although Delphi gave its blessing to the making of the alliance, it was not asked to pronounce on the details, and A. D. Nock, building on that, suggested that this exceptional use of Delphi was the doing of Philip, 'with an eye on Greek public opinion' (*P. A. Philos. S.* lxxxv 1942, 472 n. 2 = his *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World*, ii. 534–5 n. 2). Griffith, however, thought that the consultation might have been an Olynthian device to delay the ratification of the alliance in case Olynthus might after all be offered terms which would justify an alliance with Athens instead. The Phocians' seizure of Delphi is to be dated to 356, and the formal declaration of a Sacred War against the Phocians, in which Philip was to join though not immediately, to winter 356/5 (N. G. L. Hammond, *JHS* lvii 1937, 44–78 = his *Studies in Greek History*, 486–533; Buckler, *Philip II and the Sacred War*, 148–58, agrees on those dates). Delphi was consulted and this alliance was made earlier than that, i.e. at a time when Delphi was under Theban influence and hostile to Athens (cf. *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 175 = *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 109; 176): Philip had not yet had occasion to interest himself in Delphi, but Delphi could be expected to favour this alliance. In its

## 51

### Arcesine honours Androtion, 357/6 (?)

The upper part of a *stèle* found at Arcesine; now in the museum at Syros. Phot. *IG* xii. vii 5 (part of ll. 1–7).

Attic-Ionic, retaining the old ε for εἰ once and ο for οὐ three times; *stoichedon* 29, but with additional iotas in ll. 10 (spaces 2–3 and 9–10) and 16, 23 (at the ends of the lines).

*IG* xii. vii 5; *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 193; Tod 152\*. Trans. Harding 68. See also F. Jacoby, *FGrH* 324; Cargill, *The Second Athenian League*, 155–9; Harding, *Androtion and the Atthis*.

ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῶι δήμῳι τῶι  
 Ἀρκεσινέων. ἐ[π]ειδὲ Ἀνδροτίων ἀνὴρ  
 ἀγαθὸς γέγονε περὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀρ-  
 κεσινέων· καὶ ἄρξας τῆς πόλεως οὐδέ-  
 5 να τῶν πολιτῶν οὐδὲ τῶν ξένων τῶν ἀφ-  
 ικνουμένων εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐλύπησε· κ-  
 αὶ χρήματα δανείσας ἐγ καὶρῳι τῇ π-

response it limited itself to a direct answer to the question which must have been put to it, and to religious advice which included gratitude to Pythian Apollo.

The oracle has been reconstructed by comparison with those quoted in Dem. xxi. *Mid.* 52, [Dem.] xliii. *Mac.* 66. Zeus Teleos will be the fulfiller of prayers, as in e.g. Pind. *Ol.* xiii. 115; Aesch. *Agam.* 973; in Aesch. *Eum.* 28 Teleios is combined with Hypsistos, 'highest'. Apollo is appropriately supplied before Artemis: he is Prostaterios, 'protecting', in Dem. xxi. *Mid.* 52; Artemis Orthosia, 'making straight' (cf. Orthia, the epithet under which she was worshipped in Sparta) is found in e.g. Pind. *Ol.* iii. 30, Her. iv. 87. ii.

There exists also an incompletely carved stone with the text of an alliance between the Chalcidians and Grabus, king of the Grabaeon Illyrians (on whom see 53), which presumably is to be dated slightly earlier, before the Chalcidians made this alliance with Philip, and was superseded by this alliance (D. M. Robinson, *TAPA* lxix 1938, 44-7 no. 2 = *Svt.* 307).

At first Philip gratified the Chalcidians (cf. above); but the continued expansion of his kingdom inevitably posed a threat to Chalcidian independence. By the late 350s the Chalcidians 'had made the Athenians friends and said they would make them allies' (Dem. xxiii *Arist.* 107-9); Philip seems to have made a move against Olynthus during his return from a campaign against the Thracian Cersebleptes in 351 (Dem. iv. *Phil.* i. 17, i. *Ol.* i. 13); and in 349/8 he conducted a major campaign which ended with the betrayal of Olynthus to him (D.S. xvi. 53). Tod 166 has been restored as a decree by which Athens grants Olynthian refugees exemption from the metics' tax—but the name of the Olynthians is restored, and the Methonaeans (expelled when Philip captured their city in 354: D.S. xvi. 34. iv-v) have also been suggested.

Resolved by the council and the people of Arcesine.

- 2 Since Androtion has been a good man with regard to the people of Arcesine; and in governing the city has not distressed any of the citizens or of the foreigners arriving in the city; and lent money to the city in a crisis and

ὅλει τόκον οὐδένα λαβέν ἡθέλησεν· κ-  
 αί, τὸν μισθὸν τοῖς φρουροῖς ἀπορού-  
 10 ⟨σ⟩ῃι τῇ πόλει παρ' ἑαυτὸ προαναλώσας, ἐ-  
 π' ἐξόδωι τοῦνιαυτοῦ κομισάμενος οὐ-  
 δένα τόκον ἐπράξατο· καὶ τῇμ πόλιν ἐ-  
 λάττω χρήματα δαπανᾶν δώδεκα μυαῖ-  
 5 παρὰ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἕκαστον ἐποίησ-  
 15 ε· καὶ τῶν ἀλόντων εἰς τὸς πολεμίους  
 οἷς περιέτυχεν ἐλ[ύ]σατο· στεφανώσαι  
 Ἀνδροτίωνα Ἀνδρωνος Ἀθηναῖον χρυ-  
 σῶι στεφάνωι ἀπὸ πεντακοσίων δραχ-  
 μῶν ἀρετῆς καὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ εὐν-  
 20 οίας ἔνεκα τῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀρκ-  
 εσινέων· καὶ ἀναγράψαι πρόξενον κα-  
 ῖ εὐεργέτην τῆς πόλεως τῆς Ἀρκεσιν-  
 έων, καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐκγόνους· καὶ εἶναι  
 αὐτῶι ἀτέλειαν ἀπάντων. <sup>99</sup> ἐπεὶ [οὖν  
 25 [κ]αὶ [τοῖ]ς συμμάχοις ἔδοξε [—<sup>8</sup>—]  
 [—<sup>8</sup>— ὧ]σαύτως ————

10 The stone has *THI*.

Amorgus, in the Cyclades, had three cities, all on the north-west-facing side of the island: Aegiale towards the north-east, Arcesine towards the south-west, and Minoa, with the best harbour, a short distance north-east of Arcesine (see maps in *IG* xii. vii; *Barrington Atlas*, 61). It appears as a single entity in the tribute lists of the Delian League (e.g. *IG* i<sup>3</sup> 279. ii. 80) and in the inscribed list of members of the Second Athenian League (22. 124); but here Arcesine functions as a separate *polis*, enacting its own decree, and we have earlier decrees of both Arcesine and Minoa (*IG* xii. vii 1, 3; 219); for another inscription from Amorgus see 59. Despite the promises made at the time of the League's foundation, Arcesine has had to receive an Athenian governor and garrison, it has had to pay for the garrison itself, and Androtion as governor has behaved well in general and in particular has lent the city money without charging interest. The remark that he has not distressed any one (ll. 4–6) suggests that governors were perceived as likely to cause distress.

Androtion's father Andron was a member of the Four Hundred in 411 but proposed the decree for the trial of Antiphon and others under the intermediate régime of 411/10 ([Plut.] *X Or.* 833 D–F, Harp. *Ἀνδρων* (a 133 Keaney)). Androtion himself was an active politician, serving twice in the council (*IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 61. 6–7; Dem. xxii. *Andr.* 38), on a board concerned with the treasures of Athena, on a board collecting arrears of the property tax, *eisphora*, and on an embassy to Mausolus of Caria. He proposed honours for the council in which he served his second term, was prosecuted on the grounds that the council was not eligible for honours because it had not satisfied a ship-building requirement (Dem. xxii. *Andr.* is a supplementary speech for the prosecution), but

was willing to take no interest; and when the city was in difficulties over the pay for the garrison he advanced it from his own resources, and on obtaining it at the end of the year he exacted no interest; and he caused the city to spend twelve minas less money each year; and he ransomed those made prisoners of the enemy whom he encountered:

- 16 Crown Androtion son of Andron of Athens with a gold crown of five hundred drachmas on account of his goodness and justice and good will towards the city of Arcesine; and write him up as *proxenos* and benefactor of the city of Arcesine, both himself and his descendants; and he shall have immunity [*ateleia*] of all things.

- 24 Since it has also been resolved by the allies  
— — — likewise — — —

appears to have been acquitted. He was the proposer of 64 in 347/6. He was the author of an *Atthis*, a history of Athens: the latest known allusion in it is to an episode of 344/3, where some accept a restoration that would make him the proposer of a motion to give a cool response to Persia (Didym. *In Dem.* viii. 7–26 = Andr. *FGrH* 324 F 53; restoration accepted in Didym. ed. Pearson & Stephens, Jacoby; rejected Harding). He ended his life as an exile in Megara (Plut. *De Exil.* 605 c–d): it is not certain that he was exiled because of the Persian episode or that he worked on his *Atthis* only after he had gone into exile (maintained by Jacoby; rejected Harding).

The dating of this decree is bound up with the dating of his second year in the council. The decree has been compared with 52 and has been thought appropriate to the time of the Social War; Dem. xxii. Andr. is dated to 355/4 by Dion. Hal. *Ad Amm.* 4 (i. 260 Usener & Radermacher = ii. 312–3 Usher); and if that date is right Androtion will have been a member of the council in 356/5 and his period of at least two years (l. 14) in Arcesine will have ended not later than 357/6. If that is so, Arcesine will have been subjected to a governor and a garrison before the outbreak of the Social War gave Athens an excuse for taking such measures. D. M. Lewis argued that Androtion's year in the council was 359/8 (*BSA* xlix 1954, 43–4), in which case his period in Arcesine could come after that and during the Social War; but his arguments have not found favour (see R. Sealey, *REG* lxxviii 1955, 89–92; G. L. Cawkwell, *C&M* xxiii 1962, 40–5).

For Athens' original promise, unqualified, not to impose governors and garrisons, and for breaches of it in the 370s, see 22. 21–3, and commentary on 24; for breaches at



the time of the Social War see Cargill. By not charging interest Androtion has saved Arcesine 12 minas = 1,200 drachmas each year: that points to loans of 1 talent or more

## 52

## Athenian precautions for Andros, 357/6

A fragment of a *stèle* found on the Athenian Acropolis; now in the Epigraphical Museum.

Attic-Ionic, retaining the old  $\epsilon$  for  $\epsilon\iota$  in l. 5 and  $\omicron$  for  $\omicron\upsilon$  in ll. 1, 6, and punctuating with : after the abbreviated demotic in l. 6; *stoichedon* 26 (but one space left vacant at the end of l. 2, and 37 letters crowded into l. 6, probably because  $\tau\eta\iota$   $\beta\omicron\lambda\eta\iota$   $\kappa\alpha\iota$  was omitted in error when the text was laid out).

*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 123; *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 192; Tod 156\*. Trans. Harding 69.

ἐπὶ Ἀγαθοκλέος[ς] ἄρχο[ντος· ἐπὶ τῇ]-  
 ς Αἰγυῖδος ἐνάτης πρυτα[νείας ὅ].  
 ἡὶ Διόδοτος [Δ]ιοκλέους Ἀγ[γελήθ]-  
 εν ἐγραμμάτευεν· ὁγδόῃ τῇ[ς πρυ]-  
 5 τ[α]νείας· τῶν προέδρων ἐπ[ε]ψή[φιζε]  
 [Διό]τι[μ]ος Οἰναῖ· ἔδοξε τῇ βολῇ[ι] καὶ τῶι δῆ[μωι].  
 [Ἡγῆ]σανδρ[ο]ς εἶπεν· ὅπως [ἄ]ν Ἀνδ[ρο]-  
 [ς] ξ[ι] σ[α] τῶι δ[ή]μωι τῶι Ἀθη[να]ίων [κα]-  
 [ὶ] τῶι δῆμωι τῶι Ἀνδρίων, καὶ ἔχ[ωσ]-  
 10 ω ο[ὐ] φρουροὶ οἱ ἐν Ἀ[νδρω]ι μισ[θό]-  
 ν ἐκ τῶν συντάξεων κ[α]τ[ὰ] τ[ὰ] δόγ[μα]-  
 [τ]α τ[ῶ]ν συμμάχων, καὶ μὴ καταλύ[ητ]-  
 αι ἡ φυλακή, ἐλῆσθαι στρ[α]τηγ[όν] ἐ-  
 κ τῶν χειροτονημένων· [τ]ὸν δὲ α-  
 15 [ὲ]ρ[ε]θέντα ἐπιμελεῖσθαι [Ἀνδρου].  
 εἰσπράξαι δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐγ ν[ή]σων χρῆ[η]-  
 ματα Ἀρχέδημον τὰ ὀφ[ειλόμενα τ]-  
 οῖς στρατιώταις το[ῖς] ἐν Ἀνδρωι,  
 [κ]αὶ παραδοῦναι τῶι ἄρχοντι τῶι  
 20 [ἐν] Ἀνδρωι ὅπως [ἄν οἱ στρατιῶται]  
 [ἔχ]ωσι μισθ[όν] —————<sup>15</sup>]

15 Ἀνδρου *IG* II<sup>2</sup>: *ἀντῶν* earlier edd.; Tod notes *ἀντῆς* also possible.

Andros, though close to Athens (it is immediately south-east of Euboea), did not join the Second Athenian League until, probably, 375 (22. 112), and its history does not suggest enthusiastic support for Athens. In 480 it had submitted to the Persians, and after Salamis the Greeks' attempts to extract money from it and to take it by siege were unsuccessful (Her. viii. 111–12, 121. i); in the Delian League it was subjected to

(Davies, *APF*, 33; Harding, 20), in addition to whatever he paid to ransom prisoners of war. We might well ask why a governor should see fit to do this.

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In the archonship of Agathocles [357/6];  
in the ninth prytany, of Aegeis; to which  
Diodotus son of Diocles from Angele was  
secretary; of the *proedroi* Diotimus of Oenoe  
was putting to the vote. Resolved by the  
council and the people. Hegesander pro-  
posed:

- 7 So that Andros shall be safe for the people of  
Athens and the people of Andros, and that  
the garrison in Andros shall have its pay out  
of the *syntaxeis* in accordance with the resolu-  
tions of the allies, and the guard shall not be  
broken off:
  - 13 Appoint a general out of those who have  
been elected; the man appointed shall take  
care of Andros.
  - 16 Also Archedemus shall exact the money  
from the islands which is due for the soldiers  
in Andros, and hand it over to the governor  
in Andros so that the soldiers shall have their  
pay ---
- 

a cleruchy, probably in 450 (Plut. *Per.* 11. v with Rhodes, *CAH*<sup>2</sup>, v. 60); it was on the Spartan side in 407 (X. *H.* 1. iv. 21–3).

This decree was enacted in the early summer of 356, which falls uncontroversially within the Social War. Andros already has a garrison and a governor, but, whereas Arcesine had to pay for its own garrison, this garrison is to be paid out of the *syntaxeis*

(cf. on 22) 'in accordance with the resolutions of the allies', and overdue *syntaxeis* are to be collected for the purpose (cf. 39. 12–14). One of the generals who have been elected, probably for the new year 356/5, is to 'take care of Andros', i.e. of its defence against dissident members of the League (cf. D.S. xvi. 21. ii) and perhaps internal dissidents too. For the chronology of the Social War and Athens' use of governors and garrisons cf. 51: in this instance Athens has the backing of the *synedrion*, and its declared aim is to keep Andros safe (cf. X. H. vii. iv. 4) for the Andrians, or at any rate for those of them who are pro-Athenian, as well as for the Athenians. The fact that this decree has been inscribed is remarkable: all that the surviving text does is give one of the generals a

## 53

## Alliance between Athens and Thracian, Paeonian, and Illyrian kings, 356/5

Three fragments of a *stèle*, at the top of which was a relief showing a prancing horse: fr. *a* (1–14) was found on the Athenian Acropolis, *b* (9–24) and *c* (25 sqq.) between the theatre of Dionysus and the odeum of Herodes Atticus; now in the Epigraphical Museum. Phot. Svoronos, *Das athen. Nationalmuseum*, Taf. ccxv Nr. 4 (frs. *a* and *b* only); Lawton, *Reliefs*, pl. 14 no. 27 (relief and ll. 1–4 only).

Attic-Ionic, occasionally retaining the old *ε* for *ει* and *ο* for *ου*; l. 1 in larger letters; ll. 2 sqq. *stoichedon* 44 (but l. 41 has to be restored with an additional iota at the end).

*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 127; *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 196; *Tod* 157\*; *Skt.* 309. Trans. Harding 70. See also [Hammond &] Griffith, ii. 243–52.

- [γ]ραμματεὺς Λυσίας Λυσ[—<sup>6</sup>— Πιθεύς.]  
 συμμαχία Ἀθηναίων πρὸς Κετρίπορ[ιν τὸν Θράικα καὶ το]-  
 υς ἀδελφούς καὶ πρὸς Λύππειον τὸν [Παίονα καὶ πρὸς Γρά]-  
 βον τὸν Ἰλλυρίον. ἐπὶ Ἑλπίνου ἄρχο[ντος· ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰπποθω]-  
 5 [ντιδ]ος πρώτης πρυτανείας· ἑνδεκ[άτη τῆς πρυτανείας].  
 [τῶν πρ]οέδρων ἐπεψήφισεν Μνήσαρχ[ος —<sup>8</sup>—. ἔδοξεν]  
 [τῇ β]ουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ. Καλλισθέ[νης εἶπεν· ἀγαθὴ τυ]-  
 [χη τοῦ δήμ]ου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων, δέ[χ]εσθ[αι μὲν τὴν συμμαχία]-  
 ν [ἐφ' οἷς (?) Μονο]ύνιος λέγει ὁ ἀδελφός [ς ὁ Κετριπόριος τὸν ἀ]-  
 10 δελ[φὸν τὸν αὐ]τὸ συνθέσθαι καὶ τὸν [ἔσταλμένον παρὰ τῷ]  
 δήμῳ [τῷ Ἀθηναί]ων Κετριπόριδι καὶ [τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς καὶ Λ]-  
 υππει[ῳ τῷ Παί]ονι καὶ Γράβῳ [τῷ Ἰλλυρί]ω. τὸς δὲ προ]-  
 ἔδρους [οἱ αὖν λά]χωσι π[ροεδρε]ύεν ἐς τὴν πρώτην ἐκκλησί]-  
 15 [αν προσ]αγαγεῖν εἰς τὸ]ν δῆ[μον Μονο]ύνιον τὸν ἀδελφὸν τ]-  
 ὸν Κετρίποριδος καὶ Πεισιάνακτα καὶ τὰς πρεσβέας τ]-  
 ἄς ἡκόσ[ας παρὰ Λυπ]πείου καὶ Γράβου καὶ —<sup>9</sup>— τὸν]  
 παρὰ Χάρητο[ς ἤ]κοντα, γνώμην δὲ ξυμβάλλεσθαι τῆς βουλ]-  
 ῆς ἐς τὸν δῆμον, [ὅτι δοκεῖ τῇ βουλῇ τὴν μὲν συμμαχίαν]

1 Restored from *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 128.

9 etc. *Μονο*ύνιος not certain.

14 P.J.R.: *προσ*[αγαγεῖν πρὸς earlier edd.

special responsibility for Andros, and for seeing that already-existing arrangements work. Presumably at this critical time it was thought important to publicize Athens' commitment to those of its allies who remained loyal.

For the family of the secretary see *APF*, 156–7. The proposer, Hegesander, was a brother of Hegesippus, for whom see 69. Archedemus may be one of the current year's generals (one of the two not included in 48): there are several known bearers of the name in the mid fourth century. Aesch. 1. *Tim.* 107 alleges that at some time Timarchus paid half a talent to become governor of Andros. In 348/7 Andros was still loyal to Athens, and awarded Athens a crown (*IG II<sup>2</sup> 1441. 12–13*).

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Secretary Lysias son of Lys— of Pithus.

- 2 Alliance of the Athenians with Cetriporis the Thracian and his brothers and with Lyypeus the Paenonian and with Grabus the Illyrian.
- 4 In the archonship of Elpines [356/5]; in the first prytany, of Hippothontis; on the eleventh of the prytany; of the *proedroi* Mnesarchus of ——— was putting to the vote. resolved by the council and the people. Callisthenes proposed:
- 7 For the good fortune of the people of Athens, accept the alliance on the terms which Monunius (?) the brother of Cetriporis says was agreed by his brother and the man sent from the Athenian people to Cetriporis and his brothers and by Lyypeus the Paenonian and Grabus the Illyrian.
- 12 The *proedroi* to whose lot it falls to preside in the first assembly shall bring forward to the people Monunius the brother of Cetriporis and Pisianax and the embassies that have come from Lyypeus and Grabus and —tus who has come from Chares, and shall contribute the opinion of the council to the people, that the council resolves:

- δέχεσθ[αι, ε]πειδ[ῆ ————— 30 —————]
- 20 βων τον[ . . . ]ν[ . ]ο[ ————— 32 —————]
- Χάρητα[ ————— 36 —————] Ἀθ[ —————]
- [ην]αίων[ ————— 38 —————]
- [ . ε]πὶ πο[λέμωι ————— 33 —————]
- [ . (?) Λυ]ππ[ε]ι[ ————— 37 —————]
- 25 [ ————— 36 —————] κλυ[ ————— 5 —————]
- [ ————— 30 —————] σ[ . . . ] ε τὸ ἀργ[ύριο]-
- [ν. ἐπαινεσαι δὲ Κετρίποριν καὶ τὸς ἀδελ[φὸς] ὅτι εἰσ[ὶν αἱ]-
- [νδρες ἀγαθοὶ περὶ τ]ὸν [δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναί]ω[ν]. ἐπαινέσ[αι δ]-
- [ε καὶ Μονοῦνιον τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν ἦ]κο[ντα π]αρ[ὰ Κετριπόρ]-
- 30 [ιος ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα καὶ εὐνοίας, καὶ] κα[λέσ]αι ἐπὶ ξένια ἐς
- [τὸ πρυτανεῖον εἰς] α[ῦριον. ἐπαινέσ]αι δὲ καὶ Πεισιάνα[κ]-
- [τα, καὶ καλέσαι ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἐς τὸ πρυταν]εῖον εἰς αὔριο-
- [ν. καλέσαι δὲ ἐπὶ ξένια τοὺς πρέσβεις τὸς ἦ]κοντας παρὰ τ-
- [ὼν ἄλλων βασιλέων εἰς] τ[ὸ] π[ρ]υ[τ]ανεῖον [εἰς αὔριον. ἐὰν δέ
- 35 [το προσδέη] τὸδε τ[ὸ] ψή[φ]ισμ[α], τ[ῆ]ν [β]ουλ[ή]ν κυ[ρ]ίαν εἶναι. "
- [πρέσβεις ἡμῖνται· Λυσικράτης " Οὐ[κ] αἴ[ος], " Ἀντίμαχος "
- [ ————— 11 —————, " Θρά]σων " [Ἐρ]χιεύς. *vacat*
- [ὀμνύω Δία καὶ Γῆν] καὶ Ἥλιον καὶ Ποσει[δ]ῶ καὶ Ἀθηνᾶν καὶ
- [Ἄρην, φίλος ἔσομαι] Κετριπόρι καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς τοῖς Κ-
- 40 [ετριπόριος καὶ σ]ύμμαχος, καὶ πολεμή[σ]ω μετὰ Κετριπόρ-
- [ιος τὸν πόλεμον τ]ὸν πρὸς Φίλιππον ἀδόλως παντὶ σθένε[ι]
- [κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν, κ]αὶ οὐ προκαταλύσομαι τὸν πόλεμον ἄν-
- [ευ Κετριπόριος κ]αὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν τὸν πρὸς Φίλιππον, κ[αὶ]
- [τάλλα χωρία ἃ κατ]έχε[ι] Φίλιππος συνκα[τ]α[σ]τρέφωμαι μ[ε]-
- 45 [τὰ Κετριπόριος κ]αὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν, καὶ Κερνίδ[α]ς συνε[ξ]αι-
- [ρῆσθω μετὰ Κετριπ]ό[ρ]ιος κα[ὶ] τ[ῶν] ἀδελφῶν, καὶ ἀποδώσω τὰ
- [ ————— 14 —————] ο[ . . . ] ορω[ . . . ] λιوتي[ . ] λε[ . . . ] σωσιν[ . . . ]

23-4 Φιλ[ί]ππ[ω]ι also possible (*IG II<sup>2</sup>*).37 P.J.R.: —————<sup>12</sup> ————— without *vacat* earlier edd.

For the background to this alliance see on 50. In 357 Philip shocked the Athenians by capturing and keeping Amphipolis; he then made an alliance with the Chalcidians, and in 356 captured Potidaea and gave it to them; meanwhile, moving further east, he captured Crenides and refounded it as Philippi (D.S. xvi. 8. ii-vii). Crenides, about 9 miles (14 km.) from the sea, north-east of Mount Pangaeum, had been settled from Thasos to exploit the gold and silver mines of the region (D.S. xvi. 3. vii, under 360/59): it is probably to be identified with Datus/um, the settlement of which is attributed to the Athenian Callistratus ([Scyl.] 67 (i. 54-5 Müller), Harp. Δάτος (δ 7 Keaney) = (e.g.) Philoch. *FGH* 328 F 44, cf. App. *Bell. Civ.* iv. 439), who was exiled in 361 (cf. on 31)—but P. Counillon, *REA* c 1998, 115-24, follows [Scylax] in locating Datus, unlike Crenides/Philippi, on the coast, and E. N. Borza, in *Barrington Atlas*, 51, gives the label

- 18 Accept the alliance, since — — — Chares — — — of the Athenians — — — for war — — — Lyppheus (?) — — — the money.
- 27 Praise Cetriporis and his brothers because they are good men with regard to the people of Athens. Praise also Monunius, the brother who has come from Cetriporis, for his goodness and good will, and invite him to hospitality in the *prytaneion* tomorrow. Praise also Pisianax, and invite him to dinner in the *prytaneion* tomorrow. Invite the envoys who have come from the other kings to hospitality in the *prytaneion* tomorrow.
- 34 If this decree needs anything in addition, the council shall have power.
- 36 Envoys appointed: Lysicrates of Oenoe, Antimachus of — — —, Thrason of Erchia.
- 38 I swear by Zeus and Earth and Sun and Poseidon and Athena and Ares that I shall be a friend and ally to Cetriporis and the brothers of Cetriporis, and I shall wage the war with Cetriporis against Philip without deceit and with all my strength as far as possible, and I shall not put an end in advance to the war against Philip without Cetriporis and his brothers; and the other places which Philip holds I shall join with Cetriporis and his brothers in subduing, and I shall join in taking Crenides with Cetriporis and his brothers; and I shall give back — — —

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Daton to the valley north-west of Mount Pangaeum. Philip responded to an appeal from the city, which was under siege from the ‘Thracians’ (Steph. Byz. *Φίλιππος*), probably the eastern kingdom of Cersebleptes (Collart, *Philippe, ville de Macédoine*, 146–56: this episode may belong to Cersebleptes’ war against the other kings, mentioned in Dem. xxiii. *Arist.* 9–10, 179–80).

When this alliance was made, the Grabaeon Illyrians (cf. below) were under threat after Philip’s defeat of their Dardanian neighbours, the Paeonians had a defeat to avenge, Athens was feeling cheated over Amphipolis, and Cetriporis and his brothers had been alarmed by Philip’s taking of Crenides. But nothing came of this alliance: Athens was in the middle of the Social War (for the chronology see on 48), and Diodorus records under 356/5 that the kings of the Thracians, Paeonians, and Illyrians

combined against Philip, but he appeared before they were ready to confront him and forced them to join the Macedonians (xvi. 22. iii). Plutarch reports a victory over the Illyrians won by Philip's general Parmenio about August (*Alex.* 3. viii with Hamilton's commentary on 3. v): our decree is probably to be dated 26 July.

The inscription wavers over the declension of Cetriporis' name: his coins use the genitive *Κετριπόριος* (Head, *Historia Numorum*<sup>2</sup>, 283–4). The Paeonian Lyppeus, called Lyceus or Lypeus on his coins (Head, 236), will have been the successor of the Agis whose death Diodorus records under 359/8 (xvi. 4. ii). Bardylis, the Illyrian king mentioned by D.S. xvi. 4. iv, was king of the Dardanians, adjoining the Paeonians on the west; Grabus, mentioned in our inscription, was ruler of the Grabaeans, between the Dardanians and the Adriatic (N. G. L. Hammond, *BSA* lxi 1966, 239–53 = his *Collected Studies*, ii, 101–15). For a fifth-century Grabus see *IG* i<sup>3</sup> 162 = Walbank, *Proxenes*, 44.

Callisthenes is a common name, but it may be the same man who proposed this decree, who in 357/6 (if the speech is correctly dated to 355/4: Dion. Hal. 724. *Amm.* 4) had been involved in some way with corn obtained from the Bosporean kingdom (Dem. xx. *Lept.* 33: U. Fantasia, *Ann. Pisa*<sup>3</sup> xvii 1987, 89–117, argues that he was not

## 54

## Plots against Mausolus of Caria, 367/6–355/4

A stone slab found at Milas (Mylasa); now in the Louvre, Paris. Phot. *IK Mylasa*, Taf. 1; our Pl. 4.

Ionic with some Atticisms, usually ending a line with the end of a word.

*SIG*<sup>3</sup> 167; Tod 138; *IK Mylasa* 1–3\*.

## §i

- ἔτει τριηκοστῷ καὶ ἐνάτῳ Ἀρταξέρξευς βασιλευ-  
 οντος· Μουσώλλου ἐξαίθραπέοντος. ἔδοξε  
 Μυλασεύσιν· ἐκκλησίης κυρίας γενομένης· καὶ ἐπε-  
 κύρωσαν αἱ τρεῖς φύλαι. ἐπειδὴ Ἀρλισσις Θυσσωλλου (?)  
 5 ἀποσταλεῖς ὑπὸ Καρῶν πρὸς βασιλέα παρεπρέσ-  
 βευσεν καὶ ἐπεβούλευσε Μουσώλλῳ, ὄντι εὐεργέτῃ  
 τῆς πόλεως τῆς Μυλασέων, καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ τῷ πατρὶ  
 Ἑκατόμνῳ καὶ τοῖς προγόνοις τοῖς τούτων, καὶ βασιλεὺς  
 ἀδικεῖν καταγνοὺς Ἀρλισσιν ἐξημίωσε θανάτῳ·  
 10 πρᾶξαι καὶ τὴν πόλιν τὴν Μυλασέων περὶ τῶν  
 κτημάτων ἐκείνου κατὰ τοὺς νόμους τοὺς πατρίους.  
 καὶ πρόσθετα ποιήσαντες Μουσώλλῳ, ἐπαρὰς  
 ἐποιήσαντο περὶ τούτων, μήτε προτιθέναι ἔτι  
 παρὰ ταῦτα μηδὲνα μήτε ἐπιψηφίζειν· εἰ δέ τις  
 15 ταῦτα παραβαίνει, ἐξώλη γίνεσθαι καὶ αὐτὸν

<sup>4</sup> Θυσσωλλου *IK*: Οὐσσωλλου earlier edd., and regarded as epigraphically and onomastically possible *IK*.

a corn-buyer but a financial official to whom the profit from the sale of surplus corn went), and who remained active until he was accused of involvement in the affair of Harpalus in 324 (Timocles fr. 4 Kock/Edmonds/Kassel & Austin, *ap.* Ath. viii. 341 E–F). Pisanax, an Athenian invited to ‘dinner’, is presumably ‘the man sent . . . to Cetriporis and his brothers’ of ll. 10–11: he belonged to a branch of the Alcmaeonid family (*APF*, 378). For the activities of Chares (l. 21) at this time cf. on **48**: on our chronology this decree will fall between the battles of Chios (357/6) and Embata (356/5). Of the envoys whose appointment is appended to the decree in ll. 36–7, Thrason was the son of a sister of Thrasybulus of Collytus (for whom see on **22**): he is attested also as *proxenos* of Thebes (Aesch. iii. *Ctes.* 138 cf. Din. i. *Dem.* 38), and his son Thrasybulus was active from the 350s to the 320s (*APF*, 238–40).

Not surprisingly, in view of their location and their earlier dealings, Athens’ contact is primarily with the Thracians, and the oath which ends the inscription is that sworn by the Athenians to the Thracians. For the combination of Zeus, Earth, Sun, and Poseidon as deities by whom an oath is sworn cf. **50**; the six deities named here recur in **76**.

### §i

In the thirty-ninth year of the Kingship of Artaxerxes [III: 367/6]; Mausolus being satrap.

<sup>2</sup> Resolved by the Mylasans; there being a regular assembly; and the three tribes ratified.

<sup>4</sup> Since Arlissis son of Thyssolus (?), sent by the Carians to the King, abused his embassy and plotted against Mausolus, who has been a benefactor of the city of Mylasa, both himself and his father and the forebears of these, and the King convicted Arlissis of wrongdoing and punished him with death: the city of Mylasa also shall act concerning his possessions in accordance with the traditional laws.

<sup>12</sup> And making them over to Mausolus they imposed curses on these, that no one should again make a proposal contrary to this or put it to the vote: if any one contravenes this, he shall be utterly destroyed, both himself and all who are his.



καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνου πάντας. *vacat*

*vacat*

§ii

ἔτει τετρωκοστῶι καὶ πέμπτωι Ἀρταξέρξης  
 βασιλεύοντος· Μουσώλλου ἑξαθηραπέοντος.  
 ἔδοξε Μυλασεῦσι· ἐκκλησίης κυρίης γενομένης·

- 20 καὶ ἐπεκύρωσαν αἱ τρεῖς φυλαί. τοὺς Πελδεμω  
 παῖδας, παρανομήσαντας εἰς τὴν εἰκόνα  
 τὴν Ἐκατόμνω, ἀνδρὸς πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ ποιήσαν-  
 τος τὴμ πόλιν τὴμ Μυλασεών καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ,  
 ἀδικεῖν καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ ἀναθήματα καὶ τὴμ πόλιν  
 25 καὶ τοὺς εὐεργέτας τῆς πόλεως. ἀδικεῖν δὲ κατα-  
 γνόντες ἐξημίωσαν δημεύσει τῆς οὐσίης, καὶ ἐπω[λη]-  
 σαν τὰ κτήματα αὐτῶν δημοσίῃ, ἐκτῆσθαι κυρίως  
 τοῖς πριαμένοις· καὶ ἐπαρὰς ἐποιήσαντο περὶ τούτων,  
 μήτε προτιθέναι μήτε ἐπιψηφίζεῖν μηδένα· εἰ δέ τις  
 30 ταύτ[α πα]ραβαίνοι, ἐξώλη γίνεσθαι καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς  
 ἐκείνου π[άν]τας. *vacat*

*vacat*

§iii

ἔτει πέμπτωι Ἀρταξέρξης βασιλεύοντος·  
 Μουσώλλου ἑξαθηραπέον[τ]ος. Μανιτα τοῦ  
 Πακτωῦ ἐπιβουλεύσαντος Μουσώλλωι τῶι Ἐκατόμνω

- 35 ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Λαμβραύνδου, θυσίης ἐνιαυ-  
 σίης καὶ πανηγύριος ἑοῦσης, καὶ Μουσώλλου μὲν  
 σωθέντος σὺν τῶι Δίῳ, Μανιτα δὲ αὐτοῦ [τ]ὴν δίκην  
 λαβόντος ἐν χειρῶν νόμῳ· ἔγνωσαν Μυλασε[ῖ]ς· παρη-  
 νομημένου τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ Μουσώλλου τοῦ εὐερ-  
 40 γέτεω, ἔρευναν ποιήσασθαι εἴ τις καὶ ἄλλος μετέ[σ]-  
 χεν ἢ ἐκοινώμησεν τῆς πράξιος. ἐλεγθέντος δὲ  
 καὶ Θυσσοῦ τοῦ Συσκῶ καὶ κριθέντος συναδικεῖν  
 μετὰ Μανιτα· ἔδοξε Μυλασεῦσιν· καὶ ἐπεκύρωσαν  
 αἱ τρεῖς φυλαί. τὰ Μανιτα τοῦ Πακτωῦ καὶ Θυσσοῦ  
 45 τοῦ Συσκῶ προστεθῆναι Μουσώλλωι· καὶ τὰ  
 κτήματα ἐπώλησεν ἡ πόλις δημοσίῃ· ἐπαρὰς  
 ποιησαμένη· τούτων τὰς ὥνας τοῖς πριαμένοις  
 κυρίας εἶναι· καὶ μήτε προτιθέναι μήτε ἐπιψηφίζεῖν  
 μηδένα· εἰ δέ τις ταῦτα παραβαίνοι, ἐξώλη γίνε-  
 50 σθαι καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνου πάντας.

26 γνόντες: *νσ* inscribed originally, corrected to *ντ*.

26–7 ἐπώ[λη]|σαν: (λη) *IK*, but from the photograph it appears that the stone has been damaged and the letters could have been inscribed. 34 (ω) *IK*: it is not clear from the photograph that there was space for the final ω.

38 νόμῳ: Tod and *IK* print νομῶι,

the dative of νομός.

## §ii

- 17 In the forty-fifth year of the Kingship of Artaxerxes [II: 361/0]; Mausolus being satrap.
- 19 Resolved by the Mylasans; there being a regular assembly; and the three tribes ratified.
- 20 The sons of Peldemus, who acted illegally against the likeness of Hecatomnos, a man who did many good things for the city of Mylasa in both word and deed, are wrongdoers against the sacred dedications and the city and the benefactors of the city.
- 25 Convicting them of wrongdoing, they punished them with the confiscation of their property, and they sold their possessions publicly, to be possessed validly by those who bought them; and they imposed curses on these, that no one should make a proposal or put to the vote: if any one contravenes this, he shall be utterly destroyed, both himself and all who are his.

## §iii

- 32 In the fifth year of the Kingship of Artaxerxes [III: 355/4]; Mausolus being satrap.
- 33 Manitas the son of Pactyes having plotted against Mausolus the son of Hecatomnos in the sanctuary of Zeus Lambraundos at the annual sacrifice and festival, and Mausolus being saved with the aid of Zeus, while Manitas himself received justice by the law of hands; the Mylasans decided: since illegal action had been taken against the sanctuary and Mausolus the benefactor, to hold an investigation, whether any one else had shared or been a partner in the deed.
- 41 Thyssus son of Syscos having been shown guilty also and judged to be a fellow-wrongdoer with Manitas; resolved by the Mylasans; and the three tribes ratified.
- 44 The belongings of Manitas son of Pactyes and Thyssus son of Syscos shall be made over to Mausolus; and the city sold his possessions publicly and imposed curses; that the purchases of these should be valid for those who bought them; and no one should make a proposal or put to the vote: if any one contravenes this, he shall be utterly destroyed, both himself and all who are his.

Caria, in south-western Asia Minor, was probably detached from Lydia and made a separate satrapy under the control of the local dynast Hecatomnos in 392/1 (against the view of L. Robert that Hecatomnos' father Hyssaldomus was the first satrap see Hornblower, *Mausolus*, 36 n. 6);<sup>1</sup> Hecatomnos' eldest son Mausolus succeeded him in 377/6. The Carians were not Greeks, but their history had been bound up with that of the Asiatic Greeks since the archaic period. Mylasa, a short distance inland, was not a Greek but a Carian city (Hornblower, 68 n. 116): it was perhaps moved to Milas from a site slightly further south by Mausolus (J. M. Cook, *BSA* lvi 1961, 98–101), and the capital was moved to Halicarnassus (Hornblower, 78–9, 188, 297–8). Here we have a series of documents showing that, although there were dissidents, the city of Mylasa officially continued to regard the Hecatomnids as benefactors, punished plots against them, and gave them the proceeds of confiscated property.

Though Carian, Mylasa here has constitutional procedures and publishes decrees (in Greek) which resemble those of Greek states. They are dated by regnal years of the Persian King and (without years) by the satrap; they do not identify any officials of Mylasa, or the proposers. They are enacted at an *ekklesia kyria* (an expression which in Athens denotes the principal assembly of the prytany but elsewhere denotes a regular assembly: Rhodes with Lewis, 13–14, 505). 'The three tribes ratified': it is not clear whether this could be done at the *ekklesia kyria* or required separate meetings; but F. Ruzé has suggested that there was simply a meeting of the *ekklesia kyria*, voting by tribes (*Ktéma* viii 1983, 304–5). Arlissis was condemned by the King, perhaps because his offence was connected with an embassy to the King, but it was the city of Mylasa which condemned the other offenders, and which confiscated property and made over it or the proceeds from its sale to Mausolus (the first decree's failure to specify it does not prove that the property of Arlissis was not sold, though that may be the case; only the third specifies that the proceeds are to go to Mausolus). There was also a

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<sup>1</sup> However, T. Petit, *BCH* cxii 1988, 307–22 at 313–20, notes that the Hecatomnids are styled satraps in inscriptions within their own territory but not normally in inscriptions elsewhere or in literary texts, and, using a definition of satrap which the Hecatomnids could not satisfy, argues that they were local dynasts who became exceptionally powerful and ambitious but were not technically satraps.

## 55

### Mausolus and Artemisia award proxeny to Cnossus, mid 350s (?)

Twelve contiguous fragments of a *stèle* or plaque, found at Labraunda, reused in a floor; now in the museum at Bodrum. Phot. *Labraunda*, III. ii, pl. 11.

Ionic with some Atticisms, ending each line with the end of a word.

*Labraunda*, III. ii 40\*. See also Hornblower, *Mausolus*, as cited below; Rhodes with Lewis, 354.

Carian *koinon*, which sent Arlissis on his embassy to the King (l. 5): there is no justification for the view that the purpose of the embassy was to complain about Mausolus (Le Bas & Waddington, commenting on the texts as their nos. 377–9: rightly rejected by Hornblower, 60 with n. 65). In parts of their text the decrees use a narrative style, with indicative verbs, rather than the usual infinitives dependent on ‘resolved’ (cf. Rhodes with Lewis, 561–2, not remarking on this early instance of the phenomenon). They use entrenchment clauses to protect their decisions against reversal (cf. on 22), and with these they combine curses (cf. 79, 83, and see E. Ziebarth, *Hermes* xxx 1895, 57–70; Latte, *Heiliges Recht*, 61–96): in the third decree the curses have been misplaced before instead of after the clause validating the purchases.

8: For likely forebears of Hecatomnos and Mausolus cf. Pixodarus son of Mausolus of Cindya and Pigres son of Hysseldomus (Her. v. 118. ii, vii. 98). 20: Offences against images of a human being are not normally found in the Greek world, but cf. offences against Zeus Philippios in Eresus (83. ii. 4–5), and against statues of Roman emperors (e.g. Tac. *Ann.* i. 73–4, iii. 70): behind the façade of Greek political institutions the Hecatomnids had monarchical concerns. 35: La(m)braunda was about 8 miles (13 km.) north of Mylasa, linked to it by a sacred way (see Bean, *Turkey Beyond the Maeander*<sup>2</sup>, 38–47 ch. ii, and the excavation reports, *Labraunda*): for the sanctuary and cult of Zeus there cf. Str. 659. xiv. ii. 23, Plut. *Q.G.* 45. 301 F – 302 A. 38: ‘The law of hands’ from Herodotus (viii. 89. ii, ix. 48. ii) onwards referred to violent action, particularly hand-to-hand fighting: here it presumably means that Manitas was killed on the spot without first being tried. 44: For the name Pactyes cf. Pactyes of Lydia (Her. i. 153–61) and Pactyes of Idyma in Caria (*IG* i<sup>3</sup> 260. i. 16, one of the tribute lists of the Delian League).

For another inscription, concerning ‘men who plotted against Mausolus and the city of Iasus’ ([τ]ῶν ἀν[δρ]ῶν | τῶν ἐπιβουλευσάντων Μανυσσώλλωι καὶ τῇ Ἰασέων πόλει, ll. 2–3), with a list of officials and of sales of confiscated property, see *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 169 = *IK Iasos* 1 (which dates by the *stephanephoros* of Iasus). For other Hecatomnid texts see 55, 56, 79.

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[ἐ]δοξε Μανσώλλωι καὶ [Ἀρτε]μισίηι. ἐπειδ[ὴ]  
 Κιῤῥώσιοι καὶ ἰδίηι καὶ δημοσίη[ι διὰ] τ[ε]ρ[ε]ν[ος]  
 ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ εἰσὶ περὶ Μάυσ[σ]ωλλο[ν]  
 καὶ τὰ Μανσώλλου πράγματα, εἴη[ι]  
 5 αὐτοὺς π[ρ]οξένους καὶ εὐεργέτας ἐ[ς] τ[ὸ]ν  
 ἀεὶ χρόνον· εἶναι δὲ καὶ ἀτέλειαν αὐ[τοῖς],  
 ὁπόσης Μάυσσωλλος ἄρχει, καὶ ἐσ[π]λο[ν]  
 καὶ ἐκπλουν ἀσυλὶ καὶ ἀσπονδεῖ. ἐὰ[ν] δέ τις]  
 ἀδικῇ Κνωσίους, ἐπιμέλεσθαι  
 10 Μάυσσωλλον καὶ Ἀρτεμισίην ὅπως  
 μὴ ἀδικήσονται, κατὰ δύναμιν  
 τὴν αὐτῶν. vacat

For Mausolus, satrap of Caria 377/6–353/2, and the sanctuary of Zeus at Labraunda, where this inscription was found, see 54. Here Mausolus and Artemisia, his sister and wife (but Mausolus is the dominant partner, and is mentioned alone in ll. 4, 7), publish a decree of their own, formulated like a decree of a Greek state (cf. e.g. the kings of the Bosphorus (Crimea), *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 217 = *CIRB* 1; Cassander, *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 332; and see Rhodes with Lewis, 544). It is common enough in a Greek decree to find honorands given the status of *proxenos* and benefactor, together with such privileges as immunity from taxation and the right of unhampered entry and exit: for the privileges given here cf. 8, and in particular the honours voted by Erythrae for Mausolus (coupled with Artemisia) and for Idrieus (56, and commentary citing *SEG* xxxi 969 ~ Harding 28. B). However, the status of *proxenos* was regularly conferred by states on individuals, originally with the intention that they would act as representatives of the conferring state in their own state (cf. 8): here, whether from ignorance or by a deliberate stretching of the concept, the status is conferred on a whole community (cf. Rhodes with Lewis, 354)—which makes nonsense of the institution. There is a further oddity in the final sentence, which begins like a threat to punish those who inflict wrong but turns into an attempt

## 56

### Erythrae honours Mausolus, mid 350s (?)

A *stèle* of which a substantial part was found on the Acropolis at Erythrae; now lost. A fragment containing the top-left-hand corner was found separately; current location unknown. Phot. *IK Erythrai und Klazomenai*, Taf. v.

East Ionic (ao for av and eo for ev is a distinctive feature: cf. on 49); *stoichedon* 22–5, ending each line with the end of a word or syllable.

*SIG*<sup>3</sup> 168; Tod 155; Buck 5; *IK Erythrai und Klazomenai* 8\*. See also Wilamowitz, *Nordionische Steine*, 27–9 no. 6; Hornblower, *Mausolus*, 107–10; Rhodes with Lewis, 368–70.

Resolved by Mausolus and Artemisia.

- 1 Since the Cnossians both privately and publicly have consistently been good men with regard to Mausolus and the affairs of Mausolus, they shall be *proxenoi* and benefactors for all time; they shall also have immunity [*ateleia*], in as much territory as Mausolus rules, and the right to sail in and out inviolably and without a treaty.
- 8 If any one wrongs the Cnossians, Mausolus and Artemisia shall take care that they are not wronged, in accordance with their ability.

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to prevent the infliction of wrong. It is striking also that Mausolus deals with a Greek state as if he were an independent ruler rather than a subordinate of the Persian King, not mentioning the King in his text, and in l. 7 referring to 'as much territory as Mausolus rules' (cf. Hornblower, 75, 153–4, 168, citing also a judicial agreement between Mausolus and Phaselis, *Svt.* 260 = his M 7).

The community honoured is Cnossus, in Crete. In the classical period the states of Crete are mentioned only occasionally in connection with the rest of the Greek world (M&L 42 ~ Fornara 89, of the mid fifth century, is a well-known instance), but more contact is attested in the time of Philip and Alexander, and more still in the hellenistic period. On contacts between Caria and Crete see Hornblower, 135, suggesting that Mausolus may have been hoping for Cretan mercenaries: Artemisia, ruler of Hali-carnassus in the early fifth century, had a Cretan mother (Her. vii. 99. ii), and Mylasa was among the states which were to have dealings with the Cretans in the hellenistic period. The most likely time for the honours is the mid 350s, when Mausolus was supporting states defecting from Athens in the Social War and taking an interest in the Aegean (cf. 56).

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- ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ. στρατηγῶν/πρυτάνεων (?)  
 γνώμη· Μαύσσωλλον [Ε]κατ[όμνω]  
 Μυλασέα, ἐπεὶ ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς [ἐγέ]-  
 νετο περὶ τὴν πόλιν τὴν Ἐρυ-  
 5 θραίων, εἶναι ἐδεργέτην τῆς  
 πόλεως καὶ πρόξενον καὶ πολί-  
 τήν· καὶ ἔσπλουν καὶ ἔκπλουν  
 καὶ πολέμου καὶ εἰρήνης ἀσυλ[εῖ]  
 κα[ὶ] ἀσπονδεῖ, καὶ ἀτέλειαν κα[ὶ]  
 10 [π]ροεδρίην. ταῦτα δὲ εἶναι ἀφ[ε]-  
 [τῶ]ι καὶ ἐκγόνοις. στήσαι δὲ α[φ]ε[ρ]-  
 [τοῦ κ]αὶ εἰκόνα χαλκῇ ἐν τῇ ἀγ[ο]-  
 [ρῇ] καὶ Ἀρτεμισίης εἰκόνα  
 [λιθί]νην ἐν τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ· καὶ  
 15 [στεφ]ανῶσαι Μαύσσωλλον μὲν  
 [ἐκ δαρ]εικῶν πεντήκοντα, Ἀρτε-  
 [μισίην] δὲ ἐκ τριήκοντα δαρ[ε]-  
 [κῶν. γράψ]αι δὲ ταῦτα ἐστήλη[ν]  
 [καὶ στήσ]αι ἐς τὸ Ἀθήναιον· [καὶ]  
 20 [ἐπιμεληθ]ῆναι [τοὺς ἐξεταστὰς. (?)]

1 *στρατηγῶν* Wilamowitz, noting *πρυτάνεων* also possible; *στρατηγῶν* edd. 2 -λλοι Le Bas & Waddington. 10 *αθα* Le Bas & Waddington. 12–13 *IK*: ἀ[φ]ορῇ earlier edd. 19–20 Tod: Ἀθήναιον· | [ἐπιμεληθ]ῆναι [δὲ τοὺς ἐξεταστὰς] Bechtel, *SGDI* 5687, from *SGDI* 5688 = *IK* 12: no restoration beyond Ἀθήναιον, and *ῖναι* from Le Bas & Waddington, *IK*.

Erythrae, on the mainland of Asia Minor, will have passed into Persian hands after the Peace of Antalcidas (for Erythrae before the Peace see 8, 17). It seems to have acquired an oligarchic government, to judge from the fact that the honours in this text and in *SEG* xxxi 969 (below) are awarded simply by the council, with no mention of the people; when Alexander the Great took over western Asia Minor he restored democracies (Arr. *Anab.* 1. 18. ii cf. 17. x), and the change in Erythrae is reflected in *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 285 = *IK Erythrai und Klazomenai* 21, where the enactment formula mentions the council and the people, and the people are mentioned later (but the motion formula, perhaps through carelessness, still mentions only the council). In other decrees of Erythrae proposals are made by the generals, the *prytaneis*, and the *exetastai* (e.g. *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 285; *epimenioi* instead of *exetastai* *SEG* xxxi 969): here there are no grounds for deciding between the generals and the *prytaneis*.

The satrap Mausolus is described as ‘Mausolus son of Hecatomnos of Mylasa’, as if he were a citizen of a Greek city. For the honours awarded compare the honours which he awarded to Cnossus (55). As in that text Artemisia is associated with him, but she receives a stone statue while his is of bronze, and a cheaper crown. By the end of the fourth century a bronze portrait statue was costing 3,000 drachmas at Athens (*IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 555), although the raw material probably cost about a tenth of that. We are less well

Resolved by the council. Opinion of the generals/*prytaneis* (?):

- 2 Mausolus son of Hecatomnos of Mylasa, since he has been a good man with regard to the people of Erythrae, shall be a benefactor of the city and *proxenos* and citizen; and shall have the right to sail in and out, both in war and in peace, inviolably and without a treaty, and immunity and a front seat. This shall be for him and his descendants.
- 10 There shall also be set up a bronze likeness of him in the Agora and a stone likeness of Artemisia in the Athenaeum; and Mausolus shall be crowned at a cost of fifty darics and Artemisia at a cost of thirty darics.
- 18 This shall be written on a *stele* and placed in the Athenaeum; and the *exetastai* shall take care of it (?).

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informed for marble sculpture, but the entire pedimental group at Epidaurus c.370 (about 22 figures, two thirds life size) cost only the equivalent of 4,300 Athenian drachmas (cf. Stewart, *Attika*, 109 with 113 n. 31). 'Daric' (from Darius) was the Greek name for the standard Persian gold coin, worth 20 silver *sigloi* or 25–27 Athenian drachmas (on Persian coinage see Kraay, *Archaic and Classical Greek Coins*, 31–4, 251; the *siglos* was equivalent to  $1\frac{1}{4}$  (X. *Anab.* I. v. 6) or  $1\frac{1}{3}$  (lexicographers) drachmas).

For the temple of Athena at Erythrae cf. Paus. vii. 5. ix. A likely time for the award of these honours is the mid 350s, about the time of Athens' Social War, when nearby Chios was one of the states defecting from the Second League and received support from Mausolus (D.S. xvi. 7. iii); but Hornblower, citing *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 108 = *IK Erythrai und Klazomenai* 7, suggests the mid 360s as another possibility; and E. Badian insists that the text cannot be dated (*Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean . . . F. Schachermeyr*, 44 n. 6). For Erythrae and Hermias of Atarneus see 68.

Mausolus died in 353/2 and Artemisia in 351/0, and they had no descendants to inherit these honours (Str. 656. xiv. ii. 17). Then their brother Idrieus, married to another sister, Ada, held the satrapy until Idrieus died in 344/3 and Ada was ousted by another brother, Pixodarus, in 341/0. Subsequently Artaxerxes III sent Orontobates, who became joint satrap, married Pixodarus' daughter (another Ada), and



retained the satrapy on Pixodarus' death in 336/5; but in 334 the older Ada, holding out in Alinda, acknowledged Alexander, was reinstated as satrap, and adopted him as her son. We now have a similar inscription in which Erythrae honours Idrieus, presumably between 351/0 and 344/3 (*SEG* xxxi 969 ~ Harding 28. B: D. M. Lewis, followed by Hornblower, wondered if it was inscribed on the lower part of the same *stèle* as the honours for Mausolus and Artemisia). He too is described as 'of Mylasa'; his front seat is said to be 'at the competitions' (*ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι*: l. 11); he is given 'priority trial of lawsuits' (*δικὰς προδί|κους*: ll. 14–15); 'and he shall also be a citizen if he

## 57

## Contributions to the Boeotians for the Third Sacred War, c.354–c.352

A slab found at Thebes; now in the museum there.

Boeotian dialect, with some Atticisms, and sometimes retaining the old ε for ει.

*IG* vii 2418; *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 201; Tod 160\*; Buck 40. Trans. Harding 74.

[τοιὲ χρε]ίματα συνεβ[άλονθο ἐν τὸν πόλεμον]  
[τὸν] ἐπο[ ] [λέμουν] ] Βοιωτοὶ περ[ι τῷ ἱερῷ τῷ ἐμ Βελφοῖς]  
[π]ὸτ τῶς ἀσεβίοντας τὸ ἱερὸν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνος τῷ  
[II]ουθίω. vacat  
vacat

- 5 Ἀριστίωνος ἄρχοντος· Ἀλυζήοι [τριάκοντα μνᾶς· εἵνιξαν]  
πρισιγέες Χάροψ Δάδωνος | Ἀριστο[—————]  
Ἄνακτοριέες· τριάκοντα μνᾶς | πρι[σιγέες —————]  
Φόρμω | Ἄρκος Τερέος. vacat  
Βυζάντιοι· χρουσίω Λαμφακανῶ σ[τ]ατεῖρας]  
10 ὀγδοέκοντα πέτταρας | ἀργυρίω Ἀτ[τικῶ δρα]-  
χμὰς δεκαέξ· σύνεδροι Βυζαντίων [εἵνιξαν]  
τὸ χρυσίον Κερκίνος Εἰροτίμω, Ἀγ[—————]  
Δηλοπτίχω, Διωνύσιος Εἰπαίωνος. vacat  
Ἀθανόδωρος | Διωνυσίω | Τενέδ[ιος],  
15 πρόξενος | Βοιωτῶν, χει(λ)ίας | δρ[αχμὰς].  
Νικολάω ἄρχοντος· Ἀλυζαίων  
ἄλλας τριάκοντα μνᾶς· εἵνιξαν]  
πρισιγείες Ἀλυζαίων Θεο[—————]  
[Ἀ]λεξάνδρου, Δίων Πολυ[—————].

2 restored by comparison with 23; it is not clear why the letters were erased.

(ed.), *L'Elyrie méridionale et l'Épire*, 182 with n. 20 = *SEG* xxxvii 531: unrestored earlier edd. to obtain consistency within ll. 16–19: Ἀλυζήοι, the Boeotian form, as in 5, earlier edd.

5 P. Roesch, in Cabanes

16 D. M. Lewis,

wishes, and he shall enter into whatever *genos* he wants' (ἐῖναι δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ πολί[τ]ην, εἴαν βούληται, καὶ ἐς γέν[ος ἵ]έναι ὃ τι αὐτὸν θέλ[ηι]; ll. 15–17; cf. 33, offering a choice of deme and phratry in Athens). Among the other inscriptions of the Hecatomnids, a *stèle* found at Tegea, in Arcadia, has the names of Zeus, Ada, and Idrieus, and a relief showing Zeus Stratios of Labraunda with Ada and Idrieus standing to either side (Tod 161. *A*: phot. *GIBM* iv 950; Cook, *Zeus*, II. i. 523 fig. 497); and Idrieus and Ada are both named on a Milesian dedication at Delphi (Tod 161. *B* = *F. Delphes*, III. iv 176, with phot. pl. xxvii. 1).

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These contributed money to the war which the Boeotians were waging concerning the sanctuary at Delphi against those who were committing sacrilege against the sanctuary of Pythian Apollo.

- 5 In the archonship of Aristion: Alyzea: thirty minas: brought by the envoys Charops son of Dadon, Aristo— son of ——. Anactorium: thirty minas: envoys ——— son of Phormus, Arcus son of Tereus. Byzantium: of Lampsacene gold eighty-four staters, of Attic silver sixteen drachmas: the money was brought by the Byzantine *synedroi* Cercinus son of Herotimus, Ag— son of Deloptichus, Dionysius son of Heraeon. Athenodorus son of Dionysius of Tenedos, *proxenos* of the Boeotians: a thousand drachmas.
- 16 In the archonship of Nicolaus. Alyzea: a further thirty minas: brought by the Alyzean envoys Theo— son of Alexander, Dion son of Poly—.

- 20 [Α]γεισινίκω ἄρχοντος· Βυσζάντιοι [συνεβά]-  
 [λ]ονθο ἄλλως πεντακατίως στατεῖρα[ς χρυσί]-  
 [ω]ς Λαμφακανῶς ἐν τῷ[ν] πόλεμον τὸν ὑ[πέρ τῶ]  
 [ι]αρῶ τῷ ἐμ Βελφοῖς ἐπολέμιον Βοιωτο[ι].  
 σύνεδροι εἵνιξαν Σῶσις Καρα(ι)ίχου (?),  
 25 [Π]αρμενίσκος Πυράμου. *vacat*

20 [Α] *SIG*, Buck, supported by *LGPV*: [Α] *IG*, Tod.  
 stone has *Καρατίχου*; see below.

24 *Καρα[ι]ίχου (sic)* Buck without comment: the

After Thebes had secured the imposition by the Delphic Amphictyony on Phocis and Sparta of fines which they refused to pay, in 356 the Phocians seized Delphi (D.S. xvi. 23–7 cf. 14. iii–iv), and in winter 356/5 the Thebans worked with the Thessalian *koinon* to obtain a declaration of a Sacred War by the Amphictyony against the Phocians; most northern Greek states supported the Amphictyony; Sparta and Athens were among the states which supported the Phocians (D.S. xvi. 28–9). The Phocians, in control of Delphi, had access to the sacred treasures, and before long if not immediately they used these to pay for mercenaries (D.S. xvi. 28. ii, 30. i–ii, 56. iii–57. iv). The Thebans had no comparable source of funding: this inscription, apparently complete, records gifts made in three years towards what is described as ‘the war which the Boeotians were waging’. The annual sections seem to have been inscribed separately; it is more likely than not that the three years are consecutive and that they fall early in the war rather than late; M. Guarducci argued for 354–352 (*RFIC* lviii = <sup>2</sup>viii 1930, 321–5).

Alyzeia and Anactorium were in Acarnania, north of the mouth of the Gulf of Corinth: Acarnania had joined the Second Athenian League in 375 (22. 106; 24), but adhered to Thebes after Leuctra (X. *H.* vi. v. 23); at Chaeroneia in 338, when Thebes and Athens fought together against Philip, Acarnania fought on their side (cf. 77). Byzantium was one of the states to which Epaminondas appealed in the 360s (cf. on 43), and was one of the states which fought for its freedom in the Social War (D.S. xvi. 7. iii, 21): here it flaunts its independence from Athens by supporting the anti-Athenian side in the Sacred War (for Byzantium as an ally of Thebes cf. Dem. ix. *Phil.* iii. 34). Tenedos, on the other hand, an island just outside the Hellespont, remained loyal to Athens as long as the League survived (cf. 72): it has usually been thought that the Boeotian *proxenos* was led by his Boeotian sympathies to make a personal contribution; but 1,000 drachmas (= 10 minas) would be a large contribution from a single

- 20 In the archonship of Hagesinicus. The Byzantines contributed another five hundred Lampsacene gold staters to the war which the Boeotians were waging on behalf of the sanctuary at Delphi: brought by the *synedroi* Sosis son of Caraeichus (?), Parmeniscus son of Pyramus.

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man, though not an impossibly large one, and D. M. Lewis thought that he had been collecting money from like-minded men. Diodorus records a much more substantial contribution, of 300 talents, obtained from the Persian King (xvi. 40. i–ii).

Philip of Macedon entered the Sacred War on the Amphictyonic side in 353, and he ended it in 346, after creating enough uncertainty about his intentions to paralyse the opposition to him. The Phocians were expelled from the Amphictyony, split into separate villages, and ordered to repay what they had taken from the sacred treasuries, while Philip was admitted to the Amphictyony in their place (D.S. xvi. 60, cf. 67).

The Byzantines' contributions are brought by their *synedroi*: this is a sign that the Thebans like the Athenians had organized their allies in a league, with the members represented in a *synedron* (cf. D. M. Lewis in Schachter [ed.], *Essays in the Topography, History and Culture of Boeotia*, 71–3, against Buckler, *The Theban Hegemony, 371–362 B.C.*, 222–33, cf. *Polis and Politics . . . M. H. Hansen*, 431–46; but M. Jehne, *Klio* lxxxi 1999, 317–58 at 328–44, suggests that the Boeotian federation after 379 was treated as an extension of the Theban state, and Byzantium in turn as an extension of the federation). We understand from Mrs. E. Matthews of *LGPV* that Caraticus, given on the stone as the father of a Byzantine *synedros* (l. 24), is a name not otherwise attested; Caraeichus, proposed by Buck, would be a version of Caraichus, attested particularly in Boeotia and also in Athens (but his version of the ending is apparently just a slip).

Unlabelled drachmas and minas are presumably Boeotian, following the Aeginetan system (cf. Kraay, *Archaic and Classical Greek Coins*, 114), in which 7 drachmas were equivalent to 10 Athenian drachmas (cf. 45), while the Aeginetan mina of 70 drachmas and the Athenian mina of 100 drachmas were the same weight. Lampsacus in the fourth century issued gold staters equivalent to the Persian darics (equivalent to 26 Athenian drachmas: cf. 56); see Kraay, 249. *πρισγῆες* (6)/*πρισγῆες* (18) is the Boeotian equivalent of *πρεσβείς*: the first is the older form (Buck *ad loc.*).

Athens, Delphi, and the Sacred *Orgas*, 352/1

A *stèle* of Pentelic marble, found at Eleusis and now in the Epigraphic Museum at Athens.

*Stoichedon* 47 (but with frequent cases of letters sharing a *stoichos* in later part of text).

P. Foucart, *BCH* xiii 1889, 433–67; Prott & Ziehen, 28, *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 204\*, *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 204, *LSCG* 32. Trans. (part) Harding no. 78. A. See also Parke and Wormell, *Delphic Oracle*, no. 262, Fontenrose, *Delphic Oracle*, H 21; S. van de Maele, *Mélanges Ed. Delebecque*, 419–33; Le Guen-Pollet, *La Vie religieuse*, 32; Sealey, *Demosthenes*, 235–7.

[<sup>46</sup>\_\_\_\_\_]Ι  
 [<sup>44</sup>\_\_\_\_\_]ΝΕΠ-  
 [<sup>41</sup>\_\_\_\_\_]οντες π-  
 [<sup>39</sup>\_\_\_\_\_]εων τών κα-  
 5 [<sup>23</sup>\_\_\_\_\_]έλεσθαι τὸν δῆμ[ον] δέκα ἄνδρα-  
 [ς ἐξ Ἀθηναίων ἀπάντων αὐτίκα μάλα, πέντε δέ] ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς·<sup>10</sup>  
 [τοὺς δὲ αἰρεθέντας δικάζειν ἐν τῷ Ἐλευσ]ινίῳ τῷ ἐν ἄστ-  
 [εἰ περὶ τῶν ὄρων τῶν ἀμφισβητουμένων] τῆς ἱερᾶς ὀργᾶδος ὁ-  
 [μόσαντας τὸν νόμιμον ὄρκον ἢ μὴν] μῆτε χάριτος ἔνεκα μῆτ' ἔ-  
 10 [χθρας ψηφιεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ ὡς δι]καιότατα καὶ εὐσεβέστατα· τὰ-  
 [ς δ' ἔδρας ποεῖν συνεχῶς ἂ]πὸ τῆς ἑκτῆς ἐπὶ δέκα τοῦ Ποσειδῶ-  
 [νος \_\_\_\_\_<sup>16</sup>] ἐπὶ Ἀριστοδήμου ἄρχοντος. παρὲν-  
 [αι δὲ καὶ τὸν βασιλέ]α καὶ τὸν ἱεροφάντην καὶ τὸν δαιδούχο-  
 [ν καὶ Κήρυκας καὶ] Εὐμολπίδας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἀθηναίων τὸν β-  
 15 [ουλόμενον, ὅπως] ἂν [ὡ]ς εὐσεβέστατα καὶ δικαιοῦτα τοὺς ὄρ-  
 [ους θῶσιν. ἐπι]μελεῖσθαι [δ] ἐ τῆς ἱερᾶς ὀργᾶδος καὶ τῶν ἄλλω-  
 [ν ἱερῶν ἀπάν]των τῶν Ἀθῆνησιν ἀπὸ τῆσδε τῆς ἡμέρας εἰς τὸν  
 [αἰὲ χρόνον οὗ]ς τε ὁ νόμος κελεύει περὶ ἐκάστου αὐτῶν καὶ τ-  
 [ὴν βουλὴν τὴν] ἐ[ξ] Ἀρείου πάγου καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ-  
 20 [ν φυλ]ακῇ[ν τῆς χ]ώρας κεχειροτονημένον καὶ τοὺς περιπολά-  
 [ρχ]ους καὶ τοὺς [δη]μάρχους καὶ τὴν βουλὴν τὴν αἰὲ βουλευού-  
 [σαν] καὶ τῶν ἄλλ[ων Ἀθ]ηναίων τὸμ βυλόμενον τρόπῳ ὅτῳ ἂν  
 [ἐπ]ίστω[ν]ται. γρά[ψαι δὲ τὸ]ν γραμματέα τῆς βουλῆς εἰς δύο κα-  
 [ττ]ιτέρω ἴσω καὶ [όμοίω, εἰς μὲν] τὸν ἕτερον, εἰ λῶιον καὶ ἄμει-  
 25 [νό]ν ἐστι τῷ δῆμ[ῳ] τῷ Ἀθηναίων μισ]θὸν τὸμ βασιλέα τὰ νῦ-  
 [ν ἐ]ννεργασμ[έ]να [τῆς ἱερᾶς ὀργᾶδος τὰ ἐκ] τὸς τῶν ὄρων εἰς οἰ-  
 [κ]οδομίαν τοῦ προ[στώιου καὶ ἐπισκευὴν το]ῦ ἱεροῦ τοῖν θεο-  
 ῖν· εἰς δὲ τὸν ἕτερον κ[α]ττίτ[ερον, εἰ λῶιον καὶ ἄμει]νόν ἐστι  
 τῷ δῆμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων τὰ ν[ῦν] ἐκτὸς τῶν δ[ῶρων] ἐννεργ[α]σμέν-

We print extensive restorations of the text, which are mainly due to Foucart, where the general sense is secure; but the restorations are sometimes questionable in detail. 1 Ι Lambert, *EIG*. 2 ΝΕΠ Lambert.

12 [vos εἰως ἂν διαδικασθῇ] *IG* but Scafuro points out that the procedure seems not to be *diadikasia*.  
 17 ἀπάν]των Lambert after Koehler; ἀπάντ]ων *IG*. 26, 29 ἐν]τὸς *IG*, ἐκ]τὸς Parker, *Miasma*, 161.

(*Nothing can be made of the first four lines.*) . . . the people to choose forthwith ten men from all the Athenians, and five from the council. Those chosen are to decide in the Eleusinion in the city about the disputed boundaries of the sacred land (*orgas*), after they have sworn the customary oath that they will not vote according to favour or hostility, but as uprightly and piously as they can. They are to sit continuously from the 16th of Poseideon until they reach a decision, during the archonship of Aristodemus (352/1). The *basileus*, the hierophant, the dadouch, the Kerykes, and the Eumolpidai, and any other Athenian who wants to are to be present in order that they may place the boundaries as piously and fairly as possible.

- 16 From this day onwards those specifically so commanded by the law are to look after the sacred *orgas* and all the other sacred things at Athens along with the council of the Areopagus and the general appointed by vote to be in charge of the security of the countryside and the peripolarchs and the demarchs and the council that is currently in office and any other Athenian who wants, in any way they know.
- 23 The secretary of the council is to write upon two pieces of tin which are equal and alike, on one, 'If it is preferable and better for the Athenian people that the *basileus* should rent out the parts of the sacred *orgas* currently being cultivated outside the boundaries, for the building of a colonnade and the equipping of the sanctuary of the two goddesses'; and on the other, 'If it is preferable and better for the Athenian people that the parts of the sacred *orgas* currently being cultivated outside the

- 30 α τῆς ἱερᾶς ὀργᾶδος ἑᾶν ἄνετα [τοῖν θ]εοῖν· ἐπειδὴν δὲ ὁ γραν-  
ματεὺς γράψῃ, λαβὼν ὁ ἐ[π]ιστάτης ὁ ἐκ τῶν προέδρων συνειλ-  
ιξάτω [τ]ὸν καττ[ί]τερον ἐ[κ]άτ[ε]ρον καὶ κατειλίσας ἐρίους εἰ-  
ς ὕδρ[ι]αν [ἐμ]β[α]λ[ί]τω [χαλ]κὴν ἐναντίον τοῦ δήμου· παρασκευασ-  
άντων [δ]ὲ τ[α]ῦτ[α] οἱ π[ρ]υτάνεις, οἱ δὲ ταμίαι τῆς θεοῦ κατενε-  
35 [κόν]των ὕδ[ρ]ιας [χ]ρ[υ]στῆν καὶ ἀργυρᾶν αὐτ[ί]κα μάλ[α] εἰς τὸν δῆμ-  
ον, ὁ δ' ἐπ[ι]στ[ά]της [ἀ]νασ[τ]είσας τ[ῆ]ν ὕδριαν τὴν χαλκὴν ἐλκέτω τ-  
ὸν καττ[ί]τερον ἐκάτερον ἐμ μέρει καὶ τὸμ μὲμ πρότερον εἰς  
τὴν [ὕδ]ρ[ι]αν τὴν χρυσὴν ἐμβαλέτω, τὸν δὲ ὕστερον εἰς τὴν ἀργ-  
υρᾶν καὶ [κα]τα[δ]ησάτω, ὁ δὲ ἐπιστάτης τ[ὴ]ν πρυτάνεων καταση-  
40 μ[η]νάσθω τ[ῆ]ν [δημ]οσίαν σφραγίδι, παρασημνάσθω δὲ καὶ τῶν  
ἄλλ[ω]ν [Ἀ]θ[η]ναίων ὁ βου[λ]όμενος· ἐπειδ[ὴ]ν δὲ κατασημανθῶσιν,  
ἀνευ[ε]γκ[ό]ντων οἱ [τα]μίαι τὰς ὕδ[ρ]ιας εἰς ἀκρόπολιν. ἐλέσθω  
δὲ ὁ δῆμος [τρ]εῖς ἄνδρας ἐν[α] μ[ε]ν ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς, δύο δὲ ἐξ Ἀθην-  
αίων [ἅ] πάντων, οἷς [ε]ἰς Δ[ελ]φοὺς ἀφικόμενοι τὸν θεὸν ἐπ-  
45 ἐρ[ή]σοι[ν] τ[α]ν [κα]θ' ὅ[π]ότερα τὰ γρ[άμ]ματα ποιῶ[σ]ιν Ἀθηναῖοι περ-  
ὶ τῆς [ἐ]ρ[ᾶ]ς ὀργ[ᾶ]δος ἐ[ῖ]τε τ[ᾶ] ἐκ τῆς [χ]ρυσῆς ὕδριας εἴτε τὰ ἐκ  
τῆς [ἀ]ρ[γ]υρᾶς· ἐπειδ[ὴ]ν [δ]ὲ [ῥ]ωσιν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, καθελόντωσα-  
ν τὰς [ὕδ]ρ[ι]ας καὶ ἀναγ[ν]ωσθ[ή]τω τῷ δήμῳ ἥ τε μαντεία καὶ τὰ  
[ἐ]κ τῶν κατ[τ]ιτέρων γρ[άμ]ματα· καθ' ὅ[π]ότερα δ' ἂν τὰ γράμματα ὁ  
50 θεὸς [ἀ]ν[ε]λ[η]λῶν [καὶ ἄμειν]ον εἶναι τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναί-  
ω [κα]τὰ ταῦτα π[ο]ι[εῖν, ὅπ]ω[ς] ἄν ὡς εὐσεβέστατα ἔχει τὰ πρὸς τ-  
ὸ θεὸν [καὶ μηδέποτ' εἰς τὸν λοιπὸν] χρόνον μηδὲν ἀσεβὲς γίγν-  
ητ[αι] περὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς [δ]ογᾶδος καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἱερῶν τῶν Ἀ-  
θ[η]νησιν· νῦν δὲ ἂν ἀγράψα[ι] τὸδε τὸ ψήφισμα καὶ τὸ πρότερον τὸ  
55 Φι[λ]ο[κ]ράτο[υ]ς περὶ τῶν [ἱερῶν] τὸν γραμματέα τῆς βουλῆς ἐ-  
ν στήλαιν λιθίναιν καὶ στήσαι τὴν μὲν Ἑλευσῖνι πρὸς τῷ π-  
ροπύλῳ τοῦ ἱεροῦ, τὴν δὲ ἐν τῷ Ἑλε[υ]σινίῳ τῷ ἐν ἄστει· θύ-  
[σαι δὲ καὶ ἀρεστήριον] τοῖν θεοῖν τὸν [ἐ]ροφάντην καὶ τὴν [ἐ]-  
[ρειαν τῆς Δήμητρος, —————<sup>ε10</sup>] ο [...] τὸν ταμίαν τοῦ δήμου το-  
60 [ἰς (?) —————<sup>ε12</sup>] : : δραχμὰς· δοῦ[ν]αι [δ]ὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν ἀναγρα-  
φὴν ταῖν στήλαιν : ΔΔ : δραχμὰς εἰς ἐκ[α]τέραν ἐκ τῶν κατὰ ψη-  
φίσματα ἀναλίσκομένων τῷ δήμῳ· [δ]οῦναι δὲ καὶ τ[ὴ]ν αἰρεθ-  
εῖντων εἰς Δελφοὺς ἐκάστῳ : Δ : ] δρ[α]χμὰς εἰς ἐφόδια· δόναι δὲ κα[ὶ]  
τοῖς αἰρεθείσιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἱερὰν ὀργᾶδα : Γ : δραχμὰς : ἐκάστ-  
65 [ω] ἐκ τῶν εἰς τὰ κατὰ ψηφίσματα ἀναλίσκομένων τῷ δήμῳ· π-  
[αρασχεῖν δὲ ὅρους λιθίνους], ὁπόσων ἂν προσδέη, τοὺς πωλη-  
[τὰς ποιήσαντας μετὰ τῆς] βουλῆς [μ]ίσθωμα, τοὺς τε προέδρους  
[καὶ —————<sup>ε19</sup>] συγγράψαι καθότι ἐξεργασθῇ-

30–1 γραν|ματεὺς Lambert after Koehler, γραμ|ματεὺς IG.

41 ἄλλ[ω]ν [Ἀ]θ[η]ναίων Lambert,

[ἄ]λλ[ω]ν [Ἀ]θ[η]ναίων IG. 56 στήλαις λιθίναις? Lambert.

59–60 —————<sup>ε10</sup> ————— ]ο[...]τὸν ταμίαν τοῦ δήμου τοῖς (?) —————<sup>ε12</sup> —————

: : Lambert, δοῦναι δ' αὐτοῖς] τὸν ταμίαν τοῦ δήμου τὸ |

[ἀργυρίου τριάκοντα IG.

61 τῶν στήλων : ΔΔΔΔ : ? Lambert

62 ΤΟΝ on stone.

63 [...] IG,

[ : Δ : ] Rhodes and Osborne.

68 [καὶ —————<sup>ε19</sup> —————] Lambert, [τῆς βουλῆς μετὰ τῶν πωλητῶν] IG,[χρηματίζει τῷ βουλομένῳ] Rhodes, *Boule*, 27–8 and 123 (see commentary).

boundaries be left to the two goddesses untill'd'.

- 30 When the secretary has written, the chairman of the *proedroi* shall roll up each piece of tin and tie it with wool and cast it into a bronze water jug in the presence of the people. The *prytaneis* are to see to these preparations and the treasurers of the Goddess are to bring down forthwith two water jugs, one gold and one silver, to the people, and the chairman is to shake the bronze water jug and then take out each piece of tin in turn and put the first into the gold water jug and the next into the silver water jug, and the chairman of the *prytaneis* is to seal the jugs with the public seal, and any Athenian who wants can apply a counter-seal. When they have been sealed the treasurers are to carry the water jugs to the Acropolis.
- 42 The people are to choose three men, one from the council and two from all Athenians, to go to Delphi and ask the god according to which of the two written messages the Athenians should act with regard to the sacred *orgas*, whether that from the gold water jug or that from the silver water jug. When they get back from the god they are to have the water jugs brought down and read out to the people the oracular response and the writing on the tin. According to whichever of the written messages the god indicates that it is preferable and better for the Athenian people, according to that message they are to act, in order that relations with the two goddesses may be as pious as possible and in future no impiety may be done concerning the sacred land and the other sacred things at Athens.
- 54 The secretary of the council is now to write up this decree and the earlier decree of Philocrates concerning the sacred things on two stone *stelai*, and set up one at Eleusis at the *propylon* of the sanctuary, and the other at the Eleusinion in the city. The hierophant and the priestess of Demeter are to sacrifice a propitiatory offering to the two goddesses, and the treasurer of the people is to give them the money, thirty drachmas. He is also to give them money for the inscription of the two *stelai*, 20 drachmas for each from the people's fund for expenditure on decrees. And to give to each of those chosen to go to Delphi 10 drachmas as travelling expenses. And to give to those chosen (to decide) about the sacred land 5 drachmas from the people's fund for expenditure on decrees.
- 65 The *poletai* responsible for the leasing along with the council are to provide stone boundary-markers, as many additional markers as are necessary, and the *proedroi* . . . are to draw up specifications for how they are to be made and see to it that the



- [ονται, ἐπιμελείσθαι δ' ὅπως ἐπι]σταθήσονται τῆς ἱερᾶς ὄργ-  
 70 [άδος οἱ ὅροι, καθὰ δείξουσιν οἱ αἰρεθέντες· τὸ δὲ ἀργύριον  
 [εἰς τὸ ἐπίτηδες σημαίνε]σθ[αι] λίθ[ο]ις τοὺς ὅρους δοῦναι τὸ-  
 [ν ταμίαν τοῦ δήμου ἐκ] τῶν κατὰ ψηφί[σ]ματα ἀναλίσκομένων [τ]-  
 [ῶι δήμωι]. *vacat*  
 [οἷδε ἡμέθησαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἱερὰν] ὄργα[δ]α ἀντὶ τῶν ἐκπεπτωκό[τ]-  
 75 [ων νέους ὅρους θεῖναι : ἐκ τῆς β]ο[υλή]ς : Ἀρκεφών : Ἀλαίευσ.<sup>75</sup>  
 [—————<sup>ε29</sup>—————]ης : Θριάσιος. *vacat*  
 [—————<sup>ε25</sup>—————] : Ἀγνούσιος. *vacat*  
 [ἐξ ἰδιωτῶν· —————<sup>ε16</sup>—————]ιος : [Ἰπποκράτης : ἐκ Κερ[α]-  
 [μέων : —————<sup>ε9</sup>—————]ος : [Χαιρ]ε[φ]ῶ[ν] : [ἐκ [Κ]ηδών : Ἐμμενίδης : ἐ[κ Κ]-  
 80 [οίλης : —————<sup>ε8</sup>—————] : Σ]ον[ιεύς : Ἀ]ριστείδης : Οἰθήθεν *vacat*  
 [—————<sup>ε17</sup>—————]ιος : Γλαύκων : Περιθοίδης : Φαῖδρος  
 [—————<sup>ε7</sup>—————] : ἐπὶ τὸ μαν]τεῖον εἰς Δελφοὺς : ἐξ ἰδιωτῶν. *vacat*  
 [—————<sup>ε16</sup>—————]εύς : Εὐδίδακτος : Λαμπτρέύς. *vacat*  
 [ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς : —————<sup>ε6</sup>—————]ος : Λαμπτρέύς : [τ]ά[δ]ε ἔπαν[ο]ρθοῦται.  
 85 [ἐὰν δέ του προσδέηι τόδ]ε ψήφισμα, τὴν βουλὴν κυρίαν εἶνα-  
 [ι ψηφίζεσθαι ὅτι ἂν αὐτῇ δ]οκῇ ἄριστον εἶναι.

75 Ἀλαίευσ Lambert after K. Clinton, *Λαμπ(τρ)εύς IG*. 76–83 Numbers of missing letters and punctuation follow Lambert. 79–80 Ἐμμενίδης : ἐ[κ Κ]οίλης on council in 349/8 *IG II<sup>2</sup> 208*. 4–5 but Ἐμμενίδης : Ε[κ]αλήθεν on council 336/5 (*Agora*, xv 42. 262–3) also possible. 85 του Lambert, το *IG*.

This decree illuminates Athenian relations with Megara in the middle of the fourth century, making an important contribution to our understanding of the literary evidence, provides unusually explicit evidence for the circumstances and nature of historical consultation of the Delphic oracle, and sheds light on Athenian democratic procedure.

The Athenians and Megarians had long disputed their border. Thucydides (1. 139. ii) says that when the Spartans demanded in 432 that the Athenians rescind the decree banning the Megarians from the harbours of the Athenian empire and from 'the Attic Agora', the Athenians refused, citing Megarian cultivation of 'the sacred and undefined (*aoristos*) land', as well as Megarian reception of deserting slaves. This decree of 352/1 (Poseideon is the sixth month of the Attic year) belongs to a prolonged fourth-century dispute, the nature and course of which are hard to determine.

The decree indicates two different Athenian concerns. One is about the location of the boundaries of the land sacred to Demeter and Persephone and on the border between Attica and Megara. This concern is contained in a restoration at 8 but virtually guaranteed by the reference at 74 to something that has been 'cast aside', most easily understood as boundary-markers (and compare 15). This boundary question is repeatedly placed in a wider context of concern for sacred things in general (16–17, 53–5), which can be paralleled in Xenophon, *Poroi* vi. 2–3, also dating from the 350s. The second concern (25–7) is about whether to rent out or to leave untilled in future land currently in agricultural use. That land stands in some relation to some

boundary-markers shall be set up on the sacred *orgas* in accordance with the directions given by those chosen. The treasurer of the people is to give the money for the necessary marking of the boundary-markers on the stones from the people's fund for expenditure on decrees.

- 74 The following were chosen to place new boundary-markers on the sacred *orgas* in place of those that had been removed: from the council, Arcephon of Halae, —es of Thria, — of Hagnous. From private individuals, — of —, Hippocrates of Cerameis, — of —, Chaerephon of Kedoi, Emmenides from Koile, — of Sunium, Aristides of Oe, — of —, Glaucon of Perthoidai, Phaedrus of —. To the oracle at Delphi, from private individuals, — of —, Eudidactus of Lamprae; from the council, — of Lamprae.
- 84 The following correction was made. If there is anything lacking in this decree the council has the powers to vote whatever seems to it best.

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boundary-markers: either inside the same boundary-markers referred to at 8 and 74 or outside some further markers dividing a core of untilled sacred *orgas* from the rest. The history of conflict between Athens and Megara over working the sacred land ensured that the two issues were related, but the Athenians decided to treat them in separate ways. The issue of the exact placement of the boundary is referred to a commission drawn partly from all citizens and partly from the council, a civic committee but meeting in the city Eleusinion, on the north slope of the Acropolis, and with religious personnel invited. The issue of whether the land currently cultivated should be leased for cultivation is referred to the Delphic oracle. Megarian interests are acknowledged in neither case.

[Dem.] XIII. *Syntaxis* 32 uses the case of the Athenian dispute with Megara over sacred land to illustrate the gap between what the Athenians decide and pass decrees about and what they actually do: 'So in the case of the accursed Megarians who were annexing the *orgas*, you voted to go out, to prevent them and not to yield.' Didymus, the ancient commentator on Demosthenes, in attempting to date this speech, stated that Philochorus dated the action in question to the archonship of Apollodoros (350/49) and went on to quote descriptions of what happened from both Philochorus (*FGrH* 328 F 155) and Androtion (*FGrH* 324 F 30) (revealing, in the process, that Philochorus sometimes followed Androtion very closely).

Didymus' quotation from Androtion records three separate events: (1) following an agreement with the Megarians, the two Eleusinian officials, the dadouch and the

hierophant, marked out the boundaries of the *orgas*; (2) the 'edgelands' (*eschatai*) were consecrated in accordance with the Delphic response that they should be untilled; and (3) the *orgas* was marked off in a circle with marble *stelai* on the proposal of Philocrates. To these actions the quotation from Philochorus adds a fourth: the Athenians entered Megara with Ephialtes the general 'for the country' (*ἐπὶ τῇν χώραν*, compare ll. 19–20) and marked the limits of the *orgas*. (The general 'for the country' is first attested here: this is the beginning of the creation of regular postings for members of the board of generals (cf. *Ath. Pol.* 61. i with Rhodes *ad loc.*))

At two points the testimony of the Atthidographers appears to tie up with that of the decree. It records the result of the consultation of Delphi and the execution of the decree of Philocrates, which is mentioned at lines 54–5 of this decree and was inscribed at the same time but almost certainly on a separate stone. (Philocrates might be the politician after whom the Peace of 346 is named, but the name is common.) But on the matter of placing the boundary there is a discrepancy between decree and Atthidographic account. The decree sets up a fifteen-man Athenian commission, whose meetings the hierophant and dadouch are invited to attend, to decide the boundary. Androtion and Philochorus record that the boundary was established by the dadouch and the hierophant following express Megarian agreement to their doing it. Did the committee decide, but the Eleusinian officials do the placing (a religious act)? Or are we to assume that between 352 and 350/49 the Megarians protested about the unilateral means the Athenians had resolved upon in this decree for deciding the boundary and had insisted that they would only accept a ruling that came from officials of the Eleusinian cult?

It is very difficult to find the gap, upon which [Dem.] insists, between what the Athenians decided and what they did. All three of the decisions recorded by the Atthidographers (the decision to act in accordance with Delphic advice over the cultivation of the sacred land, the decision, on the proposal of Philocrates, to mark out the sacred land, and the decision to place the boundary-stones in accordance with the delimitation agreed by the dadouch and hierophant) are straightforwardly put into operation, the third of them with military backing. If Didymus were right in relating the reference in [Dem.] XIII to these decisions, then [Demosthenes'] allegation that the decision was good but no action was taken would be bizarre. Didymus must surely be wrong: if [Dem.] XIII is historically well-informed then either the period of bluster and no action preceded the decree of Philocrates, and [Dem.] XIII must date before 352, or there was action subsequent to the marking out of the boundaries in 350/49 which led to further Athenian bluster, but no action, and [Dem.] XIII must date to 348 or later. However, [Dem.] XIII may be not a genuine fourth-century speech but a rhetorical exercise of uncertain date and little if any historical value (Sealey, pp. 235–7); the speech names its speaker as Demosthenes, which Demosthenes himself never does, and includes a number of passages which are closely modelled on genuine Demosthenic speeches but poorly adapted to their new context.

(Connor suggested that the episode recorded by Plutarch, *Pericles* 30, in which the Athenian herald Anthemocritus, sent to complain about violations of the sacred *orgas*, is killed, should be related rather to this fourth-century crisis than to the 430s. But

there seems no place for such an episode in the sequence of events that can be reconstructed from this decree and the Atthidographers (see further Stadter, *Commentary on Plutarch's Pericles*, 274–6).

We suggest the following as a possible outline history of the episode. At some point, perhaps not much earlier than this inscription, the Athenians had erected boundary-stones on the previously undefined sacred *orgas* and allowed the cultivation of part of it. The land so cultivated was marginal (that is the implication of *eschatia*, and indeed of *orgas*, which seems to designate land in mountainous areas liable to be waterlogged), and its cultivation is one of a number of pieces of evidence for pressure on the land of Attica in the fourth century. Whether because they were annoyed at the placing of the boundary-stones, the cultivation, or for some other reason, the Megarians began to dispute the border, taking the practical action of moving the boundary-markers. When the question also arose of how to raise income for building a portico in the sanctuary at Eleusis (for which see Hintzen-Bohlen, *Kulturpolitik*, 18–21 and 143), and use of revenues from renting out parts of the sacred *orgas* for cultivation was suggested, the Athenians were persuaded, perhaps by Philocrates, not to proceed with this without first settling the borders and consulting Delphi over the issue of cultivation. After lengthy deliberation, or else some postponement of action, perhaps caused by Megarian opposition, the boundary-stones of the *orgas* were replaced and, on Delphi's indication, the *orgas* ceased to be cultivated.

This decree provides the fullest of all prescriptions for the consultation of the Delphic oracle, and as such is uniquely valuable as an illustration of contemporary attitudes towards Delphi. Three aspects of the consultation are notable: the form of the question asked, the form of the oracle given, and the Athenian concern to ensure that no Delphic official knows what exactly the consequences of the oracular answer will be.

The Delphic oracle is asked whether the Athenians should act according to the instruction contained in the gold or that contained in the silver water jug. That is, the oracle's choice is very closely limited to a choice between alternatives set by the Athenians themselves. The Athenian procedure is an elaborate means of discovering whether the oracle considers it preferable and better to cultivate the land outside the boundaries or not to do so, and indeed Androtion and Philochorus report the oracle's reply in precisely those terms: 'the god had replied that it was preferable and better if they did not cultivate' the edge lands. Formulating a question to the Delphic oracle in terms of whether it was better to undertake or not to undertake a particular action seems to have been one of the two regular forms of question to an oracle, and some who used it further foreclosed the oracular options by indicating in the question the answer expected: so the Spartan king Agesipolis asked (Zeus at Olympia in this instance) whether or not 'it was safe to reject a truce unjustly offered' (X. *H.* iv. vii. 2). The other regular form was to pose a question about a religious action connected with a more substantial initiative: the Spartans are held to have asked what god they should sacrifice to in order to get the upper hand over the Arcadians (Her. i. 67. ii), and Xenophon asked what gods he should sacrifice to in order that he might participate with success in Cyrus' expedition (X. *Anab.* iii. i. 5–7).

All Athenian consultations of Delphi in the classical period seem to have been over religious matters: M&L 52. 64–7 makes arrangements for ‘the sacrifices prescribed by the oracle’ (not certainly Delphi) in the settlement at Chalcis after revolt; M&L 73 has the hierophant and dadouch at Eleusis and the Athenian Council ‘encourage, but not command’ the Greeks to send first-fruits to Eleusis ‘according to the oracle at Delphi’ (did the Athenians ask ‘Is it preferable and better to command the Greeks . . .’ and Delphi reply that ‘It is preferable and better to encourage but not to command . . .’?); Thucydides III. 104. 1 records that the Athenians purified Delos ‘according to some oracle’, and the Athenians subsequently expelled the Delians from the island (v. 1); but shortly afterwards they restored them ‘bearing in mind their disasters in battle and the oracle of the god at Delphi’ (v. 32. 1). The Athenian consultation over the sacred *orgas* was therefore in line with what had been regular Athenian practice (and is commonly found elsewhere, compare 87. 39, *LSCG* 72 lines 3–8 (Tanagra, C3)). But it had not been invariable Athenian practice: in the case of the sanctuary of Codrus, Neleus, and Basile it seems that the Athenians changed the status of land from cultivated to uncultivated simply by a decision of the people (*IG* I<sup>3</sup> 84), and indeed the land in question here was being cultivated at the time of the consultation, evidently without oracular sanction.

Consulting oracles in general, and the Delphic oracle in particular, had three potential advantages: it could solve issues not susceptible to reason (indeed Xenophon has Socrates stress that one would not use an oracle to solve a matter that *was* susceptible to reason: *Memorabilia*. I. i. 9), it could take out of the hands of a political body a decision which was likely to prove contentious, and it gave to the decision an authority which could not normally be challenged (cf. 50). In this case the Athenians arguably needed an oracular solution on all three grounds.

What is exceptional about this consultation is the indirect approach to obtaining the god’s view. One approach to understanding why the Athenians act like this would stress avoiding manipulation. That indirect approach ensures both that the question does not imply what answer is desired and that the Delphic response cannot be manipulated by men without Athenian awareness. The Athenians clearly work on the assumption that Apollo knows what is written on the tin in both water jugs, but that Apollo’s human agents cannot know and therefore cannot be influenced to achieve a particular result. Only by giving a response not related to the question (as later in the fourth century Delphi responded to an enquiry with the statement that no answer would be given until the Athenians had paid an Olympic fine imposed in 332, Pausanias v. 21. v) could Delphi directly determine the result of her response. A second approach would explain the procedure in terms of place of revelation: the

arrangements ensure that the moment of revelation of the god's view occurs not at Delphi but in Athens, when the bound metal is removed from whichever jug the oracle has selected, the wool is unwound, the tin unrolled, and the message read. A third approach would stress that for Delphi to answer directly the question of cultivation of sacred land was politically problematic. If it is true that the Third Sacred War began in a dispute over Phocian cultivation of the sacred plain of Cirrha (as D.S. xvi. 23. iii–vi claims; for the case against see Bowden, *Classical Athens and the Delphic Oracle*, ch. v; see also on 57), then it is not hard to see that making the oracle pronounce on whether sacred land should be cultivated would threaten to re-open a dangerous and distracting dispute (for all that the Athenians supported the Phocians against the Boeotians).

It was characteristic of fourth-century Athenian democracy to make democratic procedure manifest through the elaboration of ritual and the involvement of a much wider range of officials than the action involved would seem to demand (see Osborne, *Ritual, Finance, Politics . . . D. Lewis*, 17–18; but the *IG* text gives improbable roles to *proedroi* and *poletai* at ll. 68–9). A high degree of redundancy was daily on display in the procedures for allocating dikasts to the courts (see Rhodes, *Comm. Ath. Pol.*, 715); here we see redundancy in such things as the way in which it is the *epistates* of the *proedroi* who rolls up the pieces of tin but the *epistates* of the *prytaneis* who seals the gold and silver water jugs. Characteristic too is the way in which some parts of the procedure are prescribed in detail, others passed over without giving necessary information: not only do we have an official referred to simply by the title 'epistates' in the middle of a passage in which both the *epistates* of the *proedroi* and the *epistates* of the *prytaneis* are named (31–39 at 36), but when those sent to Delphi return it is specified neither who should fetch the hydrias nor who should remove the piece of tin and read it out; the seals that have been so carefully put on the jugs are never mentioned. This inconsistency of attention reflects the uneven drafting regular in Athenian decrees, and serves as a reminder of the way in which even the council was essentially amateur, made up of Athenians with limited experience and no particular chancellery skills whose abilities were somewhat tested if they had no close precedent to follow.

For the use of the public seal by the *epistates* of *prytaneis* see *Ath. Pol.* 44. i with Rhodes *ad loc.* For the People giving the council licence to make supplementary decisions see 53. For travelling expenses see 44. On punctuation see Threatte, i. 73–84. Both gold and silver water jugs appear in the lists of dedications from the Acropolis; they would have weighed between 1,000 and 1,200 drachmas, 4.3–5.2 kg. For the last clause compare 100. 264–9.

# Lease of sacred land from Arcesine, Amorgus, mid fourth century

A *stèle* of blue-grey marble found at the Church of St. Onoufrios on Amorgus.

Attic koine, using : as a punctuation mark, and often ending a line with the end of a word.

IG XII. vii 62; SIG<sup>3</sup> 963\*. Trans. (part) Osborne, *Classical Landscape*, 37, Foxhall in Shipley and Salmon (edd.), *Human Landscapes*, 48–9. See also IJG pp. 504–8, M. Jameson, *Πρακτικά τοῦ Η' Συνεδρίου Ἑλληνικῆς καὶ Λατινικῆς Ἐπιγραφικῆς*, ii. 292.

- .. δι[<sup>12</sup>\_\_\_\_\_δ] μισθωσάμενος [<sup>10</sup>\_\_\_\_\_]  
 ... μ[.... ἐγγυητὰς κατασ]τήσει τοῖς νεωποῖα[ι]ς ἀ[ξ]ιό[χ]ρεως]  
 [\_\_\_\_<sup>5</sup>\_\_\_\_\_]ει ... ἀνα .. ἡο[\_\_\_\_<sup>5</sup>\_\_\_\_\_]ο .. ἡται παντὸς τοῦ μι[σθώματος],  
 [καὶ τ]ὸ μίσθ[ωμα ἀπ]ο[δώσει ἐμ] μηνὶ Θαργελίωνι καθ' ἑκά[στ]ον τὸν  
 5 [ἐνιαυ]τὸν ἀτελὲς π[αντω]ν· εἰὰν δὲ μὴ [ἀ]ποδώ, πρ[ακ]-  
 [τὸς ἔ]σ[τω] τοῖς ν[εωποῖαις το]ῦ ἡμιολίου καὶ αὐ[τ]ὸς κ[αὶ]  
 [οἱ ἐγγ]υηταί. τὴν γῆν ἄρῳσι εἰ ἐναλλάξ καὶ οὐκ [ἀ]μφ[ι]-  
 [ετε]ί· εἰ νεὸν ἄροί, τρι[πλ]α[σ]ίους ἄρότους. ἀμπέλους δ[έ]  
 [σκ]άψει δις τὸμ πρ[ώ]το[ν] μ[ην]ὸς Ἀνθεστηριώνος, τ[ὸν]  
 10 δεῦτερον σκαφή[τ]ον [μηνὸς] Ταυρειώνος πρὸ εἰκάδ[ος].  
 συκάς ἅπαξ. τούτων ὁ [τ]ὶ ἂν μὴ [ἐργ]άζεται κατὰ τ[ὴν]  
 συγγρ[α]φήν, ἀποτείσει τ[ῆς ἀ]μ[π]έλο[υ] ἐ[κ]άστης καὶ συκῆ[ς]  
 ὀβολόν, ἄρότου ἐκάστου ζυγοῦ τρεῖς δραχμάς.  
 οἱ δ' ἐγγυηταὶ ἐγγυάσθω[σ]α[ν] π[ρ]ὸς τὸ τοῦ μισθώματο[ς]  
 15 καὶ τῶν ἐπέργων ἀπάντων [ἀπ]ό[τεισ]μα, εἰὰμ μὲν βοῦ-  
 ληται ἔχον ὁ μισθωσάμεν[ος]· [ε]ἰ [δ]ὲ μὴ, οἱ νεωποῖαι [μι]-  
 σθούντων. τειχία τὰ πίπτοντα ἀφ' αὐτοῦ ἀνορθώσ[ει].  
 εἰὰν δὲ μὴ ἀνορθώσῃ, ὀφειλέτω ἐκάστης ὀρ[γυῖας]  
 δραχμήν. φράξει τὰ ἐφ' ὁδοῦ τειχία ἅπαντα καὶ πεφρ[α]-  
 20 γμ[έν]α [κα]ταλείβει ἀπ[ὸ]ν· κοπροφορὰς ἐμβαλεῖ ἐκά[σ]τ-  
 του ἐνιαυτοῦ πενήκοντά τε καὶ ἑκατὸν μετρητῖδα[ς]  
 ἄρσίχ[ω]ι χ[ω]ρούση μέδ[ι]μνον τέσσαρα ἡμίεκτα· ἐὰν  
 δὲ μὴ ἐμβάλῃ, ἀποτείσει ἐκάστης ἄρσίχου τριώβολο[ν].  
 πίστιν δὲ ποιήσει πρὸς τοὺς νεωποῖας, ἥ μὴν ἐμβεβλη-  
 25 κέναι τῇ[ν] κ[ό]προν κατὰ τὴν συγγραφὴν· τέγη στεγνὰ  
 παρέξει κα[ὶ] καταλείβας παραδώσει. τὰς ἀμπέλους τὰς  
 ἐκκοπτομένας ἀποδιδόσθωσα[ν] οἱ νεωποῖαι· τὰς τράφα[ς]  
 ὀρύξει ἐμ μηνὶ Ἑῖραφίωνι, ὅπου ἂν σταθμῇσονται οἱ νε[ω]-  
 ποῖαι, τετράποδας καὶ τρίποδας, καὶ τὰ φυτὰ ἐμβαλεῖ  
 30 παρόντων τῶν νεωποιῶν, ἀμπέλους εἴκοσιν δι' ὅποσον  
 ἂν κελεύσων οἱ νεωποῖαι, συκάς δέκα, καθ' ἑκάστον τὸν  
 ἐνιαυτόν, καὶ ἐποικοδομήσει τειχίον ὑπὲρ γῆς· πύθω[ν]

The lessee . . . will furnish the temple administrators with suitable sureties . . . of the whole rent, and will pay the rent in the month Thargelion every year, free of all taxes. If he fails to pay there shall be exacted from the lessee and his sureties a fine equivalent to half the rent.

- 7 He will plough half the land each year, and not all the land in a single year. If he ploughs fallow land there will be three ploughings. He will dig round the vines twice, first in Anthesterion and again before the twentieth of Taureon, and round the fig trees once. If he fails to do this according to the lease agreement he will pay a fine of an obol for each vine or fig tree round which he fails to dig, and 3 drachmas for each *zugon* he fails to plough.
- 14 The sureties must guarantee the whole payment of the rent and of all required additional work, if the lessee wishes to retain possession; otherwise the temple administrators are to rent it out again.
- 17 He will build up again at his own expense all walls that are falling down; if he does not build them up let him pay a fine of a drachma per *orguia* [= c.2 m.]. He will strengthen all the walls along the road and leave them strengthened when he vacates the land.
- 20 Each year he will apply 150 measures of manure with a basket holding 1 *medimnos* and 4 *hemiekta*. If he does not apply it he will pay a fine of three obols per basket shortfall. He will make a pledge to the temple administrators that he has applied the manure according to the lease agreement.
- 25 He will keep the roofs watertight, and hand them over in this condition. The vines that are cut off the temple administrators must sell.
- 27 He will dig the ditches in the month Eiraphion, in the places marked out by the temple administrators, 4-foot ones and 3-foot ones, and will put in the plants in the presence of the temple administrators, planting twenty vines at the spacing ordered by the temple administrators, and ten fig trees, and he will build an additional wall above the land.



- ἐγγύην ἔξει, ἐὰμ μὴ τειχίον γίνηται· ὁ δὲ μισθωσάμενο[ς]  
πίστιν ἐπιθήσει πρὸς τοὺς νεωποίας· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἐμφυτε[ύ]-  
35 [ση] τὰ φυτὰ, ἀποτεισάτω ἑκάστου δραχμὴν· πρόβατα δ[ε]  
[μὴ] ἔξέστω ἐμβιάσκειν εἰς τὸ τέμενος μηδενί· εἰὰν δ' [ἐμ]-  
[βιβά]σκει, ἔστω [τὰ] πρόβατα ἱερὰ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Τεμενίτου. [ἐν]-  
[δεικνύν] ἔξέστω τῶι βουλομένῳ ἐπὶ τῶι ἡμίσει εἰς τὴν  
[βουλήν. εἰὰ]ν βούλονται οἱ νεωποῖαι προσθέτας συκᾶς [φυ]-  
40 τ[ε]ύειν εἰ[—<sup>5</sup>—] ατρ., ἔξέστω αὐτοῖς. ὅταν δὲ ἀπὶνὶ ὁ γεωρ-  
[γός, κ] αταλει[ψάτω κο]προφοράς ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα καὶ  
[παρ]αμετρησά[τω] τοῖς νεωποῖαις ἀρσίχῳ χωροῦσῃ  
[μ]ᾶδιμο[ν] τέσσα[ρα ἢ] μίκτα· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ παραμετρήσῃ,  
[ἀπ]οτεισάτω ἑκάσ[της] ἀρσίχου δραχμὴν· εἰσπραξάντων  
45 [δὲ] οἱ νεω[ποῖα]ι ἢ αὐτ[οὶ] φειλόντων διπλάσιον. παρασκά-  
[ψει] τὴν γῆν ν[ε]ιάν· εἰὰν δὲ μὴ παρασκάβῃ, ἀποτινέτω· κ'·  
[—<sup>7-8</sup>—]ς [—<sup>5-6</sup>—] ἀποδιδ[ότ]ω ἅμα τῶι μισθώματι. ἀποδ[ι]-  
δότης [—<sup>7-8</sup>—], ὅσον ἂν τ[ο]ῦ [ε]νιαυτοῦ, χωρὶς τοῦ μισθώμ[ατος]  
το[ῖς] ταμίαις] ἔμ μὴνὶ Θαργηλιῶν· εἰὰν δὲ μὴ ἀποδ[ώ]ι  
50 πρακτὸς ἔστω τοῦ ἡμιολίου τοῖς [τα]μίαις. ὅσα δ' ἂν ἀμφίβ[α]τα  
ἦι, ἅμα τῶι [γεωργ]ῶι πωλούντων ταῦτα οἱ νεωποῖαι ἐν τ[ῇ]  
[ἀγορᾷ] τῶι τῷ πλείστον ποιοῦντι, ἢ αὐτοὶ ἀποτινόντων [δι]-  
[πλασιον· τὸ] β[ο]υλομένῳ ἔστω ἐπὶ τῶι ἡμίσει ἐνδεικνύ[ειν]  
[τούτους] πρὸς τοὺς] μαστ[ῇ]ρας. ἂν φυτεύῃ καὶ ὑπάγῃ[ι, ..]  
[—<sup>16</sup>—]. εἰ δὲ μή, ἀποτείσει ἑκάστης ὄργυ[ιᾶς]  
[—<sup>14</sup>—] vacat

47 [τὰς ζημίαι]ς [ἀπάσας] SIG.

48 [τὸ τέλος] SIG.

A number of leases of agricultural land, with and without buildings, by religious groups or communities survive from the fourth century. This example from Amorgus is particularly important because of its detailed specification of agricultural practice.

To judge by the exemption from all taxes (5) and by the legal remedies offered (on *endeixis* see on 14), one of which may involve the council, it is the *polis* of Arcesine itself which leases out the land in question here; but the land seems either to include or to be immediately next to the sanctuary of Zeus Temenites, and it is the temple administrators who have charge over the management of the lease. Neither the area of land involved nor the term of the lease is specified in the part of the inscription that remains. Other fourth-century leases have terms varying from ten years to 'all time' (which is found several times). The only leases where we know the area of land involved are leases of small plots (1.8 and 0.7 ha.), but the terms in which this piece of land is discussed suggest it was rather larger.

The land includes arable, for which biennial fallow is required, vineyards, and fig trees, and there is an expectation that there will be flocks that need to be kept

- 32 He will provide security consisting of storage jars, if the wall is not built, and the lessee will make a pledge to the temple administrators.
- 34 If he does not plant the plants, let him pay a fine of a drachma per plant shortfall.
- 36 No one shall be allowed to bring flocks into the sanctuary; if anyone does bring them in, the flocks are to be sacred to Zeus Temenites. Anyone who wishes can make an indication (*endeiknymī*) to the council and be rewarded with half.
- 39 If the temple administrators want to plant additional fig trees . . . , they may do so.
- 40 When the farmer vacates the land, let him leave behind 150 loads of manure, and let him measure it out before the temple administrators with a basket containing a *medimnos* and 4 *hemiekta*. If he does not measure it out, let him pay a drachma per basket shortfall. Let the temple administrators exact the fine or themselves owe double.
- 45 He will dig a trench round the fallow land. If he does not dig a trench round it let him pay 20 dr. Let him hand over . . . at the same time as the rent.
- 47 Let him hand over . . . , whatever is of the year, to the treasurers in the month Thargelion separately from the rent. If he does not hand it over, let him be liable to a fine equal to half to the treasurers.
- 50 Anything that is subject to dispute the temple administrators along with the farmer(?) are to sell in the agora to whoever bids most, or themselves pay double. Anyone who wishes may indicate (*endeiknymī*) them before the *masteres* and be rewarded with half.
- 54 If he plants and leaves . . . if not, he will pay . . . for each fathom.

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out of the sanctuary. There are (terrace) walls to be repaired and boundary walls to be reinforced, and there are buildings whose roofs need to be kept waterproof (particularly important where walls are of mud-brick). The storage containers which serve as surety may be within a building, but there is no indication that the lessee is expected to dwell on the land. Other leases similarly suggest that buildings other than permanent dwelling houses were common in the countryside (see further Osborne, *BSA* lxxx 1985, 119–28), and many scatters of ancient tile and coarse pottery found in the Greek countryside by archaeological survey may come from such structures. Whether modern terrace walls are the direct descendants of ancient terraces is often impossible to assess, but the impossibility of practising agriculture on Aegean islands like Amorgos without terracing, and literary evidence for the importance of walls in the countryside (compare Dem. lv. *Callicles* 11), may suggest that abundant dry-stone walling was as much a feature of the Greek landscape then as now. (On the walls see Foxhall, 49–51).

The insistence on fallow can be paralleled in Athenian leases, two of which insist on

a green fallow crop of legumes (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1241, 2493). The grammarian Moeris identifies the use of *amphietes*, meaning ‘annually’, as particularly Attic, and *amphietei* is securely restored here (7–8). It is not impossible that this lease is heavily influenced by Athenian practice. Athens had a garrison at Arcesine in the 350s (see 51), and Amorgus is one of few places outside Attica to adopt the practice of marking the mortgaging of property on boundary-stones (*horoi*: see on 63). It is even possible (see Jameson) that the minute concern for the details of agricultural practice here results from the direct intervention of the one Athenian known to have been governor at Arcesine, Androtion (see on 51): he was not only an important local historian of Athens but author of a work on farming.

Remarks by Xenophon and Theophrastus and the way that ‘sowing barley in the straw’ came to be a proverb show that the biennial fallow insisted on here was regarded as good husbandry. The insistence on triple ploughing of fallow, the purpose of which was to prevent growth and seeding of weeds and to cut down moisture loss, goes back to Hesiod. The insistence on the right time for particular agricultural tasks (here digging round vines in February and (early) April, planting vines and figs in December) is also reminiscent of Hesiod. The timings given here correspond to modern Greek practice (Osborne, *Classical Landscape*, 15 and ch. ii, Burford, *Land and Labor*, ch. iii, Isager and Skydsgaard, *Ancient Greek Agriculture*).

The insistence on manuring and the precise stipulation about the amount of manure to be applied is unique, although, just as here precautions are taken to see that the lessee does not remove all manure at the end of the lease, so in other leases the removal of manure from the land leased is forbidden (see again *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2493 and compare the topsoil removal prohibition in II<sup>2</sup> 2492). It is unfortunate, given the precise information about quantity of manure, that the absence of information about the total area involved prevents us judging manuring rates, for which there is no other ancient Greek information.

One source of manure is presumably the flocks whose entry into the sanctuary of Zeus is prohibited. Concern to limit the destructive effects of animals, and their depositing dung in the wrong places, is not infrequently found in Greek inscriptions (Osborne, *Classical Landscape*, 47–9; see also Isager and Skydsgaard, *Ancient Greek Agriculture*, ch. xiv). The encouragement of third-party prosecution of offenders against

## 60

### Public buildings at Tegea, fourth century

A marble *stèle* broken into 5 pieces, found in 1859 ‘10 minutes from Piali’ (i.e. close to site of Temple of Athena Alea). Now in Epigraphical Museum, Athens, nos. 10284–5. Photo: *IG* v. ii pl. III (part of A. 34–8).

Tegean form of Arcadian dialect. New clauses marked by *paragrapheis* between their first and second lines.

*IG* v. ii 6; Buck 19 (A only); Dubois, *Recherches sur le dialecte arcadien*, ii. *Corpus Dialectal*, Té 3 (only part of B); *IPArk* 3–4\*. Trans. Dubois (part), *IPArk*. See also Burford, *The Greek Temple Builders at Epidauros*.

this rule may be linked to the need to ensure that the city is seen by the gods to be taking action against those who damage only the gods' interests.

Amongst other duties, the lessee is required to plant trees annually. Emphyteutic leases, which require a lessee to plant trees, are known from the fifth century on (*IG* 1<sup>3</sup> 84), but seem to have become particularly frequent in later antiquity as cities attempted to stem agricultural decline. Here the penalties for failing to plant vines and figs (a drachma a plant, 35) are much more severe than the penalties for failing properly to cultivate the existing plants (an obol a plant, 12–13).

The order in which the clauses of the lease are presented is somewhat chaotic. The clause on not pasturing animals in the sanctuary (35–9) comes between the discussion of planting and the statement that the temple administrators can have additional figs planted; the requirements about fallow land in 7–8 are amplified in 45–6. This chopping and changing makes it difficult to know whether there is a connection between successive requirements. Is there, for example, any connection between the planting of vines and figs and the building of a wall in 32?

Towards the end of the lease it becomes very unclear what is happening. Earlier editors have restored the text to have the lessee pay his fines and his taxes at the same time as the rent. But (a) the payments resulting from failing to carry out particular agricultural tasks seem consistently referred to by the verb *apotino* and the noun *apoteisma*, not by *apodidomi* (used here only of paying rent, 4–5) and *zemia*; (b) paying taxes seems discordant with the earlier statement that the lessee pays no taxes; and (c) it is hard to see any connection with the following clauses about things subject to dispute being sold to the highest bidder. It is to be noted that the only payments in the whole inscription paid to 'treasurers' (civic officials?) rather than to the temple administrators are those paid 'separately from the rent' in lines 48–50. Whatever is happening here, it appears that great store is laid by it: volunteer prosecutors are encouraged by monetary rewards to ensure that the temple administrators do this selling, and they report this time not to the council but to the *masteres* who, to judge by Harpokration *s.v.* ( $\mu$  10), were special investigative magistrates—the closest a Greek city got to public prosecutors. We do not understand what is going on here, or whether all these clauses are connected with the further mention of planting that follows and that seems to have been the last subject mentioned.

## A

- ΠΕΡΙΤΕ -----ΦΙΛΟ *vacat?*  
 εἴ κ' ἄν τι γίνηται τοῖς ἐργώνας τοῖς ἰν τοῖ αὐτοῖ  
 ἔργοι, ὅσα περὶ τὸ ἔργον. ἀπνεσθω δὲ ὁ ἀδικήμενος  
 τὸν ἀδικέντα ἰν ἀμέραις τρισὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἂν τὸ ἀδί-  
 5 κημα γένηται, ὕστερον δὲ μή, καὶ ὁ τι ἂν κ[ρ]ίνωνσι  
 οἱ ἐσδοτῆρες κύριον ἔστω. εἰ δὲ πόλεμος δια-  
 κωλύσει τι τῶν ἔργων τῶν ἐσδοθέντων ἢ τῶν  
 ἡργασμένων τι φθέραι, οἱ τριακάσιοι διαγρόντων  
 τι δεῖ γίνεσθαι· οἱ δὲ στραταγοὶ πόσοδομο ποέντω.  
 10 εἴ κ' ἄν δέκατοὶ σφεις πόλεμος ἦναι ὁ κωλύων ἢ ἐ-  
 φθορκῶς τὰ ἔργα, λαφυροπωλίου ἐόντος κατὰ τὰς  
 πόλεις· εἰ δὲ τι ἐργωνήσας μὴ ἰγκεχηρήκοι τοῖς  
 ἔργοις, ὁ δὲ πόλεμος διακωλύει, ἀπυδόας τὸ ἀργύριον,  
 τὸ ἂν λελαβηκῶς τυγχάνη, ἀφείσθω τῷ ἔργῳ,  
 15 εἴ κ' ἄν κελεύωνσι οἱ ἐσδοτῆρες· εἴ δ' αὖ τις ἐπι-  
 συνίσταται ταῖς ἐσδόσεσι τῶν ἔργων ἢ λυμαίνη-  
 τοι κατ' εἰς τινα τρόπον φθέρων, ζαμιόντων  
 οἱ ἐσδοτῆρες, ὅσαι ἂν δέκατοὶ σφεις ζαμίαι, καὶ  
 ἀγκαρυσ[σόν] τῳ ἢ ἐπὶ κρισιν καὶ ἰναγόντων  
 20 ἰν δικαστήριον τὸ γινόμενον τοῖ πληθὶ τὰς  
 ζαμίαν. μὴ ἐξέστω δὲ μηδὲ κοινᾶνας γενέσθαι  
 πλέον ἢ δύο ἐπὶ μηδενὶ τῶν ἔργων· εἰ δὲ μή, ὀφλέτω  
 ἕκαστος πεντήκοντα δαρχμάς· ἐπελασάσθων  
 δὲ οἱ ἀλίσταί, ἱμφαίνεν δὲ τὸμ βολόμενον ἐπὶ τοῖ  
 25 ἡμίσοι τὰς ζαμίαν, καὶ τὰ αὐτὰ δὲ καὶ εἴ κ' ἄν τις  
 πλέον ἢ δύο ἔργα ἔχη τῶν ἱερῶν ἢ τῶν δαμ[ο]σίων  
 κατ' εἰς τινα τρόπον, ὅτινι ἂμ μὴ οἱ ἀλίστα[ι]  
 παρατάξωνσι ὁμοθυμαδὸν πάντες, ζαμιώ[σ]θω  
 καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν πλεόνων ἔργων κατὰ μὴνα  
 30 πεντήκοντα δαρχμαῖς, μέστ' ἂν ἐπιτ[ελέσῃ]  
 τὰ ἔργα τὰ πλέονα. εἴ δ' ἄν τις [ἐσδ]ικῆται τῶν  
 περὶ τὰ ἔργα συγ[γεγραμμέ]ν[ων] κατ' εἰς δὲ τι, μὴ  
 . . . . . ἐκ . . . . . ν' εἰ δὲ μή, μὴ οἱ ἔστω ἰνδικον  
 μηδέποθι ἄλλ' ἢ ἰν Τεγέαι· εἴ δ' ἄν ἰνδικάζηται,  
 35 ἀπυτεισάτω τὸ χρέος διπλάσιον, τὸ ἂν δικάζηται.  
 ἔστω δὲ καὶ τῶν τῷ ἐπιζαμίῳ ὁ αὐτὸς ἕγγυος ὅπερ  
 καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ ἦς ἰν ἔστεισιν. εἴ δ' ἄν τις ἐργωνήσας  
 ἔργον τι ποσκατυβλάβη τι ἄλλῳ τῷ ὑπαρχόντων  
 ἔργων εἴτε ἱερὸν εἴτε δαμόσιον εἴτε ἴδιον  
 40 παρὰ τὰν σύγγραφον τὰς ἐσδοκαῦ, ἀπυκαθιστάτω

2, 10, 15, 25 εἴ κ' ἄν IG, IPArk, εἴ κ' ἄν Dubois.

30 ἐπιτ[ελέσῃ] Hoffmann, IPArk, ἐπισ[χῆ] πάντα IG.

33 . . . . . ἐκ . . . . . ν' IG, [ὑπεί]κ[ε]τω τὰς ἐργωνία IG, IPArk.

15, 31, 34, 37, 45 cf. 52 εἴ δ' ἄν IG, IPArk, εἴ δ' ἄν Dubois.

31 [ἐσδ]ικῆται IG, [ἐξω]κῆται IPArk.

## A

Concerning . . . if any trouble occurs between the contractors on the same task as regards the task.

- 3 The man who has been wronged is to summon the person who has committed the offence within three days from the day on which the offence occurred, and not later, and whatever those who issue the contracts decide is to be valid.
- 6 If war prevents the completion of any of the works that are under contract, or destroys any work that has been done, the Three Hundred are to decide what should happen. The generals are to account the income to the city, if it seems that it is war which has prevented or destroyed the work, when the sale of war booty takes place. But if someone who has taken a contract has not started the work, and war prevents work, he is to give back whatever money he has received and be released from the work, if those who have issued the contract so order. But if anyone gets together to oppose the allocation of the contracts, or does harm by destroying the work in any way, those who issue the contracts are to punish him with whatever punishment they think fit, and let him be summoned to judgment and brought into whatever court is appropriate for the magnitude of the penalty.
- 21 It is not to be permitted for more than two people to contract jointly for any of the works. In case of any breach, each is to be fined 50 drachmas, and the *haliastai* are to enforce this; anyone who wishes may make an exposure (*imphainein*) for a reward of half the penalty. In the same way, if anyone has contracts for more than two pieces of work, either sacred or public, in any way, to whom the *haliastai* have not given express and unanimous permission, he is to be penalized 50 drachmas a month for each work over two until he completes those supernumerary contracts.
- 31 If anyone brings litigation concerning the terms of the contract for work on any matter, he is not . . . If not, it shall not be possible for him to be a litigant anywhere other than in Tegea; if he is condemned, he is to pay double the amount for which the suit is brought, and the surety for the penalty is to be the same person as was surety for the work, for its payment.
- 37 If someone who has taken a contract for work also does harm to some other existing work, whether sacred or public or private, contrary to the terms of the contract, he is to make restitution

- τὸ κατυβλαφθὲν τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀναλώμασιν μὴ ᾗσσον  
 ἢ ὑπάρχεῖν τοῖ χρόνοι τᾶς ἐργωνίας· εἴδαμ μὴ  
 κατυστάσῃ, τὰ ἐπιζάμια ἀπυτειέτω, κατὰπερ  
 ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔργοις τοῖς ὑπεραμείροις τέτακτοι.  
 45 εἴδαν τις τῶν ἐργωνῶν ἢ τῶν ἐργαζομένων  
 ἐπηρειάζεν δέατοι ἐν τὰ ἔργα ἢ ἀπειθῆναι τοῖς  
 ἐπιμελομένοις ἢ κατυφρονῆναι τῶν ἐπιζαμίων  
 τῶν τεταγμένων, κύριοι ἐόντω οἱ ἐσδοτῆρες  
 τὸμ μὲν ἐργάταν ἐσδέλλοντες ἐς τοῖ ἔργοι,  
 50 τὸν δὲ ἐργῶναν ζαμιόντες ἐν ἐπικρισιν, κατὰπερ  
 τὸς ἐπισυνισταμένους ταῖς ἐσδοκαῖς γέγραπ[τ]οι·  
 ὅ τι δαν ἐσδοθῇ ἔργον εἴτε ἱερὸν εἴτε δαμόσι[ον],  
 ὑπάρχεν τὰγ κοινὰν σύγγραφον ταν[ν]ὶ κυρί[αν]  
 πρὸς τᾷ ἐπὲς τοῖ ἔργοι γεγραμμέ[ναι σ]υγγράφ[οι].

## B (col. i)

- 55 [-----]IE[---]TY  
 [-----] τον Ἀριστοκλῆος τῷ  
 [-----]Δ[Δ]ΔΔΓ<Ε Πλατιαν ΜΜΔΙ[Ι]ΙΧ  
 [-----] ταῦ Σακλείδαν ΦΔΓ<<< Στασίαν  
 [-----]ΧΧ ἐφ' ἱερὶ Σαῖτίου ταμίαι στρα-  
 60 [ταγῶν τῶν περὶ -----]εξίας Θρασυ[κ]λῆς Ἐπιτέλης  
 [ἀπέδωκαν ἀπὸν ταῖ ἐ]πιτεταῖαι τᾷ ἐφ' ἱερὶ Αἰσῶνι τοῖσδε  
 [ἐπαθλα -----]έωνος ΜΜΜΔΔΔ<<<ΙΕ [Ἀσ]τυκλῆος  
 [-----]παίδων ΔΔ<<ΙΙΙΙΤ Ξεροκλῆος ΔΔΔ<  
 [-----]ΜΦΓ<<<ΙΙΙΙ Λεοντία[ν] ΦΓ<<[<]ΙΙΕ  
 65 [-----] Ἀριστοδάμω ΜΔΔ<<<ΙΙΙ Λεοντίχω  
 [-----]αν ΜΔΔΔΔ<<<ΙΕΧ Ἀριστοκλῆος  
 [-----]νος ΔΔ<<<ΙΙΙ[.] Κλέωνος ΜΔΔΙΕ  
 [-----]Ἀρισταίω ΜΜΔΔΔ<ΙΙΕ Ἀγαθοκλῆος  
 [-----]άμω ΦΓ<ΙΙΕΤ Ἀγέαν ΜΜΜΔ<<<ΙΙ[Ι]ΙΕ  
 70 [----- ταμίαι στρ]αταγῶν τῶν περὶ Γοργιάδα[ν]  
 [-----, ---]ίμων, Εὐρυβιάδας ἀπέδωκ[αν]  
 [ἀπὸν τᾷ ἐπιτεταῖαι τᾷ ἐ]φ' ἱερὶ Σαῖτίου τοῖσδε ἐπαθλα·  
 [-----]ΔΓΙΙΤΧΧ Μεγακλῖ Δ<<ΙΕ Γοργύθοι Γ  
 [-----]αν Κλεοστράτοι ΜΜΜΔ<ΙΙΙΙ Τιμ-  
 75 [-----]ιδάμοι Δ<ΙΙΙΙ Αντιβόλοι ΜΜΜΜΦΔ  
 [-----]νίρι ΦΔΓ<ΙΙΙΙΕ Προξένω ΔΙΕ  
 [-----]λλαι Φ<ΙΕΙ ΜΜΜΜΓ<Ι  
 [-----<<<ΙΙΙΙ Πολυκρέτι ΔΔΔΔ<<ΙΙΕΤ  
 [-----]ὀγδόαν· Ἀρισταίω ΔΔ<<ΙΙΕ Τιμ-

42 εἰδ' ἄμ IG, IPArk, εἴδαμ Dubois.

60 -- ]εξίας IG; Ἀλ]εξίας Dubois.

61 (cf. 72) ἀπέδωκαν τᾷν

ἐ]πιτεταῖαι IG, ἀπέδωκαν ἐ]πὶ ἐτεταῖαι Dubois comparing I. Magnesia 38. 45.

of what has been damaged at his own expense to a condition not worse than it was at the time he undertook the contract. If he does not make restitution, he is to pay the penalties just as is ordained for other works which are overdue.

- 45 If any contractor or workman seems to be abusive against the work or does not obey those put in charge or shows contempt for the penalties that have been imposed, those letting the contract are to have power to exclude a workman from the work and penalise a contractor in court in the same way as is prescribed for those who oppose the allocation of contracts. Whatever work is allocated, whether sacred or public, the general contract is to be valid in addition to the contract that is written with regard to the particular work.

### B

- 56 of Aristocles — +46 dr.,  $\frac{1}{2}$  obol; of Platias, 2 minas, 10 dr., 4 obols, 1 chalcus; — of Sacleidas 68 dr.; of Stasias — 2 chalci.
- 59 During the priesthood of Saitios, the treasurers of the generals around —, —exias, Thrasycles, Epiteles paid out of the annual income for the year when Lison was priest, *epathla* to the following: of —eon, 3 minas, 34 dr.,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  obols; of Astycles — of the children, 22 dr.,  $4\frac{1}{4}$  obols; of Hierocles, 31+ dr.; of —, 1+ mina, 59 dr., 4 obols; of Leontias, 58 dr.,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  obols; —; of Aristodamus, 1 mina, 23 dr., 3 obols; of Leontichus, —; of —as, 1 mina, 44 dr.,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  obol, 1 chalcus; of Aristocles, —; of —n, 23 dr., 3+ obols; of Cleon, 1 mina, 20 dr.,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  obols; —; of Aristaeus, 2 minas, 31 dr.,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  obols; of Agathocles, —; of —amos, 56 dr.,  $2\frac{3}{4}$  obols; of Ageas, 3 minas, 13 dr.,  $4\frac{1}{2}$  obols.
- 70 During the priesthood of —, the treasurers of the Generals around Gorgiadas, —, —imon and Eurybiadas paid out of the annual income for the year when Saitius was priest, *epathla* to the following: — 17+ dr.,  $\frac{1}{4}$  obol, 2 chalci; to Megacles, 12 dr.,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  obols; to Gorgythus, 5+ dr.; to Cleostratus son of —tas, 3 minas, 11 dr., 5 obols; to Tim—, —; to —idamus, 11 dr., 5 obols; to Antibolus, 4 minas, 60+ dr.; to —nios 66 dr.,  $4\frac{1}{2}$  obols; to Proxenus,  $11\frac{1}{2}$  obols; —; to —llas, 5 minas, 1 dr.,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  obol — 4 minas, 6 dr., 1+ obol; — 4+ dr., 4 obols; to Polycres, 42 dr.,  $2\frac{3}{4}$  obols.
- 79 — of the eighth: to Aristaeus, 22 dr.,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  obols; to Timi—, —; to



- 80 [-----]υμέδοντι ΜΜΜ<ΠΕ Μαντίαι ΓΠ  
 [-----]ΙΕΙΩΤΑΙ[. . .]ΓΕ [Ο]γασίμω Ι  
 [-----]ἀπέδωκαν[σι]· Εὐφάης *vacat*  
 [-----]μω ἐπ' Ἀθαναίαν ἐβδόμαν· !!! Ἀστι-  
 [-----]<ΧΧ Κλεανέτω [Μ]Δ<<ΙΙΙΙΤ Πεδιο-  
 85 [-----]<[Τ] Ἀγαθοκλέ[ο]ς ΜΔΔ<<ΙΙΙΙΕ Πλα[τίαν]  
 [-----]Γοργίλω ΜΜΔΔΔΔ<<ΙΕ δευτέρα[ν].  
 [-----]Πλ]ειστέαν ΠΓ<ΙΙΙΙ Μαρ---  
*break*

(col. ii)

- κλης [.] Καλλίας Ε[-----]  
 φυλαί [τᾶ]ι ἐπ' Ἀθαναίαν Ε[-----]  
 90 [.]ι Ἀμφ[. . π]ρώταν· Λύωνι ΔΔΙΙΙΙ ΠΟ[<sup>611</sup>] <<<<ΕΤ Ἀθι-  
 λωι Π[.]ΙΤ Δαμοφάωνος ΔΔ<<<ΙΙΤ Τελέσ[τα]ν τω Τελέσταν ΠΙ(?)  
 ΠΔ Τελέσταν ΔΔΔΓ Τελέσταν Π<<Ε Λυσικλῆς Δύωνος Π[. . .](?)  
 Δ<<ΙΙ Θίβρωνος Βραχύλλω <<<Ε Τελέσταν ΔΔΔΔ<Ε δευτέρα· Ἀρι-  
 στεΐαι ΜΠ<ΙΕ ἀπυ τοῖ Σαΐσκω ὅσω ποσεδεόμεθα ΜΜΔΔΔΔ  
 95 Π<<<ΙΕ [ΙΤ]όλλυδος ΜΜΜ [-----]  
 (ι)ερῆς Ἀ[σ]τυλλος· τῷ ταλάντω τῷ ἅ πόλις ἀπυδίει,  
 ἀπυδώσονσι τῷ ἔτεος τῷ ἐπὶ Δαμοστράτοι  
 πε [τὸ δι]καστήριον ταμίαι· Εὐδαμος Τιμοκρέτεος  
 [ὅσω ποσε]δεόμεθα τῷ ἔς τοῖ ἔτι τοῖ ἐπὶ Δαμοστρά-  
 100 [τοι, ἀπυδ]ώσονσι δὲ ἐφ' ἱερὶ Ἀστύλλοι. τοῖσδε  
 [ἀπέδωκ]αν τρίταν· Νικερέταν ΜΜΔΔ<<ΙΙ Πα-  
 [---] ΜΜΜΜΔ<ΙΙΙΙΤΧΧ Παντοκλέος ΔΔΓΙΙΙΙ  
 [---]κλέος ΜΜΠΔ<<<<ΕΤ Τιλείαν [ . . . ] ΜΜΔΔ[Ι]! Α-  
 [---]τοκράτεος ΔΔΔΔΙΙΙΙ τετόρταν ἐπ' Αἰνίαν·  
 105 [---] Αἰσ[χρ]ῆωνος ΜΜΠΔ[.] [Ἀρισ]τ[ο]τρελεος ΔΔΙ  
 [-----] ΜΔΔΔΓ<<<[-----]  
 [---]<<<ΙΙΙΙΕ Ἐσφάντω ΜΔ[. . . . .] ἀ[πέδωκαν]  
 [ὅσω πο]σεδεόμεθα ΜΜΜΓ<<< [Εὐδα]μος ΘᾶΜΠΔ  
 [ἐπὶ . . . . .]· στραταγοὶ οἱ περὶ Σακλήν· Σώπολις  
 110 [—<sup>8</sup>—]λῆς ΜΜΜΜΔ<ΙΙΙΧΧ Νικασίας ΜΜ Ἐπι-  
 [—<sup>7</sup>—]ΔΔΔ<ΙΙΙΤ Σωδάμω ΜΜΜΜΓ<ΠΕ Ἐκ[ά]τω  
 [—<sup>7</sup>—]Ἀρι]σταίω Δ<<ΙΙΙΙΕ Αἰσωνος τῷ Δαμύναν  
 [ . . . . . ]αν· Παντοκλέος ΔΔΔ<<<<ΙΙΙΙΕ Νέω· ΜΜΠΓ<<<  
 [—<sup>6</sup>—]άρχω ΔΔΓ<<< Δέξωνος Γ< Αἰνησ(ιδάμ)ω <ΙΕ  
 115 [ . . . . ]λέος ΜΜΔΙΙΙΕ Σάωνος Δ<<ΙΙ Νικασίαν ΜΜ  
 [ . . . . ]Δ<<<<ΙΙΙ[.] ἀπὺ τοῖ Ἀμφικλέος ὅσω ποσεδεό[μ]ε[θα]  
 [ . . . . ]Δ Ἀασίω ΜΜΔ<< Ἀλ[ε]ξάν[δρ]ω -----]

101 [ἀπέδωκ]αν τρίταν *IPAtk*, [--- αν]τών· τρίταν· *IG*.114 Αἰνησ(ιδάμ)ω *IG*, Αἰνήσω *Dubois*.

—ymedon, 3 minas, 1 dr., 2½ obols; to Mantias, 5 dr., 2+ obols; — to —eiotas, 5+ dr., ½ obol; of Onasimus, 1+ obol.

- 83 — granted. Euphaes — for Athanaia, of the seventh, 3 obols; of Asti—, 1+ dr., 2 chalci; of Cleainetus, 1 mina, 12 dr., 5¼ obols; of Pedio—, 2+ dr., 1¼ obols; of Agathocles, 1 mina, 23 dr., 4½ obols; of Platias, —; of Gorgilus, 2 minas, 43 dr., 1½ obols.

- 86 Of the second: — of Pleistias, 56 dr., 4 obols; of Mar— — —  
*break*

Callias — for the tribe Athanaia —

- 90 Of the first: to Lyon, 20 dr., 5 obols; to Po—, — 4+ dr., ¾ obol; to Athilus, 50+ dr., 1¼ obols; of Damophaon 23 dr., 2¼ obols; of Telestas son of Telestas, 5 dr., 1 obol(?), 60+ dr.; of Telestas, 35 dr.; of Telestas, 52 dr., ½ obol; of Lysicles son of Dyon, 5+ dr.(?), 12+ dr. 2 obols; of Thibron son of Brachyllus, 3 dr., ½ obol; of Telestas, 41 dr., ½ obol.

- 93 Of the second: to Aristeias, 1 mina, 51 dr., 1½ obols.

- 94 From the year of Saiscus, the amount that we needed in addition: 2 minas, 48 dr., 1½ obols; of Pollis, 3 minas (*erasure*).

- 96 Priest Astyllus: of the talent which the city was missing, the treasurers of the year under Damostratus will give to the court: Eudamus son of Timocrates. The amount that we needed in addition for the year under Demostratus, they will give under the priest Astyllus. To the following they gave the third: of Nicaretas, 2 minas, 22 dr., 2 obols; Pa— 4 minas, 11 dr., 4¼ obols, 2 chalci; of Pantocles, 25 dr., 5 obols; of —cles, 2 minas, 64 dr., ¾ obol; of Tileas, 2+ minas, 20 dr., 2 obols; of A—, —tocrates, 40 dr., 4 obols; of the fourth under Aenias: — of Aeschriion, 2 minas, 60 drachmas+; of Aristotles, 20 dr., 1 obol; — 1 mina, 38 dr.; — +3 dr., 4½ obols; of Esphantus, 1 mina, 10+ dr. They paid the amount that we needed in addition: 3 minas, 8 dr.; Eudamus: 21 minas, 60 dr.

- 109 Under — the generals with Sacles, Sopolis — —les, 4 minas, 12 dr., 3 obols, 2 chalci; Nicasias, 2 minas; of Epi—, — 32+ dr., 3¼ obols; of Sodamus, 4 minas, 6 dr., 2½ obols; of Hecatus, —; of Aristaeus, 12 dr., 4½ obols; of Lison son of Daminas, —; of Pantocles, 34 dr., 5½ obols; of Neus, 2 minas, 58+ dr.; of —archus, 28 dr.; of Dexon, 6 dr.; of Aenesidamus, 1 dr., 1½ obols; of —leus, 2 minas, 10 dr., 3½ obols; of Saon, 12 dr., 2 obols; of Nicasias, 2+ minas, 13+ dr., 3+ obols.

- 117 From the beginning of the year of Amphicles, the amount that we needed in addition —: of Lasius 2 minas, 12 dr.; of Alexander —

Various aspects of architectural history are directly illuminated by inscriptions. City decrees order the construction of buildings or honour individuals who have undertaken building projects, contracts lay down the details of a whole project or of particular elements of a building, committees of overseers publish accounts detailing purchases of material and payments to contractors (extensive accounts survive from fifth-century Athens (for the Erechtheum), from fourth-century Delos, Delphi, and Epidaurus, and from hellenistic Didyma; for examples see Hellmann, *Choix*, nos. 17–23).

This stone from Tegea was inscribed in the mid fourth century with rules of contract on one face and accounts of the treasurers of the generals, three or four in number, on the other in two columns. The accounts (*B*) are poorly preserved but some connection between them and contracts for public works seems likely. We appear to have accounts for seven different years, dated by priests (of Athena Alea, also used to date other Tegean documents) (ll. 55–9, 59–69, 70–81, 82–7, 88–95, 96–108, 109–17). Tod (*BSA* xviii 1911/12, 105) thought what was given was a subscription list, but it seems more likely that we have lists of payments made. Payments by the treasurers (*tamiai*) of the generals (59–60, 70) and by the generals themselves (109) are referred to in the third person, but there are also references in the first person plural, which seem to refer to actions by the current board of treasurers of the generals. The treasurers seem to be held personally liable before a court for irregularities in their accounts (96–100, where the name Eudamus is perhaps the name of the prosecutor (compare line 108))? What the payments recorded are for is unclear. The term *epathla*, used to describe them at 72 (and restored in 62 and 101), has been variously interpreted as salaries for magistrates or prizes at the festival of the Aleaia, but the very miscellaneous amounts involved do not sit well with either of those interpretations, and might better suit payments to contractors (and so a closer connection with face *A*). Those to whom money is given are sometimes named in the genitive and sometimes in the dative case (and in one case in the nominative (92)), with no apparent rationale for the change from one case to another which at one point (90–1) occurs within a single year. From the third year recorded onwards there are also numbered payments, with numbers in the genitive case, although what survive are not in numerical order. We must admit that the details of the transactions recorded here are beyond our understanding.

As it survives (the beginning is lost and must have contained the clauses referred to at ll. 36–7, 43–4), the contract here is almost entirely concerned with problems that might arise in the course of works being carried out. This puts it at the opposite extreme from contracts like that for the Athenian arsenal designed by Philo of Eleusis (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1668, Hellmann, *Choix*, no. 12), which lays down the building specifications in detail but has no concern at all for how the building work is carried out or what is to happen in case of default. But the extremely general nature of this Tegea contract also separates it from other contracts, which combine rules and working instructions: the Tegea contract is not attached to any specific instructions; instead it describes itself as a ‘common contract’ to be valid in addition to any work-specific contract (54–5). This common contract seems designed to cover all public works, not simply building works (*IG* XII ix 191, a contract to drain a lake from late fourth-century Eretria, has a number of clauses in common with this inscription). Although the findspot suggests some con-

nection between this inscription and the building, in the middle of the fourth century, of the temple of Athena Alea, under the direction of the architect and sculptor Scopas (Pausanias, viii. 45. iv), this contract is certainly not exclusive to that building.

Just how 'general' is this contract? Contracts from other places, including the particularly detailed contract from hellenistic Lebadeia (*IG* vii 3073, partly reproduced as Hellmann, no. 13) often have clauses that are limited to what is relevant to their own particular concerns, and sanctions that are imposed by magistrates particularly concerned with the project in question (e.g. *naopoioi* in the case of building a temple). Here the clauses all concern big and transferable problems: quarrels between workers, disruption by war, damage to work, the number of contractors who can be engaged for a single job of work, and the number of contracts one contractor can be engaged for, pursuit of grievances concerning the contract in a court of law, causing damage to pre-existing work when executing a contract, and abusive behaviour by the contractor. Any of these clauses might reflect some recent incident or be designed to deal with some particular form of difficulty that was imminently expected (Tegea had seen plenty of warfare and civil strife in the second quarter of the fourth century). But the reference of grievances to standard judicial bodies (the *haliastai* are those who man the courts), rather than to the magistrates concerned with a particular sort of work, and the role of magistrates named *esdoteres* ('those who issue the contracts') further argues (against Burford, 92, and despite the rather random order of presentation) for the general force of this contract: it is an attempt to ensure that in future all public contracts are executed on the same basic conditions. Although the impression that contracts will lead to difficulties that have to be resolved by legal means is in part a product of the nature of the document, the document does make clear that litigiousness was not an Athenian monopoly. For the procedure implied by *imphainein* (24) see on 14. For the Three Hundred see *IG* v. ii 3 = Buck 18 = *LSCG* 67 = *IPArk* 2. 20-1, and, at Mantinea, 14).

Although this contract differs in form from other known contracts, almost all the clauses can be paralleled. Provision for quarrels between contractors is made at Athens, Delos, and Lebadeia, for war damage at Lebadeia and Eretria, for numbers of contractors and contracts per contractor at Epidauros, and for the discipline of the workers at Lebadeia (Greek building contracts are helpfully summarized and discussed by Burford 91-102). One clause is unique: the clause barring a contractor from seeking to resolve a dispute in a court of law outside Tegea if he has taken money for doing the work. By this clause those issuing the contract make accepting pay tantamount to accepting the conditions. That such a clause was needed indicates the degree to which cities respected each other's legal standing: disputes arising between the authorities in one city and a citizen from another city could normally be taken to court in either place. Given the loss of the early part of the text no conclusions can be drawn from clauses found in other contracts but not here. It is likely, however, that more particular regulations, such as those found on Delos and at Lebadeia about numbers of workmen and the length of the working day, and those found in Athens, Delos, and Lebadeia about contract price and the inspection of work, will not have belonged to a 'common contract'. It is notable that in some of its provisions

this contract is more restrictive than practice elsewhere: at Athens as many as seven contractors may be involved in a single piece of work, and at Delphi individuals are known to have had several contracts in a single year, though we cannot tell whether they were held simultaneously or sequentially.

The inscription shows a number of distinctive Arcadian dialectal features, and one

## 61

### Introduction of members to a phratry (?), Tenos, fourth century

A marble *stèle*, damaged on all sides but with original margin preserved to top and to left. From Kounares, Tenos, now lost.

Central Ionic, retaining old *o* for *ou*.

Graindor, *RA* lxxi = 5vi 1917, 54–67 (with photograph); Haussoullier, *RPh* 1 1926, 97–100; *IG* xii *Supp.* 303\*, *LSS* 48, Étienne, *Ténos*, ii 40-2 no.2. Trans. Ogden, *Greek Bastardy*, 286. See also Le Guen-Pollet, 3.

νόμος ἐσαγωγῆς· γυναῖκα χιμάρωι, υἶδν χιμάρ[ωι· μὴ ἐσάγειν]  
 πρὶν ἂν πεντήκοντα ἔτη τῶι πατρὶ γένηται· ὁμ[οπάτριον δὲ]  
 πατρὸς ἀποθανόντος μὴ ἀπῶσαι τοῖς ἔτεσ[ι ————— 613]·  
 νόθον μὴ εἶναι ἐσάγειν· ἥν μὴ ἐξωθῆται, τοῖς ἔτ[εσι τοῖς καὶ]  
 5 ἐπὶ γνησίοις νόθον ἐσάγειν· ὃς δ' ἂν νόθον ἐσά[γῃ, ἀποτινέτω]  
 εἰκοσιπέντε δραχμάς· ἐπὶ τὴν ἰστίην ὁμνύτω [καὶ μάρτυρας]  
 [δ]ύ[ο] παρεχέτω ὁμνύντας οἰόμενον· ὁ δὲ ἐσάγωγ[ὴ καὶ ὁμνύτω]  
 [ὁμοσ]άτριον ἢ ἀδελφῶ παιῖδα· ὁμνύτω δὲ καὶ ἡ μ[ὴ]τήρ· ὃς δ' ἂν μὴ]  
 [πείθῃ] τῶν παρόντων τινά, ζημιόσθω πέντε δρ[αχμαῖς].

Letters are dotted as in Graindor's *editio princeps*.

Graindor, *IG*; ἔτεσ[ι τοῖς τοῦ πατρός]. Osborne.

3 ἔτεσ[ι τοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ υἱῶι]· *LSS*; ἔτεσ[ι τοῖς διὰ μέσου]

4 punctuation, Graindor.

7 ἐσάγωγ[ὴ καὶ

ὁμνύτω] Haussoullier, ἐσάγωγ[εὺς ἐσαγέτω] Graindor; ἐσάγωγ[ὴ ὁμνύτω ἢ μὲν] *LSS*.

A corporate body on the large Cycladic island of Tenos here regulates the introduction of new members, specifying the sacrifice that is required, the conditions under which (legitimate and bastard) sons are to be introduced, and the oaths to be sworn at introduction. Even by the standards of epigraphic texts this is remarkably laconic, perhaps because recording established practice (contrast 5), and in consequence it is very hard to tell whether successive clauses depend upon one another or are independent provisions. The officials in charge of admission are never named, and editors have disagreed about the nature of the group here admitting new members. It is clearly a group whose new members come from the kin (by descent in the male line or marriage) of existing members, and it is a group for which legitimacy is of some importance. We know there to have been descent groups called *patrai* (*SEG* xl 699), *phatriai*,

or two that seem restricted to Tegea itself. Arcadian are use in ordinary speech of ἀπύω meaning summon (2) and δέαμαι for δοκέω (10), of -ν for -ο (so ἀπύ, ἄλλυ, and by analogy κατύ), of ἰν for ἐν and πός for πρός, of -οι as dative singular ending, and -ωνσι as third person plural ending. The genitive ending -αυ is exclusive to Tegea. δαρχμάς for δραχμάς is also found in Boeotia, Elis, and Corcyra.

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Law of introduction: a wife with a young goat; a son with a young goat.

- 1 No introduction before the father reaches fifty years old; if the father has died a brother from the same father is not to be refused at the age ——. It shall not be permitted to introduce a bastard; if a bastard is not rejected, introduce a bastard at the same age as for legitimate sons. Anyone who introduces a bastard, let him pay twenty-five drachmas.
  - 6 Let him extend his hand toward the hearth and take an oath and provide two witnesses swearing that he is the putative father. Let the man introducing also swear that the person he is introducing is the son of the same father or the son of a brother; let the mother also swear.
  - 8 Let whoever does not persuade one of those present be punished with a five-drachma fine.
- 

and *phratiriai* on Tenos, and it is likely that these are all alternative names for phratries (Gauthier, *REG* civ 1991, 509–10 no. 431 *contra* Étienne). In the hellenistic period those given citizenship are made members of a phratry (*IG* XII. v 816, 820)—and a group of the sort called a phratry in Attica seems the group most likely to have the combination of concerns recorded here (compare **1, 5, 87**).

Three features of this text are notable: the admission of women into the group on marriage, the insistence on admission of sons being dependent upon the age of the father; and the provision for the introduction of bastard sons.

In Athens men seem to have given a marriage feast (*gamelia*) for their fellow *phrateres* on behalf of their new bride (cf. e.g. Dem. *IVII Eubulides* 43, 69), but women did not regularly become members of their husband's phratry (just as they were not regularly

introduced as children to their father's phratry (Lambert, *The Phratries of Attica*, 36–7, 178–88)). In this case from Tenos no provision is made for daughters to be introduced by their father, but on marriage wives are apparently introduced to the group in exactly the same way as, and at the same price as, sons (for Athenian practice regularly being more restrictive of women than practice elsewhere cf. Schaps, *Economic Rights*). It is clearly envisaged that sons will be members of the group by the time they marry, but their admission is made dependent on their father's age.

Age was regularly a (dis)qualification for group membership or eligibility for magisterial office or other duties, something sometimes seen as left over from an earlier age-class organization of society (Sallares, *Ecology*, ch. v esp. 275). Peculiarly, however, the age qualification here relates not to the person being introduced but to the person introducing: the father must be fifty before the son can be introduced (although the negative is restored in l. 1, it is guaranteed by the grammatical construction of l. 2). The purpose of this restriction is not clear. If Tenos observed the regular Greek pattern at which men married around the age of 30, then first-born sons would be around 20 when introduced; only in the case of unusually early marriages would this regulation delay introduction beyond entry into manhood. Some editors have thought that only elder sons could be introduced, but we see no justification for that in the text and it is hard to envisage any group flourishing with such a rule. If younger sons are admissible, on the other hand, then this regulation would seem to permit such sons, or the sons of a second marriage, to be introduced at a very young age. By allowing that once the father is fifty years old sons can be freely introduced, this group maximizes the chances that the father will still be alive when his children are introduced; given the disputes that we know from the orators to have arisen in Attica over the introduction of sons of deceased fathers (Lambert, *Phratries*, 170, 174), this

## 62

### Religious calendar, Cos, mid fourth century

Four *stelai* of white marble inscribed by the same lettercutter, found near the ancient theatre and church of Aghios Ioannis, site of the sanctuary of the Twelve Gods.

Coan Doric, with a mixture of earlier and later forms, and some Ionic influence. 1 and : used as punctuation mark to separate, respectively, different days and different events on the same day.

A–D Herzog, *Heilige Gesetze*, 1–4\*, *LSCG* 151; A–C *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 1025–7, *A Buck* 108. See also Burkert, *Homo Necans*, 138 n. 10; Sherwin-White, *Ancient Cos*; F. Graf in *Peremittas. Studi...* A. Brelich, 209–21; Le Guen-Pollet 62; S. Scullion, *ClAnt* xiii 1994, 79–89; V. Pirenne-Delforge, *Kernos* ix 1996, 195–214 at 208–14.

#### A

[—κα]ἰ εὐχο[ν]τ[αι] τοῖς ἐσαγμένοις ἐς ἅλλ[α]—  
[ς] φυλάς [θ]ε[οῖ]ς καθάπερ τοῖς ἅλλ[οι]ς θεοῖς· ἕορ[τ]αν

may have been the major motivation for the 'age of father' rule. It is worth noting how narrow is the range of circumstances legislated for here. There is no provision for an only son whose father has died, and there is an assumption that there will be a father's brother to take responsibility in the absence of the father.

Phratries at Athens could insist that bastard sons could not be members (compare 5. 109–10; Ogden, *Bastardy*, 127–8), but other Athenian corporate bodies could be less strict (Ogden, *Bastardy*, 116–17 on the *genos* Kerykes). This Tenian regulation equivocates, first forbidding the introduction of bastards and then allowing their introduction for the payment of a fine, where the fine is effectively a fee. Once that fine is paid, the bastard is presumably treated like a legitimate son, and the same sacrificial victim required. Since we do not know how the group involved here related to the structures of the citizen body of Tenos, we do not know whether the concession here affected the civic rights of the bastard (for which cf. Arist. *Pol.* III. 1278 A 26–34; on bastardy and citizenship at Athens see on 5).

The stipulation that oaths be sworn by two witnesses (for the restoration compare 5. 108) does not necessarily apply only to bastards (paternity must always be a matter of opinion), and the following oaths by the introducer and the mother seem certain to apply to all sons; the father's brother presumably swears in the absence of the father himself. For the swearing towards the hearth, compare the oath at the altar in the case of an Attic phratry (And. I. *Myst.* 125–6, 5. 76).

The last clause appears to allow any phratry member to black-ball an introduction by declaring that he does not believe the oath (for circumstances in which this might happen, compare again And. I. *Myst.* 125 ff., and Lambert, *Phratries*, 171). The fine is presumably in addition to rejection and designed to discourage frivolous introductions or introductions that flagrantly break these rules (compare 5. 99–100).

A (month, Batromios)

— — — and pray to the gods brought in to the other tribes just as to the other gods. Let the priest and the sacred guardians and the magistrates announce the annual festivals



- [δ' ἐνιαύτια ὥρ]αῖα ἱερεὺς καὶ ἱεροφύλακες καὶ ἀρχεῦο[ντ]-  
 [ε]ς [ἀ]πο[καρ]υσφόντω, ἱεροποιοὶ δὲ καὶ τοὶ κάρυκες ἰόντω κ[α]-  
 5 [τ]ὰ χ[ι]λ[ια]σ[τύας]· βοὺς δὲ ἐν γῇ [ἐ]λάντῃ, βοῦν ἐξ ἐνάτας ἐκάστ[ας]  
 [ἐ]ξ Ἀ[—]έων καὶ Πασθεμιδᾶν πρᾶτων καὶ Ν[οσ]τιδᾶν· ἐς δὲ  
 [τ]ὰν ἀ[γορ]ὰν ἐλάντω Πάμφυλοι πρᾶτοι, ἐν ἀγορᾷ δὲ συμμίσ-  
 [γ]ονται· ὁ δὲ ἱερεὺς καθήσθω [παρὰ] τ[ᾶ]ν τράπεζαν ἔχων τὰ [ν] σ]-  
 τολὰν τὰν ἱεράν, τοῖ δὲ ἱερ[οποιοὶ ἐκατ]έρω τὰς τραπέζας· Π[άμ]-  
 10 [φ]υλοὶ δὲ ἐπελάντω βοῦ[ς] τρεῖς τοῦ]ς καλλίστους, αἱ μ[έγ] κα  
 τοῦτωγ κριθῇ τις· αἶ δὲ [μή, Ὑλλεῖς τρ]εῖς ἐλάντω, αἱ μέγ [κα τ]-  
 [ο]ύτωγ κριθῇ τις· αἶ δὲ μ[ή, Δυμᾶνες τρ]εῖς τοὺς λοιπούς, αἱ μ[έ]-  
 γ κα τοῦτωγ κριθῇ τις· αἶ [δὲ μή, ἀτέρους] ἐλάντω ἐς τὰν ἀγ[ο]-  
 [ρ]ὰν καὶ ἐπελάντω κατὰ τὰ [ὕ]τά, αἱ μ[έ]γ κα τοῦτωγ κριθῇ τ[ις]·  
 15 αἶ δὲ μή, τρίτον ἐπελάντω κατὰ τὰ [ὕ]τά· αἶ δὲ κα τοῦτογ κρι[θῇ]  
 μηδεὶς, ἐπικρινόντω βοῦν ἐκ χι[λιασ]τύος ἐκάστας· ἐλά[σα]-  
 ντες δὲ τοὺτους συμμίσσονται τοῖ]ς ἄλλοις καὶ εὐθὺς κ[ρὶν]-  
 οντι καὶ εὐχονται καὶ ἀποκαρύ[σσο]ντι· ἔπειτα ἐπελάντ[ι αὐ]  
 τις κατὰ ταῦτά· θύεται δέ, αἱ μέγ κα ὑποκύνει τὰ Ἰστιάι· θύ[ει]  
 20 δὲ γερεαφόρος βασιλέων καὶ ἱερὰ παρέχει καὶ ἐπιθύει ἱερὰ ἐξ [ῆ]-  
 μιέκτου· γέρη δὲ λαμβάνει τὸ δέρμα καὶ τὸ σκέλος, ἱεροποι[οῖ]  
 δὲ σκέλος, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα κρέα τὰς πόλιος· τὸν δὲ κριθέντα τ[ῶι]  
 Ζηνὶ κάρυκες ἄγοντι ἐς ἀγοράν· ἐπεὶ δέ κα ἐν τᾷ ἀγορᾷ ἔω[ν]-  
 τι, ἀγορεύει οὐ καὶ ἦι βοὺς ἢ ἄλλος ὑπὲρ κήνου ἐνδέξιο[ς].  
 25 “[Κώ]ιους παρέχω τὸμ βοῦν, Κώιοι δὲ τιμὰν ἀποδόντω {το} τᾷ Ἰστιά[ι]”·  
 τιμώντω δὲ προστάται ὁμόσαντες παραχρήμα· ἐπεὶ δὲ κα τι[μα]-  
 [θῇ]ι, ἀναγορευέτω ὁ κάρυξ ὁπόσσοι κα τιμαθῇ· τουτῷ δὲ ἐλάντ[ι πα]-  
 [ρ]ὰ τὰν Ἰστιάαν τὰν Ἐταιρείαν καὶ θύονται· ὁ δὲ ἱερεὺς στέπτει καὶ [ἐπι]-  
 σπένδει κύλικα οἴνου κεκραμένου πρὸ τοῦ βρός· ἔπειτα ἄγοντι τὸ [μ β]-  
 30 [ο]ὺν καὶ τὸν καυτὸν καὶ φθόιας ἐπτὰ καὶ μέλι καὶ στέμμα· ἐξάγο[ντ]-  
 [ε]ς δὲ καρύσسونτι εὐφάμιαν· κηνεὶ δὲ ἐκδήσαντες τὸμ βοῦν κα[τ]-  
 ἀρχονται θαλλῶν καὶ δάφναι· τοῖ δὲ [κάρυκες κ]αρπῶντι τὸμ μέγ χοῖ-  
 [ρο]γ καὶ τὰ σπλάγχνα ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ ἐπισπένδοντες μελίκρατον, ἔ[ντ]-  
 [ερ]α δὲ ἐκπλύναντες παρὰ τὸ [μ βωμὸν κα]ρπῶντι· ἐπεὶ δέ κα καρπω[θῇ]  
 35 ἄποτα, ἐπισπενδέτω μελίκρατον· ὁ δὲ [κάρ]υξ καρυσσέτω ἐορτάζε[ν Ζην]-  
 ὸς Πολίεως ἐνιαύτια ὥραῖα ἐορτάζ[ει]· [ἱερεὺς] δὲ τοῖς ἐντέροις ἐπιθυέ[τω]  
 [θ]ύῃ καὶ τοὺς φθόιας καὶ σπονδὰς [ἄκρατο]ν καὶ κεκραμέναν καὶ στέ[μ]-  
 μα· τουτῷ δὲ ἰόντω παρ τοὺς ἱεροποιὺς ἐς τὸ οἶκημα τὸ δαμόσιον ἱά[ρ]-  
 40 εὺς καὶ κάρυκες, ἱεροποιοὶ δὲ ξενίζονται τ[ὸν] ἱερῇ καὶ τὸς κάρυκας τὰ [ύ]-  
 ταν τὰν νύκτα· ἐπεὶ δέ κα σπονδὰς π[οιῇ]σ[ω]νται, αἰρέσθω ὁ ἱαρεὺς [σ]-  
 [φ]αγῇ τῶν ἱεροποιῶν βοὸς τοῦ θυομένου τῷ Ζηνὶ τῷ Πολιῇ καὶ προα[γο]-  
 [ρ]εύετω ἀγνεύεσθαι γυναικὸς καὶ ἀνδ[ρὸς] ἀντὶ νυκτός· τοὶ δὲ κάρυ[κε]-  
 [ς] αἰρείσθω σφαγῇ τοῦ βοὸς ὃν κα χρήζωντι ἡνύτων καὶ προαγορευέ[τω]  
 [ὅς κα δη]ληται τῷ αἰρεθέντι κατὰ ταῦτά· τὰ αὐτὰι ἀμέραι· Διονύσωι [Σκ]-

as a feast, and let the *hieropoioi* and the heralds go to each of the *chiliastyes*. Let them drive nine oxen, an ox from each Ninth from A— and First Pasthemidai and Nostidai. Let the Pamphyloi drive (their oxen) to the agora first, and in the agora they mix together. Let the priest sit at the table wearing the holy garment, and the *hieropoioi* on each side of the table. Let the Pamphyloi drive in the three finest oxen, to see if one of those may be chosen; if it is not, let the Hylleis drive three, to see if one of those may be chosen; if it is not, let the Dymanes (drive) the three remaining, to see if one of those may be chosen; if it is not, let them drive other oxen to the agora and let them drive them past in the same way, to see if one of them may be chosen. If not let them drive a third (group) in for selection in the same way. If none of those is chosen, let them select an additional ox from each *chiliastys*. When they have driven these, they mix them with the others and make a selection straightaway, pray, and make the announcement. Then they drive the oxen past in the same way.

19 It is sacrificed if it bows to Hestia. The kings' share-taker sacrifices and provides offerings and offers in addition a half *hekteus* of offerings. He takes as his share the skin and a leg, and the *hieropoioi* take a leg and the rest of the meat belongs to the city.

23 The heralds lead the ox selected for Zeus to the agora. When they are in the agora, the person who owns the ox or another enabler on his behalf calls out: 'I am providing the ox for the Coans; let the Coans give the price to Hestia.' And let the presidents (*prostatāi*) take an oath immediately and make a valuation, and when a valuation has been made, let the herald announce how much the valuation was. Then they drive (the ox) to Hestia Hetaireia and sacrifice it. The priest puts a fillet upon the ox and pours a cup of mixed wine as a libation in front of the ox. Then they lead away the ox and the burnt offering and seven cakes and honey and a woollen fillet. As they lead it away they call for holy silence. There they untie the ox and begin the sacrificial ritual with olive and laurel. The heralds burn the pig and the entrails upon the altar, pouring libations of honey and milk on them, and when they have washed the intestines they burn them beside the altar. And once they are burnt without wine, let him pour a libation of honey and milk upon them. Let the herald announce that they are keeping the annual festival as a feast for Zeus Polieus. Let the priest make an additional offering along with the intestines, incense, and cakes, libations, unmixed and mixed, and a woollen fillet. Then let the priest and the herald go to the *hieropoioi* at the public building, and the *hieropoioi* entertain the priest and the herald on this night. When they make libations let the priest choose one of the *hieropoioi* as slaughterer of the ox that is being sacrificed to Zeus Polieus and let him proclaim that the slaughterer shall be pure from woman and man during the night. And let the heralds choose whoever they want of their own number as a slaughterer of the ox and let whoever of them wishes make a proclamation to the person chosen in the same way.

44 On the same day: to Dionysus Scyllites, a pig and a kid. The meat of the pig not to be

- 45 υλλίται χοῖρος καὶ ἔριφος· τοῦ χοίρου οὐκ ἀποφορά· θύει δὲ ἱερεὺς κ[αὶ ἰε]-  
[ρ]ὰ παρέχει· γέρη φέρει δέρμα, σκέλος. ἰ καδί· βοὺς ὁ κριθεὶς θύεται Ζηνὶ  
[Πο]λιῇ· ἔνδορα ἐνδέρεται· ἐφ' ἐστὶαν θύεται ἀλφίτων ἡμίεκτον, ἄρτο[ι]  
[δύ]ο ἐξ ἡμίεκτου, ὁ ἄτερος τυρώδης, καὶ τὰ ἔνδορα· καὶ ἐπισπένδει ὁ ἰε[ρ]-  
εὺς τοῦτοις οἶνον κρατῆρας τρεῖς· γέρη τοῦ βοὸς τῶι ἱερῇ δέρμα κ[αὶ σ]-  
50 [κ]έ[λ]ος — ἱερὰ ἱαρεὺς παρέχει — {ε} καὶ χέλυσος ἡμισυν καὶ κοιλίας ἡμ[ι]-  
[συ]· θυαφόρῳ δὲ τοῦ σκέλεος τοῦ τῶν ἱεροποιῶν δίδοται ἀκρίσχιον, [κάρυ]-  
[ξιν] ὠτόν δίκρεας, ὑπώμια, αἱματίου ὀβελὸς τρικώλιος, Νεστοριδαί[ς]  
[δὲ] γότον δίκρεας, ἱατροῖς κρέας, αὐλητῶν κρέας, χαλκέων καὶ κερα[μέ]-  
[ω]ν ἑκατέροις τὸ κεφάλαιον· τὰ δὲ ἄλλ[α] κρέα τῆς πόλιος. ταῦτα πάν[τα]  
55 [οὐκ] ἀποφέρεται ἐκτὸς τῆς πόλιος :] τῇ αὐτῇ ἀμέραι· Ἀθαναίαι Πο[λι]-  
άδι οἷς κυέουσα· θύει δὲ ἰε[ρ]εὺς καὶ ἱερὰ παρέχει· γέρη λαμβάνει δέ[ρ]-  
μα καὶ σκέλος. ἰ ἐνάται με[τ' ἰκ]άδα· Διονύσωι Σκυλλίται χοῖρος [καὶ]  
ἔριφος· τοῦ χοίρου οὐκ ἀποφορά· θύει ἱερεὺς καὶ ἱερὰ παρέχει· γέρη [λ]-  
αμβάνει δέρμα καὶ σκέλος. ἰ ἐβδόμαι ἀνομένον· ἔς Ἀλκηίδας Δά[μ]-  
60 ατρι οἷς τέλειος καὶ τελέα κυέουσα· τούτων οὐκ ἀποφορά· κύλικες κ[αὶ]-  
[ν]αὶ δύο δίδονται· θύει ἱερεὺς [καὶ ἱερ]ὰ παρέχει· γέρη δὲ οὕατα· ἔχκτ[αι· Δι]-  
[ο]νύσωι Σκυλλίτα[ι] χοῖρος καὶ ἔριφος· τοῦ χοίρου [ο]ὐκ ἀποφορά· θύει  
[ἰ]ε[ρ]εὺς κ[αὶ ἱερὰ] παρέχει· γέρη λαμβάνει δέρμα καὶ σκέλος —————  
—————]

(side, against line β)

τῶν θυομένων

τῇ Λευκοθῇ

ἀποφορά ἐς ἱερ-

εαν

(side, against line 20)

τρεῖς καὶ χύτρα

## B

- [—————] 14-15 ]ει· γέρη λαμβάνει δέρμα καὶ σκέλη : τ[ῇ αὐτ]-  
αὶ ἀμέραι· Πέαι οἷς κυέουσα καὶ ἱερὰ ὅσα περ τοῦ Πεδαγειτ[ύ]ο-  
υ γέγραπται· τούτων οὐκ ἀποφορά· θύει ἱαρεὺς καὶ ἱερὰ παρέχει [γ]-  
5 ἔρη λαμβάνει δέρμα. ἰ δεκάται· Ἥραι Ἀργεῖαι Ἐλείαι Βασιλείαι δάμ-  
αλις κριτά· κρινέσθω δὲ μὴ ἐλάσσονος {ον} ὠνημένα πεντ-  
ήκοντα δραχμῶν· θύει ἱαρεὺς καὶ ἱερὰ παρέχει· γέρη λαμβά[ν]ει  
δέρμα καὶ σκέλος· ταύτας ἀποφορά· ἔνδορα ἐνδέρεται καὶ θύε[ται]  
ἐπὶ τῇ ἰστίᾳ ἐν τῷ ναῶι τὰ ἔνδορα καὶ ἐλατῆρ ἐξ ἡμίεκτου [σπ]-  
10 υρῶν· τούτων οὐκ ἐκφορά ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ. ἰ ἐνδεκάται· Ζηνὶ Μαχα-  
νῇ βοὺς κρίνεται τὸ ἄτερον ἔτος ἐφ' οὗ κα ἔωντι Κ[αρ]νεῖαι, κα[θάρ]-  
περ τοῦ Βατρομίου τῶι Ζηνὶ τῶι Πολιῇ κρίνεται, κ[αὶ] χοῖρος προ-  
καυτεύεται, καὶ προκαρύσσεται καθάπερ τῶι Πολιῇ. ἰ δυωδε[κ]-  
άται· Ζηνὶ Μαχανῇ οἷς τρεῖς τέλειω καὶ βοὺς ὁ κριθεὶς τὸ  
15 ἄτερον ἔτος ἐφ' οὗ κα ἔωντι Καρνεῖαι, τὸ δὲ ἄτερον ἔτος οἷς τ-  
ρεῖς τέλειω· ταῦτα θύει ἱαρεὺς ὁ τῶν Δυνώδεκα Θεῶν, καὶ ἱερὰ π-  
αρέχει τοῦτοις· προθύεται παρ τὸν κορινόν, ἃ φέροντι Φυλεομ-

taken away. The priest sacrifices and provides the offerings. As perquisites he takes skin, leg.

46 On the twentieth: the selected ox is sacrificed to Zeus Polieus. What has to be wrapped in the skin is wrapped in the skin. On the hearth is offered a half *hekteus* of barley groats, two half-*hekteus* loaves, one shaped like a cheese, and the things wrapped in skin. And the priest pours three mixing bowls of wine on these as a libation. Perquisites of the ox: for the priest, skin, and a leg (the priest provides the offerings) and half the breast and half the stomach; for the thurifer the hip-end of the leg given to the *hieropoioi*; for the heralds, a double portion of meat from the back, shoulder meat, a three-spit share of blood meat; for the Nestoridai, a double portion of meat from the back; for the doctors, meat; for the pipe-player, meat; to each of the smiths and potters, the brain. The rest of the meat is the city's. All these are not taken outside the city.

55 On the same day: to Athena Polias, a pregnant sheep. The priest sacrifices and provides the offerings. As perquisites he takes the skin and a leg.

57 On the twenty-first: To Dionysus Scyllites a pig and a kid: The meat of the pig not to be taken away. The priest sacrifices and provides the offerings. As perquisites he takes skin and a leg.

59 On the twenty-third: at Alcida(?) to Demeter a full-grown sheep and a full-grown pregnant ewe. The meat of these not to be taken away. Two new cups are provided. The priest sacrifices and provides the offerings. Perquisites: ears.

61 On the twenty-fourth: To Dionysus Scyllites a pig and a kid: the meat of the pig not to be taken away. The priest sacrifices and provides the offerings. As perquisites he takes skin, leg. — — —

(side) What is sacrificed to Leucothea may be taken away to the priestess.

(side) three and a bowl.

#### B (month, Carneios)

2 — — — As perquisites he takes skin and legs.

3 On the same day: to Rhea, a pregnant ewe and the offerings as recorded for Pedageitnion. None of this may be taken away. The priest sacrifices and provides the offerings. As perquisites he takes skin.

5 On the tenth: to Argive Royal Hera of the Marshes, a choice heifer. Let it be chosen purchased for not less than fifty drachmas. The priest sacrifices and provides the offerings. As perquisites he takes skin and leg. Meat from this animal may be taken away. What has to be wrapped in the skin is wrapped in the skin and what is wrapped in skin is sacrificed on the hearth in the temple and a broad flat cake made from half a *hekteus* of barley. None of these to be taken out of the temple.

10 On the eleventh: to Zeus Machaneus, an ox is selected every other year, the year in which the Carneian sacrifice takes place, just as it is selected during Batramios for Zeus Polieus, and a pig is burnt in advance and an advance announcement made as for the Polieus.

13 On the twelfth: to Zeus Machaneus, three full-grown sheep and the ox selected every other year, the year in which the Carneian sacrifice takes place, and in the other year three full-grown sheep. The priest of the Twelve Gods sacrifices these and provides

αχίδαι, ἀλφίτων ἡμίεκτον, οἶνον τετάρταν· γέρη δὲ Φυλεομ-  
 αχίδαις δίδεται τοῦ βοὸς ὀπλά, ταρσός, τῶν δὲ οἶων τὸ ὠμόγ,  
 20 ἔξ οὗ ἂ θεομοιρία τάμνεται καὶ [τὸ] ῥ[ύ]νχρος· γέρη λαμβάνει ὁ ἱε-  
 ρεὺς σκέλη καὶ δέρματα : τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ Ἀθαναίαι Μαχα[νί]-  
 δι δάμαλις κριτὰ τὸ ἄτερον ἔτος ἔφ' οὗ κα ἔωντι Καρνεία[ι, τ]-  
 ὁ δὲ ἄτερον ἔτος οἷς τελέα· θύει ἱαρεὺς καὶ ἀπορραίνεται θαλ-  
 άσαι· τούτων οὐκ ἀποφορά· ἄπυρα δίδεται τῇ θεῷ ἐλαί[ο]-  
 25 ὑ τέτορες κοτύλαι, οἶνον τετάρτα, πρόχοι καιναὶ δύο καὶ κύλ[ι]-  
 κες καιναὶ τρεῖς· τοῖς δὲ Καρνείοις τὰμ πόλιν ὠνεῖσθαι δάμ[α]-  
 [λιν μὴ ἐλάσσονος πεντήκοντα] δραχμῶν· ταύτα [—————]

## C

[—————]ι. 1 ἐνάτει ἔξ ἱκάδος·  
 [—————<sup>7</sup>———]σιν οἷ[ες τρεῖς]ς τέλει. [θύ]ονται κατὰ φυλ-  
 [άς, ὁ] μὲν τῶν Ὑλλέων παρὰ τὸ Ἡράκλειον, ὁ δὲ τῶν Δυμῶ-  
 νων παρὰ τὰ Ἀναξίλεια, ὁ δὲ τῶν Παμφύλεων ἐν Εἰτιάαι  
 5 παρὰ τὸ Δαμάτριον· [ἐ]πὶ τούτων ἐκάστωι ἱερὰ οὐλομέτ-  
 [ριον], ἡμίεκτον ἐκατέρων, καὶ κύλικες καιναὶ τρεῖς ἑ-  
 [κάσ]τωι καὶ πίναξ ἐκάστωι· ταῦτα παρέχοντι τοῖ ἱε-  
 [ροποιοῖ] καὶ θύοντι. 1 τρίται ἀνομένον· Ἡρακλεῖ ἑς Κο-  
 [—————<sup>5</sup>———]τον ἀρῆν καυτός : τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ· Ἡρακλεῖ  
 10 [ἔς ..]σσαλον βοῦς· τοῦτον θύει ὁ ἱαρεὺς· τῷ δὲ  
 [θεῷ ἔφ]ἱερα δίδεται κριθῶν τρία ἡμέδιμνα καὶ σπυ-  
 ρῶν τρεῖς τεταρτῆς καὶ μέλιτος τέτορες κοτύλ-  
 εαι καὶ τυροὶ οἷοι δυνάδεκα καὶ ἱπνὸς καινὸς καὶ φρ-  
 νγάνων ἄχθος καὶ ξύλων ἄχθος καὶ οἶνον τρία  
 15 ἡμίχρα. *vacat*

*vacat*2 [ἡρωσι πᾶ]σιν Herzog; [θεοῖς πᾶ]σιν Hiller *ap.* Herzog.

## D

[—————<sup>CB</sup>———] 1 ἐπτ]ακαίδεκάται· Απόλλω[νι Δαλίωι(?) οἷς]  
 [τέλεως· τούτου] ἀποφορά· θύει ἱαρεὺς καὶ ἱερὰ π[αρέ]-  
 [χει· γέρη φέρει δ]ἔρμα καὶ σκέλος : τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ·  
 [Λατοῖ οἷς τελέα· τα]ύτας ἀποφορά· ἱερὰ ἱαρεὺς παρέ-  
 5 [χει· γέρη δέρμα. 1 πρ]άται πρὸ εἱκάδος· Χάρισσιν αἰς·  
 [θύει δὲ ἱαρεὺς ὅ]γ κα κέλονται τοῖ ἱεροποιοῖ· ταύτ-  
 [ας δὲ τὸ αἶμα ποτ]ιρραίνει ἂ ἱερεα τρεῖς μὲμ ποτὶ τὸ[ν]  
 [βωμόν, τὸ δὲ τέταρ]τον ποτὶ τὸλ λίθον τὸν ἐν ταῖς ἐλ-  
 αῖαις κείμενον· ὁμν]ύονται δὲ δύο θυώνας ποιήσαντε-

5 πρ]άται Klaffenbach; ἐν]άται Herzog.  
 ἐπιθ]ύονται LSCG.

9 ὁμν]ύονται Herzog in commentary; δαυ]ύονται Herzog in text;

the offerings for them. A half *hekteus* of barley groats and a quarter measure of wine, which the Phyleomachidai provide, is first offered at the common altar. As perquisites the Phyleomachidai are given the horns of the ox, the hooves, and the shoulder of the sheep, from which the sacred portion is cut, and the muzzle. As perquisites the priest takes legs and skins.

- 21 On the same day, to Athena Machanis, a selected heifer every other year in which the Carneian sacrifice takes place and in the other year a full grown sheep. The priest sacrifices and is sprinkled with sea water. None of these may be taken away. The following are given to the goddess without burning: four *kotylai* of olive oil, a quarter measure of wine, two new ewers, and three new cups. For the Carneia the city is to buy a heifer for not less than 50 drachmas. This — — —

C (month, Pedageitnion(?))

On the twenty-first: to (gods or heroes) three full-grown sheep. They are sacrificed by tribes, that of the Hylleis beside the sanctuary of Heracles, that of the Dymanes beside the sanctuary of Anaxilas, on behalf of the Pamphyleis at Eitea beside the sanctuary of Demeter. For each of these sacrifices the offerings are: a vessel for the sacred grains, half a *hekteus* of each (sort of grain), three new cups for each and a plate for each. The *hieropoioi* provide these and sacrifice.

- 8 On the twenty-eighth: to Heracles at Co—, a burnt lamb.  
9 On the same day, to Heracles at —ssalos, an ox. The priest sacrifices this. As additional offerings the god is given three half-*medimnoi* of wheat and three quarters of barley and four *kotylai* of honey and twelve sheep's cheeses and a new stove and a weight of brushwood and a weight of wood and three half choes of wine.

D (month, unknown)

— — — On the seventeenth: to Delian (?) Apollo a full-grown sheep. The meat from this may be taken away. The priest sacrifices and provides the offerings. As perquisites he takes the skin and leg.

- 3 On the same day: a full-grown ewe to Leto. The meat from this may be taken away. The priest provides the offerings. As perquisites the skin.  
5 On the nineteenth: a goat to the Graces. Whichever priest the *hieropoioi* order sacrifices. The priest sprinkles the blood of this animal thrice on the altar and a fourth time on the stone lying in the olives. They take an oath when they have made two sacrificial

- 10 [ς τῶν τε κρεῶν μίαν] καὶ τῶν σπλάγχχνων, καὶ τὰς θυ-  
 ώνας τίθεντι ἐπὶ β]ωμοῦ· ὅπαι δὲ ταῖ Ἀσῖαι ἐπιτίθεν-  
 τι τὰ νομιζόμενα, ἐπα]ρξάμενοι καὶ τῶν σπλάγχχνω[ν]  
 τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ] καὶ τοῦ λίθου τοῦ ἐν ταῖς ἐλα[ίαι]-  
 [ς ἀβάμενοι ὁμνυντι· σπ]λαγχχνίζεται πράτιστα μὲ[ν]  
 15 [τὰ ἐπὶ βωμοῦ, εἶτα τὰ] ἐπὶ τοῦ λιθοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ λι-  
 [θου· ἀκροκώλια δὲ καὶ κερ]αῖδες καὶ τὸ δέρμα ἀγίζετ-  
 [αι· ἱερὰ ἱεροποιοὶ παρέ]χοντι. 1 εἰκάδι· Ἀπόλλωνι Καρ-  
 [νεῖω καὶ Ἀρτάμυτι οἷ]ς τέλεως καὶ τελέα· θύει ἱερ-  
 [εὺς ὁ τῶν Δωδέκα Θε]ῶν· ἱερὰ δὲ ἱερεὺς παρέχει· γέρη  
 20 [λαμβάνει δέρμα κα]ὶ σκέλος. *vacat*

10 [ς τῶν φθωίων καὶ τῶν κρεῶν] LSCG.

κατα]ρξάμενοι Pirenne-Delforge, 211 and n. 103.

12 τὰ νομιζόμενα LSCG; τοὶ αἰὶ ἡβάντες Herzog;

15 ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ Herzog; συμπαρατεθέντα LSCG.

16 ἀκροκώλια δὲ καὶ κερ]αῖδες LSCG; τὰ δὲ κρέα καὶ ταὶ σκε]λίδες Herzog.

As many earlier documents in this collection have demonstrated, sacrifice was the central religious activity in the Greek city (for the debate about the origins and theology of sacrifice see Bremmer, *Greek Religion*, 40–3). Individuals might make dedications or prayers on their own, but sacrifice was always a group activity, and sacrificing together a way of marking the existence and identity of a group. Sacrifice was also the major occasion for the consumption of meat, since it is unclear how far meat, except from hunted animals, was otherwise available. A calendar of sacrifices to be made by the city, not only on the Acropolis but in various locations in Attica, was already a feature of Solon's 'Lawcode' (Ruschenbusch, *Σόλωνος νόμοι*, FF 83–6 cf. FF 81–2; Parker, *Athenian Religion*, ch. iv), and part of the Athenian state calendar survives from the writing up of Athenian laws undertaken in the last decade of the fifth century (see Parker, 43–4 n.3, and *SEG* xlvii 71). The nature, destination, and frequency of sacrifices remained a potentially important political issue in the classical city (see Lysias xxx with Todd in Foxhall and Lewis (edd.), *Greek Law*, 101–31, 81).

Religious calendars survive from many parts of the Greek world from the fifth and fourth centuries, recording the sacrificial practices of cities and other corporate groups. They give an invaluable glimpse into the religious life of citizens of Greek cities, showing something of the variety, frequency, and expense of sacrifices. But it is only a glimpse: every citizen belonged to not one but a number of corporate bodies with separate sacrificial schedules—the city, a phratry or equivalent (1, 5), a local community (e.g. deme at Athens, 63), perhaps a *genos* (37), other religious associations small and large—and in addition might engage in further sacrifices within the context of the family (for what may be a private family calendar found carved into the rock in the countryside of southern Attica see *SEG* xxvi 137) and/or in an *ad hoc* way.

The calendars display many common features. The structure of the entries normally involves listing against a given date some or all of the following: whether the sacrifice is annual or less frequent, the location of the sacrifice, the god or hero to whom the offering is made, the priest and/or other official responsible, the nature

portions, one of meat and (one) of entrails, and they place the sacrificial portions on the altar. Where they place the accustomed offerings to Asia, first offering some of the entrails on the altar, they also touch the stone in the olives as they take the oath. They first taste the entrails on the altar and then those on the stone and those from the stone. The extremities, horns, and skin are burnt. The *hieropoioi* provide the offerings.

- 17 On the twentieth: a perfect sheep and perfect ewe to Apollo Karneios and Artemis. The priest of the Twelve Gods sacrifices. The priest provides the offerings. He takes as perquisites skin and leg.

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(species and sex) of the sacrificial animal(s) and/or of other offerings, any special details of the ritual, the amount of money to be spent and the source of that money, what is to happen to the meat, and the nature of the perquisites given to the officials involved.

Different calendars put emphasis in different places. In some calendars the key thing appears to be regulating the price paid for sacrificial victims, but other calendars, like this one, make little or no reference to expense. In some calendars the priest's perquisites are carefully detailed, in others they are ignored. Some calendars are very particular about the sex, age, and condition of the animal sacrificed, others are content with the broadest of categories. Some calendars, like this one, detail the other offerings that accompany the sacrifice. These and other differences are partly a consequence of the different contexts in which the calendars came to be inscribed: some seem to have been written up in the context of laying down the duties of an official (so 63. 32–9; Solon's calendar seems to have been divided according to official responsible), others seem concerned primarily to ensure that the correct victim is provided (so the fifth-century calendar from Thoricus (r<sup>3</sup> 256 bis), others again to stipulate the amount that can be spent, and and/or make clear the funding responsibilities (see 37. 82–3; the calendar from the deme of Erchia in Attica (*SEG* xxi 541, *LSCG* 18) is laid out in five columns each of equal cost).

These four *stelai* from Cos are part of what must originally have been a set of twelve, one for each month of the year. They record the central Coan festivals as celebrated in the years following the synoecism of the island in 366 (D.S. xv. 76. ii) when the town from which these *stelai* come was built. Probably (see below) only festivals that were new or altered at that stage are recorded (compare the explicit statement in *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 1024. 3–5, the calendar of Myconus following its third-century synoecism). They show little concern for price (only *B.* 27) but an exceptional concern for procedure (most notably in *A.*, to which later months make reference back (see *B.* 12)).

Priests, heralds, and *hieropoioi* are regularly mentioned throughout the calendar,



but only in the case of the festival of Zeus Polieus are other major state magistrates named (on Coan magistrates see Sherwin-White, 187–205). The tribal and sub-tribal divisions of the city are also employed as the basis for the organization of the major festival of Zeus Polieus, and in particular to provide the sacrificial victim. Cos had the regular three-tribe structure of Doric cities, and those tribes seem to have been split into three sub-units known as *chiliastyes*; the inscription also mentions ‘Ninths’ (*enatai*), and scholars have debated whether these Ninths are ninths of a tribe or ninths of the citizen body (i.e. alternative names for *chiliastyes*). Since there are nine oxen involved and one ox is said to be from each Ninth, this inscription has been taken as good evidence that the Ninths were identical with, rather than subdivisions of, the *chiliastyes* (see Sherwin-White, 159–61); however, this does leave *A.15ff.*, in which the *chiliastyes* are a source of further cattle which are mixed with the cattle supplied by the *enatai*, very hard to understand. Few other corporate groups, whether of a local or of a cult basis, are mentioned (we have only the Nestoridai of *A. 52–3* and the Phyleomachidai of *B. 17*). Since details of location are also rarely given, implying that most of the rituals listed here took place in the same sanctuary of the Twelve Gods, it seems likely that this is only a sub-set of the sacrifices in which Coans were involved. Religious activity by tribes, tribal sub-groups, and *thiasoi* is well attested by later Coan inscriptions.

*Stele A*, as is clear from *B. 12*, related to the month Batramios, a month apparently equivalent to the Athenian month Gamelion (approx. January, see Introduction, p. xxii; see further Trümper, *Untersuchungen*). As preserved, the calendar opens with an elaborate ritual devised to select the ox to be sacrificed to Zeus Polieus which ensures both that there are many oxen available from which a suitable one can be chosen and that the ox is not always provided by the same group. Three groups seem to have been named in line 6, which ought to be names of *chiliastyes/enatai* but which if they are imply that the *chiliastyes/enatai* of each tribe had the same names. Special selection of sacrificial animals is often hinted at by the adjective ‘choice’ in sacred laws, but the details of the care taken over the choice here are unparalleled (for the closest comparison see the later law from Bargylia, *Chiron* xxx 2000, 451–85), and raise the issue of the role of written instructions in creating and preserving rituals. What exactly the ox had to display or do in order to be selected is not explicit, but showing interest in some sacred cakes is perhaps the most likely thing (Scullion, 84 n. 20, comparing Porphyry, *De Abst.* ii. 30. iv).

The selection of the ox for Zeus on the day before it is to be sacrificed is described in *A. 5–19*. Preliminary rites, involving the sacrifice of a pig and the selection of the slaughterer, are then described in *A. 22–46*. In *A. 19–22* what appears to be a further sacrifice is described. Traditionally this has been understood to be a sacrifice to Hestia, with line 19 translated as ‘It is sacrificed to Hestia, if it bows its head’. Burkert, however, has pointed out that the Greek would more naturally be translated ‘It is sacrificed (*sc.* to Zeus), if it bows its head to Hestia (i.e. turns towards the state hearth)’. The involvement of Hestia in the Zeus Polieus festival is entirely appropriate, given her civic role and that this is the biggest civic festival of the year (see Gernet, *The Anthropology of Ancient Greece*, 322–39, esp. 330–1 and 334), and in any case is further stressed at l. 28 (where, however, both the epithet ‘Hetaireia’ and the verb ‘sacrifice’ are quite

uncertain). What is problematic, however, is the following brief description of who sacrifices and what perquisites are received. For Burkert this brief description is an anticipatory doublet of the full description that will follow at *A.* 46ff. But we would not otherwise understand from that later description that 'the Kings' Share-receiver' was responsible for the sacrifice (the Kings seem to have become obsolete, their role perhaps subsumed by the *monarchos* (Sherwin-White, 199), and this is the only ritual in which mention is made of them). And the brief description of perquisites awards the skin to 'the Kings' Share-receiver', whereas at *A.* 49 the skin goes to the priest. Whichever way we construe this section, the drafting leaves something to be desired, but ancient readers did not need to be told much that we need to know. If there was a separate sacrifice to Hestia its practical function will have been to feed those already gathered for the festival of Zeus: the meat which the city gets (*A.* 22) would be likely to amount to something like 100 kg., enough to feed perhaps c.600 people (Jameson in Whittaker (ed.), *Pastoral Economies*, 95). Given the probable population of Cos (9,000 citizens if the *chiliastyes* really had 1,000 members each, but probably they did not: Sherwin-White, 164–5), it is surprising that even for Zeus Polieus only one ox is sacrificed, in contrast to the multiple victims sacrificed at, for example, the Panathenaea (81) (but see further below).

The description of the ritual involved in the sacrifice to Zeus Polieus is one of the most explicit in any ancient source. Some of the features described seem regular, but rarely spelt out. So, for example, the specification that the victim should bow the head (see Porphyry, *De Abst.* II. 9 and Detienne in Detienne and Vernant, *Cuisine*, 9–10). Others, such as the treatment of intestines, may be regular but we lack the evidence to show this. Other features again are unusual, most notably the way in which the preliminaries are held on the previous evening. Unusual too is the private provision of the ox. The proud owner is given the task, exceptionally—other announcements are made by a herald—of declaring that he gives the ox and at the same time calling on the Coans to give the price of the ox to Hestia. The price of the ox, as evaluated by the chief magistrates, the *prostatai*, is then paid to Hestia, making concrete the notion of sacrificing to Zeus 'from the hearth' (Sherwin-White, 323). But the ox remains privately provided, a form of liturgy.

Although modern scholars often attempt to give a synthetic account of animal sacrifice (compare Burkert, *Greek Religion*, 56–7), this inscription reveals nicely the high degree of variation. The presence of a holocaust sacrifice and of sacrifice without offering of wine in the preliminaries perhaps indicates chthonic elements in the cult of Zeus Polieus, who has close connections with earth and with the products of agriculture (compare *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 241, Scullion, and, for a collection of wineless altars, Henrichs, *HSCP* lxxxvii 1983, 92 n. 21, 100 n. 67), but it can also be seen as a solemn contrast to the main sacrifice, with wine libations, that follows (Graf, esp. 218–19). The prohibition in the sacrifice to Athene Machanis on taking the meat away from the sanctuary (compare 27. 32) seems to be a compromise between the potential inclusion of anybody in ordinary Olympian sacrifices and the exclusion of all humans involved in holocaust sacrifices; insisting that the meat is eaten on site and so only available to those who have participated in the ritual is particularly frequently attested in the

deme calendar from Erchia (*SEG* xxi 541; see further Scullion, 99–112). For the translation of *stemma* as a woollen fillet see Hornblower, *Commentary on Thucydides*, ii. 8 f. and on iv. 133. ii.

Those responsible for sacrifices are regularly required to provide the various offerings (*hiera*) that accompanied the victim, and in return they received various perquisites. This calendar is unusual in the extent to which it specifies the offerings: grain and bread or cakes are regular, together with wine except in the case of the preliminary wineless holocaust sacrifice of a pig for Zeus Polieus (*A.* 32–5); notable here is the frequent specification of new cups and other ‘tableware’ (paralleled in another Coan inscription, *LSCG* 159. 10–13). These presumably became permanent votive offerings in the temple. That the priest took in return the skin and legs as perquisites seems to have been regular (compare e.g. *M&L* 44). Variation occurs here only when there is prohibition on taking meat away from the sanctuary: so in the case of the sacrifices to Demeter (*A.* 59–60) the priest takes the ears, and from the sacrifice to Rhea he takes the skin (*B.* 3–5). In several cases no perquisites are specified, and this seems to be a systematic omission in cases where the *hieropoioi* are heavily involved (so *A.* 23–44, *C.* 1–8, *D.* 5–17). In two cases the perquisites extend beyond the priest: in the case of Zeus Polieus *A.* 46–55), the priest receives an enhanced share (half breast and half stomach as well as leg and skin) and further portions go to the *hieropoioi*, heralds, doctors (Cos was the home of the Hippocratics), pipe-players, smiths and potter, and Nestoridai (compare 81). Most of the parts given as perquisites to officials here can be paralleled elsewhere, for priests or others (cf. e.g. *LSS* 10, 77, 93). A third-century inscription (*LSS* 156) shows the priests of Zeus Polieus to have come from the Hippiadai, a subdivision of a tribal ‘Thirtieth’ whose name is not there preserved but which is likely to have been the Nestoridai (Sherwin-White, 156), which would explain why that group is singled out. The recognition of the pipe-players in this distribution reminds us of the aural element of sacrificial ritual, apparent also in representations of sacrifice on pots (for which see van Straten, *Hiera Kala*); why smiths and potters receive special attention is not clear. The ‘three-spit share of blood meat’ (*A.* 52) may be deliberate imitation of Homeric practice, with reference to the *pempobela* of the sacrifices at *Iliad* i. 463 and *Odyssey* iii. 460 (see A. E. Furtwängler in *Tainia . . . R. Hampe*, 81–98). In the case of the sacrifice to Zeus Machaneus (*B.* 13–21: Machaneus is a common epithet of Zeus in the Dorian world), another major festival where the ritual follows the lines of that for Zeus Polieus, the Phyleomachidai, who provide some of the non-animal offerings, receive certain parts of the ox, probably including the horns although the text is not altogether clear.

Only in the case of the sacrifice to Zeus Polieus is the role of the slaughterer, essential in any sacrifice, especially mentioned. Just as the ox, so too its slaughterers are specially selected and a special proclamation made about them (*A.* 40–4). This emphasis on the slaughterer is reminiscent of the myth of the Bouphonia at Athens, but the separation of slaughterer from priest was common (see Berthiaume, *Magēiros*), and there is no particular trace of anxiety about the killing itself here. The insistence on the sexual purity of the slaughterers is unusual, a mark of the high dignity of the

occasion, and this is the only early text that specifies that the purity should be from homosexual as well as from heterosexual intercourse (the text is not clear but the sense is not in doubt; see Parker, *Miasma*, 86 and 94 n. 81). Other purity rituals in this calendar include the sprinkling of the priest with sea-water (held to wash away all evils, Euripides *IT* 1193; cf. the funerary law from Ceos, *LSCG* 97 = *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 1218. 14–15) at the sacrifice to Athena Machanis (*B.* 23–4)—where despite the order of the words the sprinkling may precede the actual sacrifice.

Purification is also involved in the sprinkling of blood in the fourth fragment of the calendar (*D.* 7–8), where in the context of the sacrifice to the Graces of a goat (their usual victim *LSCG* 4. 3 but contrast 114. *B.* 1) and the further offering to Asia, who is perhaps the mother of the Graces, the altar and then ‘the stone in the olives’ receive blood. The combination of an annual sacrifice to the Graces, who are very much associated with the nurturing of the young (Pausanias, ix. 35. i–vii, who records that Athenians call them Thallo and Auxo, who figure in the ephebic oath, 88), a stone, often recipient of oaths, and the location ‘in the olives’ (compare again 88) suggested to Herzog that an oath ceremony, involving touching the stone (compare *Ath. Pol.* 55. v), was at issue here and his restorations make that explicit. This remains speculative, given the extent of damage to the *stele*, but it is clear that a peculiar ritual is employed here, for which ephebic initiation of some sort seems a plausible explanation (see further Pirenne-Delforge).

The extant calendar fragments cover the whole or part of a period of probably 20 days. During that period at least 20 sacrifices took place, yielding approximately 920 kg. of meat in years when the Carneia was celebrated, 110 kg. less in years when it was not. At this rate, and we have no reason to think the surviving fragments of the calendar atypical, the sacrifices recorded on these stones will have generated something like 18 tonnes of dressed meat a year. And this is unlikely to be an exhaustive list of Coan sacrifices. Public sacrifices at Athens produced 20 tonnes of meat annually, and the sacrifices in the calendar of the Attic deme of Erchia 796 kg. (Jameson in Whittaker (ed.), *Pastoral Economies*, 105; see further on 81, and compare Rosivach, *Sacrifice*, and Isager and Skydsgaard, *Agriculture*, fig. 12.1). Jameson (106) has drawn attention to the fact that ‘feeding and slaughtering animals for meat is far less economical than growing cereals for food’ and that large-scale sacrifice was a social and political (and, we may add, symbolic—Homeric heroes eat meat) choice reflecting economic prosperity.

Older Doric linguistic forms mix with later developments, some of them under Ionic influence, in this inscription. The older forms include *κῆνος* for *κεῖνος*, *δήλομαι* for *βούλομαι*; both older *αἰρέσθω* and newer *αἰρέϊσθω* are found, along with both earlier *ἱεροποιοί* and later *ἱεροποιοί*. Distinct Ionicisms include *τέλεως* for *τέληος*, and *κυεῦσα* (*B.* 3) (contrast *κυέουσα*, *A.* 56, 60). Use of ‘Pedageitnion’ (*B.* 3) for the month known elsewhere as Metageitnion is found in Cos, Calymnos, Rhodes, and also in Sicily and Magna Graecia, although none of these areas otherwise used *πεδά* for *μετά*. Features general to West Greek dialects but unfamiliar in Attic include use of *τοί* for *οί*, third person plural endings in *-ωντι*, and *ποτί* for *πρός*.

Athenian deme decree from (?) Hagnous,  
third quarter of fourth century

Two joining pieces of a marble *stèle*, top and bottom broken off, found at Dardiste near Markopoulo in the Mesogeia and now in the Epigraphic Museum.

Attic-Ionic. *Stoichedon* 46.

Michel 150; *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1183\*.

[A few letters at the right-hand end of seven lines remain]

- 8 [ —————<sup>21</sup> ————— οὗτ' αὐτὸς ἐγὼ] οὗτ[ε] ἄ[λ]λος ἔμοι οὐ-  
[δὲ ἄ]λλε[ι] εἰδότης ἐμο[ὶ] μηχανῇ ἢ τ[ε]λέ[χνη] οὐδεμῖν· καὶ ἑάν μ-  
10 [ο]ι [δ]οκεῖ ἀδικεῖν κα[τε]υθ[υ]ν[ω] α[ὐ]τ[ο]ῦ [καὶ τιμῆ]σ[ω] οὐ [ἄ]ν μ[ο]ι [δ]ο-  
κῇ ἄξιον εἶναι τὸ ἀδ[ι]κ[η]μα· [νῆ] τ[ο]ν Δ[ί]α ν[ῆ] τὸ ν[ῆ] Ἀπόλλων νῆ τῇ ν[ῆ]  
[Δ]ήμ[η]τρα, εὐορ[κ]οῦντι μ[έν] <sup>1</sup>μοι πολ[λ]ὰ κα[ὶ] ἀγα[θ]ά, εἰ δ' ἐπιорκο-  
[ί]ην τάναντία· ὁμνύει [δ]ὲ τὸν ὄρκον καὶ τὸν λογιστὴν λογι-  
εῖσθαι ἂ ἄν μοι δοκεῖ ἀν[η]λ[ω]κέναι, [καὶ] το[ὺ]ς σ[υν]ηγό[ρ]ους συ-  
15 ν[η]γορήσειν τῷ δήμῳ τ[ὰ] δ[ί]κα καὶ ψ[η]φίεσθαι ἂ ἄν μοι δο-  
κεῖ δικαιοσύνη· τ[ὴ]ν δὲ εὐθ[ύ]ν[ω] μὴ ἐξεῖναι ἐξελεῖ-  
ν τὴν εὐθ[ύ]ν[ω]ν ἐάν μὴ τοῖς [π]λέοσιν δ[ό]ξει τῶν δέκα τῶν αἰρ[ε]-  
θῶντων διαψηφισμένοις [κ]ρύβδην· τὴν δὲ ψήφον διδόντω [δ]ο-  
[έ]ος δήμαρχος καὶ ἐξορκού[τ]ω αὐτοὺς ἐναντίον τῶν δημο[τῶ]-  
20 [ν]· εἴ[ν]αι δὲ καὶ ἔφεσιν αὐτῷ [ε]ἰς ἀπα[ν]τας τοὺς δημότας· εἴ[αν]  
[δ]ὲ τις ἐφήν, ἐξορκούτω ὁ δήμα[ρ]χος τοῦ(ς) δημότας καὶ διδόντω  
[τ]ὴν ψήφον ἐάν παρῶσιν μ[ὲ]ν ἐλάττους ἢ· ΔΔΔ· ἐάν δὲ καταψ[η]φί-  
ωνται αὐτ[ο]ν οἱ δημόται, ὀφειλέτω τὸ ἡμιόλιον ὅσον ἂν [τιμ]-  
ηθεῖ αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τῶν δέκα τῶν αἰρ[ε]θέντων· μὴ ἐξεῖναι δ[ὲ] πρό-  
25 τερο[ν] ἀφείναι τοὺς δημότας τῷ δ[η]μάρχῳ πρὶν ἂν δώ[ι] τὰς [ε]  
ὑ[θ]ύν[ω]ς ὁ περυσιν[ος] δήμαρχος καὶ τὰ [ἄ]λλα χρημα[τ]ίσ[ω]ν τ[ὰ] ἐν τῷ-  
ι ψηφίσματι, ἐάν δὲ ἀφήν, ὀφειλέτω [.] δραχμάς. ἐάν <δ>έ τ[ι]νι δέ-  
ει ἀργύριον, δανείζων τοῦ(ς) ἱερέα[ς] ἀξιοχρεῖναι ἐπ[ὶ] χωρίῳ -  
ι ἢ οἰκίᾳ ἢ συνοικίᾳ καὶ ὄρον ἐ[φ]ίσ[ω]τάσαι, οὐ ἂν εἰ [θεοῦ πα]-  
30 ραγράφοντα ὅ[υ] του ἂν εἰ τὸ ἀργύριον· εἴ[αν] δὲ μὴ ὀρί[σ]η αὐτά[?],  
ὀφείλειν τὸν ἱερέα οὐ ἂν εἰ θεοῦ ἱερεὺς καὶ τὰ χρ[ή]ματα αὐ-  
τοῦ ὑποκείσθω τῷ θεῷ οὐ ἂν εἰ ἱερε[ῖ]ωμένος. τῇ [δὲ] πέμπτ[η]-  
ει θυέτω τὴν Πληροσίαν ὁ δήμαρχος τῶ[ι] Διὶ ἀπὸ Π[ρ]ο[δ]ραχμῶν κ]-  
αὶ νεμέτω τὰ κρέα τεῖ ἐβδόμῃ ἱσταμένου τοῖς π[α]ρούσιν κ]-

8 [οὐδὲ δῶρα δέξομαι οὗτ' αὐτὸς ἐγὼ] *IG*. 12 Δ[ή]μετρα, εὐορχοῦντι and γοι on stone. 14-15 συν-  
εγορήσειν on stone. 17-18 τῶν αἰρ[ε]θέντων on stone. 20 εἶμαι and ἀπαμ[α]τας on stone. 22 με  
ἐλάττους and καταψ[η]φ on stone. 23 αὐτῷ on stone. 25-6 ε[ἰ]ς ἵλας ὁ περυσιν[ω]ς and χρημαγ[ι]σμοί on  
stone. 27 ἐάν ο[ὐ]κ on stone. 29 ἐπ[ὶ] τ[ῶ]ν on stone. 32 δὲ πέμπτ[η] *IG*; see commen-  
tary. 33 Π[ρ]ο[δ]ραχμῶν Michel; [Π[ρ]ο[δ]ραχμῶν] *IG*. 35 συνεχευράσουσαν on stone.

- 8 'neither I myself nor anyone else on my behalf, nor with my knowledge by any other manner or means. And if he seems to me to be in the wrong I shall condemn him at the scrutiny and punish him as the offence seems to me to deserve. By Zeus, by Apollo, by Demeter, if I keep my oath may many blessings fall to me, but if I perjure myself the opposite.' The reckoner also shall swear the oath, 'to reckon what appears to me to have been spent', and the advocates 'to advocate what is just for the deme and to vote as seems to me most just'.
- 16 It shall not be permitted for the scrutineer to bring the scrutiny to an end unless it is approved by a majority of the elected ten voting secretly. Let the new demarch give the ballot and exact an oath from them in the presence of the demesmen. There shall be right of appeal for him to all the demesmen. If anyone appeals, let the demarch exact an oath from the demesmen and give out the ballot, provided that there are no fewer than thirty men present. If the demesmen condemn him, let him owe half in addition to what he had already been condemned to pay by the elected ten. The demarch shall not be permitted to release the demesmen until the previous demarch submits to the scrutiny and completes the rest of the business prescribed in the decree. If he does release them let him owe (?) drachmas.
- 27 If anyone needs money, the priests may lend money on satisfactory security of land or house or tenement house, and shall place a boundary-stone on which they shall inscribe the name of the god to whom the money belongs. If the priest does not so place a boundary-stone, he shall owe money to the god of whom he is the priest, and his property shall be mortgaged to the god of whom he has been made priest.
- 32 On the fifth of the month the demarch is to hold the sacrifice of the Plerosia in honour of Zeus at a cost of 500 drachmas, and to distribute the meat on the seventh of the month to those present, those who join in the meeting, and those who join in offering

- 35 αἱ συναγοράζουσιν καὶ συνενεχυρά(ζ)ουσιν α[<sup>10</sup>]  
 μν· τῇ δὲ ἐνάτῃ ἐπὶ δέκα τοῦ Ποσιδεῶν[ος] μ(η)ν[ὸς χρηματίζ]-  
 [ε]ν πε[ρὶ Διο]νυσίων, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα πάντα τ[<sup>16</sup>]  
 [<sup>10</sup>χρη]ματίζεω πλὴν τοῦ δ[<sup>17</sup>]  
 [τῇ αὖ]τῇ ἡμέραι τὸν δῆμα[ρχον <sup>13</sup>]  
 40 [<sup>16</sup>] δ[φειλέτ]ω Ἡ δρ[α]χμάς <sup>14</sup>]

36 Ποσιδεῶν[...] μιν[...] on stone.

This is part of a decree of one of the 139 Attic demes (see above on 46). The findspot of the inscription, at Dardiste at the southern end of the Mesogeia, suggests that the deme in question here is Hagnous (Traill, *Demos*, 132, correcting his *Political Organization*, 42; traditionally this inscription has been regarded as from Myrrhinous, situated at modern Merenda). Hagnous was a moderately sized community which returned five men annually to the council of 500 in the fourth century and therefore had a population of c.1% of the total population of Athens (i.e. perhaps c.300 adult male citizens). The quorum of 30 men required here would represent c.10% of the total number of demesmen, and compares with the quorum of 6,000 for the Athenian assembly (c.20% of the total citizen body in the fourth century). Other evidence also suggests low attendance at deme meetings (Dem. LVII. *Eubulides* 9, 13). Not all men registered in a deme because of the inaugural registration of their family with that deme in the late sixth century also resided there (cf. Osborne, *OJA* x 1991, 231–52). Philocrates son of Pythodorus, after whom the Peace agreement of 346 is named, belonged to this deme and the record of the confiscation of his property shows that he continued to own land here, even though he also had a house in the town deme of Melite (see *Agora*, xix, P 26. 368 ff., 450 ff., Osborne, *Demos*, 52–3).

The document seems to have been concerned with the duties of the demarch, the man allotted charge of the deme for a year, and the only official that the city required demes to have. It covers three quite separate matters: the scrutiny of deme officials (to l. 27), the lending of deme money (27–32), and deme sacrifices for which the demarch is responsible (32 on). In passing general rules at a single meeting of the assembly the deme here acts in the fourth century in the way that the Athenian assembly acted in the fifth century, but not the fourth century (see Introduction, p. xviii, for the Athenian distinction between laws and decrees, 46 for a deme decree). In other ways, however, the deme of Hagnous can be seen here broadly to follow the practices of the city as a whole as it lays down procedures for the scrutiny of its officers at the end of their term of office (see further Whitehead, *Demes*, 119). How many officers this deme had is uncertain; two of the officials mentioned here, the scrutineer and the reckoner, seem to have existed solely for purposes of the scrutiny, and the same may be true of the advocates. Apart from the demarch some demes had permanent finance officers also, but if Hagnous had one he has left no trace (see generally Whitehead, *Demes*, 56–62, and ch. v; Osborne, *Demos*, 74–9). The disproportion between the number of officers active during the year and the number of officers appointed to scrutinize them may be

security. On the nineteenth day of the month Posideon business concerned with the Dionysia shall be dealt with and all the other things . . . dealt with except . . . on the same day the demarch . . . owe 100 drachmas.

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real and not just a product of the peculiar sample of evidence surviving. The scrutiny procedures here can be paralleled in central scrutiny procedures: *Ath. Pol.* 48. iv–v describes the appointment of scrutineers who received charges that any citizen wished to lay against any magistrate and if they found that a *prima facie* case had been made, forwarded the case to a court. *Ath. Pol.* 54. ii further describes how ‘reckoners’ brought the financial accounts of magistrates before courts at the end of the magistrate’s office. In this deme the double process of a general and a financial scrutiny is reflected in the involvement of both scrutineer and reckoner (compare the procedure at Halai Aixonides revealed in *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1174), but advocates are also involved who appear not to be paralleled in the city’s scrutinies (but compare 5. 32). The role of the court in the city appears to be taken here by the elected committee of ten, from whom appeal can then be made to the whole body of demesmen (compare the appeal procedure in 5), although mysteriously the advocates themselves vote, secretly, at some stage. Secret voting was normal in Athenian courts (*Ath. Pol.* 68. ii–v, and compare 5. 82), and was adopted by the council for some judicial and quasi-judicial matters, but the assembly normally voted by show of hands (cf. Rhodes, *CQ*<sup>2</sup> liii 2003, 124–9 at 125–7).

All the officials involved in the scrutiny procedure here are obliged to swear oaths (lines 8–21) that they will perform their task properly. The opening oath, which also involves a brief curse, is surely that of the scrutineer himself. Taking oaths from magistrates when they entered office was a regular Athenian practice, and in particular oaths were exacted from all involved in judicial proceedings—arbitrators, presiding magistrates, and dikasts (but not normally witnesses; *Ath. Pol.* 55. v; Dem. xxiv. *Timocr.* 150). The sacred calendar from Thoricus provides for a sacrifice over which the oaths at the deme scrutiny were solemnized (*SEG* xxxiii 147 = *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 256 bis. 12 (cf. 52); Whitehead, *Demes*, 117 n. 158). Public curses are well known elsewhere in the Greek world (see M&L 30), are parodied by Aristophanes, feature in the Plataea oath (88), and may not have been at all unusual at Athens.

The Athenians normally punished offenders in one of three ways: by death, by removal of civic rights (*atimia*), and by fining. Only fining is within the powers of the deme. Here, as in the city’s ‘assessed cases’, there is a process of evaluation (*timesis*), in which the body sitting in judgement opts for either the level of penalty asked by the prosecution or that suggested by the offender. The deme also levies a fine of 100 drachmas on a demarch who fails to perform particular duties (compare *Hesp.* viii 1939, 177–80, lines 18–21, from Eleusis). The city also used fines to ensure that



demarchs did the duties the city imposed upon them (such as seeing to the burial of any corpse: [Dem.] XLIII. *Macartatus* 38, compare 36. 27–9 with commentary). Fines for non-performance, non-payment of rent, or for making an illegal proposal were one potential source of income for the deme, just as they were for the city (see *Agora*, xix. P 26).

The second part of the inscription as preserved concerns a quite different matter, the lending of deme funds. Funds are made available by the priests to those (deme members only?) who have need for them. The sudden appearance of priests at this point in connection with finance, together with the subsequent appearance of the demarch as the man charged with seeing that sacrifices happen appropriately, indicates nicely the absence of separate categories of the sacred and the secular in Greek cities. Although three boundary-stones like those envisaged here have been discovered which indicate only a deme as the source of the loan which the property so bounded secured (Millett, *Lending*, 172–3), it is sanctuaries within demes that seem to have had the most funds available for loan (M&L 53, *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 258, Whitehead, *Demes*, 165–9). (The sacred funds of the Athenian Acropolis sanctuaries, by contrast, seem to have been available only to the city as a whole and not to private individuals.) No boundary-stone survives on which the identity of the god worshipped by the religious group making the loan is specified in the way demanded here; instead, religious groups identify themselves on boundary-stones by their collective names—the Decadistae, for example, or the ‘*thiasotai* with x’ (Finley, *SLC* nos. 32 and 43). That the deme insists on real estate as security is consistent with a similar insistence by the city in cases where orphans’ estates are leased out by the archon: no other form of security seems ever to have been envisaged by public bodies.

The final part of the inscription is a fragment of a sacred calendar, laying down the sacrificial duties of the demarch (compare *ZPE* cxxx 1999, 45–7, Lambert’s much improved text of *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1358). (On calendars generally see on 62 above.) Demarchs are widely attested offering sacrifices, distributing meat from sacrifices, and even receiving the perquisites from them (*SEG* xxi 541. 558 for the latter). When the Panathenaea was held in the city the demarchs organized the feast, at which the meat was distributed deme by deme (Souda (δ 421) s.v. *δήμαρχοι*; 81). The Solonian lawcode apparently recorded a (state) sacrifice to Leos at Hagnos (Steph. Byz. s.v. *Ἀγροῦς*), but none of the sacrifices recorded here is at city expense.

The first sacrifice mentioned here, the Plerosia, is widely attested, though with minor variations on the name (Prerosia, Proerosia, Proeresia). As some of those other forms suggest, it seems to have been a pre-ploughing ritual (R. Parker in Linders and Nordquist (edd.), *Gifts to the Gods* . . . 1985, 137–47 at 141–2, Whitehead, *Demes*, 188–9, 196–7). The most prominent of Proerosia rituals was that at Eleusis: on the 5th of

Pyanopsion (approximately October) the deme of Eleusis sent the hierophant and the sacred herald to Athens to proclaim the Proerosia which took place on the following day (*SEG* xxiii 80. 3–7). At Thoricus (*SEG* xxxiii 147 with Parker, 'Festivals') there seem to have been two Proerosia sacrifices, in Hecatombaion and Boedromion (roughly July and September), the latter apparently a sacrifice to Zeus Polieus, just as the Hagnous sacrifice was to Zeus; elsewhere, at Paeania, Eleusis, and Piraeus the sacrifice seems to have been to Demeter. The day of the month is specified at Hagnous, but not the month itself; this seems to be a matter of omission, and we do not believe that all the sacrifices mentioned here should be attributed to the month Posideon (roughly December) mentioned in l. 36, or thought of as monthly. As restored here, the decree provides for sacrifice on the fifth of the month, but distribution of the meat only on the seventh of the month; such a delay between sacrifice and distribution seems to be unparalleled: is the prospect of meat a bribe to get people to attend whatever sort of meeting is referred to in 35? (It would be possible to restore the seventh as the date of the sacrifice, but in this case the repetition of the date would be curiously inept even for this inelegant document.) It is striking that the deme spends so large an amount of money on this sacrifice: fourth-century prices for cows are normally 70–100 drachmas, so 500 drachmas would buy five to seven cattle, yielding 500–700 kg. of meat (Jameson, 'Sacrifice'). This is around 2 kg. of meat per male citizen of Hagnous, an amount which makes us suspect that visitors from outside the deme are included in the unparalleled and obscure phrase in l. 35, which perhaps covers those involved in credit transactions with the deme. (On meat from sacrifices see further 62, 81.)

The Dionysia about which there is to be business on Posideon 19 (around mid-December) is the Rural Dionysia (Whitehead, *Demes*, 212–22, Pickard-Cambridge, *Dramatic Festivals*, 42–56). This festival involved a procession and competitive events, sometimes including dramatic productions which rich individuals who were members of or resident in a deme might be required to finance (compare *IG* i<sup>3</sup> 254 and ii<sup>2</sup> 1178 from the deme of Icaria). There is evidence for the celebration of the rural Dionysia from at least fourteen demes, but although they appear all to have celebrated the festival in the same month they did not all celebrate it on the same day, and it was possible to move from the theatrical performances in one deme to those in another (*Plat. Rep.* iv. 435 D). We know of more than a dozen demes that had theatres, but not whether the deme of Hagnous had one.

Earlier editors of this inscription have remarked on the carelessness with which the letters are inscribed. Although a regular *stoichedon* arrangement is kept, and the letter forms are quite standard, there are frequent mistakes in orthography. Deme documents rarely rise to the level of the best state inscriptions, but errors are not usually so frequent.

## Athens honours Spartocus and his brothers, of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, 347/6

A *stèle*, with a relief showing Spartocus and Paerisades enthroned and Apollonius standing beside them; found near the main harbour at the Piraeus, now in the National Museum at Athens. Phot. *BCH* v 1881, pl. v; Meyer, *Die griechischen Urkundenreliefs*, Taf. 28 A 88 (these two the relief and ll. 1–2); Lawton, *Reliefs*, pl. 18 no. 35 (relief only).

Attic-Ionic, twice retaining the old *o* for *ou*. Ll. 1–2 in larger letters; 3–7 *stoichedon* 24; 8 sqq. *stoichedon* 34 (35 in 16).

*IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 212; *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 206; Tod 167\*. Trans. Harding 82. See also C. Tuplin, *ZPE* xlix 1982, 121–8; H. Heinen in Carlier (ed.), *Le IV<sup>e</sup> Siècle av. J.-C.*, 357–68, esp. 361–3.

Σπαρτόκωι, Παιρισάδῃι,  
Ἀπολλωνίωι, Λεύκωνος παισί.

*vacat*

ἐπὶ Θεμιστοκλέους ἄρχ[χ]οντο[s].

ἐπὶ τῆς Αἰγίδος ὀγδό[η]ς πρυ[τ]-

5 ανείας· ἥι Λυσίμα[χ]ος Σωσιδῆ[μ]-

ο Ἀχα[ρ]ν[ε]ὺς ἐγραμμάτευεν· Θε[ό]-

φίλος [Ἀλ]ιμούσιος ἐπεστάτε[ι].

Ἄνδροτίων Ἄνδρωνος Γαργήτ[ε]ος [ε]ἶπεν· π[ε]-

ρὶ ὧν ἐπέστειλε Σπάρτοκος κ[αὶ] Παιρ[ισά]δ[η]-

10 ς καὶ οἱ πρέσβεις οἱ ἦκοντ[ε]ς π[α]ρ' αὐτῶν ἀπ[α]-

γγέλλουσιν, ἀποκρί[ν]ασθαι αὐ[τ]οῖς[ς] ὅτι ὁ [δῆ]-

μος ὁ Ἀθηναίων ἐπαινεί Σπάρτ[ο]κον καὶ Παι-

ρισάδην ὅτι εἰσὶν ἄνδρες [ἀ]γα[θ]οὶ καὶ ἐπ[αγ]-

γέλλονται τῷ δήμῳ [τ]ῷ Ἀ[θ]ην[α]ίων ἐπιμε[λ]-

15 ἦσθαι τῆς ἐκ[π]ομπῆς τοῦ [σ]ίτ[ο]υ καθάπερ ὁ

πατήρ αὐτῶν ἐπεμελείτο καὶ ὕ[π]ηρετήσεν π-

ροθύμῳς ὅτου ἂν ὁ δῆμ[ος] δ[έ]η[ι]τα[ι]· καὶ ἀπαγγέ-

λλειν αὐτο[ῖ]ς τ[ο]ὺς πρέσβ[ε]ις ὅ[τι] ταῦτα ποι-

οῦντες οὐδεν[ος] ἀτυχήσ[ο]υσιν τοῦ δήμου το-

20 ὕ Ἀθηναίων. [ἐ]π[ε]ι[δὴ] δὲ [τὰ]ς δω[ρε]ῖ[ας] διδῶσι-

ν Ἀθηναῖοις ἄσ[περ] Σ[άτ]υ[ρ]ος καὶ Λεύκων ἔδο-

σαν, εἶναι [Σπαρ]τόκ[ω]ι [κ]αὶ Παιρισάδῃ τὰς δ-

ωρεῖ[ας] ἃς [ὁ δῆμ]ος ἔδωκε Σατύρῳ καὶ Λεύκω-

νι· καὶ στεφ[ανοῦν] χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ Παναθη-

25 ναίοις το[ῖς] Μεγ[ά]λοις ἀπὸ χιλίων δραχμῶν

ἐκάτερ[ο]ν. [ποιε]ῖσθαι δὲ τοὺς στεφάνους το-

ὺς ἀθλοθέ[τας] τῷ προτέρῳ ἔτει Παναθηνα-

ίων τῶν Μεγ[ά]λων κατὰ τὸ ψήφισμα τοῦ δήμου

τὸ πρότερον ἐψηφισμένον Λεύκωνι· καὶ ἀνα-

For Spartocus, Paerisades, Apollonius, sons of Leucon.

3 In the archonship of Themistocles [347/6]; in the eighth prytany, of Aegeis; to which Sosidemus of Acharnae was secretary; Theophilus of Halimus was chairman. Androtion son of Andron of Gargettus proposed:

8 Concerning the letter sent by Spartocus and Paerisades and the report of the envoys who have come from them: reply to them that the people of Athens praise Spartocus and Paerisades, because they are good men and offer to the people of Athens to take care of the sending-out of the corn as their father took care of it and to minister enthusiastically to whatever the people need; and the envoys shall report to them that if they do this they shall fail to obtain nothing from the people of Athens.

20 Since they give to the people of Athens the grants which Satyrus and Leucon gave, there shall be for Spartocus and Paerisades the grants which the people gave to Satyrus and Leucon; and each of them shall be crowned regularly at the Great Panathenaea with a crown of a thousand drachmas. The *athlothetai* shall have the crowns made in the year before the Great Panathenaea in accordance with the decree of the people decreed previously for Leucon; and proclaim that the people

- 30 γορεύειν ὅτι στεφανοῖ ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων  
 Σπάρτοκον καὶ Παιρισάδην τοὺς Λεύκωνος  
 παῖδας ἀρετῆς καὶ εὐνοίας ἕνεκα τῆς εἰς τ-  
 ὄν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων. ἔπειδὴ δὲ τοὺς στεφ-  
 άνους ἀνατιθέασι τῇ Ἀθηναίᾳ τῇ Πολιάδι,  
 35 τοὺς ἀθλοθέτας εἰς τὸν νεὼ ἀνατιθέναι το-  
 ῦς στεφάνους ἐπιγράψαντας· Σπάρτοκος<sup>vv</sup>  
 καὶ Παιρισάδης Λεύκωνος παῖδες ἀνέθεσα-  
 ν τῇ Ἀθηναίᾳ στεφανωθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμ-  
 ου τοῦ Ἀθηνα[ί]ων. τὸ δὲ ἀργύριον διδόναι το-  
 40 ῖς ἀθλοθέταις εἰς τοὺς στεφάνους τὸν τοῦ  
 δήμου ταμίαν ἐκ τῶν εἰς τὰ κατὰ ψηφίσματα  
 τῷ δήμῳ με[ρι]ζομένων· τὸ δὲ νύ[ν] εἶναι παρ-  
 αδοῦναι τοὺς ἀποδέκτας τὸ εἰς [τ]οὺς στεφ[ά]-  
 νους ἐκ τῶν στ[ρ]ατιωτικῶν χρ[η]μάτων. ἀναγ[ρ]-  
 45 άφαι δὲ τὸ ψήφισμα τόδε τὸν γραμματέα τῇ[s]  
 βουλῆς ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνει καὶ στήσαι πλη[σ]-  
 ίον τῆς Σατύρου καὶ Λεύκωνος, ἐς δὲ τὴν ἀν[α]-  
 γραφὴν δοῦναι τὸν ταμίαν τοῦ δήμου τριά[κ]-  
 οντα δραχμάς. ἐπαινέσαι δὲ τοὺς πρέσβει[s]  
 50 Σῶσιν καὶ Θεοδόσιον, ὅτι ἐπιμελοῦνται τ[ῶ]-  
 ν ἀφικ[ν]ουμένων Ἀθήνηθεν εἰς Βόσπορον, [κα]-  
 ῖ καλέσαι αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ ξένια εἰς τὸ πρυτα[νε]-  
 ῖον εἰς αὔριον. περὶ δὲ τῶν χρημάτων τῶν [ὀφ]-  
 [ει]λ[ο]μένων τοῖς παῖσι τοῖς Λεύκωνος, ὅπ[ως]  
 55 [ἄ]ν ἀπολάβωσιν, χρηματίσαι τοὺς προέδ[ρους]  
 [οἱ] ἂν λάχωσιν προεδρεύειν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ [τῇ]  
 [ὄγ]δόῃ ἐπὶ δέκα πρῶτον μετὰ τὰ ἱερά, ὅπ[ως] ἄ-  
 [ν] ἀπολα[β]όντες τὰ χρήματα μὴ ἐγκαλῶσ[ι] τῷ  
 [δ]ήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων. δοῦναι δ[ε] τὰ[s] ὑπη[ρ]εσί]-  
 60 [α]s ἅς αἰτοῦσι Σπάρτοκος καὶ Παιρισάδης. τ[ῶ]-  
 [ν]s δὲ πρ[ε]σβεις ἀπογράψαι τὰ ὀνόμα[τα] τῶν  
 [ὑπ]ηρ[ε]σιῶν ὧν ἂν λάβωσιν τῷ γραμμα[τεῖ] τῇ-  
 [ς] β[ου]λῆς. οὗς δ' ἂν ἀπογράψωσιν, εἶνα[ι] ἐν τῷ  
 τ[ε]ταγμένῳ ποιούντας ἀγαθὸν ὅ τι [ἂν] δύνω-  
 65 νται τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς Λεύκωνος. Π[ολύευκτ]-  
 ος Τιμοκράτους Κριωεύς εἶπε· τὰ [μὲν] ἄλλα κ[α]-  
 [α]θάπερ Ἀνδροτίων· στεφανώσα[ι] δὲ καὶ Ἀπολ[λ]-  
 ώνιον τὸν Λεύκωνος ὅν ἐκ τῷ[ν] αὐτῶν.<sup>vvv</sup>

The region of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, centred on Panticapaeum at the eastern extremity of the Crimea, was colonized by Milesians and other eastern Greeks; and a kingdom was ruled by members of the Spartocid dynasty, bearing Greek

of Athens crown Spartocus and Paerisades the sons of Leucon on account of their goodness and good will towards the people of Athens.

- 33 Since they offer to dedicate the crowns to Athena Polias, the *athlothetai* shall dedicate the crowns in the temple, adding the inscription, 'Spartocus and Paerisades sons of Leucon dedicated to Athena, having been crowned by the people of Athens'.
- 39 The money shall be given to the *athlothetai* for the crowns by the treasurer of the people from the allocation to the people for decrees; but for now the *apodektai* shall hand over the cost of the crowns from the stratiotic fund.
- 44 This decree shall be written up by the secretary of the council on a stone *stele* and placed near the *stele* of Satyrus and Leucon, and for the writing-up the treasurer of the people shall give thirty drachmas.
- 49 Praise the envoys Sosis and Theodosius, because they take care of those arriving from Athens at the Bosphorus, and invite them to hospitality in the *prytaneion* tomorrow.
- 53 Concerning the money owing to the sons of Leucon, so that they shall recover it, the *proedroi* to whose lot it falls to preside in the people on the eighteenth shall deal with the matter immediately after the sacred business, so that they shall recover the money and not have a complaint against the people of Athens.
- 59 Give the ships' officers for whom Spartocus and Paerisades ask. The envoys shall report the names of whichever officers they take to the secretary of the council. Those whom they report shall be deemed to have done their duty if they do what good they can to the sons of Leucon.
- 65 Polyeuctus son of Timocrates of Crioia proposed:
- 66 In other respects in accordance with Androton; but crown also Apollonius the son of Leucon from the same source.

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and Thracian names, from c.438/7 until 109 (see J. Hind, *CAH*<sup>2</sup>, vi. 476–511; G. R. Tsatskheladze in Nielsen (ed.), *Yet More Studies* (*Hist. Einz.* cxvii 1997), 39–81). Of the earlier kings mentioned in ll. 23–4, Satyrus I succeeded his father Spartocus I in

433/2, perhaps ruling jointly with Seleucus until 393/2, and Satyrus was succeeded by his son Leucon in 389/8; towards the end of his reign Leucon associated his sons with him (Tod 163); when he died in 349/8 he was succeeded by his two eldest sons, Spartocus II and Paerisades I; when Spartocus died in 344/3 Paerisades continued to rule until 311/10 (succession and dates of rulers corrected from D.S. by R. Werner, *Hist.* iv 1955, 412–44; other schemes have been proposed, e.g. M. J. Osborne, *Naturalization*, iii–iv. 41–4 T 21; for some doubts see Tuplin, esp. 127–8). In this decree the rulers are given no title; in local inscriptions they are given the titles *archon* of Bosporus and Theodosia and *basileus* of various peoples (Tod 115. B, C, 65); *archon* is used by Dem. xx. *Lept.* 29, when defending the award of honours, but elsewhere the orators call them tyrants (e.g. Aesch. iii. *Ctes.* 171, Din. i. *Dem.* 43). For the use of *archon* cf. Dionysius of Syracuse (10, 33, 34). For later awards to members of this family see Osborne, *Naturalization*, D 25 = *Agora*, xvi 94 (fragments disaggregated by S. D. Lambert, *ΣPE* cxxxvi 2001, 65–70); *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 653, included in Osborne's T 21.

The region was important to Athens as a source of corn (specifically, bread wheat, not grown in Attica: Sallares, *The Ecology of the Ancient Greek World*, 323–32), and Athens was anxious to maintain good relations with the rulers. Our inscription refers to the 'grants' given to the Athenians by Satyrus and Leucon and by the Athenians to them (ll. 20–4): we learn from the orators that Athens had priority rights to purchase Bosporan corn and exemption from the  $\frac{1}{30}$  export tax, while the rulers received Athenian citizenship and *ateleia* (Dem. xx. *Lept.* 29–40, using the same word, 'grant'; [Dem.] xxxiv. *Phorm.* 36); subsequently statues were to be set up of Paerisades and his sons (Din. i. *Dem.* 43); our inscription implies that Leucon like his sons regularly received a gold crown (ll. 24–9). How often such crowns awarded by Athens stayed in Athens as dedications we do not know (see Harris, *The Treasures of the Parthenon and Erechtheion*, 104–5); a crown dedicated by a Spartocus is mentioned in inventories of the end of the fourth century (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1485. 21–4, 1486. 14–16 with S. M. Burstein, *ΣPE* xxxi 1978, 181–5). Tuplin argues that Isoc. xvii. *Trapeziticus* points to *ad hoc* arrangements, and that the regular arrangements attested in the later texts were instituted after that speech, c.390. According to Dem. xx. *Lept.* 31–2 Athens imported 400,000 *medimnoi* (c.21,000,000 litres, or 577,000 bushels: cf. on 45) of corn from the Bosporus, as much as from all other sources together, while Str. 311. vii. iv. 6 states that 'they say' Leucon sent 2,100,000 *medimnoi*. P. D. A. Garnsey in a study suggesting that Athens' dependence on imported corn has been exaggerated (but himself perhaps over-reacting) warns that 400,000 *medimnoi*, which would have fed 90,000 people for a year, might be not normal but the quantity imported in an exceptional year (*Crux* . . . *G. E. M. de Ste Croix*, 62–75 = Garnsey, *Cities, Peasants and Food in Classical Greece*, 183–95(–200)); for a response to the minimizing view see M. Whitby in Parkins & Smith (edd.), *Trade, Traders and the Ancient City*, 102–28.

Our decree was enacted in the spring of 346, soon (but, if Werner's chronology is correct, not immediately) after the death of Leucon. An outstanding item of business is to be dealt with on 'the eighteenth', and it can be calculated that that date must be 18 Elaphebolion, the first of two consecutive dates eventually fixed for deciding on the Peace of Philocrates with Philip of Macedon, and that our decree was enacted at

the meeting on 8 Elaphebolion which ordered the meetings on the 18th and the 19th (A. Schaefer, *RM*<sup>2</sup> xxxiii 1878, 418–33 at 431–2, cf. D. M. Lewis, *BSA* l 1955, 25–6). ‘The eighteenth’ is specified rather than ‘the first assembly’ (e.g. 31. 10–11) because the first assembly after that on the 8th was devoted entirely to the conduct of the Dionysia (Dem. xxi. *Mid.* 8–9 with Aesch. ii. *Embassy* 61). It would be interesting to know whether discussion of the Peace supplanted or had to follow this and other business assigned to that day. The assemblies of this prytany have been discussed in connection with the question whether at this time the Athenians could hold more assemblies in a prytany than the four regular assemblies specified in *Ath. Pol.* 43. iv–vi (see M. H. Hansen, *GRBS* xxxii 1982, 335–7 = *Ecclesia* (I), 87–9, *GRBS* xxviii 1987, 35–50 = *Ecclesia* II, 177–92 + 193–4; E. M. Harris, *CQ*<sup>2</sup> xxxvi 1986, 363–77, *AJP* cxii 1991, 325–41; Pritchett, *Athenian Calendars and Ecclesias*, 192–201: we agree with Harris and Pritchett that they could).

The proposer of our decree is Androtion, for whom see on 51. In the course of his work to reorder the temple treasures and make them more accessible as a financial reserve, he had ordered the melting-down of various old dedications (Dem. xxii. *Andr.* 69–78), but here he proposes the continuing award of gold crowns which will be dedicated to Athena: D. M. Lewis ‘almost detects a wry tone in ll. 36–9, as he carefully drafts the honorary inscription for the Bosporans, as if to show that he is not quite as insensitive to such things as Demosthenes might suggest’ (*BSA* xlix 1954, 49). The proposer of the amendment, Polyeuctus, was the son of Timocrates, a political associate of Androtion (cf. Rhodes, *G&R*<sup>2</sup> xliii 1996, 25, and in Cartledge *et al.* (edd.), *Kosmos*, 158–9).

In ll. 24–36 we have a series of verbs in the present tense, appropriate to the repeated award of crowns (the aorist is regularly used for a single award, e.g. 33. 27–8): we have included ‘regularly’ in our translation of the first of these, in l. 24. The award of crowns regularly, rather than on a single occasion, was an unusual and expensive honour, for rulers whose continuing support for Athens was highly valued—but the crowns were to stay in Athens, and, if the wholesale price of corn was 3 drachmas per *medimnos*, exemption from the <sup>1</sup>/<sub>30</sub> tax on 400,000 *medimnoi* would be worth 40,000 drachmas (for attested prices for corn in the fifth and fourth centuries, which are not wholesale prices but retail prices in Athens, see Stroud, *The Athenian Grain-Tax Law of 374/3 B.C.*, 74). Normally the payment for the crowns is to come from the assembly’s expense account, but 346 is a year of the Great Panathenaea (the festival was celebrated on this larger scale every four years), and on this occasion, when the crowns have to be ready in four months’ time, the money is to be provided at least in the first instance by the receiving officers, the *apodektai* (cf. 19) from (what they would otherwise allocate to) the stratiotic fund (ll. 39–44). On some other, slightly later, occasions a decree which laid an additional burden on the assembly’s expense account ordered the *nomothetai* to modify the law so as to allow for that (e.g. *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 222. 41–6): perhaps that was eventually done on this occasion too (cf. Rhodes, *Boule*, 101). The stratiotic, i.e. military, fund, was in existence by 374/3 and at first received any surplus revenue after the requirements of the *merismos* had been met; after the creation of the theoric fund in the 350s that fund received surplus revenue except in a war-time emergency (for our view of



these controversial matters see Rhodes, *Boule*, 105–7, 235–40; the stratiotic fund is now attested in 26, of 374/3).

The *stèle* inscribed with our text was to be set up ‘near the *stèle* of Satyrus and Leucon’ (ll. 46–7): it was found in the Piraeus, and that fits the statement of Dem. xx. *Lept.* 36 that *stelai* for Leucon were set up at the Bosporus, the Piraeus, and *hieron* (the last being a sanctuary on the Asiatic side of the Thracian Bosporus, through which ships travelling between the Cimmerian Bosporus and Athens had to pass). This would be an appropriate location to impress men arriving from the Bosporan kingdom (for another text published at the Piraeus see 69), though the normal location in Athens for honorific decrees was the Acropolis (e.g. 19).

The rulers’ envoys are men who themselves ‘take care of those arriving from Athens at the Bosporus’, but unlike the rulers they have not been awarded Athenian citizenship, since they are invited not to ‘dinner’ but to ‘hospitality’ (ll. 49–53; cf. on 2).

There has been argument about the nature and status of the men for whom the rulers asked Athens, identified by the abstract noun *hyperesiaí* (ll. 59–65). It used to be thought that they were oarsmen of some kind (e.g. Tod and LSJ); but almost certainly they were not oarsmen at all but the skilled officers who together with the trierarch made up the full crew of a ship and could be regarded as the ‘assistants’ of the trierarch (Dover in Gomme *et al.*, *Hist. Comm. Thuc.* iv. 294; J. S. Morrison, *JHS* civ 1984, 48–59). The cognate verb *hyperetein* is used in l. 16, where we translate it ‘minister’.

# 65

## Dedications in the Cimmerian Bosporus, c.344/3–c.311/10

### A

A base found at Kerch (Panticapaeum); now in the museum there.

Ionic, with the old *o* for *ou* in l. 3.

*IOSPE* ii 8; *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 213; Tod 171. A; *CIRB* 9\*.

Φαυνίππου ἀ[νάθημα ὑπὲρ τοῦ]  
ἀδελφοῦ Ἄρτε[μ --- του ---]  
χοῦ ἄρχοντος Παιρισάδεο[ς Θεοδο]-  
σίης καὶ βασιλεύοντος Σινδ[ών]  
5 [? καὶ Μαῖτῶ]ν καὶ Θατέων.

3 There is no room on the stone for a longer line, which would allow *Βοσπόρου καὶ Θεοδοσίης* as in *B-D* (A. Schaefer, *RM* xxxviii 1883, 310–11); *CIRB* prints [Θεοδο]σίης, but for the spelling cf. *B-E*. 5 The missing portion is reported as an erasure in *IOSPE*, but not in *CIRB*: for the restoration cf. *B, D, E*.

For 'deemed to have done their duty' in ll. 63-4 cf. 44. 45-8.

The text ends with an amendment (ll. 65-8): since it is an amendment to the proposal of 'Androtion' rather than 'the council', the original decree should be a non-probouleumatic decree; the text inscribed contains neither enactment formula nor motion formula, but the order to the *proedroi* to raise a matter on the eighteenth (ll. 53-9) is very similar to the language used in the council's probouleumatic formula. Androtion cannot have been a member of the council in 347/6, as he had already served his two permitted terms: a decree proposed by him must indeed have been technically non-probouleumatic, but he may in fact have taken over and rewritten a *probouleuma* which already contained ll. 53-9 (cf. Rhodes, *Boule*, 73-4). The clauses in ll. 53-9 and 59-65 both look like afterthoughts, and some have suspected them of being 'concealed amendments': it is possible that they were added by way of amendment (53-9 in the council, before the matter reached the assembly), but that is not necessarily the case (cf. on 20). As for the explicit amendment, we have seen that the original text is sometimes but not always revised in the light of an amendment published after it (cf. on 2): here the youngest brother Apollonius has found his way into the relief (but standing, while the other two are seated) and into the heading (l. 2) but not into the actual decree. The relief, described by Lawton as an 'outstanding example of official flattery' (p. 33, cf. 61), is a lavish composition, portraying the Bosporans as regal and non-Greek.

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#### A

Dedication of Phaenippus on behalf of his brother Artem— son of —chus; Paerisades being *archon* of Theodosia and king of the Sindoi and Maïtai (?) and Thateis.

## B

A base found at Kerch (Panticapaeum); now in the museum there.

Ionic, with the old  $\sigma$  for  $\sigma\nu$  in l. 3.

*IOSPE* ii 10; Tod 171. B; *CIRB* 10\*.

[Σ]ατυρίων Παταίκου ἱερησάμενος  
[ἀ]νέθηκεν Ἀπόλλωνι Ἰητρῶι·  
[ἄ]ρχοντος Παιρισάδεος Βοσπόρο  
[κα]ὶ Θεοδοσίης καὶ βασιλεύοντος  
5 [Σιν]δῶν καὶ Μαϊτῶν πάντων.

## C

Three contiguous fragments of a base found near Phanagoria: one was lost soon after discovery; the others are now in the museum at Krasnodar.

Ionic.

*IOSPE* ii 344; *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 214; Tod 171. C; *CIRB* 1014\*.

Ξενοκλείδης Πόσιος ἀνέθηκε  
τὸν ναὸν Ἀρτέμιδι Ἀγροτέραι·  
ἄρχοντος Παιρισάδους τοῦ  
Λεύκωνος Βοσπόρου καὶ Θεοδο-  
5 σίης καὶ βασιλεύων Σινδῶν  
καὶ Τορετῶν καὶ Δανδαρίων.

5 *βασιλεύων* inscribed in error for *βασιλεύοντος*.

## D

A base found near Phanagoria, now in the Hermitage, St. Petersburg.

Ionic.

*IOSPE* ii 346; *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 216; Tod 171. D; *CIRB* 1015\*; *SEG* xlv 1016.

Κομοσαρή Γοργίππου θυγάτηρ, Παιρισάδους [γ]υνή, εὐξαμένη  
ἀνέθηκε ἰσχυρῶι θειῶι Σανέργει καὶ Ἀσάραι· ἄρχοντος Παιρισάδους  
Βοσπόρου καὶ Θεοδοσίης καὶ βασιλεύοντος [Σιν]δῶν καὶ Μαϊτῶν πά[ντων]  
καὶ Θατέων.

## E

A base found near Phanagoria, now in the Hermitage, St. Petersburg.

Ionic.

*IOSPE* ii 347; *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 214 n. 1; Tod 171. E; *CIRB* 972\*.

Κασσαλία Πόσιος ἀνέθηκε Ἀφροδίτῃ  
Οὐρανίῃ· ἄρχοντος Παιρισάδεος  
Βοσπόρου καὶ Θεοδοσίης  
[κ]αὶ βασιλεύοντος Σινδῶν, Μαϊτῶν,  
[Θ]ατέων, Δόσων.

*B*

Satyriion son of Pataecus when he served as priest dedicated to Apollo the Healer; Paerisades being *archon* of Bosporus and Theodosia and king of the Sindoi and all the Maïtai.

*C*

Xenocles son of Posis dedicated the temple to Artemis Agrotera; Paerisades son of Leucon being *archon* of Bosporus and Theodosia and king of the Sindoi and Toretai and Dandarioi.

*D*

Comosarye daughter of Gorgippus, wife of Paerisades, after vowing dedicated to the strong god Sanerges and Astara; Paerisades being *archon* of Bosporus and Theodosia and king of the Sindoi and all the Maïtai and the Thateis.

*E*

Cassalia daughter of Posis dedicated to Aphrodite Urania; Paerisades being *archon* of Bosporus and Theodosia and king of the Sindoi, Maïtai, Thateis, Doschoi.

For the Spartocid dynasty of the Cimmerian Bosphorus see 64. In these texts we have a sample of dedications made during the reign of Paerisades: the verbs used are entirely typical of Greek dedications, but the coupling with dedications of this kind of references to the ruler is not. A comparable mixture of Greek and non-Greek elements is found also in the art of the region (Boardman, *The Diffusion of Classical Art*, 194–214).

Of the dedicators, Xenocles (*C*) and Cassalia (*E*) are presumably brother and sister; Comosarye (*D*) is the wife of the ruler Paerisades, and her father Gorgippus was Paerisades' uncle. Of the deities to whom dedications are made, Apollo the Healer (*B*) received a dedication in the reign of Leucon (Tod 115. *B*), and so too did Aphrodite Urania (*E*: Tod 115. *C*); Her. iv. 59 lists Apollo and Aphrodite Urania among the gods worshipped by the Scythians (according to Hes. *Theog.* 176–206 Aphrodite was born from the genitals of Uranus, but Hom. *Il.* v. 370–417 has an alternative account). There is no direct evidence in this region for Artemis Agrotera (*C*: 'wild', an epithet of Artemis as huntress): however, Agamemnon's daughter Iphigenia was said to have been threatened with sacrifice to but saved by Artemis; Iphigenia was identified with a virgin goddess worshipped by the Tauri of the Crimea (Her. iv. 103); and in Euripides' *Iphigenia in Tauris* she was taken there to become a priestess of Artemis. There is no other evidence for Sanerges and Astara (*D*: a connection with Syrian Sandon and Astarte was suggested by Boeckh, *CIG* 2119, after Koehler, but doubted by Hiller von Gaertringen, *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 216, n. 5); *ischyros*, 'strong', as a divine epithet is found in Semitic texts but not in Greek.

## 66

### Accounts of the Delphian *Naopoioi*, 345/4–343/2

Six substantial and some small fragments of a limestone slab, found in the pavement of the Opisthodomos Court at Delphi; now in the museum there. Facs. *BCH* xxii 1898, pl. xxiv. Phot. *F. Delphes*, iii. v, pl. iv (largest fragment: ll. 4–45); *C. Delphes*, ii, pl. viii, fig. 14 (ll. i. 50–66).

Phocian (but as in 45 using *ὀβολός* etc. rather than *ὀδελός* etc.); *stichedon* 23, but often increased to as many as 26, regularly beginning a paragraph and sometimes beginning a word at the beginning of a line.

*SIG*<sup>3</sup> 244. *A–E*; *F. Delphes*, iii. v 23; Tod 169; *C. Delphes*, ii 34\*. Trans. Harding 84 (ll. 1–20, 102–39). See also Roux, *L'Amphictionie, Delphes et le temple d'Apollon*, 193–224; J. K. Davies, *Modus Operandi* . . . *G. Rickman*, 1–14; Sánchez, *L' Amphictionie*, 133–8.

(i)

[εἰσιτάματα ἐπὶ Δαμοξένου]  
[ἄρχοντος, ἡρινᾶς Πυλαίας].  
πᾶρ τ[ά]ς π[ό]λ[ι]ας τῶν Δελφῶν,  
ἀφ' οὗ [πα]ρ[έ]δ[ω]κα[ν τοὶ ναοποιοὶ]  
5 τοὶ ἐν τ[ῷ] πολέμῳ [ἀπὸ δραχμ]-  
ᾶν Αἰγ[ω]ναῖαν τρισχ[ιλιάδων τε]-

(ii)

[ἄρχοντος, ὁπωρινᾶς Πυλαίας].

Lines are numbered as by J. Bousquet in *C. Delphes*.

Like Leucon earlier in the century (Tod 115. *B, C*), Paerisades is entitled *archon* of Bosporus (omitted in *A*) and Theodosia and king of various peoples. The capital of the Bosporan kingdom was at Panticapaeum, on the Crimaeian side of the Bosporus (cf. 64). Theodosia, on the south coast of the Crimea nearly 60 miles (100 km.) from Panticapaeum, was captured by Leucon in a war against Heraclea Pontica, after his father Satyrus had failed to take it (Dem. xx. *Lept.* 33; Harp. *Θευδοσίαν* [θ 18 Keaney]; various episodes in the war are mentioned by [Arist.] *Oec.* ii. 1347 B 3–15 and Polyæn. v. 23, 44. i, vi. 9. iii–iv; discussion by S. M. Burstein, *Hist.* xxiii 1974, 401–16, cf. his *Outpost of Hellenism*, 42–5). Of the peoples mentioned in our texts the Sindoi, with their capital at Gorgippia, were on the east side of the strait; the Maïtai, otherwise known as the Maiotai, in a broad sense comprised all the peoples to the east of the strait (Str. 495. xi. ii. 11 includes among them some of the other peoples mentioned in these texts); the Maïtai in a narrower sense were perhaps inland from the peoples named separately; the Toretai were on the coast south-east of the Sindoi; the Dandarioi were on the coast north-east of the Sindoi; the Thateis were north-east of them, towards the extreme north-east of the Sea of Azov; and the Doschoi were between the Dandarioi and the Thateis (see maps in Talbert, *Atlas*, 50; *Barrington Atlas*, 84; discussion by J. R. Gardiner-Garden, *Hist.* xxxv 1986, 192–225). We believe it is unlikely that the expansion and contraction of the Spartocids' kingdom can be reliably plotted from the names included in or omitted from the different dedications.

In the translation which follows we give sums of money in figures, although the Greek text gives them in words.

(i)

Receipts in the archonship of Damoxenus [345/4], in the spring *Pylaia*.

(ii)

Archon [344/3], in the autumn *Pylaia*.  
— — —

- 3 From the city of Delphi, from what the *naopoioi* in the war handed over: from 3,404 Aeginetan drachmas,

(i)

τρακατιᾶν τετόρων, [ὀβολοῦ],  
 ἔκομισάμεθα [δ]ραχμὰ[s Αἰγιν]-  
 αῖας χιλίας [δ]κτακατί[ας ἐβδ]-  
 10 ἐμήκοντα ἐπτά, ὀβολοὺς [πέντε].  
 πὰρ τὰς πόλιος τῶν Δελφῶν, [ἀφ']  
 οὗ ὥφειλον τοῖς ναοποιοῖ[s, ἀ]-  
 πό δραχμῶν Αἰ[γι]ναιᾶν ἑπτα[κ]-  
 ισμυριᾶν τετρακισχιλιᾶν ἐ-  
 15 ξακατιᾶν ἐβ[δ]ἐμήκοντα, ὀβολ-  
 ῶν δυνῶν, ἡμι[ιω]βελ[ε]ου, ἔκομισά-  
 μεθα Αἰγιναιῶν δραχμὰς ἑκα-  
 τὸν πέντε. *vacat*  
 κεφάλωμα εἰσιτάματος ταύτ-  
 20 ης τῆς Πυλαίας· Αἰγιναιῶν δρ-  
 αχμαὶ χίλιαι ἑνακάτι[α]ι ὀγδ-  
 οῦκ[ο]ντα δύο, ὀβολοὶ πέντε.  
 εἰσιτάματα ἐπὶ Ἀρχωνος

*vacat* (c.2 ½ lines)

ἀναλώματα ἐπὶ Δαμοξένου ἄρ-  
 25 χοντος, ὁπωρινᾶς Πυλαίας·  
 ἱεροναμονεόντων τῶν μετὰ  
 Κοττύφου καὶ Κολοσίμμου.  
 δάφνας· ὀβολός, ἡμιωβέλιον.  
 κάννας· ὀβολοὶ τέτορες, ἡμιω-  
 30 βέλιον. φυλακᾶς προβάτων· ὀβ-  
 ολός, ἡμιωβέλιον. μαγίροις τ-  
 ῶν ἱερείων μισθός· δραχμαὶ  
 τρεῖς, ὀβολοὶ δύο. *vacat*  
 κεφάλωμα ἀναλώματος ταύτης-  
 35 ς τῆς πυλαίας· Αἰγιναιῶν δρα-  
 χμαὶ τέτορες, ὀβολοὶ τρεῖς,  
 ἡμιωβέλιον. *vacat*  
 ἐπὶ Δαμοξένου ἄρχοντος, ἀνα-  
 λώματα τᾶς ἡρινᾶς Πυλαίας.  
 40 Πραξίωνι, Ἀριστάνδρῳ, Τεγε-  
 αῖς λιθαγωγοῖς, πούρου ἀπὸ  
 θαλάσσης εἰς τὸ ἱερόν, σελίδ-  
 ῶν τετρώκοντα εἰς τὰν περι-  
 στασιν· ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐπιδεκάτου ἐ-  
 45 [δ]ώκαμεν [δραχ]μὰς χ[ιλ]ίας τε-

(ii)

-----  
 ο[-----]  
 γρ[-----]  
 λο[-----]  
 δρα[χμὰς-----]  
 ας τέτ[ορας. (?) πὰρ Σιμυλίωνος Δ]-  
 ελφοῦ [-----]  
 πὰρ τῶν ι[-----]  
 Κορίνθιον [-----]

ζυγᾶστρον εἰσφ[οράς· δραχμὰ].  
 κεφάλωμα ἀναλώμα[τος ταύτης]  
 τῆς Πυλαίας· Αἰγιναι[ίου δρα]-  
 χμαὶ ἑκατὸν ἐνενήκο[ντα ἐν]-  
 νέα, ὀβολοὶ τρεῖς. *vacat*  
 ἐπὶ Ἀρχωνος ἄρχοντος, ἀ[ναλώ]-  
 ματα τὰς ἡρινᾶς Πυλαίας. [τὸ ε]-  
 δωρ ἀποστράψαι τὸ περὶ τ[ὸν]  
 ναόν· ὀβολός, ἡμιωβέλιον. δ[ά]-  
 φνας· ὀβολός. φυλακᾶς προβά-  
 των· ὀβολοὶ τρεῖς. μαγίροις  
 τῶν ἱερείων μισθός· δραχμαὶ  
 τρεῖς, ὀβολοὶ δύο. κάρυκι μισ-  
 θός· δραχμαὶ δύο. Ξενοδώρῳ  
 ἀρχιτέκτονι, μισθός ἐκ Πυλαί-  
 ας εἰς Πυλαίαν· δραχμαὶ τρια-  
 κάται ἐξήκοντα. γραμματιστᾶι  
 μισθός· δραχμαὶ τετρώκοντα.  
 κεφάλωμα ἀναλώματος ταύ[της]  
 τῆς Πυλαίας· Αἰγιναιῶν δρ[α]-  
 χμ[α]ι τετ[ρ]ακάται ἐξ, ὀβολ[ός],  
 [ἡμιωβέλι]ον. *vacat*

i. 23–ii. 23 *C. Delphes* after P. de la Coste-Messelière (for ii. 20–i cf. *C. Delphes*, ii 31. 72): i. 23 erroneous entry and ii. 1–23 continuation from bottom of i earlier edd.

i. 45–6 (with repercussions below) τε[ ] [τρακατίας

*C. Delphes*: τε[ ] ακατίας ἐξ earlier edd.

## (i)

1 obol, we received 1,877 Aeginetan drachmas, 5 obols.

- 11 From the city of Delphi, from the credit which they provided to the *naopoioi*: from 74,670 Aeginetan drachmas, 2½ obols, we received 105 Aeginetan drachmas.

- 19 Total receipt in this *Pylaia*: 1,982 Aeginetan drachmas, 5 obols.

- 23 Receipts in the archonship of

## (ii)

- 19 — — — drachmas — — — four. (?) From Simyليون of Delphi — — — from the — — — of Corinth.

- 24 Expenditures in the archonship of Damoxenus, in the autumn *Pylaia*; when those with Cottyphus and Colossimus were *hieromnamones*.

- 28 Laurel: 1½ obols. Reed: 4½ obols. Guarding the sacrificial animals: 1½ obols. Stipend for the cooks of the victims: 3 drachmas, 2 obols.

- 34 Total expenditure in this *Pylaia*: 4 drachmas, 3½ obols.

- 38 In the archonship of Damoxenus, expenditures in the spring *Pylaia*.

- 40 To Praxion and Aristandrus of Tegea, stone-transporters of limestone [*poros*] from the sea to the sanctuary, for forty ceiling-beams for the colonnade: from the tenth we gave 1,400 drachmas. To Pan-

- 24 Bringing in a chest: 1 obol.

- 25 Total expenditure in this *Pylaia*: 199 Aeginetan drachmas, 3 obols.

- 29 In the archonship of Archon, expenditures in the spring *Pylaia*.

- 30 Diverting the water around the temple: 1½ obols. Laurel: 1 obol. Guarding the sacrificial animals: 3 obols. Stipend for the cooks of the victims: 3 drachmas, 2 obols. Stipend for a herald: 2 drachmas. To Xenodorus the architect, stipend from *Pylaia* to *Pylaia*: 360 drachmas. Stipend for a secretary: 40 drachmas.

- 42 Total expenditure in this *Pylaia*: 406 Aeginetan drachmas, 1½ obols.



(i)

[τρακατίας. Παγκρά]τ[ε]ι[Α]ργ[ε]ι-  
 ωι λατόμωι, [σ]ελίδων ἐξ τομᾶς  
 ἐκ Κορίνθου· ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐπιδεκά-  
 του ἐδώκαμεν δραχμὰς διακα-  
 50 τίας τετρώκοντα πέντε. *vacat*  
*Ξενοδώρῳ ἀρχιτέκτονι, μισ-*  
*θὸς ἐκ Πυλαίας εἰς Πυλαίαν·*  
*δραχμαὶ διακάτiai δέκα. vacat*  
*ζυ[γ]άστρου τιμά, ἐν ᾧ τοὶ πύνα-*  
 55 *κες· δραχμαὶ ἕκατι δύο, ὀβολοὶ*  
*πέντε. ζυγάστρου ἰάσιος· δρα-*  
*[χμά], ὀβολοὶ τρεῖς. δάφνας· ὀβο-*  
*[λοι δ]ύο. μαγίροις τῶν ἱερείων*  
*μ[ισθ]ὸς· δραχμαὶ τρεῖς, ὀβολοὶ*  
 60 *δύο. [πι]νακίου· ὀβολός, χαλκοὶ*  
*τρεῖς[s]. γραμματιστᾶι μισθός·*  
*δραχμ[α]ὶ τετρώκοντα. κάρυκι*  
*μισθό[s]· δραχμαὶ δύο. Τελεδά-*  
*μωι Δε[λφ]ῶι, σανί[δ]ων τριῶν ἐ-*  
 65 *φ' ἂν το[ῖ] ναοπ[ο]ιοῖ[κ] ἀθηνται·*  
*δρ[αχμαὶ ἑννέα. Εὐκ]ράτει Δελ-*  
*φῶι, στάλας ἐν αἰ τοῖ] ναοποιοῖ·*  
*[δραχμαὶ ἑννέα], ὀβο[λ]οὶ τρεῖς.*  
*[κεφάλωμα ἀναλώ]ματ[ος] ταύτης*  
 70 *[τῆς Πυλαίας· Αἰγ]υνα[ί]ο[υ] δρα-*  
*[χμαὶ χίλια] ἐνα[κ]άτ[ι]α τετρώ-*  
*[κοντα τρεῖς, ὀβολ]οὶ τέ[το]ρες,*  
*[χαλκοὶ τρεῖς. vacat]*  
*ἐπὶ Ἀρχωνος ἄρχοντος, ἀναλώ-*  
 75 *[ματα τὰς ὀπωρινὰς Πυλαίας].*

(ii)

[ἐπὶ Κλέωνος ἄρχοντος, ἀναλώ]-  
 [ματα τὰς ὀπωρινὰς Πυλαίας]s.  
 δά[φνας, ἀμερᾶν δυῶ]ν· [ὀβ]ολοὶ δύο,  
 χαλκοὶ τέ[το]ρες]. φυλακὰς προ-  
 βάτων· ὀβολοὶ τέτορες, ἡμιω-  
 βέλιον. κάννας τίμα· δραχμά.  
 μαγίροις τῶν ἱερείων μισθός·  
 δραχμαὶ τρεῖς, ὀβολοὶ δύο.  
 Εὐκράτει, στάλας ἀποξέσιος  
 ἐν αἰ τοὶ ναοποιοῖ· δραχμαὶ δύο.  
 Εὐκράτει, τὰ βαθρὰ ἐξαγαγεῖν  
 τὸ Ὀνυμάρχου καὶ Φιλομήλου  
 καὶ τὰς εἰκόνας ἕξος ἱεροῦ·  
 δραχμαὶ ὀκτώ, ὀβολοὶ τρεῖς.  
 Κλέωνι, τοὺς ἵππους ἀνελεῖν  
 καὶ τοὺς ἀνδριάντας, καὶ τὸ ὕ-  
 δωρ τὸ περὶ τὸν ναὸν ἐξαγαγεῖν·  
 δραχμαὶ ἑπτά. Ἀθανογείτονι  
 Βοιωτίῳ, τοὺς λίθους περι-  
 καθάραι τοὺς ποτὶ τὸν ναὸν·  
 δραχμαὶ ἕκατι. κάρυκι μισθός·  
 δραχμαὶ δύο. Ξενοδώρῳ ἀρχι-  
 τέκτονι, μισθός ἐκ Πυλαίας  
 εἰς Πυλαίαν· δραχμαὶ τριακά-  
 τiai ἐξήκοντα. γραμματιστᾶι  
 μισθός· δραχμαὶ τετρώκοντ[α].  
 Ἀθανογείτων Βοιώτιος ἐδέ-  
 ξατο τὰν τομὰν ἐκ Κορίνθου  
 τῶν διεφθαρμένων λίθων, ἐπι-  
 στυλίων ἕξ, τριγλοφιδᾶν δέκα  
 [τ]ετόρων, θριγκῶν ἑπτά, δραχμ-  
 [ὰν χ]ιλιάν τριάκοντα ἕξ· τού-  
 [τωι ἐδ]ώκαμεν, τὸ ἐπιδέκατον  
 [ἀφελόν]τες, δραχμὰς ἑνακατί-  
 [ας τριάκον]τα μίαν. Ἀγαθώνυ-  
 [μος Κορίνθ]ιος ἐδέξατο τὰν [ἀ]-  
 [γωγὰν ἀπὸ τὰς] λατομίας ἐλ Α[ε]-

80

i. 46–7 [Παγκρά]τ[ε]ι[Α]ργ[ε]ι[ω]ι C. Delphes, cf. e.g. C. Delphes, ii 47. A. ii. 7, D. i. 5; [Νικοδάμωι Ἀργεῖ]ωι earlier edd., cf. e.g. C. Delphes, ii 31. 97. i. 68 ἐννέα C. Delphes: πέντε previous edd. i. 71–2 [ἐνα]κάτ[ι]α]

τετρώ[κοντα τρεῖς C. Delphes: [ὀκτακάτiai] τετρώκοντα πέντε previous edd. i. 76–80 architect and secretary restored C. Delphes, but they will not necessarily have been the first entries in this semester.

ii. 46 Κλέωνος P. Marchetti, *Études delphiques*, 67–89 at 67–9, 77–83 (dating all the archons of this inscription one year earlier than here), C. Delphes: Θηβαγόρα E. Bourguet in F. Delphes; Ἐριάσιμον or Ἐτυμώνδα (and Thebagoras dated ‘after 373’) Daux, *Chronologie delphique*, 10, 13. ii. 81 sqq. C. Delphes: τὰν [διαγωγὰν τὰς] λατομίας ἐλ Α[ε]-

ἐλ Α[ε]χαιῶν εἰς Κίρραν — F. Delphes.

## (i)

- crates of Argos, quarryman, for the cutting of six ceiling-beams from Corinth: from the tenth we gave 245 drachmas. To Xenodorus the architect, stipend from *Pylaia* to *Pylaia*: 210 drachmas. The price of a chest in which the tablets are: 22 drachmas, 5 obols. For mending a chest: 1 drachma, 3 obols. Laurel: 2 obols. Stipend for the cooks of the victims: 3 drachmas, 2 obols. Tablet: 1 obol, 3 *chalkoi*. Stipend for a secretary: 40 drachmas. Stipend for a herald: 2 drachmas. To Teledamus of Delphi, for three benches on which the *naopoioi* sit: 9 drachmas. To Eucrates of Delphi, for a *stele* on which the *naopoioi* (are listed): 9 drachmas, 3 obols.
- 69 Total expenditure in this *Pylaia*: 1,943 Aeginetan drachmas, 4 obols, 3 *chalkoi*.

## (ii)

- 46 In the archonship of Cleon [343/2], expenditures in the autumn *Pylaia*.
- 48 Laurel for two days: 2 obols, 4 *chalkoi*. Guarding the sacrificial animals: 4½ obols. Price of reed: 1 drachma. Stipend for the cooks of the victims: 3 drachmas, 2 obols. To Eucrates, for smoothing a *stele* on which the *naopoioi* (are listed): 2 drachmas. To Eucrates, for removing out of the sanctuary the bases of Onomarchus and Philomelus and their likenesses: 8 drachmas, 3 obols. To Cleon, for taking up the (statues of) horses and the human statues and removing the water around the temple: 7 drachmas. To Athanogeiton of Boeotia, for cleaning the stones by the temple: 20 drachmas. Stipend for a herald: 2 drachmas. To Xenodorus the architect, stipend from *Pylaia* to *Pylaia*: 360 drachmas. Stipend for a secretary: 40 drachmas. Athanogeiton of Boeotia accepted (the contract for) the cutting from Corinth of (replacements for) the destroyed stones, six architraves, fourteen triglyphs, seven coping-stones, for 1,036 drachmas: after deducting the tenth we gave him 931 drachmas. Agathonymus of Corinth accepted (the contract

(ii)

[χαιον τούτων τῶν λίθων, δραχ]-  
 [μᾶν πεντακατιᾶν ἐνεήκων]-  
 [τα τετόρων· τούτωι ἐδώκαμεν],  
 [τὸ ἐπιδέκατον ἀφελόντες],  
 [δραχμὰς πεντακατίας τριά]-  
 [κοντα τέτορας. vacat]

85

For the fourth-century rebuilding of the temple of Apollo at Delphi, the *naopoioi* who collected and spent the funds, and the biannual *Pylaiai*, cf. 45. These accounts, from a series of slabs which formed a continuous wall, are the first from the period of resumed collection and work after the Third Sacred War of 356–346: c.315–310 a geographically-arranged list of *naopoioi* (*SIG*<sup>3</sup> 237. I, II. B, D, E = C. *Delphes*, II 119, 120) was begun (119) on a block above the one bearing our text, and to make room for its continuation (120) a first column of our text, perhaps containing accounts of the war period (cf. below) and/or of income in autumn 345/4, was erased (see fig. 1).

The only record of income preserved for these years is at the beginning of the text, the income of spring 345/4, the year in which normal activity was resumed after the disruption of the Sacred War. We learn from other inscriptions that the *naopoioi* ‘did not meet’ in 355 or 354; in spring 353 the city of Delphi made its ‘first payment to the (*naopoioi*) in the war’, and there were further meetings, attended by representatives of states on the Phocian side, until spring 351; after that the record of the city proceeds directly to autumn 345/4, when ‘since peace had been made, they met’ (*SIG*<sup>3</sup> 241. A–B = C. *Delphes*, II 31. 31–67, 71; C. *Delphes*, II 33 is restored to attest a poorly-attended meeting in spring 346/5). Money collected during the war had to be deposited with the city of Delphi, because the Amphictyony was opposed to those who were currently in possession of Delphi, and this money seems not to have been touched by the Phocians (see on 67): in C. *Delphes*, II 31. 67 their total receipts for this period are given as 46 minas, 28 staters = 3,276 drachmas, as compared with 3,404 drachmas, 1 obol here: the difference is presumably to be explained as money which the war-time *naopoioi* had taken over from their predecessors. For the ‘credit’ made available by the city of Delphi (*opheilema*: C. *Delphes* II 31–2) cf. on 45: the amount from which 105 drachmas = 1½ minas was now paid had been reduced from 85,000 drachmas by expenditure between 357 and 351, and may originally have been 150,000–200,000 drachmas (c.36–48 talents).

At the top of our two columns we have income of 345/4 and 344/3; below the vacant space we have expenditure from 345/4 to 343/2. The first post-war *Pylai* is dated not only by the archon, an official of the city of Delphi, but also, perhaps in order to stress that Delphi was once more in the hands of the Amphictyony, by the *hieromnamones*. There were two of these from each of the twelve *ethne* which made up the Amphictyony, and they were the voting members of the Amphictyonic council. The two named here are the Thessalians, who occupied the senior position in the Amphictyony and who therefore serve as eponyms to identify the board (cf. 67. 21–36, etc., where they head complete lists): Cottyphus was from Pharsalus and the

(ii)

for) the bringing of these stones from the quarry from Lechaëum, for 594 drachmas: after deducting the tenth we gave him 534 drachmas.

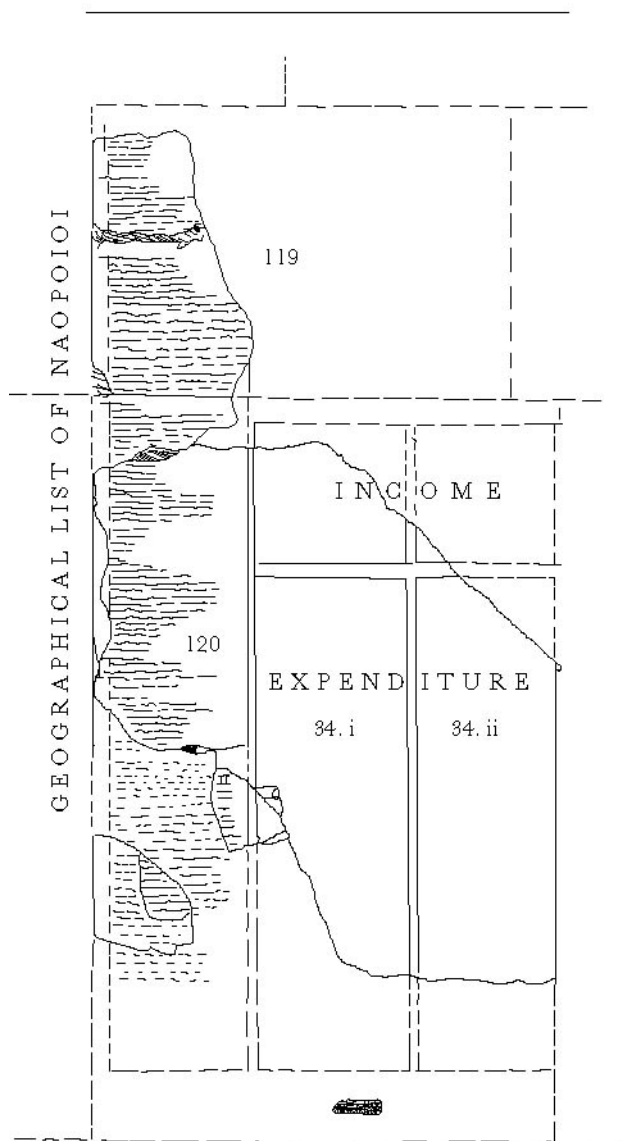


FIG 1. *C. Delphes*, ii 34 = No. 66 in its physical context

city of Colosimmus is unknown; they continued to represent Thessaly until 337; it was Cottyphus who persuaded the Amphictyony to embark on the Fourth Sacred War, against Amphissa, in 340/39, and who commanded the Amphictyonic forces in the first campaign of that war (Aesch. III. *Ctes.* 124–9, Dem. XVIII. *Crown* 151). The Amphictyonic council could also be attended by non-voting experts, called *pylagoroi* in literary texts and *agoratroi* in inscriptions. (See Roux, 20–36, Lefèvre, *L' Amphictionie*, 205–14, Sánchez, 496–507; and Aesch. III. *Ctes.* 115–24.)

Much of the expenditure here is normal expenditure of a sanctuary and its building works, and some of the sums spent are very small (there were twelve *chalkoi* ['coppers'] to the obol). Laurel was needed for decorating altars and temples, and sacrificial victims; reed for pens to be used by the secretaries; chests, as stated in i. 54–5, for the storage of documents. Heralds and cooks, paid small sums, will have had only a limited amount of work to do at each *Pylaia*. The secretary's pay was to rise from 40 drachmas per semester to 90 later in the series.

Items connected with the building works are mostly self-explanatory. *Poros* (i. 41) was the ordinary building stone used in Greece in contexts which did not call for marble; as for 'diverting' or 'removing' the water around the temple (ii. 30–2, 51–2), Tod quoted the observation of Bourguet that 'after heavy rains . . . the water still lies on the paved platform which surrounds the temple on three sides' (*F. Delphes*, III. v, p. 112). The architect seems to have received seven months' pay at 30 drachmas per month in spring 345; six months' pay at 60 drachmas per month in subsequent semesters. The 'tenth' was a proportion of a contracted sum, withheld until the completion of the contract: in i. 40–50 contracts have been completed and tenths are paid (in i. 47 'six' is an error for 'fifty-one',  $\Gamma$ 1 in an earlier document having been misread as  $\Gamma$ 1 (P. Charneux *ap.* Bousquet, *Études*, 151); in autumn 356 1,000 drachmas were paid to Praxion and Aristandrus from the Delphians' credit (*SIG*<sup>3</sup> 241. *A = C. Delphes*, ii 31. 14–15), and 11,600 drachmas must have been paid from the funds which the *naopoi* had to hand; in ii. 72 sqq. men have agreed to contracts and are paid nine tenths in advance (fractionally under, in fact). For *thrinkoi* as coping-stones, overhanging to protect the frieze, see A. Jannoray, *BCH* lxiv–lxv 1940–1, 38–40. Lechaëum (ii. 82–3) was the harbour of Corinth on the Corinthian Gulf. Peloponnesians are prominent both among the contractors and among the attested *naopoi*, and Davies, 12, suggests 'an attempt by the Peloponnesian Dorians to compensate, via their assiduity, for their

## 67

### Payments of Phocian reparations to Delphi, 343/2–341/0

Three fragments from the lower part of a slab, found at Delphi; now in the museum there. Phot. *F. Delphes*, III. v, pl. i fig. 3 (all); Bousquet, *Études*, 156 (all); *C. Delphes*, ii, pl. vii fig. 11 (beginning of col. i).

Phocian; *stoichedon*, 27, but with some condensation and almost always ending a line with the end of a paragraph or a word.

otherwise marginal status within the Amphiktyony and its management of Delphi'.

Other items reflect the disruptive effect on Delphi of the war. New benches were needed for the *naopoioi* to sit on at their meetings (i. 63–6). The stones that had to be cleaned (ii. 64–5), and the stones that were destroyed (ii. 73–7), will have been brought to the site before the war and neglected during it: the six architraves and twelve of the fourteen triglyphs had been delivered and were paid for in autumn 356 (*SIG*<sup>3</sup> 241. A. = *C. Delphes*, ii. 31. 28–30). However, it would be surprising if the *naopoioi* waited until 343 to indulge in a *damnatio memoriae* of Philomelus and Onomarchus, the first two Phocian leaders in the war, and some Phocian dedications from the war survived to be seen by the traveller Pausanias in the second century A.D., so H. Pomtow argued that their statues were simply moved out of the actual sanctuary of Apollo (ii. 56–9), because they were in the way of the building works, and that Cleon's job was to detach the statues from their bases to allow for that move (ii. 60–1) (*SIG*<sup>3</sup> i, p. 400 n. 25).

For the sums of money spent, in total and on particular contracts for particular jobs within the whole programme, compare for example the accounts for work on the Acropolis at Athens in the fifth century (*IG* i<sup>3</sup> 433–97: samples M&L 54, 59, 60 ~ Fornara 114, 120, 118. B) and for work in the sanctuary of Asclepius at Epidaurus in the fourth and third centuries (*IG* iv<sup>2</sup>. i 102–20, 743–4, with subsequent revisions and additions), with the discussion (not limited to these sites) of Burford, *The Greek Temple Builders at Epidauros*, esp. 81–118. It has been estimated that in fifth-century Athens the marble Parthenon might have cost c.460–500 talents, and the Propylaea c.200 talents rather than the 2,000 of Heliodorus (*FGH* 373 F 1 *ap.* Harp., Sud. *προπύλαια ταῦτα* ~ Fornara 118. A, retaining the manuscripts' 2,012) (R. S. Stanier, *JHS* lxxiii 1953, 68–76); at Epidaurus the temple of Asclepius, built in just under five years c.375–370, cost slightly over 23 talents (*IG* iv<sup>2</sup>. i 102), and Burford, 81–5, estimates the cost of a century's work at the sanctuary as c.240–290 talents. On the other hand, according to Her. ii. 180. i the Alcmaeonids contracted to build the sixth-century limestone temple at Delphi for 300 talents. Stanier, 73, suggests that that high figure can be explained by the very high costs of transporting heavy materials from distant sources to Delphi (in fourth-century Delphi the cost of transporting stone is more than ten times the cost of quarrying it, whereas in Athens and Epidaurus it is a third or less of the cost of quarrying it).

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## (i)

- 1 — — —; Ionians — of Histiaea, Mnesilochus of Athens; Boeotians Dionysius, —us; Locrians Charinus, Dameas; Achaeans Mythodorus, Agasicratus; Magnesians Agesipolis, Philonautas; Aenianians Agelaus, Cleomenes; Malians Psadarius of Heraclea, Sthenedamus of Lamia; Perrhaebians & Dolopians Asandrus, Phaecus.
- 12 In the presence of the following the Phocians brought back in the spring *Pylaia* thirty talents.
- 15 Second payment of the sacred monies. In the archonship of Cleon [343/2] at Delphi.
- 16 The *pytaneis* Echetimus, Heracleidas, Antagoras, Ariston, Philinus, Choericus, Aneritus, Sodamus.
- 21 The *hieromnamones* were the following: Thessalians Cottyphus, Colosimmus; from Philip Eurylochus, Cleandrus; Delphians Damon, Mnasidamus; Dorians from the Metropolis Nikon, Deinomenes of Argos; Ionians Timondas, Mnesi-

## (ii)

- 1 In the presence of the following the Phocians brought back in the spring *Pylaia* thirty talents.
- 5 Fourth payment of the sacred monies. In the archonship of Chaerolas [342/1] at Delphi.
- 7 The *pytaneis* Etymondas, —, —, Tarantinus, —, —as, Theon.
- 11 The *hieromnamones* were the following: Thessalians Cottyphus, Colosimmus; from Philip —us, Python; Delphians —, Damon; Dorians P—, —nes; Ionians —, Polycritus; Perrhaebians & Dolopians Asandrus, Phaecus; Boeotians —n, Damoxenus; Locrians —n, Echesthenes; Achaeans Agasicrates, Onomastus; Magnesians Philonautas, Epicratidas; Aenianians Agelaus, Eubius; Malians — of Heraclea, Theomnastus of Lamia.
- 25 In the presence of the following the Phocians brought back thirty talents.
- 27 Fifth payment of the sacred monies.



(i)	(ii)
Ἀθηναίου· ὦ Περραιβῶν-Δολόπων	χρημάτων. ἐπὶ Π[ειθαγόρ]α ἄρχοντος
Φαίκου, Ἀσάνδρου· ὦ Βοιωτῶν	ἐν Δελφοῖς. πρυ[τανεύον]των
30 Δαιτάδα, Ὀλυμπίωνος· ὦ Λοκρῶν	30 Εὐκ[ρ]ίτου, Καλλ[ικράτεος], Πλειίστωνο[s],
Πλειστέας, Θεομνάστου· ὦ Ἀχαιῶν	Δαμοφάνεως, Μυ[ασικράτ]εος,
Ἀγασικράτου, Πυθοδώρου·	Ἐτεοκράτεος, Α[αρισίου (?)],
	Χερσῆνος.
Μαγνήτων Φιλοναύτα, Ἐπικρατίδα·	ἱερομαμονεόν[των τῶ]νδε· <i>vacat</i>
Αἰνιάνων Ἀγέλαου, Κλεομένεος·	Θεσσαλῶν Κοττύ[φου, Κο]λοσίμμου·
35 Μαλίων Ἀντιμάχου Ἡρακλείωτα,	35 τῶμ παρὰ Φιλίπ[που Πύθ]ωνος,
Δημοκράτους Λαμίας. <i>vacat</i>	Θεοδώρου, ὦ Δελφ[ῶν] Ἀλκ[ιμ]ιάχου,
<i>vacat</i>	Θεολύτου <i>vacat</i>

i. 31 Πλειστέας: nominative inscribed in error for genitive.

ii. 32 Α[αρισίου (?)] Bousquet: the name alternates with Etymondas in a well-known Delphian family.

When the Phocians occupied Delphi in 356 and sparked off the Third Sacred War, they originally proclaimed that they would not touch the sacred treasures, but before long they did help themselves to the treasures in order to pay for mercenaries (D.S. xvi. 23. i–31. v at 24. v, 27. iii–iv, 28. ii; contr. 14. v, 28. iv, 30. i–ii, in which they coveted the treasures from the beginning). At the beginning of 347 the current Phocian leader, Phalaecus, was deposed, an enquiry was set up, and the first Phocian commander, Philomelus, was judged innocent, but his successors and some other men were judged guilty (56. iii–57). The settlement imposed by the Amphictyonic council in 346 after the Phocians had surrendered to Philip of Macedon included the following provisions: that the Phocians were to be expelled from the Amphictyony and Philip admitted in their place; that the Phocians were to be split into villages of not more than fifty houses each; that they were to repay the sacred treasures that they had taken at the rate of sixty talents a year; and that their horses and weapons were to be disposed of, and they were not to possess horses or weapons until the repayment had been completed (59–60).

This is part of an inscription which recorded the first five of the Phocian payments. The payments were also recorded on a set of *stelai* set up in the sanctuary of Athena at Elatea, in north-eastern Phocis: six of them are known, referring to payments made between 342/1 and 319/18 (?) (IG ix. i 110–15 = SIG<sup>3</sup> 231–5 = C. Delphes, ii 37–42: Tod printed the first of these as 172. B). Reconstructing the history of the payments depends on establishing the dates of Delphian archons; as an aid to that it was seen by de la Coste-Messelière (230–1, cf. table facing 242 and Ellis, *Philip II and Macedonian Imperialism*, 132–3 table 3) that the Delphian *pytaneis* and the *hieromnamones* of Delphi and the Metropolitan Dorians served for one Delphian year without the possibility of immediate reappointment, while the *hieromnamones* of the Peloponnesian Dorians, the Euboean Ionians, and the Boeotians served for a Julian year, covering the spring semester of one Delphian year and the autumn semester of the next (and in the other groups the same men could serve for several successive years).

(i)  
 lochus of Athens; Perrhaebians &  
 Dolopians Phaecus, Asandrus; Boeo-  
 tians Daetadas, Olympion; Locrians  
 Pleistias, Theomnastus; Achaeans  
 Agasicratus, Pythodorus; Magnesians  
 Philonautas, Epicratidas; Aenianians  
 Agelaus, Cleomenes; Malians Anti-  
 machus of Heraclea, Democrates of  
 Lamia.

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(ii)  
 In the archonship of Peithagoras  
 [341/0] at Delphi.  
 29 The *prytaneis* Eucritus, Callicrates,  
 Pleiston, Damophanes, Mnasicrates,  
 Eteocrates, Larisius (?), Chersen.  
 33 The *hieromnamones* were the following:  
 Thessalians Cottyphus, Colosimmus;  
 from Philip Python, Theodorus; Del-  
 phians Alcimachus, Theolytus; ---

On what currently seems to be the best reconstruction, the Phocians made their first payment in the autumn of 343/2; they paid 30 talents each semester in 343/2 and 342/1; then the burden was halved, and they paid 30 talents each year (except 338/7, when they made no payment); either in 336/5 or in 335/4 there was a further reduction, to 10 talents each year; the last attested payment was in 319/18 (?) (cf. Ellis, 123 table 2; Sánchez, 519 table II), by which time they will have paid c.400 talents (whereas according to D.S. xvi. 56. vi the total amount taken was more than 10,000 talents). To place the figures in perspective, we may note that in the Delian League of the fifth century the highest payments of tribute attested before the Peloponnesian War were 30 talents, paid by Aegina and from 443 by Thasos; in 425 Thasos was perhaps assessed for 60 talents and Abdera with Dicaea for 75 talents. The Phocians had no significant non-agricultural resources, and would have found the earlier payments very heavy. Attempts to link the changes in their payments with the general history of relations between Macedon and the Greeks are not very profitable if the dates currently accepted are correct: the delay before the first payment may well be a sign that Philip was less vindictive than the Boeotians would have wished; there is no particular event in 341 which would explain the first reduction; non-payment in 338/7 can be linked with the Chaeronea campaign, for which according to Pausanias the Phocians were restored (*sc.* to their cities) by Athens and Thebes and fought on their side (x. 3. iii–iv: this can be true only of the more southerly Phocians); but the second reduction now seems to be too late to be associated with Philip's settlement of Greece immediately after Chaeronea. The Phocians were included in Philip's League of Corinth (76. 31), but while it is likely that the restoration of their cities did go ahead membership of the League need not indicate any improvement in their status.

The *prytaneis* were officials of the city of Delphi: they were eight in number (Lefèvre, *L' Amphictionie*, 261; Sánchez, 140), but probably only seven witnessed the payment of 342/1 (ii. 7–10). The *hieromnamones* (cf. 66) were twenty-four in number, two from each of the twelve *ethne* which made up the Amphictyony, and lists like those in this

inscription show how the Amphictyony was articulated in the years after 346. The Thessalians are named first (for Cottyphus and Colosimmus cf. on 66). Second come the two men named not as Macedonians but as from Philip, who in his own person (despite Paus. x. 8. ii) took over the two votes previously held by the Phocians: among his representatives, Eurylochus (i. 23) is a known envoy of his (Dem. ix. *Phil.* iii. 58), and Python of Byzantium (ii. 14, 35) is another (e.g. [Dem.] vii. *Halon.* 20. 23). Third come the Delphians, given voting status perhaps in the fifth century (Sánchez, 118–20) or perhaps in 346, with the Perrhaebians and Dolopians combined in a single group to make room for them (Aesch. ii. *Embassy* 116 has a list of the twelve *ethne* in 346, where the manuscripts give eleven names, editors insert Dolopians as a distinct unit from Perrhaebians, and the Delphians are not mentioned). After that the normal order continues with Dorians, Ionians, Perrhaebians & Dolopians\*, Boeotians, Locrians,

# 68

## Alliance between Erythrae and Hermias of Atarneus,

c.350–c.342

A fragment of a *stèle*, found at Erythrae, now in the British Museum. Phot. of squeeze *IK Erythrai und Klazomenai*, Taf. ii.

Attic *koine*; *stoichedon* 27.

*SIG*<sup>3</sup> 229; Tod 165\*; *Svt.* 322; *IK Erythrai und Klazomenai* 9; *IK Adramytteion* 45. Trans. Harding 79. See also Berve, *Die Tyrannis bei den Griechen*, i. 332–5, ii. 688–9; [Hammond &] Griffith, 517–22; S. Hornblower, *CAH*<sup>2</sup>, vi. 94, 220.

[ . . . ἐὰν δὲ Ἐρυθραῖοι ἐκτιθῶνται τ]-  
[ι ἐς] τῇν χώραν τῇν [Ε]ρμ[ι]ου κ[αὶ τῶν ἐ]-  
[τ]αίρων πολέμου ἔνεκεν, εἶ[ναι ἀτε]-  
λέα πάντα καὶ τὰ ἐκ τοῦτ(ω)ν [γενόμε]-  
[ν]α, πλὴν ὅσ' ἂν τις ἀποδῶται· [τῶν δὲ π]-  
5 [ρ]ηθέντων τελείτω πεντηκ[οστήν. ἐ]-  
πειδὰν δὲ εἰρήνη γένηται, [ἀπάγεσ]-  
θαι ἐν τριήκοντα ἡμέραις· [ἐὰν δὲ μ]-  
ῆ ἀπάγῃται, τελείτω τὰ τέλ[η. ἐκτίθ]-  
εσθαι δὲ ἐπαγγέλαντας δ[ικαίως].  
10 εἶναι δὲ καὶ Ἐρμῖαι καὶ το[ῖς ἐταί]-  
ροις, ἐὰν τι βού(λ)ωνται ἐκτ[ίθεσθαι]-  
ι, κατὰ ταῦτά. ὁμόσαι δὲ Ἐρυ[θραίου]-  
ς Ἐρμῖαι καὶ τοῖς ἐταίροι[s. ὁ δὲ ὅρ]-  
κος ἔστω ὅδε· βοηθήσω Ἐρμῖ[αι καὶ τ]-

0–1 Waddington, in Le Bas & Waddington 1536a: ἀ δὲ Ἐρυθραῖοι ἐκτίθωνται | εἰς] *IK E.u.K.*, but we should expect ἐς as in ll. 32, 33.  
3. The stone has TOYTON.  
11. The stone has BOYΔΩΝΤΑΙ.

(Phthiotic) Achaeans\*, Magnesians\*, Aenianians\*, and Malians\* (but in the first list in our inscription the Perrhaebians & Dolopians were omitted in their normal place and added at the end). All except Philip and the Dorians and Ionians are central or northern Greek peoples; Thessaly proper and its dependencies (asterisked above) account for twelve of the twenty-four votes, and probably accounted for fourteen before the admission of the Delphians. Athens had one of the two Ionian votes (and was not deprived of it in 346 in spite of having supported the Phocians in the Sacred War), and the Euboeans had the other; the Dorian votes were divided between the Metropolis, i.e. Doris in central Greece, and the Dorians of the Peloponnese (the Spartans, who like the Phocians had refused to pay a fine, were expelled from the Amphictyony in 346, but they seem never to have exercised the vote of the the Peloponnesian Dorians: later they sometimes exercised the Metropolitan vote).

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— — — If the Erythraeans deposit anything in the territory of Hermias and his companions on account of war, everything shall be exempt from taxes [*ateleia*] and the offspring of them, except for whatever any one sells; but for what is sold let him pay a fiftieth. When peace is made, he shall remove them in thirty days; and if he does not remove them let him pay the dues. They shall deposit after giving notice justly. It shall also be for Hermias and his companions, if they want to deposit anything, on the same terms.

- <sup>12</sup> The Erythraeans shall swear to Hermias and his companions. The oath shall be the following: 'I shall go to support Hermias and his companions

- 15 οἷς ἑταίροις καὶ κατὰ γῆν [καὶ κατ]-  
 ἃ θάλασσαν παντὶ σθένει κ[ατὰ τὸ δ]-  
 ννατὸν, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἐπιτελεῖ[ώω κατὰ]  
 [τ]ῶ ὁμολογημένα. ἐπιμέλεισ[θαι δὲ τ]-  
 [οὐ]ς στρατηγούς. ὀρκῶσαι δ[ὲ ἀγγέλ]-  
 20 [ους ἐ]λθόντας παρ' Ἑ[ρ]μίου κ[αὶ τῶν ἐ]-  
 [ταίρ]ων μετὰ τῶν στρατηγῶ[ν (?) τῶν ἐν]  
 [Ἑρ]υθ[ρ]αῖς ἱεροῖς τελεῖται[ς· τὰ δὲ ἐ]-  
 [ερὰ π]αρέχειν τὴν πόλιν. ὁμ[οίως δὲ]  
 [καὶ Ἑ]ρμῖαν καὶ τοὺς ἑταίρ[ους ὁμο]-  
 25 [σαι δ]ε' ἀγγέλων βοηθήσειν [Ἑρ]υθ[ρ]α-  
 [ίοις κ]αὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ [θάλασ]-  
 [αν παν]τὶ σθένει κατὰ τὸ δν[νατὸν, κ]-  
 [αὶ τὰ ἄ]λλα ἐπιτελεῖν κατὰ [τὰ ὁμολ]-  
 [ογη]μένα. ὁμνύναι δὲ θεοὺς [τοὺς ὁρ]-  
 30 [κίο]υς. γράφαι δὲ ταῦτα ἐστ[ήλην λι]-  
 [θῶν]ν, καὶ στήσαι Ἑρ]υθ[ρ]αῖ[ους μὲν]  
 [ἐς τὸ] ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀθηναίης, Ἑ[ρ]μῖαν δ]-  
 [ὲ ἐς τ]ὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀταρνέως. [vacat]

21–2 W. Dittenberger, *Hermes* xvi 1881, 197: στρατηγῶ[ν ἐν οὐλ|οθυς]αίς A. Boeckh, *Abh. Berlin* 1853, 149–57 = *Gesammelte kleine Schriften*, vi. 202–10, unrestored both *IK* volumes: the first letter preserved in l. 22 does seem to be *I* and not *P*.

This text gives the end of a defensive alliance between Erythrae and Hermias, which in addition to the regular provisions allows each party to deposit its belongings, and in particular its flocks, which would be kept outside the city (cf. what is said of offspring in ll. 3–4), in the territory of the other in time of war without paying import duty. Compare Athens' depositing of animals in Euboea during the Peloponnesian War (Thuc. ii. 14. i). Import duties were widespread in the Greek world (cf., e.g., for Athens, And. i. *Myst.* 133–6); for sales taxes elsewhere see Andreades, *A History of Greek Public Finance*, i. 144–5.

For Erythrae, on the Asiatic mainland opposite Chios, cf. 9, 17, 56; Atarneus was about 60 miles (100 km.) further north, opposite Mytilene. The evidence for Hermias is analysed by D. E. W. Wormell, *YCS* v 1935, 55–92: he was a eunuch who studied in Athens, became a partner of Eubulus, the Bithynian banker who gained control of Atarneus and other places in north-western Asia Minor at the time of the Satraps' Revolt, and succeeded him on his death c.350. At Assus, opposite the north coast of Lesbos, he set up a philosophical school whose members included Aristotle and Xenocrates, and Aristotle married his niece. Later, Aristotle went to Macedon to be tutor of Alexander the Great, and a friendly relationship was established between Philip and Hermias; but in 341 Hermias was arrested by the Persians' commander Mentor of Rhodes, sent to Susa and eventually, after he refused to talk under torture, put to death. See especially Dem. x. *Phil.* iv. 32 with schol. (9 p. 152 Dilts), Didym. *In Dem.* iv. 47–vi. 18 ~ Harding 90, [Plat.] *Ep.* vi, D.S. xvi. 52. v–vi, Str. 610. xiii. i. 57.

- both by land and by sea with all my strength as far as possible, and I shall accomplish the other things in accordance with the agreement.'
- 18 The generals shall take care of it. The oath shall be received by messengers going from Hermias and his companions with the generals in Erythrae (?) with full-grown victims; the victims shall be provided by the city.
- 23 Likewise also Hermias and his companions shall swear through messengers that they will go to support the Erythraeans both by land and by sea with all their strength as far as possible, and will accomplish the other things in accordance with the agreement. They shall swear by the gods who watch over oaths.
- 30 This shall be written on a stone *stele*, and placed by the Erythraeans in the sanctuary of Athena and by Hermias in the sanctuary of Atarneus.

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In the 350s Erythrae had been under the influence of Mausolus of Caria (cf. 56), and so had Chios, as one of the states which rebelled against Athens in the Social War (D.S. xvi. 7. iii). This inscription shows Erythrae making a defensive alliance with Hermias, and Hermias also was involved in some way with the territorial interests of Chios and Mytilene (Thp. *FGrH* 115 F 291 *ap.* Didym.: new restorations in Didym. ed. Pearson & Stephens). As late as 351/0–344/3 Erythrae was still on good terms with the Carian dynasts. It appears that local dynasts were weakening the control of Persia itself in western Asia Minor, and the Persian King is perhaps the enemy envisaged in this defensive alliance: that perhaps suggests a date late rather than early in the 340s when the Persian king was regaining lost ground in the west of his empire.

Erythrae seems to have had an oligarchic government at this time (cf. 56), and the provision in ll. 18–19 for the generals rather than a larger body to take care of the implementation of the alliance is compatible with that. With the 'companions' (*hetairoi*) of Hermias we may compare those of Philip and Alexander, an informal council of the king's favourites (and by extension the cavalry who were the king's companions in battle): Hammond [& Griffith], 158–60. Here it is striking that the companions are explicitly associated with Hermias in his rule (cf. W. Schmitthenner, *Saeculum* xix 1969, 43). For sacrifices accompanying the swearing of oaths cf. 50. For the sanctuary of Athena at Erythrae cf. 56; Atarneus, in whose sanctuary Hermias was to set up his *stele*, was a legendary king of Mysia and founder of the city of Atarneus (Himerius, *Or.* vi. 6).

## Athenian penalties for attacks on Eretria, 343 (?)

A fragment of a *stèle*, found on the Athenian Acropolis: now in the Epigraphical Museum.

Attic-Ionic; *stoichedon* 39 (but 40 letters in ll. 12, 14, 15, 20, if editors are right to assume that this text never used the old *o* for *ou*).

*IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 125; *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 191; Tod 154; D. Knoepfler, *MH* xli 1984, 152–61 (cf. *SEG* xxxiv 67); Dreher, *Hegemon und Symmachoi*, 156–80\* (cf. *SEG* xlii 123). Trans. Harding 66. See also Knoepfler, in Frézouls & Jacquemin (edd.), *Les Relations internationales*, 309–64, esp. 338–46.

- [\_\_\_\_\_ max. 11 \_\_\_\_\_] *vacat*  
 [ἔδοξεν τῶν δ]ήμῳ. Ἠγήσ[ι]π[ο]ς Ἠγησίου Σουν εἶπεν (?).  
 [ὅπως ἂν τῶ]ν συμμάχων μηδεῖς [\_\_\_\_\_ 16 \_\_\_\_\_]  
 [\_\_\_\_\_ 7 \_\_\_\_\_] ν μηδεῖς, μήτε ξένος μή[τε ἄστος, ἀδικῇ (?)τ]-  
 [ῶν συμ]μάχων μ[η]δένα, ὀρμώμενος [\_\_\_\_\_ 14 \_\_\_\_\_]  
 5 [τῶν π]όλεων τῶν σ[υ]μμαχίδων μηδ[\_\_\_\_\_ 6 or 7 \_\_\_\_\_, δεδόχθαι/ἐψηφίσθαι]-  
 [ι τ]ῶ δῆμῳ· περὶ μὲν τῶν ἐπιστρ[ατευσάντων ἐπὶ τ]-  
 [ῇ]ν χῶραν τὴν Ἑρετριέων, τὴν βουλ[ῇ]ν προβουλεύσα-  
 σαν ἔξενε[γ]κεῖν εἰς τὸν δῆμον εἰ[ς] τὴν πρώτην ἐκκ[ε]-  
 κλησίαν, ὅπως ἂν [δ]ίκην δώσω κατὰ [τοὺς νόμους (?). ἐὰν]  
 10 δέ τις τοῦ λοιποῦ χρόνου ἐπιστρατ[εύσῃ ἐπὶ Ἑρέ]-  
 τριαν ἢ ἐπ' ἄλλην τινὰ τῶν συμμαχίδ[ων πόλεων, Ἀθη]-  
 ναίων ἢ τῶν συμμάχων τῶν Ἀθηνα[ίων, ἀτιμίαν αὐτοῦ]  
 κατεγνώσθαι, καὶ τὰ χρήματα δημόσια εἶναι καὶ τ]-  
 ῆς θεοῦ τὸ ἐπιδέκατον· καὶ εἶν[αι] τὰ χρήματα αὐτοῦ]  
 15 ἀγώγιμα ἐξ ἀπασῶν τῶν πόλεω[ν τῶν συμμαχίδων· ἐὰν]  
 δέ τις ἀφέλῃται πόλις, ὀφείλ[ε]ιν τῶν συνεδρίῳ (?) τ]-  
 ῶν συμμάχων. ἀναγράψαι δὲ τὸ [ψηφισμα ἐστήλην λι]-  
 θίνῃ καὶ στήσαι ἐν ἀκροπ[όλει \_\_\_\_\_ 14 \_\_\_\_\_]  
 καὶ ἐν τῷ λιμένι· τὸ δὲ [ἀργύριον δοῦναι εἰς τὴν ἀ]-  
 20 ναγραφὴν τὸν ταμίαν τ[οῦ] δῆμου. ἐπαινέσαι δὲ καὶ τ]-  
 οὺς βοηθῆσ[αντ]ας Ἑ[ρ]ε[τ]ριεύσιν Χαλκιδέας καὶ Κα]-  
 ρυστίους [καὶ Καλλίαν Χαλκιδέα τὸν Εὐβοέων (?) στρ]-  
 [α]τηγὸν | [\_\_\_\_\_ 32 \_\_\_\_\_]  
 [ἐ]παιν[έ]σαι δὲ (?) \_\_\_\_\_ 28 \_\_\_\_\_  
 25 [ . . ]ε[\_\_\_\_\_ 36 \_\_\_\_\_]

Readings as verified by S. D. Lambert. 1–2 Knoepfler: Ἠγήσ[ι]π[ο]ς εἶπεν· ὅπως ἂν εἰς τὸ | λοιπὸν τῶ]ν A. Wilhelm, *Anz. Wien* 1924, 155 = *Akademienchriften*, ii. 197. 2–3 [Ἀθηναίων τοῦ δῆμου | μηδ' ἄλλος]

Wilhelm, [τῶν Ἀθηναίων μηδ' ἐκ | Ἀθηναίων]ν Dreher; letter before μηδεῖς read as *ι* or *υ* Koehler, *IG* ii<sup>1</sup> 65, confirmed by Lambert. 4 [τῆς Ἀττικῆς μηδὲ] edd. 5 μηδ[αμύθεν· ἐψηφίσθαι] edd. 9 τοὺς

νόμους Koehler, Knoepfler: τὰς σπένδας J. Kirchner, *SIG*<sup>3</sup>, and other edd. 12 Lambert, comparing 22. 55–7: θάνατον edd. 16 Lambert: κοινῶν τῶν edd. 18 ἀναγράψαι δ' αὐτὸ Wilhelm *ap.*

Michel 1455: perhaps specified location on Acropolis Lambert, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ Kirchner, *IG* ii<sup>2</sup>, and other

edd. 21–2 Knoepfler: εἰ[ς] Ἑ[ρε]τριάν \_\_\_\_\_ 10 \_\_\_\_\_ καὶ Κα[ρ]υστίους [\_\_\_\_\_ 23 \_\_\_\_\_ τὸν στρ[α]τηγὸν earlier edd. 24 Dreher: [ . . ] ἀρχ[ε] earlier edd.

Resolved by the people. Hegesippus son of Hegesias of Sunium proposed (?):

- 1 So that no one of the allies of Athens ----- no one, neither foreigner nor citizen, shall wrong (?) any of the allies, setting out ----- the allied cities, be it resolved/decreed by the people:
- 6 Concerning those who have campaigned against the territory of Eretria, the council shall make a *probouleuma* and bring it forth to the people at the first assembly, so that they shall render justice in accordance with the laws (?).
- 9 If any one in the future campaigns against Eretria or against any other of the allied cities, whether one of the Athenians or of the Athenians' allies, he shall be condemned to loss of rights, and his goods shall be public and the tenth part shall belong to the Goddess [Athena]; and his goods shall be liable to seizure from all the allied cities; and if any city expropriates them it shall owe them to the *synedrion* (?) of the allies.
- 17 The decree shall be written up on a stone *stèle* and placed on the Acropolis --- also in the harbour; the money for the writing-up shall be given by the treasurer of the people.
- 20 Praise also those who have gone to support the Eretrians, namely the Chalcidians and Carystians and Callias of Chalcis the Euboean (?) general --- and praise ---



This decree lacks a full prescript (l. 1 is certainly the beginning of the decree: Knoepfler suggests that another text was inscribed above and that explains the abbreviated prescript, as in 95), and it can be dated only from its content. Eretria has apparently been attacked by Athenians and citizens of member states of the League; the Athenians are afraid that such incidents may occur again, in connection with Eretria or with other members; and so they resolve to punish those who have attacked Eretria and threaten with penalties any who offend in the future.

Editors have regularly linked this with Athens' recovery of Euboea in 357 (cf. 48); but it is hard to think of Athenians or members of the League who could be accused of attacking Eretria then. Eretria may have been among the cities attacked by dissident members of the League during the Social War (cf. D.S. xvi. 21. ii), but its position on the side of Euboea facing the Greek mainland does not make it a likely target. Knoepfler therefore refers this text to Athens' controversial involvement with Eretria in 348, when it could have been alleged by those who disapproved of the venture that some Athenians had attacked the territory of Eretria (Plut. *Phoc.* 12. i–14. ii, cf. Dem. xxi. *Mid.* 132–5, 161–8, 197, v. *Peace* 5). The immediate upshot of that episode was that Euboea passed out of the Athenian orbit, so a decree containing reassurances for Eretria is not likely to have been enacted then. Knoepfler dates the decree to 343, when the proposer Hegesippus (see below) was at the height of his influence and Athens was trying to regain the support of the Euboeans, and he suggests that the trial of Eubulus' cousin Hegesileos for his involvement in the episode was recent when mentioned in 343/2 by Dem. xix. *Embassy* 290 (cf. schol. (513 Dils)). Dreher suggests that it was Hegesileos' involvement which provoked the decree, and that both it and the trial are to be dated 348. Either of these is a more convincing context for the

## 70

## Athens grants asylum to Arybbas the Molossian, 343/2

One fragment (*a*: top: in the National Museum at Athens, No. 2948), and three joining fragments (*b* = 3–38, *c* = 37–end + left of lower relief, *d* = right of lower relief: found on the Acropolis and now in the Epigraphical Museum), of a tall, thin *stèle*, with reliefs at the top and below the text and crowns showing chariots. *JCEAI* xxxii 1940 has facs. (1 Abb. 1), phot. of lower relief (3 Abb. 2: still lacking one frag.), phot. of upper relief (11 Abb. 4), reconstruction of whole (18 Abb. 6). Subsequent photos. *ΔΔ* xxviii 1973, β, πν. 7 (whole of lower frags.); Meyer, *Die griechischen Urkundenreliefs*, Taf. 30 A 97 (crowns and lower relief); *Hesp.* lxi 1992, pl. 63. *b* (whole of lower frags.); Lawton, *Reliefs*, pl. 65 no. 122 (reliefs); our Pl. 5 (*a–b*).

Attic-Ionic, twice in subjunctives retaining the old Attic  $\epsilon$  for  $\eta$  (cf. Threatte, *Grammar*, i. 380). Ll. 3 sqq. *stoichedon* 21 with irregularities.

*IG* 11<sup>2</sup> 226; *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 228; Tod 173\*; M. J. Osborne, *Naturalization*, D 14. See also O. Walter, *JCEAI* xxxii 1940, 1–24 (identifying upper relief); R. M. Errington, *GRBS* xvi 1975, 41–50; D. Peppas-Delmouzou, *ΔΔ* xxviii 1973, β, 11 (publ. 1977: on fragment of lower relief); [Hammond &] Griffith, ii. 304–8, 504–7; J. Heskell, *GRBS* xxix 1988, 185–96; Lawton, *Reliefs*, 134–5 no. 122 (reliefs).

decree than *c.*357; and the emphatic tone of the decree (especially ll. 2–5) better suits the heightened tension of this later period and perhaps reflects Hegesippus' personal style.

Hegesippus (nicknamed *Krobylos*, 'top-knot', from his old-fashioned hairstyle) was active in public life from 365 (Diog. Laert. iii. 24) to 337 (77), and was still alive in 325/4 (*IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 1629. 543): in particular, he was one of the leading opponents of Philip of Macedon in and after 346. His brother Hegesander was the proposer of 52: for the family see *APF*, 209–10; Lambert, *ΣPE* cxxv 1999, 93–130 at 111–12. To publish this decree both on the Acropolis and in the Agora, as well as 'in the harbour', seems to us excessive; and we prefer a version of the publication clause limited to two copies: Wilhelm thought that the the second text would have been a temporary publication on a whitewashed board. Publication in the harbour (for another instance see 64) is perhaps to serve as a direct warning to men who may be about to embark on a forbidden expedition.

This is a non-*probouleumatic* decree (l. 1), in which the assembly orders the council to produce a *probouleuma* for the next meeting of the assembly on the past offence (ll. 6–9), but the *probouleuma* which led to the decree was such that the assembly could immediately lay down a general rule for the future (cf. Rhodes, *Boule*, 68, 81). Athens threatens with loss of rights and confiscation of goods, presumably by Athens, any Athenian or ally who attacks one of the allies (N. Toogood, *CQ*<sup>2</sup> xlvii 1997, 295–7, stresses Athens' willingness to legislate for non-Athenians as well as Athenians); but, if the restoration is right, if a city expropriates goods which are to be confiscated those goods then go to the allies. The decree is framed so as to benefit the allies, although it is thought that either the Athenians or other allies may offend against them.

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θε[οί].  
 [Α]ρ[ύββου].  
*lacuna*  
 [--- ἐπειδὴ ---]  
 [-----<sup>15</sup>----- ἡ πολιτ]-  
 εία ἡ δοθ[εῖ]σα [ῥῶι πατρὶ κα]-  
 ῖ τῶι πάππῳ κα[ὶ αἱ ἄλλαι δ]-  
 5 ωρεῖαι<sup>ν</sup> ὑπάρχ[ο]υσ[ι καὶ α]-  
 ὑτῶι καὶ τοῖς ἐκγόνο[ι]ς κα-  
 ῖ εἰσι κύ[ρ]οιαι· ἐπιμε[λ]ε[ῖ]σ[θαι]  
 δὲ Ἀρύββου ὅπως αἱ μηδ[ὲν α]-  
 δικῆται τὴν βουλὴν τὴν ἀε-  
 10 ἰ βουλευούσαν καὶ τοὺς στ-  
 ρατηγούς τοὺς αἰὲ στρατη-  
 γοῦντας καὶ ἐ<sup>ν</sup>αν τις ἄλλο-  
 ς που Ἀθηναίων παρατυγχά-  
 νει. εἶναι δὲ αὐτῶι πρόσοδο-  
 15 ν καὶ πρὸς βουλὴν καὶ πρὸς  
 δῆμον ὅταν δέηται, καὶ τοῦ-  
 ς πρυτάνεις οἳ ἂν πρυτανε-  
 ύωσιν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ὅπως  
 ἂν προσόδου τυγχάνει. ἀνα-  
 20 γράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα  
 τὸν γραμματέ<sup>ν</sup> α τῆς βουλῆ-  
 ς ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ καὶ κα-  
 ταθεῖναι ἐν ἀκροπόλει. εἰς  
 δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν τῆς στήλ-  
 25 ης δότω ὁ ταμίας τοῦ δήμου  
 ΔΔΔ δραχμὰς ἐκ τῶν κατὰ ψη-  
 φίσματα μεριζομένων τῶι  
 δήμῳ. καλέσαι δὲ Ἀρύββαν  
 ἐπὶ δεῖπνον εἰς τὸ πρυταν-  
 30 εῖον ἐς αὔριον· καλέσαι δὲ  
 καὶ τοὺς μετ' Ἀρύββου ἦκον-  
 τας ἐπὶ ξένια εἰς τὸ πρυτα-  
 νεῖον ἐς αὔριον.<sup>ν</sup> χρηματί-  
 σαι δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὧ-  
 35 ν Ἀρύββας λέγει. τὰ μὲν ἄλλ-

Lines are numbered as by Tod and M. J. Osborne: in earlier editions our l. 3 was l. 1.

Osborne reads

(but usually dots) a few letters not read by earlier editors, but does not read a few letters read by earlier editors. The text appears to have been sketched on the stone before it was carved: cf. Osborne, i. 59–60, who suggests that the cutter failed to realize that he had not carved the ρ in l. 40, and that other vacant spaces and crowdings of two letters into one space can be explained on the basis of a faulty prior sketch.

2 Osborne points out that the name could be nominative, genitive, or dative, and could have been followed by patronymic and/or ethnic in subsequent lines.

7 The stone has KYIIAI; last σ read by S. D. Lambert.

Gods.

2 Arybbas.

*lacuna*

3 Since — — — the citizenship given to his father and his grandfather and the other grants apply both to him and to his descendants and are valid: care shall be taken of Arybbas, that he may suffer no injustice, by the council currently in office and the generals currently in office and any other of the Athenians who may happen to be present anywhere. He shall have access both to the council and to the people whenever he needs, and the *prytaneis* in office shall take care that he obtains access.

19 This decree shall be written up by the secretary of the council on a stone *stele* and set down on the Acropolis. For the writing-up of the *stele* let the treasurer of the people give 30 drachmas from the fund allocated to the people for decrees.

28 Invite Arybbas to dinner in the *prytaneion* tomorrow; also invite those who have come with Arybbas to hospitality in the *prytaneion* tomorrow.

33 Deal also with the other matters of which Arybbas speaks.

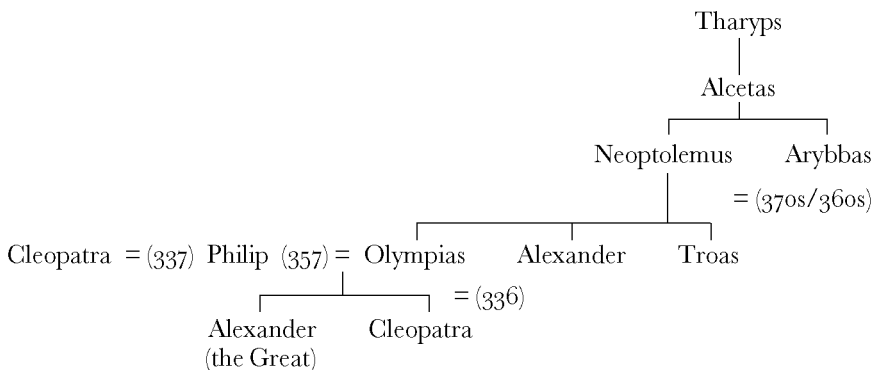
35 In other respects in accordance with the

α καθάπερ τῇ βουλῇ· εἰ[άν δ]-  
 έ τις Ἀρύββα[ν] β[ιαι]ώωι θ[ανά]-  
 [τ]ωι ἀποκτείνῃ ἢ τῶν π[αίδ]-  
 ων τινὰ τῶν Ἀρύββου, εἰ[ναι]  
 40 τὰς αὐτὰς τιμω[ρ]ίας αἰ[περ]  
 [κ]αὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων εἰς[ὶν ὃ]  
 Ἀθηναίων. ἐπιμελείσθ[αι δ]-  
 εἰ καὶ τοὺς στρατηγού[ς οἱ ἄ]-  
 ν στρατηγῶσι ὅπως Ἀρ[ύββα]-  
 45 ς καὶ οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ [κομί]-  
 σωνται τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν [πατρ]-  
 ώιαν. *vacat*

*vacat*

<i>In an olive</i>	<i>In a laurel</i>	<i>In an olive</i>
<i>crown:</i>	<i>crown:</i>	<i>crown:</i>
Ὀλύμπια	Π[ύθ]ια	᾿Ολύμπια
τελέωι.	τελέωι.	---

44 ῶ read by S. D. Lambert.



Arybbas had been king of the *Molossoi*, one of a number of states in Epirus (north-western Greece). His father Alcetas and elder brother Neoptolemus joined the Second Athenian League, probably in 375 (22. 109–10). On Alcetas' death Arybbas challenged Neoptolemus' claim to succeed him; the upshot was that Arybbas married Neoptolemus' daughter Troas, and they ruled jointly (Paus. 1. 11. iii, Plut. *Pyrrh.* 1. v, Just. vii. 6. x–xi) until Neoptolemus died in the late 360s or early 350s, after which Arybbas ruled alone. Neoptolemus' daughter Olympias was married in 357 to Philip of Macedon and bore him a son, Alexander the Great, and a daughter, Cleopatra. At some point Philip intervened in the kingdom, expelling Arybbas in favour of Olympias' brother Alexander, who immediately before that had himself been in Macedon (D.S. xvi. 72. i; Just. vii. 6. xii, viii. 6. iv–viii, cf. Trog. *Prol.* viii); Arybbas fled to Athens, and in this decree we have the Athenian response to his arrival.

council; but if any one kills Arybbas by a violent death, or any of the sons of Arybbas, there shall be the same penalty as there is concerning the other Athenians.

- 42 Also the generals who are in office shall take care that Arybbas and his sons recover their ancestral realm.

<i>In an olive</i>	<i>In a laurel</i>	<i>In an olive</i>
<i>crown:</i>	<i>crown:</i>	<i>crown:</i>
Olympic	Pythian	Olympic
⟨Games⟩	⟨Games⟩	⟨Games⟩
with a ⟨chariot	with a ⟨chariot	---
drawn by⟩	drawn by⟩	
full⟨-grown	full⟨-grown	
horses⟩	horses⟩	

Diodorus records not Arybbas' expulsion but his 'death', after a reign of ten years, under the year 342/1: it has usually been assumed that this is a mistaken allusion to his expulsion, which must in fact belong to 343/2 (Philip's intervention is mentioned in [Dem.] vii. *Halon.* 32, but is not mentioned in Aesch. ii. *Embassy*, Dem. xix. *Embassy*; the ten-year reign will then be simply wrong). However, Errington has argued that death ought not to be the same as expulsion, and has sought to link the expulsion with Philip's attack on Arybbas mentioned in Dem. i. *Ol. i.* 13, of 349/8; and Heskell has built on Errington's arguments to reconstruct the history of the 350s and date the expulsion of Arybbas in 351/0. We follow Griffith and M. J. Osborne in preferring the traditional interpretation. [Dem.] *Halon.* (and the absence of any mention of the change of king in earlier speeches) and Trog. *Prol.* favour a date in the late 340s; so too does an Athenian undertaking to restore a ruler expelled by Philip, since from the prosecutions of Philocrates and Aeschines in 343 Demosthenes' policy of hostility to Philip was gaining increasing acceptance. The error which has to be attributed to Diodorus is well within his capabilities; and the history of the east Thracian king Cersebleptes (cf. on 47) reminds us that Philip need not have expelled Arybbas the first time he attacked him (but the suggestion of Hammond, *Epirus*, 540–6, that a break in the Molossian bronze coinage began after Philip's first intervention and ended after his second is hazardous).

Heskell, 193–5, suggests that Arybbas' Olympic victories were in 360 and 352 (Philip was the victor in 356: Plut. *Alex.* 3. viii), and his Pythian victory in 358 or 354 (but her own Pythian dates are, erroneously, a year later): if we maintain the traditional dating of this inscription those dates are possible but not necessary.

This decree will have reaffirmed Arybbas' entitlement to citizenship, and the sur-

viving text begins with conventional honours appropriate to a distinguished visiting foreigner (on the original award to Arybbas' grandfather see M.J. Osborne, *Naturalization*, Osborne, iii–iv. 29–30 T 6, dating it c.428–424; Just. xvii. 3. xi tells us that Tharyps was educated in Athens, and Thuc. ii. 80. v writes of him as a minor in 429). It was common practice to combine the generals with the council as the authorities who were to protect honorands from injustice (Rhodes, *Boule*, 43). The invitation to the *prytaneion* distinguishes between 'dinner', offered to Arybbas as an Athenian citizen, and 'hospitality', offered to the non-citizens who have come to Athens with him (cf. on 2). The *probouleuma* ends with an open clause, calling on the assembly to deal with Arybbas' other business but not offering a recommendation from the council (cf. Rhodes, *Boule*, 279).

That open clause is followed up in the amendment, where (frustratingly for us, but presumably accidentally, though Osborne suggests the same man as the original proposer) the name of the proposer has been omitted. Athens' commitment to Arybbas is now considerably strengthened. It is spelled out that, appropriately for an Athenian citizen, if Arybbas is murdered his murderers are to be punished as the killers of an Athenian citizen (for the distinction in Athenian law between the killing of a citizen and the killing of a non-citizen see *Ath. Pol.* 57. iii with Rhodes *ad loc.*; S. Koch, *ZRG* cvi 1989, 547–56, in connection with Dem. xxiii. *Arist.* 91 collects and discusses sixteen instances of this undertaking from the fifth (especially) and fourth centuries; see also Henry, *Honours and Privileges*, 168–71); and the Athenians promise to restore Arybbas to his ancestral realm, which is credible for those Athenians who were militantly opposed to Philip in the late 340s.

The complete *stèle* will have been the largest known from Athens for an individual honorand (what is preserved is c.2.85 m. = 9 ft. 4 in. high, and the whole must have

## 71

### Athens honours Elaeus, 341/0

A *stèle* found on the Athenian Acropolis; now in the Epigraphical Museum. Phot. Kirchner, *Imagines*<sup>2</sup>, Taf. 29 Nr. 61.

Attic-Ionic; *stoichedon* 26.

*IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 228; *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 255; Tod 174\*; M.J. Osborne, *Naturalization*, D 15. Trans. Harding 94.

[ἐπ]ὶ Νικομάχου ἄρχον[τος· ἐπὶ τῆς]  
 [II]ανδιονίδος ἐβδόμης [πρυτανεί]-  
 [α]ς· ἐνάτηι καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῆς περ[υτ]-  
 ανείας· τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψήφισ[ε]-  
 5 ν Ἀριστόμαχος ἐξ Οὔρου Ὀνήσιππο-  
 ς Ἀραφήνιος ἐγραμμάτευεν· ἔδοξ-

been considerably higher), and was exceptionally elaborate (yet, as Osborne remarks, 'it was felt necessary to correct tiny errors at the expense of aesthetic appearance'). It had two reliefs, at the top (identified by Walter) and underneath, with scenes of chariots commemorating Arybbas' Olympic and Pythian (i.e. Delphic) victories (cf. Lawton, 32–3); and also immediately below the text it had crowns commemorating those victories (the prize at Olympia was an olive crown and the prize at Delphi was a laurel crown). The incorporation of crowns unrelated to the content of the decree is most unusual: normally when crowns were represented on a *stèle* this was to commemorate crowns awarded by the assembly to the honorand (e.g. 33). Whatever the dates of the victories (cf. above), they may well have been won in competition against Philip, and that may be partly why attention is drawn to them, so exceptionally, on this *stèle*. It may be also that Arybbas, no less than Philip, as a man from the margin of the Greek world was anxious to emphasize his Greekness. As Tod remarked, it is likely that Arybbas will have had to add considerably to the 30 drachmas provided by Athens to cover the cost of the *stèle*—but until c.330, except in the case of 22 (see commentary), it was normal for the state to provide 20 or 30 drachmas.

The promise to restore Arybbas was not kept (Just. vii. 6. xii remarks that he grew old in exile). In 337 Philip repudiated Olympias and took a wife from the Macedonian nobility, in response to which Olympias retired to Epirus (Satyrus *ap.* Ath. xiii. 557 D–E, Plut. *Alex.* 9. v–ix, Just. ix. 5. ix, 7. xii); in 336, to placate the family, he married Cleopatra, his daughter by Olympias, to Olympias' brother Alexander, and it was at the celebration of that marriage that Philip was murdered (D.S. xvi. 91. iv–94, Just. ix. 6–7). Alexander was killed in a war in Italy c.330 (Livy, viii. 24 cf. 3. vi–vii, Just. xii. 2. i–xv). Subsequently the power of the *Molossoi* grew until there was a more unified state calling itself Epirus.

In the archonship of Nicomachus [341/0];  
in the seventh prytany, of Pandionis; on the  
twenty-ninth of the prytany; of the *proedroi*  
Aristomachus from Oion was putting to the  
vote; Onesippus of Araphen was secretary;



- εν τῷ δήμῳ. Ἰππόστρατος Ἐτε(α)ρ-  
 χίδου Παλληνεὺς εἶπεν· εἶναι κα-  
 ἰ τοῖς Ἐλαιουσίοις τὰ αὐτὰ ἄπ[ερ]  
 10 ὁ δῆμος ἐψήφισται τοῖς Χερρ[ονη]-  
 σίταις. τὸν δὲ στρατηγὸν Χά[ρητα]  
 ἐπιμεληθῆναι αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ [τρόπ]-  
 ωι τῷ αὐτῷ, ὅπως ἂν ἔχοντε[ς Ἐλα]-  
 ιούσιοι τὰ ἑαυτῶν ὀρθῶς κ[αὶ δικ]-  
 15 αῖως οἰκῶσιν μετὰ Ἀθηναίων ἐν Χ]-  
 ερρονήσῳ. καὶ καλέσαι το[ὺς Ἐλα]-  
 ιουσίους ἐπὶ δεῖπνον εἰς [τὸ πρυ]-  
 τανεῖον εἰς αὐριον.

7 The stone has *ETEAP*.

In 353/2 Cersebleptes, king of eastern Thrace, had ceded to Athens all the cities of the Chersonese except Cardia (on the isthmus), and the Athenians had sent out cleruchs to ensure that the Hellespont was kept safe for ships trading with Athens. In the spring of 346, while the Peace of Philocrates was being negotiated between Athens and Philip of Macedon, Cersebleptes was defeated by Philip and reduced to the status of a vassal king; he tried without success to join the Second Athenian League in time to be included in the Peace. In 342 Philip intervened in eastern Thrace again and finally deposed Cersebleptes; Athens, to protect her interests, sent out reinforcements to the cleruchies, accompanied by an army under Diopithes. Diopithes came into conflict with Cardia, named in the Peace as an ally of Philip; in Athens, in 341, his actions were condemned by some but defended by Demosthenes; further incidents involving Athens and Macedon occurred in the region of the Chersonese and elsewhere, and Philip protested to Athens; in the summer of 340 (rather later than this decree) Philip began an attempt to capture Perinthus and Byzantium, which he was to abandon without success in the following year, and after Philip had captured a fleet of Athenian merchant ships Athens declared war. For the sequel see on 72.

Elaeus, near the south-western tip of the Chersonese, joined the Second Athenian League, probably in 375 (22. 123), and was consistently loyal to Athens (cf. Dem. xxiii. *Arist.* 158): we have the beginning of an Athenian decree of 357/6 for Elaesus (*Agora*, xvi 53); and in 346/5 Elaesus awarded a crown to Athens (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1443. 93–5, cf. Dem. xviii. *Crown* 92; perhaps an Athenian response, *Hesp.* viii 1939, 172–3). The precise significance of this decree is unclear. Ll. 8–11 refer to the Elaeans and the Chersonesians; ll. 13–16 to the Elaeans and the Athenians in the Chersonese: the most economical interpretation would be that, despite the different formulations, the

resolved by the people. Hippostratus son of Etearchides of Pallene proposed:

- 5 There shall be for the Elaeans the same as the Athenians decreed for the Chersonesians. The general Chares shall take care of them in the same way, so that the Elaeans, possessing their own property rightly and justly, may live with the Athenians in the Chersonese.
- 16 And invite the Elaeans to dinner in the *prytaneion* tomorrow.

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Chersonesians of the first clause are identical with the Athenians in the Chersonese of the second. This view is supported by M. J. Osborne, who notes that the Elaeans are invited to 'dinner' (the appropriate term for Athenian citizens: cf. on 2) and supposes that the Chersonesians are the cleruchs and this decree assimilated Elaeus to cleruch status. Tod, however, took the Chersonesians of the first clause to be the non-Athenian inhabitants of a group of cities, so that Athens was now decreeing for Elaeus what it had already decreed for them concerning their coexistence with the Athenian cleruchs, and concluded from the invitation to 'dinner' that the Elaeans had already been rewarded for their loyalty with Athenian citizenship. Another possible explanation of the invitation would be that Elaeus' envoys were men who had been granted Athenian citizenship as individuals—but in that case we should expect them to be named.<sup>1</sup> The decision is not easy, but we are inclined to prefer the first, economical interpretation of this decree.

For Chares cf. on 48. Demosthenes' defence of Diopithes in 341 was successful enough for Chares to be sent to reinforce him; the merchant fleet which Philip captured in 340 was awaiting Chares' return from discussions with the Persians to escort it through the Bosphorus and Hellespont; subsequently the Byzantines distrusted him and refused to admit him, and he was superseded in the north-east by Phocion.

This decree has irregularities in its prescript (cf. Henry, *Prescripts*, 36 with n. 17, 42) and no publication clause: it is possible that it was published on the initiative and at the expense of the Elaeans.

<sup>1</sup> A. S. Henry, *Antichthon* xv 1981, 100–10 at 104–10, cf. his *Honours and Privileges*, 271–5, suggests that occasionally the Athenians bent the rules, but it is clear that the distinction between 'dinner' and 'hospitality' was normally upheld, and better to base our explanation on the rules if we can.

## Athens honours Tenedos, 340/39

Two joining fragments of a *stele*, found on the Athenian Acropolis; now in the Epigraphical Museum.

Attic-Ionic; *stoichedon* 37, with an extra letter in ll. 9 and 30 if the restorations are correct. This is the work of Tracy's Cutter of *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 334 (cf. 81): *Athenian Democracy in Transition*, 82–95.

*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 233; *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 256; Tod 175\*; Migeotte, *L'Emprunt public*, 23–5 (ll. 13–18). Trans. Harding 97.

- [ἐ]πὶ Θε[οφράστου ἄρχο]ντο[ς· ἔδοξεν τῶι δήμῳ· Κε]-  
 κροπὶ[ς ἐπρυτάνευε]ν· ὀγδό[ηι τῆς πρυτανείας· τ]-  
 ῶν προέδ[ρω]ν [ἐ]πειψήφισεν Σμ[<sup>15</sup>]  
 [ . . . ]· ἐγραμμάτευεν Ἀσπετος [Δημοστράτου Κυθήρ(ριος)].  
 5 [Κα]λλικράτης Χαροπίδου [Λαμπτρέως εἶπεν· περ]-  
 [ὶ ὧ]ν οἱ Τενέδιοι λέγουσι[ν· ἐπαυέσαι μὲν τὸν δ]-  
 [ῆ]μον τῶν Τενεδίων ἄρε[τῆς ἔνεκα καὶ εὐνοίας τ]-  
 [ῆ]ς εἰς τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀ[θηναίων καὶ τοὺς συμμάχ]-  
 [ο]υς, τῆς τε ἐν τῶι π[ρ]όσ[θεν χρόνῳ βοηθείας καὶ ? ῆ]-  
 10 [ν νῦν] βεβοηθήκασι [ <sup>22</sup> ]  
 [ <sup>8</sup> ]· ἰχρημα [ <sup>23</sup> ]  
 [ <sup>11</sup> ]· ἡμι [τ]α παρα[ <sup>17</sup> ]  
 [ <sup>13</sup> ]· νῦντες· ὅπ[ως δ' ἂν κομίσωνται Τε]-  
 [νέδιοι τὰ χρήμ]ατα ὅσα ἡ[ὶ]τῆνται ? <sup>11</sup> ]  
 15 [ <sup>10</sup> ]· ἐπὶ Θεοφράστ[ου ἄρχοντος <sup>6</sup> ]  
 [ . . . τῶι δήμ]ῳ εἰς τὴν βοή[θειαν <sup>11</sup> ]  
 [ <sup>7</sup> ]· ἅπ[αντα, δεδόχθαι [τῶι δήμῳ <sup>6</sup> ]· τὸ]-  
 [ν στρατη]γὸν μετὰ Θεόφρα[στον ἄρχοντα <sup>5</sup> ]  
 [τὴν σύντ]αξιν τὴν ἐψηφισμ[ένην <sup>12</sup> ]  
 20 [ <sup>7</sup> ]· καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐνκύκλ[ιον διοίκησιν . . . ]  
 [ . . . ἐν τ]ῶι ἐνιαυτῶι τῶι μετὰ [Θεόφραστον ἄρχο]-  
 [ντα κ]ομίζεσθαι αὐτοὺς εἰς Τ[ένεδον. <sup>8</sup> ]  
 [ . . . ]· αὐτὰ ἕως ἂν κομίσωντα[ι τὰ χρήματα πάντ]-  
 [α. ἐν] δὲ τούτῳ τῶι χρόνῳ μὴ εἰ[δὴν εἰσπράξαι μ]-  
 25 [ήτ]ε στρατηγῶι μήτε ἄλλῳ [μ]η[θὲν] μῆτε ἀργύρῳ]-  
 [ο]ν μῆτε ἄλλο μηθέν· μηδὲ τοῖς σ[υνέδροις εἶναι]  
 κατατά[ξαι] ἐν τῶι χρόνῳ το[ύτῳ, ἕως ἂν κομί]-  
 σωνται Τενέδιοι τὰ χρήματα ἅ[παντα ἃ κεχρήκα]-

Readings verified by S. D. Lambert. Lines are numbered as by Lambert: *SIG*<sup>3</sup> and Tod split his l. 12 into l. 12 at end of first fragment, l. 13 at beginning of second; *IG* II<sup>2</sup> numbers the lines separately in the two fragments.

12 a horizontal line in the upper part of the *stoichos* before ηι. 13 ν Lambert. 14–15 Lambert: *ὅσα* [κεχρήκασιν τῶι δήμῳ τῶι Ἀθηναίων edd. 15 ἄρχοντος Migeotte. 17–18 Koehler, Lambert: —τ]ὸν edd. 18 ἄρχοντα Migeotte. 23 ἈΤΝΥΤΑ corrected to ἈΤΑΥΤΑ Lambert: *εἶναι* δ' αὐ[τοῖς] ταῦτα edd., ταῦτα D. M. Lewis.

In the archonship of Theophrastus [340/39]; resolved by the people; Cecropis was the prytany; on the eighth of the prytany; of the *proedroi* S— of ——— put to the vote; the secretary was Aspetus son of Demonstratus of Cytherrus. Callicrates son of Charopides of Lamptrae proposed:

- 5 Concerning what the Tenedians say: praise the people of Tenedos for their goodness and good will towards the people of Athens and the allies, and for their support in time past and for coming in support now (?) ———
- 13 So that the Tenedians may convey the money which was requested (?) ——— under Theophrastus' archonship ——— to the people for the support ——— all, be it resolved by the people:
- 15 ——— the general after Theophrastus' archonship ——— the *syntaxis* that was decreed ——— and for the regular administration ——— in the year after the archonship of Theophrastus they shall convey to Tenedos. ——— the same until they convey all the money.
- 24 During this time it shall not be permitted either to a general or to anybody else to exact either coinage or anything else; nor shall it be permitted to the *synedroi* to assess during this time, until the Tenedians convey all the money which they have lent, so

σιν, ὁ[π]ως ἂν καὶ εἰς τὸν λοιπὸν [χρόνον εἰδῶσιν]  
 30 οἱ τε σύμμαχοι καὶ ἄλλος ὅστ[ις] ἂν εὖνους ᾗ τῶι  
 δήμῳ τῶι Ἀθ[η]ναίων ὅτι ὁ δῆμ[ος] ὁ Ἀθηναίων ἐπι-  
 μελε[ί]ται δικαίως τοῖς πρ[ό]πτουσι τῶν συμμά-  
 χων τὰ συμφέροντα τῶι δή[μῳ] τῶι Ἀθηναίων καὶ]  
 τοῖς συμμάχοις. ἔπαι[ν]έσαι δὲ τὸν δῆμον τὸν ? Τε]-  
 35 νεδί[ω]ν, καὶ στεφανῶσ[αι] αὐτὸν χρυσῶι στεφάνῳ]-  
 ι ἀπὸ χιλίων δραχ[μῶν] ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ εὐνοία]-  
 ς τῆς [εἰ]ς τὸν δῆμ[ον] τὸν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τοὺς συμμι-  
 άχους. ἔπαι[ν]έσαι δὲ τὸν σύνεδρον τῶν Τενεδίων]-  
 ν Ἀρα[τ]ρον, κα[ὶ] στεφανῶσαι αὐτὸν θαλλοῦ στεφάν]-  
 40 ωι. ἔπαι[ν]έ[σαι] δὲ καὶ —————<sup>20</sup>— σ]-  
 ννέδρο[ —————<sup>31</sup>— ]  
 [ . . . ] ε[ ————— ]

31 The stone has ΑΘΝΝΑΙΩΝ.

IG II<sup>2</sup> 232 (cf. SEG xlv 62).

40 Καλλιστότμον καὶ Pope, *Non-Athenians in Attic Inscriptions*, 229, from  
41 σ[υ]νέδρους τῶν Τενεδίων edd., but we should not expect this after what  
precedes.

In the summer of 340 Philip of Macedon sent a fleet into the Propontis, and laid siege to Perinthus, which was inclining towards Athens; part of his force was detached to besiege Byzantium when it sent help to Perinthus (and perhaps part also to besiege Selymbria: [Hammond &] Griffith, 574); when Philip captured a fleet of Athenian merchant ships Athens formally declared war (for the background cf. on 71). The appearance of Philip's forces here alarmed Persia and many Aegean cities, including those which had left the Athenian orbit through the Social War of 356–355 (cf. on 48), and Athens received considerable support for the defence of the besieged cities: in the spring of 339, having made no progress, Philip tricked the Athenian commanders into letting him withdraw his forces (D.S. xvi. 74. ii–76. iv, 77. ii–iii, but his peace treaty is probably a fiction; Just. ix. 1, 2. x; Philoch. *FGH* 328 FF 53–5).

Tenedos is an island lying a short distance outside the Aegean entrance to the Hellespont: it had a long record of loyalty to Athens, and joined the Second Athenian League, probably in 376 (22. 79); it was a Tenedian, Aglaocreon, who represented the *synedron* as an additional member of the Athenian embassies sent to Philip in 346 (Aesch. ii. *Embassy*, 20, 97, 126). Perhaps Tenedos provided money and other support during Philip's attack on Perinthus and Byzantium (Lambert's text of ll. 14–15 would be consistent with this); and this expression of gratitude and promise that Tenedos will be free from all exactions until the money has been repaid (?) perhaps belong to the summer of 339, after Philip's withdrawal (we do not know when in the year 340/39 the prytany of Cecropis was).

This inscription is our last evidence for the functioning of the Second Athenian League, which passed out of existence when Philip organized Athens and the other

that for the time to come the allies and any one else who is well disposed to the people of Athens may know that the people of Athens take care justly of those of the allies who act in the interests of the people of Athens and the allies.

- 34 Praise the people (?) of Tenedos, and crown them with a gold crown of a thousand drachmas for their goodness and good will towards the people of Athens and the allies. Praise the *synedros* of the Tenedians, Aratus, and crown him with an olive crown. Praise also — — — the *synedroi* — — —

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mainland Greeks in the League of Corinth in 338/7 (cf. 76): it shows that member states still sent delegates to the League's *synedrion*, and that the *synedrion* assessed the *syntaxis* to be collected from the members (cf. on 22), but that Athens now granted an exemption to Tenedos on its own authority.

We have also another Athenian decree for Tenedos and Aratus (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 232). Its prescript, and therefore its date, are lost; it is a probouleumatic decree whereas ours is a non-probouleumatic; it praises Tenedos and Aratus and his brothers, awarding to each of them an olive crown, and praises and invites to hospitality 'the man who has come from Tenedos'. There is no pointer in the surviving text to a specific context, and any attempt to relate it to our decree must be speculative.

There are unusual features in the prescript, which remind us that the Athenians did not use exactly the same form of words on every comparable occasion: with the chairman we have the aorist 'put to the vote' rather than the normal imperfect 'was putting ...'; the verb precedes rather than follows the name of the secretary. For the secretary and his family see *APF*, 139 (they had mining interests, and the secretary's son Demonstratus served as a trierarch); the proposer Callicrates was proposer of a probouleumatic decree, and therefore a member of the council, in 346/5 (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 215), and is listed among members of his deme who made a dedication to Apollo (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2967. 6). 'The regular administration' (*enkyklios dioikesis*), recoverable without context in l. 20, is used in *Ath. Pol.* 43. i to denote the day-to-day civilian administration of the state; but *dioikesis* was particularly used with reference to finance, and the title 'in charge of the administration' (*epi tei dioikesei*) was first given to a major treasurer when that post was held by Lycurgus in the 330s–320s (cf. Rhodes, *Boule*, 107–8).

## Regulations for the Artemisia, Eretria, c.340

A marble *stèle* found near Aulonari, Euboea (see commentary). Now in Eretria Museum (inv. no. 1208). Eretrian Ionic.

G. Papabasilieou, *Εφ. Αρχ.* 1902, 97–106, A. Wilhelm, *Εφ. Αρχ.* 1904, 89–97, *IG* xii ix 189, *LSCG* 92\*. See also D. Knoepfler in Hansen (ed.), *The Polis as an Urban Centre*, 352–449 at 376–7.

[θ]εο[ί].

Ἐξήκεστος Διοδώρου εἶπεν· ὅπωρ ἂν τὰ Ἀρ-  
τεμίρια ὥς κάλλιστα ἄγωμεν καὶ θύωριν ὥς π-  
λείστοι, ἔδοξεν τεὶ βουλεὶ καὶ τοῖ δήμοι·

- 5 [..] τιθεῖν τῇμ πόλιν ἀγῶνα μουσικῆς ἀπὸ χιλίων  
δραχμῶν τεὶ Μεταξὺ καὶ τεὶ Φυλάκει καὶ παρέχει-  
ν ἄρνας τεὶ πρὸ τῶν Ἀρτεμιρίων πέντε ἡμέρας, τ-  
ούτων δὲ δύο ἐγκρίτους εἶναι. ἄρχειν δὲ τῆς μο-  
υσικῆς τετράδα φθίνοντος τοῦ Ἀνθεστηρι-  
10 ὠνος μηνός, τὴν δὲ μουσικὴν τιθεῖν ῥαψωιδούς,  
αὐλωιδούς, κιθαρισταῖς, κιθαρωιδούς, παρωιδούς,  
τοὺς δὲ τὴν μουσικὴν ἀγωνιζομένους πάντα[s]  
ἀγωνίζεσθαι προσόδιον τεὶ θυσίει ἐν τεὶ αὐλεὶ ἔ-  
[χο]ντας τὴν σκευήν, ἥμπερ ἐν τοῖ ἀγῶνι ἔχουρ[ι].  
15 [τὰ δ] ἐ ἄθλα δίδοσθαι κατὰ τάδε· ῥαψωιδοὶ ἑκατὸν εἴ-  
κοσι, δευτέροι πεντήκοντα, τρίτοι εἴκοσι· αὐλωιδοὶ παιδὶ πε-  
ντήκοντα, δευτέροι τριήκοντα, τρίτοι εἴκοσι· ἀνδρὶ κιθαρισ-  
τεὶ ἑκατὸν δέκα, δευτέροι ἐβδομήκοντα, τρίτοι πεντή-  
20 κοντα πέντε· κιθαρωιδοὶ διηκόσια, δευτέροι ἑκατὸν  
πεντήκοντα, τρίτοι ἑκατόν. παρωιδοὶ πεντήκοντα, δευ-  
τέροι δέκα. σιτηρέσιον δὲ δίδοσθαι τοῖς ἀγωνισταῖς  
τοῖς παραγενομένοις δραχμὴν τῆς ἡμέρης ἑκάστοι ἄρ-  
ξαμένοις μὴ πλεόν τρισὶν ἡμέραις πρὸ τοῦ προάγωνος, μέ-  
χρι οὗ ἂν ὁ ἀγὼν γένηται. τὸν δὲ ἀγῶνα τιθόντων οἱ δήμ-  
25 ἀρχοὶ ὥς ἂν δύνωνται δικαιοτάτα καὶ ζημούντων  
τὸν ἀτακτέοντα κατὰ τὸν νόμον. παρέχειν δὲ καὶ τοὺς  
χώρους ἱερεᾶ κριτά, βοῦς, πάντα τὰ ἔτη, συντελεῖν δὲ  
τοὺς χώρους εἰς τὰ κριτὰ καθάπερ Ἡράοις. τὰ δὲ δέ-  
30 ρματα λαμβάνειν τῶν ἱερείων τοὺς τὰ κριτὰ παρέχ-  
οντας· τοὺς δὲ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐπιστάτας κρίνειν τὰ ἱερεᾶ  
κατὰ τὸν νόμον καὶ ἐπιμισθοῦν, ἂν τις μὴ παρέχει τ-  
ὼν χώρων. πωλεῖν δὲ ἐν τοῖ ἱεροῖ τὸμ βολόμενον ὅτι

Gods. Excectus son of Diodorus proposed: in order that we may celebrate the Artemisia as finely as possible and that as many people as possible may sacrifice, resolved by the council and people.

- 5 The city is to arrange a competition in music with a budget of 1,000 drachmas to the Moderator and Guardian and provide lambs there for five days before the Artemisia, two of them being choice animals.
- 8 The 27th of the month Anthesterion is to be the first day of the music, the music competition is to be for rhapsodes, singers to the pipes, lyre-players, singers accompanying themselves on the lyre, and singers of parodies, and those participating in the musical contest are to compete in the processional hymn for the sacrifice in the court with the paraphernalia which they have in the contest.
- 15 Prizes are to be given in the following way: to the rhapsode 120 (drachmas), to the second 50, to the third 20; to the boy singer to the pipes 50, to the second 30, to the third 20; to the adult lyre-player 110, to the second 70, to the third 55; to the singer accompanying himself on the lyre 200, to the second 150, to the third 100; to the singer of parodies 50, to the second 10.
- 21 Maintenance is to be granted to the competitors who are present of a drachma a day for each of them, beginning not more than three days before the pre-competition event and continuing until the competition takes place.
- 24 Let the demarchs arrange the competition in the fairest way they can, and let them punish any behaving irregularly according to the law.
- 26 The districts are to provide choice victims, an ox, every year, and the districts are to contribute to the choice victims as for the festival of Hera.
- 28 Those who provide the choice victims are to take the skins of the victims;
- 30 The officials in charge of the sanctuaries are to judge the victims according to the law and put the provision out to tender if one of the villages does not provide.



- [ᾗ] μ βόληται ἀτελέα μὴ τιθέντα τέλος μηδέν, μηδὲ πρ-  
 [ῆ] ττεσθαι τοὺς ἱεροποιοὺς μηδὲν τοὺς πωλέοντ-  
 35 ας. τὴν δὲ πομπὴν καθιστᾶν τοὺς δημάρχους ἐν τ-  
 εἰ ἀγορεῖ, ὅποι τὰ ἱερεῖα πωλεῖται, πρῶτομ μὲν τὰ δ-  
 ημόσια καὶ τὸ καλλιστεῖον, ἔπειτα τὰ κριτά, ἔπειτα  
 τῶν ἰδιωτῶν, ἐάν τις βόληται συμπομπεύειν· συμπο-  
 40 μπευόντων δὲ καὶ οἱ τῆς μουσικῆς ἀγωνιστᾶν πάντ-  
 ες, ὅπως ἂν ὡς καλλίσστη ἢ πομπὴ καὶ ἡ θυσίῃ γίνηται·  
 ἀναγράφαι δὲ τὸ ψήφισμα ἐστήλῃ λιθίνῃ καὶ στήσ-  
 αι ἐν τοῖ ἱεροῖ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος, ὅπως ἂν κατὰ τοῦτα γί-  
 νηται ἡ θυσίῃ καὶ ἡ μουσικὴ τεῖ Ἀρτέμιδι εἰς τὸν αἰεῖ [χρ]-  
 [ό]νον, ἐλευθέρων ὄντων Ἐρετριέων καὶ ἐδ πρηττόγ-  
 45 των καὶ αὐτοκρατόρων.

35 ἐν τῇ ἀγορεῖ Wilhelm: ἐν τῇ ἀγορεῖ LSCG.  
 LSCG; γίνηται Wilhelm: γένηται LSCG.

40 καλλίσστη IG: καλλίστη LSCG; θυσίῃ IG: θυσία  
 44 πρηττόγ IG: πρηττόν LSCG.

In 341 the people of Eretria were liberated by the Athenians from the ‘tyrant’ Clitarchus who had installed himself with Macedonian support (Philochorus, *FGrH* 328 F159–60), and made an alliance with Athens (*IG* n<sup>2</sup> 230, see Knoepfler n. 23 and Knoepfler in Frézouls and Jacquemin, *Les Relations internationales*, 346ff.; on the complexities of Euboean history in the 340s see also P. Brunt, *CQ*<sup>2</sup> xix 1969, 245–65, and G. L. Cawkwell, *Phoenix* xxxii 1978, 42–67). The emphatic final clause of this decree suggests that they celebrated that liberation by elaborating their festival of Artemis, perhaps the most important deity at Eretria after Apollo Daphnephoros. Artemis seems to be referred to here as ‘Guardian’ and ‘Moderator’ (l. 6, with Knoepfler), perhaps with particular reference to her assistance in the liberation. This festival, also known as the Amarysia after Artemis’ cult title, was the most important of all Eretrian festivals and already before this date seems to have featured a procession with 3000 hoplites, 600 cavalry, and 60 chariots (Strabo 448. x. i. 10 with Knoepfler, 392 and n. 299; see also Ringwood, *AJA* xxxiii 1929, 387ff.); after the Eretrians created a new *ephebeia*, probably in the 330s or 320s in imitation of events at Athens (*SIG*<sup>3</sup> 714 with Chanowski, *DHA* xix. 2 1993, 17–44; for Athens see 89), the ephebes too were incorporated into this festival. Just over 30 years later they seem similarly to have celebrated a subsequent restoration of democracy by expanding their festival of Dionysus (*LSS* 46=*SIG*<sup>3</sup> 323).

Competitive festivals were a regular part of the life of every Greek city, involving individual and team competitions in athletics and/or poetry and music. At least eighteen competitive festivals a year can be counted at Athens, even without including competitive events (such as the dramatic competitions of the rural Dionysia, for which see 63) found in the Attic demes. As arranged in this decree, the Artemisia at Eretria is to be marked by cultural rather than athletic competition, with performances of poetry, sung and recited, and of instrumental music. It does not include drama or any choral events, but it does include, perhaps as a cheaper substitute for comedy,

- 32 Anyone who wants is to sell whatever he wants in the sanctuary, without tax and not paying any duty, and neither are the *hieropoioi* to exact any tax from the sellers.
- 35 The demarchs are to organize the procession in the market-place, where the sacrificial beasts are sold, public victims and the prize beauty first, then the choice victims, then the victims provided by private individuals, if any individual wants to join in the procession.
- 38 Let the competitors in the music contest all join the procession to ensure that the procession and sacrifice are as fine as can be.
- 41 The decree is to be written up on a stone *stèle* and stand it in the sanctuary of Artemis, in order that the sacrifice and the musical festival for Artemis shall happen in this way for all time, while the people of Eretria are free and prosper and rule themselves.

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parodies of Homer. This is the only record of an institutional place for parodies, but according to Athenaeus they became objects of competition at Athens in the late fifth century (Ath. xv. 699 A). Athenaeus' examples suggest that the skill of the parodist lay chiefly in applying unchanged or minimally changed Homeric lines to quite different situations, a technique also familiar from Attic old comedy.

The competition holds pride of place in the inscription and more than absorbed the 1,000 dr. which the decree sets as the budget: the prizes total 1,035 dr. without allowing for the expenditure on maintenance. It is to be suspected that an original proposal which met the target budget (at least as far as prize money is concerned) has been invisibly amended without account being taken of that in the overall budget figure. Cash prizes, or prizes that could be converted to cash, were normal outside the 'crown games' of the Olympic, Pythian, Nemean, and Isthmian competitions in which victors were rewarded with a crown of foliage. Competitors seem to be expected to arrive several days before the festival begins (compare the month which competitors at Olympia had to spend there before the games began). To entice them the city ensures the sacrifice of sheep in the five days preceding the festival, and offers maintenance of a drachma a day for three days before the *proagon*, which (like the *proagon* in Athenian dramatic festivals) was probably an occasion to display the performers rather than a preliminary competition. The insistence by the city that competitors take part in the processional hymn and in the procession may indicate that there was some tendency for competitors to take part in the competition only, skipping the rest of the festival.

The prizes here may be compared with those awarded by the Athenians in the parallel competitions at the Great Panathenaea as recorded in an early fourth-century list (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2311 = *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 1055), where the musical competitions alone receive cash prizes (Table 1).

In the two strictly comparable events, lyre-playing and song accompanied by lyre, the prizes at Eretria are generally only about a fifth or a sixth of their equivalents at

TABLE I. *Comparison of Cash Prizes*

Event	Position achieved	Amount	
		Eretria	Athens
singing to the pipes	1	(boy) 120	(adult) 300
	2	(boy) 30	(adult) 100
	3	(boy) 20	—
lyre-playing	1	110	500
	2	70	?400
	3	55	100
song accompanied by lyre	1	200	1,000 (crown)
			+500
	2	150	1,200
	3	100	600

Athens (except that Eretria is proportionally more generous to the third-placed lyre-player), but it rewards the boy singer to the pipes at around a third of the rate the Athenians gave to the adult singer to the pipes. In neither place is there any consistent arithmetical relationship between the amounts of the first, second, and third prizes.

Just as the Olympic games involved a long procession from Elis to Olympia and the Panathenaea was marked by the Panathenaic procession (and its culminating sacrifices, see 81), so too here the ordering of the procession and sacrifice are clearly important (on processions see A. Kavoulaki in Goldhill and Osborne, *Performance Culture*, 293–320). If the cattle market from which it begins is in the town of Eretria itself then this is a long procession, for the sanctuary of Artemis Amarysia at Amarynthos lay some 10 km. east along the coast (for the site see Knoepfler, *CRAI* 1988, 382–421). The importance of such processions between town and outlying sanctuaries in stressing the integrity of the city as both town and countryside has recently been much emphasized (de Polignac, *Cults*, Osborne, *Demos*, 170–72, Alcock and Osborne, *Placing the Gods*), and such integrative action may have been particularly important in the wake of civil strife. However, the presence of the sacrificial victims in the procession may indicate a rather shorter procession in this case. Processions were both something to join and something to view; here as often there is stress on the fine appearance to be

achieved (ll. 2, 37): compare Plato's remarks on the fine procession for Bendis at the opening of *Republic* (I. 327 A).

The selection of animals for slaughter, both in the days leading up to the festival (7–8) and at the festival itself (27–32), can be compared to the provision for the festival of Zeus Polieus on Cos (62. A), but whereas on Cos it is tribes and their sub-units which provided the oxen for sacrifice, here it is *chōroi* (compare *LSS* 46 = *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 323). Eretria had a structure of tribes, 'districts', and demes which we know best from various lists of soldiers (see Knoepfler; Euboean Histiaia also had demes, at least 30 in number, Tod 141). A list of soldiers from c.300 records men from some 20 demes (around 50 demes are known altogether) and shows that the demes were organized into five regions, one of which has the name Mesochoros ('Middle *chōros*'). This suggests that the *chōroi* here are the 'districts' (see F. Cairns, *ZPE* liv 1984, 163–4). Whether the 'districts' had officials of their own we do not know, but it is the chief magistrates of the demes, the demarchs, who are given various responsibilities here, as also in the earlier sacred law from Tamynai (*IG* xii. ix 90 = *LSCG* 90); compared with the role of Athenian demarchs at the Panathenaea (schol. Ar. *Clouds* 37, 81).

The gathering of people at a major festival represented a good commercial opportunity. There is archaeological evidence that from the eighth century onwards the Olympic games attracted craftsmen who made and sold dedications, and there can be no doubt that purveyors of less durable merchandise were also present. This is the earliest inscription which makes explicit provision for the market aspect of the festival by promising that commercial activities shall be free of all taxes and tariffs. Such a provision becomes common in the hellenistic and Roman periods (see e.g. Welles, *Royal Correspondence*, 47 (with M. Feyel, *REA* xlii 1940, 137–41) and 70 line 12), and there is evidence for the city market magistrates, the *agoranomoi*, controlling festal transactions too (*LSS* 45.31–6, *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 596. 15). These occasions had all the throng of a fair, and the accompanying dangers of disorder.

Although the inscription provides for its erection at the sanctuary of Artemis, it was in fact found at Aulonari, some 20 km. NE of Amarynthos, and provides a good example of a 'pierre errante'—a stone whose find-spot is distant from the point at which it was set up.

The inscription shows the characteristic features of the Eretrian dialect, rhotacism of intervocalic sigma (θύωριν, Ἀρτεμιρίων, even ὅπωρ ἄν; cf. Plato, *Cratylus* 434 c), use of -ει and -οι as dative endings, and βόλομαι for βούλομαι.

## Commemoration at Corinth of victory in Sicily, c.340

Fragments from two adjacent blocks, apparently the two central blocks of four, from a statue base, found at Corinth, now in the museum there. Phot. *Hesp.* xxi 1952, pl. 2; facs. *op. cit.* p. 12 fig. 1; *Corinth*, viii. iii 23, pls. 3, 61.

*Koine*, quasi-stoichedon (*Hesp.*, p. 11).

B. D. Meritt, *Corinth*, viii. i 23 (left block only); J. H. Kent, *Hesp.* xxi 1952, 9–18; id., *SEG* xi 126a; id., *Corinth*, viii. iii 23; *CEG* 809 (eschewing restoration)\*. See also Talbert, *Timoleon and the Revival of Greek Sicily*, 76–7; Moreno, *Lisippo*, 44, 58–62, no. 5.

[? Συρακόσιοι, Λευκάδιοι, Ἀμβρακ]ιώται, Κο[ρνυ]ραῖοι, Ἀπο[λ]λωνιάται *vacat*  
 [? Ποσειδᾶνι τῷ Ἰσθμίῳ ἀπὸ τῶν] πολέμων ἀ[ν]έθηκαν. *vacat*  
 [? ταῖδε πόλεις θεραπεύσαντες] κτιστήρα Κόρινθον *vacat*  
 [— — — — —] χρυσάμεναι *vacat*  
 5 [— — — — —] ἐλευ[θερίας] ἐπέβησαν *vacat*  
 [— — — — —] τάδε. *vacat*

1 L. Prandi, *RIL* cxi 1977, 35–43 (*SEG* xxviii 380), satisfying the requirement of 3 that all should be colonies of Corinth: [Κορίνθιοι, Συρακούσιοι (sic), Σικελ]ιώται . . . Ἀπο[λ]λωνῖοι (sic), Λευκάδιοι καὶ] Kent, *Hesp.*; Κορίνθιοι, Λευκάδιοι, Ἀμβρακ]ιώται . . . Ἀπο[λ]λωνιάται καὶ] D. Musti, *PP* xvi 1962, 450–71 (*SEG* xxii 218); . . . Ἀπο[λ]λωνιάται, Δυρραχῖοι C. M. Kraay, in Cahn & Le Rider (ed.), *Actes du 8<sup>me</sup> Congrès Internationale de Numismatique*, 99–105 (*SEG* xxiii 266). 2 Prandi: Τιμολέων ὁ στρατηγὸς ἀπὸ Kent, *Hesp.* 3 Kent, *Hesp.*: νομίσουσαι τὸν] Kent, *SEG* xi. 4 [τῷ Τιμολέοντι ὡς στρατηγῷ] Prandi. 6 [ἐκ Καρχηδονίων  
 ὅπλα θεοῖσι] Kent, *Hesp.*; [τῶν Καρχηδονίων — — —] Kent, *Corinth*, viii. iii.

Corinth has been exceptionally unproductive of inscriptions, but one which survives in part is a statue base dedicated by Corinth's western colonies, presumably in celebration of their victories over the Carthaginians in the 340s. After the death of Dionysius I of Syracuse in 367 (cf. on 34), power passed to his son Dionysius II; in 357–355 Dionysius and his son Apollocrates were ousted by Dion and Heraclides; after a series of short-lived régimes Dionysius returned and recovered control of Syracuse in 346. In conjunction with Hicetas, a Syracusan currently ruling in neighbouring Leontini, the Syracusans appealed to their mother city, Corinth, but Hicetas also made contact with the Carthaginians, who had established a strong position in the west of the island at the end of the fifth century and had not been dislodged from it (cf. on 10). Corinth sent a force under Timoleon, a citizen who had been living in an awkward limbo since his involvement in the killing of a tyrant, his own brother, c.365. Timoleon went to Sicily in 344; by a combination of trickery and fighting he obtained the surrender of Dionysius, who was sent into exile in Corinth, he liberated other Greek cities from 'tyrants' (while himself occupying a powerful position in Syracuse), and he defeated the Carthaginians, notably at the battle of the River Crimissus (flowing to the south coast near Selinus) c.340; but a treaty of 338 left Carthage in posses-

The Syracusans, Leucadians, Ambraciots, Corcyraeans, Apolloniates (?) dedicated to Isthmian Poseidon (?) from the enemy.

- <sup>3</sup> These cities, cultivating (?) their founder Corinth, using ---, --- embarked on freedom, --- these [*sc. grants vel sim.*].

---

sion of the western part of the island. Timoleon retired after that and died not much later.

After the battle of the Crimisus Timoleon sent back spoils to Corinth, according to Plutarch for a dedication by 'the Corinthians and Timoleon the general' (Plut. *Tim.* 29. v-vi, cf. D.S. xvi. 80. vi). Our monument was dedicated by the Corinthian colonies, so it cannot be the monument mentioned by the literary texts (which has not been found): on the base stood a bronze statue, of Corinthus personified (K. K. Smith, *AJA*<sup>2</sup> xxiii 1919, 362-72 at 368-9; Moreno) or of Poseidon (Kent, *Hesp.* 15-18, suggesting that this was the statue by Lysippus mentioned by Lucian, *Zeus Trag.* 9); and so long a base is likely to have held other statues too (Moreno).

Of those other than the Syracusans, the Leucadians and Corcyraeans are mentioned among those who contributed to Timoleon's forces by D.S. xvi. 66. ii, Plut. *Tim.* 8. iv, but the others preserved or to be restored are not (if we assume that the Apollonia in question is not the Sicilian city of D.S. xvi. 72. v, Plut. *Tim.* 24. ii, but the city south of Epidamnus in Illyria): this Corinthian enterprise on behalf of Syracuse must have been more widely supported by Corinth's other colonies, and Timoleon himself must have been more strongly supported by Corinth, than our literary sources

suggest. Corinth has a reputation for maintaining exceptionally close ties with its colonies (though Corcyra, mentioned here, had been resistant in earlier centuries: Thuc. i. 13. iv, 24–55). On this occasion, as in the Peloponnesian War (Thuc. vi. 34. iii,

75

Oropus honours Macedonians, 338–335

Two *stelai* (*A* broken at the top and bottom, *B* complete) found in the Amphiaräum at Oropus; now in the museum there (nos. 257 and 250). Phot. Petrakos, *οἱ ἐπιγραφές τοῦ Ὀρώπου*, pl. i nos. 1–2.

Euboean-Ionic with the Boeotian ἔλεξε and some Atticisms, ending each line with the end of a word or (*B*. 4, 5) syllable.

*IG* vii 4251 (*A*), 4250 (*B*); *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 258; Tod 164\*; Petrakos, 1–2. See also J. R. Ellis, *JHS* xci 1971, 15–24; R. M. Errington, *JHS* xciv 1974, 25–8; Hammond & Griffith, 208–9, 702–4 (Griffith), 651 (Hammond); D. Knoepfler, in Piérart (ed.), *Aristote et Athènes*, 291 with n. 36, 295 with n. 50.

<i>A</i>	<i>B</i>
[θεός]ς.	θεός.
[Δρί]μων ἔλεξε. ἔδοξε	Δρίμων ἔλεξε. ἔδοξε
[τ]εῖ ἐκκλησίει, ἀγαθεῖ τύχει·	τεῖ ἐκκλησίει, ἀγαθεῖ τύχει·
[Ἀ]μύνταν Περδίκκα Μακεδόνα	Ἀμύνταν Ἀντιόχου Μακε-
5 [π]ρόξενον εἰν Ὠρωπίων	5 δόνα πρόξενον εἰν Ὠρωπί-
[κ]αὶ εὐεργέτην, ἀτέλειαν δὲ	ων καὶ εὐεργέτην, ἀτέλειαν
εἶν καὶ ἀσυλίαν καὶ πολέμου	δὲ εἶν καὶ ἀσυλίαν καὶ πολέμου
καὶ εἰρήνης, καὶ γῆς καὶ οἰκίης	καὶ εἰρήνης, καὶ γῆς καὶ οἰκίης
ἐνκτησιν, αὐτῶι καὶ ἐκγόνοις.	ἐνκτησιν, αὐτῶι καὶ ἐκγόνοις.

*A*. Petrakos places dots under some letters read by earlier editors; earlier editors placed the first ρ in l. 5 inside the brackets but he saw part of it. *A*. 2, 4 the letters underlined have been inscribed over erasures.

These decrees are in themselves typical short proxeny decrees of a kind published by many states, with minimal prescript and a bare record of the decision, and with no indication of the reason for it, order for publication, or the like (cf. Rhodes with Lewis, 5–6). The two decrees have been formulated in the same words by the same proposer but inscribed by different stone-cutters. Of the honours combined with the status of *proxenos* and benefactor, for *ateleia* cf. 8; *asylia* is immunity from the violent seizure of property (*sylan*) to which a foreigner might otherwise be exposed (for recognition of the *asylia* of a sanctuary or city see Rigsby, *Asylia*; for Athenian instances of the conferment of *asylia* on an individual see *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 81 [restored], 286), and for a Delphic instance in our collection see 92; the right to acquire land and a house is a right which states commonly reserved for their own citizens but might additionally confer on non-citizens whom they wished to honour (cf. 77, 94; also 91 and Pečírka, *The Formula for the Grant of Enktesis*; Henry, *Honours and Privileges*, 204–40).

73. ii), Syracuse had appealed to Corinth; and from this inscription we see that other Corinthian colonies had joined in supporting Syracuse and were joining in celebrating their link with Corinth.

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## A

God.

- <sup>2</sup> Drimon proposed. Resolved by the assembly, for good fortune:
- <sup>4</sup> Amyntas son of Perdiccas of Macedon shall be *proxenos* and benefactor of the Oropians, and there shall be immunity [*ateleia*] and inviolability [*asylia*] both in war and in peace, and the right to acquire land and house, for himself and his descendants.

## B

God.

- <sup>2</sup> Drimon proposed. Resolved by the assembly, for good fortune:
- <sup>4</sup> Amyntas son of Antiochus of Macedon shall be *proxenos* and benefactor of the Oropians, and there shall be immunity [*ateleia*] and inviolability [*asylia*] both in war and in peace, and the right to acquire land and house, for himself and his descendants.

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Beyond that, we need to identify the two Macedonians honoured and to find a time when Oropus could have conferred these honours on them. 'Amyntas son of Perdiccas' will be the son of Perdiccas III, the king of Macedon who died in 359: at that time Amyntas will have been very young; the statement of Just. vii. 5. viii–x that Perdiccas' brother Philip was originally regent for Amyntas used to be widely believed, but no other text supports that, and in particular Demosthenes never alleges that Philip was not the rightful ruler of Macedon, so more probably Justin is wrong (Ellis, cf. his *Philip II and Macedonian Imperialism*, 46–7 with 250 n. 10; Cawkwell, *Philip of Macedon*, 28; Griffith; but contr. Hammond). Philip let him live, and he married Philip's daughter Cynane; whether justifiably or not, he was perceived as a threat by Alexander and put to death in 336 or 335 (Arr. *Succ.* fr. 1. xxii, Polyæn. viii. 50, Just. xii. 6. xiv, cf. Plut. *Fort. Alex.* i. 327 c); an inscription from Lebadea, concerning payments by those who consult the oracle of Trophonius, refers to him as 'king (*basileus*)



of the Macedonians' (*IG* vii 3055 = *SEG* xlv 414. 7–8). Amyntas son of Antiochus fled from Macedon at the beginning of Alexander's reign, is first found on the Persian side at Ephesus in 334, appears in one version of the stories concerning Alexander of Lyncestis, escaped after the battle of Issus in 333, and was eventually killed in Egypt (e.g. Arr. *Anab.* i. 17. ix, 25. iii, ii. 13. ii–iii; D.S. xvii. 48. ii–v).

Awards of proxeny by an assembly point to an independent Oropus. Oropus, facing Euboea, between Attica and Boeotia, tried to maintain its independence from both but was not often successful (for its history earlier in the century see on 27). There are texts which state that Oropus was returned to Athens by Philip after Chaeronea ([Demad.] *XII Ann.* 9, Paus. i. 34. i, schol. Dem. xviii. *Crown* 99 [176 Dilts]): there is ample evidence for its being in Athens' hands during the reign of Alexander, but Knoepfler argues that it was not returned to Athens until 335. Oropus could have awarded proxenies between 366 and 338 if, as in the hellenistic period, it was treated as a free entity within the Boeotian federation; but Knoepfler argues that it was then not a free entity but a possession of Thebes. It could have done so between 338 and 335 if, as Knoepfler believes, it was then independent, but it could not if it was already a possession of Athens. After 335 the son of Perdikkas was dead, the son of Antiochus had joined the Persians, and Oropus was certainly a possession of Athens.

Earlier editors suggested a date about the middle of the century, for our inscriptions and for *IG* vii 3055. Ellis adduced another inscription, a dedication at Oropus by Aristomedes of Pherae, another man who fought for the Persians against Alexander (*SEG* xxiv 350, cf. Arr. *Anab.* ii. 13. ii), and suggested that all three men were involved in a challenge to Alexander after Philip's death and that Amyntas son of Perdikkas

## 76

## Common Peace and League of Corinth, 338/7

Two non-joining fragments of a *stèle*, found in Athens (*a* on the Acropolis, find-spot of *b* unknown), now in the Epigraphical Museum. Phot. Kern, *Inscriptiones Graecae*, Taf. 30; Heisserer, *Alexander*, 10–11 pls. 2–3.

Attic-Ionic, retaining the old *o* for *ov* in *a*. 12; *a* *stoichedon* 33 with irregularities in ll. 19–21; *b* *stoichedon*.

A. Wilhelm, *Sb. Wien* CLXV. vi 1910 = *Akademiedriften*, i. 371–425; *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 236; *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 260; U. Wilcken, *Sb. Berlin* 1929, 291–318, esp. 316–18; Schwahn, *Heeresmatrikel und Landfriede Philipps II. von Makedonien*; Raue, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des korinthischen Bundes*; Tod 177; *Sot.* 403\*. I; Heisserer, *Alexander*, 8–12. Trans. Heisserer, *Alexander*, 8–12; Harding 99. A. See also Larsen, *Representative Government*, 47–65; Ryder, *Koine Eirene*, 102–15, 150–62; [Hammond & Griffiths, 604–46; Hammond [& Walbank], 571–9; J. Buckler, *ICS* xix 1994, 99–122.

*a*

[ ————— 26 ————— ] I [ ————— 6 ————— ]

[ ὄρκος. ὁμνύω (?) Δία, Γῆν, Ἥλιον, Ποσειδῶ, Ἀθηναί-  
[ν, Ἄρη, θεοὺς πάντας καὶ πάσα]ς ἐμμενῶ [ἐν τῇ]-

*a* We omit the left-hand edge (never more than four letters surviving) of a second column, preserved to the right of ll. 6–21. 2 Ποσειδῶ read and restored Wilhelm.

then used the title 'king' (but he rightly rejected the suggestion [Dittenberger on *IG* vii 4250 (*sic*)] that 'of Macedon' inscribed over an erasure in *A* was a replacement for 'king': 17 n. 26). Errington objected that Aristomedes was already in Persian service by 340 (Didym. *In Dem.* ix. 43–52 = Thp. *FGrH* 115 F 222), and that *basileus* in the Lebadea inscription is likely to have been an informal description rather than a title claimed by Amyntas; but he accepted Ellis's late date for our inscriptions and suggested that the two Amyntases were sent to Oropus by Philip with news of his settlement. Griffith accepted Errington's interpretation of 'king', but wanted a slightly earlier date for all the inscriptions; Hammond dates *IG* vii 3055 to the early 350s when he believes Amyntas was king. For the use of the title 'king' cf. on 76. If Knoepfler is right, Oropus could have awarded proxenies between 338 and 335 but not between 366 and 338, and the Amyntases are likely to have visited it in connection with its liberation from Thebes. That seems to us the best context for our inscriptions; if Alexander saw these Amyntases as a threat, their being honoured by Oropus might help to explain his decision not to leave Oropus independent but to return it to Athens. However, the dedication of Aristomedes must be earlier; and Amyntas' consultation of the oracle of Trophonius need not be linked with the other inscriptions.

As for the language, *οἰκίης* is Euboean, and *εἰν* and *τύχει* are distinctively Eretrian, but some Eretrian features (e.g. the use of *rho* in place of *sigma*) are absent. A. Morpurgo Davies remarks (in Crespo *et al.*, *Dialectologica Graeca*, 261–79 at 273–8) that the earliest Oropian inscriptions are linguistically Euboean; these two are transitional; subsequent inscriptions are Attic, even at times when Oropus formed part of the Boeotian federation.

*a*

- 
- 2 Oath. I swear by Zeus, Earth, Sun, Poseidon, Athena, Ares, all the gods and goddesses: I shall

- [ι εἰρήνην· (?) καὶ οὐτε τὰς σ]υνθήκας τὰ[ς πρ]-  
 5 [ὸς Φίλιππον καταλύσω, (?)· οὐτ]ε ὅπλα ἐποί[σω ἐ]-  
 [πὶ πημονῇ ἐπ' οὐθένα τῶν] ἐμμενόντων ἐν τ-  
 [οῖς ὄρκους (?) οὐτε κατὰ γῆν] οὐτε κατὰ θάλασ-  
 [σαν· οὐδὲ πόλιν οὐδὲ φρο]ύριον καταλήψομ-  
 [αι οὐδὲ λμμένα ἐπὶ πολέ]μῳ οὐθενὸς τῶν τ-  
 10 [ῆς εἰρήνης κοινωνούντ]ων τέχνῃ οὐδεμι-  
 [ᾷ οὐδὲ μηχανῇ· οὐδὲ τ]ῇ βασιλείαν [τ]ῇν Φ-  
 [ιλίππου καὶ τῶν ἐκγόν]ων καταλύσω, ὁδὲ τὰ-  
 [ς πολιτείας τὰς οὐσας] παρ' ἐκάστοις ὅτε τ-  
 [οὺς ὄρκους τοὺς περὶ τῇ]ς εἰρήνης ὤμνον·  
 15 [οὐδ' αὐτὸς οὐθὲν ὑπενα]ντίον ταῖσδε ταῖς  
 [συνθήκαις ποιήσω οὐδ' ἄλ]λοι ἐπιτρέψω εἰς  
 [δύναμιν· ἂν δέ τις ποιῇ τι] παράσπονδον πε-  
 [ρὶ τὰς συνθήκας, βοηθήσω] καθότι ἂν παραγ-  
 [γέλλωσιν οἱ ἀδικούμενοι (?)], καὶ πολεμήσω τῶ-  
 20 [ι τὴν κοινὴν εἰρήνην (?) παρ]αβαίνοντι καθότι  
 [ἂν δοκῇ τῷ κοινῷ συνεδ]ρίῳ καὶ ὁ ἡγεμῶν-  
 [ν παραγγέλλῃ, καὶ οὐκ ἐγκ]αταλείψω το[ . . . ]  
 [—————<sup>23</sup>—————]σκ[—————<sup>8</sup>—————]

b

- -----]: Γ  
 -----Θεσ]σάλων : Δ  
 -----ω]ν : ΙΙ  
 -----ιωτῶν : Ι  
 5 (?) Σαμοθράκιων καὶ] Θασίων : ΙΙ  
 -----]ων : ΙΙ : Ἀμβρακιωτ[ῶν : Ι (?)]  
 -----ᾶ]πὸ Θράκης καὶ  
 -----] Φωκέων : ΙΙΙ : Δοκρῶν : ΙΙΙ  
 -----Οἶτ]αίων καὶ Μαλιέων καὶ  
 10 [Αἰνιάνων ----- Ἀγ]ραίων καὶ Δολόπων : Γ  
 -----Πε]ρραιβῶν : ΙΙ  
 -----Ζακύνθο]ν καὶ Κεφαλληνίας : ΙΙΙ

vacat

3-4 Schwahn: τῇ σ]υμμαχίᾳ Wilcken; ἐν το]ῖς ὄρκους or ταῖς | σπονδαῖς I. Calabi, *PP* iii 1948, 258-62.

4-5 Wilcken *Sb. Berlin* 1927, 281: καὶ οὐ λύσω τὰς σ]υνθήκας τὰ[ς πρ]ὸς Φίλιππον Μακεδόνα· οὐδ]ε Wilcken 1929; . . . Φίλιππον κεμμένας· οὐδ]ε Raue.

6-7 Wilhelm: τ]ῇ εἰρήνῃ U. Koehler, *IG* II<sup>1</sup> 184. 9-10 Koehler: τ|[αῖς σπονδαῖς ἐμμενόντ]ων Raue. 18-19 Wilcken: παραγ|[ {αγ}γέλλωσιν οἱ σύνεδροι Schwahn. 20 Wilcken: τάσδε τὰς συνθήκας F. Schehl, *JGAI* xxvii 1932, 115-45 at 117 n. 9; τοῦσδε τοὺς ὄρκους Raue; κοινὴν εἰρήνην doubted by Buckler.

22-3 σκ not read *Sst*, but confirmed Lewis, *CR*<sup>2</sup> xxi 1971, 296: προκ]αταλείψω τὸ [κο]ινὸν στράτευμα ἕως ἂν ἡ παρα]σκ[ευή] λυθῇ (' . . . abandon the common force until the assemblage is dissolved') Schwahn, cf. ἕως ἂν ὁ κοινὸς πόλεμος λυθῇ in *Sst*. 446. 71, 91 = iii. 16, 36.

b We do not record the more speculative restorations: our text is that of *Sst*, following Wilhelm, who also restored 4 Ἐλεμ]ιωτῶν, 10 [Αἰνιάνων : ΙΙΙ : ----- καὶ Ἀγ]ραίων.

abide by the peace (?); and I shall neither break the agreement with Philip (?) nor take up arms for harm against any of those who abide by the oaths (?), neither by land nor by sea; nor shall I take any city or guard-post nor harbour, for war, of any of those participating in the peace, by any craft or contrivance; nor shall I overthrow the kingdom of Philip or his descendants, nor the constitutions existing in each state when they swore the oaths concerning the peace; nor shall I myself do anything contrary to these agreements, nor shall I allow any one else as far as possible.

- 17 If any one does commit any breach of treaty concerning the agreements, I shall go in support as called on by those who are wronged (?), and I shall make war against the one who transgresses the common peace (?) as decided by the common council (*synedrion*) and called on by the *hegemon*; and I shall not abandon — — —

*b*

-----

-----: 5.

----- Thessalians: 10.

—ans: 2.

—iots: 1.

5 — -----(?) Samothracians and] Thasians: 2.

—ans: 2. Ambraciots: [1 (?).

----- from Thrace and

----- Phocians: 3. Locrians: 3.

----- Oet]aeans and Malians and

10 [Aenianians ----- Ag]raeans and Dolopians: 5.

----- Pe]rrhaebians: 2.

----- Zacynthu]s and Cephallenia: 3.

After his defeat of Athens, Thebes, and their allies at Chaeronea in 338, Philip's supremacy was accepted by all the states of mainland Greece except Sparta (Just. ix. 5. iii, cf. Arr. *Anab.* i. 16. vii, Plut. *Alex.* 16. xviii; D.S. xvii. 3. iv–v has Arcadia for Sparta). He first made individual treaties with a number of separate states (discussed by C. Roebuck, *CP* xliii 1948, 73–92 = S. Perlman (ed.), *Philip and Athens*, 209a–218): this involved a number of territorial adjustments, and also the final dissolution of the Second Athenian League (explicitly stated Paus. i. 25. iii). This was followed by one or more meetings at Corinth (in general, D.S. xvi. 89, Just. ix. 5), in which Philip united the Greeks in a common peace treaty ([Dem.] xvii. *Treaty with Alexander* 2, etc.), created an organization, known to modern scholars as the League of Corinth, which had a *synedrion* ('council': [Dem.] xvii. 15) and in which he held the position of *hegemon* ('leader': cf. Dem. xviii. *Crown* 201, Polyb. ix. 33. vii, Plut. *Inst. Lac.* 240 A), and gained approval for a campaign against the Persians, which he was to command (cf. Aesch. iii. *Ctes.* 132, *P. Oxy.* i 12 = *FGH* 255, iii. 9–13). This is the stage to which our inscription belongs.

In 336 he sent out the first forces of this campaign (D.S. xvi. 91. ii–iv, xvii. 7), but in the same year he was assassinated (D.S. xvi. 91. iv–94). Alexander the Great succeeded first to the throne of Macedon, then to the archonship of Thessaly (cf. on 44), and finally to the leadership of the League of Corinth and the command of the campaign against the Persians (D.S. xvii. 3–4, Arr. *Anab.* i. 1. i–iii, etc.). Belonging to the period of Alexander's leadership we have another inscription (discussed below) and a speech preserved with the Demosthenic corpus ([Dem.] xvii. *Treaty with Alexander*: dated to the beginning of Alexander's reign by a scholiast [p. 196 l. 18 Dils]; but 333 by W. Will, *RM*<sup>2</sup> cxxv 1982, 202–13, *Athen und Alexander*, 67–70 cf. 62–3; 331 by G. L. Cawkwell, *Phoen.* xv 1961, 74–8; 330 by [Hammond &] Griffith, 627, without discussion) which accuses Alexander of breaking the promises made to the Greeks. In 319 Polyperchon in the name of 'the kings and the leaders' proclaimed a renewal of the dispensation of Philip and Alexander, which had effectively lapsed in the Lamian War of the Greeks against Antipater in 323–322 (D.S. xviii. 55–6); and in 303/2 a revived league was founded by Antigonos Monophthalmus and Demetrius Poliorcetes (D.S. xx. 102. i, Plut. *Demetr.* 25. iii, cf. D.S. xx. 46. v (307)), from which we have substantial fragments of a long inscription (cited below).

Wilhelm established that our two fragments are from the Athenian copy of a document which was probably published in many or all of the participating states: fr. *a* contains part of the oath sworn by the participants, fr. *b* part of a list of participants with numerals against them. The general sense of fr. *a* is clear; in its language this treaty generally echoes earlier treaties, though at some points the vocabulary in which it is expressed is not certain: in accepting restorations of *eirene* ('peace') in ll. 3, 10, and (*koine eirene*: 'common peace') 20, and of *synthekai* ('agreement') in ll. 16 and 18, we have been guided by the fact that the words *eirene* and *synthekai* are preserved on the stone, in ll. 14 and 4 respectively, and are used repeatedly in [Dem.] xvii, whereas *symmachia*/*symmachos* ('alliance'/'ally') are not. In the list on fr. *b* we have avoided adventurous restorations.

The arrangements of 338/7 have been much discussed, often in excessively legalis-

tic terms. It is clear from [Dem.] xvii that the Greeks swore oaths which made them participants in a common peace treaty (§§2, 6), and that the treaty stipulated that the Greeks were to be free and autonomous (§8), with their stability guaranteed in various respects (§§10, 15, 16). They were represented in a *synedrion* (§15), and they were in a relationship with the king of Macedon, such that interference by him in Greek states could be considered a breach of the agreement (§4, etc.), but the king was not a member of the organization on equal terms with the Greek states: Philip will have been the *hegemon*, working with the *synedrion* (our inscription, *a.* 20–2), and οἱ ἐπὶ τῇ κοινῇ φυλακῇ τεταγμένοι ('those put in charge of the common protection', §15: cf. the Committee of Public Safety [Comité de Salut Public] established in France in 1793) will have been a board of agents appointed by Alexander to act for him while he was away on campaign (Ryder, 156–7, [Hammond &] Griffith, ii. 639–46; against Wilcken, *Sb. Wien* 1932, 139–40, Cawkwell, *Philip of Macedon*, 171–2). The words *symmachia/symmachos* are not attested (cf. above); but the provision for common action against any one who broke the peace (*a.* 18 sqq.; [Dem.] xvii. 6, 10), as in at least some of the earlier common peace treaties (cf. below), means that the participants were in fact bound together by a defensive alliance, whether that language was used or not (on the avoidance of the term 'alliance' in conjunction with a common peace cf. Ryder, 72–3), and by committing themselves to the campaign against the Persians they were in fact committing themselves to an offensive alliance (Arr. *Anab.* iii. 24. v; the Greeks taking part in that campaign are frequently referred to as 'allies', e.g. Arr. *Anab.* i. 24. iii). The decision to campaign against Persia probably belongs to a later occasion than the original establishment of the League (esp. D.S. xvi. 89, Plut. *Phoc.* 16. v–vi): Hammond [& Walbank] believes that an alliance was made at that stage, but Ryder and [Hammond &] Griffith do not.

The gods named as those by whom the oath was sworn are plausibly restored as those named in 53 (cf. *Sbt.* 446, cited below). The early part of the undertaking is a standard formulation for a peace treaty (cf. e.g. the Peace of Nicias in 421: Thuc. v. 18. iv), and is alluded to in [Dem.] xvii. 16. More striking is that the participants were guaranteed not only freedom and autonomy ([Dem.] xvii. 8: not in our inscription) but also the preservation of the constitution which they had when they swore to the peace (ll. 12–14). ([Dem.] xvii gives the impression of reproducing the actual clauses of the treaty, though it may sometimes be enlarging on them for the author's polemical purposes, and we need to remember, for instance, that 'tyrant' in the fourth century may be no more than a pejorative term for a party leader to whom the user of the term is opposed: §15 spells out a ban on illegal execution and exile, confiscation of property, redistribution of land, cancellation of debts or liberation of slaves 'for revolution'; §§4, 7, exempts tyranny from the preservation of constitutions. For a fear of tyranny in Athens at this time cf. 79.) The participants in turn swore allegiance to the kingdom of Philip and his descendants (as Athens had made the Peace of Philocrates with Philip and his descendants in 346: Dem. xix. *Embassy* 48). (There has been argument as to whether Philip used the title 'king'. Whatever may have been the case in Macedon earlier [cf. on 75], the word *basileia* ['kingdom'] is preserved on the stone in *a.* 11, but this is not enough to prove that Philip used the title: see Borza, *Before Alexander*, 12–15.)

The obligation to support participants who were wronged was included in at any rate the later of the previous common peace treaties (Ryder, 72–3); but the previous common peace treaties had not provided a mechanism to give effect to that obligation, whereas this treaty, with a *synedrion* and a *hegemon*, does.

Attempts to reconstruct the list of members on fr. *b* are too speculative to be worth pursuing. The numerals presumably indicate the number of units assigned to a state or group of states, and their representation in the council and their military obligations were probably in proportion to these. What survives comes from the end of the list: those named are largely from the north, but are not given in a logical geographical order: [Samothrace and] Thasos, islands of the northern Aegean, follow the Thesalians (or some of them), but precede the Ambraciots, from the west, some community or communities from Thrace, in the east, then peoples of northern Greece including those on the borders of Thessaly, and the list ends with islands off the west coast of Greece. None of the voting units here is a single city, if editors are right to combine Samothrace with Thasos (proposed by Wilhelm on the grounds that they are adjacent islands and would appropriately account for two units), but we cannot be sure that that would be true of the complete list. Schwahn guessed that there may have been about a hundred *synedroi* altogether.

What Philip has done in this treaty is combine several strands in recent Greek diplomacy, to dress up his control of mainland Greece in clothes which would be acceptable to the Greeks. A common peace treaty settles outstanding disputes and tries to guarantee the stability of the present state of affairs; the apparatus of a *hegemon* and a *synedrion*, as in such leagues as the Second Athenian League, provides a mechanism for enforcing the peace, which previous common peace treaties had lacked; proportional, rather than equal, representation was used in the Boeotian federation of the late fifth and early fourth centuries. But behind this façade lies Philip's supremacy: the Greeks swore to uphold not only the constitutions of the member states but also the kingdom of Philip and his descendants; however much the *synedrion* might be independent of Philip in theory (cf. below), he as *hegemon* would in practice be responsible for identifying breaches of the peace and ordering action in response to them; and, whether the League was reinforced by a full alliance or not, in undertaking the war against Persia it became an instrument of Philip's policy.

When the Peace of Philocrates had been made in 346, Athens prompted by the *synedrion* of the Second League had wanted a common peace open to all the Greeks, but Philip had rejected that and had insisted on a bilateral peace and alliance (Aesch. *iii. Ctes.* 68–72); later, when he offered to renegotiate the Peace of Philocrates, Philip

was prepared to accept a common peace ([Dem.] VII. *Halon*. 30–2). This peace, and its league of participants, at first included all the mainland Greeks except Sparta; it was extended, probably in 336, to the Greeks of the Aegean islands (78, 84); in 334 the Greeks of the Asiatic mainland were liberated and made allies of Alexander but were probably not incorporated in this league (86).

The fragment of a treaty with Alexander (from Athens: *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 329 = Tod 183 = *Svt.* 403. II = Heisserer, 3–26 ~ Harding 102) refers to the sending of troops and their provisioning: this may refer to the contribution which Athens was required to make to the campaign (Heisserer, *Alexander*, 20–3); cf. the *syntaxis* of 86. It appears to end with instructions for publication at Pydna by ‘those put in charge of the common protection’ (II. 12–14: title largely restored). Alexander used the league to condemn Thebes for its revolt in 335 (Arr. *Anab.* I. 9. ix); the rising of 331–330 led by Sparta was referred by Antipater, Alexander’s commander in Europe, to the league and by the league to Alexander (D.S. XVII. 73. v–vi). Alexander’s order in 324 that the Greek states were to take back their exiles (cf. on 101; otherwise D.S. XVII. 109. i, XVIII. 8. ii–vii; Curt. x. ii. 4–7; Just. XIII. 5. ii–v) was a breach of the league’s guarantee of constitutional stability, but probably by then he had long since ceased to care about the rules of the league.

Fragments survive of a detailed inscription concerning the revival of the league in 303/2 (best text *Svt.* 446; trans. Harding 138, Austin 42 [both iii only]; cf. Plut. *Demetr.* 25. iv). How many of the details are new and how many have been repeated from the original league we cannot tell, but among points worth noting are: the oath is probably sworn by the same deities (139–40 = v. 23–4); what is sworn to can be restored as an alliance with Antigonos and Demetrius and their descendants (140–2 = v. 24–6: *sym*—preserved), with an undertaking not to make war on participants or to overthrow the kingdom of Antigonos, Demetrius, and their descendants (142–7 = v. 26–31); the *synedrion* is to be presided over by five *proedroi*, to be appointed by lot when the war [is over] (76–83 = iii. 21–8) but until then appointed by the kings (91 = iii. 36); its meetings are to be summoned by ‘the *proedroi* and the king or the general designated by the kings’ (*sic*) until the war is over, and thereafter at the major festivals (70–3 = iii. 15–18; in an earlier formulation of this, 66–70 = iii. 11–15, the general is described as ‘the general left by the kings in charge of the common protection’); decisions are to be binding, there is to be a quorum of over 50%, and *synedroi* cannot be called to account in their own cities for the decisions of the *synedrion* (73–6 = iii. 18–21); cities are to be fined if they fail to send *synedroi*, except when the *synedroi* are absent through illness (91–4 = iii. 36–9); the *synedrion* is to have judicial powers (e.g. 66, 81–3 = iii. 11, 26–8).



## Athens honours loyal Acarnanians, 338/7

A *stèle* found on the Athenian Acropolis, now in the Epigraphical Museum: the inscribed surface is complete but badly worn.

Attic-Ionic; *stoichedon* 41, with a 42nd letter in ll. 26 (?), 35, 37.

IG II<sup>2</sup> 237; SIG<sup>3</sup> 259; Tod 178; M. J. Osborne, *Naturalization*, D 16; Schwenk 1\*. Trans. Harding 100. See also Dany, *Akarnanien im Hellenismus*, 24–5, 249–50.

- [ἐπὶ Χαιρών]δου ἄρχο[ντος· ἐπὶ τῆς Πανδιονίδος δεκά]-  
 [της] π[ρυτα]νείας· ἥι Φ[ίλιππος Ἀντιφύμου Εἰρεσίδης]  
 [ἐργ]α[μύ]α τευεν· Θαραγγλ[ιώνος (?) δευτέραι φθίνοντος, εἴ]-  
 [κτη]ι [τῇ]ς πρυτανείας· τῶ[ν προέδρων ἐ]πεψή[φ]ιζεν [. . . ]  
 5 [—<sup>5</sup>—] Ἐρχιεύς. ἔδοξεν τ[ῶ]ι [δῆμωι. Ηγή]σιππος [Ηγησίο]-  
 [ν Σουνι]εὺς εἶπεν· περὶ ὧν οἱ Ἀ[καρνα]νες λέγουσ[ιν Φο]-  
 [ρμί]ων καὶ Καρφίνας οἱ νέ[ο]ν ἐλ[θόντ]ες, δεδόχθαι [τῶ]ι  
 [δῆμ]ωι· ἐπειδὴ Φορμίων καὶ Καρ[φ]ίνας ὄντες πατρώ[θε]-  
 [ν φίλ]οι τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων διαφυλάττουσιν [τῇ]-  
 10 [ν εὖ]νοιαν ἣν οἱ πρόγονοι αὐτοῖς παρέδωκαν πρὸς [τὸ]-  
 [ν δῆ]μον τὸν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ νυνὶ βοηθήσαντ[ες μ]ετὰ δ[ι]ν[ο]-  
 [ν]άμ[ε]ως συνκατετάττοντο μετὰ Ἀθηναίω[ν] κ[αθ]ότι ὁ [σ]-  
 [τ]ρατηγὸς παραγγέ[λ]λου· ἐπαινέσαι αὐτο[ὺς ἀρε]τῆς [εἶ]-  
 [νεκα], καὶ στεφανώσαι ἐκάτερον αὐτῶν χρυσῶι στεφ[ά]-  
 15 [νω]ι. [εἰ]πειδὴ δὲ Φορ[μ]ίωνα τὸν Φορμίωνος καὶ Καρ[φ]ί[ν]α  
 [πάπ]πο[ν] ἐποιήσατο ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων κ[α]-  
 [ὶ τ]οῦ[ς] ἐκείνου ἐκ[γόν]ους, καὶ τὸ ψήφισμα καθ' ὃ ἡ [π]οίη-  
 [σις] ἐγένετο ἀναγ[έ]ρ[α]σθαι ἐν ἀκροπόλει, εἶ[ναι] Φορ-  
 [μ]ίων[ι] κ[α]ὶ Καρφί[ναι] καὶ τοῖς ἐκγόνοις αὐτῶν κυρία-  
 20 [ν τῇ]ν [δωρε]ῖαν ἣν εἶ[δωκ]εν ὁ δῆ[μ]ος Φορμίω[ν]ι τῶι πάππω-  
 [ι] αὐ[τῶ]ν. ὁ [ἐλ]έ[σθαι] δὲ αὐ[τῶ]ν φυλῇ[ν] καὶ δῆμον καὶ φρα-  
 [τρίαν] ἧς αὐ[τῶ]ν βούλωνται εἶναι. ἐπαινέσαι δὲ καὶ τοὺς  
 [ἀλλ]ο[ὺς] Ἀ[καρ]νανας τ[οὺς] βο[ύλ]ηθ[ήσαντας] μετὰ Φορμίω-  
 [ν]ος κ[αὶ] Καρφί[ναι], καὶ εἶναι αὐ[τῶ]ν εἰς αὐ[τῶ]ν τελευτωσι-  
 25 [ν ἔγκ]τησιν ὧν αὐ[τῶ]ν βούλωνται οἰκοῦσιν Ἀθήνη-

There is no difference between M. J. Osborne's and Schwenk's texts except in the use of dots, underlinings, and brackets. We follow Schwenk's minuscule text: Osborne's and her majuscule text note more punctiliously what they have read and what A. von Velsen read in 1856.

1–2 Cf. IG II<sup>2</sup> 238, of the same prytany. 2 Cf. G. A. Stamires, publishing *Hesp.* xxvi 1957, 236–43 no. 95 = *Agora*, xv 39. 18. 3–4 Date both in month and in prytany uncertain: we follow Reusch, *De Diebus Contionum Ordinariarum apud Athenienses*, 8, Meritt, *The Athenian Year*, 73–6, cf. Aesch. iii. *Ctes.* 27; τετραδι φθίνοντος, τρ[ίτη]ι. B. Haussoullier, *Rev. Crit. Hist. Litt.*<sup>2</sup> xlvii 1899, 406, to fit the pattern of *Ath. Pol.* 43. ii; see commentary. 16 Probably an erasure Osborne. 21 Probably an erasure Osborne. 23 I erased Tod, H erased Lambert. 24 The stone has ΚΔΤ.

In the archonship of Chaerondas [338/7]; in the tenth prytany, of Pandionis; to which Philippus son of Antiphemus of Eiresidae was secretary; on (?) the penultimate day of Thargelion [xī], the sixth of the prytany; of the *proedroi* — of Erchia was putting to the vote; resolved by the people. Hegesippus son of Hegesias of Sunium proposed:

- 6 Concerning what is said by the Acarnanians Phormio and Carphinas who have recently come, be it resolved by the people:
- 8 Since Phormio and Carphinas are hereditary friends of the Athenian people, and preserve the good will towards the Athenian people which their forefathers handed on to them, and have now come in support with a force and were mustered together with the Athenians as called on by the general; praise them on account of their goodness and crown each of them with a gold crown.
- 15 And, since the Athenian people made Phormio the grandfather of Phormio and Carphinas an Athenian, and his descendants, and the decree in accordance with which this was done has been inscribed on the Acropolis, there shall be valid for Phormio and Carphinas and their descendants the grant which the people gave to their grandfather Phormio. They shall choose the tribe and deme and phratry to which they wish to belong.
- 22 Praise also the other Acarnanians who have come in support with Phormio and Carphinas; and there shall be for them until they return the right to acquire whatever houses they wish while they live at Athens, exemption from the metic tax (*metoi-*

[σι, ἀτελέσει τῷ μετοικ[ί]ου, καὶ διδόναι αὐτοὺς δίκαις]  
 [καὶ λαμβάνειν κα]θ[άπερ Ἀθηναῖοι], καὶ τὰς εἰσφορὰς  
 [ἐάν τινες] γ[ίγ]ν[ων]τ[αι μ]ετὰ Ἀθηναίων εἰσφέρειν· καὶ  
 [ἐπιμελεῖσθαι] [α]ὐ[τῶν τῇ]ν βουλῇ[ν] τὴν αἰεὶ βουλευούσῃ-  
 30 [αν κ]αὶ το[ύ]ς στρατηγο[ύ]ς οἱ αὐ[τῶν] αἰεὶ στρατηγῶσιν ὅπως  
 [ἂν μὴ ἀ]δι[κῶν]ται. [ἀναγρά]ψ[αι] [δ]ὲ τὸδε τὸ ψήφισμα ἐν στ-  
 [ήλῃ] λιθίν[ῃ] τὸ [ν γραμμ]ατέ[α] τ[ῆ]ς βουλῆς καὶ στήσαι  
 [ἐν ἀ]κροπό[λει]· ἀναγ[ραψ]αὶ δὲ κ[αὶ] τὰ δνόματα τῶν Ἀκαρ-  
 [νάν]ων εἰς τὴν αὐτῇ[ν] στή[λην], ὑπογράψαντα τὰς πόλει-  
 35 [ς τῆ]ς Ἀκαρναν[ίας ὧν εἰς ἔ]κ[αστὸς] ἐστίν. εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀνα-  
 [ρ]αφὴν τῆς στή[λης δοῦναι] τὸν ταμίαν τοῦ δήμου τῷ  
 γ[ρ]αμματεῖ τ[ῆ]ς βουλῆς τ[ρ]ιάκοντα δραχμὰς ἐκ τῶν κατ-  
 [ὰ ψ]ηφίσ[μα]τ[α] ἀ-                      *In a crown:*                      *In a crown:*  
 [ναλισ]κ[ομέ]ν-                      *Φορμίωνα*                      *Καρφίναν*  
 40 [νων τῷ δήμῳ].                      *ὁ δῆμος*                      *ὁ δῆμος*

26 Either an additional letter was crowded into the earlier part of the line or the cutter uniquely inscribed the old τῷ for τοῦ.                      38–40 Osborne, *ZPE* xlii 1981, 171–2, cf. *Naturalization*.                      ‘41–2’ Names to be

restored below end of decree in 38–40 Osborne, *ZPE* xlii 1981, 171–2.

This apparently simple decree is of interest in several respects. Acarnanians who are honoured in 338/7 for coming in support with a force and being mustered together with the Athenians must have fought with the Athenians against Philip at Chaeronea in 338/7 (it is not clear who was ‘the general’ of ll. 12–13: there were in fact three Athenian generals at Chaeronea, Chares, Lysicles, and Stratocles (Develin, 343)). The Acarnanians, on the west coast of Greece north of the Gulf of Corinth, had a long-standing connection with Athens (cf. below); for their joining the Second Athenian League in the 370s but taking the side of Thebes in the 360s and 350s see on 24. 57; they obtained support from Athens against Philip in 342 ([Dem.] xlviii. *Olymp.* 24–6), and in return promised support to Athens in 340 (Aesch. iii. *Ctes.* 97–9, cf. 256); however, they are not mentioned among the allies of Athens in the Fourth Sacred War (Dem. xviii. *Crown* 237, 244), and the men mentioned in this inscription appear to have come as volunteers who fought in the Athenian ranks. After Philip’s victory they will have been exiled (*katalthein*, ‘return’, in ll. 24–5, is used particularly of returning from exile) and have taken refuge in Athens; others fled to Aetolia (D.S. xvii. 3. iii).

Phormio and Carphinas were able to activate a grant of citizenship made to their grandfather Phormio (but presumably not taken up by him, since they are invited to choose their tribe, deme, and phratry (for which cf. on 33)). That is likely to have been c.400 (M. J. Osborne, *Naturalization*, iii–iv. 44, T 25): his name probably passed into the family from a connection of *xenia*, or even of marriage, with that of the Athenian Phormio, who made an alliance with Acarnania before the Peloponnesian War and was much liked there (Thuc. ii. 68. vi–viii, cf. iii. 7. i). (On such connections see Herman, *Ritualised Friendship and the Greek City*: he does not discuss this case in detail.)

The other Acarnanian exiles receive not full citizenship but *isoteleia*, ‘equality of

*kion*), and the right to give and receive justice on the same terms as the Athenians and to pay the *eisphorai*, if there are any, with the Athenians. And care shall be taken of them by the council currently in office and the generals currently in office, so that they shall not be wronged.

- 31 This decree shall be written up on a stone *stele* by the secretary of the council and placed on the Acropolis. There shall be written up also on the same *stele* the names of the Acarnanians, adding the cities in Acarnania to which each belongs. For the writing-up of the *stele* the treasurer of the people shall give to the secretary of the council thirty drachmas from the people's fund for expenditure on decrees.

*The last three lines of the text of the decree form a left-hand column, to the right of which is inscribed:*

<i>in a crown</i>	<i>in a crown</i>
The people	The people
⟨crowned⟩ Phormio	⟨crowned⟩ Carphinas

obligations' with the citizens (cf. on 4), and only until they are able to return home (as for other exiles: *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 218, 545). Here the word *isoteleia* is not used, but various components of that status are spelled out. Normally only citizens could own land and houses in a state's territory: commonly privileged foreigners are granted the right to own both, but for exiles envisaged as temporary residents only houses would be needed (cf. the two inscriptions cited above, with Pečírka, *The Formula for the Grant of Enktesis*, 16, 46–51, 81–4; Henry, *Honours and Privileges*, 205–7). This decree is unique in specifying 'whatever houses they wish', but that need not imply that otherwise their choice would have been restricted (the earliest dated instance of a grant *kata ton nomon*, 'in accordance with the law' which may but need not imply some restriction, is 95. 19, of 325/4). In access to the law ordinary metics were at a disadvantage *vis-à-vis* citizens (how great a disadvantage is uncertain: see Whitehead, *The Ideology of the Athenian Metic*, 89–96): there is no direct parallel to this decree, but some earlier decrees stipulate that *proxenoi* are to have access as plaintiffs to the polemarch's court (fourth-century examples *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 13. b. 53; subsequently this was taken for granted as a right of all *proxenoi*: Henry, *Honours and Privileges*, 164–8). For metics and *eisphora* see on 21.

The decree ends with an order for the publication not only of the decree but also, on the same *stele*, of the names of the temporary *isoteleis*. Osborne in *ZPE* conjectured that there had been at least two lines of names below the surviving text, but in *Naturalization*, i. 64, he merely considers the possibility that the cutter intended to add names (he and Schwenk both connect the unusual disposition of ll. 38–40 with that possibility).

One aspect of the increasing provision of details in the prescripts is the giving of precise dates, in both the ordinary (archontic) and the bouleutic calendars: apart from a couple of possible fragments of before 350, this is the earliest surviving decree which

gives the date in full in both calendars (cf. on 29). There has been much controversy over details of the Athenian calendar (cf. Introduction, pp. xxi–xxii with n. 16). In this inscription, Haussoullier's restoration would fit *Ath. Pol.* if the year were ordinary and Thargelion [xi] were a full month and Scirophorion [xii] a hollow; but an assembly on the penultimate day of Thargelion 338/7 is known from Aeschines and another only

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## Trilingual inscription of Pixodarus from Xanthus, 337

A *stèle* found at the Letoum of Xanthus, with texts in Lycian and Greek on the two main faces and in Aramaic on one side; now in the museum at Fethiye. Phot. *F. Xanthos*, vi; our Pl. 6.

We give the Greek text: largely in an atticizing *koine* (*F. Xanthos*, vi. 41); *stichedon* 26.

All three texts and French trans. *CRAI* 1974, 82–93 (Greek), 115–25 (Lycian), 132–49 (Aramaic); *F. Xanthos*, vi\*. Greek text *SEG* xxvii 942; Hornblower, *Mausolus*, M 9. See also M. Wörle, *Chiron* viii 1978, 230–46.

ἐπεὶ Λυκίας ξαδράπης ἐγένετο Π-  
 ιξώδαρος Ἐκατόμνω υἱός· κατέστη-  
 σε ἄρχοντας Λυκίας Ἰέρωνα καὶ Ἀ-  
 πολλόδοτον, καὶ Ἐάνθου ἐπιμελη-  
 5 τὴν Ἀρτεμην. ἔδοξε δὲ Ξανθίοι-  
 ς καὶ τοῖς περιόικοις· ιδρύσασθ-  
 αὶ βωμὸν Βασιλεῖ Καννίω καὶ Ἀρ-  
 κεσμαι. καὶ εἴλοντο ἱερέα Σιμί-  
 αν Κονδορασιος υἱὸν καὶ ὃς ἂν Σιμί-  
 10 ίαι ἐγγύτατος ᾗ τὸν ἅπαντα χρό-  
 νον· καὶ ἔδοσαν αὐτῷ ἀτέλειαν τ-  
 ῶν ὄντων· καὶ ἔδωκαν ἡ πόλις ἀγρό-  
 ν ὃν Κεσωνδηλις καὶ Πιγρης κατη-  
 ργάσατο καὶ ὅσον πρὸς τῷ ἀγρῷ  
 15 καὶ τὰ οἰκήματα εἶναι Βασιλέως  
 Καννίου καὶ Ἀρκεσμαι· καὶ δίδοτ-  
 αὶ κατ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν τρία ἡμ-  
 ιμναῖα παρὰ τῆς πόλεως· καὶ ὅσοι  
 ἂν ἀπελεύθεροι γένωνται ἀποτί-  
 20 νειν τῷ θεῷ δύο δραχμάς· καὶ ὅσ-  
 α ἐν τῇ στήλῃ ἐγγέγραπται κατ-  
 ιερώθη πάντα εἶναι Βασιλέως Κα-  
 ννίου καὶ Ἀρκεσμαι· καὶ ὅ τι ἂν ἐχ-  
 φόριον ἐκ τούτων γίνηται θύειν  
 25 κατ' ἐκάστην νομηνίαν ἱερεῖον,  
 καὶ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν βοῦν. καὶ ἐποιή-

two days earlier is unlikely; the restoration which we have adopted assumes an ordinary year, and requires a 36-day tenth prytany and one full and one hollow month of Thargelion and Sciophorion, or else a 35-day prytany and both months hollow (see in particular Meritt, *The Athenian Year*, 73–6, who also considers possible restorations for an intercalary year, which cannot be ruled out).

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When Pixodarus son of Hecatomnos was satrap of Lycia; he appointed as *archontes* of Lycia Hieron and Apollodotus, and as curator (*epimeletes*) of Xanthus Artemelis.

5 Resolved by the Xanthians and their *peri-oikoi*.

6 Establish an altar to the Caunian King and Arkesimas. And they appointed as priest Simias son of Kondorasis and whoever is closest to Simias for all time; and they gave him immunity (*ateleia*) for his property; and the city gave him the land which Kesindelidis and Pigres had worked, and as much as adjoins the land, and the buildings, to belong to the Caunian King and Arkesimas; and there is given to him each year one and a half minas from the city; and as many as become freedmen are to pay two drachmas to the god; and all that has been inscribed on the *stele* has been consecrated to belong to the Caunian King and Arkesimas; and whatever produce comes from these is to be sacrificed as an offering each new moon, and each year an ox.

σαντο ὄρκους Ξάνθιοι καὶ οἱ περ-  
 ιοικοὶ ὅσα ἐν τῇ στήλῃ ἐγγέγρα-  
 πται ποιήσῃ ἐντελὴ τοῖς θεο-  
 30 ῖς τούτοις καὶ τῶι ἱερεῖ, καὶ μὴ με-  
 ετακινήσῃ μηδαμὰ μηδ' ἄλλωι ἐ-  
 πιτρέψῃ· ἂν δέ τις μετακινήσῃ-  
 ι, ἀμαρτωλὸς (ἐ)στω τῶν θεῶν τούτω-  
 ν καὶ Λητοῦς καὶ ἐγγόνων καὶ Νυμ-  
 35 φῶν. Πιξώταρος δὲ κύριος ἔστω.

33 The stone has Ξ.

For Lycia, to the east of Caria, and the city of Xanthus cf. **12**. This text is published as a decree of 'the Xanthians and their *perioikoi*', the latter being residents of outlying communities as opposed to the city of Xanthus (Wörle, 236–46; *F. Xanthos*, vi. 37–8): mention of *perioikoi* as part of the enacting body is found in other Lycian cities too (Rhodes with Lewis, 444). The Xanthians are not entirely at home with the idioms of Greek decrees: in the prescript they use indicatives (as in the Lycian text) where we normally find genitive phrases, often with *ἐφί*; after the enactment formula they first use the normal infinitive (*ιδρύσασθαι*, 'establish', ll. 6–7), but they then revert to indicatives (again, as in the Lycian text: cf. the decrees of Mylasa in Caria, **54**), but with infinitives in ll. 19–20 and 24. The entrenchment clause at the end takes the form of a curse (cf. again **54**, also **83**; and for this formulation of the curse see Wörle, 230–6; cf. in particular *TAM* II 520) and uses imperatives. The Greek text begins by translating the Lycian precisely; towards the end the correspondence becomes slightly less close, and immediately before the oaths the Greek omits, 'It is to be Simias who sacrifices, and those who succeed Simias'. The Aramaic text states before the oath that 'Pixodarus has inscribed the law'; it omits much of the detail that is in the other two versions, but records what was important from the viewpoint of the Persians (A. Dupont-Sommer, *CRAI* 1974, 138).

Pixodarus was the last of the sons of Hecatomnos to rule as satrap of Caria, from 341/0 to 336/5, towards the end jointly with the Persian Orontobates (cf. on **56**). The Aramaic text dates this decree to the month Siwân (c. June–July) in the first year of Artaxerxes—who must be Artaxerxes IV, i.e. the Arses who succeeded when Artaxerxes III was killed by the grand vizier Bagoas in 338/7 but was himself killed by Bagoas in 336/5 (D.S. xvii. 5; see E. Badian, in *Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean* . . . *F. Schachermeyr*, 40–50; Hornblower, *Mausolus*, 46–9). Here the Greek and Lycian texts call him satrap of Lycia; the Aramaic calls him satrap of Caria and Lycia: he has appointed men with Greek names (but probably Carians: cf. below on the priest) as *archontes* of the province and a man with a Carian name (Hornblower, 76, 139) as *epimeletes* of Xanthus—probably in fact garrison-commander (Hornblower, 147, com-

26 And the Xanthians and their *perioikoi* made oaths to do completely what is inscribed on the *stele* for these gods and the priest, and not to change anything nor allow any one else to do so: if any one does change, he shall be a sinner against these gods and Leto and her descendants and the Nymphs. Pixodarus shall have authority.

paring X. H. III. II. 11, *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 534. A. 6). Neither his position nor the appointments need be new (cf. above on the significance of the indicatives): cf. Lucian, *Dial. Mort.* 29. i Madeod, of Mausolus, where we should emend to *Λυκίων ἐνίων* with Judeich (Hornblower, 2 n. 3; cf. Keen, *Dynastic Lycia*, 172–4, citing further evidence). The final clause of the decree states that he ‘shall have authority’, not in a wider sense, to validate the city’s decree (*F. Xanthos*, vi. 41, 133) or as the supreme judicial authority in Xanthus (Hornblower, 150, 167) but specifically to enforce this decree and its entrenchment clause (P. Briant, lecture at Oxford, 20. v. 1998, cf. *C.S.A.D. Newsletter* vii Spring 1999, 7, comparing the Aramaic text).

The Caunian King and Arkesimas are gods: the first is found also in *I. Cos* 53, and ‘lord χβιδῆννι’ in the fifth-century *TAM* I 44, c.8–9 may be the same in Lycian; in Caunus itself he is simply King (*Basileus*) (*JHS* lxxiv 1954, 95–7 no. 37 with commentary, 97–105 no. 38); and Arkesimas may be Carian too. It is striking that under a Carian satrap the Xanthians are adopting Carian deities (cf. Dupont-Sommer, *CRAI* 1974, 142–4; Hornblower, 115). For another altar at Xanthus associated with Pixodarus see *TAM* I 45. 11–12, where Hornblower, 279 n. 56, reads [*Πεξοδ*] *ἄρου βῶμον*. The man appointed as priest is a hellenized Carian, who himself has a Greek name but whose father had a Carian name (Hornblower, 76); of the previous occupants of the land, Kesindelīs is Lycian (*F. Xanthos*, vi. 113) but Pigres is Carian (Hornblower, 355).

In the oath, Leto as a principal deity of Lycia is an obvious goddess to invoke; her ‘descendants’ are her children, Apollo and Artemis (Hes. *Theog.* 918–20: Artemis in particular had a cult at Xanthus); the Nymphs of Lycia are not otherwise attested. The Lycian text makes it clear that the payment of 1½ minas is not an offering but the priest’s salary. In funding a cult partly from the income from land and partly from taxation (money from the city, and an earmarked tax on manumissions), Xanthus is behaving in the same way as a Greek city. For a levy on manumissions cf. the *phialai exeuleuthrikai*, silver bowls dedicated by manumitted slaves in Athens in the late fourth century, cited at the end of the commentary on 4.



## Athenian law threatening the Areopagus in the event of a plot against the democracy, 337/6

A *stèle* found (not in its original location but in a third-century fill) in the north-east of the Athenian Agora, now in the Agora museum. At the top is a relief interpreted as showing Demos being crowned by Demokratia. Phot. e.g. *Hesp.* xxi 1952, pls. 89–90; *Agora*, xiv, pl. 53. a; Meyer, Taf. 30 A 97, and Lawton, pl. 20 no. 38, show the relief and ll. 1–2; our Pl. 7.

Attic-Ionic, with the old *o* for *ou* in l. 19; *stoichedon* 36 (35 letters in l. 15).

ἐπὶ Φρυνίχου ἄρχοντος· ἐπὶ τῆς Λεωντίδος ἐν-  
 αῖτης πρυτανείας· ἥι Χαιρέστρατος Ἀμεινίου  
 Ἀχαρνεὺς ἐγραμμάτευεν· τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψή-  
 φιζεν Μενέστρατος Αἰξωνεὺς. Εὐκράτης Ἀρισ-  
 5 τοτίμιον Πειραιεὺς εἶπεν· ἀγαθὴν τύχην τοῦ δ-  
 ήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων, δεδόχθαι τοῖς νομοθέται-  
 σ· ἐάν τις ἐπαναστῇ τῷ δήμῳ ἐπὶ τυραννίδι  
 ἢ τὴν τυραννίδα συνκαταστήσῃ ἢ τὸν δῆμον τ-  
 ὸν Ἀθηναίων ἢ τὴν δημοκρατίαν τὴν Ἀθήνησιν  
 10 καταλύσῃ, ὃς ἂν τὸν τούτων τι ποιήσαντα ἀπο-  
 κ(τ)εύῃ ὅσιος ἔστω. μὴ ἐξεῖναι δὲ τῶν βουλευ-  
 τῶν τῶν τῆς Βουλῆς τῆς ἐξ Ἀρείου Πάγου καταλ-  
 ελυμένου τοῦ δήμου ἢ τῆς δημοκρατίας τῆς Ἀθ-  
 ήνησιν ἀνιέναι εἰς Ἄρειον Πάγον μηδὲ συνκα-  
 15 θίξεν ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ μηδὲ βουλεύειν μη-  
 δὲ περὶ ενός· ἐὰν δέ τις τοῦ δήμου ἢ τῆς δημοκρ-  
 ατίας καταλελυμένων τῶν Ἀθήνησιν ἀνίη τῶ-  
 ν βουλευτῶν τῶν ἐξ Ἀρείου Πάγου εἰς Ἄρειον Π-  
 άγον ἢ συνκαθίξῃ ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ ἢ βουλευῇ-  
 20 ι περὶ τινος, ἄτιμος ἔστω καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ γένος  
 τὸ ἐξ ἐκείνου, καὶ ἡ οὐσία δημοσία ἔστω αὐτοῦ  
 καὶ τῆς Θεοῦ τὸ ἐπιδέκατον. ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόν-  
 δε τὸν νόμον ἐν στήλαις λιθίναις δυοῖν τὸν γ-  
 ραμματέα τῆς βουλῆς καὶ στήσαι τῇ μὲν ἐπὶ τ-  
 25 ῆς εἰσόδου τῆς εἰς Ἄρειον Πάγον τῆς εἰς τὸ βο-  
 υλευτήριον εἰσιόντι, τὴν δὲ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ-  
 ι· εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν τῶν στηλῶν τὸν ταμίαν  
 δοῦναι τοῦ δήμου : ΔΔ : δραχμὰς ἕκ τῶν κατὰ ψη-  
 φίσματα ἀναλισκομένων τῷ δήμῳ. vacat

<sup>11</sup> The stone has *KIEINHI*.

<sup>13</sup> S. D. Lambert: *EAYNENOY* edd.

There are also places where

the cross-stroke of *A* has been omitted.

*Hesp.* xxi 1952, 355–9 no. 5; *SEG* xii 87; Pouilloux, *Choix*, 32; Schwenk 6; *Agora*, xvi 73\*. Trans. Harding 101. See also M. Ostwald, *TAPA* lxxxvi 1955, 103–28; R. Sealey, *AJP* lxxix 1958, 71–3 = his *Essays*, 183–5; Wallace, *The Areopagos Council*, 175–84; P. J. Rhodes in Eder (ed.), *Die athenische Demokratie im 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, 303–19 at 311–14.

In the archonship of Phrynichus [337/6]; in the ninth prytany, of Leontis; to which Chaerestratus son of Ameinias of Acharnae was secretary; of the *proedroi* Menestratus of Aexone was putting to the vote. Eucrates son of Aristotimus of Piraeus proposed:

- 5 For the good fortune of the people of Athens, be it resolved by the *nomothetai*:
- 7 If any one rises up against the people for a tyranny or joins in setting up the tyranny or overthrows the people of Athens or the democracy at Athens, whoever kills the man who has done any of these things shall be undefiled.
- 11 And it shall not be permitted to any of the councillors of the Council of the Areopagus, if the people or the democracy at Athens is overthrown, to go up to the Areopagus or to sit together in the meeting (*synedrion*) or to deliberate about anything at all; and if when the people or the democracy at Athens has been overthrown any of the councillors of the Areopagus does go up to the Areopagus or sit together in the meeting or deliberate about anything, he shall be without rights (*atimos*), both himself and his descendants, and his property shall be made public and the tithe given to the Goddess.
- 22 This law shall be written up on two stone *stelai* by the secretary of the council, and placed one at the entrance to the Areopagus as you enter the council-house (*bouleuterion*) and the other in the assembly; for the writing-up of the *stelai* the treasurer of the people shall give 20 drachmas from the people's fund for expenditure on decrees.

Like 25, 26, 81.A, this Athenian document is not a decree enacted by the assembly but a law enacted by a board of *nomothetai*. In this case the prescript names the chairman of the *proedroi*, who must be not the *proedroi* of the council but the *nomothetai*'s own *proedroi* (see esp. *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 222. 48–52: Rhodes, *Boule*, 28; accepted by M. H. Hansen, *C&M* xxxii 1971–80, 103 n. 17). Probably there were ten *proedroi*, one from each tribal contingent of *nomothetai*: in our inscription the chairman is from Cecropis, but in a law *ap. Dem.* xxiv. *Tim.* 71 the chairman is from the same tribe as the current prytany (noted by Hansen).

The Council of the Areopagus, of which all former archons became members as long as they passed their *euthynai*, was deprived of those of its judicial powers which were of political importance in 462/1 by Ephialtes (*Ath. Pol.* 25. i–ii; Plut. *Cim.* 15. ii, *Per.* 9. v). For a century after that it was politically unimportant; though the Thirty in 404/3 annulled Ephialtes' laws (*Ath. Pol.* 35. ii): the restored democracy will have reinstated them; in 403 it was instructed to ensure that the officials observed the new code of laws (decree *ap. And.* 1. *Myst.* 84), though there is no sign of its acting on that instruction. However, by the middle of the fourth century those who contrasted the Good Old Days of Athens' past with the inglorious present associated with the past a powerful Areopagus (e.g. Isoc. vii. *Areop.*, of c.355). In 352/1 the Areopagus was mentioned first in a list of those who were to be responsible for the Athenian sanctuaries (58. 16–23). By 345 the Areopagus had started using a right to submit 'reports' (*apophaseis*) to the assembly on matters of public concern, either on the assembly's initiative or on its own (Din. 1. *Dem.* 50–1): in that year it reported on a proposal of Timarchus to clean up the area of the Pnyx (Aesch. 1. *Tim.* 81–4); c.345–343 it secured a reopening of the case against Antiphon, accused by Demosthenes of plotting to burn Athens' dockyards for Philip and defended by Aeschines (Dem. xviii. *Crown* 132–3 with schol., Din. 1. *Dem.* 63, Plut. *Dem.* 14. v), and it secured the replacement of Aeschines by Hyperides as the man to defend before the Amphictyonic council, against a complaint from Delos, Athens' control of the sanctuary of Apollo on Delos (Dem. xviii. *Crown* 134–6, cf. Hyp. frs. 71–9 Sauppe = 67–75 Jensen/Kenyon, [Plut.] *X Or.* 850 A); and in 338, after the battle of Chaeronea, it was responsible for the appointment of Phocion rather than Charidemus to Athens' chief command (Plut. *Phoc.* 16. iv). After Chaeronea the Areopagus also acted as a lawcourt to try some of the men accused of cowardice or treason (Lyc. *Leocr.* 52–4, Aesch. iii. *Ctes.* 252), in doing which it was probably acting on a decree proposed by Demosthenes which gave it new judicial powers (Din. 1. *Dem.* 62–3).

Not only had Demosthenes proposed that decree: the Areopagus' decisions seem consistently to have been in favour of Demosthenes and his supporters (except in its preference for Phocion, experienced but opposed to Demosthenes, over the extremist Charidemus). After Chaeronea, attitudes changed frequently in Athens, according to whether Philip's latest move seemed favourable or unfavourable. In the early summer of 336, when this law was enacted, Philip was launching his campaign against the Persian empire (cf. on 76), and the mood in Athens was pro-Philip: Athens voted a crown to Philip in celebration of the marriage of his daughter Cleopatra to Alexander of Molossis (D.S. xvi. 92. i–ii: see on 70), Aeschines began his prosecution of

Ctesiphon for a proposal to honour Demosthenes (put aside after Philip's murder and brought to trial in 330: Aesch. iii. *Ctes.*, Dem. xviii. *Crown*), and in the tenth prytany Demades proposed honours for a Macedonian (Tod 181 = Schwenk 7). Eucrates, the proposer of this law, is otherwise known only from a dismissive allusion to him and his bad end in [Lucian], *Dem. Enc.* 31: those mentioned with him there were opponents of Macedon in the Lamian War of 323–322 (Plut. *Dem.* 28. iv, cf. [Plut.] *X Or.* 849 A–C), so B. D. Meritt (*Hesp.* xxi 1952), and Ostwald supposed that he was on the side of Demosthenes in 336 and was afraid of Macedonian intervention; but more probably he was at this time an opponent of Demosthenes, and the purpose of this law was to warn Demosthenes and his supporters that the revival of the Areopagus was perceived as undemocratic (cf. Sealey, Wallace): Demosthenes' opponents represented him as undemocratic, while he represented them as unpatriotic, and tended to identify democracy with freedom from external control (Hansen, *Sovereignty*, 56–8; Rhodes, *LCM* iii 1978, 207–11).

Various laws to guard against the overthrow of the constitution and the establishment of a tyranny are known from Athens (see Ostwald): they share the disadvantage that after a successful revolution the new régime would be able to set such laws aside, but they serve as a warning to potential revolutionaries. *Ath. Pol.* 8. iv attributes to Solon *eisangeliai* to the Areopagus against 'those who join together for the overthrow of the people' (cf. ll. 8–10 of our inscription), and 16. x quotes a 'traditional ordinance' that 'if men rise up for tyranny, or if any one joins in establishing the tyranny (cf. ll. 7–8), he and his issue shall be without rights (cf. ll. 20–1)' (cf. also decree of 410/09 *ap. And.* 1. *Myst.* 96–8; law of *eisangelia ap. Hyp.* iv. *Eux.* 7–8). In our inscription probably ll. 7–11 reaffirm the existing law, and then ll. 11–22 add to it the threat against the Areopagus: the enactment of a law rather than a decree will have been formally necessary because this law was permanent and of general application (cf. on 25), and had the effect of modifying the law safeguarding the constitution in the existing code of laws, and the proposer will no doubt have welcomed the greater solemnity of this form of enactment.

The League of Corinth gave its members a guarantee against constitutional change, though the Athenians were to complain of changes imposed by Alexander (cf. on 76, with the citation of [Dem.] xvii. *Treaty with Alexander*): despite this law, there is no sign that the Athenian democracy was actually in danger in the 330s, though it was to be overturned by the Macedonians in 321 after Athens had led the Greeks against Macedon in the Lamian War of 323–322. There was, however, an emphasis on the cult of *Demokratia* in the 330s (cf. A. E. Raubitschek, *Hesp.* xxxi 1962, 238–43 = his *The School of Hellas*, 223–8; Parker, *Athenian Religion*, 228–9, 236–7): in 333/2 the council of five hundred set up a statue of her (*IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 2791; but in Coulson *et al.* (edd.), *The Archaeology of Athens and Attica under the Democracy*, 113–22, O. Palagia abandoned her earlier suggested identification of the statue); in the next two years the generals sacrificed to her (*IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 1496. 131–2, 140–1); and this may be linked with such measures to revive the Athenians' morale in the post-Chaeronea world as the reform of the *ephebeia* (cf. on 88. 5–20) and the building programme of the 330s–320s (cf. on 94). On the relief at the top of our *stele* see especially Lawton, 31–2, 56–9.

11 *hosios* ('undefiled') means that the killer of a revolutionary will not be polluted (or, *a fortiori*, liable to prosecution): see MacDowell, *Athenian Homicide Law*, 128–9; the same provision is found in the decree quoted by Andocides. 14, 17–19 'go up (*anienai*) to the Areopagus' was the expression used of a retiring archon's joining the Areopagus (e.g. *Ath. Pol.* 61. iii, law *ap.* Dem. xxiv. *Tim.* 22), but that is not its significance here. 15, 19 *synedrion* we take to mean any meeting of the Areopagus, in whatever meeting-place (for *bouleuterion* see below). 20 *atimos* means 'without rights': originally this denoted the loss not only of civic rights but also of personal rights, *vis-à-vis* the person or the community against whom the *atimos* had offended, in effect outlawry; as the scope for legal remedies was enlarged and that for self-help was reduced, *atimia* tended to be tamed and to imply loss of civic rights only, though full civic *atimia* would include loss of the right to go to law to protect one's personal rights; but we believe that the original sense of the term did not vanish, and that what is intended here is outlawry (see Harrison, *The Law of Athens*, ii. 169–76; Hansen, *Apagoge, Endeixis and Ephesis*, 75–82; Rhodes, *CQ*<sup>2</sup> xxviii 1978, 89–92 at 89–90, *Comm. Ath. Pol.* 158). 22 'the Goddess' is Athena, as regularly in Athens.

The law was to be published in two copies: the findspot of ours, in the north-east of the Agora, is less far from the Areopagus, south of the Agora, than from the assembly's meeting-place on the Pnyx, south-west of that, but still not very near to it. 20 drachmas is a surprisingly small sum for our *stele*, with its sculptured relief, and for a second copy—but until c.330, except in the case of 22 (see commentary), it was normal for the

## 80

## The Delphic Amphictyony honours Aristotle and Callisthenes, 337–327

A fragment of a *stele*, found in a well near the south-west corner of the precinct at Delphi; now in the museum there. Phot. *F. Delphes* III. i, p. 237 fig. 39; *CSCA* xi 1978, Miller's pl. 2.

Attic-Ionic; *stoichedon* 15.

E. Bourguet, *F. Delphes* III. i 400; *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 275; Callisthenes *FGH* 124 T 23; Tod 187\*. Trans. Harding 104. See also Pritchett, *Greek Archives, Cults and Topography*, 28–33.

[—<sup>11</sup>— ? ἐπεὶ]  
[Ἀριστοτέλης Νικο]-  
[μάχου Σταγίρης]  
[καὶ Καλλισθένης Δ]-  
[αμοτίμου Ὀλύνθιο]-

We report with thanks readings communicated by Dr. G. J. Oliver (but he is not to be held responsible for any restorations).

*Init.* T. Homolle, *BCH* xxii 1898, 260–70: a different reconstruction by H. Pomtow in *SIG*<sup>3</sup>.

state to provide 20 or 30 drachmas. We take *bouleuterion* in ll. 25–6 to be the ‘council-house’ of the Areopagus, probably sited below the north cliff of the Areopagus (Wallace, 215–18). It is obvious enough why this text should be set up at the entrance to the Areopagus; the unusual placing of a copy on the Pnyx may be seen as a warning to the assembly to be alert in the protection of the democracy.

After this law was carried, something still remained of the Areopagus’ new prestige, though in the end Demosthenes’ trust in the Areopagus recoiled on him. Nothing seems to have resulted from the Areopagus’ commission in 335 to investigate allegations concerning Demosthenes and Persian money (Din. I. *Dem.* 10; cf. 18, Aesch. III. *Ctes.* 239, D.S. XVII. 4. vii–viii). However, in 324, after Alexander’s treasurer Harpalus had come as a suppliant to Athens but half the money he had brought with him disappeared and he subsequently escaped, the Areopagus was again commissioned to investigate, on the proposal of Demosthenes, but when it produced its report Demosthenes’ name headed the list of offenders: he was condemned in the trial which followed, and went into exile, but after Alexander’s death and the outbreak of the Lamian War he was enabled to return (D.S. XVII. 108. iv–viii, Plut. *Dem.* 25–6, *Phoc.* 21. iii–v, [Plut.] *X Or.* 846 A–D; Hyp. v. *Dem.* and the three surviving speeches of Dinarchus were written for the trials). To have been used in a third-century fill our *stèle* must have been demolished before then, presumably in one of Athens’ changes of régime in the late fourth century or early third.

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--- (?) Since Aristotle son of Nicomachus of Stagira and Callisthenes son of Daimotimus of Olynthus have drawn up the cata-

- 1 [ς συ]ϋέ[ταξαν πῖνακ]-  
 [α] τῶν ἀ[ . . . ] . [ . . . νεν]-  
 κηκός[τ]ων τὰ [Πύθια]  
 καὶ τῶν ἐξ ἀρχ[ῆς τοῦ]-  
 5 ν ἀγῶνα κατασκ[ευα]-  
 σάντων, ἐπαινέ[σαι]  
 Ἀριστοτέλην κα[ὶ] K]-  
 αλ[λι]σθένην καὶ [στ]-  
 εφανῶσαι. ἀνα[θεῖν]-  
 10 αι δὲ τὸν πῖν[ακα το]-  
 ῦς ταμία[ς ἐν τῷ ἱε]-  
 ρῶι με[ταγεγραμμέ]-  
 νο[ν εἰς στήλας? ---]

1 Oliver: συ]ϋ edd.

2 ΤΩΝ Oliver (I also possible): τῶν edd. Bottom of a vertical in l.h. side of 9th *stoichos*, consistent with Γ, Η, Κ, Ν, Π, Ρ, S. G. Miller, *CSCA* xi 1978, 141–4, confirmed Oliver; as A. Chanotis points out to us and the photographs confirm, the cutter often placed I to the left of its *stoichos*, so that cannot be ruled out; but all restorations hitherto proposed seem excluded: ἀ[πὸ Γυλῖδα [591/0] Homolle, edd., but that is one letter too long; Γυλία T. Lenschau, *Philol.* xci 1936, 398; ἀ[μυφότερα S. Witkowsky, *PW* xix 1899, 1116–18; ἀ[π' αἰῶνος considered by Preuner, *Ein delphisches Weihgeschenk*, 96 n. 53, adopted by J. Bousquet, *REG* xcvi 1984, 374–80.

3 Oliver (with 'traces of what can only be an ω'): [ότ]ω edd.

4 Oliver: ἀρχ edd.

12 Oliver: [ρω]ι edd.

Enough survives to make it clear that the fragment is from a decree praising Aristotle and his nephew Callisthenes for compiling their record of the Pythian victors—cited in antiquity as Aristotle's *Pythionikai* (Arist. frs. 615–17 Rose, Teubner: the list of Aristotle's works in Diog. Laert. v. 26 includes *Πυθιονίκαι Μουσικῆς*, *Πυθικός*, *Πυθιονικῶν Ἑλεγχος*, *Pythian Victors in Music*, *Pythian, Examination of Pythian Victors*); and no other text mentions Callisthenes in connection with this work. The one uncertainty in the text concerns l. 2: on the normal restoration the compilation began with the refoundation of the Pythian Games in the archonship of Gylidas, at the end of the First Sacred War; Witkowsky proposed 'both' Pythian Games, i.e. both the musical and the athletic contests, but there is no parallel for that usage; Bousquet revived Preuner's suggestion, 'from eternity', and, showing that this would contribute to a balanced pairing of what is said about the victors and about the organizers, in various respects corresponding but not the same (e.g. ἀπ' αἰῶνος >> ἐξ ἀρχῆς: different prepositions, and different nouns but with the same initial letter), he suggested that Aristotle and Callisthenes were honoured with a rhetorically crafted text—but a new reading renders all those restorations impossible. Miller considers various kinds of supplement, including the name of the first victor.

The beginning and the end of the text are lost. Most editors have followed Homolle in regarding this as a decree of the city of Delphi (cf. Bourguet in *F. Delphes*); but Pomtow (*SIG*<sup>3</sup>) considered it to be a decree of the Delphic Amphictyony, and since the decree orders the Amphictyony's treasurers to pay for publication we believe that view to be correct, though we do not attempt to restore the prescript. The *tamiai* were instituted in 337/6 (*C. Delphes*, ii, pp. 146–9); records of their paying a man called

logue of those who have been victors in the Pythian Games from — ( ? ) and of those who organized the contest from the beginning, praise Aristotle and Callisthenes and crown them.

- 9 The treasurers [*tamiai*] shall set up the catalogue in the sanctuary, copying it on to *stelai* (?) — — —

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Dinomachus for the inscription of the *Pythionikai*, on the orders of the *hieromnemones*, i.e. of the Amphictyony (cf. on 66), survive in 327/6, the first payment attested but not necessarily the first made, 2 minas; in 327/6, best restored as 5 minas 31 staters for 41,200 letters at 1 drachma per 100; in 326/5, restored as 2 minas; in 324/3 (*C. Delphes*, ii 97. 42–3; 98. B. 5–7; 99. A. 9–10; 102. i. 44–6); 1 drachma per 100 letters is the higher of two rates attested elsewhere in the fourth-century Delphic accounts. Not a single fragment of the *Pythionikai* has been found, but this must have been a very extensive text. Pritchett discusses the use of *pinax* to refer to this text, and argues, perhaps optimistically, that archives reaching back to the sixth century existed and were used in the compilation.

Our decree must have been voted between 337, when the *tamiai* were instituted, and 327, when we first have evidence for the inscription's being done. A. B. Bosworth looks sceptically at the traditional view of Callisthenes' close involvement in Aristotle's school (*Hist.* xix 1970, 407–13). Callisthenes wrote a *Hellenica* and a book on the *Third Sacred War*; from 334 he accompanied Alexander on his campaign as official historian (e.g. Arr. *Anab.* iv. 10. ii); but he quarrelled with Alexander over *proskynesis* (e.g. Arr. *Anab.* iv. 10–12), and the 'conspiracy of the pages' in 327 led to his downfall and death (e.g. Arr. *Anab.* iv. 13–14). Aristotle set up at Delphi a statue of his patron Hermias of Atarneus (cf. 68) after Hermias' death in 341 (Diog. Laert. v. 6); but in the aftermath of Alexander's death Delphi rescinded its honours for Aristotle (Ael. *V.H.* xiv. 1); presumably it was then that this inscription was demolished and the surviving fragment of it was thrown into the well.



## Athenian law and decree on the Little Panathenaea, c.335

Two fragments (*A* and *B*) of a stele found in the Agora and on the Acropolis and now in the Agora Museum and the Epigraphical Museum at Athens respectively. Phot. of *A*, *Hesp.* xxviii 1959 pl. 43, Lewis, *Selected Papers*, pl. 4, *Agora*, xvi pl. 7, Tracy, *Athenian Democracy in Transition*, 83 fig. 2 (squeeze of *B* 22–5).

Ionic writing. After line 2, *stoichedon* 42 (with slight variation probable in *B* 9–10). This is the work of Tracy's Cutter of *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 334 (= this text): *Athenian Democracy in Transition*, 82–95.

## A

- [Θε]ο[ί]  
 [ἐπὶ <sup>c9</sup> ———— ἄ]ρχοντος.  
 [————— <sup>16</sup> ————]σ[....]· Ἀριστόνικος Ἀρι[στοτέλο]-  
 [υς Μαραθώνιος εἰπ]εν· τύχηι ἀγαθῇ τοῦ δήμου [τοῦ Ἀθη]-  
 5 [ναίων, ὅπως ἂν τῇ] Ἀθηνᾶι ἡ θυσία ὡς καλλίστ[η ἦι Πανα]-  
 [θηναίοις τοῖς μ]ικροῖς καὶ πρόσσοδος ὡς πλεῖ[στη γέν]-  
 [ηται ἱεροποιο]ῖς, δεδόχθαι τοῖς νομοθέτ[α]ι[ς· τὴν μὲν]  
 [Νέαν μισθοῦτω]σαν δέκα ἡμέραις πρότερον ῥ[———— <sup>7</sup> ————]  
 [οἱ πωληταὶ δέκ]⟨α⟩ ἔτη κατὰ δικληρίαν τῶι τὸ π[λείστον]  
 10 [διδόντι τῶι πρ]οτέρῳ ἔτει ἢ ὧι ἂν ἡ ΔΑ. ἈΝΤΙ[———— <sup>7</sup> ————]  
 [———— <sup>10</sup> ———— μ]ισθωταῖς ἐγγυητὰς λαμβάνου[σι. τοὺς δ]-  
 [ἐ πωλητὰς τῇ]ν πεντηκοστὴν πωλεῖν τὴν ἐν τῇ[ι Νέαι χω]-  
 [ρὶς τῶν ἄλλω]ν. τοὺς δὲ πρυτάνεις προγράφε[ιν βουλή]ς  
 [ἔδραν εἰς τῇ]ν μίσθωσιν τῆς Νέας διαρρήδην [καὶ τῆς π]-  
 15 [εντηκοστῆς] τὴν πρᾶσιν τῆς ἐν τῇ Νέαι χωρὶς[———— <sup>6</sup> ————]  
 [———— <sup>6</sup> ———— ἡ πρό]σοδος γένηται δυοῖν ταλάντο[ιν κατὰ ἐν]-  
 [ιαυτον ἀπό τ]ῶν κτημάτων τῶν ἐν τῇ Νέαι[ι κ[———— <sup>9</sup> ————]  
 [———— <sup>7</sup> ———— ὑπα]ρχεω τῇ Ἀθηνᾶι. τοῦτο [———— <sup>13</sup> ————]  
 [———— <sup>7</sup> ———— Παν]αθηναίων τῶν μικρῶν τ[———— <sup>9</sup> ———— οἱ δὲ ἄ]-  
 20 [ποδέκται με]ριζόντων αὐτὸ εἰς ταῦ[τα τοῖς ἱεροποιο]-  
 [ῖς———— <sup>9</sup> ————]ον δ' εἶναι καὶ τὸμ προ———— <sup>14</sup> ————  
 [———— <sup>11</sup> ————]αι μισθοῦν καθο———— <sup>16</sup> ————  
 [———— <sup>11</sup> ————]ι. τὸν δὲ ταμίαν [———— <sup>19</sup> ————]  
 [———— <sup>12</sup> ————]ΟΝΤΑΣΤΗΣ[.]· [———— <sup>20</sup> ————]  
 25 [———— <sup>13</sup> ————] —————

## B

- [—————]ι[...]  
 [————— ὅπως ἂν ————— εὖ]σ[εβ]ῶς κα-  
 [ἰ———— <sup>29</sup> —————] κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν κ-

*A*. 3 In the seventeenth *stoichos* Lambert, personal communication, notes that δ is also possible; *A*. 9]α Lambert, ]⟨α⟩ Lewis      *B*. 3 γένηται ἡ θυσία Lambert, πέμπεται ἡ πομπή *IG*

*A*: D. M. Lewis *Hesp.*, xxviii (1959), 239–47 = *Selected Papers*, 252–62\*, *SEG* xviii 13. *B*: *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 334\*, *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 271. *A* and *B*: Schwenk, no. 17, *Agora*, xvi 75. *A* and part of *B*, *Agora*, xix L7. Trans. Parke, *Festivals of the Athenians* 47–9 (*B* only). See also L. Robert, *Hellenica* xi/xii. 189–203; V. Rosivach, *PP* xlv 1991, 430–42; P. Brulé, *Kernos* ix 1996, 37–63, Shear, ‘Polis and Panathenaia’.

### A

- 1 Gods. In the archonship of . . .
- 3 Aristonicus son of Aristoteles of Marathon proposed: for the good fortune of the Athenian people, in order that the sacrifice to Athena at the Little Panathenaea may be as fine as possible and the income for the *hieropoioi* be as great as possible, be it resolved by the *nomothetai*.
- 7 Let the *poletai* lease out the Nea ten days before the N . . . for ten years in two sections to the highest bidder in the year before that in which . . . they take guarantors for the lessees.
- 11 The *poletai* are also to sell the tax of a fiftieth in the Nea separately from the other taxes. The *prytaneis* are to prescribe a sitting of the council explicitly for the purpose of the leasing of the Nea and the sale of the tax of one fiftieth on the land in the Nea apart from . . . so that the income may amount to two talents . . . of the property in the Nea . . . belong to Athena. This . . . during the Little Panathenaea . . . the *apodektai* are to allocate it to the *hieropoioi* for this purpose . . .

### B

. . . in order that piously — — — annually, and the sacrifice takes place as well prepared as possible for Athena every year on behalf of the Athenian people, and all the other things that are needed for the festival held for the goddess are well

- [αἱ γίννηται ἡ θυσία π]αρεσκευ[ασμ]ένη ὡς ἄριστα τῇ Ἀ-  
 [θηναίᾳ καθ' ἕκαστο]ν τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀ-  
 5 [θηναίων καὶ τᾶλ]λα ὅσα δεῖ διοικῆται περὶ τὴν ἐορτῇ-  
 [ν τὴν ἀγομένην τ]ῇ θεῷ καλῶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἱεροποιῶν εἰς  
 [τὸν αἰὲ χρόνον, εἴ]ψηφίσθαι τῷ δήμῳ, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καθά-  
 [περ τῇ βουλῇ, θ]ύειν δὲ τοὺς ἱεροποιοὺς τὰς μὲν δύο  
 [θυσίας τὴν τε τῇ] Ἀθηναίᾳ τῇ Ὑγείᾳ καὶ τὴν ἐν τῷ ἄρ-  
 10 [χαίῳ νεῷ θυ]μένην καθάπερ πρότερον καὶ νεύμαντ-  
 [ας τοῖς πρυτάν]εσιν πέντε μερίδας καὶ τοῖς ἐννέα ἄρ-  
 [χουσιν τρεῖς] καὶ ταμίαις τῆς θεοῦ μίαν καὶ τοῖς ἱερ-  
 [οποιοῖς μίαν] καὶ τοῖς στ[ρα]τηγοῖς καὶ τοῖς ταξιάρχ-  
 [οις τρεῖς καὶ τ]οῖς πομπ[εῦσι]ν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ τα-  
 15 [ῖς κανηφόροι]ς κατὰ (τὰ) εἰω[θότα], τὰ δὲ ἄλλα κρέα Ἀθηναιο-  
 [ις μερίζειν· ἃ]πὸ δὲ τῶν τε[τταρ]άκοντα μνῶν καὶ τῆς μι-  
 [ᾶς τῶν ἐκ τῆς μ]ισθώσεως τῆς Νέας βοωνήσαντες οἱ ἱερ-  
 [οποιοὶ μετὰ τ]ῶν βοωνῶν πέμφαντες τὴν πομπὴν τῇ θε-  
 [ῳ θυόντων τα]ύτας τὰς βοὺς ἀπάσας ἐπὶ τῷ βωμῷ τῆς  
 20 [Ἀθηνᾶς τῷ με]γάλῳ, μίαν δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ τῆς Νίκης προκρί-  
 [νατες ἐκ τῶν] καλλιστευουσῶν βοῶν, καὶ θύσαντες τῇ-  
 [ι Ἀθηναίᾳ τῇ] Πολιάδι καὶ τῇ Ἀθηναίᾳ τῇ Νίκῃ ἀπασῶ-  
 [ν τῶν βοῶν τῶ]ν ἀπὸ τῶν τετταράκοντα μνῶν καὶ μιᾶς ἑω-  
 [νημένων νε]μόντων τὰ κρέα τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναιῶν ἐν  
 25 [Κεραμεικῷ]ι καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις κρεανομίαις· ἀπ-  
 [ονέμειν δὲ] τὰς μερίδας εἰς τὸν δήμον ἕκαστον κατὰ [τ]-  
 [οὺς πέμπον]τας ὁπόσους ἂν παρέχηι ὁ δήμος ἕκαστος· [ε]-  
 [ῖς δὲ τὰ με]ισθώματα τῆς πομπῆς καὶ τὸ μαγειρικὸν κα[ὶ]  
 [κόσμησιν] τοῦ βωμοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ τᾶλλα ὅσα προσ[.]-  
 30 [—<sup>8</sup>—]εῖσθαι περὶ τὴν ἐορτὴν καὶ εἰς παννυχίδα  
 [διδόναί]: Π' δραχμάς· τοὺς δὲ ἱεροποιοὺς τοὺς διοι[κ]-  
 [οῦντας τ]ὰ Παναθήναια τὰ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ποεῖν τὴν πα[ν]-  
 [νυχίδα] ὡς καλλίστην τῇ θεῷ καὶ τὴν πομπὴν πέμπε[ι]-  
 [ν ἅμα ἡ]λίῳ ἀνιόντι, ζημιούοντας τὸν μὴ πειθαρχο[ύντ]-  
 35 [α ταῖς ἐκ] τῶν νόμων ζημίαις· ἐλέσθαι δὲ τὸν δῆμ[ον...]  
 [—<sup>18</sup>—]ᾶν[δ]ρας ἕξ Ἀθηναιῶν ἀπ[άντων ο]-  
 [ῖτινες — — —]

B. 9–10 ἐν τῷ ἀρ[χαίῳ νεῷ] IG following Ussing, ἐν τῷ ἀρ[χαίῳ ἱερῷ] Ziehen (one letter too long), ἐν τῷ Ἀρ[χηγέτιδος] Sokolowski, ἐν τῷ ἀρ[ρηφορείῳ] Humphreys (SEG xxxv 68), ἐν τῷ Ἀρ[είῳ] Πάγῳ Pittakis. B. 25 ἀπ- Lambert, ἀ[π]- IG.

These two fragments give us the beginning of a law and part of an attached decree concerning income from 'Nea' and its use to purchase animals for sacrifice at the annual Panathenaic festival. The combination of law and decree on the same *stèle* is

administered by the *hieropoioi* for all time to come, be it decreed by the people, in other respects in accordance with the council, but the *hieropoioi* are to sacrifice two sacrifices, both the sacrifice to Athena Hygieia and the sacrifice sacrificed in the old temple, as previously, and when they have distributed five portions of meat to the *pytaneis* and three to the nine archons and one to the Treasurers of Athena and one to the *hieropoioi* and three to the Generals and taxiarchs and the usual distribution to the Athenians who are part of the procession and to the *kanephoroi*, they are to divide the rest of the meat into portions for the Athenians.

- 16 The *hieropoioi* along with the cattle-buyers, when they have bought the cows from the 41 minas rent from the Nea and have sent off the procession for the goddess, are to sacrifice all these cows on the great altar of Athena after they have selected one of the most beautiful cows for sacrifice on the altar of Nike, and when they have sacrificed them to Athena Polias and Athena Nike, let them distribute the meat from all the cows bought from the 41 minas to the Athenian people in the Ceramicus as in the other distributions of meat. They are to distribute the portions to each deme according to the numbers of members of the procession that each deme provides.
- 27 For the expenses of the procession and the butchers' fee and the adornment of the great altar and all the other necessary expenditures for the festival and the all-night celebration they are to give 50 drachmas. The *hieropoioi* who administer the annual Panathenaea are to make the all-night celebration as fine as possible for the goddess and to dispatch the procession at sunrise, punishing those who do not obey orders with the punishments according to the laws. The People is to choose — men from all the Athenians who . . .

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not paralleled, and since the decree involves a permanent rule the division is surprising (compare Hansen, *Ekklesia* (I), 184–7).

The Panathenaic festival took place at the beginning of the Athenian civic year, in

the month Hekatombaion (see generally Parker, *Athenian Religion*, 89–92; Neils, *Goddess and Polis*). It had been the major Athenian religious festival from at least 566/5 when the Great Panathenaea, a grander celebration once every four years including athletic events, was invented to give Athens a festival which rivalled the great events of Panhellenic festival circuit (the Olympic festival and the newly created festivals at Delphi, Isthmia, and Nemea). As well as the competitions for individual athletes, the Great Panathenaea came by the fourth century to include tribal events and rhapsodic competitions. Athletes were rewarded with the famous ‘panathenaic amphoras’ of oil, but other competitors received cash prizes of up to 600 dr., gold crowns of up to 1000 dr. in value, or prizes of animals, as is clear from a surviving prize list from the early fourth century (*IG II<sup>2</sup>* 2311, see also on 73). At the heart of every Panathenaea was a grand procession to the Acropolis, where sacrifices were offered; at the Great Panathenaea this procession also presented a new *peplos* to the statue of Athena Polias. The frieze of the Parthenon shows excerpts from the procession at the Great Panathenaea.

The law recorded on this inscription was moved in the 330s and is part of the marked interest in religious matters manifested during the Lycurgan period (Parker, *Athenian Religion*, 242–53). The proposer, Aristonicus of Marathon, is a well-known politician of the period, and probably the son of the Aristoteles who proposed 22. He is celebrated as a lawgiver in a comedy by Alexis (frs. 130–1 K&A (where, as in Arnott, *Alexis*, 363, he is given the wrong *PA* no.; the correct no. is 2028)), where a law on food is ascribed to him, and he appears in *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 1623. 280–3 as jointly responsible with Lycurgus for a decree on a naval matter. The precise date of this law is uncertain: the archons’ names for 337/6, 336/5, 335/4, and 332/1 would best fit the space available, but several other years cannot be ruled out. Tracy, *Transition*, 82–3, identifies the work of ‘The Cutter of *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 334’ on inscriptions ranging in date from c.345 to c.320. More precise dating would be possible if we could identify the source of the new funding.

The opening fragment of the law orders the leasing of Nea or the Nea, in a procedure broadly in accordance with that prescribed in *Ath. Pol.* 47. ii–iv (10 years was the standard term for leases of sacred land). Both the size of the rent expected (*A.* 16 seems to envisage income in excess of two talents) and the rent actually procured, 4,100 dr. (*B.* 16–17), imply that this was a substantial piece of land, and this presumably accounts for the stipulation that it be leased in two lots (*A.* 9). The rent from all the sacred land on the island of Rheneia came to 7,110 dr. in 432 (M&L 62.24), and, with due allowance for our ignorance about the factors influencing size of rent and how these varied from place to place and time to time, we might expect this land to be perhaps half the size of the Rheneian lands. This militates against Lewis’s original suggestion that we are dealing with a piece of land that had been fallow (compare *νεῖος* in 59. 45–6). We know of one new area of territory which the Athenians came to possess in the 330s: the territory of Oropus which Philip of Macedon took away from the Boeotians and granted to the Athenians (Pausanias i. 34. i; see on 75). If the territory of Oropus is at issue here, we should probably restore a date in 335/4 for the law. However, we know from Hyperides iv *Euxenippus* 16 that the territory of Oropus was divided up between the Athenian tribes, and that can only be reconciled with this law if we suppose that

the tribes took the mountains and that the coastal plain is at issue here. No evidence supports this assumption, and the identity of the Nea with Oropus cannot be taken as proven. Scholars continue to look for another possible 'New Land', but other suggestions, such as that it might be an island which had newly emerged in the Aegean (M. K. Langdon, *Hesp.* lvi 1987, 55–8), are equally speculative. Whether the tax of one fiftieth that is mentioned is the familiar import and export tax (see 26) or some other tax at the same rate will depend upon the identification of Nea.

Between the moving of the law described in the first fragment, and the detailed provisions for the use of the money contained in the decree in the second fragment, some time must have passed, for the amount of the rent from the Nea is now known (*B.* 17). The second fragment covers how the income from Nea is to be used. It takes the form of an amendment to the *probouleuma* of the Council (*B.* 7–8). The amendment formula is placed, unusually, after the enactment formula, but this is more probably an oddity of drafting than of procedure. The amendment orders the *hieropoioi* (a special board of *hieropoioi* was responsible for the Great Panathenaea, see *Ath. Pol.* 54. vii, but the reference here may be to the annual *hieropoioi*) to whom the money has been entrusted at *A.* 20 to make two sacrifices in accordance with past practice, one to Athena Hygieia and one at a location which has been variously restored as 'in the old temple', 'in the old sanctuary', 'in the sanctuary of the Archegetis', and 'in the Arrephoreion'. The division of the meat from these sacrifices is then prescribed.

The detailed prescription for the division of meat makes it clear that democratic equality did not extend to equal division of sacrificial meat (compare *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 47.35 ff. and 62). Ninety-nine magistrates have their numbers of portions specified (we do not know the size of a 'portion'): the fifty *prytaneis* get five, the nine archons three, the ten *tamiai* and ten *hieropoioi* one each, the ten generals and ten taxiarchs perhaps three between them. Distribution 'as usual' is then specified for 'those who are part of the procession' (whether the carriers of water jars, carriers of branches, and so on, shown on the Parthenon frieze took part in the Little Panathenaea we do not know). Who else is mentioned in line 15 is uncertain: the restoration of the *kanephoroi*, the (perhaps 100) young women who carried the *kanoun* (sacrificial basket), is conventional, but why the young women carrying baskets should be separately mentioned is unclear.

At *B.* 16 a new sacrifice is ordered. From the 41 minas from the rent of Nea the *hieropoioi* with the ox-buyers are to buy cows, add them to the procession, and sacrifice them on the Great Altar of Athena, except for one sacrificed to Athena Nike. Cows distributed as prizes at the Panathenaic games were budgeted at 100 dr. each in the first half of the fourth century (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2311. 71 ff.); the Salaminioi (37) budget 70 dr. for sacrificial cows (compare *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1635. 35–7, where 109 cows cost 8,419 dr. or just over 77 dr. each). It could therefore be expected that 41 minas would buy around 50 cows. Each cow is likely to have yielded 100–120 kg. of meat, giving a total of 5,000–6,000 kg. of meat. This meat is then to be distributed to the Athenian people at the Ceramicus (if the suggested restoration is correct), 'as in the other distributions of meat'. This is the only occasion when we know meat to have been distributed by deme, just as this is the only procession which we know demarchs to have had a role in marshalling (schol. *Ar. Clouds* 37) and at which the *theorikon* also seems to have been distributed

through the agency of the demes ([Dem.] XLIV *Leochares* 37). It cannot be ruled out that the distribution was managed through the intermediary agency of the ten tribes, as Brulé has suggested; if so this would increase the parallels between the mustering here and the mustering for army service—perhaps not inappropriately, given the strong army presence in the representation on the Parthenon frieze (compare *Ath. Pol.* 18. iv) and the on-going Athenian desire to have allies bring full sets of armour for the Panathenaea (see 29 (372), *I. Priene* 5 (after 326) and *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 456. b. 6 (307/6), and compare fifth-century practice, M&L 46. 42, 69. 57).

The second fragment concludes with a clause setting aside 50 drachmas to cover expenses involved in the procession, butchery, decoration of the Great Altar, and rest of the festival, and with an injunction to the *hieropoioi* to see that the Pannukhis, held on the night after the procession on 28th Hekatombaion (see Eur. *Heracleidae* 777ff.), is as fine as possible and that the procession depart at dawn, and to punish those who disobey orders. A number of citizens are then selected for a purpose which we cannot reconstruct.

The difficult issue to determine is what is new in this decree—and indeed what is new in the amendment that was not already in the *probouleuma* (compare 2). Certainly the employment of income from Nea for the Panathenaea is new, but is that new income used to fund the traditional sacrifices, as most scholars have believed, or to fund additional sacrifices, as Rosivach has argued? The order of exposition makes this question very hard to answer. *B.* 16–27 introduce a sacrifice separate from and additional to those described in *B.* 8–16, and it is natural to take this sacrifice to be an innovation. However *B.* 24–31, which apply to the whole festival, are closely attached to that additional sacrifice. Our view of whether the law establishes an additional sacrifice hangs on two issues, the identity of the altar at *B.* 9–10, and our expectations about the scale of the annual Panathenaea. The main Panathenaic sacrifice must surely have been made at the Great Altar, as the sacrifice at *B.* 19–20 is. Whatever the lost beginning of *B.* 10 said, it did not specify the Great Altar, and so unless the Great Altar was concealed in some periphrasis, the sacrifice at *B.* 9–10 can-

## 82

## Argos arbitrates between Melos and Cimolus, after 336 (?)

A *stèle* broken at the top, probably set up at Cimolus but found at İzmir (Smyrna); current location unknown. Facs. *IG* XII. iii 1259; Guarducci, *Epigrafiā Greca*, ii. 553.

Argive Doric dialect but Ionian letter-forms; ending each line with the end of a word or syllable.

*IG* XII. iii 1259; *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 261; Tod 179\*; Buck 86; Guarducci, ii. 552–3; Hainsworth 37; Ager, *Interstate Arbitrations*, 3; Magnetto, *Gli arbitrati interstatali greci*, ii. 1. See also Wörrle, *Untersuchungen zur Verfassungsgeschichte von Argos*, 11–31, 52–4.

not be the main sacrifice. (Brulé, defending the text printed here, suggests that it was a sacrifice to Erechtheus and that because of Erechtheus' chthonic connections it was indeed carried out inside the 'old temple', a phrase used in the fourth century to refer to what we know as the Erechtheum.)

Our whole understanding of mid-330s Athens is affected by the answer to this question of what is new. Did the Athenians take advantage of new income to relieve central funds of part of the burden of a major festival, or to increase the amount of meat available for distribution to Athenian citizens? That relieving central funds is conceivable is suggested by a decree (*IG II<sup>2</sup> 47*) providing that the preliminary offerings at the festival of Asclepius be funded from the income from renting a quarry, and by Isocrates' complaint (vii *Areopagiticus* 27 of c.357) that some traditional sacrifices have to depend on rents while the state supports newly created festivals directly. In general, however, Lycurgan Athens seems to have been inclined to enhance festivals rather than to economize. In the fifth century, a rather more populous Athens sacrificed a cow from every allied city (at least 220 at the height of the empire), at the Great Panathenaea. In the fourth century we hear of 118 cows being sacrificed for Theseus in 332/1, of 105 animals being sacrificed to Zeus Soter, and of 81 sacrificed at the City Dionysia (see Rosivach, *The System of Public Sacrifice*, 69–70). The 5,114 dr. available for sacrifice at the Great Panathenaea of 410/9 (M&L 84. 6–7) may have bought a hecatomb (100 cows) at late fifth-century prices. The 50 or so animals bought with the 41 minas, together with the animals sacrificed at *B.* 8–10, did not constitute a sacrifice on that scale, but they would nevertheless have provided each of 20,000 people with 275 g. of meat. Given the limitation of the distribution to citizens, *increasing* the amount of meat distributed by 275 g. per person seems excessive, but it may be that such an increase was held to be justified by the transfer of funding. If the pattern of sacrifice here is traditional, and only the funding is novel, it is possible that the procession on the north frieze of the Parthenon, which shows two cows and two sheep being led to sacrifice, represents the sacrifice first described, and the procession on the south frieze of the Parthenon, which shows only cows, represents the second sacrifice described.

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θεός.  
 ἔκρινε ὁ δᾶμος ὁ τῶν  
 Ἀργείων κατὰ τὸ δόκη-  
 μα τοῦ συνεδρίου τῶν  
 5 Ἑλλάνων (ὁμολογη-  
 σάντων Μαλίων καὶ  
 Κιμωλίων ἐμμενέν  
 ᾧ κα δικάσσαιεν τοὶ  
 Ἀργεῖοι περὶ τᾶν  
 10 γάσων), Κιμωλίων  
 ἦμεν Πολύαιγαν, Ἐτή-  
 ρειαν, Λίβειαν. ἐδί-  
 κασσαν νικῆν Κιμωλί-  
 [ο]υς. ἀρήτενε Λέων  
 15 [β]ωλᾶς σευτέρας Ποσίδα-  
 ον· γροφεὺς βωλᾶς Πέριλ-  
 λος Πεδίων.

17 *Πεδίον* Tod, cf. *REG* lxii 1959, 220–1 no. 295; *πεδίον* Dittenberger, *SIG*<sup>2</sup> 428; *πεδίον* Hiller von Gaertringen, *IG*, *SIG*<sup>3</sup>.

This short text records the result of an arbitration performed by Argos in a claim to three adjacent islets by Melos and Cimolus, neighbouring islands in the south-west Aegean (for maps see *IG* xii. iii, p. 197; *Barrington Atlas*, 60 inset: Polyaega is a substantial islet to the south-east of Cimolus, the other two are probably very small islets in the vicinity). As the name Polyaega suggests, the islets may have been desirable for pasturing goats: cf. Robert, *Hellenica*, vii. 161–70, who focuses on the rival interests of agriculturalists and pastoralists in the island of Heraclea, south of Naxos, as revealed in *IG* xii. vii 509. The arbitration was performed in accordance with a resolution of what must be the council of the League of Corinth (cf. 76): Melos and Cimolus may have applied to it as a suitably impartial and authoritative body, but it is possible that they applied because, like other island states, they had become members of the League as a result of the campaign of Parmenio and Attalus in 336 (cf. D.S. xvi. 91. ii–iv: cf. on 84). For the use of arbitrators invited from outside two disputing states cf. 16, and for the use of foreign judges in disputes internal to a single city see 101; in the mid fifth century Argos had been involved, in more than just arbitration, in the affairs of Cnossus and Tylisus in Crete (M&L 42 + *Sot.* 147–8 ~ Fornara 89).

In Argos, reference to the ‘people’ (*damos*) suggests that the body which ruled in favour of Cimolus was the assembly; the chairman (denoted by the verb *arheteue*, perhaps from *ana* + *rhetor* [Buck, p. 55]) and secretary (*grophheus*), sometimes as here said to be ‘of the council’, are the two officials regularly named in decrees of Argos (e.g. *ISE*

God.

- 2 The people of Argos judged in accordance with the resolution of the council (*synedrion*) of the Greeks (the Melians and the Cimolians having agreed to abide by whatever verdict the Argives gave about the islands), that Polyaega, Heterea, and Libea should belong to Cimolus. Their verdict was that the Cimolians should be victorious.
- 14 Leon of Posidaum was chairman of the second council; Perillus of Pedium was secretary of the council.

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40; *I. Cret.* 1. viii 4, cited above, has the chairman but not the secretary). The 'second council' (*seu*—for *deu*—is not found in other Argive texts: this could be either a dialect variation or an error) is presumably the council for the second half of the year, in a system where appointment was semestrial rather than annual: no other text confirms this for Argos; but semestrial systems are well attested elsewhere (e.g. Delphi, 45, 66, 67; Rhodes, Polyb. xxvii. 7. ii with Walbank *ad loc.*, *IG* xii. i 53; see Wörrle, 52–4; Rhodes with Lewis, 71, 135, 273, 478). *Dokema* ('resolution') is the Argive version of *dogma*: cf. *ISE* 40. 27. For *nikan* ('to be victorious') cf. 14. 25: it is used sometimes, though not frequently, in inscriptions concerned with arbitration.

Posidaum and Pedium are two of at least thirty-eight *komai* ('villages') into which the territory of Argos was divided at its greatest extent (W. Vollgraff, *Mnem.*<sup>2</sup> xliii 1915, 383–4; reaffirmed P. Charneux, *BCH* lxxxii 1958, 4–5), some of them bearing names cognate with the phratry names which are also attached to personal names: *kome* designations are used, instead of or as well as phratry designations, only between 338 and the beginning of the second century, and it looks as if these designations were found useful only while Argos was in possession of the territory transferred to it from Sparta after Chaeronea (M. Piérart, *BCH* cvii 1983, 269–85 (but his identification of the *komai* with the *pentekostyes* of *ISE* 41. 13 is to be rejected); P. Charneux, *BCH* cviii 1984, 207–27; see also Wörrle, 11–31, esp. 27–8; Jones, *Public Organization*, 112–18).

# The kings of Macedon and tyrants at Eresus, 336 and after

Fragments of two *stelai*, perhaps the second and third of a set of three, found at Eresus; now in the museum there. Phot. Heisserer, *Alexander*, 36 pl. 4, 40 pl. 5, 41 pl. 6, 46 pl. 7.

Aeolic dialect (but §§iv–v are in *koine* apart from the headings added to the kings' responses by the Eresians), inscribed in Ionic lettering; *stoichedon* (with some irregularities) 34–8 on the main faces (42 in γ. back 35), 14–18 on the sides, with horizontal and vertical guidelines, ending each line with the end of a word or syllable.

*IG XII. ii* 526; *OGIS* 8; Tod 191; Heisserer, *Alexander*, 27–78 ch. ii\*. Trans. Heisserer; Harding 112. See also

α

*Heisserer postulates a first stele,  
which has not been found: see commentary.*

β. front

*text irrecoverable.*

β. side. §i

*vacat*

- [παρ]ήλετο τὰ ὄπλ[α καὶ]  
 [ἐξ]εκλάϊσε ἐκ τὰς [πό]-  
 [λι]ος πανδάμι, ται[s]  
 [δὲ] γύναικας καὶ τ[αῖς]  
 5 [θ]υγάτερας συλλάβ[ων]  
 [ῆ]ρξε εἰς τὰν ἀκρόπ[ο]-  
 [λι]ν· καὶ εἰσέπραξε  
 δισχιλίους καὶ τρι[α]-  
 κοσίους στάτηρα[s]· τὰ[ν]  
 10 δὲ πόλιν καὶ τὰ ἔρα [δι]-  
 [α]ρπάξαις μετὰ τῶν  
 [λ]αῖσταν ἐνέπρησ[ε]  
 [κ]αὶ συγκατέκανσε  
 σώματα τῶν πολί[ταν].  
 15 [κ]ρίνναι μὲν αὐτον  
 [κ]ρύπτει ψάφινγι [κα]-  
 [τ]ὰ τὰν διαγράφαν τ[ὴ]  
 [β]ασιλέως Ἀλεξάνδ[ρω]  
 [κ]αὶ τοῖς νόμοις· [αἰ δὲ]  
 20 [κ]ε καταψαφίσθη [κα]-  
 [τ'] αὐτῷ θάνατος, ἀ[ντι]-

9 σ omitted.

18 [β]ασιλέως Kiepert, Conze; [β]ασιλέος *IG*, *SIG*, Tod; not now clear Heisserer, but the text uses other *koine* forms.

Bosworth, *Comm. Arr. Anab.*, i. 178–80; Labarre, *Les Cités de Lesbos*, 23–42; J. B. Lott, *Phoen.* 1996, 26–40.

Each *stèle* was inscribed on the two main faces and one side, but on  $\beta$  only the side can be read. We follow Heisserer's arrangement of the text (as does Harding): previous editors supposed that  $\beta$  formed the upper part and  $\gamma$  the lower of a single *stèle*. Different documents were inscribed at different times: Heisserer identifies one stone-cutter for §§i–ii, a second for §§iii–v, and is unsure whether §vi is the work of the second cutter or of a third.

*$\beta$ . side. §i*

— — — he seized their arms and shut them  
all out of the city, and he arrested their  
women and their daughters and confined  
them in the acropolis; and he exacted two  
thousand three hundred staters; and he  
looted the city and the sanctuaries with the  
pirates and set fire to them and burned the  
bodies of the citizens.

- 15 Try him by a secret ballot according to  
the transcript [*diagraphé*] of King Alexan-  
der and the laws; and, if he is condemned

[τι]μασαμένω Εὐρυ[σι]-  
 [λ]ῶν τὰν δευτέραν [κρῆ]-  
 [σ]ιν ποήσασθαι διὰ  
 25 [χ]ειροτονίας, τίνα  
 [τ]ρόπον δεύει αὐτογ[ᾶ]-  
 [π]οθάνην. λάβεσθαι δ[᾿ε]  
 [κ]αὶ συναγόροις τὰ[ν]  
 πόλιν δέκα, οὔτινε[ς]  
 30 [δ]μόσαντες Ἀπόλ[λω]-  
 [ν]α Λύκειον ὄ[μ]α σ[υ]να-  
 [γ]ορήσοισι [τᾶ πόλι δπ]-  
 [πω]ς κε δύνανται — — ]

31 ὄ[μ]α (= ὕμα) IG, Heisserer: ὄ[π]α (= ὄππα) OGIS, ὄπα Tod.

β. back

text irrecoverable.

γ. front. §ii

[ —————<sup>17</sup> ————— τοῖς πολ]ιορκήθε[ντας]  
 [εἰς τὰν] ᾧ[κρ]όπολιν [ᾶ]νοιο[μ]ό[λη]σε· καὶ τοῖ[ς πο]-  
 [λίτα]ις δισμυρίοις στάτηρας εἰσέπραξε· [καὶ]  
 [τοῖ]ς Ἑλλανας ἐλαΐζετ[ο]· καὶ τοῖς βώμοις ᾧ[νέ]-  
 5 [σ]καψε τῷ Δίῳ τῷ [Φ]ιλιππί[ω]· καὶ πόλεμον ἐξε[νι]-  
 [κ]άμενος πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τοῖς Ἑλλανας  
 τοῖς μὲν πολίταις παρελόμενος τὰ ὄπλα ἐξε-  
 κλάϊσε ἐκ τᾶς πόλιος [πα]νθάμι, ταῖς δὲ γύνα[ι]-  
 κας καὶ ταῖς θυγάτερας συλλάβων καὶ ἔρξα[ις]  
 10 ἐν τᾷ ἀκρόπολι τρισχιλίοις καὶ διακοσίο[ις]  
 στάτηρας εἰσέπραξε· τὰν δὲ πόλιν καὶ τὰ ἱρ[ᾶ]  
 διαρπάξαις μετὰ τῶν [λα]ῖσταν ἐνέπρησε κα[ὶ]  
 σ[υ]γκατέκαυσε σώματα [τῶν] πολίταν· καὶ τὸ τ[ε]-  
 λεύταιον ἀφικόμενος πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον κατ[ε]-  
 15 ψεύδετο καὶ διέβαλλε τοῖς πολίταις. κρῖνα[ι]  
 [μ]ὲν αὐτον κρύπται ψάφιγγι ὁμόσαντας περ[ὶ]  
 [θ]ανάτω· αἱ δὲ κε καταψαφίσθη θάνατος, ἀντιτ[ι]-  
 μασαμ[ῆ]νω Ἀγωνίππω τὰν δευτέραν διαφόραν  
 ποήσασθαι, τίνα τρό[π]ον δεύει αὐτον ἀποθα-  
 20 νην. αἱ δὲ κε καλλάφθε[ν]τος Ἀγωνίππω τᾷ δίκᾳ  
 κατάγη τίς τινα τῶν Ἀγωνίππω ἢ εἶπη ἢ πρόθη  
 περὶ καθόδω ἢ τῶν κτημάτων ἀποδόσιος, κατὰ-  
 ρατον ἔμμεναι καὶ αὐτον καὶ γένος τὸ κήνω

2 Heisserer: [ἰς τὰν ᾶ]κ[ρ]όπολιν [ᾶ]νοικο[δ]όμ[η]σε IG, [τὰν τε ᾶ]κ[ρ]όπολιν [ᾶ]νοικο[δ]όμ[η]σε OGIS, cf. Tod (who dots some of OGIS's bracketed letters).

to death, when Eurysilaus has made his counter-assessment a second trial shall be held by show of hands, on the manner by which he is to be put to death.

- 27 The city shall take ten advocates [*synagoroi*], who shall swear by Apollo Lykeios that they will perform their advocacy for the city as best they can — —

*γ. front. §ii*

— — — he — — — those who had been besieged in the acropolis; and he exacted twenty thousand staters from the citizens; and he committed piracy against the Greeks; and he dug up the altars of Zeus Philippios; and he made war on Alexander and the Greeks, and from the citizens he seized their arms and shut them all out of the city, and he arrested their women and daughters and confined them in the acropolis; and he exacted three thousand two hundred staters; and he looted the city and the sanctuaries with the pirates and set fire to them and burned the bodies of the citizens; and finally he arrived before Alexander and told lies against and slandered the citizens.

- 15 Men on oath shall try him on a secret ballot for death; and, if he is condemned to death, when Agonippus has made his counter-assessment the second disputation shall be held, on the manner by which he is to be put to death.
- 20 If, when Agonippus has been convicted in the trial, any one restores any of Agonippus' family or speaks or makes a proposal concerning return or the restoration of possessions, he shall be accursed, both himself and his descendants, and in

- [κ]αὶ τᾶλλα ἔ[ν]οχος ἔστω τῷ νόμῳ [τῷ] (ἐπὶ τῷ) τὰν στάλλαν  
 25 ἀνέλοντι τὰν περὶ τῶν τυράννων καὶ τῶν ἐκγ[ό]-  
 [ν]ων. ποήσασθαι δὲ καὶ ἐπάραν ἐν τᾷ ἐκκλησίᾳ α[ὖ]-  
 [τικ]α τῷ μὲν δικάζοντι καὶ βαθόεντι τᾷ πόλει[ι]  
 καὶ τὰ δικαία εὖ ἔμμεναι, τοῖς δὲ παρὰ τὸ δίκαι[ι]-  
 [ο]ν τὰν ψάφον φερόντεσσι τὰ ἐνάντια τούτων.  
 30 ἐδικάσθη· ὁκτωκόσιοι ὀγδοήκοντα τρεῖς· ἀπ[ὸ]  
 ταύταν ἀπέλυσαν ἔπτα, αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι κατεδίκασ-  
 σαν. vacat

## §iii

- [ἐ]γνων δᾶμ[ο]ς. περὶ ὧν οἱ πρόεσβεις ἀπαγγέλλουσ[ι]  
 [ο]ὶ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ἀποστάλεντες καὶ Ἀλέ-  
 35 ξανδρος τὰν διαγράφαν ἀπέπεμψε· ἀφικομέ-  
 νων πρὸς αὐτον τῶν (τῶν) πρότερον τυράννων ἀπογ[ό]-  
 νων Ἡρωίδα τε τῷ Τερτικωνεῖω τῷ Ἡραεῖω κα[ὶ] Ἀ-  
 γησιμένεος τῷ Ἑρμησιδεῖω, καὶ ἐπαγγελλα[νέ]-  
 [ν]ων πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ὅτι ἔτοιμοί ἐστι δίκ[αν]  
 40 [ὑ]ποσκέθην περὶ τῶν ἐγκαλημένων ἐν τῷ δά[μω].  
 [ἀγάθα τύχα δ]έ[δο]χθ[αι] τῷ δάμω· ἐπειδὴ ἂ[—<sup>6</sup>—]

24–5 Heisserer after Conze and Kirchhoff: τῷ νόμῳ ὡς τὰν στάλλαν | ἀνέλοντα IG, OGIS, Tod.  
 Heisserer: ὁκτακόσιοι IG, OGIS, Tod (α Tod).

36 (τῶν) Kirchhoff, Heisserer.

39 Conze,

40 [ὑ]ποσ(χ)έθην IG.

## γ. side. §iii concluded

- [—<sup>ε14</sup>— ποή]-  
 [σασθαι δὲ καὶ ἐπάραν]  
 [ἐν τᾷ ἐκκλησίᾳ αὖτι]-  
 1 [κα τῷ μὲν δικ]αίω [ὑπ]-  
 [άρχο]ντι καὶ βαθόεν-  
 [τι τᾷ] πόλει καὶ τοῖς  
 [νόμο]ισι τὰ δικαία εὖ  
 5 [ἔμμε]ναι καὶ αὐτοισι  
 [καὶ ἐκγόνοισι], τῷ δὲ  
 [πα]ρὰ τοῖς νόμοις κα[ὶ]  
 τὰ δίκαια δικάζόν-  
 τεσσι τὰ ἐνάντια. ὅ-  
 10 μυν δὲ τοῖς πολίτ[αις]  
 τοῖς δικάζοντας·  
 [ν]αὶ δικάσσω τὰν [δίκαν]  
 [ὅ]σσα μὲν ἐν τοῖς [νό]-  
 [μ]οισι ἔνι κατ τοῖς νό[ο]-

other respects he shall be liable to the law against one who destroys the *stele* about the tyrants and their descendants.

- 26 A solemn prayer shall be made in the assembly immediately, that it may be well with one who judges and supports the city with a just vote, but with those who cast their vote contrary to justice the opposite of these things.
- 30 It was judged: eight hundred and eighty-three <voters>; of these seven <votes> acquitted, the others condemned.

### §iii

- 33 The people decided.
- 33 Concerning what is reported by the envoys sent to Alexander, and Alexander sent back his transcript; when there arrived before him the descendants of the former tyrants, Heroidas son of Theticon son of Heraeus and Agesimenes son of Hermesidas, and they offered to Alexander that they were willing to submit to judgment before the people concerning the charges:
- 41 For good fortune be it resolved by the people: Since — — —

### γ. side. §iii concluded

— — — A solemn prayer shall be made in the assembly immediately, that with one who is just and supports the city and the laws with a just vote it may be well, both with him and with his descendants, but with one who judges contrary to the laws and justice the opposite.

- 9 The citizens who are judging shall swear:  
‘I shall judge the case, as far as it lies within the laws, according to the laws, and in



- 15 [μο]ις, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἐκ [φιλο]-  
 [π]ονίας ὡς ἄριστα κ[αί]  
 [δ]ικαι(ό)τατα· καὶ τιμά-  
 [σ]ω, αἶ κε κατὰ γινω, ὄρθω[ς]  
 καὶ δι(καί)ως. οὕτω ποήσω  
 20 ναὶ μὰ Δία καὶ Ἄλιον.

§iv

- vac.* Φιλίππω. *vac.*  
 αἱ μὲν κατὰ τῶν φυγά-  
 δων κρίσεις αἱ κριθε[ί]-  
 σαι ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου  
 25 κύριαι ἔστωσαν· καὶ  
 [ᾧ]ν κατέγνω φυγὴν φε[υ]-  
 [γ]έτωσαμ μὲν, ἀγώγιμο[ι]  
 δὲ μὴ ἔστωσαν. *vac.*

§v

- πρότανις Μελίδωρος.  
 30 βασιλεὺς Αντίγονος  
 Ἐρεσίων τῇ βουλῇ  
 καὶ τῷ δήμῳ χαίρειν.  
 παρεγένοντο πρὸς ἡ-  
 μᾶς οἱ παρ' ὑμῶν πρέ[σ]-  
 35 εἰς καὶ διελέγοντ[ο],  
 φάμενοι τὸν δῆμον  
 κομισάμενον τὴν παρ' [ῆ]-  
 μῶν ἐπιστολὴν ἣν ἐγρ[ά]-  
 [ψ]αμεν ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἀγωνίπ-  
 40 [π]ου νιῶν ψήφισμά τε π[οι]-  
 [ήσ]ασθαι, ὃ ἀνέγνωσα[ν]  
 [ῆμῖ]ν, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀπε-  
 [σταλκέναι] . . λσ[<sup>6.5</sup>]

16 Heisserer misprints [π]νοίας.

γ. back. §v concluded

[ . . . δη]μο . ηκ[<sup>15</sup>—] ἐ]πὶ τῇ[ι . . . ]  
 [<sup>23</sup>—]ν Ἀλεξάν[δρῳ ἐν]-  
 τυγχ[αν]ε[τε <sup>16</sup>—] ἔρρωσ[θε]. *vac.*

§vi

- [ἐ]γν[ω δᾶμος. περὶ ὧν ἂ βό]λ[λα] προεβόλλε[υσε ἢ ἔδο]-  
 5 [ξ]ε ἢ [μ]ετέδ[οξε τὰ βόλλα, καὶ οἱ] ἀνδ[ρ]ες οἱ χ[ειροτο]-

other respects industriously, as well and as justly as possible; and if I condemn I shall assess rightly and justly. I shall do this, by Zeus and Sun.'

## §iv

<sup>21</sup> Of Philip.

<sup>22</sup> The trials of the exiles tried by Alexander shall be valid; and those whom he condemned to death shall be exiled but shall not be liable to seizure.

## §v

<sup>29</sup> *Prytanis* Melidorus.

<sup>30</sup> King Antigonus to the council and people of Eresus, greetings.

<sup>33</sup> The envoys from you came before us and made speeches, saying that the people had received from us the letter which we wrote about the sons of Agonippus and had passed a decree, which they read to us, and had sent them — — —

*γ. back. §v concluded*

— — — people — — — you encounter Alexander (?) — — —  
Farewell.

## §vi

<sup>4</sup> The people decided.

<sup>4</sup> Concerning the matters about which the council made a preliminary consultation [*probouleuma*], or

- [ν]ή[θεν]τε[ς πάν]τα [τὰ γράφεντα] κατὰ τῶν τυρ[άν]-  
 ρων [κα]ὶ τ[ῶν] ἐ[μ] πό[λει οἰκῇ] θέντων καὶ τῶν ἐκγ[ό]-  
 [νω]ν [τῶν τούτων παρέχ]ονται καὶ ταῖς γράφαι[s]  
 [εἰ]ς[κομίζοις]· εἰς τὰν ἐκκλησίαν· ἐπειδὴ καὶ π[ρό]-  
 10 [τε]ρον ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος διαγράφαν ἀποσ-  
 [τε]λλαις π[ροσέτ]αξε [Ἑρ]εσίοις κρῖναι ὑπέρ τ[ε]  
 [Ἀγ]νίππω καὶ Εὐ[ρυσ]ιλ[ά]ω, τί δεῖ πά[θ]ην αὐτοῖς· [ὁ]  
 [δὲ δᾶμος ἀκο]ύ[σ]αις τὰ[ν] διαγράφαν δικαστήριον[ν]  
 [καθί] [ς]σα[ε]ς κ[ατὰ] τοῖς νόμοις ὁ ἔκριν[ν]ε Ἀγώνι[π]-  
 15 [π]ομ μὲν καὶ Εὐρυσιλ[αο]ν τε[θ]νάκην, τοῖς δὲ ἀπο[γό]-  
 [νο]ις αὐτῶν ἐνόχοις [ἔμμε]ναι τῷ νόμῳ τῷ ἐν τᾷ  
 [στ]άλλα, τὰ [δ]ὲ ὑπάρχον[τα π]έπρασθαι αὐτῶν κατὰ  
 [τ]ὸν νόμον· ἐπιστέλλ[αντος] δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ ὑ-  
 πέρ τῶν Ἀπολλ[οδ]ωρε[ίων] <κ>αὶ τῶν κασιγνήτων [αὐ]-  
 20 [τ]ῷ Ἑρμῶνος καὶ Ἡραῖῳ τῶν πρότερον τυραννη-  
 σάντων τὰς πόλις καὶ τῶν ἀπογόνων αὐτῶν, γ[νω]-  
 ναι τὸν δᾶμον πότερον[ν δόκ]ει καταπορεύεσθ[αι]  
 αὐτοῖς ἢ μη· [ὁ] δὲ δᾶμος ἀκούσαις τὰς διαγράφα[s]  
 δικαστήριόν τε αὐτοῖσι συνάγαγε κατὰ τὸν [νό]-  
 25 [μο]ν καὶ τὰν διαγράφαν τῷ βασιλέως Ἀλεξάνδρ[ω],  
 [ὁ] ἔγνω λό[γ]ων ῥηθέντων παρ' ἀμφοτέρων τόν τε ν[ό]-  
 [μο]ν τὸν κατὰ τῶν τυράννων κύριον ἔμμεναι κα[ὶ]  
 [φ]εύγην αὐτοῖς κατ[ὰ] τὰ[μ] π[όλιν]. δέδοχθαι τῷ δάμ[ω].  
 [κ]ύριον μὲν ἔμμεναι κατὰ τῶν τυράννων καὶ τῷ[ν]  
 30 [ἐ]μ πόλι οἰκηθέντων καὶ τῶν ἀπογόνων τῶν το[ύ]-  
 [τ]ων τόν τε νόμον τὸμ περὶ [τ]ῶν τυράννων γεγρά[μ]-  
 [μ]ενον ἐν τᾷ στάλλα τᾷ [παλαί]α καὶ ταῖς διαγρά-  
 [φ]αις τῶν βασιλέων ταῖς κατὰ τούτων καὶ τὰ ψα-  
 [φ]ίσματα τὰ πρότερον γράφεντα ὑπὸ τῶν προγό-  
 35 [ν]ων καὶ ταῖς ψαφοφο[ρ]αῖς ταῖς κατὰ τῶν τυράννων. [αἰ]  
 [δ]έ κέ τις παρὰ ταῦτα ἀλίσκηται τῶν τυράννων[ν ἢ]  
 τῶν ἐμ πόλι οἰκηθέντων ἢ τῶν ἀπογόνων τῶν [του]-  
 τῶν τις ἐπιβαίνων ἐπὶ τὰν γὰρ τὰν Ἑρεσίων [. . .]  
 [. . .] τὸν δᾶμον βουλευσασθαι καὶ πρ[ο] [ε9]  
 40 [. . .] ἀλλ[ ] [5] τα[ ] [ε24]

14 The stone has ]ΕΣΑ[ . ]Σ.  
 παύ(δων καὶ) τῶν IG, OGIS, Tod.

17, 32 στάλα IG.  
 24 συνήγαγε IG.

19 Heisserer after Kirchhoff and Sauppe:  
 36 ἢ omitted IG.

It will be convenient to set out in one place an outline of the manoeuvring of the Aegean and Asiatic Greeks between the Macedonians and the Persians in the 330s, with which several of our texts are connected.

Philip's advance forces against the Persians were sent out in 336 (D.S. xvi. 91. ii),

the council made a resolution or a revised resolution, and the men who have been elected produce all that has been written against the tyrants, both those who lived in the city and their descendants, and convey the documents to the assembly:

- 9 Since previously also King Alexander sent back a transcript and ordered the Eresians to hold a trial concerning Agonippus and Eurysilaus, as to what should be done to them; and the people heard the transcript and set up a law-court in accordance with the laws, which sentenced Agonippus and Eurysilaus to death, and that their descendants should be liable to the law on the *stele*, and their belongings should be sold in accordance with the law;
- 18 And when Alexander sent a letter also about the family of Apollodorus and his brothers Hermon and Heraeus, who were previously tyrants over the city, and their descendants, that the people should decide whether it resolved that they should journey back or not; and the people heard the transcript and convened a law-court for them in accordance with the law and the transcript of Alexander, which decided after speeches had been made on both sides that the law against the tyrants should be valid and that they should be exiled from the city;
- 28 Be it resolved by the people: That there shall be valid against the tyrants, both those who lived in the city and their descendants, the law against the tyrants that is written on the old *stele* and the transcripts of the kings against them and the decrees previously written by our ancestors and the votes against the tyrants.
- 35 If contrary to this any of the tyrants, either those who lived in the city or their descendants, is caught setting foot on the land of Eresus — — — the people shall deliberate and — — —

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and it appears that the cities of Lesbos, including Eresus, were among those which they won over (cf. below); Chios was probably won over too (cf. on 84). In 335 Memnon of Rhodes campaigned successfully on behalf of the Persians (D.S. xvii. 7): the off-shore islands probably went over to him then, but transferred their allegiance to Alexander

in 334 (here perhaps belong the two inscriptions concerning Chios, **84**, and at any rate the first from Mytilene, **85. A**). In 334 after his victory at the Granicus Alexander took over the cities on the Aegean coast of the mainland (Arr. *Anab.* i. 17–23, D.S. xvii. 22–7: for Priene see **86**).<sup>1</sup>

In 333 as Alexander went eastwards through Asia Minor the Persians campaigned in his rear: Chios was betrayed to Memnon; when the other cities of Lesbos went over to him, Mytilene did not; he began a siege, and after his death it made overtures to his nephew Pharnabazus, agreeing to become ‘an ally of Darius in accordance with the peace made in the time of Antalcidas’, but the Persians installed a garrison and a ‘tyrant’ (on the use of this term see the cautionary note in the commentary on **76**); Tenedos is mentioned as another island taken over by the Persians (Arr. *Anab.* ii. 1–2, D.S. xvii. 29). The Persians gained cities on the mainland also, no doubt including Priene. Pharnabazus and his colleague Autophradates installed a garrison in Chios, and when they heard of Alexander’s victory at Issus they were afraid that it might revolt (Arr. *Anab.* ii. 13, iv–vi, Curt. iv. i. 34–7). Probably about the same time the Athenian Chares, operating as a freelance mercenary commander (cf. Polyae. v. 44. iii), was installed in Mytilene with a force of two thousand Persians. In 332, however, Hegelochus recovered for Alexander what had been lost to the Persians: in Chios he was invited by the *demos* despite the Persian garrison, and the leaders of the revolt were arrested and sent to Alexander; and Mytilene (after a siege) and the other cities of Lesbos were among those which he recovered (Arr. *Anab.* iii. 2. iii–vii, Curt. iv. v. 14–22: the second inscription from Mytilene, **85. B**, will belong here if not earlier). The coastal cities of the mainland will have been recovered too (for Priene cf. **85. B**); and Antigonus the One-Eyed (*Monophthalmos*) as satrap of Phrygia (Arr. *Anab.* i. 29. iii) began a long and difficult campaign in the interior of Asia Minor.

Earlier interpretations of this *dossier*, based on the assumption that  $\beta$  and  $\gamma$  were the upper and lower parts of a single *stèle*, have been rendered obsolete by Heisserer’s work, which changes the order in which the fragments are to be read. To reconstruct the sequence of events it is best to begin by working backwards. Eurysilaus and Agonippus, whose cases are separate but parallel, were ‘tyrants’, and were overthrown and were condemned to death by local courts, in the reign of Alexander (i. 15–16, ii. 5–6, 13–15, cf. §vi): they had demolished, but evidently had not destroyed, a ‘*stèle* about the tyrants and their descendants’ (ii. 24–6), which is presumably to be identified with ‘the law against the tyrants that is written on the old *stèle*’ (vi. 32–3): this is the lost *stèle* *a* postulated by Heisserer. On another occasion men were condemned to exile by Alexander (§iv). Before the tyranny of Eurysilaus and Agonippus there had been a tyranny

<sup>1</sup> That the offshore islands went over to Philip’s forces in 336 and were recovered by Memnon in 335 has been doubted by some (e.g. Bosworth, *Comm. Arr. Anab.*, i. 179; K. Rosen, *Gnomon* liv 1982, 353–62, reviewing Heisserer; contr. Labarre), but in the light of D.S. xvii. 7. ii this need not be excluded from a campaign on which we have little evidence. The most credible reconstruction which does exclude it is that of Lott, who suggests that the first tyranny in Eresus came to power c.338, was accepted or even supported by Philip, set up the altars to Zeus Philippios, and survived until Alexander took over western Asia Minor in 334. Lott, 32, wishes, perhaps mistakenly, to press the wording in [Dem.] xvii. *Treaty with Alexander* and concludes that Antissa and Eresus with their tyrants were included in the common peace treaty in 338/7.

of Apollodorus and his brothers (vi. 18–21), men old enough for it to be their grandsons who in 324/3 (cf. below) appealed to Alexander for reinstatement (iii. 35–40).

We should follow Heisserer in making Apollodorus and his brothers tyrants in the reign of Philip (after the Social War of 356–355, for which see on 48, had weakened Athens' hold on the Aegean). They will have been overthrown, and Eresus will have been admitted to the League of Corinth and will have instituted a cult of Zeus Philippios (cf. ii. 4–5), on the arrival of Parmenio and Attalus in 336 (cf. the setting-up of a statue of Philip in the temple of Artemis at Ephesus: Arr. *Anab.* i. 17. xi). They will have been reinstated by Memnon in 335; but overthrown again, and exiled on the orders of Alexander, in 334 (cf. Chios: 84. A. 10–15). In 333 Memnon did not restore them again but installed Eurysilaus and Agonippus: they demolished the altars of Zeus Philippios; for their exaction of money (i. 7–9, ii. 10–11) cf. Diogenes in Mytilene (Arr. *Anab.* ii. i. v), for their use of pirates (i. 9–14, ii. 11–13) cf. Aristonicus of Methymna (Arr. *Anab.* iii. 2. iv), and for the demolition of a *stèle* (ii. 24–6) cf. Mytilene (Arr. *Anab.* ii. i. iv). They will have been overthrown and condemned to death in 332 (§§i, ii), for the use of local courts see Arr. *Anab.* iii. 2. vii. Heisserer notes that [Dem.] xvii. *Treaty* 7 refers to Alexander's expulsion of tyrants from both neighbouring Antissa and Eresus, and suggests that there was some kind of *sympoliteia* between the two cities, that the tyrants ruled both, and that this explains why there was a plurality of altars to Zeus Philippios (one in each city — but in §ii Agonippus is said to have dug up plural altars) and why there are separate documents concerning Eurysilaus and Agonippus (§§i and ii). The cause of Alexander is identified with the cause of the Greeks, so that (Eurysilaus and) Agonippus can be said to have 'committed piracy against the Greeks' and to have 'made war on Alexander and the Greeks' (ii. 3–6).

It will have been in 324/3, after Alexander had issued his order for the return of exiles, with certain exceptions, to the Greek states (D.S. xvii. 109. i; cf. 101) that the grandsons of the first tyrants (Agesimenes is perhaps a grandson of Apollodorus or Hermon) appealed to Alexander to be reinstated in Eresus and offered to stand trial: they will have been among the men defending themselves mentioned in D.S. xvii. 113. Alexander decided that they should be tried in Eresus (§iii), and they were not allowed to return (vi. 18–28). In 319 a further order for the return of exiles was issued in the name of Alexander's half-brother, Philip Arrhidaeus (D.S. xviii. 55–6), and they tried to take advantage of that; but the response was that the sentence of exile passed on them was to remain in force but they were no longer to be liable to seizure (§iv). Finally, after 306 (since in §v he uses the title king, which he adopted in that year), the sons of Eurysilaus and Agonippus made an appeal to Antigonus: his first letter to Eresus elicited a response, and in §v we have the beginning and the end of his reply to that. In §vi we have the final decree of the city of Eresus, which refers to both sets of tyrants, to the episode of 324/3 and to 'the transcripts of the kings', and decides to uphold the earlier sentences. In §vi. 4–5 'the council made a resolution or a revised resolution' is striking: the verb for changing one's mind (*metadokein*) occurs a few times in the literature of the classical period, but this is the only epigraphic instance of it known to us: we cannot tell whether its use here reflects a general desire to cover all possibilities or consciousness of some particular revised resolution which was relevant here.

While it is possible, if Heisserer is right to suppose that both Antissa and Eresus are involved, that 2,300 staters were exacted from one city (i. 8–9) but 3,200 from the other (ii. 10–11), it is also possible that the same sum is being alluded to in both documents and that one document is wrong. We use ‘transcript’ as the direct Latinate equivalent of the Greek *diagraphe* (i. 17 etc.), for responses by Alexander and his successors (cf. restoration in 85. 20, 29): in the Roman empire a response by an emperor was to be called a *rescriptum* (e.g. Tac. *Ann.* vi. 9), so that scholars often use ‘rescript’ here; C. B. Welles, *AJA*<sup>2</sup> xlii 1938, 254–60, interprets *diagraphe* and *diagramma* 101 as polite terms for ‘ordinance’. The procedure in §§i and ii is similar to but not identical with the Athenian procedure in an *agon timetos*: in Athens the first vote was on the guilt or innocence of the accused, for the second the prosecutor and defendant proposed alternative penalties, between which the jury had to choose; here the death penalty has already been prescribed, and the second vote concerns only the manner of execution. The secret ballot for the substantive decisions (i. 16, ii. 16; contr. i. 24–5) may or may not reflect normal local practice; here it will presumably have been intended to protect minority voters against intimidation (it is not clear even in §i whether this had been demanded by Alexander); for ballot on the question of guilt or innocence followed by show of hands on penalty, cf. a case in the Athenian council, [Dem] xlvii. *Ev. & Mnes.* 42–3. Abuse of citizens’ wives and daughters (i. 3–9, ii. 8–11) is a crime with which tyrants are often charged (e.g. Periander of Corinth, Her. v. 92. η. i–iv): the allegation here is specific enough to seem authentic, but it will also have served to authenticate this régime as a tyranny.

On Apollo Lykeios (i. 30–1) see M. H. Jameson, *Ἀρχαιογνωσία* i 1980, 213–36, esp. 223–35: Lykeios is probably derived from *lykos* (‘wolf’); the cult is thought to

## 84

### Alexander the Great and Chios, 334

#### A

A *stèle* found at Ververato, south-west of Chios town, now in the museum at Chios. Phot. Heisserer, *Alexander*, frontisp., 82 pl. 8.

Attic *koine* with some East Ionic orthography, omitting iota adscript in l. 10, using *o* for *ou* in l. 16; ending each line with the end of a word or syllable.

*SIG*<sup>3</sup> 283; Tod 192; Heisserer, *Alexander*, 79–95 ch. iii\*. Trans. Heisserer; Bagnall & Derow 2; Harding 107. See also Bosworth, *Comm. Arr. Anab.*, i. 178.

ἐπὶ Δεισιθέου πρυτάνεος. παρὰ βασιλέως Ἀλε[ξάνδρ]ου Χίω[ν τῶι]  
 δήμωι. vacat  
 τοὺς φυγάδας τοὺς ἐκ Χίου κατέναι πάντας, πολίτευμα δ' ἐ[ῖ]-

3 δ' ἐ[ῖ]- apparently intended by Heisserer (after W. G. Forrest), cf. his photograph: δ' [εῖ]- printed by Heisserer, δὲ [εῖ]- previous editors.

have spread from the Peloponnese (Apollo Lykeios was the chief god of Argos). For an entrenchment clause combined with a curse (ii. 20–6) cf. 54, 79. Solemn prayers before a meeting, like those mentioned in ii. 26–9, iii. 0–9, must have been frequent in practice and are sometimes mentioned (cf. the parody in Ar. *Thesm.* 295–351). For the oath to be sworn by jurors (iii. 9–20) compare the Athenian jurors' oath, quoted by Dem. xxiv. *Tīm.* 149–51; *I. Cret.* iv 51 (Gortyn, early C5: [Zeus], Apollo, Athena, and Hermes); for oaths sworn by Zeus and Sun cf. 50, 53, 76. We have a small number of texts which give voting figures for an assembly or law-court: often, as here (ii. 30–2), when the vote is not unanimous it is nearly so (cf. Rhodes with Lewis, 14, 59, 510–12, 531). In their procedural language the cities of Lesbos are further than many from the pattern which began in Athens and became widespread (e.g. ii. 33, vi. 4, but vi. 28 is in the Athenian manner), but the same procedure, including *probouleusis* by a council (vi. 4), lies behind the language.

Aristotle's successor Theophrastus came from Eresus, and he and his compatriot Phanias are said to have freed Eresus from tyrants (e.g. Plut. *Non Posse* 1097 B, *Adv. Col.* 1126 F: 'twice' in the latter passage); these and other texts are discussed by Heisserer, 73–7, with a new interpretation of Diog. Laert. v. 37. Heisserer suggests that they need not have been present in Eresus and directly involved, but that they may have made approaches to Alexander in the 330s and in 324/3.

Lesbian features of the language include accusatives in *-aus* and *-ous* (e.g. β. *side.* 3–5); doubled consonants as in κρύναι (β. *side.* 15), ὅππως (β. *side.* 32–3), κατεδίκασσαν (γ. *front.* 31–2), ψάφυγγι for ψηφῶ (e.g. β. *side.* 16); δέυει for δέει (e.g. β. *side.* 26); βαθοεῖν for βοηθεῖν (e.g. γ. *side.* 2–3).

#### A

In the prytany of Deisitheus.

1 From King Alexander to the people of Chios.

3 All the exiles from Chios shall return, and the constitution in Chios



- ναι ἐν Χίῳι δῆμον. αἰρεθῆναι δὲ νομογράφους, οἷτινες γρα-  
 5 ψουσι καὶ διορθώσουσι τοὺς νόμους, ὅπως μηδὲν ἐναντί-  
 ον ἢ τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ μηδὲ τῇ τῶν φυγάδων καθόδῳ· τὰ δὲ δι-  
 ορθωθέντα ἢ γραφέντα ἐπαναφέρεσθαι πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον.  
 παρέχειν δὲ Χίους τριήρεις εἴκοσι πεπληρωμένους τοῖς αὐ-  
 τῶν τέλεσιν, ταότας δὲ πλεῖν μέχρι ἂν καὶ τὸ ἄλλο νασι-  
 10 κὸν τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων μεθ' ἡμῶν συμπλή. τῶν δὲ προδόντων  
 τοῖς βαρβάροις τὴν πόλιν, ὅσοι μὲν ἂν προεξέλθωσιν, φεόγειν  
 αὐτοὺς ἐξ ἀπασῶν τῶν πόλεων τῶν τῆς εἰρήνης κοινωνου-  
 σῶν, καὶ εἶναι ἀγωγίμους κατὰ τὸ δόγμα τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων· ὅσο[ι]  
 δ' ἂν ἐγκαταλειφθῶσιν, ἐπανάγεσθαι καὶ κρίνεσθαι ἐν τῷ τῶν Ἑλ-  
 15 [λ]ήνων συνεδρίῳ. ἐὰν δέ τι ἀντιλέγῃται τοῖς κατεκληλυ-  
 [θ]όσιν καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει, κρίνεσθαι περὶ τοῦτο αὐτοὺς πα-  
 [ρ'] ἡμῶν. μέχρι ἂν διαλλαγῶσι Χίῳι, φυλακὴν εἶναι παρ' αὐτοῖς πα[ρ']  
 Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ βασιλέως, ὅση ἂν ἰκανὴ ᾖ· τρέφειν δὲ  
 ταότην Χίους. vacat

6 τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ Heisserer: τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ previous editors. 16 αὐτοὺς Heisserer: αὐτοὺς previous editors.  
 17–18 πα[ρ'] | Ἀλεξάνδρου Heisserer: πα[ρ'] Ἀλεξάνδρου previous editors, but there is no room for *ρ* either at the end of l. 17 or at the beginning of l. 18.

## B

Four fragments of a *stèle*, found in the nineteenth century in and near the church of Hag. Nikolaos at Tourloti in Chios town, of which *a* (top right) and *b* (bottom left) survive and are now in the museum at Chios but *c* and *d* (bottom centre and right) have been lost. Phot. *a*, *b* *Klio* li 1969, 206; Heisserer, 102 pl. 9, 105 pl. 10.

East Ionic dialect, but with some *koine* forms; *stichedon*, restored 28 Forrest, Heisserer (but misprinted as 20 Heisserer, 101; 31 Wilhelm, Piejko.

A. M. Vlastos, *Χιῳά* (1840), 223–4 nos. 25–6 (*a–c*); F. Studniczka, *AM* xiii 1888, 165 no. 2 (*d*); A. Wilhelm, *Klio* Bhft. xlviii 1943, 1–16; W. G. Forrest, *Klio* li 1969, 201–6; *SEG* xxii 506; Heisserer, *Alexander*, 96–117 ch. iv\*; F. Piejko, *Phoen.* xxxix 1985, 238–49. Trans. Heisserer; Piejko. See also F. W. Walbank, *Phoen.* xvi 1962, 178–80; Bosworth, *Comm. Arr. Anab.*, i. 134.

- [—————<sup>22</sup>—————]μος [ . . . ]  
 [—————<sup>14</sup>—————]δε[ . . . ] ἀρεστὰ π[ . . . ]  
 [—————<sup>13</sup>—————] αὐτοῦ. ὅσοι δ' ἂν τῷ[ν]  
 [ζημιῶν ἀς ἂν τά]ξι ὁ δῆμος μὴ κατασ-  
 5 [τήσωσι τοὺς ἐγ]γύους, φυλασσέτω ἡ ἀ-  
 [ρχὴ πέδαις δεδ]εμένους· ἂν δ' ἀπροδρά-  
 [ι τις αὐτῶν, τὰ ἐπ]ίτιμα ἀποτίνειν τ-  
 [οὺς ἀρχοντας.] τῶν δ' ἄλλων Χίων μηδέ-  
 [να εἰς δίκην ἄγει]ν ἐπὶ βαρβαρισμῷ-

The restoration is speculative (we follow Forrest as modified by Heisserer), and in particular the exact relationship of *a* (ll. 1–18) and *b–d* (ll. 19–29) is uncertain. The problem of greater importance for the interpretation of the text is whether Alcimachus is to be prevented from doing something to somebody else (Vlastos, Lenschau, Heisserer) or others are to be prevented from doing something to him (Wilhelm, Forrest, Piejko; cf. Bosworth).

2–3 ἀρεστὰ π[αρ]αλαμβάνειν παρ'] αὐτοῦ and other possibilities suggested Forrest.

shall be a democracy. Law-writers [*nomographoi*] shall be elected, who shall write and correct the laws, so that nothing shall be contrary to the democracy or to the return of the exiles; what is corrected or written shall be referred to Alexander.

- 8 The Chians shall provide twenty manned triremes at their own expense, and these shall sail as long as the rest of the Greek fleet sails with us.
- 10 Of those who betrayed the city to the barbarians, those who have already left shall be exiled from all the cities sharing in the peace, and shall be liable to seizure in accordance with the resolution of the Greeks; those who have been left inside shall be taken and tried by the council [*synedrion*] of the Greeks. If there is any dispute between those who have returned and those in the city, in connection with this they shall be tried before us.
- 17 Until the Chians are reconciled, there shall be a garrison among them from King Alexander, as large as is sufficient; this shall be maintained by the Chians.

*B*

--- acceptable --- of him.

- 3 Those who do not provide guarantors for the penalties which the people fix, let the authority guard them bound with fetters. If any of them runs away, the *archontes* shall pay the fines.
- 8 None of the other Chians shall be brought to justice on a charge of

- 10 [ι μηδὲ τῶν παροίκ]ων· μηδ' Ἀλκίμαχος  
[διωκέτω (?) —<sup>5</sup>— ἐπε]ιδὴ διεμαρτυρή-  
[θη ἡ μὴν μὴ ἀδοτόματ]ος ἐξελλεῖν πρό-  
[ς τοὺς βαρβάρους· ὃ]δε ἐμός τε φίλος  
[ἐστὶ καὶ πρόθυμος τ]ῶι πλήθει τῶι ὑ-  
15 [μετέρῳι ὑπῆρχε· τοῦ]ς μέγ γάρ φεόγο-  
[ντας ἐπειράτο κατὰ] γειν, τὴν δὲ πόλ-  
[ιν ὑμῶν ἀπαλλάξαι τ]ῆς ὀλιγαρχίας  
[τῆς καταστάσης πρότ]ερον παρ' ὑμ[ῶν]  
[ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων. ἀξιῶ οὖν ὑμᾶς] ἀ[νθ']  
20 [ὧν εὖ ἔπραξεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ δή]μου καὶ συ-  
[νείργει ἐν τῶι ἀγῶνι τ]ῶι περὶ ὑμᾶς,  
[ἀκυροῦντας ἅ ἐψηφίσθ]η κατὰ τοῦ πα-  
[τρό]ς ἀδοτοῦ, ὅς' ἀ[φείλεν] ἡ πόλις ἀποδ-  
οῦναι πρῶτῳ τ[ῶν] <ήκ>όντων καὶ αὐτὸ-  
25 ν καὶ τοὺς φίλους [τ](<ι>μ[ᾶ]ν καὶ πιστευ-  
ειν ὥς ὄντι φιλοπό[λει]. ταῶτα γὰρ πο-  
ιοῦντες χαρ[ιείσ]θ[ε] <έ>τ' ἐ[μ]οί, καὶ εἴ τ[ι]  
ἐμοῦ δέοισθ[ε] <ε> προ[θυμὸ]τερον ἂν ὑμ[ῶν] <ι>-  
ν ὑπηρετοίην. vacat

10 *μηδὲ τῶν παροίκ]ων* Forrest, printed by Heisserer: *πλὴν τῶν προδότ]ων vel sim.* suggested Heisserer. 10–11 Heisserer, cf. Vlastos: *Ἀλκίμαχο]ν προσωτέρω ζητεῖν* T. Lenschau, *Klio* xxxiii 1940, 207–11; *Ἀλκίμαχο]ν ἐν | ὑπονοίαι εἶναι* (?) Wilhelm; *Ἀλκίμαχο]ν | ἔτι ἀτιμάζειν* Forrest; *Ἀλκίμαχο]ν | [ἐν ὑπονοίαι ἔχειν* Piejko. 12 Heisserer: *αὐτὸς μὲν ὁ Ἀλκίμαχος* Piejko. 14 *πρόθυμος τ]ῶι* or *[ἐστὶν εὐδους τ' ἀεί τ]ῶι* Heisserer: *εὐδους ποτε]* τῶι Forrest, which is two letters too long, *ἐκ πολλοῦ]* τῶι πλήθει τῶι ὑ[|μετέρῳι εὐδους *SEG* xxii.19 Heisserer: Forrest read ν in the 24th *stichos* of fr. a (his l. 19), and reckoned the first line of fr. d, with α in the 26th *stichos* (but he made it the 27th) as l. 20. 24 <ήκ>όντων G. Klaffenbach *ap.* Forrest: *μεόντων* read by Vlastos. 25 τ[(<ι>)μ[ᾶ]ν Forrest: ]γμ[ read by Vlastos.

For the general context see on 83. We first read of Chios in the literary sources when it was betrayed to Memnon in 333 (Arr. *Anab.* ii. 1. i, D.S. xvii. 29. ii); Pharnabazus and Autophradates installed a garrison there (Arr. *Anab.* ii. 13. iv–vi, Curt. iv. i. 34–7); but in 332 Alexander's commander Hegelochus was invited by the *demos*, and the leaders of the revolt were arrested and sent to Alexander (Arr. *Anab.* iii. 2. iii–vii, Curt. iv. v. 14–17). Earlier editors therefore dated *A* to 332; but it is probable that Chios like other cities was won over by Philip's forces in 336, changed its allegiance to Memnon in 335 and then changed to Alexander in 334, and Heisserer has shown that *A* fits the context of 334 better. In particular, in *A* the anti-Macedonian leaders are to be tried by the *synedrion* of the Greeks, whereas those of 332 were sent to Alexander; and in *A* the Chians are to supply twenty triremes 'as long as the rest of the Greek fleet sails with us', but Alexander dismissed his Greek fleet in 334 before the siege of Halicarnassus (Arr. *Anab.* i. 20. i cf. 18. vi–ix, D.S. xvii. 22. v–23. i). It could hardly have been predicted that Alexander would dismiss his fleet so soon, but if he was already thinking of conquering not just Asia Minor but the heart of the Persian empire he would realise that he could not take the fleet with him all the way. Prescribing a democratic constitution

barbarism, nor any of the resident foreigners [*paroikoi*: Heisserer's alternative restoration would mean 'apart from the traitors' (or similar word)].

- 10 Neither let Alcimachus prosecute (?) —, since he has given evidence that he did not go out voluntarily to the barbarians: he is a friend of mine and was enthusiastic for the mass of you [alternative restorations have essentially the same meaning]; for he tried to restore the exiles and to free your city from the oligarchy which had previously been established among you by the barbarians. I therefore ask you, in return for the good that he did on behalf of the people and for his cooperation in the struggle concerning you, that the city should invalidate what was voted against his father, and give back to him first of those who have come [*sc.* back from exile] what it took away, and honour him and his friends and trust him as a man loyal to the city.
- 26 By doing these things you will gratify me, and if you were to request anything from me I should be more enthusiastic towards you.

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and arranging for the revision of the laws matches the prescription of democratic constitutions and a restoration of laws (the latter probably more symbolic than real) in mainland Asia Minor in 334 (*Arr. Anab.* i. 17. x, 18. ii: notice that *B.* 17–19 describes the previous régime as an oligarchy imposed on Chios by the barbarians).

In *A* the future of Chios has been referred to Alexander, and his response is strongly interventionist: he prescribes that exiles are to return, the constitution is to be a democracy (for the change of constitution cf. on 87), changes in the laws are to be submitted for his approval, and Chios must both provide ships for his fleet and receive and pay for a garrison. Beyond that, the significance of *A* lies in the reference to the *synedrion* of the Greeks: this is our clearest evidence that Chios, and presumably the other island states, became members of the League of Corinth. There is no reason to think that they joined the League at its foundation (*pace* A. B. Bosworth, *Comm. Arr. Anab.* i. 178; and in Settis (ed.), *I Greci*, II. iii, 63 with n. 57), but it is likely enough that they were won over by Philip's forces and joined in 336. On the other hand, it is probable that the Greek states of the Asiatic mainland were not incorporated into the League. See on 76, 78, 86.

*B* is a letter to the Chians from a powerful ruler, presumably Alexander. It is dangerous to assume that any reference to a common name must be to a well-known bearer of that name; but there is a well-known Alcimachus, probably the man who was honoured in Athens after Chaeronea (cf. Hyp. fr. 77 Jensen = Kenyon; *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 239 = Schwenk 4), whom Alexander sent to the Aeolian and Ionian cities in 334 after he had gained the allegiance of Sardis and Ephesus (Arr. *Anab.* i. 18. i–ii), but about whom no more is heard afterwards (cf. Berve, *Das Alexanderreich*, ii. 23 no. 47): it is possible that he is the Alcimachus of l. 10, and that he is to be prevented from doing something to somebody else (though in that case Alexander will be using the Chians to control one of his own officers). Heisserer accepts that possibility—but, even if he is wrong on that point and the Alcimachus of *B* is an otherwise unknown man who has supported Alexander and is to be protected against ill treatment, the rest of Heisserer’s interpretation can stand. *B* is in any case best located in the aftermath of

## 85

## Reconciliation in Mytilene, 334 and after

## A

A *stèle* found on the floor of a building of the third century A.D. in Mytilene; now in the Archaeological Museum there. Phot. *AΔ* xxix 1973/4, β, pl. 644. a; *ΖΡΕ* lxiii 1986, Taf. II. A, III. A.

Aeolic dialect with Ionic lettering; *stoichedon* 35, with horizontal (double) and vertical guidelines.

*AΔ* xxix 1973/4 [publ. 1980], β. 855–65; A.J. Heisserer & R. Hodot, *ΖΡΕ* lxiii 1986, 106–19\* (*SEG* xxxvi 750); Labarre, *Les Cités de Lesbos*, 251–2 no. 1 (see also pp. 23–42).

A small fragment, *IG* xii. ii 8, may be part of the same stone or an associated stone: see Heisserer, *Alexander*, 140–1; Heisserer & Hodot, *ΖΡΕ* lxiii 1986, 115–16 (*SEG* xxxvi 751).

[ἐ]νω βόλλα καὶ δάμος. περὶ τῶν οἱ L[——<sup>8</sup>——]  
 [ε]ἰσάγηνται ὥς κεν οἱ πόλιται οἴκει[εν τὰμ π]-  
 [ό]λιν ἐν δαμοκρατίαι τὸμ πάντα χρόνον[ ἐχον]-  
 [τ]ες πρὸς ἀλλήλοις ὥς εὐνοώτατα· τύχαι ἀγ[άθ]-  
 5 αι, εὖξασθαι μὲν τὰμ βόλλαν καὶ τὸν δάμον τ[ο]-  
 ἰς Θεοῖσι τοῖς Δνοκαῖδεκα καὶ τῶι Διὶ τῶι Ὁμο-  
 ραίωι καὶ Βασίλει καὶ Ὁμονοίωι καὶ τῶι Ὁμο-  
 νοίωι καὶ Δίκαι καὶ Ἐπιτελείαι τῶν Ἀγάθων,  
 αἱ κε συνενίκει τῶι δάμωι τῶι Μυτιληνῶν τ-  
 10 ᾶ δόξαντα, θυσίαγ καὶ πρόσοδομ πῶσασθαι τ-  
 ελειομένων τῶν ἀγάθων κατ ὅττι κε τῶι δάμω  
 φαίνεται. ταῦτα μὲν ἡδῆχθαι· ἀγάθαι δὲ τύχαι  
 τῶ δάμω τῶ Μυτιληνῶν, ἐψάφισθαι τῶι βόλλα

1 Perhaps ἐ[πιμνήμιοι]; [οἱ] [σπρόταγοι] Hodot, *Le Dialecte éolien d'Asie*, 202, but that seems incompatible with the photographs.

A: tension has arisen between supporters of the pro-Persian leaders (themselves now in exile or sent to the Greek *synedrion*) and the returned exiles; some of the former have been tried on charges of 'barbarism' (equivalent to the more familiar 'medism': the cognate verb is used in X. H. v. ii. 35), and Alexander is trying to limit the vengeance of the returned exiles, and in particular to prevent the prosecution of one friend of his; either Alexander's general Alcimachus has been supporting the prosecutions or the friend of Alexander is a Chian called Alcimachus. Compare what happened in Ephesus in 334 (Arr. *Anab.* i. 17. ix–xii).

For problems which could arise from the return of exiles cf. in general 39, 85, 101; and on how states dealt with the rival claims to property of former owners who had been exiled and new owners who had bought the property in good faith R. Lonis in Goukowsky & Brixhe (edd.), *Hellenika Symmikta*, 91–109; in this case Alexander's friend is to have priority in the restoration of his property.

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#### A

The council and people decided.

- 2 Concerning what the — have introduced: So that the citizens may live in the city in democracy for all time, having the greatest possible good will towards one another:
- 4 For good fortune, the council and the people shall vow to the twelve Gods and to Zeus Herais and to Queen and Homonoios and Agreement and Justice and Fulfilment of Good Things, if what is resolved benefits the people of Mytilene, to hold a sacrifice and procession when the good things are being fulfilled, in whatever way the people resolve.
- 12 Vow this; and for the good fortune of the people of Mytilene, be it decreed by the council and people:

καὶ τῷ δάμῳ· αἰ μέγ κέ τις δίκας γενομένης  
 15 κατ τὸν νόμον φύγῃ ἐκ τᾶς πόλιος ἢ ἀπυθάνῃ,  
 [χ]ρῆσθαι τῷ νόμῳ. αἰ δέ κε ἄλλον τινα τρόπο-  
 [ν Μντ]ιληνάων ἢ τῶν κατοικέντων ἐμ Μντιλήν-  
 [αι ἐπὶ προ]τάνιος Δίτα Σαωννμείω σύμβαι ἀτ-  
 [μασθέντα φυγ]αδεύθῃν ἐκ τᾶς πόλιος ἢ ἀπυθ-  
 20 [άνην —<sup>10</sup> —]γτας χρήματα τ[οῦ]των τινὶ  
 [—————<sup>31</sup>—————] . τας

20 e.g. τοῖς ὀφέλλοι]γτας L. F. Smith *ap. ZPE*, or τοῖς πράσσοι]γτας.

21 Either ΥΤΑΣ or ΕΚ ΤΑΣ?

### B

Two joining fragments of a *stèle*, found at Mytilene, now in the Archaeological Museum there. Phot. *EAC* v 1976, pl. IV. a–b; Heisserer, *Alexander*, 120 pl. 13; *ZPE* lxiii 1986, Taf. II. B, III. B.

Aeolic dialect with Ionic lettering; *stoichedon* 49–52, with horizontal (double) and vertical (double at the r.h. margin) guidelines.

*IG* xii. ii 6; *OGIS* 2; Tod 201; Buck 26; Heisserer, *Alexander*, 118–41; A. J. Heisserer & R. Hodot, *ZPE* lxiii 1986, 120–8\* (*SEG* xxxvi 752). Trans. Heisserer; Bagnall & Derow 5; Harding 113. See also R. Hodot, *EAC* v 1976, 17–81 at 22; R. Lonis in Goukowsky & Brihxe (ed.), *Hellénika Symmiktá*, 91–109; I. Worthington, *ZPE* lxxxiii 1990, 194–214.

[—————<sup>12</sup>————— καὶ οἱ β]ασί[λῃες προστί]θησ[θον τῷ κατεληλύθον]-  
 [τι ὡς τέχναν τεχνα]μέν[ω] τῷ ἐ[ν τᾷ] πόλι πρόσθε [ἔοντος. αἰ δέ κέ τις]  
 [τῶγ κατεληλυθόν]των μὴ ἐμμένη ἐν ταῖς διαλυσί[εσ]σι ταύ[ταις],  
 [? μήκετι ἀπυκομ]ιζέσθω παρ τᾶς πόλιος κτήματος μῆδενος, μη[δὲ στ]-  
 5 [εἰχέτω ἐπὶ μῇ]δεν τῷ παρεχώρησαν αὐτῷ οἱ ἐν τᾷ πόλι πρό[σθε]  
 [ἔοντες· ἀλλὰ σ]τείχοντον ἐπὶ ταῦτα τὰ κτήματα οἱ παρχωρήσαν[τ]-  
 [ες αὐτῷ ἐκ τῶν] ἐν τᾷ πόλι πρόσθε ἔόντων, καὶ οἱ στρόταγοι εἰς-  
 [αὐθις ἀπυφέρο]ντον ἐπὶ τὸν ἐν τᾷ πόλι πρόσθε ἔοντα τὰ κτήματα  
 [ὡς μὴ συναλλαγ]μένω τῷ κατεληλύθοντος, καὶ οἱ βασιλῆες προστί-  
 10 [θησθον τῷ ἐν τ]ᾷ πόλι πρόσθε ἔοντι ὡς τέχναν τεχναμένω τῷ κα-  
 [τεληλύθοντος]. μηδ' αἰ κέ τις δίκαν γράφῃται περὶ τ[ο]ύτων, μὴ εἰσά-  
 [γοντον οἱ περὶ]δρομοι καὶ οἱ δικάσκοποι μηδὲ ἄ[λλ]α ἄρχα μῆδεῖα.  
 [ῥέπιμέλεσθαι δὲ] τοῖς στροτάγοις καὶ τοῖς β[ασίλ]ῃας καὶ τοῖς πε-  
 [ριδρόμοις καὶ τ]οῖς δικασκόποις καὶ ταῖς [ἄλλα]ις ἄρχαις, αἶ κε  
 15 [μὴ γίνῃται ἅπαν]τα ὡς ἐν τῷ ψ[αφίσματι γέγραπ]ται, κατάρρεντον  
 [δὲ τὸν ἀθέτεντά τι τῶν ἐν τῷ ψαφίσματι γεγρα]μμένων, ὥς κε μῆδ-  
 [εν οἱ εἰς —————<sup>ε.30 31</sup>—————] πρὸς τοῖς ἐν τᾷ πόλι  
 [πρόσθε ἔοντας, ἀλλὰ ὁμόνοοι καὶ διαλε]λύμενοι πάντες πρὸς ἀλ-  
 [λάλοις πολιτεύου]το ἀνεπιβολλε]ύτως καὶ ἐμμένειεν ἐν τᾷ ἀ-

The details are uncertain, and many restorations are speculative, but the general sense is clear enough. Earlier editors largely repeated the restorations of Dittenberger in *OGIS*; we generally follow Heisserer & Hodot (who make their more tentative suggestions only in their commentary), without listing all the differences between their restorations and earlier restorations.

4 Heisserer: μὴ [—————<sup>11</sup>—————]ζέσθω *OGIS*, Heisserer & Hodot. 13 *OGIS*, Heisserer: unrestored Heisserer & Hodot. 18 ὁμόνοοι καὶ Heisserer, Heisserer & Hodot, after Hoffmann, *Die griechische Dialekte*,

ii. 55–60 no. 83; διάγειεν οἱ *OGIS*.

- <sup>14</sup> If any one has been exiled from the city or killed after a lawsuit has been held in accordance with the law, the law shall be applied. If in any other way any of the Mytilenaeans or those living in Mytilene should, in the prytany of Ditas son of Saonymus, have been deprived of his rights and exiled from the city or killed, [<sup>?</sup> those ow]ning money to any of these — — —

### B

— — — and let the *basileis* favour the man who has returned on the grounds that the man who was previously in the city was guilty of craft. If any of those who have returned does not abide by this settlement, let him no longer recover (?) from the city any possession, nor enter on any of the possessions made over to him by those who were previously in the city; but let those who made over these possessions, from those who were previously in the city, enter on them, and let the *strategoï* transfer the possessions again to the man who was previously in the city on the grounds that the man who returned has not been reconciled, and let the *basileis* favour the man who was previously in the city on the grounds that the man who returned has been guilty of craft. If any one brings a lawsuit concerning these matters, let it not be introduced by the *peridromoi* or the *dikaskopoi* or any other authority.

- <sup>13</sup> The *strategoï* and the *basileis* and the *peridromoi* and the *dikaskopoi* and the other authorities shall take care (?), if all the things are not done as has been written in the decree, to condemn the man who set at naught any of the things written in the decree, so that there shall be nothing/nobody — — — with regard to those who were previously in the city, but they may all be citizens with one another in a state of agreement and settle-



- 20 [ναγραφείσαι διαγράφαι καὶ ἐν τᾷ]ι διαλύσι τᾷ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ψα-  
[φίσματι. διαιτάταις δὲ ἔλεσθ]αι τὸν δᾶμον ἄνδρας εἴκοσι, δέκα  
[μὲν ἐκ τῶν κατελθόντων, δέκ]α δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἐμ τᾷ πόλει πρόσθε ἐόντων.  
[οὔτοι δὲ σπουδαίως ?φυλάσσω]ντον καὶ ἐπιμέλεσθον ὥς μῆδεν ἔσ-  
[ται ἐνάντιον τοῖς τε κατ]ελθόντεσσι καὶ τοῖς ἐν τᾷ πόλει προσ-  
25 [θε ἐόντεσσι μηδετέρως]. καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀμφισβητημένων κτημάτων  
[? ὑπὸ τῷ κατελθόντων κ]αὶ πρὸς τοῖς ἐν τᾷ πόλει ἔοντας καὶ πρὸς  
[ἀλλάλοισι, ? ὥς πάντα μ]ὲν διαλύθησονται, αἱ δὲ μῆ, ἔσσονται ὥς δικ-  
[αιότατοι, καὶ ἐν τα]ῖς διαλυσίεσσι ταῖς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπέκρινε  
[ταῖς ἐν τᾷ διαγράφ]αι ἐμμενέοισι πάντες, καὶ οἰκήσοισι τὰμ πό-  
30 [λιν καὶ τὰν χώραν ὁ]μονόεντες πρὸς ἀλλάλοισι. καὶ περὶ χρημάτων  
[ὥς ἔσται εἰς τὸ θέσθ]αι ταῖς διαλύσις ὥς πλείστα, καὶ περὶ ὅρκῳ  
[τόγ κε ἀπομόσσοισι οἷ] πόλιται, περὶ τούτων πάντων ὅσσα κε ὁμο-  
[λογέωσι πρὸς ἀλλάλο]ις, οἱ ἀγρέθεντες ἄνδρες φέροντον ἐπὶ τ-  
[ὸν δᾶμον, ὁ δὲ δᾶμος ἀκο]ύσαις, αἱ κε ἄγῃται συμφέρεῖν, βολλεύτω·  
35 [? αἱ δὲ κε —————<sup>12</sup> ———— τὰ] ὁμολογήμενα πρὸς ἀλλάλοισι συμφέρον-  
[τα, ? κύρια ἔσται καὶ τοῖς κα]τελθόντεσσι ἐπὶ Σμιθίνα προτάνιος  
[? ὅσσα κε τοῖς λοίποισι ψαφ]ίσθη. αἱ δὲ κέ τι ἐνδεύῃ τῷ ψαφίσματος,  
[περὶ τούτῳ ἂ κρίσις ἔστω ἐπ]ὶ τᾷ βόλλαι. κυρωθέντος δὲ τῷ ψαφίσ-  
[ματος ὑπὸ τῷ δάμῳ, εὐξασθαι] τὸν δᾶμον ἐν τᾷ εἰκορίσται τῷ μῆνις  
40 [τῷ Μαιμάκτηρος (?) πάντεσσι] τοῖς θεοῖσι ἐπὶ σωτηρίαι καὶ εὐδαι-  
[μονίαι τῷμ πολίταν πάντων] γενέσθαι τὰν διάλυσιν τοῖς κατελ-  
[θόντεσσι —————<sup>6</sup> ———— καὶ τοῖς] ἐν τᾷ πόλει ἐόντεσσι. τοῖς δ' ἐῖρηας τ-  
[οῖς δαμοτέλεας πάντας καὶ] ταῖς ἱρείαις οἰείην το[ῖς] ναύοις καὶ  
[τὸν δᾶμον πρὸς εὐχαν συνέλ]θην. τὰ δὲ ἱρα τὰ ὁ δᾶμος ἠῤῥατο ὅτε ἐξ-  
45 [ἐπεμψε τοῖς ἀγγέλοις πρὸς] τὸν βασιλῆα ἀπυδόμεναι τοῖς βασι-  
[λῆας —————<sup>18</sup> ————]τον παρέμμεναι δὲ τᾷ θυσίαι καὶ  
[τοῖς διαιτάταις καὶ τοῖς ἀ]γγέλοις τοῖς πρὸς τὸν βασιλῆα πρ[οσ]-  
[πέμφθεντας τοῖς τε ἀπὸ τῶν] ἐν τᾷ πόλει ἐόντων καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ τ[ῶν]  
[κατελθόντων. τὸ δὲ ψάφισμα τ]οῦτο ἀναγράψαντας τοῖς τ[αμίαις]  
50 [εἰς στάλλαν λιθίναν θέμεναι εἰς τὸ ἱρον ————]

27–9 *OGIS*, except συναλλάγ]αι *OGIS*, διαγράφ]αι Heisserer: δίκ[ασται χρήμενοι ? and ἐπέκρινε, | [? ὥς ἐν τε τᾷ διαγράφ]αι Heisserer & Hodot. 39–40 Heisserer & Hodot (Μαιμάκτηρος cf. *IG* xii. ii 70, 239 [rev. xii Supp.] and texts from other Aeolian states): σύμπαντα] τὸν . . . [[πεδὰ τὰν θυσίαν εὐξασθαι] *OGIS*, Heisserer. 42–3 L. Robert, *BCH* lvii 1933, 521, Heisserer, Heisserer & Hodot: τ[ε καὶ ἱποποῖσις] *OGIS*. 45 or τὰν ὑπόκρισιν πρὸς] Heisserer & Hodot. 46 unrestored Heisserer & Hodot: γενεθλίῳσι κατ' ἐνιαυ]τὸν *OGIS*, which is one letter too long; τοῖς θεοῖσι κατ' ὀνίαν]τον Heisserer. 47–8 Heisserer & Hodot: π[ε]μψ[ε]ντας τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν πρόσθε ἐ]ν *OGIS*. 50 end unrestored Heisserer & Hodot: τὰς Ἀθῆνας.] *OGIS*, Heisserer.

For the general context see on 83. Mytilene like other island states probably gave its allegiance to Philip's advance forces in 336, to Memnon in 335, and to Alexander in 334. We first read of it in the literary sources when it refused to go over to Memnon in 333 and was besieged by him, but after his death it made overtures to Pharnabazus,

ment, without plotting, and may abide by the transcript [*diagraphē*] written up and by the settlement in this decree.

- 21 The people shall elect twenty arbitrators, ten from those who have returned and ten from those previously in the city. Let these guard zealously (?) and take care that there shall be nothing contrary for those who have returned and those who were previously in the city, on either side, and concerning the possessions disputed by those who have returned (?), both with those in the city and with one another, that everything shall be settled, or, if not, they shall be as just as possible, and all shall abide by the settlement which the king adjudged in the transcript, and live in the city and the territory in agreement with one another.
- 30 And concerning money, that it is to be available for implementing the settlement as far as possible, and concerning the oath which the citizens are to swear, concerning all of these whatever they agree with one another the men elected shall bring before the people, and the people shall hear it and if it appears beneficial let them deliberate: if — — — what they agree with one another to be beneficial, there shall be valid also for those (?) who returned in the prytany of Smithinas whatever was voted for the others (?).
- 37 If there is anything lacking in the decree, concerning this the judgment shall rest with the council.
- 38 When the decree has been ratified by the people, the people shall pray on the twentieth of the month Maimakter (?) to all the gods that the settlement shall be for the salvation and happiness of all the citizens for those who have returned — — — and for those in the city. All the publicly appointed priests and priestesses shall open the temples and the people shall come together for prayer. The rites which the people vowed when they sent out the messengers to the king shall be rendered by the *basileis* — — —. There shall be present at the sacrifice the arbitrators and the messengers sent to the king both by those in the city and by those who returned.
- 49 This decree shall be written up by the treasurers on a stone *stèle* and placed in the sanctuary — — —

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agreeing to become ‘an ally of Darius in accordance with the peace made in the time of Antalcidas’, but the Persians installed a garrison under Lycomedes of Rhodes and made a restored exile, Diogenes, ‘tyrant’ (Arr. *Anab.* II. 1, D.S. XVII. 29. ii; the reference to the peace of Antalcidas presumably guaranteed that Mytilene as an island state

was to be an ally and not a subject). The Athenian Chares, who had been operating as a freelance mercenary commander (cf. Polyæn. v. 44. iii), was perhaps won over by Memnon, and after this he was installed in Mytilene with a force of two thousand Persians; but in 332 Mytilene was one of the states recovered for Alexander by Hegelochus (Arr. *Anab.* iii. 2. vi–vii, Curt. iv. v. 22).

Heisserer & Hodot, noticing the emphasis on democracy and the attempt to achieve reconciliation rather than vengeance, compare Chios (84. *A*) and Ephesus (Arr. *Anab.* i. 17. x cf. 18. x) and associate *A* with the events of the 330s. *B* has been associated by many editors, from Boeckh (*CIG* 2166) onwards, with Alexander's order for the restoration of Greek exiles in 324 (cf. on 101); but before the discovery of *A* a date in the 330s had been preferred by C. B. Welles (*AJA*<sup>2</sup> xlii 1938, 258 n. 4) and others, most recently by Heisserer. There is ample evidence in the literary sources for upheavals in Mytilene in the 330s; and the discovery of *A* strengthens the case for an early date for *B*. Heisserer originally proposed dating *B* to 332 (cf. Worthington); Heisserer & Hodot do not offer a specific date for either text, but think that *A* and *B* belong either to the same year or to consecutive years. The emphasis on democracy in *A* points to 334 as the most likely date for that; *B* could belong either to a later stage in the settlement of 334 or to the settlement of 332. The restoration of exiles would inevitably lead to rival claims to property, from those in possession of it before they went into exile and from those who had acquired it thereafter (see Lonis, 98–9; cf. 39, 84, 101; in 322/1 when Athens changed from democracy to oligarchy those who remained citizens were allowed to retain their property [D.S. xviii. 18. v]).

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### Alexander the Great and Priene, 334 and after

The first two texts from a series inscribed on one *anta* and the adjoining wall of the *pronaos* of the temple of Athena *Polias* at Priene: these two were at the top of the front of the *anta*. Now in the British Museum (apart from a fragment containing part of *B*, 4–5, which is in the Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen, Berlin, and the fragment containing *B*, 17–22, which is *in situ* at Priene). Phot. *I. Priene* 156 (*A*), 1 (*B*, 1–10); Heisserer, *Alexander*, 143 pl. 14 (*A*), 147–53 pls. 15–24 (*B*, 1–16); *Chiron* xxvi 1996, 241 pl. 4 (*B*, 17–22). Facs. Heisserer, 145 fig. 7 (*B*, 1–10).

See in general E. Badian, *Ancient Society and Institutions* . . . V. Ehrenberg, 37–69, esp. 46–53; S. M. Sherwin-White, *JHS* cv 1985, 69–89; N. H. Demand, *Phoen.* xl 1986, 35–44; H. Botermann, *Hermes* cxxii 1994, 162–87; A. B. Bosworth, in Settis (ed.), *I Greci*, ii. iii. 47–80, esp. 62–73.

#### *A*

*Koinē* with Athena's name left in East Ionic form; inscribed in letters 0.052–0.057 m. (= 2–2¼ in.) high, ending each line with the end of a word.

*I. Priene* 156; *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 277; Tod 184; Heisserer, *Alexander*, 142–68 ch. vi, esp. 143–5\*. Trans. Heisserer; Harding 105.

βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος  
ἀνέθηκε τὸν ναὸν  
Ἀθηναίῃ Πολιάδι.

The divinities to whom the vow is made in *A* conclude with a remarkable set of personifications; as for the beginning of the list, we have no other evidence for Zeus Heraios or for Queen (Basile) on Lesbos; Zeus 'of Agreement' (Homonoios) appears in an inscription of Assus (facing Lesbos on the mainland) of the Augustan period (*IK Assos* 15. 2), and Homonoia is an epithet of Artemis in a dedication at Mytilene (*IG* xii. ii 108), but there is no certain evidence for a cult of Homonoia earlier than the last third of the fourth century (G. Theriault, *LEC* lxiv 1996, 127–50, discussing this inscription 145–7; cf. Thériault's *Le Culte d'Homonoia*, 19–20). Fulfilment of Good Things, included apparently in an attempt to avoid any impediment to fulfilment, is discussed by E. Voutyras in Christides & Jordan (edd.), *γλώσσα καὶ μαγεία*, 94–103 (cf. *SEG* xlvii 2354): the closest parallel (but without personification) is a late-fourth-century inscription of Colophon, *AJP* lvi 1935, 358–72 no. I. In *B* a remarkable act of corporate prayer is prescribed (which by the time l. 46 is reached has come to involve a sacrifice): for discussion of what this may have meant see Pulleyn, *Prayer in Greek Religion*, 173–8, citing Thuc. vi. 32. i–ii, D.S. xx. 50. vi and other texts.

The *prytanis* by whom Mytilene dates was presumably an annual official; of the other officials mentioned in *B* the *basileis* ('kings': e.g. *IG* xii. ii 18. 10) and the *strategoí* (e.g. 15. 13) recur elsewhere, but we have no other evidence for the *peridromoi* ('runners around') or the *dikaskopoi* ('considerers of justice').

In addition to the linguistic features noted on 83, notice ἀπὸν for ἀπὸ (e.g. *A*. 15), στροτάγοι for στρατηγοί (*B*. 7).

#### *A*

King Alexander dedicated the temple to Athena *Polias*.

## B

Attic *koine*, inscribed in letters 0.035–0.050 m. (= 1 1/3–2 in.) high, ending each line with the end of a word. The script is different from that of *A* but similar to that of the documents inscribed immediately below *B* (Sherwin-White, 72–4).

*I. Priene* 1; *OGIS* 1; Tod 185; Heisserer, *Alexander*, 142–68 ch. vi, esp. 145–55\*; C. V. Crowther, *Chiron* xxxvi 1996, 195–250 at 203 (ll. 17–22)\*. Trans. Heisserer; Harding 106.

βασιλέως Ἀλ[εξανδ]ρου.  
 τῶν ἐν Ναυλόχωι κ[ατοικοῦν]-  
 των, ὅσοι μὲν εἰσι [Πριηνεῖ]ς, αὐτο-  
 [νό]μους εἶναι κα[ὶ ἐλευθ]έρους,  
 5 ἔχ[οντ]ας τήν τε γῆν καὶ τὰς οἰκί-  
 ας τὰς ἐν τῇ περὶ πάσας καὶ τῇ γ-  
 χώρᾳ, ὥ[σπερ οἱ] Πριηνεῖς αὐτοῖ[ς].  
 [—<sup>ε8</sup>—] αἰς ἃν δέω[νται —<sup>4 5</sup>—]  
 τοδε [—<sup>5</sup>—] καὶ Μυρσ[ηλείωγ]  
 10 [κ]αὶ Π[εδιέωγ γῆν, τὴν δὲ περὶ] χώρᾳ  
 [γ]ινώσκω ἐμὴν εἶναι, τοὺς δὲ κα-  
 τοικοῦντας ἐν ταῖς κώμαις ταύ-  
 ταις φέρειν τοὺς φόρους τῆς  
 δὲ συντάξεως ἀφ' ἡμῶν τῇ Πριη-  
 15 νέω πόλει, καὶ τῇ φρουρᾷ ἐν ἐ-  
 φ' ἡμῶν ἐλ[ίσσας] εἰς τὴν ἄκραν ?  
 [—<sup>16</sup>—] δια [ . . . ]  
 [—<sup>6</sup>—] ομματα τὰς δίκας [ . . . ]  
 [—<sup>ε12</sup>—] κρεῖναι ὑμᾶς  
 20 [ . . . ] λ [ . . . ] ἔ [—<sup>ε4</sup>—] τὸ [δ]ικαστήριον  
 [ . . . ] ἔ [—<sup>ε8</sup>—] ἐγκλημα [ . . . ]  
 [—<sup>14</sup>—] ὑμᾶς [ . . . ]

6–8 Heisserer, noting that previous restorations were not sufficiently punctilious about the relative positions of the different fragments.

9–10 Heisserer: Μυρσ[ηλείωγ] cf. *I. Magnesia* 116. 53, Π[εδιέωγ] cf. e.g. *I. Priene*

3. 14, 14. 6, 15. 14, 16. 10.

16 R. Herzog, *RFIC* lxx = 2xx 1942, 17.

17–22 Crowther, who reports

that in 18 only the first *a* can now be read.

For the general context see on 83. Priene, north of Miletus on the Asiatic mainland (see maps in Heisserer, 159; *Barrington Atlas*, 61 with inset), is not mentioned by the literary sources for Alexander's campaign in Asia Minor, but he is likely to have visited it in 334 between his arrival in Ephesus and his attack on Miletus (Arr. *Anab.* 1. 18. ii–iii). The city of Priene was left inland by the silting-up of the Maeander (cf. Str. 579. xii. viii. 17): the nineteenth-century German excavators, finding nothing pre-hellenistic, supposed that the city was founded on a new site about the third quarter of the fourth century, and there have been various attempts to date the refoundation (see e.g. Hornblower, *Mausolus*, 323–30; Sherwin-White, 88–9); Demand has argued that the excavated site was after all the original site and there was no refoundation (cf. her *Urban Relocation*, 140–6); Botermann, noting that the excavated city was laid

Of King Alexander.

2 Of those living in Naulochum, as many as are Prienians shall be autonomous and free, holding all their land and houses in the city and the countryside like the Prienians themselves.

8 — — — and the land of the *Myrseloi* and the *Pedieis*, and the countryside around, I determine to be mine, and those living in these villages shall pay the tribute [*phoroi*]; but I exempt the city of Priene from the contribution [*syntaxis*], and I allow you to introduce the garrison into the acropolis (?) — — — the lawsuits — — — judges you — — — law-court — — — us — — — you — — —

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out on a regular grid, suggests that there was a refoundation, but on the original site (cf. below). See J. J. Coulton, *CAH*<sup>2</sup>, plates v–vi, 77–8 no. 81 (on the city, accepting a refoundation), 68–9 no. 73 (on the temple).

Sherwin-White emphasizes that these two texts are the first two from a large *dossier* of documents, ranging from the time of Alexander to the late second century. *A* was inscribed first, presumably not long after Alexander's offer to dedicate the temple was accepted or the part on which the text is inscribed was completed. *B*, she argues, was inscribed not in the time of Alexander but in the time of Lysimachus, together with the documents inscribed below it which refer to events of 287/6; it may be an extract, chosen as suitable for inscription in the 280s, from a longer document, which would explain its abruptness.

We cannot be sure how far the building of the temple had advanced in 334: the most that we can infer from *A* is that when Alexander's offer to dedicate the temple was made (perhaps, but not necessarily, in 334) the temple had recently been built or was currently being built. Pythius, the architect of the temple, was architect also of the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus (Vitruv. 1. i. 12 with vii. *praef.* 12). Botermann sees this temple as a sequel to the Mausoleum and to the temple of Zeus at Labraunda, and suggests that the Hecatomnids provided the original initiative and finance for the refoundation of Priene and that after an interruption Alexander enabled the work to be continued. The completion of the temple is referred to (though the whole project had not yet been completed) in *I. Priene* 3 (dated 296/5 by Crowther, who argues that the phrase *Πριηνέων αὐτονόμων ἐόντων*, 'the Prienians being autonomous', which appears in that text was used not only after Priene's liberation from the Persians but again after a period of tyranny). The cult statue was particularly admired (Paus. vii. 5. v).

This boldly inscribed dedicatory inscription follows a precedent set by the Hecatomnids at Labraunda (*Labraunda*, iii. 13–19; the temple of Zeus, dedicated by Idrieus, 16). The Prienians' allowing Alexander to dedicate their temple may be contrasted with what we are told about the Artemisium at Ephesus: Alexander instructed the Ephesians to pay to Artemis what they had previously paid as tribute to the Persians (Arr. *Anab.* 1. 17. x); but they allegedly declined his offer to pay the full cost of the temple and dedicate it (Str. 640–1. xiv. i. 22, with an anachronistic reference to Alexander as a god). For a dedication by Alexander at Xanthus, in Lycia, see *SEG* xxx 1533.

*B* has traditionally been regarded as belonging to Alexander's settlement of 334, but it was not inscribed at the same time as *A*, and need not reflect the same occasion as *A*. The land of the *Myrseloi* and the *Pedieis*, and the countryside around, presumably had been domains of the Persian king and are here said to be domains of Alexander; those living in the villages, like other non-Greeks in Asia Minor, used to pay *phoros* to the Persian King and now pay it to Alexander; Greeks in Asia Minor, like those of Priene itself, were exempt from *phoros* (Arr. *Anab.* 1. 17. i, vii, 18. ii, cf. 17. x), but as allies of Alexander they could be expected to pay a *syntaxis*, the term first devised for the Second Athenian League (cf. on 22), which might be as burdensome as the old *phoros* (cf. Arr. *Anab.* 1. 26. iii, v, 27. iv—not using *syntaxis*, and in the last passage using *phoros*), and Badian has argued persuasively that Priene's exemption from the *syntaxis* in *B* is better interpreted as a revision of an earlier settlement under which Priene did

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### Regulations of the Klytidai, Chios, 330s

A marble *stèle*, complete but damaged at top and sides. Found at Kato Aigialos, now in Chios Museum (Inv. 119). Photo of part, *BSA* lv 1960, pl. 49b.

have to pay a *syntaxis*. He supposed that *syntaxis* implies a league, and that the Greeks of the Asiatic mainland like those of the islands (cf. 78, 84) must have been added to the League of Corinth. That does not follow, and there is no other evidence to support it. At the other extreme, Bosworth thinks that the Greeks of Asia were not made allies but, although 'liberated' from Persia, became subjects of Alexander to be treated at his discretion; he notes that the cities later offered by Alexander to Phocion included the undoubtedly Greek Cius (Plut. *Phoc.* 18. vii–viii, Ael. *V.H.* 1. 25)—but Alexander's attitude to the Greek states at the end of his reign may not be good evidence for his attitude at the beginning. We believe that apart from incorporation in the League of Corinth Badian's interpretation is to be accepted: Priene will have been made an ally of Alexander and have had a *syntaxis* imposed on it in 334; in the subsequent troubles in Alexander's rear the Prienians remained loyal while the non-Greeks in Naulochum did not; and so c.332 Naulochum was firmly attached to Priene and the Greeks were rewarded (including those living in Naulochum:<sup>1</sup> although *phoros* and *syntaxis* were collected from communities, personal exemption could be conferred within a non-exempt community), but the territory of the non-Greeks was—probably remained—royal land and they had to pay *phoros*. In the hellenistic period the inhabitants of royal land, *chora basilike*, came to be referred to as *laoi* (a word meaning 'people'), but that language is not used here (cf. Papazoglou, *Laoi et paroikoi*, 66–8). The fact emphasized by Sherwin-White, that this text was inscribed not at the time but later, and may be an excerpt rather than a complete document, does not invalidate the argument that exemption from *syntaxis* makes best sense as a modification of an earlier settlement in which *syntaxis* was imposed; and the other texts in our collection are sufficient evidence that Alexander often intervened in a place more than once.

Naulochum was the harbour town of Priene, perhaps to the south-west (*Barrington Atlas*, 61; cf. Plin. *N.H.* v. 113). The 'city' of l. 6 will be Priene (accepted by most commentators, though some have argued for Naulochum and have tried to draw strange conclusions from that). An Argive list of *thearodokoi* (hosts of sacred envoys) dated c.330 names a man in Naulochum but none in Priene (*SEG*xxiii 189. ii. 10)—but this reflects the man's residence, not his citizenship: it similarly names a man in the harbour town Notium and not one in Colophon (ii. 7).

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<sup>1</sup> Botermann, 183–7, suggests that while the new Priene was being built all the citizens of Priene were living in Naulochum.



Attic *koine* with some East Ionic orthography. *Stoichedon* 28.

G. Sourias, *AM* iii 1878, 203–7; B. Haussoullier, *BCH* iii 1879, 45–58; *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 987; *LSCG* 118; PEP Chios 80\*; Graf, *Nordionische Kulte*, 428–9. See also W. G. Forrest, *BSA* lv 1960, 179–81; Graf, *Nordionische Kulte*, 32–7; Jones, *Public Organization* 192–4; Le Guen-Pollet 4.

## §i

- [πρ]εσβύτ[εροι —————<sup>17</sup>— Κλ]  
 [ν]τίδαις ε[... ἐν τῷ]ι τεμένει [τῶν Κ]-  
 [λ]υτιδῶν [ο]ῖκον τεμένειον ἱερὸν οἶ[κ]-  
 [ο]δομήσασθαι καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ τὰ κοινὰ [ἐ]-  
 5 [κ] τῶν ἰδιωτικῶν οἰκιῶν εἰς τὸν κο[ι]-  
 [ν]ὸν οἶκον ἐνεγκεῖν. θυσαμένους ἐ[κ]-  
 [α]λλιέρησεν οἰκοδομήσασθαι καὶ [τ]-  
 [ἀ] ἱερὰ τὰ κ[οι]νὰ ἐ[κ] τῶν ἰδιωτικῶν οἶ[κ]-  
 [κ]ίων εἰς τὸν [κοιν]ὸν οἶκον ἐνεγκε[ι]-  
 10 [ν].

## §ii

- ἐπὶ πρυτάνεω[ς Φο]ῖνι[κο]ς, Πλυντη[ρ]-  
 [ι]ῶνος τετράδι, [ἐ]γνωσαν Κλυτίδαι [θ]-  
 [ύ]σασθαι περὶ τῶν ἱερ[ῶν] τ[ῶ]ν Κλυτι[δ]-  
 [ῶ]ν τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἰδιωτικαῖ[ς ο]ἰκίαι[ς]  
 [δ]ντων, πότερον δεῖ α[δ]τὰ εἰς τὸν οἶ[κ]-  
 15 [ο]ν ὃν Κλυ[τ]ίδαι κατὰ μα[ντεῖ]αν ὠικ[ο]-  
 [δ]ομήσαντο φέρεσθαι τῇ ἡμέραι ἥ[ι]  
 [γί]νεται ἡ θυσία, τὸν δὲ ἄλλον χρόν[ο]-  
 [ν] παρὰ τοῖς ἰδιώται[ς] φυλάσσεσθαι[ι]  
 [κ]αθάπερ καὶ πρότερον, ἢ διὰ παντὸς [α]-  
 20 [δ]τὰ κείσθαι ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ. θυσαμέν[ο]-  
 [ι]ς ἐκαλλιέρησεν διὰ παντὸς τὰ ἱε[ρ]-  
 [ὰ κ]εῖσθαι ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ.

## §iii

- ἐπὶ πρυτάν[ε]-  
 [ω]ς Κλεοκύδους, Ποσιδεῶνος τετάρ[τ]-  
 [η]ι ἐξ εἰκάδος, ἐγνωσαν Κλυτίδαι τ[ῶ]ν  
 25 [ι]ερῶν οἴκῳ τῷ Κλυτιδῶν, ἐν ᾧ τὰ [π]-  
 [α]τρῶια ἱερὰ κάθηται, καὶ τῷ χώρῳ[ι]  
 [τῶ]ι πρὸς τῷ οἴκῳ χρῆσθαι Κλυτί[δ]-  
 [α]ς κοινῇ, φρατρίαν δὲ μηδὲ ἰδιώτη[ν]  
 [μ]ηθένα τῷ οἴκῳ τούτῳ χρῆσθαι [μ]-  
 30 [η]δὲ ἄλλῳ δοῦναι χρήσασθαι μηθε[ν]-  
 [ι]· ὅς δ' ἂν παρὰ ταῦτα ἢ ἀπὸς χρήσητ[α]-  
 [ι] τῷ οἴκῳ ἢ ἐτέρῳ δῶι χρήσασθαι[ι],  
 [ἀ]ποδότω καθ' ἐκάστην χρήσιν ἢ δόσι[ι]-

## §i

elders . . . whether the Klytidai should build a sacred sanctuary building in the sanctuary of the Klytidai and bring the sacred things held in common out of the private houses and into the common building. When they sacrificed the sacrifice proved favourable to building and bringing the sacred things held in common out of the private houses and into the common building.

## §ii

- <sup>10</sup> In the prytany of Phoenix, on the fourth of Plynterion, the Klytidai decided to sacrifice about the sacred things of the Klytidai which were in private houses, whether they should bring them to the building which the Klytidai had built in accordance with the sacrificial consultation on the day on which the sacrifice takes place, but for the future keep them safe in private houses as previously, or whether they should be placed in the building for all time. When they sacrificed the sacrifice proved favourable to the sacred things being placed in the building for all time.

## §iii

- <sup>22</sup> In the prytany of Cleocydes, on the twenty-sixth of Posideon, the Klytidai decided that the Klytidai should use the sacred building of the Klytidai, in which the ancestral sacred things are placed, and the land about the building, in common, and that neither phratry nor individual is to use this building or to grant to any other to use it. Whoever either himself uses the building contrary to these injunctions or grants to another to use it, let him pay to the Klytidai

- [ν Κ]⟨λ⟩ντίδαις χιλίας δραχμὰς ἱερὰ[ς]  
 35 [το]ῦ Διὸς τοῦ Πατρώϊου, καὶ ταῖς ἐκ [τ]-  
 [ὦν] νόμων ἀραῖς ἔνοχος ἔστω· τοὺς δ' [ἐ]-  
 [πι]μελητὰς τὰς γενομένας γνώμας [π]-  
 [ερί] τοῦ οἴκου καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ τὰ[ς]  
 [ᾄμ]α μαντείας ἀναγράφαντας εἰς σ[τ]-  
 40 [ήλ]ην λιθάνην στήσαι παρὰ τὴν εἴσο[ο]-  
 [δο]ν τοῦ οἴκου.

34 *ΑΥΤΙΔΑΙ* on stone.

This stone records three decisions taken, the second decision in April or May and the third in around December (presumably but not certainly in the same year), by a corporate body called the Klytidai about the construction and use of a sacred building within their *temenos*. The first two decisions, about whether to construct the building and whether to put the ancestral sacred objects, which may be statues, in it, follow consultation of a god through sacrifice. The third decision, about who should be able to use the building, is taken without further consultation. The interest of the inscription lies in what the group is, what is at stake in these decisions, and the relationship of these decisions to other reforms on Chios.

Consultation of the gods about matters related to cult was common, but most commonly takes the form of oracular consultation (as in 58). Here sacrificial divination is practised: a seer (*mantis*) interprets the entrails of the animal sacrificed (presumably to Zeus Patroios, compare I. 35; on 'patroos' gods see 1). Such a form of divination is familiar from tragedy (compare Soph. *Antigone* 1005–11) but historically best attested in military contexts (e.g. X. *H.* III. iv. 15, *An.* VI. iv. 12, VI. v. 2). The repeated consultation, and the number of separate decisions, suggest that there were strongly held divergent opinions among the Klytidai on the matters in question. Leasing out cult buildings is well attested elsewhere (e.g. *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2499 records the leasing by the *orgeones* of Egretes in Attica in 306/5 of their *hieron* and buildings, requiring only that the lessee ensures that, when the *orgeones* sacrifice to the hero once a year, the building in which the *hieron* is located is open and roofed, and the kitchen, benches, and tables are available for use; see also 37). The significance of the decision to limit use to the Klytidai as a group depends upon identification of the Klytidai.

Except in the first case, where a single line of text appears to be lost (so Haussoullier), the decisions (*gnomai*) are prefaced both with a calendrical date and a reference to a *prytanis*; *prytanis* dating is found in earlier records of decisions by the state of Chios (*SIG*<sup>3</sup> 986) and has plausibly been restored in other inscribed records of decisions by subdivisions of the *polis*. The third decision here refers to curses 'from the laws', presumably a reference to the Klytidai's own rules (compare 5. 14). The Klytidai possess *epimeletai* (36–7) and also an archon, as we learn from an earlier fourth-century lease of extensive tracts of land by the Klytidai (PEP Chios 75, U. Fantasia, *Ann. Pisa*<sup>3</sup> VII 1977, 27–55). The form of the name Klytidai indicates that it is a group deriving from an eponymous figure, and indeed there is a famous family of Klytidai known from Elis

for each use or grant of use 1,000 dr. sacred to Zeus Patroios, and let him be liable to the curses prescribed in the laws. The overseers are to write up the decisions that have been made about the building and the sacred things and also the sacrificial consultations on a stone *stèle* and stand it by the entrance of the building.

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(see Her. xi. 33; Paus. vi. 17). Scholars have debated whether the phrase at l. 28 should be translated 'the phratry but not an individual' or 'no phratry or individual'; we believe that the latter is the best construal of the Greek, and in that case the refusal to permit use of the building to any phratry or individual militates against the Klytidai's being a phratry. What, then, were they?

The Klytidai are generally considered to have been a tribe (Forrest, 179; Jones, 193–4). We know quite a lot about the rather complicated tribal arrangements that prevailed on the island in the last quarter of the century (Forrest, 172 ff.). Those arrangements have been thought to stem from sweeping reforms in Chios around 325, perhaps in the wake of Alexander's insistence on the re-establishment of democracy in 334 (84). It is indeed because the reforms seem to leave little room for a tribe like the Klytidai that this document has been dated to the 330s—as pre-reform in content but late fourth-century in letter forms. Aristotle, *Pol.* v. 1319 B 19–27, remarks, with allusions to Cleisthenes at Athens and to Cyrene, that one useful democratic resource is to create new and more numerous tribes and phratries and to bring sacred things that were private into a few communal locations. Does this inscription attest to something of that sort happening on Chios?

The case for the late fourth-century reform's affecting or even abolishing the Klytidai is quite strong, but the case for the Klytidai's being a tribe is weaker: the prohibition on phratry use could as well be the banning of a superordinate as of a subordinate group. Indeed, given other evidence for gentilicial groups below the level of phratry on Chios (*SEG* xix 581), the failure to prohibit use of the building by such groups might indeed argue for the Klytidai's being themselves such a group. In that case this inscription records not a tribe usurping from phratries or other gentilicial groups the traditional privilege of confining cult objects to private houses (so Jones, 193–4), but an independent decision by a small gentilicial group to invest in a cult building and house its sacred objects there. This may be, like the earlier lease, good evidence for the lively communal life of the Klytidai and for on-going debate about the best use of their resources, rather than good evidence for wholesale reform of all sub-*polis* groups in a democratic reform.

The East Ionic dialect of this inscription is marked by the use of *ao* for *av* in e.g. *αὐτὸς* (14, 31).

## The Athenian ephebic oath and the ‘oath of Plataea’, mid fourth century

Marble *stèle* found at Akharnai (formerly Menidhi) together with a fourth-century deme decree of Acharnae (*SEG* xxi 519) relating to the altars of Ares and of Athena Areia. Now at the French School in Athens (inv. no. I 7). In the pediment above the inscription a large round shield flanked by helmet and greaves on one side, cuirass and (?) mantle on the other. Phot. Siewert, *Der Eid von Plataia*; G. Daux, *Charisterion A. Orlandos*, i. pls. I–II; (relief) Lawton, *Attic Document Reliefs*, pl. 92 no. 177; our Pl. 8.

θεοί.

ἱερὺς Ἀρεως καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς  
Ἀρείας Δίων Δίωνος Ἀχαρ-  
νεὺς ἀνέθηκεν. *vacat*

§i

- 5 ὄρκος ἐφήβων πάτριος, ὃν ὁμνύναι δεῖ τ-  
οὺς ἐφήβους· <sup>vvv</sup> οὐκ αἰσχνῶ τὰ ἱερὰ ὄπ-  
λα οὐδὲ λείψω τὸν παραστάτην ὅπου ἂν σ-  
τειχήσω· ἄμυνῶ δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἱερῶν καὶ ὁσ-  
ίων, καὶ ὅκ ἐλάττω παραδώσω τὴν πατρίδ-  
10 α, πλείω δὲ καὶ ἀρείω κατὰ τε ἑμαυτὸν κα-  
ὶ μετὰ ἀπάντων, καὶ εὐηκοήσω τῶν ἀεὶ κρ-  
αινόντων ἐμφρόνως καὶ τῶν θεσμῶν τῶν  
ἰδρυμένων καὶ οὓς ἂν τὸ λοιπὸν ἰδρύσω-  
νται ἐμφρόνως· ἐὰν δέ τις ἀναιρεῖ, οὐκ ἐ-  
15 πιτρέψω κατὰ τε ἑμαυτὸν καὶ μετὰ πάντ-  
ων, καὶ τιμήσω ἱερὰ τὰ πάτρια. ἔστορες [[ο]]  
θεοὶ Ἀγλαυρος, Ἑστία, Ἐννῶ, Ἐννάλιος, Ἀρ-  
ης καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ Ἀρεία, Ζεὺς, Θαλλῶ, Αὐξώ, Ἥγε-  
μόνη, Ἡρακλῆς, ὅροι τῆς πατρίδος, πυροί,  
20 κριθαί, ἄμπελοι, ἐλάαι, συκαί. *vacat*  
*vacat*

§ii

ὄρκος ὃν ὥμοσαν Ἀθηναῖοι ὅτε ἡμελλον  
μάχεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους· <sup>vvvvv</sup>

Siewert does not indicate *vacats*.

7–8 σ|τειχήσω on stone, σ|τ(ο)ιχήσω Siewert after Robert (comparing

Poll. viii. 105). 9 ὅκ on stone; ο(ὐ)κ Siewert after Robert: ‘perhaps due to a careless omission’, ‘probably

a careless mistake’ Thraette, *Grammar*, i. 352 n. 2, 256 n. 5, but N.B. ὁδὲ in *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 236. a. 12 in the context of an oath, firmly dated to 338.

Attic-Ionic occasionally retaining old  $\epsilon$  for  $\epsilon\iota$ ,  $o$  for  $o\iota$  and once, perhaps,  $o$  for  $ov$ . *Stoichedon* 20 lines 2–4, *stoichedon* 31 from line 5 onwards.

Whole *stèle*: Robert, *Études épigraphiques et philologiques*, 302 ff.; Tod 204; G. Daux, *Charisterion A. Orlandos*, i. 78–90; Siewert, *Der Eid von Plataiai*.<sup>\*</sup> Ephebic oath only: Daux, *REG* lxxxiv 1971, 370–83; Merkelbach, *ZPE* ix 1972, 277–83; Siewert, *JHS* xcvi 1977, 102–11; Trans. Harding 109 (ephebic oath only), Fornara 57 (Plataea oath only). See also C. Habicht, *Hermes* lxxxix 1961, 1–35; Burckhardt, *Bürger und Soldaten*.

Gods. The priest of Ares and Athena Areia, Dio son of Dio of Acharnae has dedicated this.

### §i

- 5 The ancestral oath of the ephebes, which the ephebes must swear. I shall not bring shame upon the sacred weapons nor shall I desert the man beside me, wherever I stand in the line. I shall fight in defence of things sacred and profane and I shall not hand the fatherland on lessened, but greater and better both as far as I am able and with all. And I shall be obedient to whoever exercise power reasonably on any occasion and to the laws currently in force and any reasonably put into force in future. If anyone destroys these I shall not give them allegiance both as far as is in my own power and in union with all, and I shall honour the ancestral religion.
- 16 Witnesses: the Gods Aglaurus, Hestia, Enyo, Enyalios, Ares and Athena Areia, Zeus, Thallo, Auxo, Hegemone, Heracles, and the boundaries of my fatherland, wheat, barley, vines, olives, figs.

### §ii

- 21 Oath which the Athenians swore when they were about to fight against the barbarians.

μαχοῦμαι ἕως ἂν ζῶ, καὶ οὐ περὶ πλέονος  
 ποήσομαι τὸ ζῆν ἢ τὸ ἐλεύθερος εἶναι, κ-  
 25 αὶ οὐκ ἀπολείψω τὸν ταξίαρχον οὐδὲ τὸν  
 ἐνωμοτάρχην οὔτε ζῶντα οὔτε ἀποθαν-  
 όντα, καὶ οὐκ ἄπειμι ἑὰ μὴ οἱ ἡγεμόνες  
 ἀφηγῶνται, καὶ ποήσω ὅ τι ἂν οἱ στρατηγ-  
 οὶ παραγγείλωσιν, καὶ τοὺς ἀποθανόντ-  
 30 ας τῶν συμμαχεσαμένων θάψω ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ  
 καὶ ἄθαπτον οὐδένα καταλείψω· καὶ ν-  
 ικήσας μαχόμενος τοὺς βαρβάρους δεκ-  
 ατεύσω τὴν Θηβαίων πόλιν, καὶ οὐκ ἀνασ-  
 τήσω Ἀθήνας οὐδὲ Σπάρτην οὐδὲ Πλαται-  
 35 ας οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων τῶν συμμαχεσ-  
 αμένων οὐδεμίαν, οὐδὲ λιμῷ περιόφομι-  
 αι ἐργομένους οὐδὲ ὑδάτων ναματιαίω-  
 ν εἶρξω οὔτε φίλους ὄντας οὔτε πολεμί-  
 ους. καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐμπεδορκοῖν τὰ ἐν τῷ ὅ-  
 40 ρκῷ γεγραμμένα, ἢ πόλις ἢ μὴ ἄνοσος εἴ-  
 η, εἰ δὲ μή, νοσοίη· καὶ πόλις ἢ μὴ ἀπόρθητ-  
 ος εἴη, εἰ δὲ μή, πορθοίτο· καὶ φέροι ἢ μὴ, ε-  
 ἰ δὲ μή, ἄφορος εἴη· καὶ γυναῖκες τίκτοι-  
 εν ἑοικότα γονεῦσιν, εἰ δὲ μή, τέρατα· κα-  
 45 ἰ βοσκήματα τίκτοι ἑοικότα βοσκήμασ-  
 ι, εἰ δὲ μή, τέρατα. ταῦτα ὁμόσαντες κατα-  
 καλύψαντες τὰ σφάγια ταῖς ἀσπίσιν ὑπ-  
 ὀ σάλπιγγος ἀρὰν ἐποιήσαντο, εἴ τι τῶν  
 ὁμωμομένων παραβαίνοιεν καὶ μὴ ἐμπε-  
 50 δορκοί(ε)ν τὰ ἐν τῷ ὅρκῳ γεγραμμένα, α-  
 ὑτοῖς ἄγος εἶναι τοῖς ὁμόσασιν. *vacat*

25 ταξίαρχον Daux, ταξίλοχον Robert.  
on stone.

42 καὶ (καρποὺς) φέροι (γῆ) Todafter Prakken.

50 δορκοῖν

Despite the inscription of 'Gods' on the cornice of the pediment of the *stèle*, in a manner reminiscent of decrees, this stone is a dedication by Dio, priest of the cult Ares and Athena Areia at Acharnae. We know nothing more of the priest, but a further inscription found together with this one records the decision by the deme of Acharnae, following an oracular consultation, to build an altar to Ares and Athena before the sacrifice of the Areia 'in order that the Athenians and the Acharnians may be pious toward the gods' (*SEG* xxi 519), and we may take the dedication of the text of these oaths to be a further way of manifesting Athenian piety. *SEG* xxi 519 is headed by a relief showing Athena, with aegis, helmet, and shield, crowning Ares who is shown in hoplite armour (Lawton, *Attic Document Reliefs*, no. 143, pl. 76). Acharnae, the largest of Athenian demes, contributing 24 of the 56 ephebes enrolled by the tribe

- 23 I shall fight while I live, and I shall not put life before being free, and I shall not desert the taxiarch nor the enomotarch, neither while they live nor when they are dead, and I shall not depart unless the leaders lead the way, and I shall do whatever the generals command, and I shall bury in the same place the dead of those who were allied, and I shall leave no one unburied.
- 31 And when I have been victorious fighting against the barbarians, I shall (totally destroy and) dedicate a tenth of the city of the Thebans, and I shall not raze Athens or Sparta or Plataea or any of the other cities that were allied, and I shall not overlook those who are oppressed by hunger and I shall not keep them from running water, whether they are friends or enemies.
- 39 And if I keep true to what has been written in the oath may my city be free from sickness, if not, may it be sick; and may my city be unravaged, but if not may it be ravaged; and my (land) bear, but if not, may it be barren; and may the women bear children like their parents, but if not, monsters; and may the animals bear young like the animals, but if not, monsters.
- 46 They swore these oaths, covered the sacrificial victims with their shields and at the sound of the trumpet made a curse: if they transgressed what was sworn and did not keep true to what had been written in the oath, a curse was to be upon the very people that had sworn.

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Oineis in 330/29 (Reinmuth, no. 12), had a fifth-century reputation for belligerence (Ar. *Ach.*, esp. 204–36; Thuc. II. 20. iv). Ares is widely attested as a god by whom oaths are sworn, and these two inscriptions suggest that the cult of Ares, which is attested in no other Attic deme, was promoted in connection with ephebic service by the deme of Acharnae with the support of the Athenians as a whole. The letter forms of the two inscriptions indicate a date in the middle of the fourth century, the similar sculptural treatment of the two cuirasses links the two reliefs, and the relief on the deme decree is closely related to other reliefs securely dated to the third quarter of the fourth century.

The interpretation of the inscription is tied up with the question of the genuineness of the two oaths which it records: do lines 5–21 indeed record the 'ancestral oath of the



ephebes' and lines 22–51 the oath which the Athenians took when they were about to fight against the Persians (at Plataea in 479), or are they a product of the invention of tradition and the rewriting of history by the Athenians in the fourth century?

The oath 'which all citizens swear when they are inscribed into the *lexiarchikon grammateion* and become ephebes' and the oath given 'at Plataea by all the Greeks when they were about to draw themselves up and fight against the force of Xerxes' were quoted in succession by Lycurgus in his speech *Against Leocrates* (76–8 and 80–2) of 331/0. The context in which the orator quoted these oaths shows the sort of history of which they were a crucial part (see also Parker, *Athenian Religion*, ch. xi, esp. 251–5).

Lycurgus, in urging the unacceptability of Leocrates' fleeing Athens in the wake of the defeat at Chaeronea in 338, cites a series of incidents from past Athenian history, going back to the sacrifice of Praxithea by Erechtheus in the face of the invasion of Eumolpus and the Thracians. Lycurgus supported his claim about Praxithea with a long quotation from Euripides' *Erechtheus*, and some other claims by appeals to Homer and the 'Athenian' poet Tyrtaeus. But in a number of cases he appealed to decrees to support his claims about past history. Thus he appealed to Critias' decree condemning Phrynichus, *post mortem*, as a traitor (112–15); to the decree ordering the destruction of the bronze statue of Hipparchus son of Charmus (grandson of the tyrant Hippias) for treachery, and the creation from it of a *stèle* on which his name and the names of all future traitors were to be recorded (117–18); to the decree condemning those Athenians who deserted to the Spartans at Decelea during the final stages of the Peloponnesian war, ordering the summary execution of any who was captured; to the decree of the Athenian council at Salamis in 480 about the man who tried to betray the city by what he said and whom they killed with their own hands (122); to the decree in the council chamber moved after the restoration of democracy after the Thirty and absolving from guilt anyone killing a man who aimed at tyranny, betrayed the city, or subverted democracy. For good measure he rounded off this series with a Spartan law against those failing to fight for their country.

One decree quoted by Lycurgus seems certain to be historical: [Plut.] *X Or.* 834 B quotes in full what seems to be a genuine decree condemning Antiphon and Archeptolemus for treachery in 411, and that decree refers to 'the bronze *stèle* on which also the decrees about Phrynichus' were inscribed; Craterus too recorded that decrees against Phrynichus were written on a bronze *stèle* (*FGrH* 342 F 17; cf. also M&L 85). Lycurgus alone ascribes the decree against Phrynichus to Critias, but that is not incredible.

In other cases some elaboration of historical decrees can be suspected: Her. ix. 5 records the incident in which one of the Athenian council, Lycidas, suggests accepting Persian conditions and has Athenians from within and outside the council join together in stoning him; any decree would have to be retrospective; listing political and religious offenders on bronze *stelai* is quite well attested (schol. Ar. *Lys.* 273 those who collaborated with Cleomenes; Melanthios, *FGrH* 326 F 3 offenders against the Mysteries; cf. Thuc. vi. 55. i, a *stèle* listing the Peisistratids), but that a *stèle* on which traitors were recorded was made from melting down the statue of Hipparchus son of

Charmus seems unlikely: the tyrannicides apart, bronze statues of individuals were not a feature of late sixth- or early fifth-century Attic sculpture.

Aeschines had earlier read out the ephebic oath in a similar list of past Athenian precedents reeled off in a speech of 348 (Dem. xix. *Embassy* 303). On that occasion it was not the Plataea oath that accompanied it, but references to a decree of Miltiades urging the Athenians to provision themselves and march to Marathon (cf. Arist. *Rhet.* iii. 1411 A; cf. Nepos, *Milt.* 4. iv, Plut. *Quaest. Conv.* I. 628 E) and a decree of Themistocles evacuating Athenians to Troizen in 480 (cf. M&L 23). The historicity of these decrees, each in the mouth of the man held most responsible for the subsequent victory, is very doubtful. Aeschines and Lycurgus show clearly the tendency evident in Athens in the middle of the fourth century to elaborate texts around known historical circumstances, and to elaborate historical circumstances around texts.

If the orators provide the general context for the quotation of fifth-century decrees in the middle of the fourth-century, it is clear that they did not supply the actual texts which appear on the *stèle* from Acharnae. The text of the Plataea oath that Lycurgus quoted survives along with a very similar text quoted by Diodorus from the mid-fourth-century historian Ephorus as the oath sworn by the Greeks gathered at the Isthmus (D.S. xi. 29. ii–iii.; Her. vii. 132. ii mentions only an oath at Thermopylae). The text of the ephebic oath read by Lycurgus does not survive, although his introductory paraphrase has some implications for its wording, but Pollux viii. 105–6 and Stobaeus xliii. 48 do quote it in full, almost certainly from the texts of orators.

The literary versions of the ephebic oath differ from the inscription in various respects: both turn phrases round to put the important object, rather than the verb, first (e.g. *τὴν πατρίδα οὐκ ἐλάττω παραδώσω*), and both avoid making persons and things joint subject (gods and borders, etc.) or object (laws and magistrates) of verbs; Stobaeus rearranges to *ᾧπλα τὰ ἱερά* in ll. 6–7, so avoiding elision; both Stobaeus and Pollux have the more euphonious *καὶ μόνος καὶ μετὰ πολλῶν/πάντων* instead of *κατὰ τε ἑμαυτὸν καὶ μετὰ ἀπάντων*, and place its first occurrence before rather than after the clause about increasing the fatherland; Pollux introduces at that point a clause to 'sail(?) and plough (*πλεύσω δὲ καὶ καταρόσω*) all the land I receive'; Stobaeus makes the laws not a second object of *ἐνῆκοῦ* (which Pollux changes to *συνήσω*) but introduces the standard classical verb of obedience (*πεισομαι*, compare *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 1028. 43 praising ephebes for their *peitharkhia*) to govern behaviour towards the laws (and similarly introduces disobedience as a second offence besides annulling the laws), and both he and Pollux have *τὸ πλῆθος* rather than unexpressed *κραίνοντες* as the source of law and add a promise to defend, as well as not to allow destruction of, the laws. Stobaeus omits the list of deities and other witnesses altogether, Pollux ends it at Hegemone and omits Hestia, Enyo, and Athena Areia of the deities mentioned before Hegemone on the stone.

Almost all these differences point to ways in which the inscribed version of the oath was and seemed old-fashioned in the fourth century. The political arrangement envisaged is not only expressed in archaic language (*κραινόντων* is an archaic term little enough understood to become *κρινόντων* in Pollux and Stobaeus); it implies magisterial rather than popular responsibility for law, and refers to laws by the archaic

term *thesmos* rather than as *nomoi* (for which see generally Ostwald, *Nomos*). The partial up-dating in Pollux and Stobaeus at best brings the language (*plethos* rather than *demos*, cf. *IG* 1<sup>3</sup> 105) and procedure (people not *nomothetai* responsible for law) into line with fifth-century rather than fourth-century practice, although it does add the idea, best attested in fourth-century orators, of the citizen actively defending the laws (e.g. Lyc. *Leocr.* 149). The abbreviation of the list of witnesses may be seen in a similar way: appeal to crops and land could be regarded as extraordinary in fourth-century Athens (Plut. *Dem.* 9. iv, *X Or.* 845 B), and sits uncomfortably with appeal to deities, and those deities are very short of Olympian gods and, even as reported by Pollux, include several 'functional' deities (Thallo, Auxo) not known to have received cult in classical Attica (but see Pausanias, ix. 35) and not paralleled in the otherwise similar ephebic oath from third-century Drerus (Austin, *Hellenistic World*, 91). However, the pride of place enjoyed by Aglaurus, the daughter of Cecrops who threw herself from the Acropolis to save the city, reflects fourth-century realities: it was in the sanctuary of Aglaurus, on the slope below the east end of the Acropolis (see G. Dontas, *Hesp.* lii 1983, 48–63) that the ephebes, similarly called upon to save the city (Kearns in Murray and Price, *The Greek City*, 330), took their oath (as Pollux records).

The literary versions of the Plataea oath vary from the inscription more extensively. The opening clauses are generally abbreviated, balance introduced, and elision avoided; the threat to destroy and dedicate a tithe is extended to all medizing cities, not restricted to Thebes, and put after the promise not to uproot loyal cities, which again is not limited to named cities. Support for loyal cities in famine and the undertaking not to withhold their supply of running water (for which compare the Amphictyonic oath, Aesch. ii. *Embassy* 115) is omitted, as is the curse which supports the oath (for public curses at Athens see 63; for the Amphictyonic curses see Aesch. ii. *Embassy* 116, iii. *Ctes.* 110). Literary versions add a clause not to rebuild the temples burnt by the barbarians but to leave them as a memorial.

In the case of the Plataea oath it is easier to see Lycurgus' and Diodorus' versions as literary paraphrases than to find clear markers of an earlier date in the inscribed version (Siewert, *Eid.* ch. ii does his best), which is as one would expect given the fifth-century date claimed for the oath. Thus the taxiarch and enomotarch (a specifically Spartan officer) become vague 'leaders' in the literary versions, and curses are not things that can be read out casually since to read them is to make them. But there are elements unique to the inscribed version which are more problematic. The naming of Thebes as the city to be tithed and the picking out of Athens, Sparta, and Plataea as the cities not to be razed, is hard to find justification for in the historical situation just before the battle at Plataea; the former contrasts with the general threat to tithe all cities that voluntarily sided with the Persians found in Herodotus' report of the Greek oath before Thermopylae (vii. 132), and the latter with the listing of all who fought against the Persians on the Serpent Column (M&L 27) erected immediately after the war (where the list is headed by the Spartans, Athenians, and Corinthians).

Particularly vexed is the question of what to make of the inclusion in the literary versions, and omission from the inscribed version, of a clause not to rebuild burnt temples (for which compare Isoc. iv. *Panegyricus* 156, Cic. *De Rep.* iii. 15 and Paus.

x. 35. ii). Such an undertaking not to rebuild was so firmly part of later historical tradition that Plut. *Per.* 17 has a detailed account of Pericles passing a decree to send ambassadors out to the whole Greek world to summon representatives from cities to a congress to consider allowing rebuilding of the temples burnt, and of that initiative's being fruitless because of Spartan opposition (for discussion see Stadter, *Commentary on Plut. Per.* 201–9). Archaeologists still dispute whether or not the Athenians began replacing any damaged cult building before the 440s, and incontrovertible evidence that they did is lacking (see Mark, *The Sanctuary of Athena Nike*, 98–104), but Athens certainly did rebuild temples and cult sites burnt and demolished by the Persians in the years following 447, when the Parthenon was begun on the site of the earlier Parthenon whose construction had been interrupted by the Persian sack. But the curious decision to leave the major Acropolis ruin, the temple of Athena Polias, as a ruin and to build the Erechtheum to house its cult next to it rather than on top of it, along with the delay until still later in restoring cult sites in the Athenian Agora, cast doubt over whether there was a single moment at Athens at which it was resolved to abandon any undertaking there may have been not to rebuild damaged shrines. Arguably whether one chose in the fourth century to refer to the oath of Plataea and point to the ruin of Athena Polias as a mark of Athenian piety in keeping it, or whether one chose to ignore the oath, or tell of its rescinding, and point to Athenian piety in restoring the gods' shrines, was a matter of convenience. It cannot be excluded that the clause against rebuilding has simply been edited out of the Acharnae inscription.

Both texts have certainly received editorial attention. Both are given 'titles' on the stone, and at the end of the Plataea oath there is a description of how the oath was sworn; additionally Athena Areia may have been added to the list of witness deities in the ephebic oath because it was by her priest and in her sanctuary that it was inscribed. Comparison between the oaths on the stone and their literary counterparts suggests that the texts on the stone were not themselves literary creations and that they did not derive from literary versions. That they have not been tidied up for rhetorical effect, however, does not mean that they have not been subject in any way to deletion or addition; neither the presence on the stone of mention of specific cities in the Plataea oath, nor the absence from that oath of the undertaking not to rebuild damaged shrines can be taken as good evidence that the documentary version from which the *stèle* derived shared those features.

Judgement upon the authenticity, as a whole or in detail, of the two oaths depends upon the view taken on how they came to be inscribed at Acharnae at all. Nostalgic reference to fifth-century successes and the rewriting of Athenian history were a constant feature of fourth-century Athens, already satirized in Aspasia's spoof Funeral Oration, Plato's *Menexenus*. Concern to improve military training was not new in the 330s (see 89) but can be traced already in Xenophon's *Ways and Means* of the 350s (iv. 51–2). But there is little doubt that it was the struggle against Philip, the new 'barbarian' invader from the north', that stimulated concentrated reference to the fifth century, and to the Persian Wars in particular (and stimulated also Theopompus' hostile reaction to the Athenian version of Marathon and denial of the Plataea oath and Peace of Callias (*FGrH* 115 F 153–4)). The earliest known quotation of the ephebic

oath is Aeschines’ in 348 in the context of urging action against Philip. The Acharnae *stèle* seems to fit neatly into this context, representing an attempt by a member of the largest Attic deme to encourage his fellow demesmen into military action by reminding them of their ancestral undertakings. Dio did not derive the texts which he had inscribed on his dedication from the orators, however, but from documentary sources whose versions he may have edited but did not rewrite.

If this reconstruction is correct, the Acharnae *stèle* will antedate the reform of the *ephebeia* by Epicrates in the 330s and be part of the background activity that made that reform timely and ensured that it was enthusiastically embraced. Who exactly became ephebes at the time the oath was inscribed is not clear. The arrangement recorded by Lycurgus and Pollux, whereby the oath was sworn when young Athenians were registered on the *lexiarchikon grammateion* (which Pollux places at the *end* of their ephebic service) seems likely to be the post-Epicrates arrangement, and the clear allusion to the oath in Arist. *Nic. Eth.* v. 1130 A 30 may reflect that new situation. That the oath was being sworn before Epicrates and that it had been sworn ever since

89

Honours for Athenian ephebes, 332

A *stèle* of white marble found on the Athenian Acropolis, now in the Epigraphical Museum (EM 7743).

Ionic writing. *Stoichedon* 47–50.

IG II<sup>2</sup> 1156; SIG<sup>3</sup> 957; Reinmuth 2\*. Trans. Harding 108.

	[-----]ου
	[-----]ους
	[-----]νίππου
	[-----]άδ[ο]υ
5	[-----] Μνησιθέου
	[-----] Ήγησιφάνους
	[...μα]χος Γλαυκέτου
	[...]ανόδωρος Λυσιστράτου
10	[Κα]λλίας Καλλιάρχου
	Ἀντιφών Ἐπιτρόπου
	Χρέμης Σμικύθου
	Αἰξωνῆς
	Εὐκλῆς Εὐκλείδου
	Μελάνθιος [Ἀ]ριστείδου
15	Θεότιμος Θεοπόμπου
	Ἀμφίστρατος Φιλημονίδου
	Δημοκλείδης Δημέου
	Θεόδοτος Αἴσχυρωνος
	[-----]μοκρίτου
	[-----]κ]ράτους
	[name of a deme: probably Halai]

the sixth century does not tell us who exactly was expected to swear it, but the (faint) echoes of the ephebic oath which Siewert has detected in Aesch. *Pers.* 955–62, Soph. *Ant.* 663–71, and in Pericles' speeches in Thuc. I. 144. iv and II. 37. iii imply that the wording of the oath was not unfamiliar to a fifth-century audience (Plut. *Alc.* 15. vii, if genuine, would imply rather stronger familiarity).

The Acharnae *stèle* is important because it establishes that documentary versions of the ephebic and Plataea oaths existed in the mid fourth century, and because it shows that the sentiments expressed in the Athenian assembly and lawcourts were not restricted to the strictly political arena or to the discourse of town society but were being forcefully expressed also in the Attic demes and in religious contexts. The version of the ephebic oath which the *stèle* preserves confirms beyond reasonable doubt the antiquity of that oath; the version of the Plataea oath shows that texts attributed to past occasions, which were not, unlike the ephebic oath, guaranteed by repeated ritual performance, were subject to substantial editing. On current evidence the historicity of a Plataea oath can be neither proved nor disproved.

—— son of —mocritus, —— son of  
—crates; from (Halai Aixonides?):

(from Melite?) —— son of —us, —— son  
of —es, —— son of —nippus, —— son  
of —ades, —— son of Mnesitheus, ——  
son of Hegesiphanes, —machus son of  
Glaucetes, —anodorus son of Lysistrat-  
us, Callias son of Calliades, Antiphon  
son of Epitropus, Chremes son of Smi-  
cythus; Aixone: Eucles son of Eucleides,  
Melanthius son of Aristides, Theotimos  
son of Theopompus, Amphistratus son  
of Philemonides, Democleides son of  
Demeas, Theodotus son of Aischron,

[— <sup>8</sup> —]νος Φυρομάχου	Ἐπικράτης Εὐκράτους
20 [Χαιρέστ]ρατος Χαιρίωνος	Εὐπεταίονες·
[...]οτος Δημητρίου	Νικίας Εὐκταίου
[...]γένης Σάβωνος	Ξενοφών Μνησιάδου
[Α]ντισθένης Ἀντιφάτους	Πιθής·
Δαιδαλίδαι·	Τεισαμεινὸς Κίρου
25 Φιλόξενος Φιλονόμου	Αὐτοκλῆς Χαρίππου

## §i

Καλλικράτης Αἰξωνεὺς εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ οἱ ἔφηβοι οἱ τῆς Κεκρ[οπί]-  
 δος οἱ ἐπ[ὶ Κτη]σ[ι]κλέους ἄρχοντος εὐτακτοῦσιν καὶ π[ο]ιοῦσιν  
 πάντα ὅ[σα αὐτ]οῖς οἱ νόμοι προστάττουσιν καὶ τ[ῶ]ν σωφρ[ονι]σ[τ]-  
 εἰ πειθ[αρχο]ῦσιν τῶν χειροτονηθέντι ὑπὸ τοῦ δ[ή]μου, ἐπ[α]ν[έ]σ[τ]-  
 30 αὶ αὐτ[οὺς καὶ] ἰστεφανῶσαι χρυσῶν στεφάνῳ ἀπ[ὸ] Ἑ[κ] δραχ[μ]ῶν  
 κοσμι[ό]τ[η]τος ἕνεκα καὶ εὐταξίας· ἐπαινεῖσαι δὲ καὶ τὸν σωφρ[ο]-  
 νιστὴν Ἀδαιστον Ἀντιμάχου Ἀθμονέα καὶ στεφανῶσαι χρυσῶν  
 στεφάνῳ ἀπὸ Ἑ[κ] δραχμῶν, ὅτι καλῶς καὶ φιλοτίμως ἐπεμελή[θη]  
 τῶν ἐφηβῶν τῆς Κεκροπίδος φυλῆς. ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψή[φ]ι-  
 35 σμα ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ καὶ στήσαι ἐν τῶν τοῦ Κέκροπος ἱερ[ῶ]ν].

## §ii

Ἡγέμαχος Χαιρήμονος Περιβοίδης εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ οἱ ἔφηβοι οἱ  
 τῆς Κεκροπίδος ταχθέντες Ἐλευσῖνι καλῶς καὶ φιλοτίμω[ς ἐπ]-  
 ιμελοῦνται ὧν αὐτοῖς ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος προστάττει κα[ὶ εὐτ]-  
 40 ἄκτους αὐτοὺς παρέχουσιν, ἐπαινεῖσαι αὐτοὺς κοσμιότη[τος]  
 ἕνεκα καὶ εὐταξίας καὶ στεφανῶσαι θαλλοῦ στεφάνῳ ἑ[κ]αστον  
 αὐτῶν· ἐπαινεῖσαι δὲ καὶ τὸν σωφρονιστὴν αὐτῶν Ἀδαιστ[ον] Ἀντι-  
 μάχου Ἀθμονέα καὶ στεφανῶσαι θαλλοῦ στεφάνῳ ἐπ[ὶ] ἰδάν τὰ]-  
 ς εὐθύνas δῶν· ἐπιγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα ἐπὶ τὸ ἀ[νάθημα]  
 ὁ ἀνατιθέασιν οἱ ἔφηβοι τῆς Κεκροπίδος. *vacat*

## §iii

45 Πρωτίas εἶπεν· ἐψηφίσθαι τοῖς δημόταις, ἐπειδὴ καλ[ῶς καὶ φι]-  
 λοτίμως ἐπιμελοῦνται τῆς φυλακῆς Ἐλευσίνος οἱ τῆς Κεκροπί]-  
 [δ]ος ἔφηβοι καὶ ὁ σωφρονιστὴς αὐτῶν Ἀδαιστος [Ἀν]τι[μ]ά[χου Ἀθμο]-  
 [νέυς, ἐπαι]νέσ[α]ι αὐτοὺς καὶ στεφανῶσαι ἑκαστον αὐτῶν θάλλου  
 [στεφάνῳ]. ἀναγ[ρ]άψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα εἰς τὸ ἀνάθημα [ὁ ἀνα]-  
 50 [τι]θέασιν οἱ ἔφηβοι οἱ τῆς Κεκροπίδος οἱ ἐπὶ Κτησικλέ[ους]  
 [ἄ]ρχοντος. *vacat*

## §iv

Εὐφρόνιος εἶπεν· ἐψηφίσθαι τοῖς δημόταις, ἐπειδὴ οἱ ἔφηβοι  
 οἱ ἐπὶ Κτησικλέος ἄρχοντος ἐνγραφέντες εὐτακτοῦσιν [καὶ]  
 ποιοῦσιν πάντα ὅσα οἱ νόμοι αὐτοῖς προστάττουσιν, καὶ ὁ [σω]-

—nus son of Phyromachus, Chaerestratus son of Chaerion, —otus son of Demetrius, —genes son of Sabon, Anthisthenes son of Antiphates; from Daedalidae: Philoxenos son of Philonomus.

Epicrates son of Eucrates; from Xypete, Nicias son of Euctaeus, Xenophon son of Mnesiades; from Pithus, Tisamenus son of Cyrus, Autocles son of Charippus.

## §i

- 26 [Tribe] Callicrates of Aixone proposed: since the ephebes of Cecropis in the archonship of Ctesicles [334/3] show good discipline and do all that the laws ordain that they should and obey the *sophronistes* elected by the people, praise them and crown them with a gold crown from 500 drachmas for their good order and discipline. And praise the *sophronistes* Adeistus son of Antimachus of Athmonon and crown him with a gold crown of 500 drachmas because he has looked after the ephebes of the Cecropid tribe well and with love of honour. And inscribe this decree on a stone *stèle* and set it up in the sanctuary of Cecrops.

## §ii

- 36 [Council] Hegemachus son of Chaeremon of Perithoidae proposed: since the ephebes of Cecropis established at Eleusis look after all that the council and people commands them well and with love of honour and show themselves well disciplined, praise their good order and good discipline and crown each of them with a crown of olive, and praise their *sophronistes* Adeistus son of Antimachus of Athmonon and crown him with a crown of olive when he gives his scrutiny, and inscribe this decree additionally on the dedication which the ephebes of Cecropis dedicate.

## §iii

- 45 [Eleusis] Protias proposed: be it decreed by the demesmen, since the ephebes of Cecropis and their *sophronistes* Adeistus son of Antimachus of Athmonon look after the guarding of Eleusis well and with love of honour, praise them and crown each of them with a crown of olive, and inscribe this inscription on the dedication which the ephebes of Cecropis in the archonship of Ctesicles dedicate.

## §iv

- 52 [Athmonon] Euphronius proposed: be it decreed by the demesmen, since the ephebes inscribed in the archonship of Ctesicles show good discipline and do all that the laws ordain that they should, and the *sophronistes* elected by the people shows that



- 55 φρονιστής ὁ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου χειροτονηθεὶς ἀποφαίνει αὐτο[ὺς]  
 πειθάρχοντας καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα ποιούντας φιλοτίμως, ἐπ[αι]-  
 νέσαι αὐτοὺς καὶ στεφανῶσαι χρυσῶι στεφάνωι ἀπὸ Γ δρα[χμ]-  
 ῶν κοσμιότητος εἵνεκα καὶ εὐταξίας· ἐπαινέσαι δὲ καὶ τὸ[ν]  
 σωφρονιστὴν αὐτῶν Ἀδαιστον Ἀντιμάχου Ἀθμονέα, καὶ στεφ-  
 60 ανῶσαι χρυσῶι στεφάνωι ἀπὸ Γ δραχμῶν, ὅτι καλῶς καὶ φιλοτίμως ἐπε-  
 μελήθη τῶν τε δημοτῶν (καὶ τῶν) ἄλλων ἀπάντων τῶν τῆς Κεκροπίδος  
 φυλῆς. ἐπιγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα ἐπὶ τὸ ἀνάθημα ὁ ἀνατι-  
 θέασιν οἱ ἔφηβοι τῆς Κεκροπίδος καὶ ὁ σωφρονιστής. *vacat*

*vacat*

ἡ φυλή                      ἡ βουλὴ                      Ἐλευσίνιοι                      Ἀθμονῆς

*vacat*

56 *πειθαρχοντίας* on stone.                      59–60 There is an erasure after *στεφανωσ* where the stone-cutter has removed a mistake, but has inscribed nothing further, perhaps because the space left was too small.                      61 (καὶ τῶν) omitted by stonemason.

Athenians became liable to be called up for military service from the moment when they were enrolled into the citizen body at the age of eighteen. Thucydides refers at several places to the military duties of ‘the oldest and youngest’ as distinct from those of the main body of citizen hoplites (I. 105. iv, II. 13. vii; cf. IV. 125. iii), and it seems at some point to have become conventional to train young soldiers by using them primarily for garrison duty. Aeschines offers to provide his ‘fellow-ephebes’ and the magistrates in charge as witnesses that ‘When I was released from the ranks of children, I was a *peripolos* through the land of Attica for two years’ (II. *Embassy* 167; cf. X. *Ways and Means* iv. 52).

Whether or not this evidence justifies the claim that prior to the 330s all Athenians, or all Athenians of hoplite class, underwent compulsory military training when they came of age is not clear. The stories told to explain the name of the phratry festival, the Apatouria (for which see 5), do so with reference to a single combat between an Athenian champion and the Boeotian king in which the Athenian is victorious through deception; this reversal of hoplite values (hoplites do not fight alone, and deception was alien to hoplite battle) would be most appropriate if the Apatouria was the occasion on which young men entered military ranks (see Vidal-Naquet, *Black Hunter*, 83–156; but cf. Lambert, *Phratries*, 144–52). But neither this mythology, nor indeed the Ephebic oath (88), if either is genuinely pre-fourth-century, shows that there was systematic training of young men as hoplites.

This dedication was made in 332, at the end of their ephebic service, by the ephebes of the tribe Cecropis who had been enrolled in 334, and was set up in the tribal sanctuary of Cecrops on the Athenian Acropolis. It records their names (1–25) and the honours they received from their tribe (26–35), from the Athenian council (36–44), and from the demes of Eleusis (45–51) and Athmonon (52–63). It is the earliest in a series of surviving inscribed records of ephebic dedications listing the ephebes of a particular tribe in a particular year. These dedications reveal that, at least from 334/3

they are obedient and do everything else with love of honour, praise them and crown them with a gold crown of 500 drachmas for their good order and discipline; and praise their *sophronistes*, Adeistus son of Antimachus of Athmonon, and crown him with a gold crown from 500 drachmas because he has looked after the demesmen and all the others of the Cecropid tribe well and with love of honour; and inscribe this decree on the dedication which the ephebes of Cecropis and the *sophronistes* dedicate.

64 The tribe                      The council                      The Eleusinians                      The Athmoneis.

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onwards, the arrangements described in *Ath. Pol.* 42 prevailed, according to which when boys of 18 years of age had had their deme membership, and hence their Athenian citizenship, confirmed, they were given two years of military training at public expense under the supervision of a *kosmetes* and of ten tribal *sophronistai*. Their training involved visiting sanctuaries, doing garrison duty in the Piraeus and in the countryside, and being educated in the use of hoplite weapons, bow, javelin and catapult. This highly regulated ephebic training was almost certainly initiated in the middle of the 330s, partly in response to the Athenian defeat at Chaeronea in August 338 (cf. 80). The lexicographer Harpocration (ε 101 *Ἐπικράτης*) records a mention in a speech by Lycurgus of an Epicrates who was honoured with a bronze statue for a law about the ephebes. Epicrates' law may well be the most relevant of 'the laws' referred to here (28, 54), but it cannot be precisely dated.

No fewer than eight ephebic inscriptions survive from the period 333–329 which list the ephebes for a particular year from a particular tribe, three of them relating to the tribe Cecropis (Reinmuth 2 and 5, Traill, *Demos and Trittyis*, pp. 1–13 (*SEG* xxxvi 155) (but see also *SEG* xli 47); the others are Reinmuth 8, 9, 10, 12, and 13 and *SEG* xxxi 162). In three cases the list of ephebes survives almost complete, in the other cases it is possible to estimate from the extant portion the extent of the original list. The numbers of which we can be confident are the 52 ephebes of Cecropis of 333/2, the 48 ephebes of Erechtheis of 333/2, and the 56 ephebes of Oineis of (?)330/29. Two estimated figures are similar (42 for this inscription, 44 for Leontis in 333/2), two (both for Pandionis) are smaller (37 for 333/2, 30 for (?) 332/1), and one is larger (65 for Cecropis in 332/1). This larger figure is paralleled by one later list, that for Leontis in 323/2, but the list for all tribes from 305/4 (a less good guide to numbers in the 330s and 320s) totals only c.372 names.

The numbers of names on the lists are important for two reasons. They are the major basis for determining whether all Athenians were put through ephebic service,

as the *Ath. Pol.* and *Lyc. Leocr.* 76, suggest, or only those of hoplite status served. And they offer some guide to how the quota of councillors sent to the council of 500 by each deme related to the population of that deme. On the basis of model life tables for pre-modern and third-world populations, 18-year-olds can be expected to have been about 3.3% of the total of those 18 and over, that is, of the citizen population (see Hansen, *Demography and Democracy*, 9–13). The certain and estimated totals for individual tribes from the 330s and 320s average 49.55: 496 18-year-olds correspond to just under 15,000 citizens, and to c.8,000 citizens aged 20–39 (those most liable to be called up for military service). Unless one regards the Athenians as very lax in applying the law requiring ephebic service, it is hard, even allowing for the disabled, to reconcile this figure with the probable later fourth-century citizen population of something close to 30,000. We therefore consider these figures good evidence that only those of hoplite status (and above) had to serve as ephebes, and that something in excess of, but not greatly in excess of, half the Athenian male population was of hoplite status and above. (For further discussion see Rhodes, *ZPE* xxxviii 1980, 191–201, and Rhodes, *Thucydides II*, Appendix (against Ruschenbusch, *ZPE* xxxv 1979, 173–80; cf. *ZPE* lxxv 1988, 194–6, Hansen, *Demography and Democracy*, 47–50).

Comparison of the number of ephebes from a deme with the number of men it sent to the council of 500 is more problematic because we do not have a large enough sample of figures for any particular deme. Nevertheless, surviving figures may be tabulated as follows in Table 2:

TABLE 2. *Numbers of bouleutai and ephebes from demes in Erechtheis, Leontis, Oineis, and Cecropis*

Tribe	Deme	Bouleutic Quota	No. of ephebes	References
Erechtheis	Euonymon	10	8	Reinmuth 13
	Agryle (Upper and Lower)	2+3	3	"
	Kedoi	2	0	"
	Kephisia	6	6	"
	Pergase (Upper and Lower)	2+2	5	"
	Phegous	1	0	"
	Themakos	1	0	"
	Lamptrai (Upper and Lower)	14	12	"
	Anagyrous	6	5	"
	Pambotadai	1/0	0	"
	Sybridai	0/1	0	"
Leontis	Skambonidai	3	2	Reinmuth 15
	Halimous	3	0	"
	Leukonoion	3	5	"
	Kettos	3	6	"
	Upper Potamos	2	2	"
	Lower Potamos	1	1	"

Tribe	Deme	Bouleutic Quota	No. of ephebes	References
Oineis	Cholleidai	2	4	"
	Paionidai	3	0	"
	Aithalidai	2	1	"
	Eupyridai	2	1	"
	Hybadai	2	5	"
	Kolonai	2	2	"
	Pelekes	2	2	"
	Hekale	1	1	"
	Kropidai	1	0	"
	Oion Kerameikon	1	2	"
	Phrearrhoi	9	12	"
	Sounion	4	10	"
	Deiradiotai	2	1	"
	Potamos Deiradiotes	2	5	"
	Lakiadai	2	2	Reinmuth 12
	Perithoidai	3	1	"
	Epikēphisia	1	—	"
	Boutadai	1	2	"
	Lousia	1	—	"
	Ptelea	1	2	"
	Hippotomadai	1	—	"
	Acharnai	22	24	"
	Tyrmeidai	1/0	1	"
	Thria	7	4	"
	Oe	6	5	"
	Kothokidai	2	4	"
	Phyle	2	6	"
Cecropis	Melite	7	?11+, 9, 3 [+1?]	Reinmuth 2; Traill, <i>Demos</i> , 1-13; <i>SEG</i> xli 107
	Xypete	7	2, 3, 5	"
	Daidalidai	1	1, 0, 0	"
	Epieikidai	1	—, ?1, 0	"
	Phlya	5	—, 9, 7	"
	Athmonon	6	—, 8, 5	"
	Sypalettos	2	—, 1, 0	"
	Trinemeia	2	—, 2, 1	"
	Pithos	2/3	2, ?4, 6	"
	Aixone	11	7, 15, 7	"
	Halai Aixonides	6	?5, ?13, 18 [+1?]	"

The existence of three published lists from Cecropis gives some idea of the annual variation (by a factor of more than two in some cases) in the number of ephebes from a single deme. Variation from the bouleutic quotas seems to be of roughly the same order, and the general picture offered supports the suggestion that bouleutic quotas

remained reasonably close to population distribution even in the late fourth century. This may have implications for the date at which the fourth-century quotas were settled; see further Osborne, *Greece in the Making*, 302–3.

The precise wording and order in which things are mentioned by the four bodies which honoured the ephebes varies significantly from one decree to another: although the later decrees were passed in the knowledge of the earlier, the drafting and the decision as to the scale of the honour to be given look to have been independent. The language in general, however, shows little variation and the various corporate bodies involved think and act in exactly parallel ways. The qualities of the ephebes which are praised here arguably reveal something of Athenian priorities in reforming the *ephebeia*. Their good order, both military (*eutaxia*) and civil (*kosmiotes*), is repeatedly picked out (for the possibility that *eutaxia* relates to particular drill competitions see Lambert, *ZPE* cxxxv 2001, 56–7), and their services as a garrison that the deme of Eleusis emphasized (a few years later Eleusis was joined by the northern border forts of Phyle and Rhamnous in honouring ephebes of the tribe Pandionis (Reinmuth 10): presumably those ephebes served as garrison troops at all three places). The very names of the officials (*sophronistes*, *kosmetes*) relate closely to the virtues of *sophrosyne* and *kosmiotes*, virtues which the Athenians seem particularly to have encouraged in youths, women, and foreigners (*IG* 1<sup>2</sup> 1186. 3, 16–17, 23–4; see Whitehead, *C&M* xlv 1993, 37–75 at 71–2).

The eagerness for honour of both ephebes and their *sophronistes* are commemorated in a formula which encourages others also to compete for public approval. The way in which the tribe, the council, the deme in which the ephebes served as garrison troops, and the deme of the *sophronistes* compete to honour these ephebes suggests, along with the number of ephebic dedications from these years immediately after Epicrates' law, that competition between year-groups within tribes and between the tribes themselves was indeed rapidly established; Leontis in 331 gave their *sophronistes* a crown worth not 500 but 1000 dr. (Reinmuth 9. i. 17, iii. 16), but competition did not

## 90

### Iasus and Samos honour Gorgus and Minnion, 334–321

#### A

One of the texts inscribed on three blocks found by R. Chandler at Chios, to which they had been taken as ballast from Iasus; now lost.

*Koine* with some Ionicisms; ending each line except 1 and 4 with the end of a word.

*SIG*<sup>3</sup> 307; Tod 190; Heisserer, *Alexander*, 169–203 ch. vii; *IK Iasos* 30\*. Trans. Heisserer; Harding 114.

[ἐπει]δ[ὲ] Γόργος καὶ Μιννίων Θεοδότ-  
[ου υἱ]οὶ κ[αλ]οὶ καθαροὶ γεγέννηται  
[πε]ρὶ τ[ὸ] κοινὸν τῆς πόλεως,

further escalate and in other cases the honour seems to have been an olive crown (on crowns see 46). As well as this inscription two further fragmentary dedications survive from this year, in one of which the deme of Eleusis was certainly involved, joining with the council in honouring the ephebes from the tribe Hippothontis to which Eleusis itself belonged (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1189 = Reinmuth 3).

Of those in charge of the ephebes, the honours given here involve only the *sophronistes*. Since he is honoured by Eleusis, where, on the pattern recorded in *Ath. Pol.*, the ephebes would have served only in their second year, this inscription establishes that the ephebic magistrates, like the ephebes themselves, had a two-year term (Rhodes, *Comm. Ath. Pol.* 504). The *sophronistes* was chosen by the people from a short list of three men put forward by the fathers of the tribal contingent of ephebes in question; he was the manager responsible for day-to-day arrangements, but not for the training, which was in the hands of expert instructors (*Ath. Pol.* 42. iii). It was a requirement of *sophronistai*, as of the *choregoi* of boys' choruses, that they be over forty years old. The *kosmetes*, who was not attached to a single tribe but had oversight of the whole year of ephebes, receives no mention here, but other inscriptions of this decade honour the *kosmetes* and instructors (*didaskaloi*) and also *lochagoi*. Honours for the *paidotribes* appear for the first time only c.300 (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 585. 9–11).

Of the individual ephebes named, only in the case of Nicias son of Euctaeus of Xypete do we know significantly more about the family (*APF* 407–8). Euctaeus is himself named again, along with Euctaeus son of Nicias, a probable cousin, in a catalogue of cavalry on Salamis c.320 (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1955). Earlier in the century another son of a Euctaeus is found as *proxenos* of the Cicans (*IG* XII. v 542. 42). A further connection with the wealthy family to which belongs Nicias son of Nicodemus of Xypete, a victorious *choregos* at the boys' dithyramb at the Dionysia of 320/19 (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 3055. 1) and probably brother to a man who acquired property in the Lycurgan public land sales (Lambert, *Rationes*, F 9. B. 5), is likely. The presence of Nicias son of Euctaeus here is one sign that potential cavalrymen as well as potential hoplites served as ephebes.

Since Gorgus and Minnion sons of Theodotus have been fine and good [*kaloi k'agathoi*] with regard to the community

- [κα]ὶ πολλοὺς τῶν πολιτῶν ἰδίαί εὑ [π]-  
 5 ἐποιήκασιν, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς μικρῆς  
 θαλάσσης διαλεχθέντες  
 Ἀλεξάνδρῳ βασιλεῖ ἐκομίσαντο  
 [κ]αὶ ἀπέδοσαν τῶι δήμῳ· δεδόσθαι  
 αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐγγόνοις ἀτέλειαν καὶ  
 10 προεδρίην εἰς τὸν αἰὲ χρόνον.  
 ἀναγράφαι δὲ τὸ ψήφισμα ἐν τῇ  
 παραστάδι τῇ πρὸ τοῦ ἀρχείου.

## B

A *stèle* found near the Heraeum on Samos; now lost. Re-edited by K. Hallof (below) from rediscovered squeeze of C. Curtius; phot. of squeeze *KLio* lxxxix 1999, 394.

*Koine* with some Ionicisms, but sometimes using *α* rather than *η*; unusual *δεδόκχθαι* in l. 26.

*SIG*<sup>3</sup> 312; Heisserer, *Alexander*, 182–93; *IK Iasos* T 50; K. Hallof, *KLio* lxxxix 1999, 392–6\*; *IG* xii. vi 17. Trans. Heisserer; Harding 127.

- ἔδοξε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῶι δή-  
 μῳ· Ἐπ[ί]κουρος Δράκοντος  
 εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ Γόργος καὶ Μ-  
 υνίων Θεοδότου Ἰασεῖς κα-  
 5 λοὶ καὶ ἀγαθοὶ γεγέννηται<sup>4</sup>  
 περὶ Σαμίους ἐν τῇ φυγῇ· κα[ὶ]  
 διατριβῶν Γόργος παρὰ Ἀλεξάν-  
 δρῳ πολλὴν εὐνοίαν καὶ π[ρο]θυμί-  
 αν παρείχετο περὶ τὸν δῆμο[ν τ]ὸν Σα-  
 10 μίων, σπουδάζων ὅπως ὅτ[ι τ]άχος  
 Σάμιοι τῇ πατρίδα κομίσαιντο, καὶ ἀ-  
 ναγγείλαντος Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐν τῶ[ι]  
 στρατοπέδῳ ὅτι Σάμον ἀποδιδοί<sup>5</sup>  
 Σαμίους, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα αὐτὸν τῶν Ἐ-  
 15 λλήνων στεφανωσάντων ἐστ-  
 εφάνωσε καὶ Γόργος καὶ ἐπέστει-  
 λε εἰς Ἰασον πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντα-  
 ς ὅπως οἱ κατοικοῦντες Σαμίῳ  
 ἐν Ἰάσῳ, ὅταν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα κατί-  
 20 ωσιν, ἀτελῇ τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἐξάξον-  
 ται καὶ πορεία αὐτοῖς δοθήσεται, τὸ ἀ-  
 νάλωμα τῆς πόλεως τῆς Ἰασέων  
 παρεχούσης· καὶ νῦν ἐπαγγέλλον-  
 ται Γόργος καὶ Μινίων ποιήσιν ὅ τι  
 25 ἂν δύνωνται ἀγαθὸν τὸν δῆμον τὸ-  
 ν Σαμίων· δεδόκχθαι τῶι δήμῳ· δε-  
 δόσθαι αὐτοῖς πολιτείαν ἐπ’ ἔσθῃ

4 *INNΓΩN* (the cutter began to carve *E* but corrected it); *INNEΩN* edd.

[*koinon*] of the city, and have acted well to many of the citizens individually, and concerning the little sea have talked to King Alexander and have conveyed it and given it back to the people: they and their descendants shall be given exemption from taxes [*ateleia*] and a front seat [*proedria*] for all time.

- 11 The decree shall be written up in the vestibule in front of the office [*archeion*].

Resolved by the council and people. Epicurus son of Dracon proposed:

- 3 Since Gorgus and Minnion sons of Theodotus, of Iasus, have been fine and good [*kaloî k'agathoi*] with regard to the Samians in their exile; and Gorgus in spending time with Alexander displayed great good will and enthusiasm with regard to the people of Samos, striving that the Samians should recover their fatherland as quickly as possible, and when Alexander proclaimed in the camp that he was restoring Samos to the Samians, and the Greeks crowned him because of this, Gorgus crowned him, and wrote to the officials in Iasus that the Samians living in Iasus, when they returned to their fatherland, should export their belongings with immunity from duty and that transport should be provided for them, the city of Iasus bearing the cost; and now Gorgus and Minnion offer to do whatever good they can to the people of Samos; be it resolved by the people:
- 26 To give them citizenship on equal and



καὶ ὁμοίῃ, καὶ ἀδοτοῖς καὶ ἐκγόνοις·  
καὶ ἐπικληρῶσαι ἀδοτοὺς ἐπὶ φυλὴν κ-  
30 αὶ χιλιαστὴν καὶ ἑκατοστὴν καὶ γέ-  
νος· καὶ ἀναγράψαι εἰς τὸ γένος ὁ ἄ-  
ν λάρχων, καθότι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλου-  
ς Σαμίους, τῆς δὲ ἀναγραφῆς ἐπιμε-  
ληθῆναι τοὺς πέντε τοὺς ἡμι-  
35 μένους. τὸ δὲ ψήφισμα τόδε ἀνα-  
γράψαι εἰς τὴν λιθίνην καὶ στή-  
σαι ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Ἥρας, τὸν δὲ [τα]-  
μίαν ὑπηρετῆσαι. vacat

32 The stone had *AAOY*.

36 εἰς στήλην edd.

37 The stone had *HN*.

Iasus occupies a peninsula on the coast of Caria (maps Heisserer, 175; *Barrington Atlas*, 61: it is described as a *nesos* by Str. 658. xiv. ii. 21, but may not have been an island even in antiquity [Heisserer, 174 n. 10]). Gorgus appears only once in a literary text (Ehippus, *FGrH* 126 F 5 *ap.* Ath. xiii. 538 A–B: a custodian of arms, *hoplophylax*, who honoured Alexander in 324), and his brother Minnion not at all; but they appear in several inscriptions. Gorgus is the *stephanephoros* (literally, ‘crown-wearer’: the eponymous official) in a fragmentary prescript of a decree (*IK Iasos* 24: Heisserer, *Alexander*, 179–82); Minnion is the *stephanephoros* in another fragment (*IK Iasos* 27: not in Heisserer); and there are fragments of two epigrams from Epidaurus, one honouring Gorgus and his son for [military] deeds [learned] in Cos and for loyalty to the king, the other honouring Gorgus and including the word *hoplophor*—, ‘arms-bearing’ (*IG* iv<sup>2</sup>. i 616–17; *IK Iasos* TT 50–1 [with W. Peek’s later restorations]; *CEG* 817 [the first only: eschewing restoration]: Heisserer, *Alexander*, 194–202 [with Peek’s earlier restorations]). Other bearers of both names are attested in Iasus: Minnion is regularly spelled thus there, though in the Samian decree the cutter made and corrected an error in l. 4 and omitted a *nu* in l. 24; a son of a Minnion appears in 99.

In *A* Gorgus and Minnion have spoken to Alexander and have recovered for Iasus the ‘little sea’: this is best identified not as the large gulf from Didyma to Telmessus or as a particular bay within it, but as a lake which has subsequently become a marshy area near the mouth of the Sarı Çay, south-east of Iasus, which had perhaps fallen under the control of inland Mylasa (Hiller von Gaertringen in *SIG*<sup>3</sup>; Heisserer, *Alexander*, 174–7, where ‘south-west’ is an error). The lake was probably important to Iasus for its fish (cf. Str. 658. xiv. ii. 21; Archestratus fr. 156 *Suppl. Hell. ap.* Ath. iii. 105 E). The *archeion* in whose vestibule this text was to be published will have been the office of the principal officials (*archontes*, as in *B*. 17–18) of Iasus.

In 334 Iasus supplied a ship to the Persians for the siege of Miletus, but will have been one of the cities won over by Alexander immediately afterwards (Arr. *Anab.* i. 19. xi, 20. ii). It may be, as Heisserer supposes, that Gorgus and Minnion were involved in Iasus’ change of allegiance, and obtained the ‘little sea’ for Iasus shortly afterwards

like terms, both to themselves and to their descendants; and to allot them to a tribe, a *chiliastys*, a *hekastostys* and a *genos*; and they shall be written up into whatever *genos* they are allotted to, just like the other Samians, and the five elected men shall take care of the writing-up.

- 35 This decree shall be written up on a stone *stèle* and placed in the sanctuary of Hera, and the treasurer shall minister.

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as a reward for the change; but this episode could be later, after the brothers had had more time to build up their influence with Alexander.

In *B* the two men are honoured by Samos for supporting Samians who were exiled when the Athenians captured the island from the Persians and then occupied it with cleruchs, in 366–365 (cf. on 22), and whose return to Samos in 322/1 was one consequence of Alexander's edict of 324 ordering the restoration of exiles (e.g. D.S. xvii. 109. i, xviii. 8). Some of these Samians had been living in Iasus, and Gorgus had ensured that they could export their belongings without paying duty and that transport should be provided for them at Iasus' expense (*poria* in l. 21 is probably feminine singular and abstract, rather than neuter plural, denoting transport ships).

Like the many other men granted citizenship by the restored state of Samos, Gorgus and Minnion are apparently to be incorporated in four units (cf. the grant of Athenian citizenship to some of those who helped towards the restoration of the democracy at Athens, 4: there only tribes are specified but to join a tribe the men will have had to join a deme and a *trittys* which formed part of that tribe). There were two tribes, *Asypalaieis* and *Chesieis*, and the name of the first ('those of the old city') suggests that they may have been located in the city and the countryside respectively. The *chiliastyes* and *hekastostyes* ('thousands' and 'hundreds') seem not to have been subdivisions of the two tribes, though the *hekastostyes* probably were subdivisions of the *chiliastyes*. *Gene* are shown by decrees for other honorands which end by reporting the result of the allotment not to be units of a fourth kind but to be an alternative name for the *hekastostyes*. The appearance of the *chiliastyes* in various contexts shows that these were the most important subdivisions of the citizen body. See Jones, *Public Organization*, 197–202. Given Gorgus' assistance in their return, we should expect him and Minnion to be among the first men to be honoured by the restored Samos: the series of honorific decrees shows a number of changes in formulation, particularly in the identity of the officials responsible for registering the new citizens, and the pattern which we find in this decree, including registration by 'the five elected men', appears to be the earliest (C. Habicht, *AM* lxxii 1957, 152–274 at 261–6). The final clause is an abbreviated

form of what we find in some of the other decrees: τὸν δὲ ταμίαν εἰς τὸ ἀνάλωμα ὑπηρετῆσαι ('and the treasurer shall minister to the expenditure').

*Kaloi k'agathoi* ('fine and good': *A.* 2, *B.* 4–5) is used particularly of men who display virtues of a traditional, aristocratic kind (Bourriot, *Kalos k'agathos*—*kalogathia*, succeeds in showing that the expression is not found before the late fifth century, but does

## 91

### Athens allows Citian merchants to acquire land for a sanctuary, 333/2

A *stele* found at the Piraeus; now in the Epigraphical Museum in Athens. Phot. Tracy, *Athenian Democracy in Transition*, 113 fig. 7 (squeeze of ll. 36–44).

Attic-Ionic, with old-fashioned features and inconsistencies in the spelling; *stoichedon* 20. This is the work of Tracy's Cutter of *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 337 (= this text): *Athenian Democracy in Transition*, 112–16.

*IG II<sup>2</sup>* 337; *SIG<sup>3</sup>* 280; Tod 189; Schwenk 27\*. Trans. Austin & Vidal-Naquet 72; Harding 111. See also Pečírka, *The Formula for the Grant of Enktesis*, 59–61; R. R. Simms, *CJ* lxxxiv 1988/9, 216–21.

#### §i

[θ]εοί.  
ἐπὶ Νικοκράτους ἄρχοντ-  
ος· ἐπὶ τῆς Αἰγείδος πρώτ-  
ης πρυτανείας· τῶν προέδ-  
5 ρων ἐπεψήφισεν Θεόφιλο-  
ς Φηγούσιος· ἔδοξεν τῇ β-  
ουλῇ. Αντίδοτος Απολλο-  
δώρου Συπαλήττιος εἶπε-  
ν· περὶ ὧν λέγουσιν οἱ Κιτ-  
10 ιεῖς περὶ τῆς ἰδρύσειως  
τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ τοῦ ἱεροῦ,  
ἐψηφίσθαι τεῖ βουλῇ το-  
ῦς προέδρους οἳ ἂν λάχωσ-  
ι προεδρεύειν εἰς τὴν πρ-  
15 ὴτην ἐκκλησίαν προσαγα-  
γεῖν αὐτοὺς καὶ χρηματί-  
σαι, γνώμην δὲ ξυνβάλλεσ-  
θαι τῆς βουλῆς εἰς τὸν δῆ-  
μον ὅτι δοκεῖ τῇ βουλῇ  
20 Κιτιεῖων περὶ τῆς ἰδρύσ-  
ειως τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ ἄλλου  
Ἀθηναίων τοῦ βουλομένου-

not succeed in showing that it began as a formal title at Sparta), but here it is used simply as the equivalent of such expressions as 'have been good men with regard to' or 'have acted well towards'. For 'equal and like terms' (*B.* 27–8) cf. the incorporation of Helisson in Mantinea (14. 4).

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# §i

Gods.

- 2 In the archonship of Nicocrates [333/2]; in the first prytany, of Aegeis; of the *proedroi* Theophilus of Phegus was putting to the vote; resolved by the council. Antidotus son of Apollodorus of Sypalettus proposed:
- 9 Concerning what the Citians say about the founding of the sanctuary to Aphrodite, be it decreed by the council: The *proedroi* to whose lot it falls to preside in the first assembly shall bring them forward and deal with the matter, and contribute the opinion of the council to the people that the council resolves that the people shall listen to the Citians concerning the foundation of the sanctuary and to any one else, of the Athenians, who wishes, and shall

υ βουλεύεσθαι ὅ τι ἂν αὐ-  
25 τῶι δοκεῖ ἄριστον εἶναι.

§ii

ἐπὶ Νικοκράτους ἄρχοντ-  
ος· ἐπὶ τῆς Πανδιονίδος δ-  
ευτέρας πρυτανείας· τῶν  
προέδρων ἐπειψήφισεν Φα-  
30 νόστρατος Φιλαΐδης· ἔδο-  
ξεν τῶι δήμῳ. Λυκόργος Λ-  
υκόφρονος Βουτάδης εἶπ-  
εν· περὶ ὧν οἱ ἔμποροι οἱ Κ-  
ιτιεῖς ἔδοξαν ἔννομα ἰκ-  
35 ετενεῖν αἰτοῦντες τὸν δ-  
ῆμον χωρίου ἔνκτησιν ἐν  
ᾧ ἰδρύσονται ἱερὸν Ἀφρ-  
οδίτης, δεδόχθαι τῶι δήμῳ  
ω δοῦναι τοῖς ἐμπόροις  
40 τῶν Κιτιέων ἔνκτησι[ν] χ[ω]-  
ρίου ἐν ᾧ ἰδρύσονται τὸ  
ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀφροδίτης, καθ-  
άπερ καὶ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι τὸ  
τῆς Ἰσιδος ἱερὸν ἰδρυντ-  
45 αι.

This straightforward text is interesting in several respects.

From the later 350s it had been Athens' policy (associated at first with Eubulus, and reflected in Xenophon's *Ways and Means*) to try to restore Athens' prosperity after half a century of difficulties, *inter alia* by making Athens more attractive to visiting traders. One means of doing that was to be more generous in granting to metics the right, normally limited to citizens, to own land and houses in Attica (Xen. *W. & M.* ii. 6; a special instance, 77), and in this text we see an extension of that policy, granting to communities of non-Athenians the right to acquire land for sanctuaries of their own gods (see Simms, stressing the economic motive for this religious concession to non-Athenians). The admission of foreign cults to Athens was of course not new: as early as the 420s Bendis was worshipped not only by Thracians but also by Athenians (Plat. *Rep.* i. 327 A with ii. 354 A, cf. *IG* i<sup>3</sup> 136, 369 = M&L 72. 68, 348. 143). On foreign cults in general see Garland, *Introducing New Gods*; Parker, *Athenian Religion*, 152–98 ch. ix, and for Lycurgus 243.

Citium was in Cyprus, an island important as a means of contact between Asia and the Mediterranean (for Athens' interest in Cyprus in the fourth century cf. 11). Aphrodite was said to have been born in Cyprus (e.g. Hes. *Theog.* 188–200); a dedication to Aphrodite Ourania by a woman from Citium, of uncertain date, has been found at

deliberate in whatever way seems best to it.

§ii

- 26 In the archonship of Nicocrates [333/2]; in the second prytany, of Pandionis; of the *proedroi* Phanostratus of Philaïdae was putting to the vote; resolved by the people. Lycurgus son of Lycophron of Butadae proposed:
- 33 Concerning the resolution that the Citian merchants were making a lawful supplication in asking the people for the right to acquire a plot of land on which to found the sanctuary of Aphrodite, be it resolved by the people: Grant to the merchants of Citium the right to acquire land on which to found the sanctuary of Aphrodite, just as the Egyptians have founded the sanctuary of Isis.

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the Piraeus (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 4636). It is not clear what significance should be seen in the fact that in our text Aphrodite is not given the epithet Ourania, as she commonly is in her oriental manifestation (cf. Parker, 160–1, 196–7—in the latter place giving references for what has been identified, controversially, as an altar of Aphrodite Ourania, erected c.500 in the north-west corner of the Agora, between the Stoa Poikile and the Stoa of the Basileus). Our text has an abbreviated prescript and no publication clause: it was set up at the Piraeus, probably at the site of the new temple and on the initiative and at the expense of the Citiens.

Isis (whom the Greeks identified with Demeter: Her. II. 59. ii) was among the deities whom Alexander the Great provided for when founding Alexandria in Egypt (Arr. *Anab.* III. I. v); for Egyptians worshipping her in Eretia about the same time see *IG* XII Supp. 562 (dated 350–320 by Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, I. 260 with II. 410 n. 525); Athenian commanders had gone to support the Egyptians against the Persians on various occasions in the fourth century, and at this time when corn supplies were often insufficient (cf. on 95) the Athenians will have been glad to grant privileges to Egyptian traders visiting Athens (the precedent cited in II. 42–5 is probably recent).

This inscription is important also for the light which it sheds on Athenian decision-making procedure. Normally all that is inscribed is the decree of the assembly

which ended the process, though every decree of the assembly had to be preceded by a *probouleuma* of the council which placed the subject on the assembly's agenda (cf. Introduction, pp. xvii–xviii). Here we are given the *probouleuma*, as §i, followed by the assembly's decree, as §ii; *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 338 shows that at least one assembly intervened between the passing of the *probouleuma* and the assembly's passing of §ii. Here the *probouleuma* is of the open kind, not containing a recommendation but simply inviting the assembly to make up its own mind (which perhaps suggests that Lycurgus may have been more interested than the average councillor in granting privileges to foreign traders); the assembly's decree has the shorter formulae, 'Resolved by the people' and 'Be it resolved by the people', not mentioning the council, which from the fourth century were proper to decrees which for any reason did not enact a recommendation of the council. See Rhodes, *Boule*, 67–8; Rhodes with Lewis, 26; 95, below.

We have another piece of standard procedural language in 'Concerning the resolution that the Citian merchants were making a lawful supplication in asking . . . ' (ll. 33–5). A supplication [*hiketeria*] is a request by some one who is not exercising a right but appealing to the mercy of the person or body supplicated (see esp. J. Gould, *JHS* xciii 1973, 74–103); there was regular provision for supplication to the assembly by citizens (*Ath. Pol.* 43. vi with Rhodes *ad loc.*); all fourth-century epigraphic instances, like this, are of supplications by non-citizens (see Rhodes, *Boule*, 54–6, 72–3; Rhodes with Lewis, 29). Reference to supplication is in fact one of a range of ways in which requests by non-citizens (who have no rights *vis-à-vis* the citizens) may be mentioned; in this case the *probouleuma* refers to 'what the Citians say'; the assembly's decree refers to a 'lawful supplication' and to 'asking'; and R. Zelnick-Abramowitz shows that we

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## Honours at Delphi for Archon of Pella, 333/2 and after

Three blocks from a statue base, found on the Sacred Way at Delphi; now in the museum there. Phot. *BCH* lxxxiii 1959, 157 figs. 12–14, pl. ix; *Abh. Leipzig* Lxiii. ii 1972, Taf. VIII Abb. 22 (§§ii–iii). Facs. *Abh. Leipzig* Lxiii. ii 1972, p. 145 (§ii).

Delphian, but *νικήσας* in §ii. 2.

J. Bousquet, *BCH* lxxxiii 1959, 155–66 (*SEG* xviii 222); J. Ebert, *Abh. Leipzig* Lxiii. ii 1972, 145–7 no. 46; *CEG* 877\*.

block a §i (upper left)

[? σὸν κατὰ, ἀναξ,] ἱερὸν τέμ[εν]ος, κλυτότοξε, συνωρίς

[? ἔστεφεν Ἀρχ]ωνος Δελφίδι κράτα δάφναι,

[ὁς Βαβυλῶ]να ἱερὰν κραῖνεν χθόνα, πολλὰ δὲ δίδωι

should not postulate different procedures according to the words used on different occasions (*Mnem.*<sup>4</sup> li 1998, 554–73).

The proposer of the *probouleuma* must have been a member of the council: he was to serve again in 328/7 (*Agora*, xv 49. 26), but nothing else is known about him. The proposer of the assembly's decree is the leading politician Lycurgus. He belonged to the *genos* of the (Eteo)butadae, which took the prefix Eteo-, 'genuine', after the name was given to the Cleisthenic deme north-west of the city, and which held the two major priesthoods on the Acropolis. Possible earlier members of the family are the Lycurgus who was leader of the men of the Plain at the time of the rise of Pisistratus (*Her.* i. 59. iii, *Ath. Pol.* 13. iv, *Plut. Sol.* 29. i); and a Lycurgus in the late fifth century, perhaps a grandfather of our Lycurgus, who was characterized by the comedians as Egyptian (e.g. *Ar. Birds* 1296, schol. 1294), and it may be that our Lycurgus had supported the Egyptians as he here supports the Citiens. He was born c.390, is first attested as an anti-Macedonian politician in the late 340s–early 330s (cf. on 94), and is best known as Athens' leading financial expert in the 330s and 320s, with a major interest in buildings (cf. 94) and in religion (e.g. *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 333 = Schwenk 21); there are indications of links with Eubulus and Diophantus, the financial experts of the 350s–340s (F. W. Mitchel *ap.* M. B. Walbank, *Hesp.* lii 1983, 228 n. 124; Lambert, *Rationes Centesimalium*, 280–91 esp. 288–90, *JPE* cxxxv 2001, 51–62 at 58). See [Plut.] *X Or.* 841 B–844 A, with the decree of Stratocles 851 F–852 E (parts of inscribed version *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 457); with *APF*, 348–53; Rhodes, *Boule*, 105–8; F. W. Mitchel, *Lectures . . . Semple*, ii, 163–214; Lewis, *Selected Papers*, 212–29. His inscribed decrees and laws are listed by Rhodes, *Boule*, 269, with 1984 Addenda 309.

*block a ši*

In your sacred precinct, lord, famous for the bow, the pair of horses crowned with Delphic laurel the head of Archon, who was ruler of the sacred land of Babylon, and with divine Alexander set up many trophies



- [σύμ ? ποτε] Ἀλεξάνδρῳ στήσας τρόπαια δορός.  
 5 [τοῦνε] κά οἱ μορφάς γονέων κτίσεν ἡδὲ συναίμων  
 [τά]σδε, κλέος δ' ἄρετᾶς Πέλλα σύνοιδε πατρὶς.

*block a §ii (upper right:*

*will have been continued on another block, now lost)*

ὦ μάκαρ, εὐκλείας, Ἀρχων, στε[φαν - ∪ ∪ - -]

Ἰσθμια νικήσας Πύθιά τε ἵππο[σύναι].

ξηλούται δὲ πατήρ Κλείνος κ[ ∪ ∪ - ∪ ∪ - -]

Πέλλα τε αἰμίναστον πατρὶς ε[- ∪ ∪ - -].

1 στέφανον δις ἐδέξω] Bousquet, Ebert: unrestored CEG.

3 κ[αὶ πότνια μήτηρ Bousquet; κ[λυτοῦ εὔνεκα

παιδός Ebert; unrestored CEG.

4 εἴχουσα κλέος] Bousquet; εἴλοῦσα κλέος] W. Peek *ap.* Bousquet, Ebert;

unrestored CEG.

*block a §iii (lower right:*

*will have been continued on another block, now lost)*

Δελφοὶ ἔδωκαν Συνέσει, Ἀρχων[ι καὶ τοῖς τούτου]

ἀδελφοῖς Κλείνου Μακεδόσιν εἴκ Πέλλης αὐτο]-

ῖς καὶ ἐκγόνοις προξενίαν, προμ[αντείαν, προεδρ]-

ίαν, ἀτέλειαν, ἀσυλίαν, προδικί[αν, ἐπιτιμάν]

5 καὶ τᾶλλα ὅσα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις προ[ξένοις. ἄρχοντος]

[Δαμο]κράτο[υς]· βου[λ]ευ[όν]των Μεγ[ακλέους - - -]

*block b §iv*

Ἰσοκράτης Κλείνου.

*block c §v*

[Σύν]εσις Κλείνο[υ γυνή ?]

*Other blocks, now lost, may have borne the names of Cleinus  
and his other sons*

The earliest of the texts on block *a* is §ii, commemorating Archon's victories in the games (cf. 80) when his father is still alive. The decree, §iii, was enacted when his father was dead but he himself was still alive, and must be restored with the name of the Delphic archon of 333/2 (argument set out by Bousquet). §i refers in the imperfect tense to Archon's governorship of Babylon: he first appears in the literary sources as a trierarch in the fleet which Alexander built in 326 to sail from the Hydaspes to the mouth of the Indus (Arr. *Ind.* 18. iii), and was governor of Babylon at the time of Alexander's death in 323 (D.S. xviii. 3. iii, Just. xiii. 4. xxiii). In 321 he was killed fighting against Docimus, sent by Perdiccas to take over Babylon from him (Arr. *FGH* 156 F 10 = *Succ.* fr. \*24 Roos, iii-v).

of the spear. For that reason he erected these forms of his parents and brothers, and his fatherland Pella bears witness to the fame of his courage.

*block a §ii*

Archon, blessed for your good reputation, crown — —, having been victorious at the Isthmian and Pythian Games in horsemanship. He is admired by his father Cleinus — — — and his fatherland Pella — — — to be remembered for ever.

*block a §iii*

The Delphians granted to Synesis, Archon, and his brothers, sons of Cleinus, Macedonians from Pella, to themselves and their descendants proxeny, priority in consulting the oracle [*promanteia*], exemption from taxes [*ateleia*], inviolability [*asylia*], priority in trials [*prodikia*], possession of rights [*epitima*], and all the other things granted also to the other *proxenoi*.

- 5 The archon being Damocrates [333/2]; the councillors Megacles,  
— — —

*block b §iv*

Isocrates son of Cleinus.

*block c §v*

Synesis wife of Cleinus.

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It appears that the monument of which we have fragments was created after 321, and that §i, in the upper left-hand part of block *a*, is strictly the dedicatory epigram of that monument; §§ii–iii will have been copied, and the sculpture accompanying them (a two-horse chariot with Archon himself) moved, from an earlier monument or group of monuments. §§iv–v, and perhaps statues of other members of the family, will have been added when this monument was created. For a study of family group monuments in Greece see B. Hintzen-Bohlen, *JDAI* cv 1990, 129–54.

The decree in §iii is typical of the short decrees in which many Delphic grants of proxeny are recorded, lacking a prescript (but naming the archon and councillors at the end) and a motivation clause, but including an extensive list of the privileges

accompanying the status of *proxenos*. Each of the privileges mentioned here is mentioned in one or both of two Delphic awards of before 350: *F. Delphes* III. i 391 = *SIG*<sup>3</sup>155. *a* (for a man from Selinus), 392 = 195 (for the sons of the Thracian ruler Cersebleptes): *promanteia* is a distinctively Delphic privilege; *proedria* and *ateleia* are frequently mentioned throughout Greece; for *asylia* cf. 75; *prodikia* is spelled out in the award to Cersobleptes' sons as being in lawsuits 'against Delphians'. *Epitim(i)a* is 'possession of rights', in contrast to *atimia*, 'deprivation of rights' (for which see on 29); it is not clear what rights are at issue, but since this decree does not award citizenship they presumably fall short of the full rights of a citizen.

Archon is from Pella, the capital of Macedon: for the double ethnic 'Macedonians from Pella' cf. 'Cretan from Chersonesus' in *I. Olympia* 276 = Tod 188 ~ Harding 110 (Cretans are frequently identified thus; on double ethnics see Hansen in Hansen & Raafaub [edd.], *More Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis*, 169–96 at 174–6, 187–90). When a man is honoured, it is common for the honour to be extended to his descendants, and

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### Relations between Olbia and Miletus, c.330 (?)

A *stèle* with moulding at the top and bottom, found in the Delphinium at Miletus; now in the Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen, Berlin.

Attic *koine* but with some final consonant assimilation; 'very beautiful and careful script' (Tod), ending each line with the end of a word or syllable.

*Milet*, I. iii 136; *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 286; Tod 195\*; *Svt*, 408. See also Seibert, *Metropolis und Apoikie*, 179–91; Graham, *Colony and Mother City in Ancient Greece*, 98–110; Gauthier, *Symbola*, 358–61.

τάδε πάτρια Ὀλβιοπολίταις καὶ Μιλησ[ι]-  
οις. τὸν Μιλήσιον ἐν Ὀλβιηπόλει ὡς Ὀλ-  
βιοπολίτην θύειν ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν βω-  
μῶν καὶ εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ τὰ αὐτὰ φοιτᾶν τὰ  
5 δημόσια κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ Ὀλβιοπολί-  
τας. εἶναι δὲ καὶ ἀτελείας Μιλησίοις κα-  
θάσσα καὶ πρότερον ἦσαν· ἐὰν δὲ θέλη  
τιμουχιῶν μετέχειν, ἐπὶ βουλὴν ἐπίτω  
καὶ ἀπογραφεῖς μετεχέτω καὶ ἔστω  
10 ἐντέλης, καθότι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πολῖταί  
εἰσιν. εἶναι δὲ καὶ προεδριάγ, καὶ εἰσκη-  
ρύσσεσθαι εἰς τοὺς ἀγῶνας καὶ ἐπα-  
ρᾶσθαι ταῖς τριακάσιγ, καθάσσα καὶ  
ἐν Μιλήτῳ ἐπαρῶνται. ἐὰν δέ τι συμβό-  
15 λαιον ἦ(ι) τῶν Μιλησίων ἐν Ὀλβίαι, ἰσχύτω δί-  
κηγ καὶ ὑπεχέτω ἐν πενθ' ἡμέραις ἐπὶ

that is done in §iii; more unusually, Archon's honours are extended also to his brothers and their descendants, and even to his mother, Synesis ('Intelligence'). Hers is a rare name, of which *LGN* records about a dozen instances altogether (this and one other from Macedon, one from Thessaly, and one from Thrace). A. Wilhelm, *Sb. Wien* ccxx. 5 1942, 54–7 = *Akademieschriften*, i. 670–3, noted a number of instances from Delphi and northern Greece of honours for women, but none as early as the fourth century: this text thus foreshadows the greater prominence which some women were to achieve in the hellenistic and Roman periods.

Another high-ranking Macedonian who died in 321 was the general Craterus, killed fighting against Eumenes in Asia Minor (D.S. xviii. 29–32 cf. 37. i). He too had an elaborate monument at Delphi, representing a celebrated hunt in which Alexander took part: it was begun in the 330s and completed after his death (Plut. *Alex.* 40. iv–v with Hamilton *ad loc.*; *ISE* 73 = *CEG* 878).

The following are traditional for the Olbiopolitans and Milesians.

- 2 The Milesian in Olbiopolis shall sacrifice like an Olbiopolitan at the same altars and frequent the same public religious rites in the same way as the Olbiopolitans.
- 6 There shall be exemptions from taxes [*ateleiai*] for the Milesians as there were before; but, if he wishes to take part in office-holding, let him go to the council, register, and take part, and let him be liable [*enteles*] just as the other citizens are.
- 11 They shall also have a front seat [*proedria*], and shall be proclaimed as competitors in the contests, and shall make the prayers on the thirtieth, as they make them in Miletus also.
- 14 If any dispute concerning obligations arises for the Milesian in Olbia, let him have a trial and let him be brought in five days before the people's law-court.

τοῦ δημοτικοῦ δικαστηρίου. εἶναι δὲ  
 [ἀ]τελεῖς πάντας Μιλησίους, πλ(ῆ)ν ὅσοι  
 ἐν ἄλλη(ι) πόλει πολιτεύονται καὶ ἀρχεῖω(μ)  
 20 μετέχουσιν καὶ δικαστηρίων. κατὰ ταῦ-  
 τὰ δὲ καὶ Ὀλβιοπολίταις ἐμ Μιλήτῳ (ἀ)τε-  
 λεῖς εἶναι, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν  
 τρόπον Ὀλβιοπολίταις ἐμ Μιλήτῳ ὑπαρ-  
 χεῖν καθότι καὶ Μιλησίοις ἐν Ὀλβιηπόλει.

18 The cross-bar of *H* is absent.

19–20 The stone has ἄλλη . . . ἀρχεῖω | μετέχουσιν: ἄλλη *Sot.*

21 The cross-bar of *A* is absent.

Olbia (also known as Borysthenes), at the mouth of the Bug, which joins the Dnieper in reaching the north coast of the Black Sea west of the Crimea, was colonized from Miletus (Her. iv. 18. i, 78. iii; Str. 306. vii. iii. 17); Eusebius' date is 647/6 (Hieron. p. 95b Helm), and the earliest Greek pottery there is of the second half of the seventh century, but many think the first settlement was later (see A. J. Graham, *CAH*<sup>2</sup>, iii. iii. 124–9; J. Hind in Nielsen (ed.), *Yet More Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis*, 106–7; G. R. Tsatskheladze, J. Boardman, S. Sovolev in Tsatskheladze (ed.), *The Greek Colonisation of the Black Sea Area*, 19–22, 201–4, 205–25). It is striking that in this document the two cities deal with each other on an equal basis, and there is no sign that Olbia is a colony of Miletus.

This document, which lacks the prescript of a decree, announces itself as the reaffirmation of a traditional relationship (cf. 'as there were before', ll. 6–7), but that does not exclude the possibility that details were changed or added on the occasion of this reaffirmation. Seibert regarded ll. 1–6 and 20–4 as old; H. H. Schmitt (*Sot.*) ll. 1–6 only; but so mechanical an approach may not be right, and it is possible that, although the relationship already existed, the rules governing it had not previously been written down.

Although the word is not used, this document in fact combines *isopoliteia* (full rights of citizenship for those who migrate) for Milesians who wish to settle in Olbia, in which case they are treated as Olbian citizens and lose their immunity, with religious rights, immunity (*sc.* from import and export taxes: Gauthier), and if necessary prompt trial of lawsuits (cf. the quick commercial lawsuits introduced in Athens in the 340s: *Ath. Pol.* 59. v with Rhodes *ad loc.*) for Milesians who merely visit—but the immunity is not extended to Milesians who (by virtue of another *isopoliteia* agreement) are living and behaving as citizens in some other city. The elements involving *isopoliteia* are perhaps likely to be innovations, since such agreements are not attested before the fourth century—but it is conceivable that without the use of that language the principle of reciprocal rights between a mother city and a colony was older, and Graham thought that for Miletus and its colonies the principle went back at least to the fifth century. The provisions of the document begin with the religious, as business in the assembly

- 17 All the Milesians shall be exempt from taxes, except for those who live as citizens and take part in offices and law-courts in another city.
- 20 In the same way the Olbiopolitans shall be exempt from taxes in Miletus, and the other things shall apply in the same way to Olbiopolitans in Miletus as to Milesians in Olbiopolis.

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at Athens and elsewhere began with the religious (cf. 2), and the judicial aspect comes towards the end.

We have other Milesian treaties which appear from their lettering and dialect forms to be of about the same date as our text: a treaty of friendship and *asylia* with Sardis (*Milet*, I. iii 135 + *Svt.* 407 ~ Harding 117); a treaty of *isopoliteia* with Cyzicus (*Milet*, I. iii 137 = *Svt.* 409); a renewal of a treaty of *isopoliteia* with Phygela, south of Ephesus (*Milet*, I. iii 142 = *Svt.* 453). C. Habicht thought that the time of Alexander the Great looked about right (*AM* lxxii 1957, 259–61); P. Charneux suggested that the Asiatic cities could have had a degree of autonomy under Persian rule between 386 and 334 which would make such agreements possible; S. A. Žebelev, *Bull. Acad. Sci. U.S.S.R.* 1929, 427–36 at 435 (in Russian: cited by Graham, 99), tried to associate this text with the democratic revolution following Olbia's defeat of Alexander's commander Zopyrion (Macrob. *Sat.* I. xi. 33: Zopyrion's appointment to Thrace is dated 328 by Heckel *ad* Just. xii. 2. xvi–xvii), but there is no need to invoke such an occurrence to explain this agreement.

The provisions for mutual recognition begin with sacrifices, participation in which is a major way of marking out those who belong (cf. *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1214. 11–17, where some sacrifices in Piraeus are limited to members of the deme; in 14 sacrifices offered at Helisson are to continue after its absorption into Mantinea). The 'prayers on the thirtieth' are prayers to or for the dead on the last day of the month: Bilabel, *Die ionische Colonisation*, 138–9, citing Ath. vii. 325 A, Harp. *τριακάς* (τ 23 Keaney: 30th day after death). Seibert, 184–5, inferred that these prayers were not normally offered in Olbia but Milesians present in Olbia were to be permitted to offer them.

A *symbolaion* is a dispute concerning obligations (Gauthier, 160–1). Gauthier suggests that here the 'people's law court' (*demotikon dikasterion*) is not to be contrasted with a *xenikon dikasterion*, in the sense either of a special court to try cases involving foreigners or of a court manned by foreign judges (for which cf. 101), but is a 'people's court' with a jury representative of the people in contrast to a court in which magistrates pronounce verdicts on their own.

## Athens honours Eudemus of Plataea, 330/29

A *stèle* found on the Athenian Acropolis, now in the Epigraphical Museum. (In the first century the top was reworked, and another text, *IG II<sup>2</sup> 4233*, was inscribed on the back.)

Attic-Ionic, retaining the old *o* for *ou* in l. 23, and using a two-point punctuation mark in l. 5; ll. 2 sqq. *stoichedon* 19–25 (but sometimes placing *iota* in the same *stoichos* as another letter), ending each line with the end of a word or syllable.

*IG II<sup>2</sup> 351*, and a fragment from top left 624; *SIG<sup>3</sup> 288*; Tod 198; Pouilloux, *Choix*, 6; Schwenk 48\*. Trans. Harding 118. See also Pečírka, *The Formula for the Grant of Enktesis*, 68–70; Hintzen-Bohlen, *Die Kulturpolitik des Eubulos und des Lykurg*, 21–39.

- [Εὐδήμ]ου Πλαται[έως].  
 [ἐπὶ Ἀρισ]τοφώντος ἄρχοντο[s].  
 [ἐ]π[ὶ τῆς] Λεωντίδος ἐνάτη[s] π[ρὺ]-  
 ταν[εία]ς· ἥι Ἀντίδωρος Ἀντίν[ου]  
 5 Παι[αν]ιεύς ἐγραμμάτευεν· ἐ[ν]-  
 [δ]εκά[τ]ηι Θαργηλιώνος, ἐνάτη[ι]  
 [κ]αὶ δ[ε]κάτῃ τῆς πρυτανείας·  
 [τ]ῶν π[ρ]οέδρων ἐπειρήφισεν Ἀντ[ι]-  
 φάνη[s] Εὐωνυμεύς· ἔδοξεν τῷ  
 10 [δῆμῳ]. Λυκούργος Λυκόφρονος  
 [Βουτά]δης εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ  
 [Εὐδήμ]ος πρότερόν τε ἐπη[γ]γ[εί]-  
 [λατο τ]ῷ δῆμῳ ἐπιδώσειν εἰ[s]  
 [τὸν π]όλεμον εἰ[τ]ι δέ[οι]το [(?) XXX]X  
 15 [δ]ραχμάς, καὶ νῦν [ἐπ]ιδέδ[ω]κεν]  
 εἰς τὴν ποίησιν τοῦ σταδ[ί]ου  
 καὶ τοῦ θεάτρου τοῦ Παναθη[αῖ]-  
 κοῦ χίλια ξεύγη, καὶ ταῦτα  
 πέπομφεν ἅπαντα π[ρὸ] Π[α]ναθη-  
 20 ναίων καθὰ ὑπέσ[χετο, δ]εδόχθ[αι]  
 τῷ δῆμῳ· ἐπαι[νε]σαι Εὐδήμ[ον]  
 [Φι]λούργου Πλατα[ιέα] καὶ σ[τεφ]άνῳ  
 φανῶσαι αὐτὸν θαλλὸ στεφ[άνῳ]  
 εὐνοίας ἔνεκα τῆς εἰς τὸν  
 25 δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων· καὶ εἰν[αι]  
 αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς ἐνεργέταις το[ῦ]  
 δῆμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων, [α]ὐτὸν κα[ὶ]

Of Eudemus of Plataea.

- 2 In the archonship of Aristophon [330/29]; in the ninth prytany, of Leontis; to which Antidorus son of Antinous of Paeania was secretary; on the eleventh of Thargelion [xi], the nineteenth of the prytany; of the *proedroi* Antiphanes of Euonymum was putting to the vote; resolved by the people. Lycurgus son of Lycophron of Butadae proposed:
- 11 Since Eudemus previously offered to the people to make a voluntary gift [*epididonai*] towards the war of 4,000 (?) drachmas if there were any need, and now has made a voluntary gift towards the making of the stadium and the Panathenaic theatre of a thousand yoke of oxen, and has sent all these before the Panathenaea as he promised, be it resolved by the people:
- 21 Praise Eudemus son of Philurgus of Plataea and crown him with an olive crown on account of his good will towards the people of Athens; and he shall rank among the benefactors of the people of Athens,



ἐκγόνους, καὶ ἐ[ὶν]α[ι] αὐτῶι  
 ἔγκτησιν γῆς καὶ ο[ὐ]κ[ι]ας, καὶ  
 30 στρατεύεσθαι αὐτὸν τὰς  
 στρατιάς καὶ τὰς εἰσφοράς  
 εἰσφέρειν μετὰ Ἀθηναίων.  
 ἀναγράψαι [δ]ὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα  
 τὸν γραμματέα τῆς βουλῆς καὶ  
 35 στήσαι ἐν ἀκρ[ο]πόλει, ἐῖ[ς] δ[ὲ] τ[ὴν]  
 ἀναγραφὴν τῆς στήλῃ[ς] δοῦ[ν]α[ι]  
 τὸν ταμίαν τοῦ δήμ[ου —]  
 δραχμὰς ἐκ τῶν εἰς τὰ κα[τὰ ψη]-  
 φίσματα ἀναλίσκομέ[ν]ων τῶι  
 40 δήμῳ. vacat

This is another decree of Lycurgus (cf. 91; also 81); like 91 it has the shorter formulae appropriate to a decree which does not enact what was recommended in a *probouleuma*, but this time we have no indication of what the relevant *probouleuma* contained.

Eudemus offered a voluntary gift [*epidosis*] (such gifts were solicited particularly from the middle of the fourth century: for Athens' attempt at financial recovery cf. on 91) of 4,000 (?) drachmas 'towards the war if there were any need'. Though Tod preferred to see an allusion to the Fourth Sacred War of 340–338, in a decree of 330/29 the war in question is likely to be the rising against Macedon in 331–330 led by King Agis of Sparta, in which Athens did not in the end join, and which was put down by Antipater (D.S. xvii. 48. i, 62. vi–63. iv, 73. v–vi; Curt. iv. i. 38–40; vi. i. lacuna–21; cf. Arr. *Anab.* ii. 13. iv–vi, iii. 6. iii, 16. x; for Athens Aesch. iii. *Ctes.* 165–7, Din. i. *Dem.* 34–6, Plut. *Dem.* 24. i, *Praec. Ger. Reip.* 818 E; on the chronology see E. Badian in *Ventures into Greek History* ( . . . N. G. L. Hammond), 258–92). Lycurgus is first attested in 343/2 as an anti-Macedonian politician (Dem. ix. *Phil.* iii. 72 some MSS, [Plut.] *X Or.* 841 E); in 330 he prosecuted Leocrates for deserting Athens at the time of Chaeronea in 338 (Lyc. *Leocr.*, cf. Aesch. iii. *Ctes.* 252); most of the men active in Athenian politics between the mid 330s and the mid 320s were men such as Demades, who could accept Macedonian supremacy, but Lycurgus' prosecution of Leocrates and his mention of the war here suggest that he had not abandoned his hostility to Macedon but would have liked Athens to join in the war. It was in 330, after Agis' defeat, that Aeschines finally brought to court his prosecution of Ctesiphon for a proposal to honour Demosthenes in 336, but he was overwhelmingly defeated (Aesch. iii. *Ctes.*, Dem. xviii. *Crown*, with Plut. *Dem.* 24, [Plut.] *X Or.* 840 C–D): sympathy for resistance to Macedon remained alive in Athens.

The gift which Eudemus did make was of a thousand yoke of oxen 'towards the making of the stadium and the Panathenaic theatre'. Both the Panathenaic Stadium

himself and his descendants, and he shall have the right to acquire land and a house, and to perform military service and to pay *eisphorai* with the Athenians.

- 33 This decree shall be written up by the secretary of the council and placed on the Acropolis, and for the writing-up of the decree the treasurer of the people shall give — drachmas from the people's fund for expenditure on decrees.

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and the Theatre of Dionysus were among the building projects associated with Lycurgus (cf. [Plut.] *X Or.* 841 D; and see Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary*, 498–504, 537–52). Those who have wanted to save the text, e.g. Tod, have suggested that 'the Panathenaic theatre' means the spectators' seats in the Panathenaic Stadium; but more probably the secretary or the stone-cutter has been careless, and has attached 'Panathenaic' to the wrong noun. (He has also made an error with the date: it can be demonstrated that this ought to be either 11 Thargelion = 29th of prytany or, less probably, 1 Thargelion = 19th of prytany: see *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 352 and Meritt, *The Athenian Year*, 91–4.) The suggestion of D. G. Romano that the reference here is not to the well-known buildings cited above but to buildings on the Pnyx (*AJA* 1985, 441–54) has been answered by G. R. Stanton & P. J. Bicknell (*GRBS* xxviii 1987, 88–9), but Romano pursues the matter further in Forsén & Stanton (edd.), *The Pnyx in the History of Athens*, 71–85. As for the usefulness of Eudemus' gift of oxen, cf. e.g. *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 1673. 64 sqq., where from twenty to forty or more yoke of oxen are used to pull individual column drums from the quarry to Eleusis; Plataea, on the edge of the Boeotian plain (and with a long history of friendship to Athens), is likely to have been better supplied with cattle than much of Attica (cf. 10). Lycurgus had honoured another Plataean in 332/1 (*IG II<sup>2</sup>* 345 = Schwenk 36).

The Periclean building programme of the fifth century was paid for almost entirely out of public funds (including surplus tribute from the Delian League: Plut. *Per.* 12. i–14. ii). When Leptines in 356/5 introduced a law abolishing nearly all personal exemptions from liturgies, Demosthenes in an unsuccessful attack on it claimed that that would deter possible future benefactors (xx. *Lept.*); and Lycurgus encouraged rich individuals to make their own contributions, in exchange for inexpensive public honours: for another example cf. Lycurgus' friend Xenocles, who in 321/0 built a bridge at Eleusis (*IG II<sup>2</sup>* 1191, *Anth. Pal.* ix. 147; cf. *APF*, 414–15; Lambert, *ZPE* cxxxv 2001, 51–62 at 57–8, cxli 2002, 117–24 at 123–4).

## Athens honours Heraclides of Salamis, 330/29 and 325/4

A *stèle* found on the Athenian Acropolis; now in the Epigraphical Museum.

Attic-Ionic, sometimes using two-point punctuation marks with numerals; ll. 2–65 *stoichedon* 39 with irregularities; 66–end non-*stoichedon*. S. D. Lambert reports *paragraphoi* after §i and §iii.

IG II<sup>2</sup> 360; SIG<sup>3</sup> 304; Schwenk 68\*. See also Rhodes, *Boule*, 66–7; Isager & Hansen, *Aspects of Athenian Society*, 200–8; Rhodes with Lewis, 24–5.

We number the five documents i–v in order of inscription, and letter them *a–e* in chronological order.

§i/e

θεο[ί].

ἐπ' Ἀντικλέους ἄρχοντος· ἐπὶ τῆς Αἰγείδος πέμπτ-  
ης πρυτανείας· ἥι Ἀντιφῶν Κοροΐβου Ἐλευσί(νιος) ἐγρα-  
μμάτευεν· ἑνδεκάτῃ, τετάρτῃ καὶ τριακοστῇ τῆς πρυταν-  
5 είας· τῷ προέδρῳ ἐπεψήφισεν Φίλυλλος Ἐλευσί(νιος).

Δημοσθένης Δημοκλέους Λαμπτρέως εἶπεν· ἐπειδ-  
ὴ Ἡρακλείδης Σαλαμίνιος διατελεῖ φιλοτιμού-  
ενος πρὸς τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων καὶ ποιῶν ὅ τι δ-  
ύναται ἀγαθόν, καὶ πρότερόν τε ἐπέδωκεν ἐν τῇ σ-  
10 πανοσιταί : XXX : μεδίμνους πυρῶν : Γ : δράχμους  
πρώτος τῶν καταπλευσάντων ἐνπόρων· καὶ πάλιν  
ὅτε αἱ ἐπιδόσεις ἦσαν ἐπέδωκε : XXX : δραχμὰς εἴ-  
ς σιτωνίαν· καὶ τὰ ἄλλα διατελεῖ εὖνους ὧν καὶ φι-  
λοτιμούμενος πρὸς τὸν δῆμον· δεδόχθαι τῷ δήμῳ-  
15 ἱ· ἐπαίνεσαι Ἡρακλείδην Χαρικλείδου Σαλαμίνι-  
ον, καὶ στεφανῶσαι χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ εὐνοίας ἕνεκ-  
α καὶ φιλοτιμίας τῆς πρὸς τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων.  
εἶναι δ' αὐτὸν πρόξενον καὶ εὐεργέτην τοῦ δήμου  
τοῦ Ἀθηναίων αὐτὸν καὶ ἐγγόνους· εἶναι δ' αὐτοῖς  
20 καὶ γῆς καὶ οἰκίας ἔγκτησιν κατὰ τὸν νόμον, καὶ σ-  
τρατεύεσθαι αὐτοὺς τὰς στρατείας καὶ εἰσφέρει-  
ν τὰς εἰσφοράς μετὰ Ἀθηναίων. ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδ-  
ε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γραμματέα τὸν κατὰ πρυτανείαν  
καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπαῖνους τοὺς γεγενημένους αὐ-  
25 τῷ ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνει καὶ στήσαι ἐν ἀκροπόλει, ε-  
ἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν τῆς στήλης δοῦναι τὸν ταμία-  
ν ΔΔΔ δραχμὰς ἐκ τῶν εἰς τὰ κατὰ ψηφίσματ' ἀναλισ-  
κομένων τῷ δήμῳ.

*vacat*

## §i/e

Gods.

- 2 In the archonship of Anticles [325/4]; in the fifth prytany, of Aegeis; to which Antiphon son of Coroebus of Eleusis was secretary; on the eleventh, the thirty-fourth of the prytany; of the *proedroi* Philyllus of Eleusis was putting to the vote. Demosthenes son of Democles of Lamptrae proposed:
- 6 Since Heraclides of Salamis continues to be ambitious towards the people of Athens and to do what good he can; and previously he made a voluntary gift [*epididonai*] in the corn shortage of 3,000 *medimnoi* of wheat at a price of 5 drachmas, as the first of the merchants to sail in; and again when there were the voluntary gifts [*epidoseis*] he made a gift of 3,000 drachmas for corn-buying; and in other respects he continues to be of good will and ambitious towards the people; be it resolved by the people:
- 15 Praise Heraclides son of Chariclides of Salamis, and crown him with a gold crown on account of his good will and ambition towards the people of Athens. He shall be a *proxenos* and benefactor of the people of Athens, himself and his descendants; and there shall be for them the right to acquire land and a house in accordance with the law, and they shall serve on the campaigns and pay the *eisphorai* with the Athenians.
- 22 This decree shall be written up by the secretary by the prytany, and the other praises which there have been for him, on a stone *stele* and placed on the Acropolis, and for the writing-up of the *stele* the treasurer shall give 30 drachmas from the people's fund for expenditure on decrees.

## §ii/c

- Τηλέμαχος Θεαγγέλου Ἀχαρνεὺς εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ Ἡρ-  
 30 ακλείδης Σαλαμίνιος ἐπέδωκεν τὸν σίτον τῷ δή-  
 μῳ πεντέδραχμον πρῶτος τῶν καταπλευσάντων ἐ-  
 μπόρων ἐπ' Ἀριστοφώντος ἄρχοντος· ἐψηφίσθαι τῷ-  
 δὴ μῶν· ἐπαινέσαι Ἡρακλείδην Χαρικλείδου Σαλ-  
 αμίνιον, καὶ στεφανῶσαι αὐτὸν χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ  
 35 φιλοτιμίας ἕνεκα τῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίω-  
 ν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ καταχθεὶς ὑπὸ Ἡρακλεωτῶν πλέων Ἀθή-  
 ναζε παρειρέθη τὰ ἰστία ὑπ' αὐτῶν, ἐλέσθαι πρεσβ-  
 ευτὴν ἓνα ἄνδρα ἐξ Ἀθηναίων [ἀπάντων, ὅστις ἀφικόμενος] ε-  
 ἰς Ἡράκλειαν ὡς Διονύσιον ἀξιῶσει ἀποδοῦναι τ-  
 40 ἂ ἰστία τὰ Ἡρακλείδου καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν μηδέν' ἀδικε-  
 ῖν τῶν Ἀθήναζε πλεόντων· καὶ ταῦτα ποιῶν τά τε δι-  
 καια ποιήσει καὶ οὐθεν [ὅς ἀτυχ]ήσει τοῦ δήμου [τ[ο]ῦ Ἀ-  
 [θηναίων] ] τῶν δικαίων. δοῦναι δὲ τῷ αἰρεθέντι πρεσβε-  
 τεῖ εἰς ἐφόδια τὸν ταμίαν τοῦ δήμου : Π : δραχμὰς ἐκ τῶ-  
 45 ν κατὰ ψησίσματ' ἀναλίσκομένων τῷ δήμῳ. εἰρέθ-  
 η πρεσβευτῆς Θηβαγένης Ἐλευσίνιος. *vacat*

## §iii/a

- Τηλέμαχος Θεαγγέλου Ἀχαρ(νεὺς) εἶπεν· ἐψηφίσθαι τῷ  
 δήμῳ· τῇμ βουλῇν προβουλεύσασαν ἐξευγκεῖν ε-  
 ἰς τὴν πρώτην ἐκκλησίαν περὶ Ἡρακλείδου καθότ-  
 50 εἰ εὐρήσεται ἂν τι δύνηται ἀγαθὸν παρὰ τοῦ δήμου  
 τοῦ Ἀθηναίων. *vacat*

## §iv/b

- Κηφισόδοτος Εὐαρχίδου Ἀχαρνεὺς εἶπεν· περὶ ὧν ὁ  
 δῆμος προσέταξεν τῇ βουλῇ προβουλεύσαι περ-  
 ἰ Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ Σαλαμίνιου, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλ-  
 55 ῇ· ἐπειδὴ Ἡρακλείδης καταπλεύσας Ἀθήναζε σίτ-  
 ον ἄγων ἐπέδωκεν τῷ δήμῳ τρισχιλίους μεδίμ-  
 νους πέντε δραχμῶν [ἕκαστον, τοὺς προέ]δρους οἳ ἂν λάχωσι-  
 ν προεδρεύειν εἰς τὴν πρώτην ἐκκλησίαν προσαγα-  
 γεῖν Ἡρακλείδην πρὸς τὸν δῆμον καὶ χρηματίσαι,  
 60 γνῶμην δὲ ξυμβάλλεσθαι τῆς βουλῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμο-  
 ν ὅτι δοκεῖ τῇ βουλῇ ἐπαινέσαι Ἡρακλείδην Χα-  
 ρικλείδου Σαλαμίνιον καὶ στεφανῶσαι [χρ-<sup>υ</sup>υυυυ]  
 υσῷ στεφάνῳ ἀπὸ Π δραχμῶν· εἶναι δ' αὐτῷ καὶ εὐ-

Erasures: 42–3 τοῦ Ἀθηναίων original text erased; elsewhere text inscribed after erasure. The cutter was correcting his errors. 29 Schwenk, p. 339: Θεαγγέλου edd. 44 IG addenda: Γ IG. 48 τῇμ

Schwenk, p. 339: τῇν edd.

## §ii/c

- 29 Telemachus son of Theangelus of Acharnae proposed:
- 29 Since Heraclides of Salamis has made a voluntary gift of corn to the people at five drachmas, as the first of the merchants to sail in in the archonship of Aristophon [330/29]; be it decreed by the people:
- 33 Praise Heraclides son of Chariclides of Salamis, and crown him with a gold crown on account of his ambition towards the people of Athens.
- 36 Since he was brought to land by the Heracleots while sailing to Athens and deprived of his sails by them, elect an envoy, one man from all the Athenians, who shall go to Dionysius in Heraclea and ask him to give back Heraclides' sails and in future not to wrong any of the men sailing to Athens; and by doing this he will be doing justly and shall not fail of anything that is just from the people [[of Athens]]. The man who is elected as envoy shall be given for travelling expenses by the treasurer of the people 50 drachmas from the people's fund for expenditure on decrees.
- 45 There was elected as envoy Thebagenes of Eleusis.

## §iii/a

- 47 Telemachus son of Theangelus of Acharnae proposed: Be it decreed by the people:
- 48 The council shall make a *probouleuma* and bring it forth to the first assembly concerning Heraclides, so that he may find what good he can from the people of Athens.

## §iv/b

- 52 Cephisodotus son of Euarchides of Acharnae proposed:
- 52 Concerning the people's instruction to the council to make a *probouleuma* concerning Heraclides of Salamis, be it resolved by the council:
- 55 Since Heraclides, on sailing to Athens bringing corn, made a voluntary gift to the people of three thousand *medimnoi* at five drachmas each, the *proedroi* to whose lot it falls to preside in the first assembly shall bring forward Heraclides to the people and deal with the matter, and contribute the opinion of the council to the people that the council resolves:
- 61 Praise Heraclides son of Chariclides of Salamis and crown him with a gold crown of 500 drachmas; and it shall be possible for him also to

ρέσθαι παρὰ τοῦ δήμου ὅτι ἂν δύνηται ἀγαθόν, ὅπως ἄ-  
 65 ν καιὶ οἱ ἄλλοι φιλοτιμῶνται, [ἐιδότες ὅτι τιμαὶ καὶ στεφανοῖ] ἡ βουλὴ τοὺς φ[ι]-  
 λοτιμουμένους. *vacat*

§v/d

Φυλεὺς Πανσανίου Οἰναῖος εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ Ἡρακλείδης Σαλαμίνιος καταπλευ-  
 σας Ἀθήναζε σίτον ἄγων ἐπ’ Ἀριστοφώντος ἄρχοντος ἐπέδωκεν τῷ δήμῳ XXX με-  
 δίμους Γ δράχμους, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ὁ δήμος ἐψηφίσαστο αὐτῷ τὴν βουλὴν προβου-  
 70 λεύσασαν ἐξενεγκεῖν εἰς τὸν δήμον καθ’ ὅτι εὐρήσεται ἂν τι δύνηται ἀγαθόν παρὰ  
 τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων, καὶ πάλιν ἐπ’ Εὐθυκρίτου ἄρχοντος ἐπέδωκεν τῷ (δήμῳ)  
 εἰς [σιτωνί]αν XXX δ-  
 ραχμῆς, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ· τοὺς προέδρους οἱ ἂν λάχωσι προεδρεύειν εἰς τὴν

*κυρίαν*

ἐκκλησίαν προσαγαγεῖν Ἡρακλείδην πρὸς τὸν δήμον καὶ χρηματίσαι, γνώμην δέ ξυ-  
 μβάλλεσθαι τῆς βουλῆς εἰς τὸν δήμον ὅτι δοκεῖ τῇ βουλῇ· ἐπαινέσαι Ἡρακλείδην  
 75 Χαρικλείδου Σαλαμίνιον καὶ στεφανῶσαι χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ ἀπὸ : Γ’ δραχμῶν·  
 εἶναι δ’ αὐτῷ καὶ εὐρέσθαι ἀγαθὸν [ν πα]ρὰ τοῦ δήμου ὅτου ἂν δοκεῖ ἄξιος εἶναι, ὅπως  
 ἂν καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἐθέλωσι [έτοίμ]ω[s εὐεργετεῖν τὴν βου]λὴν καὶ τὸν δῆ[μ]ο[v],  
 ὁρῶντες

τοὺς φιλοτιμουμέ[νους] ----- τὸν] δῆμον  
 [-----] πάσ[α]ς  
 α [-----] *vacat*

<i>In a crown:</i>	<i>In a crown:</i>	<i>In a crown:</i>	<i>In a crown:</i>
ὁ δήμος	ὁ δήμος	ἡ βουλὴ	ἡ βουλὴ

71 The stone omits *δήμῳ*.

This large *dossier* is important both for what it tells us about Athenian decision-making procedures and for its contribution to our evidence for corn shortages and responses to them in the 330s and 320s. Unlike 91 (which was probably published at the beneficiaries’ expense), this was published officially, at public expense (ll. 22–8); but, unusually, the instruction in the final decree, §i/e, to include ‘the other praises which there have been for him’ has resulted in the inscription not only of two decrees of the assembly, §§i/e, ii/c, but also of two *probouleumata*, §§iv/b, v/d, and of one short decree in which the assembly commissioned the first *probouleuma*, §iii/a.<sup>1</sup> Osborne in Goldhill & Osborne (edd.), *Performance Culture and Athenian Democracy*, 341–58 at 352–4, notes that this enabled Heraclides’ honours to be advertised more emphatically. Beyond that, what emerges from a reading of these texts is surprising.

(§iii/a). We cannot tell under what kind of *probouleuma* Telemachus was first able to raise the question of honouring Heraclides in 330/29 (there must have been some *probouleuma* under which Telemachus was able to make his proposal), but it clearly did not allow an immediate decision, and so he carried a motion that the council should

<sup>1</sup> The two *paragraphoi* separate the second final decree of the assembly (§i) from the first (§ii), and the decree commissioning a *probouleuma* (§iii) from the resulting *probouleuma* (§iv).

find from the people what good he can, so that the others also may be ambitious, knowing that the council honours and crowns those who are ambitious.

§v/d

67 Phyleus son of Pausanias of Oenoe proposed:

67 Since Heraclides of Salamis on sailing to Athens bringing corn in the archonship of Aristophon [330/29] gave the people a voluntary gift of 3,000 *medimnoi* at 5 drachmas, and because of this the people decreed for him that the council should make a *probouleuma* and bring it forth to the people so that he should find what good he could from the people of Athens, and again in the archonship of Euthycritus [328/7] he made a voluntary gift to the people for corn-buying of 3,000 drachmas; Be it resolved by the council:

72 The *proedroi* to whose lot it falls to preside in the principal assembly [*kyria ekklesia*] shall bring Heraclides forward to the people and deal with the matter, and contribute the opinion of the council to the people that the council resolves:

74 Praise Heraclides son of Charidides of Salamis and crown him with a gold crown of 500 drachmas; and it shall be possible for him also to find from the people whatever good he may be resolved to be worthy of, so that the others also may be willing to be ready benefactors of the council and people, seeing that those who are ambitious — — — the people — — — all — — —

*In a crown:*

The people

*In a crown:*

The people

*In a crown:*

The council

*In a crown:*

The council

---

draw up an appropriate *probouleuma* and bring it to the next assembly: ‘so that he may find what good he can from the people of Athens’ (ll. 49–51) is a standard expression, used particularly in the fourth century as a kind of open clause inviting the formulation of whatever honours are thought appropriate (cf. Rhodes, *Boule*, 281–3, where the clauses in §§iv/b, v/d were noted but this was not).

(§iv/b). In the council Cephisodotus mentioned decree iii/a and Heraclides’ benefaction to Athens, recommended to the assembly that he should be praised and given a gold crown, and added ‘It shall be possible for him also to find from the people what good he can’ (ll. 63–4)—in effect inviting the assembly to add to the honours recommended by the council.

(§ii/c). In the assembly Telemachus made the proposal again (he was presumably not a member of the council: Cephisodotus, who proposed §iv/b, was a member of the same deme, Acharnae, and Telemachus will have made use of him as an acquaintance who was a member of the council [Osborne, *Demos*, 67]); and the text that we have does not ratify the honours of the *probouleuma* and add further benefits by way of an amendment (cf. Introduction, pp. xvii–xviii), but instead it has the short motion formula appropriate to a decree which does not ratify the *probouleuma*, and does not



mention the *probouleuma*. In spite of that, it does begin by ratifying it (but does not repeat from it the value of the crown); it then goes on to refer to the theft of Heraclides' sails by the people of Heraclea Pontica, and arranges for the appointment of an envoy to go and remonstrate with the tyrant Dionysius and for the payment of the envoy's travelling expenses. A note at the end records the name of the man elected as envoy.

The remaining two documents give us a comparable phenomenon a little later, but this time with no equivalent of §iii/a.

(§v/d). In the council Phyleus refers to Heraclides' first benefaction and to the fact that in response to that the assembly had commissioned a *probouleuma* from the council; he then refers to a second benefaction, in 328/7, and as in §iv/b recommends praise and a gold crown, and adds, 'It shall be possible also for him to find from the people whatever good he may be resolved to be worthy of'. This, like the final decree, presumably belongs to 325/4: there is no indication of why Heraclides was not honoured for his second benefaction in 328/7 but was honoured for it (and not for anything subsequent) in 325/4.

(§i/e). Demosthenes son of Democles (see below) in the assembly uses the short motion formula, and does not mention the *probouleuma* but does in fact begin by ratifying it (without repeating from the *probouleuma* the value of the crown). He then goes on to give Heraclides the status of *proxenos* and benefactor, spelling out some respects in which he is to be raised above ordinary metic status (cf. on *isoteleia* in 4). The addition of 'in accordance with the law' to the right to acquire land and a house is normal from c.330 (cf. Pečírka, *The Formula for the Grant of Enktesis*, chronological table pp.152–9): we do not know what the law in question stated. The decree ends with the order for the publication of this decree and 'the other praises'—at a cost of 30 drachmas for an exceptionally long text, though after c.330 that maximum was sometimes exceeded (cf. on 22).

The stone ends with the representation of four crowns: the two awarded by the people, and also two awarded by the council, though in the surviving text the council did not award separate crowns (even olive) of its own but merely recommended gold crowns to the assembly.

It is remarkable not only that such an extensive *dossier* has been inscribed but also that the two decrees of the assembly, §§i/e and ii/c, have been formulated in a way which disguises their origin: there is nothing in those two documents to indicate that *probouleumata* are being ratified and added to (but the earlier *probouleuma* §iv/b, does indicate that it is a response to the order from the assembly, §iii/a); and if, in accordance with normal practice, the inscription had ended after §ii/c, we should have supposed that these two decrees did not ratify *probouleumata*. In how many other cases a similarly misleading formulation has been used, we cannot tell.

For decree i/e we are given the day within the month but not the name of the month: the 11th of the month can coincide with the 34th day of the fifth prytany if we assume that this is an intercalary, thirteen-month year, the month is the added month, a second Posideon, and of the first four prytanies two had 39 days and two had 38 (Meritt, *The Athenian Year*, 102–4: cf. Introduction, p. xxii). On the frequently mentioned 'ambition' (*philotimia*, literally love of honour) see D. Whitehead, *C&M*

xxxiv 1983, 55–74, and cf. 46: what was originally considered a good quality came to be perceived as dangerous to a city, but was eventually judged acceptable if harnessed for civic purposes; the term begins to appear in Athenian decrees about the 340s.

Of the Athenians named in the inscription, Philyllus has a rare name, so the Treasurer of the Other Gods from the same deme in 418/7 (*IG* I<sup>3</sup> 472. 17) is probably an ancestor; this Demosthenes was proposer of a decree concerned with the Amphiareia in 329/8 (*IG* VII 4254 = Petrakos, *οἱ ἐπιγραφῆς τοῦ Ὠρωποῦ*, 298); Telemachus makes a few epigraphic appearances between c.340 and the end of the century, *inter alia* proposing honours for Lycurgus (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 3207. 25–7), and also appearances in fragments from the comedian Timocles (frs. 7, 17, 21 Kock = Edmonds = 7, 18, 23 Kassel & Austin, *ap. Ath.* ix. 407 D–F); Cephisodotus or a homonymous grandson was honoured as *exetastes* in charge of the soldiers at Sunium in 298/7 (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1270); Phyleus was honoured as an elected official of 336/5 (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 330 = Schwenk 18; for other members of the family see *LGPV* ii, under Phyleus of Oenoe). Nothing is known about Heraclides of Salamis (in Cyprus: cf. on 11) except what we read in this inscription.

In 330/29 in a corn shortage (ll. 9–10) he was the first of the merchants to sail in (an *emporos* is a merchant, strictly one who travels on a ship owned by somebody else: Isager & Hansen, 64–6), and he ‘made a voluntary gift’ of 3,000 *medimnoi* of the more valuable wheat (l. 10: c.160,000 litres, or 4,330 bushels) at a price of 5 drachmas per *medimnos*—which implies that in this crisis he could have obtained a significantly higher price: cf. [Dem.] xxxiv. *Phorm.* 38–9, reporting that Chrysippus and his brother sold more than 10,000 *medimnoi* at the same price. In 328/7, ‘when there were the voluntary gifts’ (l. 12), he made a donation of 3,000 drachmas to a corn-buying fund: cf. [Dem.] xxxiv, *loc. cit.*, reporting that Chrysippus and his brother made a donation of 1 talent (i.e. 6,000 drachmas).

The epigraphic evidence is reviewed by Tracy, *Athenian Democracy in Transition*, 30–6. There had been an earlier crisis in 335/4 ([Dem.] xxxiv, *loc. cit.*, cf. *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 408 with Tracy, 33–4 and n. 20); Dionysius of Heraclea (cf. below) was involved on the same two occasions as our Heraclides (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 363 = Schwenk 67, with Schwenk’s dating). Other evidence from the 320s includes the inscription in which Cyrene lists the consignments of corn which it sent to Greece (96); Athens’ dispatch of a colony to the Adriatic in 325/4 to protect the western trade route (100); permission to indebted trierarchs to set donations for corn-buying against fines which they had incurred (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1628. 346–9, 363–8, etc.). Alexander’s treasurer Harpalus earned gratitude from Athens by sending corn (D.S. xvii. 108. vi cf. Python, Snell’s *TGF* i. 91 F 1 *ap. Ath.* xiii. 586 D, 595 E–596 B). There was further trouble in the years after Alexander’s death (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 342 = *SEG* xxxv 70 [333/2 Walbank; but 320s possible, Walbank *ap. Schwenk*], 369, 398. a, 400, 401). It appears that at this time there were crop failures in and near the eastern Mediterranean, and that the situation was worsened by the activities of such men as Cleomenes, who had made himself governor of Egypt under Alexander and tried to exploit the crisis ([Arist.] *Oec.* ii. 1352 A 16–23, B 14–20).

We do not know when Heraclides was allegedly robbed of his sails by the Heracleots, of the Megarian colony Heraclea Pontica on the south coast of the Black Sea (ll. 36–46). A dynasty of tyrants there began with Plato’s pupil Clearchus, who ruled

from 364/3 to 353/2; he was succeeded by his brother Satyrus, until 346/5; Satyrus by Clearchus' sons Timotheus and Dionysius as joint rulers; after Timotheus' death in 338/7 Dionysius ruled alone until 306/5 (Memnon, *FGH* 434 FF 1–4. viii). For

## 96

## Corn from Cyrene, c.330–c.326

Inscribed on the right side of a white marble block found in two pieces in the Small Baths at Cyrene on the front and left of which 97 is inscribed; the back is left blank. Now in Cyrene Museum, inv. no. 51. Phot. Oliverio, figs. 5–6, Marasco, *Economia e storia*, pll. 1–3; our Pl. 9(a).

Cyrenaean Doric. Deep cut letters with *paragraphoi* drawn from the left margin under first letters of lines 21, 23, 38, 40, and 42 (but not 55 and 57) to indicate where two successive lines form a single entry.

*SEG* ix 2; Oliverio, *Documenti*, II. i 8ff., 84ff.; Tod 196; Laronde, *Cyrene*, 30–33\*; Trans. Harding 116. See also B. Kingsley, *ZPE* lvi 1986, 165–77; Garnsey, *Famine and Food Supply*, 158–62; P. Brun, *ZPE* xcix 1993, 185–96, Horden and Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea*, 59–74.

- [ίαρ]ὺς Σωσίας Κα[λλιά]δα.  
 [ὄ]σσοις σίτον ἔδωκε ἅ πόλις,  
 ὅκα ἅ σιτοδεΐα ἐγένετο  
 ἐν ταῖ Ἑλλάδι.  
 5 Ἀθαναίοις δέκα μυριάδας,  
 Ὀλυμπιάδι ἕξ μυριάδας,  
 Ἀργείοις πέντε μυριάδας,  
 Λαρισαίοις πέντε μυριάδας,  
 Κορινθίοις πέντε μυριάδας,  
 10 Κλενπάτραι πέντε μυριάδας,  
 Ροδίοις τρεῖς μυριάδας,  
 Σικωνίοις τρεῖς μυριάδας,  
 [Μ]ελιβοέσσι δύο μυριάδας,  
 [Μ]εγαρέσσι δύο μυριάδας  
 15 Τ[....]σι δύο μυριάδας,  
 Λεσ[....]ς μυρίος πεντακιχηλῖος,  
 Θηραίοις μ[υ]ρίος πεντακιχηλῖος,  
 Οἰταιέσσι μυ[ρί]ος πεντακιχηλῖος,  
 Ἀμβρακιώταις μ[υρί]ος πεντακιχηλῖος[ς],  
 20 Λευκαδίοις μυρίος [πεν]τακιχηλῖος,  
 Καρυστίοις μυρίος πεντακιχηλῖος[ς],  
 Ὀλυμπιάδι μυρίος δις[χηλῖος]  
 ἐξᾶκατος,  
 Θεσσαλῶν Ἀτραγίοις μυρίος,

2 [ὄ]σσοις Dobias, [π]όσοις Oliverio.

Brun).

16 Λεσ[βώ]ις Oliverio; but form is doubtful (Tod, Brun).

15 Τ[ηνέ]σι Oliverio; but reading and form are doubtful (Tod,

travelling expenses (ll. 43–5) cf. 35; also 44, 48; and see Loomis, *Wages, Welfare Costs and Inflation*, 203–19 ch. xii.

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Priest: Sosias son of Kallias. These are those to whom the city gave grain during the grain shortage in Greece.

- 5 To the Athenians 100,000;  
to Olympias 60,000;  
to the Argives 50,000;  
to the Larisans 50,000;  
to the Corinthians 50,000;
- 10 to Cleopatra 50,000;  
to the Rhodians 30,000;  
to the Sicyonians 30,000;  
to the Meliboeans 20,000;  
to the Megarians 20,000;
- 15 to the Tenians (?) 20,000;  
to the Lesbians (?) 15,000;  
to the Therans 15,000;  
to the Octaeans 15,000;  
to the Ambraciots 15,000;
- 20 to the Leucadians 15,000;  
to the Carystians 15,000;  
to Olympias 12,600;  
to the Atragians of Thessaly 10,000;

- 25 *Κυθνίοις μυρίς,*  
*Όποντίοις μυρίς,*  
*Κυδωνιάταις μυρίς,*  
*Κώιοις μυρίς,*  
*Παρίοις μυρίς,*  
 30 *Δελφοῖς μυρίς,*  
*Κνωσίοις μυρίς,*  
*Βοιωτοῖς Ταναγραίοις μυρίς,*  
*Γορτυνίοις μυρίς,*  
*Άλείοις μυρίς,*  
 35 *Άκαρνάνων Παλαιαίοις μυρίς,*  
*Μεγαρέσσι μυρίς,*  
*Μελιβοέσσι ὀκτακισηλῖος*  
*πεντακατίος,*  
*Φλειασίοις ὀκτακισηλῖος,*  
 40 *Έρμιονέσσι ὀκτακισηλῖος,*  
*Οἶταιέσσι ἑξακισηλῖος*  
*τετρακατίος,*  
*Τροιζανίοις ἑξακισηλῖος,*  
*Πλαταιέσιν ἑξακισηλῖος,*  
 45 *Κηῖοις Οὐλιάταις πεντακισηλῖος,*  
*Αἰγινάταις πεντακισηλῖος,*  
*Άστυपालιέσσι πεντακισηλῖος,*  
*Κυθηρίοις πεντακισηλῖος,*  
*Ύρτακινίοις πεντακισηλῖος,*  
 50 *Αἰγινάταις πεντακισηλῖος,*  
*Κηῖοις Κορθαέσσι τετρακισηλῖος,*  
*Κυθηρίοις τρισηλῖος ἑκατόν,*  
*Κηῖοις τρισηλῖος,*  
*Ίλυρίοις τρισηλῖος,*  
 55 *Κηῖων Κορησίοις τρισηλῖος,*  
*Άμβρακιώταις χηλῖος*  
*πεντακατίος,*  
*[Τ]κετυρίοις χηλῖος,*  
*[Κ]νωσίοις ἡνακατίος.*

This text records the distribution of 805,000 *medimnoi* of grain to cities and rulers in mainland Greece and the islands during a grain shortage. But this apparently straightforward text is in almost all respects obscure. We do not know how much grain was involved because we do not know whether the Attic or Aeginetan/Laconian *medimnos* is being employed, and the Aeginetan/Laconian *medimnos* was 50% larger (see on 45). We do not know what grain was involved, wheat or barley. We do not know whether the grain was sent in a single year or more than one year. We do not know in which

- 25 to the Cythnians 10,000;  
to the Opuntians 10,000;  
to the Cydoniates 10,000;  
to the Coans 10,000;  
to the Parians 10,000;
- 30 to the Delphians 10,000;  
to the Cnossians 10,000;  
to the Boiotian Tanagraeans 10,000;  
to the Gortynians 10,000;  
to the Eleans 10,000;
- 35 to the Palairaeans of Acarnania 10,000;  
to the Megarians 10,000;  
to the Meliboeans 8,500;  
to the Phleasians 8,000;
- 40 to the Hermionians 8,000;  
to the Oetaeans 6,400;  
to the Troizenians 6,000,  
to the Plataeans 6,000;
- 45 to the Cean Iulietans 5,000;  
to the Aeginetans 5,000;  
to the Astypalaeans 5,000;  
to the Cythereans 5,000;  
to the Hyrtacinians 5,000;
- 50 to the Aeginetans 5,000;  
to the Cean Carthaeans 4,000;  
to the Cythereans 3,100;  
to the Ceans 3,000;  
to the Illyrians (?) 3,000;
- 55 to the Cean Coresians 3,000;  
to the Ambraciots 1,500;  
to the Icetyrians 1,000;  
to the Cnossians 900.

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year or years the grain was sent. We do not know whether the grain was indeed a gift or was simply supplied at less than the current market price. We do not know why Cyrene sent the grain.

By explicit mention of grain shortage the inscription implies that relief of the shortage motivated the sending of the grain, but why did relief of the shortage seem so important to Cyrene? Questions of date and interpretation are closely bound up with one another. The inclusion of large quantities of grain for both Olympias, mother of

Alexander the Great, and Cleopatra, Philip II's daughter who had been married to Alexander of Epirus, indicate a date between 335 and 323 and show that the grain distribution was, at least in part, politically motivated. But precise interpretation depends upon the specific date.

Interpretation of the sending of grain entirely in terms of the pursuit of pro-Macedonian policies by Cyrene depends upon a date prior to Agis III's revolt in 331/30 since some of Agis' allies (notably Elis and cities of Crete) are recipients of grain, as is the Spartan-controlled island of Cythera. Kingsley has argued that the sending should be associated with Harpalus' leaving his post of Treasurer of Alexander shortly before the battle of Issus (332/1). Arrian, our sole source for the episode, treats Harpalus' departure as flight consequent upon his having been 'led astray' by one Tauriscus (Arrian, *Anab.* iii. 6. vii), but modern scholars have often tried to find some good reason for Harpalus' departure from and then return to his post as Treasurer (see Heckel, *The Marshals of Alexander's Empire*, 215–17), and Kingsley suggests that keeping the cities of Greece sweet by provision of subsidized grain was part of Harpalus' mission. She sees evidence for this in some lines from Python's satyr-play *Agon* (itself performed after 325) quoted by Athenaeus (xiii. 596 A–B), which refer to Harpalus' sending hundreds of thousands of *medimnoi* of grain to Athens. This suggestion seems implausible for two reasons: the quantities of grain involved here are large, and there is no evidence that 332–331 was a time of grain shortage; in 331/30 ambassadors from Cyrene had met Alexander on his way to consult the oracle at Ammon and had given him, according to Diodorus, three hundred war horses and five four-horse chariots (xvii. 49. ii, cf. Curtius, iv. vii. 9), and it is hard to understand this action if Cyrene had already been in such close relations with the Macedonians as to have Harpalus engineer grain shipments on this scale from there.

The major grain shortages known during this period are those which occasioned the generosity of Heraclides of Salamis at Athens (95), that is, those of 330/29 and 328/7 (compare Dem. xxxiv. *Phormio* 38–9 and see Garnsey, 154–62, and Tracy, *Athenian Democracy in Transition*, 30–36). The major factor in these shortages is likely to have been climatic, but warfare in Italy (an important source for west Greece) and Thrace may also have contributed to the problems (Marasco, 45, 49), and 330/29 may have been the year in which Cleomenes banned grain export from Egypt ([Arist.] *Oec.* ii. 1352 A 16–23, Marasco, 55). It is conceivable that some of the contributions listed may have been made in one of these years, some in the other. Multiple grants are made to eight of the recipients: Aegina, Ambracia, Cnossus, Cythera, Megara, Meliboea, Oeta, and Olympias (Alexander's mother). In some cases one of the two gifts is much smaller than the other, but in the case of Cythera the two gifts are of similar size (5,000 and 3,100 *medimnoi*). This suggests that the gifts may have been made not in a single year but in at least two different years. The order in which the recipients appear is determined by the size of the grant, not by the order in which the gifts were made. The inscribed text would seem to be constructed from records of grants made, rather than from the record of decisions taken by a political body.

The inscription reveals Cyrene as agriculturally extremely rich. If Cyrene used the Attic *medimnos*, as she used the Attic weight standard for her coinage, the surplus of

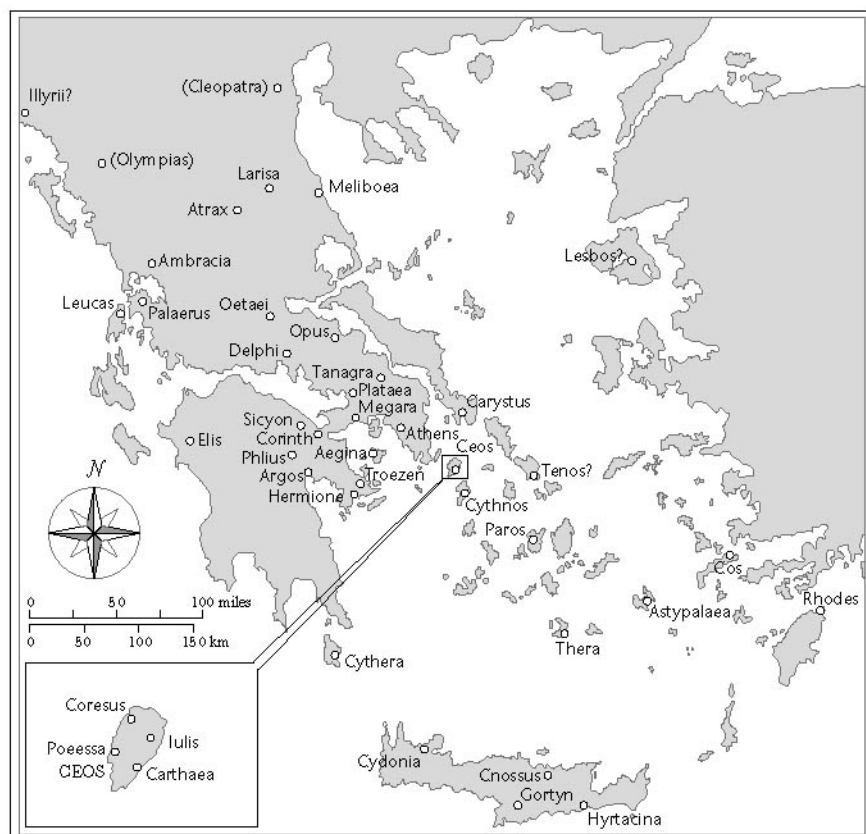


FIG 2. Communities and individuals receiving grain from Cyrene

805,000 *medimnoi* can be directly compared with the *total* grain production of Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros in 329/8, as reconstructed from the record of the return of first-fruits to Eleusis in *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1672, of c.350,000 Attic *medimnoi*. This emphasizes the size of Cyrene's territory, the favourable climate it enjoyed (see Osborne, *Greece in the Making*, 59–60, Horden and Purcell, 65–74), and the way in which its wealth rested on very much more than just the production of silphium. Curiously we have no other evidence for Cyrene as a source for grain for the cities of classical Greece, though it is possible that supply of grain lies behind the Athenian proxy grant in the middle of the fourth century to some men of Cyrene who have helped Athenians in Cyrene (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 176; and compare Theophrastus, *H. Pl.* viii. 4).

Even given its agricultural wealth, the amount of grain sent is remarkable. Was Cyrene in a position to give away grain probably worth in the region of 400–700 talents, not allowing for the increased prices in a corn shortage? Or does 'gave' here simply mean 'provided' (at a subsidized rate) (contrast the explicit 'give as a gift' in 64. 20–21)? If the market rate in 329/8 was three times the 'normal' price, as is quite probable, providing the grain at the normal price would mean forgoing some 800–1,400



talents of income. ('Gave' can hardly mean simply 'provided at the market rate' since that would hardly be something worth commemorating on a marble block.) Cyrene had an oligarchic government at this period, but under what circumstances would the advantages of making these gifts seem to justify the enormous tax which giving away this much grain would have amounted to? The gifts to Alexander show that the government of Cyrene was capable of lavish generosity when it thought this was in its political interests, but the scale involved here is quite different. By 324 political conflict had broken out in Cyrene between democrats and oligarchs (conflict that ended by giving an opportunity to Ptolemy I to take overall control of Cyrene), but even if the gifts recorded in this inscription are linked to the need of a régime under pressure to court support, the scale remains surprising. Did the government of Cyrene jump, or were they pushed?

The inscription itself tells us nothing about the background to the decision to distribute this grain. Pressure to make the distribution might have come from two different sources, the Macedonians and appeals from Greece. In the latter case, we might imagine that most, if not all, of the forty-one different recipients of grain made contact with Cyrene, some of them more than once, to ask for assistance, either because they were in any case in regular commercial or diplomatic contact or because they quickly heard what Cyrene had done for other communities. Cyrene had, from its foundation or soon afterwards, attracted settlers from many different parts of Greece, and we have other evidence (M&L 7) that Thera, one of the beneficiaries, sought at this period to remind Cyrene of its role in Cyrene's foundation, with an eye to enjoying some of the benefits of Cyrene's prosperity.

In deciding between these alternatives the distribution of the cities to which grain is sent is crucial. In some parts of Greece almost every city receives grain (so with the belt of cities across the Isthmus of Corinth—Sicyon, Corinth, Megara, Plataea, Athens, Tanagra). In other parts few cities are recipients, although those that do receive grain may receive large amounts: this is particularly notable in Thessaly where Larisa receives 50,000 and Atrax 10,000 but no other city receives anything (unless it is the Thessalian Meliboea that is meant), and in Boeotia where Plataea and Tanagra get significant grants but no other city receives anything.

It is harder to explain the pattern by supposing Macedonian initiative. Various recipient cities, including Rhodes, are known at various times to have opposed the Macedonians, but the crucial case is that of Elis. Philip's intervention in favour of the oligarchic group at Elis (Paus. iv. 28. iv–vi) led to a long history of resistance to Macedon: Elis 'moved to recover its freedom' (D.S. xvii. 3. v) on the death of Philip,

sent troops in response to the appeal from Thebes when Thebes was besieged by Alexander (D.S. xvii. 8. v–vi), and was involved in Agis' revolt and consequently fined by the League of Corinth (Curtius, vi. i. 20). Agis' revolt was over at latest by spring 330 (Bosworth, *Conquest and Empire*, 200 n. 14) and whether the grain was sent in 330/29 or 328/7 it must have been sent in knowledge of Elis' behaviour. Yet it receives grain; it is indeed the only Peloponnesian recipient of grain not from the north-east corner of the Peloponnese. If the initiative behind the supply of grain from Cyrene was Macedonian the presence of Elis among the recipients is hard to explain. What is more, if Olympias mother of Alexander and Cleopatra his sister were both in Epirus, as is possible, then the only Macedonian recipient is Meliboea—if it is the Macedonian and not the Thessalian Meliboea that is meant (for the evidence on the whereabouts of Olympia and Cleopatra see Marasco, 28–30). (For further arguments against political explanations of the distribution see Marasco, 77–99.)

Two patterns can be perceived. There is a general correlation between the probable size of a community and the amount of grain that it receives (so Athens, with around 30,000 citizens, receives by far the largest amount, and the tiny Cean city of Coresia, with perhaps 200 citizens, receives only 3% of the Athenian amount). And recipient communities lie for the most part along plausible shipping routes from Cyrene—either to Rhodes and then across the Aegean to Athens, or to Crete, Cythera, and then up the west side of the Peloponnese to north-west Greece. But community size and trade routes can hardly be the only factors: Epirus was not densely populated, and Cleopatra is known to have been able to export grain in the 330s (Lyc. *Leocr.* 26, 152), yet between them she and Olympias receive 122,600 *medimnoi*. If the idea that Cyrene is under Macedonian orders is improbable, some political motivation seems nevertheless certain.

The presence of Olympias and Cleopatra demonstrates that political factors are at work in this distribution, but the case of Elis makes the politics difficult to read. We should allow a good deal for the rather haphazard distribution of *proxenoi* in determining the distribution. That said, the geographical concentration of recipients makes it reasonable to suspect that the inscription gives us at least an approximate picture of the differential vulnerability of different Greek cities to grain shortage (Garnsey, pp. 159–61). It is the areas of south-east Greece with the lowest rainfall that are most frequently in receipt, but areas further north are not entirely unaffected, and this inscription confirms evidence from the Roman period and modern climatic data which suggest that Thessaly, although sometimes able to produce large grain surpluses, was not infrequently itself subject to severe shortages (compare *JRS* lxxiv 1984, 30–44).

## Sacred law from Cyrene, late fourth century

Inscribed on the front and left side of a white marble block found in two pieces in the Small Baths at Cyrene on the right side of which 96 is inscribed; the back is blank. Now in Cyrene Museum, inv. no. 51. Phot. Ferri, figs. 14–17, Oliverio, figs. 1–4; our Pl. 9.

Cyrenaean Doric. Separate clauses are marked out with *paragraphoi*.

S. Ferri, *NAMC* iv 1927, 91–145; Oliverio, *Documenti*, II. i 7–28, 35–84; Solmsen & Fraenkel 39; *SEG* ix 72; Buck 115; *LSS* 115; C. Dobias-Lalou, *Le dialecte des inscriptions grecques de Cyrène*, 299–302\*. Trans. Parker, *Miasma*, 332–51. See also H. J. Stukeley, *CP* xxxii 1937, 32–43; Parker, *Miasma*, 332–51; J. Brunel, *RPh* lviii 1984, 35–44; Burkert, *The Orientalizing Revolution*, 68–73.

## A

- [Α] πόλλων ἔχρη[σε].  
 [ἐς ἀ]εὶ καθαρμοῖς καὶ ἀγνήϊαις κα[ὶ δε]-  
 ———[κατ]ήϊαις χρεϊμένος τὰν Λεβύαν οἰκ[έν].  
 (i) [αῖ] κα ἐπὶ τὰν γὰν ἡ ἐπὶ τὰμ πόλιν ἐπέειη νόσο[ς ἡ λί]-  
 5 [μο]ς ἡ θάνατος, θύεν ἔμπροσθε τὰμ πυλάν, [ἐναντ]-  
 [ίον] τῷ Ἀποτροπαίῳ, τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Ἀποτρ[όπ]-  
 ———[ωι] χίμαρον ἐρυθρόν.  
 (ii) [κ]ἄλον ἐν ἱαρῷ πεφυκός· αἶ κα τῷ θεῷ τὰν τιμὰν  
 [ἐ]ρεῖσες, τῷ κάλῳ χρησῆι καὶ ἐς ἱαρά καὶ ἐς βάβ[α]-  
 10 [λα] καὶ ἐς μιάρά.  
 (iii) [ἀπ]ὸ γυναικὸς ἀνὴρ τὰν νύκτα κοιμαθὲς θυσεῖ ὁ [τ]-  
 [ι κα] δῆλῃται· τὰν δὲ ἀμέραν κοιμαθὲς λωσάμεν[ος]  
 [..... ε]ἴτι ὅπνι κα δῆλ[ητα]ι, πλὰν ἡ ἐς [...]  
 [-----]ταν· τὰν δὲ [<sup>3</sup> 4]  
 15 [----]  
 (iv) [ἀ]λεχῶν ὀροφον μιανεῖ· τὸν μ[ὲν] ὑπώροφον μιανεῖ, τὸν  
 [δ' ἐ]ξόροφον οὐ μιανεῖ, αἶ κα μὴ ὑπένθηι. ὁ δ' ἄ[νθρ]-  
 [ω]πος, ὁ κα ἐνδοι ἦι, α(ὐ)τὸς μὲν μιάρὸς τέντα[ι ἀμ]-  
 [έρα]ς τρίς, ἄλλον δὲ οὐ μιανεῖ, οὐδε ὅπνι κα ἐνθ[ηι ο]-  
 20 ὕτος ὁ ἀνθρωπος.  
 (v) [Α]καμαντίων δόσια παντὶ καὶ ἀγνώι καὶ βαβάλω[ι].  
 πλὰν ἀπ' ἀνθρώπῳ Βάττω τῷ {τω} ἀρχαγέτα καὶ  
 Τριτοπατέρων καὶ ἀπὸ Ὀνυμάστῳ τῷ Δελφῶ {ι},  
 ἀπ' ἄλλῳ, ὅπῃ ἀνθρωπος ἔκαμε, οὐκ ὁσία ἀγνώ(ι),  
 25 τῶν δὲ ἱαρῶν δόσια παντί.  
 (vi) αἶ κα ἐπὶ βωμῷ θύσῃ ἱαρήιον, ὅ τι μὴ νόμος θύεν, τ[ὸ]  
 ποτιπιάμμα ἀφελὲν ἀπὸ τῷ βωμῷ καὶ ἀποπλύν-  
 αι καὶ τὸ ἄλλο λῦμα ἀνελὲν ἐκ τῷ ἱαρῷ καὶ τὰν ἕκ-  
 νυν ἀπὸ τῷ βωμῷ καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἀφελὲν ἐς καθαρὸν·

## A

Apollo issued an oracle: [the Cyrenaeans] shall inhabit Libya for ever, observing purifications and abstinences and tithes.

- 4 (i) If sickness or famine or death visit the land or the city, sacrifice a red billy goat in front of the gate, opposite the Shrine of Aversion, to Apollo the Averter.
- 8 (ii) Wood growing in a sanctuary: provided that you pay the god the price, you may use the wood for sacred and for secular and for unclean purposes.
- 11 (iii) A man coming from a woman, having slept with her by night, may sacrifice whatever he wishes. If he has slept with her by day, once he has washed, he may go — wherever he wishes, except to — —
- 16 (iv) The woman who gives birth pollutes the house. She pollutes anyone within the house, but she does not pollute anyone outside the house, unless he comes inside. Any person who is inside will be defiled for three days, but he will not pass on the pollution to another, no matter where this person goes.
- 21 (v) Right to participate is granted to anyone, either pure or profane, with regard to Akamanties. Except in the case of the man Battus the founder, and the Tritopateres and in the case of Onymastus the Delphian, in the case of any other man that has died there is no right to participate for a pure man; but in the case of the sacred ones, there is a right to participate for anyone.
- 26 (vi) If someone sacrifices at an altar a victim which it is not customary to sacrifice, he is to remove from the altar the fat that remains and wash it away, and remove from the sanctuary the rest of the filth, and take away the ash from the altar and the fire to a pure place, and

- 30 καὶ τόκα δὴ ἀπονυψάμενος, καθάρας τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ  
 \_\_\_\_\_ζαμίαν θύσας βοτὸν τέλευν, τόκα δὴ θυέτω ὡς νόμ(ος).
- (vii) \_\_\_\_\_ ῥκώχιμος μέστα ἐς ἀδελφεῶν τέκνα.
- (viii) \_\_\_\_\_ αἶ κα δέκατος ἦι ἄνθρωπος ἡβατάς, καθάρας α-  
 [ῥ]τὸς αὐτὸν αἵματι, καθαρεῖ τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ πωλη-  
 35 [θ]ἐς ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ὁπόσσω κα πλείστω ἄξιος ἦ[ε],  
 προθυσεῖ πρὸ τᾶς δεκάτας ζαμίαν βοτὸν τέλ-  
 [ε]ν, οὐκ ἀπὸ τᾶς δεκάτας, καὶ τόκα δὴ θυσεῖ τὰν  
 [δ]εκάταν καὶ ἀποισεῖ ἐς καθαρὸν· αἱ δὲ μὴ, τῶν α[ῥ]-  
 [τ]ῶν δησῆται· [σκ]οίκιον δὲ οἰσεῖ πᾶς ὁ θύων.
- 40 (ix) [ᾄ]νηθος, αἱ μὴ τί κα ἐκώμ μιᾷ, ἀποχρεῖ καθάρασ[θ]-  
 [α]ι αὐτὸν καὶ ζαμίας οὐ δεῖ· αἱ δὲ κα ἐκώμ μιᾷ, κ[α]-  
 [θα]ρεῖ τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ ζαμίαν προθυσεῖ βοτὸν τέλευν[ν].
- (x) [α]ἶ κα χρήματα δέκατα ἦι, ἐκτιμάσας τὰ χρήματ-  
 [α], καθαρεῖ τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τὰ χρήματα δίχα καὶ τόκα  
 45 [δ]ὴ προθυσεῖ ζαμίαν βοτὸν τέλευν οὐ τᾶς δεκάτ-  
 [ας], καὶ τόκα δὴ θυσεῖ τὰν δεκάταν καὶ ἀποισεῖ ἐς  
 [κα]θαρόν. αἱ δὲ μὴ, τῶν αὐτῶν δησεῖ. τῶν δὲ χρημά-  
 [τω]ν, ἄς κα δέκατα ἦι, ἐντόφιον οὐκ ἐνθησεῖ οὐδ[ε]-  
 [πω ο]ὐδὲ ἔν, οὐδὲ χύτλα οἰσεῖ πρί[γ] κα τῷ θεῷ ἀπο[δε]-  
 50 [κατε]ύσει. αἱ δὲ κα χύτλα ἐνίκει ἢ ἐντόφια ἐνθῇ, κα-  
 [θά]ρας τὸ Ἀπολλώνιον ζαμίαν προθυσεῖ κατὰ τὰν  
 [άμα]ρτίαν βοτὸν τέλευν.
- (xi) \_\_\_\_\_ [αἶ κ]α δέκατος ἐὼν ἄνθρωπος ἀποθάνῃ, κατακομί-  
 [ξα]ντες τὸν ἄνθρωπον τῇ μὲν πρατίσται ἀμέραι  
 55 [ἐπι]θησεῖ ὅ τι κα δήληται ἐπὶ τὸ σᾶμα, δεύτερον δ-  
 [ε] ο]ὐδὲ ἔν, πρίγ κα ἀποδεκατεύσει τῷ θεῷ, καὶ ο[ῥ]-  
 [δὲ θυ]σεῖ οὐδ' ἐπὶ τὸ σᾶμα εἴτι. ἐκτιμασέντι δὲ ὅπ[όσ]-  
 [σω πλ]είστω ἄξιος ἦς, κοινὸς ἐὼν τῷ θεῷ. καθάρα[ς]  
 [δὲ τὸ] Ἀπολλώνιον καὶ τὰ χρήματα δίχα, προθύ[σα]-  
 60 [ς αὐτὸ]ς ζαμίαν βοτὸν τέλευν οὐκ ἀπὸ τᾶς δεκά[τ]-  
 [ας προ]βώμιον, θυσεῖ τὰν δεκάταν προβώμιον [κα]-  
 [ι ἀπο]ισεῖ ἐς καθαρὸν· αἱ δὲ μὴ, τῶν αὐτῶν δησεῖ.
- (xii) \_\_\_\_\_ [αἶ κα ἀ]ποθάνῃ δέκατος ἐὼν καὶ τὰ τέκνα καταλ[ίπ]-  
 [ηι ὦν κα τ]ὰ μὲν ζῶι, τὰ δὲ ἀποθάνῃ, ἐκτιμάσας τὰ [ᾄ]-  
 65 [παλλαγ]μένα, ὁπόσσω κα πλείστω ἄξια ἦι, καθάρα[ς τ]-  
 [ὸ Ἀπολλώ]νιον καὶ τὰ χρήματα δίχα, προθυσεῖ ζαμ[ί]α-  
 [ν τὰν τῷ ἡ]βατᾷ προβώμιον· καὶ τόκα δὴ θυσεῖ τὰν δε-  
 [κάταν προ]βώμιον. τὸν δὲ ζοὸν καθάρας αὐτὸς αὐτ[ὸ]-  
 [ν αἵματι κ]αὶ τὸ ἱερὸν δίχα, πωληθὲς ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ θ-  
 70 [υσεῖ τὰν τ]ῷ ἡβατᾷ ζαμίαν βοτὸν τέλευν· καὶ τόκ[α δ]-  
 [ὴ θυσεῖ τὰ]ν δεκάταν καὶ ἀποισεῖ ἐς καθαρὸν· αἱ [δὲ]

31–2 νομ[ρ]κώχιμος Dobias-Lalou (who regards the paragraphos between the two lines as inserted in error), νόμ(ος) | [δ]κώχιμος Fraenkel. 37 τόκα δὲ Dobias-Lalou, τόκα δὴ SEG.

then, when he has washed himself and purified the sanctuary and sacrificed as a penalty a full-grown animal, let him sacrifice according to custom.

- 32 (vii) A man is obliged as far as his brother's children.
- 33 (viii) If someone who is of adult age is subject to a tithe, once he has purified himself with blood he is to purify the sanctuary, and once he has been sold in the marketplace for the highest price he will fetch he is first to sacrifice, before the tithe, a full-grown animal as a penalty, not one from the tithe, and then when he comes to sacrifice the tithe he is to carry it away to a pure spot. But if he does not, the same measures will be needed. Everyone who sacrifices is to bring a vessel.
- 40 (ix) If a boy is accidentally polluted, it is sufficient for him to purify himself but no penalty is needed. But if he is polluted by his deliberate action, he is to purify the sanctuary and sacrifice a full-grown animal as a penalty.
- 43 (x) If property is subject to a tithe, the owner is to assess the value of the property and purify the sanctuary and the property separately, and then he is to sacrifice a full-grown animal as a penalty, not one from the tithe, and then he is to sacrifice the tithe, and carry it away to a pure spot. But if he does not, the same measures will be needed. No one is ever to make any funerary offerings from the property which is subject to tithe, and no one is to bring libations before he pays the tithe to the god. If he brings libations or makes funerary offerings, he is to purify the sanctuary of Apollo and then sacrifice a full-grown animal determined by the nature of the offence.
- 53 (xi) If a person who is subject to tithe dies, when they have buried the person, the heir is to place whatever he wants on the grave on the first day. But subsequently he is not to place a single thing before he pays the tithe to the god, and he is not even to sacrifice or to go to the grave. They are to assess him for the most he was worth, being a partner of the god. When he has purified the sanctuary of Apollo and the property separately, and has sacrificed a full-grown animal as a penalty, not one from the tithe, in front of the altar, he is to sacrifice the tithe before the altar and carry it away to a pure spot. But if he does not, he will have the same obligations.
- 63 (xii) If someone who is subject to a tithe dies and leaves children and some live and some die, he (the heir?) is to assess those who have died for the most that they were worth, purify the sanctuary of Apollo and the property separately, and sacrifice the penalty of an adult man before the altar and then sacrifice the tithe before the altar. But in the case of the living descendant, he is to purify himself with blood and then purify the sanctuary separately; once he has been sold in the market place he is to sacrifice a full-grown animal as the penalty of an adult man and then he is to sacrifice the tithe and carry it away to a

- [μή, τῶν αὐτῶν] ὦν δησεῖ.  
 (xiii) [—<sup>ε8</sup>—] ν ἐπεὶ κα ἄρξεται, θύεν κατὰ νόμον. [—<sup>ε5</sup>—]  
 [—<sup>ε8</sup>—] θηι, τὸ λοιπὸν θυσεῖ ὁπόκα κα δῆλη[ται]  
 75 [—<sup>ε9</sup>—] ηι, καθαρμὸς ἀποχρεῖ, ὅπ[....] τις [—<sup>ε5</sup>—]  
 [—<sup>ε8</sup>—] καθάραι οὐ δεῖ, αἰ δέ κα δῆληται [—<sup>ε4 5</sup>—]  
 [—<sup>ε11</sup>—] προβώμιον, οἰσεῖ ὅπ[—<sup>ε12</sup>—]  
 [—<sup>ε11</sup>—] Ν.ΡΩ[—<sup>ε6</sup>—] ΧΑ.ΛΞΕ[—<sup>ε11</sup>—]  
 [—<sup>ε11</sup>—] Ε[—<sup>ε11</sup>—]  
 3 further lines cannot be read

## B

- (xiv) [νύμφ]αμ μ[ἐν, πριν ἔμεν τὸ κοιτατή]ριον, ζ[—<sup>ε5</sup>—]  
 [δεῖ] ἐς Ἀρτ[αμιν κατενθέν]. αὗτα δὲ οὐχ ὑπώ[ροφ]-  
 85 [ος] τῶι ἀνδρὶ τένται οὐδὲ μισσεῖ, μέστα κα  
 [ἐς] Ἀρταμιν ἐνθηι· ἃ δέ κα ταῦτα μὴ ποιήσα[ι]-  
 [σ]α μιᾷ ἑκασσα, καθάραισα τὸ Ἀρταμίτιον ἐπ[ι]-  
 [θ]υσεῖ ζαμίαν βοτὸν τέλευν, καὶ τόκα δὴ εἴτ-  
 [ι] τὸ κοιτατήριον· αἰ δέ κα μὴ ἐκοῖσα μιᾷ, κα-  
 90 [θ]αρεῖ τὸ ἱερόν.  
 (xv) [ν]ύμφαν δὲ τὸ νυμφήιον ἐς Ἀρταμιν κατ[εν]-  
 [θ]έν δεῖ, ὁπόκα κα δῆληται Ἀρταμιτίοις, [ὥς κα]  
 [τ]άχιστα δὲ λῶϊον· ἃ δέ κα μὴ κατένθηι, ἀ[ποθ]-  
 [ν]υσσεῖ τῶι Ἀρτάμιτι ἃ κ[α] δῆλητ[αι] τοῖς [δ' Ἀρταμιτί]-  
 95 [οι]ς. μὴ κατεληλευ[θυῖα δὲ καθαρεῖ τὸ Ἀρταμίτι]-  
 [ο]ν καὶ ἐπιθυσεῖ ζ[αμίαν βοτὸν τέλευν].  
 (xvi) [γυνὰ κυοῖσα πρὶν τεκέν]κάτε[ιτι τὸ νυμφήι]ον]  
 ἐς Ἀρταμιν[ν ....] τῶι ἄρκωι δωσεῖ πόδας καὶ  
 τὰν κεφαλὰν καὶ τὸ δέρμα· αἰ δέ κα μὴ κατ[έν]-  
 100 [θη] πρὶν τεκέν, κάτειτι σὺν βοτῶι τελέει· ἃ δ[ε]  
 κατίασσα ἀγνευσεῖ ἐβδέμαν καὶ ὀγδόαν  
 καὶ ἡνάταν, καὶ ἃ μὴ κατεληλευθυῖα ἀγνευσεῖ  
 ταύτας τὰς ἀμέρας· αἰ δέ κα μιᾷ, καθα-  
 ραμένα αὐτὰ καθαρεῖ τὸ ἱερόν καὶ ἐπιθυσεῖ[ει]  
 105 ζαμίαν βοτὸν τέλευν.  
 (xvii) αἴ κα γυνὰ ἐγβάλῃ, αἰ μέγ κα διάδηλον ἦι, μ[ι]-  
 αίνονται ὥσπερ ἀπὸ θανάτου, αἰ δέ κα μὴ  
 διάδηλον ἦι, μιαίνεται αὐτὰ ἃ οἰκία καθάπε[ρ]  
 ἀπὸ λεχός.  
 110 Ἰκεσίων.  
 (xviii) ἰκέσιος ἐπακτός· αἴ κα ἐπιπεμφθῇ ἐπὶ τὰν  
 οἰκίαν, αἰ μέγ κα ἴσαι ἀφ' ὅτινός οἱ ἐπῆνθε, ὁ-  
 νυμαξεῖ αὐτὸν προειπὼν τρεῖς ἀμέρας· αἰ δ[ε]  
 κα τεθνάκηι ἐγγαῖος ἢ ἄλλη πη ἀπολώλῃ[ι],  
 115 αἰ μέγ κα ἴσαι τὸ ὄνυμα, ὀνυμαστὶ προερεῖ, αἰ

pure spot. But if he does not, he will have the same obligations.

- 73 (xiii) Whenever s/he begins to —, sacrifice is to be made according to the law. — for the future s/he is to sacrifice, whenever s/he wishes — purification is sufficient, wherever anyone — there is no need of purification, but if s/he wants — an offering before the altar, s/he shall bring — — — — —

### *B*

- 83 (xiv) A bride before she goes to the bedchamber must go down to Artemis, but she herself will not be under the same roof as her husband and will not be impure until she comes to Artemis. But whoever has not done these things and deliberately incurs pollution, when she has purified the sanctuary of Artemis she is to sacrifice as a penalty a full-grown animal, and then go to the sleeping chamber. But if she incurs pollution accidentally, she is to purify the sanctuary.
- 91 (xv) It is necessary that a bride should go down to the bride room to Artemis, whenever she wants at the Artemisia, and the sooner the better. Any bride who fails to go down is to make an additional sacrifice to Artemis as ordained at the Artemisia. And because she has not gone down she is to purify the Artemision and additionally sacrifice as a penalty a full-grown animal.
- 97 (xvi) A pregnant woman is to go down to the bride room to Artemis before she gives birth and she is also herself to give to the bear the feet and the head and the skin. If she does not go down before giving birth, she is to go down with a full-grown animal. She who goes down is to be pure on the seventh and eighth and ninth, and she who does not go down is to be pure on those days. But if she incurs impurity she is first to purify herself and then purify the shrine and sacrifice additionally as a penalty a full-grown animal.
- 106 (xvii) If a woman miscarries, if it is distinguishable, they are polluted just as from someone having died; but if it is not distinguishable, the house itself is polluted as from childbirth.
- 110 Of Suppliants/Visitants.
- 111 (xviii) Suppliants/Visitants sent by spells. If a suppliant/visitant is sent to the house, if (the householder) knows from whom he came, he shall make a proclamation and name him for three days. And if he has died in the land or has perished somewhere else, if he knows his name, he is to call out by name, but if he does not know (he is to pro-



- δὲ κα μὴ ἴσαι, “ὦ ἄνθρωπε, αἴτε ἀνὴρ αἴτε γυνὰ  
 ἔσσι”, κολοσὸς ποιήσαντα ἔρσενα καὶ θήλεια[ν]  
 ἢ καλίνος ἢ γαῖνος ὑποδεξάμενον παρτιθ[έ]-  
 μιν τὸ μέρος πάντων· ἐπὶ δέ κα ποιήσες τὰ  
 120 νομιζόμενα, φέροντα ἐς ὕλαν ἀεργὸν ἔρε-  
 [ί]σαι τὰς κολοσὸς καὶ τὰ μέρη.  
 (xix) ἰκέσιος ἄτερος, τετελεσμένος ἢ ἀτελής, ἰσ-  
 σάμενος ἐπὶ τῷ δαμοσίῳ ἱαρῶν· αἰ μέγ κα προ[φέ]-  
 ρηται, ὁπόσσω κα προφέρηται, οὕτως τελίσκ[ε]-  
 125 σθαι· αἰ δέ κα μὴ προφέρηται, γὰς καρπὸν θ[ύ]-  
 εν καὶ σπονδὰν καθ’ ἔτος αἰεί. αἰ δέ κα παρήι, ἐ[κ]  
 νέω δις τόσσα. αἰ δέ κα διαλίπηι τέκνον ἐπι[λα]-  
 θόμενον καὶ οἱ προφέρηται, ὅ τι κά οἱ μαντε[υ]-  
 ομένῳ ἀναιρεθῇ, τοῦτο ἀποτεισεὶ τῷ θεῶι κ[αί]  
 130 θυσεῖ, αἰ μέγ κα ἴσαι ἐπὶ τὸμ πατρῶιον· αἰ δέ μὴ, [χρή]-  
 σασθαι.  
 (xx) ἰκέσιος τρίτος, αὐτοφόνος· ἀφικετεύεν ἐς [ <sup>3</sup> <sup>4</sup> ]-  
 πολίαν καὶ τριφυλίαν· ὡς δέ κα καταγγήλ[ε] [ι ἰκέ]-  
 σθαι, ἴσσαντα ἐπὶ τῷ ὠδῶι ἐπὶ νάκει λευκῶ[ι νί]-  
 135 ζεν καὶ χρίσαι καὶ ἐξίμεν ἐς τὰν δαμοσί[αν]  
 ὁδὸν καὶ σιγὴν πάντας ἢ κα ἕξοι ἔωντ[ι τὸ]-  
 [ς] ὑποδεκομένος· τὸν προαγγελτῇ[ρα ....]  
 [...ν παρίμεν τὸν ἀφικετευ[ό]μεν[ον ..]  
 [...ων καὶ τὸς ἐπομένους [-----]  
 140 [...υσεῖ θύῃ καὶ ἀλλ[α -----]  
 [----- δ] ἐ μὴ --

132–3 [ἀρχε]πολίαν SEG, [τρι]πολίαν Fraenkel, [ἀλλο]πολίαν Burkert.  
 ἀφικετευ[ό]μενο[ν] τῶν δαμο[τελ]έων SEG, μέχρι δ[ι]ρῶν παρίμεν Burkert.  
 θ[υ]σεῖ θύῃ καὶ ἀλλ[α] δωροτελεσεῖ τῷ ἀρχαγέτῃ θεῶι, αἰ] δέ μὴ SEG, Dobias-Lalou’s text is corrupt at this point.

137–8 ἐπὶ ἰα[ρῶ]ν παρίμεν τὸν  
 139–41 [βο]ηθέν τὰ δίκαια· ὁ δὲ

This important sacred law gives us a glimpse of the daily concerns and anxieties of a classical Greek community and reminds us of how much of the religious practice of Greek cities we have limited understanding. The combination of common sense and ritual elaboration is particularly striking. Although the letter forms suggest that it may be a little later in date than 96, which is inscribed on the same block, its provisions seem unlikely to contain much that is new and we do not know why it was written up at this time. Some peculiarities may be a result of local Cyrenaean practice, but the parallels that can be found in very different parts of the Greek world suggest that this factor should not be over-emphasized. Rather we need to acknowledge the extent of our ignorance of Greek beliefs and practices with regard to purification.

The structure and organization of the law are not easy to understand. On Side A the lower part consists of a series of clauses about people subject to a tithe, but the topics

claim): 'O person, whether you are a man or a woman'. He is to make figurines, a male and a female, either from wood or from clay, and give them hospitality, offering them a portion of everything. When you have performed the customary rites, carry the figurines and the portions to an unworked wood and deposit them.

- 122 (xix) Second suppliant/visitant, initiated or uninitiated, who has sat down at the public sanctuary. If there is a pronouncement, for however much is pronounced, let the ritual be performed. If there is no pronouncement, let there be a sacrifice of the fruit of the earth and a libation annually for ever. But if he omits it, then twice as much. If a child forgets and omits and there is a pronouncement to him, whatever is told him when he consults the oracle, he is to pay this to the god and make sacrifice at his ancestral tomb, if he knows where this is, and if not to ask the oracle.
- 132 (xx) Third suppliant/visitant, murderer. He is to present the suppliant/visitant to the magistrate and the three tribes. When he announces that he has come, having set him down on the threshold on a white fleece, wash and anoint him and go out to the public road, and all to be silent while they are outside, obeying the announcer. The one presented as a suppliant is to go — — and those who follow — — sacrifices — — — —

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of the early clauses are very diverse. Side *B* has clauses about women's reproductive lives, and about 'suppliants', clearly separated by a heading, but the three categories of suppliant seem quite different (see below). The lack of clear structure, along with the variations in phrasing and dialect, might suggest that this inscription simply copied an earlier text in which different clauses had been recorded at different times, but the absence of clearly archaic words and the conflation of two alternative ways of saying the same thing at *B*. 93–5 imply at least a degree of fourth-century editing and the recurrent pattern of ten-line sections in *A*. 42–82 seems unlikely to be coincidental.

Delphic Apollo, whose name begins the text, had a special place at Cyrene because the establishment of the settlement by a group led by Battos from Thera was held to have been ordered by his oracle (compare M&L 5, which also dates to the fourth century). Apollo and Artemis also had a particular connection with purification,

perhaps because they were senders and healers of diseases. Ascription to the Delphic oracle lends authority to a law, and is most familiar in the case of the Lycurgan laws at Sparta (Her. 1. 65). Although Delphi was not infrequently consulted over purification, this is the only known example of a purity law that declares itself to be an oracular pronouncement.

(i) The opening clause deals with the classic circumstance in which purification was felt to be required: widespread sickness, famine (probably), and death (compare the link between plague at Athens and the purification of Delos according to D.S. xii. 58. vi–vii). In *Iliad* 1 it is Apollo who sends the plague, and he was its pre-eminent averter. Sacrifice of a goat to avert plague was enjoined upon the people of Cleonae by Delphi (Paus. x. 11. v), and Apollo Apotropaïos frequently receives sacrifices of a goat, though not normally a red one. The placing of the sacrifice and, if this interpretation of the text is correct of ‘the Shrine of Aversion (Apotropaion)’, in front of the gates symbolizes the exclusion of the evil from the city.

(ii) The commercial approach to wood from the sanctuary accords with the way in which taking wood from a sanctuary is elsewhere treated as an offence against property rights rather than an act of sacrilege (*LSS* 81 and commentary, Parker, 165), but sometimes wood from sanctuaries was specifically reserved for sanctuary use (*LSCG* 150. B). The categorization ‘sacred’ (*hieros*), ‘profane’, ‘polluted’ is unique to this inscription; in clause v we meet ‘pure’ and ‘profane’ as apparently exhaustive categories.

(iii) Although Herodotus (ii. 64) takes it as a mark of being Greek (or Egyptian) that one washes between enjoying sexual intercourse and entering a sanctuary, and this is supported by numerous sacred laws, here washing is enjoined only following daytime intercourse; elsewhere what makes a difference is whether the woman involved was a virgin, a wife, or a prostitute (Parker, 74–5 n. 4, for a summary). The lost lines of text presumably specified particular shrines or classes of shrine.

(iv) The later consideration of miscarriage (*B.* 108–9), which refers back to this clause, says that it is the *oikia* that is polluted. The specification of ‘roof’ in this passage suggests that the pollution is linked to the physical place and not acquired by kinship with the new mother.

(v) This is an extremely obscure clause, where the structure, grammar, and meaning of individual terms are all debated (see Brunel, whose interpretation is, however, not entirely followed here). The clause concerns the circumstance in which participation in certain categories of cult pollutes or does not pollute. The issue is what those cultic categories are. Crucial is the interpretation of ‘of the Akamanties (*or* Akamantia)’. We know of sacrifice to the Akamantes at Marathon in Attica in the fourth century (where also they are associated with the Tritopatores) (*ΣΡΕ* cxxx 1999, 45–7, B. 32; on Tritopatores see also *FGH* 325 F 6), and of what appear to be Akamantiad days, associated with the dead, in another inscription from Cyrene (Supp. Cirenaico 144). The use of the verb *κάνω* in l. 24 of death further supports the idea that the Akamanties should be those unwearied because dead, although a connection with Akamas, second son of Antenor, cannot be ruled out: the sons of Antenor did receive cult at Cyrene. The parallels with persons in ll. 22–4 make it more likely that the Aka-

manties are a category of the dead than that they are a category of shrine. In that case this clause defines the difference between ordinary dead, participation in whose rites pollutes (renders those who were pure, 'profane'), and the special dead, Akamant(i)es and *hiaroi*, participation in whose rites does not pollute.

Exactly how the Akamantes relate to either the special dead (Battus, the Tritopateres, and Onymastus) or the ordinary dead is not clear. That the special dead are called *hiaroi* may find support in the treatment of the Tritopateres as collective ancestors at Selinus: they are removed from the normal dead and assimilated in some respects to heroes (Jameson, Jordan, & Kotansky, *Lex Sacra*, A. 9–17; Georgoudi in Hoffmann (ed.), *Les Pierres de l'offrande* . . . C. W. Clairmont, 153–63). It fits less well with the insistent reference to Battus as 'the human Battus' when Battus the founder of Cyrene was normally treated as a hero (we know nothing of Onymastus the Delphian). Earlier in our inscription (A. 9–10) uses of wood are classified as sacred (*hiaros*), profane (*bebelos*, 'suitable to be trodden on'), and polluted (*miaros*); here a group of people is classified as holy (*hagnos*) or profane (*bebelos*). This use of *hagnos* to refer to a class of people is unique, and may be a consequence of avoiding *hiaros* of living people in a clause where it is used of a particular class of the dead.

(vi) The treatment of sacrificing a non-customary victim as an act of pollution nicely illustrates the way in which pollution resides not in things themselves but in their use in the wrong context, where the wrong is established by the existence of contrary customs.

(vii) This brief pronouncement has no clear relation to questions of purity, and although the abbreviation of *nomos* at the end of l. 31 is unparalleled we do not believe the *paragraphos* separating this clause off to be in error. The clause is best understood as part of the necessary legal background to the clauses that follow, and in particular to clause xii, and seems to be the equivalent of the Athenian law (Dem. XLIII. *Macartatus* 58) by which all descendants of a man were held responsible for his debts to the gods.

(viii–xii) These clauses concern tithes (tenths, *dekatai*), and seem to assume a great deal of prior knowledge on the part of the reader, knowledge which we simply do not have. The payment or 'sacrificing off' of tithes (of crops, booty, etc.) by individuals and cities to Apollo was widespread, and is particularly well attested at Cyrene. But the tithes with which this inscription is concerned are in various respects extraordinary: they may be had by persons or property, are obligatory, hereditary, and can lead to a person's being 'sold', in some sense at least, in the agora. It is very unclear what sort of thing could be acquired by either a person or a property and could, if tithes are at issue in ix, be acquired by a boy by accident. One thing is clear, that tithes and pollution go together: if a man has a tithe then he needs purification, and the placing of the clause suggests that the pollution of the boy in ix is to be the boy's equivalent to having a tithe. What is not clear is whether the tithe is the cause or the consequence of pollution.

There are two main problems with considering the tithe to be the consequence of pollution. The first is that this whole law is concerned with pollution of various kinds, but a tithe is never mentioned as a consequence of any of the types of pollution discussed; the only clue to the type of pollution involved is the provision in ix that a boy

may acquire the pollution by accident. The second problem is that if the tithe is itself a penalty it is not clear why additional penalties are also required. Taking the tithe (that is, presumably, failing to pay a tithe) to be the cause of pollution has the advantage of making it possible to relate the successive clauses to the different consequences of non-payment for those with and those without property. But for a tithe to be the cause of the pollution is unprecedented and the idea that a debtor pollutes a shrine by his debt seems extreme. The absence of any indication that defaulting on tithes is at issue weighs in favour of the view that the tithe is a consequence rather than a cause of pollution. But it remains entirely unclear what the source may be of the pollution that causes person or property to have a tithe.

Clause viii dictates that any grown man who acquires a tithe must be sold. This 'sale' appears to be a way of establishing the value of a tenth of his person, and must be in some sense fictional. In ix, where no tithe is mentioned, the place of the clause in the law suggests that a boy has incurred pollution of a sort that would result in a tithe in an older man, but that boys cannot be tithed. There seem to us no grounds for following Maas and making the boy's pollution the result of some sexual act (see Parker, 342). Note that the boy's pollution may be involuntary whereas involuntary offences are not envisaged for the tithed man. Clause x deals with tithes acquired by property rather than persons. The (income from) the property becomes ineligible for use for sacred or funerary purposes until the tithe is paid. Clauses xi and xii begin in the same way: what is the difference between them? In clause xi a (sole) heir is mentioned, but not children. The heir of clause xi, who is not a descendant, is obliged to pay the tithe (valued at the most the man would have been worth) but does not inherit it as such, whereas the descendant in clause xii inherits the tithe itself, and hence it is his value that needs to be assessed by 'sale' in the market.

(xiv–xvi) 'This section illustrates as effectively as any text the way in which it is through ritual performances that social change is articulated and expressed' (Parker 345). Artemis was very widely associated with rituals associated with the maturation and marriage of young girls. Girls about to marry are here obliged first to spend the night in a specially designated room ('sleeping room') in the sanctuary of Artemis. Brides then go to a bridal chamber (*nymphheion*). Expectant mothers then revisit that *nymphheion*. Elsewhere in the Greek world we are told about the requirement on girls to perform certain rituals before marriage, but here we have the full structure and in each case there is a penalty attached to failure to perform. In the case of the ritual before marriage the law allows that failure to perform may be either accidental or deliberate. Deliberate failure presumably refers to the case of a bride's going ahead with a formal marriage ceremony without a prior visit to Artemis' sanctuary. Accidental failure is more difficult to construe: is this a case of cohabitation before marriage? The reference to the priestess as 'bear' in *B.* 98 links the rituals here to those at the sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron in Attica, where 'playing the bear' was part of a rite of passage for

young girls (see Bremmer, *Greek Religion*, 69 with refs.). We do not know enough about other rituals surrounding birth in Cyrene to know the significance of the 'seventh, eighth, and ninth' days after birth, but in Athens there was an association between the tenth day after birth and the naming ceremony (Ogden, *Greek Bastardy*, 89), and the choice of days may be linked to a similar event in this case.

(xvii) The issue here is whether the foetus is a person or not, but from a religious rather than an ethical point of view. The distinction is drawn on grounds of whether the foetus itself is distinguishable. Aristotle (*Pol.* VII. 1335 B 12–26) similarly notes that it is whether a foetus has sensation and life that affects its religious status. (For legal issues surrounding deliberate abortion see Harrison, *The Law of Athens*, i. 72–3).

(xviii–xx) The final surviving section of the law is headed with a word which etymologically means 'comers' but which we would normally translate 'Suppliants', and deals with three separate categories of 'comers'. The second and third categories seem to be comprehensible as 'suppliants': the second concerns persons who seek refuge at public sanctuaries and the on-going religious obligations that they thereby incur unless ritually accepted (compare the initiation of Heracles, Parker, 284–5); the third concerns persons (from abroad) who seek refuge at a sanctuary having killed someone, and in this case the acceptance of the suppliant seems to depend upon there being a sponsor to announce the killer's arrival and take part with the suppliant in the rituals. Much more problematic, in terms of 'suppliancy', is the first case. In this case much light is shed by the recently discovered sacred law from Selinus. Section B of that law concerns persons who need to be purified from *elasteroi*, that is avenging spirits. The parallels between that section of the Selinus law and clause xviii of this law confirm the arguments of Stukeley that the first 'suppliant' here is a 'visitant', and the person visited subject to magical attack (Stukeley and Burkert consider all three categories of 'comers' here to be visitants, but this is much harder to understand for the second and in particular the third categories). Although the Selinus law is not altogether easy to interpret, it seems likely that the avenging spirit is there offered a meal and salt (see also Burkert in *Polis and Politics* . . . M. H. Hansen, 207–16); at Cyrene figurines are made and are offered shares of everything, in both cases being treated in ways parallel to the ways in which visiting gods are treated in *theoxenia* rites. The making of figurines is reminiscent of the wax figurines which feature in the oath of the founders of Cyrene (M&L 5), but use of wax figurines was evidently widespread (Plat., *Laws* XI. 933 A–B).

The Cyrenaean version of the Doric dialect differs from Attic in a variety of ways and from all or most other versions of Doric in some ways. Note particularly: genitives in -ω, replacement of λ by ν in ἐνθῆι for ἔλθῆι and τένται for τέλεται (= ἔσεται), κα for ἄν, τόκα for τότε, δῆλομαι for βούλομαι, ἐνίκει as aorist subjunctive of φέρω, α for ω in πραῖστος, ο for α in ἐντόφια, alternative forms ἔκασσα and ἐκοῖσα for ἐκοῦσα, infinitives in -εν and -ιμεν, ευ for εο in τέλευν, and βάβαλος for βέβηλος (normal Doric form βέβαλος).

## Athens honours Memnon of Rhodes, 327/6

The upper part of a *stèle*, where found unknown, now in the Epigraphical Museum.

Attic-Ionic, retaining the old  $\epsilon\iota$  for  $\eta\iota$  in l. 6; *stichedon* 20 (21 in l. 35, 18 in l. 36).

*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 356; Tod 199; Schwenk 58\*. Trans. Harding 119. See also P. A. Brunt, *RFIC* ciii 1975, 22–34.

[ἐπὶ Ἡγήμυ]ορος ἄρχοντο[ς· ἐ]-  
 [πὶ τῆς Ἰπ]ποθων[τὶ]δ[ος . . . ]  
 [. . . ης πρὺ]τανεία[ς· ἦι Ἀὐτο]-  
 [κλής Α]ντίου [Ἀχ]αρ[ν]ε[ὺς] ἐ[γ]-  
 5 [ράμμυ]άτευεν· δευτ[έραι] φθ-  
 [ῶ]ντος, ἔκτει[κ]α[ὶ] ἐ[κ]οσ-  
 [τῆ]ι τῆ[ς] π[ρ]υτανεία[ς· ἐκ]κ[λ]-  
 [ησία κυρ(ί)α· τῶν προ[ε]δ[ρων] ἐ]-  
 [πεψ]ήφιζεν [—<sup>8</sup>—]η[ . . ]  
 10 [—<sup>7</sup>—]· ἔδοξ[ε]ν [τῶι] δῆμω-  
 [ι. ἐπειδ]ὴ Μ[ε]ν[ω]ν[ν] τ[ . . ]α[ . . . ]

only isolated letters

survive in ll. 12–22

[ . . . ]αν περιτυ[γχ]άνην [καὶ]  
 [πρ]ότερον οἱ π[ρ]όγονοι [Φα]-  
 25 [ρν]ά[β]αζος καὶ Ἀρ[τά]βαζο[ς]  
 [δι]ετέλουν τὸν δῆμον [τόν]  
 [Ἀθ]ηναίων ἐδεργετοῦν[τε]-  
 [ς καὶ] χρήσιμοι ὄντες ἐν [τ]-  
 [ο]ῖς πολέμοις τῶι δῆμωι· [κ]-  
 30 [αὶ] ὁ πατήρ Θυμῶνδου Μ[ε]ν[τ]-  
 [ω]ρ τοὺς ἐν Αἰγύπτωι στρ[α]-  
 [τ]ευομένους τῶν Ἑλλήνων  
 [ἐ]σωσειν, ὅτε ἦλω [Α]ἰγυπτ[ο]-  
 [ς] ὑπὸ Περσῶν· ἐπαινέσαι [μ]-  
 35 [ἐ]ν αὐτὸν καὶ στεφανώσαι [χ]-  
 [ρ]υσῶι στε[φ]άν[ωι] ἀρετῇ-  
 ς ἔνεκα —————

2–3 τ[ε]τ[α]ρ[τ]ης J. Kirchner (*IG* II<sup>2</sup>), Tod, though that has one letter too many; ἐ[β]δ[ι]όμης Dinsmoor, *The Archons of Athens*, 371–2; ὀγδ[ι]όμης\* Pritchett & Neugebauer, *The Calendars of Athens*, 52–3. 4 B. D. Meritt,

*Hesp.* iii 1934, 4–5 no. 5, publishing the text which = Schwenk 59 = *Agora* xvi 85; Φ[ανίου] Kirchner, Tod.

8 The stone has *KYP.A.*

In the archonship of Hegemon [327/6];  
 in the — pryany, of Hippothontis; to  
 which Autocles son of Autias of Acharnae  
 was secretary; on the penultimate day [of  
 the month], the twenty-sixth of the pry-  
 any; principal assembly [*kyria ekklesia*]; of  
 the *proedroi* — was putting to the vote;  
 resolved by the people.

11 Since Memnon — — —

—————

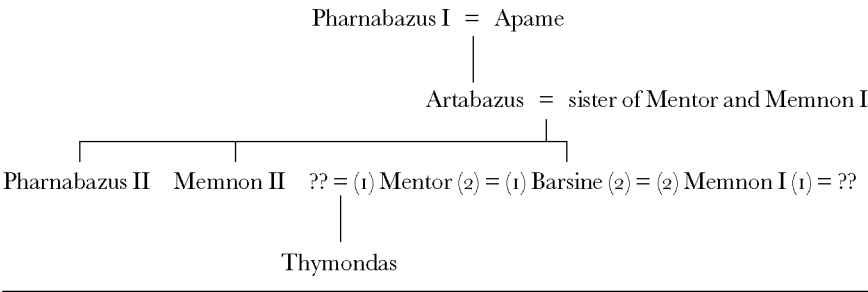
23 should encounter; and previously his  
 forebears Pharnabazus and Artabazus con-  
 tinued to act well to the people of Athens  
 and were useful to the people in the wars;  
 and Mentor the father of Thymondas  
 saved those of the Greeks who were cam-  
 paigning in Egypt, when Egypt was taken  
 by the Persians:

34 Praise him and crown him with a golden  
 crown for his goodness — — —



The Memnon who is honoured here cannot be the famous Memnon who served the Persians in Asia Minor and the Aegean from 335 to 333 but died in 333 (Arr. *Anab.* ii. 1. iii), but appears to be a member of the same family. Pharnabazus will be the satrap of Dascylium from 413 to 387; when he was transferred to an attempt to recover Egypt he was originally succeeded there by his son Ariobarzanes, and the attempt to transfer the satrapy to another son, the Artabazus of our inscription, led Ariobarzanes into what became the Satraps' Revolt of the 360s. Pharnabazus was supportive of Athens in the 390s, when Sparta was fighting against the Persians (cf. on **9**, **10**, **12**); the only known time when Artabazus could be described as supporting Athens is when the Athenian Chares supported him in his revolt and he then gave Chares money, *c.*354 (D.S. xvi. 22. i).

Artabazus married a sister of the Rhodian mercenary commanders Mentor and Memnon; he had eleven sons and ten daughters (D.S. xvi. 52. iii–iv), among them the Pharnabazus who succeeded Memnon as the Persians' commander in Asia Minor in 333 (cf. on **83**) and Barsine, whom Mentor and Memnon married in turn, and who bore a son, Heracles, to Alexander the Great (Plut. *Alex.* 21. vii–viii, *Eum.* 1. vii). The Memnon of our inscription is unlikely to be a son of Thymondas (Kirchner in *IG*, after K. J. Beloch), since he ought to be older, and our text names Mentor only as father of Thymondas; he might be a son of Mentor's brother Memnon by Barsine, mentioned but not named by Curt. iii. xiii. 14 (Berve, *Das Alexanderreich*, ii. 253–4 no. 498); but to have performed substantial services to Athens he must have been born while Mentor was still alive; so it is easiest to suppose that he is a son of Artabazus, a brother of the younger Pharnabazus and of Barsine (Brunt). E. Badian, *Hermes* xcv 1967, 170–92 at



99

Assembly pay at Iasus, after *c.*330

A *stèle* built into a modern wall on the island of Caryanda; now lost. Phot. of B. Haussoullier's squeeze, *BCH* cxiv 1990, 419 n. 1, 422 fig. 2.  
*Koine*; as far as can be verified, ending each line with the end of a word.  
Michel 466; *IK Iasos* 20; P. Gauthier, *BCH* cxiv 1990, 417–43 (*SEG* xl 959)\*. See also G. E. M. de Ste Croix, *CQ*<sup>2</sup> xxv 1975, 48–52.

179–80, proposed to identify him with the Memnon who was Alexander's governor of Thrace in the late 330s and early 320s, (D.S. xvii. 62. iv–vi, 63. i; Curt. ix. iii. 21), but that is rejected as unlikely by Bosworth, *Conquest and Empire*, 201 n. 15.

Mentor's service in Egypt was as a mercenary commander for the Persians in their successful campaign of 343/2, in which he won over many of the Egyptians' Greek mercenaries (D.S. xvi. 42–51, misdated); his son Thymondas commanded Greek mercenaries for Darius at Issus in 333 and escaped afterwards (Arr. *Anab.* ii. 13. ii; Curt. iii. iii. 1, viii. 1, ix. 2, calling him Thimodes). Artabazus after his revolt had fled into exile in Macedon, but Mentor after his success in Egypt was able to secure his recall (D.S. xvi. 52. iii); he was then loyal to Darius, and fled with him after Gaugamela in 331 (Arr. *Anab.* iii. 21. iv); but in 330 he and most of his sons went over to Alexander (Arr. *Anab.* iii. 23. vii, Curt. vi. v. 1–5); he was made satrap of Bactria in 329 (Arr. *Anab.* iii. 29. i, Curt. vii. v. 1), and is last heard of as governor of the Rock of Arimazes, in 327 (Curt. vii. xi. 29). There is thus nothing remarkable about Athens' honouring a son of his in 327/6; what was said about Memnon himself is unfortunately lost, but identifying Mentor as the father of Thymondas was not calculated to please the Macedonians, and suggests that hostility to them in Athens was still alive (cf. 94).

Placing the prytany in the year is bound up with the problem of what kinds of irregularity in the Athenian calendars are credible, and is not helped by the stone-cutter's omission of the name of the month: for a review of the issues see Schwenk; nothing further hangs on the precise dating of this decree. The 'second of the waning sc. month' was in principle the penultimate day of the month (cf. Introduction, p. xxii). The patronymic of the secretary was revealed by another decree of the same year: the careers of his grandfather and his son suggest that he was fairly young when he served in this position (cf. A. E. Raubitschek, *Hesp.* xi 1942, 305). The expressions *ekklesia* ['assembly'] and *ekklesia kyria* ['principal assembly'] are found in the prescripts of Athenian decrees from 340/39. The title *ekklesia kyria* given to one assembly in each prytany was perhaps a survival from the time when that was the only regular assembly in the prytany: major recurrent items of business were assigned to it, and in the time of the *Ath. Pol.* payment for attending it was at a higher rate than for other meetings (see Henry, *Prescripts*, 38–9; *Ath. Pol.* 43. iv–v, 62. ii, with Rhodes *ad locc.*; Rhodes, *Chiron* xxv 1995, 187–98; and cf. on 99).

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- [----- ἵνα ----- τ]ὸ ἐκκ[λησιαστικὸ]ν διδ[ώ]ται?
- [----- Εὐ]θυδήμου, Ἐπικρά[της Ἐρμο]κρέοντος,
- [----- Ἡρα]κλείτου, Ἐστιάιος Ἀπολλωνίδου,
- [----- Μι]ννίωνος, Φορμίων Ἱεροκλέους. <sup>vv</sup> τοὺς μὲν[ ]
- 5 [ταμίης διδόν]αι τοῖς [ν]εωποία[ι]ς ἐκάστου μηνὸς τῇ νομηνία[ι]
- [?δραχμὰς ἐκα]τὸν ὀγδοήκοντα ἐκκλησιαστικόν. τοὺς δ[ἐ]
- [νεωποίας] ἐκάστου μηνὸς ἑκτῇ ἰσταμένον καὶ ταῖς
- [?ἀρχαιρ]εσίαις ἐκτιθέναι ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ κεράμιον μετρητῆριον
- [ῥατο]ς πλήρες, τρύπημα ἔχον κυμαῖον ἀπέχον ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς
- 10 [μὴ ἔλασ]σον ποδῶν ἑπτὰ. ἀφίεσθαι δὲ τὸ ὕδωρ ἅμα τῷ ἡλίῳ
- [ἀν]ατέλλοντι, καὶ τοὺς νεωποίας καθῆσθαι, καὶ παρακεῖσθαι
- [ἐκά]στω κιβώτιον ἐσφραγισμένον ὑπὸ τῶν προστάτων, ἔχον
- [----- C10 13 -----] στή[μ]α μήκος διδάκτυλον πλάτος
- [δάκτ]υλον, καὶ ἐπιγεγράφθω τῷ κιβωτίῳ τῆς φυλῆς τοῦνομα.
- 15 [τῶν δ]ὲ εἰς τ[ὴν ἐκκλησί]αν πορευομένων διδόντω ἕκαστος πεσσὸν
- [τῷ νεωπ]οί[τῃ] τῆς αὐτοῦ φυλῆς, ἐπιγράφας τὸ αὐτοῦ ὄνομα
- [πατρ]όθεν[ ] καὶ ----- C10 -----]. ὁ δὲ νεωποίης ἐμβαλλέτω [τὰ πεσσά?] [
- [εἰς τὸ κιβώτιον, καὶ γρα]φῆσθώ? τὰ ὀνόματα πατρόθεν [----- 5 7 -----]
- [-----] σθῶν? πεσσὸν παραχ[ρῆμα?] [-----]
- 20 [----- τ]ὰς [?σφρα]γῖ[δ]ας τῶν κιβωτ[ῶν] [-----]
- [-----] κ[ιβ]ωτίου [-----]
- 

Since Gauthier had the advantage of Haussoullier's rediscovered squeeze, we do not chronicle the different readings and restorations of previous editors. 2 Or διδ[ώ]σαν? Gauthier. 5 Or [ν]εωποία[ι]ς

Gauthier (i.e. the missing ι may have been inscribed between α and σ). 6 Or, but less likely, χρυσοὺς

Gauthier. 13 [ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐπιθήματος? πώματος?] Gauthier. 17 [καὶ τῆς πατρίδας] would be appropriate, but there are traces of ν at the end, Gauthier. [τὰ πεσσά] fits the space more easily than masculine [τοὺς πεσσούς] (both plurals exist).

We know that at Athens payment for attending the assembly was introduced shortly after the Peloponnesian War, increased by the time of Aristophanes' *Ecclesiazusae*, in the late 390s, and further increased by the time of the *Ath. Pol.*, and that the payment was not necessarily made to all who attended, but it was possible to arrive too late to qualify (*Ath. Pol.* 41. iii, 62. ii; Ar. *Eccl.* 186–8, 289–93). There is a little evidence of similar payments in other states (discussed by de Ste Croix), one of the most important items being this inscription.

The inscription was found on an island in the Gulf of Iasus, and the appearance of *neopoiaí* (literally, 'temple-makers', but they had various financial duties) and of regular assemblies on the 6th day of the month points to Iasus as the place of origin: decrees of Iasus are commonly dated either to the 6th of the month (e.g. *IK Iasos* 24, 32) or to the presumably annual *archairesiai*, whose date is not given (e.g. *SEG* xxxvi 952. B, 983), which is the basis for Gauthier's restoration of l. 8. A fixed sum of 180 drachmas per month was provided (which will present problems for the month of the *archairesiai*

- — — so that the assembly payment [*ekklesiastikon*] may be given (?), — son of Euthydemus, Epicrates son of Hermocreon, — son of Heraclitus, Hestiaeus son of Apollonides, — son of Minnion, Phormion son of Hierocles.
- 4 The treasurers shall give to the *neopoiai* each month on the first day of the month one hundred and eighty drachmas (?) as assembly payment.
- 6 The *neopoiai* each month on the sixth and at the elections [*archairesiai*] (?) shall set out at daybreak a pot of one *metretes*, full of water, with a hole the size of a bean, not less than seven feet from the ground. The water shall be released at sunrise, and the *neopoiai* shall be seated, and beside each of them shall be placed a box sealed by the *prostatai*, having — — — a mouth two fingers long and one finger wide, and let there be inscribed on the box the name of the tribe. Let each of those who make their way to the assembly give a token [*pesos*] to the *neopoies* of his tribe, having inscribed his own name, patronymic and — — —. Let the *neopoies* insert the tokens (?) into the box, and let the names be written (?) by father — — — token immediately (?) — — — the seals (?) of the boxes — — — box — — —

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unless, whether on the 6th or not, that was the only assembly in that month).

The men named at the beginning are probably either the formal proposers or the men in response to whose approach to the authorities the formal proposal was made: other fourth-century decrees of Iasus are proposed by one named individual or collectively by the *prytaneis* (less often the *archontes*): Epicrates son of Hermocreon (l. 2) was one of a board of *prytaneis* who proposed *IK Iasos* 37 and 53 (dated by Gauthier to the last third of the fourth century); the Minnion of l. 4 could be, but is not necessarily, the Minnion of 90. From 323 to 314/13 the cities of Caria were directly controlled by the satrap Asander (D.S. xix. 75. i): this decree is more likely to belong shortly before that period or shortly after it than during it.

Most of the decree is devoted to the mechanism of payment. A water-clock [*klepsydra*] is to be used, a pot with a capacity of 1 *metretes*, with a hole the size of a bean, *sc.* at the bottom, set up at least 7 feet above the ground so that the flow of water will not be impeded. The Athenian *metretes* was *c.* 39 litres (68½ imp. pints: M. Lang, *Agora*, x.

58), and an Athenian *klepsydra* holding 6.4 litres (11 ¼ imp. pints) emptied in 6 minutes (S. Young, *Hesp.* viii 1939, 274–84: illustration 278 fig. 2); we cannot be sure of the size of the Iasian *metretres* or of the hole, but we should think in terms of about half an hour. There are as many *neopoiai* as there are tribes, probably six (Jones, *Public Organization*, 332–4). Each citizen arriving for the assembly gives to the *neopoies* of his tribe a special token bearing his name, his patronymic and (some further identifier) (cf. the *pinakia* used by fourth-century Athenian candidates for allotment: *Ath. Pol.* 63–6 with Rhodes *ad loc.*), and the *neopoies* inserts this into a slot in a sealed box (sealed to hinder tampering with the process: the *prostatai* who seal the box are officials who play some part in decision-making procedures). A ‘finger’ was  $\frac{1}{16}$  of a Greek foot: according to the standard being used, c.18.5–21 mm. ( $\frac{3}{4}$  in.). Presumably when the *klepsydra* was empty no more tokens were accepted, and at the end of the meeting those who had been listed and whose tokens were in the boxes were called up by name, and reclaimed their tokens together with their payment (cf. Athenian jurors: *Ath. Pol.* 69. ii).

L. 8 shows that the assembly met ‘at daybreak’. That was the case in Athens too: Hansen, *The Athenian Assembly*, 33 (cf. Ar. *Thesm.* 375; *Eccl.* 20–1, 84–5, etc.; M&L 68. 29<sup>1</sup>). 15 refers to the citizens ‘who make their way to the assembly’: we do not know how far from the city centre a citizen of Iasus might live; but if at this time the assem-

<sup>1</sup> But Fornara 134 translates *εοθινέν* simply as ‘tomorrow’.

# 100

## Athenian naval list with decree for a colony in the Adriatic, 325/4

A marble *stèle* found in the Piraeus; now in Epigraphical Museum, Athens, broken at the left-hand side and at the bottom, and inscribed in five columns, four across the front and one on the right-hand edge.

Attic-Ionic. The lines reproduced here come from the lower part of the first column and the upper part of the second. Not *stoichedon*. This is the work of Tracy’s Cutter of *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 354: *Athenian Democracy in Transition*, 104–11.

*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1629. 128–302\*; *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 305 (ll. 165–271); Tod 200 (ll. 145–271). Trans. Rhodes, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, 359–323 B.C., 22 (ll. 165–270); Harding 121 (ll. 145–232). See also Jordan, *The Athenian Navy*; Garnsey, *Famine and Food Supply*, 150–59; Gabrielsen, *Financing the Athenian Fleet*; Cargill, *Athenian Settlements in the Fourth Century*, esp. 31–4; Garland, *The Piraeus*.

col. i	[τρια]κόντορος,	
	[. . .]ηρα, Χαιρίωνος ἔργ·	
130	[τριή]ραρχος Διοσιέθης	
	[Διοκλ]είδου Φρεάρρ	καὶ συντ-
	[σκεύ]η ἔχει ξύλινα	ρνή
	[έντε]λή, κρεμασὰ ὑπο-	Φρυν-
	[ζώμα]τα τριηριτικά	αἶος
		ἄθμο

bly met on the peninsula but most men lived on the mainland (cf. Bean rev. Mitchell, *Turkey Beyond the Maeander*, 57) most citizens will have had a psychological journey if not one of a great distance.

In Iasus as in Athens, it is possible to arrive too late to qualify for payment: this suggests that the intention was to encourage not merely attendance but punctual attendance: cf. for Athens Gauthier in Piérart (ed.), *Aristote et Athènes*, 231–50. In Athens payment was at a fixed rate per recipient per meeting (by the time of the *Ath. Pol.*, 1 drachma for other meetings but 1½ drachmas for the *kyria ekklesia* (cf. 98) of each prytany); it has always been assumed that payment was made to a fixed number, but there is no evidence to support that assumption. For Iasus this inscription gives us a total monthly sum, and a limit on recipients determined not by numbers but by time of arrival, and we are left to guess how a fixed sum of money was apportioned between a variable number of recipients. The citizen population was estimated at c. 800 by E. Ruschenbusch (*ZPE* liii 1983, 142); Gauthier in republishing this text supposed that 360 citizens might receive 3 obols each, but since then inscriptions of the third or second century have been found which record attendances of 800–900 (*SEG* xli 929, 932).

128 Triaconter —era, work of Chaerion. Trierarch, Diopeithes son of Diocleides of Phrearrhii and syntrierarch Phrynaeus of Athmonon. He has its wooden equipment complete, of the rigging they took two of the trireme-type undergirding

- 135 [τῶν ἐ]γλυθέντων δύο  
[ἐλαβ]ον κατὰ ψήφισμα  
[δήμου], ὃ εἶπεν Ἀγνώ-  
[νιδης] Περρασῆθεν·  
[ταύτην] τὴν τριακόν-
- 140 [τορον κ]αὶ τὰ σκεύη  
[παρέλα]⟨βε⟩ν Μιλτιάδης  
[Λακιάδ]ης : ὁ οἰκιστὴς  
[κατὰ ψή]φισμα δήμου,  
[ὃ εἶπε Κη]φισοφῶν Χολαργ·
- 145 [τριακόντ]ορος αἰχμάλωτος  
[.....], Εὐδίκου ἔργ·  
[τριήρα]ρχος Δημοκλῆς  
[Κράτητ]ος Μελιτεὺς  
[καὶ συν]τριήραρχοι
- 150 [Εὐθυκρ]άτης Χαρίου  
[Κυδαθ]η : σκεύη ἔχει  
[ξύλινα] ἐντελῆ, κρε-  
[μαστὰ] ὑποζώματα τρι-  
[ηρικὰ] ἀ τῶν ἐγλυθέν-
- 155 [των δύο]ο ἔλαβον κατὰ  
[ψήφισ]μα δήμου, ὃ εἶπε  
[Ἀγνώ]νιδης Περρασῆθ·  
[ταύτην] τὴν τριακόν-  
[τορον] καὶ τὰ σκεύα πα-
- 160 [ρέλα]βεν Μιλτιάδης  
[Λακιάδ]ης : ὁ οἰκιστὴς  
[κατὰ] ψήφισμα δήμου,  
[ὃ εἶπε] Κηφισοφῶν  
[Χολα]ργεύς·  
*vacat*
- 165 [ψήφισ]μα καθ' ὃ παρέλαβε  
[Μιλτ]ιάδης τὰς τριή-  
[ρεις] καὶ τετρήρεις  
[καὶ τ]ὰς τριακοντόρους  
[καὶ] τὰ σκεύη·
- 170 [Κηφισ]οφῶν Λυσιφῶντος  
[Χολα]ργεὺς εἶπεν· ἀγα-  
[θῇ τύ]χηι τοῦ δήμου τοῦ  
[Ἀθην]αίων, ὅπως ἂν τὴν  
[ταχίς]την πράττηται
- 175 [τὰ δεδ]ογμένα τῷ δήμῳ  
[περὶ] τῆς εἰς τὸν Ἀδρίαν  
[ἀποι]κίας, ἐψηφίσθαι τῷ

ropes released in accordance with the decree of the people which Hagnonides of Pergase proposed. Miltiades of Laciadae, the founder, took over this triaconter and its equipment in accordance with the decree of the people which Cephisophon of Cholargus proposed.

- 145 Captured triaconter —, work of Eudicus. Trierarch, Democles son of Crates of Melite and syntrierarchs Euthycrates son of Charias of Cydathenaeum. He has its wooden equipment complete, of the rigging they took two of the trireme-type undergirding ropes released in accordance with the decree of the people which Hagnonides of Pergase proposed. Miltiades of Laciadae, the founder, took over this triaconter and its equipment in accordance with the decree of the people which Cephisophon of Cholargus proposed.

- 165 Decree in accordance with which Miltiades took over the triremes and quadriremes and triaconters and their equipment. Cephisophon son of Lysiphon of Cholargus proposed: for the good fortune of the Athenian people, in order that what the people have resolved concerning the colony to the Adriatic may be done as quickly as possible, be it decreed



- [δήμ]ωι, τοὺς μὲν τῶν νε-  
 [ωρί]ων ἐπιμελητάς πα-  
 180 [ραδο]ῦναι τοῖς τριηράρχ[χ]-  
 [οις τ]ὰς ναῦς καὶ τὰ σκεύη  
 [κατὰ τ]ὰ δεδογμένα τῷ δή-  
 [μωι, το]ὺς δὲ τριηράρχους  
 [τοὺς κα]θεστηκότας παρα-  
 185 [κομίζε]ιν τὰς ναῦς ἐπὶ τὸ  
 [χῶμα εἰ]ν τῷ Μουνιχιῶνι  
 [μηνὶ π]ρὸ τῆς δεκάτης  
 [ἵσταμέ]νου καὶ παρέχειν  
 [παρεσ]κευασμένας εἰς  
 190 [πλοῦν]· τὸν δὲ πρῶτον πα-  
 [ρακομί]σαντα στεφανωσά-  
 [τω ὁ δῆ]μος χρυσῶι στεφά-  
 [νωι ᾧ]πὸ : Γ' : δραχμῶν,  
 [τὸν δὲ] δεύτερον ᾧπὸ : ΗΗΗ  
 195 [δραχμ]ῶν, τὸν δὲ τρίτον ᾧ-  
 [πὸ : ΗΗ] : καὶ ἀναγορευσά-  
 [τω ὁ κῆ]ρυξ τῆς βουλῆς Θαρ-  
 [γηλίων] τῷ ἀγῶνι τοὺς στε-  
 [φάνους], τοὺς δὲ ἀποδέκτας  
 200 [μερίσα]ι τὸ ἀργύριον τὸ  
 [εἰς τοῦ]ς στεφάνους, ὅπω-  
 [ς ἂν ᾗ] φανερά ἢ φιλοτι-  
 [μία ἢ εἰ]ς τὸν δῆμον τοῖς  
 [τριηρ]άρχοις. ὅπω[ς] δ' ἂν  
 205 [καὶ] αἱ σκήψεις εἰσαχθῶσι,  
 [τοῦ]ς θεσμοθέτας παρα-  
 [πλ]ηρῶσαι δικαστήρια εἰς  
 [εἷ]α καὶ διακοσίους τῷ  
 [στ]ρατηγῷ τῷ ἐπὶ τὰς συμ-  
 210 [μ]ορίας ἡιρημένωι ἐν τῷ  
 [Μ]ουνιχιῶνι μηνὶ τῇ δευ-  
 [τέρ]ῃ ἵσταμένου καὶ τῇ  
 [π]έμπτῃ ἵσταμένου, τὸν  
 δὲ μισθὸν διδόναι τοῖς  
 215 δικαστηρίοις τοὺς ταμί-  
 [α]ς τῶν τῆς θεοῦ κατὰ τὸν  
 [νό]μον. ὅπως δ' ἂν ὑπάρχῃ  
 [τῷ] δῆμῳ εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα  
 [χρ]όνον ἐμπορία οἰκεία καὶ  
 220 [σιτ]οπομπία, καὶ ναυστάθμο  
 [οἰκ]εῖον κατασκευασθέν-

by the people that the officers in charge of the shipyards are to hand over the ships and the equipment in accordance with the decree of the people, and that the trierarchs who have been appointed are to bring the ships up to the jetty in the month Mounichion before the 10th of the month and are to provide them equipped for sailing.

190 The people are to crown the first man to bring his ship with a gold crown of 500 dr. and the second with a crown of 300 dr. and the third with a crown of 200 dr., and the herald of the council is to announce the crowns at the contest of the Thargelia, and the *apodektai* are to allocate the money for the crowns, in order that the competitive zeal of the trierarchs towards the people may be evident.

204 In order that pleas for exemption may be heard, the *thesmothetai* are to man courts with 201 men for the general elected to be in charge of the symmories on the 2nd and 5th of the month Mounichion. The treasurers of Athena are to provide the money for the courts in accordance with the law.

217 In order that the people may for all future time have their own commerce and transport in grain, and that the establishment of their own naval station (*naustathmos*)

[το]ς ὑπάρχει φυλακὴ ἐπὶ  
 [Τυρ]ρηνοῦς, καὶ Μιλτιά-  
 [δης] ὁ οἰκιστὴς καὶ οἱ ἔποι-  
 225 [κοι ἔχ]ωσιν χρήσθαι οἰκεί-  
 [ωι ναυ]τικῶι, καὶ τῶν Ἑλ-  
 [λήνων] καὶ βαρβάρων οἱ  
 [πλέοντε]ς τὴν θάλατταν  
 [καὶ αὐτοὶ εἰ]ς πλέωσιν εἰ-  
 230 [ς τὸ ναύσταθμ]ον τὸ Ἀθηναίων,  
 [πλοιά τε ἔξον]τες καὶ τὰ ἄλ-  
 [λα ἐμ βεβαίωι, εἰδὸ]τες ὅτι  
*lacuna*  
 col. ii ἐὰν δέ τις μὴ ποιήσει οἷς  
 ἕκαστα προστέτακται, ἢ  
 235 ἄρχων ἢ ἰδιώτης, κατὰ τὸδε  
 τὸ ψήφισμα, ὀφειλέτω ὁ μὴ  
 ποιήσας μυριάς δραχμὰς  
 ἱερὰς τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ, καὶ ὁ εὖ-  
 θυνος καὶ οἱ πάρεδροι ἐ-  
 240 πάναγκες αὐτῶν καταγι-  
 γνωσκόντων ἢ αὐτοὶ ὀφει-  
 λόντων. τὴν δὲ βουλὴν τοὺς  
 Γ': ἐπιμελείσθαι τοῦ ἀπο-  
 στόλου κολάζουσιν τοὺς  
 245 ἀτακτοῦντας τῶν τριη-  
 ράρχων κατὰ τοὺς νόμους·  
 τοὺς δὲ πρυτάνεις ποιεῖν  
 βουλῆς ἔδραν ἐπὶ χώματι  
 περὶ τοῦ ἀποστόλου συ-  
 250 νεχῶς, ἕως ἂν ὁ ἀπόστο-  
 λος γένηται. ἐλέσθαι δὲ  
 καὶ ἀποστολέας τὸν δῆ-  
 μον δέκα ἄνδρας ἐξ Ἀ-  
 θηναίων ἀπάντων, τοὺς  
 255 δὲ αἰρεθέντας ἐπιμε-  
 λείσθαι τοῦ ἀποστόλου,  
 καθάπερ τῇ βουλῇ προσ-  
 τέτακται. εἶναι δὲ τῇ  
 βουλεὶ καὶ τοῖς πρυτάνε-  
 260 σιν ἐπιμελεθῆσιν τοῦ  
 ἀποστόλου στεφανωθῆ-  
 ναι ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου χρυσῶι

229–32 [ἀσφαλῶς εἰ]ς πλέωσιν εἰ[ς τὸ ἐμπόρι]ον τὸ Ἀθηναίων, [[σῖτον εἰσάγον]τες καὶ τὰ ἄλ[λα - - - ]τες  
 Bresson, *SEG* xliii 1320, xlv 149.

may result in a guard against the Tyrrhenians, and Miltiades the founder and the settlers may be able to use their own fleet, and those Greeks and barbarians who sail the sea and themselves sailing into the Athenians' naval station will have their ships and all else secure, knowing that . . .  
(*lacuna*)

233 . . . but if anyone to whom each of these things has been commanded does not do them in accordance with this decree, whether he be a magistrate or a private individual, the man who does not do so is to be fined 10,000 dr. sacred to Athena, and the *euthynos* and *paredroi* are of necessity to condemn them or themselves owe the money.

242 The council of five hundred is to look after the dispatch, punishing any lack of discipline among the trierarchs in accordance with the laws. The *prytaneis* are to arrange for the council to be in session continuously on the jetty in connection with the dispatch, until the dispatch occurs. The people are to choose from the whole body of Athenians ten men as 'Dispatchers', and those chosen are to look after the dispatch as the council has ordered.

258 It is to be possible for the council and the *prytaneis*, when they have looked after the dispatch, to be crowned by the People with a gold crown of 1,000 drachmas.

- στεφάνωι ἀπὸ : Χ : δραχμῶν.  
 ἐὰν δέ του προσδέει τόδε  
 265 τὸ ψήφισμα τῶν περὶ τὸν  
 ἀπόστολον, τὴν βουλὴν  
 κυρίαν εἶναι ψηφίζεσθαι  
 μὴ λύουσαν μηθὲν τῶν  
 ἐψηφισμένων τῷ δήμῳ.  
 270 ταῦτα δ' εἶναι ἅπαντα  
 εἰς φυλακὴν τῆς χώρας.  
 τετρήρη ἔδομεν κατὰ ψήφισμα βουλῆς ὃ  
 εἶπεν Ἀλκίμαχ' : ἐγ Μυρρι·  
 τετρήρης Εὐετηρία, Ἀρχένεω ἔργ' : τῶν  
 275 ἐπ' Εὐθυκρίτου ναυπη : ἣν ἐποίησα Πολυκρά Ἀφι,  
 δόκι, διάζυξ·  
 τρι· Ἀριστογέν' : Χαρισάν : Φίλα : καὶ σκεύη ἔχει  
 κρεμαστὰ ἐντελῆ καὶ ὑπο-  
 τάδε παρελάβομεν καὶ ζώμ-  
 280 ἀποελάβομεν σκεύη ατα II  
 ξύλῳ ἐν νεωρίοις· τῶν ἐ-  
 ἐν νεωρίοις παρελάβομεν γ  
 λ  
 ταρροὺς ἐπὶ ναὺς : HH<sup>Π</sup> υ  
 ΔΔΔΔΓII : καὶ ἱππηγῶν θ  
 285 τριῶν ταρροὺς : κώπας ε  
 ἐκάστης <sup>Π</sup>Δ, ντων  
 πλὴν κωπῶν : ΓII κατὰ  
 ἐν νεωρίῳ παρέδομεν [ψ]ήφ-  
 ταρροὺς ἐπὶ ναὺς ισμα  
 290 HH<sup>Π</sup>ΔΔΔΓIII : καὶ ἱππη- δή-  
 γοῦ μιᾶς κώπας : <sup>Π</sup>Δ· μου  
 τούτων θριπῆδεστα ὃ εἶπ-  
 καὶ ἀδόκιμα (vacat)· ε Ἀγν-  
 πηδάλια ἐν νεωρίοις ωνί-  
 295 παρελάβομεν σὺν τοῖς δης  
 τῆς ἱππηγοῦ ἐπὶ ναὺς Περι-  
 HH<sup>Π</sup>III : καὶ πηδάλιον εἷν γ.  
 ἐν νεωρίοις παρέδομεν  
 πηδάλια ἐπὶ ναὺς : HH  
 300 ΔΔΔΔΓ : καὶ πηδάλιον εἷν·  
 τούτων θριπῆδεστα  
 καὶ ἀδόκιμα (vacat).

- 264 If there is anything lacking in this decree about the dispatch, the council is to have authority to pass a decree, provided that it does not annul any of the measures decreed by the People. All this is to be for the defence of the country.
- 272 We issued a quadrireme according to the decree of the council which Alcimachus from Myrrhinoutta proposed: quadrireme Eueteria, work of Archeneos, one of the ships built in the archonship of Euthycritus, which Polycrates of Aphidna had made; approved, fitted with thwarts; trierarch, Aristogenes son of Charistander of Philaidae; it has complete rigging and two of the undergirding-ropes released according to the decree of the People which Hagnonides of Pergase proposed.
- 279 We took over and accepted the following wooden equipment in the shipyards: in the shipyards we took over sets of oars for 297 ships; and the sets of oars of three horse-transporting vessels, 60 oars in each set, minus 7 oars. In the shipyard we handed on sets of oars for 289 ships, and the oars of one horse-transporting vessel, 60 oars. Of these (*no number inscribed*) were worm-eaten and unserviceable.
- 294 In the shipyards we took over sets of steering oars for 254 ships, including those of the horse-transporting vessel plus one individual steering oar. In the shipyards we handed on pairs of steering oars for 245 ships, plus one individual steering oar. Of these (*no number inscribed*) were worm-eaten and unserviceable.

This is an extract from the accounts of the curators (*epimeletai*) of the dockyards for the year 325/4. Although the council of five hundred had overall responsibility for the Athenian navy (*Ath. Pol.* 46. i), ten men, one from each tribe, were chosen annually to look after the ships of the navy and their tackle. Various forms of words are used in inscriptions to refer to this board, but all stress the responsibility for the dockyards. The date at which the office was created is not known: the earliest epigraphic trace of a board looking after the shipyard ([οἱ ἐπιμε]λόμενοι τὸ νεορίο) is in *IG* 1<sup>3</sup> 153. 18, dated to the 430s or 420s. The name *epimeletai* first survives in association with the shipyards in an inscription of 410–404 (*IG* 1<sup>3</sup> 236. 5–6). *Ath. Pol.* does not mention this board, and we do not know how the curators were chosen, but it is probable that like most Athenian officials they were chosen by lot from volunteers. Known curators are not randomly distributed over the trittyes: 27 of the 55 men known came from coastal trittyes, and this may mean that men who were otherwise involved with the sea were particularly inclined to offer themselves for this office (Jordan, 31).

Accounts of curators survive from the second quarter of the fourth century down to 323/2 (*IG* 11<sup>2</sup> 1604–32). These accounts record the receipt of ships from, and the handing over of ships to, trierarchs, the equipment which each ship had, and the condition the ship and the equipment were in. They list debts of trierarchs, and the responsibility of trierarchs for replacing lost ships and equipment. They also record decisions by the assembly which required action from the curators (it was, for example, the assembly which decided to withdraw useless ships from service, as in ll. 722 ff. of this inscription). In every fourth year the curators published a full inventory of all the ships and equipment belonging to the city. On the basis of these records we are able to trace the increasing size of the Athenian navy. Reduced from its complement of 300 triremes (not all in commission at the same time) in 432 (Thuc. II. 13. viii) to just 12 triremes by the terms of the peace treaty of 404, the Athenian navy mustered 60 and 83 ships on two occasions in the 370s (D.S. xv. 34. v, X. H. vi. ii. 11). Diodorus (xvi. 21. i) records an Athenian fleet of 120 in 356 but by 353/2 she had 349 hulls, full sets of rowing oars for 291 and steering oars for some 280 (*IG* 11<sup>2</sup> 1613. 284–310). *Tetereis* (conventionally translated here as quadriremes) are first recorded being built by Dionysius tyrant of Syracuse in 398 (D.S. xiv 42. iv). They first appear in Athenian naval records in 330: Athens then had 18 of them (10 at sea) as against 492 trireme hulls. By 325/4 (l. 811) Athens also boasted seven *pentereis* ('quinqueremes'). Whereas triremes had three banks of oars, each oar pulled by one man and a total of 170 rowers, quadriremes seem to have had two banks of oars, each oar pulled by two men, and a total of 176 rowers, and quinqueremes three banks of oars, in two banks each oar pulled by two men and in the third bank each oar pulled by one man (see Morrison with Coates, *Greek and Roman Oared Warships*, 268–71).

The scale of the curators' responsibilities by the 320s is well indicated by this inscription. Ll. 783 ff. record 360 triremes, of which 32 are at sea, and 50 quadriremes, of which 7 are at sea. In addition, the receipt of gear for 9 triaconters is recorded as taken over, and gear for five is handed on (91 ff., 330 ff.), implying that four were dispatched to the Adriatic, but triaconters are curiously not counted in the stock (Gabrielsen, 128–9). The totals were book-keeping figures, and do not measure the naval potential:

Athens could not man all these hulls, and it is hard to conceive of a circumstance in which she would need to. Of the 328 triremes not at sea, some have been lost and compensatory payments made by the trierarchs; some have been lost in storms and the trierarchs exempted from paying compensation (796–9); some have been lent to the Chalcidians some 15 years previously (516–43, 799–800; see Gabrielsen, 205–6); and some have been lost in action. A significant proportion of the naval lists is made up of records of moneys and fines owed by trierarchs and by various officials for ships and equipment which they have damaged or absconded with (Gabrielsen, 149–62): initiating legal action to oblige debtors to pay up was the responsibility of the curators, but, unlike other public debtors, defaulting trierarchs seem only to have been fined and never to have been imprisoned or to have lost their civic rights.

The extract from the 325/4 accounts given here is in many ways typical, but exceptionally it concerns a particular Athenian enterprise, the founding of a settlement in the Adriatic. Ships detailed for that expedition are listed and the decree which ordered the ships to be put at the disposal of the man in charge of setting up the settlement, Miltiades, is quoted. It is typical in as far as the careful record of the state of each ship and who was responsible for it is the standard form in these records.

The ships listed here are recorded as having full wooden equipment (that is they have oars, spare oars, rudders, ladders, poles, mast and mast partners, and sailyards), and full ‘hanging equipment’ (tackle), including not only the standard items (sail, rigging, canvas awnings and screens (to protect the rowers from enemy missiles), ropes, anchors, and leather sleeves for the lowest oarports) but also (extra) undergirding ropes in accordance with the particular decree of Hagnonides of Pergase (the man who later proposed the decree honouring Euphron of Sicyon passed in 318/17 (*IG* 11<sup>2</sup> 448. 39–40)). No armament is recorded on the ships themselves, but the inscription also records a brief inventory of the Great Warehouse at the Gates which records both a quantity of lead and catapults and catapult tubes, etc. (976–1003). This inscription also provides the only attestation of a *tamias kremaston* (‘rigging treasurer’: 464–6, Jordan, 58–9).

The extract begins with two entries typical of all the entries from the beginning of the stone (there are seven earlier entries, three for triremes, two for horse transports, and two for triaconters). This must be just the end of the list of the ships detailed to join Miltiades since the decree quoted refers to quadriremes also (167). Each of the ships in the list is classified (trireme, horse transport, triaconter), named, its builder identified, and the principal trierarch listed by his full name (personal name, patronymic, and demotic); any syntrierarchs are also listed, but sometimes less fully. Three syntrierarchs are very common in the lists, including here, and four not infrequent; there are two examples of five and one example each of seven, nine, and ten. Five of those listed in this inscription as syntrierarchs have responsibility for more than one ship: thus Dercippus of Coprus shares responsibility for three triremes, in one case with one colleague and in the other two cases with two colleagues (1–63); Phrynaeus of Athmonon similarly has responsibilities for three triaconters, one as sole trierarch and two jointly with one colleague (92–144). The effect of such multiple syntrierarchies was to distribute the risks more evenly than in the earlier system in which individuals



had normally had sole responsibility for a single ship, without reducing the overall financial burden on individuals (Gabrielsen, 208–9).

Ll. 165–271 (with a lacuna in the middle where the bottom of the stone is lost) record the decree of Cephisophon (of Cholargus) according to which the ships were handed over to Miltiades. (Cephisophon was a politically active man, serving on the council, and curator of the Amphiaraia at Oropus in 329/8.) This is not itself the decision to establish a settlement (that decision is referred to at 175–7), but a measure designed to ensure the rapid and effective execution of that decision. These measures focus particularly on the trierarchs. As the Athenian navy and naval activity grew in the fourth century so did the burden on those called upon to bear a ship's running expenses for a year (Gabrielsen, 182–213). *C.* 357 a law of Periander had extended financial responsibility from individuals and pairs of individuals to the body of 1,200 richest citizens corporately, divided into twenty 'symmories' ([Dem.] XLVII. *Euerg. and Mnes.* 21–2, 29, 44). In 340 Demosthenes had enacted a further reform which made the rich contribute in proportion to their wealth (Dem. XVIII. *Crown* 102–9). Distribution of particular ships to particular trierarchs was, by the time of the *Ath. Pol.* at least, in the power of the 'general for the symmories' (*Ath. Pol.* 61. i), one of the specialist positions now given to generals (see 58 comm.). Demosthenes had complained in the *First Philippic* of 351 (IV. 36) both about the process of appointing trierarchs and about hearing their pleas for exemption only after an expedition has been decided upon (Gabrielsen, 76–7). Here the trierarchs' pleas for exemption (*skēpsēis*, compare *Ath. Pol.* 56. iii) are to be heard by courts presided over by the 'general over the symmories', on two specific days, the latter 5 days before Mounychion 10 (early May), the due date for the departure of the ships; they are also offered prizes as an incentive to rapid deployment.

The urgency and importance of the dispatch are underlined by both carrot and stick. The carrots consist of crowns for the first, second, and third trierarchs to bring their ship to the jetty, and the possibility of a further, and larger, crown for the council and *prytaneis*. (For the clause about demonstrating *philotimia* see on 46.) The stick is a fine of 10,000 dr. for any private individual or magistrate who does not do as ordered, and the council is also given power to impose unspecified punishments on any that are unruly.

The decree requires the council to sit continuously on the jetty until the dispatch occurs. It was not unusual for the council to meet elsewhere than in the council chamber in the Agora (other meetings are known in the Piraeus and at Eleusis) but it is perhaps doubtful whether all five hundred councillors could in fact be expected to maintain continuous session on the jetty. The 'Dispatchers' mentioned here seem to be an extraordinary board, brought into being from time to time in the fourth century when circumstances demanded their existence: we first hear of them in 357/6 ([Dem.] XLVII. *Euerg. and Mnes.* 26, 33; Jordan, 54–5).

The clause at the end of the decree classifies it as a decree about the defence of the country. This certainly brought it into the category of matters discussed at the first assembly meeting of the prytany (*Ath. Pol.* 43. iv), and it may be associated with the earlier clause which gives the council the right to supplement the assembly's decision

(see further Rhodes, *Boule*, 231–5). The entry immediately after the decree, in which the curators record that they handed over a quadrireme ‘according to the decree of the council’, may well refer to a council decree passed under this provision.

The decree emphasizes that the purpose of the settlement is to provide the Athenians with their own commerce and grain transport and, through the provision of their own naval station, defend themselves and other Greeks and barbarians sailing the sea against the Tyrrhenians. As we have seen [95, 96], Athens, along with other parts of the Greek world, experienced grain shortages in the early 320s. On the basis of the surviving evidence, Athens had been diversifying her sources of grain in the second half of the century, and in particular had been looking to import grain from Sicily (such imports are mentioned in Dem. xxxii. *Zenothemis*, [Dem.] lvi. *Dionysodorus* 9, and in *Hesp.* xliii 1974, 322–4 no. 3, a grain merchant from Acragas is honoured with proxeny (see Garnsey, p. 153)). Athens had long been involved in trade in the Adriatic: Lysias, xxxii. *Diogeiton* 24, refers to a loan made on a vessel travelling to the Adriatic some time in the last decade of the fifth century. There were particularly strong links with Spina, a site at which very large numbers of Athenian pots have been excavated. It is unlikely that grain was the only item being traded. It may be more appropriate, therefore, to stress the role of piracy (see De Souza, *Piracy*, 38–41, 50–53). Guarding against the Etruscans (Tyrrhenians) is explicitly mentioned here, we know of two (lost) speeches that are likely to date to this period, Dinarchus’ *Tyrrhenian Speech*, and Hyperides’ *On defence against the Tyrrhenians*, and the naval list of 334/3 (*IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 1623. 276–308) has occasion to mention guarding against pirates.

If recent piratical activity in the Adriatic more easily explains the urgency of the decree and its Adriatic focus than does the need to contribute another source to the Athenian grain supply, the degree to which the grain supply dominated Athenian politics in the twenties is, nevertheless, made clear later in the inscription. For here (ll. 859 ff.), as in the naval list for the previous year (*IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 1628. 339–95.) the fines imposed on trierarchs are reduced if they or their close associates have been responsible for gifts of grain in 328/7.

The Athenian decision recorded here remains very surprising. This is the only reference we have to this settlement: no trace of it has been found, and we cannot be certain that it was in fact dispatched (compare the problems of the Brea decree, M&L 49). Moreover, the language used of this settlement seems anachronistic. The term *apoikia* is restored in l. 177 to describe the settlement and the settlers are termed *epoikoi* (a term used interchangeably with *apoikoi*, compare Thuc. iv. 102. i–ii and H. Maeno, *Kodai* viii–ix (1997–8), 11–29 at 18–20; Cargill, 136). These are words strongly associated with Athenian imperial activity in the fifth century. In the fourth century Athenians had indeed been settled abroad, but the terminology employed was normally that of cleruchies. Miltiades is repeatedly called *oikistes*, another term associated with the establishment of permanent settlements abroad in the fifth century (e.g. Amphipolis) and earlier, although it also occurs in an earlier fourth-century naval list, *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 1613. 297–8, referring to ‘the *oikistai* to the Chersonese’ (Cargill, 26, 141). These echoes of past grandeur make it likely to be more than just a coincidence that the man chosen to found this settlement comes from the family that had given Athens the Miltiades

who had ruled the Chersonese for Athens, the Miltiades responsible for victory at Marathon, and Cimon the architect of the growth of the Delian League. Although it is not otherwise known to have been politically prominent in fourth-century Athens, this family was evidently still of high status: the daughter of this Miltiades, Eurydice, was married twice, once to Ophellas, the companion of Alexander who became independent ruler of Cyrene, and after his death to Demetrius Poliorcetes (Davies, *APF* 309). Cargill (33) suggests that the timing of the expedition in 324 should be related to the degeneration of relations between Athens and Alexander which were to take a decisive turn for the worse later in that year with the harbouring of Harpalus and the promulgation of the Exiles Decree.

## 101

## Restoration of exiles at Tegea, 324/3

A *stèle* found to the east of the sanctuary at Delphi, now in the museum there. Phot. *BCH* xxxviii 1914, 103 fig. 1, pl. I-II; Heisserer, *Alexander*, 204 pl. 28; facs. *BCH* facing p. 102

Arcadian dialect and lettering, with some *koine* forms; *stoichedon* 40.

*IG* v. ii pp. xxxvi-xxxvii; A. Plassart, *BCH* xxxviii 1914, 101-88; *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 306; Tod 202; Buck 22; Heisserer, *Alexander*, 204-29 ch. viii\*. Trans. Heisserer; Bagnall & Derow 4; Harding 122. See also R. Lonis in Goukowsky & Brixhe (edd.), *Hellenika Symmiktá*, 91-109; I. Worthington, *AHB* vii 1993, 59-64; A. Maffi, in Gehrke (ed.), *Rechtscodifizierung und soziale Normen*, 113-33.

- [—<sup>12</sup>—] ἐπὲς δὲ τοῖς ἁ πόλιν ἀπέστειλε τὸς π]-  
 1 [ρέσβας, καὶ τὰν κρίσιν ἀπέπεμψε πὸς]ς ἡ[μέας ὁ βασι]-  
 [λεὺς Ἀλέξ]ανδρος, τὸ διάγρ[α]μμα γραφῆναι κατὸν τὰ ἐ-  
 [πανωρ]θώσατν ἁ πόλιν τὰ ἐν τοῖ διαγράμματι ἀντιλ-  
 5 ἐγόμενα. τὸς φυγάδας τὸς κατενθόντας τὰ πατρώια  
 5 κομίζεσθαι, ἐς τοῖς ἔφευγον, καὶ τὰ ματρώια, ὅσαι ἀ-  
 νέσδοτοι τὰ πάματα κατήχον καὶ οὐκ ἐτύνηανον ἀδ-  
 ελφεὸς πεπαμέναι. εἰ δέ τι ἐσοθένσαι συνέπεσ-  
 ε τὸν ἀδελφεὸν καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ τὰν γενεὰν ἀπολέσθα-  
 ι, καὶ τα(ι)νι ματρώια ἦναι, ἀνώτερον δὲ μηκέτι ἦναι. ἐ-  
 10 πὲς δὲ ταῖς οἰκίαις μίαν ἑκάστον ἔχεν κατὸν τὸ διά-  
 γραμμα. εἰ δέ τις ἔχει οἰκία κᾶπον πὸς αὐτᾶι, ἄ(λλ)ον μ-  
 ἢ λαμβανέτω· εἰ δὲ πὸς τᾶι οἰκίαι μὴ πῶεσι κᾶπος, ἐ-  
 ξαντίαι δ' ἔστι ἰσόθι πλέθρω, λαμβανέτω τὸν κᾶπον·  
 15 εἰ δὲ πλεον ἀπέχων ὁ κᾶπος ἐστι πλέθρω, τωνὶ τὸ ἡμι-  
 σσον λαμβανέτω, ὥσπερ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων χωρίων γέγρα-  
 πται. τὰν δὲ οἰκίαν τιμὰν κομίζέσθω τῷ οἴκῳ ἐκάστ-

0-1 Heisserer.

2 Κάσσανδρος considered by Heisserer: see commentary.

9 τα(ι)νι Heisserer.

11 The stone has *AMON*.

The shadow of Athenian imperialism may also be seen in the motivation for the action. Back in the 470s the Athenians had used the complaint that Scyros harboured pirates as an excuse for expelling its population and replacing them with Athenian settlers. Throughout her various vicissitudes in the wake of defeat in the Peloponnesian war, Athens had clung to Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros as the vital stepping stones that guaranteed her grain supply (see also 26). Here her decision to establish a settlement in order to prevent piratical activity in the Adriatic, although advertised as for the benefit of Greeks and barbarians, has to be seen as motivated by economic considerations. (For fourth-century Athenian willingness to intervene in more than just the grain trade, compare 40.)

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— — — With reference to the things about which the city sent the envoys and King Alexander sent back his judgment to us, the transcript [*diagramma*] shall be written according to the corrections made by the city of what was spoken against in the transcript.

4 The exiles who are returning shall recover their paternal possessions from which they went into exile, or their maternal possessions, i.e. in cases when women were not remarried and held their property and did not possess brothers. And if it has happened to any remarried woman that her brother, both himself and his descendants, have perished, here too the man shall have the maternal possessions but no longer those from further back (?).

9 With reference to the houses, each [*sc.* returned exile] shall have one in accordance with the transcript. If a house has a garden adjacent to it, let him not take another; if there is not a garden adjacent to the house, but there is one nearby within a *plethron*, let him take the garden; if the garden is more than a *plethron* distant, let him take the half of this, as has been written also for the other plots of land. Let [*sc.* the men to whom property is returned] receive as the price [*tima*] of the houses two minas for each room (?), and the assessment [*timasia*] of the

ω δύο μνᾶς, τὰν δὲ τιμασίαν ἦναι τὰν οἰκιᾶν κατάπε-  
 ρ ἅ πόλις νομίζευ· τῶν δὲ κάπων διπλάσιον τὸ τίμαμα-  
 α κομίζεσθαι ἢ ἐς τῷ νόμοι. τὰ δὲ χρήματα ἀφωέωσθα-  
 20 ι τὰν πόλιν καὶ μὴ ἀπυλιῶναι μήτε τοῖς φυγάσι μήτ-  
 ε τοῖς πρότερον οἴκοι πολιτεύονσι. ἐπὲς δὲ ταῖς π-  
 αναγορίαις, ταῖς ἐσλελοίπασι οἱ φυγάδες, τὰν πόλ-  
 ιν βωλεύσασθαι, ὅ τι δ' ἂν βωλεύσητο ἅ πόλις, κύριο-  
 ν ἔστω. τὸ δὲ δικαστήριον τὸ ξενικὸν δικάζεν ἐξήκ-  
 25 οντα ἀμερᾶν. ὅσοι δ' ἂν ἰν ταῖς ἐξήκοντα ἀμέραις μὴ  
 διαδικάσωντο, μὴ ἦναι αὐτοῖς δικάσασθαι ἐπὲς τ-  
 οῖς πάμασι ἰν τῷ ξενικῷ δικαστηρίοι, ἀλλ' ἰν τῷ  
 πολιτικῷ αἰ' εἰ δ' ἂν τι ὕστερον ἐφευρίσκωνσι, ἰν ἀ-  
 μέραις ἐξήκοντα ἀπὸ τῶν ἀν ἀμέραι τὸ δικαστήριο-  
 30 ν καθιστᾶ· εἰ δ' ἂν μὴδ' ἰν ταῖννυ διαδικάσητο, μηκέ-  
 τι ἐξέστω αὐτῷ δικάσασθαι. εἰ δ' ἂν τινες ὕστερον  
 κατένθωσι, τῷ δικαστηρίῳ τῷ ξενικῷ [μ]ηκέτι ἐόντ-  
 ος, ἀπυγραφέσθω πὸς τὸς στραταγὸς τὰ πάματα ἰν ἀμ-  
 έραις ἐξήκοντα, καὶ εἰκ ἂν τι αὐτοῖς ἐ[π]απύλογον ἦ-  
 35 ι, δικαστήριον ἦναι Μαντινέαν· εἰ δ' [ἂν μὴ] διαδικάσ-  
 ητο ἰν ταιν[νι] ταῖς ἀμέραις, μηκέτ[ι] ἦναι αὐτοῖ δι-  
 κάσασθαι. ἐπὲς δὲ τοῖς ἱεροῖς χρήμασιν [δ]λω[ς] σὺν τ-  
 οῖς ὀφειλήμασι, τὰ μὲμ πὸς τὴν θεὸν ἅ πόλις διωρθώ-  
 σατω, ὁ ἔχων τὸ πᾶμα ἀπυδότω τῷ κατηνθηκῷ τὸ ἥμ-  
 40 ισσον κατάπερ οἱ ἄλλοι. ὅσοι δὲ αὐτοῖ ὥφηλον τῷ θ-  
 εοῖ συννγῆας ἢ ἄλλως, εἰ μὲν ἂν φαίνητο ὁ ἔχων τὸ  
 πᾶμα διωρθωμένος τῷ θεοῖ τὸ χρέος, ἀπυδότω τὸ ἥμ-  
 ισσον τῷ κατιόντι, κατάπερ οἱ ἄλλοι, μὴδὲν παρελ-  
 [θ]ών· εἰ δ' ἂν μὴ φαίνητο ἀπυδεδωκᾶς τῷ θεοῖ, ἀπυδό-  
 45 τω τῷ κατιόντι τὸ ἥμισσον τῷ πάματος, ἐς δὲ τῷ ἥμ-  
 ισσοι αὐτὸς τὸ χρέος διαλυέτω. εἰ δ' ἂν μὴ βόλητο δι-  
 αλυῖσαι, ἀπυδότω τῷ κατιόντι τὸ πᾶμα ὅλον, ὁ δὲ κο-  
 μισάμενος διαλυσάτω τὸ χρέος τῷ θεοῖ πᾶν. ὅσαι δ-  
 ἐ γυναῖκες τῶν φυγάδων ἢ θυγατέρες οἴκοι μίνονσ-  
 50 αι ἐγά[μ]αντυ, ἢ φυγόνσαι ὕστερον ἐγάμαντυ [ἔ]ν Τεγέ-  
 αν κα[ἔ] ἐπίλυσιν ὠρήσαντυ οἴκοι μίνονσαι, ταννὶ μ-  
 ήτ' ἀ[πυδοκ]ιμ(ά)ζεσθαι τὰ πατρῶια μήτε τὰ ματρῶια μ-  
 ηδὲ τὸς ἐσγόνος, ὅσοι μὴ ὕστερον ἐφυγον δι' ἀνάγκα-  
 ς καὶ ἰν τῷ νῦν ἐόντι καιρῷ καθέρπονσι ἢ αὐταὶ ἢ  
 55 παιδες ταννὶ, δοκιμ(ά)ζεσθαι καὶ αὐτὰς καὶ τὸς ἐς τ-  
 αιννὶ ἐσγόνος τὰ πατρῶια καὶ τὰ ματρῶια κατὰ τὸ διά-  
 γραμμα. ὁμνύω Δία, Ἀθάναν, Ἀπόλλωνα, Ποσειδᾶνα, εὐν-

36 Plassart: the stone has TAININ.

43-4 L. F. Smith *ap. Heisserer*: παρέλ[ι]κ[ω]ν Plassart.37 R. Thurneysen, *Glotta* xii 1922/3, 144-7 at 145.

52, 55 The stone has ΜΙΖΕΣΘΑΙ.

houses shall be as the city considers; but for the garden he shall receive double the valuation [*timama*] in the law. The city shall discharge the money [for the compensation] (?), and shall not exempt from taxation (?) either the exiles or those previously living at home as citizens.

- 21 With reference to the general festivals from which the exiles have been absent, the city shall deliberate, and whatever the city deliberates shall be valid.
- 24 The foreign court shall give judgment for sixty days. As many as are not adjudicated in the sixty days, it shall not be possible for them to go to law in the foreign court with reference to property, but always in the city's court: if they find anything later, in sixty days from the day when the court is established; and, if it is not adjudicated in this period, it shall no longer be possible for him to go to law. If any return later, when the foreign court is no longer in existence, let him register the property with the *stratego*i in sixty days, and if there is any defence against him the court shall be Mantinea; and, if it is not adjudicated in these days, it shall no longer be possible for him to go to law.
- 37 With reference to the sacred money in general together with the debts to the Goddess, in cases which the city has set right, let him who has the property give the half to the returned exile like the others. As many as themselves owed pledges to the Goddess or otherwise, if it appears that he who has the property has set the obligation right with the Goddess, let him give the half to him who has returned, like the others, leaving nothing aside; but, if it does not appear that he has given back to the Goddess, let him give back to him who has returned the half of the property, and with the [*sc.* other] half let him himself settle the obligation. If he does not wish to settle, let him give back to him who has returned the whole property, and let him convey it and settle the whole obligation to the Goddess.
- 49 As many wives of the exiles or daughters as have remained at home and married, or went into exile but subsequently married in Tegea, and bought their release by remaining at home, these shall not be subject to examination over their paternal or maternal possessions, nor their descendants; but as for those who did not go into forced exile after (their marriage) and who are now creeping back on the present occasion, themselves or their children, they shall be examined, both themselves and their descendants, in respect of their paternal and their maternal possessions in accordance with the transcript.
- 57 I swear by Zeus, Athena, Apollo, Poseidon, that I shall show good will

οήσω τοῖς κατηνθηκόσι τοῖς ἔδοξε τᾷ πόλι κατυδ-  
 έχεσθαι, καὶ οὐ μνασικακήσω τῶνν οὐδεν[ι] τ[ᾷ] ἄν ἄμ-  
 60 π[ε]ίσῃ ἀπὸν τᾷ ἡμέραι τᾷ τὸν ὄρκον ὥμοσα, οὐδὲ δια-  
 κωλύσω τὰν τῶν κατηνθηκότων σωτηρίαν, οὔτε ἰν τᾷ-  
 ι [—<sup>9</sup>—] οὔτε ἰν τοῖ κοινοῖ τᾷς πόλιος [—<sup>6</sup>—]  
 [—<sup>11</sup>—] διάγραμμα [—<sup>5</sup>—] πὸς τὸς κατηνθηκό-  
 [τ]ας [—<sup>13</sup>—] τᾷ πόλι [—<sup>17</sup>—]  
 65 [—<sup>8</sup>—τ]ὰ ἰν τοῖ διαγρά[μμι]ατι γεγραμμένα τὰ ἐς  
 [—<sup>19</sup>—ο]ὐδὲ βωλεύσω πὸς οὐδένα.  
 vacat

Although almost every letter has been read except at the beginning and the end, the dialect and the lack of specific references make translation and interpretation difficult. The document, found at Delphi (where this copy was presumably deposited to strengthen the guarantee that it would be enforced) is concerned with Tegea (ll. 50–1), and stipulates that if one kind of problem arises neighbouring Mantinea is to serve as a lawcourt (ll. 31–5): that itself is remarkable, since when last heard of, at the end of the 360s, Tegea and Mantinea were on opposite sides in a divided Arcadia (cf. on 41); for building regulations at Tegea see 60. [King Alex]ander has been restored as the source of the *diagramma* (ll. 1–2: equivalent to *diapraphe* in 83, 85). No other text mentions that Tegea was affected by his order of 324 for the return of exiles (cf. on 83), but that it should have been is likely enough: on Tegea in Alexander's reign we have only the remark that, with the exception of the ringleaders, the city was pardoned for joining in Agis' rising of 331–330 (for which see on 94: Curt. vi. i. 20): those ringleaders may well have become a body of exiles who would benefit from Alexander's order. Heisserer notes that in 319 the proclamation made by Polyperchon in his rivalry with Cassander included another restoration of exiles (D.S. xviii. 56. iv), and in 317 Cassander was besieging Tegea but came to terms with it (D.S. xix. 35. i), so that would provide another possible context for our inscription; but although it is not certain the usual dating to 324/3 is likely to be right (for arguments in support see Worthington).

As in Athens in 403 and in Chios and Mytilene in the 330s (cf. on 84, 85; also 39), the return of exiles was bound to lead to problems with property which was claimed both by the returned exiles and by those who had acquired it after they had gone into exile. Tegea's solution is a partial restoration of property to the returned exiles, with compensation at the state's expense for property not restored. It had raised objections to the first royal transcript (for the procedure cf. D.S. xvii. 113. iii), and had secured revisions (ll. 2–4). What we have here must have been read in the light of earlier decisions not recorded on this stone: for instance, the existence of 'the foreign court' is assumed.

For sixty days disputed cases are to be tried by this foreign court, i.e. a court consisting of judges from outside Tegea. This was to be an increasingly common institution in the hellenistic period, based on the assumption that, although each Greek state had its own code of laws, there was enough general similarity between the laws of different

to those who have returned whom the city resolved to receive back, and I shall not harbour grudges against any of them for what he may have plotted (?) from the day on which I have sworn the oath, nor shall I hinder the safety of those who have returned, neither in the — — — nor in the community of the city — — — transcript — — towards those who have returned — — the city — — — the things written in the transcript for — — nor shall I give counsel against anybody.

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states that in cases where there might be a fundamental division within the citizen body judges from elsewhere would gain more from lack of local involvement than they would lose from lack of local knowledge (cf. C. V. Crowther in the rather inaccessible *JAC* vii 1992, 13–48, summarized *Aph* lxiii 1992, 132–43, and *SEG* xlv 1708; cf. the use of external arbitrators to settle disputes between cities, 16, 78). Heisserer and others have assumed from l. 35 that the ‘foreign court’ was manned by men from Mantinea, which is possible but not certain. For the importance of time limits to prevent disputes from being prolonged and the reconciliation from being impeded, cf. *Ath. Pol.* 39. iv, 40. i (on Athens in 403).

There are some places where the meaning of the text is not certain. Lonis, studying this decree in the general context of provision made for returning exiles, argues that at 4ff. what is granted is not paternal property to men and maternal to women (e.g. Tod) but ‘each exile could claim only his father’s estate, or one of which his mother had been, or had become, *epikleros*’ (Schaps, *Economic Rights of Women*, 42–3; cf. Lonis, 99–100; also Maffi, 113–23); the suggestion that the women mentioned are distinguished according to whether they had not or had remarried after the death of their first husband is due to Maffi, who compares *I. Cret.* iv 72. viii. 20–36. In l. 9 *anoteron* ought to mean ‘further back’ (*sc.* than the maternal in the female line: Hiller von Gaertringen in *SIG*<sup>3</sup>). In ll. 16–19 *tima* should be the sum paid by the state in compensation for property which is not returned (Lonis, 100–3); the interpretation of *oikos* as ‘room’, sense I. 2 in LSJ, is due to G. Klaffenbach, *DLZ* lxix 1948, 503; a flat rate of 2 minas per house would be remarkably low (cf. W. K. Pritchett, *Hesp.* xxv 1956, 261–76, on Athenian house prices; but it is accepted by Lonis), but the meanings of *timasia* and *timama* are unclear. In ll. 19–21 the meanings of *apheosthai* and *apylonai* are unclear: we adopt the suggestions of Lonis, 100–3. In ll. 53–7 it is not clear who are the women who ‘went into exile later under compulsion and who are now creeping back on the present occasion’, whose claims have to be submitted to examination [*dokimasia*]: Maffi, 124–32, argues that they are those who did not go into exile after their marriage but who claim to have been married while in exile and whose claim would need to be checked.

Ll. 11–19 provide one of our few references to gardens and their relationship to houses. Greek gardens were places of intensive labour, sometimes including irrigation, more than of leisure: they were found next to houses and temples, and tended



to be enclosed (see further R. Osborne, in Hunt (ed.), *Garden History*, 373–91). The careful specification here that only one garden may be claimed and that a plot may be claimed as a garden only if it is next to or very close to the house seems designed to prevent returning exiles from classifying fields as gardens so as to reclaim the whole rather than just half of the land involved. It suggests that gardens distant from residences were too unusual to merit consideration.

A *plethron* was 100 Greek feet: according to the standard being used, c.29.5–33.3 m. (32–36 yds.). ‘The Goddess’ in l. 38 etc. is Athena Alea, the patron goddess of Tegea. The four tribes at Tegea, in what appears from inscriptions to have been a standard order, were: Athaneatis, Apolloniatis, Krariotis (named after Zeus Krarios)

## 102

### Acts of healing, Asclepieum, Epidaurus, c.320

One of 4 *stelai* recording cures surviving from the Asclepieum at Epidaurus. Phot. P. Kavvadias, τὸ ἱερόν τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ ἐν Ἐπιδαύρῳ, between pp. 256 and 257.

Argolic Doric with some Atticisms. 1–119 generally more or less *stoichedon* but ending line at syllable division; 120–6 smaller letters, less regularly spaced.

SIG<sup>3</sup> 1168; IG IV<sup>2</sup>. i 121\*; Herzog, *Die Wunderheilungen von Epidaurus*, 8–16; Buck 90; Edelstein & Edelstein, *Asclepius*, no. 423; LiDonnici. Trans. Edelstein & Edelstein, 229–33; LiDonnici, 85–99; Luck, *Arcana Mundi*, 140–5. See also H.C. Kee in Meyer and Sanders (edd.), *Jewish and Christian Self-Definition*, iii. 118–36; M. P.J. Dillon, *ζPE* ci 1994, 239–60; King, *Hippocrates’ Woman*, 99–113.

θεὸς *vacat* τύχα [ἀγ]αθά.

[ἰά]ματα τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ.

- (i) [Κλ]εὺ πένθ’ ἔτη ἐκύησε. ὁ αὐτα πέντ’ ἐνιαυτοὺς ἤδη κυοῦσα ποὶ τὸν [θε]ὸν ἰκέτις ἀφίκετο καὶ ἐνεκάθευδε ἐν τῷ ἀβάτῳ ὥς δὲ τάχισ-  
 5 [τα] ἐξήλθε ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐγένετο, κόρον ἔτεκε. δὲ εὐ-  
 [θ]ὺς γενόμενος αὐτὸς ἀπὸ τᾶς κράνας ἐλοῦτο καὶ ἅμα τῇ ματρὶ  
 [πε]ριήρπε. τυχοῦσα δὲ τούτων ἐπὶ τὸ ἄνθεμα ἐπεγράψατο· “οὐ μέγε-  
 [θο]ς πίνακος θαυμαστέον, ἀλλὰ τὸ θεῖον, πένθ’ ἔτη ὥς ἐκύησε ἐγ γασ-  
 τρὶ Κλεῷ βάρος, ἔστε ἐγκατεκοιμάθη καὶ μιν ἔθηκε ὑγιή”. (ii) τριέτης  
 10 [φο]ρά ὅθιμονίκα Πελλανὶς ἀφίκετο εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ὑπὲρ γενεᾶς. ἐγ[κατα]-  
 [κοι]μαθεῖσα δὲ ὅψιν εἶδε· ἐδόκει αἰτεῖσθαι τὸν θεὸν κυῆσαι κό-  
 [ραν], τὸν δ’ Ἀσκληπιὸν φάμεν ἔγκυνον ἐσσεῖσθαι νιν, καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο  
 α[ἵτ]οίτο, καὶ τοῦτό οἱ ἐπιτελεῖν, αὐτὰ δ’ οὐθενὸς φάμεν ἔτι ποι-  
 δε[ῖ]σθαι. ἔγκυνος δὲ γενομένα ἐγ γαστρὶ ἐφόρει τρία ἔτη, ἔστε πα-  
 15 ρέβαλε ποὶ τὸν θεὸν ἰκέτις ὑπὲρ τοῦ τόκου· ἐγκατακοιμαθεῖσα  
 δὲ ὅψ[ι]ν εἶδε· ἐδόκει ἐπερωτῆν νιν τὸν θεόν, εἰ οὐ γένοιτο αὐτῇ  
 πάντα ὅσσα αἰτήσαιο καὶ ἔγκυνος εἴη· ὑπὲρ δὲ τόκου ποιθέμεν  
 νιν οὐθέν. καὶ ταῦτα πυνθανομένου αὐτοῦ, εἴ τιως καὶ ἄλλου δέ-

and Hippothoitis (Jones, *Political Organization*, 139–42; cf. Paus. viii. 53. vi, ix): so if we may postulate a cult of Poseidon in Hippothoitis the gods by whom the oath is sworn will be the eponymous gods of the four tribes at Tegea (Plassart, 161–2). ‘Not to bear grudges’ is a standard expression for an amnesty: cf. *Ath. Pol.* 39. vi, 40. ii, and other texts cited by Rhodes *ad* 39. vi.

Among the Arcadian features of the language are *πάμα* for *κτῆμα* (6 etc.); the demonstrative forms *ταυῖ* etc. (9 etc.); *ἐπὲς* = ‘with reference to’ (9–10 etc.); *ἐξαντίαι* = ‘nearby’ (12–13; but the true Arcadian form should be *ἐσαντίαι*: Buck *ad loc.*); *ἀπυλιῶναι* equivalent to *ἀπολεαίνειν* (20: Buck §162. 10); *εἰκ ἄν*, where the *κ* is a survival from *κε* equivalent to *ἄν* (34: Buck §134. 2. *a*).

God.                      Good Fortune.

2 Acts of healing of Apollo and Asclepius.

3 (i) Cleo was pregnant for five years. When she had already been pregnant for five years she came as a suppliant to the god and slept in the Abaton. As soon as she went out from the Abaton and was clear of the sanctuary she bore a son who, immediately he was born, washed himself in the fountain and crawled around beside his mother. In return for this good fortune she wrote on her dedication: ‘It is not the size of the tablet that should cause wonder, but the divinity, since Cleo was pregnant with the burden in her womb for five years until she slept in the sanctuary and the god made her healthy.’

9 (ii) A three-year carrying of a child. Ithmonica of Pellene arrived at the sanctuary seeking offspring. She lay down to sleep and saw a dream. It seemed to her that she begged the god that she might be pregnant with a daughter, and Asclepius seemed to say that she would be pregnant, and that if she were to ask for anything else, he would bring that about for her too, but she said that she had no further needs. She became pregnant and carried a child in her womb for three years until she came to the god as a suppliant about giving birth. She lay down to sleep and saw a dream. It seemed to her that the god asked her whether all that she had begged for had not come to pass and

- οιτο λέγειν, ὡς ποησοῦντος καὶ τοῦτο. ἐπεὶ δὲ νῦν ὑπὲρ τούτου  
 20 παρείη ποτ' αὐτὸν ἰκέτις, καὶ τοῦτό οἱ φάμεν ἐπιτελεῖν. μετὰ δὲ  
 τοῦτο σπουδαῖ ἐκ τοῦ ἀβάτου ἐξελθούσα, ὡς ἔξω τοῦ ἱαροῦ ἥς, ἔτε-  
 κε κόραν. ° (iii) ἀνὴρ τοὺς τὰς χηρὰς δακτύλους ἀκρατεῖς ἔχων πλὰν  
 ἑνὸς ἀφίκετο ποὶ τὸν θεὸν ἰκέτας· θεωρῶν δὲ τοὺς ἐν τῷ ἱαρώι  
 πῖνακας ἀπίστει τοῖς ἰάμασι καὶ ὑποδιέσυρε τὰ ἐπιγράμματα-  
 25 [τ]α. ἐγκαθεύδων δὲ ὄψιν εἶδε· ἐδόκει ὑπὸ τῷ ναῷ ἀστραγαλίζο-  
 [τ]ος αὐτοῦ καὶ μέλλοντος βάλλειν τῷ ἀστραγάλῳ, ἐπιφανέντα  
 [τ]ὸν θεὸν ἐφαλέσθαι ἐπὶ τῶν χῆρα καὶ ἐκτεῖναι οὐ τοὺς δακτύλ-  
 λους· ὡς δ' ἀποβαίη, δοκεῖν συγκάμψας τὰν χῆρα καθ' ἓνα ἐκτείνειν  
 τῶν δακτύλων· ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντας ἐξευθύναι, ἐπερωτῇ νυν τὸν θεόν,  
 30 εἰ ἔτι ἀπιστησοῖ τοῖς ἐπιγράμμασι τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶι πινάκῳ τῶν  
 κατὰ τὸ ἱερόν, αὐτὸς δ' οὐ φάμεν. “ὅτι τοῖνυν ἔμπροσθεν ἀπίστεις  
 αὐτο[ῖς] οὐκ εἴουσιν ἀπίστοις, τὸ λοιπὸν ἔστω τοι”, φάμεν, “ἀπιστος  
 ὄν[ομα]”. ἀμέρας δὲ γενομένης ὑγιῆς ἐξῆλθε. (iv) Ἀμβροσία ἐξ Ἀθανῶν  
 [ἀτερό]π[τ]ιλλος. αὐτὰ ἰκέτις ἦλθε ποὶ τὸν θεόν· περιέρπουσα δὲ  
 35 [κατὰ τ]ὸ ἱερόν τῶν ἰαμάτων τινα διεγέλα ὡς ἀπίθανα καὶ ἀδύνα-  
 [τα ἐόν]τα, χωλοὺς καὶ τυφλοὺς[ς] ὑγιεῖς γίνεσθαι ἐνύπνιον ἰδόν-  
 [τας μό]νον. ἐγκαθεύδουσα δὲ ὄψιν εἶδε· ἐδόκει οἱ ὁ θεὸς ἐπιστὰς  
 [εἰπεῖν], ὅτι ὑγιή μὲν νυν ποιησοῖ, μισθὸν μάντοι νυν δεησοῖ ἀν-  
 [θέμεν εἰ]ς τὸ ἱερόν ἢ ἀργύρεον ὑπόμνημα τὰς ἀμαθίας. εἶπαν-  
 40 [τα δὲ ταῦτ]α ἀνσχίσσαι οὐ τὸν ὀπτίλλον τὸν νοσοῦντα καὶ φάρμ[α]-  
 [κὸν τι ἐγχε]ῖαι· ἀμέρας δὲ γενομένης ὑγιῆς ἐξῆλθε. (v) παῖς ἄφρων.  
 [οὗτος ἀφί]κετο εἰς τὸ ἱερόν ὑπὲρ φωνᾶς· ὡς δὲ προσεύσατο καὶ  
 [ἐπὶ] ἔσχετο τὰ νομιζόμενα, μετὰ τοῦτο ὁ παῖς ὁ τῷ θεῷ πυρφορῶν  
 [ἐκέλετο, π]οι τὸν πατέρα τὸν τοῦ παιδὸς ποτιβλέψας, ὑποδέκεσ-  
 45 [θαι αὐτὸν ἐ]νιαντοῦ, τυχόντα ἐφ' ᾧ πάρεστι ἀποθυσεῖν τὰ ἱατρα.  
 [ὁ παῖς ἐξ]απίνας “ὑποδέκομαι”, ἔφα· ὁ δὲ πατὴρ ἐκπλαγεῖς πάλιν  
 [ἐκέλετο αὐ]τὸν εἰπεῖν· ὁ δ' ἔλεγε πάλιν· καὶ ἐκ τούτου ὑγιῆς ἐγέ-  
 [νετο. (vi) Πάνδαρ]ος Θεσσαλὸς στίγματα ἔχων ἐν τῷ μετώπῳ. οὗτος  
 [ἐγκαθεύδων ὄ]ψιν εἶδε· ἐδόκει αὐτοῦ τα[ι]νία καταδῆσαι τὰ στί-  
 50 [γματα ὁ θεὸς κα]ὶ κέλεσθαι νιν, ἐπεὶ [κα] ἔξω γένηται τοῦ ἀβάτου,  
 [ἀφελόμενον τὰ]ν ταινίαν ἀνθέμε[ν εἰ]ς τὸν γαόν· ἀμέρας δὲ γενο-  
 [μένης ξανέστα] καὶ ἀφήλετο τ[ὰν ται]νίαν, καὶ τὸ μὲν πρόσωπον  
 [κενεὸν εἶδε τῶ]ν στιγματῶν, τ[ὰν δ]ε τ[αι]νίαν ἀνέθηκε εἰς τὸν να-  
 [όν, ἔχουσιν τὰ γρ]άμματ[α] τὰ ἐκ τοῦ μετώπου. (vii) Ἐχέδωρος τὰ Πανδά-  
 55 [ρου στίγματα ἔ]λαβε ποὶ τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν. οὗτος λαβὼν παρ [Παν]-  
 [δάρου χρήματα], ὥστ' ἀνθέμεν τῷ θεῷ εἰς Ἐπίδαιρον ὑπὲρ αὐ[τοῦ],  
 [οὐκ] ἀπεδίδου ταῦτα· ἐγκαθεύδων δὲ ὄψιν εἶδε· ἐδόκει οἱ ὁ θε[ὸς]  
 ἐπιστὰς ἐπερωτῇ νυν, εἰ ἔχοι τινα χρήματα παρ Πανδάρου ἐ[ξ] Εὐ[]-  
 60 θηνῶν ἀνθεμα εἰς τὸ ἱερόν· αὐτὸς δ' οὐ φάμεν λελαβήκειν οὐθ[ε]ν  
 ποιοῦτον παρ' αὐτοῦ· ἀλλ' αἶ κα ὑγιή νυν ποῆσαι, ἀνθησεῖν οἱ εἰκό-

she was not pregnant? About the birth of the child she had added nothing, although he had asked her whether she needed anything else and said that he would do this too. But since now she had come to him as a suppliant about this, he said that he would manage this for her too. After this she left the Abaton hurriedly and when she was outside the sanctuary gave birth to a daughter.

- 22 (iii) A man who had no strength in any of the fingers of his hand except one came as a suppliant to the god. Contemplating the tablets in the sanctuary he did not believe the cures and gently mocked the inscriptions. When he slept in the sanctuary he saw a dream. It seemed to him that as he was playing knucklebones close by the temple and was about to throw the knucklebone, the god appeared to him, seized his hand and stretched out his fingers. When the god moved away, he seemed to bend his hand and then stretch out his fingers one by one. When he had straightened them all out the god asked him if he still did not believe the inscriptions on the memorials in the sanctuary, and he said that he no longer disbelieved. 'Well, because you once disbelieved things that are not incredible,' he said 'in future let your name be Disbeliever (*Apistos*)'. When day came he departed healthy.
- 33 (iv) Ambrosia from Athens, blind in one eye. She came as a suppliant to the god. As she walked around the temple she laughed at some of the records of healing on the grounds that they were unbelievable and impossible, that lame and blind people should become healthy simply having seen a dream. She went to sleep and saw a dream. The god seemed to her to stand by her and say that he would make her healthy, but that as payment he would require her to dedicate in the sanctuary a silver pig as a memorial of her ignorance. Having said this he cut open her sick eye and poured in some drug. When day came she departed healthy.
- 41 (v) A dumb boy. This boy came to the sanctuary for a voice. When he had made the preliminary sacrifice and performed the accustomed rites, after this the acolyte who carried fire for the god gave orders, looking at the boy's father, to promise to sacrifice in a year in commemoration of healing if he obtained what he had come for. The boy suddenly said 'I promise.' The father, shocked, told him to speak again, and he spoke again. From this time on he was healthy.
- 48 (vi) Pandarus the Thessalian had marks on his forehead. He slept in the sanctuary and saw a dream. The god seemed to bind his marks with a bandage and to order him, when he left the Abaton, to take off the bandage and dedicate it in the temple. When day came he stood up and took off the bandage and saw his forehead free of marks. He dedicated the ribbon in the temple, having on it the marks from his forehead.
- 54 (vii) Echedorus took the scars of Pandarus in addition to those he had. This man took money from Pandarus to make a dedication to the god at Epidaurus on his behalf, but did not pay the money over. As he slept he saw a dream. The god seemed to stand by him and ask him if he had some money from Pandarus from Euthenai for a dedication in the sanctuary. He denied that he had taken any such money from him, but said that if he were to make him healthy he would dedicate

- να γραφάμενος· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὸν θεὸν τὰν τοῦ Πανδάρου ταινίαν περιδῆσαι περὶ τὰ στίγματά οὐ καὶ κέλεσθαι νιν, ἐπεὶ κα ἐξ-  
 ἔλθῃ ἐκ τοῦ ἀβάτου, ἀφελόμενον τὰν ταινίαν ἀπονύφασθαι τὸ  
 65 πρόσωπον ἀπὸ τὰς κράνας καὶ ἐγκατοπτρίξασθαι εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ. ἀ-  
 μέρας δὲ γενομένης ἐξελθὼν ἐκ τοῦ ἀβάτου τὰν ταινίαν ἀφήλετο,  
 τὰ γράμματα οὐκ ἔχουσιν· ἐγκαθιδὼν δὲ εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ ἑώρῃ τὸ αὐτοῦ  
 πρόσωπον ποὶ τοῖς ἰδίοις στίγμασιν καὶ τὰ τοῦ Πανδ(ά)ρου γρά[μ]-  
 ματα λελαβηκός. <sup>v</sup>(viii) Εὐφάνης Ἐπιδαύριος παῖς. οὗτος λιθίων ἐνε[κά]-  
 70 θευδε· ἔδοξε δὴ αὐτῷ ὁ θεὸς ἐπιστὰς εἰπεῖν· “τί μοι δωσεις, αἱ τύ  
 κα ὑγίῃ ποιήσω;” αὐτὸς δὲ φάμεν “δέκ’ ἀστραγάλους.” τὸν δὲ θεὸν γελά-  
 σαντα φάμεν νιν παυσεῖν· ἀμέρας δὲ γενομένης ὑγίης ἐξήλθε.  
 (ix) ἀνὴρ ἀφίκετο ποὶ τὸν θεὸν ἰκέτας ἀτερόπιλλος οὕτως, ὥστε τὰ  
 βλέφαρα μόνον ἔχειν, ἐνείμειν δ’ ἐν αὐτοῖς μηθέν, ἀλλὰ κενεὰ [ῥ]-  
 75 μεν ὅλως. ἐ(γ)έ(λ)ων δὴ τινες τῶν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τὰν εὐνηθίαν αὐτοῦ, τὸ  
 νομίζειν βλεφείσθαι ὅλως μηδεμίαν ὑπαρχάν ἔχοντος ὀπτίλ-  
 λου ἀλλ’ ἢ χώραμ μόνον. ἐγκαθ[εῦδο]ντι οὖν αὐτῷ ὄψις ἐφάνη· ἔδό-  
 κει τὸν θεὸν ἐφῆσαι τι φάρμακον, ἔπε[ι]τα διαγαγόντα τὰ βλέφα-  
 ρα ἐγχείαι εἰς αὐτά· ἀμέρ[ας δὲ γενομένη]ας βλέπων ἀμφοῖν ἐξήλθε.  
 κώθων. <sup>v</sup>(x) σκεοφόρος εἰ[s τὸ] ἱερ[ὸν] ἔρπων, ἐπεὶ ἐγένετο περὶ τὸ δε-  
 80 καστάδιον, κατέπετρε· [ὥς δὲ] ἀνέστα, ἀνῶϊξε τὸν γυλιὸν κα[ὶ] ἐ[π]εσκοό-  
 πει τὰ συντετρημμένα σκ[ε]ύη· ὥς δ’ εἶδε τὸν κώθωνα κατ[αγ]ότα,  
 ἐξ οὗ ὁ δεσπότης εἴθιστο [π]ίνειν, ἐλυπεῖτο καὶ συνετίθει [τὰ] ὀ-  
 στρακα καθιζόμενος. ὁδο[ε]πόρος οὖν τις ἰδὼν αὐτόν· “τί, ὦ ἄθλιε,” [ῥ]-  
 85 φα, “συντίθῃσι τὸν κώθωνα [μά]ταν; τοῦτον γὰρ οὐδέ κα ὁ ἐν Ἐπιδαύ-  
 ρω Ἀσκληπιὸς ὑγίῃ ποιῆσαι δύναίτο.” ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ παῖς συν-  
 θείς τὰ ὀστρακα εἰς τὸν γυλιὸν ἤρπε εἰς τὸ ἱερόν· ἐπεὶ δ’ ἀφίκε-  
 το, ἀνῶϊξε τὸν γυλιὸν καὶ ἐξαιρεῖ ὑγίῃ τὸν κώθωνα γεγενημέ-  
 νον καὶ τῷ δεσπότηι ἡρμάνευσε τὰ πραχθέντα καὶ λεχθέν[ε]ντα· ὡ-  
 85 δὲ ἄκουσ’, ἀνέθηκε τῷ θεῷ τὸν κώθωνα. *vacat*  
 90 (xi) Αἰσχίνης ἐγκεκοιμισμένων ἤδη τῶν ἱκετῶν ἐπὶ δένδρεόν τι ἀμ-  
 βάς ὑπερέκρυπτε εἰς τὸ ἄβατον. καταπετῶν οὖν ἀπὸ τοῦ δένδρεος  
 περὶ σκόλοπας τινας τοὺς ὀπτίλλους ἀμφέπαισε· κακῶς δὲ δια-  
 κείμενος καὶ τυφλὸς γεγενημένος καθικετεύσας τὸν θεὸν ἐνε-  
 κάθευδε καὶ ὑγίης ἐγένετο. *vacat*  
 95 (xii) Εὐνίππος λόγχαν ἔτη ἐφόρησε ἐξ ἐν ταῖ γνάθων· ἐγκοιτασθέντος  
 δ’ αὐτοῦ ἐξελὼν τὰν λόγχαν ὁ θεὸς εἰς τὰς χηράς οἱ ἔδωκε· ἀμέρας  
 δὲ γενομένης ὑγίης ἐξήρπε τὰν λόγχαν ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἔχων.  
 (xiii) ἀνὴρ Ὁρωναῖος δεμελέας, οὗτος ἐγκαθεύδων ἐνύπνιον εἶδε·  
 100 ἔδοξε οἱ τὸν θεὸν τὰ στέρνα μαχαίραι ἀνσχίσσαντα τὰς δεμε-  
 λέας ἐξελεῖν καὶ δόμεν οἱ ἐς τὰς χεῖρας καὶ συνράψαι τὰ στή-  
 θη· ἀμέρας δὲ γενομένης ἐξήλθε τὰ θηρία ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἔχων  
 καὶ ὑγίης ἐγένετο· κατέπτε δ’ αὐτὰ δολωθεῖς ὑπὸ ματρυνῆς ἐγ κυ-  
 κᾶνι ἐμβεβλημένης ἐκπιών.

an inscribed statue. After this the god bound Pandarus' bandage round the scars and ordered him to leave the Abaton, take off the bandage, wash his face in the fountain and look at himself mirrored in the water. When day came he left the Abaton and took off the bandage, which did not have the marks on it. Looking into the water he saw that his own face had received Pandarus' marks in addition to his own scars.

68 (viii) Euphanes, a boy from Epidaurus. This boy slept in the sanctuary suffering from stone. The god appeared to stand beside him and say 'What will you give me if I make you healthy?' And he said 'Ten knucklebones.' The god laughed and said that he would cure him. When day came he departed healthy.

72 (ix) A man came to the god as a suppliant so deficient in one eye that he had only eyelids and there was nothing between them but just a quite empty hole. Some of those in the sanctuary mocked the naivety of the man, that he should think that he would see when he had none of the makings of an eye but only the place. A dream appeared to him as he slept in the sanctuary. It seemed to him that the god prepared some drug and then, pulling the eyelids apart, poured it into them. When day came he departed seeing with both eyes.

79 (x) Cup. A porter, on his way to the sanctuary, fell over when he was ten stades away. When he got up he opened his bag and looked at the broken vessels. When he saw the cup from which his master was accustomed to drink broken he was troubled and sat down and put the sherds together. A traveller who saw him said 'Poor man. Why are you wasting your time putting the cup together? Even Asclepius at Epidaurus could not make it whole'. When he heard this, the slave put the sherds into the bag and went to the sanctuary. When he arrived he opened the bag, took out the cup which had been made whole, and told his master what had been said and done. When he heard this he dedicated the cup to the god.

90 (xi) Aeschines, when the suppliants were already asleep, climbed up a tree and tried to peer into the Abaton. He fell from the tree among some stakes and injured both eyes. In a sorry state and gone blind, he became a suppliant of the god, slept in the sanctuary and became healthy.

95 (xii) Euippos had a spearhead in his jaw for six years. When he slept in the sanctuary the god removed the spear and put it into his hands. When day came he departed healthy with the spear in his hands.

98 (xiii) A man from Torone with leeches. He slept in the sanctuary and saw a dream. It seemed to him that the god cut his chest with a knife, removed the leeches and put them in his hands, and stitched up his breast. When day came he departed with the creatures in his hands and was made healthy. He had swallowed the leeches after being tricked by his step-mother who had dropped them into a cocktail he was drinking.

*vacat*

- (xiv) ἀνὴρ ἐν αἰδοίῳ λίθον· οὗτος ἐνύπνιον εἶδε· ἐδόκει παιδὶ καλῶι  
 105 συγγίεσθαι, ἐξονειρώσων δὲ τὸν λίθον ἐγβάλλει καὶ ἀνελόμε-  
 νος ἐξῆλθε ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἔχων. *vacat*  
 (xv) Ἑρμόδικος Λαμφακηνὸς ἀκρατὴς τοῦ σώματος· τοῦτον ἐγκαθεύ-  
 δοντα ἰάσατο καὶ ἐκελήσατο ἐξελθόντα λίθον ἐνεγκεῖν εἰς τὸ  
 ἱερὸν ὅποσον δύναται μέγιστον· ὁ δὲ τὸν πρὸ τοῦ ἀβάτου κείμε-  
 110 νον ἤνικε. *vacat*  
 (xvi) Νικάνωρ χωλός· τοῦτου καθημένου παῖς τις ὕπαρ τὸν σκίπωνα ἀρ-  
 πάξας ἔφευγε· ὁ δὲ ἀστὰς ἐδίωκε καὶ ἐκ τοῦτου ὑγιὴς ἐγένετο.  
 (xvii) ἀνὴρ δάκτυλον ἰάθη ὑπὸ ὄφιος· οὗτος τὸν τοῦ ποδὸς δάκτυλον ὑ-  
 πὸ τοῦ ἀγρίου ἔλκεος δεινῶς διακείμενος μεθάμερα ὑπὸ τῶν θε-  
 115 ραπόντων ἐξενειχθεὶς ἐπὶ ἐδράματός τινος καθίζε· ὕπνου δέ νιν  
 λαβόντος ἐν τούτῳ δράκων ἐκ τοῦ ἀβάτου ἐξελθὼν τὸν δάκτυλον  
 ἰάσατο τῇ γλώσσῃ καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσας εἰς τὸ ἀβατον ἀνεχώρησε  
 πάλιν· ἐξεγερθεὶς δὲ ὡς ἦς ὑγιὴς, ἔφα ὅψιν ἰδεῖν, δοκεῖν νεανίσ-  
 κον εὐπρεπῇ τὰμ μορφᾷ ἐπὶ τὸν δάκτυλον ἐπιπῆν φάρμακον.  
 120 (xviii) Ἀλκέτας Ἀλικός· οὗτος τυφλὸς ἐὼν ἐνύπνιον εἶδε· ἐδόκει οἱ ὁ θεὸς  
 ποτελθὼν τοῖς δα-  
 κτύλοις διάγειν τὰ ὄμματα καὶ ἰδεῖν τὰ δένδρη πρᾶτον τὰ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ.  
 ἀμέρας δὲ γε-  
 νομένης ὑγιὴς ἐξῆλθε. <sup>v</sup> (xix) Ἡραιεύς Μυτιληναῖος· οὗτος οὐκ εἶχε ἐν τῇ  
 κεφαλᾷ  
 τρίχας, ἐν δὲ τῷ γεγείῳ παμπούλλας· αἰσχυρόμενος δὲ [ὡς] καταγελάμενος  
 ὕπ[ο]  
 τῶν ἄλλων ἐνεκάθευδε· τὸν δὲ ὁ θεὸς χρίσας φαρμάκῳ τὰν κεφαλὰν ἐπόησε  
 125 τρίχας ἔχειν. <sup>v</sup> (xx) Λύσων Ἑρμιονεύς παῖς αἰδῆς· οὗτος ὕπαρ ὑπὸ κυνὸς τῶν  
 κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν θε[ραπ]ευόμενος τοὺς ὀπιλλοὺς ὑγ[ιή]ς ἀπῆλθε.

Asclepius appears as a son of Apollo who is a 'blameless physician' in the *Iliad* and multiple variant stories about him seem to have been current already by the sixth century B.C. But the growth of sanctuaries of Asclepius as centres of healing cults seems to have been a feature of the fifth and fourth centuries. Epidaurus and Cos were the most important of these centres, and it was from Epidaurus that the cult of Asclepius was introduced into Athens in 420/19 (Parker, *Athenian Religion*, 175–85, K. Clinton in Hägg (ed.), *Ancient Greek Cult Practice*, 17–34).

The Sanctuary of Asclepius at Epidaurus lay just below the older sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas some 7 km. inland from the town of Epidaurus itself. During the fourth century the sanctuary was massively developed with the construction of a temple with elaborate sculptural decoration, a theatre, a highly decorated circular building, and the *abaton*, a place in which the sick slept (compare the provision at the Amphiareum at Oropus, 27, and the discussion of incubation in the commentary to that inscription). We are exceptionally well informed about the fourth-century build-

- 104 (xiv) A man with a stone in his penis. He had a dream. He seemed to be having sexual intercourse with a beautiful boy, and having a wet dream he cast out the stone, took it up and departed with the stone in his hands.
- 107 (xv) Hermodicus of Lampsacus, whose body was crippled. The god healed this man as he slept and told him to go out and carry into the sanctuary the biggest stone that he could. He brought the stone lying in front of the Abaton.
- 111 (xvi) Nicanor, a lame man. As this man was sitting some youth in broad daylight snatched his stick and ran away. He stood up, ran after him, and from that time was made healthy.
- 113 (xvii) A man whose toe was healed by a snake. This man was in a terribly bad way from a malignant wound in his toe. During the day he was carried out by the temple servants and sat upon a seat. Sleep took him during which a snake came out from the Abaton and cured his toe with its tongue and then retreated back into the Abaton again. When he woke up and was healthy he said that he had seen a dream in which a handsome young man seemed to put a drug on his toe.
- 120 (xviii) Alcetas of Halieis. This blind man saw a dream. The god seemed to him to come and open his eyes with his fingers and he saw first the trees in the sanctuary. When day came he departed healthy.
- 122 (xix) Heraieus of Mytilene. This man had no hair on his head, but a great deal on his chin. He was ashamed of this because he was mocked by others, and slept in the sanctuary. The god anointed his head with a drug and made him have hair.
- 125 (xx) Lyson of Hermione a blind boy. He during the day had his eyes cured by one of the dogs in the sanctuary and departed healthy.

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ing programme because of the survival of inscribed records: see Burford, *The Greek Temple Builders at Epidauros*.

Individual inscribed memorials of cures are common at healing sanctuaries, and were indeed a feature of the Epidauros sanctuary (see Strabo 374. viii. vi. 15 and ll. 7-9, 23-5, 30-1, 60-1 above), but extensive listing of healing stories at the initiative of the sanctuary itself is a phenomenon restricted to sanctuaries of Asclepius. It is known from Lebena near Gortyn in Crete (*I Cret* I. xvii 8-12), and from the Asclepius sanctuary on Tiber island at Rome, to which Asclepius had been brought in 291 B.C. (*IGUR* 148). The Epidauros records of acts of healing, of which this *stèle*, dated to the 320s on the basis of letter forms, is one of four surviving (*IG* IV<sup>2</sup>. i 121-4), attracted the attention of Pausanias, who writes: '*Stelai* stood inside the enclosure; there used to be more of them but in my time there were six. On these are written the names of men and women cured by Asclepius, along with the sickness which each suffered and how each was healed. They are written in the Dorian dialect' (ii. 27. iii). Later in his account



of the Argolid (II. 36. i) Pausanias mentions the inscriptions again, and in a way that shows that he had read them: he refers to them as the only place he knows in which the deserted city of Halike (= Halieis) is mentioned.

Pausanias was perhaps the ideal visitor, for these texts are unusual in needing to be read. For although the sight of a series of large *stelai* (this one is 1.7 m. high and 0.76 m. wide) recording past acts of healing was no doubt itself an encouragement to the ailing who visited the sanctuary, the records could have full force only if read. They advertise the powers of Asclepius, precondition sick pilgrims to the shrine to expect healing, and explain the background to votive objects in and other features of the sanctuary (107–10 explain the presence of a large rock outside the *abaton*, though the inscription on that rock (IG IV. ii 125) actually post-dates this inscription), giving the impression that remarkable acts of healing lie behind even the humblest votive (compare II. 39, 53, 89).

The accounts are written in a straightforward style which makes for easy reading. But although the prose has little literary merit and incorporates some very poor verses (II. 7–9), the claim that ‘There are no traces of rhetorical art in them; the accounts are artless and popular’ (Kee, 122, following Herzog, 58) is misleading. The ordering of the cures is certainly not random (see also LiDonnici, 24–30), and the accounts do much more than simply record large numbers of individuals healed by the god, although the organizational principles of the collections differ from *stèle* to *stèle*. The stories on the first of the *stelai* seem to be arranged to give the god a personality and suggest a link between faith in Asclepius (though the god is powerful enough to heal doubters, as in iii and iv), moral uprightness in relationship to the god, paying up, and being made well.

The text printed here is from the first of the *stelai* (IG IV<sup>2</sup>. i 122 simply continues with no further heading). After an initial story which offers an extreme case of a common problem (difficulties with a pregnancy), the second act of healing gives a further instance of the same kind, but one which brings out the idea of health being a matter of entering into a relationship with the god which is entirely straightforward on both sides. That then leads to the first of several cases where the person cured is initially sceptical of the power of the god: in this case the act of healing is itself much less striking, but the lesson of the god’s willingness to interact even with those whose credulity is stretched by what they read is timed precisely to dispel the doubts of the increasingly sceptical reader, and the story is confirmed with reference to a separate inscribed monument. Later in the text we might note in particular the punishment of Echedorus—named for the part (see *SEG* xli 299)?—who fails to make the votive offering he has been asked to make (II. 54–68) and of Aeschines who attempts to snoop at the sleeper (II. 90–94). Patterns of sin, sickness, repentance, cure are familiar from other ancient texts also (see A. Chanotis in van der Eijk *et al.*, (edd.), *Ancient Medicine*, ii. 323–44).

It is made very clear throughout the *stelai* that Asclepius expects to be rewarded in some way. Although some stories here stress that the size of the reward is immaterial (i, viii), several stories on the second *stèle* emphasise that healing depends on paying the fees (*iatra*) (in xxii Hermon is re-blinded for not paying), or that even if the healing

is subsequent to the incubation an offering to Asclepius is required (in xxv Sostrata who is healed when being carried home from the sanctuary is enjoined to make an offering there). Payment, and the importance of getting the payment right, seem to have figured particularly prominently in the fragmentary *stelai*.

Clement of Alexandria and Porphyry both report that the link between purity and healing was stressed in an inscription at the entrance to the Epidaurus sanctuary, which read 'The person who enters the fragrant temple must be pure, and purity involves thinking what is holy.' Such a link was also made in the Hippocratic oath, which included the clause 'I will guard my livelihood and my art in a pure and holy way' (see H. von Staden, *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, li 1996, 404–37). Although the god is happy to deal with problems of a sort that would normally pollute, the pollution of birth and death is kept out of the sanctuary (ll. 5, 21) and in most cases the active surgery is restricted to the dreamworld (but one cure on the second *stèle* [xxvii] leaves the floor of the *abaton* dripping in blood) (see further A. Chaniotis in Assmann and Sundermeier (edd.), *Schuld*, 142–79). As with the Hippocratic case histories, so here causes of illness (beyond the obvious, as with the man with the spearpoint in his jaw, 95–7) are rarely indicated, although one wicked stepmother does put in an appearance (102–3).

The record of the acts of healing stresses the range of Asclepius' healing powers: he cures the childless, the dumb, the blind, the bald, the crippled and lame, those infested with lice, leeches, worms, those suffering from sores, growths, abscesses, ulcers, headaches, epilepsy, dropsy. It stresses also the sanctuary's geographical pulling power: men and women come from all over the Peloponnese and from a number of other parts of Greece, some of them not at all close to Epidaurus: Aegina, Argos, Athens, Caphyiae, Ceos, Chios, Cirrha, Cnidus, Epirus, Euthenae (perhaps), Halieis, Heraclaea, Hermione, Lampsacus, Messene, Mytilene, Pellene, Pherae, Sparta, Thasos, Thebes, Thessaly, Torone, and Troezen. More acts of healing of men than of women are recorded (33 to 13). Since women as well as men are found among the doubters it seems unlikely that men figure more prominently because more in need of persuasion. In the case histories in the Hippocratic *Epidemics* men also outnumber women by two to one, and we may be dealing here with a genuine asymmetry in access to health care, either because of the expense involved or because women preferred less public forms of medicine (King, 109).

The Asclepius of these acts of healing is occasionally a wonder-worker who acts unseen (as in the cases of the pregnant women, 1–22, or in repair of the broken cup, 79–89) or through his familiar animals, the snake and the dog (so 113–17, 125–6), but he is more normally a doctor whose healing acts make physical sense. The dreams in the course of which cures are effected (30 out of 46 acts of healing involve dreams) are most commonly dreams of medical intervention, involving drugs or surgery. In doing so they explain how health is restored, even though the surgery is such as would normally kill and the drugs have properties of no known substance. The language in which the maladies and the acts of healing are described is not the language of the Hippocratic treatises: no technical knowledge of physiology in terms of humoral balance is required to understand what happens. In general there is no apparent

conflict between Asclepius and the doctors: as in xvii, where the boy dreams of being treated with a drug when in fact he is licked by Asclepius' snake, visiting a doctor and sleeping in a temple appear as complementary rather than alternative ways of regaining health. But one later cure does have the god appear to stop an episode of cauterization and insist on incubation instead (*stèle* iii, ll. 30–3, for which see *SEG* xxii 280).

Scholars have been much exercised over the truth of these accounts. Some have dismissed them as fraudulent products of the temple authorities, and others have sought to rationalize the events described in them, either in general—seeing the sanctuary of Asclepius as a sort of health spa or the dreams as a product of hypnosis—or in particular, e.g. explaining long pregnancies in terms of amenorrhoea. As King (104–5) points out, such approaches de-sacralize medicine and convert it into something else. Arguably, what these healing stories offer is not just illustrations of the power of the god, some to be believed and ascribed to 'faith-healing' and others incredible because it was 'inevitable that the god was credited with fantastic cures' (Dillon, 257), but also the means to health, because they enabled individuals to come to terms with their condition in terms not of the reciprocity of the wet and the dry but of a reciprocal relationship with the gods in which they could help themselves.

Linguistically the inscription is in the Argolic version of the Doric dialect, but with some Attic influence. Both *ai* and *ei* are used to introduce conditions (on one occasion [60] *ai* is used with the optative; contrast 69–70), *χηρός* appears along with *χειρός*, and *ἀφήλετο* is used (52) not *ἀφείλετο*. One hybrid form is *έώρη* (66) with an Attic beginning and a Doric ending. The use of *μάντοι* for *μέντοι* is an Epidaurian peculiarity. Local usage is also found in *έρπω* (and compounds) for 'go', *όπι(λ)ος* for *όφθαλμός*, and *δεμελείς* ('leeches'). More general Argolic features include the apocope of *ανά* and *παρά*, and the use of *τν* as the accusative singular as well as the nominative (69).

# ATHENIAN ARCHONS, 403/2–323/2

All the archons for this period are recorded by D.S. at the beginning of his account of the year in question; for further references see Develin.

403/2	Euclides	362/1	Molon
402/1	Micon	361/0	Nicophemus
401/0	Xenaenetus	360/59	Callimedes
400/399	Laches	359/8	Eucharistius
399/8	Aristocrates	358/7	Cephisodotus
398/7	Euthycles	357/6	Agathocles
397/6	Suniades	356/5	Elpines
396/5	Phormio	355/4	Callistratus
395/4	Diophantus	354/3	Diotimus
394/3	Eubulides	353/2	Thudemus
393/2	Demostratus	352/1	Aristodemus
392/1	Philocles	351/0	Theellus
391/0	Nicoteles	350/49	Apollodorus
390/89	Demostratus	349/8	Callimachus
389/8	Antipatrus	348/7	Theophilus
388/7	Pyrgion	347/6	Themistocles
387/6	Theodotus	346/5	Archias
386/5	Mystichides	345/4	Eubulus
385/4	Dexitheus	344/3	Lyciscus
384/3	Diitrephes	343/2	Pythodotus
383/2	Phanostratus	342/1	Sosigenes
382/1	Euandrus	341/0	Nicomachus
381/0	Demophilus	340/39	Theophrastus
380/79	Pytheas	339/8	Lysimachides
379/8	Nicon	338/7	Chaerondas
378/7	Nausinicus	337/6	Phrynichus
377/6	Calleas	336/5	Pythodelus
376/5	Charisandrus	335/4	Euaenetus
375/4	Hippodamas	334/3	Ctesicles
374/3	Socratides	333/2	Nicocrates
373/2	Asteius	332/1	Nicetes
372/1	Alcisthenes	331/0	Aristophanes
371/0	Phrasiclides	330/29	Aristophon
370/69	Dysnicetus	329/8	Cephisophon
369/8	Lysistratus	328/7	Euthycritus
368/7	Nausigenes	327/6	Hegemon
367/6	Polyzelus	326/5	Chremes
366/5	Cephisodorus	325/4	Anticles
365/4	Chion	324/3	Hegesias
364/3	Timocrates	323/2	Cephisodorus
363/2	Chariclides		

# CONCORDANCE OF STANDARD EDITIONS

Under *IG* the reference is to vol. 11<sup>2</sup> except where otherwise stated, and where a text appears both in 11<sup>2</sup> and in another volume we give the reference to 11<sup>2</sup> only. Under 'other' we have been highly selective, and it should not be assumed, for instance, that where no reference to *SEG* is given no text has been published in *SEG*. With those exceptions, we have aimed at completeness for the editions which we cite.

R&O	<i>IG</i>	<i>SIG</i> <sup>3</sup> (or <i>OGIS</i> )	Tod	other	Harding (or Fornara)
<b>1</b>				Buck, 52; <i>C. Delphes</i> i 9	
<b>2</b>	i	117	97		5
<b>3</b>	v. i 1564	119a	99	<i>I. Délos</i> 87	
<b>4</b>	10, 2403	120	100	Osborne, <i>Naturalization</i> , D 6	3
<b>5</b>	1237	921			
<b>6</b>	14	122	101	<i>Sot.</i> 223; <i>Agora</i> , xvi 34	14. A
<b>7</b>	5222, 6217	130-1	104-5		19. B, C
<b>8</b>		126	106	<i>IK Er. u. Kl.</i> 6	12. D
<b>9</b>	1656-7	124-5	107		
<b>10</b>	18	128	108		20
<b>11</b>	20		109	<i>Hesp.</i> xlviii 1979, 180-93	
<b>12</b>		135	111	<i>Sot.</i> 231	21
<b>13</b>				<i>CEG</i> 888-9; <i>F. Xanthos</i> , ix 149-87	
<b>14</b>				<i>SEG</i> xxxvii 340	
<b>15</b>				<i>SEG</i> xxxv 389, xl 392	
<b>16</b>		134	113	<i>I. Priene</i> 458; <i>Milet</i> , i. ii 9	24
<b>17</b>				<i>SEG</i> xxvi 1282	28
<b>18</b>	28	136	114	<i>IK Er. u. Kl.</i> 502	26
<b>19</b>	29	137	116		
<b>20</b>	34-5	142	118	<i>Sot.</i> 248	31
<b>21</b>	141	185	139		40
<b>22</b>	43	147	123		35
<b>23</b>	42	149	122	<i>Sot.</i> 258	37
<b>24</b>	96	150	126	<i>Sot.</i> 262	41
<b>25</b>				<i>SEG</i> xxvi 72	45
<b>26</b>				<i>Hesp.</i> Supp. xxix; <i>SEG</i> xlviii 96	
<b>27</b>	vii 235	1004		Buck, 14; <i>LSG</i> 69	
<b>28</b>	1635		125	<i>I. Délos</i> 98	
<b>29</b>				Accame, <i>Leg.</i> , 229-44; <i>SEG</i> xxxi 67	
<b>30</b>	vii 2462		130	<i>CEG</i> 632	
<b>31</b>	107	164	131		53
<b>32</b>	v. ii 1	183	132		51

R&O	IG	SIG <sup>3</sup> (or <i>OGIS</i> )	Tod	other	Harding (or Fornara)
33	103	159	133		
34	105, 523	163	136	<i>Svt.</i> 280	52
35			137	<i>Agora</i> , xvi 48	54
36				<i>Agora</i> , xix P 5	
37				<i>Agora</i> , xix L 4a	
38	110	174	143		
39	111	173	142	<i>Svt.</i> 289	55
40	1128		162		
41	112	181	144	<i>Svt.</i> 290	56
42	IV 556	182	145	<i>Svt.</i> 292	57
43	VII 2407	179			48
44	116	184	147	<i>Svt.</i> 293	59
45		239	140	<i>C. Delphes</i> ii 4	60
46				<i>AD</i> xi 1927-8, 40-1. 4	
47	126	195	151	<i>Svt.</i> 303	64
48	124	190	153	<i>Svt.</i> 304	65
49		194	150	Buck, 12	63
50			158	<i>Svt.</i> 308	67
51	xii. vii 5	193	152		68
52	123	192	156		69
53	127	196	157	<i>Svt.</i> 309	70
54		167	138	<i>IK Mylasa</i> 1-3	
55				<i>Labraunda</i> , iii. ii 40	
56		168	155	Buck, 5; <i>IK Er. u. Kl.</i> 8	
57	vii 2418	201	160	Buck, 40	74
58	204	789			78
59	xii. vii 62	963			
60	v. ii 6			Buck, 19	
61	xii Supp. 303			<i>LSS</i> 48	
62		1025-7		Buck, 108; <i>LSCG</i> 151	
63	1183				
64	212	206	167		82
65		213, 214, 216	171	<i>CIRB</i> 9, 10, 972, 1014, 1015; 1015 = <i>SEG</i> xlv 1016	
66		244	169	<i>C. Delphes</i> ii 34	84
67		230	172. A	<i>C. Delphes</i> ii 36	
68		229	165	<i>Svt.</i> 322; <i>IK Erythrai und Klazomenai</i> 9; <i>IK Adramytteion</i> 45	79
69	125	191	154		66
70	226	228	173		
71	228	255	174		94
72	233	256	175		97
73				<i>LSCG</i> 92	
74				<i>SEG</i> xi 126a; <i>CEG</i> 809	

R&O	IG	SIG <sup>s</sup> (or OGIS)	Tod	other	Harding (or Fornara)
75	425 <sup>0-1</sup>	258	164		
76	236	260	177	<i>Svt.</i> 403. I	99
77	237	259	178	Schwenk, 1	100
78				<i>F. Xanthos</i> vi; <i>SEG</i> xxviii 942	
79				<i>SEG</i> xii 87; Schwenk, 6; <i>Agora</i> , xvi 73	101
80		275	187	<i>F. Delphes</i> iii. i 400	104
81	334	271		Schwenk, 17; <i>Agora</i> , xvi 75	
82	xii. iii 1259	261	179	Buck, 86	
83	xii. ii 526	OGIS 8	191		112
84. A		283	192		107
84. B				<i>SEG</i> xxii 506	
85. A				<i>SEG</i> xxxvi 750	
85. B	xii. ii 6	OGIS 2	201	Buck, 26; <i>SEG</i> xxxvi 752	113
86. A		277	184	<i>I. Priene</i> 156	105
86. B		OGIS 1	185	<i>I. Priene</i> 1	106
87	987			<i>LSCG</i> 118	
88			204		109; Fornara, 57
89	1156	957			108
90. A		307	190	<i>IK Iasos</i> 30	114
90. B	xii. vi 17	312		<i>IK Iasos</i> T 50	127
91	337	280	189	Schwenk, 27	111
92				<i>SEG</i> xviii 222; <i>CEG</i> 877	
93		286	195	<i>Milet</i> , i. iii 136; <i>Svt.</i> 408	
94	351, 624	288	198	Schwenk, 48	118
95	360	304		Schwenk, 68	
96			196	<i>SEG</i> ix 2	116
97				<i>SEG</i> ix 72	
98	356		199	Schwenk, 58	119
99				<i>IK Iasos</i> 20; <i>SEG</i> xl 959	
100	1629	305	200		121
101	v. ii pp. xxxvi– xxxvii	306	202	Buck, 22	122
102	iv <sup>2</sup> . i 121	1168		Buck, 90	

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