

rich land of Tarentum / to dwell in and to become ()e to the Iapygians." Thus the Parthenai went with (their leader) Phanthos . . . They named the city Taras after a certain hero. [3] Ephorus speaks as follows about its foundation. The Lacedaemonians made war against the Messenians since they had slain King Telekios when he went to Messenia to make a sacrifice. They swore that they would not return home before they destroyed Messenia or were themselves all slain. . . . (In the tenth year, in response to the complaints of those Lacedaemonian women who had been left as if widows and who feared for the manpower of their country, the strongest and youngest men—who therefore had no part in the oath because they subsequently had joined the ranks—were sent back to Sparta.) They commanded all of them to have intercourse with all the virgins, believing that they would be the more fruitful. Because of this the children were named Parthenai (= "the sons of the virgins"). . . . But when (the men of the army) returned home (after conquering Messenia), they did not give the Parthenai equal honor with the rest because they were illegitimate. The Parthenai joined with the helots . . . (but their plot was discovered and) they were persuaded by their fathers to found a colony. If they secured a satisfactory site they were to stay there; if not, they were to return and receive the fifth part of Messenia. They were sent out and came upon the Achaeans, who were fighting with the barbarians. Sharing in the danger they founded Tarentum.

B. Athenaeus 6. 101 p. 271 CD

As to the so-called Epeunaktai² among the Lacedaemonians (for these too are slaves), Theopompus clearly expounds the matter in Book XXXII of his *Histories*, speaking as follows: "After many Lacedaemonians had died in the Messenian War, those who remained were fearful that their lack of numbers would become evident to their enemies. They put some of the helots on each mattress of those who had died. Later they made them citizens but called them Epeunakti because they had been set on the mattresses of the dead."³

NOTES

1. Eusebius dates the colony's foundation to 706 B.C.
2. Hesychius s.v. "Epeunaktai": "bedfellows."
3. Diod. 8. 21 identifies Epeunaktai and Parthenai.

No. 10

Orthagoras, Tyrant of Sicyon. About 650 B.C.

Oxyrhynchus Papyri XI 1365 (FGH¹ 105 F 2). Cf. Aristotle, *Politics* 5. 12 1315b; Diodorus 8. 24; Plutarch, *Moralia* 553 AB. This extract is a papyrus fragment. Ephorus has been suggested as its author.

A. Andrew¹ *ie Greek Tyrants* (London, 1956), p. 57; M. White, *Phoenix* 12 (1958), 2-14; D. M. Leahy, *Historia* 17 (1968), 3 n. 5; Bury-Meiggs, p. 109. [being] a man of the people *and* | of low birth, | he disregarded | the oracle. The || other sacrifices which | were enjoined upon him by | Delphi he rendered | to the gods, but the tyranny which was falled to come about he *disregarded*. To An[d]r[e]as was born | a son, whom he raised and gave the name || Orthagoras. Until *adulthood* he was all | the time brought up | and educated | just as was suitable for the son of a colok and a common | citizen. When his childhood was ended, || he became | one of the patrols | *guarding* the | land, and when war broke out between the Sicilylians and the Pelleleans, he was at all times *active* and accomplished. | When a foray was made || by the Pelleleans | and they *attacked unexpectedly*, he went to *meet* them | and killed | some of the enemy [and] || was by far the *most distinguished* | of the patrol. | In return for this the Sicilylians appointed him patrol [commander] || by election. [Immediately] | on having won [this] | honor [he conquered] | the enemy [even] | more impressively, [so that || many] of the citizens | were won over *and became attached* to him. As [time] | passed [they elected] him Polemarch, || primarily *because* of his bravery [and] | good fortune | in war, and [also] (because) the majority [of the] || citizens were well disposed [to] *him. Waging war* [during his tenure] | of that office [with valor] | and keeping the territory || which was theirs *secure* and causing [much] *damage* to the enemy | to be done, [the] | People of the [Sicyo]- || nians once again [. . .]

No. 11

Law of the City of Deros (Crete). Block of schist, lines 1, 3, 4, right to left, line 2, left to right, Deros. 650-600 B.C.: probably the earliest surviving Greek law.

Jeffery, *LSAG*, p. 311, No. 1a and Plate 59; *GHI*, * No. 2, pp. 2 f.

V. Ehrenberg, *CQ* 37 (1943), 14-18; R. F. Willetts, *Aristocratic Society in Ancient Crete* (London, 1955), pp. 106, 167-69; idem, *Ancient Crete* (London, 1965), pp. 68 f.

May God be kind (?).¹ This has been decided by the city: When a man has been Kosmos,² for ten years that same man shall not be Kosmos. If he should become Kosmos, whatever judgments he gives, he himself shall owe double, and he shall be useless³ as long as he lives, and what he does as Kosmos shall be as nothing. ^{pp} | The swearers (to this shall be) the Kosmos, the Demioi and the Twenty of the city.⁴ ^{pp}

The Foundation of Cyrene. Marble stele, nonstoichedon, Doric Greek, Cyrene. Late seventh century B.C. This inscription actually dates from the fourth century but embodies in lines 23-40 what is allegedly the original decree passed by the Therans, though its authenticity is in question.

GHI, * No. 5, pp. 5-9; L. H. Jeffery, *Historia* 10 (1961), 139-47; J. H. Oliver, *GRBS* 7 (1966), 25-29.

Graham, *Colony and Mother City*, pp. 27, 40, 224-26; Bury-Meiggs, pp. 85 f.

God. Good Fortune. | Darnis son of Bathykles made the motion. As to what is said by the Therans, | Kleudamas son of Euthykles,¹ in order that the city may prosper and the Pelopie of Cyrene enjoy good fortune, the Therans shall be given the citizenship according to that ancestral custom which our forefathers established, both those who *founded* Cyrene from Thera and those at Thera who *remained*—just as Apollo granted Battos and the Therans who founded Cyrene good fortune if they abided by the | sworn agreement² which our ancestors concluded with them when || they sent out the colony according to the command of Apollo *Archagetes*.³ With good fortune. It has been resolved by the People | that the Therans shall continue to enjoy equal citizenship in Cyrene in the same way (as of old). There shall be sworn by all Therans who are domiciled in Cyrene the same oath which the others oncle swore, and they shall be assigned to a tribe and a phratry and nine Hetaireiai.⁴ This decree shall be written on a stele | of marble and placed in the ancestral shrine of | Apollo Pythios; and that sworn agreements⁵ also shall be written down on the stele | which was made by the colonists when they sailed to Libya *will* Battos from Thera to Cyrene. As to the expenditure necessary for the *stone* or for the engraving, let the Superintendents of the Accounts *provide* it from Apollo's revenues. *wp* | The sworn agreement of the settlers. ⁶ | Resolved by the Assembly. Since Apollo spontaneously told Blat|litos and the Therans to *colonize* Cyrene, it has been decided by the Therans to send Battos off to *Libya*, as Archagetes | and as King, with the Therans to sail *as his Companions*. On equal and fair terms shall they sail *according to family* (?), with one son to be conscripted [c. 21 -] 7 adults and from the [ollier] Therans those who are free-born [6-] 8 shall sail. If they (the colonists) establish the settlement, *kinsmen* who sail | later to *Libya* shall be entitled to citizenship and offices¹ and shall be allotted portions of the land which has no owner. But if they do not successfully establish the settlement and the *Therans* are incapable of giving it assistance, and they are pressed by hardship for five years, from that land shall they depart, | without fear, to Thera, to their own property, and they shall be citizens. Any man who, if the city sends him, refuses to sail, will be liable to the death-penalty and his property shall be confiscated. The man harboring him or concealing him, whether he be a father (aiding his) son or a brother his brother, is to suffer the same penalty as the man who refuses to sail. On these conditions a sworn agreement was made by those who stayed there and by those who sailed to found the colony, and they invoked curses against those transgressors who would not abide | it—whether they were

45 those settling in Libya or those who remained. They made waxen images and burnt them, calling down (the following) curse, everyone having assembled together, men, women, boys, girls: "The person who does not abide by this | sworn agreement but transgresses it shall melt away and dissolve like the images—himself, his descendants and his property, but those who abide by the sworn agreement—those | sailing to Libya and [those] staying in Thera—shall have an abundance of good things, both themselves [and] their descendants.

NOTES

1. I suspect a lacuna, though an apparent parallel for the asyndeton has been provided by F. Chamoux, *Cyrene sous la monarchie des Battides* (Paris, 1953), p. 109 n. 1 (from an unpublished Cyrenaic inscription).

2. Or "original agreement"? Meiggs-Lewis, p. 7.

3. This reading, like many others which are here italicized, derives from Oliverio, *RHIC* 56 (1928), 224 f., who read letters not seen by others, which "should probably rank higher than mere restorations" (GHI, p. 7).—Archagetes: "Founder"; the title of Apollo, it was also the name for the founder of a new cult.

4. A smaller political grouping than the phratry. Compare "Companions" (Hetairoi) in line 27, and see Graham, *JHS* 80 (1960), 108 f.

5. See note 2.

6. This is set out as a heading.

7. "[from each household, and those shall sail] who are adults"; Wilhelm; "[from the perioeci (or townsmen?), one hundred are to sail] who are adults"; Jeffery; "[from each household, one hundred in number,] adults"; Oliver. New readings by Fraser (in GHI) support none of these.

8. "[whoever wished]"; Graham and others; "[one hundred in number]"; Jeffery.

No. 19

Law from Chios. Reddish trachyte stele inscribed vertically on three sides, horizontally on the back. The writing runs from left to right and right to left in alternate lines (boustrophedon). Ionic alphabet, Chios. 600-550 B.C.

L. H. Jeffery, *BSA* 51 (1956), 157-67; Wade-Gery, *Essays*, pp. 198 f.; Hignett, *Athenian Constitution*, p. 95; J. H. Oliver, *AJP* 80 (1959), 296-301; GHI, * No. 8, pp. 14-17; M. Ostwald, *Nomos and the Beginnings of the Athenian Democracy* (Oxford, 1969), pp. 161-63; Bury-Meiggs, p. 124.

The Back of the Stele (C)

Let him appeal to | the Boule of the Pelopie.² On the third day | after the Hebdomada³ | the | Boule shall assemble which is the People's, (which) | can inflict fines, and (wa |) consists of fifty men from a tribe. The other | business shall

15 be transacted which concerns the People and especially the issue of elvery (case) of appeal which *arizel's* in every month || in [...]

NOTES

1. The other faces of the stele are poorly preserved and present extremely obscure texts. The front face (A) mentions as two officials the demarch and king (basileus). Allusion to the appeal of a judgment occurs on the right side (B), while on the left (D) there is a reference to someone's obligation to take an oath in the month of Artemesion.

2. This is the earliest secure reference to a Council of the People. Its power to levy fines and, apparently, to judge appeals attests the growth of the popular element within the state at a relatively early period. The Council presumably coexisted with an aristocratic council, and some have argued that it provides reason to accept the authenticity of the much-debated Solonian Council of 400 (Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* 8. 4; Plutarch, *Solon* 19. 1).

3. A festival to Apollo on the seventh day of every month.

No. 20

Gravestone of Phanodikos of Prokonnesos. Marble stele, writing from left to right and right to left in alternate lines, Sigelion. The first inscription on the stone (A) is in the Ionic dialect of Prokonnesos (an island in the Propontis); the second (B) is written in Attic. 1 575-50 B.C.

SIG. * No. 2, pp. 2 f.; SEG IV, No. 667.

M. Guarducci, *Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni italiane in Oriente* 3-5 (1941-43), 135 ff.; Graham, *Colony and Mother City*, pp. 192 f.; LSAG, pp. 72, 366 f., with facsimile on Plate 71. 43-44.

(A)

5 Of Phanodikos | am I (the likeness),² son of Hermokrates, of | Prokonnesos. A
10 mixing bowl and a stand (for it) and a strainer for the Pitytaneion || did he give
to the Sykeleans.³

(B)

5 Of Phanodikos am I (the likeness), the son of Hlermokrates, of Prokonnesos, as
10 well (as the above).⁴ A mixing bowl | and a stand and a strainer for the Pity-
taneion I gave as a memorial to the Sigelians. If harm befalls (me), take care of
me, O | Sigelians. I was made by Haisopos and | his brothers.

24

NOTES

1. The doublet has been explained as an attempt to conciliate the Athenians after they gained Sigelion, as reflecting a second stage in the career of Phanodikos (when he became an exile in Sigelion), and as a result of the first inscription having become illegible (1).

2. An image of the man was engraved on the stone.

3. I.e., Sigelians. Spelling is erratic; note "Prokonnesos," B 2 f.

4. The words "as well" can also be taken with what follows, i.e., "I too (gave) a mixing bowl . . ."

No. 21

Epitaph of the Corinthians Who Died at Salamis. Marble block, archaic Corinthian, Salamis. About 600 or 480 B.C.

IG1, 2 927; R. Carpenter, *AJA* 67 (1963), 209 (c. 600); Hignett, *Xerxes' Invasion*, pp. 411-14; A. L. Boegehold, *GRBS* 6 (1965), 179-86 (480); *GHI*,* No. 24, pp. 52 f. (480). Cf. Herodotus 8. 94; Plutarch, *Moralia* 870 e.

[O friend! In the well watered] city of Corinth we once lived. /1 [But now we lie in Aia] s' [island of Salamis. / Here we captured Phoenician ships and Persian, / and we saved holy Greece from the Medes.] 2

NOTES

1. Each verse occupies one line of the inscription.

2. The epigram is restored from Plut., *Mor.* 870 e.

No. 22

The Athenian Naukraria. 594/3-508/7 B.C.

A: Photius, *Lexicon* s.v. "Naukraria" (Cleidemus, *FGHir* 323 F 8);

B: Pollux, *Onomasticon* 8. 108; C: Bekker, *Anecdota* I 283. 20 f. s.v.

"Naukraria." Cf. Herodotus 5. 71 (with Thucydides 1. 126. 5); Aristotle, *Athenaion Politeia* 8. 3, 21. 5.

Hignett, *Athenian Constitution*, pp. 67-74; B. Jordan, *CSCA* 3 (1970), 153-75, especially 158-60.

A. Photius, *Lexicon* s.v. "Naukraria"

In earlier times when they used the words naukraria and naukaros, the naukraria was like a symmory¹ and a deme, and the naukaros was like the demarch. Solon