

Athenian decree proposed by Cleinias about Delian
League tribute, 425/4 or slightly later (?)

Four fragments of a marble *stèle*, found on the Athenian acropolis, three now in the Epigraphical Museum and one (3 = c, the end of the decree) in the British Museum. Phot. *ATL* i, 121–2 figs. 175–7 (frs. 1–3 = a–c), *ATL* ii, pl. II (frs. 4 & 1 = d & a; these do not quite meet, but preserve the top and both sides); Lines 1–14 are shorter than the remainder, and A. M. Woodward saw traces of a painting in the vacant space to the right (*JHS* lxxiii 1938, 108–9).

Developed Attic writing apart from curved *upsilon*, regularly using h (and see *alphabetai* for 36), using o for xo in 16; Lines 2–14 *stichada* 23; 15 sqq. *stichada* 40.

IG 1² 66; Meritt, *Documents on Athenian Tribute*, 43–60; *ATL* i, D7; B. H. Hill & B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* xlii (1944) 1–15 (adding fr. 4 = c); *ATL* ii, D7; M&L 46; *IG* 1² 34 (Meritt & McGregor); our text is based, by permission, on a re-editing by Dr A. P. Mathaiou (cf. his 'Studies in Attic Inscriptions and the History of the Fifth Century BC', 69–88, and his *The Athenian Empire on Stone Revisted*, 24–8). Trans. Fornara 98; Dillon & Garland 13, 17. See also H. B. Mattingly, *Historia* x 1961, 150–8 = his *AER* 8–16; Mattingly, *BSA* lxxv 1970, 129–33 = his *AER* 281–7; Fornara & Samons, *Athens from Cleisthenes to Pericles*, 179–81.

θεοί.

- ἔδοχον τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τοῖι δέ-
μοι. Οἰνεὶς ἐπιρῆτρᾶνευε Σηλο-
δίας ἐγρομᾶται[υε—⁶—]ον
5 ἐπιστάτε. Κλενί[ας εἶπε τῆμυ β-
ολᾶν καὶ τὸς ἀρχ[οντας ἐν] τῆσ-
ι πόλει καὶ τὸς ἐπισκό[λων] ἐ-
πιμελέσθαι ἡσί[ως] ἀν χοῖ[νων] ἀέ-
γεται ἡσ φόρος κ[ατὰ τὸ] ἔ[τος] ἡ-
10 ἕκαστον καὶ ἀπ[ά]γεται Ἰθέρια-
ξε χούμβολα δὲ π[ρο]στάθ[η]ται π-
ρος τὰς πόλεις ἡσί[ως] αἴμ[η] μὲ ἔχο-
ῦσι ἀδικεῖν τοῖς ἀπ[ά]γοισι τὸμ φ-
όρον γράφουσα αἰ[εὶ] ἡε[ί] πόλις ἐξ
15 γραμμάτειον τὸμ φ[ό]ρον ἡόντινα ἀποπέμψεται, σεμ-
ναμένε τοῖσι συμβ[ού]λοισι ἀποπεμμένο Ἀθένάζε· τὸς δὲ ἀ-

Gods.

- 2 Resolved by the council and the people. Oeneis was the *prytany*; Spudias was the secretary;—on was the chairman. Cleinias proposed:
5 The council and the officials in the cities and the *episkopoi* ('inspectors') shall take care that the tribute is collected each year and brought to Athens.
11 Tokens shall be made for the cities so that it shall not be possible for those bringing the tribute to Athens to do wrong. The city shall write on a tablet the tribute which it is sending, and shall seal it with the token and send it to Athens; those

- πάγοντας ἀποδοῖναι] τὸ γραμματεῖον ἐν εἴ βολῆι ἀ-
 ναγνῶναι ἠστραμῆ]ρ τὸν φόρον ἀποδοῖσαι. ἡοι δὲ πρ-
 οῦτάνες μετὰ Διο[νύ]σια ἐκκλησίαν ποιεσάντων τοῖ-
 ς ἡελλανοταμίαι[οι ἀ]μποδείχουσι Ἀθυναίους τὸμ πόλ-
 εον τὰς ἀποδόσας[τὸμ] φόρο[ν] ἐντελῆ και τὰς ἐλλυπό-
 σας χορίς, ἡόσαι [ἀν —⁹ — ἄθ]εμιαός δὲ ἡελομῆ-
 νος ἀνδρας τέτρ[α]ρας ἀποστελέων ἐς] τὰς πόλεις ἀντ-
 ἠγαφοποιημένος τ[ὸ]μ φόρον τὸν ἀποδοθέντα και] ἀπατ-
 25 τέσοντας τὸμ μῆ [ἀποδοθέντα· τὸν δὲ ἡαιρεθέντ]ον τ-
 ὀ μὲν δύο πλῆεν ἐπ[ὶ] Ἴωνίαν και Καρίαν και Νέσοσ ἐπ[ὶ] τ-
 ρίερος ταχείας, [τὸ δὲ ἡετέρο ἐπ[ὶ] ἡελλέσπονον και]-
 ἰ ἐπ[ὶ] Θράκιες, εἰ[ς] —²⁵ — τῆμ] βο]-
 βολῆν και ἐς τὸ[ν] δέμων —²⁰ — βο]-
 30 λῆσθεθα περὶ τ[ὸ]ύτον χουνεχός ἡέος ἀν διαπραχθ[ῆ]-
 εἰ. ἐὲν δὲ τις Ἀθ[ε]ναίος ἔ χουμμάχος ἀδικεῖ περὶ τὸ]-
 ν φόρον ἡὸν δεῖ [τὰς πόλεις γράφουσας ἐς γραμματεῖ]-
 ον τὸς ἀνάγο[ν]ιν ἀποτέμην Ἀθεναῖς. —⁹ — γ]-
 35 ράφθεθα πρὸς [τὸς πρῶτῶνες το . β]λοδομω[ν] . Ἀθενα]-
 ἰόν και τὸν χε[ρ]υμμάχων ἡοι δὲ πρῶτ[ῶ]νες ἐσαγ[όν]ων
 ἐς τῆμ βολῆν [—¹⁴ —]ς ἀγ γράφουσι ἰ ἔ ευθ[ῆ]-
 νῆσθο δόρο[ν] μωρίασι δροαχμ[ῆ]σι ἡέκαστος [ἡὸ δ' ἀν]
 καταγῶι ἡε βολῆ, —⁷ — αὐτ[ῶ]ι κηρία ἔστο [. . . ἐκ]-
 40 φερέτο ἐς τ[—¹³ —]το[.] . ἰαν δὲ δόχουσι [ἀδικεῖ]-
 ν, γγώμιασ πολεσθῶν ἡοι πρῶτ[ῶ]νες ἡὸ τι ἂν δοκ[εῖ] αὐ]-
 ὲμ παθῆν ἔ ἀπρεταῖα. και εἰ[άν] τις περὶ τὸν ἀπα[γο]νῆ]-
 ν τῆς βοός ἔ [τῆς πανηονιά]ς ἀδικεῖ, τὰς γραφῆ[ς] ἔνα]-
 1 και αὐτὸ κ[α]ὶ τὸν ζεμίαν κ[α]τὰ ταῦτά. τὸς δὲ [ἡελλαν]-
 ο[τ]αμίας ἀναγράφουσας εἰς πινάκιον λα[ε]λλεκομην]-
 45 [ον —²⁰ —]ν τὸ φόρο και [—⁸ —]
 [—²³ —] ἰ ἀπο[ν] —¹³ —]

Except where otherwise stated, restorations are those of Hill & Merritt.

[ὄν ἐλλυποταν R. G. Thomas *op. M&L*, [ἡμ με ἀποδοῖναι (?) Mathaiou (alternative rejected by Hill & Merritt), 23-7 Mathaiou 2010, 23-6; 23 ἀποτέμην ἐπ[ὶ] Hill & Merritt; 24 τὸν ἀποδοθέντα A. Crilim

op. M&L.: τῶν ἀποδοσῶν Hill & Merritt; 25-7 πρὸς τὸν ἐλλυποταν, τ[ὸ] μὲν δύο πλῆεν ἐπ[ὶ] τὰς ἐπ[ὶ] Νέσοσ και ἐπ[ὶ] Ἴωνίας ἐπ[ὶ] Hill & Merritt, [τὸ δὲ δύο ἐπ[ὶ] τὰς ἐπ[ὶ] Ἐλλεσπόνω Hill & Merritt. 28 εἰσάγειν δὲ ταῦτα

τὸς πρῶτῶνες ἐς τῆμ] Hill & Merritt, ἐξουνεχῶν δὲ τῶνα ἐπ[ὶ] τὰς πόλεις (?) Mathaiou. 29 εὐθὺς μετὰ

Διονύσια και βο]- Hill & Merritt, either that or αὐτῶνα μῆλα· τὸν δὲ δέμων βο]- (?) Mathaiou. 33-4 ἔστο

αὐτὸν γ[ὶ] [ράφθεθα Hill & Merritt, και τὸύτο γ[ὶ] [ράφθεθα (?) Mathaiou. 34 τὸι βλοδομῶσι Hill

& Merritt, τὸν βλοδομῶν (?) Mathaiou. 36 [τῆν γραφῆν ἡέν τ[ῆς] Hill & Merritt, [ἔντε or τῶν

ἔνεσθ ἀφ[ε]ρ εἰς (?) Mathaiou, but elsewhere this text uses ἡ: δέκα ἡερεθῶν? 37 μωρίασι Hill & Merritt

- bringing the tribute shall hand over the tablet in
 the council to be read when they hand over the
 tribute. After the Dionysia the *prytanis* shall hold
 an assembly for the *hellenotamiai* to reveal to the
 Athenians those of the cities which have handed
 over the tribute complete and, separately, those
 which have fallen short, which have not handed
 it over (?).
- 22 The Athenians shall elect four men and send
 them to the cities, to give receipts for the tribute
 which has been handed over and to demand
 what has not been handed over: of those elected,
 two shall sail to Ionia, Caria and the Islands in a
 fast trireme, and the others to the Hellespont and
 towards Thrace (?).
- 28 This shall be introduced obligatorily (?) to the
 council and the people immediately (?); and the
 people shall deliberate about this continuously
 until it is completed.
- 31 If any Athenian or ally does wrong concerning
 the tribute which the cities must write on a tablet
 for those bringing it and send to Athens, against
 him it shall be permitted to whoever wishes of
 the Athenians and the allies to write an accusation
 to the *prytanis*; the *prytanis* shall introduce it into
 the council within three or five days from when (?)
 the accusation is made, or they shall be penalised
 for bribery by ten thousand drachmas each.
 When a man is condemned by the council — — —
 have final power over him but shall bring out to
 the people about him (?); if he is judged to be in
 the wrong, the *prytanis* shall institute a debate to
 judge what he should suffer [in his person] or
 pay.
- 41 And if any one does wrong with regard to the
 bringing of the cow and panoply, the accusations
 against him and the punishment shall be in the
 same way.
- 43 The *hellenotamiai* shall write up on a whitened
 board those of the cities which have fallen short
 in the tribute and those which have brought it,
 and place it (?) — — —

lacuna of c.10 lines

- [_____²⁴_____] τὴν] βολὴν τὴν ἐπι[θῆ]-
 [αν, _____²⁴_____] . ἡ[σοοὶ δὲ τὸν ἀνα[γ]-
 [όντων _____¹⁹_____] ἀν[αγεγράφεται ὁφέ-
 [λοντες _____¹⁸_____] ἐπι[δείχσαι τοῖς δέμ-
 [οι _____²⁰_____] . ἐάν τις τῶν πόλεων ἀ-
 [μψιβαρτεῖ περὶ τὸ φόρο τῆς ἀποδ[όσεως, φάσκοσα ἀπ-
 [οδοδοκέναι _____¹⁶_____]]θαι τὸ κοινὸν τῆς
 [πόλεως _____²⁰_____]]ας τὰς πόλεις καὶ τ-
 55 [_____²⁶_____]]θαι δὲ μὲ ἔχουσαι
 [_____²⁶_____]]τος ὁφείλετο ἡο γρ-
 [_____²⁶_____]] τὴν δὲ γραφὴν εἶνα-
 [_____²⁵_____]]λῶνι . ἐὰν δὲ τις α-
 [_____²⁶_____]]κλάσειε ἢε βολὴ βo-
 60 [_____²¹_____]] . ἐαγόντων δὲ ἡοι
 [_____²³_____]] . ἄθει[ναίους τὴν φόρον
 [_____¹⁹_____] τὸν πῖνα]κα τῆς μενύσεως ε-
 [_____²⁶_____]] φόρο καὶ τὸ περυσ-
 [ινὸ _____¹⁷_____] βολὴν π[ροβουλευσάντων ἐχ-
 65 [αενεγκέν _____¹⁸_____]] περὶ τῆι ἡυστερὰ-
 [αι ἐξ τὸν δέμνον _____¹²_____]]]εξ χαίρεσεως χρε-
 [ματι -----] vacat
 vacat

lacuna

- 47 ----- the in-coming council ---- . Those bringing
 the tribute who have been written up in public as
 being in debt the incoming council shall indicate
 to the people at the first assembly. (?)
 51 If any of the cities disputes about the handing
 over of the tribute, claiming that it has handed
 it over, the *koinon* of this city shall be summoned
 to Athens (?) ---- the cities and ---- shall not
 be possible ---- shall owe ---- the accusation
 shall be ---- . If any one ---- the council shall
 deliberate ---- .
 60 The *prytanis* (?) shall introduce those who have
 not brought the tribute to the Athenians (?) into
 the council immediately (?) in accordance with
 the board of the denunciation ---- tribute and
 last year's ---- the council shall deliberate in
 advance and bring ---- for the next day before
 the people ---- of the election to deal ---- .

47 sqq. We do not list all of Hill & Meritt's speculative fuller restorations. 48-51 ἡ[σοοὶ δὲ τὸν ἀνα[γ]όντων Ἀθηνῶν ἐξ τὸ πῖνακον ἀν[αγεγράφεται ὁφέ] [λοντες ἐν τῆι βολῆι, τῆν βολὴν ἐπι[δείχσαι τὴν ἐπίδοσαν ἐπι]δείχσαι (?) Mathiaou. 51 κατὰ τὴν πῶλιν ἡεκάστῃν Hill & Meritt, ἐν τῆι πῶλιν ἐκκλέσται (?) Mathiaou. 53-4 Ἀθηνῶν προσηκῆ[σθαι τὸ κοινὸν τῆς] [πόλεως ταύτης (?) Mathiaou. 61-2 [εαυτοὺς ἐξ τὴν ἐλατῶν τοῦ Ἀθ[η]ναίων τὴν φόρον] [οφείλοντας ἡεκάστ[η] κατὰ τὴν πῖνα]κα Hill & Meritt (ε), [ἤρπυρας ἡεξ ἂν μὲ ἀνάγῃων Ἀθ[η]ναίων τὴν φόρον] [τῆς τὴν βολὴν εὐθὺς κατὰ τὸν πῖνα]κα (?) Mathiaou.

Athens honours the assassins of Phrynichus, 410/09

Six fragments, five of them joining, of a *stèle* of Hymnetian marble, found on the acropolis, now in the Epigraphical Museum.

Developed Attic writing, use of aspirate inconsistent. Raubitschek detected the same mason's hand in *IG*² 180, Lines 3–47 *stèle* 36.

M&L 85^a, Osborne, *Nominization in Athens*, D 2; *IG*² 102, Traus, Kornara 153; Dillon and Gauthier¹ 19, 5. See also P. J. Wilson, *CQ*² lix 2009, 8–29; A. C. Scafuro, in *Antike Epigraphik ... C. Habicht*, 47–68.

- §i
- [ἐπι]Γλαυκίημο ἀ[ρ]χον[ε]ίος
 [Λόβον ἐκ] Κεδών ἐγραμμάτευε.
 [ἔδοχευεν τε]ῖ βολεῖ και τοῖ δέμοι λιπποθοντι-
 [ς ἐπρυτάνει]υε Λόβον ἐγραμμάτευε φιλιστίδε-
 5 [ς ἐπρεσβύτε]ῖ Γλαυκίητος ἔργε : Ἐρασινίδεσ ἐπρ-
 [ε: ἐπρανέσθη]θη φρασύβολον ὅσ ὄντα ἀνδρα ἀγαθῶ-
 [ν περὶ τὸν δέμ]λον τὸν Ἀθεναίων και προθύρον π-
 [οιέν ἡό τι δύνα]ιται ἀγαθόν· και ἀντιήδων εὐπερο-
 [ίεκεν τέυ τε πό]λιυ και τὸν δέμ[λο]ν τὸν Ἀθεναίο-
 10 [ν στεφανῶσαι αὐτὸν χρουοῖ στε]φανοι, ποιέσα-
 [ν δέ τὸν στέφανον ἀπὸ χιλί]ων δριχμῶν· και [ἀνευ]π[ι]-
 [ε]λλενοταμίαι δόντων τὸ ἀγγύρι]ον· και [ἀνευ]π[ι]-
 [ἔ]ν Ἀιουυσίον τραγοιδῶν ἐν τοῖ] ἀγῶνι ἡδὸν ἑέν-
 [εκα αὐτὸν ἡο δέμ]ος ἐστεφανοο]ε :

§ii

- Διοκλῆς εἶπε
- 15 [τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καθάπερ τε]ῖ βολεῖ] εἶναι δὲ φρασύ-
 [βολον Ἀθεναίων, και φυλῆ]ς τε κ]αι φρατρίας ἡο-
 [ν ἄν βό]λαετα γράφασαθαι αὐτῶ]ν· και τὰλλα τὰ ἐ-

§i

In the archonship of Glaucippus; Lobon from Cedei was secretary.

- 3 Resolved by the council and people. Hippothonitis was the prytany; Lobon was the secretary; Philistides was chairman; Glaucippus was archon. Erasinides proposed:

6 Praise Thrasybulus, who is a man good to the people of the Athenians and keen to do all the good he can. And in return for the good he has done the city and the people of the Athenians, crown him with a gold crown, and make the crown him with a gold crown, and make the crown from 1,000 dr. The *hellenotamniai* are to give the money. And announce at the tragedy the competition of the Dionysia the reason why the people crowned him.

§ii

- 14 Diocles proposed: In other respects in accordance with the council, but Thrasybulus is to be an Athenian and he is to be enrolled in whichever tribe and phratry he may want. And the other

We have offered full restorations but these are not secure in their details. We list important areas of uncertainty.

9 πόλιυ: βολεῖν is also possible. 13 Αιουυσίον τραγοιδῶν ἐν τοῖ] ἀγῶνι P. J. Wilson & A. Hartwig, *ZPE* cxix 2009, 21–2; τὸν κέρυκα Αιουυσίον ἐν τοῖ] ἀγῶνι M&L.

[φορηγμένα τοὶ δέμοι κύρια εἶναι θρασυβόλο-
 15 [ι· εἶναι δὲ αὐτοὶ εὐρίσκεισθαι π]αρά Ἀθηναίων κ-
 20 [αὶ ἄλλο λό τῖ ἄν δοκεῖ ἀγαθὸν π]ερί ἡὸν εὐεργέ-
 [τεκεν τὴν δέμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων,] καὶ ἀναγερσασά-
 [το ἡο γραμματεὺς τὰ ἐφορηγμ]ένων· ἡελείθεσθαι δ-
 [ἔ]γ βολεῖς πέντε ἀνδρας αὐτ]κα μάλα, ἡοιτινε-
 [ς] δι]κάσοσι θρασυβόλοι τὸ μέ]ρος τὸ γινόμεν-
 25 ον, τὸς [δὲ ἄλλος, ἡόσοι τότε εὐ] ἐ]ποίησαν τὸν δέ-
 μον τὸν Ἀθη]ναίων, —————]ν καὶ Ἀγόρατο-
 ν καὶ Κόμονα [καὶ —————]σ[ι]· [σ]ι[·]] καὶ Σίμων κα-
 30 ι Φιλῶνον κα[ὶ] —————]α, εὐεργε]τέ[ται]ς [ἀ]νναγρά-
 σαι ἐμ πόλ]ει ἐν στέλ]κει λ]θῆναι τὸν γραμ]μα[τε]-
 α τῆς βολεῖς. [καὶ ἔ]γκρασι]ν εἶναι αὐτοῖς ὄ]περ
 Ἀθηναίοις, [καὶ γερ]έδο]ν καὶ οικία]ς, καὶ οἰκε-
 35 τιν Ἀθένεσι, [καὶ ἐπι]μέ]λεσθαι αὐτῶν τὴν βολεῖν
 τὴν αἰε] βολεῦσσαν κα]ὶ τὸς π]ουτάνες, ἡόσος ἄ-
 ν μὲ ἀδ]ι]κῶνται, τὴν δὲ σ]τέλ]εν ἀπομο]θοσάντο-
 40 [ν] ἡοι πολε]ται ἐν τῆ] βο]λεῖ· τὸς δὲ ἡελλ]ηνοσιταμ-
 [ί]ας δῶναι τὸ ἀργύ]ριον]. ἐάν δὲ δοκεῖ αὐτὸς καὶ
 [ἄ]λλο εὐρίσκεισθαι, τὴν] βολεῖν προβολεῦσασαν
 [ἔ]χασενγέκ]εν ἐς τὸν δέμ]ον]·

§iii

Eudikos eite ta men

40 [ἄ]λλα καθά]τερ Διοκλ]ῆς περ]ὶ δὲ τὸν δοροδοκεσ-
 [άντρον ἐπ]ὶ τοῖ φορη]γιατι, ὃ ἐφορη] [λαθε Απο]λα-
 45 [σοδοροι, τὴν βολεῖν βολε]δοῖται ἐν τῆ] προ]τερι ἡέδ-
 [γρα ἐν τῶ] βο]υλευτε]ρί]οι, καὶ κο]λάξεν, τὸν [δ]ισπο-
 [δοκεσάν]τρον καταφ]ο]ρη]ζομ]ένων καὶ ἐς δικασ-
 [τέριον αὐτὸς ἐσ]άγ]ει]ν, καθό]τι ἄν δοκεῖ αὐτ]εῖ] [ι]· τ-
 45 [ὸς δὲ βο]λευτ]ὰς τὸς] παρὸν]τας ἀποφ]ανεν ἡέ] [ι]· τ]]
 [ἄ]ν εἰδ]ῶσιν, καὶ ἐάν] τ]ίς τ]ι ἄ]λλο αἰδ]εῖ περ]ὶ τ] [ο]ύ·]
 [τὸν ἐ]χῶσ]ενα δὲ κα]ὶ] ἰο]ίστει, ἐάν τ]ις β]ολε]ται]. ι.]]
 ναζατ

23 [ε τὸν δέμον τῶς ἀνδρα] Michel. 36 ἐάν δὲ δοκεῖ αὐτὸς καὶ | [ἄ]λλο ἄχρος ἐπεθθ IG 1
 44 αὐτὸς ἐσάγειν IG 1, Rhodes, Boule, 161 n. 4; παραδοσάων Lipsius, Das attische Recht und Rechtsverfahren, 44
 n. 23; M&L, IG.

Phrynichus comes to our attention as a political figure only in 411, though what the speaker of Lys. xx. *Polystratus* 10–12 says about him implies that he was probably then in his sixties, and he had some previous political prominence (Lys. xv. *Oenithonaina Demos* 6). He had been elected general for 410/1 and was sent with

things that have been decreed by the people are to be valid for Thrasybulus. And it shall be possible for him to find also from the Athenians whatever else may seem good concerning the benefaction he has bestowed on the people of the Athenians. The secretary is to write up what has been decreed. Let five men be chosen from the council immediately to decide the part due to Thrasybulus. And the secretary of the council is to write up the others who did good to the people of the Athenians then, —is and Agoratus and Comon and — and Simon and Philinus and —es, as benefactors on the stone *stèle* on the acropolis. They are to have the same right to own property that the Athenians have, both a plot of land and houses, and to dwell at Athens, and whatever council and *prytaneis* are in power are to look after them in order that they suffer no wrong. The *poletai* are to put the *stèle* out to tender in the council. The *hellenotamiai* are to give the money. And if it resolves that they be found something additional, the council is to make a preliminary proposal and bring it to the people.

§iii

38 Eudicus proposed: In other respects in accordance with Diocles, but concerning those who have given bribes for the decree which was voted for Apollodorus, the council is to take counsel at the first sitting in the council chamber and to punish them, condemning those who have given bribes and bringing them to a court as seems best to it. The councillors present are to reveal what they know, including anything else anyone knows about these men. And it is to be possible also for a private individual (to give information) if someone wishes to do so.

colleagues and forty-eight ships to Samos (Thuc. viii. 25. j). He caused the Athenians to withdraw to Samos after an incomplete victory at Miletus, because he had intelligence of the arrival of a Peloponnesian fleet, and earned Thucydides' praise (perhaps not untrifling) in this: οἱ ἄλλοι ἄχρος ἐπεθθ

Two contiguous fragments of the upper part of a marble *stèle* (complete to l. 18), of which the lower part, with two further fragments, contains R&O 2; at the top of the *stèle* is a relief showing Athens and Samian Heracles clasping hands; a, the first fragment, found on the acropolis, *b* with the others found between the theatre of Dionysus and the odeum of Herodes Atticus; previously in the Epigraphical Museum but now displayed in the Acropolis Museum. Phot. Kern, *Inscriptions Graecae*, tab. 19; Kirchner rev. Kallenberg, *Langens Inscriptionum Aethiarum*, Taf. 19 Nr. 43; Meyer, *Die griechischen Urkundenblätter*, Taf. 10, 1 (nos. 26), 1a; Lanjou, *Les Documents Reliefs*, pl. 7 (no. 12) (the last three, top of *stèle*, with relief, only); R&O pl. 1.

Ionic lettering: (1–2) large letters; (3–4) intermediate-size letters; (5–40) *standard* 57–61, often ending a line with the end of a word or syllable.

IG ii² 1; SIG³ 116; M&L 94; IG² 127; Osborne, *Naturalization*, D3*; Trans. Fornara 166; Dillon & Gauthier² 13, 34. See also R. Meinelbach, *ZPE* in 1969, 124–5; A. L. Boegehold, *AJPh* lxxv 1972, 23–5; D. Whittaker, *ZPE* in 1983, 113–14; J. L. Caryll, *GRBS* xxiv 1983, 321–2; Whitehead, in *Nominalia* . . . *Ad. Ussani*, 31–2; C. Koch, *Thesle* viii 1993, 63–75; A. Blanshard, in Newby & Leander-Newby (eds.), *Art and Inscription in the Ancient World*, 19–37; J. Elsner, *CSGA* xxxiv 2015, 33–73.

- Κ η φ ι ο σ φ ὶ ν Π α ι α ν ι ε ὺ ς
 vac. ἐ γ ρ α μ μ ἄ τ ε υ ε. vacat
 Σαμιοὶ ὄσοι μετὰ τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων ἐγένοντο. vacat
- 5 ἔδοξεν τῆι βολῆι καὶ τῷ δήμῳ. Κεχροπίς ἐπυροῦσαυε. Πόλυμνις ἐβουλυμῆς ἐγρομμάταυε. Ἀλεξίας ἦροχε. Νικοφῶν Ἀθμονεὺς ἐπιαρταυε. γνώμη Κλεοσόφο καὶ συνπυροῦσαντων ἐπιαυεσαι τοὺς πρέσβει τοὺς Σαμιοὺς τοὺς τε προτέροισ ἦροκοι καὶ τοὺς νῦν καὶ τῆι βολῆι καὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλοις Σαμιοὺς, ὅτι ἐοῖν ἀνδροε ἀγαθοὶ καὶ πρόθυμοι ποτεῖν ὅ τι δύνωνται ἀγαθόν, καὶ τὰ πεπραγμένα αὐτοῖς ὅτι δοκοῦν ὀρθῶς ποιῆσαι Ἀθηναίοις καὶ Σαμιοῖς. καὶ ἀντι ὧν εὖ πεποιήκασιν Ἀθηναίοις καὶ νῦν περὶ πολλοῦ ποιοῦνται καὶ ἐοργῶνται ἀγαθὰ, δεδόχθαι τῆι βολῆι καὶ τῷ δήμῳ Σαμιοῦς Ἀθηναίοις εἶναι, πολυτερομένοιοι ὅπως ἀν αὐτοὶ βόλωνται. καὶ ὅπως ταῦτα ἔσται ὡς ἐπιτηδεύατα ἀμφοτέροιοι, καθάτερ αὐτοὶ λέγοσιν, ἐπειδὴν ἐρήνη γένηται, τότε περὶ τῶν ἄλλων κοινήι βολεῦεσθαι. τοὺς δὲ νόμοιοις χρῆσθαι τοὺς σφετέροιοι αὐτῶν αὐτονόμοιοι ὄντας, καὶ τὰλλα ποτεῖν κατὰ τὸς ὅρκιοις καὶ τὰς συνθήκας καθάτερ ξύνκεται Ἀθηναίοιοις καὶ Σαμιοὺς, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων ἃ ἀν γένηται πρὸς ἀλλήλοιοις διδοῦναι καὶ δεχεσθαι τὰς δίκας κατὰ τὰς συμβόλας, τὰς ἄσας, ἐβλάν δε τι ἀναγκαῖον γένηται διὰ τὸν πόλεμον καὶ πρότερον περὶ τῆς πολι-
 20 [τ]είας, ὡσπερ αὐτοὶ λέγοσιν οὐ πρόεβες, πρὸς τὰ πρόνονα βολεουμένοιοι ποτεῖν [ἦ] ἢ ἀν δοκῆι βέλτιστον εἶναι. περὶ δε τῆς ἐρήνης, ἐὰν γένηται, εἶναι κατὰ ταῦτα [κ]αθάτερ Ἀθηναίοιοις καὶ τοὺς νῦν οἰκοῦσιν Σάμοιοι ἐάν δε πολεμῆν δεη, πρῶτοκ-
 [ε]βούλεσθαι αὐτοῖς ὡς ἀν δύνωνται ἀρῖστα πρότεροιοι μετὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν
 25 [ε]άν δε πρεσβείαν ποὶ πέμπωσιν Ἀθηναίοιοι, συνπέμπειν καὶ τὸς ἐξήλοιοι παρόνοτα, [ε]άν τινα βόλωνται, καὶ συνβολεῦεν ὅ τι ἀν ἔχωσιν ἀγαθόν. ταῖς δε τρηπῆσιν [ταῖς] ὄσοις ἐς Σάμοιοι χρῆσθαι αὐτοῖς, δῶναι ἐπισκευασαμένοιοις καθότι ἀν αὐ-

Cephsiphon of Paeania was the secretary.

4 For the Samians who joined with the people of Athens.

5 Resolved by the council and the people. Cecropis was the *prytanis*; Polyminis of Epymnium was the secretary; Alexias (405/4) was the archon; Nicophon of Athmonium was the chairman. Proposal of Cleisophus and his fellow *prytanis*:

7 Praise the Samian envoys, both those who came previously and those who have come now, and their council and their generals and the other Samians, because they are good men and eager to do what good they can, and the actions which they have performed are judged to have been performed rightly for the Athenians and the Samians.

11 And in return for the good which they have done for the Athenians, and because they now attach importance to the Athenians and propose good things for them, be it resolved by the council and the people that the Samians shall be Athenians, living under whatever constitution they wish; and, as they themselves suggest, so that this shall be as advantageous as possible for both parties, when peace has been made, then we shall deliberate jointly about the other matters. They shall be autonomous, using their own laws, and in other respects act in accordance with the oaths and the agreements as agreed by the Athenians and Samians.

17 Concerning any complaints which the two parties may have against each other, they shall give and receive justice in accordance with the existing convention.

19 If any emergency arises about the constitution because of the war and before [sc. the peace], as the envoys themselves suggest, the [sc. Samians] shall deliberate in the light of the circumstances and do what they judge best.

21 Concerning the peace, if it is made, it shall be also for those now living in Samos on the same terms as for the Athenians; if it is necessary to make war, they shall prepare as best they can, acting together with the [sc. Athenian] generals; if the Athenians send an embassy anywhere, those present from Samos shall send jointly if they wish to send anybody, and shall give what good advice they can.

25 The treaties which are at Samos shall be given to [sc. the Samians] to use, after

- [τοῖς δ]ιοκῆ· τὰ δὲ ὀνόματα τῶν τριηράρχων ὧν ἦσαν αὐτὰ αἰ νῆες ἀπογράφαι
 [τὸς πρῶς]βες τῶν γραμματεῖ τῆς βολῆς καὶ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς, καὶ τούτων εἴ πο-
 [θέν τί ἐστιν ἀ]ναγεγραμμένον ἐν τῶν δημοσίων ὡς παρεληφθέντων τὰς τριῆρες,
 30 [ἅπαντα ἐξ]αλειψά[ντων οἱ νεώροι ἀ]πανταχόθεν, τὰ δὲ σκευὴ τῶν δημοσίων ἐσ-
 [πραξάντων ὡς τάχιστα καὶ] ἐπαναγκασκάντων ἀποδοῦναι τὸς ἔχοντας τούτων
 [τὴ ἐντρέψ]. γνώμη Κλεσόφο καὶ] συνηρυτάεων· τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καθέπερ τῆι βολῆι·
 [κυρίαν δὲ εἶναι δὲ τὴν δωρεῖαν τοῖς ἡέκοσι, καθάπερ αὐτοὶ αἰτῶνται, καὶ νέμει
 [αὐτὸς αὐτίκα μάλα τὸς ἀρχοντας ἐς τ]ῆς φυλάς δέκαχα. καὶ τὴν πορείαν παρα-
 35 [κρεῦσαι τοῖς πρῶσβει τοῖς στρατηγὸς ὡ]ς τάχιστα. καὶ Εὐμάχων καὶ τοῖς
 [ἄλλοις Σαμίοις πᾶσι τοῖς μετὰ Εὐμάχο ἥκοσι] ἐπανέσαι ὡς ὄσον ἀνδρασι
 [ἀγαθοῖς περὶ τὸς Ἀθηναίους, καλέσαι δ' Εὐμάχων ἐπ]ὶ δ]ιέτηνον ἐς τὸ ἡρυτανέον
 [ἔς αὐτῶν. ἀναγράφαι δὲ τὰ ἐπιηρισμένα τ]ῶν γραμμ[ατεῶ τῆς] β[ολῆς] μετὰ τῶν
 [στρατηγῶν ἐστ]ῆλη Λιθίνη καὶ κατα[β]έναι ἐς πόλιν. τὸς δὲ ἄλλων]οταμίους
 40 [δόναι τὸ ἀργύριον ἀναγράφαι δ' ἐς ζά]μμοι κατὰ ταῦτὰ τέ[λει]σι [τοῖς ἐκέ]νων.

Several letters are in several places incompletely inscribed.

- 29 Boegehold: [τὴ ὑτάχει ἀ]ναγεγραμμένον Lolling; [τὴ ἐστὶ δ]ογμα]α γεγραμμένον Köhler (*IG* II. v
 1b). 31 μηχαῆ, οὐδέμητι (?) Metkellach, ἀποδόσια καὶ Cataldi. 32 [τὴ ἐντρέψ] doubted
 Metkellach, Boegehold; accepted Osborne. The calculation of Cargill, *Athenian Statements of the Fourth Century*
BC 208, that the standard restoration has one letter too many is mistaken. 33 M. Feyel, *RPh* xix 1945,
 124–8 (suggesting [κυρίαν δ' εἶναι τὴν πορείαν τοῖς ἀ]νδρασι as another possibility?); [εἶναι δὲ τὴν δωρεῖαν Σαμίων τοῖς
 Kärchner (*IG* II²): [εἶναι δὲ πορείαν Σαμίων τοῖς Wilhelm (*IG* II² *addenda*), Osborne (but Osborne himself
 shows that the Athenians did not use the language of giving πορεία until c.229; *Naturalization*, 1.
 15–17). 34 Wilhelm, Osborne (9), Whitehead: ἐς τὸς δημοσ καὶ τ]ῆς Lolling; but δέκαχα is inappropriate
 to the demes. 37 π Osborne. 38 β Osborne.

- they have repaired them in accordance with their own judgment; the names of
 the trierarchs to whom the ships were assigned shall be reported by the envoys
 for the secretary of the council and the generals; and, if for any of these anything
 is written up anywhere in the public realm from when they took over the triremes,
 all of this everywhere shall be deleted by the *neotai*, but the equipment shall be
 exacted for the state as soon as possible, and those who have any of it shall be
 compelled to give it back intact.
 32 Proposal of Cleisophus and his fellow *pylaniar*: In other respects in accordance
 with the council; but the grant shall be valid for those who have come, as they
 themselves ask, and they shall be distributed immediately by the archons on the
 basis of ten among the tribes.
 34 Travelling expenses shall be provided for the envoys by the generals as soon as
 possible.
 35 Praise Eumachus and all the other Samians who have come with Eumachus,
 because they are good men with regard to the Athenians.
 37 Invite Eumachus to dinner in the *pylaniar* tomorrow.
 38 What has been decreed shall be written up on a stone *stelai* by the secretary of the
 council together with the generals and placed on the acropolis, and the
hellenotamiai shall provide the money; it shall be written up at Samos in the same
 way at their own expense.

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

Five fragments of a *stèle* 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 ε for α and σ for ου. In the decree, ll. 1–2 are in larger letters, ll. 3 sqq. *stichodon* 8γ (in the reconstruction here followed); below the decree there were four columns of names, and on the back seven (in this reconstruction), with tribe-names in larger letters than men's names.

IG ii² 10; *SGC*³ 120; Tod 100 (all these *a* only); *IG* ii² 2403 (*d* only); D. Hereward, *BSA* xlvii 1952, 102–17 (full

FRONT: top

[Λυσιάδης ἐγ]ραμμάτευε·

[Ἐπιαιετ]ος ἦρχε·

[ἔδοξε]ν τῆ] βολῆ] καὶ τοῦ δήμου. Τποθωντ]ς ἐπ]ρυτ]ά]ευε· Λυσιάδης ἐγ]ραμμάτευε·

[ο]λος εἶπε· ὅ]πως ἀν] ἀξίας χάρι]τας κομ]ίσωνται οἱ ξέ]νοι· ὅσοι συνακατῆ]λθον ἀπὸ

5 [ο]ρω] ἐς τ]ὴν κ]άθοδον τ]ὴν εἰ]ς Π]ερα]ιά, περ]ὶ μ]έν τοῦ]ρων] ἐ]ληφ]θή]θαι Μ]ηθνα]ίους ἐ]να

[αν· καὶ ν]έμει]α ἀν]τὸς ἀν]τῆ]κα μ]άλα ἐ]ς τὰς φ]υλὰς δέ]καχα]· νό]μοις δὲ τοῖς ἀν]τῶ]ς περ]ὶ

[αὶ περ]ὶ τῶ]ν ἀλλ]ων Μ]ηθνα]ίων· ὅ]σοι δὲ ἦ]λθον ὕ]στερον], συ]νεμ]άχ]ησαν δὲ τ]ῆ]μ

[ιέ]σω]σαν, ὅ]σοι δὲ παρ]έμει]νον τῶ]ν ἐ]μ Π]ερα]εῖ] δήμου] ὅ]τε αἱ δια]λλαγαὶ ἐ]γένον]το, καὶ

[ὅ]τους εἶ]να ἰσο]στέ]λειαν οἰ]κῶ]σι Μ]ηθ]ῆ]σων κατὰ τ]ὴν δο]θεῖ]σαν ἐ]γγ]νή]σων καθά]περ

[-----] Μ]ηθνα]ίους· ὅ]σοι δὲ [-----]

FRONT: below

col. i should have begun:

[οἷ]δε συνακατῆ]λθον ἀπὸ Φ]υλῆ]ς]

col. ii should have included:

[οἷ]δε συ]νεμ]άχ]ησαν τ]ῆ]μ]

[μά]χην τ]ῆ]μ Μ]ονυχ]ίας]

5 [-----] κ]α]ταρ]υσά]σθαι

col. iii (perhaps Pandionis):

[-----]ς

[-----]ση

[-----]β]υπο]σο

[-----]κ]άπη

[-----]κ]α]ταρ]υσά]σθαι

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, *Neutralization*, D 6* (a–d); M. B. Walbank, *Hesp.* lxiii 1994, 169–71 no. 2 (cf. *SGC* 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

Lysiares was secretary; Xenaeetus was archon [401/0].

3 Resolved by the council and the people. Hippothontis was the prytany; Lysiares was secretary; Demophilus was chairman. Thrasypulus 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: The following fragments will have belonged to 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:

The following joined in fighting the

tanner
retailer
nut-seller

On the reconstruction of the decree, and of the three categories of beneficiary in the list, see commentary.

col. iv:

| | | |
|----|--------------------------|----------------------|
| 5 | [5] —] α] λήτροπώ | [6] —] σ[---] |
| | [...] ἴοπιος σακχυφά | [...] ω[ν] κάρη |
| | [...] ἴων σκυροτόμ | [5] —] ος γλ[---] |
| | [...] μιλω[...] ν σακκ | [6] —] γ] εωρ |
| 10 | [Σ] ἀκράτης τραπέζοι | [...] λης χαλ[κεύ]ς |
| | Σωβίβιος σκυροτόμ | [...] ἴων ἀλ[εῦ]ς |
| | Ἐπιμων κάρηλος | [...] χος ἐπιου |
| | Γῆρυς λαχωνοτω | [...] ππος χρυσο |
| | Βλέτων τραπέ | [...] ἴστρατος οἰτ |
| 15 | Ἄπολλωνιδῆς Σ[...] | [...] πίας γναφ |
| | [...] φ[---] | [...] ἴας λαβαν |

col. iv:

| | | |
|----|------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| | [8] —] γ] εωρ | [...] ος δορ[---] |
| | [(?)] Δεωτ[δ]ος | [...] τ[π]ος ε[...] ο[---] |
| | [5] —] κρομμυοστ | [12] —] ντ[---] |
| | [...] ος ἀμαξορ | [10] —] λ[---] |
| 5 | [10] —] ορ[---] | [9] —] ος ἀ[λ]φ |
| | [12] —] λ[---] | [8] —] ο |
| | [...] | [7] —] νος πριό[---] |
| | [(?)] Ἄπολλ[λ]ο[δ]ωρ[ος γν]α | [7] —] α] λήτρ[---] |
| | [...] [...] η[---] | [7] —] α] λήτρ[---] |
| 10 | [...] | [10] —] [...] |

BACK

col. v includes (Oeneis):

| | | |
|----|-------------------------|------------------------------|
| 40 | [5] —] s γεωρ | Χαιρέδημος γεωρ |
| | [5] —] αγόρα[s ---] | Λεπτῶνς μαγρε |
| | [...] ὠτῆς ἀ[---] | Δ[η]μήτριος τέκτ |
| | [6] —] ω[---] | Εὐφορίων ὄρεωκ |
| | [...] | Κ[η]φισ[δ]ίδωρος οἶκο |
| 45 | Κ[εκροστ]δ[ος (?)] | [Π]η[η]σίος κτηορ |
| | [6] —] [...] [---] | Ἐπταμετέων ὄροκο |
| | [5] —] [...] αμυ[---] | [...] ὠπος ἐλαο(π) |
| | [6] —] [...] ἐμμο | [Τ]α[αυ]κ[ας γεωρ] |
| | [8] —] [...] | [5] —] ν κερυό |
| 50 | [5] —] κ] ἀπῆ | [Διο]ν]ιος γεωρ |
| | [5] —] κεραιμοαδ | and, lower down (Antiochis): |
| | [...] ὄης κτηρ | [Δ]ι]μιο[---] |
| | [5] —] s σκ[υ]το | Δέξιος σ[---] |
| | [6] —] αρ | Χάρων κ[---] |
| 55 | [6] —] μ] ισθω | Ἡρακλείδη[---] |

| | | | | |
|----------|-------------|-------------------------|--------|-----------|
| — | — | barley-groat-seller | 10 | — |
| — | —orius | sailmaker | — | — |
| — | —on | leather-worker | — | — |
| .. mo. n | — | sackcloth-maker/-seller | —on | retailer |
| 10 | Socrates | table-maker | — | — |
| | Sosibius | shoe-seller | 15 | —les |
| | Hermion | retailer | —ion | —ion |
| | Gerys | vegetable-seller | —chus | —chus |
| | Blepon | table-— | —ippus | —gold-— |
| 15 | Apollonides | — | 20 | —istratus |

col. iv:

| | | | | |
|---|-----------------|--------------|--------|-----------------|
| — | — | farm-worker | —ias | —incense-dealer |
| — | LEONTIS (V) (?) | — | —as | —spear-— |
| — | —us | onion-seller | —ippus | — |
| — | — | cartwright | — | — |
| 5 | — | — | — | — |
| — | — | — | — | —barley-groat-— |
| — | — | — | —nus | —ass-herd |
| — | Apollodoros | fuller (?) | 30 | —saw-— |
| — | — | — | — | —barley-groat-— |

BACK

col. v includes (Oeneis (VI))

| | | | | |
|----|--------------------|----------------|---------------------------------|--------------|
| 40 | — | farm-worker | Chaeredemus | farm-worker |
| | and, lower down | — | Lepines | butcher/cook |
| 45 | CECROPIS (VII) (?) | — | Demetrius | carpenter |
| — | — | — | Euphorion | muleteer |
| 50 | — | — | 5 Cephisodorus | builder |
| — | — | retailer | Hegesias | gardener |
| — | —des | tiler (?) | Epanimon | ass-herd |
| — | —s | herald | —opus | olive-seller |
| — | —ar | leather-worker | Glaucias | farm-worker |
| 55 | — | hired labourer | 10 —n | nut-— |
| | | | Dionysius | farm-worker |
| | | | and, lower down (Antiochis (X)) | — |
| | | | Aristo-— | — |
| | | | Dexius | —s |
| | | | Charon | —ki-— |
| | | | Heraclides | — |

vi. 8 The stone has ἐλαογ.

| | | |
|----|-----------------------|---|
| 40 | Ἐπιγυρῆνης κ[---] | Ἐπεχθηίδος []] (<i>this occupies the vertical space of two lines</i>) |
| | Γλαυκίας σ[---] | |
| | Μυρδόστος σ[---] | 60 ἄβδης ἀ[στ]ο[π] |
| | Δίκαυος σ[α[---] | Ἀριστοτ[έλης ---] |
| | Ἀνδρέας φορο[π] | Ἴδως κέπ[π] |
| 45 | Σωσθβίος σ[ι[---] | <i>and, lower down:</i> |
| | Φάπος φοροπ | 74 Χαίσις ἰσχυα |
| | Γλαυκίας ξ. [---] | <i>col. vii includes (Erechtheis):</i> |
| | Μισυάγης μι[σθω] | Βε[ν]ιδάφω[π]σ σ[κ] |
| | Δέξωυδρίδη[σ---] | Ἐμ[π]ο[ρ]ω[π]ω[π]ω[π] |
| 50 | Σωταυρίδης [---] | Ἰαδ[ί]κος ἀ[ρ]τ[ο] |
| | Σωσ[α] [---] | Σωσ[α]σ γνα[φ] |
| | Πάμφιλος α[---] | 5 Ὑάμυς γε[ω]ρ |
| | Κριθων σ[κ[---] | <i>εργεραυ vacat</i> |
| | [Κ]ορυθαίδη[σ---] | [...]μ[---]ο |
| 55 | Κυ[λ]υ γεωρ | [Ἐ]υκ[ο]λ[ω]ν μι[σθ] |
| | οἴδε [π]αρέμ[ερον τῶι | Καλλίας ἀγ[α]μ |
| | ἐμ Περαεὶ δ[ήμωι] | 10 Ἀιγυθ[ί]ο[ι]σ |
| | | ἄθρο[ν] [τ]ω[ρ] [---] |

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.

- (a) After the battle of Munichia the democrats promised *isotelia* to any *xenoi* who would join them in the struggle (X. H. II. iv. 25).
- (b) Thrasybulus proposed, and Archinus attacked in a *graphē paranomon*, a measure to give Athenian citizenship to all who 'joined in the return from the Piraeus' (*Ath. Pol.* 40. ii).
- (c) Thrasybulus proposed to give citizenship to the orator Lysias, and this was approved by the assembly but successfully attacked in a *graphē paranomon* by Archinus ([Plut.] *X Or.* 835F–836A).
- (d) Two other texts allude to Archinus' attacking Thrasybulus in a *graphē paranomon* (*P. Oxy.* xv 1800, fts. 6–7; Aesch. III. *Ctes.* 195).

| | | | | |
|----|-------------|----------------|------|---|
| 40 | Epigenes | k— | 58/9 | ERECHTHEIS (I) |
| | Glaucias | s— | 60 | Abdes |
| | Antidotus | s— | | Aristoteles |
| | Dicaeus | st— | | Idyes |
| | Andreas | porter | | <i>and later there survives:</i> |
| 45 | Sosibius | st— | 74 | Chaeris |
| | Phanus | porter | | <i>col. vii includes (still Erechtheis (I))</i> |
| | Glaucias | x— | | Bendiphanes |
| | Asyages | hired labourer | | Emporion |
| | Dexandrides | — | | Paeidicus |
| 50 | Sotaerides | — | | Sosias |
| | Sota [---] | a— | 5 | Psamnis |
| | Pamphilus | — | | Egersis |
| | Crithon | sk— | | — |
| | Corinthades | — | | Eucolion |
| 55 | Cnips | farm-worker | | Callias |
| | | | 10 | AEGENS (II) |
| | | | | Athenogion |

56–7 The following remained with the People in Piraeus.

- (f) sum of money (Aesch. III. *Ctes.* 187–90; *Heb.* 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-orphan, the responsibility of the state and were given a grant of 1 obol a day (*P. Hib.* i 14, fts. a–b = *Lys.* fr. vi Gernet & Bizos; *Heb.* 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. *Ephi.* 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,

Alliance between Athens and Chios, 384/3

Five fragments of a *stèle*, with a relief: found on the Athenian Acropolis (but finding-place of fr. 6, the top of the *stèle*, unknown), now in the Epigraphical Museum. Phot. Meyer, *Die griechischen Urkundensteine*, Taf. 14 A 43; Lawton, *Reliefs*, pl. 10 no. 19 (both relief only).

Attic-Ionic, sometimes retaining the old ε for ε and ο for ου; *stêkhôn* 39, with irregularities.

IG n° 34; *SG³* 142; Tod 118^a; Poulloux, *Chios*, 26; *Skt.* 248. Trans. Harding 31. See also Accame, *La lega ateniese*, 9–14, 34–5.

[συμ]μαχ[ί]α θη[βαίων και Χίων. ἐπὶ Διελ]-
 [τ]ρέφος ἄρχωντ[ος· ἐπὶ τῆς Πρωθωντ[ό]-
 [ος] πρώτης πρυτ[ανείας· ἦν —————]-
 [. . .] ἀνοσ ἐ[ξ] Οἰῶ[ν ἐγγραμμάτευεν ———]
lacuna
 5 [.] ο [—————]
 ταῦτα με[—————] τῶν κο[—]

Readings verified by Dr. A. P. Mathaiou, 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 Πρωθωντ[ό]σ is the only tribe-name of the right length. 3-4 Mathaiou: ————— 2[τρέφ]ἀνο[υ]
 edd. 6-7 κο[] τῶν ἀγαθ[ῶν] Mathaiou, reading ΔΘΓΩΝ on the stone.

There survives part of another *stèle* (*IG* n° 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* n° 35 but not in 34 are printed within brackets but underlined.

Alliance of the Athenians and Chians.

1 In the archonship of Ditrephes [384/3]; in the first prytany, of Hippohontis; to which ——— son of Stephanus (?) from Oion was secretary;

6 — — — these — — — the common discussion (?)

- ἡνῶν λόγων (?) [τῶν γεγενημένων τοῖς Ἑλλη-
 ησῶν μέμνηται διαφιλῶς καθάπερ]
 ἄθηναῖοι τῆν ἐϊρήνην καὶ τῆν φιλίαν]
 10 [καὶ τὸς ὄρκ[ο]ς καὶ τὰς οὐσίας συνθήκας],
 [αἱ]ς ὤμοσεν βασιλεὺς καὶ ἄθηναῖοι καὶ
 Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ αἱ ἄλλοι Ἑλληνες],
 καὶ ἦκουσαν ἀγαθὰ [ἔπαγγελλόμενοι τῶ]-
 ι δῆμον τοῖσι ἄθηναῖοι καὶ ἀπασιν τῆσι.¹⁵
 15 λάδι καὶ βασιλεῖ, [ἐληφίσθηαι τοῖσι δῆμοι-
 σιν· ἐπαυέσασαι μὲν τὸν δῆμον τῶν Χί-
 ων] καὶ τὸς πρόσβες [τὸς ἦκου]τας· ὑπάρχ-
 εῖν δὲ τῆν ἐρήνην καὶ τὸς ὄρκους καὶ τὰς
 σ[υνθήκ]α[ς] [τὰς νῦν ὄσας]· συμμάχος δὲ ποι-
 20 εἶ[σ]θαι [Χί]ος ἐπ' ἐλευ[θε]ρίαι καὶ αὐτων-
 ομύ[α]ι, μὴ παραβαίνο[ν]τας τῶν ἐν ταῖς σ-
 τήλαις γεγραμμένων [π]ερὶ τῆς ἐρήνης
 μηδέν, μηδ' ἕω τις ἀλλ[ο]ς παραβαίνοι π-
 25 εττομέτος κατὰ τὸ δου[λι]κόν. στήσαι δὲ σ-
 τήλην ἐν ἀκροπόλει [π]ρόσθεν τὸ ἀνάλυμ-
 ατος· ἐς δὲ ταύτην ἀν[αγ]ράφειν, ἕω τις ἰ-
 ηεῖ ἐπ' ἄθηναίος βοηθῆ[ν] Χίος παντὶ σθε-
 [ν]ει κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν, [καὶ] εἰδῶν τις ἦν [ἐπ]-
 30 [ὶ Χί]ος βοηθῆν ἄθηναί[ο]σιν αὐτὶ σθένει
 [κατὰ τ]ὸ δυνατόν. ὁμοῦσαι δὲ τοῖς ἦκουσι-
 [ν Χί]οις] μὲν τῆν βοήθην καὶ τὸς [στρατηγ]-
 [ο]ς καὶ τα[ξ]ίαρχος, ἐγ' Χί[ω]ι δὲ [τῆν] βοήθην
 [καὶ τὰς ἀλλ]ὰς ἀρχάς· εἰ[σ]θῆαι δὲ πέντε]
 35 [ἀνδρας οἵτι]νες παύ[σ]αντες ἐς Χίον ὄρ[-
 [κ]ωσοῦσι τῆμ]ι πόλιν [τῆν Χί]ων· ὑπάρ[χ]ου δὲ τ[-
 [ῆν] συμμάχ]ια]ν [ἐς τὸν ἀπαντα χ]ρόνον. καλ[-
 [έσαι δὲ τῆ]ν πρεσβείαν τῆ]ν τῶν Χί[ω]ν ἐπι[-
 [ξένια ἐς τὸ] πρυτανεῖον ἐς ἀπὸ[ν].¹⁹
 40 [Λυσεύς, —²³ Μ]λωπεκεῖθ[εν, Αἰσώμ]ος . . .]
 [—²⁴ εἰσ]—]ς Φρεάριος, Δημοκλεῖδ[ης]-
 [—²⁴ οἶδ] ἐπέσβεον Χίων· Βρύων, Μπε-
 [(?) Λ]ηῖς, Θεόκ[?]ητος, Αρχέλαος.

- 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 possi-
 ble, 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 Collyrus, — of Alopece, Aesimus of —,
 — of Phrearthii, Democles of —.
 42 The following were the Chian envoys: Bryon,
 Apelles (?), Theocritus (?), Archelaus.

7 γεγενημένων P. Foucart *op. IG* n° Add., p. 656; γεγραμμένων other edd.
 19 μωχος inscribed in
 crasure. 42–3 Marthaiou (but leaving both names unrestored): Μπε[?]ληῖς Dittenberger; *SGI* 59,
 Θεόκ[?]ητος S. Dusanić, *JHS* cxix 1999, 6–9.

Athenian law on approvers of silver coinage, 375/4

A *stelê* 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; *JMG* xxxvi 1986, Taf. 3, 1.

Attic-Ionic, usually retaining the old *o* for *ou*, and *e* for *ei* must be restored in l. 53; ll. 1–2 in larger letters; ll. 3 sqq. *stichedon* 39, with *ei* 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, *Épigraphica*, iii, 21; *SEG* xxvi 72st; G. Stumpf, *JMG* 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, *Memoria* . . . *N. M. Wiggover*, 21–48.

ἔδοξε τοῖς νομοθέταις· ἐπιΐπποτο[δάμαυτος]
 ἄρχουτος· Νικοφῶν εἴπεν·
 τὸ ἀργύριον δέχεσθαι τὸ ἤτατικὸν ὄτ[αν εὐρίακρη]-
 αι ἀργυρῶν καὶ ἔχρη, τὸν δημόσιον χα[ρακτῆρα· ὁ δέ]
 5 δοκιμαστῆς ὁ δημόσιος καθήμενος με[ταξὺ τῶν τρι]-
 απεξῶν δοκιμαζέτω κατὰ ταῦτα ὅσα ἦ[μέραι πλῆρη]
 ὄταν ἦ[ι] χρημάτων καταβολῆ, τότε δέ ἔ[ι]ν τῶι βουλευτ[]-
 ῆραι. ἐὰν δέ τις προσενέγκη ἔ[ι]ν[ικὸν ἀργύριον]

3–4 *εὐρίακρη*]ae R. Kassel *op. H. Wankel*, *ZPE* lii 1983, 71 n. 15; *δευοτήρη*]ae Stroud.

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

- ἔχων τὸν αὐτὸν χαρακτῆρα τοῦ ἤττι[κῶ] ἐκ[—⁶—],
 10 ἄποδοδόντω τοῖσι προσενεγκόντων· ἔαν δὲ ὑπ[ό]χραλκον
 ἢ ὑπομόλιον βδοῦν ἢ κίβδηλον, διακοπτέτω πα[ραυτίκ]-
 α καὶ ἔστω ἰερόν τῆς Μητροῦς [τῶν Θεῶν καὶ κ[αταβαλ]-
 λέτω ἐς τῆμ Βολῆν· ἔαν δὲ μὴ καθῆται [α]ὶ ὁ δοκιμαστής,
 15 ἢ μὴ δοκιμάζη κατὰ τὸν νόμον, τῆς [τῶν] ὄντων [αὐτὸν ο]-
 ἰ τοῦ δήμου συλλογῆς πενήκοντα πηληγὰς τῆι μάστι-
 γι· ἔαν δέ τις μὴ δέχηται τὸ ἀ[β]ν[ύ]ρ[ι]ον ὃ τῆι ἄν ὁ δοκι-
 μαστής δοκιμάσῃ, στερέσθω ἀν[α]μ [π]ωλητῆι [ἐν ἔκειν]-
 ηι τῆι ἡμέρᾳ· φαῖνεω δὲ τὰ μὲν ἐν [τῶι] σί[τ]τωι πρὸς
 20 τὸς ἀποφύλακας, τὰ δὲ ἐν τῆι ἀγορᾷ κ[α]ὶ [ἐν] τῶι ἀ-
 λωι ἄσται πρὸς τοὺς τὸ δῆμο συλλογέ[ι]τας, τὰ [δὲ] ἐν τῶι-
 ἰ ἔμπορίῳ καὶ τῶι Πει[ρ]αιεῖ πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιμελητῆ-
 ῶς τοῦ ἔμπορίῳ πλῆν τὰ ἐν τῶι ὄρωι, τὰ δὲ [ἐν] τῶι σί[τ]-
 τῶι πρὸς τοὺς ἀποφύλακας· τῶν δὲ φαυθέ[ι]των, ὅπ[ο]-
 σα μὲν ἂν ἦι ἐντὸς δέκα δραχμῶν κύρια ὄ[ν]των οἱ ἀ[ν]-
 25 ρχοντες διαγγυνώσκειν, τὰ δὲ ὑπερ[ὸ] δ[ι]ε[κ]α [δραχμᾶς]
 ἔσονται πρὸς τὸ δικαστήριον· οἱ δὲ θε[σ]μ[ιο]θ[ε]ται π[ρ]-
 οσέχοντων αὐτοῖς ἐπικληρόντες δικαστήριον ὅ[ν]-
 ταμ παραγγέλλυσον ἢ εὐθυθέσθω [ν Χ(?)] δραχ[μ]αῖς· τῶι
 δὲ φήσαντι μετέστω τὸ ἥμισυ ἐ[ἰ]ν ἔληι ὅ[ν] ἂν φήσῃ.
 30 ἔαν δὲ δόλος ἦι ὁ πωλὼν ἢ δόλη, ὑπ[ε]ρ[α]ρχέτω μ[ε]ν αὐτῶι
 τύττεσθαι ἦ πηληγὰς τῆι μάστριν ὑπὸ [τῶν] ἀρχόντων
 ν οἷς ἕκαστα προστέτακται· ἔαν δέ τις [τῶν] ἀ[ρ]χόντ[ων]-
 ῶν μὴ ποιῆ κατὰ τὰ γεγραμμένα, εἰσαγγ[ε]λέτω μ[ε]-
 ν ἐς τῆμ Βολῆν Ἀθηναίων ὁ βολόμενος οἷς [ἔ]ξεστω,
 35 ἔαν δὲ ἀλῶι ὑπαρχέτω μὲν αὐτῶι πεναυθ[ι]αι ἄρχων
 τι καὶ προστιμάτω αὐτῶι [ἢ] βολῆ μέχρη [ἦ] δραχμῶν· ὅ[ν]-
 πωσ δ' ἂν ἦι καὶ ἐμ Πειραιεῖ δοκιμαστής [τοῖς ναυκ]-
 λήροις καὶ τοῖς ἔμποροις καὶ τοῖς ἀλλο[ῖ]σι πᾶσιν,
 καταστησάτω ἢ βολῆ ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων ἐ[ἰ]ν ὑπ[ε]ρχῆ
 40 ἢ ἐσπράσθω, τῆν δὲ τρίμην οἱ ἀποδέκται [μερίζοντ]-
 ῶν· οἱ δὲ ἐπιμελητῆραι τοῦ ἔμπορίῳ ἐπιμελέ[σ]θω [ν ὄπ]-
 τῶν ἀγ καθῆται πρὸς τῆι στήλῃ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος [ς, κα]-
 ἰ Χρησθῶν τῶι νόμῳ καθάπερ περὶ τῶ ἐν ἄστ[ρ]ει δοκ[ι]-
 μαστέῳ εἴρηται κατὰ ταυτά· ἀναγράψαι δὲ ἐν σ[τήλ]-
 45 ηι λῆβῆναι τὸν νόμον τόνδε καὶ καταθεῖναι ἐν [ἄστ]

9 EK read by A. P. Matthaiou: ἐπ[ὶ]τομῶν] T. R. Martin, SEG xxxiii 77, ἐπιτομῶν] F. Bourriot, ZPE 1 1983, 275–83, ἐπιτομῶν] Stumpf, *Επιτομῶν*] H. Engelmann, ZPE 6 1985, 170–3; ἐπιτομῶν] R. Kallet-Maxx 49; Mar-
 tin, 27 n. 10 (cf. SEG xli 41). 11–12 παλαυτικά] Stroud: παλαυκῆμα] an alternative possibility. Bogaert,
 16 ἀβ[ν]ύρ[ι]ον read by Matthaiou. 17 [π]ωλητῆι [ἐν] Matthaiou: [π]ωλητῆραι] Stroud. 28 [X (?)]
 Stumpf: unrestored Stroud. 29 Matthaiou: ὁ [βολόμενος] Stroud: ὁ [πρωσόν] an alternative possibility.
 Bogaert 30 The stone has ΠΙΔΡΧΕΤΩ. 33 εἰσαγγ[ε]λέτω μ[ε]ν Hanssen, *Εισαγγῆ* 28 n. P.
 Gauthier, *RHicv* = 31i 1978, 32–6; εἰσαγγ[ε]λέτω αὐτῶι] Stroud. 39 ἐ[ἰ]ν ὑπ[ε]ρχῆ] Stroud: ἐπιτομῶν]
 Stumpf cf. X. *Or.* vii 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 (*syllages 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 (*phasesis*) shall be made for matters in the corn-market to the corn-guardians (*siophylakes*), 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 (*epimeliai tou enporiou*) 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 (*aisangellien*) 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 *ephektai* shall make an allocation of the price. The overseers of the import-market shall see that he sits in front of the *stèle* 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 *stèle* and put it down in

τει μὲμ μεταξὺ τῶν τραπέζων, ἐμ Πειραιεὶ δὲ πρό[σι]-
 θευ τῆς στηλῆς τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος. ὁ δὲ γραμματεὶς [ὁ]
 τῆς βολῆς παραγγυεῖ λάττω μίσθωμα τοῖς πωλ[η]ταῖς],
 οἱ δὲ πωλητῆται ἔσενεγκόντων ἐς τῆμ βολῆν. τ[ὴν] δὲ μ[ε]-
 50 ισθοφορίαν εἶναι τῶι δοκιμαστῆι τῶι ἐν τῶι [ἐ]μ[π]-
 ορίῳ ἐπὶ μὲν Ἰπποδάμαντος ἄρχοντος ἀφ' οὗ [ἀν] κα]-
 τασθῆη, μεριζόντων οἱ (ἀ)ποδέκται ὄσοι μπερ τ[ῶι]
 ἐν ἄσται δοκιμαστῆι, ἐς δὲ τὸν λοιπὸν χρόν[ον] ἐνα]-
 ι αὐτῶι τῆμ μισθοφορίαν ὀθειμπερ τοῖς ἀργυ[ρο]κό]-
 55 ποῖς. εἰ δὲ τι ψήφισμα γέγραπται πο ἐστηλήη πα[ρὰ] τ[ὴ]-
 ὄνδε τὸν νόμον, καθελέτω ὁ γραμματεὺς τῆς βολ[ῆ]ς].

59 μεριζόντων (δὲ) οἱ Μαθαίου. The stone has ΑΠΟΔΕΚΤΑΙ.

This is not a decree (*psaphisma*) enacted by the council and assembly but a law (*nomos*) enacted by the *nomothetai* (cf. Introduction, p. xviii). *Edoxe* (without final *n*) is rare.

the *stèle* of Poseidon. The secretary of the council shall
 commission the contract from the *poletai*, and the *po-*
letai 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 *stèle* contrary to this
 law, the secretary of the council shall demolish it.

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 coin trade Athens had...

64

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.188r, pl. v; Mejer, *Die griechischen Urkundenurteile*, 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 σ for $\sigma\upsilon$. Ll. 1–2 in larger letters: 3–7 *stichedon* 24; 8 sqq. *stichedon* 34 (55 in 16).

IG II² 212; SIG³ 206; Tod 167*. Trans. Harding 82. See also C. Tuplin, *ZPE* xlix 1982, 121–8; H. Heinen in Carlier (ed.), *Le IV^e Stèle au J-C.*, 357–68, esp. 361–3.

Σπαρτόκου, Παρισιάδην,
ἄπολλωνίου, Λεύκουσ παισί.

ἡααα

ἐπὶ Θεμιστοκλέους ἄρ[Χ]οντο[ς].

ἐπὶ τῆς Αἰγυγίδος ἀγδ[ό]της πρῶ[τ]-

5 αείας· ἦι Νυσίμα[Χ]ος Σωσιδῆ[μ]-

ο ἄχα[ρ]ῶν ἐὺς ἔγγραμμάτευεν· Θ[ε]ο[δ]-

φίλος [Ἀλ]μύουσιος ἐπεστάτ[η].

Ἀνδροτίων ἡνδρωσιος Παργήτ[η]ος [ε]ἰ[π]εν· π[ε]-

10 ρὶ ὧν ἐπέστειλε Σπάρτοκος κ[αὶ] Παρ[ισιάδ]ῆ[τ]-

ος καὶ οἱ πρόβεις οἱ ἥκωντ[ε]ς π[α]ρ' αὐτῶν ἀπ[α]-

γγέλουσιν, ἀποκρῖν[ε]σθαι αὐ[τ]οῖς ὅτι ὁ [δῆ]-

μος ὁ Ἀθηναίων ἐπαυεῖ Σπάρτ[ο]κον καὶ Πα-

ρισιάδην ὅτι εἰσὶν ἀνδρες [ἀ]γα[θ]οὶ καὶ ἐπ[α]-

15 γέλωνται τῶν δῆμων [τ]ῶν ἀγα[θ]ῶν ἐπιμε[λ]-

ῆσασθαι τῆς ἐκ[τ]ομπῆς τοῦ [σ]ι[τ]ῶν καθάρσ[ε]ο

πατῆρ αὐτῶν ἐπιμελέτω καὶ ὑπ[ε]ρηρῆσεν π-

ροθύμωσ ὅτου ἂν ὁ δῆμ[ο]σ δ[ε]ῖν[ε]ται· καὶ ἀπαγγέ-

20 λειν αὐτο[ῖ]ς τ[ὸ]ν π[ρό]βεισ ὄ[τ]ι ταῦτα πο-

οῦντες οὐδεν[ὸ]σ ἀτυχῆσ[σ]ιν καὶ ὁ δῆμ[ο]σ τοῦ

ἄπολλωνίου. ἐπ[ὶ] δὲ τῶν δα[μ]πεῖ[α]σ διδάσ-

17 ἄθηναίο[ι]σ ἀσ[π]ερ Σ[ά]ρ[ισ]τ[ο]σ καὶ Λεύκων ἐδο-

σαν, εἴηαι [Σ]παρτ[ό]κ[ω] καὶ Παρισιάδ[ε]ι τὰς δ-

ωπειὰσ ἄσ [ὁ] δῆμ[ο]σ εἴωκε Σατύρων καὶ Λεύκων-

18 καὶ στεφ[α]νοῦν χρυσῶν στεφάνων Παρθη-

25 ναίοσ το[ῖ]σ Μεγ[ά]λοισ ἀπὸ χιλίων δραχμῶν

ἐκάτερο[ν]. ποιεῖσθαι δὲ τοὺσ στεφάνουσ το-

19 ἂν ἀλαθ[ε]τασ τῶν προτέρων· εἴηαι Παρθηνα-

20 ῶν τῶν Μεγ[ά]λων κατὰ τὸ ψήφισμα τοῦ δῆμου

For Spartocus, Paerisades, Apollonius, sons of Leucon.

³ In the archonship of Themistocles [347/6]; in the eighth prytany, of Aegaeis; to which Sosidemus of Acharnae was secretary; Theophilus of Halimna was chairman. Androcton son of Andron of Cargetus 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 *athlotheai* 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 Παρισάδην τοὺς Λεύκωνος
 παῖδας ἀρετῆς καὶ εὐνοίας ἐνεκα τῆς εἰς τ-
 ὠν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων. ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοὺς στεφ-
 άους ἀνατιθέσθαι τῆι, Ἀθηναῖαι τῆι Πολιάδι,
 35 τοὺς ἀθλοθέτας εἰς τὸν νεὸν ἀνατιθέναι το-
 υς στεφάνους ἐπιγυράμηντας. Σπάρτοκος⁶⁵
 καὶ Παρισάδης Λεύκωνος παῖδες ἀνέθεσα-
 ν τῆι Ἀθηναῖαι στεφάνωθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ δῆμου
 τοῦ Ἀθηναίων. τὸ δὲ ἀργύριον διδόναι το-
 40 ῖς ἀθλοθέτας εἰς τοὺς στεφάνους τὸν τοῦ
 δῆμου ταμίαν ἐκ τῶν εἰς τὰ κατὰ ψήφισματα
 τῶι δῆμῳ με[ρι]ζομένων. τὸ δὲ νῦν[ν] εἶναι παρ-
 αδοῦναι τοὺς ἀποδέκτας τὸ εἰς [τ]οὺς στεφ[ά]-
 νους ἐκ τῶν στ[ρατιωτικῶν] χολ[η]μάτων. ἀναγ[ρ]-
 45 άβηαι δὲ τὸ ψήφισμα τῶδε τὸν γράμματά τῆ[ς]
 βουλῆς ἐν στηλίηι, λήθιναι καὶ σῆσαι πηλη[σ]-
 ίων τῆς Σπάρτου καὶ Λεύκωνος, ἐς δὲ τὴν ἀ[π]-
 γραφὴν δοῦναι τὸν ταμίαν τοῦ δῆμου τριά[κ]-
 50 ὠντα δραχμῆς. ἐπαυέσθαι δὲ τοὺς πρέσβει[ς]
 Σῶσαν καὶ Θεοδόσιον, ὅτι ἐπιμελοῦνται τ[ῶ]-
 ν ἀφικ[ν]ουμένων Ἀθηνηθεν εἰς Βόσπορον, [κα]-
 ῖ καλέσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ ξένια εἰς τὸ πρυταν[ει]-
 ῶν εἰς αὐριον. περὶ δὲ τῶν χρημάτων τῶν [ῶφ]-
 [ει]λ[ο]μένων τοῖς παῖσι τοῖς Λεύκωνος, ὅπ[ω]ς
 55 [ᾶ]ν ἀπολάβωσαν, χρηματῆσαι τοὺς προέδ[ι]ρους
 [οῖ] ἀν λάχωναν προεῖρεῖν ἐν τῶι δῆμῳ [τῆ]ι
 [ὄγ]δοσι ἐπὶ δέκα πρώτων μετὰ τὰ ἱερά, ὅπ[ω]ς ᾶ-
 [ν] ἀπολα[β]ῶντες τὰ χρηματα μὴ ἐγκαιλῶ[ν] τῶι
 60 [δ]ῆμῳ τῶι Ἀθηναίων. δοῦναι δ[ὲ] τὰς ὑπη[ρ]εσ[τ]-
 [α]ς ᾶς αἰτοῦσι Σπάρτοκος καὶ Παρισ[τ]άδης. τ[ῆ]-
 [ὸ]υς δὲ πρ[ε]σβεις ἀπογυράμηναι τὰ ὀνόμα[τ]α τῶν
 [ῶ]νη[ρ]εσ[τ]ῶν ᾶν ᾶν λάβωσαν τῶι γράμμα[τ]ι τῆ[ς]
 [ς] βουλῆς. οὗς δ' ᾶν ἀπογυράμωσαν, εἶναι[ν] ἐν τῶι
 τ[ε]ταγμένῳ ποιῶντας ἀγαθὸν ὅ τι [ᾶ]ν δύνω[ν]-
 65 νται τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς Λεύκωνος. Π[ο]λύευκ[τ]-
 ὠς Τιμοκράτους Κριωεύς εἴη· τὰ [μὲν] ἀλλα κ[τ]-
 [α]θάπερ Ἀνδροτίων στεφανώσασ[τ]αι, δὲ καὶ Ἀπολλ[ο]-
 λωνιον τὸν Λεύκωνος υἱὸν ἐκ τῶν[ν] αὐτῶν.⁶⁶

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 founded by members of the Spartan dynasty.

- of Athens crown Spartocus and Parisades 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 Poias, the *athletikai* shall dedicate the crowns in the temple, adding the inscription, 'Spartocus and Parisades sons of Leucon dedicated to Athena, having been crowned by the people of Athens.'
- 39 The money shall be given to the *athletikai* 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 *stèle* and placed near the *stèle* of Satyrus and Leucon, and for the writing-up the treasurer of the people shall give thirty drachmas.
- 49 Praise the envoys Sosis and Theodotus, because they take care of those arriving from Athens at the Bosphorus, and invite them to hospitality in the *prytanion* tomorrow.
- 53 Concerning the money owing to the sons of Leucon, so that they shall recover it, the *praeltoi* 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 Parisades 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 Polyuctus son of Timocrates of Crioa proposed:
- 66 In other respects in accordance with Androcion; but crown also Apollonius the son of Leucon from the same source.

and Thracian names, from c.438/7 until 109 (see J. Hind, *CAH*², vi. 476–511; G. R. Tsetschladze in Nielsen (ed.), *Ter Mone Studes (Hist. Einz. Einz. 1997)*, 39–81). OF

Athenian law threatening the Areopagus in the event of a plot against the democracy, 337/6

79

A *stelai* 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 Demokrazia. Prod. e.g. *Heip.* xxi 1954, 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 σ for $\sigma\upsilon$ in l. 19; *stelaiakon* 36 (35 letters in l. 15).

ἐπι Φρυγίου ἀρχοντος· ἐπι τῆς Δεωτῆδος ἐν-
 ἄτης πυρραβείας· ἢ Χαυρέστρατος Μμευῖου
 Μχαρνεὺς ἐγραμμάρτευσ· τῶν προσόδων ἐπελή-
 φίλεν Μευέστρατος Αἰξωνεύς. Εἰκράτης Μρισ-
 5 τοτίμου Πειραιεύς ἔπειν ἀγαθῆν τύχην τοῦ δ-
 ῆμου τοῦ Μθηναίου, δεδόχθαι τοῖς νομοθέται-
 σ· ἔάν τις ἐπαυσσῆται τῶν δῆμων ἐπι τυραννίδι
 ἢ τὴν τυραννίδα συνκαταστήσῃ ἢ τὸν δῆμον τ-
 ὦν Μθηναίων ἢ τὴν δημοκρασίαν τὴν Μθηγησων
 10 καταλύσῃ, ὅς ἂν τὸν τούτων τι ποιήσῃ ἀπο-
 κίττειν ὅσας ἔστω. μὴ ἐξέειναι δὲ τῶν βουλευ-
 τῶν τῶν τῆς Βουλῆς τῆς ἐξ Ἀρείου Πάγου καταλ-
 ἐλυμένου τοῦ δήμου ἢ τῆς δημοκρατίας τῆς Μθ-
 ῆγησων ἀνείναι εἰς Ἀρείου Πάγου μῆδὲ συνακα-
 15 θίξεν ἐν τῶν συνεδρίων μῆδὲ βουλεύειν μη-
 δὲ περὶ ἐνός· ἐάν δὲ τις τοῦ δήμου ἢ τῆς δημοκρ-
 ατίας καταλελυμένων τῶν Μθηγησων ἀνίη τῶν
 βουλευτῶν τῶν ἐξ Ἀρείου Πάγου εἰς Ἀρείου Π-
 20 ἄγου ἢ συναθίσῃ ἐν τῶν συνεδρίων ἢ βολέυῃ-
 20 ἰ περὶ τίνος, ἄρκμος ἔστω καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ γένος
 τὸ ἐξ ἐκείνου, καὶ ἢ οὐσία δημοσία ἔστω αὐτοῦ
 καὶ τῆς Θεοῦ τὸ ἐπιδέκατον. ἀναγράφῃαι δὲ τῶν-
 δε τὸν νόμον ἐν στήλαις λιθίαις δυοῖν τῶν γυ-
 ραμμάτων τῆς βουλῆς καὶ στήσαι τῆμ μὲν ἐπι τ-
 25 ῆς εἰσόδου τῆς εἰς Ἀρείου Πάγου τῆς εἰς τὸ βο-
 νλευτήριον εἰσάουσι, τὴν δὲ ἐν τῆ ἐκκλησίᾳ·
 ἰ· εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν τῶν στήλων τὸν ταμίαν
 δοῦναι τοῦ δήμου· ΔΔ· δραχμὰς εἰς τῶν κατὰ ψη-
 φίσματα ἀναλασκομένων τῶν δῆμων. νακατ

Hep. xxi 1954, 335–9 no. 5; *SEG* xii 87; Pouilloux, *Chonx*, 32; Schwenk 6; *Agora*, xvi 73*. Trans. Harding 101.
 See also M. Ostwald, *TAPA* lxxvii 1955, 103–28; R. Sealey, *ASP* lxxix 1958, 71–3 = his *Essays*, 183–5; Wallace,
The Athenian Council, 175–84; P. J. Rhodes in Eder (ed.), *Die athenische Demokratie in 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, 303–19
 at 91–14.

In the archonship of Phrynichus [337/6]: in the ninth pry-
 tany, 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 Praeus 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 (*synation*) 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 with-
 out rights (*atimos*), both himself and his descendants, and
 his property shall be made public and the tithes 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.

11 The stone has *KIENHI*.

13 S. D. Lambert: *EΛΥΝΕΝΟΥ* edd.

There are also places where