

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 (*Mar. Par. FGH* 239 A 71, Macrob. *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

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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, *Inaugures²*, 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*; *staichedon* 33. This is the work of Tracy’s Cutter of *IG* 1² 105 (= this text: cf. 31, 41). *Athenian Democracy in Transition*, 67–70.

IG 1² 105 + 593; *SIG³* 163; Tod 136⁶; *Sat.* 280. Trans. Harding 52. See also K. Maltzeos, *Αρχ. Ξφ.* 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 / Οἰνηγίδ]-
[ος δευτέρης (?) π]ρωταν[είας· ————— 13

1–3 Following Lewis, we have restored ἐπὶ τῆς Αἰγυγίδ- / Οἰνηγίδος δευτέρης (?) π]ρωταν[είας, and have not restored the secretary, earlier add. restored Αἰαντίδος ἐβδόμης π]ρωταν[είας· Μόσχος Κωδάλληλαεύς, to match Tod 136⁶. 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.] lxx. *Measr.* 89–90; and see M. J. Osborne, *BSA* kvii 1972, 129–58 at 132–40; M. H. Hansen, *GRBS* xvii 1976, 115–34 = *Ecclasia* (1), 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 *tribes* and tribe of which that deme formed a part (*tribes* 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).

In the archonship of Nausigenes [368/7];
in the second prytany, of Aegeis /

[—⁵— ἐγραμ]μάτευε[ν· πέμπτη / ἐβδόμη καὶ τριακο]-
[στῆ· τῆς πρ]πανείας· τῶν προέδρων ἐπέφη]-
5 [φι]ε —⁶—] Δαίππο [Μαραθ. ἔδοξεν τῶι δῆ]-
[μωι. Πάν]δ[ιος ἔπεν· τῷ]χ[τη ἀγαθῆι τῆι Ἀθην]-
[αίων· δ[εδόχθ]αι τῶι δῆμ[ωι· ἐπανέσαι μὲν Δ]-
[ιονύσι]ο[ν] τὸν Σικελιά[ς ἀρχοντα ὅτι ἐστ]-
[ν ἀνὴρ] ἀγαθὸς περὶ τὸν [δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίω]-
10 [ν καὶ τ]ὸς συμμάχους. εἴ[ναι δὲ συμμάχος αὐ]-
[τὸν κα]ὶ τοὺς ἐγγόνους [τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθην]-
[αίων] εἰς [τ]ὸν αἰ. χρόνον [ἐπὶ τοῖσδε. εἰάν τις
[ἦν ἐπ]ὶ [τ]ῆν χώραν τῆν Ἀ[θηναίων ἐπὶ πολέμ]-
[ωι ἢ κατ]ὰ γῆν ἢ κατὰ θάλα[σσαν, βοηθεῖν Διο]-
15 [νύσιον] καὶ τοὺς ἐγγόν[ους αὐτὸ καθότι αὐ]
[ἐπαγγέ]λλωσιν Ἀθηναί[οι καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ]
[κατὰ θά]λασσαν παν[τὶ σθένει κατὰ τὸ δυνά]-
[τὸν· καὶ] εἰάν τις ἦν εἴ[πὶ Διονύσιον ἢ τοὺς ἐ]-
[γγόνου]ς αὐτὸ ἢ ὄσων ἀ[ρχεῖ Διονύσιος ἐπὶ]
20 [πολέμω]ι ἢ κατὰ γῆν ἢ κατὰ θάλασσαν, βοηθεῖ]-
[ν Ἀθη]ναίους καθότι αὐ[τὸν ἐπαγγέ]λλωσιν κα]-
[ὶ κατὰ γ]ῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλα[σσαν παντὶ σθένει]-
[ὶ κατὰ τ]ὸ δυνάτ[ον· ὅπλα δ]᾽ εἰ μὴ ἐξείναι ἔπεν]-
[εγκεῖν] Δ[ιο]νύσιωι μηδ[εὶ τοῖς ἐγγόνου]ς αὐ]-
25 [τοῦ ἐπ]ὶ τ[ῆν] χώραν τῆν Ἀ[θηναίων ἐπὶ πημον]-
[ῆι μῆτε] κ[ατ]ὰ γῆν μῆτε κ[ατὰ θάλασσαν μηδὲ]
[Ἀθηναί]ο[ι]ς ἐξείναι ὅπ[λα ἐπενεγκεῖν ἐπὶ]
[Διονύ]σι[ον] μηδὲ τοῦ(ς) ἐκ[γόνου]ς αὐτοῦ μηδὲ]
[ὄσων ἀ]ρχ[ε]ῖ Διονύσιος [ἐπὶ πημονῆι μῆτε κ]-
30 ἀτὰ γῆν] μ[ὴ]τε κατὰ θάλα[σσαν. λαβεῖν δὲ τὸν]
[ὄρκου] τὸμ περὶ τῆς συμ[μαχίας τοὺς πρέσβ]-
[εῖς τοὺ]ς παρὰ Διονυσίου ἡκοντας, ὁμόσαι]
[δὲ τῆν τε] βουλὴν καὶ τοῖς στρατηγούς καὶ τ]-
[οὺς ὑπ]άρχους καὶ τοῖς ταξί[άρχου]ς ὁμόσα]-
35 [ι δὲ Διο]νύσιον καὶ τοῖς —¹⁴—
[—⁵—] τῶν Συρακοσίων —¹⁴—
[—⁶—] ῥάρχους. ὁμύ[ναι δὲ τὸν νόμιμον ὅ]-
[ρκον ἐκ]ατέρους. τοῖς δὲ ὄρκους ἀπο[λ]αβεῖν]
[Ἀθηναί]ων τὸς πρέσβ[εῖς τοὺς πλ]έοντ[ας εἰ]-

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 hiparchs 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.

3 We have restored ἐγραμ]μάτευε[ν· πέμπτη / ἐβδόμη; earlier edd. restored ἐγραμ]μάτευε. [δεν-έρσαι, and τεράστη also would fit that space; but ἐγραμ]μάτευε is more usual; see M. H. Hansen, *GRBS* xxxiii 1982, 338 with 341 = *Excelsia* (1), 90 with 93. 23-4, 27 ἐπενεγκεῖν Lewis, *CO*² xi 1961, 64 n. 1: ἐπιπέσειν earlier edd., which is one letter too short. 28 The stone has TOYEK. 35-7 A. Wilhelm *ap. Michel* 1452, followed by other edd., restored τοῖς ἀρχοντας καὶ τῆν [βουλὴν] τῶν Συρακοσίων καὶ στρατηγού(ς) καὶ τριτ]άρχους; but Stroheker has shown that that and other proposed restorations are dubious.

40 [5 Σικελί]αν· ἀναγράψ[αι δὲ τὸ ψήφ]ισμα [τὸδε] [τὸν γραμ]ματέα τῆς [βολῆς ἐν στ]ήλη[ι λιθίῳ]-
 [ἦι καὶ στήσαι ἐν ἀκροπόλει· εἰς] δὲ τ[ὴν ἀνα]-
 [γραφήν] δούναι τὸν ταμίαν τοῦ δ[ήμου] ΔΔΔ (?) δ]-
 [ραχμίας. *vact*]

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 (*pephone*, '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* i³ 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 endings; 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* i³ 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.

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 *oo* in ll. 2, 5; ll. 2-3 in larger, clumsier letters; ll. 4 sqq. *stèle* no. 35 (in l. 22 *oo* 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.

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 Dauppus is a rare name, and no demote 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* ii² 104), but the second is possible, and we restore that.