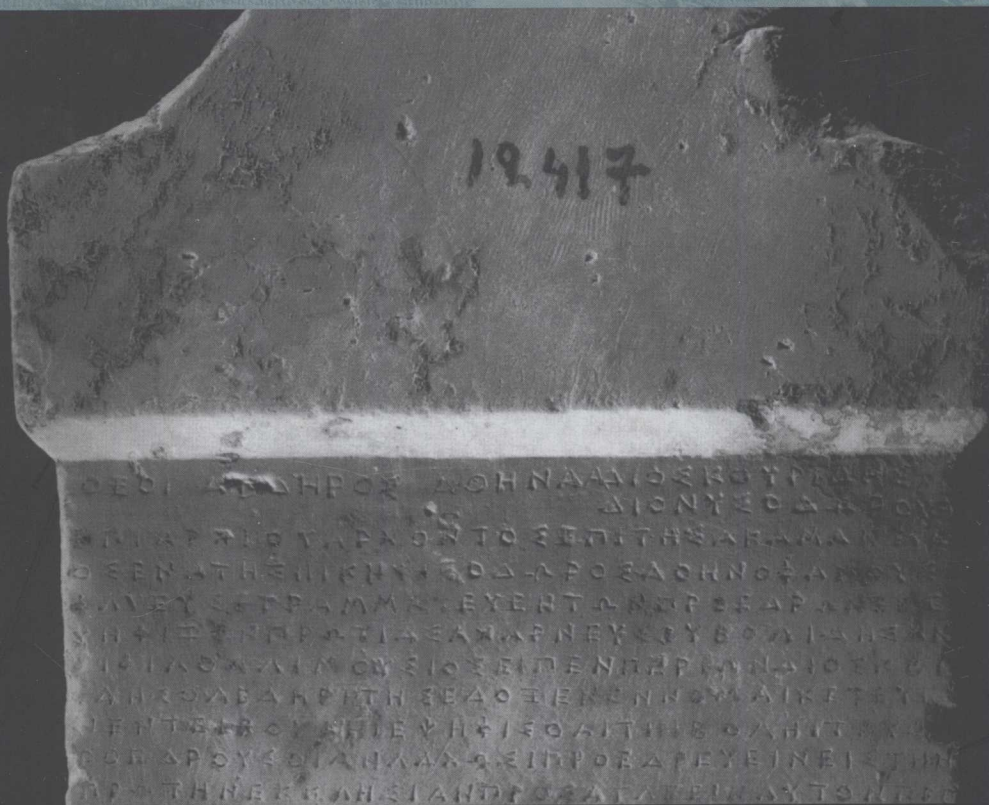


Inscribed Athenian Laws and Decrees 352/1-322/1 BC

Epigraphical Essays

Stephen Lambert



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By

Stephen Lambert



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Cover illustrations: (Front) Athenian Assembly decree of 346/5 BC honouring Dioskourides of Abdera and his brothers (*IG* II³ 1, 302, photo courtesy of the Epigraphical Museum, Athens) (Back) Dedication to Hephaistos by the Athenian Council of 343/2 BC and beginning of the Council's decree honouring Phanodemos of Thymaitadai as the best speaker in the Council in the ninth prytany (*IG* II³ 1, 306, photo courtesy of the Epigraphical Museum, Athens).

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The publication of fascicule 2 of *IG II*³ 1 and this collection of associated prolegomena mark the end of the epigraphical phase of my work on the inscribed laws and decrees of Athens, 352/1–322/1 BC. Begun in 1999, the work was substantially complete by 2005. Since then obstacles various in shape and size have strewn the path, but now that the journey is done, I am less mindful of them than I am of the many debts of gratitude I owe to the individuals and institutions who have helped along the way.

First and foremost, when working on the third edition of a great epigraphical corpus, one is acutely aware that one's steps are guided by the kindly light shone by the labour of one's predecessors. Numerous scholars have made lasting contributions to the epigraphy of these 282 inscriptions in the 250 years since the first was published by P.M. Paciaudi in 1761 (see chapter 8); and that includes all whom I may mention from time to time in the following pages in disagreement. It is a pleasure to acknowledge here the pioneering work of the early Greek scholars, in particular Kyriakos Pittakis, Alexandros Rangabé and Stephanos A. Koumanoudes, the heroic labours of Johannes Kirchner, editor of the second edition of *IG II*, and the invaluable work of Benjamin Meritt and the team of epigraphists responsible for publishing the inscriptions from the Agora excavations. The contributions of two scholars of past generations, however, are outstanding in quality and quantity: Ulrich Köhler, editor of the first edition of *IG II*, and Adolf Wilhelm, who was responsible for much of the best work in the second edition. Both were brilliant scholars, but I rate Köhler's contribution more highly, for he achieved the greatest transformation in the quality of this corpus, introducing order and light, and was a particularly good judge of the point at which restoration of text not preserved on the stone ceases to be legitimate and helpful and becomes speculative and potentially misleading.

I gladly reiterate here my warm thanks to the many scholars of the present generation whose contributions are acknowledged in the individual papers collected in this volume. To these I add now three further grateful acknowledgements: to Emmanuel Vintiadis and Peter Liddel, who rendered invaluable assistance in the early years, particularly in

researching older bibliography; to Klaus Hallof and Angelos Matthaiou for their important contributions in the later stages; for moral support to Ron Stroud, especially in the earlier stages, and, especially in the later stages, to Robin Osborne and above all to Peter Rhodes. It is also a pleasure to acknowledge here the tremendous value, for this project and for Attic epigraphy more broadly, of the contribution made by Stephen Tracy's pioneering work on epigraphical hands.

One of the principles underlying all good epigraphical corpus work is, where practicable, comprehensive autopsy of the stones, and this requires the collaboration of many museums. I have great pleasure in reiterating here the thanks expressed in the individual papers to all the museums I have visited in the course of this work, and their staffs, who have invariably been courteous, friendly and helpful. To these I add now my thanks to the staff of the British Museum for facilitating access in 2010 to inv. no. 773 (*IG II³ 1, 395*). Because of the number of inscriptions discovered in the Agora and the even larger number stored in the Epigraphical Museum at Athens, I owe special debts of thanks to John Camp and the staff of the Agora excavations, and above all to the staff of the Epigraphical Museum and its successive Directors, and most especially, since most of the work was done during his Directorship, to Charalambos Kritzas.

Excellent libraries are also indispensable to good epigraphy. For the most part the library work was done at the British School at Athens in 1999–2004, and I take this opportunity to thank successive Directors and staff, and Penny Wilson, the librarian, for their unstinting support. In the very last stages of the work, in 2009–2011, I was also privileged to enjoy, as Visiting Fellow of Utrecht University, the library and the other incomparable facilities of the Fondation Hardt, in Vandoeuvres, Geneva, and I am extremely grateful to Monica Brunner, Heidi del Lago and the other staff who make visits there so agreeable. These visits were facilitated by my happy collaboration with Josine Blok on her project on religion and citizenship in Athens, and I am grateful to her too for much support of many kinds.

Serious epigraphy is a fundamentally important business, but it is also a laborious one and, unlike my predecessor as British editor of an Attic *IG*, David Lewis, editor of *IG I³*, I do not hold a University post in epigraphy. In these circumstances this work would not have been completed had I not been prepared to do a significant proportion of it in my own time and at my own expense. Nevertheless, it would also have been impossible without financial support. I grate-

fully acknowledge the contribution of the UK Arts and Humanities Research Board, who funded my work part-time (50%) between 1999 and 2004 on a project for which the grant-holder was John Davies (for whose patience over the long haul I am very grateful); and the Packard Humanities Institute, which also supported my work between 1999 and 2005. Some of the initial groundwork was laid at the University of Heidelberg, where I was privileged to enjoy a Humboldt Fellowship for parts of the two years 1999–2001, at the kind invitation of Angelos Chaniotis.

Finally I owe four debts of gratitude specific to this volume: to Adele Scafuro, for proposing it; to Benjamin Millis and Evelyn van 't Wout for expert help in compiling the indices; to the original publishers of the papers for permission to reprint them here: to Habelt-Verlag of Bonn for chapters I–XI and XIII; to the Canadian Institute in Greece for chapter XII; to the Greek Epigraphical Society for chapters XIV, XV and XVIII; to Nicholas Sekunda and the Institute of Archaeology, Gdańsk University, for chapter XVI; and to Éditions Ausonius of Bordeaux for chapter XVII; and to the Epigraphical Museum, Athens, for supplying from their archive the photographs reproduced on the cover.

PREFACE

As soon as I began work on the new edition of the inscribed laws and decrees of Athens, 352/1–322/1 BC (*IG* II³ Part 1, fascicule 2) in 1999, it became clear to me that it would be desirable to publish a series of prolegomena. The pages of *IG*, with its tradition of extremely concise presentation of epigraphical texts, were not the place to describe, justify and explain in adequate depth and detail the epigraphical innovations, such as new readings and restorations, joins and datings, and the fresh interpretative ideas that I had to propose (some my own, some kindly communicated to me by colleagues); and it seemed proper to expose these innovations and ideas to open scrutiny before they became incorporated in a Corpus which ought ideally to reflect not so much the private opinions of any individual as a collective scholarly view.

The result was the 18 papers gathered in this volume. Originally published between 2000 and 2010 in the *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, conference proceedings, commemorative volumes and Festschriften, they are arranged here into three parts. Part A is a connected series of five papers, a catalogue of the inscriptions arranged thematically, with bibliography, notes on some of the results of my work on individual texts and some discussion of historical context and physical features of the stones. Part B consists of papers reporting findings relating to inscriptions individually or in small groups. Some of these also treat inscriptions outside my Corpus fascicule; for example, one of the papers proposes new restorations of names in inscriptions both in my Corpus and outside it; another reports the results of a visit to the University Museum, Oxford Mississippi, where I studied not only the one inscription there that belongs in my Corpus, but also other Greek inscriptions in the collection. Though most of the papers in this Part are primarily epigraphical in focus, most also contain some discussion of historical context, and two of the later ones, on honorific decrees relating to the theatre and on inter-state treaties, are quite strongly historical in emphasis. Part C contains a single paper on the chronology of Athens in this period, a subject on which the prescripts of inscribed laws and decrees supply most of the evidence and which is in turn fundamental to the restoration of incompletely preserved prescripts.

My hope that the publication of prolegomena would stimulate further progress in the epigraphy of these texts has been realised. Select addenda and corrigenda to 2007 are at pp. 208–214, and I include at the end of this volume a note of the more important further improvements that have been achieved since 2007.

Some readers will consult this collection in pursuit of a reference in *IG* or elsewhere to one of the original papers, and to assist them an indication of the original page numbers has been embedded in the reprinted texts. (A vertical line marks the end of the original page-number printed in the margin alongside it.) Indices and concordances, including the new *IG* numbers, have been included to assist those searching for discussions of specific inscriptions. The opportunity of re-publication has been taken silently to correct some typographical errors in the original papers.

Photographs of inscriptions were included in the original papers only where no photograph had previously been published. That gap in the literature has now been filled, and a complete set of photographs is now readily accessible in the *IG* fascicule itself. It has therefore been decided not to reproduce the photographs once again in this volume.

English translations of the inscriptions are being made available on-line.

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PART A

MAIN SERIES

CHAPTER ONE

ATHENIAN STATE LAWS AND DECREES 352/1–322/1 I DECREES HONOURING ATHENIANS*¹

This is the first of a series of articles on categories of inscribed Athenian state laws and decrees, 352/1–322/1. They are intended

* This chapter was previously published in *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 150 (2004), 85–120.

¹ I am very grateful to the following scholars for their help in the preparation of this article: Sean Byrne, Jaime Curbera, Malcolm Errington, Simone Follet, Christian Habicht, Klaus Hallof, Sally Humphreys, Charalambos Kritzas, Angelos Matthaiou, John Morgan, Robert Parker, Peter Rhodes, Ronald Stroud, Leslie Threatte and Stephen Tracy. I alone am responsible for remaining flaws. Charalambos Kritzas and John Camp kindly facilitated access to inscriptions in the Epigraphical Museum and the Agora. I thank Charalambos Kritzas also for supplying the photographs of inscriptions in the EM and Klaus Hallof for the images of the squeeze in the IG archives at the Berlin Academy reproduced at Fig. 8. Wherever possible, I have read every letter of every inscription at autopsy. I have also examined squeezes (principally those in Berlin, Oxford and Princeton), photographs and, where this seemed likely to be fruitful, early transcripts. Following the principles that have been adopted for *IG II*³, where an inscription can not be dated precisely and the possible dates span the periods of more than one fascicle, it has normally been allocated according to the highest date in the range. Accordingly some decrees that might date to 352/1–322/1 are not included here and some inscriptions that are included might not date to within this period. Some very fragmentary items that might have honoured Athenians will be listed in *Ath. State III*. The following abbreviations are used:

Agora XV: B.D. Meritt and J.S. Traill edd., *The Athenian Agora. Vol. XV. Inscriptions: the Athenian Councillors* (Princeton, 1974);

Agora XVI: A.G. Woodhead ed., *The Athenian Agora. Vol. XVI. Inscriptions: the Decrees* (Princeton, 1997);

APF: J.K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families 600–300 BC* (Oxford, 1971);

Ath. State I–III: articles in the present series;

Develin, AO: R. Develin, *Athenian Officials 684–321 BC* (Cambridge, 1989);

Faraguna, *Atene*: M. Faraguna, *Atene nell' età di Alessandro* (Rome, 1992);

Gauthier, *Bienfaiteurs*: Ph. Gauthier, *Les cités grecques et leurs bienfaiteurs* (Paris, 1985);

Henry, *Honours*: A.S. Henry, *Honours and Privileges in Athenian Decrees* (Hildesheim, 1983);

Henry, *Prescripts*: A.S. Henry, *The Prescripts of Athenian Decrees* (Leiden, 1977);

Humphreys, *Strangeness*: S.C. Humphreys, *The Strangeness of Gods* (Oxford, 2004);

IOrop: B. Petrakos, 'Επιγραφές του Ὀρώπου (Athens, 1997);

IRham: B. Petrakos, 'Ὁ δῆμος του Ῥαμνοῦντος. Vol. II, οἱ Ἐπιγραφές (Athens, 1999);

Knoepfler, *Eretria XI*: D. Knoepfler, *Eretria XI. Décrets érétriens de proxénie et citoyenneté* (Lausanne, 2001);

Lettered Attica: D. Jordan and J. Traill edd., *Lettered Attica. A Day of Attic Inscriptions, Proceedings of the Athens Symposium, 8 March 2000* (Publications of Canadian Institute at Athens, no. 3; 2003);

as prolegomena to *IG* II³ fascicle 2² and have a threefold purpose:

- (a) to make available photographs of inscriptions of which none has been published previously;
- (b) to discuss new textual and occasionally contextual points more fully than is possible within the constraints of a concise corpus format;
- 85 (c) to facilitate historical research. |

Athens began regularly inscribing decrees honouring its own citizens in the 340s.³ The few known cases from before this are exceptional. Earlier in the 4th century the city had awarded high honours to the generals Konon, Iphikrates, Chabrias and Timotheos.⁴ None of the decrees survives, but at least in the case of Konon it seems that it was inscribed, for at *XX* 69 Demosthenes quotes from “the stele” (ἐν τῇ στήλῃ γέγραπται): “ἐπειδὴ Κόνων” φησὶν “ἡλευθέρωσε τοὺς Ἀθηναίων συμμάχους”. The honours included *ateleia* and a bronze statue. At *XX* 70 he has the decrees for Konon read out (the texts are not preserved in the manuscripts). At *XX* 86 he has the decrees

LGP II: M.J. Osborne and S.G. Byrne edd., *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*. Vol. II. *Attica* (Oxford, 1994);

Meritt, *Ath. Year*: B.D. Meritt, *The Athenian Year* (Berkeley, 1961);

Mikalson, *Calendar*: J.D. Mikalson, *The Sacred and Civil Calendar of the Athenian Year* (Princeton, 1975);

PAA: J.S. Traill ed., *Persons of Ancient Athens* (Toronto, 1994–);

Prakt. Wilhelm: A.P. Matthaiou ed., Ἀττικά ἐπιγραφαί, Πρακτικά Συμποσίου εἰς μνήμην Adolf Wilhelm (Athens, 2004);

Pritchett-Neugebauer: W.K. Pritchett and O. Neugebauer, *The Calendars of Athens* (Cambridge Mass., 1947);

Rationes: S.D. Lambert, *Rationes Centesimarum* (Amsterdam, 1997);

Rhodes, *Boule*: P.J. Rhodes, *The Athenian Boule* (Oxford, 1972, rev. 1985);

RO: P.J. Rhodes and R. Osborne, *Greek Historical Inscriptions 404–323 BC* (Oxford, 2003);

Schwenk: C.J. Schwenk, *Athens in the Age of Alexander* (Chicago, 1985);

Threatte: L. Threatte, *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions* (Berlin, I 1980, II 1996);

Tracy, *ADT*: S.V. Tracy, *Athenian Democracy in Transition* (Berkeley, 1995);

V.-Terzi: C. Veligianni-Terzi, *Wertbegriffe in den attischen Ehrendekreten der klassischen Zeit* (Stuttgart, 1997);

Whitehead, *Demes*: D. Whitehead, *The Demes of Attica* (Princeton, 1986).

² The fascicle will contain c. 250 texts.

³ No. 18, passed in 346/5 and honouring a man who held office in 347/6, is the earliest dated example in the series. In general on the history of honorific practice in Athens and elsewhere in Greece see Gauthier, *Bienfaiteurs*; on Athens see recently also I. Kralli, *Archaïognosia* 10 (1999–2000), 133–62.

⁴ On the award of the *megistai timai* in the 5th and early 4th centuries see Gauthier, *Bienfaiteurs*, 24–8 and 92–103; RO notes to 8 and 22.

for Chabrias read out, though he does not specify in this case that they were inscribed. The unusualness of these honours is confirmed by the epigraphical record, for of the over 250 extant decrees of the period 403–352 inscribed at the initiative of the state, there is not one the main purpose of which is to honour an Athenian.⁵ *Agora* XVI 52, for Eukles, herald of the Council and People, supporter of democracy and freedom in 403, and for his son Philokles, appointed to the same office, is probably not an exception, since the decrees lack the customary clause providing for their inscription and were perhaps set up at private initiative and expense.⁶

From these cases, from other allusions in the orators⁷ and from the evidence of inscribed dedications made by officials honoured by the Council and/or People,⁸ it is clear that decrees honouring Athenians were not a wholly new phenomenon in the 340s; it was the regular

⁵ Athenian envoys are quite commonly praised and invited to dinner (δεῖπνον, the term normally used for Athenians) in the *prytaneion* in decrees dealing with diplomatic matters (e.g. for envoys returning from Mytilene in 368/7, *IG* II² 107 = *RO* 31, 24–6) but they are not usually named and the honour is incidental to the decree's main purpose. Often it was patently part of the intention in such cases to enable the envoys to participate in the hospitality (ξένια, the term used for foreigners) offered to visiting foreign diplomats (at *IG* II² 107, 26–30, to the representatives of the Lesbian cities at the allied Council). It is also probably in a diplomatic context that one should understand the invitation to δεῖπνον in *IG* II² 70 of c. 390–378, extended to three Athenians who had apparently been made citizens of Phokis (cf. Develin, *AO* 229). The unusual *IG* II² 366 = Schwenk 80 (archon Kephisodoros), inscribed (perhaps at private initiative) in a crown on a base, may date to 366/5 rather than 323/2 (proposer with name only would be anomalous in 323/2, cf. Henry, *Prescripts*, 43). The honorand is also invited to δεῖπνον, so might be an Athenian, but might as easily be a naturalised foreigner (commonly recipients of invitations to δεῖπνον, e.g. *IG* II² 226, 26–8) or a foreigner exceptionally invited to δεῖπνον (as e.g. Lapyris of Kleonai, *IG* II² 365b, 9–11, of 323/2, cf. P.J. Rhodes, *ZPE* 72 (1984), 193–9). *IG* II² 171, honouring Artikleides (possibly an Athenian), is dated to before 353/2 in *IG* II² but may rather date to 335 or later (see *Ath. State* III). *IG* II² 143 (cf. *SEG* XXXIV 63) includes a list of Athenians honoured preceded by some highly fragmentary text. This appears to include wording reminiscent of a decree, perhaps a quotation from a decree, but though it was included in *IG* II² among the decrees, it might more appropriately be classified as a dedication.

⁶ Support for the democracy in the crisis of 403 may have been a factor influencing the decision to inscribe in this case. The decree of Theozotides, which provided for the sons of citizens who had died fighting for democracy in 404–403, was also inscribed (*SEG* XXVIII 46). Though not explicitly an honorific decree in form, it was implicitly honorific in intention.

⁷ E.g. Demosthenes' claim that he had frequently been crowned by the People (*XVIII* 83, 120, 222, 257).

⁸ See for example the first thirty or so inscriptions in *Agora* XV. Council prytanies had been honoured since the 5th century, but the relevant decrees began to be inscribed regularly only after 307 (cf. *Agora* XV p. 2). No. 4 and, if it is genuine, no. 8 are apparent early forerunners. The series of dated dedications by other officials