

DEMETRIUS POLIORCETES AND THE HELLENIC LEAGUE

(PLATE 33)

1. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

DURING the six years, 307/6-302/1 B.C., issues were raised and settled which shaped the course of western history for a long time to come. The epoch was alike critical for Athens, Hellas, and the Macedonians. The Macedonians faced squarely during this period the decision whether their world was to be one world or an aggregate of separate kingdoms with conflicting interests, and ill-defined boundaries, preserved by a precarious balance of power and incapable of common action against uprisings of Greek and oriental subjects and the plundering appetites of surrounding barbarians. The champion of unity was King Antigonos the One-Eyed, and his chief lieutenant his brilliant but unstatesmanlike son, King Demetrius the Taker of Cities, a master of siege operations and of naval construction and tactics, more skilled in organizing the land-instruments of warfare than in using them on the battle field. The final campaign between the champions of Macedonian unity and disunity opened in 307 with the liberation of Athens by Demetrius and ended in 301 B.C. with the Battle of the Kings, when Antigonos died in a hail of javelins and Demetrius' cavalry failed to penetrate a corps of 500 Indian elephants in a vain effort to rescue him. Of his four adversaries King Lysimachus and King Kassander left no successors; the other two, Kings Ptolemy of Egypt and Seleucus of Syria, were more fortunate, and they and Demetrius' able son, Antigonos Gonatas, planted the three dynasties with whom the Romans dealt and whom they successively destroyed in wars spread over 44 years. Without the disaster to Macedonian unity at Ipsos who can say whether or not there would have been a Roman Empire?

For Hellas this epoch saw the second attempt to create an United States of Greece. The prime mover was Antigonos the One-Eyed and his model was the Hellenic League created by Philip II in 338/7 B.C. after his victory over the Athenians and Thebans at Chaeronea. Of this organization a stone found at Epidaurus and first published in 1918 has preserved for us in considerable part the Articles of Confederation (*I.G.*, IV² = *Ed. Min.*, IV, 1, 68 and, without the first fragment, *S.E.G.*, I, 75). Careful study has shown that it was a revival and not a new creation. Like Philip, Demetrius was acclaimed hegemon of the Hellenes, and in both the original and the revival a clear distinction was drawn between the war-powers of the hegemon as commander-in-chief of the associated armies and his peace-powers as the highest official of the Hellenic synedrion, or parliament. It was a misfortune that on both occasions the League had no chance to operate on its peace-time basis. We know the revival only as an instrument of use to Demetrius and Antigonos in drafting the forces of its constituents for the campaign which ended at Ipsos in 301 B.C. The Hellenes knew

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it only as an agency of Macedonian imperialism, not as a vehicle of inter-Hellenic coöperation with the syndrion in the seat. It went quietly out of existence after Ipsos and there is no evidence that its exit was regretted. Yet taken as they stand its Articles in their peace-time form, if sagaciously administered, had, it would seem, a better chance to bring the Greeks to integrate the claims of liberty and union—a lessened liberty, to be sure, and a lax unity—than anything theretofore formulated. From our point of view their most distinctive feature was that its syndrion, self-organized and with membership proportionate to population and popularly elected, had sovereign power, and its syndroi protection against legal, as distinct from political responsibility to their constituents however displeasing their votes might be to them.

During this period Athens was, as for the past two centuries, the spiritual head of Greece. It was, Antigonus affirmed, "the beacon-tower of the whole world which would speedily flash the fame of their deeds to all mankind" (Plut., *Dem.*, 8, Trans. Perrin). What he desired of it was, he added, "its goodwill." Demetrius was, accordingly, instructed to liberate it. Between 307 and 301 Athens was a free city, but it was also Demetrius' capital. Its goodwill was manifested in a way which seems queer to us, but to the Athenians was fundamentally the superlative expression of their gratitude. What they did was to vote "divine honors" (*ισόθροιοι τιμαί*) to Antigonus and Demetrius. Politically they became Kings, sacrally (some said, sacrilegiously) they became Savior Gods and Eponymous Heroes. The Athenians thus did voluntarily what they had done under pressure while Alexander lived (cf. Hyperides, *Epitaph.*, 21 f.). There can be no question that by giving the cult of rulers their approval and broadcasting facilities the Athenians made what was probably the decisive move towards establishing it as one of the basic institutions of the Hellenistic-Roman world. The Athenians thus took, in this critical time, their stand on a momentous issue, not, I believe, in spite of all that has been said in extenuation, on the side of the angels. For the gods thus to share their honors with living men was to disassociate supernatural efficacy and religious observances. The sincerity of pagan piety was called officially in question.

On recovering their freedom in 403 B.C. the Athenians had denied to Socrates on penalty of death, which, in view of his obduracy, they also inflicted, the right of freedom of speech. This issue was raised anew when they became free in 307/6 B.C. In the belief that the Peripatetics were a nest of traitors they withdrew from them and the Academy the charters under which they had operated; but the question was taken on appeal to the popular courts and the political decision annulled. Athens thus committed itself definitely to upholding its ancient democratic slogan of *parrhesia*, freedom of speech. Epicurus thereupon founded the Garden and Zeno the Stoa; and Athens, the native home of drama, became the chosen home of the philosophers who exercised there, unchallenged for centuries, the right to teach and to write what they pleased.

As I have said, Athens was both a free city and Demetrius' capital. Its status was accordingly ambiguous, and, to work under it with dignity, self-restraint was

needed on both sides. Actually it was lacking on both. The "leader of the demos," Stratokles, through whom Demetrius operated, a resourceful inventor of makeshifts, was uninhibited in catering to the king's outstanding weakness, vanity; and Demetrius was too nonchalantly insolent, too promiscuously licentious, too grossly irreverent to hold the esteem of a proud and sensitive people. The role was cast for an Augustus, not for an Antony. It came to be added that the demos was not the only body in Attica to give voice to extravagant feelings, as the decree to which we now turn demonstrates.

2. DECREE OF AKAMANTIS

68 (Plate 33). Fragment of a stele of Pentelic marble found in a cistern in Section NN on April 23, 1947. The marble is of poor quality with bluish streaks; the surface is somewhat stained with rust. The left edge is preserved; the back is rough picked.

Height, 0.27 m.; width, 0.207 m.; thickness, 0.065 m.; height of letters, 0.006 m.
Inv. No. I 5972.

303/2 [.] ΗΙ [-----] ΣΤΟΙΧ.

- [. . . κ] ἀτὰ θάλ[ατταν -----] 41
 [. . .] νοουσης κα[-----]
 [. το] ὁ δῆμου τοῦ Ἀ[θηναίων -----]
 5 [. .] ι τῶν Ἑλλήνων π[-----]
 ΛΙ Πλείσταρχον κ ΛΙ [-----]
 αἱ πόλεις Ἑλληνίδα[ς ----- ἐ]
 πὶ δουλείαι λαβὼν κατὰ [τὰς συνθήκας ἐλευθέρας κα]
 ἰ αὐτονόμους πεπόηκεν· ὁ [κνῶν δ' οὐδαμῶς μὴ οὐ τὰ λοι]
 10 πὰ συντελῆται ἐπὶ τῷ συ[νεδρίῳ συγχωρεῖ τῷ δῆμ]
 [ω]ι τῷ Ἀθηναίων καὶ τοῖς [ἄλλοις Ἑλλησι ὅπως ἂν οἱ σ]
 [τ]ραπευόμενοι σωιζόμεν[οι ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου κατέλθω]
 [σ]ιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν κρατήσ[αντες· δεδόχθαι τῇ φυλῇ]
 [β]οὺς θῦσαι τοὺς πρυτάνε[ις τῆς Ἀκαμαντίδος φυλῆς]
 15 ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας τῶν στ[ραπευομένων φυλετῶν τῇ]
 Ἀθηνᾷ τῇ Νίκῃ καὶ τῇ Ἀ[θηνᾷ τῇ Πολιάδι καὶ το]
 ἰς Σωτήρσιν· τὸν δὲ ταμίαν [καὶ τοὺς νῦν ἐπιμελητὰς]
 μερίσαι αὐτοῖς εἰς τε τὴν [θυσίαν ταύτην καὶ τὸ ἀνά]
 θημα τῷ ἐπωνύμῳ : ΗΗΗ : [δραχμας ἀργυρίου, μερίσα]
 20 ι δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ εἰς τὸν μέ[γαν ἀγῶνα τῶν Σωτήρων κατ']
 ἐνιαυτὸν τοῦ Ἐλαφιβο[λιῶνος μηνὸς εἰς τε τὴν θυσί]
 αν τοῖς Σωτήρσιν κα[ὶ τὴν πομπὴν τῶν Σωτήρων : Η : δρ]
 αχμας ὑπόμνημα τῶν [συγχωρηθέντων ὑπὸ Δημητρίου]
 ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀκαμαντίδ[ος πρυτανείας. ἐψηφίσθαι δὲ τῇ]
 25 [φυλῇ]ι τοὺς γραμμ[ατε -----]

This is manifestly a decree of an Athenian phyle and not of the Athenian demos. It has in τῷ ἐπωνύμῳ (line 19) an unmistakable reference to the religious head of a phyle; and no title current in public documents can be found to complete ταμίαν in line 17. In τοὺς γραμμ[ατε] (line 25), moreover, a plurality of secretaries is encountered which is readily understandable in the case of a phyle. An Attic phyle had a γραμματεὺς τῆς φυλῆς;¹ and through its relation to its representation in the Council, as is illustrated for example in our decree, it commanded the services of the secretary (and under-secretary) of its prytaneis, and, indeed, of the three public secretaries.² In public decrees we have invariably a single secretary. The subject matter of our decree is consonant with the proposed identification. A decree of an Attic phyle could concern itself appropriately with soldiers on service and with an ἐπίθετος θυσία.³

Line 16 admits of only one restoration, and by its means, since the inscription was cut stoichedon, we ascertain that we must reckon throughout with forty-one letters to the line. The left margin is preserved and the initial letters of the lines show that we have no need to trouble about syllabification at the ends.

The approximate date of the document can be determined easily: it is after 307/6 B.C., as the cult of the Soteris shows, and it is before mid-summer 302 B.C., as is made clear by the reference in line 6 to Kassander's brother, Pleistarchos. Pleistarchos might be looked for anywhere in the European field of operations till then. Early in 302/1 B.C., however, he went to Asia Minor, and stayed there for some five years, and indeed for the rest of his life so far as we know.⁴ Though the name of the person whose merits were extolled is not present in the extant portion of the decree there can be no doubt that he is Demetrius Poliorcetes.

At the point where our segment of the stone yields a text we are clearly in the "whereas" clause usual near the beginning of public, tribal, and collegiate decrees. Ἐπειδὴ Δημήτριος is, accordingly, a certain restoration. What preceded it is governed by conflicting and inconclusive analogies, and would not concern us if it were not for line 13 (see below, p. 116). We have contemporary precedents in tribal decrees for the name of the mover accompanied by his patronymic and demotic and nothing else unless it be the name of the archon (*S.E.G.*, III, 117, 303/2 B.C.; *I.G.*, II², 1159, 303/2 B.C.; 1163, 286/5 B.C.; 1166,—a decree of Akamantis,—300-250 B.C.). We have also a contemporary precedent for ἔδοξε τῇ — — φυλῇ followed by the full name of the mover (*I.G.*, II², 1160, ca. 300 B.C.). As far as I can find we have no tribal precedent for deferring the mover's name to a later point. Hence, attractive though

¹ *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 62; cf. *I.G.*, II², 1158.

² *I.G.*, II², 1155; cf. Dow, *Prytaneis*, *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, pp. 33 ff. et *passim*. See also Index, s. v. φυλῆτης, p. 258.

³ *I.G.*, II², 1155 and 1146.

⁴ Plut., *Dem.*, XXXI f.; cf. Beloch, *Griech. Gesch.*, IV, 2, pp. 317 ff., Tarn, *C.A.H.*, VI, p. 504, VII, p. 78.

it seems, we are debarred by usage from restoring *κρατης* in line 13 as *Κράτης* [— — *εἶπεν*]. The alternative *κρατήσ* [*αντες*] I owe to Meritt and I think it is right (cf. below, p. 130). Since the operative part of the motion begins with the infinitive *θῦσαι* in line 14, and *ἐψηφίσθαι* is too long for the space, *δεδόχθαι τῇ φυλῇ* is how line 13 must be completed. Thus we have a normal tribal decree. The name of the phyle is presupposed in line 13. Hence our decree probably began like the synchronous tribal decree *I.G.*, II², 1160: *ἔδοξεν τῇ Ἀκαμαντίδι φυλῇ ἐπὶ Λεωστράτου ἄρχοντος* · so and so, son of so and so, of such and such a deme *εἶπεν* · *ἐπειδὴ Δημήτριος*, κτλ.

As it happens, we have recently come to know a decree enacted by the elite corps of the Athenian army, the *ἐθελονταὶ ἐπιλεκτοὶ*, which participated, as will appear, in the same campaign as the phyletai of Akamantis, and voted at almost the same moment honors to Demetrius even more unrestrained than those appearing in our text. Since it is a parallel document, and will be referred to by me more than once, I introduce it at this point. It was first published by Kyparissis and Peek,⁵ and later, with a greatly improved text, by Wilhelm.⁶ This decree began as follows: [*ἔδοξε*] *ν τοῖς ἐθελονταῖς ἐπ[ιλέκτοις] ἐπειδὴ πρότερον μὲν Δημήτριος*] *ὁ μέγας*. As restored, it lacks the name of a mover altogether.⁷ The Athenians were not sticklers for precise and immutable forms (cf. W. K. Pritchett, *Hesperia*, XI, p. 242).

Our decree is attached more specifically to Demetrius, and, indeed, to a definite point in his career, by the mention of *τῶι συ[νεδρίῳ]* in line 10. The restoration is due to Meritt, and it must be correct. At any rate I cannot find any alternative. In the phrase which accompanies it, [*τὰ λοι*] *πὰ συντελῆται ἐπὶ*, the subjunctive has

⁵ *Athen. Mitt.*, 66, 1941 (printed in 1943); cf. J. and L. Robert, "Bulletin Épigraphique," *Rev. d. Étud. Grec.*, LV, p. 329.

⁶ *Oesterr. Jahreshefte*, XXXV (1943), pp. 157 ff. I cannot refrain from saying that I doubt very much if Wilhelm is right in taking its remarkable phrase, *Δημήτριος ὁ μέγας* (line 1), to mean "Demetrius the Big" instead of "Demetrius the Great." This appellation, though unparalleled, may be pardoned to the exuberance of "the picked volunteers" on the eve of their triumphant return from the war in the Peloponnese. The vanity of Demetrius was as remarkable as his ability, and he may very well have fancied a title which related himself to Antigonos as Alexander the Great to Philip II. There is perhaps an echo of this or a similar incident in Plutarch, *Dem.*, XXV, 3. If *ὁ μέγας* was not an isolated and ephemeral bit of flattery, Ipsos put an end to it. I doubt if "the picked volunteers," had in mind or would care for others to remember (as Nock did) the iambs of Archilochus (Hiller-Crusius, *Anth. Lyr.*, Archilochus, 55: *Ὁ φίλέω μέγαν στρατηγὸν οὐδὲ διαπεπλεγμένον, | οὐδὲ βοστρύχοισι γαῦρον οὐδ' ὑπεξυρμένον, | ἀλλὰ μοι σμικρὸς τις εἴη καὶ περὶ κνήμας ἰδαῖν | ῥοικός, ἀσφαλὲως βεβηκὼς ποσσὶ, καρδίας πλέος*).

⁷ The concluding lines of this decree should, I think, run as follows: line 18, *ν ὡς σεμνότατα καὶ κάλλιστα· κα[ὶ] ἀναιπείν τὰς τιμὰς τὰς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐθελοντῶν | τῶν ἐπιλέκτων τῶι βασιλεῖ δεδ[ομένας ὅπως ἂν καθάπερ αὐτοὶ ἐκ τῶν ἰδὲ] | ὡν τετιμῆκασιν τοὺς εὐεργέτ[ας καὶ ἄλλοι αὐτοὺς ἐπιφανεστάταις τι] | μαῖς τιμῶσιν ἐπ[α]κο[λουθο]ύντ[ες]—*. Wilhelm's restoration is defective in that he has to assume that, through carelessness, the stone-cutter omitted the word *ἐθελοντῶν* in lines 18/9. The astounding sentence, lines 15 ff.: [*τοὺς δὲ κα[θισταμένους ἐπὶ τὰς θυσίας τὰς [συντελουμένας ὑπὲρ Ἀντιγόνοῦ καὶ Δημητρίου καὶ Δημητρίῳ Σωτήρι θύειν*, shows into what predicaments Stratokles put run-of-the-mill Athenians *τὰς τῶν θεῶν τιμὰς ποιοῦντ' ἀνθρωπίνως*].

the clear implication that the synedrion, which can be only the association of Plutarch,⁸ though known, had not yet met. In other words, the date of our document lies between the convocation and the meeting of the synedrion, and this is the case if the reference is not to the original meeting of the synedrion, but to a second meeting, when we assume, without evidence, that there was one. Our record is, however, so spotty that the possibility of a second meeting will have to be considered, seeing that, when the League was at war, Demetrius and the five (?) chairmen of the synedrion, whom he appointed,⁹ were authorized to call a meeting when¹⁰ and where¹¹ they chose.

The primary object of the phyle in enacting our decree was to order a sacrifice "for the safety of the phyletai serving in the field" (line 14). In other words the soldiers of the tribe, and of all the Attic tribes doubtless, had not yet returned, though Demetrius had already decided to let them, and the contingents of the other Greek cities in his army, go home, and had made known his decision to the Athenians.

There are, I think, only two occasions in proximity to a possible meeting of the synedrion when the Hellenic contingents serving in the field with Demetrius can have been permitted by their commander to return home—one at the close of the campaign in the Peloponnese (Diod., XX, 102 f.; Plut., *Dem.*, XXV) in 303/2 B.C., and the other at the close of the campaign in Thessaly in 302/1 B.C. (Diod., XX, 110. Plutarch omits this campaign completely); and of these two the latter is appropriate only if the synedrion met a second time. According to the *Marmor Parium*¹² the armistice between Demetrius and Kassander, which ended the Thessalian campaign, was concluded in 302/1 B.C.

In order to choose between these two campaigns we must first of all determine the name of the phyle responsible for the decree. This needs no long discussion. Since there is no reason for thinking that the phyle of line 14 is not the phyle named in line 24, the restoration *Ἀκαμαντίδος φυλῆς* is inevitable.¹³ Moreover, the phyle which issues orders to the prytaneis of Akamantis must be none other than Akamantis itself. Akamantis was, accordingly, the prytanizing phyle when our decree was enacted.

The next question is, when did Akamantis hold the prytany in the relevant parts of 303/2 and 302/1 B.C.? The following table sets forth the data at our disposal. The first half of 303/2 is omitted because there is no matter to tabulate.

⁸ *Dem.*, XXV, 3 [Loeb]: ἐν δὲ Ἰσθμῷ κοινῷ συνεδρίου γενομένου καὶ πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων συνελθόντων, ἡγεμῶν ἀνηγορεύθῃ τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ὡς πρότερον οἱ περὶ Φίλιππον καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον. The Articles of the Confederation are to be found in *I.G.*, IV², 68. *S.E.G.*, I, 75 lacks Frag. I. Diodorus does not mention explicitly this revival, but in XX, 102, 1, in attributing to Demetrius, as one aspect of his general program for 303 B.C., his purpose τοὺς δὲ Ἕλληνας ἐλευθεροῦν καὶ πρῶτον τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα διοικεῖν there is, I believe, an oblique reference to the reconstitution of the Hellenic League.

⁹ *I.G.*, IV², 68, line 90.

¹⁰ *I.G.*, IV², 68, lines 67 ff.

¹¹ *I.G.*, IV², 68, lines 70 ff.

¹² *I.G.*, XII, 5, 1, 444, 130 ff.: Ἀ[φ'] οὗ [δ]ιάλυσις Κασσάνδρῳ καὶ Δημητρίῳ [ἐγένετο] --- [ἔτη] ΔΔΔΠΙΙ, ἀρχὸντος Ἀθήνησι Νικοκλείους. Cf. Felix Jacoby, *Marmor Parium*, p. 24.

¹³ The space permits also Demetrias, Pandionis, and Antigonis.

TABLE

| <i>Year B.C.</i> | <i>Our Month</i> | <i>Attic Month</i> | <i>Prytany</i> | <i>Its No.</i> | <i>References</i> |
|---------------------|------------------|--------------------|----------------|----------------|--|
| 303/2 ¹⁴ | Dec.-Jan. | Poseideon II | | 6 | |
| | Jan.-Feb. | Gamelion | | 7 | |
| | Feb.-Mar. | Anthesterion | Kekropis | VIII | <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 489/90 |
| | Mar.-Apr. | Elaphebolion | Akamantis | IX | Below, p. 126 |
| | Apr.-May | Munychion | Antigonis | X | <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 491 |
| | May-June | Thargelion | | 11 | |
| | June-July | Skirophorion | Aiantis | XII | <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 493/98 |
| 302/1 ¹⁵ | July-Aug. | Hekatombaion | | 1 | |
| | Aug.-Sept. | Metageitnion | Aigeis | II | <i>Hesp.</i> , I, p. 45 |
| | Sept.-Oct. | Boedromion | | 3 | |
| | Oct.-Nov. | Pyanopsion | Akamantis | IV | <i>Hesp.</i> , IX, p. 104 |
| | Nov.-Dec. | Maimakterion | | 5 | |
| | Dec.-Jan. | Poseideon | | 6 | |
| | Jan.-Feb. | Gamelion | Antigonis | VII | <i>Hesp.</i> , V, p. 415 |
| | Feb.-Mar. | Anthesterion | Oineis | VIII | <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 500/01 |
| | Mar.-Apr. | Elaphebolion | | 9 | |
| | Apr.-May | Munychion | Leontis | X | <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 502; <i>Hesp.</i> , IV, pp. 38 (?), 546 |
| | May-June | Thargelion | Antiochis | XI | <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 503 |
| | June-July | Skirophorion | Aiantis | XII | <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 505 |

It is obvious for two reasons (the first good, the second conclusive) that the Akamantis of our decree is not the one which held the prytany in 302/1 B.C. (1) Demetrius must have been in Asia Minor in October, according to our best calculations; cf. below. (2) It is clear from the inscription published by Pritchett in *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 104 that eight days or so before Akamantis began to prytanize in 302/1 B.C. the Athenian taxiarchs, the commanding-officers of the tribal regiments,

¹⁴ 303/2 was an intercalary year (Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology of Hellenistic Athens*, p. xv) with, it is assumed, an extra lunar month, Poseideon II, inserted at the middle of the year. The prytanies had 32 days each. Hence the sixth prytany must have reached to the middle of Poseideon II, the seventh to the 17th of Gamelion; and in fact the eighth ended on Anthesterion 20 (Kirchner, note on *I.G.*, II², 489). Accordingly, the ninth prytany ran from Anthesterion 21 to Elaphebolion 22, the tenth from Elaphebolion 23 to Munychion 26, and the eleventh from Munychion 27 to Thargelion 28.

¹⁵ 302/1 was an ordinary year of 354 days with 12 lunar months and 12 practically coterminous prytanies (*I.G.*, II², 499; cf. Pritchett and Meritt, p. xvi; *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 545 ff., IX, 1940, p. 108). The relations between the months of our calendar and those of the Athenian calendar established in the Table above are the ones generally held, but they are, at best, only approximately correct; cf. W. K. Pritchett, "Julian Dates and Greek Calendars," *Class. Phil.*, XLII, 1947, pp. 235 ff.

were in Athens engaged in "the preservation of order in the sacred rites of Demeter." The sacred rites are, as Pritchett points, undoubtedly the Mysteries. This precludes their absence on military service in Thessaly. Despite Demosth. IV, 26, quoted by Pritchett, it is unthinkable that the phyletai of Akamantis were campaigning in Thessaly while their commanders did police duty at home. The taxiarchs were not Kentucky colonels at this time. This we can infer, for example, from *I.G.*, II², 500 (cf. also 554), an Athenian decree passed, like that of Pritchett, in 302/1 B.C. By it the taxiarchs of 305/4 B.C., at which time Attica was being invaded by Kassander, were given (somewhat belatedly it would seem) front seats at all the games, in fact, places in the Generals' box, for the following among other services rendered in their year of office: *ἐπεμελήθησαν τῆς τε φυλακῆς τῶν τειχῶν καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐξετασμοῖς ἅπασιν διετέλεσαν ἐπιμελόμενοι καλῶς καὶ φιλοτίμως ἡγούμενοι τῶν πολιτῶν*. For other decrees of a slightly later date dealing with the taxiarchs see *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 562 (283/2 B.C.) and *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 156 (275/4? B.C.). *I.G.*, II², 491 (Munychion¹, 302 B.C.) informs us that the taxiarchs used their good offices to secure honors from Athens for a group of friendly and helpful citizens of Chalcis; cf. also *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 5; XV, 1946, p. 188. It thus appears that Demetrius left for Asia before Boedromion, 13-20. To emphasize the crucial point I repeat: the taxiarchs of 302/1 B.C., including, of course, the taxiarch who commanded the phyletai of Akamantis, were back in Athens before Akamantis began to prytanize, whereas the phyletai of Akamantis of our decree had not yet returned when Akamantis was already in the prytany.

Our Akamantis, then, cannot be the Akamantis of 302/1 B.C. We could not know with the data which we have possessed heretofore (Table, p. 118) in what month the Akamantis of 303/2 B.C. prytanized, but we can at once rule out the last three since in or during them the Thessalian war was in progress. It did not end, as the Parian Marble teaches us, till the year 302/1 B.C. had begun. And even if the Marmor Parium is wrong, we arrive at the same conclusion by noting that only one of the three is open, Thargelion (May-June), and by reflecting that the war which was begun in April-May at the earliest cannot possibly have ended within a month and a fraction.¹⁶

We conclude therefore that there was no place for a decree of Akamantis with the content of ours at any possible point during the Thessalian campaign.¹⁷

¹⁶ On the last day of 303/2 B.C. Demetrius was not in Athens, but his whereabouts is not disclosed by our record (*I.G.*, II², 495).

¹⁷ "An orderly retreat in no way like a defeat" (Diod., XX, 111, 2) was what Demetrius aimed at securing by his negotiations with Kassander in 302/1 B.C. The issue hardly warranted "the picked volunteers" to coin epithets like "Demetrius the Great" and erect an equestrian statue at their own expense, or the phyle to endow the fête of the Kings. Demetrius had to extricate as strong a force as possible for service in Asia without denuding the Greek states in Europe of their defenders. What he took to Asia was what his ships could carry and what would help his father

We are thus left with the other of the two occasions, within the obvious limits, on which the Hellenic contingents serving in the field can have been permitted by Demetrius to return home, namely, the close of the war in the Peloponnese. In 303/2 B.C., as the data tabulated on page 118 show, Akamantis can have held any one of the first seven prytanies or the ninth or eleventh. For the reasons already given the eleventh has had to be eliminated. The possibilities are, however, narrowed yet further by two considerations, (1) that it was serving at approximately the time when Demetrius saw fit to let his Hellenic troops go home, and (2) that it was serving not long before the original meeting of the synedrion in 303/2 B.C. An interval between these two points existed, but, as already pointed out (above, p. 117), the synedrion had been summoned at the time the concession was made to the troops.

Let us take up first the dating of the concession. Admittedly the Peloponnesian campaign fell in the military season of 303 B.C. It was probably concluded without being completed, as we may judge from the fact that Mantinea certainly, and probably some other places in the peninsula, Messeniā for example, remained unliberated at its end.¹⁸ Sparta too remained outside. Obviously military operations were broken off on the arrival of winter. The Macedonians were less intimidated by cold and rain than their Hellenic predecessors, but they were well aware of the limitations placed on the movement of armies and their equipment and supplies by mud, bad roads, and swollen rivers. Antigonos, Demetrius, Lysimachus, and Seleucus all went into winter quarters and awaited the arrival of spring before moving into positions for Ipsos in 301 B.C. The beginning and end of winter in any region is always a matter of fact, but it is safe to say that the months of real winter in Greece are Dec.-Jan., Jan.-Feb. and Feb.-Mar.: Poseideon, Gamelion and Anthesterion. We may therefore say that Demetrius went into winter quarters at the end of November 303 B.C.

The course of this campaign was complicated by the fact that the forces of Demetrius were so superior that his adversaries, the generals of Kassander, Ptolemy, and Polyperchon, were plainly unable to meet him in the open field. All they could do was to try to hold the strong places in their possession. This split the operations up into sections. It is not easy for us to establish the sequence of events, since we have to consider whether Demetrius, instead of making a grand tour through the peninsula with his whole army, had not rather to adjust his strategy to the enemies' defense, divide his forces also, and engage them simultaneously in different areas. Since Demetrius already possessed in Cenchreae, which he had occupied in 304 B.C.,¹⁹

most. While he let the Athenian *taxeis* and their *taxiarchs* go home he probably retained troops like the *epilektoi*. His insistence that the war to liberate the Greeks involved the freeing of the cities in Asia as well as in Hellas (Diod., *loc. cit.*) justified his *not* releasing all the Hellenic contingents. I believe that the situation in 302/1 B.C. does not really present an intelligible background for our decree or that of the *ἠθελονταὶ ἐπίλεκτοι*.

¹⁸ Plut., *Dem.*, 25, 1; cf. Beloch, IV, 2, p. 445.

¹⁹ Plut., *Dem.*, XXIII, 2 [Loeb]; Polyæn., IV, 7, 3.

a bridge-head in the Peloponnese, it seems likely that it was from there that his land-forces debouched in 303 B.C. The sequence of events cannot be inferred from the order in which the captured cities are listed by Plutarch, since manifestly the biographer's grouping of Argos, Sicyon, Corinth is literary not historical.²⁰ Diodorus (XX, 102-3) strove to preserve the historical sequence, at least sectionally, and it undoubtedly is Sicyon, Corinth, Bura, Skyros (*sic!* cf. Amandry, *B.C.H.*, LXIV-LXV, 1940-41, p. 73, note 4); but from this point on the disagreement between the best Ms., F, and the other Mss. prevents us from knowing whether Demetrius proceeded from Skyros to Orchomenus or to Aegium, i. e., into Arcadia or further into Achaia. Then follows the general statement: *ὁμοίως δὲ τούτοις καὶ οἱ τὰς πόλεις φρουροῦντες, τῶν μὲν περὶ Π. καὶ Πρεπέλαον καὶ Πολυπέρχοντα μὴ βοηθούντων, τοῦ δὲ Δημητρίου μετὰ μεγάλης δυνάμεως καὶ μηχανῶν ὑπερεχουσῶν προσιόντος ἐκουσίως ἐξεχώρουν.*²¹ Diodorus does not mention Akte or Argos:²² they may be included in *τὰς πόλεις*, but even so there is no good reason for supposing that "the cities" came into Demetrius' hands after his exemplary treatment of Strombichos, Polyperchon's phrourarch in Orchomenus or Aegium (Diod., XX, 103, 5). There is, on the contrary, a suggestion that some of them seceded to Demetrius before the escape of Prepelaos from Corinth. We have therefore to reckon with the likelihood that Demetrius sent (or led) part of his army from Cenchreae into the Argolid early in his operations in the Peloponnese, and that his fleet made landings in the Akte simultaneously.

Plutarch (*Dem.*, XXV, 2) reports that Demetrius was in Argos at the time of the Heraea. From Livy's account (XXVII, 30-31) of Philip V's movements during his campaign of 209 B.C., which shows that the Heraea preceded the Nemea by a short interval,—30 days at the most,—Fr. Reuss²³ reached the conclusion that the time of the Heraea was near the end of July. More recently Axel Boethius²⁴ investigated thoroughly the seasons of both the Heraea and the Nemea with the result that he places the latter in the second half of July, the former in the middle or second half of June.²⁵ Accepting his conclusions, as I think we must,²⁶ we must also accept the corollary that in June, 303, Demetrius was in Argos.²⁷ We thus seem forced to

²⁰ XXV, 1: καὶ Ἀργὸς καὶ Σικυνὼνα καὶ Κόρινθον ἐλύσατο τάλαντα δοῦς ἑκατὸν τοῖς φρουροῦσιν.

²¹ The text is that of Ms. F. The other manuscripts have Κάσσανδρον instead of Π. and ὑπεραχουσῶν instead of ὑπερεχουσῶν. Κάσσανδρον should perhaps give way to the *difficilior lectio* of F = Π., which in turn could be filled in as Π[τολεμαῖον], or yet better Π[λείσταρχον].

²² XX, 102-3.

²³ *Hieronimos von Kardia*, p. 173; cf. Niese, *Gesch. d. griech. u. maked. Staaten*, I, p. 338, II, p. 486, III, p. 47.

²⁴ "Der argivische Kalender," *Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift*, Filosofi, 1922, 1.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 63, 51.

²⁶ Cf. Krister Hanell in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E. s. v. Nemea*, p. 2325.

²⁷ The chances are that it was from Argos that Demetrius sent the message on which the Athenians acted in passing a decree in honor of his friend Eupolis on the last day of Skirophorion,

recognize that the occupation of the Akte (including Epidaurous) and the Argolid antedated the campaign²⁸ in the western and central Peloponnese, which, as already said, was probably concluded only on the arrival of winter.

Demetrius could, accordingly, have released his Hellenic contingents in Poseideon (Dec.-Jan.). On the other hand, he might have held them over-winter in his winter quarters.²⁹ The time of their dismissal is related by our decree with the synedrion of the Hellenic League, which, according to Plutarch, he convened at the Isthmus.³⁰ When did it meet? When was it summoned?

Ulrich Wilcken,³¹ following Niese,³² argued convincingly that it met at the Isthmia of 302 B.C. The date of the Isthmia was, I think, established by Unger in 1877: it was celebrated, he concluded, in the early spring or spring in the even years B.C. On this basis it was due in the early spring or spring of 302 B.C. Let us fix April-May as the time of the synedrion.³³ Its deliberations were completed in time,

303 B.C. (*I.G.*, II², 486). The message can have been conveyed by [οἱ ἀπὸ Δη]μητρίου τοῦ βασιλ[έως ἐξαποστειλλόμενοι whom Athens honored by a decree passed on the same day (*Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 297). The outbreak in Athens against royal government by peremptory correspondence (Plut., *Dem.*, XXIV, 4) may have occurred at this time or later; cf. below, p. 124.

²⁸ Boethius, *loc. cit.*, p. 62.

²⁹ We are not told where they were. The most we can say is that they were in the Peloponnese and not in Athens.

³⁰ Cf. above, note 8.

³¹ *Sitz. d. preuss. Akad.*, Phil.-hist. Kl., 1922, pp. 124 ff. Roussel (*Rev. Arch.*, 5^e serie, 17, 1923, p. 129, note 1) agrees with him. Tarn, *J.H.S.*, XLII, 1922, p. 198, retains without discussion the old date, 303 B.C. Larsen, *Class. Phil.*, XX, 1925, p. 315, leaves the choice open of 303 or 302 B.C. I am influenced to a certain degree in siding with Niese and Wilcken by the fact that the Isthmia were the time and place of one of the stated meetings of the peace-time synedrion. 302 B.C. could, of course, have been construed as a war-time (cf. below, note 40), and consequently Demetrius might have called a synedrion at any time and place he chose; but in reviving an organ which had lapsed it would be tactful for him to follow the peace-time program. Corinth was the ordinary war-time place of meeting of the earlier synedrion whatever the season of the year might be (Unger, *Philologus*, 37, 1877, p. 12). The decisive thing is, however, that, since the Isthmia were due at precisely the right time, Demetrius would have missed a great opportunity if he had failed to use it for his purposes.

³² *Op. cit.*, I, p. 338, n. 4.

³³ *Philologus*, *loc. cit.*, pp. 1 ff. Unger's conclusion was accepted by scholars generally during the following generation (Cf. Stengel, *Griech. Kultus-Altertümer*³, p. 216; Christ, *Sitz. d. münch. Akad.*, 1889, I, pp. 28 f.; Wilamowitz, *Sitz. d. preuss. Akad.*, 1909, p. 811; Von Prott, *Bursian Jahresbericht*, 1899, 102, pp. 98 ff.). Commonly they put it in "the spring." It was not till 1913 that the whole problem was reviewed. Then Beloch, *Griech. Gesch.*, I, 2², pp. 146 ff., after marshalling and sifting the evidence, decided that the Isthmia came in May or June, and he was followed by De Sanctis, *Storia dei Greci*, I, p. 377, 1939; *Storia dei Romani*, IV, p. 94, note 179. Holleaux, *C.A.H.*, VIII, 1930, p. 183, dates the famous Isthmia of 196 B.C. in June-July. Niese (II, p. 650, note 5, 1899), following Stengel, put the celebration of this year etwa im Frühsommer. According to K. Schneider, *R.E.*, 18, 1916, p. 2249, the only three months that come into consideration are April, May, and June. The evidence bearing on the Isthmia of 302 B.C. seems to me to eliminate June and leave us only the choice between April and May. The preferable date is, I believe, Munychion (April-May B.C.).

but only in time, for Demetrius to be in Athens to receive, in Munychion (April-May), what he had already ordered by letter, his infamous initiation into the Eleusinian Mysteries.³⁴ Then he went on to Chalcis³⁵ to launch his Thessalian campaign.

³⁴ Hiller, *I.G.*, IV², 68, p. xi, dates the Great Asklepieia of Epidauros, which came nine days after the Isthmia (Schol. Pind., *Nem.*, 3 [II, 110, 2 Abel], in the Epidaurian month Apellaiois, which seems to correspond to the Attic month Skirophorion (June-July). Since he gives no evidence, I am unable to control or to accept his affirmation. For Skirophorion I should substitute Munychion or early Thargelion.

When Unger (pp. 40 ff.) proceeds to identify Poseidon's day in Athens, the 8th of every month (Plut., *Thes.*, XXXVI, 4), and hence the 8th of Munychion, with a corresponding day of a month in the Corinthian calendar, he leaves safe ground. In Athens 303/2 B.C. was an intercalary year, following and preceding an ordinary year. The chances are so slim as to be negligible that in Corinth 303/2 was also an intercalary year abutting before and behind on ordinary years. Each state in Greece was master of its own calendar, and, accordingly, of its own intercalations of days and months. That is what autonomy meant, for example, to the four Euboean cities, Karystos, Eretria, Chalcis, and Oreos, until in 294-288 B.C., with the formation or revival of an Euboean League (cf. Tarn, *C.A.H.*, VII, p. 81), they faced the problem of setting up a common schedule with a definite timetable for a Dionysia and a Demetrieia in each city, so that, for example, the Dionysiac technitai could be legally penalized if they failed to appear according to contract on the days specified in each city's calendar. Then the cities had to make an interstate calendar reform, and create what was in substance a federal calendar. The section of the Euboean law covering the matter runs as follows (*I.G.*, XII, 9, 207, lines 49 ff.): Περὶ ἐμβολίμων μην[ών· π]ερὶ δὲ τῶν [ἐμ-β]ολαίων μηνῶν ἐπιμελείσθαι τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἐν ταῖς πόλε[σι μ]ετὰ τῶν ἡρημένων ὅταν καθήκει, ὅπως ἂν ἅμα ἐν [τ]ῇ Εὐβοίᾳ γίνωνται. The law also contains provision concerning intercalary days: εἴαν ποὺ προσδέωνται --- ἐ[μβ]ολίμων ἡμερῶν, ἐ[ξε]ῖν αὐτοῖς ἐνβαλέσθαι μέχρι ἡμερῶν τριῶν. Any such legislated concordance between Athens and Corinth in 303/2 B.C. is, of course, unthinkable. And, in fact, we know that the Corinthian and Athenian months did not coincide at this period. "The tenth day of the month at Corinth is the fifth at Athens and the eighth somewhere else," says Aristoxenus, a contemporary of Theophrastus (H. S. Macran, *The Harmonics of Aristoxenus*, II, 37, quoted by W. K. Pritchett, *Class. Phil.*, XLII, 1947, pp. 239 f.). Bischoff (*R.E.*, 20, p. 1592) is able to put only one Corinthian month in its place, viz., Panamos = Attic Boedromion. We have no right to assume, or for that matter to deny that in Corinth, as in Athens, the 8th day of the month was Poseidon's day (cf. Wilhelm Schmidt, *Gaburtstag im Altertum*, pp. 15, 103); but we have every right to assume that the Corinthians did *not* fix the Isthmia on their day of the month which corresponded to the Attic 8th, i. e., on the 13th according to the equation of Aristoxenus. I do not see how the Corinthian theoroi can have done their job without putting the cities they visited wise not only as to the day in their calendar set for the Isthmia but also as to the number of days (29½ per month) separating the delivery of the notification and the celebration. In any case celebrants from any but near-by points would need a margin of a day or two for uncertainties of travel. It is obvious that fêtes were celebrated in honor of Apollo by many cities on the sevenths of months (Apollo's day) on the assumption, which goes back to Hesiod (*Works and Days*, 770 f.), that it was his birthday (W. Schmidt, *op. cit.*, pp. 89 ff.), but in each case it was the seventh according to the local calendar, and this seventh probably designated almost as many different days of the Julian calendar as there were cities.

We cannot determine the day of the month, Corinthian or Attic, on which the Isthmia was celebrated. We must content ourselves with the evidence that in 302 B.C. the celebration occurred after Anthesterion 20 (cf. note 14) and before the end of Munychion, and with the probability that it fell in Attic Munychion (Apr.-May).

³⁵ In Munychion, 302 B.C., there was contact, diplomatic and military, between Athens and Chalcis (*I.G.*, II², 491; cf. *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, p. 188, and above, p. 119).

The issuance of the summons (cf. below, note 40) had to be timed to allow a sufficient interval for its distribution, for the cities to act on it, and for the synedroi designated by them to travel to the Isthmus. The length of this interval is largely a matter of guesswork; but, allowing for the delays and hazards of travel, and the slowness of the democratic process of the several states, a minimal interval of a month seems reasonable. The fact of the calling of the synedrion can, I think, have been known in Athens early in Elaphebolion; or even earlier, if the project was disclosed to the Athenians before the formal summons was issued, as it may very well have been. The conditions of our decree are met satisfactorily if Demetrius convoked the synedrion and released his Hellenic contingents at about the same time. If the attitude of "the picked volunteer" (above, note 6) is a true index of the feeling of the returned soldiers, Demetrius could look forward to having in them strong supporters of his policy and person when they reached their home communities. At some time during his absence in the Peloponnese—when he had to manage things in Athens by letters—his partisans lost control of the outraged people, and he had had to intervene drastically to reinstate them. The opposition leaders were punished by death, or, as in the case of Demochares, by exile (Plut., *Dem.*, XXIV, 3 f.; [Plut.], *Lives of the Ten Orators*, 851 D; cf. *Hell. Athens*, pp. 171 ff.). Plutarch relates this incident before he takes up the war in the Peloponnese, but, as often (cf. above, note 20, and below, note 43), he sacrifices chronological exactitude to literary convenience. In this case he simply added an outrage that occurred during the war to others which preceded it. The return of the soldiers undoubtedly strengthened Stratokles' position.

It was doubtless with a centralizing parliament in mind that the cities "freed" by Demetrius in 307, 304, and 303 B.C. were given and accepted their autonomy. The area to be traversed by the Corinthian theoroi who were sent abroad to announce the Isthmia (Paus., V, 2, 1) was, in design at least, as wide as the area of Hellenism, whereas Demetrius' envoys could request the election and dispatch of synedroi only of the states in the liberated territory. The former needed to start much earlier than the latter.³⁶ Once the synedrion was known to concur with the Isthmia, its meeting needed no further specification of time: the synchronism alone sufficed.

³⁶ The area traversed by the announcers of the Pythia may be mapped with the aid of the Delphian inscriptions and especially of "La liste delphique des Théorodotes" (*B.C.H.*, XLV, 1921, pp. 1 ff.; early in the second century, before 188 B.C.; cf. L. Robert, *B.C.H.*, LXX, 1946, p. 514). On its basis M. A. Plassart has worked out seven itineraries followed by the Delphian theoroi, each containing in rough geographical order the names of the "cities" visited, numbering in one instance (pp. 52-59) as many as 98 (71 + 27) places. Reckoning at the rate of two days per "city" (cf. the decree of Kamarina found at Kos quoted by P. Boesch, *Θεωρός*, p. 104: καλεῖν δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ ξένια τοὺς θεωροὺς τούτους τε καὶ τοὺς αἰὲ παραγινόμενους πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας, ὥς κα' ἐπιδαμώωντι), we arrive at a total for the trip of over six months. To allow the city visited last (Byzantion) time for its delegation to reach Delphi before the games began the theoroi must have left Delphi a few days earlier (Demosth., XVIII, 30). This calculation is perhaps needless, since a *Lex* of the Delphian Amphictyony (*I.G.*, II², 1126, 380/79 B.C.; cf. Ditt., *Syll.*³, 145, line 45 f.) required the

The coincidence of the meeting and the celebration made it possible for the synedroi from the liberated areas to be also accredited representatives of their cities to the festival (theoroi)³⁷ and for the theoroi from cities not yet liberated to be unofficial synedroi. The synedrion-Isthmia of 302 B.C. was doubtless an occasion for propaganda as well as business. Demetrius had, accordingly, a specific, as well as the general object envisaged by Philip in 338/7 B.C.—a panhellenic environment for a panhellenic congress.

The summons must have conveyed the information that the Articles of Confederation of 338/7 B.C., with the use or misuse of which by Alexander (Antipater) Greeks over 40 years of age in 302 B.C. can have been familiar, and regarding which there was undoubtedly much discussion since their revival was mooted in 307 B.C.,³⁸ were to be again in force. Hence the summons did not need to be issued earlier than was otherwise desirable by the prospect of prolonged debate on constitutional matters. Moreover, the bases of taxation, the estimates of the total military strength of the member states, and, related to these, the sizes of their respective quotas of synedroi, did not need to be worked out anew.

It seems to me improbable that Demetrius, acting on the conviction that "what remained to be done would be done at the synedrion" in April-May, 302 B.C., let his Hellenic contingents go home at the end of the military season with November, 303 B.C. Nor does an appraisal of his situation at the time make it inevitable that he

Delphians to dispatch their theoroi in Bysios, six months before the Pythia (Bischoff, *R.E.*, 20, p. 1589). It appears that in *ca.* 200-188 B.C. the announcement was made in points as remote from Delphi as Massilia, Elea, Lipara in the West, Chersonesos in the Crimea, Berenike on the Great Syrtis, Berytos in Syria, and Sardis in Lydia.

For the time allowed to the spondophoroi of Athens to announce the Mysteries see *I.G.*, II², 1672, line 227 and line 4 (329/8 B.C.), with Dittenberger's notes (*Syll.*², 587, 6 and 154; cf. Schweigert, *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 10). Those who had the longer distances to travel started, it seems, some $2\frac{1}{2}$ + lunar months before the celebration began (Boedromion 13: cf. Deubner, *Att. Feste*, pp. 72 ff., 91). The Truce of God (*σπονδαί*) for the Mysteries, which they asked the cities they visited to accept (cf. Athenian inscription from Gonnoi reprinted from *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1914, p. 10 by Foucart, *Rev. d. Étud. Grec.*, 1919, p. 190 f.), extended from the full moon of Metageitnion to the tenth of Pyanopsion (*I.G.*, I², 6, lines 57 ff. = Meritt, *Hesperia*, XIV, pp. 78 f., *ca.* 460 B.C.), thus covering a period of 28 days before the preliminary rites and another of 19 days after the final rites (Boedromion, 20?). In fact it is doubtful if the announcers of the Isthmia ranged over anything like so wide an area as those of the Pythia. Their timetable probably corresponded more closely to that of the Athenian Spondophoroi.

It was not only the travel that took time but the transaction of business with the local authorities (P. Boesch, *Θεωρός*, pp. 100-104; L. Robert, *B.C.H.*, LII, 1946, p. 510).

We have no ancient data to guide us in estimating the interval between the dispatch of the Corinthian theoroi and the celebration of the Isthmia; and must accordingly fall back, as we have done, upon the analogies of the Pythia and the Mysteries of Eleusis.

³⁷ This word is used in two senses, (1) of the announcers of festivals, and (2) of the men sent by cities to represent them at the festivals announced.

³⁸ Diod., XX, 46, 5.

should have done so. While his army was intact he was ready to resume the offensive in the spring and complete the conquest of the Peloponnese.³⁹ Indeed he may have thought of doing this. In the end he had to act in accordance with the needs of his father, to whom the elimination or checkmating of Kassander was more important than the expulsion of Polyperchon from Arcadia and Messenia. Meanwhile, he masked his intentions by keeping his army in being in the Peloponnese.

Bearing this in mind, we can proceed with the job of determining when Akamantis held the prytany in 303/2 B.C. It cannot have been in the campaigning season of 303 B.C.: the war was over when it was in office. This means that it cannot have been one of the first five prytanies of the year. As the table on p. 118 shows, Kekropis preëmpts Anthesterion (Feb.-Mar.) and Antigonis Munchion (April-May). The remaining months are Poseideon (Dec.-Jan.), Gamelion (Jan.-Feb.), and Elaphebolion (March-April). Akamantis held the prytany in one of these three, and I hope I have shown that the latest of them, Elaphebolion, is much the most probable.

We can then date our decree a little before the maturity of the first payment of the phyle's annual contribution for the support of "the great agon" referred to

³⁹ Cf. Beloch, IV, 2, p. 445. Demetrius left garrisons in the Peloponnese after he departed in 302 B.C. first to Thessaly and then to Asia Minor; cf. *S.E.G.*, III, 98, and Tarn, *C.A.H.*, VII, p. 76. The cities in which they were stationed followed the example of Athens and got rid of them after Ipsos (Plut., *Dem.*, xxxi, 1). I am inclined to date at this time (late in 301 B.C.) the alliance between Athens and the Sicyonians attested by *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 35, no. 9, which Eugene Schweigert, its editor, dates in 303/2 B.C. The mention of Demetrius in this badly mutilated text does not require so early a date. The Athenians refused to admit him after Ipsos, informing him of the decision they had reached, *μηδένα δέχσθαι τῇ πόλει τῶν βασιλέων* (Plut., *Dem.*, xxx, 3). There was no bitterness *displayed* on either side. Athens retained Demetrius and Antigonius as eponymous heroes and their statues remained in their places along with those of the ten Kleisthenian eponymi. What is more, she retained their "gold" statues as Soteris in the unique place in which she had erected them (Diod., XX, 46, 2), beside those of Harmodius and Aristogeiton, till 295/4 B.C. (*I.G.*, II², 646, line 40) and probably later. I see no reason to believe that the cult of the Soteris was dis-established in 301 B.C.: The death of Antigonius was immaterial. Hellenistic Kings did not cease to be Soteris when "they departed from the life among men" (cf. Ditt., *Syll.*², 202, lines 27 f.; *O.G.I.S.*, I, 16 and note 2, 22, 23, 25). Hence the mention of Soteris in *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 35, no. 9 does not require a date as early as 303/2 for the alliance of Athens with the Sicyonians, while the mention in the decree of the Athenians of *[τὸν δῆμον] τὸν Σικωνίων* prohibits it. Plutarch (XXV, 2) and Diodorus (XX, 102, 3) both report that in 303 B.C. Sicyon was renamed Demetrias, and, though the latter adds that time invalidated this, I cannot imagine the Sicyonians restoring the ancient name, however much they may have wanted to do so, while Demetrius was hegemon of the Hellenes. When the Sicyonians abandoned Demetrius and Demetrias they were forced to protect themselves by alliances, and other members of the League were in the same case. What the alliance of Athens and Sicyon in 301 B.C. *does* show is that the Hellenic League went out of existence after Ipsos. Demetrius made no effort subsequently to restore it. The autonomy and democracy of its member states had meant to him one thing and to them another. Whether it was he or conciliation that had failed he was not sufficiently self-critical or statesmanlike to consider objectively. We can sum up by saying that the Hellenic policy of Antipater had won a decisive victory over that of Antigonius (cf. Tarn, *C.A.H.*, VII, pp. 76 ff.).

in lines 19 ff., i. e., a little before the 8th to 10th of the month Elaphebolion (cf. below, note 46). Some weeks later the synedrion met ⁴⁰ and levied a new army from the

⁴⁰ In 1940 Schweigert published a new Athenian decree (*Hesperia*, IX, pp. 348 ff.) which, in conferring the usual civic honors on Adeimantos, son of Androsthenes, of Lampsacus, one of Demetrius' lieutenants (cf. *I.G.*, XII, 9, 198), alludes to his activity in the synedrion. Unfortunately the preamble of the decree is lost and with it its precise date. Schweigert is undoubtedly right, despite De Sanctis (*Riv. di Filol.*, 1941, pp. 194 ff.), in assigning it to 302 B.C., and it may have been enacted during Demetrius' visit to Athens in Munychion, i. e., during the prytany of Antigonis (Table, p. 118 and note 14). It can, however, be a little later. The passage on his services is:

καὶ [νῦν κατασταθεῖ]
[ς ἰπὸ τ]οῦ βασιλέως Δημητρί[ου πρόεδρος ἐν τ]
[ῶι κο]ινῶι συνεδρίῳ διατε[λεῖ πράττων τὰ σ]
[υμφέ]ροντα τοῖς τε βασιλεῦ[σιν καὶ τῶι δήμῳ]
10 [ι τῶι Ἀ]θη[ν]αίων καὶ το[ῖς] ἄλλ[οις] συμμάχοις κ]
[αὶ παρ]εκάλεσεν τοὺς Ἑλλην[ας] ἅπαντας ἐλθεῖ
[ῖν εἰ]ς τὸ κοινὸν συνέδριον [τὸ ἐν Ἰσθμῶι μετ']
[Ἀθην]αίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμ[μάχων, προεδρεύ]
[ων δὲ] προέθηκεν περὶ τούτῳ [ν τὸ ψήφισμα ὃ κα]
15 [ὶ ἔδο]ξεν τοῖς συνέδροις, ἐά[ν τις] συμμάχῳ ἔ]
[πίη] βοηθεῖν ἅπαντα[ς] τοὺς [συμμάχους] ἔχον]
[τας] ὅπλα.

[In line 10 I have substituted συμμάχοις for Schweigert's συνέδροις, in line 11 ἅπαντας ἐλθεῖν for his συναγείρεσθ?, and in line 15 συμμάχῳ ἐπίη for his ἔη ἐπὶ πολέμῳ, which regularly requires an ἐπὶ with an object. I am also responsible for the restoration after περὶ τούτων in line 14].

It is too bad that both πρόεδρος and προεδρεύων are restorations, but I am convinced that they are right. One vouches for the other, and προέθηκεν (see Schweigert's note) is confirmatory. τὰ συμφέροντα—συμμάχοις reproduces with an Athenian slant, the phrase in the Articles of Confederation which defines the object of the association; cf. *I.G.*, IV², 68, lines 83 f., 132; Wilcken, *Sitz. d. preuss. Akad.*, 1929, p. 310.

Adeimantos was obviously one of the proedroi designated by Demetrius to serve for the duration of the Hellenic War then in progress (*I.G.*, IV², 68, lines 90 f.; cf. Larsen, *Class. Phil.*, XX, 1925, pp. 325 ff.; Roussel, *loc. cit.*, 132 ff.). He must have received his commission before the synedroi assembled (after Anthesterion 21, cf. above note 14). In this capacity he (and his colleagues) invited all the Greeks (ἅπαντας seems necessary) whether they were allies or not to attend the synedrion at the Isthmus. This invitation must be either what I have called (pp. 120 ff.) the summons issued by Demetrius (cf. *I.G.*, II², 492, lines 20 ff.) or a supplementary summons extended to all the Greeks after Demetrius had arranged for the meeting with his allies. It is interesting to note that, while he let his lieutenants act for him, they did so in their official capacity as proedroi of the synedrion.

The next clause concerns Adeimantos' activity once the synedroi had assembled. Τούτων must include the Greeks from the areas as yet unliberated. The psephisma of the synedroi was a bid for new allies as well as a protection for the old ones: it committed all the confederates to defend by force of arms any member that might be attacked by anyone whatsoever. The terms of the ὅρκοι to which members of Philip's league swore (*I.G.*, II², 236; cf. above, p. 112) do not cover Adeimantos' point: they are occupied exclusively with sanctions against breaches of τὴν κοινὴν εἰρήνην by one another. There is a passage in the Articles of Demetrius' Confederation which involves the same general idea, viz., *I.G.*, IV², 68, line 10 (cf. also line 143, as restored): [ὧ]στε καὶ χ[ρῆσ]θαι τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐχθροῖς καὶ φίλοις, the contracting parties being "the members of the League" and "the Kings Antigonis and Demetrius and their descendants." This is, however,

League, drawing from each member its quota of cavalry, hoplites, light-armed troops and sailors (*I.G.*, IV², 68, lines 95 ff.). In this way Demetrius got the 25,000 hoplites ἐκ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πόλεων as well as ψιλικά τάγματα and crews for the ships, which raised to 56,000 foot, 1,500 horsemen (Diod., XX, 110, 4), and an incalculable number of seamen the manpower with which he launched his amphibious operation against Kassander in Thessaly. The point of concentration for the great expedition, which dwarfed that sent by Athens to Sicily in 415 B.C., was Chalcis (cf. *I.G.*, XII, 9, 210), and it can well have been that the huge flotilla did not push off till Thargelion (May-June).⁴¹ Naturally there were Athenian soldiers in the new army. For them release "from the war" meant only a furlough of at most two months. Then they went to Thessaly where they saw about four months of service. Some of them subsequently accompanied Demetrius to Asia Minor (*I.G.*, II², 657, lines 18 ff.).

3. COMMENTS ON THE TEXT

Lines 1-7. The first seven lines are so fragmentary that any hope of restoring the *ipsissima verba* is vain. I have done the next best—filled in the gaps between the isolated words and phrases as the stoichedon arrangement requires in such a way that the passage will yield the sense demanded by the interpretation I have made of the document as a whole:

δυνά]-

[μει μεγάλ]ηι [εἰσέβαλεν εἰς Πελοπόννησον κατὰ γῆν]
 [καὶ] κατὰ θάλ[ατταν εἰς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τῆς χώρας ὑπ]
 [ακο]νούσης Κα[σσάνδρῳ καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ φρουροῖς, κα]
 [ὶ το]ῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀ[θηναίων συμμαχήσαντος πανδημεῖ]
 5 [κα]ὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων π[άντων τοὺς πολεμίους ἐκράτησε κ]
 αὶ Πλείσταρχον καὶ [Πρεπέλαον ἐξέβαλε· πολλὰς δὲ κ]
 αὶ πόλεις Ἑλληνίδα[ς ὑπηκόους καὶ φρουρουμένας ἐ]

In line 5 π[άντων] is assumed to be used proleptically, as in *I.G.*, II², 492, line 22.

Line 2. κατὰ θάλ[ατταν] is reasonably certain. The dot under an alpha means only that a lambda is also possible, and a dot under a theta that an omicron is an alternative. The expedition against the Peloponnese was in fact amphibious (Polyaen.,

a time-honored and abused formula of Greek συμμαχίαι, and it posits rather a condition than a call for action. It lacks what is perhaps the essence of the psephisma of Adeimantos; that "the allies," that is to say, the Greek states represented in the synedrion, should automatically and unitedly come with armed force to the defense of any one of them whom an outsider, Kassander or Polyperchon for example, might attack. It envisages, I can well believe, the withdrawal for a second time of Demetrius from Hellas with his army and fleet on the order of his father.

⁴¹ At about the same time of year his expedition to free Athens started from Ephesos in 307 B.C. (Plut., *Dem.*, VIII, 3 [Loeb]).

IV, 7, 3; cf. Niese, *op. cit.*, I, p. 336), as Demetrius' command of the sea made inevitable.

Line 6. In 302/1, after the armistice, Pleistarchos led to the Straits and then to Odessa for transshipment to Heracleia Pontica the second army which Kassander sent to reënforce Lysimachus. Prior thereto he had been active in his brother's service in Hellas. His whereabouts during this period is known at only one moment, in 312 B.C. when he was left in command at Chalcis by Kassander (Diod., XIX, 77, 6). His name is not mentioned in the accounts we possess of the fighting in the Peloponnese in 303 B.C. (cf. above, note 21) or in Thessaly in 302 B.C. What we are given by Diodorus in his narrative of the Peloponnesian war is the names of the commanders of the garrisons in the cities which fell into Demetrius' hands, and, as already pointed out (above, p. 121), he omits all details of the struggle for Akte and the Argolid. The chances are that Pleistarchos was active in this area, or that he had political and military supervision of his brother's interests in the Peloponnese. He is also known to us by a reference in Pausanias (I, 15) to a defeat which he sustained in a cavalry battle with the Athenians. There he appears as the officer *ὁς τῆς ἵππου Κασσάνδρου καὶ τοῦ ξενικοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀδελφὸς ὦν ἐπετέτραπτο*. If the date of the victory was affixed to the trophy which the periegete saw in Athens he failed to record it. It was of course during his Greek period that Pleistarchos held this command, but all we can say as to the time is that it preceded 317 or followed 307 B.C. The cavalry battle may have occurred in April-June, 303 B.C.⁴² Prepelaos, Kassander's general in Corinth, escaped to Thessaly, and despite his ignominious failure to hold the key to the Peloponnese, Kassander, in whose service he had advanced to a high command by 314 B.C. (Diod., XIX, 68, 5; cf. XX, 102, 1), entrusted him with the army which he sent early in 302 to help Lysimachus in crossing the Hellespont.

Line 8. The *synthekai* are the articles agreed to by the individual cities and Demetrius on their liberation. They were anticipatory to the *ὁμολογίαι* (*I.G.*, IV², 68, lines 85, 133, 138) or *synthekai* (*ibid.*, line 92) to which the member states of the *syndrion*, subsequently formed, took oath. Cf. *I.G.*, II², 236, of which Wilcken (*Sitz. d. preuss. Akad.*, 1929, p. 317) gives a fuller and better text.

Line 9. The perfect *πεπόηκεν* brings the action down to the point where the specific motive for the decree of the tribe begins. In other words, the historical preamble ends with this word. A present tense of the next definite verb is called for. It is worth noting that the historical preamble of the decree of the *ἐθελονταὶ ἐπίλεκτοι* ends at precisely this same point. If this élite corps returned with the hoplite militia, its decree is a little later than that of the *phyletai*, since the *epilektoi* were obviously

⁴² The earlier date should be preferred if *I.G.*, II², 1955 were a record of this cavalry battle (cf. Niese, I, p. 244, note 3), but there is nothing whatsoever to connect *I.G.*, II², 1955, with either Pleistarchos or a victory of Athenian cavalry. *I.G.*, II², 558, lines 33 f. shows that Athenian Knights were engaged in battle in or about 303 B.C., since some of them were unfortunate enough to be taken prisoners.

in Athens when they voted. Otherwise, it is impossible to say which was prior. In any case, they were both enacted in the same conjuncture. There is at least one alternative for ὁ[κνῶν δ' οὐδαμῶς], viz., ο[ὐδέν δὲ δεδιώς].

Line 13. As the clause is restored, πόλιν may mean simply Athens and show that the phyle was thinking egotistically of the Athenian soldiers alone. The furlough was given, as was natural, to the Hellenes generally, but its effects were noted only in the case of the troops with whom the phyle was concerned. Its official concern was of course its own men, as is made clear in line 15, but in στρατευόμενοι it included doubtless the soldiers of the other eleven phylae and the ἐθελονταὶ ἐπίλεκτοι.

Πόλιν may also be a singular doing duty for the plural πόλεις according to a common linguistic phenomenon noted by J. Wackernagel (*Vorlesungen über Syntax*, I, p. 92; cf. for the literature on the subject E. Löfstedt, *Syntaktika*, I, pp. 11 ff.). Wackernagel cites Thucy., VI, 58, 2: μετὰ γὰρ ἀσπίδος καὶ δόρατος εἰώθεσαν τὰς πομπὰς ποιεῖν, but he attaches his discussion to Eurip., *Medea*, 1069 ff.: δότ', ὦ τέκνα, δότ' ἀσπιάσασθαι μητρὶ δεξιὰν χέρα. ὃ φίλτατῃ χεῖρ, φίλτατον δέ μοι κάρα καὶ σχῆμα καὶ πρόσωπον εὐγενὲς τέκνων (Nock gives me also Euseb., *Eccl. Hist.*, V, 28, 8). Thus considered, the phrase would be translated, not "to Athens," but "to their cities."

It is also conceivable that ἕκαστος (-οι) αὐτῶν should be substituted for [ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου]. Cf. Solon in Arist., *Ἀθ. Πολ.*, 12, 3: καδόμενοι ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ὄλβον εὐρήσειν πολύν; *ibid.*, 13, 5: εἶχον δὲ ἕκαστοι τὰς ἐπωνυμίας ἀπὸ τῶν τόπων ἐν οἷς ἐγεώργουν; but σωιζόμενοι, following the preceding particle, seems to need an adjunct, and it is after rather than before [κατέλθωσ]ιν that we should expect to find the distributive phrase.

Κρατήσ[αντες] is a belated recognition of the success, if not of all the Greek troops, certainly of the Athenian contingent. The exploits noted previously in the decree were those of the leader, Demetrius. It was in order for the soldiers to receive a citation. They got it adroitly, but emphatically, in the final participle. Κρατήσ[αντες] and σωιζόμεν[οι] may be taken as linked, the one with Athena Nike, and the other with Soterēs, in lines 16 f.

Line 16. In Athens a sacrifice to Athena was appropriate at any time.

Line 17. Epimeletai, three in number, were the chief administrative officers of the phylae. They appear regularly in the decrees of the phyletai (*I.G.*, II², 1138 ff.; cf. also *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 402, lines 167 ff.; VII, 1938, p. 95). The treasurer appears alone in *I.G.*, II², 1158, where also [τὸν γραμματ]έα τῆς φυ[λῆς] is mentioned. In *I.G.*, II², 1168 (*s.* III?) the tamias and the epimeletai are found twice in conjunction: τῶι ταμίᾳ καὶ τοῖς ἐπιμεληταῖς; τῶι [ταμί]αι καὶ τοῖς ἐπιμεληταῖς. For τοὺς νῦν ἐπιμελητάς cf. *I.G.*, I², 91, line 18: παρὰ τῶν νῦν ταμιῶν. Κατ' ἐνιαυτόν in line 20 is to be construed with the [μερίσα]ι of line 19. To enable it to be construed with Σωτήρων it would have had to be preceded by τῶν; cf. Meisterhans³, p. 228, 23. The operative motion was twofold, to make a specific sacrifice for the safety of the

phyletai in the field, and to endow the great agon. Κατ' ἐνιαυτόν makes it sufficiently clear that what the present officials were to begin, their successors were to continue.

Line 18. For [ἀνά]θημα cf. *I.G.*, II², 488 (304/3 B.C.): δοῦναι δὲ αὐτοῖς [τὸν ἐπὶ] τῇ διοικήσει εἰς θυσ[ί]αν [κ]αὶ [ἀνάθη]μα [: H : δ]ρ[αχμάς; 1155: ἐπὶ τὸ ἀνάθημα ἐπιγρ[άψ]αι, also 1156, lines 43, 49, 62.

Line 19. The δὲ of line 20 shows that the 8 spaces before [μερίσα]ι belong with : HHH: [δραχμάς. Ἀργυρίου fits and is appropriate; cf. *S.E.G.*, III, 117 (303/2 B.C.), where the space in line 19 permits the restoration λαβεῖν [: : : δραχμάς] ἀργυρίου Ἀντιο[χίδαις. Cf. also *I.G.*, II², 715 with Add. p. 666 and the Indices of *Syll.*³, Vol. IV, s. v. ἀργύριον. Ἡμεδαπάς is an alternative, and in a decree of the fifth century B.C. it would be preferable perhaps. In 303/2 B.C. Ἀττικάς would be used normally instead of Ἡμεδαπάς.

Line 20. Ditt., *Syll.*³, 419 has δώσειν εἰς τὸν ἀγῶνα and Diod., XX, 108 ἀγῶνα μέγαν καὶ πανήγυριν. Ἀγῶνες were instituted in 307/6 B.C. as Diodorus reports (XX, 46, 2): καὶ συντελεῖν αὐτοῖς (i.e., τοῖς σωτήρσι) κατ' ἐνιαυτόν ἀγῶνας καὶ πομπὴν καὶ θυσίαν. Βωμόν also fits the space; and Diodorus tells us that the Athenians voted in 307/6 B.C. to construct one (Plut., *Dem.*, XII, 3 speaks of βωμοί of Antigonus and Demetrius) and entitle it the altar of the Soteres. But even if εἰς τὸν μέ[γαν βωμόν] were translated "for the service of the great altar" (cf. Ditt., *Syll.*³, 1042, line 10; *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 5, line 93), it would suit the assumed context less well. If none the less βωμόν is preferred, we could restore, instead of τῶν Σωτήρων : H : in line 22, καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα : H : δρ by allowing only one letter-space to the punctuation before and after H. Two letter spaces are, of course, customary.

The effect of the association of the cult of Antigonus and Demetrius with that of Dionysos on the name of the fête is hard to determine. For 293/2 B.C., after the death of Antigonus and the acceptance of Demetrius as king of Macedon, we encounter [Διονυσίων τῶν ἐν ἄστ]ει καὶ Δημητρίε[ί]ων τρ[αγωιδῶν τῷ ἀγῶνι (Dinsmoor, *Archons of Athens*, p. 8, line 42); but prior thereto, between 306 and 294 B.C., the official records yield simply Διονύσια (*I.G.*, II², 1491, lines 8 ff., Elaphebolion, 306 B.C.; 466, lines 52 f., 307/6 B.C.; 555, lines 6 f., 307/6-304/3 B.C.; 567, line 23, end of IVth cent. B.C.; 646, 29 f., 295/4 B.C.). Literary references concur (Plut., *Dem.*, XII, 3 [Loeb]; *Oxy. Pap.*, X, 1235, 302/1 B.C.). Duris of Samos, on the other hand, has Demetria alone (Athen., XII, 536), with, however, the theatre as its locale.

This record suffices to prove that Plutarch (*Dem.*, XII, 2)⁴⁸ is in error when

⁴⁸ It is possible that in order to round out his picture Plutarch assembled in chapter XII, 1 f. incidents that did not belong together in time. His report that the Athenians changed the name Dionysia into Demetria may be a misapprehension of what was true after 294 B.C.—the coupling of the two into a single fête with a double name. So too Duris of Samos may be over-simplifying, by omitting Dionysia, when he tells us that on the proskenion of the theatre (cf. A. W. Pickard-Cambridge, *The Theatre of Dionysus in Athens*, p. 158) was painted a picture of the oikoumene

he says of the Athenians of 307/6 B.C., καὶ τῶν ἑορτῶν τὰ Διονύσια μετωνόμασαν Δημήτρια. Before our decree appeared the record left open the possibility that the fête created in 307/6 B.C. was not dovetailed with the Dionysia till 294 B.C., if then; and, in fact, Segre (*Il Mondo Classico*, II, p. 289) maintained that the Dionysia and Demetrieia of 293/2 B.C. were distinct fêtes, like the Dionysia and Demetrieia of

upholding Demetrius at the time of a celebration of the Demetria. The occasion may be 291 or 290 B.C. when the king, in his hopes and plans, was "riding on the top of the world."

Unaware of the corroborative evidence since conveniently assembled by Alois Tresp, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Kultschriftsteller*, pp. 84 f., § 42, I dismissed too lightly (*Hell. Ath.*, p. 122, note) Plutarch's report, "And finally they changed the month Munychion to Demetrian and that of the last day of a month, the Old and New, to Demetrias" (Trans. by Perrin in the Loeb Classics). Since Philochoros vouches for the first and Polemon (dessen Quelle vielleicht Philochoros war) for the second of these changes, there must be some truth in them. Munychion may have become Demetrian in some sense in some one year. This year cannot have been 306/5 B.C. (*I.G.*, II², 471) or 302/1 (*I.G.*, II², 502), but it may have been, so far as the preserved decrees go, any one of the other years between 307/6 and 301/0 inclusive. There was a Munychion in 300/299 (*I.G.*, II², 1241, line 30), another in 296/5 (*I.G.*, II², 644, line 4), and another in 293/2 (*Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 97; *I.G.*, II², 389, 649 = Dinsmoor, *Archons*, p. 7). I have not noticed another before 288.

A scholiast on Pind., *Nem.*, III, 4 (II, 74, 15 Abel) quotes Philochoros as follows: τὸν οὖν Δημοτριῶνα μὴνὰ φησι Φιλόχορος ὅλον ψηφίσασθαι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἱερομηνίαν λέγεσθαι, and adds the comment οἶον ὅλον ἑορτήν. ἱερομηνίαν φησὶν ἐν τούτοις· ἀπάντων ἡμῶν ἀγόντων ἱερομηνίαν. With the evidence we possess it is impossible to determine the year of the Munychion which they renamed Demetrian and declared in its entirety a hieromenia. We think naturally of the juggling done to the Munychion of 302 B.C. by Stratokles (he had a precedent, if he knew that Alexander the Great had renamed Daisios "a second Artemisios" before the battle of the Granicus [Plut., *Alex.*, XVI, 2; cf. XXV, 2]); but if he had first converted Munychion into Demetrian before substituting for it in turn Anthesterion and Boedromion, Plutarch plainly did not know of it. It must be admitted that 307/6 B.C. is a possibility. Another possibility is 294/3 B.C. For we might treat the whole passage in Plutarch, γράφει γὰρ τις ἄλλος—μετωνόμασαν Δημήτρια, as relating to the epoch of 294-288 B.C. Indeed there is a certain resemblance between Plutarch's δέχεσθαι Δημήτριον, ὅσάκις ἂν ἀφίκηται, τοῖς Δήμητρος καὶ Διονύσου ξενισμοῖς and the opening of the Ithyphallos quoted by Athen., VI, 253d from the 22d book of Duris' *Histories*; cf. V. Ehrenberg, *Aspects of the Ancient World*, Chapter XII, pp. 179 ff. But the month of Demetrius' arrival in Athens in 291 B.C. when the Ithyphallos was sung was Boedromion, not Munychion; and the text of the "hymn" may have been accommodated to ξενισμοί made obligatory fifteen years or so earlier. Possibly the Munychion-Demetrian belonged to the epoch in which we think it probable that the Dionysia and Demetrieia were created, i. e., after Elaphebolion, 294 B.C. (*I.G.*, II², 646, line 29). The time was appropriate for changes of this sort. The exetastes and the trittarchs, who emerged in 300 B.C., disappear with the year 295/4 B.C. (cf. *I.G.*, II², 646 and *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 99; also Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology*, pp. 87 and 88). From Demetrius the Athenians had just got, if not liberty as patriots understood it, at least clemency and food—things which all could appreciate and reward with the highest honors they knew, further ἰσόθιοι τιμαί. If this is when Munychion became Demetrian, the new-named month existed in 293 B.C. alone, the year of the *archairesia* in which Olympiodoros secured irregularly his second archonship. It will be recalled that at some point between 294 and 288 B.C. Histiaia (Oreos) in Euboea had a month Demetrian (*I.G.*, XII, 9, 207, line 37). Ziebarth, the editor of this volume of *I.G.*, affirms that it had in Oreos the place occupied by Munychion in the Attic calendar. I cannot control this affirmation.

Euboea (*I.G.*, XII, 9, 207, line 18) and Delos (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 1036, line 10). The Demetrieia in Athens were, he wrote, "legati non al culto di Dioniso ma a quello di Atena." I have already pointed out (*Athenian Tribal Cycles*, p. 108, note 1) that the tragic contest of the Dionysia and Demetrieia was a single event and accordingly belonged to a single fête with a double name.⁴⁴ Our decree corroborates this conclusion. It shows that the fête of "the Soteres" in 303/2 B.C. fell, like the Dionysia, in the month of Elaphebolion, thus making clear that its relation was with Dionysos, the only *god*, apart from Asklepios and the Zeus of the unimportant Pandia (note 46), whose fête was celebrated in Athens in this month; cf. Deubnér, *Att. Feste*, Festkalender.

If the enlarged fête had a specific name before 294 B.C. we do not know what it is. The cult was the cult of the Soteres,⁴⁵ so was the agon, the pompe, and the sacrifice. This is what Diodorus (cf. Comments on Text, line 20, p. 131) reports, and what the easy and natural restoration of this line and the two that follow yields.⁴⁶ Accordingly,

⁴⁴ Cf. Nock, *Harvard Stud. Class. Phil.*, XLI, 1930, pp. 60 f.; Deubner, *Attische Feste*, p. 235.

⁴⁵ Plutarch (*Dem.*, X, 3) adds that its priest was *ἱερεὺς σωτήρων*; and this is doubtless true, though his addition that the Athenians prefixed his name to their psephismata and symbolaia in place of that of the archon eponymus is demonstrably wrong, so far at least as the psephismata are concerned. He reports also (XLVI, 1) that it was only in 289/8 B.C. that the name of the priest was removed and that of the archon reinstated.

⁴⁶ The only agon known to us was an agon of composers of paianes: *ἐπ' Ἀντιγόῳ δὲ καὶ Δημητρίῳ φησὶν Φιλόχορος Ἀθηναίους ᾄδειν παιᾶνας τοὺς πεποιημένους ὑπὸ Ἑρμοκλέους τοῦ Κυζικηνῶν, ἐφαμίλλων γενομένων τῶν παιᾶνας ποιησάντων καὶ τοῦ Ἑρμοκλέους προκριθέντος* (Athen, XV, 697a; cf. Niese, I, p. 316, note 2; *R.E.*, 1, s.v. agones, Reisch, pp. 859, 836). A similar contest had been arranged as part of the Lysandreia, the ancient Heraea of Samos (Plut., *Lys.*, XVIII, 3 f. [Loeb] citing Duris): *Ἀντιμάχῳ δὲ τοῦ Κολοφωνίου καὶ Νικηράτῳ τινὸς Ἑρακλεώτου ποιήμασι Λυσάνδρεα διαγωνισαμένων ἐπ' αὐτοῦ*. There is also some evidence that in imperial Athens a literary agon in which paianes figured formed part of the cult of Asklepios; cf. Oliver, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 93. There was apparently no lack of contestants in Athens in the epoch of Demetrius. Athenaeus (VI, 253a), citing Demochares, tells us that the Athenians honored with paianes three of Demetrius' friends and lieutenants, Burichos, Adeimantos of Lampsacus (*Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 348), and Oxythemis of Larisa (*I.G.*, II², 558), and that in 291 B.C. (for the date see R. Flacelière, *Les Aitolien à Delphes*, p. 65) they greeted Demetrius himself *παιᾶνας καὶ προσόδια ᾄδοντες*. The paian was an ancient and well-established literary genre (Schmid-Stählin, *Griech. Literaturgesch.*, I⁴, 1, pp. 343 ff.). This agon may have been called "the great agon" to distinguish it from another agon or other agones celebrated in Attica in honor of the Soteres; cf. *ἀγῶνας* in Diod., XX, 46, 2, quoted above in Comments on the Text, line 20; but it is more likely that *μέγας* is simply carried over from the *μεγάλα* which was the distinguishing name of the series of agones with which it was associated.

The Athenians did not hesitate to disturb the program of the Dionysia when they saw fit. The normal sequence of events is now pretty well established: on the 8th of Elaphebolion came the proagon, a preliminary try out of the performers. Another preliminary was to meet Dionysos at the Academy, on the way followed by him when he first came from Eleutherae to Athens, and escort him to his temple near the theatre. Then followed in order the great *πομπή* (Arist., *Ἀθ. Πολ.*, 56, 4), *καὶ οἱ παῖδες <καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες>*, *καὶ ὁ κῶμος, καὶ οἱ κομῳδοί, καὶ οἱ τραγωδοί*, as we learn from the *nomos* of Euegoros (Demosth., XXI, 10). These elements have been isolated and admirably

we should infer that the additional fête was named *Σωτήρια*—if it were not for the analogy drawn from the period between 294–288 B.C. If we take this as our guide we arrive at *Διονύσια καὶ Ἀντιγόχεια καὶ Δημητρίεια*—a cumbersome title, but sup-

described by Deubner (*Attische Feste*, pp. 138 ff.; for the dithyramb, Kern, *R.E.*, s.v. Dionysos, 1024 and L. Robert, *Et. Epigr. et Phil.*, pp. 34 f.). With the pompe—a sacrificial procession—is connected the offering of the victims from the sale of whose hides the state realized in 334/3 B.C. some 808 dr., and in 333/2 some 251 dr., (*I.G.*, II², 1496), which, at the current prices of skins (*Harvard Theo. Rev.*, XXXVII, p. 101), would represent respectively some 240 and 70 animals. Like that of the Asklepieia, which came on the 8th of Elaphebolion and yielded in 334/3 B.C. some 291 dr. = 75 animals, the sacrifice of the Dionysia furnished meats for a kreonomia of national dimensions. In the inscription just cited—a public account of the *δερματικά*—the receipts from the Asklepieia precede immediately those from the Great Dionysia. This links the two in time since the order of the sacrifices is chronological throughout the entire account. It does not disclose the interval between the two fêtes. There was, of course, another Asklepieia, also a public sacrifice (*I.G.*, II², 1496, lines 133, 142), in Boedromion, integrated, under the specific name Epidauria, with the Mysteries of Eleusis. The two Asklepieia in Athens were thus calendared shrewdly so as to fall in periods of long-established festivity. Neither of them interfered with the Great Asklepieia at Epidaurus.

Can the pompe for Dionysos have come on the 9th? Not, if we trust the scholiast on Aesch., III, 67, who tells us that the proagon came “a few days (*ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις*) before the Great Dionysia.” I should like to present another reason for thinking that the 9th was a rather inactive day in the ritual of the Dionysia, if indeed it did not precede the religious ceremonies altogether. In 1898 Julius Dutoit (*Zur Festordnung der grossen Dionysien*, pp. 38 f.; cf. *I.G.*, II², 4, 1, p. 30) tabulated the known instances of conflict in Athens between meetings of the ecclesia and the occurrences of religious festivals. They were frequent: a sacred day, *ἱερὰ ἡμέρα* (Aesch., III, 67), in Athens was not *ἀποφράς*, *nefastus*. On the basis of our present knowledge we can make a much larger list than Dutoit could of the meetings of the ecclesia held in the hieromenia of the Dionysia. During this period of the month of Elaphebolion meetings occurred on the 8th (Aesch., III, 67, 346 B.C.; *I.G.*, II², 359, 326/5 B.C.; cf. Dinsmoor, *Archons*, p. 372 and Pritchett and Neugebauer, *Calendars of Athens*, p. 54), on the 9th (*I.G.*, II², 646 and 647, 295/4 B.C.; cf. Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology*, p. 86; *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, p. 199, 171/0 B.C.; *I.G.*, II², 1008, line 50, 118/7 B.C.) [other decrees assigned to the 9th in *I.G.*, II², viz., 460, 461 and 726 = 462?, 307/6 B.C., have been disposed of for the moment at least (by Pritchett and Meritt in *Chronology*, pp. 16 ff.), as have two others assigned to the 11th, *I.G.*, II², 670A, 282/1 B.C.—cf. *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 106—and *I.G.*, II², 360, 325/4 B.C.—cf. *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 536], on the 11th (*I.G.*, II², 365 (?), 323/2 B.C.; cf. Pritchett and Neugebauer, *Calendars*, p. 57), on the 12th (*Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 476, 319/8 B.C.; *I.G.*, II², 388, where, however, Elaphebolion was miswritten for Munychion—cf. Pritchett, *Hesperia*, X, 1941, p. 269, note 7), on the 13th (*Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 422, 196/5 B.C.—cf. below, p. 135, and possibly *I.G.*, II², 372, 322/1 B.C.—cf. Pritchett and Neugebauer, p. 60), on the 14th (Thucy., IV, 118, 12, 423 B.C.), and on the 18th and 19th, *εἰθὺς μετὰ τὰ Διονύσια τὰ ἐν ἄστει καὶ τὴν ἐν Διονύσου ἐκκλησίαν* (Aesch. II, 61; III, 68, 346 B.C.). This list, scrutinized without prepossession, suggests that the 9th of Elaphebolion was freely available for sessions of the ecclesia. It also demonstrates that there is not the slightest reason to infer from Thucy., IV, 118, 12 that the Dionysia ended on the 13th; nor was there ever any sound reason for dating the Pandia on the (14th), since the fête obviously belonged to Zeus not to Selene (Deubner, pp. 176 f.). Since it came after the Dionysia and before the meeting of the ecclesia ἐν Διονύσου (Demosth., XXI, 8 f.; *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, no. 18, p. 102, lines 18 f.), i.e., in 346 B.C. the 18th, it may be dated, and probably should be dated, as late as the 16th. Even though leeway was provided for the postponement of events on the program of the Dionysia to permit meetings of the ecclesia, I do not think there is any necessity to ignore the scholion on Aesch., III, 62 and make the 9th the first

ported by the name, Ἀντιγόνεια καὶ Δημητρίεια, borne by the fête established a year later (306 B.C.) by Samos in honor of the same two βασιλεῖς (*S.E.G.*, I, 362). At Samos, however, the fête with the double name was a new creation, not integrated with a pre-existent festival.

day of the Dionysia proper. The Dionysia can have begun on the tenth, and since it can have run to the 15th there was room within its course, not only for the presentation of an old tragedy (after 387/6 B.C.), and an old comedy (*I.G.*, II², 2323 a, late 4th century; 2323, late 3d century; cf. Meritt, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 117), but also for the pompe, sacrifice, and agon of the Soteres. None the less I think it more likely that the cult of the Soteres was assigned to the 9th. Nock and Deubner (cf. above, note 44) think of a lengthening of the Dionysia by a day or days. They are influenced, I imagine, by the order of the names, Dionysia-Demetrieia. I am affected by the parallel of the Asklepieia. They may be right: there was room for the Demetrieia after, or before, the Dionysia. So we cannot be sure. But after the final event of the Dionysia—the presentation of new tragedies, at which time the announcements of honors were made—the Demetrieia would have been an anti-climax.

When the cult of Asklepios was well established—it came to Athens in 420 B.C.—one of its two public sacrifices (*I.G.*, II², 1496, lines 78, 109, 133; cf. above, p. 134) was entered on the 8th (Aesch., III, 67). By assigning the fête of the Soteres to the 9th we reserve to Dionysos the period of seven days following his arrival at the shrine on the slope of the Acropolis. In Euboea the technitai who put on the shows at the Dionysia in 294-288 B.C. received σιτηρέσιον for five days in each city (*I.G.*, XII, 9, 207, line 23). Six days are not too much to allow for the greatest Dionysia of them all. The *eisagoge* from the Academy, in which the ephebes had the central role, was made by torch-light (μετὰ φωτός, *I.G.*, II², 1006, lines 12 f.), hence on the evening of the 9th probably. Dionysos was thus in his shrine at the theatre on the morning of the 10th when his great pompe arrived and the sacrifice of the processional animals was made. For a parallel for the deity being absent till the statue was present see Nilsson, *Griech. Feste*, p. 410. I take as confirmatory of the tenth being the day of the sacrifice the fact that it was on the 10th (κατὰ δεκάτην τοῦ Ἐλαφιβαιῶνος) that the head of the association of the Iobakchoi (ὁ ἀρχίβακχος) performed τὴν θυσίαν—καὶ τὴν | σπονδὴν to Dionysos (*I.G.*, II², 1368, lines 117 ff.; cf. Kirchner, note 3; Deubner, *Att. Feste*, pp. 142, 150 and note 7). Whatever else might be postponed or omitted the πομπή and θυσία were the essential part of the cult (Nilsson, *Griech. Feste*, p. v) and without these there could be no Dionysia (cf. *I.G.*, II², 896). This is perhaps the reason why we have no instances of meetings of the ecclesia on the tenth. The holding of a particular agon was dependent on the availability of plays or choruses and of funds; hence in the latter part of the third century B.C. and during the second the κομωδῶν ἀγὼν was often omitted (*I.G.*, II², 2323, lines 99 ff., 162, 230 f., 251 f.). Omissions would, of course, open days for public business, so that meetings of the ecclesia between the eleventh and the sixteenth of Elaphebolion during this later period (ca. 215/4-141/0 B.C.—the limits of our evidence) might be more frequent than was possible earlier. The meeting on the thirteenth in 196/5 B.C. was κυρία and held in the Piraeus (*Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 422). It enacted the famous decree in honor of Kephisodoros who played the leading political and diplomatic role in Athens during the Second Macedonian War which had ended with the triumph at the Isthmia some eleven months earlier. The decree ordered that the crown voted to Kephisodoros be proclaimed [Διονυσίων τε τῶν | ἐν] ἄσ[τει καινοῖς τραγωῖδοις καὶ Παναθ]ηναίων κ[αὶ] Ἐλευσινίων κα[ὶ] Πολ[εμίων τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἀγῶσιν]. Two conclusions seem to emerge: (1) that the program of the Great Dionysia was featureless on the thirteenth of Elaphebolion, 195 B.C., and (2) that the ἐκκλησία κυρία of the prytany of Aigeis was timed to enable the crowning of Kephisodoros to be announced at the tragic contest impending on one of the following three days.

During Elaphebolion the ecclesia met most frequently between the 19th and the 22nd, and between the 27th and the 30th. Two meetings came on the fifth, *I.G.*, II², 656, 286/5 B.C., and Dow, *Prytaneis*, 53, 186/5 B.C.?; cf. Pritchett and Neugebauer, *Calendars*, p. 75.

It seems to me that the weight of the evidence favors the conclusion that the Dionysia remained the Dionysia simply, despite the intrusion of the cult of the Soteres, until 294 B.C.⁴⁷

Line 21. There is a good chance that Elaphebolion, the month of the Dionysia, was imminent at the time our decree was passed, especially since the αὐτοῖς of line 20 are, strictly construed, the same prytaneis designated by αὐτοῖς in line 18.

Line 22. This pompe was doubtless distinct from the πομπή τῷ Διονύσῳ; hence the specification τῶν Σωτήρων.

Line 23. For ὑπόμνημα, cf. *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 104, line 23 (302/1 B.C.); *I.G.*, II², 570; and *I.G.*, II², 657, line 43 (285/4 B.C.): [καὶ ἐπὶ]θετον ἀγῶνα κατεσκεύασεν τεῖ Δῆμ[ητρι καὶ τεῖ Κόρη]ι [πρ]ῶτος ὑπόμνημα τῆς τοῦ δήμου [ἐλευθηρίας. Cf. Ditt., *Syll.*³, IV (Index), s.v. ὑπόμνημα.

Line 24. On ἐψηφίσθαι δέ, see above, p. 114, line 13. The phrase ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀκαμαντίδ[ος πρυτανείας would be ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς, κτλ. if this was the beginning of a new clause.

In conclusion I must express my gratitude to B. D. Meritt for intrusting to me the publication of the decree from the Athenian Agora on which this study is based, and to A. D. Noëk for reading the Ms. and both annotating it copiously with helpful suggestions and discussing them with me subsequently.

W. S. FERGUSON

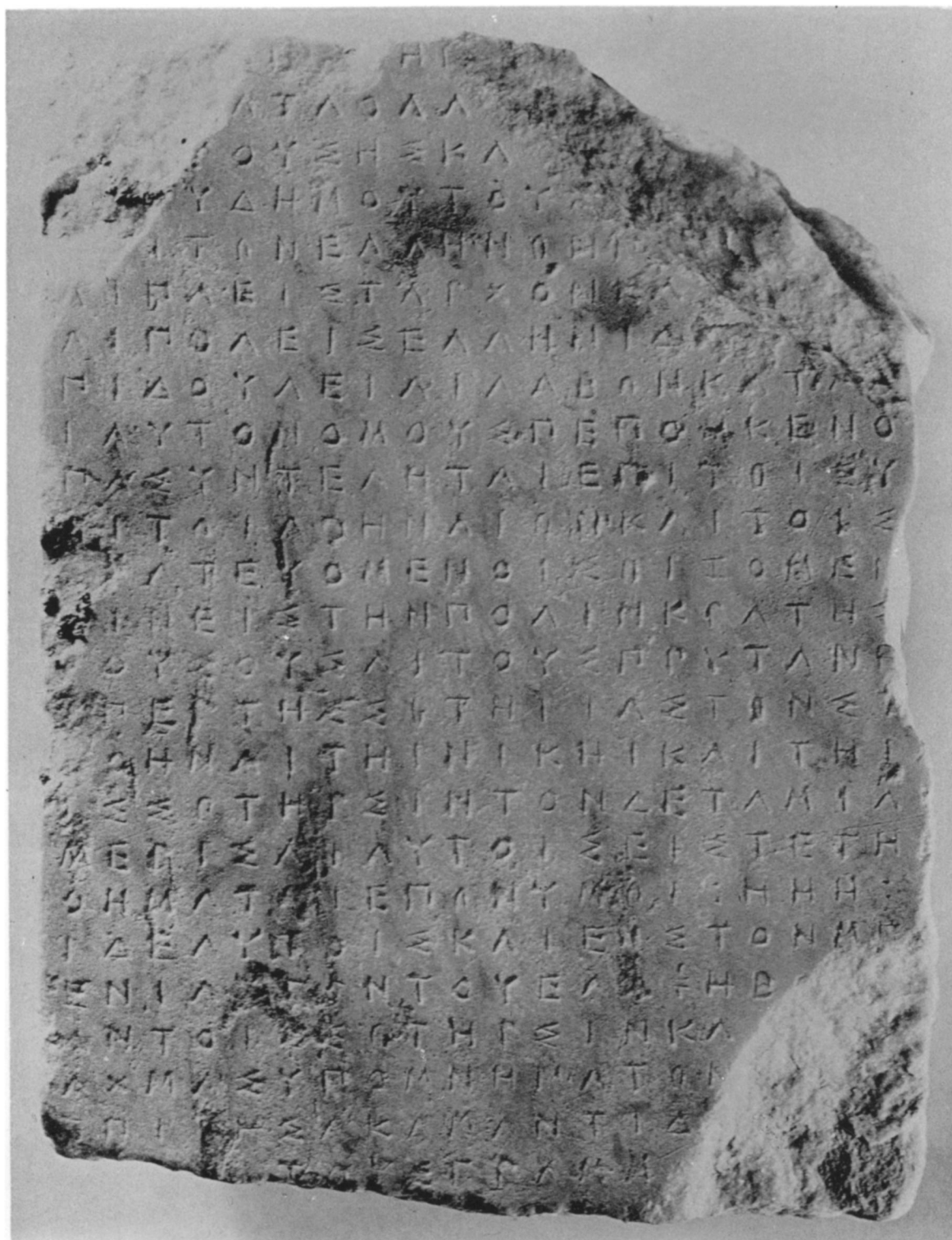
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⁴⁷ In 288 B.C. the Dionysia, like Athens itself, was freed from its invader (*I.G.*, II², 653, 654, 657). It was then in all probability that the cult of the Soteres was disestablished. The cult of the Macedonian kings in Athens between 262 and 235 B.C. was that of the Soteres (Dow, *Prytaneis*, p. 11; Pritchett, *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, pp. 150 f.). This was a revival of a sort.

ADDENDA

Page 127, footnote 40: I note that Wilhelm, *Rhein. Mus.*, 1941, p. 23 reads in line 10 of *Hesperia*, IX, 1943, pp. 348 ff., no. 45 [συμμάχοις] for Schweigert's [συνέδροις], in lines 11-12 [παραγίγνεσθαι εἰ]ς for Schweigert's [συναγείρεσθαι ? εἰ]ς, and in lines 14-15 περὶ τούτῳ[ν· ἐφ' οἷς καὶ πᾶσιν ἔδο]ξεν τοῖς συνέδροις· ἐάν τις ἔη for Schweigert's περὶ τούτῳ[ν ὧν ἔδο]ξεν, κτλ.

Page 134, footnote: for meetings of the ecclesia on the 9th of Elaphebolion see also *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pp. 3 f., no. 3, two decrees passed in the ecclesia κυρία, 244/3 B.C.



No. 68

W. S. FERGUSON: DEMETRIUS POLIORCETES AND THE HELLENIC LEAGUE