

# THREE ATTIC PROXENY DECREES

(PLATE XIII)

1. *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 36 + E.M. 12411 (Plate XIII). The proxeny decree published as *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 36 may be augmented by the addition of a small inscribed fragment now in the Epigraphical Museum of Athens (E.M. 12411). Since we were able to study only the squeeze of this fragment we do not know its thickness nor do we know whether the stone is broken on all sides. It seems likely, however, that both the top and the left lateral face are preserved since there is an uninscribed space above the first line and since only one letter is missing at the beginning of this line. The fragment has been assigned to *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 36 on the basis of the lettering which is identical in size, in shape, and in spacing. It became clear, moreover, that the new fragment must join that part of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 36 which had previously been published as *I.G.*, I, 27. Between the preserved letters of the third line of the new fragment (ἐγρ[αμμάτε[νε] and the first line of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 36 ([<sup>ca.</sup> 3]λεος εἶπε) there are missing only the two words ὁ δεῖνα ἐπεστάτε for which there is ample space at the end of the third line. The whole document may therefore be restored as follows.

ca. 447/6 B.C.

non-stoich. ca. 25

[ἐ]δοχσεν τῷ βολῇ καὶ τῷ δέμ[  
[οι] Αἰαντὶς ἐπ[ρυντάνευε· <sup>ca.</sup> 5 ἐ]  
[γρ]αμμάτε[νε· <sup>ca.</sup> 6 ἐπεστάτε·]  
[<sup>ca.</sup> 3]λεος εἶπε· Κορ[ρα]γίδεν κ[αὶ ν]  
5 Θαλυκίδεν καὶ Μ[ε]νέστρατον κ  
αὶ Ἀθηναίων τὸς Θεσπιάς ἀναγρ  
[ά]φσαι προχσένος καὶ εὐεργέτα  
[ς Ἀ]θηναίων καὶ τὸς παῖδας τὸς  
[ἐκένο]ν ἐμ πόλ[ε]ι ἐν στέλει λιθί  
10 [νει· οἱ δὲ] πολετ[α]ὶ ἀπομισθοσά  
[ντον τὸν στέλεν· τ]ὸ δὲ ἀργύριον  
[ἀποδόντον οἱ κολακρ]έται· κ[αλ]  
[έσαι δὲ - - - - -]

The restoration suggested here differs in some small details from the one published as *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 36. There is a possibility that the first name in line 5 Θαλυκίδες actually began in line 4 since after κ[αὶ] there must have been still space for one or possibly two letters. We make this suggestion because this inscription was engraved with disregard for stoichedon arrangement and syllabic division, and because each line has apparently as many letters as the stone-cutter could possibly inscribe. It may be noted, moreover, that the name Θαλυκίδες seems to be unique, consisting as it does of the root Θα- and the patronymic -λυκίδες (from -λυκος). The suggestion may be made that the first part of the name contained in fact the root Αἰθα- or Αἰθαλ- which is known in the form Λύκαιθος (P.A., 9198). There certainly is space for the first two letters of this name at the end of line 4.

In lines 10 and 12 the rough breathing has been omitted in the restoration because the available space favored this disposition. In line 12 we have restored for the same reason the shorter form ἀποδόντον rather than the longer παρασχόντον.

The dating and the interpretation of the document remain unchanged by the addition of the new fragment. If the honors were granted to these four Thespians after the battle of Koroneia, this must have taken place very soon afterwards for the letter forms suggest a date within five years after the middle of the century.

One of the four Thespians, Athenaios, may have received his name as homage to the glorious deeds of the Athenians in which the Thespians participated at Plataiai. It may be noted in passing that H. Pope's suggestion (*Non-Athenians in Attic Inscriptions*, p. 49, note 29) to restore Ἀθένα[ιος ὁ Θεσπιεύς] in *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 30, line 2 should be rejected. This inscription does not deal with Boiotians, and it is

several years earlier than the text under consideration. It so happens, moreover, that *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 30 can be joined on top of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 23 giving thus an entirely new significance to the document.

2. *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 30 + 23 (Plate XIII). A study of the squeezes of the inscriptions published as *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 23 and 30 suggested that these two fragments may belong to the same document. James H. Oliver kindly examined the originals in Athens and reported that *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 30 in fact can be joined to the top of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 23. The

combined fragments are 0.505 m. high; their maximum thickness is 0.115 m., and their maximum width 0.17 m. They have only the left side preserved while the top of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 30 does not seem to be original. The restoration suggested below assumes, however, that the first line of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 30 was also the first line of the original document. The stele may have been crowned by a relief or by a simple moulding which is now broken off. The photograph of the fragments as joined was kindly supplied to us by Mrs. Oliver.

ca. 451/0 B.C.

After line 5, stoich. 42

- Π ρ ο [ χ σ έ ν ο ν κ α λ̣ ε ὕ ε ρ γ ε τ ὀ ν ]  
 'Α θ ε ν α [ ί ο ν τ ὀ ν π ρ έ σ β ε ο ν τ ὀ ν ]  
 Π α ρ ι α ν [ ὀ ν vacat ]  
 'Α θ ε ν ο δ [ ὀ ρ ο τ ὀ nomen patris ]  
 5 'Ι κ ε σ ί ο [ τ ὀ nomen patris ]  
 ἔδοχσεν τῇ [ι βολῇ καὶ τοῖ δέμοι· ἡπποθοντὶς ἐπρυτ]  
 [ά]νευεν Δι[ότιμος ἐγραμμάτευεν Καλλίας ἐπεστάτε 'Α]  
 [ρ]χέδεμο[ς εἶπε· 'Αθηνόδορον καὶ 'Ικέσιον ἦσαν το δέο]  
 [ν]ται ἔ β[όλονται .....<sup>29</sup>.....]  
 10 [.]βολ[.....<sup>38</sup>.....]  
 [.....<sup>42</sup>.....]  
 [.....<sup>42</sup>.....]  
 [..<sup>4</sup>.. ἡ δὲ γραμματεὺς ἡ τῆς βολῆς ἀναγράφσας τὸ φσ]  
 [έ]φισμα τ[όδε ἐστέλει λιθίνει καταθέτο ἐμ πόλει τέλ]  
 15 εοι τοῖς [αὐτὸν· ἐπαινέσαι μὲν καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ τὸς ἀπάρ]  
 χας κατὰ 'Ισφ[αν ἡότι εὐεργετέκασιν τὲν πόλιν καὶ ἡό]  
 τι τὲν τριακ[όντερον καὶ τὲν τετρακόντερον καὶ τὲν]  
 πεντεκόντε[ρον κατέστειλαν ἐς Λέσβον καὶ ἡότι τὸς σ]  
 [τ]ρατιώτας ἀ[νέλαβον ---]  
 20 [.]ἔ ἐς Λέσβο[ν --- ἐκ τὸ δι]  
 [κασ]τερίο 'Ι[σσαιόν· ἡ δὲ πολέμαρχος ἐς τὸ δικαστέρει]  
 [ον π]ροσκαλ[έσθο αὐτὸς 'Αθέναζε πέντε ἡμερῶν ἀφ' ἡῆς]  
 [ἀν ἡα]ι κλέσ[ες ἐχσέκοσιν ἔ εὐθυνέσθο. συνεπιμελόσθ]  
 [ον δ]ἔ ἡοι ἐ[πιμελεται ἡόπος ἀν ---]  
 25 [... ε]ἰπε τ[ὰ μὲν ἄλλα καθάπερ τῇ βολῇ ---]  
 [... β]ολε[---]

The prescript of the decree, lines 6-8, has been restored following a suggestion made by Meritt and reported by P. Haggard, *The Secretaries of the Athenian Boule in the Fifth Century B. C.*, p. 10, note 8. Although we have no evidence to present in favor of this restoration, it so happens that several lines of the

fragmentarily preserved text can be restored with a length of 42 letters.

The restoration of the first sentence of the decree, of which only five letters are preserved in line 9, presents considerable difficulties. The last of these five letters, normally read as a rho, may equally well have been a beta, and it even

seems possible to detect on squeeze and photograph traces of the lower loop which would confirm this latter reading. Meritt recently observed (*Hesperia*, XIV, 1945, p. 126, note 132) that matters of religious interest were often mentioned at the beginning of decrees, and he gave as an example the passage under discussion thus accepting the restoration  $\tau\alpha \iota\epsilon\rho[\acute{\alpha}]$ . We have hesitated to follow him because we think that the rough breathing would not have been omitted in this text except in the Ionic proper name Hikesios (line 5); compare line 24. We were unable, moreover, to find any example of the use of  $\tau\alpha \iota\epsilon\rho\acute{\alpha}$  at the beginning of a decree. The restoration suggested here is also unusual and should be considered as doubtful.

The widely spaced heading may have contained as many as 23 letters in each line. Since each line began with a new word, it seems likely that the lines did not entirely fill the available space and that they were not all of equal length. Line 3 apparently contained some form of the ethnic Παριανός, and we assume that the two names which followed in lines 4 and 5 belonged to citizens of Parion. All we know of the relationship between this city and Athens about the middle of the fifth century is that Parion was a member of the Delian League as early as 454/3; see *A.T.L.*, I, p. 368. Its tribute was considerably reduced at some time between 452 and 443, and it seems reasonable to assume that the reduction of the tribute was in some way connected with the events which occasioned our decree. At Tyrodiza, across the Straits from Parion, an Athenian colony was founded before the middle of the fifth century (*A.T.L.*, I, pp. 525 and 558), and Sigeion, on the Asiatic side of the Hellespont, demonstrated her loyalty to Athens at this very time (*Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 362; *A.T.L.*, I, pp. 547-548; *J.H.S.*, LXIII, 1943, p. 28).

The remains of lines 14-15 seem to contain the publication formula. The reading  $[\phi\sigma\acute{\epsilon}]\text{-}\phi\iota\sigma\mu\alpha \tau[\acute{\omicron}\delta\epsilon]$  is certain and should replace the older reading which is repeated in *I.G.*, XII, Suppl. (1939), p. 62, lines 47-53.

In line 16 one can read with confidence  $-\chi\alpha\varsigma \kappa\alpha\tau\grave{\alpha} \iota\sigma\sigma[-]$ , but the meaning and the restoration

of these three words are difficult. The mention of Lesbos in line 20 suggested to us the possibility that the three letters at the end of line 16 may contain the name of the Lesbian city Issa the existence of which is attested by Stephanos, *s.v.* Ἴσση, πόλις ἐν Λέσβῳ, κληθεῖσα Ἰμέρα, εἴτα Πελασγία καὶ Ἴσση ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰσσης τῆς Μάκαρος. We have restored the ethnic Ἰ[σσαίων] in line 21, but both restorations should be considered as doubtful. Equally uncertain is the restoration  $[\tau\acute{\omicron}\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\alpha}\rho]\chi\alpha\varsigma$  in line 16. It is based on the occurrence of such officials in a late decree from Lesbos (*I.G.*, XII, Suppl. [1939], p. 13, line 5).

The two types of boat mentioned in lines 17 and 18 are well known and represent small ships; see *R.E.*, *s.vv.* Triakontoros and Pente-kontoros. It seems that such boats were not in common use in the well-equipped navies of the fifth century. They did constitute, however, a substantial part of the naval forces of smaller cities. We have restored  $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\nu \tau\epsilon\tau\tau\alpha\kappa\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu$  because it fills the available space. There is little known of this type of boat, and its proper name in later times was  $\tau\epsilon\sigma\sigma\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\kappa\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\omicron\rho\omicron\varsigma$ .

What remains of lines 22 and 23 seems to belong to the two words  $[\pi]\rho\omicron\sigma\kappa\alpha\lambda[\epsilon\sigma\theta]-$  and  $[\eta\alpha]\iota \kappa\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\sigma[\epsilon\varsigma]$  which can be combined to form a phrase common in Attic decrees of the fifth century; see E. Schweigert, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 322-323, no. 3.

Line 25 seems to contain the beginning of a rider.

The date suggested for *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 23, 450/49, may be retained. The occurrence of the three-stroke sigma does not allow a much later date. The sigma employed in this inscription is of a peculiar shape. The top stroke is considerably longer than the two other bars. The same type of letter occurs on four other Attic inscriptions, three of which are securely dated about the middle of the fifth century. *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 34 shows this form of sigma but the inscription cannot be dated accurately. *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 32 is now dated in the year 451/0; see *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 360-362, no. 2. The treaty between Athens and Hermione (*Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 494-497, no. 12) is dated *ca.* 450 B.C. Most significant, however, is the occurrence of this type of sigma in the copy of the Athenian monetary

decree found on the island of Kos; see *Clara Rhodos*, IX, 1938, pp. 156, fig. 1, and 173. This decree should be dated in 449 B.C.; see *A.J.P.*, LXI, 1940, p. 478, note 11; *Hesperia*, XIII, 1944, p. 9.

3. *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 67 + E.M. 6130 + E.M. 12900 + 12949 (Plate XIII). To the inscription published as *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 67 and augmented by the addition of two new fragments (E. Schweigert, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 270-271, no. 5) may be assigned another small fragment kept now in the Epigraphical Museum of Athens (E.M. 6130).

ca. 420-410 B.C. stoich. 33

[---]TEN[---]  
 [---]τον ἡο[---]  
 [---] ἡεκ[---]  
 [---]ν κρ[---]

The attribution is based on the form and spacing of the letters. Particularly characteristic are the shapes of nu (narrow) and epsilon (broad, the center stroke placed clearly below the middle of the vertical hasta). A comparison of the fragments belonging to this document and of the decree published as *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 110 reveals a striking similarity in the lettering. *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 110 is dated in the year 410/09 while the date suggested for *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 67 is based on a passage in Thucydides (IV, 77, 2) referring to the conclusion of an alliance between Oiniadae and Athens in 424 B.C. Too little is preserved of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 67 to decide whether the honors granted to Telemachos followed immediately the conclusion of the alliance or were granted after a lapse of several years.

Neither the newly added fragment nor either of the fragments published by Schweigert can be assigned to a definite place in the decree. It seems likely, however, that none of the three small fragments can be directly combined with the larger piece. We were unable to arrive at any certain restoration of the new fragment.

The rough breathing read in line 2 is not clearly discernible; this letter may equally well have been a nu. In the third line, ἡεκ[---] may belong either to a form of ἡκω or of ἑκαστος.

A few alternative restorations may be suggested for the text of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 67. The restoration of line 3 κ[αθῆάπερ τὸ πρότερον] not only contains a peculiar and unexplained phrase but also a spelling of καθῆάπερ which is at variance with the spelling of the same word restored with certainty in line 8. Less objectionable may be the restoration κ[αθ' ἡότι ἂν τοῖ δέμοι δοκῇ καὶ θῆνα]ι ἐμ πό[λει based on a similar phrase in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 8, lines 8-9. This latter inscription, incidentally, belongs to the fifth century; compare A. Wilhelm, *Att. Urkunden*, IV, p. 23.

The name to be restored in line 7 [...<sup>7</sup>...]ίας may have had only nine letters if it was preceded by an uninscribed space. We were unable to find any ten-letter name ending in -ίας.

The restorations of lines 10-11 presuppose that ἐκάστοι is written without the rough breathing although there does not seem to be any other omission of this sign. The only alternative that comes to our mind is the restoration of τρια]κοσίας instead of πεντα]κοσίας. The old restoration was probably based on the occurrence of this sum in the honorary decree for Potamodoros (*I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 70), recently republished by B. D. Meritt (*Hesperia*, X, 1941, pp. 322-323). In fact, these are the only Attic fifth-century inscriptions we were able to find in which specific gifts of money were made to recipients of public honors; compare P. Monceaux, *Les Proxénies Grecques*, pp. 98-99, no. 4; A. Wilhelm, *op. cit.*, p. 61. It may be noted, incidentally, that Meritt retained (*loc. cit.*, p. 323, lines 42-43) Wilhelm's restoration [δοῦ]να[ι] although this spelling is at variance with that of the rest of the inscription (see especially line 26). One may restore, preferably, [ἐπά]να[γκες δῶναι ἐκ δημοσίου πεντακοσί]ας δραχμὰς [ἐκά]στ[οι τὸς κολακρέτας ..... ἐν τ]ῇ αὐρίο[ν ἐμέραι ---].



1



2



3