

DERKYLOS OF HAGNOUS AND THE DATE OF I.G., II², 1187

(PLATES 65–66)

I.

DERKYLOS of Hagnous, son of Autokles, has long been recognized as an important if secondary character in the tragedy of Athens' decline and fall during the third quarter of the fourth century B.C.¹ In 347/6 he was one of the ten envoys sent by the Demos to Philip of Macedon to explore the possibility of arranging a peace, and, when they had returned, he was one of the five, mentioned by name, who made a report to the ekklesia.² When the Athenians had decided in favor of the peace, they dispatched the same ten men for the second time to receive the oaths of ratification from Philip and his allies.³ It was Aischines' alleged treason during this second embassy (ἡ ἐπὶ τοὺς ὅρκους) that brought on the famous trial, instituted by Demosthenes, in which Derkylos, as a fellow-envoy, was called upon to testify.

It is not altogether clear which side Derkylos favored. At the time when Philip was already moving south toward Thermopylai and while he was staying at Pherai, where he finally allowed the Athenians to receive the oaths of his allies (Demosthenes, XIX, 158), Derkylos was already sufficiently suspicious to be spying around Philip's tent at night. Since he was allegedly spying there in the company of one of Demosthenes' slaves at the very moment when he is supposed to have caught Aischines coming out, and since he reported the matter to Demosthenes, we may assume that Derkylos was, at least at this point, in sympathy with Demosthenes' point of view (Demosthenes, XIX, 175). Even so Derkylos seems to have been reluctant to testify at the trial, for Demosthenes, when he says he will call the envoys to witness, openly threatens to force them either to testify or to perjure themselves (Demosthenes, XIX, 176).

On the side of the defense, on the other hand, Derkylos seems to have reported freely to Aischines the story he had heard from Aristophanes the Olynthian, namely, that Demosthenes had offered Aristophanes a thousand drachmas to testify that

¹ See J. Kirchner, *Prosopographia Attica*, Berlin, 1901, 3248 and 3249; *R.E.*, V, 1905, col. 242, s.v., "Derkylos (1)." In the years between the publication of *P.A.* and the writing of the article for *R.E.*, Kirchner must have decided that the Derkylos who is mentioned by Plutarch (*Phok.*, XXXII) and Nepos (*Phoc.*, II) as Phokion's colleague in the strategia in 319/18 was perhaps identical with Derkylos of Hagnous, son of Autokles. This identification, first proposed by Arnold Schäfer (*Demosthenes und Seine Zeit*, Leipzig, 1886, II², pp. 195–196, p. 195 note 1, p. 412 note 2), is basic to the argument of this paper.

² Aischines (II, 47–49) says that the envoys spoke in the following order: Ktesiphon, Philokrates, Derkylos, Aischines, Demosthenes. Cf. Schäfer, *Demosthenes*, II², p. 195 note 1.

³ Cf. Schäfer, *Demosthenes*, II², p. 240 note 1.

Aischines had abused an Olynthian woman of his household while she was held captive.⁴ Perhaps we may conclude that Derkylos belonged to neither side in this feud and, like the majority of the jury and many honest men since, he was unable to convince himself that Aischines was really guilty of high treason; that as a private citizen Derkylos condemned corruption of any sort, whether it be of envoys or of witnesses; but that as a member of the embassy he was concerned lest the Athenians lose their ability to distinguish between guilt and innocence if, now that they had just condemned Philokrates, they went on to condemn Aischines as well.

At any rate Derkylos' conduct on the third embassy⁵ shows that he was aware of the interests of his state and of his duties as envoy. Again the Demos had elected most of those who had served on the other two missions. This time, however, they had gone on their journey only as far as Chalkis when they learned that the Phokians had surrendered and thereupon they turned back.⁶ It is here that Derkylos distinguished himself from his fellow-envoys, for, in spite of his being the bearer of bad news and disregarding the possibility that he might be held partly responsible for the misfortune, he outstripped the others and was the first to report that Philip held Thermopylai, that all Boiotia was in the hands of the Thebans and that the Phokians had been destroyed.

When the others had returned, the Demos insisted that all those who had been elected in the first place should proceed with the embassy in spite of what had happened (Aischines, II, 95). Derkylos was of course in this group (Aischines, II, 140).

Derkylos next appears,⁷ along with his brother Kallias, in a board of twenty-three men, many of them prominent citizens of the day,⁸ who were listed by the *ἐπιμεληταὶ τῶν νεωρίων* of the year 334/3⁹ as *ἐγγνηταὶ τριήρων*.¹⁰ These ships (the number is

⁴ Aischines, II, 153-155. Cf. also Demosthenes, XIX, 196-198 where the story is told in detail; but we learn from Aischines (II, 4) that the jury had shouted Demosthenes down when he had tried to tell it in court.

⁵ It has been assumed that Derkylos was an official member of the third embassy on the basis of Demosthenes, XIX, 121 and of Aischines, II, 140. Demosthenes says that the Athenians selected for the most part the same envoys for the third embassy, and Aischines mentions Derkylos by name as arriving at a certain time along with himself and one Stephanos, not otherwise known. Cf. Schäfer, *Demosthenes*, II², p. 275 note 1.

⁶ Cf. Demosthenes, XIX, 125 with XIX, 60 and Aischines, II, 95.

⁷ *I.G.*, II², 1623, lines 179-180; cf. *I.G.*, II, 804Ba 20 and *S.I.G.*,³ 962, lines 180-181.

⁸ *E.g.*, Diotimos son of Diopeithes, Demosthenes, Demades, Phaidros of Sphettos, Konon son of Timotheos. Cf. *S.I.G.*,³ 962, notes 29-43, for the identity of the others, most of whom are known.

⁹ Koehler (*I.G.*, II, 804 note) dated the account to 334/3, the archonship of Ktesikles, on the basis of lines 276-285, which refer to the preceding year as *ἐπ' Εὐαίετον ἀρχοντος* (i.e., 335/4). Cf. *S.I.G.*,³ 962 note 2 and *I.G.*, II², 1623, notes.

¹⁰ On the basis of a recent study of the stone I would restore *I.G.*, II², 1623, lines 160-162 as follows:

ΘΕΟΙ
[οἷδε] ἐγγνηταὶ τ[ριήρων]ν
Κλεοχάρης κτλ.

unknown) have been identified, on the basis of evidence from a later naval list,¹¹ with those which were sent to the Chalkidians in 340 to prey upon Macedonian commerce and allies around the bay of Pagasai.¹² The ships were never returned and the guarantors were called upon to pay up. The matter dragged on for a number of years until 325/4 when Demades, who had been one of the guarantors himself, proposed a psephisma requiring them to pay (see note 11 below). It is interesting to note that five of the men had in the meantime died, for the sums were collected from their heirs, and that evidently eight had already settled their debts, for they are not listed as paying.¹³ At any rate, Demades' is one of the missing names, and it seems likely that he and some of the others, including Derkylos and Kallias, had already paid, and that this provided Demades with a motive for introducing a decree of the people that would force the other guarantors to follow suit.

Although it is not unlikely that Derkylos played some role in the Lamian war, his name does not appear again in our sources until 319/18 when he, having been elected *στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας* (Plutarch, *Phok.*, XXXII), was participating in but not fully cooperating with the oligarchic government of Phokion. This government, supported by a Macedonian garrison in Mounichia, had been set up by the victorious Antipater after his twin victories at Amorgos and Krannon, and it restricted the citizenship to those who had at least two thousand drachmas in wealth¹⁴ and left

Line 160. The suggestion of Koehler, [ἐπὶ] Θεοφ[ράστου ἄρχον(τος)] is certainly preferable, historically speaking, and I have found no naval inscription beginning with *θεοί*. But Kirchner's correction must stand, not just for the reasons he gave, but because there is no way to make a dotted phi of a well-preserved iota. The vertical hasta is preserved to more than half the height of the letter. Line 161. The surface of the stone is broken away, not recently, where Kirchner has: *v v v*. Therefore one would have to bracket the *vacats* and assume an indentation for the new entry. But nowhere else are paragraphs marked by indentations; rather at least one letter (or one and a half) of the first lines sticks out into the margin. Thus the restoration [οἷδε] would have the omicron in the margin. The [οἷδε] at the beginning of the list is answered at the end: οἱτοὶ προσοφείλονσι τῶν σκευῶν τῆς τριμῆς: ΠΗΗΗΔΔΔΔΓ. The restoration of five instead of four letters in the lacuna between centers of the tau and the nu is just possible physically in a space of 0.035. Six letters in this space is average, but seven letters do occur in many places. τ[ριήρων]ν is preferable to τ[ούτω]ν at the beginning of a new entry, especially the first entry on the stone after the heading *θεοί*; also cf. *I.G.*, II², 1629, line 516 (see note 11), where the same board of guarantors is referred to specifically as ἐγγυηταὶ τῶν τριήρων.

Line 162. the upper raking stroke of the kappa is preserved and brackets are not needed.

¹¹ *I.G.*, II², 1629, lines 516-543; cf. *I.G.*, II, 809c, lines 42-69. The entry begins: παρὰ τῶν ἐγγυητῶν τῶν τριήρων, ὧν οἱ Χαλκιδῆς ἔλαβον, ἀπελάβομεν κατὰ ψήφισμα τοῦ δήμου ὁ Δημάδης Παιανί: εἶπε.

¹² According to Philip's letter to the Athenians (Demosthenes, XII, 5) Kallias was an Athenian, being called ὁ παρ' ἡμῶν στρατηγός, but he has long been recognized (Schäfer, *Demosthenes*, II², p. 492, esp. note 3) as the Chalkidian who had joined Phokion in 341 in ridding Oreos and Eretria of their pro-Macedonian tyrants. Cf. H. Swoboda, *R.E.*, XX, cols. 1624-1626, s.v., "Kallias 14."

¹³ The second list follows precisely the first one except for those eight omissions and for two names which appear out of order at the very end in smaller and crowded letters, apparently inserted after the next entry had already been inscribed.

¹⁴ Diodoros, XVIII, 18, 4-6. Cf. W. S. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, London, 1911, pp. 22-27 for a detailed description of the oligarchic constitution.

the supreme command in the hand of a single man, Phokion.¹⁵ But, after the death of Antipater and the flight of Kassander to Antigonos, Polyperchon, the regent for the half-witted king, Philip Arrhidaios, wished to weaken Kassander's position in the Greek cities by toppling the oligarchies which were still friendly to him and were supported by loyal garrisons, such as the one in Mounichia under the command of Nikanor. Therefore Polyperchon sent around to the Greek cities an edict, in the name of the king, which restored to them the politics which they had enjoyed in the days of Philip and Alexander; he also ordered the cities to give back full rights and property to all those who had been exiled or disfranchised during the regency of Antipater.¹⁶

Naturally the publication in Athens of this edict, which restored to the Athenians their democracy and called upon all of them to participate in the government *κατὰ τὰ πάτρια* left the oligarchy in a precarious position. Therefore Nikanor, at a time when the Boule was meeting in the Peiraeus, came to speak to them, trusting in Phokion for his safety. But Nikanor realized in the nick of time that Derkylos, the general of the countryside, was attempting to capture him and, with the connivance of Phokion, he made good his escape and prepared to punish the city. While Nikanor went about preparing for the seizure of Peiraeus, Derkylos and others kept warning Phokion about what was going on and what a serious matter it was for Athens to be cut off from her supply of food, but Phokion did nothing until it was too late.

That the Athenians were aware of their interests and were willing to fight is clear from the fact that they approved the decree of Philomelos of Lamptraí (Plutarch, *Phok.*, XXXII, 5), which called upon "all Athenians to stand to arms and to obey the general, Phokion." It is strange therefore that, having shown their willingness to

¹⁵ Cf. Diodoros, XVIII, 65,6: Φωκίων ὁ ἐπ' Ἀντιπάτρου τὴν τῶν ὅλων ἀρχὴν ἐσχηκός; also Nepos, *Phoc.*, 2: summum imperium. Even if it were not spelled out in the ancient sources, it would still be clear that Phokion held the chief command and had preëmpted the duties of the other generals, especially of the general of the countryside, whose command included in normal times the defense of the Attic homeland. But it was Phokion who led the Athenians to victory over the Macedonian forces which had landed in the Paralia; furthermore, the defensive decree of Philomelos of Lamptraí (Plutarch, *Phok.*, XXXII, 5), that all Athenians stand to arms, at the same time placed them under the orders of Phokion; finally we find that the general of the countryside himself, instead of acting on his own authority, merely reported to Phokion the dangerous activities of Nikanor around Peiraeus. Normally defensive measures would have been taken by the general of the countryside, or in the case of Peiraeus, by the particular general or generals who had been assigned to the command of Peiraeus or of Mounichia and Akte. At this time, however, Mounichia was in Macedonian hands, and it seems likely that Peiraeus had been demilitarized. It is not necessary to suppose that Peiraeus now belonged to the command of the general of the countryside, for Derkylos' operation was clearly unofficial and irregular. The abnormal functions of the generals is another indication of the changes in the government which had been effected by the oligarchs. Cf. Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, 61, 1 and the ephebic inscriptions of the period 335-323, which have been discussed by the author in an article, "The Cadet Colonels of the Ephebic Corps," *T.A.P.A.*, XCII, 1961, pp. 347-357.

¹⁶ Cf. Diodoros, XVIII, 55-56 and Plutarch, *Phok.*, XXXII, 1.

fight, they should have placed themselves under the command of the one man who was most reluctant to lead them out and should have passed over Derkylos who had shown by his actions that he was as eager as they to protect Peiraeus and to expel the Macedonian garrison.

II.

This is not the place to retell the sad sequel to these events, how the Athenians ruthlessly put to death Phokion and many innocent men and then, nevertheless, had to place themselves under the tyranny of Demetrios of Phaleron. There is, however, one bit of evidence about Derkylos which deserves further discussion. That is the honorary degree (*I.G.*, II², 1187; Pls. 65, a, 66) which was voted by the Eleusinians and set up beside the propylaia of the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore. The decree is inscribed on a stele of Pentelic marble, ornamented at the top with a relief. On the right stands Kore, holding a flaming torch in either hand; in the center sits Demeter, facing left and extending her hand toward an oldish, bearded man who is approaching the deities from the left. This figure is of somewhat smaller proportions than the goddesses, and in it one recognizes Derkylos, the person honored in the decree.

Because Derkylos, acting in his capacity as general, had taken measures "that the boys of the deme might be educated"¹⁷ the Eleusinians heap him with all the honors and privileges that one usually finds in the decrees of the Attic demes: public eulogy, a golden crown of five hundred drachmas, proclamation of the honor in the theater, proedria at the tragic performances, exemption from the tax which non-Eleusinians had to pay on their property situated in the deme,¹⁸ and a part of the sacrificial victims offered up by the demotai. Furthermore the stele commemorating all these things was to be set up in the propylaia of the sanctuary, no mean place in those days. Perhaps the most interesting detail for the purposes of this paper, next to the preamble, is that the fathers of the boys, along with the demarch, should have the care of inscribing the stele.¹⁹ Surely this extraordinary array of honors indicates some kind of extraordinary service.

¹⁷ *I.G.*, II², 1187, lines 1-6: ἐπειδὴ Δερκύλος ὁ στρατηγὸς φιλοτιμείται περὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἐλευσινίων τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ ὅπως ἂν οἱ παῖδες παιδεύωνται οἱ ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, δεδόχθαι κτλ.

¹⁸ This tax exemption would be meaningless unless Derkylos actually owned property in the deme. If he owned property in Eleusis, then he did have a personal interest in the deme and its inhabitants (and they in him.) Perhaps this explains why he used such facilities as were available to him as general of the countryside, a public officer, to further the training of the sons of private citizens. Whatever it was that Derkylos did for the demotai of Eleusis, he did in his capacity as general, but this is *not* to say that it was his official responsibility to do so, or that he did the same thing for all the demes under his command.

¹⁹ That is: ἐπιμεληθῆναι δὲ τῆς ἀναγραφῆς τοὺς πατέρας τῶν παίδων μετὰ τοῦ δημάρχου (line 27-29). The responsibilities of the fathers in the Athenian ephebeia are known from *Ath. Pol.*, 42. Cf. *I.G.*, II², 1159, in which οἱ πατέρες also get into the act. One suspects that most if not all of the "graduation monuments" of the early period after 335 were set up at private (i.e., the fathers') expense. The fiction that the ephebes themselves set their monument (cf. *I.G.*, II², 1156) tells us only that

P. Foucart, the first editor,²⁰ remarks that he does not know whether Derkylos had been general before or after the embassy of 347/6, but that in any case the inscription could be dated about the middle of the fourth century.²¹ This is hardly a strong argument for dating, but subsequent editors and commentators have not seriously questioned it. There the matter stands except that Kirchner in his notes mentions Koehler's suggestion that the date is closer to the naval account (i.e., 334/3) than it is to the embassy of 347/6 (below, p. 344).

Foucart, in his belief that some of the generals toward the end of the fourth century were specifically charged with certain districts of Attika, suggested that the strategia held by Derkylos must have been the one ἐπ' Ἐλευσίνος; furthermore, the fact that Derkylos concerned himself with the interests of the deme of Eleusis made Foucart believe that the division of the commands among the strategoi must have been older than had been previously suspected.²² After the appearance of Aristotle's *Athenian Constitution*, however, the fact that only one general ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν is mentioned (61, 1) showed that the division of this command into ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν ἐπ' Ἐλευσίνος and ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν τὴν παραλίαν did not come about until after that work was written. Therefore Dittenberger²³ correctly concluded that the office held by Derkylos was ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν, which is precisely the office that Plutarch says he held.²⁴

The rarity of the name Derkylos in Attic prosopography and the extreme improbability that two different men living at the same time should have held both that name and the high office of general of the countryside suggest that Derkylos is the same person everywhere he is mentioned between 347 and 318.²⁵ It also seems logical to suggest, since we know that Derkylos was general of the countryside in 319/18,

the expense was not borne by the state. On the other hand, the fathers' concern with choosing the best and most moral leaders for their sons' training is perhaps the most primitive element in the ephebeia as it is described by Aristotle. Men with this mutual concern may have worked out common solutions at a very early time, even before the Kleisthenic reform, and therefore before the organization as we know it, based as it is on deme and tribe. It would be wrong, however, to speak of an "ephebeia" in referring to this primitive period.

²⁰ P. Foucart, *B.C.H.*, III, 1879, pp. 120-123.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 122.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 122-123.

²³ *S.I.G.*², 518 note 2.

²⁴ *S.I.G.*³, 481 note 1 for the evidence concerning the probable date in the early third century when the military command was actually divided.

²⁵ As far as age is concerned, Derkylos was roughly a contemporary of Aischines (born ca. 390, but earlier according to D. M. Lewis, *Cl. Rev.*, N. S., VIII, 1958, p. 108) and of Demosthenes (born 384). He was considerably younger than his colleague, Phokion, who was well over eighty when he was impeached and executed; see Th. Lenschau, *R.E.*, XX, 1941, col. 458, lines 52-64. Also cf. Aischines, II, 22, 47-49; it is possible but not necessary to argue on the basis of these passages that all the envoys always spoke in descending order of their ages. If one accepts the order of speaking as it is given by Aischines (but see Demosthenes, XIX, 19), Derkylos would have to be at least a little older than Aischines, i.e., at least seventy-two in 319/18.

that a decree, which honors Derkylos for things he did while holding that very office, should be dated toward the end of the same year. Certainly it would be stretching probability to insist that Derkylos held the same command twice and that his terms were separated by a wide interval of twenty or thirty years.

III.

Is there any good reason, aside from the modern tradition, for *not* dating the Eleusinian decree in 319/18? Since the various editors have not set forth their reasons for dating the inscription to *ca.* 350, we must consider all three aspects of the problem, which can be taken up one at a time. These aspects are: the date of the relief; the date of the lettering; and the fitting of the specific statements and provisions of the decree itself into recognizable and datable historical circumstances.

THE RELIEF.²⁶ The dating of a late fourth century relief such as this one is not an easy matter unless it is part of a stele which can be dated on epigraphical grounds. On the basis of style and execution alone it cannot be dated with any degree of confidence closer than plus or minus twenty years. Therefore the following remarks, based on observations in Athens and Eleusis, are offered merely as a counterweight to the notion, based on uncritical tradition,²⁷ that the relief belongs to the middle of the century rather than around the middle of the last half of it. The comparison of Derkylos' relief (Pl. 65, a) with other fourth century reliefs that are discussed by Binneboessel²⁸ and Süsserrot²⁹ suggests that it is considerably later than the dated relief of 347 (Pl. 65, c) which shows Spartakos, Pairisades and Apollonios, the three sons of Leukon, king of Bosporos (*I.G.*, II², 212).³⁰ The relief which is most similar

²⁶ The author knows of but one published photograph of this relief (*B.C.H.*, V, 1881, pl. 9); he wishes to thank Homer A. Thompson and Miss Alison Frantz for all the photographs on Plates 65 and 66. Cf. *Ath. Mitt.*, XVII, 1892, pp. 130-131, fig. 6; this line-drawing of Derkylos' relief is compared with fig. 7, which is the relief (Pl. 65, b) on the honorary decree (*I.G.*, II², 1193) for Smikythion the peripolarchos. The latter is dated vaguely to the end of the fourth century. The comparison, therefore, if it is valid, indicates that Derkylos' relief should be dated to the fourth, not the third, quarter of the century. The present author has studied both reliefs, which today stand side by side in the Museum at Eleusis, and is unwilling to press the comparison beyond noting that the stance of the worshippers is indeed similar.

²⁷ *E.g.*, Foucart (*op. cit.*, p. 123) claimed that the relief was so well-dated that it should be of interest for the study of art in Attika and that it should be included in the list of Attic reliefs of fixed date which was published by M. Dumont, *B.C.H.*, II, 1878, pp. 564-568. Nevertheless, neither Binneboessel (below, note 28) nor Süsserrot (below, note 29) has included Derkylos in their studies of dated reliefs.

²⁸ R. E. Binneboessel, *Studien zu den attischen Urkundenreliefs des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig, 1930, pp. 25-46.

²⁹ H. K. Süsserrot, *Griechische Plastik des 4. Jahrhunderts vor Christus*, Frankfurt a. M., 1938, pp. 27-69.

³⁰ Cf. Binneboessel, no. 53, pp. 60-63. Photographs in Süsserrot, pl. 4, no. 3; *B.C.H.*, V, 1881, pl. 5.

to Derkylos' and appears to be nearly contemporary with it is that of Euphron of Sikyon (Pl. 65, d; *I.G.*, II², 448)³¹ which is dated in 318/17 and shows Euphron as an oldish, bearded man approaching two gods, Zeus and Athene, in a similar stance of adoration to that one sees in the representation of Derkylos.

THE LETTERING. One assumes that Koehler was thinking mainly of letter forms when he wrote (*I.G.*, II, 5, 574c), "Titulus Eleusinius aetate propius ad tabulam maritimam accedit quam ad legationem ad Philippum missam." He may have meant specifically that he would date Derkylos' decree nearer to 334/3 than to 347/6, but he may also have been suggesting in a general way that the date should be later than the one proposed by Foucart. Koehler, in choosing between the two known fixed points (i.e., those recognized in his day) in Derkylos' career, simply chose the lower point, and it is probable, because of historical considerations to be discussed below, that he did not even consider a date later than *ca.* 334/3. According to A. E. Raubitschek, however, the lettering appears to be even later than the roughly contemporary Eleusinian decree of 321/0 which honors Xenokles (*I.G.*, II², 1191).³²

THE HISTORICAL PROBLEM. At the very outset Foucart suggested,³³ (and it has never been questioned) that the inscription had something to do with an Athenian general's duty to supervise the training of the youth, at a time when they still received their training in their home demes and before the reorganization of the ephebeia had brought the young men all together into a central establishment.³⁴ Although Foucart

³¹ For Euphron's relief, see I. N. Svoronos, *Τὸ ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἐθνικὸν Μουσεῖον*, Athens, 1903, I, pl. 108; Binneboessel, no. 68, pp. 76-77; Süsserot, pp. 67-68, pl. 9, no. 4.

³² That the forms of letters and the quality of the mason's work should never be the decisive criterion, nor even a very important one, in determining the date of a late fourth century inscription is shown by the recent removal of the beautifully cut text of *I.G.*, II², 358 from the 330's to the year 307/6 (S. Dow, *Harv. St. Cl. Phil.*, LXVII, 1963, p. 60 and B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, pp. 435-438).

³³ *B.C.H.*, III, 1879, p. 122. Neither Foucart's suggestion nor *I.G.*, II², 1187 are mentioned by Chrysis Pelekidis, *Histoire de l'ephebie attique*, Paris, 1962.

³⁴ In this paper it is assumed that this reorganization took place after and as a result of the defeat at Chaironeia; and that it was brought about by a law which was part of Lykourgos' comprehensive program to give Athens the strength and the will to remain free in the face of the Macedonian menace. One need not insist that the law was moved by Epikrates, although he is the only likely candidate, or that the precise date was 335 (cf. *T.A.P.A.*, XCII, 1961, p. 348 note 3), although again this year is a perfectly logical deduction from the earliest dated ephebic inscriptions (*I.G.*, II², 1156, 1189 and, I believe, 2970; see Addendum, below, p. 349) and, until the unlikely day arrives when an ephebic document bearing the name of a pre-Chaironeia archon comes to light, it is simply begging the question to suggest (as does Pelekidis, *Histoire*, pp. 12, 147-151, nos. 7 and 9), without producing new evidence, that we give an earlier date to an archonless inscription which belongs to the homogeneous group of 334/3-324/3. It is further assumed that the ephebeia which Aristotle, writing *ca.* 325, has described in the *Ath. Pol.*, 42 (beginning *ἔχει δ' ἡ νῦν κατάστασις*) is this reorganized ephebeia, although I hasten to add that Aristotle's description contains many elements which were already ancient. Although the epigraphical evidence does not at present permit us to date the reorganization prior to 335 (and historically it fits well among the reforms of

was not familiar with Aristotle's description of the ephebeia (*Ath. Pol.*, 42), his remarks cannot be taken lightly, and his suggestion that we are dealing with a kind of proto-ephebic deme decree is not unattractive. It does deal with the training, undoubtedly military, of the youth; there is a general of the countryside who helps out; and, finally, the fathers of the youths are made responsible for something, just as they continued to be after the ephebeia was reorganized (cf. note 19 above). All these are important features of the ephebeia, and yet the inscription does not use the word "ephebos" and it is totally unlike any of the other ephebic documents we have. It was logical, therefore, for Foucart to suggest that the similarities result from its being a kind of forerunner, reflecting those earlier practices out of which the ephebeia grew.

Today we have a more detailed knowledge, thanks to Aristotle and to the ephebic inscriptions of the early period down to 323, of the relationship that existed between the ephebic corps and the generals who were in command of the forts where the ephebes lived and trained (above, note 15). With the passage of time and the discovery of new material the uniqueness of Derkylos' inscription has become more and more apparent, and now it stands out not just as the *only* witness to the idea that Athenian generals ever had a care for the education of the *παῖδες*³⁵ in the deme schools, which

Lykourgos), O. W. Reinmuth (*T.A.P.A.*, LXXXIII, 1952, pp. 34-50, in an article which Pelekidis, publishing in 1962, claims not to have seen until he had already completed his section "Les origines de l'épébie attique") has gathered and discussed the pertinent evidence to show that some kind of formal military training and service for young men of ephebic age did exist in the earlier fourth century and probably in the fifth century as well, viz., there were indeed people called "ephebes" and "sophronistai," and there was the oath taken by young men in the sanctuary of Aglauros. One may suggest further, extrapolating back on the basis of the earliest group of inscriptions, that it was the tribe that originally provided the formal organization for its youngest *Jahrgang* by electing its own *sophronistes* (instead of merely nominating three candidates) and by enjoining the tribal taxiarch to concern himself with their training. But surely it was the Lykourgan law (of Epikrates) that was responsible for the shape of the ephebeia as we know it from Aristotle, with its state control of the election of both the new supreme officer, the *kosmetes*, and of the older office of *sophronistes*; with its state subsidy and its being a necessary step in acquiring the rights of citizenship for *all* Athenian youths. All these features were new, and the last two were not of long duration.

This is the sensible, middle ground which I would defend against both extreme positions, that of Pelekidis (*Histoire*, pp. 78-79) who would push the establishment of the ephebeia as it is known from Aristotle back into the fifth century (perhaps even to the reforms of Kleisthenes, p. 73), and that of Wilamowitz, who saw in what was merely a reorganization an entirely new creation without antecedents. In fact the ephebeia, as it is known from Aristotle and the contemporary inscriptions, is but a temporary phase in an institution which had ancient precedents and one which later, beginning with the oligarchic revolution of 322/1, underwent many further changes.

³⁵ C. A. Forbes, *Greek Physical Education*, New York and London, 1929, p. 176 note 4, says that I.G., II², 1187 is the only evidence for *παῖδες* and that there is none for *μελλέφηβοι*. Since all the other evidence we have brings the strategos into relation with ephebes and ephebes alone, never with younger boys, one can argue that in the case of this solitary exception (and for reasons given below) the word *παῖδες* stands for boys of ephebic age.

are otherwise thought to have been entirely private institutions,³⁶ but it is also the sole bit of evidence that this presumed care extended back to *ca.* 350, before the reorganization of the ephebeia *ca.* 335. The drawbacks to Foucart's interpretation and the difficulty of Derkylos' holding two generalships separated by a wide interval of time suggest that a more satisfactory interpretation may be possible.

IV.

To date the inscription in 319/18 would remove at the outset the difficulty concerning the generalships, but is it possible that the decree belongs to a year when the ephebeia was presumably functioning? It does not seem likely. It could, on the other hand, belong to a year when the ephebeia had been suspended, or at least drastically reduced,³⁷ and the fathers of teenage boys were seeking a way to provide, informally and perhaps almost secretly, the kind of training that had come to be thought of as a necessary step in becoming an Athenian citizen.

In 319/18 the Athenians were still living, as they had for the last two years, under the oligarchic constitution as remodeled at the end of 322/1.³⁸ This government, referred to in a decree of the ephemerally restored democracy in 318/17 as οἱ ἐν τῇ ὀλι<γ>αρχίᾳ πολιτευόμενοι,³⁹ had systematically restricted, reduced or abolished almost every democratic feature of Lykourgan, and even of pre-Lykourgan, Athens. They disfranchised twelve thousand out of twenty-one thousand Athenians by restricting the citizenship to those who had two thousand drachmas in wealth; the competence of the ekklesia was restricted, and this in turn meant that many government offices were done away with for lack of work, while some were abolished by having their functions taken over by other officers. The dikasteria were emptied and pay for jury duty and for attending the ekklesia was abolished; perhaps pay for office-holders was suspended since no one who was eligible to hold an office was in need of the income. Distribution of surpluses to the poor was discontinued, and the building program was slashed.⁴⁰

³⁶ Erich Ziebarth, *Aus dem griechischen Schulwesen*, 2nd ed., Leipzig, 1914, p. 34; cited by Forbes, *op. cit.*, p. 142 note 5.

³⁷ Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, p. 22; G. Busolt-H. Swoboda, *Griechische Staatskunde*, Munich, 1920-1926, p. 1190 and note 5, which cites de Sanctis in Beloch, *Studi di storia antica*, II, p. 4 and J. Sundwall, *Acta Societ. Fenn.*, XXXIV, p. 22.

³⁸ The details of the oligarchic constitution, which are given in this paragraph, are taken, except where noted, from Ferguson's description, *op. cit.*, p. 22-27.

³⁹ *I.G.*, II², 448; cf. *S.I.G.*³, 317.

⁴⁰ At least this seems to be the implication of the unfinished condition of the large square peristyle which lay under the north end of the later Stoa of Attalos. This building was begun and partially built in the third quarter of the fourth century and then abandoned. It was probably part of the Lykourgan building program and was left unfinished by the government of Phokion. Since this building was supposed to have been a law court, the emptying of the dikasteria referred to above meant that in any case it would not be needed; cf. H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pp. 99-101; XXIII, 1954, p. 60; and *The Athenian Agora*, 2nd ed., Athens, 1962, pp. 24,

Such time-honored democratic principles as selection by lot and probably the restriction on the number of times a man might hold an office were scrapped. It was probably at this time that they abolished the *ταμίης τῶν στρατιωτικῶν*, an office which, as Ferguson points out,⁴¹ "had been created in view of a Macedonian war, and had been used in the last sixteen years to prepare for the struggle which had now failed so disastrously. What more natural than that the Macedonians should dispense with it . . . ?"

The ephebeia, like the office of Military Treasurer, was an institution which had been thoroughly remodeled after the shock of Chaironeia with the ill-concealed purpose of enabling the Athenians better to resist further encroachments by Macedon.⁴² It must have undergone considerable change at the hand of the oligarchs. Ferguson says⁴³ only that the ephebic corps was reduced, as in the case of the overall citizen body, by four-sevenths, like father like son. Any such reduction would have been carried out by abolishing the state subsidy, which was the really democratic feature of the ephebeia and was what made it possible to require *all* young men to participate. There can be little doubt that the subsidy, which had been costing forty talents annually,⁴⁴ was in fact cut out, as an economy measure if nothing else.⁴⁵ It is even possible that the ephebeia, like so many other democratic and/or expensive features of Lykourgan Athens, was completely abolished on the grounds that it was anti-Macedonian and useless.⁴⁶

76-78, 101, 205-206. The grand scheme of Pnyx III likewise belongs to the Lykourgan period and was also left unfinished by Lykourgos' successors after the disfranchisement of so many citizens; cf. H. A. Thompson and R. L. Scranton, *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, pp. 197-301.

⁴¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 23.

⁴² O. W. Reinmuth, *T.A.P.A.*, LXXXIII, 1952, pp. 48-49, argues that it would be hard to find a more unlikely time than 335 to inaugurate an institution such as the ephebeia, if indeed it had no precedents and was anti-Macedonian in purpose. But so long as the law (of Epikrates) gave the appearance of reforming, reorganizing and centralizing the training of the youth, and so long as the law did not have specifically anti-Macedonian statements in it, there was nothing Alexander could do openly without assuming the role of tyrant, a role he went to some pains to avoid. Both Philip and Alexander preferred to control Athens, to the extent they did control it, by bribing orators. In the case of the ephebeia, Alexander possibly despised the institution from the beginning, believing, as Phokion did (below, note 46), that it would accomplish little toward making Athens better able to wage war.

⁴³ *Op. cit.*, p. 22.

⁴⁴ Ferguson, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

⁴⁵ If Wilamowitz' dictum is even partially true, that "Platons gesetze haben die ephebie erzeugt," perhaps it is equally true that the ephebeia's suppression by the oligarchs was due to Aristotle's thesis (*Politics*, VI, 7, 1-3) that cavalry was the proper arm of an oligarchic government and that it was suicidal for such a government to train young democrats in the use of light armed weapons. Aristotle's solution, that the sons of oligarchs, while they were young, should be trained in light armed warfare along with the sons of the poor, seems to have been the actual Athenian practice, from ca. 335 to 323/2 at least.

⁴⁶ That the ephebeia was anti-Macedonian became self-evident at the time of the Lamian war,

In these straits the fathers of teenage sons were thrown back onto their own resources and had to find private instruction and training for their boys. But the successful running of the centralized ephebeia for nearly fifteen years had probably dried up all those private sources of instruction which had always existed before the reorganization, at least for those who could afford it. And so the plight of the fathers, especially the poorer and disfranchised ones of whom there were many,⁴⁷ was more desperate than it had ever been before.

In such circumstances they were helped by Derkylos, a wealthy citizen who was currently serving as general of the countryside. With the facilities which were at his disposal he was able to provide, on a strictly informal basis, an ephebe-type training at least for the boys in Eleusis. In voting their thanks, the fathers perhaps thought it unsafe to put up an ephebic inscription of the familiar type or even to refer to their sons as ephebes, and so they merely thank Derkylos for seeing that the boys got their training. But the extravagance of the honors and privileges which they vote him is out of all proportion to such a simple favor, and one suspects that the favor was much bigger and had a far greater meaning to all those concerned than they cared to express in more specific language. To be able to provide ephebic training in such times combined the venting of anti-Macedonian emotions with a feeling that they were actually preparing themselves for the moment when they would expel the Macedonian garrison from Mounichia. Perhaps it was with these very same young men whom he had trained in this fashion that Derkylos made his daring if unsuccessful attempt to capture Nikanor.

V.

It has been here suggested that Derkylos of Hagnous, the envoy to Philip and the guarantor of triremes, is identical with the Derkylos who was general of the countryside in 319/18; that the inscription which honors Derkylos of Hagnous for services rendered to the Eleusinians while he was general, probably of the countryside, belongs to the year 319/18; that the *παῖδες* of the decree, instead of being proto-ephebes, are in fact would-be ephebes who got their training informally during the period between 321 and 319 when the ephebeia had been suspended by the pro-Macedonian oligarchy. If the theory that the ephebeia was radically curtailed or suspended during this period is accepted, the next question for investigation will be: To what extent was the ephebeia revived under the tyranny of Demetrios of Phaleron?

although it had not been openly so from the time of its reorganization. That it would do little good, as far as making Athens better able to wage war, had been foreseen by Phokion at any rate (Plutarch, *Phok.*, XXIII, 2) and possibly by Alexander.

⁴⁷ Ferguson, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-27.

ADDENDUM

When this paper was written in the winter of 1961, it was hoped that evidence might be found to support a reasonable hypothesis about the condition of the ephebeia during the tyranny of Demetrios (317-307). Hence the final question. But in the meantime Pelekidis has shown in two short paragraphs (*Histoire*, p. 157; above, note 33) both all we know and how little we know of this period. Pelekidis follows Ferguson, as I do (above, note 38), in reducing the number of ephebes by four-sevenths during the three years of oligarchy, 322/1 to 319/18; he then suggests a restoration to the former level during the ephemeral democracy of 318, but without noting that there was neither time nor resources for much restoration; and finally, having assumed that the number of ephebes would have been again adjusted to conform to Demetrios' revised property qualification of one thousand drachmas, Pelekidis proceeds to speculate about what that number might have been.

In view of the now obvious dearth of solid evidence for the ephebeia during Demetrios' tyranny, I may be permitted to withdraw my question (which implies that an answer is forthcoming) and to present as briefly as possible two small pieces of evidence which, though inconclusive, are still not unimportant.

Pelekidis (*loc. cit.*) cites *I.G.*, II², 2970, attributed by Kirchner to the year of Praxiboulos (315/14), as the only ephebic inscription that is known from this period. Presumably this at least proves that the institution was in existence even if it tells nothing else. But *I.G.*, II², 2970 does not belong in this year and must be re-examined. First it must be pointed out that this inscription is the only early ephebic document to be ornamented with a surviving relief (and a good relief, too).⁴⁸ One could not suggest a more unlikely time for the erection of such a monument than during a period of sumptuary restrictions, when extravagance was forbidden and the stone-carver's art was being ruined.

Furthermore, Kirchner's restoration of the archon Praxiboulos is wrong, and we must return to his earlier suggestion, the archon Ktesikles, which he subsequently rejected.⁴⁹ On the basis of the squeeze in Princeton, which I have examined and discussed with B. D. Meritt, and with the help of a photograph furnished by Th. Mitsos I would restore the heading (the first two lines *in cymatio*) as follows:

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[Ἀντιοχίδο]ς ἔφηβοι οἱ ἐπὶ Κ[τη]σι[κλέους ἀρχοντος ἀνέθεσαν]
[τῶι ἡρῳ?]ι σ[τεφανῳθέν]τες [ὑπὸ τ]ῆς [βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου.]

⁴⁸ Cf. *Ath. Mitt.*, LII, 1927, Beilage XXIII opposite p. 200; R. Schöne, *Griechische Reliefs*, Leipzig, 1872, pl. 12, no. 60.

⁴⁹ See Kirchner's note to *I.G.*, II², 2970.

Kirchner left a *vacat* of 0.07 between the left edge of the cymatium and the initial epsilon of his text, but this is inconsistent with the extreme crowding of the letters. One must suppose that the mason began his text at the edge of the stone, and indeed traces of letters are visible. And, since the first ten preserved letters fill a space of exactly 0.07, the tribe was probably Antiochis. The dotted kappa is represented on the squeeze by a single vertical stroke and what appears to be a short, almost horizontal cut to the right; on the photograph the upper raking hasta appears more clearly, but the stroke, if that is what it was, was very light. The letter may be read as a dotted eta⁵⁰ or a dotted kappa, but what is absolutely certain is that the short cut to the right begins at the middle of the verticle stroke and not at its top, which is preserved and shows no trace of the top horizontal stroke of a pi. The dotted pi of Praxiboulos, is, therefore, impossible. As for the reading Ξ I instead of Kirchner's Ξ I, I can only say that all four strokes of the sigma are visible on the squeeze, and the sigma was read without hesitation by B. D. Meritt. We could note no particular difference between the sigma of the first line and those of the second.

Finally one would be compelled, even without the names of the archon, to suggest a date in the 330's on the basis of lines 5 and 6 below the cymatium, in which one can read and restore the names of the now famous generals, Konon son of Timotheos and Sophilos son of Aristoteles. The following restoration of lines 3-6 is based on a stoichedon line of 46 letters, the length of which was determined from line 5:

3 [σοφρω]νιστή[ς] Λ [.....³⁴.....]
 [.]⁵ Ξ AP[.] \sim Λ [.] O[.....¹⁰.....στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τῷ Πειραι—]
 [εἰ Κόν]ων Τιμοθέ[ο]υ [Ἀναφλύστιος στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τῇ χώρᾳ]
 [Σώφιλ]ος Ἀ[ριστο]τέ[λους Φυλάσιος¹⁹.....]

Ever since the names of Konon and Sophilos were found together in *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 59-60, no. 8 (which is dated [ἐπὶ] Ν[ικ]οκράτος), the mere appearance of any part of their names has been deemed sufficient evidence for dating an ephebic document to the year 333/2, although no part of the archon's name is preserved on any of these subsequently published stones.⁵¹ Now that they appear together also on a monument of 334/3, more caution must be used in restoring the archon Nikokrates. Nevertheless, the names of the generals make it certain that *I.G.*, II², 2970 cannot reasonably be dated eighteen years later, and thus the only positive evidence for the existence of the ephebeia during the tyranny of Demetrios is removed.

There is, however, a second bit of evidence, not mentioned by Pelekidis, which tends to fill the gap left by this removal. B. D. Meritt called my attention to the

⁵⁰ Cf. Schöne, *loc. cit.*

⁵¹ *I.G.*, II², 2976 = *A.J.P.*, LXVI, 1945, pp. 234-239; *Πρακτικά*, 1954 (1957), pp. 70-71; *Ath. Mitt.*, LXXVI, 1961, pp. 147-148, no. 3.

didaskalic catalog, *I.G.*, II², 2323*a*, lines 46-47, which has, under the year of the archon Polemon (312/11), the following entry:

[Ἀμεινί]ας τρί: Ἀπολειπούσει
[οὗτος ἔ]φηβος ὧν ἐνεμήθη.

Wilhelm comments⁵² that this additional sentence of explanation following the poet's name can only mean "dieser wurde als Ephebe für die Aufführung bestellt, er hielt sein Platz unter den Zugelassenen. . . ." But this does not really say why it was thought necessary to add the explanation. Rather one should suggest restoring [καίπερ] instead of [οὗτος] or at least insist on the concessive use of the participle: "Although Ameinias was an ephebe, he was granted permission to produce." That is, the poets who were certified as official competitors were not ordinarily ephebes, and there was no need to explain the circumstances of their certification. On the other hand, for an ephebe to be permitted to produce a play was unusual, perhaps extra-legal,⁵³ or at least in some way more complicated, and it required special treatment and explanation.⁵⁴

It seems likely, therefore, that the additional note, after the usual entry telling of Ameinias' place in the competition and the name of his play, uses the word ἔφηβος as a *terminus technicus* and explains that the archons allowed him the unusual privilege of producing a play, not in spite of his age or while he was eighteen, but in spite of the fact that normally he would be expected to be doing patrol and garrison duty with his fellow ephebes. On this basis I suggest that the ephebeia *was* revived and did exist during the period 317-307. But whether the term of service was of one or two years, who and how many participated—these are questions which cannot now be answered.

FORDYCE W. MITCHEL

RANDOLPH-MACON WOMAN'S COLLEGE,
LYNCHBURG, VIRGINIA

⁵² *Urkunden dramatischer Aufführungen*, Wien, 1906, p. 46.

⁵³ Cf. *Ath. Pol.*, 42, 5 for the usual ephebic exclusions.

⁵⁴ For Epikouros' fellow ephebe Menander (Strabo, XIV, 1, 18) there exists a notice which is similar to that of Ameinias (Anonymos, *περί κωμωδίας*, 16): ἐδίδαξε δὲ πρῶτον ἔφηβος ὧν ἐπὶ Ἀντικλέους (ms. Διοκλέους; but see W. B. Dinsmoor, *Archons of Athens*, pp. 41-42).



a. *I.G.*, II², 1187



b. *I.G.*, II², 1193

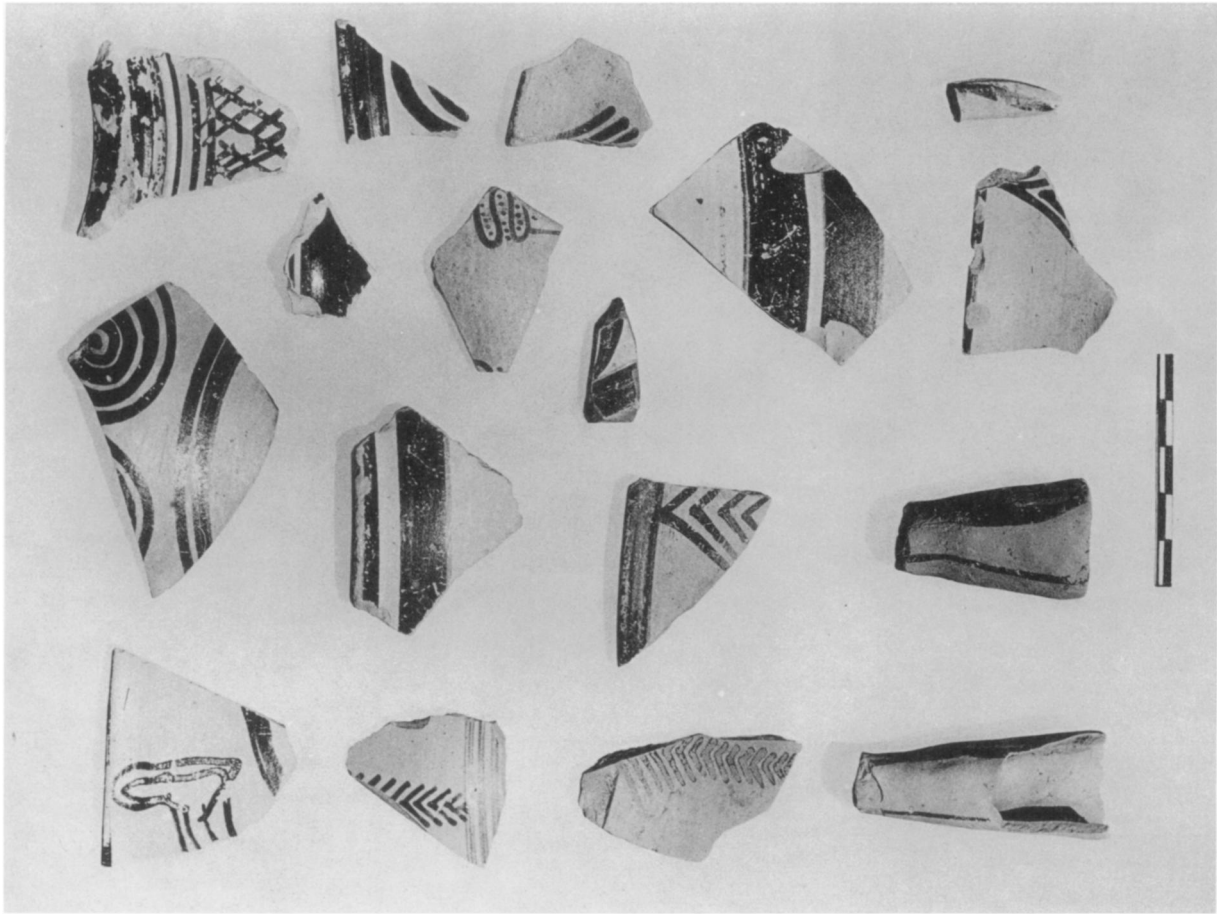


c. *I.G.*, II², 212

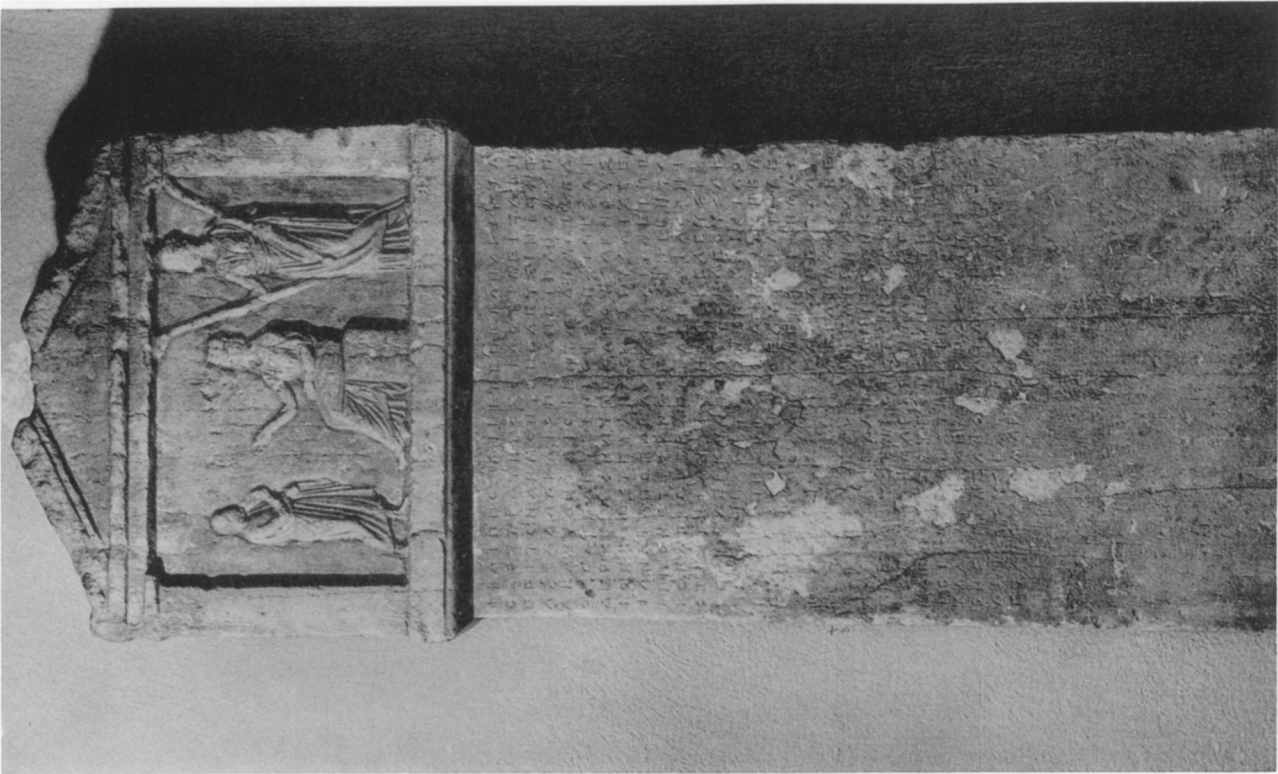


d. *I.G.*, II², 448

FORDYCE W. MITCHEL: DERKYLOS OF HAGNOS AND THE DATE OF *I.G.*, II², 1187



GEORGE E. MYLONAS: PRIAM'S TROY AND THE DATE OF ITS FALL



I.G., II², 1187

FORDYCE W. MITCHEL: DERKYLOS OF HAGNOUS AND THE DATE OF *I.G.*, II², 1187