

ATHENS HONORS KING EUAGORAS OF SALAMIS

(PLATES 60, 61)

TO THE SMALL FRAGMENT of the Athenian decree of 393 B.C. in honor of Euagoras of Salamis, *IG II²*, 20, it is now possible to add two more pieces. The first, Fragment *a*, was found in the Agora Excavations; the second, Fragment *b*, was acquired in 1958 by the British Museum.¹ A plaster cast of *b*, kindly provided by the Trustees of the British Museum, permitted us to establish that neither of the new fragments joins the previously published stone, EM 6889: Fragment *c*, nor do they join each other, but their relative positions on the original stele can be fixed with some probability, and *a* helps to determine the length of the stoichedon line. *a*, which carries part of a sculptured relief panel and the beginning of the decree, comes from the right side of the stele, as does *b* which must lie below it. It is impossible to determine how much original surface intervened between the two, nor can restoration yield a continuous text which they share. *b*, however, is broken in such a way along its top left side as to suggest that it lies above *c*, for the left side of the latter carries a broken surface which in section is identical to that on *b*. Since the angle at which this slanting line of break meets the lines of text is also the same on both pieces, it is likely that it represents a major line of fracture on the original stele. If this is so, *b*, on which this line of break begins at the right side of the stele, must be placed above *c*. There is again, however, no way to determine from the text how close together these two pieces may be placed inasmuch as, even when set in barest possible contact, at least one full line of the text must be restored between them. It is possible, while still maintaining the alignment of the two broken surfaces, to place *c* farther below and to the left of *b*, thereby increasing the size of the textual lacuna between them.

It must, however, be said that we have not yet succeeded in seeing any trace of letters in the line below line 23 of *b*. If this part of the stone were certainly uninscribed, there would be a case for supposing line 23 to be the last line of the whole inscription and that the order of *b* and *c* should be reversed. But *b* is much abraded, and on the whole we incline to place more faith in the alignment of the breaks. What we see is consistent with the possibility that only one line was uninscribed and that the text started again, presumably with an amendment.

¹ We are grateful to T. Leslie Shear, Jr. and to Denys Haynes and the Trustees of the British Museum for permission to publish these two fragments and to members of their staffs at the Stoa of Attalos and the British Museum for much help. D. W. Bradeen cooperated with Lewis in the initial process of identification at Princeton in October 1970. Dina Peppas-Delmouzou hospitably provided assistance at the Epigraphical Museum in Athens. Stroud acknowledges helpful discussion of line 1 with Sara Aleshire and Michael Sloan. Our text is the result of study of the stones in Athens and London and of squeezes.

Fragment *a* (Pl. 60). Fragment of a stele of fine-crystalled, white marble, original back preserved, broken on all other sides. The right side, partly covered with cement from re-use, is not original but, to judge from the width of the right margin of 0.015 m. preserved on *b*, only *ca.* 0.005 m. seems to have been shaved from this surface. Below the broken top surface are the lower legs and feet of a standing draped figure in relief leaning to its right. At the right is a plain pilaster. Line 1 is inscribed on a taenia 0.035 m. in height with a flattened ovolo below. Line 2 is 0.022 m. below the ovolo. Found on May 15, 1970 in the wall of a modern house at 40 Hadrian Street, Q 6.

Height, 0.29 m.; width, 0.235 m.; thickness, 0.113 m., at level of text.

Height of letters, line 1, 0.014 m.; line 2, 0.013 m.; lines 3ff., 0.009 m. Checker units, 0.0116 m., horizontal; 0.0165 m., vertical. Agora I 7121.

Fragment *b* (Pl. 61). Fragment of fine-crystalled, white marble with the inscribed surface very badly worn and covered with a dark gray patina; original right side and part of back preserved, broken on all other sides. Acquired by the British Museum at Christie's sale of 9 December, 1958, Lot 16; formerly in the collection of the Marquess of Sligo at Westport House, County Mayo, Ireland. We assume that it was acquired in Greece by the second Marquess. Byron found him in Athens accompanied by a substantial suite on his return from Constantinople in July 1810.² On 23 August, "Ld Sligo's unmanageable Brig" was "remanded to Malta with a large quantity of vases amounting in value (according to the depreciation of Fauvel) to one hundred and fifty piastres."³ It seems likely that our fragment went with them.

Height, 0.295 m.; width, 0.195 m.; thickness, 0.11 m.

Height of letters, 0.008 m. Checker units, *ca.* 0.0114 m., horizontal; 0.0155 m., vertical.

British Museum 1959. 4-14.4.

Fragment *c* (Pl. 61). Fragment of fine-crystalled, white marble with original back preserved, broken on all other sides. Found before 1877 on the south slope of the Acropolis between the Theater of Dionysos and the Odeum of Herodes Atticus.

Height, 0.285 m.; width, 0.195 m.; thickness, 0.12 m.

Height of letters, 0.009 m. Checker units, 0.0117 m., horizontal; 0.0165 m., vertical.

EM 6889.

IG II, 10b, Addenda, p. 397; E. L. Hicks, G. F. Hill, *A Manual of Greek Historical Inscriptions*, Oxford 1902, p. 178, no. 92; *IG* II², 20, with Addenda, p. 656; A.

² L. A. Marchand, ed, "Famous in my Time" (*Byron's Letters and Journals*, vol. II), London 1973, p. 5.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

Wilhelm, *AthMitt* 39, 1914, p. 291; G. Busolt, H. Swoboda, *Griechische Staatskunde*, II, p. 954, note 1; K. Spyridakis, *Evagoras I. von Salamis*, Stuttgart 1935, pp. 53-54; E. Gjerstad, *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition*, IV, ii, Stockholm 1948, p. 493; M. N. Tod, *Greek Historical Inscriptions* II, Oxford 1948, pp. 26-28, no. 109; K. Spyridakis, *Κύπριοι Βασιλείς*, Leukosia 1963, p. 41; M. J. Osborne, *BSA* 67, 1972, pp. 155, 158; E. A. Costa, *Historia* 23, 1974, p. 51; J. Pouilloux, "Athènes et Salamine de Chypre," *Republic of Cyprus: Report of the Department of Antiquities 1975*, Nicosia 1975, pp. 111-121.

a

[Εὐαγόρα τῷ Σαλαμ]ινίῳ
 [Ἀριστοκλῆς¹⁹⁻²⁰.....]σιος ἐγραμμάτευε
 [ἔδοξεν τῇ βολῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳι ...⁷... ἐ]πρυτάνευε, Ἀριστοκλ- ΣΤΟΙΧ. 50
 [ῆς ἐγραμμάτευε, ----- ἦρχε, ----- ἐ]πεστάτε, Σώφιλος εἰ-
 5 [πε· ἐπειδὴ ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἐστὶν περὶ τὸν δῆμον]ν τὸν Ἀθηναίων καὶ ν-
 [ὦν καὶ ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν χρόνῳ Εὐαγόρας ὁ Σαλ]αμινίων βασιλεὺς
 [.....³⁶.....]Ι πεμφθέντας ὑπ[ὸ]
 [.....³⁷.....]Σ δὲ τῆς πόλε[ως .]
 [.....⁴³.....]ΙΝ [.....⁵...]

lacuna

b

10 [-----^{vestigia}-----]
 [.....⁴⁸.....]ΟΝ
 [.....⁴¹.....]Ἑλλ]ηνες Εὐ-
 [αγόρα⁴¹.....]ΙΤ
 [.....⁴⁴.....]ἀνειπε-
 15 [ὦν³⁶..... ἀγω]νίζοντα[ι] Ο
 [.....³⁶..... Σαλα]μ[ι]νίων βασ[ι]-
 [λε²⁷..... ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλ]άδος Ἑλλην[. .]
 [.....³⁷..... κ]ηρύξει προ[. .]
 [.....³⁹.....]σθ[. .]ν Ἀθην[. .]
 20 [.....³²..... ὁ γραμ]ματεὺς ὁ τ[ῆ]ς [βोल]-
 [ῆς³⁰..... πρόσθ]εν τοῦ ἀγάλμα[το]-
 [ς³⁰..... ἐπαινέ]σαι δὲ κ[α]ὶ τὸς [. .]
 [.....³⁹.....]ΟΤ[.....⁶...]Ν[. .]

one line uninscribed?

traces?

c

lacuna
 25 [-----]ΗΝ [-----]
 [-----]ΙΕΠΙΑ [-----]

[----- π] ρυταρ [-----]
 [-----] Κόνω^{vv}ν [-----]
 [----- ἐπαι]ν[-----] ἐσαι τε αὐ [τ-----]
 [----- στεφ]άνωι. ὁ δὲ κῆ[ρυξ-----]
 30 [-----] Ἰ ὅταν οἱ τρα[γωιδοὶ -----]
 [----- Ἀθη]ναίων Εὐαγόρ [α-----]
 [-----] ης ἐς Ἀθηναίος [-----]
 [----- α]ὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἐκ[γόνους-----]
 [-----] πάντα τοὺς Ἀ [-----]
 35 [-----] Ἰ[. ἀν]αγραψα [-----]

EPIGRAPHICAL COMMENTARY

Line 1: Only part of the circular letter has survived but enough to exclude the tall, upright omega found on this stone; the surface to the right of it is lost.

Line 7: Only the top left corner of pi is preserved; gamma and epsilon are also possible epigraphically.

Line 9: The first preserved letter is probably iota; the second is either beta or rho.

Line 12: The right-hand vertical of eta is preserved.

Line 13: In some lights a sigma appears possible in the penultimate space and nothing else has suggested itself. We are reasonably happy about iota before it. In the fourth space from the right there is a fair probability of a left vertical which would exclude some possibilities for restoration.

Line 17: There is perhaps a trace of the bottom of the right diagonal of lambda before the alpha.

Line 19: Sigma and theta are sure. Before them we have discarded a strong illusion of omikron as it would be excessively large. After them the photograph may well be thought to show the top and bottom strokes of a sigma rather squatter than the others on the stone; we are finally unconvinced, and not simply because it would imply that theta was an error for omikron. The next space is enigmatic, with squeeze and photograph suggesting an epsilon which we cannot distinguish on the stone, where omega seems possible. At the end only the left vertical of nu survives.

Line 20: The base of the vertical of the second tau seems to be preserved.

Line 21: Only the vertical of epsilon certainly survives.

Line 22: The top and bottom strokes of the first sigma are visible, though we at first read nu.

Line 24: At the right side of the first preserved stoichos there is a vertical stroke broken at the top. Elsewhere iota lies considerably to the left of the center of its stoichos; eta is therefore the likelier reading. This stroke was reported by Koehler in *IG II*; Kirchner's reading, [I]N, in *IG II*² looks like a misprint, cf. lines 25 and 33.

Line 25: Although no trace of the iota is on the stone, there appears to be enough uninscribed space in the right half of the stoichos to exclude any other reading. In addition to the left diagonal of a triangular letter in the last stoichos read by Koehler in *IG II*, part of the crossbar is also visible. Kirchner printed ΕΠ[Α].

Line 26: Of the last preserved letter, read as a certain nu in *IG II*², only the bottom of a vertical stroke survives in the lower left corner of the stoichos. Again this stroke was correctly recorded in Koehler's majuscule text in *IG II*.

Line 27: The fifth and sixth stoichoi are damaged but the uninscribed surface is polished in such a way as to suggest that the defect in the marble is ancient. At the left edge of the seventh preserved stoichos is a vertical stroke joined at the top by a diagonal. Between the two lies a scar

which creates the impression of a rho (the Corpus reading), but we believe that what is preserved is the left half of nu.

Line 28: *IG* II²; *IG* II², ΕΞΑΙΔΕΑΥ, followed in all subsequent editions.

Line 30: The alpha and iota restored in the fourth and seventh spaces in the Corpus are clear on the stone.

Line 33: τὸς ἐκγόνος --- *IG* II² is a misprint.

Line 34: In the last stoichos only the bottom of a diagonal stroke survives in the lower left corner.

Line 35: Directly under the first alpha of πάντας in line 34 there is the free-standing top of a vertical stroke. Of the dotted alpha the apex and top part of the right diagonal are visible on a squeeze.

Line 1: We have restored the genitive case on the basis of ten contemporary parallels, as opposed to only two instances of the honorand in the nominative in decrees *ca.* 403-376 B.C.⁴ Compare also the genitive [---] Σαλαμνίο in line 1 of the heading on *IG* I², 113, which awarded citizenship to Euagoras and his sons *ca.* 407 B.C.⁵

Our restoration must remain tentative, however, since we do not know the original width of the stele and the spacing between the four surviving letters is not uniform; it varies from 0.015 m. to 0.019 m. If the line ended with the dotted omicron and we could assume a symmetrical margin of *ca.* 0.11 m. at the left, the suggested restoration would require a stele at least *ca.* 0.526 m. in width and be too short for one *ca.* 0.60 m. wide. But there are too many unknowns and variables here to make such calculations helpful.

Lines 2-4: We have opted for Aristokles over Aristokleides on the basis of spacing in line 4. Even with the aid of the partially preserved demotic, it is difficult to offer an attractive identification for the secretary. Possible are the epistates of *IG* II², 60, "ante 378/7",⁶ or the envoy sent to Sparta in 371 B.C., Xenophon, *Hel-*

⁴ *IG* II², 3, 6, 13, 19, 51, 63, 65, 67, 68 (restored), 76. Nominative: *IG* II², 49; *Hesperia* 7, 1938, p. 91, no. 11. The accusative is not attested in this period, nor in the 5th century.

⁵ For the date see D. M. Lewis, *Sparta and Persia*, Leiden 1977, pp. 129-130. Although there is ample room after the final omicron in the first line of *IG* I², 113 for the insertion of an iota, M. J. Osborne, *Hermes* 102, 1974, pp. 87-90, has restored [---] Σαλαμνίοι and revived Kirchhoff's interpretation (*IG* I, Suppl., p. 129, no. 116w) of the puzzling ΟΑΑΔΕΛΟΙ of line 2 as the name of a hitherto unattested son of Euagoras in the dative case [Π?]υθαλλέλοι. In favor of the latter point we observe that *IG* II², 1, 405/4 B.C. supplies an example of the dative case in the heading of a citizenship award which is close in date, and that although the surface of the marble within the circular letter is only a little worn, the dots in the thetas on this stone are exceedingly small and shallow. Omicron cannot be excluded, but the mark which is visible on the stone and on squeezes inside the circle may be significant.

For discussion of this decree, M. J. Osborne, *BSA* 67, 1972, pp. 129-158. For Euagoras' citizenship, Isokrates, IX.54; Demosthenes, XII.10.

⁶ Kirchner restores line 3 as [μμάτεν· Π]ιστοκλῆς ἐπιστατ[ε . .]. and observes "Ἀριστοκλῆς Koe., quod spatio non convenit," but the line might also be reconstructed as [μμάτεν· Ἀρ]ιστοκλῆς ἐπιστατ[ε . .].

Ienika VI.3.2. On Aristokles *Μυρρινούσιος*, Demosthenes XXIV.27, 39, 71, of 354/3 B.C., see D. M. Lewis, *BSA* 49, 1954, p. 32. There is space at the end of line 2 (at least 0.02 m.) for a nu-movable, but the surface is lost.

Fragment *a* shows that the Corpus restoration of *c* with 34 letters to the line in the main body of the decree must now be abandoned. Even the shortest enactment formula and the shortest tribal name in line 3 would require a minimum of 38 letters. In seeking a new restoration *a* presents our surest basis. Two schemes are possible; both are paralleled in the preserved decrees of 394/393 B.C.

In the first scheme, restoration of the longer enactment clause in line 3, *ἔδοξεν τῇ βολῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ*, (cf. *IG* II², 19) would yield a stoichedon line of 49–53 letters, depending on the length of the name of the tribe in prytany. A stoichedon line of 38–42 letters in length would result if the shorter enactment clause, *ἔδοξεν τῇ βολῇ*, were to be restored in line 2 (cf. *IG* II², 16, 17, 18). In the longer version there is room to restore the archon's name, an element which all four preserved decrees of 394/3 B.C. contain, and the length of the name of the epistates in line 4 would be 6–10 letters. In the shorter version there would be no room for the archon's name; and for the epistates in line 4, 8–12 spaces are available.

We have not found a decisive factor which would eliminate either version, but some help, perhaps, can be gained from line 2. A stoichedon line of 38–42 letters with a horizontal checker unit of 0.0116 m. in the main body of the text would require an original stele *ca.* 0.47–0.517 m. in width, allowing for a margin of *ca.* 0.015 m. at each side. If in the lost portion of line 2 the letters were spaced as they are in the preserved section, where 15 letters occupy a space 0.19 m. in width, with a margin of 0.02 m. at the right, we may calculate the original number of letters in this line as follows: A stele 0.47 m. wide (stoichedon 38) would accommodate *ca.* 34 letters in line 2, if a symmetrical margin is restored at the left; whereas on a stele 0.517 m. in width (stoichedon 42) there would be room for *ca.* 37 letters in line 2. If from these two totals we subtract the 15 letters which are on the stone and the 10 of the secretary's name, known from line 3, the remainders are 9 and 12 respectively. A stoichedon line of 38 letters in the main body of the text would then require a restoration in line 2 of [*Ἀριστοκλῆς*⁹] *σιος ἐγραμμάτευε*, while a line of 42 letters would yield [*Ἀριστοκλῆς*¹²] *σιος ἐγραμμάτευε*. The former would seem to be formally impossible, since even the longest of the demotics ending in [— — —] *σιος* requires only 8 letters to complete it, *Μυρρινούσιος*, and that with the longer form of the diphthong *ov*, which does indeed appear on the stone in lines 21 and 34. If a patronymic were to be restored, even the shortest possible demotics, [*Ἀγνό*] *σιος*, [*Θριά*] *σιος*, [*Φηγό*] *σιος*, [*Φυλά*] *σιος*, two of them requiring the shorter form of the diphthong, would leave only 3 letters available for it. More attractive is [. . . .¹²] *σιος* and a 42-letter stoichedon line in the main body of the text, for if we restore one of the short demotics, there would be 8 letters available for a patronymic. In this case the longest prytany name, *Ἰπποθωνίς*, must be restored in line 3 and the name of the epistates in line 4 would be 12 letters long.

For a stoichedon line of 49–53 letters, with the enactment clause *ἔδοξεν τῇ βολῇ καὶ πῶι δήμῳ* a stele *ca.* 0.60–0.64 m. wide would be required. The thickness of the preserved fragments, 0.11–0.12 m., is no barrier to reconstructing a stele of this width. If the main body of the text had a stoichedon pattern of 49 letters per line, there would be room for *ca.* 44 letters in line 2, i. e. [Ἀριστοκλῆς¹⁹.....]σιος ἐγραμμάτεν. A stoichedon line of 53 letters, which would require the restoration of the name of the longest prytany, Hippothontis, in line 3, produces [Ἀριστοκλῆς²².....]σιος ἐγραμμάτεν. Both of these reconstructions clearly make the restoration of patronymic and demotic mandatory. The second version may seem rather a remote possibility for even if the longest demotic were restored, the patronymic would still be 14 letters long. A stoichedon line of 49–50 letters, however, with a gap of 19–20 letters for the patronymic and the rest of the demotic in line 2 has obvious advantages in view of the length of most of the available demotics.

Unfortunately the choice between the shorter and the longer versions of the enactment clause must remain to a certain degree subjective. We have preferred a stoichedon line of 50 letters because it provides flexibility for the restoration of patronymic and demotic in line 2, space for the archon in line 4, and what appears to be the best solution for the problems of restoration in lines 5–6. What we have printed in the text, however, must be regarded as *exempli gratia*; other versions cannot be excluded.

Sophilos is almost certainly the otherwise unknown proposer of *IG* II², 19, an honorary decree for a Rhodian 394/3 B.C. There is a Sophilos honored among the “Heroes of Phyle” who may be our man, *Hesperia* 10, 1941, pp. 288–295, no. 78, line 53, 403/2 B.C.

At the beginning of spring 393 B.C., in the archonship of Euboulides, Konon and Pharnabazos with a large fleet and many mercenaries sailed through the islands to Melos, made raids on the coast of Lakonia and established a garrison on Kythera. They then sailed to the Isthmus of Corinth where the allies were exhorted to loyalty and provided with Pharnabazos’ remaining money. From Corinth the satrap sailed home, leaving the fleet to Konon, who took it to Athens, where he then employed the crews in rebuilding the walls, a project which had been started the previous summer.⁷

⁷ Xenophon, *Hellenika* IV.8.7–10; Diodoros, XIV.84.5, 85.1–3; Isokrates, IV.119; Plutarch, *Agesilaos* 23. Beginning of the Long Walls: *IG* II², 1656; Tod, *Greek Historical Inscriptions* II, no. 107 a; F. G. Maier, *Griechische Mauerbauinschriften* I, Heidelberg 1959, pp. 21–22, no. 1; 31–36. The numerous sources on Konon and the rebuilding of the walls are collected by H. Swoboda in *RE*, s.v. Konon, col. 1329; G. Barbieri, *Conone*, Rome 1955, pp. 167–168. See also R. Seager, *JHS* 87, 1967, pp. 99–104; W. K. Pritchett, *The Greek State at War* II, Berkeley 1974, p. 120.

Donald Laing, *A New Interpretation of the Athenian Naval Catalogue*, *IG* II², 1951, University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, 65–12, 918, pp. 111–116, followed by Y. Garlan, *Annales littéraires de l’Université de Besançon: Centre de recherches d’histoire ancienne* IV, Paris 1972, pp. 37–39, has wished to associate the erection of *IG* II², 1951 with the return of Konon to Athens in 393 B.C. Since the hand of this text, however, bears a very strong resemblance to that of the Erechtheion accounts of 408/7 B.C. and the third hand in *IG* I³, 108 (407 B.C.?), Lewis thinks this an uncomfortably late date. The text will eventually appear, with Laing’s friendly cooperation and against his own judgment, as *IG* I³, 1032.

The exact date of Konon's arrival at Athens is nowhere recorded,⁸ which is unfortunate for us in attempting to date the decree in honor of Euagoras. For, even allowing for rhetorical exaggeration in our sources, the enthusiastic welcome which Konon received as a returning hero was to a large extent shared by his Cypriot patron. The erection of Konon's bronze portrait statue near the Royal Stoa in the Agora was probably followed closely by this decree and the similar honor paid to Euagoras. The two statues are linked by Isokrates and Konon's name suggestively appears in line 27 of our decree.⁹ The literary sources, however, leave various questions unanswered, which our fragmentary text does little to solve. Did Euagoras ever come to Athens at all? The mention of ambassadors which we think we see in our line 7 is some argument against it. Did Konon return to Athens near the end of the archon-year of Euboulides in the late spring or early summer of 393 B.C., or was it later in the year after Euboulides' successor Demostratos took office? How soon after Konon's arrival were the honors for him and Euagoras passed by the assembly? Is it even certain that the assembly waited for his return? Even before the return and earlier in the year, it could already be said of Konon and of Nikophemos, his commander at Kythera, that they were of good repute in Athens,¹⁰ and if the Athenian honors for Dionysios of Syracuse of winter 394/3 B.C. (*IG* II², 18) were connected with Konon's plans for him later in the year (*Lysias*, XIX.19ff.), which involved Euagoras, there can have been lively communications between Athens and the Persian fleet long before Konon actually returned to Athens, a fact in any case highly probable, and the process of honoring the victors can have started before Konon's return. It must be admitted that we cannot be sure which archon's name to restore in line 4; neither would do violence to the stoichedon order as we have reconstructed it. One faint indication may be held to tell in favor of the earlier year. The honors for Euagoras were to be proclaimed at a dramatic festival (lines 19, 30), surely the Dionysia. Would they really have been deferred until spring 392 B.C.?

Since the archonship cannot be determined, the name of the tribe in prytany remains unknown. In 394/3 B.C. Akamantis, Pandionis and Aigeis are excluded by the names of secretaries and tribes preserved on *IG* II², 16, 17, 18. A 50-letter line allows

⁸ Diodoros places it in the archonship of Euboulides, XIV.85.1, but in 85.4, under the same year, he also recounts Konon's arrest by Tiribazos, which took place in 392 B.C. For Diodoros' habit of lumping under one archonship events in Euagoras' reign which extended over several years see Catherine I. Reid, *Phoenix* 28, 1974, pp. 134-138. Diogenes Laertius, II.39, places the rebuilding of the walls six years after the death of Sokrates.

If the Konon who appears as a *misthotes* in *IG* II², 1658, line 7, in the archonship of Euboulides, could be identified with the famous general, our dating problem would be solved, but this is very unlikely; U. Koehler, *AthMitt* 3, 1878, pp. 52-53; Swoboda, *loc. cit.* (footnote 7 above).

⁹ Demosthenes, XI.62, XX.68-72; Isokrates, IX.57; Pausanias, I.3.2. On the statue see below, pp. 192-193.

¹⁰ *Lysias* XIX, 13: ὁ δὲ ὁρῶν αὐτοὺς ὑπ' ἐκείνου (i. e. Konon) τε πεπιστευμένους γεγονότας τε ἐπιεικῆς τῇ πόλει ἐν γὰρ τῷ τότε χρόνῳ ἀρέσκοντας, ἐπίσθη δούναί, οὐκ εἰδὼς τὴν ἐσομένην διαβολήν . . . The language has to be mild because of the subsequent *diabole*.

a 7-letter tribe in prytany (Aiantis or Leontis) as in Sophilos' other decree (*IG* II², 19). Twenty-three letters are available for the secretary's name in line 3 of that decree, which does not perhaps exclude Aristokles, with his patronymic and demotic, as in *IG* II², 16, line 4 of the same year. There are no prytany or secretary names preserved from 393/2 B.C.

Lines 5-6: The accusative case preserved in line 5 and the nominative βασιλεύς in line 6 suggest that the decree began with an ἐπειδή clause of which Euagoras was the subject. For similar wording, *IG* I², 113, line 33, ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἔστ[ι] ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς περὶ τὸν δῆμον Εὐαγόρα]ς ἡο Σαλα[μ]ῖνιο[ς]; *IG* II², 26, lines 8-10. For the full formula, *IG* II², 81, line 3-6; 82 lines 21-23; 106, lines 11-13.

The title [ὁ Σαλ]αμνίων βασιλεύς appears here for the first time in a documentary source. The passage of *IG* I², 113 just quoted could alternatively be restored as [Εὐαγόρα]ς ἡο Σαλα[μ]ῖνίον[ος βα]σιλεύς without greatly increasing the problems of restoring the following line, but line 1 of that inscription (see above on our line 1) suggests that Euagoras was simply described as Σαλαμίνιος there. In the year 400 B.C. an Athenian orator (Lysias, VI.28) described Euagoras as τὸν Κύπρου βασιλεύοντα, but his unreliability in technical terms may be deduced from *ibid.* 6-7 which apparently describes Dionysios of Syracuse as a βασιλεύς; he certainly never bore that title. E. A. Costa, *Historia* 23, 1974, p. 43, argues that Euagoras was recognized by Persia as βασιλεύς from the beginning of his reign at Salamis. The title is normally avoided by Athenians. It is never used of Euagoras in Lysias, XIX. Isokrates in the *Euagoras* (IX) even prefers to use τύραννος and its cognates (27, 28, 32, 34, 40, 46, 63, 66, 71) and, though βασιλεία sometimes appears (39, 41, 43, 51, 69), βασιλεύς itself is only used of Euagoras' son (72), never of Euagoras himself. It is reasonable to infer that the usage here corresponds to the way in which Euagoras wanted himself described.

Line 7: Since the only context in which this aorist passive participle appears in 4th-century decrees is as a modifier of *presbeis* sent out from Athens,¹¹ it is possible that similar officials appeared here also in the accusative, perhaps as the recipients of good treatment by Euagoras. The embassy to Euagoras referred to by Lysias, XIX. 23, is likely to be too late to be relevant.

Line 8: Although τῆς πόλεως occurs at least four times in 4th-century decrees in the phrase πρόξενοι καὶ εὐεργέται τῆς πόλεως τῆς Ἀθηναίων,¹² the presence of δέ suggests that we have here a different context. The few other examples of the word in the genitive case in contemporary sources offer little help, however. If the clause

¹¹ *IG* II², 102, lines 5-10, 14-15; 105, lines 39-40; 107, lines 24-25, 31-32; 124, lines 10-11; 149, lines 11-12; 207, line 25; 548, line 5. Ambassadors from other cities seem never to be described by the Athenians in this period as "sent", πεμφθέντες, by their city of origin, but as "coming", ἔκοντες.

¹² *IG* II², 17, lines 6-7; 57, lines 4-8; 76, lines 14-16; 324, line 4.

began with a genitive absolute and the context was the condition of Athens prior to Euagoras' benefactions, something similar to *δυστυχησάσης τῆς πόλεως* (Isokrates, IX.52) or *ἀσθενούσ ἡμῶν τῆς πόλεως οὕσης* (Demosthenes, XX.68) might be considered.

Line 12: Ἑλλ]ηνες seems likely, and some form of the name of Euagoras at least highly probable.

Lines 14ff., 28ff.: We have already, on strictly architectural grounds, ruled out a combination of Fragments *b* and *c*. Nevertheless, we now take the unorthodox course of producing a skeleton combined text of such a combination. This will make clear the fact that there is strong parallelism between the fragments and illustrate what we take to be the general drift of both of them, while ultimately showing that the fragments cannot be combined textually. We use the line numbering of *b*; our warnings above about the readings in line 13 should be borne in mind.

	<i>c</i>	<i>b</i>
		Εὐ-
13	[αγόραν ¹² ἐπαιν]έσαι τε αὐ[τὸν ¹¹ κα]ῖ[σ]τ-	
	[εφανῶσαι αὐτὸν χρυσῶι στε]φάνωι ὁ δὲ κῆ[ρυξ ⁹] ἀνειπέ-	
15	[τω ²⁰]ι ὅταν οἱ τρα[γωιδοὶ ἀγω]νίζωνται [ι] ὁ	
	[τι στεφανοῖ ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθη]ναίων Εὐαγόρ[αν τὸν Σαλα]μ[ι]νίων βασ[ι]-	
17	[λέα ἀνδραγαθίας ἔνεκα τ]ῆς ἐς Ἀθηναίω[ς Ἑλλ]άδος Ἑλλην[. . .]	

There is no doubt that we are dealing with the same general sense in both passages, but it is also clear that they are two different recensions. Since ἀνειπέ[τω] is a false form, the herald was given his instructions with a nominative and an imperative on *c*, with an accusative and an infinitive on *b*. If we extend the process to equating *b* 20 with *c* 35: [ἀν]αγραψα[. . . γραμ]ματεὺς ὁ τ[ῆ]ς [βολ]ῆς, it becomes equally clear that the opposite situation obtains there: the secretary is named in the accusative in *c*, in the nominative in *b*. The impossibility of combining *b* 17 with *c* 32 shows that the words of the proclamation were different in the two passages. We are therefore dealing with a decree which received extensive amendment in the ecclesia. That the whole procedure was given permanence on stone should occasion no surprise.¹³

Having established the general sense of these lines, we abstain from any further attempt at detailed restoration. A 50-letter line is evidently not too far from the truth, but we cannot be certain about it and no great consistency of formula is to be found in such passages (see the texts collected in *IG* II², iv.1, p. 62, *s.v.* στέφανος). The

¹³ There is the familiar case of Oiniades of Palaiskiathos (*IG* I², 118 = R. Meiggs and D. M. Lewis, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, no. 90 with commentary). In *IG* II², 107 we read the amendment (lines 30ff.) as simply adding the names of the ambassadors which had been left out of the probouleuma (line 25), and in *IG* II², 29 (= Tod, *G.H.I.* II, 116) we are in no doubt that Kephalos' amendment simply restated the grounds for the proposal without altering its substance.

intervention of a formula of proclamation sometimes has the effect of confusing the syntax, as has been most recently made clear by the difficulty of restoring a similar passage in *IG* II², 174 (B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, 39, 1970, pp. 111-114).

Line 15: We have found no Attic parallel for the formula suggested above but cf. Dittenberger, *SIG*³, no. 617, lines 11ff. (Delos) ἀναγορεύσαι δὲ τὸν ἱεροκ[ή]|ρυκα ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, ὅταν οἱ τῶν παίδων χ[ό]|ροι ἀγωνίζωνται, τόδε τὸ κήρυγμα.

Line 17: This is the most spectacular contribution of the new fragments. If our argument so far is accepted, these words will have formed part of the herald's proclamation. In such a context, Ἑλλην[ες] would be inappropriate and flat, and we strongly prefer Ἑλλην. That Euagoras is praised as a Hellene may well be thought to carry the implication that there might be some doubt about it and that the point needed stressing. Isokrates' claim (IX.14) that he was descended from the Teukridai and thus from Aiakos has been doubted (E. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums* V, 1902, p. 199; E. Gjerstad, *Swedish Cyprus Expedition* IV, ii, p. 489), though accepted by Costa, *Historia* 23, 1974, p. 41, and Pouilloux, *Cyprus Report: Dept. of Antiquities*, 1975, pp. 113, 117. Isokrates is certainly inexplicit about his immediate parentage. The claim could eventually, for those who thought Salamis was part of Attica, be turned to making Euagoras an Athenian by descent (Pausanias, I.3.1); Isokrates (IX.54) clearly has no thought of it, though the same passage shows that he could have been called an Athenian on the strength of the previous grant of citizenship (*IG* I², 113). The stress on Euagoras' Hellenism is preferred, and may be connected with his efforts to hellenize his own city, so heavily stressed by Isokrates (IX. 49-50) and surely part of what he prided himself on, even though Isokrates' remarks on its previous barbarism (IX.20.47) may be thought exaggerated (Costa, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-41, Pouilloux, *loc. cit.*).

If Euagoras is to be praised as a Hellene, parallelism dictates that it will be his services to Hellas, and not merely to Athens, which are praised. Isokrates, writing after his death, again provides ample commentary (IX.51-57). Euagoras offered a refuge to many excellent Hellenes who had left their own country, of whom the Athenian Konon was only the most notable. The Spartans were ruling the Hellenes by land and sea. The advice Konon and Euagoras offered to the despairing Persian generals was to aim for victory by sea, since in this way all Hellas would share in the victory. Victory was achieved, the Spartans were defeated, the Hellenes were freed, and Athens was restored to something of its old reputation as well. Our sources, for varying reasons, do not use the name of Hellas much for the anti-Spartan coalition of the Corinthian War. Plato, *Menexenos* 244 d, 245 a, is the nearest to a contemporary source,¹⁴ but we now have no reason to doubt that the coalition used the word.¹⁵

¹⁴ See also Plut., *Lys.* 27.3; *Art.* 20.4, a *Hellenikos polemos*.

¹⁵ No evidence tells us how the alliance, for which see *Die Staatsverträge des Altertums* II, no. 225, described itself.

It is legitimate to view the line with a certain cynicism. Euagoras was being praised for his services to Hellas, but in truth his principal claim to Athenian gratitude lay in his introduction of Konon to the Persian Pharnabazos. We have here our earliest evidence for the way in which the Athenians faced, or rather, avoided, the uncomfortable fact that the fleet with which Konon had broken Spartan power was a Persian fleet, built in Persian-controlled harbors and financed with Persian funds. For this fact Euagoras was a comfortable cloak. Isokrates would eventually assert (IX.56) that he had contributed the greatest part of Konon's force, and meanwhile it was his statue which was put alongside Konon's and the statue of Zeus Soter; Pharnabazos, Konon's fellow admiral, presumably his superior, had the tact not to come to Athens and received no honors there.¹⁶ The *Menexenos* (245 a) denies a formal alliance of Athens with the Great King and diminishes his part in the matter. The rest of the story is familiar.¹⁷ The Athenian assembly kept its mind firmly closed to the realities of the situation, rejected peace terms which involved the abandonment of the Greeks of Asia Minor to Persia (Philochoros, *FGrHist*, no. 328, F 149, Plato, *Menexenos* 245 c), and eventually provoked Persia in various ways, not the least being her support for Euagoras, now in revolt against Persia (Xenophon, *Hellenika* IV.8.24).

Line 18: We have not yet thought of a way of accounting for a future indicative here and are inclined to think that we may have the earliest example of a subjunctive in -ει, e.g. ἐπειδὴν δὲ κ]ηρύξει.¹⁸ προ might, e.g., be the beginning of προ[σκηρυξάτω]; cf. [π|ρ]οσκηρύξαντα in *Hesperia* 39, 1970, p. 112, line 24.

Line 19: We can do nothing with this line.

Lines 20-21: Surely a first publication formula. The Secretary was probably instructed to inscribe the decree on our stele and place it [πρόσθ]εν τοῦ ἀγάλμα[τος]. For the restoration see *IG* II², 34, line 24 (384/3 B.C.), στήσαι δὲ στήλην ἐν ἀκροπόλει [πρό]σθεν τῷ ἀγάλματος, which shows that at least for *the* agalma on the Acropolis (Athena Promachos) no further definition was required. If this single parallel could

¹⁶ At some stage, Pharnabazos presented the Athenians with a ceremonial robe, possibly for Athena. It is in the Hekatompedon in 374/3 B.C. (*IG* II², 1421, line 118; for the date see *IG* II², ii.2, p. 799); read ξυστὶς ἦν Φαρνά[βαζος ἀνέθηκε]. By 371/0 B.C. its condition was doubtful; see *IG* II², 1424a, lines 303-4 (in the Addenda to *IG*, II², ii.2; for the date see A. M. Woodward, *Ἀρχ'Εφ*, 1937, p. 165, note 3); the reading can be improved to ξυστὶς ἥ[ν] Φαρνάβαζ[ος] | ἀνέθηκεν, οὐχ ἑγὼ. We have not yet found an argument which determines when this entered the inventories.

¹⁷ See briefly Lewis, *op. cit.* (footnote 5 above), pp. 146-147.

¹⁸ The earliest case is in *IG* I², 55, line 11 (ca. 430 B.C.) where κωλύει should be subjunctive (cf. *BSA* 49, 1954, p. 29), but there is a possibility there of alphabetic confusion. Otherwise the earliest is τελευτήσῃ in *Hesperia* 7, 1938, pp. 1ff., lines 13-14 (363/2 B.C.); the earliest in a public text come in *IG* II², 116, lines 17-18, 28 (361/0 B.C.). L. L. Threatte, who has generously advised us on this point, would see no reason to separate the confusion of ει and ηι in the subjunctive from similar confusions in the augment and in the dative singular, and such confusions can be found in the 5th century B.C. in texts where the Ionic alphabet is under full control otherwise.

be pressed, our stele would then have stood on the Acropolis, perhaps next to the stele of 407 B.C. which granted Euagoras Athenian citizenship;¹⁹ Fragment *c* of our stele was found on the south slope.

But Isokrates and Pausanias²⁰ mention a bronze statue of the Salaminian king which stood next to that of Konon in the Agora. Both statues were voted among the "supreme honors" which the Athenians bestowed on Konon and Euagoras in return for their services at Knidos. Isokrates' wording suggests, what is only natural, that the two statues were authorized and set up at roughly, if not exactly, the same time.

ὑπὲρ ὧν ἡμεῖς μὲν αὐτοὺς ἐτιμήσαμεν ταῖς μεγίσταις τιμαῖς καὶ τὰς
εἰκόνας αὐτῶν ἐστήσαμεν οὐδὲρ τὸ τοῦ Διὸς ἄγαλμα τοῦ Σωτήρος,
πλησίον ἐκείνου τε καὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν.

Appropriately, they were both placed near the famous statue of Zeus Eleutherios in front of the Stoa of Zeus and not far from the Royal Stoa.²¹ Doubtless our decree provided for the erection of Euagoras' statue but that will not be the function of the Secretary of the Council in lines 20-21. The statue mentioned there is a point of reference, probably to locate the position of our stele. It is only logical that our decree should be put up near the statue of Euagoras²² but we think that it is much more likely that the point of reference in lines 20-21 was the existing statue of Zeus

¹⁹ *IG* I², 113. For the finding places on the Acropolis of the fragments of this decree, K. S. Pittakes, *Ἐφ'Αρχ* 1842, p. 550, no. 934; 1854, p. 1110, no. 2101; 1858, p. 1796, no. 3434; *IG* I, Suppl., p. 129, no. 116 w. *IG* II², 716 which confirms the honors voted by Athens to Euagoras and his descendants, was also found on the Acropolis. Adolf Wilhelm, in an unpublished paper referred to in *Anatolian Studies Presented to William Hepburn Buckler*, Manchester 1939, p. 348 and in *Wiener Anzeiger*, 1946, pp. 126-127 = *Akademieschriften zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde* III, pp. 140-141, argued that *IG* II², 1226 belonged to this inscription and suggested a date of around 305 B.C. Unknown to Wilhelm, *IG* II², 1226, which had been presumed lost, is in the Metropolitan Museum. The association of the fragments needs examination.

²⁰ Footnote 9 above.

²¹ Konon's decree contained the clause, ἐπειδὴ [Κόνων] ἡλευθέρωσε τοὺς Ἀθηναίων συμμάχους, Demosthenes, XX.69. For the position of the statues, Pausanias, I.3.2; T. L. Shear, Jr., *Hesperia* 40, 1971, pp. 252-255; H. A. Thompson, R. E. Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora*, XIV, *The Agora of Athens*, Princeton 1972, pp. 85-86, 101, 158, where it is suggested that the four bases found *in situ* in front of the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios, between its projecting wings, supported the five statues listed by Pausanias: Konon and his son Timotheos, Euagoras, Zeus Eleutherios, and Hadrian. Timotheos will have been later placed next to his father on the same base, *ca.* 375 B.C. Aischines, III.243; Nepos, *Timotheus* 2.3, as he was on the Acropolis; Pausanias, I.24.3; *IG* II², 3774; Tod, *G.H.I.* II, no. 128; G. P. Stephens, *Hesperia* 15, 1946, pp. 4-11. For honorary statues of Konon at Athens and elsewhere see Tod's commentary on no. 128; R. E. Wycherly, *The Athenian Agora*, III, *Testimonia*, Princeton 1957, p. 213; W. Gauer, *JdI* 83, 1968, pp. 118-124.

²² Cf. the common formula, ἀναγράφει δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ καὶ στήσαι παρὰ τὴν εἰκόνα; *IG* II², 672, lines 38-39; 682, lines 86ff.; 844, lines 26-30; 937 (= *SEG* XXIV, 135), lines 51-53; 983, line 9; 1041, lines 4-6; 1223, lines 16-17; 1299, lines 44-45; 1330, lines 64-65; *SEG* XXV, 188, lines 38-41. R. E. Wycherley has suggested that the stele honoring Konon, from which Demosthenes, XX.67-70, quotes, stood near his statue in the Agora, *Agora* III, p. 213, no. (261).

Eleutherios, for ἄγαλμα customarily designates the statue of a god, whereas for Euagoras' statue we should expect ἀνδριάς or εἰκών. In the literary and epigraphic testimonia on the Athenian Agora ἄγαλμα is limited to divine figures, while the 55 known honorary statues of men and women are described as εἰκόνες, χαλκοῦς, ἀνδριάντες or εἰκόνες χαλκαῖ, but never as ἀγάλματα.²³ Attic decrees of all periods observe the same distinction;²⁴ we should expect ours to conform. A modifier would, therefore, be in order at the beginning of line 22 since in the Agora it might not have been obvious which statue was meant, i. e. [πρόσθ]εν τοῦ ἀγάλμα[το]ς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ἐλευθερίου; cf. *IG* II², 43, lines 65-66, καταθέ[τω] παρὰ τὸν Δία τὸν Ἐλευθέριον; *IG* II², 448, lines 27, 69-70, πα[ρὰ τ]ὸν Δία τὸν Σωτήρα; *IG* II², 792, lines 13-14, στήσαι [ἐν ἀγορᾷ οὗ τὸ ἄγαλμα τὸ Δ]ιὸς ἐστίν.

Line 22: It seems likely that someone else is being praised, but whether they are ambassadors from Euagoras or members of his family we see no means of telling.

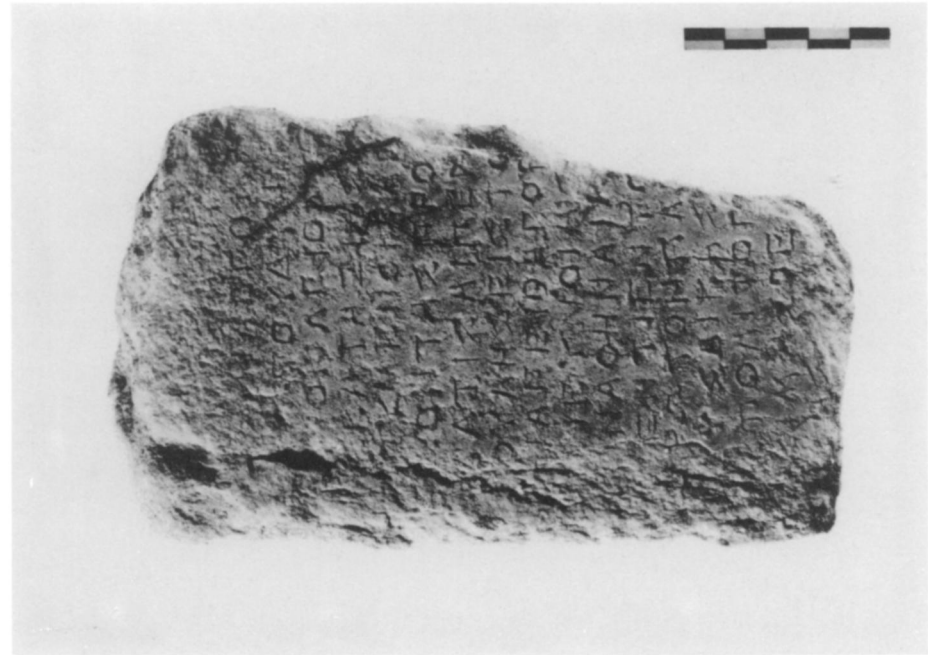
Lines 24ff.: Sufficient has been said to show the shape of what stood in these lines. There seems little point in trying to rework the old restorations.

DAVID M. LEWIS
RONALD S. STROUD

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA,
BERKELEY

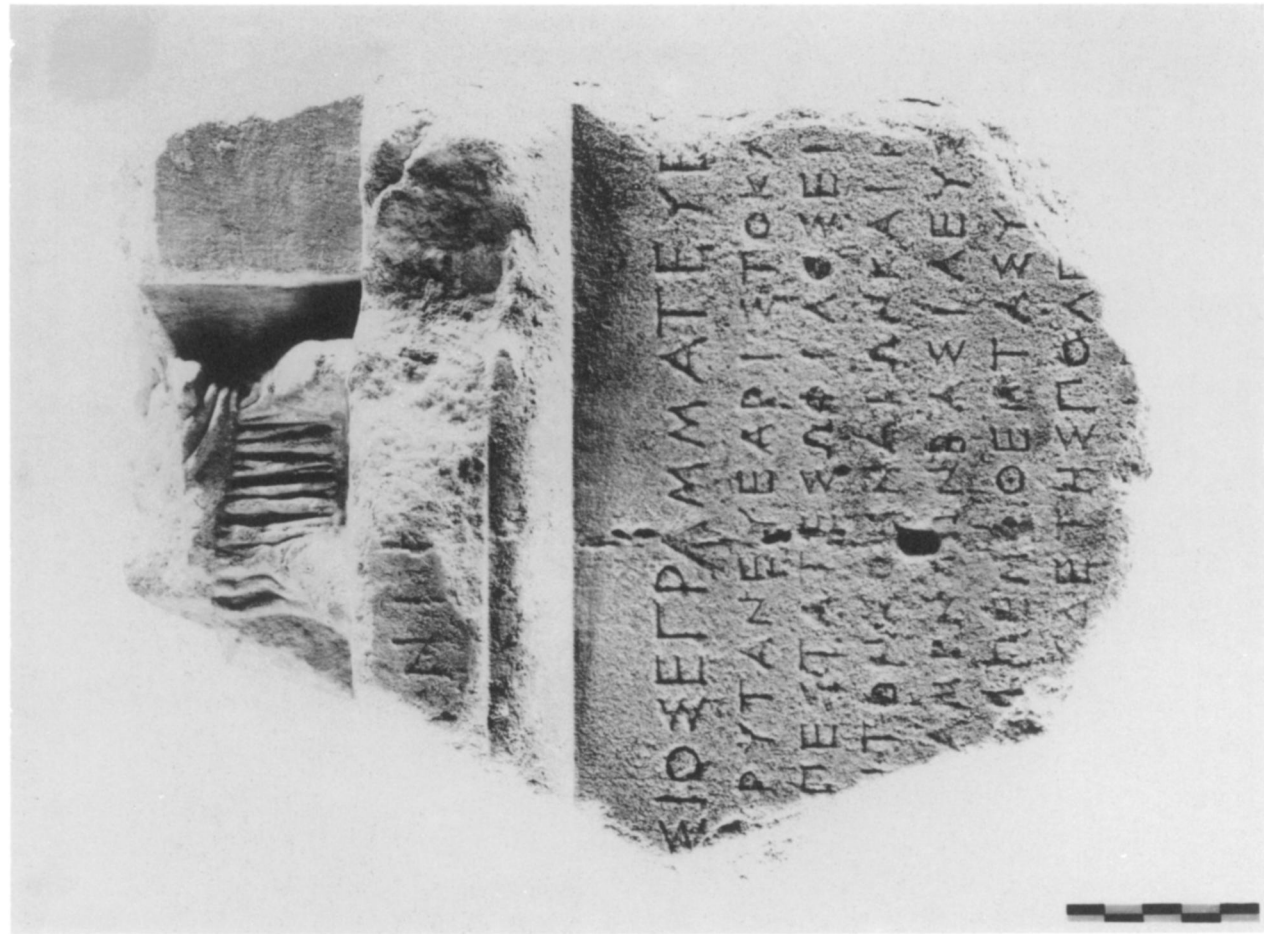
²³ This statement rests on the evidence collected by Wycherley in *Agora* III. Throughout his description of Athens and Attica Pausanias meticulously observes this distinction, I.1-39.3. For general statements of the principle see H. Hepding, *AthMitt* 32, 1907, pp. 250-251; L. Robert, *Études Anatoliennes*, Paris 1937, p. 17, note 2; J. and L. Robert, *REG* 68, 1955, p. 361, no. 210.

²⁴ For ἄγαλμα as cult statue in the 5th century B.C. see the index to *IG* I², and add *SEG* I, 3, lines 20-21; X, 24, line 13; 64a, line 8. (For the special use of ἄγαλμα in Archaic dedications, C. Karousos, *Epitymbion Ch. Tsounta*, Athens 1941, pp. 535-578.) In Attic decrees after 403 B.C. ἄγαλμα designates exclusively statues of divinities or those granted divine honors. *IG* II², 1330, divine honors for Ariarathes V, is an instructive example, lines 24-27, στήσαι δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἄγαλμα παρὰ τὸν θε[ὸν] — — καὶ εἰκόνα χαλ[κῆν] ἐν τῷ προπυλαίῳ τοῦ τεμένους — — [ἀνειπεῖν δὲ] καὶ τῶν εἰκόνων τὴν ἀνάθεσιν. We count 44 decrees in which εἰκών designates an honorary statue of a man or woman in *IG* II² and *SEG*, and only 6 which use ἀνδριάς. For a helpful selection of the former see *IG* II², iv, 1, sermo publicus decretorum proprius, p. 49, s.v. εἰκὼν χαλκῆ.



2

STEPHEN V. TRACY: GREEK INSCRIPTIONS
FROM THE ATHENIAN AGORA

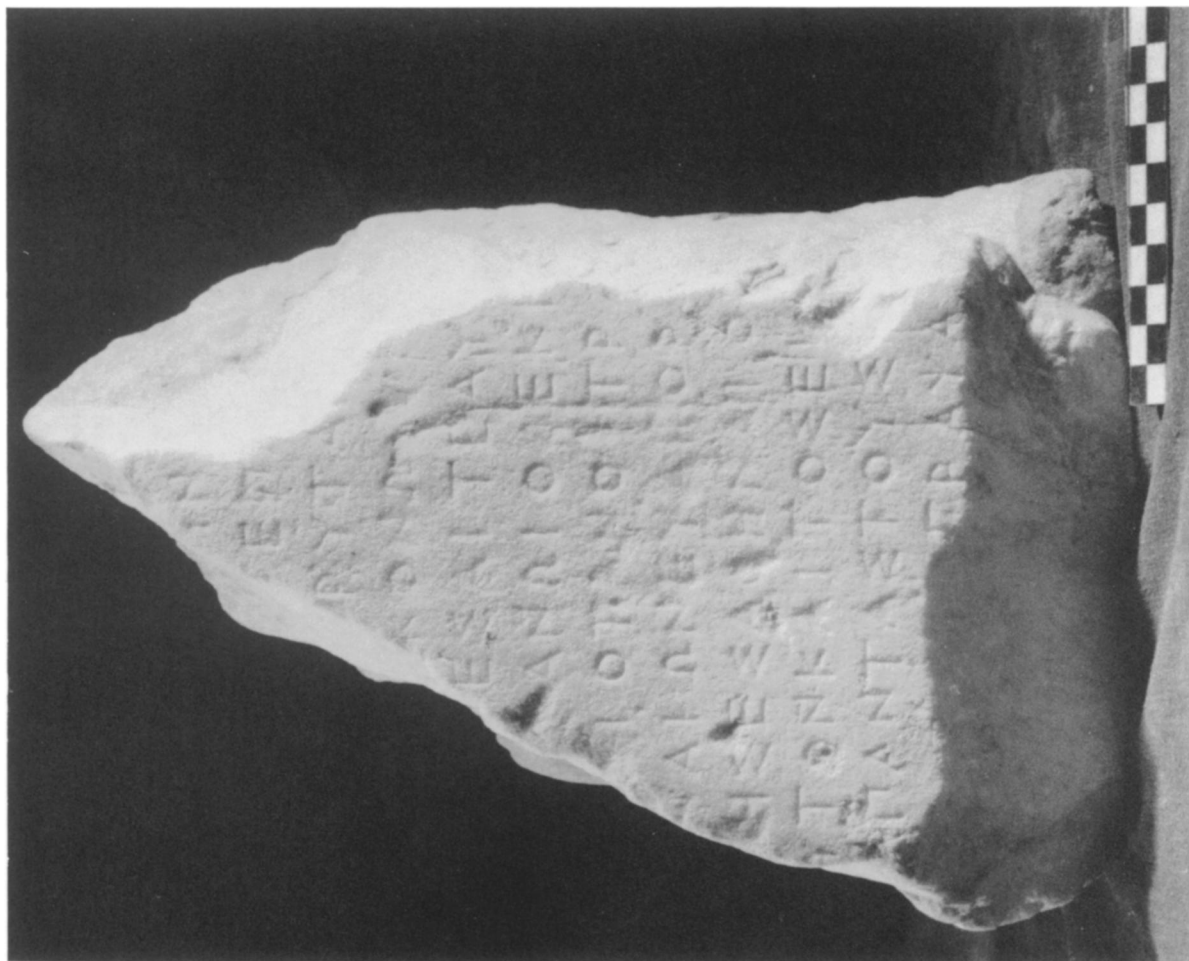


IG II², 20: Fragment 4

DAVID M. LEWIS AND RONALD S. STROUD: ATHENS HONORS
KING EUAGORAS OF SALAMIS



IG II², 20: Fragment b



IG II², 20: Fragment c

DAVID M. LEWIS AND RONALD S. STROUD: ATHENS HONORS KING EUAGORAS OF SALAMIS