

# HONORS FOR PHANOSTHENES, ANTIOCHIDES AND THEIR ASSOCIATES

(PLATE 68)

THE document here discussed results from the association of five non-joining fragments, all now in the Epigraphical Collection of the National Archaeological Museum in Athens.<sup>1</sup>

Fragments *b* and *c* were first associated with one another by B. D. Meritt,<sup>2</sup> and fragments *d* and *e* were first associated with one another by E. Schweigert;<sup>3</sup> in November, 1968, I came to the conclusion that all four belonged together as parts of the same document; I published them as such in 1970.<sup>4</sup> At the same time I published for the first time fragment *a*, but as a separate document of the same approximate date.<sup>5</sup> Subsequently D. M. Lewis suggested to me that it belonged with the other four fragments,<sup>6</sup> and, after further examination of all five fragments in Athens in 1971, I agreed with him. It is not possible, however, to decide upon the exact position of the five fragments of the stele from which they derive, although physical as well as epigraphical considerations restrict the choice of position.

Fragment *a* (EM 2505) is of unknown provenance; it was first published by me in 1970.<sup>7</sup> The back has split away and is now lost; no edge is preserved.

Height, 0.071 m.; width, 0.050 m.; preserved thickness, 0.011 m.

Letter height, 0.010 m.; horizontal checker, 0.0134 m.; vertical checker, 0.0135 m.

Fragment *b* (EM 13374; formerly Agora Inventory I 419) was found in a modern context in excavation of the Athenian Agora on February 10, 1933.<sup>8</sup> The rough-picked back is preserved, but no edge.

<sup>1</sup> I here acknowledge the financial support afforded me by the Canada Council which enabled me to spend the summer of 1971 in Athens. I am also grateful to Mrs. Dina Peppas-Delmouzou, the Director of the Epigraphical Collection of the National Archaeological Museum in Athens, for permission to study these and other fragments under her care, and for permission to publish fragment *a*.

<sup>2</sup> "Attic Inscriptions of the Fifth Century," *Hesperia* 14, 1945, pp. 129-132, no. 16 (= *S.E.G.* X, 131).

<sup>3</sup> "Inscriptions from the North Slope of the Acropolis," *Hesperia* 7, 1938, pp. 269-270, no. 4 (= *S.E.G.* X, 79).

<sup>4</sup> *Athenian Proxeny of the Fifth Century B.C.*, Dissertation, The University of British Columbia, 1970, pp. 429-445, no. 44.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.* (note 4 above), pp. 503-505, no. 53.

<sup>6</sup> Correspondence of February 13, April 20 and June 25, 1971.

<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.* (note 4 above), pp. 503-505, no. 53.

<sup>8</sup> B. D. Meritt, *loc. cit.* (note 2 above).

Height, 0.335 m.; width, 0.358 m.; thickness, 0.130 m.

Letter height, 0.010-0.011 m.; horizontal checker, 0.0136 m.; vertical checker, 0.0140 m.

Fragment *c* (EM 6616) is of unknown provenance; it was first published in 1873 by A. Kirchhoff, from a transcript made by U. Köhler.<sup>9</sup> The left edge is preserved, but the back has split away and is lost.

Height, 0.265 m.; width, 0.263 m.; preserved thickness, 0.073 m.

Letter height, 0.010-0.011 m.; horizontal checker, 0.0133 m.; vertical checker, 0.0140 m.

Fragment *d* (EM 12948) was found in excavation of the North Slope of the Akropolis, northwest of the Sanctuary of Eros and Aphrodite on April 12, 1937.<sup>10</sup> Neither the back nor any edge is preserved.

Height, 0.078 m.; width, 0.095 m.; preserved thickness, 0.017 m.

Letter height, 0.010-0.011 m.; horizontal checker, 0.0136 m.; vertical checker, 0.0140 m.

Fragment *e* (EM 6847) was found in excavation of the Erechtheion on the Akropolis and first published in 1886 by A. Kirchhoff from a transcript made by H. G. Lolling.<sup>11</sup> The left edge is preserved, but the back has split away and is lost. There is a vertical uninscribed space of 0.110 m. below the last inscribed line.

Height, 0.240 m.; width, 0.280 m.; preserved thickness, 0.076 m.

Letter height, 0.010-0.011 m.; horizontal checker, 0.0133 m.; vertical checker, 0.0140 m.

ca. 420-414 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 46

### Decree I

<sup>a</sup> [ἔδοχεν τῇ βολῇ καὶ τοῖ δέμοι, ----]ον[--- ἐπρυτάνευε, --]-  
 [----- ἐγραμμάτευε, ----- ἐπεστ]άτε, [----- εἰπε·]  
 [-----]ικα[-----]  
 [-----]ονι[-----]  
<sup>5</sup> [-----]να[-----]

*lacuna*

### Decree II

[-----<sup>10</sup>-----]α[-----<sup>35</sup>-----]  
 [-----<sup>10</sup>-----]γ[ρ[α]μμα[τε-----<sup>28</sup>-----]

<sup>9</sup> I.G. I, 78 = I.G. I<sup>2</sup>, 122.

<sup>10</sup> E. Schweigert, *loc. cit.* (note 3 above).

<sup>11</sup> I.G. I, *Supplement*, p. 129, no. 116 x = I.G. I<sup>2</sup>, 156.

- [-----<sup>7</sup>-----'Αν]τιοχίδει καὶ [Φανοσθένει -----<sup>16</sup>-----]  
 [-----<sup>9</sup>-----]ις 'Αθηναίοις καὶ [-----<sup>23</sup>-----]  
 5 [-----<sup>10</sup>-----]ορας καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἡότ[-----<sup>20</sup>-----]  
 [-----<sup>9</sup>-----] τὸν δέμον τὸν 'Αθηναί[ον -----<sup>18</sup>-----]  
 [-----<sup>13</sup>-----] καὶ νῦν αὐτὸς καὶ [-----<sup>19</sup>-----]  
 [ἡόπος ἂν ἡο δέμο]ς ἡος περὶ πολλῷ ποιῶ[ν φαίνεται τὸς ἐσάγ]-  
 c [οντας κο]πέας [κα]ὶ χάριν ἀποδόσον τὸ λ[οιπὸν] ἄξεμιός δὲ τό]-  
 10 [κο ἡεκ]ατοστῷ τ[ὸς] κοπέας ἡὸς ἔγαγον ο[ἱ]κοθεν δόντον τοῖς]  
 [τρι]εροποιοῖς κ[αὶ] ἡοι τριεροποιοὶ ε[ὐ]θὺς παραλαβόντες]  
 [τιθ]έντον ἐς τὸ να[ν]πέγιον καὶ ἐὰν δέ[ονται] ἄλλο τινὸς ἡοι]  
 [στ]ρατεγοὶ χροσόθο[ν φρ]άζοντες τῇ β[ολεῖ καὶ] ἡάμα ἀποδιδ]-  
 [όν]τες τὸν τεταγμέν[εν] τίμε[ν]· καὶ ἡο[ι] ναυπεγοὶ λογιζόσθο]-  
 15 [ν το]ῖς τριεροποιο[ῖς] τὰ τε]ταγμέν[α]· ἐπειδὲ οὖν 'Αντιοχίδει]-  
 [ς καὶ] Φανοσθένες τὸ[ν] δέμον τὸν 'Αθηναίων εὖ ποιέτον καὶ π]-  
 [ερὶ αὐ]τῷ ἡο ἡελλενοτ[αμίας -----<sup>24</sup>-----]  
 [-----<sup>9</sup>-----]ς χρῆσθαι ἐς τ[ὸν] πόλεμον -----<sup>20</sup>-----]  
 [-----<sup>4</sup>----- αὐτ]οῖν ἀγαγόντ[οιν -----<sup>27</sup>-----]  
 20 [-----<sup>8</sup>-----]οραι, ἐπαιν[έσαι μὲν] 'Αντιοχίδειν καὶ Φανοσθένη]-  
 [ν ἡότι ἐδι]ακονεσάτε[ν τὰ τεταγμένα· ἐὰν δέ] τινος δέεσθον]  
 d [παρὰ τῷ δέμω] προσάχ[εν αὐτὸ τὸς πρυτάνες ἐς τὸν δέμω]ν [ἐς τ]-  
 [ἐν πρότεν] ἐκ[κ]λεσίᾳ[ν] πρόσοδον δὲ ἔναι αὐτοῖν ἐς τῇ]ν βολ[ῆ]-  
 [ν ἐὰν δέεσθον] ἄ[λλο] [τινὸς] πρότοιον μετὰ τὰ ἡιερά· τὸ]δ[ι] (ἐ) φσέ[φ]-  
 25 [ισμα] τόδε ἀναγράφαι τὸν γραμματέα τὸν τῆς βολ[ῆς] ἐν στ[έ]-  
 [λει λιθίνει καὶ] θέναι ἐν ἀκροπόλει· ἀπομισθῶσα]ι δὲ τὸς [π]-  
 [ολετάς· ἀποδόναι δὲ] τὸς κολακρετὰς τὸ ἀργύριον· -----<sup>7</sup>-----]  
 [-----<sup>46</sup>-----]  
 e [τιεπαῖ] -----<sup>40</sup>-----]-  
 30 ι εὐεργέτας ἐν [στέλει· ἔναι δὲ αὐτοῖς] ἡευρέσθαι ἡὸν ἂν δέ]-  
 [ονται παρὰ] 'Αθεν[αίων]· γράφσαι δὲ 'Ανδρίος (?) ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ στέ]-  
 [λει εὐεργέτας] 'Αθ[εναίων] ἐν ἀκροπόλει τὸν γραμματέα τῆς]  
 βολῆς ♂×♂

The marble from which this stele was cut is of unusual color and texture, bluish gray and slatelike, resembling Hymettian, rather than Pentelic, that breaks easily into large, flat flakes. It is most common in stelai of the last 30 years of the 5th century B.C.<sup>12</sup> The planes upon which this stone is cut are only slightly different from the natural planes of flaking; this slight difference between the natural and

<sup>12</sup> An incomplete list includes *I.G.* I<sup>2</sup>, 106 a (= II<sup>2</sup>, 48); 116; 119; 133; 147; 150; 152; II<sup>2</sup>, 60; 73; *S.E.G.* X, 112; 120; 129; 135. All, save *I.G.* I<sup>2</sup>, 116 (408/7 B.C.), lack precise dates, but surely belong in the last 30 years of the 5th century B.C.

the artificial planes is an aid to restoration, since in this particular block of stone the decay of intervening layers of softer stone produced a tendency for the stele to split into three flakes at the top (of fragment *b*), or two at the bottom. The flake that includes the obverse (inscribed) face of the stele is thickest at the top and left: fragment *b*, preserving the back of the stele, consists of three flakes whose foliation is very marked; fragment *c* consists of two flakes that split apart while in the Museum and have been cemented together. While these two fragments do not join, observation of the foliation confirms Meritt's arrangement of them; they are separated by a minimum gap of 0.022 m., fragment *b* above and to the right of *c*; in line 12 there is only one complete letter missing.<sup>13</sup>

Fragments *d* and *a* consist of a single flake, while fragment *e* comprises two flakes that have not yet split apart. Since the left side of the stele is preserved on the rearmost flake of fragment *c*, and both flakes of fragment *e*, it is possible to use a straight edge to determine the plane of foliation and thus the relative positions of these two fragments: there is a gap of *ca.* four lines between the last line of fragment *c* and the first line of fragment *e*. Fragments *d* and *a* are less easy to place, but here the tendency of the obverse flake to become thinner towards the right edge of the stele is an aid to restoration: the obverse flake of fragment *c* is 0.020 m. thick on the left, 0.018 m. thick on the right; since fragment *d* is 0.017 m. and 0.016 m. thick on the left and right respectively, it should lie somewhat to the right of *c* and *e*: the higher it is on the stele the further to the right must it be set. Since epigraphical considerations, I believe, prevent it being set level with fragment *e*, I have put it out near the right edge, its top level with the bottom of *c*; its text, a publication formula, is, in any case, best placed near the end of the decree. Unfortunately, fragment *a* cannot be treated in the same way, although it exhibits similar physical characteristics: I have been unable to devise any restoration that would allow its placing near the bottom of the stele; if it does belong in the same document, it must, therefore, be set well above fragment *b*, near the top of the stele, as, indeed, the slight difference in horizontal checker measurements suggests. Of the several possible restorations I have therefore chosen one that includes parts of a decree preamble: I assume that at the top of the stele the stone comprised four flakes, only the obverse flake being preserved on this fragment.

I believe that the stele was a large one, containing the texts of at least two decrees of related subject matter: fragment *a* would be the preamble and opening lines of the first, while fragments *b*, *c* and *d* would comprise the bulk of the second; fragment *e*, with its peculiar terminal punctuation mark, is surely a postscript or amendment to this second decree.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>13</sup> *Op. cit.* (note 2 above), p. 130.

<sup>14</sup> See S. Dow, review of B. D. Meritt, *Epigraphica Attica*, in *Class. Phil.* 37, 1942, p. 324; Dow gives the normal proportions of thickness to width to height of a stele as one to four and a

The subject of Decree I cannot be determined; that of Decree II is the importation of oars for ships, free of the one-percent harbor tax (II, 9-15), and their delivery to the trieropoioi. The two men principally concerned in this, Antiochides and Phanosthenes, are accorded various honors by the Athenian state (II, 15-27), while the postscript, or, more likely, amendment, honors two other groups of euergetai (II, 28-33).

Meritt<sup>15</sup> rightly pointed out that in the second decree the dual forms (II, 19 and 21) indicate that two men are being honored and that these are the persons whose names appear at II, 3 and 16; of these, Antiochides is otherwise unknown, but J. Kirchner long ago suggested that Phanosthenes was the Andrian of that name who came to Athens *ca.* 411 B.C. and served as an Athenian general in 407/6 B.C.<sup>16</sup> Presumably, in order to achieve election to the strategeia, Phanosthenes must have been granted Athenian citizenship at some time prior to his generalship, but, if he was mentioned in the document here discussed, at some time subsequent to the passage of Decree II, since the formulae of II, 23-24 are applicable only to foreigners.

The context of the decree could be the same set of circumstances that gave rise to *I.G. I*<sup>2</sup>, 105 (dated probably to 407/6 B.C.), a decree honoring Archelas of Macedonia for his help to the Athenians in the construction of a fleet to be used to ferry troops to Ionia; this is Meritt's suggestion,<sup>17</sup> and he points out that the verb *διακονεῖν* (II, 21) suggests that Phanosthenes was in a position of responsibility "less easily defined than that of a general."

A clue to the date of the decree may be provided by the mention (II, 9-10) of a one-percent harbor tax: such a tax existed from *ca.* 424-414 B.C., when it was presumably superseded by the general five-percent harbor tax that replaced the imposition of tribute between 414 and 410 B.C.; after 410 Meritt believes, when tribute was re-imposed, the harbor tax reverted to its pre-414 level.<sup>18</sup>

H. B. Mattingly, however, provides evidence from Aristophanes (*Frogs*, 363) that points to the probable continuance of the five-percent tax down to 405 B.C.;<sup>19</sup> he implies that the two taxes would have been mutually exclusive. Mattingly further

half to nine. The stele here discussed is 0.130 m. thick, so that its original width and height should have been *ca.* 0.585 m. and 1.170 m. The preserved height, not counting fragment *a*, is *ca.* 0.650 m. Meritt's line of 46 letters actually gives a width of *ca.* 0.620 m., including margins, only slightly greater than is allowed by Dow's formula.

<sup>15</sup> *Op. cit.* (note 2 above), p. 130.

<sup>16</sup> *Prosopographia Attica* II, Berlin, 1903, no. 14083. For his generalship and its date see Plato, *Ion*, 541 d, Xenophon, *Hellenika* I 5, 18, and W. S. Ferguson, *The Treasures of Athena*, Cambridge, Mass., 1932, p. 45, note 1. For his career see A. E. Raubitschek, *R.-E.* XIX, 2, 1938, col. 1786: 3-53.

<sup>17</sup> *Loc. cit.* (note 15 above).

<sup>18</sup> *Op. cit.* (note 2 above), pp. 131-132.

<sup>19</sup> "Periclean Imperialism," in *Ancient Society and Institutions: Studies Presented to Victor Ehrenberg on his Seventy-Fifth Birthday*, Oxford, 1966, pp. 198-200.

argues that the spelling  $\chi\rho\acute{o}\sigma\theta o[\nu]$  (II, 13) indicates a date not much later than 420 B.C.: the form  $-\acute{o}\sigma\theta o\nu$  died out and was replaced in the last 20 years of the century by the form  $-\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\theta o\nu$ . I am not sure that there is sufficient evidence to support the latter argument, but Mattingly's point about the five-percent tax is well taken: the decree should probably be placed in the middle of the decade 420-410 B.C., perhaps in the context of preparations for the Sicilian Expedition, when, moreover, the five-percent tax was not in existence: the decree mentions only the one-percent tax, presumably the only tax current at the time of its passage. The letter forms used in this document do not allow a dating more precise than the last quarter of the 5th century B.C.<sup>20</sup>

In general, I have followed Meritt and Schweigert in restoring this document, though the latter's restorations have had to be adapted to fit the longer line: Meritt's commentary on the opening lines of fragment *b*<sup>21</sup> indicates that when the stone was first dug up there was more to be read than he felt justified in printing twelve years later; my own examination of the stone revealed traces of two lines above Meritt's line 1, and traces of letters elsewhere that confirm his restorations; I shall comment on these only where I differ from Meritt.

While the surviving letters of II, 2 tempted me to restore the preamble of a decree here, the position of the alpha in line 1 rules out such a restoration; that it is an alpha I have no doubt. Consequently I think that line 2 will prove to contain some such formula as  $[\tau\acute{o}\nu \gamma]\rho[\alpha]\mu\mu\alpha[\tau\acute{\epsilon}\alpha \tau\acute{o}\nu \tau\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma \beta o\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma]$ .

In line 4 Meritt restores  $[\tau o]\iota\varsigma \text{'A}\theta\epsilon\nu\alpha\iota\acute{o}\iota\varsigma$ ; I am somewhat sceptical about this: to find the Athenians mentioned with the definite article is most unusual. In line 7 Meritt reports "a lower left vertical stroke as of K, N, Π, etc." He prints an undotted pi, however, and restores  $\pi[\alpha\acute{\iota}\delta\alpha\varsigma \alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\nu \eta\upsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho o\nu \eta\acute{o}\pi o\varsigma \grave{\alpha}\nu \eta o \delta\acute{\epsilon}\mu o\varsigma]$ . I could detect no trace at all of this letter: moreover, I am sceptical of the restoration  $\pi[\alpha\acute{\iota}\delta\alpha\varsigma \alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\nu]$  without the article.

In fragment *e* the presence of two groups of euergetai (II, 30-32) suggests a postscript or an amendment acknowledging the services of associates or compatriots of the two principal honorands: there is very little space for any name other than an ethnic in line 31,<sup>22</sup> and I have therefore restored, somewhat tentatively, the ethnic  $[\text{'A}\nu\delta\rho\acute{\iota} o\varsigma]$ ; this of course depends upon the identification of Phanosthenes as an Andrian.

In line 29 the surviving letters and letter traces raise several problems; no really satisfactory restoration comes to mind. A. Wilhelm suggested that the first two

<sup>20</sup> See M. B. Walbank, "Criteria for the Dating of Fifth-Century Attic Inscriptions," in *Φορος: Tribute to Benjamin Dean Meritt*, Locust Valley, N. Y., 1974, pp. 161-169, especially pp. 166-169.

<sup>21</sup> *Loc. cit.* (note 18 above).

<sup>22</sup> See A. Wilhelm, *Attische Urkunden V*, Vienna, 1939, pp. 85-86.

letters of line 29 might be part of a place-name in the dative, such as [ἐν Σιδῶν]|τι, and restored a praise formula in the rest of this line.<sup>23</sup> This may well be correct. I doubt, however, whether the two principal honorands would be mentioned here, both because of the absence of a dual line in line 30, which implies a group of honorands, such as a man and his sons, and because such mention of Phanosthenes and Antiochides would surely be superfluous. It might be possible to restore a grant of proxenia in this line, as I suggested in 1970,<sup>24</sup> but I suggest that the letter traces after Π could just as likely be part of a man's name.<sup>25</sup> A weakness of the text that I print now is the absence of terminal nu before epsilon of the honorand's name. The letters might also be the end of a word, such as [ho]|τι or [καθό]|τι, or even [φσεφίσμα]|τι, but I have been unable to devise any satisfactory restoration on these lines.

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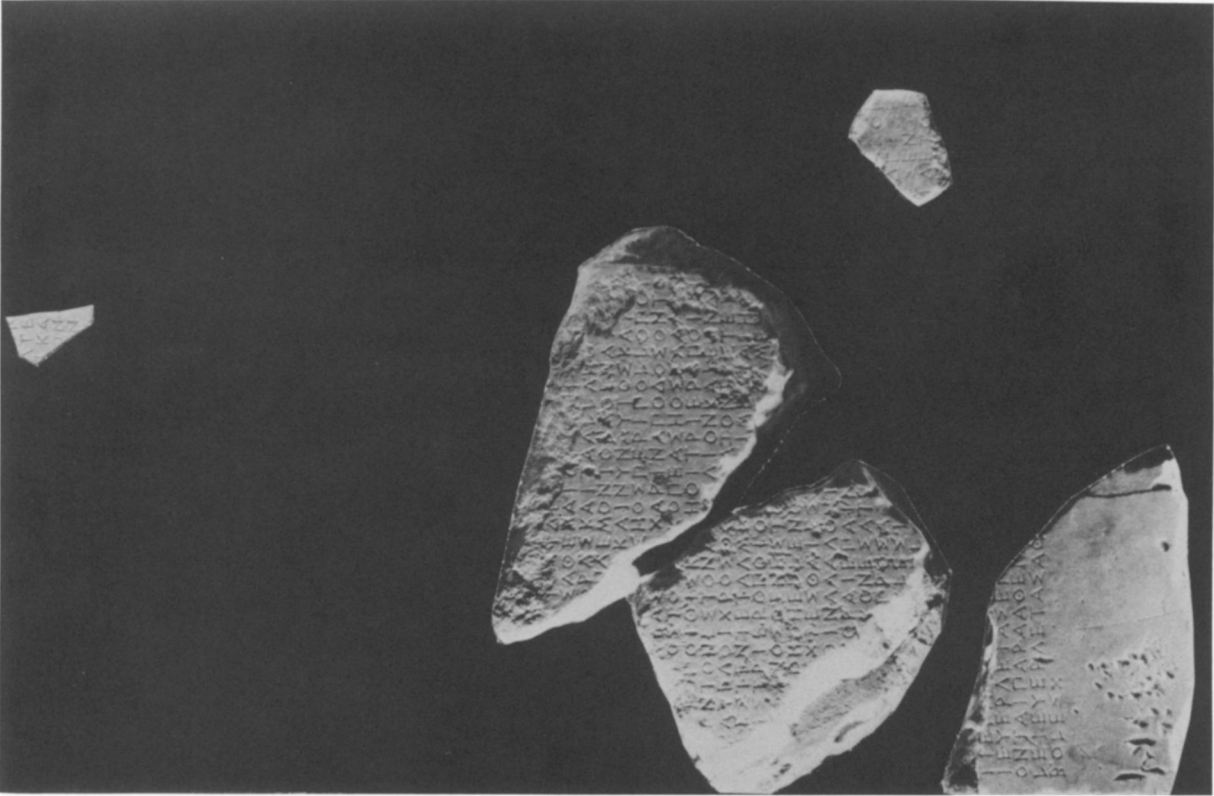
<sup>23</sup> *Loc. cit.* (note 22 above).

<sup>24</sup> *Athenian Proxenies*, p. 444. One might restore, for example, as follows: ἐπαί[νέσαι δὲ τοὺς παῖδας καὶ ἀναγράφσαι προχσένος κα]|ί. However, I do not believe that any part of this document involves a grant of proxenia. It might also be possible to restore a simple euergesia, for example: ἐπαί[νέσαι δὲ τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς Ἀντιοχίδο καὶ ἀναγράφσαι]|ί, or ἐπαί[νέσαι δὲ ----<sup>10</sup>---- καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτῶ καὶ γράφσαι]|ί κ. τ. λ.

<sup>25</sup> My tentative restoration of lines 28-29 runs as follows: [εἶπε· τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καθάπερ τῷ βολέει· λότι δὲ ἀνὲρ ἀγαθός ἐσ]|τι Ἐπαί[νέτος (?) περὶ τὸν δέμον αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς παῖδας γράφσαι]|ί κ. τ. λ.



Fragment *a*



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