

THE PHILITES STELE (*SIG*³ 284 = *IEK* 503)

(PLATES 78, 79)

IN 1893 Count Anton von Prokesch-Osten presented as a gift to the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna an inscription that he had procured on Chios thirty years earlier.¹ Immediately after his acquisition Prokesch had sent a transcript and squeeze to E. Gerhard who in turn gave them to A. Kirchhoff for analysis, with the result that the *editio princeps* of the stone's text appeared in the *Monatsberichte der Berliner Akademie*.² All the early editors felt that this stele of gray-blue marble originated from Chios and was to be dated to the period of Alexander the Great;³ the references to tyranny, oligarchy, and the establishment of the *demos* seemed to parallel events elsewhere in Ionia during the reign of the conqueror.⁴ Then Dittenberger in the second edition of his *SIG* (1898, no. 139), although concurring with a date in the 330's, proposed Erythrai as the place of origin on the basis of a note found in the 1864 issue of the *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, which briefly mentioned a report by the Greek scholar Stephanos A. Koumanoudes that the stone had been brought over from the site of that city.⁵ Since by the turn of the century linguists had come to realize that there are no traces of 4th-century Chian dialect in the two decrees inscribed on the stone, it was natural that Erythrai was accepted as the city of the tyrannicide Philites. In 1909, however, U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff rejected Erythraian origin as well as the customary date, without offering anything new.⁶ Finally A. Wilhelm made a dramatic shift in 1915 when he suggested Klazomenai as the place of origin (regardless of provenance) and the first decades of the 3rd century for the date.⁷ This view has been reiterated by the editors of *Die Inschriften von Erythrai und Klazomenai* (hereafter = *IEK*), the first publication to present a

¹ My appreciation is expressed here for the assistance provided by Dr. Kurt Gschwantler of the Kunsthistorisches Museum, who supplied the photographs of the inscription as well as its measurements.

² Dated 25 June 1863, pp. 265-268.

³ So Kirchhoff (footnote 2 above); H. Sauppe, *Commentatio de duabus inscriptionibus lesbiacis*, Göttingen 1870, pp. 30-32; E. L. Hicks, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, Oxford 1882, no. 126 = E. L. Hicks and G. H. Hill, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, Oxford 1901, no. 159; and Ch. Michel, *Recueil d'inscriptions grecques*, Paris 1900, no. 364.

⁴ Cf. the disturbances at Eresos (*IG* XII 2, 526), Ephesos (Arr., *Anab.* I. 17. 10-12), and Chios itself (Arr., II. 1. 1-5; Diod., XVII. 29. 1-4; *SIG*³, 283, a Chian inscription which, however, was not discovered until 1890—for its dating *v. Historia* 22, 1973, pp. 191-204).

⁵ Koumanoudes' report is discussed below, p. 289.

⁶ "Nordionische Steine," *Anhang zu den Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften: philosophisch-historische Klasse*, Berlin 1909, p. 26.

⁷ "Ein verschleppter Beschluss der Klazomenier?," *Neue Beiträge zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde* IV, Vienna 1915, no. 30, pp. 30-38 with Tafel II.

systematic treatment of all the inscriptions from the two Ionian cities.⁸ We have before us, therefore, a document that has attracted the attention of epigraphists for over 115 years, but about which there has been sufficient disagreement to warrant a definitive study. My purpose here is to show that the evidence conclusively points to Erythrai for both provenance and origin and that epigraphical considerations suggest a modification of Wilhelm's date.

Non-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

- Ἦδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ· Ζωίλος Χιά-
 δου εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ οἱ ἐν τῇ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ τῆς εἰ-
 κόνος τῆς Φιλίτου τοῦ ἀποκτείναντος
 τὸν τύραννον τοῦ ἀνδριάντος ἐξείλον
- 5 τὸ ξίφος, νομίζοντες καθόλου τὴν στάσιν
 καθ' αὐτῶν εἶναι· ὅπως ἂν ὁ δῆμος φαίνηται
 πολλὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιούμενος καὶ μνημο-
 νεύων αἰὲ τῶν εὐεργετῶν καὶ ζώντων
 καὶ τετελευτηκότων, ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ δεδόχθαι
- 10 τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ· τοὺς ἐξεταστὰς το[ῦ]-
 ς ἐνεστηκότ[α]ς ἐγδοῦναι τὸ ἔργον διαστολὴν
 ποιησαμένους μετὰ τοῦ ἀρχιτέκτονος, καθότι
 συντελεσθήσεται ὡς πρότερον εἶχεν· ὑπηρετε[ῖ]-
 ν δὲ αὐτοῖς τὸν κατὰ μῆνα ταμίαν· ὅπως δὲ καθαρὸς
- 15 ἱοῦ ἔσται ὁ ἀνδριάς καὶ στεφανωθήσεται αἰὲ ταῖς
 νομηνίαις καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐορταῖς, ἐπιμελεῖσθαι
 τοὺς ἀγορανόμους.
- Ἦδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ· Ζωίλος Χιάδου
 εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῷ πρότερον ψηφίσματι προσε-
- 20 τάχθη τῷ ἀγορανόμῳ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῆς εἰκόνος
 τοῦ ἀνδριάντος τοῦ Φιλίτου, ὅπως στεφανω-
 θήσεται τε καὶ λαμπρὸς ἔσται, ὁ δὲ ἀγορανόμος
 φησὶν εἰς ταῦτα πόρον δεῖσθαι, ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ
 δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ· τὸ μὲν καθ' ἑ-
- 25 τος εἰς ταῦτα διδόναι τὸ ἀνάλωμα τοὺς
 [κα]τὰ μῆνα ταμίας, ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δὲ τὸν
 [ἀγορα]νόμον, εἰς δὲ τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον οἱ ἀ[γ]-

⁸ H. Engelmann and R. Merkelbach, *Die Inschriften von Erythrai und Klazomenai*, Bonn 1973, no. 503 with a bibliography to which may be added H. Friedel, *Der Tyrannenmord in Gesetzgebung und Volksmeinung der Griechen*, Stuttgart 1937, pp. 81-82; M. N. Tod, *Greek Historical Inscriptions* II, Oxford 1948, p. 263; J. and L. Robert, *REG* 71, 1958, pp. 294-295; H. Berve, *Die Tyrannis bei den Griechen*, Munich 1967, pp. 422 and 719. The inscription is still commonly attributed to the time of Alexander the Great, e. g., E. Badian in *Ancient Society and Institutions*, Oxford 1966, p. 62, note 19; and J. R. Ellis, *Philip II and Macedonian Imperialism*, London 1976, p. 222.

[ορανόμο]ι πωλοῦντες τὰς ὠνὰς προστι[θέ]-
 [τωσαν τήν πο]ίη[σιν] τῶν στεφά[νων -----]
 30 [-----]τε[-----]

TRANSLATION

It was resolved by the council and the people. Zoilos the son of Chiades proposed: since the members of the oligarchy took away the sword from the statue, which was a portrait of Philites the tyrannicide, thinking that the erection of the statue was a protest against themselves, and in order that it be apparent that the people takes great care and remembers forever its benefactors, both living and dead, with good fortune it was resolved by the council and the people: the current *exetastai* are to invite bids for the work, having made specification with the municipal architect whereby it shall be completed as it was previously; and the monthly treasurer is to assist these officials. The clerks of the market are to take care that the statue will be free of verdigris and will be crowned always at the festivals of the first of the month and at the other festivals.

It was resolved by the council and the people. Zoilos the son of Chiades proposed: since in the previous decree it was assigned to the clerk of the market to take care of the portrait, namely the statue of Philites, so that it will be crowned and will be shining, but the clerk of the market reports that funds are needed for this, with good fortune it was resolved by the council and the people: for this year the monthly treasurers are to provide the expenses for this project, and the clerk of the market is to take care of it, but in the future the clerks of the market selling the contracts (are to add the making) of the crowns

There can be no doubt that these two decrees were enacted within a short time of one another, perhaps even on the same day; that both were carved by the same mason seems evident from the identical script. The dialect is *koine* throughout. The stele is catalogued today as III 784 in the *Antikensammlung* of the Kunsthistorisches Museum; the measurements are height 0.41 m., width 0.36 m., thickness 0.16 m., and the height of the letters varies from 0.007 to 0.011 m. (*theta*, *omicron*, and *omega* are cut smaller than the rest). The number of letters for each line differs considerably, with 29 for line 8 and 42 for line 16. The lettering is undistinguished and, in spite of the non-stoichedon arrangement, the principle of syllabic division was not employed (cf. lines 10-11, 13-14, and 24-25). The free ends of most letters, especially epsilon and sigma, reveal deeply cut serifs. Only the bottom portion of the stone is lacking (cf. Pl. 78). I give next a few notations by way of supplement or correction to the commentary in *IEK*.

Lines 1 and 18: The nominative form is surely *Χιάδης* by comparison with a *Χιάδης Δία Φωκαεύς*, who appears amongst the victor lists of the Asklepieia at Kos, and with *Τηιάδης* (at Klazomenai) and *Σαμιάδης* (at Miletos); for these names see L. Robert, *Noms indigènes dans l'Asie-Mineure gréco-romaine*, Paris 1963, p. 224,

note 3. Also an Iasian named Σαμιάδης appears in a list of mercenaries at Athens in the 3rd century B.C. (*IG* II², 1956, lines 145-146). The name Chiades is rare but probably points to someone from a Chian family.

Lines 3 and 21: The name Φιλίτου is clearly cut on the stele in both places, not Φιδίτου as Kirchhoff thought possible from Prokesch's squeeze. The nominative form is either Φιλίτης or Φιλίτας (also Φιλιτᾶς), and I have chosen the first alternative on the basis of the numismatic argument advanced below; the form Φίλιτος, often printed for our inscription, is not yet securely attested. (For the spellings cf. W. Crönert, *Hermes* 37, 1902, pp. 217-219, and Dittenberger, *SIG*², 139, note 1). The generic term εἰκὼν (an image of any kind such as a "bust" or "portrait") is distinct from ἀνδριάς ("statue"), both being used here in an interesting manner, which is seen occasionally in other instances (cf. Lucian, *Cataplus* 11, and an Iasian inscription published by E. L. Hicks, *JHS* 9, 1888, pp. 338-340).

Lines 5-6: The editors of *IEK* translate the clause νομίζοντες καθόλου τὴν στάσιν καθ' αὐτῶν εἶναι "... in der Erwartung, dass Zwistigkeiten jedenfalls zu ihrem Vorteil sein würden . . .," taking στάσις in the sense of internal strife. Assuming the presence of a tyrannical faction, they feel that the oligarchs disfigured the statue in order that the resulting turmoil would set the democratic faction against the adherents of tyranny, the one wishing to erect the statue again and the other to stop such action, so that in this way the oligarchs would assure their own supremacy (comm. *ad loc.*). Preferable is Kirchhoff's version, "weil sie der Meinung waren, dass die Errichtung der Statue auf sie im Allgemeinen gemünzt sei," not only because κατά with the genitive often has a pejorative connotation (cf. C. B. Welles, *Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period*, New Haven 1934, no. 74, line 9, and also a relevant passage from Polybios, VI.9.1), but also because it is common to find in many honorary inscriptions the formula στήσαι τὴν εἰκόνα χαλκῇ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ (as in *IEK*, nos. 8 and 119). Very convincing is the parallel found in *IG* VII, 411, lines 33-34: ἀν[α]|γορεύσαι δὲ τὴν τῆς εἰκόνης στάσιν, κτλ. Both Hicks and Wilhelm followed Kirchhoff's sense of the text.

Since the chronology of these events at Erythrai has been compressed in this first decree, and inasmuch as evidence for the period during which they took place is minimal (see below), much is unclear, but it seems that the unnamed tyrant, emerging from among the local oligarchic party, overthrew the *demos* and established his own despotism only to be cut down by Philites. The *demos*, resuming its authority, in gratitude erected a statue of the tyrannicide, but at some time the *demos* was overthrown, and the sword removed from the statue, by the oligarchs. In another political upheaval, however, in which Zoilos may have played a prominent role, the *demos* ultimately reasserted its power and had the statue restored. If, as is argued below, these two decrees represent a commemorative text, it will be impossible to determine accurately the length of time between each of these periods of rule.

Lines 11-12: The expression διαστολήν ποιησάμενος (Kirchhoff: "nach genauer

Festsetzung aller Einzelheiten”) is used by Polybios a number of times with the sense of “detailed explanation” (I.15.6; II.40.5; III.7.4, 87.9; XVI.14.2, 28.4; XXI.2.5).

Line 14: The *IEK* text wrongly shows nu at the end of line 13, whereas on the stone it is the first letter of 14.

Line 15: As the statue was made of bronze (cf. *λαμπρός* in line 22), the decree regulates that its surface is to be kept clear of patina. It is obvious that the statue had been neglected, evidently during the rule of the oligarchs, but uncertain whether it had actually been overturned in the disturbances.

Line 17: The deep marking after the final letters of the first decree is apparently a *rasura*, nearly horizontal to the inscribed lines, indicating that the mason first began to cut the opening of the second decree here but then corrected himself. Some of the lettering of the last word in this line appears to have been obliterated in the process.

Lines 24–25: According to Wilhelm (*Sitz. Wien* 142, 1900, IV, p. 6) the phrase *καθ’ ἔτος* means “for this year”, not “annually”, an interpretation supported by the deliberate contrast with *εἰς δὲ τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον* at line 27.

Lines 27–29: Wilhelm correctly perceived the top angle of an alpha at the end of line 27 as well as the upper hasta of an iota before *πωλοῦντες* in the next line, and accordingly restored ἀ|[γορανόμο]ι. But Koumanoudes had already suggested placing the gamma of the word at the end of 27 (which I have done) because the beginning of 28 lacks sufficient space for 9 letters before *πωλοῦντες* and there is room for another letter at the end of 27 (making a total of 34 letters for that line). The *τι* at the end of 28 was read on Prokesch’s squeeze but is no longer visible on the stone. Line 29 shows traces of what appear to be an iota followed by an eta, both of which may be dotted. The restoration *προστι[θέντων]* is that of Koumanoudes, not Wilhelm’s or Dittenberger’s.

The basic questions to be answered are, which city engraved this stele and at what date? Any generalizations about historical context must be based on these prior considerations.

One of the major reasons advanced by Wilhelm for preferring Klazomenai over Erythrai as the city of origin is the fact that the coins of Klazomenai carry the names of Zoilos and (presumably) Chiades. The latter name he supplied in the legend of a single bronze that reads XIA and that he thought representative of a 4th-century Klazomenian series,⁹ while the former name appears on some bronze specimens of about the same time.¹⁰ Wilhelm felt that the script of the Philites stele itself was

⁹ Wilhelm cited (*op. cit.* [footnote 7 above], p. 32) E. Babelon, *Inventaire sommaire de la collection Waddington*, Paris 1898, p. 434, no. 7118. This coin is now in the Cabinet des Médailles at Paris; it was illustrated by Babelon in his *Traité des monnaies grecques et romaines*, Paris 1890–1933, II, p. 2030, pl. CLVI, no. 12.

¹⁰ Mentioned by Wilhelm, *loc. cit.* (footnote 7 above), but without any bibliographical citation; see below, footnote 14.

datable to the first part of the 3rd century, and, assuming a connection between the coin legends and the inscription, suggested that “*Der Χιάδης der Münze kann sehr wohl der Vater des Ζωίλος Χιάδου der nun in Wien aufbewahrten Beschlüsse sein . . .*”¹¹ The name ΖΩΙΑΟΣ is quite common in Greek nomenclature and appears on coins of about this period from several near-by states (e. g., Priene, Ephesos, Kyme, and Kos).¹² It is not known to occur on the coins of Erythrai dated to the late 4th or 3rd century, although it appears on inscriptions from the city,¹³ but at Klazomenai there were indeed two separate bronze issues dating to the mid-4th century of which some specimens carry the name Zoilos.¹⁴ It is, however, the issue with the legend XIA that is critical. In addition to Wilhelm’s single specimen, two others are now known.¹⁵ The poor style of this issue, which seems to stop at the end of the 4th century, is reflected in the abbreviated letters of the magistrate’s name; the coins do not carry the ethnic ΚΑΑ, but this does not seem numismatically significant as it is a feature common to other Klazomenian bronzes from this period. Any attempt to identify the XIA on the coins with the father of the Zoilos on the inscription is opposed, not only by the uncertainty of the full name of the magistrate, but also by the presence of the name ΦΙΛΙΤΗΣ on some Erythraian bronzes. Wilhelm dismissed the “Philites” on an Erythraian coin that he cited,¹⁶ but since his time twelve other specimens from this *polis* have appeared bearing this name and dating to the mid-4th century.¹⁷ Since the Philites stele is best interpreted as a commemorative stone, erected

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² R. Münsterberg, *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, N. F. 5, 1912, pp. 76, 85, 101, and 123. Cf. *A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum*, London 1873-1927: XIV, *Ionian*, p. 229; XVII, *Troas, Aeolis and Lesbos*, pp. 112-113; XVIII, *Caria and Islands*, p. 198; also B. V. Head, *Historia Nummorum*, 2nd ed., Oxford 1911, p. 568.

¹³ The name Zoilos appears on *IEK*, nos. 22, 201, 210, 210a, and 379, and of these the editors have dated no. 22 to the end of the 4th century, no. 201 between 300 and 260, and no. 210a to the end of the 4th or beginning of the 3rd century, but there is no evidence that any of these individuals can be identified with or related to Zoilos the son of Chiades. The name Zoilos is not attested for any Klazomenian inscription, nor has the name Philites appeared on any coin or stele from that city (cf. footnote 17 below).

¹⁴ James A. Dengage, “The Coinage of Klazomenai,” unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1967, p. 75. Dengage dates the series to the decade 370-360, and Philip Kinns of Gonville & Caius College, Cambridge informs me by letter that, on the basis of his study of Ionian mints, he agrees in general with a mid-4th-century date (although preferring one starting earlier than Dengage’s).

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 78. Dengage dates the series to 340-302 on the supposition that Klazomenai ceased minting at the end of the 4th century, then resumed its coinage much later. It is doubtful whether the operations of the Diadochoi at the end of the 4th century provide us with a secure terminus for postulating the temporary cessation of coinage at Klazomenai, but the matter awaits further investigation.

¹⁶ Wilhelm’s citation, *loc. cit.* (footnote 7 above) is from Prokesch’s *Inedita meiner Sammlung Autonomer Altgriechischer Münzen. Denkschriften der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften Wien*, Vienna 1854, p. 285, also cited by Münsterberg, *op. cit.* (footnote 12 above), p. 91.

¹⁷ In this and other numismatic particulars I am much indebted to Philip Kinns (footnote 14 above), who has supplied me with the following details concerning the location of these coins:

some years after the events it enumerates, the identification of its individuals with the coin magistrates is uncertain, if not impossible, while the lettering on the stone (predominantly the latter half of the 3rd century) indicates a date too far removed from the coins to suggest a convincing connection. But the Erythraian issue does reveal the use of the name Philites with this spelling, for which reason it is to be preferred over the usual Philitos for the tyrannicide. At the very least the numismatic evidence suggests the plausibility of attributing an inscription bearing the name Philites to Erythrai.

The most important indication is the presence of certain magistrates and officials on the stone. Wilhelm, recognizing this, compared the cooperation between the *ex-etastai* and the *tamiai* of the Philites stele with a similar collaboration among the same officers recorded on an inscription recovered from Magnesia-on-the-Maiandros. This document, dated to *ca.* 206, contains a decree passed by an unknown city that praises Magnesia for holding its crowned games and awards *xenia* privileges to three Magnesian envoys.¹⁸ The relevant lines (68-73) record:

. . . τῆς δὲ ἀποστολῆς
τῶν ξενίων ἐπιμεληθῆναι τοὺς στρατηγούς
καὶ τοὺς πολεμάρχας καὶ τὸν ταμίαν, τὸ δὲ ἀνά-
λωμα δοῦναι τὸν ταμίαν ἐκ τῆς διοικήσεως, τὸ
δὲ ψήφ[ισ]μα ἀναγραφάτωσαν οἱ ἐξετασταί. Θεωρο-
δόκο[ς] ἡμ[ε]ρέ[θ]η Ἑρμῆσιλόχος Ἑρμῆσιλόχου.

The next line has the rubric Ὁμοίως δ[έ] ἀπεδ]έξαντο followed by two columns listing those cities that subscribed to recognizing the crowned games of Magnesia: Old Kolophon, Kolophon-by-the-Sea, Ephesos, Priene, Samos, Teos, Chios, Erythrai, Phokaia, Ptolemais (= Lebedos), and Smyrna. Assuming that the list excluded those not members of the Panionian League, the editor noted that the remaining Ionian cities missing were Miletos and Klazomenai (perhaps Myous also is a candidate¹⁹); the

Oxford (Spink, 23/8/1927, *ex* Rogers collection); Oxford (Balliol College collection); Vienna (Kunsthistorisches Museum, no. 35081); *SNG*, Cop., no. 606; Delepierre 44 (a coin acquired by the Cabinet des Médailles in 1968); two specimens are at Athens (5302a, and 1891/2 KZ 154), while another is in the collection of Mrs. Evelpides-Argyropoulos in the same city; three are in Berlin, and one presently is in the stock of Bank-leu AG at Zurich. Kinns has confirmed that all the Erythraian coins bearing this name are specimens of the same issue, which he dates to the period *ca.* 370-360. The name ΦΙΛΙΤΗΣ is also found on Ephesian silver tetradrachms of the mid-4th century (*v.* Münsterberg, *op. cit.* [footnote 12 above], p. 87), while the form ΦΙΛΙΤΗΣ occurs on coins from Chios and Samos that also date to the 4th century (*v.* Münsterberg, *op. cit.* [footnote 12 above], pp. 110 and 111 respectively) and on a few Hellenistic Samian inscriptions (*v.* Chr. Habicht, "Samische Volksbeschlüsse der hellenistischen Zeit," *Ath. Mitt.* 72, 1957, p. 182).

¹⁸ O. Kern, *Inscripfen von Magnesia am Maeander*, Berlin 1900, no. 53 = *IEK*, no. 507.

¹⁹ Myous, although very small, had been an independent state for many centuries. Precisely when it ceased to exist is a thorny question due to its mention in obscure literary and epigraphical passages. A substantial portion of its territory was annexed by Miletos in 228 and ultimately it was

broken bottom edge of the inscription has traces of lost letters for both columns, but of course the name of the state responsible for the decree could not appear there. Since the formulaic expressions apparently are not Milesian and inasmuch as the name "Hermesilochos" is read on bronze issues from Klazomenai,²⁰ Kern assigned the decree a Klazomenian origin. This is correct (as Wilhelm and the *IEK* editors also recognized), for the *exetastai* are not attested for Miletos, but he then used the reference to the officials on the inscription as evidence in support of the same Klazomenian origin for the Philites stele. Against this argument, however, it should be observed that lines 30-31 of the Magnesian inscription state . . . τῆς δὲ ἀναγγελίας | [τ]ῶν στεφάνων ἐπιμεληθῆναι τὸν ἀγωνοθέτην. There is no reference here or elsewhere on the stone to an *agoranomos*, nor should we expect it since there is not a single published inscription from Klazomenai that mentions the *agoranomos*. At Erythrai on the other hand this minor clerk appears so often on stone that the *IEK* editors have captioned one section "*Agoranomen*" (nos. 101-107), and there are additional instances of this official's activity (nos. 15, 27, 28, 64, 66, and 228). Furthermore the *exetastai* functioned as a major board of financial officers in the same city, often sponsoring decrees along with the *strategoi* and the *prytaneis*; they appear in twelve inscriptions (nos. 1, 12, 21, 29, 31, 34-36, 76, 111, 114, and 201) spanning several centuries.²¹ The office of *tamias* is also represented at Erythrai in a Hellenistic document (no. 115) whose text also seems to mention the *exetastai*; this is hardly surprising since *tamiai* are found in nearly every ancient Greek city.²² One could cite other localities that employed these magistracies,²³ but Erythrai is the very city where both *exetastai* and

incorporated within the larger city. When Polybios (XVI.24.9) says that Philip V in 201 presented the town as a gift to Magnesia, it is unclear whether this means that the king deprived Miletos of part of its lands or gave away what was left of Myous. Since new epigraphical evidence suggests that Myous' close affiliation with Miletos at the end of the 3rd century did not limit its ability to honor benefactors, it is possible that Myous *ca.* 206 still possessed sufficient independence to participate in the agreement recorded on the Magnesian stele. For the latest discussion of Myous see P. Herrmann, "Neue Urkunden zur Geschichte von Milet im 2. Jahrhundert v. Chr.," *IstMitt* 15, 1965, pp. 90-103, especially pp. 92-96. Cf. also D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* II, Princeton 1950, pp. 883-884; and G. E. Bean, *Aegean Turkey*, New York 1966, pp. 244-246.

²⁰ V. Münsterberg, *op. cit.* (footnote 12 above), p. 81. The full catalogue of these Klazomenian bronzes is given by Dengate, *op. cit.* (footnote 14 above), who dates one specimen to 370-360 (p. 70) and the others to the period 188-133 (pp. 101 and 104-105).

²¹ H. Gaebler, *Erythrä*, Berlin 1892, pp. 119-120 erred in allotting only a minor roll to the *exetastai*. In this respect the *IEK* publication bears out Wilhelm's definition of them as "*hervorragendsten Behörden*." For the *exetastai* see Szanto, *RE* VI, col. 1680, and for the *agoranomoi*, Oehler, *RE* I, col. 883.

²² Gaebler, *loc. cit.*, had incorrectly denied the presence of *tamiai* at the city.

²³ With respect to Asia Minor and the offshore islands, in addition to Erythrai and Klazomenai, the *exetastai* are found at Chios, Parion, Samos, Halikarnassos, Methymna, Mytilene, Eresos, Nesos, Phokaia, and Smyrna, while the *agoranomos* is attested for Ephesos, Parion, Kyzikos, Assos, Astypalaia, Miletos, Samos, Priene, and Magnesia-on-the-Maiandros. Some states (Miletos, Ephesos, Priene, and Magnesia) are excluded from identification because they had no board of *exetastai*, while the presence of both officials at Parion is explained by the fact that Erythrai participated in the founding of that town; Parion is too far distant to be considered seriously as a

agoranomoi performed tasks important enough to be cut regularly on stone.²⁴

Wilhelm was partly influenced by the opinion of Wilamowitz, who in rejecting the date of the 330's for our stele also threw out the possibility of its Erythraian origin. Wilamowitz objected to Koumanoudes' statement with the retort that his informants had not been credible; he also maintained that the tenor of the two decrees deviated from that employed on inscriptions of certain Erythraian content.²⁵ Such arbitrary dismissal of Koumanoudes' testimony is not justified because the Greek scholar makes evident the care with which George Sourias, the former head of the Gymnasium at Ermoupolis who was teaching at Chios in 1863, obtained impressions of the two decrees and information about where they came from.²⁶ Koumanoudes quotes a passage from Sourias' letter to him (dated 9 May 1863) that states, "The inscription was first excavated by some Italian, who was trading in archaeological objects, from the ruins of the ancient Ionian city of Erythrai (now Lythro) which is opposite Chios, and was sent to Chios in order to be forwarded to the Austrian embassy in Constantinople."²⁷ The Italian cannot be identified but the reference to the Austrian embassy explains how Prokesch was able eventually to send the stele to Vienna.²⁸ With respect to the matter of linguistic style, presumably Wilamowitz

candidate for the Philites stele and the same applies to most other towns. For bibliographical references concerning these towns and their magistrates, see Magie, *op. cit.* (footnote 19 above), pp. 841-851.

²⁴ It may be observed that the phrase ἐγδοῦναι τὸ ἔργον from line 11 of our stele is paralleled in two inscriptions from Erythrai: the first (*IEK*, no. 117, line 21), a decree dated to *ca.* 200 in which Antiocheia-on-the-Maiandros honors judges from the city, refers to [τῇ]ν δὲ ἐγδοσιν τῆς στήλης, while the second (no. 119, lines 5-6), an honorary decree of *ca.* 280, commands that . . . ἐλέσθαι δὲ τὸν δῆμον ἐπιστάτας | ἐπὶ τὴν ἐγδοσιν τῆς εἰκόνος ἀνδρας δύο. These parallels, of course, do not constitute independent criteria.

²⁵ *Loc. cit.* (footnote 6 above).

²⁶ Koumanoudes' account, summarized in one line in *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 22, 1864, p. 147, note 3c and first noticed by Dittenberger, was published in an obscure newspaper-journal from Zakynthos, Ἡ 10ῃ Ὀκτωβρίου, 20 July, 1863, only a few weeks after that of Gerhard's. This newspaper was published in 48 issues, of which the article by Koumanoudes appeared in No. 30. The Greek scholar provided a text with commentary indicating that he had intended to publish the inscription in Athens two months before when he received the copy from Sourias, but being unable to do the work immediately, gave his article to the press at Zakynthos later. In such a curious way did the contents of an inscription whose provenance was Chios appear on the other side of Greece.

²⁷ *Ibid.* (no pagination is given): Τὸ τμήμα τοῦτο ἐξωρύχθη νῦν πρῶτον ὑπὸ τινος Ἰταλοῦ, ἀρχαιολογικὰ ἀντικείμενα ἐμπορευομένου, ἐκ τῶν ἐρειπίων τῆς ἀντικρὺ τῆς Χίου ἀρχαίας Ἰωνικῆς πόλεως Ἐρυθρῶν (Λυθρό), καὶ ἐστάλη εἰς Χίον, ἵνα μετακομισθῇ εἰς τὴν ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει αὐστριακὴν πρεσβείαν.

²⁸ Wilhelm, observing that the Philites stele was of the same gray-blue color as are many of the inscriptions recovered from Erythrai, in contrast with the customary yellowish or gray texture found at Klazomenai, felt that the absence of gray-blue marbles from Klazomenai should not be an argument against that city's origin (*op. cit.* [footnote 7 above], pp. 34-35). Despite the fact that mistakes can occur in designating a stele "gray" or "gray-blue," nevertheless, since the color of our stele corresponds to that of attested Erythraian inscriptions (as the remarks and photographs of *IEK* make apparent), economy of argument is obtained by inferring the logical conclusion. The same gray-blue composition is seen in many stelai from Chios (as I learned from a visit to the museum there in 1976), a fact that taken with the provenance of the Philites stele explains why earlier editors immediately proposed Chian origin.

expected the usual prescript Ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ πρυτάνεων, στρατηγῶν, ἑξεταστῶν γνώμη (as in *IEK*, nos. 21, 29, 31, 34-36, and 114), but if, as seems likely, we are dealing with a commemorative text, the perfunctory prescript can be explained as an anomaly resulting from the re-engraving of the decrees many years after the events that they record.²⁹ If these were the original decrees, one might expect to see a fuller text outlining in some detail the vicissitudes that attended the intermittent conflicts at Erythrai. Instead the syncopated text provides only a summary of the parties involved and the order of events, which suggests that at a date later than these political changes the Erythraian *demos* saw fit to place a commemorative stele. With this in mind I proceed next to the dating of the script of the Philites stele by comparison with that of other attested inscriptions from Erythrai, as well as to commenting on the events echoed in its two decrees.

In addition to its deep serifs the Philites stele shows the following: nu has its right hasta consistently extending above the top of its left counterpart; the middle bar of alpha is not broken, nor is there any sloping in the diagonals of lambda; the upper branches of upsilon are not curved for the most part; the right vertical of pi measures half the length of the left; mu, with both branching and parallel hastae, exhibits an uneven pattern, and sigma reflects a similar variation; the upper loop of beta is slightly larger than its lower counterpart; the oval of phi is flattened; and xi lacks the intersecting vertical, although the chronological significance of this feature is unclear (cf. Pl. 79).³⁰ These characteristics contrast strikingly with epigraphical elements usually dated to the end of the 4th or the beginning of the 3rd century (and which are exemplified in the corpus for Erythrai by the photographs accompanying nos. 22-24, 27, 28, 34, 160, and 201); as a rule these inscriptions lack pronounced serifs, the horizontal bar of pi is not elongated nor is its right vertical an extended stroke, the branching form of mu predominates, while the size of theta, omicron, and omega generally is smaller than that of the other letters. The Philites stele clearly must come sometime after these, i. e., the *terminus post quem* will be the first decades of the 3rd century. On the other hand the letter-forms of our inscription have little in common

²⁹ Not every Erythraian public decree includes the phrase πρυτάνεων, στρατηγῶν, ἑξεταστῶν γνώμη in its prescript. *IEK*, no. 6 (dated to 394 by the editors) has for its prescript simply [ἔδοξεν] τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ [δήμῳ ·]; no. 24 (dated 277/275) shows ἐφ' ἱεροποιοῦ Ἀπατουρίου, μηνὸς Ἀρτεμισιώνος, ἔδοξεν τῷ δήμῳ followed by the name of the proposer; no. 27 (dated also to the period ca. 274 by the editors) gives [ἔδ]οξεν τῇ βο[υλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ ·], then the name of the proposer and the text, precisely the same with the decrees on the Philites stele. The editors have dated no. 21 to 334-332, nos. 29 and 31 to the period ca. 270-260, no. 34 to the end of the 4th or the beginning of the 3rd century, nos. 35 and 36 to the middle of the 3rd century, and no. 114 simply to the 3rd century; there are no others with unrestored prescripts. The difficulty is that, since there are relatively few surviving inscribed public decrees from the 3rd century (especially the latter half), and the dating of all of them is problematic, it is impossible to determine at what time a particular style of prescript would be considered so normative as to exclude others.

³⁰ For observations on changes in epigraphical script, v. C. B. Welles, *Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period*, New Haven 1934, pp. li-liii. My remarks on late 4th-century lettering are based partially on examination of a number of inscriptions on Lesbos, Chios, and Samos, the most important of which will appear in *Alexander the Great and the Greeks: The Epigraphical Evidence* (forthcoming, University of Oklahoma Press).

with nos. 42 ("2. Jahrh. v. Chr."), 46 ("Hellenistisch"), 48 ("ca. 132 v. Chr."), 81 ("Etwa 100 v. Chr. oder später"), 103 ("1. Jahrh. v. Chr."), and 207 ("Erste Hälfte des 2. Jahrh. v. Chr."); these exhibit the predilection for curved strokes (as with lambda), broken cross bars (as with alpha), and elongated bars (as with pi) seen on so many late Hellenistic stones. On the whole the lettering on the Philites stele conforms well with the engraving on nos. 117 ("Um 200 v. Chr. oder wenig später") and 160 ("Um 270-260 v. Chr.").³¹ It would be foolish to attempt narrowing the chronological limits of our inscription on the basis of others that are not themselves securely dated, but despite this handicap two criteria emerge from the data. First, the absence of any remnants of the older Ionic orthography (*o* and *e* for *ou* and *ei*, or *ao* and *eo* for *au* and *eu* respectively), in addition to the presence of deeply incised apices, indicate a *terminus ante quem non* of about the beginning of the 3rd century. Secondly, the stone cannot be dated much later than about the end of the 3rd century because generally by that time the curved and broken strokes referred to above predominate.³² On the basis of epigraphical criteria the inscribing of our stele may be placed somewhere between *ca.* 275 and 200.

But to what events do these two inscribed decrees relate? Unfortunately, there is very little to guide us, for on the one hand the time of the engraving of the Philites stele has no necessary bearing on the substance of its text, and on the other hand the history of Erythrai before *ca.* 200 is obtained from uncertain literary allusions and other fragmentary stelai. Since there is no fixed date that immediately offers a convincing historical context,³³ and since nothing on the stone suggests a 6th-century date

³¹ I do not cite here epitaphs, minor name-lists, and similar stelai, which generally are dated with reference to the public decrees.

³² Two other minor considerations may provide a general chronological limitation. Lines 11 (ἐγδοῦναι), 14 (τὸν κατὰ), and 27 (τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον) of the Philites stele exemplify consonant assimilation before palatal mutes. This is a common epigraphical feature in all dialects, but during the Hellenistic period the practice gradually weakened so that its appearance was sporadic after the end of the 3rd century; we should not expect such consistency in decrees from Ionia much past this date (cf. Welles, *op. cit.* [footnote 30 above], pp. lxii-lxiii). Although consonant assimilation points to a period when local usage was still strong, the use of the *spiritus asper* in the uncompounded form καθ' ἑτος at lines 24-25 probably indicates *koine* influence at work. Except in compounds, East Ionia early lost the *asper*, unlike the Kyklades and West Ionic, so that its appearance on our inscription perhaps represents a linguistic change near the end of the 4th or beginning of the 3rd century, that is, the time when *koine* was penetrating Ionia and uprooting the older forms. In Hellenistic inscriptions the *asper* occasionally occurs in East Ionic cities even where Attic, the parent stock of the *koine*, had employed the *lenis* (as with *etos* here). Cf. C. D. Buck, *The Greek Dialects*, Chicago 1955, nos. 58c and 126; also H. W. Smyth, *The Sounds and Inflections of the Greek Dialects*, I, *Ionic*, Oxford 1894, pp. 322-327 and 333 (breathings in East Ionic).

³³ An Erythraian decree honoring the city's generals shows that the town enjoyed *demokratia* and *eleutheria* (IEK, no. 29, "Um 270-260"), but neither its date nor its relationship to another important undated inscription of about the same time, in which "King Antiochos" promises to maintain the autonomy of the Erythraian *demos* (IEK, no. 31 = Welles, *op. cit.* [footnote 30 above], no. 15), is known with assurance. It is true that there are no extant 3rd-century stelai that reveal the presence of either an oligarchy or a tyranny, but the major difficulty is that no single inscription from Erythrai can be precisely dated for the 3rd century, and under any circumstances the number of decrees is small. (For a recent discussion of the dating of these 3rd-century Erythraian inscrip-

or an episode in Erythrai's relationship to the Athenian empire,³⁴ it is reasonable to look for an appropriate historical moment not too far removed in time from the inscribing of our text.

Any direct relationship between Alexander the Great and the changes in government mentioned on our inscription seems unlikely. Pliny does relate how the conqueror had given orders, never carried out, to cut a canal through the neck of the Erythraian Chersonesos so as to make an island of Erythrai and Mount Mimas.³⁵ This statement alone, although showing the interest of the king in its territory, does not permit one to make any deduction about how Alexander may have regulated the city's affairs. But the letter written by "King Antiochos" to the Erythraians sometime during the first half of the 3rd century shows that under the conqueror Erythrai was "autonomous and tax-free,"³⁶ and this clause is remarkably similar to the orders Alexander sent to Priene and Kolophon,³⁷ suggesting that the king had some correspondence with Erythrai concerning its status and territory. Alexander also in 334 had ordered democracies to be established among the Ionian towns,³⁸ but if the changes mirrored on the Philites stele reflect Alexander's attempt to support a democratic regime at Erythrai, the two decrees would likely contain some reference to this fact, as do similar stelai erected at Chios and Eresos.³⁹ The period of the 330's can probably be excluded.

It is probably better to take the two decrees with reference to an unstable political condition that occurred after a major clash among the Hellenistic powers. The *IEK* editors, not interpreting the Philites stele as a commemorative text, date it to after Koroupedion (281), when Lysimachos fell in battle and Antiochos I quarreled with Ptolemy II over the spoils. But another equally feasible context, one for which literary allusions provide a hint, centers around Ipsos (301). After the death of Alexander the Great, Erythrai, along with the rest of Ionia, belonged to Antigonos I; when in 315 the forces of Seleukos I attempted to take it, one of Antigonos' generals compelled the opposing army to lift their siege of the city.⁴⁰ It is also known that in 302 Lysimachos' general Prepelaos was unable to capture the town because of reinforcements again sent by Antigonos.⁴¹ After the latter fell at Ipsos nearly

tions, v. W. Orth, *Königlicher Machtanspruch und Städtische Freiheit*, München 1977, pp. 75-97.) If, by chance, the two decrees on the Philites stele were actually proposed by Zoilos ca. 200-190, recording political upheavals that had transpired a few years earlier, it will be impossible, in light of the evidence for this period, to propose a feasible context.

³⁴ Cf. Berve, *op. cit.* (footnote 8 above), I, pp. 96-97 and pp. 186-187.

³⁵ *N. H.* V.116; cf. Pausanias, II.1.5.

³⁶ *IEK*, no. 31, lines 22-23 (see also footnote 33 above).

³⁷ Cf. Tod, *op. cit.* (footnote 8 above), no. 185 for Priene, and B. D. Meritt, *AJP* 56, 1935, pp. 358-372 and L. Robert, *RevPhil* 62, 1936, pp. 158-161 for Kolophon. A new study of this Priene inscription will appear in the volume referred to in footnote 30 above.

³⁸ Arrian, I.18.2.

³⁹ Cf. *SIG*³ 283 for Chios (footnote 4 above) and Tod, *op. cit.* (footnote 8 above), no. 191 for Eresos (both of these documents will also be treated in the work mentioned in footnote 30 above).

⁴⁰ Diodorus, XIX.60.4.

⁴¹ Diodorus, XX.107.5. Prepelaos, however, did win over Teos and Kolophon, even though

all the Ionian coast came under the control of Lysimachos; since both Erythrai and Klazomenai had resisted Prepelaos, it seems inescapable that Lysimachos would have demanded they be numbered among his possessions in the division of spoils. Demetrios, however, still held a few coast cities such as Ephesos and Miletos, and in spite of the fact that Lysimachos generally had the upper hand in the area, the struggle for mastery was not resolved for many years, with resulting confusion in many places. For example, it is during this period that an obscure adventurer, Hieron, took over Priene as tyrant for a few years (*ca.* 300-297), as an inscription from that city reveals.⁴² It is also probably in the early years of the 3rd century that the tyranny of Douris of Samos is to be placed,⁴³ and the same may be said of the despots known from epigraphical evidence to have appeared at Chios and Teos.⁴⁴ The political situation within the various Ionian towns is only dimly perceived, and in particular their relationship to the warring Hellenistic dynasties, but the examples of tyranny at Priene and Samos in the early years of the 3rd century provide a persuasive argument for suggesting that the Erythraian tyrant murdered by Philites ought to be dated to this same period. In the confused years after Ipsos there will have been many individuals in Ionia who found the opportunity to set up their own personal rule, opposing *demos* and oligarchs alike; this appears to be a slightly more plausible context for the changes remembered on our stele than the period after Koroupedion when the interest of Antiochus I and II in Erythrai is attested by fuller epigraphical material.

The date and circumstances remain uncertain, but one point is clear: everything known about its provenance, names, and magistrates supports assigning the Philites stele to Erythrai, while its text appears to be a later re-engraving of the original two decrees.⁴⁵

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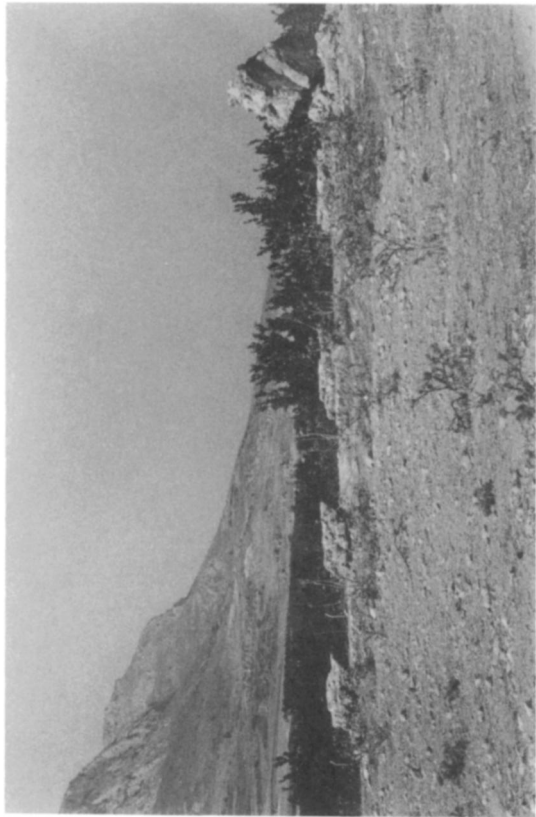
he lost the hold that he had upon Ephesos (Diodorus, XX.111.3). For the campaign and related events, cf. M. Cary, *A History of the Greek World from 323 to 146 B.C.*, London 1963, pp. 37-41; E. Will, *Histoire politique du monde hellénistique* I, Nancy 1966, pp. 68-70; and most recently, Orth, *op. cit.* (footnote 33 above), pp. 12-15.

⁴² F. Hiller von Gaertringen, *Inschriften von Priene*, Berlin 1906, no. 37. Cf. also Berve, *op. cit.* (footnote 8 above), II, p. 720 and Orth, *op. cit.* (footnote 33 above), p. 105, note 11.

⁴³ So J. P. Barron, *The Silver Coins of Samos*, London 1966, pp. 136-138 and R. B. Kebric, *In the Shadow of Macedon: Douris of Samos*, Wiesbaden 1977 (*Historia Einzelschriften*), pp. 2-9.

⁴⁴ See J. and L. Robert, *REG* 71, 1958, pp. 294-295 and *REG* 72, 1959, pp. xiii-xiv, for Chios and Teos respectively; also Berve, *op. cit.* (footnote 8 above), II, p. 719. It is uncertain whether *OGIS* 218, a decree of Ilion passed to prevent a tyranny or oligarchy from replacing the existing democracy, and which is usually placed in the early part of the 3rd century, actually means that a tyranny or oligarchy had operated before enactment of the decree; cf. Berve, *ibid.*, Magie, *op. cit.* (footnote 19 above), pp. 924-925, and Orth, *op. cit.* (footnote 33 above), p. 50, note 24.

⁴⁵ I wish to thank especially Philip Kinns (Gonville & Caius College, Cambridge), Professor Stanley Burstein (California State University, Los Angeles), Emeritus Professor Leslie F. Smith (University of Oklahoma), as well as Professor Christian Habicht (Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton) and the Publications Committee's anonymous readers, for reading this paper in manuscript and making many helpful suggestions, which have been the source of improvement in both text and interpretation. They are not, of course, responsible for my final conclusions.



a. Kenchreai gate



b. Corinth 1930: Dorothy K. Hill and George Deleas, foreman



A. J. HEISSERER: THE PHILITES STELE (SIG³ 248=JEK 503)

TIMOTHY E. GREGORY: THE LATE ROMAN WALL AT CORINTH



Lines 1-20