

A BOIOTIAN DECREE IN ATHENS

(PLATE 63)

FRAGMENT of a stele of Hymettian marble found February 1, 1952 in a modern house south of the Church of the Holy Apostles (Athenian Agora: OQ 16-17).¹ Part of the rough-picked right side of the original monument is preserved. The inscribed surface is badly worn down the right side, and a deep hole has been gouged in the area of lines 12-18. No part of the original reverse surface survives.

Height, 0.30 m.; width, 0.30 m.; thickness, 0.13 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

Letter space, 0.009 m.

Inv. No. I 6420

Late 3rd or early 2nd century B.C.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

- 1 [-----]-σε[-----ca. 15-----]
 [-----]αθαφην[-----ca. 13-----]
 [-----δε]δόχθη τῷ δά[μυ-----ca. 10-----]
 [---τὸ]ς στρατ[α]γὼς κη[-----ca. 12-----]
 5 [---]ἰ φανίας κῆ ταν ευ[-----ca. 10-----]
 [---]ῆ ἐπὶ τῷ βειλομένω[ι-----ca. 8-----]
 [---]ἰ ειας τόν τε θεὸν τιμ[---ca. 7-----]
 [---τῇ]ς τιμῆς κῆ ψαφίζαμ[έ]νω[---ca. 5-----]
 [-----]ἰ κακωθούσονται τ[---ca. 7-----]
 10 [-----]ἰ ο παιὰν τὸ ἀριστειο[---ca. 5-----]
 [-----]τὰν θουσίαν κατὰ <ξ>ε[---ca. 4-----]
 [-----Θεισ]πύων οπο[---3-4-----]σου ἰ ἰ [---ca. 3-----]
 [-----]οτιαθ[---ca. 7-----]ω[---ca. 4-----]
 [-----]τια[---ca. 4-----]Θει[σ]πιε[ca. 2-----]
 15 [-----]σκ[---ca. 7-----]πα[.]κ[ca. 2-----]
 [-----]ακ[---ca. 8-----]αε[---ca. 3-----]
 [-----]ν ἰ [---ca. 7-----]αν [---ca. 3-----]
 [-----]ἄντιμι[ca. 2-----]
 [-----]τωσδεπο[---ca. 2-----]
 20 [-----]αιετ^ [---ca. 4-----]

vacat

¹ I am grateful to the following institutions and individuals for their contributions to the editing of this inscription: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, The Grinnell College Humanities Grant Board, William F. Wyatt, Jr., and especially Colin N. Edmonson.

The transcription printed above and the following epigraphical commentary are based on a study of squeezes and photographs and a close examination of the stone during the summer of 1972.

Because of the inconsistent spacing of letters and the complete loss of the right margin, the numbers of missing letters to the right of the preserved text and in the gap at lines 12-18 can only be approximated.

Line 1: At the broken left edge of this line is preserved part of a lower horizontal stroke. Of the dotted sigma the lower two bars are visible. All but the top horizontal of the dotted epsilon survives.

Line 2: Of the dotted alpha only the lower third of the right diagonal survives. Of the dotted nu there remains the lower half of the left vertical.

Line 3: At the broken left edge of this line the horizontal stroke of the dotted delta survives. Of the dotted omicron only the upper left of the circle is missing. A trace of the left diagonal of the dotted alpha is preserved.

Line 4: Of the first dotted sigma the sloping bottom bar remains. The lower two bars of the second dotted sigma survive. The *rasura* is a neatly cut square containing the alpha but no trace of an underlying letter. Of the dotted eta all is preserved except the upper half of the right vertical.

Line 5: At the left fracture line is a full vertical stroke which may have been iota or the right vertical of another letter.

Line 6: The first three extant letters are badly defaced. Of the dotted eta the lower half of the left vertical is missing. Of the dotted epsilon the vertical and parts of the top and bottom horizontal survive. Following these traces is a deep pit in the stone which has obliterated all but the right vertical and a trace of the cross bar of the dotted pi. The nearly horizontal mark which runs from this point through the following iota is a scar rather than an intended stroke of the engraver.

Line 7: A vertical stroke survives at the left fracture line but the possible restorations are too numerous and the context too vague to warrant a dotted letter. At the end of the line the dotted mu is based on a full vertical followed by the bottom trace of another vertical.

Line 9: At the edge of the left fracture line is a vertical stroke with no juncture at the top; nu or iota seem the only possibilities. Of the dotted tau there remain most of the vertical and the left portion of the horizontal.

Line 10: The vertical stroke visible just to the right of the left fracture line is either iota or the right vertical of nu.

Line 11: Of the dotted tau all but the left end of the horizontal stroke survives. The mason apparently omitted the middle horizontal of xi; if the spelling is not *koine*, zeta is precluded by Boiotian initial $\delta = \zeta$.

Line 12: Of the dotted omicron the upper left half of a circle survives. Omega is precluded because the surface is intact where its left leg would have been. Next to the fracture line at the far right the lower halves of two vertical strokes are visible but do not warrant the printing of a dotted letter or letters.

Line 13: To the right of omega the surface is so worn that there are no sure traces of letters.

Line 14: The left edge of this line is broken vertically, perhaps along the line of a letter. Just left of the deep gouge there remains a vertical stroke with the slight trace of a horizontal on the right of its upper end.

Line 16: Of the dotted alpha the left leg is missing, and the dotted kappa lacks the lower diagonal.

Line 17: At the left edge of the deep gouge the surface has fractured vertically on the line of an iota or the left vertical of another letter. The last traces of a letter at the right edge of the preserved surface consist of a left vertical and, unless they are damage, traces of upper and lower horizontals; the letter may have been epsilon or beta.

Line 18: The preserved part of this line begins with the lower part of a diagonal sloping upward from right to left. At the right edge of the line there is a slight trace of the lower part of a vertical or diagonal stroke.

Line 19: Of the dotted pi the left vertical, most of the horizontal, and the upper part of the right vertical survive. Of the dotted omicron the lower left third of the circle remains.

Line 20: At the right fracture line is the upper part of an isosceles letter, either lambda or alpha; delta is ruled out as an impossible combination with the preceding tau.

I 6420 is a novel addition to the few inscriptions of foreign decrees found in Athens. Although lack of line-to-line continuity and of any clearly analogous documents precludes extensive restoration of the text or detailed conclusions about its subject, enough of the dialect and wording survives to show clearly that the fragment is part of a late 3rd or early 2nd century B.C. religious decree from Boiotia, very likely from the city of Thespiiai.

Dialect is the best evidence for both the chronological limits of the text and its Boiotian origin. Most indicative for the date is the Boiotian ending of the dative singular in *-v* (*τῷ* in lines 3 and 6), a monophthong with the value of *ü*, which replaced the diphthong *οι* in the 3rd century, becoming frequent by 250 B.C. and uniform by the end of the century.² There seems to be a variation of this usage in line 6: *ἐπὶ τῷ βειλομένῳ*[ι—]. It is possible that *ἐπί* is the causal particle (= Attic *ἐπεὶ*),³ but it is more likely the preposition governing a dative of condition. The last preserved letter in the line is certainly omega and if, as is likely, the participle agreed with the preceding article, we have an unusually close alternation of the Boiotian (*-v*) and *koine* (*-ωι*) datives. While such a variation in the direction of *koine* is suggestive of the end of the 3rd century or a little beyond,⁴ we should not push the date near the mid-2nd century when *koine* had won the day in Boiotian epigraphy.⁵

Other dialectal features are less specific as evidence of date, but consistent with Boiotian in the period specified. In line 4 — *τῷ* *στρατ[α]γῶς* has the partly *koine* spelling which began to replace *στροταγός* in the early 4th century B.C. and was dominant by the 3rd.⁶ The rasura is probably the result of the Athenian stonecutter's lapsing into his native spelling, *στρατη-*, then making the correction to accord with the Boiotian transcript.⁷ In line 7 we have another *koine* spelling

² C. D. Buck, *The Greek Dialects*, Chicago 1955 (= Buck, *G. D.*), p. 32, no. 30, p. 153, no. 221; F. Bechtel, *Die griechischen Dialekte*, Berlin 1921-24 (= Bechtel), I, pp. 223-224.

³ See Buck, *G. D.*, p. 31, no. 29.

⁴ This would have I 6420 nearly contemporary with Buck, *G. D.*, nos. 42, 43, which show a comparable stage of the dialect.

⁵ A. Thumb, *Handbuch der griechischen Dialekte*, Heidelberg 1909 (= Thumb, *Handb.*), p. 218.

⁶ Thumb, *Handb.*, p. 218; cf. Buck, *G. D.*, p. 20.

⁷ Official documents were usually dispatched to foreign cities as *antigrapha* of papyrus or other light material; subsequent publication on stone was generally contracted to a mason of the recipient state (see G. V. Lalonde, "The Publication and Transmission of Greek Diplomatic Documents," diss. University of Washington, 1971, pp. 77-84). Although there was rarely any

in *θεόν*, which occurs with increasing frequency from the 4th century in place of the traditional Boiotian *θιός*.⁸ Boiotian *η* from *αι*⁹ (e. g. *δεδόχθη* and *κή*) is consistent throughout the text unless --τῇ]ς *τιμῆς* of line 8 is also *koine* rather than the dative plural equivalent to Attic *ταῖς τιμαῖς*. In the same line, *ψαφιξαμ[έ]νω* [-- shows the *ξ*-stem common in future and aorist of -ζω verbs in Boiotian.¹⁰

The size and unartistic style of the letters have their closest parallels in Attic documents of the same period as that indicated by the Boiotian dialect.¹¹ Kirchner's (*Imagines Inscriptionum Atticarum*, 2nd ed., rev. by G. Klaffenbach, Berlin 1948) nos. 90-94, and 97 from the 3rd century resemble our text in open omega with horizontal feet (lines 4, 12), the ovular phi (lines 2, 8), frequently angular rho and omicron, and sometimes alpha unclosed at the top. Kirchner's nos. 99 and 100, from the early decades of the 2nd century, have pi similar to that of I 6420 (lines 10, 12, 14) in the nearly equal vertical bars and slightly overlapping horizontal, though in our text this may be more carelessness than embellishment. The absence of broken-barred alpha, clubbed letters, or seriphs further tends to date the fragment short of 150 B.C.

Other phrases and formulas, disjointed as they are, help to identify the text as part of a decree promulgated in Boiotia. The peculiar combination of letters --]αθαφην[-- in line 2 is most probably a vestige of the phrase *κοθ' ἃ φήνεται*. Although usually found in the subjunctive with the modal particle *κά*, use of this formula in the indicative is certainly possible.¹² In line 3 we have *δεδόχθη τῷ δάμν*, the usual formula of validation in decrees of Boiotian cities and those of the Confederacy.¹³ The phrase *ἐπὶ τῷ βειλομένῳ*[ι-- in line 6 was probably one of the

conscious "translation" in this process, dialectal peculiarities of the recipient state often crept into the published text (see Buck, "The Interstate Use of Greek Dialects," *Classical Philology* 8, 1913, pp. 133-159; cf. Lalonde, *op. cit.*, pp. 188-214). On erasures as evidence of official inspection and correction of carved texts, see L. Robert, "Épigraphie et paléographie," *C. R. A. I.*, 1955, pp. 212-214; cf. G. Klaffenbach, *Griechische Epigraphik*, 2nd ed., Göttingen 1966, pp. 48-49.

⁸ See Thumb, *Handb.* II (rev. by T. Scherer, 1959), no. 236, 26; Bechtel I, 232-233.

⁹ Buck, *G. D.*, p. 30, no. 26; Bechtel I, pp. 221-222.

¹⁰ Buck *G. D.*, p. 115, no. 142.

¹¹ While the features of dialect were copied from the Boiotian transcript, the general styling of the letters was the work of the mason and is therefore compared with the styles of Attic inscriptions; cf. footnote 7 above.

¹² See E. Schwyzler, *Dialectorum Graecarum exempla epigraphica potiora*, Leipzig 1923, no. 485, line 9: *καθ' ἃ κα φήνεται* (Thespias, 3rd century B.C.); but cf. *BCH* 61, 1937, p. 218, lines 10-11: *καθ' ἃν ἐμίσθωσαν*. Another possibility is *καθὰ φήνεται*; for the comparative conjunction *καθά*, see E. Clafin, *The Syntax of the Boiotian Dialect*, Bryn Mawr 1905, p. 93.

¹³ Clafin, *op. cit.*, pp. 71, 73, 81-83; J. A. O. Larsen, *Greek Federal States*, Oxford 1968, p. 178, note 2. Mention of the *boule*, or *synedrion* as it was called in many Boiotian cities, is so irregular in the formula of local decrees that it may be that either the probouleutic function or the mention of it was optional in many cases; see the survey for the years 245-171 B.C. by P. Roesch, *Thespias et la confédération béotienne*, Paris 1965, pp. 131-132; cf. Busolt-Swoboda, *Griechische Staatskunde*, Munich 1920-26, p. 1439. As a rule scholars have denied the existence of a council to the federal assembly and ascribed the probouleutic role to the Boiotarchs (see, for example,

number of legal formulas using the participle *βουλόμενος* to express options extended to the general citizenry or other groups. See, for example, Dittenberger, *Syll.*³, 1185, line 15, *ἑσσεύμεν βηλομένη τῶν γουνηκῶν ἐπανγείλασθη* (Tanagra); *IG VII*, 3081, lines 6-7, *κῆ τῶν ἄλλων ὁ βε[ι]λόμενος* (Lebadeia).¹⁴ The Boiotian origin of the decree gives cause for restoring the name of the Thespians in lines 12 and 14, and concluding that the text is likely to be the pronouncement of Thespiiai, or that of the Boiotian Confederacy about Thespiiai.¹⁵ In line 13, the letters --]οτιαθ[-- invite a tentative restoration of --π]οτὶ Ἀθ[ανήως -- or --π]οτὶ Ἀθ[άνας --.¹⁶ As recipients of a copy of the decree, and therefore one of its concerned parties, the Athenians may well have been named in the text, especially in proximity to mention of the Thespians where some feature of the relations of the two states might have been spelled out.

Another problem of political identity exists in the reference to *strategoi* in line 4. The late 3rd century Magistrate Stele from Thespiiai lists three *polemarchoi* but says nothing of *strategoi*. Although polemarchs were evidently the chief military officers of most Boiotian cities in Hellenistic times, single inscriptions from Tanagra, Thisbe and Thebes mention *strategoi* who may be local magistrates, or they use the verb *στρατηγέω* which may or may not imply the specific office of *strategos*. Some of the inscriptions which mention the *strategoi* or the polemarchs of Boiotian cities are also concerned with religious matters.¹⁷ At any rate, *strategoi* seem out of place in Thespiiai.

Until recently it had been widely held that sometime after the mid-3rd century and at least as early as 177/176 B.C. the Boiotian Confederacy instituted an annual office of *Strategos*.¹⁸ Roesch, however, following the lead of Holleaux, has made

Busolt-Swoboda, *op. cit.*, p. 1428, note 5; p. 1435), but recently Roesch (*op. cit.*, pp. 126-133; cf. Larsen, *op. cit.*, p. 180, note 3) has argued from a probouleitic *synedrion* of the Confederacy by about 220 B.C.

¹⁴ For the use of such expressions in Attic inscriptions and orations, see H. Mattingly, "Formal Dating Criteria for 5th Century Attic Inscriptions, *Acta of the Fifth Epigraphic Congress*, 1967, p. 29; R. Stroud, *Hesperia* 43, 1974, p. 182 and note 99.

¹⁵ Boiotian spelling of the name varies: *Θεισπιέων* (*IG VII*, 1727, line 6), *Θεισπιείων* (Collitz-Bechtel, *Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften*, Göttingen 1884-1915, I, pp. 260-261, nos. 806-809), *Θεσσιπέων* (Taillardat & Roesch, *Rev. de Phil.* 40, 1966, p. 72), *Θεσπιέων*, the *koine* spelling, (*IG VII*, 1764, line 8); for the genitive in -έων, see Thumb-Scherer, *Handb.* II, no. 237, 6.

¹⁶ Claflin, *op. cit.* (footnote 12 above), p. 64, notes that *ποτί* with the accusative is especially frequent in Boiotian inscriptions to express the relationship of two corresponding states. Absence of the article with names of peoples is common in Boiotian epigraphy (*ibid.*, p. 39).

¹⁷ For the Thespian Magistrate Stele, see Roesch, *op. cit.* (footnote 13 above), p. 9, lines 62-63, p. 16, note 9; cf. *IG VII*, 1737, line 13. For the local Boiotian polemarchs, see Busolt-Swoboda, *op. cit.* (footnote 13 above), pp. 1438-1441; for the local *strategoi*, *IG VII*, 553, line 5 (Tanagra), 2227, line 12 (Thisbe, 3rd century B.C.); *IG VII*, 2519 (line 3: *στραταγήσαντ[α]*), although found at Thebes, Dittenberger conjectured was from Thespiiai because of its reference to the contests of the Muses.

¹⁸ See M. Feyel, *Polybe et l'histoire de Béotie au III^e siècle avant notre ère*, Paris 1942, pp. 197-198, note 4; Larsen, *op. cit.* (footnote 13 above), pp. 179-180, note 1.

a compelling case that the references adduced in support of the federal office—*strategos* in Polybios and one Delphic inscription and *praetor* in Livy—are actually misnomers for Boiotarchs or the eponymous federal Archon. Roesch concludes that the Boiotian Confederacy had no *Strategos* in the Hellenistic period and that there was no place for one alongside the Boiotarchs and the Archon.¹⁹ It being unlikely that the mention of *strategoï* in our fragment gives any further credence to Thespian or federal officers of that title, it is left to suggest tentatively that τὼς στρατηγῶς in line 4 referred to the officers of Athens. This suggestion is bolstered by the use of the title here in the plural and by the fact of Athens' interest in the decree. Although the work of the Athenian *strategoï* was primarily military in Hellenistic times, a role in the kind of diplomatic and religious affairs which I 6420 evinces would not be unparalleled.²⁰

A number of terms show that the decree, or at least this part of it, was concerned with religious matters. In --]φανίας of line 5 there is a possibility of the genitive singular or accusative plural of *ἐπιφάνια with the meaning of "divine manifestation", but the word could also mean "fame" or "distinction".²¹ In line 7 the probability of τόν as a governing article suggests τόν τε θεόν as the likely, if not certain word division.²² There is no clue to the identity of this god unless it is to be associated with the παιάν of line 10. The dotted mu at the end of the line abets a restoration *exempli gratia* of εἰς ---]ι εἰας τόν τε θεόν τιμ[ᾶς συννεπαύξειν.²³ Such "honors" may have been the same as those referred to in the following line, --- τῇ]ς τιμῆς κῆ ψαφίξαιμ[έ]νω [---. In line 10 παιάν seems the most likely division of letters, but again there is not enough context to insure the meaning here. The *paean* as a type of song was originally addressed to Apollo and Artemis to avert war or plague.²⁴ It was gradually extended to all gods and a variety of ills, and

¹⁹ Roesch, *op. cit.* (footnote 13 above), pp. 112-121; p. 112, note 2 for the reference to Holleaux's unpublished paper.

²⁰ Athenian *strategoï* were charged with proclaiming honors at foreign and local festivals (e. g. *IG* VII, 2411, lines 5-6; Thebes, 2nd or 1st century B.C.), looking after the welfare of foreigners honored by Athens (e. g. *IG* II², 435, lines 5-6, after 336/5 B.C.; II², 579, line 12, end of the 4th century B.C.), and swearing the oaths of interstate treaties (e. g. *IG* II², 687, line 52, 266/5 B.C.).

²¹ See Liddell-Scott-Jones, *s. v.* ἐπιφάνεια; cf. *IG* VII, 2711, lines 28-29; other possibilities are the proper name Φάνιας (see *IG* VII, 3196, line 15, 3197, line 16, 3267 from Orchomenos) or some compound thereof; also ἐνφάνιας meaning "information" or "evidence" (see *IG* IX 1, 267, line 10 from Opous).

²² A more remote possibility is τεθέοντι, a perfect participle (of τίθειμι) of the thematic type common in Boiotia; Bechtel I, p. 290, no. 121 f.; cf. M. Feyel, "Études d'épigraphie béotienne," *BCH* 60, 1936, p. 179, IIA, line 33 and note: ἀνατεθέοντες (= Attic ἀνατεθηκότες).

²³ Cf. *IG* VII, 4138, lines 16-17: [τὰς εἰς τὸν θε]ὸν τιμὰς συννεπαύξειν (a decree of Orchomenos, found at Akraiphia, accepting the festival of Apollo Ptoios, before 146 B.C.).

²⁴ For an extended treatment of παιάν as hymn and god, see L. Deubner, *Neue Jahrb.* 43, 1919, pp. 385-406, especially p. 405 for the early use of the hymn; cf. Proclus, *Chrestomathia* in Photius, *Bibliotheca*, 320, a, line 21; Scholia on Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 636.

finally became a canonical hymn at any sacrifice.²⁵ Another possibility is the proper name Παιάν (= Παιών) as the cognomen or bi-name of Apollo.²⁶ The omicron preceding παιάν may be the article, or, less likely, with the preceding vertical stroke as iota, it might have formed the name *Ἰοπαιάν.²⁷ The last letters of line 10 should probably be supplemented to read τὸ ἀριστεῖον, a term which in singular or plural designated some reward of valor or victory, such as a gold crown, which was sometimes dedicated to a deity.²⁸

Although a future participle would be rare, if not unique, in Boiotian inscriptions,²⁹ κακωθούσονται seems to offer the most satisfactory relation of letters in line 9. One would expect a compound of κακός and θούω to be formed κακοθ- but perhaps κακω- is equivalent to κακου or κακω(ς). The term κακωθούσονται could have been part of a sanction against one who would pervert the θυσία, either the sacrifice which attended a rite or festival, or the festival itself. (Cf. Theoph. ap. Porphyr., *De Abstemtia*, 2. 7, κακόθυτος: "One who performs improper sacrifices.") The --]τὰς θουσίαν κατὰ <ξ>ε[-- of line 11 may have been a positive provision related to such a sanction, with the preposition κατὰ (perhaps = κατὰ τά by apocope)³⁰ introducing some specific term for the conduct or custom to which the θυσία should conform, as for example κατὰ ξενίαν.

In concluding, we should try to put the inscription into at least a general historical setting. During most of the period indicated by the dialect and lettering there was an exceptionally good climate for diplomatic exchange between Athens and the cities of Boiotia, especially Thespiiai. An extended entente began in 245 B.C. when the Aitolians defeated the Boiotians at Chaironeia and brought them from the Achaian camp into their alliance with Antigonos of Macedon and his subject Athens,³¹

²⁵ See Dittenberger, *Syll.*³, 1033 and note on the phrase οὐ παιωνίζεται; Dittenberger cites P. Stengel's (*Griech. Kultusalt.*, 2nd ed., Munich 1898, p. 103) reference to Athenaios, IV. 139 d, for evidence that omission of the *paean* from any sacrifice was a rare occurrence. See Deubner, *Attische Feste*, Berlin 1932, pp. 24, 244, for this hymn in Athenian festivals.

²⁶ His cult existed in many Greek states including Athens: *IG* I², 310, line 228: [Ἀ]πόλλωνος/[II]αῖωνος (temple account of 430/29 B.C.). Cf. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*, Oxford 1896-1909, IV, pp. 234-235 and note 208.

²⁷ On the analogy of Ἰοβάκχος: Bakchos invoked with the cry ἰώ (*Anthologia Planudea*, 4.289; Maximus Astrologus, 496; Cornutus Philosophus, *De Natura Deorum*, 30; Hesychios, s. v.). Cf. *Homeric Hymns* III.272: Ἰηπαῖον; Paian is usually addressed with the cry ἰή, but see ἰώ Παιάν in Sophocles, *Trach.* 221; Aristophanes, *Acharnians*, 1212.

²⁸ See, for example, *IG* II², 1388 A, line 30 *et alibi*; 1635 aA, line 32; Dittenberger, *Syll.*³, 276 A, line 9; B, line 9; Dem., 22.72.

²⁹ Clafin, *op. cit.* (footnote 12 above), p. 73. On *ov* for *v* in Boiotian, see Buck, *G.D.*, p. 28, no. 24.

³⁰ See Bechtel I, pp. 258-259. Apocope would normally yield καττα but further haplogy is possible (see for example, *IG* VII, 3172, line 132: καταττὰ [= κατὰ τὰ αὐτά]; *Syll.*³, 705, line 12; κα τὰ τῆς συγκλήτου δόγματα). Cf. *IG* II², line 15: κατὰ (τά).

³¹ Polybios, XX. 4; Plutarch, *Aratos*, 16.1; W. S. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, London 1911, pp. 195-196 and note 1; Larsen, *op. cit.* (footnote 13 above), pp. 205-206; inscriptions of the time attest to the amicable settlement through arbitration by Lamian judges of disputes between Boiotians and Athenians (*IG* II², 778, 779, 861).

and continued, perhaps unbroken, through the hegemony of Antigonos' son Demetrios II (239-229 B.C.) and his detachment of Boiotia from Aitolia in the "Demetrian War".³² An independent Athens under Eurykleides of Kephisia (232-203 B.C.) formally renewed with the Boiotians a friendship which lasted through the end of the century and was highlighted in 229 B.C. by generous contributions from Thebes and Thespiiai to the indemnity required of Athens for the final withdrawal of Macedonian garrisons from Peiraeus and the border forts.³³ In the 2nd century, relations were sometimes less stable; Athens and Boiotia took opposite sides in the Second Macedonian War (200-197 B.C.), but were probably on good terms during the interbellum period before the return of Roman troops in 191 B.C. The Roman dissolution of the Boiotian Confederacy in 172 B.C. and the defeat of Perseus and a few recalcitrant Boiotian cities in the Third Macedonian War (171 B.C.) finally insured the compatibility of a neutral Athens with the cities of Boiotia.³⁴

If, as it seems, our decree was concerned with religious diplomacy, it would have been part of the revival of local and interstate interest in cults and religious festivals which swept Greece in the late 3rd and early 2nd centuries B.C.³⁵ While the fragment does not name a particular cult or festival, the probability of its being part of a Thespian *consultum sacrum* invites consideration of the Helikonian Mouseia. In the late 3rd century, Thespiiai and the Boiotian Confederacy elaborately reorganized the festival of the Muses with thymelic contests and advertised it to the important cities and artistic companies of the Hellenistic world.³⁶ Other inscrip-

³² Ferguson, *op. cit.*, p. 201; Feyel, *op. cit.* (footnote 18 above), pp. 83-105. The possibility of a breach in Athenian-Boiotian amity between 238 and 235 B.C. depends on two operations still disputed: the date of the battle of Phylakia where Bithys defeated Aratos, and whether Boiotia defected to Demetrios at the outset of the war (238/7 B.C.) or only as a result of the battle; for the controversy see Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*, 2nd ed., Strassburg, Berlin and Leipzig 1912-27, IV, i, p. 633; Ferguson, *op. cit.*, p. 201, note 2; *op. cit.* (footnote 18 above), pp. 97-100; Larsen, *op. cit.* (footnote 13 above), pp. 312-313, note 1.

³³ Ferguson, *op. cit.* (footnote 31 above), pp. 205-207, 237-277; Ferguson dates the new government of Eurykleides and his brother Mikion to 232 B.C. (p. 205, note 3) and their deaths to 203 B.C. (p. 256, note 3). For the renewal of Athenian-Boiotian friendship, see *IG* II², 860. In the last decade of the century, anarchy in Boiotia apparently strained but did not break peace with Athens (Ferguson, *op. cit.*, p. 251). For the gift of Thebes and the loan of Thespiiai, see *IG* VII, 2405-2406, 1737-1738; Feyel, *Contribution à l'épigraphie béotienne*, Paris 1943, pp. 19-37; M. Launey, *Recherches sur les armées hellénistiques*, Paris 1949-1950, p. 641, note 1.

³⁴ Ferguson, *op. cit.* (footnote 31 above), pp. 278-345; Larsen, *op. cit.* (footnote 13 above), pp. 385 ff. It should be noted that Thespiiai took the side of Rome in the Third Macedonian War (Polybios, XXVII.1; Livy, XLII.43).

³⁵ E. g. the revival at Athens under Eurykleides of the Panathenaia and the Dionysia (231-229 B.C.); see Dittenberger, *Syll.*³, 497, 485; *Klio* 8, pp. 348ff.; Ferguson, *op. cit.* (footnote 31 above), pp. 205-206. Among the new festivals at Athens were the Demetria (240/39 B.C.), the Diogeneia (229 B.C.), the Ptolemaia (224 B.C.) and the Romaia (before 153 B.C.). For the great number of newly established festivals and contests, including the Mouseia at Thespiiai and that of Apollo Ptoios at Akraiphia, whose interstate popularity is attested by theoric decrees and victory lists, see P. Boesch, *Θεωρός*, Berlin 1908, pp. 14ff.; Ferguson, *op. cit.*, pp. 290-296.

³⁶ For the extensive series of inscriptions on the reorganization of the Mouseia, see Feyel, *op. cit.* (footnote 33 above), pp. 88-132. The reorganization has been variously dated (Dittenberger,

tions show that Athens not only accepted the Mouseia at the time of its reorganization, but, consistent with a long-standing friendship with Thespiiai, was a devoted patron of the cult in the centuries before and after.³⁷ Beyond the general suitability of its sacral and legal language to the subject of religious diplomacy, the fragment's attention to the *θυσία* is one point in common with other documents concerning the Mouseia.³⁸ Admittedly, the evidence of dialect, dating, and language is strictly circumstantial, and any association of I 6420 with the Mouseia must be offered as speculative. But the fragment is certainly part of the text of a late 3rd or early 2nd century Boiotian decree, probably from Thespiiai, concerning religious matters which Athens considered important enough for permanent publication. Of the known religious fetes which were of mutual interest to Athens and Boiotia, the one which best fits the slim evidence of our text is the reorganized Mouseia of Thespiiai.

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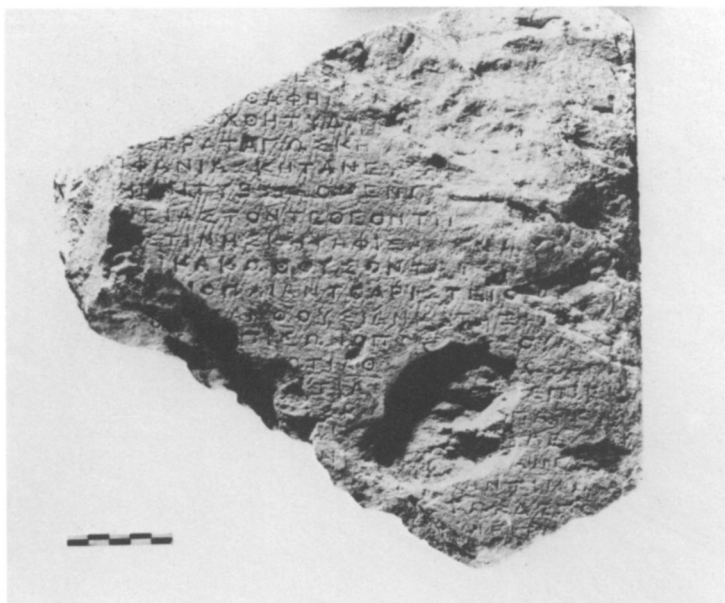
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*Syll.*³, 457; *ca.* 250 B.C.; Ferguson, *op. cit.* [footnote 31 above], p. 196, note 1; *ca.* 245 B.C.; Shebelew [*ap. Fergusin, loc. cit.*]: *ca.* 229 B.C.). Feyel's argument (*op. cit.*, pp. 116-117) for a date between 215 and 208 B.C. is persuasive and would aptly make Athenian acceptance of the festival part of Eurykleides' campaign of religious diplomacy.

³⁷ See Feyel, *op. cit.* (footnote 33 above), no. 2 (pp. 90-96), cols. *A, B* (= *IG VII*, 1735, b, a); of these two texts on one stone found at Thespiiai, *A* is part of an Athenian acceptance of the Mouseia (Feyel, *op. cit.*, p. 95, thinks perhaps by the *technitai* rather than the Demos of Athens), and *B*, according to Feyel, the continuation from another stone of a decree of acceptance by the *technitai* of the Isthmus (i. e. Feyel, *op. cit.*, no. 1 = *Syll.*³, 457); cf. Roesch, *op. cit.* (footnote 13 above), pp. 228-229, for the speculation that the set of documents may be promulgations of Thespiiai in *koine*. In the 4th century B.C. famous Athenian sculptors were commissioned to embellish the sanctuary of the Muses (Pausanias, IX.30.1). The victory lists are evidence of later Athenian attention to the Mouseia: *BCH* 15, 1891, p. 659; 19, 1895, pp. 328-349.

³⁸ See Feyel, *op. cit.* (footnote 33 above), no. 2 *B*. 4 (= *IG VII*, 1735, a, line 3): *καὶ τὴν θυσίαν* / [*αν* . . . ; no. 4 (pp. 100-103), lines 12-13: *ἐπὶ τὰν*] / *θουσίαν κὴ τὸν ἀγ[ῶνα* . . . (found at Thebes, but thought to be a decree of Thespiiai because of its concern with the Mouseia); *BCH* 60, 1936, p. 179, I, lines 26-27: *θύεσθῃ βοῦς ἐν τῇ θυσίᾳ τῶν πεντεφετέρων Μωσείων*.

θεόν of line 7 or *παῖάν* of line 10, if references to Apollo or another god, might be out of place in an inscription concerning the festival of the Muses. Farnell, *op. cit.* (footnote 26 above) V, p. 436, saw no sign in the Helikonian cult of the association with Apollo so prominent in literature. Fiehn, however (Pauly-Wissowa, *RE* VI, 1936, s. v. "Thespiiai," p. 47), says about Apollo at Thespiiai, "Sein Kultus war gewiss mit dem der Musen eng verbunden." The evidence for this connection is not clear, unless it be the statue base found at Thespiiai inscribed with the names of Zeus, Mnemosyne and Apollo (*BCH* 15, 1891, p. 660; *Hermes* 55, 1920, p. 407). For the association of Apollo with the Muses in literature and the cults of some *poleis*, see Allen, Halliday and Sikes, *The Homeric Hymns*, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1936, notes on Hymn XXV.



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a. No. 1, top



b. No. 1, bottom



c. No. 1, text