AN ATHENIAN DECREE HONORING FOREIGNERS

(Plate 38)

AMONG the unpublished epigraphical texts in the David M. Robinson Memorial Collection of the University Museums at the University of Mississippi is a small fragment of an Attic decree honoring foreigners whose names and nationality are not preserved. The stone is said to have been purchased in Paris, but the vocabulary and texture of the stone (in particular the reddish patina which is characteristic of Pentelic marble) indicate that it came from Athens.[1]

The fragment of white marble is broken on all sides and at the back.

Height, 0.168 m.; width, 0.110 m.; thickness, 0.034 m.
Height of letters, 0.005–0.006 m.; stoichedon, with a horizontal checker of 0.0092 m. and a vertical checker of 0.0094 m.

University Museums Inv. No. 77.3.665
ca. a. 338–326 *a.*   ΣΤΟΙΧ.

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      [------------]ΟΣ[--------------------]
      [------------]ΙΣΙΟΣ[-----------------]
      [----------τὴ]ν σκη[[ν]][ὴν ---------------]
      [----------δωρ]εάς· διδ[όναι ---------------]
  5   [----------ἐ]παγωγὴ[-----------------]
      [------------]Ι χρῆσθ[αι ----------------]
      [-----τὴν ἀτέλειαν το]ῦ μετοικ[ίου------------]
      [-------ἐπιμελείσθ]ω δὲ ἡ βου[λὴ ὅπως ---------]
      [----------]ΝΟΙΣ ὁ δῆμ[ος ---------------]
  10  [----------δω]ρεάν· ὅπως δ’ [ἂν -----------]
      [-------μῆδ’ ὑφ’ ἑνὸς] ἀδικῶντα[ι------ἀναγρά]-
      [ψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισ]μα τὸν γρ[αμματέα ---------]
      [--------------]Κ[-----------------]
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Line 1. Only the lower right third of the omicron is preserved along with the lower two strokes of the sigma.

Line 2. The lower half of the first iota is preserved. The second iota and the omicron are inscribed in the space of one stoichos between the two sigmas which are in their proper stoichoi.

Line 3. The letter cutter seems to have corrected a mistake in the final preserved letter. He apparently had inscribed epsilon rather than nu. The middle and bottom horizontals are visible. The crossbar of the nu was added over the middle horizontal.

Line 7. Only the upper right tip of the upsilon is preserved.

Line 10. The lower left corner of the delta is legible.

Line 12. The right half of the mu survives. Only the top of the loop of the rho is preserved.

Line 13. The top half of the left hasta and a faint trace of an upper diagonal of a kappa are discernible.

COMMENTARY

Line 3. The only probable restoration is $τὴ]ν$ $σκην[ήν$. The lexicon program of Princeton University's Ibycus computer system was used to search for occurrences of $σκηνή$ in 4th-century Attic inscriptions. A deme decree of Peiraieus appears to offer a parallel.[2] This inscription involves building operations in a theater and suggests that the present decree refers to a theater, probably the Theater of Dionysos in Athens.

Line 4. The number of words ending in -$εας$ is large, but the most obvious choice in the context of an honorary decree would seem to be $δωρ]εάς$.[3] By analogy to better-preserved decrees, lines 3–4 recorded the reason for the grant of honors described in lines 4–11. A possible restoration might read $[ἐπέδωκεν$ $εἰς$ $τὴ]ν$ $σκην[ὴν$ $καὶ$ $τὴν$ $ὀρχήστραν$ $τοῦ$ $θεάτρου$ $τοῦ$ $Διονύσου$ $δωρ]εάς$.[4] The second word preserved is probably the infinitive form $διδόναι$ which would begin the series of clauses describing the honors granted by the demos.[5]

Line 5. The surviving letters present a difficult puzzle. Possible restorations are $ἐπ’$ $ἀγωγήν$, $ἐπαγωγήν$, or $ἀπαγωγήν$. Of these, $ἀπαγωγήν$, while found on 4th-century inscriptions (e.g. IG II², 128, line 16), can be ruled out because it is inappropriate for the context of a gift or honor. "Summary arrest" would not be an honor, and exemption from $ἀπαγωγήν$ is unknown among honors granted in Attic decrees.[6] ’$Επαγωγήν$ might refer either to a provision allowing importation of materials for the building of the $σκηνή$ or to a

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[2] R. S. Stroud, "Three Attic Decrees," *CSCA* 7, 1974, pp. 290–298 (= IG II², 1176 + *SEG* XIX, 117 + XXI, 521). Another 4th-century Attic inscription with the word $σκηνή$ is a lease of land sacred to Zeus Olympios dated 343/2 B.C. See M. B. Walbank, "Leases of Sacred Properties in Attica, Part I," *Hesperia* 52, 1983 (pp. 100–135), p. 108, fragment c, line 15. Walbank suggests this instance may also refer to the *skene* of the Theater of Dionysos in Athens. Other $σκηναί$, probably "tents", are attested in Delphi and Delos (*SIG³*, 422, lines 10–11; IG XI 2, 161A, line 115; 153, line 14).

[3] See C. D. Buck and W. Petersen, *A Reverse Index of Greek Nouns and Adjectives*, Chicago 1939, pp. 40–41. For parallel uses of $δωρεάς$ see IG II², 212, line 23; 448, lines 15, 61, and 64–65; 483, lines 17–20; 653, line 23; 654, lines 26, 55; 657, lines 11–12.

[4] Cf. IG II², 351, lines 13, 15 (330/29 B.C.); 360, lines 10–12 (325/4 B.C.).

[5] Cf. IG II², 211, line 10; 212, line 39; 222, line 38; 237, line 26; VII, 4254, line 44; *Hesperia* 40, 1971, pp. 281–282, line 16.

[6] See Henry, pp. 163–181.

grant of import/export privileges.[7] Ἐπ' ἀγωγήν might also indicate that the demos was making provision for the importation of material for the σκηνή or that it was providing funds or means for a journey related to this project.

Line 6. The infinitive χρῆσθαι is the only logical restoration and apparently grants to the honorands enjoyment of some privilege for which there is no exact parallel in Attic honorary decrees of this period. Χρῆσθαι is found in two other 4th-century Attic inscriptions in the context of building operations.[8]

Line 7. Το]ῦ μετοικ[ίου is probably part of a formula granting exemption from the metic tax or privileges like those granted to residents of Athens who were exempt from the metic tax.[9]

Line 8. The nominative singular ἡ βουλή suggests that the omega preceding δέ is the conclusion of an imperative singular. Ἐπιμελείσθω is a logical restoration in this context and introduces a ὅπως clause instructing the Boule to carry out some provisions of the Assembly concerning a gift bestowed upon the honorands.[10]

Line 9. The number of words ending in -νοις and the uncertainty of the context preclude a restoration. In a letter to us D. M. Lewis has suggested προξένοις. If that were correct, we might restore these lines [ἐπιμελείσθ]ω δὲ ἡ βου[λὴ αὐτῶν, καθάπερ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις προξέ]νοις ὁ δῆμ[ος ἔδωκεν]. A. G. Woodhead suggests another interpretation (see p. 180 below).

Line 10. Ὅπως δ'ἄν introduces a new clause, the customary protection from harm clause, which is found in honorary decrees of the 5th and 4th centuries.[11]

Line 12. The formula providing for the publication of the decree could be restored in several ways. The two formulas most frequently attested in this period are (1) ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γραμματέα τῆς βουλῆς ἐν στήληι λιθίνηι καὶ στῆσαι ἐν ἀκροπόλει and (2) ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γραμματέα τὸν κατὰ πρυτανείαν ἐν στήληι λιθίνηι καὶ στῆσαι ἐν ἀκροπόλει.[12] Either of these formulas could be accommodated with a

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[7] For ἐπαγωγή meaning "bringing in (of provisions)" see Thucydides, VII.24.3. The term ἐπαγωγή is not attested epigraphically for the clause in question, but it has a good literary basis, and the mss. of Pollux, Onomasticon, 8.101, show that for εἰσαγωγεῖς there is the variant reading ἐπαγωγεῖς. For a parallel grant of import/export privileges, see Tod II, no. 186, line 11. Cf. IG II², 986, lines 8–9 and Henry, pp. 255–256, note 41.

[8] CSCA 7, 1974, p. 293, line 3; IG II², 244, line 91.

[9] Cf. IG II², 61, lines 10–11; 211, line 5; 237, lines 25–26; 545, lines 11–13; and Henry, pp. 244–245. For a general discussion of metics and exemption from the metic tax see D. Whitehead, The Ideology of the Athenian Metic, Cambridge 1977, pp. 11–17, 27–31, 62, note 9, 152.

[10] The singular form ἐπιμελείσθω δὲ καὶ ἡ βουλή is found in Hesperia 47, 1978, pp. 49–50, line 26. Cf. IG II², 141 = Tod II, no. 139, line 19.

[11] Cf. IG II², 86, line 19; 184, lines 6–9; 237, line 31; 245, line 9; 252, lines 15–16; 275, line 10; 287, line 12; 292, lines 1–4; 426, lines 7–8; 435, line 7; 505, lines 58–59; 660, lines 18–19. There are a number of known variants of the protection formula, see IG II², 5, line 6; 133, line 27; 218, line 20; 226, lines 6–7; 416, line 13; Hesperia 47, 1978, pp. 49–50, lines 26–28; and also Henry, pp. 176–181, esp. (f) on p. 180.

[12] For formula 1, cf. IG II², 237, line 32; 343, line 14; and 410, line 38 among many other examples. For formula 2, cf. IG II², 344, line 19; 360, line 22; 368, line 14; and Hesperia 8, 1939, p. 26, line 19 among many other examples. Variations are found in Hesperia 47, 1978, p. 274, lines 23–24 and IG VII, 4252, line 34. On the various types of Athenian secretaries see P. J. Rhodes, The Athenian Boule, Oxford 1972, pp. 134–143 and A Commentary on the Aristotelian Athenaion Politeia, Oxford 1981, pp. 599–602; Maurice Brillant, Les secrétaires athéniens, Paris 1911, pp. 92–96, 109–125; W. S. Ferguson, The Athenian Secretaries (Cornell

line length of 46 or 54 letters, if we assume the dotted kappa in line 13 is the kappa in ἀκροπόλει, or 35 or 43 letters, if the dotted kappa belongs to καί. Attic honorary inscriptions of the 4th century vary in length from 18 to 57 letters per line.[13] Moreover, a number of other variations in this formula are known. Some inscriptions read simply ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γραμματέα ἐν στήληι λιθίνηι.[14] In others, ἐν στήληι is contracted ἐστήληι or ἐστήλην.[15] Toward the end of the 4th century another variant appears: τὸν γραμματέα τοῦ δήμου.[16] The range of formulaic expressions coupled with the uncertainties of the previous lines make it impossible to determine the precise line length.[17] In order to accommodate the two ὅπως clauses and the likely length of the publication clause, we would expect a line of 40 or more letters.[18]

  A. G. Woodhead has shared with us his treatment of the Mississippi text, even when expressing reservations about some of his own restorations. We in turn share this with the reader while simultaneously recognizing the uncertainties involved:

<div align="center">ΣΤΟΙΧ. 44</div>

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     [---------------]ΟΣ[ ------------------------]
     [-----------]ΙΣΙΟΣ[ --------------------]
     [-----------τὴ]ν σκη[ν][ὴν ......²¹.....]
     [....¹²..... δωρ]εάς· διδ[όναι δὲ αὐτῶι καὶ τοῖς ἐγγόν]-
  5  [οις ἐξαγωγὴν καὶ ἐ]παγωγὴ[ν πάντων ὧνπερ ἂν βούλωνται]·
     [εἶναι δὲ αὐτοῖς κα]ὶ χρῆσθ[αι ταῖς δίκαις καθάπερ Ἀθην]-
     [αίοις ἀτέλεσι το]ῦ μετοικ[ίου·....²⁰.....]
     [....· ἐπιμελείσθ]ω δὲ ἡ βου[λὴ ὅπως αἱ δωρεαὶ ὅσας ἐν τοῖ]-
     [s προτέροις χρό]νοις ὁ δῆμ[ος ἔδωκεν κυρίαι ὦσι καὶ πορ]-
  10 [ιζέτω τὴν νῦν δω]ρεάν· ὅπως δ['ἂν..ⁿᵒᵐᵉⁿ.. καὶ οἱ ἔγγονοι α]-
     [ὑτοῦ μηδ' ὑφ' ἑνὸς] ἀδικῶντα[ι ἐπιμελείσθω ἡ βουλή· ἀναγρ]-
     [άψαι δὲ τὸ ψήφισ]μα τὸν γρ[αμματέα τῆς βουλῆς ἐστήληι λ]-
     [ιθίνηι καὶ στῆσαι ἐν ἀ]κ[ροπόλει·.....¹⁹.....]
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The omission of τόδε in line 12 of the above text is paralleled in *IG* II², 448, line 26. Since two letters are compressed into one stoichos at line 2 on the fragment, there is little

Studies in Classical Philology 7), New York 1898, pp. 35–43, 63–70; J. Kirchner, "Attische Buleutenliste aus dem Jahre 335/4," *AthMitt* 29, 1904, pp. 244–253.

 [13] *IG* II², 61 (stoich. 18); 278 (stoich. 57).

 [14] E.g. *IG* II², 78, line 11; 195, line 10; 456, line 28; 567, line 17. In *IG* II², 448, line 26 τὸν γραμματέα is omitted altogether.

 [15] E.g. *IG* II², 184, line 8; 195, line 10; εἰς στήλην λιθίνην is another possibility (e.g. *IG* II², 252, line 17).

 [16] *IG* II², 510, line 8; 570, line 12; 594, line 7; 651, line 27. W. K. Pritchett ("Greek Inscriptions," *Hesperia* 10, 1941 [pp. 262–283], p. 271, note 10, following J. Kirchner in *IG* II², iv, p. 47) takes 307/6 B.C. as the *terminus post quem* for the use of this formula in inscriptions.

 [17] There are many other slight variations in the publication formulas of inscriptions for the period in question, cf. *IG* II², 188, lines 8–11; 196, lines 3–7; 221, lines 4–5; 275, lines 10–12; 448, lines 67–70.

 [18] E.g. *IG* II², 138 (stoich. 49), 237 (stoich. 41), 278 (stoich. 57), 330 (stoich. 46–48), 410 (stoich. 45), 435 (stoich. 45), 448 (stoich. 41), 456 (stoich. 41), 457 (stoich. 42), 492 (stoich. 44).

objection to restoring καί in line 13 with similar crowding. An alternative supplement for lines 12–13 would be τὸν γρ[αμματέα τὸν κατὰ πρυτανείαν/ἐστήληι λιθίνηι καὶ] κ[αταθεῖναι, κτλ.] (cf. *IG* II², 226, lines 20–21). For the use of ἐπαγωγήν at line 5 in place of the usual εἰσαγωγήν, see our commentary *ad loc*. For lines 6–7 an alternative text would be χρῆσθ[αι ταῖς δίκαις τῶν πολιτῶν κ/αὶ τῶν ἀτελεῶν το]ῦ μετοικ[ίου, or with compression, [τῶν πολιτῶν κ/αὶ τὴν ἀτέλειαν το]ῦ μετοικ[ίου.

A general date of mid- to late 4th century B.C. for the inscription is suggested by general epigraphic criteria. Comparison of a squeeze of the fragment with squeezes of other 4th-century Attic inscriptions at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton indicates that both in letter forms and in grid dimensions, the Mississippi fragment resembles *IG* II², 237 (dated 338/7), 411 (*post* 336/5), and 415 (*ca.* 330/29).[19] There are enough consistent differences between the letter forms of the fragment and these three stelai to rule out any suggestion that the letter cutters were the same person, but the similarities may suggest that they represent the efforts of contemporaries.[20] Although the letter height is larger (0.007 m.), the closest parallel to the Mississippi stone in letter shapes is *Hesperia* 8, 1939, p. 26, no. 6, a proxeny decree dated 332/1 B.C..

Similarities in subject matter and formulas found in *IG* II², 237 and 448 suggest a range of dates from 338/7 to 318/7 for the Mississippi fragment. The latest epigraphical reference to the *metoikion* is *IG* II², 545 (321/0 B.C.).[21] The reference to σκηνή in line 3, however, may suggest a date in the period 338–326 B.C. The only other parallel reference to σκηνή in 4th-century Attic inscriptions is found in the deme decree of Peiraieus.[22] This decree is dated 324/3, but it refers to the σκηνή of the Theater in Mounychia. To judge by the provisions of the Peiraieus decree, that theater was under the control of the deme. An honorary decree of the Athenian demos is more likely to refer to the σκηνή of the Theater of Dionysos on the south slope of the Akropolis. We know that the Theater in Athens underwent a major rebuilding in the time of Lykourgos (338–326 B.C.).[23]

The date *ca.* 330/29 may be suggested by another honorary decree. In that year the Athenians granted a crown of olive leaves, *enktesis*, and other honors to Eudemos son of Philourgos of Plataia in part for supplying 1,000 yoke of oxen for the building of the

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[19] The grid dimensions of *IG* II², 237 are horizontal checker 0.0090 m. and vertical checker 0.0094 m.; those of 411 are horizontal checker 0.0100 m. and vertical checker 0.0098 m.; and those of 415 are horizontal checker 0.0103 m. and vertical checker 0.0106 m. We are indebted to M. B. Walbank for information concerning the similarity of grid dimensions and to A. G. Woodhead for noting the parallel in letter forms in *IG* II², 415 (on which see S. Dow, *HSCP* 67, 1965, pp. 39–40).

[20] In this judgment, the general principles expounded by S. V. Tracy have been followed: "Identifying Epigraphical Hands," *GRBS* 11, 1970, pp. 321–333.

[21] Whitehead, *op. cit.* (footnote 9 above), p. 164.

[22] See above, footnotes 2 and 8.

[23] Six ancient references support the view that the Theater was rebuilt or completed in the time of Lykourgos: Hypereides, fr. 118 (Kenyon); *IG* II², 351, lines 16–18; 457, lines 6–7; Plutarch, *Vit. X Orat.* 852 c, 841 c, d; Pausanias, I.29.16. See also J. Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens*, London 1971, pp. 537–551; H. A. Thompson and R. E. Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora* XIV, Princeton 1972, p. 21; A. W. Pickard-Cambridge, *The Theatre of Dionysus in Athens*, Oxford 1946, pp. 134–174, esp. p. 137; W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*, 2nd ed., Munich 1931, pp. 308–316; F. W. Mitchel, "Lykourgan Athens: 338–322," *Lectures in Memory of Louise Taft Semple* II, Norman, Oklahoma 1973, pp. 165–214, esp. p. 203.

"Stadium and Panathenaic Theater".[24] The interpretation of this phrase, however, is disputed. Tod and Kirchner understood it to refer to the Stadium near the Ilissos River and its seating for spectators. Curtius and Dittenberger believed that the text contained an error and was meant to refer to both the Panathenaic Stadium and the Theater of Dionysos (cf. *IG* II², 457, lines 6–7).[25] If the interpretation of Curtius and Dittenberger is accepted, the Mississippi fragment might be dated *ca.* 330/29. The wording of *IG* II², 351 (line 15) suggests that Eudemos' contribution towards the construction of the Stadium and Theater had only recently been made. The gifts for the σκηνή made by the honorands in the Mississippi fragment therefore were probably presented sometime in the Lycurgan period (338–326 B.C.) and possibly *ca.* 330/29, since the letter forms, grid dimensions, and formulas seem consistent with such dates, and the rather rare word σκηνή fits best into the context of the Lycurgan building program.[26]

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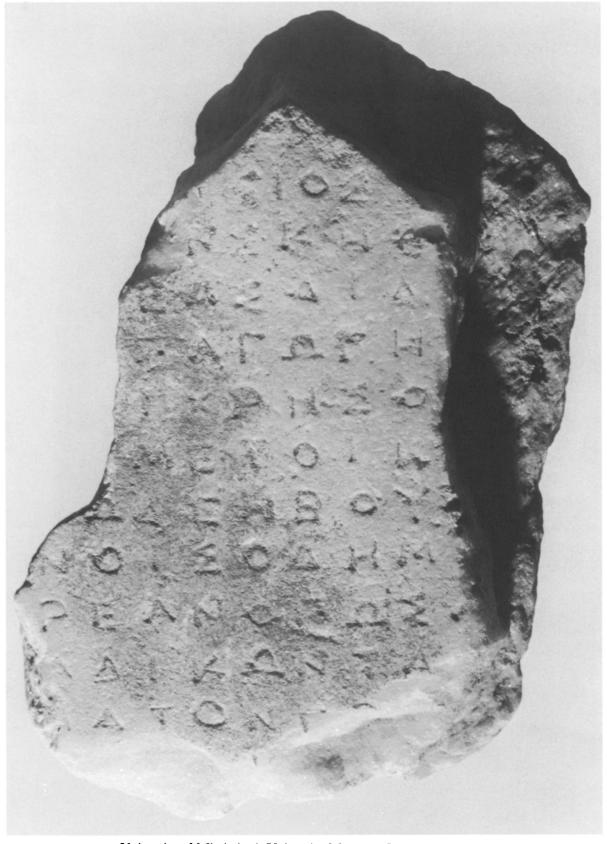UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA
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[24] *IG* II², 351 + 624 = *SIG*³, 288 = Tod II, no. 198, cited above in footnote 4.

[25] For the full bibliography see Tod II, no. 198. There was an error in the dating formula of the decree which suggests that another mistake, this time in the placement of the words τοῦ Παναθηναικοῦ, should not occasion great astonishment. In his English translation of the document P. J. Rhodes suggests that either interpretation is possible. See P. J. Rhodes, *Greek Historical Inscriptions 359–323 B.C.*, London 1971, pp. 38–39. Recently D. G. Romano ("The Panathenaic Stadium and Theater of Lykourgos: A Re-examination of the Facilities on the Pnyx Hill," *AJA* 89, 1985, pp. 441–454) has suggested that the Panathenaic Stadium and Theater mentioned in *IG* II², 351, lines 7–8 refers to the Pnyx. Whether this is true or not, scholars agree that the Theater of Dionysos was remodeled in the time of Lykourgos, and our σκηνή must refer to that theater since there was no σκηνή on the Pnyx.

PLATE 38

University of Mississippi, University Museums Inv. No. 77.3.665

A. J. Heisserer and R. A. Moysey: An Athenian Decree Honoring Foreigners