

# AN INSCRIPTION FROM THE ATHENIAN AGORA

## THASIAN EXILES AT ATHENS

(PLATE 16)

THE EXCAVATIONS of the Athenian Agora have produced a fragment of yet another Athenian decree of the early 4th century B.C. that deals with relations between Thasos and Athens.<sup>1</sup>

A fragment of micaceous Pentelic marble, found in January 1981, in removal of a modern pier north of the north side of the Market Square (J/1-3/14). The right side is preserved. The back tends to flake away parallel to the face.

P.H. 0.19 m.; p.W. 0.23 m.; p.Th. 0.10 m.

L.H. 0.009–0.01 m.; stoichedon, with a horizontal checker of 0.0103 m. and a vertical checker of 0.0152 m.

Agora Inv. No. I 7534

ca. a. 389–385 aut 375 a.?

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 33 aut 46 (?)

*lacuna*

[...<sup>12 or 25</sup>... καθ]άπερ[...<sup>14</sup>...]  
 [...<sup>14 or 27</sup>...]αινχαῖδ[...<sup>12</sup>...]  
 [...<sup>15 or 28</sup>...]λέγοσιν ει[...<sup>9</sup>...]  
 [...<sup>15 or 28</sup>...]των τὰ δημίοπρατ[α...]  
 5 [...<sup>18 or 31</sup>...]ἐξαλείψαι καὶ μὴ μ-  
 [...<sup>18 or 31</sup>...]τὸ]ς δὲ Θασίος (᾿Α)θην-  
 [...<sup>15 or 28</sup>...]ἀναγραφ]άτω δὲ ὁ γ(ρ)αμμ-  
 [ατεὺς ὁ τῆς βολῆς (τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα?) ἐν στήλῃ λιθίν]ῃ καὶ θ-  
 [έτω ἐμ πόλει? ...<sup>18 or 31</sup>...]στων[.]  
 10 [...<sup>30 or 43</sup>...]ατ[.]

*lacuna*

*Line 1:* The bottoms of the dotted letters are preserved.

*Line 2:* The right diagonal of alpha survives intact, as well as a trace of a possible horizontal, set rather low and slanting down to the right. Of the nu only the right hasta is preserved and, perhaps, the bottom of the diagonal. After this, the bottom of the vertical of kappa survives in an otherwise abraded area. Most of the following alpha is preserved, its horizontal faint and very high, however. In the next stoichos most of the surface is abraded, but more deeply left of center, where a vertical stroke seems to have been cut. Perhaps ]αιν χαῖ δ[ ?

<sup>1</sup> I am grateful to Professor T. Leslie Shear, Jr., the former Director of the Agora Excavations of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, for permission to study and to publish this document and very grateful to Professor Christian Habicht for making it possible for me to study and make use of the extensive collection of squeezes at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, New Jersey. I am also grateful to Professor A. G. Woodhead for his comments and suggestions (*per ep.*).

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*Line 3:* In the second stoichos to right of εἰ a vertical stroke survives at the left of its stoichos; since iotas tend to be set left of center in this inscription, iota is a likely reading. It seems to extend well below the bottom of its stoichos, however, and is slightly slanted; thus, it may be merely a random mark, not a letter stroke.

*Line 4:* The top of the first tau survives; after the second tau, the left foot of alpha is preserved.

*Line 5:* The top left corner of the first epsilon is preserved.

*Line 6:* The mason omitted the horizontal bar of alpha.

*Line 7:* The mason omitted the loop of rho. The left outer diagonal of the second mu survives.

*Line 8:* The left side of theta survives, without the central dot.

*Line 9:* Immediately left of sigma, the apex of a triangular letter may be preserved but seems off-center. Before this, the stone breaks on a curve that could be the top of the loop of beta or rho, but the traces are ambiguous and may not be letter strokes at all.

*Line 10:* The apex of a triangular letter and the left tip of the horizontal of tau survive. Both appear to lie well to the left.

This fragment clearly deals with the affairs of Thasians (line 6); part of the publication clause of the decree survives, so that this fragment is likely to belong near the bottom of its stele. The line length depends upon the precise form of this publication clause, either 33 or 46 letters, depending on what is restored.

Line 1: The word [καθ]άπερ, if correctly restored, could be part of the introduction to an amendment formula ([τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καθ]άπερ [τῇ βολῇ]) or, perhaps more likely, a comparison with the condition of the Athenians ([καθ]άπερ [᾽Αθηναῖοι]) or of some other group, such as exiles. In the latter case, another decree that involves Thasians, *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 33, lines 5–8, as it is restored by Osborne,<sup>2</sup> may provide a parallel; in this, the provisions made for the exiled Thasians are modeled on those made for a group of exiled Mantineians: [εἶ]ναι δὲ [καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς φεύγουσι] Θασί[ων ἐπ' αἰ]ττικισμῶι τ[ὴν ἀτέλει]αν καθά[περ Μ]αντινεῦσιν [ῆν]. Perhaps something similar occurs here.

Line 3: Someone has made a report to the Athenians ([περὶ δὲ ὧν] λέγοσιν εἶ[ναι]?). Since the next couple of lines detail action to be taken regarding properties that have been confiscated and sold (line 4), presumably in Thasos, I assume that a pro-Athenian regime has now been installed in Thasos and someone, perhaps a Thasian embassy, has reported that properties rightfully belonging to exiles have been registered in the names of other persons and has requested remedial action. Some of these rightful owners may already be in Thasos, but others may still be domiciled in Athens (lines 6–7).

Line 4: Perhaps [αὖ]τῶν?

Line 5: A record is to be erased, presumably that of the δημιόπρατ[α] of the previous line, and some other action is forbidden, perhaps leasing out the properties to evade registration: καὶ μὴ μ[ισθώσαι]?

Line 6: Given what appears to have been said already, it seems unlikely that these Thasians are granted Athenian citizenship (for instance, [τὸς δὲ Θασίος (<᾽Α)θην[αίος εἶναι]), but clearly some further, relatively short provision is made for them here, perhaps so long as they are in Athens. (<᾽Α)θῆν[ησιν? εἶναι ἀτελεῖς] would fit, but this formula is

<sup>2</sup> Osborne 1982, p. 50 (following Wilhelm's restoration in *IG* but adding the final [ῆν] to complete the clause).

unparalleled; in any case, if I am correct in postulating a grant of *ateleia* in line 1, a further such grant here would be unnecessary.<sup>3</sup>

Line 7: Apart from the use of the imperative, rather than the infinitive, this is the normal publication formula for the period, and it seems impossible to devise anything different, so that these lines will establish the line length as either 33 or 46 letters, depending on whether [τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα] is included or omitted.

Line 8: θέτω, rather than στησάτω, is rare but not unparalleled.

Line 9: I have restored [ἐμ πόλει] here on the assumption that the date is around 375 B.C., when this formula would have been more likely than [ἐν ἀκροπόλει]. After the publication formula one might expect the formula either for the recovery of the costs of publication or for an invitation to someone to partake of entertainment at the prytaneion. The surviving letters and possible letter traces in this line, however, do not seem to fit any of the known formulas for the recovery of the costs of publication, nor does any satisfactory restoration come to mind involving an invitation. If there is, in fact, nothing preserved before the sigma, a restoration on the lines of [καλέσαι δὲ τὸς πρέσβε]ς τῶν [Θασίων ἐπὶ ξένια ἐς τὸ πρυτανεῖον ἐς αὐριον] suggests itself, but with a 33-letter line, this would not accommodate the letter traces in line 10. If the line length is 46 rather than 33 letters, another name and [καὶ] would have to be inserted before [τὸς πρέσβε]ς (cf., for instance, *IG II<sup>2</sup> 24b*, lines 15–17: καλέσαι δ[ἐ Ἄρ]χιπ[ον καὶ τὸ ἄλλος] πρέσ[β]ες τὸς Θασί[ων ἐς] τὸ π[ρυτανεόν] ἐς αὐ[ριον] ἐπὶ ξένια). The length of this name would be either 5 or 9 letters, depending on whether πόλει or ἀκροπόλει is restored in the publication formula.

Line 10: Possibly instructions for the inscription of the names of the exiles (cf. *IG II<sup>2</sup> 33*, lines 8–9: ἀπογράψαι δὲ αὐτῶν τὰ ὀνόματα).

Other Athenian decrees dealing with the affairs of Thasians are the late 5th-century *IG XII viii 262* and the early 4th-century *IG II<sup>2</sup> 6*, 17, 24, 25, and 33. Although some of these may provide a possible context for the document discussed here, depending upon its date, none of them can be directly linked to it. *IG XII viii 262* is the Thasian copy of a lost Athenian decree involving arrangements for the restoration of democracy in Thasos, probably in 407/6 B.C.<sup>4</sup> Apart from a publication formula, however, none of the surviving clauses of that decree match what is found here. *IG II<sup>2</sup> 6* is the renewal of a proxeny decree for the five sons of Apemantos; it must be dated early in the 4th century, since the proxeny was one of those abrogated by the Thirty Tyrants. *IG II<sup>2</sup> 17*, dated to 394/3 B.C., records the grant of citizenship to Sthorys, a soothsayer who had served with the Athenian forces at the Battle of Knidos earlier in the same year and who was probably a hereditary *proxenos* of Athens in Thasos.<sup>5</sup> *IG II<sup>2</sup> 24*, in addition to various concessions granted to Archippos and Hipparchos of Thasos, involved the installation of this Sthorys as archon on the island, a move that seems most appropriate to a time as close as possible to Sthorys' activities in

<sup>3</sup> In all surviving examples, *ateleia* is in the accusative and the recipient is in the dative: see Henry 1983, pp. 241–246.

<sup>4</sup> The date is provided by the [restored] archon's name. A copy of this decree was to be set up in Athens in the precinct of Apollo Pythios.

<sup>5</sup> Osborne 1981, no. D8, pp. 43–45 and 1982, pp. 45–48.

connection with the Battle of Knidos.<sup>6</sup> *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 25, the grant of citizenship to Archippos and Hipparchos, must be dated after *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 24, in which they are clearly not yet Athenians.<sup>7</sup> Finally, *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 33 involves privileges for a group of Thasian exiles, in either *ca.* 385 or *ca.* 375 B.C.<sup>8</sup>

Thasos had been an Athenian ally until 410 B.C., when it went over to the Spartan side. It was recovered by the Athenian Thrasyboulos after a siege in 407/6 B.C., and its oligarchic regime replaced by a democracy. This is the context of *IG* XII viii 262, if it is correctly dated.<sup>9</sup> For the early 4th century, the most recent comprehensive discussion of the relations between Thasos and Athens is that of Osborne, whose arguments I summarize here.<sup>10</sup> Thasos again came under Spartan control in 405 B.C., at the end of the Peloponnesian War,<sup>11</sup> and remained under that control until 390/89, when Thrasyboulos ejected the Spartan garrison. Of the documents mentioned above, Osborne places *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 24 *ca.* 388 B.C., the consequence of Thrasyboulos' recovery of Thasos from Spartan influence in 390/89, and *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 25 soon after this. He envisages a second period of Spartan control subsequent to the King's Peace of 385 B.C., which ended *ca.* 375 B.C., when, he argues, Athenian control was reimposed by Chabrias. Accordingly, he places *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 33 *ca.* 375 B.C., seeing it as the consequence of Chabrias' recovery of Thasos.

Since neither in text nor in script does the new fragment match any of the other Athenian decrees involving Thasos, it must derive from still another decree dealing with relations between Thasos and Athens. The goods or properties alluded to in line 4 as having been seized by public authority are likely to be those belonging to Thasians, rather than to Athenians, and this may be a further indication that some sort of political settlement had been arranged in Thasos by the Athenians. The context could be any one of the two or three occasions in the late 5th or early 4th century when Athenian partisans were exiled from Thasos and subsequently restored to their homes, *viz.* 407/6, 389–385, or hypothetically, *ca.* 375 B.C. (following Osborne's proposed dating of *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 24 and *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 33). These Athenian partisans in Thasos, as in the case of those mentioned in *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 33, would have gone into exile, and their property would have been seized by the pro-Spartan authorities. When Athenian control was reestablished, they would have prepared to return to the island, and arrangements would have had to be made for the recovery of their property. Thus, the present document may be concerned with the return of these properties, as well as with the erasure of any records of interim ownership, while some, at least, of the rightful owners may still have been domiciled at Athens, since the decree may also be concerned with the grant to these refugees of relief from the metic tax in Attica.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Osborne 1981, no. D9, pp. 45–46 and 1982, pp. 48–57.

<sup>7</sup> Osborne 1982, no. D9A, pp. 48–57.

<sup>8</sup> Osborne 1982, no. D9B, pp. 48–57.

<sup>9</sup> For these events, see Xenophon, *Hellenika* 1.4.9 and Diodorus Siculus 13.72.1–2. A new fragment of *IG* XII viii 262 was published by Grandjean and Salviat (1988), necessitating a revised edition and interpretation of the entire document (see also *SEG* XXXVIII 851; XL 740).

<sup>10</sup> Osborne 1982, pp. 45–57. But for a different view of these events, see also Pouilloux 1954, pp. 195–203, with earlier references.

<sup>11</sup> Nepos, *Lysander* 6.1–3; Polyainos, *Stratagemata* 1.45.4.

<sup>12</sup> Demosthenes (20.59) refers to the *ateleia* granted to the Thasians as still being in existence *ca.* 355 B.C., when the speech against Leptines was delivered.

In the absence of a secure identification of the context, the only other recourse is to the evidence of the script, letter forms, and hand. The script is Ionic: this points to a date after the archonship of Eukleides (403/2 B.C.), when Attic script ceased to be used for official documents. By no means all official documents before that date, however, were engraved in Attic script.<sup>13</sup> The orthography is not very helpful: forms such as λέγοσιν (line 3) and Θασίος (line 6) would not be out of place from the end of the 5th century through the second quarter of the 4th century.<sup>14</sup> Finally, there is the question of the hand. Here, again, the evidence is not very helpful: I can find no document that is definitely by this hand. I believe, however, that this text may be the work of the mason of *IG II<sup>2</sup> 114*, a decree concerning the affairs of the Athenian klerouchy in Poteidaia, which is securely dated to 362/1 B.C. In the new text, however, not only are the letter sizes a little greater and the spacing, both horizontal and vertical, different but the shape of epsilon is not quite the same and the diameter of omicron is a little larger. Thus, if it is the work of the mason of *IG II<sup>2</sup> 114*, it is likely to be from a different time in this man's career; nevertheless, I believe that the date should be placed as close as possible to that of *IG II<sup>2</sup> 114*. Judgments about masons' hands are likely to be subjective, but, if I am correct, 407/6 B.C. is surely ruled out, and since the provisions listed here seem unlikely in the context of the late 360's, when Thasos was an active ally of Athens and apparently free of the problems that beset it earlier, a date either *ca.* 389–385 or *ca.* 375 B.C. seems preferable.

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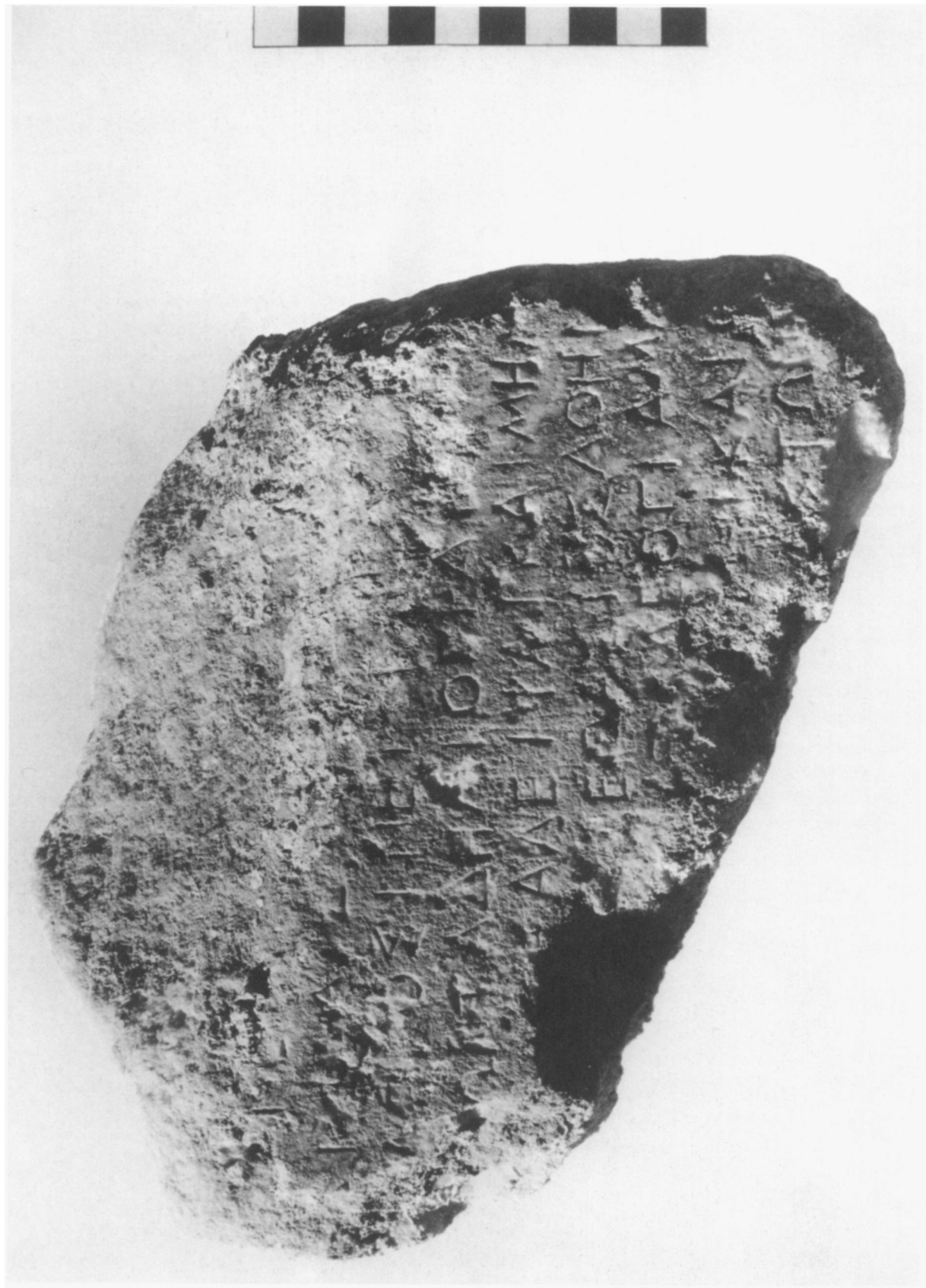
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<sup>13</sup> See Threatte 1980, pp. 27–32 for the use of Ionic script in public documents before 403/2 B.C.

<sup>14</sup> See Threatte 1980, pp. 349–352 for the dipthong -ou- expressed as -o-.



Agora Inv. No. I 7534

MICHAEL B. WALBANK: GREEK INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE ATHENIAN AGORA: THASIAN EXILES AT ATHENS