

THE ROLE OF ATHENS IN THE REORGANIZATION OF THE DELPHIC AMPHICTIONY AFTER 189 B.C.

(PLATE 9)

In memory of F. W. Mitchel

WHEN THE AETOLIANS suffered defeat in the war against Rome in 189 B.C., it meant, among other losses, the end of their control over Delphi and the amphictiony.¹ For more than a century, the Aetolians had kept their hold on the city of Delphi and the sanctuary of Apollo.² For a very long time, they also had been in control of the assembly that used to supervise the temple, the sanctuary, and the Pythian games.³ There had been much resentment of this Aetolian domination. When, in the late summer of 220 B.C., the new Hellenic League (headed by King Philip V of Macedon) decided to declare war on the Aetolian League at a meeting held at Corinth, one of the goals which the allied states hoped to achieve was to expel the Aetolians from Delphi and to reinstate the states that had traditionally been in control of the sanctuary.⁴ Nothing came of it, however, and so it was left to the Romans to chase the Aetolians from the holy city. Many of the latter had acquired landed property in or around Delphi and were now, in 190 B.C., evicted by the victorious Roman proconsul Manius Acilius Glabrio, who acted at the request of the Delphians.⁵ At the same time, the Roman general pledged himself in a letter to the Delphians “to use all his influence in upholding and preserving the ancient laws of the city and the temple.”⁶ He referred to the Thessalians “and others” as possible antagonists. This must

¹ I am grateful to T. Leslie Shear, Jr., for permission to publish the two fragments from the Agora, I 7197 and I 7199, and to the staff of the Agora Excavations for providing me with a photograph, squeezes, and copies of inventory cards.

Works frequently cited are abbreviated as follows:

- Agora XV = B. D. Meritt and J. S. Traill, *The Athenian Agora*, XV, *The Inscriptions: The Councilors*, Princeton 1974
Daux, *Delphes* = G. Daux, *Delphes au II^e et au I^{er} siècle depuis l'abaissement de l'Étolie jusqu'à la paix romaine, 191–31 av. J.-C.*, Paris 1936
Roussel, 1932 = P. Roussel, “Delphes et l'Amphictionie après la Guerre d'Aitolie,” *BCH* 56, 1932, pp. 1–36

² This is attested for the first time for 291 B.C. in the famous ithyphallic hymn sung in Athens in honor of Demetrios Poliorketes: Douris, *FGrHist*, 76, F 13. Demochares, *FGrHist*, 75, F 2. See C. Habicht, *Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte Athens im 3. Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, Munich 1979, pp. 40–42.

³ The fundamental study remains R. Flacelière, *Les Aitoliens à Delphes*, Paris 1937. For the Amphictiony in general see G. Busolt and H. Swoboda, *Griechische Staatskunde* 2, Munich 1927, pp. 1292–1310; G. Daux, “Remarques sur la composition du conseil amphictionique,” *BCH* 81, 1957, pp. 95–120; G. Roux, *L'Amphictionie, Delphes et le temple d'Apollon au IV^e siècle*, Lyon 1979. See also J. A. O. Larsen, “Federations for Peace in Ancient Greece,” *CP* 39, 1944, pp. 145–162.

⁴ Polybios, iv.25.8: *συνανακομιεῖσθαι δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ἀμφικτύουσιν ἔγραψαν τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὴν περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἐξουσίαν, ἣν Αἰτωλοὶ παρήρηνται νῦν, βουλόμενοι τῶν κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν ἐπικρατεῖν αὐτοί.* See also H. H. Schmitt, *Die Staatsverträge des Altertums* III, Munich 1969, pp. 212–217, no. 507.

⁵ R. K. Sherck, *Roman Documents from the Greek East*, Baltimore 1969, pp. 221–224, no. 37. Substantial new fragments of the document have been published by J.-P. Michaud, “Nouvelle inscription de la base de M' Acilius,” in *Études delphiques* (*BCH* Suppl. IV), 1977, pp. 125–136.

⁶ Sherck, *op. cit.*, p. 224.

undoubtedly refer to the role which the Thessalians had traditionally played in the old amphictiony. It then follows that the Delphians must have hoped, in 190 B.C., to gain exclusive control over the sanctuary and the Pythian games and to prevent anything like the old amphictiony from being restored to dominating influence. Since, however, the supervision of the sanctuary and the sacred land had always been the prerogative of the amphictiony, it could be expected (as it obviously was by the Delphians as well as by Manius Acilius) that other states would campaign for the re-establishment of the old amphictionic structure. This is, in fact, what happened.

Detailed information about the developments that were to follow the peace concluded in 189 B.C. between Rome and the Aetolians comes from a long decree of the amphictiony, as it was eventually reorganized. It dates from 184/3, the year of the Delphic archon Kraton. It was found at Delphi and first published in 1914.⁷ The decree honors Nikostratos, son of Anaxippos, from Larisa, precisely for the important role which he, as one of two delegates of the Thessalians, had played in bringing about the new constitution of the amphictiony. It also indicates that in 184 B.C. the Thessalians, the Athenians, and the Corinthians (representing the Dorians of the Peloponnese) were members of the new amphictionic council, but since there is no complete list of the delegates (*hieromnemes*), it remains an open question how most of the 24 votes were distributed among participating states and which delegates attended the meeting. It is only in 178 B.C. that such a catalogue is again preserved.⁸

This important document has often been discussed, with G. Blum, H. Pomtow, P. Roussel, and G. Daux being the principal contributors.⁹ In marked contrast to the past, the council calls itself a "union of the amphictions from the autonomous tribes and the democratic cities" (*κοινὸν τῶν Ἀμφικτιόνων τῶν ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτονομῶν ἐθνῶν καὶ δημοκρατουμένων πόλεων*).¹⁰ Scholars have long interpreted this as an implicit criticism of both the Aetolians and King Philip V of Macedon. They concluded that Philip was kept away from membership in the new council and that it was only his son Perseus who, after Philip had died in 179 B.C., was readmitted to membership as owner of the two votes which had belonged to the Macedonian king since the 4th century B.C. In fact, two royal representatives are attested at the fall meeting of 178.¹¹ Nothing, however, has been said about the question of who might have owned these two votes in 184 B.C. and was deprived of them in 179 or 178. The conclusion is, in fact, unwarranted. As A. Giovannini has convincingly demonstrated, the Macedonian king never lost his two votes. Philip V had never violated his duties;

⁷ G. Blum, "Nouvelles inscriptions de Delphes," *BCH* 38, 1914 (pp. 21–37), pp. 25–37 and fig. 5. Also printed in *SIG*³, 613 A. The emendation *διατελεῖ* (for *διατελεῖν* of the stone) in line 29 was found independently by A. Wilhelm (*SymbOslo* 12, 1933, p. 2) and G. Daux (*Delphes*, p. 289). See further G. Klaffenbach, review of Daux, *Delphes* in *Gnomon* 14, 1938, p. 16, note 1; G. Daux, "Inscriptions de Delphes," *BCH* 63, 1939 (pp. 142–182), p. 165, note 1.

⁸ *SIG*³, 636, where 23 of the traditional 24 votes are recorded. Missing is the representative of the Dorians from the Peloponnese.

⁹ Blum (footnote 7 above). Pomtow in the notes to *SIG*³, 613 A and in "Delphische Neufunde IV," *Klio* 16, 1920 (pp. 109–177), pp. 141–146. Roussel, 1932, pp. 26–31. G. Daux, *Delphes*, pp. 280–292.

¹⁰ *SIG*³, 613 A, lines 3–4.

¹¹ *SIG*³, 636, lines 5–7.

on the contrary, in the years 220–217 B.C., he had fought for the liberation of the amphictiony from the supremacy of the Aetolians.¹² Giovannini has also shown, following herein the lead of P. Roussel, that the new council evoked the famous declaration of Greek liberty as proclaimed by Titus Flamininus in 196 and, in so doing, firmly pledged allegiance to the political arrangements which the Romans had made in Greece in the years 196 to 194 B.C.¹³ The new council did renounce the Aetolian past and made it known that once again its members were independent.¹⁴

Furthermore, the decree in honor of Nikostratos clearly shows that there had been a serious conflict between the new amphictiony and the city of Delphi and that, although the main question had been settled in Rome, hostility was still felt at Delphi. It is this conflict that had almost been anticipated by Acilius in 190 B.C., when he wrote his letter to Delphi. As anticipated there and as documented by the decree for the Thessalian Nikostratos, the Thessalians, in fact, turned out to be among the principal adversaries of the Delphians. The decree, however, not only reflects the fact that there was such a conflict but also states its outcome. Sometime between the fall of 186 and that of 184 an embassy of the new amphictiony went to Rome and persuaded the Senate to grant its request that the amphictiony be restored in its traditional form. This meant that the hopes and expectations of the city of Delphi were dampened and that the assurances which Manius Acilius had given her proved to be of no help. The text of the decree clearly states that the amphictionic embassy scored a complete success.¹⁵ This is confirmed by the fact that a few years later, in 178 B.C., it was the amphictiony which settled a matter concerning the use of the holy land.¹⁶ The document illustrating this, however, shows the two Delphian delegates heading the list of the 24 members of the council. It seems, therefore, that some compromise had been found: the city had to give in to the decision of the Senate but seems to have been given the place of honor (which traditionally belonged to the Thessalians) as some kind of compensation.¹⁷

The document from Delphi emphasizes the role of the Thessalians in these developments. The reasons for this prominent position are clear enough: first, the Thessalians had always been a dominant force in the council; second, the decree honors their representative, Nikostratos. He is known as one of the most influential and most wealthy citizens of Larisa in the early 2nd century B.C. and was, a few years earlier (192–183 B.C.?), among a fairly small number of potent men (*δυνάμεινοι*) who, at the request of the city, had given money for the renovation of the gymnasium. How prominent these people were can be seen from the fact that they there appear next to two foreigners, King Philip and Prince Perseus.¹⁸ No

¹² A. Giovannini, "Philipp V., Perseus und die delphische Amphiktyonie," *Ancient Macedonia* [I], B. Laourdas and C. Makaronas, edd., Thessaloniki 1970, pp. 147–154, who (p. 147, note 2) lists the copious bibliography. For Philip in 220–217 B.C., see footnote 4 above.

¹³ Roussel, 1932, p. 28. Giovannini, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

¹⁴ Giovannini (footnote 12 above), p. 150.

¹⁵ *SIG*³, 613 A, lines 13–19.

¹⁶ *SIG*³, 636. Roussel, 1932, p. 30. Giovannini (footnote 12 above), p. 153.

¹⁷ Roussel, *loc. cit.*

¹⁸ L. Moretti, *Iscrizioni storiche ellenistiche* II, Florence 1976, no. 102, col. II, line 15. This document is discussed at length by C. Habicht, "Makedonen in Larisa?" *Chiron* 13, 1983, pp. 21–32; for Nikostratos, see

wonder, then, that a man such as Nikostratos could take a leading part in the reorganization of the amphictionic council. During the festival of the Pythia in late summer of 186 B.C., while Nikoboulos was archon at Delphi, Nikostratos “made every effort, together with the men sent by the people of Athens and the *hieromnemes*, that the council of the amphictions be restored to its old form in accordance with tradition.”¹⁹

In cooperation with those just named, Nikostratos presided over the contest and the sacrifices. More important, the council elected him and the Athenian Menedemos to represent the amphictions as ambassadors in Rome. He appeared before the Senate, where the praetors and the tribunes were in charge (the consuls being absent), addressed the *patres* according to his instructions, and obtained the decree winning the case for the amphictions. After his return, he reappeared as delegate for the council’s meeting in the fall of 184, during the Delphian archonship of Kraton. He went with his fellow-delegates for sacrifices to Thermopylai and returned with them to Delphi. He then appeared before the assembly of the city of Delphi, reported on his mission to the Senate in Rome, and pleaded with the Delphians for harmonious relations. It is quite obvious that he must have had a rough time there; the text also suggests that his life had once been in danger, although not necessarily on that particular occasion and not necessarily from the part of the Delphians.²⁰

It was only natural that Nikostratos, at that time, was voted high honors by the amphictions for his services. Among them was a bronze statue, to be erected in the sanctuary of Apollo.²¹ Part of its inscribed base has been found and was published in 1949 by G. Daux.²²

If Nikostratos was a prominent figure in the development that led to the restoration of the old council, the decree nevertheless makes it quite clear that an equally important role was played by some Athenians. Athenians are the only participants of the amphictiony who are, except for Nikostratos himself, identified by their ethnic. They are distinguished from the regular delegates (*hieromnemes*) as men elected by the Athenian assembly and entrusted with a special mission. The context leaves no doubt that they carried more weight than most of the delegates.²³ And one of these Athenians, Menedemos, was elected together with Nikostratos to represent the council in Rome.²⁴ There is no reason to assume that he was less instrumental in bringing about the favorable decree of the Senate than Nikostratos was. There was, however, no need to dwell on his services in the decree honoring the latter.

especially p. 24, no. 6. A descendant of his, Anaxippos, son of Nikostratos, in Larisa, ca. 80 B.C.: K. I. Gallis, «Νέα ἐπιγραφικά εὐρήματα ἀπὸ τῆς Λάρισας», *ΑΑΑ* 13, 1980 (pp. 246–261), p. 257, line 51.

¹⁹ *SIG*³, 613 A, lines 7–11: τὴν πᾶσαν σπουδὴν ἐποιήσατο μετὰ τῶν ἀποσταλέντων ἀνδρῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν ἱερομνημόνων, ὅπως ἀποκατασταθῇ τὸ συνέδριον τῶν Ἀμφικτιόνων εἰς τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς κατὰ τὰ πάτρια.

²⁰ *SIG*³, 613 A, lines 32–34 with the comments of Roussel (Roussel, 1932, p. 27, note 5).

²¹ *SIG*³, 613 A, lines 41–45: καὶ εἰκὼνι χαλκῇ . . . καὶ στήσαι αὐτοῦ τὴν εἰκόνα ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Πυθίου.

²² G. Daux, “Inscriptions de Delphes inédites ou revues,” *BCH* 73, 1949 (pp. 248–293), p. 274, § 25 with fig. 8.

²³ See the text cited in footnote 19 above.

²⁴ *SIG*³, 613 A, lines 13–15 (of Nikostratos): αἰρεθεὶς δὲ καὶ πρεσβευτὴς εἰς Ῥώμην ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Ἀμφικτιόνων μετὰ Μενεδήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίου.

Who was this Menedemos? H. Pomtow opted for Menedemos, son of Androstheneis, from the deme Philaidai, who in 186 was one of 24 "curators of the procession" listed in an Athenian inscription.²⁵ Nothing more is known about him. This fact makes the suggestion of F. Hiller von Gaertringen much more attractive: that he is rather Menedemos, son of Archon, from Kydathenaion.²⁶ He is attested in various important positions, and so are descendants of his. He was treasurer of the tribe Antigonis shortly before 200 B.C. (in which year the tribe was abolished).²⁷ In 183 B.C., he contributed money to the great collection (*epidosis*) not only for himself, but also for his wife Hegesion, his son Archon (who, as this fact indicates, had not yet come of age), and his daughter Kleo.²⁸ And shortly after 167 B.C., Menedemos was elected to one of the most prestigious and important positions which the city of Athens could bestow: that of governor-general (*epimeletes*) of Delos.²⁹ His son Archon was probably the eponymous archon of Athens in either 148/7 or 147/6 B.C.³⁰ His grandson Menedemos is listed in a catalogue of noble citizens, some time around 125 B.C.³¹ and must also be the Menedemos who was in charge of the silver coinage *ca.* 134/3 B.C.³² His great-granddaughter was Glauke, priestess of Demeter and Kore.³³ There can be no real doubt that Menedemos of Kydathenaion was the man whom the amphictionic council entrusted, in 186 or 185 B.C., to go with Nikostratos the Thessalian on the important embassy to the Roman Senate.

It is now already evident that the Athenians, too, played a very important part in the reorganization of the traditional amphictiony. That much, in fact, could be concluded from the decree in honor of Nikostratos.³⁴ It remained, however, an open question as to who the other Athenians were who are mentioned there as having played their parts, too (lines 8–9; p. 60 above). Fresh evidence now comes for this and other issues, in a unexpected manner, from two fragments of an Athenian decree. They were found at the Athenian Agora; another small piece that had long been known and is preserved in the Epigraphical Museum can

²⁵ PA 9888. *IG* II², 896, line 51. Pomtow, *SIG*³, 613 A, note 7.

²⁶ PA 9894. *SIG*³, 613 A, note 7. The same identification in P. Roussel, *Délos, Colonie Athénienne*, Paris 1916, p. 100 and Roussel, 1932, p. 27, note 3. There is also Menedemos, eponymous archon of Athens in 179/8 B.C., and Menedemos of Phaleron attested as one of the *prytaneis ca.* 180/79 (*Agora* XV, no. 170, line 72).

²⁷ *Agora* XV, no. 138.

²⁸ *IG* II², 2332, lines 56–58.

²⁹ *ID*, 1805.

³⁰ *IG* II², 968, line 36 (together with Δελατ 29, 1973–1974, B' 1 [1979], p. 17).

³¹ *IG* II², 2452, line 30.

³² M. Thompson, *The New Style Silver Coinage of Athens*, New York 1961, pp. 138–143, with the chronology as proposed by D. M. Lewis, "The Chronology of the Athenian New Style Coinage," *NC*, 1962, pp. 275–300.

³³ K. Clinton, "The Sacred Officials of the Eleusinian Mysteries," *TAPS* 64, 1974, p. 72, no. 5; p. 124, no. VI. *Idem*, 'Αρχ'Εφ, 1971 (1972), pp. 129–130, no. 25.

³⁴ P. Roussel (Roussel, 1932, p. 28) was therefore correct when he called Athens and the Thessalian League the two "artisans principaux" of the new structure. G. Daux (*Delphes*) voices a similar opinion on p. 285 but on p. 292 has the impression that the Thessalians were dominant, probably because (and only because) the source of his information was the decree honoring the Thessalian who was most directly involved in the affair.

be joined to them. Together, these pieces give the desired information and other important details. They tie in remarkably well with the amphictionic decree from Delphi, except that they tell much the same story from the Athenian point of view.

1. Agora I 7197. Fragment of blue Hymettian marble. Broken above, below, and on right side. Left side worked with toothed chisel; back roughly picked. Pres. H. 0.31 m.; pres. W. 0.155 m.; pres. Th. 0.12 m. L.H. 0.007 m.

2. Agora I 7199. Fragment of blue Hymettian marble. Broken all around except at right side. Right side roughly smooth. Pres. H. 0.30 m.; pres. W. 0.295 m.; pres. Th. 0.07 m. L.H. 0.006–0.007 m.

Both fragments were found on July 16, 1970 in a late Roman context along the Panathenaic Way, section BΓ 206, area J/6-4/16. The two fragments join, as J. McK. Camp II was the first to observe, so that they have parts of lines 9–21 in common and join in lines 17 and 18. When the date had been determined from line 11 as probably being the year after that of the archon Zopyros (186/5 B.C.), the upper left corner of the stone was identified in a fragment giving the name of the archon Eupolemos (185/4 B.C.) and now preserved in the Epigraphical Museum.

3. *IG* II², 898. Fragment broken all around except on top. Pres. H. 0.078 m.; pres. W. 0.13 m.; pres. Th. 0.11 m. L.H. 0.007 m. Published *Ἀθηναίων* 6, 1877, p. 387, no. 6. U. Koehler, *CIA* II 5, 439 b. J. Kirchner, *IG* II², 898. The fragment contains parts of lines 1–5. It is transcribed here from the squeeze at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton.

a. 185/4 a.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. 38–41

- IG II², 898 [Θ Ε] Ο [Ι]
 ['Επὶ Εὐπο]λέμου ἄρχον[τος ἐπὶ τῆς -----ca. 12-----]
 [---7----- πρυ]τανείας [ῆι Στρατόνικος Στρατονί-]
 4 [κου Ἀμαξαντε]ὺς ἐγρα[μμάτευεν, -----ca. 13-----]
 [---6--- βουλῇ ἐ]μ βουλ[ευτηρίῳι, τῶν προέδρων ἐπε-]
 I 7197 [ψ]ήφισεν [-----ca. 26----- καὶ συμ-]
 πρόεδροι ^υ [^υ ἔδοξεν τεῖ βουλεῖ καὶ τῶι δήμῳι ^{υ υ}]
 8 Φιλόφρων Φιλ[-----ca. 19----- εἶπεν· ἐπει-]
 δὴ διὰ τοὺς π / [-----ca. 18-----] ΙΠΟΛ[---5-6---] I 7199
 φθεί[σ]ης τῆς ἀ[ρχ]ῆς τῆς τοῦ ἱερομνήμο]νος λαχῶν [---2-4---]
 a. 186/5 a. στρατος Φλυε[ὺς εἰς τὸν ἐνιαυτὸ]ν τὸν ἐπὶ Ζωπύ[ρου]
 12 ἄρχοντος καὶ ἀ[ποσταλ]εῖς ἐποι[ή]σατο τὴν ἀποδημ[ί-]
 αν εἰς Δελφοὺς [μετὰ τῶν ἀν]δρῶν οὓς ὁ δήμος προ[ε-]
 χειρίσατο ἐπὶ [τὰ Ἀμφικ]τιονικὰ Ἐχεδήμου καὶ Με-
 νεδήμου καὶ Ἀλ[εξί]ωνος] καὶ μετὰ τούτων καὶ τῶν ἄλ-
 16 λων ἀμφικτιόν[ων ---5---]. Ε θυσίας ἔθυσεν τῶι Ἀπόλ-
 λωνι καὶ τοῖς ἄλ[λο]ις θεοῖς οἷς πάτριον ἦν καὶ τοῦ
 ἀγῶνος τῶν Πυ[θί]ων συνεπεμελήθη καὶ τοῦ διαμει-
 ναι τὸ συν[έδρι]ον ἐκ τῶν αὐτονόμων ἔθνων καὶ τῶν δη-
 20 μοκρατου[μένων] πόλεων· ποιησάμενος δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν
 μεθοπωρ[ιν]ὴν πυλαί[αν] τὴν ἀποδημίαν, ἔθυσεν τεῖ τε
 [Δήμητρι -----ca. 11-----] — . . τῶι ἀμφικτιονικῶι τοῖς
 [-----ca. 22-----] NHN καὶ τὰς ἀποδημίας ^υ
 24 [-----ca. 27-----] Σ εὐσχημοσύνης πά-
 [σης -----] τοῦ δήμου καὶ περιγ[.]
 [-----] ^α αὐτῶι καὶ τ[---]
 [-----] NOYK [-----]
 28 [-----] TA [-----]

Lines 2–3: [- ἐπὶ τῆς Πτολεμαίδος / δεκάτης πρυ]τανείας Kirchner; [- ἐπὶ τῆς Πτολεμαίδος / -- άτης πρυ]τανείας Koehler

Line 8: Φιλόφρων Φιλ[οκράτους ? demotic εἶπεν κτλ.]

Line 16: in the middle ΕΥΕ (?), perhaps [συνήδρ]ευε ?

Line 19: ΕΚ ΤΩΝ

Line 22: —////

Koehler and Kirchner both assumed that the decree, of which *IG II²*, 898 is the beginning, dated from the same day as another, *IG II²*, 897, in honor of Zoilos, a high official of King Ptolemy V Epiphanes.³⁵ If so, its date would be Mounychion 11. The connection with the new fragment I 7197, however, rules that out, since there is no way to restore the prescript in the same manner as that of *IG II²*, 897, which runs as follows: Ἐπὶ Εὐπολέμου ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς Πτολεμαίδος [δε|κ|]άτης πρυτανείας, ἥι Στρατόνικος Στρατονίκ[ου Ἀ|μα]ξαντεὺς ἐγραμμάτευεν Μουνιχιῶνος ἐν[δεκά|]τει βουλὴ ἐμ βουλευτηρίῳ σύνκλητος στρατ[ηγῶν] | παραγγειλάντων καὶ ἀπὸ βουλῆς ἐκκλησία [κυρία] | ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψήφισεν κτλ.³⁶

The prescript of the new decree as restored above leaves little room for doubt that we have before us a decree of the Boule (line 5) which was then adopted by the assembly (line 7). The proposer, Philophron Phil— (line 8), is therefore by necessity a councillor. The year is 185/4 B.C., as indicated by the archonship of Eupolemos (line 2) and confirmed by that of Zopyros, 186/5 (line 11), in whose year the man honored (lines 10–11) had served. His name was —stratos, with 2–4 letters missing at the beginning, from Phlya. No man from this deme with an appropriate name and who was politically active about the time is known.³⁷ Whoever he was, it may be assumed that he was honored fairly soon after the expiration of his annual term of office, after he had gone through the public examination prescribed by the law. If so, the first half of the year 185/4 B.C. is more likely to have been the time of the decree than the latter half. It seems, however, impossible to determine the name of the tribe and the number of the prytany in lines 2–3, or month and day in lines 4–5.³⁸

As can be seen from lines 13, 14, and 18, the decree is concerned with Delphi and with matters of the amphictiony. It will be observed that it is about one year earlier than the amphictionic decree for Nikostratos from Delphi, which, however, narrates events beginning in 186 B.C., the year in which the Athenian honorand served. That the two documents belong closely together becomes obvious from the phrase (lines 19–20) τὸ συν[έδριον] ἐκ τῶν αὐτονόμων ἐθνῶν καὶ τῶν δημοκρατου[μένων] πόλεων which echoes the words from the decree for Nikostratos [τῷ κοι]νῷ τῶν Ἀμφικτιόνων τῶν ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτονόμων ἐθνῶν καὶ δημοκρατουμένων πόλεων.³⁹ Since A. Giovannini's paper quoted in footnote 12 had focused on this very expression and since I happened to be in the chair when he presented it at Thessalonike in 1968, the reappearance of this unique expression in the fragments from the Agora immediately revealed the context to which these fragments belonged.

³⁵ He may be Zoilos, son of Andron, eponymous priest of Alexander the Great and the deified Ptolemies in 196/5 B.C. (*Prosopographia Ptolemaica* IX, Louvain 1981, p. 20, no. 5132; W. Clarysse and G. van der Veken, *The Eponymous Priests of Ptolemaic Egypt*, Leiden 1983, p. 20).

³⁶ See M. H. Hansen, "Ἐκκλησία Σύνκλητος in Hellenistic Athens," *GRBS* 20, 1979, pp. 149–156; for βουλὴ σύνκλητος, pp. 151–153.

³⁷ The following names ending in -stratos from Phlya are known to me: Arcestratos, Demonstratos, Menestratos, Nikostratos, Pheidostratos, Polystratos, Timostratos, and -sistratos. There is no need to quote references, since no plausible identification with the honorand of 185/4 B.C. seems possible.

³⁸ The same uncertainty prevails for the decree of the Boule for *prytaneis* from the same year, *Agora* XV, no. 179.

³⁹ *SIG³*, 613 A, lines 2–4. It will be observed that the more precise word συνέδριον (instead of κοινόν) appears in line 10.

It then becomes obvious that --stratos of Phlya was the Athenian delegate (*hieromnemon*) to the new amphictiony in 186/5 B.C. He is called ἀμφικτίων (line 16), and his activity is identical to that of the Thessalian *hieromnemon* Nikostratos: both attend first a meeting during which they participated in presiding over the Pythian games, then a fall meeting.⁴⁰ The restoration of line 10, therefore, seems justified, and it can also be concluded that both men were present at the same meeting in 186 B.C. and at the Pythian games that very year.

More important than the Athenian delegate, however, were the other Athenians mentioned ahead of him in the amphictionic decree (lines 8–9) but not named: ἄνδρες οἱ ἀποσταλέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων. In the Athenian decree, they are called οἱ ἄνδρες οὓς ὁ δῆμος προεχειρίσατο ἐπὶ τὰ Ἀμφικτιονικά, “the men appointed by the people to take charge of the amphictionic matters.” We now learn that there were three and that their names were Echedemos, Menedemos, and, if the restoration in line 15 is correct, Al[exion].

These names are of the utmost interest. Menedemos, of course, is the same Menedemos who went with Nikostratos of Larisa as ambassador to Rome, that is to say, Menedemos, son of Archon, of Kydathenaion (p. 63 above). The two others are even better known. They belong to two families that I have recently discussed at some length, since they both seem to belong to the small circle of some five leading families of Athens at that time.⁴¹ Moreover, these two individuals were the outstanding figures within their respective families. It will be noted that in the Athenian decree Echedemos takes precedence even over Menedemos (who was then dispatched to the Senate). Echedemos’ family, also from Kydathenaion, can be traced from the time of the diadochoi down to that of Augustus. The Echedemos in our text was Echedemos III. He holds first place in the very large number of Athenian citizens who appear in the great list of 183 B.C. (p. 63 above). This is a clear indication that he was, at that time, regarded as the most eminent citizen of all. He is again first in a similar list of 172/1 B.C. His main claim to glory, however (as far as we can tell), was the fact that during the war between Rome and Aitolia he was actively negotiating, for quite some time. On the Roman side the brothers Scipio were those in charge. He went to the Roman camp outside Amphissa and to the Aetolian authorities at Hypata, to both no less than three times. In the end, he succeeded in bringing about a truce for six months. This Echedemos is also the object of two Hellenistic epigrams preserved in the *Anthologia palatina*, and two of his sons were victors in prestigious equestrian contests at the Panathenaia of ca. 178 B.C.

Alexion II, son of Speusippos of Azenia, was, in 196 B.C., the head of an Athenian delegation of three that participated in negotiating peace between the cities of Miletos and Magnesia on the Maiander. In 178/7 B.C., he again headed an embassy or a committee of three engaged in negotiations with the Achaean League. These testimonies indicate that he

⁴⁰ The first meeting is described in lines 12–20, the second in lines 20ff. For Nikostratos, the first meeting was the one connected with the Pythia in the summer of 186 (*SIG*³, 613 A, lines 5–13 and note 4), the second, which came after the embassy to Rome, was the fall meeting of 184 (lines 19–29); Nikostratos must have been re-elected as delegate.

⁴¹ *Studien zur Geschichte Athens in hellenistischer Zeit*, Göttingen 1982, pp. 178–197. For Echedemos pp. 189–193, for Alexion pp. 185–188. The main facts briefly alluded to here are more fully discussed and documented there.

was a gifted and experienced diplomat, such as Echedemos and Menedemos likewise were. Alexion appears in the large list of 183 B.C. in the third position, preceded only by Echedemos (who also precedes him here) and by members of the family of Eurykleides and Mikion, who were the liberators of Athens in 229 B.C. and political leaders of the city for many years. There can be no doubt that Alexion belonged to one of the top families of the time, and this should make the restoration of his name almost certain.

It can easily be seen that the Athenians attributed a very high priority to the revival of the amphictiony and that they selected men of the highest distinction to represent them in these matters, exactly as the Thessalians did. They appointed men of whom it could be expected that they would hold their own in a meeting of other eminent Greeks, men who might be able to leave a distinct impression even with the Roman Senate, as only a few years earlier another Athenian from one of the leading families had done. This was Leon, son of Kichesias, from Aixone, who, through a brilliant speech delivered in 189 B.C. in the *curia*, finally persuaded a long reluctant Senate to grant the Aetolians peace.⁴²

Under the circumstances, it may seem strange that of --stratos of Phlya, the Athenian delegate, in whose honor the decree was voted, nothing else is known. Since there is a certain amount of evidence where one might expect a prominent citizen to turn up (for instance, the long list of contributors to the *epidosis* of 183 B.C., the lists of victors at the Panathenaia, catalogues of *prytaneis*, other epigraphical documents or literary testimonies from Polybios, Livy, the *Anthologia palatina*, etc.), this is hardly the result of chance. It seems safe to conclude that --stratos did not belong to any of the distinguished families. And this is not very surprising as soon as one is reminded that he was chosen by lot, as line 10 shows and as is attested for the Athenian *hieromnemes* in general. For this reason, the Athenian *hieromnemes* had always been men who, through their functions, earned some distinction (as the eponymous archon did through his function) but who were not very influential or powerful and were not drawn from the highest circles of Athenian society: their appointment could be left to the chance of the lot.

There were other men, however, with the title of *pylagoroi* (or *pylagorai*) who were elected by the Athenians to represent them, too, in amphictionic matters. They were the experts in all political and judicial matters and, for that very reason, often most eminent citizens, such as Themistokles, Demosthenes, Aischines, Hypereides, or Meidias.⁴³ For instance, in 340 B.C., the Athenians elected Meidias of Anagyrous, Thrasykles of Oion, and Aischines as *pylagoroi*, whereas Diognetos of Anaphlystos, of whom nothing else is known, was made *hieromnemon* by lot.⁴⁴

It follows that the Athenians who were elected by the assembly in 186 B.C. ἐπὶ τὰ

⁴² See the evidence (Polybios, Livy), as discussed in Habicht (footnote 41), pp. 194–195.

⁴³ H. Schaefer, s.v. *πυλαγόρος*, *RE* XXIII, ii, 1959, cols. 2084–2091. G. Roux, *L'Amphictionie, Delphes, et le temple d'Apollon au IV^e siècle*, Lyon 1979, pp. 23–25 (for the Athenian *hieromnemon*), pp. 26–31 (for the *pylagoroi*). The title *pylagoros* was replaced during the Aetolian domination at Delphi by the other, *agoratos*. The old title, however, reappears later, after 189 B.C., as Schaefer plausibly suggests (col. 2090). See also H. Wankel, "Bemerkungen zur delphischen Amphiktyonie im 4. Jh. und zum 4. Heiligen Krieg," *ZPE* 42, 1981, pp. 153–156.

⁴⁴ Aischines, 3.115. See most recently Wankel, *op. cit.*, p. 160, no. 38.

Ἀμφικτιονικά, Echedemos, Menedemos, and Alexion, were the Athenian *pylagoroi* of 186/5. In the amphictionic decree for Nikostratos, they are called οἱ ἀποσταλέντες ἄνδρες ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων.⁴⁵ Scholars have tried various explanations of this expression. G. Blum suggested these men to be the leaders of the Athenian *Pythais* to Delphi,⁴⁶ whereas G. Daux thought it possible that they might be the Athenian delegates (θεωροί) to the Pythian festival.⁴⁷ The facts, however, that they were elected, that they were three in number, and, above all, that they were sent to deal with “amphictionic matters”, rules out these suggestions and proves that they were the *pylagoroi*.

They were the ones who spoke for Athens whenever important political issues were at stake, whereas the *hieromnemon* shared with his fellow-delegates the care of the sacred duties. It was one of the three, Menedemos, who was chosen by the council to go to Rome, together with Nikostratos. Nikostratos, it is true, was himself *hieromnemon*, one of the two whom the Thessalians sent. The Thessalians, however, elected their two delegates and used to send the same people year after year, so that in their case the *hieromnemes* (or at least one of the two) were the ones who counted.⁴⁸ It has already been demonstrated (p. 62 above) that Nikostratos was, in fact, one of the most distinguished men in Thessaly at the time.

As unknown as the *hieromnemon* – stratos, it seems, is the councillor who proposed the decree in his honor. The name Philophron (line 4) is not very common in Athens. In 384/3 B.C., there was a dramatic poet Φιλόφρων Φιλοκράτος, who was victorious according to a choregic inscription.⁴⁹ No demotic is given for him, but it deserves attention that his father’s name began with Phil–, as did the name of the father of the proposer; the latter could well have been a homonymous descendant of the poet.

The Athenian decree narrates events of the late summer and early fall of 186 B.C.: first, the meeting of the amphictiony to conduct the Pythian games in the Delphic month Boukatios;⁵⁰ second, the attempt to revive the traditional amphictionic council. This was coupled with a pledge of allegiance to the new political order created by the Romans after the wars against King Philip and the Aetolian League. Lines 20–21 seem to indicate that the Athenian delegate, in order to attend the fall meeting, made a second trip. This, however, was not another journey from Athens to Delphi, but the trip from Delphi to Thermopylai, together with all other *hieromnemes*. At Thermopylai the delegates always celebrated the traditional sacrifices and then returned to Delphi to resume their deliberations.

The extant portion of the Athenian decree does not extend beyond the fall of 186 B.C. The lost portion will have included some report on the spring meeting of 185 B.C. but must have ended with the summer of 185 B.C. at the latest, when the term of office of – stratos expired. The amphictionic decree for Nikostratos, on the other hand, while beginning with

⁴⁵ SIG³, 613 A, lines 8–9.

⁴⁶ Blum ([footnote 7 above] p. 32), approved by Roussel (Roussel, 1932, p. 27). This was, however, refuted by Daux, *Delphes*, p. 285, note 1.

⁴⁷ Daux, *Delphes*, p. 285. He admits, however, the possibility that they could rather be the *pylagoroi*.

⁴⁸ Schaefer (footnote 43 above), cols. 2086–2087. Roux (footnote 43 above), p. 25.

⁴⁹ IG II², 3064, more fully *Hesperia* 29, 1960, p. 85, no. 165. See also P. Amandry, “Trépieds d’Athènes. II. Thargélies,” *BCH* 101, 1977 (pp. 163–202), p. 168, no. 9.

⁵⁰ SIG³, 613 A, note 4.

the same events of autumn 186 B.C., continues to report developments down to the fall of 184 B.C. Its date, therefore, is about one year later than that of the Athenian decree.

While there are no contradictions between the two documents, each accentuates the events differently. The Athenian decree describes the activities of the Athenians (the *hieromnemes* and the *pylagoroi*) and only once joins "the other amphictions" (lines 15–16), who are also to be understood as acting in concert with the Athenians in the word *συνεπεμελήθη* (line 19). The decree for Nikostratos, on the other hand, naturally stresses his role. Nevertheless, the Athenians (and only the Athenians) are also mentioned there (lines 8–10), and the Athenian Menedemos is named next to Nikostratos as the other ambassador of the council to the Roman Senate (lines 14–15). This makes it clear enough that there was no supremacy of the Thessalians, as G. Daux once thought,⁵¹ but that Athens and the Thessalian League, acting together, were the driving forces in the re-establishment of the amphictiony.

Both states express their indebtedness to Rome. The decree for Nikostratos also shows that the Romans eventually agreed to the wishes of the Athenians and the Thessalians, against those of the Delphians. The Thessalians had become free of Macedonian domination, after a century and a half, in 196, when the Romans defeated King Philip V. They even owed their new constitution to the Romans.⁵² Just about the time when the amphictions gathered at Delphi in the fall of 186 B.C., a Thessalian embassy was in Rome to invoke the assistance of the Senate against King Philip with whom they were at odds over several matters. The Romans sent an embassy, headed by Lucius Caecilius Metellus, which, after listening to both sides, finally decided in favor of the Thessalians.⁵³

Athens was indebted to the Romans in other ways. In 200 B.C. and during the following years of the Second Macedonian War, the Romans had protected the city against Philip V; once Athens, breaking with the policy of neutrality she had observed for thirty years, had declared war on the king in spring 200 B.C. The aftermath of this war and the following war between Rome and the Aetolians (who were allies of King Antiochos III) saw the Athenians politically active once more. Athenian mediators appeared in Western Asia Minor (p. 67 above), between the battle lines of the Romans and the Aetolians (p. 67 above), in Boiotia, and in Rome herself.⁵⁴ Athens, as she had always done when free to do so, kept in close touch with the court of Alexandria⁵⁵ and now developed similar close ties to the Attalids of

⁵¹ Daux, *Delphes*, p. 292.

⁵² H. Kramolisch, *Die Strategen des Thessalischen Bundes von 196 v. Chr. bis zum Ausgang der römischen Republik*, Bonn 1978, pp. 3–4.

⁵³ Polybios, xxii.6.3–6; 10.1; 11.1–3. Livy, xxxix.24–29, 33. P. Gauthier, *Symbola*, Nancy 1972, pp. 340–342. R. Werner, "Quellenkritische Bemerkungen zu den Ursachen des Perseuskrieges," *Grazer Beiträge* 6, 1977, pp. 149–216.

⁵⁴ Boiotia: Livy, xxxiii.29.10–12. Rome: Polybios, xxi.31.6–15.

⁵⁵ Pausanias, 1.36.5–6 with the Athenian decree (L. Moretti, *Iscrizioni storiche ellenistiche* I, Florence 1967, no. 33); see also C. Habicht, *Pausanias' Guide to Ancient Greece*, Berkeley 1985, pp. 92–94. Furthermore, *IG* II², 893 a (*SEG* XXI, 434), 891, 897. It was about 200 B.C. that the cult of Sarapis was established at Athens as a cult of the state, Sarapis being, as is well known, an artificial creation of the early Ptolemies; see S. Dow, "The Egyptian Cults in Athens," *HTHR* 30, 1937 (pp. 183–232), esp. 198–200; P. M. Fraser, "Two Studies in the Cult of Sarapis in the Hellenistic World," *OpusAth* 3, 1960 (pp. 1–54), p. 23.

Pergamon.⁵⁶ Soon after the peace of Apamea that concluded the war of the Romans against Antiochos (in which the Athenians had taken part, if without any substantial effort), Athens again welcomed an ambassador from the royal palace in Antiochia, where Seleukos IV had just succeeded his father Antiochos in 187 B.C.⁵⁷ The city's efforts to revive the amphictiony at Delphi and to make her own presence in it felt and visible agree well with this renewed political activity in the early 2nd century B.C. They seem to indicate that the Athenians now had greater confidence in themselves, once the threat that Macedonia could always pose to the city seemed to belong to the past.⁵⁸

There was, however, not to be any future for Greek political activity. In the later seventies of the 2nd century, the Romans declared war on King Perseus of Macedonia without any sufficient cause. Athens, it is true, was on the side of the once again victorious Romans and received a generous share of the spoils of victory.⁵⁹ The result of the war, however, was that the days of independent Greek politics were over. Athens was no exception.

CHRISTIAN HABICHT

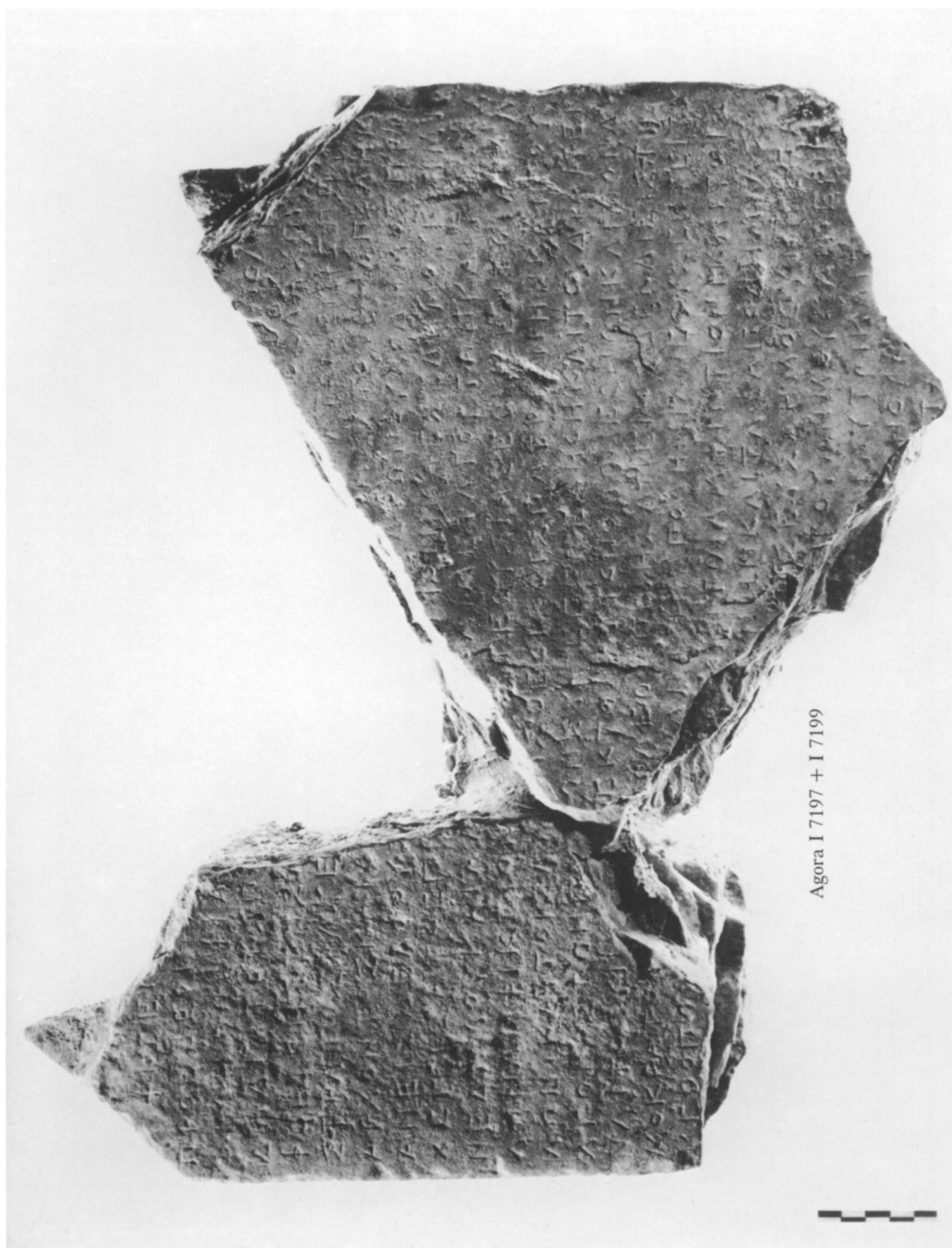
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⁵⁶ The tribe Attalis was created in 200 B.C. (Polybios, xvi.25.8–9). The priest of King Attalos I as the eponymous hero of the tribe is attested for the first time in 193/2 B.C. (*Agora* XV, no. 259, line 86). Decrees for men in the service of the Attalid king: *IG* II², 886, 894, 955 (probably also, from the same day, 892). Visit of Eumenes II in Athens in 192 B.C.: Livy, xxxv.39.1–2. All four brothers of the royal family were victorious in various equestrian contests of the Panathenaia, ca. 178 B.C.: *IG* II², 2314, col. II, lines 83–90.

⁵⁷ W. K. Pritchett and B. D. Meritt, *The Chronology of Hellenistic Athens*, Cambridge, Mass. 1940, pp. 117–118, from the spring of 186 B.C.

⁵⁸ In the summer of 184 B.C., only a few months after the Athenian assembly had passed the decree in honor of — stratos, sacrifices for the Roman people (*demos*) are for the first time attested in an Athenian document: *Hesperia* 40, 1971, p. 308, no. 9, reprinted *Agora* XV, no. 180. See R. Mellor, *Θεὰ Ῥώμη. The Worship of the Goddess Roma in the Greek World*, Göttingen 1975, pp. 101–102.

⁵⁹ Athens regained the islands of Imbros, Lemnos, and Skyros. The Senate gave Delos, where the Delians were evacuated, to the Athenians as well as the territory of Haliartos in Boiotia, a town which the Romans had burnt down in the war against Perseus (Polybios, xxx.20.1–9. Strabo ix, p. 411 C. F. W. Walbank, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius* III, Oxford 1979, pp. 443–444).



Agora I 7197 + I 7199

CHRISTIAN HABICHT: THE DELPHIC AMPHICTIONY AFTER 189 B.C.