

a genitive corresponding to τῆς φυλακῆς in line 2; a good parallel is presented by *I.G.*, II², 1304, 23 (τῆς τε [φν]λακῆς ἐφρόντισεν τῆς χώρ[α]ς κ[α]ὶ τῶν φρουρίω[ν]). Slight variations of the formula are found in *I.G.*, II², 1299, 60, and in Roussel, *loc. cit.*, lines 7, 16. To use the phrases of the latter inscription *in toto* would make

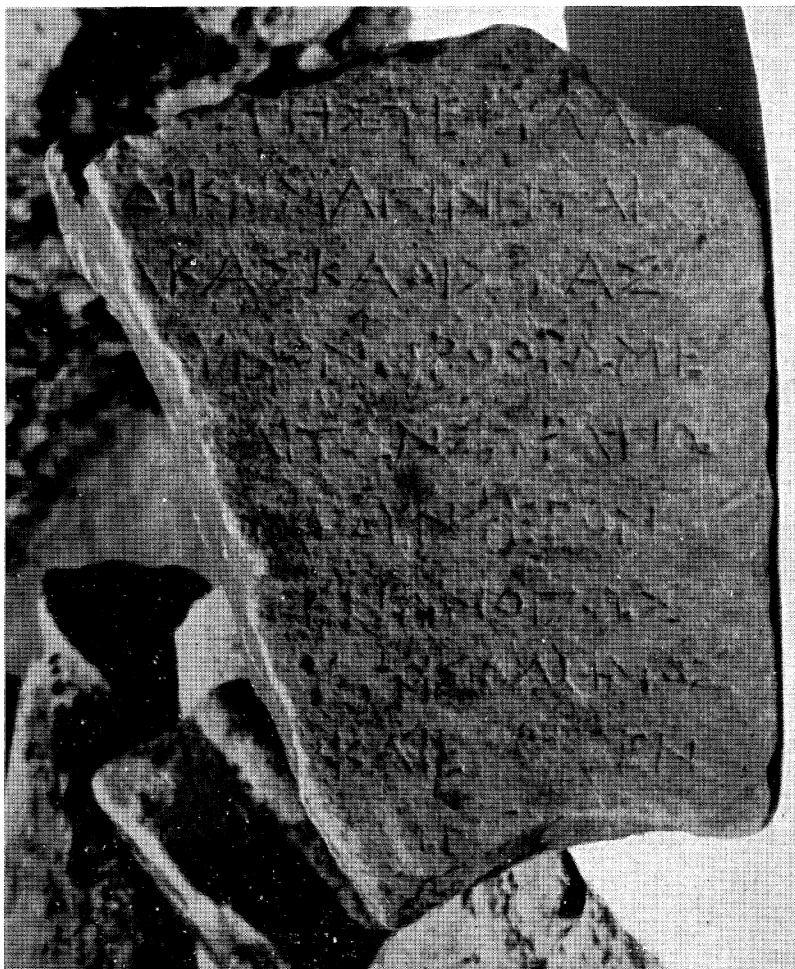


Fig. 1. Garrison Inscription, E. M. 12968.

the restoration of the line too long; the most probable restoration is therefore a compromise. There is room for one more letter at the right end of the line. (This is true also of lines 3, 6, 7, and 9).

Lines 2-3. The restoration of [ἀ]δίκημα seems certain, for the word is used at least twice in the garrison inscriptions. In *I.G.*, II², 1225, 9-11 we read πρόνοιαν ποιούμενος ὅπως ἂν μηθὲν ἀδίκημα γίνηται κατὰ τὴν χώρ[α]ν; while in 1304, 16-17 the reading is ἐπιμ[έλ]ειαν τοῦ [μη]θ[ἐν μηδαμο]ῦ ἀδίκημα μήτε ἐ[ν] τεῖ χώραι μ[ήτ'] ἐν

τοῖς φρουρίοις γε[νέσθαι]. A combination of these two passages suggests a reasonably safe restoration for the new fragment; from it an original stone of 52-56 letters to the line can be deduced.

Lines 3-4. In no other garrison inscription do we encounter either the phrase *φύλακας καθιστάς* or the words *κίνδυνον προορώμενος*. Indeed, the word *κίνδυνον* is found only once (*I.G.*, II², 1304, 8-9). These phrases show that the person honored was of some importance: it is entirely probable that he was the *στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν τὴν παραλίαν*. Furthermore, the unique wording seems to indicate that he has coped successfully with some unusual kind of emergency, and that his award is more than a mere formality. Of no other garrison officer is it said that he "appointed garrisons" or "anticipated danger."

Line 5. The use of the word *στρατιῶται* in garrison inscriptions is very elastic. Wilhelm (*Beiträge*, p. 55) declares that the word means "mercenaries, both Athenian and foreign," and there is no doubt that this is its usual connotation. In the following examples it is plain that mercenaries are indicated:

- (a) *I.G.*, II², 1286, 1-2, 7, 10. The committees of the *στρατιῶται* include three Cretans and a Corinthian.
- (b) *I.G.*, II², 1299. The *στρατιῶται* are contrasted with citizens (20-22) and are later equated with *ξένοι* (40-42).
- (c) *I.G.*, II², 1310, 1-2. The phrasing is analogous to *a*.
- (d) *I.G.*, II², 1312, 13-14. The leader of the *στρατιῶται* (cf. Wilhelm, *Att. Urk.*, III, p. 38) is Dionysios of Klazomenai, who is obviously a mercenary.
- (e) *I.G.*, II², 1313, 2-3. The leader of the *στρατιῶται* is the *ξεναγός*.

On the other hand, the military roll of 306/5 B.C. contains a list of Athenians who are termed *στρατιῶται* (*I.G.*, II², 1954, 3), and in *I.G.*, II², 1270, 15-16 *τοὺς στρατιώτας* appears as the equivalent of *τοὺς [στρ]απενομένους ἐπὶ Σουνίῳ τῶν πολ[ιτῶ]ν καὶ τοὺς ξένους* (5-7); cf. also line 10 (*τοῖ[s] στρατιώταις*). In *I.G.*, II², 1958 *στρατιῶται* is used to describe both citizens and foreigners, possibly all of them mercenaries, and in three other inscriptions the word includes foreign mercenaries and Athenians (*I.G.*, II², 1260, 21-24; 1287, 4; *B.C.H.*, LIV, 1930, p. 269, 9-10, with commentary on p. 272).

The conclusion seems to be that the word *στρατιῶται* can be applied to mercenaries, to citizen soldiers, or to both, but that its usual meaning is "mercenaries," for non-mercenary citizen troops are generally called *οἱ τεταγμένοι τῶν πολιτῶν, Ἀθηναίων οἱ τεταγμένοι, or οἱ στρατενόμενοι*. However, since the new fragment refers to mercenaries in line 7 (*ξένων*), it seems probable that the *στρατιω[τῶν]* two lines above includes soldiers of all kinds, and that the inscription originally contained a contrast between soldiers and civilians.

Lines 6-7. The occurrence of the expression τὸ συνφέρον in the singular is very unusual, but examples of it in the plural are fairly common. The customary phrase in honorary decrees is διετέλει λέγων καὶ πράττων τὰ συμφέροντα. Ξένων is obviously the last word in its sentence, and therefore in all probability was preceded by a balancing genitive whose meaning was "all the soldiers except the mercenaries." The word ὅπως is almost invariably used to begin a transitional hortative sentence between the end of the laudatory account and the formal bestowal of honors (cf. W. Larfeld, *Handbuch der Griechischen Epigraphik* [Leipzig, 1902], II, pp. 763 ff.). It is therefore reasonable to assume that the original inscription contained its transitional sentence at this point, and that after a line or two came the formal award beginning with the words ἀγαθὴ τύχει.

Lines 8-9. The presence of αὐτοῖς in line 8 makes the restoration of these two lines extremely hazardous. The nominative ὁ δῆμος in garrison inscriptions is preceded by the accusative singular αὐτόν, never except in this case by the dative plural αὐτοῖς (*I.G.*, II², 1285, 3; 1299, 15; 1304, 10; 1307, 3). The demos is probably the demos of Athens, but it may be the demos of Rhamnous. In line 9, the letters EN must form the end of a syllable, since there is space on the stone for one more letter to the right; they are most likely the ending of a verb.

Line 10. A common phrase is δεδόχθαι τοῖς στρατευομένοις, but in *I.G.*, II², 1302, 10-11 the expression δεδόχθ[αι τῶι] κοινῶι τῶν [σ]τρατευομέν[ων] is used as an equivalent. The restoration δεδόχθαι τῶι κοινῶι τῶν στρατιωτῶν is therefore justified as being the equivalent of δεδόχθαι τοῖς στρατιώταις, which is found in *I.G.*, II², 1270, 10, and has been restored in *I.G.*, II², 1286, 12.

A detailed special study of the garrisons of Attica during the Hellenistic period has not yet been made.¹ Literary sources tell us of garrisons in Classical times at Eleusis, Panakton, Phyle, Oinoe, Rhamnous, Anaphlystos, Thorikos, and Sounion, but after the days of Demosthenes the literary references are few. The epigraphical evidence first occurs at the point where the literary sources begin to fail; the earliest of the garrison inscriptions (*I.G.*, II², 1191) has been dated 321/20 B.C., while the

¹ The topographical study of L. Chandler (*J.H.S.*, XLVI, 1926, pp. 1-21) includes only forts on the northern frontier, and does not refer to Sounion. The watch towers noted in the article may have belonged to fortified farms. In the opinion of W. Wrede (*Attische Mauern* [Athens, 1933], *passim*) most of the present remains of the forts date from the first half of the fourth century B.C., though at Sounion, Oinoe, Phyle, and Thorikos there are constructions that go back to the Peloponnesian War. There are also remains from the Hellenistic period. Phyle offers a good example: the fort was first built in 412 B.C., but its present walls are early fourth century constructions containing some Hellenistic repairs (cf. *Ath. Mitt.*, LXIX, 1924, pp. 220-224). However, the whole structure has been termed Hellenistic by G. Säflund (*Opuscula Archaeologica*, I, 1935, pp. 107 ff.). The best historical account of the frontier garrisons is contained in W. S. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens* (London, 1911), *passim*; the most detailed analysis of their internal organization is that of G. T. Griffith, *Mercenaries of the Hellenistic World* (Cambridge, 1935), pp. 80-88. Cf. also K. Grote, *Das griechische Söldnerwesen der hellenistischen Zeit* (Diss. Jena, 1913).

latest reference is from the year 100/99 B.C. (*I.G.*, II², 2869). The great majority of the inscriptions belongs to the third century, and examples from the last third of the century are particularly numerous.²

Some sort of reorganization of the Attic garrisons must have taken place between the end of the Peloponnesian War and the time of Aristotle. During the Hellenistic period we hear nothing of fortified places at Oinoe, Anaphlystos, or Thorikos, and it is probable that they were not used after the battle of Chaironeia.³ Eleusis, Panakton, Phyle, Rhamnous, and Sounion were continued as garrison posts and were commanded by an Athenian general entitled ὁ στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν (Aristotle, *Ἀθ. Πολ.*, 61, 1). These five garrisons were subsequently separated into two administrative divisions, probably in the year 261/60 B.C.; from this time on Eleusis with outposts at Panakton and Phyle comprised the western division, while the eastern section with garrisons at Sounion and Rhamnous guarded the coastal plain known as the Paralia.⁴ How long the garrisons continued to be maintained under this arrangement is uncertain; the latest extant allusion to them is from the year 100/99 B.C., and they are not mentioned during the campaigns of Sulla.⁵

In the fifth and early fourth centuries the function of the garrisons was purely military, and they were organized and maintained only in time of war.⁶ But by

² For the literary evidence, Busolt-Swoboda, *Griechische Staatskunde* (Munich, 1926), pp. 1195 ff. For late third-century inscriptions, *I.G.*, II², 1299-1313. Of these, 1304b is the latest that can be dated with certainty. It is possible that nos. 1305-1313, assigned on epigraphical grounds to the end of the third century, are to be connected with the Second Macedonian War.

³ These three sites have not yet been excavated, and therefore a categorical statement is dangerous. Our knowledge of the garrisons at Rhamnous and Sounion would be very slight without the inscriptions that have been unearthed there. On the other hand, the new fragment was found above ground, whereas nothing has come to light in similar fashion at the three earlier forts.

It is significant that Eleutherai is at no period included among the Attic garrisons, and its omission gives strong support to the view of Beloch and Kahrstedt that the impressive ruins at the south entrance to the pass of Dryoskephalai are to be identified with Panakton. (*Klio*, XI, 1911, pp. 436-439; *Ath. Mitt.*, LVII, 1932, pp. 16-18; Wrede, *Attische Mauern*, pp. 32 f., plates 83-86).

⁴ Ferguson, *op. cit.*, p. 183; *Klio*, IX, 1909, p. 318. Eleusis was unquestionably headquarters for the western division, although we are told in *I.G.*, II², 1299, 37-39 of a committee of eleven comprised of five representatives from Eleusis, five from Panakton, and one from Phyle. This is probably an instance of proportional representation; if so, the Phyle garrison must have been a mere handful (cf. note 15). There is no evidence to decide the headquarters of the Paralia, but Rhamnous is closer to Athens and guarded the overland route to Euboea. Possibly Rhamnous and Sounion were on equal terms, and the στρατηγὸς divided his time between them.

⁵ In the slave revolt of 102/99 B.C. not only the Sounion garrison but the whole military strength of Attica was helpless (Athenaeus, VI, 272 f.). Sounion is significantly omitted from *I.G.*, II², 2869 (100/99 B.C.). The frontier garrisons may have lingered on in miniature until the invasion of Sulla.

⁶ Thucydides, II, 13, 6; 18, 2. For criticism of Pericles' failure to organize Attic garrisons on a larger scale, cf. B. W. Henderson, *The Great War Between Athens and Sparta* (London, 1927), pp. 56-59. At no time in her history did Athens adopt a defence plan such as Henderson outlines.

Aristotle's time they seem to have changed into a kind of rural police force, and were no longer expected to offer serious resistance to foreign invaders. The duty of their general was "to keep guard, and whenever war should arise in the countryside, to make war." In other words, the garrisons were maintained permanently to patrol the frontiers and to police the plains of Attica. Aristotle's statement is supported by evidence from the inscriptions, of which the decree in honor of Demanethos offers the clearest example (*I.G.*, II², 1304). Three times general of the western division, Demanethos is honored for having kept good order at the celebration of the Eleusinian Mysteries, for having cared for the citizens under his command, for having paid his mercenaries promptly, and for having obtained grain for his troops. It is true that this particular example comes from the last quarter of the third century, but earlier instances are not lacking. A police duty common to all garrisons was to assure an uninterrupted harvesting of the crops. Other tasks are occasionally mentioned: for example, the garrison at Sounion may have been responsible for the good behavior of the slaves in the silver mines.⁷

A police force can scarcely be counted on to prevent an armed invasion, and the border garrisons of Attica offer no exception to the rule. Macedonian troops landed at Rhamnous in 322 B.C., and ravaged the Paralia until they met defeat at the hands of the Athenians under Phokion. In the year 296/5 B.C. Demetrios Poliorketes seized Eleusis and Rhamnous without difficulty and ravaged the Attic plains.⁸ Antigonos Gonatas obtained control of Panakton and Phyle and marched unopposed into Attica in 265 B.C. From the years 261-229 B.C. the garrisons were administered jointly by the Athenians and Macedonians, but even with this added strength they failed in 238 B.C. to stop Aratos of Sikyon. After the withdrawal of the Macedonian troops the garrisons became still weaker, and in 201-200 B.C. the plains were invaded by the Akarnanians, and in the following year suffered a still more severe devastation at the hands of Philip V of Macedonia. Only once are we told that any garrison offered serious resistance; the garrison at Eleusis held out against a Macedonian detachment in 200 B.C., but was saved from destruction only by timely aid from Pergamon and Rome.⁹

In spite of their complete futility in the face of an invading army, the frontier garrisons of Attica were organized on a military basis during the whole of the

⁷ Ferguson, *Class. Phil.*, II, 1907, p. 306; *Klio*, IX, 1909, pp. 316-317. On the other hand, it has been shown by J. A. O. Larsen (*Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, IV, p. 462, note 28) that the mines were in Greek hands down to Roman Imperial times. Since the Attic border garrisons disappeared nearly a century earlier, it is more probable that under normal conditions the mines were policed by company employees.

⁸ Plutarch, *Phokion*, 25, 1; *Demetrios*, 33, 3.

⁹ Cf. Tarn, *Antigonos Gonatas* (Oxford, 1913), p. 298; Plutarch, *Aratos*, 34; Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, p. 202; Livy, XXXI, 14, 6-10; Holleaux, *Rome, la Grèce, et les Monarchies Hellénistiques* (Paris, 1921), p. 267. For the invasion of Philip, Livy, XXXI, 24-26; Polybios, XVI, 27, 1.

Hellenistic period. Little is known, however, of the details of this organization before the generation of the Macedonian domination (261-229 B.C.), during which the garrisons were manned jointly by Athenian citizens and Macedonian mercenaries. In the Macedonian period the commanders of the eastern and western divisions were Athenian generals and were designated respectively *ὁ στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν τὴν παραλίαν* and *ὁ στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν ἐπ' Ἐλευσίνος*; the approval of the king of Macedonia was requisite for office.¹⁰

An interesting survival from the fifth century is the title *περιπόλαρχος*, which designated the leader of a squad of border police. The composition of these patrols is puzzling in view of the statements of Aeschines and Aristotle which have been used to support the opinion that *περίπολοι* consisted of ephebes, for other literary statements and all epigraphical evidence point toward mercenaries. If we believe that the usual Greek practice in the fifth century was to use citizen troops, but that as time went on the citizens were gradually replaced by mercenaries, it seems reasonable to assume that the earliest Athenian *περίπολοι* were citizen troops, even though there is evidence for mercenaries in their ranks as early as 411 B.C. It is probable that the Athenian military reforms of the fourth century not only created permanent garrisons but also affected the organization of the *περίπολοι*. At first glance it would seem that the fifth-century citizens (and mercenaries) were replaced by ephebes in the new system that Aristotle describes, but unfortunately this explanation is not valid. We are told of *φρουροὶ νεωρίων πεντακόσιοι* at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War (Aristotle, *Ἄθ. Πολ.*, 24, 3), and it is difficult to escape the conclusion that the practice of training young recruits (ephebes in fact if not in name) in border patrols goes back at least as far as the fifth century.¹¹

In the Hellenistic period the term *περίπολοι* was discontinued and there remained only the title of the commander (*περιπόλαρχος*). It is significant that only after the disappearance of the word *περίπολοι* do we first meet the term *ὑπαιθροί*, "open-air soldiers." It seems entirely probable that these two expressions refer to the same body of troops: in other words, the title *περιπόλαρχος* had survived from the earlier period, but in Hellenistic times its bearer was in command of the *ὑπαιθροί*. That the Hellenistic border patrols were at least partly professional soldiers is difficult to deny, since we hear several times of a *περιπόλαρχος* in command of mercenaries (*στρατιῶται*).

How can this be reconciled with the statements of Aeschines and Aristotle (our sole evidence for ephebic *περίπολοι*)? Aeschines says (II, 167) that as soon as he

¹⁰ For the titles of the generals, *Klio*, IX, 1909, p. 322. For Athenian and Macedonian co-operation, Roussel, *B.C.H.*, LIV, 1930, p. 282.

¹¹ There has been considerable difference of opinion concerning the date of the origin of the Ephebia. A strong case for an early date has been advanced by J. O. Lofberg (*Class. Phil.*, XX, 1925, pp. 330-335), who leaves little to support the views of Wilamowitz and others. Lofberg's conclusions have also been attained, apparently independently, by A. W. Gomme (*Population of Athens* [Oxford, 1933], p. 8, note 3).

passed out of boyhood he served as a *περίπολος* for two years; Aristotle (*᾿Αθ. Πολ.*, 42, 4) declares that for one year epebes *περιπολοῦσι τὴν χώραν*, and spend their time in blockhouses. Neither says that *περίπολοι* were epebes exclusively. Perhaps the epebes were distributed in the ranks of the professional soldiers, and for this reason the *περιπόλαρχος* was required to be an Athenian citizen (*I.G.*, II², 1260, 9-22). This interpretation does not contradict *I.G.*, II², 1304, 41-42, where the *ὑπαιθροὶ* are distinctly contrasted with *πολίται* and may therefore be either mercenaries or epebes, or a mixture of both.¹²

Whatever their relationship to the epebes may have been, mercenaries were not distributed amongst the ranks of the Athenian citizen soldiers, but remained at each outpost a separate group under their own officers. The commander of a group of mercenaries was known simply as *ὁ ἡγεμὼν τῶν ξένων*; during the years 261-229 B.C. he was probably appointed by the Macedonian king, and it is not unlikely that the use of his title was confined to these years. It is not until after 229 B.C. that we first meet the title *ξεναγός*.¹³ We are told occasionally of other titles for mercenary commanders, but a closer examination of the evidence shows that they are probably fictitious. The title *στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τοὺς ξένους* has been advocated on the basis of two inscriptions, but neither inscription contains the word *στρατηγός*. The title *στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τῶν ξένων*, which is accepted by Griffith, is unsupported by any evidence whatsoever. It is safest to conclude that the only title down to 229 B.C. was *ἡγεμὼν τῶν ξένων*, and that it was replaced after this date by the more impressive title *ξεναγός*.¹⁴

There is a surprising similarity between the military organizations of third-century Athens and second-century Pergamon (cf. Rostovtzeff in *C.A.H.*, VIII, pp. 594-597), and it is interesting to speculate how much of the Pergamene was borrowed from the Athenian and to what extent both systems sprang from a common

¹² For a full discussion of the *περίπολοι* cf. Hommel in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, s. v. *Peripoloi*. Also P. Foucart, *B.C.H.*, XIII, 1889, pp. 264-276; Griffith, *op. cit.*, pp. 86-88; Lofberg, *loc. cit.*, pp. 330-332. For *ὑπαιθροὶ* used to distinguish rural settlers in Asia Minor from *κάτοικοι*, Dittenberger, *O.G.I.S.*, 229; A. Schulten, *Hermes*, XXXII, 1897, pp. 532 f. It is possible that *ὑπαιθρος* is a military term of Macedonian origin, and came into use in Attica during the first half of the third century.

¹³ For *ἡγεμὼν τῶν ξένων*, *I.G.*, II², 1299, 94. For *ξε[ναγ]ός* (an almost certain restoration), *I.G.*, II², 1313, 2-3. In the year 200 B.C. a certain Dioxiippus is called *praefectus cohortis mercede militantium auxiliorum* (*Livy*, XXXI, 24, 6), but he seems to have been on duty in the city of Athens. Ferguson (*Klio*, IX, 1909, p. 318) sought to parallel the *ἡγεμὼν τῶν ξένων* with a corresponding *ἡγεμὼν* for the citizen soldiers. The latest reading of *I.G.*, II², 1958, 5 is, however, [*Ἄρ*]τέμων.

¹⁴ The two inscriptions cited in support of *στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τοὺς ξένους* are *I.G.*, II², 379, 11; 682, 21-28. In the former, the word *στρατηγός* is an unsatisfactory restoration because it contains too many letters (cf. Woodward, *J.H.S.*, XXVIII, 1908, p. 309). The Greek of the latter is ambiguous. According to Ferguson, Phaidros' office was *στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν*, which included authority over mercenaries (*Athenian Tribal Cycles* [Cambridge, 1932], pp. 69-70). The alternate interpretation once advanced by Dinsmoor (*Archons of Athens*, pp. 70 ff.) has now been abandoned for chronological reasons (*Athenian Archon List* [New York, 1939], pp. 51 ff.). Cf. Tarn, *J.H.S.*, LIV, 1934, p. 38.

source. The fact that the Attalids built up an effective military machine shows that the design of the machine was not at fault, and one should not postulate defective organization as an explanation of the ineffectiveness of the garrisons of Attica. It seems rather that in the open market Athens could not compete with the great monarchies, and that her mercenaries were inferior both in quantity and in quality.

During the third century the proportion of mercenary soldiers on garrison duty in Attica was comparatively high, although the total numbers were never very large; but after the Macedonian withdrawal in 229 B.C. there were fewer foreign troops in the service, and therefore the total number of soldiers was probably less. A rough estimate of the numbers in the closing decades of the century can be made from two extant garrison lists: Eleusis can scarcely have had more than one hundred regulars, and each division was therefore not more than two hundred and fifty men each. The entire frontier force was probably less than five hundred men. By the end of the century the garrisons were in a deplorable state of inefficiency, and the extraordinary number of honorary decrees indicates not only a period of military difficulty but also a time of "grave weakness of Greek character."¹⁵

It is to this period that the new fragment is to be assigned. Of the published garrison inscriptions it bears closest resemblance in letter forms to *I.G.*, II², 1310 (also from Rhamnous), which belongs to the years of the Second Macedonian War. The letters of the two stones are of the same type, but those of the new fragment are much more irregular and careless. This can mean that the new fragment is the later of the two; the somewhat unusual wording also suggests a time from which no garrison inscription has hitherto been found.

It is my opinion that the fragment comes from the time of the war with Antiochos the Great, and that its date must be very close to 190 B.C. It is true that Antiochos never threatened to invade Attica, but his European base was the nearby city of Chalkis, and in the year 191 B.C. the Roman admiral Aulus Atilius captured a number of his Asiatic supply ships off Karystos, within easy sight of the Rhamnous garrison.¹⁶ It is not impossible that the phrase *κίνδυνον προορώμενος* in the fourth line of the fragment refers to the proximity of the powerful monarch of eastern Hellenism.¹⁷

THE McCALLIE SCHOOL,
CHATTANOOGA, TENN.

JOHN H. KENT

¹⁵ Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, p. 252. The evidence from the garrison lists (*I.G.*, II², 1299; 1958) affords only a very rough estimate for the total numbers. Nor does it prove conclusively, although it establishes a strong likelihood, that the number of mercenaries was reduced after 229 B.C., since in 235 B.C. the foreign troops are listed separately, where *ca.* 205 B.C. a single list contains nine foreigners and fifty-four Athenians (cf. Griffith, *op. cit.*, pp. 85-86). The small numbers on garrison duty imply that during the slave revolt at Laurion in 132 B.C. special troops were called out from Athens (Orosius, V, 9, 5).

¹⁶ Livy, XXXVI, 20, 7.

¹⁷ I should like to take this opportunity to thank Professor J. A. O. Larsen and Dr. Eugene Schweigert for generous assistance and many helpful suggestions.