

## TWO ATHENIAN STRATEGOI

### I. Melesandros

DECIPHERING the name Melesandros in the record of loans made by the treasurers of Athena in 414/3 (*I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 297), Meritt restores the first payment of the year as follows:<sup>1</sup>

[-----παρέδομεν στρατηγοῖς ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκιες Εὐετίου Μελέσ[ά]νδρ[ο . . .]  
[. . . . . καὶ συνάρχουσι-----]

He identifies Melesandros as the Athenian *strategos* killed in Lykia in 430/29 (Thucydides, II, 69). There is no other evidence for the connection between Melesandros and Euetion.

The name Melesandros also appears in the Xanthos Stele, a columnar monument inscribed on all four sides, originally crowned with sculpture, and commemorating the exploits of a Lykian prince.<sup>2</sup> Inscribed in the midst of the Lykian text is an epigram in Attic Greek. Since scarcely a word of the Lykian can be read except for some proper names, it is not possible to be certain whether the text tells the life history of the Lykian prince or whether only the episodes of one period are detailed. Nor does the Greek epigram help to settle the question. The consensus of scholarly opinion seems to be that the following names have been deciphered in the Lykian text:<sup>3</sup>

Melesandros	face <i>a</i> , line 45
Amorges	face <i>a</i> , line 55
Ionians	face <i>b</i> , line 27
Spartiates	<i>ibid.</i>
Athenians	<i>ibid.</i>
Dareios and Artaxerxes	face <i>b</i> , lines 59-60
Hieramenes	face <i>c</i> , line 12
Tissaphernes	face <i>c</i> , line 15

Of these all except Melesandros belong to the Dekeleian War and cannot be dated *ca.* 430. In 412/1 the Spartans captured the rebel Amorges, who was being supported by Athens, and turned him over to Tissaphernes, who had recently come into Asia Minor.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Athenian Financial Documents of the Fifth Century*, Ann Arbor, 1932, pp. 86-92.

<sup>2</sup> *Tituli Asiae Minoris*, I, 44.

<sup>3</sup> Sophus Bugge argues that the names of the Spartan officials Pedaritos and Lichas, who participated in the Dekeleian War, also are present in the Lykian inscription; cf. *Festschrift für Otto Benndorf*, Vienna, 1898, pp. 231-236.

<sup>4</sup> Thucydides, VIII, 28.

The conjunction of the names of the Athenians and the Ionians with that of the Spartiates places them in the same period of time. If the order Dareios and Artaxerxes (instead of Artaxerxes and Dareios) is significant, we have Dareios Nothos and Artaxerxes Mnemon, who belong to the Dekeleian War. In 412/1 the Spartans concluded a treaty with "King Dareios and the sons of the King and Tissaphernes."<sup>5</sup> There are only two other references to Hieramenes: in 412/1 the Spartans concluded another treaty, this time with "Tissaphernes, Hieramenes, and the sons of Pharnakes,"<sup>6</sup> i.e., Pharnabazos and his brother(s); Hieramenes is mentioned again in 406/5.<sup>7</sup> In addition, the Greek epigram mentions Arkadian hoplites whom the prince slew. They are usually taken to be mercenaries and might have been among those in the service of Amorges.<sup>8</sup>

It seems perfectly possible, therefore, that the Melesandros of the Lykian inscription is not the Thucydidean *strategos* but the recipient of funds from the treasurers of Athena in 414/3:

[στρατεγοῦ Μελ]εσ[ά]νδρ[οι]

This interpretation would give unity to the Lycian inscription and eliminate the peculiarity of a fifteen year time span between lines 45 and 55 of face *a*. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that the final loan made by the treasurers in 415/4 went to the *strategos* ἐν Ἐφ[έσοι],<sup>9</sup> where the restoration is almost certain. If our interpretation is correct, we would have another piece of evidence for the behaviour of Athens which led to Tissaphernes' intervention on behalf of Sparta.<sup>10</sup>

## II. Strombichides

According to the *Hellenika* of Oxyrhynchos,<sup>11</sup> during the Dekeleian War Timolaos of Corinth defeated an Athenian *strategos* in a naval engagement and then caused Thasos to revolt from Athens. The papyrus has the name of the *strategos* in a corrupted form: σιχιον. Fuhr showed the connection between this passage and an event recorded in the scholia to Aischines in a chronological list of nine Athenian defeats at Ennea Hodoi:<sup>12</sup> ἔκτον οἱ μετὰ Σιμίχου (sic Sauppe; σιμμιχου, συμβιχου codd.) στρατηγούντος διεφθάρησαν.

<sup>5</sup> Thucydides, VIII, 37, 1.

<sup>6</sup> Thucydides, VIII, 58, 1.

<sup>7</sup> Xenophon, *Hellenika*, II, 1, 9.

<sup>8</sup> Thucydides, VIII, 28, 4.

<sup>9</sup> *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 302, line 69.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. also B. D. Meritt, "Greek Inscriptions," *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 381-382; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3 with D. M. Lewis, "Notes on Attic Inscriptions," *B.S.A.*, XLIX, 1954, p. 33; H. T. Wade-Gery, "The Peace of Kallias," *Harv. St. Cl. Phil.*, supp. I, 1940, pp. 143-146 (= *Essays in Greek History*, pp. 221-223); A. Andrewes, "Thucydides and the Persians," *Historia*, X, 1961, pp. 1-18.

<sup>11</sup> VII (II), 4.

<sup>12</sup> Scholion to Aischines, II, 31; cf. K. Fuhr, "Zum dem neuen griechischen Historiker," *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1908, pp. 156-158. The scholion places the event between 422/1 and 364/3.

However, the conjecture of Sauppe, which has thus been inserted into the Teubner texts of both the scholia (Schultz) and the *Hellenika* (Bartoletti) should be rejected. Sauppe, who offered no evidence to support it, himself qualified it with the remark "Fort[asse]."<sup>13</sup> To date no Athenian named Simichos has come to light.<sup>14</sup>

On the other hand, a perusal of the Teubner apparatus will show that the authority of the manuscripts for the preservation of unfamiliar names in the scholia is weak.<sup>15</sup> No Simmichos or Symbichos is known at Athens, and the only people with these or similar names<sup>16</sup> known from literary sources appear to be a ruler of a group of Sikels and a man who was, according to one ancient tradition, the father of the poet Theokritos.<sup>17</sup>

Now, as Grenfell and Hunt note,<sup>18</sup> the only known Athenian *strategos* of the period with a similar name is Strombichides, who commanded in the waters of the North Aegean in 412/1 and continued to serve even after the Four Hundred seized power.<sup>19</sup> The revolt of Thasos apparently occurred shortly thereafter.<sup>20</sup> Thus the name of Strombichides would seem a likely correction in both the scholia and the *Hellenika*.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> *Oratores Attici*, edd. Io. Georgius Baiterus et Hermannus Sauppius, Zurich, 1839-1843.

<sup>14</sup> I owe the information about this and similar names at Athens to Professor Meritt. The name Σμίχην apparently occurs in a graffito at Athens which contains non-Athenian names as well as Athenian names (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2387 = *I.G.*, II, 1008).

<sup>15</sup> Cf. also B. D. Meritt, H. T. Wade-Gery, and M. F. McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, III, Princeton, 1950, pp. 169-171.

<sup>16</sup> Naturally the manuscript readings are at variance in the spellings.

<sup>17</sup> Porphyry, *Vita Pythagorae*, XXI; Suidas, *s.v.* Θεόκριτος.

<sup>18</sup> *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, V, London, 1908, p. 206.

<sup>19</sup> Thucydides, VIII, 79.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Thucydides, VIII, 64 and Xenophon, *Hellenika*, I, 1, 32.

<sup>21</sup> Before the discovery of the *Oxyrhynchus Hellenika* Kirchner tentatively suggested that the correct text of the scholion should have Στρομβίχων (*Prosopographia Attica*, II, Berlin, 1903, no. 13030).