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., I², 297), Meritt restores the first payment of the year as follows:¹

[----] παρέδομεν στρατηγοῦς ἐς τὰ ἑπι Θράκης Ἐνετίονι Μελ]ε [ά] νδρ[ο . . ]
[. . . . . καὶ συνάρχοις ----]

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.² 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 concensus of scholarly opinion seems to be that the following names have been deciphered in the Lykian text:³

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Melesandros</td>
<td>face a, line 45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amorges</td>
<td>face a, line 55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ionians</td>
<td>face b, line 27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spartiates</td>
<td>ibid.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Athenians</td>
<td>ibid.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dareios and Artaxerxes</td>
<td>face b, lines 59-60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hieramenes</td>
<td>face c, line 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tissaphernes</td>
<td>face c, line 15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.⁴

² Tituli Asiae Minoris, I, 44.
³ 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.
⁴ 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." 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," i.e., Pharnabazos and his brother(s); Hieramenes is mentioned again in 406/5. 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.

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:

\[ \text{[στρατηγοῦ Μελ]} \varepsilon ς[ά]νδρ[οι] \]

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 \( \epsilon ν 'Εφ[έσοι] \), 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.

II. Strombichides

According to the Hellenika of Oxyrhynchos, during the Dekeleian War Timo-Iaos 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: \( \epsilon κτον οι \ μετα Σιμίχον \) (sic Sauppe; σιμιχον, σμιχον codd.) \text{στρατηγοῦτοι διεφθάρησαν.}
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].”\footnote{Oxyrhynchus Papyri, V, London, 1908, p. 206.} To date no Athenian named Simichos has come to light.\footnote{Cf. Thucydides, VIII, 64 and Xenophon, Hellenika, I, 1, 32.}

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.\footnote{Naturally the manuscript readings are at variance in the spellings.} No Simmichos or Symbichos is known at Athens, and the only people with these or similar names 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.\footnote{Porphyry, Vita Pythagorae, XXI; Suidas, s.v. Θέκριος.}

Now, as Grenfell and Hunt note,\footnote{Cf. also B. D. Meritt, H. T. Wade-Gery, and M. F. McGregor, The Athenian Tribute Lists, III, Princeton, 1950, pp. 169-171.} 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.\footnote{Thucydides, VIII, 79.} The revolt of Thasos apparently occurred shortly thereafter.\footnote{Cf. Thucydides, VIII, 64 and Xenophon, Hellenika, I, 1, 32.} Thus the name of Strombichides would seem a likely correction in both the scholia and the Hellenika.\footnote{Before the discovery of the Oxyrhynchos Hellenika Kirchner tentatively suggested that the correct text of the scholion should have Στρομβίχιδης (Prosopographia Attica, II, Berlin, 1903, no. 13030).}

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\footnote{Oratores Attici, edd. Io. Georgius Baiterus et Hermannus Sauppius, Zurich, 1839-1843.}