

GREEK INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE ATHENIAN AGORA

(PLATE 68)

TWO FRAGMENTS of inscriptions from the recent excavations of the Athenian Agora are discussed here.¹ Neither of them belongs with any previously published inscription. The first is part of a decree honoring several persons, some of them Athenians, some of them citizens of Rhodes, for services in connection with Athens' grain supply; the second honors a friend of Demetrios Poliorketes, and its text is a copy of a previously published decree for another friend of Demetrios.

1. The supply of grain in the era of Lykourgos.

A fragment of a stele of blue Hymettian marble, found on March 23, 1972 in Buttress 3 of the Roman Round Building (Agora grid J 5). The right side and the rough-picked back are preserved. The face still bears the marks of the finishing rasp, mostly horizontal or vertical. The stele was thicker at the middle than at the edges, and also tapered from bottom to top. The width of the right margin is 0.019 m. at line 2, and 0.025 m. at line 21.

Preserved height, 0.395 m.; preserved width, 0.250 m.; thickness, top, 0.122 m., bottom, 0.126 m.

Height of letters, 0.007 m.; stoichedon, with a horizontal checker of 0.0150 m. and a vertical checker of 0.0150 m.

Inv. No. I 7360

ca. a. 331–324 a. (?)

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 23

[.....²².....]φ
[...¹¹..... καὶ στεφανῶ]σα-
[ι ἕκαστον αὐτῶν θ]αλλοῦ στεφ-
[άνωι ἐπειδὴ τὰ]ς εὐθύνας δεδ-
5 [ώκασιν φιλοτ]ιμίας ἔνεκα κα-
[ὶ δικαιοσύνης] τῆς εἰς τὸν δῆ-
[μον· εἶναι δ'αὐ]τοῖς καὶ τὰ λοι-

¹ I should like to thank Professor T. Leslie Shear, Jr., the Director of the Agora Excavations, for permission to work on and publish these inscriptions. I should like also to thank Professor Shear, Professor Benjamin D. Meritt and Professor Christian Habicht for their advice and encouragement, and my Research Assistant, Patricia Hatfield, for assistance with indices and parallels for restoration. I acknowledge here, too, the financial support from the Canada Council and from the University of Calgary that enabled me to spend the first part of 1977 in Athens.

- [πα ᾧ δίδοται δ]ικαίως ἐπιμελ-
 [ηθείσι καὶ εἰν]αι τὴν δωρεάν η-
 10 [.¹³.]ται τοῖς την-
 [. . .⁷. . . εἰς τὴν (?) σι]τωνίαν εα-
 [.¹⁴.ο]ις· ἐπαινέ-
 [σαι δὲ καὶ οὖς ἀποφ]αίνουσιν
 [ὡς ἑαυτοῖς χρη]σίμους γεγον-
 15 [ότας . . .⁸. . . .]ον ῥόδιον, Τιμ-
 [ασικράτην ῥόδι]ον, Φιλῖνον ῥ-
 [όδιον, . . .⁷. . . .]ον ῥόδιον, Ποτ-
 [αγόραν ῥόδιον] καὶ στεφανῶ[σ]-
 [αι ἕκαστον αὐτ]ῶν θαλλοῦ στε-
 20 [φάνωι ὅπως αὖ] ἐιδῶσιν πάντε-
 [ς ὅτι ὁ δῆμος τοῖ]ς χρεῖαν αὐτ-
 [ῶι παρεχομένοι]ς ἐπίσταται
 [χάριν ἀποδιδό]ναι· ἀναγράψ[α]-
 [ι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφ]ισμα ἐν στή[λῃ]-
 25 [ι λιθίνῃ τὸν γραμματέα τὸν]
 [κατὰ πρυτανείαν κτλ. -----]

Line 1: The bottom curve of omicron survives.

Line 3: The bottom of the vertical of upsilon is preserved.

Line 9: The mason seems to have carved alpha iota in the same stoichos: the apex of alpha and almost the whole of iota survive.

Line 16: The right third of the first stoichos survives uninscribed; if a letter was engraved here, it must have been iota.

Line 18: The bottom of the lower arm of kappa is preserved.

Line 20: The top two thirds of iota survive at the left edge, slightly to left of center of the stoichos; marks to right of this that might appear to be the top bar of an epsilon, or the right vertical of an eta, seem to be accidental, and are, in any case, much shallower.

Line 21: The right third of the first stoichos survives uninscribed; if a letter was engraved here, it must have been iota.

Line 22: The right tip of the bottom diagonal of sigma survives here.

Line 23: The right vertical and the lower part of the diagonal of nu are preserved at the left edge; the upper left corner of the last stoichos is preserved uninscribed at the right edge.

The stone employed for this document is distinctive: a very fine-grained, almost glassy, Hymettian marble, pale smoky blue, with butter-colored flecks. It is very like that used in the proxeny decree for Sopatros of Akragas, who was honored for his services in providing grain during the grain shortage of the Lykourgan era.² The unfin-

² Athenian Agora inv. no. I 7178, published by J. McK. Camp II, *Hesperia* 43, 1974, pp. 322–324, no. 3; for the famine, see the bibliography provided by J. Pečírka, *The Formula for the Grant of Enktesis in Attic Inscriptions*, Prague 1966, pp. 70–71. See also Camp's list of decrees that attest to the grain shortage at this time: *op. cit.*, p. 323, note 45; also see Demosthenes, XVIII.248.

ished appearance of Sopatros' stele also resembles strongly that of this decree. The letter forms are compatible with a date late in the 4th or early in the 3rd century B.C., but the formulas, insofar as I have been able to restore them, seem perhaps more appropriate to the 3rd than to the 4th century (see below).

The meaning is reasonably clear: the decree is in two parts, involving honors for and recognition of the services performed by two groups of honorands (lines 1–11 and 12–27), the first probably Athenian, the second citizens of Rhodes.

In lines 2–3 several persons are honored for services to the State and are granted olive crowns; a reference to *euthyna* follows in lines 4–5; lines 5–7 mention services to the Athenian *demos*, while lines 7–10 refer to future activities on the part of these persons and to the crowns that have been awarded to them: the purchase of grain (line 11) identifies the context of the decree and the reasons for these honors.

A new clause begins at line 12, involving praise for several persons whom the principal honorands say have been of service to them; these persons are named in lines 15–18, all of them citizens of Rhodes. They, too, are awarded crowns of olive leaves (line 19). In lines 20–23 there follows a variation of the formula, common between 350 and 250 B.C., whereby the *demos* draws the attention of its other would-be partisans to its recognition of those who have realized their ambition to be of service to it; this recognition, and the advertisement of it, are to be signalized in the publication of this decree (lines 23–24) on a marble stele, presumably upon the Akropolis. Normally, provision for the recovery of the cost of publication would follow, but this part of the stele is lost.

Line length is established by the restoration of lines 5–6, 18–19, and 23–25.

There is no exact parallel for many of the formulas employed in this document; my restorations are drawn from a number of inscriptions, spread over the hundred years from 350 to 250 B.C., but the bulk of them derives from the first half of the 3rd century B.C.

Lines 1–8: My restorations imply several honorands; a single honorand is a possibility, but, in that case, restoration of lines 4–5 would be difficult, and that of lines 18–25 implausible. In any case, this part of the decree surely deals with the activities of Athenians, not of foreigners, since *euthyna* and olive crowns are not usually found in combination in clauses concerning foreigners, who would be more likely to receive crowns of gold, together with other privileges, such as citizenship or *proxenia*.³ It is thus very likely that the missing upper part of the stele contained a list of names of a board of Athenian magistrates, most likely the *sitophylakes*, who became prominent during the latter half of the 4th century B.C.⁴

In a decree of 239/8 the *sitophylakes* of the previous year are named and praised, in terms very similar to those surviving here, including the grant of olive crowns, but without reference to *euthyna*.⁵

³ See, for example, the several decrees of *IG* II², 360 (330/29 and 325/4 B.C.).

⁴ See Aristotle, *Athenaion Politeia*, 51.3.

⁵ Athenian Agora inv. nos. I 3238 + I 4169, published by M. Crosby, *Hesperia* 6, 1937, pp. 444–448, no. 2.

I owe the restoration of lines 7–9 to Professor Christian Habicht: the *δωρεά* of line 9 means the same as *τιμῇ*, in the present instance, the crown.

Sitonia (line 11) is rarely mentioned in Attic decrees;⁶ one might expect it to be an activity, not of the *sitophylakes*, but of a *sitones*, a magistrate attested to at Athens for 328 B.C., when Demosthenes was elected to this office.⁷ Aristotle mentions only the *sitophylakes*, however,⁸ and I think it likely that the election of a *sitones* was an extraordinary measure, made necessary by the extreme shortage of grain at this particular time, and not repeated.

All those named in lines 15–18 are, almost certainly, citizens of Rhodes. Their names are listed without the article before the ethnic, which is unusual, but seems to be implied by the restoration *Φιλῶνον* *Ῥ*[*όδιον*] in lines 16–17. Timasikrates and Potagoras seem to be the only Rhodian names that fit the space.⁹

During the latter half of the 4th century B.C. Athenian relations with Rhodes seem, at best, to have been cool. Rhodes was a member of the Second Maritime Confederacy, but revolted in 357; its status as an independent state was recognized, albeit reluctantly, by Athens in 355/4. After the Karians assumed control of the island the Rhodian democrats sought Athenian help in 353 B.C. to overthrow the controlling, pro-Karian, oligarchic faction, but were turned away. Thereafter, Rhodes seems to have stood aloof from Athens, though it took part in the successful defense of Byzantion against Philip in 341–339, which seems to imply at least a recognition of common cause with Athens, if not an alliance.¹⁰ In 333 or 332 B.C. Rhodes made a formal surrender to Alexander, and sent ships to help in his siege of Tyre; however, a Makedonian garrison was stationed in the city to maintain its allegiance, and this garrison was still in place in 323 when Alexander died. The garrison was immediately expelled, but when Athens was instrumental in forming a Greek coalition against the successors of Alexander, Rhodes refused to

⁶ *SEG* III, 92 (= *IG* II², 584 + 679, 275/4 B.C.), line *b*, 4; *IG* II², 479, line 11 (ca. 305/4 B.C.); but see also Demosthenes, XXXIV.39 (328 B.C.).

⁷ Demosthenes, XVIII.248.

⁸ *Ath. Pol.*, 51.3.

⁹ Professor Christian Habicht has very kindly provided me with the following prosopographical notes on lines 15–18: “Timasikrates seems to be the only Rhodian name that fits the space, and it is well attested (*IG* XII 1, 268; 281; 764, line 90; *Inscr. Lindos*, no. 361, line 7; Livy, XXXVII.14.3; and many more). Potagoras seems to be the only Rhodian name beginning with Pot-. It is attested for the 3rd century B.C. in *Tituli Calymnii*, no. 85, line 51 (= *ASAtene*, n.s. 6–7, 1944–45 [1952]). There is no Rhodian name beginning with Pot- attested in *IG* XII 1, *Inscr. Lindos*, *Tituli Camirenses* (and the various supplements), or in *SIG*³. I therefore regard the restoration of either name, Timasikrates or Potagoras, as virtually certain. As for Philinos, there were in the first half of the 3rd century B.C. three prominent Rhodians, all sons of a Philinos: *IG* XII 1, 761, line 15; *Inscr. Lindos*, nos. 88 and 280, and 1 D (p. 113, priest of Athena Lindia).” Habicht thinks that all these persons had been helpful, in Rhodes, to the Athenian officials named in the first part of this decree. There is ample epigraphic evidence for the activities of the foreign grain merchants who came to Athens’ aid in the crisis of the early 320’s (see the list in Camp, *op. cit.* [footnote 2 above], p. 323, note 45). I wonder whether these persons might be grain merchants actually living as metics in Athens at this time, rather than living in Rhodes.

¹⁰ See A. W. Pickard-Cambridge in *The Cambridge Ancient History* VI, Cambridge 1927 (reprint of 1953), pp. 211–212; 253; 255.

take part, thus staying out of the Lamian War. All this seems to imply that the state of Rhodes was no more enthusiastic about Athens during the 320's and 310's than it had been in the 350's.¹¹ It does not, however, preclude members of the philo-Athenian party at Rhodes from acting in their private capacity to relieve a dearth of grain during the early 320's. That some Rhodians, at least, were friends of Athens during the years of Alexander's rule is implied both by the intervention of the Athenian Phokion to bring about the release of Demaratos and Sparton in 324 B.C.,¹² and by the honors granted by the Athenians to the Rhodian Ainetos in 319/8.¹³ Ainetos' services to Athens while campaigning in Asia are expressly cited.

The formulas of lines 20–23 are restored from several sources; there is no exact parallel for these lines as I have arranged them.¹⁴

2. Honors for a friend of Demetrios Poliorketes.

A fragment of a stele of micaceous Pentelic marble, found on September 29, 1969 in the basement wall of a modern house (Agora grid M 5–6). The smooth-dressed right side and the flat, rough-picked back are preserved. The stele was thicker at the bottom than at the top.

Preserved height, 0.294 m.; preserved width, 0.190 m.; thickness, top, 0.102 m., bottom, 0.120 m.

Height of letters, 0.007 m.; stoichedon, with a horizontal checker of 0.0150 m. and a vertical checker of 0.0140 m.

Inv. No. I 7070

¹¹ For the surrender, see Curtius, IV.5.9; for the ships sent to Tyre, see Arrian, II.20.2; for the garrison, see Curtius, IV.8.12, and Diodoros, XVIII.8.1; for the expulsion of the garrison, see Diodoros, XVIII.8.1; for the members of the anti-Makedonian coalition, see, most recently, H. H. Schmitt, *Die Staatsverträge des Altertums*, III, *Die Verträge der griechisch-römischen Welt von 338 bis 200 v. Chr.*, Munich 1969, no. 413. The most recent discussion of Rhodes' politics during the latter part of Alexander's reign and in the period of the Diadochoi is that of H. Hauben, "Rhodes, Alexander and the Diadochoi from 333/332 to 304 B.C.," *Historia* 26, 1977, pp. 307–339, upon which I have drawn extensively in compiling this paper. I have also benefited from discussions with my colleague Dr. Waldemar Heckel.

¹² Plutarch, *Phokion*, 18.4–5; Aelian, *VH*, 1.25.

¹³ Athenian Agora inv. no. I 5454, published by E. Schweigert, *Hesperia* 9, 1940, pp. 345–348, no. 44 (= *SEG* XXI, 310).

¹⁴ The formula *ὅπως ἂν εἰδῶσιν πάντες κτλ.*, *vel sim.*, first occurs in *IG* II², 183 (*ante a.* 353/2 *a.*); I have traced its career down to the middle of the 3rd century B.C. (*IG* II², 798, 823), but a complete list of its occurrences and variations is too long to be given here. Of its parts, the first appearance of *χρεῖαν παρέχεσθαι* seems to be in 299/8 B.C. (*IG* II², 641, line 24); *χάριν ἀποδιδόναι* appears first between 307/6 and 304/3 B.C. (*IG* II², 555, lines 10–11); before this, *χαρίτας* is used regularly with *ἀποδιδόναι*, from the middle of the 4th century (*IG* II², 183, lines 7–8), and, indeed, continues to be employed, albeit increasingly often with *ἀπολήψεσθαι* or *κομιδῶσθαι*, through to the middle of the 3rd century B.C. (*IG* II², 823, lines 11–12), though *χάριν ἀποδιδόναι* becomes ever more common during this period. Thus, the formulas of this section really favor a 3rd- rather than a 4th-century date, despite the contrary, and, to my mind, compelling evidence of the context and, to a lesser extent, of the letter forms.

a. 303/2 a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 25

[.²².]ι[.2.]
 [.¹⁹. κα]ι εἰν-
 [αι αὐτὸν Ἀθηναῖον καὶ ἐγγ]όνου-
 [ς αὐτοῦ καὶ γράψασθαι αὐτ]ὸν φυ-
 5 [λῆς καὶ δῆμον καὶ φρατρία]ς ἧς ἄ-
 [ν βούληται κατὰ τὸν νόμο]ν· δοῦν-
 [αι δὲ καὶ τὴν ψῆφον περ]ι αὐτοῦ [τ]-
 [οὺς πρυτάνεις εἰς τὴν] πρώτην [ἐ]-
 [κκλησίαν καὶ τοὺς θε]σμοθέτ[α]ς[ς]
 10 [τοὺς ἐπὶ Νικοκλέους] ἄρχον[τ]ος
 [προγράψαι αὐτῶι τῇ]ν δοκιμασ[ι]-
 [αν ἐν τῶι Μεταγειτν]ιώνι μηνί, [ὁ]-
 [πως ἂν οἱ διατρίβο]ν[τ]ες πα[ρὰ τῶ]-
 [ι βασιλεῖ ἅπαντες] ἐ[ν]δεικ[νύων]-
 15 [ται τὴν εὐνοίαν τῶ]ι δῆμῳ[ι εἰδό]-
 [τες ὅτι τιμηθήσων]ται ὑπ[ὸ τοῦ δ]-
 [ήμου ἀξίως τῆς εὐνο]ίας· [ἀναγρά]-
 [ψαι κτλ. -----]

Line 1: The bottom of a central vertical survives, probably part of a name.

Line 5: The left foot of alpha survives.

Line 6: Only the right side of the right hasta of nu is preserved.

Line 7: The crossbar of alpha is omitted. The tip of the left diagonal of upsilon survives.

Line 8: The mason engraved a centrally placed vertical here, omitting entirely the loop of rho.

Line 9: The bar of tau is preserved, and, in the following stoichos, the left foot of alpha.

Line 12: The top of iota survives at the left edge; the top of another iota is preserved at the right edge.

Line 13: The right hasta of nu is preserved.

Line 14: The top of the vertical of kappa survives.

Line 16: The right tip of the bar of tau is preserved; the crossbar of alpha is omitted; only the upper left corner of pi survives.

Line 17: The tops of iota, alpha and sigma are preserved on the break.

The date of this decree is provided by *IG* II², 496 + 507, of whose text (lines 22–36) this document is a copy.¹⁵ The honorand may, indeed, be yet another son of Straton of Bargylia, though so many of the partisans of Demetrios and Antigonos were honored in 303/2 B.C. that it would be foolish to assume any connection between the two honorands other than their friendship for Demetrios Poliorketes.

The honorand is to be enrolled as an Athenian citizen in the tribe, deme and phratry of his choice; the sitting prytany is to vote his citizenship at the next session of the Assembly, and the *thesmothetai* of the year of the archon Nikokles (302/1 B.C.) are

¹⁵ Joined by A. Wilhelm, *AthMitt* 39, 1914, pp. 273–278, no. 10.

to carry out a *dokimasia* in the month Metageitnion; all friends of the King (Demetrios Poliorketes, probably) who show good will towards the *demos* will thus know that the Athenian people will honor them in a fashion appropriate to their good will. The secretary is to publish the decree on a marble stele upon the Akropolis. The honorand of *IG* II², 496 + 507, because of his services to Athenians visiting the King either in their private capacity or as representatives of the Athenian *demos*, and because of his good will both to the Kings (Demetrios and Antigonos) and to the Athenian people, was awarded a golden crown. It is likely that the honorand of the present decree was similarly praised and rewarded. This document thus joins the already considerable list of decrees passed in the archonship of Leostratos, the bulk of them honoring friends of Demetrios Poliorketes.¹⁶

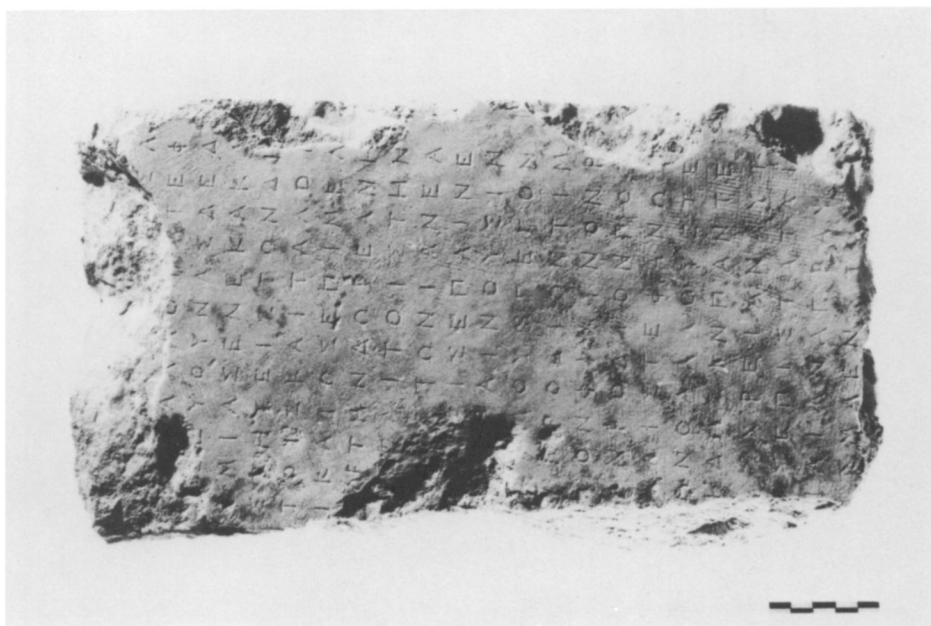
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¹⁶ *IG* II², 489; 490–495; 496 + 507; 497; 498; *SEG* III, 117; see also E. Schweigert, *Hesperia* 9, 1940, p. 351, no. 46; B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 21, 1952, pp. 367–368, no. 8; J. Threpsiades, *Ἀρχ'Εφ*, 1971, p. 26, no. 161; W. K. Pritchett, *CSCA* 5, 1972, p. 169, no. 3; Ch. Karapa-Molizani, *Δελτ* 29, 1974, pp. 159–163, no. 2. *IG* II², 1159 also belongs to this year. Of these decrees *IG* II², 495, 496 + 507, 497 and, perhaps, 498 and *Hesperia* 21, 1952, no. 8 were passed on the same day; the text of *IG* II², 495, so far as it is preserved, is identical with that of *IG* II², 496 + 507, except for the name of the honorand. I hope to investigate the prosopography and calendaric problems involved in this series of documents at another time and in another place.



b. I 7070



a. I 7360

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