

IG II² 1195 AND AGATHE TYCHE IN ATTICA

AN AUGMENTED EDITION of IG II² 1195 has been published by Michael B. Walbank in the preceding article.¹ During the course of a number of years of working on hands in late 4th-century Attic epigraphy, I have studied the cutter who inscribed this text.² In addition to Agora I 5825 (fragment *e*)³ and I 6630 (fragment *d*), which do clearly belong to this inscription, Walbank also associates with IG II² 1195 (fragment *c*) three other fragments, namely Agora I 2799 (fragment *f*), I 5572 (fragment *a*), and IG II² 620 (fragment *b*). The last is by the same hand, and the treatment of the back, as Walbank describes it, does indeed make it likely that it is from this inscription.⁴ The other two fragments are so small that, although they are in the same style, I cannot affirm that they are by this hand. They may be part of this inscription; but, without further evidence, it serves, I think, no useful purpose to claim that they are.

Be that as it may, the complex of fragments IG II² 1195+Agora I 5825 and I 6630 (fragments *c–e*) preserves in fragmentary form the only known decree of the deme Kollytos.⁵ The speaker Eukadmides (of Kollytos) is not otherwise attested,⁶ and the precise provisions of the decree remain unclear.⁷ What is clear is that the demesmen resolve to sacrifice to all their gods and heroes and above all to Good Fortune for the safety of the city. The frequent turn of phrase in Attic inscriptions, a form of the verb ὑπάρχει followed by a dative of personal reference,⁸ strongly suggests that Walbank indeed is correct to interpret Ἀγαθῆι Τύχηι in line 29 as the goddess.⁹ A similar text was published by A. G. Woodhead (1981).¹⁰ It

¹ I owe sincere thanks to Professor Walbank for sharing the contents of his article with me prior to publication. The initial work on the present study was done under a summer visitorship to the Institute for Advanced Study. I am much indebted to the faculty of the School of Historical Studies for the invitation and to Christian Habicht in particular for many helpful comments.

² This study forms part of an almost completed monograph on hands and historical problems in Attic inscriptions of the last quarter of the 4th century B.C. Walbank (1989, pp. 395–399) has also studied the hand of this text. Since his methods and criteria seem to differ from mine, it is not surprising that his results also differ somewhat.

³ For convenience, in this paper I adopt Walbank's line numbering and labeling of the fragments.

⁴ Walbank's restoration with a question mark of the archon Hegemon in lines 4–5 of IG II² 620 (lines 8–9 of his composite text) is no more than one possibility, as he indeed acknowledges on page 398 of Walbank 1989. These letters could, for example, be a reference to the gymnasium complex Kynosarges or any number of proper names.

⁵ For a useful collection of deme decrees, see Whitehead 1986, pp. 374–393.

⁶ The only other person of this name now known is an ephebe of the tribe Kekropis in an inscription doubtfully dated to the late 4th century B.C. (Meritt 1964, p. 209, no. 54, line 20 = *SEG XXI* 617). Kollytos, of course, had its tribal affiliation with Aigeis.

⁷ See Walbank's commentary on lines 28–32.

⁸ IG II² 213, line 10; II² 570, line 11; II² 840, line 6; II² 900, line 11; II² 907, line 8; II² 908, line 17; II² 1132, line 88; II² 1194, line 11, etc.

⁹ Walbank points out above (1994, p. 238 and note 9) that this text implies the existence of a shrine of the goddess in Kollytos. His further suggestion of the location as Mouseion Hill is very speculative.

¹⁰ Woodhead 1981, pp. 357–367. Other restorations for some lines have been suggested by Christian Habicht (1990, pp. 463–466).

records sacrifices of the tribe Akamantis for military successes to Athena Nike, Agathe Tyche, and the Saviors (i.e., Demetrios Poliorketes and Antigonos Monophthalmos) and is dated to 304/3.

The date of *IG II*² 1195+ is established primarily by the hand of the cutter. Walbank dates it “*post a. 327/6 a.*” and adds “probably in the 320’s, rather than in the 310’s.” My study suggests that the cutter did not work after 318; and, of the eight inscriptions that I can assign to him, the earliest belongs to the year 326/5. These are admittedly narrow dates and, unless he died prematurely, he is likely to have had a longer career than this implies. Nevertheless, the mention of the secretary *κατὰ πρυτανείαν* in the publication formula of *IG II*² 1195 (lines 15–16) reveals that it must be dated either before or after the oligarchic regime of 321/0 to 319/8, for these were years when the *anagrapheus* exercised responsibility for having measures inscribed. The provisions of lines 28–30, munificent sacrifices (thank offerings?) for the safety of the city, point to a military success that seemed at the time momentous. During the time frame offered by the known dates of the cutter, the most probable date for this text would be after Alexander’s death in June 323 and before the battle of Krannon in late summer 322. Perhaps one ought to associate it with the initial Athenian successes against Antipater in the Lamian War. Leosthenes, the Athenian general, defeated him in battle and bottled him up in Lamia.¹¹ These exploits were sufficiently impressive that by late autumn of 323 the Sikyonians, representing the first of a number of Peloponnesian cities, allied themselves with the Athenians in the war effort.¹²

Notwithstanding the frequent occurrence in Attic inscriptions of the phrase *ἀγαθῆι τύχῃ*,¹³ the cult of Good Fortune (Agathe Tyche) is obscurely known in Attica and merits further discussion.¹⁴ From the first half of the 4th century B.C., there is a dedication set up to the twelve gods and to Agathe Tyche¹⁵ and, from the late 4th century, a dedication to the goddess¹⁶ and a graffito listing her along with Dionysos and Zeus.¹⁷ Her juxtaposition to major gods suggests that her worship was securely established, as does the fact that the makers of the two dedications are quite distinguished individuals: that of *IG II*² 4564 was trierarch *ca.* 370¹⁸ and that of *IG II*² 4610 was orator and councillor in 304/3.¹⁹ Lykourgos himself fostered the cult or at least took a special interest in it. A measure that he proposed in 335/4, dealing with the renewal of religious sanctuaries, mentions both treasurers and overseers of the sanctuary of Agathe Tyche.²⁰ Moreover, in his speech on his administration

¹¹ Plutarch, *Demosth.* 27; Diodoros 18.9–13.

¹² *IG II*² 448, lines 9–12, 45–50.

¹³ Although I have made no exact count, a computer search suggests that it occurs more than 1000 times.

¹⁴ I am happy to acknowledge the help of Sara Aleshire, Judith Binder, and Jon Mikalson, who have all kindly shared with me what they knew or could find out about Agathe Tyche.

¹⁵ *IG II*² 4564. S. N. Koumanoudes (1955, pp. 195–202) attempts to associate this inscription with a block of the Altar of the Twelve Gods published in Crosby 1949, p. 92, and adds a short appendix of references to Agathe Tyche.

¹⁶ *IG II*² 4610.

¹⁷ *Agora XXI*, G9.

¹⁸ Kirchner *ad loc* in *IG*.

¹⁹ Matthaïou 1986, pp. 19–23.

²⁰ *IG II*² 333c, lines 19–20 = Schwenk 1985, no. 21.

(Περὶ τῆς διουκῆσεως) he apparently made specific reference to her temple.²¹ From about the same time, that is, during Lykourgos' administration of the city, there are attested state sacrifices of animals to Agathe Tyche.²²

There also exists in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek in Copenhagen a puzzling dedication of the 4th century to Agathe Tyche as the wife of Zeus Epiteleios Philios.²³ Furthermore, reliefs of 4th-century date depicting the goddess holding a cornucopia have been found in the Asklepieion²⁴ and in Piraeus.²⁵ Indeed, there are quite a few 4th-century B.C. representations of the goddess known to art historians.²⁶ Her worship, all this evidence reveals, became both formalized and quite popular during the course of the 4th century.²⁷ On inscriptions the phrase ἀγαθῆι τύχηι (or τύχηι ἀγαθῆι) τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων begins to occur shortly after the year 360 and is last attested in 318.²⁸ It is also in the second half of the 4th century B.C. that the enactment clause ἀγαθεῖ τύχει δεδόχθαι or a close variant becomes frequent in Attic decrees.²⁹ The concurrence of these two phenomena, that is, the rapid development of the cult of Agathe Tyche and the increasing frequency of the words ἀγαθῆι τύχηι in inscriptions, appears to be more than coincidental.

In addition, a late source reports that a statue of Agathe Tyche stood near the Prytaneion. Unfortunately we cannot determine when it was set up.³⁰ Its presence close to one of the chief legislating centers, the Bouleuterion, suggests strongly the possibility that the phrase ἀγαθῆι τύχηι in Attic inscriptions, which is usually interpreted as some sort of loose dative of attendant circumstances, "with good luck", had at least in some cases, probably indeed in many, an element of personification in it, that is, "under the auspices of the Goddess of Good

²¹ Conomis 1970, pp. 98–100, fr. 5.6.

²² IG II² 1496, lines 76, 107, 148.

²³ IG II² 4627.

²⁴ IG II² 4644.

²⁵ IG II² 4589. For statues showing Agathe Tyche with a cornucopia, see Palagia 1982, pl. 32:a, b.

²⁶ See Palagia 1982, p. 109 and note 61.

²⁷ Mattingly (1974, pp. 46–47, 52) cites the few 5th-century occurrences of the phrase *agathe tyche* in inscriptions and literary texts. (N.B.: the line number in the *Birds* is 675 not 670; for completeness one might perhaps add *Ekklesiiazousai* 131.) See also Woodhead's comments on her cult (1981, pp. 361–362).

²⁸ A list in chronological order follows: IG II² 127, line 8 (356 B.C.); II² 223A, line 6 (342 B.C.); E.M. 12719+, line 1 = Schweigert 1938, pp. 289–291 (ca. 339 B.C.); II² 244, line 2 (337/6 B.C.); Agora I 6524, line 5 = Meritt 1952, pp. 355–359 (336 B.C.); II² 240, line 8 (336 B.C.); II² 241, line 7 (336 B.C.); II² 334+a, line 4 = Schwenk 1985, no. 17 (ca. 335 B.C.); IG VII 4252, line 10 = Schwenk 1985, no. 40 (331 B.C.); II² 1629A, line 172 (325/4 B.C.); II² 387, line 7 (318 B.C.). Finally, a decree of the Eleusinians, IG II² 1274 + II² 1194 + Eleusis 714 = Threpsiades 1939, pp. 177–180, preserves in lines 1–3 the phrase τύχηι ἀγαθῆι τοῦ [δήμου τοῦ] Ἐλευσινίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων. This inscription has been dated on prosopographical grounds to ca. 300. If that date is correct, the phraseology would appear to be a throwback to an earlier era; but a date as early as 320 is not impossible for this inscription.

²⁹ See, *exemplorum gratia*, IG II² 223A, line 6; II² 240, line 8; II² 241, line 7; II² 283, line 13; II² 338, line 10; II² 354, line 9; II² 380, line 12; II² 394, line 3; II² 407, line 10; II² 411, line 5; II² 448, line 64; II² 470b, line 18; II² 487, line 13; II² 593, line 1. The phrase accompanied by δεδόχθαι is not attested often before 350 B.C.; in fact, I can cite only three examples: IG II² 105, line 6 of the year 367, IG II² 112a, line 17 of 362/1, and IG II² 117b, line 1 of the year 361/0.

³⁰ Aelian, *Varia Historia* 9.39. See Palagia 1982, p. 110 and note 62 for an attempted identification of this statue.

Fortune”.³¹ From an inscription of the 1st century B.C. we know of two *temene* of Agathe Tyche, one in Piraeus and another somewhere on the outskirts of the city.³² Finally, there are a few references to Agathe Tyche in Attic inscriptions of the later Roman period.³³ By contrast, to my knowledge there are no literary sources, other than those mentioned above, that certainly refer to Good Fortune as a goddess.³⁴

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³¹ For a discussion of the phrase ἀγαθῆ τύχη in headings, see Pounder 1975, pp. 39–40, 55–59.

³² *IG* II² 1035, lines 44, 48 as reedited by Culley (1975). On the locations, see Culley 1977, p. 286. Culley dates this inscription to the time of Augustus; J. von Freeden (1983, p. 174) dates it 74–64 B.C.

³³ See *IG* II² 1076, line 28, II² 3703, and II² 4761 for references to the goddess in the 2nd and 3rd centuries after Christ.

³⁴ The poets do tend to personify Τύχη; see, for example, Aischylos, *Agamemnon* 664, Sophokles, *Oedipus the King* 1080, and Euripides, *Hippolytus* 818. This practice is to be differentiated from references to existing gods and cults.