

ONE HUNDRED HEROES OF PHYLE?

ABSTRACT

Reconsideration of Archinos's decree for the heroes of Phyle shows that it honored men who withstood the siege of the Thirty very soon after Thrasybulos's men took the stronghold. It is not evidence, as is sometimes claimed, that Thrasybulos's forces were overwhelmingly foreign. On the contrary, at least half were Athenians, and the most conservative restoration of the decree suggests that almost all of Thrasybulos's troops were Athenians at this point. Archinos's decree, however, does not honor only Athenians. Although their presence is often overlooked, one to three of the men listed were certainly either metics or Eleutherians. Finally, A. E. Raubitschek's early position that the decree honored over 100 men divided into two lists (with forty or so foreigners included in a second, lost, list) remains most likely.

1. I wish to thank Michael Jameson for insightful discussions on this decree, Treasa Beyer for her research assistance, and the anonymous *Hesperia* reviewers for their numerous helpful suggestions. My research was supported by a grant from Loyola College in Maryland. This article is dedicated to Toni Raubitschek, from whose teaching I was lucky to benefit.

2. Arginoussai: See *Ar. Ran.* 693–694 with scholion. The scholiast quotes Hellanikos, *FGrHist* III 323a fr. 25. See also *Ar. Ran.* 33–34; *Andoc.* 2.23, 1.149; and *Diod. Sic.* 13.97.1, who mentions the naturalization of metics. Osborne 1983, pp. 33–37, T10, has a thorough discussion. See also Hunt 1998, pp. 92–95. Samos: Meiggs-Lewis 94; Tod 1946, no. 96.

3. See also *Dem.* 24.135; *Kratippos*, *FGrHist* 64 T2.

Soon after Thrasybulos and his army of the Peiraieus made their triumphant entry into an Athens newly freed by their efforts from the tyranny of the Thirty, Thrasybulos tried to reward his non-Athenian supporters richly.¹ He proposed to give Athenian citizenship to all his foreign fighters whether they had joined him early at Phyle or late at the Peiraieus, even though “some of them were clearly slaves” (*Arist. Ath. Pol.* 40.2). In this he followed the generous precedents set in the crisis years of the Peloponnesian War, when the Athenians granted citizenship to the slaves who fought for them at Arginoussai and offered citizenship to their loyal allies, the Samians.² Thrasybulos was not successful in his efforts, however. A certain Archinos of Coele, a fellow-member of the army of the Peiraieus, and one who had been with Thrasybulos at Phyle, indicted Thrasybulos and blocked his measure on a charge of illegality because it had not first gone through the (as yet nonexistent) Boule (*Arist. Ath. Pol.* 40.2).³ At probably the same time, Archinos proposed his own bill to honor those who had restored the democracy. This bill conveyed much more modest rewards, however, and gave them not to all of Thrasybulos's supporters, but only to men who had fought with Thrasybulos at Phyle—and not even to all of these (*Aischin.* 3.187–190).

THE DECREE OF ARCHINOS

Fragments of Archinos's decree were discovered in the Athenian Agora (Fig. 1).⁴ The document is an extremely valuable source for our understanding not only of the foreign composition of Thrasyboulos's early forces, but also of Athenian attitudes toward their foreign benefactors. The document is, however, an ambiguous witness. Unjustifiably, recent treatments have muted its uncertainties, with scholars in some cases suggesting that we know as fact that which is only interpretation, and in others asserting points that contradict what seems quite clear in the decree. More recently, there has been a trend to discount, without argument, the important literary evidence about the decree, leading to markedly different interpretations of the decree than the one proposed by A. E. Raubitschek some sixty years ago.⁵ Yet key elements of that original interpretation are almost certainly correct. As Raubitschek proposed, Archinos honored individuals who joined Thrasyboulos early at Phyle, not those who participated in a later battle—and so his bill does not offer evidence that Thrasyboulos's army was overwhelmingly foreign, as Peter Krentz would argue.⁶ Furthermore, although often overlooked, good evidence exists that Archinos honored on his decree at least a few men who were not Athenian citizens. Finally, Archinos may well have honored the slightly more than 100 foreign and Athenian individuals alluded to by Aischines, just as Raubitschek originally proposed. Raubitschek failed to provide a detailed argument in support of his interpretations, however, and Archinos's important decree has not received the full treatment it deserves.

At the heart of any interpretation of the decree of Archinos are two questions: 1) what event is commemorated on the stone—a siege at Phyle very soon after Thrasyboulos captured the stronghold or a battle at (or near) Acharnai when Thrasyboulos commanded some 700 men; and 2) how many men are honored on the stone—the fifty-five or so men in the preserved list alone or (to follow Aischines) somewhat over 100 divided into two lists (the preserved list and a second list that is now lost).

The five preserved fragments of the decree contain parts of a list of names arranged by Attic tribe, and inscribed in two columns above a four-line epigram and the text of the decree itself. Parts of both columns of names are preserved but only the first few letters of the four lines of the epigram and the very first lines of the decree are preserved (Fig. 1). Although only a few letters of the epigram are preserved, they are enough to allow identification with a poem quoted by Aischines (3.187) as having been part of Archinos's honors for the men of Phyle. This correspondence then identifies the Agora decree as being that of Archinos. According to Raubitschek's restoration there were at most fifty-eight citizens on the main list of the decree (Fig. 2); the stone itself gives clear evidence for only fifty-four names.⁷ Aischines (3.187) implies, however, that over 100 men were involved in the honors Archinos proposed, because he says that the 1,000 drachmas provided to the group for sacrifice and dedicatory offerings resulted in an award of less than ten drachmas per recipient (*ἔγραψε δὲ πρῶτον μὲν αὐτοῖς εἰς θυσίαν καὶ ἀναθήματα δοῦναι χιλίας δραχμάς, καὶ τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἔλαττον ἢ δέκα δραχμαὶ κατ' ἄνδρα*). For this reason, Raubitschek

4. Agora inv. nos. I 16, I 16b, I 17, I 18, I 93. See Meritt 1933, pp. 151–155; Raubitschek 1941, pp. 287–295, no. 78.

5. Raubitschek 1941.

6. Krentz 1982, p. 84.

7. Raubitschek 1941, p. 294.

There is no join between the top of fragment B and the bottom of fragment C. There must have once been at least one additional line between these two fragments because the top-most preserved lines on fragment B record the names of individuals (Fig. 2). These lines must have had above them a heading for their tribe *Κεκροπίδος*. Their tribal affiliation is clear because the four lines inscribed with names are followed by the tribal heading *Ἴπποθω[ντίδος]*, the tribe that followed Kekropis in Athens' official tribal order. Furthermore, the names that Raubitschek's restoration places above them (all on fragment C) belong clearly to demes of Oineis, the tribe before Kekropis in the tribal order. The four names that begin fragment B, therefore, must have once had *Κεκροπίδος* inscribed above them, as Raubitschek has restored in column 2, line 49. Above this, however, Raubitschek has restored an additional line for a name in the tribe Oineis, of which there appear from his reconstruction and the published photograph to be no remains on the stone. I have not myself seen the stone, but if it is true that there

argued that it is “necessary to assume that the monument originally contained another (a second) list,” and he proposed that this second list contained the names “of more than forty non-citizens who received the same honors but were separately listed.” The second list, he suggested, “may have been inscribed below the decree.”⁸

The fragments of the decree strongly suggest, however, that even the list preserved on the stone honored men other than regular Athenian citizens. At the very end of the right-hand list of names inscribed under tribal headings, one line is left uninscribed. This empty line is followed by a single preserved epsilon, indented slightly to the right, and, in the first line below it, the beginnings of an inscribed name. Benjamin Meritt understood this indented epsilon as the beginning of a heading.⁹ Citing the precedent of a casualty list that recorded men under the heading ἔνγραφ[οι] at the end of a list of Athenian dead divided by tribe (*IG I² 949*, lines 76–78), Meritt took this decree also to be a casualty list and proposed the same restoration, ἔ[γγραφοί, here. If, as Raubitschek and Meritt apparently believed, the inscription strove for symmetry, there should have been at least two (and probably three) names inscribed under this heading (Fig. 1).¹⁰ Meritt’s restoration would indicate that the two or three names that follow the epsilon in line 69 are those of metics; Raubitschek, on the other hand, proposed to restore the line as Ἐ[λευθεροῦθεν] or Ἐ[λευθερεῖς], indicating that the men listed in lines 70–72 were from the non-deme village of Eleutherai in northwest Attica.¹¹ This restoration is necessary to Raubitschek’s view that the decree originally included a second list of non-citizens. If lines 70–72 of the list preserved on the stone recorded metics, as Meritt’s restoration would indicate, there would be no need for a separate list for noncitizen heroes. On either proposed restoration of line 69, however, Archinos’s decree includes more than Athenian citizens.¹²

Unfortunately, the decree does not preserve enough of its heading to allow identification of the particular subset of Thrasyboulos’s eventual legion of supporters that was honored by Archinos. The first line of the heading ends with an HN, allowing a restoration that mentions Phyle. But this would seem to narrow the possible field only down to those men who

are no remains of this line on the stone, this line is not required. Because the stone is symmetrical, Raubitschek’s restoration of an unnecessary line in the second column requires one in the first column as well. The stone, that is, seems to give clear evidence for only fifty-three Athenians in the main list. Raubitschek and Meritt read the beginning Π of one additional name at the end of the list under a nontribal heading (see below for more on this heading). Thus, the stone honored at least fifty-four men.

8. Raubitschek 1941, p. 294.

9. Meritt 1933, pp. 154–155.

10. As Raubitschek and Meritt

arranged the fragments of the decree, exact symmetry would call for three names below this heading, and Raubitschek (1941, p. 294) restored the decree thus (Figs. 1–2). Meritt (1933, pp. 153–154) assumed only two names under the heading, meaning that the right-hand column would be one line shorter than the column on the left. Thus, although the stone gives clear evidence for only fifty-four honorands (fifty-three Athenians and one man listed under E[----]), symmetry suggests that there was in addition at least one more name listed under this heading. We can be reasonably certain that the stone originally

named at least fifty-five honorands.

11. Meritt 1933, pp. 154–155. Raubitschek 1941, pp. 288, 293. I follow Vanderpool (1978) in the assignment of identifications of places in the northwest border region: Gyphtokastro fort and village = Eleutherai; Myoupolis = Oinoe. The discovery of an ephebic decree at the fort above Kavasala in the Skourta plain confirms the identification of that site as Panakton, and disproves the identification sometimes advanced of Gyphtokastro with Panakton. See Munn and Zimmerman Munn 1989.

12. I discuss the ramifications of each of these restorations below.

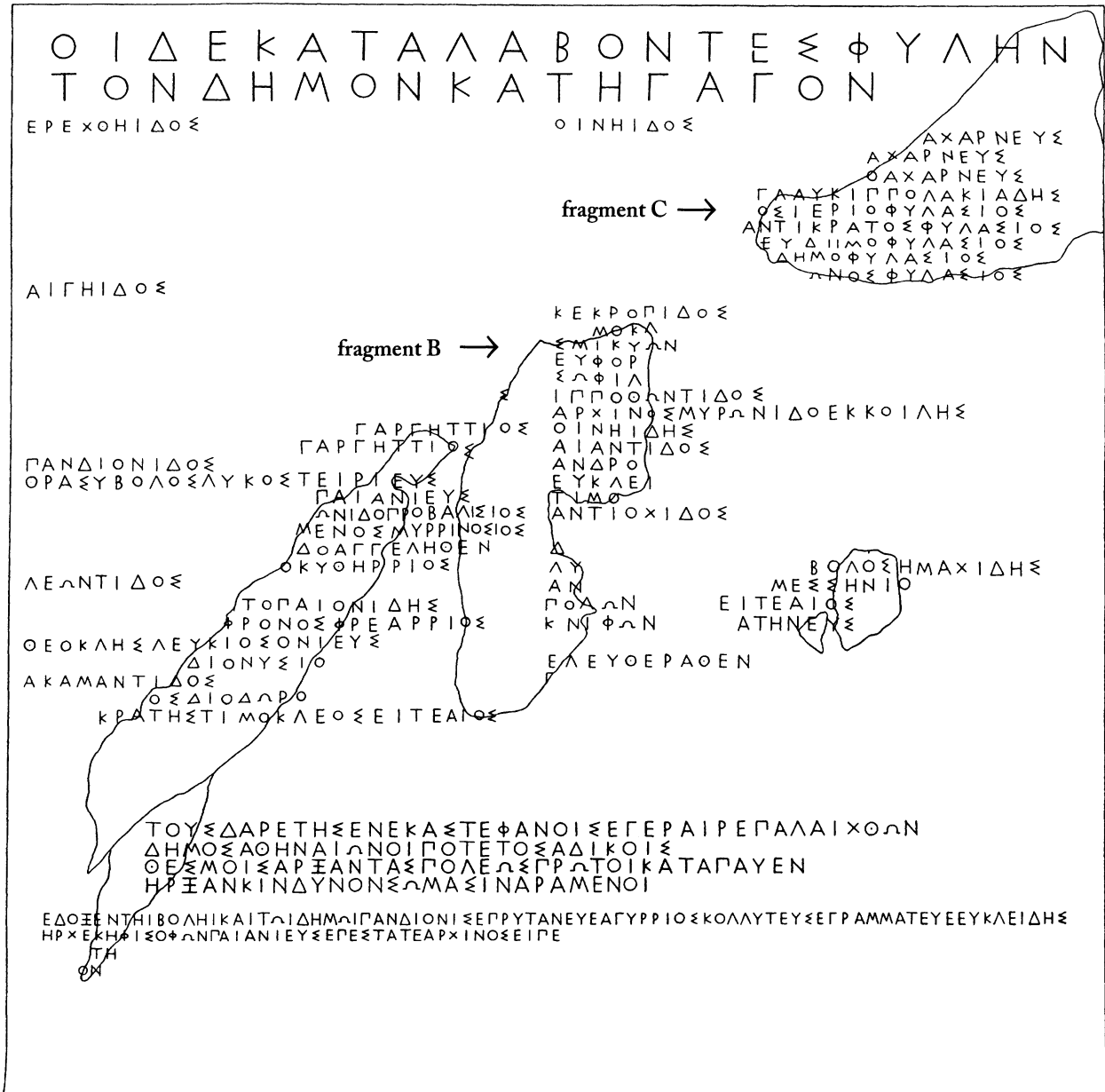


Figure 1. Inscription honoring the heroes of Phyle. After Raubitschek 1941, p. 289, fig. 1

fought with Thrasyboulos before he moved to the Peiraieus. Since our sources say that Thrasyboulos had at least 1,000 men with him by this time (*Xen. Hell.* 2.4.10–11), the reference to Phyle does not suffice to identify which men at Phyle were honored on the decree.

Raubitschek argued that the citizen and foreign recipients he located on Archinos’s decree included the seventy men with whom Thrasyboulos left Thebes, according to Xenophon (*Hell.* 2.4.2), and an additional group of more than thirty, who joined him almost immediately at Phyle “even before the Oligarchs were able to launch their first attack.”¹³ Raubitschek thus located the cutoff point for inclusion in Archinos’s honors very early in Thrasyboulos’s time at Phyle. On Raubitschek’s understanding, the decree does not distinguish between the initial seventy and the more than

13. Raubitschek 1941, p. 284. Even before the discovery of the decree, Cloché (1915, p. 15) had reconciled in this way Xenophon’s number of seventy for the size of the band with which Thrasyboulos left Thebes and Aischines’ implication that Archinos honored not seventy but over 100 men.

	[Ο ἰ δ ε κ α τ α λ α β ό ν τ ε ς Φ υ λ] ἦ ν		
	[τ ό ν δ ῆ μ ο ν κ α τ ῆ γ α γ ο ν].		
	[Ἐρεχθίδος]		[Οἰνήδος]
5	[- ----]		[. ²⁰] Ἀχαρνεύς
	[- ----]	40	[. ¹⁷] Ἀχαρνεύς
	[- ----]		[. ¹⁷] οἰ Ἀχαρνεύς
	[- ----]		[. ¹¹ Γ]λαυκίππο Λακιάδης
	[- ----]		[. ¹¹] ος Ἱερῖο Φυλάσιος
10	[- ----]	45	[. ¹⁰] Ἀντικράτος Φυλάσιος
	[- ----]		[. ¹¹] Εὐδήμο Φυλάσιος
	[- ----]		[. ¹²] δῆμο Φυλάσιος
	[Αἰγυίδος]		[. ¹⁴] ὦνος Φυλάσι[ος]
	[- ----]		[- ----]
15	[- ----]		[Κεκροπίδος]
	[- ----]	50	[. .]μοκλ[- ----]
	[- ----]		Σμικύω[ν- ----]
	[- ----]		Εὐφορ[- ----]
	[- ----]		Σωφιλ[- ----]
20	[. ²⁶]ς		Ἴπποθω[ντίδος]
	[- ----]	55	Ἀρχίνο[ς Μυρωνίδο ἐκ Κοίλης]
	[. ¹⁸ Γαρ]γή[ττι]ος		Οἰνή[δης- ----]
	[. ¹⁵ Γαργή]ττιός		Αἰαντ[ίδος]
	[Πανδιονίδος]		Ἄνδρο[- ----]
	[Θρασύβολος Λύκο Στειρ]ιεύ[ς]		Εὐκλε[ι- ----]
25	[. ¹⁶ Π]αιαν[ιεύ]ς	60	[Τ]ιμο[- ----]
	[. ¹⁶]ωνίδο Πρ[οβα]λίσιος		[Ἀντιοχίδος]
	[. ¹⁵]μένος Μ[υρρι]νόσιος		[- ----]
	[. ¹⁵]δο Ἀγγ[ελήθ]εν		Δ[. ¹⁶]ι[- ----]
	[. ¹⁴]ο Κυθήρ[ριος]		Λυ[. ¹² β]όλο Σ[ημαχίδης]
30	[Λεωντίδος]	65	Ἄν[. ¹⁰ Μεσ]σηνί[ο- ----]
	[. ¹¹]γτο Παιον[ίδης]		Πόλ[ων Εἰτεαῖ]ος
	[. ¹¹]φρονος Φ[ρεάρρι]ος		Κν[ίφων Ἀτην]εὺς
	[Θεοκλῆς Λευ]κίο Σονι[εύς]		<i>vacat</i>
	[. ⁹] Διονυσί[ο- --]		Ἐ[λευθερᾶθ]εν
35	[Ἀχαμαντί]δος	70	Π[- ----]
	[. ⁷]ος Διοδώρ[ο- --]		[- ----]
	[. κρ]άτης Τιμο[κλέος Εἰτεαῖ]ος		[- ----]

Figure 2. Text of the inscription honoring the heroes of Phyle.

After Raubitschek 1941, p. 288

thirty later volunteers. It separates citizens (and Eleutherians) and non-citizens into two lists, but does not distinguish between Thrasybulos's first supporters in Thebes and those who joined him only after he had taken Phyle.

Krentz, however, has proposed a different understanding of this decree, which, if correct, would indicate that Thrasybulos's dependence on noncitizen forces was dramatically greater, and the Athenians' willingness to acknowledge that dependence dramatically less, than Raubitschek suggests.¹⁴ Like Raubitschek, Krentz follows Aischines' implication that Archinos originally honored over 100 men, and also accepts that there were originally two lists on the stele. But Krentz believes that both lists honored only Athenian citizens, and in them honored most of the Athenians who served with Thrasybulos during his entire time at Phyle.

14. Krentz 1982, pp. 83–84, n. 54.

THRASYBOULOS AND HIS ARMY

A brief sketch of the activities of the army under Thrasybulos is in order. First, Thrasybulos and, at most, seventy men marched from Thebes and seized the stronghold of Phyle in northwest Attica when winter had already begun (Xen. *Hell.* 2.4.2; Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 37.1).¹⁵ Xenophon reports that the Thirty quickly marched out against him with the Three Thousand and the cavalry, but failed in their first attack. The Thirty then planned to reduce the men at Phyle by siege but were frustrated in their attempt by a snowstorm, and so returned to Athens after one night and part of a day (Xen. *Hell.* 2.4.2–3). Several months later, according to Xenophon, the Thirty sent out against Thrasybulos a force consisting of the whole of the Spartan garrison and two divisions of cavalry, “and stationed them in the outlying districts about fifteen stades from Phyle.”¹⁶ By this time, Thrasybulos’s force had increased to about 700 men. With these volunteers Thrasybulos attacked and defeated the men from Athens, killing more than 120 hoplites. Thrasybulos put up a trophy, collected the captured arms, and returned to Phyle (Xen. *Hell.* 2.4.4–7). After this, when “about a thousand men” had joined him at Phyle, Thrasybulos marched on the Peiraeus and seized Mounychia hill (Xen. *Hell.* 2.4.10–11).

Diodoros, for his part, recounts an early failed attempt by the Thirty to besiege Phyle (14.32.2–3). He then reports that the Thirty later led “many troops” out against Phyle and pitched camp at Acharnai. Thrasybulos, after leaving a “sufficient guard” at Phyle, led 1,200 men out against the Thirty’s forces and surprised and routed them. He then marched immediately on the Peiraeus (14.32.6–33.1–2). As Paul Cloché points out, it is unlikely that Thrasybulos surprised the Thirty twice in a matter of days, so Xenophon and Diodoros surely describe the same surprise attack.¹⁷ There were, then, two encounters between Thrasybulos and the Thirty before the democrats moved to the Peiraeus: 1) the Thirty’s attack and attempted siege that was frustrated by snow, probably very soon after Thrasybulos took Phyle with at most seventy men; and 2) Thrasybulos’s surprise attack on the Thirty several months later when he had about 700 men with him (Xenophon) or more than 1,200 (Diodoros).

PREVIOUS INTERPRETATIONS OF THE DECREE

Krentz argues that Archinos’s decree cannot commemorate the first encounter between the forces of Thrasybulos and those of the Thirty because that encounter does not accord with Aischines’ description of the deed for which these men of Phyle were honored.¹⁸ In his discussion of the decree, Aischines (3.187) indicates that in granting his honors Archinos made provision for a “careful scrutiny by the Boule, to determine who of them was actually besieged at Phyle when the Lacedaemonians and the Thirty attacked”—ἀκριβῶς τὴν βουλὴν σκεψαμένην, ὅσοι αὐτῶν ἐπὶ Φυλῆ ἐπολιορκήθησαν ὅτε Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ τριάκοντα προσέβαλλον. Krentz

15. Different sources give different numbers, ranging from thirty to Xenophon’s seventy, for the size of Thrasybulos’s initial group: Nepos, *Thrasyb.* 2.1 says he had “not more than thirty men”; [Arist.] *Rh. Al.* 8 says fifty; Aristides (Lenz/Behr) 1.254 says a “few more than fifty”; Paus. 1.29.3 says he had sixty men; Xen. *Hell.* 2.4.2, Plut. *Mor.* 345d (= Kratippos, *FGrHist* 64 T2), and Aristides (Dindorf) 43.556 (vol. 1, p. 822 = Pseudo-Aristides 25.65) all say he had seventy. Krentz (1982, p. 70) compromises by saying that Thrasybulos left Thebes with about thirty men but reached Phyle with about seventy. These figures certainly suggest that Thrasybulos did not have as many as 100 men with him when he first took Phyle, so Raubitschek’s proposed two lists on Archinos’s decree should probably not honor only men involved in that very first action.

16. See Krentz 1982, p. 151, and Buck 1998, p. 75, for the date.

17. Cloché 1915, pp. 25–26. Krentz (1982, p. 89) and Ostwald (1986, p. 490) concur. Ostwald thinks that Diodoros is right that the battle was at Acharnai because “the occupation of Eleusis will have made it difficult for the men of Phyle to reach the Piraeus by a route west of Mount Aegaleos.”

18. Krentz 1982, pp. 83–84, n. 54.

emphasizes that in the first confrontation between Thrasyboulos and the oligarchs, the Thirty's troops "did not include any Lacedaemonians and went home after one night." Krentz accepts that Aischines faithfully represents the terms of Archinos's decree, and argues that Archinos could not have described this first action as a siege by the Lacedaemonians and the Thirty. By Krentz's reasoning, the decree must instead commemorate the second confrontation between Thrasyboulos's men and the Thirty when our sources say that Thrasyboulos had at least 700 men.¹⁹ Archinos's decree, which, according to Aischines, honors only somewhat more than 100 men, clearly cannot honor all the democrats involved in this battle; if it does commemorate the surprise attack, it must honor only some special portion of the democrats present. Krentz argues that the logical subset is the Athenians in Thrasyboulos's army.

On Krentz's reading, then, the honorands of the decree represent the total Athenian contribution to Thrasyboulos's army at the time of the surprise attack. According to Krentz, the two lists distinguished the citizens on the basis of when they joined Thrasyboulos's movement. The first (partially preserved) list of names above the decree honored those Athenians who helped to capture Phyle. The second (assumed) list recorded the Athenians who joined Thrasyboulos at Phyle between the occupation of Phyle and the surprise attack on the Thirty.²⁰

If correct, this reading of the decree would show that Thrasyboulos's dependence on non-Athenian forces was dramatic: only somewhat more than 100 of 700 men (using Xenophon's numbers), or roughly 15%, were Athenian; in contrast, almost 600 of 700 men, or roughly 85%, were foreign or mercenary. If we use Diodoros's figure of 1,200 for the democratic forces in the battle, Archinos's decree would indicate that less than 10% were Athenian and 90% or more were foreign.²¹ How little the democracy owed its rebirth to the Athenians! Indeed, Krentz concludes, "the overwhelming majority of [Thrasyboulos's] troops at Phyle were foreign."²² Krentz's view has found acceptance,²³ but it cannot stand. Krentz has misinterpreted Aischines, and overlooked other crucial evidence concerning the number of Thrasyboulos's foreign supporters.

19. Krentz (1982, pp. 89–90) accepts Xenophon's figure of 700 for the size of the force Thrasyboulos led in attack against the Thirty. He then (1982, p. 91, n. 3) gives an "easy reconciliation" of Diodoros's and Xenophon's numbers by suggesting that Thrasyboulos left Phyle with 1,000 men and, gaining 200 on the way, reached Peiraeus with 1,200. This interpretation glosses over the 500-man difference in the size of the force that Xenophon and Diodoros say that Thrasyboulos had in his attack on the Thirty. It also seems to ignore that Diodoros 14.33.1 says that Thrasyboulos led out his 1,200

after having left "a sufficient guard" at Phyle, indicating that he had more than 1,200 men in total.

20. Krentz does not discuss the apparent heading at the end of the tribal list that Meritt took to indicate the presence of metics on the stone, and Raubitschek took to head a short list of Eleutherians. Since Krentz argues (1982, pp. 83–84, n. 54) that the decree honors only Athenian citizens, he presumably would prefer Raubitschek's restoration, in which the men below the heading are, if not Athenian citizens, at least men with very close ties to Attica. See below for further

discussion of the implications of Raubitschek's restoration.

21. This would seem to be Ostwald's understanding. Ostwald (1986, pp. 489–490) credits Krentz with the idea that only 100 of Thrasyboulos's force were Athenians, but argues that Thrasyboulos's surprise attack on the forces of the Thirty should be placed as Diodoros has it, when Thrasyboulos is coming down to the Peiraeus, leading 1,200 men.

22. Krentz 1982, p. 84.

23. See, for example, Ostwald 1986, p. 489; and, most recently, Wolpert 2002, pp. 25, 44, 109.

Krentz bases his interpretation on Aischines' paraphrase of the provisions of the decree and his belief that Archinos could not describe the first attack against the men at Phyle as a siege by the Lacedaemonians and the Thirty. This is partly because Krentz follows Aristotle's chronology and accepts that the Thirty received a garrison from Sparta only late. Thus it was only by the time of the second encounter between the Thirty and the men from Phyle that the Thirty had the use of Lacedaemonian troops. In addition, Xenophon, who has the Thirty call for a garrison from Sparta almost immediately, nevertheless does not say that any Lacedaemonians were involved in the first confrontation between the forces of the Thirty and Thrasyloulos.

I am willing to use Aischines' paraphrase as evidence of the provisions of Archinos's decree, but cannot accept Krentz's interpretation of Aischines' reference to the Lacedaemonians. First, not everyone agrees with Krentz that Aristotle's chronology should be followed.²⁴ If we follow Xenophon instead, and accept that the Thirty called in a Spartan garrison early, the Lacedaemonians would loom as a force behind the Thirty whether they were present at an individual event or not. For this reason Archinos might have included them as the putative enemy of the men of Phyle even if he was describing the first encounter between the Thirty and the defenders of Phyle. I doubt, therefore, that the mention of the Lacedaemonians means that the decree cannot be describing the Thirty's first attack against Phyle. This is so especially because the descriptions by Aischines and (apparently) Archinos of the decree's honorands present even greater difficulties for Krentz's interpretation.

As noted above, Aischines says that the decree required the Boule to determine who was actually besieged at Phyle when the Lacedaemonians and the Thirty attacked.²⁵ Krentz focuses on the presence of the Lacedaemonians in this description but overlooks the rest. In particular he gives no attention to Aischines' indication that the men honored on the decree suffered a siege and an attack at Phyle. In the encounter to which Krentz would have this refer, Thrasyloulos's band attacked and defeated the forces of the Thirty and the entire Spartan garrison either fifteen stades from Phyle (Xen. *Hell.* 2.4.4–7) or as far away as Acharnai (Diod. Sic. 14.32.6). They were not besieged; nor did the Thirty attack. It is unlikely that Archinos would choose to describe such men merely as those who with-

24. See, for example, Rhodes 1993, pp. 416–422, 455; and, recently, Munn 2000, p. 413, n. 15.

25. Aischines (3.187–190) describes the men honored by Archinos's decree several times. He first reminds the Athenians that they “gave a gift to those from Phyle who brought the *demoi* back from exile”—*ἔδοτε δωρεὰν τοῖς ἀπὸ Φυλῆς φεύγοντα τὸν δῆμον καταγαγοῦσιν*. This is too imprecise to serve as a chronological indicator because it might refer to anyone who had at least joined Thrasyloulos before

he arrived in the Peiraieus. The verses recorded on the decree, however, indicate that Archinos honored the men who joined Thrasyloulos first. They honor those “who first began to stop those who once ruled the city with unjust laws”—*οἱ ποτε τοὺς ἀδίκους θεσμοῖς ἄρξαντας πόλιος πρώτοι καταπαύειν ἤρξαν*. Unfortunately, it is hard to know how to interpret this phrase unless one knows exactly what gave these men priority. The later decree granting honors to the foreigners in Thrasyloulos's army (*IG II² 10*)

divides the honorands into three groups, and seems to have placed in the first group all who were with Thrasyloulos at Phyle, whether they came with Thrasyloulos from Thebes or arrived months later. So too might Archinos's decree call “first” all those who joined Thrasyloulos before Peiraieus. Krentz is, therefore, right to focus on Aischines' more detailed description of the men honored by Archinos, particularly because it seems to describe a procedure mandated by the decree itself.

stood a siege at Phyle.²⁶ On the other hand, in the first encounter the men at Phyle were attacked and besieged—if only for a night and part of the next day—although no source says that the enemy included the Spartan garrison.

The wording that Aischines indicates Archinos used does not exactly fit either the first or the second encounter between the men of Phyle and the Thirty. Therefore, we must choose whether it is more likely that Archinos would mention Lacedaemonians who may not actually have been present or describe men who won a surprise victory in battle as men who were besieged and attacked. I believe the former is more likely, and that this decree commemorated Thrasyboulos's first encounter with the Thirty.

A discrepancy between Krentz's interpretation and a later decree for Thrasyboulos's foreign troops supports this view. Probably two years after Archinos's decree, the Athenians awarded honors to the foreigners who fought for democracy.²⁷ The decree, only fragments of which have been preserved, carefully divided the honored men into three lists under headings that indicate when the men joined the resistance to the Thirty. The first group seems to have been defined as expansively as possible. It includes (line 4) all men "who came down together from Phyle"—*ἄπο Φυλῆς*—as well as men who gave material or other assistance to those who returned from Phyle but did not themselves participate in the return.²⁸ In a rigorous and convincing study of the probable layout of this decree, Osborne calculates that there were between fifty and 116 and probably seventy to ninety men in this first list.²⁹ They may have been honored with citizenship.³⁰

Osborne's calculation of the size of the first group of honorands does not fit with Krentz's interpretation of Archinos's decree. The first group, which comprises no more than 116 men, according to Osborne, should include all foreigners who joined Thrasyboulos at Phyle (or gave him material aid at Phyle) before his march to Peiraieus. It includes, that is, not only the foreigners who fought in the surprise attack, when the forces of Thrasyboulos were at least 700-strong, but also any foreigners included in the 300 men who, according to Xenophon, joined Thrasyboulos between the surprise attack and his march to the Peiraieus (*Xen. Hell.* 2.4.10). The group also includes noncitizens who merely helped Thrasyboulos materially, but did not actually fight. We cannot know how many of the 300 additional volunteers Xenophon reports may have been foreign, nor how many rich metics aided Thrasyboulos only with money and not their bodies. We can be certain, however, that not all of the (at most) 116 men listed in the first group on *IG II² 10*—a group, we should recall, that Osborne indicates was probably more of a size of seventy to ninety men—were with Thrasyboulos at the surprise attack. *IG II² 10* indicates that Thrasyboulos had fewer than 116 foreigners with him then (and probably substantially fewer than seventy to ninety), not the 600 foreigners Krentz's reading of Archinos's decree would suggest.

It is difficult to reduce Krentz's 600 foreigners to the (at most) 116 men honored on *IG II² 10*. We could explain the absence of some men by appeal to death on the battlefield, but our sources do not indicate that Thrasyboulos's victory cost him many men. We might suggest that some

26. Krentz (1995, p. 140, s.v. 2.4.2) calls the second encounter a siege, but this is not a fair description.

27. *IG II² 10*, with the additions of Hereward 1952. See Rhodes 1993, pp. 476–477, and Osborne 1982, pp. 29–32, for discussions of the date.

28. The description of the first group continues (in Osborne's [1981, D6] restoration) "or to those who returned [gave assistance towards the return to the Peiraieus]"—*ἢ τοῖς κατελ[θῆσι συνελάβη] [οντο ἐς τὴν κάθοδον τὴν εἰς Πειραιᾶ, . . .]*. Krentz (1980, p. 304), on the other hand, restores the sentence to read "or to those who returned [from Phyle gave help by donating money or supplies]"—*ἢ τοῖς κατελ[θῆσι] [ἀπὸ Φυλῆς ἐβοήθησαν δόντες χρήματα ἢ ἐπιτήδεια . . .]*.

29. Osborne 1982, pp. 41–42.

30. Osborne (1982, pp. 32–35) argues vigorously that the first group received citizenship and the other two, *isoteleia*. Krentz (1986), on the other hand, insists that all three groups received only *isoteleia*, and Whitehead (1978, 1984), for his part, argues that all three groups received citizenship. The second and third groups included those who "fought together the battle in Mounichia"—*[ἄπο . . .] συνεμάχησαν τὴν μάχην τὴν Μουνιχίαν* (cf. line 7 of the decree and Osborne 1982, p. 27), and (according to the heading preserved on the stone) "those who remained with the *demoi* in Peiraieus"—*οἳδε [παραρέ]μενον τῶν ἐμ Πειραιεῖ δ[ήμω]* (face B, column II).

men failed to produce the witnesses required for confirmation; perhaps some simply did not want citizenship or *isoteleia* in Athens (although men who had fought for the democracy are likely to have wanted to share in it). But it is hard to imagine how a group numbering over 600 was whittled down to (probably) seventy to ninety, and at most 116.³¹

This discrepancy and a more careful reading of Aischines' description of the occasion for Archinos's decree argue that Krentz's interpretation of the decree is wrong. This decree does not commemorate all the Athenians involved in the second encounter between Thrasyboulos's men and the Thirty, and is not, therefore, evidence that "the overwhelming majority of [Thrasyboulos's] troops at Phyle were foreign."³²

Krentz's study falters in part from his misinterpretation of Aischines. In other recent treatments of the decree, scholars have simply discounted Aischines, and reached conclusions at odds not only with Aischines, but also with the preserved fragments of the decree. Robert Buck, for example, asserts without argument that Archinos's decree honored "Thrasyboulos' first band of attackers," and claims that the decree contains "locations for fifty-eight names in a space for perhaps seventy."³³ He thus suggests that the decree clearly honored only seventy "first attackers" and that the decree confirms Xenophon's figure of seventy for the force with which Thrasyboulos captured Phyle. This picture is tidy, but it is false.

Buck's "space for perhaps seventy" names is illusory. As mentioned earlier, Raubitschek located fifty-eight names on the stone—not seventy—and the stone gives clear evidence for fifty-four names. Symmetry argues that there were probably at least fifty-five. There is space on the stone below the two columns of names and above the epigram (Fig. 1), and Buck may have calculated that this space would have allowed an additional twelve names to be inscribed here, but they were not; the stone is blank between the bottom of the first column of the list of names and the epigram. There could be more names in the list, however, because there is a break between fragments B and C where it would be possible to restore further names. Raubitschek, for example, restores one name here (and a corresponding name in the first column) to reach his count of fifty-eight

31. I cannot accept Munn's (2000, p. 258) contention that the lists of *IG II² 10* are "selective" and honored only those foreign supporters of Thrasyboulos who "possessed some measurable fortune or, at least, . . . had achieved some measure of social recognition among true Athenians." The preserved portion of the list of the third group, which gives a man's occupation together with his name, has usually been taken to show the lowly origin of the honorands. Osborne (1982, p. 42), for example, remarks that the men's "humble occupations for the most part [are] matched only too closely by the bizarreness of their names." We have

gardeners, walnut-sellers, tanners, donkey-tenders, and tub-makers and, as Hereward (1952, p. 117) notes, men named "Phanos and Knips, Mikos and Astyages, Abdes, Idyes and Atys." It is true, as Munn notes, that the men identified by trade on this decree "are not necessarily humble or poor," and it may well be (as Munn also notes) that the prosperous businessman Lysias would have been identified as "Lysias, shield-maker" in this text. Thus some of these men may be prosperous, but it is hard to believe that we should find a wealthy and upwardly mobile entrepreneur behind every man listed by his occupation here—the owner of a

walnut orchard behind "walnut-seller" and the owner of a thriving donkey stable behind "donkey-tender." This may be the case for some, but there is no evidence that it is so for all. Without evidence to the contrary, it is preferable to take at least some of the occupations at face value and accept that the lists of this decree honored all those involved. See Wolpert 2002, p. 44, for a recent treatment taking this decree as "yet another forceful reminder that the civil war divided the Athenians along class lines."

32. Krentz 1982, p. 84.

33. Buck 1998, pp. 71–72.

(Figs. 1–2), but only fifty-four names are strictly required by the stone. One could restore an additional six names in each column (to reach Buck’s figure of seventy), but nothing other than a desire to match Xenophon’s figure for the size of the band that left Thebes urges one to do so. Furthermore, there are difficulties with such a restoration. Adding six names at this point in each column would make the numbers of men from the tribes Erechtheis or Aigeis and Oineis or Kekropis excessively and unusually large.³⁴ Thus, the number of honorands in the first list should not rise much above Raubitschek’s fifty-eight.

It was this realization that led Raubitschek to propose a second list in order to make the number of honorands conform to Aischines’ implication that the decree honored over 100 men. Buck, in contrast, rejects Aischines. Apart from chiding Krentz for relying too heavily on Aischines’ “loose remark,”³⁵ Buck nowhere addresses Aischines’ discussion of this decree nor does he explain why we should discount it. In this Buck is not alone. Mark Munn, too, reports without discussion only that Archinos honored “approximately sixty Athenians.”³⁶

Like Krentz, Munn believes that Archinos honored only Athenians. Munn notes that the epigram on the decree proclaims that the men are being recognized by “the indigenous *demos* of the Athenians”—παλαίχθων δῆμος Ἀθηναίων (which Buck translates as “long in their land”), and argues that the Athenians are concerned to give “priority . . . in the honors of the day” to “native-born Athenians.”³⁷ In this he follows a trend to interpret the decree as one of a series of what Krentz calls “conservative answers” given after the restoration of the democracy to “important questions regarding the form of Athenian government and the nature of Attic citizenship.”³⁸

34. To reach a count of seventy names one must restore six additional names in each column. In the second column, these names must either be attributed to one of two tribes—Oineis and Kekropis—or be shared between those tribes. Oineis already has a large presence on the stone, however, with nine demesmen. This contingent is larger than that of any other tribe except Erechtheis and Aigeis, whose contingents together fill eighteen lines in Raubitschek’s restoration. Both Erechtheis and Aigeis included nine men, but this is an arbitrary division because the tribal heading that divided the two groups is a restoration and could fall anywhere in these lines. The only control is that the cohort from Aigeis comprised at least two men, if Raubitschek’s restorations of the demotics Γαρ]γγή[ττι]ος and Γαρ]γγή[ττι]ος are correct in lines 21–22. Erechtheis and Aigeis together fielded

eighteen men at Phyle, according to Raubitschek’s restoration.

The contributions of the other tribes were much smaller: Pandionis and Antiochis sent six men, Kekropis and Leontis sent four, Aiantis sent three, and Akamantis and Hippothontis two each. The large size of the contingent from Oineis (nine men) is probably due to the proximity of demes of this tribe to Phyle. Five men from Phyle itself and three men from nearby Acharnai join one man from Lakiades to make up Oineis’ group. Adding six lines to column 2 between fragments B and C must either make Oineis’ contingent even larger or increase that of Kekropis to ten. In column 1, adding six names would mean increasing the already large contingents of Erechtheis and Aigeis even more. None of this is impossible, of course, but one should note the way in which adding six lines would further

imbalance the tribes. This is why Raubitschek declined to restore the preserved list with the number of names one would have expected from Aischines’ description of the decree. As Raubitschek (1941, p. 294) notes, “it is extremely unlikely that members of the tribes Erechtheis, Aigeis, Oineis and Kekropis accounted for almost eighty names, while the remaining six tribes furnished only twenty-three.”

35. Buck 1998, p. 75, n. 22.

36. Munn 2000, p. 257. Funke (1980, p. 37, n. 9), too, reports merely that the Agora decree proves that all those honored by Archinos were already Athenian citizens. He cites Raubitschek and Aischines but does not discuss them.

37. Munn 2000, p. 257; Buck 1998, p. 72.

38. Krentz 1982, p. 113.

The Athenians refused, initially, to honor all of the foreign supporters of Thrasyboulos with citizenship, and waited two years before (possibly) awarding citizenship only to a few and mere *isoteleia* to the rest. In the same year as Archinos's decree (403/2), the Athenians also refused to give public support to the orphans of foreigners who had died for Athenian democracy, although they offered public burial to the dead foreign fighters themselves (Lys. 2.66). Theozotides' decree granted public support quite pointedly only to the orphans "of all those *Athenians* who died a violent death in the oligarchy coming to the aid of the democracy."³⁹ And it was not only foreigners who found themselves in danger of being left out. According to Dionysios of Halikarnassos (*De Lysia* 32), a certain Phormisios proposed (perhaps in the initial period of negotiations between the Peiraieus and the city parties) that citizenship should be restricted to those who were landowners.⁴⁰ Dionysios reports that this would have meant the disenfranchisement of 5,000 Athenians (*De Lysia* 32).

Archinos's decree for the heroes of Phyle, if it honored only Athenian citizens and excluded foreign fighters, would seem to fit in with such measures. Ostwald, for example, calls the bill a "safe decree" because "it honored only citizens," and thus "cannot have offended the now-important former supporters of the oligarchy left in the city."⁴¹ But the evidence of the stone, although often overlooked, counsels caution. Even if we are ready to discount Aischines' implication that there were over 100 honorands, the preserved fragments of the decree demonstrate that, along with at least fifty-three Athenians, Archinos honored as many as three men who were either Eleutherians or metics, depending on the way in which we restore line 69.⁴²

PROPOSED RESTORATIONS OF LINE 69

If Meritt's restoration of ε[γγραφοι] is correct, it would show that Archinos was happy to honor at least a few metics alongside Athenian patriots. His quarrel with Thrasyboulos's original proposal, in that case, would be with the numbers of the men honored or with the idea of granting so many men citizenship, not with the idea of honoring foreigners per se or recognizing a debt owed to them. Furthermore, if we were sure that the bill only honored the preserved list, the decree would also give precise information about the size and makeup of Thrasyboulos's army. If the decree included only citizens, one would always wonder how many unlisted noncitizens served with Thrasyboulos early at Phyle, and never know exactly how many democrats withstood the siege of the Thirty. Meritt's restoration, however, would suggest that Archinos included all who were involved on the democratic side in the siege at Phyle. This, in turn, would imply that Thrasyboulos had only a few more than fifty men with him when the Thirty marched out against him, and would further suggest that he had fewer than that number when he marched from Thebes and captured Phyle.⁴³ Far from being an "overwhelmingly foreign" band, Meritt's restoration on a decree containing only the preserved list would indicate that Thrasyboulos's army was overwhelmingly Athenian at the time of the siege by the Thirty, with only one to three foreigners in a band of fifty-five or so.

39. For the decree, see Stroud 1971, pp. 280–282, no. 7. Stroud (pp. 285–286) notes the "colorful language" of lines 4–7, and that the decree is "exclusively concerned with *Athenians*."

40. The orator Lysias opposed the proposal: Lys. 34.

41. Ostwald 1986, p. 506.

42. Buck (1998, p. 72) asserts that three Eleutherians were listed on the decree. He does not mention Meritt's proposed restoration.

43. It is possible that no men joined Thrasyboulos between the capture of Phyle and the siege there, but I think it unlikely. The choice of the siege as the cutoff point for these honors also suggests that some men joined Thrasyboulos's band between the capture and the siege—otherwise why use the siege as the cutoff point rather than the capture itself?

The situation is less clear if we accept Raubitschek's restoration of line 69 as Ἐ[λευθερᾶθεν] or Ἐ[λευθερεῖς] on a decree that originally included only the list now fragmentarily preserved. Raubitschek's restoration would give us much less information about the size of Thrasyboulos's band and its foreign composition than the restoration proposed by Meritt because Eleutherians inhabit a strange middle ground between the citizen and the noncitizen. Thus it is possible that they would be honored on a decree that nevertheless excluded any "real" foreigners who served in Thrasyboulos's army. But the presence of Eleutherians on a decree of Archinos that deliberately excluded other foreigners would be an exciting new piece of the long-standing puzzle over the status of Eleutherians.

Eleutherai was not an Attic deme, and Eleutherians are not known to have been Athenian citizens. A certain Semachides is listed under the rubric Ἐλευθερᾶθεν, "from Eleutherai," at the end of a mid-5th-century casualty list of Athenian dead recorded (as regularly) by tribe.⁴⁴ For Thomas Figueira this is evidence that Eleutherians were citizens but "outside the tribal system."⁴⁵ But there are other examples of 5th-century casualty lists that include foreigners for whom no citizen status is assumed.⁴⁶ That Semachides is not listed under an Attic tribe is probably good evidence that men from Eleutherai were not Athenian citizens at the time of his death.

Nevertheless, if an Eleutherian was not a demesman of an Athenian deme of Eleutherai, neither was he clearly a foreigner. His village lay in Attic territory once the Asopos River was fixed as the boundary between Attica and Boiotia, probably in 506 B.C., after the Athenian double victory over the Boiotians and Chalcidians.⁴⁷ On the other hand, from his study of the towers on the border between Attica and Boiotia, John Camp has argued that Eleutherai's status must have changed early in the next century, and that Eleutherai was "Boiotian at least until late in the fifth century."⁴⁸ Nevertheless, the Eleutherians had a tradition that linked them closely to Athens. According to Pausanias (1.2.5; 1.38.8), an Eleutherian named Pegasos introduced the *xoanon* of Dionysos Eleutherios to Athens. In addition, Pausanias (1.38.8) reports that although Eleutherai used to be the border of Attica, when the Eleutherians "joined the Athenians [προσχωρησάντων δὲ Ἀθηναίοις τούτων], Kithairon became the border." The Eleutherians, Pausanias continues, "joined not because they were defeated in war but because they wanted Athenian citizenship and because of their hatred of the Thebans." An Eleutherian neighbor, with Eleutherian ancestors, living in a territory that was at least sometimes Athenian, and privy to this mythological tradition, was in a different relationship vis-à-vis Athenian citizens than, say, a Rhodian metic or even a Theban democrat. It is not impossible, therefore, that Eleutherians would be treated differently than other foreigners on Archinos's decree.

If Camp is correct about Boiotian control of Eleutherai well into the 5th century (and perhaps through it), the presence of Eleutherians on the decree would be especially striking. Particularly if there was only one list and Archinos thereby excluded other foreign patriots, his decision to include Eleutherians would be a bold statement about the proper border between Attica and Boiotia. It would, furthermore, strongly indicate that Eleutherians, despite not belonging to Kleisthenic demes, were perceived

44. *IG I³* 1162, lines 96–97 = Meiggs-Lewis 48, lines 96–97.

45. Figueira 1991, p. 155.

46. See, e.g., *Agora* XVII, no. 14, line 35; no. 17, lines 5–9, 25–29; no. 22, lines 152–155. Camp (1991, p. 200, with n. 22) makes this same point. But on these stelai the foreigners are described as [τοχσῶται βάρβαροι, [χσ]ένοι, [β]άρβαροι [τοχσῶται, and τοχ[σῶται] βάρβα[ροι], respectively, perhaps suggesting that Semachides' listing under the rubric Ἐλευθερᾶθεν is distinctive and meant to separate him out from mere χσένοι (although there are no "regular" χσένοι included on his casualty list).

47. The Asopos River is mentioned at *Hdt.* 6.108, where it is called the boundary between Plataia and Hysiai, on the one hand, and Thebes, on the other.

48. Camp 1991, p. 201.

to lie on the citizen side of a fundamental divide between Athenian and non-Athenian, and that Archinos, if he meant to make pointed comments about the indigenous *demos* of Athenians, included Eleutherians within it.

If this is the case, and Eleutherians appear on a decree of Archinos that included only the preserved list, we would know that at least fifty-three Athenians and as many as three Eleutherians withstood the siege of the Thirty; but unless we believe that no foreigners were involved at all at this early point, we cannot know the size of the total force, or the ratio of foreigners to Athenian citizens.

REEVALUATION OF THE DECREE

Let us summarize what seems relatively clear about Archinos's decree: it honored men who joined Thrasyboulos very early in his campaign and who withstood the early siege of the Thirty at Phyle. It is not evidence that the forces under Thrasyboulos were overwhelmingly foreign at this point. On the contrary, if the decree originally contained only the preserved list and Meritt's restoration of line 69 as ἔγγραφοι is correct, it would seem that Thrasyboulos's forces were overwhelmingly native, with at least fifty-three Athenians in a group of fifty-five or so. This scenario, however, would indicate that although Archinos opposed and defeated Thrasyboulos's proposal to grant all his followers citizenship, he did not oppose recognizing the contribution of non-Athenians to the return of the *demos*. On this reading, Archinos himself proposed rewarding equally the citizens and foreigners among "those from Phyle."

Nor does the decree clearly give a "conservative answer" to important questions about citizenship, even if Raubitschek's restoration is correct and no metics were included. If the decree contained only the preserved list, Raubitschek's restoration of line 69 as Ἐλευθεροῦσθαι or Ἐλευθεροῦσθαι would show that the decree excluded "real" foreigners from Archinos's rewards, but pointedly included residents of the marginal village of Eleutherai in citizen ranks—a move with profound implications for our understanding of how Athenians viewed themselves and conceived of their citizenship.

Apart from judgments about the size of Thrasyboulos's band or the proportions of foreigners in it, these conclusions stand whether there was only one list on the decree (the one now partially preserved) or, as Raubitschek proposed in order to accommodate Aischines' speech, two. As we have seen, both Buck and Munn discount the possibility that there were over 100 men on the decree (indicated by Aischines' statement that the 1,000-drachma reward gave each hero less than 10 drachmas for offerings and a sacrifice). Neither Buck nor Munn gives an argument for their position, but the point deserves discussion, for it is not clear that we should reject Aischines out of hand.

The first letters of the epigram preserved on the stone allowed identification of the decree from Aischines' quotation of it. They confirm that at least part of his discussion of the decree is trustworthy, and might perhaps encourage us to accept the rest of his description. On the other hand, Edward Harris has shown that in this speech Aischines (mis)construes the terms of the laws concerning crowns to benefit his position.⁴⁹ It is true, of course, that Aischines mentions the amount of money each hero

49. Harris 1995, pp. 143–144.

received in order to contrast it with the ostentatious honors proposed for Demosthenes. He has a motive, therefore, to reduce each individual's share of the money and so increase the apparent number of men involved, but it is not clear that Aischines did so or, indeed, was free to do so. The Athenians argued long and hard over whom to honor (and in what way) for the restoration of the democracy. Archinos defeated Thrasybulos's first generous proposals in favor of his own much more modest rewards for a carefully select group. Aischines might have expected Athenians even many years later to have a vague sense of whether the first group of honored individuals numbered fifty-five or nearly double that, at more than a hundred. Aischines says that the decree is in the Metroon (in the excavations of which it was, in fact, discovered), and so he might well have expected some on the jury to have seen it.⁵⁰ This possibility may have made him hesitate to exaggerate the number of honorands.

Josiah Ober rightly notes that "a particularly common topos of blame" in political speeches is "the contrast between the Athenians of the present day and their illustrious ancestors."⁵¹ Ober cites this speech of Aischines for the point that earlier Athenians, in contrast to their degenerate descendants, "did not give excessive honors to unworthy men." But that a point is a common topos does not mean that it has no basis in fact.⁵² Even if we think Aischines was willing and able to misrepresent the numbers in order to make his case, he had no need to exaggerate this particular point. The amount of money Archinos granted to each hero from Phyle is a minor part of Aischines' argument. He moves immediately to the more direct (and more impressive) contrast between the crown of olive Archinos offered to the men of Phyle and the crown of gold that Demosthenes stood to win—a point that the decree proves is not exaggerated.

Aischines notes that Archinos moved that the heroes from Phyle "each be crowned with a crown of olive—not of gold, for then the olive crown was held in honor, but today even a crown of gold is despised"—*ἔπειτα στεφανῶσαι θαλλοῦ στεφάνῳ αὐτῶν ἕκαστον, ἀλλ' οὐ χρυσοῦ· τότε μὲν γὰρ ἦν ὁ τοῦ θαλλοῦ στέφανος τίμιος, νυνὶ δὲ καὶ ὁ χρυσοῦς καταπεφρόνηται* (3.187). The crown recurs a bit later, when Aischines discusses whether it is fair to compare Demosthenes to the heroes of old. He asserts it is because "for those who think themselves worthy to be crowned, the contest is with virtue itself; since it is on account of this that they are crowned"—*τοῖς δ' ἀξιούσι στεφανοῦσθαι πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν ἀρετὴν, ἧς καὶ ἔνεκα στεφανοῦνται* (3.189). We hear of crowns again when Aischines quotes the epigram for the men of Phyle: "These men, on account of their virtue, the ancient Athenian people honored with crowns"—*τούσδ' ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα στεφάνοις ἐγέραιρε παλαίχθων δῆμος Ἀθηναίων* (3.190). The first words of this epigram are preserved on the recovered fragments of Archinos's decree and would seem to show that we are not free to assume that Aischines fabricated his point about the crowns in order to attack Demosthenes. Must we assume that he falsified the numbers? Aischines' point is well made by his repeated contrast between an olive and a gold crown; he does not need to exaggerate the number of honorands on the decree.

Furthermore, Aischines' implication that there were around 100 honorands fits well with the event that Aischines says is commemorated on the stone. Munn's "approximately sixty Athenians" and Buck's "fifty-eight names in a space for perhaps seventy" accord with the figures Pausanias

50. Sickinger (1999, p. 149) notes that the decree stood in or near the Metroon. He argues that it was the Boule's role in scrutinizing the candidates for the honors of the decree that "explains the presence of this inscription in the Metroon."

51. Ober 1989, p. 319.

52. Strauss (1986, p. 97), for example, accepts Aischines' claim that Archinos "limit[ed] the prize to a small sum of money and an olive wreath" (and so, presumably, accepts that Archinos honored over 100 men), and uses the political climate of the time to explain the modesty of the reward. "By de-emphasizing the achievement of the men of Phyle," he notes, "Archinos also de-emphasized the villainy of their opponents, thus reducing tension between democrats and the former Three Thousand." Strauss does not reveal whether he thinks Archinos honored only citizens or not. His suggestion (p. 96) that Archinos's opposition to Thrasybulos's bill granting citizenship to all his supporters may possibly have stemmed from "abhorrence of metics and slaves" suggests that he thinks Archinos honored citizens only.

and Xenophon respectively give for the number of men who left Thebes with Thrasyboulos or participated in the initial occupation of Phyle. But that is not the group that Aischines says Archinos honored. According to Aischines, the cutoff point for inclusion in these honors was not the capture of Phyle, but the later siege. Thus, any men who joined Thrasyboulos after his first band had taken Phyle but before the siege of the Thirty would have been honored. Archinos's decree, therefore, should refer to more men than the sixty or seventy who took Phyle. It should honor more than the fifty-five or so men listed in the preserved fragments, just as his discussion of the sum each hero received implies.⁵³

Accepting Aischines' implication that there were more than a hundred honorands requires, as Raubitschek saw, that we posit a second, lost, list of honorands. Other contemporary Athenian decrees inscribe the honorands in different places on the stone or clearly separate them into more than one list. The decree of Theozotides for Athenians orphaned in the fight to restore the democracy lists names on its left side in addition to those that were inscribed below the decree on the obverse of the stele, but which are now unreadable.⁵⁴ A closer parallel comes from *IG II² 10*, the decree that finally granted citizenship or *isoteleia* to Thrasyboulos's non-Athenian supporters. As we saw above, this decree, inscribed on both front and back, separates the honorands into three groups according to when they joined Thrasyboulos. At least the second and third groups, although listed separately, received the same honors.⁵⁵ It would not be surprising, then, if Archinos's decree separated its honorands into two groups, inscribing the first list above the decree and epigram and the second below it (or on the sides or the back), while giving the two groups the same honors.

The most compelling argument against Raubitschek's position that this decree included over 100 honorands separated into two lists is that we have found fragments of only the first list. However, we have clearly lost a great deal of the stele. We have fragments of only the first four lines of the decree itself (Fig. 1), for example, and the preserved fragments of the stele suggest that much has been lost below these lines. Indeed, the reconstruction of the whole stele based upon Raubitschek's and Meritt's drawings and published dimensions for the fragments together with conventions for proportions of stelai suggests that there was ample room on the stele for two lists (Fig. 3).⁵⁶

These considerations urge us to recognize the continued plausibility of Raubitschek's position that the decree originally honored over a hundred men divided into two lists, and to address the further implications of this interpretation. If the decree once contained two lists, one must explain why the Athenians separated men who would receive the same rewards into two groups. Is the division based on ethnicity—with Athenian citizens in the first group, and foreigners in the second? Or does the division show when a man joined Thrasyboulos—with men who came with Thrasyboulos from Thebes in the first list, and men who joined him at Phyle in the second?

Meritt's restoration of line 69, which makes it a heading for metics, if correct, would show unequivocally that the first list honored both citizens and foreigners. This would, in turn, strongly suggest that the two lists on the decree served to distinguish the honorands chronologically, with the first list naming those fifty-five or so men—both Athenian and foreign—

53. Without addressing the implications for his understanding of the decree, Buck (1998, p. 74) argues that it was only early reinforcements that allowed Thrasyboulos to withstand the first assault of the Thirty. Any such reinforcements may well have increased the size of the original core group of sixty or seventy to the force of over 100 that Aischines implies withstood the Thirty's assault.

54. See n. 39, above. See also Stroud's comparison (1971, p. 295) of this decree with the decree in honor of the heroes of Phyle as well as *IG II² 10*.

55. Osborne 1982, p. 33.

56. Raubitschek's and Meritt's restored drawings of the stele suggest that there may originally have been room for more names below the decree. It has always been clear that a portion of the lower part of the Phyle stele was missing, because we have preserved only the first few lines of the decree recorded on the stele. But the roughly square dimensions of Meritt's and Raubitschek's drawings suggest that the lost lower portion of the stele was large. In contrast, the nearly contemporary stele of Theozotides (Stroud 1971, p. 280) is 1.53 m high by 0.67 m wide, more than twice as high as it is wide. There are, of course, no rigid rules for the proportions of stelai. Dow (1934, pp. 142–144) proposed that a convention prevailed whereby a stele's width was 4.5 times its thickness and the height 9 times the thickness, giving a height twice the width. If the decree for the heroes of Phyle had the same proportions as that of Theozotides, it

would originally have been more than twice as tall as the portion depicted in the restored drawings. Dow's more conservative convention would argue that the stele was originally twice as tall as it was wide. Figure 3 depicts the stele with these dimensions, and shows how much space may have been available on the stone. The rest of the decree itself (of which we have preserved only portions of the first four lines) would have filled some of the space, but perhaps not all, and it is clear that the amount of space required for an additional forty or so names would not have been great. Fragment B contains enough space for twenty-three name lines, and gives us an indication of how much of the stele would have needed to be dedicated to forty-six names (in two columns). If the same letter height were used for a list of foreigners below the decree, forty-six names in two columns would still leave much space for the completion of the decree itself. If a less impressive letter height were used for a list of foreigners (or latecomers) below the decree, even less space would be required, and more space available for the completion of the record of the decree itself. These crude calculations can hardly, of course, prove that there was a name list below the decree. But they do suggest that there was probably enough room on the original stele to accommodate a second list.

57. See, for example, Munn 2000, p. 235: "Thrasylbulus and a core force of some sixty to seventy Athenians marched to Phyle"; Ostwald 1986, p. 487: "The seizure of Phyle by Thrasylbulus and his band of seventy Athenian exiles"; and Krentz 1982, p. 70: "From Thebes a small band of Athenians led by Thrasylbulus. . . ."

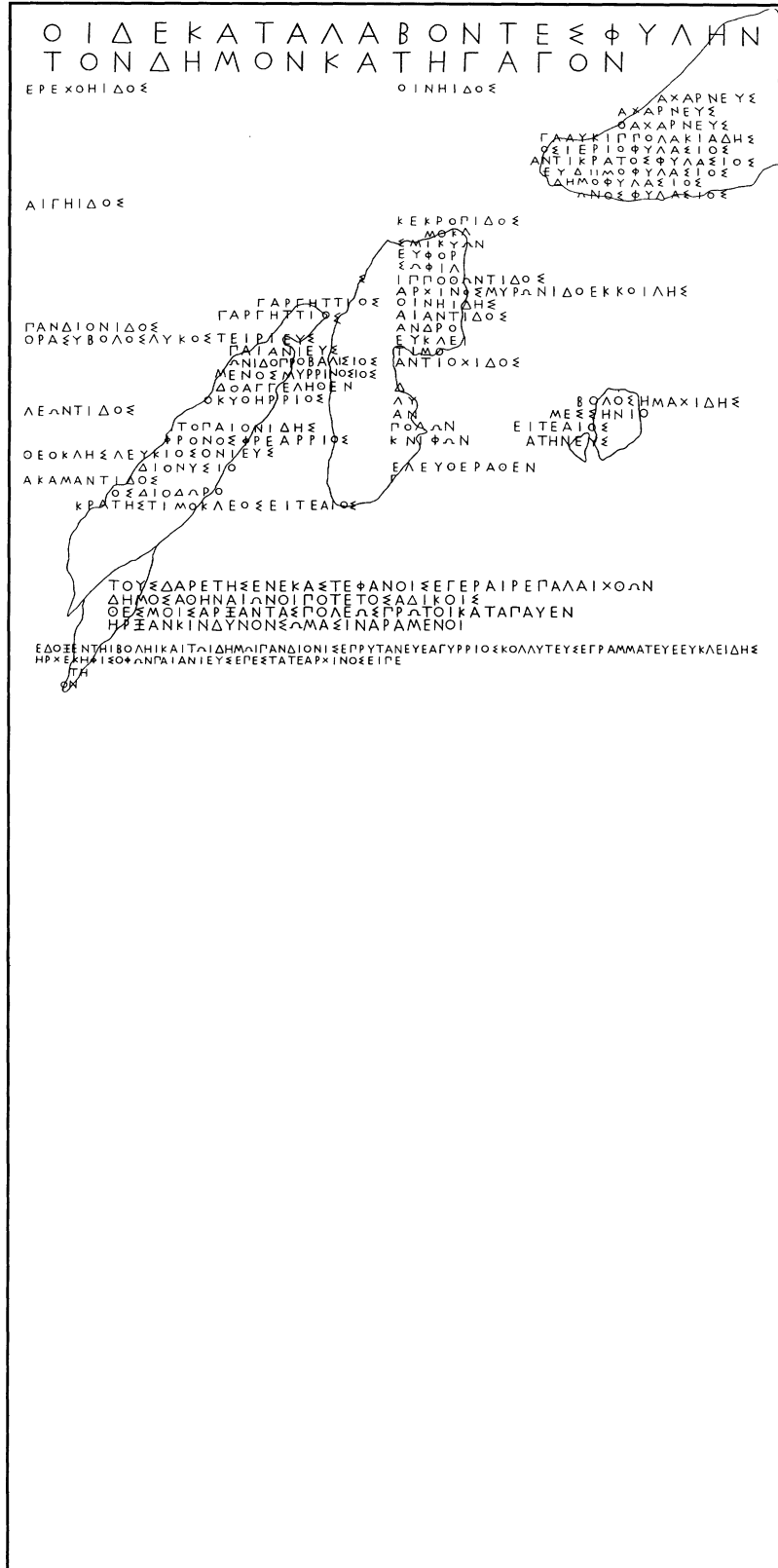
who helped to capture Phyle, and the second list honoring those men—both Athenian and foreign—who joined Thrasylbulos before the siege. The decree would, then, not allow us to speak of Thrasylbulos coming from Thebes "with seventy Athenians,"⁵⁷ for it would indicate that even Thrasylbulos's core group in his march on Phyle included citizens and foreigners. The decree would reveal, however, that that core group was overwhelmingly Athenian, with only one to three metics in a group of fifty-five or so.

Furthermore, Meritt's restoration would seem to confirm Pausanias's figure of sixty for the group that came with Thrasylbulos from Thebes rather than Xenophon's seventy (perhaps representing a rounding up from about fifty-five or indicating that more names should be restored in the preserved list). We would have no information regarding the ethnicity of the group of about forty-five in the second list, however, and so could not discuss how many foreigners joined Thrasylbulos's army before the siege by the Thirty. *IG II² 10* serves as a control on speculation, since it indicates that ultimately no more than 116 foreigners fought in or helped Thrasylbulos's army at Phyle.

Raubitschek's restoration, on the other hand, is in several ways less clear than Meritt's, for as we have noted, Eleutherians inhabited a middle ground between the citizen and the noncitizen. Although both restorations indicate that the decree did not honor only Athenian citizens, Raubitschek's restoration on a two-list decree, unlike Meritt's, leaves opaque whether or not "real" foreigners were honored in a second list. The reason for this difference is that Meritt's restoration strongly implies that any division into two lists was based on chronology, whereas Raubitschek's restoration is consistent with either a chronological or an ethnic division. An ethnic division would obviously include foreigners in Archinos's honors (albeit in a second list), but a chronological division would not necessarily do so. Indeed, if the division was chronological, the exclusion of "real" foreigners from the first list would probably indicate that foreigners were excluded from the second list as well—unless we believe that no foreigners marched with Thrasylbulos from Thebes. (In that case the absence of foreigners from the first list need not indicate their general exclusion from the decree, but this scenario is unlikely.)

If the division is chronological, Raubitschek's restoration would argue that fifty-three Athenians and as many as three Eleutherians came with Thrasylbulos from Thebes. Unlike Meritt's restoration, it would leave uncertain the full size of Thrasylbulos's original band, however, because the decree would give no information on possible foreigners in it. Similarly, although the decree would indicate that more than forty Athenians joined Thrasylbulos at Phyle before the siege there, it would leave unclear the size of his total force at that point, because of the lack of information about foreigners. A reading assuming a chronological division implies that a movement that could lure only about fifty-five Athenians and close neighbors out of Attica to join Thrasylbulos in Thebes was able in the day or two(?) before the first attack and siege nearly to double the number of Athenians involved in the revolt through the addition of more than forty-five Athenians, named on the second list.

The evidence of the stone itself, however, may suggest that not all the men in the first list came with Thrasylbulos from Thebes. In that case,



any division between the two lists was made not on chronology, but on ethnicity, as Raubitschek proposed.

The preserved fragments of the decree record in column 2 the names of at least five men from the deme of Phyle (lines 43–47), as well as the names of three men from the nearby deme of Acharnai (lines 39–41). They may also include one to three men from Eleutherai (following Raubitschek's restoration of line 69 as Ἐ[λευθεροᾶθεν]).⁵⁸ Men from Phyle, that is, made up 9% of the fifty-four men certainly honored on the first list, a presence out of all proportion to Phyle's size.⁵⁹ Men from the nearby demes and villages of Phyle and Acharnai made up almost 15% of the group. If we include even one Eleutherian, the figure rises to over 16%. Raubitschek explained the presence of so many men from these demes and villages by suggesting that they joined Thrasyboulos after he came to Attica when he had brought his revolt into their backyard. Indeed, the presence of so many Phylians was for Raubitschek proof that the event commemorated on the decree took place at or near Phyle.⁶⁰ The large number of Phylians and others on the first list makes most sense if that list includes men who joined Thrasyboulos after he entered Attica. Phylians in such a high proportion would make less sense, however, if the first list honors the men who were with Thrasyboulos in Thebes and came with him to capture Phyle. For why would Phylians have been that much more likely to join Thrasyboulos in exile than men of other Athenian demes?⁶¹ Chronology, then, probably was not the factor separating the honorands into two lists. This leaves ethnicity as the determining factor and argues that (as Raubitschek proposed) any second list (if it existed) included the foreigners in Thrasyboulos's band by the time of the siege of the Thirty.

CONCLUSIONS

The above interpretation of Archinos's decree has important consequences for our understanding both of the Athenians' debt to foreigners in their overthrow of the tyranny of the Thirty and of their willingness to acknowledge that debt. The decree would indicate that when Thrasyboulos's band

58. Raubitschek 1941, pp. 293–294.

59. The figure of fifty-four assumes only the one metic (or Eleutherian) mentioned in line 70. Phyle was a small deme. Traill (1975, p. 68) has calculated Phyle's quota in the 500-man Boule as two; this is in contrast, for example, to the twenty-two-man quota of Acharnai.

60. Raubitschek 1941, p. 287; see also Harding (1985, p. 12, n. 1), who opines that "essential to this restoration" is "the presence of five men from the small deme of Phyle in the list of names, which suggests that the events recorded took place in the vicinity of Phyle."

61. One might argue that Phylians

and Acharnaians would be more likely to join Thrasyboulos in Thebes because of their proximity to Thebes. However, while Thrasyboulos remained in Thebes, his chances for success were unclear and apparently doubtful to most in Attica. Only committed democrats, or men particularly repulsed by the Thirty, would have joined him there. The small numbers that Thrasyboulos had with him in Thebes, according to our sources, show that such men were few. Before Thrasyboulos had had a success in Attica, personal ideology, experience, and individual courage would have figured far more strongly than mere geography in a man's decision to join. Once Thrasyboulos had

proved himself and his chances by raising even a small band, and had taken up a position in Attica, however, the group of men who might join him would widen. Men of Phyle and Acharnai would be strongly drawn (if at all inclined to his cause) to join a rising in their own neighborhood. I am not persuaded by Buck's argument (1998, p. 72) that Thrasyboulos deliberately chose men from Phyle and Eleutherai because they "had intimate knowledge of the area [of Phyle] and would have been an asset in a force facing such an operation." The small size of Thrasyboulos's original band suggests that he had little opportunity to pick and choose his men.

numbered slightly more than 100 men, it included at least fifty-three Athenians, one to three close neighbors, and over forty foreigners. Thus, over 40% of the men who first fought against the Thirty were not Athenians but foreigners. This is not as impressive a figure as the roughly 85% that Krentz's interpretation indicated for Thrasyboulos's troops at the later surprise attack near Acharnai, but it is a significant number. During the course of Thrasyboulos's months at Phyle, however, the proportion of foreigners in his army gradually decreased to about 10%, as indicated on *IG II² 10*, before the move to the Peiraieus.⁶² On this reading, the Athenians' dependence on foreigners in the first stages of the revolt was significant, but hardly overwhelming.

This interpretation would also have important implications for our understanding of Archinos's attitude to foreigners. If Raubitschek's original position is correct, it would show that Archinos was willing to honor forty or so non-Athenians along with his native-born patriots (albeit in a separate list), and was willing to demonstrate graphically on his decree the extent of the debt owed to foreigners in the early stages of the return of the *demos*.

In the end, although there is much that still remains uncertain about this decree, this discussion has established several points, and clarified the possibilities that remain. Archinos's decree commemorated an event very early in Thrasyboulos's campaign, and does not demonstrate that his forces were overwhelmingly foreign at that time. They may have been overwhelmingly Athenian (reading Meritt's one to three metics on a one-list decree) or about 60% Athenian and near-Athenian (reading Raubitschek's one to three Eleutherians on a two-list decree). If the decree included two lists, with Athenians and foreigners in both lists (reading Meritt's one to three metics on a two-list decree), Thrasyboulos's forces were at least 53% Athenian and probably more (since we would add however many Athenians were included in the second list who joined Thrasyboulos between the capture of Phyle and the siege by the Thirty).⁶³

Any reading of the decree requires us to temper recent discussions of the churlishness of the Athenians and the conservatism of Archinos. As we saw above, even the preserved fragments of this decree show that he was willing to honor metics or Eleutherians alongside Athenians. Raubitschek's proposal that Archinos honored over forty foreigners in a second list, if confirmed, would be an even more dramatic indication that Archinos did not oppose honoring foreign heroes, but in either case Archinos was not obsessed with the Athenian purity of his honorands. The decree's reference to *παλαίχθων δῆμος Ἀθηναίων* certainly sounds pointed, but one cannot argue that Archinos refused to honor non-Athenians at all. His decree, however, involves crowns and money for sacrifice, not citizenship. The epigram on this decree may be marking out that very distinction: we Athenians will acknowledge and honor the foreigners who helped us restore Athens to democracy, but we shall not make them part of ourselves. The "indigenous *demos* of the Athenians" will not be sullied. Although Archinos opposed and defeated Thrasyboulos's proposal to grant all his followers citizenship, he did not oppose recognizing the contribution of at least some non-Athenians to the return of the *demos*.

62. The figure of 10% is based on Xenophon's report that Thrasyboulos had 1,000 troops by the time of his move to the Peiraieus, but only 116 foreigners at most are honored on the decree for their help up to that point.

63. Raubitschek's Eleutherians on a one-list decree would leave the total number of Thrasyboulos's band unclear (and the proportion of foreigners in it) because we would not know how many foreigners (if any) were among Thrasyboulos's forces.

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