

Attic Inscriptions
in UK Collections
British Museum
Decrees of Other Bodies

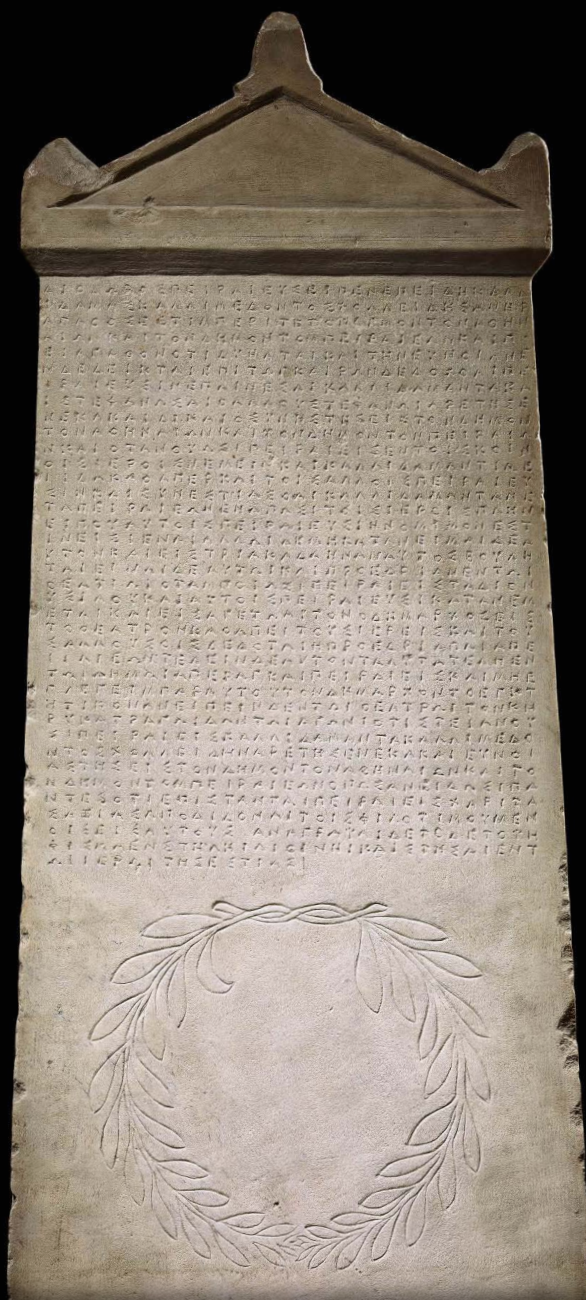
Stephen Lambert

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PREFACE

Part 2 of our new edition of the Attic inscriptions in the British Museum covered the decrees of the Athenian Council and Assembly in the collection. Part 3A includes the ten inscribed decrees of other bodies. As usual, alongside this volume we are publishing editions of the inscriptions with lighter annotation on the main AIO site, aimed at Museum visitors both real and virtual.

The state of preservation of the inscriptions ranges from a complete stele (**3**) to small fragments. In three cases (**1**, **7**, **10**) other fragments still in Athens have been identified as belonging to the same inscription, in one case (**10**) as recently as 2009. In this edition we have followed our usual practice of publishing the complete texts, including the fragments in Athens as well as those in the BM.

This volume offers fresh contributions, textual and/or interpretative, to the study of these decrees, and includes the first combined edition since Hicks' *GIBM I* (1874) of all three of the important decrees of the deme Piraeus in the BM's collection (**1-3**). Together with the editions on the AIO main site of the other two extant decrees of this deme, [IG II² 1177](#) and [Agora XVI 160](#) (the former revised and the latter published to coincide with this volume), this is the first time that annotated editions of all five of the inscribed decrees of Piraeus, with translations into a modern European language, have been available together in one place.

I am grateful, as always, to the other members of the AIUK team and S. Douglas Olson, P. J. Rhodes and other members of the AIO Advisory Board for their help with this volume; and to the British Museum staff, especially Peter Higgs, Alexandra Villing and Alex Truscott for their support (to the last in particular for help and advice during "lockdown"). I am greatly indebted to Vincent Gabrielsen and Delphine Ackermann for their thorough and helpful reviews of a draft of this volume, which saved me from many errors of commission and omission. I thank Daniela Marchiandi for helpful comments and suggestions on a draft of my edition of **7** (the decree of the Athenian community at Myrina on Lemnos); Peter Fawcett for helpful discussion of matters relating to Athenian taxation; and Elena Zavvou for advice about fragments of the inscriptions in the Epigraphical Museum, Athens.

This volume was finalised in 2020 in the context of the limitations on library and museum access imposed as a consequence of the Covid-19 pandemic, and in these circumstances I am even more than usually grateful for the support of the staff and librarians of the British School at Athens (including Katherine Donaldson, who kindly supplied me with scans when the BSA library was closed because of "lockdown"), to Kai Trampedach and Christian Witschel for permitting me to take advantage once again of the excellent library of the Seminar für Alte Geschichte of the University of Heidelberg, and to Nicolai Futás for supplying scans from Heidelberg and many other kinds of assistance. I thank my brother, Julian, for the photograph at *fig.* 10.1.

As in previous parts of this edition of the Attic inscriptions in the BM, I give an indication of the location of each inscription within the Museum at the time when I carried out my autopsy. Also as in previous volumes I do not explore in detail the early publication history of the inscriptions except where it bears on findspots or collection

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history. The source of Boeckh's information about an inscription is indicated in brackets after the relevant *CIG* reference; * after the *CIG* reference (or other reference) indicates that *CIG* (or other work so designated) contains further bibliographical references.

ABBREVIATIONS

I use the abbreviations for epigraphical works listed at <https://www.atticinscriptions.com/browse/bysource/> and in addition:

Ackermann 2018: D. Ackermann, *Une microhistoire d'Athènes. Le deme d'Aixônè dans l'antiquité*

APF: J. K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families* (1971)

Arnaoutoglou 2003: I. Arnaoutoglou, *Thusias Heneka Kai Sunousias: Private Religious Associations in Hellenistic Athens*

Arnaoutoglou 2018: I. Arnaoutoglou, "Isiastai, Sarapiastai. Isiac Cult Associations in the Eastern Mediterranean", in V. Gasparini and R. Veymiers eds., *Individuals and Materials in the Greco-Roman Cults of Isis*, vol. 1, 248-79

Athenian Onomasticon: seangb.org

Behrend 1970: D. Behrend, *Attische Pachturkunden*

Beschi 1996-1997: L. Beschi, "Il Cabirio di Lemno: testimonianze letterarie ed epigrafiche", *ASAA* 74-75 [2000], 7-145

Beschi 2001: L. Beschi, "I disjecta membra di un santuario di Myrina (Lemno)", *ASAA*, ser. III, 79, 191-251

Broughton 1951: T. R. S. Broughton, *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic I* (with the collaboration of M. L. Patterson)

Byrne, *RCA*: S. G. Byrne, *Roman Citizens of Athens* (2003)

Canevaro 2013: M. Canevaro, with a chapter by E. M. Harris, *The Documents in the Attic Orators: Laws and Decrees in the Public Speeches of the Demosthenic Corpus*

CAPinv.: Inventory of Ancient Associations. <https://ancientassociations.ku.dk/CAPi/>

Carusi 2014: "The Lease of the Piraeus Theatre and the Lease Terminology in Classical Athens", *ZPE* 188, 111-35

Chandler 1774: R. Chandler, *Inscriptiones antiquae* (Pars II)

CIG: A. Boeckh ed., *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* (I [including Attica] 1828, II 1843, III [with J. Franz] 1853, IV *Indices* [H. Roehl] 1877)

Clinton 1974: K. Clinton, *The Sacred Officials of the Eleusinian Mysteries*

Cook 1987: B. F. Cook, *Greek Inscriptions*

Csapo 2007: E. Csapo, "The Men Who Built the Theatres", in Wilson 2007, 87-115

Csapo and Wilson 2019: E. Csapo and P. Wilson, *A Social and Economic History of the Theatre to 300 BC*. Vol. 2.

Culasso 2010: E. Culasso Gastaldi, "L'isola di Lemnos attraverso la documentazione epigrafica", *ASAA* 88, ser. III, 10 [2012], 347-64

Culasso 2015: E. Culasso Gastaldi, "Composizione e mobilità sociale di una cleruchia: l'esempio di Lemnos e non solo", in A. P. Matthaiou, N. Papazarkadas eds. *AΞΩΝ. Studies in Honour of Ronald R. Stroud*, 595-637

Deshours 2011: N. Deshours, *L'été indien de la religion civique. Étude sur les cultes civiques dans le monde égéen à l'époque hellénistique tardive*

Elvers 1999: K.-L. Elvers, "Laelius", in *Der Neue Pauly, Enzyklopädie der Antike* 6, 1054-1057, s.v. (with other authors on later representatives of the gens)

Erskine 1994: A. Erskine, "The Romans as Common Benefactors", *Historia* 43, 70-87

Abbreviations

- Fauconnier 2017: B. Fauconnier, “The Organisation of Synods of Competitors in the Roman Empire”, *Historia* 66, 442-67
- Fauconnier 2018: B. Fauconnier, *Ecumenical Synods. The Associations of Athletes and Artists in the Roman Empire. PhD* Amsterdam. Available at <https://pure.uva.nl/ws/files/20836731/Thesis.pdf>
- Fawcett 2016: P. Fawcett, “ ‘When I Squeeze you with Eisphorai’. Taxes and Tax-Policy in Classical Athens”, *Hesperia* 85, 153-99
- Ferguson 1911: W. S. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*
- Ficuciello 2010: L. Ficuciello, “Il territorio di Myrina (Lemno): indizi sull’occupazione e sullo sfruttamento delle risorse”, *ASAA* 88, ser. III, 10 [2012], 237-69
- Ficuciello 2013: L. Ficuciello, *Lemnos I. Cultura, storia, archeologia, topografia di un’ isola del nord-eggeo*
- Follet 2009: S. Follet, “Un document d’époque sévérienne (IG II² 1118 + 1104 complétés)”, in A. A. Themis, N. Papazarkadas eds., *Attika Epigraphika. Meletes ... Habicht*, 155-63
- Fraser and McDonald 1952: P. M. Fraser and A. H. McDonald, “Philip V and Lemnos”, *JRS* 42, 81-83
- Gabrielsen 1994: V. Gabrielsen, “Subdivisions of the State and their Decrees”, *C&M* 45, 117-35
- Gabrielsen 2007: V. Gabrielsen, “Brotherhoods of Faith and Provident Planning: the Non-public Associations of the Greek World”, in I. Malkin, C. Constantakopoulou, and K. Panagopoulou eds., *Greek and Roman Networks in the Mediterranean*, 176-203
- Gabrielsen 2016: V. Gabrielsen, “Associations, Modernization and the Return of the Private Network in Athens”, in C. Tiersch ed., *Die athenische Demokratie im 4. Jahrhundert. Zwischen Modernisierung und Tradition*, 121-62
- Garland 1987: R. Garland, *The Piraeus from the Fifth to the First Century BC*
- Geagan 1967: D. J. Geagan, *The Athenian Constitution after Sulla*, *Hesperia Suppl.* 12
- Geagan 1972: D. J. Geagan, “Hadrian and the Athenian Dionysiac Technitai”, *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 103, 133-60
- Goette 2014: H. R. Goette, “The Archaeology of the ‘Rural’ Dionysia in Attica”, in E. Csapo, H. R. Goette, J. R. Green, P. Wilson eds., *Greek Theatre in the Fourth Century BC*
- Habicht 1992: C. Habicht, “Athens and the Ptolemies”, *Classical Antiquity* 11, 68-90
- Habicht 1995: C. Habicht, *Athen. Geschichte der Stadt in der hellenistischen Zeit*
- Habicht 1997: C. Habicht, *Athens from Alexander to Antony*
- Harris 2006: E. M. Harris, *Democracy and the Rule of Law in Classical Athens*
- Hicks, *GIBM* I: E. L. Hicks, *Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum. Part 1 Attika* (1874)
- Humphreys 2018: S. C. Humphreys, *Kinship in Ancient Athens. An Anthropological Analysis* (2 vols.)
- IALD*: S. D. Lambert, *Inscribed Athenian Laws and Decrees 352/1-322/1. Epigraphical Essays* (2012)
- IALD* II: S. D. Lambert, *Inscribed Athenian Laws and Decrees in the Age of Demosthenes. Historical Essays* (2018)

Abbreviations

- IG III: W. Dittenberger, ed., *Inscriptiones Atticae aetatis Romanae* (I 1878, II 1882, III R. Wunsch ed., *Defixionum tabellae in Attica regione repertae*, 1897)
- Ismard 2010: P. Ismard, *La cité des réseaux. Athènes et ses associations VIe-Ier siècle av. J.-C.*
- Jones 1999: N. F. Jones, *The Associations of Classical Athens: the Response to Democracy*
- Kallet-Marx and Stroud 1997: R. M. Kallet-Marx and R. S. Stroud, “Two Athenian Decrees Concerning Lemnos of the Late First Century BC”, *Chiron* 27, 155-94
- Kloppenborg and Ascough, *Associations*: J. S. Koppenborg and R. S. Ascough eds., *Greco-Roman Associations. Texts, Translations and Commentary*. vol. I: *Attica, Central Greece, Macedonia, Thrace* (2011)
- Knoepfler 2018: D. Knoepfler, “Athènes, Lemnos et la création de la province romaine de Macédoine: une relecture critique du décret des Athéniens de Myrina IG II² 1224”, in M. Kalaitzi et al. eds., Βορειοελλαδικά. *Tales from the lands of the ethne. Essays in honour of Miltiades B. Hatzopoulos*, 265-97
- Lambert 1997: S. D. Lambert, *Rationes Centesimarum*
- Lambert 1998: S. D. Lambert, “The Attic Genos Bakchiadai and the City Dionysia”, *Historia* 47, 394-403
- Lambert 2010: S. D. Lambert, “A Polis and its Priests: Athenian Priesthoods Before and After Pericles’ Citizenship Law”, *Historia* 59, 143-75
- Lambert 2011a: S. D. Lambert, “What was the Point of Inscribed Honorific Decrees in Classical Athens?”, in S. D. Lambert ed., *Sociable Man. Essays on Ancient Greek Social Behaviour in Honour of Nick Fisher*, 193-214 (= *IALD* II, 71-92)
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- Langdon 2000: M. Langdon, “The Quarries of Peiraeus”, *Arch. Delt.* 55 A, 235-50
- Lawton: C. L. Lawton, *Attic Document Reliefs* (1995)
- Leão and Rhodes 2015: D. F. Leão and P. J. Rhodes, *The Laws of Solon. A New Edition with Introduction, Translation and Commentary*
- Le Bas and Waddington: P. Le Bas et W. H. Waddington, *Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure fait par ordre du gouvernement Français pendant les années 1843 et 1844. 2: Inscriptions grecques et latines recueillies en Grèce et en Asie Mineure. 1: Attique*
- Le Guen 2001: B. Le Guen, *Les associations de technites dionysiaques à l’époque hellénistique*. 2 vols.
- LSS: F. Sokolowski ed., *Lois sacrées des cités grecques. Supplément* (1962)
- MacDowell 2000: D. M. MacDowell, *Demosthenes. On the False Embassy (Oration 19)*.
- Matthaiou 2019: A. P. Matthaiou, “Ἐξὶ Ἀττικῆς ἐπιγραφῆς τοῦ 4ου αἰ. π.Χ.”, 15-34
- Meier 2012: L. Meier, *Die Finanzierung öffentlicher Bauten in der hellenistischen Polis*
- Mikalson 1998: J. D. Mikalson, *Religion in Hellenistic Athens*
- Muehsam 1952-3: A. Muehsam, “Attic Grave Reliefs from the Roman Period”, *Berytus* 10, 53-114

Abbreviations

- Oliver 1970: J. H. Oliver, *Marcus Aurelius. Aspects of Civic and Cultural Policy in the East, Hesperia Suppl.* 13
- Oliver 1980: J. H. Oliver, “The Areopagos and the Whole City Honor M. Ulpius Eubiotus Leurus”, *ZPE* 38, 107-14
- Oliver 2007: G. J. Oliver, *War, Food, and Politics in Early Hellenistic Athens*
- Osborne 2019: R. Osborne, “Euergetism and the Public Economy of Classical Athens”, in Z. Archibald and J. Haywood eds., *The Power of Individual and Community in Ancient Athens and Beyond. Essays in Honour of John K. Davies*, 147-62
- O’Sullivan 2009: L. O’Sullivan, *The Regime of Demetrius of Phalerum in Athens, 317-307 BC, Mnemosyne Suppl.* 318
- Paga 2010: J. Paga, “Deme Theaters in Attica and the Trittys System”, *Hesperia* 79, 351-84
- Papazarkadas 2011: N. Papazarkadas, *Sacred and Public Land in Ancient Athens*
- Parker 1993: R. Parker, “Artemis Lemnia”, *ZPE* 99, 122
- Parker 1996: R. Parker, *Athenian Religion. A History*
- Pernin 2014: I. Pernin, *Les baux ruraux en Grèce ancienne*
- Poulou 2016: T. Poulou, “Giovanni Battista Lusieri, Lord Elgin’s Unknown Agent and his Excavations in Athens”, in F. Mallouchou-Tufano and A. Malikourti eds., *200 Years the Parthenon Marbles in the British Museum: New Contributions to the Issue*, 62-81
- Rangabé 1855: A. R. Rangabé, *Antiquités Helléniques II*
- Rhodes 1972: P. J. Rhodes, *The Athenian Boule*
- Salomon 1997: N. Salomon, *Le cleruchie di Atene. Carrateri e funzione*
- Sherk 1969: R. K. Sherk, *Roman Documents from the Greek East. Senatusconsulta and Epistulae to the Age of Augustus*
- Slater 2011: W. Slater, “Theatres for Hire”, *Philologus* 155, 272-91
- Smith 1916: A. H. Smith, “Lord Elgin and his Collection”, *JHS* 36, 1916, 163-372
- Smith 1926: A. H. Smith, “ ‘The Tomb of Aspasia’ ”, *JHS* 46, 1926, 253-57
- Stoneman 1985: R. Stoneman, “The Abbé Fourmont and Greek Archaeology”, *Boreas* 8, 190-98
- Stroud 1974: R. S. Stroud, “Three Attic Decrees”, *California Studies in Classical Antiquity* 7, 279-298, at 290-298 (no. III)
- Thomsen 1964: R. Thomsen, *Eisphora*
- Thomsen 2015: C. A. Thomsen, “The Eranistai of Classical Athens”, *GRBS* 55, 154-75
- Threatte: L. Threatte, *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions I Phonology* (1980); II *Morphology* (1996)
- Tracy 1990: S. V. Tracy, *Attic Letter-Cutters of 229-86 BC* [= Tracy, *ALC*]
- Tracy 1995: S. V. Tracy, *Athenian Democracy in Transition. Attic Letter Cutters of 340 to 290 BC* [= Tracy, *ADT*]
- Tracy 2003: S. V. Tracy, *Athens and Macedon. Attic Letter-Cutters of 300 to 229 B.C.* [= Tracy, *Athens and Macedon*]
- Tracy 2014-2019: S. V. Tracy, “Attic Letter-Cutters of ca. 370 to ca. 100 BC: Addenda to the Published Lists of Inscriptions”, *Horos* 26-31, 39-50
- Traill *PAA*: J. S. Traill, *Persons of Ancient Athens*. 22 vols. (1994-2016)
- Traill 1975: J. S. Traill, *The Political Organization of Attica, Hesperia Suppl.* 14

Abbreviations

- Traill 1986: J. S. Traill, *Demos and Trittys*
- von Eickstedt 1991: K.-V. von Eickstedt, *Beiträge zur Topographie des antiken Piräus*
- von Moock 1998: D. W. von Moock, *Die figürlichen Grabstelen Attikas in der Kaiserzeit*
- Whitehead 1986: D. Whitehead, *The Demes of Attica*
- Wilhelm 1906: A. Wilhelm, *Urkunden dramatischer Aufführungen in Athen*
- Wilhelm 2006: A. Wilhelm, *Attische Urkunden VI* (= *Kleine Schriften III*, II)
- Williams 2014: D. Williams, “Προς μυρρίνην. Reconstructing a Fourth-Century Tumulus near the Piraeus”, in P. Balabanes, E. Manakidou eds., *Μελέτες κεραμικής και εικονογραφίας προς τιμήν του καθηγητή Μικάλη Τιβέριου*, 419-35
- Wilson 2007: P. Wilson ed., *The Greek Theatre and Festivals. Documentary Studies*
- Wilson 2009: P. Wilson, “Tragic Honours and Democracy: Neglected Evidence for the Politics of the Athenian Dionysia”, *CQ* 59, 8-29
- Wilson 2010: P. Wilson, “How did the Athenian Demes Fund their Theatre?”, in B. Le Guen ed., *L’argent dans les concours du monde Grec*, 37-82
- Wilson 2018: P. Wilson, “The Theatres and Dionysia of Attica”, in A. Kavoulaki ed., *Πλειών. Papers in Memory of Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood*, 97-144.
- Wycherley 1957: R. E. Wycherley ed., *The Athenian Agora*, vol. III. *Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia*.

1. DECREES OF OTHER BODIES IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

1. Overview of the inscriptions

In addition to the seventeen decrees or fragments of decrees of the Athenian Council and Assembly in the British Museum in [AIUK 4.2](#), the Museum's collection includes ten stones inscribed with enactments of other bodies.¹ The three earliest, **1**, **2** and **3**, are inscriptions of the Cleisthenic deme based in Attica's main port and "second city", Piraeus. **1** (of which the Museum has one of four known fragments²) makes provision for the leasing of the deme theatre in 324/3 BC, **2** is a lease of the deme's agricultural properties in 321/0 or 318/7 BC, and the unusually well-preserved **3** (reproduced on the cover of this volume) honours a non-member of the deme, Kallidamas of Cholleidai, for services which are not precisely specified. Hitherto dated to the early third century BC, I shall suggest that it may belong rather to the late fourth century, perhaps around the same period as **1** and **2**. The Piraeus was in various ways an untypical deme, and the extent to which this is reflected in these three documents is discussed in the commentaries.³

The late fifth and fourth centuries BC are the peak period of epigraphic productivity for the Attic demes. From the late fourth century onwards there is a shift of emphasis in the epigraphical record away from demes and other citizen groups towards other types of association, for the most part less bound into the formal structures of the polis. These are particularly prevalent in the urban centres of the city of Athens and the Piraeus, and in **4**, **5** and **6**, the British Museum probably has examples from both places. **4** is apparently a fragment of the founding document of a thiasos (cult association) from the Piraeus, datable to ca. 325-275 BC, particularly interesting for the arrangements it makes for mutual support in a funerary context. In **5** a group of "Sarapiastai", worshippers of the deity Sarapis, promoted in Egypt by the Ptolemies and introduced into Attica from there, honour their officials of 215/4 BC (including a woman "president", *proeranistria*). The decree probably dates to the early years of the city sanctuary of Sarapis that was visited centuries later by Pausanias. **6**, from an uncertain location, is a small fragment of another decree of an unidentifiable association, dating perhaps to the first century BC.

¹ The three inscriptions of the fifth century BC edited in [AIUK 4.1 \(BM, Cult Provisions\)](#) are also certainly or possibly products of "other bodies": no. 1 (Eleusinian *gene*?), no. 2 (a deme?), no. 3 (deme Skambonidai). However, those three inscriptions have enough in common with each other (date, character and content) and enough points of difference with the inscriptions in [AIUK 4.3A](#) to justify grouping them together in a separate part of [AIUK 4](#). I initially planned to include the ephebic monuments in the same publication as the decrees of "other bodies", but later decided that they too have sufficient distinctive features to justify separate publication, as [AIUK 4.3B](#).

² Fr. *d*. Fr. *a*, fr. *b* and fr. *c* have all been identified since Hicks' edition of 1874, *GIBM* I 12.

³ The AIO main site also has annotated editions of the other two extant decrees of the deme Piraeus: [IG II² 1177](#), relating to the Piraeus Thesmophorion, and [Agora XVI 160](#), relating to construction work. As far as other demes are concerned, apart from numerous individual deme inscriptions, at the time of writing AIO also has a complete annotated set of the inscriptions of the deme Halai Aixonides on the west coast of Attica south-east of Piraeus. See AIO's edition of [SEG 42.112](#), with notes (q. v. for general discussion of demes).

Another type of body that inscribed decrees and sometimes erected them in Athens was the Athenian overseas settlement. In **7 b** we have a fragment of one such decree, passed in the second century BC by the Athenian residents of Myrina on Lemnos, and erected in two copies, at Myrina and on the Athenian acropolis.

The Dionysiac artists (*technitai*) were a type of association of theatrical professionals, first attested in Athens in the early third century BC, which features prominently in the epigraphical record of the Hellenistic and Roman Mediterranean. By the second century AD, the independent local or regional associations based at Athens and elsewhere had been superseded by a world-wide (“ecumenical”) itinerant (*peripolistike*) association (*synodos*) of performance artists (*thymelike*) which, together with its sister association of athletes (*xystike*), was head-quartered in Rome. **9** is a fragment from the beginning of a decree of this world-wide association passed in the reign of Antoninus Pius (138-161 AD) and erected perhaps at Athens (though its provenance is not certain). **8** is an even more fragmentary inscription which included the text of a letter addressed to Antoninus Pius or his predecessor Hadrian (117-138 AD) perhaps by the same association, though that is uncertain.

The Council of the Areopagos, consisting of former archons, was a characteristic Athenian institution throughout antiquity, but only after it enjoyed a revival, thanks to Roman influence, in post-Sullan Athens, did it become one of the three main decree-issuing bodies of the city, alongside the (Cleisthenic) Council and the Assembly. The British Museum’s collection includes, in **10 a**, one of thirteen fragments which have been identified as from one of the very few known monuments inscribed with the full text of a decree of the Areopagos, dating to 195/6 AD.

2. Findspots and collection history

Three of the ten inscriptions in this set, **1 d**, **2** and **3**, were acquired by Richard Chandler on behalf of the Society of Dilettanti in 1765-6 and were presented to the British Museum by the Society in 1785.⁴ All three are enactments of the deme Piraeus, and were most likely originally set up there, in or close to the deme agora.⁵ Two of them certainly, and perhaps in fact all three, seem to have been acquired by Chandler in Athens. He published them in sequence. His no. 108 is our **3**, and he explains in his note on p. xxxi that it was “dug up in Piraeus and kept in his house by an Albanian or peasant near the temple of Theseus [= Hephaisteion].”⁶ He gives no specific information on findspot in the notes to no. 109 (our **1 d**) or 110 (**2**) at p. xxxi, but when he prints the majuscule texts of the

⁴ On Chandler in Athens and the Society of Dilettanti see [AIUK 4.1](#), p. 1; cf. [AIUK 4.2](#), pp. 1-3.

⁵ **1**, relating to the lease of the deme theatre, specifies that the “demarch and the treasurers shall inscribe a copy of the agreement on a stone stele and stand it in the agora of the demesmen” (25-27), though it is uncertain whether the copy referred to there is the present inscription (see commentary on **1**). The original location of **2**, relating to the lease of public land by the deme, and naming the demarch in its heading, is not known, but might plausibly also have been the Piraeus agora, or possibly one of the sanctuaries mentioned (see commentary on **2**). **3** was originally set up in the sanctuary of Hestia (36-38), also probably in or close to the Piraeus agora (see commentary on **3**).

⁶ “In Piraeo effossum et ab Albano sive colono in casa eius prope templum Thesei servatum”.

inscriptions at pp. 72-74 he heads no. 109 “Athenis” (“at Athens”). This is indirectly confirmed by fr. *a* and fr. *c* of **1**, which were found in the Athenian Agora in a modern context.⁷ There is no equivalent heading to his no. 110 (**2**), but it is natural to suppose that Chandler acquired it from the same area. Whether or not **1 d** and **2** had precisely the same source as **3**, Chandler’s explanation of the findspot of **3** clearly shows what was possible at this period in terms of stones being shifted from the Piraeus to central Athens.⁸

Six of our ten inscriptions (**5-10**) were acquired in Athens in the period 1800-1813 by Lord Elgin, or his agent, Giovanni Battista Lusieri, and were among the objects purchased by Parliament and transferred to the British Museum in 1816.⁹ As with nearly all the inscriptions collected by Elgin, there is no record of findspots. **7**, the decree of the second century BC of the Athenian community at Myrina on Lemnos, was set up on the Acropolis (ll. 45-46), and Elgin’s fragment (*b*) may, like *a*, *d* and *e*, have been found there, or it may have come down from the Acropolis prior to discovery, like *c* and (if it belongs to this inscription) *f*. Fragments of **10**, the late second-century AD decree of the Areopagos, were found on or around the Acropolis, which Simone Follet suggests was its original location,¹⁰ though whether Lusieri found fr. *a* there, or in the lower city, we do not know. Before it was split up and parts of it lost, in 1436 Cyriacus of Ancona recorded *Face B* (to which the BM fragment belongs) near the post-Herulian Wall, and several fragments of the inscription were discovered in the Athenian Agora.

The decree of the Sarapiastai, **5**, probably originates in the sanctuary of Sarapis in the south-western part of the city, later visited by Pausanias (1.18.4), and in that case was most likely acquired in the context of Lusieri’s activities in the lower city rather than on the Acropolis.¹¹ There are no indications as to where **6**, a very fragmentary decree of an

⁷ For more detail see Stroud 1974, 291-92. The findspot of fr. *b* is not recorded (cf. Stroud 1974, 291 n. 23).

⁸ The possibility that all these inscriptions of the Piraeus were brought to the city from the Piraeus in the 18th century is acknowledged by Csapo and Wilson 2019, 233; cf. Humphreys 2018, 1102 n. 9, who remarks (without reference to Chandler’s statement about **3**) that “it is possible that a group of Piraeus texts passed through the hands of a dealer in Piraeus”. Of the two other extant inscribed decrees of the deme Piraeus it is notable that [Agora XVI 160](#) was also found in the Athenian Agora (“built into a well”). It was apparently originally set up by a building of some description (ll. 14-19). It seems possible that it too was moved from the Piraeus to the Athenian Agora in the 18th century. [IG II² 1177](#), relating to the Piraeus Thesmophorion, and originally set up on the way up to it (23-24), is the only enactment of the Piraeus to have been found in the Piraeus. [IG II² 2623](#) is a 4th-century boundary marker of property of the Piraeans, but its findspot is unrecorded and what exactly it marked the boundary of is uncertain (see AIO’s notes).

⁹ Cf. [AIUK 4.1](#), pp. 1-4; [AIUK 4.2](#), pp. 1-4. The excavations conducted in Athens by Lusieri on Elgin’s behalf on the Acropolis and many other locations, some of them unidentifiable “fields”, in the years 1800-1813, are described most recently by Poulou 2016 (summarised p. 77 with map, p. 78).

¹⁰ Follet 2009, 157.

¹¹ See below n. 143. Elgin’s agents are known to have been active in the Piraeus area, excavating the so-called “tomb of Aspasia” (on which see Smith 1926, 253-57, and now Williams 2014, who locates it close to the road leading from Eetioneian Gates of the Piraeus to Eleusis, cf. Poulou 2016, 70); and the Elgin collection also contains the funerary columella, [IG II² 6465](#), “discovered in Mounychia” (cf. [AIUK 4.1](#), n. 12). In the light of Elgin’s excavations at the “tomb of Aspasia” Dow 1937 raised the possibility that **5** originates in the Piraeus. Given the limited and apparently

association of the first century BC, was erected or discovered; and the same applies to the fragmentary inscriptions of the second century AD, **8** and **9**. Since **9** is a product of the “world-wide, itinerant” synod of *technitai* of Dionysos, Hicks noted the possibility that it is not even Attic.¹²

4, the law of a thiasos, was purchased by the British Museum from a dealer in 1906 and, according to the BM accessions register, was “from the Piraeus”.¹³

3. Lettering

The inscriptions of this set illustrate quite well some key features of the development of the style of Attic lettering from the mid-fourth century BC to the end of the second century AD.¹⁴ The six which date from the mid-fourth to the mid-second century BC (**1**, **2**, **3**, **4**, **5**, **7**) are all cut in small plain letters (0.4-0.6 cm. high), fairly tightly spaced, including more or less splayed M and Σ, Π normally with shorter right vertical, Y cut in three strokes, but sometimes two, fairly small O and Ω. As noted in [AIUK 4.2](#) (p. 13), the stoichedon style gradually died out in the late fourth and third centuries; in this set it is used in **2** (321/0 or 318/7 BC) and **3** (ca. 335-315 BC?),¹⁵ but not in **1** (324/3 BC), **4** (ca. 325-275 BC), **5** (214/3 BC), or **7** (ca. 145 BC).

In **6**, of perhaps the mid-first century BC, the lettering has become larger (0.9 cm high, l. 4.2 cm high) and more monumental in appearance,¹⁶ including decorative features, such as serifs and hyperextended diagonals on A/Δ; the cross bar on the alpha is split (Α), and while the right vertical of the pi is still short, the outer strokes of the Σ have ceased to

quite focussed nature of Elgin’s activities in the Piraeus, however, as compared with Lusieri’s extensive and diffuse explorations at many sites in the city of Athens, this is not very likely in the absence of positive evidence for a Piraeus origin of **5** or for a sanctuary of Sarapis in the Piraeus (Garland 1987, 110 and 133, is based on our inscription).

¹² While the large majority of inscriptions acquired by Elgin were Attic, the nucleus of his collection was comprised of two monuments from Cape Sigeum, Smith 1916, 182-83. Liddel and Low will make the case in [AIUK 4.5](#) that the dedication to Apollo Tarsios in the collection (1816,0610.174 = Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 59 = *IG* II³ 4, 949) is not Attic, but was acquired on Elgin’s behalf at Gallipoli (cf. Smith 1916, 194). Note also Liddel and Low, [AIUK 8 \(Broomhall\)](#), p. 1: “Also at Broomhall [seat of Lord Elgin] is a fragment of a decree from Melos (*IG* XII 3, 1113) ... the circumstances of its discovery and acquisition are not known”. If **9** is Attic and **8** relates to the same body, candidates for the place of erection of the stelai would include the Acropolis, the theatre of Dionysos (for these two as locations of other relevant inscriptions, see n. 192) or the area of the *temenos* of the *technitai* in the “Kerameikos” (n. 191), all of them areas in which Lusieri conducted excavations on Elgin’s behalf (see for the Acropolis, Poulou 2016, 65-68, theatre of Dionysos, 68, Kerameikos, 72).

¹³ Cf. M. N. Tod, *ABSA* 13, 1906/7, 328. According to the BM’s accessions register, the item was purchased from Jean Gabrilakis at a London address.

¹⁴ Cf. the remarks on lettering at [AIUK 4.2](#), pp. 12-14.

¹⁵ I argue in the commentary against the current dating of this inscription, based on lettering, to the early third century.

¹⁶ Cf. Tracy 1990, 238: “Large, rather handsome, serifed lettering comes into vogue around 140 BC perhaps under the influence of Roman or island lettering.”

be splayed.¹⁷ Θ now has a short central line, rather than a dot, and the central horizontal of E is systematically shorter than the outer strokes (though this can be a feature of some earlier inscriptions). The lettering of **8** (ca. mid-second cent. AD) has many comparable features, and Π has a long right vertical, though most alphas have reverted to straight bars.¹⁸ **8** also illustrates a tendency as compared with the fourth and early third centuries, and present already in **7**, for increased spacing between lines as compared with letter-spacing within lines; and **8** shows the use of a short diagonal stroke, ', to indicate abbreviations that was introduced from ca. 100 AD.¹⁹ In **10** (195/6 AD) Α has completely disappeared, but it otherwise displays features similar to **8**, though, as commonly with inscriptions of organs of the city at this period, it is more austere as regards decorative features such as serifs. M/Σ again have parallel outer strokes.

None of the inscriptions in this set display the cursive forms (such as C, €̄, and ω) that begin to make an impact in inscribed Attic lettering from the late-second century AD, and which occur occasionally in the ephebic catalogue, [AIUK 4.3B no. 5](#), of (probably) a year earlier than **10** (194/5 AD).

¹⁷ Cf. Tracy 1990, 238: “Sigma with parallel top and bottom strokes suggests a date near 100 BC or after”.

¹⁸ I do not comment here on **9** (138-161 AD), which is not certainly Attic, but the lettering, including apices, Α, Θ with horizontal line rather than, as earlier, dot, non-splayed M/Σ, elongated verticals on Φ and Ψ, and frequent ligatures, suits an inscription at this date, which is not far distant from **8**.

¹⁹ Threatte I, 104.

2. THE INSCRIPTIONS

1 DECREES OF THE DEME PIRAEUS ABOUT THE LEASE OF THE DEME THEATRE, 324/3 BC. EM 13447 (formerly Ag. I 2440) (*a*), EM 7719 (*b*), EM 13446 (formerly Ag. I 6439) (*c*), BM 1785,0527.8 (*d*). *a* and *c* Agora in a modern context (cf. Stroud 1974, 291), *b* findspot not recorded, *d* Athens (Chandler, see [sect. 1.2](#)). Three joining (*a-c*) and one non-joining (*d*) fragments of a stele of whitish-grey marble, left side preserved on *a* and *b*, right side and rough-picked back on *c*, left and right sides, bottom, and rough-picked back on *d*. The left edge of the stele was straight, but the right edge tapered towards the top. *a* + *b* + *c* h. 0.174, w. 0.208 (top)-0.215 (bottom), th. 0.039-0.055; *d* h. 0.227, w. 0.219 (top) - 0.229 (bottom), th. 0.06-0.065. Non-stoich. 29-35 (*abc*), 33 or 34-44 (*d*). L. h. 0.005-0.006. “Cutter of *IG* II² 1176”, ca. 330-324/3 BC (Tracy 1995, 129-31; cf. also [sect. 1.3](#)).

Eds. *d* Chandler 1774, 74 no. 109 with note p. xxxi; (*CIG* I 102 + Add. p. 900); Hicks, *GIBM* I 12; (*IG* II 573); *b* + *d* Wilhelm 1906, 235-39 no. 8 (ph., *b*, *d* ll. 18-26); *IG* II² 1176; (*Syll.*³ 915); *a* B. D. Meritt, *Hesp.* 29, 1960, 1 no. 1 (ph. *ab*) (*SEG* 19.117); *c* N. Conomis, *Klio* 39, 1961, 82-83; B. D. Meritt, *Hesp.* 32, 1963, 12-13 no. 10 (ph.) (*SEG* 21.521); *a-d* R. S. Stroud, *CSCA* 7, 1974, 290-98 no. 3 (ph. *a-c*) (*SEG* 33.143); Schwenk 76; *Agora* XIX L13; *Agora* XVI 93 (ph. *abc*); Csapo 2007, 90-94 (*SEG* 57.130); Meier 2012, 200-203 no. 7; Carusi 2014 (ph.) (*SEG* 64.98bis); Csapo and Wilson 2019, 208-33, at 226-33 no. III V vi.

Cf. Behrend 1970, 86-88 no. 30 with p. 155 (*ab* + *d*) and 88 no. 31 with p. 155 (*c*); Whitehead 1986, 385 no. 86; Papazarkadas 2011, 141, 151; G. Marginesu, *ZPE* 180, 2012, 153-57; Goette 2014, 104 no. 19; C. Flament, *ZPE* 193, 2015, 142-44 (*SEG* 65.104; translates and comments on ll. 1-13); Humphreys 2018, 1099-1108. Autopsy (*d*) Lambert 2019. In store. *Fig.* 1 (*d*).

<i>a</i>	[τὴν?] σκηνην προ[- ^{ca. 4-5} -]ασι [- - ^{ca. 12} - -]	<i>c</i> non-stoich.
	[ἐ]άν τι βο[ύ]λωντ[αι πε]ρὶ τὴν οἰκοδομίαν·	
	ἐξεῖναι δὲ αὐ[τοῖς χ]ρῆσθαι λίθοις καὶ	
	γῆι ἐκ τοῦ τεμ[ένους] τοῦ Διονύσου· ὅταν δ’	
5	ἐξίωσιν, παρα[διδόναι?] ἅπαντα ὀρθὰ καὶ ἐ-	
	στηκότα· ἐὰν δὲ - ^{ca. 4-5} -]ειψωσιν πρὸς τῆι σκη-	
	νεῖ, κέρα[μον καὶ ξ]ύλα ἀπίτω λαβῶν πα-	
<i>b</i>	|| || [-^{ca. 7} -]ΛΙ· [ὁ δὲ χ]ρόνος ἄρχει τῆς μι-	
324/3 BC	σθώσεως Ἡγησίας ἄρχων· τοὺς δὲ δημό-	
10	τας θεωρεῖν ἀργύριο[ν] διδόντας πλὴν ὅ-	
	σοις οἱ δημόται προ[εδρίαν δ]εδώκασι·	
	τούτους δ’ ἀπογράψα[ι πρὸς τοὺς π]ρια[μέ]-	
	νους τὸ θέατρον· εἶν[αι δὲ καὶ προεδρίαν]	
15	καὶ τῶι δημάρχῳ κα[ὶ - ^{ca. 9} - - καὶ τῶι κή]-	
	ρυκι καὶ εἴ τῳ ἄλλῳ [δεδώκασιν οἱ δημόται]	
	[τὴ]ν προεδρίαν· ὅσοι δ[ὲ - - - - -]	

[-----]νι[-----]
ca. 10 lines missing

d [----- τὸ θέ]ατρ[ο]ν πα[ρέ]-
 [χ- τοῖς δημότ]αις ἡδ[ω]λιασμένην τὴν θέαν [κα]-
 20 [τὰ τ]ὰ πάτρια· ἔαν δὲ μὴ ποιήσωσιν κατὰ τὰς συνθ[ή]-
 κας τὰς περὶ τὸ θέατρον, οἰκοδομήσαι μὲν Πειρα-
 εἶας τὰ δεόμενα, τὰ δ' ἀναλώματα τοῖς πριαμένοις
 εἶναι· ἐπιτιμητὰς δὲ αἰρεῖσθαι Πειραεἶας ὅταν πα-
 25 ραδιῶσι τὸ θέατρον τρεῖς ἄνδρας ἐκ Πειραεῶν·
 ἀναγράψαι δὲ τὸν δήμαρχον καὶ τοὺς ταμίαις ἀντί-
 γραφα τῶν συνθηκῶν εἰς στήλην λιθίνην καὶ στήσα-
 ι ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ τῶν δημοτῶν· παραγράψαι δὲ καὶ τὸ
 ὄνομα, παρ' ᾧ ἂν κείωνται αἱ συνθηκαί· ὠνηταὶ Ἀρι-
 30 στοφάνης Σμικύθο : ΠΗ : Μελησίας Ἀριστοκράτο : ΧΗ
 Ἄρεθούσιος Ἀριστόλεω Πήληξ : Π : Οἰνοφῶν Εὐφι-
 λήτου Πειραιεύς : ΧΗ. *vacat*
 Καλλιᾶδης εἶπεν· ἐψηφίσθαι Πειραεῦσι· ἐπειδὴ Θεαῖος
 φιλοτιμεῖται πρὸς τοὺς δημότας καὶ νῦν καὶ ἐν τῷ
 ἔμπροσθε χρόνῳ, καὶ πεπόηκεν τριακοσίαις δρα-
 35 χμαῖς πλέον εὐρεῖν τὸ θέατρον, στεφανῶσαι αὐτ-
 ὸν θαλλῶ στεφάνῳ ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ δικαιο-
 σύνης τῆς εἰς τοὺς δημότας· στεφανῶσαι δὲ
 καὶ τοὺς πριαμένους τὸ θέατρον Ἀριστοφάνην
 Πειραεἶα, Μελησίαν Λαμπτρέα, Οἰνοφῶντα
 40 Πειραιεἶα, Ἄρεθούσιον Πήληκα.
vac.

a-c Woodhead (*Ag. XVI*) after earlier eds. 1 [εἰ περὶ | τὴν] σκηνὴν προ[στιθέ]ασι Csapo || 6 ἀλ]είψωσιν Meritt, ἔαν δὲ παραλ]είψωσιν Stroud, ἔαν τι ἔξαμ]είψωσιν or παραμ]είψωσιν Csapo, ἔαν μὴ W. Slater apud Csapo. Delphine Ackermann attractively suggests to me, ἔά[ν τι καταλ]είψωσιν. The sense would be: “If they leave behind them anything in addition to the stage-building, they shall depart taking with them tiling and wood”. For καταλείπω in this sense in the context of a lease she compares *I Rhamnous* 180 (Pernin 2014, no. 12), l. 24 (lease of a *temenos* at Rhamnous, 339/8 BC). For the general sense she compares the provisions of the lease of the orgeones of Egretes, *IG II² 2499* = Pernin 2014, no. 7, 306/5 BC. In that case the lessee is to inhabit the *temenos* and at the end of the term is permitted to take with him the moveable elements of the building which he himself supplied (doors, tiles and wooden components), leaving behind only the stone “skeleton” of the building. On this view, the Piraeus lease would envisage that the lessees may undertake construction works apart from the stage-building, in which case they may take with them the moveable elements of these constructions. || 8 in. Stroud, παλρὰ (?) [- ^{ca. 7-}]λι[.] Woodhead, παλρ κ[αὶ ὅτι ἄ]λλο ? Csapo || 14 κα[ὶ τοῖς ταμίαις Wilhelm, cf. l. 25, τῷ ταμίαι Woodhead, τοῖς ἱερεῦσι Stroud, cf. 3 l. 23; perhaps τῷ ἱερεῖ (scil. of Dionysos, see further below) || *d* 18-19 τοὺς πριαμένους τὸ θέ]ατρ[ο]ν πα[ρέ]λχειν τοῖς δημότ]αις Wilhelm;

2. *The Inscriptions. I Decrees of the Deme Piraeus about the Lease of the Deme Theatre, 324/3 BC*

spacing suggests the verb may have had more letters, e.g. ἵνα - τὸ θεῖ]ατρ[ο]ν πα[ρέ]λχωσιν. There is the bottom of a vertical stroke above the N of ἐὰν in l. 20, most likely from the H or M of δημότ]αις || 19 ἡδ[ω]λιασμένην Hicks.

. . .

. . . stage-building . . .

if they wish for anything for the construction;

and it shall be possible for them to use stones and

earth from the precinct of Dionysos; and when they

(5) depart, they shall [hand over] everything upright and standing;

and if they . . . to *or* at the stage-building

he shall depart, taking with him tiling and wood

. . . ; and the term of the lease

begins in the archonship of Hegesias (324/3 BC); and the demesmen

(10) shall pay for theatre seats except those to whom

the demesmen have given priority seating (*proedrian*);

those who buy the lease of the theatre shall be notified

of these; and there shall also be priority seating

for the demarch and . . . and the herald

(15) and anyone else to whom the demesmen have given

priority seating; and as many . . .

. . .

Ca. 10 lines missing

. . .

. . . provide the

viewing area of the theatre fitted with wooden benches

(20) in the traditional way; and if they do not adhere to the agreement

concerning the theatre, the Piraeans shall carry out

any necessary construction work, but the expenses shall be met by

the buyers of the lease; and when they hand over the theatre the Piraeans

shall choose three men from the Piraeans as inspectors (*epitimetas*);

(25) and the demarch and the treasurers shall inscribe a copy

of the agreement on a stone stele and stand it

in the agora of the demesmen; and they shall add to it

the name of the person with whom the agreement is deposited. Buyers:

Aristophanes son of Smikythos: 600 dr.; Melesias son of Aristokrates: 1100 dr.

(30) Arethousios son of Aristoleos of Pelekes: 500 dr.; Oinophon son of

Euphiletos of Piraeus: 1100 dr.

Kalliades proposed: the Piraeans shall decide: since Theaios

displays honour-loving behaviour towards the demesmen both now and in

time past and ensured that three hundred drachmas extra

(35) was obtained for the theatre, to crown him

with a foliage crown for his excellence and justice towards the demesmen; and to crown also the buyers of the theatre lease Aristophanes of Piraeus, Melesias of Lamptraï, Oinophon of Piraeus, Arethousios of Pelekes.

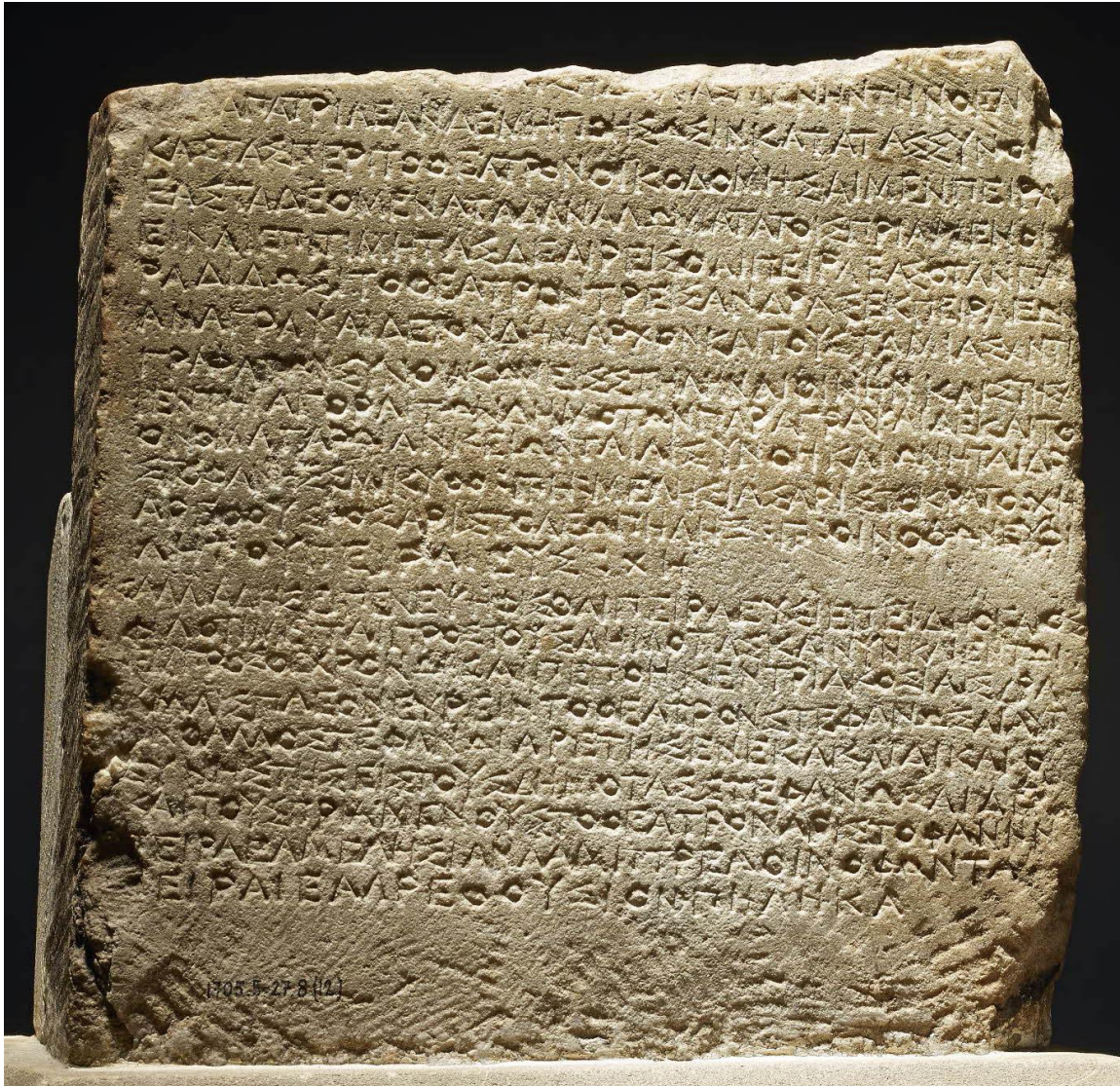


Fig. 1. 1 d © Trustees of the British Museum.

As we saw in [AIUK 4.2](#) the Athenian Council and People acquired the habit of regularly inscribing some of its enactments on stone in the fifth century BC. From about the same time the Attic demes, run by local Assemblies of citizens on the pattern of the city's Assembly, did likewise, and we have already studied one of the earliest in [AIUK 4.1](#) (no. 3, ordinances of the city deme Skambonidai).²⁰ The Piraeus was no exception. Chief port of Athens in the Classical period, and base of the Athenian fleet, it was also constituted as

²⁰ I also tentatively suggested that [AIUK 4.1 no. 2](#) might be the sacrificial calendar of a small deme.

a Cleisthenic deme, the largest in the city trittys of the tribe Hippothontis, supplying perhaps eight men to the Council of Five Hundred in the fourth century.²¹ Of the five inscribed decisions of the deme that are extant, two (2, providing for the lease of properties of the deme in 321/0 or 318/7 BC, and 3, honouring a deme benefactor) and a substantial fragment of a third (1, the present inscription, providing for the lease of the deme theatre in 324/3 BC) were acquired in Athens by Richard Chandler on behalf of the Society of Dilettanti in 1765-6 and are now in the British Museum. The other two are [IG II² 1177](#), making provisions relating to the Piraeus Thesmophorion, and the fragmentary [Agora XVI 160](#), apparently providing for the raising of funds for construction works by voluntary donations (*epidoseis*).²² The Piraeus was an exceptional deme, its importance recognised among other things by its incorporation with the city in a single defensive unit by the “Long Walls”, and this was recognised administratively in the unusual status of the demarch, who, unlike in other demes, was appointed by the Athenian Assembly rather than by the deme, and had the power to impose summary fines, like a city official.²³ It was also exceptional in that, thanks to a large population of foreigners, metics and “émigrés” from elsewhere in Attica, the number of adult male demesmen implied by the eight men it sent to the Council, i.e. perhaps ca. 400 in the fourth century, will have been “a tiny minority in a town with a population estimated as equal to that of the city of Athens in ca. 432 BC”.²⁴ The special status of the Piraeus is abundantly apparent in 1, in which the deme makes arrangements for the lease of its theatre, and which is our richest source of information about this aspect of the management of any local Attic theatre.

The theatre of Dionysos in the Piraeus was located about halfway up the north-west flank of Mounichia hill. Remains were visible in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but little record was made before the site was built over following a cursory “rescue” excavation in the early 1880s.²⁵ We are therefore dependent largely on this inscription for our understanding of the theatre’s main features in the closing years of the Classical democracy. One that is immediately apparent is that a (perhaps the) major fixed structure within the theatre is the stage-building (*skene*), on which, the opening lines of the surviving text seem to suggest, it is envisaged that the lessees of the theatre may undertake structural works, for which purpose (and others?) it seems they are permitted to use stones and earth from the precinct (*temenos*) of Dionysos.²⁶ At the end of the lease period they

²¹ Traill 1986, 16-18.

²² Note also [IG II² 2623](#) (revised text at [AIO 2035](#), cf. *SEG* 54.240), marker of property of the Piraeans (findspot unknown).

²³ *Ath. Pol.* 54.8. Fines: [IG II² 1177](#), 14-17. Cf. Whitehead 1986, 394-96.

²⁴ Csapo and Wilson 2019, 208, cf. Garland 1987, 60.

²⁵ For more detail see Csapo and Wilson 2019, 209-10.

²⁶ It is not quite clear whether this expression signifies the general area of the theatre itself, or, as generally supposed, a (most likely neighbouring) sanctuary area. Langdon 2000 draws attention to the numerous urban limestone quarries of the Piraeus, some of which had a religious afteruse, and (248-49) raises the possibility that the *temenos* of Dionysos may have been the site of such a quarry, though “we cannot rule out the possibility that permission is being given to remove loose rubble”. Slater 2011 envisages that the earth and stones may have been used for stabilising the seating area. For a thorough discussion of the phrase, χρῆσθαι λίθοις καὶ γῆνι, with parallels, see Marginesu 2012.

are to hand over the fixed structure in good repair (ll. 4-6), but are to take with them any “tiling and wood”, i.e. roofing and other moveable components, perhaps of the stage building, or perhaps of other construction works they may have undertaken.²⁷ It is then stipulated that the lease²⁸ is to begin in the archonship of Hegesias, 324/3 BC, implying that it was drawn up in or shortly before the start of that year.²⁹ We do not know its duration, but this start-date locates the lease in a period of vigorous construction activity, combined with developed financial management techniques, that characterised the period between Athens’ defeats at Chaironeia in 338 BC and in the Lamian War in 323-322 BC and was associated especially with the name of Lykourgos.³⁰

There follows a provision crucial to the economics of the system established by this lease: the demesmen are to pay for their seats, except for those to whom they have awarded seats of honour (*proedria*). Three men, it transpires, enjoy this right ex officio, as well as other individuals to whom the deme has specifically granted the privilege (9-16). As we know from surviving inscriptions on the theatre seats, at city level *proedria* in the theatre of Dionysos at Athens was enjoyed ex officio by a vast number of city officials and priests.³¹ It could also be bestowed by decree, usually as a permanent privilege as one of the “highest honours” (*megistai timai*) awarded to notable benefactors, but sometimes ad hoc for a single festival.³² This practice was patently mirrored on a smaller scale in the Piraeus.³³ At 3, ll. 19-25, the deme awards *proedria* to a benefactor. It might be tempting

²⁷ Csapo and Wilson 2019, 233, however, think in terms of a wooden *skene*. Ackermann (see ap. crit.) proposes that construction works other than in relation to the stage-building are envisaged.

²⁸ As commonly in Attic usage the vocabulary of leasing and selling is not clearly distinguished. Here the term for “rental”, *misthosis*, is used, but elsewhere in the inscription the “lessees” are described as “buyers” (*priamenoι*, ll. 12-13, 22, 38, *onetai*, l. 28), the idea being that they buy the lease, i.e. (as we would articulate it) the obligation/right to manage and commercially exploit the theatre for the term of the agreement. On this see most recently Flament 2015 (*SEG* 65.104).

²⁹ For the widely divergent datings that were suggested for different fragments of this inscription prior to Behrend 1970 and Stroud 1974 see below on 3.

³⁰ This impacted on the theatre of Dionysos at Athens and on other public buildings in the Piraeus. Cf. e.g. the posthumous decree of 307/6 BC honouring Lykourgos [IG II² 457 + 3207](#). Csapo and Wilson 2019, 230, note that Lykourgos is credited not only with completing the ship-sheds and naval store in the Piraeus and rebuilding the navy, but also with introducing a contest of “circular choruses” there, which (214-15) were perhaps a component of the Piraeus Dionysia ([Plut.] *Lives of the Ten Orators* 842a). On the focus on theatre and festivals at this period as reflected in the city’s laws and decrees cf. Lambert 2011b = *IALD* II 102-106.

³¹ The inscriptions on the seats in the theatre of Dionysos at Athens have been recently re-edited at [IG II³ 4](#), 1881-2023.

³² Cf. [AIUK 2 \(BSA\)](#), pp. 8-9. Grants for a single festival: the earliest attested is for the grain trader Sopatros of Akragas in a decree proposed by Lykourgos: [IG II³ 1, 432](#), ll. 26-30. See also below n. 50 [grant to Kolophonians].

³³ The ex officio recipients of the honour were the demarch, the herald and one other (l. 14). Stroud’s suggestion of priests is in principle attractive in view of the explicit mention of their *proedria* at 3, l. 23, and the parallel of the city theatre. τοῖς ἱερεῦσι is rather long, however, for the available space. Pride of place in the city theatre went, naturally enough, to the priest of Dionysos. He is twice addressed or alluded to by a character in Aristophanes in “breaches of the fourth wall” (*Frogs* 297, *Acharnians* 1085ff.; the inscription on his surviving theatre seat, [IG II³ 4](#), 1916, is of much later (Augustan?) date, but the relief on it may be Lykourgan, M. Miller, *JdI* 132, 2017, 83-

to infer from the wording at our ll. 9-11 that *only* the demesmen attended the theatre, but this was patently not the case. It is clear enough that performances in the Piraeus theatre were attended by Piraeus residents who were not demesmen and others from further afield.³⁴ The stipulation that the demesmen are to pay for their seats seems intended to clarify the permission granted the lessees to levy charges on members of the body granting the lease, without implying that these are the only persons who can be charged.³⁵

When the text resumes on the British Museum fragment (*d*), after, on Carusi's calculation (2014), about ten missing lines, we are at the tail end of stipulations relating to the fitting out of the theatre with wooden benches, "in the traditional way." As seems to have been normal at this period, theatre seating was wood rather than stone.³⁶ There follows a clause, common in property leases at all times and places, permitting the deme itself to carry out any necessary structural works omitted by the lessees and to recover the costs (20-23); and a further clause appointing inspectors to verify that the terms of the lease have been adhered to (23-24).³⁷

The subsequent clauses relating to copies of the agreement and its inscription are somewhat opaque. It has been generally agreed, in my view correctly, that ll. 27-28 imply that the "master copy" of the lease agreement itself is to be deposited with an individual, a normal procedure for private contracts, though unique in the case of an Attic public lease.³⁸ It has also been generally accepted, following Behrend, that the text of our decree

105. Cf. Lambert 1998, 399). Perhaps the priest of Dionysos in the Piraeus traditionally enjoyed this right in the Piraeus theatre and was mentioned specifically in our l. 14, restoring τῶι ἱερεῖ, and by the time of 3 (if not before) other priests had been added by specific grants of *proedria*. The award of *proedria* in theatres was common practice in Attica and elsewhere in the Greek world; see the long list of theatres in which it is attested listed by Csapo and Wilson 2019, index pp. 906-7 s.v. prohedria.

³⁴ An anecdote at Aelian *VH* 2.13 recounts that Socrates would go down to the Piraeus theatre when a play of Euripides was performed there. Its historicity is uncertain, but the implication that performances in the Piraeus theatre were open to non-demesmen is not in doubt. See further below on the public character of the Piraeus Dionysia.

³⁵ Humphreys 2018, 1101 n. 7, raises the possibility that before these arrangements were established, the demesmen had had free seats. Csapo and Wilson 2019 attractively suggest that the passage at the tail end of *a-c* (l. 16), "but as many ...", went on to specify arrangements for charging spectators who were not deme members. There was, of course, a charge for admission to the theatre in Athens.

³⁶ For discussion of the verb ἐδωλιάζω, "furnish with wooden benches", first recognised in l. 19 by Hicks, see Csapo and Wilson 2019, 232, who point to evidence that this type of seating was used in the theatre of Dionysos at Athens before the construction of the stone theatre at about this period.

³⁷ Cf. Meier 2012, 203, for *epitimetai* on Delos.

³⁸ Not least given the markedly public character of the Piraeus theatre, it is perhaps surprising that the lease should be deposited with an individual rather than a public authority, but what was actually done in this kind of area does not always neatly fit our expectations, and in this case was perhaps influenced by the culture generated by practices prevalent in the Piraeus for all manner of commercial contracts. Carusi 2014, 118-20, attempts to get around this by supposing that the "name" referred to at l. 28 refers not to the third-party trustee, but to the names of the lessees themselves, and that παρ' ᾧ ἂν κείωνται αἱ συνθήκαι refers not to a person but "a place where the agreement will be deposited", i.e. a public archive. I am not persuaded that this is a plausible

is not a copy of the agreement itself, but a decree of the deme paving the way for the agreement, and that therefore the copy of the agreement which is required to be inscribed in the deme agora is not the present inscription, but another one, now lost, which will have set out the lease terms in more detail.³⁹ This is a possible interpretation, and would account, for example, for the fact that, despite the provision at ll. 27-28, the name of the third-party trustee is not specified in the text of our decree as preserved, and that the fragments of our inscription were found in Athens and not in the Piraeus. The trustee may, however, have been named in a lost part of our inscription. Moreover, it would not seem to be problematic that, where known, the fragments of this inscription, and the other two inscriptions of the deme Piraeus in the BM, were found in the Athenian Agora. Chandler recorded **3** in the house of an “Albanian or peasant” near the “Theseion” (= Hephaisteion), i.e. in the Agora area, and that it had been “dug up in Piraeus”, and whether or not **1** and **2** had precisely the same source, this clearly shows what was possible.⁴⁰ We cannot know precisely what was included in the copy of the lease deposited with the third-party trustee, but the possibility cannot be dismissed that the only “agreement” that was inscribed was the surviving inscription.⁴¹ In any case the stele itself (whether this inscription is intended or another one carrying the full text of the agreement) is to be inscribed in the deme agora, a well-known location close to the theatre in Mounichia.⁴² The text of the agreement finishes with the names of the lessees, two of them demesmen of Piraeus (Aristophanes’ deme is given in l. 39), two of them from outside the deme (Lamptraí in the case of Melesias, his deme also given in l. 39, Pelekes in the case of Arethousios), and the amounts they paid for it, totalling 3300 dr.⁴³

The last nine lines of the inscription are occupied by a supplementary decree honouring a man named Theaios (otherwise unattested) who has secured (by negotiation

interpretation of the Greek. As Csapo and Wilson suggest, we cannot rule out that the third-party trustee was in fact a public official. For deposition of agreements with persons rather than public authorities Delphine Ackermann kindly refers me to *IG VII* 3172, ll. 37-45 and 88-92, a public contract from Orchomenos, 222-200 BC, deposited with two of the seven witnesses. She notes that the possible Attic case, in the tribal decree, *IG II²* 1168, ll. 24-25, is based on an uncertain restoration.

³⁹ Behrend 1970, 87, 111-12, followed by Carusi 2014, 117 and Csapo and Wilson 2019, 229.

⁴⁰ See further [sect. 1.2](#), with n. 8.

⁴¹ Among other things this would account for there being only one inscribing clause in the surviving text, not two.

⁴² This is the so-called “Hippodamian Agora”, located west of Mounichia hill. See Garland 1987, 141. The theatre was linked to this area “by a network of streets”, Csapo and Wilson 2019, 209.

⁴³ Aristophanes of Piraeus heads a list of contributors to a statue and building work in an unknown sanctuary, *IG II²* 2329 (with the revised readings of N. Papazarkadas, *Horos* 17-21, 2004-2009, 104-5 = *SEG* 59.183, who dates the inscription to the Lykourgan period). Papazarkadas 2011, 154-55, notes that Aristole[os?] at l. 11 may be the father of Arethousios son of Aristoleos of Pelekes, another of the theatre lessees, and raises the possibility that the inscription relates to the sanctuary of Dionysos (in Piraeus? in Athens?). Melesias son of Aristokrates of Lamptraí is an attested member of a liturgical family (*APF* p. 59). Oinophon son of Euphiletos of Piraeus is not otherwise known.

with the lessees?) extra revenue from the lease of 300 dr., i.e. it seems ten percent above the expected price of 3000 dr.;⁴⁴ and also honouring the lessees themselves.⁴⁵

The very uniqueness of this evidence for the economic management of a deme theatre, and the unusual character of the theatre in the Piraeus, make it difficult to tell how common this kind of lease arrangement was.⁴⁶ There has also recently been lively debate about how far deme theatres were used by other demes which may not perhaps have possessed a theatre of their own.⁴⁷ There is no evidence for this in the case of the Piraeus theatre. What is abundantly attested is the wider public character of the theatre and festival of Dionysos in Piraeus, which took place, like other celebrations of the so-called “Rural Dionysia”, in the winter month, Posideon. As we have seen, at the time of this inscription the demarch of Piraeus was not appointed by his own deme, but by the Athenian Assembly, and among his responsibilities *Ath. Pol.* singles out the running of the Dionysia and the appointment of theatrical sponsors (*choregoi*).⁴⁸ One of the strongest indicators of the public, and very popular, character of the Piraeus Dionysia at this period comes from the inscribed accounts of the sales of skins from sacrifices at major Athenian festivals, which imply that in 334/3 BC around fifty cattle were sacrificed at the festival, and that in 331/0 BC sacrifices were conducted by the generals.⁴⁹ The Assembly might allocate seats at the Piraeus Dionysia to visiting dignitaries,⁵⁰ and in a decree of 320/19 BC proposed by

⁴⁴ Cf. [I Eleus. 85](#) of 332/1 BC, where Philokomos is honoured by the deme Eleusis for negotiating an extra 100 dr. on the purchase price for the lease of a quarry (Csapo and Wilson 2019, 229). Philokomos was the proposer of the leasing scheme and it is commonly supposed that Theaios had a similar role in the Piraeus scheme (see Papazarkadas 2011, 151).

⁴⁵ It is debated to what extent the arrangement may have been profitable for the lessees and to what extent it may have entailed an element of liturgical service. See most recently Csapo and Wilson 2019, 230-33, who emphasise the potential profitability of the venture for the lessees, though there would seem to be too many uncertainties (e.g. term of the lease, number of spectators, frequency of events in the theatre, lessees’ costs etc.) to support plausible specific calculations based on the 3300 dr. cost of the lease. Cf. the remarks on this point of Slater 2011, 273-74.

⁴⁶ Slater 2011, 274-75, argues that it is not likely to have been a widespread arrangement, Csapo and Wilson 2019, 230 (cf. Csapo 2007, 94-95) that it may have been a common one. *IG II² 1206* = Csapo and Wilson, 51-54, may imply that the deme Acharnai normally leased its theatre, though the relevant text is largely restored (and note the reservations of Slater 2011, 277-89). Slater emphasises that other parallels, from Attica or elsewhere, are lacking.

⁴⁷ See Paga 2010, Goette 2014, Wilson 2018, and the summary of Csapo and Wilson 2019, 10.

⁴⁸ *Ath. Pol.* 54.8. He perhaps had to be a member of the deme, though this is uncertain. The only demarch known by name is Phrynion, 2, l. 1. The only known priest of Dionysos in the Piraeus was Meixigenes of Cholleidai, attested by [IG II³ 1, 416](#) of ca. 340-330 BC, ll. 16-17 and ll. 2-3 (where, as noted in the *IG* app. crit., I am inclined to restore ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Διο[νύσι]ο[υ] τῷ ἴμ Πειραεῖ Μειξιγένῃ). Cf. Csapo and Wilson 2019, 216-20. He was not a deme member, but we do not know how he was appointed. If this was an older established priesthood he was perhaps from a *genos*; if a post-Periclean foundation it might have been an annual appointment “from all Athenians”. Cf. Lambert 2010, 169-70. See further below on the honorand of 3, also from Cholleidai.

⁴⁹ *IG II² 1496*, 70-71 (334/3 BC), 136 (332/1 BC, no information preserved) and 144-45 (331/0 BC). The amount raised from the hides in 334/3 BC was 311 dr., which at a rate of 6-7 dr. per hide (for which see Parker 1996, 228 n. 38) is equivalent to ca. 48 bovinds.

⁵⁰ E.g. to ambassadors from Kolophon in *IG II² 456*, of 307/6 BC.

Demades the Assembly introduced administrative reforms in the Piraeus designed among other things to improve the roads on the route of the procession for Dionysos.⁵¹ As the theatre of Dionysos at Athens was used for occasional meetings of the Assembly, so too the Assembly seems occasionally to have met in the Piraeus theatre;⁵² and while it was not, so far as we know, a location where deme decrees were erected, in 340-330 BC (perhaps in the aftermath of the battle of Chaironeia) the Piraeus theatre seems to have been initially envisaged as the place of erection of an Assembly decree honouring four Piraeus priests, including the priest of Dionysos, and *hieropoioi*;⁵³ and it might perhaps also have been the place of erection of another measure taken in the same context, an inscribed law on repairing the walls in the Piraeus.⁵⁴

What survives of our inscription seems to show us straightforwardly a deme making arrangements for the lease of its theatre. The Piraeus, however, was “no ordinary deme, and its Dionysia, no ordinary deme festival”;⁵⁵ and this special status might perhaps have been reflected in provisions not preserved in the extant text, for example for use of the theatre by and at the instigation of the Assembly. For the rest, it is not clear how far the arrangements made in this inscription may have been typical of the management of Attic theatres and how far they are a consequence of the unique position of the Piraeus, its theatre and Dionysia, in Athenian life.

⁵¹ *IG II² 380* = Csapo and Wilson 2019, 221-23.

⁵² At this date Assembly meetings in the Piraeus are attested only in literary evidence (e.g. Dem. 19.60, cf. 125, 209, with MacDowell 2000, 232-33; other evidence, including for meetings or other gatherings in the Piraeus theatre at the time of the oligarchic revolutions of 411 and 404 BC, Thuc. 8.93.1, Lys. 13.32 and 55, Xen. *Hell.* 2.4.32, is discussed by Csapo and Wilson 2019, 208-9). Inscriptions, however, show that it became a regular meeting-place of the Assembly in the last quarter of the third and through much of the second century (see e.g. [IG II³ 1, 1142](#), of 229/8-224/3 BC, [IG II³ 1, 1172](#), of 207/6 BC, etc.). Csapo and Wilson, 209-10, suggest that in the second century these meetings took place in the newly built (or re-constructed) stone theatre at Zea (cf. *IG II² 2334* with Tracy 1990, 149, 155, 156; Garland 1987, 220).

⁵³ [IG II³ 1, 416](#) = Csapo and Wilson 2019, 216-20. It seems eventually to have been set up in the theatre at Athens. Cf. above n. 48.

⁵⁴ [IG II³ 1, 429](#) with *ZPE* 161, 2007, 74-77 = *IALD* 198-202.

⁵⁵ Csapo and Wilson 2019, 208.

2 LEASE OF PUBLIC LAND BY THE DEME PIRAEUS, 321/0 or 318/7 BC. BM 1785,0527.9. Findspot not recorded (Athens?, see [sect. 1.2](#)). Stele of white marble with pedimental moulding, broken at the bottom. H. 0.355, w. 0.371, th. 0.08. L. h. 0.006. Small, fairly closely spaced, lettering typical of the period (cf. [sect. 1.3](#)), E with horizontals of equal length, splayed M/Σ, Π usually with shorter right vertical, Υ normally with three strokes, sometimes two, Φ with bottom of oval sometimes flattened (l. 1), fairly small O and Ω, the latter with short horizontals and open at the bottom. Letters create impression that they were cut at speed, and slightly carelessly, with several mistakes and omissions (see app. crit.).

Eds. Chandler 1774, 74 no. 110 with notes p. xxxi (*CIG* I 103); Hicks, *GIBM* I 13* (*IG* II 1059; R. Dareste, B. Haussoulier, T. Reinach, *Inscr. jur. grec.* (1895) no. 13; *Syll.*² 534; *Syll.*³ 965); *IG* II² 2498; Cook 1987, 31-33 (ph.); Pernin 2014, 60-64 no. 11*.

Cf. Behrend 1970, 85-86 no. 29; Whitehead 1986, 385 no. 87. Autopsy Lambert 2019. Gallery 78, Classical Inscriptions. *Fig. 2*.

321/0 or 318/7 BC ἐπὶ Ἀρχίππου ἄρχοντος, Φρυνίωνος δημαρχοῦ[ντος] *on moulding*

[κ]ατὰ τάδε μισθοῦσιν Πειραιεῖς Παραλίαν καὶ Ἀλμυρί- stoich. 42-43
 [δ]α καὶ τὸ Θησεῖον καὶ τὰλλα τεμένη ἅπαντα· τοὺς μισθω-
 [σ]αμένους ὑπὲρ : Δ : δραχμὰς καθιστάναι ἀποτίμημα τῆς μ-
 5 [ι]σθώσεως ἀξιόχρεων, τοὺς δὲ ἐντὸς Δ δραχμῶν ἐγγυ<η>τῆ-
 γ ἀποδιδόμενον τὰ ἑαυτοῦ τῆς μισθώσεως· ἐπὶ τοῖσδε μ-
 [ισ]θοῦσιν ἀνεπιτίμητα καὶ ἀτελῆ· ἐὰν δέ τις εἰσφορὰ γ-
 ἴγνηται ἀπὸ τῶν χωρίων τοῦ τιμήματος, τοὺς δημότας ε-
 [ι]σφέρειν· τὴν δὲ ὕλιν καὶ τὴν γῆν μὴ ἐξέστω ἐξάγειν το-
 10 [ύ]ς μισθωσαμένους μήτε ἐκ τοῦ Θησείου μήτε ἐκ τῶν ἄλλ-
 ων τεμενῶν, μηδὲ τὴν ὕλην <ἄ>λλ'οσ' ἢ τῶι χωρίω· οἱ μισ<θω>-
 σάμενοι τὸ Θεσμοφόριον καὶ τὸ τοῦ Σχοινοῦντος καὶ <τ>'-
 ἄλλα ἐννόμια τὴν μίσθω<σ>ιν καταθήσουσι τὴν μὲν ἡμίσε-
 εαν ἐν τῶι Ἑκατομβαιῶνι, τὴν δὲ ἡμίσεαν ἐν τῶι Ποσιδε-
 15 ῶνι· οἱ μισθωσάμενοι Παραλίαν καὶ Ἀλμυρίδα καὶ τὸ Θη-
 σεῖον καὶ τὰλλα εἴ ποῦ τί ἐστίν, ὅσα οἶόν τε καὶ θεμιτόν
 ἐστίν ἐργάσιμα ποεῖν, κατὰ τάδε ἐργάσσονται· τὰ μὲν ἐ-
 ννέα ἔτη ὅπως ἂν βούλωνται, τῶι δὲ δεκάτῳ ἔτη τὴν ἡ-
 μίσεαν ἀροῦν καὶ μὴ πλείω, ὅπως ἂν τῶι μισθωσαμένῳ
 20 μετὰ ταῦτα ἐξ<ῆ>ι ὑπεργάζεσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς ἕκτης ἐπὶ δέκ-
 α τοῦ Ἀνθεστηριῶνος· ἐὰν δὲ πλείω ἀρόσει ἢ τὴν ἡμίσε-
 αν, τῶν δημοτῶν ἔστω ὁ καρπὸς ὁ πλείων· τὴν οἰκίαν τῆ[ν]
 [ἐν Ἀλμυρ]ίδι στέγουσαν παραλαβῶν καὶ ὀρθὴν κατὰ τ[α]-
 [ύ]τὰ ἀποδώσει²³]ον ὀρθαί[.]

2. *The Inscriptions. 2 Lease of Public Land by the Deme Piraeus, 321/0 or 318/7 BC*

Rest. Hicks || 5 ΔΡΑΧΜΑΝ and ΕΓΓΥΝΤΗ stone || 9 ὕλιν is retained by Hicks and Pernin, most likely correctly (see further below), ὕλ<η>ν Boeckh, <ῖ>λ<ύ>ν Dareste et al. cf. [IG I³ 84](#), 20 || 11 ΛΑΛ'ΟΣ and ΜΙΣ' 12 ΚΑΙΣ 13 ΜΙΣΘ'ΙΝ stone || 16 ΕΣΤΙΝ originally inscribed and corrected to ΤΙΕΣΤΙΝ || 19 ΠΛΕΙΑ 20 ΕΞΙΝI stone || 24 in. Dittenberger *Syll.*²

In the archonship of Archippos (321/0 or 318/7 BC), the demarchy of Phrynion. On these terms the Piraeans lease out the Paralia and Halmyris and the Theseion and all the other precincts: those leasing for over 10 drachmas shall take out security (5) to the value of their lease, those (leasing) for under 10 drachmas shall furnish a guarantor who will put up his own property as security for the lease. On these terms they lease exempt from assessments and tax-free; and if any property-based tax (*eisphora*) is levied on the value of the estates, the demesmen shall pay it; and it shall not be permitted to the lessees to remove the mud and the earth (10) either from the Theseion or from the other precincts, nor to take the brushwood elsewhere than on the estate; the lessees of the Thesmophorion and the (estate) of Schoinous and the other pastures shall pay the rent, half in Hekatombaion, half in Posideon; (15) the lessees of Paralia and Halmyris and the Theseion and of other places, whatever they may be, as far as is possible and normal practice for them to be worked, they will work them as follows: for nine years as they wish, and in the tenth year they shall cultivate half and no more, so that it may be possible (20) for the subsequent lessee to plough up from the sixteenth of Anthesterion; and if he cultivates more than half the excess harvest will belong to the demesmen; (the lessee) will take over the house in Halmyris roofed and in good repair [and will return it in the same condition] . . . good repair . . .

As we have seen, the Piraeus was not a typical deme, and the theatre lease, **1**, is not only unusual in illuminating local Attic theatre administration, it is unusual among Attic leases in relating to what, in modern terms, might be described as a municipal utility, albeit one with a religious flavour thanks to the association of the theatre with the cult of Dionysos. Most evidence for public leases, both by the city, and other public bodies, relates to agriculturally productive land and is part of the economic system whereby money was raised by the community to be expended primarily on religious purposes, including above all sacrifices.⁵⁶ **2** is much more representative of this pattern. It also, however, has striking

⁵⁶ For an example of a lease by the city see [IG I³ 84](#). For arrangements in a deme see especially the decree of Plotheia, [IG I³ 258](#), with AIO's notes (showing among other things that demes might also make their capital productive by loans). For a summary of Attic public leasing practice see

2. The Inscriptions. 2 Lease of Public Land by the Deme Piraeus, 321/0 or 318/7 BC

features. The theatre lease is of its time and place. It is not perhaps coincidental that the deme chose to make new provision for leasing its theatre in the period between Chaironeia and the death of Alexander the Great, when the theatrical life of the city, and its festival life more broadly, was a particular focus of attention; and the inscription must be understood in the context of the broader significance of the Piraeus and its theatre in the life of the city. We cannot be sure whether 2 was formulated in 321/0 or 318/7 BC, as archons by the name of Archippos were in office in both those years; in either case they were eventful years for the city in general (321/0 being the first year of the oligarchic regime imposed on Athens following defeat in the Lamian War and 318/7 the turbulent year that saw the democracy briefly reinstated) and the Piraeus in particular (with the installation of a Macedonian garrison a new fact of life in the deme in 321/0 and the Piraeus the focus of conflict in 318/7 between Polyperchon and Kassandros).⁵⁷ This inscription, however, betrays no sign of these disruptions. Whether, under the surface, they influenced the arrangements being made here (for example whether they necessitated a change of tenants), is impossible to say. The inscription conveys the impression that the agricultural life of the deme has a certain timeless quality, continuing regardless of contemporary events in the political sphere. As far as qualities of place are concerned, this lease vividly counteracts the impression so often conveyed by our evidence of the Piraeus as an urban environment. The inscription shows that even in this predominantly urban context there were significant spaces devoted both to cultivation (Paralia,⁵⁸ Halmyris⁵⁹ and the Theseion⁶⁰) and pasturage (the Thesmophorion⁶¹ and Schoinous⁶²).

Pernin 2014, 90-97. For a broader analysis of the management of sacred and public land in Attica see Papazarkadas 2011.

⁵⁷ On the events of these years see Habicht 1997, 42-53.

⁵⁸ The name connotes a coastal location. However, the relationship, if any, of this property to the hero Paralos, his shrine, the Paralion, and the association, the Paraloi, is obscure. Cf. [IG II² 1254](#), with AIO's notes; Papazarkadas 2011, 138. On the places named in this lease see also Humphreys 2018, 1101-2.

⁵⁹ A word meaning anything salty, including land (cf. *LSJ*). As Garland 1987, 7 and Pernin 2014, 62 n. 95, observe, its use in this context is consistent with the vicinity of salt-water. Whether there is any connection with the "Halmyrides" into which the speaker of a fragment of Aristophanes says his or her (female) interlocutor ought to have been thrown, rather than causing trouble for her daughter, is unclear (fr. 131 Kassel-Austin, cf. the note ad loc. and J. Henderson's 2007 Loeb edition). Phot. α 1018 glosses Halmyrides as a place in the "borderlands" (*eschatiai*) of Attica ("where they cast out corpses", Hesych. α 3201), but there may not be anything underlying these lexicographical entries beyond the Aristophanes passage, which may be a generic reference, like English "swamps" or "badlands", rather than denoting a specific place. Note that our Halmyris also has a house on it, which the lessee is to take over, and probably return at the end of the lease, roofed and in good repair (23-24). Whether this was a dwelling or a farm building is unclear (on the ambiguity of the term *oikia* cf. Lambert 1997, 226).

⁶⁰ Presumably one of the four Attic Theseia mentioned by *FGrH* 328 Philochoros F18, this Theseion is conventionally identified as the one where those living inside the Long Walls were ordered to muster at night during the crisis provoked by the mutilation of the Herms in 415 BC (Andok. 1.45, cf. Thuc. 6.62.1). On the uncertain identification of this Theseion with the foundations of a large rectangular building on a spur north of Mounychia quite close to the southern Long Wall, also a candidate for identification as the Thesmophorion, see Garland 1987,



Fig. 2. 2 © Trustees of the British Museum.

We encountered the demarch of the Piraeus in **1** being made co-responsible for inscribing a copy of the theatre lease agreement in the deme agora, and we saw that, uniquely among Attic demarchs, he was appointed by the Assembly rather than the deme. It is no surprise to find him in **2** heading this inscription alongside the Athenian archon. The demarch was the “eponymous” official of his deme, like the archon at Athens; and we may also probably assume that, like **1**, this lease was inscribed on his authority and

162-63; Pernin 2014, 62. It was not uncommon for sanctuaries to have productive land attached to them, cf. [IG I³ 84](#).

⁶¹ Also the subject of the deme decree, [IG II² 1177](#) (for a suggestion as to its site cf. previous note). We learn from that inscription that it contained an altar and a pit (for ritual use), that it was the sort of place where irregular gatherings of *thiasoi* had to be prohibited (cf. **4** with notes), and where traditional restrictions on the gathering of wood were to be applied. It is not clear whether it was leased out already at the time of *IG II² 1177*.

⁶² Like Halmyris and Paralia the name of the property is descriptive, deriving from *σχοῖνος*, “reed” or “rush”. As Pernin observes (62), the coastal zone in the area of Phaleron bay and the mouth of the Kephisos would have been a suitable location for a pasturage of this description.

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perhaps that it was also set up in the Piraeus agora. We shall also see him playing an active role in **3**, both ceremonially and administratively.

It was necessary to specify in leases the extent of the lessee's liability for property-based taxes, which fall into two categories, those levied by the deme and those levied by the city. We may infer from **3** that the Piraeus levied a tax on properties owned in the deme by non-members, the *enktetikon*, and it seems likely that this is the tax in respect of which the lessees are to be "exempt from assessments and tax-free",⁶³ though it may be that this clause was also meant to cover other locally agreed contributions, potential or actual, based on property holdings.⁶⁴ The *eisphora* (7) was an occasional property-based tax levied by the city.⁶⁵ By the early third century it seems to have become obsolete, replaced, it seems, in effect by *epidoseis* (voluntary contributions), and the latest literary reference to an *eisphora* is the retrospective one in Deinarchos' speech against Demosthenes in the Harpalos affair (324 BC).⁶⁶ **2** is one of a number of epigraphical references that show that it might still be envisaged as a possibility in the years after 321/0.⁶⁷ Sometimes in public leases, as in this case, the landlord is made liable, sometimes the lessee.⁶⁸

It was also normal for demes to secure their financial interests in leases, but there was a great variety in the methods they used, including fines or expropriation of the

⁶³ Papazarkadas 2011, 124-25, notes that there is no specific provision in relation to the *enktetikon* in *IG II² 2496*, a lease by the deme Kytheros to a man from Aphidna of a property in Piraeus. There are several possible explanations for this, including that, in specifying that the property is to be "free of all taxes" (*ateles hapanton*, l. 13), Kytheros meant to reserve liability for the Piraeus *enktetikon* to itself, or that the *enktetikon* did not apply at the time of this lease or did not apply to publicly owned properties.

⁶⁴ The existence of such other taxes/contributions is a possible (but uncertain) implication of **3**, ll. 25-26, specifying that the honorand is to pay the same taxes/contributions (*telē*) in the deme as deme-members. [Agora XVI 160](#) documents contributions by Piraeans to a construction project; for deme members electing to make contributions for common purposes, cf. [IG I³ 258](#) (Plotheia).

⁶⁵ See Fawcett 2016, 156-58; cf. [AIUK 4.2, no. 3](#), l. 36, with commentary.

⁶⁶ Dein. 1.69. I am grateful to Peter Fawcett, who is preparing an article on taxation in Hellenistic Athens, for discussion of the latest evidence for the *eisphora*. Cf. Thomsen 1964, 237-38.

⁶⁷ In leases, cf. *IG II² 2499* = Pernin 2014 no. 7, ll. 37-39, 306/5 BC (orgeones, the orgeones to pay), *IG II² 1241* = Pernin 2014 no. 14, l. 16, 300/299 BC (phratry Dyaleis, the phratry to pay). Cf. also the retrospective references in *Agora XVI 102*, ll. 15-16, an Assembly decree of 319/8 BC (foreign honorand had paid *eisphorai* levied by the People), *IG II² 554*, ll. 8-12, an Assembly decree of 307-301 BC (honorand had paid all the *eisphorai* levied on metics by the People) and *IG II² 505*, ll. 12-17 and 53-54, an Assembly decree of 302/1 BC (metic honorands had paid *eisphorai* to "ten talent" fund for building of shipsheds and arsenal annually from 347/6 to 323/2 BC, and are granted right in formulaic terms to pay *eisphorai* with Athenians in future). Papazarkadas 2011, 125-26 n. 122, is sceptical that there was a realistic prospect of levying an *eisphora* in 321/0 or 318/7 BC, in the aftermath of Athens' defeat, and views the inclusion of the relevant clause in **2** as a formality.

⁶⁸ *Eisphora* paid by lessee: e.g. *IG II² 2496*, ll. 25-28. Cf. Papazarkadas 2011, 125; Fawcett 2016, 168.

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property of defaulting lessees.⁶⁹ Obliging the lessees to provide guarantees was a not uncommon approach.⁷⁰ The precise arrangements made in this lease, however, are unique, with those leasing for more than 10 drachmas required to enter into a formal security transaction under which the guarantor would (presumably) be obliged to pay the rent in the case of non-payment by the lessee;⁷¹ while those leasing for less than 10 drachmas are merely obliged to furnish personal guarantors. We do not know the rents charged for any of the individual properties covered by this lease, but it is interesting that some were apparently as low as 10 drachmas.⁷² Papazarkadas guesses that the low rents related specifically to the pasturage leases. This is plausible up to a point, but not wholly compelling.⁷³ From ll. 17-19 we learn that the period of these leases was 10 years. There was no standard term for leases by public bodies in general,⁷⁴ but 10 years was the standard term for leases of sacred estates by the city itself.⁷⁵ The alignment may not be coincidental given the special public status of the deme Piraeus.⁷⁶ We also learn that, in the case of properties leased for pasturage, the lessee was obliged to pay half the rent in Hekatombaion (the first month of a year which began at the first full moon after the summer solstice) and half in Posideon (the sixth month). It has been suggested that this was because the tenant could be expected to have completed his regular harvest by Hekatombaion and his olive harvest by Posideon.⁷⁷ One wonders, however, whether, in leases of pasture, it might rather have had to do in some way with the seasonality of pasturage; or perhaps it was linked to dates of deme Assemblies.⁷⁸ The payment date for rent of cultivable land is not specified, at least in the surviving text. Pernin makes the

⁶⁹ Fines: e.g. *SEG* 21.644 = Pernin 2014 no. 16, ll. 7-11 (Prasiai). Expropriation: e.g. *IG* II² 2492 = Pernin 2014 no. 18, ll. 7-9 (Aixone). Cf. Ackermann 2018 no. 7, with commentary, pp. 204-5; Papazarkadas 2011, 119-21.

⁷⁰ Two guarantors are required in *I Eleus. 85*, 29-31 (lease by deme Eleusis, 332/1 BC, of quarries of Herakles in Akris).

⁷¹ The term used, *apotimema* (l. 4), recalls that commonly used for security transactions guaranteeing the property of orphans and dowries. Cf. Pernin 2014, 62-63. Since in such cases land is known to have been used as security it has generally been supposed that this in effect prevented metics, who did not normally have the right to own land in Attica, leasing properties of more than 10 dr. (see Papazarkadas 2011, 121). This is questionable, however, since (a) a metic could have guaranteed the lease on the security of land owned by a citizen, (b) it is not clear that *apotimema* necessarily implies landed security.

⁷² Papazarkadas 2011, 121, notes parallels, including the plots of land sold for 50 dr. (or less) in the *Rationes Centesimalium* (e.g. *Rationes stele 2B*, col. 2, F7), implying annual rental value of perhaps 4 dr. (cf. Lambert 1997, 229-33).

⁷³ It is not clear that the properties valued at 50 dr. in *Rationes stele 2B*, col. 2, F7, *eschataiai* (outlying estates) in Aphidna, or the *chorion* (estate) at Aphidna sold for 10 dr. on the Attic Stelai, *IG* I³ 430, 18, were used for pasturage. Papazarkadas further speculates that such low-value leases might have been taken out by citizens disenfranchised under the oligarchy imposed by Antipater in 322/1 BC.

⁷⁴ Pernin 2014, 63 with 502-3.

⁷⁵ *Ath. Pol.* 47.4.

⁷⁶ Cf. Papazarkadas 2011, 59.

⁷⁷ Pernin 2014, 63.

⁷⁸ Cf. Humphreys 2018, 809.

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attractive guess that (like the 10-year term) it was aligned with the city and payable in the ninth prytany.⁷⁹

The lease prohibits the removal from the properties of mud,⁸⁰ earth or brushwood.⁸¹ Mud had a value (it seems as fertiliser/topsoil) and is subject to special arrangements for its sale in the fifth-century lease by the city of the property of Kodros, Neleus and Basile.⁸² Under this lease it is to be retained on the property. Also unique to this lease is the provision restricting cultivation to the first nine-and-a-half years, so that the subsequent lessee may gain access to the other half in Anthesterion (the eighth month, so ca. March) to begin ploughing it up.⁸³

⁷⁹ *Ath. Pol.* 47.4; Pernin 2014, 63.

⁸⁰ The word on the stone is ὕλιν. As Pernin notes (63), there are no grounds to amend this to ὕλ<η>ν, “brushwood”, which appears just two lines further on. Such a redundancy would be very surprising. Nor is it necessary to amend to <ι>λ<ύ>ν, the normal word for “mud”, for as Hicks noted ὕλις, though rare, is an attested word (see *LSJ*), a variant, according to the *Etymologicum Magnum*, of ἰλύς by metathesis.

⁸¹ ὕλη can mean simply wood, but Pernin 2014 suggests that in this kind of context it probably designated specifically brushwood or undergrowth, used for making fertilizer, cf. *Xen. Oik.* 20.11.

⁸² [IG I³ 84](#), 20-23.

⁸³ For an explanation of the cultivation regime implied by this provision see Pernin 2014, 63-64.

3 DECREE OF THE DEME PIRAEUS HONOURING KALLIDAMAS OF CHOLLEIDAI. BM 1785,0527.7. “Dug up in Piraeus and kept in his house by an Albanian or peasant (ab Albano sive colono) near the temple of Theseus [= Hephaisteion]” (Chandler, cf. [sect. 1.2](#)). Complete pedimental stele of white marble. H. 0.8, w. 0.287 (top of inscribed part) - 0.345 (bottom of inscribed part), 0.31 moulding, th. 0.06-0.065. L. h. 0.005. Lettering shares most of the features noted above for **2** (cf. also [sect. 1.3](#)). P can be | (ll. 13, 20, 23, 24, 25), as can Φ (l. 29), A, E, Θ can lack central stroke or dot, Y is sometimes made with two strokes, O at end of l. 4 is just a nick.

Eds. Chandler 1774, 72 no. 108 with notes, p. xxxi (*CIG* I 101 + Add. p. 900); Hicks, *GIBM* I 11 (*IG* II 589); *IG* II² 1214 (*Syll.*³ 912); Csapo and Wilson 2019, 223-26 no. III Vv.

Cf. P. Gauthier, *REG* 92, 1979, 394-96; Whitehead 1986, 385-86 no. 89. Autopsy Lambert 2019. In store. *Fig.* 3.

ca. 335-315 BC ?	Διόδωρος Πειραιεύς εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ Καλλι- δάμας Καλλιμέδοντος Χολλείδης ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός ἐστιμ περί τε τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθην- αίων καὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸμ Πειραιέων καὶ πο- 5 εἶ ἀγαθὸν ὅτι δύναται καὶ τὴν εὐνοίαν ἐ- νδέδεικται ἐπὶ τῶγ καιρῶν, δεδόχθαι Πε- ραιεῦσιν, ἐπαινέσαι Καλλιδάμαντα κα- ἰ στεφανῶσαι θαλλοῦ στεφάνωι ἀρετῆς ἕ- νεκα καὶ δικαιοσύνης τῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμον 10 τὸν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Πειραιῶ- ν, καὶ ὅταν θύωσι Πειραιεῖς ἐν τοῖς κοιν- οῖς ἱεροῖς νέμειν καὶ Καλλιδάμαντι με- ρίδα καθάπερ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Πειραιεῦ- σιν καὶ συνεστιᾶσθαι Καλλιδάμαντα με- 15 τὰ Πειραιέων ἐν ἅπασιν τοῖς ἱεροῖς πλὴν εἴ που αὐτοῖς Πειραιεῦσιν νόμιμόν ἐστ- ιν εἰσιέναι, ἄλλωι δὲ μή· κατανεῖμαι δὲ α- ὑτὸν καὶ εἰς τριακάδα ἦν ἂν αὐτὸς βούλη- 20 ται· εἶναι δὲ αὐτῶι καὶ προεδρίαν ἐν τῶι θεάτρωι, ὅταμ ποιῶσι Πειραιεῖς τὰ Διον- ῦσια, οὗ καὶ αὐτοῖς Πειραιεῦσι κατανέμ- εται καὶ εἰσαγέτω αὐτὸν ὁ δήμαρχος εἰς τὸ θέατρον καθάπερ τοὺς ἱερεῖς καὶ τοὺ- 25 ς ἄλλους οἷς δέδοται ἢ προεδρία παρὰ Πε- ραιέων· τελεῖν δὲ αὐτὸν τὰ αὐτὰ τέλη ἐν τῶι δήμωι ἅπερ ἄγ καὶ Πειραιεῖς καὶ μὴ ἐ- γλέγειμ παρ' αὐτοῦ τὸν δήμαρχον τὸ ἐγκτ- ητικόν· ἀνειπεῖν δ' ἐν τῶι θεάτρωι τὸν κή- ρυκα τραγωιδῶν τῶι ἀγῶνι ὅτι στεφανοῦ-	stoich. 32
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30 σι Πειραιεῖς Καλλιδάμαντα Καλλιμέδο-
ντος Χολλείδην ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα καὶ εὐνοί-
ας τῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τὸν
δῆμον τὸν Πειραιέων, ὅπως ἂν εἰδῶσι πά-
ντες ὅτι ἐπίστανται Πειραιεῖς χάριτα-
35 ς ἀξίας ἀποδιδόναι τοῖς φιλοτιμουμέν-
οις εἰς αὐτούς. ἢ ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψή-
φισμα ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ καὶ στήσαι ἐν τ-
ῶι ἱερῶι τῆς Ἑστίας. *vacat*
crown

Diodoros of Piraeus proposed: since Kallidamas son of Kallimedon of Cholleidai is a good man towards the People of Athens and of the deme Piraeus, and does (5) what good he can and has demonstrated good will in critical times, the Piraeans shall decide to praise Kallidamas and crown him with a foliage crown for his excellence and justice towards the Athenian (10) People and the deme Piraeus, and whenever the Piraeans sacrifice in their common rites, they shall allocate Kallidamas a portion as to other Piraeans, and Kallidamas shall feast with (15) the Piraeans in all the rites, except those in which the Piraeans themselves customarily participate and no others; and to allocate him also to the Thirty (*triakada*) which he himself wishes; and he shall also have priority seating (*proedria*) in the (20) theatre, whenever the Piraeans hold the Dionysia, where it is allocated to the Piraeans themselves, and the demarch shall lead him into the theatre like the priests and the others to whom *proedria* has been awarded among the (25) Piraeans; and he shall pay the same taxes in the deme as the Piraeans also pay, and the demarch shall not levy on him the *enkтетikon* tax; and the herald shall announce in the theatre at the competition for tragedies that the Piraeans (30) crown Kallidamas son of Kallimedon of Cholleidai for his excellence and good will towards the People of Athens and of the deme Piraeus, so that everyone may know

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that the Piraeans know how to give worthy
(35) thanks to those who display love of honour
towards them. And to inscribe this decree
on a stone stele and stand it in the
sanctuary of Hestia.

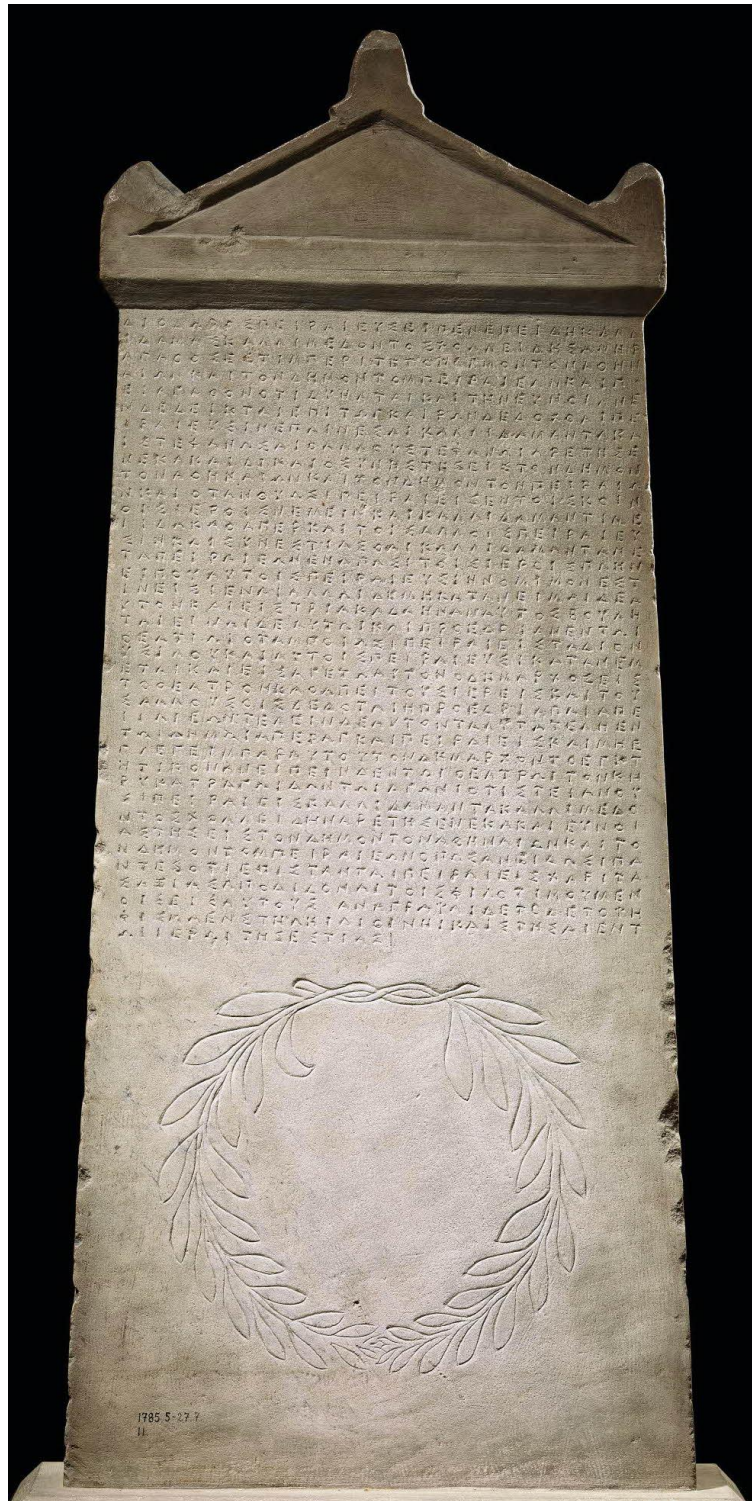


Fig. 3. 3 © Trustees of the British Museum.

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This remarkably well-preserved decree of Piraeus honouring Kallidamas of Cholleidai illuminates several aspects of the life of the deme. We must begin, however, with discussion of the date. An early third-century date was first suggested by Hicks and confirmed by Koehler and Kirchner,⁸⁴ and has been almost universally accepted, including most recently by Csapo and Wilson 2019.⁸⁵ **1**, however, should supply an object lesson in relying on the dates ascribed to inscriptions of this deme on palaeographic grounds by scholars of earlier generations. Hicks was inclined to date that inscription also to the early third century, while the *IG* editors opted for a mid fourth-century date (Koehler), or ca. 360 BC (Kirchner, following Wilhelm). It was only when it became apparent that the name of the archon of 324/3, Hegesias, was preserved in l. 9 that it was realised that neither Hicks's date nor *IG*'s were right.⁸⁶ Since the early third-century date was first suggested for **3** the study of lettering on Attic inscriptions of this period has been revolutionised by the work of Stephen Tracy. It is very doubtful whether, for inscriptions not cut by a mason identified by Tracy, there is sufficient basis for distinguishing early third-century from late-fourth century lettering. **1** is now known to be a work of Tracy's eponymous "Cutter of *IG* II² 1176", whose small identifiable output seems all to date to ca. 330-324/3 BC. The cutter of **3** is not identified by Tracy, which itself suggests caution, but it is difficult to identify chronologically significant differences in its lettering from that of **1** and **2**.⁸⁷ An early third-century date can not be ruled out on the basis of the lettering, but neither, I suggest, can a late-fourth century date.

The other main feature of **3** that has been latched onto as chronologically indicative is the allusion to the honorand's services "in critical times" (*epi ton kairon*, l. 6, "dans les temps difficiles", Gauthier, 395). Accepting the old dating of the lettering to the early third century, Gauthier was inclined to interpret this in the context of his argument that, after a period of separation following the ousting of Demetrios Poliorketes from the city in 288/7 BC, the city was reunified with the Piraeus ca. 281 BC, "the critical times" being the period of separation. But this argument is not only undermined by the general rejection of Gauthier's high dating for the reunification of city and Piraeus.⁸⁸ The Piraeus

⁸⁴ Koehler, however (*IG* II 589), was wisely tentative, raising the possibility of a slightly higher date: "titulum parte priore saeculi tertii incisum esse e litteratura collegit Hicks, qui etsi non multo a vero aberasse videtur, tamen dubitari posse puto, an titulus paullo sit antiquior".

⁸⁵ An exception is Lambert 2010, 170, "late-iv BC?", but without discussion.

⁸⁶ The unreliability of the dates once ascribed to **1** is also evidenced in its treatment by Behrend 1970, who, though correctly realising that fr. *a*, *b* and *d* should be dated to 324 BC (no. 30 in his collection), declined to associate them with fr. *c* (no. 31 in his collection), which he assigned to the mid-3rd century on the basis of Meritt's 1963 judgement, based on the lettering. As Stroud 1974, 292, aptly observed in publishing the join of fr. *c* with *a+b*, "The need for scepticism regarding letter-form dates, even at Athens where there are so many fixed points, is vividly illustrated by the present case, where two of the most experienced Attic epigraphists of this century [Wilhelm, dating fr. *b* to ca. 360 BC, and Meritt, dating fr. *c* to mid-iii BC] assigned to two joining fragments of the same stone dates which are as much as 36 years earlier and 74 years later than the true, archon year of the inscription."

⁸⁷ Cf. my general remarks on the similarities in the letter-forms of all six inscriptions in this set datable to ca. 350-150 BC, [sect. 1.3](#). No scholar has stated any criterion by which the letter-forms of **3** can be judged later than those of **1** and **2**.

⁸⁸ Cf. Habicht 1997, 124-25; Oliver 2007, 54-64.

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experienced a long succession of crises between the aftermath of Chaironeia and the early third century, any one (or more) of which might be referred to by this vague expression.⁸⁹ Prosopography is of little help in pinning down the date. A Kallimedon of Cholleidai is known from a dedication, perhaps by treasurers of Athena,⁹⁰ but its date can not be defined more closely than the second half of the fourth century, and while Kallimedon could well be our honorand's father, it is also possible that he was a son, named in traditional fashion for his grandfather.⁹¹ The office probably held by Kallimedon, however, is suggestive that this was a wealthy family: treasurers of Athena were traditionally appointed from the highest of the Solonian property classes, the pentakosiomedimnoi.⁹²

Deme inscriptions firmly datable to the early third century are unusual, which is somewhat suggestive against such a dating for **3**, though not in itself by any means decisive. As Whitehead noted, there are third-century inscriptions of the garrison-demes, Eleusis and Rhamnous,⁹³ and a third-century date has been suggested for the Piraeus decree, [Agora XVI 160](#). That, like the third-century date for **3**, is based solely on lettering and is questionable, but there is another deme inscription from the Agora which is dated explicitly to the archonship of Diognetos, 264/3 BC,⁹⁴ and since Whitehead wrote an inscription of the deme Halai Aixonides dating to the archonship of Ambrosios, perhaps 290/89 BC, has been published.⁹⁵

⁸⁹ Some of the detail is uncertain, but a broadly valid impression of the vicissitudes undergone by the Piraeus in this period is given by Garland's narrative of the history of the port, 1987, 44-50: focus of anxiety Post-Chaironeia (338 BC), 44 (cf. [IG II³ 1, 416](#) = Csapo and Wilson 2019, 2016-20); dramatic loss of Athenian naval power following defeat in the Lamian War and installation of Macedonian garrison in Mounichia (322 BC), 45-47; crisis caused by Polyperchon's actions after the death of Antipater, resulting inter alia in the whole Piraeus passing under Macedonian control, 319-317 BC, 48; Demetrios Poliorketes' destruction of the Mounichia fortress following the ousting of Demetrios of Phaleron in 307 BC, 49; Macedonian attempts to recover Piraeus ca. 305 BC, 49; resistance to tyranny of Lachares by troops from the Piraeus in early years of the third century, 49; reimposition of garrison on Mounychia by Demetrios Poliorketes in 294, 49-50. For a nuanced narrative of the history of the Piraeus in these years see Oliver 2007, 49-55.

⁹⁰ [IG II³ 4, 92](#).

⁹¹ *Pace* Gauthier, 396, Diodoros is too common a name to support identification of the proposer of our decree (no patronymic attested) with the Diodoros (also without patronymic) who was a councillor for Piraeus in 281/0 BC, *Agora XV 72*, l. 140. At best these two Diodori might have been homonymous members of the same family in different generations.

⁹² *Ath. Pol.* 8.1. Cf. however *Ath. Pol.* 47.1.

⁹³ Whitehead 1986, 361-62. This includes two firmly datable decrees of Rhamnous of the first half of the 3rd century: [AIO 823](#) (= *I Rhamnous 3* +), of ca. 267 BC (refers back to the honorand's services in archonship of Peithidemos, 269/8 BC; bodies passing decree unclear, but probably included deme); [AIO 844](#) (= *I Rhamnous 6*), of 263/2 BC (deme Rhamnous). For an honorific decree of the deme Eleusis and Athenians living in Eleusis of ca. mid-iii BC see *I Eleus.* 191.

⁹⁴ *SEG* 14.81 = *Agora XVI 192*. None of the other examples of early third-century decrees listed at Whitehead's n. 49 is very persuasive: *IG II² 1215* (deme unknown, date uncertain); [Lupu, *NGSL 3*](#) = *CGRN 103* (Phrearrhioi, dated on *AIO* ca. 335-250 BC), cf. *IG II² 1216* (very fragmentary, date uncertain).

⁹⁵ [SEG 49.141](#).

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There are, however, two other arguments for a higher dating for **3**. First there is the reticence of our inscription about the specifics of the honorand's services. At city level, though wealthy citizens made personal contributions of financial value in the fourth-century democracy and might claim credit for it in political and forensic contexts, the prevalent collectivist ideology seems to have precluded explicit reference to them in official citations for honours. This ideology begins to crumble in the Lykourgan period, however, when honorific Assembly decrees begin to hint at the financial contributions of wealthy figures such as Pytheas of Alopeke and Phanodemos of Thymaitadai.⁹⁶ The dynamic in this regard in demes and other smaller citizen groups runs a little ahead of the city; and it is not perhaps coincidental that it is in decrees of demes and other sub-polis bodies that, around this time and a little later, two notable city-level benefactors, Neoptolemos of Melite and Xenokles of Sphettos, are honoured explicitly for specific personal benefactions.⁹⁷ The decree of the deme Eleusis honouring Xenokles of Sphettos, [I Eleus. 95](#), is especially interesting for our purposes. Dating to just after the end of the Lamian War and the dissolution of the Classical democracy (321/0 or 318/7 BC), it not only gives specific details of Xenokles' personal benefactions (including "building a bridge, spending his own money on it", ll. 21-23), but the deme also finds it necessary to explain itself by stating at the beginning of the decree, ll. 7-10, "since the law requires that it be specified in the decree what benefit the recipient of a grant has done to the city". We do not know anything more about this law, e.g. whether it was recently passed at the time, and we can not be certain whether the decree dates to the oligarchic regime imposed by the Macedonians after 322 BC or to the briefly restored democracy of 318/7, but it would seem very possible that the reference in this decree to the "law requiring specificity", together with the innovative explicit reference to the honorand "spending his own money," reflect a shift of emphasis in honorific culture in these crucial years immediately after 322. In any case, there would seem in fact to be no inscribed Athenian decree, at city or sub-polis level, post-dating [I Eleus. 95](#) which is as vague and unspecific about the honorand's services as **3**.⁹⁸ I suggest that, in its reticence about the specifics of the

⁹⁶ Pytheas: [IG II³ 1, 338](#); Phanodemos: [IG II³ 1, 348](#). The phenomenon is discussed at *IALD* II, 195-96.

⁹⁷ Neoptolemos of Melite: [IG II³ 4, 1057](#) (decree of deme Melite) with AIO's notes; [I Eleus. 93](#) (decree of genos Eumolpidai). He is said to have been awarded a crown and a statue on Lykourgos' proposal for gilding the altar of Apollo, [Plut.] *Lives of the Ten Orators* 843F. Apart from [I Eleus. 95](#), Xenokles of Sphettos was also honoured by a decree of the genos Kerykes, [I Eleus. 87](#). It may be somewhat earlier and dwells on Xenokles' performance of public duties rather than his personal benefactions. [I Eleus. 101](#), honouring the demarch of Eleusis ca. 320-300 BC, supplies another example of explicit praise for sacrificing "from his own resources" (l. 10). Significantly, the probably somewhat earlier case of praise for provision (of choruses) at the honorand's own expense, [I Eleus. 70](#), l. 12, relates to a foreigner, Damasias of Thebes. Foreigners were not subject to the same reservations about explicit praise for financial contributions as applied to Athenian citizens.

⁹⁸ There are several decrees that date or may date later than [I Eleus. 95](#) that honour office-holders in more or less generic terms for the performance of their duties (tribes: *SEG* 3.116, *IG* II² 1159, *Agora XV* 69; demes: [I Eleus. 99](#), *I Rhamnous* 2, 14, 15; soldiers: [I Rhamnous 1](#), [I Eleus. 182](#), [I Eleus. 184](#)) but there is no indication that the honorand of **3**, who was not a member of the deme honouring him, held any office.

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honorand's services, and its likely implication that these in fact entailed personal benefactions of financial value at a time when there was still a reluctance to acknowledge such benefactions explicitly in the texts of honorific decrees, the decree would date more comfortably earlier than *I Eleus. 95* than after it.⁹⁹

The attention focussed in this decree on the cultic and theatrical life of the deme would certainly be entirely at home in the atmosphere of Lykourgan Athens. More specifically, the award of honours in this decree is formulated in strikingly similar terms to a decree of the deme Eleusis honouring Derkylos of Hagnous for the provision he made for the education of Eleusinian boys, and which is datable to ca. 319/8 BC.¹⁰⁰ Both decrees make provision for announcement of the crown at the Dionysia (admittedly a common feature of deme decrees, not limited to the Lykourgan period), for *ateleia* and *proedria*, and for shares in deme sacrifices.

I conclude that **3** most likely dates to the late fourth century, quite likely to around the same period as the two dated inscriptions of this deme in the British Museum.

The crown awarded in l. 8 is a ubiquitous mark of honour in decrees of this type, but the remaining provisions are all of considerable interest. It is thanks in large part to the abundant epigraphical record that we are familiar with the demes as communities preoccupied with, and defined in large measure by, their common cultic activities, above all sacrifice and the feasting which usually followed it; and yet Piraeus, as we have seen, was anything but a conventional deme, with deme members very much in a minority in the port. Here we see it recognising the benefaction of a non-member by incorporating him into the religious life of the deme, while also maintaining exclusion from a hard core of rites reserved for demesmen alone. In doing so the decree reveals that the deme was organised into subgroups for sacrificial purposes, *triakades*, apparently groups of thirty men.¹⁰¹ Such groups are attested in other sizeable demes, notably in a recently published inscription from Aixone (bouleutic quota 11?) which attests to sacrificial groups named "Fifties" (*pentekostyes*).¹⁰²

We observed the deme Piraeus in **1** reserving priority seating in the theatre for certain office-holders and specific grantees of the privilege, as did other demes with theatres and the city in respect of the city theatre of Dionysos. At city level the specific

⁹⁹ Delphine Ackermann suggests to me that the context of Kallidamas' services might have been diplomatic, comparing the decree of the deme Aixone honouring Demetrios of Phaleron, *IG II² 1201* = Ackermann 2018, no. 6, with pp. 149-50, which emphasises Demetrios' role in reconciling pro- and anti-Macedonian factions and hence re-unifying the city and the Piraeus. But the Aixone decree differs from ours precisely in spelling out the character of Demetrios' services. If Kallidamas had performed such services, why were they not specified in our decree? The silence as to specifics in our decree is to my mind more suggestive of a personal benefaction of financial value.

¹⁰⁰ *I Eleus. 99*, a work of Tracy's Cutter of *IG II² 1187*, 326/5-318 BC. The honorand is referred to in l. 2 of the decree as general, and a Derkylos is attested in literary sources as general in 319/8 BC (Plut. *Phok.* 32, Nepos *Phok.* 2).

¹⁰¹ At Pollux 8.111 a *triakas* is one of thirty groups ("*gene*") consisting of thirty men. Cf. Ackermann 2018, 291 n. 96.

¹⁰² *SEG 54.214* = Ackermann 2018 no. 15, ll. 36-37: "and whenever one of the Fifties sacrifices anywhere at the hero-shrines ..." (cf. AIO's note; Ackermann 2018, 290-92). Compare too the association divided into thiasoi evidenced by *SEG 47.187*.

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grants were typically awarded to foreigners as one of the “highest honours”, alongside other honours such as a statue and perpetual dining rights in the city hall. Ll. 19-25 of **3** is the only known specific grant of *proedria* made by the deme Piraeus, and it is notable that the deme mirrors the city’s common practice in awarding the privilege to an “outsider”.¹⁰³ In this case the interconnection of deme with city practice is further emphasised by the award in 307/6 BC by the city itself of *proedria* in the Piraeus theatre to ambassadors from Kolophon, albeit for a single festival rather than in perpetuity.¹⁰⁴ The detail of the demarch escorting Kallidamas to his place at the Dionysia, along with others who enjoyed the privilege, has no parallel in the provisions of city decrees; but it is interesting in this context that the decree specifies that Kallidamas’ seat should be in the area reserved for Piraeans who hold the privilege, implying that the award takes place against the background of a degree of conscious segregation of Piraeans and non-Piraeans of a kind similar to that which this decree implies in a sacrificial context.

Ll. 25-27 puts Kallidamas on an equal footing with demesmen as regards taxation, a provision that also mirrors one not infrequently found in Assembly decrees honouring foreigners.¹⁰⁵ Especially notable is the implication that the deme normally levied a tax on non-deme members who owned property in the deme, the *enktetikon*, which would clearly be a valuable source of income for a deme the majority of whose residents and in-deme property owners were not members.¹⁰⁶ There is some evidence for it in other demes (Eleusis and Coastal Lamprai), though we do not know if it was ubiquitous.¹⁰⁷ As Whitehead has noted, the logical connection between this clause and the immediately preceding one (ll. 25-26) is not quite clear,¹⁰⁸ but it seems from those lines that there were other “taxes” or “contributions” which deme members were obliged to pay. Again this was also the case in some other demes.¹⁰⁹

The final substantive clause at ll. 28-36, providing for announcement of the crown in the theatre, at the competition in tragedies, also parallels a provision sometimes found in decrees of the city.¹¹⁰ As we saw in [AIUK 4.2](#), at this period at city level it seems to be particularly associated with honorands who had made a stand on behalf of “freedom and democracy”.¹¹¹ There is no equivalent implication in a deme context. The wording is unusually explicit, however, about the purpose of the announcement: “so that everyone may know that the Piraeans know how to give worthy thanks to those who display love of honour towards them”. This type of “hortatory intention” clause had been introduced into Assembly decrees from the 340s, where I have suggested that the development was perhaps connected with anxieties, real and imagined, caused by the growth of Macedonian

¹⁰³ Cf. [I Eleus. 99](#), in which the deme Eleusis awards the same privilege to Derkylos of Hagnous.

¹⁰⁴ [IG II² 456](#).

¹⁰⁵ Cf. at this period [IG II³ 1, 302](#), ll. 34-35; [316](#), ll. 27-28; [352](#), ll. 31-32; [367](#), ll. 21-22.

¹⁰⁶ Note that a wealthy man like Apollodoros might own property in three different demes, [Dem.] 50.9.

¹⁰⁷ Whitehead 1986, 76, 150.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Whitehead 1986, 82 n. 64.

¹⁰⁹ E.g. Plotheia, [IG I³ 258](#), ll. 28-33 with AIO’s note (cf. Whitehead 1986, 151).

¹¹⁰ Csapo and Wilson 2019, 226, note parallels in other demes.

¹¹¹ [AIUK 4.2](#), pp. 96-98.

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power.¹¹² Its occurrence in deme decrees from about the same time raises questions about the direction of influence. Were demes following a practice established centrally, or was the initiative rather with the demes? Robin Osborne has recently made a case that the local dynamic was prior¹¹³ and that this, and indeed the whole structure of honorific decrees and incentives to euergetism in demes, was driven by a stronger sense of the community's dependence on voluntary benefactions locally than existed centrally, where citizens were more subject to collective obligations.¹¹⁴ The interaction between local and central dynamics in this area is perhaps too complex and opaque to yield to wholly convincing analysis; one might expect influences to be operative in both directions; but one factor that would seem to be germane is that Kallidamas was not a member of the deme. Demes certainly honoured their own members at this period, but it would seem relevant to understanding the emphasis placed on the hortatory intention in this case that we are in the Piraeus, a deme whose members, as we have seen, were in a minority in their own deme, and which depended, therefore, particularly starkly on benefactions by those outside the community of demesmen, narrowly defined. The parallel, at central level, is in this respect therefore perhaps less the Assembly decree honouring Athenian citizens, and more the Assembly decree honouring foreigners, a genre which had a much longer epigraphic history than the decree honouring citizens, extending back into the fifth century. In effect the deme Piraeus is doing here something like the city in the decrees proposed by Lykourgos for Eudemos of Plataia¹¹⁵ for his contributions to building works or Sopatros of Akragas for his contributions to the grain supply.¹¹⁶ And the latter decree, which includes the provision of a theatre seat at the upcoming City Dionysia, reminds us of another relevant factor: it is surely no coincidence that the hortatory intention clause is attached to announcement of the crown at the Piraeus Dionysia, the occasion of the year above all when the deme acted as host to the wider community and ideally suited, at deme level, as its equivalent was at city level, for displaying its gratitude to its external benefactors. In short we see the deme Piraeus here seeking to maximise the effectiveness of this honorific decree as a lever to manipulate for its benefit the *philotimia* of wealthy non-members.¹¹⁷

The location of the sanctuary of Hestia in Piraeus, stipulated in ll. 36-38 as place of erection of the decree, has not been identified, but is generally supposed to have been in or close to the Piraeus Agora. In Athens Hestia resided within the *prytaneion*, and it may be that there was a comparable arrangement in the Piraeus.¹¹⁸ Deme decrees were not infrequently erected in sanctuaries, sometimes specifically relevant to the subject matter of

¹¹² Cf. Lambert 2011a.

¹¹³ There is an appreciative reference to *philotimia* in the decree of Halai Aixonides, [RO 46](#), perhaps datable ca. 360-350 BC, slightly earlier than its occurrence in Assembly decrees.

¹¹⁴ Osborne 2019.

¹¹⁵ [IG II³ 1, 352](#).

¹¹⁶ [IG II³ 1, 432](#).

¹¹⁷ This was also a factor in some other honorific decrees of demes, e.g. [IG II² 1186 = I Eleus. 70](#), where the honorand of a decree of Eleusis is not an Athenian at all, but a Theban, Damasias. Cf. Osborne 2019, 151; Csapo and Wilson 2019, 95-102.

¹¹⁸ Garland 1987, 75, 141. Cf. Csapo and Wilson 2019, 226.

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the decree.¹¹⁹ [IG II² 1177](#), for example, relating to the Thesmophoria in the Piraeus and related rites was to be erected “by the way up to the Thesmophorion;” but if Kallidamas’ services had related specifically to Hestia one might expect that to have been clearer from the text. More likely, this location was chosen as symbolising the hearth of the community to which Kallidamas’ benefactions had related and into which he is being symbolically incorporated.

As noted above, what exactly the honorand had done to merit these considerable honours is never stated, and personal contributions of financial value are probably implied. The decree emphasises the honorand’s services to the People of Athens as well as the deme Piraeus (ll. 3-4), but the implications of that are obscure. There is similar wording, for example, in the decree of Aixone honouring Demetrios of Phaleron for his diplomatic achievements;¹²⁰ but a similar emphasis occurs in relation to Neoptolemos of Melite’s services to the cult of Artemis Aristoboule in the decree of Melite honouring him.¹²¹ The only other clue is in the honorand’s deme, Cholleidai, a small deme of Leontis (bouleutic quota 2), location unknown, perhaps in the area of Acharnai.¹²² This was also the deme of the only known priest of Dionysos in the Piraeus, Meixigenes son of Mikon, honoured by the Athenian Assembly together with other Piraeus priests in [IG II³ 1, 416](#) in ca. 330s BC. A connection of some kind would seem possible.¹²³

¹¹⁹ Cf. Whitehead 1986, 96-97 n. 51.

¹²⁰ [IG II² 1201](#) = Ackermann 2018, no. 6 (cf. above n. 99): “since Demetrios ... is a good man concerning the Athenian People and the deme of Aixone” (2-5).

¹²¹ [IG II³ 4, 1057](#): “since Neoptolemos ... speaking and acting to the best of his ability for the Athenian People and the demesmen” (8-11). The law requiring “that it be specified in the decree what benefit the recipient of a grant has done *to the city*”, referred to in the decree of Eleusis honouring Xenokles of Sphettos, [I Eleusis 95](#), 7-10, may also have encouraged demes to assert benefits *to the city* in their honorific decrees.

¹²² Traill 1986, 130; Humphreys 2018, 936-37.

¹²³ We can only speculate on the nature of any such connection, but if the priesthood of Dionysos was appointed from a *genos* (cf. above n. 48), Kallidamas might have been a member of the same *genos*. As Csapo and Wilson note (p. 226), there is nothing in the phraseology of the decree to suggest that Kallidamas’ services related to the theatre; the crown, for example, is of standard “foliage” type, not of the ivy that was commonly reserved for services to Dionysos.

4 LAW OF A THIASOS. BM 1906,0409.2. Piraeus (cf. [sect. 1.2](#)). Stele of greyish white marble broken at the top. H. 0.206, w. 0.36, th. 0.37. L. h. 0.005. Lettering shows comparable features to those noted above for **2** (cf. [sect. 1.3](#)).

Eds. M. N. Tod, *ABSA* 13, 1906/7, 328-38; *IG II²* 1275; Marshall, *GIBM* IV 946 (drawing); Sokolowski, *LSS* 126 (*SEG* 21.534); Kloppenborg and Ascough, *Associations* no. 8.

Cf. *CAPinv.* 266 (Arnaoutoglou); Humphreys 2018, 404. Autopsy Lambert 2019. In store. *Figs.* 4.1 and 4.2.

ca. 325-275 BC

----- non-stoich. 35-40
 ----- εἰάν] δέ τις αι-
 ----- -ναι κατασ-
 ----- . αια τῶν θιασ-
 [ωτῶν -^{ca. 3}-]||[- - ^{ca. 7}- εἰάν δέ τις] αὐτῶν ἀπογίγνητ-
 5 [αι, φρά?]σει ἢ ὑὸς [ἢ ἀδελφὸς ἢ] πατὴρ ἢ ὃς ἂν οἰκειότατ-
 ος εἰ τοῦ θιάσου, τοῦ δ' ἀπογι<γ>νομένο<υ> ἰέναι ἐπ' ἐ-
 χφορὰν καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἅπαντας· καὶ ἅ-
 ν τις ἀδικῆται, <β>οηθεῖν καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς φί-
 <λ>ους ἅπαντας, ὅπως ἂν πάντες εἰδῶσιν ὅτι καὶ
 10 εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐ<σ>εβοῦμεν καὶ εἰς τοὺς φίλους· τα-
 <ῦ>τα δὲ ποιοῦσιν αὐτοῖς πολλὰ κάγαθὰ καὶ ἐγγόν-
 οῖς καὶ προγόνοις· ἐπειδὴν δὲ κυρώσωσι τὸν νόμ-
 ον οἱ θιασῶται, μηθὲν εἶναι τοῦ νόμου κυριώτερ-
 ον· εἰάν δέ τις παρὰ τὸν νόμον ἢ εἴπει ἢ πράξει, κα-
 15 τηγορίαν αὐτοῦ εἶναι τῷ βουλομένῳ τῶν θιασῶτῶ-
 ν, καὶ ἂν ἔλει αὐτὸν τιμάτωσαν αὐτὸν καθότι ἂν δο-
 κεῖ τῷ κοινῷ.

The improved readings of Marshall in *GIBM* IV (see the drawing, *fig.* 4.2) were overlooked by Sokolowski and Kloppenborg and Ascough. Rest. Tod 1906/7 and ap. Marshall. 1 ἀτ- ? Marshall || 2-3 κατασι[ταθεῖς Marshall || 3-4 π]αρὰ τὰ τῶν θιασι[ωτῶν ψηφίσματα ? Marshall/Tod || 4 εἰάν δέ τις οἰκεῖο]ς or ἐπιτήδειο]ς Sokolowski || 5 φρά]σει Wilhelm ap. Tod, καθῶ]ς εἰ Sokolowski fits the space less well. Later in 5 [ἢ ἀδελφὸς ἢ] has been recognised since Tod as the obvious restoration. Tod thought that it was too long, but Marshall, who also read the bottom left vertical of the following pi, showed that it fits precisely. It is therefore no longer necessary to consider alternatives such as [ἢ μήτηρ ἢ] (Wilhelm, Sokolowski), [ἢ ὑόνος ἢ] (Tod), [αὐτοῦ ἢ] or [ἢ γυνὴ ἢ] (Humphreys) || 6 ΑΠΟΓΙΚΝΟΜΕΝΟΙ, 8 ΕΟΗΘΕΙΝ, 9 ΠΟΥΣ, 10 ΕΥΙΕ, 11 ΕΤΑ stone (cf. Threatte I 560).

...
 ... and [if] anyone
 ...

2. The Inscriptions. 4 Law of a Thiasos

... the thiasos members
 ... [and if] one of them dies,
 5 either the son [or brother] or father or whoever is the closest
 relative in the thiasos [shall declare?] it, and both they (*scil.* the thiasos members)
 and all the friends shall attend the funeral procession; and if
 anyone is wronged, they and all the friends shall help him,
 so that everyone may know that we are
 10 pious towards the gods and the friends; and may
 many good things befall those who do these things and their descendants
 and ancestors; and when the thiasos members have ratified this law,
 nothing shall have greater force than the law;
 and if anyone contravenes the law either in word or deed,
 15 anyone of the thiasos members who wishes may make an accusation against him,
 and if he convicts him they shall penalise him in whatever way the
 association decides.

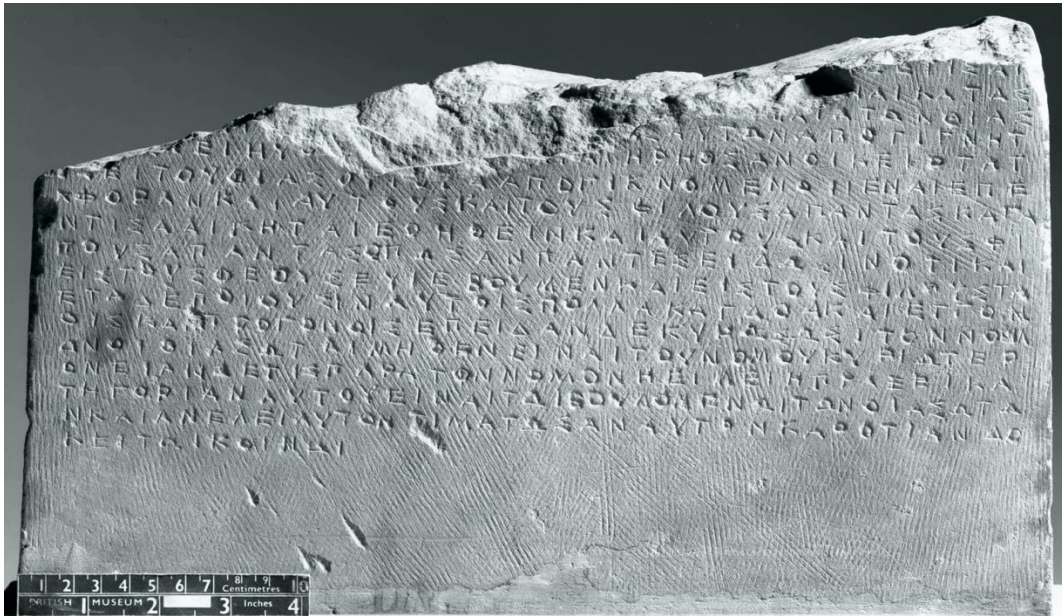


Fig. 4.1. 4 © Trustees of the British Museum.

... ΕΓΙΣΑΙ
 ... ΑΙ ΚΑΤΑΣ
 ... ΑΡΑΙ ΑΤΑ ΝΟΙΑΣ
 ... ΑΥΤΑΝ ΑΠΟΡΙΓΝΗΤ
 5 ... ΕΙ ΗΥΟ ... ΑΓΗΡΗΘΟΣ ΑΝΟΙΚΕΙ ΟΤΑΤ
 ... ΕΙΤΟΥΘΙΑΣ ΟΙ ΙΣΙ ΔΑΠΟΓΙΚ ΝΟΜΕΝΟ ΙΕΝΑΙ ΕΠΕ
 ΧΦΟΡΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΦΙΛΟΥΣ ΑΠΑΝΤΑΣ ΚΑΙ Α
 ΝΤΙΣ ΑΔΙΚΗΤΑΙ ΕΡΗΘΕΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΦΙ
 ΠΟΥΣ ΑΠΑΝΤΑΣ ΟΠΛΕΑΝ ΠΑΝΤΕΣ ΕΙΔΩΣΙΝ ΟΤΙ ΚΑΙ
 10 ΕΙΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΦΕΟΥΣ ΕΥΙΕΒΟΥ ΜΕΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΙΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΦΙΛΟΥΣ ΤΑ
 ΕΤΑ ΔΕ ΠΟΙΟΥΣΙΝ ΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΠΟΛΛΑ ΚΑΓΔΟΑΚΑΙ ΕΤΓΟΝ
 ΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΓΟΝΟΙΣ ΕΠΕΙ ΔΑΝ ΔΕΚΥΡΩΣΩΣΙ ΤΟΝ ΝΟΜ
 ΟΝ ΟΙ ΟΙΑΣΩΤΑΙ ΜΗΘΕΝ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΝΟΜΟΥ ΚΥΡΙΣΤΕΡ
 ΟΝ ΕΙΑΝ ΔΕΤΙΣΤΑΡΑ ΤΟΝ ΝΟΜΟΝ ΗΕΙ ΠΕΙ ΗΡΡΑ ΕΕΙΚΑ
 15 ΤΗ ΓΟΡΙΑΝ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΤΩ ΙΒΟΥΛΟΜΕΝ ΛΙΤΑΝ ΟΙΑΣΑΤΑ
 ΝΚΑΙ ΑΝΕΛΕΙΑΥΤΟΝ ΤΙΜΑΤΩΣ ΑΝ ΑΥΤΟΝ ΚΑΡΟΤΙΑΝ ΔΟ
 ΚΕΙΤΟ ΙΚΟΙΝΟΙ

Fig. 4.2. Marshall's drawing of 4 (GIBM IV 946).

1-3 are decrees of the Cleisthenic deme Piraeus dating in or around the last quarter of the fourth century BC and which, as we have seen, reflect the fact that the citizen demesmen formed only a small minority of residents of the port. At the same period associations not based on the traditional citizen structures of the Cleisthenic tribes/demes and phratries begin to make a significant impact on the epigraphical record, especially in the urban environments of the city and the Piraeus, and become dominant in the third and second centuries, as the record of the demes thins out.¹²⁴ These include groups known as “thiasoi” (their members as “thiasotai”), a generic term used for a small association, whether of citizens or non-citizens, and whether more or less permanent, usually with a cultic purpose.¹²⁵ This is one such Piraeus-based group, here passing a measure which it terms a “law” and which, from the last few clauses of it that are preserved, has every appearance of being the association’s founding constitution.¹²⁶ The lettering style is generally similar

¹²⁴ Epigraphical testimonia for such associations in the Piraeus as were then known are conveniently listed by Garland 1987, 228-41. Conventionally the “rise” of the private association is seen as connected with a “decline” of demes and other public associations (e.g. Jones 1999, 302; Ismard 2010, 327-41; Humphreys 2018, who at 403-4 explores some of the factors that influenced the “decline” of the deme, especially but not only in the Attic countryside, and the “rise” of the urban association). For alternative views see Gabrielsen 2016 (emphasising “how the emergence of a growing variety of private bodies was gradually enriching Athenian religious and societal life well before 322 BC”, p. 122); Ackermann 2018, 80-89 (challenging the conventional view of the “decline” of the deme in the Hellenistic period).

¹²⁵ Groups of *phrateres* might be termed thiasoi, [RO 5](#) (after 396/5 BC); [SEG 47.187](#) (ca. 365-330 BC) lists members of citizen families grouped into thiasoi (perhaps specifically thiasoi of Herakles, on which cf. perhaps *IG II³ 4*, 1156) and in [IG II² 1177](#) (ca. mid-iv BC) the deme Piraeus itself legislates against “assembling” thiasoi in the Thesmophorion (ll. 3-4). This should probably not be explained in the light of the pejorative implications of cultic activity in thiasoi which Demosthenes alleges Aeschines indulged in (18.260, 19.199-200); Demosthenes’ rhetoric is highly biased here and aimed against marginal groups. But the provision in relation to thiasoi in the Thesmophorion does suggest a tendency for cult groups to be founded more or less spontaneously in connection with pre-existing sanctuaries, as for example the thiasos of non-citizens, including women, worshipping Artemis Kalliste outside the Dipylon gate attested by *IG II² 1297* = Kloppenborg and Ascough no. 24 (236/5 BC) and 1298 = Kloppenborg and Ascough no. 20 (248/7 BC) (see now also *SEG 64.106* = C. Graml, *ZPE* 190, 2014, 116-26), which seems to have been distinct from the citizens who worshipped at the sanctuary (see Kloppenborg and Ascough, p. 113; for Assembly decrees honouring the priest there see [IG II³ 1, 1028](#) and [1339](#)).

¹²⁶ As there was a distinction at city level after the restoration of democracy in 403 BC between “laws”, including those making constitutional provisions, and “decrees” of the Assembly, for example awarding honours, which had to comply with the “laws” (cf. [RO 25](#) with AIO’s notes), there is a tendency for associations to use the term “law” (*nomos*) to refer to their constitutional arrangements (see the list of references at Kloppenborg and Ascough, 458-59, cf. 97 with Arnaoutoglou 2003, 126-29). Thus in [IG II² 1361](#) = Kloppenborg and Ascough no. 4 (ca. 330-324/3 BC), the orgeones of Bendis in the Piraeus refer to a measure making constitutional arrangements for the group as “this law” (l. 13), though in this case the measures appear to reflect revival rather than foundation de novo. *IG II² 1278* = Kloppenborg and Ascough no. 17 (272/1 BC) is an honorific decree, probably of a group of thiasotai (*dedochthai tois th[iasotais]*, 8), which apparently includes a reference to (the group’s?) “law” in l. 2. For measures of associations referred to as “decrees”, typically honorific, cf. e.g. *IG II² 1301* = Kloppenborg and Ascough no. 25, 15 (thiasotai or orgeones, 219/8 BC), 1326 = Kloppenborg and Ascough no. 36, 49

to 2 and 3, and in this case, as Tod saw, there are also orthographical features suggesting a date ca. 325-275 BC.¹²⁷

There are no indications in this case as to whether the thiasos consisted of citizens or non-citizens, or both, but it distinguishes between those who are members of the group and those who belong to a category apparently of looser associates described as “friends”. The most interesting provision is the one in ll. 4-7 relating to the death of a member: if the text is correctly reconstructed,¹²⁸ the (probably male) next of kin is to inform the thiasos and the whole group together with all the “friends” are to attend the funeral procession (*ekphora*).¹²⁹ There is a similar concern for care of the dead in another decree of a thiasos, this time from the city of Athens, which in 278/7 BC honoured its officials for “taking care in a fine and honour-loving way of those who have died”.¹³⁰ The underlying assumption is that a well-attended funeral procession enhances the honour of the deceased and their family.¹³¹ It is not clear whether we should also be justified in interpreting the perceived need for such provisions as a symptom of a degree of social dislocation in the urban environments of the Hellenistic Piraeus and the city. It is certainly, however, tempting to interpret the provisions in the light of the traditional restrictions on extravagant display in a funerary context that prevailed at Athens, and that may, at the time our law was passed, have been emphasised more or less recently by the funerary legislation of Demetrios of Phaleron, passed sometime between 317 and 307 BC.¹³² It is

(Dionysiastai, 176/5 BC). Where, at [SEG 44.60](#), l. 5 (244/3 BC), the thiasotai of Bendis on Salamis praise their officials for doing all that the laws require of them, it is unclear whether the laws of the association or of the city are intended.

¹²⁷ -ει as alternative for -ηι in the subjunctive becomes common from the late 340s BC and tends to oust -ηι altogether, as it does in our text (6, 14x2, 16, 17), from ca. 315 BC (Threatte I 380); and -τωσαν in the third person plural imperative (16) does not occur before 352/1 BC and is rare before 300 BC (Threatte II 462-64). On the other hand ἐχ- for ἐκ- in words like ἐχφοράν (6-7) dies out by the end of the fourth century (Threatte I 583); and εἰὰν for ἐὰν (14) occurs occasionally in the fourth century, but not later (Threatte I 152, who notes also ἄν = ἐὰν, 7-8 and 16). Together the evidence suggests a date for our inscription not very distant from 300 BC.

¹²⁸ Much depends on Wilhelm’s supplement in l. 5, φρά]σει. Vincent Gabrielsen suggests to me that the text might alternatively specify not persons who are to declare the death, but persons who are entitled to a funerary procession.

¹²⁹ For recent discussion of the *ekphora* in the context of Athenian funerary practices and legislation see Humphreys 2018, 319-60.

¹³⁰ *IG II² 1277* = Kloppenborg and Ascough no. 15, 14-15. In *IG II² 1278* = Kloppenborg and Ascough no. 17, 2 (272/1 BC, restored) and *IG II² 1323* = Kloppenborg and Ascough no. 31, 10-11 (194/3 BC), both from Athens, there is reference to payment of a “funeral benefit” (*taphikon*).

¹³¹ Emphasised by Kloppenborg and Ascough, pp. 57-58, who also note that the provision will have cemented bonds within the association itself.

¹³² Demetrios of Phaleron is best known for restricting funerary monuments (cf. [AIUK 3 \(Fitzwilliam Museum\)](#), p. 31), but he is said also to have ordered that burials were to take place before daylight (Cicero, *De Legibus* 2.66, cf. O’Sullivan 2009, 48), which might be interpreted in part at least as restricting the capacity of the funeral procession to create excessive social disruption. Demetrios’ measures in this area apparently supplemented and reinforced provisions already in place, including an allegedly Solonian law on the subject, Leão and Rhodes 2015 F 72 (= *De Legibus* 2.63-66, 59; Plut. *Sol.* 21.5-7; Dem. 43.62-63), discussed also by O’Sullivan 2009, 48-51; Humphreys 2018, 27-29. In Sparta the kings monopolised this type of display and

2. *The Inscriptions. 4 Law of a Thiasos*

not impossible that this kind of measure represented a reaction to the legislation; at least it illustrates the kind of social pressure to “make a good show” in support of the deceased and their family that such legislation was directed at controlling.

For the rest the provisions of the law are largely unremarkable and can be paralleled in other contexts.¹³³ One feature worth noting is the ratification (*kyrosis*) clause, an early example of an increasingly common feature in Hellenistic decrees, both public and private.¹³⁴

Humphreys 2018, 28 n. 64, remarks that Herodotos’ account of their funerals at 6.58 “represents the archaic aristocrat’s ideal”.

¹³³ Kloppenborg and Ascough, pp. 53-58, discuss the other provisions and provide comparanda.

¹³⁴ Kloppenborg and Ascough compare the resolution of the Soteriastai, *IG II² 1343* = Kloppenborg and Ascough no. 48, 44, 1st century BC, recording the result of the voting: “sixty votes in favour of ratification of the decision (*dogma*), those not in favour, none”. Cf. Gabrielsen 1994.

5 DECREE OF SARAPIASTAI, 214/3 BC. BM 1816,0610.237. Findspot unknown (Elgin collection, cf. [sect. 1.2](#)). Stele of grey-white marble, left side preserved. H. 0.355, w. 0.292, th. 0.08. L. h. 0.004. Lettering comparable with 1-4 (cf. [sect. 1.3](#)).

Eds. *CIG* I 120 + Add. p. 901* (from Osann and Rose); Hicks, *GIBM* I 21; (*IG* II 617); *IG* II² 1292; S. Dow, *Harvard Theological Review* 30, 1937, 183-232 at 188-97 (ph.); L. Bricault, *Recueil des inscriptions concernant les cultes isiaques*, Supplément I, in idem ed., *Biblioteca Isiaca* I, 2008, 5-6 no. 101/0201 (ph.); Kloppenborg and Ascough, *Associations* no. 26.

Cf. T. A. Brady, *The Reception of the Egyptian Cults by the Greeks (330-30 BC)*, (1935), 20-21; Tracy 1990, 47 (“Cutter of *IG* II² 1706”, 229/8-ca. 203 BC); Mikalson 1998, 180-81, 276; *CAPInv.* 351 (Arnaoutoglou). (Brief) autopsy, Lambert 2019; Pitt’s squeeze. In store.

214/3 BC [ἐπι Διοκλέους ἄρχοντος ? - - - - -] non-stoich. ca. 35
 - - - - - traces - - - - - [εἶπεν·]
 [ἐπε]ιδὴ ὁ ταμίας τῶν Σαραπιαστῶ[ν Ζώπυρος]
 [καὶ ὁ] γραμματεὺς Θεοφάνης καὶ ὁ ἐ[πιμελη]-
 5 [τῆς] Ὀλύμπιχος [ἀ]νεγκλήτους ἑαυτοῦ[ς παρε]-
 [σκε]υάκασιν πλεονάκις μὲν καὶ πρόσθε[ν - -]
 [- -] ἐν ταῖς [ἐπ]ιμελείαις [τα]ύταις [καὶ τὰς εὐ?]-
 [θύνα]ς δεδώκα[σιν] περὶ [πάντ]ων [κα]τ[ὰ] τὸν [νόμον?],
 215/4 BC [κατασ]ταθέντ[ες] δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ Ἁγνίου ἄρχον[τος¹³⁵ κα]-
 10 [λῶς κα]ὶ δικαίως ἐξῆ[χ]α[ν τὸν] ἑνιαυτόν, ἀγ[αθεῖ]
 [τύχει] δεδόχθαι τοῖς [Σαρα]πιασταῖς ἕ[παιν]-
 [έσαι α]ύτους καὶ στεφ[ανῶσ]αι θαλλοῦ [στεφάνωι]
 [σὺν τ]αινιδίω ὅταν πρ[ῶ]το[ν] θύωσιν ο[ἱ Σαραπι]-
 [αστ]αὶ καὶ ἀναγορεύειν [αὐ]τῶν τὰ ὄν[όματα]
 15 [τ]οὺς ἱεροποιούς ἀεὶ κα[θ’] ἐ[κ]άστην θ[υσίαν με]-
 [τ]ὰ τὰ ἱερά· ἂν δὲ μὴ ἀναγορεύσωσ[ιν ἢ μὴ στε]-
 [φα]νώσωσιν, ἀποτεισάτω ἕκαστος αὐ[τῶν Ἑ?]
 δραχμὰς ἱεράς τοῖς Σαραπιασταῖς, [ὅπως ἂν]
 ἐφάμιλλον ἢ τοῖς εἰς ἑαυτοὺς φιλ[οτιμου]-
 20 [μ]ένοις <εἰδόσιν> ὅτι τιμηθήσονται καταξίω[ς· εἶναι]
 δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν φιλοτιμ[ουμέ]-
 νοις εὐρέσθαι τι ἄλλο ἀγαθὸν π[αρ]ὰ το[ῦ] κοινοῦ
 τῶν Σαραπιαστῶν· ἕπαινέσαι δὲ κα[ὶ] στεφα-
 νῶσαι καὶ τὴν [π]ροεραν[ίσ]τριαν Ν[ικίτ]την ὅτι
 25 [έ]θυσε τὰς θυσίας ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις το[ῖς] τεταγ-
 [μ]ένοις. ἔναγράψαι δὲ τότε τὸ ψή[φι]σ[μα] ἐν στή-
 λει λιθίνῃ καὶ ἀναθεῖναι εἰς τὸ [Σαραπεῖον?].
 [τὸ] δὲ γινόμενον εἰς ταῦτα ἀνάλω[μα] μερίσαι ἐκ
 [τ]οῦ κοινοῦ τὸν ταμίαν Ζώπυρον.
 30 [προ]ερανίστρια Σέλευκος 44 Πυ- - - - -

¹³⁵ For the archonship of Hagnias, 215/4 BC, see *IG* II³ 1, fasc. 5, p. 291.

2. The Inscriptions. 5 Decree of Sarapiastai, 214/3 BC

	N[ι]κίππη	Δωρί[ω]ν	----	-----
	ταμίας	40	Εὐ(β)ουλίδ[ης]	-----
	Ζώπυρος		Ἄντι-	-----
	[γ]ραμ[μα]τεὺς		Ξε[ν- - -]	-----
35	[Θεοφάν]ης		Θ-	-----
	[ἐπιμελητῆς]		-----	-----
	[Ὀλύμπιχος]		-----	-----
	-----		-----	-----

I have made some adjustments to dots and square brackets from study of Pitt's squeeze and the BM photograph. Except where noted below, the above text is that of *IG II²* as revised by Dow || 1 Dow, assuming the decree was passed the year after the honorands held office (l. 9) || 2 -^{c.11}-ΟΣ-^{c.2}Α-^{c.5}-φαλ-^{c.4}- [εἶπεν]. Dow, -^{c.11}-ΟΣ . . IA-^{c.7}-IA- - *IG* || 6-7 [γενόμενοι] Dow, [κατασταθέντες] *IG* || 7 fin. [καὶ τὰς] εὐ- *IG*, ἀγα[θοὶ ? εὐ ']- Dow || 8 fin. κατ[ὰ] τὸν [νόμον] Dow, παρὰ τὸν [εὐθνον] *IG* || 9-11 ἄρχον[τος καλῶς κα]ὶ δικαίως καὶ ἐξ[ἤχ]α[ν τὸν] ἐνιαυτὸν, " ἀ[γαθεῖ | τύχει] Dow, ἄρχον[τος | [δίκαι]οι (?) καὶ .Σ.ΕΝ.Α.. ἐνιαυτὸν - - | . . .⁵. . *IG* || 17 fin. [F¹] Kloppenborg and Ascough after Dow, cf. *AM* 66, 228 no. 4 [K&A 39], l. 19, *IG II²* 1263 [K&A 11], l. 45, *IG II²* 1273 [K&A 18], l. 23, *IG II²* 1328 [K&A 34], l. 13 || 19 [ἐ]αυτοὺς Dow, αὐτοῦ[ς] *IG* || 20 εἰδόσιν omitted on the stone || 27 [Σαραπειῶν?] Dow || 36. 37. 43. 44. Dow || 40 ΕΥΠΙΟΥΛΙΑΔ stone.

[In the archonship of Diokles (214/3 BC) ?] . . .

. . . [proposed]:

since the treasurer of the Sarapiastai, Zopyros,
and the secretary, Theophanes, and the [manager],

5 Olympichos, have frequently shown themselves
irreproachable both previously . . .

. . . in these responsibilities, and they

rendered their accounts for everything according to the law (?),
and, appointed in the archonship of Hagnias (215/4 BC), they

10 completed the year well and justly, for good
fortune, the Sarapiastai shall decide, to praise
them and crown them with a foliage crown

with a fillet when next the Sarapiastai sacrifice,
and the religious officials shall announce their

15 names every time at each festival (*thysian*) after
the sacrifices;¹³⁶ and if they do not announce or do not

¹³⁶ It is controversial whether, in Assembly decrees, the stipulation that an item of business be taken μετὰ τὰ ἱερά means "after the (scil. discussion of) the religious business" (cf. *Ath. Pol.* 43.4-6), or "after the sacrifices". See most recently M. Canevaro, *Klio* 102, 2020, 26-35, at 33-35 (arguing, with Harris 2006, 91, and against M. H. Hansen, *Klio* 101, 2019, 452-572, at 464, that it means "after the sacrifices"). Since in this inscription we are dealing with sacrifices or a festival (*thysia*) rather than a session of a deliberative body, the meaning "after the sacrifices" is clearly more appropriate.

2. *The Inscriptions. 5 Decree of Sarapiastai, 214/3 BC*

20	towards themselves (i.e. the Serapiastai), knowing that they will be honoured			
	appropriately; and			
	if they display love of honour in the future it shall be possible for them			
	to obtain other benefits from the association			
	of the Sarapiastai; and to praise and crown			
	the president of the society (<i>proeranistrion</i>), Nikippe, because			
25	she performed the sacrifices at the appointed times;			
	and to inscribe this decree on a stone stele and set it up in the [Sarapeion?];			
	and Zopyros the treasurer shall allocate the expenses accruing for these things			
	from the common funds.			
30	President of the society	Seleukos	Py-	...
	Nikippe.	Dorion	...	...
	Treasurer	40 Euboulides	...	...
	Zopyros.	Ant-	...	...
	Secretary	Xe[n-]	...	...
35	Theophanes.	Th-	...	...
	[Manager]	...	...	...
	[Olympichos].	...	...	...
	...			

4 exemplifies the emergence in the Attic epigraphical record of the voluntary association from the late fourth century BC. In 5, of a century later, we encounter another such association, this one named, as commonly, after the god they worshipped, Sarapis.¹³⁷ The worship of Sarapis (or Serapis) was promoted in Egypt by Ptolemy I,¹³⁸ and on visiting the sanctuary of Sarapis at Athens in the second century AD, Pausanias recorded that Sarapis was a “god whom the Athenians introduced from Ptolemy”.¹³⁹ Pausanias does not identify which Ptolemy this was, but Ptolemy III Euergetes has been plausibly suggested.¹⁴⁰ He was Athens’ leading patron in the years following the ejection of the Macedonian garrison in 229 BC and eponym of Athens’ thirteenth tribe, Ptolemais, created in 223/2 BC.¹⁴¹ It is perhaps not coincidental that the only other epigraphical evidence for Sarapiastai in Attica is an honorific decree of another group from Rhamnous of very similar date to ours.¹⁴² It is an attractive possibility that both decrees date shortly after the introduction of the cult in Attica. We cannot be certain in the absence of information about the findspot of our

¹³⁷ For other examples of named voluntary associations see Gabrielsen 2016, 161-62.

¹³⁸ Plut. *Mor.* 361f-362e, cf. Tacitus, *Hist.* 4.83-84. For the early involvement of Athenians with Sarapis see Kloppenborg and Ascough, p. 142.

¹³⁹ ὃν Ἀθηναῖοι παρὰ Πτολεμαίου θεὸν ἐσηγάγοντο, Paus. 1.18.4.

¹⁴⁰ Mikalson 1998, 276.

¹⁴¹ Cf. Polyb. 5.106, 6-7; Habicht 1992; Habicht 1997, 182; [AIUK 4.2](#), p. 116.

¹⁴² [I Rhamnous 59](#) = Kloppenborg and Ascough no. 27, after 216/5 BC. For a recent discussion of cult associations of Isis and Sarapis in the Eastern Mediterranean, see Arnaoutoglou 2018.

inscription, but like all the other inscribed decrees collected by Elgin it probably originates in the city of Athens, and was set up in the sanctuary of Sarapis later visited by Pausanias, which appears to have been located in the south-western part of the city.¹⁴³

Unlike 4, this inscription supplies us with some evidence for the composition of the group; characteristically of Hellenistic Attic associations it appears to have been mixed in terms of gender and possibly also citizen status. As Vincent Gabrielsen emphasises, while voluntary associations imitated the polis and its public institutions in many respects, they departed radically from the polis in fostering a much more inclusive and egalitarian attitude towards conventional gender and status categories and restrictions.¹⁴⁴ Most notably, the president (*proeranistria*) of our association was a woman, Nikippe.¹⁴⁵ It is impossible to tell whether the male honorands and members mentioned were Athenian citizens. The absence of (patronymics and) demotics might imply that they were not, or it might simply imply that citizen status was irrelevant in the context of this group. The onomastics are also indecisive.¹⁴⁶ The Sarapiastai at Rhamnous certainly included Athenian citizens, both from Rhamnous and other demes; and indeed all the individuals mentioned in that inscription are named with demotics.

From the number of officials the group possessed and the space available for the names of members at the bottom of the stele Dow calculated that the group had 50-80 members, which makes it among the largest of Athenian voluntary associations for whose size we have evidence.¹⁴⁷ This perhaps suggests the initial popularity of a novel cult.

¹⁴³ Location of Pausanias' sanctuary: ἐντεῦθεν (scil. from the *prytaneion*) ἰοῦσιν ἐς τὰ κάτω τῆς πόλεως Σαράπιδός ἐστιν ἱερόν ("going down from there to the lower city is the sanctuary of Sarapis"), Paus. 1.18.4; cf. Dow 1937, 187-89; R. E. Wycherley, *GRBS* 4, 1963, 157-75, esp. 161-62; E. Lippolis, *Ostraka* 4, 1995, 59-67; Kloppenborg and Ascough, p. 142. Numerous inscriptions appear to originate from or refer to this sanctuary, some of them associating Sarapis with other Egyptian deities such as Isis: see e.g. *IG* II² 3565; *IG* II³ 4, 1113-1128, cf. 1129-1131, 1134, 1137; also *Agora* XVIII 106; *IG* II² 1035, 56 (*SEG* 26.121); *IG* II³ 4, 1343; 1331 (Rhamnous). The possibility, raised by Dow 1937, that our inscription originates in the Piraeus, is not very strong (cf. [sect. 1.2](#), n. 11).

¹⁴⁴ Cf. Gabrielsen 2007.

¹⁴⁵ The name Nikippe is not very distinctive, and is attested for both Athenians and non-citizen women (7 cases listed in the *Athenian Onomasticon*). For the title, *proeranistria*, cf. Thaleia, the *archeranistria* of *SEG* 54.235 = Kloppenborg and Ascough no. 47, l. 5. Compare also Epikteta, foundress of an association in *IG* XII 3, 330 (*CAPInv.* 1645). On the term *eranistai* ("friendly society") see Thomsen 2015 (cf. [Agora XIX H84](#) with AIO's notes). It seems originally to have designated an association based on contributions from members, but, like "thiasos", it came to be a generic term for an "association". Indeed in *IG* II² 1297 = Kloppenborg and Ascough no. 24, ll. 15-16 (326/5 BC) a "thiasos" is led by an *archeranistes*. The fact that, although mentioned first in the catalogue of members at ll. 30-31, Nikippe's services are referred to last in the body of the decree, ll. 23-26, is probably due to her tenure being permanent rather than time-limited, like the other officials. *Pace* Dow, it implies no denigration of her role.

¹⁴⁶ Dorion, for example, has 21 entries in the *Athenian Onomasticon* for citizens and non-citizens of all periods. Kloppenborg and Ascough, p. 143, repeat the outdated observations of Brady, 21, that Nikippe is not a known Athenian name and that Dorion appears as an Athenian name only in the late first century BC.

¹⁴⁷ Dow 1937, 192; Kloppenborg and Ascough, p. 142.



Fig. 5. 5 © Trustees of the British Museum.

Whether or not this group of Sarapiastai included Athenian citizens, the terms in which the decree is cast reflect those of contemporary honorific decrees of the Assembly, demes and other citizen groups. Under the fourth-century democracy officials were not permitted to be honoured until they had rendered their accounts (*euthynai*), and this is reflected in the formulaic wording of Assembly decrees honouring them, which were usually passed after, or subject to future, completion of this procedure.¹⁴⁸ In the early Hellenistic period this principle seems to have continued to apply, with the difference that

¹⁴⁸ *IALD* II, 10-11; cf. [AIUK 2 \(British School at Athens\), no. 2](#), with commentary.

decrees were normally passed only after the *euthynai* had been completed.¹⁴⁹ Thus in an Assembly decree of 303/2 BC it is stated in the clauses justifying the award of honours to a group of officials that they had “rendered their accounts according to the law”,¹⁵⁰ and in 245/4 BC it is stated likewise in the clauses justifying their honours that the market inspectors (*agoranomoi*) had “rendered their accounts.”¹⁵¹ Thus too the officials of the Sarapiastai had not only “fulfilled their responsibilities irreproachably” (5-7), but also (if Dow’s text is correct at this point) “rendered their accounts for everything according to the law” (7-8).¹⁵² One might be inclined to wonder whether the city’s laws in this area strictly applied to voluntary associations and indeed whether it is the city’s law or the law of the association that is referred to here; but this is perhaps to miss the main point, which is surely that this association takes itself seriously as one which models itself on the best practice of citizen bodies. In another familiar application of the principle of accountability, officials given instructions under the decree are to act in accordance with it or be fined (16-18).

We saw how, in 3, the deme Piraeus linked the announcement of honours for Kallidamas of Cholleidai explicitly with the “hortatory” intention of encouraging others to perform comparable benefits to the deme. We have precisely the same logic in this decree: crowning and announcement of the honorands’ names (11-16), and then after a parenthesis providing for sanctions against the *hieropoioi* if they fail to carry out the crowning and announcement (16-18), the hortatory intention is made explicit (18-20). The language, here and elsewhere in the decree, is formulaic and could be found in any decree of a citizen body; but there are distinctive touches. Announcement of honours on successive occasions is very rarely provided for in decrees of the Assembly;¹⁵³ here the decree requires the announcement of the honorands’ names at every sacrifice. Again, one might be inclined to question the practicalities: are the names really to be announced at every sacrifice of the group in perpetuity? Again, we probably should not press the point.¹⁵⁴ The grandiose rhetorical gesture, exuding confidence in the future of this newly established association, was more important, one suspects, to the drafter(s) of this decree than the mundane practical implications.¹⁵⁵

¹⁴⁹ Cf. E. M. Harris, *ZPE* 202, 2017, 113.

¹⁵⁰ *IG* II² 488 = [AIUK 2 \(British School at Athens\), no. 2](#), ll. 4-5.

¹⁵¹ [IG](#) II³ 1, 1018, l. 13.

¹⁵² For *euthynai* in associations cf. *IG* II² 1263 = Kloppenborg and Ascough no. 11 (ca. 300/299 BC).

¹⁵³ An exception is [IG](#) II³ 1, 298, where in 347/6 BC the Assembly provided for the crowning of the rulers of the Bosporan kingdom at every Great Panathenaia, i.e. every four years (24-25).

¹⁵⁴ Interestingly, however, the provision for announcement of honours after every sacrifice is paralleled in Hellenistic decrees of associations on Rhodes (e.g. *IG* XII 1, 155, D ll. 14-104, esp. 20-25 and 30-38) and on Delos (e.g. *I Délos* 1519, ll. 35-41, 45-51). These inscriptions are of later date than our decree, but they nonetheless raise the possibility that this was a practice imported into this group of Sarapiastai by its non-Athenian members.

¹⁵⁵ Another distinctive provision is the award of the foliage crown “with band” or “fillet” (13). L. Robert, *Bull. ép.* 1970 no. 260 drew attention to a parallel of sorts in the provision by an association at Eleusis in 238/7 BC for awarding such a fillet to an honorand, *SEG* 24.156, ll. 13-15. The significance of the gesture is obscure, however, both in that context and this, and one wonders whether it was driven precisely by an urge for distinctiveness among the time-worn formulae.

2. The Inscriptions. 6 Decree of an Association?

6 DECREE OF AN ASSOCIATION?. BM 1816,0610.287. Findspot unknown (Elgin collection, cf. [sect. 1.2](#)). Fragment of grey marble, broken on all sides. H. 0.15, w. 0.17, th. 0.125. L. h. 0.009 (l. 4 0.02). Α, serifs, hyperextended diagonals on Α/Δ, pi with short right vertical, outer strokes of sigmas parallel, omega (l. 4) with decorative triangular feet (cf. [sect. 1.3](#)).

Eds. *CIG* I 119 + Add. p. 901 (from Rose¹⁵⁶); Hicks, *GIBM* I 20; (*IG* II 640); *IG* II² 1342. Autopsy Lambert 2019. In store.

mid-1st cent. BC ? ----- ?
 ----- χ[.]! τῆς βο----- non-stoich.
 ----- ρο[.] Γαργητιο -----
 [- - ἐ]πὶ δέκα, ἀγορὰ κυρί[α - - -]
 - - - -δρος Λεω- - - - -
 5 - [τύχηι ἀγαθ]ῆι δεδόχθαι τοῖς Λ- -
 ----- ι κυρίας, ἐπειδ[ῆ - - -]
 ----- ὦνος τῆι δεκάτηι κ - - - -
 ----- νος θυσίαν - - - -
 ----- ἐστίν - - - - -

Rest. Hicks. || 1 [ἄρ]χῆι ? Lambert, τῆς βο[υλιῆς] ? Hicks || 5 Klaffenbach (*IG* II²) || 7 -ὦνος, scil. month name, -ovo[.] previous eds.

...
 ... of the ...
 ... -ros of Gargettos ...
 ... on the -teenth, principal meeting (*agora*) ...
 ... -dros son of Leo- ? ...
 5 ... for good fortune the L- or A- shall decide ...
 ... valid or principal, since ...
 ... on the tenth of *month name* ...
 ... sacrifice ...
 ... is ...
 ...

¹⁵⁶ At *CIG* I 119 (p. 161) Boeckh states “ex schedis Fourmonti”, but in the Add. p. 901 (cf. I 171, p. 301) corrects this to “ex schedis Rosianis”.

2. The Inscriptions. 6 Decree of an Association?

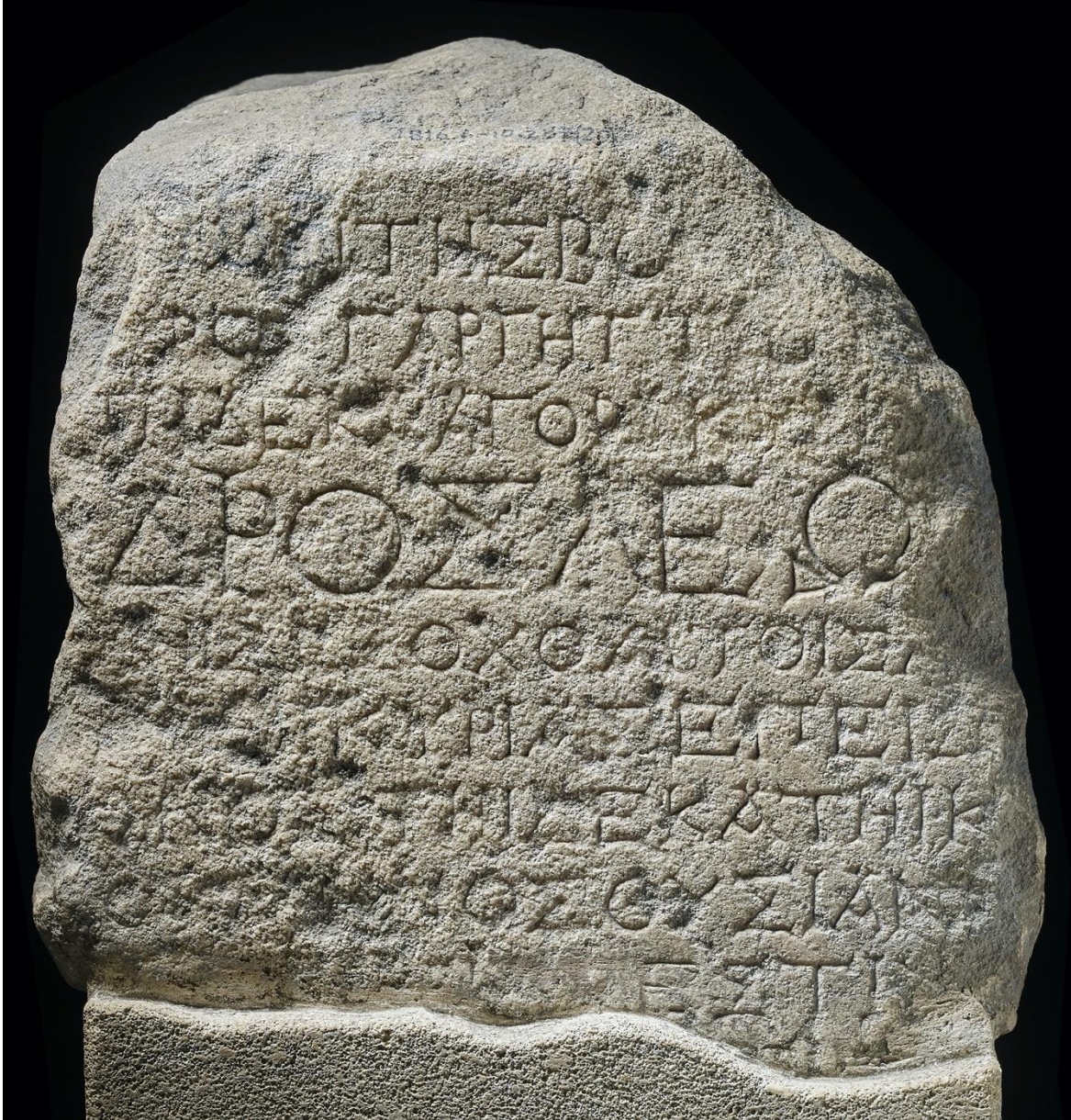


Fig. 6. 6 © Trustees of the British Museum.

This small decree fragment was tentatively dated by Kirchner on the basis of its lettering to the mid-first century BC (cf. [sect. 1.3](#)). As Hicks saw, the use of the term *agora* rather than *ekklesia* to refer to the principal gathering (3) implies that it is not a decree of the Council and People, but of a smaller group, more likely at this period a voluntary association or thiasos than a deme or other public association (cf. 4 and 5). L. 5 might suggest that, like 5, it had a name based on the deity it worshipped, e.g. Apolloniastai. In any case, the decree seems, unsurprisingly, to have related to sacrifice (8).

7 DECREE OF ATHENIANS IN MYRINA ON LEMNOS. EM 1215 (*a*), BM 1816,0610.363 (*b*, Elgin collection), EM 7737 (*c*), EM 7644 (*d*), EM 7520 (*e*), Ag. I 453 (*f*); *a*, *b*? (cf. [sect. 1.2](#)), *d*, *e* Acropolis, *c* between theatres of Dionysos and Herodes Atticus, *f* Agora, in a modern house wall south of library of Pantainos. Six fragments of a stele of white marble, *a* (preserving left side) and *b* (preserving back) joined by Kirchhoff, *c* (preserving right side and back) associated by Koehler (IG II Add.), *d* (with part of pedimental upper moulding and floral decoration in relief) and *e* (preserving left side and back) by Wilhelm ap. IG II², *f* (broken on all sides?) by Knoepfler. *a* h. 0.23, w. 0.274, th. 0.053; *b* h. 0.26, w. 0.37, th. 0.07; *c* h. 0.17, w. 0.27, th. 0.072; *d* h. 0.29, w. 0.30, th. 0.053; *e* h. 0.17, w. 0.26, th. 0.065; *f* h. 0.10, w. 0.30, th. 0.15. L. h. 0.006 (ll. 52-54, 0.007-0.01). “Cutter of Agora I 6006”, ca. 169/8-135/4 BC (Tracy 1990, 155).

Eds. *b* CIG II 2155* (from Osann and Rose); *a* K. Pittakis, *Arch. Eph.* 1853, 1015 no. 1848; Rangabé 1855, 81 no. 407; *ab* Kirchhoff, *Hermes* 1, 1866, 217-28; Hicks, *GIBM* I 22; IG II 593; *c* IG II Add. 593 p. 422; *d* K. Pittakis, *Arch. Eph.* 1853, 911 no. 1460; IG II 494; *e* K. Pittakis, *Arch. Eph.* 1859, 1869 no. 3618; IG II 424; *a-e* IG II² 1224; F. Canali de Rossi, *Selezione di iscrizioni storiche tardo-ellenistiche* (1999), no. 133; *f* B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 3, 1934, 67-68 no. 62 (drawing); IG II² 3215; *Agora* XVIII 33 (ph.); *a-f* Knoepfler 2018 (drawing *a-f*, ph. *c*, *d*, *e*).

Cf. S. V. Tracy, *Hesperia* 47, 1978, 262 and 266 (SEG 28.104); Wilhelm, *Attische Urkunden* VI (2006), 222-29 no. 32. Autopsy (*b*) Lambert 2019. In store. Fig. 7.

ca. 145 BC

[ἐπι - - - ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς Αἰαντίδος δεκάτης πρ[υτανείας - - - - -] **d** non-
[- - - - - ἐκκλ]ησία κυρία ἐν τῷ θε[άτρῳι - - - - -] stoich. 60-73
----- γαθο[. . .]ΟΜΟ -----
----- ΥΤ[. . .⁵. . .]Ο -----
(5) ----- ΕΣ -----

lacuna at least 1 line

----- της ----- **e**
[- - - - ψ]ευδεῖς καὶ -----
----- δὲ καὶ τῆς διαπο -----
[- - - - ὁ] δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίω[ν -----]
(10) ----- ν μὲν ὑπέμεινεν χρη[μα- ?] -----
[πο]λιτῶν ἕνεκεν τοῦ μὴ περιδε[ῖν ----- συμ?]-
πραττομένων ἀποστείλας βοήθε[ϊαν ----- καὶ καταστήσας τὴν ὥς ?]
δυνατὴν ἀσφάλειαν αὐτοῖς, πεμ[- - - - -]
τοὺς κοινούς εὐεργέτας ἀπάντων [Ῥωμαίους - - - κατὰ τὴν γενομένην ? συμ]-
(15) μαχίαν καὶ καταστάς πρὸς τοὺς ἀδι[κ- - - - -]
καὶ διδάξας τὴν σύγκλητον ὥς ἦσαν ἐ[ξ ἀρχῆς αἰ νῆσοι ? - - - τὰς κρίσεις ?]
τὰς διὰ τοῦ γενομένου δόγματος ὑπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου -----]
[Γ]αίου [Λ]αίλιου, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐπιγνόν[ον]τες -----
[. . .]ν [τὴν γε]νομένην εὐημερίαν το -----
(20) [- -^{c. 10} - - εὐ]αγγελίων θυσία -----

2. The Inscriptions. 7 Decree of Athenians in Myrina on Lemnos

----- πια καθὰ -----

lacuna

----- *traces* ----- **b**

[----- τῆς δὲ] ἀναγορεύσε[ως ἐπι]-
 [μεληθῆναι ----- τοὺς στρατηγούς· πέμψ[αι δὲ]
 (25) [τῆι Ἀθηνᾶι ----- στέφανον ἀ]πὸ χρυσῶν πεντήκοντα *vac.*
 [----- ὅπως ἂν αἰδί]ον ὑπάρχει παρὰ τεῖ θεῶι ὑπόμνημα
 [τῆς τῶν οἰκούντων ἐμ Μυρίνει ὑπαρχούσ]ης πρὸς τὸν δῆμον εὐνοίας, καὶ ποιήσασθα-
 [ι ἐπ' αὐτῶι τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν τήνδε· ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθ]ηναίων τῶν ἐμ Μυρίνει χαριστήριον τεῖ
 [Ἀθηνᾶι τεῖ ἀρχηγέτιδι καὶ σωτείραι?] τῆς πόλεως ὑπὲρ τῆς γεγονείας ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων
 (30) [συγκλήτου βεβαιώσεως τῶν ἐκ προγόνω?]ν ὑπαρχουσῶν νήσων τῶι δήμωι τῶι Ἀθηναίων,
 [Ἀθήνησι στρατηγοῦντος ἐπὶ το]ῦς ὀπλίτας τὸ δεύτερον Ἡρακλείτου τοῦ Ποσειδίππου
a [Ἰκαριέω]ς, ἐπὶ δὲ Λῆμνον στρατηγ]οῦντος Φιλαρχίδου Παιανιέως, ἱππαρχοῦντος τὸ δεύ-
 [τερον Τ]ελεσιδήμου τοῦ Ἀμι[ν]ίου Ἐκαλήθεν. χειροτονῆσαι δὲ τὸν δῆμον ἤδη πρέσβε[ις]
 [πέντ]ε ἄνδρας ἐξ Ἀθηναίων ἀ[π]άντων, οἵτινες ἀφικόμενοι εἰς Ἀθήνας καὶ ἀποδό[ντες]
 (35) [τόδε] τὸ [ψ]ήφισμα πρῶτομ μὲν θύσουσιν τεῖ Ἀθηνᾶι καὶ καλλιερῆσαντε[ς ὑπὲρ τῆς]
 [τοῦ δή]μου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων εὐδ[ο]ξίας τε καὶ σωτηρίας καὶ τῆς τῶν φί<λ>[ων καὶ συμμάχων]
 [τῶ]ν αὐτοῦ, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐμ Μυρίνει πολιτῶν, ἀναθέντες δὲ κα[ὶ] τεῖ Ἀθηνᾶι τὸν
 [στ]έφανον μετὰ τῆς προειρημέ[ν]ης ἐπιγραφῆς ὑπογράψαντες κα[ὶ] τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν Ἀθή-
 [νησιν] καὶ τῶν ἐμ Μυρίνει στρατηγῶν ποιήσονται τὴν πρόσοδον ἐ[ν] ἱεροῖς πρὸς τε τὴν
 (40) [βουλήν] καὶ τὸν δῆμον καὶ ἀσπασ[ά]μενοι αὐτοὺς συνχαρήσοντα[ι ἐπὶ τῶι νενικηκέναι τὸ]
 [γενόμεν]ον κρῖμα καὶ τέλος αὐτοῖ[ς] εἰληφέναι τὰς ὑπὲρ τῶν νήσω[ν] δίκας ? - - - - -]
 [-^{c.6}- τὰς] πρ[οτέρ]ας, παρακαλέσ[ο]υσιν δὲ τὸν δῆμον τὴν ἐνδεχ[ομένην] πρόνοιαν ποι]-
 [ῆσθαι τῶν πολιτῶν?] τῶν οἰκούντω[ν] ἐμ Μυρίνει· ἵνα δὲ καὶ ὑπόμνη[μα ὑπάρχει τῆς τῶν ἐμ]
 [Μυρίνει οἰκούντων] πολιτῶν εἰ[ς] τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων εὐχ[αριστίας καὶ εὐνοίας,]
 (45) [ἀναγράψαι τό]δε τὸ ψήφισμα [εἰ]ς στήλας λιθίνας διττὰς [καὶ στήσ]αι τὴμ με[ν] μίαν **c**
 [Ἀθήνησιν ἐν] ἀκροπόλει, τὴν [δ]ὲ ἑτέραν ἐμ Μυρίνει ἐ[ν] τῶι ἱερῶι τῆς Ἀρτέμιδο[ς]
 [-^{c.11}- ·· π]ε[ρὶ] δὲ τῶν εἰς τὸν [στέφα]νον καὶ τὴν θυ[σίαν] αὐτ]ὴν χρ[ημάτ]ων καὶ πο[ρ]είου
 [καὶ ἀνακομιδῆ]ς τῶν πρεσβευτῶν καὶ [τῆς ἀναγ]ραφῆς κ[αὶ] ἀναστ]άσεως [τῶν] σπηλῶν προνο[η]-
 [θῆναι τ]ὴν [βουλήν] καὶ τοὺς στρατηγ[ούς]. οἶδε] κεχειροτόνηνται πρέσβεις *vac.*
 (50) [-^{c.10}- -ο]υ Φρεάρριος, Φαιδρία[ς - - -]ς Ἀμαξαντεύς, Ἀπα[τ]ούριος Φι[λ]-
 [.]ου Μ[α]ραθ[ώ]ν[ι]ος, Μνησικλῆς Μνησ[- - -]εύς, Δημήτριος Διο[ν]υσ[ί]ου Φρεά[ρ]ρι[ος].

vacat 0.045

f ἡ βουλὴ καὶ [ὁ δῆμ]ος **c**
 Ἀθηναίων τῶν ἐν Μυρ[ί]νει οἰκούντ]ων

in crown

[- - - βου]λη[ν] ?

(55) -----

I have made minor adjustments to readings of *b*, letters on which are underlined. *f* is included provisionally on the basis of Tracy 1978, 262 (“a join [with IG II² 1224] seems probable, though I have not had the opportunity to try it”), cf. A. E. Raubitschek, *Hesperia*, *Index* 1-10, p. 184,

2. *The Inscriptions. 7 Decree of Athenians in Myrina on Lemnos*

Knoepfler 281-82. Rest. *d* and *e* Koehler, *a + b + c* Koehler after Kirchhoff, *f + c* Knoepfler || 2 κυρία added by Tracy 1978, 266 || 7 ψ]ευδεῖς Knoepfler 284, ἀψ]ευδεῖς *IG* || 8 διαπο[στολῆς ? Lambert, cf. l. 12 and [IG II³ 1, 1323](#), l. 58 || 10 χρη[μα- ? cf. Knoepfler 283 || 12 in. Pi read by Kalliontzis ap. Knoepfler 283, [π]ραττομένων Canali de Rossi, [τα]πραττομένων Wilhelm 2006, cf. Kallet-Marx and Stroud 1997, 186 n. 69 || 12 Knoepfler 284 || 14 Knoepfler after *IG*; [Ῥωμαίους] | τοὺς κοινούς Canali de Rossi; either word order is possible, cf. Knoepfler n. 98 || 15 ἀδί[κως τῶν νήσων ἀντιποιουμένους Wilhelm 2006, cf. Polyb. 30.20.2-3, ἀδί[κοῦντας *IG* || 16 Wilhelm 2006 || 24 [ἐμ μὲν Μυρίνει - - - - - , Ἀθήνησι δὲ] *IG*, rejected by Knoepfler 280, because the Athenians in Myrina would not have been entitled to place obligations on the generals in Athens and the generals in Myrina must therefore be intended here, cf. l. 49 || 25 [τῆι Ἀθηναῖ Ἀρχηγέτιδι καὶ Σωτεῖραι στέφανον ἀπ]ὸ χρυσῶν Wilhelm 2006, cf. l. 29, [εἰς Ἀθήνας τὸν στέφανον καὶ - - - ὀ]λόχρυσον *IG* || 26 in. ὄν καὶ ἀναθεῖναι ἐν τῷ ναῶι αὐτῆς Wilhelm 2006 || 28 ἐπ' αὐτῷ added by Knoepfler after Wilhelm 2006, 204;¹⁵⁷ τὴν omitted by Canali de Rossi || 30 ἐκ προγόνω]ν ? Knoepfler 289, πρότερο]ν *IG* || 32 [Ἰκαριέω]ς Tracy 1990, 155 (see below) || 36 ΦΙΑ stone || 37 fin. Knoepfler 274, after Wilhelm 2006 || 38-39 [Ἀθή]νησιν] Knoepfler after Wilhelm 2006, [Ἀθήνη]σιν] previous eds. || 41 fin. Knoepfler 274, after Wilhelm 2006 || 41 fin.-42 in. [κατὰ τὰς κρίσεις τὰς] πρ[οτέρ]ας Wilhelm 2006 || 42-43 Knoepfler 275, after Wilhelm 2006, cf. *Syll.*³ 618 = Sherk 1969 no. 35, l. 9, [IG II³ 1, 884](#), l. 7 || 44-45 [εὐνοίας] Wilhelm 2006, [φιλοτιμί]ας *IG* || 47 in. Beiname der Göttin? Wilhelm 2006, τῆς Λημνίας ? Knoepfler 276 || 47. 48. Knoepfler 280-81, after Wilhelm 2006, τὴν θυ[σί]ην and κ[αὶ στ]άσεως Wilhelm 2006 || 50-51 Φι[λίπ]του eds., but e.g. Φι[λί]νου would better suit the space available at the end of 50. For the name in Marathon cf. *IG* II² 1443, l. 8, *IG* II² 6816 || 52-56 ἡ βουλή καὶ [ὁ δῆμ]ος | Ἀθηναίων τῶν ἐν Μυρ[ίνει οἰκούν]των. | *In crown*: [Ἀθηναίων τὴν τε βου]λή[ν] | [καὶ τὸν δῆμον εὐνοίας] | [ἔνεκεν τῆς εἰς ἑαυτοῦς] ? Knoepfler, [ὁ δῆμ]ος | [ὁ Ἀθηναί]ων | [τῶν ἐμ Μυρί]νη[ι] *IG* (from *c* only).

Fragment d

In the archonship of -, in the tenth prytany, of Aiantis . . .
 . . . Principal Assembly in the theatre . . .
 . . .
 5 . . .

Fragment e

. . .
 . . . false and . . .
 . . . and of the . . .
 . . . the Athenian People . . .
 10 . . . supported [financially?] . . .
 for the sake of the citizens, not to overlook . . .

¹⁵⁷ Knoepfler, 272, suggests retaining syllabic division at the end of the line and dividing 27-28 ποιήσασθα[ι ἐπ' αὐτῷ | τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν τήνδε], but, as is clear from *fig. 7*, there is neither trace of, nor space for, any letter after the alpha at the end of l. 27. It is also clear from the photograph that Knoepfler's consequential suggestion that ll. 26-27 should be divided ὑπόμνημα [τῆς τῶν οἰκούντων ἐμ | Μυρίνει] is incorrect. ὑπόμνημα was the last word on l. 26.

2. *The Inscriptions. 7 Decree of Athenians in Myrina on Lemnos*

of those taking action [jointly?], having despatched help . . . [and having established the?]
strongest security for them, sending . . .
the common benefactors of all, [the Romans . . . in accordance with the alliance in place]
15 and having established against those unjust[ly . . .]
and having explained to the senate that [the islands] were [from the beginning . . . the decisions?]
arising from the resolution made by the senate . . .
of Gaius Laelius, with regard to the things they have recognised . . .
the success that was achieved . . .
20 good news . . . sacrifice . . .
. . .

Fragments a + b + c + f

. . .
. . . the generals . . .
shall take care of the announcement; and to send
25 [to Athena . . . a crown] of fifty gold (staters?)
. . . so that there shall be [an eternal] memorial with the goddess
of the good will that there is among those living in Myrina towards the People, and to make
[on it the following inscription: The Athenian] People in Myrina, a thank-offering to
[Athena, Leader and Saviour?] of the city, for the [confirmation] by the Roman
30 [senate] that the islands belong [ancestrally?] to the Athenian People,
in the hoplite generalship at Athens for the second time of Herakleitos son of Poseidippos
of Ikarion, in the generalship for Lemnos of Philarchides of Paiania, in the second term of office
of Telesidemus son of Am(e)inias of Hekale as cavalry commander. The People shall immediately
elect as envoys five men from all the Athenians, who, going to Athens and handing over
35 this decree, shall first sacrifice to Athena, obtaining a favourable outcome on behalf of the
good reputation and preservation of the Athenian People and that of its friends and allies,
and also of the citizens in Myrina, and having dedicated to Athena the
crown with the inscription specified previously, writing under it the names of the
generals at Athens and those in Myrina, they shall make an approach in the sacred business to the
40 Council and the People and, having greeted them, they shall congratulate them on their victory
in the judgement and the successful conclusion of the [litigation?] relating to the islands . . .
. . . the previous . . . , and shall encourage the People to make all possible provision
for the citizens [living in Myrina]; and in order that there may be a memorial
of the gratitude and good will of the citizens living in Myrina towards the Athenian People,
45 to inscribe this decree on two stone stelai and stand one
at Athens on the acropolis, and the other in Myrina in [the sanctuary] of Artemis
[*epithet*]; and the Council and the generals shall make provision for the money
for the crown and the sacrifice [itself] and the travel allowance and costs of conveying the
envoys and the inscribing and erection of the stelai. These have been elected envoys:
50 – son of – of Phrearrhioi, Phaidrias son of – of Hamaxanteia, Apatourios son of
Phil-os of Marathon, Mnesikles son of Mnes- of –, Demetrios son of Dionysios of Phrearrhioi.

2. The Inscriptions. 7 Decree of Athenians in Myrina on Lemnos

The Council and People
of the Athenians living in Myrina

in crown

... Council ?

(55) ...

...

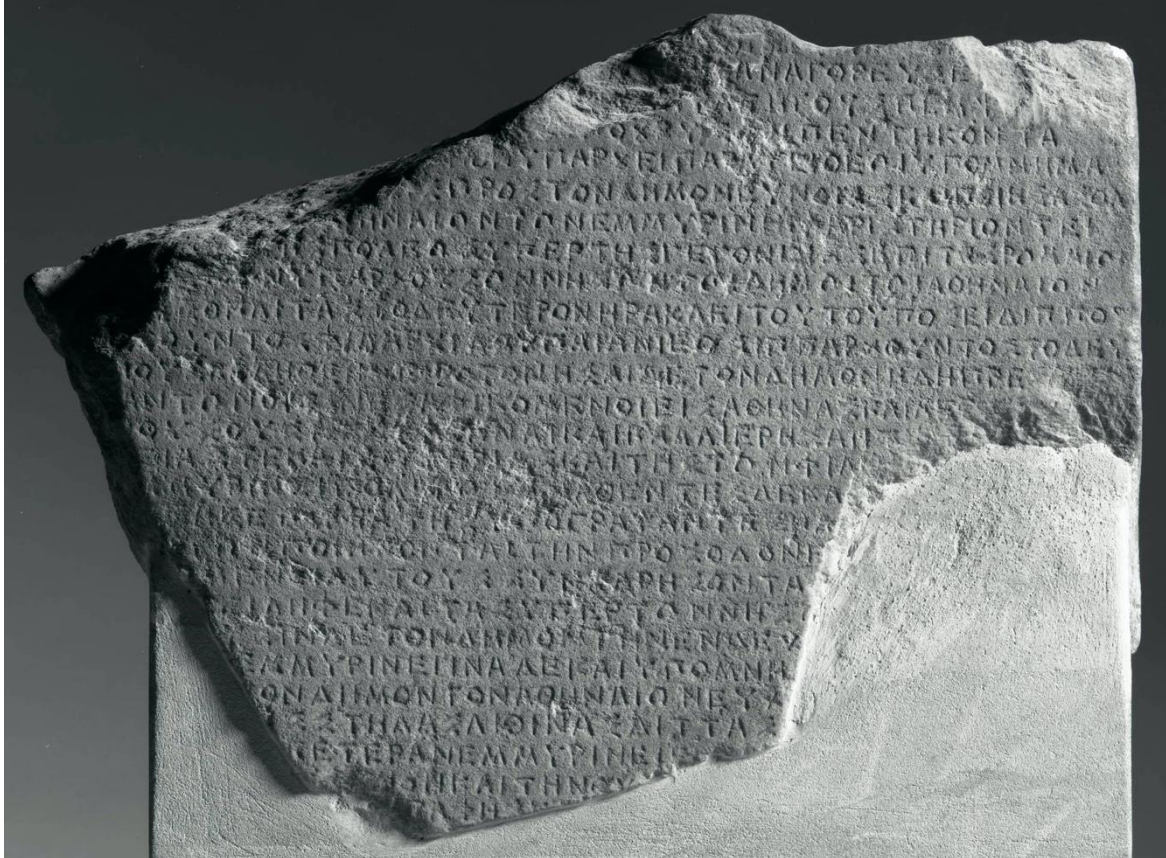


Fig. 7. 7 fr. b © Trustees of the British Museum.

While 1-3 are decrees of a deme (Piraeus) and 4-6 decrees of voluntary associations (“*thiasoi*”), 7 is a fragment of a decree inscribed by another kind of body, an Athenian overseas settlement. Together with its neighbour to the northeast, Imbros, and Skyros to the south-west towards Euboea, by the 370s BC the northern Aegean island of Lemnos was well-established as a traditional Athenian possession. The usefulness of these three islands to Athens lay primarily in their strategic locations as stepping stones for ships, especially those transporting grain to Athens from the Black Sea, and the publication in 1998 of the Athenian grain tax law of 374/3 BC, [RO 26](#), vividly illuminated the benefit that also accrued to Athens of grain produced on the islands themselves. There were two distinct communities of Athenian citizens on Lemnos, one at Hephaistia, situated in the eastern part of the island, the other at Myrina, on the west coast.¹⁵⁸ 7 is a fragment of a

¹⁵⁸ Hephaistia and Myrina are representative examples of one type of “dependent poleis”, i.e. political communities that were at the same time dependencies of Athens, cf. M. H. Hansen, T. H.

decree of the second century BC passed by the Athenian community at Myrina (“the *demos* of the Athenians at Myrina”, 28, cf. 9, 33, “the Council and People of the Athenians living at Myrina”, 52-53, cf. 43).¹⁵⁹ The Athenians at Myrina provided for the inscription of copies of the decree both at Myrina itself and on the Athenian acropolis (ll. 43-47). The Myrina copy does not survive, but the British Museum fragment (*b*) is one of (probably) six fragments now identifiable as belonging to the copy erected on the acropolis at Athens.¹⁶⁰ The other five are all still in Athens, and until recently the inscription had not been subjected to an up-to-date analysis taking account of all extant fragments. However, the restoration of the text, date and historical context have now been the subject of a thorough and persuasive study by Knoepfler (2018), which I largely follow below, making a few (minor) additional observations.¹⁶¹

As preserved, the decree falls into three distinct sections. Fragment *d* preserves part of the central part of the top of the inscription, including a pedimental moulding with floral decoration in relief,¹⁶² and a small section of the decree’s prescript, from which we

Nielsen eds., *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis* (2004), 89. The origin and early history of these communities is obscure and controversial. See Salomon 1997 (*SEG* 47.13, 1325); Kallet-Marx and Stroud 1997, 168 n. 13; D. Marchiandi, *ASAA* 80, 2002, 487-583 (*SEG* 53.4 and 85) and *ASAA* 86, 2008 [2010], 11-39 (*SEG* 59.30); K. Clinton, in A. P. Matthaiou and R. Pitt eds., *Athenaion Episkopos. Studies ... Mattingly*, 2014, 327-33 (*SEG* 64.21); Culasso 2015; Knoepfler 2018, 286-87. On the history and archaeology of Lemnos in general see also Ficuciello 2013.

¹⁵⁹ This is the only decree of Myrina of which there is an extant copy from Athens. Kallet-Marx and Stroud 1997, 173, note that, in addition to this decree and decrees of the Athenian Assembly relating to Lemnos (*IG* II² 30 +, [IG II³ 1, 1032](#), *IG* II² 569, *SEG* 47.143, one might add one of the copies of [IG II³ 1, 884](#) and [885](#)), the Athenian acropolis appears (from findspot) to have been the location of one of the copies of the decree of the Athenians in Hephaistia, *IG* II² 1222 (1223, also of Hephaistia, was erected next to the statue of the honorand, “at Athens where it seems suitable”, 4-5), and raise the possibility that there was a concentration of stelai relating to Lemnos at a specific location on the Acropolis. For decrees of Athenian residents of Myrina from the sanctuary of Artemis near Myrina see *IG* XII 8, 2-11 (on 8, 2 see *SEG* 47.1331; on 8, 4 *SEG* 45.1182; on 8, 5 *SEG* 45.1183; on 8, 7 *SEG* 45.1184; 8, 8 and 9 are identified as part of the same inscription by N. Dimitrova, *ZPE* 148, 2004, 211-12, *SEG* 54.812), with Beschi 2001, 195 [*SEG* 53.150], cf. *SEG* 16.504. Note also *SEG* 47.143 (Kallet-Marx and Stroud 1997), two Athenian decrees of the late 1st cent. BC settling disputes on Lemnos, probably between Myrina and Hephaistia, involving land, ritual and perhaps other matters. On the occupation and exploitation of the territory of Myrina in the 5th and 4th centuries BC see Ficuciello 2010 (*SEG* 60.938) and Ficuciello 2013. On Lemnos generally in the 5th century BC, Culasso 2010 (*SEG* 60.934).

¹⁶⁰ At the time of Hicks’ publication of the fragment in *GIBM* I (1874) only fragments *a* and *b* had been identified as belonging to the inscription.

¹⁶¹ Knoepfler apparently did not have access to a squeeze or photograph of the BM fragment. In addition to the observations made below, my text and ap. crit. make some (minor) adjustments to his text based on autopsy of that fragment.

¹⁶² A central palmette emerging from a row of acanthus leaves, with two lateral stems developing into volutes half-way along and perhaps originally terminating in calyxes at the extreme ends of the tympanum ground. See Knoepfler 2018, *fig.* 5 and his drawing, *fig.* 1. He notes (n. 67) that the decoration seems at first sight to be unique among Athenian decrees of the late Hellenistic period. It will be easier to assess this more definitively when *IG* II³ 1 extends its reach beyond 168/7 BC, the terminal date of fascicule 5, but there is broadly (not precisely) similar relief decoration, representing a roundel set above two acanthus leaves, in the tympanum of the pediment of [IG II²](#)

2. The Inscriptions. 7 Decree of Athenians in Myrina on Lemnos

learn that it was passed in the tenth prytany, of Aiantis, at a Principal Assembly in the theatre. Characteristically of decrees of this type, the wording is indistinguishable from that which might be found in a contemporary decree of the Athenian Assembly,¹⁶³ we can infer from it that, at this period, the community of Athenian citizens on Myrina met regularly, sometimes at least in a theatre, for which this is our sole evidence.¹⁶⁴

After a lacuna of at least one line, perhaps more,¹⁶⁵ follows fragment *e*, containing tantalising parts of lines from the patently rather extensive clauses which explained the rationale for the decree. From what survives we learn that there had been disturbances probably involving something false¹⁶⁶ (claims to control of the island?), in which Athens had supported their fellow citizens in Myrina (9-13), and which had involved perhaps both concrete help and appeal to the Romans, those “common benefactors of all”,¹⁶⁷ convincing the senate that Lemnos and the other islands had been Athenian from the beginning (13-16). The senate had apparently passed a resolution (under the chairmanship of?) Gaius Laelius confirming rightful Athenian possession (16-18), a notable success (19-20); and, as the fragment tails off, there is reference to a sacrifice (20), perhaps the sacrifice to be performed at Athens by envoys from Myrina specified at l. 35, or perhaps rather to a separate celebratory sacrifice at Myrina, which would have been specified in more detail in the lacuna which follows.¹⁶⁸

After a further lacuna of unknown extent follow fragments *a*, *b*, *c* and *f*, containing the final sections of the decree, the only part of it well enough preserved to permit the restoration of complete lines. After provision for an announcement, i.e. at Myrina apparently by the generals there (23-24, cf. 47), perhaps connected with the sacrifice mentioned at the end of the previous fragment (20), the decree provides for the offering of a gold crown to Athena, inscribed with wording identifying it as a thank-offering for the confirmation by the Roman senate of Athenian possession of the islands, dated by the

[1034 + 1943](#), the decree of 103/2 BC honouring the girls who helped make Athena’s robe (there are also acroteria, resting on the lower ends of the geison, decorated with acanthus in shallow relief with volute stems; see the photograph at *ZPE* 142, 2003, 65-86, with Taf. 1; on this relief see also B. Wesenberg, *ZPE* 196, 2015, 103-15, at 105). There is also somewhat similar pedimental relief decoration, involving volute stems terminating in calyxes extending to both sides of a central motif, on *IG II³ 1, 914*, of 268/7 BC. For simpler floral motifs cf. *AIUK 4.2, no. 14*, p. 105, n. 356.

¹⁶³ On prescripts of decrees of the Council and Assembly cf. *AIUK 4.2*, pp. 9-11.

¹⁶⁴ The heading “Principal Assembly” probably implies that in Myrina, as at Athens (cf. *AIUK 4.2*, 11 n. 55), there was one, “principal”, meeting, and most likely other, non-principal, meetings of the citizen Assembly in each prytany. The prescript will have included reference to a local eponymous archon, cf. Salomon 1997, 109-18 (cf. *SEG* 47.1325); Knoepfler 2018, 277 n. 66. A theatre is known at Hephaistia (Culasso 2015, 621 with n. 71; E. Greco, O. Voza, *ASAA* 88, III, 10 / II [2012], 169-74), but not yet at Myrina (Knoepfler).

¹⁶⁵ See the drawing, Knoepfler 2018, 268 *fig.* 1.

¹⁶⁶ Reading, with Knoepfler, ψ]ευδεῖς l. 7, rather than previous editors’ ἀψ]ευδεῖς (“undeceptive”).

¹⁶⁷ On this expression, which is found in inscriptions from the second quarter of the second century BC onwards, cf. Erskine 1994 (*SEG* 47.1732bis), and (with reference to more recently published examples) Knoepfler 2018, 284.

¹⁶⁸ Cf. Knoepfler 2018, 279-80.

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hoplite general at Athens,¹⁶⁹ and the general and the hipparch for Lemnos (24-33).¹⁷⁰ Five men are to be elected to convey the crown to Athens, to dedicate it to Athena following a sacrifice, to congratulate the Athenian People on the successful conclusion of the affair (scil. at Rome), to encourage them to continue supporting their fellow citizens at Myrina, and to hand over the decree (33-43). Finally provision is made for the inscription of the decree in two copies, on the Acropolis at Athens and in the sanctuary of Artemis¹⁷¹ at Myrina; for payment of the costs by the Council and the generals (i.e. those at Myrina). Finally, the names of the five envoys are recorded (43-51).¹⁷²

Following a period of “independence”, Lemnos and the other islands (i.e. Delos, Imbros and Skyros) were restored to Athenian control following the Roman defeat of Perseus in 167 BC in the Third Macedonian War.¹⁷³ For a long time scholars interpreted this decree, following successive *IG* editors, in the context of this restoration.¹⁷⁴ More recently it has come to be recognised that the decree should rather be dated to the 140s BC. Fundamental to this later dating is prosopographical evidence relating to three of the men mentioned in the decree. Crucial was Tracy’s identification of Herakleitos son of Poseidippos, identified in ll. 31-32 as hoplite general at Athens for the second time, as the man of that name from Ikarion who is known to have been active ca. 140 BC.¹⁷⁵ Next, it

¹⁶⁹ It is interesting that the decree is dated by this official and not by the Athenian archon, which perhaps confirms the likely implication of ll. 9-13 that Athens had intervened militarily in Lemnos, or at least shown a willingness to do so.

¹⁷⁰ On the hipparch for Lemnos cf. *IG II³ 1, 884*; Salomon 1997, 129-39 (*SEG* 47.7).

¹⁷¹ Remains of this “periurban” sanctuary of Artemis, normal place of erection of decrees of the Athenian community at Myrina (cf. Parker 1993), have been identified. See Beschi 2001 (*SEG* 53.150); Culasso 2015, 607 n. 16; Knoepfler 2018, 276-77; cf. *SEG* 46.1183. The epithet is not directly attested, but was probably given in the lost beginning of l. 47 of our inscription. Knoepfler suggests that it might have been “Lemnia”, i.e. the same as Artemis at Hephaistia.

¹⁷² None of them is otherwise known.

¹⁷³ In 196 BC, after the Roman victory at Kynoskephalai, Myrina and Hephaistia had been declared “free” cities (Polyb. 18.44.4, cf. 48.2, Knoepfler 2018, n. 136) and there is evidence for positive relations between them and Philip V (Knoepfler, 291, citing the inscribed letter from the Lemnian Kabirion written by Philip V to Hephaistia perhaps towards the end of his reign (i.e. 179 BC) thanking them for a decree in his honour and indicating that he intended to be initiated in the Mysteries of the Kabeiroi, Beschi 1996-1997, 40-42 no. 22, cf. *SEG* 12.399, 50.825; see now E. Culasso Gastaldi and M. Mari, *Axon* 3.2, 2019, 193-224). After the Roman victory over Perseus at the battle of Pydna in 167 BC they were returned to Athenian control (Polyb. 30.20.2-3, etc., cf. Knoepfler 2018, 265 n. 3; 271 with n. 26).

¹⁷⁴ Thus e.g. Ferguson 1911, 323: “Myrina sent a thank-offering to Athena . . . for the re-establishment of Athenian authority over the islands”; cf. Culasso 2010, 352 n. 1.

¹⁷⁵ Tracy 1990, 155. The crucial evidence is that Herakleitos son of Poseidippos of Ikarion is listed (l. 4) with his son (?), Herakleitos (l. 5), and 15 other men on a base datable to ca. 140 BC, *IG II² 2445* (cf. Tracy 1990). Since a Herakleitos son of Dionysogenes is also attested in this deme at this period (e.g. *IG II³ 4, 115*), our man is less certainly identifiable as the Herakleitos of Ikarion, without patronymic, who contributed 100 drachmas to the repair of the theatre in the Piraeus ca. mid-ii BC (*IG II² 2334, 6-9*) and the Herakleitos of Ikarion who was treasurer of the Council in 135/4 BC (*Agora XV 243 ll. 35, 53; 244 l. 3*). Tracy’s identification of the hand as the “Cutter of Agora I 6006” is not itself indicative, as his dated work spans the years 169/8-135/4 BC (Tracy 2014-2019, 48-49, updates the list of inscriptions attributable to this Cutter).

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was recognised that the Gaius Laelius who is mentioned in l. 18 in connection with the decision of the senate in Athens' favour must be the younger man of that name who was consul with Scipio Aemilianus in 140 BC,¹⁷⁶ rather than the older, consul with Scipio Africanus in 190 BC, but not otherwise attested after leading a deputation to Perseus in 174/3 BC.¹⁷⁷ Third, Philarchides of Paiania, named as general for Lemnos in l. 32, is identifiable either as the Philarchides son of Philarchides honoured by the Council as *epimeletes* in *IG II²* 1939, 24, of ca. 130-120 BC, or as his father.¹⁷⁸

These chronological arguments are persuasive, but have the effect of disconnecting the decree from the only firmly attested adjudication by Rome of the status of Lemnos in favour of Athens, that which followed the defeat of Perseus in 167 BC. Scholars have therefore speculated that the context of the decree might be found in the major political disturbances of the 140s BC, the war between the Achaean League and Rome (the "Achaean War") of 146 BC, which ended in the defeat of the League and the destruction of Corinth, and the Fourth Macedonian War, in which Andriskos, also known as pseudo-Philip, and claiming to be a son of Perseus, attempted in 149 BC to liberate Macedonia from Roman domination. The defeat of Andriskos in 148 BC, and of the Achaean League a little later, was followed by the imposition of "direct rule" over most of Greece by the creation of the Roman province of Macedonia, though some cities which had remained loyal to Rome, such as Athens, were permitted continued self-government. Habicht initially suggested connecting the decree with the Achaean War, supposing that it related not to Rome's confirmation of Athenian rights over Lemnos, but those over other islands, Skiathos, Ikos and Peparethos, over which on this theory Rome would have given the Athenians control as a reward for their loyalty. As Knoepfler has recently pointed out, however, it is not clear how this could have given rise to the disturbances on Lemnos implied by ll. 6-21 of our decree, or why Myrina would have been so directly implicated. More attractive, therefore, is Knoepfler's suggestion that the context of the decree was the revolt of Andriskos.¹⁷⁹ The eastern part of Macedonia, Knoepfler argues, was within the sphere of Andriskos' operations and it is very plausible that he might have sought to rally to his cause the islands of the Thracian sea, which had been Antigonid possessions before

¹⁷⁶ This was recognised first by Habicht 1995, 273-74 (= 1997, 272-73) and Kallet-Marx and Stroud 1997, 187, who also refer to *IG II²* 1223, the decree of Hephaistia honouring Epikles of Acharnai, now datable to ca. 150 BC, cf. *SEG* 41.115 II, 47; Knoepfler 2018, 287-88. Broughton 1951, 468-69, notes the younger Laelius' embassy to Carthage with Scipio Aemilianus and his praetorship in 145 BC; cf. 479 for his consulate. It has been suggested that he was named in this decree as having presided over the senate as praetor in 145 BC when the senate adjudicated Lemnos in Athens' favour, though this is not certain.

¹⁷⁷ On Gaius Laelius the elder see Broughton 1951, 335 and 356; Elvers 1999, 1055. He is not attested after 170 BC (Livy 43.5.10); cf. Knoepfler 2018, 285.

¹⁷⁸ Cf. Knoepfler 2018, 286 n. 112. As supplementary chronological arguments Knoepfler, 273 n. 43, observes that the reference to "friends and allies" as beneficiaries of sacrifice (ll. 36-37) would be earlier than any such reference in a decree from Athens on the traditional dating of 167 BC and that a later date would suit much more comfortably; and, 273-74, that the unusual reference in the same context to *eudoxia* (rather than the more usual *hygieia*) and *soteria* (l. 36) finds a parallel of sorts in a decree of 129/8 BC, Deshours 2011, 105-13, no. 2 (= *SEG* 21.469, Sokolowski *LSS* 14), C ll. 5-6.

¹⁷⁹ Habicht 1995, 273-74 (= 1997, 272-73); Knoepfler 2018, 290.

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the defeat of his “father”, Perseus.¹⁸⁰ After the defeat of Andriskos, Knoepfler speculates,¹⁸¹ perhaps some defeated Macedonians took refuge in Lemnos, giving rise to the disturbances on the island which seem to be implied in the early part of the decree, and some Romans wished to bring Lemnos (and the other islands that had been Athenian possessions) into the new Roman province of Macedonia. Athens will have sent an embassy to Rome which argued successfully that the islands should remain within Athens’ sphere of control, not the first time that Athens had successfully defended her interests before the Roman senate.¹⁸² In the weak state of our evidence for the history of Lemnos in the second century BC Knoepfler’s interpretation of our decree is inevitably a little speculative, but it makes better sense of the decree than previous theories that have been advanced.

¹⁸⁰ Cf. Knoepfler 2018, n. 140.

¹⁸¹ Knoepfler 2018, 292.

¹⁸² E.g. the Athenian statesman, Kephisodoros, had led embassies to Rome in the Second Macedonian War (see [IG II³ 1, 1292](#), with AIO’s notes) and a decade before the putative date of our decree, in 155 BC, there had been the so-called “philosophers’ embassy”, in which Carneades (of the Academy), Kritolaos (Peripatetic) and Diogenes (Stoic) had successfully pleaded Athens’ appeal against the massive fine imposed for Athens’ aggression against Oropos, and which had a notable impact on Roman political culture (Polyb. 33.2.10, Plut. *Cato Elder* 22, Cicero *De Orat.* 2.37-38, etc.). Cf. Knoepfler 2018, 293.

8 LETTER TO HADRIAN OR ANTONINUS PIUS. BM 1816,0610.234. Elgin collection (cf. [sect. 1.2](#)). Fragment of white marble, right side, bottom and rough-picked back preserved. H. 0.385, w. 0.205, th. 0.95. L. h. 0.013. At the end of l. 10 the letters are smaller and more crowded. Wide interlines. No cursive forms, but Y with curved strokes. Apices, serifs and slightly hyperextended right diagonals on A/Δ/Λ, some Α. Π with long right vertical, non-splayed M/Σ. ' at end of ll. 3 and 5 indicate abbreviations. Cf. [sect. 1.3](#).

Eds. *CIG* I 346* (from Osann and Rose); (*IG* III 21); Hicks, *GIBM* I 48 (cf. *IG* III Add. p. 479); *IG* II² 1349. Autopsy Lambert 2019, in store. *Fig.* 8.

128-161 AD

 ----- ΩΙ[-^{c. 3-4}-]ΕΩ^v
 [- ----- ύ]πὲρ αὐτοῦ ἐκ τοῦ δη-
 [- ----- Ἄδ]ριανῶ τῶ πατρὶ ' (πατρίδος?)
 [- --- ύπὲρ σωτηρία]ς καὶ εἰς αἰῶνα δια-
 5 [- μονῆς -----] μέγιστε Αὐτο'(κράτωρ)
 [- ----- φιλ]ανθρωπίας βε-^m
 [- ----- καθῶς?] ἐπεστάλκαμεν
 ----- Ὁρούγκῳ τῶ ἄρ[χοντι *or* ἀρχιερεῖ?]
 ----- -ων σοῦ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶ[ν]
 10 ----- Αὐτοκράτωρ, εὐχόμεθα.
vac.

Rest. Boeckh. 1 Ω.....ΕΙΣ eds. after Hicks || 3 δῆ|[μου? - θεῶ Dittenberger (*IG* III), δη|[μοσίου ? Boeckh || 3 πατρὶ ' (πατρίδος) Hicks after Boeckh || 5-6 βε|[βαιο ? Hicks (cf. *SEG* 30.86, l. 18) || 7 καθῶς] Dttb. || 8 Dttb. Ὁρούγκῳ = Aurunco.

...
 ...
 ... on its behalf from the
 ... Hadrian the father (of his country?) *or* his father Hadrian
 ... for its preservation and continuation for ever
 5 ... [O] greatest Emperor
 ... generosity
 ... [as?] we have written
 ... to Auruncus the [archon *or* chief priest?]
 ... of you for us
 10 ... Emperor, we pray.

See below on **9**.

2. The Inscriptions. 8 Letter to Hadrian or Antoninus Pius

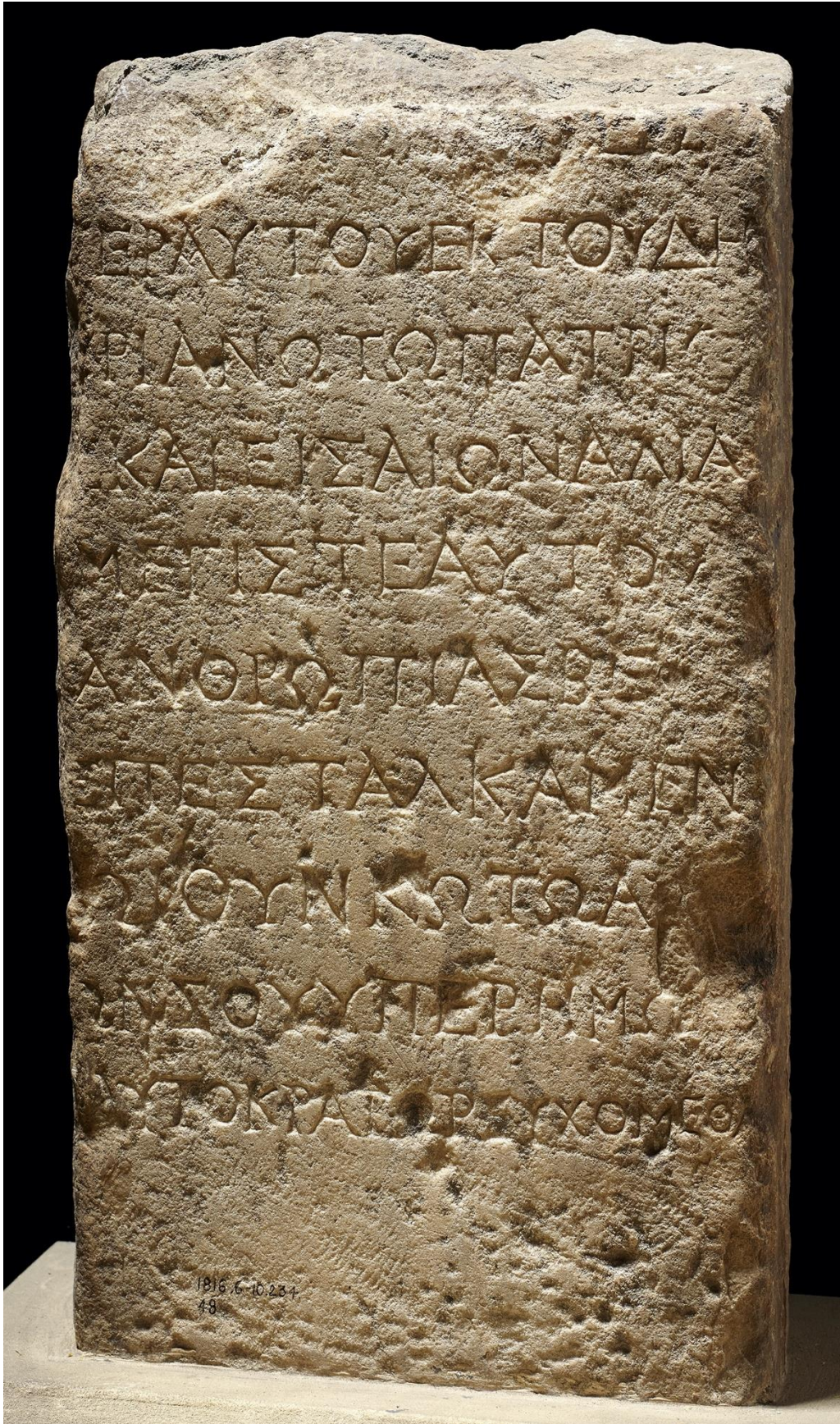


Fig. 8. 8 © Trustees of the British Museum.

9 DECREE OF ECUMENICAL TECHNITAI OF DIONYSOS. BM 1816,0610.235. Elgin Collection (cf. [sect. 1.2](#)). Top of a stele of white marble, back preserved, with pediment draped with a sculpted floral decoration terminating in acroteria to left and right (broken) and perhaps originally at the apex (not now preserved), the pediment containing a roundel in relief. H. 0.47, w. 0.585, th. 0.17. No cursive forms. Modest apices, Α, elongated verticals on Φ and Ψ, frequent ligatures. L. h. 0.010. Cf. [sect. 1.3](#).

Eds. *CIG* I 349* (from Osann and Rose); (*IG* III 22); Hicks, *GIBM* I 49* (cf. *IG* III Add. p. 479); *IG* II² 1350. Autopsy Lambert 2019. In store. *Fig.* 9.

138-161 AD

ἀγαθῆι τύχηι
 ψήφισμα τῆς ἱερᾶς Ἀδριανῆς Ἀντωνεί[ν]ης
 θυμελικῆς περιπολιστικῆς μεγάλης συνόδου
 τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ
 5 Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Τίτον Αἴλιον Ἀδριανὸν
 Ἀν[τωνεῖνον] Σεβαστὸν Εὐσεβῆ νέον Διόνυσον
1 line traces

7 [- - - - -] \ | | [Δι]όνυ[σος - - - - -] Dittenberger (*IG* III).

For good fortune
 Decree of the great sacred itinerant theatrical
 company Hadriana Antonina,
 of adherents from the whole inhabited world of Dionysos and
 (5) the Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus
 Antoninus Augustus Pius the new Dionysos
 ...

The association of theatrical professionals, or *technitai* of Dionysos, is first attested at Athens in the early third century BC.¹⁸³ The Athenian *technitai*, which existed alongside comparable associations elsewhere in Hellenistic Greece,¹⁸⁴ are well attested in inscriptions until the first century BC,¹⁸⁵ after which they disappear from the historical record.¹⁸⁶ When this type of organisation re-emerges in Attic inscriptions in the second

¹⁸³ The earliest evidence for the “association (*synodos*) of *technitai* of Dionysos at Athens” (τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνιτῶν τῶν ἐν Ἀθήναις) is in a decree of the League of the Delphian Amphiktyony, 279-277 BC, confirming its privileges, *F. Delphes* III 2, 68, ll. 61-94 = *CID* 4.12 = Le Guen 2001, vol. 1, TE 2. The earliest extant decree of the association is [IG II² 1320](#) = Le Guen 2001, vol. 1, TE 3 (late-3rd cent. BC). The origins of the Athenian *technitai* are discussed by Fauconnier 2018, 19-20; Le Guen 2001, vol. 2, 5-14.

¹⁸⁴ Apart from the Athenian *technitai* three other major associations were established in the 3rd century BC: of Isthmia and Nemea; of Ionia and the Hellespont, which merged with the association of Pergamon in the 2nd cent. BC; and of Egypt (the *technitai* of Dionysos and the *theoi Adelphoi*, i.e. Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II). Cf. Fauconnier 2018, 21-22; Le Guen 2001, vol. 2, 5-14.

¹⁸⁵ The evidence for them is tabulated by Le Guen 2001, vol. 1, 18-22.

¹⁸⁶ In the 80s BC the Athenian *technitai* enthusiastically welcomed Athenion on his mission to win over the city to Mithridates, one of a succession of leaders to be hailed at Athens as the “new

century AD, the institutional landscape has been transformed, and the independent local or regional associations have been superseded by an Empire-wide (“ecumenical”), itinerant (*peripolistikē*) association (*synodos*), which constituted itself in a theatrical guise (*thymelikē* or *mousikē*), or an athletic (*xystikē*) one, depending on the matter in hand.¹⁸⁷ The *synodos* was “itinerant” in that its members travelled around the Mediterranean participating in the various festivals that comprised the established competitive “circuit” and would conduct their collective business when gathered at the festival locations. Among these Athens was among the most prestigious on account of its distinguished role in the history of Greek theatre. Its status boosted further at this time by the attentions of the philhellene Hadrian, it now hosted five festivals on the circuit: the Eleusinia, Panathenaia, Panhellenia, Olympia and Hadrianeia.¹⁸⁸ The worldwide association had local “representations”, of which those at Rome were pre-eminent,¹⁸⁹ and they are attested for the theatrical association also in Side and Nîmes, as well as Ephesos, Miletos, Sardis, and perhaps Alexandria Troas and Apamea.¹⁹⁰ At Athens the theatrical *technitai* had premises close to the “gates of the Kerameikos”;¹⁹¹ and there are three very fragmentary Athenian inscriptions witnessing to relations between them and Hadrian or Antoninus Pius.¹⁹² These sketchily preserved texts contrast starkly with a long inscription from

Dionysos” (Ath. 5.212d-e = Poseidonios *FGrH* 87 F36). In the ensuing “disaster” (*koinē peristasis*, probably an allusion to the sack of Athens by Sulla), the altar and *temenos* of the *technitai* at Eleusis were destroyed. In [IG II² 1338 = I Eleus. 271](#) = Le Guen 2001, vol. 1, TE 15, of 76 BC or a little later (date, Clinton), the *technitai* honoured their *epimeletes* Philemon for funding restoration work from his own resources. That is the last we hear of the Hellenistic Athenian *technitai*. Cf. Fauconnier 2018, 31.

¹⁸⁷ On this see Fauconnier 2017. Fauconnier 2018 discusses the emergence of the ecumenical synods at pp. 32-71 and their development in the 1st century AD, pp. 72-98. Unsurprisingly, the epigraphical record at Athens attests mainly to the theatrical synod. There are no Athenian inscriptions which mention the athletic synod, but its officials, the *xystarchs*, are epigraphically attested, Fauconnier 2018, 126-27.

¹⁸⁸ Fauconnier 2018, 124.

¹⁸⁹ Roman “headquarters” of the athletic synod: Fauconnier 2017, 447; of the theatrical synod: 447-48.

¹⁹⁰ Fauconnier 2017, 449.

¹⁹¹ In the 2nd century AD this was the location of the cult of Dionysos Melpomenos (for whose association with the *technitai* see next note), Paus. 1.2.4-5; and of a Council chamber of the *technitai*, Philostratos, *Vit. Soph.* 580. There was perhaps continuity of location from the Hellenistic period, since Athen. 5.212 d-e apparently implies that the *temenos* of the *technitai* was in or near the “Kerameikos” in the context of the events surrounding the reception of Athenion as emissary of Mithridates. Cf. Wycherley 1957, 20–21; Le Guen 2001, vol. 2, 74–75; Fauconnier 2018, 125-26.

¹⁹² (1) Beginning of a letter from Hadrian, from the area of the theatre of Dionysos, perhaps addressed to the theatrical synod, *SEG* 33.139, cf. Geagan 1972, 155-56, Fauconnier 2018, 124-25; (2) statue base of Hadrian from the area of the Olympieion set up by the theatrical synod, *SEG* 47.222 + Fauconnier 2018, 125; (3) fragmentary letter from the theatrical synod to Hadrian or Antoninus Pius, with a reply from the emperor, from the Acropolis, *IG II² 1348* + Fauconnier 2018, 125-26 (mentions priest of Dionysos Melpomenos, l. 12, whose priest “from the *technitai*” had a seat in the theatre of Dionysos, *IG II³ 4*, 1899). Note also the tiny fragment mentioning the itinerant [*synodos?*], *IG II² 1354*. The altar, *IG II² 3323* (cf. Geagan 1972, 149 n. 25), is no longer restored to refer to the *technitai*. See *SEG* 21.802 and the new edition, *IG II³ 4*, 981. Fauconnier

2. The Inscriptions. 9 Decree of Ecumenical *Technitai* of Dionysos

Alexandria Troas, first published in 2006, containing the complete text of three letters of Hadrian issued in response to an approach from the world-wide theatrical association, with stipulations relating among other things to the financing of competitions and to the calendar of the festival circuit.¹⁹³



Fig. 9. 9 © Trustees of the British Museum.

2018, 126, notes also the funerary monument for two comic actors erected at the initiative of the *technitai*, *IG II*² 12664. There is also an inscription containing very fragmentary texts of letters of Hadrian relating to a synod of *technitai* of Dionysos Choreios on one side and a record of activities of the synod under Antoninus Pius on the other, *SEG* 30.86 (*IG II*² 1105 +), which summarises Geagan 1972, 133-60, and other discussions. The leading figure of the association, responsible for erecting the inscription, was the prominent Tiberius Claudius Attalos Andragathos of Sphettos, priest of Dionysos Choreios and of the Homonoia of the Greeks (at Plataia), who was also a citizen of Synnada (Byrne, *RCA* pp. 138-39, Claudius 72). There is probably a connection with the priest of Antinous Choreios from the *technitai* whose seat in the theatre of Dionysos is *IG II*³ 4, 1901. Fauconnier 2018, 296-98, plausibly suggests that this was a (perhaps short-lived) local Athenian association of theatrical *technitai*, perhaps with a role in the Eleusinian Mysteries (note the mention of the hierophant, l. 52), independent of the ecumenical association.

¹⁹³ *SEG* 56.1359, discussed most recently by Fauconnier 2017 (who lists other key bibliography on the letters at n. 1); 2018, 218 and *passim*.

2. The Inscriptions. 9 Decree of Ecumenical Technitai of Dionysos

9 contains the beginning of the text of a decree of the ecumenical theatrical association from the reign of Antoninus Pius (138-161 AD).¹⁹⁴ Nothing is known about the substantive content, and, as Hicks noted, it is not even certain that it was inscribed at Athens. While most of the inscriptions acquired by Elgin are Athenian, there are a few which he collected from other places.¹⁹⁵ 8 is even less easy to pin down. It contains part of a letter addressed to Hadrian or Antoninus Pius,¹⁹⁶ and has been tentatively identified as a letter from the *technitai*, comparable (perhaps even referring, l. 7) to the letter preserved in *IG II² 1348* (on which see n. 192); but in fact, as with 9, there is nothing, beyond its belonging to the Elgin collection, to link the inscription specifically to Athens, and there is nothing in the text of the letter to show that it is from the *technitai* rather than some other body.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁴ For the development of and variations in the nomenclature of the theatrical synod over time see Fauconnier 2018, 333-37, who, apart from this case, notes the description of it under Antoninus Pius as Ἀντωνεῖνη Ἀδριανῆ, at Ephesos and Thyateira.

¹⁹⁵ See [sect. 1.2](#), n. 12.

¹⁹⁶ It is not quite clear whether “father”, τῷ πατρὶ, in l. 3, is from a description of Hadrian’s relationship to the addressee, or part of the addressee’s (i.e. Hadrian’s) title, “father of his country”, pater patriae = τῷ πατρὶ (πατρίδος), a title acquired by Hadrian in 128 AD. The latter seems more likely as it would account well for the abbreviation sign after τῷ πατρὶ.

¹⁹⁷ The Auruncus referred to in l. 8 is unidentifiable. His title apparently began ἄρ-. If this is a letter from the ecumenical theatrical *technitai*, it may be relevant that there were three eponymous officials of the association, the “first archon” (ἄρχων πρῶτος), the “archon secretary” (ἄρχων γραμματεὺς), and the “archon legal adviser” (ἄρχων νομοδείκτης). See Fauconnier 2017, 457.

10 DECREE OF THE AREOPAGOS, 195/6 AD. BM 1816,0610.225 (*a*) (Elgin collection, cf. [sect. 1.2](#)), EM 3013 (*b*), Ag. I 3155 (*c*), I 5740 (*d*), I 5198 (*e*), I 6783 (*f*), I 7184 (*g*), EM 9501 (*h*), EM 9499 + 6087 + 9498 + 13505 (formerly Ag. I 5440) (*i*), Lost (*j*), EM 5893 (*k*), EM 9502 (*l*), EM 9500 + 8585 (*m*). B (of which *a-d* preserve part) “near the Valerian [i.e. post-Herulian] Wall” (Cyriacus); *e, f, g* Agora; *h-m* where known, on or close to the Acropolis (cf. Follet 2009, pp. 155-57). Thirteen fragments of a rectangular base of white marble, inscribed on two adjacent Faces (A front, and B right side), un-inscribed on C (back) and D (left side). B was copied in 1436 by Cyriacus of Ancona, but the stone was subsequently broken up; *a* preserves the left side of B and an un-inscribed or illegible part of A, *b* joins *a* to the right and preserves the right side of B, with *vacat* at the top, and part of the un-inscribed C, *c* joins *a* upper left and preserves parts of B and A, *d* joins *c* at subsurface level and preserves part of B; *e* preserves part of A and part of un-inscribed D, *f* part of the top of A and an un-inscribed area of B, *g* part of the top of A to the left of *f*. *h-m* all appear to belong to A, all broken on all sides, with the possible exception of *h* and *i*, which might preserve the right side (cf. Meritt 1968, 280). *a* h. 0.122, w. 0.403, th. 0.127 (of which 0.078 preserves original surface of A). *b-g* (Agora XVI): *b* h. 0.22, w. 0.25, th. 0.215; *c* h. 0.10, w. 0.189, th. 0.142; *d* 0.095, w. 0.17, th. 0.11; *e* h. 0.15, w. 0.39, th. 0.59; *f* h. 0.21, w. 0.15, th. 0.45; *g* 0.214, w. 0.19, th. 0.422; *h* (= IG II² 1118 fr. *a*) h. 0.20, w. 0.25, th. 0.43; *i* (Meritt) h. 0.285, w. 0.34, th. 0.475; *j* (= IG II² 1118 fr. *f*) not recorded; *k* (Meritt) h. 0.075, w. 0.15, th. 0.14; *l* (= IG II² 1118 fr. *d*) h. 0.20, w. 0.25, th. 0.43; *m*, EM 9500 (= IG II² 1118 fr. *e*) h. 0.20, w. 0.12, th. 0.26, EM 8585 (Meritt) *h*. 0.12, w. 0.115, th. 0.115. Total width of B (derived from *a + b*, confirmed by thickness of *e*): 0.59. L. h. 0.011-0.013. Interline: 0.008-0.01. Lettering (cf. Follet, 157-58): A with unbroken bar, hyperextended right diagonals on A/Λ, narrow E with horizontals roughly of equal length, right vertical of Π sometimes extending to bottom of stoichos, non-splayed Σ, Φ with elongated vertical, open Y with short vertical, open sometimes slightly asymmetrical Ω.

Eds. B Cyriacus of Ancona, *Epigr.* p. xvi no. 117; B with *a* CIG I 354 + Add. p. 911 (from Cyriacus, Osann and Rose)*; Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 50*; IG III 39; IG II² 1104*; *b, c, d*, joined to *a* and associated with *e* by Raubitschek and published with a revised text of B by E. W. Bodnar, *Cyriacus of Ancona and Athens* (1960), 40, 145-50 (drawing, B) (*SEG* 21.503); B further revised by J. H. Oliver, in *Les empereurs romains d'Espagne* (1965), 123-32, esp. 129-30 (*SEG* 24.150); *a-f* D. J. Geagan, *Hesp.* 42, 1973, 352-57 (ph. B *a, b, c+d, A c, e, f*); *f, g* Geagan, *Hesp.* 52, 1983, 163-66 (ph.) (*SEG* 33.138); *a-g* Agora XVI 339; EM 9498-9502 and *j* IG III 46*; IG II² 1118; EM 8585, 6087, 5893 added and the fragments of *i* identified by B. D. Meritt, *Hesp.* 37, 1968, 279-82 no. 17 (ph. all except *j*) (*SEG* 25.136); EM 8585 (= IG III 3838) joined to 9500 (by D. Peppas-Delmousou) and *a-m* published together, Follet 2009 (ph. *l, m, b*) (*SEG* 59.136). Autopsy Lambert 2019 (*a*). In store. *Fig.* 10.1, 10.2, 10.3.

2. The Inscriptions. 10 Decree of the Areopagos, 195/6 AD

195/6 AD

non-stoich. ca. 42-48 (A)

non-stoich. ca. 36-41 (B)

Face A (front)

g [ἐπ' ἄρχοντος Γα(ίου) Ἐλβιδίου Σεκού]νδου [Παλλ]ηνέως, κηρυ- **f**
 [κεύοντος τῆς ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βου]λῆς Ἀμφί[ου το]ῦ Ἀμφίου
 [ἐξ Οἴου, - - -ῶνος δεκάτη] ὑστέραι· [ἔδο]ξεν τῆι ἐξ Ἀ-
 5 [ρείου Πάγου βουλήι ὑπομνηματίσαι?] ἐπὶ τοῖς [δόγ]μασιν τοῖς
 [τῆι βουλήι τῶν Φ' καὶ τῶι δήμωι? ἐπὶ - -κ]λείδου [- - -]ς
 [ἄρχοντος ἐψηφισμένοις - - - ?]

lacuna

----- Δ ----- **e**
 [ἐξηγη?]μένοις ἀνδράσιν τῆς πανεπο[πτείας ? - - - - -]
 [τὸν] πυρφόρον Ἀλκαμένην Λαμπτρέα - - - - -
 10 [- -^{ca. 6}-]ΟΙ παρέσχον αὐτοῖς τὸν κα- - - - -
 [- - - -]ς ἢ δεηθῶσιν τῆς ἐν τῆι - - - - -

lacuna

[- - - - -]Κ. . . ΣΗ **c**
 [- - - - -] μέρος προσ-
 15 [- - - - -]ίτας τοὺς λαμ-
 [βάνοντας - - - - -]ὸν ἀποθε[. . .]

lacuna

- - καὶ ἀναλώματα [.] **h**
 - - τὰς τ]ειμὰς τοῦ σείτου Α[.]
 - -] ὑπάρχειν ἀγνοεῖσ[θαι]
 20 - - καθ?]άπτεσθαι παρέχειν [.]
 - - πο]λείταις ἅπασιν τὸν κή[ρυκα]
 - - τ]ῶν ρυπαρῶν τοῖς οἴκ[οις?]
 - - κατὰ?] πάντα ἐνοχλῶσι τῆι [πόλει?]
 - - Ἀλκ]αμένην τὴν ὄνε[ίδισιν?]
 25 - - ἡ?]ρημένοις φ[- - - - -]

lacuna

- - -]ΤΑΣΤΑΣ[- - -] **i**
 - - - ἐκε?]ῖνος ἐγγυ[- - -]
 - - - ἐπιμε?]λεία προνοη[θῆναι? -?]
 - - - τὸν] πυρφόρον Ἀλκαμένη[ν -]
 30 - - -]α μετὰ τοῦ κηρυκεύου[τος - -]
 - - -] εἰ δέ ποτ(ε) πρὸς (ἀ)λλήλου[ς - -]
 - - - τα]ύτ[η]ν τὴν ἐξ Ἀρείου πά[γου βουλήν]

2. The Inscriptions. 10 Decree of the Areopagos, 195/6 AD

- - - ἐπιτήδειο[ν ? - - -]
 - - - δραχμά[ς] μυρίας ἐλ[εῖν ? - - -]
 35 - - - τὰς ὑπολο[ί]πους - - -
 - - - ἐὰν δὲ [. . . πα]ραλαβεῖν [- - -]
 - - - κατὰ κ[α]ιροὺς τοὺς ὠρισμένους ὅπτε[ρ ? - - -]
 - - - κα[θ]ᾶ διηγόρευται, μηνυέτωσαν μ[έν ? - - -]
 - - - τοῖς Ἀ[ρ]εοπαγείταις τοὺς ἀπειθοῦντ[ας - - -]
 40 - - - οἱ ὑπεύθ[υ]νοι ? παραλαβεῖν ὀφειλόμεν[α ? - - -]
 vacat

Face B (right side)

vacat

c, d δέχονται τὸ ἀργύριον, ἐπιτίμιον ὀριζέτωσαν αὐ- b
τοῖς κατὰ τὴν τῆς ἀπειθείας ἀξίαν· ἐὰν δὲ οἱ παρα-
δόντες εἰσφέρειν μὴ βούλωνται ἐξήκοντα ἡμερῶν,
 a ὑπεύθυνοι ἔστωσαν πρῶτον μὲν ἑκατοστιάω τόκ[ω]
 45 ἀφ' οὗ δέον ποιήσασθαι τὴν εἴσοδον οὐκ ἐποίησαν-
 το, μέχρι μηνῶν ἄλλων δύο τῆς τελευταίας ἀπο-
 δόσεως, μετὰ δὲ τοὺς μῆνας τούτους εἰ μένοιν
 μὴ πειθόμενοι, ἀποδόσθωσαν οἱ ἀργυροταμίαι μετὰ
 50 τοῦ κήρυκος τὰς ὑποθήκας, ἐ[χόν]των αὐτὰς ἐξουσίαν
(λ)ύσασθαι ἐξήκοντα ἡμερῶν πρῶτον μὲν τῶν δεδωκό-
[τ]ων, εἶτα καὶ τῶν ἐγγυητῶν οἵτινες ὑπεύθ[υ]νοι ἂν
ᾧσι τῶν ἐνδεησάντων, ὀφ(λόντες) ἐξήκοντα ἡμαιρῶν
ἂ [ὀ]φίλουσιν ἐκτεῖσ[α]ι.
 vacat

Fragments of uncertain location in Face A

- - -ως αἰρεῖσθ[αι ? - - -] j
 55 - -ς τὰ χρήματ[α - - -]
 - - εἰς ?] τὸ ἐξουσί[αν εἶναι ? - -]

- -Α δεξαμεν[- - -] k
 - -νται διαφερ[- - -]
 - -αις ὑπ[- - -]

traces

60 [- - -]ων τὰ χρήματα ὑποσχῆ[ται ?] l
 [- τ]ὰς κεκομισμένας ὑπὸ τ[- - -]
 [- - -] τὴν ὁμοίαν ἐπιμέλειαν [- - -]
 [- ὑπ]οθήκας ἢ ἀξιόχρεως ἐν[γυητὰς ? - -]
 [- -]ς ἐὰν δύνωνται τοῦ νῦν κα[ι - -]

2. The Inscriptions. 10 Decree of the Areopagos, 195/6 AD

65	[- ἄ]λλ' ἐς ἐνιαυτὸν ἀπ' αὐτῶν [- -] [- -]τας ἕκα[- - -] [- - -]τούς [- - -] [- -]ς τὸ προ[- - -] [- - ἐξ]ετασ[- - -]	
70	[-] ἄλλ' ἔσο[- -] [-]μενον ἀπ[- -] [-]ν ἄλλο[v - -] [- τ]ὸν μέλλον[τα - -] [-]εἴταις καὶ πρ[- -]	<i>m</i>
75	[- ὑπ]οτετάχθαι [- -] [-] ἐνιαυτὸν [- -] [-] τοῦ μέλλον[τος - -] [-] ἐνγύοις με[- -] [-]ς πιπράσ[κειν? -]	
80	[-]ων, ἵνα μ[ῆ? -] [-] δὲ το[- -] [-]ΣΤ[- -]	

This edition mostly follows Follet's text. Her text of *B* does not differ significantly from that established by Oliver. Letters preserved on the BM fragment (*a*) are in light grey type, letters included on the basis of Cyriacus' transcript are underlined> (for which see Bodnar and Oliver). I register below the points where (usually without explanation) Follet's text of *A* differs significantly from previous eds. 2 Follet, μετὰ τοὺς ἀργυροταμί]ας ? Geagan 1983 || 4 [ὑπομνηματίσαι?] Follet. For this as the characteristic term for resolutions of the Areopagos, alluding perhaps to an entry made in the record of proceedings, cf. Geagan 1967, 41-45, e.g. *IG* IV² 1, 83, l. 28, of 40-42 AD (τὸν ὑπομνηματισμὸν), *IG* II² 1064, l. 13 = *SEG* 30.82, l. 47 (cf. Geagan 1973, 355, with [AIUK 4.2](#), n. 419 (4)), of ca. 230 AD (ὑπομνηματίσαι) || 5-6 Follet, [βουλῆς καὶ δήμου - - κ]λείδου [. . .⁶. . .]ιλο[-] Geagan 1983 || 7-14 Follet, cf. 29, -] ἀνδρασιν τῆς πανεπο[- | Μαρ Αὐρήλιο]ν Αλκαμένην Λαμπτρέα [- Geagan 1973 || 8 πανεπο[πτείας ? or πανεπο[ψίας ? Follet, an otherwise unattested word which she interprets as "contrôle général" || 15 Ἀρεοπαγε]ίτας ? (cf. 39), πολε]ίτας ? (cf. 21) || 20 Follet, βλά?]πτεσθαι Dittenberger || 21 κή[ρυκα] Follet, κ[- previous eds. || 22 Follet, -]ν ῥυπαρὸν τοῖς οἴκ[- Meritt || 23, 24 Follet, π]άντα ἐωοχλῶσι τῆ [- | -]αμένην τὴν ὄν[- Dittenberger || 26, 27 Follet, ΑΣΙΑΣ[- ^{ca. 6} -] | [- -]νος ἐνγυ[ητὴν . .] Meritt after Dittenberger || 28 ἐπιμε?]λεία Follet, ἐπιμε?]λεία Dittenberger || 29 Follet (preceded by Byrne, *RCA* p. 80), διά]φορον Ἀλκαμέν[ης (?) Hiller (*IG* II²) || 33, 34, 35 Follet, -ιτη δειο- | -ε μυρίας ἑα- | -ας υπολ- Meritt || 37-38 Follet, κ]αιρούς τοὺς ὠρισμένους ὁ πε- | - ἄ διηγόρευται μηνυέτωσαν π- Meritt || 40 Follet, -νοι παραλαβεῖν ὀφειλ[ο]ντ[- ^{ca. 7} -] Meritt || 56 Follet || 57 Follet, δροο- | -α δεξαμεν- Meritt || 59 Follet, -ησν- Meritt || 60-69 Follet, -ν τὰ χρήματα ὑποσχ- | - κεκομισμένας ὑπὸ - | - ὁμοίαν ἐπιμέλειαν - | -θηκ.ση ἀξιόχρεως ε- | - ἄ]ν δύνω[μαι] τοῦ νῦν κα[ι - | -εσ[. . .] ἀπ' αὐτῶν - | -σεκ- | -του- | -πρ-

2. *The Inscriptions. 10 Decree of the Areopagos, 195/6 AD*

| -τα- Meritt after Dittenberger || 70-82 Follet || 74 Ἀρεοπαγ]εῖταις καὶ πρ[υτάνεσι?] Follet, or perhaps πολ]εῖταις ?, cf. 21; -ταις [κ]αὶ πα[- Meritt (Π| Dittenberger).

Face A (front)

Fragments f + g

[In the archonship of Gaius Helvidius] Secundus of Pallene,
when the herald of the Council of the Areopagos was Amphias son of Amphias
[of Oion], on the twenty-first of -. The Council of the
Areopagos decided [to resolve?] on the basis of the decisions ?
(5) [of the Council of Five Hundred and the People voted in the archonship?] of -kleides
of - . . .

Fragment e

. . .
for the men [chosen for the comprehensive review?] . . .
the fire-carrier Alkamenes of Lamptrai shall . . .
(10) . . . they provided for them the . . .
. . . or require for the - in the (?) . . .
. . .

Fragment c

. . .
. . . [add a?] portion
(15) those [citizens or Areopagites?] taking
. . . [setting aside?]

Fragment h

. . . and the payments . . .
. . . the prices of grain . . .
. . . there exists . . . do not know . . .
(20) . . . provide . . . to be assailed (?) . . .
. . . the herald shall . . . all citizens . . .
. . . the dirt . . . the houses
. . . everywhere are a nuisance to the [city?]
. . . Alkamenes [shall] - the [reproach?]
(25) . . . to those chosen

Fragment i

. . .
. . . that guarant- (?) . . .
. . . [management?] . . . [make provision for?]
. . . the fire-carrier Alkamenes . . .
(30) . . . with the holder of the office of herald . . .

2. *The Inscriptions. 10 Decree of the Areopagos, 195/6 AD*

... but if they ever ... to each other ...
... this Areopagos Council ...
... suitable ...
... shall be fined ten thousand drachmas (?) ...
(35) ... the remaining ...
... but if ... to take over ...
... on the defined occasions what ...
... as declared, let them reveal ...
... to the Areopagites those in default ...
(40) ... those liable (?) ... to take over what is owed (?) ...

Face B (right)

Fragments a + b + c + d

receive the money, they shall set for them a fine
according to the extent of their default; but if those who
have handed over (i.e. delivered securities?) do not wish to make payment within sixty days, they
shall be liable first of all to one percent interest (a month)
(45) from when they should have made payment but did not do so,
until another two months have passed from their last
payment, but if they remain in default after these two months,
the treasurers with the herald shall sell the securities,
provided that they shall have the possibility
(50) to redeem them within sixty days, first those that gave the security,
then those of the guarantors who may be
liable for the deficit, being required to pay what they
owe after sixty days.

Fragments of uncertain location in Face A

Fragment j

... shall be chosen -ly (?) ...
(55) ... the money ...
... being authoritative (?) ...

Fragment k

... received ...
... carry over *or* differ (?) ...
...

Fragment l

(60) ... undertake ... the money
... those brought by ...
... the equivalent responsibility ...

2. *The Inscriptions. 10 Decree of the Areopagos, 195/6 AD*

... deposits or adequate guarantors (?) ...
... if they are able for the present and ...
(65) ... but for a year ... from them ...
... each ...
... the (?) ...
... the ...
... scrutiny (?) ...

Fragment m

(70) ... but ...
...
... other ...
... the future ...
... to the Areopagites *or* to the citizens and ...
(75) ... be subjected ...
... year ...
... of the future ...
... secured ...
... sell ...
(80) ... so that ... not (?)
...
...

Throughout the history of ancient Athens the Areopagos was a Council composed of men who had held one of the nine annual archonships.¹⁹⁸ Having enjoyed pre-eminent authority in the archaic city, since the reforms of Ephialtes in the late 460s BC the Areopagos' functions had become mainly limited to the judicial and religious sphere,¹⁹⁹ though from time to time it took on broader responsibilities for the maintenance of public standards. Already in the fifth century BC it had a reputation as a conservative body, and in the anti-tyranny law of 337/6 BC restrictions were imposed on it motivated by fears that it might be implicated in a threat to Athens' democratic constitution.²⁰⁰ During the Hellenistic period its activities are sparsely documented, but under Roman influence in post-Sullan Athens it enjoyed a renaissance, driven in part no doubt by points of resonance between it and the Roman senate, also a body composed of former magistrates, and the curiae of Roman coloniae and municipia.²⁰¹ In this period it emerges in the epigraphical record for the first time alongside the Council of 600 (or 500 after Hadrian) and the Assembly as one of the city's three decree-making bodies. Honorific monuments are said to have been erected under its aegis, sometimes (when the honours were for Athenians) separately, sometimes (when the honours were for prominent Romans) in

¹⁹⁸ For this in the Roman period see Geagan 1967, 56-57.

¹⁹⁹ *Ath. Pol.* 25.2.

²⁰⁰ [IG II³ 1, 320](#). This took place against the background of a revival of the Areopagos' influence in ca. 340s-320s BC.

²⁰¹ On the Areopagos in the Roman period Geagan 1967, 32-61, remains fundamental.

2. The Inscriptions. 10 Decree of the Areopagos, 195/6 AD

conjunction with the other two decree-issuing bodies of the city.²⁰² It similarly sometimes appears separately, sometimes with the other two bodies, in the (relatively few) cases where the full texts of decrees were inscribed. One such is [AIUK 4.2](#), no. 17, where, in ca. 220 AD, the Assembly refers its decree on the conveyance of the sacred objects for the Eleusinian Mysteries to the Areopagos and the Council of 500 (as well, in this case, as to the hierophant and the *genos* Eumolpidai).²⁰³ In our inscription we seem to have to do with a comparable process of referral, but from the perspective of the Areopagos, which, if the text of ll. 3-6 is reconstructed and interpreted correctly above, based its resolution on a prior decision of the Council of 500 and the People.²⁰⁴ Though it is not clear that this applied invariably, there are other cases where the Areopagos seems to have received and, at least in detail, amended, decrees referred to it by the other two bodies.²⁰⁵ It may be that this reflected a responsibility to ensure the legality and constitutionality of measures taken by the city's other decree-making bodies. In any case its role as receiver and amender of decisions of the other two bodies seems a mark of the Areopagos' position as the pre-eminent decree-making body at this period, reflected also in the status of its representative official, the herald of the Areopagos, as one of the most senior positions of Roman Athens, alongside the hoplite general, the eponymous archon and other archons.²⁰⁶

²⁰² For a catalogue of those then known see Geagan 1967, Appendix 1. An example is *AIUK* 11 (*Ashmolean*), no. 16 (= *IG* II² 3765), the herm of Aurelius Aphphianos Chrestos, 234/5 AD (?): ψηφισαμένης τῆς | [ἐ]ξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλῆς τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ | κοσμητοῦ Αὐρ(ήλιον) | Ἀφφιανὸν Χρήστου | Μαραθώνιον οἱ | περὶ τὸ Διογένειον | συνάρχοντες | ἀρετῆς ἔνεκεν. “The Council of the | Areopagos having decreed it, | the college of magistrates | of the Diogeneion | (5) (erected this for) the son of the | superintendent, Aurelius | Aphphianos son of Chrestos | of Marathon | on account of his excellence.” For examples in the BM see *IG* II² 3640 and 4044 (forthcoming in *AIUK* 4.5).

²⁰³ γενέσθαι δὲ τὴν γνώμην ταύτην φα[νε]ρ[ῶ]ν καὶ τῆι ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλῆι καὶ τῆι βουλῆ[ῆι] τῶν | Φ | καὶ τῶι ἱεροφάντη καὶ τῶι γένει τῶν Εὐ[μο]λπιδῶν. “And this decision (*gnōmēn*) shall be notified | to the Council of the Areopagos and the Council of | 500 and to the hierophant and the *genos* of the Eumolpidai.”

²⁰⁴ Cf. Geagan 1983, 166. If Follet's tentative reconstruction of ll. 4-6 is right, the underlying decision of the Council of 500 and the Assembly was taken in a different archonship, ἐπὶ - - κ]λείδου [- -]ς | [ἀρχοντος. This would most likely be the previous year. The archon of 194/5 AD, the year before the archonship of G. Helvidius Secundus of Pallene (see below), is not otherwise known (Byrne, *RCA* p. 509).

²⁰⁵ Cf. for example (a) *IG* IV² 1, 82-84, where, in ca. 40-42 AD, the decrees for Titus Statilius Lamprias passed by the Council of 600 and the Assembly preceded the decree of the Areopagos and the Areopagos changed slightly the wording of the dedication and the decree as passed by the other bodies (cf. Geagan 1967, 34); (b) *SEG* 21.505 and 506 (*IG* II² 1064) + 30.82 + 33.137. Two copies of decrees honouring M. Ulpus Eubiotos Leuros and his sons, ca. 230 AD. Decree of Council and People and a slightly different version passed by the Areopagos. “Here again the decree of the Areopagos was a document entirely separate from that of the *Boule* and *Demos*, and here again it was the final version” (Geagan 1967, 35).

²⁰⁶ Geagan 1967, 57-60. The herald of the Areopagos in our inscription is Amphias son of Amphias [of Oion] (2-3). He had been ephebe with his brother Eisarchos in 155/6 AD, *IG* II² 2068, l. 86, and was probably *antikosmetes* of ephebes in 186/7 AD, while his brother was *kosmetes*, *IG* II² 2110, ll. 3-5 (reading ὁ κοσ[μητῆς τῶν ἐφήβων Εἴσαρχος?] | Ἀμφίου ἐξ Οἴου καὶ ὁ | ἀντικοσμήτης -^{ca. 6}-] | Ἀμφίας ἐξ Οἴου or Ἀμφί<ου> ἐξ Οἴου).

2. The Inscriptions. 10 Decree of the Areopagos, 195/6 AD

The study of our inscription has a long history, beginning in 1436, when Cyriacus of Ancona copied Face *B* in Athens. The stone was subsequently broken up and for a long time Elgin's fragment in the British Museum was the only one that had been identified as belonging to the monument. This was the case when Hicks published *GIBM I* in 1874, and was still the case in 1916, when the relevant part of Kirchner's edition of *IG II²* appeared (*IG II²* 1104). In the second half of the twentieth century, however, thanks largely to the work of the American team working in the Athenian Agora, the number of fragments recognised as belonging to the monument steadily increased. In 1960 Bodnar published three fragments, *b*, *c*, *d*, which Raubitschek had shown joined the BM fragment (see the drawing, *Fig. 10.2*). One of these, *c*, contained an inscribed part of the adjacent face to the left, *A*, while another, *b*, contained an uninscribed patch of the face to the right (*C*). He also published another fragment, *e*, which also contained a passage of text from Face *A*. This induced scholars to look again at the BM fragment, *a*, which, in addition to part of Face *B*, also preserved a patch of Face *A*. Since *a* joined immediately below *c*, and Face *A* of *c* was inscribed, one might have expected text to be preserved also on this patch of *a*. No text, however, is legible in this area today (see *Fig. 10.3*). If it was inscribed, the text on it has been worn away.²⁰⁷ The new fragment *e* mentioned Alkamenēs of Lamptrai, who, since a man of this name was known to be hoplite general in 209/10 AD (*IG II²* 1077, ll. 9 and 14), suggested that the inscription belonged later than the Hadrianic date which had previously been the consensus (albeit that the hoplite general is now identified as the son or possibly even grandson of the Alkamenēs of our inscription, see further below). In subsequent years Geagan added several new fragments, including *f* and *g*, which contained the beginning of the text and showed that it dated to the archonship of G. Helvidius Secundus of Pallene, i.e. 195/6 AD.²⁰⁸ Most recently Follet 2009 made a further important contribution, recognising that the fragments of what had previously been regarded as a separate inscription, *IG II²* 1118, actually belong to the same monument as those of *IG II²* 1104 +. *IG II²* 1118 had itself been reworked and new fragments added to it, on the basis of identifications by Raubitschek, by Meritt in 1968. Follet's association of the two sets of fragments, based on provenance, the unusual physical form of the monument as a thick quadrangular block rather than a regular stele,²⁰⁹ and on its distinctive lettering, is entirely convincing.²¹⁰ Among other things it yields in fragment *i* text which, being followed by a *vacat*, can be identified as from the bottom of Face *A*, and which creates a plausible conjunction of subject matter with the text at the top of Face *B*. At the bottom of *A* there is reference to those in default (τοὺς ἀπειθοῦντι[ας]) being reported to the Areopagos (38-39), and to taking over [what is owed?] (παρалаβεῖν 40,

²⁰⁷ "An examination of the left side of fragment *a*, which was made by Bernard Ashmole and H. A. Thompson, resulted in the conclusion that, if it is inscribed, the text has been almost totally defaced, although there are three faint depressions running horizontally – conceivably the remains of rows of letters." Bodnar 1960, 146.

²⁰⁸ For the year see Byrne, *RCA* p. 509.

²⁰⁹ Follet points out that all other inscribed decrees and imperial letters of the Roman period are inscribed on stelai less than 20 cm. thick. *IG II²* 1104 in contrast is inscribed on two Faces of a quadrangular block 58.9 cm wide and fragments of 1118 have thicknesses of 43, 44 and 47 cm.

²¹⁰ I agree with Follet, 157 n. 10, that the very minor differences in lettering noted by Geagan 1973, 356 n. 11, do not stand in the way of ascribing all the fragments to the same monument.

2. The Inscriptions. 10 Decree of the Areopagos, 195/6 AD

cf. 36, and παραδόντες, 42-43); while *B* begins with reference to those who receive the money, and the imposition of penalties in proportion to the default (κατὰ τὴν τῆς ἀπειθείας ὀξίαν, 41-42). Though based on study of the fragments over a long period, from 1985 to 2001, Follet presented her findings in provisional form, as “work in progress” towards a new edition of the text in *IG II*³, without textual apparatus and by and large without discussion of new readings and restorations or historical analysis. That said, so far as can be judged, her textual suggestions are for the most part eminently plausible. Pending the new *IG*, I have sought to clarify in my apparatus the main points where Follet’s text differs from previous editions, and to indicate my understanding of the flow of the sense in the translation.

Follet’s summary of the apparent content of the decree is brief, but to the point:²¹¹ after the prescript, provision seems to have been made for the appointment of men to carry out a specific mission (fragment *e*, cf. 25), the scope of which was apparently rather wide, comprehending matters relating to the price of grain (18), domestic waste and other forms of public nuisance (22-23) (fragment *h*), while most or all of the other fragments of Face *A*, together with Face *B*, appear to relate to public contracts, arrangements for guaranteeing them, and penalties to be imposed on contractors in default on their financial obligations (earlier editors, following Boeckh, and including Hicks, had suggested that the measures on Face *B* related specifically to contracts for the collection of taxes, but this is not obviously implied by what precedes on Face *A*, and Follet prudently withholds comment on this point).

Apart from the prescript, the only person mentioned in the surviving text of the decree is the fire-carrier, *pyrphoros*, Alkamenes of Lamprai. This *pyrphoros* was one of the priests of the Eleusinian Mysteries, appointed from the *genos* Kerykes,²¹² and like the other Eleusinian priesthoods, its tenure at this period was a marker of membership of the elite. Also like other Eleusinian priests, by this time this priest practised hieronymy. The same man is attested as “Aurelius *Pyrphoros* from Eleusis” on a recently published list of *aesittoi* of ca. 191/2 AD,²¹³ and another list of *aesittoi* of 209/10 AD lists him as “Aurelius *Pyrphoros* of Lamprai”.²¹⁴ During his tenure of the priesthood he also makes an appearance as “*pyrphoros* of the two Goddesses, Alkamenes”, making a dedication to Artemis at Eleusis.²¹⁵ In the Roman period this priest apparently enjoyed *proedria* in the

²¹¹ For what follows see Follet 2009, 158-59.

²¹² Clinton 1974, pp. 94-95. Cf. *I Eleus.* 300, l. 9, of ca. 20/19 BC, which refers to Leontios son of Timarchos of Kephisia as the *pyrphoros* and priest of the Graces and Artemis Epipyrgidia (apparently at the entrance to the Acropolis, cf. Clinton 1974, p. 94, Paus. 2.30.2 [Hekate Epipyrgidia] and 9.35.3 [Graces]).

²¹³ K. F. Daly, *Hesp.* 76, 2007, 545-54 = *SEG* 57.148, l. 59. He is probably also the [- *Pyr*]phoros who was *aesitos* in 186/7 AD (Byrne, *RCA* p. 80).

²¹⁴ *Agora* XV 460, l. 88.

²¹⁵ *IG II*³ 4, 1102 = *I Eleus.* 530. This is the Artemis Propylaia noted at Eleusis by Paus. 1.38.6 (cf. Clinton 1974, p. 94). It may be that we can infer that, like his 1st century BC predecessor (above n. 212), Alkamenes was also priest of the Graces and Artemis Epipyrgidia (see also next note). In any case one suspects that there was some cultic significance in the connection of two *pyrphoroi* with cults located at the entrance-ways to the Acropolis and to the Eleusinian sanctuary.

2. *The Inscriptions. 10 Decree of the Areopagos, 195/6 AD*

theatre of Dionysos.²¹⁶ The Marcus Aurelius Alkamenes of Lamprai who was a prominent political figure, notably as *kosmetes* of ephebes in 194/5 AD and perhaps as the hoplite general who proclaimed the decree celebrating the accession of Geta in 209/10 AD, appears to have been his son.²¹⁷ Alkamenes the *pyrphoros* is mentioned three times in the surviving text of our decree. Though there is never enough context fully to understand his role, he is referred to invariably in the accusative, which in decree text commonly implies an accusative and infinitive construction, i.e. imposition of an obligation. He seems to be associated with the review commission at 8-9, and to be charged with some function, together perhaps with the herald of the Areopagos, in relation to the arrangements for pursuing miscreants in connection with public contracts at 29-30. If Follet's reconstruction is correct, he would also seem to be associated with the review commission at 24-25, perhaps charged with reporting to it cases of alleged domestic nuisance referred to in 22-23.

²¹⁶ The theatre seat is *IG II³ 4*, 1910. It was inscribed in the first century BC (?), *ἱερέως Χαρίτων | καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος | Ἐπιπυργιδίας* and in smaller letters underneath, perhaps a little later (first century AD?), *πυρφόρου*.

²¹⁷ See *AIUK 4.3B (BM, Ephebic Monuments)*, no. 5 (= *IG II² 2191 +*), with commentary. Hoplite general, gymnasiarch of the deified Hadrian, antarchon of the Panhellenion: *Agora XV 460*, ll. 9, 14. For the identification see Byrne, *RCA* p. 81. As Byrne notes, other scholars have thought the hoplite general was the younger Alkamenes' homonymous son.

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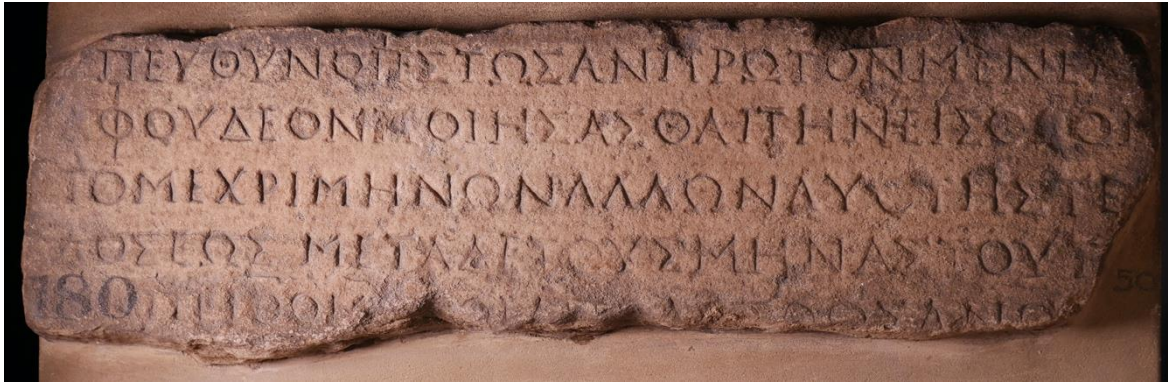


Fig. 10.1. 10 a (Face B). Photo: Julian Lambert © Trustees of the British Museum.

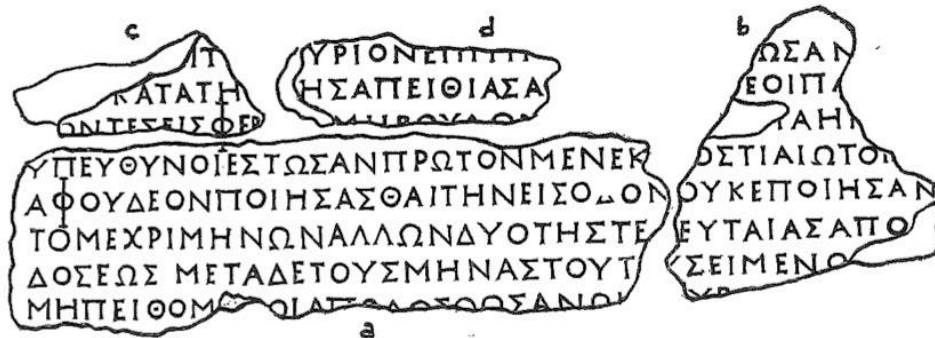


Fig. 10.2. Drawing of 10 a, with b, c, d (Face B). Reproduced, with permission, from E. W. Bodnar, *Cyriacus of Ancona and Athens*, Collection Latomus vol. XLIII, 1960, p. 145.



Fig. 10.3. 10 a (Face A). Photo: Stephen Lambert © Trustees of the British Museum.

Concordance

CONCORDANCE

<i>AIUK</i> 4.3A	<i>GIBM</i> I	<i>GIBM</i> IV	<i>IG</i> II ²	<i>Syll.</i> ³	<i>Agora</i> XVI	<i>Agora</i> XVIII	<i>Agora</i> XIX	<i>SEG</i>	Sokolowski, <i>LSS</i>	Kloppenborg and Ascough, <i>Associations</i>	Pernin 2014	Csapo and Wilson 2019
1	12		1176	915	93		L13	19.117				III V vi
								21.521				
								33.143				
								57.130				
								64.98bis				
2	13		2498	965							11	
3	11		1214	912								III V v
4		946	1275						126	8		
5	21		1292							26		
6	20		1342									
7	22		1224 3215			33						
8	48		1349									
9	49		1350									
10	50		1104 1118		339			21.503 24.150 25.136 33.138 59.136				