BETWEEN ATHENS AND RHODES

– a collection of studies in honour of Vincent Gabrielsen on fleets, offices, associations and the economy of the ancient Greek world

EDITED BY

Peter Fibiger Bang, Anders Holm Rasmussen & Christian Ammitzbøll Thomsen

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BY WAY OF INTRODUCTION – SOME RHODIAN REFLECTIONS FROM THE AGE OF THE HIGH ROMAN EMPIRE

By Peter Fibiger Bang

Summary: This introduction seeks to reflect on the contributions to this collection and the oeuvre of Vincent Gabrielsen through the prism of Dio Chrysostom's speech to the Rhodians. The themes move from the moral economy of honour in the city-state, to the formation of a Greek aristocratic identity under Rome, before finally analysing the relationship between empire, taxation and the ancient economy.

> For it is only those Hellenes who still live and are sensible of the difference between honour and dishonour of whom it is possible for any to be first.
> Dio Chrysostom[1]

What other text could serve much better to open this collection of studies? At the heart of The Speech to the Rhodians, by the Greek orator Dio Chrysostom, stands the question of honour. And it is to honour Vincent Gabrielsen on his retirement as professor of Ancient History in Copenhagen that we as friends and colleagues offer these articles. The speech, hailing from around the turn of the 1st century AD, is a virtual tour de force. Rhetorical figures are coming thick and fast, while nothing less than the character of Greek culture is subjected to thorough examination.[2] Rhodes and Athens, war and peace, naval power, economic wealth

1 Dio Chrys. *Or.* 31.159 (here as throughout this introduction, translation of passages from Dio Chrysostom's 31st Speech is based on the English version offered by Cohoon & Crosby in the Loeb Classical Library, occasionally revised and modified as I saw fit). Here I must also thank Wolfgang Filser for guidance on Rhodian sculpture and especially Bjarke Bach Christensen, once my research assistant, whose help was invaluable in preparing the manuscript of this set of papers for publication.

2 See Jones 1978 for a basic introduction to Dio Chrysostom and his work, chap. 4 on

Peter Fibiger Bang: 'By way of Introduction – some Rhodian reflections from the age of the High Roman Empire' C&M Supplementum 2 (2024) 1-14.

and the epigraphic habit, the postclassical Hellenistic world and the character of civic life in the polis, all these issues are taken under consideration.

Incidentally these topics also constitute a virtual list of the themes that have been central to Vincent's work over the last generation. Here is a brief, necessarily selective sketch. After two monographs on *Financing the Athenian Fleet* (1994) and *The Naval Aristocracy of Rhodes* (1997), he moved on to examine the ancient economy more generally together with John Davies and Zosia Archibald in their *Hellenistic Economies* project that resulted in three co-edited volumes between 2001 and 2011.[3] Here we also find a co-edited volume with John Lund exploring the economy of the Black Sea in antiquity (2007). The last decade has been occupied by conducting collective research projects. The Copenhagen Associations project has produced an inventory of private associations documented in the Eastern half of the Mediterranean world from 500 BC till AD 300 while a final and still ongoing project returns to Rhodes.[4] Throughout, the basis of all these efforts has been a steady engagement with Greek epigraphy.

Inscriptions on stone, civic life and Rhodes, these themes transport us right back into the speech of Dio Chrysostom; it reads as an indignant critique of a practice that had been developing among the Rhodians when bestowing public honours on a person during the first century AD:

> "The most inappropriate thing then takes place. For your chief magistrate merely points his finger at the first statue that meets his eye of those which have already been dedicated; and then, after the inscription which was previously on it has been erased and another name engraved, the business of honouring is complete and the man whom you have deemed worthy of a statue has already received it."[5]

the Rhodian speech; Swain 2000 for a set of essays exploring his work in all its many facets; Bekker-Nielsen 2008 for a broad discussion of Dio in the context of the Roman province of Bithynia-Pontus.

3 Archibald, Davies, Gabrielsen & Oliver 2001; Archibald, Davies & Gabrielsen 2005 and 2011.

4 https://ancientassociations.ku.dk/CAPI/index.php; Gabrielsen & Paganini 2021.

5 Dio Chrys. *Or.* 31.9.

The island city-state was famed for the numerous statues that graced its public spaces and sanctuaries in memory of past benefactors or heroic deeds. But now, the orator complained, the body-politic had begun to re-use and rededicate some of this rich monumental heritage to bestow honours on new recipients. The epigrapher will add that at the famed Rhodian sanctuary of Athena Lindios a set of regulations had even been introduced regulating the sale of the right to put up an inscription to a new honorand on bases of statues that carried no prior inscription on them.[6] However, all this was unworthy of the city and its standing. Under Roman rule Rhodes had retained its prestige as a centre of culture and learning. The sculptures of its workshops were priced even among the members of the imperial house and its schools of philosophy attracted many a prominent Roman. Most famously, of course, the future emperor Tiberius spent a period of exile on the island after having withdrawn from the politics of the capital and the dynastic struggles over the line of succession from Augustus.[7] But many more high-ranking Romans made a stop-over at Rhodes, often presumably on the way to or returning from a provincial assignment in the East. Such people were worth cultivating. Their patronage might prove important to safeguard the privileges and position of the Rhodians in the imperial order. Yet, Dio objected, this current practice was below the dignity of the Rhodians.

When I first came to Copenhagen some 20 years ago, the question of Greek identity under Roman rule was rising to the top of the agenda and there it has remained. People were discussing whether the celebration of Hellenic culture was a sign of resistance to Roman power. Vincent and I joined this debate when, as the first thing I did in Copenhagen, we co-taught a course on Greek identity and the question of nationalism in antiquity. It was one of the most rewarding teaching experiences I have had. We came with different points of view and the students got to share with us a semester of constructive and playful debate. It speaks very highly of Vincent that he tolerated, perhaps even enjoyed, the opposition of the new assistant professor with nothing but good grace.

6 *I. Lindos* II, 419, ll. 30-43, discussed by Harter-Uibopuu 2013: 465-56.

7 Suet. *Tib.* 11-13. On the tradition of Rhodian sculpture, including its appeal during the early empire, see now best, Bairami 2017.

Graceful, however, was not a word that Dio would pin on the Rhodian adulation of visiting Roman nobles. Some might in his complaint read a sign of opposition and resistance against the Roman political masters. Paul Veyne, the great historian of honour and public benefaction in antiquity, has even in Dio's speech seen a manifesto of anti-Roman sentiment.[8] Dio certainly became one of the leading voices in the literary movement that is now known under the label of the second sophistic.[9] The speech exhibits most of the main characteristics. Its intellectual universe is demonstratively Greek and focused on pre-Roman or classical times. The primary points of reference are Athens, Sparta, or if need be, the Macedonians of Alexander, only secondarily Rome, whereas the present is often referred to in disparaging terms. The Hellenic world of the empire compares unfavourably, in the eyes of Dio, to its glorious past. Yet, neither Dio nor the second sophistic in general, really fit the part of the subaltern voice rejecting empire. It was not from among their ranks that rebellion was fomented. There we have to go to more marginalized groups within the Hellenistic networks of the Mediterranean such as the Jews. Conflicts about their position in the wider polytheistic order of the empire exploded into a series of hard-fought rebellions in Judea and the Eastern Mediterranean during the lifetime of Dio.[10] But it is not on their side that we find Dio. The order that the Jews both sought to gain a foothold within and rebelled against was an order articulated in classical Greek.

The imperial order in the Eastern Mediterranean was pre-eminently Hellenistic. In a wider perspective, there is nothing especially remarkable about this. The vast territorial empires of precolonial times always had to co-opt several elite identities and languages and therefore normally liked to proclaim themselves as universal. Under the Qing dynasty, the Manchu ruling class carefully cultivated its own separate language and ethnicity even as most of the imperial government was in the hands of Han Confucian literati. The Ottoman dynasty ruled under the banner of Islam, but nevertheless had to accommodate the leaders of its vast Christian populations. Even more so the Great Mughals who as rulers of

8 Veyne 1999.
9 Swain 1996; Whitmarsh 2001.
10 Goodman 2007.

Hindustan often competed with the Ottomans about who could send the most splendid gifts for the annual Islamic pilgrimage at Mecca. But while their magnificent mosques stand majestically across India, their rule was nevertheless based on a strong alliance with the Hindu warrior nobility of Rajasthan. Under their Muslim overlords, these rajputs rose to greater strength and prominence than ever.[11] One might also here with Paul Veyne adduce the experience of the multi-ethnic Austrian Habsburg monarchy, but with one significant caveat. Austro-Hungary had to negotiate the world of rising 19th century nationalism.[12] But Hellenicity under the Roman empire was a cosmopolitan identity, not a nationalism. Political allegiance remained tied either to the local city-state, occasionally a regional league or the empire. There was no Greek nation claiming independence and its own territory.

It is through the world history context of the extensive pre-colonial, universal empire that the second sophistic should be approached. The Hellenic elites of the Eastern Mediterranean were forcefully on the rise and increasing numbers made it to the top ranks of the Roman ruling class. Some of the most prominent nobles of the second century empire hailed from the Hellenic elites. They were joined by the emperors in the celebration of their culture and history. Under Hadrian, a panhellenic league, centred on the Aegean, was even formed.[13] But the world of Hellenising elites was wider and reached across the eastern part of the empire. Some of these were even "eager to become Roman," as Jesper Majbom has argued. But far from all, there was no need to. One could loyally serve the imperial order without necessarily acquiring a Roman citizenship which was now more a legal status than an ethnic marker.[14]

This is where Dio's speech and its preoccupation with honour fits in. The aim, as with the entire literary movement, is repeatedly to advocate

11 Bang & Kolodziejczyk 2012 (with many more cases); Kolodziejczyk 2021; Kinra 2021.

12 Veyne 1999: 562-63. Gellner 1998 on the Habsburg dilemma between imperial and national loyalties.

13 For two classic epigraphically based contributions to this literature, see Spawforth & Walker 1985-1986; Oliver 1970 (not least for Herodes Atticus, one of the riches aristocrats in the empire, friend of Marcus Aurelius, massive benefactor and occasional opponent of Athens).

14 Majbom 2009; Woolf 1994.

for stricter and more demanding standards of Hellenicity, in terms of literary aesthetics, norms of comportment or public ritual. In fact, the procedure of honouring Roman dignitaries by rededicating past statues to the representatives of imperial power was far from particular to Rhodes, but is better attested in the epigraphical record from other cities, not least the Athenian Acropolis. Visually and symbolically, the strategy served to integrate, perhaps even define the Roman conqueror within a Greek cultural universe. Roman power was, so to speak, both honoured and mastered by Hellenic elite society through the symbolical language of an increasingly glorified past.[15] But all that is high-handedly and probably disingenuously ignored by Dio.[16] The point was not to offer a "true" representation of contemporary Greek culture, but to assert his position as arbiter of taste and launch the Greeks into an intensified competition for status and thereby strengthen their prestige even further. Thus, the Rhodians are accused of cheapening their honours and admonished instead to take greater care to safeguard and, if possible, heighten their dignity. "For do not think that the Romans are so stupid and ignorant that they would choose that none of their subjects should be of a free and noble character, but rather prefer to rule over slaves."[17] This is aristocratic language laying out a position of dignified service.

For someone with Herodotus fresh in memory, Dio's claim may read like a tall order and represent quite an ironic reversal of meaning. After all, the history of the Persian Wars had sought to demonstrate the exact opposite, that imperial rule was incompatible with the politics of free men.[18] This observation might then serve as a basis for an attempt to "de-

15 Shear 2007; Krumeich 2022; Ma 2013 makes the important point that in the honouring process an individual is not merely being honoured, the community also masters that individual by inserting him or her within its system of public values and virtues. See Leypold, Mohr & Russenberger 2014 for a recent collection of studies dedicated to the reuse and rededication of statues in classical antiquity, Blancken 1969 for the basic collection of the evidence.

16 Dio Chrys. *Or.* 31.105-6 (only Rhodes does it).

17 Dio Chrys. *Or.* 31.111. For guidance, see Salmeri 2000, the best discussion of the position advocated by Dio Chrysostom, and further Salmeri 2011 on the loyal pride taken in Sicilian provincial identity under imperial rulers.

18 Herodotus e.g. 7.101-4 and 8.142-44.

stabilize" the reading of Dio. Can we really be sure that this self-proclaimed admirer of the Greek past, meant his statement? But such an approach would miss the point of the speech. It is not a piece of confessional literature. Any search for authenticity is futile. It is a piece of highly charged rhetoric, constantly changing its angles, driving home its point again and again with whatever argumentative means Dio can muster. At the end, the listener is left dazzled and overwhelmed, if not numbed and bored. The aim is not sincerity, but performative, the fashioning of an honourable aristocratic identity – keeping up appearances.

Which takes us to the question that the speech presses on the ancient economic historian, an issue crucially at the centre of modern debate: did imperial subjection leave the polis better off? The answer, as Davis and Archibald intimate in their contribution, is complicated by the varying fates of different cities and regions. Ober has made a case for classical Athens as an almost ideal version of premodern economies while Alcock sees postclassical mainland Greece as sluggish until late antiquity.[19] Many other Greek communities, however, seem to have benefitted mightily from the imperial peace. The material and inscriptional record of Asia Minor, Anatolia and Syria reflect a world of flourishing communities.

Rhodes rose in the interstices of empire. Ally first of the Ptolemies, then of Rome, the island acquired a territorial foothold on the South Coast of Asia Minor, a source of tributes and profits, as Dio reminded the reader.[20] In his article, Alain Bresson shows how Rhodes was even able for a while to step into the shoes of the Ptolemies and take over some of their possessions and imperial organization in Asia Minor when their power began to crumble at the turn of the second century BC. With its active fleet, Rhodes positioned itself as a central hub in the interregional trade of the Eastern Mediterranean. Its amphorae became widespread and Isager's article reminds us how its citizens crop up everywhere in the epigraphical record. On the other hand, the wavering of Rhodes in the 3rd Macedonian war, left its wings clipped. Not in the sense that the economy went bust. As Vincent has pointed out, the trade of Rhodes carried on. But the punitive creation of Delos as a free port by the Romans,

19 Ober 2015; Alcock 1997.

20 Dio Chrys. *Or.* 31.101.

may have cut back Rhodian activity from a brief exceptional maximum. Delos became a centre of the slave trade and Italian businessmen until after the Mithridatic war when they penetrated the communities of Asia Minor.[21] Even so, the position of Rhodes remained a privileged one. For long periods, Rhodes enjoyed the status of a free community within the empire. The freedom of Rhodes, "often annulled or reaffirmed" in the pithy phrasing of Tacitus, was perhaps not as secure as that of Aphrodisias that managed to have its privileges confirmed repeatedly over several centuries.[22] But it certainly did succeed for long periods.

It is noteworthy that Dio nowhere mentions the payment of an imperial tribute by the island polis. Given its long history as an ally, it may be that the consolidation of empire under the Caesars had not yet resulted in the imposition of a tax on Rhodes. On the other hand, a grant of "freedom" did not automatically come with exemption from the imperial land tax. That was normally conferred only when the so-called *ius Italicum* was bestowed on a community - a much rarer occurrence.[23] Be that as it may, Dio points us to a dimension of the fiscal bargain that would have benefitted Rhodes, as well as most other Greek communities in varying degrees.

> "But now, the heaviest expenses of previous times do not exist. For, their [the Rhodians] military expenditures, since they were almost continually at war and rarely, if ever, had a break, cannot, in my opinion, be compared to those which are now made in times of peace. For it is not the same thing at all to send out a fleet of a hundred ships or even more...it is not possible to compare all that with what may now be seen in our time, when you [the Rhodians] appear with merely one or two undecked ships every year at Corinth."[24]

21 Rauh 1993; Eberle & Le Quéré 2017 on the acquisition of landed estates in the world of the eastern Mediterranean by Roman businessmen in the 2nd and 1st centuries BC; Gabrielsen 1997: 64-71.

22 Tac. *Ann.* 12.58, contrast the record of Aphrodisias, of freedom confirmed repeatedly for centuries, preserved on its record wall in the theatre, published by Reynolds 1982: docs. 8-25.

23 Jones 1940: 132-34.

24 Dio Chrys. *Or.* 31.102-3.

Subjection to Rome and unification of the Mediterranean under a single empire had significantly reduced warfare inside the realm. Local communities were still mostly in charge of day-to-day policing or fending off the odd pirate. But warfare on a grand scale, by far the costliest item in the budget of any ancient state, had become the preserve of the Roman imperial authorities. A very militarily active city-state such as Rhodes during the Hellenistic era would have seen its direct war expenditures slashed significantly by the imposition of the imperial peace.[25] Against this gain must then be set the loss of some of the economic benefits of military investment. Opportunities for foreign plunder would have ceased while the pressure to mobilise the people and the resources of the island would have become less intense. Thomsen's contribution, on the late 3rd century Athenian trierarchy examines the early stages of the process that eventually saw the independent war-making capacity of the Hellenic polis reduced. Instead of a mobilized citizenry and elite, the contours of a smaller permanent professional force become visible.

In spite of the very vocal nostalgia for the time when the city-states were independent players, on balance, the benefits of an imperial peace might have been worth paying a modest tribute for, especially since the imperial government also firmed up the position of landowning aristocracies, the class that saw itself as the natural leaders of local communities. The Roman authorities had little sympathy for the volatile politics so characteristic of the Greek city states in the preceding period. The fraternities and civic associations, discussed for classical Athens by Ilias Arnaoutoglou in his paper, not only made up the rich fabric of civic life in the Greek polis, they might also easily become a source of social unrest, as Trajan famously cautioned one of his governors.[26] Calls for cancellation of debts and redistribution of land had sounded frequently enough to be considered an integral part of Greek political culture and its strong democratic aspect.[27] But that would mean revolution, a no go

25 See Zuiderhook 2017: 141-42 for a warning against, in general, to underestimate the contributions to the financing of war that ancient Greek city-states, in spite of their much celebrated freedom from permanent land-taxes, had to make.

26 Pliny *Ep.* 10.34 and 93.

27 Finley 1983: 108-13.

in the eyes of empire. Disruption of the local political process threatened the stable collection of taxes that went to finance the imperial army. Order, stability and rule by the "best" men was a programme around which both empire and local aristocracies could unite. Lucian, another of the leading lights of the second sophistic, knew quite well how to craft a character assassination. In his mocking portrait of Peregrinus, the cynic philosopher is presented as both fraternizing with Christians and calling up the people to revolt against Rome. That was not what a proper dignified representative of Hellenic culture was supposed to do.[28] This class would know nothing of such "rabble rousers." On the contrary, the Greek elites sized the opportunities offered by empire and made the most of their cultural capital to join the Roman rulers in an aristocratic celebration of distinction, excellence, and the nobly born.

The protective bargain of imperial subjection, in short, served this class more than well. Under Roman rule, Hellenism consolidated and expanded its predominance in the eastern part of the empire. Greek served as the primary language of power and growing numbers of local elites oriented themselves towards Hellenistic aesthetics and forms of display in an effort to heighten their status.[29] Perhaps, the most remarkable testimony to this development, is the monumentalisation of Palmyra. In this fabled oasis-city of the Syrian desert, the Aramaic speaking community began, in the best Hellenic fashion, to honour its elites with statues and inscriptions, carved in both Greek and the Palmyrene dialect.[30] But what is so impressively on display in the Syrian desert was part of a general trend that archaeologists have documented across much of the Eastern imperial landscape. Benefitting from the Roman peace, the elites strengthened their position and hold on local communities while putting their success on display in an exuberant public culture.

28 Veyne 1999: 526 misses the character assassination performed by Lucian in his discussion of *De Morte Peregrini* as a simple account of a Greek call to arms. To Lucian, however, the task presented itself as one to burden Peregrinus with every malignant charge which could be mustered, to exclude him of Hellenic upper-class society.

29 Andrade 2013; Millar 1993.

30 Yon 2012 now assembles most of the public epigraphy of Palmyra. See Raja 2022 for a recent history of Palmyra.

However, before we get too carried away in singing the praise of the imperial peace, Cartledge's contribution reminds us that even as some groups may have benefitted from empire, others were made to pay. In that respect, classical Sparta prefigures the Roman empire. Dominion exercised over conquered peasant populations on the Peloponnesus, did that amount to slavery? Or are the Helots best understood as a kind of harshly tied peasantry ruthlessly exploited by a military class of masters? In the eyes of a Roman historian, the terms of this debate may seem a little too dominated by a Greco-Roman elite discourse that, like Dio here, tended deceptively to portray all forms of dependency as potential slavery.[31] Reality was always more complex. In the Roman case, empire certainly brought an increase in real chattel slavery, but probably even more depended on tightening the screws on a much larger subject peasant population. Backed up by the imperial army, landlords and rulers saw their power increase. By contrast, peasantries experienced a reduction in freedom as they found themselves subjected to an increasing burden of various forms of claims and obligations. Roman rule meant that they had to work harder to meet the demands of landlords and ruling classes. In short, just how to balance the opportunities brought by empire formation against a growth in exploitation – did it lead to significant growth in per capita incomes? – that is something that we still have to work out, and something that I look forward to debating in the coming years with Vincent, retirement or not. Here, the enquiry now proceeds with a section of four papers examining offices and associations in the classical and Hellenistic polis and then continues with a second section dedicated to circulation, empire and the economy more generally.

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31 Lavan 2013.

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Offices and associations in the polis

THE ECONOMY OF PRIESTLY PERQUISITES IN ANCIENT GREEK CULT

By Anders Holm Rasmussen

Summary: The remuneration of priestesses and priests was closely linked to the performance of rituals in ancient Greek cult. The aim of this article is twofold: Firstly, to get an overview of the priestly perquisites mentioned in inscribed cult regulations. Secondly, to try to explore the value of these perquisites. Did the perquisites received by the priestess/priest represent a firm income, or were they just a small extra with only limited economic impact on the life of these people? Following these questions the article specifically discusses the sanctuaries as suppliers of meat to society and the values of hides. The conclusion is that priestly perquisites perhaps did not make the receiver rich, but was most likely a firm income which could make the office of priestess/priest attractive. The article ends with a catalogue of all the registered perquisites.

ἔπειτ᾽ ἀναβλέψας ὁρῶ τὸν ἱερέα
τοὺς φθοῖς ἀφαρπάζοντα καὶ τὰς ἰσχάδας
ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης τῆς ἱερᾶς: μετὰ τοῦτο δὲ
περιῆλθε τοὺς βωμοὺς ἅπαντας ἐν κύκλῳ,
εἴ που πὸπανον εἴη τι καταλελειμμένον:
ἔπειτα ταῦθ᾽ ἥγιζεν ἐς σάκταν τινά.

So I looked up, and what did I see but the priest
taking the cheese-cakes and figs
off the holy table; after which
he went round all the altars
seeing if anyone had left a cake there,
and he consecrated all of them by putting them into his bag.[1]

1 Ar. *Pl.* 676-81. Trans. Sommerstein 1978: 294.

Anders Holm Rasmussen: 'The economy of priestly perquisites in ancient Greek cult' C&M Supplementum 2 (2024) 17-53.

Introduction: A multitude of perquisites

This well-known passage from Aristophanes's *Wealth*, in which the slave, Carion, is giving an account of what he has experienced during a night in a sanctuary of Asclepius, is of course a satire: the greedy priest running around among the altars protected by the darkness of night seeing if he can find some leftovers for his bag. Greedy priests have always been targets for a good laugh.[2] But as is often the case with Aristophanes the scene is not necessarily far away from reality. It might well be that this priest is out on his round quite legitimately collecting his perquisites after a long day's work. The nightly scene in Aristophanes does not in itself contradict e.g., an inscribed cult regulation from Erythrai concerning the cult for Asclepius and Apollo, dated ca. 380-360 BCE, and thus contemporary with the Athenian comedy produced for the year 388 BCE. The cult regulation states a.o.: ὅσα δὲ ἐπὶ [τὴν] τράπεζαν παρατεθῆι, ταῦτα εἶναι γέρα τῶι ἱρεῖ.[3]

But if the act of the priest was just ordinary everyday business, why then make a joke out it? Is it just because it is always funny to make jokes about the gods (plenty of them in Aristophanes!) and this also includes the servants of these gods? Or is it because the priests – and priestesses – were fairly wealthy people making quite a living out of doing almost nothing overviewing the rituals in the sanctuaries? At the very end of *Wealth* we meet a priest of Zeus Soter complaining that he has lost all his income and is nearly dying of starvation, because now – after the whole community has become rich – no one come to the sanctuary to sacrifice anymore. In Alan Sommerstein's free but great translation:

> "In the old days, when they had nothing, you could count on a sacrifice from a merchant on his safe return from the voyage, or a defendant who had got off; or perhaps someone would have a grand sacrificial feast at home, and then naturally he'd invite me. But now nobody

2 Cf. Van Straten 1995: 154.

3 *CGRN* 76:23-25. "Whatever is placed upon [the] table will be perquisites for the priest" (trans. *CGRN*). For the date of *Wealth* cf. Sommerstein 1978: 267.

sacrifices at all. I never see a living soul, apart from a darn sight too many who think the temple is a gents' toilet."[4]

The same theme – this time with a *chresmologos* extremely keen to lay his hands on those parts of the offerings which he thinks belong to him – runs through a scene in Aristophanes's *Peace*. The oracle-monger, Hierocles, almost attack a private sacrificial feast to Peace run by the elderly farmer Trygaeus in order to get his share. And he is of course also very eager to stop Peace from ruling because it will be bad for his business. A central passage from vv. 1104-19 – again in Sommerstein's translation – reads:

"Trygaeus: A drink-offering to the gods!
Hierocles: Aren't you going to give me any? And what about those offals (σπλάγχνα)?
Trygaeus: Not, not yet do the gods consent, for they strictly enjoin us first to pour our libation, and *you* to get out of it pronto! ... Our Lady of Peace, be with us and remain with us all our life long. Amen.
Hierocles: Could I have the tongue (γλῶττα), please?
Trygaeus: You've got one already - so kindly take it away from here.
Hierocles: A drink-offering!
Trygaeus: Here, have something to go with! [*Throws some rubbish in his face]*
Hierocles: Is nobody going to give me any of the meat (σπλάγχνα)?
Trygaeus: Not yet is it lawful to do so, till that a wolf shall mate with a sheep.
Hierocles: I beg you, I beseech you!
Trygaeus: No good beseeching. 'None can bring it about that the hedgehog should cease to be prickly.' [*To the audience*] Come here, everyone, let's have a feast!
Hierocles: What about me?
Trygaeus: Oh, go and eat Sibyllines!

4 Ar. *Pl.* 1178-84: ὅτι πάντες εἰσὶ πλούσιοι· καίτοι τότε, ὅτ' εἶχον οὐδέν, ὁ μὲν ἂν ἥκων ἔμποροςω ἔθυσεν ἱερεῖόν τι σωθείς, ὁ δέ τις ἂν δίκην ἀποφυγών, ὁ δ' ἂν ἐκαλλιερεῖτό τις κἀμέ γ' ἐκάλει τὸν ἱερέα· νῦν δ'οὐφὲ εἷς θύει τὸ παράπαν οὐδὲν οὐδ' εἰσέρχεται, πλὴν ἀποπατησόμενοι γε πλεῖν ἢ μύριοι.

Hierocles: I swear I'm not going to let you eat the whole lot yourselves! I'll get 'em, see if I don't!"[5]

The two specific items that Hierocles asks for here is σπλάγχνα and γλῶττα, entrails and tongue. Both are parts of sacrificial animals which are commonly found in cult regulations to be given to the priests as perquisites.[6]

Reading through inscriptions with ancient greek cult regulations we find very many stipulations concerning the perquisites of priestesses and priests. The overall picture we get from these sources confirm all in all the satirical representations of the priests in Aristophanes: The priests get paid for their services by obtaining parts of the sacrificial victims, but also by receiving money in cash. The purpose of this article is thus twofold: To get an overview of the priestly perquisites handed down to us through cult regulations preserved in inscriptions, and to explore the value some of these perquisites represented for the priestesses and priests receiving them. Had the priests in Aristophanes good reason to panic if their praxis went out of business or were the perquisites just a small extra income without much economic impact on the daily life of these people?

The source material for this investigation are all the documents published through the project *Collection of Greek Ritual Norms* (*CGRN*) on their magnificent website.[7] The basis for *CGRN* is the inscriptions published in the three volumes from the 1950's and 60's by F. Sokolowski and the volume by E. Lupu in 2009.[8] Moreover the *CGRN* have a number of inscriptions not published in any of these four volumes. According to the editorial guidelines of the *CGRN*-collection they have included inscriptions "relating to ancient Greek rituals, in particular ... the two large subjects

5 Ar. *Pax* 1104-1119. Sommerstein 1978: 136-37.

6 For references cf. the catalogue below in the appendix. I note that the hits in the catalogue under γλῶσσα and σπλάγχνα all come from Asia Minor and some Aegean Islands. There are no hits from Attica or places further west.

7 http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be.

8 F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées de l'Asie Mineure* (Paris 1955) (abbreviated *LSAM*), *Lois sacrées des cités grecques. Supplement* (Paris 1962) (abbreviated *LSS*), *Lois sacrées des cités grecques* (Paris 1969) (abbreviated *LSCG*), E. Lupu, *Greek Sacred Law. A Collection of New Documents* (Leiden 2009) (abbreviated *NGSL*).

of sacrifice and purification".[9] In doing so, the *CGRN* hit on almost every inscription which contain information on priestly perquisites.[10] This makes it clear that the remuneration of priestesses and priests was closely linked to the performance of the local ritual. Even though we find many local specialities in connection with cult activity, there seems nevertheless to have existed quite a firm structure throughout the ancient Greek world from archaic times down to the first centuries CE: The priestess or the priest of the sanctuary shall perform the sacrifice and for this receive perquisites of some kind.

The most common Greek word used in the sources for what we translate as "perquisites" is γέρα, the plural of τὸ γέρας, which in the literary texts has the basic meaning of gift of honour, a privilege or prerogative conferred on kings and nobles.[11] Often γέρα constructed with the verbs λαμβάνω (receive) or δίδωμι (give) clearly designates priestly income in general by referring to specific items to be received by the priestess or priest.[12] But γέρα is no straightforward technical term, and information about perquisites appear in many ways, and with the help of several terms. First, γέρας or γέρα can be a part of a list of perquisites, that is being a perquisite in it self.[13] Secondly, γέρα is not so common in Attic

9 Cf. the "Guiding Principles" for the *CGRN* at: http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be.

10 There are some few texts in the three volumes of Sokolowski and *NGSL* relevant to my purpose here, which are not in the *CGRN*-collection. The reason seems to be that these texts often are so mutilated that it would make no sense to publish them in a collection on sacrifice and purification. But they might still contain some isolated words giving information on perquisites.

11 Thus *LSJ*.

12 Cf. e.g. *CGRN 98* (Erythrai c 350-300 BCE) lines 10-15, though heavily restored it is clear that γέρα here are both money and parts of sacrificial animals; *CGRN 124* (Pergamon c 250-200 BCE) lines 4-9, here δέρμα and κωλῆ together with money; *CGRN 193* (Hyllarima 196 BCE) lines Ab16-Ab18 and B17-21, here κεφαλή and πούς; *CGRN 194* (Magnesia-on-the-Maiander c. 197/6 or 180 BCE) lines 53-54 where it relates to the usual grants without any specification; *CGRN 206* (Pergamon 2nd cent. BCE) lines 12-15, where it relates to natural goods.

13 We have four examples from Chios: *CGRN 36* (end of fifth cent. BCE) line 4, where it occurs second in a list after γλάσσας; *CGRN 38* (c. 400 BCE) lines 4-7. This decree is concerned with the priestess of Ilithyia: ἢν δὲ ἰδ|ιώτης ποι[ῆι], διδοσθαι ἀπὸ τõ

inscriptions even though the term occurs in two important sources, in both cases with reference to grants in money.[14] Very often in Attica the word τὰ ἱερεωσύνα is used to designate priestly perquisites.[15] As with γέρα, ἱερεωσύνα refers to grants in both money and in kinds.[16] But in

ἱε|ρ[ῶ], ὥστε ἐς [τὸ] λ[ί]κνον ἐνθεῖ[ν]αι,| [μ]οῖραν καὶ γέρας καὶ γλῶσσαν ("If a private person performs (a sacrifice), a portion, a honorific portion, and the tongue shall be given from the sacrificial animal." Trans. from *CGRN*). Here γέρα is translated "honorific portion." What this portion was we cannot know, but it definitely was something different from the tongue. Carbon 2017: 173 mentions this inscription in connection with the question of the tongue, but he does not discuss γέρα; *CGRN 88* (c. 350-300 BCE) line 4. The text is very damaged, but we have in line 4 [... c. 12 ...] καὶ γέρας δεξιό[ς] ("and a right prerogative." Trans. *CGRN*). We cannot be absolutely sure that the adjective δεξιός is attached to γέρας, because the beginning of the next line of the text has been lost. But if δεξιός qualifies γέρας, this must be some specific part of a sacrificial animal. See also *CGRN 170* (fifth cent. BCE), one of the earliest known sales contracts for a priesthood (here male). From Priene two examples from the same inscription, *CGRN 175* (2nd cent. BCE), lines 8-9, where the priestess of Meter Phrygie shall receive from what is sacrificed the hides and half the γέρα. The other part of the γέρα shall be distributed among the women present together with the rest of the meat. In lines 16-18 the same priestess shall receive a third of the γέρα and the skin from the animal, which shall be sacrificed when women are initiated into the cult. *LSAM 65* is very damaged but has ὁ ἱερεὺς γέρας in l. 6. See also *Mylasa 350 (PHI)*.

14 *CGRN 52/SEG 21:541* (The Erchia calendar, c. 375-350 BCE) in lines E53-59: τούτ|ωι ἱερεῶσθ|αι τὸν κήρυ|κα καὶ τὰ γέ|ρα Λαμβάνε|ν καθάπερ ὁ | δήμαρχος Δ ("the herald performs this sacrifice and receives perquisites like the demarch would, 10 dr." Trans. from *CGRN*). γέρα is here money, but it is uncertain what the stipulation refers to. *CGRN 84/SEG 21:527* (The regulations of the *genos* of the Salaminioi in Attica 363/62 BCE) in lines 27-28: τοῖς δὲ ἱερεῦσι καὶ ταῖς ἱερείαι|ς ἀποδιδόναι τὰ γέρα τὰ γεγραμμένα ("to the priests and priestesses shall be given the perquisites prescribed here." Trans. from *CGRN*). What follows is money.

15 τὰ ἱερεωσύνα is a special form we find in Attic inscriptions. It is the same word as τὰ ἱερωσύνα. It derives from the adjective ἱερώσυνος, simply meaning priestly, belonging to priests.

16 Cf.. e.g.. *CGRN 45* (the civic sacrificial calendar of Athen, c. 410-404 and 403/2-400/399 BCE); *CGRN 55* (calendar from the deme of Teithras, c. 400-350 BCE); *CGRN 57* (accounts for priestly perquisites et al. from the deme Aixone, c. 400-375 BCE); *CGRN 74* (from the Attic phratry of the Demotionidai, 396/5 BCE); *CGRN 84* (regulations of the genos of the Salaminioi, 363/2 BCE); *IG II² 1361* (decree of the orgeones of Bendis, c.330-324/3); *CGRN 94* (sacrificial calendar of the deme of Eleusis, c 330-270 BCE); *CGRN 103* (regulations from the deme of Phrearrhioi, c. 300-250 BCE).

very many cases the grants of perquisites are not qualified by a special terminology. The texts simply say what the priestesses or priests are to be given for their services in the cult.[17]

When looking at the catalogue of perquisites in the appendix from pp. 36-50 below, various things become clear. The most obvious is perhaps the number of different perquisites and how specific some of them are. It is also easily perceived that a few items stand out as the most common. A table with the items sorted by the number of hits gives this picture:

Perquisites received	Number of hits
Money	78
δέρμα (hide, skin)	65
σκέλος (leg)	46
κωλῆ (thighbone)	25
γλῶσσα (tongue)	22
σπλάγχνα (entrails)	17
πλευρόν (rib)	14
κεφαλή (head)	13
γέρας/γέρα (honorific portion/prerogative/perquisite)	12
κρέας (meat)	11
ἀπόμετρα (priestly prerogative)	9
ἱερὰ μοῖρα (sacred portion)	9
πούς (foot)	9
χορδή (intestine)	9
ἀτελής (freedom from liturgies or taxes)	8
ἄρτος (bread)	7
οἶνος (wine)	6
τραπεζώματα (things on the table)	6
ὦμος/ὠμοπλάτη (shoulder/shoulder blade)	6
ἄλφιτον (barley-groats)	4

17 E.g. *IG* I^3 35/*OR* 137 (Athens, c. 450/438).

νεφρός (kidney)	4
σκολιόν (intestine)	4
θύα ἀφ' ὧν ἂν θύῃ (burnt-offerings from which one makes smoke)	3
κώιδιον (sheep skin)	3
ὀσφῦς (loin)	3
οὖς (ear)	3
αἱμάτιον (blood-sausage)	2
βραχίων (shoulder)	2
ἰσχίον (hip)	2
πρότμησις (portion from the waist)	2
σπύρος (wheat)	2
τὰ ἐπὶ κωλῆν νεμόμενα (the portions distributed on the thigh)	2
χέλυς (chest)	2
ἀκρίσχιον (end of hip)	1
γαστρίον (stomach, or little stomach)	1
γνάθος (jaw)	1
δεῖπνον (meal)	1
ἐγκέφαλος (brain)	1
ἔλαιον (olive oil)	1
ἐλατήρ (cake)	1
ἐνθρύπτος (a kind of cake?)	1
ἑρμέα (Hermes-cake)	1
καρπεύεσθαι δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ ἱερόν (have the usufruct of the sanctuary)	1
κεφάλαιον (a part of the head)	1
κοιλία (belly)	1
κορυφαῖα (parts of the (top of the?) head)	1
μνοῦς (soft down)	1
νῶτον (back)	1
ὁπλή (hoof ? (of oxen))	1

πλάτη (shoulder blade)	1
πόκος (wool, fleece)	1
πυρός (wheat)	1
ῥύγχος (snout of swine)	1
σῖτος (?) (grain)	1
τὰ λοίπα ἱερά (the sacred rest)	1
ταρσός (shank)	1
τράχηλος (throat)	1
ὑπώμαια (armpits)	1
φθόϊς (cake)	1
χόλικες (bowels from ox)	1
ὦρη (foreleg or tail?)	1

Money is by far the most common item, followed by only nine other items that can show more than 10 hits, δέρμα and σκέλος taking a clear lead. But against this seemingly uniform impression, it is worth pointing out that items with one to ten hits are still making up 35% of the total registered perquisites. Very many of these items with only one or few hits are of course special cuts from a sacrificial animal, which could be gathered under the heading: meat from ox, sheep or goat.[18] Others are different kinds of bakery. All in all, it confirms the view of how diverse local practice was in the many cults spread out across the ancient Greek world, but it also shows a common structure in which the most frequently given perquisites are found all over the Greek areas.[19]

I shall in what follows try to look into the question of how much a priestess or priest could earn from their business, especially when it comes to the received foodstuff and the hides. Were the priestesses' and priests' share of the sacrificial animal only a small supply to use for themselves and their families, or did they achieve a surplus they could subsequently sell? A number of variables have to be taken into consideration here: How large was the sanctuary in which the priestess or priest served? How many people attended the cult? Did the priestess or priest

18 For many of these see Ekroth 2007, 2008, 2011, 2013, and Carbon 2017.
19 On this question cf. Parker 2018.

serve at large public sacrificial festivals, and how often did these events occur in the given sanctuary? We know for example that the priestess of Athena Nike in Athens was to receive legs and hides from the public sacrifices. But how many legs and hides did that produce? How much money could she make from selling the legs and hides she received and thus ad to the 50 drachmas that she also received each year as a firm salary?[20] And the 50 drachmas, were they only what she received from the public sacrifices? Did private persons come to the sanctuary of Athena Nike to sacrifice besides the public events, and if they did, what should they pay for the service? These questions are not easily answered, at least not in detail.

Moreover, these questions also activate the topic of the supply of meat to the ancient communities. It is broadly agreed in scholarship that the bulk of the meat in circulation in ancient Greek society came from sacrifices. If the sanctuaries had a monopoly on delivering meat to society it must have had a considerable influence on the possible income for the priests selling their surplus of the acquired perquisites. And looking at our catalogue of acquired perquisites, the hides are equally brought to our attention. If the sanctuaries with their priestesses and priests had a near monopoly providing meat to the society, the same then must be the case for the hides.

The sanctuaries as sole suppliers of meat?

The understanding of the sanctuaries as the main suppliers of meat to the communities has a long standing in scholarship going back at least to P. Stengel.[21] Some scholars even claim that the sanctuaries were the only suppliers of meat, at least that is Vincent J. Rosivach's argument in relation to Athens in the fourth century BCE. Rosivach moreover sees a division in the quality between what is kept in the sanctuaries for feasting or distribution and the parts ending up in the butchers' shops. At these shops only the odd parts of sacrificial victims were sold, that is those parts which could not easily be used for immediate cooking in the

20 Cf. *IG* I^3 35 & 36/*OR* 137 & 156.

21 Stengel 1920: 105-6; cf. Jameson 1988: 87, with note 1.

sanctuary.[22] In a footnote, Rosivach mentions a couple of sources which relates to the selling of sacrificial meat, but he sees them as exceptions from the general rule.[23]

There is no doubt that the sanctuaries must have produced a large quantum of the meat in circulation in their respective local societies. On the other hand, I am not convinced that the sanctuaries were the only suppliers. I think we are easily misled in this question – as in other questions when it comes to ancient history – if we interpret the randomly preserved source material as giving a one-to-one picture of life in the Greek past. What we know is that there existed a market for meat, and some of this meat came from sanctuaries and ended up in the butchers' shops. These shops certainly also sold meat from other sources or producers, but these producers have to a large extend escaped mentioning in our preserved evidence. Michael Jameson in relating to the question of sanctuaries as sole suppliers of meat stated rightly that "the bulk of the evidence is consistent with this view but [Arist.] *Oec.* 2.20e, 1349b distinguishes σφάζοντες ἐπώλουν from ἱερόθυτα ἐποίουν."[24] In the Aristotelian text there is a clear division between the slaughter of livestock to meet the daily needs and the possibility to convert these animals to sacrificial victims if needed.

A passage from Saint Paul's first epistle to the Corinthians can perhaps support this point of view. In chapters eight to ten Paul treats the question whether the Christians in Corinth are allowed to eat meat

22 Rosivach 1994: 88: "In sum then, there is no evidence for animals being slain for their meat outside the framework of sacrifice; the meats available for sale from butchers appear always to be cuts that would be unsuited for sacrificial meals; and the fantasies of comedy seem always to associate private dining exclusively with these odd cuts. Each of these factors is most easily explained if we assume that animals were slain only for the purpose of sacrifice and that only those parts of the animals unsuitable for sacrificial meals were disposed of by butchers on the public market." For the arguments that only odd parts were at sale in the butcher's shops, cf. pp. 85-87.

23 Rosivach 1994: 86 note 60. The exceptions mentioned are the fifth-century calendar from the deme Skambonidai (*IG* I^3 244/*CGRN* 19 (without face B of the inscription)) and Theophrast *Char.* 22.4. Rosivach fails to mention the calendar from Thorikos (*NGSL* 1/*CGRN* 32), and if we leave Attica, we also have an example from Didyma (*LSAM* 54). See further below.

24 Jameson 1988: 87 with note 1.

which comes from sacrifices in the temples. Paul's answer is that the Christians are allowed to eat anything they buy on the meat market without further examination. And if the Christians are invited to dinner in the homes of non-Christians, they can eat anything put on the table without further examination. But if the host tells the Christian guest that the meat on the table comes from sacrifices, the Christian shall refrain from eating it. Why this is so has to do with Paul's rather complicated arguments concerning what is allowed versus what is good to do as a Christian. But this just underlines my point: Why should the host suddenly tell the guest that the meat comes from sacrifices if all meat always did that? From the context it must be clear, that the market contained both meat from sacrifices and meat supplied from elsewhere.[25] But apart from stating that the sanctuaries with their priestesses and priests did not have a monopoly delivering meat to the local society, it is not possible to conclude anything more specific about the value of the meat the priestesses and priests received. We do not have prices for meat cuts preserved in our sources. And the two calendars from Attica mentioning the sale of meat – from the demes Skambonidai and Thorikos – have no prices at all. What matters in the two regulations is that the meat must be sold as both calendars are connected to the yearly rendering of accounts through the *euthynai*.[26] We have of course a number of prices connected to sacrificial victims in the preserved cult calendars, but that does not help us here.[27] The fragment from Didyma just say that the meat must be sold by weight.[28]

25 1 Cor. 10.25-28. Πᾶν τὸ ἐν μακέλλῳ πωλούμενον ἐσθίετε μηδὲν ἀνακρίνοντες διὰ τὴν συνείδησιν. ... εἴ τις καλεῖ ὑμᾶς τῶν ἀπίστων καὶ θέλετε πορεύεσθαι, πᾶν τὸ παρατιθέμενον ὑμῖν ἐσθῖετε μηδὲν ἀνακρίνοντες διὰ τὴν συνείδησιν. ἐὰν δέ τις ὑμῖν εἴπῃ· τοῦτο ἱερόθυτόν ἐστιν, μὴ ἐσθίετε δι'ἐκεῖνον τὸν μηνύσαντα καὶ τὴν συνείδησιν.

26 Skambonidai: *CGRN* 19 face C: 17-18; 21-22. Thorokos: *CGRN* 32: 9; 11-12; 23; 26; 35.

27 Thorikos (ca. 440-430/380-375): *CGRN* 32; Teithras (ca. 400-350): *CGRN* 55; Marathonian Tetrapolis (ca. 375-350): *CGRN* 56 (all the perquisites listed here are money); The Nicomachus Calendar (403/2-400/399): Lambert 2002, *CGRN* 45; Erchia (ca. 375-30): *CGRN* 52; The Salaminioi *genos* (363/2): *CGRN* 84, *RO* 37; Eleusis (ca. 330-270): *CGRN* 94.

28 *LSAM* 54. The text *in tuto* reads: ἐν τῆι σκην[ῆι...]ν. εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἐξε[ῖ]|ναι τῶι βουλομένωι λαμβάνειν· | πωλεῖσθαι δὲ πάντα σταθμῶι· | τῶν δὲ ῥυγχέων καὶ [τ]ῶν ἀκροκω|λίων

This rather meagre amount of direct source material for the sale of sacrificial meat – not to mention the lack of exact prices – is definitely not representative for the past reality. There has been a lot of meat at the sanctuaries, and this meat has been used in different ways. Some of it has been sold directly, some of it has been distributed among the community for free and some of it has been consumed in the sanctuary at a sacrificial feast. But what about the priest's share? It is reasonable to imagine, that the parts the priestesses and priests could not use herself/himself also were sold. This cannot be proved, but I think it is a qualified guess. To imagine priestesses and priests continually during the year receiving perquisites in kind of meat, perhaps taking what they could eat themselves on the day or the day after and then leaving the rest to rot in the sanctuary I find hard to believe.

The value of hides

When looking at the received perquisites in kind, the hides constitute the largest group. In a fairly large part of the inscriptions the kind of hides or skin are either not specified in the text or lost on the stone. But generally, the evidence show that the priestesses and priests received hides from all the most common sacrificial animals as ox, sheep, goat and pigs with sheep not surprisingly in the lead.[29] As with the meat the priestesses and priests must continually have had quite a stock of animal hides much more than they could use themselves, unless they joined the

ὑπολογίζεσθαι τὸ τρίτον | μέρος. [ὑ]πὲρ τῶν κεφαλῶν τῶν | προβατείων. τοὺς δὲ μαγείρ[ους] | πωλεῖν τὰς κεφαλὰς τῶν [προβά]|των καθάραντας - - - - - ("... in the tent ..., but if not, the one who wish can take: sell it all from weight. From the snouts and from the other cut-aways a third portion must be included. Concerning the heads of the flocks: The butchers shall sell the heads from the animals cleaned ..."). Sokolowski gives no date. Rehm 1958, no. 482 has a slightly different reading. See the commentary on this topic in *NGSL*: 71-72.

29 In 18 cases the kind of hide is either not specified or lost on the stone. In 17 cases the priest is to receive hides from all sacrificed animals. In 16 cases hide from sheep are specified, in 8 cases oxen, in 5 cases goats, and in 2 cases pigs.

priestly services with a business as tanners. This is of course not an impossible thought (at least not for the priests), but to my knowledge we have no evidence for such a connection.

When it comes to the prices on hides we have perhaps a little more to go on compared to the meat. A connection between hides from sacrificial animals and prices is first and foremost seen in the so-called *dermatikon*-accounts dating from Lycurgean Athens in the 330s.[30] The inscription – originally in four columns – is heavily fragmented and must have contained various accounts. The best-preserved part of the text, though, gives us the account ἐκ τοῦ δερματικοῦ for the years 334/3 through 331/0.

The year 334/3 lists nine public sacrificial festivals with information on which board of magistrates was in charge of each festival and how much income in cash the sale of hides from the sacrificial victims had rendered. The board in charge of the sale seems to be the βοῶναι.[31] The full sum from this year were 5,099 drachmas and 4 *obols*. The largest preserved sum collected from one of the nine festivals is from the sacrifice for Zeus Soter, giving 1,050 drachmas, the smallest sum is from the sacrifice to *Agathe Tyche*, giving 160 drachmas.

Unfortunately, it is not possible to link any of the cults mentioned in the *dermatikon*-accounts to documents regulating priestly perquisites to these same cults, at least not in detail. The closest we get is in the case of the Bendis cult. Stephen Lambert has commented on the *dermatikon*-accounts in comparison with a late 5th century document concerning the

30 *IG* II^2 1496. Cf. Rosivach 1994: 48-67. Rosivach suggests that the selling of the hides from these festivals was not invented by Lycurgus, but that he had rationalised a pre-existing practice (p. 48 note 99), and it seems quite clear from what we know about the term that Lycurgus somehow were involved: For the meaning of *dermatikon* cf. Harpokration s.v.: Λυκοῦργος ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ ἀπολογισμὸς ὧν πεπολίτευται· δερματικὸν ἂν εἴη λέγων ὁ ῥήτωρ τὸ ἐκ τῶν δερματίων τῶν πιπρασκομένων περιγινόμενον ἀργύριον (Lycurgus in the title "account to those who are governed": *Dermatikon* is – according to the speaker – the surplus of the money coming from the sales of the hides). Apart from this and *IG* II^2 1496, *dermatikon* is known only from *IG* II^3 1 445:42, ... τῶν θεῶν τὸ ἀργύριον [τ]ὸ ἐκ τοῦ δερματικοῦ ... The context is uncertain, but the text is from a law issued by Lycurgus.

31 For the βοῶναι cf. Dem. 21.171 and *RO* 81: B17-18. See also Rosivach 1994: 108-14. Hansen 1980: 163-64 gives an overview of the magistrates mentioned in *IG* II^2 1496.

cult of Bendis in Athens, the earliest evidence we possess on this cult.[32] In the *dermatikon*-accounts we have preserved under the year 334/3: ἐγ Βενδιδέων παρὰ ἱεροποι[ῶν] and the sum 457 drachmas. An identical line can be reconstructed in the following year, but here the sum of money is lost.[33] Is it at all possible to connect these 457 drachmas to the Bendis priestess?[34]

The late fifth-century Bendis-document is unfortunately very damaged, and there is no clear reference to priests in the preserved text, but it is very likely that this cult regulation has contained information on priestly perquisites.[35] In l. 34 we read: [..c.7.. ἀπ]ὸ δέκα hιερείον· τὰ δὲ ἄλλα δέρματ̣[α ..c.28..].[36] To this Lambert has suggested that the text could have described a division between hides (from ten victims) going to the priestess and the hides from the rest of the victims going to be sold as we find it in the *dermatikon*-accounts. As Lambert puts it: "Skins (or in the case of mass sacrifices, as here, some skins) of sacrificial victims were commonly retained by the officiating priest or priestess as a fee (cf., e.g., *SEG* 54.214). Here a division is probably being made between skins going to the priestess and others which were to be sold to finance the cult." It is this last part of the hides Lambert suggests we have represented in the *dermatikon*-accounts.[37]

This is a plausible suggestion, but it is at the same time important to emphasize that the suggestion only hangs on the damaged line 34 of the Bendis inscription. We have no direct evidence in the preserved sources

32 *IG* I^3 136/*CGRN* 44 (413/2 BCE). Lambert's comments are in *AIO* in connection with his translation of the document.

33 *IG* II^2 1496: 86, 117.

34 On the question of both a priestess and a priest serving the Bendis cult cf. Lambert 2010: 161-163. See also Parker 1996: 170-75 on the establishment of the Bendis cult in Piraeus.

35 *IG* I^3 136/*CGRN* 44: 29-36. In l. 29 of the fragment, we read: [.c.13.] εἴτε χρὲ γυναῖκα hιερεοσ[.c.30.]. In *AIO* Lambert translates l. 29: "... whether the wife of the priest (?) ought ...," with the commentary to the translation: "The word translated here as "of the priest" may also be part of a longer verb, which would change the sense to "whether a woman should serve as priest." This translation is preferred in *CGRN*. See in general Lambert's translation and important commentaries in *AIO*. Cf. also Wijma 2014: 139-45.

36 Lambert trans.: "... from ten victims. The other hides ..."

37 Lambert in *AIO* note 10.

for the division of hides between the priestess or priest and the cult. The *SEG* 54.214 mentioned by Lambert refers to the so-called law from Aixone in Attica from ca. 400-375 (see also *CGRN* 57). Nowhere in this inscription is it stipulated that the skins are to be divided between the priest and cult. All the skins go to the relevant priest. Having no examples of such a division we have on the contrary some cases in which it is being specified that all the hides from public sacrifices shall go to the priestess or priest. From Athens most prominently perhaps the fifth-century decree establishing a cult for Athena Nike.[38] Looking beyond Attica we have examples in which the priestess or priest shall have all the hides from public sacrifices, but no hides from private sacrifices.[39] And we have quite a lot of cases just stating that the priestess or priest shall receive "the hides" in plural.[40] Judged from the preserved evidence the normal procedure thus seems to be that the priestesses or priests received all the hides from public sacrifices. And following this line we should perhaps conclude that the priestess of Bendis in the year 334/3 received 457 drachmas from the sale of the hides given to her during that year's festival. And moreover, that all the numbers mentioned in the *dematikon*-accounts derived from the sale of hides given to priestesses or priests during a year's public sacrifices.

In the chart below I have listed the preserved prices in the *dematikon*-accounts. Taken that all the sums come from public festivals held during a year, I have divided the sums with 365. The numbers in the brackets indicate thus how much the yearly sum equals in drachmas per day.

Cult / Sanctuary	334/3	333/2	332/1	331/0
Dionysos in Peiraios	311 dr. (0.85)			*Lost*
Dionysos at the Lenaia festival	*Lost*	106 dr. (0.29)		*Lost*
Agathe Tyche	160 dr. (0.44)	101 dr. (0.28)		

38 *IG* I^3 35/*OR* 137.

39 E.g. *CGRN* 39 (ca. 400, Milet), *CGRN* 118 (ca. 250-200, Halikarnassos), *CGRN* 119 (ca. 250-200, Theangela).

40 E.g. *CGRN* 57:5-6 (400-375, Aixone in Attica), *CGRN* 85 (325-300, Cos), *CGRN* 86 (ca. 350, Cos), *CGRN* 175 (2nd cent., Priene).

Asklepios	291 dr. (0.80)	225 dr. (0.62)		*Lost*
Asklepios			1,000 dr. (2.74)	*Lost*
Dionysos in the city	808 dr. (2.21)	306 dr. (0.84)		*Lost*
Olympieion at the *demos*' gathering	671 dr. (1.84)	500 dr. (1.37)		
Hermes Hegemonios	*Lost*	*Lost*		
Bendis	457 dr. (1.25)	*Lost*		
Zeus Soter	1,050 dr. (2.88)	2,610 dr. (7.15)		
Eirene		874 dr. (2.39)	710 dr. 3 ob. (1.95)	
Ammon		44 dr. 4.5 ob. (0.12)		
Panathenaion		61 dr. 3 ob. (0.17)	*Lost*	
Panathenaion (?)		33 dr. 3 ob. (0.09)		
Daeira (+ others lost on the stone)		229 dr. 4 ob. (0.63)		
Eleusinion			*Lost*	
Demokratia			414 dr. 3 ob. (1.14)	
Theseus (?)			1,183 dr. (3.24)	*Lost*

If we look at the description in *Ath.Pol.* on payments for attending meetings and holding offices in Athens about the same time as that of the *dermatikon*-accounts, these varies from ½ to 1½ drachmas. And the wages for

unskilled labourers were around 1½ drachmas per day, while a skilled labourer could earn up to 2½ drachmas per day.[41] Compared to this it makes good sense to interpret the sums in the *dermatikon*-accounts as yearly payments to the priestesses or priests for the festivals. It is only the sums from Zeus Soter in the year 333/2 with 2,610 drachmas that seems to stand out as extreme, but the year before the payment was in line with what could be expected. All in all, the trend seems to indicate wages in the lower end. But this is of course only payments from the sale of hides. The priestesses and priests had as we have seen also a whole range of other sources of income.[42]

Wealthy priestesses and priests?

Were the ancient Greek priestesses and priests wealthy people because of their position in the cults receiving perquisites for their services? It is often stated in scholarship that Greek priests did not make up a specific caste or class with a fixed position in society, and through many years it was also established knowledge that anyone could make a sacrifice in a Greek sanctuary without the involvement of a priestess or a priest.[43] Today this picture has been nuanced. First of all, there seems to be a general acceptance now that a Greek cult could not function without a priestess

41 [Arist.], *Ath. Pol.* 62.2. *RO*, xxiii with the references in note 17.

42 Payments to priests are examined by Loomis 1998: 76-86. In his conclusions p. 256 he states: "... I have isolated those figures that tell us what people really were paid for various kinds of work and allowances at various periods. ... The evidence for physicians, priests, oracles, seers, actors, writers and pimps is either not reliable or not useful for comparative purposes."

43 Thus e.g., Burkert 1985: 95: "Greek religion might almost be called a religion without priests: there is no priestly caste as a closed group with fixed tradition, education, initiation, and hierarchy, and even in the permanently established cults there is no *disciplina*, but only usage, *nomos*. The god in principle admits anyone, as long as he respects the *nomos*, that is, as long as he is willing to fit into the local community; ... among the Greeks, sacrifice can be performed by anyone who is possessed of the desire and the means, including housewives and slaves." But one can also refer to Stengel 1898: 31, or Ziehen 1913: col. 1411.

or a priest, not to mention the *polis* as such.[44] Secondly it is obvious from the investigation here that it was established as a fundamental rule that the priestesses and the priests should receive perquisites for their service to cult and *polis*.

Attending a cult was giving to the cult, whether it was the society – the *polis* – which attended or a private person: One gave some kind of sacrifice to the gods, one paid perhaps a fee for getting access to the cult, and one had to give perquisites to the priestess or priest who should perform the ritual. Something of what was given came back to society or the private individual. Sacrificial meat could be distributed to members of the society, or the sacrificial meat could be sold and thus enter a market.[45] The same could happen – as we have seen – with hides from sacrificial victims. And it is my suggestion here that also the priestesses and priests have been suppliers of meat and hides given the fact that they must have received far more than they were able to consume or use themselves. Did that make them rich? Not necessarily. But I am sure that income – large or small – floated to the priestesses or priests continuously during the year and thus made the basis for a firm income.

The role of the Attic *gene* with its exclusivity when it comes to supplying public cults with priestesses and priests could very well derive from the possibility of controlling the economy in certain cults. And it is a fact that a large part of our sources concerning cult regulations concentrate on economic matters – an obvious example being the arbitration in the *genos* of the Salaminioi.[46] The conflict in this case is clear: how were the cults administered by the *genos* to be financed, and who within the *genos* had a right to which priesthoods and how should the perquisites be divided? This is the expressed purpose of linking the result of the arbitration with a sacrificial calendar – the only surviving calendar where we can actually see from the preserved text on the stone why it was written

44 Cf. e.g., Parker 2011: 48-57. On the priest's role in the ritual cf. Rasmussen 2008. Important is also Blok 2017 establishing priestesses as citizens with very conspicuous roles in society.

45 As in the demes of Skambonidai (*CGRN* 19) and Thorikos (*CGRN* 32). But see also the law and decree on the Little Panathenaea from c. 335: *RO* 81: B1-29.

46 *CGRN* 84/*RO* 37.

up.[47] And one could also point to the contracts in connection with the sale of priesthoods in the eastern part of the Greek world. Some of these priesthoods were sold at very high prices, and perquisites such as exemption from liturgies – but also running income from other kinds of perquisites – is a central theme in these texts. We have of course also examples of priesthoods sold at more modest prices, but again, in the contracts the priestly income stand as a central and very important issue.[48]

Appendix: A catalogue of perquisites

This section contains a catalogue of all the different items that priestesses and priests received as perquisites. Some of the grants are very specific and technical, and we have a lot of examples, with only one occurrence in the whole material, others we find frequently. It has not been the purpose here to go into the discussion of the exact meaning of these sometimes very specific parts of the sacrificial animals given as priestly perquisites. There exists much qualified work on this subject.[49] In the catalogue I have used the translations of the Greek terms found in *CGRN*. The catalogue lists the Greek terms in alphabetical order and the number of hits in the sources. In counting the number of hits, the approach has been to register perquisites in each cult. If e.g. one inscription deals with a number of cults, it can result in more than one hit for each perquisite in the same text. I give the reference to the sources below each lemma. Arabic numbers in italics alone refer to the inscription in *CGRN* followed by reference to line. If not anything else is noted all years are BCE.

47 *CGRN* 84/*RO* 37: 80-84.

48 Typical examples of contracts cf. *CGRN* 119 (Theangela near Halikarnassos, ca. 250-200) & 184 (from Kasossos, ca. 200-100). None of these have preserved the price payed for the priesthood, but *IErythrai* 201, ca. 300-260 lists the sale of public priesthoods. The most expensive priesthood went for 4610 drachmas while the cheapest went for 10 drachmas. For this list see now the convenient set-up in Parker 2011: 98-102.

49 Fundamental now for the study of animal sacrifice in Greek cult is the work of Gunnel Ekroth. See especially Ekroth 2007, 2008a, 2008b, 2009, 2011, 2013. Important is also Carbon 2017.

αἱμάτιον (blood-sausage) **2**
39:10-13, Miletos c 400
86:A52f, Cos c 350

ἀκρίσχιον (end of hip) **1**
86:A52, Cos c 350

ἄλφιτον (barley-groats) **4**
56:II.45, 50, Marathonian Tetrapolis c 375-350
88, Chios c 350-300
156:14-15, Mykonos c 230-200

ἀπόμετρα[50] (priestly prerogative) **9**
25:A19-20, A23-24, A30-31, B2-3, B6, B13, B20, B24-25, B28-29, Attic deme of Paiania c 450-425

ἄρτος (bread) **7**
80, Erythrai c 350
84:43-46, Attica 363/2

ἀτελής[51] (free from liturgies or taxes) **8**
49:3, Chios c 400-375
93:11, Xanthos 337/6
119:16, Theangela c 250-200
147:6-8, Cos c 250-200
164:12-13, Cos c 200-150
167:9-11, Cos 1st cent.
175:2-3, Priene 2nd cent.

50 Apart from the nine entries here, ἀπόμετρα always refers to payments of money to priestesses in Attica (see lemma 'money' below). In *CGRN* 25 (from the Attic deme Paiania) we have though the nine entries here in which ἀπόμετρα refers to a contribution of 'a quarter' (τεταρτεύς) to priestesses. What the quarter refers to is unclear.

51 This is of course not a direct perquisite, but I have included it in the list as an indirect income. In the sales contracts this seem to be one of the most important privileges of the priesthoods in question.

221:16-18, Cos c 125-100

βραχίων (shoulder) **2**
156:8, 31-32, Cos c 325-300

γαστρίον (stomach, or little stomach) **1**
39:2-10, Miletos c 400

γέρας / γέρα[52] **12**
36:1-7, Chios end of 5th cent.
38:A7, Chios c 400
88, Chios c 350-300
160:B9, Delos 181/0
170:4-8, Chios c 500-400
175:8-9, 14-15, Priene 2nd cent.
188:14, Cos 1st cent.
194:53, Magnesia-on-the-Maiander c 197/6 or 180s
246:8-20, Miletos 380/79 or 379/8
248:A28, B30-40, Miletos c 129
LSAM 65:6, Mylasa 2nd cent.
Mylasa 350:1 (PHI), Mylasa udat.

γλῶσσα (tongue) **22**
36:1-7, Chios end 5th cent.
38:A7, Chios c 400
39:2-10, Miletos c 400
41:9, Chios c 425-350
49:7, Chios c 400-375
50, Chios c 400-350
80, Erythrai c 350
88, Chios c 350-300

52 *CGRN* use three different translations according to context: "honorific portion" (36, Chios end of 5th cent.; 38, Chios c 400), "prerogative" (88, Chios c 350-300; 170, Chios c 500-400), "perquisite" (160, Delos 181/0; 175, Priene 2nd cent.; 188, Cos 1st cent.). *LSAM 65* and *Mylasa 350 (PHI)* both have γέρας in the singular, but the contexts are lost.

100, Miletos c 300-275
120:7, Sinope c 350-250
122:4-6, Thebes-on-the-Mykale c 350-250
138, Miletos 275/4
156:8, 31-32, 32-33, 33-34, Mykonos c 230-200
170:4-8, Chios c 500-400
176:8-10, Priene 2nd cent.
196:12-18, Iasos c 225-200
249:C5, Miletos 1st cent. CE
LSS 121:17-22, Ephesos 3rd cent CE
SEG 56:1037:3-6, Plakari 4th cent

γνάθος (jaw) **1**
37:11, Chios c 425-375

δεῖπνον (meal) **1**
49:10, Chios c 400-375

δέρμα (hide, skin) **65**
14:5-6, Gortyn c 500-450;[53]
19:A14-15, Attic deme of Skambonidai c 460;[54]
26:B6-7, B16-18, Attica c 430
30, Delphi c 450-375
36:1-7, Chios end of 5th cent.
39:2-10, Miletos c 400
42:5-6, Iasos c 425-375
44, Athens 413/2
50:5, Chios c 400-350
52:A22, A50-51, B39, Δ39-40, E8, Attic deme of Erchia c 375-350
57:5-6, 10, 12, 20, 26-28, 28-29,32-33, Attic deme of Aixone c 400-375
61, Athens c 350
80, Erythrai c 350
84:31-33, 33, 37-39, Attica 363/2
85:B58-59, Cos c 350

53 The entry has two hides: ἀμνά (lambskin) and βοῖα (oxhide).
54 The hide belongs to the *demarch*.

86:A20-23, A45-47, A49-51, A56-58, A58-60, C2-3, C17-20, D2-3, D3-5, D5-8, D20-21, Cos c 350
91:28-30, Eretria c 340
96:39-41, Cos c 325-300
99:98-99, Cyrene c 325-300
100, Miletos c 300-275
118:4-14, Halikarnassos c 250-200
119:6-12, Theangela c 250-200
120:6, Sinope c 350-250
124:6, Pergamon c 250-200
147:12, Cos c 250-200
163:B14-16, Cos 1st cent.
164:7-8, Cos c 200-150
175:8-9, Priene 2nd cent.
176:8-10, Priene 2nd cent.
184:7-9, Kasossos c 200-100
206:14, Pergamon 2nd cent.
212:14, Pergamon aft. 133
222:A83-89, Andania 23 CE(?)
249:C7, Miletos 1st cent. CE[55]
IG I³ 35:11-12, Athens c 448
LSAM 2:5, Chalkedon 3rd cent
LSCG 45:2-6, Piraeus 4th cent.[56]
LSCG 89:8, Phanagoria 2nd cent. CE[57]
LSCG 164:4, Cos 2nd cent.
LSS 121:17-22, Ephesos 3rd cent. CE
SEG 56:1037:3-6, Plakari 4th cent.

ἐγκέφαλος (brain) **1**
196:12-18, Iasos c 225-200

ἔλαιον (olive oil) **1**

55 Have the word δορά instead of δέρμα.
56 The text mentions three donations of hides: One from a young victim, one from a full-grown victim, and one from an ox.
57 Have the word δορά instead of δέρμα.

80, Erythrai c 350

ἐλατήρ (cake) **1**
74:7, Attica 396/5

ἐνθρύπτος (a kind of cake?) **1**
42:4, Iasos c 425-375[58]

ἑρμέα (Hermes-cake) **1**
49:9, Chios c 400-375

θύα ἀφ' ὧν ἂν θύῃ (burnt-offerings from which one makes smoke) **3**
36:1-7, Chios end of 5th cent.
41:13, Chios c 425-350
49:9, Chios c 400-375

ἱερὰ μοῖρα[59] (sacred portion) **9**
29:25-28, Delphi c 425[60]
38:A7, Chios c 400[61]
39:2-10, Miletos c 400

58 For the establishment of this text from two copies, cf. Fabiani 2016.

59 What the expression ἱερὰ μοῖρα covers has been widely discussed in scholarship. It is commonly accepted that it should be translated "sacred portion" or "divine portion", but what it contained is unknown. A traditional view has linked it to another enigmatic term, τραπεζώματα (q.v.), "the things placed on the table," cf. Sokolowski's commentary at *LSAM* 21 & 37 and Gill 1974. Dimitrova 2008 suggested that ἱερὰ μοῖρα represented a specific part of the sacrificial animal and found that the ὀσφύς was a possibility. Carbon 2017 also argueσ for a specific perk but suggests – inspired by Ekroth 2013 – that it referred to parts connected with the foreleg of the animal.

60 The preserved text does not contain the expression ἱερὰ μοῖρα, but some kind of portion is given to a priest: ὑπαρχέτο δὲ τὰ ἐξαίρετα· π[ε][λ]ανὸς τέσσαρας, μεταξέ[ν][ι]α δύο, ἱερῆι ἕξ, ἀπὸ τῆς ἑ[κ][ατ]όμβης ἑκάστ[η]ς. Cf. the commentary in *CGRN*.

61 The text just mentions a portion together with *gera* and tongue: ἢν δὲ ἰδιώτης ποι[ῇ], δίδοσθαι ἀπὸ τῶ ἱερ[ῶ], ὥστε ἐς [τὸ] λ[ί]κνον ἐνθεῖ[ν]αι, [μ]οῖραν καὶ γέρας καὶ γλῶσσαν.

119:11-12, Theangela c 250-200[62]
122:4-6, Thebes-on-the-Mykale c 350-250
138, Miletos 275/4
176:8-10, Priene 2nd cent.[63]
249:C5, Miletos 1st cent CE
LSAM 63:5, Mylasa udat.

ἰσχίον (hip) **2**
103:5, 20-21, Attic deme of Phrearrhioi c 300-250

καρπεύεσθαι δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ ἱερόν (have the usufruct of the sanctuary) **1**
206:16, Pergamon 2nd cent.

κεφάλαιον (a part of the head) **1**
86:A54-55, Cos c 350

κεφαλή (head) **13**
30, Delphi c 450-375
38:B7, Chios c 400
42:1, Iasos c 425-375
45:A.3.43, A.3.56, Athens c 410-404 and 403/2-400/399
80, Erythrai c 350
85:B58-59, Cos c 350
88, Chios c 350-300
99:98-99, Cyrene c 325-300
104:33-40, Halikarnassos c 285-245
193:Ab16-17, B17-18, Hyllarima 196
196:12-18, Iasos c 225-200
LSS 121:17-22, Ephesos 3rd cent. CE.

κοιλία (belly) **1**
85:A32, Cos c 350

62 The priest is to receive τὰ παρατιθέμενα τῶι θεῶι (the portions set aside to the god).
63 ... παρὰ βωμοῦ μοίρας.

κορυφαῖα (parts of the (top of the?) head) **1**
39:10-13, Miletos c 400

κρέας (meat) **11**
39:2-10, 10-13, Miletos c 400
49:7-8, Chios c 400-375
50, Chios c 400-350
57:6, 13, 16-17, 20-21, Attic deme of Aixone c 400-375
76:19-21, Erythrai c 380-360
80, Erythrai c 350
84:33, Attica 363/2[64]
86:A52-54, Cos c 350
160:B7, Delos 181/0
215, Attica 1st cent.
LSS 130, Chios 4th cent.[65]

κώιδιον (sheep skin) **3**
98:B5, Erythrai c 350-300
104:33-40, Halikarnassos c 285-245
122:4-6, Thebes-on-the-Mykale c 350-250

κωλῆ[66] (thighbone) **25**
25:B32-35, Attic deme of Paiania c 450-425
45, Athens c 410-404 and 403/2-400/399
57:4, 8, 10-11, 15-16, 18-19, 22-23, Attic deme of Aixone c 400-375
74:5, 6-7, Attica 396/5
100, Miletos c 300-275
103:5, Attic deme of Phrearrhioi c 300-250
104:33-40, Halikarnassos c 285-245
118:4-14, Halikarnassos c 250-200[67]

64 The text has σάρξ in stead of κρέας.
65 κρέας is not preserved on the stone, just ... μο]ίρας δύο.
66 For a discussion of κωλῆ in relation to σκέλος cf. Carbon 2017: 152-56.
67 The passage contains the expression: "... a thigh, and a portion distributed on the thigh ..." (trans. in *CGRN*); the Greek text in context: λήψεται τῶν θυομένων δημοσίαι

119:6-12, Theangela c 250-200[68]
122:4-6, Thebes-on-the-Mykale c 350-250
124:6, Pergamon c 250-200
156:14, Mykonos c 230-200
160:B3, Delos 181/0
184:6-7, Kasossos c 200-100
196:12-18, Iasos c 225-200
LSAM 2:5, Chalkedon 3rd cent.
LSAM 63:5, Mylasa no date
IG II^2 *1361:2-6*, Peiraeus c 330-324/3
SEG 56:1037:3-6, Plakari 4th cent.

μνοῦς (soft down) **1**
LSAM 66:11-12, Mylasa no date

money[69] **78**
26:B10, B11-13, Attica c 430
41:10, Chios c 425-350
42:8, Iasos c 425-375
45:A.3.4, 3.23, 3.39, 3.52, 3.76, 5.11, 6.3, 6.6, 12.7, B.1.10, 4.17, 5.13, 5.15, Athens c 410-404 and 403/2-400/39;
49:11-12, Chios c 400-375
52:E47-58, Attic deme of Erchia c 375-350

ἀφ' ἑκάστου ἱερείου κωλῆν καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ κω⌈λ⌉ῆι νεμόμενα καὶ τεταρτημορίδα σπλάγχνων καὶ τὰ δέρματα, τῶν δὲ ἰδιωτικῶν ⌈λ⌉ήψεται κω⌈λ⌉ῆν καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ κω⌈λ⌉ῆ νεμόμενα καὶ τεταρτημορίδα σπλάγχνων (ll. 9-14). See the commentary in *CGRN* and Parker 2010.

68 The inscription has the same wording as *CGRN* 118, cf. n. 65 above.

69 This is a collected entry for all the examples found in which money is payed to the priestess/priest as a perquisite. In some cases – especially in Attica – the term ἱερεώσυνα is used when the grant is money, but there are also many cases with just a neutral verbal expression that money is going to be payed to the priestess/priest. *CGRN* 26 from Attica use the term ἀπόμετρα. We have two examples of the use of the term γέρα, one from the Attic deme of Erchia (*CGRN* 52) and one from Erythrai (*CGRN* 98). According to A. Chaniotis there is no reason to pay much attention to these different expressions as τὰ ἱερώσυνα is just a short form for τὰ ἱερώσυνα γέρα (*EBGR* 2002.32).

55:5, 10, Attic deme of Teithras c 400-350
56:II.8, 9, 12, 15, 16, 20-21, 22, 28, 28-29, 31, 32, 33, 36, 37, 42, 43-45, 46, 47, 48-49, 49-50, 51-52, Marathonian Tetrapolis c 375-350
57:5, 6, 10, 12, 13, 16, 20, 24, 26-28, 28, 32, Attic deme of Aixone c 400-375
74:6, 8, Attica 396/5
76, Erythrai c 380-360
84:28-30, 34-36, Attica 363/2
94:A15, A25, Eleusis c 330-270
*98:A10-15, B*10-11, Erythrai c 350-300
103:20-21, Attic deme of Phrearrhioi c 300-250
118:23-28, Halikarnassos c 250-200
124:7, Pergamon c 250-200
138, Miletos 275/4
142:A20-23, Cos c 100-50
187, Magnesia-on-the-Maeander beg. 2nd cent.
220:8-9, Cos late 2nd cent.
222:A83-89, Andania 23 CE(?)
IG I^{3} *35+36*, Athens c 448 and 424/3
IG II^{2} *1361:2-6*, Piraeus 4th cent.

νεφρός (kidney) **4**
39:2-10, Miletos c 400
122:4-6, Thebes-on-the-Mykale c 350-250
138, Miletos 275/4
249:C5, Miletos 1st cent. CE

νῶτον (back) **1**
45:A.3.41, Athens c 410-404 and 403/2-400/399

οἶνος (wine) **6**
34:9, 27-28, Epidauros end 5th cent
56:II.45, 50, Marathonian Tetrapolis c 375-350
74, Attica 396/5
156:14-15, Mykonos c 230-200

ὁπλή (hoof ? (of oxen)) **1**

86:D18-20, Cos c 350

ὀσφῦς[70] (loin) **3**
42:1, Iasos c 425-375
100:2, Miletos c 300-275
156:14, Mykonos c 230-200

οὖς (ear) **3**
74:5-6, 7, Attica 396/5
86:A60-62, Cos c 350

πλάτη (shoulder blade) **1**
129:5, Patara c 300-200

πλευρόν (rib) **14**
25:B32-35, Attic deme of Paiania c 450-425
57:4, 8-9, 10-11, 15-16, 18-19, 22-23, Attic deme of Aixone c 400-375[71]
61:8, Athens c 350
74:5, 7, Attica 396/5
88:7, Chios c 350-300[72]
103:5, 20-21, Attic deme of Phrearrhioi c 300-2501
196:12-18, Iasos c 225-200

πόκος (wool, fleece) **1**
98:A12, Erythrai c 350-300

πούς (foot) **9**
30:A5, B2, Delphi c 450-375
42:1, Iasos c 425-375
45:A.3.43, 56, Athens c 410-404 and 403/2-400/399
85:B58-59, Cos c 350
99:98-99, Cyrene c 325-300
193:Ab16-17, B17-18, Hyllarima 196

70 For a discussion of the term cf. Carbon 2017: 158.
71 In the law from Aixone the expression is πλευρὸν ἰσχίο throughout.
72 Spelled: πλεόρας.

πρότμησις (portion from the waist) **2**
37:11, Chios c 425-375
120:7, 8,[73] Sinope c 350-250

πυρός (wheat) **1**
37:13, Chios c 425-375

ῥύγχος (snout of swine) **1**
80, Erythrai c 350

σῖτος (?) (grain) **1**
38:A3-4, Chios c 400

σκέλος[74] (leg) **46**
22:B15, Argos c 450;
26:16, 19, Attica c 430
30:B3, Delphi c 450-375
34:9-10, 11-13, 28-30, 30-31, Epidauros end 5th cent.
37:10, Chios c 425-375
39:2-10, Miletos c 400
42:1, Iasos c 425-375
45:A.3.54, Athens c 410-404 and 403/2-400/399
61:5, Athens c 350
84:31-33, 37-39, Attica 363/2
85:B55, 58-59, Cos c 350
86:A20-23, 45-47, 49-51, 56-58, 58-60, C2-3, 17-20, D2-3, 5-8, 21, Cos c 350
96:39-41, Cos c 325-300
98:A15, B5, Erythrai c 350-300
104:33-40, Halikarnassos c 285-245
138:17-18, Miletos 275/4[75]
147:12, Cos c 250-200

73 *CGRN* 120:8 has: πρότμησις ἢ ὠμοπλάτη (portion from the waist or shoulder blade).
74 For a discussion of σκέλος in relation to κωλῆ cf. Carbon 2017: 152-56.
75 The passage reads: σκέλος εἰς κοτυληδόνα [ἐκ τ]ετμημένον (a leg cut into (i.e. at) the hip-joint (*CGRN* trans.)).

163:B14-16, Cos 1st cent.
164:7-8, Cos c 200-150
176:8-10, Priene 2nd cent.
184:7-9, Kasossos c 200-100
187:10-11, Magnesia-on-the-Maeander beg. 2nd cent.
188:1, Cos 1st cent.
196:12-18, Iasos c 225-200
206:14, Pergamon 2nd cent.
212:14, Pergamon aft. 133
249:C5, Miletos 1st cent. CE
IG I^{3} *35:11-12*, Athens c 448

σκολιόν (intestine) **4**
39:2-10, Miletos c 400
122:4-6, Thebes-on-the-Mykale c 350-250
138:17, Miletos 275/4
249:C5, Miletos 1st cent. CE

σπλάγχνα (entrails) **17**
36:1-7, Chios end 5th cent.
39:2-10, Miletos c 400
41:12, Chios c 425-350
42:1, Iasos c 425-375
49:6, Chios c 400-375
50:7, Chios c 400-350
76:19-21, Erythrai c 380-360
88:1, Chios c 350-300
104:33-40, Halikarnassos c 285-245
118:4-14, Halikarnassos c 250-200
119:6-12, Theangela c 250-200
138:16, Miletos 275/4
170:4-8, Chios c 500-400
188:3-5, Cos 1st cent.
249:C4, Miletos 1st cent. CE
LSAM 66:11-12, Mylasa udat.
LSS 130, Chios 4th cent.

Halikarnassos 118:9 (PHI), undat. (L. Robert, *Études anatoliennes* (Paris 1937), 466-468

σπύρος (wheat) **2**
34:8-9, 26-27, Epidauros end 5th cent

τὰ ἐπὶ κωλῆν νεμόμενα (the portions distributed on the thigh) **2**
118:11, Halikarnassos c 250-200
119:7-8, Theangela c 250-200

τὰ λοίπα ἱερά (the sacred rest) **1**
249:C7, Miletos 1st cent. CE

ταρσός (shank) **1**
86, Cos c 350

τραπεζώματα[76] (things on the table) **6**
76:23-25, Erythrai c 380-360[77]
188:2, Cos 1st cent.[78]
195:B2.15-20, Minoa on Amorgos 1st cent.[79]
196:16-17, Iasos c 225-200[80]
206:15, Pergamon 2nd cent[81]
222:A83-89, Andania 23 CE(?)[82]

76 Cf. note 52 above. The standard works on τραπεζώματα are still Gill 1974 and Gill 1991.

77 The wording here is ὅσα δὲ ἐπὶ [τὴν] τράπεζαν παρατεθῆι, ταῦτα εἶναι γέρα τῶι ἱρεῖ (whatever is placed upon the table will be perquisites for the priest (trans. from *CGRN*)).

78 ...καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπιτιθεμένων ἐπὶ *vacat* τὴν τράπεζαν τᾶι θεῶι τὰ τέταρτα μέρηι.

79 Fragmented, but wording close to *CGRN* 188, cf. note 76 above.

80 ... καὶ τὰ παρατιθέμε[να] πάντα ἐπὶ τὴν τράπεζα[ν] ἡ ἱέρεια πλὴν χρυσίου ἢ ἀργυρ[ίου ἢ] [ἱ]ματισμοῦ.

81 ... καὶ τἆλλα τραπεζώματα πάντα τὰ παρατιθέμεν[α] ...

82 ... καὶ ὅσα κα οἱ θύοντες ποτὶ τᾶι κράναι τραπεζῶντι [...] λαμβανέτω Μνασίστρατος. For a discussion on the identity of Mnaistratos cf. the commentary in *CGRN*.

τράχηλος (throat) **1**
196, Iasos c 225-200

ὑπώμαια (armpits) **1**
86:A52f, Cos c 350

φθόϊς (cake) **1**
188:3-5, Cos 1st cent.

χέλυς (chest) **2**
45:A.3.42, Athens c 410-404 and 403/2-400/399
86:51, Cos c 350

χόλικες (bowels from ox) **1**
39:10-13, Miletos c 400

χορδή (intestine) **9**
39:10-11, Miletos c 400[83]
57: 4-5, 9, 10-11, 15-16, 18-19, 22-23, Attic deme of Aixone c 400-375
SEG 56:1037:3-6, Plakari 4th cent.

ὦμος / ὠμοπλάτη (shoulder / shoulder blade) **6**
45:A.3.42, Athens c 410-404 and 403/2-400/399
75:32-36, Oropos c 386-374
86:D18-20, Cos c 350
120:7, 8,[84] Sinope c 350-250
165, Cos c 200-150
196:12-18, Iasos c 225-200

ὦρη (foreleg or tail?) **1**
100:5-6, Miletos c 300-275

83 The terminology is here χορδίον (a large intestine) and χόλιξ (bowel from ox).
84 *CGRN* 120:8 has: πρότμησις ἢ ὠμοπλάτη (portion from the waist or shoulder blade).

ABBREVIATIONS

AIO = Athenian Inscriptions Online (https://www.atticinscriptions.com).
AIUK = Attic Inscriptions in UK Collections (https://www.atticinscriptions.com).
CGRN = Collection of Greek Ritual Norms (http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be).
EBGR = Epigraphic Bulletin for Greek Religion (in the periodical *Kernos*).
IErythrai = Engelmann, H. & R. Merkelbach 1972-1973. *Die Inschriften von Erythrai und Klazomenai* (*Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien* 1-2. Bonn.
IG I^3 = Lewis, D.M. (ed.) 1981. *Inscriptiones Graeca* I, 3rd edition. Fasc. 1. Berlin + D.M. Lewis & L. Jeffery (eds.) 1994. *Inscriptiones Graeca* I, 3rd edition. Fasc. 2. Berlin.
IG II^2 = Kirchner, J. (ed.) 1913-1940. *Inscriptiones Graeca* II-III, 2nd edition. Berlin.
IG II^3 = *Inscriptiones Graeca* II-III, 3nd edition.
LSAM = Sokolowski, F. 1955. *Lois sacrées de l'Asie Mineure*. Paris.
LSCG = Sokolowski, F. 1969. *Lois sacrées des cités grecques*. Paris.
LSJ = Liddell, H.G. & R. Scott 1940. *Greek-English Lexicon*. 9th ed., rev. H. Stuart Jones. Oxford.
LSS = Sokolowski, F. 1962. *Lois sacrées des cités grecques. Supplement*. Paris.
NGSL = Lupu, E. 2009. *Greek Sacred Law. A Collection of New Documents*. Leiden.
OR = Osborne, R. & P.J. Rhodes, 2017. *Greek Historical Inscriptions 478-404 BC*. Oxford.
PHI = *Searchable Greek Inscriptions. The Packard Humanities Institute* (https://epigraphy.packhum.org).
RO = Rhodes P.J. & R. Osborne 2003. *Greek Historical Inscriptions 404-323 BC*. Oxford.
SEG = *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*.

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HETAIREIAI: "LE DEGRÉ ZÉRO" OF ASSOCIATIONS?

By Ilias N. Arnaoutoglou

Summary: Aim of this contribution is to evaluate the nature of Athenian *hetaireiai* of the classical era on the basis of the essential criteria of private associations in Greco-Roman antiquity. This investigation demonstrates that *hetaireiai* display only a handful of the seven criteria and therefore should be regarded and treated not as fully-blown associations but as groups with a low degree of corporateness.

Introduction[1]

In 1892 Ioannes Pantazides (an otherwise little-known, German-educated, Greek classicist) was elected Chancellor of the University of Athens. He devoted his inaugural speech to political *hetaireiai* in ancient Athens, a rather dull and uncritical exposition of the evidence on *hetaireiai* to the end of the fifth century. For Pantazides, they were groupings around prominent figures quite widespread since every rich and powerful gentleman could allow or tolerate the formation of a group of friends. *Hetaireiai* promoted the self-interest of their members thus corrupting the polity and destroying social cohesion and solidarity. Pantazides adopted the anachronistic division into aristocratic and oligarchic *hetaireiai*, on the basis of the leanings and policies of their main figures. Nevertheless, this approach was deeply influenced by the political environment in which Pantazides was operating; since 1863 the kingdom of

1 I am deeply honoured by and grateful to the organizers of the meeting on Vincent Gabrielsen's *genethlios hemera* for their invitation. My first encounter with Vincent was in a taverna, on a chilly January afternoon in Athens just before the launching of his brainchild the Copenhagen Associations Project. Since then we kept regular contact, in Athens and in Copenhagen, and I have enormously profited from our occasional disagreements mainly on the extent one can qualify a group as an association. I have decided to keep the oral character of my presentation. All dates are BCE unless stated otherwise.

Ilias N. Arnaoutoglou: '*Hetaireiai*: "Le degré zéro" of associations?' C&M Supplementum 2 (2024) 55-71.

Greece, at that time a constitutional monarchy, was led by George I, the Danish-born prince Christian, son of Christian IX, king of Denmark. The political life of the kingdom was dominated at the time by two political factions *qua* parties known by the names of their leaders, Charilaos Trikoupis and Theodoros Diliyannis, *Trikoupikoi* and *Diliyannikoi* respectively.[2] It was, therefore, more than facile for Pantazides to project his contemporary experience of politics to classical Athens.

Pantazides was not a lonely voice; most of the relevant literature in the 19th and the first half of the 20th century convey the same impression. Even George Miller Calhoun in his 1913 exhaustive and still useful study of political clubs adhered to such a vision. Calhoun 1913: 15-17 put forward an evolutionary model of *hetaireiai* from Homeric *hetairoi*[3] to fifth-century Athens. His account was rightfully criticized, as far as *hetaireiai* and the manipulation of the Athenian legal system by them is concerned, by Nicholas Jones in his 1999 monograph on associations as an alternative to democracy. He observed that for most of the discussed features of the *hetaireiai*'s judicial function, there is no evidence for direct involvement of "political clubs" in such practices, a point that Calhoun himself conceded several times.[4]

Given the prolific literature on Athenian *hetaireiai*, I do not intend to engage with their role in the establishment of oligarchic regimes in 411/10 and 404/3.[5] We have the excellent concise commentary of Simon Hornblower on the Thucydidean passages, Douglas MacDowell's commentary on And. 1 (*On the Mysteries*), three monographs in Italian (Sartori

2 For a summary account see Glogg 1979; a more detailed account in Kostes 2013: 437-44.

3 See Chroust 1954, Welwei 1992, and Esposito 2015.

4 See Calhoun 1913: 48 (friendly prosecutions), 54 (counter suits), 56 (*antidosis*), 63 (assassination), 75 (influence on juries), 93 (information regarding opponent's case)). Note, however, that in the most recent treatment of cooperation in litigation, Rubinstein 2000, there is no reference to *hetaireiai*. See also Anastasiadis 1999, on the historiography of political parties in classical Athens in connection to contemporary political thinking.

5 Note, however, that in Andocides' narrative about the profanation of the Mysteries there is no reference to *hetaireiai*; perhaps this is deliberate since *hetaireiai* by 399 had already acquired a "bad name." The casual atmosphere is indicated by the fact that Andocides' father Leogoras was present but asleep, And. 1 (*On the Mysteries*) 17.

1957; Ghinatti 1970; Pecorella Longo 1971) discussing thoroughly the evidence for the archaic and classical Athens, and a French prosopographical study (Aurenche 1974). More recently scholars focused on *hetaireiai* as attempts to appropriate "the social ties that the Mysteries provided" (McGlew 1999), as an agent promoting the regime change through vote rigging in elections and law courts (Bearzot 1999 and Bearzot 2013), and as posing a symbolic challenge to the dominant position of the *demos* (Rosenbloom 2004).[6]

All the above focus on the function of *hetaireiai* in classical Athens, while ignore their fundamental, I would dare say "structural", elements. What is more pressing, I think, is reconsidering the tedious but crucial question "Can *hetaireiai* be regarded as associations?" and if so what kind of association?[7] To my knowledge recently only Jones 1999: 223 grappled

6 An interesting strand of scholarship compares Athenian with Cretan *hetaireiai,* Talamo 1998 or Lesbian *hetaireiai* (Dimopoulou 2015: 60ff. and Caciagli 2016); others investigate other polities using *hetaireiai* as a heuristic tool, Mattaliano 2006: 49-64.

7 My impression is that while an *hetaireia* consists of *hetairoi*, *hetairoi* do not necessarily and always form an *hetaireia*; companion or comrade: Athens: *Agora* XVII 1034 (1st c. BCE/1st c. AD); *IG* i^3 1329 (late 5th c.); *IG* ii^2 3743 (imp.); *IG* ii^2 4826 (3rd-4th c. CE); *IG* ii^2 7839a (1st c. CE); *IG* ii^2 13129/30 (1st c. CE); *IG* iv 395 (Korinthos, 1st/2nd c. CE); *IG* iv 800 (Troezena); *SEG* 32.605 (Larissa, end 2nd c. CE); *IG* x(2) (1) 630 (Thessaloniki, end 2nd c. CE); *SEG* 56.714 (Neapolis, end 4th c.); *IGBulg* ii 714 (Nikopolis ad Istrum); *IG* x(3) (3) 1, 57 (= *I.Callatis* 69) (end 1st c. CE); *I.Rhénée* 143 & 348 (2nd/1st c.); *IG* xii(5) 676 (Syros, 2nd/3rd c. CE); *IG* xii(4) 2471 (= *IG* ix(1)^2 (2) 579) (Kos, 3rd c.). Asia Minor: Robert, *Carie* ii no. 88 (Herakleia Salbake, 2nd c.); *I.Iasos* 116; *SEG* 4.167 (Caria, Thyssanous, 3rd c.); *I.Erythrai* 9 (c. 350-344); *I.Ephesos* 3466A (Metropolis, 3rd /2nd c.); *I.Ephesos* 3466B (Metropolis, 3rd /2nd c.); *I.Ephesos* 3488 (Metropolis); *I.Smyrna* 512 (3rd c.); *TAM* 5.477 (Kollyda, 240/1 CE); *ΕΦΣΚ* 7 (1872/3) 23 (Kyzikos?, 37 CE); *I.Prusa* 24 (1st c. CE); *SEG* 35.1337 (Amastris); *St. Pontica* iii 86 (Neoklaudioupolis); *MAMA* 4.299 (Dionysopolis-Phrygia, 1st-2nd c. CE); *MAMA* 9.86 (Aizanoi, 130 CE); *Hierapolis di Frigia* I 600 no. 1 (2nd c.); *Hierapolis di Frigia* XIV.2 947 no. 3 (2nd c. CE); *SEG* 57.1371 (Hierapolis, 2nd c. CE); *SEG* 41.1260 (Termessos); *SEG* 57.1446 (Termessos, after 212 CE); *I.Kibyra* 364; *SEG* 53.1642 & 1645 (NE Lycia); *SEG* 52.1440 (Pamphylia); Heberdey – Wilhelm, *Kilikien*, 96 no. 179 (Kelenderis); *JHS* 12 (1891) 265 no. 56 (Dioskaisareia-Cilicia); *SEG* 60.1583 (Elaioussa Sebaste, Imp.); Marek, *Pontus-Bithynia Nord-Galatia* 172 no. 57 (Amastris). Syria: *IGLS* 4.1848 (230 CE); *SEG* 66.2091 (Tyre, 28/29 CE); *RA* 1904 III 236 no. 2 (Sidon, Hell.). Arabia: *IGR* iii 1342 (Gerasa). Egypt: *I.Egypte métriques* 68 (Memphis, 1st/2nd c. CE); 94 (Leontopolis, 1st c.). *SEG* 20.745 (Cyrene, 6th c.). Italy: *SEG* 43.661 (Rome,

with the question; but even he did not answer directly. He situated *hetaireiai* in the context of his four-axis scheme[8] of constituent elements of associations, in which *hetaireiai* are classified as private,[9] voluntary, temporary, and possibly instrumental groups. If *hetaireiai* can be regarded as fully fledged associations their corporate element is expected to be pronounced;[10] if not, then *hetaireiai* may designate sometimes an association but also may point to a different (but need not be primitive or elementary) way of organizing collective action. Therefore, *hetaireiai* could be inserted at the lower end of the continuum of Greco-Roman corporate activities.

My engagement with the Copenhagen Associations Project led me to apply the criteria devised for assessing the corporate element in associations (name, descriptive term, members, composition of membership, durability, foundation, organization, property, dissolution) in other words the degree of "corporateness," on Athenian *hetaireiai*.

Proper name

This is a particular verbal identifier used either by the group to distinguish itself or by other social actors to label it. The identifier may be a word describing cultural (*κοινὸν Σαραπιαστῶν*), professional (*κοινὸν τῶν ἐργαζομένων*), ethnic (*Ἀδωνιασταὶ Ἀφροδισιασταὶ Ἀσκλαπιασταὶ Σύριοι*), geographical (*ἡ σύνοδος τῶν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείαι πρεσβυτέρων ἐγδοχέων*), personal (*θίασος ὁ Φαινομάχου*) or any combination of the above (e.g. *κοινὸν Βηρυτίων Ποσειδωνιαστῶν ἐμπόρων καὶ ναυκλήρων καὶ ἐγδοχέων*) elements of the group. However, there is no self-designation of *hetaireiai* since no

2nd/3rd c. CE)*; IGUR* iii 1181; 1210; 1256 (Rome)*; IG* xiv 2251 (Umbria). So, it would be unwise to postulate behind each and every reference to *hetairos* the existence of an *hetaireia*, Isoc. 4 (*Panegyricus*) 79, 174 and 4L (*To Philip*) 87.

8 Jones 1999: 30-33 underlines that these categories do not represent absolute and rigid categories but a "continuum of infinite gradations".

9 See the crucial remark by Canevaro 2016: 61-63 of the private character of *hetaireiai* in Athens and their public character in Sparta or Crete.

10 With the term corporate I mean the degree or the extent to which an organization supersedes the total of its members and acts or is treated as something different from it.

documents issued by them survive (if they have ever been issued). The term *hetaireiai* is used by historians, orators, philosophers,[11] or intellectuals of the Roman period,[12] each of them with his own agenda. These designations rarely go beyond the expression *hetaireia hē* plus a personal name in genitive. In this respect the modern tendency to label groups calling themselves αὐτολήκυθοι, ἰθύφαλλοι,[13] Τριβαλλοί,[14] κακοδαιμονι-

11 Historians: Hdt. 5.66; Thuc. 8.92.4; X. *Hell.* 2.3.46; *AthPol* 20.1 with Rhodes 1981: 243-4 and Caciagli 2016: 39; *AthPol* 34.3 with Pecorella Longo 1971: 25-29; Rhodes 1981: 429-31. Orators involved in the events of the turbulent late fifth century, e.g. And. 1 (*On the Mysteries*) 100, Lys. 12 (*Against Eratosthenes*) 55, Isoc. 16 (*On the team of horses*) 6 used the term with its political connotation, while others like Isoc. 4 (*Panegyricus*) 79 & 174 represented them as part of a lost golden age. In passages from the Demosthenic corpus the term has retained some of the earlier politically tainted implications, D. 21 (*Against Meidias*) 139; [D.] 58 (*Against Theocrines*) 42. Philosophers: Arist. *Pol.* 1306 a32; 1313a 39-b8 with Jordovic 2011: 12-14; Pl. *Lg.* 9.856 b-c; *R.* 2.365d; Anaximenes, *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum* 38.18.

12 E.g. Appian, *BC* 3.10.75; D.S. 10.11.1; D.H. *RA* 3.72.5; D. Chr. 4.132; D. Cassius 30-35.109.15; Plu. *Alc.* 13.4; *Per.* 14.2.

13 [D.] 54 (*Against Konon*) 16: ἰθυφάλλοις δὲ καὶ αὐτοληκύθοις συγχωροῦμεν εἶναι τοῖς υἱέσι τοῖς τούτου, καὶ ἔγωγ' εὔχομαι τοῖς θεοῖς εἰς Κόνωνα καὶ τοὺς υἱεῖς τοὺς τούτου καὶ ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦθ' ἅπαντα τρέπεσθαι ("This man's sons are welcome, so far as I am concerned, to be *ithyphalloi* and *autolekythoi*; I only pray the gods that these things and all similar things may recoil upon Konon and his sons" – transl. DeWitt in Loeb).

14 [D.] 54 (*Against Konon*) 39: τὴν δὲ τούτου πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτ' ὀλιγωρίαν ἐγὼ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐρῶ: πέπυσμαι γὰρ ἐξ ἀνάγκης. ἀκούω γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, Βάκχιόν τέ τινα, ὃς παρ' ὑμῖν ἀπέθανε, καὶ Ἀριστοκράτην τὸν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς διεφθαρμένον καὶ τοιούτους ἑτέρους καὶ Κόνωνα τουτονὶ ἑταίρους εἶναι μειράκι' ὄντας καὶ Τριβαλλοὺς ἐπωνυμίαν ἔχειν· τούτους τά θ' Ἑκαταῖα κατεσθίειν, καὶ τοὺς ὄρχεις τοὺς ἐκ τῶν χοίρων, οἷς καθαίρουσιν ὅταν εἰσιέναι μέλλωσιν, συλλέγοντας ἑκάστοτε συνδειπνεῖν ἀλλήλοις, καὶ ῥᾷον ὀμνύναι καὶ ἐπιορκεῖν ἢ ὁτιοῦν ("The contempt, however, which this fellow feels for all sacred things I must tell you about; for I have been forced to make inquiry. For I hear, then, men of the jury, that a certain Bacchius, who was condemned to death in your court, and Aristokrates, the man with the bad eyes, and certain others of the same stamp, and with them this man Konon, were intimates when they were youths, and bore the nickname Triballoi; and that these men used to devour the food set out for Hecate and to gather up on each occasion for their dinner with one another the testicles of the pigs which are offered for purification when the assembly convenes and that they thought less of swearing and perjuring

σταί,[15] as *hetaireiai* is unhelpful, since members of these groups explicitly adopt a distinct particular name; paragraph 14 from the pseudo-Demosthenic speech *Against Conon* is eloquent: "He will tell you that there are many people in the city, sons of respectable persons, who in sport, after the manner of young men, have given themselves nicknames, such as *ith-*

themselves than of anything else in the world" – transl. DeWitt in Loeb). See Calhoun 1913: 31-33 and Taddei 2007: 289.

15 Lys. fr. 195 (Carey) *apud* Ath. 12.551d-f: ὅτι δὲ ἦν ὁ Κινησίας νοσώδης καὶ δεινὸς τἆλλα Λυσίας ὁ ῥήτωρ ἐν τῷ ὑπὲρ Φανίου παρανόμων ἐπιγραφομένῳ λόγῳ εἴρηκεν, φάσκων αὐτὸν ἀφέμενον τῆς τέχνης συκοφαντεῖν καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου πλουτεῖν. ὅτι δὲ ὁ ποιητής ἐστι καὶ οὐχ ἕτερος, σαφῶς αὐτὸς ὢν σημαίνεται ἐκ τοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ ἀθεότητι κωμῳδούμενον ἐμφανίζεσθαι καὶ διὰ τοῦ λόγου τοιοῦτον δείκνυσθαι. λέγει δ' οὕτως ὁ ῥήτωρ· θαυμάζω δὲ εἰ μὴ βαρέως φέρετε ὅτι Κινησίας ἐστὶν ὁ τοῖς νόμοις βοηθός, ὃν ὑμεῖς πάντες ἐπίστασθε ἀσεβέστατον ἁπάντων καὶ παρανομώτατον ἀνθρώπων γεγονέναι. οὐχ οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τοιαῦτα περὶ θεοὺς ἐξαμαρτάνων ἃ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις αἰσχρόν ἐστι καὶ λέγειν, τῶν κωμῳδοδιδασκάλων <δ'> ἀκούετε καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτόν· οὐ μετὰ τούτου ποτὲ Ἀπολλοφάνης καὶ Μυσταλίδης καὶ Λυσίθεος συνειστιῶντο, μίαν ἡμέραν ταξάμενοι τῶν ἀποφράδων, ἀντὶ δὲ νουμηνιαστῶν κακοδαιμονιστὰς σφίσιν αὐτοῖς τοὔνομα θέμενοι, πρέπον μὲν ταῖς αὐτῶν τύχαις· οὐ μὴν ὡς τοῦτο διαπραττόμενοι τὴν διάνοιαν ἔσχον, ἀλλ' ὡς καταγελῶντες τῶν θεῶν καὶ τῶν νόμων τῶν ὑμετέρων. ("But that Cinesias was a man of delicate health, and badly off in other respects, we are told by Lysias the orator, in his oration inscribed, "For Phanias accused of illegal decree," in which he says that he, having abandoned his regular profession, had taken to trumping up false accusations against people, and to making money by such means. And that he means the poet here, and no one else, is plain from the fact that he shows also that he had been attacked by the comic poets for impiety. And he also, in the oration itself, shows that he was a person of that character. And the words of the orator are as follows: - "But I marvel that you are not indignant at such a man as Cinesias coming forward in aid of the laws, whom you all know to be the most impious of all men, and the greatest violator of the laws that has ever existed. Is not he the man who has committed such offences against the gods as all other men think it shameful even to speak of, though you hear the comic poets mention such actions of his every year? Did not Apollophanes, and Mystalides, and Lysitheos feast with him, selecting one of the days on which it was not lawful to hold a feast, giving themselves the name of Kakodaimonistai instead of Noumeniastai, a name indeed appropriate enough to their fortunes. Nor, indeed, did it occur to them that they were really doing what that name denotes; but they acted in this manner to show their contempt for the gods and for our laws" – transl. Yonge in Loeb). See also Harp. s.v. *Kinesias.*

yphalloi, or *autolekythoi*, and that some of them are infatuated with mistresses".[16] The naming process echoing contemporary preoccupations is best reflected in a passage of Plu. *Per.* 16.1, who reports that certain comedians maliciously labelled the comrades (*hetairoi*) of Pericles as *neoi Peisistratidai*.[17] In this case a distinct name is devised by sharp-tongued satirists suggesting an affinity of Perikles' supporters with the Peisistratean regime. I would be even more skeptical in labelling similar groups as associations; four men meeting a few times a year to dine and challenge traditional norms (Lys. frg. 73 (Thalheim); [D.] 54.39), hardly constitute an association. These occasional gatherings of certain individuals, I think should be treated as *ad hoc* groupings.

Descriptive term

It means a term shared by several other associations on record. Actually, most of the testimonies about *hetaireiai* fall into this category; one may include the abstract noun *τὸ ἑταιρικόν* attested twice in Thuc. 3.82.5-6 (a passage concerning *stasis* in Korkyra and 8.48.3-4) and in the reported

16 [D.] 54 (*Against Konon*) 14: καὶ ἐρεῖν ὡς εἰσίν ἐν τῇ πόλει πολλοί, καλῶν κἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν υἱεῖς, οἳ παίζοντες, οἷ' ἄνθρωποι νέοι, σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπωνυμίας πεποίηνται καὶ καλοῦσι τοὺς μὲν ἰθυφάλλους, τοὺς δὲ αὐτοληκύθους, ἐρῶσι δ' ἐκ τούτων ἑταιρῶν τινες ("He will tell you that there are many people in the city, sons of respectable persons, who in sport, after the manner of young men, have given themselves nicknames, such as Ithyphalli or Autolecythi, and that some of them are infatuated with mistresses" – transl. DeWitt in Loeb). Also [D.] 54 (*Against Konon*) 20: εἶτ' ἐν μὲν τοῖς νόμοις οὕτως· ἂν δ' εἴπῃ Κόνων 'ἰθύφαλλοί τινές ἐσμεν ἡμεῖς συνειλεγμένοι, καὶ ἐρῶντες οὓς ἂν ἡμῖν δόξῃ παίομεν καὶ ἄγχομεν', εἶτα γελάσαντες ὑμεῖς ἀφήσετε; ("This, then, is what is ordained in the laws; but if Konon says, "we belong to a club of *ithyphalloi* and in our love-affairs we strike and throttle whom we please" are you, then going to let him off with a laugh?" – transl. DeWitt in Loeb). See Taddei 2007: 289.

17 Plu. *Per.* 16.1: καίτοι τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ σαφῶς μὲν ὁ Θουκυδίδης διηγεῖται, κακοήθως δὲ παρεμφαίνουσιν οἱ κωμικοί, Πεισιστρατίδας μὲν νέους τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν ἑταίρους καλοῦντες ("Of his power there can be no doubt, since Thucydides gives so clear an exposition of it, and the comic poets unwittingly reveal it even in their malicious gibes, calling him and his associates 'new Peisistratidai'" – transl. Perrin in Loeb). See Calhoun 1913: 5, 7, 18, 24.

law on *eisangelia* by Hyp. 4 (*For Euxenippos*) 7-8. However, the term *hetaireia* did not designate only an association but went well beyond that; it was so versatile that it could be used as a cult epithet of Zeus,[18] to signify subgroups of citizens in archaic and classical Crete,[19] a type of friendship,[20] prostitution[21] or even herds of animals.[22] In one occasion it is used as substitute of a group of individuals willing to testify in favour of Meidias, D. 21 (*Against Meidias*) 139:[23] μαρτύρων συνεστῶσ᾽ ἑταιρεία, in an crafty way to associate the hybristic behaviour of Meidias with anti-democratic leanings. This kind of metaphor was used by Aristophanes in his *Knights*, 255: ὦ γέροντες ἡλιασταί, φράτερες τριωβόλου. The usages of the term *hetaireiai*, *hetairoi*[24] as groups throughout Greco-Roman antiquity shows that they are clustered in three distinct areas and two different

18 *I.Oropos* 675 with *SEG* 53.467 (3rd c.): θεσμὸν ἑταιρε[ίου Ζηνός]; Pollux i 24.

19 E.g. *I.Cret.* I ix 1 (Dreros, 3rd /2nd c.) and *I.Cret.* iv 72 (Gortyn, beg 5th c.). See Gagarin & Perlman 2016: 92.

20 X. *Hell.* 2.4.21; Arist. *Rh.* 1381b, 34: Εἴδη δὲ φιλίας ἑταιρεία οἰκειότης ... and Poll. iii 61; v 113-4. The use of the term by Bissa 2008 to describe partnerships to exploit silver mines is rather misleading.

21 Artem. *Oneirocriticon* 4.4: ἑταίρα ἔδοξεν εἰς τὸ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν εἰσεληλυθέναι καὶ ἠλευθερώθη καὶ κατέλυσε τὴν ἑταιρείαν. Οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν πρότερον εἰσέλθοι ἄν, εἰ μὴ καταλύσειε τὴν ἑταιρείαν ("A courtesan imagined that she had entered the shrine of Artemis and she was freed and left behind her life as a courtesan. For one would not enter the shrine unless one had left behind one's life as a courtesan" – transl. D. E. Harris-MaCoy, Oxford 2012).

22 Arist. *HA* 8.5.1 (611b): Αἱ δὲ βόες καὶ νέμονται καθ᾽ ἑταιρείας καὶ συνηθείας.

23 See MacDowell 1990: 356-7; Bearzot 1999: 300; Rubinstein 2000: 74, and Hendren 2015: 21-43. Similarly in [D.] 58 (*Against Theokrines)* 42 and Is. frg. 23 (*Ὑπὲρ Καλυδῶνος πρὸς Ἀγνόθεον*) 2 (Thalheim) *apud* D.H. *de Is.* 8 but in D. 21 (*Against Meidias*) 20 the term to describe the companions of Meidias imposing a change of mind is *hetairoi*.

24 Three early epigraphic attestations of the term *hetairoi* in *CEG* I 335 (*ZPE* 13 (1974) 264 no. 3) (Ptoion-Boiotia, c. 550-500): [ἄ]ν̣δρες ἑταῖροι Δ[ῶρος Ἀλέχσανδρός τε Φίλ̄ος τε] | [ἄνθεσαν, Ἄπολλον, τόδε σ]οὶ περικαλλὲς ἄγ[αλμα]; *IG* i^3 1329 (Peiraieus, c. 420-400?): Ἀνθεμίδος τόδε σῆμα· κύκλωι στεφα|νοῦσ<ι>ν ἑταῖροι | μνημείων ἀρετῆς | οὕνεκα καὶ φιλίας. Ἀνθεμίς. | Ἡρόφιλε; and *SEG* 20.745 (Cyrene, early 6th c.): ἔστασαν ἑταῖρο̣[ι ---]. See Sartori 1958: 171, who distinguishes three different meanings of both terms in Plato: friendship, communione dottrinale, cooperazione occulta contro lo stato, followed by Aurenche 1974: 19.

periods, classical Athens, Roman Asia Minor[25] and Middle East. In the last two areas they are also attested epigraphically; at Elaioussa of Cilicia in late 1st c. BCE or early 1st c. CE there are two references to an *hetaireia* of *Sambatistai*, while at Dura-Europos, on the West-bank of the Euphrates, *synetairoi*,[26] among them an *archetairos,* contributed to the development of a plot of land devoted to a goddess and recorded the fact on a stele in 37 CE.[27] It seems odd but the term is not used by Hellenistic authors, I could find only one reference to it in Polybius regarding a Celtic tribe living in northern Italy.[28] This semantic plasticity allowed Greek authors of the Imperial era to coin the term for the followers of eminent Romans of the Respublica thus the term became synonymous of unrest, strife and sedition in the Roman mindset.[29]

25 D. Chr. 4.132 (μερίδος καὶ ἑταιρείας ἀριθμεῖσθαι); 32.70 (Σιμάριστοι καὶ τοιαῦθ' ἕτερα ἑταιρειῶν ὀνόματα); 38.36 (τῇ Νικαέων ἑταιρείᾳ); 45.8 (μηδὲ καθ' ἑταιρείας πολιτεύεσθαι); 50.3 (μήτε ἑταιρείᾳ τινι πεποιθώς).

26 *Synetairoi* also in *GVI* I 1270 (*CIJud* 2.1612); *I.Egypte métriques* 94 (Leontopolis (Egypt), 14 BCE?); *IG* xii (5) 1104 (Syros, 2nd c.).

27 *SEG* 54.1481 (Anazarbos-Cilicia, 110 CE): ἡ ἑταιρεία Ἀθηνοδώρου; *JHS* 12 (1891) 236 no. 17 (Kanytela-Cilicia, 1st c. BCE/1st c. CE): ἡ ἑταιρεία τῶν Σαμβατιστῶν see also *LSAM* 80: ἑταῖροι καὶ Σαμβατισταί*; SEG* 34.1298 (Hierapolis-Phrygia, 2nd-3rd c. CE): ἡ ἑταιρεία Ἀρζιμνέων περὶ Στρατόνεικον; *SEG* 54.1381 (Termessos-Pisidia, beg. 3rd c. CE): ἑταιρείην*; SEG* 56.1920 (Gerasa-Arabia, end 2nd c.): οἱ τῆς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ἀμμανα ἑταιρείας*; Excavations at Dura-Europos* 5, 114 (Dura-Europos, 54 CE): ἑταιρεία see also *YCS* 14 (1955) 129 no. 2 (Dura-Europos, 37 CE): συνεταῖροι, ἀρχέταιρος.

28 Plb. 2.17.12: περὶ δὲ τὰς ἑταιρείας μεγίστην σπουδὴν ἐποιοῦντο διὰ τὸ καὶ φοβερώτατον καὶ δυνατώτατον εἶναι παρ' αὐτοῖς τοῦτον, ὃς ἂν πλείστους ἔχειν δοκῇ τοὺς θεραπεύοντας καὶ συμπεριφερομένους αὐτῷ ("They (sc. Senones) made a great point, however, of friendship for the man who had the largest number of clients or companions in his wanderings, was looked upon as the most formidable and powerful member of the tribe" – transl. Shuckburgh in Loeb).

29 Appian, *BC* 3.10.75 (τὴν Καίσαρος ἑταιρείαν); 3.11.81 (τῆς Πομπηΐανῆς ἑταιρείας); D.S. 10.11.1; 25.8.1; D.H. *RA* 3.72.5; 4.38.6 (τῆς περὶ Ταρκύνιον ἑταιρείας); 9.41.5; 11.3.3; 11.5.1; 11.23.6 (ἀριστοκρατικῶν ἑταιρειῶν); 12.1.11; D. Cassius 30-35.109.15; 37.45.2; 37.54.3 (ἐς δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἐσελθὼν καὶ ἐπαγγειλάμενος τὴν ἀρχὴν οὕτω τούς τε ἄλλους καὶ τὸν Πομπήιον τόν τε Κράσσον ἐξεθεράπευσεν, ὥστε δι' ἔχθρας ἀλλήλοις ἔτι καὶ τότε αὐτοὺς ὄντας καὶ τὰς ἑταιρείας ἔχοντας); 52.36.2; 60.6.6-7; Pliny, *Letters*, 10.

Membership

Individuals participating in associations must be committed in pursuing a common, enduring goal. What is worth further investigation is not the obvious i.e. did *hetaireiai* have members but how one could become a member, how membership was delineated, the mechanism(s) of extracting or expressing consent and commitment. There is no information about the way(s) in which one could join an *hetaireia*, whether there were any formal or informal requirements. We do not know whether the social background or personal characteristics -especially age- of the candidates influenced their decision to join and the resolution of the group to accept them. Of course, the reference of Herodotus to the comrades of Cylon as *hēlikiōtai* indicates or implies an age group, what remains uncertain is whether the group was called *hetareiē* or this is a Herodotean projection.[30] As for the mechanism, we can only speculate about the existence of an oath of allegiance,[31] a duty of silence,[32] a ritual of some kind (e.g. initiation that may include acts flouting *polis*-law or the established social norms).[33] The sense of belonging could have been enhanced by orchestrating and performing similar acts. One of the links that glued together (even temporarily) members was allegiance or expectations from the prominent figure, apart from congeniality, age, and mutual interests (Calhoun 1913: 38-39). These various mechanisms show a reliance on *pistis* among individual members on a one-to-one basis and subsequently through networking, something that implies a resounding lack of corporate spirit. The size of *hetaireiai* is difficult to define in exact terms; scholars based on the evidence from Andocides and the Attic *stelai* (*IG* i^3 421ff.)

30 See Chroust 1954: 281, Jones 1999: 224; cf. Calhoun 1913: 14.

31 On oaths see the rather speculative discussion in Calhoun 1913: 34-35 and most recently Mitchell 2014: 69. An oath is mentioned in the *koinon* of *Eikadeis* in *IG* ii^2 1258, 2-3 (324/3).

32 Disapproval of Andocides for testifying against his comrades, And. 1 (*On the mysteries*) 54, 63, 67. See also Lys. 6 (*Against Andocides*) 23; 12 (*Against Eratosthenes*) 43-47; 13 (*Against Agoratos*) 18-22; [D.] 54 (*Against Konon*) 25, 33, 37, [D.] 57 (*Against Euboulides*) 17-18.

33 See Calhoun 1913: 35-37 for initiation in [D.] 54 (*Against Konon*) and Furley 1996: 58-59.

have suggested that they were rather small groups, between 10-30 individuals,[34] and if we are to believe Lysias frg. 73 there were only four or a few more in [D. 54] (see above). It is a fair inference that, at least in late fifth-century Athens, they were all upper-class men of about the same age,[35] notwithstanding the references to Andocides' father or Konon of [D.] 54.

Organization (Officials – laws)

Private associations have, at least, rudimentary organization, that is an articulated *modus operandi* involving a division of labour and duties among its members, rank and file personnel, and fixed deliberation processes. *Hetaireiai* do not seem to have had anything similar. What do we know about their decision-making processes? Assuming that one of their main function was drinking parties (a glimpse is provided by And. 1 (*On the Mysteries*) 61 when he describes how he managed to call off an earlier attempt at parodying the Eleusinian Mysteries) or other informal meetings in a private place, then one should not expect to find any formal way(s) of deliberation but rather informal consultations over a cylix of wine.[36] In this case spontaneity and sentimental reaction may have played a decisive role. Even the terms implying some sort of magistrates, such as *archetairos* are late appearances.[37]

34 So Calhoun 1913: 29-30, club of Andocides included c. 23 individuals. Aurenche 1974 suggested that the group of Leogoras did not have more than 40 members, Alcibiades' group 21, and Teucros 13 members; see also Connor 1971: 27-28, Furley 1996: 59, Rosenbloom 2004: 328. The average size of private religious associations in Hellenistic Athens included between 20 and 50 members (*IG* ii^2 1297; 1325; 1335; 2343; 2347).

35 Connor 1971: 29; Aurenche 1974.

36 And. 1 (*On the Mysteries*) 61: διὰ ταῦτα εἶπον τῇ βουλῇ ὅτι εἰδείην τοὺς ποιήσαντας, καὶ ἐξήλεγξα τὰ γενόμενα, ὅτι εἰσηγήσατο μὲν πινόντων ἡμῶν ταύτην τὴν βουλὴν γενέσθαι Εὐφίλητος, ἀντεῖπον δὲ ἐγώ, καὶ τότε μὲν οὐ γένοιτο δι᾽ ἐμέ ("I therefore informed the Council that I knew the offenders, and showed exactly what had occurred. The idea, I said, had been suggested by Euphiletus at a drinking-party; but I opposed it, and succeeded in preventing its execution for the time being" – transl. Maidment in Loeb). See Calhoun 1913: 6, 9, 24, 83, 113-14; MacDowell 1962: 137; Pecorella Longo 1971: 41ff.; Furley 1996: 57.

37 *Archetairos*: *YCS* 14 (1955) 129 no. 2 (Dura-Europos, 37 CE).

Durability

It is possible to argue that *hetaireiai* were intended to endure in time, even if that meant the life span of the individual around whom the group orbit. For example, we assume that Alcibiades' *hetaireia* (Plu. *Alc.* 13.4) was intended to last as long as Alcibiades was alive, but we do not know whether his *hetaireia* survived the reversals of his career. We also know the fate of the *hetaireia* of Thucydides, son of Melesias after his ostracism, it was "disbanded" by Perikles (Plu. *Per.* 14.2). In that sense, I think that *hetaireiai* were structurally unstable groups; they were more than *ad hoc* groups but, at the same time, they were not designed to outlive its central figure.[38] The Thucydidean *xynōmosiai* convinced by Peisandros to join forces and bring an end to the democratic regime in 411 were apparently more enduring groups (8.54.4: αἵπερ ἐτύγχανον πρότερον) since their aim was to influence judicial proceedings and elections of magistrates but how far back this goes we cannot know.

Foundation – Dissolution

This feature remains largely unascertainable; we may surmise that, at least sometimes, the central figure was instrumental in setting up the group or at least signal his condescensation in forming one. In fourth-century Athens, the groups of *Ithyphalloi*, *Kakodaimonistai* did not proceed to a foundation act; they simply got together on certain occasions. Since in most Greco-Roman associations dissolution remained a *de facto* imposed eventuality, *hetaireiai* understood as an inherently unstable collectivity would have been dissolved as soon as their central figure(s) lost interest, retired or passed away. No formal declaration or decision of its members was needed.

38 Aurenche 1974: 42.

Property

There is no indication that *hetaireiai* owned any premises; most of their meetings and banquets took place in the houses of their members, e.g. And. 1 (*On the Mysteries*) 11-18 and the reports in the same speech that the profanation of Mysteries occurred in houses as far apart as the deme of Themakos (in the southern slopes of Hymettos), in the area of Olympieion and the house of Poulytion.[39]

This rapid survey has demonstrated, I hope, that *hetaireiai* display only three out of nine defining elements of an association. They may have had a proper name, used a descriptive term and attracted members; but they appear to have only limited durability, not to have been organized with officers and by-laws, not to acquire property, and no formal foundation-dissolution processes. To my mind this suggests that they were not fully fledged associations; it is more likely that they were what I prefer to call low-corporateness associations.[40]

Even if regarding *hetaireiai* as informal groups with a low corporate-index is increasingly acceptable,[41] it does not explain its perseverance in fourth-century Athens. Despite *hetaireiai*'s tight association with the enemies of the *demos*,[42] structurally similar groups continued to spring up. A different perspective to the investigation may be provided if we consider the collocation "le degré zéro de l'écriture." The phrase was coined in literary theory by Roland Barthes in 1950s to signify the implicit but changing over time requirements that *écriture* was conforming to. In a similar manner, we may reconsider whether the structural elements of *hetaireiai* (name, designation, membership) provided a template of collective action. In other words, were *hetaireiai* an organizational model, providing principles on how to organize collectivities, competing or even averse to the rule of the *demos* or a response to *demos* and its subdivisions as N. Jones put it? Does the subsequent prevalence of the "democratic"

39 Themakos, house of Pherekles; Olympieion, house of Charmides, and the house of Poulytion, Isocr. 16 (*On the team of horses*) 6; Plu. *Alc.* 22.3. See Connor 1971: 27-28.

40 Similar assessment by Connor 1971: 26.

41 E.g. Mitchell 1997.

42 E.g. Anaximenes, *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum* 38.18, with Pecorella Longo 1971: 26; Arist. *Pol.* 1305b 32.

template, as the numerous decrees of public and private associations[43] with a well-defined organizational apparatus and thus detectable in the epigraphic radar, mean that the organizational pattern of *hetaireiai* proved to be an impasse?

If the above questions sound plausible, then, we may speak of two distinctly different modes of organizing collective action; on the one hand an informal, with an embryonic articulation, centred round dominant personalities (i.e. powerful individuals providing access to resources, wealth, power, influence), with membership consisting of individuals of the same age or so (but not necessarily), with fuzzy or unclear rules of joining, at least to the outsiders. On the other hand, there was available a mode with a set of fixed rules of admission and concerted action (deliberation procedures, magistrates, regulations), sometimes even acquiring their own premises, transparency guaranteed by holding assemblies of their members, enhanced by the public display of their decisions (inscription on stone), use of writing, and appropriation of the *polis*-discourse both on the level of rhetoric as well as of symbols (crowning, monumental character of the publication).

Concluding Remarks

Bypassing the fruitless discussion of whether *hetaireiai* were something equivalent to modern political parties,[44] *hetaireiai* in classical Athens appear both as low-corporateness associations and as a model to organize collective action. The involvement of, at least, some of them in the political upheaval of the last decade of the fifth century, certainly discredited them. Nevertheless, their structural plasticity made them an attractive proposition. Thanks to their conceptual and organizational elasticity, they may have been functioning under a different name (or no name at all, since the descriptive term was telling enough!), adapted to a new social setting (in a symbiotic or parasitic relation), undetectable in our

43 Such as demes, phratries, *phylai*, *koina* of *orgeōnes*, *thiasotai*, *eranistai*, *Asklēpiastai, Sarapiastai* or other similarly labelled cult groups.

44 See Connor 1971, Aurenche 1974, Hansen 1991; Mitchell 1997, Anastasiadis 1999, and most recently Hansen 2014, Piovan 2015, and Anderson 2022.

sources.[45] The advent and eventual domination of the democratic *polis*-based model of collective action has obscured this aspect of *hetaireiai* and instead focused on their anti-democratic, destabilising function, a feature that survived well into the Imperial era.

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45 In this respect see Taddei 2007: 299 who regards groups of *autolekythoi*, *ithyphalloi*, *Triballoi* or *kakodaimonistai* as groups mutating to adapt to the requirements of the Cleisthenic reform.

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THE CONTINUATION OF A CIVIC OBLIGATION? THE ATHENIAN TRIERARCHY IN THE LATE THIRD CENTURY BCE

By Christian Ammitzbøll Thomsen

Summary: While it is clear that third-century BCE Athens continued to maintain a fleet, albeit a much smaller one than in previous centuries, it is usually believed that the Athenian trierarchy had been abolished during the reign of Demetrios of Phaleron (318-308 BCE). However, an honorific decree (*I.Rhamnous* 31) from Rhamnous, voted for a trierarch by an association of sailors, gives evidence for the existence of a late-third-century BCE trierarchy, which preserved the basic features of its Classical predecessor. The Athenians continued to appoint trierarchs for year-long terms, expected them to serve in person and required them to pay for the maintenance of the ship in their care. The permanent assignment to the ship of a crew, which formed an association and acted as an agent of the Athenian state, represented an innovation.

The Classical Athenian trierarchy is arguably one of the most important institutional developments of the ancient Greek world. As a military-fiscal tool, it is traditionally linked to the development of Athenian naval power, which profoundly shaped the history of the Greek world in the fifth and fourth centuries BCE, and as a tax levied on the wealthiest Athenians it has been regarded as a key, if not defining, aspect of Athenian democracy.[1] Consequently, it is commonly held that the supposed abolition of this system in the late fourth century BCE, as part of a reform programme instituted by Demetrios of Phaleron, is symptomatic of Athens' retreat from a leading position in the Greek world and of a decline that saw democracy yield to 'aristocratic' rule in the Hellenistic period.[2]

1 Christ 1990; Veyne 1990: 71-83.

2 Ferguson 1911: 99-100; Habicht 1997: 57; Veyne 1990.

Christian Ammitzbøll Thomsen: 'The continuation of a civic obligation? The Athenian trierarchy in the late third century BCE' C&M Supplementum 2 (2024) 73-92.

Recent studies of early Hellenistic Athens, however, have begun to question central aspects of this perceived decline, instead emphasising continuities with the preceding period.[3] In challenging the earlier scholarship, several historians have noted the surprising lack of direct evidence for the abolition of the trierarchy (see below) and point to the attestation of the word trierarch in an inscription from late-third-century BCE Rhamnous on Attika's northern border with Boiotia (*I.Rhamnous* 31) and thereby the possibility of the continuation of the liturgy well into the third century BCE.[4] In spite of its recognised importance, the inscription and its trierarch have so far not been subjected to any detailed study regarding the nature of a potential third-century BCE Athenian trierarchy. This paper aims to provide such a study, but before introducing the inscription it is necessary to draw a short historical outline of the Athenian fleet from the end of the Lamian War (323/2-322/1 BCE).

The naval campaigns of the Lamian War, and particularly the Athenian defeat at the battle of Amorgos in 322/1 BCE, are conventionally believed to mark the end of the Athenian fleet. Although a significant blow, the battle of Amorgos did not spell the end for the Athenian fleet.[5] Within a decade of the defeat at Amorgos, Athenian ships were again operating in the Aegean and beyond as part of the coalition against Antigonos and a request made by Kassandros in 315/4 BCE for twenty ships for an expedition against Lemnos suggests that the Athenians were still in possession of a relatively large fleet.[6] The restoration of democracy in 307/6 BCE was accompanied by an effort to expand the fleet as reflected in the immediate request for a substantial amount of timber, enough to build 100 ships, made by the Athenians to Antigonos, now their ally and benefactor.[7] The ability of the Athenians to dispatch a squadron of no less than 30 quadriremes (approximately two thirds of the number of quad-

3 Habicht 1997; Bayliss 2011: 94-128.

4 O'Sullivan 2009: 186-87; Oliver 2007: 196-97.

5 Beloch 1904: 75; Ferguson 1911: 17-18; Diod. 18.15.9; Plut. *Dem*. 11.5; *Mor*. 338a. Cf. Bayliss 2001.

6 *IG* II^3 1 985 (probably 259/8, detailing events in 315/4 BCE); Diod. 19.68.3. Habicht 1997: 62. Athenian ship may have participated in Antigonos' expedition to Asia Minor 321/0 BCE as well as an unsuccessful attempt to retake Samos (Hauben 1974).

7 Diod. 20.46.4.

riremes maintained prior to the battle of Amorgos) in support of Antigonos' son Demetrios the following spring should be taken as evidence for the continued maintenance of a naval infrastructure which allowed the Athenians to build and put to sea new ships within a relatively short period and perhaps even for the survival of a substantial number of ships in Athenian navy docks which could be fitted for service anew.[8] The next to be heard of the Athenian fleet is the dispatch of "all seaworthy triremes" to assist the coalition trying to block the Galatians at Thermopylai in 279/8 BCE (Paus. 10.20.5, 21.4, 22.12). Pausanias' account, however, is controversial and has long been regarded with deep suspicion for being spun, or so it seemed, according to a template drawn from Herodotus' description of the famous battle against the Persians in 480 BCE.[9] A recent re-evaluation of Pausanias' testimony is less sceptical and inclined to see in his narrative more than a kernel of truth. Details of the size and nature of the allies' contributions seem to indicate that Pausanias had a well-informed source for his account, and various pieces of information are corroborated by other evidence.[10] The rehabilitation of Pausanias' account, however, only goes so far and while inclined to believe Pausanias in matters on land, Habicht nevertheless maintains that Athens' naval contribution is a fiction.[11] Narrative structure aside, scholars have pointed to the fact that the Athenians, since 294 BCE, had been cut off from the Piraeus and would not regain access to their most important naval facilities until 229 BCE.[12] No doubt the Macedonian occupation of the Piraeus was a significant blow, but Athenian naval infrastructure, though centred on the Piraeus, included also a number of installations around Attika, at Sounion and Eleusis and, as we will see, at Rhamnous. None of these came close to matching the Pireaus in capacity, but served

8 Contra Billows 1990: 150-51 who holds (against Diod. 20.46.4) that the Athenians made this request of Demetrios.

9 Habicht 1997: 132-33. Cf. Tarn 1913: 442; Momigliano 1975: 63.

10 Habicht 1997: 132-33, suspects that the source to be Hieronymos of Caria.

11 Habicht 1997: 133. Cf. Bayliss 2011: 200-4, who takes a rather less pessimistic view of Pausanias (2011: 205-7).

12 Bayliss 2011: 200-4.

as bases for smaller operations in the waters around Attika.[13] Even if Pausanias cannot be trusted, or trusted completely, there is evidence to suggest that the Athenians did continue to man a fleet in this period. A couple of badly damaged honorific decrees dated to the third century BCE celebrate men for their service as trierarchs, an indication that the Athenians continued to maintain some sort of fleet even without access to their naval installations in the Piraeus.[14]

A fragmentary dedication by "the Athenians who sail in the guard *triemioliai*" ([Ἀθη]ναίων οἱ πλέοντες ἐν ταῖς φυλακίσιν τρ[ιη]μιολίαις) including at least two trierarchs from the archonship of Agkulos, in or around 208/7 BCE, attests that the Athenians by then had adopted lighter vessels appropriate for coastal defence.[15] The qualification "guard", invokes the Rhodian *phylakides nees* (Diod. 20.93.5), or patrol ships, which the Rhodians deployed in an effort to protect merchant ships from pirate attacks.[16] Though the scarcity of evidence must temper any conclusions, I Athenian ships would continue to operate away from Attika. A group of Athenian aphracts appear in an honorific decree of the still independent Delians in the beginning of the second century BCE (*IG* XI.4 751) for a Rhodian commander operating with, or perhaps rather, in support, of a number of triremes of the Nesiotic League. The failure of our sources to mention any larger, cataphract warships could be taken to suggest that the Athenians, sometime in the third century BCE—and perhaps as a consequence of the loss of the Piraeus—had focused their naval attention on coastal defence, but the scarcity of sources must of course temper any conclusion. What is clear, however, is that Athens continued to support some sort of fleet; one that was able to operate beyond Athenian waters and one which would require funding.

13 Bayliss 2011: 204-5. For Athenian hopes of recovering the Piraeus, see Habicht 1997: 125 with n. 3.

14 *IG* II^3 1 1035 (ca. 245 BCE); 1238 (c. 200 BCE); *BCH* 71/72 (1947/8) 390 (Phaleron, "Hellenistic"); *Hesperia* 11 (1942) 292 no. 57 (208/7?). In addition, trierarchs appear in three inscriptions dated to the "end of the fourth century BCE": *IG* II^2 1481; 1491; 3209.

15 *Hesperia* 11 1942: 292 no. 57

16 Gabrielsen 2013a: 74-76.

Demetrios of Phaleron and the Abolition of the Trierarchy

If the maintenance of a fleet continued into the third century BCE, a crucial feature of its classical predecessor is usually thought to have come to an end with the reign of Demetrios of Phaleron. According to a well-entrenched tradition, the trierarchic liturgy was abolished along with other liturgies as part of a reforming programme carried out by Demetrios between 318/7 and 308/7 BCE.[17] More recent studies, however, have drawn attention to the lack of direct evidence for Demetrios' involvement in any change to the liturgy. Though Demetrios came out strongly against the ruinous effects of the choragic liturgy in an often-cited fragment attributed to him by Plutarch,[18] which echoed the similar sentiments of his teacher, Aristotle,[19] the same fragment makes no mention of the trierarchy. Add to that, that Aristotle's criticism of the *choregia* was precisely that the liturgy drew away money from more important matters, such a defence.[20] We may note in passing that even Demetrios' involvement in the abolition of the *choregia* has recently been drawn into question.[21]

17 Ferguson 1911: 55-58, esp. 58; Habicht 1995. Gehrke 1978: 171, with n. 117, briefly raises the possibility that the trierarchy might have been reintroduced with the restoration of democracy in 307/6 BCE, but considers the rudimentary state of the fleet to have rendered the institution obsolete.

18 Plut. *De glor. Ath.* 6 (*Mor.* 349b): "But the men who paid for the choruses gave the choristers eels and tender lettuces, roast-beef and marrow, and pampered them for a long time while they were training their voices and living in luxury. The result for the defeated *choregoi* was to be held in contumely and ridicule; but to the victors belonged a tripod, which was, as Demetrius says, not a votive offering to commemorate their victory, but a last oblation of their wasted livelihood, an empty memorial of their vanished estates" (translation: Cole Babbitt 1936).

19 Arist. *Pol.* 1309a11: "In democracies it is necessary to be sparing of the wealthy not only by not causing properties to be divided up, but not incomes either – which under some constitutions takes place unnoticed – and it is better to prevent men from undertaking costly but useless public services like equipping choruses and torch-races and all other services, even if they wish to" (translation Rackham 1932).

20 O'Sullivan 2009: 172; cf. Gehrke 1978: 171 n. 117.

21 O'Sullivan 2009: 165-95 argues for the abolition of the *choregia* by the restored democracy. Csapo & Wilson 2010 traces the beginning of the reform to the years preceding Demetrios' reign. Ackermann & Sarranzanas 2020 place the abolition during his reign, but point to other factors as decisive.

Be that as it may, it is clear that by 307/6 BCE, at the latest, the Athenians had ceased appointing *choregoi* in favour of an elected *agonothetes* and by the last half of the third century BCE, if not before, the *gymnasiarchia* too was an elected magistrate.[22] Together, these shifts trace a clear trajectory by which the Athenians moved from the Classical liturgies towards a voluntary system of election and it is therefore *a priori* likely, as most historians suspect, that the trierarchy too was at some point abolished as a liturgy and converted into an elected magistracy.

Before we turn to the evidence for the trierarchy, it would be useful to set out a few criteria based on the Classical Athenian trierarchy. Even in the classical period the trierarch had a dual personality; one military, one fiscal. As the title suggests he was the commander of a trireme and was to serve for a specific period of time, usually one year.[23] He was, however, also a taxpayer, selected for his wealth rather than his military expertise (although he might do well to acquire one) and obliged by the state to spend from his own means to bring a state ship into fighting shape. The classical trierarch, in other words, was (1) appointed, and not elected; (2) he was to serve in person; and (3) he was required to pay out of his own means for keeping a state ship in operational condition.[24]

Accordingly, in looking for the third-century trierarchy BCE, trierarchs alone will not do.[25] In the century or so following the reign of Demetrios of Phaleron the title is certainly attested, but in neither of these cases it is possible to assess the requirements of the trierarch beyond the command of a warship.[26] Only a single case – not from the Piraeus, where one might think to look first, but in the distant coastal fortress town of Rhamnous on Attika's border with Boiotia – lends itself for a more detailed study: that of Menandros son of Teisandros of Eiteia, a trierarch and the subject of an honorific decree passed in the year 224/3 BCE, not

22 *IG* II^2 1299.51-55 (Eleusis, 234/3 BCE). O'Sullivan 2009: 186.

23 Gabrielsen 1994: 78-80.

24 Gabrielsen 1994: 68-77 (appointment), 95-6 (personal service) and 105-72 (financial responsibilities).

25 O'Sullivan 2009: 186-87.

26 *IG* II^3 1 1035 (c. 245); 1051.6 (c. 255-234)

long after the Athenians had regained full control of their territory, including the fortress at Rhamnous.[27]

Appointment and Responsibilities of a late-third-century BCE Athenian Trierarch

As it had been since at least the late fifth century BCE, Rhamnous was in the third century BCE a fortress town.[28] The fortress furthermore functioned as the headquarters of an annually elected *strategos* specifically assigned to the defence of the northeastern coast of Attika stretching from about Rhamnous in the north to Sounion in the south.[29] While the *strategoi* came and went with the turn of every year the garrison itself was made up of professional soldiers who seem to have spent their lives in the garrison. Many were Athenian citizens from Rhamnous and neighbouring demes, but Rhamnous was also home to former Antigonid mercenaries and their descendants, the so-called *paroikoi*.[30] In what seems to have been an on-going contest for the special attention of the *strategoi*, the soldiers in the fortress assembled in various and ever-changing associations to pass decrees of honour for the *strategos*. We find *The Athenians Deployed in the Fortress*, *The* Paroikoi *Deployed in the Fortress*, the *kryptoi* (or scouts, who were made up by both Athenians and foreigners) and the *hypaithroi*, that is, the bivouacked troops, all passing decrees in honour of the *strategos*, sometimes on their own and sometimes jointly.[31] Among these honorific decrees is one passed in the year 224/3 BCE, not for the *strategos*, but for a trierarch, a certain Menandros son of Teisandros of Eiteia.

27 *I.Rhamnous* 31. For the Athenian recovery of Rhamnous, see Oetjen 2014: 111-18.

28 Ober 1985: 135-37.

29 Oliver 2007: 164-67; Oetjen 2014: 48-69.

30 Oetjen 2014: 76-91.

31 *I.Rhamnous* 10 (Athenians, 253/2 BCE); 20 (*kryptoi*, after 228 BCE) 38 (*paroikoi*, 217/6 BCE); 49 (Athenians and *hypaithroi* jointly, 207/6); 9 (Rhamnousians and Athenians jointly, c. 260 BCE). For an exhaustive list of the various groups attested in Rhamnous, see Oliver 2007: 274-76; cf. Osborne 1990: 284-85, with the evidence collected by Oetjen 2014: 177-230.

I.Rhamnous 31 (Rhamnous, 225/4 BCE)

ἔδοξεν Ῥαμνουσίοις καὶ τοῖς οἰκοῦσιν τῶν πολιτῶν
Ῥαμνοῦντι· Τιμοκράτης Ἐπιγένου Ὀῆθεν εἶπεν· ἐπειδ[ὴ]
Μένανδρος κατασταθεὶς τριήραρχος εἰς τὸν ἐνιαυ[τὸν]
τὸν ἐπὶ Νικήτου ἄρχοντος τῆς τε τοῦ πλοίου ἐπ[ι]-
σκευῆς ἐπεμελήθη καλῶς καὶ φιλοτίμως ἀναλ[ίσ]-
κων ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ὅσα παρήγγελλον αὐτῶι οἱ ἐπὶ τού[των]
τεταγμένοι· ἔθηκεν δὲ καὶ ἔλαιον τοῖς νεανίσκ[οις]
[ἵ]να ἐπιμελόμενοι τοῦ σώματος δυνατώτεροι γίνων-
[τ]αι· ἔθυσεν δὲ καὶ τῶι Διὶ τῶι Σωτεῖρι καὶ τεῖ Ἀθηνᾶι τεῖ
[Σω]τείραι περὶ ὑγιείας καὶ σωτηρίας καὶ ὁμονοίας τῶν
[συ]νπλευσάντων, ὅπως ἂν ὁμονοοῦντες καὶ σωιζόμε-
[νοι κ]αὶ εἰς τὸ μετὰ ταῦτα χρήσιμοι γίνωνται τῶι δήμωι,
[καὶ] ὑπεδέξατο φιλοτίμως ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων· ν ἐστεφάνω-
σε δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ πλοίου ὑπηρέτας φιλοτιμίας
ἕνεκεν τῆς εἰς ἑαυτούς· ἔδωκεν δὲ καὶ τὰ ναυφυλά-
κια παρ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ παραγενόμενος εἰς Ῥαμνοῦντα
ἔθυσεν τεῖ Νεμέσει μετὰ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ τῶν ἱερο-
ποιῶν τῶν αἱρεθέντων μεθ' αὐτοῦ ⟦— — —⟧ καὶ ἐπέδωκεν ἱερε[ῖ]-
α καὶ οἶνον· ὅπως δ' ἂν ἐφάμιλλον εἶ τοῖς ἀεὶ καθισταμέ-
[ν]οις τριηράρχοις εἰδόσιν ὅτι χάριτας ἀξίας κομιοῦν-
[τ]αι ὧν ἂν εὐεργετήσωσιν, ἀγαθεῖ τύχει· δεδόχθαι
Ἀθηναίων τοῖς συνπλεύσασιν ἐν τῶι ἀφράκτωι
ἐπαινέσαι Μένανδρον Τεισάνδρου Εἰτεαῖον καὶ
στεφανῶσαι χρυσῶι σ[τ]εφάνωι κατὰ τὸν νόμον
ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα ⟦— —⟧ καὶ φιλοτιμίας τῆς εἰς ἑαυτούς·
εἶναι δὲ αὐτῶι καὶ ἀτέλειαν τοῦ πλοῦ εἰς τὸ μετὰ ταῦτα·
ἀναγράψαι δὲ τὸ ψήφισμα ἐν στήλει λιθίνει καὶ στῆσαι πρὸ[ς]
τεῖ πύλει, ἑλέσθαι δὲ καὶ τρεῖς ἄνδρας ἤδη ἐξ ἑαυτῶν οἵτι-
νες συντελοῦσιν τὰ ἐψηφισμένα, τὸ δὲ ἀνάλωμα τὸ γεν[ό]-
μενον λογίσασθαι τῶι κοινῶι· οἵδε εἱρέθησαν, Τιμοκρά-
της Ἐπιγένου Ὀῆθεν, Ἀρχέστρ[α]τος Αἰσχίνου Ἐρχιεύς,
[Δι]οκλῆς Δίωνος Ἁμαξαντ[εύς]. Ἀθηναίων οἱ συνπλεύσαντες
Μένανδρον Τεισάνδρου Εἰτεαῖον.

> It was decided by the Rhamnousians and *The Citizens Living at Rhamnous*. Timokrates son of Epigenes of Oa said: Since Menandros, having been appointed trierarch for the year when Niketes was archon (225/4 BCE), cared for the repair of the ship keenly and well, spending of his own means as much as *hoi tetagmenoi epi tou*[*ton*] demanded; and he made oil available to the young men in order that they might take care of their bodies and become fitter; and he sacrificed to Zeus Soter and Athene Soteira for the health, safety and unanimity of the fellow sailors, in order that being safe and in concord they might be useful for the *demos* in the future, and gave an ambitious entertainment at his own expense; and he crowned the rowers of the boat for their keenness among themselves; and he paid the fee for guarding the boat and when he arrived at Rhamnous he sacrificed to Nemesis along with the general and the *hieropoioi* who had been elected with him, and provided sacrificial victims and wine; therefore, in order that there may be rivalry among those who at any time are appointed trierarchs, knowing that they will receive proper gratitude if they are benefactors, Good Fortune!, *The Athenians Sailing Together on the Aphract* (Warship) have decided, with good fortune, to praise Menandros son of Teisandros of Eitea and to crown him with a gold crown according to the law for his valour and ambition shown towards them; also he shall have exemption from sailing for the future. The inscription shall be inscribed on a stone stele and set up at the gate. Three men shall now be chosen from their own number to see to the completion of what has been decreed. The expense incurred shall be charged to the association. The following were chosen: Timokrates son of Epigenes of Oa, Archestratos son of Aischines of Erchia, Diokles son of Dion of Hamaxanteia.
> *The Athenians Sailing Together* (crowned) Menandros son of Teisandros of Eiteia.[32]

The identification of the decree's issuing body is by no means a straightforward matter. The text of the decree opens with an enactment clause mentioning a hybrid-group of two different associations, the Rhamnousians – the local demesmen – and *The Citizens Living in Rhamnous* (ll. 1-

32 Translation adapted from Osborne 1990.

2). The decree's resumption clause (ll. 21-22), by contrast, names an association (*koinon*), the *Athenians Sailing Together in the Aphract* (Warship), as the decreeing body. The name of the association then reappears—alone again—in the inscribed crown that follows immediately after the text of the decree (ll. 33-37). Osborne took this to signify profound confusion on behalf of the authors of the decree as to how to communicate their identity to an outside world which still operated with strict categories of demesmen, citizens and foreigners, categories which by the late third century BCE, according to Osborne, had lost significance among the inhabitants of Rhamnous.[33] Jones, who rightly pointed out the inadequacy of this explanation, preferred to see in this decree a decision of a hybrid group, an organisation built around the traditional deme, in this case the Rhamnousians, with the addition of those Athenian, but non-Rhamnousian, citizens permanently settled in Rhamnous. The association of *the Athenians Sailing Together in the Aphract*, in Jones' view, formed part of this larger hybrid group and had turned to them to honour their trierarch Menandros—hence their mention in the decree—since they themselves lacked the necessary organisational infrastructure for crowning a benefactor.[34]

This interpretation, too, has several shortcomings. Firstly, Jones' assumption that only a deme would possess the necessary means to pass a decree – such as a meeting place, formal procedures for collective decision-making, and access to suppliers of crowns – is contradicted by the substantial number of contemporary honorific decrees issued by private associations, not only in Rhamnous and Athens, but across the wider Greek world.[35] Secondly, and as already mentioned, moving beyond the enactment clause (ll. 1-2) there is in fact no trace of the Rhamnousians and *The Citizens Living in Rhamnous* in the remainder of the decree. Me-

33 Osborne 1990: 282-85.

34 Jones 1999: 77-79.

35 Jones 1999: 78. Contra Oetjen 2014: 156. For the organization and honorific practices of private associations in Hellenistic Athens, see Arnaoutoglou 2003: 89-115, 145-64. The reader may consult the searchable database of the Copenhagen Associations Project for more evidence for association meeting places, voting, crowning. The question of ἀτέλεια τοῦ πλοῦ (l. 26) is dealt with below.

nandros' benefactions were directed at the ship, its crew and *The Athenians Sailing Together*, who voted to crown Menandros at the expense of "the association (ll. 29-30)" and elected three of their number to carry out the decision. True, a *demos* is mentioned at line 12 where the proposer of the decree recounts how Menandros had sacrificed to Zeus and Athena for "the health, safety and unanimity of the fellow sailors, in order that being safe and in concord they might be useful for the *demos* in the future" (9-12). In spite of Jones' assertion that this *demos* can only be the Rhamnousians, it is equally plausible, and much more likely, that this refers to the Athenian People, and at any rate does not imply that either *demos* was the author of the decree.[36]

More recently, Oetjen has offered a better explanation. Since Menandros was an important figure of Rhamnousian society and since the inhabitants of Rhamnous stood to gain, at least indirectly, from his benefactions towards *The Athenians Sailing Together*, Oetjen suggests that the Rhamnousians and *The Citizens Living in Rhamnous* simply approved and adopted a decree proposed and passed by the Athenians Sailing Together and that the latter had the names of the former and their approval inscribed on the decree.[37] This is certainly a valid interpretation, but we might be able to push it further. One reason why *The Athenians Sailing Together* might have sought the approval of their decree might have been their desire to set it up in a particular spot, "before the gate" (of the fortress, ll. 27-8). The same spot had been used for the display of honorific decrees issued by the Athenian soldiers of the fortress since the middle of the century BCE. Nevertheless, it is conceivable that the demesmen may have asserted a claim to the site as well.[38]

The inscription before us, therefore, is most likely a copy of a decree *of The Athenians Sailing Together* later adopted and inscribed (or perhaps re-inscribed) by the local demesmen in some cooperation with those

36 Jones 1999: 77. The fact that *Athenaioi* appears elsewhere in the decree means nothing since it only ever occurs as part of the name of The Athenians Sailing Together (ll. 22 and 33).

37 Oetjen 2014: 155.

38 *I.Rhamnous* 10.22 (253/2 BCE). The decree for the general Thoukritos specifically praises him for repairing the gate (l. 12) from his own means.

Athenians who resided in Rhamnous, who in the process adopted the contents of the decree as their own.

Appointment of the Trierarch

The decree's motivational clause introduces our trierarch, Menandros, and his various benefactions towards the ship and its crew. Since the process of appointment is crucial to this study, it is worth dwelling on it for a moment. The decree specifically mentions that Menandros had been "appointed" trierarch for Niketes' archonship (224/3 BCE, ll. 2-4). Though at first sight trivial, the choice of verb (καθίστημι) is in fact significant. The word is used in fourth-century BCE forensic sources for the method of appointment for trierarchs (*e.g.* Dem. 4.36; 39.8) and in contrast with magistrates whom the Athenians either elected (χειροτονέω) or selected (κληρόω). Contemporary inscriptions from Rhamnous confirm that this distinction between appointment and elections was still valid in the third century BCE. A variety of minor military officials in Rhamnous such as the *epimeletes* and *ho epi tous paroikous*, were all said to be appointed by the *strategos*[39] while the *strategos* himself was elected[40] with the exception of two *strategoi,* both of whom were appointed by Antigonid kings, rather than elected by the Athenian *demos*, in the period between the 260s and 229 BCE when the Antigonids remained in control of the fortress.[41] The pointed use of both verbs is most clearly exemplified by the general Apollodoros of Otryne who had served both King and Country, so to speak, and was therefore described as having been "appointed *strategos* by King Antigonos and elected by the *demos* to the *chora* of the coast".[42]

One possibility is, of course, that Menandros, the trierarch, was an officer appointed by the *strategos* similar to the *epimeletes* and *ho epi tous*

39 *I. Rhamnous* 8.22-24 (καταστα̣θέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ). Cf. 38.13-15.

40 *SEG* 43:31.4-5 (χειροτονηθ[εὶς] ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τ̣ọ̣[ῦ] Ἀθηναίων)

41 *I. Rhamnous* 8; 17. Oetjen 2014: 9-20.

42 *I. Rhamnous* 8.6-8, ἐπει[δὴ Ἀπολλόδωρος κ]αταστα̣θεὶς στρατηγὸς ὑπό τε τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀντιγόνου καὶ [ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου] χειροτονηθεὶς ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν τὴν παραλίαν.

paroikous, who commanded various troops of the fortress.[43] But unlike these officers, Menandros' appointment was associated with a specific year (that of Niketos) rather than a specific *strategos* – but like the *strategos* – and therefore implies a direct *polis* appointment. The one-year term of the trierarchy is confirmed by the decree's hortatory intention clause (ll. 19-21) in which the Athenians Sailing Together confess their hope "that there may be rivalry among those who at any time are appointed trierarchs, knowing that they will receive proper gratitude if they are benefactors". Interestingly, the same clause is evidence that while trierarchs were appointed yearly, the crew of the ship (or at least that portion of it organised by the *koinon*) were permanently deployed with the ship, a point we will return to below.

Menandros' parity with the *strategos* is furthermore hinted at when the decree commends him for sacrificing to Nemesis "together with the *strategos* and the *hieropoioi* who were chosen with him (ll. 14-6)."

Financial Responsibilities of the Trierarch

Menandros' stint as trierarch involved considerable private spending. He gave oil for physical exercise (ll. 7-9), paid for sacrifices (ll. 9-11), entertained the crew (l. 13), crowned the rowers (l. 13-5) and paid for the guarding of the ship (ll. 15-6). O'Sullivan argues that since Menandros' contributions to the ship and crew were clearly regarded as benefactions by the sailors' association, they must have been made voluntarily.[44] True enough, most of Menandros' expenses were directed towards sacrifices on behalf of the crew and for their entertainment. The very first expense to be mentioned, however, was Menandros' care for "the repair of the ship" (ll. 4-7). This expenditure clearly falls within the traditional remit of the trierarchic liturgist. Menandros had, according to the decree, spent "from his own means as much as *hoi epi tou*[---] *tetagmenoi* demanded". The identification of these *tetagmenoi* hinges on the restoration

43 *I. Rhamnous* 8. 22-24, τὸν ἐπι[μελητὴν τὸν] κατασταθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ Ἀπολλοδώρου Ἔνδιον Αἰσχέο[υ Αἰθαλίδην].

44 O'Sullivan 2009: 186-87.

of the partially preserved pronoun *tou*[---].[45] Jeanne and Louis Robert restored *tou*[*tou*] in which case the phrase should be translated as "those assigned to it" – "it" being the ship and those assigned, the ship's crew. If, however, the pronoun is restored *tou*[*ton*], as Petrakos has suggested, the meaning of the phrase is changed altogether to "those who are charged (with oversight of) these matters", *i.e.* the readying of the ship.[46] The latter interpretation finds support in the use of the verb παραγγέλλω (to demand or order). Menandros was ordered to pay by the *epi tou*[---] *tetagmenoi*, who also specified the amount. It was not that soldiers in Rhamnous could not make requests of their commanders, but when they did they usually requested (παρακαλέω) rather than demanded.[47] It seems more likely, therefore, that Menandros' obligations towards the ship were exactly that, obligations, and that the *epi tou*[---] *tetagmenoi* were officials appointed to oversee that these obligations were met.

The Role of the Crew

While the decree was voted by *The Athenians Sailing Together*, the association may in fact have not included the entire ship's crew. On one occasion Menandros had crowned "the ship's rowers for their *philotimia* towards themselves" (ll. 13-5) and distinction between the association and the rowers implies that the association excluded the rowers. Perhaps, then, the associations included only or the ship's specialist sailors or fighting

45 Based on my examination of the stone (EM 13099) in May 2022 it should be possible to restore τούτ[. .], but next couple (or just possibly three) letters are irretrievably lost.

46 Similar designation of magistrates: *I.Iasos* 219: τοὺς ἐπὶ τούτων τεταγμένους ἄρχοντας; *I.Ephesos* 4: τοὺς ἐπὶ τούτων τεταγμένους (Ephesos, c. 297/6 BCE); *IG* V.1 1390.43: οἱ ἐπὶ τούτων τεταγμένοι (Messenia, 92/1 BCE). τάσσω (ἐπί) for "appoint (to)": Isoc. 5.151; Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.24.

47 *I.Rhamnous* 10.7-9 (decree of *hoi strateuomenoi ton politon en Rhamnounti* for the general of 253/2 BCE); 18.5-7 (decree of *hoi stratiotai hoi hypo As*[--- *tetagmenoi*] for the general Philokedes, 245/4 BCE?); 20.9-10 (decree of *hoi kryptoi hoi tetagmenoi hypo Philotheon* for the general Philotheos, after 228 BCE); 32.17-19 (decree *of hoi Athenaion hoi tetagmenoi en toi Aphidnoi* for the general of 211/0 BCE).

personnel (or perhaps both). There are interesting parallels to such a division from Hellenistic Rhodes. In Rhodes there were associations such as the *Panathenaistai dekas*, a reference to the fighting personnel on a trireme usually numbering ten,[48] associations of *systrateuomenoi*, who clearly made up part of ships' crews,[49] and even an association specifically of rowers, the *mesoneioi*, who must have drawn their members from that section of the rowers who sat at mid-ship.[50] Some of these Rhodian sailors' associations endured for many years. At Lindos, one of Rhodes' three constituent *poleis*, an association of *Panathenaistai strateuomenoi* endured from its first attestation around the year 121 BCE and well into the first century CE, serving with a number of Lindos' preeminent "naval aristocrats". From the end of the first century BCE, however, the association seems to have split into at least two associations, each associated with a particular ship (of the *triemiolia* type) stationed at Lindos, the *Panathenaistai strateuomenoi en triemioliai hai onoma Euandria* and the *Panathenaistai strateuomenoi en triemioliai hai onoma Eirene*.[51] Interestingly, and unlike previous associations, these two groups were closely associated with a particular ship (the two *triemioliai* Euandria and Eirene) and not with a particular trierarch or commander.

A similar arrangement seems to have been in place in Rhamnous where *The Athenians Sailing Together*, as argued above, clearly expected to be around and in service well beyond Menandros' term as trierarch. This an innovation compared with the classical system in which the Athenian state every year called up crews and assigned them to specific ships under the command of that year's trierarch, or, in case that trierarch was unhappy with the crew he was thus assigned, a new, professional crew was hired by the trierarch to serve with him for that year.[52]

The question of the association's status is intimately connected with a rather controversial item, which appears in the decree's resumption clause, and not discussed so far. Apart from the gold crown Menandros

48 *Cl. Rhodos* 2 (1932) 210 no. 48; *SEG* 15:497. Gabrielsen 1997: 124 with n. 56.

49 *Cl. Rhodos* 2 (1932) 227 no. 8. Gabrielsen 1997: 104-5.

50 *IG* XII.1 43.9, 12-3. Cf. Aristl. *Mech.* 4 (850b10-29). Boyxen 2018: 297.

51 *I.Lindos* 420.10-4. For the *triemiolia*, see Gabrielsen 1997: 86-94 (cf. Blinkenberg 1938; Casson 1958).

52 Gabrielsen 1994: 105-10.

was to have "exemption from the sailing" (ἀτέλειαν τοῦ πλοῦ, l. 26). The decree's first editor, Poullioux, who took it to be a decree of the demesmen, proposed that *ho ploos*, here, was the name of a local harbour tax from which Menandros would be exempt. His interpretation, with some minor adjustments, has been accepted by later commentators.[53] It is, however, not without difficulties. First of all, the word is an odd choice for a tariff. *Ploos*, strictly speaking, means "sea voyage" or "sailing." A lone dissenting voice, that of Osborne, has argued for a literal – and much more likely – interpretation of the word and suggests that what the association had granted Menandros was really freedom from active duty on the ship of which he was trierarch. That exemption, as Osborne noted, was "a privilege of considerable worth, and one that the Athenians sailing with [Menandros] in the warship would both know the value of and have in their power to grant."[54] "Apparently", one might add, for one would expect such a grant to come from the state rather than a private association.[55] Still, this interpretation has merit. For although *ateleia* or "exemption" is commonly used for the exemption from tariffs or taxes, it might also on occasion be used of exemption from military service.[56] Furthermore, as Gabrielsen has argued, formal grants of exemption from personal service in liturgies, or *ateleia tou somatos,* are known from first-century BCE Priene[57] and from Rhodes, where trierarchs, also liturgists, were occasionally replaced on board the ship by a professional captain, the technical term for which, interestingly, was *epiplous*.[58]

Menandros' exemption from active service is further evidence that the responsibilities of the third-century BCE trierarch were twofold, part service and part tax, just as it had been in the classical period. And we may add here that there is ample evidence that some fourth-century BCE trierarchs attempted to dodge the personal service by "hiring out"

53 Pouilloux 1954: 67-69; Jones 1999: 77; Oetjen 2014: 155-75.

54 Osborne 1990: 283.

55 Oetjen 2014: 157.

56 *IG* II^2 1132.13-15 (decree of the amphictyony, 278/7 BCE); *Ag.* 16:109.116 (c. 307/6 BCE); Hdt. 3.67.3.

57 *I.Priene* 4.36-37. Gabrielsen 2013b: 345 (pace Gauthier 1991).

58 *I.Lindos* 303.12; 420.12, 14; *Cl. Rhodos* 2 (1936) 227 no. 8.3; Pol. 16.5.1. Gabrielsen 1997: 101; Cf. Segre 1936: 231-33.

(μισθόω, *e.g.* Dem 50.52) their assigned trireme to another party, effectively converting their personal service to an additional tax.[59]

With that we have satisfied all three criteria set out at the beginning: In the late third century BCE the Athenian trierarch was (1) most likely still appointed by the Athenian state (although the number and method of selection elude us), he was (3) required to pay from his own means for readying the ship for service and was (2) expected to serve as its captain, though that duty could apparently be waived by the sailors' association. But while the duties of the third-century BCE trierarch comply with what is known of the trierarchic liturgy in the classical period, the decree of *The Athenians Sailing Together* also testifies to profound differences, which have already been mentioned but are worth considering in greater detail.

It appears that at least one traditional state prerogative had been ceded to a private association – specifically, the authority to grant Menandros permission to remain behind when the ship embarked on a mission. It is perhaps easy to see why the sailors aboard a warship (or at least its specialist contingent) would want to issue such an exemption – experienced soldiers and sailors were probably never enthusiastic about submitting to a (wealthy) amateur captain. The permanent stationing of *The Athenians Sailing Together* in itself implies that these at least, if not the entire ship's crew, were professional soldiers – a suspicion confirmed by the attestation of one of the three members mentioned in the decree among the professional soldiers of the fortress. As professionals *The Athenians Sailing Together* would have brought many badly needed skills and experiences with them. Apart from cohesiveness and experience in fighting, they would have had known the waterways of the Euboean Gulf, the capabilities of the ship, local suppliers of materials and provisions, in other words: crucial knowledge that a trierarch could perhaps no longer be expected to have, especially if the number of opportunities for active service had been significantly reduced, as seems to be the case.

In summing up we might try briefly to rehearse the main results of this analysis. The Athenian trierarchy of the late third century BCE was an

59 Gabrielsen 1994: 95-102.

institution which combined important features of the preceding centuries with innovative solutions to ensure the greater professionalization: Trierarchs were still responsible for readying a state-owned ship for service and maintaining it for a year and were still expected to command the ship during that year. These features indicate that an important idea continued to sustain the Athenian trierarchy from its inception in the fifth century BCE to at least the end of the third century BCE, namely that wealthy citizens were obliged to shoulder a significant part of the burden of *polis* defence. But by the end of the third century BCE, the Athenians had added certain innovations: The ship's crew – or at least the ship's fighting crew – was made up of full-time professionals, who, unlike the trierarch, stayed on board from year to year, thereby retaining important knowledge and necessary skills. This aspect of professionalism highlighted a significant contradiction inherent to the trierarchic system: the trierarch was, in essence, an amateur (though a wealthy one). The solution to this discrepancy in experience between the crew and the captain was the relaxation of the requirement that the trierarch should also command the ship, thereby granting him *ateleia* from personal service. In doing so, the Athenians appear to have followed a general trend, that prioritized payment over service, but they introduced an important innovation: they delegated the decision to the experienced crew, who congregated as a private association.

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THE PERILS OF RHODIAN CHRONOLOGY: THE CAREER OF A NOTABLE RHODIAN FROM KAMIROS

By Stella Skaltsa

Summary: As a tribute to the long and prolific career of Vincent Gabrielsen, this paper makes a small contribution to the intricacies of Rhodian chronology. By taking into consideration recent developments and advances in the field of Rhodian chronology, it proposes to further refine the chronological and historical context of the long career of Philokrates son of Philostephanos, a notable Rhodian from the Kamirian deme of Plarioi. On account of the decree passed in his honour by Kamiros sometime in the first quarter of the 2nd c. BC, Philokrates is one of the best documented Rhodians.[1]

Among the slim corpus of honorific decrees issued by the Kamirians,[2] the stele bearing Philokrates' decree (*TRI* 21) stands out in many respects (**Fig. 1**). The nearly intact stele, running 70 lines, outlines Philokrates' career and the exceptional services he rendered to Kamiros over his long political career. Before ascending to the top ranking office in Kamiros,

I am deeply indebted to Vincent Gabrielsen for his support, encouragement and the enthusiasm he instilled in me to work with Rhodian material. My thanks also extend to the editors for the invitation to participate in the volume. As always I benefitted from discussions with Mat Carbon on Rhodian chronology.

1 For the decree see now *TRI* 21 (= *TC* 110 + *TC* Suppl. p. 27). For a discussion of the decree and its date, see Badoud 2015: 104-5, 369-72, with further references; see also Meier 2012: 269-73 no. 25; Thomsen 2020: 31, 75-76. Thély includes the decree of Philokrates (*TRI* 21) among the evidence for earthquakes in ancient Greece (Thély 2016: 156, Table 6, 173, Appendix no. 5).

2 There are six extant honorific decrees from Kamiros. The earliest is for two proxenoi from Cyrene (*TC* 105, early 4th c. BC). Two decrees are explicitly for Kamirians (*TC* 106 and *TRI* 21), while in three instances the identity of the honorand is unknown due to the poor preservation of the stele (*TC* 107; 108; 111).

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that of damiourgos,[3] Philokrates had already held four offices, that of hieropoios, agonothetes, secretary of the *mastroi* and epistates.[4] It was during his tenure as a secretary of the *mastroi* and as epistates that he excelled in dealing with regional affairs and internal Kamirian issues.[5] In particular, his decisive role in settling disputes over communal land contested between Kamiros and Lindos was masterfully analysed by Vincent Gabrielsen in his book *The Naval Aristocracy of Hellenistic Rhodes*.[6]

The objective of this paper is not to recapitulate Philokrates' career and his deeds, but rather to elucidate the date of one inscription in particular, which pertains to Philokrates' career and more specifically to his tenure as epistates (i.e. *TRI* 41=*TC* 45) (**Fig. 2**). By anchoring Philokrates' office as an epistates to a fixed chronological framework, we can then gain a better understanding of some of the inner workings of Kamirian administration in the aftermath of the earthquake of 198 BC that afflicted Rhodes and Karia.[7] My proposal is to take a close look at internal evidence from the epigraphic corpus of Kamiros in order to better define the chronological framework of Philokrates' office. Needless to say, Rhodian chronology is a thorny and delicate subject on its own, since the evidence for secure and fixed chronological points is slim, and a wide and diverse array of evidence – archaeology, epigraphy, amphora stamps,

3 Philokrates is recorded as the 98th damiourgos in the list of damiourgoi, *TRI* 8.1 B l. 15.

4 The order of Philokrates' offices depends on *TRI* 21, ll. 6-7.

5 Badoud 2015: 104, rightly explains that Philokrates' services to Kamiros outlined from lines 9 to 40 in *TRI* 21 are not related to his office as damiourgos but rather to his tenure of the office of secretary of the *mastroi* and that of epistates. Philokrates reorganised the civic archives which had fallen into neglect for 77 years and helped solve problems in the territorial dispute with Lindos. The inscribing of the list of damiourgoi (*TRI* 8.1-2) and the publication of records in Kamiros might be connected with Philokrates' tenure as a secretary of the *mastroi* (see Badoud 2015: 105-6).

6 Gabrielsen 1997: 134-36; Gabrielsen 2000: 195.

7 On the earthquake of 198 BC that hit Karia and Rhodes, see Habicht 2003: 556-57, with references to Justin 30.4 and *I.Stratonikeia* 4. These sources help date the earthquake to January/February 198 BC; for further discussion of earthquakes and their importance for Rhodian chronology, see Skaltsa *forthcoming*. The Rhodian inscriptions that mention this earthquake are the following: *TRI* 21 (*TC* 110 + *TC* Suppl. p. 27); *IG* XII 1, 9 (*Syll.*[3] 1116). Both inscriptions confirm that the earthquake took place under the priest of Halios Theuphanes, who must therefore fall in 199/8 BC.

etc. – ought to be brought into the discussion in an attempt to shed light into these complex issues.

Evidence reveals that Philokrates served the Kamirians for over twenty years. His career is fairly well defined: he first appears in the epigraphic record as an hieropoios in the year of the 77th damiourgos of Kamiros (*TRI* 40 = *TC* 44). Twenty one years later, Philokrates himself held the office of damiourgos (98th damiourgos in *TRI* 8.1 B l. 15; cf. *TRI* 21 ll. 40-41); this is the last recorded office in connection with this individual. In the years between the 77th and 98th damiourgoi (as defined by *TRI* 8.1-2), Philokrates held three more offices, that of agonothetes (*TRI* 21 l. 6), secretary of the *mastroi* (*TRI* 21 ll. 6-7) and epistates (*TRI* 21 l. 7; *TRI* 41 l. 35).[8] The date of these three offices is not fixed. Yet the earthquake of 198 BC is of crucial importance as it provides a terminus *post quem* for Philokates' appointment as epistates (for all of the dates and varying chronologies presented here, please see the outline provided in **Table 1**).

In light of the fixed date of the earthquake of 198 BC and the more or less fixed chronological framework of the list of damiourgoi (years between the 77th and 98th damiourgoi), Philokrates's dossier could be considered as one of the best dated dossiers of Rhodian epigraphy of the late 3rd and the first decades of the 2nd c. BC. That being said, the absolute chronology of Philokrates' career is far from settled. The date of the dossier is closely tied to the list of the damiourgoi in Kamiros, which in turn is inextricably connected to the chronology of the priests of Halios.

Scholarly debate continues surrounding the details of this chronology. In recent years, Philokrates' dossier has been adduced twice with respect to the revision of Rhodian dates; more specifically, two different chronologies for the list of damiourgoi have been put forth.[9] Nathan Badoud advocates for a high chronology, moving Benediktsson's dating of the list of damiourgoi four years backwards – to a starting point in 283/2 BC – albeit still within the five year margin of error allowed by Benediktsson himself.[10] Thibault Castelli, on the other hand, has recently

8 In the paper Philokrates' offices are listed in the order in which they are enumerated in his honorific decree. See also note 4 above.

9 Within a period of a couple of years, the chronology of the list of damiourgoi has been revised twice, first by Badoud 2015: 92-96, 105-7 and then by Castelli 2017.

10 Badoud 2015: 102-7.

lowered Badoud's chronology of the list of damiourgoi by nine years – i.e. to 274/3 BC – and as a result, has reshuffled the chronology of the Rhodian eponyms (priests of Halios) for the amphora-stamp Periods IIb-III.[11]

A key figure for establishing the chronology of the list of damiourgoi appears to be the priest of Halios, Xenophanes, who seems to provide a fixed chronological reference.[12] An honorific decree from Kamiros presents a double dating system, where the priest of Halios, Xenophanes son of Hieron, appears together with his son, the Kamirian damiourgos, Melanopos son of Xenophanes.[13] Unfortunately this document was unknown to Benediktsson in 1940, who proposed to date the starting point of the list of damiourgoi in 279/8 BC, allowing for a five year margin of error.[14] Melanopos appears as the 91st damiourgos in the list and his magistracy was traditionally dated in 189/8 BC. Accordingly, Xenophanes' priesthood was thought to date to the same year.[15]

The date of Xenophanes' priesthood has recently become an issue of controversy, as it is closely intertwined to the complex nexus of Rhodian chronology: both a high (Badoud) and a low (Castelli) chronology of the list of damiourgoi have been put forth. Advances in amphoric studies have shown that Xenophanes' priesthood is closely linked to the priesthood of Pratophanes, a Lindian himself. The priesthoods of Pratophanes and Xenophanes have been placed in close proximity to each other (in absolute as well as in relative chronology) on account of archaeological and amphoric evidence. More specifically, stamps of these two eponyms bear close stylistic resemblance.[16] Moreover, stamped amphoras of these

11 Castelli 2017: 11.

12 Badoud 2015: 177 A 50, 256.

13 *TRI* 20 (= *TC* 111). Sherk noticed that Melanopos is the son of Xenophanes, the priest of Halios, and this document presents one of the few occasions where father and son appear as eponyms of the text though in different capacities (Sherk 1990, 280).

14 Benediktsson 1940: 13: 'la limite d'erreur ne dépassera guère 5 ans'.

15 Finkielsztejn placed Xenophanes' priesthood around 189 BC (Finkielsztejn 2001: 186, 192), but Badoud has tried to show that this year was reserved for a Lindian priest (Badoud 2015: Table on p. 256).

16 Finkielsztejn 2001: 109, further illustrated the close chronological connection between these two eponyms by highlighting stylistic similarities in their stamps: head

two eponyms were found together in the Villanova deposit near Ialysos in Rhodes. On account of the amphora stamps the date of the deposit corresponds to Period IIIb of the amphoric chronology.[17] Yet, as both Badoud and Castelli have argued the absolute dates for individual eponyms can easily be shifted up or down the chronological ladder, once the date of an eponym in the complex nexus of Rhodian chronology has been revised.[18]

Pratophanes is also the priest that dates the Rhodian arbitration between Samos and Priene over disputed lands.[19] The date of this inscription has been a matter of contest for decades; in this case too, a high (ca. 196-191 BC)[20] and low (ca. 186-181 BC)[21] chronology have been advocated by different scholars. In the high chronology, advocated by Badoud, Pratophanes' priesthood is placed in 195/4 BC, an embolic year and one reserved for the Lindian tribe in the triennial cycle of the priests of Halios,[22]

of Halios as well as 'gothic' letterforms. It should be noted that in the sequence of eponyms proposed by John Lund on the basis of a statistical method, Xenophanes and Pratophanes appear as two successive eponyms (Lund 2011: 278 Fig. 4).

17 The Villanova deposit contains more than 500 amphoras found near Ialysos in Rhodes; it consists of an assemblage of intact amphoras, placed upside down at a length of ca. 180m, and a group of amphora fragments (Maiuri 1921-1922). The assemblage of intact amphoras is homogeneous for it consists of stamps of eight eponyms and two fabricants respectively (Finkielsztejn 2001: 120-21, 176). According to Finkielsztejn (2001: 124 Table 6) the date of the stamps corresponds to Period IIIb of amphora stamps (189-182 BC).

18 The chronology of individual eponyms has been recently revised by Badoud 2015: 169 A25a, 177 A50, A53, 178-179 A60, 193 D19 and Castelli 2017: 5-12, respectively.

19 For the standard edition of the text of the Rhodian arbitration see now *IK Priene* 132.

20 Magnetto 2008: 75-80, revised the date of this event, maintaining an earlier suggestion that the arbitration took place between 196 and 191 BC; Blümel and Merkelbach, the editors of *IK Priene*, also accept a high date for the arbitration (2014: 321-23), against earlier view which placed the event sometime in the mid- or late 180s BC (see note 21 below).

21 A date in the mid- or late 180s BC was supported by Habicht 2003: 547-49; 2005, 137-46, cf. *SEG* 55, 902); this has been vindicated more recently by Castelli 2017: 8-11.

22 Badoud 2015: 177 A 53, 256. Stamps bearing the intercalary month Panamos *deuteros* are attested for Pratophanes, see Badoud 2015: 151 no. 38.

while Xenophanes' priesthood is dated to 193/2 BC.[23] Castelli has recently criticised the high date of the Rhodian arbitration between Samos and Priene, arguing in favour of a date in the 180s BC, as advocated in earlier scholarship.[24] In doing so, he re-dates Pratophanes' priesthood to 183/2 BC.[25] By retaining the close chronological proximity between Pratophanes and Xenophanes' priesthoods – a point of unanimous consensus among scholars – Castelli dates Xenophanes' priesthood in 184/3 BC, that is in a non-embolic year and a year reserved for the Kamirian tribe in Badoud's reconstructed Rhodian calendar.[26] In doing so, once again, he places the starting date of the list of the damiourgoi in 274/3 BC (contra Badoud, who places it in 283/2 BC).[27]

A crucial point in Castelli's argumentation is the absence of stamped handles of these two eponyms, Pratophanes and Xenophanes, from the Gordion assemblage. According to Livy's account, Gordion was abandoned in 189 BC as the troops of Cn. Manlius Vulso were advancing against the Galatians.[28] Lawall, who studied the amphoric material from Gordion, acutely remarked that the amphora handles from Gordion constitute a homogeneous and discrete group, having reached Gordion for

23 Badoud 2015: 177 A 50, 256. The year of 193/2 BC year was reserved for a Kamirian priest, and Xenophanes has been identified as belonging to the political community of Kamiros. Furthermore, this was not an intercalary year, since no stamps with the intercalary month (Panamos *deuteros*) are attested for Xenophanes.

24 Castelli 2017: 9-10. One of the Rhodian arbitrators, Hagesandros son of Eudamos, was appointed general in the war against Antiochos in the late 190s BC (for the sources on Hagesandros, see Castelli 2017: 10 n. 43).

25 Castelli 2017: 8, 10-11. It should be noted that Castelli follows the triennial tribal cycle of Badoud. He further argues that Pratophanes could not have been priest in 188/7 BC as originally suggested by Finkielsztejn 2001: 192) as this year was reserved for Ialysos in the triennial cycle, and Pratophanes was a Lindian.

26 Castelli 2017: 11, 24.

27 Melanopos, the 91st damiourgos, held his office the same year as Xenophanes. If 183/2 BC was the year that Xenophanes was priest of Halios and Melanopos the 91st damiourgos in Kamiros, then the list should start in 274/3 BC.

28 Cf. Lawall 2008: 113-14. In light of the short chronological horizon in which the eponymic stamps are dated (190s BC), Lawall suggested that the Rhodian amphora stamped handles unearthed in Gordion provided wine to the Roman troops that stationed at the site in the winter of 189 BC, thus dismissing the idea that they should be considered as evidence for trade between Rhodes and Gordion.

the provision of the Roman army. In particular, stamps of a limited number of eponyms (6 names) and fabricants (11 names) are attested, who are traditionally dated to the 190s BC, thus neatly fitting in the period prior to the year of the abandonment of Gordion in 189 BC.[29] As the stamps of Pratophanes and Xenophanes are absent from the Gordion assemblage, though present in the Villanova deposit (Period IIIb in Finkielstejn's chronology), Castelli maintains the view that these eponyms should date after 189 BC.

Paul Iversen has also recently exposed some serious flaws in the reconstitution of the Rhodian calendar. Iversen has argued against the obsolete nine-year cycle of intercalation maintained by previous scholars, and convincingly demonstrated that Rhodes, like most of the Greek cities, should have followed a nineteen-year Metonic cycle in order to regulate its lunisolar calendar.[30] This finding bears serious consequences for the order of embolic years within a period of nineteen years.[31] Iversen's profound insights into the Rhodian calendar call for a revision of the sequence and chronology of the priests of Halios who are attested as having served in an embolic year (notably Pratophanes), as presented by Badoud and revised by Castelli (for Periods IIb-III). In other words, serious doubts can be raised about the sequence of the embolic years and consequently the order in which priests of Halios held office. This should be a reminder that Rhodian chronology is far from a settled affair and will continue to benefit from a systematic revision of all the evidence at hand and available in the future.

Regardless of the rather gloomy picture for absolute chronology in what I have just sketched, there is still room for refinement with regard to relative chronology. The crux of the problem with respect to Philokrates' dossier is the date of *TRI* 41. It is the inscription that has been used both by Badoud and Castelli to further substantiate their revised chronologies of the list of damiourgoi (high and low, respectively). In this inscription, Philokrates is recorded as one of the three epistatai together

29 See Lawall 2008: table on p. 113.

30 Iversen 2018-2019, 42-50, 94-96 *contra* the *oktaeteris* cycle supported by Hiller von Gaertringen 1929 and Badoud 2015: 138-140.

31 For the frequency of the embolic years in the Metonic Cycle, see Iversen 2018-2019: 45.

with other Kamirian officials (cf. **Table 1**).[32] But the name of the damiourgos in the dedication, *TRI* 41, is unfortunately missing, which would have otherwise solved the issue of the date for Philokrates' office.[33]

Segre and Pugliese Carratelli were the first to place *TRI* 41 in a better defined chronological horizon, though with some hesitation.[34] They followed Jacopi, who proposed that *TRI* 41 was generally contemporaneous with *TC* 46 (**Fig. 3**) – also a dedication headed by the 87th damiourgos – since two officials appeared in both lists: the hypogrammateus or undersecretary (Xenokritos) and the hierokeryx or sacred herald (Eurydikos) (**Table 1**).[35] Accordingly, the Italian scholars put forth the idea that these two inscriptions were issued in two successive years, with *TRI* 41 preceding *TC* 46.[36] In other words, they attributed *TRI* 41 to the year of the 86th damiourgos and restored the missing name of the damiourgos accordingly: Theudoros son of Onasandros. The sequence of these two inscriptions (*TRI* 41 and *TC* 46) and the restoration of the damiourgos' name were retained by Badoud but have been questioned by Castelli.

In terms of absolute chronology, Badoud dates Philokrates' tenure as epistates in 198/7 BC (**Table 2**), the Rhodian year following the earthquake of January/February 198 BC and the year of the 86th damiourgos in Kamiros (i.e. starting date of the list of damiourgoi in 283/2 BC).[37] Castelli, on the other hand, proposes to date Philokrates' tenure of the office in 195/4 BC (i.e. starting date of the list of damiourgoi in 274/3 BC) (**Table 2**).[38] By lowering the date of the list of damiourgoi, Castelli dates Philokrates' first recorded public office that of hieropoios in 198/7 BC (year of the 77th damiourgos). He then assumes that Philokrates held the offices of agonothetes, secretary of the *mastroi* and epistates in three consecutive years, immediately after he was appointed hieropoios. Thus, he

32 *TRI* 41 l. 35.

33 The damiourgoi usually set up a dedication that contained the names of other religious and civic magistrates at the end of their term in office, cf. Veligianni-Terzi 1977, 133.

34 Segre and Pugliese Carratelli 1949-1951: 199: 'dubitanter supplevi'.

35 *ClRh* VI-VII, 1932: 416, 418.

36 Segre and Pugliese Carratelli 1949-1951: 199, followed by Badoud 2015: 106.

37 Badoud 2015: 107.

38 Castelli 2017: 12.

reaches the date of 195/4 (i.e. 80th damiourgos) as the year in which Philokrates would have held the office of epistates.

As Castelli has rightly pointed out, in Badoud's chronology, the period that elapsed between the earthquake (January/February 198 BC) and the restoration of the *peripolion* (198/7 BC) is too short to explain the conditions described in the inscription.[39] In Philokrates' decree (*TRI* 21) it is explicitly stated that over the course of a number of years (ll. 25-26, καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτόν, i.e. at least 2-3 years), the Kamirians collected sufficient amounts of money for the restoration of the towers and the walls which had collapsed due to the earthquake. Despite all these resources and efforts, the restoration of the *peripolion* was apparently delayed.[40] The project seems to have suffered from mismanagement and poor scheduling (ll. 32-33, διὰ τὸ μὴ ποτιγράφε|σθαι χρόνον τοῖς ἔργοις ἐν ὧι συντελεσοῦντι), although those responsible were in charge of an ample workforce, *polycheiria* (ll. 31 and 34-35).[41] In other words, the project lacked coordination and effective supervision, despite the available resources both in terms of funding and labour. Philokrates' role was essential in the way in which he handled the management of the restoration works: the works were farmed out to contractors (τοῖς αἱρουμένοις ἐπὶ τᾶς πολυχειρί|ας) who had to deliver them within strict deadlines (ll. 34-36).

Although Castelli's new date works much better with regard to the sequence of events outlined in Philokrates' decree (*TRI* 21), the absolute date for Philokrates' office as an epistates lies on shaky grounds. No-

39 See note 37 above.

40 The term *peripolion* is often attested in Rhodian epigraphy, not only in inscriptions from Rhodes but also within the broader Rhodian State (i.e. Karpathos). The *peripolion* features in inscriptions in connection to the restorations of walls (e.g. Kamiros: *TRI* 21 ll. 21-24) or in response to imminent danger of attack (Karpathos: *IG* XII.1, 1032-1033, *Lindos* II, p. 1007). Epigraphic evidence from the island of Kos (*IG* XII.41.1, 98-99) corroborates the picture illustrated by Rhodian epigraphy. The term *peripolion* seems to have encompassed a range of physical entities, from fortified settlements to forts; for all the different interpretations, see Baker 2001: 193 n. 38 and Meier 2012: 272 n. 404. Furthermore, a military official (ἐπιστάτης τοῦ περιπολίου) seems to have been responsible for ensuring the security of the *peripolion*.

41 Cf. Meier 2012: 272-73 n. 409.

where in *TRI* 21 is there any mention that Philokrates held all four preliminary offices in four consecutive years (from the year of the 77th damiourgos to the year of the 80th damiourgos), before being appointed damiourgos himself (98th damiourgos). While Castelli is right that some time ought to have passed between the earthquake of 198 BC and the restoration of the *peripolion*, the attribution of Philokrates' offices to four consecutive years, starting from the year he became hieropoios (in the year of the 77th damiourgos), can be questioned (**Table 2**). Castelli's arrangement would create an odd situation, whereby Philokrates would have been unprecedentedly active at the start of his political career and completely inactive before being appointed damiourgos 18 years later. Furthermore, by placing Philokrates' tenure as epistates in the year of the 80th damiourgos (*TRI* 41), there is the risk of overlooking internal evidence from Kamiros, namely the close affinity between *TRI* 41 and *TC* 46 (87th damiourgos).[42]

Both lists (*TRI* 41 and *TC* 46) are unusual in recording officials who are usually not attested in the dedications made by hieropoioi and headed by damiourgoi. In particular, these two inscriptions record not only the office of the secretary of the *mastroi* but also of an under-secretary, which is otherwise highly unusual. In addition, both inscriptions explicitly mention the names of three epistatai (cf. **Table 1**), instead of one, as is usual in other texts.[43] The presence of a board of secretaries – responsible for logistics and administration – and a board of epistatai – responsible for overseeing works – in two inscriptions which on the basis of internal evidence date in a close chronological horizon, cannot be accidental. Rather, as I will seek to demonstrate, it can be inferred that these two inscriptions demonstrate the intensification of efforts on behalf of Kamirian officials to bring the post-earthquake building works to an end, in this case, the restoration works in the *peripolion*, for which Philokrates was later praised.

Besides the presence of two boards of secretaries and epistatai, these two inscriptions share further similarities, on account of the officials

42 Castelli does not take into account the close chronological sequence between *TRI* 41 and *TC* 46 (87th damiourgos).

43 Veligianni-Terzi 1977: Table 1 c. nos. 35 and 36. See also note 48 below.

mentioned in them: the chronological proximity of these two inscriptions has been primarily inferred from prosopographic evidence. While *TRI* 41 has been thought to precede *TC* 46, I will argue that the reverse order is probably correct. A key figure in determining the chronological order of these two inscriptions is Eurydikos, who appears as sacred herald in both of them. Eurydikos is also attested as a sacred herald in another dedication (i.e. *TC* 44), which is dated in the year of the 77th damiourgos, Onymarchidas son of Euaratos, that is ten years earlier than *TC* 46 (86th damiourgos) (cf. **Table 1**).[44] Segre and Pugliese Carratelli proposed that *TRI* 41 and *TC* 46 are contemporary because Eurydikos, by the time these two dedications were set up, had been adopted, while in *TC* 44 Eurydikos is only recorded with the name of his natural father. However, it seems to have escaped attention that the way in which Eurydikos' name is recorded in *TRI* 41 and *TC* 46 is not identical. *TRI* 41 (year of an unknown damiourgos) presents an abridged version of Eurydikos' name: there, he is called Eurydikos son of Kallistratos (l. 43). Kallistratos was Eurydikos' adopted father, as is made explicit in *TC* 46 (II ll. 26-27, year of 87th damiourgos) (**Table 1**). Eurydikos' natural father was Timon (*TRI* 40 l. 26, year of 77th damiourgos). In fact, *TC* 46 (year of 87th damiourgos) is the only of the three inscriptions that attests to Eurydikos' full name, in that both the name of his natural father (Timon) and the name of his adopted father (Kallistratos) are fully recorded. Despite the *communis opinio*, it is hard to accept that *TRI* 41 (year of an unknown damiourgos), in which the familial situation of Eurydikos is not fully and clearly exposed, since we find the name of adopted father only, was set up for public display before *TC* 46 (year of 87th damiourgos). I would therefore be inclined to infer that an abridged version of Eurydikos' filiation seems more likely (name of the adopted father only in *TRI* 41), after a public inscription (*TC* 46) had already exposed his familial situation in detail (name of natural father and name of adopted father). For this reason, it is reasonable to suggest that *TC* 46 (year of 87th damiourgos) should precede *TRI* 41 (year of an unknown damiourgos) (**Table 1**). In other words, *TRI* 41 should post-date the year of the 87th damiourgos. It follows that

44 The name of the 77th damiourgos is inscribed as Onomastidas in *TRI* 8.1 Ac l. 30, but see now Badoud 2015: 93, for the correction from Onomastidas to Onymarchidas in light of *TRI* 40 l. 1.

the restored name of the damiourgos in *TRI* 41 can no longer be conjectured to be the 86th damiourgos (Theudoros son of Onasandros in Badoud's high chronology)[45] or the 80th damiourgos (Menekrates son of Nauphilos in Castelli's low chronology). *TRI* 41 should instead be dated in the year of the 88th damiourgos (Alexis son of Thrasymedes) or slightly later (**Table 1**).

There is another feature that underlines the very close chronological proximity of *TC* 46 and *TRI* 41, with the latter slightly post-dating the former. There are seven damiourgoi inscriptions dated in a timespan of twenty years, between the years of 77th and 97th damiourgoi: three out of these seven inscriptions are firmly dated by the damiourgos' year (the 77th, 87th, and 97th), while four others are missing this dating element (**Table 1**).[46] In these documents, there is a remarkable consistency observable in the tenure or re-appointment of the sacred heralds. On account of *TRI* 40 and *TC* 46 which are dated after the years of the 77th and 87th damiourgoi respectively, it becomes evident that the same individual could serve as a sacred herald even ten years after his first appointment. In other words, appointment to this office does not seem to have been regulated by an annual or successive order; instead, appointment seems to have been on a more occasional and random basis.[47]

45 This restoration was suggested in light of *TC* 46, which, again, is dated after the 87th damiourgos (Chalkon son of Chalkon).

46 These inscriptions, however, can be placed anytime after the 87th damiourgos, Chalkon son of Chalkon (*TC* 46), and before the 97th damiourgos, Agetor son of Damostratos (*TC* 50) (**Table 1**).

47 For example, the hierokeryx Ariston son of Epikrates held this appointment in the year of the 87th damiourgos (*TRI* 41). Before the year of the 97th damiourgos, he held this office three more times (*TC* 47, 48 and 49). Apparently, he could have held this office anytime in a ten-year period, not necessarily in three consecutive years after his first appointment. Likewise, it is attested that the hierokeryx Erasilas son of Sosikrates held this office four times, once in the year of the 97th damiourgos (*TC* 50) and three more times jointly with Ariston. As Ariston's appointments as hierokeryx probably predate the year of the 97th damiourgos, Erasilas' three undated appointments should date prior to the year of the 97th damiourgos.

The above analysis has shown that *TRI* 41 (unknown damiourgos) should slightly postdate *TC* 46 (87th damiourgos). Thus, Philokrates' tenure of the office of epistates, which features in *TRI* 41, should date shortly thereafter, probably in the year of the 88th damiourgos or slightly later, not in the year of 80th damiourgos, as Castelli reasoned (**Tables 1 and 2**). That being said, Castelli's low chronology in general has a much better potential for illuminating the prevailing historical conditions. If we accept that *TRI* 41 dates after *TC* 46 (87th damiourgos) and if we follow Castelli's revised lower chronology for the list of damiourgoi (in absolute chronological terms), for the reasons explained above, then Philokrates' decree (*TRI* 21) allow us to get some unique glimpses into the internal affairs of Kamiros. More than a decade after the collapse of the *peripolion* in the earthquake of 198 BC (76th damiourgos in Castelli's lower chronology), the Kamirians, under the 87th damiourgos (*TC* 46), appointed a board of two secretaries and a board of three epistatai to deal with delays and mismanagement of building works. *TC* 46 and *TRI* 41 thus demonstrate the mobilization of the Kamirian community to put an end to the delays in the progress of the works by appointing for at least two years boards of officials responsible for these works, instead of single individuals.

In a corpus of 44 hieropoioi inscriptions from Kamiros, there are only three instances where a board of three epistatai is recorded.[48] *TRI* 41 and *TC* 46 have already been discussed. The other text is the earliest attestation: it dates in the year of the 57th damiourgos, and if we follow the low chronology suggested by Castelli; the 57th damiourgos was in office in 218 BC.[49] A few years earlier (223/2 BC) a devastating earthquake had hit Rhodes, including Kamiros.[50] In response to the damage caused by this earlier earthquake, the Kamirians opened subscriptions and embarked

48 Besides the hieropoioi dedications, the board of epistatai appear once in a dedication of the 3rd c. BC (*TC* 54) and then twice in the 1st c. BC (honorific decree: *TC* 90 II ll. 24-27; dedication: *TRI* 42). Blinkenberg (1941: 24-30) has collected all the evidence of epistatai attested in Rhodian inscriptions. He illustrates how the same term (epistates) can refer to different offices, ranging considerably in duties. For the epistatai in inscriptions from Kamiros, see Badoud 2015: 106 n. 112.

49 *TC* 38 ll. 20-23 dates in the year of the 57th damiourgos, Oulias son of Mnasitimos.

50 For a revised date of this earthquake – usually situated in ca. 227 BC – see Skaltsa *forthcoming*.

on an ambitious building project that would transform the local urban landscape.[51] In other words, at Kamiros, a board of epistatai, whose role was manifestly to oversee public projects, is explicitly recorded when major building works were under way.

Thanks to Philokrates' coordinated efforts and admirable determination in his capacity as one of three epistatai, the *peripolion* was finally fully restored, more than ten years after the earthquake of 198 BC.[52] The revised chronology proposed here for Philokrates' office as epistates, in the year of the 88th damiourgos or shortly after, certainly allows for his more than twenty-year political career to have developed more organically. Recall that Philokrates embarked on this political career when he assumed the office of hieropoios in Kamiros in the year of the 77th damiourgos (*TRI* 40 l. 14, 198/7 BC); he was appointed damiourgos himself 21 years later (98th damiourgos, *TRI* 8.1 B l. 15, 177/6 BC). Around 10 years before becoming damiourgos and after being active for more than 10 years in Kamirian politics as agonothetes and secretary of the *mastroi*, Philokrates played a leading role in the completion of repair works on the *peripolion*, as one of the three epistatai (probably in the year of the 88th damiourgos) (**Table 2**).

Building projects are not only labour-intensive and financially taxing but also time-consuming. Rhodian epigraphy illustrates some of the problems to which building and repair projects were prone. Although appropriate action was taken to repair the *peripolion* in Kamiros, the logistics and management of this effort caused considerable delays in the completion of the works. The case of Rhodes also offers us unique glimpses into how Hellenistic communities responded to natural disasters,[53] especially when it came to issues of security. Although the *peripo-*

51 *TC* 158; cf. Skaltsa 2021: 159. For the transformation of urban landscape in Kamiros in the last decades of the 3rd c. BC, see Caliò 2011.

52 Philokrates' name is recorded first among the three epistatai in *TRI* 41 ll. 35-37 and his role of leadership is meticulously illustrated in *TRI* 21, ll. 19-36.

53 Cf. Skaltsa 2021, where evidence pertaining to associations is also discussed. Appropriate actions could be taken immediately after a natural disaster. For example, action for the restoration of the funerary enclosure of an association in the necropolis

lion of Kamiros has not been archaeologically located, this local community needed to have its *peripolion* standing and in good condition. The issue of ἀσφάλεια preoccupied Kamirian society, a concern which can be traced already in the late 3rd c. BC when a public subscription was opened for the construction of the stoa in the sanctuary of Athena Polias and Zeus Polieus in the Acropolis, just after the devastating earthquake of 223/2 BC.[54] As explicitly mentioned in the subscription, the stoa – a multipurpose building – would enhance not only the honours to the gods but also the security of the Kamirians. The community was clearly affected by the extensive damage the earthquake had caused in the capital of the island – especially the damage to the fortification and shipyards, both key elements for ensuring the safety of the population.[55] For the Kamirians, it was unacceptable that, a decade after the earthquake of 198 BC and despite ample financial and labour resources, the necessary works were still ongoing. It was not a matter of money or labour but of management and logistics, a persistent and enduring problem with building projects across space and time. It was thanks to the decisive role of a civic official, Philokrates, that this issue was overcome and that the works were brought to completion.

Concluding Remarks

The refinement of both the relative and absolute chronology has allowed us to better understand the timeframe of this project and to illuminate in a more balanced way the career of a notable Kamirian. At the same time, this short article has provided a small contribution to the ongoing

of the city of Rhodes was taken within a few months after the earthquake of 198 BC (*Syll.*[3] 1116). The earthquake occurred in January/February 198 BC and the association convened in the month of Hyakinthios (May/June 198 BC). For the seasons of the Rhodian months, see Iversen 2018-2019: 79 Table V.

54 In the public subscription for the construction of the stoa in the Acropolis the concept of security (ἀσφάλεια) is explicitly mentioned (*TC* 158 ll. 5-8): [π]ροαιρούμενοι τάς τε τι[μὰς] |[τ]ῶν θεῶν καὶ τὰ ποτ' ἀσφ[ά]|[λ]ειαν Καμιρεῦσι συγκατα|[σ]κευάζειν.

55 Plb. 5.88-90. See now Bresson 2021 with earlier bibliography. For the date, see note 50 above.

debate about the chronology of Rhodian inscriptions. This is a thorny issue as an abundance of evidence, often from different fields (amphora studies, epigraphy, archaeology, literature, etc.) and different areas (e.g. Rhodes, Gordion), should be taken into account in order to weave a balanced and complete picture. Indeed, Rhodian chronology is like an intricate tapestry whose threads overlap inextricably with one another. Moving the date of one inscription inevitably results in the displacement of others. All dates and types of evidence should be carefully examined together. With such a holistic approach, there is still the potential to further illuminate the date of inscriptions published long ago, both in terms of absolute and relative chronology, and to paint a more nuanced picture of the historical record.

ABBREVIATIONS

ClRh VI-VII = Jacopi, G. 1932. *Clara Rhodos VI-VII. Esplorazione Archeologica di Camiro II*. Rhodes.

IK Priene = Blümel, W. & R. Merkelbach (eds.) 2014. *Die Inschriften von Priene* (IGSK 69). Bonn.

Lindos II = Blinkenberg, C. 1941. *Lindos, fouilles de l'Acropole, 1902-1914. II, Inscriptions publiées en grande partie d'après les copies de K.F. Kinch, avec un appendice contenant diverses autres inscriptions rhodiennes*. Berlin.

TC = Segre, M. & G. Pugliese Carratelli 1949-1951 'Tituli Camirenses' *ASAtene* 27-29 (n.s. 13-15) 141-318.

TC Suppl. = Pugliese Carratelli, G. 1952-1954. 'Tituli Camirenses Supplementum' *ASAtene* 30-32 (n.s. 14-16) 210-46.

TRI = Badoud, N. 2015. *Le temps de Rhodes. Une chronologie des inscriptions de la cité fondée sur l'étude de ses institutions* (Vestigia 63). Munich.

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TABLES

Table 1: Date of hieropoioi dedications headed by damiourgoi (discussed in the text)

Source	Damiourgos (cf. *TRI* 8.1-2)	Date (Skaltsa)	Date (Castelli)	Date (Badoud)	Hierokeryx	Under-secretary	Epistatai
TRI 40 (*TC* 44)	77th damiourgos: Ὀνυμαρχίδας Εὐαράτου	198/7 BC		207 BC	(1) Εὐρύδικος Τίμωνος		
TC 46	87th damiourgos: Χάλκων Χάλκωνος	188/7 BC		197 BC	(1) Ἀρίστων Ἐπικράτευς (2) Εὐρύδικος Τίμωνος καθ᾽ ὑοθεσίαν δὲ Καλλιστράτου	Ξενόμβροτος Ῥοδίππου	(1) Εὐκλῆς Εὐκλείτου (2) Γοργοσθένης Κλεινία (3) Θεύλυτος Ἀριστοδάμου
TRI 41 (*TC* 45)	Name missing	88th damiourgos: Ἀλέξις Θρασυμήδευς or one of his successors (187/6 BC or slightly later)	80th damiourgos: Μενεκράτης Ναυφίλου (195/4 BC)	86th damiourgos: Θεύδωρος Ὀνασάνδρου (198 BC)	(1) Εὐρύδικος Καλλιστράτου (2) Βασίλων Τιμάρχου	Ξενόμβροτος Ῥοδίππου	(1) **Φιλοκράτης Φιλοστεφάνου** (2) Τιμόστρατος Θαρσύλου (3) Σώστρατος Βουλακράτευς
TC 47	Name missing	between 89th and 94th damiourgoi (186/5-181/0 BC)		197-191 BC (between 87th and 95th damiourgoi)	(1) Ἀρίστων Ἐπικράτευς (2) Ἔρασῖλας Σωσιστράτου		
TC 48	Name missing	between 89th and 94th damiourgoi (186/5-181/0 BC)			(1) Ἀρίστων Ἐπικράτευς (2) Ἔρασῖλας Σωσιστράτου		
TC 49	Name missing	between 89th and 96th damiourgoi (186/5-179/8 BC)			(1) Ἀρίστων Ἐπικράτευς (2) Ἔρασῖλας Σωσιστράτου	? (stele broken)	
TC 50	97th damiourgos: Ἀγήτωρ Δαμοστράτου	178/7 BC		187 BC	(1) Τιμοκράτης Ἀριστάνακτος (2) Ἔρασῖλας Σωσιστράτου		

Table 2: Relative and absolute chronology of Philokrates' magistracies

		Skaltsa		Castelli		Badoud	
Source	**Magistracies**	**Damiourgos' year**	**Absolute chronology**	**Damiourgos' year**	**Absolute chronology**	**Damiourgos' year**	**Absolute chronology**
TRI 40 l. 14; *TRI* 21 ll. 6, 7	Hieropoios	77th damiourgos	198/7 BC	77th damiourgos	198 BC	77th damiourgos	207 BC
TRI 21 l. 6	Agonothetes	after 77th and before 87th damiourgos		78th damiourgos			
TRI 21 ll. 6-7	Secretary of the mastroi	after 77th and before 87th damiourgos		79th damiourgos			
TRI 21 l. 7; *TRI* 41 l. 35	Epistates	88th damiourgos or shortly thereafter	187/6 BC or shortly after	80th damiourgos	195 BC	86th damiourgos (after the earthquake of 198 BC and before 87th damiourgos)	198 BC
TRI 21 ll. 40-41; *TRI* 8.1 B l. 15	Damiourgos	98th damiourgos	177/6 BC	98th damiourgos	177 BC	98th damiourgos	186 BC

Figures

Fig. 1 Honorific decree for Philokrates (*TRI* 41) (after Segre & Pugliese Carratelli 1949-1951, 240 Fig. 84 / @ Ephorate of Antiquities of the Dodecanese)

Fig. 2 Dedication of the hieropoioi (*TRI* 41 = *TC* 45) (after Pugliese Carratelli 1952-1954, 241 Fig. 59 / @ Ephorate of Antiquities of the Dodecanese)

Fig. 3 Dedication of the hieropoioi (*TC* 46) (after Pugliese Carratelli 1952-1954, 241 Fig. 60 / @ Ephorate of Antiquities of the Dodecanese)

Circulation, empire and economy

A HELLENISTIC LIST OF NAMES IN THE BODRUM MUSEUM: THE PTOLEMAIC GARRISON AT HALIKARNASSOS OR AN ERRANT LIST OF PROXENOI?

By Signe Isager

Summary: This is the publication of a fragmentary list of men inscribed on a reused marble block now in the Bodrum Museum (inv. no. 6665; *I. Halik.* *291). From the letterforms a date in the first part of the 3rd century BC is suggested. Assessing the type of the inscription proves difficult. The varying letterforms, the ethnics of the men, and the syntax lead one to consider a list of proxenoi. But, if that is correct, the text could not then originate from Halikarnassos, since it mentions one Halikarnasseus (a man who by definition could not obtain proxeny in his own city). Alternatively, the ethnics could reflect the composition of a group of mercenaries, perhaps as part of the Ptolemaic garrison stationed in Halikarnassos. The character of the fragmentary list remains open to interpretation.

Introduction

The inscription published here for the first time presents a riddle in several ways. Its finding place is listed as Bodrum and it is kept in Bodrum Museum (inv. no. 6665. *I. Halik.* *291. Fig. 1).[1] It is obviously part of a list

1 This article forms part of the prolegomena to a corpus of the inscriptions of Halikarnassos, in preparation by Jan-Mathieu Carbon, Poul Pedersen and me, and reflects our teamwork. (References to the corpus included here with a provisional numbering that follows the inventory of McCabe, Packard Humanities Institute, like for the present inscription *I. Halik.* *291; NB these numbers are liable to change) We owe sincere gratitude to the General Directorate of Monuments and Museums in Ankara for its generous permission concerning the work of the Danish Halikarnassos Project and are deeply grateful to the directorate and the staff of Bodrum Museum for their unfailing help and support.

Signe Isager: 'A Hellenistic list of names in the Bodrum Museum: The Ptolemaic garrison at Halikarnassos or an errant list of proxenoi?' C&M Supplementum 2 (2024) 117-136.

of men. The list was inscribed by multiple hands. The support was reworked for secondary use and what is left of the inscription is a neat, rectangular and narrow cut, from the middle of the list – or possibly from one of several columns of a larger list. Luckily the extant vertical band reveals most of the ethnics of the listed men; their names or father's names are more seldom or more partially preserved. Among the entries, a group of Rhodians stand out due to their number, letterforms, and syntax.

This contribution is a presentation of the inscription and an attempt to date it, mainly from the letterforms. Finally, it offers a first discussion of the text's character and historical context. Definite answers have not yet been found but one can be confident that a publication in the present context will further the discussion. On a personal level, I am grateful for this opportunity to present the riddle to the honorand, as a token of my respect and friendship.

The Support

The stone is a large block of medium grained, white marble with bluish-grey areas.[2] The left part of the underside is broken but the right side of the block is preserved up to its full height of ca. 97 cm. The largest preserved width measured on the upper surface is 35.5 cm. The thickness of the block is 22.3-22.7 cm in its present state.

The block can be presumed to have originally had a rectangular shape. It was later reworked for secondary use as a double half-column for a window or a balustrade in a church or in a similar context. The top of the block and the central part of the front have clear remains of the original surface. The top surface has extensive toolmarks from a pointed chisel. About half of the underside is broken off and the remaining part is irregularly worn, with some traces from a pointed chisel or a pickaxe, presumably from being reworked for secondary use. The upper surface has a square dowel-hole (2x3.2 cm and 3.7 cm deep) showing that the block in its original context formed part of an architectural structure of some sort, perhaps the facing side of an ante (Fig. 2). The carefully cut dowel-

2 Poul Pedersen made the description of the support.

hole points to a late Classical or Hellenistic date. If the dowel-hole was originally placed midway in relation to the width of the block, it can be estimated that the block originally measured ca. 44.1 cm in width.

When reworked into a double half-column, the stone received a slightly projecting horizontal band about 5.5-6 cm in width along its upper side and ca. 6.5-7 cm in width along its underside. The upper and the lower bands are connected by a 10.5-11 cm wide band running down the middle of the front. This original part of the front bears the remains of an inscription. The front was smoothed before being inscribed but shows no clear tool marks. The secondary reworking to the left and right of the inscribed band was done with both a point and a rough toothed chisel.

A raised band about 12.5-13 cm in width is also found on the back of the stone. The back of the stone appears to consist of an entirely reworked surface and therefore the original thickness of the stone may have been larger than at present.

Surface and Layout

The surface bearing the inscription is smoothed, as stated above, but it also has some special features that must be kept in mind in relation to layout, letterforms and interpretation of the text. The upper horizontal band forms in the middle part of the original surface of the front of the block but due to the damage from the process of preparation for its secondary use, lines 1-4 were nearly obliterated. The original level of the surface continues in the first part of the vertical band running down the middle of the front, carrying lines 5-17. This part appears carefully smoothed, but not quite even, possibly as a consequence of the cautious erasure of an earlier inscription by grinding and polishing. There are scarce, faint traces of letters that do not belong to the main inscription and some letters in the margin. After the first 17 lines of the inscription, the face is cut back and continues at a slightly lower level. It is likely that an inscription was removed by that action and that lines 18-38 replaced it. The break and the start at a new level coincide with a shift in lettering.

Letterforms – dating

An approximative dating of the inscription can only be attempted from letterforms. This is difficult in the best cases and here there is an added difficulty in being confronted by multiple hands – different in style though probably closely contemporary. Conservatively, estimates of the dating range from the end of the 4th to early 2nd century BC.

As a base for the dating and interpretation from letterforms, two larger sections of the inscription - each undoubtedly cut in a single hand - will be described in detail. One is from the original level (lines 8-16) and one from the cut back, lower level (lines 22-37), which we a priori assume must be the later. The other lines will be described summarily and as need be for a possible interpretation.

Hand of lines 8-16

These lines were cut in an easy hand and with ample space between letters. The ends of the letters have tiny or no serifs. Height of delta, line 9: ca. 1 cm. While it is interesting that each short line ends with the same word (Ῥοδίωι) this also leads to the absence of potentially characteristic letters like ΕΘΞΠΨ that might have facilitated the dating.

Alpha: The crossbar is straight or slightly bowed.

Nu: The right vertical ends just above the baseline.

Omicron: The letter varies in size and position and is often larger than the omega.

Rho: The characteristic letter has a loop of moderate size that ends obliquely, slightly more than halfway down the vertical.

Sigma: Only one occurs. Its lower bar is horizontal while the upper diverges slightly upwards.

Phi: Only one occurs in the main text. Its body is of moderate size, and nearly circular, its lower part slightly less rounded. (The margin of lines 14 and 15 might each have a small phi with a torpedo-formed body).

Omega: The characteristic omega is short and generally rests on the baseline, a combination which might point to a later date, but which does already occur, albeit not as a general trait, in some of the early inscriptions from Halikarnassos (e.g. *I. Halik.* *1 (5th century BC, 2. quarter); *312

(394/3-382/1?)[3], and *17 (279/8 or shortly after). The rounded part is quite open at the bottom where it ends in short or moderate horizontal strokes without serifs or with slightly thickened ends.

The lines above the section 8-16.
The letters of lines 1-4 are nearly obliterated. They appear smaller than those below (epsilon line 2: 0.6 cm). It seems that xi (line 3) is three-barred, like certainly in line 21. Lines 5-7: The phi of line 6 has a broad and slender body, quite unlike the one in line 13. Line 7 was cut more deeply than the others, probably either to correct a cutter's error or to reuse some parts from an earlier inscription. Apart from that the letters of line 7 look much like those of the section 8-16 and it is not possible to decide, if lines 1-7 are of the same hand as the section 8-16, but it seems unlikely that at least lines 1-4 belong to the same batch as lines 8-16.

Hand of lines 22-37
Lines 22-37 were cut in one, firm hand, and clearly differ in style from the section 8-16. Generally, the letters are broad and solid with mostly moderate serifs. Height of lambda in line 26: ca. 1.3 cm.

Alpha: The crossbar is straight.

Epsilon: The middle horizontal is short, the outer ones rather long (like occasionally in *22).

Kappa: The lower oblique does not reach the baseline.

Mu: the outer bars diverge, the v is not deep. Once, in line 25, the right outer bar ends in a slightly downwards-pointing stroke which connects it to the following letter.

Nu: The second vertical of the generally broadish letter does not touch the baseline.

Xi: The letter is four-barred, the central horizontal closer to the upper one and slightly shorter than the other two (like in *312, above note 3).

Omicron: The letter varies considerably in size.

Rho: The size of the loop varies from moderate to very large (line 28).

Sigma: The outer bars diverge and have emphatic serifs, or they are nearly parallel.

Upsilon: The branches open widely and curve.

3 Ed.pr. Carbon, Isager & Pedersen 2021.

Omega: The letter has the same height or is slightly shorter than the other letters, and moderately open at the bottom where it ends in long horizontal strokes (cf. *22).

The lines between the two sections and the last line (17-22 right, and 38)
Line 17, the last line at the original level of the surface, is cramped in terms of space and its two final letters look rather unlike the rest, maybe recut. Line 18 is the first line we read at the new level (2-3 mm deeper than the level above). The line has more space, high letters (pi: 1.4 cm) and it was cut much more deeply than the letters of the other lines. Pi: The right vertical is straight and short. Sigma: the upper outer bar diverges from the horizontal lower one. Theta: The letter has a dot at its centre. Omega: Its rounded part is rather large. Line 19 has smaller letters, but nu and rho point to the style of section 22-37. Lines 20, 21, and the right half of line 22 are smaller still, more like lines 1-4. Xi in 21 is three-barred, like probably in line 3 (but not in 23). Line 38: A small epsilon is followed by a few letters, that are larger, but lower than in 22-37. It is not possible to decide about the hand.

To conclude on letterforms, no obvious parallel especially to the second section (22-37) is known to us from Halikarnassos, but there is no other comparable list that has come to light there until now. In its firm character the lower section rather compares to the treaty between Latmos and Pidasa, dated as early as 323-313/2 BC. Among Halikarnassian inscriptions, both sections have features in common with *312; *17; *121; *22, which could mean a date in the early part of the 3rd century BC. It seems logical to assume that the upper part (with lines 8-16) was generally entered before the lower one (with lines 23-37), not least because of the difference in level. But this is not necessarily the case. The surface of the upper part bears scarce traces of an earlier inscription. Several lines differ from the two sections in size, being in smaller, elegant letters and by having a three barred xi, e.g. 20, 21, and the right half of 22.[4] The entire inscription may be dated to the first half of the 3rd century BC, but the margin of error allowed by the letterforms as well as the inherently composite and complex character of the text is wide.

4 It cannot be excluded that a vertical was added to the small xi in painting only.

IHalikarnassos *291

Based on autopsy, photos, and a squeeze

— — — — — — — — — — — —
[— — — —] *uncertain traces* [— —]
[— — — —] Ἀ̣λ̣ε̣ξ̣α̣ν̣δ̣ρ̣[- — —]
[— — — — -]δ̣ρ̣εὺς Ἀλεξαν̣[δρ- — —]
[— — — — Π]οσε̣ι̣δ̣[- —]/ΛΥ\[— —]
[— — — ?Καλ]ύμνιος [— —]
[— — — — —] Ἀμ̣φικλ̣ῆς Κ̣[— —]
[— — — — — -]σ̣του Ἀκαρν̣[άν —]
[— — — — — -]ου Ῥοδίωι vv [— —]
[— — — — — -]ρ̣ίδα Ῥοδίω[ι — —]
[— — — — — -]ς Ῥοδίωι vvv [— —]
[— — — — — Ῥ]οδίωι vvvv [— —]
[— — — — — -]νου Ῥοδίωι [— —]
[— — — — — -]φάντου Ῥο[δίωι — —]
[— — — — —] Ῥ̣οδίωι vvvv \Φ/[— —]
[— — — — — -]α Ῥοδίωι vv \Φ/[— —]
[— — — — — -]ου Ῥοδίωι [— —]
[— — — — — Κ]νώ̣σ̣ιος [— —]
[— — — — — -]ς Πυθίω̣[νος — —]
[— — — — — -]νους Κυρη[ναῖος — —]
[— — — — —] Σωπάτρο[υ—]
[— — — — —] Ἀλεξανδ[ρ — —]
[— — — — —]. Κρὴς Νεο[— —]
[— — — — — Ἀ]λεξανδ[ρ- — —]
[— — — — — -]ωνίδου Ῥό̣[διος — —]
[— — — — — Ε]ὐρωμεύ[ς — —]
[— — — — — -ο]υ̣ Ἁλικαρ[νασσεύς — —]
[— — — — — -]νου Κρή[ς — —]
[— — — — — Σ]αρδιανό̣[ς — —]
[— — — — — -]ς ν Ἐρινα[εύς — —]
[— — — — — -]ς Ἐριναε[ύς — —]
[— — — Δημη]τρίου Ἐριν[αεύς — —]
[— — — — — -]ου Ἐρινα[εύς — —]
[— — — — —] ν Ἐριναεύ[ς — —]

[— — — — — Ἰ]δύμιος [— —]
[— — — — — Ἰδ]ύμιος v [— —]
[— — — — — -]νου Κα[- — —]
[— — — — — Ἀσ]πέν̣δ̣[ιος
[— — — — — —]\E/ . Ọ̣P̣Ỵ[— — — —]
— — — — — — — — — — — —

Line by line commentary

To the right of lines 4 and 5 there are traces of letters that do not seem to follow the pattern of the lines to the left. These may be additions, cut between lines or in empty space to the right. They might also be traces of earlier inscription(s).

Line 3: Ἀλεξα]νδρεὺς Ἀλεξαν[δρεὺς? But it would be odd to have twice the ethnic.

Line 4: Π]οσειδε̣[ίου possibly.
ΛΥ falls to the right, in the interlinear space. Possibly part of [Κα]λύ[μνιος].

Line 5: ?Καλ]ύ̣μνιο̣ς: The squeeze seems to corroborate the reading of a final sigma. Alternatively Τ]ύμνιος?

Line 6: The final kappa is very uncertain.

Line 7: The line appears deeply cut, probably because it was cut over an earlier inscription. Kappa appears cut over an earlier eta. It is followed by an alpha and what looks like a lambda with possibly a loop added to the left oblique to make it a (stooping) rho. From the foot of the right oblique raises a vertical (an iota or left vertical of nu or mu?) from the top of which is seen what might be the upper part of an oblique for a nu or mu. But it is rather bowed and might not form part of the line under discussion. We expect an ethnic in this position and the reading Ἀκαρν̣[άν] is supported by the squeeze which doesn't show the right oblique of the lambda. Alternative: Ἀκαλ̣ι̣[σσεύς]? But there is to our knowledge no (other?) Greek evidence for this community until the centuries AD. If this line is more deeply cut because it is special and the final word a personal name (patronym) and not an ethnic (cf. on line 18) there seems to be one possibility, Ἀκαρ̣μ̣[ομέλ-

δωνος. The name Akarmomeldon is only attested in a dedicatory inscription from Halikarnassos.[5]

Line 9: Names ending in -ρίδας are common in Rhodes.

Lines 14 and 15: In the "vacat" to the right, but not in line with the preceding letters, what looks like a smaller phi.

Line 18: The first letter, sigma, probably ends a name in the nominative case.

Line 22: Νέο- in smaller letters might not belong to the foregoing Κρὴς but to an additional entry.

Line 36: After the final alpha, there might be a sigma, lambda or delta. Κα[λυνδεύς or Κα[λλιπολίτης, would be two possibilities, both Karian ethnics.

Line 38: Below the epsilon of line 37 a small raised epsilon. In larger letters: Ọ̣PY, possibly part of a personal name.

The character of the list

The heading of the inscription, if any, is lost. Maybe it was cut into the superposed building block. It might have been quite short, e.g. the mention of an eponym, as is seen in a likewise enigmatic list from Athens (391/0 BC).[6] With no further details available, the character of the truncated list is thus open for discussion. What is preserved is part of a list of men, generally entered with patronym and city ethnic. In most cases only the ethnic is preserved or nearly so. The analysis of letterforms demonstrates that the names were entered by different cutters, probably on different occasions. The letterforms in all entries allow for a date at the very end of the fourth or in the first half of the third century BC: ca. 300-250 BC. At any rate, a terminus ante quem of ca. 220 BC appears to be provided by the ethnics Kalymnios and Euromeus (see below).

Most names were entered in batches and some perhaps individually. This is confirmed by the syntax: at least nine Rhodians were, to judge from the letterforms (section of upper level), entered contemporaneously and by one letter cutter. They were perhaps the only individuals

5 Benndorf & Niemann 1884, 11, no. 2.

6 Ed.pr. Themos 2009 (*SEG* 59:99, where it is classified as an honorific decree).

that were entered in the dative case. Where it is possible to verify, the other names were in the nominative case. Nonetheless, we must assume some form of unity in the document since there is no extra space between any of the lines to mark a new beginning. The dative case of the Rhodians places them in the position of receivers or more specifically honorands. The names in the nominative must follow suit. At least two types of lists would qualify for the above description: a list of proxenoi (or new citizens), or a list of mercenaries. These are often the alternatives discussed when a headless list of men is discovered.[7] An analysis of the provenance of the persons who received some sort of honour must first be attempted.

The home-city of the men listed

The men listed were predominantly from southwestern Asia Minor (Euromos: 1, Erinaeis: 5, Halikarnassos: 1, Idyma: 2, perhaps Ka[lynda? or Ka[llipolis?: 1, Aspendos: 1, Sardis: 1 – being the northernmost city (but by the way clearly considered a Greek polis by ca. 330-300 BC). They also come from the major islands along the coast (Rhodes: 9-10, Kalymna: 1-3), but also from further abroad: Krete (3; Knossos is once specified), Egypt (Alexandria: probably 4),[8] and Libya (Kyrene: 1). One might be from Akarnania.

The home city of the Erinaeis on our list seems likely to be identical with that of the unlocated Ἐρινῆς who contributed to the Delian League in the fifth century and were registered in the Karian district.[9] It was

7 E.g., *I. Tralleis und Nysa* 33, reassessed by L. Robert as a list of mercenaries, not proxenoi: cf. Wörrle 2015: 293, Mack 2015: 287 with note 5 ad *I. Tralles* 33. See also a recently published proxeny-list from Phigaleia, Themos & Zavvou 2019.

8 Lines 2; 3; 21; 23. None of the words are completely preserved. That they are ethnics and not personal names is an educated guess.

9 Theoretically, the Erinaieis could be members of the Rhodian deme of that name which according to Christian Thomsen was most likely located on the island of Rhodes. But it is unlikely that the five individuals would appear under their Rhodian deme-name and not as "Rhodians", amongst other persons listed by their city ethnics, including at least 9 persons called Rhodians. (Christian Thomsen kindly shared his thoughts on the Erinaieis with me by e-mail of 24.09.2015)

very probably citizens from that city, the Ἐρειναιεῖς, who assisted the citizens of Theangela, when they were threatened by the dynast Eupolemos. Theangela finally surrendered and an inscription containing the treaty concluded between Theangela and its mercenaries on the one hand, and Eupolemos on the other is extant, except for its heading. The first complete sentence preserved is: "there shall be amnesty for the Ereinaieis as well." It was Louis Robert who first suggested that these Ereinaieis were from a small city in the vicinity of Theangela. The precise dating of the treaty is debated, but if we follow Roberta Fabiani it probably belongs in the first two decades of the 3rd century BC.[10]

Kalymna was incorporated as a deme of the Koan state sometime in the decade 220-210 BC (cf. IG XII,4 152 with comm.). Euromos was renamed Philippi during a period of Antigonid rule starting in ca. 221/0 BC or somewhat earlier. These data gleaned from the text also support a date before this time, more probably ca. 300-250 BC. Idyma, mentioned in lines 34-35, became a koinon rather than a polis as a part of its integration in the Rhodian Peraia. Unfortunately, the date for this political change remains unknown but is likely to be anterior to ca. 225 BC).[11]

The reason for listing the men

While we must presume that the men on the list were all granted a specific honour or privilege and that it was the same for all of them, it is not necessary, or even probable – considering the difference in lettering and thereby most likely in time –, that the motivations and especially the circumstances for their receiving this honour or privilege were the same. The nine Rhodians in the dative case could at some point have served as a part of an embassy, a board of judges, negotiators, or arbitrators.[12] The

10 Fabiani 2009. Incidentally, the letterforms of the treaty have much in common with those of a newly published honorific decree from Halikarnassos, *312 (294-281), Carbon, Isager & Pedersen 2021.

11 Wiemer 2010: 420 and 425.

12 Incidentally, we know that a similar group of nine Rhodians served as ambassadors and judges at Delphi, for which they were granted the status of proxenoi (180/79), Mack 2015: Appendix: 5. Delphi, 304-307 with note 26.

Rhodians could of course also have been present in Halikarnassos for other reasons, e.g. in a military capacity.

List of proxenoi?

What is preserved has all the characteristics of a proxeny list.[13] All men seem listed by their own name, their father's name and their ethnic. The latter is in nearly all cases the city ethnic as expected in a proxeny list. One clear exception in the present list is Kretan (Κρής), a regional ethnic occurring twice (line 22; line 27), while another person is entered with the city ethnic Knossian (Κνώσιος). There are parallels for this e.g. from Epidauros in proxeny-lists of the period ca. 260-240 BC where the city ethnic Knossian (Κνώσιος) also occurs, while another person, entered as proxenos in the period ca. 220-200 BC, was designated with both his ethnics, as Κρὴς Κνώσιος.[14] The city ethnic Rhodios in the dative occurs to our knowledge in no other connection than the honour of proxeny and/or citizenship.

The fact that the names on the list were entered at different occasions, some in batches, some individually, would also match a proxeny list. When the Rhodians were entered, the heading would have included or implied a formulation like: "... proxenia was given to ..."[15] The first line at the new level on the stone (18) differs from the rest by being in larger letters, more deeply cut, and by having more space. It might be an individual entry, but Pythion (or NN son of Pythion) might also be an eponym.[16] This line could have laconically stated: Proxenoi under (?xx son of) Pythion and been followed by the proxenoi in the nominative case.

The entries in smaller letters – including perhaps several Alexandrians[17] – might (but need not) have been added later where space was available. Such additions are also a well-known feature in proxeny lists.

13 For these characteristics see Mack 2015.
14 Mack 2015: Appendix: 6, Epidauros.
15 Cf. the earliest proxeny list of the Aitolians, Mack 2015: Appendix: 1.
16 In Aitolia, the entries were often dated by the strategos.
17 See above note 9.

As noted above, traces of letters to the right of the extant column might also be from such additions.[18]

The man from Halikarnassos

There is at least one major obstacle to assuming that this is a proxeny list from Halikarnassos itself: among the men listed is a person with the ethnic Halikarnassian (line 26). The entry is probably of the same kind as the rest – but a city could not nominate its own citizen as proxenos. The Halikarnassian's presence might be explained if he were entered as the guarantor (ἔγγυος) of the proxenos mentioned in the line above.[19] But it would be strange if only one proxenos were to have such a guarantor in our list. If the list forms part of a list of proxenoi or new citizens it should be considered a pierre errante or a misattribution among the many non-Halikarnassian stones of the Bodrum Museum.

Members of a garrison?

The presence of a Halikarnassian in the list would, at first sight at least, not present a problem if what we have is a list of mercenaries. In fact, the provenance of the persons on our list could reflect the diverse, even fluctuating, composition of a garrison stationed in Halikarnassos. Evidence for the presence of a Ptolemaic garrison comes from Athens, in the well-known honorific decree for the Athenian Kallias of Sphettos, which was passed in 270/69 BC for his services to the Athenians.[20] In the long enumeration of his merits, it is said that Kallias continued to assist his home-city in diplomatic matters having to do with the Ptolemies, while being stationed in Halikarnassos as commander of a garrison of mercenaries. From this Athenian decree we thus know of the Ptolemaic garrison in

18 Cf. Mack 2015: Appendix: 4.2 A with Fig. A. 14., a supplementary catalogue of proxenoi from Chios (early third century BC).

19 Aitolian lists have, except for the oldest, the new proxenos in the dative, followed by his *egguos* in the nominative. Mack 2015: Appendix: 1.

20 IG II^3 911.

Halikarnassos in the year 270/69; this provides only a terminus ante quem for its arrival, which is more probably situated in ca. 280 BC or shortly thereafter.[21]

A mercenary from Halikarnassos might be stationed in his hometown, as a recently published inscription from Lykian Limyra shows.[22] The inscription is broken at the top, but some of the heading is preserved and below it 18 men are listed by name, patronym and ethnic. Whenever there is more than one man from the same city or region, they are grouped together, but each has his own full entry, including the ethnic. There are slightly more city ethnics than regional ones.[23] The men listed are members of a Ptolemaic garrison, among them two citizen of Limyra, the city where the garrison was placed. The differences with our inscription are not insignificant, however: the inscription from Limyra was made on one occasion; it is one cutter's work. The 18 men listed (all in the nominative case) were members of the association of Basilistai and made a common dedication. If the list at the Bodrum Museum is a list of mercenaries from Halikarnassos its varied form remains a riddle.

Concluding remarks

The unifying element in the list of men dating to probably the first half of the third century BC seems to be that all men listed received an official honour. While the honour will have been of the same kind for all, the reason for bestowing it may have varied.

The combination of ethnics in the list would agree with either a non-Halikarnassian list of proxenoi or a Halikarnassian list of mercenaries. The variation in letterforms as well as the shift in syntax seem to bear witness to the names having been entered in batches and on different

21 For the political relations of Halikarnassos in the early 3rd century BC cf. now Carbon and Isager 2021; Carbon, Isager & Pedersen 2021.

22 Wörrle 2015: *SEG* 65:1469, ca. 250-200 BC. See also *SEG* 60:1536 (ca. 250 BC, possibly 277/76, Wörrle 2010. Incidentally, Kallias is known to have been a commander of the Ptolemaic garrison earlier in Limyra (ca. 300 BC): Wörrle 2019.

23 In parallel with the text from Bodrum, the list from Limyra includes two mercenaries from Aspendos, one from Kalymna and one from Kyrene.

occasions: this would fit especially a mainly chronological list of proxenoi. Nevertheless, mercenaries or members of the Ptolemaic garrison stationed in Halikarnassos cannot be excluded.

There are too many unknowns for us yet to reach a definitive conclusion on the type and context of the inscription.

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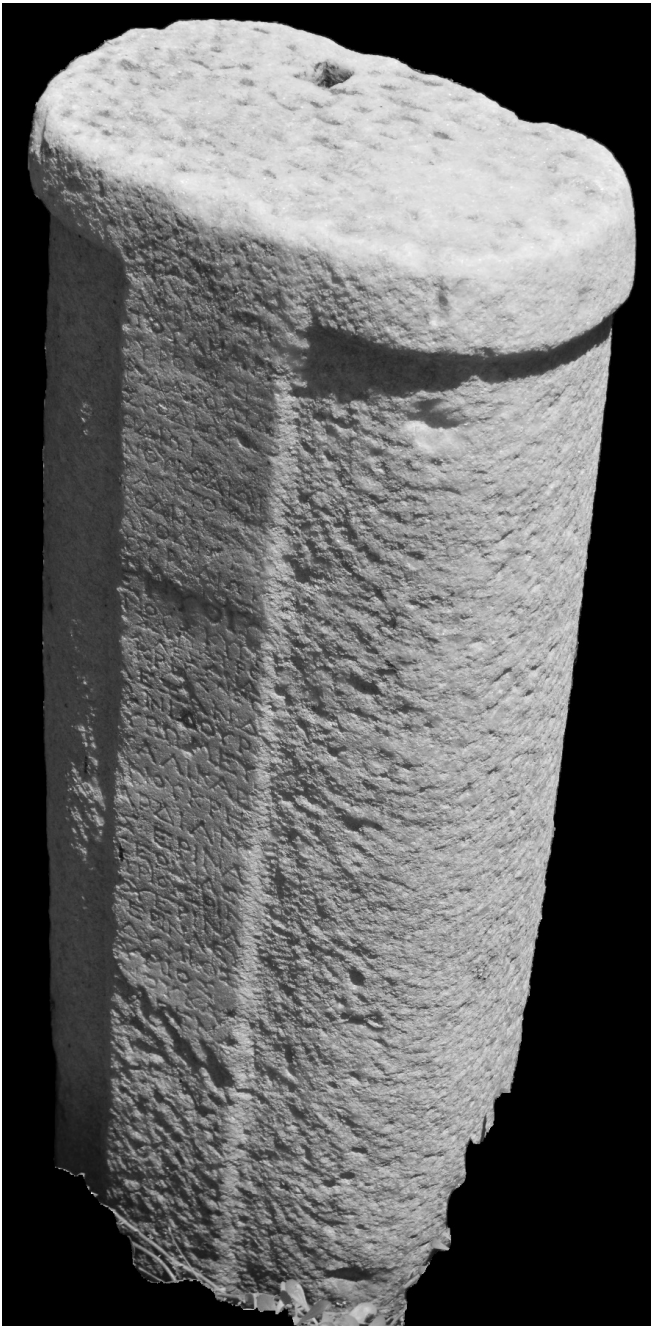
FIGURES

Fig. 1 Inv. no. 6665. *I. Halik.* *291 (Danish Halikarnassos Project)

Fig. 2 Ibid.



THE STRUCTURE OF PTOLEMAIC ADMINISTRATION IN SOUTH-WESTERN ASIA MINOR: CARIA, CAUNOS AND LYCIA

By Alain Bresson

For Vincent, 'fellow Rhodian' and dear friend of many years

Summary: This paper addresses the question of the structure of Ptolemaic administration in south-western Asia Minor in the third century BCE. On the basis of the later command structure of Rhodes over the same regions, it demonstrates that there were not two, but three Ptolemaic *stratēgoi*, one being in charge of Caria, one of Caunos, and one of Lycia. The existence of a specific command over Caunos was justified by the fact that this city was separated from the rest of Caria by a curtain of Rhodian and Seleucid territories.

Introduction

Between 280/79 BCE and the turn from third to the second century, many of the coastal regions of southern Asia Minor found themselves under the control of the Ptolemies.[1] The four regions of Cilicia, Pamphylia, Lycia and Caria each had specific administrations.[2] At the top of the hierarchy, with both military and civil powers, it is possible to hypothesize the existence of a *stratēgos* – at least as much can be proven in the case of Cilicia and Caria. For Pamphylia, Louis Robert postulated the existence of a Pamphyliarch in a damaged inscription, whose title may bring to mind the Nesiarch of the Aegean islands. But A. Meadows and P. Thonemann have argued that this restoration cannot be followed. It is possible that what is mentioned in the initial lacuna is a *stratēgos*, but it

1 For the administration of foreign Ptolemaic possessions, see Bagnall 1976, especially 80-116 for Asia Minor, and Huß 2011: 157-71.

2 On the administration of Cilicia, see Huß 2011: 157-60; of Pamphylia, p. 161; of Lycia, pp. 161-66; of Caria, pp. 167-70.

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may just as likely have been a high Ptolemaic official such as an *oikonomos*.[3] For Lycia despite there being an important number of testimonies for the presence and role of the Ptolemaic administration, our documentation apparently does not mention any *stratēgos*, to the point that it has been possible to ask whether in fact the region was not treated as an administrative annex of Caria.[4]

When it comes to the Ptolemaic *stratēgoi* in Asia Minor, it is Caria that provides the richest documentation, even if again it is not as explicit as one might wish. A *stratēgos* of Caria is known to us from a decree in Samos for the Macedonian Aristolaos, son of Ameinias, *IG* XII.6 120, l. 2: [σ]τρατηγὸς ἐπὶ Καρίας κατεστηκ[ώς] (from the reign of Ptolemy II). This is the only one known to us by an explicit title. However, as W. Huß has pointed out, several other texts from Caria might make mention of *stratēgoi* and their case merits particular attention.[5]

- Amyzon. A decree from Amyzon (*Amyzon*, pp. 118-24, no. 3) honors the *stratēgos* Margos, dated to year 9 of Ptolemy II, that is, 277 BCE.[6] On lines 6-7 he is described as Μάρ|γος ὁ στρατηγός, and ll. 8-9, Μάργον τὸν στρατηγόν. As a very likely hypothesis, one might consider this is an implicit reference to a function – the *stratēgos* of Caria – that was so well-known that there was no need to state so explicitly.
- Labraunda. In a letter from Olympichos to Mylasa concerning the status and privileges of the sanctuary of Labraunda (*I.Labraunda* 3), one finds on line 4 a reference to τὰ παρὰ Σώφρονος γραφέντα πρὸ[ς |[5] ὑμ]ᾶς κ̣αὶ Πτολεμ̣[α]ίου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ βασιλέως Πτολε|-[μ]α̣ίου. The problem concerning the identities and roles of both Sophron and Ptolemy, brother of king Ptolemy, has recently been the subject of detailed discussion, so it will suffice here to just briefly summarize its results.[7] For J. Crampa, Sophron was none

3 Meadows & Thonemann 2013, with a new restoration of Robert 1966: 53-58, l. 9.

4 See Meadows 2012: 127-28.

5 See Huß 2011: 168 n. 207, who provides a list and detailed bibliography.

6 The text is dated to 273 by J. & L. Robert, *Amyzon*: 120, but we should calculate the years of the reign starting in 284. See Meadows 2006: 467.

7 Van Bremen 2017: 251-55 (on Sophron see again *PP* 6 15125).

other than the Seleucid officer in charge of Ephesos, who is known to us from an anecdote from Athenaeus (13 593b-d = Phylarch, *FGrHist*, 81 F24) for having changed sides and joined the Ptolemies during the troubles of the year 246.[8] C. Habicht departed from this identification and believed the Sophron from the Labraunda inscription to be a Ptolemaic officer, distinct from the Seleucid one posted to Ephesos in 246. He, in turn, suggested that Sophron might be the *stratēgos* of Caria before Ptolemy 'the Son' came to exercise authority over the region.[9] However, M. Domingo Gygax returned to the analysis by Crampa,[10] even if he holds that Ptolemy 'brother of the king' was indeed the son of Ptolemy II (brother to Ptolemy III), who, after operating in western Asia Minor, defected in 259. But if this is the case, as R. van Bremen notes, there is no reason to see why the letter by Sophron would have been mentioned before that of Ptolemy. As many other parallel dossiers show, the chronology of documentary pieces turns out to be of fundamental importance.[11] We must, therefore, return to the hypothesis by C. Habicht.[12] If the letters by Ptolemy 'the Son' to Mylasa ought to be dated to 260, Sophron would have been in office during the 270s or at the beginning of the 260s.

- Territory of the *Mogoreis* (Xystis), certainly of 274 BCE, with mention of a *stratēgos* of Caria and its periphery.[13]
- Samos. Hagesarchos, originally from Megalopolis, appears in a dossier of correspondence with Samos in 245/4 BCE (*IG* XII.6 156) as someone bearing a letter from Ptolemy III. The inscription is damaged, and the title of the individual is lost. His son Ptolemaios was a high dignitary at the court of Ptolemy IV and Ptolemy V and the *stratēgos* of Cyprus (*PP* 6 14778 = 15068). The parallel with the Aris-

8 Crampa in *Labraunda*: 15 and 121-22.
9 Habicht 1972: 167-70.
10 Domingo Gygax 2000: 358-59.
11 A natural example is the arbitrage dossier between Samos and Priene; see *I.Priene*^{2} 132.
12 Van Bremen 2017: loc. cit.
13 See Bresson et al. 2021; Rousset 2024; Bresson forthcoming.

tolaos inscription may legitimately suggest that Hagesarchos was another *stratēgos* of Caria.[14]

- Theangela (rather than Halicarnassos). In an honorific decree of the third century (it is not possible to date the text with more precision given the information available to us) for Iason, son of Minnion, C. Marek has proposed reconstructing στρατηγὸς ἐ[πὶ Καρίας] as the individual's title.[15]
- Kildara. In a letter to the city of Kildara in 246 BCE, Tlepolemos, son of Artapates, encourages the Kildarians to persevere in the choice they made to support queen Berenice in the conflict between her and Laodice. The letter's introduction does not mention any title for Tlepolemos and leads to the question, without there being any way to answer it, whether he was the *stratēgos* of Caria or if he was there on a special mission.[16]
- Caunos. The case of the *stratēgos* Motes poses a particular problem. He is mentioned in the correspondence of Zenon, *P.Cair.Zen.* 59341 (247/6), a ll. 20-21: ἐπί τε τὸν στρατηγὸν Μότην καὶ τὸν οἰκονόμον | Διόδοτον, and l. 29, τὸν στρατηγὸν [[Μο]] καὶ τὸν οἰκονόμον. This papyrus is composed of three memoranda (a-c).[17] The first, sent by Theopropos, who was originally from Kalynda, to the *dioikētēs* Apollonios concerns a financial affair involving the city. The second, sent by Neon, also from Kalynda, is something supposed to be

14 See the argument by Hallof & Mileta 1997: 270-79, who detail the origins and the career of Hagesarchos.

15 Marek 1982: 119-23, ll. 1-3: ἐπειδὴ Ἰάσων] | Μιννίωνος Ἁ[λικαρνασσεύς, ἀποδεδειγμένος] | στρατηγὸς ἐ[πὶ Καρίας ὑπὸ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου?], cf. *SEG* 32 1112. The inscription had been published by Cousin & Diehl 1890: 90-93, no. 1, as coming from Halicarnassus because they had seen it in Bodrum, without realizing that the stone could have another provenance. Like another inscription that they published with a provenance, in fact, from Theangela, C. Marek proposes the hypothesis that the same goes for this decree and notes that it goes well with the mention of the ethnic in l. 2 (which would not have appeared if the person in question had been honoured in his own city).

16 Blümel 1992 (*SEG* 92 1994). Van Bremen 2017: 229 and n. 23 designates him only as a Ptolemaic 'official' (officer). On Tlepolemos, his origins, career and family, see Habicht 1985: 87-88 and *PP* 9 5228.

17 See Orrieux 1983: 53-54.

> dealt with by Zenon. It concerns a renewal application for the contribution exemption for the costs of housing soldiers. The father of the individual who originally had benefited from the exemption had been the husband of Zenon's paternal aunt. The third is an explanatory memorandum from Zenon himself. We know that Zenon was from Caunos. Kalynda was the neighbouring city immediately to the east of Caunos. With both the *stratēgos* and the *oikonomos* being mentioned in the same document and at the same level the document stems from the highest level of a provincial administration. But which province was this?

Logically (or so it seems), H. Bengtson, followed by W. Huß, thought of Caria.[18] Besides, both also pointed out that, according to Polybius, Astymedes in his address to the Roman senate had recalled the particular situation of Caunos and Stratonikeia among their possessions in Asia Minor.[19] With regard to Caunos, Astymedes mentions: ἀλλὰ Καῦνον δήπου διακοσίων ταλάντων ἐξηγοράσαμεν παρὰ τῶν Πτολεμαίου στρατηγῶν, 'But Caunos, as you well know, we purchased from Ptolemy's generals for the price of two hundred talents'. For Bengston, the plural is only a stylistic flourish, and it is the *stratēgos* of Caria that he really means here.[20] However, things may not be so simple.

We must first mention the question of the date on which the Rhodians acquired Caunos. Directly or indirectly, three ancient sources relate to this event. It is first and foremost the explicit testimony of Polybius, which has just been mentioned. But two other sources evoke the fate of Caunos in this period. It is first Livy, who evokes the context in which the Rhodians were brought to prevent the offensive of Antiochos III against the Ptolemaic possessions in the south of Asia Minor. In the summer of 197, the Seleucid offensive unfolded from east to west. This offensive aimed at seizing Cilicia, Lycia, and Caria (Liv 33.19.11). Worried about

18 Bengtson 1937-1952: III, 174-77 (the same point of view in *PP* 6 15058); Huß 2011: 168 n. 207.

19 Polyb. 30.31.6

20 As noted by Huß 2011: 168 n. 207, the hypothesis by Walbank in his commentary on Polybius (1979, III, 457), according to which 'the generals' would actually mean the *stratēgos* of Caria and the commander of the garrison of Caunos, is not convincing.

these operations, the Rhodians sent an embassy to Antiochos demanding that his fleet should not move beyond the Chelidonian islands on the southeastern tip of Lycia (*ibid*., 33.20.2). Even if the Roman victory of Cynoscephalae lifted the threat of a convergence between the forces of Antiochos III and those of Philip V and if Antiochos III assured the Rhodians of his will to maintain their traditionally good relations, this did not ensure the safeguarding of the last Ptolemaic possessions in the region. The Rhodians had to take things in their own hands (*ibid*., 33.20.12-13): 'They did not, however, abandon the other object, the defence of the liberties of the states in alliance with Ptolemy which Antiochos was now threatening. To some they gave active assistance, others they forewarned of the movements of the enemy; it was thus that Caunos, Myndos, Halicarnassos and Samos owed their liberty to Rhodes'.[21]

Some scholars have seen here a contradiction between Livy and Polybius.[22] But there is no contradiction at all. In 197 the Rhodians safeguarded the 'freedom' of 'the cities allied to Ptolemy', that is, of the cities that were nominally autonomous but under his control, including the presence of a garrison, by sending armed forces to protect those cities against the Seleucid forces, if needed. This means that the operation was carried out in cooperation with the Ptolemaic authorities on the spot. Then, as testified by Polybius, a second phase could come, which in the case of Caunos meant that the local Ptolemaic *stratēgoi* sold the city to Rhodes.

The only incongruous testimony is that of Appian (*Mithr*. 23.89), who indicates: Καύνιοι Ῥοδίοις ὑποτελεῖς ἐπὶ τῶ Ἀντιόχου πολέμῳ γενόμενοι, καὶ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀφεθέντες οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ ... 'The Caunians, who had become subject to Rhodes after the war against Antiochus and had been recently liberated by the Romans ...' This testimony is framed in a rhetorical construction that tends to emphasize the ingratitude and the cruelty of the Caunians, who massacred the Romans and the Italians in 88 BCE. It obviously contains a double error, on the date on which the

21 *Illam alteram curam non omiserunt tuendae libertatis civitatum sociarum Ptolomaei, quibus bellum ab Antiocho imminebat. Nam alias auxiliis iuverunt, alias providendo ac praemonendo conatus hostis causaque libertatis fuerunt Cauniis, Myndiis, Halicarnassensibus Samiisque.* Tr. Canon Roberts, *Everyman's Library* (London 1912).

22 The debate is summarized by Dmitriev 2010: 160-61 with n. 20.

Rhodians had acquired Caunos, and on the one at which they had lost it (since the city was lost by Rhodes as early as 167 BCE). H.-U. Wiemer has observed that Appian was not to be trusted.[23] Yet, after an historiographic review that summarizes the positions of scholars who have commented on this question (with the debate on the supposed contradiction between Livy, who presented the Rhodians as having safeguarded the 'freedom' of the Caunians, and Polybius, who signaled that they had been sold to the Rhodians), S. Dmitriev concludes that 'these texts do not confirm the evidence offered by Polybius that the Rhodians had actually gained Caunus by a purchase. Unlike what we read in Polybius (which surely reflected the Rhodian point of view), neither Livy nor Appian shows how, exactly, Rhodes acquired Caunus'.[24] In fact, as we saw, there is no contradiction between Livy, Polybius and the epigraphic sources. Only Appian is divergent, for reasons that can easily be explained: chronological distance from the facts and rhetorical construction. Rejecting Polybius' testimony on the pretext that it would only reflect 'a Rhodian point of view' is untenable. Polybius was in Rome at the time Astymedes had delivered his address before the senate. How could we imagine that Astymedes or a later Rhodian source could have misled Polybius on this question?[25]

Now, as the epigraphic record shows, in 190, the territory of Daidala, on the western borders of Lycia, was already Rhodian, since already on this date – that is even before the end of the war against Antiochos – there existed a *hagemōn epi Lykias* who was active there.[26] It is thus between 197 and 192 (date of the beginning of the Antiochic War) at the latest that the Rhodians acquired Caunos and Daidala. Therefore, the two testimonies of Polybius and Livy are not contradictory. On the contrary they perfectly complement each other. It may be legitimate to think that it was already in 197 or 196 (before the conclusion of the peace between

23 Wiemer 2002: 237 n. 14.

24 Dmitriev 2010: 161.

25 For an analysis of the speeches of Astymedes, that from the winter 168/7 and that from 164, see Thornton 2013: 225-26 and 228, who notes that, according to Polybius 30.4.11, Astymedes was so proud of his first speech that he made sure it was published.

26 See below on this question.

Antiochos III and Ptolemy V in 195) that the sale was concluded, but there is no proof of this for the moment. In any case, the alleged mention of the Caunians in the peace treaty between Miletos and Magnesia by the Meander, traditionally dated to 196 BCE but which more recently has been dated to the 180s, cannot be used to assert that Caunos was still independent at that time. The restoration of the name of Caunos in this document cannot be adopted.[27] Moreover the treaty must certainly be dated to the 180s rather than the 190s.[28]

27 *Milet* I.3 148 (*Syll.*[3] 588, with *I.Kaunos* T149). Not only is the restoration ([Καυ|ν]ίων, ll. 12-13) not certain, it is also wholly unlikely. In the list of the ambassadors who came to reconcile Miletos and Magnesia, after Athens and Cnidos, one has for Asia Minor: Myndos, Samos, Halicarnassos, the city with the uncertain name, then Iasos (Crowther 1995a: 98, and 1995b: 232-34; on the basis of a prosopographic identification; for the patronymic Νύσιος of this delegate of Iasos, see now also *LGPN* VB, with eight attestations of the name at Iasos against only two at Mylasa), Teos and Cyzicos. Caunos, isolated at the eastern end of Caria, would break the geographic sequence of the cities of western Asia Minor. The names of several other cities have been proposed and M. Errington (1989, 283) has suggested among others those of Chios, Erythrai and Smyrna, and Wiemer (2002: 237, n. 12), that of Bargylia (but see Wörrle 2004: 53, n. 53: this solution is impossible). As for the only sequence of name plus patronymic in the list of the two delegates from this city that has been preserved, Dionysikles the son of Olympichos (l. 13, Διονυσικλείους τοῦ Ὀλυμπίχο[υ]), one should observe that Διονυσικλῆς is characteristic of western Caria and Ionia (see *LGPN* VA and B, with Bresson *et al.* 2021, 155) and that Ὀλύμπιχος is found in a series of cities, including cities of Asia Minor (*LGPN*), but that neither of them can be found in the inscriptions of Caunos (see index *I.Kaunos*). Besides, one should also observe that the names Διονυσικλῆς and Ὀλύμπιχος are both found in Ephesos, Kolophon and Smyrna only. One should conclude that the city of which the name is mutilated in the inscription has a good chance of being one of these three cities, or possibly of one of the cities where Διονυσικλῆς and Ὀλύμπιχος appear separately. But once again this excludes Caunos.

28 It is not possible to reopen here the dossier of the chronology of the peace treaty between Miletos and Magnesia by the Meander and of that of the arbitration between Samos and Priene (on which see now Magnetto 2008 and *I.Priene*[2] 132). See however the argument developed by Errington 1989, Bresson 2003: 186-87, and Habicht 2005 in favour of the low dates, and contra Wörrle 2004 and Magnetto 2008 and 2009 in favour of the high chronology (following Magnetto, Badoud 2015: 177, dates to 195 the Rhodian eponym Pratophanes, *I.Priene*[2] 132, l. 33–34, under whom the treaty was recorded).

If the exact date of the purchase of Caunos by the Rhodians eludes us, the context in which the sale of Caunos took place is clear. Ptolemy V was only six years old when his father died in 204. In the following years, the power passed into the hands of a clique of courtiers.[29] Between 206 and 185, an Egyptian national revolt started in Upper Egypt. Led by two indigenous pharaohs, Haronnophris and Chaonnophris, it threatened to destroy the Ptolemaic state. In 197, fights took place in Lycopolis, a city of the Delta, close to Alexandria.[30] In 196, as testified by the Memphis Decree, Ptolemy V had to make considerable concessions to the Egyptian clergy.[31] Nevertheless, the unrest continued until the final defeat of the rebels in 185 and even so agitation continued until 182.[32] Antiochos III took advantage of this situation to launch an offensive against the Ptolemaic kingdom during the Fifth Syrian War and its follow up. This period saw, after the catastrophic defeat of Panion in 200, the loss of all southern Syria and that of almost all the Ptolemaic positions in Western and Southern Asia Minor.[33] The peace treaty of 195 between the two kingdoms marked the Seleucid victory, since it confirmed the loss of the territories of Syria and Asia Minor to Antiochos III.[34]

In 197 and in the following years, the Ptolemaic kingdom was on the verge of collapse. One can easily understand how the Ptolemaic *stratēgoi* in southern Asia Minor judged the situation hopeless. As they certainly received no more funding or troops and as they were unable to defend the territories entrusted to them, they preferred to sell some of them to Rhodes, which de facto had already become their real protector. This was at least a way to make a profit, while with a Seleucid take-over these territories would simply have been 'written off from the books'.

To come back to the Rhodians, it can be observed that, when they took control of the regions of southern Asia Minor, they not only had a magistrate in command in Caria and in Lycia, but also one in charge of Caunos. Between 188 and 167, each of the three regions was placed under

29 Huß 2001: 474–86.
30 Veïsse 2004: 3-26.
31 *OGIS* 90 = *SB* V 8299.
32 Huß 2001: 510-13; Veïsse 2004: 9-10.
33 Huß 2001: 487-501.
34 Huß 2001: 500-1

the command of individual *hagemones*, one for Caunos, one for Caria, and one for Lycia.[35] However, we know that it was after the acquisition of the territory of Daidala between 197 and 192 (as we saw maybe as early as in 197-196), that they had a ἁγεμὼν ἐπὶ Λυκίας, anticipating the situation that we observe after Apameia. The dedications *NS* 22 and *I.Lindos* 160, ll.7-8, mention the same ἁγεμὼν ἐπὶ Λυκίας, Hagesandros, the son of Eudamos. Our new restoration of *I.Lindos* 160, ll. 3-4, ἔν τε τᾶι | [περὶ τὰ Δαίδαλ]α παρατάξει, 'in the battle near Daidala', proved that as *hagemōn epi Lykias* Hagesandros had been directly involved in the events told by Livy (37.22.3) of the operations of the Rhodian fleet under Pamphilidas: *oppugnantibus regiis Dedala et quaedam alia Peraeae castella obsidione exemerunt*, 'they relieved the blockade of Daidala and several other fortresses of the Peraea which were besieged by the king's troops'.[36] Thus, it is clear that there existed a Rhodian *hagemōn epi Lykias* at Daidala, in Lycia, already before the Antiochic War.

It is, therefore, logical to think that it was also in or after 197 (in any case before the outbreak of the Antiochic War in 192) – and having already acquired Caunos – that the Rhodians established the distinction between the three *hagemones*, one being in charge of Lycia (the territory of Daidala), the other of Caunos, and the third of Caria (at that time this must have corresponded to the territory of Stratonikeia). But this tripartite division raises a question. One must ask whether this command structure could not have dated back to the period of the Ptolemies, who might also have made use of provincial commands (at that time entrusted to *stratēgoi*), consisting of, from west to east, Caria, Caunos along with its expanded territory (with Kalynda), and Lycia.[37]

35 See *IG* XII.1 49 (*Syll.*[3] 619), ll. 59-64: 59: ἁγεμὼν ἐπὶ Καύνου, 61: ἁγεμὼν ἐπὶ Καρίας, 63: ἁγεμὼν ἐπὶ Λυκίας (on the chronology of the inscription, see Kontorini 1989: 39-40, who dates the text c. 185). For more details, cf. Bresson 1999: 125 n. 97.

36 On these questions, see detailed demonstration and parallels in Bresson 1999: 109-110, with notes pp. 124-26 and *SEG* 49 1068 and 1072. Our new restoration and discussion have been skipped by Wiemer 2002: 264 n. 14, and Magnetto 2008: 161 n. 10, which makes their presentations of the dossier pointless. On the allies of Rhodes, see Gabrielsen 2000: 174-79. Text of Livy: Loeb translation.

37 On the complex relations between Caunos and Kalynda during the Hellenistic period, cf. Bresson 1998: 80-81.

First of all, it should be noted that, for the moment, our epigraphic documentation for Ptolemaic control of Caunos during the third century does not provide information concerning the organization of the region's administration. It consists of an altar in honor of Arsinoe Philadelphos and a dedication to Sarapis and the brotherly gods.[38] Without Zenon's dossier of correspondence, we would know nothing of the existence of the *stratēgos* Motes and, beyond that, of the close relations among Caunos, Kalynda and Ptolemaic Egypt under Ptolemy II.[39] As for the existence of the Ptolemaic *stratēgoi* for Lycia and Pamphylia, 'the absence of evidence is not evidence of absence'. We should be careful about firmly asserting that these regions were not each led by a Ptolemaic *stratēgos* during the period under consideration, even in the case of Lycia, where the documentation for Ptolemaic power is certainly abundant and detailed, but where the randomness of available sources could conceal the hierarchy's top echelon.

As for Caunos, the city had always occupied a special place in the Carian universe, if Herodotus is to be believed.[40] Its remote and isolated geographic position from the rest of the Carian world makes it easy to understand this fact. But the city was undoubtedly and fully Carian, as testified beyond Herodotus by a series of inscriptions in the Carian language

38 *I.Kaunos* 54, under Ptolemy Philadelphos, as shown in the text, and 67, rather under Ptolemy IV, respectively. C. Marek notes that the cult of the brotherly gods dates to after 272 (for this cult, see most recently Grabowski 2014, who, before examining the case of the Aegean islands, presents the general lines of its development). The writing of the inscription with broken-bar *alpha* and line-shaped *apices*, is later than that of *I.Kaunos* 54. In addition, the initial dedication to Sarapis and Isis evokes the series of similar documents which are frequently encountered starting with Ptolemy IV, see *SEG* 39 1234 with the new edition by Meadows 2013. For other aspects of the Ptolemaic presence in Caunos, see the still unpublished dissertation of P. Kossmann.

39 On these relations, see *I.Kaunos*, *testimonia*: 53-62, nos. 120-38.

40 Herodotus insisted on the specific ethnicity of the Caunians. It is worth noticing that he begins with telling us that c. 544 Harpagos, the Median general in command of Persian forces, 'launched an expedition against the Carians, Caunians and Lycians' (1.171.1); see more broadly 1.171-72 (origins of the dialect and customs of the Caunians in relation to the other Carians) and 176.3 (imitation of Lycian habits); 5.103.2 (the Caunians finally joined the Ionians and the other Carians in their revolt against the Great King after the siege of Sardis).

and by coin series with Carian legends of the Classical period.[41] It had been part of the Carian *koinon* as far as can be reconstructed from the inscriptions of Sekköy during the time of the Hecatomnids.[42] However, Caria of the third century had a complicated political geography and the situation was no longer the one that prevailed a century earlier. The vicissitudes of Caunos in the early Hellenistic period illustrate particularly well the complex situation in which the cities of Caria were placed.[43] Starting in the 260s the interior of the land was in the hands of the Seleucids. Further south, the Rhodians incorporated the Carian Chersonese into their civic territory following the siege of 305-304.[44] At the turn of the third and second century they were in control of the territories forming the 'Subject Peraea', from Pladasa to Pisye, and they allied with and subjugated the small cities of the Ceramic Gulf, Idyma, Callipolis and Kyllandos.[45] But when did they put their hands on the territories of this Subject Peraea?

The Rhodians actively participated in the Second Syrian War (260-253) and sided with Antiochos II against Ptolemy II. A dedication from the people of Rhodes to Athena Lindia known from the *Temple Chronicle* of Lindos formally attests to it.[46] This testimony reinforces those of Polyaenus and Frontinus on the decisive role of the Rhodian fleet operating

41 Inscriptions in Carian language: Adiego 2007: 151-58, 294-302, and 453-57; coinage: Konuk in Adiego 2007: 471-92.

42 Blümel 1990: 29-30, nos. 11 (*SEG* 40 991; *HTC*, no. 90), ll. 18-19, and 12 (*SEG* 40 992; *HTC*, no. 91), ll. 5-7, cf. *testimonia* in *I.Kaunos*, pp. 49-50, no. 113. See the commentary by Debord 2003: 118-25, and map p. 123. On these texts, see also now van Bremen 2013 (*SEG* 63 911).

43 See Meadows 2006: 462-63.

44 Badoud 2011.

45 See Fraser and Bean 1954: 70-78, and *HTC*, map on pp. 86-87, as well as, for the period of the war against Philip V, the dossier of the Rhodian *stratēgos* Nikagoras *IG* XII.1 1036 (*SGDI* 4234); *I.Lindos* 151; *IPér.Rhod.* 6 = *IRhod.Per.* 81: the *stratēgos* had reconquered the territories of Pisye, Idyma, Kyllandos and defended the Chersonese. Before the Second Macedonian War, these regions were thus already under the control of Rhodes (see Bresson 2003: 182-83).

46 *I.Lindos* 2, § XXXVII, ll. 98-99, which mentions the dedication of a shield according to an oracular prediction that, after the dedication, ἐσεῖται λύσις τοῦ τόκα ἐνε|στακότος ποτὶ Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Φιλάδελφον πολέμο[υ], 'the war that was then taking place against Ptolemy Philadelphos would come to an end'.

alongside Seleucid forces and led by the naval commander Agathostratos in the victory against Ptolemaic forces at Ephesos probably around 258 BCE.[47] So far, the reasons for the Rhodian participation against Ptolemy II have not been clarified. It has been suggested that the Rhodians wished to maintain a balance between the great powers or that Ptolemy II wanted to force the Rhodians to join the League of Islanders under their control, but H.-U. Wiemer has demonstrated the weakness of these assumptions.[48] Thus the reasons for the Rhodian intervention have remained enigmatic. The hostility against the Ptolemies seems all the more surprising if one recalls the reciprocal interests of the Rhodians and Ptolemies in commercial matters and the decisive support given by Ptolemy I to the Rhodians during the siege of Demetrius of 305/4.[49] The Rhodians must have had reasons much more concrete than simply seeking a 'balance between great powers' in order to involve themselves in this conflict.

We must begin thinking about the problem through a parallel in reverse chronological order. After the Peace of Apameia, between 188 and 167, when the Rhodians obtained control over Caria and Lycia, a conflict developed between them and Eumenes II, although the Attalid kingdom had been their ally during the Second Macedonian War and the Antiochic War. Border incidents took place along the frontier between the Rhodian Peraea and Attalid territories.[50] Similarly, it is legitimate to assume that it was because they conflicted with the Ptolemies over their possessions

47 Polyaen. *Str.* 5.18; Frontin. *Str.* 3.9.10. The literature related to the issues is presented and discussed by Wiemer 2002: 97-101: there is no reason to disassociate the three sources; the *Temple Chronicle* is related to the Second Syrian War, in which the Rhodians participated alongside the Seleucids, and both Polyaenus and Frontinus deal with one and the same episode, the battle of Ephesos. On the career of Agathostratos as *trierarch* and then Rhodian *navarch*, see Badoud 2014 (with Badoud & Herbin 2014 for the monument of Agathostratos at Delos).

48 Wiemer 2002: 101-2, against the views respectively of Berthold 1984: 91 and Rostovtzeff 1932: 748-50 (= *Scripta varia*, 247-48).

49 Diod. 20.84.1, 88.9, 94.3, 96.1-2, 98.1, 99.2, 100.1-4.

50 Pol. 27.7.6: μικροῖς δ' ἀνώτερον χρόνοις ἐκ τῶν Λυκιακῶν ἀναξαινομένης τῆς διαφορᾶς ἔκ τινων ἐρυμάτων καὶ χώρας, ἣν συνέβαινε κεῖσθαι μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐσχατιᾶς τῆς τῶν Ῥοδίων Περαίας, κακοποιεῖσθαι δὲ συνεχῶς διὰ τῶν ὑπ' Εὐμένει ταττομένων. See Bresson 1999: 109, with literature (it was certainly the region of Daidala, in immediate contact with the Attalid enclave of Telmessos, that was concerned).

in Caria that the Rhodians came into conflict with them during the Second Syrian War.[51]

If (which cannot be excluded) the Rhodians had not conquered the region even earlier, following their victorious resistance to Demetrios Poliorcetes in 305–304, we are then faced with two options for the question of the date of the Rhodian acquisition of the Subject Peraea: either the Rhodians took advantage of the void left in the aftermath of the assassination of Seleucos I in autumn 281 and settled in the territories ranging from Pladasa to Pisye around 280-279, just as the Ptolemies were doing similarly elsewhere in Caria and in southern Asia Minor more generally; or they took advantage of the hostilities of the First or Second Syrian War to wrest from the Ptolemies territories under their control and invade what was to become their Subject Peraea. In any case, it is hard to imagine the Rhodians alone initiating a conflict and entering into war with the Ptolemies in order to snatch from them what they had conquered. Whatever the solution retained, the Ptolemaic territories in the Ceramic Gulf came to directly border Rhodian territory, which certainly ended up in the subsequent conflict with Ptolemy II.[52]

The *neōria* of Akbük, the location of the port of Pladasa, are thus likely to have been built at a time when Rhodian domination of the region had already been established and, therefore, we should not hesitate to restore the name of the people of Rhodes in the dedication 'to the people' (the following being unfortunately badly damaged) of the inscription

51 See *HTC*: 165-66, and the question of the division of Pladasa's territory, some of which certainly went to Keramos. The latter city is very likely to have been under Ptolemaic control or influence like the rest of the northern coast of the Ceramic Gulf west of Pladasa. There is no direct testimony for the presence of Ptolemaic officials or of a Ptolemaic garrison at Keramos, but the inscription *I.Keramos*, 4, intended for the construction of a Sarapeion, which no doubt dates to the third century BCE (see the photograph of the stone in Varınlıoğlu 1981: 51-62, no. 1, photo pl. VI.1) would conform well, in this period, with Ptolemaic control. Also a decree of Ouranion, the small city immediately to the west of Keramos, in favour of a Salaminian might also testify to a Ptolemaic presence in this city (Varınlıoğlu et al. 1992: 166-67, no. 2, with discussion concerning the Salaminian pp. 173-74).

52 On the Ptolemaic presence in the Ceramic Gulf, see, for Halicarnassus, Isager 2004 and Pedersen 2004. On the penetration of Ptolemaic bronze coins in the region (Ptolemy I, Ptolemy II and, above all, Ptolemy III, but no coins from Ptolemy IV), see Konuk 2004.

HTC, no. 1, l. 2 and 4, which has been dated to the second or third quarter of the third century. It is, in effect, the *plēthos* of the Pisyetans and Pladasians and the members of a series of *koina* who also regularly appear within the Rhodian sphere whom we see mentioned in this text.[53] Consequently, we must hold for certain that in the 250s at the latest the Subject Peraea was already under Rhodian control.

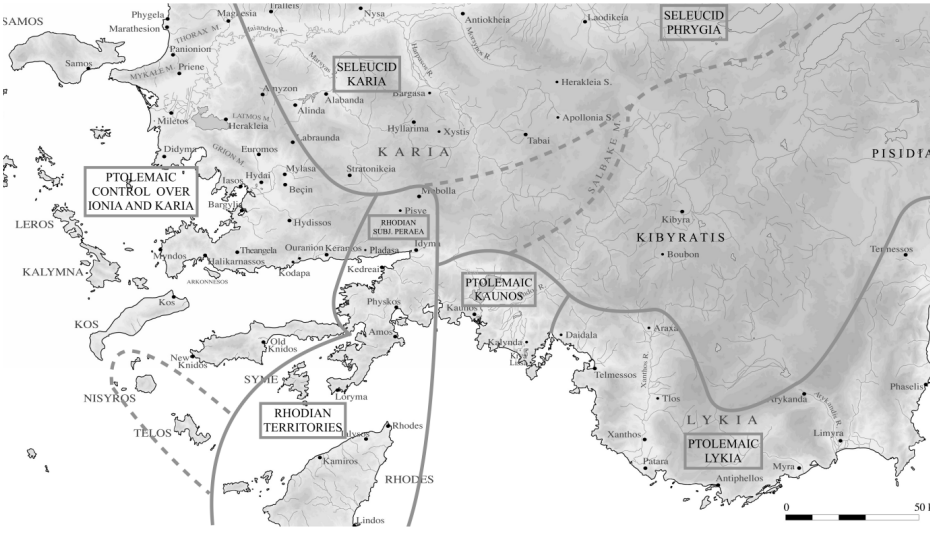

Figure 1: Hellenistic Caria and Lycia and Ptolemaic administration in the 260s-250s BCE (O. Henry & A. Bresson)

NB. The map only aims at showing the regions controlled by the main powers of the time and perfect accuracy would be illusory. For western Caria, it illustrates the approximate delimitation of the regions under Ptolemaic control or influence in the 260s-250s (the zone under Ptolemaic control shrank in the course of the century). For Lycia, it is here supposed that the upper Xanthos valley was also under Ptolemaic control. The detail of the border delineation of Seleucid territories south and east of Tabai is especially uncertain. The date of incorporation of the islands of Nisyros and Telos to Rhodian territory is not yet clarified.

With a continuous barrier formed by the Subject Peraea, i.e. the cities under Rhodian domination from the bottom of the Ceramic Gulf and the

53 This restoration, suggested to us by Riet van Bremen, had been cautiously anticipated in *HTC*: 102. It now seems obvious to us.

Chersonese, as well as further north the territories of inland Caria lost to the Seleucids in the 270s or 260s, Ptolemaic Caunos was cut off from the Ptolemaic territories of western Caria (see map fig. 1). For the Ptolemies there was territorial continuity between Caunos and Lycia (by Daidala and Telmessos), but not between Caunos and western Caria. It is very likely that the Ptolemies tried to unite or re-unite the two parts of their Carian domains, hence the conflict with Rhodes. As they failed in their attempt, the territories of the Subject Peraea remained under Rhodian control and the separation between Caunos and western Caria became permanent.

In the same vein, it should be noted that, at least in the current state of our sources, there is no indication that the Caunians were part of the Chrysaorian *koinon*, centred on Stratonikeia, in western Caria, but whose existence (and perhaps creation?), dated back to the time of the occupation of Caria by Ptolemy II.[54] All the Carian cities which we are certain belonged to the Chrysaorian *koinon* are to be found in western or central Caria. These are Mylasa, Stratonikeia, Amyzon, Alabanda/Antiocheia, Alinda, Thera and Keramos. To this list V. Gabrielsen suggests possibly adding Tabai and Pisye, which does not modify the observation on the origins of the participating cities.[55] In this regard, the difference from the Carian *koinon* of the fourth century, of which, as we have seen, Caunos was a member, is significant.[56] That is why, even if (at least for the moment) our sources do not directly point to the existence of a Lycian *stratēgos*, the concept of a unified command over Caria and Lycia, as in the time of Mausolus (which would thus explain the absence of a Lycian *stratēgos* in our sources), is difficult to accept. Likewise, the territorial separation between Caunos and the rest of Ptolemaic Caria invites us to

54 On the Chrysaorians, see Debord 2003: 125-43, with map on p. 142, and Gabrielsen 2011. The question of the political orientation of the *koinon*, if indeed there was any, has not to be discussed here.

55 Gabrielsen 2011: 337-38 and 341. There were several Tabai in western Asia Minor, but everything points to the existence of a Tabai in the Subject Peraea, close to Thera and Pisye; see detailed discussion in *HTC*, pp. 182-88. Besides, V. Gabrielsen considers that the *koinon* of the Chrysaorians had all the characteristics of a true federal state. See however P. Hamon, *Bull. ép.* 2012: 381.

56 See above n. 44.

think that the Ptolemaic *stratēgos* of Caria could not have had Caunos under his charge. This justifies the existence of a separate *stratēgos* for Caunos.

Despite its specificities, Caunos was undoubtedly Carian, as well as (in this period) as its eastern neighbours Kalynda, Krya, and Lissa/Lissai.[57] It was also itself a considerable city (together Stratonikeia and Caunos paid yearly 120 talents to the Rhodians), and it could not be assimilated to Lycia.[58] If Polybius does not detail the case of Daidala, it is because the small importance of this position did not justify a separate treatment given that its fate was implicitly tied to that of the great city of Caunos slightly to the west. The purchase of 'Caunos', therefore, must be understood as not simply the city itself but its surroundings, including on the one hand its dependencies Kalynda and the other minor cities of the west coast of the gulf of Telmessos, and on the other the small contiguous Lycian territory of Daidala, which by the time marked the border with Carian territories.[59] The reference made by Polybius to the '*stratēgoi* of Ptolemy' suggests that Polybius was implying the Ptolemaic *stratēgos* of Lycia, who by then held only Daidala and the surrounding territory (all that was left to the Ptolemies of their former Lycian possessions) and that of Caunos.

Concluding Remarks

To conclude, from the fact that the Rhodians had three separate commands for Caria, Caunos and Lycia, we may deduce that the three Ptolemaic 'provinces' of Caria, Caunos and Lycia were also each placed under the orders of its own *stratēgos*. Motes was thus certainly the Ptolemaic *stratēgos* of Caunos, which constituted a separate regional command from

57 For the Carian character of Krya in the late Classical period, see the Caunian-Carian inscription of Krya Adiego 2007: 158-59, no. 15 Krya (C.Kr.), with Schürr 2013.

58 Polyb. 30.31.7.

59 On the dependence of Lissa towards Caunos, see also *I.Kaunos* 183, l. 1, a late Hellenistic or early Imperial dedication from Lissai (see photo and detailed commentary in Tietz 2003) by a man who defines himself as [οἰκῶν ἐν] Λίσσαις τῆς Καυνίας.

the time of the Ptolemies, and not of Caria (as previously suggested) or Lycia.

SPECIAL ABBREVIATIONS

HTC = Debord, P. & E. Varınlıoğlu (eds.) 2001. *Les hautes terres de Carie*. Bordeaux.

PP = Peremans, W. & E. Van't Dack (et alii) 1950–2002. *Prosopographia Ptolemaica*. 10 vols. Leuven.

NS = Maiuri, A. 1922. *Nuova silloge epigrafico di Rodi e Cos*. Florence.

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ONWARDS AND UPWARDS FROM *HELLEC* I-III: A REPLY TO OUR CRITICS

By Zosia Archibald and John Davies

Summary: This article reflects on the three volumes on *Hellenistic Economies* that the two authors published over more than decade together with Vincent Gabrielsen: How were they received and how do we respond and move forward?

As friends and collaborators, it is our pleasure to have been able to congratulate Vincent on reaching this satisfying milestone. It permits him to look back on achievement with much satisfaction, but also forwards to a period when the tiresome aspects of academic life leave the room and one is left with family, friends, books, ideas, travel, papers, and projects. We wish Vincent well with all, while also thanking and admiring him for all that he has so far done to add distinction to his adopted country, to his university, and to our subject. Such a salutation is especially appropriate for us as his colleagues in the enterprise of re-excavating the gigantic *tell* that conceals the endless complexities, fascinations, and problems of the economic and social life of the Eastern Mediterranean after Alexander. In that enterprise he has taken a full, indeed a leading part, by contributing, shaping, planning, and encouraging: our three volumes on Hellenistic Economies would have been immeasurably poorer without him. Not, of course, that the project is at an end: but it has paused, and this is a good opportunity to reflect on what we have done, have not done, might do, and should do.[1]

Introduction

At such a moment it will be prudent to hear our critics, in the form of the reviewers of our various volumes, for they represent our readership. We

1 We are most grateful to Andrew Erskine (Edinburgh) and David Lewis (Nottingham) for permitting the citation of a forthcoming paper.

Zosia Archibald and John Davies: 'Onwards and upwards from *HellEc* I-III: A reply to our critics' C&M Supplementum 2 (2024) 159-187.

begin, therefore, by summarising their reactions very briefly, and include in our summary not just the reviews of our three volumes but also those of a fourth, Raymond Descat's Saint-Bertrand volume *Approches de l'économie hellénistique*, since its format and subject-matter were identical to our own. *HellEc* I attracted eight reviews,[2] *HellEc* II three,[3] *Approches* four[4] and *HellEc* III also four.[5] These are not spectacular figures, but they are regrettably characteristic of a climate of reception, even in the professional journals, that evidently prefers thematic monographs, even on unfamiliar topics, to conference publications. It is therefore proper to start this report by thanking all our reviewers, and their review editors, for having made our volumes known to the professional public and for having offered their thoughtful and knowledgeable assessments.

Four main themes stand out in these 19 reviews.[6] A **first** theme, that of the modern historiography of the post-Alexander world, has shown both the series and its reception as reflecting a shift of horizon. Whereas a contrast between the approaches of Rostovtzeff and Finley featured prominently both in *HellEc* I and in its reviews, it largely dropped out of view thereafter, allowing Christophe Pébarthe to report the 'dépassement du modèle de l'*Économie antique* de M. Finley': specificities have replaced models, and indeed, for one internal commentator, 'c'est l'honneur des historiens [of *Appproches*] de ne pas croire aux modèles ou, plutôt, de n'en rien retenir qui ne soit confirmé par les faits'.[7]

Instead, and **secondly,** the pros and cons of the first stage of our alternative, the evidence-based bottom-up approach, were widely debated. Critical remarks were not lacking, such as Samuel Burstein's warning that 'the accumulation of uncoordinated detailed studies tends to hinder rather than promote synthesis'[8] or the various comments[9] on

2 Osborne 2001; Migeotte 2002; Shipton 2002; Bugno 2003; Horster 2003; Straus 2003; Shipley 2004; Vacante 2007.

3 Morley 2006; Van der Zande 2007; Ruffing 2008.

4 Pébarthe 2007; Marcellesi 2008; Rapsaet 2008; Étienne 2009.

5 Reinard 2012; Burstein 2013; Schefold 2013; Monson 2014.

6 We do not cite by name reviews that do little more than report and summarise each paper, but thank their authors equally nonetheless.

7 Sartre 2006: 438, with Pébarthe's approval (2007: 1438).

8 Burnstein 2013: 383-84.

9 E.g. by Shipton 2002, Shipley 2004: 157 (on field survey), and Étienne 2009.

gaps in coverage. However, the balance of judgement is best reflected by Neville Morley's assessment of *HellEc* II that the bottom-up approach leaves the volume without 'a fully coherent structure' and renders 'many of these papers ... somewhat under-theorized', but that 'the evidence thereby remains more accessible for use by other historians' by 'reflect[ing] current tendencies in the study of ancient economies' and does 'emphasise the range of different forms of economic behaviour and different responses to conditions of scarcity and uncertainty', thereby challenging the utility of the concept 'the ancient economy' at any but the most general level.[10] In a similar vein, there was general but regretful agreement that 'this volume [*HellEc* I] does not offer a harmonious research agenda'[11], though he and others also noted certain recurrent themes and preoccupations such as regions, networks, detailed case-studies, and a focus on 'the materiality of objects'.[12]

Thirdly, though Morley explicitly, and others implicitly, recognised the force of the case for studying 'a period and region which were each large enough to generate a plurality of "economies" but were not so unwieldy as to reduce the analysis of behaviour to an unhelpful level of generalisation'[13], others asked 'dans quelle mesure il est pertinent de distinguer l'époque hellénistique dans l'histoire économique du monde grec'.[14] **Lastly**, belatedly but inevitably and fundamentally, the perpetually fraught[15] relationship between economics and economic history came to the surface in two reviews of *HellEc* III. Bertram Schefold's detailed assessment, though sympathetic and largely appreciative, had doubts about the 'liberal and eclectic use of economic concepts' and clearly thought that only 'a new synthesis' might dissipate a certain sense of dissatisfaction.[16] That sense was clearly felt keenly by Andrew Monson, who approved of some chapters but saw others as rechauffés of published material or as 'theories that are not worked out systematically

10 Morley 2006: 654-55.
11 Shipley 2004: 157.
12 van der Zande 2007: 299.
13 Archibald 2005: v, ap. Morley 2006: 655.
14 Marcellesi 2008: 137; likewise, 'le concept même d'économie hellénistique ne va pas de soi' (Rapsaet 2008: 265).
15 Backhouse 2002: 313.
16 Schefold 2013: 150-58.

with ancient evidence' and have no pretence to empirical testability. However, his chief target is the editors' contributions, which 'failed to generate a coherent analytical or comparative framework', 'turn[s] a blind eye to the insights of neo-institutional organisation theory', and 'make[s] no pretence to empirical testability', with more in the same vein.[17]

Hardly surprisingly, we are collectively being serenaded by a complex cacophony of nineteen mixed voices. They provide abundant evidence that we had embarked on a journey through an endless, complex, and under-explored landscape, and moreover were doing so in a scholarly milieu that was changing rapidly and contained very diverse populations. Nevertheless, discordant though the voices may be, they combine to convey the unmistakable message that the scope and conceptual-methodological basis of the enterprise need now to be redefined and perhaps reconfigured. We single out four salient elements of such a response, while emphasising that this paper can offer no more than a preliminary sketch.

I. We first consider the critiques of our bottom-up evidence-based approach and of the consequential absence of the volume 'which this might have been', in Osborne's plangent words.[18] Here, a forceful and uncompromising rejoinder is wholly in order. If our four volumes – and indeed some reviewers' comments – have revealed anything, it is the extent and the range of the source-material which should be, but has not yet been, brought under review. That is because, as we fully acknowledge, there has been an over-heavy concentration on areas and themes that are well documented in the literary and epigraphical texts: that bias has left huge gaps. Even if we confine ourselves to the 'Hellenistic World' as defined by conventional post-Droysen historiography, and even simply in terms of texts, we have barely scratched the surface: New Comedy, the multilingual documentation of Ptolemaic Egypt, and the Old Testament and Apocrypha come at once to mind, not to mention the products of the final centuries of Babylonian cuneiform[19] or the epigraphic diamonds

17 Monson 2014: 89-90.

18 Osborne 2001: 2.

19 E.g the papers by McEwan, Oelsner, and van der Spek in Geller & Maehler 1995.

from southern Asia Minor that Michael Wörrle has been publishing for forty years. In terms of regions, Northwest Greece and the Adriatic, Magna Graecia, Thessaly, inland Asia Minor, even Makedonia itself beyond its coinage, and Thrace, all need closer attention, not to speak of the Levant in general,[20] of much of Egypt, and of the Babylonia whose economy the Vienna team led by Michael Jursa has done so much to illuminate. In terms of artefacts, we have barely got beyond the level of unco-ordinated samples,[21] and we have yet to establish what proxy evidence would reveal the volumes, routes, and trends of traffic in such prime but inaccessible commodities as timber, textiles, salt, and slaves.[22] And lastly, above and beyond all else, there is the urgent need to incorporate into a Mediterranean-wide model of interaction the rapidly rising tide of information about the activities of the Phoenician cities and their offspring in and beyond the western basin of the Mediterranean.[23]

All the same, an uncontrolled proliferation of singleton studies is unhelpful: it is time to consider whether further assemblages of primary evidence might now be best managed through a proactive programme of commissioned surveys, comparable to the 'survey of surveys' assembled by Alcock.[24] A possible wish-list might encompass the following:

1. Urban sites [so far only Maresha, Ephesos, Olbia]: are they 'consumers', producers, or both? Do they grow or shrink in size and number? Do urban amenities improve?[25]

20 The workshop on 'New directions in Seleucid Archaeology' at the Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America in Boston in January 2018 was a very welcome recognition of the potential of the material, especially relevant in view of the destructive capacity of current conflicts in the Near East.

21 It is sufficient to consider the hundreds of pages of selective raw data that fill the volumes of *Ellenistiki Keramiki*: overview in Drougou 2014.

22 But, at least for the trade in enslaved persons, see now Lewis 2018.

23 Core surveys in Aubet 2009; Quinn & Vella 2014; Quinn 2018; López-Ruiz & Doak 2019; López-Ruiz 2021.

24 Alcock 1994.

25 The productive dimensions of urban communities are the focus of the project 'Le Travail en ville. Vers une histoire sociale de l'urbanisme méditerranéen antique', directed and co-edited by S. Maillot and J. Zurbach, to which Archibald is contributing, with M. Fitzjohn, on ancient Olynthos.

2. Rural sites: is there evidence for changes in usage, in areas of cultivation etc? Can patterns of rural settlement be detected? Did they change?
3. Distribution and quantity maps and patterns for artefacts of every kind.
4. Temples and cults as economic actors. Studies of Ephesos, the Amphiareion at Oropos,[26] and Delphi have begun to illustrate the likely scale of assets that were held and managed by temples.[27] Questions of scale, aims of management, threats of privatisation, all need to be addressed, as well as the judgemental question whether such holdings and their management yielded stability, growth, or stagnation.
5. Commodity demand and supply, I: basics – oil, wine, grain, water. How much was procured locally, how much comes from further afield?
6. Commodity demand and supply, II: textiles, timber, base metals: sources, routes, quantities, prices.
7. Commodity demand and supply, III: elite goods and services, materia medica, bullion: sources, quantities.
8. Commodity demand and supply, IV: labour force – scale of movement, numbers, statuses.
9. Communications and transport systems: infrastructure developments, technologies of transport, etc.
10. Institutions: which institutions, in the broadest sense of the term (financial, governmental, fiscal, technological), emerge, change, develop, or decline?

It is encouraging that such a list, compiled independently, largely mirrors that created by Alan Bowman and Andrew Wilson for the series 'Oxford Studies on the Roman Economy'. Though this is not the place to labour the point, the similarity is further evidence that it is essential not to see 'Hellenistic Economies' and 'the Roman Economy' as two separate phenomena but as two successive phases of a single, huge, loosely interlocking conglomeration of 'economies' that embraced the entire northwestern quadrant of Afro-EurAsia (even if some key elements and power relationships within these dynamic networks changed as a result of the

26 Davies 2011 and 2018.
27 Rousset 2002.

re-direction of power, taxes, tastes, and commodities towards Rome).[28] In this respect we acknowledge that the four volumes have triggered a step-change in our awareness. At the same time, we also acknowledge that the list is only a beginning, and that such surveys may merely reveal the extent and depth of scholarly ignorance. Yet even that outcome will be constructive, by discouraging premature or simplistic model-building. If we recall that it took Léopold Migeotte a lifetime of meticulous study of the primary evidence before his magisterial *Les finances des cités grecques* could be written,[29] the four volumes appear both as essential and as pitifully modest in comparison.

II. We now offer a second robust defence, this time to the alleged lack of 'empirical testability' and of 'a harmonious research agenda' in our approach. For the first, we fully accept that the format of 'empirical testability' that Andrew Monson had in mind is no unreal fantasy, for it is well represented by Joshua Ober's recent book, an extended 'worked example' of a hypothesis for which the author cites much evidence in support.[30] It is therefore reasonable to enquire whether whatever comprehensive interpretative volume might emerge from our labours should be a similar exercise in formulating and testing a hypothesis. As of now, our answer is again firmly No, for three reasons. First, Ober's and our databases differ fundamentally. His data, on the mainline topic of the 'Rise and fall of Classical Greece', are mostly well-known, well-collected and commentated, and endlessly discussed: frankly, ours are not. The debate over what overall messages they send and how they interlock has yet to become mature – indeed some might say it has barely begun. Secondly, Ober's is, or (by dint of much geographical omission) can be presented as, a fairly simple story, linear enough to render the issues comparatively straightforward and to allow narrative to take a dominant role. Neither condition holds good for the post-Alexander world, however it is defined. Thirdly, though for Ober the prime movers of the 'efflorescence'

28 The case is set out briefly in Section III below, and in slightly more detail in Davies 2022.

29 See Davies 2015.

30 Ober 2015, with reviews to date by Graziosi 2015, Keim 2016, Manning & Oliver 2016, and Vlassopoulos 2016.

of the Classical Greek world were macro-economic – a reduction in transaction costs and the consolidation of institutions – his exposition was conducted first and foremost in terms of non-monarchic polities and their activities. In contrast, no analysis of post-Alexander Mediterranean economies can use such polities as sole prime agents. Economic power did not reside wholly – perhaps not even mainly – with them so much as with the monarchs, who were heirs to a millennia-old institution that had imperatives of self-preservation and aggrandisement which set them apart from all but a few non-monarchic polities and had far-reaching economic consequences. Here above all it is essential not to reach for ancient theories of monarchy, or even to excogitate a specific hypothesis, so much as to emulate Machiavelli and generate for the Hellenistic world an equally stark and unadorned bottom-up model of actual royal behaviour.[31] It is indeed a matter of being 'empirical', but of the empirical observation of regularities, not of testability. In such a context, to desiderate 'a harmonious research agenda' is to put the cart before the horse. It is only now, after the experience gained by all four volumes, that it has proved possible to map what is needed precisely enough for us to devise the 12-point agenda which is presented above. Our reluctance to opt for specific interpretations of the top-down changes in societies of the Hellenistic Age seems vindicated by the results of some new probabilistic modelling, which show that during the final three centuries BCE, the instability of property holding, on the one hand, and the tensions between status and wealth among the middling ranks and élite members of Mediterranean societies on the other, make it unwise to issue judgements of a more global kind without further, more representative data sets.[32]

31 The essential is therefore to start from Austin 1986 and the Realist school of political theory as represented by Eckstein 2006: 79-117, resiling therefrom only as much as is needful (as e.g. by Davies 2001: 36-39), rather than from the various portrayals of a Herrscherideal (e.g. Schmitt & Vogt 2001: s.v.).

32 Lavan, Jew & Danon 2023, esp. the contributions of Mackil (on property confiscations, based on Hansen & Nielsen 2004) and Danon (on the social status of householders in Pompeii). The contributors to this volume respond, and provide some prospective solutions, to similar questions also posed by the contributors to Weisweiler 2023.

III. We turn now to a theme raised by two reviewers, that of determining how far the period of the post-Alexander monarchies, semi-subordinated *poleis*, and *koiná* of various kinds actually comprised an economically distinct epoch.[33] We acknowledge that there is a case for doing so. For example, one may cite the data for atmospheric pollution, which point to a major spike in atmospheric trace elements in the second half of the first millennium BC, particularly from ca. 300 BC to ca. 100 BC. The data come from Greenland ice cores but reflect emissions from various parts of the globe. François de Callataÿ has shown that there are significant correlations between the patterns of trace elements in the cores and the output of silver coinage in the Hellenistic Aegean.[34] Although there are undoubtedly caveats about the process of confronting the patterns within the graphs of mineral trace elements with the data on minting, not least the fact that we must potentially factor in industrial processes from different regions of the globe,[35] de Callataÿ's arguments are persuasive. The trace elements indicate pyro-technological outputs on a very considerable scale, not matched until early modern times. These data do not stand alone, for they are paralleled by what our then colleague David Gibbins set out in *HellEc* I, the explosive increase in the numbers of shipwrecks known from the Mediterranean, climbing dramatically in the last three centuries BCE.[36] Both kinds of data are global indicators of change, and suggest that something very significant was happening specifically in the post-Alexander period, which is reflected in the energy outputs. It may therefore not be irrelevant to point to a third set of proxy data, namely the massive post-Alexander increase in the numbers, and in the vastly wider distribution, of Greek-style baths and gymnasion installations – both, of course, significant users of energy themselves.[37] And, of course, that third set reflects a fourth, the rate of physical urbanisation throughout the entire AfroEurAsian zone during the post-Alexander

33 Marcellesi 2008: 137; likewise, 'le concept même d'économie hellénistique ne va pas de soi' (Rapsaet 2008: 265).

34 de Callataÿ 2005.

35 Wilson 2014: 150-57, with specific caveats, but also reasons for having confidence in the data.

36 See now http://oxrep.classics.ox.ac.uk/databases/shipwrecks_database; and the visualisation: https://livedataoxford.shinyapps.io/OxRep_charts_shipwrecks.

37 Yegül 1992 (baths); Kah & Scholz 2004 (gymnasia).

centuries.[38] If we seek signs of the economic distinctiveness of those centuries, they are unmistakeably there.

Yet there is a stronger counter-case, and we gladly share our reviewers' scepticism. Already at the very start of the HellEc enterprise we had each forcefully signalled our view that the challenge was absolutely not that of identifying and characterising a 'distinct epoch', with whatever implication of a search for a static system that that phrase might have carried as a sub-text.[39] Instead, not only have we consistently envisaged the long post-Achaemenid tercentury of the eastern Mediterranean as a scene of perpetual motion, of pullulating activity within and across every kind of boundary, and of complex consequential transformations, slow or rapid, local or region-wide, but we have also sought to locate that scene within a much larger one. The picture that we have in mind is that which Cyprian Broodbank has now offered of the Near East, especially but not only between ca. 900 BCE and ca. 600 BCE, as a region characterised by across-the-board Phoenician-led innovation and expansion, not least across the Mediterranean and some of its immediate hinterlands.[40] To be sure, a willingness to consider such an encapsulation requires a mental step-change that challenges the entire way in which our scholarly framework of pre-Islamic 'Antiquity' has been constructed in the last two centuries. It is not just a matter of accepting 'Big History' as a legitimate sub-genre of historiography, but also one of transcending the linguistic and cultural differences to which the separate disciplines of Assyriology, Egyptology, Semitic Studies, Classical Studies, and the rest owe their existence.[41] It is no accident that Broodbank as an archaeologist who thinks above all in terms of unvoiced sites and artefacts has been better placed than language-immersed historians to identify the common structural threads that bind all the scattered and diverse regions of which that 'Antiquity' is composed.

Even so, that shift will not be enough on its own. The basic task has to be that of confronting and eliminating the sub-conscious assumption that because the entire Near East came under Greco-Makedonian control

38 Cohen 1995 and 2006; Fraser 1996.

39 Archibald 2001: passim; Davies 2001: 11-14.

40 Broodbank 2013; review by Papademetriou 2015.

41 Christian 2011.

as the outcome of military superiority and of a determination that the victory, once won, was there to be exploited by indefinite occupation of spear-won land, the structure of the historiographical discourse could and should follow that same trajectory. We have already, and long ago,[42] noted the colonialist underlay on which that assumption rests, and have suggested instead as a more even-handed and accurate alternative the idea that Greece after 480 'had joined the mainstream' (sc. of intense East-Mediterranean interaction at every level, from economic and cultic to technological and political). We acknowledge in our turn that the papers in our *HellEc* volumes did not adequately reflect the geographical extent of that 'long post-Alexander tercentury'. Any forthcoming assemblage of studies will need to be differently constituted.

We have therefore found ourselves obliged by the thrust of our collective explorations to take a much longer view of the trajectory of scholarship on historical economies than we initially expected – and the publication of Broodbank 2013 has further encouraged us to do so. Hence, before we start to consider how a new synthesis might look, it may be useful to consider how contemporary scholarship views the economies of the remote past. There was a time when comparisons between the 'Old World' of Eurasia and the Mediterranean and modern states had formed some of the background of nineteenth century economic theorising. However, as a result of the Wende of the 1870s,[43] the growth of reliable datasets about national economies, the rise of the 'firm' as the dominant unit of analysis, and the subsequent mathematisation of the discipline, such comparisons were almost entirely abandoned,[44] and economists largely ceased to be interested in long-term historical patterns of economic behaviour. When economists nowadays do write about long-term economic trends, they prefer to begin with the Roman Empire, rather than at any earlier stage, and this choice tends to obscure some of the

42 Archibald 2001; Davies 2001: 15-16.

43 Backhouse 2002: 166-84.

44 This trend away from long-term economic history is a theme of Hodgson 2001. Hilt 2017 reflects on the gulf between economic historians and a new interest in the socio-cultural implications of capitalism, with some cogent remarks that are equally relevant for more remote times.

very observations that we believe should inform the contemporary debate about the nature of historical economies.[45] Thus, the 2009 study of recorded historical societies by North et al.[46] rather curiously excludes most of them from its field of vision. In part this is because, until quite recently, economic growth across the globe has appeared, in the longue durée, to have been little higher than zero; in part too, the structure of historical societies has not conformed to the sort of open and inclusive model that the authors put forward as the template for successful economies.

Yet, those historical societies have something to say, as also have their scholars. As some of our reviewers have explicitly said, economic historians of antiquity have almost universally abandoned the simplistic scenarios of Finley's *The ancient economy*. In consequence, when we talk nowadays about economic mechanisms, we are not proposing to reject the many excellent and perceptive ideas that have been postulated by economic thinkers over the centuries. We certainly accept the importance, in remote historical contexts, of the concepts of supply and demand; of fiscal manipulation; of market mechanisms, and the corrosive role of debt; of the co-existence of rational and non-rational decision-making; of the stabilising function played by institutions; and the agency of command mechanisms. Indeed, there is by now a substantial library of academic expositions about pre-modern economies that speaks in perfectly recognisable terms. Even apart from the *Cambridge Economic History* or the books by Jursa, McCormick and Wickham which we cited a moment ago, Angus Maddison's ambitious global survey of 2,030 years of history evaluates the kind of information that economic historians have amassed, and the kinds of approaches that they have adopted, in order to characterise cultures and societies across this vast sweep of time. True, the early chapters are little more than historical sketches, peppered with occasional statistics, but as his narrative progresses in time, and the volume of available data increases dramatically,

45 Maddison 2007 begins with the Roman Empire, and his sketch of the Roman economy relies heavily on a rather traditional political narrative, rather than an analysis of processes. Persson & Sharp 2015 begin in 600 CE. Brooke 2014 begins with geological time, and Morris 2015 begins ca. 100,000 BCE.

46 North, Wallis & Weingast 2009.

the interpretative range does not diminish, and the coverage of demography, income, and trade is impressive. To that library, moreover, can now be added yet another, a collection of essays on *The Ancient Greek Economy*[47] – and also, we claim with some confidence, our own series of volumes, or the studies of economic institutions by Peter Bang and Walter Scheidel which have sought to encompass unfamiliar territory in comparative terms. One could cite many more.

The challenge, therefore, has less to do with the search for forms of pre-capitalist economies, in contrast to capitalist ones (as it was in the days of Karl Marx, Max Weber, and Karl Polanyi); [48] and more to do with creative conjunctions. Markets have their origins in the third millennium BCE and are well documented by the second millennium.[49] Many of the mechanisms that have long been considered distinctive of capitalist societies, including loans, mortgages, auctions, debt and credit arrangements, and, of course, money itself, are not demonstrably far short of comparable antiquity. Since historians of modern economies refer to the different modes adopted by countries that have adopted capitalist principles in the twentieth century, it is not so much institutional mechanisms that have been significant to the growth of such economies, but other factors.[50]

Two examples from both ends of the chronological scale illustrate this point. The first example concerns the transport of commodities over long distances. At the remote end of time, we have the circulation of Mediterranean grain, oil, wine, olives, metals, and various bespoke, spe-

47 Harris, Lewis & Woolmer 2016.

48 The continuing influence of the founding giants of economic history should not be underestimated. Hilt observes the degree to which some of the studies that he reviews, on American eighteenth century cotton production and on nineteenth century finance, risk, and insurance, owe an intellectual debt to Karl Polanyi 2017: 1, 4, 6, 11. Weisweiler and his contributors (2023) show how David Graeber's work on debt over five millennia has recently moved the scholarly focus away from Polanyi , in recognition of the broader consensus about the deep history of (rational) markets (Weisweiler 2023: 15-31).

49 Broodbank 2013: 375-82, 443, 460-61.

50 Neal & Williamson 2014: ii, 2-7; see, e.g., 29-46 (R. Allen on manufacturing); 127-68 (Ron Harris: legal innovations).

cialised items.[51] At the proximate end, there is a comparative absence of long distance trade in foodstuffs, at least until the revolution in road, rail, and steam ship technology in the nineteenth century.[52] It is notoriously hard to quantify the volume of traffic in foodstuffs in the ancient Mediterranean; but what is at issue is not the absolute volume of trade (a topic that has dominated much economic thinking of past decades), but the relative volume, as compared with populations of the time. Cyprian Broodbank's panorama of Bronze Age traffic cements the central role that cross-Mediterranean exchange played in the palace-based economies of the third and second millennia BCE, constituting a framework of operations that laid the dynamic foundations for the first millennium BCE, when the units of social organisation were deconstructed, and reconfigured in new, more discrete ways. The literature of Classical antiquity has hitherto played such a dominant role in the construction of past narratives, that it is only possible now, on the basis of extensive and systematic material data, linked with archive evidence from the palace economies, to speak far more confidently about the durability of these older, pre-existing habits of maritime interaction. The kinds of transactions that we can identify in late fourth century BCE Cyrene would simply not be viable without the habitual frame of reference, linking ships to harbours, and the contractual histories associated with them, over many centuries. The 51 shipments we refer to were brokered by official grain purchasers from various Aegean civic communities, including 41 cities, at Cyrene, ca 330 BCE, in order to secure grain for their respective communities, at a time of shortage.[53] It is notable that two of the beneficiaries were queens – Olympias, on behalf of the Makedonian state; and Kleopatra, for Epeiros, reflecting the different modes of agency at international level for those polities. Given the somewhat arbitrary list of recipients, Bresson believes that Cyrene was taking charge of part of

51 Broodbank 2013: 325-48; 373-86; 391-415; 431-44; 445-60; 482-505; 508-9; 525-33; 546-84; 605-8; Bowman & Wilson 2013: 1-32; van der Spek & van Leeuwen 2014; Bresson 2016: 346-47.

52 Mediterranean circulation of foodstuffs: Broodbank 2013: 561-84; 595-608; Bowman & Wilson 2011: 265-68; eidem 2013: 8-27; nineteenth-century traffic: Neal & Williamson 2014: 6.

53 Bresson 2011.

the overall demand in the Aegean at this time, and that other states, including the Spartokid kings of Bosporos, may well have offered to supply other states.[54] The point about the network of beneficiaries represented in the document is that they are likely to correspond to established contractors, with a history of relations at Cyrene. The relationship between specific partners over time, and the ways in which trust was generated over some period of years, is a topic that has not often been a focus for research and deserves much more emphasis in constructing our fundamental ideas about the economies of the past.[55]

The other example we suggest is connected with the first. The discrete units that played a significant role for much of the first millennium BCE, many of which were constituted as cities, were superseded by larger territorial polities. The traditional historical narrative has been couched in terms of military conquest, in the case of Alexander the Great and his Successors, and the subsequent empire of the Romans. There is, nevertheless, an important economic dimension to this transformation. What made these large, territorial polities more successful, not just straightforwardly in terms of resources, but in terms of the ways in which collective and individual identities (and motives) were reconstituted? *Poleis* were especially successful at developing various mechanisms for embedding trust with other communities, including kinship, *xenia* (guest friendship) and other 'artificial' relations; *proxenia* was another formal recognition of mutual trust, which seems mainly to have been directed towards more distantly connected polities. Some of these social constructions, which were also useful ways of embedding trust for commercial transactions, continued to have an afterlife into the first millennium CE; but others evidently withered, partly because universal forms of ju-

54 Bresson 2011: 71-74.

55 Bresson 2016: 339-80, for a general overview; Davies 2015b; see esp. volume 22.1 of the *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory*, "The Connected Past: critical and innovative approaches to networks", ed. A. Collar, F. Coward, T. Brughmans & B.J. Mills (March 2015); Brughmans, Collar & Coward, 2016, with some initial, selected case studies. Tzochev 2016: 89-97 analyses the pattern of Thasian exports into the Balkan peninsula; cf. Archibald 2013: 38; 98-105; 193-208, 258-68 (Thasian and related long-term connections).

risdiction made them redundant.[56] Kingdoms, and, subsequently, the Roman Empire, changed the ways in which commercial trust alliances were configured. Yet the strong effects of long-term patterns of trust imply that commercial friendships continued. This expectation deserves to be tested.

IV. Our final section examines the primacy that Andrew Monson claims for 'the insights of neo-institutional organisation theory'. We acknowledge that many of our colleagues see it as the key which unlocks ancient economic history. It has certainly had a significant impact, not least on the editors of the *Cambridge Economic History of the Greco-Roman World*, who acknowledged the key role that the ideas of Douglass North and his associates have had on their own framework for analysing ancient economies,[57] even if the contributors to that volume interpreted the editors' programmatic statements in a variety of sometimes very distant ways. More recent monographs, such as those of Peter Temin and Josh Ober, similarly acknowledge these key contemporary ideas.[58] It is no surprise to find that some economists and economic historians approve of this trend,[59] because the principles that have formed the debate among the promoters of the NIE are comparatively simple; competitive markets are shaped by the rules that societies have evolved to govern transactions; the rules are the institutions, whether formal or informal; institutions help to give stability to markets by reducing uncertainty; where states can enforce property rights, their economies are more successful.

The issue here is that of primacy. One of us did indeed go so far in 2005 as to opine that 'The standard discourse of economic analysis, whether classical or Keynesian or neoclassical, has little to offer the economic historian of Mediterranean antiquity'[60] (though he would now modify that verdict), but we have had no criticism to make of the substantial movement of theory in the direction of reality which the developed, and by

56 Mack 2015: 196-281.

57 Scheidel, Morris & Saller 2007: 1-12, esp. 5-12.

58 E.g. Temin 2012: 1-24; Ober 2015: 5; Bresson 2016: 15-25.

59 Hollander 2015.

60 Davies 2005: 127. One notes that 'Neoclassical theory has no room for entrepreneurs either' (Groenewegen, Spithoven & van den Berg 2010: 221).

now standard, form of NIE represents: quite the contrary, as various appreciative allusions in *HellEc* III attest.[61] Institutions, including those referred to in the previous section, have played a part in each *HellEc* volume. However, as with all imported ideas, so in the case of NIE; one must keep a critical distance, and we acknowledge some residual scepticism. Indeed, three traits of the approach strike false notes.[62] The first is its strong normative strand, which it shares with neoclassical analysis but which is wholly inappropriate for the analysis of a long-past society when that society cannot be influenced by our judgments and should not have its capacity for survival and prosperity assessed purely in the light of its endogenous behaviour, without taking into account exogenous impacts over which it cannot have exercised any control.[63] The second is 'growth', the use of which as a criterion of judgment short-circuits any dispassionate assessment of the extent to which it, rather than (say) 'stability' or 'adherence to God's will', was in fact, or could have been, a collective aim of this or that historical society or culture. The third is the priority accorded in NIE to the supplier. Irrespective of whether institutions are seen as enabling or constraining, this supply-side emphasis is more prominent in NIE than in neoclassical theory and can be seen to overshadow consideration of patterns of demand.[64] So too can conventional tools such as the trio 'production-distribution-consumption'

61 *HellEc* III (2011): 3 (Archibald and Davies), 218 (Gabrielsen), 318 (Manning), 347 (Oliver), 377 n. 26 (Reger).

62 These criticisms differ noticeably from those advanced by Chang 2014: 151-56. Other economists are more sanguine: 'It is better to begin with a general theory of economic evolution, and locate institutions within this, than to start with institutions and derive a theory of the economy' (Potts 2007: 341).

63 See now the comments on probabilistic modelling (and the importance of taking account of multiple uncertainties, as well as inter-dependent factors) in the introductory chapter by Jew & Lavan in Lavan, Jew & Danon, 2023: 1-49.

64 Thus, the words 'demand' and 'consumer' do not figure in the index of Groenewegen et al. 2010, and even their discussion of markets (167-200) is shaped more in terms of producer and supplier than in terms of customer and consumer. See also Davies 2017 (review of Bresson 2016). In sharp contrast, our third conference had on Vincent Gabrielsen's own initiative the title 'Demand creation and economic flows', though that title was unfortunately submerged by the editorial process that yielded *HellEc* III.

(where such language can easily paint the consumer as a passive recipient), or the quartet 'land-labour-capital-materials' as the components of production. So too can a concentration on institutions, for they shape demand and provision but do not themselves create either.

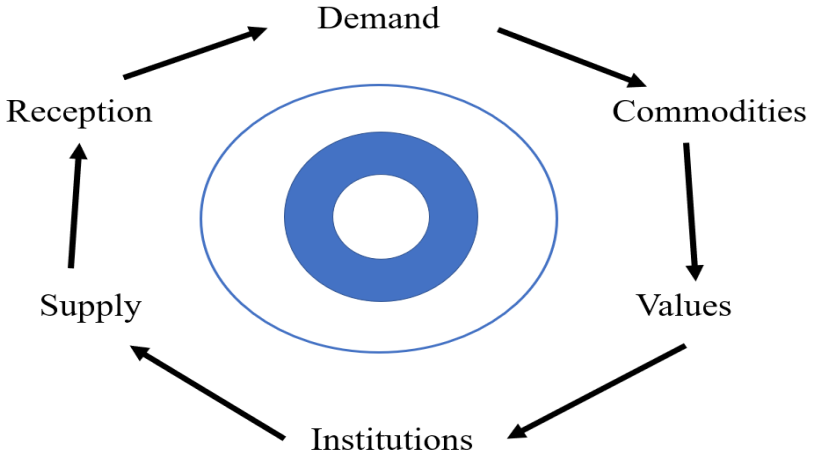
We therefore venture to offer two supplementary schemata for consideration. The first is to reinstate demand as a prime mover[65] and to redefine the nexus involved in each and every transaction not as linear but as a circle of components. The basis of such a redefinition is obvious enough. Any human actor must 'demand' before she can 'consume' and must have a 'commodity' in view to 'demand' before she can 'demand': while the 'supplier' must have a 'commodity' available or accessible before he can 'supply'. We use 'demand' here in a straightforward economic sense, viz. as the sum of all desires and needs that are experienced by all actors for all goods and services, and regard it as the energy which drives the system. Since by definition demand is directed towards its satisfaction, the direction of travel for the energy within the system is unambiguously towards 'commodities'. That term is again to be understood in the most general sense, so that it can encompass not just conventional goods and services but also 'natural goods' such as air and sunlight, as well as the satisfactions that may be hidden in the 'implicit markets' theorised by Gary Becker or in all manner of Goffman-style 'strategic interactions'. However, in order to complete the circle it is the stages that lie beyond 'commodities' which require redefinition. If, as has very recently been argued elsewhere,[66] Finley was right to see social values as an essential formative component of economic life, but misguided in his identification of them, then 'values', as a modifier of 'demand', should precede 'institutions' as the next sector of the circle, thereby allowing institutions to occupy an appropriate location for (*inter alia*) channelling, regulating, and (sometimes) facilitating the satisfaction of demand. Even then, however, we have not closed the circle, for it requires two further sectors, 'supply' and 'reception', before the flow of energy can return to the source of demand. While 'supply' may be taken as self-explanatory, we

65 As in Samuelson's *Foundations*, wherein 'the consumer's equilibrium could be formulated as a maximisation of utility' (Backhouse 2002: 259); Ekelund, Furubotn & Gramm 1972.

66 Lewis 2018b.

should add that we mean by 'reception' the sum of all responses (including of course 'payment') made by 'acquirers'[67] to the nature and quality of what has been acquired, since such responses may be assumed to affect the nature of subsequent demand.

We therefore offer an analysis of economic movement and exchange as represented by a circle, movement of resources round which is driven by demand. Its form is intended to accommodate **(1)** the idea of perpetual inter-connected activity, **(2)** the routes by which feedback generates continual negotiation, adjustment, and perhaps innovation, **(3)** a mode of placing on the same theoretical plane all the structural elements that enter into exchange and acquisition in their most general forms, and even perhaps **(4)** a format which can be applied to other cultures and regions and thereby offers the basis for structured comparison that some



of our reviewers were calling for. Specifically in the context of the present discussion, as is patent from the role and position accorded to 'institutions' in the diagram, it recognises the case for the NIE 'orthodoxy' but tempers it by contextualising it. Very tentatively, we are tempted to

67 We prefer this term to 'consumers' (which implies a purely passive role) or to 'purchasers' (since the model is meant to encompass all forms of acquisition, not just those mediated via a market).

go further, and to offer the diagram as a possible template for the structure of the eventual 'synthesis' that our reviewers have been calling for.[68]

Our second suggested supplementary schema attempts to address the problem presented by the diversity of the polities that interacted politically, socially, culturally, and economically during the Hellenistic tercentury. The behaviours of the polities in each category – monarchies, cantonal 'leagues', tyrannies, republican poleis, temple states, and ethnic assemblages such as the Gauls of the 278 invasion – can all too easily be reified as distinct modes, to be described and analysed separately: a process which at its extreme yielded the unfortunate sentence of Finley to which our volumes have been in part a reaction.[69] At this point it is essential to excavate our use of terminology down to bedrock. As used in contemporary scholarship, that spectrum of categories of polity essentially reproduces the categories used by the Greek political theorists themselves. It commands the respect which is due to eyewitness observation, and is therefore hard to challenge. Yet its analytic range was limited by its collective viewpoint, almost exclusively that of *polis*-educated intellectuals, by their various moral stances, and by their natural unwillingness to envisage categories which were not visible in the world they knew.[70] However, just as DNA analysis nowadays allows the animal or plant biologist to challenge the validity of the categories deployed by Aristotle and Theophrastos and their successors in this or that arena of the

68 Expert readers may be tempted to ascribe to the foregoing paragraphs a remote parentage in the form of the first chapters of Schumpeter 1911/1934. There are indeed discernible resemblances, from its title ('The circular flow of economic life as conditioned by given circumstances') to its emphases on 'the satisfaction of wants' (1934: 10 & 21) and on how 'production follows needs' (1934: 12), but our sketch was drafted independently, uses 'values' in a sense different from Schumpeter's (1934: 38 ff.), and is intended to accommodate precisely those elements of change and marginality that Schumpeter deliberately withheld from that chapter. See in general McCraw 2007: 68-76 and 152-55.

69 Thus, for instance, monarchies and even cantonal states barely feature in Migeotte 2014 and Bresson 2016.

70 The prime example, namely the difficulty that they encountered in attempting to locate the Roman Republic within their categories, has long been seen and commented on.

visible world, so too the armoury of the social sciences now offers a spectrum of alternative classifications which at least deserve tentative consideration.

One term in particular stands out. For some time now, students of the economics of religious belief and practice have been applying the concept of the 'firm' to this or that church, denomination, or cult, in order to analyse their behaviour (and not only their economic behaviour) in terms of the theory of the firm as developed by John Commons, Ronald Coase, and their successors. Though such analyses have largely been directed to the contemporary world,[71] one major study[72] has been able to analyse the structure and behaviour of the medieval Catholic Church with much plausibility as an M-form[73] firm that provided 'salvation' as a 'credence-good' for a price, levied in very various ways, and attempted with increasing determination and difficulty to maintain its position as a monopoly-provider.

The question is to decide how far the theory of the firm can be extended. There has been a long-standing reluctance to use the word 'firm' unequivocally of the businesses and partnerships that are well-attested in Classical and Hellenistic Greece, a reluctance which has sound roots in the limitations and peculiarities of available agency relationships and in the non-recognition of partnerships as juridical persons.[74] There are indeed signs that such inhibitions are beginning to lose their force,[75] but in any case such difficulties do not apply to the institution of the Greek *polis* itself, and one of us has already put the case for seeing it as the structural equivalent of the firm.[76] As there formulated, the case stems 'from the

71 Large-scale review in McCleary 2011.

72 Ekelund, Hébert, Tollison, Anderson & Davidson 1996.

73 I.e. a multidivisional organisation as opposed to a unitary (U-form) organisation. For the terminology cf. Williamson 1975: 137, cited in Ekelund, Hébert, Tollison, Anderson & Davidson 1996: 20-21, or Groenewegen, Spithoven & van den Berg 2010: 224-25.

74 Frier & Kehoe 2007: 122-34; but Cohen 1992: 98-101 had already documented effective agency-equivalents within Athenian banking activity.

75 One notes the contrast between Cohen 1992 and Acton 2016.

76 Davies 2018: 72. The further structural comparison with sanctuaries, made there, is not pursued here.

number of separate *polis*-entities that are known, from the characteristics of their structure (citizens as shareholders: a management structure that involves complex activities both of *fiat* and of agency: a portfolio of productive assets: a workforce, to some degree organised as a partnership), from their capacity for collaboration and amalgamation, and conversely from their indelible disposition towards ruthlessly competitive behaviour, pursued to a degree that needs no illustration here.' Yet we see no reason to restrict the applicability of the term to *poleis.* On the contrary, it needs little imagination to see the Hellenistic monarchies as equally patent examples of the firm, some as unitary organisations (the U-form firm), others as M-form organisations, with a central management and with satrapies (or their equivalent) as their operating divisions, and all pursuing similar but competing objectives of survival, rent maximisation, and aggrandisement.

Concluding Remarks

This has already become a lengthy paper, and to pursue further the applicability of such interpretative schemata as we have suggested here will require exploration elsewhere. Nevertheless, it was essential not simply to show that we have listened to our critics and have taken their comments seriously and respectfully, but also to demonstrate that the economics of the Hellenistic period can be a laboratory of creativity. Without the labours and goodwill of the many colleagues of many nations who have contributed to our volumes, we would never have had the evidence, or been stimulated to engender the self-confidence, with which to present the radical new analytic scenarios that we have outlined above. We thank our colleagues, we thank our critics, and we thank Vincent Gabrielsen as our friend and colleague in these explorations. Our volumes, we believe, represent a new start.

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‘SPARTA: ANCIENT GREECE’S FOREMOST SLAVE STATE?’

By Paul Cartledge

Summary: I was deeply honoured to be invited to participate by delivering a paper in my dear friend Vincent’s 65th birthday symposium held at the Saxo-Institute, Copenhagen, on 30 November 2015. I first encountered our honorand on the page, as the author of important work on Athenian public finance, taxation and social relations in the Athenian democracy especially of the 4th century BCE, and was delighted to get to know him and his family well in the flesh later on during his tenure of a Visiting Fellowship at Wolfson College, Cambridge, 1988-89. Many thanks therefore to Peter Fibiger Bang both for co-organising the birthday symposium and for inviting me to take part in the published proceedings. For various reasons, however, including the publication of my *Democracy* book (2018), it did not prove possible for me to write up for this volume a version of my symposium talk, ‘Navy and Democracy/Democracy and Navy at Athens: A Democratic Life in Review’. Instead, therefore, by agreement with and indeed at the urging of Peter, I revisit here an old but still very lively scholarly battleground.

It is often held against ancient Greece and the ancient Greeks generally that they practised human servitude, sometimes on an industrial scale. Given the recent, utterly justified prominence in the contemporary Americano-European West of the ‘Black Lives Matter’ protest movement, such a flaw as it must inevitably seem to be – I once likened it to ‘a worm in the bud’[1] – makes it all the more crucial for us scholars of ancient Greece to decide amongst ourselves just exactly what role slavery and unfreedom more generally did play in the making of ancient Greek civilization and culture and indeed exactly what we mean by the term ‘slavery’. I have long had – if the metaphor be permitted – ‘form’ in this particular game. One reason for that is that the subject of my (unpublished) 1975 Oxford archaeo-historical doctoral thesis was Sparta (with a special emphasis on the three centuries from c. 950 to 650 BCE but by no means

1 Cf. Cartledge 1993.

Paul Cartledge: ‘‘Sparta: ancient Greece’s foremost slave state?’’ C&M Supplementum 2 (2024) 189-201.

confined to that period), the largest polity territorially in all ancient Hellas, in which the unfree outnumbered the free and enfranchised by several magnitudes. The other main reason is that being of a decidedly Marxist historiographical bent, I viewed pre-Classical and Classical Sparta (and not only that) precisely as a polity and society based on the exploitation of unfree human labour power.[2]

Much about ancient Sparta was and is, as Thucydides famously lamented, a bit of a mystery, at least to outsiders.[3] What is no secret is that the Spartans collectively, and especially the elite Spartiates among them, exploited a mass of Hellenic humanity whom they chose to label specifically and derogatorily as 'Heilōtai' (Helots) or 'captives', and generically and collectively as 'the *douleia*' (see further below). But what precisely did the Spartans mean to imply or express by those terms, and, more particularly, what kind of *douloi* should we modern historians understand the Helots to have been? Again, it helped me personally no end that in the late 1960s I was an undergraduate pupil – and later good friend - of Marxist ancient historian G.E.M. de Ste. Croix, and that in the 1970s he devoted himself to trying to describe and explain what he called, in the singular, *The Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World*, the title of his quite extraordinary book first published in 1981 and then in a revised impression in 1983.[4]

Ste. Croix was peculiarly and rightly obsessed with correctness of definitions, above all of course of the very term 'class'. But though trained as a lawyer, he was not obsessed with definitions for their own sake, but for the sake of what difference different definitions would make to historical exegesis, understanding and explanation. The Helots thus obviously fell directly within his purview, and as a comparativist cross-cultural historian he asked himself whether the language of slavery was indeed the most appropriate to use when defining the Helots and explaining their historical role.[5] Coincidentally – or not – those same sorts of definitional questions were then also preoccupying the two other preeminent Western scholars of ancient Greek unfreedom or servitude,

2 Cartledge 1975.
3 Thuc. 5.68.2.
4 Ste. Croix 1981 [corr. impr. 1983]. See now '*Marx-lover*' 2018.
5 Cf. Luraghi 2009.

one a Marxist, the other not (he preferred 'anti-anti-Marxist'): viz. Yvon Garlan and Moses Finley respectively. Finley was heavily influenced not so much by Marx as by the so-called 'Paris School' of historians of ancient culture, society, and ideology – J.-P. Vernant, Pierre Vidal-Naquet, Nicole Loraux, the list goes on.[6] Garlan, though also a Marxist, took issue with what he considered to be Ste. Croix's old-fashioned, fundamentalist-literalist reading of Marx. But all were on the same side in deciding that in one absolutely crucial sense the Spartans' Helots, however positively they should be classified, were *not* best classified as 'slaves'. Rather, they suffered 'intercommunal servitude' (Garlan, basing himself on ancient, crude attempts at classification that always treated the Helots as a single solidary ethnic mass); they were 'state serfs' (Ste. Croix); and their legal status was to be located somewhere on a spectrum between 'freedom and slavery' (Finley, again borrowing from an ancient definitional phrase and employing his favoured 'spectrum of statuses' model, but here also following the non-Marxist East German ancient historian Detlef Lotze[7]).

Finley made a huge contribution to enslavement studies both ancient and modern, especially potently in a book of 1980, later reissued in a revised and augmented volume edited by Brent Shaw, A*ncient Slavery and Modern Ideology*, but adumbrated in a series of articles beginning in the 1950s and brought together in a collected volume expertly edited by Brent Shaw and Richard Saller, *Economy and Society in Ancient Greece*.[8] One of his most crucial points was that, although – sadly – unfreedom of various kinds appears historically to be almost an (in)human universal, slavery in its strongest sense, that is what is sometimes termed chattel slavery, has been surprisingly very rare as the main source of exploited labour for the elite. By chattel slavery is meant a form of unfreedom in which the unfree are both depersonalised and dehumanised (living a social death),[9] conceived of and very often treated as if they were mere things, commodities or items of property, on a par – perhaps – with four-footed animals (hence one of the dozen Greek words for unfree persons, *andrapoda*, 'man-footed creatures', modelled on *tetrapoda*) or at best with

6 Payen 2012; de Polignac et al. 2020.
7 Lotze 1959 and cf. 2000.
8 Finley 1998 [revised, augmented edition of 1980 original]; Finley 1981-1982.
9 Patterson 1982.

free, sub-Hellenic, non-Greek 'barbarian' humans. A total of perhaps as few as six societies or cultures could on this definition be confidently categorized and classified as having practised slavery of that chattel sort – and practised it not on the side, as it were, but centrally and foundationally, leaving open the possibility indeed of classifying them precisely as 'slave societies', societies not just having slaves but actually based on that slavery. One of those half-dozen slave societies – sociologically conceived – was 'Greece & Rome': i.e., within the temporal span from say 500 BCE to 200 CE and within that geographical, broadly circum-Mediterranean purview there existed significant pockets of 'slave society', most notably in old Greece at Athens, most notably in the Roman sphere in the very heartland of the city of Rome and Italy.

Hence, when another ancient Greek slavery expert, Page duBois, came to write the chapter on 'Slavery' for *The Oxford Handbook of Hellenic Studies,* she felt she could confidently assert 'There were yet other forms of unfreedom different from the pure form of chattel slavery', citing Finley 1964 (reprinted in 1981-2) in support, and then move on at once to consider the Helots as an 'enslaved community' (recalling Garlan).[10] That very broadly was the picture to which I myself subscribed when it came to compiling and co-editing (with my good friend Keith Bradley) *The Cambridge World History of Slavery* vol. 1. *The Ancient Mediterranean World*.[11] Just to make it absolutely clear, although I had a chapter therein on the Helots, that was not because I thought they were best classified as 'slaves' (even though the Spartans labelled them *douloi*). Indeed, their esoteric and (possibly) unique, certainly special, legal position was one of the – it seemed to me then, as it still does to me now! - several and fundamental features of Spartan society that in combination made Sparta a radically 'different' if not unique polity.[12]

However, alongside – and eventually quite openly against – my position there was developing a countertendency, almost a separate tradition of the currently burgeoning field of Spartan scholarship, spear-

10 duBois 2009: 319.

11 Cartledge & Bradley 2011.

12 See most recently my introduction to Powell 2018; and the revised, augmented French version of Cartledge 2011, published in the Carlier *Festschrift* 2021.

headed by my (again, I hasten to add) very good friend, Stephen Hodkinson, who is a former doctoral pupil of Moses Finley and – in a rather special sense, following Finley's death in 1986 – of myself. Broadly speaking, the Hodkinson project has been to try to 'normalise' Sparta, in the sense of emphasising what Sparta had in common with others of the 1000 or so ancient Greek *poleis* that existed between c. 600 and 300 BCE, rather than emphasising (as I – and others such as Hansen 2009 – tend to do) its essential difference(s).[13]

It is thus in the Hodkinson tradition rather than mine that by far the best recent book on servitude in ancient Greece was published in 2018, David Lewis's *Greek Slave Systems in their Eastern Mediterranean Context, c. 800-146 BC,* and it is that book – together with a most helpful pre-published chapter of his on the legal position of slaves (his word) in ancient Greece eventually to appear in the *Oxford Handbook of Law in Ancient Greece* – that is the immediate springboard and justification for this brief, honorific foray of my own.[14] I should say at once that I have been immeasurably reassured and fortified in my view that I am not barking like an ancient and deaf dog up the wrong tree altogether by the review of Lewis's book that recently appeared in the *Journal* of the Society of which I was President (2020-2024).[15]

In my *Sparta and Lakonia*, the originally 1979 book of my 1975 Oxford doctoral thesis, I collected together and reproduced in English translation in an Appendix (4) what I believed and believe to be a complete set of ancient literary sources for the Helots.[16] (Mostly I shall not therefore be citing chapter and verse yet again in this article.) I subdivided them by theme or topic and therefore included, indeed highlighted, the issue of the Helots' legal status. 'Ancient' (sources) encompassed many stemming from the 'Roman' period of Greek history, sources therefore composed after, sometimes long after, the system of Helotage had been more or less unwillingly terminated (by the end of the first millennium BCE). It also encompassed sources of the Hellenistic era, which all therefore were composed after what many – including of course none other than

13 Hansen & Nielsen 2004; Hansen 2009.

14 Lewis 2018.

15 Figueira 2021.

16 Cartledge 1979 (2nd ed. 2001).

Thucydides[17] – considered to be by far the more important of the two constituent components of *hê heilôteia*, namely 'the Messenians', had been liberated permanently.[18] Indeed, it is sometimes not realised that even Ephorus or Aristotle, both 'Classical' sources, were compiling respectively their Universal History and their *Politics* and the (mainly lost) *Politeia of the Lakedaimonioi* after – and indeed well after - the liberation of the Messenians in 370/369, by when the Spartans may well have opted to vary the conditions under which they – themselves by now very few in number indeed – clung on to the remaining, Lakonian Helots. One of Figueira's chief causes of complaint against Lewis, one of his 'profound disagreements', is that – apart from omitting to cite some of his own work (!) – he overhomogenizes sources emanating from very different eras.

My own beef with Lewis is in sympathy with that criticism but is rather differently focused. The nub of our disagreement concerns whether or not Helots were, as Lewis powerfully contends, individually and privately owned. Now, all ancient Greek notions of ownership were – for example by Roman juristic standards – hazy in the extreme (as the trained lawyer Ste. Croix and Finley were always quick to insist). Then, there's the special problem that Sparta – a non-democratic polity without written laws, without specialist jurists, without a popular judiciary, without indeed a justice system that could be decently called that, by comparison at any rate with the elaborate contemporary legal apparatus of the democratic Athenians – barely understood the concept of Law as such.[19] So, given those limitations, how best to proceed?

One initial necessary step is to remind readers that the very notion of private as opposed to public – as in, a public versus a private sphere or space – is itself hard to discern even in surely the most 'liberal' of all ancient Greek polities, namely democratic Athens.[20] I say that despite the best efforts of brilliant pioneer historian of the ancient Athenian democracy, Mogens Herman Hansen, to identify and insist on its existence, as a

17 Thuc. 1.100-1.

18 Thanks chiefly to Epameinondas of Thebes, my favourite ancient Greek as it happens: Cartledge 2021b.

19 MacDowell 1986 did his best, so far as the Spartans themselves were concerned.

20 Cartledge 1996.

necessary part of his argument that ancient democratic Athens was significantly democratic in the same way as post-Enlightenment democracies are today.[21] A second necessary step, I would insist, is to remind readers that what we today – following ultimately in the footsteps of Thomas Hobbes – call the capital-S State as separate from and opposed to community or society was evanescent to the point of nonexistence in almost all ancient Greek polities – the chief, but still only very partial exception being ... Sparta. I owe that I believe correct and fundamental observation to my former PhD student, Moshe Berent – though again Mogens Hansen would beg to disagree.[22] Which brings me on to my next and third step, which is to re-examine the definition of the Helots that was finally settled on by Ste. Croix, namely 'state serfs'.[23]

'Serfs' he chose precisely in order to differentiate it from 'slaves', thinking that a word ultimately derived from Latin *servus*, which was the Roman-Law all-purpose equivalent of the - helpfully or unhelpfully vague - Greek term *doulos*, would at least be apropos. But against that appropriative usage (which I had a go at using myself) the objection could instantly and probably fatally be raised that serfs – whether of the Late Roman antique variety or of the far more common mediaeval European kind – functionally and definitionally operated within very different socio-economic-political-ideological parameters from those of the *polis* of ancient Sparta.[24] There was no feudalism, no feudal conditional land-tenures, in Sparta, just to state the most obvious point of difference. What then about (lower-case) 'state'?

By that term Ste. Croix intended to emphasise that control and management and possession (to avoid 'ownership') of Helots was vested not in any individual or individuals (contrast the case of the Thessalian Penestai, similar to the Helots in some other respects[25], but in the *koinon*, the *kosmo*s, that is, the political community of Hoi Lakedaemonioi or, as they sometimes alternately referred to themselves (in Doric), Toi Spartiatai. Hence – it is that fact that explains how and why – it was only the

21 Hansen 1989.
22 Berent 2004.
23 Ste. Croix 1988.
24 Cartledge 1988.
25 Ducat 1994.

Spartan state, the political community, that could free Helots from their hereditary, genetic servitude. Which it did periodically, under duress – and not by any means unconditionally: the largest category of such state-sponsored manumissions was deployed for military purposes, by definition purposes of state, so that those ex-Helots 'newly smelling of the *damos*' (that's what Neodamodeis seems literally to mean) could make up for the rapidly depleting numbers of full Spartan citizens in a time of acute *oliganthropia* – the shortage of citizen military manpower that, according to Aristotle, eventually 'destroyed Sparta' (Pol. 1270a29-32).[26] There were no individual or private manumissions in Sparta, except just possibly of actual non-Helot private slaves, whoever precisely had owned them, a massively controversial issue arising from some Classical-period inscriptions from the sanctuary of Pohoidan/Poseidon at Tainaron (*IG* V.1, 1228-33). This was a sanctuary – in more than one sense – with which the Helots, and presumably especially those of Lakonia, had a special affinity, but that does not exclude the possibility that the manumittors in question were Lakedaimonioi in another sense than 'Spartans', that is, Perioikoi.[27] Lewis, however, accepts the validity of a dubious statement by Ephorus, to the effect that Spartans might sell their Helots, a form of alienation though not of course manumission.[28]

Conversely, and possibly uniquely in all human history, it was the Spartans precisely as a political entity who formally, ritually and annually *via* each new board of Ephors (the state's chief executive officials apart from the two joint kings) declared war on all the Helots collectively, thus on the state's principal workforce.[29] They thereby at a stroke transformed the Helots literally into the enemy within and as such liable to being murdered by state-sponsored Spartan terror bands or individual Spartans without risk for the latter of incurring ritual religious pollution (*miasma*) let alone suffering any legal redress.[30] Just how significant this all was may be gauged from Herodotus's repeated shrewd comment, that

26 For sources on and discussion of oliganthropia, see Doran 2018.

27 Ducat 1990a.

28 *FGrHist*. 70 F 117, quoted by Strabo 364-65.

29 Plut. *Lyc.* 28, citing Aristotle's lost *Lak. Pol.*

30 Ducat 2006 on the notorious, partly ritual *krypteia*.

the Spartans were of all Greeks exceptionally if not uniquely pious or superstitious: for they 'valued the things of the gods above those of men'[31] – well, all Greeks did that, so Herodotus clearly meant that the Spartans did so to an exceptional degree and in exceptional ways, as indeed they did.[32]

And, finally for my purposes here, hence too the fact that in a formal treaty of alliance of 421 BCE inscribed and publicly exhibited in major religious sanctuaries of both the swearing parties the Spartans could refer to the Helots precisely as a single collectivity, *hē douleia* or – to paraphrase somewhat – 'the servile class (or population)'.[33] Of course, it speaks worlds in and of itself that the Spartans were so acutely aware of the possibility of collective servile revolt, perceived to constitute a threat to the state's very existence - that's the other side of 'state' in any definition of the Helots' status – that they felt obliged to refer to that threat explicitly ('should the slave population revolt') in such an acutely sensitive context as a formal military treaty. No other servile collectivity in ancient Greece was so perceived or so constituted, because the Helots were clearly a subjugated and dependent population (or perhaps two populations treated as one), not an aggregate of individual slaves. I rest my case.

Concluding Remarks

Finally, to wrap up, we must ask in the immortal words of Moses Finley, revered mentor, 'so what?' What does all that stuff about what and who and why the Helots were signify? David Lewis himself provides a clue: if one were to accept his definition of Helots as slaves, that would make it no longer Athens but Sparta that was the ancient Hellenic world's foremost 'slave society', i.e., following Finley again, a society not just with slaves but a society based on slaves, a society which but for those slaves either would not have existed at all as such or would have been measurably different. To which I respond, yes, Spartan society and polity were

31 Hdt. 5.63, 9.7.
32 Richer 2012.
33 Thuc. 5.23.3.

indeed based on the exploitation of unfree human beings – who happened, unusually, also to be no less Greek than the exploiting masters themselves; and yes, but for the Helots the Spartans' *polis* would not have been as it was. But no, that society was not a society in which the notion of private property had made any great inroads, and certainly was not one in which the principal exploited workforce was 'privately' 'owned' (both terms in scare quotes). Rather, although Spartan polity and society were unquestionably 'based on' the Helots, that top-down relationship was complex, not unidirectional but dialectical[34], and – dare I say it – despite all the comparisons drawn in antiquity between the Helots (eliding key differences between the Messenians and the Lakonians) and other Greek and non-Greek servile collectivities – unique.[35]

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34 Luraghi & Alcock 2003.

35 Since this article was composed, a massive re-evaluation of the nature and role of the *polis* in the ancient Greek world has appeared: Ma 2024. For John Ma (pp. 94, 134, 194) the status of the Helots was 'serfdom', and their labour 'serf' labour.

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