THE DECREE OF THEMISTOCLES IN ITS CONTEMPORARY SETTING

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THE PURPOSE OF THIS PAPER IS THREEFOLD: to restore and interpret line 9 of the inscribed decree of Themistocles (Meiggs and Lewis, *GHI*[2] 23), to consider the realities of life at Troezen in the period when the decree was displayed there on stone, and to explain how these realities give point to the decree as a whole and to its component parts. The last two matters are related to the first, for line 9 completes the second clause which speaks of Troezen and "the *archegetes* of the land." This is a place of honour in a decree full of urgent business, and the gesture ascribed to the *archegetes* in line 9 made Troezen all the more conspicuous. I shall argue that the *archegetes* is here said to have promised sustenance to the refugees from Athens, conformably with the archaizing vogue which gave prominence to the *archegetes* in the mid third century (section I); that at this time Troezen's commercial and political well-being was bound up with Ptolemy Philadelphus (section II); and that the inscribed decree glorifies Philadelphus by glorifying Athens, and directs attention to his powerful fleet as the instrument of Greek freedom (section III). Up to now discussion of the decree has been exclusively concerned with the events of 480 B.C. and with Athenian publicity of the fourth century, but in sections I and II I shall avoid entirely the difficult question of the origin of the decree or of its several parts. No one, I think, will deny that the inscribing of the decree must have served some local and contemporary purpose, as in the mention of the *archegetes*. If this much is granted, the argument of I and II will consort with any view of the authenticity and transmission of the decree, and so I leave the question open until the last (III), when the decree as a whole, including one or two passages which have hitherto made little sense, is interpreted in the light of the third-century background.

I: TROEZEN'S HOSPITALITY AND "THE ARCHEGETES OF THE LAND"

The first clause of the decree, occupying the first three lines after the headings, commits the city of Athens to the care of Athena and the other gods; the second, occupying the next three lines, prescribes the evacuation of women and children to Troezen. As preserved or restored in lines 6–8, the clause directs that "all Athenians and the foreigners living at Athens shall lodge their children and wives at Troezen"—here ends line 8, and the clause is rounded off in line 9, as follows: .[^{20}] τοῦ ἀρχηγέτου

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τῆς χώρας· τ. The first letter of line 9 has been read by some epigraphists as either τ or ζ;[1] if accepted, this reading rules out all the restorations proposed so far: ὡς ἱκέτας τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος, φυλάττοντος *vel* ἐκδεχομένου τοῦ Πιτθέως, ὑποδεχομένου τοῦ Πιθέως, ἡγησαμένου τοῦ Ἐρεχθέως, συμπέμποντος τοῦ Θησέως (all proposed by Jameson), εἰς ὑποδοχὴν τοῦ Πιτθέως (Wade-Gery), εἰς παραθήκην τοῦ Θησέως *vel* Πιθέως (Habicht), προστάτου ὄντος Πιτθέως (Meritt), κατὰ τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ ὄφιος (Treu).[2]

Our first step is to ask what the sense may have been. The answer is not to be found in the literary sources who cite the clause (Aelius Aristides gives the form closest to the epigraphic text, in the speech *Pro Quatt.*, 2.256 Dindorf), for the substance of their versions takes us no further than the end of line 8. Let us consider the circumstances: how does the removal of women and children to Troezen concern "the *archegetes* of the land"?

If the land in question is Attica, "the *archegetes*" might perhaps designate the snake in Athena's temple, often identified with a mythical ancestor, Cecrops or Erechtheus or Erichthonius. On this view the line would refer to the omen of the neglected honey-cake which warned the Athenians to flee (Hdt. 8.41.2–3): hence Treu's supplement and one of Jameson's. But while the omen could be cited as reason for the whole evacuation and the manning of the ships, as described in the first five clauses (lines 4–18), it does not explain the particular step envisaged in the second clause—the lodging of the children and wives at Troezen.

"The land" is in any case more naturally taken as the territory of Troezen, and "the *archegetes*" as some figure of local worship, who of course was perfectly familiar to the Troezenians, whether or not his name appeared in line 9. The conjectures of Wade-Gery, Habicht, and Meritt, and the first three of Jameson's, all express the idea that the women and children are hereby placed under the protection of the *archegetes*. This seems entirely plausible, and consonant with the first clause of the decree, which commits Athens to the keeping of Athena and the other gods. We might expect, however, that the help promised by the *archegetes* would be stated quite specifically, inasmuch as the decree records a brisk sequence of practical measures—even the propitiatory offering of lines 38–40 may be so described—without any unnecessary words. We might also ask why the same punctilio was not observed in the next clause, providing for the removal of elders and goods to Salamis, where a local god or hero might be invoked just as

[1]See D. A. Hardy and W. K. Pritchett, *BSA* 59 (1964) 30–31.

[2]M. H. Jameson, *Hesperia* 29 (1960) 211–212; D. M. Lewis, *CQ* 55 (1961) 63, reporting Wade-Gery's conjecture; C. Habicht, *Hermes* 89 (1961) 1 n. 3; B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 31 (1962) 312; M. Treu, *Historia* 12 (1963) 63. These works are cited below by author's name.

well as at Troezen. In short, the *archegetes* must have offered some substantial assistance, here acknowledged.

In the late fourth century the Athenians certainly believed that Troezen had given substantial help—*τὴν εὐεργεσίαν τὴν πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον*, says Hypereides in his speech *Against Athenogenes* (32–33), of the period 330–324.[3] According to the orator it was largely on the strength of this service that a number of Troezenian exiles were welcomed at Athens in the years after Chaeroneia; and the Troezenian decree in favour of the refugees was read out to the court.[4] The decree does not appear in the papyrus text of Hypereides' speech, but the omission appears to be made good by Plutarch *Them.* 10.5. Here we are told that the refugees whom Themistocles consigned to Troezen were very well provided for, inasmuch as the Troezenians "voted to maintain them at public expense;" Plutarch quotes three provisions of the decree, moved by one Nicagoras—a daily allowance of two obols "for each," permission for the children to pick fruit in season, and the hiring of schoolmasters for them. It would be rash to assume either that Plutarch's decree is authentic or that, authentic or not, it was just these provisions that were read out during Hypereides' speech and that were current at Troezen in the third century.[5] Yet on the whole the provisions hit the mark.

Even the third clause, about hiring schoolmasters, is appropriate to the crisis if the purpose was custodial, to keep the boys away from

[3]Habicht, 2–3, 17–18, and F. J. Frost, *AJA* 82 (1978) 106, point to *IG* 2^2 971a, an Athenian decree of 140/39 B.C. for Telesias of Troezen, as likewise acknowledging Troezen's help in 480. But this decree is concerned with other matters—mainly with the earlier services of Telesias' family, which had been signalled in a decree of Stratocles, i.e. in the period 307–ca 290 (lines 3–8 *in corona*, 16–24); incidentally with the long-standing good will between Athens and Troezen (lines 13–15). No doubt an enthusiast might be carried back to the Persian Wars, but it is certain that more recent junctures were intended by those who voted the decree of 140/39.

[4]Ernst Meyer, *RE* 7A a (1939) 642 *s.* Troizen 2, held that the decree was of recent date and quite distinct from Troezen's service in the Persian Wars, but as we shall see in due course, Hypereides plainly equates the service and the decree.

[5]About the transmission something more will be said below (n. 9). As for authenticity, the decree is condemned by Habicht, 20–21, by L. Braccesi, *Il Problema del Decreto di Temistocle* (Bologna 1968) 93–94, and by A. M. Prestianni in *Umanità e Storia. Scritti in Onore di A. Attisani* (Messina 1971) 486. Jacoby registered disbelief (*FGrHist* IIIb *Suppl.* 1.82), but his analysis of Plutarch is very arbitrary. In older works on such subjects as education and finance the decree was sometimes accepted without question, and this presumption still shows up: A. Dascalakis, *Problèmes Historiques autour de la Bataille des Thermopyles* (Paris 1962) 198–199, thinks of Nicagoras' decree as so indisputably authentic that it can be used to prove Themistocles' decree spurious. A reasoned defence has been attempted by P. Krech, *De Crateri Ψηφισμάτων Συναγωγῆι* (Griefswald 1888) 46–48, and by A. R. Burn, *Persia and the Greeks* (London 1962) 428. Yet with a document which concerns the background, so to speak, rather than the foreground of events, decisive arguments will be hard to find.

harm.[6] In the first clause the two obols are a sum familiar from later doles at Athens and suspect for that reason, and also as seeming overgenerous for this early period and for Troezen's resources when measured against Athenian numbers. We might expect rather an allowance just sufficient for bread, corresponding to the fruit of the second clause, which otherwise comes oddly after a cash subsidy; perhaps, when values changed, the two obols replaced some earlier allowance for the sake of appearances.[7] At any rate no suspicion falls on the middle clause, "to allow the children to pick ripe fruit anywhere," καὶ τῆς ὀπώρας λαμβάνειν ἐξεῖναι τοὺς παῖδας πανταχόθεν. In ancient Israel gathering or gleaning in the fields, and picking fruit or at least the remnants in orchards and vineyards, was a traditional remedy for the destitute, both natives and sojourners (*Lev.* 19.9–10, 23.22, *Deut.* 24.19–21, *Ruth* 2.2; cf. *Ex.* 23.11, *Deut.* 26.12–13). Nearer to our subject, a story current in the fourth century, and perhaps deriving from Ion or Stesimbrotus in the fifth, told how Cimon opened his extensive fields and orchards to everyone in need, foreigners as well as citizens (Theopompus, *FGrHist* 115 F 89, quoted by Ath. 12.44, 533A; [Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 27.3; Nepos *Cim.* 4.1; Plut. *Cim.* 10.1, 7, *Per.* 9.2; schol. Ael. Arist. *Pro Quatt.* 3.446, 517 Dindorf).[8] For the Athenian refugees of summer 480 no more obvious

[6]Aeschin. 1 *Tim.* 9 dilates on the responsibility of schoolmasters to ensure that their charges are not molested. But if the provision derives from a later hand, it might be inspired not by the circumstances of 480 but by the needs of latter-day refugees, such as the Troezenians of the 320's; elementary schooling was then very general and to some extent supervised by the state (Aeschin. *ibid.*), and refugees admitted to citizenship, like the Troezenians, were doubtless entitled to send their children to school.

[7]Did the two obols appear in Hypereides' version of the decree? If Hypereides told the court that Troezen gave a cash allowance to the Athenian refugees of 480, he invited comparison with Athens' current treatment of the Troezenian exiles. But although he is concerned to show that these exiles have been warmly welcomed by Athens, he does not say that they are being supported from the public purse, and it is scarcely conceivable that they were. From early days Athens was proud of her generous reception of exiles, but this generosity did not extend to cash subsidies. There is an exception to prove the rule. In the middle or late 340's Athens voted citizenship and protection for Peisitheides of Delos (*IG* 2^2 222 = *SIG*^{3} 226), an exile of note whose services to Athens were doubtless connected with Athenian claims to administer the temple of Apollo on his native island; the decree for Peisitheides, which was posted on the Acropolis, announces the grant of citizenship and other steps in familiar terms, and then proceeds to a different matter—"and so that Peisitheides may not go in want of sustenance until he returns to Delos," he is to receive a drachma a day from public funds; the procedures for disbursing the money and handing it over and accounting for it are described with a particularity which proves how extraordinary they are (lines 35–52). On this showing Hypereides is unlikely to have read out a Troezenian decree which lavished money on a huge crowd of Athenian refugees.

[8]Only Plutarch mentions foreigners—"both foreigners and the needy among the citizens" at *Cim.* 10.1, "foreigners" alone at *Cim.* 10.7; Theopompus says "any of the citizens;" the other sources say simply "anyone." Yet we may be sure that Plutarch

means of relief could occur to the Troezenians. Conceivably this provision once stood alone, to be amplified later with clauses one and three: the mention of "children" as gatherers might suggest the ensuing clause about schoolmasters; and in the matter of subsistence the gathering of fruit could be improved upon by a cash allowance.

However this may be, the tradition known to Plutarch dwelt on the measures which Troezen adopted to save the Athenians from starving: *τρέφειν ἐψηφίσαντο δημοσίαι*. It does not matter whether we regard Nicagoras' decree or any part of it as an authentic document or as a construction placed upon the acknowledged events of 480 by interested parties long afterwards.[9] Such measures, rather than a mere invitation to disembark at Troezen, were what the case required. They will have prompted the term *εὐεργεσία* used by Hypereides, and deserve to be commemorated in Themistocles' decree.

Thus we infer that line 9 acknowledges Troezen's offer of food, and

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found the foreigners in his source, for there was no temptation to add them in this context; and at *Cim.* 10.2 he is careful to note that according to [Arist.] the entertainment in Cimon's house (but not admittance to his fields) was restricted to fellow demesmen. Since all sources agree that anyone who wished might enter Cimon's fields and orchards, which lacked fences and watchmen, the story seems to show Cimon as a public figure courting popularity, and not as a local squire looking after his dependents, as some recent commentators have it, e.g., J. K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families* 600–300 B.C. (Oxford 1971) 311, and M. T. W. Arnheim, *Aristocracy in Greek Society* (London 1977) 141.

[9]Nor does it matter very much how the decree reached Plutarch. In the case of an ostensible fifth-century document which if not Athenian has everything to do with Athens, our thoughts will naturally turn to Craterus, *FGrHist* 342, who certainly contributes a documentary detail at *Them.* 23.1, even though he is not named (F 11b). Two other suggestions are in the field, both very unconvincing. Perhaps Plutarch found it in a "learned" edition of Hypereides' speech, says Frost, *ClMed* 22 (1961) 190, 192, and again *AJA* 82 (1978) 106 n. 9. But although Plutarch often, at least in reflective passages, appears to draw directly from a wide variety of apposite though incidental sources, it does not seem at all likely that in his straightforward narrative of the evacuation (9.3–11.1) he would turn aside without remark from all the acknowledged authorities (Herodotus, Ephorus, the Attic chroniclers and [Aristotle], Phanias, perhaps Craterus) to introduce a detail known only from Hypereides. And the larger question still remains unanswered; for unless Hypereides' editor either invented the decree or, what no one will assert, brought it to light from the archives, he must have had it from some literary source dealing with Themistocles and the Persian Wars; and why not postulate the same source for Plutarch? Another proposal of Frost's, at *AJA* 82 (1978) 106, is that Plutarch took the decree not from a book but from a comprehensive memorial at Troezen, including both Themistocles' and Nicagoras' decrees, which he had once inspected. But then he could hardly fail to mention such an interesting memorial, just as he mentions other monuments and relics particularly well known to him (*Them.* 8.3–6, at Artemisium; 22.2–3, in the deme Melite). Frost also, *ClMed* 22 (1961) 183–184, thinks some teachers in the schools, including Plutarch's teacher Ammonius, "capable of independent research in their subject;" not everyone will find this proposition self-evident.

the missing words may be restored somewhat as follows: τ[ροφὴν ὑποσχομένου πᾶσι] τοῦ ἀρχηγέτου τῆς χώρας or τ[ροφὴν ὑπεσχημένου πᾶσι] or τ[ρέφειν ἐπαγγειλαμένου] If the initial τ is illusory, the order and even the form of words may be different, but the sense will be the same.

But even when the lacuna is filled in this fashion, line 9 remains somewhat puzzling. Troezen reputedly took steps to feed the Athenian refugees. We might therefore expect the decree of Themistocles, in dealing with the refugees, to say quite flatly in line 9, "the Troezenians having voted to maintain them at public expense," using some form of words like Plutarch's. Instead help is feigned to come from "the *archegetes* of the land," and this despite the fact, already noticed, that the decree deals in specific concrete measures. True, the decree does not neglect the gods: the Athenians shall make over their city in trust to Athena and the other gods (lines 4–6); stewards and priests shall guard the shrines on the Acropolis (lines 11–12); the generals shall sacrifice to the gods of war (lines 38–40). But these are acts of piety, whereas line 9 asserts the intervention of the *archegetes*. Can it be that the cult of the *archegetes* had produced an omen, some signal mark of favour which was seized on in this time of peril? If the decree is taken as an authentic record of proceedings in 480, such an explanation may perhaps be mooted. The difficulty is that the decree of Nicagoras known to Plutarch is a purely secular decision; Hypereides too dwells upon the initiative of the Troezenian people. Had tradition told of an omen vouchsafed to the Troezenians, it would have figured in Nicagoras' decree. Nor can we suppose that this element was omitted by Plutarch, since the context is all of omens and oracles (*Them.* 10.1–3). No, line 9 must refer to the secular decision; "the *archegetes* of the land having promised sustenance to all" is a solemn way of expressing this decision. It suits the third century B.C., a period of sentimental archaism which often took religious forms; at the same time as our stele was erected at Troezen, the neighbouring island of Calaureia saw the deliberations of a band of Amphictyons who tended the ancient cult of Poseidon. Who then was "the *archegetes* of the land," and what did he signify?

It may be as well to say something about the term ἀρχηγέτης.[10] Like ἀρχηγός, ἀρχηγέτης means "first leader" in two senses—either "supreme leader," i.e., first in point of rank, and so any supreme dynast or commander at any given time, or "earliest leader," i.e., first in point of time, and so a city-founder or the like; whenever origins go back beyond the historical period (as at Troezen) and often when they do not, the "first leader" in point of time will be a god or hero. We have no grounds for assigning priority to either sense of ἀρχηγέτης, for both are attested in

[10]G. A. Galites, "'Αρχηγός—'Αρχηγέτης ἐν τῇ ἑλληνικῇ γραμματείᾳ καὶ θρησκείᾳ," *Athena* 64 (1960) 17–138, especially 53–74, is very perfunctory but at least gives a broad sampling of the evidence.

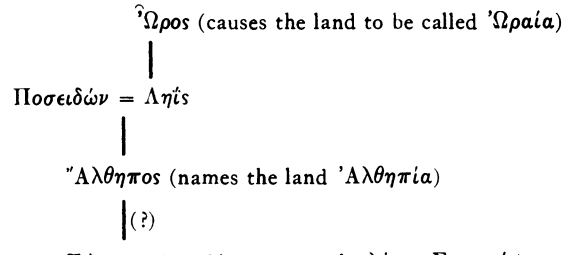
our earliest sources, and both are warranted by the normal range of ἀρχή. But the sense "supreme leader" is virtually confined to poetry; here it can be ruled out at once.[11] Commentators have rightly assumed that the ἀρχηγέτης τῆς χώρας who extends protection to the refugees is some divine patron. But the term "first leader" does not itself point to any particular type of god or hero; the numerous gods or heroes revered as ancestors or founders in different places have nothing else in common.[12] The essential point is that ἀρχηγέτης expresses a very ordinary idea; a god or hero is so called only because the "first leader" in point of time usually belongs to the mythical period. To identify the ἀρχηγέτης τῆς χώρας we must consider what was said of Troezen's past.

Pausanias 2.30.5 says that the Troezenians were exceptionally fond of glorifying their native land, σεμνύνοντες εἴπερ καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς τὰ ἐπιχώρια, and it is very likely that this disposition, and most of the rich lore of cults and myths which it called forth, go back to the Hellenistic period; of the two Troezenian antiquaries whom Pausanias cites by name, Hegias is plausibly regarded as a mythological poet of the third century (1.2.1 = *FGrHist* 606), and Herophanes as a later prose-writer drawing on Hegias and other early Hellenistic sources (2.34.4–5 = *FGrHist* 605). Pausanias' tour of Troezenia is prefaced by a full-dress *archaeologia* embracing three successive dynasties down to the advent of the Dorians (2.30.5–10), which contrasts with the very cursory treatment of Epidaurus (2.26.1–2) and Hermione (2.34.4–5). The *archaeologia* accommodates the best-known alumni of Troezen—Pittheus *et al.*—within the third dynasty; the first two dynasties consist entirely of local eponyms

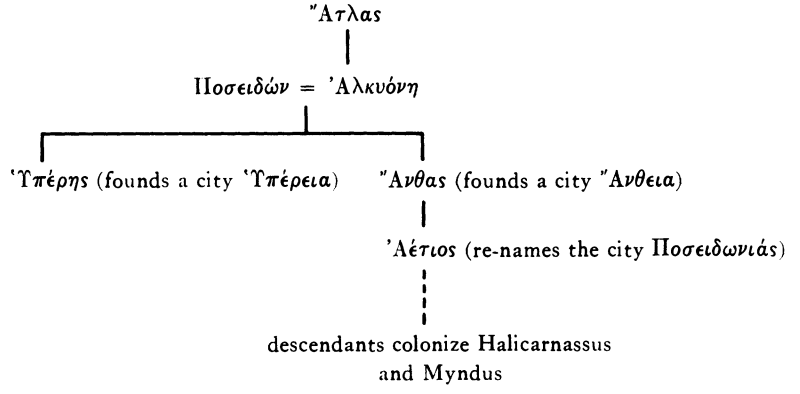
[11]The only quasi-documentary instance of *archegetes* meaning "supreme leader" is the Spartan *rhetra* quoted by Plut. *Lyc.* 6.2–3, if the term there denotes the Spartan kings *qua* kings—as Plutarch says it does, presumably following [Arist.] *Lac. Pol.* L. H. Jeffery, *Historia* 10 (1961) 144–147, who contests this, starts from a misunderstanding: "it would be remarkably illogical to call each successive pair of kings the 'founders' or 'first leaders'." But this usage is common in exalted style, e.g., in tragedy, and would exactly suit a bogus oracle, such as Miss Jeffery conceives the *rhetra* to be. Following Vollgraff, she postulates a special use of *archegetes* to denote the "founder of a new cult," so that the *archagetai* of the *rhetra* become the heroic progenitors of the Spartan royal houses, either Eurysthenes and Procles or Agis and Eurypon; but the evidence for this use is as dubious as the conclusion is unwelcome. Hiller von Gaertringen's view that *archegetes* was a Spartan title which passed to Thera and Cyrene rests squarely on the *rhetra*, for the epigraphic instances at Thera and Cyrene lend no support. At all events no one will suggest that *archegetes* was a civic title at Troezen.

[12]At *ICret* 3.3 no. 3A = *SVA* 551, a treaty between Rhodes and Hierapytna of ca 200, the Rhodian prayers are addressed to "the gods," "the *archagetai*," and "the heroes" in this order—not because the *archagetai* are an intermediate class, but because they include both gods and heroes. According to Galites, (n. 10 above) 93–105, the high gods who bear the title *archegetes* are, more commonly, Apollo, Athena, Aphrodite, Zeus, Hera, Dionysus, Hermes, Asclepius, and, less commonly, Helius, Eleutheria, Rhea, Pan, Chronus; but the range of evidence is plainly haphazard, and Galites' survey is very incomplete.

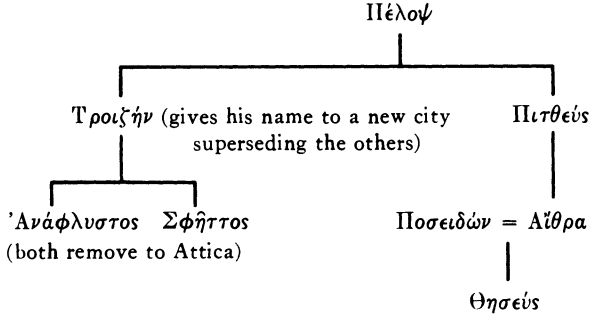
I



II



III



who have nothing to do with the great cycles of myth. We can be quite sure that the figure described in Themistocles' decree as "the *archegetes* of the land" will be included in the *archaeologia*; therefore the simplest course is to set out the *archaeologia* in tabular form, as above.[13]

On this showing, who is "the *archegetes* of the land"? Certainly not Pittheus or Theseus, the most favoured candidates. As son of Pelops

[13]G. Welter, *Troizen und Kalaureia* (Berlin 1941) 53, gives a similar table.

Pittheus was a new-comer to Troezen. This paternity, well known to Euripides (*Med.* 684, *Heraclid.* 207, *Suppl.* 263), was very likely current even in 476 (Pind. *Ol.* 1.89, reckoning "six potentates" as sons of Pelops);[14] of course it was not the original Troezenian view of Pittheus (whatever that was), but must have been compatible with this view. Therefore Pittheus is not the *archegetes*; *a fortiori* Theseus is not either. Nor does any other dynast from Althepus onwards stand out as a primordial figure; only Orus, the first man in the land (Paus. 2.30.5), appears to qualify, but Pausanias' remarks show that he was a cypher even to Troezenian antiquaries.

Far more prominent than any hero is the god Poseidon. He begets the scions of the first dynasty after Orus; he comes at the head of the much longer second dynasty, which overlaps and presumably outlasts the third; in the third he intervenes to beget Theseus. Poseidon is the principal god of Troezen, as we know both from literary sources and from the city's coinage, which features the trident.[15] It is true that the trident on the reverse of the coins is conjoined with Athena's head on the obverse,[16] and that Pausanias, referring to the coins, attests the local worship of Athena and speaks of a *lis deorum* reminiscent of Athens (2.30.6; cf. 32.5, 33.1). But Athena has no place in the *archaeologia* nor yet in other literary notices of the cults and myths of Troezen; she must have lost ground to Poseidon after the early period. Poseidon also takes a hand in the founding of Halicarnassus, reputedly a colony of Troezen; and the reason can only be that he was already known as *archegetes* of the mother city. For the principal *archegetes* of Halicarnassus as of so many cities was Apollo, who had a cult under this title and a festival *Archegesia* (*SIG*^{3} 1066 = *Iscr. Ag. Gr.* 61 lines 16–17);[17] yet an inscription listing the local priests of Poseidon traces the worship to "those who led out the colony from Troezen for Poseidon and for Apollo," τῶν τὴν ἀποικί[αν ἐκ]|| Τροι[ζ]ῆνος ἀγαγόντων Ποσειδῶνι καὶ Ἀπόλλω[νι]. The list, inscribed as we have it now in the first century B.C., is avowedly recopied

[14]Since many local dynasties of the Peloponnesus were linked with Pelops (cf. [Tyrt.] fr. 12 West, line 7), there is room for doubt about the six sons known to Pindar; but C. Robert, *Die Griechische Heldensage* (Berlin 1920–1926) 217–219, is confident of Pittheus' claim.

[15]See S. Wide, *De Sacris Troezeniorum, Hermionensium, Epidauriorum* (Upsala 1888) 9–13; E. Meyer, *RE* 7A 1 (1939) 649–650; E. Wüst, *RE* 22.1 (1953) 517–518 *s.* Poseidon.

[16]Meyer, *RE* 7A 1 (1939) 650–651, rightly says that the earlier coins displaying a head which some take as male, *scil.* Apollo, others as female, *scil.* Athena—cf. C. M. Kraay, *Archaic and Classical Greek Coins* (London 1976) pl. 16 no. 305, speaking of "Athena (?)" in the text (100), but of "Apollo" in the list of plates (358)—cannot be separated from the long later series depicting Athena, both with and without a helmet.

[17]See L. Robert, *BCH* 60 (1936) 201 = *Opera Minora Selecta* 2 (Amsterdam 1969) 908.

from an older stele, [ἐκ τῆς ἀρχαίας| σ]τήλης, which will go back to the early or middle Hellenistic period, when ties between Troezen and Halicarnassus were particularly close (cf. II below).

Thus Poseidon is *archegetes* of Troezen as Athena is *archegetis* of Athens and as Apollo is *archegetes* of many cities planted abroad.[18] It is quite in order that line 9 as restored above should give us the title *archegetes* without the divine name, for this is a common style.[19] At Athens Athena may be called simply "the *archegetis*" (Ar. *Lys.* 643),[20] and shrines and festivals of Apollo *archegetes* are simply *Archegesion*, *Archegesia*. There can be no doubt whatever that line 9 of the decree refers to Poseidon or that the reference was obvious to ancient readers.

Poseidon's full title is *archegetes* "of the land," τῆς χώρας, rather than of the city of Troezen; πόλις and χώρα are doubtless to be distinguished here as in lines 3 and 6 ("the city" of Athens and "the land" of Attica). The title is appropriate because the god's principal sanctuary was on Calaureia. The promise of food, moreover, suits Poseidon Phytalmius, who presided over every kind of growth and nurture. Pausanias mentions only two shrines of Poseidon in Troezenia—the sanctuary of Poseidon Phytalmius outside the city wall of Troezen (2.32.8), and the mountain sanctuary on Calaureia which has been excavated (2.33.3).[21] Doubtless there were others of less importance, but Pausanias saw no premier sanctuary inside Troezen itself, although he toured both the agora and the acropolis. So we may infer that the civic cult of Poseidon, which entitled him to be described as πολιοῦχος (Plut. *Thes.* 6.1), belonged mainly to the mountain sanctuary on Calaureia. The inference is confirmed by the myth of Aethra and Poseidon, for the king's daughter was seduced on the adjacent isle of Sphaeria (Paus. 2.33.1); this is perhaps an *aition* of the service of the virgin priestess on Calaureia (Paus. 2.33.3); and it will be the god of Calaureia who bore the epithet βασιλεύς and

[18]It will be fortuitous that Poseidon is not, so far as I know, styled *archegetes* anywhere in our sources. At *LSCG Suppl.* 10 A 67, Nicomachus' calendar of sacrifices, the *Archegetes* who appears among several Eleusinian deities is doubtfully identified with Poseidon by K. Clinton, *AJP* 100 (1979) 7 n. 25; but this is a most unlikely choice. Sons or daughters of Poseidon served as eponymous ancestors at a great many places besides Troezen; Wüst, *RE* 22.1 (1953) 482, furnishes a list.

[19]Jameson thought of restoring Poseidon's name in line 9, ὡς ἱκέτας τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος, but preferred Pittheus or Theseus or another on the grounds that a hero rather than a god is indicated by "the further definition, 'of the land'" (212). As we shall see, τῆς χώρας points to Poseidon's worship in the countryside and on Calaureia.

[20]Cf. T. C. W. Stinton, *CQ* N.S. 26 (1976) 12–13.

[21]For the mountain sanctuary see S. Wide and L. Kjellberg, *AthMitt* 20 (1895) 267–327; U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *GöttNachr* 1896 158–170 = *Kleine Schriften* 5.1 (Berlin 1937) 100–113; Welter, (above, note 13) 43–50; T. Kelley, *AJA* 70 (1966) 113–121.

figured as the rival of Athena Polias and Sthenias worshipped on the acropolis of Troezen (Paus. 2.30.6).

In the third century B.C. the shrine of Poseidon was the seat of an archaizing Amphictyony which included a board of Hieromnemons (*IG* 4.842; cf. Str. 8.6.14, p. 374); and the small settlement nearby (where a third-century council-house was excavated) issued decrees under the name of ἁ πόλις τῶν Καλαυρεατᾶν and dated them by the ταμίας of Poseidon (*IG* 4.839, 841, 848).[22] None of this should be taken to mean that Calaureia was a sovereign state during the Hellenistic period, when Troezen was prosperous and well connected. Calaureia and the Amphictyony were instruments of Troezen.[23]

Troezen's *archaeologia* expresses the dependence of Calaureia. Hyperes and Anthas, the offspring of Poseidon who inaugurate the second dynasty, founded the "cities" Ὑπέρεια and Ἄνθεια (Paus. 2.31.8). According to the Aristotelian *Constitution of Troezen* Ἀνθηδονία and Ὑπέρεια, or Ἀνθηδών and Ὑπέρα, were names of Calaureia conferred by the first settlers under Anthas and Hyperes (Plut. *Quaest. Gr.* 19, 295e = Arist. fr. 597 Rose; cf. Ath. 1.56, 31b-c-Arist. fr. 596 Rose); the Peloponnesian Ἄνθεια known to Stephanus of Byzantium and Hesychius *s.v.* is evidently Calaureia.[24] This nomenclature comes from the two varieties of grape grown on Calaureia, Ἀνθηδονιάς and Ὑπερειάς (so Ath. *loc. cit.*); the former also gives rise to the nymph Μελάνθεια, who bore Εἰρήνη to Poseidon, this too another name of Calaureia (Plut. *loc. cit.*; cf. Harp., Steph. Byz. *s.* Καλαύρεια, Hsch. *s.* Πάσσιρις). The name Εἰρήνη bespeaks Calaureia's claim to inviolacy, an important matter in the unsettled conditions of the third century B.C.

Such is the background of "the *archegetes* of the land." The reason why the god takes the place of his people in Themistocles' decree is, as

[22]In this period the ethnic Καλαυρεάτας is also attested at *IG* 4.1² 96 (cf. *SEG* 11.412) line 43, a *proxenos* at Epidaurus in the early third century, or at the end of the fourth; and at *BCH* 78 (1954) 380 no. 10 = *SEG* 14.402 line 2, a man honoured at Delphi in the later third century.

[23]Wilamowitz, *GöttNachr* 1896 161–163 = *Kl. Schr.* 5.1. 104–105, imagined a brief period of artificial independence ("a whim of Tyche or of one of her cavaliers creates such a new form or galvanizes the corpse of a form which was long dead; but the artificial product soon sinks into the depths of the oblivion from which it should never have arisen"). The question then becomes *cui bono?*, and the only possible answer is Troezen. But Busolt and Swoboda, *Gr. Staatsk.* 2.1280, and Meyer, *RE* 7A 1 (1939) 643, speak of substantial independence for Calaureia.

[24]Steph. Ἄνθεια· πόλις Πελοποννήσου, πλησίον Ἄργους, ὡς Φίλων, and again Ἄργος . . . ἕκτη κατὰ Τροιζῆνα; cf. Pliny, *HN* 4.18 (who confuses this Argos with the "Inachian or Dipsian") and Eust. *Od.* 1465.57 ("Troezenian Argo."). Ἄργος perhaps denotes the "plain" of Troezen (cf. *LSJ*⁹ *s.* Ἄργος), which is the only considerable plain on the north coast of the Argolid and the Acte.

already intimated, the antiquarian chauvinism that also led to the revival of the Calaureian Amphictyony and to the mythical pedigree of the clan Antheadae (more of this in II).

II: TROEZEN AS AN ALLY OF PTOLEMY PHILADELPHUS

All epigraphists are now agreed that the stele bearing Themistocles' decree belongs to the third century B.C., and those who have studied the lettering and other external features more closely favour a date well inside this span—perhaps the middle years of the century, at any rate between the outer limits 275–225.[25] The marble is Pentelic;[26] the stone-cutter's hand has been variously judged, but if not distinctly provincial seems not to be distinctly Athenian either.[27] One expects the stele to have been inscribed at Troezen—and by a Troezenian stone-cutter, unless an Athenian stone-cutter had found work at Troezen, as might well happen. And no doubt the marble slab was trimmed for the purpose at Troezen, perhaps even hewn from the block.[28] In short, the physical aspects of the stele give no particular warrant for supposing that Athens was concerned in its use. Exactly where the stele was set up remains

[25]Lewis suggested the first quarter of the century (61), but others prefer a later date: within a quarter century of 250, says G. Daux, *BCH* 84 (1960) 687; well inside the third century, but probably before 230, says S. Dow, *AJA* 66 (1962) 367–368, after exhaustive discussion (353–368); in the mid century, says Meritt, *Hesperia* 33 (1964) 175–178, comparing an Athenian decree of this date. R. Étienne and M. Piérart, *BCH* 99 (1975) 62 n. 37, observe that the newly discovered decree of the General Council of Greece, dated on internal grounds to the period 262–241, has lettering similar to Themistocles' decree.

[26]At least this is the opinion of some—of Jameson, *Hesperia* 31 (1962) 310, and of an expert known to Dow, *AJA* 66 (1962) 354, and of Meritt, *Hesperia* 33 (1964) 177. But Hardy and Pritchett, *BSA* 59 (1964) 30 n. 1, are doubtful; "the stone has pronounced blue streaks and would therefore be called by many Attic epigraphists 'Hymettian';" they ask why a local kind of marble is excluded.

[27]Dow, *ibid.* 353–368, thought the stele to be quite unlike Athenian workmanship, but Meritt, *ibid.* 175–178, briefly disputes this. Prestianni (above, note 5) 489 n. 83, sides with Dow against Meritt.

[28]Dow's suggestion, *ibid.* 354, that the stele was "from a block lying about in Troizen, trimmed locally," seems unreasonable to Meritt, *ibid.* 177, but why? To be sure, Meritt points to the Coan fragment of Athens' monetary decree (*GHI*[2] 45,450–446 B.C.?) and to an Athenian decree in favour of Carpathus (*GHI* 110, after 394/3? Jameson however has proposed ca 433–427 or ca 407) as instances of stelae inscribed at Athens and set up elsewhere; but the Coan fragment is no longer thought to be of Pentelic marble, and so was probably not transported from Athens, despite the Attic lettering (Meiggs and Lewis, *GHI*[2] p. 115), nor is it at all certain that the Carpathian stele came from Athens; in any case Athens' practice during the first Empire or during the preliminaries of the second, when she directed other cities to set up her decrees, should not encourage us to look for a similar transaction in the mid third century.

unknown, since it had been removed for other purposes long before its discovery, and we lack the closing portion of the text, which might conceivably have included directions for posting the decree at Troezen as at Athens. The agora of Troezen is the likeliest spot; here, in the sanctuary of Thearian Apollo, the Troezenians normally displayed their own decrees,[29] and near the sanctuary was the stoa containing statues of the refugee women and children (Paus. 2.31.7).

The first editor of Themistocles' decree, dating the stele to the late fourth century, not unreasonably considered it the work of Troezenian exiles who returned home from Athens in the period 330–324.[30] Since then both those who defend and those who impugn the substantial authenticity of the decree have dwelt at length on the political circumstances of fourth-century Athens, especially but not exclusively the struggle against Macedon, and on the undoubted array of old documents which these circumstances called forth. The fourth-century background may well be relevant to the transmission or the origin of our decree; but it cannot explain why the decree was inscribed at Troezen in the mid third century. And in all the voluminous discussion of the decree since the *editio princeps* the reason for the inscribing has been completely neglected, apart from one or two cursory (and misguided) professions of ignorance.[31] To determine this reason is the historian's most urgent and obvious task; the motives of mid-third-century Troezenians must be the starting point of any larger treatment of the decree.

From the shipwreck of our literary sources for the first half of the third century only one brief notice of Troezen has survived: the Spartan king Cleonymus captured the city from the Macedonian regent Craterus

[29]See Meyer, *RE* 7A 1 (1939) 648. Another possible setting is the large precinct of Hippolytus outside the city walls, where (as Meyer remarks *ibid.*) public documents have come to light; this was a healing sanctuary that once vied with Epidaurus, and here too Themistocles' decree might catch the eye of foreign visitors—though the fortunes of the sanctuary in the Hellenistic period are somewhat obscure.

[30]Jameson 206–209. Others have rung the changes on Jameson's explanation with little or no regard for the revised dating of the stele: so Braccesi, Sordi, and Prestianni as cited in n. 82 below.

[31]"It is quite futile to attempt to discover [the reason for the inscribing] in the poorly known history of the little town of Troezen" (P. Amandry, *Bull. de la Faculté des Lettres de Strasbourg* 38 [1961] 415); "since almost nothing is known about Troizen in the third century it is useless to speculate about the circumstances that would have induced the Troizenians to set up such a historical document" (Frost, *AJA* 82 [1978] 106). C. Hignett, *Xerxes' Invasion of Greece* (Oxford 1963) 459, dismisses as futile and unimportant all attempts to place the stele in its historical context: "The precise date does not matter much . . . Jameson has suggested . . . an hypothesis which suits his dating, and doubtless another can be excogitated to suit the later dating, but such speculations can be no more than guesswork."

and installed a harmost and garrison (Polyaenus 2.29.1; Frontinus *Str.* 3.6.7). Between the downfall of Cleonymus in ca 275 and Troezen's accession to the Achaean League in 243 (Plut. *Arat.* 24.3) the literary tradition tells us nothing. Historians have inferred that Troezen reverted to Macedon in the interval,[32] but two pieces of evidence prove otherwise.

The first is the allegiance of Methana, the mountainous peninsula running out from the coast of Troezenia.[33] In the second century Methana was held by a Ptolemaic garrison (*IG* 4.854 = *OGIS* 115, re-edited by M. Launey, *RA*[6] 31/32 [1949] 572–578, a dedication at Methana by an agent of Ptolemy VI Philometor; *IG* 12.3.466 = *OGIS* 102 = *SEG* 1.343, a dedication on Thera by the same agent, with mention of Methana/Arsinoe; cf. *IG* 4.1[2]76, a boundary dispute between Troezen and Methana/Arsinoe settled by emissaries of Ptolemy, probably Philometor); the name Arsinoe which it bore then and in the late third century (*IG* 4.1[2]72, a boundary dispute between Epidaurus and Methana/Arsinoe, *post a.* 228) shows that Ptolemaic control goes back, as we should expect in any case, to the great days of Ptolemy Philadelphus.[34] Now in the second century Methana was a mere remnant of Egypt's overseas domain, and did not place Troezen under much constraint;[35] but in the second quarter of the third century, when the Ptolemaic fleet ruled the Aegean, Troezen could not be secure and prosperous unless she came to terms with Philadelphus. She did so, and the second piece of evidence advertises the new dispensation.

This is an eight-line epigram, dated by the letter-forms to the period 300–250, inscribed on a large curving base at the Amphiaraeum of Oropus.[36] The base once supported a bronze statue by the Athenian

[32]For this inference as also for a survey of the period see Meyer, *RE* 7A 1 (1939) 643 *s.* Troizen 2. H. B. Mattingly in *Classical Contributions: Studies in honour of M. F. McGregor* (Locust Valley, N.Y. 1981) 85–86 suggests that Troezen "stood on the side of freedom" in the Chremonidean War; but he can find no evidence or argument, and has overlooked the Oropus epigram discussed below.

[33]"A small Gibraltar," says L. Robert, *Hellenica* 11–12 (Paris 1960) 159; "of great strategic importance for the Saronic Gulf," says H. Heinen, *Untersuchungen zur Hellenistischen Geschichte des 3. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* (Wiesbaden 1972) 131.

[34]So Meyer, *RE* 15.2 (1932) 1378, *s.* Methana; R. S. Bagnall, *The Administration of the Ptolemaic Possessions outside Egypt* (Leyden 1976) 84, 135–136, 157. Meyer thinks of either the Chremonidean War or of a supposed riposte of Philadelphus in ca 250; Bagnall, of Patroclus' activity during the Chremonidean War. Paus. 2.34.1, dating the emergence of Methana's hot springs to the time of Antigonus Gonatas, does not warrant Hiller von Gaertringen's inference (on *IG* 4.1[2] 76) that Antigonus held Methana during the Chremonidean War.

[35]J. A. O. Larsen, *Greek Federal States* (Oxford 1968) 305, thinks of Methana at this period as a seat of "intrigue" and mercenary recruiting.

[36]See B. Chr. Petrakos, Ὁ Ὠρωπὸς καὶ τὸ Ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου (Athens 1968) 145 fig. 35, 155–157.

sculptor Xenocrates (whose *floruit* is too uncertain to be of help);[37] the epigram runs as follows.

τηλόθεν ἱσταμένωι Διομήδεα χαλκὸς ἀϋτεῖ
"Ανθα ἀπ' εὐσήμου κεκριμένον γενεᾶς,
ὃμ παρὰ δυσμενέων Τροιζήνιοι ἄστυ λαβόντα
καὶ πάλιν ἀρχαίοις εὖ περιθέντα νόμοις
τὸμ πολὺν ἐστήσαντο μένειν χρόνον· ἐγ δ' ἑνὸς οἴκου
Τροζὴν δὶς πατ[ρί]ωι τείχει ἐνηυγάσατο·
τῶι σὲ κατ' ἀμφότερον σέβεται πατρίς, ἄνδρα καὶ ἥρω
φθεγγομένα πλείστας αἴτιον εὐνομίας.

From afar the bronze proclaims to the observer Diomedes,
Distinguished scion of the splendid stock of Anthas:
The Troezenians, because he delivered their city from the enemy
And crowned it once more with its ancient laws,
Set up his statue to endure for many years. From one house
Has Troezen twice shone forth within its ancestral wall.
Therefore your fatherland honours you for a double service, hailing
A man and a hero as responsible for complete stability.

This epigram has received a good deal of attention lately, but the right interpretation has not yet been found.[38] If Diomedes is a native Troezenian, as everyone assumes, the arrangement of the epigram seems very curious—first the praise of Diomedes and his family (lines 1–2), then Troezen's acknowledgement of his services (lines 3–5), and finally the elaboration of the link between Diomedes and Troezen (lines 5–8). Nor is it obvious why a monument celebrating an internal change at Troezen should be set up at a distant shrine in the territory of the Boeotian League. In fact the whole tenor of the epigram shows that Diomedes is an outsider who has intervened at Troezen; the details show that he is a leading citizen of Halicarnassus, Troezen's colony. "The splendid stock of Anthas" (line 2) means the Antheadae, "the most illustrious" of the Halicarnassians (Steph. Byz. *s.* 'Αθῆναι), renowned in literature from the early Hellenistic period onwards (as we shall see in a moment). The name Diomedes is attested for the Antheadae of Halicarnassus by a late Hellenistic grave epigram (*SEG* 16.666 line 19); indeed it is entirely

[37]Cf. C. Picard, *RA* 50 (1957) 81–82; A. Rumpf, *RE* 9A (1967) 1531–1532 *s.* Xenokrates 10, who points out that the epigraphic instances of the name may refer to more than one sculptor.

[38]The text and interpretation of the epigram, *IG* 7.336, were improved by W. Peek, in *Studies Presented to D. M. Robinson* (St. Louis 1953) 2.318–325 = *SEG* 13.341; cf. J. and L. Robert, *REG* 67 (1954) 133–134, *Bull. Ep.* no. 128. The epigram has since been reprinted with some comments by G. Pfohl, *Griechische Inschriften* (Munich 1966) 63, 208 n. 67; L. Moretti, *Iscr. Stor. Ell.* 62; and Petrakos (above, n. 35) 155–156, no. 12. These texts diverge only at line 6, where the Roberts, followed by Moretti and Petrakos but not by Pfohl, amended Peek's articulation of words, reading πατρίωι instead of πάτρι' ὤι.

possible that the "Diomedes son of Androsthenes" whom the grave epigram exalts as a forbear of the deceased—seemingly four generations earlier—is the very Diomedes of the Oropus monument.[39] Nothing in our evidence about the Antheadae suggests that the family was also known at Troezen. Diomedes, then, is a Halicarnassian, and the epigram stresses his origin.[40] The last four lines associate the Antheadae and Troezen in language which is purposely vague and allusive.[41]

Diomedes seized Troezen by force or fraud and gave power to a different local faction. Can we deduce more than this from the talk of enemies overthrown (line 3), of ancient laws restored (line 4), of stability assured (line 8)? Cleonymus professed to come to Troezen as a liberator, ἥκω τὴν πόλιν ἐλευθερώσων (Polyaenus 2.29.1), but the harmost and the garrison whom he left behind would not be well described or usefully advertised by the Oropus epigram. Accordingly commentators have preferred to think of Diomedes as the liberator who reversed the work of Cleonymus. This remains a possibility, but another deserves to be considered.

The insistence upon legal and traditional government—ἀρχαῖοι νόμοι, εὐνομία—which we find in the epigram recurs in two other contemporary documents, the decree of the Island League of ca 280 acknowledging the Ptolemaeia of Alexandria (*IG* 12.7.506 = *SIG*³ 390),[42] and the Athenian

[39]The fragmentary lines 17–20 run as follows:

καὶ κτιστῶν γένος εἵλκον ἀπ' Ἀν[θεαδῶν
πατρὸς ἐπεὶ προπάτωρ πι̣[
τὴν Ἀνδροσθένεος Διομήδη̣[ς
οὔνομα κεῖς φθιμένην μη̣[

[40]Moretti on *Iscr. Stor. Ell.* 62, like others before him, supposes that the Homeric Diomedes, who was said to have come from Argos to Troezen (Paus. 2.30.10, 32.1), may be somehow alluded to in the epigram; I cannot make this out.

[41]I take it that line 6, Τροζὴν δὶς πατ[ρί]ωι τείχει ἐνηυγάσατο, means simply "Troezen has twice prospered," and that the first occasion was Anthas' founding Halicarnassus (if indeed any particular occasion was envisaged), the second Diomedes' delivering the city from the enemy. J. and L. Robert (above, n. 38) thought that Diomedes might have reconstructed the city wall, but the language does not really suggest this, nor yet the existing traces of the wall, which cannot be closely dated: see Meyer, *RE* 7A 1 (1939) 628–629, and F. G. Maier, *Griechische Mauerbauinschriften* 1 (Berlin 1959) 139, as against Welter (above, n. 13) 12, and the Roberts; the only certainty is that the cross-wall excluding the lower town furnishes a *terminus ante quem* between 243 and 146 (Maier 144). Line 7, τῶι σὲ κτλ, may address either Diomedes or the οἶκος of line 5. In the first case Troezen honours Diomedes on his own account and his ancestor's, and calls him both a man and a hero, as one may do at this date; in the second case Troezen honours the οἶκος on account of Diomedes and Anthas, and speaks of both, a man and a hero, as responsible for stability.

[42]For the date of this decree see P. M. Fraser, *BCH* 78 (1954) 55–62, *HThR* 54 (1961) 141–145, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (Oxford 1972) 2.372–373 n. 279; T. L. Shear, Jr., *Kallias*

decree of 268 or 265 announcing the alliance against Macedon (*IG* 2^2 687 + 686 + *add.* p. 664 = *SIG*^{3} 434/5 = *Staatsvertr.* 476).[43] Both speak of vindicating οἱ νόμοι and ἡ πάτριος πολιτεία throughout Greece: in the first Ptolemy Soter is said to have "freed the cities and restored the laws and established the ancestral constitution for all" (lines 13–15), and in the second Ptolemy Philadelphus is described as the champion of Greek freedom (line 18) and opposed to the subverters of "the laws and the ancestral constitutions among each" of the Greeks (lines 14–16). In both cases the enemy is Macedon; these documents agree with the literary tradition which makes Antigonus Gonatas a friend of tyrants and oppressor of Greece.[44] Since the epigram employs the same vocabulary, its author very likely shares the same sympathies.[45] If so, we may assume—and given the unsettled conditions of the 270's, it is an easy assumption—that the puppet government of Cleonymus was succeeded,

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of Sphettos and the Revolt of Athens in 286 B.C. (*Hesperia* Suppl. 17, 1978) 37. *Iscr. Stor. Ell.* 75, the decree of the Delphic Amphictyons acknowledging the Ptolemaeia, has been down-dated further, from 266/5 to 262/1, by R. Étienne and M. Piérart, *BCH* 99 (1975) 62, so that the interval between the two acknowledgements becomes even greater; since the decree of the Island League cannot be dislodged from the vicinity of 280, the Delphic decree must represent a new development, of which more below.

[43]That Peithidemus, the archon of Chremonides' decree, belongs in 268/7 rather than 265/4 has been argued by Heinen (above, n. 33) 102–110, 213, and approved by Habicht, *Untersuchungen zur Politischen Geschichte Athens im 3. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (Munich 1979) 116 n. 11. Meritt however, in *Historia* 26 (1977) 174, and in *Hesperia* 50 (1981) 83–84, 94, 97–99, upholding the tribal cycle of prytany secretaries, continues to favour 265/4. Meritt supposes that two years of skirmishing—the warfare which we hear of under archons Menecles and Nicias Otryneus—preceded "the Grand Alliance" announced in Chremonides' decree; but then we should expect this aggravation to be somehow reflected in the preamble of the decree.

[44]See W. W. Tarn, *Antigonos Gonatas* (Oxford 1913) 278–286; H. Berve, *Die Tyrannis bei den Griechen* (Munich 1967) 2.709; F. Quass, *Chiron* 9 (1979) 43.

[45]Moretti on *Iscr. Stor. Ell.* 62 holds that terms like "ancient laws" and "ancestral constitution" are too conventional to signify; F. Sartori, in *Miscellanea di Studi Alessandrini in Memoria di Augusto Rostagni* (Turin 1963) 144–148, likewise regards the vocabulary of Chremonides' decree as vague and emotive. But vague, emotive, and conventional terms are from time to time appropriated by particular contenders and express definite interests; the evidence strongly suggests that from 280 onwards Ptolemy Philadelphus and his partisans monopolized the terms in question. Tarn, *ibid.* 437–438, to whom Moretti appeals, surveys the Hellenistic use of "ancestral constitution" and of "tyranny" as its antithesis; the usual target is Macedon, from Cassander down to Philip V; the only other is Cleomenes, who suppressed the ancestral constitution of Sparta according to Polybius; this is doubtless the voice of Aratus after he sided with Macedon against Cleomenes. Quass, *Chiron* 9 (1979) 37–52, assembles epigraphic instances of the slogans "ancestral laws," "ancestral constitution," "democracy," and "freedom" from many Hellenistic cities at many different moments, but they do not bear out his contention that the things so described are everywhere the same, *sc.* literal democracy.

directly or after an interval, by another puppet government of Antigonus, and that this in turn was overthrown by Diomedes.

The epigram raises two further questions. How could a Halicarnassian intervene at Troezen? Why should the result be signalized at Oropus? The answers can scarcely be in doubt. From ca 280 Halicarnassus was firmly controlled by Ptolemy Philadelphus,[46] and Halicarnassians were conspicuous in his service.[47] Diomedes may have been the commander

[46]In 270/69, and perhaps for some years before, Callias of Sphettus commanded a Ptolemaic garrison at Halicarnassus (see the inscription published by Shear [above, n.42] lines 70–77, with Shear's comment at pp. 44–45; cf. M. J. Osborne, *ZPE* 35 [1979] 181 n. 3). In *PCairZen* 59036, reprinted by A. S. Hunt and C. C. Edgar, *Select Papyri* 2 (London 1934) 552–555 no. 410, funds levied by Ptolemaic agents in Halicarnassus are paid to a naval officer (the transaction is not, however, a liturgy performed by a Halicarnassian trierarch; cf. n. 117 below). Another papyrus letter, *PCairZen* 59037, speaks of twenty talents owed by Halicarnassian bankers to the royal treasury, "perhaps the proceeds of a major tax-farming contract" (Bagnall [above, n. 34] 97). Ptolemaic control is also reflected in a Halicarnassian inscription which records the king's leave to build a gymnasium (A. Wilhelm, *JÖAI* 11 [1908] 56–60 no. 2). A decree of Halicarnassus conjecturally dated to the years before the Chremonidean War honours someone who had to do with Ptolemy and whose services are to be publicized at Athens as well, and so more likely an Athenian than a Halicarnassian, conceivably Callias of Sphettus (Frost, *AnatSt* 21 [1971] 167–172; cf. Shear, *ibid.* 45). A stoa at Halicarnassus was dedicated jointly to Apollo, the principal deity of the city (above, n. 17), and to Ptolemy, whether Philadelphus or Euergetes is uncertain (*OGIS* 46 = H. W. Pleket, *Epigraphica* 1: *Texts on the Economic History of the Greek World* [Leyden 1962] 26, lines 3–4). Not long after 270 a sanctuary of Sarapis, Isis, and Arsinoe together was established at Halicarnassus, according to an inscription to be cited below; and as we shall see, it is very likely that the cult of Aphrodite Acraea which Halicarnassians brought to Troezen (Paus. 2.32.6) was originally addressed to Arsinoe-Aphrodite. See further P. M. Fraser, *Opus Ath* 3 (1960) 34 n. 3; Bagnall, *ibid.* 94–97, 229–232; and especially M. Wörrle, *Chiron* 9 (1979) 106–111, who shows how strict was Philadelphus' fiscal control of Halicarnassus.

[47]One of the three Ptolemaic Nesiarchs whom we hear of (cf. I. L. Merker, *Historia* 19 [1970] 141–160; Bagnall, *ibid.* 137–138) was Hermias, almost certainly the Hermias of Halicarnassus honoured by a Delian decree (*IG* 11.4.565; *Pros. Ptol.* no. 15042). In 267 B.C. he founded a vase-festival on Delos, the Philadelpheia, in memory of Arsinoe (see n. 69 below); so he could have been in office at the time of Diomedes' exploit. The Ptolemaic agent or partisan honoured by a Halicarnassian decree of this period (above, n. 46) may or may not have been a native of Halicarnassus. Another Halicarnassian besides Diomedes was honoured with a statue at Oropus about the same time or somewhat later—Heracleitus son of Asclepiades (*IG* 7.431 + *add.* p. 744 = J. Marcadé, *Receuil des Signatures des Sculpteurs Grecs* 2 [Paris 1957] 128–130, pl. 47.3 = Petrakos [above, n. 36] 160 no. 18), also known as a *proxenos* of Histiaea (*IG* 12.9.1187 = *SIG*[3] 492, line 26) and of Chios (J. Vanseveren, *RevPhil* 63 [1937] 325–332 no. 6); to receive such honours, especially the statue at Oropus, Heracleitus was probably a diplomat and therefore connected with the Ptolemaic court, as suggested by W. Swinnen, *AncSoc* 1 (1970) 45–50 (but there is much less to be said for the view, *ibid.* 39–45, 50–52, that this Heracleitus is the literary friend of Callimachus). L. Koenen, *Eine Agonistische Inschrift aus Ägypten und Frühptolemaische Königsfeste* (Meisenheim am Glan 1977) 27, points to a few Halicarnassians settled in Egypt under the early Ptolemies.

of a squadron, or even the admiral of the fleet; or perhaps he was not actually in charge of operations, but as a prominent Halicarnassian stood forth to receive credit for the coup which brought Troezen into Ptolemy's camp. Such an event might well be commemorated at a widely frequented shrine; and the choice of Oropus is not surprising, for there is now substantial evidence of cordial relations between Egypt and the Boeotian League.

Most striking (and most novel) is the decree of the General Council of Greece at Plataea honouring Glaucon brother of Chremonides during his service with Philadelphus, i.e., after the end of the Chremonidean War (R. Étienne and M. Piérart, *BCH* 99 [1975] 51–75). Glaucon, according to the decree, has adorned and subsidized the Plataean sanctuary of Zeus of the Free and of the Concord of the Greeks, and has promoted the Freedom Games;[48] of course the patronage really comes from Philadelphus, though he is mentioned only in passing (line 11), conformably with the emphasis on the freedom and concord of the Greeks. A Delphic document probably of spring 261, and therefore close in time—perhaps very close—to the Plataean document, may also be relevant (*Iscr. Stor. Ell.* 75).[49] The Amphictyons hereby acknowledge, seemingly for the first time, the Ptolemaeia of Alexandria which were established about twenty years earlier; since the Aetolian League and

[48]Étienne and Piérart, *BCH* 99 (1975) 63–75, hold that the Plataean cult of Zeus of the Free and the Freedom Games were founded in the late fourth century after the destruction of Thebes and the resettlement of Plataea, that the General Council of Greece meeting at Plataea was the rump of the Greek League based on Corinth, and that the cult of Concord was a third-century innovation, due to Glaucon; but all three points are open to serious objection. Glaucon has been discussed in the light of the decree by J. Pouilloux, in *Le Monde Grec: Pensée, Littérature, Histoire, Documents: Hommages à Claire Préaux* (Brussels 1975) 376–382, and the Concord of the Greeks by W. C. West, *GRBS* 18 (1977) 307–319. The civic "concord" of Themistocles' decree, line 44, is treated in III below.

[49]The Delphic archon Pleiston, who heads the two Amphictyonic decrees acknowledging the Pamboeotian sanctuary and the Ptolemaeia respectively, *Iscr. Stor. Ell.* 74–75, has been placed in 262/1 instead of 266/5 by Étienne and Piérart, *ibid.* 59–62. The redating of Delphi's acknowledgement of the Ptolemaeia has consequences for yet another Amphictyonic decree mentioning an embassy to Philadelphus and Antigonus, *Iscr. Stor. Ell.* 76. The embassy, seeking to alleviate the unsettled conditions of the Chremonidean War, was sent out during a non-Pythian year which Moretti identifies as 261/0. But this embassy can hardly follow on the heels of the elaborate negotiations that led to the acknowledgement of the Ptolemaeia in 262/1; it must fall in one of the preceding three years, 265/4, 264/3, or 263/2. At the time of the embassy communications in Greece had been disrupted ἐπὶ χρό]/νον πολύν (lines 13–14), but this was probably true as early as 265/4, for we know that Athens was at war in 267/6, archon Menecles, and in 266/5, archon Nicias of Otryne (*IG* 2^2 665 line 8, 666 line 18, 667 line 6); even if Chremonides' decree belongs in 265/4, "the Chremonidean War" had begun two years earlier (cf. n. 43 above).

the Boeotian League were just now on excellent terms (another Amphictyonic decree of the same year, *Iscr. Stor. Ell.* 74, acknowledges the inviolacy of the Pamboeotian sanctuary at Coronea), it is likely enough that the acknowledgement of the Ptolemaeia was prompted by recent favours, as at Plataea. About fifty years later, in the reign of Philopator, Ptolemaic patronage is again conspicuous in Boeotia, above all at Thespiae;[50] for reasons of his own Philopator revived the earlier connexion, and at Oropus he and Arsinoe III were honoured with statues set upon the largest of all the bases at the shrine—placed next to Diomedes' statue on the north.[51]

The Oropus epigram, then, shows Troezen siding with Ptolemy Philadelphus. It is Diomedes of Halicarnassus, not Ptolemy, who is exalted; in this respect the epigram resembles the decree of the General Council of Greece, which exalts Glaucon of Athens; the epigram, unlike the decree, can hardly say outright that its subject is an agent of Ptolemy, but the political catch-words and the role of the Antheadae may intimate as much. We should like to know exactly when Diomedes brought Troezen over, but the possible span is wide, roughly the second quarter of the century. Recent commentators, supposing Diomedes to have overthrown the dispensation of Cleonymus, have fixed on the middle or late 270's. As already said, it is possible that Diomedes and Philadelphus did strike at this point; even if a pro-Macedonian government came between, the date need not be much later. Need not: yet it may be; for the only likely terminus for Philadelphus' seizure of Troezen, as also of

[50]See M. Holleaux, *REG* 8 (1895) 190–192 = *Études d'Épigraphie et d'Histoire Grecques* 1 (Paris 1938) 82–83; *REG* 10 (1897) 44–49 = *Études* 1.116–120; *REG* 13 (1900) 187–191 = *Études* 1.89–92; A. de Ridder, *BCH* 46 (1922) 232–234; A. Plassart, *BCH* 50 (1926) 425–426; M. Feyel, *Polybe et l'Histoire de Béotie au III^e Siècle* (Paris 1942) 165–168, 245, 258, 261; A. Schachter, *NC*[7] 1 (1961) 67–70; P. Roesch, *Thespies et la Confédération Béotienne* (Paris 1960) 220–222. Just at this time, towards the end of the third century, the cult of Sarapis and Isis became popular in Boeotia, especially at Orchomenus; witness the manumissions, *IG* 7.3198–3204, and the dedications, *IG* 7.3215, 3219–3220; cf. S. Lauffer, *RE Suppl.* 14 (1974) 320, *s.* Orchomenos 1, and in general, T. A. Brady, *The Reception of the Egyptian Cults by the Greeks, 330–30 B.C.* (*University of Missouri Studies* 10.1, 1935) 19, 31. Ptolemaic patronage in Boeotia goes back to Ptolemy Soter, if he was the source of the funds which Philocles of Sidon contributed to the rebuilding of Thebes in ca 310 and 308 (*IG* 7.2419 = *SIG*[3] 337, lines 18, 27, as interpreted by I. L. Merker, *Historia* 19 [1970] 144–145). Many Boeotians settled in Egypt (M. Launey, *Recherches sur les Armées Hellénistiques* [Paris 1949] 1.151–165, 2.1127–1131), and in the third century Ptolemaic coinage is well represented in Boeotia (T. Hackens, *BCH* 93 [1969] 704, 709–710; Bagnall [above, n. 34] 202–203).

[51]For the monument of Philopator and Arsinoe see Petrakos (above, n. 36) 145 fig. 35, 155 no. 11. The base was subsequently inscribed with a decree of the Boeotian League honouring Phormio of Byzantium as an agent of Philopator (*IG* 7.298 = *OGIS* 81; cf. Petrakos 35, 144).

Methana, is the decline or the downfall of Egyptian sea-power in the Aegean, which may have come as early as the Chremonidean War or as late as the closing years of the reign.[52] Troezen and Methana were probably acquired at no long interval, if not at the same time.

If Philadelphus held these places during the Chremonidean War, we should expect them to figure in the operations; and perhaps they did. Ptolemaic forces, as we know from remains on the ground, were active in Attica; they held at least two good harbours, at Vouliagmeni and Koroni; and a plausible reconstruction of events brings the Spartan king Areus into Attica before his defeat at Corinth.[53] He must then have come by sea, on Egyptian ships; for the Isthmus belonged to Macedon. Where did he embark but at Troezen? This is mere conjecture, however, and nothing turns on it here. The upshot is that Troezen went over to Philadelphus after ca 275, probably in the period 275–255, and rather more likely in the years 275–268 or 265.

So much for the political realities behind the Oropus epigram. The Antheadae, Diomedes' family or clan, deserve a word.[54] Inscriptions show that the family were active throughout the Hellenistic period. The grave epigram already mentioned commemorates a lady who was herself a member of the family and perhaps married another member (*SEG* 16.666); the name Ἀνθεάδαι is proudly repeated three times in the surviving lines (6, 11, 17). The Antheadae like many another family or clan are called by a seeming patronymic; whether they were in fact descended from a single eminent man we cannot know, but it was inevitable that the family should exalt a common ancestor. Strictly the

[52]For a summary of the question see E. Will, *Histoire Politique du Monde Hellénistique* 1 (Nancy 1966) 205–207, 212–216. One index unmentioned by Will is that Ptolemaic control of the Island League was at an end during the course of the Second Syrian War, ca 260–253; see Merker, *Historia* 19 (1970) 159–160.

[53]The evidence for Ptolemaic forces in Attica has been assembled by J. R. McCredie, *Fortified Military Camps in Attica* (*Hesperia* Suppl. 11, 1966) 1–16, 18–25, 30–32, 46–48, 107–116, and is reviewed by Heinen (above, n. 33) 159–165. A decree of the deme of Rhamnus recording the deployment of Ptolemaic soldiers (*SEG* 24.154, lines 23–25) helps to confirm the archaeological dating of the camps in question; cf. Pouilloux, (above, n. 48) 376 n. 5. McCredie, 110–113, followed by Merritt, *Hesperia* 50 (1981) 98–99, brings Areus into Attica just once, Heinen, 172–175, 199–202, three times over; in either case, and especially in the second, Areus can hardly have marched overland by the Isthmus, for there is no question that Craterus held Corinth at this time, and Antigonus could easily bar the way.

[54]Toepffer's articles in *RE* on Anthas and the Antheadae are extremely misleading, for they purvey dubious conjecture with complete assurance (*RE* 1.2 [1894] 2357–2358, summarized and perpetuated in *Der Kleine Pauly s.vv.*). Thus it is that G. E. Bean and J. M. Cook, *BSA* 50 (1955) 103–104, who publish the grave epigram, describe the Antheadae as the hereditary priests of Poseidon—a dogma masquerading as a fact.

ancestor of the Ἀνθεάδαι ought to be *Ἀνθέας, but the forms we find are Ἀνθεύς and Ἄνθας/Ἄνθης. An exciting erotic tale of Hellenistic origin revolves round Ἀνθεύς of Halicarnassus, ἐκ βασιλείου γένους (Parth. *Amat. Narr.* 14, citing [Arist.] fr. 556 Rose,[3] οἱ τὰ Μιλησιακά *FGrHist* 496 F 1, and Alex. Aet. fr. 3 Powell).[55] The ancestor must come over on the *Mayflower*, as it were; hence Anthas' role as founder of Halicarnassus, which was not universally acknowledged (cf. Vitr. *De Arch.* 2.8.12).[56] As a founder Anthas must hail from Troezen, and here the "Flowery" variety of grape, Ἀνθηδονιάς, supplied a handle. So Anthas became an eponym of the district which produced the grape—either Calaureia as a whole or a part of it, according to different views.[57]

The earliest writer to mention the eponym Anthas as linking Troezen and Halicarnassus is Callimachus (fr. 703 Pfeiffer; cf. Apollodorus,

[55]In the poem of Alexander Aetolus Halicarnassus is not mentioned, and Antheus is described as "offspring of King Assessus" (line 5). Since Assessus was a place near Miletus, which figures elsewhere in the local history of Miletus, it seems likely that the lineage of the Halicarnassian Antheus was arbitrarily altered by a Milesian source; see Jacoby on *FGrHist* 496 F 1. A Halicarnassian landowner of the third century B.C. bore the name Antheus (*SIG*[3] 1044 = *LSAM* 72, line 16). B. Snell at *TrGF* 1 162 canvasses the suggestion that Agathon's *Antheus* was the Halicarnassian; but Agathon invented all the persons in this play, and the eponym of a Halicarnassian family is not likely to have been invented for the Athenian stage.

[56]Vitruvius, who was very interested in Halicarnassus, says of its founding that "Melas and Areuanias brought a joint colony from Argos and Troezen." This tradition, unheard of elsewhere (unless it gives rise to Pomponius Mela's cursory notice of Halicarnassus as a colony of Argos, 1.85), may well be older than all the talk of Anthas. Melas sounds like an Argive name; cf. Meltas and Melantas, and also Argeius and Melas as sons of Licymnius (Apollod. *Bibl.* 2 [156] 7.7.6); Μέλας occurs at Iasus (*SIG*[3] 169, line 26, of the mid fourth century), reputedly an Argive foundation (Plb. 16.12.2), and Μέλων at Halicarnassus (*SIG*[3] 45, lines 30, 33, 35, of the mid fifth century). Areuanias perhaps led a non-Dorian element from Troezen; cf. the three Ἀροάνιος rivers and the Ἀροάνια mountains in Arcadia (Paus. *seriatim*). In the *archaeologia* of Troezen known to Pausanias the Dorians who came from Argos (2.30.10) probably joined the descendants of Anthas (2.30.9) in the founding of Halicarnassus. Strabo in his several references to the founding speaks now of Anthes alone (8.6.14, p. 374), now of "Anthes and his Troezenians, among others" (14.2.16, p. 656), now of Dorians swarming off from the Megarid (14.2.6, p. 653); we cannot tell whether the same version is in view throughout.

[57]Whereas Anthas founds Antheia, i.e. Calaureia, in Pausanias' *archaeologia* (I above), the Aristotelian *Constitution of Troezen*, frs. 596–597 Rose[3], treats Anthas and Hyperes as eponyms of the Calaureian grapes Anthedonias and Hypereias. It is reasonable to suppose that the bulk of the *Constitutions* apart from the Athenian issued from the Peripatetic school during Hellenistic times, to be fathered on Aristotle by cataloguers or biographers; see I. Düring, *RE* Suppl. 11 (1968) 309–311, *s.* Aristoteles 18. If the Aristotelian ascription is accepted (as it is by G. Huxley, *GRBS* 13 [1972] 157–169, who pays tribute to Aristotle's "sympathetic treatment of myth"), the consequence for us will be that Antheus of Halicarnassus, eponym of the Antheadae, and Antheus of Troezen, eponym of the grape Anthedonias, must be viewed as independent figures who were subsequently merged.

FGrHist 244 F 191; Str. 8.6.14, p. 374, 14.2.16, p. 656).[58] No firm date can be assigned to the Troezenian *archaeologia*, which makes Anthas a forebear of the founders of Halicarnassus (Paus. 2.30.9);[59] but conjecture naturally lights on the third century. And the third century may well have produced "the old stele" listing the priests of Poseidon at Halicarnassus (*SIG*³ 1020), which includes Anthas and other Troezenian eponyms in its upper reaches.[60] What is the relationship between the Oropus epigram and these other things? It would be quite gratuitous to assume that when Diomedes arrived at Troezen, the mythical lore which suited the new order so well was already in existence. The epigram certainly does not presuppose this lore. On the contrary, the lines (4–8) linking the Antheadae and Troezen are, as already said, remarkably vague: Troezen has twice been well served by the family, lately by Diomedes, formerly no doubt by the eponym Anthas (cf. line 2); for of course the ancestor of an eminent family of Halicarnassus will be an eminent Troezenian. The vagueness is understandable if the eponym of the Antheadae was hitherto unknown at Troezen. So it seems very likely that the mythical lore was called forth by the new order which Diomedes inaugurated.

Both Ptolemy and Halicarnassus have left other traces at Troezen.[61] On the acropolis or nearby Pausanias saw shrines of Isis and Aphrodite Acraea, and ascribes one of them to the munificence of Halicarnassus, or perhaps of Halicarnassians living at Troezen (2.32.6); there is reason to think that Aphrodite Acraea means Arsinoe, and that the shrines date

[58]Callimachus and Apollodorus are cited by Steph. Byz. *s.* Ἁλικαρνασσός. Huxley, *GRBS* 6 (1965) 213–214, emends and supplements Stephanus very freely, and introduces, *inter alia*, the name of Andron as an authority. This would give an earlier source; but we must take the evidence as we find it. The Antheadae appear as "founders" in line 17 of the grave epigram: καὶ κτιστῶν γένος εἶλκον ἀπ' Ἀν[θεαδῶν].

[59]When the *archaeologia* of Troezen was elaborated by the Hellenistic writer who stands behind Pausanias, successive dynasties brought various local eponyms, and later than all these eponyms came the Dorians, who of course were concerned in the founding of Halicarnassus (cf. Hdt. 8.43 and n. 56 above); accordingly it was not convenient to retain Anthas himself as the founder of Halicarnassus, and the task was left to his descendants (Paus. 2.30.9). Callimachus on the other hand has Anthas taking the tribe Dymanes from Troezen to Halicarnassus.

[60]Since Anthas comes seventh among the mythical-sounding priests, the putative kinship group from whom the priests are recruited cannot be the Antheadae but possibly includes them (cf. n. 54 above). M. Broadbent, *Studies in Greek Genealogy* (Leiden 1968) 26, identifies the author of the list as Andron, *FGrHist* 10, "whose name suggests that he belonged to this family;" but the name is too common to warrant the inference. As she observes, the mythical part of the genealogy seems not to draw on any Halicarnassian tradition, for distinctive epichoric names are lacking.

[61]It may also be significant that Callimachus' *Hymn to Delos*, which includes a devious and extravagant encomium of Philadelphus (lines 165–190), elsewhere makes flattering reference to Troezen as a busy port (line 41, in a mythical context).

from the time of Philadelphus. The passage needs to be quoted. †διαβὰς δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν Τροιζηνίαν ναὸν ἴδοις† Ἴσιδος καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτὸν Ἀφροδίτης Ἀκραίας· τὸν μὲν ἄτε ἐν μητροπόλει τῇι Τροιζῆνι Ἁλικαρνασσεῖς ἐποίησαν, τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τῆς Ἴσιδος ἀνέθηκε Τροιζηνίων δῆμος. Somewhere at Troezen "you may see a temple of Isis and above it another of Aphrodite Acraea; the one was built by Halicarnassians because Troezen is their mother-city, but the statue of Isis was dedicated by the people of Troezen." That τὸν μέν refers back to the temple of Isis is, I think, fairly clear, so that this temple is Halicarnassian and its statue Troezenian, and the temple of Aphrodite is mentioned only in passing, seemingly as an adjunct of the worship of Isis. If however the temple of Aphrodite is credited to the Halicarnassians, as some commentators have it,[62] the association of Isis and Aphrodite will be rather more explicit. Now as a rule the numerous cults of Isis in Greece do not suggest that the cities concerned were well disposed towards the Ptolemies, for the cults were often introduced by private persons and ratified officially, if at all, only out of regard for these persons.[63] But the case is plainly different here: either the city of Halicarnassus or (less likely, on financial grounds) the body of Halicarnassians resident at Troezen built a temple, announcing it as a tribute to the mother-city;[64] and either then or later the city of Troezen furnished a statue for the temple.

The notice of Aphrodite Acraea allows us to go a step further. Acraea is a title of Aphrodite as identified with Arsinoe (*SEG* 8.361, a dedication to Ἀφροδίτη Ἀκραία Ἀρσινόη); the title almost certainly refers to the promontory of Zephyrium near Alexandria, where Callicrates of Samos, the admiral of Philadelphus, built a temple for Aphrodite Arsinoe as patron of sailors.[65] The cult at Zephyrium was instituted during Arsinoe's

[62]They are registered by Meyer, *RE* 7A 1 (1939) 632, *s.* Troizen 2; so too Frazer in his translation. Meyer takes the same view as I do.

[63]Two good examples of private persons' propagating the Egyptian gods are discussed by F. Sokolowski, *GRBS* 15 (1974) 441–448.

[64]Another example of Halicarnassian munificence in the same period, on a smaller scale, comes from Pharsalus, where an inscription of roughly the second quarter of the third century records that Leonidas of Halicarnassus built a stoa and established an athletic competition for local enjoyment (Y. Béquignon, *BCH* 59 [1935] 514–519; cf. S. G. Miller, *AJA* 78 [1974] 151–152, who identifies three other Halicarnassians, at Pharsalus, Histiaea, and Delphi, as relatives of Leonidas, and infers that the family prospered from the commercial nexus of Histiaea and Thessaly; but the affiliation is doubted by J. and L. Robert, *REG* 87 [1974] 289 *Bull. Ep.* no. 547).

[65]For the cult at Zephyrium see Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (Oxford 1972) 1.239–240, and for the role of Callicrates H. Hauben, *Callicrates of Samos* (Louvain 1970) 41–46, 64–67. Aphrodite Acraea is also found at Cnidus (Paus. 1.1.3) and near the tip of the Karpass peninsula in Cyprus (Str. 14.6.3, p. 682). The cult at Zephyrium was certainly nautical (cf. Poseidippus, nos. 12–13 Gow-Page = R. A. Pack, *The Greek and Latin Literary Texts from Greco-Roman Egypt* [Ann Arbor 1965] no. 1435 and Ath. 7.106,

lifetime; but outside of Egypt Arsinoe was widely worshipped after her death, mostly under the title Philadelphus.[66] At Halicarnassus, which is of prime interest to us here, a sanctuary was dedicated to Sarapis, Isis, and Arsinoe together (*OGIS* 16, as revised by N. Greipl, *Philologus* 85 [1930] 159–174 = L. Vidman, *Syll. Inscr. Rel. Is. et Sar.* no. 270);[67] a cult association of Isis and Arsinoe is otherwise attested only in Egypt, in a few native sanctuaries and perhaps at Alexandria, witness the faience oenochoae on which the two names are conjoined.[68] We should also note that the Delian vase-festival in memory of Arsinoe was founded by the Nesiarch Hermias (*IG* 11.2.287B, lines 112–119, etc.),[69] who is almost certainly a Halicarnassian, as already said.

It seems not unlikely, then, that Halicarnassians introduced the cult of Arsinoe at Troezen, and it is not surprising that the cults of Aphrodite Acraea Arsinoe and of Isis should be found together. Pausanias, it is true, speaks of the Halicarnassian initiative with respect to Isis alone (according to the likelier interpretation of his words); but we are free to suppose that Aphrodite Acraea Arsinoe arrived under slightly different auspices; for example, Diomedes may have instituted the worship of Arsinoe at the moment of Troezen's liberation, leaving his countrymen to endow a temple of Isis on the same site at a later date. Because the cult was addressed to Aphrodite Acraea Arsinoe rather than to Arsinoe alone (like all the posthumous cults we know of), it may well be that the cult—and the liberation—antedate Arsinoe's death in 270.

No sure traces of either temple, of Aphrodite or of Isis, have been

318D), and those at Cnidus and in Cyprus were very likely so; Aphrodite Acraea therefore resembles Aphrodite Euploea, Limenia, Pontia. Since Cyprus was always, and Cnidus sometimes, in the Ptolemaic domain, it is possible that at these places too Aphrodite Acraea was identified with Arsinoe, and that one of the three cults was the parent of the other two. The epithet Ἄκραιος, Ἀκραία is not very common. The only other deities of whom it is attested are Zeus and Hera (separately, not together); their cults sometimes belong to promontories (so Hera Acraea at Perachora, probably Hera Acraea at Corcyra, possibly Zeus Acraeus at Halicarnassus), sometimes to inland sites (so Hera Acraea at Corinth and at Argos, and Zeus Acraeus at Scythopolis); for references see Fraser 2.390, nn. 398, 399, and for Hera Acraea see also J. Salmon, *BSA* 67 (1972) 181–182, 195, 200, 200–203. On this showing the cult of Aphrodite Acraea may well be a unitary phenomenon.

[66]For the cult of Arsinoe outside of Egypt see T. B. Mitford, *ArchP* 13 (1938) 29–32, and *BSA* 56 (1961) 7–8; L. Robert, in *Essays in Honor of C. B. Welles* (New Haven 1966) 203–206.

[67]Cf. Fraser, *Opus Ath* 3 (1960) 34 n. 2, 4; Swinnen, *AncSoc* 1 (1970) 50 n. 51; S. K. Heyob, *The Cult of Isis among Women in the Graeco-Roman World* (Leiden 1975) 5–6.

[68]See Fraser (above, n. 65) 1.240–243; D. B. Thompson, *Ptolemaic Oinochoai and Portraits in Faience: Aspects of the Ruler-Cult* (Oxford 1973) 57–59; Heyob, *ibid.* 20 n. 119.

[69]For a list of the Delian inscriptions mentioning the festival see Merker, *Historia* 19 (1970) 153 n. 56.

recognized on the ground,[70] and indeed we do not know quite where to look, for the directions given by Pausanias are hopelessly corrupt.[71] To judge from the context the temples may have stood either on the acropolis or on high ground just outside the acropolis wall.[72] In any case a sanctuary which boasted two temples in this setting was rich and important.[73] Since Aphrodite Acraea Arsinoe, like Isis, presided over navigation, the sanctuary reflects the naval and commercial ties that bound Troezen, Halicarnassus, and Alexandria.

III: PTOLEMY PHILADELPHUS AND THE DECREE OF THEMISTOCLES

The conclusion reached in I was that the transmitted text of Themistocles' decree was substantially altered in at least one respect by those

[70]A terrace on the east side of the acropolis slope which once supported a small Archaic temple is commonly identified with the sanctuary of Aphrodite (Welter [above, n. 13] 19–20; Meyer, *Pausanias' Beschreibung Griechenlands* [Zurich/Stuttgart 1954] 580–581; E. Kirsten and W. Kraiker, *Griechenlandkunde*[5] [Heidelberg 1967] 311), but for no good reason. The venerable sanctuary of Pan, expressly located on the acropolis slope (Paus. 2.32.6), is a better choice (so Meyer, *RE* 7A 1 [1939] 632).

[71]The trouble begins with the preceding sentence, about Pan's delivering Troezen from plague. ἔδειξεν ὀνείρατα ἃ εἶχεν ἄκεσιν λοιμοῦ πιέσαντος † Ἀθηναίους δὲ μάλιστα· διαβὰς δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν Τροιζηνίαν ναὸν ἴδοις † Ἰσιδος κτλ. The two chief difficulties are that the object of πιέσαντος is incomplete, and that the phrase following διαβάς is nonsense. Meyer, *RE* 7A 1 (1939) 628, 632, tried to remove the second difficulty by supposing that Pausanias here "crosses" the gully of Ayios Athanasios east of the city, and so passes from Troezen proper into the countryside. But although διαβάς may well refer to this gully or to the other, Potami, west of the city, ἡ Τροιζηνία cannot possibly mean the countryside as distinct from the city; and indeed Meyer gave up this interpretation in his rendering of Pausanias (above, n. 70), 140. The various shifts adopted by editors are not convincing (M. H. Rocha-Pereira in the Teubner of 1973 marks a lacuna before ναόν), and I have nothing better to suggest.

[72]Pausanias deals first with the lower city, including the precinct of Hippolytus outside the wall (2.31.1–32.4), then with the temple of Athena on top of the acropolis and the sanctuary of Pan lower down (32.5–6); unless the "crossing," διαβάς, takes him outside the walls, the temples of Isis and Aphrodite are on the acropolis slope. If he has passed outside the walls, they might be to either east or west. His next routes and stages are the mountain road leading south-east to Hermione (32.7), the sanctuary of Poseidon Phytalmius, outside the city walls at the south-east (32.8), the road leading north-east to Celenderis (32.9), and the road leading north-west to the Saronic Gulf (32.10). According to Meyer, *RE* 7A 1 (1939) 632–633, the visit to Isis and Aphrodite must be the first of five peripheral routes taken in east-west order; but Pausanias would not be inconsequent if he went first to a sanctuary on high ground *west* of the acropolis.

[73]It may be worth mentioning the similar arrangement on the south slope of the Athenian Acropolis, though the similarity is undoubtedly fortuitous. At the west end of the Asclepieium terrace are adjoining cults of Aphrodite and of Isis, the latter traceable only from the mid first century B.C., and embellished in the time of Hadrian with a small but striking temple. There is even a connexion with Troezen, for the cult of Aphrodite was associated with the nearby "tomb of Hippolytus." The remains on the site are carefully interpreted by S. Walker, *BSA* 74 (1979) 243–257.

who posted the decree at Troezen in the mid third century. But if so—if contemporary interests have guided the selection of detail—then we must ask how the rest of the decree fits these interests. Obviously the advertisement of Troezen and Calaureia was not the only interest, for then it was enough to rehearse the evacuation orders alone, as our literary sources do, together with the promise of the *archegetes*; whether or not the evacuation orders circulated as a document complete in itself, the literary tradition shows that Troezenian publicists need have gone no further. Why then publish the decree as we have it? Why go on at such length about Athens' response to invasion more than two hundred years before?

A careful reader of the decree observes that Themistocles proposes several distinct measures, which might be summarily labelled as the evacuation orders (lines 4–12), the recruiting orders (lines 12–40), the sailing orders (lines 40–44), and the detention orders (lines 44–48). But to insist on the multifarious content is to neglect the impression of unity, of urgent single-minded action, which the cursory reader carries away.[74] The decree deals throughout with the Athenian resolve to fight at sea. This is obviously true of the first three parts distinguished above, and so far as we can see it is true of the fourth part too, the detention orders, which bring the ostracized to Salamis, the rear station of the Athenian fleet. The decree excludes mention of all matters apart from fighting at sea, notably the defense line at Thermopylae. Conversely it dwells with vivid particularity on the procedures for manning the fleet, which were partly outside the experience of third-century readers. The decree makes an exciting, coherent story, and its theme, in a word, is sea-power.

Now critics who maintain that the compendious decree was put forward at some juncture in the fourth century to rally public opinion at Athens or elsewhere in Greece may fairly be asked to explain how this exclusive emphasis on sea-power suits the juncture which they envisage. To be sure, we know that in late 348, or on another view in early 346, the Athenian Assembly heard Aeschines read out decrees of Miltiades and Themistocles, and also the Ephebic Oath, in support of a proposal to defend Thermopylae against Philip (Dem. 19 *Embassy* 303).[75] If the

[74]Hignett (above, n. 31) 463, goes too far in describing the decree as "a jumble of disparate measures, what the Romans called a *lex satura*."

[75]Late 348, after the fall of Olynthus, has long been the accepted date for Aeschines' speech; see, e.g., J. R. Ellis, *Philip II and Macedonian Imperialism* (London 1976) 100–101. But G. L. Cawkwell, *REG* 73 (1960) 416–438, and *Philip of Macedon* (London 1978) 96–97, 186, and again *CQ* 72 (1978) 93–104, argues for early 346; he is opposed by G. T. Griffith in N. G. L. Hammond and G. T. Griffith, *A History of Macedonia* 2 (Oxford 1979) 330 n. 1. The problem is of interest here for its bearing on Theopompus' repudiation of certain instruments of Athenian propaganda—*viz* the Greek Oath (said by Lycurgus, *Leocr.* 80, to be derived from the Ephebic Oath), the so-called Peace of

decree of Themistocles read out by Aeschines said no more than the decree reported by Cicero, Nepos, Quintilian, Plutarch, Aelius Aristides, Frontinus, and Libanius, which corresponds to the evacuation orders of the epigraphic text, then it was simply a stirring call for immediate action, like Miltiades' summons to march out against the Persians at Marathon, and like the ephebe's resolve to fight bravely and protect his native land;[76] the two decrees and the oath would all help to stiffen the Athenians against Philip or any other dangerous enemy. If however Aeschines read out the compendious decree more or less as inscribed at Troezen—evacuation orders, recruiting orders, sailing orders, detention orders, to a total of well over 350 words—he was irrelevant and tedious to a rare degree, for the defence of Thermopylae against Philip did not rest with Athens' navy, but with an infantry force to be mustered from Greece at large. It is hard to imagine any motive that could lead Aeschines to cite such a document at such a time—though pedantry and misplaced book-learning have been suggested.[77] This seems rather lame; but what shall we say of the rival suggestion that the compendious decree was invented or furbished up for this very occasion?[78]

Insofar as sea power was in question during the Social War, 357–355 B.C., when Athens also briefly faced the threat of Persian intervention, it is less unreasonable to situate the work of forgery and the first publicity hereabouts;[79] but the idea has nothing else to commend it, for as we

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Callias, and the story of Marathon (whereof Miltiades' decree)— which came in Book 25 of the *Philippica* (*GFrHist* 115 F 153–154). That Book 25 dealt with the year 348/7 is suggested, though not proved, by other fragments of this and neighbouring books (see F 125–170 *in extenso*, with Jacoby's comments). If Aeschines' speech and the debate about resistance to Philip belong to early 346, then either Theopompus' Book 25 extended this far, or his strictures referred to some other huge publicity effort by the Athenians, perhaps at the Olympic festival of 348; Cawkwell does not consider this complication. The scope and arrangement of Book 25 have not been greatly clarified by W. R. Connor, *Theopompus and Fifth-Century Athens* (Washington 1968) 77–98 (the occasion of the strictures is considered at 96–97, 171 n. 20, 175 n. 55).

[76]Mattingly (above, n. 32) 79 likewise holds that a separate text of the evacuation orders is presupposed by Aeschines' and Demosthenes' manner of speaking.

[77]"If it were genuine," says Jameson, *Historia* 12 (1963) 402, of the compendious decree, and he thinks it is, "it would be altogether likely that Aischines, with his well known addiction to long and largely irrelevant demonstrations of his education, would have read it out, for its sentimental appeal rather than for any exact implications of policy." Not everyone will approve this assessment of the probabilities. Aeschines could have focussed on the evacuation orders as readily as all our other literary sources do (cf. Meiggs and Lewis on *GHI*[2] 23). M. M. Henderson, *Acta Classica* 20 (1977) 98, who thinks of the compendious decree as "the inadvertent discovery of a man known to have searched the archives carefully for specific decrees," i.e., of Aeschines, does not tell us whether Aeschines' audience shared the joy of discovery.

[78]So Habicht 14–16, 30. "For its major and manifest statements no more inappropriate a composition can be very well imagined" (Jameson, *Historia* 12 [1963] 402).

[79]So M. Guarducci, *RivFC* 39 (1961) 68–78.

know from contemporary sources Athens was then tired and baffled and chagrined by the effort of fighting a doubtful cause with still more doubtful methods.[80] Others have thought of the Lamian War, a zealous and high-minded enterprise which was likened at the time to the events of 480 (Diod. 18.10.2), and which saw fighting at sea by the largest fleets since the Peloponnesian War;[81] it is argued that the recruiting orders of our text agree in detail with an actual Athenian decree of the year 323 which provides for the outfitting of two hundred triremes (and of forty quadriremes) and for the enlistment of all Athenians under forty and for a division of forces into home defence and forward attack (Diod. 18.10.2; cf. Just. 13.5.8).[82] Moreover, the same decree went on to provide that other Greek cities should be summoned to the struggle with a reminder of Athens' performance in 480. Since a version of Themistocles' decree had already been used against Philip some twenty-five years before, it would be perverse to deny that the decree was probably used on this occasion too, both by speakers in the Assembly and by the Athenian ambassadors who addressed other assemblies in other cities. And since Athens' fleet was now as badly needed as in 480, it seems not unlikely that the original form of the decree, *sc.* the evacuation orders, was elaborated so as to include some mention of the manning of the ships. But not so as to produce the recruiting orders which we have, still less the whole compendious decree. For the compendious decree, though apt in some respects to Athens' predicament in 323, is most inapt in others;[83] the truth is that the predicament of 323 matches the actual predicament of 480 much more closely than it does the compendious decree; and if an Athenian publicist of 323 had set himself to compose a decree of Themistocles which should also be a plan of action for 323, the result would be very different from the compendious decree. Our decree is remarkable in refusing to notice the defence by land, above all at Thermopylae; yet the defence by land, above all at Thermopylae, was as crucial in 323 as

[80]As Jameson says, *Historia* 12 (1963) 402, "an Athenian mercenary captain's venture in Asia Minor and the Persian King's consequent annoyance and threats" do not provide the best opportunity for harking back to Themistocles' decree.

[81]The naval forces and engagements of the Lamian War are reconstructed by T. Walek, *RevPhil* 48 (1924) 23–30, and by M. Cary, *A History of the Greek World 323–146 B.C.*[2] (London 1951) 381–383; Walek concludes that in 322 Athens put forth her greatest effort ever.

[82]So Braccesi (above, n. 5) 91–94, *Epigraphica* 30 (1968) 172–179, and *RivStorAnt* 1 (1971) 211–213; M. Sordi, *ibid.* 213–215; Prestianni, (above, n. 5) 484–496.

[83]Prestianni, *ibid.* 490–496, holds that the ally to be restored beside Sparta and Corinth in line 17 of our decree is not Aegina (so Jameson, generally followed) but Sicyon: *μετὰ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Κο[ρ]ιν[θίων καὶ Σικυονίων]*. Sicyon was indeed to the fore in 323—but not as a naval power. Braccesi, *RivStorAnt* 1 (1971) 213, thinks that the clause about the ostracized (lines 44–47) was added on behalf of Demosthenes during his exile at Troezen. But like many others Braccesi misconceives the view of the ostracized which is presupposed by our decree; it is distinctly hostile (cf. n. 121 below).

in 480, and both Athenians and other Greeks were most concerned with this theatre. The Lamian War was not the time to rehearse the compendious decree.

Sceptics have explained the compendious decree as a propaganda instrument designed for use against a momentary pressing danger—against Persian intervention in the mid 350's, against Philip in the early 340's, against Antipater in 323. The explanation fails because sea power was not the key to the defence of Greece—not in the fourth century, and not at any other time (which is reason for dismissing the substance of the compendious decree as inauthentic).[84] Instead it was the key to Athenian domination of other maritime cities. During most of the fourth century Athens sought to rule the sea, and at least one other ostensible fifth-century document, the so-called Peace of Callias, was paraded in order to show the benefits of Athenian sea-power. A better hypothesis than those just mentioned is that the Peace of Callias and Themistocles' evacuation orders were first urged upon the public in the years round 380 B.C., as the time ripened for the creation of the Second Athenian Alliance; for the substance if not the letter of both documents was on the lips of Athens' panegyrists during the previous decade (Lys. 2 *Epit.*, Pl. *Menex.*, Isocr. 4 *Paneg.*).[85] But in ca 380 as at any other time in the fourth century it is impossible to conceive of a patient audience for all the antiquarian details with which the compendious decree embellishes the theme of Athenian sea-power.

In the third century the details might be of interest for their own sake. And in the circumstances evoked above (II) the emphasis on sea power strikes home at once. There is no doubt what sea-power meant to contemporary readers of the Troezenian stele. "All the sea and the land and the resounding rivers are under the sway of Ptolemy," said Theocritus in the late 270s (*Id.* 17.91–92); during a celebration of the Ptolemaeia at Alexandria, perhaps in 271/0, images of all the Greek cities of Asia and the islands were paraded so as to glorify Philadelphus' naval empire (Callixeinus, *FGrHist* 627 F 2 = Ath. 5.33, 201E).[86] The size and

[84]At *JHS* 96 (1976) 100–120 I discuss the general strategy of 480 B.C. apropos of the Thessalian expedition; see 116 n. 80 for the limited role of sea power.

[85]See *Historical Reflections* 3 (1976) 3–24, where I review the themes and avenues of Athenian publicity on behalf of the Second Alliance, and argue that several disputed documents originate at this time, the Covenant of Plataea in particular serving as a paradigm of the Alliance.

[86]That the festival described by Callixeinus is the Ptolemaeia seems very probable; that it is the celebration of 271/0, somewhat less so. The reason for adopting this date, and for connecting Theocr. *Id.* 17 with the same occasion, is the belief that the celebration of 271/0 was especially magnificent, as marking the successful issue of the First Syrian War; but this belief rests largely on the evidence of Theocritus and Callixeinus, so that the argument is circular. For a sampling of opinion see H. Volkmann, *RE* 23.2

number of Philadelphus' ships were prodigious (*OGIS* 39; Ath. 5.36, 203D; cf. App. *Praef.* 10);[87] a contemporary source, cited by Athenaeus, rated his fleet as the greatest ever, and modern calculations agree.[88] Any Greek of the third century who paused before the Troezenian stele and read about the heyday of Athenian sea-power, about triremes and Artemisium and Salamis, could not fail to be reminded of the imperial navy which was as dominant then as the Athenian had been two centuries before—and which likewise promised to secure the freedom of Greece.

"The freedom of Greece:" there was probably never a moment in Greek history, at least from the fifth century onwards, when the freedom of Greece was *not* at risk from someone's point of view; Themistocles' call to the Athenians "to ward off the barbarian for the sake of freedom, both their own and that of the other Greeks" (lines 14–16), may have stiffened fourth-century Athenians against Thebes or Philip or Alexander, but it was equally appropriate to other occasions before and after;[89] and scholars who treat this clause as a sure token of Attic oratory in the age of Demosthenes are misguided. The language is perfectly typical of the period and the milieu of the Troezenian stele. The Boeotian decree (strictly, the decree of the General Council of Greece) honouring Glaucon as an agent of Philadelphus records that he has patronized the games—elsewhere called the Freedom Games—in memory of the brave men "who fought against the barbarians for the sake of the freedom of the Greeks" (*BCH* 99 [1975] p. 53, lines 22–24); the worship of Zeus of the

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(1959) 1583–1584, *s.* Ptolemaeia, and Will, (above, n. 52) 1.130, 180 n. 2. Fraser, (above, n. 65) 1.231–232, thinks that Callixeinus described not the Ptolemaeia but a unique event staged by Philadelphus early in his reign—"a vast parade of the Alexandrian Pantheon," emphasizing Dionysus and extending to the cults of Ptolemy Soter and Berenice; yet other elements of the description disclose a fourth-yearly festival which included games and musical contests.

[87]As for the number, Athenaeus gives precise figures for each of the larger classes of warship, from the quinquireme upwards, making a total of 112; the ships of the smaller classes were "twice as many," which may mean a total of exactly 224 or more likely a total in this vicinity, rounded off for convenience. As for the size, the existence of the very largest classes is confirmed by the Paphian dedication *OGIS* 39 (which has been republished without change by T. B. Mitford, *BSA* 56 [1961] 9, no. 17); other classes are attested in papyrus documents, for which see L. Casson, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World* (Princeton 1971) 140 n. 17. So Athenaeus' source seems entirely reliable in his account of Philadelphus' warships, but perhaps not in his estimate of other seagoing craft (4,000). Tarn's attempt (above, n. 44, 456) to reconcile Appian's categories and figures with Athenaeus' is more ingenious than convincing.

[88]For a comparison of the main fleets in the eastern Mediterranean down to Philadelphus and Antigonus see Tarn, *ibid.* 454–458.

[89]Quass, *Chiron* 9 (1979) 44–49, points to many Hellenistic inscriptions exalting "freedom," whether freedom from local tyrants or freedom from external oppression.

Free is the subject of almost liturgical repetition throughout the text (lines 17, 19–20, 29–30, 39–40). The Athenian decree of 268 announcing the alliance against Macedon compliments Philadelphus for his activity "on behalf of the common freedom of the Greeks" (*IG* 2^2 687 + 686 = *SIG*^{3} 434/5 = *Staatsvertr.* 476 line 18); it is said of the Greek allies that "they gained glory for themselves and secured freedom for the other Greeks" (lines 12–14), and that "they fought many good fights together" —not indeed against the barbarian, but "against those seeking to enslave the cities" (lines 10–12). At the beginning of Philadelphus' reign the decree of the Island League praises him for continuing his father's policy of benign intervention in Greece, which meant "freeing" the cities as well as restoring their laws (*SIG*^{3} 390, lines 13–14). These examples are enough to show that the freedom of Greece, the fight against barbarian or tyrannous enemies, etc., were as topical when our stele was inscribed as at any other time, and also that Philadelphus had made these slogans his own;[90] a reader of Themistocles' decree could not possibly miss the contemporary application of lines 14–16.

Another leading feature of the decree has hardly been noticed at all during the controversy, and the oversight has led to some misunderstanding of details. This is the strange prominence of "foreigners," ξένοι, who occupy an equal footing with native Athenians in both the evacuation orders and the recruiting orders, being mentioned wherever the Athenians at large are mentioned (lines 6–7, 12–13, 29–30, as securely restored).[91] "The foreigners living at Athens" (line 7) are of course chiefly or solely the metics, who served in Athens' fleet as in her army and who were useful in other ways as well.[92] Commentators have been struck by the absence of the term "metics," μέτοικοι,[93] and some suppose this to be a relic of the original language of 480 B.C. It is pertinent to ask,

[90]Hiller on *SIG*^{3} 390 quotes Diod. Sic. 20.37.2 on the first Ptolemy's Peloponnesian campaign of 308, when he "took it on himself to free the rest of the Greek cities, thinking the good will of the Greeks would be a great advantage in his own affairs." This summary description might be applied to Philadelphus just as well, and perhaps was written with him in view, if Diodorus' source is Hieronymus, active down to the 260s. How lightly such professions were made and acknowledged is shown by an Athenian decree of the late 250s (as it seems), which mentions Antigonus Gonatas and "the freedom of the Greeks" in the same breath (Meritt, *Hesperia* 30 [1961] 214–215, no. 9, lines 1 and 3).

[91]The restoration of these lines is not disputed, apart from immaterial variants in line 7 *init.* (δὲ α]ὐ̣τ̣[οὺς Jameson, δ' ἅπ]α̣[ντας Habicht); the "foreigners" are dictated by the traces in lines 13 and 30, and by the context in all three instances.

[92]The evidence of Themistocles' decree concerning metics is canvassed by D. Whitehead, *The Ideology of the Athenian Metic* (Cambridge 1977) 63 n. 27, 75, 83, 84, 146, 149; but he does not go into questions of meaning and authenticity.

[93]See Berve, *SBBayer* 1961 no. 5 p. 36; Lewis 62; Burn, *Persia and the Greeks* (London 1962) 370–371; Jameson, *Hesperia* 12 (1963) 401; Meiggs and Lewis on *GHI*^{2} 23.

however, whether the broader term ξένοι is not connected with the flattering attention which this class receives throughout the decree, and which is not to be found in actual Athenian musters of either the fifth century or the fourth as described by historians and orators. We should hardly expect evacuation plans in 480 to be concerned as much with foreigners as with natives, and in fact foreigners are not referred to at all by any of our literary sources for the evacuation, from Herodotus onward—not by those who, like Plutarch and Aelius Aristides, echo the evacuation orders of Themistocles' decree, nor yet by those who simply dwell on the circumstances of the evacuation.[94] Given this plain fact, there is no need to inquire just how important metics were in 480 B.C., or how important in the eyes of later Athenian publicists who bandied Themistocles' decree; for no one will maintain that the "foreigners" always belonged to the text of the evacuation orders, but were suppressed by every source except the Troezenian stele. It is obvious that the foreigners as well as the *archegetes* were added to the transmitted text of the evacuation orders by the authors of the stele. And both these new elements are paraded in the opening lines.

Unlike the *archegetes* the foreigners continue to be prominent in the next and longest section of the compendious decree, the recruiting orders of lines 12–40. The details offered here, when properly interpreted, point to the third-century background. The recruiting orders begin with a ringing affirmation, "All the other Athenians and foreigners of mature age shall embark on the two hundred ships that have been made ready, and shall oppose the barbarian for the sake of freedom, both their own and that of the other Greeks" (lines 12–16). So the subsequent provisions for recruiting officers and crews should apply to foreigners as well as citizens. Those recruited are the trierarchs, the marines and archers, the ὑπηρεσίαι if this class is distinct from the marines and archers,[95] and the sailors at large. Only in the last case, of the sailors at

[94]The sources are listed and transcribed by A. Bauer, *Plutarch's Themistokles für Quellenkritische Übungen* (Leipzig 1884) 34 n. 8, 37–38 nn. 3–4, and by Jameson 201–202, 209–214.

[95]In naval parlance the term ὑπηρεσίαι normally refers to the specialist officers (see L. J. D. Richardson, *CQ* 37 [1943] 55–61; J. S. Morrison and R. T. Williams, *Greek Oared Ships* [Cambridge 1968] 254–258, 266–268; E. Ruschenbusch, *Historia* 28 [1979] 106–110); but Jameson, *Historia* 12 (1963) 387–392, in the fullest discussion of the instances in lines 26 and 34 of our decree, equates the ὑπηρεσίαι with the marines and archers, on the grounds that the pattern in the recruiting orders is first to enroll the members of each class, then to assign them to duty, as with the trierarchs and the sailors, but that the marines and archers are only enrolled, not assigned, and in the following lines the ὑπηρεσίαι are only assigned, not enrolled. This "unexampled use of the term," "in flat contradiction to fourth century practice," is taken by Jameson as an authentic survival

large, are the foreigners again expressly mentioned, as also the Athenians (lines 29–30); the reason is that the sailors at large are drawn from the general rolls of all adult males, which were separately kept for citizens and for metics. The decree rather implies that the foreigners are in view throughout, in the recruiting of the ratings as of the men. So far as the realities of Classical Athens are concerned, metics could serve as marines and archers and also as ὑπηρεσίαι in the sense of specialist officers; metic trierarchs, on the other hand, are heard of only in the fourth century,[96] when the post had more to do with financial obligation than with effective command of a ship, and before the late fifth century few if any metics would own land and house,[97] a prerequisite for trierarchs in our decree. These topics need not detain us, however, for the recruiting orders were framed without any strict regard for the realities of Classical Athens. The proof comes in line 32—*versus difficillimus, fons maximae contentionis.*[98]

In lines 27–34 the sailors are recruited as follows. "The generals shall write up the sailors ship by ship on whited boards, taking the Athenians from the official rolls and the foreigners from those registered with the polemarch.[99] In writing them up they shall distribute them in companies up to two hundred, at the rate of a hundred apiece. And over each company they shall write the names of the trireme and of the trierarch and of the staff

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from 480; yet one might equally conclude that the technical term was used out of season by some lubberly *Spätling*. It seems to me far more likely, however, that the term has its normal sense, and that the decree does not neglect to provide for the specialist officers. To be sure, the pattern of enrolling and assigning does exist, but the recruiting orders are long enough already, and may well be abbreviated in this respect, so that the one class is merely enrolled, and the other merely assigned. This is not to say that "the details . . . are not logically worked out, thus betraying the hand of a forger" (an inference rejected by Meiggs and Lewis on *GHI*² 23); the abbreviation seems indifferent to the matter of authenticity.

[96]See M. Amit, *Athens and the Sea* (Brussels 1965) 111; B. Jordan, *The Athenian Navy in the Classical Period* (Berkeley 1975) 90.

[97]The earliest inscriptions recording grants of land to individual foreigners (rather than to bands of worshippers) are of the last quarter of the fifth century (see J. Pecírka, *The Formula for the Grant of Enktesis in Attic Inscriptions* [Prague 1966] 137–138); no doubt such grants were made before they were posted on stone, but very rarely. The other prerequisite of our decree, legitimate children, which like land and house are a measure of civic responsibility, was no bar to metics.

[98]So A. G. Woodhead on *SEG* 22.274.

[99]The mention of the sailors in line 28 can be restored as either τοὺς ἄλλους κατὰ] ναυ̣ or τοὺς ναύτας κατὰ] ναυ̣; the earlier suggestion τὰ πληρώματα τῶν] ν[εῶν] has been dropped (Jameson, *Hesperia* 31 [1962] 313; cf. *id.*, *Historia* 12 [1963] 391 n. 12). Jordan's proposal, (above, n. 96) 232–234, ναύτας καταλεγέ]ν[τας], giving us an attributive participle without an article, is hardly Greek, and it is pointless to talk of ναύτης as "the technical term for Athenians inducted for service at sea" (230).

so that they may know which trireme each company is to embark on."[100] It is the middle sentence which is at issue. To man the ships the sailors must be formed into two hundred companies. The decree provides for this in lines 31–32. ἀναγράφειν δὲ νέμοντας κατὰ τάξ|εις [εἰς διακοσί]α[ς] ἀ[ν]ὰ ἑκατὸν ἀριθμὸν καὶ κτλ. The stone preserves few traces in the left half of the line, so that the suppletion of the two numeral phrases was not obvious at once, but is now advocated by both Jameson and Merritt, and appears to be very generally accepted.[101] Other proposals published up to now are quite unsatisfactory,[102] and even though they do not exhaust the *ad litteram* possibilities, I see no credible means of avoiding

[100]In line 33 the supplement τ̣ῇ̣ι̣ [τάξ]ε̣ι̣ ἐ̣κ̣ά̣στηι, "and over each company they shall write the name of the trireme and of the trierarch," etc. was unquestioned until Jordan, *ibid.* 237–239, suggested [τ]ῇ̣ι̣ [πτυχὶ ἑκά]στηι, "and they are to inscribe on each name-plate of the trireme the name of both the trierarch," etc. According to schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.1089a πτυχή is a plate on the prow "where the ship's name is inscribed;" now we are to think of the Athenians in 480 as painting, or engraving, the names of the trierarch and of the staff on the prow of each of two hundred triremes, as if that would help anyone. In any case the phrase "on each name-plate of *the trireme*," singular, makes no sense; and Jordan's reading of the traces differs from the reading of everyone else.

[101]See Jameson, *Hesperia* 31 (1962) 313; Meritt, *ibid.* 413, who remarks that the traces allow δωδ as well as ανα, whence the earlier reading δ̣[ώ]δ̣εκα τὸν ἀριθμόν. Someone has nodded, for once, at *GHI*[2] 23, line 32. In the text the square brackets are half omitted, half misplaced, so that the reading becomes a certainty throughout; the apparatus is silent, and the commentary only hints at the problem.

[102]Readings and interpretations which antedate the consensus of Jameson and Meritt (n. 101 above) have all, it seems, been dropped; we are left with κατὰ τάξ|ει[ς τοὺς ναύτας κατὰ] δέκα τὸν ἀριθμόν (Jordan, [above, n. 96] 234–237) and κατὰ τάξ|εις [τὰ πληρώματ]α [εἰς] δ̣έκα τὸν ἀριθμόν (Pritchett *apud* Jordan 235 n. 70). The former is said to mean "They are to write up the nautai by dividing them into taxeis (which are to be) ten in number;" perhaps the latter is supposed to mean about the same. The τάξεις, we are told, are not ships' companies but the ten tribal regiments; it is a consequence of this view that the restoration [τάξ]ε̣ι̣ must be removed from line 33 (above, n. 100), for each tribal regiment cannot be aligned with each of the two hundred trierarchs; another consequence seems to be that the mention of individual ships must be removed from line 28 (above, n. 99). Why then are the sailors not assigned to ships, by contrast with the trierarchs (line 23), the marines and archers (line 24), and the staff (line 26)? Because, says Jordan, we simply assume that each tribal regiment manned twenty ships; at 226–230 he maintains that Athenian sailors were mustered by tribes, but neither his evidence nor his argument goes to show that a given ship was manned exclusively by a given tribe. The Athenian sailors have been drawn from the ληξιαρχικὰ γραμματεῖα (lines 29–30); since Athenians were listed by deme in these rolls (as they came of age), so that the general order of the list was probably by tribe, and the tribal affiliation was in any case evident, how can it be a further step to arrange these Athenians by tribe? And how can the procedure here described, of "dividing" all the Athenians and foreigners into ten tribal regiments, produce a total of exactly 3,400 (20 × 170) rowers in each regiment? And if τάξις has its familiar military sense of "tribal regiment," why specify that the regiments will be recruited "up to ten in respect of number," as if the Cleisthenic tribes had never been heard of before? Against Jordan's treatment of lines 28 and 32–34 see also F. D. Harvey, *CR* 31 (1981) 86.

the restoration given above.[103] The phrase εἰς διακοσίας, agreeing with τάξεις, means "up to (a total of) two hundred (companies)," just the right words to describe the procedure of assigning all Athenians and foreigners to the two hundred ships. The next phrase, ἀνὰ ἑκατόν, is unexpected, so much so that in the eyes of some believers it has been vouchsafed as a special sign of authenticity. The accusative of respect ἀριθμόν may go with both numerals, or only with the "hundred" if the "hundred" needs to be emphasized; in either case it does not assist the interpretation.

When governing numerals ἀνά usually has a distributive sense; ἀνὰ ἑκατόν may be rendered "by hundreds" or "at the rate of a hundred apiece." Here the words are thought to mean that each company should consist of a hundred men as a minimum.[104] The supposed aim is to furnish at least a skeleton crew for all two hundred ships envisaged by the decree. Athens, it is said, was short of rowers to man all the ships which had been left on the stocks by Themistocles' construction program. But then her first concern should be to launch as many as possible with a full complement of rowers. A trireme rowed by a hundred men, in place of the normal complement of a hundred and seventy, would be useless in battle, especially when the enemy ships handled better to begin with;[105] and there is not the faintest reason to think that triremes in 480 took smaller crews than in later days.[106]

An explanation has been devised to meet these difficulties: after a hundred reliable sailors—citizens and metics—have been detailed to each ship, the remainder of the crews will be made up of slaves. Since about seventy slaves will be needed to fill the benches in each ship, the proportion of slaves to free that must be assumed is about seven to ten—a proportion astonishingly high. In the light of later practice it seems very doubtful whether Athens' navy made use of slaves in any numbers during the crisis of 480;[107] at any rate there is no hint of it in our sources, including Themistocles' decree. No matter; the Athenians, it has been suggested, subsequently felt that to mention slaves would tarnish their

[103]A reader has offered no fewer than four alternative supplements, ingenious but quite unconvincing, I think, in the context. It is hardly feasible here to evoke these supplements in order to discount them.

[104]So Jameson, *Historia* 12 (1963) 392–395, followed by Meiggs and Lewis on *GHI*[2] 23.

[105]As Herodotus repeatedly says they did (8.10.1, 60a). One hundred men might serve as "a basic unit," says Jameson, *Historia* 12 (1963) 394, which could at least move the ship; but he concedes that "effective fighting is another matter."

[106]So Jameson suggests, *Historia* 12 (1963) 394. The recent works of Morrison and Williams and of Casson leave no room for this idea.

[107]See Casson, (above, n. 87) 322–324, a good *mise-au-point* of the evidence for slaves at sea. Lately Jordan (above, n. 96) has asserted a wide-spread use of slaves in Athens' navy, but on no proper grounds; see Casson, *Gnomon* 44 (1978) 689–690, and Ruschenbusch, *Historia* 28 (1979) 106–110.

victory. But in dealing with the decree we are obliged to assume that, whereas a provision for recruiting slaves was suppressed, a provision for recruiting only a partial complement of free rowers was preserved with sedulous accuracy.

Apart from these considerations, the text of the recruiting orders has been misunderstood. The notion of a bare minimum of one hundred cannot be got from *ἀνὰ ἑκατόν*—or from the English "by hundreds." For that we need something like *νέμοντας κατὰ τάξεις εἰς διακοσίας μὴ ἐλάττους* (or *ὀλείζους*) *ἄνδρας ἢ ἑκατὸν πρὸς ἑκάστην*. Nor can the phrase *ἀνὰ ἑκατόν* mean "at the rate of a hundred men apiece." If the men are in view, *ἀνὰ ἑκατὸν ἄνδρας* is wanted; without this indication, *ἑκατόν* must refer to the same noun as *διακοσίας*, that is, *τάξεις*.[108]

As soon as we recognize that *διακοσίας* and *ἑκατόν* must refer to the same noun, the solution is simple. The sailors are distributed "in companies up to a total of two hundred, at the rate of a hundred (companies) apiece." Two groups of a hundred companies apiece. Who are these two groups? Athenians and foreigners. The decree carefully explains that the Athenians, *τοὺς μὲν Ἀθηναίους*, are taken from one set of rolls, the foreigners, *τοὺς δὲ ξένους*, from another. Immediately after, the decree says *ἀναγράφειν δὲ νέμοντας κατὰ τάξεις εἰς διακοσίας ἀνὰ ἑκατὸν ἀριθμόν*. Athenians and foreigners, separately registered before, are now separately brigaded. The whited boards where the names are written up (lines 28–29) perpetuate the distinction between the rolls of citizens and the rolls of foreigners. The boards will show a hundred companies of citizens and a hundred companies of foreigners, making the two hundred needed to man the ships.

It thus appears that in 480 the foreigners resident in Athens were sufficiently numerous and loyal to man one hundred ships—indeed they were as numerous and loyal as the native population of Attica. The idea seems preposterous to us, but clearly was not so to the redactors of the text displayed at Troezen. The Troezenian stele sets Athenians and foreigners side by side in the opening lines of the decree: "All Athenians and foreigners living at Athens shall lodge their children and wives at Troezen, where sustenance is promised by the *archegetes* of the land; and they shall lodge the old people and goods on Salamis." Two lines after, "All the other Athenians and foreigners of mature age shall embark on the two hundred ships," and so on. In the first instance, as we saw above, foreigners were inserted in a text which had been current long before the Troezenian stele was inscribed, and which remained current

[108]This will be clear from some of the examples of the distributive use of *ἀνά* which Jameson collected at *Hesperia* 31 (1962) 313, e.g., *ἐποίησαν ἔξ λόχους ἀνὰ ἑκατὸν ἄνδρας* (Xen. *Anab.* 3.4.21), *ὁ δὲ τρεῖς ἀφελὼν τὰς τελευταίας τάξεις ἀνὰ διηκοσίους ἄνδρας* (*ibid.* 6.5.11).

in the old form long afterward. Probably the same is true of the second instance, the mention of foreigners as embarking on the ships. Thereafter the redactors added details of the recruitment of trierarchs, marines, archers, staff, and sailors, and they continued to feign that foreigners were of equal weight with native Athenians.

The recruiting orders, as already said, are the longest part of the compendious decree. Most critics, whether they trace the substance of the decree to the year 480 or to the fourth century, suppose the recruiting orders to have been handed down with the evacuation orders and the rest. According to a less common view the recruiting orders existed as a separate document until they were combined with the rest by Craterus or another.[109] Much has been written about the details of recruitment in the hope of settling the problem of authenticity. Is a trierarch whom the generals appoint to command a single ship, and who has land and house and legitimate children and is under fifty years of age, entirely conformable with the conditions of 480?[110] Or is he an idealized figure of the mid fourth century, perhaps subserving the cause of reform? Is the fighting party of ten marines and four archers better suited to the realities of 480 or to a fourth-century imagination? These and other questions about the recruitment have been endlessly debated, but they are not the most natural questions to put to a text inscribed in the mid third century. The first question should be, were such details directly accessible, without benefit of any documentary source, to the authorities who set up the stele at Troezen? And of course the answer is yes.

Down to the end of the Hellenistic period, as long as the Greeks knew anything of fighting at sea, they knew of a "trierarch" as the commander of a warship, who usually took orders from a "general."[111] In many cities at different times the qualifications of a trierarch will have been roughly those laid down in our decree; we do not know that the qualifications at Athens were ever exactly these. Ten marines and four archers will have sailed on many a trireme in every part of the Greek world throughout

[109]This opinion was firmly stated by I. Hahn, *Acta Ant. Acad. Scient. Hung.* 13 (1965) 27–39, and rejected by Lehmann, *Historia* 17 (1968) 288; there is room for it in some other reconstructions.

[110]The view first put by Habicht, 4–5, and by Amandry, (above, n. 31) 423, that the stipulation of legitimate children presupposes Pericles' citizenship law of 451/0, has been further elaborated by M. R. Cataudella, *Athenaeum* 43 (1965) 405–407; but as others have shown, e.g. Meritt, *Greek Historical Studies* (Cincinnati 1962) 25 = *Lectures in Memory of L. T. Semple* 1.123, and Jameson, *Historia* 12 (1963) 396 n. 22, it rests on a misunderstanding; the prerequisite does not point to Athenian practice of a particular time, or indeed to Athenian practice as distinct from practice elsewhere in Greece.

[111]For the details which follow it suffices to refer to Morrison and Williams (above, n. 95) 254–279, on the manning of triremes in the Classical period, and to Casson (above, n. 87) 300–314, on the manning of warships down to Roman times.

the fifth and fourth centuries, and during the Hellenistic period these numbers will have sometimes sailed on such old-style triremes as remained in use; in Classical Athens, to which our evidence is practically confined, ten marines are well attested (though not, as it happens, four archers), but we have no reason to suppose that the numbers attested at Athens are distinctive of Athens. As for the *ὑπηρεσίαι*, warships at all times took specialist officers, and in the Hellenistic period they were probably often called by this Attic term, at least among literate people—an additional reason for thinking that the term has its normal sense in our decree. We come to the passage about the recruitment of sailors. Here the redactors chose to emphasize that foreigners as well as native Athenians served in the fleet. Any Greek city where foreigners resided in numbers—and Hellenistic Troezen was probably such (II above)—would keep rolls of foreigners as well as rolls of citizens; but the arrangements would differ from place to place. So this was an opportunity to add Athenian colour—the *ληξιαρχικὰ γραμματεῖα* and the Polemarch's list of metics.

The recruiting orders close with "a propitiatory offering to Zeus Almighty and Athena and Nike and Poseidon Steadfast" (lines 38–40): *θύ]σαντας ἀρεστήριον τῶι Διὶ τῶι |Παγκρατεῖ καὶ τῆι Ἀθηνᾶι καὶ τῆι Νίκηι καὶ τῶι Ποσει|δῶνι τῶι Ἀσφα[λ]είωι*. This array of deities is as revealing as the *archegetes* and the foreigners. It was a vague cosmopolitan piety which conceived of four such figures as the appropriate recipients of sacrifice on the eve of battle at sea. The Athenians in 480, or their posterity in the mid fourth century, ought to have invoked deities of Athens and Attica, or perhaps the other powers who, as the event showed, assisted at Artemisium and Salamis. Zeus and Poseidon had cults at Athens, but not under these titles; indeed "the Almighty," *Παγκρατής*, was separately worshipped as a hero in the Ilissus region.[112] And the famous shrine of Athena Nike on the Acropolis absolutely excludes the juxtaposition of Athena and Nike in our decree. These things have not gone unnoticed; what conclusion has been drawn? Change the text: delete the second *καί* in the series, and make it "Zeus Almighty and Athena Nike and Poseidon Steadfast;"[113] and perhaps insert *καί* after *Διί*, and make it "Zeus and the Almighty and Athena Nike and Poseidon Steadfast."[114] Such violence is futile, producing an impossible mixture of local and universal deities—on the one hand, Athena Nike and perhaps "the Almighty," on the other, Zeus Almighty and Poseidon Steadfast, or Zeus *simpliciter* and Poseidon Steadfast.

[112]See J. Travlos, *A Pictorial Dictionary of Athens* (New York 1971) 278–280.

[113]So Berve, *SBBayer* 1961 no. 5 pp. 18–19; Meritt, *Gr. Hist. Stud.* 26–27 = *Semple Lect.* (above, n. 110) 1.124–125; and others.

[114]So Amandry (above, n. 31) 419 n. 9.

But if we turn our eyes from Classical Athens to the time and place of the inscription, everything is in order; no more fitting deities could be imagined for a clause prescribing sacrifice for the commanders of the fleet. The middle pair, Athena and Nike, are the Panhellenic deities of war. The gold staters of Alexander the Great showed this pair on the opposing faces and made them known throughout the world.[115] In this as other respects the Ptolemies were faithful to Alexander's memory; the warlike Athena appears on coins of Alexander minted by Ptolemy Soter, and in the celebration of the Ptolemaeia described by Callixeinus a golden statue of Alexander stood between Nike and Athena in a chariot drawn by elephants (*FGrHist* 627 F 2 = Ath. 5.34, 202A). Alexander is here assimilated to the triumphant Dionysus, who in later art rides in such a chariot to symbolize his conquest of the East; but Nike and Athena as deities of war are not otherwise included in the pictorial type.[116] The other two deities who frame this pair in our decree, namely Zeus Almighty and Poseidon Steadfast, are simply the great gods of sky and sea with their most imposing titles.[117] A similar though fuller array of deities was honoured by Rhodian naval forces on Tenos in the period ca 180–170 B.C. (*IG* 12.5.913 lines 9–14); the deities, prescribed by the Delphic oracle, number ten and include Zeus Preserver, Poseidon Steadfast, two avatars of Athena, and Nike.[118]

[115]See A. R. Bellinger, *Essays on the Coinage of Alexander the Great* (New York 1963). According to Curtius 8.2.32, on the taking of a fortress in Paraetacene, Alexander sacrificed to the pair in the field; whether this is a true report or a plausible fiction does not matter here.

[116]F. Matz, *Der Gott auf dem Elefantenwagen* (*AbhMainz* 1952 no. 10), who studies the history of the type, holds that the elephants drawing Alexander "have nothing to do with the Indian triumph" and that Alexander is not portrayed as "a new Dionysus"—even though Dionysiac elements predominate in Callixeinus' description of the festival. Instead these are African elephants characterizing Alexander as "the son of the desert god," i.e. Zeus Ammon, and "Athena is obviously the North-African Tritonis" (29–30). This seems far-fetched, and not less so in the context of Matz's general argument that the elephant was especially associated with the sun.

[117]For Poseidon Ἀσφάλειος see Wüst, *RE* 22.1 (1953) 494–495 *s.* Poseidon, and for Zeus Παγκρατής H. Schwabl, *RE* Suppl. 15 (1978) 1072, 1469–1470 *s.* Zeus, who rightly says that our decree reflects the most general conception of Zeus, and not any particular cult.

[118]The dedication is roughly dated by the mention of the commander Agathetus, and Hiller von Gaertringen at *SIG*[3] 619 n. 11, following Graindor, proposes ca 177, after Rhodes' second attempt to recover Lycia and Caria. The troops under Agathetus and two trierarchs make offering to Zeus Soter, Athena Soteira, Poseidon Asphaleius, Artemis Orthosia, Heracles, Ares, Athena Areia, Enyo, Enyalius, Nike. Zeus Soter, with his consort Athena Soteira, and Poseidon Asphaleius are as prominent as Zeus Pankrates and Poseidon Asphaleius in our decree; all the rest are deities of war or victory, like Athena and Nike in our decree. Wilamowitz, *Der Glaube der Hellenen*[2] (Basel 1955) 1.103 n. 1, suggests that "the priests must have had catalogues of gods; this time they picked out all those that could have assisted in the victory."

So much for the materials which went into the recruiting orders. What was the motive for constructing this part of the decree, and also for insisting here as in the evacuation orders on the presence of large numbers of foreigners? As already said, the general effect of the decree is to flatter Ptolemy Philadelphus as a champion of Greek freedom, whose fleet is as mighty as Athens' once was, and is now deployed in the same cause; the glory of Athens' struggle reflects on Ptolemy's. Now for the manning of his enormous fleet Philadelphus was entirely dependent on the Greek maritime cities under his control or influence; his officers, from the admirals down, were drawn from such cities,[119] and the expert rowers who served for hire doubtless came from still further afield.[120] The Troezenian stele advertises and exalts such service by suggesting that the crews of Athenian triremes had been likewise mixed, and Athens as cosmopolitan as Alexandria.

After the evacuation orders and the recruiting orders our decree has very little room for the main tactical dispositions of 480 B.C. In the sailing orders (lines 40–44) half the two hundred ships are dispatched to Artemisium, half to Salamis. The detention orders provide for the transfer of the ostracized to Salamis, just before the decree breaks off (lines 44–47); this and a subsequent measure concerning another class of offenders, probably judicial outlaws, are professedly meant to secure concord among the Athenians. These parts of the decree need not detain us here, for if we discount the bulk of the decree down to line 40 as a late confection, it is obvious at once that the sailing orders and the detention orders do not bear witness to any documentary source. It would be hard to conceive of a more perfunctory obeisance to the great events of 480 than these orders to send a hundred ships to Artemisium and a hundred ships to Salamis; and no one could wish to be reminded of all the special pleading that has been expended on such absurdity. The summons to civic concord was as much in place in third-century Troezen, and in the publicity on behalf of Philadelphus, as it was at all other times; the danger which Athens faced from medizing exiles was a good handle to discredit opponents of Philadelphus and his freedom fighters.[121] In the Oropus epigram Philadelphus' agent restores Troezen to *εὐνομία*, "good order" or "stability," a catchword very close to *ὁμόνοια*.[122]

[119]It is not true, however, that Greek cities furnished ships for the Ptolemaic fleet under a system of trierarchic liturgies; as Bagnall has shown, *Cd'E* 46 (1971) 356–362, the trierarchs of the papyri were not liturgists but active commanders.

[120]Admittedly there is very little evidence for the origin of sailors in the Ptolemaic fleet; cf. Casson, *TAPA* 97 (1966) 38–41, and above, n. 87, 324–325.

[121]The tradition concerning this danger has been examined in connexion with our decree by S. Burstein, *CSCA* 4 (1971) 98–110, who perhaps overvalues its "realism."

[122]The *ὁμόνοια* with which Philadelphus is associated in Chremonides' decree (*Staatsvertr.* 476 lines 31, 34–35) and in the worship at Plataea (*BCH* 99 [1975] 53 lines 18, 20,

It is time to sum up our results. In general terms as in the evocation of the *archegetes* the compendious decree of Themistocles is found to bear on the immediate concerns of all who lived or sojourned in third-century Troezen. Our first aim was to demonstrate this contemporary relevance by interpreting the role of the *archegetes*, obviously a matter of local patriotism which could be treated without prejudice to the question of Athenian origins. But when we admit that third-century Troezen has a reality of its own, and that this reality intrudes in the mention of the *archegetes*, we must consider the whole document in the same light. Comparison of the evacuation orders with the literary tradition of Themistocles' decree shows that "the foreigners" as well as the *archegetes* have been inserted at Troezen; and the recruiting orders, in which the foreigners are equally prominent, give every sign of being composed for use at Troezen. Every sign, because it is a matter of simply looking at the decree with unblinkered eyes, and not of straining to find some ingenious hypothetical correspondence, such as many have strained to find between the decree and earlier practices or events. Even blinkers cannot close out all the signs. It is worth quoting the words of a scholar who approached the decree with firm presuppositions. He observed that the mention of Athena and Nike as separate deities was at variance with Athenian usage throughout the Classical period, and so could be ascribed to a fourth-century "forger" no more feasibly than to Themistocles; "*because an invention at Troezen in Hellenistic times is not to be thought of*, there remains only the possibility that the καί between Athena and Nike comes from a slip in copying and is accordingly to be deleted."[123] The stone-cutter, in other words, was a man of flesh and blood who breathed the air of the third century; his employer was not.

The presuppositions have been flagrant, though understandable no doubt. Many interest themselves in Herodotus and the Persian Wars; nearly as many in the orators and their crusades; only a few, perhaps, in the imbroglios of the third century. The compendious decree, however, is

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40) is of course the concord of Greek cities with each other; but inasmuch as the cities are united against subverters of their respective constitutions (e.g., *Straatsvertr.* 476 lines 11–12, 14–16, 32–33; cf. II above), the general concord of all is bound up with the civic concord of each. Philadelphus promotes civic concord as well as stable government, Antigonus civic discord as well as tyranny. Moreover, in Alexis' *Hypobolimaios* fr. 244 Kock a toast to Philadelphus and Arsinoe is followed by another to "concord" *tout seule*; unless the context pointed elsewhere, one would think first of Athenians concordant in support of Philadelphus and of what he stands for. (For other views of this provoking fragment see Heinen, (above, n. 33) 135–136; Étienne and Piérart, *BCH* 99 [1975] 74; West, *GRBS* 18 [1977] 315.)

[123]Berve, *SBBayer* 1961 no. 5 p. 19.

a document of the third century, and not of 480 nor yet of ca 350.[124] For too long critics have proceeded as if both form and substance could be usefully discussed without reference to the circumstances which produced the document. After twenty years of concentrated study of Themistocles' decree the most obvious conclusions have not been drawn, have not even been envisaged or approached. It is obvious that the *archegetes* and the foreigners were added to the transmitted text of the evacuation orders as part of a late redaction; it is also obvious that the deities of the propitiatory offering are Hellenistic, and so doubtless added at the same time. There will still be some who will grant no more than this, and who will argue that the rest of the compendious decree comes down intact from the fifth or fourth century. But every probability is against them.

Thus the decree of Themistocles inscribed at Troezen tells us nothing about the Athenian resistance of 480, nor yet about Athenian publicity of the fourth century; but it brings two gains of a different sort. First, some light on Troezen in the mid third century. Second, further light on the Greek way with "historical documents," a subject interesting in itself and in need of corrective study.[125] In the remarks of the scholar quoted above, the sole alternatives to authenticity are mischievous fabrication (*Fälscher, Erfindung*) and involuntary error (*Schreibfehler*). Nothing could be more misleading. In their respect for the past the Greeks also respected first-hand records of great events; but inasmuch as the past was valued for its bearing on the present, they used a free hand with the records which they chose to exhibit—touching up the colours for better visibility. And this they did the more easily because, like most people with a sentimental attachment to the past, they were oblivious of many past realities. In short, the past was transformed by the present, not through cynical manipulation, but out of passionate belief. Now this habit of mind, and this way with "historical documents"—a term for which the only equivalent in Greek is παραδείγματα, examples or models—the Greeks share with other peoples at other times; only literal-minded moderns can misunderstand, and perhaps especially scholars whose customary business is with the archaeological harvest of more utilitarian records on stone.

The evidence is plain to see. The Greek Oath, which according to Theopompus was much talked of at Athens at the mid century, is found shortly thereafter in three concurrent versions—in the version inscribed at Acharnae, full of vivid sonorous detail, in the much simpler version of Ephorus, and in a version close to his, but including the tithing clause

[124]If it seems officious to say so, consider *GHI*[2] 23, "The Decree of Themistocles: 480 B.C.," and contrast M. N. Tod's reception of the Oath of Plataea as *GHI* 204, at the end of the fourth-century volume.

[125]I have made a beginning in the paper cited in n. 85 above.

otherwise known as a separate undertaking, which was read out by Lycurgus in 330 B.C. A similar case is the "Covenant of Plataea"—the resolution of the allied army just before or after the battle of Plataea, establishing the Panhellenic festival of Zeus of the Free and perhaps also a Panhellenic peace-keeping force—reported in one version by Ephorus, and in another, in a different setting, by Plutarch, whose ultimate source undoubtedly belongs to the fourth century. Instances need not be multiplied; it is true to say that wherever we have two independent authorities for a document, however close in time, we have two different versions of the document. And of course fifth-century documents continued to be of interest for a very long time, and were quoted by at least two generations of orators, and by historians, antiquarians, biographers, and panegyrists, down to Plutarch and Aelius Aristides and beyond. And now, for the first time, we have a fifth-century Athenian decree inscribed on stone outside of Athens in the Hellenistic period. The certainty from which scholars should have started is that the Troezenian version of Themistocles' decree was like no other.[126]

[126]I am grateful to Professor M. B. Wallace and to an anonymous referee for some kindly but searching criticism of this paper.