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Translated Documents of Greece and Rome

Robert K. Sherk, Editor

VOLUME 1

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Archaic Times to the end of the Peloponnesian War

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Translated Documents of Greece and Rome

SERIES EDITORS' INTRODUCTION

Greek and Roman history has always been in an ambivalent position in American higher education, having to find a home either in a Department of History or in a Department of Classics, and in both it is usually regarded as marginal. Moreover, in a History Department the subject tends to be taught without regard to the fact that the nature of the evidence is, on the whole, very different from that for American, English, or French history, while in a Classics Department it tends to be viewed as a 'philological' subject and taught by methods appropriate to Greek and Latin authors. Even on the undergraduate level the difference may be important, but on the graduate level, where future teachers and scholars, who are to engage in original research, are trained, it becomes quite clear that neither of these solutions is adequate.

One problem is the standard of proficiency that should be required in Greek and Latin – both difficult languages, necessitating years of study; and few students start the study, even of Latin, let alone Greek, before they come to college. The editors recognize that for the student aiming at a Ph.D. in the subject and at advancing present knowledge of it there can be no substitute for a thorough training in the two languages. Nevertheless, they believe that it is possible to extend serious instruction at a high level to graduate students aiming at reaching the M.A. level and to make them into competent teachers. It is also possible to bring about a great improvement in the standard of undergraduate courses not requiring the ancient languages – courses that instructors themselves usually find unsatisfactory, since much of the source material cannot be used.

In order to use this material, at both graduate and serious undergraduate levels, the instructor must, in fact, be able to range far beyond the standard authors who have been translated many times. Harpocration, Valerius Maximus, and the *Suda* are often necessary tools, but they are usually unknown to anyone except the advanced scholar. Inscriptions, papyri, and scholia can be baffling even to the student who does have a grounding in the ancient languages.

It is the aim of the series of which this is the first volume to supply that need – which colleagues have often discussed with the editors – for translations of materials not readily available in English. The principal historical authors (authors like Herodotus, Thucydides, Livy, and Tacitus) are not included; they are easy enough to find in adequate translations, and the student will have to read far more of them than could be provided in a general source book. References to important

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passages in the works of those authors have been given at suitable points, but it is assumed that the instructor will direct the student's reading in them. While doing that reading, the student will now be able to have at his side a comprehensive reference book. Occasionally a passage from an otherwise accessible author (not a main historical source) has been included, so that the student may be spared the temptation of failing to search for it. But most of the material collected in this series would be hard for him to find anywhere in English, and much of it has never been translated at all.

Such translations of documentary sources as exist (and there are some major projects in translation among them, e.g. in the field of legal texts, which are intended to be far more than source books for students) tend to be seriously misleading in that they offer continuous texts where the original is (so often) fragmentary. The student cannot be aware of how much actually survives on the document and how much is modern conjecture – whether quite certain or mere guesswork. This series aims at presenting the translation of fragmentary sources in something like the way in which original documents are presented to the scholar: a variety of type fonts and brackets (which will be fully explained) have been used for this, and even though the page may at first sight appear forbidding to one unaccustomed to this, he will learn to differentiate between text and restoration and (with the instructor's help and the use of the notes provided) between the dubious, the probable, and the certain restoration. Naturally, the English can never correspond perfectly to the Greek or Latin, but the translation aims at as close a correspondence as can be achieved, so that the run of the original and (where necessary) the amount surviving can be clearly shown. Finer points of English idiom have deliberately been sacrificed in order to produce this increased accuracy, though it is hoped that there will be nothing in the translation so unnatural as to baffle the student. In the case of inscriptions (except for those with excessively short lines) line-by-line correspondence has been the aim, so that the student who sees a precise line reference in a modern work will be able to find it in the translation.

Translation is an art as well as a science; there are bound to be differing opinions on the precise interpretation and on the best rendering of any given passage. The general editors have tried to collaborate with volume editors in achieving the aims outlined above. But there is always room for improvement, and a need for it. Suggestions and corrections from users of the series will always be welcome.

The general editors sincerely hope that the present series will make a major contribution to raising the standard of ancient history teaching in the U.S.A. and, indeed, wherever English is the medium of instruction, and that it will help to convey to students not fully proficient in

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Greek or Latin, or even entirely ignorant of those languages, some of the immediacy and excitement of real (as distinct from textbook) history. Perhaps some will be encouraged to develop their skill in the two languages so as to go on to a fuller understanding of the ancient world, or even to professional study of it.

We wish to express our gratitude to the Andrew V. V. Raymond Chair in the Department of Classics at the State University of New York at Buffalo for financial aid in the publication of the first volume in this series.

Harvard University
State University of New York at Buffalo

E.B.
R.K.S.

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FOR MY SON CHARLIE

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PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

The decision to publish a second edition of *Archaic Times to the End of the Peloponnesian War* has enabled me and the Editors of the Series of which this volume is a part to subject the book to intensive scrutiny. Many errors in the text and indices have been removed, and there has been some augmentation of the material contained in the volume, limited though it was by the need to retain the numeration of the first edition. The typography and format have also been modified in order to produce a better-looking page that will make it easier going for the reader.

I have a number of obligations to others which it is a pleasure to record. I am grateful to the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press for their willingness to publish this volume in the second edition. As before, I gratefully acknowledge my enormous debt to Professors E. Badian and Robert K. Sherk for their tireless assistance and salutary criticism. I am also indebted to a considerable number of other scholars for their corrections and kindly criticisms. Of these D. M. Lewis was especially generous and helpful, even to the point of providing me with the appropriate references to *IG I³*. Those errors that still remain are entirely my own, though their number was diminished by a useful list of errata and suggestions presented by Professor D. J. Geagan. Finally, I record here my deep thanks to Katrina Avery for working closely with me in my revision of the book. Many improvements and corrections are directly the result of her energy and dedication.

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April 1980

C.W.F.

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VOLUME EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

The primary purpose of this volume is to supplement the standard and easily accessible sources of the history of the Greek world from the Archaic period to the end of the Peloponnesian War.

The predominance of fifth-century Athenian inscriptions in the documents translated here is due almost as much to the unflagging willingness of the Athenians to carve their decrees and accounts on marble and to the long and successful excavations in the Athenian Agora as to their intrinsic importance. An attempt, nevertheless, has been made to provide a selection of the more important, or interesting, non-Athenian documents. Here I follow closely and owe a debt to Marcus Niebuhr Tod for volume I of his *Greek historical inscriptions* and to Russell Meiggs and David Lewis for their expanded and updated successor volume.

Much of the material in this volume derives from secondary authors, particularly scholiasts, ancient scholars who themselves wrote commentaries on the 'classical' authors. Mainly, these were men living in Hellenistic times, having access to sources not extant today, and their work, in turn, was quoted (and abbreviated) by scholars who came after them. The scholia (material written by ancient scholars in the margins of texts) to Aristophanes and Pindar provide examples of such mines of information, and the lexicographers of Roman and Byzantine times – e.g. Harpocration in his *Lexicon* and the compilation called the *Suda* – provide another. The fragments of the writings of forgotten Greek historians, some of which are translated here, frequently derive from sources such as these, though also from other writers whose works managed to survive. The standard source for this information is Felix Jacoby's *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, uncompleted at his death but under continuation. It is a series of companion volumes, one with the ancient texts, the other with commentary written in German, except in the case of IIIb (Suppl.), which is written in English and provides an invaluable commentary on those historians of Athens known as the 'Atthidographers.'

In the presentation of these documents, epigraphical and literary, I have attempted to be as objective as possible. Many are notoriously in dispute as to date, interpretation, and even historical authenticity, but polemical or tendentious reporting would be out of place in a book of

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this kind. Items are therefore arranged without prejudice in strict chronological order according to the earliest date ascribed to each by serious scholars – even if later dates would appear to me to be preferable. However, other dates that have been proposed are indicated as alternatives, and a brief bibliography of works published in English is added, to permit the student to explore conflicting views when they exist.

A few words are required here about the general format used. In the case of inscriptions, the heading identifies the material of the item (e.g. marble or bronze), form (e.g. plaque, stele, or statue base), the dialect used (when not obvious), peculiarities of the script (if there are such), and the locality in which it was found. A section below the heading provides a list, not all-inclusive, of various texts of the inscription that have been consulted, the text principally followed being specially marked. In addition, literary sources bearing on the inscription are cited. Another section follows in most instances, with bibliography relevant to the inscription.

In the translation of the inscriptions I have followed the format set down by the General Editors and have tried to adhere as closely as possible to the actual word order, even at the cost of some clumsiness. Line endings have been marked. Missing letters of proper names are enclosed in square brackets [] when restored; otherwise, when there are missing letters, the entire word or words of which they are a part are italicized, except in some instances where the lacuna is so trivial that italicization would convey the wrong impression of the stone. But it should be borne in mind that restorations are rarely *certain*; and whenever, in my opinion, a proposed restoration is *hazardous* or merely *possible*, I have bracketed or italicized the word or words even though the restoration is quite compatible with the letters or the traces of letters that survive. Furthermore, if a proposed restoration is purely theoretical or deduced from extrinsic considerations, I have placed it in a note below the text and not in the text itself. There are also cases of restorations so inventive that they are not included even in the notes. However, exceptions arise. Some historical arguments of considerable importance have been constructed on the basis of conjectural restorations. Since the student must be able to grasp purported evidence, many of these are reported in the notes or in alternative versions of texts (Nos. 71, 94). The notes themselves are as succinct as possible and are limited to explanations of obscurities in the text or of terms not covered in the Glossary that probably would be unfamiliar to the reader. Here, too, I have tried to avoid making comments supporting any particular view or minimizing difficulties inherent in one or another of them.

Those items that are literary extracts are treated in the same way, though the presentation is, of course, less complex.

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The indices of this volume are correlated with the item numbers and not the pages. This system will not only obviate confusion when the same indexed rubrics appear in two items placed on the same page, but it will also permit the reader quickly and instructively to use the indices in combination with the table of contents so that the general context of each indexed rubric will be immediately apparent.

The great number of personal and place names occurring in this volume suggests that the most reasonable course to be followed in rendering them is that of direct transliteration, and most names are therefore so treated, even though Alkibiades or Thoukydides or Kroisos may require getting used to by the student. On the other hand, the names of authors are given in their familiar English or Latinized form. Polydeukes is Pollux; the historian Thoukydides is Thucydides; and Ploutarchos is Plutarch. Place names follow a less ironclad rule. I have transliterated the less familiar and used the English or the Latinized forms of the more familiar.

Symbols used and miscellaneous information¹

- * indicates the text on which the translation of an inscription here given is based
- () indicate an explanatory addition to the text
- [] enclose letters or words that no longer stand in the text as it survives, but have been restored by modern scholars
- [. . .] indicates by the number of dots the exact number of missing letters where no restoration is attempted
- [- -] indicates an indeterminate number of missing letters
- { } indicate apparently superfluous letters or words
- < > enclose letters or words thought to be accidentally omitted on the original document
- [[]] enclose letters or words that were deliberately erased in ancient times
- | indicates the end of a line in an inscription
- || indicate the beginning of every fifth line in an inscription
- / indicates the end of a line of verse
- // indicate the beginning of every fifth line of verse
- v* indicates a vacant letter space in the original document
- vv* indicate that there is more than one letter space vacant in the original document
- vacat* indicates that an entire line or a space between entire lines was left vacant

1 Some of these items are further explained in the Series Editors' Introduction, above.

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lacuna indicates that a portion of the document is missing
 Italics indicate that only a part of the original word is extant on the document.

A dot underneath a letter indicates that the preserved traces on the stone are compatible with the letter printed, but not with that letter only.

The term 'stoichedon' indicates a style of engraving in which letters are aligned vertically and horizontally in checkerboard fashion, so that (in a perfect example) all lines of an inscription have the same number of letters.

In the transliteration of numerals, the practice followed has been to use arabic numerals when Greek numerals were used and to use words when the Greek numbers were written out. As to deme names (demotics), they customarily appear in the Greek in the adjectival form (e.g. Perikles Cholargeus), though I give instead the place name with 'of' (of Cholargos).

Athenian time reckoning

The twelve Athenian months are

Hekatombaion	(June/July)	Gamelion	(December/January)
Metageitnion	(July/August)	Anthesterion	(January/February)
Boedromion	(August/September)	Elaphebolion	(February/March)
Pyanopsion	(September/October)	Mounichion	(March/April)
Maimakterion	(October/November)	Thargelion	(April/May)
Posideion	(November/December)	Skirophorion	(May/June)

The Athenians counted time in two ways. The 'archon' or 'festival' year followed the order of the months and was the 'official' year for the preponderance of the magistrates, e.g. archons, generals; others, such as the Treasurers of Athena, seem to have held their tenure from Panathenaic festival to Panathenaic festival (Hekatombaion 28). Since the 'ordinary' year of twelve lunar months of twenty-nine or thirty days falls short of the solar year by a little more than eleven days, the practice was to intercalate a thirteenth month from time to time. In addition, the archon eponymous was free to intercalate days into the year (in order, for example, to postpone a festival on a day of ill-omen).

Time was also reckoned by the Conciliar calendar. Each of the ten Athenian tribes served in the Boule as prytany (see the Glossary) for approximately one tenth of the year. In the fourth century, at least, the first four prytanies served thirty-six days each, and the last six served thirty-five days each. Whether this also applied in the fifth century is the subject of considerable dispute. For calendric equations linking the two calendars, no. 158 deserves close study.

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I. Erechtheis	VI. Oineis
II. Aigeis	VII. Kekropis
III. Pandionis	VIII. Hippothontis
IV. Leontis	IX. Aiantis
V. Akamantis	X. Antiochis

Numbers and coinage

The Attic system of numerals worked, like the Roman, by the combination of different units, each a multiple of the next. A different symbol existed for each of the numerals 10,000; 5,000; 1,000; 500; 100; 10; 5; 1; and when a number was written in numerals, the largest symbol always appeared first, with the others juxtaposed in descending order. No smaller numeral was repeated when a larger would serve instead (e.g. never two fives instead of a ten).

The Attic system of coinage and weights was based on the drachma.

6 obols (ob.) = 1 drachma (dr.)
100 dr. = 1 mna
6,000 dr. (60 mnai) = 1 talent (T.)

Sums of money were normally expressed by Attic numerals, standing for drachmai, with a special symbol for 1 drachma. There were also special symbols for talents, obols and fractions of obols. Talents preceded and obols and their fractions followed the numerals indicating drachmai. (The mna was not used as an accounting unit.) Consequently, in the restoration of inscriptions involving sums of money, this system of numeration permits assured calculation of the maximum and minimum figures allowable, when the beginning of a series of numerals is preserved but not the end. For example, if a series started with the symbol for 1,000 (drachmai) and six letter spaces were known to be missing after it, in no case could the sum be less than 1,019 or more than 4,700. In the first case, the figures would be 10, 5, and 1 (this last written four times); in the second, 1,000 written three times, 500, and 100 written twice.

Similarly, one can work backwards when only the last portion of a figure is preserved and calculate at least the minimum possible sum. To take a real example: no. 120, the Parthenon accounts, gives in the left-hand column as the cost for 'expenditures on purchases' (lines 22f.) a

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sum of five digits, of which the first three are missing, while the last two are symbols for 100 dr. The three missing symbols must be equal to or greater than the symbols following them, which are preserved. But if they were merely equal (i.e. if there were five symbols for 100 dr.), the sum (500 dr.) must have been expressed by its own proper symbol. Therefore the first symbol must be at least 500, and the lowest possible sum consists of $500 + 4 \times 100$ dr. = 900 dr. By the same process, the next alternative after 900 dr. is 1,400 dr. ($1,000 + 4 \times 100$), and, after that, 1,800 dr. ($1,000 + 500 + 3 \times 100$). It therefore follows also that a sum in which a space in its middle has been effaced can sometimes be restored with complete certainty.

It would be idle to attempt to calculate the value of the drachma in terms of the American dollar (especially in these times). However, in absolute terms, the usual assumption is that average wages in Athens in the second half of the fifth century amounted to about a drachma per day. Thus an inscription (*IG I² 372 (I³ 474)*) of 409 B.C. recording sums paid out by Athens for the completion of the Erechtheum indicates that amount as the pay to sawyers. Sailors also were paid a drachma a day in 415 (Thucydides 6.31.3), though the pay dropped in 413 to 3 obols a day (Thucydides 8.45.2; cf. Xenophon, *Hellenica* 1.5.3-7). During the first part of the Peloponnesian War (Aristophanes, *Wasps* 684) jury pay was three obols a day.

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ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AC</i>	<i>L'Antiquité classique</i>
<i>AHR</i>	<i>American Historical Review</i>
<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
<i>AJAH</i>	<i>American Journal of Ancient History</i>
<i>AJP</i>	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>
<i>Arch. Eph.</i>	<i>Archaiologike Ephemeris</i>
<i>ATL</i>	B. D. Meritt, H. T. Wade-Gery, and M. F. McGregor, <i>The Athenian tribute lists</i> , 4 vols.: I, Cambridge (Mass.) 1939; II-IV, Princeton 1949-53
<i>BCH</i>	<i>Bulletin de Correspondance hellénique</i>
<i>BSA</i>	<i>Annual of the British School at Athens</i>
Bradeen-McGregor, <i>Studies</i>	Donald W. Bradeen and Malcolm F. McGregor, <i>Studies in fifth-century Attic epigraphy</i> , University of Cincinnati Classical Studies 4, Norman, Okla. 1973
Buck	Carl D. Buck, <i>The Greek dialects</i> , Chicago 1955
Bury-Meiggs	J. B. Bury, <i>A history of Greece</i> , 4th ed. by Russell Meiggs, London 1975
<i>CAH</i>	<i>The Cambridge ancient history</i> , 1st ed., Cambridge 1923-39
<i>CP</i>	<i>Classical Philology</i>
<i>CQ</i>	<i>Classical Quarterly</i>
<i>CR</i>	<i>Classical Review</i>
<i>CRAI</i>	<i>Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres</i>
<i>CSCA</i>	<i>California Studies in Classical Antiquity</i>
<i>DAA</i>	A. E. Raubitschek, <i>Dedications from the Athenian Akropolis</i> , Cambridge (Mass.) 1949
de Ste Croix, <i>Origins</i>	G. E. M. de Ste Croix, <i>The origins of the Peloponnesian War</i> , London 1972
<i>Ehrenberg studies</i>	<i>Ancient society and institutions: studies presented to Victor Ehrenberg on his seventy-fifth birthday</i> , Oxford 1966
<i>FGrHist</i>	F. Jacoby, <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> , Berlin and Leiden 1923-
<i>FHG</i>	Karl Müller, <i>Fragmenta historicorum graecorum</i> , 5 vols., Paris 1841-70
Fornara, <i>Generals</i>	<i>The Athenian board of Generals from 501 to 404</i> , <i>Historia Einzelschriften</i> 16, Wiesbaden 1971
<i>GHI</i>	R. Meiggs and D. M. Lewis, <i>A selection of Greek historical inscriptions to the end of the fifth century BC</i> , Oxford 1969
<i>GRBS</i>	<i>Greek Roman and Byzantine Studies</i>
Gomme, etc., <i>HCT</i>	A. W. Gomme, A. Andrewes, and K. J. Dover, <i>A historical commentary on Thucydides</i> , 4 vols. (Books I-VII), Oxford 1945-70

Abbreviations

- Graham, *Colony* A. J. Graham, *Colony and mother city in ancient Greece*, Manchester 1964
- HSCP *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*
- HTR *Harvard Theological Review*
- Hammond, *History* N. G. L. Hammond, *History of Greece*, 2nd ed., Oxford 1967
- Hammond, *Studies* N. G. L. Hammond, *Studies in Greek history*, Oxford 1973
- Harrison 1 A. R. W. Harrison, *The law of Athens. The family and property*, Oxford 1968
- Harrison 2 A. R. W. Harrison, *The law of Athens. Procedure*, Oxford 1971
- Hignett, *Constitution* C. Hignett, *A history of the Athenian constitution*, Oxford 1952
- Hignett, *Invasion* C. Hignett, *Xerxes' invasion of Greece*, Oxford 1963
- Hill, *Sources*² G. F. Hill, *Sources for Greek history between the Persian and Peloponnesian Wars*, 2nd ed. by R. Meiggs and A. Andrewes, Oxford 1951
- Historia* *Historia, Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte*
- Huxley, *Sparta* G. L. Huxley, *Early Sparta*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1962
- IC *Inscriptiones Creticae*, ed. M. Guarducci, 4 vols., Rome 1935–50
- IG *Inscriptiones Graecae*, Berlin 1873–
- JHS *Journal of Hellenic Studies*
- Jeffery, *Greece* L. H. Jeffery, *Archaic Greece. The city-states c. 700–500 BC*, London and Tonbridge 1976
- Jeffery, *LSAG* L. H. Jeffery, *The local scripts of Archaic Greece*, Oxford 1961
- Jones, *Democracy* A. H. M. Jones, *Athenian democracy*, Oxford 1957
- Kagan, *Outbreak* D. Kagan, *The outbreak of the Peloponnesian War*, Ithaca 1969
- Meiggs, *Empire* R. Meiggs, *The Athenian Empire*, Oxford 1972
- Michell, *Sparta* H. Michell, *Sparta*, Cambridge 1952
- Mosshammer, *Eusebius* A. A. Mosshammer, *The Chronicles of Eusebius and Greek chronological tradition*, Lewisburg, Pa. 1977
- PACA *Proceedings of the African Classical Associations*
- Phoros *Phoros. Tribute to Benjamin Dean Meritt*, New York 1974
- REG *Revue des Etudes grecques*
- RFIC *Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica*
- Rhodes, *Boule* P. J. Rhodes, *The Athenian Boule*, Oxford 1972
- SEG *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*
- SIG W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge inscriptionum Graecarum*, 3rd ed., Leipzig 1915–24
- Sealey, *History* R. Sealey, *A history of the Greek city-states, ca. 700–338 BC*, Berkeley 1976
- TAPA *Transactions of the American Philological Association*
- Tod M. N. Tod, *A selection of Greek historical inscriptions to the end of the fifth century BC*, 2nd ed., 2 vols.: I Oxford 1946; II Oxford 1948
- Wade-Gery, *Essays* H. T. Wade-Gery, *Essays in Greek history*, Oxford 1958
- YCS *Yale Classical Studies*
- ZPE *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*