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978-0-521-29946-6 - Archaic Times to the End of the Peloponnesian War

Edited by Charles W. Fornara

Excerpt

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1 Ancient Chronology

A: The Parian Marble (*FGrHist* 239). 264/3 B.C. Two fragments of a marble stele. Paros. B: Eusebius, *Chronica* (ed. Helm), early fourth century A.D.

E. Bickerman, *Chronology of the ancient world* (Ithaca 1968) 87–9; D. S. Wallace-Hadrill, *Eusebius of Caesarea* (Westminster, Md. 1961) 155–67; Mosshammer, *Eusebius*.

A. Extracts from the Parian Marble

THE HEADING [---] | [From] *all sorts* [of records and general histories] I have recorded the [times] from the beginning, starting with Kekrops, the first King of Athens, down to the archonship, in Paros, | of [...] yanax, and, at Athens, of Diognetos (264/3).

- 45 895/3 From the time when Ph[ei]don of Argos published [his] *measures* [and] | established *weights* and struck silver coins in Aegina, he being the eleventh (in line of descent) from Herakles, (it has been) 631 years, and the King of Athens was | [Pherekl]es.¹
- 48 683/2 From the time when the (Athenian) Archon held office year by year, 420 years.²
- 50 605/3 From the time when A[lyatte]s became *King* of the Lydia[ns, | 3] 41 years, and Aristokles was Archon at Athens.³
- 52 591/0 [From the time when] the Am[phikt]yo[nians⁴ held sacrificial celebration] after they had *subjugated* Kyrrha⁵ and the gymnastic contest was established for a money prize from the spoils, [3] 27 years, and Simon was Archon at Athens.
- 56 561/0 From the time when Peisistratos became tyrant of Athens, 297 years, and K[o]m[e]as was Archon [at Athens].⁶
- 56 556/5 From the time when Kroisos from Asia [sent envoys to] Delphi, | [29] 2 years, and Euthydemos was Archon at Athens.⁷
- 59 511/10 From the time when Harmodios and [Aristoge]iton killed || [Hippa]rchos, the [successor] of Peisistratos, and the Athenians [drove out] the Peisistratidai from [the P]elasgian Wall, 248 years, and the Archon at Athens was Ha[r]p[ak]tides.⁸
- 69 478/7 From the time when G[e]lon son of Deinomenes became tyrant [of the] S[yrac]u[sans,] 215 years, and Timosthen[es] was Archon at Athens.

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- 76 420/19 From the time when Archelaos became King of the Macedonians, Perdikkas having died, 1[57] years, 1 and Astyphilos was *Archon* at Athens.⁹

B. Eusebius, *Chronica*

- 798/7 Fidon (=Pheidon) of Argos was the first man to devise measures and weights.¹⁰
- 789/8 The first trireme made sail at Corinth.¹¹
- 758/7 The first Ephor, which is the name of a magistrate, was appointed in Lacedaemonia. Lacedaemonia had been under the rule of the Kings for 350 years.¹²
- 746/5 The Lacedaemonians waged their twenty-year struggle with the neighboring Messenians.¹³
- 720/19 The war which was waged in Thyrea between the Lacedaemonians and Argives.¹⁴
- 661/0 Kypselus held the tyranny in Corinth for 28 years.¹⁵
- 624/3 As some believe, Draco the legislator became celebrated.¹⁶
- 607/6 Pittacus of Mytilene,¹⁷ who was one of the Seven Wise Men,¹⁸ slew Frynon (=Phrynon) the Athenian in combat at the Olympic Games.
- 597/6 Epimenides purified Athens.¹⁹
- 594/3 Solon established his own laws, the laws of Dracon having become antiquated except for those relating to homicide.²⁰
- 562/1 Peisistratus, tyrant of the Athenians, crossed over into Italy.²¹
- 520/19 Harmodius and Aristogeiton slew Hipparchus the tyrant. Leaena, a courtesan and their mistress, bit off her tongue when put to the torture to betray her comrades.²²
- 488/7 Egypt fell away from Darius.²³
- 472/1 Themistocles fled to the Persians.²⁴
- 461/0 Kimon defeated the Persians at the Eurymedon in a battle by land and sea.²⁵ The Persian War came to an end.
- 445/4 Herodotus was honored when he read out his books in the Council²⁶ at Athens.²⁷
- 439/8 Fidias (=Pheidias) made the ivory Minerva (Athena).²⁸

This selection from material in the Parian Marble and Eusebius provides some examples of the Greeks' investigation of their own chronology. The dates are not all reliable, nor were the ancients unanimous about them, as may be seen from comparison of the Parian Marble at the year 895 with Eusebius at 798. Indeed, it is fair to say that the earlier the date, the more debatable its validity. In addition, error and confusion on the part of the chronographers need to be taken into account. Thus, there are numerous signs of chronological confusion in the Parian Marble, where the dates given are frequently in conflict with orthodox chronology. The fact that its author used different systems of reckoning, counted years inclusively and

1 Ancient chronology

exclusively, and that the mason may occasionally have inverted the order of some items (see note 1) is insufficient to explain many simple errors, however ingeniously some scholars have attempted to account for them. It should also be noted that although we may be confident that the actual dates ascribed to events in the Parian Marble are for the most part at least the dates the author intended to give, considerable uncertainty exists on this score with regard to Eusebius. His work on chronology survives only in an Armenian version, a Latin translation by Saint Jerome (from which the citations translated here derive), and in some other chronicles as well. Furthermore, the complicated arrangement adopted by Eusebius made for error and imprecision in the copying. Hence the discrepancies that are to be found not only in the various versions *vis-à-vis* each other, but even within the manuscript tradition of Saint Jerome's version. The result is to obscure precisely what dates Eusebius intended, the margin of error being about one to three years.

- 1 The very next item in the Parian Marble names Archias the Bacchiad of Corinth and founder of Syracuse as tenth in line of descent from Temenos – precisely what Ephorus (see no. 4A) alleged of Pheidon of Argos. The author of the Parian Marble or the mason may have wrongly interchanged these details (Jacoby); if so, Ephorus' date for Pheidon harmonizes with that in the (corrected) Parian Marble, Archias having actually been designated as the eleventh in descent from Herakles (and seventh from Temenos).
- 2 Cf. Pausanias 4.5.10, 15.1.
- 3 Cf. Herodotus 1.18–22.
- 4 I.e. members of the Amphictyonic League. See no. 16.
- 5 See no. 16.
- 6 Cf. Hdt. 1.59–64, Aristotle, *Athenaion Politeia* 14.
- 7 Cf. Hdt. 1.47.
- 8 Cf. Hdt. 5.55, Thucydides 1.20.2, 6.54.1, Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 18. This item telescopes the assassination of Hipparchos in 514 and the expulsion of his brother Hippias in 511/10, when the tyranny ended. Cf. Eusebius at the year 520/19.
- 9 Cf. Thuc. 2.100.2.
- 10 Cf. the Parian Marble (A) at the year 895.
- 11 Cf. Thuc. 1.13.2, Diodorus 14.42.3.
- 12 Cf. Arist. *Politics* 5.11.1313a26, Plutarch, *Lykourgos* 7, Diogenes Laertius 1.68.
- 13 See no. 12 below, Tyrtaeus F 4.
- 14 Cf. Hdt. 1.82.
- 15 Cf. Hdt. 5.92, Diod. 7.9.6.
- 16 I.e. he effected his judicial reform in that year. Cf. Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 4, Diod. 9.17, *Suda* s.v. 'Drakon,' and no. 15 below.
- 17 Cf. Hdt. 1.27, Arist. *Pol.* 3.14.1285a.
- 18 See Plato, *Protagoras* 343a for the canon of the 'Seven Sages.'
- 19 Cf. Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 1, Plut. *Solon* 12.
- 20 Cf. Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 7. The Armenian version here says that Solon abrogated the laws of Drakon.
- 21 The error was Eusebius' own, as we may tell by its repetition in Syncellus (another source for the *Chronica*) 239c (454, 7). It is a mistake for Eretria: cf. Hdt. 1.61.
- 22 Cf. the Parian Marble at the year 511/10 and note 8 above.
- 23 Cf. Hdt. 7.1.3.
- 24 Cf. Thuc. 1.135–8, Diod. 11.56.4.
- 25 The account is confused. See Thuc. 1.100.1, Diod. 11.61.
- 26 I.e. Boule.

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2 *The date of Lykourgos of Sparta*

27 Cf. Plut. *On the Malignity of Herodotus* 26.

28 See no. 114 below.

2 The Date of Lykourgos of Sparta. Ninth or eighth or seventh century B.C.

A: Scholiast to Pindar, *Pythian Odes* 1.120b (Ephorus, *FGrHist* 70 F 173); **B:** Aristotle, *Politics* 2.7.1271b24–6; **C:** Athenaeus 14.37, p. 635ef (Hellanicus, *FGrHist* 4 F 85a; Sosibius, *FGrHist* 595 F 3; Hieronymus F 33 Wehrli). **D:** Strabo 8.5.5, p. 366 (Hellanicus, *FGrHist* 4 F 116; Ephorus, *FGrHist* 70 F 118); **E:** Plutarch, *Lykourgos* 1 (Aristotle F 533 Rose). Cf. Herodotus 1.65f.; Thucydides 1.18.

Michell, *Sparta* 21f.; Huxley, *Sparta* 42f.; W. G. Forrest, *A history of Sparta* (London 1968) 55–60; Bury–Meiggs 98f.; Sealey, *History* 69, 74; Mosshammer, *Eusebius* 173–92.

A. Scholiast to Pindar, *Pythian Odes* 1.120b

Pindar, *Pythian Odes* 1.119–21: (Let us celebrate Deinomenes, son of Hieron and king of Aetna,) for whom Hieron founded that city with god-built freedom by the laws of the rule of Hyllos.¹

Scholion: The legislation of Lykourgos. For he was eleventh (in descent) from Herakles (about 870), as Ephorus relates.

B. Aristotle, *Politics* 2.7.1271b24–6

They say that Lykourgos, when he gave up the guardianship of Charillos² the king and withdrew from the country, then spent most of his time around Crete because of Crete's kinship (with Sparta).

C. Athenaeus 14.37, p. 635ef

It is clear from this that Terpander is older than Anacreon: Terpander was the first man of all to win the Karneia, as Hellanicus narrates in his metrical *Victors at the Karneia* and in his prose *Catalogue* (of their names). The establishment of the Karneia came about in the twenty-sixth Olympiad (676/5–673/2), as Sosibius says in his *On Chronology*. Hieronymus, in *On Harp Singers*, which is the fifth book of his *On Poets*, says that Terpander lived in the time of Lykourgos the lawgiver, who is said by all in common agreement to have arranged the first numbered celebration of the Olympic Games together with Iphitos of Elis.

D. Strabo 8.5.5, p. 366

Hellanicus says that Eurysthenes and Prokles arranged the constitution. Ephorus censures him, saying that he makes no mention anywhere of

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3 *The establishment of the Olympic Games*

Lykourgos, and attributes his deeds to those who are unconnected with them.³

E. Plutarch, *Lykourgos* 1

See no. 3B.

- 1 Hyllos the son of Herakles was believed to have given his name to one of the three Dorian tribes, Hylleis, Dymanes, Pamphyloi (see no. 12C (1)).
- 2 His name is spelled elsewhere 'Charilaos.'
- 3 It is to be noted that Hellanicus had nothing to say about Lykourgos and therefore is not responsible for associating him with the Karneia.

3 The Establishment of the Olympic Games. (?) 776 B.C.

A: Plutarch, *Numa* 1 (Hippias of Elis, *FGrHist* 6 F 2); **B:** Plutarch, *Lykourgos* 1 (Aristotle F 533 Rose); **C:** Strabo 8.3.33, p. 358 (Ephorus, *FGrHist* 70 F 115.11-17); **D:** Pausanias 5.20.1; **E:** Athenaeus 14.37, p. 635ef (Hellanicus, *FGrHist* 4 F 85a; Sosibius, *FGrHist* 595 F 3; Hieronymus F 33 Wehrli); **F:** Eusebius, *Chronica* (ed. Helm) at 776.

H. T. Wade-Gery, *CAH* 3.544-8; Jeffery, *LSAG* 217f., *Greece* 168; Huxley, *Sparta* 109f.; Bury-Meiggs 101-3; Sealey, *History* 40-3; M. I. Finley and H. W. Pleket, *The Olympic Games* (London 1976); Mosshammer, *Eusebius* 86-8.

A. Plutarch, *Numa* 1

It is difficult for chronology to be known accurately, especially that calculated from the Olympic victors. They say that Hippias of Elis published lists of them, at a later date, based on nothing that would compel credence.

B. Plutarch, *Lykourgos* 1

Some say that Lykourgos flourished at the same time as Iphitos and that he joined in the establishment of the Olympic Truce, and even Aristotle the philosopher is among their number. He put forward in evidence the discus at Olympia, on which the name of Lykourgos is written down and preserved.

C. Strabo 8.3.33, p. 358

(The Aetolians won Elis from the Epeians. Because of the friendship which had existed between the Aetolian Oxylos and the Herakleidai, it was agreed to make) Elis sacred to Zeus and to make any man marching against this country accursed and equally so the man who failed to use all his force to repel him. As a result, those who founded the city

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4 *Pheidon of Argos*

of the Eleians left it unfortified thereafter; those who marched on campaign through the country surrendered their arms and received them back after leaving the boundaries; and Iphitos established the Olympic festival, the Eleians being under divine protection.

D. Pausanias 5.20.1

The discus of Iphitos does not have the truce which the Eleians proclaim at the Olympic Games written in a straight line. The letters go around the discus in a circle.

E. Athenaeus 14.37, p. 635ef

See no. 2C.

F. Eusebius, *Chronica* at the year 776 B.C.

Africanus writes that the first Olympiad occurred in the time of Ioatham, King of the Hebrews. Our computation also sets it in the same time.

4 Pheidon of Argos. Early eighth century or 748 B.C. or 669 B.C.

A: Strabo 8.3.33, p. 358 (Ephorus, *FGrHist* 70 F 115.20–35); B: Pausanias 6.22.2; C: Parian Marble, *FGrHist* 239 F 30 (895–893 B.C.); D: Strabo 8.6.16, p. 376 (Ephorus, *FGrHist* 70 F 176); E: *Etymologicum Magnum* 3.613.13 (Orion s.v. 'obol'); F: *Excerpta de Insidiis* 10.27 (Nicolaus of Damascus, *FGrHist* 90 F 35). Cf. Herodotus 6.127.3; Aristotle, *Politics* 5.10.1310b, *Athenaion Politeia* 10.

H. T. Wade-Gery, *CAH* 3.539–43; A. Andrewes, *CQ* 43 (1949) 70–8; Huxley, *Sparta* 28–30; Bury-Meiggs 524; Sealey, *History* 40–5; Jeffery, *Greece* 134–6.

A. Strabo 8.3.33, p. 358

(Elis enjoyed peace because sacred to Zeus as the site of the Olympic Games.)¹ But Pheidon of Argos, who was tenth in the line of Temenos² (803–770) and who held more power than any man of his time – through which he regained the 'Portion of Temenos,' which had broken up into many parts – and who invented the so-called Pheidonian measures and weights, and struck coins, especially of silver, in addition also attacked the cities taken by Herakles and deemed it fitting for himself to preside at those contests which Herakles had established and of which the Olympic Games were one. Coming by force he presided at them, nor did the Eleians have arms with which to prevent him because of the peace which had prevailed, while the rest were subject to his rule. However, the Eleians did not register in their record that celebration of the Games, but acquired arms because of it and began to defend themselves.

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4 *Pheidon of Argos*

The Lacedaemonians joined with them either because they envied the good fortune that came to them from the peace or because they believed that they would also have them as allies in destroying Pheidon, who had deprived them of the hegemony over the Peloponnesians which earlier they had possessed. And they indeed helped to bring down Pheidon and joined the Eleians in organizing the territory of Pisa and Triphylia.

B. Pausanias 6.22.2

The Pisaians brought disaster upon themselves of their own volition by incurring the hatred of the Eleians and by their eagerness to administer the Olympic Games in the place of the Eleians. In the eighth³ Olympiad (748) they brought in Pheidon of Argos, who of all Greek tyrants acted most outrageously, and they administered the Games together with Pheidon.

C. Parian Marble at 895–893 B.C.

See No. 1A.

D. Strabo 8.6.16, p. 376

Ephorus says that silver was first minted in Aegina by Pheidon. She became a merchant-state because her men plied the sea as merchants because of the poverty of their land. Thus petty wares are called ‘Aeginetan profit.’

E. *Etymologicum Magnum* 3.613.13

Pheidon of Argos was the first man of all to mint coin (and he did so) in Aegina. Distributing the coin and taking back the spits⁴ he dedicated them to Argive Hera.⁵

F. *Excerpta de Insidiis* 10.27

(Nicolaus relates) that Pheidon went out of friendship to render assistance to the Corinthians, who were undergoing party strife, and that he died when an attack was launched by his associates.⁶

1 See no. 3C.

2 One of the great-grandsons of Herakles. On the ‘Return of the Herakleidai,’ he received Argos as his portion; the two sons of his brother Aristodemos, Prokles and Eurysthenes, received Lacedaemonia; and Kresphontes obtained Messenia.

3 ‘twenty-eighth’: Falconer (= 669 B.C.).

4 The ‘obolos’ (an Attic weight or coin) is a dialectical form of *obelos*, ‘spit’; see Plutarch, *Lysander* 17.5 for the early use of nails or spits as money. Iron spits have in fact been excavated at the temple of Hera at Argos. See Jeffery, *Greece* 135.

5 *The foundation of Naxos and Megara in Sicily*

- 5 Cf. Aelian, *VH* 12.10: '(the Aeginetans) were the first to mint money and from them coin was called "Aeginetan."'
- 6 Arist. *Pol.* 2.3.7.1265b speaks of 'Pheidon of Corinth, a most ancient lawgiver.' This formulation is inappropriate to the Argive.

5 The Foundation of Naxos and Megara in Sicily. Late eighth century B.C.

A: Strabo 6.2.2, p. 267 (Ephorus, *FGrHist* 70 F 137); B: Stephanus of Byzantium s.v. 'Chalkis' (Hellanicus, *FGrHist* 4 F 82). Cf. Thucydides 6.3ff.¹

E. A. Freeman, *The history of Sicily* (Oxford 1891) 1.314–16; Gomme, etc., *HCT* 4.207–10; Bury–Meiggs 76f.; Sealey, *History* 32: C. Starr, *The economic and social growth of early Greece* (New York 1977) 43f., 62–4; Mosshammer, *Eusebius* 114f.

A Strabo 6.2.2, p. 267

Ephorus says that these cities (Naxos and Megara) were the first Hellenic cities to be established in Sicily, in the tenth generation after the Trojan War. For people before that time were afraid of Etruscan piracy and of the cruelty of the barbarians there, with the result that they did not even sail there for purposes of trade. Theokles of Athens (continues Ephorus) was driven by a storm to Sicily and observed its uninhabited state and the excellence of its soil. Returning home, he failed to persuade the Athenians (to venture upon a colony). But taking a considerable number of the Chalcidians of Euboea and some Ionians, and in addition some Dorians, of whom the greater number were Megarians, he sailed (off to Sicily). The Chalcidians thus settled Naxos while the Dorians (colonized) Megara, previously called Hybla.

B. Stephanus of Byzantium s.v. 'Chalkis'

. . . Hellanicus in the *Priestesses of Hera*, Book 2: 'Theokles of Chalcis established the city (of Naxos) in Sicily with Chalcidians and Naxians.'

- 1 Thucydides gives the following sequence: Naxos, Syracuse, Leontini, Katane, Thapsus, Megara.

6 The Foundation of Croton. Late eighth century B.C.

A: Strabo 6.1.12, p. 262 (Antiochus of Syracuse, *FGrHist* 555 F 10; Ephorus, *FGrHist* 70 F 140); B: Zenobius, *Proverbs* 3.42 (Hippys of Rhegium, *FGrHist* 554 F 1). Cf. Diodorus 8.17; Pausanias 3.3.1.

Gomme, etc., *HCT* 4.201, 206f.; Bury–Meiggs 78f.

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7 *The Lelantine War*

A. Strabo 6.1.12, p. 262

(Croton was founded when Trojan women burned the ships of the Achaean heroes when they wandered to the site.) But Antiochus says that when the god (Apollo at Delphi) directed the Achaeans by oracle to found Croton, Myskellos departed to examine the site. Because Sybaris was already established,¹ having the same name as the nearby river, he judged that site (i.e. Sybaris) to be better. He thus returned and asked the god again whether that place would be given to him to colonize in place of the other. The god replied – for Myskellos happened to be hump-backed – ‘Myskellos of the short back, *pass by!* In searching for something else / you hunt for *morsels* (?).² Praise the gift you are given.’ He returned and founded Croton. Archias³ the founder of Syracuse also shared in the task, having sailed up by chance, when he was setting out upon the establishment of Syracuse. As Ephorus says, Iapygians previously dwelled in Croton.

B. Zenobius, *Proverbs* 3.42

‘Praise the gift you are given’: this is a clause of the oracle which was given to Myskellos of Rhyes (in Achaea) at that time when he did not wish to found Croton but rather Sybaris, as Hippys says in his *On Chronology*. He says the oracle was as follows: ‘Myskellos of the short back, by searching for some things contrary to the god / *you will not find other things*. Praise the gift you are given.’⁴

1 Cf. Eusebius in Hieronymus (Jerome), *Ol.* 18, 3 (709 B.C.): ‘Croton, Parium and Sybaris were founded.’

2 The italicized words of these dactylic hexameters are corrupt.

3 See no. 1, note 1.

4 See note 2.

7 *The Lelantine War. Late eighth century B.C.*

A: Strabo 10.1.12, p. 448; B: Plutarch, *Banquet of the Seven Sages* 10 (*Moralia* 153f); C: Proclus on Hesiod, *Works and Days* 650–62 (Plutarch F 84 Sandbach); D: Plutarch, *Erotica* 17 (= *Moralia* 760e–761a (Aristotle F 98 Rose)). Cf. Herodotus 5.99; Thucydides 1.15.3.

J. Boardman, *BSA* 52 (1957) 27–9; W. G. Forrest, *Historia* 6 (1957) 160–75; A. R. Burn, *The lyric age of Greece* (London 1960) 90–3; Bury–Meiggs, 107; Sealey, *History* 35; Jeffery, *Greece* 64–7.

A. Strabo 10.1.12, p. 448

Generally these cities (Chalcis and Eretria) were in amity with each other; in their dispute about the Lelantine plain they did not so completely cease (from amity) as to act remorselessly in the war, but agreed

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7 *The Lelantine War*

on the conditions under which they would engage in the struggle. This too¹ is made evident by a stele in the (temple of Artemis) Amarysia which states that long-range missiles are not to be used.²

B. Plutarch, *Moralia* 153ef

For we hear that of those who were wise men in that time the most distinguished poets congregated at Chalcis for the burial rites of Amphidamas. Amphidamas was a warlike man and he fell after making much trouble for the Eretrians in the battles around Lelantos.

C. Proclus on Hesiod, *Works and Days* 650–62

Hesiod, *Works and Days* 654–6: Then I crossed over into Chalcis to the contests of warlike Amphidamas. The sons of great-hearted (Amphidamas) had proclaimed and established many contests.

Scholion: All this about Chalcis, Amphidamas, the contest and the tripod Plutarch says was interpolated and is not genuine. Amphidamas died fighting by sea³ for the Lelantine plain against the Eretrians. Prizes and contests were established in his honor by his children after he died.

D. Plutarch, *Moralia* 760e–761a

Do you know the reason why Kleomachos of Pharsalus died in battle? He came as an ally of the Chalcidians (with)⁴ the Thessalian force when the war with Eretria was at its height. It appeared to the Chalcidians that their infantry was strong, but it was difficult to repulse the enemy horse. The allies urged Kleomachos, who possessed a vigorous spirit, to be the first to charge against the cavalry Donning his helmet, Kleomachos, in exultation, gathered around himself the bravest of the Thessalians, rode out boldly, and fell upon the enemy, so as to disarrange and rout the cavalry. Because of this the hoplites also fled and the Chalcidians won mightily. However, it chanced that Kleomachos met his death, and the Chalcidians point out his grave in the agora, and the great column stands upon it even now Aristotle says that Kleomachos died in a different manner when he had conquered the Eretrians in battle.

- 1 Strabo had just pointed out (10.1.10, p. 448) that a stele in the temple of Artemis in Eretria put Eretrian forces at 3,000 hoplites, 600 knights, 60 chariots.
- 2 See Archilochus F 3 West, who writes that the sword, not bows or slings will be used in combat by the 'spear-famed masters of Euboea' when they fight 'on a plain.' Polybius 13.3.4 (cf. Livy 42.47.5) discusses the question of the rules of war in such a way as to indicate that this compact between Chalcis and Eretria was a well-known historical example. See F. W. Walbank, *A historical commentary on Polybius* 2 (Oxford 1967) 416.