

1 Ancient chronology

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A. The Parian Marble (*FGrHist* 239). Paros, 264/3. Two fragments of a marble stele. B. *Chronika* from Oxyrhynchus (*FGrHist* 255). Fragment of papyrus from Oxyrhynchus (*P.Oxy.* 12), late first century BC (?). C. Eusebius, *Chronika* (ed. Helm), early fourth century AD.

E. Bickerman, *Chronology of the Ancient World*² (London 1980) 87–9; A. Mosshammer, *The Chronicle of Eusebius and Greek Chronographic Tradition* (Lewisburg and London 1979) 29–168.

A. The Parian Marble (extracts)¹

FRAGMENT A

- 400/99 1.79 From the time when [the Greeks returned, those who] | went up-country *with* Kyros,² and Sokrates the philosopher died, after living 70 years,² 137 years,³ when the archon at Athens was Laches

- 371/70 1.83 [From the time when the battle at Leuctra] | took place between the Thebans and the Lacedaemonians, (the battle) that the Thebans won, 107 years, when the archon at Athens was Phrasikleides.⁴ And A[myntas dies, and Alexandros, his son, over the Macedonians] | becomes king⁵

- 368/7 1.86 From the time when Dionysios the Sicilian died,⁶ and his son Dionysios became tyrant, and [after] Alexandr[os had died, Ptolemaios of Aloros over the Macedonians] be|comes king,⁷ 104 years, when the archon at Athens was Nausigenes
- 366/5 1.87 From the time when the Phocians [seized] the *oracle* at Delphi [-- 102 years, when the archon at Ath]|ens was Kephisodoros⁸

FRAGMENT B

- 336/5 1.2 [-- Philip] *died*, and Ale[xand]er becomes [king, 72 years, when the archon at Athens was Pythodelos]⁹
- 335/4 1.2 From the time when Alexander campaigned against the Triballi and the Illyrii, | and when the Thebans were in revolt and were besieging his garrison, he took the city by storm and razed it to the ground, 71 years, when the archon at Athens was Euainetos¹⁰

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- 334/3 1.4 From the time of Alexander's crossing over into Asia and the battle at the Granicus, and from the time of the battle that Alexander fought against Dareios at Issus, 70 years, when the archon at Athens was | Ktesikles¹¹

- 332/1 1.5 From the time of Alexander's battle against Dareios | near Arbela, which Alexander won; and he captured Babylon, and dismissed the allies, and founded Alexandria, 68 years, when the archon at Athens was Niketes¹²

- 323/2 1.9 From the time when the war took place for the Athenians near Lamia against Antipatros, and from the time of the sea battle | that the Macedonians fought against the Athenians off Amorgos, in which the Macedonians were victorious, 59 years, when the archon at Athens was Kephisodoros¹³
- 321/20 1.11 From the time when Antigonos crossed over into Asia, | and Alexander was laid to rest at Memphis, and Perdikkas invaded Egypt and died,¹⁴ and Krateros and Aristotle the sophist die|d, 57 years, after living 50 years,¹⁵ when the archon at Athens was Archippos
- 319/18 1.13 From the death of Antipatros¹⁶ and Kassandros' departure | from Macedonia,¹⁷ and from the time of the siege of Cyzicus,¹⁸ which Arrhidaios made, and from the time when Ptolemy captured Syria and Phoenicia,¹⁹ 55 years, when the archon at Ath|ens was Apollodoros. In this same year also the Syracusans chose Agathokles general with absolute authority over the defences in Sicily
- 317/16 1.15 From the time of the battle at sea between Kleitos | and Nikanor near the temple of the Calchedonians,²⁰ and when Demetrios made his laws at Athens,²¹ 53 years, when the archon at Athens was Demogenes
- 316/15 1.16 From the time when | Kassandros returned to Macedonia,²² and Thebes was built,²³ and Olympias died,²⁴ and Kassandreia was founded,²⁵ and Agathokles over the Syracus|ans became tyrant,²⁶ 57 years, when the archon at Athens was Demokleid[es]

- 312/11 1.19 From the time when the sun was eclipsed,²⁷ and Ptolemy defeated Demetrios at | Gaza, and despatched Seleukos to Babylon, 48 years, when the archon at Athens was Po[l]em[on].

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308/7 1.24 From the time when Demetrios, son of Antigonos, captured the | [P]eiraeus after a siege,²⁸ [and Demetrios of Phaleron was thrown out of Athens, 44 years, when the archon] at Athens was Kairimos

B. Chronika from Oxyrhynchus²⁹

344/3–341/40 (Col. 2) [In (the) Olym|piad (that was) the ninth and one] *hundredth*, | [the victor in the] *stadion* [was] Arist[o]lykos, | *the Athenian*, and the archons at Athens were [Lykiskos, Py]thodotos, Sosi||g[ene]s, Ni[ko]machos. Of that (Olympiad) | in the second year (343/2), Diony|sios the Second, tyrant | of Sicily, having been deprived of the | rule, sailed to Co||rinth and remained there, | keeping a school.³⁰ And in | the fourth year (341/40) Bagoas, | the eunuch, having assassinated Ochos, the King of the Persians, || made the youngest of his | sons, Arses, Ki|ng, while he himself was in charge of affairs.³¹ |

340/39–337/6 In (the) Olympiad (that was) the tenth and one h|undredth, the victor in the stadion was An||tikles, the Athenian, and the archons at A|thens were Theo[phrasto]s, [Lysima]chides, Chairo[ndes], Phry[nichos]. | . . . In the third year (338/7) Phi|lip, king of the Macedonians, || won the very famous battle | at Chaironea | against the Athenians and B[oe]otians;³² | fighting with h|im was his son Alexander, || [who also won] great distinction at that time. | [And I]socrates the orator *d|ied*, *about nine|ty* [. . . years old].³³ *vv* (vol. 3) *vv* [Ba]||g[oas, the] *eunuch*, killed | Ar[ses], the King of the Persians, | along with his broth|ers, and made Dareios, son of Arsa||mes, who was of the royal stock, | king in place of Arses.³⁴ | . . . And in the fourth year (337/6) the lea||gue of the Greeks having assem|bled, (the Greeks) chose Philip | general with absolute authority for the | war against the Persians.³⁵

C. Eusebius, Chronika³⁶

400/399 The Athenians began to use 24 letters (in their alphabet), although before they had only 16³⁷

380/79 A great earthquake took place and (H)elika and Byra, cities of the Peloponnese, were swallowed up³⁸

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377/6	The Athenians became leaders of Greece
355/4	Alexander, son of Philip and Olympias, is born ³⁹
347/6	Demosthenes, the orator, is celebrated by universal acclaim
330/29	Alexander captured Babylon, after the death of Dareios, ⁴⁰ at which point the kingdom of the Persians was destroyed
328/7	Alexander captures the rock of Aornis ⁴¹ and crosses the Indus river
327/6	Alexander's war in India against Porus and Taxiles
326/5	(H)arpalos flees to Asia ⁴²
325/4	Alexander dies in Babylon in the thirty-second year of his life; after him the empire was transferred into many hands
311/10	Lysimacheia was founded in Thrace
308/7	Demetrios of Phaleron went to Ptolemy and gained his request that democracy be restored at Athens ⁴³
304/3	Seleukos founded the cities of Antiochia, Laodicea, Seleucia, Apamea, Edessa, Beroea and Pella; of these Antiochia was built in the twelfth year of his reign ⁴⁴
301/0	Seleukos captured Babylon ⁴⁵

- 1 The Parian Marble (henceforth *MP*) was published in 264/3, in the archonship of Diognetos at Athens. The surviving portion consists of two fragments. The first breaks off in the late 350s and contains a strange assortment of material; the rationale for the inclusion or exclusion of events is often very hard to appreciate. The second fragment begins with the death of Philip of Macedon and continues to the year 299/8; it is concerned almost exclusively with the history of Alexander the Great and his successors. Dates are given by Athenian archons. Four dashes will be used to show that a section of the document has been omitted.
- 2 Cf. Diod. 14.27 (Ol. 95.1 = 400/399); Eusebius Ol. 94.4 (401/0) and Ol. 95.1 (400/399).
- 3 The figures are calculated against the year 264/3, the date when the document was published.
- 4 Cf. Diod. 15.54ff. and Pausanias 8.27–8; 9.1.8.
- 5 Whilst *MP* and Diodorus disagree radically on the reigns of the fifth-century kings, Perdikkas and Archelaos, from Alexandros II through Alexander III they are less often in disagreement, and, if they are, it is only by one year.
- 6 Cf. Diod. 15.73.5.
- 7 Cf. Diod. 15.71.1.
- 8 The traditional date for the outbreak of the Third Sacred War is the archonship of Agathokles (357/6). Cf. Diod. 16.14.3; Pausanias 10.2.3. It is very likely that *MP* has confused Kephisodoros (366/5) with Kephisodotos (358/7), so that the difference is only one year.
- 9 All sources date Alexander's accession to 336/5 with the exception of Diodorus, who (17.2.1) puts it in the archonship of Euainetos (335/4). Diodorus' mistake here and some mistakes elsewhere in Book 17 might be the result of his using the

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- Macedonian year. Since this year began in autumn and was not co-terminous with the official year at either Athens or Rome, Diodorus had a problem in equating them, for the Macedonian year covered parts of two years in each of the other systems. If Diodorus chose to equate the Macedonian year with the official years at Athens and Rome that began in the latter part of the Macedonian year, then the discrepancies in his dates would be explained. See M.J. Fontana, *Kokalos* 2 (1956) 37–49.
- 10 *Chronika* from Oxyrhynchus (henceforth *Chron. Ox.*) places these events in the first year of the 111th Olympiad, the archonship of Pythodelos (336/5), and is likewise one year behind in its dating of events down to the battle of Issus.
 - 11 *MP* is in error in dating the battle of Issus in the same archon year as Granicus. *Chron. Ox.* and Eusebius also give 334/3 as the date for Issus. Diod. 17.33f. and Arrian, *Anabasis* 2.11.10, give the correct date, autumn 333.
 - 12 Though *MP* has the right year for the foundation of Alexandria, it has placed this after, instead of before, the battle of Gaugamela. It is consequently wrong about the date for the battle of Gaugamela (Arbela), which was about 1 October 331. Diodorus gives the year 331/30 for both the foundation of Alexandria (17.52) and the battle of Gaugamela (17.57–61). Eusebius also dates the foundation to 331, while *Chron. Ox.* gives 330/29 for the battle of Gaugamela. On the site of this battle (Gaugamela not Arbela) see Arrian 6.11.5.
 - 13 Both Diodorus (18.2.1) and *MP* give Kephisodoros as the archon for 323/2 and place the Lamian War and the battle of Amorgos in that year. Only *Chron. Ox.* disagrees, naming the archon for that year Kephisophon and, more seriously, placing the Lamian War in Ol. 115.1, the archonship of Neaichmos (320/19).
 - 14 Although we do not have the details entered by *Chron. Ox.* under this year, we do know that it dates Antipatros' crossing to Asia to attack Perdikkas in Ol. 115.2, the archonship of Apollodoros (319/18). Diodorus (18.26–18.32.4) dates the events here recorded under the archonship of Philokles (322/1) and, in fact, fails to give the names of the archons for 321/20 and 320/19. A lacuna has been suspected, but the fact that *MP* has no entry for 320/19 suggests that there was a basic problem about the chronology of these years that was common to our sources. *Chron. Ox.* gives Neaichmos for 320/19, but, as noted above, erroneously assigns the Lamian War to that year. Eusebius dates Perdikkas' invasion of Egypt to Ol. 114.2 (323/2).
 - 15 There is clearly something wrong here. Aristotle lived 62 or 63 years (384–322) and died in the archonship of Philokles (322/1). Maybe the entry has been misplaced.
 - 16 Cf. Diod. 18.48. It appears that *Chron. Ox.* dates the death of Antipatros to Ol. 116.1 (316/15). At any rate its last entry has been restored as follows: '[In the] first year [of this Olympiad Antipatros] died [and] affairs passed [into the hands of Polyper]chon . . .'
 - 17 Cf. Diod. 18.54. He went to Antigonos in Asia.
 - 18 Cf. Diod. 18.51–53. Arrhidaios was the satrap of Hellespontine Phrygia.
 - 19 Cf. Diod. 18.43, where Ptolemy's invasion is dated 320/19.
 - 20 Cf. Diod. 18.72.4 (318/17).
 - 21 Cf. Diod. 18.74.3 (318/17).
 - 22 Cf. Diod. 19.35.36 (317/16); 19.35.49f. (316/15). For Eusebius, Kassandros' rule in Macedon begins in Ol. 115.4 (317/16) (Hieronymus) or Ol. 116.1 (316/15) (Armenian).
 - 23 Cf. Diod. 19.54.1–3.
 - 24 Cf. Diod. 19.51.
 - 25 Cf. Diod. 19.52.2.

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- 26 Dated by Diodorus (19.2.1) to the archonship of Demogenes (317/16). Eusebius under Ol. 114.2 (323/2) has the entry 'Agathokles assumes the tyranny at Syracuse'.
- 27 There is no necessary inference that the eclipse was associated with the battle and Diodorus does not mention one in his account (19.80ff.). Consequently, we do not know the exact location from which the eclipse was visible. However, the only total eclipse that was visible in the Greek world around this time took place on August 15, 310. Its line of totality passed through central Asia Minor, southern Greece and Sicily, thereby passing over Paros.
- 28 Diodorus (20.45) describes Demetrius' capture of the Peiraeus but dates it in the archonship of Anaxikrates (307/6).
- 29 The *Chronika* from Oxyrhynchus in Egypt covers the period 355/4–316/15. It was written sometime in the Roman period, possibly near the end of the first century BC. The lack of any clear principle in its choice of material suggests that it was excerpted from a larger work. It dates by Olympiads and Athenian archons.
- 30 Cf. Diod. 16.70:1–3.
- 31 Cf. Diod. 17.5.3. Diodorus' date for Arses' accession is imprecise, but that of *Chron. Ox.* (341/40) must be wrong. The Akkadian lists of Persian Kings give 338/7–336/5 for Arses' reign. For the possibility that Arses took the royal title Artaxerxes IV see E. Badian, *Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean*, ed. K.H. Kinzl (Berlin and New York 1977) 40–50.
- 32 Cf. Diod. 16.84–6.
- 33 Cf. [Plut.] *Lives of the Ten Orators* (= *Moralia* 837ef); Dion. Halic. *de Isoc.* 1 (98 years); Lucian, *Macrob.* 23 (99 years).
- 34 Cf. Diod. 17.5.4–5, whose text names the father of Dareios Arsanes. His date (336/5) is consistent with the tradition against *Chron. Ox.*
- 35 Cf. Diod. 16.89.3.
- 36 From the time of Hellenicus of Lesbos (5th century BC), the Greeks had been assembling chronological systems such as the lists of the priestesses of Hera, archons at Athens, and (later by Aristotle) victors at the Olympic Games. In the Hellenistic period such scholars as Eratosthenes and Sosicrates extended their research to include all the civilizations of the known world (e.g. Egypt, Lydia, Macedonia) and the obvious need arose to relate these lists to one another. Thus the art of comparative chronography was developed, the last and greatest practitioner of which was Eusebius. Beginning, like a good Christian, with the year of Adam, Eusebius established the comparative chronology of the civilized world by inscribing each list on a rod (canon) so that, as each civilization arose, its chronology could be aligned with those that preceded. On the margins or in the centre were rods carrying snippets of historical information. The fact that those snippets could easily be misplaced by a year or two (or sometimes more) is amply demonstrated by the frequent disagreement between our two basic texts of Eusebius, the version of Hieronymus (St Jerome) and an Armenian version. No attempt can possibly be made to represent Eusebius' style in the present selection, but it is well illustrated by Mosshammer. A table showing the differences between the major chronological sources for the period 336/5–302/1 can be found in F. Jacoby, *FGrHist* 2BD (Commentary on nos. 106–261), pp. 698–701.
- 37 See no. 6 below. (Of course, the Athenian alphabet never used only 16 letters.)
- 38 Cf. Diod. 15.48.1–4; Strabo 1.3.18.
- 39 Cf. Plut. *Alexander* 3.5–9; J.R. Hamilton, *Plutarch Alexander: A Commentary* (Oxford 1969) 7.
- 40 Cf. the Parian Marble at the year 332/1 and n. 12.

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2 Alliance between Athens and Eretria

- 41 Cf. Plut. *Alexander* 58.5; Arrian 4.28.8–30.4; Diod. 17.85; Curtius 8.11.1–25.
 42 Harpalos fled twice; the first time in 333 to Megara (Arrian 3.6.4–7); the second and more famous occasion (probably the one intended here) was to Athens in 324 (cf. no. 120 below).
 43 Cf. the Parian Marble at the year 308/7. Eusebius is strangely confused about this event.
 44 On Seleukos' foundations see A.H.M. Jones, *The Greek City* (Oxford 1940) 7–10.
 45 Cf. the Parian Marble at the year 312/11.

2 Alliance between Athens and Eretria. Athens, 404/3 or 394/3.

Two fragments of a marble stele, Ionic letters (but o=ou in lines 3, 5, 6, 9, 12, 13; e=ei in lines 6, 9, 14, 17), stoichedon (except in lines 1 and 2, which have larger letters).

IG II² 16+; Tod 103, pp. 16–18; **SV* 2.229, pp. 176–7; *P. Krentz, *AJP* 100 (1979) 399. Cf. Xen. *Hell.* 4.2.17; Diod. 14.82.3.

S. Perlman, *CP* 63 (1968) 260 n.28; Rhodes, *Boule* 82–5; Bury-Meiggs 339; Krentz, *AJP* 100 (1979) 398–400; D. Knoepfler, *AJP* 101 (1980) 462–9.

Fragment A (after Bengtson, *SV* 2)

- [Alliance] of the Eretrians | and the Atheni[ans]. | Resolved by the
 Boule.¹ [Akamantis² held the prytan|y], Chelonion,³ [son of]
 5 Theog[–], was sec|retary, Euboulide[s⁴ was archon (394/3), –] | *presided*.
 Gnathio[s made the motion: They shall be allies, the E|retrians and the
 A]then[ians –] | (lacuna)⁵

Fragment A (after Krentz)

- [Alliance] of the Eretrians | and the Atheni[ans]. | Resolved by the
 Boule. [Akamantis or Pandionis held the prytan|y], Chelonion, [son of]
 5 Theog[–, (demotic)] was sec|retary, Euboulide[s (patronymic)
 (demotic)] | *presided*.⁶ Gnathio[s made the motion: They shall be allies,
 the E|retrians and the A]then[ians –] | (lacuna)

Fragment B

- [– to the best] of their ability. [And whatever se|ems to be better] to the
 two cities in joint [de|liberation], *this* shall be valid. The oath shall be
 5 sworn | [for the Athenians] by the generals [and th|e Boule and the]
 Knights, and for the Eretrians *by the* | [generals and] the council and *the*
Knigh|ts [and the other] magistrates. *And* there shall exist [– | –].⁷ *And*
 there shall be sworn (that which is) *customar|ly* (as an) [oath] amongst

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3 Rewards for the liberators of Athens from the Thirty

10 themselves by each of the *d|lwo* (parties). [And] as ambassadors [shall be chosen] right away by the [B|oule ten] men, five from the *Boul|e*, [and five from the] citizens not in office, to acce|pt [the oaths] from the Eret[r]ian[s --]

- 1 The enactment formula is peculiar for the absence of the People. There are, however, other Athenian decrees of the early fourth century that have the same formula, though they are mainly honorific (cf. no. 20). Most scholars assume that the decree 'must have received the ratification of the Assembly' (Tod, p. 17). For a discussion of the problem see Rhodes, *loc. cit.*
- 2 Both Akamantis and Pandionis fit the space, but the secretary for Pandionis in the archonship of Euboulides was Platon of Phlya, son of Nikochares (cf. no. 20).
- 3 The name (derived from the word that means 'tortoise') is not common at Athens, but is found three times in inscriptions from Thasos.
- 4 If this document does belong to the year of Euboulides, then the alliance it records should be very early in his year, for in that summer 3000 hoplites 'from all Euboea' and 100 cavalry from Chalcis fought at Corinth (Xen. *Hell.* 4.2.17; Diod. 14.82.3) and there were also Euboeans at the battle of Coronea (Xen. *Hell.* 4.3.15). That is, if it is a reasonable assumption that alliance should precede military involvement (cf. Knoepfler 462 n. 2).
- 5 About 7 lines long.
- 6 By thus removing Euboulides as archon and making him instead the chairman Krentz removes the grounds for dating the document to 394/3. On the basis of the enactment formula (see n. 1 above) Krentz suggests that this was a decree of the Thirty Tyrants, and so dates it to 404/3.
- 7 '[the alliance for eternity]' (Krentz); '[the alliance for a hundred years]' (Knoepfler). Earlier editors believed this was an alliance for all time but thought that clause was lost in the lacuna.

3 Rewards for the liberators of Athens from the Thirty. Athens, 404/3 or 403/2 or 401/0. Four fragments of a marble stele, inscribed in front and back, Ionic letters (except e=ei and o=ou in the text of the decree), stoichedon.

IG II² 10; Tod 100, pp. 8–13, + *SEG* 12.84; D. Hereward, *BSA* 47 (1952) 102–17; *P. Krentz, *Phoenix* 34 (1980) 298–306.¹ Cf. Xen. *Hell.* 2.4.25; Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* 40.2; [Plut.] *Lives of the Ten Orators* (= *Moralia* 835f–836b).

W.S. Ferguson, *CAH* 5.372–5; D. Whitehead, *Liverpool Class. Monthly* 9 (1984) 8ff.

[Lysiades (patronymic)] was secretary [(demotic),] Eukleides (demotic) | os was archon.² | [Resolved by the Boule and the People --]³ held the *prytany*, Lysiades was secretary, Demophilos *presided* | [-6-⁴ made the motion: Because they are good men with regard to the] *People*,⁵ all those who joined in the return from Phyle or to those who returned
5 || [from Phyle gave assistance by donating money or supplies,]⁶ let it be

3 Rewards for the liberators of Athens from the Thirty

voted by the Athenians. There shall be for them and their descendants | [equality of taxation and the right of possession of land and house in Athens,]⁷ and the magistrates shall *use* in their case the same laws | [as also in the case of the Athenians. All those who did not join in the return,] but joined in fighting the battle at Munychia, *and* | [captured the Peiraeus^b or remained loyal to the democratic forces in Peiraeus]⁹ *when* the reconciliation was brought about and carried out the duties | [assigned to them, there shall be for them and their descendants equality of taxation at Athens and] *the right of giving security*¹⁰ just as for the [A]thenians. And the [. . .]¹¹

10	Chairedemos	farm(er)	Bendiphanes	tray-(maker)
	Leptines	coo(k)	Emporion	farm(er)
	Demetrios	carpen(ter)	Paid[i]kos	bread-s(eller)
	Euphorion	mulet(eer)	Sosias	full(er)
	Kephis[o]doros	builder	Psammis	farm(er)
15	Hegesias	garden(er)	Egersis	
	Epameinon	mule-tend(er)	Ona[.]mes	[--]
	[. . .]opos	oil-(seller)	Eukolion	labour(er)
	G[l]au[k]ias	farm(er)	Kallias	statu(e-maker)
	[. . .]on	nut-(seller)	<i>vacat</i>	
20	[Diony]sios	farm(er)	Of Aigeis:	
			Athenogi[t]on	[--]

- 1 This text, used in the first impression, has been superseded by the new edition and discussion in M. J. Osborne, *Naturalization in Athens* (Brussels 1981–2) I.37–41, II.26–43. See also P. Harding, *ZPE* 67 (1987) 176–82.
- 2 So Krentz. All previous editions have centred the prescript on the stone and read: '[Lysiades] was secretary, [-]os was archon'. On this approach there were only two possible candidates for archon – Pythodoros (404/3) and Xenainetos (401/0).
- 3 '[Hippothontis]' (Tod).
- 4 '[Archinos]' (Tod).
- 5 '[In order that the met]ics [may receive fitting rewards]' (Tod).
- 6 'or to those who returned [gave assist]ance for the return to Peiraeus]' (Tod).
- 7 '[citizen]ship and they shall be assigned forthwith to the ten tribes]' (Tod).
- 8 'a[nd joined | in saving] the [Peiraeus for the Athenians]' (Tod).
- 9 '[and were present in the city]' (Tod). The restoration 'remained loyal to the democratic forces in Peiraeus' (Krentz) must fit somewhere into the body of the decree, for it is found intact on one of the new fragments as a heading. This raises to four the number of categories of those honoured.
- 10 '[there shall be for them equality of taxation while they live at Athens and the right of intermarriage and the] *right of giving security*' (Tod).
- 11 The text of the decree breaks off at this point. It is followed by lists of names, to each of which is attached a designation of occupation only. There are three columns of names on the front of the stele, six or seven on the back. The total of names must have been in excess of 1000. The names were probably grouped by categories. The people listed are most likely all non-citizens. For some discussion of the occupations represented see P. Cloché, *REG* 30 (1917) 392–403, M.N. Tod,

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5 Athens honours loyal Samians

Epigraphica 12 (1950) 3–26, and Hereward 113–14. For the sake of example I have given a few names from the back of the inscription, following the text in Tod.

4 Dedicatory epigram for Lysandros. Delphi, end of fifth or second half of fourth c. Two fragments of a limestone statue base that formed part of a large group, Ionic letters, non-stoichedon, elegiac couplets (lines 1–4), one line for each verse. The last line is an additional elegiac pentameter.

Fouilles de Delphes 3 (1) (Paris 1932) 50; Pouilloux, *Choix* 46, pp. 157–8; **GHI* 95C, pp. 287–90. Cf. Pausanias 10.9.7–10; Plut. *Lysander* 18.

He dedicated his statue [upon] this monument, when, victorious
 /| with his swift ships, he had destroyed the power of the sons of
 Ke[k]rops, /| Lysandros (is his name), having crowned unsacked
 Lacedaemon, /| his fatherland with its beautiful dancing-grounds, as
 5 the acropolis of Greece. //|| He from sea-girt Samos composed the
 poem. Ion (is his name).

5 Athens honours loyal Samians.¹ Athens, 403/2. Marble stele, Ionic writing, stoichedon (sometimes observing syllabic division of words).

IG II² 1; Tod 97, pp. 1–4; *Pouilloux, *Choix* 24, pp. 92–6. Cf. Xenophon, *Hell.* 2.2.6, 2.3.6.

P. Foucart, *REA* 1 (1899) 181–207; Bury-Meiggs 317; J. Cargill, *GRBS* 24 (1983) 321–32.

[Resolved by the Boule and the People, Pand]ionis held the prytany, Agyrrhios² of K[ollyt]os | [was secretary, Eukleides was archon, Ka]llias of Oa presided, Kephisophon [made the motion: | Commendation shall be given to the Samians because they are] good men toward the Athenians, and *everything* | [shall be confirmed that the] Athenian
 5 [People previously] voted to the Sa[mian] People; || [the Samians shall send, as] they *themselves* request, to Lacedaemon, whomever [they | themselves wish; and since they] *ask* the Athenians to help in the negotiation, (the Athenians) shall also choose | [ambassadors, and these men] *are to negotiate* along with the Samians whatever good they can [and | are to deliberate in common with] them (the Samians). And the Athenians commend the Ephesians and the Not[ians | because they welcomed warmly] (those of the) Samians who were in exile. Intro-
 10 duction shall be made of the embassy || [of the Samians to the] *People* to transact any business they require. Invitation shall be issued for