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978-0-521-29949-7 - From the End of the Peloponnesian War to the Battle of Ipsus

Edited by Phillip Harding

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Translated Documents of Greece and Rome

E. Badian and Robert K. Sherk, Editors

VOLUME 2

From the end of the Peloponnesian War to the battle of Ipsus

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Frontmatter

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From the end of the Peloponnesian War to the battle of Ipsus

**EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY
PHILLIP HARDING**

*Associate Professor of Classics,
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Frontmatter

[More information](#)

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Frontmatter

[More information](#)

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Frontmatter

[More information](#)

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 to supply that need for translations of materials not readily available in English. The principal historical authors (authors like Livy and Plutarch) are not included; they are easy enough to find in adequate translations, and the student will have to

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Edited by Phillip Harding

Frontmatter

[More information](#)*Series Editors' Introduction*

read far more of them than could be provided in a general source book. References to important 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 of 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

Cambridge University Press

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Edited by Phillip Harding

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Series Editors' Introduction

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 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.

Harvard University
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E.B.
R.K.S.

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978-0-521-29949-7 - From the End of the Peloponnesian War to the Battle of Ipsus

Edited by Phillip Harding

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

CONTENTS

Volume Editor's Introduction	xv
Acknowledgements	xviii
Abbreviations	xix
Symbols	xxii
1 Ancient chronology	1
2 Alliance between Athens and Eretria, 404/3 or 394/3	7
3 Rewards for the liberators of Athens from the Thirty, 404/3 or 403/2 or 401/0	8
4 Dedicatory epigram to Lysandros, end of the fifth or second half of fourth c.	10
5 Athens honours loyal Samians, 403/2	10
6 The Athenians adopt the Ionian alphabet, 403/2	11
7 Athens honours the heroes of Phyle, 403/2	11
8 Theozotides and the Athenian orphans, 403/2	13
9 The revised Athenian law-code (the calendar of sacrifices), 403/2–400/399	15
10 Extract from an inventory of the treasures of Athena and of the Other Gods, 398/7	17
11 Internal politics in Athens, Corinth, Thebes and Argos as the real cause of the Corinthian War, 397/6 (early 396) or 396/5	19
12 The activities of Konon, 397/6–394/3	22
13 The battle of Sardis, 396/5	27
14 Alliance between Boeotia and Athens, 395	28
15 The Boeotian constitution, 395	29
16 Alliance between Athens and Locris, ?395	30
17 Fortification of Peiraeus, 395/4 and 394/3	31
18 Spartan victory at Corinth, 395/4 or 394/3	31
19 Monuments for the Athenian casualties at Corinth and Coronea, 394	32
20 Athens honours Dionysios I of Syracuse, 393	33
21 Two treaties between Amyntas III and the Chalcidians, c. 393 and before 382	34
22 Athenian mercenary forces at Corinth, 393–391	35
23 Athens rejects the Great King's peace, 392/1	37
24 Arbitration between Miletus and Myus, between 391 and 388	38
25 Athens resumes alliance with Thasos, 391/90 or 390/89 or 389/8 or 387/6	39
26 Athens honours Clazomenae, 387/6	40
27 Leukon, king of the Bosphoros, 387–347	41
28 Political change at Erythrae, sometime between 387/6 and 355	42
29 Athens honours Hebryzelmis, 386/5	43
30 Dissolution of Mantinea, 385 or 384	44
31 Alliance between Athens and Chios, 384/3	44
32 The occupation of the Cadmea, 382/1	46
33 Alliance between Athens and Thebes, 378/7	46
34 Alliance between Athens and Byzantium, 378/7	48
	xi

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-29949-7 - From the End of the Peloponnesian War to the Battle of Ipsus

Edited by Phillip Harding

Frontmatter

[More information](#)*Contents*

35 'Charter of the Second Athenian Confederacy', 378/7 (spring 377)	48
36 A new name for tribute, 378/7	52
37 Methymna joins the Athenian Confederacy, 378/7	52
38 Alliance between Athens and Chalcis, 378/7	53
39 Reorganization of Athenian finances, 378/7	54
40 Athens honours Straton, king of Sidon, 378/7 or 368/7 or 364 or 360	56
41 Recommendation that Corcyra, Acarnania and Cephallenia enter the Athenian Confederacy, 375	57
42 Alliance of Athens and Corcyra, 375 or 374/3 or 371	59
43 Athenian alliance with Amyntas III, 375/4 or 373/2	60
44 The peace of 375/4	61
45 Athenian law concerning the Certifier of silver coinage, 375/4	61
46 Epigram commemorating the Theban victory at Leuctra, 371	64
47 Extract from an Athenian naval record, 371/70 or 366/5	64
48 Boeotia honours a Carthaginian, 369/8 or 362 or 361	67
49 The Thessalians honour Pelopidas, 369/8 or 364/3	68
50 Institution of the Pezhetairoi, 369–7 or c. 350	68
51 The Arcadian League honours the Athenian Phylarchos, between 368 and 361	69
52 Alliance between Athens and Dionysios I of Syracuse, 368/7	70
53 Athens honours Mytilene, 367	71
54 Seizure of the Attic Spondophoroi by a member state of the Aetolian League, 367	73
55 Treaty between Athens and Geos, 362	74
56 Alliance of Athens, Arcadia, Achaea, Elis and Phlius, 362/1	76
57 Greece and the Revolt of the Satraps, 362/1 or 344 or between 338 and 334	78
58 Athens sends cleruchs to Potidaea, 361	79
59 Alliance between Athens and Thessaly, 361/60	79
60 Contributions for the rebuilding of the temple at Delphi, 360	81
61 Treaty between Philip II and Athens, 359/8 or 357	82
62 Philip II's relations with Thessaly, 358/7–353/2	83
63 Philip II captures Amphipolis, 357	86
64 Treaty between Athens and three Thracian kings, 357	86
65 Alliance of Athens and Euboean cities, 357/6	87
66 Athens aids Eretria, 357/6	88
67 Alliance between Philip II and the Chalcidians, 357/6	89
68 Arkesine honours the Athenian governor Androtion, spring 356	90
69 Andros garrisoned by the Athenians in the Social War, 356	91
70 Athenian alliance with Ketriporis, Lyppeios and Grabos, midsummer 356	92
71 End of the Social War, 355/4	93
72 Chares in Asia, 355/4	94
73 The siege of Methone, 355/4	95
74 Contributions to the Sacred War, 354–352	96
75 Euboulos and the Theoric Fund, about 354	97
76 Treaty between Philip II and Kersebleptes, 352/1	99
77 Athenian cleruchs sent to Samos, 352/1	100

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-29949-7 - From the End of the Peloponnesian War to the Battle of Ipsus

Edited by Phillip Harding

Frontmatter

[More information](#)*Contents*

78 Resolution of the dispute over the Sacred Orgas between Athens and Megara, 352/1–350/49	100
79 Treaty between Erythrae and Hermias of Atarneus, between 350 and 344 or 342	103
80 Alliance between Athens and Olynthus and Athenian aid to Olynthus, 349/8	104
81 Chalcidian refugees at Myrina in Lemnos, c. 348	105
82 Athens honours Spartokos, Pairisades and Apollonios, 346	106
83 Athens renews her alliance with Mytilene, 346	107
84 Extracts from the accounts of the Delphian Naopoioi, 346–344	108
85 Revision of the citizen-lists at Athens, 346/5	109
86 Athens rejects the Great King's request for re-affirmation of friendship, 344/3	111
87 Philip of Macedon reorganizes his government of Thessaly, 344–342	111
88 Payment of Phocian fine to Delphi, 343 or 342	112
89 Alliance of Athens with Achaëa, Arcadia, Argos, Megalopolis and Messenia, 343/2	113
90 The character and death of Hermias of Atarneus, 342/1	114
91 Alliance between Athens and Chalcis and the liberation of Oreus, 341	116
92 Athenians under Phokion restore democracy to Eretria, 341	116
93 Foundation of the League of Greek states for defence against Philip II of Macedon, 340	117
94 Athens honours Elaëus, 340	118
95 Immediate causes of the outbreak of war between Athens and Philip II of Macedon, 340	118
96 The wooing of Thebes before the battle of Chaeronea, 340/39	120
97 Athens honours the Tenedians, 340/39	121
98 Epigram in honour of the Athenian dead at Chaeronea, 338	123
99 Philip II's settlement in Greece: the 'League of Corinth', 338/7	123
100 Athens honours loyal Acarnanians, 337	125
101 Athenian law against tyranny, 337/6	127
102 Renewal of the treaty between Macedon and the Greeks by Alexander the Great or Alliance between Alexander and Athens, 336/5	128
103 Priene honours Antigonos Monophthalmos, ?334	128
104 Delphi honours Aristotle and Kallisthenes, between 334 and 331 or 327	129
105 Alexander dedicates the temple of Athena Polias at Priene, 334/3 or 330	129
106 Alexander's regulations for Priene and Naulochum, 334/3 or 330	130
107 Alexander's letter to the Chians, 334/3 or 332	130
108 Dedication of the ephebes of the tribe Kekropis, 334/3	131
109 Oath of the Athenian ephebes (not dated)	133
110 Philonides, courier and surveyor for Alexander, after 334	135
111 Athens grants Citian merchants a plot of land for building a temple, 333	135
112 Six documents relating to the tyrants of Eresus, c. 332; 324/3; 323/2 or 319; 306/5; 301/0	136
113 Restoration of exiles to Mytilene, 332 or 324	140
114 Iasos honours Gorgos and Minnion, c. 332	142

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-29949-7 - From the End of the Peloponnesian War to the Battle of Ipsus

Edited by Phillip Harding

Frontmatter

[More information](#)*Contents*

115 Demosthenes' contact with the court of Alexander, 331	143
116 Cyrene supplies grain to Greek states, 331–324	143
117 Treaty between Miletus and Sardis, c. 330 or earlier	145
118 Athens honours Eudemos of Plataea, 329	145
119 Athens honours Memnon, 327/6	146
120 Money brought to Athens by Harpalos, 325/4	147
121 Athens sends a colony to the Adriatic, 325/4	148
122 Restoration of Tegean exiles, 324 or 319–317	150
123 Alliance of the Greeks against Macedon (Lamian or Hellenic War), 323	152
124 The Lamian (or Hellenic) War, 323–322	154
125 History of the Diadochi, 323/2–322/1	155
126 Extract from Ptolemy's constitution for Cyrene, 322/1 or 313/12 or 308/7	159
127 Samians honour Gorgos of Iasos, c. 321	161
128 Samians honour Antileon of Chalcis, c. 321	162
129 The deme Aixone honours Demetrios of Phaleron, 317/16	163
130 Rise of Kassandros to the throne of Macedon, 317/16	164
131 Donations for the rebuilding of Thebes, after 316	164
132 Letter of Antigonos Monophthalmos to Skepsis, announcing the peace concluded with Kassandros, Lysimachos and Ptolemy, 311/10	165
133 Alliance of Ptolemy with Antigonos and Demetrios, 309/8	167
134 Renovating the walls of Athens, 307/6	168
135 Athenian artillery on the Acropolis, 307/6	169
136 Establishment of the Demetria on Delos by the Island League, c. 306/5	170
137 The tribe Akamantis decrees a sacrifice for the safe return of its soldiers, 304/3 or 303/2	171
138 Foundation of the Hellenic League under Antigonos and Demetrios, 303/2	172
139 Athens honours Nikandros of Ilium and Polyzelos of Ephesus, 301	174
140 Death of Antigonos Monophthalmos at Ipsus, 301/0	176
<i>Glossary</i>	177
<i>Appendixes</i>	
I Athenian archons 403/2–301/0	184
II Athenian time reckoning	185
III The ten Athenian tribes	185
IV Numbers and coinage	185
<i>Indexes</i>	
I A Gods and goddesses	187
B Personal and geographical names	187
II Subjects and terms	200
III Translated passages	207

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-29949-7 - From the End of the Peloponnesian War to the Battle of Ipsus

Edited by Phillip Harding

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

VOLUME EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this volume is to supplement the standard and easily accessible sources of the history of the Greek world in the fourth century BC.

It is not surprising that a large proportion of the documents translated here are inscriptions from Athens, for the Athenians of the fourth century, at least while they governed themselves democratically, continued their fifth-century practice of publishing all their public business (peace treaties, laws, casualty-lists, accounts, etc.) on marble stelai. But by the end of the fifth century this practice had become widespread in the Greek world, even in states that were not democratic. So the student will find inscriptions from Delphi, Boeotia, Tegea, Cyrene, Samos, Skepsis, Olynthus and several other places. Down to the death of Alexander the Great in 323 I was able to use the selection in M.N. Tod, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, vol. 2, though it occasionally needed to be supplemented by recent finds (e.g. nos. 8, 9 and 45). For the period after 323 the selection is entirely my own.

Inscriptions are primary sources of information, but their interpretation often depends upon a narrative account. We have, of course, the extant histories of Xenophon and Diodorus, but there were many other historical works, written in the fourth century or later, that pertained to the fourth century. On the one hand there was the *Universal History* of Ephorus of Cyme, upon which Diodorus drew. On the other there was a great variety of monographs, some of which continued Thucydides' history of Greek affairs (*Hellenica*), while others were on more specific topics, like the Sacred War or the careers of Philip, Alexander or the Successors. The writing of local history also increased in popularity, especially at Athens (the *Atthis*).

Only fragments of these works have survived, and those that have have done so in a number of ways. Many, for example, were quoted in extant works or in the scholia that were written in the margins of the texts of some of these works (especially of the orators Aeschines and Demosthenes) by ancient scholars from the Hellenistic period onwards. Others can be found in the compilations of the late Roman or Byzantine lexicographers (e.g. the *Lexicon* of Harpocration, the *Suda*, or the *Bibliotheca* of the Patriarch Photius). A few have been preserved on papyrus, either as fragments of an originally complete text (e.g. the

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-29949-7 - From the End of the Peloponnesian War to the Battle of Ipsus

Edited by Phillip Harding

Frontmatter

[More information](#)*Volume Editor's Introduction*

Hellenica Oxyrhynchia) or as quotations in a commentary (e.g. Didymus' commentary on some passages from Demosthenes). The fragments, however found, are collected in Felix Jacoby's *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*.

In accordance with the aims of this series I have tried to prevent my own opinions from influencing the presentation of these documents, whether epigraphic or literary. Where several dates have been proposed for a document, these have all been indicated in the heading, but the item is always listed under the earliest date. The arguments in support of the various dates and the interpretation of the document, wherever that is controversial, will be found in the fairly full, though by no means exhaustive, bibliography. The student will usually find enough material in English in the bibliography to enable him/her to understand the historical importance of the document and any controversy that surrounds it. I have, however, frequently added works in other languages for the benefit of those who can read them.

In addition to the bibliography, the heading, in the case of inscriptions, provides the following information: place of origin (and discovery, if different), date (or dates) assigned, material and form (including decorative motifs), identification of script and dialect (if necessary) and an indication whether the mason used the chequer pattern (stoichedon) or not. In the next section I list the texts that I have consulted, using an asterisk to mark the one I have translated. Below that follow the principal literary texts that pertain to the material contained in the document. All dates in the heading and elsewhere are BC, unless otherwise noted.

The format of the translation is that prescribed by the general editors of the series. In particular, they are eager that each line of the translation should normally correspond to a line of the inscription. This has been the most difficult part of my assignment. Some problems could be solved in a regular fashion. For example, where (as often) the subject of an active verb came in the following line, I have made the verb passive and the subject the agent. Other difficulties were less tractable and have resulted in a translation that is less elegant than I should have liked. In the case of recurring formulae I have used the same translation, except where this conflicted with the line division. Finally, I have attempted to distinguish between infinitives and imperatives in my translation of inscriptions. Thus, for infinitives (with two exceptions) I have used the translation established in the first volume (e.g. 'commendation shall be given', etc.). However, the perfect infinitives *epsephisthai* and *dedochthai* have been translated as imperatives, in accordance with the standard interpretation of them. Imperatives have been translated in the variety of ways admitted by the English language.

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-29949-7 - From the End of the Peloponnesian War to the Battle of Ipsus

Edited by Phillip Harding

Frontmatter

[More information](#)*Volume Editor's Introduction*

The system of brackets used in the text is outlined below, but some words are in order about restorations. Where letters have been restored in a proper name, these have been enclosed in square brackets. In other cases, the entire word or words that constitute the translation of a Greek word that has been partially restored are italicized, except where the restoration is so slight that there can be no doubt about it. Where the restoration is quite hypothetical, I have either put it in square brackets or relegated it to a footnote. Where there are a variety of suggested restorations, I have usually noted these in the footnotes, with the names of the scholars who have proposed them after each. Otherwise I have tried to restrict the information in the footnotes to explanation of technical terms, identification of important individuals and sundry material of this sort. The footnotes do not constitute a commentary, but I have occasionally given longer notes either as background to a document or summarizing an important theory that has been proposed in a language other than English.

The passages from literary sources are treated in the same way as the inscriptions, but the presentation is less complex.

As far as the rendition of names of people and places is concerned, I have followed the practice established by the editors. Greek names in the text have been transliterated (the letter *chi* is 'ch' not 'kh'), but the names of authors have been given in their latinized form. The difference is usually no more than that between Ctesias and Ktesias, Philochorus and Philochoros, Lycurgus and Lykourgos. Three names have been treated differently, because they are so well known in their Anglo-Latin form – Philip II of Macedon, Alexander the Great and Ptolemy, son of Lagos. Familiar place names and, consequently, their ethnics have been latinized, e.g. Chalcis and Chalcidians rather than Chalkis and Chalkidians. Less well-known names have been transliterated.

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-29949-7 - From the End of the Peloponnesian War to the Battle of Ipsus

Edited by Phillip Harding

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

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Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-29949-7 - From the End of the Peloponnesian War to the Battle of Ipsus

Edited by Phillip Harding

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

ABBREVIATIONS

AA	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger</i>
ABSA	<i>Annual of the British School at Athens</i>
AC	<i>L'Antiquité Classique</i>
AClass	<i>Acta Classica</i>
AHR	<i>American Historical Review</i>
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
AJAH	<i>American Journal of Ancient History</i>
AJP	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>
AncSoc	<i>Ancient Society</i>
Accame, <i>Legs</i>	S. Accame, <i>La lega ateniese</i> (Rome 1941)
BCH	<i>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique</i>
Bruce, <i>Commentary</i>	I.A.F. Bruce, <i>An Historical Commentary on the Hellenica Oxyrhynchia</i> (Cambridge 1967)
Buck	Carl D. Buck, <i>The Greek Dialects</i> (Chicago 1955)
Buckler, <i>Hegemony</i>	J. Buckler, <i>Theban Hegemony</i> (Harvard 1980)
Bury-Meiggs	J.B. Bury, <i>A History of Greece</i> , 4th ed. by R. Meiggs (London 1975)
C&M	<i>Classica et Mediaevalia</i>
CAH	<i>The Cambridge Ancient History</i> (Cambridge 1923–9)
CP	<i>Classical Philology</i>
CQ	<i>Classical Quarterly</i>
CR	<i>Classical Review</i>
CSCA	<i>California Studies in Classical Antiquity</i>
Cargill, <i>League</i>	J. Cargill, <i>The Second Athenian League</i> (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London 1981)
Cawkwell, <i>Philip</i>	G.L. Cawkwell, <i>Philip of Macedon</i> (London and Boston 1978)
Cloché, <i>Dislocation</i>	P. Cloché, <i>La dislocation d'un empire</i> (Paris 1959)
Davies, <i>Families</i>	J.K. Davies, <i>Athenian Propertied Families 600–300 B.C.</i> (Oxford 1971)
Didymus, <i>Demosthenes</i>	<i>Didymi de Demosthene commenta</i> , ed. H. Diels and W. Schubart (Leipzig 1904)
<i>Ehrenberg Studies</i>	<i>Ancient Society and Institutions: Studies Presented to Victor Ehrenberg</i> (Oxford 1966)
Ellis, <i>Philip II</i>	J.R. Ellis, <i>Philip II and Macedonian Imperialism</i> (London 1976)
Ferguson, <i>Athens</i>	W.S. Ferguson, <i>Hellenistic Athens</i> (London 1911)
<i>FGrHist</i>	F. Jacoby, <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> (Berlin and Leiden 1923–)
Fornara	C.W. Fornara, <i>Archaic Times to the End of the Peloponnesian War²</i> (Cambridge 1982)
GHI	R. Meiggs and D.M. Lewis, <i>A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century B.C.</i> (Oxford 1969)
GRBS	<i>Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies</i>
Hamilton, <i>Alexander</i>	J.R. Hamilton, <i>Alexander the Great</i> (London 1973)

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-29949-7 - From the End of the Peloponnesian War to the Battle of Ipsus

Edited by Phillip Harding

Frontmatter

[More information](#)*Abbreviations*

Hamilton, <i>Sparta</i>	C.D. Hamilton, <i>Sparta's Bitter Victories</i> (Cornell 1979)
Hammond-Griffith	N.G.L. Hammond and G.T. Griffith, <i>A History of Macedonia</i> , vol. 2 (Oxford 1979)
Heisserer, <i>Alexander</i>	A.J. Heisserer, <i>Alexander the Great and the Greeks</i> (Norman 1980)
<i>Hell. Oxy.</i>	<i>Hellenica Oxyrhynchia</i> , ed. V. Bartoletti (Teubner edn, 1959)
Henry, <i>Prescripts</i>	A.S. Henry, <i>The Prescripts of Athenian Decrees</i> (Leiden 1977)
<i>IG</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> (Berlin 1873–)
<i>IOSPE</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Antiquae Orae Septentrionalis Ponti Euxini Graecae et Latinae</i> , ed. B. Latyshev (St Petersburg 1885–1916)
<i>ISE</i>	L. Moretti, <i>Iscrizioni storiche ellenistiche</i> , vol. 1 (Florence 1967)
<i>JHS</i>	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
Larsen, <i>Government</i>	J.A.O. Larsen, <i>Representative Government in Greek and Roman History</i> ² (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1966)
Larsen, <i>States</i>	J.A.O. Larsen, <i>Greek Federal States</i> (Oxford 1968)
<i>MDAI(A)</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts</i> (Athenische Abteilung)
<i>MH</i>	<i>Museum Helveticum</i>
MacDowell, <i>Law</i>	D.M. MacDowell, <i>The Law in Classical Athens</i> (London 1978)
Maier, <i>Mauerbauinschriften</i>	F.G. Maier, <i>Griechische Mauerbauinschriften</i> (Heidelberg 1959)
Marshall, <i>Confederacy</i>	F.H. Marshall, <i>The Second Athenian Confederacy</i> (Cambridge 1905)
Mitchel, 'Athens'	F.W. Mitchel, 'Lykourgan Athens: 338–322', in <i>Lectures in Memory of Louise Taft Semple</i> , 2nd series (Cincinnati 1973)
<i>NC</i>	<i>Numismatic Chronicle</i>
<i> OCD</i>	<i>The Oxford Classical Dictionary</i> ² (Oxford 1970)
<i>PCPS</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society</i>
<i>PP</i>	<i>La Parola del Passato</i>
Parke, <i>Soldiers</i>	H.W. Parke, <i>Greek Mercenary Soldiers</i> (Oxford 1933)
Parke-Wormell	H.W. Parke and D.E.W. Wormell, <i>The Delphic Oracle</i> , 2 vols. (Oxford 1956)
Pečírka, <i>Enktesis</i>	J. Pečírka, <i>The Formula for the Grant of Enktesis in Attic Inscriptions</i> (Prague 1966)
Pouilloux, <i>Choix P.Oxy.</i>	J. Pouilloux, <i>Choix d'inscriptions grecques</i> (Paris 1960)
	<i>Oxyrhynchus Papyri: Memoirs of the Egypt Exploration Fund, Graeco-Roman Branch</i> , vol. 1– (London 1898–)
Pritchett, <i>State 2</i>	W.K. Pritchett, <i>The Greek State at War</i> , vol. 2 (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1974)
<i>RA</i>	<i>Revue Archéologique</i>
<i>RCHP</i>	C.B. Welles, <i>Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period</i> (New Haven 1934)
<i>REA</i>	<i>Revue des Études Anciennes</i>
<i>REG</i>	<i>Revue des Études Grecques</i>
<i>RFIC</i>	<i>Rivista di Filologia et di Istruzione Classica</i>
<i>RhM</i>	<i>Rheinisches Museum</i>
<i>RPh</i>	<i>Revue de Philologie</i>
Rhodes, <i>Boule</i>	P.J. Rhodes, <i>The Athenian Boule</i> (Oxford 1972)
Rhodes, <i>Commentary</i>	P.J. Rhodes, <i>A Commentary on the Aristotelian Athenaion Politeia</i> (Oxford 1981)
Roesch, <i>Thespies</i>	P. Roesch, <i>Thespies et la confédération béotienne</i> (Paris 1965)

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Frontmatter

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<i>RSA</i>	<i>Rivista storica dell'Antichità</i>
<i>RSI</i>	<i>Rivista storica italiana</i>
Ryder, <i>Eirene</i>	T.T.B. Ryder, <i>Koine Eirene</i> (Oxford 1965)
<i>SEG</i>	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i>
<i>SIG</i>	W. Dittenberger, <i>Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> ³ (Leipzig, 1915–24)
<i>SV 2</i>	H. Bengtson, <i>Die Staatsverträge des Altertums</i> , vol. 2 (Munich 1962)
<i>SV 3</i>	H.H. Schmitt, <i>Die Staatsverträge des Altertums</i> , vol. 3 (Munich 1969)
Sealey, <i>History</i>	R. Sealey, <i>A History of the Greek City States 700–338 B.C.</i> (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London 1976)
<i>TAPA</i>	<i>Transactions of the American Philological Association</i>
Tarn-Griffith	W.W. Tarn, <i>Hellenistic Civilization</i> , ³ rev. G.T. Griffith (Cleveland and New York 1961)
Tod	M.N. Tod, <i>A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions</i> , vol. 2 (Oxford 1948)
Wehrli, <i>Antigone</i>	C. Wehrli, <i>Antigone et Démétrios</i> (Geneva 1968)
Westlake, <i>Thessaly</i>	H.D. Westlake, <i>Thessaly in the Fourth Century B.C.</i> (London 1935)
Will, <i>Histoire</i>	E. Will, <i>Histoire politique du monde hellénistique</i> (Nancy 1966)
<i>YCS</i>	<i>Yale Classical Studies</i>
<i>ZPE</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>

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()	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
< >	enclose letters or words thought to have been accidentally omitted on the original document
[[]]	enclose letters or words that were deliberately erased in ancient times
--	indicate that part of a line of the text is missing
---	indicate that a whole line of the text is missing
	indicates the end of a line on an inscription
	indicate the beginning of every fifth line on an inscription
/	indicates the end of a line of verse
//	indicate the beginning of every fifth line of verse
*	indicates the text on which the translation of an inscription here given is based
<i>v</i>	indicates a vacant letterspace on the original document
<i>vv</i>	indicate that there is more than one letterspace vacant on the original document
<i>vacat</i>	indicates that an entire line or a space between entire lines was left vacant
(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

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 numerals were written out. Deme names (demotics) customarily appear in the Greek in adjectival form (e.g. Aristophon Azenieus), but I give instead the place name with 'of' (of Azenia). For the identification of the demes and the tribes to which they belong the student should consult J.S. Traill, *The Political Organization of Attica* (Princeton 1975) 109–12.