

## FOREIGNERS AGAINST THE THIRTY: *IG* 2<sup>2</sup> 10 AGAIN

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*IG* 2<sup>2</sup> 10 (EM 8147) is one of the most intriguing inscriptions from classical Athens, and a good many scholars have already offered restorations.<sup>1</sup> Two contiguous fragments from Aigina, added by Stamires and published by Hereward (EM 13103 *a* and *b* = *SEG* 12.84; Hereward also added a previously-published piece, *IG* 2<sup>2</sup> 2403), provide enough new evidence to justify reexamination of the whole; Hereward's reconstruction of the stele is not, it seems to me, the best now possible.

The inscription records the granting of rewards to foreigners who joined the rebellion against the oligarchy of the Thirty in 404/3 B.C.<sup>2</sup> It consists of a decree and a long catalogue of names arranged by Athenian tribes. EM 8147 has part of the decree below a two-line superscript on Face A, and three columns of names, with the tribal name Aigeis (II) appearing in the second column, on Face B. The Aigina fragments have one column on Face A, two columns on Face B—the first with the name of Hippothontis (VIII), the second with that of Erechtheis (I) preceded by the heading *οὐδε παρέμ[ενον τῶι] ἐμ Πειραιεῖ δῆμωι*. *IG* 2<sup>2</sup> 2403 has one

<sup>1</sup>For restorations and/or discussions of the text, see E. Ziebarth, *AthMitt* 23 (1898) 27–34; H. von Prott, *AthMitt* 25 (1900) 34–39; A. Körte, *AthMitt* 25 (1900) 392–397; E. L. Hicks and G. F. Hill, *A Manual of Greek Historical Inscriptions* (Oxford 1901) nr. 80; C. Michel, *Recueil d'Inscriptions Grecques*, Supplément (Paris 1912) nr. 1442; Ernst Nachmanson, *Historische Attische Inschriften* (Bonn 1913) nr. 23; W. Dittenberger, *SIG*<sup>3</sup> nr. 120; P. Cloché, *REG* 30 (1917) 384–408; W. Kolbe, *Klio* 17 (1920–21) 242–248 (= *SEG* 1.14); P. Foucart, *MémaInscr* 42 (1922) 323–355; G. de Sanctis, *RivFC* 51 (1923) 287–308 (= *SEG* 2.11); A. Wilhelm, *Öfjh* 21–22 (1922–24) 159–171 (= *SEG* 3.70); G. Mathieu, *REG* 40 (1927) 82–97; M. Feyer, *RevPhil* 19 (1945) 116–124, 158–161; M. N. Tod, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions* 2 (Oxford 1948) nr. 100; D. Hereward, *BSA* 47 (1952) 102–117 (= *SEG* 12.84); I. M. Gluskin, *VDI* 1958 (2) 70–89 (my thanks to Vasily Rudich for translating this article from the Russian); D. Whitehead, *The Ideology of the Athenian Metic* (Cambridge 1977) 154–159, 171–172. I shall refer to each of the above by author's name alone.

<sup>2</sup>Ziebarth and von Prott believed that this was the decree of Archinos (known from Aischines 3.187–190) that granted rewards to those who joined the resistance movement at Phyle; Körte and most others have disagreed. Part of the Archinos decree has now been found on another stone (A. E. Raubitschek, *Hesperia* 10 [1941] 287 nr. 78), which should end the dispute.

Raubitschek suggested (286) that this decree was instead that of Thrasyboulos, which proposed citizenship for all who came back from Peiraeus (Arist. *AthPol* 40.2). But Thrasyboulos' decree was quashed when Archinos brought a *graphe paranomon* against Thrasyboulos, and it seems unlikely that the proposal was ever inscribed on stone.

*IG* 2<sup>2</sup> 10 is best considered as a decree that is not mentioned by any of the literary sources.

column, which Hereward has assigned to Face A on the basis of letter size (the letters on Face A are slightly larger than those on Face B).

Hereward followed earlier scholars in restoring seven columns of names on Face B. In her reconstruction, the Aigina fragments contain parts of the first and second columns, EM 8147 contains parts of the second, third, and fourth columns, and there were three columns to the right of EM 8147 to allow room for the formula *ἔδοξεν τῇ βολῇ καὶ τῷ δῆμῳ* on Face A: a total of seven columns.<sup>3</sup> Is this correct? Or should we restore only six columns, placing the Aigina fragments near the middle of the stone rather than on the edge?

Seven columns were first suggested by von Prott, who noted that, since Aigeis appeared in the second column of EM 8147 and there was no heading at the top of the first column, there must have been at least one additional column to the left headed *'Ερεχθίδος*, if the names were arranged in tribal order. He assumed, however, that the names were inscribed only on Face B, and the Aigina fragments prove this assumption false since they have names on both sides. The name of Erechtheis, then, could have appeared on Face A; so far no reason to assume more than six columns.

Hereward argued that the symmetry of the superscript dictates an odd number of columns. Scholars have generally agreed that line 1 should be restored [Λυσιάδης ἐγ]ραμμάτευε since *Λυσιάδης* appears as secretary in line 3. The gamma, which is opposite the middle of the third column on Face B of EM 8147, should be in the center of the heading; that column would then be the middle one, and if there were three to its right there should be three to its left, for a total of seven.

This restoration of the superscript, however, runs into difficulties in the second line. Most scholars have restored [Ξεναίνετος]ος ἡρρχε, though a persistent minority has favored [Πυθόδωρος]ος.<sup>4</sup> Both restorations are problematical. Pythodoros was archon during the oligarchy in 404/3, and the restoration of the democracy took place well after the end of his calendar year. We should have to assume that Pythodoros' name was used because an archon had not yet been named to replace him; but new archons ought to have been established as soon as a new boule (see line 3). On the other hand, why should this measure have been delayed for two years, until the archonship of Xenainetos in 401/0? It is hard to see why the situation in 401 was more favorable for such a proposal; Gluskina argued that the destruction of the oligarchs at Eleusis in

<sup>3</sup>Hereward notes that opposite the *ἔδοξεν* formula "two columns are just possible, but not likely" (104 note 4). If there were only two, the total number of columns on Face B would be five or six rather than six or seven.

<sup>4</sup>Among those favoring Pythodoros are von Prott (37–38), Hicks-Hill, Raubitschek (above [note 2], 286), and Hereward (111–113).

401/0 enabled Thrasyboulos to reward his supporters,<sup>5</sup> but this is not likely: most of the oligarchs then came back to Athens, and their return would hardly have added votes in favor of a proposal to reward their enemies. As I argue below, following Hereward, there is good reason to doubt that *IG* 2<sup>2</sup> 10 grants citizenship, as has generally been held; if it grants lesser rewards, it was most probably passed soon after Thrasyboulos failed to get citizenship for all who came back from Peiraieus (see note 2). Thrasyboulos was the daring hero of a resistance movement that, though risky, had succeeded in restoring the democracy. Perhaps he could not make all his foreign supporters citizens—but was he not in a position to reward them, in some way, in 403?

These difficulties can be avoided by approaching the restoration of the superscript in another way. Line 2 can be restored so that the *os* is the end of the archon's demotic rather than of his name, and we can then date the decree to 403/2, the archonship of Eukleides. The inclusion of the archon's demotic is rare, but not unparalleled; see *IG* 1<sup>2</sup> 124 (406/5):<sup>6</sup>

[']Ερωτίων ἐγραμμάτευεν Ἐλ[ευ]  
[σί]νιος  
[Κ]αλλίας Ἀγγελῆθεν ἥρχεν

and *IG* 1<sup>2</sup> 123 (407/6), where the archon's demotic must be restored in line 3 to make the superscript symmetrical, as the indentation of line 2 indicates it was:

[Λ]υσικλές - - -  
ἐγραμμ[άτευε]  
[']Αγτιγένε[ις demotic ἥρχε]

A third example of archon with demotic is *IG* 2<sup>2</sup> 17 (394/3), where lines 13–14 are an unusual postscript:

[']Αρι]στοκράτης Αισχίνο Κεφ[αλῆθεν ἐγραμμάτευε]  
[Εὐβ]ολίδης Ε[λ]ευσίνιος ἥρ[χεν]

I suggest that lines 1–2 of *IG* 2<sup>2</sup> 10 be restored as follows, with line 1 stretching across the stone:<sup>7</sup>

[Λυσιάδης patronymic ἐγ]ραμμάτευε demotic  
[Εὐκλείδης - - -]ος ἥρχε

As A. S. Henry has shown, the secretary drafted the superscript and could vary usage.<sup>8</sup> A number of secretaries were listed name-verb-

<sup>5</sup>Gluskinia 86.

<sup>6</sup>Text cited according to Donald W. Bradeen and Malcolm F. McGregor, *Studies in Fifth-Century Attic Epigraphy* (Norman, Okla. 1973) 126. Kallias may have been given his demotic to distinguish him from the Kallias who had been archon in 412/11.

<sup>7</sup>Note the parallel with *IG* 2<sup>2</sup> 17, lines 13–14, quoted above: the secretary with patronymic and demotic, the archon with demotic.

<sup>8</sup>*The Prescripts of Athenian Decrees* (Leiden 1977) 10 with note 36.

demotic,<sup>9</sup> and others were given both their patronymic and demotic:<sup>10</sup> the combination suggested here does not seem impossible.<sup>11</sup> Line 2, then, would not be symmetrical; it would begin at the left edge and end well before the right.<sup>12</sup> Other superscripts that have such an unsymmetrical final line, not indented, following one or more lines which extend across the entire stone, are: *IG* 2<sup>2</sup> 1, 14 (restored), 16 (restored), 18, 26.

This restoration of the superscript avoids the requirement of choosing between [Πυθόδωρ]os and [Ξενάιον]os; it also eliminates the argument from symmetry for seven columns on Face B. There are two positive reasons for restoring only six columns. The first is that seven columns mean a stele over 0.80 m. wide (perhaps about 0.85 m.),<sup>13</sup> rather wider than we should expect for a stele 0.125–0.138 m. thick. One particularly close parallel (both in date and contents) to *IG* 2<sup>2</sup> 10 suggests that we should reconstruct a narrower stone: Stroud recently published a complete stele that recorded Theozotides' decree providing state maintenance for the sons of men killed fighting the Thirty, and a list of the orphans involved.<sup>14</sup> It was 0.135 m. thick, 0.645–0.67 m. wide, and 1.53 m. in height. Compare also *IG* 1<sup>2</sup> 115 (409/8), which has an identical thickness: 0.135 m. thick, 0.725 m. wide, and 1.70 m. (estimated) in height.<sup>15</sup> Six

<sup>9</sup>*IG* 1<sup>2</sup> 124; 2<sup>2</sup> 58, 59 (?-- see Henry [above, note 8] 21 note 7). Further examples in the tribute quota-lists are nrs. 4, 5, 7, 8, and 12 (B. D. Meritt, H. T. Wade-Gery, and M. F. McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists* 2 [Princeton 1949]).

<sup>10</sup>*IG* 1<sup>2</sup> 82, 96, 109; 2<sup>2</sup> 17, 18, 26.

<sup>11</sup>There may be an exact parallel for this order, name-patronymic-verb-démotic, in *IG* 1<sup>2</sup> 109, if the restoration there is correct:

[Φ]ιλιππος . . . εοδ - - -  
[έ]γραμμάτευν Οι[έθεν]

(or Οι[ναῖος] or 'Οι[ρυνέύς]). Meritt, Wade-Gery, and McGregor have objected that no known patronymic is long enough (16 letters) to fill out line 1 (*The Athenian Tribute Lists* 1 [Cambridge, Mass. 1939] 214); but their own suggestion,

[Φ]ιλιππος [Φιλ]έο Δ[ειραδιότες]  
[έ]γραμμάτευν Οι[νεῖδι φυλεῖ],

as A. S. Henry has observed (above [note 8] 13), would be unique. Should we consider the possibility that lines 1–2 were unsymmetrical and did not stretch across the stone?

<sup>12</sup>To reach the left side of the stone Eukleides' demotic would have to be one of the longest ending in -os: 'Αναγυράσιος, 'Αναφλύστιος, Προβαλίσιος, Προσπάλτιος, Μυρρινόσιος—the name Eukleides is attested in the last in the fourth century (the father of [- - -]χιας who was a member of the boule c. 330; see B. D. Meritt and J. S. Traill, *The Athenian Agora* 15, *Inscriptions: The Athenian Councillors* [Princeton 1974] nr. 47 [= *IG* 2<sup>2</sup> 1753] line 32.

<sup>13</sup>Hereward 108.

<sup>14</sup>R. S. Stroud, *Hesperia* 40 (1971) 280 nr. 7.

<sup>15</sup>R. S. Stroud, *Drakon's Law on Homicide* (Berkeley 1968) 3, 59.

columns on Face B would mean a width of about 0.72 m.,<sup>16</sup> making our stèle conform to these others in size.

Secondly, if we place the Aigina fragments in the middle of the stèle rather than on the side,<sup>17</sup> we can put *IG 2<sup>2</sup> 2403* with its intact right edge on the right side of Face A. Hereward, who made the column on Face A of the Aigina fragments the right-hand column on that face, worried because it appears to have been rather wider than the column on *2<sup>2</sup> 2403*, and she concluded that the right edge of *2<sup>2</sup> 2403* was not original and that we do not know in which column it should be placed. But the middle of the three columns on Face A might have been separated from the other columns by spaces wider than the margins at the sides, so that if the Aigina fragments are placed in the middle, *2<sup>2</sup> 2403* can go on the right.

For these reasons, then, I suggest that we restore a narrower stèle with only six columns on Face B. The first column on *EM 8147* was the first column on Face B, and the Aigina fragments contain parts of columns three and four; the column on Face A of the Aigina fragments was the middle of three columns on that face, and *IG 2<sup>2</sup> 2403* contains part of the right-hand column (see Figure 1).

This reconstruction necessitates changes in the restoration of the decree on Face A. *EM 8147* is near the right side of the stèle, rather than in the middle, and few or no letters should be restored on the right. Since the restoration of the beginning of the decree is fairly certain, the approximate length of line will be determined by the number of letters in the name of the tribe in prytany. The range is about 76–80 letters to the line (or perhaps a few more if line 8 is not fully preserved), significantly shorter than the 85–90 assumed by other scholars.

The Aigina fragments, as Hereward pointed out, help to solve one long-standing problem: was the decree about two groups of people, of whom one *συνκατῆλθον ἀπὸ Φυλῆς* and the other *συνεμάχησαν τὴμ μάχην τὴμ Μονιχίασιν*, with different rewards for each group, or about one group of people who did both?<sup>18</sup> Since we have yet another heading (*οἵδε παρέμενον τῶι ἐμ Περαιῶι δήμῳ*) dividing the list of names on Face B, there were at least three distinct groups, and probably four, rewarded in two different ways. *Παρέμενον τῶι ἐμ Περαιῶι δήμῳ* must, it seems to me, be restored on Face A in the first half of line 8 (if we assume that the groups

<sup>16</sup>Hereward 108 note 12.

<sup>17</sup>Hereward states that the right edge of the Aigina fragments is “original” (108), but it appears broken on both her drawings (103, 107); the photograph (Pl. 27) is unclear (I have not seen the stones myself). If the edge is intact, it may of course have been from a secondary use and not original.

<sup>18</sup>Among those who have maintained that there was only one group of beneficiaries: von Prott, Michel, Nachmanson, Dittenberger, Cloché, de Sanctis, and Whitehead (who does not seem to know the Aigina fragments).

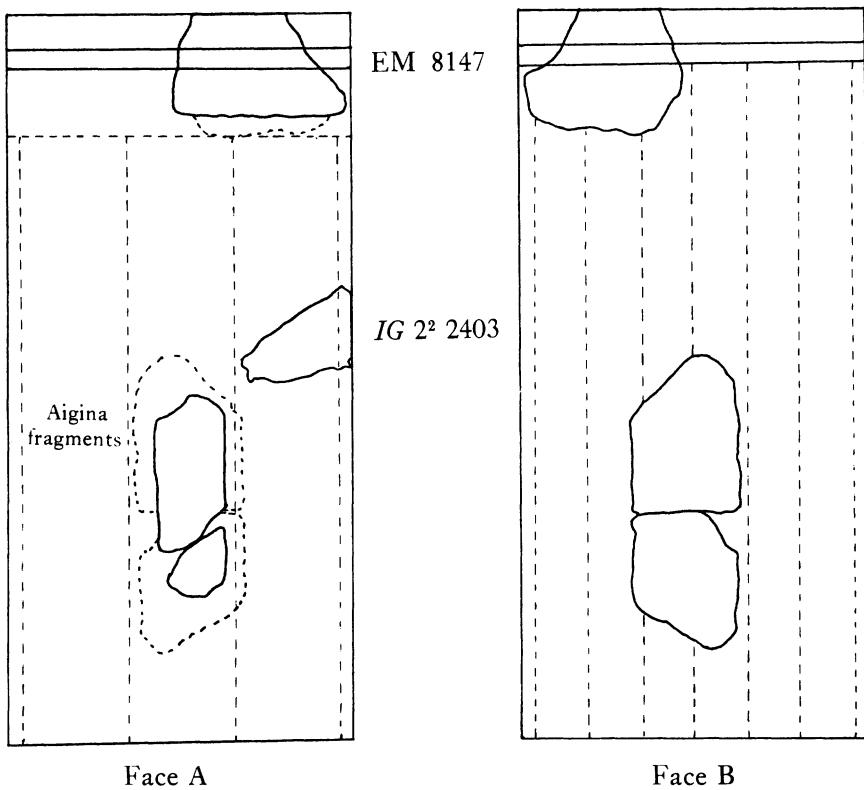


Figure 1: Approximate Reconstruction of the Stele

were listed by what they had done in temporal order); it must have been preceded by *ἢ* to distinguish this group from those who *συνεμάχησαν τὴμ μάχην τὴμ Μονιχίασιν*, mentioned in line 7, just as the first group, those who *συνκατῆλθον ἀπὸ Φυλῆς* (line 4), was apparently distinguished from a second that did something before the battle of Mounichia. This second group probably comprised those who supported the men of Phyle with provisions or money; Lysias 31.15 emphasizes how some incapacitated Athenians helped the exiles by contributing money or arms.

The rewards were specified in lines 5–7 and 9 ff. All restorations of lines 5–7 published to date restore some version of a citizenship grant. The usual formula, however, is not present. Line 5 has [*έ*]ψηφίσθαι 'Αθηναίοις ἔναι αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐκγόνοις ...], which has generally been restored [*έ*]ψηφίσθαι 'Αθηναίοις' ἔναι αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐκγόνοις πολιτείαν] (or something similar). But it was not until the third century that the phrase δεδόσθαι αὐτῷ πολιτείαν came into use; earlier citizenship grants were quite consistent in saying simply *ἔναι αὐτὸν* (or name) 'Αθηναῖον, "so-and-so to be

an Athenian.”<sup>19</sup> In *IG 2<sup>2</sup> 10* we should expect to read *αὐτὸς Ἀθηναῖος ἔναι*, just as *IG 2<sup>2</sup> 1* has *Σαμίος Ἀθηναῖος ἔναι*.<sup>20</sup> Ziebarth and Foucart proposed reading a variant of this formula by taking Ἀθηναῖοι not with ἐψηφίσθαι, but with the following words: Ἀθηναῖοι ἔναι αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐκγόνοις. The dative case, however, is unparalleled; the accusative is regularly used, as in the examples quoted above.

Given the fact that the normal formula is not present, Hereward was justified in raising the question whether citizenship was involved at all. Lines 6–7, *νόμοις δὲ τοῖς αὐτοῖς περὶ αὐτῶν τὰς ἀρχὰς χρῆσθαι οἷς καὶ περὶ - - -?*, do not suggest full citizenship, nor does the fact that the recipients of the rewards were listed by tribe (all metics must have been registered by tribe, since they served in the Athenian army). On the whole, it seems to me preferable not to restore a grant of citizenship. In spite of the uncertainties (since the length of line cannot be regarded as firmly established), it may be useful to suggest a text embodying other possibilities. Thrasyboulos’ promise of *isoteleia* to all who fought on his side (*Xen. Hell. 2.4.25*) suggests that *isoteleia* was probably granted, but further restorations are only conjecture.<sup>21</sup>

403/402 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 79

[Α ν σι ἀ δη σ	patronymic	ἐ γ]ρα μμά τε νε	[d e m o t i c]
[Ε ὑ κ λε ι δη σ	- - -	]ος	ἡ ρ χ ε
[ἔδοξεν τῇ βολῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ · · · · ·]		ἐπρυτάν]ενε, Λυσιάδης ἐγραμμάτευε,	
		Δημόφιλος ἐπ[εστάτ-]	
[ε, · · · · · εἶπε· ὅτι ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί ἔσιν περὶ τὸν δῆμογ, οἵσοι συνκατῆλθον ἀπὸ Φυλῆς		ἡ τοῖς κατελ[θοι]	
[ἀπὸ Φυλῆς ἐβοήθησαν δόντες χρήματα ἡ ἐπιτήδεια, ἐ]ψηφίσθαι Ἀθηναῖοις· ἔναι		αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐκγόνοις]	
[ἰσοτέλειαν καὶ γῆς καὶ οἰκίας ἔγκτησιν Ἀθήνησι,] νόμοις δὲ τοῖς αὐτοῖς περὶ αὐτῶν		τὰς ἀρχὰς χρῆσται	
[θαὶ οἷς καὶ περὶ Ἀθηναίων· οἵσοι δὲ οὐ συνκατῆλθον,] συνεμάχησαν δὲ τὴμ μάχην		τὴμ Μονιχίασιν, τὸν δ[ε]	
[Περαιέα εἶλον ἡ παρέμενον τῷ ἐμ Περαιεῖ δήμῳ ὅ]τε αἱ διαλλαγαὶ ἐγένοντο καὶ		ἐποίον τὰ προστατ-	
[τόμενα, ἔναι αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐκγόνοις Ἀθήνησι ἰσοτέλειαν καὶ ἐ]γγένησιν καθάπερ[ρ		'Α]θηναῖοις. τὸς δὲ - - -	

<sup>19</sup>Feyel, 120, and more recently Michael J. Osborne, *BSA* 67 (1972) 144.

<sup>20</sup>Cf. also the decree for the Plataians quoted in Demos. 59.104: Πλαταιέας εἶναι Ἀθηναῖοις.

<sup>21</sup>I have followed Hereward’s suggestion (110) in reading [- - -]ογ in line 4; if the correct reading is [- - -]οι, as in earlier texts, we might restore [ἐπειδὴ ἄνδρες ἐγένοντο ἀγαθοί]. The orator’s name would then have eleven letters instead of six.

The number of the beneficiaries depends on the height of the stele; if we make it roughly the same size as the Theozotides inscription, it was about 1.50 m. tall. In three columns on Face A (allowing several lines for the completion of the decree and subtracting about 25 for the headings and tribal names) there would have been almost 300 names; on Face B (with similar adjustments) about 900 names.<sup>22</sup>

Substantial additions to our knowledge about the occupations of these metics make necessary some changes in Cloché's important observations about which metics were most likely to oppose the oligarchy.<sup>23</sup> Each name on the list is accompanied by an indication, usually abbreviated, of the man's profession. Cloché, who had only about 18 names on EM 8147 to analyze, found a large percentage of rural workers and only one or two men involved in trade and commerce, professions followed by metics in considerable numbers.<sup>24</sup> He went on to suggest that the oligarchy had not alienated these elements of the population to the same degree that it had the rural population, and that the merchants and shippers did not join the opposition until after the battle of Mounichia. These conclusions must be modified. We now have some 69 professions known with a greater or lesser degree of certainty (the proper expansion of some of the abbreviations is uncertain). Of the 69, 19 were involved in agriculture and other rural occupations, 31 in handicrafts or small manufacturing, and 19 in trade and selling.<sup>25</sup> The proportion of rural workers is still striking, but is understandable given that the rebellion began at a rather remote fort in the country; men in commerce also became involved. *IG 2<sup>2</sup> 10* suggests that the oligarchy alienated many foreigners from all walks of life.

Foreigners from a wide variety of professions joined and aided Thrasyboulos' resistance movement, then, and in numbers previously unsuspected. The highest figure that has been suggested for the number of names on our stele is 300, or rather more, and if my reconstruction is correct there were almost as many on Face A alone, with another 900 on Face B.<sup>26</sup> The importance of the foreigners for the success of the demo-

<sup>22</sup>On Hereward's reconstruction, with four columns on Face A and seven on Face B on a stele about 1.50 m. in height, there would be about 400 names on Face A and 1050 on Face B.

All these estimates are based on the figures given by Hereward (102) for the average height of letters and spaces: 0.0105–0.0123 on Face A, 0.0084–0.0089 on Face B.

<sup>23</sup>On the professions of the metics, see Cloché, 392–403; M. N. Tod, *Epigraphica* 12 (1950) 3–26, esp. 18–22; Hereward, 113–14; Gluskina, 76–78.

<sup>24</sup>Whitehead 116–117.

<sup>25</sup>See the convenient table given by Gluskina, 76–77.

<sup>26</sup>Previous estimates: 80–160, Körte (394); over 100, Ziebarth (30); 120–150, de Sanctis (303–304); about 300, Cloché (392) and Mathieu (92–93); at least 300, Foucart (351); more than 300, Gluskina (73).

cratic resistance to the Thirty is self-evident; no wonder that Thrasyboulos proposed giving citizenship to all who had helped. His first proposal was blocked, however, and the foreigners had to be content with the lesser (though still considerable) rewards once recorded on *IG* 2<sup>2</sup> 10.

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