

Honours for Historians Historiography and Civic Identity in the Hellenistic and Roman *Polis*

Third Century BCE to Third Century CE

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Declaration

I, Marcus Jia Hao Chin (41761936), certify that this thesis has not been submitted for a higher degree to any other university or institution.

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Summary

Across the Hellenistic and Roman imperial periods (third century BCE to third century CE) a number of inscriptions are attested which record honours specifically conferred by Greek city-state (*polis*) communities on individuals for narrating the past, through prose historical works, poetry, and even sculpture ('historians'). While these documents have been approached with a view to understanding broader historical phenomena in this period – the proliferation of itinerant literary activity and the history of Greek historiography – they also offer specific insight into the social reality of historiography in the *polis*, and the *polis*' conception of itself and its past through its historians.

Three issues are therefore of interest. The first concerns the historiographical contents of these honoured historians, as insights into the sorts of pasts which were valued by the *polis*. Contiguous to this are the social contexts in which these historiographical works had relevance within the *polis* community, and between *polis* communities. A third aspect focuses on the creation of this relevance through the honorific act, as characterised in the inscription itself: this served to integrate the historian into the *polis* and its past, thereby expressing through gratitude ideals of social continuity into the future.

To my mother

In memory

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Abbreviations

Listed here are abbreviations for epigraphic corpora and journals which occur throughout the main text. Citations of ancient authors and works follow first the conventions of the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*⁴, before those of Liddell and Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*⁹ and *Brill's New Pauly*.

<i>AC</i>	<i>L'Antiquité classique</i>
<i>BE</i>	<i>Bulletin épigraphique</i> (cited by volume serial and year of <i>Revue des études grecques</i>)
<i>BNJ</i>	I. Worthington, (ed. in chief) <i>Brill's New Jacoby</i> (2007–)
<i>DGE</i>	E.Schwyzler, <i>Dialectorum Graecorum exempla epigraphica potiora</i> (Leipzig, 1923)
<i>FD III</i>	<i>Fouilles de Delphes, III. Épigraphie</i> . 6 fasc. (Paris, 1929-1939)
<i>FGrH</i>	F. Jacoby, (ed.) <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> (Leiden, 1923-1962)
<i>FHG</i>	C. Müller, (ed.) <i>Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum</i> , 5 vols. (1841-1870)
<i>GIBM</i>	<i>The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum</i> (Oxford, 1874-1916)
<i>Gonnoi</i>	B. Helly, <i>Gonnoi</i> , 2 vols. (Amsterdam, 1973)
<i>I.Alexandreia Troas</i>	M.Riel, <i>The inscriptions of Alexandreia Troas (Inchriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien 53; Bonn, 1997)</i>
<i>I.Cret.</i>	M.Guarducci, <i>Inscriptiones Creticae</i> (Rome. 1935-1950)
<i>I.Délos</i>	F. Durrbach, <i>Inscriptions de Délos</i> (Paris. 1926-1937)
<i>IG</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> (Berlin, 1873–)
<i>IGR</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes</i> (Paris, 1911-1927)
<i>I.Iasos</i>	W. Blümel, <i>Die Inschriften von Iasos (Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien 28.1-2; Bonn, 1985)</i>
<i>I.Labraunda</i>	J. Crampa, <i>Labraunda. Swedish Excavations and Researches, III, 1-2. Greek Inscriptions</i> , 2 vols. (Lund, 1969 and Stockholm, 1972)
<i>I.Lindos</i>	C. Blinkenberg, <i>Lindos. Fouilles et recherches, II. Fouilles de l'acropole. Inscriptions</i> (Berlin, 1941)
<i>I.Magnesia</i>	O. Kern, <i>Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander</i> (Berlin, 1900)

<i>I.Mylasa</i>	W. Blümel, <i>Die Inschriften von Mylasa (Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien 34-35; Bonn, 1987-1988)</i>
<i>I.Olympia</i>	W. Dittenberger and K. Purgold, <i>Die Inschriften von Olympia</i> (Berlin, 1896)
<i>I.Oropos</i>	V.C.Petrakos, <i>Oí ἐπιγραφές τοῦ Ὠρωποῦ</i> (Athens 1997)
<i>IOSPE</i>	V. Latyshev (ed.), <i>Inscriptiones antiquae orae septentrionalis Ponti Euxini Graecae et Latinae</i> , 3 vols. (Leningrad, 1885-1901)
<i>I.Pergamon</i>	M. Fraenkel, <i>Die Inschriften von Pergamon</i> , 2 vols. (Berlin, 1890-1895)
<i>I.Priene</i>	F. Hiller von Gaetringen, (ed.) <i>Inschriften von Priene</i> (Berlin, 1906)
<i>I.Priene (2014)</i>	W. Blümel, and R. Merkelbach, <i>Die Inschriften von Priene</i> , 2 vols. (<i>Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien 69; Bonn, 2014</i>)
<i>I.Sestos</i>	J. Krauss, <i>Die Inschriften von Sestos und der thrakischen Chersones (Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien 19; Bonn, 1980)</i>
<i>I.Smyrna</i>	G.Petzl, <i>Die Inschriften von Smyrna</i> , 2 vols. (<i>Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien 23-24.1-2, Bonn, 1982-1990</i>)
<i>I.Stratonikeia</i>	M. Ç. Şahin, <i>Die Inschriften von Stratonikeia</i> , 2 vols. (<i>Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien 21-22.1-2; Bonn, 1981-1990</i>)
<i>JHS</i>	<i>The Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
<i>LPGN Va</i>	T. Corsten (ed.) <i>A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names. Volume VA, Coastal Asia Minor: Pontos to Ionia</i> (Oxford, 2010)
<i>LSJ</i> ⁹	H. G. Liddell, R. Scott, and H. S. Jones, (eds.) <i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> ⁹ (Oxford, 1961)
<i>MAMA</i>	<i>Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua</i> 10 vols. (London, 1928-1993)
<i>OGIS</i>	W. Dittenberger, <i>Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae</i> (Leipzig, 1903-1905)
<i>RE</i>	A. Pauly, G. Wissowa, and W. Kroll (eds.) <i>Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> (Stuttgart, 1893–)
<i>RPC Online</i>	Roman Provincial Coinage Online: http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/
<i>SEG</i>	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i> (1923–)

<i>SGDI</i>	H. Collitz, <i>Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften</i> (Göttingen, 1884-1915)
<i>Syll.</i> ³	W. Dittenberger (ed.) <i>Sylloge inscriptionum graecarum</i> ³ (Leipzig, 1915-1924)
<i>TAM</i>	<i>Tituli Asiae Minoris</i> 5 vols. (Wien, 1901-1989)
<i>TGF</i>	A. Nauck, <i>Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta</i> ² (1889)
<i>TLG</i>	<i>Thesaurus Linguae Graecae</i>

Introduction

Honours for Historians in the Post-Classical *Polis*

In the late fourth century public honours were passed for the philosopher Aristotle and his nephew Kallisthenes at Delphi, the sacred seat of Apollo, and scene of the quadrennial Pythian Games. The learned pair had compiled a list of the victors at these Games, and its organisers, the *agonothetai*, from the time of its inception. The work comprised a table of events, a *πίναξ*, a large scholarly undertaking spanning over two centuries of victor-lists and archival records, and, as a proud literary monument to Delphi's antiquity and prestige, earned the two of them public praise and crowns. A copy of their efforts was made, and publicly displayed in Apollo's temple; this monumental version perhaps comprised some twenty thousand letters.¹ It was thus a major work which enhanced the city's reputation, and their honours were a not insignificant component of their recompense for this.

We owe knowledge of these events to an inscription recording Delphi's decision to honour the two; as a narrative it also provides a particular perspective.² For one, Aristotle and Kallisthenes are presented in it as historians, but firstly as civic benefactors – we hear nothing of designations referring to their more famous scholastic endeavours (*FD* III.1 400.6-8).³ We learn of their historiographical deeds, and discern a marked accent on Delphi's antiquity – it narrates their composition of the table of victors and *agonothetai*, but emphasises its extensiveness with the repetition of temporal markers (ll. 2 and 4: ἀ[π' αἰῶνος], ἐξ ἀρχ[ῆς]).⁴ We then learn of the community's response to this. The honorands are awarded public praise and crowns – distinctions that present them with public relevance – and their literary endeavours immortalised through inscription at the temple. This is part of the reciprocity

¹ Bousquet, 'Delphes et les « Pythioniques » d'Aristote' 374-376.

² See Chaniotis, *Historie und Historiker in den griechischen Inschriften* 293-296 E3 for text and bibliography.

³ *FD* III.1 400.6-9: ἐπαινέ[σαι] Ἀριστοτέλιν καὶ Κ[αλ]λι[στ]θένην καὶ [στ]εφανῶσαι.

⁴ The participial clauses of ll. 2-6 are also exemplars of balanced rhetorical prose: Bousquet, 'Delphes et les « Pythioniques »' 379-380.

embedded in honour: the city perpetuates the achievements of its honorands, who had, themselves, perpetuated the city's past through a πίναξ. Aristotle and Kallisthenes' honours thus reveals as much about their historiographical achievements as Delphi's regard for its past, both as enshrined in the Pythian Games and in its reciprocation of benefactors – we learn something about the *polis*' self-conception through the honorific act.

This decree is only the first attested inscription conferring honours for activities of a historiographical nature. From the third century BCE onwards these proliferate, and across the post-classical period until the third century CE sixty-one such inscriptions are identifiable.⁵ 'Historiographical' denotes literary and artistic activities involved in representing and narrating the past undertaken actively, intentionally and self-consciously, as an end in itself; 'honours' denotes inscribed honours for individuals, or pairs of individuals – this comprises mainly civic decrees, but also, to a lesser degree, statue-bases and funerary honours. Excluded under these criteria are honours for individuals who may have dealt with the past more sub-consciously, such as clerks and archivists,⁶ or dramatic actors who reproduced, rather than were creators of, narratives of the past.⁷ Within this definition thirty of the sixty-one explicitly describe these activities and summarise the works composed by their honorands, while thirty-one are less explicit, in either not specifying the historiographical content of these activities, or honouring activities which are ambiguous as to their historiographical character. As the

⁵ These have been gathered together, for ease of reference, as a dossier in the Appendix at the end.

⁶ Such a definition of the narrated past would distinguish it from a conception of the past *tout court*, which, now as then, pervades almost all aspects of human activity, whether at the level of 'history', or simply quotidian bodily ritual and memory. An epitaph for a Capito from imperial Melos, for instance, praises his being [παντοί]ης ἔνπλ[εο]ς ἱστορ[ί]ης (IG XII.3 1189.3), which likely refers to inquiry in general, and not merely past-inquiry; cf. Chaniotis, *Historie* 359. There are examples of honours for individuals for having archival roles, e.g. Zosimos at Priene, as γραμματεὺς (*I.Priene* 113). There are also inscriptions regulating the archival processes, such as that from Paros on the officials known as μνήμονες from the Hellenistic period, who dealt with the past in mundane terms, as notaries in administrative and judicial settings; cf. Lambrinudakis and Wörle, 'Ein hellenistisches Reformgesetz über das öffentliche Urkundewesen von Paros' 328-344.

⁷ E.g. Kaibel, *Epigrammata graeca* 246 n. 608, for a pantomime who ἱστορίας δειξάς (l. 1); *I.Cret.* IV 222.A, an μύθων ὁρχη[στῆς] (l. 2); for the epigraphic evidence for such individuals see Robert, 'Ἀρχαιόλογος'.

example of Aristotle and Kallisthenes shows such honoured historiography comprised past-narratives which were dear to the *polis* – the *πίναξ* is a work of different character than the literary historiography of Theopompos and Ephoros, its artistic contemporaries, but nevertheless told the story of Delphi’s past.⁸ To that extent Aristotle and Kallisthenes were ‘historians’, or, less elegantly, ‘historian-honorands’.

It is this figure, the historian-honorand, with whom this study is centrally concerned – individuals who were specifically honoured for their services in re-telling pasts which drew the appreciation of the *polis*. The activities they were engaged in and honours they received, as their honorific inscriptions inform us, provide important insights, otherwise inaccessible, into the reception of the historian in the *polis*. This heuristic definition of the ‘historian-honorand’ encompasses different forms of literary activity, some closer to the works of Polybios and Dio than others.⁹ There are honorands who are designated with such vocations as *ἱστορικός*, *ἱστοριογράφος*, *συγγραφεὺς ἱστοριῶν*, or whose activities involved *ἱστορία*,¹⁰ signifying ‘past-inquiry’, but also referring to works of prose historiography themselves.¹¹ Others are called poets, sometimes of epic and tragedy (*ποιητής*, *ποιητὴς*

⁸ It implies a work, probably, of compilation, and so drawn from archival sources. Aristotle is also known to have composed a list of victors at the Dionysia at Athens, and a *Διδασκαλία* cataloguing the list of dramatic victors; cf. Diog. Laert. 5.26. *πίναξ* foreshadows’ Kallimachos’ own *πίνακες*. Kallisthenes also wrote a work on the First Sacred War (*FGrH* T25) which might have brought him into association with this inscription at Delphi.

⁹ ‘Historian-honorand’, as a matter of convenience, will be used interchangeably throughout this work alongside ‘historian’ to refer to this category of past-narrator in the broadest sense.

¹⁰ Dionysios (A1.10: *ἱστορικός*), Mnesiptolemos (A7.1-2: *ἱστοριογράφος*), Anonymous of Amphipolis (A9.4-5: draws on *ἱστοριογράφοι*), Syriskos (A10.7-8, 19: *ἱστορεῖν*), Leon of Samos (A12b.5-6: *ἱστορία*), Aristotheos (A13.3: *ἱστοριογράφος*), Leon of Stratonikeia (A14.3-4: draws on *ἱστορία*), Menekles (A20b.6, 9-10, 12-13: *ἱστορία*, *ἱστορεῖν*, draws on *ἱστοριογράφοι*), Kletonymos (A18.7: *ἱστορία*), Gorgos (A24.1: *ἱστορία*), Philippos (A25.2, 9-10: *ἱστορία*), Andronikos (A26.4: *ἱστοριογράφος*), Hermogenes (A27.5: *ἱστορικά*), Xenophon of Samos (A31.3: *συγγραφεὺς ἱστοριῶν*), Anteros (A30.24: *ἱστορία*), Dexippos (A32.10, 13, 17: *ἱστορία*).

¹¹ *ἱστορία* and *ἱστορία* were beginning to gain this more substantive sense in the early Hellenistic period, alongside denoting the act of inquiry: Press, *The Development of the Idea of History in Antiquity* 31-42.

ἐπῶν, ποιητὴς τραγωιδιῶν),¹² or conducted activities which narrated the past in different forms than in literary prose or verse – raising commemorative stelae, sculpture groups on mythological figures, or producing kitharoidic performances.¹³ A few are designated by other vocations than as historians and poets – as grammarians, ambassadors, and priests –¹⁴ or like Aristotle and Kallisthenes, are not designated at all.¹⁵ Among those whose activities are more dubiously historiographical one finds works praising cities and gods, and individuals described solely as συγγραφεύς, ποιητής or ποιητὴς ἐπῶν without elaboration as to their literary achievements.¹⁶ There is a range here, not only of literary, but also artistic genres and media; this arguably reflects the breadth of Greek conceptions of ‘past-narrative’,¹⁷ but also aligns

¹² Demoteles (A2.5: ποιητής), Politas (A8.3: ποιητὴς ἐπῶν), Aristodama (A5a.4, b.4: ποιήτρια ἐπέωμ), Zotion (A15.2-3: τραγαφιδιά[ων ποειτὰς κὴ σατο]ῦρων), Ariston (A17.4-5: ποιητὴς ἐπῶν), Myrinos (A19.6-7: ποιητὰς ἐπῶν καὶ μελῶν, on behalf of Dioskurides), Herodes (A22b.3, 13: ποιητὴς ἐπῶν), Dymas (A21.2, 15: ποιητὴς τραγωιδιῶν).

¹³ Terms indicating historiographical activities include μῦθοι: Demoteles (A2.7), Anonymous of Chios (A11.31); ὑπομνήματα: Herakleitos of Athens (A4.4-5); μυμνήσκειν: Politas (A8.5), Aristodama (A5a.6, B10), Zotion (A15.6-7); τὰ ἔνδοξα: Bombos (A16.16), Alexandros of Thasos (A23a.5); πράξεις: Herodes (A22b.6), Dymas (A21.19); in seven historiographical activity can only be gathered from narrative context as a whole: Amphiklos (A3.1-5), Hermokles and Menekles (A20a.7-10), Ariston (A17.8-12), Dioskurides (A19.4-5), Antiochos (A28.20-26), Aelianus (A29.2-7).

¹⁴ γραμματικός: Dioskurides (A19.3), Anteros (A30.5), πρεγγευταί: Herodotos and Menekles (A20a4, b4), priests: Gorgos (A24.4), Leon of Stratonikeia (A14.20).

¹⁵ Syriskos (A10), Leon of Samos (A12a and b), Bombos (A16), Hermogenes (A27), Antiochos (A28), Aelianus (A29); for others these designations have not survived: Amphiklos (A3), Herakleitos of Athens (A4), Hermokles (A6), Anonymous of Chios (A11), Anonymous of Amphipolis (A9), Alexandros of Thasos (A23).

¹⁶ Works praising cities and gods: Eukles (B1), Herakleitos of Chalkedon (B2), Demokrates (B3), Kleochares (B7), Alkinoe (B8), Ion (B9), Anonymous of Tenos (B11), Amphikles (B13a and b), Ammonios (B15), Claudius Eumolpos (B16), Sextus, (B17), Auphria (B21), Herakleitos of Rhodes (B25); possible kinship narratives: Themistokles (B12), Cestianus (B24); συγγραφεύς: Charax (B22.14), Pompeianus (B23.2-3); ποιητής or ποιητὴς ἐπῶν: Demokrates (B3.2), Eumolpos (B16.3), Kleandros (B5.1), Eratoxenos (B6.3), Nikandros (B4.2), Theopompos (B10.3), Anonymous of Skepsis (B14.4), Pompeius Paullus (B18.3), Apollonios (B20.4); συγγραφεύς and ποιητής: Herakleitos of Rhodes (B25.13-14), Onesikles (B19.2-4). For συγγραφεύς referring to historical authors, see *LSJ*⁹ s.v. ‘συγγραφεύς’ n. II.1.

¹⁷ On this breadth of conception see Chaniotis, *Historie* 9-10, and Hornblower, ‘Introduction: Summary of the Papers; The Story of Greek Historiography; Intertextuality and the Greek Historians’ 7-16, who draws lines of continuity between the conceptions of the past in Homer and in Hekataios; he identifies two main concerns in

with the honorific, epigraphical presentation of these: the words *πραγματεύεσθαι* and *πραγματεία*, for instance, designating written composition, are found in relation to both *ιστοριογράφοι* and *ποιηταί*;¹⁸ *ἐγκώμια* are composed by individuals of different vocations.¹⁹ Epic and tragic works are found described in the same breadth, as acts of memorialisation (*μνήμη*).²⁰ Moreover, the activities of many honorands are defined as public recitations and performances (*ἀκροάσεις, δείξεις, ἀποδείξεις*), across different vocations and genres,²¹ and the fact alone that these individuals were publicly honoured is highly suggestive of public contexts for their activities. These inscriptions do emerge at a time of heightened literary awareness, and indeed concurrently with the rise of *ἱστορία* as a distinct designation for historical works.²² As public, inscribed texts, however, they arguably reflect the interests of a different segment of *polis* society to its *literati*: the important common thread running through these documents is that we read in them the *polis*-community's – almost ubiquitously here the honouring body – acknowledgement that the past had been narrated: the

Homer, 'the past of individual men and the past of the cities of men' (12) as a continuing theme throughout Greek 'historiography', which one might extend across literary works in verse, outside the prose historiographical works he surveys. This looseness of genre, across prose and verse, is arguably closely tied to the Greeks' conception of the past as consisting essentially of two epochs, a heroic age of gods and men, and a post-heroic age, of events to the time of narration; cf. Finley, 'Myth, Memory and History' 24-26.

¹⁸ Cf. *LSJ*⁹ s. v. 'πραγματεία' n. III and *πραγματεύομαι* II.2-4. The words characterise the works of the *ιστοριογράφος* Aristotheos (A13.5), the *γραμματικός* Dioskurides (A19.8, 18, 29), the poets Demoteles (A2.5-6), Ariston (A17.9), Zotion (A15.6), Dymas (A21.18), and the undesignated Bombos (A16.15) and Alexandros from Thasos (A23a.4). It is also attested in a Delphic inscription possibly honouring the philosopher Menedemos of Eretria: Bousquet, 'L'inscription sténographique de Delphes (pl. III)' 23 n. 2 l. 2, [πλε]ίονας καὶ [π]ραγματευθεὶς πε[ρί-----], and also 24 n. 2, and Robert, *BE* (1958) 253 n. 261.

¹⁹ Aristotheos (A13.6), Ariston (A17.9), Dioskurides (A19.4-5), composed *ἐγκώμια* alongside Demokrates and Ion (B3.3-4, B9.5-6), *ποιηταί*, Onesikles, a *λόγων ἐγκωμιαστικῶν συνγραφεύς* (B19.3-4), and Eukles (B1.10-11) and Sextus (B17.9-10), who are not given designations.

²⁰ Politas (A8.5: *ἐπεμνάσ[θη]*), Aristodama (A5a.6: *ἐπεμνάσθη*, b.10: *μνάμαν ἐποιήσατο*), Zotion (A15.6-7: *μεμνημένος*) and Dymas (A21.19: *μνημοσύνας*). Bombos (A16.15: *[συνεμναμονεύσατο]*).

²¹ See chapter 1 n. 1.

²² Whitmarsh, *Ancient Greek Literature* 108-109, 120-121, 127-128 characterises an increasingly 'archival' mentality from the fifth century onwards, proliferating in the Hellenistic age, which construed literary texts as objective entities subject to differing interpretations.

point of focus in the Delphic decree is not the exact literary character of the $\pi\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha\varsigma$, but that its contents extended across the length of its existence as a community, $\epsilon\acute{\xi}\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\chi[\eta\varsigma]$ (*FD* III.1 400.4).

This inquiry therefore examines a strand of Greek historiography somewhat distinct from that of the works of authors known from the manuscript tradition; this is the world of public readings, and not of literary reception through books, as Momigliano would have defined it.²³ These honorands were ‘public historians’, many of whom would have engaged in literary historiography of the latter kind, but for whom their honorific inscriptions provide a different visage – one sees their private, individual literary endeavours imbued and presented with communal significance through lectures and oral performances. Such public performances of the past perhaps date to the archaic period, despite the prevalence then of patronage and private settings for poetry,²⁴ with the rhapsodic tradition,²⁵ and compositions of narrative elegy on historical topics.²⁶ From the fifth and fourth centuries we find evidence from literary sources for public performances and financial remuneration for past-narratives.²⁷

²³ Momigliano, ‘The Historians of the Classical World and Their Audiences’ 195: ‘...what little we know suggests that throughout classical antiquity it was customary to announce or celebrate the publication of a work of history with a public reading; in other words, public readings either preceded or accompanied the diffusion of individual historical works in manuscript copies.’

²⁴ On the culture of literary patronage in the seventh and sixth centuries see Gentili, *Poetry and its Public in Ancient Greece* 155-162.

²⁵ Herodotos mentions that Kleisthenes of Sikyon put an end to rhapsodic contests in the early sixth century (5.67.1); for rhapsodes in the pre-classical period cf. West, ‘Rhapsodes at Festivals’ 1-3.

²⁶ Bowie, ‘Early Greek Elegy, Symposium and Public Festival’ 33 reasonably surmises that works of narrative elegy that approached a certain length (upwards of a thousand lines), as Xenophanes’ work on Kolophon, which was probably around 2,000 lines long, and Panyassis of Halikarnassos’ poem on Ionian history, around 7,000 lines, likely found an audience at a public performance, rather than in a sympotic context.

²⁷ In the fifth century we read of the Spartans enjoyed listening to genealogies of heroes and men, and accounts of city-foundations (Pl. *Hp. mai.* 285d.). Herodotos was handsomely honoured and paid at Thebes (Aristoph. Boeot. *BNJ* 379 F5), Athens (Diyll. *BNJ* 73 F3), and Korinth (Dio Chrys. *Or.* 37.7.), and Polygnotos was well compensated for sculpting the Marathon reliefs on the Stoa Poikile (Plut. *Cim.* 4). Pindar’s paians honouring Athens clearly had public significance when he was consecutively praised by the Athenians and fined by the Thebans for them (praised by the Athenians: Isoc. *Antid.* 166, Paus. 1.8.4; fined by the Thebans: Chaniotis, *Historie* 347 testimonia C-D. He may have alluded to the contrasting roles of both in the Persian Wars. Large

The Atthidographer Kleidemos even received a gold crown at Athens, perhaps for his *Atthis*,²⁸ and Dikaiarchos of Messene's writings on Spartan history were uniquely honoured with annual recitations at Sparta's chamber of the ephors.²⁹ With the honorific decree of Aristotle and Kallisthenes, however, one begins to be able to observe these public performances of the past, and their reception, from an epigraphic perspective: it is this perspective in which we are interested, and which governs the delimitation of our corpus to the Hellenistic and imperial periods – a chronological span which also stands to elucidate social historical aspects of the post-classical *polis*, in presenting precise contexts for the interaction between historian and *polis*, and allowing us to see the roles of these individuals less as philological and narratological constructs than as mechanism and inscribed action.

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This present collection of sixty-one inscriptions has largely been drawn from the last major catalogue of such texts, compiled in Angelos Chaniotis' *Historie und Historiker in den griechischen Inschriften* (Stuttgart, 1988). This work represented, at its publication, the first assemblage of honorific inscriptions to the specific end of studying the role of historians in the Greek world. Before Chaniotis most of the texts had already been published either individually or as part of epigraphic corpora, e.g. *Inscriptiones Graecae*, Michel's *Recueil*, the *SGDI*, or Dittenberger's *Sylloge*.³⁰ As a collection they were first surveyed by Margherita Guarducci, who examined the inscriptions of Hellenistic date as part of the wider phenomenon of the itinerant intellectual, alongside other such inscriptions to poets,

sums of remuneration are otherwise attested for poets, sculptors, doctors, and sophists in the fifth and fourth centuries; cf. Gentili, *Poetry and its Public* 162-171.

²⁸ Tert. *De anim.* 52: *ob historici stili praestantiam*.

²⁹ *Suda* s.v. Δικαίαρχος: οὗτος ἔγραψε τὴν πολιτείαν Σπαρτιατῶν, καὶ νόμος ἐτέθη ἐν Λακεδαιμόνι καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος ἀναγινώσκεισθαι τὸν λόγον εἰς τὸ τῶν ἐφόρων ἀρχεῖον, τοὺς δὲ τὴν ἡβητικὴν ἔκοντας ἡλικίαν ἀκροᾶσθαι καὶ τοῦτο ἐκράτει μέχρι πολλοῦ.

³⁰ Please refer to the Appendix for the publication details of individual texts.

grammarians, philosophers, and musicians.³¹ Her focus was consequently on itinerant historians, not so much to explore their role in the historiography of the *polis*, than as manifestations of the uncertainty and deracination which characterised the *Zeitgeist* of the Hellenistic age.³² Guarducci nevertheless brought vividly to light an aspect of the social reality of public performances of literary and intellectual works – a reality which has also been evoked in several discussions since.³³ Robert, for one, noted several similarities of expression across the decrees, and hinted at their interest for understanding local historiography.³⁴

The first to harness these honorific inscriptions specifically for historiography, however, was naturally Felix Jacoby, who incorporated a number in his *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, as part of a comprehensive vision of Greek historiographical fragments, from the classical to Roman periods. Some sixteen can be found scattered across the three parts of the *FGrH*.³⁵ Jacoby's focus was on defining the historical development of

³¹ Guarducci, 'Poeti vaganti e conferenzieri dell'età ellenistica'.

³² Guarducci, 'Poeti vaganti' 630: '...l'età ellenistica fu il regno del particolare e dell'individuale: sia in politica per i molti stati e staterelli che si vennero isolando ed esplicarono ciascuno per sé una florida vita municipale; sia negli uomini che, grandi e piccoli, cercarono tutti di uscir dal commune, e s'affannarono e definire e a ribadire la propria personalità.' There was also a tension between oppositions in the arts, 'le quali adorarono le gloriose tradizioni degli avi, e sospirarono il nuovo, l'inaudito...'. For similar, somewhat Hegelian views, cf. Schneider, *Kulturgeschichte des Hellenismus* 2.439-442.

³³ Gentili, *Poetry and its Public* 174-176 sees them as evidence for popular literary culture, while Cameron, *Callimachus and His Critics* 47-53 prefers to elide the distinction between Alexandrian elites and these itinerant performers; cf. also Hardie, *Statius and the Silvae. Poets, Patrons and Epideixis in the Graeco-Roman World* 17-29, who situates them within the history of the itinerant poet. Several of these inscriptions also appear as part of discussions of poetic contests and performance in I. Stephanis, *Διονυσιακοὶ Τεχνῖται. Συμβολὲς στὴν προσωπογραφία τοῦ θεάτρου καὶ τῆς μουσικῆς τῶν ἀρχαίων Ἑλλήνων* (Herakleion, 1988), and the articles of A. Giovannini (*SEG* 55.2052) and M. R. Pallone (*SEG* 36.1537), which were unavailable to the author.

³⁴ He notes, for example, the role of itinerant litterateurs in nurturing kinship narratives, as in *Fouilles d'Amyzon en Carie* 163: 'Ces voyages sont dès une époque ancienne une grande incitation à l'étude des origines, par les mythes notamment, et des parentés entre villes et peuples'; see also *BE* 72 (1959) 233-234 n. 330, *Hellenica. Recueil d'épigraphie de numismatique et d'antiquités grecques* 2.34-36.

³⁵ Represented are: Demoteles of Andros (*FGrH* 400 T1), Mnesiptolemos of Kyme (*FGrH* 164 T3), Politas (*FGrH* 483 F2), Aristodama (*FGrH* 483 F1), Syriskos of Chersonesos (*FGrH* 807 T1), Leon of Samos (*FGrH*

Greek historiography as a literary phenomenon, and the permutations of its sub-genres.³⁶ He was highly aware of the contribution of epigraphy to historiography,³⁷ but saw it as evidence for restoring lost works: honorific inscriptions, which often only included brief summaries of lost works, were tantalising but provided little more than reasoned conjecture as to the original nature of these works – thus comments on Philippos of Pergamon are limited to defining his work as a ‘Zeitgeschichte’ (Part II), or on Gorgos of Kolophon as an author of ‘Mythographie’ (Part I). The modern adaptation into English of Jacoby, *Brill’s New Jacoby* (2007–), has provided more detail (it is the work of multiple scholars, unlike the *FGrH*), towards the same purpose of reconstructing historiographical fragments, and with less interest in defining literary genres. It includes several new texts unknown also to Chaniotis,³⁸ and has more extensive discussion, for instance, on Philippos and Gorgos.³⁹

There is certainly much to be learned from reconstructing historiographical fragments; especially within the context of Jacoby’s project, inscriptions could be integrated with the hundreds of literary fragments to evoke historiographical traditions – Part III of the *FGrH*, notably, sets the seventeen inscriptions alongside other fragmentary works on similar topics; a

540 T1), Aristotheos of Troizen (*FGrH* 835 T1), Dioskurides of Tarsos (*FGrH* 594 T3), Menekles of Teos (*FGrH* 466 T1), Gorgos of Kolophon (*FGrH* 17 T1), Philippos of Pergamon (*FGrH* 95 T1), Hermogenes of Smyrna (*FGrH* 579 T1), Anteiou Antiochos of Argos (*FGrH* 747 T2), Xenophon of Samos (*FGrH* 540a T1), Gaius Asinius Quadratus (*FGrH* 97 T2), Dexippos of Athens (*FGrH* 100 T4).

³⁶ See Jacoby, ‘Über die Entwicklung der griechischen Historiographie und den Plan einer neuen Sammlung der griechischen Historikerfragmente’ for his now much contested outline of the principles underlying the *FGrH*, which saw local historiography as an offshoot of ‘great’ historiography. Momigliano, *Quarto contributo alla storia degli studi classici e del mondo antico* 76 has high praise for the subtlety of his endeavour, not only for elucidating how the different forms of Greek historiography transmitted ‘fatti e procedimenti critici alle successive generazioni’, but also for being constantly aware of ‘elementi positive e negative di ogni ipotesi’; see in general Donato, ‘Lo Jacoby di Arnaldo Momigliano’.

³⁷ One of Jacoby’s early works, written as his *Habilitationsschrift* in 1903, was ‘Über das Marmor Parium’, which was well aware of the ramifications of the epigraphic text, in arguing for the public, and not private and scholarly, character of the Parian Chronicle’s reception (549-555).

³⁸ New texts: Leon of Stratonikeia (*BNJ* 278 T2B and T2C) and Kletonymos of Lato (*BNJ* 467B). The latter was only published after Chaniotis’ *Historie*.

³⁹ *BNJ* 95 and 17.

difference lies, however, between discerning traditions based on similarity of content, as Jacoby masterfully achieved, and traditions based on the social realities of their authors, which honorific inscriptions stand in particular stead to provide. Chaniotis' *Historie* was the first to confront this, by studying them to illuminate the 'place of the historian and historiography in the public and intellectual life of Greek *poleis*.'⁴⁰ Only the second part of the work is concerned specifically with the role of the historian; the first half surveys inscriptions which contain narrative of a historiographical nature – literary works on stone which record local history.⁴¹ This is a large and ambitious task, and he defines genres specific to epigraphy, owing a little to Jacoby's mentality: *Lokalgeschichte*, *Universalgeschichte*, *Kulturgeschichte*, *Zeitgeschichte*, *Mythographie*.⁴² It is broad in conception, and has been criticised for the looseness of its categories (which he defines in a desire to operate on ancient ones) – 'historiography', where defined as 'preoccupation with the past', arguably encompasses Greek epigraphy as a whole.⁴³ This is to overlook, however, the unique perspective he discerns in the epigraphic documents of a more overtly literary nature, of a

⁴⁰ *Historie* 289: 'Die anschließende Untersuchung des Wortlauts und Inhalts der Dekrete soll zu einer Beantwortung der...Fragen nach der Stellung des Historikes und der Geschichtsschreibung im öffentlichen und geistigen Leben der griechischen Poleis beitragen.'

⁴¹ *Historie* 6, where he intends a 'systematische Untersuchung des gesamten epigraphischen Materials, welches im Zusammenhang mit der antiken Geschichtsschreibung steht.'

⁴² He thus categorises different text-types within the same genre – so under local history one finds the Parian Chronicle (T22) alongside a biography of Archilochos by Mnesiepes (T3), and a second century CE ephebic speech in praise of Theseus (T17).

⁴³ Chaniotis *Historie* 9, 'die Beschäftigung mit der Vergangenheit, um diese wieder in Erinnerung zu rufen, oder mit zeitgenössischen Ereignissen, damit diese nicht der Vergessenheit anheimfallen,' although this is more qualified when he refines this in relation to epigraphy, at 11: 'Die Texte (epigraphical historiography) nehmen Bezug auf die Vergangenheit, ihr Ziel ist, geschichtliche Ereignisse oder Zustände darzustellen.' Apart from his main corpus he discerns, in the second half of part one, genres that approach historiography: victor-lists, private historical records (shrine-foundation narratives, genealogies), educational texts with historical content (e.g. the *Tabulae Iliacae*, the library catalogue of Tauromenion), and inscriptions preserving older documents. As an appendix he compiles literary and scientific works attested on stone (*Historie* 183-286). While this all-encompassing approach may have been criticised for its lack of precision (e.g. Woodhead in *JHS* 110 (1990) 269, or Martin in *AC* 60 (1991) 524), it nevertheless raises awareness of the intricacies and nuances of past-narration underlying many inscriptions which would not otherwise be considered 'historiographical'.

public historiography which provided historical paradigms for institutions and political and social relationships.⁴⁴

He approaches honorific inscriptions to historians, then, to examine the individuals who contributed to such public historiography.⁴⁵ His vision is again extensive, and focussed on outlining the public role of historians *tout court*, from a historical perspective. His corpus of honorific inscriptions includes a wide range of individuals – those, naturally, for whom historiography (in its broadest sense, thus including also poets, dramatists, and sculptors) was the explicit cause for their honour, but also inscriptions honouring individuals known from external evidence as historians.⁴⁶ His category of honours for historians for non-historiographical services⁴⁷ consequently intrudes at times into the main category of honours for historians: E5, for instance, comprises a *proxeny* decree for Neanthes which says nothing about his work as the Kyzikene historian (*BNJ* 84). Inscriptions offer reflections into the social reality of these honoured historians, and many interesting insights emerge from this: his analytical essay discusses the grounds for their honour, the phenomenon of itinerant historians (placing Guarducci's ideas within their *longue durée* from the classical to imperial epochs), the contents of their works, the geographical distributions of these historians and their journeys, and their motivations in conveying past-narratives.⁴⁸ This focus on the historian as agent represents a quite different perspectives from Jacoby's content-specific, genre-centred approach.

In seeing these inscriptions as reflections of wider historical reality, however, Chaniotis applies particular models to interpreting them which locates agency less in the interactions embodied by the inscription than in broader historical forces. He thus describes

⁴⁴ Chaniotis, *Historie* 177-182.

⁴⁵ Chaniotis, *Historie* 287.

⁴⁶ Chaniotis, *Historie* 290-353.

⁴⁷ Chaniotis, *Historie* 329-332.

⁴⁸ Chaniotis, *Historie* 355-389.

the motives of these authors, based on the ungenerous portraits of Polybios and Dio,⁴⁹ as being ‘only the attainment of the fame to be earned through these abilities’.⁵⁰ Moreover, in interpreting the phenomenon of itinerancy diachronically he evokes the post-classical political decline of the *polis*, and the resultant dislocation of *littérateurs*, as a factor in its proliferation in the Hellenistic period – he draws parallels to the contemporaneous development of court-historians and interests in the past from a scholarly, archival perspective.⁵¹ To this dislocated historian the *polis*, and its sense of community nurtured by the past, is something of a client; the historian was honoured for increasing the fame of a city, or increasing its political prestige: to that extent local historians had political functions, in depicting, like Syriskos of Chersonesos, local history in a diplomatically beneficial way.⁵² Such a view explains, no doubt, an important, official register of inter-*polis* relationships, and clarifies the historical phenomena lying behind these honorific inscriptions, but perhaps neglects other aspects relevant to them. His schematisation between the ‘“Bürger”-Historiker’ and ‘“Wander”-Historiker’, for one, is based on a conception of political action which confines this to public, official activity – hence historians who retold kinship, or had ambassadorial functions belong among the former, while the activities of itinerant historians which did not have this public aspect to their activities were apolitical, in serving the ideological needs of *poleis* other than their own;⁵³ there is arguably room here for a broader definition of publicity and ‘political’ action through the inscriptions themselves, and Chaniotis does hint at this at the end: he notes that, notwithstanding the distinction between citizen and itinerant historians, *poleis* saw in

⁴⁹ Chaniotis, *Historie* 379-380.

⁵⁰ Chaniotis, *Historie* 373 and 384: ‘Ihr Motive war nur der mit dieser Tätigkeit zu gewinnende Ruhm.’

⁵¹ Chaniotis, *Historie* 385-386.

⁵² Chaniotis, *Historie* 363-364, and also 377 for his discussion of the use of epic as ‘Mittel politischer Propaganda’.

⁵³ Chaniotis, *Historie* 385 ‘politische Betätigung ist für ihn (itinerant historians) so gut wie ausgeschlossen.’

these ‘people who could contribute to its self-representation’, and that it is these inscriptions which alone have preserved information on these.⁵⁴

The most significant discussion of these honorific inscriptions since Chaniotis, that of Katherine Clarke,⁵⁵ presents ideas which engage with these concluding thoughts in *Historie*: they offer insights into the character of local historiography, and the historian’s role in this, but also, crucially, she notes that in the honouring of historians ‘the *polis* at large had a stake in the telling of its history, and an interest in honouring those who did it well’.⁵⁶ She identifies the relationship between *polis* and historian as the characteristic point of interest in these texts, and moves beyond Chaniotis’ analysis of them as reflections of wider historical phenomena, to explore how the texts themselves constitute identity-forming discourse. They tell us, for instance, that these historians were regarded as ‘heroes within the *polis*’.⁵⁷ The conferral of prestigious honours reveals an important aspect of the *polis*’ conception of the historian: individuals like Dioskurides of Tarsos are seen as ambassadors for their own cities, and benefactors at those whose histories they tell; indeed the local historiography of itinerant historians might be regarded as part of a ‘neglected manifestation of the wider theme of Mediterranean connectivity’.⁵⁸ They offer a means to re-consider models of historiography developed from a purely genre-centred approach, as Jacoby’s had been, and see local historiography not as an insular, antiquarian venture,⁵⁹ but one which clearly had resonance beyond the confines of the *polis*, and on which authority was conferred not only by the

⁵⁴ Chaniotis, *Historie* 389: ‘In beiden Kategorien von Historikern erblickten die griechischen Städte Personen, die zu ihrer Selbstdarstellung beitragen konnten.’

⁵⁵ *Making Time for the Past: Local History and the Polis* 338-369, an extended version of Clarke, ‘Parochial Tales in a Global Empire: Creating and Recreating the World of the Itinerant Historian’

⁵⁶ *Making Time* 343.

⁵⁷ *Making Time* 339.

⁵⁸ *Making Time* 352, 363.

⁵⁹ For a succinct conception of the local historian as antiquarian see Momigliano, ‘The Rise of Antiquarian Research’ 58-62.

historian, but also by the approving community.⁶⁰ The claim in Syriskos of Chersonesos' decree, then, that he truthfully (ἀλαθινῶς) reported local history, and so claiming a standard of accuracy, invites a reconsideration of the nature of local chauvinism, in suggesting a desire to measure the *polis* against wider such standards of truth –⁶¹ it is perhaps not as straightforward a situation, as Chaniotis interprets the Syriskos' honours, as the *polis* praising a historian for composing accurately.⁶²

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Clarke thus draws on a slightly different perspective on the *polis*' conception of its historians and its past than that of Chaniotis, suggesting the potential of these honorific inscriptions not only to reflect social historical phenomena, but also to present an insight into community identity-formation. In doing this she discerns two layers of civic-centred historiography – that of the *polis*' myths and histories, as retold by the historian, and which have consequences for the solidarity and identity of the community,⁶³ but also that reflected in its honorific inscriptions, where its honorands become part of the local past themselves. It is this double significance, uniquely captured in the honorific inscription for the historian, which this study explores. Where the earlier studies of these documents, as seen, set them within broader themes – as evidence for the social dislocation of Hellenistic culture, the fragments of historiography, the social role of the historian in the post-classical *polis*, and more recently the identity-formation of the *polis*, we will focus strictly on these texts as comprising a theme in

⁶⁰ *Making Time* 346-354, 366-367.

⁶¹ *Making Time* 345 n. 156 suggests that ἀλαθινῶς implies a truth-claim that may have sought to align itself with 'great' historiography in the Thukydidean style and its application of ἀκριβεία.

⁶² Chaniotis, *Historie* 365, noting that these honours show little concern for the historical accuracy of their honorand's activities, adds that 'Nur einmal wird ein Historiker gelobt, weil er ἱστορήσεν ἀλαθινῶς.'

⁶³ On this reading of local historiography as articulation of local identity, see also Schepens, 'Ancient Greek city histories. Self definition through history writing' especially 22-25, and more recently Thomas, 'Local History, Polis History, and the Politics of Place', whose examination of the historical traditions of Delos and cities in Ionia led her to opine that these 'local histories of the Greek world are, it seems, mostly about community and unity: they are community building.' (259).

themselves: one particular narrative within the larger phenomenon of honorific reciprocation in the post-classical *polis*, as constituted by reciprocations for past-narratives of the *polis*. Our corpus of inscriptions is thus narrower than Chaniotis', in focussing on texts which have specifically honoured historiographical works, and distinguishing between those who do so more (class A) and less explicitly (class B).⁶⁴ The critical criterion for inclusion is that the inscription's existence came about because of the honorand's narration of the past. A few texts are included which Chaniotis did not bring under his purview.⁶⁵

Our concern is with the two forms of civic historiography mentioned above. The first of these, the literary past-narratives praised by the city, are here conceptualised as 'intentional history' – these may have little resembled modern academic 'history', but had decisive consequences for a community's self-conception and self-identity.⁶⁶ We thus see 'political' action in wider terms than Chaniotis, as public interaction within the *polis* at the socio-cultural, psychological levels – an itinerant historian's public performance had as much political significance as an official ambassador if it drew the *polis*' gratitude by consolidating its coherence as a community. These were narratives drawn from collective memory, but also

⁶⁴ Apart from non-epigraphic honours Chaniotis identifies (E1, E2, E51, E52, E67, E70, E75), we have excluded E5 (Neanthes and Polykles of Kyzikos), E13 (Polemon of Ilion), E14 (Kassandros of Alexandria Troas), E15 (Hegesandros of Athens), E21 (Gaius Julius Theopompos), E22 (Xenokrates of Tenos), as these do not contain clear indications of historiographical activities, and E74 (Lucius Furius Celsus), which honours a pantomime, and so arguably more a performer than active creator of past-narratives. The decree honouring Aristotle and Kallisthenes (E3) we have left out on chronological grounds, in limiting discussion to the post-classical period. One text discovered since Chaniotis' *Historie* we have also omitted – a fragmentary honorific decree from Oine to an Eparchides of Oine (*IG* XII.6 2.1217, *SEG* 49.1162), who may perhaps be identified with the like-named historian of Oine (*BNJ* 437); there is no indication in the fragment, however, of historiographical activities, although this Eparchides does receive important honours – a crown and statue.

⁶⁵ These have mainly been placed in class B: the honours for Ion (**B9**), Eukles (**B1**), Demokrates (**B3**), Kleochares (**B7**), Herakleitos of Chalkedon (**B2**), Ammonios (**B15**), Sextus (B), Auphria (**B21**), Alkinoe (**B8**), Anonymous of Tenos (**B11**), Pompeianus (**B23**), Herakleitos of Rhodes (**B25**), Onesikles (**B19**), except for Dionysios (**A1**) and Kletonymos (**A18**), in class A.

⁶⁶ 'Intentional history' is the definition Hans-Joachim Gehrke applies to ancient Greek past-narration ('Myth, History, Politics – Ancient and Modern' 48-63), which may not have been anything like what modern scholars would call 'history', and mostly comprised 'myth', but ultimately had 'decisive significance for real life and political behaviour.' (50).

renditions of these, mediated through the agency of the historian: these past-narratives were negotiations of memory, part of ‘mnemopoiesis’, memory-creation, rather than simply mechanical transmissions.⁶⁷ An appreciation of the social, ritualised contexts in which these past-narratives were publicised, then, is crucial to assessing their public ideological significance, as ‘political’ acts – these will be of interest, insofar as these may be deduced through the inscriptions.

The second form of civic historiography comprises the honorific inscription itself, when read as a context of historiography. As a record of honours conferred on the honorand it is a past-narrative of the interactions between *polis* and historian. Reading honorific inscriptions as literary narrative is not new – this has been done for longer honorific inscriptions, where grammatical structures and constructions have been analysed as memorialisations of the *polis*, reflecting its active shaping of political and social reality *vis à vis* the local community, but also rulers and kings, providing novel perspectives on traditional themes of political and military history.⁶⁸ Importantly, the honorific act has been recognised

⁶⁷ As Gedi and Elam, ‘Collective Memory - What Is It?’ 47 proclaim: ‘Collective memory is actually a fabricated version of that same personal memory adjusted to what the individual considers, rightly or not, as suitable in a social environment.’ For ‘mnemopoiesis’ see Chaniotis, ‘Travelling memories in the Hellenistic World’ 253-69, which integrates honorific inscriptions to historians into the wider framework of itinerant and reciprocal memory-sharing in the Hellenistic period, applying the prolific realm of memory-studies to epigraphy, and adapting Jan Assmann’s distinction between cultural (long-term) and communicative (short-term) memory (on which see *Cultural Memory and Early Civilisation* esp. 15-69).

⁶⁸ See the comments of Millar, ‘Epigraphy’ 52-61 on longer inscriptions approaching the style of literary texts. Rosen, ‘Ehrendekrete, Biographie und Geschichtsschreibung. Zum Wandel der griechischen Polis im frühen Hellenismus’ 282-292 saw the increased motivation clauses of decrees from the late fourth century onwards as part of other literary trends towards moralising biography, and changing political circumstances; Boffo, ‘Epigrafi di città greche: un’espressione di storiografia locale’ read civic epigraphy as publically condoned narrations of the past, and thus documents of civic memory; extended historiographical sections in honorific decrees must have derived from some decision to publicise and expand council minutes (22-25) – ‘La trascrizione su pietra li (public civic documents) fissava nella memoria dei cittadini’ (47). Luraghi, ‘The Demos as Narrator: Public Honours and the Construction of Future and Past’ has more recently read the *megistai timai* inscriptions of the early Hellenistic period, following Rosen, as memorials for the community – ‘they reflect ‘conscious attempts at making history’ (259) – with implications for its future. Most notably, Ma, *Antiochos III and the Cities of Western Asia Minor* 179-242 has analysed the language of honorific decrees for Seleukid rulers and royal

recently as a manifestation of gift-exchange, as the community's recompense to the benefactor, obligating the latter to future benefaction;⁶⁹ the language of honours might be seen to encode this by presenting communitarian ideals that serve to assert the *polis*' continuing viability as an institution.⁷⁰ The honorific language of these honours for historians is therefore an aspect which comprises a significant factor in understanding the *polis*' attitudes to, and relationship with, its historians, and which would reward examination as a corpus, where Clarke had begun to do this for a few of the texts. The inscription not only enlightens us on the social realities of the performances of the past, but in formulating and presenting this in a particular ideological way constitutes a social reality itself. In the very act of reciprocating the historian, and erecting an inscription commemorating this, one learns much as well about the attitudes and interests of the *polis* community – close reading of honorific language and the structural, formulaic components of decrees and statue-bases allow one to grammatically locate the function of reciprocity identified by Domingo-Gygax; where applied to historians one learns how honour translates benefaction through historiography into exemplarity and civic ideology, encoding the past with significance both in itself and its narration. There is something here to be gained in understanding civic euergetism, where applied to benefactions of a cultural nature.

officials at the grammatical level, discerning how epigraphic formulary may be seen as part of the power-structures of empire itself.

⁶⁹ On this see the articles of Domingo-Gygax, 'Euergetismus und Gabentausch', 'Les origines de l'évergétisme. Échanges et identités sociales dans la cité grecque', and 'Proleptic Honours in Greek Euergetism'.

⁷⁰ See especially Wörrle, 'Vom tugendsamen Jüngling zum <gestreßten> Euergeten. Überlegungen zum Bürgerbild hellenistischer Ehrendekrete', who reads the honorific language of benefaction, mainly of longer decrees, as reflective of communal values and ideals, and a conservative ethos of continuity and persistence. Dedication formulae have also been the subject of focus: Veyne, 'Les honneurs posthumes de Flavia Domitilla et les dédicaces grecques et latines' 67-94 surveys the dedicatory dative and accusative as a development of dedications to gods; more recently, Ma, 'Hellenistic honorific statues and their inscriptions' and *Statues and Cities: Honorific Portraits and Civic Identity in the Hellenistic World* 17-38 have seen such formulae as encoding the relationship between honorand and community, as an important phenomenon in itself: the honorific inscription (as statue-base or decree) 'does not only embed an image within a constraining social context, but also functions as a story about this process of embedding' ('Hellenistic honorific statues', 219).

Our analysis will thus comprise three close readings of the corpus. The first examines the historiographical activities of these historian-honorands as insights into the *polis*' self-presentation of its past – these tell us about lost works of historiography, but also about the light in which the *polis* sought these to be seen. A second chapter defines the social contexts in which these honoured historiographies were publicised, and assesses the ideological significance of these within and between *polis* communities. The last chapter studies the *polis*' recompense of the historian in honours and privileges, and attempts a reading of these documents as narratives that, in framing the relationship of reciprocity between historian and *polis*, reveal the community's ideals and self-conception in relation to itself and other communities.

Chapter 1

The Historiographical Subjects of the Historian-Honorand

These honorific inscriptions are firstly honours for narratives of the past. It is for this quality, as sources for lost works of Greek historiography, that attention was first drawn to them. The descriptions of these works are embedded in the motivation-clauses outlining the historian-honorand's deeds, and are often brief; little might be said about the literary character and contents of these works that has not already been expressed by Jacoby, Chaniotis, or the *BNJ*. It is perhaps useful therefore to survey these descriptions as insights both into accounts of *poleis'* pasts, and their views of these – these were the sorts of histories which it deemed praiseworthy, and in their descriptions we learn in what light the *polis* wanted these, and therefore itself, in many cases, to be seen. We discern two categories of honoured historiography: works for which public performance contexts are explicitly described, and those for which such contexts are not mentioned, although it is unlikely these were not also performed at some stage.

1. Historiography honoured in performance contexts

This first category comprises performances denoted by the terms ἀκροάσεις and δεῖξις (ἐπι- and ἀπο- compounds):¹ these are the terms found equally for both the

¹ A large number derive from the Hellenistic period, up to the first century BCE. ἀκροάσεις is the term used to describe the activities of the Anonymous of Amphipolis (A9.7), Aristotheos (A13.5), Zotion (A15.5), Bombos (A16.16), Ariston (A17.7), Amphikles (B13a.4, b.7) and is perhaps to be restored in the honours for Alexandros (A23a.5); a similar semantic value, as 'exhibition', is to be understood for δεῖξις, ἐπίδειξις, which are found in the honours for Politas (A8.4), Aristodama (A5a.7), Bombos (A16.14), and, in verbal form, in the activities of Menekles (A20a.7, A20b.7). ἀπόδειξις is used of the performances of Aristodama (A5a 1.7), Themistokles (B12.10), and Dymas (A21.18), although in the latter case with less specific reference to his actual performance.

performances of literary artists (musicians, poets, and rhetors)² and lectures of doctors, gymnasiarchs, grammarians, philosophers.³ These performances of the past were thus aspects of the *polis*' general culture of exhibition and display. Unsurprisingly, one finds among these works of praise, ἐγκώμια, drawing on historical themes. Strikingly, the few known are on subjects which have relevance beyond the *polis*. Firstly, Dioskurides of Tarsos' ἐγκώμιον (A19),⁴ whose subject is defined as being the ἔθνος, either of Knossos or Crete (ὕπερ τῷ ὅμῳ ἔθνιος) – the lack of a specific reference to the *polis* might suggest the latter. Its composition in a manner κατὰ τὸν ποιητὰν (A19.4-5), either indicating a work modelled on

² ἀκροάσεις – SEG 2.184 for the musician Hegesimachos, ll. 6-7: ἐποιεῖτο ἀκροάσεις λογικάς τε καὶ ὀργανικάς; Robert, *Études épigraphiques et philologiques* 14 for a Roman rhetor at Delphi, ll.7-9: [ἀ]ποκαθή[μενος] ἐν τῷ [γυμνασίῳ] ἀκροά[σεις ποιε]ίμενο[ς πλείονας]; FD III.1 273 for an epic poet from Skepsis at Delphi, ll. 4-5: ἀκρ[οάσεις ἐποιήσατο] ἐν τε τῷ γυμν[ασίῳ]. Such musical performers and other artists were called ἀκροάματα, cf. Robert, 'Ἀρχαιόλογος' 236-237, and the examples in 'Pantomimen im Griechischen Orient', 116-117. At an ἀκροτηριον seems to be attested, whereat ἀκροάσεις were specifically performed: cf. Robert, *Études anatoliennes* 79-80. ἐπιδείξεις – FD III.1 365 for a poet (?), l. 4: ἐπι[δείξεις ἐποιήσατο]; MAMA VIII 418, which records that G. Julius Longianus (b ll. 2-3) καὶ ποιημάτων παντοδαπῶν ἐπιδείξεις ποικίλας ἐποιήσατο; FD III.1 469 for a mime-artist, ll. 5-7: ὀρχηστὴν καὶ θαυματοποιὸν ἐπι[δει]ξάμενον; for other examples of the ἐπιδείξεις of mime-artists and musicians see Robert, *Études* 21, 37, 101-102. See also SEG 46.2202 for Aiglanor, a Ptolemaic official, who ἀποδεί[ξεις ποιησάμενον] λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ (ll. 3-4), although a metaphorical sense cannot be ruled out.

³ ἀποδείξεις and ἐπιδείξεις – doctors: SEG 30.1051 for Thrasybrotos, l. 6: πολλὰς ἀ[ποδείξεις ἐποιήσατο]; SEG 33.673 the physician Apollophean of Antiochos III, l. 4: [πεπ]οιημένον ἀποδείξεις ἐ[μπερι]στάς; a grammarian at Delphi: FD III.1 465.2-4: [ποιή]σαντα παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐπι[δείξεις]. ἀκροάσεις – doctors: Robert, *Études* 43 n. 3 for Asklepiades at Perge, l. 7: διὰ τε τῶν ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ ἀκροάσεων and Seleukeia on the Kalykadnos, l. 34: [ἔν τε ταῖς ἀκρ]οάσεσιν, SEG 19.467 from Histria, ll. 8-9: ποιησάμενος ἀκροάσεις [καὶ συνκρί]σεις πλείονας; gymnasiarchs: OGIS 339 for Menas of Sestos, ll. 74-75: προσηνέχθη δὲ φιλανθρωπῶς καὶ τοῖς τὰς ἀκροάσεις ποιησαμένοις πᾶσιν; Robert, *Études* 43 for Hagias of Pergamon, ll. 13-14: καὶ ποιουμένους τὰς ἀκροάσεις; honours for ephebic κοσμηταί at Athens: IG II² 1039.16-18: προτρε[πόμενον] ἐπὶ τὰ κάλ[λιστα]...ταῖς γενομέναις ἀκροάσεσιν (the κοσμητής Hedylos), and also IG II² 1040.28 and 1042.20; a philosopher from Haliartos: IG VII 2849.3-4: παρεπιδαμίων [παρ]᾽ ἀμὲ ἀκροάσις πλίνονα]ς ποιησάμενος (ἐπιδίξις is just as possible). Note that the philosopher Athenion's lectures were called ἀκροάσεις, at least according to Poseidonios as summarised by Athenaios (Ath. 5.49 = BNJ 87 F 36). Robert, *Hellenica* 2.34-35 restores the decree for a Kleandros (FD III.3 260) thus at ll. 2-3: [ἀ]κρ[ο]οά[σις] τ[ε] ἐπ[ὶ] ἐποιήσατο; cf. further *Hellenica* 2.35-36, and BE (1958) 280-281 n. 336.

⁴ Dioskurides may be the same man as the Homeric exegete known from Ath. 1.15-18.

the Homeric epics, or one appraising the role of Crete in Homer,⁵ is further suggestive of Knossos' recognition of its significance in placing the *polis* in a wider geographical, historical, and intellectual context. This is even clearer in the case of Ariston of Phokaia (A17), who read out ἐ[γκώμια] (A17.9) at Delos, in which its founder-god Apollo and other gods were praised alongside the *demos* of the Athenian people (A17.9-12); Delos had come under Athenian control since 167/166,⁶ and Ariston's work served to emphasise its local pride within Athens' larger administration: the epiclesis ἀρχηγέτης may be more specifically rhetorical here, as it is not well-attested at Delos.⁷

Also honoured in the second century was the ἱστοριογράφος Aristotheos (A13),⁸ whose spoke at Delphi, but on non-local themes: his lectures included ἐν[κώμια] εἰς Ῥωμαίους τοὺς κοινοὺς τῶν Ἑλλάνων εὐεργέτας (A13.6-7). He may also have narrated local Delphic history, although it is notable that the interest is focussed on his praise of the Romans, which may have dealt with either their myths or recent military victories.⁹ The epithet κοινοὶ εὐεργεταί here is, as its other second- and first-century attestations, is reflective of Greek perceptions of Roman power,¹⁰ and here bolsters Delphi's claim to

⁵ Cf. SEG 55.2052 n. 1. Crete appears at several places in the Iliad and Odyssey: *Il.* 2.645-649, 18.590-592, *Od.* 19.178-184. A strong Cretan connection to Delphi is also borne out by the *Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 388-546.

⁶ cf. Livy 33.30, Polyb. 30.20.1-3, 7.

⁷ Homolle, 'Fouilles sur l'emplacement du temple d'Apollon à Délos' 10 lists (n. 4) a fragmentary dedication preserving a dedication to Apollo ἀρχηγέτης; it is more often used in relation to the local hero Anios, in some traditions a king of Delos, and in others a son of Apollo; for the evidence on his cult see Bruneau, *Recherches sur les cultes de Délos à l'époque hellénistique et à l'époque impériale* 413-420.

⁸ Probably around the mid-second century: as argued in *FD* III.3 p. 90 the palaeography resembles that of the decree below it (*FD* III.3 125, for Aristys), which is dateable to 157 BCE; Horster in *BNJ* 835 more conservatively places Aristotheos' honours in the mid-century: one might consider Pydna in 168 as a *terminus* suitable for a reference to Romans as common benefactors.

⁹ Chanotis, 'Travelling memories', 260 suggests an account of their recent victories in Greece in the second and third Macedonian Wars. For the rise of Greek knowledge on Rome in the third and second centuries (e.g. the role of Aeneas and Romulus in her foundation: Lycoph. *Alex.* 1232-1235, Timaios [*BNJ* 566 F60], Diokles of Preparathos [*BNJ* 820 F1]) see Gruen, *The Hellenistic World* 1.321-322 n. 23, and Horsfall, 'The Aeneas Legend from Homer to Virgil'.

¹⁰ Cf. Erskine, 'The Romans as Common Benefactors', and 79-80 on Aristotheos.

represent the interests of the Greeks as a whole (τῶν Ἑλλάνων); Aristotheos' encomia thus provided the *polis* with direct relevance before its Roman masters. We might suspect that works of a trans-local nature were the grounds for honouring the ἱστοριογράφος Mnesiptolemos (A7) and ἱστορικός Dionysios (A1), the motivation sections of whose decrees are lost.¹¹

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A series of Hellenistic honours were also passed for poets who composed on local history. One might discern, nevertheless, the *polis*' interest in placing this local past in context. Amphiklos of Chios (A3) praised the temple and city of Delos (A3.2-5);¹² the fragmentary surviving first letters of the decree might, however, suggest [ἔθ]νη, which Chaniotis' restoration suggests was part of a narrative of Delos' φιλόνηθροπα towards ἔθνη and πόλεις (A3.2-3).¹³ Local Delian history is thus given a larger significance, and so worthily adorned (A3.4: κεκόσμηκεν). Comparable to this, at Delphi, is Hermokles of Chios' (A6) account of the friendship existing between Chios and Delphi from the time of Ion (A6.5: [τὰν οἰκειότ]ατα τὰν ὑπάρχουσιν ἀπὸ Ἰωνος ἀπελογίζετο [ποτί τε τὸν θεὸν καὶ τὰν πόλιν·], in addition to his hymn to Apollo (A6.3-4). ἀπολογίζεσθαι denotes an official

¹¹ Mnesiptolemos is probably the historian of *BNJ* 164 (T1 = Ath. 15.53), who wrote *Histories*, which presumably dealt with Seleukid political history. His designation as ἱστοριογράφος suggests he made readings of this work. T2 = Ath. 10.4 preserves a play *Mnesiptolemos* composed by the comic poet Epinikos which mocked his work for its anecdotal nature. The lost section of the inscription would have informed us whether he was honoured for a performance of his historical work, which perhaps alluded more specifically to Delos, although this possibility is corroborated by the fact he was honoured for his virtue and piety towards the temple (A7. 9-10), and the fact that his character in Epinikos' *Mnesiptolemos* is portrayed as presenting his work (Ath. 10.40: ἔγραξα καὶ παρέδειξα). Dionysios may be identified with several like-named historians several historians called Dionysii – a Dionysios from Chalkis from the fourth century, author of five books of κτίσεις (*FHG* 4.393-396), or a Dionysios of Samos, author of a historical κύκλος, who probably dates to the third or second century BCE (*BNJ* 15).

¹² Probably in epic verse: A3.3-4 read ἐν τῇ[ι] ποιήσει, while he is called [ποιητὰς] ἐπῶν in a half preserved decree from Delphi (*FD* III.3 217.3-4).

¹³ Chaniotis, *Historie* 337.

diplomatic account, and so enhances the status of the relationship between the two *poleis* account, and suggests a public performance venue.¹⁴ He would have recounted the myths of Ion with regards to Chios – perhaps as its founder-hero.¹⁵ This mythological weaving had a distinct political subtext, as an account affirmative of Chios’ friendship with Delphi, which had recently been freed from Aitolia by the Romans,¹⁶ and thus to the Romans themselves.¹⁷

We also find tragic poets re-telling local pasts. Zotion of Ephesos (A15) performed at the less famous Koroneia, commemorating (A15.6-7: με[μνημένος]) the city’s history and its guardian-deity Athena (A15.6-8).¹⁸ Again, the *polis*’ local pride is presented in relation to trans-local concepts; here, the Olympian pantheon, of which Athena is the first to inhabit Koroneia (A15.6-8: τᾶς κατεχόσας [πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων Ὀλ(ι)ο]υμπίων ἐξ ἀρχᾶς). The goddess also has Boiotian wide relevance, as the goddess of Itonion, the federal sanctuary

¹⁴ Daux in *FD* III.3 224 restores l. 5 [ἐπελθὼν ποτὶ τὰν ἐκκλησίαν τὰν οἰκειότ]ατα κτλ. For ἀπολογίζεσθαι elsewhere referring to a narrative exposition, see especially *I. Magnesia* 31.13 (ἀπολογιζομένων τὰς εὐεργεσίας), 48.6, 61.35, 63.11, 36.6, 32.14, 44.11, 47.12, 54.10, 53.18, 34.7, 72.13, expounding on accounts of divine ἐπιφάνειαι and εὐεργεσίαι, 73b. 5 on the οἰκειότητα (καὶ φιλίαν πρὸς Μά[γνητας]. See also *SEG* 38.112.31-32: [ἀπελογίς]ατο δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς το[ῦ] βας[ιλέως] εὐνοίας (second-century BCE honorific decree for a [Ze/Me]nodoros), and 40.690a.4-5: ἀπελο[γί]ξατο καὶ τὰν τῆς πόλεως πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἂν ἔχουσα τυγχάνει εὐνοίαν (second-century BCE letter and decree of the *koinon* of the Epirotes).

¹⁵ Euripides’ *Ion* closely associated Ion with Athens through Delphi (Eur. *Ion* 74, 1581-1588); there were perhaps myths of Chian foundation through this Athenian Ion: cf. *Ion* in Vell. Pat. 1.4. There may furthermore have been a cult of Apollo Pythios at Chios (Hdt. 6.27), on which Hermokles might have spoken.

¹⁶ A6.7: [ἀγωνίζεσθαι] ὑπὲρ τᾶς κοινᾶς ἐλευθερίας likely refers to Chios’ contribution to Rome’s liberation of Delphi in the early second century, rather than her role in the defeat of Philip V in the first Macedonian War, cf. Derow and Forrest ‘An Inscription from Chios’ 88-90.

¹⁷ Chios had supported the Roman navy in the war against Antiochos; she was the supply-base for the fleet before the battle of Korykos (Livy 36.43.11, 45.7), and was practically the ‘horreum Romanis’ before the battle of Myonnesos (Livy 37.27.1). cf. Derow and Forrest, ‘An Inscription from Chios’, 87.

¹⁸ He might have done so in epic verse or a hymn, although a tragedian, rather than dramatic form; ἀκροάσις, and the emphasis on individual effort in αὐτῷ (A15.6) perhaps refer to Zotion’s recitation of a poem, and not conduct of a play, cf. Schachter and Slater, ‘A Proxeny Decree from Koroneia, Boiotia, in Honour of Zotion son of Zotion, of Ephesos’ 86; compare αὐτῷ in Aristotheos’ honours (A13.5-6).

from the third century.¹⁹ The honours for Dymas of Iasos (A21) also record commemorations of a local hero of importance beyond the *polis*: Dardanos of Samothrake (A21.19: ἐν δρῶματι τῶν Δαρδάνου πρῶξεων). He probably narrated his role in founding the Mysteries of the Great Gods, and his travels to Asia, and finally Troy.²⁰ This connection with Troy might hint at the diplomatic capital which might have been made of Dardanos, in the face of Rome's growing power;²¹ this may be the significance of Dymas' account being called τὰς μεγίστας μνημοσύνας] (A21.19).²² This might be seen further in the honours for the epic poet Herodes of Priene (A22), who performed on the deeds of Dardanos and his brother Eëtion²³ (A22b.6: [Δ]αρδανον καὶ Ἀετίωνα πρῶξεω[ν]) and the marriage of Kadmos and Harmonia (A22b.7: [περ]ὶ τῶν Κάδμου καὶ Ἀρμονίας γάμων). Herodes might also have touched on Kadmos'

¹⁹ Schachter, *Cults of Boeotia. 1. Acheloos to Hera* 119. Alc. F325 calls her πολεμάδοξε, a title which might have retained significance in Boiotia's later militaristic history.

²⁰ Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.12.1, Diod. Sic. 5.48.3; Aeneas recounts his Dardanian ancestry at *Il.* 215-220. Cf.

Rutherford, 'Theoria and Theatre at Samothrake: The *Dardanos* by Dymas of Iasos' 284 suggests Dymas might have included an account of his native Iasos' mythological connection to Samothrake – the name of Dardanos' brother, Iasion, might have been susceptible to etymological mythologising, although the foundation-legends of Iasos seem to have centred on its Argive origins, and as later a re-foundation of the son of Neleus, founder of Miletos; cf. Biraschi, 'La fondazione di Iasos fra mito e storia. A proposito di Polibio XVI 12.2'.

²¹ On the propagation of Samothrake's mythological connections with Rome from the second century onwards, see Jones, *Kinship Diplomacy in the Ancient World* 83-88 and Cole, 'The Mysteries of Samothrace during the Roman Period', 1564-1598, especially at 1565-1566 and 1588-1596. Dionysios of Halikarnassos was the first to identify the Penates brought by Aeneas to Rome as the statues of the Great Gods brought to Troy by Dardanos (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.68-69, probably followed by Varro in Serv. 1.378), although this tradition may date to Timaios (*FGrH* 566 F59). Interestingly, Cassius Hemina, also from the second century, voiced the idea that Aeneas had brought the Penates from Samothrake – Serv. 1.378: *alii autem, ut Cassius Hemina, dicunt deos penates ex Samothraka appellatos* θεοὺς μεγάλους, θεοὺς δυνατοὺς, θεοὺς χρηστούς.

²² Rutherford, 'Theoria and Theatre at Samothrake' 283, 289.

²³ This is probably a local Samothrakian version of Iasion; the identification of Eëtion as Iasion had been made already by Hellanikos in the fifth century (Hellanikos *FGrH* 4 F23 = Schol. Apoll. Rhod. 1.916, also Schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 1129). The brothers Dardanos and Eëtion were sons of Elektra by Zeus by at least the late archaic period: cf. Hesiod F177 (Merkelbach and West, *Hesiodi. Fragmenta Selecta* 167-168). Demeter was enamoured of Eëtion, who was either first to initiate the Samothrakian Mysteries (Clem. Al. *Protr.* 2.13.3), or open initiation to foreigners (Diod. Sic. 5.48.4). Eëtion was killed by a thunderbolt when trying to ravish her. Dardanos, grieved at this, migrated to the Troad, and founded Dardanos, later Troy.

later activities,²⁴ and possibly also his role in Prienian history, which had mythological associations with him.²⁵ Samothrake's local mythology, in the decrees both of Dymas and Herodes, arguably served to bolster not merely local pride, but also to define the *polis* for the world beyond it.

Epic poets are also found within the third-century Aitolian League, with Politas of Hypata (**A8**), and Aristodama of Smyrna (**A5**) honoured at Malian Lamia. The former worthily commemorated the city in his δείξεις (**A8.5**: [ἐν αἴς] τᾶς πόλιος ἀξίως ἐπεμνάσ[θη]), suggesting a local history;²⁶ Aristodama's decree however reads very similarly, and implies a work integrating Lamia within the history of Aitolia (**A5a.5-6**: ἐν οἷς περὶ τε τοῦ ἔθνεο[ς] τῶν Αἰτωλῶ[μ καὶ τ]ῶμ προγόνω[ν] τοῦ δάμου ἀξίως ἐπεμνάσθη). The ἔθνος of the Aitolians is juxtaposed, albeit not adversarially, to the πρόγονοι of Lamia, signified here by δᾶμος and not merely πόλις, as in Politas' decree;²⁷ the arrangement stakes out the city's integration to, and yet identity within, the League. Aristodama narrated Aitolian history, but with a distinct local flavour, however one might see in her an Aitolian ideological *porte-parole*.²⁸ A similar work is attested for her at Chaleion,²⁹ which further praises her

²⁴ He may first have narrated Kadmos' foundation of Thebes, which Diod. Sic. 5.49.2 places after the marriage: μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τὸν μὲν Κάδμον κατὰ τὸν παραδεδομένον χρῆσμον κτίσαι Θήβας τὰς ἐν Βοιωτίᾳ φασί· Robert in *Gnomon* 35 (1963) 60 suggests that **A22b.12** be restored τοῖς ὁσίως ἐπι[καλεσαμένοις αὐτούς] on the basis of the phrasing in Diod. 5.49.5, so suggesting a relationship between Herodes and Diodoros' source, although see the comments of Blümel and Merkelbach in *I.Priene* (2014) p. 253.

²⁵ **A22b.10**: [τὴν πρὸς τὴν πόλιν] ἡμῶν οἰκειότητα might allude to an account of ancestral friendship.

Hellankos *FGrH* 4 F101 knew a tradition of the first Prienians being known as Καδμεῖοι, while Strabo may reflect local Prienian mythology in recording that Priene was called Kadme by some writers (14.1.12).

²⁶ ἐπεμνάσ[θη] would suggest Politas recounted Lamia's deep, probably mythological, past; cf. με[μναμένος] in Zotion (**A15.6-7**).

²⁷ Chaniotis, *Historie* 340 believes Politas composed an *Aitolika*.

²⁸ As Rutherford, 'Aristodama and the Aitolians' 246-248 proposes; Scholten, *The Politics of Plunder* 5-6 n. 15 notes other authors of Aitolian history, notably Nikandros of Kolophon (*BNJ* 271-272 F1-7). Aristodama's decree is moreover headed by a federal, and not local, Lamian, dating formula: στραταγέοντος Ἀγήτα (**A5a.2**). There is no dating mechanism, in contrast, in Politas' decree. Hagetas was the general of 218/217 (Polyb. 5.91.1), and was honoured at Thermos with a statue (*IG* IX.1².59a).

piety, a quality which might explain the decree's erection at Delphi. Aristodama narrated not just Chaleian history, but also that of Aitolia, and probably Apollo's role in it.³⁰ Altogether her decrees present quite clearly an outward-looking, integrative, conception of local history. Such was likely the case also with a number of other epic poets at Delphi, albeit that they were honoured in fragmentary or abbreviated decrees without any indications of their activities: Anonymous of Skepsis (**B14**), Nikandros (**B4**), Eratoksenos (**B6**), Kleandros (**B5**), Theopompos (**B10**), Pompeius Paullus (**B18**), Apollonius (**B20**).³¹

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Two honorands performed on local ἔνδοξα – the word itself implies significance beyond the *polis*. These, however, are situated within wider narratives, as with Bombos of Alexandria Troas (**A16**),³² who commemorated Larisa's ἔνδοξα (**A16.16-17**: τοῦν γεγενειμένουν ἔνδοξουν Λαρισαίοις), alongside the kinship and friendship between Ilion and Larisa (**A16.17-18**: τὰν τε συγγενεῖαν καὶ φιλίαν ταῖς πολίεσσι π[ὸ]θ' εὐτάς).³³

²⁹ **A5b.9-10**: τῶν προγόνων τῶν τᾶς [πόλιος ἀμῶν] μνάμαν ἐποιήσατο); the earlier section describing her work is illegible, but the similarity in phrasing with the Lamian decree quite likely suggests that she also recited Aitolian history at Chaleion, as J. Rzepka's restoration of **A5b.4-9** in *BNJ* 483 T1a suggests.

³⁰ Some account of sacred affairs is implied by the praise of her εὐσέβεια (**A5b.12**), perhaps alluding to Apollo of Delphi, as the instructions at the end (**A5b.36-37**) suggest; cf. Rzepka, 'Principes Semper Graeciae: Pompeius Trogus/Justinus and the Aetolian Politics of History' 221-222, and Chaniotis, *Historie* 339-340.

³¹ Nikandros may be identified with a Nikandros of Kolophon (*BNJ* 271-272) to whom wide-ranging fragments of works called *Aitolika*, *Thebaika*, *Oitaika*, *Sikelia*, *Europia* are attributed; the situation is complicated, and there were probably two authors named Nikandros living in the third and second centuries BCE respectively cf. Chaniotis, *Historie* 335-337.

³² He was probably a poet, or perhaps even ἱστοριογράφος, as Helly, 'Décret de Larisa pour Bombos, fils d'Alkaios, et pour Leukios, fils de Nikasias, citoyens d'Alexandrie de Troade (ca 150 av. J.-C)' 198 suggests.

³³ The vagueness of πολίεσσι π[ὸ]θ' εὐτάς in the second theme is clarified by the following clause, where Bombos renews through his efforts the friendship Αἰολεῖσσι πὸτ τὰν πόλιν τὰν Λαρισαίων (**A16.19**). Helly, 'Décret de Larisa' 195-196 suggests that Bombos' activities may be seen in tandem with an annual theoric ritual, conducted by the Thessalians at the tomb of Achilles at Troy, in commemoration of the hero's Thessalian origins (Philostr. *Her.* 52.3-54.1). See further Radet, 'Notes sur l'histoire d'Alexandre: II. Les théores Thessaliens au tombeau d'Achille'. There were, moreover, other Ilions who wrote on Thessaly: the epic poet Hegemon's *Dardanika* dealt with Thessaly, as one of its fragments suggest (*BNJ* 110 F1: king Aleuas falls in love with a snake).

ἔνδοξα here are juxtaposed to, and qualified by, this kinship;³⁴ it is part of Larisa's ἔνδοξα that she was συγγενής with Ilion – Bombos' history amounts ultimately to a renewal of the friendship between the two cities (A16.18-19). The articulation of local identity is thus here shaped with reference to foreign kinship, as Xanthos had also done with reference to Ilion, through the works of the rhetor Themistokles (B12.11: ἀποδείξεις πεπότηται τῶν ῥητορικῶν λόγων): he was praised for being worthy of the kinship between Xanthos and Ilion (B12.15).³⁵ For Larisa, there may have been additional political benefit in noting the kinship with Rome's ancestors.³⁶

Likewise, the ἔνδοξα mentioned in the highly fragmentary Thasian honours of Alexandros (A23a.5) had more than local connotations.³⁷ These may have been the deeds of

³⁴ Followed by dative Λαρισαίοις, it should be read as a neuter, and not masculine noun: famous 'deeds', and not 'men', as Chaniotis, 'Travelling memories' 261 n. 24. notes contra Helly, 'Décret de Larisa' 175.

Historiographical fragments do attest, nevertheless, works both on ἔνδοξοι and ἔνδοξα: for the former, across the Hellenistic and Roman periods, note Neanthes of Kyzikos (BNJ 84 F13: Περὶ ἐνδόξων ἀνδρῶν), Philon of Byblos (BNJ 790 T1: Περὶ πόλεων καὶ οὗς ἐκάστη αὐτῶν ἐνδόξους), Theseus (BNJ 453 T1: Βίοι ἐνδόξων), Charon of Naukratis/Carthage? (BNJ 612 T1: Βίοι ἐνδόξων ἀνδρῶν); for the latter, Menedotos of Samos (FGrH 541 F1) wrote in the second century a work τῶν κατὰ τὴν Σάμον ἐνδόξων ἀναγραφή – the fragments reflect a work on antiquities.

³⁵ Robert, *Fouilles d'Amyzon* 162-163. Themistokles may have employed etymological arguments, as Curty, *Les parentés légendaires entre cités grecques* 193 suggests, cf. Hom. *Il.* 20.73-74. Some further idea of kinship arguments may be gained from the decree of Xanthos for Kytention, which narrates the Kytention's account of historical kinship: cf. Bousquet, 'La stèle des Kyténien à Xanthos de Lycie' for text and commentary, and Curty, *Les parentés* 183-191. Several key episodes emerge: Asklepios was born at Doris to Apollo, himself was born in Lykia (Il. 17-20); the antiquity of the kinship between the Dorians and Lykians from the time of the gods and heroes through a genealogy dating to Aeolos and Doros is thus feasible (Il. 20-24); mythological accounts of mutual assistance: the Dorian and Heraklid Aletes aided provided Lykian colonists under Chrysoar, with the result that Aletes married Chrysoar's daughter, Aor (Il. 24-29); the antiquity of the goodwill between the two peoples is demonstrable through ancient events ἐκ παλαιῶν χρόνων (Il. 30-32); an exhortation is made at the end to serve not only the Dorians and Aitolians, but also king Ptolemy, ruler over Lykia at this time, a Heraklid himself (Il. 38-42). See also Chaniotis, 'Travelling memories', 249-252.

³⁶ Chaniotis, 'Travelling memories' 261 suggests that Bombos' ἔνδοξα may have included Larisa's role in the Roman victories over Macedonia.

³⁷ See Hamon, 'Études d'épigraphie thasienne I. Décret pour un historien thasien (fin du II^e s. ou début du I^{er} s. av. J.-C.)' 394 tentatively restores his name as Alexandros, which is adopted here for convenience.

Paros, and not Thasos, if one should read Alexandros as a Thasian historian who had travelled to Paros.³⁸ The two cities had kinship ties,³⁹ and, like Bombos, Alexandros may have narrated their συγγενεία. ἔνδοξα would thus have had particularly trans-local significance for Paros.

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Local history can, as we have seen with Dioskurides, define the *polis* by being contextualised within a broader intellectual framework. In two decrees this is achieved through explicit references to sources: thus the Anonymous of Amphipolis (**A9**) compiled lectures on local history drawing on the writings of ancient historians and poets on local history (**A9.4-6**: ἐξετάσας καὶ συνα[γαγὼν τὰ παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ἱστοριογράφοις [καὶ ποιηταῖς γεγραμ]μένα περὶ τῆς πόλεως); he also composed a work on Artemis Tauropolos, Amphipolis' major goddess (**A9.8-9**).⁴⁰ The verbs used further suggest works of scholarly compilation: συνα[γαγών], συνετ[άξατο].⁴¹ A similar conception of the honorand's historiography is found in the decrees for Menekles and Herodotos of Teos (**A20a**

³⁸ Hamon, 'Études' 394-396 argues from the mention of ἄρχοντες in **A23b.4, 9** that this must reflect the main executive body of Paros, and that the document thus represents Parian honours for a Thasian. Archons, as he notes, are also known as the chief magistrates at Anaphe, Kimolos, Ios, Sikynos, Eresos, Adramyttion, Mylasa, among others; to some degree the connection he draws with Paros is an argument *a priori* on the basis of Paros' historical connections with Thasos, as its founder-city, although this fact itself lends much credibility to it.

³⁹ Thasos was a Parian foundation under Telesikles, the father of the poet Archilochos, Steph. Byz. s.v. 'Θάσος'; he was perhaps the same man as the Tellis known from Paus. 10.28.3. There was moreover a lively historiographical tradition surrounding Archilochos, whose life certainly constituted ἔνδοξα at Paros; for the inscriptions commemorating the life of Archilochos, one by Mnesiepes and the other by Sosthenes, see Chaniotis, *Historie* 23-34 T4, 57-68 T14 and Clay, *Archilochos heros* 9-39 and 104-118.

⁴⁰ On Artemis Tauropolos, see also Livy 44.44, *Anth. Pal.* 7.705; her temple had been rebuilt on the orders of Alexandros's will at the end of the fourth century (Diod. Sic. 18.4.5). The epithet Tauropolos may reflect a Thracian local element in the cult, cf. Papastavru, *Amphipolis. Geschichte und Prosopographie* 51-52. The work probably comprised narratives of ἐπιφάνεται, as suggested by Robert, *BE* (1979) 454-455, drawing the parallel of Syriskos (**A10**).

⁴¹ Robert, *BE* (1979) 454 restores the work of the Anonymous as a βιβλίον, although πραγματείαν might also be reasonable (so Dymas' decree **A21.18-19**: πραγματείαν σ[υνέ]ταξεν), if a longer number of letters is permissible on the block.

and b), who were both historians, although we mainly hear of Menekles.⁴² The latter, at both Knossos and Priansos, performed the kitharoidic works of Timotheos, Polyidos, and ancient Cretan poets (A20a.8-10: ἐπεδείξατο Μενεκλῆς μετὰ κιθάρας πλεονάκις τά τε Τιμοθέω καὶ Πολυίδω καὶ τῶν ἁμῶν ἀρχαίων ποιητᾶν; A20b.7-9 is virtually identical);⁴³ here Cretan literary heroes are ranged alongside non-Cretan authors – Timotheos the renowned poet-musician,⁴⁴ and Polyidos, the tragedian or dithyramb.⁴⁵ At Priansos he also composed a historical cycle on Cretan mythology drawing from ancient historians and poets (A20b.9-13: εἰς<ή>νεγκε δὲ κύκλον ἱστορημέναν ὑπὲρ Κρήτας καὶ τῶν ἐν [Κρή]ται γεγονότων θεῶν τε καὶ ἡρώων, [ποι]ησάμενο[ς τ]ὰν συναγωγὰν ἐκ πολλῶν ποιητᾶ[ν] καὶ ἱστοριαγράφων). A κύκλος recalls the works of the epic and tragic cycle, and suggests breadth of coverage,⁴⁶ but also a cyclical narrative that emphasised continuity through

⁴² In the decree from Priansos they narrate together the history of Priansos, A20b.6: [διελέγ]εν περὶ τῶ[ς] ἁμῶν ἰσ[το]ρ[ί]ας), Bas and Waddington in Clarke, *Making Time* 347 n. 162. Herodotos' name perhaps reflects some emulation of his famous namesake: *LGPV* Va 'Ἡρόδοτος' notes only two other instances of the name at Teos from the Hellenistic period.

⁴³ There are parallels for the reproduction of ancient poetical and musical works: Satyros at Delphi played a piece on kithara from the *Bacchae* of Euripides (*FD* III.3 128.8-9: κιθάρισμα ἐκ Βακχῶν Εὐριπίδου); Thrason and Socrates made ἐπιδείξεις of old poetic metres (*FD* III.1 49.3-4: διὰ τῶν λυρικών συστημάτων προφερόμενοι [τ]ῶν ἀρχαίων πο[ι]ητᾶν), while Kleodoros and Thrasyboulos were honoured for very similar reasons (*Syll.*³ 703.7-9: προφερόμενοι ἀριθμοὺς τῶν ἀρχαίων ποιητᾶν). On these see Chaniotis, 'A Few Things', 83-87.

⁴⁴ Fragmentary works associated with the Trojan War cycle are attested (titles include *Kyklops*, *Laertes*, *Nauplios*, *Skylla*, *Ajax*, *Elpenor*). In the *Persae*, probably inspired by Aischylos' play, he also dealt with the Persian Wars. None, however, are known on Cretan themes, but this oeuvre suggests broad, Panhellenic themes; cf. Hordern, *The Fragments of Timotheus of Miletus* 9-17 and 81-98 for the fragments.

⁴⁵ A tragedian Polyidos is known in *TGF* 1.606 n. 78 = Arist. *Poet.* 1455a.6, which names a work on Iphigeneia; there is also a dithyrambic poet from Selymbria (Diod. Sic. 14.46.6, *IG* XII.5 444.68.81b). The name would have resonated in Crete, as an echo of the seer who rescued Minos' son Glaukos from a jar of honey, cf. Hyg. *Fab.* 136. No works of a pseudonymous nature, as was the case with e.g. Orpheus or Musaios, however, are known.

⁴⁶ The epic cycle seems to have been widely known by the fourth century: its commonality seems assumed in Arist. *An. post.* 77b 32-33. A third- or second-century historian Dionysios composed a κύκλος ἱστορικός (*BNJ* 15) which seems to have covered the breadth of known mythology – Argos, the Heraklidae, the Trojan War, and the *nostoi* emerge as themes from his fragments (F1 on Argos, F2 on Herakles' children, F3 on the Trojan War, and F4 on the return of Odysseus' *nostos*).

repetition of themes.⁴⁷ The description evokes a work of Hellenistic erudition, with reference to sources validating the relevance of the Cretan past within Greek literature – note its characterisation as a συναγωγή.⁴⁸ The Cretan past is thus given legitimacy as a force for continuity through association with the wider Greek literary heritage.

2. Historiography honoured in non-performance contexts

We pass now to historian-honorands honoured for activities which are not specifically situated within an occasional, performative, context. For one, the third-century BCE poet Demoteles of Andros (**A2**) composed a treatise about the temple and city of Delos (**A2.5-7**) and its local myths (**A2.7-8**). His activity is defined in strongly literary terms: he researched and wrote (**A2.5-6**: πεπραγ[μύ]τευται; 8: γέγραφεν). The myths he wrote on were specifically local (ἐ[π]ιχωρίους) in character;⁴⁹ ἐπιχώριος typically refers, in historians and geographers, to their authorities on local affairs,⁵⁰ but here is almost self-consciously so, accentuating the peculiar significance of Delos, as a location of Panhellenic significance.

⁴⁷ Proklos' fifth-century CE κύκλος ἐπικός perhaps reproduced some of the genre's key features; Photios, who summarised it, suggests it comprised a narrative with cyclical, recurring themes: it begins with the murder of Uranos by Zeus, and ends with the murder of Odysseus by Telegonos (*Bibl.* 239.319a 22-36).

⁴⁸ Several authors associated with Alexandria were authors of συναγωγήί: Lysimachos of Alexandria (*BNJ* 382 F1b: Συναγωγή τῶν Θηβαικῶν Παράδοξων); Istros the pupil of Kallimachos (*FGrH* 334 F14-15, F9, F13, F3, F5: Συναγωγή τῶν Ἀτθίδων, F48: Συναγωγή τῶν Κρητικῶν θυσίων); Alexandros of Myndys (*FGrH* 25 F2a, 2c: Συναγωγή Θαυμασίων); Alexandros Polyhistor (*BNJ* 273 F77: Συναγωγή τῶν περὶ Φρυγίας); Krateros the Macedonian (*FGrH* 342 F1: Συναγωγή Ψηφισμάτων).

⁴⁹ Chaniotis, *Historie* 335 suggests Demoteles should not be classed among the μυθογράφοι found in Polybios, Strabo, and Diodoros, but was rather, as his designation as ποιητής (**A2**) suggests, a poetic composer on Delian myths; whatever the case there is still interest here in the explicitly literary character of his work.

⁵⁰ See Ambaglio 'Επιχώριος: un termine tecnico storiografico?' for the use of the adjective in reference to local historiographical authorities. Other local Delian historians are known around this time: Semos of Delos, author of a *Delias* (*BNJ* 396 F1-14), Phanodikos, who wrote a *Deliaka* which included myths (*BNJ* 397 F1-3). Demoteles' writings might have been more extensive than those of Ariston or authors of hymns (see below pp. 44-45).

Leon of Samos (**A12a** and **b**) composed on the local history of Samos, and like Demoteles this local quality is emphasised; he composed ἱστορίαι (**A12b.6**) on the deeds of the fatherland (**A12b.5-6**: πάτρας πράξις),⁵¹ with a notable emphasis on Samos' major goddess, Hera (**A12b.7-8**). Locality is emphasised by the latter's characterisation as Ἡρώων αὐτόχθονα.⁵² Even so, the interest is in Hera's significance to the wider world – a key component of Leon's work was a narration on the ships and spoils dedicating her shrine,⁵³ and so perhaps Samos' military victories against others;⁵⁴ local pride is forged through external reputation.

In a similar vein Syriskos of Chersonesos (**A10**) and Leon of Stratonikeia (**A14**), of the third and second centuries BCE, from relative fringe-areas of the Greek world, compiled works which elevated the status of local sanctuaries. The former narrated, in literary form,⁵⁵ the appearances (ἐπιφάνειαι) of Artemis Parthenos, patron goddess of Chersonesos (**A10.3-4**).⁵⁶ ἐπιφάνειαι would refer to accounts of a deity's miraculous appearance, and was a common subject of interest among local historians.⁵⁷ Several inscriptions from Chersonesos might supplement our conception of Syriskos' work – one records the goddess' role in the

⁵¹ ὕμνήσας (**A12b.7**) implies a work composed in verse; cf. *SEG* 55.2052.

⁵² This might be paralleled by the ἀρχηγέτην Ἀπόλλ[ωνα] of Ariston (**A17.10**).

⁵³ Leon's work may have resembled Menodotos of Samos' local histories on the ἐνδόξα of Samos, and on the temple of Samian Hera (*BNJ* 541 F1, F2).

⁵⁴ ῥέξαντες, from ῥέζειν, can mean both general 'accomplishment', and also more specifically 'sacrifice'; *LSJ*⁹ s.v. 'ῥέζω' I.2 and II. πόσα ναυσὶν ῥέξαντες (**A12b.7-8**) may thus mean either the many things the Samians accomplished on their ships (as read by Ma, *Statues and Cities* 39 and Clarke, *Making Time* 340), or the many ships which were dedicated by sacrificers at the shrine (as read by D'Hautcourt in *BNJ* 540 T1). The former reading is probably to be preferred, considering that ships is an instrumental dative here.

⁵⁵ Quite distinctly, Syriskos' was a work of literature: **A10.4**: γράψας, 17: [ἔγραψα]ψε. ἀν[έ]γνω (**A10.4**) also implies, however, a public reading.

⁵⁶ The Parthenos was a major deity of Chersonesos, see Bilde, 'From Taurian (and Chersonesean) Parthenos to (Artemis) Tauropolos and (Artemis) Persike' 165-82, esp. 169-170.

⁵⁷ Note the account of the ἐπιφάνειαι of Athena Lindia in the Lindian chronicle: *I.Lindos* 2d.1-120, or the miracle of Zeus Panamaros from Panamara, *I.Stratonikeia* 10, although ἐπιφάνειαι also seem to have been the subject of literary works; among near-contemporaries, Istros of Alexandria wrote on the epiphanies of Apollo and Herakles (*FGrH* 334 F50-F53), and Phylarchos on the epiphanies of Zeus (*FGrH* 81 T1).

salvation of the city from attacking Skythians,⁵⁸ and the other honours Diophantos, who had defended Chersonesos through the divine aid of the goddess.⁵⁹ An account of ἐπιφάνεια was thus not merely an account of the Parthenos at Chersonesos, but the relevance of the Parthenos in the *polis*' relations with its neighbours.⁶⁰ We read also of Syriskos' works on the deeds of kindness towards the Bosporan kings, and other cities (A10.4-8), which may have been integrated into the work on ἐπιφάνεια. It is perhaps notable that, with the *polis*' wider reputation, and also political safety at stake (*vis à vis* the Skythians but also the Bosporan kingdom, its major guardian),⁶¹ that Syriskos' abilities are elevated: he writes meticulously and truthfully (ἐπιεικέως [twice, A10.8 and possibly 20], ἀλαθινῶς [A10.19], φιλοπόνως [in the exhortatory clause, A10.3-4]).

Like Syriskos, Leon of Stratonikeia also narrated the past in the service of a sanctuary: that of Zeus Panamaros in Caria.⁶² Instead of ἐπιφάνεια, he gathered through historical research (A14.3-4: ἔκ τε [τῶν ἱστοριῶν] καὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων) the honours and grants of *asylia* which had been made to the sanctuary (A14.5-6).⁶³ The sanctuary may only have

⁵⁸ IOSPE 1² 343.5-7 records the salvation of the city through the intercession of the goddess: ὅπως ἂν καλῶς ἔχῃ τοῖς πολίταις τὰ [περὶ τὰν θεῶν Παρθ]έ[ν]ον καὶ τὰς γενομένας [δι' αὐτὰν σωτηρίας] ἐνδεχομένην.

⁵⁹ IOSPE 1² 352.23-28: the goddess foretold the action that would take place (προεσάμανε) through signs manifested in the sanctuary ([διὰ τῶν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ γενομένων] σαιμείων), and inspired the army with courage and daring (θάρσος δὲ καὶ τόλμαν ἐνεποίησε παντὶ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ).

⁶⁰ Other epigraphic accounts of ἐπιφάνεια connect the god with major external figures: *I.Lindos* 2d narrates Athena's ἐπιφάνεια in the repulse of Datis' fleet, while Isyllos' hymn to Asklepios describes the god's aid to the Spartans against Philip II (*IG* IV².1 128.68-71).

⁶¹ On the Skythian threat to Chersonesos in the third century, cf. Rostovzeff, 'Ἐπιφάνεια' 205. The Bosporan kings at the time were probably Eumelos, Pairisades II and Satyros III, of whom the first was less friendly to Chersonesos, thus perhaps providing a context for Syriskos' activities; cf. Molev, 'Bosporos and Chersonesos in the 4th-2nd Centuries BC' 211-212.

⁶² He is honoured in two other honorific decrees honouring him for other benefactions at the sanctuary; cf. Van Bremen, 'Leon son of Chrysaor and the religious identity of Stratonikeia in Caria' 241-244. One provides his *polis*-demotic as a Stratonikeian (Van Bremen, 'Leon son of Chrysaor' 242 l. 23: Στρατονικέα).

⁶³ He seems to have inscribed these τιμαί and ἀσυλίας: they are referred to as those 'above' (A14.5: [ἄνωθεν]), and were presumably inscribed on one of the sanctuary's walls.

gained sufficient prominence from the third century to earn grants of τιμαί and ἀσυλίας,⁶⁴ but these were ‘ancient’ enough;⁶⁵ these claims nevertheless enhanced Leon’s purpose, of widening the scope of ritual activities at the sanctuary – local history here had to demonstrate a relationship with rulers and, perhaps through τιμαί, with major political events.⁶⁶

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Two other decrees from the Hellenistic period honour works which were decidedly of non-local themes. Herakleitos of Athens (A4) in the mid-third century inscribed on a stele dedicated at the temple of Athena Nike the memoirs of the deeds of king Antigonos Gonatas against the barbarian Gauls in salvation of Greece (A4.3-6).⁶⁷ Local history is not the interest

⁶⁴ The existence of the sanctuary at Panamara is perhaps insinuated at *I.Labraunda* 44.2: [ἰ]ερόν Παναμαρα, from the time of Ptolemy II; Crampa dates it to the 260s BCE. There is possibly evidence for diplomatic contact with Seleukos I, and the sanctuary seems to have been important by the late third century, when Philip V offered libation bowls and a vessel (*I.Stratonikeia* 3.5), and its walls were restored by his *epistates* Asklepiades in 198 (*I.Stratonikeia* 4.16-17). It is not clear, in fact, how old the sanctuary of Zeus Panamaros was; third century grants of *asylia* would at any rate imply the sanctuary had some claim to antiquity to warrant this, as at Magnesia-on-the-Maiandros. Pertinent to the ἀσυλίας of Leon may be *I.Stratonikeia* 20, which mentions ἀρχαιότατος in connection to *asylia* and *ateleia*, possibly in a context of Roman acknowledgement of earlier status; cf. Rigsby, *Asylia. Territorial Inviolability in the Hellenistic World* 423-427 and Van Bremen, ‘Leon son of Chrysaor’ 218-222. In the 1st century BCE archival documents were used in the service of *asylia* claims at Nysa (*Syll.*³ 781 = Oppermann, *Zeus Panamaros* 29-30), which contains a letter dating to the 12th August 1 BCE sent by Artermidoros son of Demetrios to the proconsul Gnaeus Lentulus Augur having [ἐπιμεληθεὶς] ἀποκατέστησεν εἰς τὸ γραμματῆρον τὰ ἱερὰ γράμματα περὶ τῶν θεῶν καὶ τῆς ἀσυλίας αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς [ε]κεσίας καὶ τῆς περὶ τὸ ἱερόν ἀτ[ε]λήας (Il. 8-11).

⁶⁵ The priest Korris of Labraunda, for instance, around after the mid third-century, justified his claim to the privileges of the sanctuary by referencing his unspecified ancestral claims to them: *I.Labraunda* 1.2-3, μέρη τινὰ τῆς ἱερᾶς χώρας τῆς πρότερον διοικουμένης ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ διὰ προγόνων ἀφειρῆσθαι. ἀρχαῖα might have been similarly vague.

⁶⁶ A later such account may have been the record of the miracle of Zeus Panamaros *I.Stratonikeia* 10, which probably celebrated the salvation of Stratonikeia from the invasion of Labienus in 40, as Roussel, ‘Le miracle de Zeus Panamaros’ 92-93 situates it.

⁶⁷ The precise character of these ὑπομνήματα is uncertain. We owe the restoration of A4.4 as [στηλ]ᾶς to Kontoleon, ‘Zu den literarischen ἀναγραφαί’ 196-197, and Robert, *BE* 78 (1965) 102 n. 142, who had considered that ἐχούσας more logically would govern ὑπομνήματα in the sense of ‘témoignage écrit’, against Kirchner’s earlier proposition in *IG* II² 677 of [γραφ]ᾶς, which had conceived of ὑπομνήματα in abstract terms, as ‘memories’; Kontoleon suggests that such a sense would more likely have been governed by

here,⁶⁸ but rather the Greek past in general – note the potential ideological significance of ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων (A4.6) – whose narration allows Athens to claim cultural hegemony over the Greek world. Herakleitos connects Athens to the Macedonian kingdom not only as its political representative,⁶⁹ but also because his history places her among Antigonos’ intimates: the characterisation of the work as ὑπομνήματα evokes the memoirs written by other Hellenistic court-historians.⁷⁰

The second decree honours the Anonymous of Chios (A11) for dedicating an ἀνάθημα narrating the birth of the founders of Rome, Romulus and Remus (A11.25-27),⁷¹ and victory-shields engraved with myths glorifying the Romans (A11.30-31). These seem to have been artistic works of sculpture; the former was probably inscribed with text as well.⁷² A Chian narration of the Roman past is striking, considering also that these certainly dealt with its earliest myths, and not merely the recent Roman victories to which the Anonymous’

ὑπαρχούσας rather than ἐχούσας. Indeed, it is impossible to decide conclusively, and Herakleitos’ dedication may well have comprised either an artwork, following Kirchner, or a stele with inscribed literary narratives of the events (Nachtergaele, *Les Galates en Grèce et les Sôtéria de Delphes* 181).

⁶⁸ Mention may have been made of the Athenians’ role in the defeat of the Gauls at Thermopylai (Paus. 1.4.3, 10.20.5, 10.22.12).

⁶⁹ Herakleitos was the Macedonian garrison-commander of the Peiraeus sometime in the mid-third century: *IG* II² 1225. His monument thus dates some years after the decisive battle of Lysimacheia in 277; cf. Nachtergaele, *Les Galates* 181 and Chaniotis, *Historie* 301.

⁷⁰ Hellenistic authors known for ὑπομνήματα: Theodoros, possibly general under Antiochos I (*BNJ* 230 F1); Daimachos, Antiochos I’s envoy to India (*BNJ* 716 T1); Aratos of Sikyon (Polyb. 2.40.4, Plut. *Cleom.* 16, *Arat.* 32); Strabo would write ἱστορικὰ ὑπομνήματα (Str. 11.9.3).

⁷¹ The crucial word in the lost section of l. 25 has been variously restored: Salvo, ‘Textual Notes on the Chian Decree “SEG” XXX 1073’, and ‘Romulus and Remus at Chios Revisited: A Re-examination of *SEG* XXX 1073’, followed here, suggest a διήγησις, against ἱστορία by Derow and Forrest, ‘An inscription from Chios’ 86, ἄγαλμα, by Moretti, ‘Chio e la lupa capitolina’ 49, or πραγματεία/γραφὴ Kontoleon, ‘Zu den literarischen ἀναγροφαί’ 193.

⁷² ἀνάθημα suggests a work of sculpture. Chaniotis, *Historie* 97 notes the phrase in A11.24-25 [ἐποίησεν ἐκ τῶν] ἰδίων, as restored, would be consonant with an artwork, and not merely the erection of an inscription. Salvo, ‘Romulus and Remus’ 130-133, drawing on *Anth. Pal.* 3 (epigrams describing the sculptures at Kyzikos) posits a sculpture group of the twins with an inscribed caption.

activities were a response.⁷³ These myths are also demonstrably true (A11.28: ἀληθείς), the decree qualifies, because the courage (A11.28-29: [ἀνδρείότη]τα) of the Romans attests to this – Chios thus displays not only its affinity with Rome, but its *longstanding* affinity, dating to the earliest times.⁷⁴ History thus serves here almost as metaphor for Chios' relations with Rome, by elevating the statuses of both, and integrating the *polis* within the broader political landscape.

Finally, locally honoured Hellenistic historiography could also associate the *polis* with the wider landscape of literary scholarship, as one sees in the second-century posthumous honorific epigrams of Gorgos of Kolophon (A24) and Kletonymos of Lato (A18). Gorgos had composed a multi-volume work (πο[λ]ύβυβλον σελίδα) of wide-ranging ἱστορία (A18.1: πάσης ἀφ' ἱστορίας) on poets (A18.2: ἀοιδοπόλων) – this has been identified as several things: a biography of poets,⁷⁵ a universal mythography,⁷⁶ or a collection of oracles.⁷⁷ The epigram is nevertheless dense and erudite: ἀοιδοπόλων is rare,⁷⁸ and δρεψόμενον presumes encyclopaedic learning. Gorgos' honour thus conveys Kolophon's pride in its worldly

⁷³ Derow and Forrest 'An inscription from Chios' 87-90 sets the Anonymous' embassy to Rome (A11.9) in the early second century in the context of the war against Antiochos III, perhaps in response to victory at Magnesia.

⁷⁴ The specific reference to γένεσις in A11.26 suggests that the reference here is to the divine origins of Romulus and Remus, and their suckling by a wolf – a legend already known to Diokles of Preparathos and Fabius Pictor in the third century (BNJ 820 F1 and 809 F4a), and a feature of Roman iconography since 296 (Livy. 10.23.12), although the Anonymous might have learned it during his embassy to Rome. Moretti, 'Chio e la lupa capitolina' 51-52 notes moreover that the form Πέμος, as opposed to the earlier Greek spelling Πῶμος, of A11.27 perhaps has specifically western origins: it is found in the library inscription of Tauromenion (SEG 26.1123 F3 A.12).

⁷⁵ Pasquali, 'I due Nicandri' 87-88, Fogazza, 'Gorgo di Colofone, mitografo o biografo?' 129, who read ἀοιδοπόλων as an objective genitive.

⁷⁶ Mutschmann, 'Ein unbekannter Mythograph' 152-153.

⁷⁷ Cazzaniga, 'Gorgos di Claros' 147-148, proposes that ἀοιδοπόλων refers not to poets, but to ὕμνοποιοί, running from the parallel with Nikandros (Alex. 629-630), where he refers to himself as a ὕμνοπόλος, and earlier on, as a priest of Klarian Apollo (Alex. 11): Gorgos was a priest himself (A24.4). For extant examples of oracles from Apollo Klaros, c.f. Merkelbach and Stauber, 'Die Orakel des Apollon von Klaros'.

⁷⁸ The word is quite rare; a search in the TLG reveals that it appears in a probably 1st century pharmacological poem by Aglaia c.f. Suppl. Hell. 7-9 l. 2, and in two other imperial-dated papyrus fragments (P. Oxy. 7.1015.2 and P. Berol. 10559 A et B.60).

littérateur citizen.⁷⁹ A similar concern to connect with intellectual trends beyond the *polis* one finds in the epitaph of Kletonymos, who composed some historical work in his lifetime (A18.7).⁸⁰ The title [η]ὐμαθοῦς κοίρανον ἱστορίας, would be also applied to Philippos of Pergamon (A25, see below), which suggests it had some currency as a term of literary honour. The Polybian echoes suggest, like Philippos' work, a universal history –hence all the more a reason for Lato to extol his historiographical virtues.⁸¹

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The *polis*' concern with its wider, trans-local relevance continues into the imperial period. In the second century CE Antiochos (A28) was honoured at Argos for narrating not merely its local history, but specifically its kinship with the Cilician city of Aigeai, from where Antiochos had come (A28.21).⁸² He seems to have fashioned a narrative based on Perseus' war against the Gorgons in the east (A28.21-23);⁸³ the text becomes fragmentary at this point, but seems to also mention his transportation of an image of the

⁷⁹ Note that he is also explicitly said to be buried at Athens (A24.5); this was only a memorial raised in his homeland.

⁸⁰ He is likely to have been a magistrate at Lato in 116/115, cf. Voutiras, 'A Funerary Epigram from Latos in Crete' 669, and so shortly before the war of 114-113, on which see Guarducci 'Appunti di cronologia cretese: la guerra del 114 av. Cr. fra Lato e Olunte'.

⁸¹ So does Voutiras, 'A Funerary Epigram' 672, contra Rigsby, 'Two Cretan Epitaphs' 238-239, who leaves the issue open, and suggests that ἱστορία might refer to astronomical, and not historical, inquiry. Baldwin Bowsky, 'Epigrams to an Elder Statesman and a Young Noble from Lato Pros Kamara (Crete)' 121 speculates that Kletonymos also composed local, sacred history (cf. Xenion's *Kretika* [BNJ 460 F7]), and aided Timachidas in compiling the Lindian temple inventory.

⁸² Antiochos was famous enough for Philostratos to write a biography of him; as well as being a man of rhetorical accomplishment he also composed a history (*V S* 2.4.570: ὥς ἔτερά τε δηλοῖ τῶν ἐκείνου καὶ μάλιστα ἡ ἱστορία), whose contents are unknown, although he also publicly defended the Cretan claim that the tomb of Zeus was in Crete, presumably producing a historical account of some sort in doing so (*V S* 2.4.569).

⁸³ Perseus' mythology is well-attested in Kilikia, especially at Tarsos, where literary evidence (Amm. Marc. 14.8, Luc. 3.225, Nonnus, *Dion.* 18.291-294) attest Perseus as the city's *ktistes*; see also *Anth. Pal.* 9.557. Perseus is otherwise prominent in the iconography of many Kilikian cities and Anatolia in general; cf. Robert, 'Deux inscriptions de Tarse et d'Argos' 116-119.

ancestral goddess – probably Athena (A28.24-25).⁸⁴ Antiochos thus employs Argos’ major local historical traditions to provide it with an identity outside, at far-away Aigeai. His account served to renew the history of the just deeds committed by daughter-city Aigeai towards the metropolis Argos (A28.8-9: τὰ τᾶς ὑμετέρας πόλιος δίκαια πρὸς τὰν ἁμε[τέρων]), benefiting both – Aigeai claims association with the heart of the Greek world (enhancing her status with regards to her rival Tarsos),⁸⁵ and Argos too through this Kilikian connection enhances the prestige of its antiquity – note that Aigeai is situated at a geographical limit of Argos’ worldview (A28.23: τέρμα).⁸⁶ Much as other Anatolian cities in the second century, and perhaps under the ideological influence of the Panhellenion, local tradition is provided with greater visibility and significance through integration with the past of a more famous city on the Greek mainland (e.g. Athens, Sparta, Korinth).⁸⁷ A similar

⁸⁴ Athena, and not Hera, provides Perseus with assistance in his trials: Pind. *Pyth.* 10.31-50, Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.4.1-4. She is also attested on contemporary Aigeaian coinage, alongside Demeter, Artemis, and the Tyche of Aigeai, but never Hera (Head, *Historia Numorum* 716) and moreover not unknown at Argos, especially in the imperial period; cf. *RPC Online* <http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/> 4.4631, 9662, 5260 for Athena, as the Palladion, on second-century CE Argive coinage.

⁸⁵ The rivalry between Aigeai and Tarsos is well-documented by Dio Chrysostom (*Or.* 33.51, 34.10), to which the inscription may make allusion at A28.11-12: καὶ ὁρῶντες καλὰν ἄμιλλαν ἂν ὑπὲρ τᾶς ν [πατρίδος] αὐτὸν φιλοτιμούμενον.

⁸⁶ The lost sections of the relative clause at A28.23-24 would have contained some qualification of Kilikia’s geographical liminality with respect to Argos: Hiller von Gaetringen, ‘Die Perseussage von Aigeai in Kilikien’ 155-156 suggests restoring the beginning of A28.24 [δυσμὰς Ἀσίας], noting that the limits of geographical knowledge by the second century CE were certainly much further east than Kilikia; it does not however account for the rhetoric which Argos perhaps had in mind here. A better solution might be that of Vollgraff, ‘Note sur une inscription d’Argos’ 318: [ἀνατολὰς Ἀσίας], although the lack of space on the stone might argue against it.

⁸⁷ On the Panhellenion: Spawforth and Walker, ‘The World of the Panhellenion. I. Athens and Eleusis’, ‘The World of the Panhellenion. II. Three Dorian Cities’, Jones, ‘The Panhellenion’, Oliver, *Marcus Aurelius. Aspects of Civic and Cultural Policy in the East* 92-138. There is, however, no evidence of Aigeai’s membership; cf. Robert, ‘Deux inscriptions’ 128. The caveats of Price, ‘Local Mythologies in the Greek East’ 122 are worth heeding: other cities which made mythological claims in this period (Kibyra of kinship to Athens and Sparta, Eumeneia of kinship to Achaia) are not known as members of the Panhellenion, nor are, most significantly, the three most prominent cities of Asia, Pergamon, Ephesos and Smyrna. For the phenomenon of mythologising among *poleis* of the imperial period in general, see Weiß, ‘Lebendiger Mythos: Gründerheroen und städtische

motivation probably underlay the work of Tiberius Claudius Anteros (A30).⁸⁸ The grammarian from Karia, however, did not relate the kinship between his city and another, but narrated the local history of his native Mylasa (A30.20-25) at Athens, where it gained greater prominence.⁸⁹ His works are thus called ἐπιχώριοι ἱστορίαι, like Demoteles', not because of their innate pride in locality, but because they had been presented εἰς μ[έ]σους τοὺς Ἑλληνας (A30.21-22).

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From the imperial period also date a number of statue-bases honouring works composed by historians. For one, that of Aelius Aelianus (A29), from the second or third century reads that he dedicated sculptural works depicting mythological heroes of his *polis* Thyateira (A29.2-7) – a group of Herakles statues (τοὺς Ἡρακλέας) at the gymnasium's exercise area ὑπαίθρα,⁹⁰ and the deeds of Ganymede, Dirke, and Bellerophon,⁹¹ respectively, at the sanctuary of Tyrimnos,⁹² market-area,⁹³ and foyer of the great gymnasium. These were figures with significant mythological presence in western Asia Minor,⁹⁴ and Aelianus thus not

Gründungstraditionen im griechisch-römischen Osten' and Strubbe, J. H. M. 'Gründer kleinasiatischer Städte: Fiktion und Realität'.

⁸⁸ Chaniotis, *Historie* 318.

⁸⁹ Anteros is not otherwise known, although *Suda* s.v. Ἀντέρωσ records a like-named grammarian from the reign of Claudius, from Alexandria. He probably came from Mylasa, and his histories presumably dealt with the region around it; cf. Crampa in *ILabraunda* II p. 135.

⁹⁰ Notably it is the *statues* of Herakles τοὺς Ἡρακλέας (A29.3), and so perhaps a group.

⁹¹ A29.4-7: τὰ περὶ τὸν Γανυμήδην... τὰ περὶ τὴν Δίρκην... τὰ περὶ τὸν Βελλεροφόντην. There is perhaps some resemblance with other attestations of περὶ with the accusative: note the descriptions of the work of Demoteles, A2.6-7: περὶ τε τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τ[ὴν] [π]όλιν and Herodes: A2b.6: τῶν περὶ Δ]άρεδανον καὶ Ἀετίωνα πρόξεω[v].

⁹² Tyrimnos was a local god of Thyateira, assimilated to Apollo and Helios, cf. Keil and Premierstein, 'Bericht über eine Reise in Lydien und der südlichen Aiolis, ausgeführt 1906 im Auftrage der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften' 16 n. 21, 32-33 n. 61, 55 n. 115 for dedications to Apollo and Helios Tyrimnos.

⁹³ Ganymede's association with Zeus may have earned his sculpture group its place alongside the προπάτωρ Tyrimnos.

⁹⁴ Herakles enjoyed a cult at Thyateira: cf. Keil and Premierstein, 'Bericht über eine Reise in Lydien' 39 on epigraphical evidence for the association of the οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα νεανίσκοι. Bellerophon received cult in

only presented Thyateira's local past, but proudly proclaimed its connection to the region's history.⁹⁵

Another local historian whose work clearly shows a concern beyond the *polis* community we see in Hermogenes of Smyrna (A27), whose funerary honours records that his eclectic output included books on medicine (A27.1-3),⁹⁶ Homeric criticism, cartography, military tactics,⁹⁷ and history (A27.5-9). The local concern of the latter is apparent – he writes on Smyrnaian history (A27.5-6);⁹⁸ his work on Homer may have argued in favour of his Smyrnaian origins.⁹⁹ Of equal interest, however, are his works on external themes – city-

Lykia (Quint. Smyrn. 10.162); an iron image of him could be seen hanging in Smyrna (Bethe, *RE* 'Bellerophon', 247-248). Ganymede is attested iconographically at Ephesos; cf. Keil and Premerstein, 'Bericht über eine Reise in Lydien' 23. Dirke: There was a Dirke group at Tralleis; Bethe, *RE* 'Dirke', 1170. Dirke especially may have had significance for Thyateira; she was punished by Zethos and Amphion (Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.5.5), the brother-in-law of Pelops, from whom an ancient name for Thyateira, Pelopia (Steph. Byz. s.v. 'Θυάτειρα', Plin. *HN* 5.115) may have derived.

⁹⁵ Thyateira was probably a member of the Panhellenion, as Jones, 'A Decree of Thyateira in Lydia' 11-13 reads an honorific decree for Hadrian, certainly concerning the Panhellenion, but not certainly Thyateira, whose implication is only suggested by l. 3 [Θυα]τειρηῶν; cf. the comments of Strubbe, 'Gründer kleinasiatischer Städte' 281 n. 167. Aelianus' activities may perhaps be seen in connection with the creation of mythological associations in Lydia further south, where Dionysos played a larger role; cf. Weiß 'Götter, Städte und Gelehrte. Lydiaka und "Patria" um Sardes und den Tmolos'.

⁹⁶ Either seventy-two or seventy-seven books on medicine, depending on how one restores A27.3; cf. Burliga in *BNJ* 579 for discussion. Petzl in *I.Smyrna* I p. 239 notes, however, that the lost third line may have contained details of the other five books, and at any rate the composer may have had rhetorical effect, and not exactness, in mind.

⁹⁷ His works on the distances (σταδιασμοί) in Asia and Europe would suggest an itinerary; the tradition of writing περὶ σταδιασμῶν is known from at least the third century BCE, when Timosthenes of Rhodes wrote one such work cf. Steph. Byz. 1.21 'Ἀγάθη'. A treatise on στρατηγήματα recalls Frontinus and Polyainos, and was probably compilatory and anecdotal in nature cf. Jacoby's comments in *FGrH* IIIb 612. As with his work on Homer, these two works would have very likely included historical and mythological details, while not being overtly historiographical narratives.

⁹⁸ Hermogenes was following a long tradition of Smyrnaian historiography here, which dated back to Mimnermos of Kolophon's *Smyrneis*, cf. *BNJ* 578.

⁹⁹ Burliga in *BNJ* 579; see also Lucian *Ver. hist.* 2.20 for an insight into the disputes about Homer's origins in the early empire.

foundations (κτίσεις) in Europe, Asia, and the islands (A27.7),¹⁰⁰ and a chronological table chronologically listing Smyrnaian and Roman history in parallel. These works suggest a wide outlook, both for their themes and format – κτίσεις and πίναξ echo the intellectual range of Kallimachos' αἵτια and πίνακες.¹⁰¹ Hermogenes perhaps represented for Smyrna a connection to both high Greek culture and its Roman overlords; at the same time historiography defined its identity as a *polis*: note that he writes both a work Περὶ Ζμύρνης and πατρίδος, distinguishing the city as an entity in its own right.¹⁰²

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A number of other imperial honorific monuments to historians are known, which only mention their vocation: a funerary inscription to a ἱστοριογράφος Tiberius Claudius Andronikos (A26.4) from Sestos, and statue-bases to a συγγραφεύς Pompeianus of Athenian Kollytos (B23.2-3), a ποιητῆς ἐπῶν and λόγων ἐγκωμιαστικῶν συγγραφεύς Onesikles (B19.2-4), and a ἱστορῶν συγγραφεύς Xenophon at Samos (A31.3). At least in the case of the last two one might suspect from their titles these were authors of historical works, potentially of trans-local themes. This was probably the case with Herakleitos of Rhodes

¹⁰⁰ νήσων presumably refers to the Aegean islands. Such κτίσεις are known in epigraphic form from the Hellenistic period; cf. Chaniotis, *Historie* T3, T4, T6, T9, T14, T16, T19. κτίσεις narratives had circulated from probably the archaic period of colonisation; Pl. *Hp. mai.* 285d writes of the Spartan predilection for κτίσεις narratives. For the writing of island- κτίσεις, cf. Aretades of Knidos, who wrote a *Nesiotika*, perhaps around the same time as Hermogenes (BNJ 285 F2).

¹⁰¹ They also echo a Roman tradition of producing historical tables of parallel Greek and Roman events. Cornelius Nepos' *Chronika* and Pomponius Atticus' *Liber Annalis* were among the first chronographic works to do this, dating them by magistrate years, cf. Feeney, *Caesar's Calendar. Ancient Time and the Beginnings of History* 21-28. An important contemporary effort was the chronography of Kastor of Rhodes (FGrH 250), who sought to unite Greek, Roman and Near Eastern events in his *Chronicle*; cf. Kubitschek, s.v. Kastor (8), *RE* 10, 2347-2357. Hermogenes may have employed a similar layout of parallel tables, laying out events according to synchronised Roman consuls and Smyrnaian archons.

¹⁰² This distinction may imply Hermogenes was not a native Smyrnaian, which would hold even more significance for the *polis*' self-identity. Burliga in BNJ 579 lists six other Hermogeneis, of whom Nos. 4 (Hermogenes of Tarsos, author of a history of Koile Syria and several rhetorical handbooks BNJ 851) and 5 (Hermogenes, physician of Hadrian, Cass. Dio 69.22.3) would seem the likeliest candidates.

(B25), among whose achievements is designated as a *συνγγραφεύς* (B25.13): the composition of *συνγρόμματα* and *ποιήματα* to his fatherland, Alexandria, Rhodes, and Athens (B25.19-21) might refer to local histories; another possibility is Peducaeus Cestianus (B24), the rhetor honoured by Korinth as a citizen of Apollonia, his *polis* of origin (B24.3: [Ἀ]πολλωνιάτην). Perhaps, like Antiochos, he had narrated the kinship between Korinth and her daughter-city – the former is specifically called *μητρόπολις* (B24.6).¹⁰³

In two instances it is fairly certain the honorand was honoured as a universal historian. Aulus Claudius Charax (B22) is called *συνγγραφεύς* (B22.14), and is likely the historian known from fragments, with themes extending across the empire (BNJ 103);¹⁰⁴ he was perhaps honoured at Patrai for incorporating its local past into his larger work.¹⁰⁵ The other statue-base honours Gaius Asinius Quadratus (B26), for having honoured Olympia in word and deed (B26.6-7: *τειμήσαντα τὴν Ὀλυμπίαν καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ*). He is perhaps the fragmentary historian (BNJ 97), among whose works were *The Roman Millennium* (Ῥωμαϊκὴ Χιλιὰς: T1, F1-F4) and a *Parthika* (F5-F30).¹⁰⁶ Allusive as these texts may be, they are indicative of a wide concern to honour trans-local historians whose historiographical oeuvres brought distinction to the *polis* beyond its own horizons.

We see this even more clearly in the honours for Philippos of Pergamon (A25) and Dexippos (A32), which are unique in the corpus in exalting the honorand for composing universal history. The dating of the former to the first century BCE would seem well borne

¹⁰³ Chaniotis, *Historie* 321, and Robert, 'Inscriptions de l'antiquité et du Bas-Empire à Corinthe' 751.

¹⁰⁴ Habicht, 'Zwei neue Inschriften aus Pergamon' 110-111.

¹⁰⁵ Such a work may have referred to the Achaian League's contribution to Pergamene history; cf. Habicht, 'Zwei neue Inschriften' 111.

¹⁰⁶ The *Roman Millennium* seems to have ended in the reign of Severus Alexander (BNJ 97 T1). Quadratus may thus have counted back to the first Olympiad (776 BCE), not 753, and *λόγῳ* in l. 7 may have perhaps made an excerpted reading of the *Χιλιὰς* at Olympia; cf. Dittenberger and Purgold in *I. Olympia* 471-472.

out of its contents,¹⁰⁷ as summarised on his statue-base (A25.5-16) – this may represent an actual excerpt from Philippos’ work.¹⁰⁸ These encompassed a pan-Mediterranean history of conflict, across Asia, Europe, the peoples of Libya, and the islanders (A25.5-10), a geographical distinction that is Herodotean in scope.¹⁰⁹ Philippos calls his work ἱστορία περὶ τῶν καινῶν πρῆξεων (A25.9-10), which arguably implies these conflicts were those of the Civil Wars of the late Republic.¹¹⁰ He may have been a major historiographical figure; the moralising tone of A25.11-16 on the utility of history suggests a work of Polybian scale.¹¹¹ Here, then, Epidauros honours an individual for bringing international literary fame to

¹⁰⁷ Kaibel (*Epigrammata graeca* xix n. 877b) and Jacoby (*FGrH* 95) date him to the second century CE, largely only the grounds that his use of Ionian finds an echo in Lucian’s criticism of historians employing Ionian; an earlier date however would accord better not only with the palaeography, as Costa notes (*BNJ* 95) from a reading of Peek, *Inscripfen aus dem Asklepieion* pl. 94, but also with the contents of his work as evinced in the inscription, cf. Goukowsky, ‘Philippe de Pergame et l’histoire des Guerres Civiles’ 39-40, and *passim*.

¹⁰⁸ A25.5-16 are actually inscribed in a different dialect, Ionian, and in smaller letters, the epigram being in Doric. cf. Goukowsky, ‘Philippe de Pergame’ 39.

¹⁰⁹ Herodotos’ division of the world into three parts seems to have been a popular model for imitation, cf. Theon, *Prog.* 67.12-16.

¹¹⁰ Cf. Chaniotis, *Historie* 314-317, and Goukowsky, ‘Philippe de Pergame’ 42-43, 52-53, who interprets ξυνεχέος to refer to a succession of conflicts, than a continuous single conflict, which justifies reading Philippos’ subject as encompassing the period 88-40 BCE; he dates Philippos’ activity to around the peace of Brundisium, and excludes the years up to Philippi as inconsistent with the geographical description of A25.5-10.

¹¹¹ A25.16 (τοῦ βίου διορθώσιας) echoes Polyb. 1.35.8: ἐπεὶ μετὰ μεγάλων πόνων καὶ κινδύνων ποιεῖ τὴν διόρθωσιν· this might be compared to Diodoros’ own profuse application of the theme: cf. Goukowsky, ‘Philippe de Pergame’ 42 n. 26 for references. One might adduce 31.15.1 in particular: οὐ παρέργως τῇ τῆς ἱστορίας παρρησίᾳ πρὸς ἐπανόρθωσιν τοῦ κοινοῦ βίου. Goukowsky (43-52) even suggests identifying Philippos as the source of some of the moral ideas one finds in Appian and Diodoros; App. *B Civ.* 4.52 224-225 may owe its division of the theatres of war (Libya, Syria, Sicily, and Aegean islands) after the proscriptions to Philippos’ own quadripartite description of the civil wars, while in Diodoros the prevalence of moral degradation, especially in the narrative of the civil war between Marius and Sulla, is characterised as offering opportunities for διόρθωσις - notably 38 F6, where the retribution engendered by Marius and Cinna’s wrongdoings is said to encourage διόρθωσις of the impious; Philippos may have inspired Diodoros, if it is right to deny the influence of Poseidonios in books 37 and 38 of Diodoros, where Goukowsky finds the closest resemblances to Philippos.

enhance its external reputation;¹¹² this integration between local pride and a trans-local awareness is perhaps evident in Philip's title of θείας κοίρανον ιστορίας (A25.2), which both reflects the expansiveness of his universal oeuvre, but also his local relevance to Epidauros' Asklepieion.

The honours for Publius Herennius Dexippos identify the honorand with the fragmentary third-century universal historian (*BNJ* 100). Unlike with Philippos, we do not read honours for a specific work, but rather general historiographical achievement – Dexippos is praised for his chronological comprehensiveness (A32.11, 13 and 15 αἰῶνος δολιχῆν, παντοίην ἀτραπόν, χρονίους πρήξιας), and also for drawing on all sources, literary and eyewitness (A32.12-13). This breadth might relate to his *Chronika*, but arguably also to his works as a whole, including an *Events after Alexander* and a *Skythika*.¹¹³ The monument is nevertheless profoundly civic-centred – Dexippos is honoured as an Athenian citizen (A32.1-7), and classed among Attika's legendary heroes (A32.8-9).¹¹⁴ We do not read of Dexippos narrating local Athenian history, but rather of his faith to his Athenian origins. He is characterised as a true Athenian because his sights are set far afield, and, like the Athenian Herakleitos six centuries earlier, look to represent the city as the cultural pinnacle of Greece:

¹¹² A25.3 (πολεμόγραφον αὐδάν) would suggest Philippos had performed there; cf. Chaniotis, *Historie* 316 and Goukowsky, 'Philippe de Pergame' 41.

¹¹³ On these works see Millar, 'P. Herennius Dexippus: The Greek World and the Third-Century Invasions', 21-24. The *Chronika* seems to have extended up to the reign of Claudius II, and would thus suggest a dating for the inscription around 269/270 CE; this may be the work to which the newfound praise (A32.16-17: ὁ νεανθὺς αἴτιος) refers. The mention of the council of seven hundred and fifty (A32.2), moreover, which did not exist before 250, places that date as a *terminus post quam* for the decree's date; cf. Puech, *Orateurs et sophistes grecs dans les inscriptions d'époque impériale* 222 n. 1 and Millar, 'P. Herennius Dexippus' 21.

¹¹⁴ There might be allusion in ἀλκῇ (A32.8) to his leadership of the Athenian resistance during the Gothic invasion of 267/268, as T. Schmitz in Brandt, 'Dexipp und die Geschichtsschreibung des 3. Jh. n.Chr.' 171 n. 8 suggests. Dexippos' role as the defender of Athens is only explicitly mentioned in the *Historia Augusta* (SHA *Gall.* 13.6-8), although there is no reason to disbelieve this, judging from the detail that emerges from fragments of the speech in the *Skythika* he makes as commander (*BNJ* 100 F28); Dexippos' account is also consistent with, and betrays a keen understanding of, the topography of north-western Attica cf. Fowden, 'City and Mountain in Late Roman Attica' 50-53.

his fame resounds across Hellas (A32.16). Dexippos' historiographical work therefore provided grounds for Athens at the end of the disruptions of the third-century to assert continuity through her traditional qualities, and consolidate local pride – a pride which in her unique case had greater significance across the Greek world.

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A small number of texts ranging from the Hellenistic to imperial periods also honour (for both performances and non-occasionally) individuals who composed eulogistic works to gods; these do not indicate the presence of historiographical narration, but some account of the god's origins and achievements is likely to have been made.¹¹⁵ These derive mainly from international shrines, and generally praise the local temple and its gods: Delos (Eukles of Tenos [B1], Herakleitos of Chalkedon [B2], Amphikles [B13b]),¹¹⁶ Oropos (Amphikles [B13a], Demokrates [B3]),¹¹⁷ Chios (Ion [B9]),¹¹⁸ Tenos (Alkinoe [B8] and the Anonymous of Tenos [B11]),¹¹⁹ and Delphi (Kleochares [B6], Ammonios of Athens [B15], Claudius

¹¹⁵ Even so, the principal *topoi* around which hymns to god seem to have been structured around the god's φύσις – γένος – δύναμις, the nature, birth, and abilities of the deity, of which the last two would have usually included an account of the god's origins and history of achievements, as e.g. Aristid. *Or.* 37 (Athena), 40.2-11 (Herakles), 41.3-3-4 (Dionysos). Cf. also Pernot, *La rhétorique de l'éloge dans le monde gréco-romain* 1.220-230.

¹¹⁶ Eukles publicly produced ἐγκώμια of the temple (B1.10-11: κοινεῖ τὸ ἱερόν ἐγκωμιάζει οὗ ἂν ἀφίκηται); Herakleitos made readings to the god (B2.8-9: ἀναγνώσεις τε τῷ θεῷ ποιούμενος); Amphikles was honoured by Delos for praising in song (B13b.12: ὕμνησεν) it, its gods, and the Athenian *demos* (B13b.8-12).

¹¹⁷ Amphikles gave lectures, (B13a.4: ἀκροάσεις καὶ πλείους πεπόηται), and one might adduce from his Delian honours that these were of a similar generic nature; Demokrates praised the god in verse encomia (B3.3-4: τὸν θεὸν προαιρεῖται ἐγκωμιάζειν διὰ ποιημάτων).

¹¹⁸ He praised Chios in verse (B9.5-6: ἐὺλογεῖ [τὴν πόλιν (?)---] ἐμ' πόλιν), accepting the restoration of Bosnakis and Hallof, 'Alte und neue Inschriften aus Kos I' 204.

¹¹⁹ Alkinoe (B8.5-7: [ὕμνον γέγραφε Διὶ καὶ Ποσειδῶνι καὶ Ἀμφιτρίτει τοῖς κατέχουσιν θεοῖς τὴν τε χώραν καὶ τὴν πόλιν τὴν] ἡμετέρῃ,) and the Anonymous of Tenos (B11.1-3: [ὕμνον πεποίη(?)] τῷ [τῷ] Ποσειδῶνι καὶ τεῖ Ἀμφιτρίτει τοῖς κατέχουσιν θεοῖς τὴν τε πόλιν καὶ τὴν] χώραν τὴν ἡμετέραν) composed works for Poseidon, Amphitrite, and the gods of Tenos' χώρα and its *polis*. The texts are highly fragmented; restorations of the former are those of *IG* XII.5 812, condoned by Robert, *BE* (1981) n. 362 and 'Notes épigraphiques', 173 n. 1, contra Bouvier, 'Une intrusion dans la littérature grecque' 36-38, who perhaps takes an overly critical stance on the possibility of restoration. In relation to a god's χώρα, Menander Rhetor suggests that praise be made to the country's blessings (II 440.15-20), before an account of the

Eumolpos [B16], Sextus [B17], Auphria [B21]).¹²⁰ Their activities generally praise the local temple and gods; there are occasional references to broader themes. Amphikles at Delos praised the city, its gods, and the Athenian *demos* (B13b.8-12) – like Ariston, Delian local history is placed alongside that of Athens.¹²¹ As for Ion of Chios, it is possible his name consciously emulated his more famous fifth-century namesake, and so the breadth of his interests.¹²² Even so, however, the more specifically local interest of these authors would have gained wider appreciation by virtue of their high-visibility venues. It is furthermore likely that non-local, even Panhellenic themes were integrated into such hymns and encomia: Limenios' inscribed hymn from Delphi, for instance, includes a prayer for the Romans' continued hegemony.¹²³

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The foregoing has sought to review the historiographical perspectives which were reciprocated with public honour. These were perspectives generated by different forms of literary composition, but works which seem often to have looked beyond the local, through

god's past services and protection of the land (II 440.20-24): εἶτα μετὰ τὴν χώραν ἐπάξεις ἀκολούθως, ὅτι τοιγάρτοι καὶ τιμῶν καὶ συμμαχῶν τοῖς ἡμετέροις διετέλεσεν, ἐν πολέμοις, ἐν χρησιμότησιν διαφθείρων παντοδαπῶς τοὺς πολεμίους.

¹²⁰ Kleochores composed a song, paean, and hymn to the god (B7.3-4: γέγραφε τῷ θεῷ ποθόδιόν τε καὶ παιᾶνα καὶ ὕμνον); Ammonios produced speeches honouring the gods (B15.5-6: πολλοὺς μὲν καὶ καλοὺς [εἰς τὰς] τούτων (τῶν θεῶν) τιμὰς πλεονάκις διατέθειται λόγους); Claudius Eumolpos sang of Delphi and Pythian Apollo (B16.4: μέλψαντα πόλιν καὶ Πύθιον αὐτόν); Sextus praised the divinity of Apollo (B17.9-10: ἐνκωμιάσας αὐτ[ὸν] ἀξίως τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν θειότητος); Auphria composed speeches honouring Apollo at the Pythian Games (B21.8-12: λόγους τε πολ[λοὺς καὶ κ]αλοὺς καὶ ἡδί[στους ἐν] τῇ π[υ]θικῇ συνόδῳ τῶν Ἑλ[λ]ήνων δ[ιέθετο]).

¹²¹ He composed, however, a προσόδιον, and not an ἐγκώμιον; cf. Chaniotis *Historie* 350.

¹²² Cf. Bosnakis and Hallof, 'Alte und neue Inschriften' 204; the more famous fifth-century writer Ion wrote a Χίου κτίσις: *BNJ* 392 T2, F1, F3; he was also, according to T2, author of poetic works in general.

¹²³ *FD* III.2 138. Apollo, Artemis and Leto are invoked to protect Athens in the last strophe (ll. 34-40), including a prayer for the increase of the Romans' rule (ll. 39-40: Ῥωμαίω[ν] ἀρχὰν αὖχετ' ἀγηράτωι θάλλ[λουσαν] φερε[ν]ίαν). The hymn of Aristonoos from Delphi (*FD* III.2 137: [εἰς τὸν θεὸν ὃ ἐ[ποίησε]) also relates the accomplishments of Apollo (ll. 15-34), including possibly some mention of his exploits against the Gauls in the invasion of 279 (ll. 25-26: [ὥς] δὲ Γαλατᾶν ἄρχης [...] ν ἐπέρασσ' ἄσεπτ[ος...]).

intertwining the *polis*' past with those of other communities, kinship narratives, stories of travelling heroes, or by conferring prestige to local history by presenting it as a work of erudition and learning. Sometimes imperial rulers comprised the theme, although one also finds historians with universalising conceptions of the past. This interest in a wider spatial framework would accord with the broader worldview one observes in the literary fragments of local historians, who applied non-local (regal/dynastic reigns, archons from other *poleis*), and even Panhellenic (the Olympiads) chronological schemas, in order to situate local history within wider Greek historical memory.¹²⁴

It has been implied that some element of choice on the *polis*-community's part is discernible as to the historians it honours, and the sorts of histories it describes the honorand as producing; something of this has been conveyed by the distinction between performative and non-performative works: notably, itinerant individuals predominate in the former, and non-itinerant historians are found more in the latter; a subtle historical shift might perhaps be perceived in the dominance of civic decrees in the Hellenistic era, and larger (albeit not significantly larger) numbers of statue honours in the imperial period. Clearly, the *polis* considered it important for its identity that its past be narrated with a view to the wider world, and these narrators were regarded highly for doing this. We have outlined here the grounds on which their narratives were deemed affirmative for the community, and we turn now to examine how, and with what effect, these narratives were affirmative through an examination of the social contexts in which they had significance.

¹²⁴ Cf. Clarke, *Making Time* 217-230, especially the comment that we should 'read "local pride" in the context of presenting a *polis* as an integral part of a wider world, rather than an expression of inward-looking complacency.' Note, for instance, that Archedemos of Euboia (*BNJ* 424 F3) wrote about Homer's birthplace in his history of Euboia: it was clearly considered to be relevant to an exposition of the Euboian past.

Chapter 2

The Social Significance of Honoured Historiography

The historiographical activities we surveyed in the previous chapter took place within precise social contexts of the *polis*, and it is worthwhile examining these as insights into the role of the historian-honorand in the cultural life of the *polis*. Three such spheres of action can be identified: sacred occasions, where the past had relevance for cultic activity; educational settings, where the past served a didactic role for elite youth; diplomatic interactions, where the past served as a means of negotiating official *polis* claims. Within these fields of activity one finds the narration of the past contributing publicly and visibly to the ideological landscape of the *polis*, shaping its conceptions of the past, to different ends. These documents are then surveyed as a closed body of evidence providing unique insight into the geographical contours of historiography, by studying the distribution of honouring *poleis* and honorand-*poleis* and the presence of historiographical journeys undertaken by itinerant historians. We interrogate the larger significance of these historians for the formation of local *polis* identity and the cultural and social relations between different *poleis*.

1. Historiography as sacred work

The history of a *polis* was inextricably bound with that of its deities, myths and rituals. It is not therefore surprising that some of the activities of these historian-honorands may be directly contextualised within the setting of a public festival. Hermokles' account of Chios' ancient friendship with Delphi, for one, must be seen alongside his activities as the Chian *hieromnemon*, conducting the sacrifices to the god (A6.2: τὰς τε θυσίας τῷ θεῷ συνετέλεσ[ε]), and mixing the silver crater at the Theoxenia (A6.3: [ἐ]κέρρασε τὸν ἀργύρεον τοῖς Θεοξενίοις). The Theoxenia here represents the Delphic manifestation of a

particular form of sacrifice, involving the presentation of a table of food-offerings to the divinity as a guest-friend (*xenos*);¹ at Delphi it probably involved the preparation of wine and meat,² and Hermokles' mixing of the silver crater likely comprised one of the rituals involved in the sacrificial act. There were also musical-contests, at which we may see his composition of a hymn (A6.3-4).³ Hermokles' role was certainly an important, if not central, one, at the festival proceedings – the ἀργύρεον is possibly the same ritual vessel attested in Herodotos, famous for holding six hundred amphorae.⁴

The narration of the history of Ion occurs after these events, presented as a separate occasion but one associated with the festival, and the role of *hieromnemon* for which he is honoured (A6.2, 16). We should thus interpret the details on the ἀργύρεον and the narrative ἀπὸ Ἰωνος together. The former likely crowned the offerings made to the gods,⁵ which at Delphi held Panhellenic, arguably universal resonance;⁶ it symbolised the relationship of

¹ Jameson, 'Theoxenia', 39-41. The scholion to Pindar's third Olympian ode characterises the gods at Theoxenia-festivals as visitors (Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 3 (Drachmann) 24-26: Θεοξενία. θεοξενίων ἐορταὶ παρ' Ἑλλήσιν οὕτως ἐπιτελοῦνται κατὰ τινὰς ὥρισμένους ἡμέρας, ὥς αὐτῶν τῶν θεῶν ἐπιδημούντων ταῖς πόλεσιν.

² On the evidence for the Theoxenia at Delphi see Amandry, 'Note sur la convention Delphes-Skiathos', 414-415.

³ Amandry, 'Note sur la convention' 414 n. 2 considers Daux's restoration of A6.3-4 as ὕμνον γέγραφε τῷ θεῷ to be 'très vraisemblable.' The honorific decree for Leonteus the Athenian (*FD* III.2 92) records that he competed at the Theoxenia over two days (ll. 5-6), as restored by Daux, 'Inscriptions de Delphes' 129; see also Paus. 7.27.4 on the inclusion of contests at the Theoxenia at Pellene. Kleochares' compositions of prosody, paeon, and a hymn to Apollo were for the youth to perform at the Theoxenia, and were even instituted thenceforth as an annual component of its proceedings (B7.3-6).

⁴ Hdt. 1.51.2; see also Derow and Forrest, 'An Inscription from Chios' 84.

⁵ Apollo would have certainly been the primary deity, but others were also honoured at the Theoxenia: Leto is attested (Ath. 9.372A, on a share of the sacrificial meal being offered to those who bring in the largest spring onion for Leto at the Theoxenia) and perhaps Dionysos, should Philodamos' inscribed hymn to Dionysos at Delphi have been performed at a Theoxenia. (Amandry, 'Note sur la convention' 414 n. 1) Heroes may also have been involved – Apollo was thought of as inviting the heroes to the festival: Schol. Pind. *Nem.* 7.68: ἦρ' ὠϊαίης δὲ πομπαίης: γίνεται ἐν Δελφοῖς ἥρωσι ξένια, ἐν οἷς δοκεῖ ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ ξένια καλεῖν τοὺς ἥρωας.

⁶ The ἀργύρεον may have had similar significance to the pan-Ionian krater attested at Delos, as noted by Homolle, 'Sur quelques ex-votos trouvés à Delphes' 626, who quotes Ath.10.424a (τὸν κρατῆρα τὸν

reciprocity between the divine and human worlds.⁷ Hermokles' account of Delphi's ancestral friendship with Chios would have comprised a dedicatory reflection of the sacred events preceding it: a literary account of *xenia* and *oikeiotes* between the two *poleis* which manifested the reciprocation in the human world to the ritual proceedings, undertaken at the Theoxenia, in honour of the gods.

For the Anonymous of Chios,⁸ the narration of the past constituted in itself a part of the sacred proceedings, the initiator of reciprocation. The honorand as *agonothetes* conducted the festival procession, sacrifice, and musical and gymnastic contests to the goddess Roma at the Romaia established by Chios, which were to take place after the Theophania (A11.3-8); the Anonymous may have had some role at that festival as well, in distributing amphorae of old wine (A11.3-4).⁹ His conduct of the Romaia's *agonothesia*¹⁰ (A11.11-22) should be seen

πανιώνιον κοινῇ οἱ Ἕλληνες κεραυνόουσι). Amandry, 'Note sur la convention' 413 describes the Theoxenia as 'une véritable fête panhellénique', citing literary evidence – notably, Pind. *Pae.* 6, which mentions a sacrifice on behalf of Hellas that was conducted at the Theoxenia (θύεται γὰρ ἀγλαᾶς ὑπὲρ Πανελλάδος), and the 9th strophe of the hymn to Philodamos from Delphi, which describes the sacrifice at the Theoxenia as taking place πα[ν]δήμοις ἰκετε[ί]αις.

⁷ Bruit, 'Sacrifices à Delphes: sur deux figures d'Apollon' 365-366.

⁸ The individual may have been Hermokles himself as Derow and Forrest, 'An inscription from Chios' 88-90 propose, seeing the activities of the two honorands as different stages of the same career.

⁹ For the problems of historical detail in A11.3-8 see Derow and Forrest, 'An inscription from Chios' 82-83. They cite three other attestations of the Theophania in second- and first-century victor-lists, although its significance remains unclear; it presumably involved some commemoration of divine appearance, and perhaps had some connection with the ἐπιφάνειαι of A11.3, which precipitated his distribution of old wine – a sacred gesture of some kind (A11.4). Mellor, *Θεὰ Ρώμη. The Worship of the Goddess Roma in the Greek World* 60-61 identifies this reference to ἐπιφάνειαι with Rome's appearance in the east, citing the dedication of a festival to θεὰ Ῥώμη Ἐπιφανής by the Lykian League after Magnesia, but Derow and Forrest are right to note the specificity of the plural; these ἐπιφάνειαι may instead have referred to the Dioskuroi, associated with both Rome and Chios. The Romaia and Theophania are sequentially distinct here, but may have become more closely associated in the first century, as one reads in *IGRR* IV.950 (also from Chios) of τῶν Θεοφανικῶν [Σεβαστῶν] Ῥωμαίων (ll. 3-4) which Derow and Forrest interpret to mean 'the Romaia associated with (but not part of) the Theophania.' It might be asked how different association between the two would really have been from a situation of two separate festivals – the -κα ending clearly suggests some degree of identification between the two.

¹⁰ The pre-appointed *agonothetes* was presumably unavailable, for whatever reason; cf. Derow and Forrest 84.

alongside the Anonymous' other benefactions to the Romans, as ambassador to Rome (A11.9: ἐκ Ῥώμ[ης]), and receiving and feeding the Roman visitors at the festival (A11.12, 19-20). The narrative accounts he composed of the birth of Romulus and Remus, described as an ἀνάθημα τῇ Ῥώμῃ (A11.25), and the prize-shields engraved with myths πρὸς δόξαν Ῥωμα[ίων] (A11.31), ought to be read as part of his sacred activities, and indeed as important as their actual conduct – they also occupy 10 lines of text (A11.22-31). These dedications demonstrated Chios' gratitude (A11.23: εὐχαριστίαν), and her affinity with Roman history and culture: the shield-myths are expressly true because they reflect the Romans' courage (A11.28-29). These historical accounts were thus benefactions, but also benefactions made in response to Roman benefaction through victory at Magnesia.¹¹ Set in a newly-established festival they were part of Chios', and other contemporaneous Greek cities', attempts to assimilate Roman power within traditional forms of *polis* ritual activity;¹² as sacred dedications they served to resolve the city's indebtedness to Rome, in expectation of reciprocal benefaction in return. The narration of the past thus equalised the imbalance subsisting between the military and political reality of Roman hegemony in the Aegean.

Herakleitos of Athens also dedicated a historical work to a deity; his stele inscribed with the deeds of Antigonos Gonatas was raised (A4.3-4: ἀνατίθησιν)¹³ to Athena Nike. We are told this occurred in the context of his conduct of the sacrifices and games at a mid-third-century Panathenaia (A4.1-3). The stele, like the Anonymous of Chios' ἀνάθημα, was

¹¹ Derow and Forrest, 'An inscription from Chios' 87-88 present the case for a dating of the festival after Magnesia, 'between the autumn of 189 and the spring/early summer of 188.'

¹² The institution of Romaia festivals is attested at many Greek cities of this time; see the study of Mellor, *Θεὰ Ρώμη* for a full presentation of the evidence, and also the comments of Price, *Rituals and Power. The Roman imperial cult in Asia Minor* 40-47, for a reading that situates cults of Roma as modulations of traditional ritual practices.

¹³ Kontoleon, 'Zu den literarischen ἀναγγραφαί' 197. ἀνατιθέναι, apart from its formulaic use in dedicatory inscriptions and the clauses of instruction at the end of decrees, is also found as the normal verb indicating sacred dedication: e.g. SEG 36.1047, the honorific decree for Apollodoros at the end of the third century II. 4-6: τὴν αὐτὴν αἵρεσιν ἔχων ἀνατίθησι τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Τερμινθεῖ φιάλας τέσσερας κτλ.

dedicated in expectation of reciprocity; it was likely placed at the temple of Athena Nike on the Akropolis – we might compare the deposition of the stele in the Argive temple of Apollo by Antiochos in the imperial period (A28.9: θεῖναι ἐν τῷ τοῦ Λυκείου Ἀπόλλωνος ἱε[ροῦ]). Moreover, like the Anonymous of Chios, Herakleitos' narration also concerned the party from whom benefaction might be expected – Antigonos Gonatas, and his victories over the Gauls. The characterisation of the stele's contents as ὑπομνήματα here gain in significance.¹⁴ Around the same time the Aitolian League, probably around 246/5, re-established the Sôteria in honour of the defeat of the Gauls as a ὑπόμνημα of the victory, following an early third-century practice of naming festivals as ὑπομνήματα of important foundational events (in commemoration of the overthrow of tyrants, overcoming of internal *stasis*).¹⁵ It is possible that the characterisation of Herakleitos' stele as containing ὑπομνήματα made an equally rhetorical claim *vis à vis* the king of Macedonia.¹⁶ The Panathenaic games conducted by Herakleitos likely only occurred after the Chremonidean War in 262, and if his stele is suggestive of its theme they may have served to explicitly present a new narrative of Athenian allegiance to Macedonia – evoking Antigonos' victories ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων σωτηρίας (A4.6) emphasised the memory of his positive role in

¹⁴ For the discussion as to their literary or figurative nature see chapter 1 n. 67.

¹⁵ *IG IX.1*² 194a.8 and *IG IX.1*² 194b.5. On the dating to 246/5 see Nactergael, *Les Galates* 223-235. See also *Syll.*³ 374.43ff from Athens, celebrating expulsion of Demetrios Poliorketes in 289/288. Cf. Habicht, *Gottmenschen und griechische Städte* 231-232 for other examples, which mainly record acts of salvation and liberation from internal discord, at Eretria (its defeat of a Ptolemaic siege in 308), Argos (expulsion of tyrant Pleistarchos in 303) and Priene (liberation from tyrant Hieron in 298).

¹⁶ A connection with the Aitolian League's Sôteria cannot be proven – indeed Herakleitos' Panathenaia might have occurred before 246/245, although the verbal similarities are striking. Herakleitos' stele emphasises salvation of the Greeks and victory over the barbarians: πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων σωτηρίας which are paralleled to some extent in the decrees of the Sôteria at Delphi: *IG IX.1*² 194a.7-10: τὸν τῶν Σωτηρίων τιθέναι...ὑπόμνημα τῇ[ς μ]άχης τῆς γενομένης πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους τοὺς ἐπισ[τ]ρατεύσαντας ἐπὶ τε τοὺς Ἕλληνας κτλ., and *IG IX.1*² 194b.5-7: ὑπόμνημα [τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων σωτηρίας καὶ τῆς νίκης τῆς γενομένης πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους τοὺς [ἐπιστρατεύσαντας] κτλ.

Greek history.¹⁷ The hatreds of 267-262 were replaced by a history of mutual respect, Antigonos achieving militarily the sort of Panhellenic good which Athens had come to represent. The sacred occasion facilitated this memory-creation ideally: it was the major Athenian festival and most appropriate venue to foster a new Athenian sense of self-identity, the dedication of a stele inviting Athena's reciprocal benefaction of her political future with king Antigonos.¹⁸

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The works of other honorands cannot be specifically situated in festivals, but had sacred significance. Historiography could have implications for cultic activity. For Leon of Stratonikeia, re-telling the past served to revivify the cultic practices of the sanctuary of Zeus Panamaros, and render its sacrifices more vivid (ἐπιφανεστέρας) through wider participation (A14.6-9); the interest was in validating the antiquity and vividness of the god. Similar intentions might be discerned for Syriskos, whose narratives of the Parthenos' ἐπιφάνειαι might have directly been associated with a program of restoration of her cult.¹⁹ A number of honorands, moreover, composed on local deities, in prose and verse, and indeed may be regarded as authors of 'sacred history', works which were 'profoundly cult-centred',²⁰ and bound the community with its god through the past: note that in some decrees the gods

¹⁷ Herakleitos, of course, would have been best placed to present this sort of ideology: he was the garrison-commander of the Peiraieus on behalf of the king (IG II² 1225).

¹⁸ A possible point of interest is the relationship of Herakleitos' Panathenaia to the divine cult of Antigonos Gonatas, which seems to have begun around the mid-third century; cf. Parker, *Athenian Religion: A History* 260 n. 19 for a decree of Rhamnus instructing sacrifices to Antigonos. The clear distinction between the θεοί and the king and Athens in A4.11-14 would probably, however, argue against this.

¹⁹ Note that the Lindian inventory inscription, which contains ἐπιφάνειαι narratives probably comparable with those of Syriskos, was erected with the view in mind of restoring the goddess' cult, and preserving a record of her acts, her ἀναθήματα and ἐπιφάνειαι, which had fallen into decline over time (I.Lindos 2a.4: διὰ τὸν χρόνον ἐφθάρθαι).

²⁰ The term is that of Dillery, 'Greek Sacred History', 519.

are described as sharing (κατέχειν) in the *polis* and its χώρα.²¹ Several honorands are moreover described as having dedicated (ἀνατιθέναι) their works: Aelianus and Herakleitos of Rhodiapolis (**A29.2**: [ἀν]αθέντα,²² **B25.17-21**: ἀναθέντα²³). Where the works of a historian-honorand are not known, praise for the individual's εὐσεβεία may hint at the sacred character of their compositions.²⁴ For others, there are more particular reasons for suspecting this: Xenophon of Samos' statue is dedicated Ἡγή (A31.4), while Philippos of Pergamon's work is θεία ἱστορία (A25.2), which may have had pertinence at Epidauros' Asklepieion, where his statue was raised.

These intimations of sacred significance may echo public, sacred occasions – literary contests at festivals, literary contests. Certainly, a number were honoured at sites with major sanctuaries (see Fig. 1), and we know in at least the cases of Auphria and the Sextus that they competed at the Pythian Games (**B21.10-11**, **B17.6-7**). For others such contexts are only possibilities: Zotion may have performed at Koroneia's Pamboiotia and Bombos at the

²¹ This emphasis on divine presence and habitation of the χώρα is found in many of the honours for hymn-writers: hymns are composed at Tenos in honour of Poseidon, Amphitrite, and the gods sharing in the land (Alkinoe **B8.6**: κατέχουσι θεοῖ[ς], Anonymous of Tenos **B11.2-3**: τοῖς κατέχο[υσι θεοῖς]). The verb κατέχειν, used in Zotion's honours (**A15.7**: κατεχώσας), is found also qualifying the gods of Delos in the decrees of Ariston (**A17.11-12**) and Amphikles (**B13b.9-10**).

²² In the group depicting Ganymede one might suspect a more demonstrably sacred setting, the ὑπαίθρον of perhaps a shrine honouring the local founder-god Tyrimnos (**A29.3-4**). Keil and Premierstein, 'Bericht über eine Reise in Lydien', 23 would understand εἰς τοῦ προπάτορος Τυρίμνου as εἰς τὸ ὑπαίθρον τοῦ προπάτορος Τυρίμνου after **A29.2** εἰς τὰ ὑπαίθρα τῶν γυμνασίων.

²³ The verb governs both ἀγάλματα and ποιήματα.

²⁴ Individuals honoured εὐσεβείας ἔνεκα: Hermokles (**A6.10**), Herakleitos (**A4.11**), Leon of Stratonikeia (**A14.16**), as well as Amphikles (**B13b.28**), Dymas (**A21.8-9**, 15), Kleochares (**B7.7**), and Ammonios (**B15.6**), while for Amphiklos (**A3.12**), Mnesiptolemus (**A7.9-10**), Aristodama (**A5b.12**) this expression may imply the sacred character of their work. In Amphiklos' decree one reads of the vivid (ἐπιφανῶς) manner in which he adorned the temple, with all the connotations of a divine evocation, and ἐπιφάνεια. Aristodama, for one, is praised for this quality at Chaleion, such that that decree is ultimately erected at Delphi, but not at Lamia. The absence of praise for εὐσεβεία, however, need not detract from the sacred quality of a work, as seems to have been the case for Alkinoe and the Anonymous at Tenos (**B8**, **B11**), and Eukles and Demoteles at Delos (**B1**, **A2**), who were likely to have composed on sacred themes.

festival of Zeus Eleutheria.²⁵ From the late Hellenistic period literary competitions dedicated to encomia are attested;²⁶ some of our second-century honorands, including those whose encomia were on less specifically sacred themes, might have performed at earlier manifestations of such contests (Aristotheos, Dioskurides, or Bombos and Alexandros, who wrote on ἔνδοξα). Certainly, the Hellenistic period witnessed a proliferation of civic festivals, and especially in Panhellenic ones;²⁷ major organisations dedicated to literary performances, such as the synods of the Dionysiac *technitai*, also emerge from the third century.²⁸ In regards to these large, semi-official performing corporations, two aspects of several of the documents may argue for association with the *technitai*: the insistence on εὐσέβεια,²⁹ and the fact that epic and tragic poets are attested as members of the *technitai*.³⁰

Problems subsist, however, with identifying agonistic contexts. For one, no direct mention of the Dionysiac *koina* of *technitai* is heard among our inscriptions, which are exclusively civic pronouncements – we know of decrees honouring members passed by the

²⁵ Zotion at Pamboiotia: Schachter and Slater, ‘A Proxeny Decree’ 87-88, Schachter, *Cults of Boiotia* 123-127. Bombos at Zeus Eleutheria: *Syll.*³ 613.45-49. There was also a theoric ritual conducted by Thessalians at Ilion, see chapter 1 n. 33; Bombos’ performances at Larisa may have been held on an occasion related to this.

²⁶ Victor-lists from the first century BCE onwards attest encomia-specific contests, and some even make the specific distinction of ἐνκώμιον λογικόν and ἐνκώμιον καταλογάδην, cf. Pernot, *La rhétorique de l’éloge* 1.48-49, 85-87. Cameron, *Callimachus* 48. The festivals of the Mouseia at second-century Larisa hosted different genres of encomia (*Syll.* 3 1059 II): works in prose, epic verse, and even epigram; there is listed also a category of καταλογὴ παλαιά and νέα. In the imperial period the encomiastic contests at the Mouseia diversify even further, with a catalogue from around 20 CE listing contests praising different members of the imperial family, with prose encomia dominating; cf. Gangloff, ‘Rhapsodes et poètes épiques à l’époque impériale’ 64-65, 67-68.

²⁷ On the rise of stephanitic festivals in the Hellenistic period see Robert, ‘Discours d’ouverture’ 37-38.

²⁸ On these see the key works of Le Guen *Les associations de technites dionysiaques à l’époque hellénistique* and Aneziri, *Die Vereine der dionysischen Techniten*.

²⁹ Lightfoot ‘Nothing to do with the *technitai* of Dionysus?’ 218-219.

³⁰ See Aneziri, *Die Vereine* 425-428 for a table of the different literary vocations among members of the *technitai*; one finds individuals designated as τραγικοὶ ποιηταί, ποιηταὶ σατύρων, ποιηταὶ ἐπῶν, ποιηταὶ διθυράμβων, ποιηταὶ προσφδίου, and ποιηταί.

technitai for members,³¹ but also civic decrees which mention the honorand's membership of the *technitai*.³² Moreover, except for Auphria and Sextus, we never read of performances at agonistic contexts;³³ it is instructive to note that, in known decrees that do mention agonistic contexts the mere fact of the honorand having competed is mentioned, whether or not they were victorious.³⁴ Such competitive environments are likely to have at least been mentioned; it is striking that almost none do this. As will be discussed later, we should rather look elsewhere, in unofficial, irregular occasional performances for the contexts of these honorands.

2. Historiography in the gymnasium

One also finds historian-honorands re-telling the past as part of civic education. Kleocharēs' and Amphikles' activities in educating the youths in the performance of hymns

³¹ See Aneziri, *Die Vereine* 344 A2 for a tragic poet Xenokrates honoured by the *koinon* at Athens, and 398 E5 for a dithyrambic poet Nikagoras, honoured by the Kyprian *koinon*; the latter was praised ἐ[ὺν]φ[ί]αξ ἔνεκεν τῆς εἰς ἑαυτό (l. 6).

³² A late second-century decree of Paphos honours Kallippos, *grammateus* and *archon*, and also a τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ θεοῦς Εὐεργέτης; another Paphian decree honours Aristonike the wife of an Aristokrates who was a member of the *technitai*; cf. Aneziri, *Die Vereine* 400 E9 and 399 E8. A number of civic decrees honour the Dionysiac *technitai* as a whole: see Le Guen, *Les associations de technites* doc. ns. 10, 13, 14, 17, 39, 41.

³³ Nor do we hear of ἱστοριογράφοι or συγγραφεῖς in victor lists, as Clarke, *Making Time* 365 n. 227 notes.

³⁴ The decree of Auphria (B21.10-11) merely states she arranged her works at the Pythian games, while for Sextus (B17.6-11) we read that he performed in a manner befitting his piety towards the god (B17.8-9: [ἀν]αλόγως τῆς πρὸς τὸν θεὸν [ἢ] μῶν [ε]ὐσεβείας) and praised the god as those who are deserving of crowns (B17.10-11: ὡς τῶν ἐπιβαλλόντων τ[υ]χεῖν στεφάνων). The last phrase is obscure, and may refer to a victory at the contest, as Robert, *Études* 21 interprets it. For examples of honorands, mainly musicians, praised for having competed at Delphi, FD III.1 48.5 (Nikon: ἀγωνίζατο), FD III.4 361.7-8 (Menalkes: καλῶς καὶ φιλοτίμως ἡγωνίσατο), FD III.3 125.5 (Aristys: ἀγωνίζατο), FD III.3 126.4 (Damokles: συναγωνίζατο), FD III.3 249.7 (Polygnota: ἀγωνίζατο). See also Liefferinge, 'Auditions et conférences à Delphes' 156-157. Robert, 'Décrets de Delphes' 38-39 notes that at least in the case of Polygnota, where ἀγωνίζεσθαι is qualified, it need not even imply a contest, but merely an occasional performance – an ἀκρόασις or ἐπίδειξις.

(**B7.4**, **B13b.12-15**) would have taken place in such a context, perhaps a gymnasium.³⁵

Historiography is directly attested in the gymnasium in the case of the Anonymous of Amphipolis, whose activities in education (**A9.3**: παιδεύων καλῶ[ς--]) begin his fragmentary decree, and arguably govern the historiographical activities which follow, also described through participles (**A9.4**). Moreover, Alexandros of Thasos is described as being dedicated to the betterment of the ephebes and *neoi* (**A23a.2-3**), the participle indicating this (ἐπιδούς) followed by the participial clause on his historiography (**A23a.4-5** begun by πραγματευσάμενος). He also conducts σχολάς (**A23a.8**), which would suggest paid classes.³⁶ The specific distinction here between ephebes and *neoi* precludes a reference to the generic ‘youths’; of Paros, and almost certainly concerns the two groups of older and younger youths involved in intellectual education in the gymnasium.³⁷ Several honorands are moreover located precisely in gymnasia – the Anonymous from Skepsis (**B14.4-5**) and Bombos (**A16.14-15**) performed their ἀκροάσεις and ἐπιδείξεις in gymnasia,³⁸ while Aelianus dedicates his statues of Herakles (**A29.2-3**) in a gymnasium.

These facts provide grounds for comparing these historian-honorands to other learned occupations elsewhere attested in gymnasia: philosophers, grammarians, rhetors, musicians, doctors and astrologers,³⁹ are honoured in very similar terms to our historians: the

³⁵ Note also *Syll.*³ 703, honouring Kleodoros and Thrasyboulos as musicians who educated the youth at Delphi (I. 10: διδασκαλίαν τῶν παίδων ἐποιήσατο)

³⁶ Scholz, ‘Elementarunterricht und intellektuelle Bildung im hellenistischen Gymnasion’ 121-122.

³⁷ Kennell, ‘Who were the *Neoi*?’ 226-232. The gymnasium persisted throughout the Hellenistic and Roman periods as the scene for the education of wealthy *neoi*; cf. Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity* 256-257.

³⁸ There may have been a specific space dedicated to the lectures of their honorands, such as an ἀκροατήριον as existed later at Aigai; cf. Robert, *Études anatoliennes* 79-81.

³⁹ Philosophers: a philosopher from Haliartos (*IG* VII 2849), an anonymous learned man, maybe a philosopher, from Oropos seems to have taught [ἐν τῷ γυμ]νασίῳ (*SEG* 47.496.3); philosophers are mentioned in ephebic honours at Athens (*IG* II² 1028.35, 1029.21, 1030.31, 1039.47). Grammarians: *IG* XII.9 235.10-11 for a Dionysios at Eretria who was a Ὀμηρικὸς φιλόλογος, who held classes at the gymnasium. *FD* III.3 338 honours Menandros at Delphi, where also Lucius Licinius Euklides, a γραμματικός (Agusta-Boularot, ‘Les références épigraphiques aux Grammatici et Γραμματικοί de l’Empire romain (Ier s. av. J.-C., IVe s. ap. J.-C.)’ 692-693 n.

grammarian Menandros, for instance, on top of sharing his learning also held σχολαί in the gymnasium (*FD* III.3 338.6-7).⁴⁰ Such lectures in the gymnasium were probably arranged by the gymnasiarch; at Eretria the gymnasiarch Elpinikos supplied a rhetor from his own funds,⁴¹ while Mantidoros financed the lectures of Dionysios the Athenian Homeric φιλόλογος.⁴² Around the time of Alexandros, Zosimos of Priene organised a *grammatikos* to instruct the ephebes.⁴³ There are also other epigraphic indications that the visits of itinerant teachers were officially supported.⁴⁴ These lectures on the past are likely to have come under the teaching of γραμματική in general,⁴⁵ and indeed Dioskurides and Anteros were both

33) and an Apollonios of Aigeira (*FD* III.1 2232.3: παιδεύσαντι Δελφῶν υἱούς) were honoured. Rhetors: Elpinikos procured a rhetor at Eretria (*IG* XII.9 234.8-10). Doctors: Robert, *Études* 43 n. 3 for Asklepiades at Perge I. 7: διὰ τε τῶν ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ ἀκροάσεων. Astrologers: *Syll.*³ 771 for an anonymous *astrologos* who [ἐποιήσ]ατο σχολὰς καὶ πλείονας ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ (II. 2-3).

⁴⁰ *FD* III.3 338.7: ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ καὶ διατιθέμενος σχολὰς. The philosopher from Haliartos also conducted σχολαί (*IG* VII 2849.4-6: [ἀκροάσις πλείονα]ς ποιησάμενος εὐδοκίμεισε καὶ ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ σχολάδδων τὼς [ἐφείβως] πεδεύει) κτλ.

⁴¹ *IG* XII.9 234.8-10: καὶ παρέσχεν ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου ῥήτορά τε καὶ ὀπλομάχον, οἵτινες ἐσχόλαζον ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ.

⁴² *IG* XII.9 235.10-12: παρ[έ]σχεν ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου Ὀμ[η]ρικὸν φιλόλογον Διονύσιον Φιλώτου Ἀθηναῖον, [ὅστις] ἐσχόλαζεν ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ.

⁴³ *I.Priene* 112 I. 74: ἐκ φιλολογίας γραμματικόν.

⁴⁴ Athenian honorific inscriptions for *kosmetai* praise the lectures of learned men they organise: *IG* II² 1039.17 (rhetors and grammarians), *IG* II² 1042.b.19-20, 1043.42-43 philosophers, grammarians, rhetors, and c.7-8; 1043.20 philosophers and grammarians; contemporary to Alexandros we also find Menas of Sestos and Stasias of Perge honoured for being well-disposed towards those who conducted lectures: Menas, *OGIS* 339.74-76: προσηνέχθη δὲ φιλανθρωπῶς καὶ τοῖς τὰς ἀκροάσεις ποιησαμένοις πᾶσιν, βουλόμενος καὶ ἐν τούτοις διὰ τῶν πεπαιδευμένων τὸ ἔνδοξον περιτιθέναι τῇ πατρίδι. Stasias of Perge, *SEG* 6.725.4-10: καὶ ἅπερ οὐκ ἦν ἐπετέλεσεν εἰς τὴν τῶν νέων καὶ ἐφήβων [παιδείαν, καὶ εἰς] τὴν εὐσχημοσύνην τοῦ γυμνασίου], τοῖς τε ἀπὸ τῶν μαθημάτων ἀπαρχο[μ]ένοις καὶ καταντῶσιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν φιλαγάθως καὶ πρεπόντως [προσεφέ]ρετο. For the organisation of intellectual education of youths at gymnasia in general, see Scholz, 'Elementarunterricht' 108-114.

⁴⁵ Dion. Thrax, *Ars grammatica* 1.1.6: τρίτον γλωσσῶν τε καὶ ἱστοριῶν πρόχειρος ἀπόδοσις. This would have involved largely memorisation of events and facts as gleaned from readings of poetical and other literary works: Marrou, *A History of Education* 232-234, and Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind: Greek Education in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt* 208-209. Past personalities in some cases were only of interest because they were of the past. Note that in *I.Priene* 316a, a block from the gymnasium, which purports to contain a list of Spartan

designated γραμματικοί.⁴⁶ There is other evidence for reading historiography alongside wider literary contributions: Hermogenes of Smyrna and Herakleitos of Rhodes were doctors before historians,⁴⁷ while the Anonymous at Chios' dedication of a shrine to the Muses in service of Chios' wider literary renown evinces a desire to prolong Chios' renown in *paideia*, hallowed by the poets (A11.31-36).⁴⁸ It is therefore unclear whether there might have been any particular didactic significance, in the honorific evidence, attached to the re-telling of the past. Importantly, the two honorands who spoke on local ἔνδοξα, Alexandros and Bombos, were also associated with gymnasia, and it seems the past simply served to imbue the youths of Paros and Larisa with a sense of local pride. Their aims were probably no different to those of Zosimos, in hiring the *grammatikos* at Priene – the cultivation of character: to increase the

ephors (l. 1: τῶν ἐφόρων), only Brasidas was actually an ephor; most of the others who are known – Kleomenes, Gylippos, Tyrtaios, Lysandros, Dorieus, Zeuxidamos, Agis, Leonidas, Mindaros – were not. There is evidence for historical books in library-catalogues, but these typically sit alongside works of literature in general: 1) the catalogue from Tauromenion (Manganaro, 'Una biblioteca storica nel ginnasio di Tauromenion e il P. Oxy. 1241'), which Manganaro considers to have represented 'una biblioteca specializzata in opera storiche' [399], although note *SEG* 47.1464, on further plaster fragments which contain the name of the Ionian philosopher Anaximandros: the catalogue thus did not record only the works of historians; 2) a library catalogue from Rhodes (*BNJ* 115 T48 and *FGrH* 228 T11), which included historians, among philosophers and orators: Demetrios of Phaleron, Hegesias, Theodektes, Theopompos of Chios, and a second Theopompos. Cf. Staab, 'Athenfreunde unter Verdacht. Der erste Asianist Hegesias aus Magnesia zwischen Rhetorik und Geschichtsschreibung' 129-131, and Tod, 'Sidelights on Greek Philosophers', 139; 3) a book-list from the Peiraieus *IG* II² 2363 may include, among the works of dramatists and orators, works of Hellanikos (l. 33: [τῶν Ἑλλαντίκου).

⁴⁶ Dioskurides (A19.3), Anteros (A30.5). The latter is also noted as an exponent of ποικίλας ἐπιστήμας (A30.6-8), which may be paralleled by the ἐπιδείξεις ποικίλας found in the honours for a contemporaneous tragic poet Gaius Julius Longianus from Aphrodisias: *TAM* VIII 418.b.2-4: καὶ ποιημάτων παντοδαπῶν ἐπιδείξεις ποικίλας ἐποιήσατο δι' ὧν καὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους εὐφρανεν καὶ τοὺς νεωτέρους ὠφέλησεν. He may have performed at a gymnasium, where his statue was to be erected, παρὰ τὸν παλαιὸν Ἡρόδοτον' (ll. 13-14). Longianus may have written a poem of a historical nature, but little survives of the earlier part of the decree.

⁴⁷ Hermogenes (A27.1), Herakleitos (B25.15-16). One might compare another Antonine doctor-historian, Titus Statilius Kriton, author of a *Getica* commemorating Trajan's Dacian Wars and honoured at his native Ephesos as the imperial physician (*BNJ* 200; *SEG* 4.521).

⁴⁸ As restored by Salvo, 'Romulus and Remus', 127: l. 34: διὰ τὴν περιγεγονυῖαν τῇ πόλει δόξ[αν ἀπὸ τῶν ποιητῶν]

readiness of the ephebes, and to hone their souls (προάγεσθαι) towards virtue and a sense of human sensibility;⁴⁹ the verb also describes the activities of Anteros at Athens (A30.9-15: προαχθέ[ν]των). History, integrated into civic scheme for inculcating *paideia*, contributed to civic elite-formation.⁵⁰

Zosimos' philosophy of education echoes that of Philippos – he is not explicitly associated with the gymnasium, but the didactic function of the past that his history presented would have accorded well with this: its study is described as contributing to the moral rectification (διόρθωσις) of his audience (A25.11-16.).⁵¹ There is also a notable emphasis on suffering, πάθη (A25.5, 15), on which his narrative of the Civil Wars focussed, and where the connection with Zosimos' πάθος ἀνθρώπινον becomes important. Where the latter concept embeds an Aristotelian conception of training habituation to πάθη through physical and intellectual training,⁵² Philippos presents history as a way to master πάθη, for its study (μανθάνοντες implies a degree of gymnastic discipleship) affords one safe observation and moral διόρθωσις. Inscription here serves in itself to instruct. If πάθη suggests a common gymnastic ideology, Philippos has also magnified its significance; inscription extends his audience not merely extended to that of the whole *polis*,⁵³ but the whole Greek world (ἐς τοὺς Ἑλληνας).

⁴⁹ I.Priene 112.73-76: ἔτι δὲ σφαίρας καὶ ὅπλα καὶ τὸν ἐπιστά[την τὸ]ν τῶν ἐφήβων τοῖς ἐκ φιλολογίας γραμματικόν, δι' [ὧν μὲν] τὸ σῶμα βουλόμενος ἄοκνο[ν] τυγχάνειν δι' ὧν δὲ τ[ὰς ψυχ]ὰς πρὸς ἀρετὴν καὶ πάθος ἀνθρώπινον προάγεσθαι.

⁵⁰ Augusta-Boularot, 'Les références épigraphiques' 700 suggests that προαχθέ[ν]των here denotes promotion 'en puissance comme en dignité.'

⁵¹ Goukowsky, 'Philippe de Pergame' 41-42, and n. 26 lists passages in Polybios and Diodoros making reference to moral διόρθωσις and ἐπανόρθωσις.

⁵² Gray, 'Philosophy of Education in the Later Hellenistic *Polis*' 243-245.

⁵³ Note that Diodoros' conception of διόρθωσις encompasses the polis as a whole: Diod. Sic. 1.1.4-5.

3. Historiography in official contexts

A third context is that of official ambassadorial relations between *poleis*. Hermokles and Amphiklos were sacred ambassadors;⁵⁴ the Anonymous of Chios was ambassador to Rome (A11.9). Only with the pair of Herodotos and Menekles, however, who are explicitly called *πρεγγευταί* (A20a.4, A20b.4), can more specific details be gleaned of the ambassadorial context of their historiographical activities. Their decrees from Knossos and Priansos might be supplemented with six other decrees honouring their ambassadorial duties known from Teos, from various Cretan communities.⁵⁵ These illuminate the embassy which their activities at Knossos and Priansos were undoubtedly part of – this, it would seem, sought the re-inscription and renewal of the *asylia* status of Teos' temple of Dionysos, and should be dated between 170-150.⁵⁶ In these other decrees little sign of the pair's Cretan historiography can be detected, but instead arguments drawn from the Teian perspective – accounts of Teos' piety towards Dionysos,⁵⁷ reminders of Teos' earlier *asylia* status,⁵⁸ citation of oracles as evidence,⁵⁹ and accounts of Teian goodwill towards Crete;⁶⁰ Teos' own history of inviolability, and of amicability towards Crete.

The decrees of Knossos and Priansos are thus striking for their silence on these arguments – they are much briefer, and the focus is more greatly placed on Herodotos and Menekles' historiography.⁶¹ Instead of narratives from the Teian perspective, the interest is in

⁵⁴ On Amphiklos see *FD* III.3 217.4 ἀποστα[λεῖς ἱερομόμων].

⁵⁵ Rigsby, *Asylia* ns. 154-159.

⁵⁶ Rigsby, *Asylia* 289-290. Teos may have sought its renewal of *asylia* at this time because of the threat of piracy, of which one of the main centres in the second century would have been Crete; cf. Rigsby, *Asylia* 288.

⁵⁷ Rigsby, *Asylia* n. 154.15-25 (Aptera).

⁵⁸ Rigsby, *Asylia* n. 156.8-13 (Biannos).

⁵⁹ Rigsby, *Asylia* n. 157.6-10 (Malla).

⁶⁰ Rigsby, *Asylia* n. 159.7-16 (Arkades).

⁶¹ There is no mention, for instance, of their having fulfilled their duties as had been voted by Teos, which we find in the other decrees (ἀκολούθως τοῖς ἐν τῷ ψαφίσματι κατακεχωρισμένοις: Rigsby *Asylia* n. 154.16-17 (Aptera), n. 155.14-16 (Eranna), n. 156.8-10 (Biannos), n. 157.6-7 (Malla).

their renditions of Crete's own antiquity and mythology. These renditions arguably had just as much significance for the re-instatement of *asylia* status;⁶² in displaying Teos' mastery of *paideia* (A20b.13-14) Herodotos and Menekles presented themselves almost as Cretan locals (note Menekles draws on ancient Cretan poets A20a.9-10, b.8-9),⁶³ their familiarity with its history endorsing the intensity of the *oikeiotes* existing between Crete and Teos. The narration of the past solidified Teos' claims by presuming a state of goodwill,⁶⁴ and thereby also confirming Crete's place in Hellenistic high culture.

The activities of Menekles and Herodotos constitute particularly vivid examples of a widely attested practice of employing the past in the service of official diplomatic activities, through literary men well-versed in it – philosophers, actors, tragedians, poets, and historians.⁶⁵ The epigraphic evidence informs us of various diplomatic themes in which the

⁶² For one, the Knossos and Priansos decrees were inscribed on the same wall as the decree of the Arkades (Rigsby, *Asylia* 322), and so meant to be read as part of the same dossier of documents pertaining to their embassy; they were not simply 'Dionysiac artists' who were also providing entertainment alongside a serious mission, as Rigsby's comments might suggest, at *Asylia* 289: 'And two cities (Knossos and Priansos) apparently felt nothing new was necessary, and simply praised the Tean envoys for their culture without mentioning *asylia*; the envoys, obviously Dionysiac Artists, had given recitals about the traditional relations of Crete and Teos.'

⁶³ Chaniotis, 'Als die Diplomaten noch tanzten und sangen: Zu zwei Dekreten kretischer Städte in Mylasa', 156 suggests there may have been a particularly Cretan penchant for musical and poetical performances, especially in diplomatic settings; he cites Cretan decrees found at Mylasa mentioning the performance of works of Thaletas of Gortyn (*IMylasa* 652.2: Θαλέτα τῷ Κρητός and 653.8-9: Θαλήτα [τῷ Κρητός]).

⁶⁴ We cannot, naturally, know if the pair had similarly performed Cretan poetry and mythology at the other cities they visited, or if not why they had chosen to do so at Knossos and Priansos; given that they likely did also carry out their request for *asylia* renewal at these two places, it is simply the case that Knossos and Priansos placed greater emphasis on their literary performances than on their diplomatic activities.

⁶⁵ Bash, *Ambassadors for Christ* 62-69, 76-79, Kienast, *RE* s.v. 'Preisbeia', 533 for literati who were sent as ambassadors: note Dem. 5.6, 19.315 for the tragic actor Neoptolemos, Philip II's ambassador to Athens, Plut. *Alex.* 10.1-3 for Thessalos the tragic actor; for athletes as ambassadors, cf. Robert, *Études anatoliennes* 50-53 (Hippolochos son of Asklepiades to Rome), 119-123 (Gaius Perelius Alexandros to Elagabalus). Historians are attested on official diplomatic service – Leon of Byzantion, ambassador to Athens (*BNJ* 132 T1), and Nymphis of Herakleia, who was sent to negotiate with invading Gauls in the third century (*BNJ* 432 T4); cf. Chaniotis, *Historie* 128-130. See also the comments of Gazzano, 'Ambasciatori greci in viaggio', 119: 'l'incarico (of an ambassador) appare rivestito in prevalenza dai cittadini più facoltosi e più in vista, dai commandanti militari, dagli intellettuali impegnati e ben esercitati nell'arte retorica.'

past was used, in an argumentative, affirmative form: claims to *asylia*,⁶⁶ kinship,⁶⁷ as well as in arbitration over territorial disputes.⁶⁸ We have seen that Teian ambassadors employed arguments both affirmative of their own history of piety, as well as the Cretans' standing as friends of Teos.⁶⁹ Apart from Herodotos and Menekles, few historian-honorands may be precisely situated in such ambassadorial contexts – the communal nature of such negotiations tends to result in inscription of official letters rather than decrees, while individual honours are less likely to include such details on their own:⁷⁰ note that the Teians' honours are framed

⁶⁶ See Riggsy, *Asyilia* for documented cases.

⁶⁷ Kinship diplomacy has been the subject of several works, notably those of Curty, *Les parentés*, Lücke, *Syngeneia. Epigraphische-historische Studien zu einem Phänomen der antiken griechischen Diplomatie*, who present corpora of the relevant documentation; see also the discussions of Jones, *Kinship Diplomacy*, and Erskine, A. 'O brother where art thou? Tales of kinship and diplomacy'. Apart from the well-known examples of Magnesia-on-the-Maiandros (see below n. 69) an interesting case is that of Apollonia on the Rhyndakos and Miletos (Curty, *Les parentés* 143-145 n. 58); the latter affirmed kinship relations through examination of 'τὰς περὶ τούτων ἱστορίας' (l. 10).

⁶⁸ For the evidence for inter-*polis* arbitration see Ager, *Interstate Arbitrations in the Greek World, 337-90 B.C.* Important examples include the Rhodian decision in the territorial dispute between Samos and Priene, where historians and historical documents were cited on the part of the emissaries of both cities (*I.Priene* 37.53-64, 101-123, 130-157 [citing letters of Lysimachos, Antigonos, Antiochos and Ptolemy]). In the decision between Sparta and Megalopolis, also of the second century, the arbitrators decided in favour of the Megapolitans' claim that they had held the Skiritis and Aigitis from the time of the Heraklids' return to the Peloponnese (Ager, *Interstate Arbitration* n. 137.34-36: κ[αὶ ὅτι] ἔκριν[αν] οἱ δικασταὶ [γενέσθαι τὰν Σκιρ]ίτιν καὶ τὰν Αἰγῦτιν Ἀρ[κάδων ἀπὸ] τοῦ τοῦς Ἡρακλείδας εἰς [Πε]λοπόννησον κατελθεῖν'). Likewise, the Messenians, when bolstering their arguments against Sparta before Tiberius in 25 CE, referred to the ruins of temple dating to the time of the return of the Heraklids. Both parties employed poetry and histories as evidence, cf. Tac, *Ann.* 4.43: the Spartans affirm their position *annalium memoria vatunque carminibus*, while the Messenians *veterem inter Herculis posteros divisionem Peloponnesi protulere, suoque regi Denthaliatem agrum in quo id delubrum cecississe; monimentaue eius rei sculpta saxi et aere prisco manere. quod si vatun, annalium ad testimonia vocentur, pluris sibi ac locupletiores esse*.

⁶⁹ The Magnesians' embassies to gain *asylia* status for Artemis Leukophryene provide a parallel: mythology and history was drawn upon either to affirm the *polis*' history of good deeds, as they did with Epidamnos (*I.Magnesia* 46.7-14), or the kinship with the visited city, as they did with Kephallenian Same (*I.Magnesia* 35.12-15).

⁷⁰ That a few speak on kinship (Bombos, Themistokles, Cestianus) is not necessarily an argument for official settings; nor are the phrases found in some, that the honorand performed in a manner worthy (ὀξίως) of their own city and the city they visited: Alkinoe (**B8.8-9**), Themistokles (**B12.14-15**), Anonymous of Tenos (**B11.4-5**), Aristotheos (**A13.4**). Arguing for membership of Mylasa in the Panhellenion *may* have been the context for

as letters. In this regard, it is noteworthy that Antiochos' fragmentary honours are framed within an official letter composed by Argos to Aigeai. Unlike Menekles' work on Crete, he narrated the kinship between the two communities, and connected them not by familiarising himself with local stories, but through common stories of origin. Like, the Teians, however, he is also praised for his *paideia* (A28.18-19), and history here is also imbued with symbolic value as a medium of cultural expression, and serves the official purpose not just by weaving myths that resonate with both, but also thereby demonstrating the participation of both communities in the common language of elite cultivation.

4. The geographical significance of the historian-honorand

In the foregoing survey we have examined the few known contexts of these historian-honorands; these are to be seen within the sacred, didactic, and diplomatic spheres of *polis* life. The issues which narratives of the past raised were ones which concerned the community at large. Especially in this last section we have seen historiography in the service of diplomatic goals, and so holding significance for a *polis*' external relations. For most of these documents, however, such specific contexts are undefined, and it is more useful to examine them macroscopically, and the meanings they provide when read as a collection.

Anteros' histories, although the caveats of Price, 'Local Mythologies' 122; cf. chapter 1 n. 87. Anteros' activities may still nonetheless have been of an official nature. The one other possible text conferring individual honours on an ambassador-historian may be a Trallian decree honouring Xenokrates of Tenos and his scribe Kalliphon, The former, in the course of his duties as a *dikastes* may have composed accounts of the city's glorious deeds, if Chaniotis' restoration is accepted: [τὴν δὲ πόλιν ἡμῶν βουλόμενος] τιμᾶν [καὶ] λογογραφίας ἐξήνεγ[χε περὶ τῶν γεγενημένων ἐνδόξων τε] πόλει. (IG XII.5 869.33-34 = Chaniotis, *Historie* 313 E22) Xenokrates was praised for his justice and piety (ll. 55-56: ἀποσταλέντα μετάπεμπτον δικαστὴν καὶ [κρίναντα] ἴσως καὶ δικαίως καὶ εὐσεβῶς), so there may have been sacred affairs involved in the dispute. Chaniotis may be right to see the incongruity, otherwise, of a verb of honouring in a juristic setting, and the possibility of its association with λογογραφίας and πόλει (πόλι[ν] in IG XII.5 869.34); even so, should he indeed be right it is not impossible that Xenokrates' encomiastic account of Trallian history was related to his juristic activities, and was not merely a discrete literary work, as *Historie* 314 seems to imply.

We examine first the geographical distribution of the cities where honours were conferred, and from which these historian-honorands originated (see Fig. 1). These cities of origins for the Hellenistic honorands are largely confined to the Aegean islands, the Ionian coastline, and the Greek mainland, although Syriskos was active in the Black Sea. Several recurring sites perhaps reflect ongoing traditions of historiographical activity – Chios, which could boast of Theopompos and Ion in the fifth and fourth centuries;⁷¹ Samos, which had a tradition of local historians in the Hellenistic period; Ilion, known also for Hegesias the historian;⁷² Kolophon, from where the poet Nikandros of Kolophon hailed; literary activity at Athens is unsurprising. This distribution shifts slightly into the first century and imperial era.⁷³ Smyrna produces another historian in Hermogenes,⁷⁴ while historiography continues at Athens and Samos; Pergamon, moreover, produces two historians,⁷⁵ and Tralleis, the birthplace of Phlegon the historian,⁷⁶ two epic poets. Notably, the origins of the individuals from the imperial period are more often to be found in Asia Minor, and even Syria, although still not unknown in Greece. Asinius Quadratus reflects a deeply changed world, as an Italian, and probably Antiatae.⁷⁷ It would be hazardous, with regards to the proliferation of Anatolian cities of origin, to suggest a cultural shift specifically under the empire – literary activity there

⁷¹ Cf. Moretti, 'Chio e la lupa capitolina' 52-53 for an overview of Chios' rich historiographical tradition, and also Kontoleon, 'Zu den literarischen ἀναγγραφαί' 197-198, who draws attention to the existence of historiographical inscriptions found at Chios: a catalogue of the companions of Oinopion, founder of Chios, a catalogue of the Argonauts, and a summary of the Homeric catalogue of ships.

⁷² See Helly, 'Décret de Larisa' 198-199.

⁷³ Chaniotis, *Historie* 378 seems to somewhat subsume these chronological developments in distribution, noting merely that 'diese Verbreitung (of cities of origin) ist schwerlich zufällig und kann als Zeichen der starken kulturellen Entwicklung der östlichen Gebiete der griechischen Welt gelten.'

⁷⁴ Smyrna was also where a Lamachos may have come from, if the reading of *BNJ* 116 T1a = *Plut. Dem.* 9.1 is correct to read Λαμάχου τοῦ Σμυρναίου.

⁷⁵ It is also in the imperial period that the so-called Pergamene Chronicle (*BNJ* 506 = *OGIS* 264) was composed, a monumental inscription relating foundational events in Pergamon's history.

⁷⁶ *BNJ* 257.

⁷⁷ See *BNJ* 97 F1, which may be read to describe his Antian origins: Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀνθιον· πόλις Ἰταλίας. Κουάδρατος ἐν β' Ῥωμαϊκῆς Χιλιάδος. ὁ πολίτης Ἀνθιανός, ὡς αὐτός. – 'a citizen is called an Anthian, as Quadratus himself was.'

certainly dates back to the Hellenistic period – but it does accord with the rise in an eastern ruling-class from the first century CE,⁷⁸ and with the geographical origins of sophists and rhetors in general, among whom a notable quantity came from provinces in Anatolia, Syria, and Egypt.⁷⁹ We can place, for instance, as a compatriot and near-contemporary to Aelianus the orator and high-priest of Asia M. Aurelius Athenaios.⁸⁰

This eastward trend in the distributions of these historian-honorands is only further indicative of the large degree of itinerancy one observes across both the Hellenistic and imperial periods. Notably, the geographical locus of honoured historiography across this time-span seems to have been relatively consistent, being focussed on Greece, the Aegean and western Anatolia.⁸¹ This itinerancy arguably reflects a recurrent theme in Greek historiography and poetry of the necessity of travel between communities and patrons.⁸² Of the thirty-eight Hellenistic honorands overall only nine were honoured at their home *poleis*,⁸³ and twenty-nine as visitors at other cities.⁸⁴ This prevalence of itinerancy certainly continues in the imperial centuries, with only six of the twenty-one individuals honoured as locals, and fifteen as visitors.⁸⁵

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⁷⁸ The earliest known senators from Asia date to the reign of Vespasian – Julius Celsus and Julius Quadratus in 70 CE. On the infiltration of men of eastern origins into the senate see Syme, ‘Antonine Government and Governing Class’ 676-681 and Jones, ‘Culture in the Careers of Eastern Senators’, who prefers to attribute the development of the careers of these senators less to cultural attainments than connections and practical ability.

⁷⁹ Puech, *Orateurs et sophistes* 15-23, and Bowersock, *Greek Sophists* 17-30.

⁸⁰ Puech, *Orateurs et sophistes* 150-153 ns. 49-51. See also a Nikandros of Thyateira (*BNJ* 343), a grammarian who wrote on the demes of Athens, perhaps of Hellenistic date.

⁸¹ Note particularly the cases of Antiochos, who travels to Argos from Kilikia, and Sextus, who performed at Delphi.

⁸² On this in general see Schepens, ‘Travelling Greek Historians’; for its significance for the poetic tradition see for example Gentili, *Poetry and its Public* 155-176.

⁸³ We include Dionysios of Samos among these nine, although his decree is too fragmentary for this to be sure.

⁸⁴ We count here the pair of Dioskurides and Myrinos as one, since the decree only honours the former.

⁸⁵ This includes Claudius Eumolpos and Auphria, who were certainly visitors to Delphi, although their cities of origin are unknown.

One may also qualify some of the judgements of chapter 1. The interest in wider narrative frameworks we observed there would seem to be in keeping with this prevalence of itinerancy – the construction of the past was affected by geographical distance. Where historians were honoured locally one finds historiography honoured publicly for looking beyond the *polis* (Leon of Samos, Syriskos, Dexippos, Herakleitos of Athens, Anonymous of Chios, Hermogenes, Aelianus), while we mainly find works of more local character honoured when performed by itinerant historians, notably at sites of major sacred significance (Delphi, Delos, Samothrake, Oropos, Epidauros, Olympia, Samos, Tenos, Klaros, Koroneia, and Amphipolis). At such sites of high visibility one also finds narratives of the largest range – universal histories or histories of foreign rulers (Aristotheos, Philippos, Charax and Quadratus). Itinerant historians, naturally, also provide larger lenses through which to view local history, through contextualising it against larger narratives (Amphiklos, Aristodama, Herodotos and Menekles, Dioskurides, Leon of Stratonikeia, Dymas, Herodes), or accounts of kinship (Hermokles, Bombos, Themistokles, Antiochos, Cestianus). In the latter category historians themselves, by virtue of their itinerancy (cf. Politas, Alexandros), also broaden the mental horizons of his home *polis*; in Anteros' case a historian's local history is itself narrated at a venue outside of it. There are thus three categories of wider historiographical frameworks – that of local history narrated by historians in their home *poleis*, a second of local history as narrated by the itinerant historian, and a third of historiography narrated at a *polis* by an itinerant historian which may have connected both *poleis* (in kinship narratives), or been unrelated to either – note the particular case of Aristotheos, a Troizenian who presented on Roman history at Delphi.

This picture is one confined only to the honorific evidence, and certainly does not reflect the character of local historiography as a whole;⁸⁶ it does, however, present an insight into the role of historiography as a conduit between *polis* communities, both literally and

⁸⁶ Cf. chapter 1 n. 124.

symbolically. Frustratingly, apart from the few exceptions discussed hitherto (Hermokles, Anonymous of Chios, Herakleitos, Kleochares, Amphikles, Leon of Stratonikeia, Anonymous of Amphipolis, Alexandros, Bombos, Anonymous of Skepsis, Menekles and Herodotos) we obtain little idea of the direct social and ritual contexts in which they publicised their historiographical works; it cannot be known with certainty that these were official settings, either in festivals, embassies, or activities undertaken as part of larger organisations such as the Dionysiac artists. Moreover, we do not hear of itinerant historians being officially requested by a *polis*.⁸⁷ It is not impossible, indeed, that most, as the character of their inscriptions as individual honours would suggest, undertook their journeys on individual initiative, as un-regularised, perhaps even *ad hoc* activities. Only in one case, that of Aristodama, do we hear of the honorand's company— she is accompanied by her brother Dionysios (A5a.12, b.29), suggesting her journey was undertaken by her household alone.⁸⁸ Indeed, such individual initiative might assume an official character of its own. In the case of Dioskurides' delegation of Myrinos to Knossos the latter's visit is regarded in official language – Dioskurides dispatches him (A19.5-6: ἀπήστελκε), as Teos had sent Herodotos and Menekles to Crete. The existence of civic honours, nevertheless, does show that such private endeavours were, at some stage, brought into a more visible, public arena. The culmination of such preparations would be the occasional ἀκρόασις or ἐπίδειξις, and where

⁸⁷ As was the case with Polygnota the harpist at Delphi, whose appearance was requested after the previous Pythian Games at which she had sought to perform had been cancelled due to the Mithridatic war (*FD* III.3 249. 6-7: παρὰ[κληθεῖ]σιν δὲ ὑπὸ τε τῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν), and another a harpist from Kyme, also at Delphi (*Syll.*³ 689.4-5: [παρὰκληθεῖ]σα ὑπὸ τε τῶν ἀρχό[ν]των καὶ τῶν πόλιος).

⁸⁸ Clarke, *Making Time* 354 follows the reading of Aristodama's brother in *IG* IX.2 62.12 as Ο . . . νει, and proposes Aristodama made several trips to Aitolia with different brothers; whether a single or multiple trips were undertaken, it is clear these were undertaken at her own initiative.

the rare description of venue is included we find these to be quite public displays: *gymnasia*,⁸⁹ theatres, even *ekklesiasteria*.⁹⁰

5. The historian-honorand in the post-classical world

The itinerant historian, especially, should be seen to comprise a sort of ‘sub-official’ level of inter-*polis* connectivity, among other peripatetic intellectuals (philosophers, grammarians, musicians, doctors) who, as Guarducci had long ago suggested, characterised ‘l’inquietudine e la passione’ of the post-classical period;⁹¹ they should not, however, much as they were travellers, be divorced from the public settings of the *polis* in which we read their activities. This *polis*-centred nature of our itinerant historians’ activities is somewhat neglected by Chaniotis,⁹² who sees in them the manifestation of a wider post-classical fragmentation of the *polis* entity. Rather than categorically defining, as he does, the citizen- and itinerant historian, with the former characterised as patriotic servant of the *polis* and latter almost as individualist opportunist, it may be preferable to see itinerant historians as representing a different register of inter-*polis* activity – such individuals, proudly described by their *polis*-demotics, cannot have been as indifferent to their home poleis as Chaniotis’ picture might suggest.⁹³ Indeed, among the few notices on the non-historiographical activities of

⁸⁹ Anonymous of Skepsis (B14.5: ἔν τε τῷ γυμ[ασίῳ]), Bombos (A16.14-15: ἐν τοῦ γ[υμ]νασί[ου]).

⁹⁰ Hermokles (A6.5: [ποτὶ τὰν ἐκκλησίαν?]), Leon of Stratonikeia (A14.8: ἐπὶ τινὰς δῆμους ἔπεισε), Ariston (A17.7-8: [ἔν τε] τῷ ἐ<κ>κλ[η]σιαστηρίῳ καὶ ἐν τῷ θεάτρ[ῳ]), Dioskurides (A19.9-10: ἐπελθὼν ἐπὶ τε τὸς κόσμος καὶ τὰν ἐκκλησίαν).

⁹¹ Guarducci, ‘Poeti vaganti e conferenzieri’ 648.

⁹² *Historie* 382-386.

⁹³ *Historie* 385: ‘Für diese Leute ist die Aueinandersetzung mit der Geschichte eine Art “Beruf” (ἐπιτάδουμα E59), ‘eine Aufgabe, die ihrer Eigenschaft als Bürger völlig fremd ist.’ Chaniotis is right to note the evolving character of early Hellenistic historiography, which saw the emergence of historiography attached to rulers and trans-*polis* individuals and institutions, and some degree of historiographical activity with horizons well beyond the *polis*; it would be overly systematic, however, to see the itinerant historians honoured in civic decrees simply as uprooted cosmopolitan individuals, under a model (outdated) of the declining *polis*. The difference is not as

these historian-honorands we find some as donors of buildings and funds,⁹⁴ and others as sacred and political office holders, or members of the local ruling-classes.⁹⁵ These few

extreme as that between ‘great’ (political exiles detached from the *polis*) and ‘lesser’ historiography (local chroniclers and antiquarians), such as Momigliano ‘The Rise of Antiquarian Research’ 58-62 would suggest, but some conception of the difference between figures like Hieronymos of Kardia (*FGrH* 154) or Antiochos III’ poet, Simonides of Magnesia (*BNJ* 163), and itinerant historians honoured at *poleis* might be made along such lines – one which, as Momigliano’s somewhat schematic distinction would nevertheless suggest, had already existed since Herodotos and Thukydides in the fifth century.

⁹⁴ We find some described as providing for the financial needs of the city. Dionysios (**A1.2-4**), Herakleitos of Chalkedon (**B2. 9-12**) and Amphikles (**B13a.3, b.16-18**) are described as having supplied the needs (χορεῖναι) of the *polis* and its citizens. The Anonymous of Chios seems to have erected an altar to the Muses (**A11.35-36**), perhaps a building for cult (Moretti, ‘Chio e la lupa capitolina’ 5 4). Several honorands made monetary donations. Aelianus leaves six thousand five hundred denarii for annual distribution among the councillors of Thyateira on the birthday of his deceased son (**A29.8-13**). He was likely a councillor himself, as two other honorific decrees would suggest: the council of Thyateira honour him and his wife for their zeal towards the city, cf. Clerc, ‘Inscriptions de Thyatire et des environs’, 409 n. 12 (Aelianus), and Hicks, ‘Inscriptions from Thyatira’, 138 n. 15 (Glykina his wife). Herakleitos of Rhodes donates money for expenses at the Asklepeia (**B25.21-24**).

⁹⁵ A few held priestly offices. Leon’s record-keeping, indeed, was probably supplementary to his role as a priest at Panamara. He is described as such (**A14.20**: ἱερατεύσαντα), and likewise in another honorific decree from Panamara, as a benefactor of the Kallipolitan deme (Van Bremen, ‘Leon son of Chrysaor’ 241-242 = *SEG* 45.1556.7: [ἱερ]ρατεύσας [ἐ]μ Παναμάρο[ις]). It is also as a priest that Ammonios should be seen in his decree, which honours him not only for the speeches he presents to the gods, but also for conducting the bull-sacrifice, and dividing the sacrificial meat (**B15.6-7**). He can be found as a priest at Delos in 102 (Bourguet in *FD* III.1 228 p. 130) and as a *hieromnemon* to Delphi in 116 BCE. Like Ammonios, it is quite likely other *hieromnemones* such as Hermokles and Amphiklos had served in similar priestly roles at their native Chios. In the case of Gorgos, compiler of a mythographic work or collection of oracles, a priestly office is assured: he is described on his epitaph as τὸν Κλαρίου τριπόδων Λητοῖδεω θέραπα (**A24.4**), a role which was clearly a large part of his livelihood. It is his piety for which he earns chief praise (**A24.5-6**: εὐσεβίης δὲ εἵνεκεν εὐσεβέων χώρον ἔβη φθίμενος). His travels to Athens might identify him with a like-named priest in a second-century tribal decree inscription (*IG* II² 1171.11: Γόργου ἱερέως). Finally, Dexippos too held major priestly offices, as a ἱερεὺς παναγής, probably a hereditary minor priesthood at Eleusis (*IG* II² 3670), and as *agonothetes* and *panegyriarchos* of the Great Panathenaia (**A32.4-6**). It is as Panathenaic *agonothetes* that another inscription honours him for raising the mast and crosspiece of the Panathenaic vessel bearing the goddess’ *peplos* (*IG* II² 3198). The office of *panegyriarchos* had a role at Eleusis, cf. Millar, ‘P. Herennius Dexippos’ 21.

As to political offices, we find Herakleitos of Athens as garrison-commander of the Peiraieus (*IG* II² 1225; cf. Nachtergaele, *Les Galates* 181). Kletonymos, described as having been law-abiding (**A18.8**), and guided his city through his counsel (**A18.12**), is probably to be identified with the magistrate known from other inscriptions (cf.

insights would moreover conform to the image of the *polis*-centred life of the historian one gains from the evidence for literary historians.⁹⁶

The narration of the past through history and mythology doubtless comprised an activity of some seriousness – telling the story of Koroneia's Athena, Larisa's ἔνδοξα, or

I.Cret. 1.16.26, 32). Cestianus may have been a *prytanis* at his native Apollonia, from where coins inscribed under Πρ(υτάνεως) Τ. Πεδου(καίου) Κε---νου are known (Puech, *Orateurs et sophistes* 162 n. 6). Onesikles is honoured as προστάτης, which, if not simply a term of affection, may reflect a civic magistracy. Dexippos was archon *basileus* and eponymous archon (A32.2-4: Also attested on *IG* II² 3670.2-4). Hermogenes may have been an eponymous *strategos* at Smyrna, if he is identifiable with a like-named magistrate on a Neronian coin: see Petzl in *I.Smyrna* I p.239. There are also those who had roles in the imperial administration. Charax held several major magistracies (B22.3-13: quaestor, consul, proconsul: See also *BNJ* 103 T1bis1 (dedication to Hadrian as *euergetes* sponsored by Charax), T1bis2 (an inscription recording Charax's construction of the propylaion at Pergamon), and also Chaniotis, *Historie* 332 E48, an honorific decree issued by a cult organisation). Quadratus is honoured as proconsul at Olympia (B26.4); he is also found honoured as a benefactor as proconsul at Ephesos; cf. Chaniotis, *Historie* 332 E49.

There is also some external evidence relating to the activities of these honorands as local benefactors: Dymas is known as one of three men who funded the performance of a comic actor, cf. Rutherford, 'Theoria and Theatre at Samothrake' 281 and n. 13 = *I.Iasos* 160, while Antiochos supplied corn and money to restore his native Aigeai (*V S* 2.4.568). In the cases of Syriskos and Herodes we may be surer of familial connections to the ruling-classes of Chersonesos and Priene. The father of Syriskos, Herakleidas, is perhaps identical with the Herakleidas who was chief administrator at Chersonesos (*IOSPE* I² 343 1-2: Ἡρακλείδας Παρμένοντος ἐπὶ τῶς διοικήσε[ος] ἑών). Herodes' father Poseidonios was a judge honoured by the Parians (*I.Priene* 63).

⁹⁶ These would be consonant with what is known of other post-classical historians, whom we also find as priests and politicians. The works of the Atthidographers might even have gained by this. Phanodemos is found in several decrees for services of a sacred nature – a dedication to Hephaistos (*BNJ* 325 FT2b), legislation concerning the sanctuary and festival of Amphiaraos at Oropos (FT3b, T4), and as *hieropoios* in Athens' delegation to the Pythais (T5). Philochoros was a *mantis* and *hieroskopos*, and among his works is a Περί μαντικῆς (*FGrH* 328 T1). These may not have been proper priestly offices, as Dillery, 'Greek Sacred History', 509 suggests, but we might note Dionysios, of Rhodes or Samos, who according to the *Suda* was the author of local history, but also a priest of the god Helios (*BNJ* 15 T1), and Gorgosthenes of Rhodes, cited as one of the authorities in the entries of the Lindian temple inventory, who was a priest of Athena (*BNJ* 529 T1). For epigraphic sources pertaining to the non-historiographical services of historians, see the collection in Chaniotis, *Historie* 329-332. We find Androtion the Atthidographer (*BNJ* 324) honoured by Arkesine as commandant of the Athenian fleet (*IG* XII.7 5), and Anaximenes by Lampsakos (*BNJ* 72), presumably for interceding with Alexander on her behalf (T6 = Paus. 6.18.2-6). Several decrees honour Polybios for his political service to the Achaian League (see texts in Chaniotis, *Historie* 330 E40). Under the Romans we find honours for Julius Theopompos (*BNJ* 21) as a benefactor of the Romans resident in Knidos (Hatzfeld, 'Note sur une inscription de Cnide', 667), and several documents honouring Theophanes (*BNJ* 188) as saviour and benefactor of Mytilene as an intermediary with Rome (*BNJ* 188 T10a, T10b, T10e and T10f).

Crete's glories which earned important public honours, was clearly an important literary achievement, that would have occupied much time in preparation.⁹⁷ Moreover we find an interest in emphasising the significance for the *polis* – for one, the recollection of the past may be explicitly described as an act recalling civic memory, and so evoking its communal importance;⁹⁸ one also might perceive a distinction (as explored in chapter 1), suggestive of the value attached to historiography, between the sorts of works ascribed to local and itinerant historians: the latter are mainly attributed performances (ἀκροάσεις, δείξεις, ἀποδείξεις, ἐπιδείξεις), while literary works are largely found among the former. This distinction, naturally, is not clear-cut;⁹⁹ yet underlying it is perhaps an interest in emphasising the public visibility and significance for *polis* cultural memory of itinerant historians, and the role of local historians in maintaining the continuity and permanence of this memory.¹⁰⁰

Some of these historians were even honoured at multiple locations for different historiographical activities – Aristodama at Lamia and Chaleion, Herodotos and Menekles at Knossos and Priansos, Amphikles at Oropos and Delos, Amphiklos at Delos and Delphi.¹⁰¹ In

⁹⁷ As Chaniotis, 'Als die Diplomaten noch tanzten und sangen' 156 suggests that an itinerant historian's lecture would have required 'längere und sorgfältige Vorbereitung.'

⁹⁸ The decrees from central Greece and Thessaly tend to characterise the historian's work as a work of commemoration: so Politas (A8.5: ἐπεμνάσ[θη]), Aristodama (A5a 6: ἐπεμνάσθη, b 10: μνάμαν ἐποιήσατο), Bombos (A16.15: [συνεμναμονεύσατο]?), Zotion (A15.6-7: με[μναμένος]); also Dymas from Samothrake (A21.19: τὰς μεγίστας μνημοσ[ύνας]).

⁹⁹ There are indications, for instance, that Syriskos both composed and read out his works (A10.4: γράψας ἀγ[έ]γνω), and Leon's ἱστορίαι are said to have been 'hymned' (A12b.7: ὑμνήσας); among itinerants, Demoteles wrote on Delian myths (A2.8: γέγραφε), Kleochares wrote his hymn (B7.3: γέγραφε), and Menekles both composed and performed his historical cycle (A20b.9: εἰσ<ή>νεγκε, 11-12: [ποι]ησάμενο[ς] τ]ὰν συναγωγάν).

¹⁰⁰ Note also the subtle emphasis on the validity of truth-claims: Syriskos' and the Anonymous of Chios' works are truthful (A10.19: ἀλαθιν[ῶς], A11.28: ἀληθής), Leon's are πινυταὶ ἱστορίαι, while we find indications of the visible presence of the past for Leon of Stratonikeia (the reader is invited to look at the records he has compiled through a deictic [ᾗ]θεν (A14.5) and Dexippos, in which there is an interest in the eye-witness authority of his ἱστορία (A32.10: ἐσαθρήσας, 12: ἐπεῖδε).

¹⁰¹ Amphiklos was also honoured in a fragmentary decree at Delphi which preserves only the first few lines, where we read that he was an epic poet (FD III.3 217.3-4); he was perhaps honoured for literary activities. We

the imperial period Antiochos also defended Cretan mythological claims,¹⁰² while Herakleitos of Rhodiapolis composed poems on different cities, perhaps of historiographical character (B25.19-21). Herakleitos' achievement was noteworthy because the cities he praised were not only famous ones, but geographically dispersed. These examples may suggest there were common themes on which local histories of different places were centred;¹⁰³ this was probably the case with Aristodama and Herodotos and Menekles, where there was rough geographical correlation in their destinations (Malis/Locris, Crete). These also perhaps present accentuated forms of the phenomenon one discerns in the single-journey itinerant historians, as interpreters and harmonisers of different pasts and traditions; these were more localised forms of literary activity we see otherwise represented in the literary tradition by figures such as Apollonios of Rhodes, who wrote *κτίσεις* of Alexandria, Naukratis, Kaunos, Knidos, Lesbos, and Rhodes.¹⁰⁴ To different degrees, then, these historian-honorands contributed validly to the creation of mental and symbolic maps of the *polis* community,¹⁰⁵ within and without itself, at publicly visible occasions of communal interaction – ἀκροάσεις and ἐπιδείξεις at which the community conceived a sense of its self. Chaniotis' conception of the political “‘Bürger’-Historiker” and non-political “‘Wander’-Historiker” here presents difficulties;¹⁰⁶ arguably, the publicity and communal character of the historian's presentations

might also note the possibility that Hermokles might have been the same individual as the honorand from Chios; cf. n. 8 above.

¹⁰² Philostr. *V S* 2.4.569.

¹⁰³ Clarke, *Making Time* 367.

¹⁰⁴ Other historians known for works on multiple regions: Semos of Delos (*BNJ* 396 T1), who wrote on Delos, Paros, Pergamon; Nikandros of Kolophon (*BNJ* 271-272) was attributed works on Aitolia, Kolophon, Thebes, Sicily; the imperial historian Kriton (*BNJ* 277 T1), author of histories of Pallene, Persia, Syracuse, and Macedonia; Pausanias the Lakonian (*BNJ* 592 T1) wrote on the Hellespont, Lakonia, and the Amphiktyonians; cf. Clarke, *Making Time* 345-346. Certainly, there is much reason to believe, as Cameron, *Callimachus* 51-53 does, that Hellenistic occasional poetry, including those of an encomiastic theme, often record actual performance occasions and journeys to different venues.

¹⁰⁵ On the conceptualisation of these, not only as reflections of, but enacting the interactions of Hellenistic *poleis* see Ma, ‘Peer Polity Interaction in the Hellenistic Age’ 15-23.

¹⁰⁶ *Historie* 383-385.

would have provided the itinerant historian with just as much ‘political’ significance for the *polis* – in fostering its self-conception and identity as a community – as the honorands attested, as seen, in official capacities. These were not merely disinterested antiquarian observers.

Indeed, with the itinerant historian having perspectives on multiple worlds – the home *polis* and the *polis* which was visited – one might see them as ‘flows’, to employ the metaphors of network theory, on ‘ties’ between different *polis* ‘nodes’;¹⁰⁷ they seen as part of network they might be approached as actors providing different mental maps and worldviews, one layer in the complex of post-classical ‘peer polity’ interaction. These historians, as authorities on myths, kinship, and local pasts, shaped, as we have seen, the sorts of historiography which a *polis* sought to praise, and to that extent the itinerant historian contributed to patterns of historiographical conceptions of the world; the very act of public acknowledgement through honour, however, represents the *polis*’ recognition of its commonality and connection with the itinerant historian’s community. The evidence does not allow us to fully map out a ‘network’ of honoured historians, but one might at least note that, as well as connections of higher density, there are also not insignificant single links between communities, hinting at the density of interactions which must have existed.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁷ Barney, *The Network Society* 26-27 illustrates with a network of friends: ‘each friend is a *node*...the regular contacts between these friends, either in speech or other activities, whether immediate or mediated by a technology, are the *ties* that connect them; that which passes between them – gossip, camaraderie, support, love, aid – are *flows*.’

¹⁰⁸ Across the corpus we might distinguish several degrees of ‘flows’: honouring *poleis* who received more than three honorands (Delos, Delphi), two to three honorands (Knossos, Priansos, Lamia, Samothrake, Oropos, Tenos), or single honorands (Chaleion, Larisa, Panamara, Koroneia, Chersonesos, Amphipolis, Paros (?), Epidauros, Argos, Sestos, Xanthos, Patrai, Korinth, Rhodiapolis, Olympia). These ‘weaker’ connections should not be overlooked, especially when connections between them may be discerned within the same chronological time-frame – Ilion connects Xanthos and Larisa, Lamia Hypata and Smyrna, Samothrake Priene and Iasos. Naturally, such a ‘network’ of honoured historiography would serve only to illustrate the density of contacts, both with major international sites, but also between single communities, across the post-classical period; it can only however be a partial representation of the much more complex cultural contacts, for which a fuller and more meaningful analysis would have to account for the honorific evidence for *littérateurs* at large.

In instigating honorific reciprocity the historian's narration of local history brought not only greater self-realisation, but contextualised this within system of exchange, a common language of honours.¹⁰⁹ Honours for historians do not merely reflect a *polis*' self-representation and conception of local history,¹¹⁰ but also how this is actively shaped by its interactions with the itinerant historian and the connectivity and visibility such an individual brings to the community. A sense of the local is only gained through externality.¹¹¹ Honorific reciprocity, naturally, was not reciprocity in kind – the itinerant historian was not answered by another itinerant historian who made the opposite journey –¹¹² but operated through concrete counter-gestures, through honours and privileges, and sometimes also counter-decrees. A number of the inscriptions either comprise or note the existence of such 'travelling decrees',¹¹³ sent by the honouring *polis* to the honorand's city, and actualising the relations between the communities and the shared pasts by whose narration the historian had brought them into association. Reciprocity brought the itinerant historian into firm public consciousness: the honouring *polis*, in these instances, essentially reciprocated the sojourn of the historian with the emissary of an ambassador or ambassadors, who made known its

¹⁰⁹ In doing this they form one of the actors providing the sort of horizontal stability in *polis* interactions which Ma, 'Peer Polity Interaction' 23-33 identifies.

¹¹⁰ As Chanotis, *Historie* 363 merely characterises it: 'die Selbstdarstellung der Gemeinde, wenn sie die vom jeweiligen Autor behandelten Taten beschreiben lassen will.'

¹¹¹ We find hints of this in the qualifications that the honorand had performed at 'our city', or on 'our past', e.g. Aristodama (A5b 9-10), 'the ancestors of our city', Dioskurides (A19.5), 'our race', Herodotos and Menekles (A20a.9, b.8), 'our ancient poets', and (A20b.6), 'our history', Alkinos (B8.7), Anonymous of Tenos (B11.3) 'our land', Themistokles (B12.10), Antiochos (A28.7), 'our city', Amphikles (B13a.4), 'visiting us.'

¹¹² This is unlike networks built on sacred activities, as might be mapped out through the journeys of *theoroi*, which were sometimes reciprocated in kind, or, as with Delphi, were the reciprocity to embassies inviting participation at the Pythian Games: see Rutherford, 'Network Theory and Theoric Networks' 30-31.

¹¹³ On these in general see Ma, 'Peer Polity Interaction', 19-20. Such inter-*polis* itinerant decrees we observe in the cases of Hermokles and Chios (A6.14-15), Herodotos and Menekles and Teos (A20a.18-20, b.17-18), Alexandros and Thasos (A23b.15-16), Themistokles and Ilion (B12.28-31), Dioskurides and Tarsos (A19.49-52), Herodes and Priene (A22a.8-13, b.31-34), Dymas and Iasos (A21.30-36), Antiochos and Aigai (A28.4-16.), and Anteros and Mylasa (A30); we might assume a travelling decree for Aristodama, for whom a portion of the sacrificial meat would be conveyed [χρεὼν ἐπὶ τὰν ἐστίαν ἐν] Ζυγόρναν (A5b.18-21).

appreciation, and materially affirmed connections which had been made in the symbolic sphere.

*

There are thus two facets to the social role of these historian-honorands – that of the erudite work of literary composition, which brought into comparison and association the local pasts of different *poleis*, and, secondly, that of the honorific compensation for the positive connotations which this work brought for the community. The role of the first in the persisting vitality of the *polis* in the post-classical period should not be under-estimated; as an intellectual agent we might locate firmly within the *polis* (unlike literary figures of the manuscript tradition) the historian-honorand served to renew and invigorate local traditions and so imbue a sense of continuity with the past. In doing so local identity was strengthened through the connection with the wider world represented by the *polis*' historian; for itinerant historians the historian's *polis* also, through the visibility engendered by the honorific act, gained increased attention through the narration of the past (as Herodotos and Menekles did for Teos); this manifests, to adopt a network metaphor, a form of the back-ripple effect between nodes, where interaction brings reciprocal benefits for both connections.¹¹⁴ This would perhaps suggest an alternative to Chaniotis' disconnected itinerant historian.¹¹⁵

This reciprocal process of identity-formation is arguably accentuated in the few cases in which a copy of the decree is sent for inscription at a third-party venue, typically that of a major, highly visible sanctuary.¹¹⁶ Commonality is established here not only between the honouring polis and historian's polis, but also affirmed before other *poleis*. There is some

¹¹⁴ The idea of ripple-effects within networks is applied by Malkin, *A Small Greek World: Networks in the Ancient Mediterranean* 66-82 to the case of Rhodes in the archaic period, whose overseas settlement activities he analyses to have had consequences not only for the 'Rhodian' identity of the settlers (originally from Lindos, Kameiros, Ialysos), but for the self-conception of the home *polis* as an entity definable as 'Rhodes'.

¹¹⁵ This is perhaps what Clarke, *Making Time* 367-368 means by the 'stake in its (i.e. local historiography) success for both the city which produced the historian, and that whose history was told.'

¹¹⁶ This is the case with Aristodama (A5b.34-37, at Delphi) and Dioskurides (A19.44-46, at Delphi).

aspect of the historian's work, therefore, which served to foster not only local identities, but a sense of shared values: for Aristodama as the purveyor of common myths and histories, and Dioskurides as a model of *παίδεῖα*; this third-party visibility also asserted the commonality of honorific practices. These itinerant historians, then, conveyed ideas across the Greek world, as other itinerant individuals (e.g. philosophers, doctors, musicians, grammarians) of the post-classical period; as disseminators of narratives of community interest, however, they perhaps had a more significant role in cementing communal, and inter-communal, feeling – this even more so where one perceives more official settings. They therefore held an integral role in the *polis*' cultural self-determination and sense of place and community within the wider Greek world, and its many other *poleis*. Furthermore, the relative unity of the phenomenon – from Demoteles and Zotion to Anteros and Antiochos – would suggest the past never really lost interest for the *polis*, and suggests that the world of the historian-honorand presents an alternate, minority conception of post-classical *polis* vitality.

Ultimately, however, the reading of these honorands as social and cultural process, as 'flows' in a historiographical inter-*polis* network fabric, is only possible through the honorific act itself; this act itself testifies to such process, and the many guises we have seen the historian-honorand in during this chapter – as sacred official, diplomat, educator, and itinerant lecturer. These processes are themselves framed within the ritual form of the civic honorific inscription, and as has been adumbrated here honours themselves contribute to promoting this social and cultural role of the historian in inter-*polis* exchanges; it is thus this theme that we explore in the chapter that follows.

Figure 1: Geographical distribution by cities of origin and cities at which performances were held/honours conferred

3rd -2nd centuries BCE		
	<i>Cities of Origin</i>	<i>Cities where performance was held/honour was conferred</i>
Dioskurides and Myrinos (A19)	Tarsos and Amisos	Knossos
Bombos (A16)	Ilion	Larisa
Themistokles (B12)	Ilion	Xanthos
Anonymous of Skepsis (B14)	Skepsis	Delphi
Aristodama (A5)	Smyrna	Lamia (a), Chaleion (b)
Ariston (A17)	Phokaia	Delos
Mnesiptolemos (A7)	Kyme	Delos
Nikandros (B4)	Kolophon	Delphi
Kleandros (B5)	Kolophon	Delphi
Gorgos (A24)	Kolophon	Kolophon
Herodes (A22)	Priene	Samothrake
Dymas (A21)	Iasos	Samothrake
Herodotos and Menekles (A20)	Teos	Knossos (a), Priansos (b)
Leon (A14)	Stratonikeia	Panamara
Zotion (A15)	Ephesos	Koroneia
Leon (A12)	Samos	Samos
Dionysios (A1)	Samos	Samos
Amphiklos (A3)	Chios	Delos
Ion (B9)	Chios	Chios
Hermokles (A6)	Chios	Delphi
Anonymous of Chios (A11)	Chios	Chios
Amphikles (B13)	Rheneia/Delos	Oropos (a), Delos (b)
Demoteles (A2)	Andros	Delos
Eukles (B1)	Tenos	Delos
Kletonymos (A18)	Lato	Lato
Herakleitos (A4)	Athens	Athens
Demokrates (B3)	Athens	Oropos
Kleochares (B7)	Athens	Delphi
Anonymous of Tenos (B11)	Athens	Tenos
Eratoxenos (B6)	Athens	Delphi
Aristotheos (A13)	Troizen	Delphi
Theopompos (B10)	Megalopolis	Delphi
Politas (A8)	Hypata	Lamia
Alkinoe (B8)	Thronion	Tenos
Herakleitos (B2)	Chalkedon	Delos
Syriskos (A10)	Chersonesos	Chersonesos
Anonymous of Amphipolis (A9)	—	Amphipolis

1st century BCE to 3rd century CE		
	<i>Cities of Origin</i>	<i>Cities where performance was held/honour was conferred</i>
Sextus (B17)	Damaskos	Delphi
Onesikles (B19)	Hierapolis-Kastabala	Hierapolis-Kastabala
Antiochos (A28)	Aigeai	Argos
Hermogenes (A27)	Smyrna	Smyrna
Philippos (A25)	Pergamon	Epidauros
Charax (B22)	Pergamon	Patrai
Aelianus (A29)	Thyateira	Thyateira
Andronikos (A26)	Laodikeia on the Lykos (?)	Sestos
Apollonios (B20)	Tralleis	Delphi
Pompeius Paullus (B18)	Tralleis	Delphi
Anteros (A30)	Labraunda/Karia (?)	Athens
Xenophon (A31)	Samos	Samos
Herakleitos (B25)	Rhodes	Rhodiapolis
Ammonios (B15)	Athens	Delphi
Pompeianus (B23)	Athens	Athens
Dexippos (A32)	Athens	Athens
Cestianus (B24)	Apollonia	Korinth
Alexandros (A23)	Thasos	Paros (?)
Eumolpos (B16)	–	Delphi
Auphria (B21)	–	Delphi
Quadratus (B26)	Antium?	Olympia

Chapter 3

The Honorific Recompense

Having dealt in the last two chapters with the historiographical activities of these historian-honorands and their social contexts and roles within and between *poleis*, we now approach the question of social significance from the alternative perspective of the honours and privileges that were conferred; these, as reflections of the particular contexts of the *polis*' reception of the historian, arguably served to integrate the honorand into the *polis* through rituals of recognition, thereby providing a valuable insight into the *polis*' conception of its past and itself through the honorific act. We examine first the honours and privileges which were conferred, as material reciprocation for historiographical service, in the form of socio-economic legal statuses, before studying these honorific inscriptions as narratives of honour in themselves. These, it is suggested, not only contain records of historiographical acts and the rewards these precipitated, but embody the reciprocal act intrinsic to these transactions, as a means of affirming and perpetuating the *polis*' sense of itself.

1. Honours, privileges, gifts: integrating the historian into the community

Across the sixty-one inscriptions (honouring some fifty-nine individuals) assembled in this corpus three main categories are discernible: forty-four comprise civic decrees, thirteen statue-bases, and four funerary inscriptions honouring recently deceased individuals (see Fig. 2). We examine first the conferral of honours and privileges in civic decrees (of which statue-bases are themselves one), which are here constituted by self-contained inscriptions recording the decisions of official civic bodies. The majority are of Hellenistic date, numbering some thirty-seven (twenty-two A, fifteen B), as opposed to eight from the 1st century onwards (three

A, five B).¹ A number of different legal privileges and statuses are attested, as granted in the ‘motion formula’, in accusative and infinitive construction.² Naturally, such privileges pertained more to non-local, itinerant honorands.³ Of the twenty-eight documents where these grants are legible⁴ eighteen confer the status of *proxenos*.⁵ In five of these cases citizenship, πολιτεία, is also granted.⁶ As to the ten not conferred with proxeny five confer citizenship,⁷ and for the other five neither proxeny status nor citizenship are granted.⁸ For those made *proxenoi* and citizens we find other economic and social privileges conferred: proprietary rights,⁹ precedence in theatre-seating,¹⁰ priority in sacred activities,¹¹ priority of trial,¹² rights

¹ We include in this count the decree for Demokrates (**B3**), which constitutes a typical civic decree, but is inscribed on a statue-base.

² So designated by Rhodes and Lewis, *The Decrees of the Greek States* 5.

³ Only six of the forty-four decrees concern local historians (Syriskos, Herakleitos, Anonymous of Chios, Dionysios, Ion, Amphikles), and of these only those of Syriskos, Herakleitos and Amphikles preserve the sections conferring on them honours and privileges.

⁴ There are thirty-eight itinerant honorands, but of these for five the relevant sections of their decrees are not preserved: Demoteles, Herakleitos of Chalkedon, Ariston, Anonymous of Amphipolis, Anonymous of Skepsis; in six these are only fragmentarily so: Herodes, Alkinoe, Anonymous of Tenos, Alexandros of Thasos, Auphria, Antiochos.

⁵ Amphiklos (**A3.15-16**), Mnesiptolemos (**A7.13-14**), Demokrates (**B3.4-5**) Politas (**A8.6-7**), Hermokles (**A6.12**), Aristodama (**A5a.7-8**, b.12), Aristotheos (**A13.7**), Zotion (**A15.14**), Dioskurides (**A19.31-33**), Amphikles (**B13a.6-7**), Nikandros (**B4.2**), Kleandros (**B5.2**), Eratoxenos (**B6.5**), Theopompos (**B10.4**), Pompeius Paullus (**B18.4**), Kleocharēs (**B7.8**), Ammonios (**B15.14**). It is certain that Herodes was a *proxenos*; this information is preserved (**A22b.16-17**). It is further possible that is possible that, among the other 11 fragmentarily preserved Alexandros (**A23b.2-3**) and the Anonymous of Tenos (**B11.15-16**) were also made *proxenoi*.

⁶ Politas (**A8.7-8**), Aristodama (**A5a.8**, b.30), Dioskurides (**A19.32-33**), Pompeius Paullus (**B18.3-4**).

⁷ Leon of Stratonikeia (**A14.16-17**), Bombos (**A16.24-25**), Dymas (**A21.11-12**), Apollonios (**B20.5**), Sextus (**B17.13-14**).

⁸ Herodotos and Menekles (**A20a** and **b**), Anteros (**A30**), Themistokles (**B12**), Eukles (**B1**).

⁹ ἔγκτησις οἰκίας καὶ γῆς: Amphiklos (**A3.20-22**), Politas (**A8.8-9**), Aristodama (**A5a.8-9**, b.23-24), Bombos (**A16.25**), Dioskurides (**A19.35**), Demokrates (**B3.7**), Amphikles (**B13a.7**), Apollonios (**B20.7-8**), Pompeius Paullus (**B18.5-6**), Sextus (**B17.14-15**).

¹⁰ προεδρία: Amphiklos (**A3.17-18**), Hermokles (**A6.13**), Aristotheos (**A13.8**), Nikandros (**B4.3**), Kleandros (**B5.2**), Eratoxenos (**B6.6**), Theopompos (**B10.4**), Kleocharēs (**B7.9**), Ammonios (**B15.14**). Apollonios (**B20.6**), Pompeius Paullus (**B18.5**).

¹¹ προμαντεία: Hermokles (**A6.12**), Aristotheos (**A13.7**), Nikandros (**B4.2**), Kleandros (**B5.2**), Eratoxenos (**B6.5-6**), Theopompos (**B10.4**), Kleocharēs (**B7.9**), Ammonios (**B15.14**), Apollonios (**B20.5**), Pompeius Paullus

to pasture,¹³ and potentially also rights to political activity.¹⁴ There are also legal statuses: inviolability,¹⁵ security in war and peace,¹⁶ tax immunity,¹⁷ and one instance of tax status equality.¹⁸ Of material honours and gifts, one finds crowns awarded to local honorands,¹⁹ but also a number of *proxenoi* in laurel,²⁰ olive,²¹ gold,²² and as specially designated sacred crowns.²³ Only two decrees award statues.²⁴ Gifts in money are attested,²⁵ as well as those in non-monetary form – sacrificial meat and dining invitations.²⁶

(B18.4), there is one instance of προθύσια: Sextus (B17.14). On προθύσια see Robert, *Études* 20; it seems to have simply designated precedence in offering sacrifices, and reflects such a right of precedence attested at Delphi in the second century BC (*FD* III.2 18).

¹² προδικία: Hermokles (A6.12), Aristotheos (A13.8), Nikandros (B4.2), Kleandros (B5.2), Eratoksenos (B6.6), Kleochares (B7.9), Ammonios (B15.14), Apollonios (B20.5-6), Pompeius Paullus (B18.4-5),

¹³ ἐπινομία: Politas (A8.9), Aristodama (A5a.9).

¹⁴ πρόσδοτος/ἔφοδος: Amphiklos (A3.18-19), Mnesiptolemos (A7.11-12), Herodes (A22a.2-3), Alexandros (A23b.6-7). Antiochos is made an honorary councillor at Argos (A28.12).

¹⁵ ἀσυλία: Hermokles (A6.12), Aristodama (A5a.9, b.24-26), Aristotheos (A13.8), Nikandros (B4.2), Kleandros (B5.2), Eratoksenos (B6.6-7), Kleochares (B7.9), Demokrates (B3.8), Amphikles (B13a.8), Ammonios (B15.14), Apollonios (B20.7), Pompeius Paullus (B18.5).

¹⁶ ἀσφάλεια: Politas (A8.10-13), Aristodama (A5a.9), Dioskurides (A19.36-37) also including right of harbour-entry without formal treaty ἀσυλεῖ καὶ ἀσπονδεῖ, Demokrates (B3.7)

¹⁷ ἀτέλεια: Hermokles (A6.12-13), Aristodama (A5b.24), Aristotheos (A13.8), Nikandros (B4.2-3), Kleandros (B5.2-3), Ammonios (B15.14), Eratoksenos (B6.7), Theopompos (B10.4), Kleochares (B7.9), Apollonios (B20.6), Eukles (B1.16-17), Pompeius Paullus (B18.5).

¹⁸ ἰσοτέλεια: Amphikles (B13a.7).

¹⁹ Syriskos (A10.10-20), Herakleitos (A4.9-18) and Amphikles (B13b.26-31); the relevant portions in the decrees of Dionysios, Anonymous of Chios and Ion are not preserved.

²⁰ Demoteles (A2.9-15), Amphiklos (A3.5-14), Aristodama (A5b.12-18), Kleochares (B7.7-8).

²¹ Alkinoe (B8.10-15), Anonymous of Tenos (B11.7-15), Zotion (A15.10-11).

²² Leon of Stratonikeia (A14.13-16), Herodes (A22b.13-16), Dymas (A21.5-11, 22-27).

²³ Mnesiptolemos (A7.1-11), Hermokles (A6.6-12), Ammonios (B15.12-13). An unspecified crown was also conferred on Alexandros (A23b.8-10).

²⁴ There is only one Hellenistic mention of an honorific statue, that of Leon of Stratonikeia (A14.18-23), and one from the Roman period Auphria (B21.24-25).

²⁵ Amphikles is granted a gift of ξένιον (B13b.31-32), Ammonios is granted ξένια τὰ μέγιστα ἐκ τῶν νόμων (B15.15-16), Aristodama a ξένιον worth a hundred drachmas (A5b.28-29). The cash-payments to Themistokles (B12.20-21), of four hundred drachmas, and Zotion (A15.10-11), of seventy drachmas, are not specified as ξένια and may have comprised a form of wage-payment (Schachter and Slater, 'A Proxeny Decree', 88-90). ξένιον itself may not necessarily have indicated money, as Schachter and Slater note in the example of the Kymaian

This schematic overview must be recognised for the geographical complexity which it obscures, which reflects the participation of the historian honorand in a wider honorific *koine*,²⁷ and also encompasses numerous different local honorific cultures (Fig. 2). Certain privileges, such as ἔγκτησις (Delphi, Lamia, Knossos, Delos, Oropos), ἀσυλία (Delphi, Chaleion, Lamia, Oropos), ἀτέλεια (Delphi, Chaleion, Oropos), ἀσφάλεια (Lamia, Knossos, Oropos) are attested at most places; some are more localised, as are προεδρία (Delphi, Delos), προδικία and προμαντεία (Delphi), πρόσδοδος/ἔφοδος (Delos, Samothrake), and ἐπινομία (Lamia), which seems to have been a feature of inland states.²⁸ The significance of this distribution can only be measured where other honorific evidence at these sites subsists. The picture this produces is more suggestive of the typicality of the historian-honorand, than any exceptionality. Where there is less comparable evidence it may, however, be possible to claim this: the fact that Aristodama and Politas' decrees should be two among the handful of proxeny decrees from Lamia is striking. Their privileges, moreover, compare favourably with those awarded a horse-doctor, whose trade was doubtless valued in Thessaly.²⁹ Dioskurides' decree from Knossos is also noteworthy in that context – his is among the few which explicitly grant ἔγκτησις and ἀσφάλεια.³⁰ There may also be significance for some in the

harpist, who performed at Delphi (Syll.³ 689), and was honoured with both a sum of money and ξένια, which clearly cannot refer to cash-payment.

²⁶ Aristodama at Chaleion (A5b.18-21) receives a gift of sacrificial meat, while Amphikles is invited to dine at the *prytaneion* at Delos (B13b.32-33).

²⁷ On the uniformity of civic decrees across the Hellenistic world see Billows, 'Cities', 197.

²⁸ On the exact ramifications of ἐπινομία, see Marek, *Die Proxenie* 147-149, who interprets it as a particular form of ἀτέλεια in central Greece, essentially assuring the right to work land without being subject to the land-tax applied to foreigners.

²⁹ IG IX.2 69 for a Metrodoros, who is similarly honoured with πολιτεία, ἰσοτέλεια, ἔγκτησις, ἀσφάλεια, ἀσυλία. With other Lamian decrees Aristodama and Politas compare quite favourably: IG IX.2 60, 61, 66b, 68, and Marek *Die Proxenie* 53-54.

³⁰ See Marek, *Die Proxenie* 93 for other Knossian decrees: *I.Cret.* 1.8.7, 1.8.10, 1.8.8. Dioskurides' ornate decree may be comparable to those for the doctors Hermias and Kallippos of Kos – the latter, at Aptera, was

fact that the receipt of crowns is rarely attested at their places of honour, as it is for Zotion, Aristodama, Leon of Stratonikeia, Dymas and Herodes;³¹ crowns will have certainly distinguished Syriskos and Herakleitos at their home *poleis*.³²

At sites such as Delphi, Delos and Oropos, where more comparanda are available, it is still possible to note the high stature of the historian. Grants of crowns assume importance. At Delphi such honours were only rarely conferred on *proxenoi*; Hermokles, Kleochares and Ammonios might be ranged alongside *thearodokoi*, *dikastai*, and international political figures.³³ We might note a harpist from Kyme who gained a crown for valour, an ἀριστεῖος στέφανος θεοῦ for performing at the city's behest.³⁴ A similar situation subsisted at Delos, where known recipients of crowns include friends of kings,³⁵ major military figures,³⁶ and other literary figures;³⁷ at Oropos the visibility accorded to Demokrates' decree, inscribed on a statue-base, might be paralleled by other artistic figures: a tragic poet and Hipparchos, a

even granted a gold crown: *I.Cret.* II.3 3. Hermias was honoured both at Knossos (*I.Cret.* 1.8 7) and Gortyn (*I.Cret.* IV.168).

³¹ For proxeny decrees from Koroneia, Chaleion Panamara, and Samothrake, see Marek, *Die Proxenie* 31, 44, 112, 87-88. These are still of comparative interest even for Leon and Dymas, who were not made *proxenoi*. Zotion and Koroneia: Marek knows of one other Koroneian decree (*SEG* 26.552), fragmentary and not conferring a crown; Aristodama and Chaleion: the other proxeny decree recorded by Marek, *IG* IX.1² 3.721 only records ἰσοπολιτεία, ἀσφάλεια, ἀσυλία, ἔγκτησις; Leon and Panamara: Marek does not list crowns, let alone statues, as Leon is accorded, for the decrees *I.Stratonikeia* 4, 5, 6, 7, and 9; Dymas, Herodes and Samothrake: interestingly, Marek does not find crowns conferred in any of the thirty-seven decrees he identifies.

³² The few proxeny decrees from Chersonesos do not indicate that crowns were conferred on *proxenoi*; cf. Marek, *Die Proxenie* 69. At Athens Herakleitos' gold crown was clearly a mark of honour, granted to kings and states, and not often to *proxenoi*; cf. Henry, *Honours and Privileges in Athenian Decrees* 22-24, 28-30.

³³ *FD* III.2 88. (a third-century *thearodokos* Philinos of Miletos), *FD* III.3 146 (*dikastai* from Oropos), *FD* III.4 161 (Seleukos, an official of Ptolemy VI), *FD* III.4 52 (Aristodamas of Patrai), and *FD* III.4 77 (Nikomedes III of Bithynia); cf. also Habicht 'Die Ehren der Proxenoi: ein Vergleich' 24.

³⁴ *Syll.*³ 689.4, 9.

³⁵ *IG* XI.4 679-680 (Autokles friend official of Demetrios II), 649 (Sosibios the Ptolemaic statesman).

³⁶ *IG* XI.4 752-753 (Anaxibios of Alexandria), 765-766 (Demetrios of Pergamon), 712 (Scipio Africanus). For further references reflecting Delos' regard for important international figures see Vial and Baslez, 'La diplomatie de Délos dans le premier tiers du IIe siècle', 299 n. 108.

³⁷ Pankratides a lyric poet (*IG* XI.4 705), and Onomarchos of Knidos (*IG* XI.4 744), who competed in literary contests.

sculptor or poet.³⁸ This situates these historians within the higher echelons of the schema of honorific recompense,³⁹ but does not necessarily do so on the basis of historiography alone. One does find Demoteles crowned for his local Delian myths, although there may have been other factors involved – Eukles, notably, did not receive a crown for similar service.⁴⁰

Such external factors are easier to discern in others: Hermokles was also *hieromnemon*,⁴¹ Ammonios conducted other ritual activities, Mnesiptolemos was an acquaintance of Antiochos III; Demokrates may have been honoured as the notable victor at the Athenian Lenaea.⁴² Historiography itself may not have generated the highest praise, and a number of honorands receive privileges without crowning. At Delphi, where such grants of privileges survive in large enough numbers that they may be statistically analysed,⁴³ we even find Aristotheos and the epic poets of the abbreviated decrees conforming to those most commonly attested in proxeny decrees – προμαντεία, προεδρία, προδικία, ἀσυλία, ἀτέλεια predominate among third- and second-century decrees, and among literary honorands occurs eight times in fourteen texts.⁴⁴ The increase in grants of πολιτεία and ἔγκτησις in the Roman period is also reflected in the honours for Pompeius Paullus,

³⁸ *Oropos* 179 (a tragic poet) and 85 (Hipparchos). Other important political figures were, naturally, also accorded similar visibility through inscription on bases; such was the case with Phormion, a companion of Ptolemy IV, whose decree was inscribed on the base of his royal patron's effigy (*Oropos* 175).

³⁹ These will still have represented lower echelons than those conferred on rulers, such as ruler-cult; there was definitely some notion of a hierarchy of services, especially with regards to material and financial benefaction, and it is to this hierarchy that historiography and literary work seems to have been integrated; cf. Habicht, *Gottmenschentum* 206-213.

⁴⁰ His award of ἀτέλεια is fairly modest by comparison, although it seems to have been a privilege conferred on a marginally rare basis: only 80 of 347 decrees award it, cf. Habicht, 'Die Ehren', 15 n. 15.

⁴¹ Amphiklos was also *hieromnemon* at Delphi in his Delphic decree (*FD* III.3 217.4).

⁴² *SEG* 15.274; cf. *IG* II² 2324.229, as identified by Robert, *BE* 69 (1956) 129 n. 121.

⁴³ Most notably by Bouvier, in 'Honneurs et récompenses à Delphes', and 'Hommes de lettres dans les inscriptions Delphiques'.

⁴⁴ Bouvier, 'Honneurs et récompenses' 104-108, and 'Hommes de lettres' 129.

Apollonios, and Sextus.⁴⁵ This certainly does not reduce the significance of these privileges – even if these Delphic examples are mainly in the form of abbreviated decrees, suggesting assimilation rather than distinction⁴⁶ – and indeed these examples likely reflect a minority of individuals who were deemed worthy of recognition, and immortalised through inscription.

Thus, while it is clear that our historian-honorands were certainly highly regarded individuals whose works contributed to their honorific recompense, the evidence of the corpus as a whole would suggest that the nature of the recompense might have been circumstantial; by no means can one trace a distinct category of literary honours, or a specific pattern by which historiography was recognised. Historiography in these texts certainly was the motivation outlined for this recompense, but did not dictate the form it assumed – this, nevertheless, largely conformed to those of non-literary civic benefactors. Indeed the form of reciprocation was very much subject to circumstantial decision, as Dymas’ decree explicitly describes,⁴⁷ and perhaps even personal requests.⁴⁸ Some itinerant historians may have entertained mercurial hopes of reward.⁴⁹ One thinks especially of the honorands paid in cash-

⁴⁵ Bouvier, ‘Honneurs et récompenses’ 108-110; this is also reflected in honours for literary figures: ‘Hommes de lettres’ 129. Imperial Delphi witnessed increasing grants of councillor-status, and it is perhaps an Argive manifestation of this one observes with Antiochos, who is made βουλευτάς (A28.12).

⁴⁶ On this phenomenon at Delphi, see Rhodes and Lewis, *The Decrees* 5-6, and Habicht, ‘Die Ehren’ 21-22.

⁴⁷ A21.20: ἡ δὲ βουλή προβεβ[ο]ύλευκεν αὐτῷ περὶ ἐπαίνου καὶ στεφάνου.

⁴⁸ As was certainly the case with a man from Halikarnassos (*SEG* 26.1223), who explicitly sought the right of ἔγκλησις before the council and assembly. Chaniotis, *Historie* 381 believes Anteros was doing this at Athens, as A30.15-19 would suggest he procured earlier decisions (ψηφίσματα), perhaps in favour of renewing older privileges or obtaining further ones; the decree itself, however, does not record any grant of privileges to him.

⁴⁹ Schachter and Slater, ‘A Proxeny Decree’ does note that Zotion’s combination of cash-payment and a crown is unique among the surviving documents; it may well have been typical for performers to expect remuneration; cf. Marek, *Die Proxenie* 377, who cites the case of the grammarian Menander (*FD* III.3 338) and the actor Polos of Aigina *SEG* 1.362, the first of whom declined, and the second accepted, lower payments, which may have been customary in these cases. Note also Polyb. 16.14.8, who distinguishes himself from those who gain their living by the pen (τῶν ἀπὸ τούτου τὸν βίον ποριζομένων), and Dio Chrys. *Or.* 35.1, who explicitly denies he had come to Kelainai to speak for payment (οὐδὲ ἀργυρίου παρ’ ὑμῶν δεόμενος). Chaniotis, *Historie* 381-382 notes that in some cases the trip may have been made to renew earlier privileges – that of Dymas, for instance, comprises two decrees inscribed in a row outlining his services, and in Dioskurides’ case he suggests that

gifts.⁵⁰ Concomitant to this is the fact such grants of privileges likely held practical consequences for their exercise, and were not merely honorific – there is evidence for this for socio-economic statuses such as προδικία, ἀτέλεια and ἔγκτησις,⁵¹ grants of citizenship,⁵² and less quantifiable privileges like προεδρία were likely no different (indeed its exercise fulfilled its honorific function).⁵³ These privileges should not therefore be regarded merely as hollow phrases, extensions of the declining institution of proxeny;⁵⁴ the right to own land and

προγονικὰ ἀρετὰ refers to a renewal of earlier privileges. He may be guilty in the latter case of over-reading; see below n. 76.

⁵⁰ See above n. 25. The amounts attested here were, it may be noted, not entirely inconsistent with the prizes one reads for poetic contests; a late fourth-century prize-list for a Panathenaic festival (*IG* II² 2311) lists, for kitharodes, a first prize of a crown of 1000 drachmas and 500 drachmas in coin, second prize of 1,200 drachmas, the third of 600 drachmas, fourth of 400 drachmas, and fifth of 300 drachmas. A first-century prize-list for a contest honouring Serapis from Tanagra (*SEG* 19.35 and 25.501) lists first prizes of gold crowns worth between 168 $\frac{3}{4}$ drachmas and 101 $\frac{1}{4}$ drachmas, and second prizes cash sums of 50 or 40 drachmas. Cf. Gentili, *Poetry and its Public* 289-290 n. 99. The Athenian example may have been exceptional. It is striking that the value of Zotion's crown, also Boeotian, should approximate quite closely to the prizes at Tanagra, and suggests that the cash prizes conferred on itinerant performers may have been measured against those of festivals.

⁵¹ There are degrees regulating the exercise of these privileges, implying their validity in real life. A decree from second-century Preparathos confers προδικία ἄνευ ἐπιδεκάτων (*IG* XII.8 640.24-25), presumably a sort of right of trial without prior payment. On ἀτέλεια, see *IG* IX.1² 1.174, Aitolian League stipulations that tax-immunity be granted to foreigners at Delphi, even if these were not granted by Delphi herself; from Oropos also a decree distinguishes (*Syll.* 3 544) the honours of donors who had contributed more, and those less; the former are granted ἔγκτησις, ἰσοτέλεια, ἀσφάλεια, ἀσυλία, whereas for the latter privileges will be decided more haphazardly (ll. 25-26: καθότι ἂν ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ἄξιος ᾗ τιμηθῆναι ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως). As for ἔγκτησις there is a Delian decree regulating the conditions of Hegestratos' property acquisition (*IG* XI .4 543). There is also an instance at Halikarnassos where an individual has specifically sought the right to own property, suggesting it was something worth obtaining (*SEG* 26.1223). On all this see Marek, *Die Proxenie* 155, 157-160.

⁵² See n. 6 above. It is also noteworthy that there are other examples of grants of *politeia* separate to those of proxeny: *Gonnoi* II.21, and *SEG* 23.437. In the early imperial period citizenship could also be associated with valid political participation, as a decree from Delphi honouring a certain Archon makes clear (*FD* III.4 442), in which the honorand is made a citizen and also a δαμιουργός (ll. 9-10).

⁵³ So Marek, *Die Proxenie* 156, who notes that it is unlikely the number of honorands in any one century at either Delphi or Delos would have ever been high enough to nullify the right of privileged seating – it is unlikely moreover that all such honoured individuals will have sought seating at the same time.

⁵⁴ On this see Marek, *Die Proxenie* 152-155, who argues against the older views of Emil Szantos' *Das griechische Bürgerrecht* (Freiburg, 1892) that the collocation of proxeny and citizenship in honorific decrees reflected their devolution into empty privileges.

property, privileges at the theatre, in tax-status, legal inviolability, citizenship, were all rights at which the itinerant historian might well have aimed.

What one reads in the civic decree, however, is the *polis*' response, and privileges tell us more directly about its regard for historiography, where seen as cultural capital. They cannot be divorced from the centrality of gift-exchange in the honorific transaction, as gifts of the *polis*, a means by which it may integrate the historian into its regime of euergetic response.⁵⁵ Several formulaic expressions, found in some decrees, reflect this process of assimilating the historian-honorand into the euergetic landscape of the *polis* – the conferral of the title of εὐεργέτης,⁵⁶ and such expressions where the honorand is granted all other privileges as enjoyed by προξένοι and εὐεργέται,⁵⁷ or allowed to share (μετέχειν) in all that citizens share;⁵⁸ the non-specific nature of such pronouncements conveys not the fact of the honorand's new legal right to exercise these privileges, but rather the significance of this – the acquisition of status-equality with other members of the community. Such normalisation served expectations of the benefactor's continued *utilité*, in Gauthier's definition – titles and privileges were not intended as static rewards, but as a means of encouraging future contribution by integration into the community.⁵⁹ In Kleochares' case such future contribution becomes the privilege itself, through annual recitation of his hymns to Apollo at the Theoxenia (B7.4-6).

⁵⁵ For the notion of honours as symbolic capital, see Domingo-Gygax 'Proleptic Honours' 174-175.

⁵⁶ Amphiklos (A3.15-16), Politas (A8.7), Aristodama (A5a.7-8, b.21?), Anonymous of Tenos (B11.16?)

⁵⁷ ὅσα τοῖς ἄλλοις προξένοις καὶ εὐεργέταις ὑπάρχει: Amphiklos (A3.22-24), Politas (A8.13-15), Hermokles (A6.13-14), Aristodama (A5a.11, b.26-27), Aristotheos (A13.9), Zotion (A15.14-16), Amphikles (B13a.8-9). ὅσα καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς προξένοις ὑπάρχει: Mnesiptolemos (A7.13-15), Bombos (A16.25-26) is conferred all privileges enjoyed by the Larisaian.

⁵⁸ Leon of Stratonikeia (A14.16-17), Dymas (A21.11), and Dioskurides (A19.33-34), even in lieu of lists of rights and privileges.

⁵⁹ On interpreting proxeny not as an office, 'fonction', but more pragmatically, as an institution for acknowledging benefaction, see Gauthier, *Les cites grecques et leurs bienfaiteurs* 142-144, and also 168-175, which suggests that the rise in grants of ἰσοπολιτεία to whole communities, and not just individuals, was an extension of traditional forms of reciprocation through equalisation.

πολιτεία or ἔγκτησις was thus real and valid, because it had to be; it was not merely an honour important in itself, but a visible acknowledgement of the social potential of historiography for the community. In effect the conferral of legal privileges was a manner of institution. As Bourdieu puts it, this is part of the ‘performative magic’ of the power of institutionalising cultural capital – to ‘show forth and secure belief or, in a word, to impose recognition,’ thereby presenting the possibility of quantifying it in economic terms.⁶⁰ We cannot, naturally, fully characterise the honorific act as a means of converting cultural into economic capital, but it is still reasonable to conceive of it in terms of visibility, and the creation of standards attendant on this: honouring historiography highlighted both the honorand and his future benefaction, but also the *polis*’ willingness to recognise it, presenting it, through privileges, quite literally as integral to the social well-being of the community. Honours thus served, at a transactional level, to normalise the *polis*’ conception of the past; how further significance might be defined in the very narration of this, as framed by the language of honour, however, is the interest of the following section.

2. The historian’s honours as a narrative of the community

The honours which been examined thus far were materialised through ritual – acts of praise, crowning, and proclamation. Arguably, the inscriptions through which we possess knowledge of these might themselves be read as documents which memorialise the historian, but also actively shape the memory of an itinerant historian’s sojourn, or the production of a historical work; they comprise narratives which relate the essentially civic significance of the honorand’s deeds, as exemplary action, but also action which precipitated the conferral of honour by a reified *polis* community. These civic decrees, statue-bases, and funerary inscriptions are thus documents reflective of a *polis*’ self-conception – they tell us how the

⁶⁰ Bourdieu, ‘The Forms of Capital’, 248.

polis felt about itself through the historian. We examine first the civic decrees, across the three narrative components encountered across the corpus:⁶¹ the motivation clause outlining the honorand's deeds, motions of praise and crowning distilling these into ideal qualities, and hortatory clauses referring to the inscription's monumentality.

a. Honouring historiography, enacting reciprocation

Three aspects of the motivation-clause of Syriskos' decree suggest that such clauses do not merely present an account of deeds (A10.2-8). There is firstly a sense of hierarchy and power-relations, pertinent particularly to the Chersonesos context, in their order – the goddess' ἐπιφάνεια, benefactions to kings, and finally those to other *poleis*. These Syriskos achieves according to the ideals of the devoted citizen, in a manner φιλοπόνως and ἐπιεικέως. Represented here, then, are not only the model citizen's attitudes towards his actions, but also the integration of these with a conception of the righteous order of social relations, the divine eminent above kings and foreigners. Lastly, Syriskos' deeds are described as those *for the people* (A10.8); the decree quite self-consciously directs the attention of the viewer-reader to its exemplarity.

This civic-centred view of the historian is arguably even more accentuated with the itinerant honorand. We use the example of Aristotheos, whose decree contains the elements of this externality found across the corpus: 'Since Aristotheos, son of Nikotheos, the Troizenian, the historian, presented himself at the city.' (A13.3-4) One is made aware immediately of his 'outsiderness' – his association with a different body politic through patronymic, *polis*-ethnic, and also his specialised profession.⁶² This is nevertheless made pertinent to the city, with

⁶¹ We examine here primarily the texts of class A, and, evidently, only those texts where the relevant portions of their decrees survive.

⁶² *Polis*-ethnic: Demoteles the Andrian (A2.5), Politas of Hypata (A8.2), Zotion the Ephesian (A15.2), Ariston of Phokaia (4); also prepositional clauses: Hermokles is sent by the city of Chios (A6.2), Herodotos and

παράγεσθαι focalising his activity on the civic sphere.⁶³ When enacted through speech-act it also ‘presentises’ him, and the validity of his exemplary qualities. These qualities are quickly noted: ‘He conducted himself in a manner worthy of the shrine and his homeland.’⁶⁴ (A13.4) Here a chain of reciprocity is conceived, suggesting the trans-local relevance of the honorand’s qualities, and demonstrating the participation of both Delphi and Troizen in a wider symbolic universe of civic ideals.⁶⁵ The honorand’s externality reinforces the force of these virtues, for by emulating them the *polis* asserts its wider relevance.

For the itinerant honorand, then, visibility is crucial: the honorand needs to be seen being seen, so doubling the exemplary significance of his virtues. Aristotheos thus not only reads out encomia to the Romans, but does so through making ‘readings over many days of his compositions’ (A13.5-6). Herein perhaps lies the ideological significance of the characterisation of ἀκροάσεις and ἐπιδείξεις identified in chapter 1; these were surely actual readings, but also specifically included as part of honorific motivation. The impression is of

Menekles by Teos (A20a.4, b.4-5), Aristodama called the Smyrnaian from Ionia (A5a.3, b.3), and Bombos the Aeolian from Alexandria Troas (A16.13). We find Antiochos called ‘your citizen’ (A28.7), and Herodes ‘our citizen’ (A22b.3), in decrees framed as letters. Vocational titles: Politas the epic poet (A8.3), Aristodama the epic poetess (A5a.4, b.4), Ariston the epic poet (A17.4-5), Myrinos the epic and lyric poet (A19.6-7), Dymas the tragic poet (A21.2, 15), Zotion the tragic poet (A15.2-3), Dioskurides the grammarian (A19.3). Demoteles’ status is emphasised: ‘being a poet’ (A2.5: ποιητὴς ὢν).

⁶³ See also the clauses indicating the honorand’s temporary sojourn in the city (through παράγινεσθαι, ἐπιδημεῖν, παρεπιδήμειν, γίνεσθαι): Politas (A8.3-4), Aristodama (A5a.4, b.4-5?), Anonymous of Amphipolis (A9.2), Themistokles (B12.9-10), Aristotheos (A13.3-4), Zotion (A15.3-4), Bombos (A16.13-14), Kleochares (B7.2), Sextus (B17.5-6), Auphria (B21.5-6), Antiochos (A28.7).

⁶⁴ In other decrees one reads of similar emphases on εὐταξία and εὐσχημοσύνη: Hermokles (A6.4-5), Aristotheos (A13.4), Zotion (A15.4-5), Bombos (A16.19-20), Herodotos and Menekles (A20a.6-7, b.5-6), with those of Hermokles, also from Delphi and Zotion expressing their worthiness of both the city and their own city.

⁶⁵ Another example of participation in a wider symbolic universe is provided by Ariston and Anonymous of Skepsis, who are explicitly described as children (A17.5-6, B14.4), thus providing an example to other παῖδες: the phrase is ἐν τῇ τοῦ παιδὸς ἡλικίᾳ, the definite article almost suggestive of a generic, ideal, youth: ‘being of the age of youth’.

Aristotheos' dedication to the *polis* – note the multiplicity of his readings,⁶⁶ and, importantly, the focalisation on his agency (**A13.6**: αὐτῶι).⁶⁷ In Leon of Stratonikeia's decree dedication is expressed differently: through a breathless series of καί conjunctions (**A14.1-11**); for Aristodama, she makes performances of 'her own poems' (**A5a.5**),⁶⁸ and her performances are separately regarded as one single ἀπόδειξις (**A5a.7**); one recalls that Dymas' drama on Dardanos is an ἀπόδειξις of his very character (**A21.18**).⁶⁹ The honorand's unique contribution, through its express visibility, is made relevant for the community, and invites emulation.⁷⁰ With historians, there may be an added layer of complication, because this unique contribution is not only exemplary as action, but also contributes to the *polis*' exemplarity in itself; so Anteros, through his 'local histories' (**A30.23-24**: describing his personal dedication) makes the glories of his homeland ἐνδοξόττερα, and so more worthy of emulation (**A30.25**).

The honorand's individual contribution may also invite the community to define the standards of its civic ideals. Menekles' performances are said to have been 'fine and befitting a learned man' (**A20a.10-11**); here Knossos expresses its notion of τὸ καλόν, and of the πεπαιδευμένος, associating the specific benefaction of kitharoidic performance with more

⁶⁶ Sometime πλείων qualifies the readings themselves, and not the days over which they were performed: Ariston (**A17.7**), Amphikles (**B13a.4, b.7-8**); note Eukles praises Delos wherever he goes (**B1.11**: οὐδ' ἂν ἀφίκηται).

⁶⁷ The expression πεπραγματευμένα αὐτῶι, can also be found with Zotion (**A15.6**), Bombos (**A16.15-16**).

⁶⁸ Cf. Demokrates (**B3.4**: διὰ ποιμάτων), and Zotion (**A15.6**) and Amphiklos (**A3.3-4**), whose compositions are specifically referred to as ποιήσεις, re-emphasising their abilities as poets.

⁶⁹ This would seem to follow a figurative usage of ἀπόδειξις, qualified by various honoured qualities, widely attested among honorific decrees, cf. Holleaux, *Études d'épigraphie et d'histoire grecque* 3.92-94 for a fuller list of examples.

⁷⁰ A few honorands are described as acquitting themselves well in their performances, and so even more pronouncedly inviting emulation, in quest of good δόξα (εὐδοξιμεῖν). Anonymous of Amphipolis (**A9.8**), Themistokles (**B12.12**), Zotion (**A15.8**), and Herodes (**A22b.5**).

abstract civic ideals.⁷¹ The motivation-clause presents the honorand as worthy of these standards, and so normalises these as standards of moral measure for the community. The honorand thus serves the community's desire for self-fulfilment; even as an itinerant the individual is seen as an embodiment of its own ideals. This is even clearer where the *polis*' standards are outlined before the actual description of the honorand's deeds: so Antiochos' historiography is conceived as a fulfilment of his many virtuous qualities – his orderliness, diligence, nobility, refinement, and patriotic zeal (A28.17-20). We read here an example, widely attested in honorific language, of the cyclical, self-fulfilling mode of thought underlying honorific reciprocity,⁷² whereby the honorand is good not because good deeds are effected, but rather effects good deeds because he is a good benefactor.⁷³ This self-fulfilment ultimately affirms not the honorand's unique contribution, but the community's values, *through* this unique contribution; for Argos, this affirmation makes Antiochos a ὑπόμνημα of virtue (A28.14-15), worthy of memorial.

Motivation for honour thus actually serves to memorialise by normalising, presenting the honorand as a product of its own highest ideals, and so self-evidently worthy of reciprocation. In one case this reciprocation is even included as part of the motivation itself, by way of affirming the *polis*' moral standards. This is that of Dioskurides, whose long decree

⁷¹ Likewise, Bombos' conduct is described as εὐσχείμων (A16.20) and as one befitting a fine and good man (A16.20); here Larisa, through Bombos, asserts its notion of the fine and good man. Herodotos and Menekles are also praised at Priansos for composing on Cretan history καλῶς καὶ πρεπόντως (A20b.9); cf. Politas (A8.4-5), Aristodama (A5a.6), who conducted their performances in a manner worthy (ἀξίως) of Lamia, and Auphria, who also revealed the fullness of her *paideia* through her performances (B21.6-8).

⁷² On this see Wörrle, 'Vom tugendsamen Jüngling' 247 on the 'tautologische Kreis', which he exemplifies with *I.Iasos* 98 in honour of Melanion (Il. 3ff): ἐμὲ πασιν καλοκἀγαθικῶς ἀναστρεφόμενος ἀνὴρ καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθὸς ἐστίν, as an essential aspect of the role of giving and taking in the assertion of the *polis*' sovereignty. A wide variety of expressions are found qualifying honorands before their deeds are described; cf. Larfeld, *Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik* 1.491-502 for exhaustive examples.

⁷³ The Anonymous of Tenos (B11.5-6), Herodes (A22a.3-4), Dymas (A21.15-17), Herakleitos of Chalkedon (B2.5-7) and Eukles (B1.5-6) are described as being continuously benevolent (διατελεῖν) towards the city, as part of the preamble before their deeds are recounted – almost a sort of motivation for the motivation clause.

focalises on his virtues, more emphatically than others, through emphasising externality. His εὖνοια and αἴρεσις towards the city, repeated thrice (A19.3-4, 12-13, 18-19), is the decree's point of focus, but this is presented on his absent behalf by his pupil Myrinos (A19.5-8),⁷⁴ whose performances nevertheless consistently evoke Dioskurides' centrality – he is 'the man' in focus (A19.11: τῷ ἀνδρόζ), and Myrinos performs in a manner befitting him (A19.16-17: ἐπέβαλλε ὑπὲρ ἰδίῳ παιδευτῷ); his renewal⁷⁵ of προγονικά ἄρετά arguably refers to the virtues handed down to him by Dioskurides.⁷⁶ Finally, a vignette at the end of Myrinos' performance foreshadows the reciprocation through honour: the fullness of Dioskurides' (again, A19.18-19: τῷ ἀνδρόζ) dedication is received generously (μεγάλως); it is the citizen community, not merely ἐκκλησία, represented here,⁷⁷ as the *polis* towards whom Dioskurides had been good-willed. The decree thus frames Knossos' ideal of εὖνοια within an act of reciprocation, and intimates that reciprocation itself constitutes an act of self-conception. This is the purpose of the motivation-clause: to provide necessary grounds for the *polis* to define itself through honorific recompense.

⁷⁴ This certainly was the actual course of events; it is nevertheless striking that a point is made of it, and that it is actually included in the motivation clause.

⁷⁵ There is arguably a memorial quality to ἀνανεόμενος here, affirming the continuity of this ἄρετά from the past into the future, and so the validity of the community's reciprocation of this; on ἀνανέωσις see Robert, *Hellenica* 1.96 n. 95, especially the comment: 'par ἀνανεοῦσθαι on fait plus que rappeler l'existence d'un droit ou d'un sentiment: on en revendique, on en exalte la permanence.' Implied, then, is a sense not only of preservation, but continuity into the future of προγονικά ἄρετά.

⁷⁶ προγονικά ἄρετά is ambiguous: it may refer to the ancestral virtues of Crete (thus according with the historical nature of Dioskurides' theme) or equally the heritage of Myrinos himself; προγονικά may imply not merely his familial ancestry, but perhaps also his heritage of discipleship, and thus Dioskurides himself. The ambiguity should perhaps be read into the phrase – the Knossians simultaneously honour both the Cretan past, but more importantly the virtues handed down by Dioskurides to Myrinos as demonstrated in the former's poem.

⁷⁷ The people are here denoted as τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πολιτῶν (A19.17), not merely the earlier formal ἐκκλησία (A19.10).

b. Praise and crowning: the polis' voice

This honorific recompense may be introduced by formulas of praise and crowning,⁷⁸ which distil the exemplary deeds of the honorand into abstract qualities, integrating the individual into the *polis*' history of benefaction.⁷⁹ These are the pre-eminently civic pronouncements of the decree, expressing, almost authoritatively, the *polis*' view of the honorand on a ritual plane of civic time – ἐπαινέσαι, in the aorist, is timeless in a way that contrasts with the perfect δεδόχθαι which typically governs it. The specificity of the honorand's deeds is relinquished in favour of a starker pronouncement of communal exemplarity. Most of the decrees praise combinations of one or two, sometimes three, qualities – εὐνοία, εὐσέβεια, ἀρετή, φιλοτιμία occur commonly,⁸⁰ which have little specifically to do with historiography, whether literary or performed. ἐπαινέσαι, moreover, as an aorist might be read as speech-act, an illocution with performative potential;⁸¹ in the

⁷⁸ Several honorands are not publicly praised and crowned: Kleandros (**B5**), Eratoxenos (**B6**), Nikandros (**B4**), Theopompos (**B10**), Aristotheos (**A13**), Politas (**A8**), Aristodama (**A5a**), Amphikles (**B13a**), Pompeius Paullus (**B18**), Apollonios (**B20**). Demokrates (**B3**) might be counted among these, although his decree was inscribed on a statue-base. This may be due to local variations – certainly for the Delphic proxeny decrees this is due to their character as abbreviated decrees. In these honorand's memorial deeds are narrated, and the bestowal of privileges follows immediately after, introduced by εἶναι, which, as with Politas (**A8.6**), is almost contractual in tone.

⁷⁹ On the communitarian significance of the clauses following the motivation clauses in honorific decrees, on which much of what follows draws, see Ma, 'Hellenistic honorific statues' 210-213, 216-219, and *Statues and Cities* 56-60.

⁸⁰ εὐνοία alone: Dionysios (**A1.9-11**), Dymas (**A21.6, 23**), and Themistokles, for conducting his visit in a good-willed manner (**B12.16-19**).; εὐνοία and εὐσέβεια: Amphiklos (**A3.5-14**), Amphikles (**B13b.26-31**), Aristodama (**A5b.12-14**), Kleocharēs' decree emphasis is placed on εὐνοία by expressing it adjectivally (**B7.7**: ὅτι εὐνοὺς ἐστὶ τῇ πόλει); εὐνοία and ἀρετή: Demoteles (**A2.9-13**), Eukles (**B1.14-15**), Alkinoe (**B8.13-15**); ἀρετή and φιλοτιμία: Anonymous Tenos (**B11.7-10**). For those praised for three virtues, see Mnesiptolemos (**A7.9-11**) and Hermokles (**A6.9-10**), for their ἀρετή, εὐσέβεια, and εὐνοία, and Herakleitos' (**A4.9-14**) for his εὐσέβεια towards the gods, but εὐνοία and φιλοτιμία, although for these last three their praise is incorporated into the formula for crowning.

⁸¹ As Austin, *How to Do Things with Words* 99-100 defines, the 'performance of an act *in* saying something as opposed to performance of an act *of* saying something (his italics)'; in this context it may be said that 'to praise'

active voice, its re-enactment recalls the civic bodies which are the agents here, while also confining and perpetually re-living the honorand's benefactions within the parameters of ritual praise. Thus Demoteles is eternally remembered 'for his virtue and his goodwill towards the shrine and people of Delos' (A2.11-12); ἀρετή is distinguished here from εὐνοία, his poetic skills from his comportment towards the social order. With Aristodama praise serves entirely to display ideals of social order in the community: '...to praise her for the piety she bears towards the god, and on account of her goodwill towards the city' (A5b.12-14). The *polis*, naturally is also keen to note other sorts of qualities: Bombos is praised for his ὀστροφά, φιλοπονία περ τὰν παιδείαν, and excellence in his art (A16.23-24), and so for exemplary qualities which reflect the *polis*' social and cultural ideals.⁸² Praise enacts the *polis*' didactic conception of benefaction, as something essentially reproducible: it is not merely Bombos' excellence, but his *striving* (ἐξαλουκέμεν) after it which is emphasised. The distinction of the historian-honorand is thus not made, and the historian becomes just as any other civic benefactor.⁸³ Dioskurides' literary works are the subject of his praise, but even more so is what they represent – 'his dedication towards our city.' (A19.29-31).

A few praise-formulas are supplemented by, and even incorporated into, a clause instructing crowning: thus Herakleitos is praised *and* crowned for his εὐσέβεια towards the gods, and ἀρετή and φιλοτιμία towards Antigonos and Athens (A4.9-14).⁸⁴ Crowning evokes, even more than mere praise, a ritualised physical setting; the decree's administrative instructions regarding the crown confirm this: 'the *agonothete* is to announce the crown at the

constitutes an illocutionary act 'taking effect', where the speech-act constitutes an effective act in itself (*How to do Things* 117).

⁸² See also Zotion (A15.10-11: [ἐπί τε τῇ φιλοπονίῃ [κῆ] τῇ λυπῇ ἀναστροφῇ]), and also Herodotos and Menekles, honoured for their well-ordered visits (A20a.15: ὅτι καλῶς καὶ εὐτάκτως ἐνδεδαμήκωντι, b.15-17: ὅτι καλὰν καὶ πρόπονσαν πεποίηται τὰν παρεπιδημίαν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἁμῶν).

⁸³ Only Syriskos was praised ἐπὶ τούτοις, if Latyshev in *IOSPE* 1² 344 is correct in the restoration of (A10.11).

⁸⁴ Cf. Leon of Stratonikeia (A14.14-15: note the use of ἐπηνήσθαι instead of ἐπαινέσαι, centering attention more pointedly on the honorand), Ammonios (B15.12-13), Kleochares (B7.7-8),

gymnastic games’. (A4.14-16).⁸⁵ This was certainly an actual historical occasion,⁸⁶ but its vagueness – we do not hear *which* games – serves to integrate Herakleitos into the ritual, memorial plane of Athenian time: a timeless narrative realm where he may be embedded in collective memory for these deeds. Like ἐπαινέσαι, στεφανῶσαι is aorist active, and is animated at the moment of speech-act. The crowning re-lives the honorand’s moment of highest public visibility, and demonstrates indisputably their relevance to the community.⁸⁷ This is enhanced where the announcement of the crowning is quoted in direct speech,⁸⁸ and one perceives even more clearly that the central significance of the crowning ceremony is constituted not by the crowning itself, but by the act of proclaiming it; the honorand’s exemplarity signified by the crowning can only be rendered valid by a performed illocution.⁸⁹

⁸⁵ Cf. Amphiklos (A3.8-9), Mnesiptolemos (A7.3-4), Hermokles (A6.10-12), Aristodama (A5b.16-18), Anonymous of Tenos (B11.10-15), Herodes (A22b.15-16), Dymas (A21.6-7, 23-24); Mnesiptolemos’ crown is further pronounced at the theatre (A7.6) and the Anonymous of Tenos’ at two specified events and places – the temple of Poseidon and Amphitrite at the completion of the sacrifice and *panegyris*, and in the theatre at the tragic contests (B11.11-15). The Anonymous of Thasos’ decree also seems to have specified a time and place (A23b.8-10).

⁸⁶ These details do reflect administrative instructions; perhaps the lack of precise details as to the exact time at which the crowning would be held reflects the uncertainties of logistics – it may not have been sure exactly when a crowning might take place, especially at places like Delphi and Delos, where a high volume of crowns is likely to have been conferred at every Dionysia; cf. Chanotis, ‘Theatre Rituals’ 56-57.

⁸⁷ Ma, ‘Hellenistic honorific statues’ 218-219, esp. ‘The honorific decree...made society visible, by showing the network of gestures, occasions, values and memories that surrounded the statue and ensured its continuity as a meaningful monument.’

⁸⁸ Amphiklos (A3.10-14), Mnesiptolemos (A7.6-11), Dymas (A21.8-9, 24-26), Syriskos (A10.14-20).

⁸⁹ The viewer-reader’s re-enactment through speech-act would constitute both the recitation of a statement, a recount of the actual crowning announcement and ceremony of crowning, but also arguably a speech-act in itself, an illocutionary act affirming the legitimacy of *polis* institutions to decide: the verb στεφανοῖ is an ‘exercitive’, a performative that decides for the existence of a state (Austin, *How to Do Things* 155-157). It does not *literally* crown the honorand, but effectively does so as an illocution, affirming the validity of the statement, and vicariously of the *polis*, at the point it is spoken – in that sense the verbal re-enactment of the crowning formula by any viewer-reader might have served, on a less public scale, the same function as the annual crowning conferred on certain benefactors, fulfilling the central purpose of the formula of enacting the *polis*’ ideals. See Chanotis, ‘Theatre Rituals’ 55, for the phenomenon of annually proclaimed crowns.

Such quotation consummates the decree, as representative of the reciprocation of the *polis*, and the story it tells of itself through that reciprocation. When Mnesiptolemos' crown-pronouncement is re-enacted we learn that his praiseworthy qualities are not merely formalities, but proclamations of the civic conception of social order: 'The *demos* of the Delians crowns Mnesiptolemos' (A7.6-8) – the *polis* is in the nominative, and so agent; the optative στεφάνοι implies the civic-administrative reality which governs it, and had conceived it (the decision of the *demos* or *boule*).⁹⁰ The *polis* then affirms its social ideals through Mnesiptolemos – 'for his virtue, and on account of his piety towards the shrine and goodwill towards it' (A7.9-11).⁹¹ More striking is Syriskos' announcement, which unusually repeats, almost verbatim, the motivation-clause (A10.14-20).⁹² There are minor differences, in word-order (A10.17-18, cf. 4-7), but notably in the quotation Syriskos investigates truthfully (A10.19: ἀλαθιν[ῶς]), which is not mentioned earlier (A10.7-8). Thus historiography is praised and crowned here directly, but in service of the *polis*' representation of its social hierarchy. As in the motivation-clause, the quotation emphasises the primacy of the goddess in her foreign relations, and Syriskos' truthful reportage is exemplary for validating this – this particular sacred focus may explain the otherwise anomalous repetition of the motivation-clause. Most importantly, the announcement enacts the *polis* (A10.20, not δᾶμος of A10.8),

⁹⁰ Note also the comments of Ma, 'Hellenistic honorific statues' 213 more specifically on statue-honours: 'The 'honorific' formula sustains, but also quotes and hence celebrates the practice of public literacy, and of publicity and transparency that lay at the heart of the *polis*' conception of common affairs.' This relates well to the one instance of statue honours, for Leon of Stratonikeia, where the inscription on the statue-base is actually quoted (A14.19-23), enacting a semiotic tension between text and image through εἰκόνι χαλκῇ (*a* statue, and not *the* statue), on which see further 'Hellenistic honorific statues' 212-213.

⁹¹ There is a sense of deliberation in the slightly attenuated naming of his piety, and then goodwill – εὐσεβείας τῆς περὶ τὸ ἱερόν καὶ εὐνοίας τῆς εἰς αὐτόν. Arguably this has the effect of focussing attention more carefully on *each* of these virtues, and invites consideration as to their individual significance. Note also that the announcement in Dymas' decree crown him not only for the εὐνοία for which he is praised in the praise formula, but also his εὐσέβεια towards the gods (A21.8-9) and ἀρετή (A21.24-26) – the emphasis was here clearly placed on the quotation and not formula.

⁹² It also includes particular detail about the crowning ceremony, for which we are given not only an event but precise date: the twenty-first day of the Dionysia (A10.12-14).

so reinforcing the validity of the community as a social unit, as initiated by ὁ δῆμος (A10.14-15).

c. Monumentalising the polis through the historian

Reciprocation with honours thus fulfils the necessity of reciprocation signified by the honorand's deeds, and integrates the honorand within the *polis*' ritual memory; the *polis* expresses itself and its ideals through this reciprocation. Reciprocation is therefore a means of memorialising the community and its values. It is exemplary, and needs to be observed and emulated. Several of the decrees even include hortatory clauses before the praise-formula in which the visibility of the *polis* is noted, and the act of reciprocation is objectified: Dymas is honoured, 'so that the *demos* may be seen honouring those who benefit her in a worthy manner, for all time' (A21.20-22). The operative verb is φαίνεσθαι, which appears in all the versions of the hortatory clause found in the corpus;⁹³ this renders the *polis*' reciprocation a subject of visual attention, and addresses the community. Its standards of τὸ ἀξιόν are made explicit, and invite validation: it then presents its case for it, through (for Dymas at least) praise, crowning, and privileges. Exhortation serves, like Menekles' qualification as a πεπαιδευμένος (A20a.10-11), to examine but also authorise the *polis*' standards. In being

⁹³ Aristodama (A5b.10-11: ὅπως οὖν [φαινώμεθα τι]μέοντες αὐτὰν κατὰ τὸ ποθῖκον), Zotion (A15.8-9: ὅπως [ὦν ἡ πόλις φήνειται] τιμίωσ[α] τὸ[ς] ἀξί[ω]ς τῶν ἀνδρῶν), Amphikles (B13b.18-21: φαίνονται τιμῶντες τοὺς ἀξίους), Leon of Stratonikeia (A14.12-13: τὰς καταξίας χάριτας ἀποδιδόντες), Dionysios (A1.7-8: [οὖν καὶ ὁ] δῆμος εὐχαριστῶ[ν φαίνεται]), Herakleitos (A4.7-8: φαίνεται διαφυλάττων [τοῖς εὐεργέταις] τὰς χάριτας), which seems to be unique among the decrees at Athens: Henry, 'The Hortatory Intention in Athenian State Decrees' 115; also Dymas (A21.20-22: ὅπως οὖν καὶ ὁ δῆμος φαίνεται τοὺς εὐεργετοῦντας αὐτὸν τιμῶν ἀξίω[ς] διὰ παντός) and Kleocharēs (B7.6: ὅπως δὲ καὶ ἡ πόλις φαίνεται τιμῶσα τοὺς ἀξίον τι τοῦ θεοῦ γράφοντας).

seen ‘returning καταξίας χάριτας’ to Leon (A14.12-13), then, Panamara places its conception of κατάξιαι χάριτες under scrutiny, while also thereby normalising this.⁹⁴

Φαινέσθαι is vague, and purports to address the community at large; in the case of Herodotos and Menekles at Knossos we learn, however, to whom the visibility of their honours is directed – the Teians (A20a.11-12), who are to be sent a copy of the decree (A20a.16-20). This is an example of a ‘travelling decree,’⁹⁵ which establishes a line of reciprocity with Teos, and defines the *polis* in specific relation to another. In exchange Teos is to know ‘for all time’ Knossos’ recognition of its attention to *paideia* (A20a.18-20), so perpetuating its conception of gratitude; in Herodes’ case, the Prienians’ erection of the Samothrakian decree at a temple in their city is even described as a ‘favour’ (A22a.13: χαριοῦνται) to Samothrake, because it validates her participation in an inter-*polis* language of gratitude.⁹⁶ Such concerns to objectify and demonstrate the *polis*’ reciprocation also explain the explicit instructions for the inscription of the text, where attested in other decrees, at mainly high-visibility locations.⁹⁷ Four decrees even demand erection at an ἐπιφανέστατος τόπος,⁹⁸ enhancing the visibility of the inscription itself.⁹⁹

⁹⁴ This would also be the case with Syriskos’ short hortatory clause, where the *polis* is not ‘seen’ (A10.9: [ἵνα λάβοι τιμὰ]ς ἀξίας); it is his receipt of *worthy* honours which evokes the *polis*’ standard of worthiness.

⁹⁵ Ma, ‘Peer Polity Interaction’, 19-20.

⁹⁶ An earlier hortatory clause has already described the Samothrakians’ earnestness to be seen to be grateful for benefactors, and that the Prienians should know this (A22a.5-8: εἰδήσωσαν).

⁹⁷ Mainly temples: Hermokles (A6.14), Aristodama (A5b.34-37), Syriskos (A10.20-21), Dymas (A21.30-31), Themistokles (B12.23-31), Amphikles (B13b.34-36), Leon of Stratonikeia (A14.23-25), Dioskurides (A19.44-49), Bombos (A16.29-32); Amphiklos (A3.24-25) is also erected at the *bouleterion* (A3.25-26). Locations are not specified for Herakleitos (A4.19-20) and Zotion (A15.17), and Herodotos and Menekles (A20a.16-19, which merely provides for the copying of the inscription. Anonymous of Thasos (A23b.14) is fragmentary at the point where location is specified.

⁹⁸ Themistokles (B12.26-27), Zotion (A15.17), Leon of Stratonikeia (A14.24-25), Dioskurides (A19.48-49); these are all in sacred areas: a temple of Lato, Zeus Klarios, and Apollo; for Zotion an ἐπιφανέστατος τόπος is the location for erection itself. There was thus some conception of this visibility as ἐπιφανής in a divine sense; on this see Platt, *Facing the Gods. Epiphany and Representation in Graeco-Roman Art, Literature and Religion* 135-141.

Hortatory clauses may also introduce these instructions for inscription, and here the *polis*' exemplarity is doubly objectified – it wants to be seen being seen to be grateful – and extends the process of scrutiny and validation to a wider audience. For Themistokles the inscription-exhortation makes Xanthos' qualities visible, but also thereby preserves the friendship between Xanthos and Ilion – ἰλικρινής (B12.22) has diplomatic connotations –¹⁰⁰ through the inscription's location next to Themistokles' father's statue, and so imbrication in Ilion's history of benefaction. Exhortation and instructions function together to affirm the *polis*' trans-local visibility and relevance at a specific high-visibility locale. Thus Aristodama's inscription is copied at Delphi, and one can compare the exhortation with the exhortation for praise to observe the sophistication of the *polis*' mechanisms for external recognition: in the latter the *polis* demonstrates its conception of τὸ ποθῖκον (A5b.11), while the former seeks to display Chaleion's regard for a virtue of trans-local significance – the honour of individuals pious to Apollo (A5b.31-34). The intricacy of civic memorialisation, looking both within and without the community, might finally be clarified through Dioskurides' hortatory clauses. They mirror each other, but a development in themes is discernible: the first exhortation speaks of Knossos' gratitude to her benefactors (A19.20-24), and making clear the distinction gained through these benefactors to all men (A19.24-27),¹⁰¹ while the second of making clear Knossos' dedication and goodwill towards those distinguished in the highest endeavours, to posterity (A19.29-34). Thus there is greater

⁹⁹ See Platt, *Facing the Gods*. 141: 'Furthermore, epigraphic use of the term has an inherently reflexive quality: to draw attention to the portrait's visibility the inscription of the phrase itself invests the text with a prominent visibility of its own.' She discusses here the statue conferred on Damophon the sculptor, but the principle would hold true where it is the decree itself which is concerned.

¹⁰⁰ Robert, *Fouilles d'Amyzon* 1.156 n. 2 cites several other attestations of εἰλικρινής in epigraphic documents, mainly of a diplomatic nature: *OGIS* 227.12-13 (letter of Seleukos II to Miletos), *OGIS* 767.39-41 (Eumenes to the Ionians), *OGIS* 441.5 (*senatus consultum* for Stratonikeia), but *IG* XII.5 860.48-49, a Tenian honorific decree for Aufidius Bassus.

¹⁰¹ Notably, the Knossians use a vivid metaphor, δῖα λαμπρῶς, to describe the visibility of her appreciation (A19.24-27). See the comments of Homolle, 'Inscriptions de Délos', 358-359: 'il signifie l'éclat: il est pris ici pour synonyme de δῖα λαμπρῶς opinion, jugement, considération que l'on a pour quelqu'un ou dont on jouit.'

emphasis in the second on Knossos' active reciprocation, the perpetuity of this, and the devotion of her historian-honorands to not only εὖνοια but τὰ καλλίστα ἐπιταδουμάτα. Here, exhortation-clauses shape the visibility and identity of the *polis* at both the local and trans-local levels, the specificity of Dioskurides as historian-honorand allowing her to contest and affirm her values within the community, but also, through Delphi, throughout the Greek world at large.

d. Embodying the historian's honours: statue-bases and funerary inscriptions

While the civic decree frames reciprocation as a response to motivation, the statue and its base represent the reciprocation itself; it is less an argument providing necessary grounds for honour than a statement, an affirmation of the irreducible relationship between honourer and honorand.¹⁰² For our corpus-texts all, except for one, were erected on the advice of an official civic body – this suggests something of the communal significance the historian enjoyed.¹⁰³ This distinction is not absolute: Demokrates' civic decree was inscribed on a

¹⁰² The following analysis comprises that of the statue-bases: in all these instances the actual statues have been lost, and the interaction between text and image only assumed. With the case of Philippos, it may be possible to identify a headless statue found in the vicinity of his statue-base as the image: Cavvadias, *Fouilles d'Epidaure* 61-62; Cestianus' statue may have been one discovered in a room with a floor-mosaic in the agora at Korinth: a man holding a scroll, as posited by Broneer, 'Excavations in the Agora at Corinth, 1933' 562, with an image at pl. LXIV. For Dexippos, a type may be identifiable in a statue-head of a statesman found at Isthmia, which Sturgeon, *Isthmia IV. Sculpture I: 1952-1967* 144 (pls. 70-71) conjectures may have been a commemorative dedication in honour of Dexippos, who might have been regarded as a major benefactor in the late third century.

¹⁰³ In the case of Demokrates we actually read a civic decree, although it is unlikely the statue was his image, as the statue-base is shared with several other civic decrees (*SEG* 15.275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 284). For the statue-bases proper all except for Onesikles (**B19**) is the consent of an official civic body expressly included: Leon and Xenophon are honoured by Samos (**A12a.1**, **A31.1**), Eumolpos by Delphi (**B16.2**), Philippos by Epidauros (**A25.1**), Aelianus by Thyateira (**A29.1**), Cestianus by Korinth (**B24.5-7**), Charax by Patrai (**B22.1**), Quadratus by Elis and Olympia (**B26.2-3**). Herakleitos by Rhodiapolis (**B25.2-3**), and also other large organisations outside the *polis* (**B25.8-12**). Even in the two instances at Athens where individuals are named as the honourers – Pompeianus by Sosigenes (**B23.3-5**), and Dexippos by his children (**A32.7**, 18) – official bodies are still openly cited, the Areopagos council (Pompeianus **B23.5-7**) and also the council of seven hundred and fifty and the

statue-base, while Claudius Eumolpos' dedication is framed more explicitly as a civic decision – Delphi 'decided to make the poet Claudius Eumolpos a citizen' (**B16.2-4**), with participles outlining not only motivation but timeless, aoristic qualities – 'singing of the city and Apollo' (**B16.4**). This is a memorial that affirms, without the hesitation implied in the conjunctions of a decree, Delphi's ideals of exemplarity, and her attentiveness to these, through the honorand.

Most of the texts employ the short dedication formula, which essentially embodies the relational, and not representational, character of the statue. Emphasis is placed through prioritising either the nominative of the *polis* honourer,¹⁰⁴ or the accusative honorand;¹⁰⁵ with Onesikles, the only privately dedicated honorand here, his centrality to the monument is more justifiably emphasised, his honouring friends named at the end (**B19.6**). The civic significance of this exemplarity is heightened where the dedicator – a *polis* in these cases – is named first. For Xenophon of Samos the *demos* is active agent (**A31.1**), placing the stress on the act of reciprocation through honour; Xenophon's statue is also dedicated Ὡρηι (**A31.4**), which evokes the hierarchy of the *polis* – the goddess, *demos*, then Xenophon, whose exemplary qualities have affirmed this: he is a model παῖς, who as an accomplished historian looks to the continuity of his *polis*' traditions. A similar structure of *polis*-centred affirmation one finds for Charax, Quadratus, Aelianus, and Herakleitos. With the latter two reciprocation is explicitly spelled out through ἐτερίμῃσαν, and the dedication reads like a festival proclamation;¹⁰⁶ Herakleitos' honours even read as a list of proclamations, affirming both Rhodiapolis' civic values – it honours him with an image of his *paideia* (**B25.7-8**) – and

assembly for Dexippos (**A32.1-2**). Only Onesikles seems to have been honoured solely on the private initiative of his friends (**B19.6-7**). This civic-centredness is perhaps striking considering the increase in the imperial period in privately-financed statues, on which cf. Ma, *Statues and Cities* 294-297.

¹⁰⁴ This is the case with Charax (**B22**), Leon of Samos (**A12a**), Xenophon (**A31**), Quadratus (**B26**), Herakleitos of Rhodes (**B25**), Philippos (**A25**), Dexippos (**A32**), and Aelianus (**A29**).

¹⁰⁵ As with the inscriptions of Cestianus (**B24**), Pompeianus (**B23**), which is not a true statue-base, but an inscribed herm, and Onesikles (**B19**).

¹⁰⁶ On this quality of the dedication formula with τιμῶν, see Ma, 'Hellenistic honorific statues', 211-212.

situating this within an honorific network connecting her to other communities at Alexandria, Rhodes, and Athens (B25.8-25). The statue thus represents not the honorand *qua* person of the honorand, but the honorand as a statement of the *polis*' identity and values. Finally, this relational character is expressed clearly for Aelianus, whose statue-base not only describes his bequest of annual remuneration to Thyateira's councillors, but also instructs that this be conducted as a ritual *at his statue* (A29.13): there, the reciprocal relationship between *polis* and Aelianus is embodied, and the city's highest political representatives are to assemble and so express its identity through reciprocation.

In these examples the role of historiography as the reciprocated benefaction is only briefly stated, or hinted at: the significance of 'Cestianus the rhetor' or 'Charax the συνγραφεύς' lies less in this fact than its location within a statement of the *polis*' reciprocation: 'Korinth honours Cestianus, the *rhetor*.' Sometimes, however, a larger role is attributed to ἱστορία, and historiography becomes this statement of relationality. Its civic significance is thus highlighted. This is clearer with the posthumous honorific dedications for Gorgos and Kletonymos which, by their nature focus attention on the honorand, telling the story of a life whose exemplarity is implied and not directly expressed through a dedicatory formula.¹⁰⁷ Kletonymos' ἡμίθεος ἱστορία is part of his life of civic service, and also allows Lato to affirm the nobility of its past, alongside Lindos and Korinth, cities of the Seven Sages (A18.4-6). Likewise, Gorgos' erudition glorifies Kolophon, whom she had begotten, but Attic soil now held in her bosom (A24.5). His virtue is the preservation of the past – as a μελεδωνὸς πρόσβυς, a legacy now maintained through his literary work (σελίζ), with which he might be grammatically, and so figuratively, identified: Gorgos, the metaphorical work of

¹⁰⁷ One might also include the funerary inscription of Andronikos, probably conceived from private initiative, which sums up his life as a ἱστοριογράφος (A26.4), where it was clearly the focal point of honorific significance.

erudition.¹⁰⁸ A historian thus allows the *polis* to affirm command of the past. In the third funerary inscription, Hermogenes' funerary statue-base, perhaps erected at his own behest, the voice of the *polis* is not present; there is nonetheless still an element of civic exemplarity: his literary works are literally monuments of its past, as part of the inscription, and their listing in the nominative highlights their continued existence as works which attest to Hermogenes' life of service. This is still a *polis* monument (erected by one of the community), even if not officially one – Smyrna is positioned alone in the middle (A27.5), and placed alongside Rome in final line (A27.9), so emphasising local and trans-local community identity.

e. Resolving reciprocity through historiography

While these funerary inscriptions thus memorialise their historian-honorands as both moral exemplars and their works as monuments of the city's past, three statue-bases make explicit the role of historiography itself in affirming *polis* identity. In the honours for Leon of Samos, Dexippos and Philippos, the dedication-formula is accompanied by a description of the honorand's historiographical work. An interesting semiotic tension arises: for Leon, the statement that Samos honours Leon (A12a.1-3) is supplemented by an epigram outlining his work (A12b); the latter thus presents honorific motivation in reverse, explaining the necessary grounds for Samos' reciprocation as part of the reciprocation itself. The epigram outlines Leon's exemplarity, his relevance for the *polis* community – this is the function of the

¹⁰⁸ It is possible to read the first τόν as referring not to Γοργόν of A24.3, but σελίδα of A24.2, with μελεδωνόν πρόσβυν in agreement with πο[λ]ύβυβλον σελίδα, and σελίδα in apposition to Γοργόν of A24.3: 'The multi-volume σελίς, old guardian of poets' works collected from all inquiry, the lover of wisdom and noble-minded Gorgos.' δρεψάμενον may be taken as a both aorist middle and aorist passive, if σελίς be read as masculine, which does occur: *Anth. Pal.* 7.21.5-6: τύμβος ἔχει καὶ γῆς ὀλίγον μέρος, ἀλλ' ὁ περισσὸς αἰὼν ἀθανάτοις δέρεται ἐν σελίσιν. This reading is admittedly based on an overly figurative reading of σελίς, but one which attempts to convey the significance of the heavy concentration on Gorgos' literary oeuvre in the first two lines, which surely must have been intended to be read in a distinct way from the description of Gorgos himself in A24.3.

opening priamel on the inevitability of material decay, in contrast to the endurance of fame (φάμα) gained through renowned action (**A12b.3-4**). The *lifelong* character of this fame (**A12b.4**: πάντα μένει βίοντον), perhaps in conscious difference to literary tropes of *immortal* fame,¹⁰⁹ hints at its relevance for the living, especially young members of the community. The universality of aphorism is then contrasted with the specificity of Leon as an embodiment of this fame, which has particular civic significance (**A12b.5**: κατὰ πόλιν). His activities in historiography which earn him this, then, cannot be read as explaining motivation, but in fact a consequence of these – the statue commemorates his historiography and also brings renown to these works, in so doing enhancing its own past, imbued with proud sense of the local (note πάτρας and αὐτόχθονα). Through civic honour, on account of local historiography, φάμα is conferred on Leon’s ἱστορίαι,¹¹⁰ and so the memorials of the city’s past it contains: the final two lines (**A12b.7-8**) are not only reflective of the outward-looking character of local historiography,¹¹¹ but almost metaphorical of the centrifugal and centripetal consequences of honouring Leon – his honour achieves Samos renown beyond her shores, but ultimately adorns her shrine (ἀγλάϊσαν). Samos, then, in fulfilling the necessity of equitable reciprocation, honours its own history by honouring a historian.

A similar reciprocal resolution is discernible in the statue-base for Dexippos. It begins with a dedication that affirms its civic centrality of his monument (**A32.1-7**), but frames this within a familial transaction – his children dedicate the statue (**A32.7**). The interpretation of

¹⁰⁹ Peek, ‘Ein neuer samischer Historiker’, 167 calls this ‘matt’; at 165-166 he cites other epigrams from the Greek Anthology: *Anth. Pal.* 9.704, ἀλλ’ ἀρετῶν / Ἀσκληπιοδότου τὸ κλέος ἀθάνατον, 7.225, οὐνομα μὴν ἥρωος ἀεὶ νέον, οὐ γὰρ ἀοιδὰς / ἀμβλύνειν αἰών, κῆν ἐθέλη, δύναται. Clarke, *Making Time* 342 notes that the imagery of the indestructible fame earned through historiography echoes Pind. *Pyth.* 6.5-14; she also notes at n. 144 several parallels from historians, of which especially Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.1.1-2, Diod. Sic. 1.2.5 are particularly pertinent. All these, however, speak of the eternity of literary fame.

¹¹⁰ Note his ἱστορίαι are πινυταί – a word-choice which may quite consciously allude to the πινυτή associated with Hera in Homer, thus conferring on them Homeric prestige; cf. *Od.* 20.71, where Hera confers beauty and wisdom to the daughters of Pandareos: Ἥρη δ’ αὐτῆσιν περὶ πασέων δῶκε γυναικῶν εἶδος καὶ πινυτήν.

¹¹¹ On this see above p. 31.

the poem which follows thus has to be seen as part of the *polis*' self-definition through one of its members. There is consequently an interest in Dexippos' Athenian ancestry (A32.8-9); in reciprocation of his efforts in honouring his fatherland through historiography the city likewise presents its honour as the reciprocation of children to a parent.¹¹² The exemplary ideal is filial piety, and this characterises Dexippos' historiography. He is ranged among Attika's superlative (κρατίστους) heroes in ἀλκή, μυθοί, and βουλαί, and A32.10-15 might be roughly seen as explications of these qualities in his historiography: ἀλκή in undertaking a ἱστορίην δολιχὴν, dexterity in μυθοί in examining παντοίην ἱστορίης ἀτραπὸν through both eyewitness and literary sources, and mastery of βουλαί, in applying his mind (A32.14: νοῦ ἅπο μυρίον ὄμμα) to χρονίους πρήξιας (A32.11, 13, 15). He is thus exemplary of the Athenian, as the encompassing master of his field.¹¹³ Like Leon's honours, the poem does not justify honorific reciprocation – it *is* the reciprocation – but rather increased φήμη (A32.16): this is the gift of the inscription (ὁ νεανθὴς αἴνος), and extends, as Athens' own cultural claims, across Hellas (A32.16: ἄν' Ἑλλάδα).¹¹⁴ This centrifugal φήμη also ultimately redounds on Athens herself, as we are reminded by a cyclical return to the notion of parentage and filial reciprocation in A32.18-19: ἀγάλλειτον repeats the ἀγαλλείτους of A32.9. The theme of continuity is central in Dexippos' honours; we see here that Athens' response to the historian of universal *Chronika* is to look into her own extensive glorious, autochthonous past and emphasise its continued vitality, as embodied by descendants dutiful and respectful of their forebears.

The last example of an extended honorific dedication on historiography is that of Philippos of Pergamon. The opening dedication formula (A25.1-4), like Dexippos', reveals

¹¹² There was arguably design in this, as we are explicitly told the dedication was made by Dexippos' children κατὰ τὸ ἐπερώτημα (A32.1) of the Areopagos council, council of seven hundred and fifty, and assembly.

¹¹³ For Aelius Aristides' view of Athens as the intellectual leader of Greece, see *Pan.* 324-330, and 343; as the summit of Hellas, see *Pan.* esp. 8-16, 64, 403.

¹¹⁴ See e.g. Aristid. *Pan.* 75-330 for an encomiastic, and so not entirely unrealistic picture, of Athens' ideals of maintaining its tradition of military and cultural leadership over Greece in the late second century CE.

Epidauros' interpretation of Philippos' acts – these are works of sacred history, transcending the world of mortals. Epidauros is also subtly equated with the Greeks who dedicated Philippos (A25.1-3: ἄνθετο μὲν μ' Ἐπίδauρος... ἀγλάϊσαν δ' Ἑλλανες). The shrine of Asklepios is thus affirmed as a seat of the god, and a site of international prominence. These themes find development in the text which follows, perhaps comprising an excerpt of Philippos' work;¹¹⁵ inscribed in Ionian, and narrated in the first person (A25.5, 11). There is a conceit to authenticity and access to Philip's divine voice;¹¹⁶ as with Syriskos, the honorand's works are reproduced verbatim in a sacred context.¹¹⁷ The first person animates the statue when read out by any viewer-reader: to that extent there is an immortal, divine quality to Philip's work which transcends the human world. It also animates the reciprocation of Epidauros, disseminating Philip's πολεμόγραφος αὐδὰ to the Greeks (A25.10: ἐς τοὺς Ἑλληνας). It is a just requital, because Philip's historiography is universal in scope, encompassing the four Herodotean regions of the world (A25.5-8: Libya, Asia, Europe and the islands), and a full spectrum of sufferings (A25.5: παντοίων παθέων) – corruption, immoderation, internal strife, and treachery (A25.12-14). This legitimates Epidauros' claim to speak on behalf of the Greeks. It also legitimates the divine authority of her Asklepieion: the extensiveness of Philip's work is almost hyperbolic, because its study allows one to learn the ills (κακά) of vice and morally reform (A25.14-16). The characterisation of Philippos' divine hand (A25.8-9: ὁσίῃ χειρὶ) affirms a relationship with Asklepios' role as healer-god, and associates the lessons of history directly with moral healing.¹¹⁸ This moral aspect to

¹¹⁵ Goukowsky, 'Philippe de Pergame' 39.

¹¹⁶ Martha, 'Inscription d'Epidaure' 273-274 discerns that the first four lines of the dedication were more tidily inscribed than those of the excerpt, although Cavvadias considers that the forms of the letters are 'identiquement la même'; at any rate the two sections are visually distinct, as Cavvadias' sketch of the inscription suggests (*Fouilles d'Epidaure* 1.62).

¹¹⁷ See above pp. 97-98.

¹¹⁸ Note the allusion to Asklepios' power through χεῖρ: the third-century dedication by Hermodikos of Lampsakos to Asklepios reads that he was healed by the god by going σὰς εἰς χεῖρας (*IG IV².1* 125.5-6).

Philippos' work serves as the cornerstone of the reciprocation by Epidauros; animation through first-person speech-act provides the centrifugal fame which Philippos had conferred on Epidauros centripetally through universal history, while also evoking thereby the universality of Asklepios' power, and so of Epidauros' influence. We read the excerpt from his ἱστορίη περὶ τῶν καινῶν πρήξεων therefore not as motivation for Epidauros' honour of Philippos, but, as with Leon of Samos and Dexippos, as an expression of the city's identity through its past (as an international centre for healing), through a historian's honours.

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The foregoing survey of honorific acts encompassed by honours for historians has sought to demonstrate that such reciprocation was not merely narcissistic – the *polis* did not honour an honorand simply to be seen doing so, as a means of promoting its name and interests. Rather, this reciprocation was necessary, and presented as necessary, because honour not only affirmed, but also perpetuated the social identity and ideals of the *polis*. Gratitude provided stability to the community, equalising unique and unprecedented benefaction by expressing it as the manifestation and continuation of civic values. With the historian-honorand the novelty of the benefaction was reciprocated by normalising it either within terms of normal civic benefaction, or by affirming the continuity of higher qualities – those of *paideia*, τὰ καλλίστα τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων, and, as with the statue-honours just examined, the illustriousness of its past.

Figure 2: Honouring cities by genre: civic decrees, statue-bases and funerary inscriptions

3rd to 2nd centuries BCE			
	<i>Civic decrees</i>	<i>Statue-Bases</i>	<i>Funerary Inscriptions</i>
Gorgos (A24)	—	—	Kolophon
Leon (A14)	Panamara	Panamara (A14.18-23)	—
Themistokles (B12)	Xanthos	—	—
Dionysios (A1)	Samos	—	—
Leon (A12)	—	Samos	—
Anonymous of Chios (A11)	Chios	—	—
Ion (B9)	Chios	—	—
Demoteles (A2)	Delos	—	—
Amphiklos (A3)	Delos	—	—
Mnesiptolemos (A7)	Delos	—	—
Eukles (B1)	Delos	—	—
Herakleitos (B2)	Delos	—	—
Ariston (A17)	Delos	—	—
Amphikles (B13b)	Delos	—	—
Anonymous of Tenos (B11)	Tenos	—	—
Alkinoe (B8)	Tenos	—	—
Kletonymos (A18)	—	—	Lato
Herodotos and Menekles (A20b)	Priansos	—	—
Herodotos and Menekles (A20a)	Knossos	—	—
Dioskurides (A19)	Knossos	—	—
Herakleitos (A4)	Athens	—	—
Amphikles (B13a)	Oropos	—	—
Demokrates (B3)	—	Oropos	—
Zotion (A15)	Koroneia	—	—
Hermokles (A6)	Delphi	—	—
Aristotheos (A13)	Delphi	—	—
Theopompos (B10)	Delphi	—	—
Anonymous of Skepsis (B14)	Delphi	—	—
Kleochares (B7)	Delphi	—	—
Eratoxenos (B6)	Delphi	—	—
Nikandros (B4)	Delphi	—	—
Kleandros (B5)	Delphi	—	—
Aristodama (A5b)	Chaleion	—	—
Politas (A8)	Lamia	—	—
Aristodama (A5a)	Lamia	—	—
Bombos (A16)	Larisa	—	—
Herodes (A22)	Samothrake	—	—
Dymas (A21)	Samothrake	—	—
Anonymous of Amphipolis (A9)	Amphipolis	—	—
Syriskos (A10)	Chersonesos	—	—

1st century BCE to 3rd century CE			
	<i>Civic decrees</i>	<i>Statue-Bases</i>	<i>Funerary Inscriptions</i>
Onesikles (B19)	–	Hierapolis-Kastabala	–
Hermogenes (A27)	–	–	Smyrna
Aelianus (A29)	–	Thyateira	–
Herakleitos (B25)	–	Rhodiapolis	–
Xenophon (A31)	–	Samos	–
Eumolpos (B16)	–	Delphi	–
Ammonios (B15)	Delphi	–	–
Sextus (B17)	Delphi	–	–
Apollonios (B20)	Delphi	–	–
Pompeius Paullus (B18)	Delphi	–	–
Auphria (B21)	Delphi	–	–
Pompeianus (B23)	–	Athens	–
Anteros (A30)	Athens	–	–
Dexippos (A32)	–	Athens	–
Philippos (A25)	–	Epidauros	–
Cestianus (B24)	–	Korinth	–
Charax (B22)	–	Patrai	–
Antiochos (A28)	Argos	–	–
Quadratus (B26)	–	Olympia	–
Alexandros (A23)	Paros (?)	–	–
Andronikos (A26)	–	–	Sestos

Epilogue

This study has attempted to illuminate two aspects of post-classical historiographical practice – its individual narrators, and its community narrators, in the form of *polis* communities. It has done so specifically through honorific inscriptions erected by communities in reciprocation of the efforts of its historians; their analysis has consequently implicated both at every stage. As an inevitable result of their largely public, civic character this has been largely shaped by the impact of the *polis*-community's choices – the documents read as narratives constructed by the *polis* and reflect ideological portraits of the honorands and their deeds. Indeed 'historian' has throughout designated the *polis*' conception of such figures, whose vocations ranged across different literary and artistic activities.

In chapters one and two we examined the activities and social contexts of these historian-honorands. The first read the description of the works of these honoured historians as reflections of the *polis*' self-identity, and suggested that these were not seen merely as products of local chauvinism and pride, but were typically positioned within larger historiographical frameworks. This picture does not pretend to reductive interpretation, and local variations need to be acknowledged – especially the particular character of sites of greater international significance (as Delphi, Delos, Athens), where local history resonated differently than elsewhere. The second chapter interrogated the social contexts of these historiographical activities. For the few that are situated in specific circumstances these were found to have significance in public arenas – those of sacred festivals, civic education, and official diplomatic inter-city relations. For most, however, specific contexts are not ascertainable, and it is perhaps useful to situate these historian-honorands within other sorts of public settings: notably, the occasional ἀκρόασις or ἐπίδειξις often cited as the form of performance. This publicity should not be underestimated, and our historian-honorands were also found to have considerable roles between *poleis*, with a majority of the fifty-nine

individuals having been honoured as itinerants. They might be interpreted in ways other than as representatives of the older view of local historians as antiquarians, whose narratives were parochial in conception; rather, through these narratives they conferred authority and significance to the *polis*' identity through the past, providing it with visibility in relation to other communities, and in doing so establishing lines of reciprocity with those communities. These historians thus comprise one small narrative of the continuing vitality of community identity in the post-classical *polis*, and the outward-looking nature of local historiography.

This community identity is discernible in the honorific act itself, which reflects the *polis*' conception of the historian's social significance. The third chapter analysed the honours and privileges of these honorands, and the social function of honours in the community's narration of its own past. There it was suggested that honours served to integrate the historian into the *polis*' regime of honorific reciprocation, and as a means of translating benefaction into moral exemplarity through public rituals of praise and crowning. Through the conferral of privileges the historian-honorand was normalised as a civic benefactor, and historiographical activity conceived as a form of symbolic capital, albeit without the full mercenary implications of the concept: honouring historiography served not only to enhance the *polis*' prestige, but by recognising it through formal ritual emphasised internal social coherence and continuity, which the ethic of reciprocity would suggest. When enacted as speech-act, the civic decree or statue-base thus also served to memorialise the historian-honorand by presenting the individual as the embodiment of the civic qualities that perpetuated the community, and were worthy of emulation – εὐνοία, εὐσέβεια, φιλοπονία, παιδεία. It is the act of past-narration which holds exemplary power; the past is itself conferred exemplary qualities in a few instances (Syriskos [A10], Philippos [A25]), but even here there is some implication for community identity, and the relevance for its present and future. These honorific inscriptions were thus memorials both of the *polis*' narrated pasts (presented by the historian as a viable narrative) and the affirmative significance these had for

its coherence as a social entity. Instructions for inscription further emphasised the visibility of these ideals within the community, and sometimes with other communities, with whom lines of reciprocity were forged. Such visibility served *polis* identity both locally and trans-locally. In all, in proportion to the phenomenon of post-classical evergetism as a whole, these historian-honorands would have had a small but not insignificant role in initiating articulations of civic ideals and identity and generating a sense of common *polis* culture.

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This narrative of the honoured historian has emerged largely from a synchronic approach, and suggested the continuity of these social processes from the Hellenistic to imperial periods; diachronic observations are perhaps not too well served by the piecemeal nature of the evidence. It may be possible to argue for changes in geographical distribution of city-origins (Fig. 1), and perhaps a greater intensity in statue-honours for historians in the Roman period (Fig. 2),¹ but this does not preclude the viability of the civic decree, as Antiochos' decree shows (A28).² It is striking, however, that almost all the documents (except Onesikles [B19]) derive from civic decisions – even into the Roman period when privately dedicated statues are on the increase.³ The historian seems to have remained a largely public character throughout the post-classical period. We cannot, however, infer trends about historiographic practice at large – the imperial evidence does not necessarily reflect an increase in 'universal' historiography, in the cosmopolitan, emperor-centred world of the Second Sophistic; there were still local historians in this time.⁴ The absences may be more

¹ Of the statue-bases only 2 (1 A, 1 B) date to the Hellenistic period, while 11 (4 A, 7 B) are of Roman date.

² In the later second century CE one finds Tlos and Sidyma corresponding at an official level on the kinship they share; cf. Chaniotis, *Historie* 75-85 T19.

³ See above chapter 3 n. 103.

⁴ There were individuals like Aristokrates of Sparta wrote a *Lakonika* (BNJ 591), and Aspasio of Byblos, who wrote a work *On Byblos* (BNJ 792) in the early imperial period. See Bowie, 'Greeks and their Past in the Second Sophistic' 19-22 and Clarke, 'Parochial Tales in a Global Empire' 115-116.

telling: for one, we obviously hear little about court-writers,⁵ or the symposiastic, non-communal, non-public contexts of post-classical historiography. The geographical distribution of these documents also notably excludes Sicily and southern Italy, where a vivacious historiographical tradition did exist (Timaïos, Philistos, Diodoros),⁶ and there is evidence for the literary reception of historiography.⁷ This may be an unintended result of the accidents of survival. More substantial, however, is perhaps the absence of honours for *local* historians for re-telling purely *local* history, works which would have resonated only with a local audience – unlike the authors considered here, whose histories were conceived as encompassing trans-local themes (Syriskos, Herakleitos of Athens, Leon of Samos).⁸ This perhaps suggests something about the interest in trans-local recognition latent in the honorific act, indeed inscription, and the particularity of the picture of the historian and *polis* one sees through these documents; a contiguous point is that it may be possible to see the parallels in vocabulary (e.g. πραγματεύεσθαι, ἀκροάσεις, ἐπιδείξεις, μμνήσκειν, συντάσσειν, κοίρανος ιστορίας) across different regions as evidence for trans-local awareness.

Finally, while this study of honours for historians has been centred on honours for living, or recently deceased, individuals, there are a few documents which honour the memory

⁵ E.g. Hieronymos of Kardia, Anaximenes of Lampsakos (*BNJ* 72 T1), Euphantos of Olynthos (*BNJ* 74 T1), Hegesianax of Skepsis (*BNJ* 45 T3). On court-centred historiography in the early Hellenistic period, see Rosen, ‘Politische Ziele in der Frühen Hellenistischen Geschichtsschreibung’.

⁶ See also, of Hellenistic date, Athanis of Syracuse (*BNJ* 562), Nymphodoros of Syracuse (*BNJ* 572), Kallias of Syracuse (*BNJ* 564), the tyrant Dionysios I of Syracuse (*BNJ* 557), Philinos (*BNJ* 174); Dionysios the Sicilian (*BNJ* 567) and Kallisthenes of Sybaris (*BNJ* 291 F5a-c) may be bogus authors cited by Plutarch and pseudo-Plutarch, but if so the fact that they could be invented is indicative of the reputation of Sicily and Italy for historiography. There are also two authors attested from Lipari, possibly of a geographical and historiographical bent: a Peisistratos (*BNJ* 574) and Pyrrhon (*BNJ* 836).

⁷ Note the library inscription of Tauromenion would suggest, which includes the names of Kallisthenes of Olynthos, Fabius Pictor, Philistos, and possibly a Paraballon of Elea; on this see Manganaro, ‘Una biblioteca storica nel ginnasio di Tauromenion’ 389-401, who sees it as a work in the Alexandrine tradition of catalogue-taking, and one which reflects local pride – especially in the mention of the hero Lanoios who accompanies Aeneas to found Lanuvium, whom Manganaro sees as a local hero of the Sicilians at Kentoripa.

⁸ One might consider such authors as Hereas of Megara (*BNJ* 486), known only from Plutarch, or Sokrates of Argos (*BNJ* 310), who wrote an *Argolika*.

of the historians, long after their decease. The Hellenistic and imperial periods saw the erection of hermae and statues, for instance, to Herodotos and Thukydides.⁹ At Roman imperial Rhodes a statue was raised to the Hellenistic historian Antisthenes, vivifying the past and emphasising the continuity of community – he is affirmatively ‘Ρόδιος’.¹⁰ In such statues we observe an advanced stage of the historian’s honours, where their significance for the *polis*’ identity is more unadulterated, and they not merely represent exemplary civic virtues but *are* these; the historian becomes part of the *polis*’ mythology.

As the ultimate form of reciprocation the *polis* writes into its own history the individuals who had narrated it in their lifetimes. We might trace this in two documents from Halikarnassos – a somewhat exceptional *polis*, admittedly, as the birth-place of Herodotos. The first is the early imperial Salmakis inscription,¹¹ which tells the history of Halikarnassos as a history of its literary heroes, including a number of historians – Herodotos, the ‘prose Homer’, Panyassis, ‘lord of epic verse’, Nossos, ‘the commander of time’.¹² Importantly, the lives of these figures are regarded as deeds of the city,¹³ and so deserving of the appropriate

⁹ Herodotos: *IG* XIV 1160 and 1161, *I.Pergamon* 199; found at Pergamon also were two inscribed bases for Βάλακρος Μελέαγρου (*I.Pergamon* 201) perhaps honouring the Macedonian historian (*BNJ* 773), and [Α]π[λ]λ[ώ]ν[ι]ος Φιλώ[του] (*I.Pergamon* 202), whom Fabricius and Schuchhardt identified with the author of a *Karika* (*BNJ* 740); these bases may have been part of a honorific gallery at Pergamon. Thukydides: *IG* XIV 1162, and *SEG* 48.219, from Athens. It may be of imperial date. We also hear of a statue of the ‘ancient Herodotos’ (παλαιὸς Ἡρόδοτος) at imperial Aphrodisias, next to which a tragic poet Gaius Julius Longianus was to have his own statue placed (*MAMA* VII 418b.13-14).

¹⁰ Kontorini, *Ανέκδοτες Ἐπιγραφές Ῥόδου* 59-63 for text and discussion: Ἀν[τισ]θ[έν]ης Ῥόδιος ἱστοριογράφος. As Kontorini notes the placement of Antisthenes’ name in the nominative, and not accusative as part of a normal dedicatory formula, would seem to strongly suggest a memorial, almost archival, and not merely honorific, function – Antisthenes’ statue would have been one among the other literary heroes of Rhodes.

¹¹ See Lloyd-Jones, ‘The Pride of Halikarnassos’ for text and commentary.

¹² *LI*. 43, 46, 53: Ἡρόδοτον τὸν πεζὸν ἐν ἱστορίαισιν Ὅμηρον, / ἤροσεν...ἔσπειρεν Πανύασσιν ἐπὶ ὧν ἀρίστημον ἄνακτα...Νόσσον ἐν ἱστορίαισι χρόνων σημάντορα τεύξεν.

¹³ The portion of the inscription narrating these historians comprises an account of Halikarnassos’ centrifugal influence, where the earlier portions had dealt with the centripetal influences converging on her; cf. Gagné, ‘What is the Pride of Halikarnassos?’ 24-25. The list of historians is thus to be interpreted as part of the city’s

reciprocation – the ‘most renowned crowns’.¹⁴ Halikarnassos’ historians are her virtues themselves. Like the honorific inscriptions we have examined here, these memorial historians naturally garner visibility beyond the *polis*, albeit on a larger scale: her historians bring her to the ‘limits of fame’.¹⁵ They also allow her to claim a privileged place in the Greek historical tradition. The emphasis on Halikarnassos’ timeless achievements is paralleled by a Hellenistic epigram honouring the city, which elevates her above the ancient Near East by virtue of Andron, Herodotos, and Panyassis.¹⁶ It is subtly implied that, through her past-narrators, Halikarnassos not only possesses a renown equal in stature to these semi-legendary regions of the Greek historical imagination, but perhaps also that hers will last longer, with historians to preserve her deeds by narrating them.¹⁷ Indeed the specifically non-Greek places with which Halikarnassos is compared serve to reflect her championing of Greek civilisation as a whole, and not merely her praiseworthy existence as a well-connected *polis* among others. We thus see enacted here, at a later stage of development, the particular role the historian could be regarded as having in the *polis* as a shaper of its identity of the community both temporally (in the past, present and future), but also spatially (with other *poleis* and peoples).¹⁸ More importantly, as an inscription this epigram, and the Salmakis poem, were living, historical forces that had ideological impact on the community. It is hoped that the preceding chapters will have demonstrated that they manifest a deeper culture of inscribing such living,

achievements – the emphasis is on her *generation* of these figures – and not merely as benefactors who had enhanced the city through *their* achievements.

¹⁴ Ll. 59-60: ἔν τ’ ἀγαθοῖσιν / ἔργοις κυδίστων ἀντέχεται στεφάνων.

¹⁵ Ll. 55-56: μυρίος αἰών / οὐ τελέσει δόξης πείρατα πάντ’ ἐνέπειν.

¹⁶ Chaniotis, *Historie* 328-329 E33 for text and bibliography, although the latest reading, followed here, is that of Ebert, ‘Das Literaten-Epigramm aus Halikarnass’ 41.

¹⁷ Halikarnassos is compared to Nineveh and Babylon (ll. 3, 6), with the latter being described as ὠγγίη, ‘primeval’.

¹⁸ Comparison is also made with India in ll. 2-3: οὐδὲ παρ’ Ἰνδοῖς / ῥιζοφυῆς Μουσέων πτόρθος ἐνετρέφετο.

exemplary honours for historians, not just for the sake of record, but likewise to influence the understanding of the present through commemorations of the past.

Appendix

Honorific Inscriptions for Historians in the Post-Classical Period

Introductory Remarks:

The following comprises a dossier of the sixty-one documents examined in the main portion of the study. It is intended purely as an aid to the main discussion, and does not constitute any part of it. The texts are divided, as explained in the introduction (p. 2) into two classes A and B (pp. 125-158, 159-176), with the former containing inscriptions with explicit descriptions of the historiographical activities undertaken by the honorand, and the latter containing inscriptions which are more allusive in this regard. They have been ordered, where possible, in chronological order within these classes, and, where dates are only rough to the century, in alphabetical order of honorand name. Document titles outline, where possible, the honorand's name, patronymic, place of origin, the find-spot of the inscription, and its date.

This corpus does not claim to represent the most recent readings, nor exacting critical texts – it is entirely indebted to published epigraphical literature for authority on such. Editions of texts have been drawn from the latest possible published versions. Bibliographical information is provided for each item, although this is by no means to be considered exhaustive; where images and photographs are known these have been noted. We have limited bibliographic items to the major discussions for texts which have been well-studied, while for less well-studied texts more sources are listed, where this has been possible and reasonable. Journal articles have, for ease of reference, mainly been listed by abbreviated journal title, number and year, and can also be found in the bibliography. Epigraphic corpora follow the abbreviation conventions applied throughout the work. The texts have been transcribed according to the system used in the *SEG*, with restorations being those of the editions followed. The notes accompanying each document provide basic editorial information, and some awareness of the inscription's physical dimensions and context, where this could be learned; dates have been drawn from the judgements of the editions consulted. This is also the

case with alternate readings, which have been indicated where necessary. The translations accompanying each text are those of the author – the practice has been generally to translate abstract terms as much as possible, although a few such words (e.g. *proxenos*) have been merely transliterated. A list of documents precedes the main corpus.

List of documents:

Class A:

- A1.** Dionysios. Samos. Late 4th to early 3rd century BCE.
- A2.** Demoteles son of Aeschylus from Andros. Delos. Early 3rd century BCE.
- A3.** Amphiklos son of Kallistratos of Chios. Delos. Mid. 3rd century BCE.
- A4.** Herakleitos, son of Asklepiades. Athens. c. 250 BCE.
- A5.** Aristodama daughter of Amyntas, from Smyrna. Lamia (**a**) and Delphi (**b**). Late 3rd century BCE.
- A6.** Hermokles son of Phainomenos, from Chios. Delphi. Late 3rd century BCE.
- A7.** Mnesiptolemos son of Kalliarchos, from Kyme. Delos. Late 3rd century BCE.
- A8.** Politas son of Politas, from Hypata. Lamia. Late 3rd century BCE.
- A9.** Anonymous. Amphipolis. 3rd century BCE.
- A10.** Syriskos son of Herakleidas. Chersonesus. 3rd century BCE.
- A11.** Anonymous. Chios. Early 2nd century BCE.
- A12.** Leon son of Ariston. Samos. Mid 2nd century BCE.
- A13.** Aristotheos of Troizen. Delphi. Mid 2nd century BCE.
- A14.** Leon son of Chrysaor, from Stratonikeia. Panamara. Mid 2nd century BCE.
- A15.** Zotion son of Zotion, from Ephesos. Koroneia. Mid 2nd century BCE.
- A16.** Bombos son of Alkaios, from Ilion. Larisa. 160-150 BCE
- A17.** Ariston son of Akrisios, from Phokaia. Delos. Second half of 2nd century BCE.
- A18.** Kletonymos son of Mnastokles, from Lato. Lato. Late 2nd century BCE.
- A19.** Dioskurides son of Dioskurides, from Tarsos. Delos. Late 2nd century BCE.
- A20.** Herodotos son of Menedotos and Menekles son of Dionysios, from Teos. Teos (**a**) and (**b**). Late 2nd century BCE.
- A21.** Dymas son of Antipatros from Iasos. Samothrake. 2nd century BCE.
- A22.** Herodes son of Poseidonios, from Priene. Priene. 2nd century BCE.
- A23.** Alexandros. Thasos. Late 2nd to early 1st century BCE.
- A24.** Gorgos. Kolophon. 2nd/1st century BCE.
- A25.** Philippos son of Aristides, from Pergamon. Epidauros. 1st century BCE.
- A26.** Tiberius Claudius Andronikos, from Laodikeia. Sestos. 1st century CE.
- A27.** Hermogenes son of Charidemos, of Smyrna. Smyrna. 1st/2nd century CE.
- A28.** Publius Anteius Antiochos of Aigeai. Argos. Late 2nd century CE.
- A29.** Publius Aelius Aelianus. Thyateira. 2nd century CE.

- A30.** Tiberius Claudius Anteros. Labraunda. 2nd century CE.
- A31.** Xenophon son of Aristos, from Samos. Samos. 2nd century CE.
- A32.** Publius Herenius Dexippos son of Ptolemaios. Athens. c. 269/270 CE.

Class B:

- B1.** Eukles son of Polygnotos, from Tenos. Delos. First half of 3rd century BCE.
- B2.** Herakleitos of Chalkedon. Delos. Mid-3rd century BCE.
- B3.** Demokrates son of Philokles, from Athens. Oropos. Second half of 3rd century BCE.
- B4.** Nikandros son of Anaxagoras, of Kolophon. Delphi. 250/249 BCE.
- B5.** Kleandros son of Apollophanes, from Kolophon. Delphi. c. 245 BCE.
- B6.** Eratoxenos of Athens. Delphi. c. 227 BCE.
- B7.** Kleochares son of Bion, from Athens. Delphi. 230-225 BCE.
- B8.** Alkinoe of Thronion. Tenos. 3rd century BCE.
- B9.** Ion son of Menippos, from Chios. Chios. 3rd century BCE.
- B10.** Theopompos son of Histiaios (?), from Megalopolis. Delphi. Late 3rd century BCE.
- B11.** Anonymous (Athenian?). Tenos. Early 2nd century BCE.
- B12.** Themistokles son of Aeschylos, from Ilion. Xanthos. 196 BCE.
- B13.** Amphikles son of Philoxenos, from Delos. Oropos (**a**) and Delos (**b**). Mid 2nd century BCE.
- B14.** Anonymous son of [Her(?)]mogenes, from Skepsis. Delphi. c. 132 BCE.
- B15.** Ammonios son of Ammonios, from Athens. Delphi. 1st century BCE.
- B16.** Claudius Eumolpos. Delphi. 1st century BCE/CE.
- B17.** Sextus of Damaskos. Delphi. 50-100 CE.
- B18.** Pompeius Paullus of Tralleis. Delphi. End of 1st century CE.
- B19.** Onesikles son of Diodoros. Hierapolis-Kastabala. 1st to early 2nd century CE.
- B20.** Apollonios of Tralleis. Delphi. Late 1st to early 2nd century CE.
- B21.** Auphria. Delphi. Early 2nd century CE.
- B22.** Aulus Claudius Charax of Pergamon. Pergamon. After 147 CE.
- B23.** Pompeianus of Kollytos. Athens. Late 2nd century CE.
- B24.** Titus Peducaeus Cestianus of Apollonia. Korinth. Late 2nd century CE.
- B25.** Herakleitos son of Oreios, from Rhodes. Rhodiapolis. 2nd century CE.
- B26.** Gaius Asinius Quadratus. Olympia. After 224 CE.

Class A

A1. Dionysios, Samos. Late 4th to early 3rd century BCE.

Editions and bibliography: *IG* XII.6.1.100; Habicht, *MDAI* (A) 72 (1957) 198-199 n. 31, 216 n. 54.

1. [. καὶ νῦν τὴν αὐτὴν αἵρεσιν]
2. [ἔχων πάσας τὰς χρ]είας παρέ[χεται]
3. [κοινῇ τῷ δήμῳ] καὶ ἰδίαι [τοῖς ἐν]-
4. [τυγχάνουσι τ]ῶμ πολιτῶ[ν, βουλό]-
5. [μενος ἐν ἅπαν]τι καιρῷ τῇμ πρ[ὸς τῇμ]
6. [πόλιν εὔ]νοιαν διαφυλάσσ[ειν· ὅπως]
7. [οὖν καὶ ὁ] δῆμος εὐχαριστῶ[ν φαίνεται]
8. [τοῖς προ]αιρουμένοις αὐτὸν ἐ[ὕεργετεῖν,]
9. [δεδόχθαι τ]ῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δ[ήμῳ· ἐπ]-
10. [αινέσαι μὲν Διο]νύσιον ἱστορ[ικὸν εὔ]-
11. [νοίας ἔνεκε τῆς εἰ]ς τὸν δῆμο[ν τὸν]
12. [Σαμίων καὶ εἶναι αὐ]τῷ τῆς [αὐτῆς]
13. [ἐπιμελείας τυγχάνειν πα]ρὰ τ[οῦ δή]-
14. [μου -----]

Notes: Fragment of a stele of bluish marble. 23 by 17 by 6.5-7 cm. Dating and text follow Habicht, who suggests a date within the last decade of the fourth century at the earliest, judging from comparisons of word-order made with other similar, dateable, decrees. The absence of a patronymic or *polis*-demotic may suggest Dionysios was a Samian.

[----- and now having the same dedication] he performs services for [the people] and those of the citizens [he meets], from his own means, [wishing at every] opportunity to safeguard his goodwill towards [the city; in order therefore that the] assembly [may be seen to be] grateful [to those] who choose [to do] it [good], the council and [people have decided to praise] Dionysios the historian [on account of the goodwill he bears towards] the people [of Samos and] he [is to be provided by the assembly with any care of which he might find himself (in need)-----]

A2. Demoteles son of Aeschylus from Andros. Delos. Early 3rd century BCE.

Editions and bibliography: Homolle, *BCH* 4 (1880) 345-348; *IG* XI.4 544; *Syll.*³ 382; Guarducci, 'Poeti vaganti' 634, 659 n. 8; *FGrH* 400 T1; Robert, *BE* 72 (1959) n. 330; Chanotis, *Historie* 334-335 E53; *BNJ* 400 T1; Clarke, *Making Time* 346-347.

1. θεοί.
2. ἔδοξεν τεῖ βουλευῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ[ι].
3. Ἀριστόλοχος Νικοδρόμου εἵπ[εν].
4. ἐπειδὴ Δημοτέλης Αἰσχύ[λου]
5. ἄνδριος ποιητῆς ὦν πεπραγ[μά]-
6. τεύται περὶ τε τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τ[ὴν]
7. [π]όλιν τὴν Δηλίων καὶ τοὺς μύθου[ς]
8. τοὺς ἐ[π]ιχωρίους γέγραφεν.
9. δεδόχθαι τῷ δήμῳ· ἐπαινέσαι

10. Δημοτέλῃν Αἰσχύλου Ἄνδριον
11. ἄρετῆς ἔνεκα καὶ εὐνοίας τῆς περὶ
12. τὸ ἱερόν καὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Δηλίω[ν]
13. καὶ στεφανῶσαι αὐτὸν δάφνη[ς]
14. στ[εφάνωι κα]ὶ ἀναγορεῦσαι τὸν
15. ἱε[ροκήρυκα -----].

Notes: Fragment of a stele of white marble, found in the vicinity of the temple of Apollo. 25 by 27 by 7 cm. Dating follows Guarducci and *BNJ*. The text follows *IG* XI.4.544.

Gods. It was decided by the council and assembly. Aristolochos son of Nikodromos spoke. Since Demoteles son of Aeschylos, a poet from Andros, has composed a work about the temple and city of the Delians, and has written on their local myths, the assembly has decided to praise Demoteles son of Aeschylos, the Andrian, for the virtue and goodwill he has shown towards the temple and people of the Delians, and garland him with a crown of laurel; the [sacred herald] is also to announce publicly [-----]

A3. Amphiklos son of Kallistratos of Chios. Delos. Mid. 3rd century BCE.

Editions and bibliography: Roussel and Hatzfeld, *BCH* 24 (1910) 362-363; *IG* XI.4 572; Guarducci, 'Poeti vaganti' 635, 650 n. 9; Chaniotis, *Historie* 337-338 E55.

1. [ἐμφανίσας τὰ ὑπάρχοντα φιλάνθρωπα]
2. [Δηλίοις καὶ πρὸς ἔθ]νη καὶ πρὸς
3. πόλεις κα[λῶς κ]αὶ ἐπιφανῶς ἐν τῇ[ι]
4. ποιήσει κεκόσμηκεν καὶ τὸ ἱερόν καὶ
5. Δηλίους· δεδόχθαι τῷ δήμῳ· ἐπαι-
6. νέσαι Ἀμφικλον Καλλιστράτου
7. [X]ῖον <καὶ> στεφανῶσαι αὐτὸν δάφνης
8. στεφάνωι ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι <τῷ> μουσικῷ τοῖς
9. Ἀπολλωνίοις καὶ ἀναγορεῦσαι τὸν ἱε-
10. ροκήρυκα διότι στεφανοῖ ὁ δῆμος
11. ὁ Δηλίων Ἀμφικλον Καλλιστρά-
12. του Χῖον εὐσεβείας ἔνεκεν τῆς
13. εἰς τὸ ἱερόν καὶ εὐνοίας ἧς ἔχων
14. διατελεῖ Δηλίοις· εἶναι δὲ αὐ-
15. τὸν καὶ πρόξενον Δηλίων καὶ εὐερ-
16. γέτην καὶ ὑπάρχειν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκ-
17. γόνοις προεδρίαν ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶ-
18. σιν καὶ πρόσοδον πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν
19. καὶ τὸν δῆμον πρῶτῳ μετὰ τὰ ἱερά·
20. ὑπάρχειν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ γῆς καὶ οἰ-
21. κίας ἔγκτησιν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα
22. ὅσαπερ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις προξένοις
23. καὶ εὐεργέταις ὑπάρχει τοῦ ἱεροῦ
24. καὶ Δηλίων· ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ
25. ψήφισμα τῇ μὲν βουλῇ εἰς τὸ βου-
26. λευτήριον, τοὺς δὲ ἱεροποιοὺς εἰς
27. τὸ ἱ[ερ]όν.

Notes: The lower portion of a white marble stele, found to the north-west of the temple of Apollo. 47 by 29-31 by 8 cm. An unknown portion of text above is lost. Dating follows Chaniotis. The text largely follows *IG* XI.4 572, although it adopts the restorations of Chaniotis in ll.1-2.

[-----making clear the deeds of kindness done by the Delians towards] other peoples and cities he has nobly and visibly honoured the temple and Delians in his poem, the assembly has decided to praise Amphiklos son of Kallistratos, the Chian, and garland him with a crown of laurel at the musical contest at the Apollonian Games; the sacred herald is to publicly proclaim: ‘The assembly of the Delians crown Amphiklos son of Kallistratos on account of his piety towards the temple and the goodwill which he has shown he has towards the Delians.’ He is to be a *proxenos* and benefactor of the Delians, and shall obtain for himself and his descendants the right to priority seating at the games, and to speak first before the council and assembly of the people, after the completion of sacred affairs. He shall also obtain the right to own land and a house, and all other rights which are accorded to other *proxenoi* and benefactors of the temple of the Delians. This resolution is to be inscribed by the council on the council-house, and by the sacred officers in the temple.

A4. Herakleitos, son of Asklepiades, from Athmonon deme. Athens. c. 250 BCE.

Editions and bibliography: *Syll.*³ 401; *IG* II² 677; Kontoleon, ‘Zu den epigraphischen ἀναγραφαί’ 197; Robert, *BE* 78 (1965) n. 142; Chaniotis, *Historie* 301 E8; *SEG* 27.2; *SEG* 47.135.

1. [-----καὶ ἀνανεωσαμένου] τοῦ δήμ[ο]-
2. [υ τή]ν θυσίαν καὶ τ[ὰ ἀγωνίσματα τῶν Πα]ναθηναίω-
3. ν τό τε στάδιον κατ[εσκεύασεν ἐπαξί]ως καὶ ἀνατ-
4. ίθησιν τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ τῇ [Νίκη] στήλ[ας] ἐχούσας ὑπ-
5. ομνήματα τῶν [τῷ βασιλεῖ] πεπραγμένων πρὸς το-
6. ὺς βαρβάρους ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων σωτηρίας. νν
7. ὅπως ἂν οὖν ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος φαίνεται διαφυλ-
8. άττων [τοῖς εὐεργέταις] τὰς χάριτας, ν ἀγαθῇ τύ-
9. χῃ δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ, ν ἐπαινέσαι μὲν Ἡράκλ-
10. ειτον Ἀσκληπιάδου Ἀθμονέα καὶ στεφανῶσαι χρ-
11. υσῶι στεφάνωι εὐσεβείας ἔνεκα τῆς πρὸς τοὺς θ-
12. εοὺς καὶ εὐνοίας καὶ φιλοτιμίας ἧς ἔχων διατε-
13. [λεῖ περί] τε [τὸν βασιλέα Ἀντίγονον καὶ] τῇμ βουλ-
14. [ῇν καὶ τὸν] δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων· ν καὶ ἀναγορεῦσα-
15. [ι τοῦτον τὸν στέ]φανον ἐν τῷ γυμνικῷ ἀγῶνι [τὸ]-
16. [ν ἀγωνοθέτην(?) κατὰ τὸ]ν νόμον· ν ἐπιμεληθῆναι δὲ
17. [τῆς ποιήσεως τοῦ στεφάνου τὸν ἐπὶ] τῆς διοικήσε-
18. [ως· ὅπως ἂν οὖν αὐτῷ ὑπόμνημα ὑπάρ]χῃ τῆς φιλο-
19. [τιμίας, τὸν γραμματέα τὸν κατὰ πρυταν]εῖαν ἀνα-
20. [γράψαι τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα ἐν στήλῃ· ν εἰς δὲ τ]ὴν στ-
21. [ήλῃν μερίσαι τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως τὸ γενόμε]ν-
22. [ον ἀνάλωμα].

Notes: Dating follows Chaniotis. The text is largely that of Kirchner in *IG* II² 677, although following Kontoleon’s restoration at 4: [Νίκη] στηλ[ας] Kontoleon, [στηλ]άς Schmidt-Dounas in *SEG* 47.135, [Νίκη] γραφ[η] Kirchner; 21: τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει Kirchner, restored instead to τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως on the analogy of 17.

[-----] and (he conducted) the sacrifices, and [the contests of the] Panathenaia of the [renewed] assembly; he [built] the stadium [in a worthy manner], and raised [stelae] to

Athena [Nike] bearing accounts of the deeds [of the king] against the barbarians accomplished for the salvation of the Greeks. In order that the council and assembly may be seen preserving the favours [received from benefactors], with good fortune the council has decided to praise Herakleitos the son of Asklepiades, of Athmonon, and crown him with a gold crown on account of his piety and goodwill towards the gods, and the zeal he has manifested [with regards to king Antigonos and] the council [and] people of the Athenians. [The crown] is to be publicly proclaimed [by the *agonothete*] at the gymnastic contest, [in accordance with the] law; [the procural of the crown is] to be managed by the officer in charge of the finances. [In order that this memorial to this zeal may] endure, [the secretary of the presidency is to] inscribe [this resolution on a stele; the officer in charge of finances is to apportion the expenditure incurred by] the stele.

A5. Aristodama daughter of Amyntas, from Smyrna. Lamia (a) and Delphi (b). Late 3rd century BCE.

a) 218/217 BCE

Editions and bibliography: *SGDI* II.1 1440; Wilhelm, *GGA* (1898) 225-227; Michel, *Recueil d'inscriptions grecques* 228-229 n. 296; *IG* IX.2 62; *Syll.*³ 532; Guarducci, 'Poeti vaganti' 639, 655-656 n. 17; *FGrH* 483 F1; Chaniotis, *Historie* 338-340 E56; Clarke, *Making Time* 352-354; *BNJ* 483 T1; Rutherford, 'Aristodama and the Aetolians'; *SEG* 2.360; *SEG* 49.618.

1. τῶν Αἰτωλῶν·
2. στραταγέοντος Ἀγήτα Καλλ[λ]ιπολίτα {Καλλιπολίτα}· ἀγαθὰί τύχαι·
ἔδοξε [τῇ πόλει]
3. τῶν Λαμιέων· ν ἐπειδὴ Ἀριστο[δ]άμα Ἀμύντα Ζμυρναία ἀπ' Ἰω[νίας]
4. ποιήτρια ἐπ[έ]ω[μ] πα[ρ]α[γ]ε[ν]ομ[έ]να ἐν τὰμ πόλιν πλείονας ἐ[πι]δείξεις
5. ἐποιή[σ]ατο τῶν ιδίωμ ποιημάτων, ν ἐν οἷς περὶ τε τοῦ ἔθνεος
6. τῶν Αἰτωλῶ[μ] καὶ τ[ῶ]μ προγόνω[ν] τοῦ δάμου ἀξίως ἐπεμνάσθη, με[τὰ]
7. πάσας προθυμ[ίας] τὰν ἀπόδεξιμ ποιουμένα, ν ε[ἰ]μ[ε]ν αὐτὰμ πρό[ξ]ενον
8. τᾶς πόλιος καὶ εὐεργέτιν, δεδόσθαι δ' αὐτᾶ[ι] καὶ πολιτείαν καὶ γᾶς κα[ὶ]
οἰκίας]
9. ἔγκτησιν καὶ ἐπ[ι]νομίαν καὶ ἀσυλίαν καὶ ἀσφάλειαν κατὰ γᾶν καὶ κατὰ
θ[ά]λασσαν]
10. πολέμου καὶ εἰρά[νας καὶ] α[ὐ]τᾶι καὶ ἐκγόνοις αὐτᾶς καὶ χρ[ή]μασιν ἐν τὸν
ἅπ[αντα]
11. χρόνον καὶ ὅσα τοῖς ἄλλοις προξένοις καὶ εὐεργέταις δίδοται πάντα· ν
ὕ[παρ]-
12. χέτω δὲ καὶ Δ[ιονυσ]ίωι τῷ ἀδελφεῷ αὐτᾶς καὶ ἐκγόνοις αὐτοῦ προξενί[α]
13. πολιτεία [ἀσυλί(?)]α. ἀρχόντων [Πύ(?)]θωνος, Νέωνος, Ἀντιγένης,
στρα[ταγέ]-
14. οντος Ἐπι[γένης(?)], ἱππα[αρχέ]οντος Κύλου· ἔγγυος τᾶς προξεν[ίας]
15. Πύ[θω]ν(?) Ἀθ[αναίου(?)]

Notes: Inscribed on a weathered block discovered in a courtyard of a barracks at Lamia, containing also *IG* IX.2 61 and 62 (see A8). Dating follows *BNJ*. The text is that of Guarducci. 2: στραταγέοντος Γν [Κα]λλιπολίτα *SGDI*, Ἀγήτα Καλλ[λ]ιπολίτα follows Wilhelm's restoration; 3: [Ἐπειδὴ . . .]ογανα *SGDI*; 12: Ο . . . νει *IG* IX.2 62, Δ[ιονυσ]ίωι follows Daux. *SGDI* reads δὲ τεο . . . ιξωνι [αὐ]τᾶς; 14: Ἐπι [ἱππαρ]χ[έ]οντος *SGDI*.

Of the Aetolians. Hagetas son of Kallipolis was general. With good fortune. [the city] of the Lamians decided. Since Aristodama daughter of Amyntas, the Smyrnaian from Ionia, an [epic]

poetess, presented herself in the city and made many [displays] of her own poetical works, in which she commemorated in a worthy manner the race of the Aetolians [and] the ancestors of the people, and invested her performance with all enthusiasm, she is to be a *proxenos* and benefactor of the city, [and] to be given citizenship and the right to own land and [a house], the right of pasture, inviolability, safety on land and [sea] in war and in peace; [also] to be accorded to her and her descendants and property, for all time, are all such privileges as are conferred on *proxenoi* and benefactors. May the status of *proxenos*, citizenship and [inviolability] be conferred on [Dionysos] her brother and his descendants. The archons were [Python], Neon, Antigenes, and the generals [Epigenes], the general of the cavalry Kylos. Python son of Athanaïos was the guarantor of the proxeny.

b) c. 225-200 BCE

Editions and bibliography: *IG* IX.1² 3.740; Daux, *BCH* 46 (1922) 445-449 n.1; Wilhelm, *JÖAI* 24 (1924) 166; *FD* III.3 145 (photo); *SEG* 2.263; Guarducci, 'Poeti vaganti' 639, 656 n. 17*; Chaniotis, *Historie* 338-340 E56; *BNJ* 483 T1a; Rutherford, 'Aristodama and the Aetolians'; *SEG* 25.590; *SEG* 49.556.

1. [ἀγαθὰ]ι τύχαι. [ἐπὶ ἄρχοντ]ος Στρατονίκου
2. [ἔδοξε] τᾷ πόλει τῶν [Χαλειῶ]ν. ν ἐπειδὴ
3. [Ἀριστοδ]άμ[α Ἀμ]ύντα Ζμυρναί[α] ἀπ' Ἰωνίας
4. [ἐπέωμ] ποιήτρ[ια] παρ[α]γε[νο]μ[έν]α πλει-
5. Π ΞΑΙ.ΙΘ. ΤΟΙ. . ΛΙΟΝ
6. ΟΝ. . ΑΙ. . Ρ. Ε. ΥΕΤΟ. ΙΟΥΣ
7. ΝΟ. Τ. . ΛΙ. Ξ. ΓΑΣ
8. ΙΦ. Ι. ΙΟΙ. Τ. Μ
9. Α. καὶ τῶν προγόνων τῶν τᾶς
10. [πόλιος ἀμῶν] μνάμαν ἐποιήσατο· ν ὅπως οὖν
11. [φαινώμεθα τι]μέοντες αὐτὰν κατὰ τὸ ποθῖκον,
12. [ἐπαινέσαι αὐτὰν] ἐπὶ τε τᾷ εὐσεβείᾳ, αἱ ἔχει ποτὶ
13. [τὸν θεόν, κα]ὶ τᾶς ποτὶ τὴν πόλιν εὐνοίας
14. [ἔνεκα καὶ στ]εφανῶσαι αὐτὰν δάφνας [ἰε]ρᾶ[ς]
15. [στεφάνωι τᾶ]ς παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, καθὼς πάτριον ἔστι
16. [Χαλειείας· τὰ]ν δὲ ἀναγγελίαν ποιήσασθαι
17. [τοῦ στεφάνου] ἐν τᾷ παναγύρει τῶν Ποιτρο-
18. [πίων· πέμπε]σθαι δὲ αὐταὶ καὶ ἀπὸ τᾶς
19. [πόλιος ἀμῶν γέρ]ας παρὰ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος
20. ἐκ τᾶς θυσίας μερίδα [κρεῶν ἐπὶ τὰν ἐστίαν ἐν]
21. Ζμύρναν· εἴμεν δὲ αὐτὰν [πρόξενον καὶ εὐεργέτιν]
22. τᾶς πόλιος· ν δεδóσθαι δὲ αὐ[τᾷ παρὰ τᾶς πόλιος]
23. καὶ τοῖς ἐγγόνοις αὐτᾶς καὶ γ[ᾶς καὶ οἰκίας]
24. ἔγκτησιν καὶ ἀτέλειαν νν κα[ὶ ἀσυλίαν]
25. καὶ πολέμου καὶ εἰρήνας κατὰ [γᾶν καὶ κατὰ]
26. θάλασσαν ν καὶ τᾶλλα πάντ[α, ὅσα καὶ τοῖς]
27. ἄλλοις προξένοις καὶ εὐεργέτ[αις ὑπάρχει]·
28. ἀποστεῖλαι δὲ αὐταὶ καὶ ξένια [ἀπὸ δραχ]μῶν
29. ἑκατόν· ν ὑπαρχέτω δὲ καὶ Διον[υσίωι τῶι]
30. ἀδελφεῶι αὐτᾶς προξενία, πολιτεία, [ἀ]τέλεια·
31. ὅπως δὲ καὶ πάντοις φανερόν ἢ τ[οῖς ἀφικνε]ιμένοις
32. ποτὶ τὸ ἱερόν, ὅτι ἁ πόλις τῶν Χαλ[ειέων π]ερὶ πολλοῦ
33. ποιεῖται τὸ τιμῆν τοὺς λέγειν ἢ γράφ[ειν] περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ
34. προαιρεμένους, τὸ ψάφισμα τόδε [ἀναγρ]άψαι τὸν

35. ἐπιδα[μι]οργὸν Ἀρχα<γ>όραν μετὰ το[ῦ γραμ]ματέος
 36. Φιλίου χ[αῖ] ἀναθέμεν τὸ μὲν πα[ρὰ τὸν] ναὸν
 37. τοῦ Ἀπό[λλ]ωνος τοῦ Νασιώτα, ν τὸ [δὲ ἐν Δ]ελφοῖς.

Notes: This contains a decree of the city of Chaleion erected at Delphi, inscribed on a limestone block, with the text spread across two columns; the second column begins at 20. Dating follows Daux. The text is largely that of *IG IX.1*² 3.740. 5-9: The reading of some of the letters in this badly damaged and illegible section follows the transcription of *FD*; it is restored, conjecturally, to πλεῖ[ονας ἐπιδείξεις ἐποιήσατο τῶν ἰδίων ποιημάτων, ἐν οἷς περὶ τε τοῦ ἔθνους τῶν Αἰτωλῶν ἀξίως ἐπεμνάσθη, μετὰ πάσας προθυμίας τὰν ἀπόδειξιν ποιούμενα] . . by *BNJ*; 11: [ἀ πόλις ἀμῶν] αὐτὰν Guarducci; 12: [τιμάσῃ] ἐπὶ τε Guarducci; 14: [δεδόχθαι στ]εφανῶσαι Guarducci; 16: [τὰν δὲ τοῦ στεφάνου] ἀναγγελίαν Guarducci; 17: [τὸν ἱεροκάρυκα] ἐν τῇ παναγύρει Guarducci, *FD*; 20: μερίδα [ἐπὶ τὰν ἐστίαν αὐτῆς ἐν] Wilhelm; 24: κα[ὶ] ἀσυλίαν καὶ ἀσφαλείαν] Guarducci, *FD*; 27: εὐεργέτ[αις τῆς πόλιος ὑπάρχει] Guarducci, *FD*; 36: δι[πλ]οῦν χ[αῖ] Daux, on the basis that l. 37 informs us the decree will be inscribed twice.

With good fortune. [In the archonship] of Stratonikos. The city of the [Chaleians decided]. Since [Aristodama] daughter of Amyntas, the Smyrnaian from Ionia, an [epic] poetess, presented herself many [----- (ll. 5-9 unintelligible) -----] she commemorated the ancestors [of the city]. In order that the city [may clearly] honour her in a suitable way, [she is to be praised] for the piety which she has manifested towards [the god, and, on account] of her goodwill towards the city she is to be garlanded with a [crown] of holy laurel from the god's shrine, as is the ancestral custom among the [Chaleians]. The announcement [regarding the crown] is to be announced at the festival of the Poitropia. A gift shall be sent her from Apollo of the sacrificial [meat, to her home] in Smyrna. She is to be a [*proxenos* and benefactor] of the city. To her and her descendants shall be granted, [by the city], the right to own [land and a house], exemption from public burdens, [inviolability] in war and in peace on land and sea, and all other privileges [as are enjoyed] by other *proxenoi* and benefactors. She shall be sent hospitality gifts to the amount of a hundred [drachmas]. Her brother [Dionysos] is also to obtain the status of *proxenos*, citizenship, and exemption from public burdens. In order that it may be clear to those [arriving] at the temple that the city of the Chaleians makes great efforts to honour those who choose to speak and write about the god, the *epidamiourgos* Archagoras, together with the secretary Philios are to inscribe this resolution and erect one copy at the sanctuary of Apollo Nasiotas, and the other at Delphi.

A6. Hermokles son of Phainomenos, from Chios. Delphi. Late 3rd century BCE.

Editions and bibliography: *SGDI* II.2 2756; Homolle, *BCH* 20 (1896) 625; *Syll.*³ 579; *FD* III.3 224; Chaniotis, *Historie* 304-305 E11; Chaniotis, 'Travelling memories' 262-263.

1. [θεοί. ἔδοξε τῇ πόλει τῶν Δελφῶν ἐν ἀγορᾷ τελείῳ] σὺν ψάφοις ταῖς ἐννό[μοι]ς· ἐπειδὴ Ἑρμοκλῆς
2. [Φαινομένου ἀποσταλὴς ἱερομνάμων ὑπὸ τῆς πόλιος τῶν Χίων τὰς τε θυσίας τῷ θεῷ συνετέλεσε]
3. [κατὰ τὰ πάτρια λαμπρῶς καὶ φιλοτίμως καὶ τὸν κρατῆρα ἐ]κέρασε τὸν ἀργύρεον τοῖς Θεοξενίοις καὶ ὕ-
4. [μνον γέγραφε τῷ θεῷ καὶ τὰν ἐπιδαμίαν ἐποιήσατο ἀ]ξίως τοῦ τε ἱεροῦ καὶ τῶν ἀποστειλάντων
5. [αὐτὸν καὶ ἐπελθὼν ποτὶ τὰν ἐκκλησίαν τὰν οἰκειότ]ατα τὰν ὑπάρχουσιν ἀπὸ Ἰωνος ἀπελογίζατο
6. [ποτὶ τε τὸν θεὸν καὶ τὰν πόλιν· ἀγαθὰ τύχαι· δεδό]χθαι τῇ πόλει ἐπαινέσαι μὲν τὰν πόλιν τῶν
7. [Χίων ἐπὶ τε τῇ λοιπᾷ αἰρέσει καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ἀγωνίζεσθ]αι ὑπὲρ τῆς κοινῆς ἐλευθερίας ἐκτενέως κα[ὶ]

8. [προθύμως καὶ στεφανῶσαι αὐτὰν δάφνας στεφάνωι τῶι] τοῦ θεοῦ καθὼς
πάτριόν ἐστι Δελφοῖς ἀρ<ε>τᾶς ἔνεκ[α]
9. [καὶ εὐσεβείας τᾶς ἐν τῷ ἱερὸν καὶ τᾶς ποθ' ἅμ' εὐνοίας· σ]τεφανῶσαι δὲ καὶ
αὐτὸν Ἑρμοκλῆν Φαινομένου
10. [Χίον ἀρετᾶς ἔνεκα καὶ εὐσεβείας τᾶς ποτὶ τὸν θεὸν καὶ] τᾶς ποτὶ τὰν πόλιν
εὐνοίας, ἀναγορεῦσαι δὲ τοῦ[ς]
11. [στεφάνους Πυθίοις ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι τῷ γυμνικῷ καὶ Διο]νυσίοις, ἐπεὶ καὶ οἱ τῶν
παίδων χόροι μέλλωντι
12. [ἀγωνίζεσθαι· δεδόσθαι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκγόνοις προξενί]αν, προμαντεῖαν,
προδικίαν, ἀσυλίαν, ἀτέλει-
13. [αν πάντων, προεδρίαν ἐμ πᾶσι τοῖς ἀγῶνοις οἷς ἡ πόλις] τίθητι καὶ ἄλλα
ὅσα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις προξέ-
14. [νοις καὶ εὐεργέταις· ἀναγράψαι δὲ τὸ ψάφισμα τόδε τ]οὺς ταμίας εἰς στάλας
δύο καὶ ἀναθέμεν μ[ί]-
15. [αν μὲν ἐν Δελφοῖς ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, τὰν δὲ ἑτέρα]ν ἐν Χίῳ.
16. [ἡ πόλις τῶν Δελφῶν στεφανοῖ δάφνας στεφάνωι τὸ]ν ἱερομόναμον Ἑρμοκλῆ
Φαινομένου Χίον.

Notes: Slab of white marble discovered outside the western temenos. 27 by 27 by 4.2 cm. Dating follows Chaniotis. The edition is that of *FD* III.3.224. 4: <τ>[ἀν ἀναστροφὰν καὶ τὰν ἐπιδαμίαν ἐποιήσατο ἃ] ξίως *SGDI*; 6: [καὶ ἂν ἔχοιεν αἴρεσιν ποτὶ πάντας Δελφους, . . . δεδό]χθαι *SGDI*; 7: [Χίων ἐπὶ τε τῇ εὐνοίᾳ, ἂν ἔχει ποτὶ Δελφούς, καὶ τ]ῇ *SGDI*; 7-8: κα[ταδειχθεῖσαι, στεφανῶσαι δὲ στεφάνωι τῷ παρὰ] *SGDI*; 9: ἔνεκ[α καὶ εὐσεβείας τᾶς ποτὶ τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τὰν πόλιν. σ]τεφανῶσαι *SGDI*; 10: [ἀρετᾶς ἔνεκα καὶ εὐσεβείας τᾶς ποτὶ τὸν θεὸν καὶ] *SGDI*; 11: τοῦ[ς ἱεροκλήρυκας τὸν στέφανον ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ τοῖς Διο]νυσίοις *SGDI*; 12: [εἰσάγεσθαι. ὑπάρχειν δ' αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκγόνοις προξενί]αν *SGDI*.

[Gods. The city of the Delians decided, at a plenary session of the assembly], with lawful votes. Since Hermokles [son of Phainomenos, having been sent as sacred ambassador by the city of the] Chians performed the sacrifices to the god [according to ancestral custom with distinction and zeal and] mixed [the silver krater] at the Theoxenia, [wrote hymns to the god and made his sojourn to the city] worthy of the temple and those who sent [him, and coming before the assembly] he rendered an account of the existing [relationship], dating from the time of Ion, [towards the god and the city; with good fortune, it has been decided] by the city to praise the city of the [Chians for its latest decision, and for striving] assiduously and [eagerly] for common freedom, and [to garland her with] the god's [crown of laurel] as is customary at Delphi, on account of her virtue [and piety towards the temple and the goodwill towards our city]; also to be crowned is Hermokles son of Phainomenos [the Chian on account of his virtue and piety towards the god and] goodwill towards the city. [The crowns] are to be publicly proclaimed [at the gymnastic contests at the Pythian and] Dionysian Games, when the chorus of the youth are about [to compete. He and his descendants are to be conferred the status of *proxenos*], the right of first oracular consultation, the right to legal defense, the status of inviolability, [immunity from all taxes, the right to priority sitting at all the games] conducted [by the city] and the other privileges which are accorded to other *proxenoi* [and benefactors. This resolution is to be inscribed] by the treasurers on two stelae; [one] is to be raised [in Delphi in the temple of Apollo, and the other] in Chios. [The city of the Delphians crowns, with a crown of laurel, the] sacred ambassador Hermokles son of Phainomenos, the Chian.

A7. Mnesiptolemos son of Kalliarchos, from Kyme. Delos. Late 3rd century BCE.

Editions and bibliography: *IG* XI.4 697; Guarducci, 'Poeti vaganti' 640, 657-658 n. 20; *FGrH* 164 T3; Chaniotis, *Historie* 303-304 E10; *BNJ* 164 T3; Chaniotis, 'Travelling memories' 259-260.

[-----ἐπαινέ]-

1. [σαι Μνησιπτόλεμον Κ]αλλιάρχ[ου τὸν]
2. [ί]στοριογ[ρά]φ[ον καὶ] στεφανῶσαι δά-
3. φνης στεφάνωι τῶι ἱερῶι τοῖς Ἀπολ-
4. λωνίοις ἐν τοῖς χοροῖς τῶν παίδων·
5. τὴν δὲ ἀναγγελίαν ποιήσασθαι τὸν
6. ἱεροκῆρυκα ἐν τῶι θεάτρῳ τήνδε· ὁ δῆ-
7. μος ὁ Δηλίων στεφανοῖ Μνησιπτόλε-
8. μον Καλλιάρχου Κυμαῖον τῶι ἱερῶι στ[ε]-
9. φάνωι ἀρετῆς ἔνεκεν καὶ εὐσεβείας
10. τῆς περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ εὐνοίας τῆς εἰς αὐ-
11. τὸν· δεδόσθαι δ' αὐτῶι καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν βουλὴν
12. καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον ἔφοδον πρῶτῳ μετὰ τὰ ἱερά·
13. [. . .] εἶναι <δὲ αὐτὸν> {ΣΙ} καὶ τοὺς ἐγγόνους προξέ-
14. νους τῆς πόλεως καὶ ὑπάρχειν αὐτοῖς πάν-
15. τα ὅσα καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς προξένοις ὑπάρχει·
16. [Π]αρμενίων Διοδότου ἐπεψήφισεν.

{in a laurel crown}

17. ὁ δῆμος ὁ Δηλίων.

Notes: Stele of white marble, broken at the top. Dating follows *BNJ*, who identifies Mnesiptolemos with the court historian of Antiochos III. The readings and restorations are those of *IG* XI.4 697.

[----- to praise Mnesiptolemos son of] Kalliarchos [the] historian [and] to have him garlanded with a sacred crown of laurel at the choral performances of the youth during the Apollonian Games. The sacred herald is to make the following proclamation in the theatre: 'The assembly of the Delians crown Mnesiptolemos with a holy crown on account of the virtue and piety he has shown towards the temple, and the goodwill towards the same.' He is to be given right of first address before the council and assembly of the people, after the completion of sacred affairs; [he] and his descendants are [to be] proclaimed *proxenoi* of the city, and to obtain all privileges that other *proxenoi* obtain. Parmenion son of Diodotos decreed.

{in a laurel crown}

The assembly of the Delians.

A8. Politas son of Politas, from Hypata. Lamia. Late 3rd century BCE.

Editions and bibliography: *SGDI* II.1 1441; *IG* IX.2 63; Guarducci, 'Poeti vaganti' 636, 652-653 n. 13; *FGrH* 482 F2; Chaniotis, *Historie* 340 E57; *BNJ* 483 F2; Clarke, *Making Time* 352.

1. [ἀγαθᾶι τύχα]ι· ἔδοξε τᾶι πόλει·
2. [ἐπειδὴ Πολ(?)]ίτας Πολίτα Ὑπαταῖο[ς]

3. [ποιητῆς ἐ]πῶμ παραγενόμενο[ς]
4. [ἐν τὰμ] πόλιν δείξεις ἐποιήσατ[ο]
5. [ἐν αἶς] τᾶς πόλιος ἀξίως ἐπεμνάσ[θη],
6. [εἶν]αι αὐτὸν πρόξενον τᾶς πόλιος καὶ
7. [ε]ὐεργέταν, δεδόσθαι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ πό-
8. λιτείαν τὸμ πάντα χρόνον καὶ γὰ[ς]
9. καὶ οἰκίας ἔγκτησιν καὶ ἐπινομίαν
10. καὶ ἀσφάλειαν καὶ κατὰ γὰν καὶ κατὰ
11. θάλασσαν καὶ πολέμου καὶ εἰράνας κα[ί]
12. αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκγόνοις καὶ χρήμασιν τὸν
13. ἅπαντα χρόνον καὶ ὅσα τοῖς ἄλλοις
14. προξένοις καὶ εὐεργέταις δίδονται πά[ν]-
15. τα. ἀρχόντων Θεομνάστου, Ζεύξιος, Δε[ξι]-
16. [κ]ράτεος, στραταγέοντος Φιλίππου τοῦ Δε[ξι]-
17. [κρ]άτεος, ἱππαρχέοντος Μενεφύλου, ἔγγ[υ]ος
18. τᾶς προξενίας Φίλιππος Δεξικράτεο[ς].

Notes: Inscribed on the right side of the same block containing **A5a** and *IG IX.2* 61. Dating follows Chaniotis. The text is that of *IG IX.2* 63. 2: The restoration [Πολ(?)]ίτας is not secure (*SGDI*); 5: [ἐν ᾧ]ς *SGDI*; 7-8: π[ό]λιτείαν *SGDI*.

[With good fortune]. The city decided. [Since Politas] son of Politas, the Hypataian, an epic [poet], presented himself [in the] city and made performances [in which] he commemorated the city in a worthy manner, he is [to] be proclaimed a *proxenos* and benefactor of the city, and conferred for all time citizenship, the right to own land and a house, the right of pasture, and security on land and sea in war and peace; he, his descendants, and property are to be given for all time all such privileges as are conferred on other *proxenoi* and benefactors. The archons were Theomnastos, Zeuxis, Dexikrates, the general Philippos son of Dexikrates, the general of the cavalry Menephylos. Philippos son of Dexikrates was the guarantor of the *proxeny*.

A9. Anonymous. Amphipolis. 3rd century BCE.

Editions and bibliography: Orlandos, *EAH* (1978) 16-17 (photograph); Robert, *BE* 92 (1979) n. 271; Chaniotis, *Historie* 299-300 E6; *SEG* 28.534.

1. [-----]N[-----]
2. [..]ς παρεπιδημῶ[ν -----]
3. καὶ παιδεύων καλῶ[ς -----]
4. ἐξετάσας καὶ συνα[γαγὼν τὰ παρὰ τοῖς ἀρ]-
5. χαίοις ἱστοριαγράφοις [καὶ ποιηταῖς γεγραμ]-
6. μένα περὶ τῆς πόλεως [ἡμῶν πλείονας ἐποιή]-
7. σατο ἀκροάσεις περὶ τού[των-----ἐν αἶς]
8. καὶ εὐδοκίμηκει, συνετ[άξατο δὲ βιβλίον]
9. καὶ περὶ τῆς Ταυροπόλου [-----]

Notes: Left-hand fragment of a stele, found as part of a wall of a Byzantine tower. Dating follows Robert. The text is that of Chaniotis. 1: N Tybout in *SEG* 28.534; 2: [..]ς Tybout, παρεπιδημῶ[ν] Robert; 3: καὶ παιδεύων καλῶ[ς] Robert; 4: [γαγὼν τὰ παρὰ τοῖς ἀρ-] Robert; 5: [-----γεγραμ-] Robert; 6: [-----ἐποιή-] Robert; 7: [των-----ἐν αἶς] Robert; 8: [άξατο δὲ βιβλίον] Robert.

[-----] residing [-----] and educating [-----] in a fine manner he examined and collected the writings of ancient historians [and poets] concerning our city, making many public lectures concerning these [-----] he distinguished himself in these [lectures]. He also compiled [a book] on the (goddess) Taurobolos [-----]

A10. Syriskos son of Herakleidas. Chersonesos. 3rd century BCE.

Editions and bibliography: *SGDI* III.1 3086; *IOSPE* 1 184; *IOSPE* 1² 344 B; Rostovzeff, ‘Επιφάνειαι’; Robert, *BE* 92 (1979) 454-455 n. 271; *FGrH* 807 T1; Chaniotis, *Historie* 300-301 E7; Dillery, *AJPh* 126.4 (2005) 519-521; *BNJ* 807 T1; Clarke, *Making Time* 344-345; Platt, *Facing the Gods* 148-151.

1. [Ἡρακλ]είδας Παρμένοντος εἰπ[ε].
2. [ἐπειδὴ] Συρίσκος Ἡρακλείδα τὰ[ς]
3. [ἐπιφαν]είας τᾶς Παρθένου φιλ[ο]-
4. [πόνως] γράψας ἀν[έ]γνω καὶ τὰ[ς]
5. [ποτὶ τ]οὺς Βοσ[π]όρου βασιλεῖ[ς]
6. [διηγῆσα]το, τὰ [θ’ ὑ]πάρξαντα φ[ι]-
7. [λάνθρωπα ποτὶ τὰς πόλεις ἰστ[ό]-
8. [ρησεν ἐπιεικ]έως τῶι <δ>άμω[ι],
9. [ἵνα λάβοι τιμὰς ἀξίας, δεδόχθαι]
10. [τῶι βουλᾷ καὶ τῶι δάμωι] ἐπαινέσαι[ι]
11. [τε αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ στεφ]αν[ῶ]-
12. [σαι τοὺς συμμνά]μονας [χρυσέωι στε]-
13. [φάνωι τῶν Διονυ]σίων μιᾷ ἐφ’ ἱκ[άδι]
14. [καὶ τὸ ἀνάγγ]ελμα γενέσθαι· ὁ δ[ὲ]-
15. [μος στεφά]νοϊ Συρίσκον Ἡρακλε[ί]-
16. [δα, ὅτι τὰς ἐπιφανείας τᾶς Πα[ρ]-
17. [θένου ἔγρα]ψε καὶ τὰ ποτὶ τὰς [πό]-
18. [λεις καὶ τοὺς] βασιλεῖς ὑπάρξαν[τ]-
19. [τα φιλάνθρωπα] ἱστόρησε ἀλαθιν[ῶς]
20. [καὶ ἐπιεικέως] τῶι πόλει· ἀναγ[ρά]-
21. [ψαι δὲ τοὺς συμμ]νάμονας εἰστ[άλαν] {εἰς στάλαν}
22. [λιθῖναν τὸ ψ]άφισμα καὶ θέμε[ν ἐν]-
23. [τὸς τοῦ προ]νάου τᾶς Παρθέν[ου· τὸ δὲ]
24. [γενόμενον ἀνά]λωμα δόμ[εν κατὰ τὰ]
25. [δόξαντα(?) τὸν τα]μίαν τῶν [ἱερῶν].
26. [ταῦτ’ ἔδοξε βουλᾷ καὶ δάμ]ωι μηνός
27. [-----] δεκά[ται -----]
28. [-----]

Notes: Preserved in three fragments of a stele of white marble, decorated with a crown of laurel above the text. 7 by 9 by 25 cm. Dating follows *BNJ*. All suggested readings and restorations are those of Latyshev in *IOSPE* 1² 344.

[Herakleidas] the son of Parmenon proposed. [Since] Syriskos the son of Herakleidas has assiduously recorded and read out the [epiphanies] of the Parthenos, [related] the acts of kindness towards the kings of the Bosporos, and [produced a fitting account] of the past [acts of kindness towards] the cities, for the assembly, it has been decided [by the council and the assembly, in order that he receives worthy honours], to praise him for these acts; he is to be [crowned by the] magistrates [with a gold crown] on the twenty-first day of the month [during the Dionysia, and this] proclamation is to be made: ‘The [assembly crowns] Syriskos the son

of Herakleidas, since he [wrote up the] epiphanies of the [Parthenos] and recounted the [past acts of kindness] towards the [cities and the] kings truthfully [and in a fitting manner] for the city.' [The magistrates] are to inscribe this resolution on a stone stele, and raise it [in the front] hall of the temple of Parthenos. [The associated] expense shall be paid for by the [steward] of the [sacred funds, according to [their decisions (?). So have the council] and assembly [decided in the month [-----] on the tenth [-----]]

A11. Anonymous. Chios. Early 2nd century BCE.

Editions and bibliography: Kontoleon, 'Zu den literarischen ἀναγραφαί' 192-196; Robert, *BE* 93 (1980) n. 353; Moretti, *RFIC* 108 (1980) 33-54; Robert, *BE* 94 (1981) n. 364.; Derow-Forrest, *ABSA* 77 (1982); *BE* 97 (1984) n. 306; Chaniotis, *Historie* 94-99 T27; Salvo, *ZPE* 172 (2010) 70-74; Salvo, 'Romulus and Remus at Chios Revisited'; *SEG* 30.1073; *SEG* 34.863; digital image at the Oxford Centre for the Study of Ancient Documents: <http://www.csad.ox.ac.uk/CSAD/Images/100/Image166.html>.

[-----μετα]-

1. σχεῖν τῆς τ[ε ἐ]αυτοῦ φιλανθρωπίας Ε[.]
2. μετὰ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἑαυτῶι τιμᾶν τ[. ὑπερ τῇ αὐ]-
3. τῶγ κατὰ τὸμ πόλεμον ἐπιφανείας [. . . ἐχορήγησεν ἑκαστῶι τῶμ πολι]-
4. τῶν οἴνου παλαιοῦ ἀμφορῇ. νν τοῦ δ[ὲ δήμου ψηφισαμένου ἄγειν τῇ Πρώ]-
5. μη μετὰ τὰ Θεοφάνια πομπὴν καὶ [θυσίαν καὶ ἀγῶνας μουσικούς τε]
6. καὶ γυμνικούς καὶ σπεύδοντος ὡς καλλίστην συντελεῖσθαι τὴν πανή]-
7. γυριν διὰ τὸ βούλεσθαι χάριν ἀποδιδόναι τῶι δήμῳ τῶι Ῥωμαίων ἀξίαν]
8. ἑαυτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων [.]
9. τοῦ ἀγωνοθέτου παραγεγονῶς ἐκ Ῥώμ[ης ἀπεδείξατο τὴν ἑαυτοῦ]
10. καλοκαγαθίαν ἐκείνους τε τιμῶν καὶ [.]
11. καὶ ταύτην αὐθαιρέτως τὴν ἀγωνοθεσίαν ἀνέλαβεν. {νν} ἐπηγγείλατο δὲ]
12. καὶ τοὺς παραγινόμενους Ῥωμαίων ἀποδέξασθαι ἐν τῶι τῆς πανηγύρεως
χρῶ]-
13. νῶι καὶ εἴ τινας ἄλλους τοῖς ἄρχουσιν δο[κοίη {νν}
. . . .]
14. τοῦτο μετὰ τῶν συνεπαγγελιαμένων[ων]
15. νων ἐν τῇ πανηγύρει τῶν τε μουσικῶν καὶ τῶν γυμνικῶν ἀγῶνων τὸ προσ]-
16. ν ἦκον ἐκάστοις τῶν ὑποχορηγημάτων[ων {νν} ἐπεμελήθη δὲ καὶ τῆς]
17. ἄλλης τῆς κατὰ τὸ θέατρον εὐκ[ο]σμίας καὶ εὐταξίας καὶ τὸν μουσικὸν
ἀγῶνα]
18. καλὸν καὶ ἄξιον τῆς πόλεως ἡγ[α]γεῖν καὶ τῶ[ν εἰς τὴν πανήγυριν ἐπιδεδωκό]-
19. των ἑαυτοὺς καὶ τῶμ πομπαγωγῶν. ν [{ν} δεῖπνον δὲ καὶ παρέσχε πᾶσι]
20. τοῖς παρεπιδημοῦσι Ῥωμαίων. νν τὰ δὲ [ἄλλα ἐποίησε καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἐλαίου]
21. θέσιν τοῖς νέοις. νν τὰ τε κατὰ τοὺς γυμνικούς ἀγῶνας πάντα διεξήγαγε]
22. δικαίως. νν βουλόμενος δὲ κατὰ πάντα [τρόπον φανερὰ ποιῆσαι τὴν τε]
23. εὐνοίαν καὶ εὐχαριστίαν τοῦ δήμου καὶ πα[ρέχειν τοὺς πολίτας τηρουμέ]-
24. νους καὶ συναύξοντας τὰ πρὸς δόξαν καὶ τ[ιμὴν ἀνέκοντα ἐποίησεν ἐκ τῶν]
25. ιδίων ἀνάθημα τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἀπὸ δραχμῶν Ἀλεξ[ανδρείων χιλίων διήγησιν πε]-
26. ριέχον τῆς γενέσεως τοῦ κτίστου τῆς Ῥώμης Ῥώμ[ου καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ]
27. αὐτοῦ Ῥέμου· ν καθ' ἣν συμβέβηκεν αὐτοῦ[ς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἄρεος
γεννηθῆναι,]
28. ἣ καὶ ἀληθῆς δικαίως ἂν νομίζοιτ' εἶναι διὰ τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀνδρείότη]-
29. τα. νν ἐπεμελήθη δὲ καὶ τῆς τῶν ὀπλῶν [κατασκευῆς τῶν τεθέντων ὑπὸ τοῦ]
30. δήμου τοῖς νικήσασιν τοὺς γυμνικούς ἀγ[ῶνας καὶ ἐφρόντισεν ὅπως ἐγχαρ]-

31. χθῶσιν εἰς αὐτὰ μῦθοι πρὸς δόξαν Ῥωμα[ίων. νν βουλόμενος δὲ καὶ τὰς τῶν]
32. Μουσῶν τιμὰς συναύξειν τοῖς πολίταις [.]
33. τοῖς εἶναι τιμᾶν ἐκπρεπέστερον τὰς Μ[ούσας]
34. διὰ τὴν περιγεγονυῖαν τῇ πόλει δόξ[αν ἀπὸ τῶν ποιητῶν, ἔδωκεν ἐκ τῶν]
35. ἰδίων δραχμὰς Ἀλεξανδρείας χιλίας εἰς κατα]-
36. σκευὴν βωμοῦ ταῖς Μούσαις καὶ [.]

Notes: Block of darkish marble, broken off at right and bottom. 50 by 38 by 24cm. Dating follows Chaniotis. The text is that of Salvo, 'Romulus and Remus at Chios Revisited'. 1: παρα]σχεῖν Sarikakis in Moretti; 1: τῆς Π . . ἈΥΤΟΥ φιλανθρωπίας Derow and Forrest; 1: τῆς τ[ε] αὐ]τοῦ φιλανθρωπίας καὶ εὐνοίας ἅμα δὲ βουλόμενος] Moretti; 2-3: τιμᾶν τ[οὺς] Ῥωμαίους καταξίως τῆς αὐ]τῶν Moretti; 3-4: [ἔδωκεν ἐκαστῶν τῶν ἐπιδημούν]των Moretti; 4-5: δ[ὲ] δήμου ψηφισαμένου τῇ Ρώ]μῃ Moretti; 5: πομπῆς καὶ [θυσία]ν ἀχθέντων, ἀγῶνας μουσικῶν καὶ γυμνικῶν Moretti; 6: ὥς καλλίστην γενέσθαι τὴν πανή]γυριν Moretti; 7: ἀποδιδό[ναι] Ῥωμαίοις τοῖς κοινοῖς εὐεργέταις καὶ ἄξιον] Sarikakis in Moretti, ἀποδιδό[ναι] τοῖς εὐεργετηκόσιν ἄξιαν] Moretti; 8-9: [τοῦ δὲ Δεῖνος ἡγεμένου πρῶ]του ἀγωνοθέτου Sarikakis in Moretti, [ἀλλ' οὐ]πὼ ἀποδεδειγμένου τοῦ πρῶ]του ἀγωνοθέτου Moretti; 9: ἐκ Ῥώ]μης ὁ Δεῖνα, διὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ] καλοκαγαθίαν Moretti; 10: ἐκείνους τε τιμῶν καὶ [τῶν] δήμῳ χαρίζεσθαι βουλόμενος] Moretti; 11: τὴν ἀγωνοθεσ[ίαν] ὑπέμεινε {νν} ἐπηγγείλατο δὲ] Moretti; 12: ἀπο[δέξεσθαι] τῶν τῆς ἐπιδημίας χρό]νῳ Moretti; 13: δο[ῦναι]---- Sarikakis in Moretti, δό[ξην] παρέχειν χρεῖας παρέχεσθαι] Moretti; 14: συνεπαγγελιαμέν[ων] χορηγήσειν {νν} τῶν δὲ θυομέ]νον Moretti; 15-16: μουσικῶν ἀγῶνων προενοήθη κατὰ τὸ προσ]ῆκον Moretti; 16: ὑποχορηγημάτ[ων] {νν} τῆς δὲ εὐσχημοσύνης τῆς τε] Moretti; 17: ε[ὐ]ταξίας προέστη καὶ τὸ μουσικόν] Moretti; 18-19: τῶν εἰς τὰ κατὰ τὴν τομπὴν ἐπιτεδοκό]των ἑαυτοῦς οἱ τῶν εἰς τὸν προαγῶνα/μουσικόν, ἀπογραψά]των ἑαυτοῦς Moretti; 19: τῶν πομπαγωγῶν. ν [καὶ ἀποδοχὴν δαφιλῆ παρέσχε] Moretti; 20-21: τὰ δὲ [---κατὰ τὴν τῶν ὅπλων πρό]θεσιν Sarikakis in Moretti, δὲ [κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην ἀρχὴν καὶ τὴν ἐλαίου]ν θέσιν Moretti; 21: γυμνικῶν ἀγῶνας διέθετο ἴσως καί] Moretti; 22: πάντ[α] φανερὰν Ῥωμαίους γενέσθαι τὴν] Moretti; 23-24: [διατελεῖν εἰ]νους Sarikakis in Moretti, πᾶν[τας] τοὺς πολίτας προαγομέ]νους Moretti; 24: τ[ιμὴν] Ῥωμαίων, ἔθηκεν ἐκ τῶν] Moretti; 25-26: Ἀλεξ[ανδρείων] χιλίων ἄγαλμα πε]ριέχον Moretti, Ἀλεξ[ανδρείων] χιλίων ἱστορίαν πε]ριέχον Derow and Forrest; 27: αὐτοῦ[ς] ὑπὸ λυκαῖνας ἀνατεθράφθαι] Moretti; 28-29: διὰ τὴν ἐνάργειαν καὶ ἀγριότη]τα Moretti; 29: ὅπλων [χαλκίων ἐπισκευῆς τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ] Moretti; 30-31: ἀγ[ῶνας] προτεθέντων ὅπως ἐγγρα]ρχθῶσιν Moretti; 32-33: τοῖς πολίταις [νομίζων ἐπιεικὴ καὶ δίκαιον αὐ]τοῖς Moretti; 33: τὰς Μ[ούσας] θυσίας καὶ ἀναθήμασιν] Moretti; 35-36: χιλίας καὶ πεντακοσίας εἰς τῶν κατα]σκευὴν Moretti.

[-----] to participate in his generosity [-----] with his kinsmen to honour [-----for] their manifestation during the war [-----he procured for each of the citizens] an amphora of wine. The [assembly having decreed to hold] a procession [in honour of the goddess Roma] after the Theophania, as well as [a sacrifice, and musical] and athletic [contests], and eager that the [festival be celebrated as solemnly as possible], out of the desire to [show] gratitude [worthy] of itself and of the other Greeks [-----], the *agonothetes*, having returned from Rome [-----demonstrated his own] nobility and honouring [-----] and [took upon] this *agonothesia* of his own will. [He also offered] to give (hospitality) to the Romans who arrived [during the time of the festival] and to others whom the archons deemed [-----] this with those who shared (in this offer) [-----] during the festival of the musical [and athletic contests] (he provided) the items necessary for each [----- he took care also] of the rest of the propriety and good order as pertained to the theatre, and conducted the [musical contest] in a fine manner worthy of the city, those who had [contributed towards the festival], and of the leaders of the procession. [He provided dinner to all] the visiting Romans. Among [other things he] supplied [oil] for the young men. In regards to the [athletic contests he organised everything] in the right way. Wishing [in every way [to make clear the] goodwill and gratitude of the people and to show that the citizens were attentive to increasing things befitting their glory and honour [he made at his own] expense an offering to the goddess Roma to the value of [one thousand] Alexandrian drachmas containing a [narration] of the birth of the founder of Rome, [Romulus, and of his brother], Remus. As it transpires according to this (account) they [were begotten by Ares himself], which might be rightly deemed true on the evidence of [the courage of the Romans]. He then took charge of the [preparation] the shields [offered] (as a

prize) to the victors in the athletic [contests, and ensured that] the myths redounding on the glory of the Romans be [engraved] on them. [Wishing also] to increase the glory of the Muses for the benefit of the citizens [-----] (judging it right) to honour the Muses in a more distinguished way [-----] on account of the fame which the city has gained [from the poets, he gave from his own resources a thousand Alexandrian drachmas [----- towards] the construction of an altar to the Muses and [-----]

A12. Leon son of Ariston. Samos. Mid 2nd century BCE.

Editions and bibliography: *IG* XII.6 1.285; Peek, *Klio* 33 (1940) 165; Robert, *BE* 54 (1941) n. 110A; *FGrH* 540 T1; Chaniotis, *Historie* 308-309 E16; *BNJ* 540 T1; Clarke, *Making Time* 340-341; Ma, *Statues and Cities* 38-40.

Dedication (left, **a**):

1. ὁ δῆμος ὁ Σαμίων
2. Λέοντα Ἀρίστωνος
3. Ἡρῆι.

Epigram (right, **b**):

1. γηράσκει καὶ λᾶας ὑπὸ χρόνου ἡδὲ μὲν ἄγνός
2. χαλκὸς ἀπ' ἡερίας δρυπτόμενος νιφάδος,
3. καὶ τὸ σιδάρειον κάμνει σθένος· ἅ δ' ἀπὸ δόξας
4. ἄθραυστος φάμα πάντα μένει βίοντον.
5. τᾶς δὲ Λέων ἐκύρησε κατὰ πτόλιν, ὃς περὶ πάτρας
6. προΰξιας εἰς πινυτὰς ἄγαγεν ἱστορίας
7. ὑμνήσας Ἡρᾶν αὐτόχθονα καὶ πόσα ναυσὶν
8. ῥέξαντες σκύλοις ἱερὸν ἀγλάϊσαν.

Notes: Inscribed on a statue base of white marble, with the dedication to the left, and the epigram to the right. 24 by 104 by 33 cm. Dating follows Peek. The text is that of *IG* XII.6 1.285.

Dedication (left, **a**):

The assembly of the Samians (dedicated this statue of) Leon son of Ariston to Hera.

Epigram (right, **b**):

Stone grows old from the passage of time, holy bronze is shorn by heavenly showers, and the strength of steel wears out. Indestructible fame, however, preserves the life in all. This fame was attained throughout the city by Leon, who produced wise histories concerning the deeds of his fatherland, and sang of Hera, born of the land, and the many deeds the Samians accomplished on their ships by which they adorned her sanctuary with spoils.

A13. Aristotheos of Troizen. Delphi. Mid 2nd century BCE.

Editions and bibliography: Couve, *BCH* 18 (1894) 76-78 n. 3; *SGDI* II.2 2724; *Syll.*³ 702; Guarducci, 'Poeti vaganti' 641, 658 n. 21; *FD* III.3 124; *FGrH* 835 T1; Hose, *Erneuerung der Vergangenheit* 20; Chaniotis, *Historie* 309-310 E17; *BNJ* 835 T1; Clarke, *Making Time* 360-362; Chaniotis, 'Travelling memories' 260; Jacquemin, Mulliez, and Rougemont, *Choix d'inscriptions de Delphes* 340-341 n. 188; *SEG* 2.318.

1. ἀ[γ]αθῶι τύχαι.
2. ἔδοξε τῶι πόλει τῶν Δελφῶν [ἐν] ἀγορῶι τελείαι σὺμ ψάφοις ταῖς ἐννόμοις·
3. ἐπειδὴ Ἀριστόθεος Νικοθέου [Τρο]ζάνιος ἱστοριαγράφος παραγενόμενος [ἐ]ν τὰν
4. πόλιν τὰν τε ἀναστροφὰν ἐπ[οιή]σατο ἀξίως τοῦ τε ἱεροῦ καὶ τᾶς ἰδίας πατρίδος,
5. ἐποιήσατο δὲ καὶ ἀκροάσεις ἐπ[ὶ] π[λ]είονας ἀμέρας τῶν πεπραγματευμένων
6. αὐτῶι, παρανέγνω [δὲ καὶ] ἐγ[κώ]μια εἰς Ῥωμαίους τοὺς κοινούς τῶν Ἑλλάνων
7. εὐεργέτας, δεδόσθαι παρὰ τᾶ[ς] πόλιος προξενίαν αὐτῶι καὶ ἐκγόνοις, προμαντεῖ[αν],
8. προδικίαν, ἀσυλίαν, ἀτέλειαν [πά]ντων, προεδρίαν ἐμ πᾶσι τοῖς ἀγώνοις οἱ[ς] ἂ πόλι[ς] τί]-
9. θητι καὶ τᾶλλα τίμια ὅσα καὶ το[ῖς] ἄλλοις προξένοις καὶ εὐεργέταις [ὑ]πάρχ[η]ι τᾶς πόλιος.

Notes: A limestone block in two fragments, found in the western section of the terrace of the temple of Apollo, inscribed with other honorific decrees. 73.5 by 74.6 by 71 cm. Dating follows *BNJ*. The text is that of *FD* III.3 124. 3: ἐπεὶ [. Τρο]ζάνιος *SGDI*, Couve; 3-4: π[εῖς] τὰν [πόλιν τὰν ἐπιδαμίαν ἐποιή]σατο ἀξίως *SGDI*; 4: [πόλιν ἀμῶν τὰν ἐπιδαμίαν ἐποιή]σατο Couve; 5: ἀκροάσεις ἐποιήσατο δὲ καὶ Guarducci, [καὶ ἀκροάσεις ἐποιήσατο π[λ]είονας *SGDI*, [ἀκροάσεις δὲ ποιησάμενος π[λ]είονας Couve; 6: παρανεινῶ[ν] *Syll.*³, [.]νια *SGDI*, Couve; 7: σωτήρας *SGDI* for εὐεργέτας; 7-8: προμαντεῖ[αν], προδικίαν, ἀτέλειαν πά[ντων] *SGDI*, Couve; 9: εὐεργέταις παρὰ τᾶς πόλιος καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ ὑπάρχει], *SGDI*, Couve.

With good fortune. The city of the Delphians decided, during a full assembly, with lawful votes. Since Aristotheos son of Nikotheos, the Troizenian, a historian, was present in the city and conducted himself in a manner worthy of the temple and his own homeland, and made public readings of his works over many days, [and] read out speeches in praise of the Romans, the common benefactors of the Greeks, he and his descendants shall be conferred, by the city, the status of *proxenos*, the right of first oracular consultation, the right of legal defense, inviolability, exemption from all public burdens, the right to priority seating at all the games which the city holds, and all such other honours as are conferred on other *proxenoi* and benefactors of the city.

A14. Leon son of Chrysaor, from Stratonikeia. Panamara. Mid 2nd century BCE.

Editions and bibliography: Cousin, *BCH* 28 (1904) 350-351 n. 6; Oppermann, *Zeus Panamaros* 24-31; Robert, *Le sanctuaire de Sinuri près de Mylasa* 1.37; *I.Stratonikeia* 7; Chaniotis, *Historie* 302-303 E9; Rigsby, *Asyilia* 425-426 n. C; Van Bremen, 'Leon son of Chrysaor'; *BNJ* 278 T2c.

1. [-----πα]ρασκευὰς[. . .]α[. .]
2. [-----]ε συμμέτρων αἱ[ς] συντε-
3. [-----ψή]φισμα ἀποδοὺς καὶ παραθεῖς ἔκ τε [τ]ῶ[ν]
4. [ἱστοριῶ]ν καὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων γραμμάτων καὶ συστησά[με-

5. [νος τὰς ἄν]ωθεν τιμὰς καὶ ἀσυλίας ὑπαρχούσας τῷ Δι
6. καὶ Παναμαρεῦσιν ἔπεισεν τὸν σύνπαντα δῆμον εἰς τ[ὸ]
7. τὰς θυσίας ἐπιφανεστέρας καὶ μείζονος συντελεῖν, ἐ-
8. πελθὼν τε ἐπὶ τινὰς δῆμους ἔπεισε καὶ ἐκείνους συνθύ-
9. εἰν, καθόλου τε ἔσπευδεν ὑπὲρ τε τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ
10. τοῦ Παναμαρέων, οὔτε κίνδυνον οὔτε δαπάνην οὔτε [κα]-
11. [κοπ]αθίαν οὐδεμίαν ὑφορώμενος· ὅπως οὖν καὶ Παναμα-
12. ρεῖς φαίνονται τοῖς καλοῖς καὶ ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσιν τὰς
13. καταξίας χάριτας ἀποδιδόντες· δεδόχθαι τῷ κοινῷ
14. ἐπηνῆσθαι Λέοντα Χρυσάορος τοῦ Ζωίλου τοῦ Πολυπέρ-
15. χοντος καὶ στεφανῶσαι αὐτὸν χρυσῷ στεφανῷ ἀρετῆς
16. ἔνεκα καὶ εὐσεβείας, εἶναι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκγόνοις πολιτεί-
17. αν καὶ μετουσίαν πάντων ὧν καὶ Παναμαρεῖς μετέχουσιν,
18. στήσαι δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰκόνα χαλκῇ ἐν ᾧ ἂν αὐτὸς βούλη-
19. ται τόπῳ, καὶ ἐπιγράψαι ἐπιγραφὴν τήνδε· τὸ κοινὸν
20. τὸ Παναμαρέων ἐτίμησεν ἱερατεύσαντα Λέοντα
21. Χρυσάορος τοῦ Ζωίλου τοῦ Πολυπέρχοντος ἐπαίνῳ, χ[ρυ]-
22. σῷ στεφάνῳ, εἰκόνι χαλκῇ ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα καὶ εὐσε-
23. βείας· ἀναγράψαι δὲ· ν {δὲ} τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα εἰς
24. στήλην λιθίνην καὶ ἀναθεῖναι ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Δι-
25. ὸς τοῦ Καρίου ἐν τῷ ἐπιφανεστάτῳ τόπῳ, τό δὲ τέ-
26. λεσμα τὸ εἰς τὰ προγεγραμμένα ὑπαρχέτω ἐξ ἐπαγγελίας·
27. ὅπως δὲ καὶ ὁ σύνπας δῆμος ἐπιγνῶι τὰ δεδογμένα τῷ[ι]
28. κοινῷ τῷ Παναμαρέων, ἐλέσθαι ἄνδρα· ὁ δὲ αἰρεθεὶς ἀ-
29. ποδότῳ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα καὶ ἐπελθὼν ἐπὶ τε τὴν βουλὴν
30. καὶ τὸν δῆμον διαλεγῇτω ὑπὲρ τῶν δεδογμένων
31. τῷ κοινῷ. Ἦιρέθη· ν Καλλιμήδης Πολυάρχου

Notes: Dating follows Van Bremen. The text is that of *I.Stratonikeia* 7 (followed by Chaniotis). We learn from another decree, also from Panamara, and part of a dossier of texts to which this decree probably appertained, that Leon was a citizen of Stratonikeia (Van Bremen, 'Leon son of Chrysaor' 242 l. 23: Στρατ[ονικέα]),. 3-4: [ν-----ω]ν Cousin, [ἐπιστολῶ]ν Van Bremen; 4-5: συστησά[| ς τὰς ἄν] Cousin; 5: δῆ[μῳ] Cousin; 26: read προγεγραμ[μ]ένα.

[-----] prepared [-----] commensurate with those he performed [-----] he restored the decree, and drawing from [historians] and ancient writings he arranged, as above, the proclamations of honours and inviolability for Zeus and the Panamareis, and persuaded all the people to perform the most conspicuous and greatest sacrifices; coming before certain assemblies he persuaded them to sacrifice together, and as a whole he was zealous for the god and the *koinon* of the Panamareis, holding no danger, expense or suffering too great; in order, then, that the Panamareis may be seen conferring on fine and good men favours appropriate to them, it has been decided by the *koinon* to praise Leon son of Chrysaor, son of Zoilos, son of Polyperchon, and to garland him with a gold crown on account of his virtue and piety. He and his descendants are to obtain the citizenship and share in all that the Panamareis are entitled to share. A bronze statue of him is to be raised at whatsoever location he chooses, and the following inscription is to be carved on it: 'The *koinon* of the Panamareis honoured the priest Leon son of Chrysaor, son of Zoilos, son of Polyperchon with praise, with a golden crown, a bronze statue on account of his virtue and piety.' This resolution is to be inscribed on a stone stele and raised in the temple of Zeus Karios in the most prominent location, and the payment for the above-written is to be made as promised. In order that the collected assembly might learn of the decision of the *koinon* of the Panamareis, a man is to be chosen. Having been

chosen he is to deliver this resolution, and coming before the council and the assembly he is to relate the decision of the *koinon*. Kallimedes son of Polyarchos has been chosen.

A15. Zotion son of Zotion, from Ephesos. Koroneia. Mid 2nd century BCE.

Editions and bibliography: Roussel, *BE* 43 (1930) 197; Robert, *Études* 12 n. 1; Robert, *Hellenica* II 36; Chaniotis, *Historie* 346 E69; Schachter and Slater, *ZPE* 163 (2007) 81-95 (photograph at 82).

1. [. ἄρχοντος] ἔδοξε τῆς συνεδρῶς κὴ τῷ δάμῳ τῶν
2. [Κορωνίων· ἐπιδεὶ Ζ]ωτίων Ζωτίωνος Ἐφέσιος, τραγαῶδι-
3. [ων ποειτὰς κὴ σατο]ῦρων, κὴ πρότερον μὲν ἐπιδαμείσας ἐν
4. [τὰν πόλιν ἀμίων τ]ὰν ἀναστροφὰν ἀποείσατο εὐσχεῖμονα κὴ καθί-
5. [κωσαν τῇ πόλιν κὴ αὐσαυτ]ῷ, κὴ κατὰ τὸν παριόντα κηρὸν ἀκροάσις
6. [ποεισάμενος τῶν πε]πραγματευμένων αὐτῷ διὰ τὰς ποείσιος, με-
7. [μναμένος δὲ τὰς πόλ]ιος ἀμίων κὴ τὰς Ἀθηνᾶς, τὰς κατεχώσας
8. [πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων Ὀλ(ι)ο]υμπίων ἐξ ἀρχᾶς τὰν πόλιν, εὐδοκίμῃ ὅπως
9. [ῶν ἂ πόλιν φήνειτ]η τιμῶσ[α] τῶ[ς] ἀξί[ως] τῶν ἀνδρῶν, δεδόχθῃ τῆς
10. [συνεδρῶς κὴ τῷ δάμῳ Κο]ρωνίων ἐπηνεῖση Ζωτίωνα Ζωτίωνος
11. [Ἐφέσιον ποειτὰν ἐπὶ τε τ]ῇ φιλοπονίῃ [κὴ] τῇ λυπῇ ἀναστροφῇ· τιμᾶ-
12. [ση δὲ αὐτὸν ἀργουρίῳ δρα]χμῆς ἑβδομήκοντα· τὸν δὲ ταμίαν τὸν ἐπὶ
13. [-----]όντα ἔναρ[χον] παρχρεῖμ[α ἂ]πολογίζασθῃ πὸκ
14. [κατόπτας· κὴ εἶμεν] αὐτῷ τε κὴ ἐκγόνυ[ς π]ροξενιάν κὴ τὰ λυπὰ τί[μ]-
15. [ια πάντα ὅσα περ κ]ὴ τῆς ἄλλης προξένους κὴ εὐεργέτης τὰς πό-
16. [λιος Κορωνίων· κὴ στεφα]νῶσι αὐτὸν θαλλίνῳ στεφάνῳ. ἀναγράψῃ δὲ
17. [τόδε τὸ ψάφισμα τὸς πολεμ]άρχος ἐν τῷ ἐπιφαν[εστάτῳ τ]όπῳ.

Notes: A stele of dark limestone, with three mortices on the upper side suggesting it belonged to a larger monument. 70 by 60 by 25 cm. The text is in the Boiotian dialect. Dating follows Schachter and Slater, whose edition is reproduced here, and which should also be consulted for the corrections of Pappadakis (n. v.). 6-7: με[γαλίως καὶ ἀξίως τὰς πόλ]ιος ἀμίων Roussel, με[μναμένος ἀξίως τὰς πόλ]ιος Chaniotis; 8: [πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων Ὀλ(ι)ο]υμπίων or [πεδὰ τῶν ἄλλων Ὀλ(ι)ο]υμπίων Schachter and Slater; [μόλιστα πάντων Ὀλ]υμπίων Roussel; 8: εὐδοκίμῃ Roussel; 12-3: ἐπὶ [-----]όντα ἔναρ[χον] may be reasonably restored, following Schachter and Slater, with the name of an archon in the genitive.

In the archonship of [-----] the councillors and assembly of the [Koroneians] decided. [Since] Zotion son of Zotion, the Ephesian, a [composer] of tragedies [and of satyr-plays], at an earlier time visited [our city], conducting himself decorously and in a manner [befitting the city and himself], and at the present time [has made] recitals of his poetical works, [commemorating] our city and Athena, who [more than the other Olympian gods] has from its beginning occupied this city, distinguishing himself; in order that [the city may be seen] to honour worthy men, the [councillors and the assembly of the] Koroneians has decided to praise Zotion son of Zotion, [the Ephesian poet], for his industry and conduct in general. He is [to be honoured] with seventy [silver] drachmas. The treasurer in the office of [-----] is to account for this forthwith to the [overseers]. He and his descendants [are to be] conferred the status of *proxenoi* and [all such] other honours are conferred on *proxenoi* and benefactors of the city [of the Koroneians]. He is also to be [garlanded] with an olive crown. The polemarchs are to erect [this resolution] at the most prominent location.

A16. Bombos son of Alkaios, from Ilion. Larisa. 160-150 BCE

Editions and bibliography: Béquignon, *BCH* 59 (1935) 53-64 (photo at 54); Roussel and Flacelière, *BE* 49 (1936) n. 367; Robert, *BE* 72 (1959) n. 330; Robert *BE* 80 (1967) 331; Chaniotis, *Historie* 310 E18; *I. Alexandria Troas* p. 214 T96; Helly, *Chiron* 36 (2006) 171-203; Chaniotis, 'Travelling memories' 261.

1. Ταγευόντουν Κρίτουνος Πausανιαίοι, Κρατει-
2. σίπποι Θερσανδρείοι, Θρασυμάχοι Ἀριστουνεί-
3. οι, Φιλοφείροι Ἀσανδρείοι, Θερσάνδροι Πολυξενε-
4. [ί]οι, ταμειυόντουν Λυκίνοι Ἀλ[ε]ξανδρείοι καὶ Μενε-
5. κράτεος Εὐστρατ[ι]δαίοι, γυμνασιάρχεντουν
6. μες τὰς πέμπ[τ]ας [τ]οῖ Ὀμολοῦοι Πλειστία Ἀσκα-
7. λαπιαδαίοι καὶ Λ[υκ]όρμα Χαρیداμειοι, ν ἄτ τᾶ[ς]
8. μὰ πεμπτας Ἱπποδρόμ[οι] Αἰσχιναίοι καὶ Φερεκρ[ά]-
9. τεος Μενεκρατείοι vacat
10. ν Ἀπλουνίοι [ύ]-
11. στέρα ἀγορᾶς [ἔ]νσας, ἀ]γορανομέντος Κρίτουνος Πα[υ]-
12. σανιαίοι, Κρίτουν[ος Παυσαν]ιαίοι λέξαντος· ὅπειδεῖ
13. [Β]όμβος Ἀλκαίοι Αἰολεὺς [ἀπ' Ἀλεξαν]δρείας παρεπιδαμεί-
14. [σ]ας ἐν τᾷ πόλε[ι καὶ ποιεισάμε]νος ἐπιδείξις ἐν τοῦ γ[υ]-
15. [μ]νασί[ου συνε]μαμονεύσατο ἔ]ν τε τοῖς πεπραγματευμένοις
16. αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀκροάσεσσι τοῦν γεγενειμένουν ἐνδοξουν Λα-
17. ρισαίοις καὶ τὰν τε συγγενείαν καὶ φιλίαν ταῖς πολίεσσι π[ὸ]-
18. θ' εὐτας, ὄνενε[ούσατο] καὶ τὰ φιλάνθρουπα τὰ ὑπάρχοντα
19. Αἰολεῖσσι πὸτ τὰν πόλιν τὰν Λαρισαίουν· ἐποιείσατο μὰ
20. καὶ τὰν ὀστροφὰν εὐσ[χει]μόνους καὶ ὃν τρόπον ἐπέβαλλε ἀν-
21. δρὶ καλοῦ καὶ ἀγαθοῦ· ἔδοξε τοῦ δάμου τοῦ Λαρισαίουν· ἐπα[ι]-
22. νεῖσειν τε Βόμ[βον] Ἀλκαίοι Αἰολέα ἀπ' Ἀλεξανδρείας ἔτ τε
23. τᾷ ὀστροφᾷ καὶ φιλοπο[νία] περ τὰν παιδείαν καὶ ἐτ τοῦ τὰ
24. κάλλιστα τοῦν ἐπιτα[δευ]μάτουν ἐξαλουκέμεν, καὶ δοθε-
25. μεν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐσγόνοις πολιτείαν καὶ ἔντασιν καὶ τὰ λοι-
26. πὰ τίμια ὑπαρχέμεν αὐτ[οῦ] ὅσσα καὶ Λαρισαίοις καὶ ὅπεῖ κε ὁ
27. [κ]αιρὸς κατενέκει ἐν τοῦ δεύει ἐς τοῦν νόμουν τὰ κατ τὰς πολ[ι]-
28. τείας οἰκονομείσθαι, φροντίσειν τὸς τάγος οὔτε δοθεῖ αὐτοῦ
29. ἅ πολιτεία. Τὸ μὰ ψάφισμα τότε κύριον ἔμμεν καπαντὸς χρόνοι
30. καὶ τὸς ταμίας ἐσδόμεν ὀνγράφει<ν> αὐτὸ ἐν κίονα λιθίαν καὶ κατα[θε]-
31. μεν ἐν τὸ ἱερὸν τοῖ Ἀπλουνος τοῖ Κερδοίοι καὶ τὰν ὀνάλαν κίς κ[ε]
32. [γ]ινεῖται δόμεν.

Notes: A stele of white marble, inscribed in the Thessalian dialect. Another honorary decree follows 16.5 centimetres below. Stone measures 87 by 47 by 18 cm. Dating and text largely follow those of Helly. 7: Δουριμαχαίροι Δαμειοί Béquignon; 8: Ἱπποδρομί[οι] Béquignon; 13: Ἀλφεί[οι] Béquignon; 14: πόλι [ἐπὶ ἀμέρας πλείονα]ς Béquignon; 15: [μ]νασί[ου ἐποιείσατο εὐδοκίμησε] γ Béquignon; 16: αὐτ[οῦ καὶ ἐπεμνάσθη(?) τοῦν γε]γ[ενη]μένουν Béquignon, αὐτ[ῶι ἐπεμνάσθη(?) τοῦν γε]γ[ενη]μένουν Robert. 17: καὶ [ἡύξησεν τὰν εὐνο]ίαν καὶ φιλίαν Béquignon; 18: ὀν[νε]ουσάμενος Béquignon; 20: [εὐσχαμόν]ους Béquignon; 22: Ἀλ[φεί]οι Béquignon; 23: φ[ιλο]τιμ[ία] Béquignon, φιλοπο[νία] has been restored for better grammatical sense in lieu of Helly's φιλοπο[νία].

The *tagoi* were Kritoun son of Pausanias, Kratesippos son of Thersandros, Thrasymachos son of Aristioun, Philopheiros son of Asandros, Thersandros son of Polyxenos. The treasurers were Lykinos son of Alexandros and Menekrateis son of Eustratidas. The gymnasiarchs up to

the fourth day of the month Homoloios were Pleistias son of Askalapiadas and Lykormas son of Charidamos, and from the fifth day onwards were Hippodromos son of Aischynas and Pherekrateis son of Menekrateis.

On the following day of the month of Aplounios, at a session of the assembly, when the leader of the assembly was Kritoun son of Pausanias, Kritoun son of Pausanias spoke. Since Bombos son of Alkaïos, the Aeolian from Alexandria, visited the city and [made] performances in the gymnasium, commemorating in his compositions and public readings the glorious deeds done by Larisaïans, as well as the kinship and friendship existing between our two cities, and renewed the goodwill existing between the Aeolians and the city of the Larisaïans. He moreover conducted his sojourn in an orderly fashion and in the way befitting a fine and good man. The assembly of the Larisaïans decided to praise Bombos son of Alkaïos, the Aeolian from Alexandria for his conduct, the efforts he has undertaken towards our education, and for being zealous for perfection in his art. He and his descendants are to be granted citizenship and right of ownership, and all other privileges as are enjoyed by the Larisaïans, and if the proper moment should fall, in a time of need, for the ordering of citizenship-grants in accordance with legal precedent, the *tagoi* are to concur in conferring the citizenship on him. This resolution is to be valid for all time and the treasurers are to provide for its inscription on a stone pillar, its placement in the temple of Apollo Kerdoios, and payment for the expenses that are incurred.

A17. Ariston son of Akrisios, from Phokaia. Delos. Second half of 2nd century BCE.

Editions and bibliography: Fougères, *BCH* 13 (1889) 250-251 n. 13; Wilhelm, *AEMÖ* 20 (1897) 87; Holleaux, *REA* 1 (1899) 11; Durrbach, *Choix d'inscriptions* 139-140 n. 84; Guarducci, 'Poeti vaganti' 636, 652 n. 12; *I.Délos* 1506; Robert, *BE* 72 (1959) n. 330; Chaniotis, *Historie* 340-341 E58.

1. ἐπὶ Μητροφάνου ἄρχοντος, Σκιροφοριῶνος
2. πέμπτει ἐπὶ δέκα, βουλὴ ἐν τῷ ἐκκλησιαστ[η]-
3. ρίῳ· Διόφαντος Ἑκαταίου Ἑρμε[ιο]ς εἰπ[εν]·
4. ἐπειδὴ Ἀρίστων Ἀκρισίου Φωκαιεὺς [ποι]-
5. ητῆς ἐπὶ ὑπάρχων ἐν τεῖ τοῦ παι[δὸς]
6. ἡλικίαι, παρὰ γενόμενος εἰς τὴν ν[ῆσον],
7. ἐποίησατο καὶ πλείονας ἀκροάσεις [ἐν τε]
8. τῷ ἐκκ[λη]σιαστηρίῳ καὶ ἐν τῷ θεάτρ[ῳ], ἀνά]-
9. γνούς τὰ [π]επραγματευμένα ἐ[γκώμια καὶ]
10. [ὑ]μνησεν τὸν τε ἀρχηγέτην Ἀπόλλ[ωνα καὶ]
11. [τ]οὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς τοὺς κατέχον[τας τὴν]
12. [ν]ῆσον καὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηνα[ίων -----]
13. [-----ΠΙΛΩΣ-----]

Notes: Fragment of a stele found in the vicinity of the temenos of Artemis. 16 by 25 by 7 cm. Dating follows Fougères. The text is that of *I.Délos* 1506. 8-9: θεάτρ[ῳ], καὶ εὔ]ρους τὰ Fougères; 9-10: ἐ[γκώμια ὑ]μνησεν Guarducci.

In the archonship of Metrophanes, on the fifteenth day of Skirophorion, at a council session in the *ekklesiasterion*. Diophantos son of Hekataios, of the deme of Hermos, proposed. Since Ariston son of Akrisios, the Phokaian, an epic poet, being of youthful age, presented himself on the island, and made many recitals in the *ekklesiasterion* and theatre, reading out in song the speeches of praise he had composed for the founder Apollo, the other gods inhabiting [the] island, and the Athenian people [-----]

A18. Kletonymos son of Mnastokles, from Lato. Lato. Late 2nd century BCE.

Editions and bibliography: Baldwin Bowsky, *Hesperia* 58.1 (1989) 115-129; Voutiras, *Hesperia* 59.4 (1990) 669-673; Rigsby, *ZPE* 83 (1990) 237-239; *BNJ* 467 T2; *SEG* 47.1400; *SEG* 42.808; *SEG* 48.1217; *SEG* 49.1241.

1. Κλητώνυμος
2. Μναστοκλεῖος
3. χαῖρε
4. Εἰ Λίνδος Κλεόβ[ο]υλον ἐθρέψατο, Σισυ[φι]δῶν δὲ
5. χθὼν [Π]ε[ρί]ανδρον, ἄκρους ἐπτα σοφῶν κανόν[ας],
6. οὐ μέγα· καὶ Λατὸς γὰρ ἐνέγκατο τόνδ[ε] σοφιστὴν
7. ὃ[γ]δοῦν [η]ῦμαθοῦς κοίραν ἱστορίης,
8. πιστὸν ἔρ[εισ]μα νόμων, Κλητώνυμον αἰνετὸν υἱά
9. Μγαστ[οκ]λέους ὃν [ἄ]πας δῆμος ἐπφκτίσατο·
10. οὐ γὰρ [ἐπλ]ήρωσεν γήραι βίον, ὥς δέ τις ἀστὴρ
11. λάμψας ἐσβέσθη δαίμονος ἀκρισίαις
12. πατρίδα ῥυόμενος βουλαίς, ἀγαθὴ δὲ προνοία
13. οἶκον, ὃν οἱ δόξης κίονες ἐκράτεσαν·
14. τρισσοὺς γὰρ λίπε παῖδας ἐοῦς. ἀρετὴ δὲ τὰ τρ[ύ]τρ[υ]
15. τεῖμια κηρύξει κῆν Αἶδαο δόμοις.

Notes: Funerary epigram on a rectangular block of gray-blue limestone. 62 by 38 by 38 cm. The text is based on that of Voutiras, while incorporating newer readings at ll. 6, 7 and 8. 6: Λατὸς *SEG* 49.1241, Λατὸς Voutiras; 7: [η]ῦμαθοῦς *BNJ*, [ε]ῦμαθοῦς Voutiras; 8: νόμων *SEG* 49.1241, νό<μ>ων Voutiras; 10: οὐ γὰρ [οῦν] ἥρως ἐν γήραι Baldwin Bowsky; 12: βουλαίς, *SEG* 42.808, associating ῥυόμενος with both πατρίδα and οἶκον, βουλαίς. Voutiras; 13: οἶκον, *SEG* 42.808, reading ὃν as a relative pronoun. οἶκον Voutiras. 13: οἰκονόνοι δόξης Baldwin Bowsky.

Kletonymos son of Mnastokles, farewell.

If Lindos raised Kleoboulos, or the land of Sisyphos' descendants Periandros, the highest standards of the Seven Wise Men, it is no matter. For Lato brought forth this eighth sophist, a master of useful historical inquiry, faithful upholder of the laws, the praiseworthy son of Mnastokles, Kletonymos; him the whole city mourned. For he did not fill his life with old age, but as a shining star was extinguished by the caprices of an evil spirit while defending his homeland with counsels and his household with benign prudence, the household which pillars of good reputation secured. While he left behind three sons, his virtue will proclaim his honours in the house of Hades.

A19. Dioskurides son of Dioskurides, from Tarsos. Delos. Late 2nd century BCE.

Editions and bibliography: Homolle, *BCH* 4 (1880) 352-363; *SGDI* III.2 5150; Wilamowitz, *Hermes* 35 (1900) 542; Michel, *Recueil d'inscriptions grecques* 331-332 n. 447; *Syll.*³ 721; *DGE* 191; Durrbach, *Choix d'inscriptions* 184-187 n.112; *FGrH* 594 T3; Guarducci, 'Poeti vaganti' 637-638, 654-655 n. 16; *I.Cret.* I.8 12; *I.Délos* 1512; *FGrH* 594 T3; Robert, *BE* 72 (1959) n. 330; Chaniotis, *Historie* 341-342 E59; Clarke, *Making Time* 350-352.

1. ἔδοξεν Κνωσίων τοῖς κόσμοις καὶ τῇ πόλει· ἐπειδὴ
2. Διοσκουρίδης Διοσκουρίδου, καθ' ὑοθεσίαν δὲ Ἀσκλη-
3. πιοδώρου Ταρσεύς, γραμματικός, διὰ τὰν εὐνοίαν ἂν
4. ἔχει πορτὶ τὰν ἀμὰν πόλιν συνταξάμενος ἐνκώ-
5. μιον κατὰ τὸν ποιητὰν ὑπὲρ τῷ ἀμῷ ἔθνιος, ἀπήστελ-

6. κε Μυρῖνον Διονυσίῳ Ἀμισηνόν, ποιητὰν ἐπῶν καὶ με-
 7. λῶν, τὸν αὐτοσαυτῷ μαθετάν, διαθησιόμενον τὰ
 8. πεπραγματευμένα ὑπ' αὐτῷ· ὑπὲρ ᾧμ Μυρῖνος πα-
 9. ραγενόμενος παρ' ἅμῃ καὶ ἐπελθὼν ἐπὶ τε τὸς κόσμος
 10. καὶ τὰν ἐκκλησίαν ἐμφανία κατέστασε διὰ τὰν ἀκρο-
 11. α[σίω]ν τὰν τῷ ἀνδρὸς φιλοπονίαν τὰν τε περὶ τὸ
 12. ἐπιτάδουμα εὐεξίαν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰν εὖνοιαν ἄν
 13. ἔχει πορτὶ τὰν πόλιν, ἀνανεώμενος αὐτ<ὸ>ς τὰμ προγο-
 14. νικὰν ἀρετάν, δι' ἐγγράφῳ ἐπ[έδει]ξε, καὶ τοῦτο π[ε]-
 15. δὰ πλίονος σπουδᾶς καὶ φιλοτ[ιμί]ας τὸν ἀπολογισ-
 16. μὸν πο{ι}όμενος καθὼς ἐπέβαλλε ὑπὲρ ἰδίῳ παιδε[υ]-
 17. τᾶ· ἐφ' ᾧν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πολιτᾶν, ἀκούσαντεν
 18. τὰ πεπραγματευμένα καὶ τὰν ὅλαν αἴρεσιν τῷ ἀν-
 19. δρὸς ἄν ἔχων τυγχάνει εἰς τὰν ἅμῃ πόλιν, ἀπεδέ-
 20. ξατο μεγάλως· ὅπᾱ<ι> ᾧν καὶ ἡ πόλις τῶν Κνωσίων
 21. φαίνεται εὐχάριστος ἰόνσα καὶ τὸς καλὸς κᾶγα-
 22. θὸς τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀποδεχομένα καὶ τιμίωνσα
 23. τὰς τε καταξίανς χάριτας ἀποδιδόνσα τοῖς
 24. εὐεργετῇν αὐτὰν προαιριόμενοις, καὶ φανερὰν
 25. καθιστάνσα ἐς πάντας ἀνθρώπος ἄν ἔχει διά-
 26. λαμψιν ὑπὲρ τῶν εὐνόως διακειμένων πορ-
 27. τ' αὐτὰν· δεδόχθαι τᾷ πόλιν ἐπαινέσαι Διοσκουρί-
 28. δην Διοσκουρίδου, καθ' ὁθεσίαν δὲ Ἀσκληπι-
 29. οδώρου ἐπὶ τε τοῖς πεπραγματευμένοις ὑπ' αὐτῷ
 30. καὶ τᾷ προαιρέσει ἄν ἔχων τυγχάνει ἐς τὰν
 31. ἅμῃ πόλιν· ἦμεν δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ πρόξ<ε>νον
 32. καὶ πολίταν τᾶς ἅμῃς πόλεος, αὐτὸν καὶ ἐσγό-
 33. νος, καὶ πεδέχεν θίνων καὶ ἀνθρῶπίνων
 34. πάντων ᾧν καὶ αὐτοὶ Κνώσιοι πεδέχοντι·
 35. ἦμεν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἔγκτησιν γᾶς καὶ ο<ι>κίας καὶ
 36. ἀσφάλειαν πολέμῳ καὶ εἰρήνῃ καὶ καταπλέον-
 37. σι ἐς τὸς Κνωσίων λιμένας καὶ ἐκπλέονσι, αὐ-
 38. τοῖς καὶ χρήμασι τοῖς τούτων ἀσυλὴ καὶ ἀσπον-
 39. δεῖ. ὅπᾱ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐπιγινόμενοις ἀείμασ-
 40. τος ὑπάρχῃ ἡ τᾶς πόλεος ἐκτενὴς προαίρεσις
 41. καὶ φανερὰ ἦ ἡ εὖνοια τοῖς γνησίως καὶ ἐνδόξως
 42. τῶν καλλίστων ἐπιταδουμάτων προεστακόσι
 43. καὶ τοῖς <τὰν> πορτ' αὐτὰν εὖνοιαν αὔξεν προαιριο-
 44. μένοις, ἀναγράψαι τόδε τὸ ψάφισμα ἐς στάλαν
 45. λιθίναν καὶ ἀνθέμεν ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν τῷ Ἀπέλ-
 46. λωνος τῷ Δελφιδίῳ· αἰτήσαθαι δὲ καὶ τόπον
 47. Ἀθηναίων τὸν ἐν Δάλῳ κατοικίοντα καὶ θέ-
 48. μεν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῷ Ἀπέλλωνος λαβόντας τὸν
 49. ἐπιφανέστατον τόπον· γράψαι δὲ περὶ τούτων
 50. τὰμ πόλιν πορτὶ Ἀθηναίος τὸς ἐν Δάλῳ κατοι-
 51. κίοντας καὶ πορτὶ τὸν Ταρσέ<ω>ν δᾶμον ὑποτά-
 52. ξαντας τὸ ἀντίγραφον τῷδε τῷ ψαφίσματος.
 53. αἰρέθη ἐπὶ τᾶς ἀναθέσιος τᾶς στάλας
 54. Μακκιάδων Θαρυμάχῳ καὶ Λεόντιος Κλυμενίδα.

Notes: White marble stele found to the south of the temple of Apollo. Below the text are two crowns in relief. 60 by 30 by 57 cm. Dating follows Durrbach. The text is that of *I.Délos* 1512.

The magistrates and city of the Knossians decided. When Dioskurides the Tarsian, son of Dioskurides, and of Asklepidoros by adoption, a grammarian, out of his goodwill towards our city composed a speech of praise in the manner of the poet (Homer?) regarding our race, he sent Myrinos son of Dionysios, from Amisos, an epic and lyric poet and student of his, to recite his works on his behalf. For this reason Myrinos presented himself at our city, and coming before the magistrates and the assembly he made clear, through his performance, the industry of the man and the excellence he had attained in his art; equally he showed a document, renewing its ancestral virtue, the goodwill he bore towards the city, and this account he made with as great enthusiasm and zeal, as befitted his own teacher. The citizen body, after having heard his works and the wholehearted attitude of devotion which the man bore towards the city, made its great appreciation known. In order, therefore, that the city of the Knossians may be seen to be grateful in receiving fine and good men, honouring those who choose to be her benefactors with worthy honours, and making clear to all men her appreciation for those who are well-disposed to her, it has been decided that Dioskurides son of Dioskurides, son of Asklepidoros by adoption be praised, for the works he composed and the attitude of devotion towards the city he has evinced. He and his descendants are to *proxenoi* and citizens of our city, and to share in all divine and human affairs in which Knossians are entitled to share; they are to have the right to own land and a house, security to sail into and out of the ports of Knossos in in war and peace, and are themselves and their possessions to be accorded inviolability outside of periods of truce. In order that there may be an eternal memorial to the city's assiduous devotion, and that her goodwill towards those who dedicate themselves sincerely and honourably to noble endeavours, and those who choose to increase the goodwill towards the city, be clear, this resolution is to be written up on a stone stele and erected in the temple of Delphic Apollo. The Athenians who reside in Delos are to seek a location and to erect a copy in the temple of Apollo, choosing the most prominent position. The city is to write to the Athenians residing in Delos and the Tarsians concerning these matters, enclosing a copy of this resolution. Makkiadon son of Tharymachos and Leontios son of Klymenidas were chosen to erect the stela.

A20. Herodotos son of Menedotos and Menekles son of Dionysios, from Teos. Teos (a) and (b). Late 2nd century BCE.

a)

Editions and bibliography: *SGDI* III.2 5186; Michel, *Recueil d'inscriptions grecques* 73-74 n. 65; *DGE* 190; Guarducci, 'Poeti vaganti' 646-647, 664 n. 36; *I.Cret.* I.8 11; Chaniotis, *Historie* 348-349 E71; Lücke, *Syggeneia* 21-24.

1. Κνωσίῳν.
2. ἔδοξε Κνωσίῳν τοῖς κόσμοις καὶ τῇ πόλει· ἐπει-
3. δὴ Ἡρόδοτος Μηνοδότῳ καὶ Μενεκλῆς Διονυσίῳ
4. ἀποσταλθέντες πρεγγευσταὶ παρ Τηίων πορτὶ
5. τὰς ἐν Κρήτῃ πόλιας καὶ διατρίψαντες τὸν πλεῖσ-
6. τον χρόνον ἐν τῇ ἀμῇ πόλει, οὐ μόνον τὰν ἀπὸ τῶς
7. ἀναστροφῆς εὐταξίαν ἀπεδείξαντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπε-
8. δείξατο Μενεκλῆς μετὰ κιθάρας πλεονάκῃς τὰ τε
9. Τιμοθέῳ καὶ Πολυίδῳ καὶ τῶν ἀμῶν ἀρχαίων ποιη-
10. τὰν καλῶς καὶ ὥς προσήκεν ἀνδρὶ πεπαιδευμέ-
11. νωι· ὅπῃ ὧν ἰσάντι Τήιοι ὅτι ἁ πόλις ἀποδέδεκται

12. τὸς τοιούτος τῶν ἀνδρῶν, δεδόχθαι ἐπαινέσαι
13. τάν τε τῶν Τηίων πόλιν ἐπὶ τῷ τοιούτος ἄνδρας
14. πέμψαι, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὸς πρεγγευτάς, Ἡρόδοτον
15. καὶ Μενεκλῆν, ὅτι καλῶς καὶ εὐτάκτως ἐνδεδα-
16. μήκαντι. τὸς δὲ κόσμος δόμεν ἀντίγραφον τῷδε
17. τῷ ψαφίσματος, σφραγίζαντας τῇ δαμοσίᾳ σφρα-
18. γίδι, ἀποκομίσαι Ἡροδότῳ καὶ Μενεκλεῖ πρὸς Τηίος
19. ἵν' ἐπιγνῶντι καὶ αἰεὶ ποκα πρόνοιαν ποιῶνται τῶν
20. τοιούτων ἀνδρῶν.

Notes: Inscribed in the Cretan dialect. Dating follows Guarducci. The text is that of Michel, *Recueil* 65.

Of the Knossians. The magistrates and city of the Knossians decided. Since Herodotos son of Menodotos and Menekles son of Dionysios, ambassadors sent by the Teians to the cities of Crete, spent much time in our city, not only showed the good order during their sojourn, but Menekles also frequently displayed in performance with the kithara the works of Timotheos and Polyidos, and of other ancient poets of ours, in a fine manner befitting a learned man; in order, then, that the Teians may learn that the city has received such men, it has been decided to praise the city of the Teians for having sent such men, even as these ambassadors, Herodotos and Menekles, since they have conducted their visit in a fine and orderly manner. The magistrates are to give a copy of this resolution, sealing it with the public seal, to Herodotos and Menekles, and send them back to Teos, in order that they may know of, and always act with, the foresight of such men.

b)

Editions and bibliography: *SGDI* III.2 5187; Michel, *Recueil d'inscriptions grecques* 74 n. 66; Guarducci, 'Poeti vaganti' 646-647, 664 n. 36; *I.Cret.* I.24 1; *FGrH* 466 T1; Chaniotis, *Historie* 348-349 E71; Lücke, *Syggeneia* 21-24; *BNJ* 466 T1.

1. Πριανσίων.
2. ἔδοξε Πριανσίων τοῖς κόσμοις καὶ τῇ πόλει.
3. ἐπειδὴ Ἡρόδοτος Μ<η>νοδότου καὶ Μενεκλῆς Διονυ-
4. σίῳ ἐξαποσταλέντες πρεγγευταὶ πορτὶ ἅμῃ πα-
5. ρὰ Τηίων οὐ μόνον ἀνεστρά[φεν] <πρ>επ<ό>ντω<ς> ἐν τῇ
6. πόλει καὶ [διελέγ]εν περὶ τῶ[ς] ἁμῶν ἰσ[το]ρί[ας], ἀλλὰ
7. καὶ ἐπεδείξατο Μενεκλῆς μετὰ κιθάρας τά τε Τι-
8. μοθέου καὶ Πολυίδου καὶ τῶν ἁμῶν παλαιῶν ποιη-
9. τῶν καλῶς καὶ πρεπόντως, εἰσ<ή>νεγκε δὲ κύκλον
10. ἱστορημέναν ὑπὲρ Κρήτας κα[ὶ] τ[ῶν] ἐν [Κρή]ται γε-
11. γονότων θεῶν τε καὶ ἡρώων, [ποι]ησάμενο[ς] τ[ῶν]
12. συναγωγὰν ἐκ πολλῶν ποιητῶ[ν] καὶ ἱστοριαγρά-
13. φων· διὸ δεδόχθαι τῇ πόλει ἐπαινέσαι Τηίος ὅτι
14. πλεῖστον λόγον ποιῶνται περὶ παιδείας, ἐπαι-
15. νέσαι δὲ καὶ Ἡρόδοτον καὶ Μενεκλῆν ὅτι καλὰν
16. καὶ πρέπονσαν πεποίηνται τὰν παρ᾽ ἐπιδημίαν
17. ἐν τῇ πόλει ἁμῶν· διασαφῆσαί τε ταῦτα καὶ Τηί-
18. οῖς ὁ<κ>ως ἐπιγινώσκωντι.
19. ἔρρωσθε.

Notes: Inscribed in the Cretan dialect. Dating follows Guarducci. The text is largely that of *I. Cret.* 1.24.1, except for line 6: ἀνεστρά[φεν] τε πάντων ἐν τῷ Michel; 6: περὶ τῶ[ς] ἁμῶν ἱσ]το[ρί]ας Bas and Waddington in Clarke 347 n. 162, τῶ[ς]]το[. .]ας Guarducci; 9: εἰσένεγκε Michel.

Of the Priansians. The magistrates and city of the Priansians decided. Since Herodotos son of Menodotos and Menekles son of Dionysios, ambassadors sent to us by the Teians, not only conducted themselves in the city in a fine manner, and spoke about [our] history, but Menekles displayed in performance with the kithara the works of Timotheos and Polyidos, and other ancient poets of ours in a noble and fitting manner, and contributed a historical cycle concerning Crete and the gods and heroes who were born in Crete, drawing for his compilation from many poets and historians; the city has, therefore, decided to praise the Teians, since they place much emphasis on education, and also Herodotos and Menekles, since they conducted their sojourn in our city in a noble and fitting manner. These things are to be made clear to the Teians so that they may acknowledge them. Farewell.

A21. Dymas son of Antipatros from Iasos. Samothrake. 2nd century BCE.

Editions and bibliography: Michel, *Recueil d'inscriptions grecques* 268-269 n. 352; *GIBM* III 444; Robert, *RA* 24 (1926) 174; Guarducci, 'Poeti vaganti' 637, 654 n. 15; Roussel, *BE* 41 (1928) n. 374; Holleaux, *Études d'epigraphie et d'histoire grecque* 3.93; Robert, *BE* 71 (1958) n. 397; Robert, *BE* 72 (1959) n. 330; Robert, *BE* 77 (1964) n. 385; Chaniotis, *Historie* 345-346 E68.

1. [Ἔ]δοξεν τῇ βουλῇ. Βασιλεὺς Σωσιφάνης Σωφάνους εἶπε[ν]
2. [Ἐ]πε[ιδὴ] Δύμας ποητῆς τραγωιδίων αἰί τι λέγων καὶ γράφων
3. [κα]ὶ πράττων ἀγαθὸν διατελεῖ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ τῆς πόλε[ως]
4. [κα]ὶ τῶν πολιτῶν, ἡ δὲ βουλὴ προβεβούλευκεν αὐτῷ περὶ ἐ[παίνου]
5. καὶ στεφάνου καὶ πολιτείας ν ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ, δεδόχθαι[ι τῷ]
6. δήμῳ· ἐπαινέσαι Δύμαντα ἐπὶ τῷ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν εὐνοίαι καὶ στεφά[νῳ]-
7. σαι χρυσῷ στεφ[ά]νῳ Διονυσίων τῷ ἀγῶνι, τὴν ἀνάρρησιν ποιουμένου[ς].
8. Ὁ δῆμος στεφανοῖ Δύμαντα Ἀντιπάτρου Ἰασέα χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ εὐσ[ε]-
9. βείας ἔνεκα τῆς εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ εὐνοίας τῆς εἰς τὸν δῆ[μον].
10. Τῆς δὲ ἀναρρήσεως ἐπιμεληθῆναι τοὺς προέδρους καὶ τὸν ἀγῶ[ν]-
11. [ο]θέτην. Εἶναι δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ πολίτην μετέχοντα πάντων ὧν καὶ [οἱ]
12. [ἄ]λλοι πολῖται μετέχουσιν. Ἀναγράψαι δὲ τὸ ψήφισμα εἰς τὸ ἱερὸ[ν]
13. [τ]ῆς Ἀθηνᾶς. ν
14. [Ἔ]δοξεν τῇ βουλῇ. Βασιλεὺς Θεοτέλης Ἀριφάντου εἶπεν· Ἐπε[ιδὴ]
15. Δύμας ποητῆς τραγωιδίων τά τε πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσεβῶς δια[γο]-
16. μενος καὶ τὰ πρὸς [τ]ῇ πόλιν οἰκείως καὶ φιλανθρωπῶς αἰί τι λ[έγων]
17. καὶ γράφων καὶ πράττων ἀγαθὸν διατελεῖ περὶ τῆς νήσου, κατὰ τά-
18. χος τε ἀπόδειξιν ἐποιήσατο τῆς αὐτοῦ φύσεως καὶ πραγματείαν σ[υνέ]-
19. ταξεν ἐν δράματι τῶν Δαρδάνου πράξεων τὰς μεγίστας μνημοσ[ύνας],
20. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ προβεβ[ο]ύλευκεν αὐτῷ περὶ ἐπαίνου καὶ στεφάνου, [ὅπως]
21. οὕγ καὶ ὁ δῆμος φαίνεται τοὺς εὐεργετοῦντας αὐτὸν τιμῶν ἀξίω[ς]
22. διὰ παντός· ν ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ, ἐψηφίσθαι τῷ δήμῳ· ἐπαινέσαι Δύμα[ντα]
23. ἐπὶ τῇ πρὸς τῇ πόλιν εὐνοίαι καὶ στεφανῶσαι αὐτὸν χρυσῷ στεφ[άνῳ]
24. Διονυσίων τῷ ἀγῶνι, τὴν ἀνάρρησιν ποιουμένους· Ὁ δῆμος στεφ[ανῷ]
25. Δύμαντα Ἀντιπάτ[ρ]ου χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ ἀρετῆς ἔνεκεν καὶ εὐν[οίας]
26. τῆς εἰς αὐτόν. Τῇ[ς] δὲ ἀναρρήσεως ἐπιμεληθῆναι τοὺς προέδ[ρους]-
27. [κα]ὶ τὸν ἀγωνοθέτην, εἶναι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἄλλο ἀγαθὸν εὐρέσθαι ὁ [τ]ῇ ἄν[τι]
28. [β]ούληται παρὰ τοῦ δήμου· ἀναγράψαι δὲ τὸ ψήφισμα τὸμ βασιλέα [εἰς τὸ]
29. [εἰ]ρὸν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς. Ἰν[α δ]ὲ φανερόν ῃ καὶ Ιασεῦσιν ὅτι ὁ δῆμος τιμᾷ[ι τοὺς]

30. [κα]λοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας ἀξίως τῆς αὐτῶν ἀρετῆς, δοῦν[αι τόδε]
 31. [τὸ] ψήφισμα τὸμ βασιλέα τοῖς πρ ὧτοις παραγενομένοις θεωροῖς, ἐ[ξ Ἰασοῦ]
 32. [καὶ] τὸ γρᾶφέν ἐπὶ Σωσιφάνους ἀνενε[γ]κεῖν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμ[ωι τῷ]
 33. [Ἰα]σέων, καὶ παρακε[κ]λήσθαι Ἰασ[εῖ]ς ἐπιμεληθῆναι φιλοτίμως ἵνα [τὰ]
 34. [ψ]ηφίσματα ἔν τινι τῶν ἱερῶν ἀναγ[ρ]αφῇ καὶ οἱ στέφανοι ἀν[ακη]-
 35. [ρυχ]θῶσιν ἐν Διο[νυ]σίοις εἰδότας δι[ό]τι ποιήσαντες τὰ ἡξι[ωμένα]
 36. [χα]ριοῦνται τῷ δ[ήμ]ωι.

Notes: Two decrees, inscribed on a stele of blue marble. 81 by 58 cm. Dating follows *GIBM*. The text is that of Guarducci, 'Poeti vaganti' 15. 17-18: καὶ διὰ [παντ]ός τε ἀπόδειξιν ἐποιήσατο Robert, although Chaniotis suggests it would only be reasonable if the verb were in the present tense, so καὶ διὰ [παντ]ός τε ἀπόδειξιν ποιεῖται; 31-32: ἐ[τι δὲ καὶ] τὸ Michel.

The council [decided]. The *basileus* Sosiphanes son of Sophanes spoke. [Since] Dymas, the composer of tragedies in all that he says, writes and does continues to accomplish good for the temple, city, and the citizens, the council has discussed the praise, crown, and citizenship that is to be conferred on him. With good fortune, the assembly has decided to praise Dymas for his goodwill towards the city, and to crown him with a gold crown at the games at the Dionysia, making a public proclamation: 'The people crown Dymas son of Antipatros, the Iasian, with a gold crown on account of his piety towards the gods and goodwill as regards the people.' The presiding officials and the organiser of the games will be in charge of the public proclamation. He is to be a citizen sharing in all that other citizens are entitled to share in. The resolution is to be inscribed in the temple of Athena.

The council [decided]. The *basileus* Theoteles son of Aripantos spoke. Since Dymas, the composer of tragedies conducts the affairs of the gods in a pious way, and as regards the city continues to always say, write, and do good in a friendly and kindly way for the island, and in a brief amount of time⁴⁴⁷ made a public display of the of his character, and compiled a treatise in dramatic form containing the greatest memories of the deeds of Dardanos, the council discussed the praise and crown to be conferred on him, and in order therefore that the people may be seen to honour its benefactors in a worthy manner for all time, with good fortune, the people have voted to praise Dymas for his goodwill towards the city and to crown him with a gold crown at the games at the Dionysia, making a public proclamation: 'The people crown Dymas son of Antipatros with a gold crown on account of his virtue and goodwill towards it.' The presiding officials and organiser of the games are to be in charge of the public proclamation. He is to receive whatsoever he desires from the people. The *basileus* is to inscribe this resolution in the temple of Athena. In order that it may be clear to the Iasians that the people honour fine and good men in a manner worthy of their virtue, the *basileus* is to give this resolution to the *theoroi* next sent from Iasos, and they are to bring forth the text written in the time of Sosiphanes to the council and people of the Iasians, and to invite them to take zealous care that the resolutions be inscribed in one of the temples and the crowns be announced at the Dionysia, knowing thereby that if they did these worthy things they would be doing the (Samothrakian) people a favour.

⁴⁴⁷ Alternatively, following the reading of Robert in ll. 17-18 (διὰ [παντ]ός), 'as to all things'.

A22. Herodes son of Poseidonios, from Priene. Priene. 2nd century BCE.

Editions and bibliography: *I.Priene* 68-70; Holleaux, *BCH* 31 (1907) 384-385; Robert, *RA* 24 (1926) 173-176; Guarducci, 'Poeti vaganti' 636-637, 653-654 14; Chapoutier, Salač, and Salviat, *BCH* 80 (1956) 142-145; Robert, *BE* 71 (1958) n. 397; Robert, *Gnomon* 35 (1963) 59; Robert, *BE* 77 (1964) n. 443; Chaniotis, *Historie* 342-343 E60; *BNJ* 548 T6; *I.Priene* (2014) 102-103; *SEG* 4.484; *SEG* 4.485; digital image by the Oxford Centre for the Study of Ancient Documents: <http://www.csad.ox.ac.uk/CSAD/Images/100/Image196.html>.

Both texts belonged originally to the same stele, now preserved only in two fragments (31 by 34 by 16, and 25 by 26 by 7 cm), of which the larger contains the first and portions of the second, and the smaller the remainder of the second. The separate line numeration and dating of the inscription follow the procedure of Blümel and Merkelbach.

a)

1. [-----]δειν[-----]
2. [. καὶ πρόσδοτον πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν] καὶ τὸν δῆμον μετὰ τὰ
3. [ἱερα πρώτῳ· καὶ εὐρέσθαι ἀγαθὸν ἂν τι βο]ύληται τῶν δυνατῶν παρὰ
4. [τοῦ δήμου· ἀναγράψαι δὲ τότε τὸ ψήφισμα εἰς στήλην καὶ ἀναθεῖναι
5. [εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς· ἵνα δὲ καὶ] Πριηνεῖς εἰδήσωσιν τὴν τοῦ δήμου
6. [εὐχαριστίαν, ἣν ἔχει εἰς τοὺς ἀ]ἱρουμένους τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν ταῖς πό-
7. [λεσι φιλίαν αὖξιν, αἰεὶ τι πράσσ]οντάς τ[ε] καὶ λέγοντας περὶ τούτων
8. [ἀγαθόν, καὶ ὁ δῆμος τοὺς τοιούτους] ἄνδρας τιμῶν ἄξίως φαίνεται, δοῦναι
9. [τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸμ βασιλ]έα τοῖς πρώτοις παρεσομένοις θεω-
10. [ροῖς ἐκ Πρίνης καὶ ἀνενεγκεῖν τῇ]ι βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Πριηνέων καὶ
11. [παρκαλέσαι Πριηνεῖς φίλους ὄ]ντας καὶ οἰκείους ἐπιμεληθῆναι προθύ-
12. [μως, ἵνα τὸ ψήφισμα τότε ἀναγρα]φῇ ἔν τινι τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ ὁ στέφανος
13. [ἀναγορευθῇ, εἰδότας διότι ὅτι ταῦτα] ποιήσαντες χαριῶνται τῷ δήμῳ.

Notes: The text is that of Blümel and Merkelbach n. 102. 5: [ὅπως δὲ καὶ] Πριηνεῖς Guarducci; 6: [τοὺς προα]ἱρουμένους Guarducci, Holleaux, [εὐχαριστίαν, τιμῶντος τοὺς προα]ἱρουμένους Hiller (*I.Priene*); 6-7: πό[λεσι φιλίαν, αἰεὶ τι ἀγαθὸν πράσσ]οντάς Hiller; 8: [ὁ δ' ἡμέτερος δῆμος τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς] ἄνδρας Hiller; 9-10: θεω[ροῖς, ἀξιοῦντα ἀνενεγκεῖν αὐτὸ τῇ]ι βουλῇ Hiller; 10: ἀνενεγκεῖν αὐτὸ τῇ]ι Guarducci; 11-12: ἐπιμεληθῆναι ὅπ[ως ἂν τὸ ψήφισμα τότε ἀναγρα]φῇ Guarducci; 13: [ἀναγορευθῇ ἐν Διονυσίοις, εἰδότας ὅτι ταῦτα] ποιήσαντες Guarducci, Robert.

[----- and right of first entry into the council] and assembly after the completion of [sacred affairs. He is to obtain anything he should desire], by [the assembly. This resolution is to be written up] on a stela and erected [in the temple of Athena. In order that] the Prienians may learn the [gratitude] of the assembly [which it has for those who] choose [to increase the] present [friendship] towards (other) cities, [and who in whatever] concerning these matters do and say [good, and that the assembly] may be seen to honour [such] men, [this resolution is to be handed by the king] to the next *theoroi* [sent by Priene, and brought] before the council and assembly of the Prienians, who, being [close friends are to be invited to take careful charge [that this resolution be] written up at one of the temples, and the crown [is to be announced publicly, so that they may know that by] doing [these things] they do a favour to the (ie. the Samothrakian) assembly.

b)

1. [ἔδοξε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ, γ]νώμη στρατηγῶν· ἐπειδὴ Σαμοθραῖκες
2. [φίλοι ὄντες καὶ οἰκεῖοι τοῦ δήμου] ψήφισμα ἀποστείλαντες ἐμφανίζουσιν

3. [Ἡρώδην Ποσειδωνίου τῶν ἡμετέρων πολιτῶν ποιητὴν ἐπὼν πρὸς τε τοὺς
4. [θεοὺς εὐσεβῶς καὶ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον οἰκείως διακείμενον δείξεις πε-
5. [ποιηκέναι-----] ἐν αἷς εὐδοκιμηκέναι, γεγραμέναι
6. [δὲ καὶ πραγματείαν ἐν ἔπεσι τῶν περὶ Δ]άρδανον καὶ Ἀετίωνα πράξεω[ν]
7. [τὰς μεγίστας μνημοσ-----καὶ περὶ τῷ Κάδμου καὶ Ἀρμό[νίας
- γάμων]

{Unknown number of missing lines}

8. [-----] . . [-----]
9. [-----τ]ῶν ποιημάτων καὶ . [-----]
10. [τὴν πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν οἰκειότητα [-----]
11. [-----ἀπ]ἀγγέλλοντα ἅμα καὶ τ[οὺς θεοὺς(?)]
12. [τοὺς κατέχοντας] τὴν νῆσον τοῖς ὁσίως ἐπὶ . [-----]
13. [-----]ν καὶ [τὴν ἐ]πιδημίαν μετὰ πάσης εὐ[κοσμίας· ἐπὶνῆ]-
14. [κασί]ν τε Ἡρ[ώ]δην Ποσειδωνίου ποιητὴν ἐπ[ὼν καὶ πολλὰ]
15. [φιλά]νθρωπά [εἰ]σιν ἐψηφισμένοι Ἡρώδη, καὶ ἐ[στεφανώ]κασιν αὐτὸν
16. [χρυσῶ] στεφάνῳ Διονυσίων τῷ ἀγῶνι, πεποιήνται [δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐκγόνο]υς
17. προξένους τῆς πόλεως, μετέχοντας πάν[των ὧν καὶ]
18. [Πριηνεῖς] μετέχουσιν], παρακαλοῦσιν τε ἡμᾶς δια τὸ [εἶναι αὐτοῖς]
19. [φίλους καὶ οἰκείους ἐπιμεληθῆναι προθύμως ἵν]α τό τε ψήφισμα τόδε
- ἀναγρ[α]-
20. [φῆ ἔν τ]ινι τῶν ἱερῶν [καὶ ὁ στέφανος ἀναγ[ορευθῇ-----]
21. [-----Πρι]νεῦσιν· ἐπὶνῆσθαι μὲν τὸν δῆ[μον τὸν Σαμοθράικων ἐπὶ τῇ]
22. [ἐννοίαι] ἥ ἔχει πρὸς τ[ὴν] π[όλιν] καὶ ἐπὶ τ[-----]
23. [-----τοῖς φιλοδ]οξεῖν αἰρουμένοις τοὺς τ[-----]
24. [-----τ]ὴν ὑπάρχουσαν ταῖς π[όλεσι] φιλίαν αὖξιν-----]
25. [-----]γειν περὶ τούτων κα[-----]
26. [ἐπὶνῆσθαι δὲ καὶ Ἡρώδην Ποσειδ[ωνίου-----]
27. [-----]εὐξ[. .] δ[ὲ] τῆς αὐτ[-----]
28. [-----φιλί]α[ς καὶ] οἰκειότη[τος-----]
29. [-----] τὰ ψηφίσματα ἀναγραφ[ῆναι· τοὺς δὲ στεφάνους τοῖς]
30. [πρώτοις Διονυ]σίους ἀναγγεῖλαι τὸν ἀγ[ωνοθετην-----]
31. [-----τὸν]δὲ νεωποίην Δημόχαριν ἀ[ναγράψαι τὰ ψηφίσματα]
32. [τό τε παρὰ Σ]αμοθράικων καὶ τὸ παρ' ἡμῶν [εἰς στήλην λιθίνην καὶ]
33. [στήσαι εἰς] τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐν ᾧ τρ[-----]
34. [τοῖς τ]εῖχοποιοῖς καὶ τῷ ἀρχιτέκτονι.

Notes: The text is that of *I.Priene (2014)* n. 103. 5: [ποιηκέναι παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ πλείονας] ἐν αἷς Guarducci; 6: [. τῶν περὶ Δ]άρδανον Guarducci; 7: [.] ἀγγέλλοντα ἅμα καὶ τ[οὺς θεοὺς(?)] Guarducci; ἀπ]ἀγγέλλοντα may also be read παρ]ἀγγέλλοντα, Robert; 11-12: ἅμα καὶ τ[ὸν δῆμον τὸν Σαμοθράικων καὶ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας] τὴν νῆσον Hiller, ἅμα καὶ τ[οὺς θεοὺς(?)] τοὺς κατέχοντας] τὴν νῆσον Guarducci; 12: ἐτιμ[. καὶ] Guarducci, Hiller; 12-13: [καὶ πεποιήσθαι τὴν ἐ]πιδημίαν Robert, Guarducci, [ποιησάμενοις τὴν ἐ]πιδημίαν Hiller; 13-14: εὐ[ταξίας καὶ εὐκοσμίας· ἐπὶνῆ]κασιν δὲ Ἡρώδην Robert, Guarducci; εὐ[κοσμίας τιμὰς ἀποδιδόναι, ἐπαινοῦντα δὲ Ἡρώ]δην Hiller; 14-15: Ποσειδωνίου ποιητὴν ἐ[πὼν-----ε]ἰσιν ἐψηφισμένοι Robert, Guarducci, Ποσειδωνίου ποιητὴν ἐ[πὼν φέροντα δὲ τὸν στέφανον, ὃν Σαμοθραϊκὴς εἰ]σιν ἐψηφισμένοι Hiller; 16-17: πεποιήνται [δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐκγόνους προξένους καὶ εὐεργέτα]ς τῆς πόλεως Robert, Guarducci; πεποιήνται [δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ προξένους καὶ εὐεργέτα]ς τῆς πόλεως Hiller; 17-18: πάν[των ὧν καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι προξένοι μετέχουσιν], Robert, Guarducci, Hiller; 18-19: παρακαλοῦσιν τε ἡμᾶς διατ[ηροῦντας τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς φιλίαν καὶ οἰκειότητα ἐ]πιμεληθῆναι Robert, Guarducci; 19-20: ἵν]α τό τε ψήφισμα ἔν τινι τῶν ἱερῶν ἀναγραφῇ καὶ Robert, Guarducci; 20: ἀναγ[ορευθῇ Διονυσίοις] Robert,

Guarducci; 20-22: [δεδοχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ· ἐπηνῆ]σθαι μὲν τὸν δῆ[μον τὸν Σαμοθράικων ἐπηνῆσθαι δὲ καὶ τὴν πόλιν Guarducci, [δεδοχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ· ἐπηνῆ]σθαι μὲν τὸν δῆ[μον τὸν Σαμοθράικων ἐπὶ τε τῇ εὐνοίᾳ ἣ ἔχει εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν πόλιν Holleaux, [δεδοχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ· χαρίσα]σθαι μὲν τὸν δῆ[μον τὸν Σαμοθράικων]. ἐπηνῆσθαι δὲ καὶ τὴν πόλιν Hiller; 22-23: τῷ ἣ δὲ ἀναγόμεναις τοῦ στ[εφάνου] Guarducci; 33: ἐν ᾧ <ἀν> τ[όποι] ἐπιτήδειον εἶναι φαίνεται] Robert in *RA*.

[The council and assembly decided]; the proposition of the generals. Since the Samothrakians, [being close friends of the people], sending out a decree made clear that [Herodes son of Poseidonios], a citizen of [ours] and epic poet, has been piously and amicably disposed [towards the gods and the people], held performances [-----] in which he has distinguished himself and written a [treatise in epic verse concerning] the deeds of Dardanos and Eëtion, [the greatest remembrances (?) [-----] and concerning] the [marriage] of Kadmos and Harmonia [-----]

{Unknown number of missing lines}

[-----] of the poems and [-----] the friendship towards [our city -- -----] announcing at the same time [the gods (?) who reside] in the island, in a holy manner [-----] and [the] sojourn (was conducted) in a fine manner. [They have praised] Herodes son of Poseidonios, the epic poet, and voted for many favours to Herodes; they have [crowned him] with a [gold] crown at the games of the Dionysia, and made [him and his descendants] *proxenoi* of the city, sharing in all that the [Prienians] are entitled to share; the [people of the Samothrakians] are to be praised [for the goodwill] which they bear towards the city and for [-----] to those choosing to honour those [----- to increase] the existing [friendship] to the cities [-----] for these reasons [-----] Herodes son of Poseidonios [is to be praised -----] of the [-----] friendship and closeness [-----] the resolutions are to be written up. The [organiser of the games] is to [announce the crowns at the next Dionysia [----- this same] temple-warden Democharis is to [inscribe the resolutions, the one from the] Samothrakians and the one by us, [on a stone stela and be raised in] the temple of Athena, in which [----- by the] *teichopoioi* and *architekton*.

A23. Alexandros. Thasos. Late 2nd to early 1st century BCE.

Editions and bibliography: Dunant and Pouilloux, *Recherches sur l'histoire et les cultes de Thasos* 11-15, n. 166 (a); Robert, *BE* 72 (1959) n. 330; Chaniotis, *Historie* 312 E20; Hamon, *BCH* 132 (2008) 389-401.

a)

1. ΑΣ . Ι . . ΕΙΑ . . ΙΑ [-----τὴν ἀναστροφὴν εὐσχήμονα]
2. ποιησάμενος ἐπιδούς [τε ἑαυτὸν φιλοπόνως εἰς τὴν τῶν (τε)]
3. ἐφήβων καὶ τῶν νέων [οφέλειαν-----]
4. πραγματευσάμενός τε πε[ρὶ]-----καὶ ποιησάμενος περὶ τῶν]
5. τῆς πόλεως ἐνδόξων πλεί[ονας ἀκροάσεις ἐποιήσατο ἐνδέδεικται τὸ πρὸς τὴν]
6. πόλιν ἡμῶν ἐκτενὲς τό τε ἐν τα[ῖς]-----]
7. ἣν ἐνδέδεικται, κατὰ τε ἐν ταῖς [-----ἐπιδείξεις]
8. καὶ σχολὰς πολλὴν πρόνοιαν πε[ποιή]ται εἰς τὸ-----]
9. τερον κατασκευάζειν καὶ κο[σμίους πολίτας]-----]
10. ἀναδεικνύναι· ννν ὅπως οὖν [καὶ ὁ δῆμος φαίνεται τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς τῶν]
11. ἀνδρῶν τιμῶν τε καὶ ἀπ[ο]διδούς τὰς καταξίας χάριτας, δεδόχθαι]
12. τῷ δήμῳ ἐπαινέσαι τε Α[λέξανδρον(?)] τοῦ δαῖνος (Θάσιον?)-----]

13. [.] καὶ στεφανῶσαι χ[ρυσῶι στεφάνωι εὐνοίας ἔνεκα ἧς ἔχων]
14. [διατελεῖ ε]ῖς τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν [-----]
15. [-----] . Σ . [-----]

b)

1. [-----]ΑΣ[-----]
2. [-----] . . ΩΙ ἀρετῆς ἔνε[κεν-----καὶ πρό]-
3. [ξενον εἶναι] αὐτὸν καὶ εὐεργέτη[ν τῆς πόλεως τῆς Παρίων (?) ννν].
4. [τοὺς δὲ ἄρ]χοντας ἐν τοῖς [κα]θήκο[υσιν χρόνοις προγράψασθαι]
5. [ὅπως Ἀλέξ?]αγδρος καὶ οἱ ἔκγονοι αὐ[τοῦ πολῖται γένωνται κα]-
6. [τὰ τὸν νόμον]· ὑπαρχέτω δὲ αὐτοῖς κ[αὶ πρόσδοδος πρὸς τὴν βου]-
7. [λὴν καὶ τὸν] δῆμον ἐάν του δέων[ται πρώτοις μετὰ τὰ ἱερά νν].
8. [ὅπως δὲ] καὶ ὁ στέφανος ὅδε ἀναγ[ορευθῇ ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, ἐπι]-
9. [μεληθῇ]αὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἐφ' [ὧν ἂν πρῶτον Διονύσια τὰ μεγάλα]
10. [συντελῇ]ται τραγ[ω]ιδῶν τῶ[ι ἀγῶνι, -----]
11. [-----]ΦΑΝΩ[. .] στεφ[αν-----]
12. [-----]ΚΟΝΕΠΙΤΕ[-----]
13. [-----]ΙΟΝ ν καὶ [-----]
14. [-----] τόδε τὸ ψ[ήφισμα-----]
15. [-----ὅπως δὲ καὶ Θ]άσιοι? δια[-----]
16. [-----]ΙΑΙ[-----]

Notes: One of two badly damaged fragments of grey marble, from the same stele. Dating and text follow those of Hamon. a.2: [τε ἑαυτὸν ἀπροφασίστως προενοήθη τῆς τῶν] Dunant and Pouilloux; a.3: [παιδείας] Chaniotis, [εὐταξίας] Dunant and Pouilloux; a.5: [πλεί[ονας ἀκροάσεις ἐποίησατο, ἐνδεικνύμενος τὸ πρὸς τὴν] Dunant and Pouilloux; a.9: καὶ κο[σμεῖν], or καὶ κο[νιάζειν], or καὶ κο[ινᾶι] Dunant and Pouilloux; a.10: [καὶ ὁ δῆμος ὁ ἡμέτερος φαίνεται τοὺς ἀξίους τῶν] Dunant and Pouilloux; a.11: ἀπ[οδιδούς χάριτας αὐτοῖς, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ] Dunant and Pouilloux; a.13-14: χ[ρυσῶι στεφάνωι ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα καὶ εὐνοίας ἧς διατελεῖ ἔχων εἰς] Dunant and Pouilloux; b.2: [-----στρ]ατιώταις τ[οῖς ἐν Ῥ]-----]; b.5: Hamon also suggests other names known from Thasos – [Ἀμφ]αγδρος, [Ἀνάξ]αγδρος, [Ἄντ]αγδρος. Alexandros is used here for convenience.

a)

[-----] giving himself [unhesitatingly he prioritised the education] of the *ephebes* and youth [-----] writing on [----- and on the] famous deeds of the city [he made] many [public performances, showing his] dedication [to the] city in the [-----] which he displayed, and as regards [the performances and] lectures in the [-----] he was engaged with much purpose [towards the -----] to nurture [well-behaved citizens -----] to proclaim [-----] in order therefore [that our people may be seen] to honour [worthy] men and confer [favours upon them, the council] and assembly [has decided] to praise [-----] and crown him [with a gold crown on account of his virtue and the goodwill which he has demonstrated] towards our city [-----]

b)

[-----] on account of his virtue [-----and] he [is to be a *proxenos*] and benefactor [of the city of the Parians (?); the] archons [are to inscribe] at the relevant [time that] Alexandros and his descendants [are to be citizens according to the law]. They are to obtain [the right of first entry to the council and] assembly, if they should require anything, [after the sacred affairs]. The archons under [whom the first great Dionysia] are held [are to

ensure that] this crown be announced [in the theatre], at the tragic contests [-----]
this decree [----- in order that the] Thasians (?) [-----]

A24. Gorgos. Kolophon. 2nd/1st century BCE.

Editions and bibliography: Schuchhardt, *MDAI* (A) 11 (1886) 427-429 n. 8; Pasquali, *SIFC* 20 (1913) , 84-6; Mutschmann, *RhM* 72 (1917-18) 150-3; Wilamowitz, *Hellenistische Dichtung* 106 n.3; *FGrH* 17 T1; Fogazza, *PP* 26 (1971) 128-9; Cazzaniga, *PP* 29 (1974) 145-52; Robert, *BE* 89 (1976) n. 592; Merkelbach and Stauber, *Steinepigramme* 1.363 n. 03/05/02; Chaniotis, *Historie* 310-311 E19; *BNJ* 17 T1.

1. τὸν πάσης πολ[λ]ύβυβλον ἀφ' ἱστορίας μελεδωνόν
2. πρῆσβυν ᾠοῖδοπόλων δρεψάμενον σελίδα,
3. τὸν σοφίην στέρξα[ν]τα νόφ μεγαλ[ό]φρονα Γοργόν,
4. τὸν Κλαρίου τριπόδων Λητοΐδεω θέραπα
5. Κεκροπὶς ἐν κόλποις κρύπτει κόνις· εὐσεβίης δὲ
6. εἵνεκεν εὐσεβέων χώρον ἔβη φθίμενος.

Notes: Limestone block, discovered north of Colophon. 82 by 55 by 32 cm. Dating follows Chaniotis. The text is that of Schuchhardt.

He, the old guardian of poets' pages, who gathered a work spanning all inquiry in many books, lover of wisdom and noble-minded, Gorgos – the servant of the tripods of Klarian Apollo – the earth of Kekrops now holds in her lap; for his piety he has in death entered the land of the pious.

A25. Philippos son of Aristides, from Pergamon. Epidauros. 1st century BCE.

Editions and bibliography: Martha, *BCH* 2 (1878) 273-275; Kaibel, *Epigrammata graeca* xix n. 877b; Susemihl, *Geschichte der griechische literatur in der Alexandrinerzeit* 1.617 466e; Cavvadias, *Fouilles d'Epidaure* 1.61-62 n. 170; *IG* IV 1153; *IG* IV².1 687; *FGrH* 95 T1; Peek, *Inschriften aus dem Asklepeion von Epidauros* 130 n. 300; Chaniotis, *Historie* 314-317 E23; Goukowsky, 'Philippe de Pergame'; *BNJ* 95 T1.

1. ἄνθετο μέν μ' Ἐπίδαυρος Ἀριστείδαο Φίλιππον
2. Περγαμόθεν θείας κοῖρανον ἱστορίας·
3. ἀγλάϊσαν δ' Ἑλλανες, ἐπεὶ πολεμόγραμμα αὐδὰν
4. ἔκλαγον ἀμερίων κόσμον ἐπερχόμενος.
vacat
5. ἐγὼ παντοίων παθέων καὶ ξυνεχέος ἄλλη-
6. λοφονίης ἀνά τε τὴν Ἀσίην καὶ τὴν Εὐρώ-
7. πην καὶ τὰ Λιβύων ἔθνεα καὶ νησιωτέων
8. πόλιας καθ' ἡμέας γεγεννημένων ν ὅσῃ
9. χειρὶ τὴν περὶ τῶν καινῶν πρήξεων ἰσ-
10. τορίην ἐξήνεγκα ἐς τοὺς Ἑλληνας,
11. ὅπως καὶ δι' ἡμέων μανθάνοντες, ὁκό-
12. σα δημοκοπίη καὶ κερδέων ἀμ[ετρῆσιν]
13. καὶ στάσιες ἐμφύλιοι καὶ πιστίων
14. καταλύσιες γεννῶσιν κακά, παρατ[η]-
15. ρήσει παθέων ἀλλοτρίων ἀπενθήτ[ους]
16. ποιέωνται τὰς τοῦ βίου διορθώσιας.

Notes: Inscribed on a statue base, found near a headless male statue near the Tholos of Polykleitos, which could have been a portrait of the honorand. The letters of the epigram, in Doric, in ll.1-4 are more distinct and slightly larger (following the reproduction of the text by Martha). Ll. 5-16 possibly comprise an excerpt from Philipp's historiographical work, in Ionian. 48 by 62 cm. Dating and text follow Chaniotis. 12: ἀμ[ετρύ(?)]] Martha.

Epidauros raised me, Philippos son of Aristides of Pergamon, master of divine history. The Greeks honoured me for sounding a war-telling song, traversing the world of mortals.

I, who reported on sufferings of every kind and the continuous mutual slaughter which have transpired throughout Asia, Europe, the Libyan peoples and the towns of the islanders in our time, have composed with pious hand the history of these recent deeds for the Greeks, in order that they, learning from us the sort of evils that arise from corruption, immoderate profits, civil dissension and the dissolution of trust, may through observing the ordeals of others effect unpainful amendments to their lives.

A26. Tiberius Claudius Andronikos, from Laodikeia. Sestos. 1st century CE.

Editions and bibliography: Dumont, *Mélanges d'archéologie* 436 n. 100 z2; *IGR* I 818; *I.Sestos* 17; Chaniotis, *Historie* 326 E31.

1. Τ. Κλαυδίου
2. Ἀνδρονείκου
3. Λαοδικέος
4. ἱστοριογράφου.

Notes: Found in the sanctuary of the church of Saint Dimitri. Dating and text follow *I.Sestos* 17.

T(iberius) Claudius Andronikos, the historian from Laodikeia.

A27. Hermogenes son of Charidemos, of Smyrna. Smyrna. 1st/2nd century CE.

Editions and bibliography: Kaibel, *Epigrammata graeca* 115-116 n. 305; *IGR* IV.479 n. 1445; *FGrH* 579 T1; Peek, *Griechische Vers-Inschriften* 1.458; *I.Smyrna* 536; Chaniotis, *Historie* 327-328 E32; Merkelbach and Stauber, *Steinepigramme* 1.516 n. 05/01/26; *BNJ* 579 T1; Clarke, *Making Time* 343-344.

1. Ἑρμογένης Χαριδήμου ἱητρείην ἀναγράφας
2. ἐπτά ἐπὶ ἑβδομήκοντ' ἔτεσιν καὶ ἴσαις ἐπὶ βύβλοις.
3. [-----]]
4. συνέγραψε δὲ βιβλία ἱατρικὰ μὲν ὀβ,
5. ἱστορικὰ δὲ Περὶ Ζμύρνης ἄβ,
6. περὶ τῆς Ὀμήρου σοφίας ἄ· καὶ πατρίδος ἄ,
7. Ἀσίας κτίσεων ἄβ, Εὐρώπης κτίσεων ἄβγδ, νήσων ἄ[--]
8. Ἀσίας σταδιασμῶν ἄ καὶ Εὐρώπης ἄ, στρατηγημάτων ἄβ,
9. πίναξ Ῥωμαίων καὶ Ζμυρναίων, διαδοχὴ κατὰ χρόνους.

Notes: Block of bluish marble, perhaps part of a statue-base. 66 by 85 by 1-8 cm. Dating and text follow Chaniotis. 4: ο[ζ] *IGR*; 9: πίνα[κα] *IGR*, διαδοχῇ{ν} *IGR*.

Hermogenes son of Charidemos, who wrote on the art of medicine, (lived) for seventy-seven years, and in the same number of books [-----]. He wrote seventy-two books on medicine, two historical books concerning Smyrna, one book on the wisdom of Homer, one book on his fatherland, two books on the foundations (of cities) in Asia, four books on the

foundations (of cities) in Europe, one book on islands, one book on the measurement of distances in Asia, one book on the measurement of distances in Europe, two books on military tactics, and a catalogue of Roman and Smyrnaian deeds, in chronological sequence.

A28. Publius Anteius Antiochos of Aigeai. Argos. Late 2nd century CE.

Editions and bibliography: Vollgraff, *BCH* 28 (1904) 421, n. 6; Vollgraff, *BCH* 29 (1905) 318, 576; Hiller von Gaertringen, *Hermes* 57.1 (1922); *FGrH* 747 T2; Robert, *BCH* 101 (1977) 120-132 (photo at 121) = 'Deux inscriptions de Tarse et d'Argos'; Robert, *BE* 91 (1978) n. 512; Bousquet, *REG* 95 (1982) 192; Boffo, 'Epigrafia di città greche' 30-31; Chaniotis, *Historie* 322-324 E38; Curty, *Le parentés légendaires* 13-15 n. 5; Charneux, *BCH* 115 (1991) 310 n. 80; Puech, *Orateurs et sophistes* 68-74 n. 10; *BNJ* 747 T2.

1. [-----]
2. [Αἰγειαί]ων τῶν ἐν Κιλικίαι ἀνανέωσις τᾶς
3. [παλαιᾶς π]ρὸς τὰν πόλιν συγγενήας.
4. [Ὁ δᾶμος τ]ῶν Ἀργείων καὶ ἁ βουλὰ καὶ οἱ σύνεδροι Αἰγειαίων
5. [τῶν ἐν Κιλι]κίαι τοῖς ἄρχουσι καὶ τᾷ βουλᾷ καὶ τῷ δάμῳ ν
6. [ἐαυτῶν συ]γγενέσι χαίρειν· Πόπλιος Ἄντειος Ἀντίοχος, ν
7. [πολίτας ὑμέ]τερος, γενόμενος ἐν τᾷ πόλει ἁμῶν περὶ πολλοῦ ἐποι-
8. [ήσατο ἀνανε]ώσασθαι τὰ τᾶς ὑμετέρας πόλιος δίκαια πρὸς τὰν ἁμε-
9. [τέραν καὶ ἐγ]γράψας στάλαι θεῖναι ἐν τῷ τοῦ Λυκείου Ἀπόλλωνος ἱε-
10. [ρῶι, ὅπερ καὶ] ἀδέως ἐπιτρέψαμεν αὐτῷ, διδαχθέντες ἐπιμελῶς
11. [περὶ τούτῳ]ν ἅμα δὲ καὶ ὁρῶντες καλὰν ἁμιλλὰν ἂν ὑπὲρ τᾶς ν
12. [πατρίδο]ς αὐτὸν φιλοτιμούμενον, ὅθεν βουλευτὰν τε
13. [αὐτὸν ἐποιη]σάμεθα καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς ἃς προσήκεν ἐψηφισάμεθα
14. [αὐτῷ τιμὰ]ς καλὸν ἀρετᾶς ὑπόμνημα νο<μ>ίζοντες εἶναι τὰν
15. [τῶν ἀγαθ]ῶν ἀνδρῶν τιμὰν· τᾶς δὲ στάλας τὸ ἀντίγραφον ἐ-
16. [πέμψαμεν] ὑμῖν τὸ ὑπογεγραμμένον· vacat
17. [Ἐπειδὴ Πόπλι]ος Ἄντειος Ἀντίοχος ἐπιδαμήσας ἁμῶν τᾷ πόλει κοσ-
18. [μίως καὶ φιλο]φρόνως ἔν τε τοῖς λοιποῖς ἐπεδείξατο τὰν ἰδίαν κα-
19. [λοκαγαθίαν κ]αὶ τὰν ἐν παιδείᾳ τελειότατα, οὐκ ἦκιστα δὲ ἐν τᾷ
20. [περὶ τὰν πατρί]δα σπουδᾷ τε καὶ διαθέσει, φανερὰν ἁμῖν ποιήσας
21. [τὰν ἐκ παλαι]οῦ(?) ὑπάρχουσιν ποτ' Αἰγειαίους ἁμῶν συγγένειαν· Περ-
22. [σέα γὰρ ἔφη τὸ]ν Δανάας ἐπὶ τᾶς Γοργόνας στελλόμενον εσ-
23. [. ἀφικ]έσθαι Κιλικίαν, ἅτις ἐστὶν τέρμα τᾶς πρὸς
24. [.] κακεῖ τὸ τᾶς πατρῴου κομίζοντα θεᾶς ἀφει-
25. [δρυμα] διὰ τὸ [μ]ηδέπω τὸν ἄθλον ἐκ-
26. [τελέσαι-----]

Notes: Stele of grey limestone, found in a Byzantine wall in the vicinity of the agora. 64 by 67 by 25 cm. Dating follows *BNJ*. The text is largely that of Chaniotis, although preferring the readings of Puech for 6, Bousquet for 13, Robert for 21. 1: The photograph provided by Robert 121 suggests traces of letters above the first clearly visible line; 6: [τοῖς συ]γγενέσι Robert, Curty, Chaniotis; 7: [ἤδη πρ]εσβύτερος Vollgraff; 7-8: ἐποι[εῖ]το ἀνανε[ώ]σασθαι Vollgraff; 11: [περὶ πάντῳ]ν Vollgraff; 12: [συγγενεί]ας Robert, [συγγενή]ας Curty; 13: [εἶναι ἐψηφ]ισάμεθα Vollgraff; προσήκεν follows Bousquet and Charneux, λοιπὰς ἃς πρόσθεν ἐψηφισάμεθα Vollgraff, Robert, Chaniotis; 14: [ἔχειν τιμὰ]ς Vollgraff, [-----τιμὰ]ς Robert, [αὐτῷ δωρεά]ς Puech; 14: καλὸν ὑπόμνημα Robert; 21: [τὰν ἐκ πατέρων ὑπάρχουσιν] Vollgraff, Chaniotis, [τὰν ἀπ' αἰώνος(?) ὑπάρχουσιν] Puech; 21: συγγένειαν Robert; 22-23: ἐσ[χάταν τε ἀφικ]έσθαι Vollgraff, ἐς [τὰν Πεδιάδα(?) ἀφικ]έσθαι Puech; 24: [ἀνατολὰς Ἀσίας] Vollgraff; 24-25: Robert and Puech omit θεᾶς; 25: [δρυμα τὸν δεῖναι]-----[μ]ηδέπω Vollgraff; 25-26: ἐκ[τελέσαντα(?)]-----] Vollgraff.

[-----] renewal of the [ancient] kinship between [Aigeai] in Kilikia and the city. [The assembly] council, and *synedroi* of the Argives to the archons, council and assembly of Aigeai in Kilikia, greetings. Publius Anteius Antiochos, [a citizen of yours], came to our city and strove with much effort [to recall] the just deeds done by your city to ours, and inscribing (these) on a stele placed it in the temple of Lykian Apollo, [a task which] we happily entrusted to him, and having been carefully instructed [in these matters], and at the same time seeing the noble labour by which he sought to bring distinction to his homeland, we thereupon made him a councillor and voted him all other fitting honours, thinking that the honour of good men would be a fine memorial of their virtue. A copy of the stele we have sent you as inscribed below:

[Since Publius] Anteius Antiochos conducted his stay at our city in an orderly and industrious manner, and in other matters displayed his fine and good nature, and the perfection of his cultivation, not least in his zeal for and disposition [towards his homeland], in making clear the kinship which has existed between us and the Argives [since antiquity. For he said that] Perseus son of Danaos, when he was dispatched against the Gorgons [-----] arrived in Kilikia, which is the limit of the [-----] and bringing there the statue of the goddess [-----] since he did not complete his task [-----]

A29. Publius Aelius Aelianus. Thyateira. 2nd century CE.

Editions and bibliography: Clerc, *BCH* 10 (1886) 420-421 n. 29; Keil and Premierstein, 'Bericht über eine Reise in Lydien' 22-24 n. 40; Chaniotis, *Historie* 352-353 E77.

1. [Ἐτείμ]η[σε]ν ἡ πατ[ρ]ὶς Π. Αἴλιον Αἰλιανὸν
2. [ἀν]αθέντα εἰς τὰ ὑπαιθρα τῶν γυμνασίω[ν]
3. τοὺς Ἡρακλέας καὶ εἰς τοῦ προπάτορος
4. Τυρμίνου τὰ περὶ τὸν Γανυμήδην καὶ εἰς]
5. τὸ τοῦ μακέλλου τὰ περὶ τὴν Δίρκην κα[ὶ]
6. εἰς τὸ προάτριον τοῦ μεγάλου γυμ[α]-
7. σίου τὰ περὶ τὸν Βελλεροφόντην,
8. καταλείψαντα τῇ ἱεροτάτῃ βουλῇ *,ςφ
9. πρὸς τὸ δίδοσθαι ἀπὸ τῶν τόκων αὐ-
10. τῶν ἐκάστῳ βουλευτῇ καὶ τετειμη-
11. μένῳ ἐν τῇ γενεθλίῳ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ
12. Αἰλιανοῦ κατ' ἔτος μη(νὸς) Ξανδικοῦ ιη' * ᾠ
13. ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀνδριάντος αὐτοῦ.

Notes: Statue-base of bluish marble, 58 by 78 by 82 cm. Dating and text follow Keil and Premierstein.

The fatherland [honoured] P(ublius) Aelius Aelianus for having dedicated in the open spaces of the gymnasium (the deeds of) Herakles, in the (shrine of) the ancestor Tyrimnos the myth of Ganymede, in the market those of Dirke, in the forecourt of the great gymnasium the deeds of Bellerophon; he also left behind to the most pious council six thousand five hundred denarii, to be given annually, at a rate of interest to the amount of one denarius to each councillor and *honoratus*, on the birthday of his son Aelianus on the eighteenth day of the month of Xandikos, before his statue.

A30. Tiberius Claudius Anteros. Labraunda. 2nd century CE.

Editions and bibliography: *I. Labraunda* 66 (with a photograph pl. 19); *BE* (1973) n. 414; Lewis, *CR* (1975) 327; Chaniotis, *Historie* 317-318 E25.

1. [-----δῆμοί[ο]υ].
2. [ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγ]ου βουλὴ καὶ
3. [ἡ βουλὴ τ]ῶν φ' καὶ ὁ δῆμ[ος]
4. [ὁ τῶ]ν Ἀθηναίων Τι. Κ[λ.]
5. Ἀντέρωτα γραμματικόν
6. ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα καὶ παι-
7. δεύσεως νέων ἐπὶ
8. ποικίλας ἐπιστήμας
9. εἰς μέγα τῶν πολλῶ[ν]
10. ὑπ' αὐτοῦ προαχθῆ[ν]-
11. των πολιτῶν τ[ε]
12. καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς
13. ξένης πολλα[χό]-
14. [[θ]]εν αὐτῶι σχο-
15. λασάντων, ὥς
16. καὶ τὰ παρ' ἑκάστ[α]
17. ψηφίσματα κατὰ
18. τὴν ἀξίαν αὐτῶ[ι]
19. μεμαρτύρηκεν,
20. καὶ ὅτι τὰ τῆς πα-
21. τρίδος καλὰ εἰς μ[έ]-
22. σους τοὺς Ἑλληνας[ς]
23. προήγαγεν διὰ τῶν
24. ἐπιχωρίων ἱστοριῶ[ν]
25. [ἐ]γδοξότερα ε<ῖ>ναι.

vacat

Notes: Stele found to the north-east of the temple to Zeus Labraundos. 1.115 by 28-35.5 by 22-25 cm. Dating follows Crampa, the text is that of Chaniotis. 1: δῆμος καὶ Crampa.

[-----] of the people. [The Areopagos] council, the council of the five hundred and the assembly [of the] Athenians (have honoured) Ti(berius) C(laudius) Anteros, a grammarian, on account of his virtue and education of the youth in many different kinds of knowledge, with the majority of the citizens and foreigners having gained great standing through their studies with him, as the particulars of the decrees passed in his favour have attested; he also brought to the attention of the Greeks the glories of his homeland, which he caused to be held in higher esteem through his native histories.

A31. Xenophon son of Aristos, from Samos. Samos. 2nd century CE.

Editions and bibliography: Schede, *MDAI* (A) 44 (1919) 43 n. 33; *IGR* IV 1731; *FGrH* 540a T1; Chaniotis, *Historie* 317 E24; Clarke, *Making Time* 339-340; *SEG* I.400.

1. ὁ δῆμος
2. Ξενοφῶντα Ἀρίστου
3. παῖδα, ἱστοριῶν συγγραφέα τέλειον,

4. Ἡρα.

Notes: Marble base. 52.5 by 66 by 77 cm. Dating and text follow Chaniotis.

The people have dedicated (a statue of) Xenophon, son of Aristos, who even as a child is an accomplished compiler of historical writings, to Hera.

A32. Publius Herenius Dexippos son of Ptolemaios. Athens. c. 269/270 CE.

Editions and bibliography: Froehner, *Inscriptions grecques* 220 n. 119; Kaibel, *Epigrammata graeca* 363 n. 878; *IG II²* 3669; *FGrH* 100 T4; Millar, *JRS* 59 (1969) 21; Chaniotis, *Historie* 325-326 E30; Puech, *Orateurs et sophistes* 220-225 n. 95; *BNJ* 100 T4; *SEG* 33.186; *SEG* 33.187; *SEG* 57.43.

1. κατὰ τὸ ἐπερώτημα τῆς ἐξ Ἀρίου πάγου βουλῆς καὶ
2. τῆς βουλῆς τῶν · ψν · καὶ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων τὸν
3. ἄρξαντα τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν θεσμοθέταις ἀρχὴν καὶ
4. ἄρξαντα τὴν ἐπώνυμον ἀρχὴν καὶ πανηγυριαρχήσαντα
5. καὶ ἀγωνοθετήσαντα τῶν μεγάλων Παναθηναίων οἴκο-
6. θεν ἱερέα παναγῇ · Πό · Ἑρέν · Δέξιππον Πτολεμαίου
7. Ἑρμείον τὸν ῥήτορα καὶ συγγραφέα ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα οἱ παῖδ[ες].
8. ἀλκῇ καὶ μύθοισι καὶ ἐν βουλαῖσι κρατίστους
9. ἄνδρας ἀγακλείτους γείνατο Κεκροπίη,
10. ὧν ἓνα καὶ Δέξιππον, ὃς ἱστορίην ἐσαθρήσας
11. αἰῶνος δολιχὴν ἀτρεκέως ἔφρασεν·
12. καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτὸς ἐπεῖδε, τὰ δ' ἐκ βύβλων ἀναλέξας
13. εὗρατο παντοίην ἱστορίης ἀτραπὸν.
14. ἧ μέγα κλεινὸς ἀνὴρ, ὃς νοῦ ἅπο μυρίον ὄμμα
15. ἐκτείνας χρονίους πρήξιας ἐξέμαθεν.
16. φήμη μὲν περὶ βωτος ἄν' Ἑλλάδα, τὴν ὃ νεανθής
17. αἶνος Δεξίππῳ δῶκεν ἐφ' ἱστορίῃ.
18. τοῦνεκα δὲ καὶ παῖδες ἀγάκλειτον γενετῆρα
19. μορφάεντα λίθου θῆκαν ἀμειβόμενοι.

Notes: Inscribed on a base once supporting a statue dedicated to Publius Herennius Dexippos, which had supported in the reign of Hadrian a statue of Quintus Alleius Epiktetos. 50 by 74 cm. Dating follows *BNJ*. The text is that of *IG II²* 3669.

At the request of the Areopagos council, the council of the seven hundred and fifty hundred and the assembly of the Athenians, his children (honour) the archon *basileus* among the *thesmothetai*, the eponymous archon, the organiser of the festival and the organiser of the games of the Greater Panathenaia at home, the most reverent priest, Pu(blius) Heren(nius) Dexippos son of Ptolemaios, of the deme of Hermos, the rhetor and author, on account of his virtue.

The land of Attika has begotten the greatest and most glorious men in battle, song, and counsel. One of these is Dexippos, who observed the long passage of time and described it with precision. Some events he witnessed himself, and others he selected from books, discovering all the turns of history. He is indeed a man of renown, who, extending from his mind his wide-ranging eye, scrutinised the deeds of time. His fame resounds throughout Greece, which fresh praise has granted Dexippos for his historical inquiry. On account of this his children have raised in reciprocation this stone likeness of their glorious father.

Class B

B1. Eukles son of Polygnotos, from Tenos. Delos. First half of 3rd century BCE.

Editions and bibliography: *IG* XI.4 573.

1. Εὐκλείους Τηνίου
2. ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ·
3. Τηλέμνηστος Χαρίλα εἶπεν·
4. ἐπειδὴ πρότερόν τε Εὐκλῆς
5. ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ὢν διατελεῖ περὶ τε
6. τὸ ἱερόν τε ἐν Δήλῳ καὶ Δηλίου[ς]
7. καὶ νῦν πᾶσαν ἐπιμέλειαν
8. ποιούμενος διατελεῖ πρὸς
9. τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας αὐτῷ
10. Δηλίων καὶ κοινεῖ τὸ ἱερόν
11. ἐγκωμιάζει οὐδ' ἂν ἀφίκηται· δε-
12. δόχθαι τῷ δήμῳ· ἐπαινέ-
13. σαι Εὐκλῆν τὸν υἱὸν τὸν Πολυ-
14. γνώτου ἀρετῆς ἔνεκεν καὶ εὐνοί-
15. ας τῆς περὶ τὸ ἱερόν καὶ τὸν δ[ῆ]-
16. [μον] τὸν Δηλίων καὶ εἶναι αὐτῷ
17. [ἀτέλεια]ν ἐν Δήλῳ καὶ αὐτῷ κα[ὶ]
18. [ἐκγόνοις καὶ τὰ ἄλ]λα πάντα
19. [ὅσα περ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις π]ροξένο[ις]
20. [καὶ εὐεργέταις-----].

Notes: Stele of white marble, with a decorated gable. Date and text follow *IG* XI.4 573.

Eukles the Tenian. The council and assembly have decided. Telemnestos son of Charilas spoke. Since Eukles, a good man, formerly accomplished much good for the temple of Delos and the Delians, and now continues to take every care of the Delians who meet him, and publicly praises the temple in encomia wherever he goes, the assembly has decided to praise Eukles the son of Polygnotos for his virtue and goodwill towards the temple and the Delian people. He and [his descendants] are to have [tax-immunity] in Delos [and] all other privileges [as are conferred on other] *proxenoi* [and benefactors---]

B2. Herakleitos of Chalkedon. Delos. Mid-3rd century BCE.

Editions and bibliography: Durrbach and Jardé, *BCH* 28 (1904) 285; Holleaux, *BCH* 31 (1907) 351; *IG* XI.4 618; Guarducci, 'Poeti vaganti' 635, 651 n. 10.

1. [Ἡ]ρακλείτου Καλχ[ηδονίου].
2. ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ κα[ὶ]
3. τῷ δήμῳ· Ἀναξιμένη[ς]
4. Ἑγησαγόρου εἶπεν· ἐπε[ὶ]-
5. [δὴ Ἡ]ράκλει[τος] [ἀγα]θὸς [ὢν]
6. ἀνὴρ διατελεῖ περὶ τὸ ἱε-
7. ρὸν καὶ τὴν πόλιν τὴν Δηλ[ί]-

8. ὦν, ἀναγνώσεις τε τῶι θε[ῶι]
9. ποιούμενος καὶ ἰδίαι τοῖς [ἐν]-
10. τυγχάνουσι τῶν πολιτῶ[ν]
11. χρείας παρεχόμενος· δε[δόχ]-
12. θαι τῶι δήμῳ· εἶναι Ἡρόκ[λει]-
13. τον [-----] ρου Καλχ[ηδ]όνιον [-----]

Notes: Stele of white marble, broken at the top and bottom. Dating and text follow *IG* XI.4 618. 13: Guarducci proposes ἄρου or [ἀν]δρου as possible restorations of the patronymic, reading the top edges of the letter visible before the P in Couve's text as an A or Δ.

Herakleitos of Chalkedon. The council and assembly decided. Anaximenes son of Hegesagoras spoke. Since Herakleitos, [being] a good man has continued to do good towards the temple and city of the Delians, making readings to the god and supplying the needs of those of the citizens who meet him from his own means, the assembly has decided that Herakleitos [(son of)---], the Chalkedonian [-----]

B3. Demokrates son of Philokles, from Athens. Oropos. Second half of 3rd century BCE.

Editions and bibliography: *I.Oropos* 63; *SEG* 15.274.

1. [Μ]ενεκράτης Ἀθηνάδου εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ
2. Δημοκράτης ὁ ποιητὴς εὖνους ἐστὶ καὶ χρήσιμος
3. τεῖ πόλει καὶ τὸν θεὸν προαιρεῖται ἐνκωμιάζειν
4. διὰ ποιμάτων, δεδόχθαι τῶι δήμῳ· Δημοκράτην
5. Φιλοκλέους Ἀθηναῖον πρόξενον εἶναι καὶ εὐεργέτην
6. τῆς πόλεως Ὠρωπίων καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐγγόνους αὐτοῦ
7. καὶ εἶναι αὐτοῖς γῆς καὶ οἰκίας ἔνκτησιν καὶ ἀσφάλειαν
8. καὶ ἀσυλίαν καὶ πολέμου καὶ εἰρήνης καὶ τὰλλα πάν-
9. τα καθάπερ τοῖς ἄλλοις προξένοις καὶ εὐεργέταις.

Notes: Inscribed on a statue-base of white marble containing four other proxeny decrees below (*SEG* 15.275, 276, 277, 278, 279), and a fourth-century dedication (*SEG* 15.284). Dating and text follow Petrakos.

Menekrates son of Athenadas spoke. Since Demokrates the poet, being goodwilled and useful to the city and chosen to praise the god in verse encomia, the assembly has decided that Demokrates the son of Philokles, the Athenian, is to be a *proxenos* and benefactor of the city of the Oropians, as are his descendants. They are to obtain the right to own land and a house, security and inviolability in war and peace, and all other privileges as are granted to other *proxenoi* and benefactors.

B4. Nikandros son of Anaxagoras, of Kolophon. Delphi. 250/249 BCE

Editions and bibliography: Haussollier, *BCH* 6 (1882) 217-219 n. 50; Michel, *Recueil d'inscriptions grecques* 218 n. 274; *SGDI* II.2 2653; *Syll.*³ 452; Guarducci, 'Poeti vaganti' 631-632, 648 n. 2; Chaniotis, *Historie* 335-337 E54; *BNJ* 271-272 T1; Jacquemin, Mulliez, and Rougemont, *Choix d'inscriptions de Delphes* 223 n. 122.

1. Ἀγαθᾶι τύχαι. Δελφοὶ ἔδωκαν Νικάνδρῳ
2. Ἀναξαγόρου Κολοφωνίῳ, ἐπέων ποιητᾷ, αὐ-
3. τῶι καὶ ἐγγόνις προξενίαν, προμαντείαν,
4. ἀσυλίαν, προδικίαν, ἀτέλειαν πάντων, προε-

5. δρίαν ἐν πάντεσ(σ)ι τοῖς ἀγώνοις οἷς ἡ πόλις τί-
6. θητι, καὶ τὰλλα ὅσα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις προξένοις καὶ
7. εὐεργέταις τὰς πόλιος τῶν Δελφῶν. ἄρχοντος
8. Νικοδάμου, βουλευόντων Ἀρίστωνος, Νικοδάμου, Πλεί-
9. στωνος, Ξένωνος, Ἐπιχαρίδα.

Notes: Inscribed on a stone base along the Sacred Way. Date and text follow Jacquemin, Mulliez, and Rougemont. There may be some connection with a poet Nikandros, also from Kolophon, to whom the *Alexipharmaka* and *Theriaka*, still extant, are attributed by the *Suda* (BNJ 271-272 T3); he lived under Attalos III, however, and therefore too late for this honorand. There are also fragments of historical poems attributed to a Nikandros (*Aetolika*, *Oitaika*, *Thebaika*, *Sikelia*, *Europia*) which may have concerned our author; concerning any such literary accomplishments, nonetheless, the inscription is silent.

With good fortune. The Delphians conferred on Nikandros son of Anaxagoras, the Kolophonian, an epic poet, and his descendants the status of *proxenos*, the right of priority in oracular consultation, inviolability, the right of legal defense, exemption from all public burdens, the right to priority seating at all the games which the city conducts, and the other privileges as are conferred on other *proxenoi* and benefactors of the city of Delphi. Nikodamos was the archon, Ariston, Nikodamos, Pleiston, Xenon, Epicharidas were in council.

B5. Kleandros son of Apollophanes, from Kolophon. Delphi. c. 245 BCE.

Editions and bibliography: *Syll.*³ 449; *SGDI* II.2 2741; Couve, *BCH* 18 (1894) 269-270 n. 6; *FD* III.2 75; Guarducci, 'Poeti vaganti' 631, 648 n. 1.

1. Δελφοὶ ἔδωκαν Κλεάνδρῳ Ἀπολλοφάνου Κολοφονίῳ, ἐπὼν ποιητῇ, αὐτῷ καὶ
2. ἐγγόνοις, προξενίαν, προμαντείαν, προεδρίαν, προδικίαν, ἀσυλίαν, ἀ-
3. τέλειαν πάντων, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις προξένοις καὶ εὐ-
4. εργέταις. ἄρχοντος Εὐθύωνος, βουλευόντων Κλέωνος, Κράτωνος,
5. Πάσωνος.

Notes: Inscribed on the wall of the Treasury of the Athenians. Date and text follow *FD* III.2 75.

The Delphians conferred on Kleandros son of Apollophanes, the Kolophonian, an epic poet, and his descendants the status of *proxenos*, the right of priority in oracular consultation, the right of legal defense, inviolability, exemption from all public burdens, and the other privileges as are conferred on other *proxenoi* and benefactors. Euthyon was the archon, Kleon, Kraton, Pason were in council.

B6. Eratoxenos of Athens. Delphi. c. 227 BCE.

Editions and bibliography: *Syll.*³ 451; *FD* III.2 158; Guarducci, 'Poeti vaganti' 632, 648 n. 3.

1. [θε]οί.
2. [Δελφοὶ ἔδωκα]ν Ἐρατοξένῳ Στρα-
3. [το Ἀθ]ηναίῳ, ποιητῇ ἐπὼν,
4. [φυλῆς Λεων]τίδος, δήμου Ἐκαλήθεν,
5. [αὐτῷ καὶ ἐ]γγόνοις, προξενίαν, προ-
6. [μαντεί]αν, προεδρίαν, προδικίαν, ἀ-

7. [συλίαν], ἀτέλειαν πάντων, καὶ τᾶλ-
8. [λ]α ὅσα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις προξένοις καὶ
9. εὐεργ[έ]ταις. ἄρχοντος Νικάρχου,
10. βουλευόντων Πραξία, Νικάνδρου,
11. Ἀρχιάδα.

Notes: Inscribed on a cippus, found in the terrace of the Treasury of the Athenians, containing three other decrees (*FD* III.2 159, 160, 161). Date and text follow *FD* III.2 158.

Gods. [The Delphians conferred on] Eratoxenos son of Stra[to-----] the Athenian, an epic poet, [of the] Leontid [tribe], the deme of Hekale, and his descendants the status of *proxenoi*, the right of priority in oracular consultation, the right of priority seating, the right of legal defense, inviolability, exemption from all public burdens, and the other privileges as are conferred on other *proxenoi* and benefactors. Nikarchos was the archon, Praxias, Nikandros, Archiadidas were in council.

B7. Kleochores son of Bion, from Athens. Delphi. 230-225 BCE.

Editions and bibliography: Couve, *BCH* 18 (1894) 71 n. 1; *SGDI* II.2 2722; Michel, *Recueil d'inscriptions grecques* 209-210 n. 259; *Syll.*³ 450; *FD* III.2 78; Guarducci, 'Poeti vaganti' 633-634, 649-650 n. 7.

1. [θ]εο[ί].
2. ἔδοξε τᾷ πόλει τῶν Δελφῶν ἐν ἀγορᾷ τελείῳ<ι>, σὺμ ψάφοις τ[αῖς ἐ]ννόμοις. ἐπειδὴ Κλε[οχ]άρχης Βίωνος
3. Ἀθηναῖος, φυλῆς Ἀκαμαντίδος, δήμου Κικυν<ν>έως, ποιητῆς μελῶν, ἐπιδαμήσας εἰς τὴν πόλιν, γέγραφε τῷ
4. θεῷ ποθόδιον τε καὶ παιᾶνα καὶ ὕμνον, ὅπως αἰδωντι οἱ παῖδες τᾷ θυσίαι τῶν Θεοξενίων· ἀγαθὰ τύχαι, δεδόχθαι
5. τᾷ πόλει τὸν μὲν χοροδιδάσκαλον τὸν κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν γινόμενον διδάσκειν τοὺς παῖδας τό τε ποθόδιον καὶ τὸν παι-
6. ᾶνα καὶ τὸν ὕμνον, καὶ εἰσάγειν τοῖς Θεοξενίοις· ὅπως δὲ καὶ ἡ πόλις φαίνεται τιμῶσα τοὺς ἄξιόν τι τοῦ θεοῦ γράφοντας,
7. ἐπαινέσαι Κλεοχάρη Βίωνος Ἀθηναῖον ἐπὶ τε τᾷ ποτὶ τὸν θεὸν εὐσεβεῖαι καὶ ὅτι εὖνους ἐστὶ τᾷ πόλει. καὶ στεφανῶ-
8. σαι αὐτὸν δάφνας στεφάνῳ, καθὼς πάτριόν ἐστι Δελφοῖς· εἶμεν δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ πρόξενον τῆς πόλιος, καὶ ὑπάρχειν
9. αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκγόνοις προμαντεῖαν, προεδρίαν, προδικίαν, ἀσυλίαν, ἀτέλειαν πάντων, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα καὶ τοῖς ἄλ-
10. λοις προξένοις καὶ εὐεργέταις τῆς πόλιος. ἄρχοντος Πατρώνδα, βουλευόντων Λύσωνος, Νικία, Δίωνος, Γνωσίλα, Εὐθυδίκου.

Notes: Block of white marble found in the treasury of the Athenians. Dating and text follow *FD* III.2 78.

Gods. The city of Delphi decided at a plenary session of the assembly, with lawful votes. Since Kleochores son of Bion, the Athenian, of the Akamantid tribe, the deme Kikynna, a lyric poet, visited our city and has composed a song, paeon, and hymn for the god for the youths to sing at the sacrifice of the Theoxenia, with good fortune, the city has decided that there shall be a chorus-trainer to teach the youths the song, paeon and hymn, and lead them at the Theoxenia held each year hence. In order that the city may be seen honouring those who write worthily of the god, (it has decided) to praise Kleochores son of Bion, the Athenian for his piety towards the god and for being goodwilled towards the city. He is to be praised wit a

crown of laurel, as is the custom at Delphi. He is to be a *proxenos* of the city, and is to obtain along with his descendants the right of priority in oracular consultation, the right to priority sitting, the right to legal defense, inviolability, exemption from all public burdens, and all other privileges as are enjoyed by other *proxenoi* and benefactors of the city. Patroondas was the archon, Lyson, Nikias, Dion, Gnosilas, and Euthydikos were in council.

B8. Alkinoe of Thronion. Tenos. 3rd century BCE.

Editions and bibliography: Demoulin, *BCH* 26 (1902) 427 n. 21; *IG* XII.5 812; Demoulin, *Le musée belge: revue de philologie classique* 9 (1905) 84; Graindor, *Le musée belge: revue de philologie classique* 11 (1907) 46; Robert, *RA* 24 (1926) 173 n. 1; Guarducci, 'Poeti vaganti' 640, 656-657 n. 18; Bouvier, *ZPE* 40 (1980) 36-38; Robert, *BE* 94 (1981) n. 362.

1. [ἔδοξεν τεῖ βουλευεῖ καὶ τῶι] δήμῳ, Πατροκλῆς
2. [ἐπεστάτει, {ὁ δεῖνα} Φ]αύλλου εἶπεν· ἐ[πει]-
3. [δὴ Ἀλκινόη {τοῦ δεῖνος} Αἰ]τώλ[ι]σσα ἡ
4. [ποιήτρια παραγενομένη εἰς τὴν] πόλιν
5. [ἡμῶν ὕμνον γέγραφε Διὶ καὶ Ποσειδῶ]-
6. [νι καὶ Ἀμφιτρίτει τοῖς κατέχουσι θεοῖς]
7. [τὴν τε χώραν καὶ τὴν πόλιν τὴν] ἡμετέραν[ν],
8. [τὴν τε ἐνδημίαν πεποιήται φιλο]τίμως, ἀξίως
9. [τῆς τῶν Θρονιέων πόλεως], τύχει τῇ ἀγαθεῖ,
10. [δεδόχθαι τῶι δήμῳ· ἐπαιν]έσαι Ἀλκινόην
11. [{τοῦ δεῖνος} Αἰτώλισσαν] ἀ[π]ὸ Θρονίου καὶ σ[τε]-
12. [φανῶσαι αὐτὴν θαλ]λοῦ στεφάνῳι ἄρε-
13. [τῆς ἔνεκεν καὶ εὐνοί]ας τῆς εἰς τὴν πό-
14. [λιν, καὶ ἀναγορεῦσαι τ]ὸν στέφανον τὸν [ἄρ]-
15. [χοντα τὴν στεφανφόρον ἀρχὴν -----]

Notes: Fragment of a white marble stele. 18 by 14 by 6 cm. Dating follows Guarducci. The text is that of *IG* XII.5 812. 2: [ἐπεστάτει Φ]αύλλου Bouvier; 3: [δὴ Ἀλκινόη Αἰ]τώλ[ι]σσα Bouvier, [δὴ Ἀλκινόη Δημητρίου Αἰ]τώλ[ι]σσα Demoulin in *Le Musée belge* 9 (1905) 84, who conjectures that Alkinoe is identifiable with the Alkinoe daughter of Demetrios as known from Michel, *Recueil* 287 l. 5, see also 11; 3-4: ἡ [ἀπὸ Θρονίου παραγενομένη] Graindor; 4: [. παραγενομένη εἰς Bouvier, [διατελεῖ φιλοτιμουμένη πρὸς τὴν] πόλιν [τὴν] Demoulin; 5: [ἡμῶν] τῶ Bouvier, [ἡμετέραν καὶ τὴν θυσίαν ἐτέλεσεν] τῶι Ποσειδῶ Demoulin; 6-7: [τὰ τε ἄλλα περὶ τὴν χώραν τὴν] ἡμετέραν Demoulin; 7: ἡμετέραν [.], Bouvier; 8: [.]τίμως Bouvier, [καὶ ἐπιδείξεις ἐποιήσατο φιλο]τίμως Robert *RA*, [ἐπεμελήθη καλῶς καὶ φιλο]τίμως Demoulin; 8-9: [αὐτῆς καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν. Τ]ύχει Bouvier; 9: [ιδίᾳς πατρὶδος διακειμένη. Τ]ύχει Demoulin; 10-11: [.] Αἰτώλισσαν ἀπ]ὸ Bouvier; 11: [Δημητρίου Αἰτώλισσαν ἀπ]ὸ Demoulin in *Le Musée belge* 9 (1905) 84; 12: [φανῶσαι αὐτὴν τῶι ἐκ τοῦ νό]μοι στεφάνῳι Demoulin; 13: καὶ φιλοτιμί]ας Demoulin.

[The council and] people [decided]. Patrokles [was president, -----] son of Phaullos proposed. [Since Alkinoe the daughter of -----] the Aitolian, [the poetess, presented herself at our] city [and wrote a hymn to Zeus] and Poseidon, [Amphitrite and the] gods occupying [this land and] our [city, and conducted her sojourn in a dist]inguished way, worthy [of the city of the Thronians], with good fortune, [the assembly has decided to praise] Alkinoe [the daughter of -----, the Aitolian] from Thronion, and garland [her with a] crown of [olive] on account of her virtue [and goodwill] towards the city; the crown [is to be announced by the archon bearing the crown [-----]]

B9. Ion son of Menippos, from Chios. Chios. 3rd century BCE.

Editions and bibliography: Bosnakis and Hallof, *Chiron* 33 (2003) 204 n. 1.

1. ἔδοξε [τ]ῷ βουλῷ
2. καὶ τῷ [ἐ]κκλησίᾳ,
3. γνῶμ[α] προστατῶν·
4. ἐπειδ[ὴ] Ἰων Μενίπ-
5. που Χ[ίος] εὐλογεῖ
6. [-----] ἐμ προήσῃ
7. [-----]

Notes: Opening section of a stele in two fragments, 31 by 28 by 4.5 cm. Dating and text follow that of Bosnakis and Hallof; photograph of text in Bosnakis and Hallof 246.

It was decided by the council and assembly. Resolution of the president. Since Ion son of Menippos, the Chian, praised [-----] in his poem [-----]

B10. Theopompos son of Histiaios (?), from Megalopolis. Delphi. Late 3rd century or 199/198 BCE.

Editions and bibliography: *FD III.4* 145.

1. [θε]ο[ί].
2. [ἔδοξε τῷ πόλει τ]ῶν Δελ[φῶν ἐν] ἀγορᾷ τελείῳ σὺν [ψάφοις] ταῖς ἐννόμοις·
3. [δεδόσθαι] Θε[οπ]όνπῳ Ἰστ[ιαίου? Ἀ]ρκάδι ἀπὸ Μεγάλας Πόλιος, ἐπέων ποιητῇ,
4. [αὐτῷ κ]αὶ ἐγγόνις προξ[ενίαν, π]ρομαντείαν, προεδρίαν, ἀτέλειαν
5. [πά]ντων καὶ τᾶλλα ὅσα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις προξένοις καὶ εὐεργέταις.
6. [ἄ]ρχοντος Ὑβρία, βουλευόντων Πεισιστράτου, Εὐχαρίδα, Ἥρῳος,
7. Ἀρχελάου, Κλευκράτεος.

Notes: Stone found in the Roman agora. Dating and text follow *FD III.4* 145. 3: Ἰστ[ιαίου?] or Ἰστ[ιαιέος?] *FD III.4* 145.

Gods. [The city] of Delphi [decided] at a plenary session of the assembly, with lawful [votes] [to confer on] Theopompos son of [Histiaios?], the Arkadian from Megalopolis, an epic poet, and his descendants the status of *proxenos*, the right of priority in oracular consultation, exemption from all public burdens, and the other privileges as are conferred on other *proxenoi* and benefactors. Hybrias was the archon, Peisistratos, Eucharidas, Herys, Archelaos, Kleukrates were in council.

B11. Anonymous (Athenian?). Tenos. Early 2nd century BCE.

Editions and bibliography: Demoulin, *BCH* 26 (1902) 431 n. 25; *IG XII.5* 813; Guarducci, 'Poeti vaganti' 634, 650 n. 7*.

- [ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ -----]
[-----ἐπειδὴ {ὁ δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνος}-----]
1. [ναῖος πρότερον μὲν ὕμνον πεποίη(?)]ξε[ν] τῷ [τ]ε
 2. [Ποσειδῶνι καὶ τεῖ Ἀμφιτρ]ίτει τοῖς κατέχο[υ]-
 3. [σι θεοῖς τὴν τε πόλιν καὶ τὴν] χώραν τὴν ἡμετέραν

4. [τὴν τε ἐνδημίαν πεποίηται] φιλοτίμως, ἀξίως τῆς
5. [-----ναίων πόλεως, δια]τελεῖ δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὑ[ῶ]ν
6. [χρόνοις εὐεργετῶν τὸν] δῆμον τὸν Τηνίων, περὶ δὴ
7. [τούτων, ἀγαθεῖ τύχει, δεδ]όχθαι τῷ δήμῳ· ἐπαινέσα[ι]
8. [{τὸν δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνος}]γαῖον καὶ στεφανῶσαι αὐ-
9. [τὸν θαλλοῦ στεφάνῳ ἄρε]τῆς ἔνεκεν καὶ φιλοτιμίας
10. [τῆς εἰς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ ἀναγ]ορεῦσαι αὐτῷ [τ]ὸν στέφαν[ον]
11. [τὸν ἄρχοντα τὴν στεφαν]ηφόρον ἀρχὴν ἐν τε τῷ ἱερ[ῶ]ι
12. [τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος καὶ τῆς Ἀ]μφιτρίτης, ὅταν τὴν θυσί[αν]
13. [καὶ τὴν πανήγυριν συντελή]ι ὁ δῆμος τοῖς θεοῖς, καὶ ἐν τῷ[ι]
14. [θεάτρῳ Ποσιδείων καὶ Διον]υσίων τῷ ἀγῶνι τῶν τρα[α]-
15. [γωιδῶν· εἶναι δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἐκ]γόνους προξέν[ους καὶ]
16. [εὐεργέτας τῆς πόλεως τῆς Τηνίων-----]

Notes: Block of bluish marble, found at north-eastern corner of the temple of Poseidon. 20 by 18 by 7 cm. Dating follows Guarducci. The text is that of *IG XII.5* 813. 1: [τὴν θυσίαν ἐτέλεσε εὐσεβῶς] τῷ Demoulin; 3: [θεοῖς, τά τε ἄλλα περὶ τὴν] χώραν Demoulin; 4: [ἐπεμελήθη καλῶς καὶ] φιλοτίμως Demoulin; 5: [ἰδίας πατρὶδος διακείμενος, δια]τελεῖ Demoulin; 5-6: τοῖς λοι[ποῖς] χρεῖας παρεχόμενος τῷ[ι] δῆμον Demoulin; 6: [τῷ]ι δήμῳ Τηνίων Demoulin. 8: [. . .]γαῖον may suggest [Ἀθη]γαῖον, as Guarducci suspects (era, a quanto sembra, un ateniese).

[The council and assembly decided -----]. Since ----- formerly made a hymn] to [Poseidon and Amphitrite] and the [gods] occupying [the city and our] land, and [conducted his sojourn] in a distinguished manner, worthy of [----- the city], continuing even [now to do good deeds to the] assembly of the Tenians; for which reason, [with good fortune] the assembly has decided to praise [-----] and to crown him [with a crown of olive] on account of his [virtue] and zeal with regards to the city, and that the [archon entrusted with bearing the crown] is to announce the awarding of this crown in the temple [of Poseidon and] Amphitrite, whensoever the assembly [has completed] the sacrifice and [the festival] to the gods, and in the [theatre] at the tragic] contests at the [Poseideia and Dionysia. He and his] descendants are to be *proxenoi* and [benefactors of the city of the Tenians -----].

B12. Themistokles son of Aeschylus, from Ilion. Xanthos. 196 BCE.

Editions and bibliography: Robert, *Fouilles d'Amyzon* I.154-163, n. 15b; Robert, *BE* 97 (1984) n. 447; Chaniotis, *Historie* 305-306 E12; Curty, *Les parentés* 192-193; Ma, *Antiochos III* 324-325 n. 23; *SEG* 33.1184; *SEG* 37.1232.

1. Βασιλευόντων Ἀντιόχου καὶ Ἀντιό[χου]
2. τοῦ υἱοῦ, (ἔτους) ζιγ', μηνός Ὑπερβερεταίου·
3. ἐπ' ἀχιερέως Νικάνορος, ἐν δὲ Ξάνθ[ῳ]
4. ἐφ' ἱερέως τῷ μὲν βασιλέων Γρασί[ῳ]-
5. [ν]ος τοῦ Νικοστράτου, προπόλεως δὲ
6. Τληπολέμου τοῦ Ἀρταπάτου· ἐκκλη-
7. σίας οὔσης κυρίας, ἔδοξεν Ξανθίων
8. τῇ πόλει καὶ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν· ἐπειδὴ
9. Θεμιστοκλῆς Αἰσχύλου Ἰλιεύς παρα-
10. γενόμενος εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν ἀποδεί-
11. ξεις πεπόηται τῶν ῥητορικῶν λόγων
12. ἐν αἷς εὐδοκίμηκεν ἐπὶ πλέον, παρεπι-
13. δεδήμηκεν τε χρόνον οὐκ ὀλιον, ἀνέγ-
14. κλητος γεγινώς καὶ τῆς ὑπαρχούσης

15. ἡμῖν πρὸς Ἰλιεῖς συγγενείας ἄξιος·
16. δεδόχθαι· ἐπαινέσαι Θεμιστοκλῆν
17. Αἰσχύλου Ἰλιέα, ἄνδρα καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν
18. γεγονότα ἐν τῇ παρεπιδημίᾳ
19. καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς εὖνοικῶς διακείμενον·
20. τιμῆσαι δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ δραχμαῖς
21. τετρακοσίαις· ἵνα δὲ καὶ τοῖς τιμωμένοις
22. ἱλικρινῇ καὶ βεβαίαν τὴν χάριν ἀπο-
23. νέμοντες φαινώμεθα, ἀναγγραψάτωσαν
24. οἱ ἄρχοντες τὸ ψήφισμα τόδε
25. [εἰς] στήλας λιθίνας δύο καὶ τέθωσαν
26. [τῇ μὲν] μίαν εἰς τὸν ἐπιφανέστα-
27. [τον τό]πον ἐν τῷ τῆς Λητοῦς ἱερῷ.
28. [τὴν δὲ ἄλ]λην ἀποστειλάτωσαν
29. [εἰς Ἰλιον ἵνα] τεθῇ ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἰλιάδος
30. [Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερῷ] παρὰ τὰς εἰκόνας
31. [τοῦ Θεμιστοκλ]εῖους πατρὸς Αἰσχύλου

Notes: Inscribed on a small stele (82.5 by 36 by 12.5 cm), once part of a block containing other decrees. The dating and text follow Robert, *Fouilles d'Ambron* I.154-163, n. 15b.

In the reign of kings Antiochos and his son Antiochos, in the year 117, in the month of Hyperberetaios. Nikanor was the high-priest. At Xanthos Grasion son of Nikostratos was the priest of the kings, and Tlepolemos son of Artapatos was the *propolis*. At a meeting of the sovereign assembly, the city and archons of the Xanthians decided. Since Themistokles son of Aeschylos, the Ilian, presented himself before our city and made many recitals of rhetorical speeches in which he greatly distinguished himself, and remained in the city for a reasonable amount of time, having been irreproachable and worthy of the kinship existing between us and the Ilians, it has been decided that Themistokles son of Aeschylos, the Ilian, be praised, having been a fine and good man in the course of his sojourn and well disposed towards us. He is to be honoured with four hundred drachmas. In order that we may be seen to acknowledge our pure and firm gratitude to those who are honoured, the archons are to engrave this resolution [on] two stone stelae and raise one in the most conspicuous location in the temple of Leto. [The] other is to be sent [to Ilion, in order that] it may be raised in the [temple of] Ilian [Athena] alongside the statues of Aeschylos, the father [of Themistokles].

B13. Amphikles son of Philoxenos, from Delos. Oropos (a) and Delos (b). Mid 2nd century BCE.

a) Mid 2nd century BCE

Editions and bibliography: Fougères, *BCH* 13 (1889) 248; *IG* VII 373; Michel, *Recueil d'inscriptions grecques* 185-186 n. 206; Guarducci, 'Poeti vaganti' 635-636, 652 11*; Petrakos, 'Ὁ Ὠρωπὸς καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου' 175-176. n. 38; Chaniotis, *Historie* 349-350 E72.

1. Δημήτριος Μνασίλλου εἶπεν· προβεβουλευμένον εἶναι αὐτῷ πρὸς τῇ[ν βουλὴν]
2. καὶ τὸν δῆμον. ἐπειδὴ Ἀμφικλῆς Φιλοξένου Δήλιος εὖνους ὦν διατελεῖ τεῖ τε πόλ[ει]
3. καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν τοῖς ἀεὶ δεομένοις χρείας παρέχεται ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ καὶ λέ[γων καὶ]

4. πράττων τὰ συμπέροντα, ἐπιδημήσας τε παρ' ἡμῖν ἀκροάσεις καὶ πλείους πεπόηται, δ[εδόχθαι]
5. τεῖ βουλευῖ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ, Ἀμφικλῆν Φιλοξένου Δήλιον ἐπαινέσαι ἐπὶ τε τεῖ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν εὐνοίαι(?)]
6. καὶ ταῖς ἀκροάσεσιν καὶ ἐπὶ τεῖ ἀναστροφῇ· εἶναι δ' αὐτὸν πρόξενον καὶ εὐεργέτην τ[ῆς πόλεως]
7. Ὠρωπίων καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐκγόνους, καὶ εἶναι αὐτοῖς γῆς καὶ οἰκίας ἔγκτησιν καὶ ἰσοτέ[λειαν]
8. καὶ ἀσυλίαν καὶ πολέμου ὄντος καὶ εἰρήνης, καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα ὑπάρχειν αὐτοῖς καθά[περ τοῖς]
9. ἄλλοις προξένοις καὶ εὐεργέταις τῆς πόλεως γέγραπται.

Notes: Marble block found in the Amphiaraiion at Oropos. Dating follows Guarducci. The text is that of Fougères.

Demetrios son of Mnasillos spoke. It was proposed by him to the [council] and assembly. Since Amphikles son of Philoxenos, the Delian, being of good intention continues to manifest this towards the city by providing, with all promptness, for the needs of those citizens who stood until now in need, speaking [and] doing things that were profitable, and sojourning with us he has made many public readings, the council and assembly has [decided] to praise Amphikles son of Philoxenos the Delian for the [goodwill] he has shown towards the city, for his public readings, and for his conduct. He and his descendants are to be *proxenoi* and benefactors of [the city] of the Oropians, and they are also to possess the right to own land and a house, equality in tax, inviolability, in war and peace, and all such other privileges as it is written up for other *proxenoi* and benefactors of the city to enjoy.

b) 165/164 BCE

Editions and bibliography: Homolle, *BCH* 10 (1886) 35-36 n. 19; Fougères, *BCH* 13 (1889) 244 n. 12; Michel, *Recueil d'inscriptions grecques* 162-163 n. 162; Durrbach, *Choix d'inscriptions* 121-123 n. 78; Guarducci, 'Poeti vaganti' 635, 651-651, n. 11; *I.Délös* 1497; Chaniotis, *Historie* 349-350 E72.

1. ἐπὶ Πέλοπος ἄρχοντος, Γαμη-
2. λιῶνος ἔκτει μετ' εἰκάδας,
3. ἐκκλησία κυρία ἐν τῷ ἐκκλη-
4. σιαστηρίῳ, Ἀγαθοκλῆς Ἀπολλο-
5. δώρου Παιανιεὺς εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ
6. Ἀμφικλῆς, μουσικὸς καὶ μελῶν
7. ποιητής, ἀκροάσεις καὶ πλείους
8. ἐποίησατο καὶ προσόδιον γράψας
9. ἐμμελὲς εἰς τὴν πόλιν τοὺς τε
10. θεοὺς τοὺς τὴν νῆσον κατέχοντας
11. καὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων
12. ὕμνησεν, ἐδίδασκεν δὲ καὶ τοὺς τῶν
13. πολιτῶν παῖδας πρὸς λύραν τὸ
14. μέλος αἰδεῖν, ὁξίως τῆς τε τῶν θεῶν
15. τιμῆς καὶ τοῦ Ἀθηναίων δήμου,
16. ἐπαγγέλλεται δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν
17. εὖχρηστον ἑαυτὸν παρὰ σκευάζ[ειν]
18. καθότι ἂν ᾖ δυνατός· ὅπως οὖν καὶ ἡ
19. βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων τῶν

20. ἐν Δήλῳ κατοικούντων φαίνονται
21. τιμώντες τοὺς ἀξίους· ἀγαθεῖ τύχει·
22. δεδόχθαι τεῖ βουλευῖ τοῦ[ς] λαχόντας]
23. προέδρους εἰς τὴν ἐ[πι]οῦσαν ἐκκλη[σί]α[ν]
24. [χορηματίσ]αι περὶ τούτων, γνώμην δὲ
25. [ξ]υμβάλλεσθαι τῆς βουλῆς εἰς τὸν
26. δῆμον ὅτι δοκεῖ τεῖ βουλευῖ ἐπαινέσαι
27. τε Ἀμφικλῆν Φιλοξένου Ῥηναέα ἐπὶ
28. τε τεῖ εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσεβεῖαι
29. καὶ τεῖ εἰς τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων
30. εὐνοίαι καὶ στεφανῶσαι αὐτὸν δάφνης
31. στεφάνῳ· ἀποστεῖλαι δ' αὐτῷ καὶ
32. ξένιον· καλέσαι δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ εἰς τὸ
33. πρυτανεῖον ἐπὶ τὴν κοινὴν ἐστίαν·
34. ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε <τὸ> ψήφισμα
35. εἰς στήλην λιθίνην καὶ στήσαι ἐν
36. τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος.

Notes: Two fragments of a stele of white marble, decorated with a level band across the top. Fragments discovered in the portico of the horns and the temenos of Artemis. Dating follows Durrbach. The text is that of *ID* 1497.

In the archonship of Pelops, in the twenty-sixth day of Gamelion, at a session of the sovereign assembly in the assembly-house, Agathokles son of Apollodoros, the Paianian, spoke. Since Amphikles, a musician and lyric poet, made many public performances and composed and sang a lyric hymn regarding the city, the gods inhabiting the island, and the Athenian people, instructed the citizen youth in playing these lyric tunes in a manner worthy of the honour of the gods and the Athenian people, and in other respects disposed himself for service in whatever way he could; in order that the council and assembly of the Athenians residing at Delos be seen to honour worthy men, with good fortune, the council has decided that the *proedroi* designated for the next assembly discuss these matters and submit the resolution of the council to the assembly, namely that the council has decided to praise Amphikles son of Philoxenos, of Rheneia, on account of his piety towards the gods and goodwill towards the Athenian people, and that he is to be crowned with a crown of laurel. He is to be sent a gift of hospitality, and called to the common table in the *prytaneion*. This resolution is to be written up on a stone stele and placed in the temple of Artemis.

B14. Anonymous son of [Her(?)]mogenes, from Skepsis. Delphi. c. 132 BCE.

Editions and bibliography: *FD* III.1 273; Guarducci, 'Poeti vaganti' 632, 648-649 n. 4.

1. [θεός τύχαν ἀγα]θάν
2. [ἄρχοντος Ἀγίωνος τοῦ Ἐχεφύλ]ου, β[ουλευόντων τὰν πρώταν ἐξάμηνον
Ξένωνος τοῦ Ἀρι]στοβούλου Νικοσράτου
3. [τοῦ Εὐδώρου, γραμμ]ατεύοντος δὲ Τιμοκλέος [τοῦ Θρασέα· ἐπειδὴ ----- . .
]μογένους Σκήψιος
4. [ποιητῆ]ς ἐπῶν ἐν τῷ τοῦ παιδὸς ἀλ[ί]αι-----ἐπιδαμήσας ἐν τ]ὰν πόλιν
ἀμῶν ἀκρ[ο]-
5. [άσεις ἐποίησατο] ἔν τε τῷ γυμν[ασίῳ] καὶ-----καὶ τ]οῖς παρατυγχα-
6. [νόνοις τῶν πολιτῶν εὐχρηστον αὐτοσαυτὸν παρασκευάζων τ]οῦ
καί[ο]υ . .]

Notes: Fragmentary stele found in two fragments. Date and text follow *FD* III.1 273. 3: [Τι]μογένους or [Ἐρ]μογένους Boccard in *FD* III.1 273.

[God. Good] fortune. [Hagion son of] Echephylos[was archon, Xenon son of] Aristoboulos, Nikostratos [son of Eudoros were in council for the first six months], Timokles [son of Thraseas] was the secretary. [Since-----] son of [-----]mogenes, of Skepsis, [an] epic [poet], while still of youthful age, [visited] our city [and conducted] lectures in the gymnasium [and made himself useful] to those who met him [-----] at the right time [-----]

B15. Ammonios son of Ammonios, from Athens. Delphi. 1st century BCE.

Editions and bibliography: *Syll.*³ 734; *FD* III.1 228; Guarducci, 'Poeti vaganti' 642, 659 n. 24; Jacquemin, Mulliez, and Rougemont, *Choix d'inscriptions de Delphes* 383-385 n. 205.

1. θεὸς τύχαν ἀγαθάν.
2. [ἄρχοντο]ς Κλεοδάμου τοῦ Κλέωνος βουλευόντων τὰν πρῶταν ἐξάμηνον Κλεάνδρου τοῦ Τίμων[ος],
3. [Δαμοκρά]τεος τοῦ Τείσωνος, γ[ρ]αμματεύοντος δὲ βουλᾶς Νικία τοῦ Κλέωνος, ἔδοξε τῇ πόλει τῶν Δε[λ]-
4. [φῶν ἐν] ἀγορᾷ τελείῳ σὺμ ψάφοις ταῖς ἐννόμοις· ἐπειδὴ Ἀμμώνιος Ἀμμωνίου Ἀθηναῖος ἀνὴρ ἀγα-
5. [θος ἐστὶ κ]α[ὶ] διὰ παντὸς πρόνοιαν ποιούμενος τᾶς ποτὶ τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσεβείας πολλοὺς μὲν καὶ καλοὺς
6. [εἰς τὰ]ς τούτων τιμὰς πλεονάκις διατέθεται λόγους, θέλων δὲ καὶ διὰ τῶν ἔργων στοιχεῖν αὐτοσαυτῶ[ι]
7. [καλῶς] διώικησε τὰ ποτὶ τὸν θεὸν βουθυτέων τε καὶ μεταδιδούς πάντοις τᾶς θυσίας καὶ ζαλέων καὶ τὰ πάντα
8. [τᾶς αὐτο]σαυτοῦ πατρίδος, τάν τε ποτὶ τὸν θεὸν εὐσέβειαν καὶ τὰν ποτὶ τοὺς Ἑλλανὰς φιλανθρωπίαν ἔν τε τοῖς
9. [ἱεροῖς τ]οῖς κατὰ τὰν ἀρχὰν φιλότιμον αὐτοσαυτὸν παρείσχηται, πᾶσαν δαπάναν καὶ χοραγίαν ἐλάσσονα τιθέμενος
10. [τᾶς πο]τὶ τὰ κά[λλ]ιστα σπουδᾶς, τάν τε παρεπιδαμίαν καὶ τὰν ἀναστροφὰν ἀξίαν πεποιήται τοῦ τε τῶν Ἀθηναίων δά-
11. [μ]ου καὶ τᾶς τῶν Ἑλλάνων ἐπὶ τὰ Πύθια συναγωγᾶς, καθήκον δέ ἐστι Δελφοῖς ἀποδέχεσθαι τε καὶ τιμᾶν τοὺς εὐ-
12. σεβείαι καὶ δικαιοσύνην διαφέροντας τῶν ἀνδρῶν, τύχαι ἀγαθαῖ, δεδόχθαι τῇ πόλει τῶν Δελφῶν [ἐπαινέσαι μὲν]
13. Ἀμμώνιον Ἀμμωνίου Ἀθηναῖον καὶ στεφανῶσαι αὐτὸν τῷ τοῦ θεοῦ στεφάνῳ ᾧ πάτριόν ἐστιν, ὑπ[άρχειν δὲ αὐτῷ]
14. [κ]αὶ [ἐ]κγόνοις παρὰ τᾶς πόλιος ἁμῶν προξενίαν, προμαντείαν, προδικίαν, ἀσυλίαν, ἀτέλειαν, προεδρίαν ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἀγώ-
15. [ν]οῖς οἷς ἡ πόλις τίθητι καὶ τᾶλλα τίμια ἃ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις προξένοις τᾶς πόλιος ὑπάρχει, πέμψαι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ξένια τὰ μέ-
16. γιστα ἐκ τῶν νόμων.

Notes: Fragmentary stele found in the treasure of the Siphnians. Date follows Guarducci, text is that of Mulliez and Rougemont. 7: [πάντα] διώικησε *FD* III.1 228.

God. Good fortune. Kleodamas son of Kleon was [archon]. Kleander son of Timon, Demokrates son of Teison were in council for the first six months, Nikias son of Kleon was the secretary of the council. The city of Delphi decided [at] a plenary session of the assembly, with lawful votes. Since Ammonios son of Ammonios, the Athenian, [is] a good man, and in

all aspects attends to piety towards the gods, and has often composed many fine speeches [in] their honour; wishing to be maintain regularity in his bearing in all his deeds, he administered the affairs of the god in [a fine manner], sacrificing a bull, apportioning a share of the sacrifice to all and seeking to outdo the piety of his country towards the god and her benevolence towards the Greeks; he bore himself in a zealous manner in his conduct of the [sacred affairs] during his term of office, considering all expense and payment less than [his] zeal for excellence, and has conducted his visit and himself in a manner worthy of the Athenian people and the assembly of the Greeks gathered at the Pythian Games; since it is fitting for the Delphians to receive and honour men who are outstanding in their piety and righteousness, with good fortune, the city of Delphi has decided [to praise] Ammonios son of Ammonios, the Athenian, and crown him with a crown of the god as is customary. [He] and his descendants are to obtain by our city the status of *proxenos*, the right of legal defense, inviolability, exemption from public burdens, the right of priority seating at all the games which the city conducts, and all the other honours which are obtained by other *proxenoi* of the city. He is to be sent the greatest guest-gifts, as according to the law.

B16. Claudius Eumolpos. Delphi. 1st century BCE/CE.

Editions and bibliography: *FD* III.1 210; Chaniotis, *Historie* 350-351 E73.

1. [θ]εός. τύχα ἀγαθά. {folium}
2. Δελφοῖς τοῖς ἱεροῖς, οἷς Πύθιος ἦδετ' Ἀπόλλων,
3. Κλαύδιον Εὐμόλπον ποιητὴν ἄστων ἔδοξεν
4. ποιῆσα[ι], μέλψαντα πόλιν καὶ Πύθιον αὐτόν.

Notes: Found in the vicinity of the treasury of the Siphnians. Dating follows Chaniotis. The text is that of *FD* III.1 210.

God. Good Fortune. {folium} It was decided by the temples at Delphi, in which Pythian Apollo is venerated, to make the poet Claudius Eumolpos a citizen, who celebrated in song the city and Pythian Apollo himself.

B17. Sextus of Damaskos. Delphi. 50-100 CE.

Editions and bibliography: Robert, *Études* 17-20; *FD* III.4 118; Bousquet, *BCH* 78 (1954) 428.

1. [ἀγαθαὶ τύ]χαι.
2. [ἄρχοντος Νει]άρχου τοῦ Νεικα[.],
3. [μηνὸς Βουκ]ατίου ἱε'· ἐπειδὴ Σεξ[τος]
4. [.] υἱατος Δαμασκηνὸς ὁ [καὶ]
5. [Λακεδαιμ]όνιος, ἐπιδημήσας ἡμ[ῶν]
6. [τῇ πό]λει ἐπὶ τῷ ἀγωνίσασθαι τὸ[ν]
7. [τῶν Πυθ]ίων ἀγῶνα, οὐ μόνον ἡγω[νί]-
8. σατ[ο ἀν]αλόγως τῆς πρὸς τὸν θεὸ[ν ἡ]-
9. μῶν [ε]ὐσεβείας, ἐγκωμιάσας αὐτ[ὸν]
10. ἄξίως τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν θειότητος ὡ[ς τῶν]
11. ἐπιβαλλόντων τ[υ]χεῖν στεφάνων, ἀλ[λὰ καὶ]
12. ἡθῶν ἐπ[εδε]ῖξατο σεμνότητα· [ἔδοξεν]
13. τῇ Δελφ[ῶν] πόλει· τετειμῆσθαι [αὐτὸν πο]-
14. λειτεία, προμαντεία, προθυσί[α, ἐνκλή]-

15. σει γὰς καὶ οἰκίᾱς, ἄλλαις τειμαῖς ὅ-
16. σας οἱ ἀγαθοὶ ἄνδρες παρὰ τῆς πόλεως]
17. λαμβάνουσι.

Notes: Limestone block found to the east of the temples. Dating and text follow *FD III.4* 118. 3: Σεξ[τος] restoration by Bousquet; 17: λαμβάνουσι Robert.

[With good] fortune. Nikarchos son of Nika[--- was the archon], on the fifteenth day [of the month] Boukatios. Since Sextus son of [-----], a Damaskene [and] Spartan, visited our city for the purpose of competing in the contest at the Pythian Games, and not only competed in a manner worthy of piety towards our god, composing an encomium of him worthy of the divine nature which earned him fitting crowns, but [also] displayed the dignity of his character, the city of Delphi [decided] that [he] be honoured with citizenship, the right of priority in oracular consultation, the right of priority in making sacrifices, the right to own land and a house, and all other honours as good men receive from [the city].

B18. Pompeius Paullus of Tralleis. Delphi. End of 1st century CE.

Editions and bibliography: *FD III.4* 116; Jacquemin, Mulliez, and Rougemont, *Choix d'inscriptions de Delphes* 466 n. 282.

1. θεός. τύχα ἀγαθά.
2. Δελφοὶ ἔδωκαν Γ. Πομπηίῳ Παύλλῳ Καισαρεῖ
3. Τραλλιανῷ ποιητῇ ἐπῶν πολειτεῖαν αὐτῷ καὶ
4. ἐγγόνιοις αὐτοῦ, προμαντεῖαν, προξενίαν, προδι-
5. κίαν, ἀσυλίαν, προεδρίαν, ἀτέλειαν πᾶσαν, γὰς καὶ
6. οἰκίᾱς ἔνκτησιν καὶ τᾶλλα τείμια ὅσα τοῖς κα-
7. λοῖς καὶ ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσι δίδονται. ἄρχοντος Γ.

Notes: Limestone orthostat, part of a larger dedicatory pillar. Dating and text follow *FD III.4* 116.

God. Good fortune. The Delphians conferred on Pompeius Paullus of Caesarea-Tralleis, an epic poet, and his descendants citizenship, the right of priority in oracular consultation, the status of *proxenos*, the right of legal defense, inviolability, the right of priority seating, exemption from all public burdens, the right to own land and a house, and all other honours as are granted to fine and good men. Gaius was archon.

B19. Onesikles son of Diodoros. Hierapolis-Kastabala. 1st to early 2nd century CE.

Editions and bibliography: Hicks, *JHS* 11 (1890) 249 n. 23; Rohde, *Der griechische Roman* 270 n. 2; Robert, *Études* 21 n. 5 (on 22); Mette, *Urkunden dramatischer Aufführungen in Griechenland* 199 n. 6; Jones, 'Greek Drama in the Roman Empire', 45, n. 27.

1. Ὀνησικλέα Διοδώρου
2. ἐπῶν καὶ κωμωδίας τῆς νέας
3. ἱαμβῶν ποιητὴν καὶ λόγων
4. ἐγκωμιαστικῶν συγγραφέα,
5. νομικὸν ἐν τοῖς ἀριστοῖς
vacat
6. οἱ φίλοι τὸν προστάτην
7. τειμῆς ἔνεκα

Notes: Stone found in a church. Text follows Hicks, and date follows Jones. The particular description of ἐγκωμιαστικοὶ λόγοι would seem to associate Onesikles with the increasing numbers of specialist authors of encomia, and encomiastic contests at festivals, attested in the early imperial period; cf. Robert, *Études* 21-30.

His friends (have honoured) Onesikles son of Diodoros, a poet of epic verse and new comedy in iambic verse, a composer of encomiastic speeches, a lawyer among the best, the *prostates*, on account of his honour.

B20. Apollonios of Tralleis. Delphi. End of 1st to early 2nd century CE.

Editions and bibliography: *FD* III.4 111.

1. θεός. τύ[χα ἀ]γαθ[ά].
2. [Δελφ]οὶ ἔδωκα[ν Ἀπ]ολλ[ωνί]ῳ Μεν[-----]
3. [. . . .] Καισα[ρεῖ Τρα]λλιαγ[ῶ τ]ῷ καὶ Χ[-----]
4. [ἐπὼν? ποιητ[ῆ] αὐτῷ καὶ ἐγ[γόν]οις αὐ-
5. [τοῦ πολειτεῖαν, προμ]αγ[τεῖα]ν, προ-
6. [δικίαν, ἀτέλειαν πᾶσαν, προ]εδρίαν,
7. [ἀσυλίαν, γᾶς καὶ οἰκί[ας ἔ]νκτη-
8. [σιν καὶ τᾶλλα τείμ]ια ὅσα τοῖς κα[λοῖς]
9. [καὶ ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδρ]άσιν δί[δ]οται. ἄρχ[οντος]
10. [Τι]β. Καλα[ουίο?]υ Φίρμου, βουλευόγ[των]
11. [Κ]λαυ. Δίω[νος, Κα]λλιστράτου καὶ Ερ[-----].

Notes: Block found to the east of the temple. Dating and text follow *FD* III.4 111, which suggests the following restitutions – 2-3: Μεν[ἀνδρου]; 3-4: Χ[ῖφ ἐπὼν?]

God. Good fortune. The Delphians conferred on Apollonios son of Men[----], of Caesarea-Tralleis and [-----], an [epic] poet, and his descendants [citizenship], the right of priority in oracular consultation, the right of legal defense, [exemption from all public burdens], the right of priority seating, [inviolability], the right to own [land] and a house [and the other] honours as are given to fine [and good] men. Tiberius Kala[uios (?)] Firmus was archon, Claudius Dion, Kallistratos and Er[-----].

B21. Auphria. Delphi. Early 2nd century CE.

Editions and bibliography: *FD* III.4 79; Puech, *Orateurs et sophistes* 156-157 n. 53.

1. [θε]ός. ν τύχαι ἀγαθᾶ[ι].
2. [ἔδοξ]εν τῇ πόλει
3. [τῶν Δε]λφίων Αὐφρίαν
4. [. . . .]νὴν Δελφὴν εἶναι,
5. [ἐπειδ]ή, παραγενομένη
6. [πρὸς τ]ὸν θεόν, πᾶν τὸ
7. [εἶδος τῆ]ς παιδείας ἐπε-
8. [δείξατο], λόγους τε πολ-
9. [λοὺς καὶ κ]αλοὺς καὶ ἡδί-
10. [στους ἐν] τῇ π[υ]θικῇ συ-
11. [νόδῳ τῶν] Ἑλ[λήν]ων δ[ιέ]-
12. [θετο,]
13.
14.

15.
16.
17.
18.
19.
20. [..... φ]ανῆ [ἐφ']
21. [.....] πεποιημέν[.]
22. [..... τ]ῷ θεῷ ἀγαθ[ὰ ποι-
23. [.....] ἐψηφισάμεθα.
24. [ἐπὶ δὲ Αἰ]λ. Πυθοδώρου ἐψηφισάμεθα
25. [τὰς τῶν ἀν]δριάντων ἀναστάσεις.

Notes: The inscription is engraved on the western face of the monument of Prusias; the original text would have covered its entire left side. Date and text follow Puech. 7: [ἦθος τῆς] *FD* III.4 79. Puech's restitution follows that of Robert, *Études* 25 n. 5, who argues that the two concepts of ἦθος and παιδεία are elsewhere found in complement, but never with one subordinating the other. 20: [. . . φ]ανῆ [ἐφ' . . .] *FD* III.4 79.

God. With good fortune. The city of Delphi decided that Auphria, the [----] would be a citizen of Delphi, since, coming [before] the god, she had displayed every [form] of education, [recited] many beautiful and pleasant speeches [at] the Pythian synod [of the] Greeks [-----] (about 8 lines lost)-----] having made [-----] for the god good things [-----] we voted. [At] the motion of Aelius Pythodoros we voted for [the] raising [of the] statues.

B22. Aulus Claudius Charax of Pergamon. Pergamon. After 147 CE.

Editions and bibliography: Boehringer, *Neue deutsche Ausgrabungen* 138-140; Habicht, *MDAI* (I) 9-10 (1959-1960) 109-125; *BE* (1961) n. 511; Birley, *The Fasti of Roman Britain* 250-251; Chaniotis, *Historie* 318-320 E26.

1. Πατρῴων ἡ πόλις
2. Α. Κλ. Χάρακα
3. ὕπατον Ῥωμαίων,
4. ἡγεμόνα Κιλικίας,
5. Λυκαονίας, Ἰσαυρίας,
6. ἡγεμόνα λεγιῶνος β' Αὐγ.,
7. ἐπιμελητὴν ὁδοῦ
8. Λατείνης,
9. [στ]ρατηγὸν Ῥωμαίων,
10. [κατ]αλεχθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς
11. [συ]γκλήτου
12. εἰς τοὺς ἀγορανομικούς,
13. ταμίαν Σικελίας,
14. τὸν συνγραφέα,
15. εἰσηγησαμένου
16. Ὀκταβίου Χρυσάνθου.

Notes: Inscribed on a white marble statue-base. Image of inscription in Boehringer p.140 pl. 12. 85.5 by 51 by 51.5 cm. Dating and text follow Chaniotis.

The city of the Patraians (has honoured) A(ulus) Cl(audius) Charax, consul of the Romans, governor of Kilikia, Lykaonia, Isauria, general of the legion II Augusta, overseer of the Latin

road, general of the Romans, appointed by the senate to be in charge of public order, the treasurer of Sicily, and historian, at the proposition of Octavius Chrysanthos.

B23. Pompeianus of Kollytos. Athens. Late 2nd century CE.

Editions and bibliography: Koumanoudis, *Αθήναιον* 5 (1876) 419; *IG* III 775b; *IG* II² 3806; Puech, *Orateurs et sophistes* 450-451 n. 240.

1. Πομπηϊανὸν Κο[λ]-
2. λυτέα τὸν συγγρα-
3. φέα · Σωσιγένης
4. Παλληνεὺς ὁ σο-
5. φιστῆς ψηφισαμέ-
6. νης τῆς ἐξ Ἀρείου
7. πάγου βουλῆς.

Notes: Inscribed on an headless Herme, unearthed at the Asklepieion. 180 by 32 by 27 cm. Dating and text follow Puech.

Sosigenes of Pallene, the sophist, (has honoured) Pompeianus of Kollytos, the historian, on the motion of the Areopagos council.

B24. Titus Peducaeus Cestianus of Apollonia. Korinth. Late 2nd century CE.

Editions and bibliography: Broneer, *AJA* 37 (1933) 562; Kent, *Corinth* 8.3 109 n. 269; Robert, *REG* (1966) 750-751; Robert, *BE* 80 (1967) n. 249; Robert, *BE* 81 (1968) n. 321; Chaniotis, *Historie* 321 E27; Puech, *Orateurs et sophistes* 162-163 n. 57.

1. Πεδουκαῖον
2. Κεστιανὸν
3. [Α]πολλωνιάτην
4. ῥήτορα
5. Κόρινθος
6. ἡ μητρόπολις
7. ψ(ηφίσματι) Β(ουλῆς)

Notes: A statue base of white marble found at east end of the Agora. 91.5 by 67 by 37 cm. The praenomen Titus is known from coins from Apollonia (Puech, *Orateurs et sophistes* 162 note 6), which read Πρ(υτάνεως) Τ. Πεδου(καίου) Κε---νου, and are perhaps to be identified with this orator. 6: μητρόπολις Broneer, without the article.

Korinth the mother city (has honoured) Peducaeus Cestianus, the Apollonian orator, on the motion of the council.

B25. Herakleitos son of Oreios, from Rhodes. Rhodiapolis. 2nd century CE.

Editions and bibliography: *TAM* II 910; Oliver, *Historia* 24.1 (1975) 124-125.

1. Ἀσκληπιῶι καὶ Ὑγίαι.
2. Ῥοδιαπολειτῶν ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος
3. καὶ ἡ γερουσία ἐτείμησαν ταῖς διηνε-
4. κέσιν κατ' ἔτος τειμαῖς Ἡράκειτον
5. Ἡρακλείτου Ὀρείου, τὸν πολεῖτην καὶ

6. Ῥόδιον, φιλότατριν, ἱερέα Ἀσκληπιοῦ
7. καὶ Ὑγίας, ἰκόνι ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ τῷ τῆς
8. παιδείας ἀνδριάντι· ὃν ἐτείμησαν ὁμοί-
9. ως Ἀλεξανδρεῖς Ῥόδιοι Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ἡ
10. ἱερωτάτη Ἀρεοπαγειτῶν βουλὴ καὶ οἱ
11. Ἀθήνησιν Ἐπικούρειοι φιλόσοφοι καὶ ἡ
12. ἱερὰ θυμελικὴ σύνοδος, πρῶτον ἀπ' αἰ-
13. ὄνος ἱατρὸν καὶ συγγράφειαν καὶ ποιη-
14. τὴν ἔργων ἱατρικῆς καὶ φιλοσοφίας,
15. ὃν ἀνέγραψαν ἱατρικῶν ποιημάτων
16. Ὅμηρον εἶναι, ἀλιτουρῆσι τιμηθέντα,
17. ἱατροῦσαντα προῖκα, ναὸν κατασκευ-
18. ἄσαντα καὶ ἀγάλματα ἀναθέντα Ἀσκλη-
19. πιοῦ καὶ Ὑγίας καὶ τὰ συγγράμματα αὐ-
20. τοῦ καὶ ποιήματα τῇ πατρίδι Ἀλεξαν-
21. δρεῦσι Ῥοδίοις Ἀθηναίοις, χαρισά-
22. μενον τῇ πατρίδι εἰς διανομὰς καὶ
23. ἀγῶνας Ἀσκληπίων καὶ ἀργυρίου
24. * μύρια καὶ πεντάκις χίλια· ὃν ἐτεί-
25. μησεν ἡ πατρίς καὶ προεδρία.

Notes: A statue-base discovered in the western corner of the theatre. 112 by 65 cm. Date and text follow *TAM II* 910.

To Asklepios and Hygeia. The council, assembly, and *gerousia* of the Rhodiapolitans honoured Herakleitos son of Herakleitos Oreios, their fellow-citizen and Rhodian, lover of his fatherland, priest of Asklepios and Hygeia, with annually renewed honours, a gilded image, and a statue embodying his *paideia*. The Alexandrians, Rhodians, Athenians, the most venerable council of the Areopagites, the Epikurean philosophers of Athens and the sacred thymelic synod have likewise honoured him, as the first ever as doctor, historian and poet of medical and philosophical works; they have inscribed him as a Homer of of medical poetry, as one honoured with exemption from liturgy, who has offered his services as a doctor without charge, raised a temple and dedicated cult images of Asklepios and Hygeia and also his prose compositions and poems to his fatherland, the Alexandrians, Rhodians, Athenians; he has made a gift to his fatherland of fifteen thousand denarii towards the organisation of the games at the Asklepeia; his fatherland also honoured him with the right to priority seating.

B26. Gaius Asinius Quadratus. Olympia. After 224 CE.

Editions and bibliography: *I. Olympia* 471-472 n. 356; *Syll.*³ 887; *FGrH* 97 T2; Habicht, *MDAI(I)* 9-10 (1959-1960) 110-111; Chaniotis, *Historie* 324-325 E29; *BNJ* 97 T2.

1. ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ.
vacat
2. ἡ Ὀλυμπικὴ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ
3. δῆμος ὁ Ἠλείων Γ. Ἀσίνιον
4. Κουαδρᾶτον ἀνθύπατον,
5. ὑπατον ἀποδεδειγμένον,
6. τειμήσαντα τὴν Ὀλυμπί-
7. αν καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ.

Notes: Large statue-base of pentelic marble, probably supporting a bronze statue; 111 by 60 by 68 cm. Dating and text follow Chaniotis.

With good fortune. The council of Olympia and the assembly of the Eleans (have honoured) G(aius) Asinius Quadratus, the proconsul, consul-designate, for having honoured Olympia in word and deed.

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