

HONORS FOR PARIANOS OF ISSA AND HIS SONS ATHENODOROS AND IKESIOS¹

(PLATE 61)

IN 1947 C. P. Loughran and A. E. Raubitschek published as one decree the two fragments previously known as *I.G.*, I², 30 and 23; on their instructions J. H. Oliver put the fragments together in Athens and confirmed the join;² for some reason they were not then cemented together, and they remain apart today.³

The hand may be the same as those of *S.E.G.*, X, 13 (*I.G.*, I², 32 +), *I.G.*, I², 33, *I.G.*, I², 34 and *S.E.G.*, X, 15, whose dates, though not secure, are probably in the late 450's or early 440's B.C.: the shape of sigma is distinctive, three-barred, with a very long top stroke.⁴

¹ I wish to express my thanks to the Canada Council, the H. R. MacMillan Family Fund of the University of British Columbia, and the American School of Classical Studies at Athens for the financial assistance that enabled me to spend the years 1967-69 and the Summer of 1971 in Athens. I should like, too, to thank Mrs. Dina Peppas-Delmousou, Director of the Epigraphical Collection of the National Archaeological Museum at Athens, and Professor T. Leslie Shear, Jr., Director of the Agora Excavations of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, for permission to study inscriptions in the National Archaeological Museum and the Agora Museum. Mrs. Peppas-Delmousou and Professors Eugene Vanderpool, M. F. McGregor, D. W. Bradeen, C. W. J. Eliot and J. Breslin have on numerous occasions helped me with advice, criticism and encouragement, and the staffs of the Agora Excavation and the Epigraphical Collection have borne with patience and kindness all my demands upon them.

² C. P. Loughran and A. E. Raubitschek, "Three Attic Proxeny Decrees," *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, pp. 79-81, no. 2. The fragments are EM 6566 (*I.G.*, I², 30) and EM 6570 (*I.G.*, I², 23).

³ The area of contact is extremely small, but, if the fragments are laid on their left sides and brought together, an excellent one; this was confirmed by D. W. Bradeen, who examined the fragments in my behalf (letter of 22 September, 1969).

⁴ Photographs: *S.E.G.*, X, 13, both fragments: B. D. Meritt, "Greek Inscriptions," *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 361, no. 3; *S.E.G.*, X, 15: J. H. Oliver, "Selected Greek Inscriptions," *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 494, no. 12; *I.G.*, I², 33 and 34; none so far published. The most obvious point of similarity lies in the shape of sigma; this, however, occurs in other inscriptions that are clearly not by the same hand, such as the heading of the second tribute quota-list (*A.T.L.*, II, List 2), the Kos fragment of the decree of Klearchos (*A.T.L.*, II, D 14), and *I.G.*, I², 19 and 29. Other distinctively shaped letters whose forms are identical with those of *S.E.G.*, X, 13, *I.G.*, I², 33 and 34, and *S.E.G.*, X, 15 are alpha, beta (not in *I.G.*, I², 33), epsilon, lambda (not in *S.E.G.*, X, 13), pi (not in *I.G.*, I², 33), upsilon, and phi (not in *I.G.*, I², 33 and 34 and *S.E.G.*, X, 15); mu in *I.G.*, I², 33 and *S.E.G.*, X, 15 seems a little narrower; while in *I.G.*, I², 34 and *S.E.G.*, X, 15 both verticals of nu are the same length, in the present decree and *S.E.G.*, X, 13 and *I.G.*, I², 33 the right vertical is shorter. The shape of rho is identical in all five documents, but that of *S.E.G.*, X, 13 is tailed; I am inclined to think that the use or non-use of tailed rhos should be regarded as a temporary fashion rather than as an indication of different masons at work.

I give here a text of what is today visible upon the surfaces of the two fragments, restoring only where I consider the restoration to be certain.

a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

Προχσε[- - - - -]
 Ἰθθνα[- - - - -]
 Παριαν[- - - - -]
 Ἰθθνοδ[- - - - -]
 5 Ἰκεσιο[- - - - -]
 ἔδοχσεν τῆι [βολῆι καὶ τῶι δέμοι, - - - - - ἐπρυτ]-
 άνευεν, Δι[- - - - ἔγραμμάτευεν, - - - ἐπεστάτε, - - - - -]
 [.]χεδεμο[- - - - - εἶπεν· - - - - -]
 [.]ται εβ[- - - - -]
 10 [.]βολ[- - - - -]

lacuna

 [- - - - -]
 [- - - - -]

b.

[. . . .]ν[- - - - - φσ]-
 ἔφισμα τ[ό]δ[ε - - - - - τέλ]-
 15 εσι τῶις αὐτ[- - - - -]
 χας κατὰ ισσ[- - - - -]
 τι τὲν τριακ[όντερον - - - - -]
 πεντεκόντε[ρον - - - - - σ]-
 [τ]ρατιότηας ἄ[- - - - -]
 20 [.]ι ἐς Λέσβον[- - - - -]
 [. . .]τεριοι [- - - - -]
 [. . π]ροσκαλ[- - - - -]
 [. . .]αι κλεσ[- - - - -]
 [. . δ]ὲ ἦοιε[- - - - -]
 25 [. . .] εἶπε· τ[ὰ μὲν ἄλλα καθάπερ τῆι βολῆι· - - - - -]
 [. . . .]ολε[- - - - -]
 [. . . .]ι[- - - - -]

In general, I read a little more than do Loughran and Raubitschek (*op. cit.*, p. 79); this is not surprising: they were working from squeezes. I shall comment on these readings only when it seems necessary.

In the restoration proposed by Loughran and Raubitschek⁵ the decree names two men, ambassadors from the Hellenistic state of Parion, as proxenoi. However, in the body of the decree (lines 16 ff.) Lesbos and, perhaps, the Lesbian town of Issa are mentioned, apparently in connection with the dispatch of three ships; I fail to see what relevance the affairs of Parion may have had to those of Lesbos. I believe that the letters *παριαν* in line 3 should be taken not as an ethnic but as the beginning of a personal name. While there is no example of the ethnic Parianos being used as a personal name, there are sufficient examples available of other ethnics so used to make this a plausible suggestion.⁶ I restore lines 1-5 as follows, using my own restoration of lines 1-3 of *I.G.*, I², 146 as an analogy:⁷

Προχσέ[νον καὶ εὐεργετῶν]
 Ἄθυνα[ῖον vacat]
 Παριαν[ὸ τῷ *nomen patris*? τῷ Ἴσσαιῷ]
 Ἄθενοδ[όρο? τῷ Παριανῷ]
 5 Ἴκεσίῳ [τῷ Παριανῷ]

In this version Parianos, a citizen, perhaps, of Issa, and his sons are honoured for services performed in conjunction with the government of Issa.

I accept the argument of Loughran and Raubitschek that syllabic division was

⁵ *Loc. cit.* :

Προ[χσένον καὶ εὐεργετῶν]
 Ἄθυνα[ῖον τῶν πρέσβεον τῶν]
 Παριαν[ὸν vacat]
 Ἄθενοδ[όρο τῷ *nomen patris*]
 5 Ἴκεσίῳ [τῷ *nomen patris*]

⁶ For example, from the index of *I.G.*, I² alone I was able to cull twenty ethnics used as personal names.

⁷ No satisfactory text of *I.G.*, I², 146 has so far been proposed; my own suggested restoration of lines 1-3 reads as follows:

Πρόχσενος Χαλκ[ιδέος ὁ — — — — — ^{ethnic ca. 9-11} — — — — — πρόχσενος καὶ]
 εὐεργέτης. Χαλ[κιδεὺς καὶ — — — — — ^{ca. 10} — — — — — οἱ Πρόχσένο πα]-
 ῖδες. vacat

While many of multiple proxenies survive from the fifth century, only the present decree and two other published inscriptions preserve headings in which all the honorands are named; these are *I.G.*, I², 146 (see above) and *I.G.*, I², 143 a. In the latter at least three sons of a certain Iphiades are named and collective reference is also made to their descendants (Iphiades himself may have been dead at the time that the decree was passed). In other inscriptions in which the heading is preserved only the principal honorand is named in the heading, while the other honorands may be either named or referred to by kinship in the text of the ensuing decree (see *I.G.*, I², 59, 125, 145; *S.E.G.*, X, 108; and *I.G.*, II², 27). As I argue below (note 8), lines 6 ff. must be restored with a line of forty-two letters; the horizontal checker of lines 6 ff. is 0.0153 m., so that the stele in its original form will have been at least 0.642 m. wide, permitting line 3 to have as many as twenty-four letters, ample room for the inclusion of a patronymic as well as an ethnic.

observed in these lines; I also accept their line length for the decree itself, namely forty-two letters.⁸

In the preamble of the decree itself the choice of a forty-two letter line makes the name Hippothontis inevitable in the prytany formula. F. Hiller von Gaertringen suggested that the secretary formula contained a demotic; he placed the epistates formula in line 8, reading the letters $\chi\epsilon\delta\epsilon\mu\omicron$ as part of the name Archedemos.⁹ However, demotics were rarely, if ever, employed in preambles before the end of the fifth century.¹⁰ Loughran and Raubitschek suggested that Archedemos was the orator, thus shortening the space available in line 7 and eliminating the demotic;¹¹ however, I would like to suggest that the letters $\chi\epsilon\delta\epsilon\mu\omicron$ surviving in line 8 are the end of an archon formula and the beginning of an orator formula: [-----ε|ρ]χε, Δεμο[. εἶπεν]. While it is true that archon formulas generally are not found before 421/0 B.C., there are at least two examples from the period 460-445 B.C.¹²

All three names in line 7 would be short ones: possible archon names are Habron (458/7 B.C.), Kallias (456/5 B.C.), Ariston (454/3 B.C.), Euthynos (450/49 B.C.), or Pedieus (449/8 B.C.). I adopt a variant of the restoration offered by Loughran and Raubitschek for lines 8-9:¹³

⁸ Lines 1-2 must surely contain the formula $\text{Προχσέ[νον καὶ εὐεργετὸν]} | \text{Ἀθνα[ίων]}$ in the genitive, or its equivalent in the nominative or dative. Since the horizontal checker of lines 1-5 is 0.0264 m., the minimum width of the stele (without margins) will be 0.555 m., permitting a line length in lines 6 ff. of thirty-six or more letters. However, lines 6-8 contain a preamble whose formulas fix the line length at between thirty-seven and forty-two letters, while lines 13-15 contain a publication formula demanding, within the limits set by the preamble, a line length of thirty-nine, forty or forty-two letters. I cannot devise suitable restorations of lines 8-10, 16-19 and 21-24 with a thirty-nine or a forty-letter line, so that, I believe, the forty-two letter line of Loughran and Raubitschek must stand. M. B. Wallace ("Early Greek *Proxenois*," *Phoenix*, XXIV, 1970, pp. 189-208) suggests on page 203 that the major honorand's name was Athenaios; while it would be possible to restore the surviving letters of line 2 as a personal name, making Parianos, Athenodoros and Ikesios the sons of this man, I believe that the natural reading would be as I have suggested in my restoration. The formula $\text{πρόξενος καὶ εὐεργέτης Ἀθηναίων}$ is found in three, possibly four, fifth-century headings (*I.G.*, I², 59, 125, 145 and possibly 146), and is frequent in the texts of proxeny decrees of this and the succeeding centuries.

⁹ *I.G.*, I², 30. The name Archedemos has been restored in the orator formula of *I.G.*, I², 19, but the traces there surviving suggest the reading Ἀρχία[ς] rather than Ἀρ[χέ]δε[μο]ς .

¹⁰ The earliest example known to me is *I.G.*, I², 125 (405/4 B.C.). Demotics are used earlier than this to identify the secretary, but only in the heading; the earliest seem to be *I.G.*, I², 81, 82 and 84 (all in 421/0 B.C.), unless *I.G.*, I², 76 is earlier.

¹¹ *Loc. cit.*; their restorations derive from a suggestion of B. D. Meritt reported by Patience Haggard, *The Secretaries of the Athenian Boule in the Fifth Century B.C.* (Diss., University of Missouri, 1930), p. 10, note 8: $\text{Δι[ότμος γραμματέυεν, Καλλίας ἐπιστατέ, Ἀ|ρ]χέδεμο[ς εἶπε]}$.

¹² *I.G.*, I², 19; *S.E.G.*, X, 13. The restoration of an archon formula in the preamble of *I.G.*, I², 22 (*A.T.L.*, II, D 11) is very likely.

¹³ *Loc. cit.*: $\text{Ἀ|ρ]χέδεμο[ς εἶπε. Ἀθηνόδορον καὶ Ἰκέσιον, ἥταν το δέο|ν]ται εἰ β[όλονται]}$. I change ἥταν to εἰάν to give myself more space for the orator's name.

Δεμο[. . .⁵ . . . εἶπεν · Παριανῶι τῶι Ἴσσαιῶι εἰάν το δέ]-
 [ε]ται ἔ β[όλεται παρὰ Ἀθηναίων πρόσοδον εἶναι πρὸς τέ]-
 [μ] βολ[εν καὶ τὸν δέμον].

The lacuna between the two fragments of this inscription is of two lines; a reference to the task of introducing the honorand to the Boule and the Demos might be expected to fill part of the gap, for instance: [προσάγειν αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸν βολὴν καὶ τὸν δέμον τὸς πρυτάνες πρῶτον μετὰ τὰ ἡιερά]. It seems likely that Parianos and his sons already held the proxeny and that this decree involved the grant to them of additional privileges; otherwise, one would have expected a reference to the proxeny in the first lines of the decree; nevertheless, this lacuna might possibly contain such a reference.

Lines 13-15:

[. . .³ . . . ἄ]ν[αγράφσαι δὲ καὶ τὸν γραμματέα τῆς βολῆς τὸ φσ]-
 ἐφισμα τ[ό]δ[ε] εἰστέλει λιθίνει καὶ θῆναι ἐμ πόλει τέλ]-
 εσι τοῖς αὐτ[ῶ].

Loughran and Raubitschek restore [ἡὸ δὲ γραμματεὺς ἡο τῆς βολῆς ἀναγράφσας τὸ φσ|ἐ]φισμα τ[ό]δε εἰστέλει λιθίνει καταθέτο ἐμ πόλει τέλ]|εσι τοῖς [αὐτῶν]. Because an infinitive seems inevitable in the following clause in lines 15 ff., I have changed their imperative to an infinitive. Of the single extant letter in line 13 only the bottom right tip survives; their restoration is not, therefore, ruled out.

Lines 15 ff. are obscure; Loughran and Raubitschek, reading a dotted chi at the start of line 16, argue that the letters *χας* here are the end of the word [ἀπάρ]|*χας*, deriving this from a late and enigmatic Lesbian inscription in which the *aparchai* may be officials (or ex-officials) of some sort.¹⁴ They restore as follows: [ἐπαινέσαι μὲν καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ τὸς ἀπάρ]|*χας* κατὰ Ἴσφ[αν ἡότι εὐεργετέκασιν τὲν πόλιν καὶ ἡὸ]|τι τὲν τριακ[όντερον καὶ τὲν τετρακόντερον καὶ τὲν]| πεντεκόντε[ρον κατέστειλαν ἐς Δέσβον καὶ ἡότι τὸς σ|τ]ρατιώτας ἀ[νέλαβον].

I see no viable alternative to this, unless we restore [ἄρ]|*χας*, meaning “the government” or, perhaps, “the boards”; in the latter case the restoration [ἐπαινέσαι δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ τὰς τῶν νεῶν ἄρ]|*χας* might be a possibility. It has been suggested to me that the *nauarchai* might be involved here;¹⁵ this is an attractive theory, but unfortunately, the classical word is always *ναύαρχος*; *ναυάρχης* is not found before the sixth century after Christ.¹⁶

¹⁴ *I.G.*, XII, Supplement 13.68. Their function is unknown; they are listed after the [βόλλαιοι] and before the [ἐλευθέραι] *γυναικες* and the *παῖδες κόραι* in circumstances apparently referring to the distribution of oil.

¹⁵ By J. Breslin, in conversation.

¹⁶ Liddell-Scott-Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 9th edition, Oxford, 1940, *s.v.* *ναυαρχέω*.

Reference is apparently made here to the dispatch of some ships,¹⁷ presumably by the authorities in Issa; Loughran and Raubitschek think that Lesbos was their destination, but, if they are right in restoring the name of Issa in line 16, I think that they must have been sent to some other location. It would be illogical to say that ships were being sent from Issa to Lesbos; rather they were sent to some other place carrying troops (line 19), who were later brought back to Lesbos (line 20).

At line 20 the tenor of the decree seems to change; the restorations proposed for lines 19-23 by Loughran and Raubitschek are as follows:

20 [.]ι ἐς Λέσβον [.....²⁶..... ἐκ τῶ δι]-
 [κασ]τερῖο Ἰ[σσαιόν· ἡο δὲ πολέμαρχος ἐς τὸ δικαστέρι]-
 [ον π]ροσκαλ[έσθο αὐτὸς Ἀθέναζε πέντε ἡμερῶν ἀφ' ἡῆς]
 [ἀν ἡα]ι κλέσ[ες ἐσχέκοσιν ἔ εὐθυνέσθο].

These are surely correct in essence; the connection, however, with what has been said in lines 15-20 is obscure; the gap in line 20 presumably defines to whom these provisions relate, whether the proxenoi or the authorities or people of Issa.

Loughran and Raubitschek restore lines 23-24 as follows: [συνεπιμελόσθ|ον δ]ἐ
 ἡοι ἐ[πιμελεταὶ ἡόπως ἀν¹⁸.....]. *A.T.L.*, II, D 8, line 47, provides a partial analogy, but, in the absence of a convincing restoration for the whole passage, I think that these lines must be left unrestored. At line 25 a rider is introduced, but so little survives on the stone that it is useless to conjecture what its contents may have been.

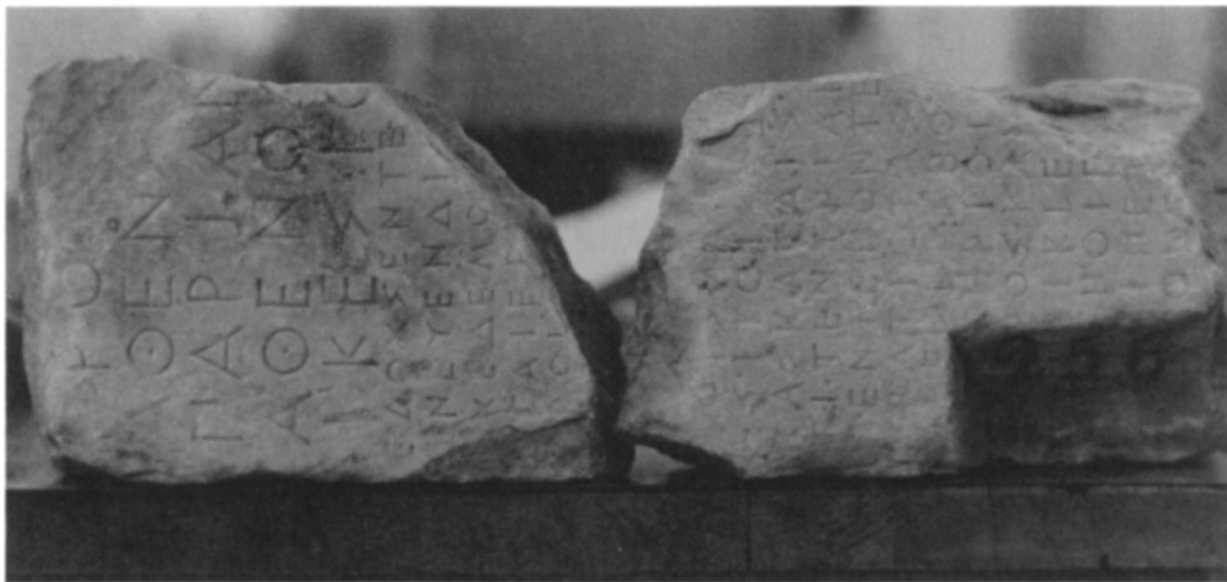
In 451/0 B.C. Athens praised the people of Sigeion for services of an unspecified nature, but in a context suggesting that there had been trouble with the Persians or with medizing states in the area.¹⁸ I have already stated that the present decree and that praising Sigeion may have been inscribed by the same mason; can it be that the circumstances are the same and that Parianos and the government of Issa contributed towards measures averting this danger? There is not enough space in the preamble of the present decree to restore the archon-name Antidotos (451/0 B.C.); however, there is space to restore the name of Antidotos' successor Euthynos. The present decree might thus have been passed early in Euthynos' year, while that for Sigeion would most likely have been passed late in the year of Antidotos.

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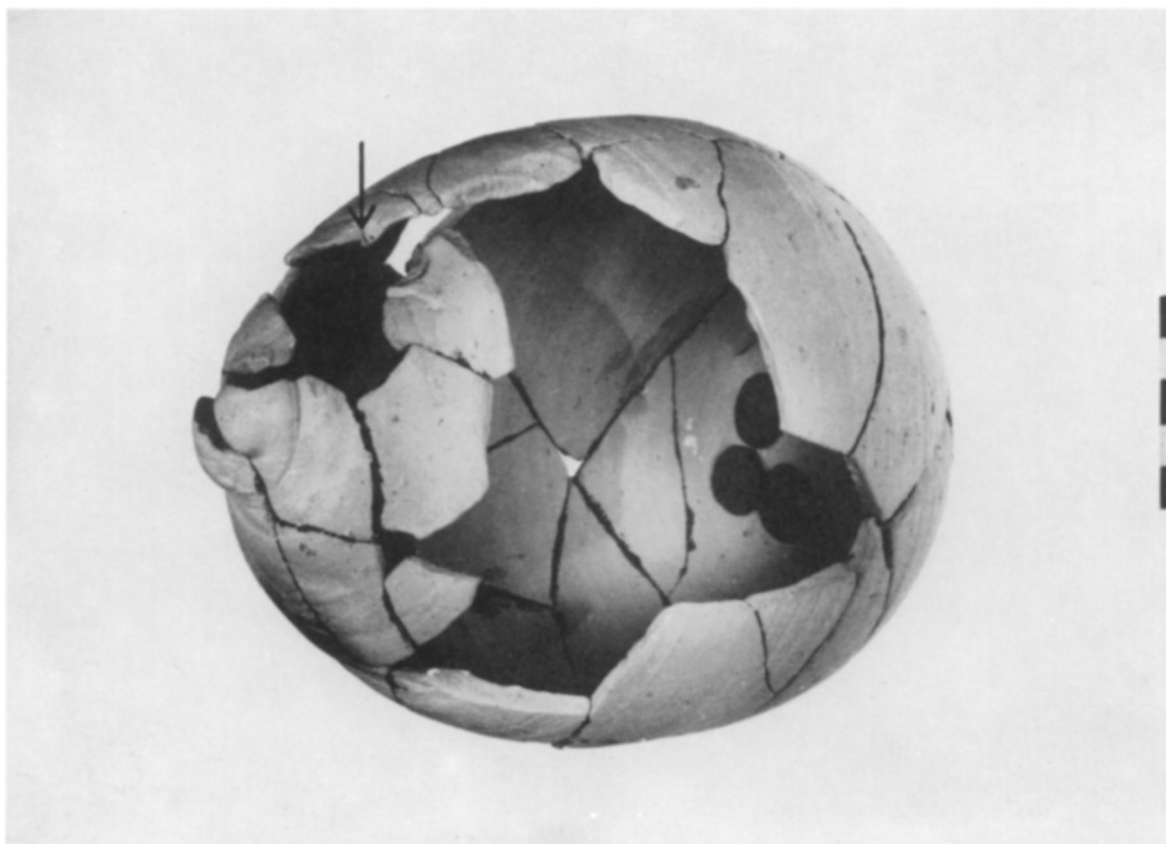
¹⁷ Loughran and Raubitschek admit that their restoration [τετρακόντερον] in line 17 involves an unparalleled spelling; the only alternative seems to be some phrase defining the triakonter.

¹⁸ *S.E.G.*, X, 13 (*I.G.*, I², 32+); the only name that can be restored in line 5 is that of the archon Antidotos, so that the date 451/0 B.C. is assured. R. Meiggs, "The Growth of Athenian Imperialism," *J.H.S.*, LXIII, 1943, pp. 21-34, notes (p. 27) that "the Mede is recognized as a potential danger in Aeolis, as the decree recording Athens' gratitude to Sigeum suggests."



E. M. 6566 + 6570 (I.G., I², 30 + 23).

MICHAEL B. WALBANK: HONORS FOR PARIANOS
AND HIS SONS ATHENODOROS AND IKESIOS.



Terracotta Bank with Coins. Arrow indicates edge of slot.

JOHN H. KROLL: THE ELEUSIS HOARD OF ATHENIAN IMPERIAL
COINS AND SOME DEPOSITS FROM THE ATHENIAN AGORA.