of the army) returned home (after conquering Messenia), they did not give the they were to stay there; if not, they were to return and receive the fifth part of persuaded by their fathers to found a colony. If they secured a satisfactory site theniai joined with the helots . . . (but their plot was discovered and) they were Partheniai equal honor with the rest because they were illegitimate. The Pardren were named Partheniai (= "the sons of the virgins"). . . . But when (the men with the barbarians. Sharing in the danger they founded Tarentum. virgins, believing that they would be the more fruitful. Because of this the chilno part in the oath because they subsequently had joined the ranks-were sent manpower of their country, the strongest and youngest men-who therefore had slain King Teleklos when he went to Messenia to make a sacrifice. They swore Messenia. They were sent out and came upon the Achaeans, who were tighting back to Sparta.) They commanded all of them to have intercourse with all the selves all slain. . . . (In the tenth year, in response to the complaints of those that they would not return home before they destroyed Messenia or were them dation. The Lacedaemonians made war against the Messenians since they had city laras after a certain hero. [3] Ephorus speaks as follows about its foun-Thus the Partheniai went with (their leader) Phalanthos They named the Lacedaemonian women who had been left as if widows and who feared for the rich land of Tarentum / to dwell in and to become (e to the Iapygians."

> 20 25 30 35

40

B. Athenaeus 6, 101 p. 271 CD

60

50 55

70

As to the so-called Epeunaktai² among the Lacedaemonians (for these too are slaves), Theopompus clearly expounds the matter in Book XXXII of his *Histories*, speaking as follows: "After many Lacedaemonians had died in the Messenian War, those who remained were fearful that their lack of numbers would become evident to their enemies. They put some of the helots on each mattress of those who had died. Later they made them citizens but called them Epeunaktoi because they had been set on the mattresses of the dead."³

NOTES

- 1. Eusebius dates the colony's foundation to 706 B.C.
- 2. Hesychius s.v. "Epeunaktai": "bedfellows."
- 3. Diod. 8. 21 identifies Epeunaktai and Partheniai

No. 10

Orthagoras, Tyrant of Sicyon. About 650 B.C.

Oxyrhynchus Papyri XI 1365 (FGrHist 105 F 2). Cf. Aristotle, Politics 5. 12 1315b; Diodorus 8. 24; Plutarch, Moralia 553 AB. This extract is a papyrus fragment. Ephorus has been suggested as its author.

A. Andrewé ie Greek Tyrants (London, 1956), p. 57; M. White, Phoenix 12 (1958), 2-14; D. M. Leahy, Historia 17 (1968), 3 n. 5; Bury-Meiggs, p. 109.

Il mans once again [---] office [with valor] | and keeping the territory | which was theirs selcure and I citizens were well disposed [to] hlim. Waginlg war [during his tenure] | of that sively, [so that I many] of the citizens I were won over and became attlached to causing [much] dalmage to the enemy | to be done, [the] | People of the [Sicyo] alctive and accomplished. I When a foray was made I by the Pelleneans I and they bravery [and] I good fortune I in war, and [allso] (because) the majority [of the] him. As [time] | passed [they electled] him Polemarch, || primarily becaulse of hi on having won [this] honor [he conquered] I the enemy [even] I more impres S[icyoni] and appointed him patrol [commander] | by election. [Immediately] goras. Until | adulthood he was all | the time brought up | and educated | just as attacked unlexpectedly, he went to meet them I and killed I some of the enemy brokle out between the Sicyolinians and the Pellelneans, he was at all times was ended, I he became I one of the patrols I guarding the I land, and when war was suithable for the son of a colok and a common | citizen. Wheln his childhood To Anl[d]r[e] as was born! a son, whom he railsed and gave the name! Ortha-[and] II was by far the most distlinguished I of the patrol. In return for this the to the gods, but the tylranny which was fallted to come about he dislregarded The || other sacrifices which | were enjoined upon him by | Delphi he rendered [being] a man of the people and I of low birth, I he disregarded I the oracle

0. 11

Law of the City of Dreros (Crete). Block of schist, lines 1, 3, 4, right to left; line 2, left to right; Dreros. 650-600 B.C.: probably the earliest surviving Greek law.

Jeffery, LSAG, p. 311, No. 1a and Plate 59; GHI, * No. 2, pp. 2 f.

V. Ehrenberg, CQ 37 (1943), 14-18; R. F. Willetts, Aristocratic Society in Ancient Crete (London, 1955), pp. 106, 167-69; idem, Ancient Crete (London, 1965), pp. 68 f.

May God be kind (?).¹ This has been decided by the city: When a man has been Kosmos,² for ten years that slame man shall not be Kosmos. If he should become Kosmos, whatever judgments he gives, he himself shall owe double, and he | shall be useless³ as long as he lives, and what he does as Kosmos shall be as nothing. νν | The swearers (to this shall be) the Kosmos, the Demioi and the Twenty of the city.⁴ νν

his behalf from his father land / and built, together the People, this monument to his brother.

NOTES

- 1. The beginning is marked by a lozenge (\Diamond). The division here indicated is that into verses.
- 2. In Ozolian Locris. See No. 86.
- 3. This is the earliest mention of this title: see the glossary under "metics."

25

20

4. "[came to all]": Peek. Other restorations do not greatly differ in meaning

No. 15

Drakon's Law on Homicide. 621/0 B.C.

A: Eusebius, Chronica, 97b 6 Helm (at the year 624/3); B: IG I2, 115; GHI, No. 86, pp. 264-67; R. Stroud, * Drakon's Law on Homicide (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1968), pp. 1-18, with photo in back insert. Marble stele, stoichedon, Athens. Cf. Andocides 1. 83; Aristotle, Athenaion Politeia 4. 1, 7. 1; Plutarch, Solon 17. 1. The authenticity of the law has been disputed. As the heading indicates, this stele was inscribed in 409/8 B.C.

D. M. MacDowell, Athenian Homicide Law in the Age of the Orators (Manchester, 1963), pp. 117-25; Stroud, passim; W. T. Loomis, JHS 92 (1972), 86-95; Bury-Meiggs, p. 121.

A. Eusebius, Chronica, 97b 6 Helm

See No. 1B at the year 624/3

3. IG 12, 115+

Diognetos of Phrearrhos¹ was Secretary, | Diokles was Archon.² | Resolved by the Boule and the People, Akamantis held the prytany, [D] io [g] Inetos was Secretary, Euthydikos presided, [...] e[...] anes made the motion. The || law of Drakon about homicide shall be inscribed by the Recorder's of the laws (Anagrapheis), after they have received it from the King Archon, jointly with the Secretarly of the Boule, on a marble stele, and they shall set it up in front of the Stola Basileia. The Poletai shall let the contract according to the lalw. The Helleno-

tamiai shall supply the *money*. || First Axon. 3 || Even if without premeditation [someone kills someone, he shall be exiled.] Judgment shall be passed (on him) by the Kings⁴ as guilty of homicide *seither* (?) [-17-] or (?) the man who ploitted (the death). The Ephetai shall give the verdict. [Pardon may be granted, if the father] is alive, or brothers, or sons, by all of them (in agreement), or the one [opposing it shall prevail: if none] of these men exists, (then by the male relatives) as far as the degree of cousin's son and [cousin, if all] | are willing [to pardon]. The opposer shall prevail. [If none of these exists, and the] killing was

involuntary, and judgment is passed by the [Fifty-One, the Ephetai, that it was involuntary] I homicide, he may be admitted (into the country) by [members of his phratry, ten in number, if they wish. These] thle Fifty-One [shall elect] according to their rank. [And those also who] prioll r (to this time) committed homicide [shall be bound by this ordinance. Proclamation shall be made] against the hlomicide [in the] agora6 [(by relatives) as far as the degree of cousin's son and cousin. Prosecution shall be made jointly] I by cousins, [sons of cousins, sons-in-law, fathers-in-law] alnd members of the phratry [-36-] responsible for homicide [-26- The Fifty-] II One [-42-] of homicide I are convicted [-35- If] anyone I [kills the homicide or is responsible for his murder when he has kept away from the market] on the frolntier and [from the games and from the Amphictyonic rites, I (then) just as one by whom an] Athenian is klilled, [just so shall he be treated. The verdict shall be brought in by the] Ephetai.

If [---] | [---] | [---] | [---] | [-- initiating] aclts [of injustice --] acts of injustice, should k||ill [-- Verdict shall be brought in] by the E|phetai [--] he is a frele man. And [if a man unjustly carrying away one's property by force is immediately] repelled and killed, [there shall be no recompense for his death --] | [---] 8

NOTES

- 1. From the time of Kleisthenes, citizens of Athens were officially identified by the name of the deme in which they were registered.
- 2. I.e., of 409/8 B.C., when this law was published on stone. The first two lines are set out as a heading.
- 3. This heading is written in slightly larger letters more widely spaced.
- 4. This is either a reference (in the plural) to the king archon of different years or to the phylobasileis.
- 5. Stroud; "decide on the causes of the homicide" and "hold trials for accusations of homicide" are alternative explanations.
- 6. The word can mean either "in the marketplace" or "in the Assembly."
- 7. I.e., those common to all Greeks as members of the League.
- 8. The inscription continues for more than twenty lines, with only a few letters preserved on the right-hand edge. But "Second Axon" can be restored on line 56 from traces of letters set out as in the heading in line 10.

No. 16

The First Sacred War. Late seventh century B.C.

A: Athenaeus 13. 10 p. 560 BC (Callisthenes, FGrHist 124 F 1); B: Aeschines 3 107-9; C: Harpocration s.v. "Krauallidai" (Didymus; Xenagoras, FGrHist 240 F 22); D: Scholiast to Pindar, Summary (of the origins) of the Pythian Festival b

×

decree passed by the Therans, though its authenticity is in question No. 18
The Foundation of Cyrene. Marble stele, nonstoichedon, Doric Greek, fourth century but embodies in lines 23.-40 what is allegedly the original Cyrene. Late seventh century B.C. This inscription actually dates from the

GRBS 7 (1966), 25-29. GHI,* No. 5, pp. 5-9; L. H. Jeffery, Historia 10 (1961), 139-47; J. H. Oliver,

Graham, Colony and Mother City, pp. 27, 40, 224-26; Bury-Meiggs, pp. 85 f.

said by the Therans, Kleudamas son of Euthykles, in order that the city may lishled, both those who founded Cyrene from Thera and those at Thera who tllhe citizenship according to that ancestral custom which our forefathers estabprosper and the Pelople of Cyrene enjoy good fortune, the Therans shall be given God. Good Fortune. | Damis son of Bathykles made the motion. As to what is

0 cluded with them when II they sent out the colony according to the command of good fortune if they abided by the I sworn agreement2 which our ancestors conrelmained—just as Apollo granted Battos and the Therains who founded Cyrene the Therans shall continue to enjoy equal citizenship in Cyrene in the salme way Apolllo Archagetes. 3 With good fortune. It has been resolved by the People I that

5 marble and placed in the ancestral shrine of l Apollo Pythios; and that sworn and a phratry and nline Hetaireiai. 4 This decree shall be written on a stele | of same oath which the others oncle swore, and they shall be assigned to a tribe (as of old). There shall be sworn by all Therans who are domicilled in Cyrene the

20 of the Accounts prlovide it from Apollo's revenues. vv | The sworn agreement of expenditure necessary for the sltone or for the engraving, let the Superintendents onists when they sailed to Libya $wit \parallel h$ Battos from Thera to Cyrene. As to the the settlers.6 | Resolved by the Assembly. Since Apollo spontaneously told agreement³ also shall be written down on the stele I which was made by the col

30 25 ans to sail as his Companions. On equal alnd fair terms shall they sail according to family (?), with one son to be consclipted [-c. 21-]7 adults and from the Therlans to send Battos off to Libya, as Archagetes | and as King, with the Ther-B[at] lltos and the Therans to colonize Cyrene, it has been decided by the

stayed there and by those who sailed to found the colve, and they invoked son or a brother his brotliher, is to suffer the same penalty as the man who reare incapable of giving it assistanlice, and they are pressed by hardship for five owner. But if they do not successfully establish the settlement and the Therans fuses to sail. On these conditions a sworn agreement was malde by those who to sail, will be liable to the death-penalty and his property shall be confiscated property, and they shall be citizlens. Any man who, if the city sends him, refuses years, from that land shall they depart, | without fear, to Thera, to their own citizenship and offices | and shall be allotted portions of the land which has no establish the settlement, kinsmen who sail | later to Libya shall be entitled to The man halrboring him or concealing him, whether he be a father (aiding his) [otllher] Therans those who are free-born [-6-] 8 shall sail. If they (the colonists)

35

45 I sworn agreement but transgresses it shall melt away and dilssolve like the images gether, men, womlen, boys, girls: "The person who does not abide by this burnt them, calling down (the following) cllurse, everyone having assembled tothose settling in Libya or those who remlained. They made waxen images and -himself, his descendents and his propeirty; but those who abide by the sworn

50 abundancle of good things, both themselves [and] their descendents. agreement-those I sailing to Libya and [those] staying in Thera-shall have an

NOTES

p. 109 n. 1 (from an unpublished Cyrenaic inscription). provided by F. Chamoux, Cyrène sous la monarchie des Battiades (Paris, 1953). 1. I suspect a lacuna, though an apparent parallel for the asyndeton has been

2. Or "original agreement": Meiggs-Lewis, p. 7.

"Founder"; the title of Apollo, it was also the name for the founder of a new probably rank higher than mere restorations" (GHI, p. 7).—Archagetes: verio, RFIC 56 (1928), 224 f., who read letters not seen by others, which "should 3. This reading, like many others which are here italicized, derives from Oli-

(Hetairoi) in line 27, and see Graham, JHS 80 (1960), 108 f. 4. A smaller political grouping than the phratry. Compare "Companions"

5. See note 2.

6. This is set out as a heading

Jeffery; "[from each household, one hundred in number,] adults": Oliver. "[from the perioeci (or townsmen?), one hundred are to sail] who are adults" New readings by Fraser (in GHI) support none of these. 7. "[from each household, and those shall sail] who are adults": Wilhelm;

8. "[whoever wished]": Graham and others; "[one hundred in number]":

left in alternate lines (boustrophedon). Ionic alphabet, Chios. 600-550 B.C. horizontally on the back. The writing runs from left to right and right to Law from Chios. Reddish trachyte stele inscribed vertically on three sides

8, pp. 14-17; M. Ostwald, Nomos and the Beginnings of the Athenian Democ-Athenian Constitution, p. 95; J. H. Oliver, AJP 80 (1959), 296-301; GHI,* No L. H. Jeffery, BSA 51 (1956), 157-67; Wade-Gery, Essays, pp. 198 f.; Hignett, racy (Oxford, 1969), pp. 161-63; Bury-Meiggs, p. 124.

The Back of the Stele¹ (C)

10 domaia3 || th Let him appeal to I the Boule of the Pelople. 2 On the third day I after the Heb-Toule shall assemble which is the People's, (which) clan inflict

fines, and (wi .) consists of fifty men frolm a tribe. The othell business shall

22

curses against those transgressors who would not ablide

it—whether they were

40

NOTES

month of Artemesion. on the left (\mathbf{D}) there is a reference to someone's obligation to take an oath in the scure texts. The front face (A) mentions as two officials the demarch and king (basileus). Allusion to the appeal of a judgment occurs on the right side (B), while 1. The other faces of the stele are poorly preserved and present extremely ob-

(Aristotle, Ath. Pol. 8. 4; Plutarch, Solon 19. 1). son to accept the authenticity of the much-debated Solonian Council of 400 coexisted with an aristocratic council, and some have argued that it provides reament within the state at a relatively early period. The Council presumably levy fines and, apparently, to judge appeals attests the growth of the popular ele-2. This is the earliest secure reference to a Council of the People. Its power to

3. A festival to Apollo on the seventh day of every month.

pontis); the second (B) is written in Attic. 1 575-50 B.C. to right and right to left in alternate lines, Sigeion. The first inscription on the stone (A) is in the Ionic dialect of Prokonnesos (an island in the Pro-Gravestone of Phanodikos of Prokonnesos. Marble stele, writing from left

SIG, * No. 2, pp. 2 f.; SEG IV, No. 667

pp. 192 f.; LSAG, pp. 72, 366 f., with facsimile on Plate 71. 43.44 italiane in Oriente 3-5 (1941-43), 135 ff.; Graham, Colony and Mother City, M. Guarducci, Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni

A

10 to the Sykeleans.3 mixing bowll and a staind (for it) and a strainer for the Phytaneion II did he give Of Phanodikos I am I (the likeness), 2 son of Hermodrates, of I Prokonnellsos. A

 \mathbb{B}

10 me, Ol Sigeians. I was mallde by Haisopos and I his brothers. taneion I glave as a memorial to the Sigellans. If harm befalls (me), take care of well (as the above). 4 A mixing bowl | and a stand and a strainler for the Pry-Of Phanodikos am I (the likeness), the son of Hermokrates, of Prokolnesos, as

NOTES

having become illegible (!). after they gained Sigeion, as reflecting a second stage in the career of Phanodikos (when he became an exile in Sigeion), and as a result of the first inscription 1. The doublet has been explained as an attempt to conciliate the Athenians

2. An image of the man was engraved on the stone.

3. I.e., Sigeians. Spelling is erratic; note "Prokonesos," B 2 f.

a mixing bowl" 4. The words "as well" can also be taken with what follows, i.e., "I too (gave)

No. 21

Corinthian, Salamis. About 600 or 480 B.C. Epitaph of the Corinthians Who Died at Salamis. Marble block, archaic

Invasion, pp. 411-14; A. L. Boegehold, GRBS 6 (1965), 179-86 (480); GHI,* No. 24, pp. 52 f. (480). Cf. Herodotus 8. 94; Plutarch, Moralia 870 e. IG 1,2 927; R. Carpenter, AJA 67 (1963), 209 (c. 600); Hignett, Xerxes

/ and we saved holy Greece from the Medes.] 2 lie in Aia]s' [island of Salamis. / Here we captured Phoenician ships and Persian, [O friend! In the well watered] city of Corinth we once lived. /1 [But now we

NOTES

1. Each verse occupies one line of the inscription.

2. The epigram is restored from Plut., Mor. 870 e.

No. 22

The Athenian Naukrariai. 594/3-508/7 B.C.

Athenaion Politeia 8.3, 21.5. "Naukraroi." Cf. Herodotus 5. 71 (with Thucydides 1. 126. 5); Aristotle B: Pollux, Onomasticon 8. 108; C: Bekker, Anecdota I 283. 20 f. s.v. A: Photius, Lexicon s.v. "Naukraria" (Cleidemus, FGrHist 323 F 8):

Hignett, Athenian Constitution, pp. 67-74; B. Jordan, CSCA 3 (1970), 153-75,

A. Photius, Lexicon s.v. "Naukraria"

was like a symmory 1 and a deme, and the naukraros was like the demarch. Solon In earlier times when they used the words naukraria and naukraros, the naukraria