

## Prospectus of the Second Athenian League, 378/7

Twenty fragments of a *stèle*, inscribed on the front and on the left-hand side, found in the Athenian Agora, now in the Epigraphical Museum. Phot. Kirchner, *Imagines*<sup>2</sup>, Taf. 23 Nr. 29; Accame, *La lega ateniese*, tavv. i-ii; *Hesperia* 1967, pl. 30 (these all partial); Sealey, *History of the Greek City-States*, 413; *Chiron* xi 1981, Taf. 4; *Ann. W.* ix 1984, 41-2; our Pl. 3.

Ante-Ionic, retaining the old ε for ει or η in ll. 121, 128, and ο for ου normally; ll. 1-6 in larger letters; ll. 7-77

## Front

ἐπὶ Ναυσυνικοῦ ἀρχοντος·

*vocal*

Καλλίβιος | Κηφισοφώντος

Πιταννεὺς | ἑγρημμάτρευεν·

*vocal*

ἐπὶ τῆς Πρωθωντοῦδος ἐβδ[όμου]ς πρυταν-

5 νέας· ἔδοξεν τῆι βο[α]λῆι καὶ τῶι δήμω-

11 Χαρίωνος Μηλων[εὶ]ος ἐπ[ι]στράτει.

Μηριστομένης ἐπ[ι]στειν· τῦλ[η]η ἀναθη[ῆ]· τῆι Μ-

θηπαιων καὶ τ[ῶ]ν [συμ]μάχων τῶν Μηθρατῶν-

15 ὄτρως ἀν Δακεδ[αι]μόνιοι εἶσι τοὺς Ἐλαθη-

10 νας ἐλευθε[ρ]ο[ς] [καὶ] αὐτονόμος ἦσυχίαν

ἀγειν, τῆ[ν] χάριαν] ἔχοντας ἐμ βεβαίωι τῆ-

16 [ν] ἑαυτῶν παῖσαν, [καὶ] ἐπ[ὶ] τῶ[ν] κ[α]τὰ τῶν κ[α]τὰ τῶν δὲ-

[αμείνη] ἢ τε εἰρη[ῆ] καὶ ἢ φιλία ἢ ἀμείνη-

17 [ν] οὐ Ἐλαθη[ες] καὶ [β]α[ρ]βα[ρ]ο[ί] κατὰ τῶν σ[υ]ν-

15 [θη]κας]], εἰρηφί[σ]θαι τῶι δήμωι· ἐάν τις βολ-

[ῆται τῶν Ἐλαθη[ων] ἢ τῶν βαρβα[ρ]ων τῶν ἐν

[Εὐρώπῃ] ἐν τοικῶτων ἢ τῶν ηἰσιστων, ὅσ-

[οι μη] βασι[λέ]ως εἰσίν, Μηθρατῶν σὺμμαχ-

18 [ος] εἶναι κ[α]τὰ τῶν συμμα[χ]ων, ἔξεῖναι αὐ[τῶ]ν-

20 αἰ[ε]τ[ε] ἐλευθε[ρ]ο[ί]αι ὄντι καὶ αὐτονόμοι, πολ-

19 [τε] εὐνομε[ῖ]ται ποικιλείαν ἢ ἀν βόληται, μή-

18 [τε] φροσ[φ]ῶν εἰσδεχόμενοι μήτε ἀρχοντα

ἦπο[δ]εχ[ο]μένους μήτε φόρον φέροντι, ἐπὶ

17 δὲ τ[ῶ]ν αὐτοῖς ἐπ' οἴσπερ Χίτοι καὶ Θηβαί-

*sticholon* 31 (32 letters in l. 24); ii: 80-4 *sticholon*; for the different hands see translation and commentary.

IG n<sup>o</sup> 43; SIG<sup>3</sup> 147; Tod 123<sup>a</sup>; Pouilloux, *Chios*, 27; *Skt.* 257; Cargill, *The Second Athenian League*, esp. 14-47; Trans. Harding 35; See also S. Accame, *La lega ateniese*, A. G. Woodhead, *AGF* xi 1957, 367-73; G. L. Cawkwell, *Hdt.* xii 1963, 84-95; Cawkwell, *CC* xxiii 1973, 47-60; Cawkwell, *JHS* ci 1981, 49-55; F. W. Mitchell, *Chiron* xi 1981, 73-7; E. Badian, in Eder (ed.), *Die athenische Demokratie in 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, 79-106, esp. 86-93.

## Front

In the archonship of Nausinicus [378/7]:

Callibius, son of Cephisophon, of Paeania,

was secretary; in the seventh prytany, of Hippo-

thontis, resolved by the council and the people:

Charinus of Athmonum was chairman. Aristot-

eles proposed:

7 For the good fortune of the Athenians and the

allies of the Athenians. So that the Spartans

shall allow the Greeks to be free and auto-

nomous, and to live at peace occupying their

own territory in security, [and so that the peace

and friendship sworn by the Greeks and the

King in accordance with the agreements may

be in force and endure,] be it decreed by the

people:

15 If any of the Greeks or of the barbarians living

in Europe or of the islanders, who are not the

King's, wishes to be an ally of the Athenians

and their allies, he may be — being free and

autonomous, being governed under whatever

form of government he wishes, neither receiv-

ing a garrison nor submitting to a governor nor

paying tribute, on the same terms as the Chians

and the Thebans and the other allies.

12-15 The text within the creasure was reconstructed by Accame, 51; his reconstruction has been doubted (e.g. by Cawkwell, 1973, 60 n. 1; Cargill, who was sceptical about many of the readings), but study of squeezes and enhanced photographs in Oxford supports most of his readings (cf. C. V. Crowther, forthcoming; meanwhile *CSAD/Kentale* in Spring 1996, 4-5); here undotted and dotted letters outside brackets represent P, J, R, readings, *vin* κ[α]τὰ τῶν (12), *sin* β[α]ρβα[ρ]ο[ί]ος, and *ain* τ[ῶ]ν (14) not read by Crowther; underlined and dotted letters inside brackets represent letters read undotted and dotted by Crowther but not by P, J, R. 12 restored Accame. 13 restored Crowther (suggesting as alternative [α]ρρηγῆ καὶ εἰρη[ῆ]; [α]μείνη εἰς αἰετὴν καὶ ἢ κοινή εἰρη[ῆ] ἢ Accame. 14 restored Accame. 17 *Εὐρώπῃ* Wade-Gery *op. Tod*, *aidhndia* ἠρεῖσθαι other edd.



- 25 οἱ κα[ ] οἱ ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι. τοῖς δὲ ποιησο-  
 αμέν[οι]ς συμμαχίαν πρὸς Ἀθηναίους καὶ  
 τὸς συμ[μ]άχος ἀφέναι τὸν δῆμον τὰ ἐγκ-  
 τήματα ὅσοι ἂν τυγχάνωσι ὄντα ἢ ἴδια ἢ [δ]-  
 ημόσια Ἀθ[η]ναίων ἐν τῇ χ[ώρα] τῶν ποιο[ ]-  
 30 μένων τῆν συμμαχίαν κ[α]ὶ περὶ τούτων π[η]-  
 λίσταν δόλαι Ἀθηναίους. ὅσαι δὲ τυχάν[η]-  
 ε τῶν πόλεων [τῶν ποιουμένων] τῆν συμμαχ-  
 ίαν πρὸς Ἀθηναίους σ[η]τήλαι δόσαι Ἀθήησο-  
 ε ἀπεπληθύνει[ε], τῆμ βολήν τῆν αἰεὶ βολε-  
 35 ῖοσαν κυρίαν εἶ[ν]αι καθαρεῖν. ἀπὸ δὲ Ν-  
 αυσανίκο ἀρχο[ ] τ[ ]ος μὴ ἐξείναι μήτε ἰδ-  
 ται μήτε δηλοσ[ ]αι Ἀθηναίων μηβει ἐγ-  
 κτήσασθαι ἐν τ[ ]αις τῶν συμμαχῶν χῶρα-  
 ε μήτε οἰκίαν μήτε χωρίον μήτε πραιομέ-  
 40 νοι μήτε ὑποθιμέναι μήτε ἄλλαι τρώτω-  
 ε μηβει. ἔαν δέ τις ἀνήται ἢ κτῆσαι ἢ τ-  
 θῆται τρώτοι ὄντων, ἐξείναι τῶν βολο-  
 μένων τῶν συμμαχῶν φήνας πρὸς τὸς συν-  
 45 ἔδρος τῶν συμμαχῶν. οἱ δὲ συνέδροι ἀπο-  
 [ ]λλο κο[ ]νόν [εἶ]τω τῶν συ[μ]μάχων. ἔαν δέ τι-  
 σ [ ]η[ ] ἐπὶ προκείμεναι ἐπὶ τ[ ]ο[ ]ς ποιησομένους  
 τῆν συμμαχίαν ἢ κατὰ γ[ ]ῆ[ ]ν ἢ κατὰ θάλασσαν  
 50 αἶν, βοηθεῖν Ἀθηναίους καὶ τὸς συμμαχῶς  
 τούτους καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν  
 ν παντὶ ἀβένει κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν. ἔαν δὲ τι-  
 σ εἴπωι ἢ ἐπιψηφίσωι ἢ ἀρχῶν ἢ ἰδιώτη-  
 σ παρὰ τὸδε τὸ ψήφισμα ὡς λέγειν τι δεῖ τ-  
 55 ἄν ἐν τῷδε τῶν ψηφίσματι εἰρημεί[ ]ων, ὑ[ ]-  
 [ ]ρηγ[ ]μα[ ]τα ἀ[ ]π[ ]ὸ δῆμοσ[ ]α ἔστω καὶ τῆς θ[ ]εῶ[ ]  
 [τ]ὸ ἐπιδ[ ]έκα[ ]ρον, καὶ κρυέσθω ἐν Ἀθηναί[ ]α[ ]-  
 [ο]ις καὶ τ[ ]οῖς[ ] συμμαχῶς ὡς διακίων τῆν  
 συμμαχία[ ]ν. [ ]ημιδόντων δὲ ἀνδρῶν θανάτω-  
 60 ε ἢ φονγῆ[ ] δ[ ]περ[ ] Ἀθηναίους καὶ οἱ σύμμαχο-  
 ε κρᾶσά[ ]ν. ἔαν[ ] δὲ θανάτω τυμηθῆι, μὴ τα-  
 φήτω ἐν τῇ[ ] ἄστ[ ]ι καὶ [μ]ηδὲ ἐν τῇ[ ] τῶν συμ-  
 μάχων. τὸ δὲ [ἐ]ψηφί[ ]σμα τὸδε ὁ γράμματεὺς  
 ὁ τῆς βολῆ[ ]ς ἀναρ[ ]ατάτω ἐν ἀσπ[ ]η[ ]νι λιθ[ ]ι-  
 65 νη καὶ καταθ[ ]έτω[ ] παρὰ τῶν Δία τὸν Ἐλευ-

31 Ἀθηναίους. ὄσαι δὲ Wade-Cary φη. Tod, *addenda*, Ἀθηναίους. ἔαν τῶν R. S. Stroud φη. Cargill, cf. Ἀθηναίους. ἔαν δὲ U. Koehler, *IG* II 17 (one letter too short); α[ ]φ[ ]ροῖς. ἔαν δὲ τῶν J. Kirchner, *IG* II 43. 45 The underlined letters were originally omitted in error and have been added above the line.

- 25 For those who make alliance with the Athenians and the allies, the people shall renounce whatever Athenian possessions there happen to be, whether private or public, in the territory of those who make the alliance, and concerning these things the Athenians shall give a pledge. For whichever of the cities which make the alliance with the Athenians there happen to be unfavourable *stela* at Athens, the council currently in office shall have power to demolish them.
- 35 From the archonship of Nausimachus it shall not be permitted either privately or publicly to any of the Athenians to acquire either a house or land in the territory of the allies, either by purchase or by taking security or in any other way. If any one does buy or acquire or take as security in any way whatever, it shall be permitted to whoever wishes of the allies to expose it to the *synedroi* of the allies; the *synedroi* shall sell it and give one half to the man who exposed, while the other shall be the common property of the allies.
- 46 If any one goes for war against those who have made the alliance, either by land or by sea, the Athenians and the allies shall go to support these both by land and by sea with all their strength as far as possible.
- 51 If any one proposes or puts to the vote, whether official or private citizen, contrary to this decree that any of the things stated in this decree ought to be undone, the result shall be that he shall be deprived of his rights, and his property shall become public and a tenth belong to the Goddess, and he shall be judged by the Athenians and the allies for breaking up the alliance. He shall be punished with death or with exile from wherever the Athenians and the allies control; and, if he is assessed for death, he shall not be buried in Attica or in the territory of the allies.
- 63 This decree shall be written up by the secretary of the council on a stone *stela* and set down beside Zeus Eleutheros; the money for the



80	Μυτιλήν[υ]αίοι	Θηβαίοι
	[Μ]ηθυ[μ]αίοι	Χαλκιδῆς
	Ρόδιοι	Ἐπεροῆς
	Βυζάντιοι	Μακεδόνας
	Περίθιοι	Καρύστου
	Περαργήσιοι	Ἴκιοι
	Σκιάθιοι	Παλλ[—]
	Μακωνῆται	[—]
	Διῆς	[—]
90	Πάφ[λο]οί	[—]
	Μθηνῆται	[—]
	Μπιστορέλης εἶπε·	[—] ἐπελ[—]
	δαὺν πρῶτο[υ]	[—]
	ἐκόντες π[ρο]σοχουῶσαι	[—] ἐψη[—]
	φυσιμέτα τῶι δήμῳ καὶ τ[—]	[—]
95	νήσαν εἰς τῆν συμμη[αχίαν]	[—]
	τοῖς τῶν ἐψηφ[η]σμένων	[—]

## Left-hand side

beginning level with l. 7, more widely spaced vertically than the text on the front, ending level with l. 62:

[I]top]παίων
[ὁ δ]ήμῳ
[Μ]β[η]παίων
100 [Θ]ά[α]οι
[Χα]κκ[η]δῆς

writing-up of the *stèle* shall be sixty drachmas, given from the ten talents by the treasurers of the Goddess. On this *stèle* shall be inscribed the names of the cities which are allies and any other which becomes an ally. This is to be inscribed.

<sup>72</sup> The people shall choose immediately three envoys to Thebes, who are to persuade the Thebans of whatever good thing they can. The following were chosen: Aristoteles of Marathon, Pyrrhandrus of Anaphlystus, Thrasybulus of Collytus.

For the list of allies see below. Underneath the names of allies inscribed on the front is the beginning of another decree:

<sup>91</sup> Aristoteles proposed: --- since first --- they come forward willingly --- decreed by the people and --- of the islands into the alliance --- to those of the things decreed ---

We give the names of the members in the order in which they seem to have been inscribed.

In the same hand as the decree:

79–83 Chios; Mytilene; Methymna; Rhodes; Byzantium.

In the same hand again, heading a second column:

79 Thebes.  
In a second hand, below Thebes in the second column:  
80–4 Chalcis; Eretria; Arethusa; Carysus; Icus.

Perhaps all in a third hand, below Byzantium in the first column:

85–9 Perinthus; Reparethus; Sciathus; Maronea; Dinm.

Other names on the front:

79 Tenedos (inserted beside Chios);  
82 Poessa (inserted beside Rhodes);  
i. 89–90 Paros; O—; Athenae (Diades); P—;  
ii. 85–90 Pall(?)—; —; —; —; —; —.

On the left-hand side, beginning level with the list on the front:

131–4 The People of Zacynthus in Nellus.

On the left-hand side, beginning level with the normal-size text of the main decree:

97–130 The People of Pyrrha; Abdera; Thasos;

ii. 85 We follow Gargill in dotting the second A. <sup>97</sup> [I]top]παίων G. Scucchinatta, *RSI* xvii–xviii 1987–8, 39–53; [Θ]η[παίων] J. E. Coleman & D. W. Bradeen, *Hesp.* xxxvi 1967, 102–4; [Καρύ]παίων earlier edd., but the space is insufficient: see commentary.



ἀπὸ [Θράκης]  
 Αἰῖοι  
 Σαμοθράκ[ες]  
 105 Δικαιοπολίται  
 Ἀκαρῶνες  
 Κεφαλληνῶν  
 Πρωῆνοι  
 Μάκεδνας  
 110 Νεοπτόλεμος  
 || [ — — — — ] ||  
 Μυθριοι  
 [Τ]ήριοι  
 115 Μολκίωνιοι  
 Μυρρυσάιοι  
 Ξηρέσιοι  
 Μορμυσιόιοι  
 Κεῖων  
 120 Ίουλήται  
 Καρθαῖες  
 Κορήσιοι  
 Εὐναόοιοι  
 Μυόριοι  
 125 Σηλυμβρανοί[?]  
 Σίφριοι  
 Σικυνηταί  
 Διᾶες  
 ἀπὸ Θράκης  
 130 Νεοπολίται  
*beginning level with l. 79:*  
 Ζακυνθίων  
 ὁ δῆμος  
 ὁ ἐν τοῖς Νηλε-

111 [[Τάσση]] ead., but if the vertical at the r.h. end of the crasure is part of a letter the name ought to be longer (Woodhead; see commentary).  
 123 Cargill claims that there was no room on the stone for the final *l*.  
 130 *λ*: ττ carved originally and *λ* superimposed (Cargill).

According to D.S. xv. 28 (misplaced under the year 377/6), after the liberation of Thebes from Sparta (which in fact occurred in winter 379/8) the Athenians sent envoys to the cities subject to Sparta, urging them 'to hold on to the common freedom'; this secured a response first from Chios and Byzantium, then from Rhodes, Mytilene, and some others of the islanders, and as the movement grew many cities joined. The Athenians set up a *synedion* of the allies, to meet in Athens with each

the Chalcidians from Thrace; Aenus; Samothrace; Diceopolis; Acarnania; of Cephalonia: Pronni; Alcetas; Neoptolemus; [[*erasure*]]; Andros; Tenos; Hestiaea; Myconus; Antissa; Eresus; Astracus; of Ceos; Iulis; Carthaea, Corresia; Elaeus; Amorgus; Selymbria; Siphnus; Sicinus; Diium from Thrace; Neapolis.

member state having one vote, and all members were to be autonomous, with the Athenians as *hegemones*. The Thebans were in alliance with Athens and the members of the *synedion*. After devoting 29. i-iv to Persia's war against Egypt, Diodorus continues with the raid of the Spartan Sphodrias (whom he calls Sphodriades) on the Piraeus while Spartan envoys were present in Athens, and his acquittal despite protests from Athens. Then he mentions the admission of the Thebans to the *synedion* and a decision