

35 'Charter of the Second Athenian Confederacy'

34 Alliance between Athens and Byzantium. Athens, 378/7. Two fragments of a marble stele, Ionic letters (but o=ou and e=ei, except in line 14), stoichedon.

IG II² 41; Tod 121, pp. 56-7; *SV2.256, pp. 205-6. Cf. Diod. 15.28.3. For the friendship between Athens and Byzantium from 390/89 onwards cf. Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.27; Demosthenes 20.60; Isocrates 14.28.

Accame, *Lega* 16-17, 32ff.; A.P. Burnett, *Historia* 11 (1962) 3; G.L. Cawkwell, *CQ* 23 (1973) 50-1; D.G. Rice, *YCS* 24 (1975) 99; Bury-Meiggs 351; Cargill, *League* 32, 52, 169ff.

5 [-- of the Athen[i]ans¹ both now [and in the] pre|ceding period contin|ue [to be], let it be voted [by the People]: || The Byza[ntines] shall be [Athenian] | allies and (allies) [of the other] a|llies. The [alliance] s|hall be for them [on the same terms as for the Chians]. | The oath shall be sworn [to them by the Boul|e] and [the generals and th|e] commanders of the cavalry
10 [-- | ---] | (lacuna) | [-- invitation shall be issued to the amb|assadors of the Byz|ant[ines] (to come) [for hospita|lity] to the Prytaneion on the mor|row. The inscription of the stel|e (shall be the responsibility of) the secretary of the Boule. | vacat || The following were chosen as ambas|sadors: | Orthoboulos² from Keramei[s], Exekestides³ from Pallene,
15 | Xenodokos from Acharnai, | Pyrrhandros⁴ from Anaphlystos, || Alkimachos from Angele. | The following were the ambassadors from Byzant[i]um: Kydon,⁵ Menestratos, | Hegemon, Hestaios, vv | Philinos.⁶

1 Presumably in the preceding space stood some form of the usual explanatory clause, maybe similar to the one found in no. 37. Then the sense of the clause would be, 'Since the Byzantines continue to be well disposed to the city of the Athenians now, as they have been in the past'.

2 See Lysias 16.13.

3 Cf. no. 59 n. 1.

4 Cf. nos. 35 and 38 and see Aeschines 3.139.

5 See Xen. *Hell.* 1.3.18, 2.2.1.

6 Probably the Byzantine Philinos, who was honoured as proxenos and benefactor by the Athenians about this time (IG II² 76).

35 'Charter of the Second Athenian Confederacy'. Athens, 378/7 (spring 377). Twenty fragments of a marble stele (inscribed on front and left side), Ionic letters (but o=ou except in lines 30, 50 and 118, e=ei, or eta in lines 121, 128), stoichedon (lines 7-77, but line 24 has one extra letter and in line 69 the letters are more widely spaced; lines 1-6 form a heading).

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IG II² 43; Tod 123, pp. 59-70; SV2.257, pp. 207-11; Pouilloux, *Choix* 27, pp. 100-5; A.G. Woodhead, *AJA* 61 (1957) 367-73; *Cargill, *League* 14-47. Cf. Diod. 15.28.2, 29.7, 30.2, 36.4-5; Isoc. 14.44.

Marshall, *Confederacy* 14ff.; Accame, *Lega* 48ff.; R. Sealey, *Phoenix* 11 (1957) 104-9; Ryder, *Eirene* 54-7; G.L. Cawkwell, *CQ* 23 (1973) 47-60; Cargill, *League* 51-7, 97-160; C. Hamilton, *Traditio* 36 (1980) 83ff.; G.L. Cawkwell, *JHS* 101 (1981) 41-7.

FRONT

In the archonship of Nausinikos (378/7), | Kallibios,¹ son of Kephisophon, | of Paiania was secretary. | vacat When Hippothonti[s] 5 (held the) seventh prytal|ny.² Resolved by the Boule and the Peop|le, Charinos of Athmon[on]³ presided. | Aristoteles⁴ made the motion: To the good fortune of the A|thenians and of the allies of the Athenia|ns, in 10 order that (the) Laced[ae]m|onians may allow the Helle|nes, free and autonomous, to live | in peace, holding in security the [land] (that is) 15 the|ir [own]: [-- | --- | --- | --].⁵ Let it be voted by the People: If anyone wis|hes, [of the Hel|lenes, or of the barbarians who | are living on [the mainland],⁶ or of the islanders, as | many as are [not] subject to the King, [to be] an ally | of the Athenians and of their allies, it shall be permitted 20 to hi|m (to do so), remaining free and autonomous, liv|ing under whatever constitution he wants, neith|er receiving a garrison nor having a governor | imposed upon him nor paying tribute,⁷ but (he shall become an ally) on | the same terms (as those) on which (the) Chians⁸ and (the) 25 Theba|ns⁹ and the other allies (did). For those who have | made alliance with (the) Athenians and | their allies, the People shall give up the properties, however many there are found to be, either privately or 30 p|ublicly, held by Athenians in the land [of those who] ma|ke the alliance, and [concerning these] (properties) | shall give a pledge [--]¹⁰ it happens (that) | of the cities [that are making] this allian|ce with (the) Athen|ians] there are stelai at Athen|s unfavourable (to them), 35 the Boule that is at the time in || office shall have the authority to destroy (them). After N|ausinikos' archonship it shall not be permitted, either pr|ivately or publicly, for any Athenian to p|ossess in the lands of the 40 allies | either a house or a plot of land, either by purcha|se, or as the result of a mortgage, or by any other mean|s at all. If anyone does buy or acquire or take (such property) | on mortgage by any means what- ever, it shall be permitted for any | of the allies who wants to lay an indictment before the del|egates (to the Council) of the allies. The 45 delegates, after sel|ling (the property), are to give¹¹ [one] half (of the proceeds) to the (man) who laid the indictment, while the r|est is to be (the) common (property) of the allies. If anyon|e comes for the purpose of making war against those who have made | the alliance, either by 50 land or by se|a, the Athenians and their allies will give assistance || to

them, both by land and by sea, | with all (their) strength to the best of
 (their) ability. If any|one proposes or puts (a proposal) to the vote, (be
 he) a magistrate or a private individ|ual, contrary to this decree, that it
 is necessary to abrogate any of t|he enactments mentioned in this
 55 decree, #|let it be (the penalty) for him to be deprived of (his) civic rights,
 and | let his *property* become public property and the Goddess | (is to have)
 the *tithe*, and let him be tried among (the) Athen[ia]n[s] and *the allies*¹²
 on the charge of dissolving the | alliance, and let them punish him with
 60 deat|h or exile from whatever land the Athenians and the allie|s con-
 trol. [If] he is condemned to death, let him not be bu|ried in [Att]ica,
 nor in the (land) of the all|ies. (As for) this *decree*, let the secretary | of
 65 the Boule have (it) *inscribed* on a stele of mar|ble and have (the stele)
 placed beside (the statue of) Zeus Eleu|therios.¹³ The money shall be
 given for the in|scription of the *stele*, (namely the sum of) sixty
 drachmas, | out of the Ten Talents,¹⁴ by the treasurers of the Godd|ess.
 70 On this stele he shall inscr|ibe the names both of the cities that are
 (already) | allied and of whatever (city) becomes | an ally. These things
 (then) shall be inscribed, and there shall be chosen | by the People
 three ambassadors right awa|y (to go) to Thebes, to persuade the
 75 Thebans to (do) what|ever good they are able. The following were
 chosen: | Aristoteles of Marathon, v Pyrrhandro|s of Anaphlys[t]os,¹⁵
 Thrasyboulos of Kollytos.¹⁶ |

The following states (are) allies of (the) Athenians.¹⁷ | Chians,
 80 Tenedians, Thebans, || Mytileneans, Chalcidians, | [M]ethy[m]neans,
 Eretrians, | Rhodians, Poessians, Arethousians, | Byzantines,
 85 Carystians, | Perinthians, Ikians, || Peparethians, Pal[-7-], | Sciathians,
 90 [-9-], | Maroneans, [-9-], | Dians, [-9-], | Par[i]ans, O[-9-], [-9-], ||
 Athenitai, P[-8-], [-9-]. | Aristoteles made the motion:¹⁸ [--] *sin|ce first*
 95 [--] | of their own free will *they join* [-- the things] *that have | been voted* by the
 People and the [--] || of islands into the *alliance* [--] | to the [--] of the
 things that *have been voted* [-- | ---]

LEFT SIDE

100 Of (the) [-2 or 3-]raians | the People,¹⁹ | Abderites, || [Thasi]ans,
 105 | [Chalci]dians | from [Thrace], | Ainians, | Samothracians, ||
 Dikaipolitans, | Acarnanians, | of (the) Cephallenians | Pronnoi;
 110 | Alketas, || Neoptolemos, | [[-c.6-]],²⁰ | Andrians, | Tenians, |
 115 [Hes]tiaean[s], || Mykonians, | Antissaians, | Eresians, | Astraiousans, | of
 120 (the) Ceans || (the) Iulietae | (the) Karthaians | (the) Koressians,
 125 | Elaiousians, | Amorgians, || Selymbrians, | Siphnians, | Sikinetsans, |
 130 Dians | from Thrace, || Neopolitans. | *vacat* | Of (the) Zacyn[th]ians | the
 People | in the Nellos.²¹ |

- 1 Kallibios was a trierarch about this time; cf. *IG II²* 1604.87 and Davies, *Families* 3773.
- 2 Spring 377.
- 3 Since Athmonon is a deme of the tribe Kekropis, Charinos does not belong to the tribe in prytany. Thus he marks the first datable example of the standard fourth-century practice, whereby nine Proedroi were chosen during each prytany (one from each of the nine tribes not in prytany) to prepare the agenda and supervise meetings of the assembly. Cf. Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* 44.2-3. For the date of the change from 'chairman of the prytany' to 'chairman of the Proedroi' see G. Glotz, *REG* 34 (1921) 1-19, D.M. Lewis, *ABSA* 49 (1954) 31-4, and Henry, *Prescripts* 27 n. 32.
- 4 See Diogenes Laertius 5.1.35.
- 5 These lines were deliberately erased in antiquity. The most commonly accepted restoration is that of Accame, *Lega* 51. It runs: 'in its entirety and so that there may continue in validity for all time the Common Peace that was sworn by the Greeks and the King in accordance with the agreements'. For criticism of this restoration and different suggestions for the erasure of these lines see Cawkwell, *CQ* 23 (1973) 60 n. 1, and Cargill, *League* 28-32.
- 6 Or '[Europe]' (Wade-Gery *ap. Tod, addenda*).
- 7 See no. 36.
- 8 See no. 31.
- 9 See no. 33.
- 10 Tod and most editors, following Schaefer, read 'to them' in this space. But see Cargill, *League* 18 n. 3, who prefers to end the sentence at the word 'pledge' and to read, 'If for anyone' (i.e. of the allies) in the space.
- 11 The last five letters of the word 'selling' and the first five of the word 'give' (both forms of the same Greek verb) were originally omitted by the mason and later inscribed above the line.
- 12 Whether this involves a joint court or two separate trials is in contention. See Cargill, *League* 121-2.
- 13 In the Agora, near the Stoa of the King.
- 14 Presumably a special fund reserved for certain public expenses. It is mentioned again in no. 40 line 18. See Rhodes, *Boule* 103 n. 7.
- 15 Cf. nos. 34 and 38.
- 16 He helped restore the democracy in 403 (Dem. 24.134). For his family-tree see Davies, *Families* 7305.
- 17 The following list was inscribed in several hands. The Chians, Thebans, Mytileneans, Methymneans, Rhodians and Byzantines are in the same hand as inscribed the decree itself. The Chalcidians, Eretrians, Arethousians, Carystians and Ikians were added soon after in smaller letters, arranged stoichedon. The Perinthians, Peparethians, Sciathians, Maroneans and Dians form another group, inscribed 'in a crude and thick script' (Tod, p. 66). Other hands added the other names. For a detailed study see now Cargill, *League* 32-9. A problem exists regarding the number of allies in the League. The names listed here total no more than 60, yet Diodorus (15.30.2) gives the number 70 and Aeschines (2.70) gives 75. Cargill argues in favour of 60 (*League* 45-7).
- 18 The purpose of Aristoteles' additional motion is not clear. Proposed restorations are too hypothetical. See Cargill, *League* 39 and 99.
- 19 The former restoration 'the People of the Corcyraeans' was shown to be impossible by Bradeen and Coleman (*Hesperia* 36 (1967) 102-4), who suggested 'the People of the Theraeans'. Their suggestion is accepted by Cargill, *League* 40-1.
- 20 Fabricius' restoration of the name Jason (of Pherae) in this space was challenged

37 Methymna joins the Athenian Confederacy

by A.G. Woodhead (*AJA* 61 (1957) 367–73) and is not accepted by Cargill, *League* 43–4, but is supported by Cawkwell (1981) 44f.

- 21 The names on this side were all added at the same time and inscribed by the same hand, with the exception of lines 97–9 and 131–4. See Cargill, *League* 39–44 and 51–67 (for a history of the growth of the confederacy). On the identification of the 'People in (on?) the Nellos' see now F.W. Mitchel, *Chiron* 11 (1981) 73–7.

36 A new name for tribute. ?378/7.

Harpocraton, *Lexicon s.v. Syntaxis* (Theopompus, *FGrHist* 115F98). Cf. Plut. *Solon* 15.2.

C.H. Wilson, *Athenaeum* 48 (1970) 302–26; Cargill, *League* 124–7; F.W. Mitchel, *Class Views* 28 (1984) 23–37.

They used to call also the payments of phoroi (= tribute) 'syntaxeis' (= contributions), since the Greeks were distressed by the name of 'phoroi'. It was Kallistratos¹ who gave them this name, as Theopompus says in the tenth (book) of the *Philippika*.

- 1 Presumably Kallistratos of Aphidna.

37 Methymna joins the Athenian Confederacy.¹ Athens, 378/7.

Marble slab, Ionic letters (but o=ou throughout, e=ei once in line 3), stoichedon (from line 5; line 22 has one extra letter).

IG II² 42; Tod 122, pp. 57–9; **SV* 2.258, pp. 212–13.

Marshall, *Confederacy* 56 n. 3; Accame, *Lega* 44ff.; D.M. Lewis, *ABSA* 49 (1954) 33–4; G.L. Cawkwell, *CQ* 23 (1973) 50–1; Cargill, *League* 52, 107.

[Resolved by the Boule and the People -- | --] held the *prytany*, Kal[1-7-] from [Alo]|peke was secretary, Simo[n --]|ios presided, Astyphilos² made the motion: Concerning | the matter raised by the Methymneans, 5 sinc|e they are allies³ and well disposed to the cit|y of the Athenians, (the) Methymneans, in order that | also with the other allies of the Ath|enians they may be in alliance, they shall be insc|ribed by the secretary of the Bou|e, as the other allies also have | been inscribed. 10 The oath shall be sworn by the em|bassy of the Methymneans, the same | oath as the other allies also | swore, to the delegates of the al|lies and to the generals and the | hipparchs. The oath shall be sworn to the Methymn|eans by the delegates of the allies | and by the generals and 15 the hipparch|s in the same terms. It shall be the concern of Ai[si]|mos⁴ and the delegates on the sh|ips⁵ that the oath be sworn by the magis-

38 Alliance between Athens and Chalcis

trates of the M[eth]|ymneans, just as (it was sworn) by the other allies. | Commendation shall be given to the city of the Methymn|eans and 25 invitation shall be issued to the ambassadors of the || Methymneans (to come) for hospitality. *vv* | *vacat*

- 1 The Methymneans were inscribed on the 'Charter of the Confederacy' in the same hand as the body of the document. Cf. no. 35 line 81 and n. 17. Thus they were already members by the time no. 35 was inscribed. Yet the references in this document to 'the other allies who have been inscribed' and to the 'delegates of the allies' at Athens and 'on the *ships*' suggests that the confederacy has already been organized. The usual explanation of this problem is that Methymna applied for membership and was accepted after the passage of no. 35, but before its inscription. For a contrary view see Cawkwell in the article cited. See now Cargill, *League* 107 n. 24.
- 2 This man has been identified with the son of Euthykrates of Araphen, but he is not the only Astyphilos known in this period, so the identification is not certain. Cf. Davies, *Families* 7252(C).
- 3 The Methymneans were, therefore, already in alliance with the Athenians, like the Chians, Byzantines and others. Exactly when they became allies of Athens is not known, but it was not until after 390/89, when they were still loyal to Sparta (Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.29).
- 4 Cf. nos. 11 and 31.
- 5 'Ships' is the restoration of both Sauppe and Wilhelm (*ap. Tod*) and is commonly accepted. Other suggestions (also *ap. Tod*) are 'places' (Mylonas), 'oaths' (Judeich), both of which are one letter too long for the space.

38 Alliance between Athens and Chalcis.¹ Athens, 378/7.

Marble slab, Ionic letters (but o=ou throughout, e=ei in lines 8 and 21), stoichedon (in lines 1–3 the letters are larger and more widely spaced to form a heading and line 17 has an extra letter).

IG II² 44; Tod 124, pp. 70–2; **SV* 2.259, pp. 213–14. Cf. Diod. 15.30.1.

Marshall, *Confederacy* 57; Accame, *Lega* 70ff., 74ff.; Cargill, *League* 33–4, 38, 102, 154–5.

[Ar]istoteles, son of Euphiletos, | of [Ach]arnai was secretary.² | [In] the archonship of Nausinikos (378/7). | Resolved by the Boule and the 5 People, Leonti[s] || held the *prytany*, Aristoteles was secretar|y, [of the] Proedroi the one (who) put (the motion) to the vote (was) Pantaretol|s] of [--]ia, Pyrrhandros³ made the motion: Concerning the matters r|aised by the Chalcidians, they⁴ shall be introduced t|o [the] People at the first 10 assembly, and the o|pinion of the Boule shall be added, (namely) that it is the | opinion of the Boule to accept the alliance (offered) b|y [the] Chalcid[ia]ns with good fortune, on the terms on which it is offered by the Chalcidians. The oath shall be sworn by the | city to (the)