Early in the third century B.C., the citizens of Paros voted honors for a certain 'Ἀπόλλοδόρος Ἀπόλλωνίου Κυζικηνός. They dispatched ambassadors to his hometown to ask that "the honors given to him by the demos of the Parians be announced in the boule and the demos, that he be crowned in the Dionysia in the theater and the honors announced, and to ask for a place in the agora where they might erect the statue (τὴν εἰκόνα)" of Apollodorus. The Cyzicenes gladly acceded to the requests, praising the Parians and Apollodorus for his ἠλπίω and εὐνοία toward the Parians, ordering the crowning and announcement of the honors, and granting a place "beside the tables in front of the Doric Stoa" for the statue.¹

The decree of the Parians calls Apollodorus 'Ἀπόλλοδόρου τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνίου νησιωρχοῦντος (lines 7ff). Nesarchos was the title of the head of the Nesiotic League, founded by Antigonus Monophthalmus in 314. The League, with headquarters on Delos, embraced most of the Cyclades and functioned as a nominally independent administrative unit. Its chief officials, however, served at the pleasure of the hegemonic power on which the League was dependent: first the Antigonids and, after 288, the Ptolemies.²

¹ Michel, Recueil 534.9–24 (CIG 3655). For Apollodorus see Pros. Ptol. VI 15035. F. W. Hasluck, Cyzicus (Cambridge 1910) 7, reported a Doric column drum in the ruins of the city wall.

² Debate on the date of the foundation of the League cannot be rehearsed here. Foundation of the League probably lagged behind the liberation of Delos in 314, as K. Buraselis, Das hellenistische Makedonien und die Agäis. Forschungen zu Politik des Kassandros und der drei ersten Antigoniden im Agäischen Meer und in West Kleinasiens (=MünchBeitr 73 [München 1982: hereafter Buraselis]) 41ff, 60–67, 80–93, followed by R. A. Billows, Antigonus the One-Eyed and the Creation of the Hellenistic State (Berkeley 1990) 220–25; imprecisely 314: R. Etienne, Ténon II. Ténos et les Cyclades (=BEFAR 63 bis [Paris 1990]) 89 n.6; Buraselis 67 contra C. Wehrli, Antigone et Dême-
Apollodorus therefore served as one of the three known nesiarchs, either under the Antigonids (Monophthalmus or Demetrius Poliorcetes) or one of the Ptolemies. Although Merker (with some reservations) and Billows place him under Demetrius, most commentators prefer to see him as the first Ptolemaic nesiarch of the League. For these views inventories of the Temple of Apollo on Delos supply the main support—the dedication by an Apollodorus of two phialai and a seal of emerald with a gold chain. As this Apollodorus is once called nesiarchos, he is clearly to be identified with the subject of the Parians’ decree. Another nesiarch, Bacchon, entered office by 280 (with dedications first recorded in 279) and served until ca 267, when a Hermias took over. So Apollodorus can only have preceded Bacchon and must therefore be either the Ptolemies’ first or Demetrius’ last nesiarch.

This reconstruction depends on the crucial assumptions that Apollodorus’ dedications date from his service as nesiarch and that these dedications must have been offered only a few years before their first appearance in the Delian inventories. Although the first assumption seems wholly justified—both of

---


For the Ptolemaic takeover see Buraselis 93 (288 B.C.); E. Will, Histoire politique du monde hellénistique II (Nancy 1979) 94 (291–287 B.C.). The subsequent history of the League, especially its Rhodian period, is not relevant here. Other important secondary literature on the League, which is attested only epigraphically, in n.3 infra.


4 IG XI.2 161a14f, 44f; 162a11f, 35; 188.3f; 199a41; I.Delos 296a44, 338ab24 (ντίσιαρχος).

5 For Bacchon and Hermias see Merker (supra n.3) 150–53.
Apollodorus' known successors made similar dedications during their tenure in office— the second is far from secure. Indeed, another body of evidence from Delos argues strongly against it.

From 308, 307, or 306 to 278, an Apollodorus son of Apollonius of Cyzicus regularly paid to Delian Apollo 10 dr. as interest. After that year he was noted among the non-paying debtors. As the temple charged 10% interest, these payments represent a loan of 100 dr. The loan, not original with Apollodorus, belonged to an Athenodorus on the hypothecation of a garden coming to Apollodorus by purchase from a Patareus, as known from the initial entry for his payments of 10 dr.: [Ἀπολλόδωρος] Ἀπολλονίου Κυζικηνός. Δ. ὑπὲρ τοῦ χρέους [ὅψει Ἀθηνόδωρος ἐπὶ τοῦ κήπου ἐν ἐπάρατο Ἀπολλονίου] παρὰ Παταρέως (IG XI.2 142.14ff). Responsibility for making payments accompanied purchase of encumbered property. But according to Durrbach's restorations Apollonius, not Apollodorus, originally bought the garden from Athenodorus. No evidence connects Apollonius to Delos, and (more troubling) as an outsider, a non-citizen, he could not own land on the island. How, then, could he have bought the garden?

The same problem would have faced Apollodorus, of course, but in his case a Delian honorary decree thanking him for his euonoia to Delos and its god awards him citizenship with the right to own property: γῆς καὶ οἴκιας ἐγκατεστῶν (IG XI.4 562.16f). In another Delian decree of about the same period, a Hegestratus lodges an official request to use his right granted by a proxeny decree to buy land and a house: ἐπεζηθεὶ Ἡγεστράτος, καὶ ἐνεργέτης ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως, κατὰ τὰς

6 On Bacchon's dedications (IG XI.2 161a12ff [279 B.C.], 162a9ff, 164b5ff, 199a38ff; I.Delos 298a17ff, 300b18ff) see K. J. Rigsby, "Bacchon the Nesiarch on Delos," AJP 101 (1980) 194ff; cf. also J. Tréheux, BCH 109 (1985) 496 n.47; Hermias: IG XI.2 287a11-12; I.Delos 297b54-59, 298a79-83, 313.63-66, 320a27-30, 442a71; his honorary decree: IG IX.4 565.

7 See Table (at end) for references to the loan; on the date of IG XI.2 142 see J. Tréheux, "Les dernieres années de Délos sous le protectorat des amphictyon," RA 31-32 (1948 [=Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire offerts à Charles Picard]) 1008-32; for Athenodorus' rôle—he borrowed the 100 dr. either as former proprietor (before Patareus) or as a renter of the property from Patareus—see R. Bogaert, Banques et banquiers dans les cités grecques (Leiden 1968) 145ff and, generally on Delian loan practices, 138-65; on bearers of the name Patareus see C. Vial, Délos indépendante (314-167 avant J.-C.) (=BCH Suppl. 10 [Paris 1984]) 312 with n.27; for the view that Delos had a "zone of gardens," see P. Bruneau, "Les jardins urbains de Délos," BCH 103 (1979) 89-99 ("zone" at 91).
δεδομένον αυτῷ δωρεάν ύπό τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Δήλιων βούλεται ἐγκτήσασθαι ἐν Δήλῳ καὶ ἐν Ῥηνίαίᾳ. Απολλόδωρος probably did the same, and it is therefore appealing to restore 'Απόλλοδωρος at IG XI.2 146.15.

But the omega in 'Απόλλωνος contradicts this solution. Durrbach indicates no doubts about this reading in IG XI.2 (cf. the lemma on lines 14f), but the editio princeps tells a different story: Durrbach printed 'Απόλλωνος. His commentary in IG XI.2 does not say that the stone was re-read or the omega confirmed. The dot, in my view, invites the hypothesis that Durrbach did not read either of the two bars at the bottom of the circle that would distinguish an omega from an omicron. On this assumption the name can be restored as ἐπίρατο 'Απόλλωνος παρὰ Πατραῖος.

Who was Apollodorus son of Apollonius of Cyzicus, honored by Delos and purchaser of a garden by 306? A strong presumption identifies him with the nesiarch: name, patronymic, ethnic; testimony for both in approximately the same period; both obviously of wealth and standing. Absence of the title nesiarch from both the honorary decree and the list of loan payments is not unusual; e.g. the honorary decree for the nesiarch Hermias (IG XI.4 565) omits his position. The title appears elsewhere only in decrees honoring others in which the nesiarch is mentioned in his official capacity, on statue bases, and in late inventories.

8 IG IX.4 543.3–9 (ca 300–279); cf. L. Migeotte, *L'emprunt public dans les cités grecques* (Quebec 1984) 158ff; another case: Cleinodemus of Siphnos, awarded ἔκτησις before 167, bought a house in 161/0 under the Athenians (IG XI.4 840; I.Delos 1408A, II 46); cf. P. Roussel, *Delos colonie athénienne* (= *BEFAR* 111 [Paris 1916]) 73 n.4.

9 *BCH* 35 (1911): text on fold-out sheet opposite p.23.

10 ἵππες is also not absolutely certain; Durrbach read IEIAS. He regularly indicates re-readings of the inscriptions in IG XI.2 and I.Delos e.g. IG XI.2 161, p.47; I.Delos 290, p.1; 442, p.129.

11 Bacchon in IG XI.4 559 (Choix 18), 1126; I.Delos 338eb24 (probably 224 B.C., for Apollodorus), 298a171 (240 B.C., for Bacchon), 297b55 (241 B.C., for Hermias; on the date see J. Tréhéux, “L’Héropoion et les oikoi du sanctuaire à Délos,” in J. Servais et al., eds., *Stemmata. Mélanges de philologie, d’histoire et d’archéologie grecques offerts à Jules Labarbe* [Liège 1987] 379 with n.8). On IG XI.4 1027 (Kyzikenoi theoroi mentioned but the names are lost) and 1298 see L. Robert, “Une fête de Cyzique et un oracle de Delphes à Délos et à Delphes,” *BCH* 102 (1978) 460–77 (= *Documents d’Asie Mineure* [BEFAR 239 bis (Paris 1989)] 156–73).
Nor is the date of the first record of Apollodorus’ dedications decisive. *IG XI.2* 161B 3–65, the earliest (preserved) complete inventory for the Artemisium, where his gifts were stored, provides the first record of numerous objects possibly dedicated years before, such as a golden kylix offered by Ptolemy I probably in 308. This inventory gives merely a terminus ante quem of 279 for Apollodorus’ dedications, and only the absence of these offerings from the accounts of the Amphictyony provides a terminus post quem. Nothing therefore obstructs the natural assignment of all the testimony to a single Apollodorus son of Apollonius of Cyzicus, nesiarch.

These results have important implications for Apollodorus’ career. He bought his Delian garden no later than 306; the Delian decree in his honor was probably passed no later than the same year. Delos, whether or not a member of the Nesiotic League, served as its headquarters and the nesiarch’s residence there can be reasonably assumed. It follows that Apollodorus entered office as nesiarch under Antigonus Monophthalmus and no later than 306.

Perhaps Apollodorus’ accession can be dated more precisely. Antigonus liberated the islands and created the Nesiotic League in 314, reflected in foundation of the Antigoneia the same year (*cf. supra n.2*). He left the Aegean, however, in the hands of his nephew Ptolemaeus, who intrigued with Ptolemy I in 310–309. A Ptolemaic fleet cruised the islands in 308 and expelled a garrison on Andros. The next year Demetrius’ passage through the Cyclades reaffirmed Antigonid control of the islands. This expedition offered a good opportunity for reorganizing the administration of the islands, including the imposition of a new official, the nesiarch, to serve as the chief officer of the League and to provide liaison with its Antigonid overlords.

---

12 *IG XI.2* 154a54f ends just where the inventory would have begun. For the kylix, *IG XI.2* 161B20–27 with Buraselis 49 n.46; Bruneau (*supra n.2*) 516.

13 Identification first proposed by T. Homolle, *BCH* 14 (1890) 451 n.1, *Les archives d’intendance sacrée à Délos (=BEFAR 49 [Paris 1887])* 45f n.2, and further at comm. *ad IG XI.4* 562, p.10; cf. Durrbach, *Choix* p.30: “On a généralement assimilé.” The doubts of P. Roussel (*ad IG XI.4* 561, p.10) and later of Durrbach (*ad I. Delos* 338b24, p.110, reprised by Bogaert [*supra n.7*: 145 n.83]) seem to me unfounded. Homolle (*BCH*) suggested that he was the grandson of the Apollodorus of Cyzicus in Plato (*Ion* 451cf; *cf. Ael. VH* 14.5, Ath. 506a), an appealing but very problematic association.

14 Diod. 20.37.1f; Buraselis 49; Will (*supra n.2*) 68f; M. Holleaux, *Études d’épigraphie et d’histoire grecque* 1 (Paris 1938) 29–32–35.
These circumstances could also explain Apollodorus’ honorary decree. In 307 Demetrius had just recaptured the islands; he would no doubt have entrusted their administration to one of his φύσοι on the expedition. Apollodorus, reasonably, was involved in the reassertion of Antigonid control, giving him ample opportunity to intervene in local affairs. Like his Ptolemaic successors Bacchon, Hermias, and other officials who operated in the Cyclades, Apollodorus received honors from the islands he helped. This reconstruction of events further implies 307 (rather than 308 or 306) as the correct date of IG XI.2 142 and likewise 307 (or 306) for XI.4 562. It also confirms Plut. Demetr. 25.7 (sometimes doubted) for a nesiarch under Antigonid incarnation of the League.

Apollodorus’ tenure in office and his fate after the Ptolemies replaced his patrons in the Cyclades remain unknown. Buraselis argues that the Antigonids lost interest in the islands after 302, although this cannot be strictly so given Demetrius’ subsequent occasional passages through the islands, which also apparently continued to pay him taxes. Apollodorus’ position possibly became somewhat tenuous. Regardless of his official position, he continued to pay his 10 dr. regularly to Apollo until 274, well into the period of Ptolemaic control and Bacchon’s tenure as nesiarch. Perhaps he retired on Delos like Artemidorus son of

15 M. Holleaux, Études d’épigraphie et d’histoire grecque III (Paris 1942) 27–32: probably in honor of Bacchon; IG XII.5 1065, XII.3 320; I Cr. III: Itanos 2f. The Delian decree for Apollodorus (IG XI.4 562.3–9) reads: Ἐπεξετοθή Ἀπόλλωνος ᾿Αττικής ἀνήρ ἄγαθος ὁ διάστελε περί το τέρον ἵπτεν πάντι τὴν ἡλίων καὶ ποιητὴν ἀγαθὸν ὃ τι δύναται καὶ λόγιον καὶ ἔργα τοὺς ἑντυνχάνοντας ἐστι τοῖς Δηλιῶν. Titles at lines 10ff, privileges (citizenship, exemption from all taxes, probēdria, enktesis, and access to the boule and demos) at lines 14–19.


17 Buraselis 86: a Schattenleben of the League after 302; Demetrius’ passages: 301 (Plut. Demetr. 30.4; IG XI.2 146A76f), 295 (C. Habicht, Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte Athens im 3. Jahrhundert v. Chr. [=Vestigia 30 (Munich 1979)] 1–21); 288 (return to the East: Plut. Demetr. 44). The Antigonia was still being celebrated on Delos in 296: IG XI.2 154A42f. Taxes: IG XII.7 506.16 (Syd. 390), XI.4 559 with Migeotte (supra n.8: 161-66 with further references) for the view that the loans were possibly taken out to pay taxes to Demetrius.
Apollonius of Perge, who settled on Thera after carrying out official duties there for the Ptolemies.\textsuperscript{18}

His subsequent fate is problematic. His default in 274 is recorded with other defaulters on the edge of the stele—the space often used for addenda or corrigenda made after the main faces were already inscribed. Another defaulter, Pherecleides son of Eucleides, had certainly died by the time of the entry. In this case his children paid his rent on the estate Leimon early enough for the payment to be included in the regular accounts,\textsuperscript{19} suggesting that the hieropoioi of 274 waited until after their books were closed and the main faces of \textit{IG} XI.2 199 already inscribed to see whether defaulting debtors were going to pay, perhaps because some of them had passed away. Unfortunately, this does not prove that the hieropoioi had hopes that Apollodorus or his heirs might pay, since they had sufficient reason from Pherecleides' death to put off the inscription of the debtors. Nothing indicates that the other debtors inscribed on the edge of the stone had any special status.

Apollodorus' name next occurs in 268 in a unique entry: \textit{ἐκ τῶν Απολλωδόρου ἄνωθ'}. Since the hieropoioi use παρά, not \textit{ἐκ}, when describing payments from people, this expression cannot be glossed as "from the (heirs, children) of Apollodorus." It would instead mean "from the things of Apollodorus," which sounds much like a payment made by executors from the estate of a deceased person. A possible parallel from Delos records a payment by Κράτων \textit{ἐκ τοῦ Ὠλυμπιοδόρου οἰκήματος}, Δ. But this interpretation is far from certain.\textsuperscript{20}

The hieropoioi regularly designated the unpaid interest of deceased persons with \textit{τοῦ δεῖνος κληρονόμοι}, as in the case of Pherecleides. For Apollodorus the first and only use of this phrase comes in 219; afterwards the accounts revert to \textit{Ἀπολλώδορος Κυζικήνως}. Appearance of Apollodorus' name in the nominative until 219 led Bogaert to place his death between 247 and 220; for the period after 219 Schulhof assumed

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{18} \textit{IG} XII.3 421f, 863; 3 Suppl. 1333–50, 1388; F. Hiller von Gaetringen, \textit{Thera III. Stadtgeschichte von Thera} (Berlin 1904) 89–97, with reservations.
  \item \textsuperscript{19} \textit{IG} XI.2 199\textsuperscript{6}, c94f; cf. Vial (\textit{supra} n.7) 295.
  \item \textsuperscript{20} \textit{IG} XI.2 274.22 with Bogaert (\textit{supra} n.7) 148f for the use of παρά. The same expression is used in the same document to indicate rental of part of a piece of property: \textit{IG} XI.2 204.25, 27; D. Hennig, "Die 'heiligen Häuser' von Delos," \textit{Chiron} 13 (1983) 429f with 450 n.89.
\end{itemize}
that the reference must be to a homonymous son, "qui est vivant, puisque son nom est au nominatif." 21

No certain account of Apollodorus' life after 274 can be offered. I give a plausible version: Apollodorus was dead by 268, when someone made his annual payment from his property; at any rate, I do not think the hieropoioi used ἐκ τῶν Ἀπολλόδωρου for a living person. The default of 274, possibly a result of his death, might also reflect his departure from Delos, perhaps to return as an old man to his native city. That would explain the absence of heirs if his children accompanied him; but this is hardly certain.

The hieropoioi continued in the following years to calculate his debt, but avoided the usual expression Ἀπόλλοδώρου κληρονόμου because he had no heirs on Delos. I suspect rather that his son(s) lived at Cyzicus, or at least elsewhere than Delos, and his affairs remained in limbo until ca 245, when Soterus or Soter 22 paid 10 dr. on his behalf. In my view, this person was not a mercenarius of Apollodorus but a son, who had visited Delos for whatever reason and incidentally paid the interest. 23 The son departed, leaving the hieropoioi again uncertain about the status of the father's debt. They reverted to the old formula, Ἀπολλόδωρος Κυζικηνός, which persisted to the end of Delos' independence. The one exception, in 219, I would attribute to the extreme precision of the hieropoios Hierombrotus, who, since he made an account of only his half of the year's books, was especially careful in his redaction (and shows other peculiarities as well). 24

21 Bogaert (supra n.7) 146; E. Schulhof, "Fouilles de Délos," BCH 32 (1908) 461.
22 IG XI.2 289.12. Both formulae, ὁ δεῖνος ὑπὲρ τοῦ δεῖνος and παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος ὑπὲρ τοῦ δεῖνος, are common for payment of a debt by a third party; cf. Bogaert (supra n.7) 148.
24 Cf. Durrbach's remarks at I.Delos 353, p.125. I would like to thank the anonymous reader for several useful suggestions.
## Table

Payments by Apollodorus or his Heirs  
(from *IG XI.2* and *I.Delos*)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Payment</th>
<th>Default?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>142.14f</td>
<td>308/306</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>156A6f</td>
<td>288/283</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>161A31</td>
<td>279</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>162A24</td>
<td>278</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>199C88</td>
<td>274</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>204.25</td>
<td>268</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>223A57</td>
<td>262</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>274.23</td>
<td>260/258</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>287A191f</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>291f6</td>
<td>247</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>289.12</td>
<td>245/242</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>353b28f</td>
<td>219</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>363.61f</td>
<td>209</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>366A116</td>
<td>207</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>369A24</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>372A176</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>403.71</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>444A43</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>457.32</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>463B5</td>
<td><em>ca</em> 170</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Comments**

*IG XI.2* 274.23. The entry here, Ἀπολλόδωρος Κυκτήνως: Δ, appears to fall among those who have paid their debts, but the stone is incomplete, and a rubric like καὶ οὐδὲ τόκους ὀφείλοντι καὶ οἱ ἔγγοι (XI.2 287A189) may have appeared before line 23. Several debtors listed near Apollodorus here appear in default in *IG XI.2* 226A23–27 (258 B.C.)

*I.Delos* 457. For the date, Tréheux (*supra* n.6) 493 n.29.

*I.Delos* 463 joins 466 and two unpublished fragments, Γ766α, β: *cf.* Tréheux 483, 488 n.12.

**Trinity College, Hartford**

*December, 1991*