

IG II² 937: Athens and the Seleucids

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THIS INSCRIPTION is composed of a number of pieces from the Agora and Epigraphical Museum (Agora I 4522, 4798, 4920, EM 2402, 2404). The actual fragment published as IG II² 937 is lost. B. D. Meritt published the first edition of the assembled pieces in 1967;¹ soon afterwards L. Robert rightly challenged Meritt's identification of the honoree and offered a valuable discussion of the text.² The present edition incorporates a new fragment, includes a line which Meritt omitted, and takes account of Robert's suggestions. The new piece, fragment x (PLATE 1) is known only from a squeeze at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton; it was identified by the hand, and joins at lines 33 and following. The present location of fragment x is unknown.

ca a. 135 a.

NON-STOICH. *ca 39*

[-----ἔδο]-
[ξ]εν [τῶι δήμῳι ----- εἶπεν·]
ἐπειδ[ῆ καὶ πρότερον Εὐμένης ὁ πατήρ . ηνὸδώρου]
4 τροφῆς κ[αὶ τιθηνὸς τοῦ βασιλέως ---- *ca 11* ---]
[ἐ]πιδημήσα[ς ἐν τεί πόλει ἡμῶν ἀνεστράφη καλῶς]
καὶ εὐσχημ[όνως καὶ κοινῆι τῶι δήμῳι καὶ ἰδίαι τῶν]
πολιτῶν ἀεὶ [τοῖς ἀφικνουμένοις εἰς Ἀντιοχείαν]
8 ἀνθ' ὧν ὁ δῆμ[ος βουλόμενος ἀξίως τιμᾶν τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς]
ἄνδρας ἐστ[εφάνωσεν αὐτὸν χρυσῶι στεφάνῳι καὶ]
πολίτην ἐποιή[σατο· καὶ νῦν . ηνὸδώρος παραλαβὼν]
τὴν πατρίαν [εὐνοίαν χρήσιμον ἑαυτὸν παρέχει]
12 καὶ πρὸς τὸν δῆ[μον καὶ πρὸς ἰδίους ὥστε τιμηθῆ]-
ναι ὑπ' αὐ[το]ῦ· ΑΛ[--- *ca 15* --- τῆς φιλοστορ]-
γίας καὶ τῆς π[ρὸς τὸν δῆμον εὐνοίας πολλὰς καὶ]
μεγάλας ἀποδ[είξεις ἐμ παντὶ καιρῶι ἐποιήσατο καὶ]
16 παρέσχετο χρεῖ[ας -----]
νημένος καὶ παρεχ[-----]
τε αὐτῶι τάξιν ἔχειν [--- *ca 18* ---]αν προ-
άγων τά τε κοινῆι χρῆ[σιμα -- *ca 9* --]ν πράττειν

¹ *Hesperia* 36 (1967) 59–63.

² *ArchEph* (1969) 1–6.

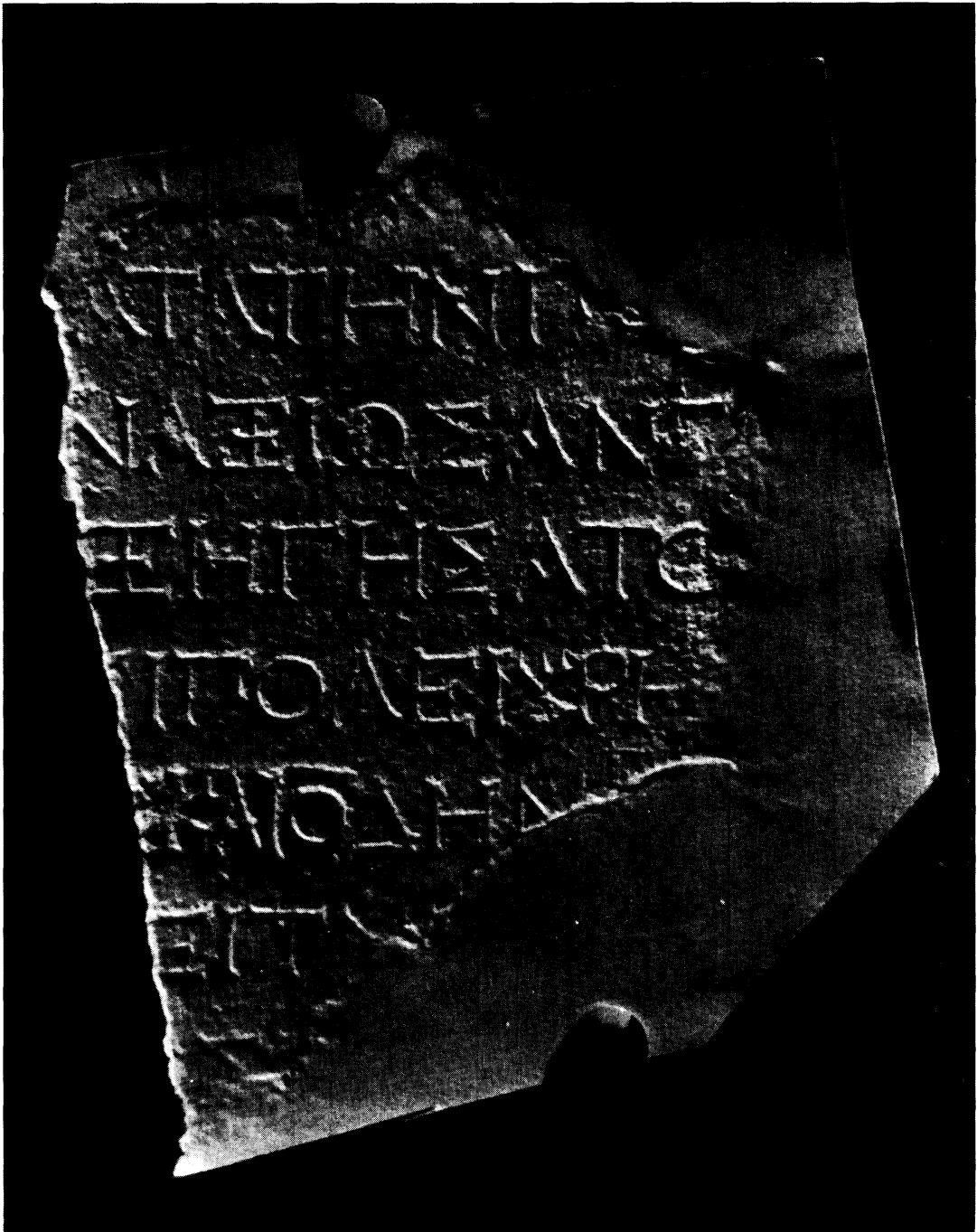
- 20 εἰνούστατα διακείμε[νος πρὸς αὐτ]όν ὄν ὕ νυνί τε ἀ-
ποσταλαῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλ[έως πρεσβευ]τῆς προθύμω[s]
ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὴν πρεσβεῖ[αν ἐπέδ]ωκεν ἔνεκεν τοῦ χ[α]-
ρίζεσθαι τῶ[ι δ]ήμωι διὰ τὸ ἐκ τῆς πρεσβείας μεγάλα [καὶ]
24 χρῆσιμα π[ορίζ]εσθαι κοινῆι τε πᾶσιν καὶ ἰδίαι τῶν π[ο]-
λιτῶν ἐκ[άστωι καὶ π]αρελθῶν εἰς τὴν ἐκκ[λησί]αν προ[σ]-
ηνέγκα[το λόγους ὕ]πὲρ ὧν οἱ πρόγονοι τ[οῦ βασ]ιλέω[s]
[ἔ]δωκα[ν τῶι δ]ήμωι δωρ[εῶν καὶ ὧν περιεπ[οίη]σαν φ[ι]-
28 [λ]αν[θρώπων -- ca 9 --]σοντως τὰ πρὸς [α]ὐτὸν ι-
[---- ca 20 ----]οντες ἕκ τε τῶν ἄλλων
[---- ca 21 ----]μάτων εὐχαρίστουν ἀ-
ξίω[s -- ca 9 -- ἀπελογίσ]ατο δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς το[ῦ]
32 βασ[ιλέως εὐνοίας (?) --- ca 12 ---] ἐπανορθῶσαι ὕ
τὸν δῆ[μ]ον ι[---- ca 16 ----]ήσατο κατὰ τὴν πό-
λιν συνανασ[τρεφ -- ca 10 --] ἐμ πᾶσιν ἀξίως ἀνε-
στράφη τῆς τ[---- ca 13 ----]ρίσεως· [ἔ]ξηγήσατο
36 δὲ καὶ περὶ ἧς [---- ca 14 ----]ς εἰσ[ι τ]εῖ πόλε[[ι χ]ρη-
σιμα ἔκτεν[ῶς --- ca 11 ----]ς ὅπως [ἄν οὖν] [[καὶ ὁ] δῆμ[ος]
φαίνεται τ[ι μῶν τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς] ἄνδρας, ὕ ἀγ[αθ]εῖ τύ[χει δε]-
δόχθαι τεῖ [βουλεῖ τοὺς λαχ]όντας προέδρους εἰς [τὴν ἐ]-
40 πιούσ[αν ἐκκλησίαν χρημ]ατίσαι περὶ τούτων γνώ-
μην δ[ὲ ξυμβάλλεσθαι τῆς] βουλῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμον ὅτ[ι]
δοκεῖ[τεῖ βουλεῖ ἐπαινέσαι . η] νόδωρον Εὐμένου Τρινε-
με[έα ἐπὶ τεῖ πρ]οαιρ[έσει καὶ στ]εφανῶσαι [χρυ]σῶι στεφάνω[ι]
44 [ἀρετῆς ἔνεκεν καὶ εὐνοίας ἧ] ὕ ἔχων [διατελ]εῖ πρὸς τὸν
[δῆμον τὸν Ἄθη]ναίων ὕ σ[τήσαι δ]ε αὐ[τοῦ καὶ εἰκ]όνα χαλκῆ[ν]
[ἐν ἀγορᾷ πα]ρὰ τὴν εἰκόν[α τοῦ βασιλέως Ἄντ]ιόχο[ν ἐπι]-
[μεληθῆναι δὲ τ]οὺς στρ[ατηγού]ς καὶ ἵνα ἀναγορευθῆι ὁ στέ-
48 [φανος καὶ ἡ ἐ]κὼν ἐν τ[οῖς ἀγῶσ]ι πᾶσιν οἷς τίθησιν ἡ πόλις·
[εἶναι δὲ αὐτ]ῶ[[ι κ]αὶ σίτησ[ιν ἐμ πρ]υτανείωι αἰτησαμένωι κ[α]-
[τὰ τοὺς νό]μους· τὸ δὲ ψήφισ[μα] τόδε ἀναγράψαι τὸν γραμ-
[ματέα τὸν] κατὰ πρυτανείαν [εἰ]ς στήλην λιθίνην καὶ ἀνα-
52 [θεῖναι παρὰ] τὴν εἰκόνα· τὸ δὲ [γεν]όμενον ἀνάλωμα δοῦνα[ι]
[εἰς αὐτὸ τὸν τα]μίαν τῶν στ[ρ[?ατ]ιωτικ]ῶν. *vacat*

vacat to bottom 0.116 m.

Epigraphical Commentary

I have calculated the lengths of lines and numbers of letters lost by counting *iota* as half a letter; when dealing with non-*stoichedon* texts this method gives more accurate results. Note that in this inscription, as in many others, the average number of letters per line increases slightly from top to bottom: it is about 37 in the first fifteen lines and about 40 or 41 in the last fifteen.

Meritt included in the opening lines of his edition Agora I 4758; A.



IG II² 937 fr. x, squeeze
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G. Woodhead has separated this fragment, and it is now published as *Agora XV 245*.

Lines 1–15. The restorations in these lines suit the requirements of space and reproduce as closely as possible the phraseology of known decrees. Nevertheless, I make no claim for them other than that they give a reasonable sense of what the parts now lost originally said. Many have been suggested by Christian Habicht, whose significant help with this fascinating document I gratefully acknowledge.

As parallels for the opening lines see *IG II² 682.18–21* and *Syll.³ 391.5–8*.

Line 2. Just the lower part of the initial vertical of the dotted *nu* is visible.

Line 4. The right tip of the horizontal of the dotted *tau* and the lower third of the vertical of the dotted *kappa* appear at the edges.

Line 5. Only the tip of the initial slanting hasta of *alpha* is preserved.

Line 6. A slanting stroke preserved to about half its height is all that remains of the dotted *mu*.

Line 7. For this restoration see *IG II² 785.12f*.

Line 8. The restoration was suggested by Robert.

Line 10. Of dotted *eta* just the bottom tip of the initial vertical with serif is legible.

Line 11. See *IG II² 399.10–12* for similar wording.

Line 12. Only the left half of the horizontal of the dotted *tau* and the arc at the top of dotted *omicron* survive.

Lines 13–15. Restoration, Robert.

Line 16. Just the bottom of *iota* is preserved.

Line 17. The lower part of a slanting stroke with serif can be made out at the edge; this is the basis for the dotted *chi*.

Line 21. Of the dotted *pi*, only the right tip of the horizontal is legible.

Line 23. Just the bottom of the arc of the dotted *omicron* is visible.

Line 24. There is room for four letters. Robert's suggestion of *πορίζεσθαι* suits the space and sense requirements. Merely the tops of the dotted letters are visible.

Line 25. The line of break preserves the right slanting *hasta* of *alpha*.

Line 26. *ὑπόμνημα* (Meritt) is a trifle long for the available space and, as Robert observes, unparalleled. For literary parallels of *λόγον/λόγους* with this verb see LSJ *s.v.* Of the dotted *tau* just the left tip of the horizontal appears.

Line 27. Restoration, Robert. The tip of the topmost horizontal of the dotted *epsilon* appears in the top right of the letter-space. The left side of the dotted *pi* is visible along the break.

Line 28. Meritt omitted the end of this line. Dotted *sigma* is read

on the basis of a horizontal, or nearly horizontal, stroke at the top of the letter-space. *Epsilon*, *zeta*, *xi*, *pi*, and *tau* are also possible.

Line 31. Restoration, Robert.

Line 32. The stone to the left of the dotted *iota* is worn; *eta* or *nu* could also be read. *Omega* is dotted because only the top half is preserved.

Lines 33–39. The letters in bold-face are preserved on the new fragment.

Line 36. Just the right tip of the topmost horizontal of the dotted *epsilon* is visible. In the erasure there appears a *chi* under *iota* and *chi*; *iota* was originally omitted.

Line 37. KAI is squeezed in in the erasure and was obviously omitted at first. The erased area probably included OYN.

Line 38. Merely the bottom of the dotted *iota* is visible.

Lines 39–46. The underlined letters were preserved on the lost fragment IG II² 937.

Line 43. Just the top of the dotted *iota* is preserved.

Line 44. Only the serif at the top right of the dotted *nu* can be made out.

Line 45. The right side of the dotted *nu* alone is preserved.

Line 46. The upper right of the dotted *rho* and upper left of the dotted *nu* alone are legible.

Line 47. The bottoms of the dotted letters appear; KAI seems a certain reading.

Line 48. The bottom of the dotted *iota* is visible at the break.

Line 49. *Kappa* was originally inscribed for the first preserved *iota*. It was not erased but rather the cutter made it into *iota* by inscribing *kappa* over the right side of it.

Line 51. The bottom of the left vertical of the *nu* appears at the break.

Line 52. Just the right tip of the horizontal of the dotted *tau* survives.

Line 53. The left half of the horizontal of the dotted *tau* is legible. None of the erased letters is visible; but crowding in the erased area suggests that the cutter first omitted two letters.

Commentary

The text was inscribed by a letter-cutter attested as working in Athens around 130 B.C.; his hand may also be seen on IG II² 977 (=Agora XV 246) of 131/0 and IG II² 1331.³ With the date provided by the hand, we are in a position to see that Meritt's date of ca 170 was a generation too early and that the king referred to is Antiochus

³ For a description of his lettering and a complete list of his inscriptions, see the present writer's forthcoming study of Attic letter-cutters of 229 to 86 B.C. The present workman is there identified as the Cutter of IG II² 937.

VII Sidetes, the last great ruler of the Seleucid Empire (139–129 B.C.). Lines 26 to 37, which make fulsome reference to the lavish gifts and beneficence of the ancestors of the king, can now be recognized in large part as referring to Antiochus IV Epiphanes and his tremendous expenditures on the Olympieion (Liv. 41.20.8, Polyb. 26.1.11, Ath. 5.194A). The man honored, who was either [Ze]nodoros or [Me]nodoros, son of Eumenes, of Trinemeia, is not otherwise attested.⁴

The body of the present decree falls into two principal sections: (1) the past accomplishments of the honoree and his father (lines 3–20), and (2) the particular current actions that provide the motivation for the decree (20–37). Lines 3 to 10 recount the accomplishments of the honoree's father Eumenes: he had been *tropheus* of the king, an office well attested in the Seleucid monarchy;⁵ he had lived in Athens, made himself useful to the people, and been crowned and made a citizen in return. Lines 10 to 20 then turn to the honoree himself and his past actions from the time of Antiochus VII's accession, recounting his general good offices towards the king and the people of Athens. The second major section (20–37) details the specific reasons for which [Ze/Me]nodoros is now being honored: appointed as ambassador of the king he has acted with zeal to benefit the Athenian people both in general and individually, and he has presented in the assembly an elaborate account of the benefactions of the Seleucids. The remainder of the decree (37–53) records the award of a gold crown and bronze statue in recognition of his efforts.

The account of the present and past benefactions of the Seleucids (26–37), which is embedded in the narrative of the past and present benefactions of the honoree (10–37), creates a nice parallel between the actions of the king and the ambassador. This was surely the intention. In short, this decree seems to have been drawn up with care. It was also inscribed with an eye to impressing. The cutter used unusually large letters, 0.011 m. Even in its present fragmentary condition this decree stands out.⁶

The passage dealing with the Seleucids (26–37) is particularly beguiling because it defies (seemingly) detailed restoration. One can discern, I think, three parts: lines 26–31 form a general statement of the munificence and beneficence of the kings towards Athens; in 31, [ἀπελογίσα]το δὲ καί, if that is the correct restoration, begins the account of the actions of one king who did building activity (ἐπανορθῶσαι τὸν δῆ[μ]ον, 32)⁷ and who resided in the city—the verbal form

⁴ His father, a naturalized Athenian citizen, probably came from Syria. It is noteworthy in this connection that the name Zenodorus occurs commonly only in Palestine, Syria, and adjacent areas: see G. J. Toomer, *GRBS* 13 (1972) 180–88.

⁵ See the discussions of Robert (5f) and E. Bickerman, *Institutions des Séleucides* (Paris 1938) 42f.

⁶ See pl. 21 in *Hesperia* 36 (1967).

⁷ On this expression see L. Robert, *Hellenica* XI–XII (Paris 1965) 517–25, 541.

συνανασ[τρεφ – –] (34) can only mean this; and in 35, [ἐ]ξηγήσατο δὲ καὶ introduces a third section, probably a general summation of the extraordinarily useful actions of the kings towards the city.

The central section clearly deals with Antiochus IV Epiphanes, who came to Athens from being a hostage in Rome. His nephew Demetrius, son of Seleucus IV, was sent to Rome as his replacement.⁸ A recently published inscription from Athens honoring Antiochus⁹ reveals that this exchange occurred earlier than we had supposed and that he was already in Athens in 178/7. He apparently lived there for several years and was still in the city at the time of his brother's death in 175. This fact elucidates the reference to his residence in line 34 of the present inscription and enables us to explain how an Athenian decree inscribed at Pergamum¹⁰ could reveal that in the first year of Antiochus IV's reign more than one statue of him had already been erected in the Agora of Athens. The freedom of action which residence in the city made possible doubtless also aided his accession to the throne. It is no wonder then that as king he lavished money on Athens, evidenced especially in his grandiose effort to complete the temple of Olympian Zeus begun by the Peisistratids in the sixth century. Antiochus was, if we can believe the accounts in Livy (41.20) and Athenaeus (5.193D–195), a lavish spender and colorful character. There would have been many in the assembly in 135 B.C. who, directly or indirectly, remembered him and his lifestyle in Athens.¹¹ [Ze/Me]-nodorus used the memory to good effect in promoting the cause of his successor.

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⁸ Polyb. 31.2.3. The initiative for this action seems to have been taken by Seleucus (see Polyb. 31.2.2 and E. Gruen, *The Hellenistic World and the Coming of Rome II* [Berkeley 1984] 646 n.172). His intention was no doubt to assure Rome of his loyalty.

⁹ *Hesperia* 51 (1982) 60–62.

¹⁰ *I.Perg.* 160.54f [OGIS 248].

¹¹ See also W. S. Ferguson's lively assessment of Antiochus IV's relationship with Athens: *Hellenistic Athens* (New York 1911) 302–07.