Epaminondas of Acraephia

James H. Oliver

Epaminondas of Acraephia was a benevolent rich man who under the Julio-Claudian emperors lived in a small city in northeast Boeotia. He happens to be known to us because large inscriptions of documents for or by him were preserved in the walls of the church of St George at Akraiphnion (see Plate 2 figure 1), formerly called Kardhitsa. Among the testimonials to Epaminondas is a letter of Caligula; in preparing a corpus of imperial letters the writer visited the site in March 1971 and found the inscription still there. The writer thought it prudent to check the reading of the two inscriptions, IG VII 2711 and 2712, which were still at the church.

Inscription A, the Testimonials from Abroad

W. M. Leake, Travels in Northern Greece II (London 1835) 301, mentioned the long inscription serving as a jamb of a door on the north side. It is still there. The inscribed surface faces the passage, the left side faces the exterior. It is of local grey limestone: h., 1.80 m.; w., 0.46 m.; th., 0.47 m. Height of letters, 0.01 m.

H. N. Ulrichs, Reisen und Forschungen in Griechenland I (Bremen 1840) 249–53, no.26a; K. Keil, Sylloge Inscriptionum Boeoticarum (Leipzig 1847) 116–27, no.XXI; M. Holleaux, “Inscription d’Acraephiae,” BCH 12 (1888) 305–15, a much better reading after a cleaning; W. Dittenberger, IG VII (1892) 2711, proposing some excellent restorations; M. Holleaux, REA 1 (1899) 16–18, a note concerning only line 7 but even so vitiated by a false measurement of lacunae; [ILS 8792; E. M. Smallwood, Documents Illustrating the Principates of Gaius, Claudius and Nero (Cambridge 1967) 361]. The documents are discussed somewhat by J. A. O. Larsen in Tenney Frank’s Economic Survey IV (Baltimore 1938) 450f, U. Kahrstedt, SymbOslo 28 (1950) 70–75, and J. Deininger, Die Provinziallandtage der römischen Kaiserzeit (Vestigia 6, Munich 1965) 90f.
The dossier consists of the following documents:

1, Epistle of the general\(^1\) of the (all Hellenic) League of the Achaeans, Boeotians, Locrians, Euboeans and Phocians, perhaps Achilles, son of Diodotus, of Argos, to the archons of Acraephia, in lines 1–15; with

2, decree of the above mentioned League at their assembly, called synod of the Hellenes, in lines 15–20;

3, epistle of the emperor to the League of the Achaeans, Boeotians, Locrians, Phocians and Euboeans, in lines 21–42;

4, epistle of the acting secretary of the Achaean League to the Boeotian League and its secretary, in lines 43–50;

5, epistle of the Boeotian League and its secretary to the archons of Acraephia, in lines 51–55; with

6, decree of the naopoioi at the festival of the Pamboeotia, in lines 55–77;

7, epistle of the archons, council and demos of the Thebans to the archons, council and demos of the Acraephians, in lines 78–87; with

8, decree of the Thebans, in lines 87–124;

9, note concerning decrees of other Boeotian cities, in lines 125–28.

Holleaux’s revision cleared up many problems, but the lacunae were still of uncertain extent, and readings around the ends of lines and edges of lacunae could still be improved. The beginning of line 1 extends one letterspace into the margin and should probably be restored [‘Ο στρατηγὸς τῶν Ἀχαίων]. In the epistle of Caligula, line 29, the right form appears to be καιεῖτεν. The upper part of the inscription need not be printed here, but lines 78–128 read after the writer’s revision somewhat as follows:

\[\begin{align*}
&\text{[Θῆβαι]ων ἄρχοντες καὶ ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος Ἀκραεφίων ἀρχὴ
cou[σ,] βουλή, δήμων χάρειν τῶν ἔφησεις ἐνον τῷ ἐπιτείματι}
&\text{τῆς πολείτης ὑμῶν πεπόμεν οὐ[ς] ἐν ὑπὸ τώρα ἀνταγωγοῦσι}
&\text{καθότι ἐστὶν ἐξηγοῦσιν, εἰς τὴν ἀμονοί τῇ δημοῦ}
&\text{ἐπειδὴ ἐπιφανεύειν, παρεκαλεύσαιν δὲ τῷ τις ἐπινο[ῦν τῇ] διάκο} \\
&\text{μὴ πρὸς ὑμᾶς Δωρόθεου Νεκοκλέους καὶ τῷς ἀπὸ}
\end{align*}\]

\(^1\) A decree of the Achaean League during the Principate is known in two copies, *Hesperia* 10 (1941) 361–63 at Athens, and W. Dittenberger/K. Purgold, *Die Inschriften von Olympia (Olympia V, Berlin 1896)* 37. For the general see this decree and IG V (2) 517.
85 [τής ἡ] μετέρας πόλεως λόγους ποιής [ακθαί πρός] τήν ὦ
[μετέραν καθ' ἢς ἔλαβεν παρὰ τῆς βο[υλής καὶ τοῦ] δήμου
ἐντὸς]άς ννν Ἐρρωθεὶς ννν Ἐπει[δή ἑπαμινώνδα]ε Ἐπαμι
[νόν]δου ἀνήρ καλός καὶ ἀγαθ[ὸς ὑπὲρ τοῦ] ἐθνοὺς
[escort], συνπολειτευόμε[νος τοῖς Βουλαῖοι] πάντως καὶ
90 [. . . ]κλ[- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - ]μας ἐποίη
[κεν, καὶ διατελεῖ ἀρίστῃ χρώμενος β]ίον ἀγωγῆ, καὶ
[καλός ἰδιὰ τε πρὸς ἑκατὸν ἡμῶν] καὶ κοινῆ πρό[κα]
[πάντως διὰ τοῦ χρώμον ἄει τ]οῦ παρεληθυῖτος
[προσεφέρετο καὶ ἀξιώμα] ζῆς ἐαυτοῦ ἀγωγῆς, καὶ
95 [ἐπουθημένης] παρ' ἡμῶν ννν προτής καὶ ἀνακαι
[οτάτης πρὸς τ]ούν Σεβαστὸν προβεβίας
[ὁφελοῦσι τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Βουλαῖον πολλῶν ὁ
[κυνή] τάντων ὑπομείναι τὸ βάρος καὶ τήν ὀχθῆς
[τῆς] ἀποδημίας, κυνυνεύοντός τε τοῦ ἐθνοῦς ἀπο
100 [ἐπαζ] θῆναι τῆς κοινῆς τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐλπίδος καὶ φι
[λανθρωπίας αὐτεπάγγελτος ἐν τῷ κοινῷ τῶν Παν
ἐλλή] νων τῷ ἀχθείνει ἐν "Ἀργεὶ ὑπομείνας ἣν ἄλλοι
[προκα] καλομένου ἤψηλχαντο προβεβίαν οὐδὲ εἰς πα
[racce] θῆν χρώμον αἰτήσαμενος ἀνελλιπτῶς εξη[λ]
105 [θεν κ]αὶ ταῦτα καὶ τὰς διαπάνας μετὰ τῆς ὀχθῆς εἰς
[ἐκ τῷ]ν ὑδίων ὑποσχόμενος ν πληρώσας δὲ τήν ὑπὲρ
[τοῦ ἐξ]θνους προβεβίαν ν τὸ ἀπόκρημα καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς
[τοῦ ν]έου Σεβαστοῦ διεκόμεθεν πάσης ἐλπίδος
[καὶ φι] λανθρωπίας πλήρες, ἀνεπιβραήτους κα[λ ὁ]
110 [τάς] πόλεις καὶ τὸ κοινὸν καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐξόδῳ καὶ ἐν
[τῇ ἀπ] ὑπορεβίας φιλάξας: δι' ἀ δὴ δεδογμένου εἰς
[τοῖς] τε ἀρχοῦσι καὶ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ Ὑπαίων
[δεδο]θεὶνα πολειτείαν κατὰ δωρεάν Ἐπαμεινώνδα
[Ἐπαμ] ἑνώνδου καὶ εἰναι αὐτῷ μετοχὴν πάντων
115 [τῶν τ]ῆς πόλεως φιλανθρώπων καθα καὶ τοῖς ἐν [ἐ]γ
[νωρ]ίους, ἀναθείναι δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰκόνα γραπτὴν
[ἐν ὧ] ὑπερήφανος ἐν τῇ ἀγορῇ ἐπιγράφην ποιήσαν
[tac: 'Ο] δήμος Ὑπαίων Ἐπαμεινώνδαν Ἐπαμεί
[νόνδον] προβεβίασαν κατὰ δωρεάν ἐν τῷ καὶ
120 [νῷ τῶν] Ἀ[λ]ειῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ [Β]οιωτῶν ἐθνοὺς ν πρός
[τὸν Σεβ] δατόν Καίσαρα Γερμανικόν ἄρετῆς
[ἐνεκεν] ἐλέεθαι δὲ τὸν διακομίσατο τὸ ἀντί
[γραφ] ον τοῦ ψηφίσματος πρὸς τήν Ἀκριβεῖων πόλιν.
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EPAMINONDAS OF ACRAEPIA

124  ['Hréù] Δωράθεος Νικοκλέες vacat

[Κατά τα]ντά δὲ καὶ αἰ λοιπᾶ πόλεις vacat

[ἐν Βοι]ωτία ψηφίσμα[α]σαί καὶ πολειτείς ἐτείμησαν

[πολλαὶ] οὖςκα ὀν ἐγράφησαν δὲ διὰ τὸ τόπον μὴ

[ἐπαν] vacat


Line 82: The word ὑμεί[i], first read by Ulrichs and retained by the later editors, was a mere misreading of εἰμηράμενοι.

Line 83: τὸ τ(ε), not τὸ τ(ε). The phrase means "we called upon Dorotheus son of Nicocles in respect to his being in charge of the delivery to you and his making the speech of transmittal from our city to yours."

Line 88: The letters ΥΠ which Holleaux reported at the end of the line would still show if they had ever existed.

Line 96: The new Augustus was the emperor Gaius, the year A.D. 37.

Lines 97–100: The Boeotians, because by themselves they could not afford the expense of the embassy, would have had to drop out of the Panachaean League, which they shared with the other Hellenes of Achaia.

LINE 109: ἀνεπιβαρήτους. The word occurs in IG II² 1043 line 64, and in other inscriptions.

LINE 111: The word ἀποπρεπεῖά occurs in Polybius 24.10.5, 26.3.14 and 28.15.11 and in the Menogenes inscription, Sardis VII 8 lines 35 and 53.

LINES 127–28: Dittenberger emended to read διὰ τὸ <τὸν> τόπον μὴ | [ἐξαρκεῖν], but the lacuna at the beginning of line 128 cannot be more than five letters.

Inscription B, the Acraephian Decree in Honor of Epaminondas

Two fragments of a large block or orthostate of grey limestone were and still are built into the exterior of the south wall of the church of St George at Akraiphnion.

Height of letters 0.009 m.

The main piece (Plate 3), originally containing the uninscribed bottom, all or most of the last seventy-five lines and parts of the preceding eleven lines, was copied by W. M. Leake, who years later in Travels in Northern Greece II (London 1835) 296, complained: “The longest of the inscriptions has required a continued labour of six hours, the letters being small, and in some places much defaced; and the stone which is in the wall of the church on the outside, on a level with the earth, being so placed that the lines are perpendicular to the horizon, whence it is impossible to obtain a distinct view of them without lying on the ground.” Lolling does not seem to have found the stone, for Dittenberger says “periisse videtur.” Yet the stone is still there minus the uppermost twenty-six lines recorded by Leake. The writer examined it in March 1971, reading each line kneeling, then standing. He spent much more than six hours upon it and so was able to read much more than Leake did in the last sixty lines. Fortunately Holleaux read a section in the part now lost and so improved the text of lines 22–28. Leake did not record blank spaces, which usually served as punctuation, but he scrupulously noted the
indentation of lines 77ff, where a slice missing from the left edge limited the engraver. Dittenberger misrepresented the situation by resetting Leake’s diplomatic transcript with a straight left edge. The bottom and sides are preserved, probably the back too, though the stone is and was broken away above. The piece must have been about 1.34 m. high when Leake and Holleaux saw it, but the dimensions were in March 1971: h. 1.04 m.; w. 0.56 m.; th. 0.34 m.

The smaller piece (Plate 2 figure 2), broken all around and containing parts of lines 1–30 at or near the right edge, is likewise built into the south wall of the church. It was first copied by Lolling and first located in respect to the large piece by Dittenberger, who published it from Lolling’s copy and showed the two pieces as probably contiguous fragments. Its thickness cannot be measured, but it is 0.38 m. high and 0.28 m. wide.


[τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ — — — τοὺς τε] πολείτας πάντας καὶ παρο[ίκους]
[καὶ ἐκτημένους — — — — —] παιδακὲ τῶν πολειτῶ[ν — —]
[— — — — —] τῶν παρεπιδημοῦντας [ἐνόνοις]
15 — — — — — χειμώνος ὀλοὺ ἐπανάγων [— — — — —]
[— — — — —] δ[ε]ινοὺς χρώμενος ὠς οὐκ ἔσα[...] — — — — — — — — —
[атαυ καὶ εὐσκήμονας πολλὰ[κις]
[— — — — — — — — — —] α ὕλην τὴν πόλιν δημοθοινία[ις]
[εἰκτιαςεν ἐνδεικνύμενος τῷ φιλῷ] βρωμοὺν ἰδίους, μηδένα [ξαμοί] ῥον
20 — — — — — τῶν δαπάνη[ν ἔσα]υτοῦ, πληρώσας δὲ ταύτα [πάντα]
[— — — — — λυμο[ν].]α χ[π]ῶνων, ἐν ὅις ὑλὴν τὴν πόλιν εἰκτία
[cee], παλ[ε]ν τῇ ἐορτῇ τῶν θεῶν ταυροθητῆς 'Ερμεὲ καὶ 'Ἡρα
[κ]αὶ καὶ τοῖς Σεβαστοῖς ἀγώνιας γ[μ]υκῶν, θεία ἀδικία τοῖς
νεικήσας, μόνος καὶ πρῶτος ἀπὸ τοῦ παντὸς αἰῶνος ἔγει
25 ρών τὴν τειμὴν ταύτην, ἦριστευόν τε τῇ [ή]ν πόλιν τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ
ἀπ' ἐγκεκριμένος ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ, μηδένα παραλυθῶν ὁδὸν μονὴν τῶν
ἐνοικοῦντων ἀλλ’ οἷς τῶν παρεπιδημοῦ[ν]των ξένων εὐς παι
εἰς ἑλευθέρους καὶ τοῖς τῶν πολειτῶν δουλὸ[ν]ς ἀν[ά] τῷ φιλῶσον
μιὰν ἡμέραν τὴν πόλιν, ἐπιτελῶν [τ]ὸν λε[γ]όμενον πα[— — — —] ἐν τ[ή]
να[ι] μόνος προενόσεν προσμείνας καὶ κατωρθώσατο ὑπὲρ ἐξ[ακίς]
χύλα διναρία οὐκ ἦς τῆς ἐπικενείς ἢ διώδεκα σταθέως. ἤθε δὲ τὸ μεγ[α]
μέγας πρὸς τὸν νέον Σεβαστοῦ ἐν τῷ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν καὶ Πανελλήνων
40 συνεδρίῳ ἐν Ἀργεί, πο[λ]λῶν τε συνεληφθῶντων εὐσκήμονων καὶ πρώ
των ἐκ τῶν πόλεων καὶ πάντων ἄριστων καὶ ἐπί[κα][λωμένων, πάντ]α[ν]
ἐν ἐλάσσενι θέμενος τ[ά] ἐκαυτὸν προθυμοῦτα ἐπεδέξατο τὴν προ
βίαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Βοιωτῶν ἔθνους, προσεῖς τῷ εὐ[γ]ενεῖ τοῦ φρονήματος
[και] τὸ
μεγαλόψυχον [κατ]α δωρ[ε]λς πρεσβεύουσι θαυμ[α]θής ὅπω ἐπὶ τούτους καὶ
ἀπὸ
45 δοχής αἴωνος ἐν τοῖς Πανελλήνων τειμὰς ἐλλαβὲν, μαρτυρούμενος καὶ δι
ἀ τῆς [πε]μ[θ]ίς ἐπιστολῆς ὅπτ’ αὐτῶν πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν ἀπὸ
τελέσας

27 ΠΑΡΕΠΙΔΗΜΟΥΤΩΝ
δὲ τὴν προσβείαν μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν καὶ τὸ ἀπόκριμα ἔνεκὼν παρὰ Σεβαστοῦ, πάλιν τεμάκες ἠλάβεν μετὰ τῶν συνπροσβείνων, τὸ τε κοινὸν Παμβοωθῶν συνέδριον ὑπεραποδεξάμενον τὴν αὐτεπάνγελτον χάριν[v]

50 καὶ ἐθνοική τεμάκες ἐφθάσαντο αὐτῷ τὰς προσβούκιας καὶ ἀπέτευκαν πρὸ[c] τὴν πόλιν [ἡ]μῶν ἐπιτα δὲ καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ πόλεις καὶ κώμαι, [ε]ὐχάριστον πράγμα

ποιοῦντι καὶ αὐταῖ, ἔτει[ν]ο[ν] ψηφίσματι καὶ [π]ολειτείᾳ καὶ εἰκόνων θέει τεμάκες αὐτῶν ὅλα ὑπερτίθημενον δὲ τῇ μεγαλομνηχίᾳ καὶ ἀρετῇ πάντας τοὺς πρὸ ἔαυτοῦ καὶ αὐτὸς ἔαυτον πρὸς τὸ φιλόδοξον κ"ναί φιλόγαθον ταῖς ἐπιλα

55 λήλαοις δαπάναις, εἰς φιλόσταται καὶ εὐφρέγητης νομιζ[ζ]όμενος ν' ἐγ[λε]ὐσιν
tος γὰρ ἢδη τριάκοντα ἦτη τοῦ τῶν Πτωκῶν ἁγῶνος κατασταθεὶς ἁγιονοθεὶ
tῆς προθυμῶσας ἐπεδέξατο φιλοδοξῆσαι τὸ ἀνανεώσασθαι τὴν ἀρχαὶ ὅπῃ τοῦ ἁγῶνος, τῶν μεγάλων Πτωκῶν καὶ Καισαρῆων κτίστης ἀνοθὲ[ν]

gενόμενος' ἀναλαβὼν τῇ τῆν ἀρχὴν εὐθέως ἐπιτελεῖ τὰς θυσίας καὶ
tᾶ τοῦ θεοῦ μαντεία τὸ ἐγὼν ἄρχοντας καὶ συνέδρους κατ' ἐτος πεντά
[k]ς μεγαλομερεῖς διόνυσας καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀριστίζων ἐπὶ πενταετίας, μηδὲ

minster ὑπερθέσεις σουμάζεμεν ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις μὴ ὑπήκοας μήτε διατά


νῆς μηδέποτε ν' ἐξ<ν>τάντος δὲ τοῦ ἁγῶνος τῷ ἐκτε ἐνιαυτῷ τῷ ἐπὶ

πόλεος
dιάδομα ἐς τὴν μέλλουσαν ἑορτήν ἐδωκεν πάσι τοῖς πολείταις καὶ παροί

65 κοις καὶ ἐκτημένοις διδοὺς κατ' ἰδια ἐκαστὸν κόμιν σείτου καὶ οἴνου

ημίτεαν ν' τὰς τε πατρίους συμπᾶς μεγάλας καὶ τὴν τῶν κυρτῶν πάτριων

ἀρχηγῶν θεοεξῆς ἐπετέλε[λ]ες, ταυροποτήσας τε τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ Ἑ

βαστοῖς κρεαδοίς καὶ ἀρίστα καὶ γλυκισμοῦς καὶ δίπνα οὗ διέλπησιν ποιῶν·

ἐ[π]τα κατὰ τάξις ἀπὸ εἰκάδος μέχρι τριακάδος προσε<κάλεσε>ν πάσι
tοῖς ἀρίστοις καὶ

70 παύς τοὺς τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ δούλους ἐνηλίκους τὰς τε γυναῖκας τῶν
polei

τῶν ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ Κώτιλα ἡρίστειν καὶ παρθένους καὶ δούλας ἐνηλίκους·

οὐ

παρέλπησιν δὲ οὐδὲ το[ν]τ[ο]σ[ε][] περίτας καὶ συνκομιδήτας τῇ ἑορτῇ,

ἡρίστειν

dὲ ἀντεῖς ὅτ' ἐν[θήματος κατ' ἰδιαν, ὃ μηδεὶς ἄλλος τῶν προτέρων

ἐποίησεν,

μηδένα τῆς ἐξ αὐτοῦ πιλανθρωπίας θεολόμενος ἀμοιρον γενέθαι· ἐν τε

75 ταῖς γενελομέναις θεωρίαις τοῦ θυμελικοῦ ἐπάνα τοὺς [θε]ωμένους καὶ
τοὺς εὐνελθόντας ἀπὸ τῶν πάλεων ἐγλύκισεν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, ῥήματα
tε ἐποίησεν μεγάλα καὶ πολυτελή, ώς διάκοστα καὶ ἐν ταῖς πέριξ πόλε
ειν τὸ δαπανήματα αὐτοῦ γενέθια ν ἐν τῇ εὐντελείᾳ τοῦ ἀγάνος με
tὰ τὸ πάνθημον διήνυ strengthened πάλιν ποιούμενον τῆς δηατῆ
νης κατὰ τρίκλινον διαδόματα ἐδωκεν νῦν δέκα δηναρίων καὶ κερά

80

μιον οἶνου παλαιοῦ καὶ δηνάρια εἰς εἰς ἐπόφησι τῷ λοιπὸν τῆς δαπά

νης νῦν μετὰ δὲ τὴν πάντων τούτων εὐντελειας καταβαίνοντος

αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐπὶ τῇ πάλιν πανδημεῖ ὑπήντησαν οἱ πολεῖται

πᾶσαν φιλοτείμια καὶ εὐχαριστίας ἐνεπιγράμμενοι. ὁ δὲ μὴ ἐ[κ]λαθῶ

μενος τῆς ἑαυτοῦ μεγαλοπροῦες ταυροβυτής Διὶ τῷ Μεγίστῳ ἐπὶ
tῆς πάλεως παραχρήμα εἰςτὰς ὑς εὐνελθόντας ἐπὶ τῆν εὐχα

ῥητίαν. ὅπερ ἐπὶ τοὺς τοιούτους τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ οὕτως

μεγαλοφύχους καὶ [ὅ]λος[ά]τριδας ταῖς προσθικοῦσι κεμαῖς τε καὶ
dωρεὰς προσθικῶν ἐκτιν κοσμομένους μαρτυρίζεται ν δβ ὁ δή
pάντα ἐδοξεν τοὺς τε ἄρχους καὶ εὐνέδροις καὶ τῷ δήμῳ ἐπὶ

νέαν τὸν προερημένον ἀνδρα 'Ἐπαμεινώνδαν ἐφ' ᾧ

πρὸς τῆς παρθίδα[α] ἔσχηκεν ἐκτενεί εὐνοίᾳ καὶ πρὸς τῷ Βοω

τῶν ἐθνῶν μεγαλοφυχία εὐνοιμοὺς καὶ τῆν παρθίδα τῇ

πρεσβείᾳ, στεφανώσαν δὲ αὐτόν καὶ χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ καὶ εἰκό

95

μη [χα]ληκῇ τῇ χῇ ἡ ἀγαθῇ τοὺς τε μετὰ <μα> ὑτα κατασταθηκομένους

[ά]γων

νοθήτας εν τοῖς ἐπιτελεσθηκομένοις ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀγάθων [ἱ]πεύχωνν [κ]αλεῖν αὐ
tὸν ἰς [πρω]δρίας καθάπερ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους εὐρήρατα, ἕνα το<ο> <ων

οὕτως εὐντελουμένων ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡμῶν εὐχαρίστες φαίνεται πρό
tος εὐρήρατα πολλοί τε ἔξι[η]μα[λ] λας τε κείμενον τοῦ ἀγάθων

tῶν εἰς τὴν πάλιν μαρτυρομένων τῶν πρώτων, επήκει δὲ καὶ ἄν

δριάντας αὐτοὺς ἡ ἀγάλματα, ἕνα μὲν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος

τοῦ Πτωκίου, τὸν δ' ἐτερον ἐπὶ τῆς πάλεως ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ, καὶ εἰκόν<α>ς

ὁμοίως ἐπιχρύσους τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν ποιομένων τῆς ἔνθε ν ὁ δήμος καὶ

ἥ βουλή 'Ἐπαμεινώνδαν Ἐπαμεινώνδαν ἄριστα πολειτευκάμε

105

νον καὶ δικαιότα<τα>, εἶναι δὲ καὶ ἐν ἀναγραφῇ τῷ ψήφισμα ἐπὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ
tοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Πτωκίου καὶ ἐπὶ πόλεις ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ νααι

95 METAYTA 97 TOTWN 98 SYNELEOYMEMN 102 EIKONES 105 DIAKIAOTA

Restorations and emendations: 4-7 Dittenberger. 9-10 Holleaux. 11 γενε

θῆλη[οι]ς Holleaux; δὲ Oliver. 12 τοῦ Σεβάστου Holleaux; cetera Dittenberger.


Many new readings by the writer merely confirm previous restorations like Boeckh’s splendid reconstruction of line 28, or alter spellings, but more important are: Σεβαστού πάλιν in 48, ὑπεραποδεξάμενον for Boeckh’s δ[πομμηνησκόμ]ενον in 49, αἱ λοιπαὶ for αἱ[λα] in 51, ὑπερθεμένον for Leake’s ὑπερ[εβάλλετο] in 53, πρὸ ἕαυτοι καὶ αὐτὸς in 54 (where Boeckh had caught the right meaning), οὖνου | ἡμίτεων in 65 for Leake’s ἡμι[να] which had made its way into LS], ἐ[π]τα in 69, Κωτίλα in 71, τῆς ἐξ αὐτοῦ for τῆς ἕαυτοι in 74, ρίμματα for Leake’s [πε]μματα in 76, νῦν δέκα for Leake’s [ἐ]νδέκα in 80, ὑπήντησα for [ἀ]πήντησαν in 83, οὖτως in 87, εἰκόνι [χα]λκὴ for εἰκόνι[ν] γραπτῆ in 95, αὐτοῦς for αὐτοῦ in 101, καὶ δικαιότα<τα> in 105. Lines 29, 44, and 52 offer new solutions to old problems.

In the text as now revised dittography occurs in lines 66 and 99. Omissions occur in lines 27, 63, 69, 95, 97, 98, and 105, without counting the cases of iotacism where epsilon is dropped in the words ιως (23), ἐνδείξαι (29), πρεσβεία (37, 43), πρεσβεύειν (44), ἀξιωθείς (45), ἐπείτα (51, 69), κατασταθείς (56), δεῖπνον (61, 68, 79), τάξεις (69), μαρτυρεῖσθαι (89), εἰς (37, 97), πόλεις (51).

Line 21: The word eἰκτίασε may have run over to line 22, though Robert has Holleaux make παλ[ί] the first word.

Line 26: ἐχθέματος. See line 73. A. Wilhelm, JOAI 10 (1907) 26, compares the Eretrian decree, SIG³ 714, τὴν τε θυσίαν τῶν Ἔρμει ευντελῶν ἐκάλεσεν ἐκ προγράμματος τούς τε πολλάς καὶ Ῥωμαίων τοὺς ἐπιδημοῦντας. The phrase is διὰ προγράμματος in an honorary decree at Panamara published by Deschamps and Cousin, BCH 15 (1891)
196–99, which has some interesting similarities with our own inscription.

Line 27: παρεπιδήμῳ τῶν. Examples of loss of nu before a dental were, as Robert noted, collected by A. Wilhelm, JOAI 24 (1929) 189.

Line 31: Perhaps a reference to the πώμαχος ἄγων of a pancratist.

Lines 33–37: The dike held back the Copaic Lake from the wheat lands of the Acraephians. Pausanias 9.23.5 does not mention it. See below on Inscription C.

Line 42: ἐπεδέξατο. The same verb occurs in Inscription C line 50, and in SIG3 800 of A.D. 42.

Line 44: The restoration [κατὰ δεῳφ]ν is imposed by the parallels in Inscription A lines 13, 64, and 76, even if <τοῦ> must be supplied before it (section now lost). He financed the whole Boeotian contingent.

Line 49: ὑπεραποδεξάμενον. The word turned up at or near Mylasa in a mutilated inscription of an honorary decree for a benefactor, published by E. Hula and E. Szanto, SBWien 132.2 (1895) 12, cited in LSJ. Certain people were described as οἱ ὑπεραποδεξάμενοι. But the inscription from Acraephia is the first to give a complete context.

Line 53: The hanging participles need not reflect the loss of a main verb. A good parallel for the first phrase will be found three generations earlier in IG II² 1043 lines 65–66, ὑπερτι[θεμενόν τε τῇ μεγαλοειδείᾳ.

Line 56: For the past history of the Ptoia see M. Feyel, Contribution à l’épigraphie béotienne (PublFacLettStrasbourg 95 [1942]) ch. vii, and Polybe et l’histoire de Béotie (BEFAR 152 [1942]) 254–56; S. Lauffer, RE 23 (1959) 1547–53.

Line 60: The formula ἄρχοντες καὶ σύνεδροι occurs already in IG VII 4127, which M. Guarducci, RivFC 61, n.s. 11 (1933) 234–35, dates between 205 and 201 b.c.

Line 63: The participle occurs in Inscription C line 50, τοῦ γὰρ ἐντάντος ἐναυτῶν.

Lines 63–64: The word διώδομα, which occurs on inscriptions at Didyma, Cibyra and Beroea and on a papyrus, is explained by L. Robert, Hellenica 11–12 (1960) 470–74, as meaning “distribution either of cash or in kind.”

Apollo, was to receive a *medimnus* of barley, a half *medimnus* of wheat and a *hemiteia* of wine. The Edelsteins translate *hemiteia* as "one twelfth *medimnus*" of wine, but the *medimnus* was not a liquid measure. Hiller von Gaertringen, SIG3 998, and Sokolowski in his index treat the word as ήμίτεια. Mabel Lang, "Numerical Notation on Greek Vases," *Hesperia* 25 (1956) 1–24, has nothing that suggests a feminine noun as a likely measure of wine to accompany at Epidaurus and Acraephia a basket of grain. Certainly a *kotyle* will not do, and we are thrown back on Hiller von Gaertringen’s μοίρα. The old phrase has continued in use and surely refers to a jug of half size.

**LINE 66:** τὴν τῶν ευρτῶν πάτριον ἀρχηγών, the dance of the trailing costumes. See S. Lauffer, *RE* 23 (1959) 1551.

**LINE 68:** On γλυκικιμιοῦ, ‘sweet wine’, see A. Wilhelm, *JOAI* 10 (1907) 27.

**LINES 70–71:** This example of the entertainment of slaves does not seem to have been known to W. L. Westermann, *The Slave Systems of Antiquity* (Philadelphia 1955).

**LINE 76:** δύματα (not [πέ]μματα). That these were *missilia* Ph. Fabia recognized in his good article in the *Dictionnaire des Antiquités* 3 (1904) 1934b, though he had a problem in the word πέμματα, which was Leake’s strangely unchallenged restoration. The whole word is clear. The *missilia* differ from *congiaria* and other *liberalitates* by their random character. The big spender throws them out to the populace. Feyel anticipated this reading and passed it on to L. Robert, who in *ArchEph* 1969, 34–39, published a rich commentary on lines 75–78.

**LINE 80:** For dining rooms connected with sanctuaries see the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Corinth, to be published by Nancy Bookidis.

**LINE 81:** Diocletian’s Edict contains prices of wine, *vini veteris primi gustus* 24 denarii an Italian pint, *vini veteris sequentis gustus* 16 denarii an Italian pint, *vini rustici* 8 denarii an Italian pint.

**LINE 83:** συνδημεῖ ήπίνηται οί πολειτα. The best parallel for the royal reception accorded to Epaminondas is the reception for Herodes Atticus recorded in IG II² 3606. For the later history of the *hypantesis* see Ernst H. Kantorowicz, “The King’s Advent and the Enigmatic Panels in the Doors of Santa Sabina,” *ArtB* 26 (1944) 204–31. The whole population dressed in white would have waited for Epaminondas outside the gate along the road down from the Ptoion and would have strewn wild flowers in his path as he arrived.
Figure 1. Church of St George at Akraiphnion

Figure 2. Inscription B [IG VII 2712], small fragment
PLATE 3  Oliver

INSCRIPTION B [IG VII 2712], LARGE FRAGMENT
LINES 85–86: The sacrifices to Zeus Megistos were sacrifices to the chief god of Acraephia, Zeus Soter, on the acropolis of Acraephia (L. Robert, *BCH* 59 [1935] 442 n.5).

LINES 89–90: δή δή πάντα. So also Inscriptions C line 65 and D line 46, and IG IV² 81.

LINES 98–99: Examples of the formula τούτων οὖσω ευντελουμένων will be found in IG II² Pars Quarta p.64, but the usual Athenian version of the formula ἢ πόλεις ἡμῶν εὐχάριστος φαίνεται runs ὅπως ἄν ὁ δήμος φαίνεται χάριτας ἀποδίδοντο τοῖς εὐεργέταις aut simile. See, however, OGI 267 at Pergamum, ἢν φαινετο ἢ σφημ[ο]ς ἢ ἐπαυχώ εὐχάριστος ἄν.

LINE 99: ζηλη[η]ται. Compare IG II² 1043 line 60, γίνονται δὲ καὶ άπεροι τῶν ὀμοίων ζηλωταί; and IG II² 1343 line 41.

LINE 101: ἀνδριάντας αὐτούς ἢ ἀγάλματα. The pronoun αὐτούς contrasts the public corporations with the agonothetae. The latter are not involved in this expense. The difference between ἀνδριάντες and ἀγάλματα need have been nothing more than a difference of material. At Teos a benefactor was to be honored with both a bronze ἀνδριάς and a marble ἀγάλμα (CIG 3085). The apparent indecision disturbed Keil, but local conditions may have recommended giving the magistrates a free hand to choose the material which they could more conveniently or inexpensively order, perhaps after consultation with the benefactor. After all he probably paid for them himself.

LINES 105–06: Much the same ending on Inscription D.

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**New Translation of Inscription B**

—[line 21] times at which he entertained all the city, and again after sacrificing a bull to Hermes and Heracles and the Augusti at the festival of these gods an athletic contest, where he set shields as prizes for the victors, as first and only man in all history to have excogitated this honor. And he entertained the city at breakfast on the same day in the gymnasion after publishing a proclamation; he did not omit anyone not only of the local residents but even of the visiting strangers along with free children and the slaves of citizens because of his customary love of good repute.

When he undertook the chief magistracy he displayed greatness of soul. For he sacrificed a bull to the Augusti and on one day feasted
the city, accomplishing the so-called pa--- feat in the gymnasium, so that the surpassing and uninterrupted flow of his expenditures was a subject of wonder not only here among us but in the surrounding cities. The plastering of the very great dike which protects our land had been neglected in letting the contract; all by himself, facing the situation, he planned and accomplished the task of having the whole thing repaired and plastered, the repairs on twelve stades of its length costing more than six thousand denarii.

But now he extended the magnanimity of his inclination to the Boeotian League as well. In the synedrion of the Achaean and Panhellenes at Argos a search was on for an embassy to the new Augustus; many of the first rank and dignity who had come together from the various cities were refusing to go and challenging others to take part; he subordinated all his own business and wholeheartedly undertook the embassy in behalf of the Boeotian League and to the nobility of his proud intention he added the magnanimity of a promise to pay for the embassy. Admired for all this and deemed worthy of approval, he received honors among the Panhellenes and recognition also in the epistle sent by them to our city.

When he had completed the embassy along with the other representatives of leagues and had brought back the emperor’s reply, again he received honors along with his fellow-ambassadors, and the Pamboeotian synedrion, which had been overjoyed to accept the spontaneously offered favor and goodwill, voted him the suitable honors and sent a despatch to our city. And then also the rest of the cities and villages, they too doing something nice, hastened to honor him with decrees and citizenship and a placing of portraits.

Surpassing in his magnanimity and general excellence all those before him and even surpassing himself in respect to the love of honor and the pleasure of doing good, rating with his successive expenditures as uniquely patriotic and beneficent—For when he was appointed agonothete, after the contest of the Ptoia had been omitted for thirty years, he most eagerly took it upon himself in the hope of renewing creditably the ancient splendor of the contest, and he became all over again founder of the Great Ptoia and Caesarea. Immediately upon assuming the office he carried out the sacrifices and the oracles of the god. Feasting magistrates and councillors five times with magnificent annual banquets and supplying the city with a breakfast for a stretch of five years, he never once put off a sacrifice
or expenditure. In the sixth year at the beginning of the contest, he
gave the town distribution for the coming festival, giving all the
citizens and incolae and alien property holders a basket of grain and
a half-jug of wine each. He carried out the great ancestral processions
and the ancestral dance of the trailing costumes, and sacrificing a bull
to the gods and Augusti he continuously offered gifts of meat, break­
fasts, sweet wine and banquets. Then in groups from the twentieth
to the thirtieth he invited to all the breakfasts also sons of the citizens
and male slaves of age, while his wife Kotila entertained at breakfast
the wives of the citizens and also maidens and female slaves of age.
He did not leave out even the stall keepers and those who helped in
arrangements for the festival. He entertained them at breakfast
privately after a proclamation, which no one else had done, none of
his predecessors, for he did not wish anyone to be without a share in
the favors that came from him.

At the spectacles of the thymelic contest which took place he treated
with a sweet wine collation in the theatre all the local spectators and
those who had come from the other cities, and he tossed out great
and valuable presents, so that his expenditures became the talk of
even the surrounding cities.

Assuming the office all over again, with the carrying out of the
games after the banquet for the whole demos he now gave distribu­
tions of ten denarii to be spent on each dining room, and a jar of old
wine and six denarii for what they ate with their bread as the rest of
the expenditure on each. After the consummation of all these festivi­
ties, when he came down from the sanctuary to the city the citizens
en masse met him with a demonstration of full honor and gratitude.
He did not forget his greatness of soul but in the city sacrificed a bull
to Zeus the Greatest and at once invited those who had come to­
gether to the feast of thanksgiving.

Wherefore after such acts it is right that good men of such mag­
nanimity and patriotism receive recognition in the form of honors
and grants. For all these reasons the archons, councillors and demos
decided to praise the aforesaid man Epaminondas for the intense
goodwill he has had for his ancestral city and magnanimity toward
the Boeotian League, for with the embassy he was helping also his
ancestral city; secondly, to honor him with a gold crown and a bronze
portrait, to good fortune; and thirdly, that those who shall afterwards
be appointed agonothetae at the games to be carried out by them call
him on each occasion to a front seat like the other benefactors, so that with these things being so accomplished our city may appear grateful to its benefactors and many may become emulators of his good deeds when the previous good deeds for the city receive recognition; and fourthly, to set up, themselves, portraits in bronze or marble, one at the sanctuary of Apollo Ptous, the other in the city in the agora, and likewise gilded portraits with the following inscription, "The demos and council (honored) Epaminondas son of Epaminondas, for an excellent and most just performance as citizen and public official"; and fifthly, that there be an engraved copy of this decree at the sanctuary of Apollo Ptous and in the city in the agora.

Inscription C, Contemporary Honors for other Benefactors

For their general similarity in the matter of benefactions to impoverished Acraephia and honors to benefactors, the Acraephian decrees for Empedon, Demetrius and Pamphilus, SEG XV 330, published by L. Robert, BCH 59 (1935) 438–52 (= Opera minora selecta I [Amsterdam 1969] 279–93), are the most interesting parallels for Inscription B; they were engraved together on a stele which dates from the reign of Claudius. Inscription C was found near Akraiphnion and is reported to be now in the museum at Thebes.

The decrees honor men who, in a time of terrible difficulty when the land was lost, ἐν τῇ τῆς χώρας ἀπωλείᾳ, aided the city financially. Robert aptly cites SIG³ 800, the decree of Lycosura which mentions the depression of A.D. 42 following a crop failure (ἀφορίας καρπῶν γενομένας).

The loss of land, says Kahrstedt,² was much more than a crop failure at Acraephia. He notes the absence of the name of Epaminondas, who was still alive in A.D. 67. The wealth of Epaminondas lay partly under water, and he thinks that the repair of the dike had come too late. "The Copaic basin, the eastern half of which was dry land in the Hellenistic Period, had formed the northeast bay in any case before Pausanias (9.24.1)." What happened once to Copae, he infers, now happened to Acraephia. The catastrophe did not touch the meadows of Apollo Ptous but swallowed the wheatlands of the citizens. Acraephia continued in existence but never recovered.

² U. Kahrstedt, Das wirtschaftliche Gesicht Griechenlands in der Kaiserzeit (Bern 1954) 90f.
Inscription D, Nero and Epaminondas

In the year that Nero visited Greece, Epaminondas had for life the title "priest of the (divi) Augusti and of Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus." When Nero at the Isthmian Games on 28 November 67 proclaimed freedom and immunity for Greece, Epaminondas proposed an Acraephian decree in honor of Zeus Eleutherius Nero. The inscription containing Nero's edict and speech and the decree of Epaminondas was formerly built into the church of St George at Akraiphnion but is now in the museum at Thebes. It is completely preserved. H., 1.21 m.; w., 0.34 m.; th., 0.34 m. Height of letters, 0.011 m.

M. Holleaux, BCH 12 (1888) 510–28, and Discours prononcé par Néron à Corinthe en rendant aux grecs la liberté (Lyons 1889); W. Dittenberger, IG VII 2713 and SIG² 376; H. Dessau, ILS 8794; F. Hiller von Gaertringen, SIG³ 814; [M. P. Charlesworth, Documents Illustrating the Reigns of Claudius and Nero (Cambridge 1939) Nero 2; Smallwood, op.cit. (p.221) 64].

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