

Apollodorus of Cyzicus and his Delian Garden

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EARLY IN THE THIRD CENTURY B.C. the citizens of Paros voted honors for a certain Ἀπολλόδωρος Ἀπολλωνίου 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 the requests, praising the Parians and Apollodorus for his φιλοτιμία 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 Ἀπολλοδώρου τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου νησιαρχοῦντος (lines 7f). *Nesiarchos* 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 Ägäis. Forschungen zu Politik des Kassandros und der drei ersten Antigoniden im Ägäischen Meer und in West Kleinasien* (=MünchBeitr 73 [Munich 1982: hereafter ‘Buraselis’]) 41ff, 60–67, 80–93, followed by R. A. Billows, *Antigonos the One-Eyed and the Creation of the Hellenistic State* (Berkeley 1990) 220–25; imprecisely 314: R. Etienne, *Ténos II. Ténos et les Cyclades* (=BEFAR 63 bis [Paris 1990]) 89 n.6; Buraselis 67 contra C. Wehrli, *Antigone et Déme-*

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.³ 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.⁴ 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.⁵

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

trios (Geneva 1968) 116f; cf. P. Bruneau, *Recherches sur les cultes de Délos* (= *BEFAR* 217 [Paris 1970]) 564–67; F. Durrbach, “Ἀντιγόχεια — Δημητρίεια. Les origines de la confédération des Insulaires,” *BCH* 31 (1907) 208–27.

For the Ptolemaic takeover see Buraselis 93 (288 B.C.); E. Will, *Histoire politique du monde hellénistique* I² (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*.

³ I. L. Merker, “The Ptolemaic Officials and the League of the Islanders,” *Historia* 19 (1970) 152f (with some equivocation), followed by Billows (*supra* n.2) 221 n.91; Ptolemy I: Buraselis 81 (not certain), 184f; W. W. Tarn, “Nauarch and Nesiarch,” *JHS* 31 (1911) 251; B. Niese, *Geschichte der griechischen und makedonischen Staaten* (Gotha 1899) II 103 n.4; W. König, *Der Bund der Nesioten* (diss.Halle 1910) 66; A. T. Guggenmus, *Die Geschichte des Nesiotenbundes bis zum Mitte des 3. Jhdts.* (diss.Würzburg 1929) 38–43; W. A. Laidlaw, *A History of Delos* (London 1933) 104; F. Heichelheim, *RE Suppl.* 7 (1940) 40; R. Bagnall's argument in favor of this view (*The Administration of the Ptolemaic Possessions outside Egypt* [Leiden 1976] 135f) is not convincing: see Buraselis 81 n.182; undecided: F. Durrbach, *Choix d'inscriptions de Délos* (Paris 1921–22) p.30, and *I.Delos* 33bB24 with comm. p.110.

⁴ *IG* XI.2 161B14f, 44f; 162B11f, 35; 188.3f; 199B41; *I.Delos* 296B44, 338Bb24 (νησιάρχος).

⁵ For Bacchon and Hermias see Merker (*supra* n.3) 150–53.

Apollodorus' known successors made similar dedications during their tenure in office⁶—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] Ἀπολλωνίου Κυζικηνός· Δ· ὑπέ[ρ] τοῦ χρέο[υ]ς [οὗ ὧ]φειλε Ἀθηνόδωρος ἐπὶ τῷ κήπῳ ὃν ἐπρίατο Ἀπολλώ[νιος] παρὰ Παταρέως (*IG XI.2 142.14ff*). Responsibility for making payments accompanied purchase of encumbered property.⁷ 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 *eunoia* to Delos and its god awards him citizenship with the right to own property: γῆς καὶ οἰκίας ἔγκτησιν (*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: ἐπειδὴ Ἡγέστρατος, πρόξενος καὶ εὐεργέτης ὢν τ[ῆς] πόλεως, κατὰ τὰς

⁶ On Bacchon's dedications (*IG XI.2 161B12f* [279 B.C.], 162B9f, 164B54ff, 199B38f; *I.Delos 298A171f*, 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 287B112-19*; *I.Delos 297B54-59*, 298A79-83, 313.63-66, 320B27-30, 442B71; 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 dernières années de Délos sous le protectorat des amphictions," *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).

δεδομέ[ν]ας αὐτῶι δωρεὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Δηλίων βούλεται ἐγκτήσασθαι ἐν Δήλῳ καὶ ἐν Ῥηναίαι.⁸ Apollodorus probably did the same, and it is therefore appealing to restore Ἐπολλό[δωρος] at *IG XI.2* 146.15.

But the *omega* in Ἐπολλώ[νιος] 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 Ἐπολλώ[νιος?].⁹ 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 ἐπρίατο Ἐπολλό[δωρος] παρὰ Παταρέως.¹⁰

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.¹¹

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 ἔγκτησις before 167, bought a house in 161/0 under the Athenians (*IG XI.4* 840; *I.Delos* 1408A, II 46); *cf.* P. Roussel, *Délos colonie athénienne* (= *BEFAR* 111 [Paris 1916]) 73 n.4.

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

¹⁰ [ῶ]φειλε is also not absolutely certain; Durrbach read IEIAΣ. 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* 338Bb24 (probably 224 B.C., for Apollodorus), 298A171 (240 B.C., for Bacchon), 297B55 (241 B.C., for Hermias; on the date see J. Tréheux, "L'Hiéropoion et les *oikoi* du sanctuaire à Délos," in J. Servais *et al.*, edd., *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 308.¹² 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.¹³

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 Antigonos Monophthalmus and no later than 306.

Perhaps Apollodorus' accession can be dated more precisely. Antigonos 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.¹⁴ 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 154B54f* 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 338Bb24*, 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 451c*; *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* I (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 φίλοι 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.¹⁵ 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.¹⁶

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.¹⁷ 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*; *ICr. III: Itanos 2f*. The Delian decree for Apollodorus (*IG XI.4 562.3–9*) reads: 'Ἐπι[ε]ιδῆ Ἀπολλόδωρος ἀνὴρ ἀγα[θ]ὸς ὃν διατελεῖ περὶ τε τὸ ἱερόν [κ]αὶ τὴν πόλιν τὴν Δηλίων καὶ ποιεῖ ἀγαθὸν ὅ τι δύναται καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας ἑαυτῷ Δηλίων. Titles at lines 10ff, privileges (citizenship, exemption from all taxes, *prohedria*, *enktesis*, and access to the boule and demos) at lines 14–19.

¹⁶ H. Hauben, "A Royal Toast in 302 B.C.," *AncSoc* 5 (1974) 115f, cf. *Plut. Mor.* 823cf, *Phylarchus ap. Ath.* 261B=*FGrHist* 81F31); doubts: Buraselis 81–86. Apollodorus' residence on Delos and his dedications to Apollo possibly also set standards for the behavior of his successors, whose gifts to the god are well attested: cf. *supra* n.6.

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 Antigoneia was still being celebrated on Delos in 296: *IG XI.2 154A42f*. Taxes: *IG XII.7 506.16* (*Syll.*³ 390), *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.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 Euclidean, 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,¹⁹ suggesting that the *hieropoioi* of 274 waited until after their books were closed and the main faces of *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: ἐκ τῶν Ἀπολλωδώρου· Δ - - -. Since the *hieropoioi* use παρά, not 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 ἐκ τοῦ Ὀλυμπιοδώρου οἰκήματος, ΔC. But this interpretation is far from certain.²⁰

The *hieropoioi* regularly designated the unpaid interest of deceased persons with τοῦ δεινός 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 Ἀπολλόδορος Κυζικηνός. 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

¹⁸ *IG XII.3 421f*, 863; 3 *Suppl.* 1333–50, 1388; F. Hiller von Gaetringen, *Thera III. Stadtgeschichte von Thera* (Berlin 1904) 89–97, with reservations.

¹⁹ *IG XI.2 199A6*, c94f; cf. Vial (*supra* n.7) 295.

²⁰ *IG XI.2 274.22* with Bogaert (*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: *IG XI.2 204.25*, 27; D. Hennig, “Die ‘heiligen Häuser’ von Delos,” *Chiron* 13 (1983) 429f with 450 n.89.

that the reference must be to a homonymous son, “qui est vivan, 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 Ἀπολλοδώρου 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 Ἀπολλοδώρου κληρονόμοι 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 Soter²² 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.

²³ “Mercenarius”: Hiller, cited in comm. *ad IG* XI.2 289, p.145.

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*)

<i>Source</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Payment</i>	<i>Default?</i>
142.14f	308/306	10	no
156A6f	288/283	10	no
161A31	279	10	no
162A24	278	10	no
199C88	274	10	yes
204.25	268	10	no
223A57	262	10	yes
274.23	260/258	10	?
287A191f	250	10	yes
291f6	247	10	?
289.12	245/242	10	no
353B28f	219	5	yes
363.61f	209	10	yes
366A116	207	10	yes
369A24	206	10	yes
372A176	200	10	yes
403.71	189	10	yes
444A43	177	10	yes
457.32	173	10	yes
463B5	ca 170	10	?

Comments

IG XI.2 274.23. The entry here, Ἀπολλόδωρος Κυζικηνός· Δ, appears to fall among those who have paid their debts, but the stone is incomplete, and a rubric like καὶ οἶδε τόκους ὀφείλουσι καὶ οἱ ἔγγυοι (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.

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