

Epaminondas of Acraephia

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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.XXXI; M. Holleaux, “Inscription d’Acraephaie,” *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 general¹ 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 [*Ὁ στρατηγὸς τῶν Ἀχαιῶν*]. In the epistle of Caligula, line 29, the right form appears to be *συνεσταμένους*. The upper part of the inscription need not be printed here, but lines 78–128 read after the writer's revision somewhat as follows:

80 [Θηβαί]ων ἄρχοντες καὶ ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμ[ος Ἀκρηφιέ]ων ἄρ
 [χου]ς, βουλῆ, δήμῳ ννν χαίρειν νν Τῶν [ἐψηφισμ]ένων
 [παρ' ἡ]μεῖν τειμῶν καὶ πολειτείας Ἐπ[αμινώνδα] Ἐπα
 [μινώ]νδου τῷ πολείτῃ ὑμῶν πεπόμ[φ]αμεν ὑμ]εῖν
 [τὸ ἀν]τίγραφον, καθὼς ἔδοξε, ζημην[ά]μενοι τῆ] δημο
 [σία]ς φραγίδι, παρεκαλέσαμεν δὲ τό τ' ἐ[πεῖναι τῆ] διακο
 [μιδ]ῆ πρὸς ὑμᾶς Δωρόθεον Νεικοκλε[ύς καὶ το]ῦς ἀπὸ

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) 57. For the general see this decree and IG V (2) 517.

- 85 [τῆς ἡ]μετέρας πόλεος λόγους ποιήσ[ασθαι πρὸς] τὴν ὑ
 [μετέ]ραν καθ' ἃς ἔλαβεν παρὰ τῆς βο[υλῆς καὶ τοῦ] δήμου
 [ἐντο]λάς νν "Ερρωσθε νν "Επει[δὴ "Επαμινώνδα]ς "Επαμι
 [νών]δου ἀνὴρ καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθ[ὸς ὑπὲρ τοῦ] ἔθνους
 [ἐστ]ί, συνπολιτευόμε[νος τοῖς Βοιωτοῖς] πάντοτε καὶ
- 90 [. . . .]ικλ[-----]μιας ἐποίη
 [σει, καὶ διατελεῖ ἀρίστη χρώμενος β]ίου ἀγωγῇ, καὶ
 [καλῶς ἰδίᾳ τε πρὸς ἕκαστον ἡμῶν] καὶ κοινῇ πρὸ[ς]
 [πάντας διὰ τοῦ χρόνου ἀεὶ τ]οῦ παρεληλυθότος
 [προσεφέρετο καὶ ἀξίως τ]ῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἀγωγῆς, καὶ
- 95 [ζητουμένης παρ' ἡμ]ῶν νν πρώτης καὶ ἀνανκαί
 [οτάτης πρὸς τ]ὸν νέον Σεβαστὸν πρεσβείας
 [ἠφελ]ούσης τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Βοιωτῶν πολλῶν ὁ
 [κνης]άντων ὑπομεῖναι τὸ βᾶρος καὶ τὴν ὄχλησιν
 [τῆς] ἀποδημίας, κινδυνεύοντός τε τοῦ ἔθνους ἀπο
- 100 [σπας]θῆναι τῆς κοινῆς τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐλπίδος καὶ φι
 [λανθ]ρωπίας αὐτεπάγγελτος ἐν τῷ κοινῷ τῶν Παν
 [ελλή]νων τῷ ἀχθέντι ἐν "Αργεὶ ὑπομείνας ἦν ἄλλοι
 [προς]καλούμενοι ἠρνήσαντο πρεσβείαν οὐδὲ εἰς πα
 [ρασκε]υὴν χρόνον αἰτησάμενος ἀνελλιπῶς ἐξῆ[λ]
- 105 [θεν κ]αὶ ταῦτα καὶ τὰς δαπάνας μετὰ τῆς ὀχλήσεως
 [ἐκ τῶ]ν ἰδίων ὑποσχόμενος ν πληρώσας δὲ τὴν ὑπὲρ
 [τοῦ ἔ]θνους πρεσβείαν ν τὸ ἀπόκριμα καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς
 [τοῦ ν]έου Σεβαστοῦ διεκόμισεν πάσης ἐλπίδος
 [καὶ φι]λανθρωπίνας πλήρες, ἀνεπιβαρήτους κα[ὶ]
- 110 [τὰς] πόλεις καὶ τὸ κοινὸν καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐξόδῳ καὶ ἐν
 [τῇ ἀπ]οπρεσβείᾳ φυλάξας· δι' ἃ δὴ δεδογμένον εἶναι
 [τοῖς] τε ἄρχουσι καὶ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ Θηβαίων
 [δεδό]σθαι πολιτείαν κατὰ δωρεὰν "Επαμεινώνδα
 ["Επαμ]εινώνδου καὶ εἶναι αὐτῷ μετοχὴν πάντων
- 115 [τῶν τ]ῆς πόλεως φιλανθρώπων καθὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐν [ἐ]γ
 [χωρ]ίοις, ἀναθεῖναι δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰκόνα γραπτὴν
 [ἐν ὄπ]λῳ ἐπιχρύσῳ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἐπιγραφὴν ποιήσαν
 [τας· "Ο] δῆμος Θηβαίων "Επαμεινώνδαν "Επαμει
 [νώνδο]ν πρεσβεύσαντα κατὰ δωρεὰν ἐν τῷ κοι
- 120 [νῷ τῶν] "Α[χ]αιῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ [Β]οιωτῶν ἔθνους ν πρὸς
 [τὸν Σε]βαστὸν Καίσαρα Γερμανικὸν ἀρετῆς
 [ἔνεκεν]· ἐλέσθαι δὲ τὸν διακομίσαντα τὸ ἀντί
 [γραφο]ν τοῦ ψηφίσματος πρὸς τὴν "Ακρηφιέων πόλιν.

- 124 [Ἡρέθη] Δωρόθεος Νικοκλεῦς *vacat*
 [Κατὰ ταῦ]τὰ δὲ καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ πόλεις *vacat*
 [ἐν Βοι]ωτία ψηφίσμ[α]σιν καὶ πολειτεία ἐτείμησαν
 [πολλα]ὶ οὐδαι· οὐκ ἐγράφησαν δὲ διὰ τὸ τόπον μὴ
 [εἶναι] *vacat*

RESTORATIONS: 78 Ulrichs. 79–81 Holleaux. 82 [ἀν]τίγραφον Ulrichs; *σημηνόμενοι τῇ*] Dittenberger. 83 [σία Holleaux. 83–84 τό τ' ἐ]πείναι τῇ] διακο|[μιδ]ῆ Oliver, τὸ[ν τὸ ἀντίγραφον] διακο|[μίζοντα] Holleaux. 84 Νικοκλ[έους Ulrichs, ἀρμόζοντα]ς Holleaux, καὶ το]ύς Oliver. 85 [τῆς ἡ]μετέρας Ulrichs, ποιήσ[ασθαι πρὸς] Holleaux. 86–88 Holleaux. 89 Oliver. 91 [σεν ἀρίστη χρησ-άμενος βίο]ν Holleaux, [σεν καὶ διατελεῖ ἀρίστη χρώμενος Oliver. 92 καλῶς Oliver, τε Dittenberger, *cetera* Holleaux. 93 [τὴν ἡμετέραν πόλιν ἐκ το]ῦ Holleaux, [πάντας διὰ τε τοῦ χρόνου Dittenberger, αἰὶ Oliver. 94 [χρόνου διέκειτο ἀξίως τ]ῆς Holleaux, [προσεφέρετο καλῶς καὶ Dittenberger. 95–96 [ἐν τῷ παρόντι παρ' ἡμ]ῶν πρώτης καὶ ἀνανκαί|[α]ς ζητουμένης πρὸς τ]ὸν Holleaux, [ζητουμένης παρ' ἡμ]ῶν πρώτης καὶ ἀνανκαί|[ο]τάτης πρὸς τ]ὸν Dittenberger. 97 [ὠφέλ]ούσης Oliver, [ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἔθν]ους <εἰ>ς Holleaux. 98 Holleaux. 99–102 Ulrichs. 103 [προς]καλούμενοι Oliver, [πολλοὶ] Ulrichs. 104–05 Holleaux. 106–09 Ulrichs. 110 [καὶ φι]λανθρωπίας Oliver, [φι]λανθρωπίνης Ulrichs. 111 [τῇ πρ]εσβεία Ulrichs, [τῇ ἀπ]οπρεσβεία Oliver. 112–14 Ulrichs. 115 [τῶν τ]ῆς Holleaux; ἐν [ἐ]γ Oliver. 116 ἐ|[ντίμ]οις Holleaux, ἐ|[γχωρί]οις Dittenberger, ἐ|[ν οἴκ]οις Ulrichs. 117–18 Holleaux. 119 Ulrichs. 120–21 Holleaux. 122 [ἐνεκεν] Holleaux, [ἐνεκα] Dittenberger. 124 Holleaux. 125 [Κατὰ ταῦ]τὰ Dittenberger, [Ἐπει]τα Holleaux. 126 [ἐν Βοι]ωτία Holleaux, [αἱ ἐν Dittenberger. 127 [πολλαί] Holleaux. 128 [εἶναι] Oliver, [ἐξαρκεῖν] Dittenberger.

LINE 82: The word ὑμεῖ[ν], first read by Ulrichs and retained by the later editors, was a mere misreading of *σημην[όμενοι]*.

LINE 83: τό τ(ε), not τότ(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 Panachaeian League, which they shared with the other Hellenes of Achaia.

LINE 98: τὸ βάρος. The same noun occurs in lines 62–63, and the verb in line 33. In Latin one used *onus* similarly (*Aes Italicense*, lines 17–18: *Hesperia* 24 [1955] 331). For the Athenian formula ὑπομεῖναι τὴν λειτουργίαν see *Hesperia* 17 (1948) 21f and 28 (1959) 181.

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

LINE 111: The word ἀποπρεβεία 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 unscribed 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.

EDITIONS AND COMMENTARY: W. M. Leake, *Museum Criticum* 2 (1826), inset to face page 581; A. Boeckh, *CIG* I (1828) 1625; K. Keil, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Boeoticarum* (Leipzig 1847) 137–47; W. Dittenberger, *IG* VII (1892) 2712; M. Holleaux as cited by L. Robert, *BCH* 59 (1935) 446 and 452 (= *Opera minora selecta* I [Amsterdam 1969] 287 and 293). [Ph. Lebas, *Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie mineure* II (Paris 1847) 588, Leake's transcript]. The inscription is discussed by J. A. O. Larsen, in Tenney Frank's *Economic Survey* IV (Baltimore 1938) 466 and 476, by U. Kahrstedt, *Das wirtschaftliche Gesicht Griechenlands in der Kaiserzeit* (= *Diss. Bernenses*, SER. I, 7, 1954) 83–85, and by L. Robert, *ArchEph* 1969, 34–39.

TRANSLATION: W. M. Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece* II (London 1835) 296–99.

- [-----]
 [-----]του[-----]
 [-----] πέντε δι[-----]
 [-----]αρτων ναιιοι[-----]
 [-----] οὕτως ἐπιφω[νείσθαι]
 5 [-----] ἐδώκαμεν αὐ[τῷ -----]
 [-----] ἡμῖν, ἕνα δὲ καὶ [-----]
 [-----] κατὰ τὴν δ]ευτέραν γυμνασια[ρχίαν]
 [-----]μήσατο, πᾶσαν δὲ [-----]
 [-----] ἡρωματισμένω?] ἐλαίω ἤλειψεν, ὃ μηδεὶς [τῶν]
 10 [πρὸ αὐτοῦ γυμνασιάρχων ἐποίη]σεν παρ' ἡμεῖν ὡς μύρου μη[-----]
 [-----]λω τῆς ἀρχῆς ὡς ἐν γενεθλί[οις δέ]

- [τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ - - - - - τοὺς τε] πολεΐτας πάντας καὶ παρο[ίκοις]
 [καὶ ἐκτεημένους - - - - -] παῖδας τοὺς τῶν πολειτῶ[ν - -]
 [- - - - -]ωι τοὺς παρεπιδημοῦντας [ξένους]
 15 [- - - - -] χειμῶνος ὄλου ἐπανάγων [- -]
 [- - - - -] δ[ε]ίπνοις χρώμενος ὡς οὐκ εἰα[. .]
 [- - - - -]ατων καὶ εὐσχήμενας πολλά[κικ]
 [- - - - -]α ὄλην τὴν πόλιν δημοθουσία[ικ]
 [εἰστιάσεν ἐνδεικνύμενος τὸ φιλά]νθρωπον ἦθος, μηδένα [ἄμοι]ρον
 20 [- - - - -]των δαπάνη [ἐα]υτοῦ, πληρώσας δὲ ταῦτα [πάντ]α
 [- - - - -]λιων[. .]α χ[ρ]όνων, ἐν οἷς ὄλην τὴν πόλιν εἰστία
 [κε], πάλ[ι]ν τε τῇ ἑορτῇ τῶν θεῶν ταυροθυτήσας Ἑρμεῖ καὶ Ἑρα
 [κ]λεῖ καὶ τοῖς Σεβαστοῖς ἀγῶνα γ[υμ]νικόν, θῖς ἄθλα ἀσπιδῆα τοῖς
 νεικήσασιν, μόνος καὶ πρῶτος ἀπὸ τοῦ παντὸς αἰῶνος ἔξευ
 25 ρῶν τὴν τειμὴν ταύτην, ἠρίστιέν τε τ[ῆ]ν πόλιν τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ
 ἀπ' ἐχθέματος ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ, μηδένα παραλιπὼν οὐ μόνον τῶν
 ἐνοικούντων ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῶν παρεπιδημού[ν]των ξένων σὺν παι
 σὶν ἐλευθέροις καὶ τοῖς τῶν πολειτῶν δούλο[ικ] δι[ἀ] τὸ φιλόδοξον
 ἦθος· [παραλαβ]ῶν [δὲ] τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν μεγίστην [ἐνε]δίξαστο με[γα]λο
 30 ψυχ[ί]αν· [ταυ]ρο[θυ]τήσας[ε γ]ὰρ τοῖ[ε] Σεβαστοῖς ἐ[πε]θοίνης[εν]
 μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ τὴν πόλιν, ἐπιτελῶν [τ]ὸν λε[γ]όμενον πα[- -] ἐν τ[ῷ]
 γυμνασίῳ τῷ [τὸ] ὑπερ[β]ῆλλον τῶν δαπανημάτων καὶ ἀδι[άλ]ειπτο[ν οὐ μὸ]
 [ν]ον παρ' ἡμ[ε]ν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ταῖς πέριξ πόλεσιν θαυμ[ά]ζεσθαι· τοῦ τ[ε]
 μεγίστου [κ]αὶ [ε]ώζοντος [ῆμ]ῶν τὴν χώραν χώ[μα]τος παραλελειμ[μένης]
 35 τῆς κοιν[ιά]σεως [ἐ]ν τῇ ἐγδοῖσει, τοῦ ὄλον ἐπισκε[ε]υσθῆναι καὶ κοιν[α]θῆ
 να[ικ] μόνος προενόησεν προσμείνας καὶ κατωρθώσατο ὑπὲρ ἑξ[ακικ]
 χίλια δηνάρια οὔσης τῆς ἐπισκευῆς ἰς δώδεκα σταδίου· ἤδη δὲ τὸ μεγ[α]
 λό[φ]ρον τῆς γνώμης ἐκτείνας καὶ [ικ] τὸ Βοιωτῶν ἔθνος, πρεσβίας [ζη]του
 μένης πρὸς τὸν νέον Σεβαστὸν ἐν τῷ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν καὶ Πανελλήνων
 40 συνεδρίῳ ἐν Ἀργεῖ, πο[λλ]ῶν τε συνεληλυθότων εὐσχημόνων καὶ πρῶ
 των ἐκ τῶν πόλεων καὶ πάντων ἀρνούμενων καὶ ἐπι[κα]λουμένων, πάντ[α]
 ἐν ἐλάσσει θέμενος τ[ἀ] ἑαυτοῦ προθυμότατα ἐπεδέξατο τὴν πρε
 βίαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Βοιωτῶν ἔθνος, προσθεὶς τῷ εὐ[γ]ενεῖ τοῦ φρονήματος
 [κ]αὶ τὸ
 μεγαλόψυχον [κατ]ὰ δωρ[εα]ν πρεσβεύειν· θαυμ[αθι]κ οὖν ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ
 ἀπο
 45 δοχῆς ἀξιοθῖς ἐν τοῖς Πανέλλησιν τειμὰς ἔλαβεν, μαρτυρούμενος καὶ δι
 ἀ τῆς [πεμ]φθίσης ἐπιστολῆς ὑπ' αὐτῶν πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν ^{vv} τελέσας

- δὲ τὴν πρεσβείαν μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν καὶ τὸ ἀπόκριμα ἐνεκῶν παρὰ
 Σεβαστοῦ, πάλιν τειμὰς ἔλαβεν μετὰ τῶν συνπρεσβευτῶν, τό τε κοινὸν
 Παμβοιωτῶν συνέδριον ὑπεραποδεξάμενον τὴν αὐτεπάγγελτον χάρι[ν]
 50 καὶ εὐνοίαν τειμὰς ἐψηφίσαντο αὐτῷ τὰς πρεπούσας καὶ ἀπέστειλαν πρὸ[ς]
 τὴν πόλιν [ἦ]μῶν ἕπιτα δὲ καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ πόλεις καὶ κῶμαι, [ε]ὐχάριστον
 πρᾶγ[μα]
 ποιῶσαι καὶ αὐταί, ἔτει[νο]ν ψηφίσμασιν καὶ [π]ολιτεία καὶ εἰκόνων θέσει
 τειμῆσαι αὐτόν ἕν ὑπερτιθέμενος δὲ τῇ μεγαλοψυχίᾳ καὶ ἀρετῇ πάντα τοὺς
 πρὸ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν πρὸς τὸ φιλόδοξον κῆρᾶι φιλάγαθον ταῖς ἐπαλ
 55 λῆ[λ]οις δαπάναις, εἰς φιλόπατρις καὶ εὐεργέτης νομι[ζ]όμενος ἕ
 ἐγ[λε]λοιπό
 τος γὰρ ἤδη τριάκοντα ἔτη τοῦ τῶν Πτωίων ἀγῶνος κατασταθὶς ἀγωνοθέ
 της προθυμότητα ἐπεδέξατο φιλοδοξήσας τὸ ἀνανεώσασθαι τὴν ἀρχαί
 ότητα τοῦ ἀγῶνος, τῶν μεγάλων Πτωίων καὶ Καισαρήων κτίστης ἀνωθε[ν]
 γενόμενος· ἀναλαβὼν τε τὴν ἀρχὴν εὐθέως ἐπιτελεῖ τὰς θυσίας καὶ
 60 τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ μαντεία ἕστιῶν ἀρχοντας καὶ συνέδρους κατ' ἔτος πεντά
 [κ]ις μεγαλομερέει δίπνοις καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀριστίζων ἐπὶ πενταετίαν, μηδε
 μίαν ὑπέρθεσιν ποιησάμενος ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις μήτε θυσίας μήτε δαπά
 νης μηδέποτε ἕ<ν>στάντος δὲ τοῦ ἀγῶνος τῷ ἕκτω ἐνιαυτῷ τὸ ἐπὶ
 πόλεος
 διάδομα ἰς τὴν μέλλουσαν ἑορτὴν ἔδωκεν πᾶσι τοῖς πολεῖταις καὶ παροί
 65 κοῖς καὶ ἐκτμημένοις διδούς κατ' ἄνδρα ἕκαστον κόφινον σείτου καὶ οἴνου
 ἡμίτεαν ἕ τὰς τε πατρίους πομπὰς μεγάλας καὶ τὴν τῶν κυρτῶν πάτριον
 ὄρχησιν θεοσεβῶς ἐπετέλε[λε]σεν, ταυροθυτήσας τε τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ Σε
 βαστοῖς κρεαδοσίας καὶ ἄριστα καὶ γλυκισμοὺς καὶ δίπνα οὐ διέλιπεν ποιῶν·
 ἕ[π]ιτα κατὰ τάξις ἀπὸ εἰκάδος μέχρι τριακάδος προσε<κάλεσε>ν πᾶσι
 τοῖς ἀρίστοις καὶ
 70 παῖδας τοὺς τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ δούλους ἐνηλίκους τὰς τε γυναῖκας τῶν
 πολει
 τῶν ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ Κωτίλα ἡρίστισεν καὶ παρθένους καὶ δούλας ἐνηλίκους·
 οὐ
 παρέλιπεν δὲ οὐδὲ τοῦ[ς] σκηνίτας καὶ συνκομοῦντας τὴν ἑορτὴν,
 ἡρίστισεν
 δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀπ' ἐ[κ]θέματος κατ' ἰδίαν, ὃ μηδεὶς ἄλλος τῶν προτέρων
 ἐποίησεν,
 μηδένα τῆς ἐξ αὐτοῦ φιλανθρωπίας βουλόμενος ἄμοιρον γενέσθαι· ἐν τε
 75 ταῖς γεινομέναις θεωρίαις τοῦ θυμηλικοῦ ἕ πάντα τοὺς [θε]ωμένους καὶ

- τοὺς συνελθόντας ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων ἐγλύκισεν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, ρίμματά
 τε ἐποίησεν μεγάλα καὶ πολυτελῆ, ὡς διάκουστα καὶ ἐν ταῖς πέριξ πόλε
 σιν τὰ δαπανήματα αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι ἢ ἐν τε τῇ συντελείᾳ τοῦ ἀγῶνος με
 τὰ τὸ πάνδημον δῖπνον [τὴν] ἀρχ[τῆ]ν ἄνωθεν πάλιν ποιούμενος τῆς δαπά
 80 νης κατὰ τρίκλεινον διαδόματα ἔδωκεν νῦν δέκα δηναρίων καὶ κερά
 μιον οἴνου παλαιοῦ καὶ δηνάρια ἕξ εἰς ἐπόψημα τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς δαπά
 νης ἢ μετὰ δὲ τὴν πάντων τούτων συντέλειαν καταβαίνοντος
 αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν πανδημεὶ ὑπήντησαν οἱ πολεῖται
 πᾶσαν φιλοτειμίαν καὶ εὐχαριστίαν ἐνδειγνύμενοι· ὁ δὲ μὴ ἐ[κ]λαθό
 85 μενος τῆς ἑαυτοῦ μεγαλοφροσύνης ταυροθυτήσας Διὶ τῷ Μεγίστῳ ἐπὶ
 τῆς πόλεως παραχρήμα εἰστίξεν τοὺς συνελθόντας ἐπὶ τὴν εὐχα
 ριστίαν· ὅθεν ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ οὕτως
 μεγαλοψύχους καὶ [φ]ιλοπ[ά]τριδας ταῖς προσηκούσαις τειμαῖς τε καὶ
 δωρεαῖς προσῆκόν ἐστιν κοσμουμένους μαρτυρῆσθαι ἢ δι' ἃ δὴ
 90 πάντα ἔδοξεν τοῖς τε ἄρχουσι καὶ συνέδροις καὶ τῷ δήμῳ ἐπα
 νέσαι μὲν τὸν προειρημένον ἄνδρα Ἐπαμεινώνδαν ἐφ' ἧ
 πρὸς τ[τῆ]ν πατρίδ[α] ἔσχηκεν ἕκτενεὶ εὐνοίᾳ καὶ πρὸς τὸ Βοιω
 τῶν ἔθνος μεγαλοψυχία συνκοσμῶν καὶ τὴν πατρίδα τῇ
 πρεσβείᾳ, στεφανῶσαι δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ καὶ εἰκό
 95 μι [χα]λκῆ· τύχη τῇ ἀγαθῇ τοὺς τε μετὰ <τα>ῦτα κατασταθησομένους
 [ἀ]γ[ω]
- νοθέτ[α]ς ἐν τοῖς ἐπιτελεσθησομένοις ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀγῶσιν [κ]αλεῖν αὐ
 τὸν ἰς [προ]εδρίαν καθάπερ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους εὐεργέτας, ἵνα το<ύ>των
 οὕτω συντελουμέν<ων> ἢ πόλις ἡμῶν εὐχάριστος φαίνεται πρὸς
 τοὺς εὐεργέτας πολλοὶ τε ζηλ{ηλ}ωταὶ γείνων[τ]αι τῶν ἀγαθῶν
 100 τῶν εἰς τὴν πόλιν μαρτυρουμένων τῶν πρώτων, στήσαι δὲ καὶ ἂν
 δριάντας αὐτοὺς ἢ ἀγάλματα, ἕνα μὲν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος
 τοῦ Πτωίου, τὸν δ' ἕτερον ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ, καὶ εἰκόν<α>ς
 ὁμοίως ἐπιχρῦσους τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν ποιουμένων τήνδε ἢ Ὁ δῆμος καὶ
 ἢ βουλή Ἐπαμεινώνδαν Ἐπαμεινώνδου ἄριστα πολειτευσάμε
 105 νον καὶ δικαιοτά<τα>, εἶναι δὲ καὶ ἐν ἀναγραφῇ τὸ ψήφισμα ἐπὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ
 τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Πτωίου καὶ ἐπὶ πόλεος ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ *vacat*

95 ΜΕΤΑΥΤΑ 97 ΤΟΤΩΝ 98 ΣΥΝΤΕΛΟΥΜΕΝ 102 ΕΙΚΟΝΕΣ 105 ΔΙΚΑΙΟΤΑ

RESTORATIONS AND EMENDATIONS: 4–7 Dittenberger. 9–10 Holleaux. 11 γενε-
 θλί[οις] Holleaux; δὲ Oliver. 12 τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Holleaux; *cetera* Dittenberger.
 13–18 Dittenberger. 19 [ἄμοι]ρον Oliver, [και]ρὸν *et cetera* Dittenberger. 20
 [παρεῖς ἀνευ πολλῶν χρημᾶ]των δαπάνη[ς παρ' ἑα]υτοῦ *et* [πάντ]α Dittenberger.

21 Dittenberger. 22 [σε λαμπρῶς Dittenberger, πάλ[ι]ν Holleaux. 23 Holleaux. 28 δου[λοισ Boeckh, δι[ὰ Dittenberger. 29 [παραλαβ]ῶν [δὲ] Dittenberger; [ἐνε]δίξατο Oliver. 30 Dittenberger. 31 Boeckh. 32 [τὸ] et ἀδι[άλ]ει[π]τον Keil, *cetera* Leake. 36–37 Leake. 38 [αἰ]του Leake, [ζη]του Keil; *cetera* Leake. 40–42 Leake. 43 εὐ[γ]ενεῖ Boeckh, εὐ[σθ]ενεῖ Leake; [κ]αὶ Leake. 44 [τῆν] ἄδωρ[ο]ν πρέσβευσιν Leake, [καὶ] ἄδωρ[ο]ν πρεσβεύ(ε)ιν Boeckh, [εἰς] ἄδωρ[ο]ν Dittenberger, [κατ]ὰ δωρ[εά]ν Oliver; θαυμ[ασθε]ῖς Dittenberger. 46 Leake. 49–50 Leake. 51 [πόλει]ς καὶ κ[ῶ]μαι et πρᾶγ[μα] Boeckh; *cetera* Leake. 52 ἔτει[νο]ν Oliver, [ῆξι]ωσεν ψηφί[σ]μασιν κα[ὶ] πο[λι]τειεί[α] Boeckh. 54 [προγε]γονότασ καὶ ἑαυτὸν Boeckh. 55 Leake. 63 ἐ<ν>στάντος Keil. 69 ἔ[π]ιτα Oliver; προσ<εκάλες>εν Wilhelm, *JOAI* 10 (1907) 26 *dubitanter*. 72–73 Leake. 75 Leake. 79 Leake. 88 Leake. 92 Leake. 95 [χα]λκῆ Oliver; <τα>ῦτα Boeckh; [ἀ]γ[ω] Leake. 96 Leake. 97 [προε]δρία[ν] Leake; το<ύ>των Dittenberger. 98 Boeckh. 99 Leake. 102 Leake. 105 Oliver.

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: Σεβαστοῦ πάλιν in 48, ὑπεραποδεξάμενον for Boeckh's ὑ[πομμνησκόμ]ενον in 49, αἰ λοιπαὶ for ἄ[λλαι in 51, ὑπερτιθέμενος for Leake's ὑπερ[εβάλλετο] in 53, πρὸ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ αὐτὸς in 54 (where Boeckh had caught the right meaning), οἴνου | ἡμίτεαν in 65 for Leake's ἡμί[ναν] which had made its way into *LSJ*, ἔ[π]ιτα in 69, *Κωτίλα* in 71, τῆς ἐξ αὐτοῦ for τῆς ἑαυτοῦ in 74, ῥίμματα for Leake's [πέ]μματα in 76, νῦν δέκα for Leake's [ἔ]νδεκα in 80, ὑπήντησαν for [ἀ]πήντησαν in 83, οὕτως in 87, εἰκό[νι] [χα]λκῆ for εἰκό[νι] γραπτῆ] in 95, αὐτοὺς for αὐτοῦ in 101, καὶ δικαιοῦτα<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 θεῖς (23), ἐνεδείξατο (29), πρεσβεία (37, 43), πρεσβεύσειν (44), ἀξιωθεῖς (45), ἔπειτα (51, 69), κατασταθεῖς (56), δεῖπνον (61, 68, 79), τάξεις (69), μαρτυρεῖσθαι (89), εἰς (37, 97), πόλεις (51).

LINE 21: The word εἰστίασε may have run over to line 22, though Robert has Holleaux make πάλ[ι]ν the first word.

LINE 26: ἐχθέματος. See line 73. A. Wilhelm, *JOAI* 10 (1907) 26, compares the Eretrian decree, *SIG*³ 714, τῆν τε θυσίαν τῶι Ἑρμεῖ συντελῶν ἐκάλεσεν ἐκ προγράμματος τοὺς τε πολίτας 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: *παρεπιδημού<ν>των*. 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 *πάμμαχος ἀγών* of a pancratiast.

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 *SIG*³ 800 of A.D. 42.

LINE 44: The restoration [κατ]ἄ δωρ[εἰ]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*[[θέμενόν τ]ε τῆι μεγαλοψυχίαι.

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 κύνηδροι* 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 ἐνστάντος ἐνιαυτοῦ*.

LINES 63–64: The word *διάδομα*, 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.”

LINE 66: *ἡμίτεαν*. The same phrase, *οἴνου | ημίτεαν*, occurs in the regulations for the cults of Asclepius and Apollo at Epidaurus in the late fifth century B.C. in *IG* IV² (1).40 and 41 (= E. J. and L. Edelstein, *Asclepius* [Baltimore 1945] 561 and 562; F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées des cités grecques* [Paris 1969] 60). At Epidaurus Asclepius, doubtless also

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, *SIG*³ 998, and Sokolowski in his index treat the word as *ἡμίσειαν*. 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 *μοῦρα*. The old phrase has continued in use and surely refers to a jug of half size.

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

LINE 68: On *γλυκικμούς*, ‘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: *ρίμματα* (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: *πανδημεὶ ὑπήντησαν οἱ πολεῖται*. 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.

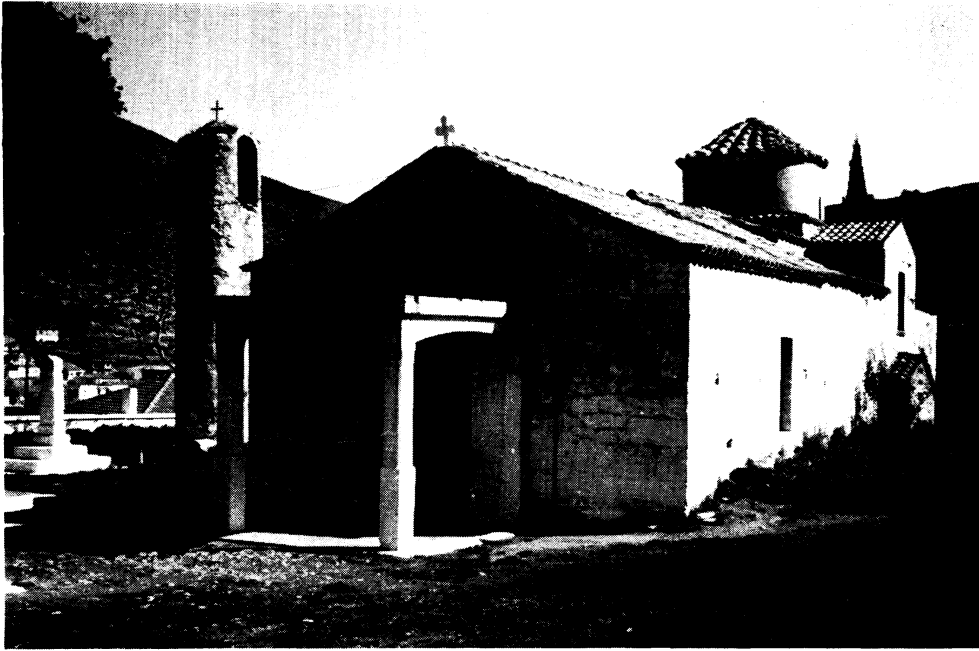


Figure 1. CHURCH OF ST GEORGE AT AKRAIPHNION

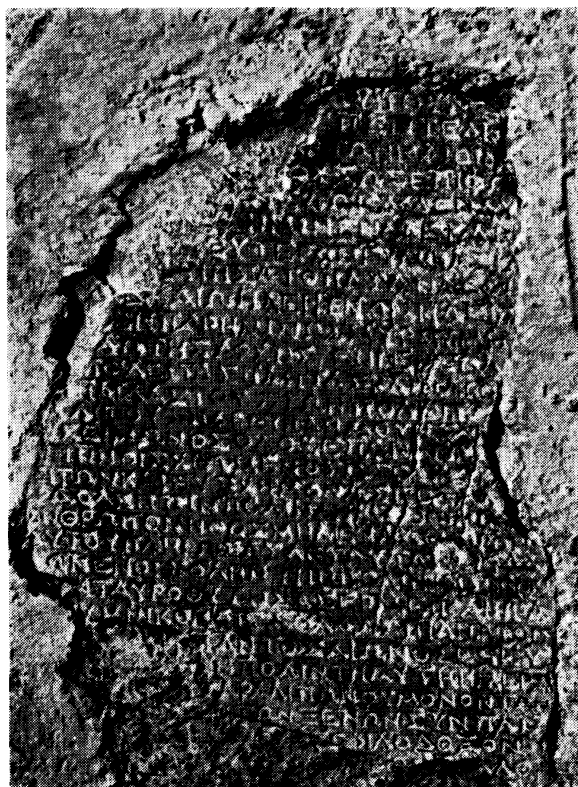


Figure 2. INSCRIPTION B [IG VII 2712], SMALL FRAGMENT

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: δι' ἃ δὴ | πάντα. So also Inscriptions C line 65 and D line 46, and *IG IV*² 81.

LINES 98–99: Examples of the formula τούτων οὕτω συντελουμέν(ων) will be found in *IG II*² Pars Quarta p.64, but the usual Athenian version of the formula ἵνα . . . ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν εὐχάριστος φαίνεται runs ὅπως ἂν ὁ δῆμος φαίνεται χάριτας ἀποδιδούς τοῖς εὐεργέταις *aut simile*. See, however, *OGI* 267 at Pergamum, ἵνα φανερός ᾗ ὁ δῆμ[ος] ἄπασιν εὐχάριστος ὦν.

LINE 99: ζηλ{ηλ}ωταί. Compare *IG II*² 1043 line 60, γίνονται δὲ καὶ ἕτεροι τῶν ὁμοίων ζηλωταί; and *IG II*² 1343 line 41.

LINE 101: ἀνδριάντας αὐτοὺς 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.

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 gymnasium 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 Achaeans 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 *incolæ* 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, breakfasts, 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 distributions 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 festivities, 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 together to the feast of thanksgiving.

Wherefore after such acts it is right that good men of such magnanimity 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 *SIG*³ 800, the decree of Lycosura which mentions the depression of A.D. 42 following a crop failure (ἀφορίας καρπῶν γενομένης).

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 *SIG*² 376; H. Dessau, *ILS* 8794; F. Hiller von Gaertringen, *SIG*³ 814; [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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