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NUMBER 4

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GREEK, ROMAN, AND BYZANTINE MONOGRAPHS

NUMBER 4

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THE INSCRIPTION
FROM TEMPLE G
AT SELINUS

WILLIAM M. CALDER III
Columbia University

διότι λίθος ἐκ τοίχου βοήσεται
HABAKKUK 2.11

DUKE UNIVERSITY
1963

The Stanwood Cockey Lodge Foundation of
Columbia University has generously provided
a grant of funds in support of the publication
of this monograph.

D.M.
W. W. J.
PRAECEPTORIS ET AMICI

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Preface

For references throughout I have preferred *AJA*'s "Uniform Style" and where an abbreviation is lacking there have followed *L'Année philologique*. I have held footnotes to the barest minimum and rather have inserted the reference into the text whenever feasible. As to orthographical matters, throughout I have preferred, after E. A. Freeman, *Selinuntine* to *Selinuntian* and *Segesta* to *Egestaea*; but against Freeman, *Selinus* to *Selinous*. Elsewhere, except in cases of familiar Anglicisms, I have transliterated.

I began my work on this inscription in the Spring of 1956 when I first read it in a memorable class in Greek Dialects at Harvard University under my former teacher, Professor Joshua Whatmough. Since then I have become indebted to many scholars for friendly interest and criticism. Specific debts are noted within when they occur. More generally I am grateful for various matters, not least methodological and bibliographical, to Professor O. Broneer of the University of Chicago, Dr James A. Coulter of Columbia University, Professor J. A. Davison of Leeds, Professor Charles H. Kahn of Columbia University, Dr Walther Ludwig of the University of Munich, Professors H. N. Porter and Morton Smith of Columbia University, Miss Margaret Thompson of the American Numismatic Society, and Dr Lloyd Urdahl of Ohio University. Professor Kahn visited Selinus and the Palermo Museum in June 1962 and generously checked various matters for me. Professor Smith has read the whole typescript and many an improvement is due to his erudition and critical acumen.

I am most grateful, however, to my teacher, Professor Sterling Dow. Without his unfailing encouragement over the years, this study would certainly never have been completed. He has read the whole far more than once and there is not a page that has not been

improved by his suggestion. Obviously the faults that remain are my own.

Special thanks are due to the Soprintendenza alle Antichità per le Provincie di Palermo e Trapani for the photographs printed within and to Professor Moses Hadas and the Committee of the Stanwood Cockey Lodge Foundation, whose generous grant made this publication possible. M. D. Coulter has prepared (after Roehl) the drawing for the "Preserved Text."

WILLIAM M. CALDER III

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK
September, 1962

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Introduction

THE SUBJECT of the present study is a well-known inscription (IG xiv 268) from Temple G, the so-called Apollo Temple, at Selinus. The text has been edited more than twenty times and often discussed, especially by scholars interested in Greek dialects; but there are several reasons that may justify a new and extensive treatment. A more accurate text can certainly be provided. A good squeeze and fresh, clear photographs have yielded advantages lacked by earlier editors, who too often worked from the somewhat faulty drawings of the *editio princeps* or of Roehl, *Imagines*. The first usable photographs are published herewith. The photographs and especially the squeeze have secured a number of letters hitherto in doubt; and the latter, one never reported. Certain of the accepted restorations are shown clearly not to fit the gaps. The orthography of one restoration, accepted by every editor but Collitz-Bechtel, is shown not to be Megarian; and one new restoration is submitted.

Towards the interpretation of the text, several contributions are submitted. The first part is proven to be metrical and to contain a choriambic song. Next a new translation and exegesis of the second part, the decree, are proposed. Thirdly, an attempt is made, based on a lexicographical approach, to specify the nature and value of the gold offering referred to at the end of the inscription. Finally a new suggestion is put forward for the dating of the inscription and for its historical occasion. Throughout exegetical material is gathered in the hope of making the text more useful to historians.

The Stone

Discovery and Site

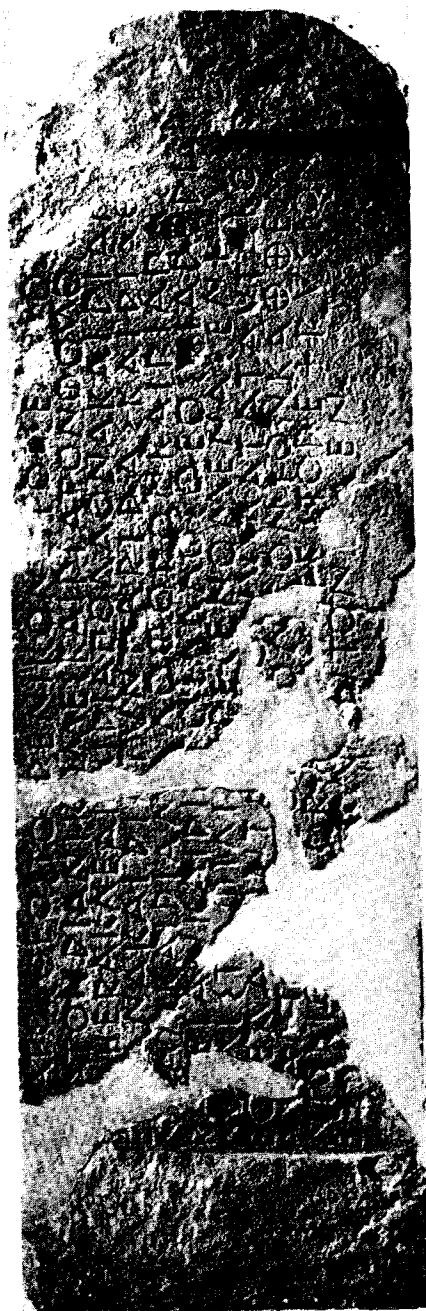
THE STONE was discovered in March 1871, broken into eight pieces, in the ruins of Temple G (the so-called Apollo Temple) on a hill (ca 30–40 m.) to the east of ancient Selinus by the Italian archaeologist, Professor Francesco Saverio Cavallari. It was immediately removed to the museum at Palermo, where it may be seen today.

A word on Temple G is relevant.¹ The building was under construction throughout most of the fifth century and was built entirely of native limestone covered with stucco. Although Professor Dinsmoor cautions that “exact measurements and analysis are as yet impossible,” he is able to correct the measurements of Koldewey-Puchstein and remarks (p. 99) that the dimensions are “no less than about 164½ by 361½ feet, the first of the colossal structures of the west, vying with the Ionic temples of Asia Minor.” He assumes the height of the columns “to have been 48 feet 2½ inches.” The temple had not yet received its final touches before the Carthaginian sack of 409.² Indeed Professor Dinsmoor remarks (p. 100): “the discouraging task must have been tentatively abandoned at an even earlier date, since traces of stucco finish survive even on cylindrical undressed column shafts.” The extensive ruin is due to earthquakes.³ The impressiveness of this great edifice, even in ruins, is evinced by the local peasantry who have called it *i pilieri dei Giganti*. Only one inscription, the present, has been found there. The name *Apollonion* is known only from the inscription.

¹ For details and further bibliography see W. B. Dinsmoor, *The Architecture of Ancient Greece*³ (London 1950) 99–100; D. S. Robertson, *A Handbook of Greek and Roman Architecture*² (Cambridge 1954) 85–87; K. Ziegler, *RE* 4A (1923) 1299–1301. Hereafter, citations will be abbreviated; for a list of abbreviations and the full title of works to which they refer, see sections II and III of chapter 2 below.

² Dinsmoor, *loc. cit.*; E. A. Freeman, *HistSic*, III.458.

³ *Ibidem*, 475–76.



IG XIV 268: THE STONE WITH TEXT

Physical Description

The present author has worked from a squeeze and has not seen the stone. The most detailed printed description of the stone is this of Benndorf (*Metopen*, p. 27): "Sie stand in einer Höhe von 2.40m. vom Fussboden an gerechnet, auf einem 1.40m. breiten, 0.43m. hohen, 0.60m. dicken Blocke, welcher zur vierten Steinlage gehörte, und nimmt die der Längsachse des Tempels parallele Breitseite desselben in der Weise ein, dass sie, zwischen zwei rechts und links ausgesparten Streifen, dicht unter dem oberen horizontalen Rande beginnt und ein Stück von dem untern horizontalen Rande aufhört. Der Block war in Fragmente zerborsten, von denen sich nur acht vorhanden, so dass die inschriftliche Seite nicht vollständig wiedergewonnen werden konnte; indessen liess das Ineinandergreifen der Bruchflächen, zumal bei der ungewöhnlichen Dicke des Steins, über die Zusammengehörigkeit der Schriftstücke nicht im Ungewissen."⁴ The block is of local, lightish grey, limestone, amply hard enough so that letters could be easily incised without crumbling.⁵

The photograph (PLATE 1) reveals that a shallow cutting of slight depth was neatly centered and cut into the face of the stone, which was not trimmed smooth, so as to provide an indented, smooth surface, from top to bottom of the block, on which to engrave the inscription. Inspection of the photograph also indicates that except for the lost interior pieces the whole inscription is extant. The two side margins are visible. The space following the last word proves that we have the end. That no line before the extant line 1 has been lost is certain because the trimmed top of the upper left corner of the block is visible in the photograph and Holm's plate and is flush with the top of the inscription itself. There are occasional surface gouges, but generally where the lettering is preserved it is eminently readable. The rounded right end of the stone is curious. Comparison with the left side indicates extensive damage to the surface of the right. It is reassuring to see that Cavallari's eight pieces are still distinguishable in the photograph. Neither Ugdulena nor Roehl adequately indicate the joins in their drawings and it is difficult to trace them on the squeeze.

⁴ Compare Hulot-Fougères, p. 101: "Elle était gravée sur une pierre d'ante en tuf, à gauche de l'entrée de l'adyton. Ce bloc, large de 1.40m., haut de 0.43m., épais de 0.60m., était placé dans la 4^e assise, à 2.40m. du sol."

⁵ W. B. Dinsmoor, *per coll.*

The lettering is in the epichoric alphabet and fills almost eleven full lines. The large, clear, vigorous letter shapes with their sharp angles and well rounded curves reveal considerable technique and care; contrast Ferri, p. 169, fig. 2. A successful effort at a neat left margin has been maintained. The right seems to have received less attention. Details of spacing and letter sizes will be discussed below. In technique and appearance it is roughly similar to the inscription on the outer wall of the stadium at Delphi (Schwyzer 321).

Editions and Bibliography

The following are the important editions of the inscription. An asterisk indicates that the present author knows the item only from another's citation. Uncritical reprints of earlier texts by scholars not concerned with the inscription *per se* nor contributing to its elucidation but merely using it to develop some other point have not been listed among editions (e.g., W. H. D. Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings* [Cambridge 1902] 126 n.4; K. Ziegler, *RE* 4A [1923] 1271). Certain elusive and ephemeral Italian editions (see Benndorf, *Metopen*, p. 27 n.) have also been omitted. The editions are listed in chronological order. Where there have been revisions by a specific editor (e.g., Dittenberger) the date of the latest revision (excluding photostatic reprints) has been given. Following the *conspectus editionum* is a bibliography of the most useful discussions of the inscription arranged alphabetically by author's name. It has been thought convenient to include here certain fundamental reference works frequently cited throughout the monograph. Parentheses after each entry contain the abbreviation by which the item will henceforth be cited.

I

ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE FIND

*S. CAVALLARI, *Giornale di Sicilia*, 5 May 1871. Cavallari includes a contribution by Holm, who later described it (*RhM* 27 [1872] 362) as "eine von mir nach der ersten unvollständigen Abschrift (es waren noch nicht alle Stücke gefunden) gegebene Andeutung über den Inhalt derselben." This is the first publication concerning the stone; but the announcement does not constitute the *editio princeps*.

II

EDITIONS

1. G. UGDULENA, "Al Cav. Francesco di Giovanni, Senatore del Regno d'Italia sopra una iscrizione Selinuntina," *Rivista Sicula* 6 (1871) 201-07. This is the *editio princeps* (dated: Palermo, 3 August 1871) and contains a description of the stone, a drawing, a text with important restorations, translations into Latin and Italian, and various exegetical remarks. For later modifications see *ibid.* 559-63, which contain Ugdulena's reply to A. Salinas (below).
(Ugdulena)
2. *S. CAVALLARI and A. HOLM, *Bullettino della commissione di antichità e belle arti di Sicilia*, No. 4 (October, 1871) 24-34 with photograph. A copy is available at the museum in Palermo and was inspected by C. H. Kahn June 1962.
(Cavallari-Holm)
3. H. SAUPPE, "Inscription aus dem Tempel des Zeus Agoraios in Selinus," *NGG* (1871) 605-17 with plate. Several restorations are proposed and there is an important collection of exegetical material especially concerning the cults of Selinus.
(Sauppe)
4. A. SALINAS, "Rassegna archeologica," *Rivista Sicula* 6 (1871) 365-74. This is largely a critique of Ugdulena and other early Italian work on the stone.
(Salinas)
5. O. BENNDORF, *Bullettino dell' Inst. di corr. arch.* (1872) 271-72. Includes a drawing with transcription.
6. O. BENNDORF, *Die Metopen von Selinunt mit Untersuchungen über die Gesch., die Topogr. und d. Tempel von Selinunt* (Berlin 1873) 27-34. This is especially important for establishing the text of the decree (drawing based on a squeeze, p. 27).
(Benndorf, *Metopen*)
7. H. ROEHL, *Inscriptiones Graecae Antiquissimae praeter Atticas in Attica repertas* (Berlin 1882) No. 515 (p. 149). There is a valuable commentary.
(IGA)
8. E. L. HICKS, *A Manual of Greek Historical Inscriptions* (Oxford 1882) No. 25, pp. 30-31. This is the first English edition of the inscription. The text is derivative and the commentary superficial.
(Hicks)
9. E. S. ROBERTS, *An Introduction to Greek Epigraphy, Part I* (Cambridge 1887) No. 117, pp. 143-44. The intelligent commentary (occasionally indebted to Roehl) is still useful.
(Roberts)
10. GEORG KAIBEL, *Inscriptiones Graecae Siciliae et Italiae* (Berlin 1890) No. 268, p. 45. This is the standard edition. It includes a drawing (from Benndorf?) and accepts uncritically the restorations of Sauppe.
(IG XIV 268)
11. H. COLLITZ and F. BECHTEL, *Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften III.1* (Göttingen 1899) No. 3046, pp. 26-27. An important restoration is printed and there is a valuable commentary.
(Collitz-Bechtel)

12. CH. MICHEL, *Recueil d'inscriptions grecques* (Brussels 1900) No. 1240, pp. 860-61. The text is derivative. There is no commentary. Lacunae and restorations are inaccurately indicated. (Michel 1240)
13. E. L. HICKS and G. F. HILL, *A Manual of Greek Historical Inscriptions: new and revised edition* (Oxford 1901) No. 34, pp. 52-53. The commentary discusses thoughtfully the historical occasion for the text. (Hicks and Hill)
14. H. ROEHL, *Imagines Inscriptionum Graecarum Antiquissimarum*, ed.3 (Berlin 1907) No. 12, p. 55. This is the standard drawing (after Benndorf) of the stone. It contains traces of letters found neither in the *editio princeps* nor on the photograph but discernible on the squeeze. The letter forms are not consistently drawn with accuracy. (Roehl, *Imagines*)
15. J. HULOT and G. FOUGÈRES, *Sélinonte: la ville, l'acropole, et les temples* (Paris 1910) 101-02. This lavish report of the French excavators contains a dark photograph of the stone, description, text, and French translation with occasional exegesis, largely historical and owing much to Benndorf. The treatment throughout is cursory. (Hulot-Fougères)
16. W. DITTENBERGER, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, III⁸ (Leipzig 1920) No. 1122, pp. 286-87. This volume was photographically reprinted (Hildesheim 1960) as a "fourth edition" (*nunc quartum edita*). The commentary is especially valuable. (SIG)
17. E. SCHWYZER, *Dialectorum Graecarum Exempla Epigraphica Potiora* (Leipzig 1923) No. 166, pp. 75-76. This revision of Cauér's earlier collections (1879, 1883) was photographically reprinted (Hildesheim 1960). There is a good bibliography and several contributions in the commentary. (Schwyzer)
18. *I. A. HEIKEL, *Griechische Inschriften sprachlich erklärt* (Helsingfors 1924) No. 39. I know only the citation by Tod.
19. A. B. COOK, *Zeus: a Study in Ancient Religion* II (Cambridge 1925) 488-89. (Cook)
20. F. SOLMSEN and E. FRAENKEL, *Inscriptiones Graecae ad Illustrandas Dialectos Selectae*, ed.4 (Leipzig 1930), No. 33, pp. 51-52. The text is selective and intelligent. (Solmsen-Fraenkel)
21. M. N. TOD, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century B.C.* I² (Oxford 1946), No. 37, pp. 73-74, 261. There is an authoritative commentary. (Tod)
22. M. SANTANGELO, *Selinunte*, translated by G. H. RAILSBACK (Rome 1953) 31-32 n.1 (Benndorf's drawing at p. 12). The text is derivative (after SIG) but there is included the only English translation of the inscription. (Santangelo-Railsback)
23. C. D. BUCK, *The Greek Dialects: Grammar, Selected Inscriptions, Glossary*, ed.3 (Chicago 1955) No. 98, pp. 295-96. There is a derivative text with scanty commentary. (Buck)

III

BIBLIOGRAPHY

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- F. BLASS, "Miscellen," *RhM* 36 (1881) 615-16. (Blass)
- G. BUSOLT, *Griechische Geschichte bis zu Schlacht bei Chaeroneia* I² (Gotha 1893) 417 n.2. (Busolt I²)
- Ibidem*, III.1 (Gotha 1897) 521 n.2. (Busolt III.1)
- *N. CAMARDA, *Seconda iscrizione Selinuntina*, ed.2 (Palermo 1872). (Camarda)
- A. J. EVANS, *The Numismatic Chronicle*, NS 3, 11 (1891) 326ff. (Evans)
- S. FERRI, "Selinunte: Nuova 'defixio' greca dalla Gaggera," *NSA* 5-6 (1944-45) 168-174. (Ferri)
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- K. HANELL, *Megarische Studien* (Lund 1934). (Hanell)
- BARCLAY V. HEAD, *Historia Numorum: A Manual of Greek Numismatics, new and enlarged edition* (Oxford 1911). (Head, *HN*²)
- A. HOLM, "Die Entdeckungen im grossen Tempel zu Selinus," *RhM* 27 (1872) 353-74 with drawing. (Holm, *RhM*)
- L. H. JEFFERY, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece* (Oxford 1961). (Jeffery)
- A. KIRCHHOFF, *Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen Alphabets*, ed. 4 (Gütersloh 1887) 113f. (Kirchhoff)
- W. J. W. KOSTER, *Traité de métrique grecque suivi d'un précis de métrique latine*, ed.2 (Leiden 1953). (Koster)
- R. KÜHNER and B. GERTH, *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache, zweiter Teil: Satzlehre*, ed.3, I (Hannover & Leipzig 1898) II (Hannover & Leipzig 1904). (KG, I, 2)
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- H. MATTINGLY, "The 'Little' Talents of Sicily and the West," *Numismatic Chronicle*, NS 6, 3 (1943) 14-20. (Mattingly)
- W. H. D. ROUSE, *Greek Votive Offerings: An Essay in the History of Greek Religion* (Cambridge 1902). (Rouse)
- J. SCHUBRING, *Archäologische Zeitung* 50 (1873) 97-103. (Schubring)
- W. VOLLGRAFF, *Mnemosyne* 57 (1929) 439. (Vollgraff)
- *A. WILHELM, *ZOestGym* 7 (1913) 600f. (Wilhelm)
- K. ZIEGLER, *RE* 4A (1923) 1266-1308. (Ziegler)

The Text

Sources

TWO TEXTS are provided. The first or "preserved text" represents what is (or in 1871 was) preserved on the stone. It is based on a collation of the Columbia squeeze (ca 1900), Ugdulena's drawing in the *editio princeps* (1871), and the photograph (1962). The latter two sources are reproduced as PLATE 2 (opposite) and PLATE 3. Ugdulena's drawing is of importance because it records letters of which only the faintest traces or no traces at all appear in the photograph and two letters of which there is no trace on the squeeze (the third sigma of line 1 and the first alpha of line 11). It is especially helpful at the joins throughout and at the ends of lines 1-5. The photograph was generously provided in June 1962 by the Superintendent of Antiquities for the Provinces of Palermo and Trapani.

Primarily, however, the text is based on the squeeze in the Epigraphy Collection of Columbia University (inventory number VIII S 3). The size of the inscription necessitated that the squeeze be made in two halves. The squeeze is in excellent condition and in only one or two unimportant places has a tear obliterated the reading. In general, inspection of the squeeze has confirmed the reports of Benndorf and Roehl. It has corrected certain earlier reports and provided grounds for rejecting certain restorations. It has yielded one letter hitherto unreported (the first *iota* of line 5). Details are cited throughout the epigraphical commentary.

In the "preserved text" a point placed under a letter signifies that the remains of the letter, taken in isolation, are conceivably compatible with some other letter(s). Even though a letter may not be completely preserved, if its remains are compatible with no other letter, a point is not printed beneath it.⁶ In the case of a letter partially

⁶ In this usage I follow W. K. Pritchett, *AJA* 59 (1955) 55-61.



UGDULENA'S DRAWING IN THE EDITIO PRINCEPS, 1871

but ambiguously preserved in the photograph or squeeze but clearly distinguished in Ugdulena's drawing, the letter is printed in upper case with a point beneath but with an indication of Ugdulena's reading in the epigraphical comment.

The indication of spaces available for restoration is based on my examination of the squeeze and on the careful calculations of S. Dow. His *unit* is used throughout. His detailed findings for the individual spaces will be recorded in the critical commentary to the second text wherever appropriate. In every case his measurements have been checked against the squeeze by the present author. He writes as follows (*per litt.*) about the basis of the calculations, the value of the *unit*, and the spacing on the stone:

"For testing the spaces available for restorations, the drawing Roehl³ 12 was used in a photostat enlarged to more than one-third the size of the original. This was compared in detail with a photograph in Hulot-Fougères 102: the Roehl drawing is not faithful in all details of shapes of letters, but the spatial relations of the letters to each other are accurately shown. In general, the spacing of the letters is regular. For simplicity, one may count approximate values of $\frac{1}{2}$ space each for *epsilon*, *iota*, *sigma*; $1\frac{1}{2}$ spaces for *beta* and *nu*; 2 spaces for *mu*. On this basis, the numbers of letters per line varies between $27\frac{1}{2}$ and $32\frac{1}{2}$ spaces. The spacing varies: there is no attempt at *stoikhedon*, but an effort to align similar elements, e.g., the *iotas*, is evident. There is some tendency for the spacing to be looser, and the number of letters smaller, in lines 6–10 (average $30\frac{3}{10}$ spaces) than in lines 1–5 (average $28\frac{1}{2}$ spaces). This is not uncommon and natural where the mason has not counted letters and has no *stoikhedon* grid. There is also a tendency to loosen spacing toward the ends of lines: the letters KAIDIA, occurring in the first half of the line, take considerably less space (five instances) than in the second half of the line (three instances)."

An epigraphical commentary follows the first text. Next there is a note on "Benndorf-Roehl's letters," sc. letters found in Roehl's drawing (from Benndorf) but either not preserved in the photograph or in Ugdulena, or preserved only in very mutilated form. Finally there is a second text with maximal restorations. A commentary to this text indicates the source of each restoration, defends it where it is not obvious, and includes the relevant spatial calculations (from S. Dow). This commentary is purely critical. The exegetical

commentary will be found below in chapters four and five, The Zeus-Song and The Decree. The "text with maximal restorations" will be considered the established text and will be used without indication of restorations in the subsequent portions of this monograph. The second text will be printed in lower case with accents, breathings, and indications of vowel length and with restorations enclosed in brackets. In neither transcription is any serious attempt made to preserve the original letter-forms, for which one must consult the photograph. In both texts the line divisions of the stone are retained.

The Preserved Text



Epigraphical Commentary to the Preserved Text

LINE 1: There are no traces of the third sigma in the squeeze or photograph but it is unambiguous in Ugdulena. Ugdulena first read NIKOM (later retracted, p. 560) but inspection of the squeeze shows that there is no trace of the right leg of a *mu*. Ugdulena misinterpreted what is clearly the left end of the transversal of a *tau*. Sauppe, Holm, and Benndorf read *nu*, which is certain. The end of the left tip of the transversal of the *tau* of the restored NIKONTI is clear on the squeeze. It is preserved almost to the vertical. Roehl shows more. The base of the *iota* is clear in the photograph but of course would be compatible with other letters. In the squeeze a flaw has obliterated it. The bottom of the horizontal and the entire stem of the *tau* in TOI is certain in the squeeze and secures the letter. Ugdulena recorded it whole. The upper half of the next *iota* is on the squeeze. The *lambda* in ΣΕΛ is certain on the squeeze. The left leg is perfect and enough of



IG XIV 268: THE TEXT

the right is there to secure the letter. The photograph shows only part of the left leg. The base of the subsequent *iota* is preserved on the squeeze and is in Ugdulena. Spatial considerations rule out *tau*. The subsequent *nu* is badly gouged in the photograph but certain on the squeeze and whole in Ugdulena, who also gives traces of the final *nu*. The left leg and traces of the second stroke are on the squeeze.

LINE 2: The right half of the *omicron* in ΝΙΚΟΜΕΣ is clear on the squeeze, photograph, and Ugdulena and is dotted only because it might theoretically be a *theta*. Only the left side of the final *nu* is clear in the photograph; but the second stroke and the base of the third are certain on the squeeze. Ugdulena (as the squeeze) clearly indicates the central stroke and the bottom of the right side. It is dotted only because in isolation it might be a *mu*.

LINE 3: The back of the first *delta* is on the squeeze and the start of the top stroke but is lacking in the photograph and Ugdulena's drawing. He later (p. 560), however, admitted it, as do Benndorf and Roehl. Only the left stroke of the *kappa* of the first ΚΑΙ is visible in the photograph but the squeeze and Ugdulena preserve the corner of the wedge and so specify the letter. The right base of the *alpha* immediately following is visible in the squeeze, photograph, and Ugdulena. On the squeeze there is trace of the crossbar and so the letter is certain. Only the left side of the final *pi* is visible in the photograph and Ugdulena, and would be compatible with other letters; but on the squeeze the start of the horizontal is discernible and so the letter is not dotted.

LINE 4: Dow rightly discerns that the "line of break" in the squeeze gives the right leg and top of the first *alpha*. As there is no trace of the crossbar the letter must be dotted. Only the left side of the *alpha* in the first ΔΙΑ is preserved on the squeeze but the entire letter is recorded in Ugdulena. Every drawing apart from Sauppe's (in his text he prints *delta* without a word) and all editions read TVNΔΑΠΙΔΑΣ, while the photograph seems to read TVNTΑΠΙΔΑΣ. On the squeeze the bottom diagonal of the *delta* is clear, but what looks like the left tip of the horizontal of a *tau* is also clear. The mark is certainly not a surface flaw. Apparently the mason began *tau*, realized his error, and corrected the letter into a *delta*. The final *theta* is beyond dispute in the squeeze, photograph, and Ugdulena. Here Roehl rightly draws crossbar *theta*. The perpendicular interior stroke is on the squeeze. The photograph is misleading.

LINE 5: The first letter is surely *nu*, although in the photograph the left side is so faint as to be almost invisible; for it is whole on the squeeze. Apparently the propinquity of the left margin created an inconvenient angle for the chisel because the left sides of the initial *mu* (line 7) and *nu* (line 10) too were lightly inscribed. There are no identifiable traces of the next letter (or two) in the photograph. The squeeze and Ugdulena preserve a bit compatible with the bottom right of an *alpha*, about half the right side. On the squeeze there is what looks like the barest start of the crossbar. The letter would thus be put beyond dispute. Following this *alpha* the squeeze preserves an *iota* entire except for its very top. This letter is not recorded in either Ugdulena or Roehl and there is a shadow in the photograph. Although the spacing is abnormally close, the letter is beyond doubt and could not possibly be the left leg of the *alpha* for it is perpendicular. Sauppe's restoration, therefore, is proved to have been correct. The second *nu* is certain. Both sides are on the squeeze and the chip is along the cross-stroke. It is entire in Ugdulena. The *alpha* of MAA is lost in the photograph but was recorded almost entire by Ugdulena, and on the squeeze only the bottom half of the left leg is missing. Here a bit of the stone has been lost. Holm saw enough of the *alpha* to insure it (right side, top, and crossbar). There are traces too in Roehl. The center of the last *alpha* is gouged in the photograph but on the squeeze the top, right side, and crossbar make it certain. Ugdulena saw it whole and also the subsequent *sigma*, of which there are faint traces in the photograph. On the squeeze the *sigma* is whole. There is as well a trace (reported by Roehl only) of the very base of the *iota* on the squeeze.

LINE 6: For the *alpha* of the first KAI the photograph has the merest trace of the left side of the crossbar. Except for a gouge at the left base, the letter is entire on the squeeze and Ugdulena recorded it whole. The base of the left side of the *alpha* in the first ΔIA is clear on the squeeze and discernible in the photograph. Ugdulena has nothing. The immediately following *tau* is certain on the squeeze. The photograph shows the break along the central bar and a trace of the right tip of the horizontal is distinguishable (cf. Holm and Roehl). There is no trace in Ugdulena. The following ΣA are gouged in the photograph but need not be doubted. They are whole on the squeeze and in Ugdulena. The break on the squeeze indicates the perpendicular of the next *delta*.

LINE 7: All but the bottom of the right leg of the first *alpha* is on the squeeze and in Ugdulena. The break on the squeeze gives the right leg of the second *alpha*. The left leg of the *alpha* of ΔIA is on the squeeze (more than is recorded by Ugdulena). The *delta* of ΔE is gouged in the photograph; it is whole in the squeeze and in Ugdulena.

LINE 8: Only the base of the second *omicron* is preserved and that on the top of the smallest fragment. The wide oval indicates a wide and rather floppy *omicron*, similar to the first one (the second letter of this line). As there is no trace of a perpendicular on the squeeze, the letter is certain. Of the subsequent *nu*, the right side and the extremities of the left are on the squeeze and the break gives the cross-stroke. Ugdulena records the letter whole.

LINE 9: The *psi* (second letter) is too gouged on the photograph to be certain, but the squeeze yields the left side, base, and start of the right side while Ugdulena preserves it whole. The first *nu* (fourth letter) has its left side and a trace of the central stroke still visible on the squeeze and in the photograph. The spacing precludes a *mu*. The letter is, therefore, certain—a conclusion confirmed by Ugdulena, who gives it whole. After the first great gap the base of an *omicron* is clearly distinguishable in the photograph and is on the squeeze. As there is no trace of a perpendicular, the letter appears certain (S. Dow would, however, prefer to dot it). Almost half the *omicron* is recorded by Ugdulena. Of the next letter only a dot is visible on the photograph. The squeeze and Ugdulena have a line ($\frac{3}{8}$ in.) that would be compatible with the left lower side of *alpha*, *lambda*, *mu*, or *nu*. The break on the squeeze may indicate the right leg of the second *lambda*.

LINE 10: The top and base of the right leg of the second *alpha* are discernible on the squeeze. There is no trace of the crossbar, however, and the letter must be dotted. For the next letter the top of an *alpha*, *lambda*, *mu*, or *nu* is clear on the base of the small fragment on the squeeze and in Ugdulena and Holm. Inspection of the squeeze reveals more. The base of the right leg of the letter is preserved on the lower fragment (it is visible on the photograph above the *tau* of the next line). Since there is no trace on the squeeze of a crossbar, *alpha* is improbable. The angle of the top is rather closed for a *lambda* and space precludes a *mu*. A *nu*, therefore, is most compatible with what remains. The break indeed is consistent with the cross-strokes. Of the subsequent *tau* the squeeze has the right half of the horizontal and all but the center of the perpendicular. These remains are

distinguishable in the photograph and Holm, but Ugdulena does not report any traces.

LINE 11: The space for the third letter seems to have been worn rather than gouged. The slight traces that remain on the squeeze would be consistent with an *epsilon* but are by no means certain. Similarly S. Dow reports from the squeeze that "the break gives *epsilon* but with dot." C. H. Kahn after examination of the stone at Palermo (13 June 1962) writes "there is nothing left of the third letter but a hole and I would think it might be bracketed." The top third of the immediately following *kappa* is clear on the squeeze. Holm reports correctly. In the photograph only the top of the left stroke is visible. There are no traces in Ugdulena of any letter. C. H. Kahn writes "there are little traces of the top of the fourth letter, and I was not convinced that it was a *kappa*." This confirms what had already become evident from a study of the early drawings and squeeze, sc. that stone has been lost during the years of this century. After the long gap the first *alpha* of AAA is almost whole in Ugdulena. It has left no certain traces on the squeeze or in the photograph. The lower half of the left side of the second *alpha* in this group is clear in Ugdulena and visible on the squeeze, where the start of a crossbar insures the letter. The crucial third letter from the end is almost a whole *alpha* in Ugdulena. Holm's plate read *alpha*, but at the end of his article (p. 374) upon receipt of a squeeze from O. Benndorf, he read *mu*. The traces in the photograph are more easily of *mu*, for the angle of the right side is too wide for an *alpha*. The squeeze puts *mu* beyond doubt. The right leg and its top and the base of the left leg are preserved. The bases of the two legs are $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. apart. Just so is the second *mu* of line 7. Nowhere in the inscription are *alpha* legs so far apart.

A Note on Benndorf-Roehl's Letters

In Roehl's drawing, which is taken from Benndorf (p. 27) as inspection and Roehl's admission (IGA, p. 149: "cuius exemplum . . . hic repetitur") confirm, exist four letters that are neither in the photograph nor in the drawing of Ugdulena. In line 1 the *tau* of *νικόντι* is almost entire. In line 3 the first letter, *delta*, is preserved entire. After the terminal *sigma* of line 5, traces of *iota* and *kappa* appear. Inspection of the squeeze has substantiated all these letters except the final

kappa, of which there is no trace on the squeeze. All four letters are printed as though preserved on the stone by SIG and Solmsen-Fraenkel. All but the *kappa* are thus printed by Tod, whose report therefore is the most accurate.

The Text with Maximal Restorations

- 1 [δι]ὰ τὸς θεὸς τῷ[σ]δε νικόντι τοὶ Σελινόγ[τιοι].
- 2 [δι]ὰ τὸν Δία νικῶμες καὶ διὰ τὸν Φόβον [καὶ]
- 3 δ[ιὰ] Ἡρακλέα καὶ δι' Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ διὰ Π[οτ]
- 4 ε[ιδᾶ]να καὶ διὰ Τυνδαρίδας καὶ δι' Ἀθ[ᾶ]
- 5 ναίαν καὶ διὰ Μᾶλοφόρον καὶ διὰ Πᾶσι[κ]
- 6 ρά[τ]ειαν καὶ διὰ τὸς ἄλλος θεὸς διὰ δ[ε] Δία
- 7 μάλιστ[α]. φιλί[α] δὲ γενομένης ἐν χ[ρ]υσ
- 8 ἐσ[ι] ἐλά[σα]ντα[ς καὶ] ὀνύματα ταῦτα κολ
- 9 ᾤσαντ[ας εἰς τ]ὸ Ἀ[π]ολλόδιον καθθέμε
- 10 ν, τὸ Διὸ[ς ἐν]γρά[ψ]αντες. τὸ δὲ χρυσίον
- 11 ἐξέκ[οντα] τ[α]λάντων [ε]μεν.

Critical Commentary to the Text with Maximal Restorations

LINE 1: [δι]ὰ Ugdulena. τῷ[σ]δε Ugdulena, after traces on the stone. Σελινόγ[τιοι] Ugdulena.

LINE 2: [δι]ὰ Ugdulena. [καὶ] Ugdulena. S. Dow adds of the squeeze: "there is just room for [KAI]."

LINE 3: [διὰ] Sauppe, p. 616 (after Cavallari-Holm?). As there are traces of *delta* on the squeeze, the restoration should be reduced to δ[ιὰ] Sauppe. Ugdulena's [δι'] is impossible on spatial grounds and was rightly retracted (p. 560). IG oddly prints δ[ιὰ]. Π[οτ] Sauppe, p. 607, rather than Ugdulena's [οσ] for dialectal reasons; see the exegetical commentary *ad loc*.

LINE 4: [ιδᾶ] Ugdulena. Because of traces on the stone this should be reduced to [ιδ]ᾶ. Solmsen-Fraenkel's [ιδᾶ] must be a misprint. Ἀθ[ᾶ] Ugdulena.

LINE 5: Sauppe's να[ῖ]αν, approved by Holm and IG, is on the squeeze and ought no longer to be called a restoration. Ugdulena's ΝᾶΑΝ (p. 202) is not, and ought not to have been accepted by Buck³,

Collitz-Bechtel, Dittenberger (who wrongly attributes the "restoration" to Solmsen), Schwyzer, Solmsen, and Tod. [κ] Ugdulena.

LINE 6: [τ] Ugdulena. The second *delta* had been restored by Ugdulena, but as there are traces on the stone it is more accurately considered partially preserved: see the epigraphical commentary *ad loc.* δ[ε] Ugdulena, where IG and SIG wrongly print δε, as though the *epsilon* were preserved. There is no trace of the letter on the squeeze.

LINE 7: Ugdulena had restored the second *alpha*, but there are traces on the squeeze: see the epigraphical commentary *ad loc.* [σ] Ugdulena. [ρ] Ugdulena, where the editors (Buck, Collitz-Bechtel, Dittenberger, IG, Schwyzer, Solmsen-Fraenkel, and Tod) print the *rho* as preserved rather than restored. There is no trace on the squeeze.

LINE 8: [ι] Ugdulena; [ν] Holm; [ς] Sauppe (pp. 614–15) approved by IG. There are one and one-quarter inches. Holm's *nu* is therefore impossible on spatial grounds. Sauppe's *sigma* is improbable, for it must take up less space than *sigma* after *omicron* in lines 1 and 6. Ugdulena's *iota*, therefore, agreeable for reasons of sense, is preferable, although not certain, on spatial grounds. [σα] Ugdulena. [σκαι] Ugdulena; [σραδ] Sauppe; [σευδ] W. Vollgraff (*Mnemosyne* 57 [1929] 439). Concerning this lacuna S. Dow writes: "The longer restorations for the larger lacuna are W. Vollgraff's ΣΕΝΔ (4 spaces) and H. Sauppe's ΣΤΑΔ (3½ spaces). At the beginning of the line, the letters ΕΟΙΕ (2½ spaces) occupy a space slightly larger than the lacuna [on the squeeze *ca* ⅛ in. more]. Both restorations are therefore highly doubtful; the second could be admitted only if the spacing were assumed to be much more crowded than anywhere else in the whole inscription. This conclusion is decisively confirmed by an attempt to draw the letters in the space available: they will not fit. Assuming a connective to be necessary, the restoration must apparently be Ugdulena's ΣΚΑΙ (3 spaces). In other lines, these letters take more space, but only slightly more, than the lacuna in line 8; the difference is too slight to exclude ΣΚΑΙ." On the squeeze the gap is *ca* 4⅛ in. The ΣΚΑΙ of line 1 fits exactly. Vollgraff's supplement has been approved by no editor. Sauppe's is regularly printed (Buck, Dittenberger, Holm [p. 374], IG, Roberts [whose left bracket is misplaced to include *ov* in the restoration], Schwyzer, Solmsen-Fraenkel, Tod). Yet on spatial grounds alone Ugdulena's is correct.

LINE 9: [ας] Ugdulena. [εἰς] Collitz-Bechtel, refining for dialectal

reasons (see exegetical commentary below) Ugdulena's εἰς. εἰς is confirmed for spatial reasons by S. Dow who writes: "The first gap, which is the only one [*sc.* in line 9] that raises a question, is long enough to contain 4½ letters spaced as in line 3. We have seen, however, that the later lines have fewer letters, but at least three full letters are a minimum. Instead, therefore, of ΑΞΕΞ (2½ spaces), ΑΞΕΙΞ (3) are definitely preferable. Further, it can be shown that in the spacing of this part of the inscription, measurable occurrences of these same letters (ΑΞΕΙΞ) occupy exactly the space available. When drawn in, finally, they fit nicely. The preposition was therefore spelled εἰς, not ἐς as in all texts except that of SGDI 3.1 (1899) 3046."

LINE 10: [ς] Ugdulena. [εν] Calder; [προ] Sauppe (pp. 613–14). The latter restoration is printed by all editors after and including Holm; but it always appears as prefix to the participle προ]γράφ[ψ]αντες, restored by Holm-Benndorf. Sauppe intended his letters as part of a full restoration, προφλιώνιον, but this word is impossible (see Holm, pp. 370–71, 373–74). Although Sauppe remarked (p. 614): "Platz für ΠΡΟ ist gut vorhanden," S. Dow is skeptical. "The first gap needs examination. The accepted restoration, ΣΠΡΟ (3½ spaces) is permitted only if the spacing of line 3 above was followed. Since the (preserved) beginning of the line is in fact closely spaced, more closely in fact than the beginning of line 3, the accepted restoration cannot be rejected. The letters preserved immediately after the gap, however, are spaced as widely as any in the inscription. A shorter restoration is therefore equally acceptable." The squeeze yields no traces for guidance. Sauppe's *s* προ is slightly large (3½) and as well entails serious difficulties of meaning. ΣΕΝ is two spaces (a trifle short). The compound, however, is often used in lead inscriptions from the precinct of Malophoros at Selinus (Gabrici 12A1,10; 12B2,4; 13B3–4; cf. Ferri, fig. 2.14). If Selinuntine tolerated AN (for a Megarian example see Bechtel 2.194) rather than ΑΓ, the letters would fit nicely (2½). In short one can be certain only that there was an aorist participle from an unspecifiable compound of γράφω. Any restoration must be *exempli gratia* and in exegesis no weight can be attached to any specific prefix. γρά[ψαν]τες Holm-Benndorf (Holm, p. 374) after traces on the stone. This has been accepted rightly by all subsequent editors, but ought now more accurately to be printed γρά[ψ]αντες: see the epigraphical commentary *ad loc.*

LINE 11: ἐξ[ε]κ[οντα] Sauppe (p. 615), who was troubled by the lack

of *spiritus asper*; but see Blass, p. 616 and *SIG ad loc.* [τ] Ugdulena. Of the spacing of the whole (ONTAT) S. Dow writes: "The gap is of such a length that if the spacing were similar to that of line 3, just above, six letters might be restored. Line 11 is, however, more widely spaced than line 3, so that 5 or 5½ letters should be restored. The accepted ONTAT (5½) is confirmed; an alternative such e.g. as ἐξ ἐκ [δέκα τ]αλάντων (4½ spaces) is improbable spatially as well as otherwise." [ἐ]μεν Holm-Benndorf (Holm, p. 374).

THE WHOLE: In all there are twenty-three restorations in the accepted text with maximal restorations, comprising together fifty letters from a total of 334. Of these, eighteen—about three-quarters—were proposed by Ugdulena. The indebtedness of every reader of the inscription to its first editor is thus clearly apparent.

4

The Zeus-Song

Meter and Style

THE TEXT running from line 2 through μάλιστα (line 7) forms what will be called the Zeus-Song. The rest of the inscription (to be discussed in the next chapter) is a decree. The first line of the stone simply introduces what is to come and is written in prose. It is what Anon. (p. 56) called "eine kurze, geschäftsmässig abgefasste einleitung." It says, "Through the following gods the Selinuntines are victorious." There is a late parallel for such a "title" in the Bacchic graffito from the Dolicheneum at Dura.⁷

The following lines contain a song composed in choriambic dimeters. The present author noticed the metrical character of the text in 1956 but found, when completing his final draft, that he had been anticipated. An anonymous addendum to another's anonymous review (initialed U.) of Benndorf's *Metopen* at *Philologischer Anzeiger* 6 (1874, published 1876) 55–57 had already demonstrated that the stone contained (p. 56) "eine poetische aufzählung der götter." The discovery has never been used by any subsequent editor or critic. Of the author's identity there is no clue besides an editorial notice "von einem andern mitarbeiter" (p. 55 n.1). The verse division is the same as that given below, but the antiquated metrical analysis (see n.8) is very different, establishing predominantly dactylic rhythms while allowing trochaic, spondaic, and even anapaestic substitutions.⁸ It is

⁷ See H. N. Porter, *AJP* 69 (1948) 29, on line 3.

⁸ Because of the remoteness of the article and its inherent interest the metrical scheme of Anon. is reprinted here.

1. vv | √ vv √ √ or √√ - √√ - √ -
2. √ vv √ v √
3. √ vv √ vv √ or √ v √ vv √ or √ v(v) √ √
4. √ v √ √ v or √ vv √ - √
5. √ v √√ - √ v

along the line of my premature attempt (see abstract at *AJA* 61 [1957] 182) to analyse the song as anapaestic, with the subsequent but inaccurate conclusion that the song was an *embaterion*. That suggestion is here withdrawn.

The song is divided into eleven verses and the metrical scheme indicated immediately to the right. Discussion of metrical details follows and there are some words on certain stylistic features of the song. *Syllaba anceps* is marked as long throughout. For the purpose of convenient exegesis in this and the next chapter the text will be divided into two parts, the *Zeus-Song* and the *decree*, with new, numbered line divisions, adapted to the sense of the texts.

1	Διὰ τὸν Δία νικῶμες	vv -vv- --
2	καὶ διὰ τὸν Φόβον	-vv- v-
3	καὶ διὰ ἡῆρακλέα	-vv- vv-
4	καὶ δι' Ἀπόλλωνα	-vv- --
5	καὶ διὰ Ποτειδᾶνα	-vvv- --
6	καὶ διὰ Τυνδαρίδας	-vv- vv-
7	καὶ δι' Ἀθῆναιαν	-vv- v-
8	καὶ διὰ Μᾶλοφόρον	-vv- vv-
9	καὶ διὰ Πᾶσικράτειαν	-vv- vv-
10	καὶ διὰ τὸς ἄλλος θεῶς	-vv- --v-
11	διὰ δὲ Δία μάλιστα	vv vv vv --

The system is basically primary choriambic dimeters. Except for the apparent glyconic in verse 1, the first foot is throughout a choriamb with resolutions within it allowed only at verse 5 and at 11 where a full resolution ends the system. The dimeters are complete in verses 9, 10, and catalectic at verses 3, 5, 6, and 8. There is *dodrans* (the term is Schroeder's, approved by Koster², p. 219 n.1) with trochee

6.	∠ vv ∠ vv ∠
7.	∠ vv ∠ ∠ (or ∠ vv ∠ vv ∠ ?)
8.	∠ vv ∠ vv ∠
9.	∠ vv ∠ vv ∠
10.	∠ vv ∠ ∠ ∠
11.	∠ vv ∠ vv ∠ vv

Verses 1–10 are called (p. 57) dactylic tripodies, partly catalectic (1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, and perhaps 4) and partly acatalectic (4, 5, 9, 10 and perhaps 1). The last verse is an *ithyphallicus* with resolutions in the first two feet. Note that throughout Anon. has indicated *ictus*.

at verses 2, 7; a spondee at verses 4, 11. In the cases of verses 2, 4, 7, 11 it may be wiser to refrain from indicating any internal division. Professor J. A. Davison observes *per litt.* of these lines: "in setting out the metrical scheme, I should be inclined to be very sparing of internal divisions; in most cases we simply do not know how the Greeks divided them mentally, and such forms as: -uu-uu- or -uu-u- were obviously felt as units."

More specifically: *Verse 1*—the *iota* of νικῶμες is long (as epic and Theocritus: see Ebeling and Rumpel *s.v.*); for the long penultimate in a glyconic see Koster², p. 223, who cites *S. Ph.* 1151. *Verse 2*—*dodrans* from a primary choriambic dimeter; see Koster², p. 220, who cites Simon. 61 Bergk οὐτις ἄνευ θεῶν. *Verse 3*—there is no elision. If such were intended, the alpha would not have been written (cf. vv. 4, 7). The aspirate was written because it was pronounced and resisted elision. Contrast its omission in ἐξέκοντα *ad fin.* Apparently *muta cum liquida* does not necessarily make position in Selinuntine verse. One recalls the freedom of epic (Schmid-Stählin, I.1, p. 156). If the first alpha of ἡῆρακλέα were long, the verse would become the only example in the poem of a choriamb joined with a cretic. Such a combination is by no means impossible: see Koster², p. 219, who cites *Pi. O.* 1.7 (12), but an anapaest is more regular. It agrees with verses 6, 8 and may well have been a Sicilian favorite, for it accords with Stesichorus (of nearby Himera) frgg. 26.1 Bergk Οὐνεκα Τυνδάρεος and 35.2 Bergk καὶ θαλίας μακάρων. Indeed Professor Davison writes: "In fact the metre corresponds closely to what I should call 'Stesichorean,' which is just what one would expect a Sicilian to use." For the popularity of Stesichorus at Selinus see Benndorf, *Metopen*, p. 57 with n.5, where the great Aktaion metope from the Heraion is connected with Stes. frg. 68 Bergk (Paus. 9.2.3). The hero wears the Stesichorean deerskin. See further C. M. Bowra, *Greek Lyric Poetry*² (Oxford 1961) p. 125, where add the reference to Benndorf. The only other example of *muta cum liquida* in the poem, the first *iota* of Πᾶσικράτειαν (verse 9), is not really determinative, although it is probably short and so has the same rhythm as *E. Ion* 1083. Otherwise, there is a unique verse composed of two choriambs. In short the balance of probabilities suggests that in this poem *muta cum liquida* does not make position. *Verse 4*—*dodrans* from a primary choriambic dimeter with a long penultimate; see Koster², p. 220, who cites *Pi. O.* 9.25 (37) ἀγγελίαν πέμψω. *Verse 5*—for the resolution of the choriamb cf. Koster², p. 216,

who cites E. Or. 836. The *dodrans* is as in verse 4. An alternative, -vvvv | v--, is not quite impossible. For such diaeresis cf. *Carmina Popularia* 21, 1, 3 Bergk, and for such resolution of the initial choriamb see Koster², pp. 216, 218. For the choriamb and bacchiac, an *aristophaneum*, see Koster², pp. 218-19. Verse 6—for this Stesichorean rhythm see above on verse 3. Verse 7—the *dodrans* of verse 2, where see note; for the shortened *iota* diphthong see on verse 9. Verse 8—for this Stesichorean rhythm see above on verse 3. Verse 9—for *muta cum liquida* failing to make position see above on verse 3; the rhythm of this verse is that of E. *Ion* 1083: ἀνάων τε ποταμῶν (see Koster², p. 218); for the shortened *iota* diphthong in the middle of a word see J. A. Davison, *Hermes* 73 (1938) 447 n.3.⁹ Verse 10—the rhythm is that of Ar. *Eq.* 552: χαλκοκρότων ἵππων κτύπος (see Koster², p. 219). Verse 11—for the full resolution of the initial choriamb see Koster², p. 214, who cites E. *Ion* 1053; for the terminal spondee (*dodrans*) see above on verse 4.

The sophistication of the metrical system is striking. There are no false quantities. Whatever resolutions and substitutions are tolerated may be paralleled by the best choral poetry of the fifth century. The poem presents a remarkable advance over the only other preserved bit of (earlier) Selinuntine lapidary verse (except the elegiac couplet at Plu. *Mor.* 217F) viz. the *boustrophedon* sepulchral inscription from Delphi (sixth century). The text of this latter inscription, as given in SIG³ 11, reads:

οἱμοι, ὀρχέδ' αμ | ε ho Ἰθυθέα Σε | λινόντιος.

Kirchhoff (see Dittenberger-Pomtow *ad loc.*) first suspected the trimeter. Wilamowitz (*Griechische Verskunst*, p. 291, n.5) best and wittily elucidated the rhythm: "Synalöphe zugleich mit Krasis, Verkürzung des ι in σελιν, Übergang vom Vokativ zum Nominativ, alles gleich unbehilflich, aber ein Vers sollte es um jeden Preis werden." Selinuntine literary verses, especially Telestes (see Pickard-Cambridge, *DTrCom*², pp. 52-3), apparently a survivor of the siege, are not in point, although his were good enough to be approved by Alexander (Plu. *Alex.* 8.3).

From the meter we know that this is a song, probably meant to be sung by a chorus ("choriambische Reihen sind immer für den Gesang,

⁹ Professor H. N. Porter, who has generously criticized the metrical discussion, prefers to retain the long diphthong and scan the verse: -v v -v v --. One may do so too with verse 7.

meist Chorgesang bestimmt," Wilamowitz, *ibid.*, pp. 323-24). The song was sung (it may well have been composed far earlier) and inscribed to celebrate the victorious outcome of a battle. This is clear from νικῶμες (cf. νικῶντι), the present in the perfect sense, "we are victors," as well as the aorist genitive absolute (line 7), and causal διὰ throughout (see further on νικῶντι *infra*). It would be rash to specify the genre more closely. Some sort of victory paian would not be impossible. For paian to Zeus see H. W. Smyth, *GMP*, p. xxxviii, n.1. Anon. (p. 57) will only admit a "hieratische sieges- oder dankstrophe."

For setting a choral poem in a temple, compare Pindar's *Seventh Olympian*, written in 464 B.C. to commemorate Diagoras of Rhodes' victory in boxing. According to the historian Gorgon (see Jacoby, *RE* 7 [1912] 1656.25-51: he lived after Ptolemy I, Athen. 15.696F), quoted by the scholiast (Drachmann, I [1903] 195.13-14), "this ode was set up in the temple of Lindian Athene in gold letters." The meter is dactyloepitrite. Another parallel may be Pindar's song to Aphaia (Frg. 155T, cf. Wilamowitz, *Pindaros*, pp. 274-76) composed for her new temple at Aigina. Pausanias' reference to the song (2.30.1) in connection with the temple may imply that he saw it there. At a later date (222 B.C.) Aristonous of Corinth composed a hymn to Pythian Apollo in thanksgiving for the repulse of the Gauls from Delphi. This was engraved on a stele and set up in the Athenian Treasury (see Rouse, p. 148 with n.11 and Powell, *CollAlex*, pp. 162-64). The poem is in eight-line stanzas of glyconics and choriamb. Other examples are not lacking. For a contemporary Dorian inscription in verse and prose compare the dedication of Damon (*IG* v, 1.213, Schwyzer 12), which is before 431 B.C. (R. M. Cook, *CQ* 12 [1962] 158 n.2).

One may make several stylistic observations about the song. There is striking use of extended anaphora. The preposition διὰ is found eleven times in the piece (twice suffering elision). If the noun Δία is counted, there are thirteen occurrences of this group of letters. καὶ is found nine times.¹⁰ The device of punning on a divine name occurs twice. For this very pun compare A. Ag. 1485-86, διὰ Διὸς / παναυτίου.

¹⁰ Anaphora is already, although rarely, in Homer (Schmid-Stählin 1.1.93 n.3), occasionally in Pindar (*ib.* 608 n.10) and Aeschylus (*ib.* II.296 nn. 3, 4), more frequently in Sophocles (*ib.* 490 n.2) and ca 236 times in Euripides (*ib.* III.802 n.2). For interesting general remarks on anaphora, though in a Latin context, see W. H. Palmer, "Anaphora: its Origin and Use," *Washington University Studies, Humanistic Series* 5, 1 (1917) 51-66.

There was no levity in these early religious puns. They were a primitive attempt to analyze the nature of deity and etymology was closely related to theology. They begin in epic, are common in tragedy, and persist throughout antiquity.¹¹ There is polysyndeton (καί). There is the archaic device of ring-composition, i.e., ending a piece as one begins it.¹² Here the song simply begins and ends with Zeus. In the last verse there is a skilful use of alliteration and homoioteleuta. Finally one may note that the anaphora and polysyndeton create a fullness of expression that contrasts forcibly with the brevity of the decree that immediately follows.

The fact that this text is verse provides an explanation for two peculiarities of the inscription which E. S. Roberts (p. 144), after Roehl (IGA, p. 149), attributed to *carelessness*, viz. inconsistency in the use of the definite article and variation in the person of the verb (νικῶντι, νικῶμες). This latter difficulty has proved particularly embarrassing. Santangelo-Railsback, for example, omit νικῶμες entirely in their translation (p. 32 n.1). There is, however, a reason for both. The inclusion or disregard of the article is determined by the exigencies of the meter. Disyllabic divinities (verses 1, 2) receive the article or (verse 11) a connective particle. At verse 10 the article was necessary to the sense and, although the metrical scheme would have tolerated its omission, inclusion provides no difficulty. Any apparent irregularity therefore is not careless but intended (so earlier and briefly Anon., p. 56). Similarly the third person plural, νικῶντι, appears in the descriptive, prose introduction to the verses. Within the poem itself the first person plural is used (noted earlier *ibid.*)

¹¹ Excellent on early punning are Norden, *Die Antike Kunstprosa*, I⁶ p. 24 n.1 and Fraenkel on A. Ag. 687, 1081 with literature there cited. For the pun in Hesiod add Schmid-Stählin I.1.264 nn. 5, 6; in tragedy Kamerbeek on S. Aj. 430, Platnauer on E. IT 32, and Dodds on E. Ba. 367, who well observes: "To us a pun is trivial and comic because it calls attention to the irrelevant; but the Greek felt it pointed to something deeply relevant." Etymology even had a place in Platonic logic (see e.g., Adam on *Crito* 47b) and in Aristotle (R. Eucken, *NJGG* 99 [1869] 243–248). The device of punning *Δία*, *διὰ* is as early as Hesiod: see Norden, *Agnostos Theos*, p. 259, n.2. On the theological and proto-philosophical implications of early punning there are excellent remarks in W. W. Jaeger, *The Theology of the Early Greek Philosophers* (Oxford 1948) 68–69 with p. 220 n.64. Apparently the modern view begins at Apuleius, *Apol.* 34.9: "an quicquam stultius quam ex nominum propinquitate vim similem rerum coniectam?"

¹² There is a convenient bibliography of ring-composition in Fraenkel, *Agamemnon*, II.119 n.1. See especially W. A. A. van Otterlo, *Untersuchungen über Begriff, Anwendung, u. Entstehung der griech. Ringcomposition* (Amsterdam 1944) and *De Ringcompositie als Opbouw-principe in de epische Gedichten van Homers* (Amsterdam 1948), which treats also Homeric Hymns, Hesiod, Pindar, and Bacchylides (pp. 72–85); for preclassical Attic prose, see R. Katičić, *ZAnt* 10 (1960) 41–60; even Thucydides—see *id.*, *WSt* 70 (1957) 179–96.

because the verses were composed to be sung by the people of Selinus themselves or more probably by choreuts who represented them. "We are victors," they sing.

Structure

The structure is simple and readily apparent. Male deities are distinguished from and set before the female ones. Male entries are twice the female (six and three). The common safety clause follows and the whole is framed by Zeus. Only Zeus (the most important god) precedes the verb. Any proposed internal order within the two groups may be fanciful, for too little is known of Selinuntine cults. Local prominence (see the exegetical commentary) and martial prowess seem, however, to have been considered. After Zeus, the war-god leads the males. The war-goddess is the first female. Rhythm too may have played a part, especially for the females. Each verse (7, 8, 9) becomes one syllable longer (*incrementum*).

Anon. (p. 57) divided the song "into two corresponding halves of five verses." The strophe concludes (line 11) with his *ithyphallicus* "wie häufig in der lyrischen poesie am schluss absteigender rhythmien aus dem γένος ἴσον." His term *halves* is better than *stanzas*; for, as J. A. Davison writes, "this is not too long to be a single stanza." M. Smith quite reasonably draws attention to similarity within the halves. Verse 6 matches the last two feet of verse 1. Verses 2, 3, 4 correspond (almost exactly) to 7, 8, 9. Verses 5 and 10 are each the longest of their halves, while verse 11 concludes the system.

Exegetical Commentary to Line 1 and the Zeus-Song

In the glosses below, the first line of the inscription is cited without line number. Subsequently the verses of the Zeus-Song are cited by verse number rather than by the line of the stone in which they occur. Throughout, the glosses are from the text with maximal restorations. Epigraphical and critical matters are discussed above. The comments following are only exegetical.

διὰ τὸς θεὸς τὸσδε νικῶντι τοὶ Σελινόντιοι:

διὰ here and throughout is causal διὰ with the accusative (*cf. propter*) equal to English "owing to, thanks to, on account of, in consequence of." So Smyth² 1685.2b would translate (*cf. LSJ s.v., III, 1*), who cites

Dem. 18.249 διὰ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐσωζόμην, "I was saved thanks to the gods." See further KG 1.484, who cite *Od.* 8.520 νικῆσαι, διὰ μεγάθυμον Ἀθήνην and translate the preposition there "mit Hilfe." Causal διὰ implies that the action has already been effected. The battle is over; the victory won. Ugdulena's "per deos hosce" is right: cf. Hulot-Fougères' "voici les dieux grâce à qui," and Santangelo-Railsback's "the Selinuntians are victorious owing to these gods."

τὸς θεὸς τὸςδε: In Megarian ο = ο, ω, ου (Bechtel 2.171) and here represents the Attic "spurious diphthong" (Buck³ 25, 78, 257.1), viz., τὸς equals Attic τοὺς from τους. τὸςδε, "the following" ("die folgenden," Holm, p. 362) as often (*LSJ* s.v., III, 2).

νικῶντι: α and ο become ὁ (Bechtel 2.172). For West Greek retention of τ before ι in the third person plural present active see Buck³ 61.1 and the Megarian examples at Bechtel 2.176. Clearly the verb means "they are victors" and is indicative. The war is done (see *supra*) and νικῶν is "Sieger sein" (KG 1.136–37), sc. the present in what Goodwin called "the sense of the perfect" (GMT 27). The usage is frequent in Pindar (see Rumpel, *LexPind.*, s.v. νικάω, p. 311). This obviates the awkwardness perpetrated by Benndorf (*Metopen*, p. 30): "die Präsentformen νικῶντι und νικῶμες . . . sind offenbar mit besondern Vorbedacht gewählt." Thanksgivings are not inscribed while a war is still in progress; and it is naive to hold that "die Inschrift spricht nicht von einem vollzogenen Siege." Benndorf's view has influenced Roehl (*IGA ad loc.*) and Ziegler (1271.15–17: "die Stadt damals in einen gefährlichen, noch nicht beendeten Krieg verwickelt war"), and lately Jeffery (277: "Vow made by the Selinountines in war"). Benndorf may have been influenced by Ugdulena's "vincimus" but more probably is seeking to bring the inscription into accord with D.S. 12.8.2 whatever the price. Schwyzer's "vicerunt," approved by SIG³, is correct. Buck's (p. 296) "Through the help of the following gods do the Selinuntians win victory" is wrong.

τοί: The normal West Greek plural nominative masculine definite article (Buck³ 122), preserved in Megarian until the end of the fourth century (Bechtel 2.189).

Σελινόντιοι: The correct ethnic, sc. Σελινούντιοι, with ο = ου as FGTHist 239A65 (*Marmor Parium*) and the first iota long (cf. *Plu. Mor.* 217F, *V. Aen.* 3.705, *Sil.* 14.200), see Ziegler, 1267.8ff. For the etymology of the place name see Ziegler, *sub init.* It is from the river (modern Modione) which took its own name from the wild celery on its banks.

Verse 1:

διὰ τὸν Δία: For the presence of the article see *supra*, p. 24; for the divine pun see *supra*, p. 23 and n.11. The god is Zeus Meilichios (the Merciful). In general see Nilsson, *GGR* 1², 411–14. He was prominent in Megarian cult (Hanell, 177–80) and was worshipped at Selinus, where he possessed a temple (A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, III.2 [1940] 1188–89 and Nilsson *op.cit.*, p. 412 and n.10). He is praised first and last (cf. *Hes. Th.* 48) in this victory song. Comparable for such gratitude are the familiar vows and sacrifices to Zeus Soter after a victorious battle (e.g., the Athenians after Arginusae). Essentially Zeus Meilichios, Philios, Soter, Ktesios, or Pasios were identical. Nilsson perceptively remarks (*op.cit.*, p. 416 n.1): "Ich komme nicht von dem Gedanken los, dass sie alle im Grunde identisch sind." For the device of beginning with Zeus see H. W. Smyth, *Greek Melic Poets* (London 1906) 166–67, where for a contemporary Sicilian parallel add Sophron, 42 Kaibel.

νικῶμες: For the personal ending (normal in West Greek, Buck³ 138.3) see Bechtel 2.194, who compares *Ar. Ach.* 750, 751. The verb is present indicative in a perfect sense as νικῶντι above (indeed the title is drawn from the phraseology of the first verse) and means "we are victors" (Hulot-Fougères' "nous sommes vainqueurs"). Morphologically the form might equally be jussive subjunctive, "let us conquer"; but a hortatory sense is not compatible with the context. The battle is not in progress but is finished. The phraseology of the whole verse is epic (*Od.* 8.520).

Verse 2:

καὶ διὰ τὸν Φόβον: For the presence of the article see *supra*, p. 24; Ugdulena (p. 204) read Φόνον but Holm (pp. 363–64; cf. Salinas, 367; Sauppe, 609–10) correctly established the epichoric beta following a discarded suggestion of Ugdulena (*ibid.*). Commentators have sought to specify the divinity, either Ares himself or his son-companion (see *Il.* 4.440; 13.299; [*Hes.*] *Sc.* 195, where correct Evelyn-White's "Fear and Flight" to "Fear and Fright"; 463; *A. Sept.* 45 with Groeneboom, etc.). Sauppe (p. 610) believed Phobos to be "Ares selbst, der Schrecken der Feinde." He argued from the analogy of Malophoros and Pasikrateia, epithets used in place of names, and noted that elsewhere Ares is called Enyalios. He is approved by Benndorf, *Metopen* (p. 30), Buck³ (p. 296), SIG³, Schwyzer, Tod² (hesitantly), and

others (see Ziegler, 1306.9–12). Contrarily Holm (pp. 364–65), citing Plu. *Thes.* 27.2, suggested “Er ist sonst bekanntlich Sohn und Begleiter des Ares.” He has been followed by Roberts (p. 144) and Wilamowitz (*Der Glaube der Hellenen*, 1² [Basel 1956] 269), who observes: “die Selinuntier in der bekannten Inschrift auch ihm [sc. Phobos] für den Sieg danken.” Against the prevailing view of Sauppe, Ziegler argues (1306.25ff) that from all Sicily no Ares cult is attested (cf. Farnell, *Cults* 5.413 n.33) and that the mother state, Megara, worshipped the War God under the name Enyalios, not Ares.

The view of Farnell and Ziegler ought to be qualified. Plutarch (*Mor.* 217F, cf. *Lyc.* 52E and see Hulot-Fougères, p. 96) preserves the anecdote that once Areus I, king of Sparta (309–265 B.C.), was passing through Selinus and saw an elegiac couplet inscribed ἐπὶ μνήματος. The couplet reads:

σβεννύντας ποτὲ τοῦσδε τυραννίδα χάλκεος Ἄρης
εἶλε · Σελινούντος δ' ἄμφι πύλαις ἔθανον.

The mention of Ares is clear and the testimony ought to be added to Farnell. But it is a literary Ares rather than one of cult; for χάλκεος Ἄρης is an epic tag used by Homer in the *Iliad* to end the hexameter (see *Il.* 5.704, 859, 866; 7.146; 16.543) and borrowed by the author of this couplet for his own. Such a tag cannot be used as proof for the worship of Ares at Selinus, although M. Smith aptly remarks, “If there were a local cult of Ares, this commemoration of the death of two local patriots would have been particularly appropriate.”

Ziegler's conclusion (*loc.cit.*) deserves quotation: “Richtig ist also nur zu sagen, Phobos ist in S. der Vertreter des sonst gewöhnlich Ares genannten Kriegsgottes. Ob der Name Ares je in den Kult zu S. eingeführt worden ist, wissen wir nicht und ist höchst zweifelhaft. Man darf Lokalgötter wie Phobos durch Ares erläutern; wenn man ihn für den Lokalgott einschiebt, vollzieht man selbst nachträglich einen religionsgeschichtlichen Prozess, der naheliegt und in dieser Weise anderwärts viele Male vollzogen worden ist, in unserem Falle aber eben nicht.” This view is probably correct. One ought not to specify that Phobos is Ares nor indeed that he is the son of Ares. He is simply the Selinuntine *Kriegsdämon* and may indeed have had no true cult (Hanell, 174).

Verse 3:

καὶ διὰ ἡἱρακλέα: For the lack of elision see *supra*, p. 21; for the initial aspirate (as often replacing original *s*) see Bechtel 2.168; for early loss of intervocalic *digamma* in Megarian see Bechtel 2.169; for the termination of the accusative singular see Bechtel 2.174, who compares Ar. *Ach.* 774. Although in Megara Herakles was never able to replace his old doublet, Alkathoos (Hanell, 30), his cult was popular in the Megarian colonies (Hanell, 202–03) not least Selinus (Ziegler, 1307.10–15), where he appears often in art—the metopes of temples C and E, the archaic metope and a series of seal-impressions for which see Ziegler, 1294; Hanell, 203—and was commemorated in the colony Herakleia (Minoa). He appears on the coinage, where he has been associated with the draining of the swamp by Empedokles (Head, *HN*², 168). His prominence in the Zeus-Song, however, is better attributed to his function as a warrior and a power that gave aid in war: see L. R. Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults and Ideas of Immortality* (Oxford 1921) 146–48.

Verse 4:

καὶ δι' Ἀπόλλωνα: “Der erste Gott des dorischen Megaras” (Hanell, 164), he was prominent also at Selinus. The great Temple G is most easily the Apollonion (see *infra*, p. 41). IG xiv 269 is an inscription to Apollo Paian (and Athene). Apollo appears on the coins as ἀλεξίκακος, evidently associated with the draining of the swamp (Head, *HN*², 168). The apparent impropriety of placing Apollo, in whose temple the inscription and offering were set, fourth in the list of deities has been noticed. Indeed Sauppe (pp. 612–13) was led to consider the temple to be that of Zeus Agoraios (cf. *Hdt.* 5.46). That the text is a song, however, mitigates the difficulty. In the song of victory Apollo was fourth. This was not unnatural. He was not primarily a god of war, although occasionally thanksgiving is offered him after victory (Farnell, *Cults* 5.378 n.98), even as ἀλεξίκακος (Arr. 8.36.3). His precedence over Poseidon and the Tyndaridae would have been largely due to local prominence. Stanza structure too may have been a factor. The circumstance that the text was to be inscribed in Apollo's temple was not sufficient to warrant tampering with the order of divinities in a song perhaps many years older than the occasion for inscribing. The important question rather is why the choice of the Apollonion for the inscription and offering. Certainly it was the largest

temple. Perhaps too there was Delphic influence (see Hanell, 173), but this cannot be decisively proven.

Verse 5:

καὶ διὰ Ποτειδᾶνα: For the Selinuntine *ει* see Bechtel 2.168; for the name of the sea-god in Megarian see Bechtel 2.186, who compares the *Koseform Ποτειδᾶς* (Ar. Ach. 798). For Poseidon at Selinus see Ziegler, 1307.18–26. His worship at a city on the sea was natural (for Italian and Sicilian evidence see Farnell, *Cults*, 4.94) and in this martial context he was perhaps invoked too as god of horsemen (so Holm, p. 366) or even of the navy (Benndorf, *Metopen*, p. 31).

Verse 6:

καὶ διὰ Τυνδαρίδας: The Twins were worshipped in the Dorian colonies of Sicily (see Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults*, p. 222), although this is the only evidence for their cult at Selinus. Their worship at a coastal city, however, is normal and their frequent epiphanies on the battlefield (see Nilsson, *op.cit.* 410–11) are reason enough for their inclusion here. Anon. (p. 56) suggests that the patronymic is preferred because of metrical reasons.

Verse 7:

καὶ δι' Ἀθῆναιαν: Sauppe's *iota* (p. 607) is confirmed by the squeeze (see epigraphical commentary *ad loc.*) and paralleled at IG xiv 269; for the elision cf. verse 4. Athena was widely worshipped in the Greek colonies of Italy, and in Sicily is attested at Himera and Agrigentum (Farnell, *Cults*, 1.422). At Selinus (see Ziegler, 1307.24–26 and the references collected at Hanell, 208) the goddess appears in the Perseus-Metope of Temple C, perhaps in a metope of F (though this may be Artemis), surely in one of E, and with Apollo Paian in the dedicatory inscription, IG xiv 269 (not known to Farnell, *loc.cit.*). The war-like character of Athena is well known (Farnell, 308–11) and may explain her prominence as first female deity (so Ziegler, 1306.64–66). Presumably she was also invoked here as Athena Nike, for whose cult see Farnell, 311–13. Athena Nike possessed a temple on the acropolis of Megara (Paus. 1.42.4) and may reasonably have been worshipped at Selinus.

Verse 8:

καὶ διὰ Μᾶλοφόρον: the meaning of the epithet has been disputed since antiquity. Pausanias (1.44.3) in describing the temple at Nisaea says that there were various explanations for the *epiklēsis* and cites one that favors *Sheep-Bringer*. He has been approved by certain moderns (e.g., Hitzig-Blümner, *ad loc.* [p. 375]; Highbarger, *Megara*, p. 40; Rouse, *Votive Offerings*, p. 96). However, the cult was no longer active in Pausanias' time (the temple roof had fallen in) and there is no reason to believe that his suggestion is more than a guess based on a false etymology; see E. Hiller, *Philologus* 52 (1893) 719–20. To assume that Pausanias' explanation was based on autopsy of a cult-image (Benndorf, *Metopen*, p. 31) is tendentious and inaccurate (λέγεται). Informed modern opinion prefers *Apple-Bringer* (cf. Latin *pomifer*, *malifer* [Aen. 7. 740], *Ceres frugif[era]* [Dessau 3336]). So first suggested Ugdulena, p. 205, who has been followed by e.g., Sauppe, pp. 607–08; Holm, pp. 367–68; Farnell, *Cults*, 3.32; Wilamowitz, *Glaube*, i² 106 and n.1, who thinks the name originated from a cult statue; A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, II (Cambridge 1925) 488–89; and Hanell, pp. 175–76. The reasons are that *μᾶλον* is Doric for *apple*, never for *sheep* (see H. L. Ahrens, *De Dialecto Dorica* [Göttingen 1843] 153) which is *μῆλον* (πολυμᾶλῳ at Pi. O. 1. 12 *pace* Paley means *abounding in apples*: see Gildersleeve and Farnell *ad loc.*); that “Demeter has far less to do with the pastoral life than with the cultivation of the soil” (Farnell, *Cults*, 3.32); that the Megarian colony, Byzantium (cf. Callatis, *BullEpigr* 1939.232; *Hellenica* 2.53), called the month equivalent to September *Malophoros* and September does not bring lambs but apples (Holm, p. 368); and finally the parallels of other apple epithets for Greek divinities (Usener, *Götternamen*, pp. 146f; Hanell, p. 176 and n.2). For these reasons the word must be translated *Apple-Bringer*.

Demeter was the oldest and most revered goddess of Megara (Hanell, pp. 51ff, 174). The cult of *Malophoros* was carried to Byzantium and Selinus and even imported from Megarian Mesambria to Anchialos (see *BullEpigr* 1962.176). The sanctuary of *Malophoros* at Selinus was discovered by Cavallari in 1874 and was excavated some fifty years later by E. Gàbrici (see *Gnomon* 5 [1929] 529ff and A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, III.2 [Cambridge 1940] 1136 with literature there cited). A tufa dedication to the goddess is extant (Gàbrici 2). As with Phobos and Ares above, it would be unsafe to specify that *Malophoros* is Demeter; certainly (after Ziegler, 1306.42–43) she is the Selinuntine

equivalent ("Korrelate") to Demeter. Her inclusion in this martial context can be due only to the extraordinary local prominence of her cult, although occasionally she was worshipped as a war-goddess (Farnell, *Cults*, 3.325 n.71).

Verse 9:

καὶ διὰ Πᾶσικράτειαν: The epithet had been considered unique, although Hanell (p. 179) cites Πασικράτα of Artemis and Aphrodite and Ziegler (1306.51) παντοκράτειρα at *hOrph* 29.10 of the underworld goddess. Professor Morton Smith (*per litt.*), however, cites πασικράτεια at PGM iv.2774, where he refers it to "Hecate-Persephone" (for this later association see Pfeiffer on *Call.* frg. 302 Pf.). Because this goddess immediately follows Malophoros(-Demeter) scholars have regularly considered her the Selinuntine equivalent of Kore-Persephone: see Ugduleña, p. 205; Sauppe, p. 608; Holm, p. 368; Usener, *Götternamen*³, p. 224 with n.15; Wilamowitz, *Glaube* 1².106; Ziegler, 1306.49–53. PGM iv.2773 would accord with this theory. Farnell, *Cults*, 3.337 n.132 and Hanell, 179–80 are, however, skeptical. A new inscription can be cited. A *defixio* (ca 450 B.C.?) apparently to Persephone (τὰν ἡγνὰν θεὸν) has been found at the sanctuary of Malophoros: see S. Ferri, *Notizie Scavi*, NS 7, 5–6 (1944–45) 169–174; esp. p. 171. There is no further evidence for the worship of Kore-Persephone at Selinus, although for her cult in Sicily see Farnell, *Cults*, 3.65, 337, 375 and *id.* on *Pi. N.* 1.12–15 (p. 245), and the identification must be called probable (Hanell, 180) rather than certain. Her inclusion here is most reasonably because of her connection with the prominent Malophoros. It may be relevant that from the spoils after Himera Gelon built temples to Demeter and Kore (D.S. 11.26.7). The epithet is better rendered into English "All-ruling Goddess" than "Almighty Goddess." The epithet implies "not omnipotence—a theological concept—but rule over all men" (M. Smith).

Verse 10:

καὶ διὰ τὸς ἄλλος θεὸς: For the accusative ending, see above on line 1 (p. 25). Greek deities were as alert to sins of omission as to those of commission (e.g., *Il.* 9.533ff, *Hdt.* 6.105, *S. Aj.* 178 with Jebb). Such caution as in this phrase was to avoid offending a divinity by omission. For the practice in inscriptions see Dittenberger on *SIG*³ 1153 (p. 299) and more generally Fraenkel, *Agamemnon*, 2.262 with nn. 2, 3, who

cites Servius on *V. G.* 1.21: "post specialem invocationem transit ad generalitatem, ne quod numen praetereat." For the similar use of "ceteri dei et deae" in Latin inscriptions see Dessau III, p. 523 and more generally G. Wissowa, *Religion u. Kultus der Römer*² (Munich 1912) 37–38.

"Other gods" known to have been worshipped at Selinus but not cited on this stone include Hera, Artemis, Dionysus, Hekate, the river-gods Selinus and Hypsas, a nymph Eurumedousa(?), Aphrodite, Hygieia, and Acheloos. The evidence is at Ziegler, 1307.26–44. The omission of Hera and Artemis is surprising. The other eight deities are not war-like and would reasonably have been disposed of within a general rubric.

Verse 11:

διὰ δὲ Δία μάλιστα: The particle is better adversative (*GP*² 165) than continuative. μάλιστα, as regularly, is "most of all, above all" (see *LSJ*, s.v. μάλα III, *sub init.*). Zeus, the most important deity, is put πρώτος τε καὶ ὕστερος. For this device of ring-composition see n.10.

Translation

"Thanks to the following gods the Selinuntines are victors.

"Thanks to Zeus we are victors

And thanks to Fear

And thanks to Herakles

And thanks to Apollo

And thanks to Poseidon

And thanks to (the) Tyndaridae

And thanks to Athena

And thanks to Apple-Bringer

And thanks to All-ruling (Goddess)

And thanks to the other gods

But thanks to Zeus above all."

The Decree

Structure

THE SECOND PART of the inscription, the *decree*, begins with the second word of line 7 and continues until the end of the inscription (line 11). The distinction of the two parts was first noted by Holm (pp. 368–69), who acutely observed: “Hier schliesst der erste Theil der Inschrift, der einfach und verständlich ist, während der zweite nun beginnende manche Räthsel aufgiebt. Der erste enthält eine Mittheilung von Thatsachen; der zweite einen Beschluss; schon das ist auffallend.” The discovery that, except for introductory line 1, the first part is metrical while the second is prose, makes the division certain. For purposes of convenient exegesis, this second part, the decree, will be arranged into six lines so that each terminates with a verb form, either participle or infinitive. Throughout this chapter the decree will be cited by the numbers of these six lines.

- 1 *φιλίας δὲ γενομένης*
- 2 *ἐν χρυσέῳι ἐλάσαντας*
- 3 *καὶ δυνάματα ταῦτα κολάσαντας*
- 4 *εἰς τὸ Ἀπολλόνιον καθέμεν*
- 5 *τὸ Διὸς ἐγγράφαντες.*
- 6 *τὸ δὲ χρυσίον ἐξέκοντα τάλαντων ἔμεν.*

The division reveals the care that went into composition and provides several clues for interpretation. Three natural divisions within the decree itself appear. They are readily expressed in tabular form.

- 1 Introduction
- 2 The Commands
 - A
 - B
 - C
 - D
- 3 Addendum

The first line is a causal genitive absolute and is introductory. It specifies under what conditions and therefore at what time the four

commands that follow were to be performed. The second section is divided into four separate commands. They are listed in the natural order of their performance. First an object is to be beaten out in gold. After the gold has been beaten into the desired shape, names are pecked into it. At the completion of this work, the pecked golden object is permanently “set into the Apollonion.” After the installation of the votive object, the Zeus-Song is inscribed onto the temple wall. This last command is not concerned with the gold and is isolated by what is apparently a nominative absolute construction. All four commands, however, are set into one sentence; and there should be a full stop at the end of line 5. The third section (line 6) is in the nature of an addendum or amendment to the main decree and establishes the value of the votive offering. The figure would have been specified after the victory when the booty had been collected and sold, the proceeds computed, and the percentage for deposit agreed upon. In Athenian decrees similarly the amount to be expended is put last.

Exegetical Commentary to the Decree

Line 1:

φιλίας: “Friendship between states”: see LSJ, s.v., I.1 (p. 1934B), who cite only Th. 5.5 and 6.34 and must be supplemented. Stephanus-Dindorf, TGL 9.822, fail to specify this sense. The use is a Herodotean favorite (see Powell, s.v., p. 373B). On states being friends, see Aristotle, *EN* 8.1157a 26ff. For *amicitia* in this sense see Ellis on Cat. 109.6. An analysis of Thucydidean usage shows that of the twenty-six certain instances of the substantive in von Essen (as Bétant rightly, it is the adjective at 5.44.1, *pace* von Essen, p. 441B), eleven mean “amicable relations between states.” They may be divided in tabular form as follows:

A. Narrative

1. 2.2.4: Thebans with the Plataeans.
2. 2.9.2: Argives and Achaians with both sides at start of the war.
3. 5.5.1: Phaeax negotiating with Sicilian and Italian cities.
4. 6.75.3: Camarina with Athens.
5. 6.88.6: Athens negotiating with Carthage.
6. 8.37.1: The Peace of Therimenes (Sparta and Persia).

B. Speeches

1. 3.12 *bis*: Mytileneans to Peloponnesians on the former Athenian alliance. Possibly the first one is used abstractly: "How can there be friendship or liberal trust (in the abstract)?"
2. 4.19.1; 20.2: Spartan envoys to the Athenians after Pylos.
3. 6.34.1: Hermocrates at Syracuse of Syracuse and the Sicels.
4. 6.78.1: Hermocrates at Camarina of Camarina and Athens.

The Dorian and western (including Carthage) contexts of the word in narrative are clear. No Athenian ever uses the word in this sense in a speech. It is said only to Spartans or by Spartans, or by Hermocrates. There is always a Dorian coloring. The distribution is probably only accidental (cf. *IG* 1² 71.76). Or does Thucydides intend to suggest a dialectal preference for *φιλία* over Attic *σπονδαί* or *ξυμμαχία* (for the latter terms in Thucydides see F. Hampl, *Philologus*, 91 [1936] 153ff)? For this sort of linguistic realism in Thucydides compare his use of *φρουράν* as "a small mobile force" in the Spartan sense at 2.25.2 (with Gomme) and recall his restriction of Attic *τοίνυν* to Athenian speeches (*GP*² 569). Likewise Xenophon includes dialectal expletives in his Spartan speeches (*An.* 6.6.34; 7.6.39, cf. *Pl. Phd.* 62A). On the whole, however, such practice was rare in serious literature (R. J. Bonner, *CJ* 4 [1908–09] 356–63, cf. *CP* 57 [1962] 193 n.2).

Here *φιλίας* is certainly "friendship between states"; but, as Holm well observes (p. 369), not in the sense of *συμμαχία* (Ugdulena's "foedere"). The victory is won and the Selinuntines have no need of an alliance. The phrase means that hostilities have ceased. *Friendship*, that is *peace*, has been restored. Compare Hdt. 1.74.3 *εἰρήνην* . . . *γενέσθαι*, which Powell renders (*Lexicon*, p. 106A) "treaty of peace."

δε: The particle is continuative (cf. line 6 *infra*) and joins the two parts of the inscription.

γενομένης: The aorist middle participle with Doric *alpha* in the genitive absolute construction. The aorist indicates that the time is anterior to that of the main verb. Holm (p. 369) saw the force of the whole: "Der Gen. absol., der diesen Theil der Inschrift beginnt, entspricht dem Satze mit *ἐπειδή*, der sonst die Motive von Beschlüssen einzuleiten pflegt." For the frequent *ἐπειδή* (*ἐπεί*) formula (for

which the genitive absolute here is a substitute) in non-Attic inscriptions, see Larfeld, pp. 343–44. One best renders "Now since peace has come." Hulot-Fougères' "la paix étant conclue" evades commitment. Santangelo-Railsback's "after peace had been restored" is not accurate.

Line 2:

ἐν χρυσέοι: Here Selinuntine *o* is long. For such *Stoffadjectiva* in Megarian, see Bechtel 2.182. As in all Greek dialects except Lesbian and Thessalian they end in *-eos*. As often the neuter singular of an adjective is used substantively without an article (*KG* 1.268; for more examples, Kühner on *X. Mem.* 1.2.30). The phrase means "in something gold"; that is "in gold." As often the Greek preposition is more concrete than the English, nearer "on" than "in." This is more natural than to force a quasi-instrumental rendering "forge the object with gold." It is unnecessary and tendentious to be more specific, as F. Blass, *RhM* 36 (1881) 616, who renders "eine vergoldete Votivtafel." Hulot-Fougères follow with "sur une plaque d'or." Likewise *LSJ* (from Tod's "a golden plate"?) *s.v.* *χρύσεος* 1, 4 devote a lemma entirely to this word, which they consider a neuter substantive with the unique meaning "gold plaque." There is no mention of plaque or plate, and nothing should lead us to suppose that one ever existed. It is important to stress, because earlier commentators have not, that the adjective is singular. This can only mean that the dedication is a single object. It cannot, therefore, be (as most editors from Ugdulena to Buck³ have taken it) ten or more statues of the gods, a circumstance which would have required *χρυσέοις* "on (in) pieces of the gold." There is one object beaten from one lump of gold.

ἐλάσαντας: The accusative masculine plural of the aorist active participle of *ἐλαύνω* modifies the unexpressed subject of the infinitive *καθέμεν*. The verb has its rather rare (especially in prose) sense, "ductile opus facio" (Stephanus-Dindorf, 4.680c), "beat out metal, forge" (*LSJ s.v.*, III.1). This meaning is found four times in the *Iliad* (Ebeling, *s.v.* 5b; *LSJ add Il.* 18.564). Inspection is instructive. At *Il.* 7.223 Tychius wrought an eighth layer of bronze for Ajax' shield: *ἐπὶ δ' ὄγδοον ἤλασε χαλκόν*. At *Il.* 12.296 there is a description of Sarpedon's shield *ἀσπίδα . . . / καλὴν χαλκείην ἐξήλατον, ἣν ἄρα χαλκεὺς ἤλασεν*. At *Il.* 18.564 (cf. Hes. *Th.* 726) Hephaistos decorates the shield of

Achilles ἀμφὶ δὲ κυανέην κάπετον, περὶ δ' ἔρκος ἔλασσε. Finally at Il. 20.270 Hephaistos wrought five layers for Achilles' shield, two bronze, two tin, one gold: πέντε πτύχας ἤλασε. Except for indecisive Th. 726, the sense is not Hesiodic. At Mimnermus, frg. 10.6D³ the hollow bed of the Sun is forged (ἐληλαμένη) by the hands of Hephaistos. It floated and may be imagined in the general shape of a great hollow shield. The Homeric sense of the verb is recalled at Aeschylus, Sept. 644 where χρυσήλατος is applied to the design in beaten gold on Polyneikes' shield.

ἐλάσαντας has no expressed object. The lack implies that a reader could easily supply the right one. It was not necessary to include it in the inscription. On the basis of the Homeric evidence, it is suggested that the object to be supplied by the reader was τὰν ἀσπίδα. Homeric usage alone certainly cannot put a shield beyond doubt. The compound, ἐξελαύνω, for example, at Hdt. 1.50.2 takes "gold ingots" as object and χρυσήλατος is applied to gilded objects other than shields even in tragedy (e.g., the fibulae at S. OT 1268). Yet Greeks knew Homer as they knew no other author. His usage, therefore, is of especial importance. Further evidence will appear in chapter 6 to confirm this suggestion. In any case the object surely would not be statues. The artisan's verb for making statues in Homer and early inscriptions is ποιέω; see LSJ s.v., A.1 for examples.

Line 3:

καὶ ὀνόματα ταῦτα: Ugdulena's connective is most probable: see critical commentary *ad loc.* For Megarian ὄνυμα see Bechtel 2.184. For omission of the article with the demonstrative when it follows its noun see KG 1.629, cited by W. Vollgraff, *Mnemosyne* 57 (1929) 439. The force is "these (aforementioned) names." The "names" are those of the Zeus-Song and would include, besides the nine proper nouns therein, τῶς ἄλλῃς θεῶς.

κολάφαντας: In form and syntax this participle is parallel to ἐλάσαντας. Originally κολάπτω means "peck" and is used of birds (LSJ, s.v. 1); then in imperial times, by analogy, of horses striking the ground with their hoofs (LSJ cite App. *Pun.* 129, Besant. *ap.* AP 15.25.19). In the dialects the verb early gained the extended meaning "chisel" or, more precisely, "pick out by indentations." LSJ's "carve, engrave" miss the nuance by disregarding the metaphor. The verb was apparently in common use among the Greeks of Sicily and Italy,

and may well have been originally restricted to inscriptions in metal. In the proxeny decree from Selinus' neighbor, Akragas, dated to the second half of the third century before 210 B.C. (IG xiv 952, Schwyzler 307, Buck³ 106) the verb refers to pecking the decree into two copper plates: τὸ δὲ δόγμα τόδε κολάφαντας ἐς χαλκώματα δύο. Very similar is a first century B.C. inscription from Rhegium (IG xiv 612, SIG³ 715, Schwyzler 310) which speaks of "the boule having pecked the decree into two copper plates" (τὰν δὲ βουλὰν τὸ ἀλίσμα κολαφάμεναν ἐς χαλκώματα δισσοῦ). In the Hellenistic inscription honoring a gymnasiarch at Phintias (IG xiv 256, Schwyzler 306) the verb has apparently lost its technical meaning (perhaps under the influence of ἐκκολάπτω, "erase"?). The inscription reads τὸ δὲ δόγμα τόδε κολαφθέν ἐς στάλαν. If the stele referred to is the preserved inscription, it is a stone. If, however, the reference is to a second inscription "to deposit in the gymnasium," the stele may have been a bronze one as at Th. 5.47.11 and SIG³ 421.14 (Aetolia ca 272 B.C.). The verb is used in Hellenistic erotic writers of chiseling the name of the beloved into the bark of trees (see Pfeiffer on Call. frg. 73.1 Pf.), a habit which became a motif in Roman poetry (see P. J. Enk on Prop. 1.18.22, who traces the tradition through Shakespeare, Spenser, and Burns). One may compare too Hellenistic κολαπτήρ, "chisel."

It is clear that there is a contrast between κολάφαντας and ἐνγράφαντες and that two inscriptions are indicated. If there were only one there would have been no need for two verbs. The first participle refers to a "pecked" inscription, the second to an engraved one; the first to one on metal, the second to one on stone. κολάφαντας must refer to an inscription pecked into the metal (golden) votive. S. Dow adds *per litt.*: "Greek inscriptions in sheet (i.e. beaten) metal are made in two ways. (Possibly some were cast: I have never seen any.) They could be made as in stone by using, for all but curved strokes, the straight edge of the chisel. A series of dents resulted; and in closed letters like, e.g., Δ there would be danger of losing the middle. Still, the difficulty was overcome somehow. They could also be made as a series of points ∴ e.g., or ∴∴, in which case a series of punctures resulted. (In one instance known to me this technique was used on stone, with an odd effect.) Certain wood-pecking (κολάπτω) birds peck in straight lines; the yellow-bellied sapsucker, for instance. The effect is the same as in inscriptions in sheet-metal made by punctures. All of this fits nicely together. The verb is κολάπτω (the meaning of

which in this regard is kept near to its original meaning): they don't use *γράφω*, because the writing is not *graved*. It is one of the two techniques proper for writing on beaten metal. Can we go any further? Without claiming that the fact is more than merely suggestive, the fact can be added that when a Spartan shield from Pylos was dedicated in Athens in 425/4 [see Paus. 1.15.4], the inscription was made by a series of punctures (*Hesperia* 6 [1937] 347). The dedicating of inscribed shields continued down to a late date. One at least of the ephebic inscriptions of Athens, second century A.D., represents in marble a large shield."

A shield was already suggested on lexicographical grounds. There is the parallel of the Pylian shield. The thin surface of a golden shield would be an easy object for "pecking." The pecked inscription would have been a list of ten deities, the ten entries of the Zeus-Song (*δυνάματα ταῦτα*), probably in the dative case (see Larfeld, 436.3ff). If this is the case, there is implied before *κολάφαντας* the phrase *εἰς τὴν ἀσπίδα*.

There is a fine parallel extant for a pecked inscription on gold. It is the gold foundation plaque for the Serapeum of Ptolemy III (246–221 B.C.). It was discovered in 1943 and is at the Graeco-Roman Museum in Alexandria (No. P.8357). The "pecks" that make up the letters merely dent the gold. They do not perforate it. The inscription is also preserved in silver, bronze, opaque glass, and Nile mud. The gold is far the best preserved and most legible.

Dittenberger (on *SIG*³ 1122), followed by Tod (p. 73), first realized that there were two inscriptions. He cogently observed that *κολάφαντας* could not refer to the stone because grammatically the participle depends on *καθθέμεν* and the votive was *deposited*, but the extant inscription was written on the wall and so never deposited. For two reasons, therefore, the meaning of *κολάπτω* and the dependence of its participle on *καθθέμεν*, we may assume the existence, at the time of the dedication, of two inscriptions to be certain. The one on stone was preserved. The golden one was probably carried off and destroyed by the Carthaginians when they sacked Selinus in 409 (D.S. 13.57).

Line 4:

εἰς τὸ Ἀπολλόνιον: Collitz' *εἰς* (rather than *ἐς*) restored at *SGDI* 3.1 (1888) 3046, is correct Megarian: see Bechtel 2.176, 199–200 and cf. Schwyzer 153, 154 bis, 155, 156 bis, 161 (Megara); 170a ter (Byzantium);

and 174.15 (Tauric Chersonese). The editors (not least Buck³) must be corrected. For the neuter suffix, *-ιον*, to indicate "Apollo's place" see Schwyzer, *Gram.*, I.1 (1953) 470. For *εἰς* and the accusative after *κατατίθημι* see *LSJ*, s.v. The sense is apparent. The phrase is the only evidence that Temple G is the Apollonion. The identification has been generally accepted (most emphatically by Benndorf, *Metopen*, p. 34) although there have been skeptics. Ziegler, 1300.22ff (approved by Hanell, 164), concludes "Das G ein Apollonion sei, ist somit nur eine Möglichkeit, keine Sicherheit." He bases this assumption upon a strictly literal interpretation of the stone. It states merely that the votive offering either is in the Apollonion or is to be taken there but does not identify G as the Apollonion, nor state that the votive offering is in G. It is easier, however, to believe that the decree authorizing the deposit of the offering in the Apollonion would be set in the Apollonion and not in some other unnamed temple. G was the largest temple at Selinus and would be the fitting repository for the valuable offering, for which see further chapter 6 *infra*.

καθθέμεν (Attic *κατατιθέναι*): For loss of the interconsonantal vowel, apocope of the prefix and aspiration *θθ* see Bechtel 2.181 and Thumb-Kieckers, p. 142 (§ 134); for the ending of the athematic present active infinitive in Megarian see Bechtel 2.195 and Buck³ 154.3. Either (as first Sauppe, 616) the infinitive depends on an unexpressed *ἔδοξε* (the *Sanktionsformel*) or is used as an imperative. For the frequency of the latter construction in early dialectal inscriptions see Buck³ 178 (p. 140). It is normally found, however, in prescriptions (e.g., temple regulations) rather than decrees. The infinitive would be after such an analogy. Benndorf (*Metopen*, p. 32 n.1) well compares the infinitive in Xenophon's inscription for his shrine of Artemis at Skillous (*An.* 5.3.13). This text, however, is certainly a decree, authorizing a votive offering. The argument from analogy, therefore, would strongly favor dependence on a suppressed *ἔδοξε*. The Megarian formula was *ἔδοξε βουλᾷ καὶ δάμῳ* (153, 156 Schwyzer); compare Byzantine *ἔδοξε τᾷ βουλᾷ καὶ τᾷ δάμῳ* (170a Schwyzer). For the varieties and frequency of this *Sanktionsformel* in decrees see Larfeld, 341–44. The infinitive, therefore, is more naturally taken after Sauppe (as regularly in decrees) to be dependent upon an unexpressed *ἔδοξε βουλᾷ καὶ δάμῳ* *vel sim.* The remark of Hulot-Fougères (p. 102) is relevant: "Ce texte était la reproduction abrégée des formules du décret des Sélinontiens qui avait ordonné la consécration et qui fut

ainsi converti en dédicace." For καθέμεν, "deposit," in dedications see the examples collected by Dittenberger IV³, p. 415A s.v. and cf. Hdt. 5.92.η4. The middle is preferred (LSJ, s.v., II. 4).

Line 5:

τὸ Διὸς: With τὸ Διὸς there is ellipsis of some neuter substantive. The kind of expression is well known: see the examples at KG 1.269, where one may add τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, "the god's (statement)," Pl. Ap. 21E. Ugdulena suggested τὸ Διὸς (ἄγαλμα) and translated (p. 203) "hoc Jovis (signum)." His suggestion rested on a faulty restoration of the last lines, and clearly will not do. Holm (p. 374) first suggested a translation of τὸ Διὸς προγράψαντες "d. h. 'indem wir (die Selinuntier) den Namen (ὀνόματα ist ja gesagt) des Zeus voranschreiben.'" When they indicate, editors follow him, e.g., Buck's "writing the name of Zeus first." The advantages of this suggestion were two. The suppressed noun was easily supplied from the adjacent ὀνόματα and the force of the restored προ- coincided neatly with the circumstance that Zeus stood first (but also last) in the list of deities. But, as has been indicated above (critical commentary on line 10), the προ- is not possible on spatial grounds. Further it has been shown above that the ὀνόματα were pecked into the metal votive. τὸ Διὸς is the object of a verb indicating a different process ("having engraved") and referring to the preserved inscription. "The name of Zeus" would be capricious. The names of all the gods (not just Zeus) are on the stone. It is suggested that τὸ Διὸς rather means "the Zeus-Song" and refers to the metrical text edited above. There is ellipsis of a neuter such as μέλος or possibly ᾠσμα (cf. τὰ ἐκείνου, "his tunes," at Pl. Smp. 215c2 and τὸ Δάτιδος μέλος at PMG 916 Page). For Διὸς as part of a song's title compare Διὸς ἐκ προοιμίου ("the Zeus-Prelude"), Pl. N. 2.1, where Farnell *ad loc.* misconstrues "begin with the name of God as their prelude." Contrast Bury's "with a prelude in honour of Zeus" and Boeckh's "Iovis a prooemio." The parallel is Thucydides 3.104: ἐκ προοιμίου Ἀπόλλωνος. See Allen-Halliday-Sikes, *The Homeric Hymns*² (Oxford 1936) lxv. For similar ellipsis with an adjective cf. Ὀδύσσεια (ὠδή) and see Schmid-Stählin, 1.1.113 n.2. A "Zeus-Song" is alluded to (not named) at X. An. 3.2.9.

ἐνγράφαντες: For this compound in Selinuntine see, e.g., Schwyzler 167aA ἐνγράφῃ bis. The aorist indicates that the action precedes that of the infinitive. The inscription is made before the deposit. The

puzzle is why *nominative* plural rather than a connective and another accusative (or possibly infinitive). Roberts (p. 144), followed by Buck³, is content to attribute "the soloecism" to the carelessness he (after Roehl) has detected elsewhere on the stone (*sc.* the inconsistency in the use of the definite article and the variation in the person of the verbs). It is never wise to dismiss an anomaly by attributing it to carelessness. It is particularly unwise in this case when satisfactory explanations have been provided for the two "careless" parallels. The construction is in the text and must be explained. The question quickly becomes one of terminology. Professor Joshua Whatmough, *per coll.*, calls it "a nominative absolute." It is best temporal, "after they have engraved the Zeus-Song." For those who allow the construction this solves the problem neatly. More conservative syntacticians (e.g., SIG³ *ad loc.*) will prefer calling it an anacoluthon of the kind discussed at KG 2.105-07 (cf. Benndorf, *Metopen*, p. 33 with n.1; and C. Schick, *RFIC* NS 33 [1955] 367). In either case the force of the nominative is to isolate the participle and its object syntactically from the rest of the sentence. Just so in sense the command to engrave the stone is isolated from the other three which are all concerned with the golden votive. Probably the construction was preferred in the interest of brevity. An infinitive or accusative participle would have required a connective.

Line 6:

τὸ δὲ χρυσίον: Linguistically the diminutive of χρυσός, the word may mean either "gold" or "anything made of gold" (see LSJ, s.v.). As the stipulations establishing the nature of the votive have preceded, it would be more natural at the end to have a reference to the finished object. Further if χρυσίον means the "gold object" rather than "gold," this may be the reason for using here the substantive with definite article rather than the adjective alone (χρυσέῳ) again, *sc.* to distinguish between "a lump of gold" and "the gold object." M. Smith suggests *per litt.* the meaning "gold money." But this would imply either that gold money bought other gold for the votive offering or that the gold money itself would be melted down to provide gold for the offering. Neither is probable. The particle is continuative. χρυσίον is accusative, subject of the following infinitive.

ἐξέκοντα ταλάντων: For the loss of initial *digamma* and subsequent lack of aspiration in ἐξέκοντα, first explained by Blass, *RhM* 36 (1881)

616, see Bechtel 2.169, 188 (where the aspirate should be corrected) and Thumb-Kieckers, pp. 138–39 (§ 132.10, 11). For the genitive of value see KG 1.333, who cite Lys. 30.20 ἱερὰ τριῶν ταλάντων. For the value of the sixty talents and their possible origin see chapter 6 below.

ξμεν: For Megarian ξμεν (Attic εἶναι) see Bechtel 2.195. The infinitive depends, as καθέμεν above, on the unexpressed ἔδοξε postulated by Sauppe. Santangelo-Railsback's rendering of the amendment, "there being for this purpose sixty talents of gold," is a paraphrase rather than a translation.

Translation

"Now since peace has come, (the *boulē* and the people have decided) having beaten out (a shield) in gold and having pecked (into the shield) these (aforementioned) names, after they have engraved the Zeus-Song, to deposit (the shield) in the Apollonion and (they have decided that) the gold-object be of sixty talents."¹³

¹³ Words implied but not stated in the text are enclosed in parentheses.

The Offering

Physical Appearance

THE INSCRIPTION does not specify the appearance of the votive. No trace of it has survived. A study of the language may, however, yield implications, and there are arguments from analogy. First, the earlier suggestions will be discussed. Generally they have been stated dogmatically as guesses. There is no argued treatment of the problem in print.

Ugdulena (p. 205) suggested that the offering was a gold statue of Zeus. The suggestion was based on a tendentious translation and faulty restorations. Apart from any impropriety in dedicating a statue of Zeus in so prominent a part of Apollo's temple, it would be decidedly unusual to peck the names of all the divinities in the Zeus-Song onto a statue of Zeus. Further, as will be shown below, any idea of a statue is incompatible with the verbs of the decree.

Sauppe (p. 615) retained Ugdulena's fundamental idea of "statue" but extended it to statues of all the divinities mentioned in the inscription. This explains the large offering. "Sechzig Talente ist viel, aber für die vielen Bildsäulen kaum zu viel." Sauppe never notices the difficulty of trying to render graphically "the rest of the gods." It has been shown that the phrase is a safety clause added to avoid the risk of offending a deity through omission. The purpose is circumvented when the phrase must be represented pictorially. Yet Sauppe's suggestion immediately convinced Holm (369–70), who discarded his earlier view (Cavallari-Holm) that the offering was a *Votivtafel*. Subsequently it has been accepted by H. Roehl (IGA, p. 149: "statuas . . . aureas cum nominibus"), E. L. Hicks (*Manual*, p. 31: "the people of Selinus dedicate gold statues of certain deities . . ."), E. S. Roberts (p. 144: "The Selinuntians . . . promise golden statues to certain deities . . ."), W. H. D. Rouse (p. 96: "... when peace was made, statues of gold should be erected to guardian deities . . ."), and the

most recent editor, C. D. Buck (p. 296: "The Selinuntians promise golden statues to the gods..."). Statues, however, are not compatible with the verbs of the decree. ἐλαύνω means to "beat out" not to "sculpt (a statue)." κολλάπτω means to "pick out" or "peck" on metal that can either be punctured or dented. The verb would not be used to engrave an inscription on either a statue or a statue base. Such an inscription would have to be inscribed, and γράφω or a compound would be preferred. Finally, καθέμεν can not, as Rouse supposed, mean "erect," which would normally require a compound of ἵστημι.

The alternative has been Holm's earlier explanation (subsequently withdrawn in favor of Sauppe) that the offering was a *Votivtafel*. This was revived by Dittenberger, who in SIG³ remarks *ad loc.*: "tabula vel lamina aurea... in qua cum imagines deorum anaglyphae malleo exprimendae (ἐλάσαντας) tum index nominum insculpendus (κολλάψαντας) sit..." This was accepted by Schwyzler, who attributes the suggestion to Dittenberger rather than to Holm, and by Tod ("a golden plate of 60 talents' weight"). Compare the translation of Hulot-Fougères (p. 102): "après avoir sculpté en relief sur une plaque d'or [les images des dieux] et [y] avoir gravé ces noms, etc." The suggestion that the dedication was a gold sheet or plate is a sensible one. Such an offering could be an object for ἐλαύνω. It would be an excellent object for κολλάπτω. A sheet or plate could be easily punctured or dented. It is not, however, entirely satisfactory. One desiderates a parallel (we are given none) for the offering, after a successful battle, of a gold sheet with the names of some ten deities upon it. It seems distinctly unimaginative as well as unique. For the elaboration of Holm by Dittenberger and Hulot-Fougères (*sc.* their sculpting of the gods onto the plaque) there is just no evidence in the text and (as with statues) there would be the problem of portraying "the rest of the gods."

A third suggestion has been advanced in the commentary above. The dedication was a gold shield. ἐλαύνω, "to beat out," is restricted to shields in the *Iliad* and the obvious object to supply for the participle would be ἀσπίδα. A shield would be thin, and the ten divine entries from the Zeus-Song could easily (as with the extant Pylos shield) be pecked (*sc.* punctured or dented) into it (κολλάπτω). A shield would be deposited (καθέμεν) rather than erected. Such an offering too may be argued from analogy.

From earliest times (Homeric examples at Rouse, 101) a trophy was erected or spoils dedicated after a victorious engagement. Such spoils naturally would often include shields. There are examples at Rouse, pp. 98ff, where more could be added: see G. W. Elderkin, "Shield and Mandorla," *AJA* 42 (1938) 227-36. Often rather than the actual spoils or a tithe from them, the spoils would be sold and from the proceeds (regularly a tithe) an offering would be made (or purchased) and dedicated. As Rouse (p. 114) remarks: "Occasionally an offering was specially made in a shape that had direct reference to the spoils of war." These shapes included shields. The earliest one oddly does not concern war. At the oracle of Amphiaraus at Thebes, Croesus dedicated (Hdt. 1.52) "a shield (σάκος) made entirely of gold and a spear all of solid gold, point and shaft alike" (Godley). The size is not specified and the occasion was not a victorious battle. Having learned of the valor and fate of the hero, Croesus chose what he thought an appropriate offering. Since the shield was for a hero, one imagines that it was larger than human size. Compare his dedication to Athene Pronaia at Delphi (Paus. 10.8.7).

For offering a gold shield after a victorious battle there were two famous precedents for the Selinuntines. After Plataea in 479 the Athenians dedicated "gold shields," χρυσᾶς ἀσπίδας (certainly not Adams' "gilded shields") to Apollo at Delphi (see Busolt, *GG* II², p. 739, n.2). Aeschines (*Ctes.* 116) preserves the inscription that was put on the shields. This is the obvious inference from the text (ἐπεγράψαμεν τὸ προσήκον ἐπίγραμμα), which could possibly, however, be construed to mean a single dedicatory inscription accompanying but not on the shields. The inscription read: Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπὸ Μήδων καὶ Θηβαίων, ὅτε τὰναντία τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἐμάχοντο. The shields, therefore, could not have been from Marathon as Pausanias (10.19.4) reports. The inscriptions were too high for him to read. Busolt (*loc.cit.*) calls the shields "captured" ("eroberte"), but surely neither Medes nor Thebans fought with gold shields. Rather this was an offering made for the occasion, purchased with a percentage of the proceeds accruing from the sale of booty and possibly ransoming of prisoners. The shields were affixed, remarks Pausanias, to the architraves (ἐπιστυλίων) of the Apollo Temple. They probably were of standard size. They were rehung, over the objections of the Thebans, after the fire of 373 and the subsequent rebuilding, and were visible in Pausanias' time.

The other example (Paus. 5.10.4) is the dedication of the Lacedaemonians and their allies after Tanagra (July 457). With a tithe of the spoils they gave a gold shield to Zeus at Olympia (see Busolt, *GG* III.1, p. 315, n.2). It was conspicuously set under the statue of Nike, which stood on the middle of the roof gable of the new temple of Zeus. The lofty position of the shield and its association with a goddess suggest that it was colossal. Portions of the base of the offering with fragments of the inscription have been recovered (see Hitzig-Blümner, II.1.321 *ad loc.*). Kirchhoff (*apud* Purgold *AZ* 40 [1882] 179) on the basis of letter-forms and dialect showed that the shield was manufactured in Corinth. Pausanias reports that the following inscription was written ἐπὶ τῇ ἀσπίδι:

Ναὸς μὲν φιάλαν χρυσέαν ἔχει, ἐκ δὲ Τανάγρας
τοὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι συμμαχία τ' ἀνέθεν
δῶρον ἅπ' Ἀργείων καὶ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Ἰώνων,
τὰν δεκάταν νίκας εὔνεκα τῷ πολέμῳ.

That the recovered base preserved fragments of this inscription led Hitzig-Blümner to hold that ἐπὶ τῇ ἀσπίδι did not mean an inscription in fact "on the shield" but "an der Basis." To confirm such a use of the preposition they adduce *e.g.*, Paus. 6.10.7. Certainty is impossible; but the existence of two inscriptions (on gold and stone) is at least defensible.

The two greatest cities of old Greece had dedicated gold shields at the two most famous shrines of Hellas. These offerings were the models for the Selinuntines. They were victorious and at their largest temple proudly dedicated a (colossal?) gold shield of sixty talents. A possibility of influence from Carthaginian practice is worth noting. Pliny Maior (*HN* 35.14) remarks: "Poeni ex auro factitavere et clupeos et imagines secumque vexere," and adds that L. Marcius in 212–11 captured that of Hasdrubal "isque clupeus supra fores Capitolinae aedis usque ad incendium primum fuit." Professor M. Smith further compares *I Kings* 10.17 where for his temple Solomon made "three hundred shields of beaten (ἐλατὰ) gold; three pounds (μναί) of gold went to one shield."¹⁴

¹⁴ Professor J. Frank Gilliam draws my attention to a famous Roman parallel. The Senate voted a gold shield to Augustus (apparently the weight is not given): see Aug., *RG* 34.6.16–21 (pp. 158ff Hardy). The shield was inscribed. The shield and its inscription are confirmed by Dessau 82 (*cf.* 83). The shield is depicted on the marble altar at Carthage

There remains a final detail. Did the shield bear "images of the gods in relief" (Tod, p. 73)? Hulot-Fougères, Dittenberger³, and Tod presumably would reply affirmatively. They were, of course, writing not of a shield but a plaque. Analogy can defend such a view. The golden Tanagra shield at Olympia bore Medusa's head in relief (Paus. 5.10.4). One may compare too Alkibiades' golden shield on which was embossed Eros with a thunderbolt (Plu. *Alc.* 16.1). The decree, however, authorizes only the forging (of the shield) and the setting of the names into the golden votive offering. When the decree is so careful with its four separate provisions, it seems odd that specific mention would not be made for embossing the gods in relief. The command, if it existed, would have to be implied in ἐλάσαντας. Then too there would be the difficulty, already remarked, of representing "the rest of the gods" pictorially. Phobos would be no problem. He had already appeared as the shield device of Agamemnon on the chest of Kypselos, where he was depicted with a lion's head (Paus. 5.19.4). Rather, as with the extant example of the Pylos shield, only an inscription was put onto it.

In conclusion, the language of the decree, supported by analogy, suggests that the votive offering most likely was a golden shield, perhaps colossal, on which the names of the ten deities of the Zeus-Song were pecked, probably in the dative case. The decree does not indicate that pictorial representations of the deities were embossed on the shield.

Value

"And (they have decided) that the gold-object be of sixty talents." If one could determine how many pounds of gold would have been contained in these sixty talents, one would know the approximate possible dimensions of the shield. There would be some inaccuracy, of course, depending upon the percentage of adulterant (*e.g.*, copper or silver) but the physical fact that one pound of pure gold fills 1.44 cubic inches would provide at least a reasonable guide to the dimensions.

After about the middle of the sixth century, when the Dorian

(see M. Rostovtzeff, *SEHRE* I² [Oxford 1957] 43, pl. VI facing p. 44) and on coins (see C. H. V. Sutherland, *Coinage in Roman Imperial Policy* 31 B.C.–A.D. 68 [London 1951] plate III, Nos. 11, 12, 13; *cf.* p. 37.1).

colonies began their coinage, the Euboic-Attic standard "was soon universally accepted throughout the island [sc. Sicily]" (Head, *HN*², p. 115). Of Selinus particularly C. T. Seltman (*Greek Coins*² [London 1955] 72-73) remarks: "... Selinus, though of Megarian extraction, adopted the system of Megara's rivals, Athens and Corinth, the Euboic-Attic standard, and struck didrachms of 8.5 g. ...". Selinus never struck gold coins but used an exclusively silver standard, except for one known bronze issue. Between 466 and the destruction in 409 various denominations were struck, especially tetradrachms and didrachms (Head, *HN*², pp. 167-69; Seltman, pp. 129-30).

The crux of the matter of value is the precise meaning of "talent." Indeed in a sense this is the fundamental problem of the inscription. The word "talent" in this decree may refer to any of at least three different amounts of gold. The value and hence the dimensions of the votive depend directly on the choice made. Further (as will be discussed in chapter 7), the historical occasion is closely connected with the value of the offering. For the purposes of discussion we may distinguish the three talents as the "Mattingly talent," "The Evans talent," and the "Euboic-Attic talent." They will be discussed in that order. It must be admitted at the start that with the present state of the evidence, numismatic and lexicographic, no convincing, objective solution is possible. The three alternatives will, however, be presented with such arguments from probability as are relevant. Oddly, no previous editor has sought to specify the meaning of "talent" or even noted a problem (but cf. Schubring, 102-3).

Mattingly talents would provide the smallest amount of gold. Mattingly would allow 8.5 grams per gold talent. For the sixty talents there would be a total of 510 grams. H. Mattingly (after Hultsch) has recently argued the existence of this small Sicilian talent in "The 'Little' Talents of Sicily and the West," *The Numismatic Chronicle* ns 6, 3 (1943) 14-20, where he establishes the "Sicilian Talent" (p. 16) thus:

"1 talent (= gold didrachm) = 12 nomoi (silver didrachms) = 120 litrae (bronze pounds)."

A silver didrachm equals an Attic didrachm, which equals a Corinthian tridrachm. Mattingly argues from notices in the lexicographers, from later Roman imitations, and from the "crown of Damarete" (see D.S. 11.26.3). The interpretation of this latter passage is highly

dubious. There is no need that στεφανωθείσα there refer literally to a crown. The verb more probably means "crown as an honour or reward" see *LSJ*, s.v. στεφανώω π.2. Seventeen examples of the famous Demareteion of 480 have survived (see W. Schwabacher, *Das Demareteion* [Bremen 1958] 25). They require a larger original issue than would have been supplied by 850 grams of gold.

A. J. Evans (*The Numismatic Chronicle*, ns 3, 11 [1891] 326ff) argued a larger value for the small talent chiefly because of the difficulties implied by an 850-gram crown of Damarete. He suggested (pp. 328-29) "that the talents referred to by Diodorus were Sicilian gold talents representing 120 gold litras, just as the Sicilian silver talent represented 120 litras of silver." Evans, therefore, postulates 24 grams per gold talent. If the sixty talents of the inscription are Evans talents, there is a total of 1440 grams of gold in the votive offering. It is noteworthy that sixty Evans talents would produce a shield rather close to Solomon's (I Kings 10.17). He made 300 of beaten gold of three mnai each. The mna would have been between 500 and 600 grams (see K. Galling, *Bibl. Reallexikon*, Hand. ζ. Alten Test. 1.1 [Tübingen 1937] s.v. Gewicht, pp. 185ff), and so each shield 1500-1800 grams. I am indebted to Professor M. Smith for these latter two references.

The third possibility is an Euboic-Attic talent. This weighed ca 57.5 pounds. This is the weight of a silver talent.¹⁵ The weight of a gold talent was the same. Its value was far more. In 438/7 in Athens gold stood at 1 to 14 of silver (see Gomme on Th. 2.13.5 [II, p. 25]). At such a standard the Selinuntine gold offering would be worth 840 talents (of silver). The weight of sixty talents of gold at 57.5 pounds per talent would equal 3450 pounds. This would yield a volume of 4968 cubic inches which might be in the form, e.g., of a tablet 6 feet by 4 feet and 1½ inches thick. A round shield with a radius of 4 feet would be only 0.687 inches thick.

On a shield of such thickness the pecked inscription would not be punctures but indentations picked out on the surface. For the technique M. Smith cites the backgrounds of G. Beccati, *Oreficerie antiche* (Rome 1955) nos. 282, 315, 445 a-b. The suggested dimension would provide an explanation for the extraordinary position of the inscription. It was on a block that was part of the fourth course of stones

¹⁵ Schubring (pp. 102-3) suggests that 60 Euboic-Attic silver talents worth of gold may be meant. At a 1 to 14 ratio this would yield ca 246 pounds of gold, a welcome figure. But surely silver would have been specified in the text; and Schubring does not parallel the measuring of gold in silver talents.

and was 2.40 m. (just over 8 feet) from the temple floor (see Benndorf, *Metopen*, p. 27; Hulot-Fougères, p. 101). This was well above Greek eye level. The size of the lettering compensates in part for the height. The obvious deduction is that the inscription was set high because something was underneath it. This would be the gold votive. If the votive was a round shield, a radius of four feet would fit the space neatly. One wonders whether traces of the attachment survived. Cavallari and Schubring (see Ziegler, 1300 n.) thought that they had found "in einem Einschnitt der äusseren Adytonwand" the place where the gold votive was fastened. C. H. Kahn in June 1962 could recognize no traces; and Cavallari and Schubring do not indicate the position of the cutting in respect to the original location of the inscription.

One may speculate on the source of sixty such gold talents. They would represent a great sum. The gold on the Athene Parthenos weighed 44 talents (Philochoros, *FGrHist* 328F121). Admittedly Selinus was a city of considerable wealth (Freeman, *HistSic* II, pp. 407–10; Dunbabin, *Western Greeks*, p. 305); and the Selinuntines were accustomed to store their wealth in temples (Freeman, *ibid.*, p. 408 with n.4, where read D.S. 13.57). Even so the offering is remarkable. This was the memorial for a great victory. The gold would naturally have been drawn from the booty of a battle. Normally such a votive offering would be a tithe of the booty (Rouse, p. 103). Six hundred gold talents, however, is too large to imagine as the proceeds of any single battle. More reasonably the occasion was a desperate one, a life or death struggle. The Selinuntines were victorious and with deep gratitude dedicated far more than the usual tithe to their gods. Compare Gelon after Himera (D.S. 11.26.7), who from the spoils built "noteworthy temples" (at Syracuse?) to Demeter and Kore, sent a golden tripod of sixteen talents to Delphi, and purposed to build a temple to Demeter at Aetna but died before he could carry out his plan. Such expenses certainly entailed more than a tithe. The proceeds of a battle would not come entirely from the sale of captured booty. A large part would be provided by ransoms and even indemnity (e.g., the 2000 silver talents after Himera, D.S. 11.26.2). We may imagine such sources for the Selinuntine figure. Professor M. Smith adds: "Moreover, the decorations of the temple were the city's gold reserve, a backlog for war and other emergencies. This large dedication, then, is not only piety but fiscal policy. A great war-chest

is set aside and the city's credit abroad therefore strengthened. The importance of such reserves to foreign policy was conspicuously illustrated by the near-by case of Segesta." A remark of F. E. Adcock (*The Greek and Macedonian Art of War* [Berkeley 1962] 68) is pertinent. "In estimating the effect of finance upon strategy we have to remember that war in antiquity, so far as it was a business, was a ready-money business. Rulers did not possess the Fortunatus Purse of a national debt, which enables modern states to spend today the wealth they may possess tomorrow."

There is a final difficulty with the Mattingly and Evans talents which thereby favors the larger size. A solid gold offering, either 510 or 1440 grams, unless it were paper thin, would be of extremely small size. The shield would have to be a gilded one and ἐν χρυσέῳ does not easily imply this.

Dating and Historical Occasion

Dating

EARLY EDITORS (Salinas, pp. 4-5; Sauppe, p. 617; Holm, p. 373) preferred the first half of the fifth century except for Ugdulena (see further below), who favored 416 B.C. For Benndorf see below. When they care to indicate, more recent editors regularly refer for dating to A. Kirchhoff, *Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen Alphabets*, ed.⁴ (Gütersloh 1887) 113-14. Thus, for example, Schwyzer and SIG³, and by implication Solmsen-Fraenkel ("Saec. V. medii."), Ziegler, 1271.10-11, and Busolt, *GrG* 1², p. 417 n.2, have accepted his view. Most recently Miss Jeffery (p. 271) writes: "The squarely-proportioned lettering suits well the date proposed, between the years 460 and 450." Dittenberger remarks further that Kirchhoff *has proved (demonstravit)* a mid-fifth century date. Surely this claim has done much to secure general acceptance of Kirchhoff's view. In fact Kirchhoff *proved* nothing. He simply stated dogmatically that the inscription is from "ungefähr der Mitte des fünften Jahrhunderts" (p. 113). He reasonably suggested a *terminus post quem*, Schwyzer 165g, the Selinuntine inscription from Olympia, *boustrophedon* and sixth century. Several local letter forms are next noticed but with no attempt at comparative dating. That is all.

In fact the case for a mid-fifth date was best put not by Kirchhoff but by Benndorf (*Metopen*, pp. 27-28). He observed (p. 28): "Die Buchstaben zeigen eine relativ fortgeschrittene Entwicklung des archaischen Typus." He draws attention to the rare ancient form of *beta* and the older form of stemless *upsilon*, while already the fifth century coinage of Selinus has the later Y (see Jeffery, p. 271). The "archaic" *beta* and *upsilon* (M, V) "können abhalten einem jüngeren Ursprung als die Mitte des fünften Jahrhunderts anzunehmen" (p. 28). This conclusion was accepted by Hulot-Fougères, p. 102. One may note too (so Jeffery, p. 271) that *qoppa* is gone.

But Benndorf's first point, retention of the archaic *beta*, loses much

of its force when one realizes that at that time this was the only *beta* preserved in published Selinuntine inscriptions. There is still no later orthodox *beta* to use for comparative purposes. In 1944-45 Ferri (p. 174) published a mutilated lead *defixio* (450?) with archaic *beta* (fig. 3, line 3). For all that we know, the Selinuntines may well have continued to use their archaic *beta* right down until the sack of 409. All that is left to Benndorf is the stemless *upsilon*, which contrasts with the stemmed *upsilon* of the HYΨΑΣ coin. This contrast is by no means cogent evidence toward dating. Benndorf never admits the possibility of the coexistence of both upsilons. Woodhead (*The Study of Greek Inscriptions*, p. 22) cautions on this subject: "Some overlap of usage must always be allowed for. This overlap may be as much as a quarter of a century." Inspection by Miss Margaret Thompson and the present author of the seven specimens of the Hypsas coin in the Hoyt Miller bequest at the American Numismatic Society revealed that on only two of the seven does *upsilon* definitely have a stem. On one other there is a possibility. Four specimens clearly have the archaic stemless *upsilon*. One can conclude only that on Hypsas coinage *upsilon* is in a state of transition (cf. late Gâbrici 14.5).

There are other coefficients of error. The inscription on the coin, intended for an international audience, may well have tended to prefer the modern *upsilon*, while a more conservative temple inscription retained the epichoric one. There is a parallel for such innovation of letter forms on coins in the case of the appearance of cursive *omega* at Athens in the early second century: see M. Thompson, *The New Style Silver Coinage of Athens, Text* (New York 1961), pp. 121, 122 with n.1. The date of the coin too is by no means certain. Head (*HN*², 167-68) lists it "Circ. B.C. 466-415." Certainly the retention of H as aspirate indicates resistance to Ionic influence. Finally, it is not impossible that the die with stemmed *upsilon* was either imported or made by a traveling (non-Selinuntine) diecutter. For peripatetic Sicilian diecutters compare the wanderings of Phrygillos and Euainetos (C. Seltman, *Masterpieces of Greek Coinage* [Bruno Cassirer, Oxford 1949], pp. 66-87).¹⁶ Cross-bar *theta* cannot be a criterion for an early dating of the inscription. It was retained until 409 (perhaps

¹⁶ Miss Margaret Thompson (to whom I owe this reference) cautions: "Seltman's arguments rest in some cases on somewhat shaky foundations. Style alone or the single letter would not convince all numismatists that the dies were cut by Phrygillos, but Phry at Thurium and Phrygillos at Syracuse would certainly seem to be the same man and the same is true of Euai at Syracuse, Catana, and Camarina."

even later): see Jeffery, p. 272. The loss of *qoppa* argues lateness, if anything. See Ferri, p. 169, fig. 2 (450?).¹⁷

In summary and before turning to historical matters, one may say that the Carthaginian sack of 409 provides the *terminus ante quem*. Together with the Olympian inscription, compared by Kirchhoff for a sixth century *terminus post quem*, one should notice Temple G itself. It is a fifth century building, only partly finished before the sack and then left permanently in ruins. In order to deposit within it an offering of gold, construction must have been considerably advanced. A roof, cella, gates that could be locked, all these would be needed if only to protect the offering from weather and thieves. A date well into the fifth century would be desiderated. Any between *ca* 460 and 409 would be possible on epigraphical or archaeological grounds. For precision one must attempt to establish an historical occasion.

The Historical Occasion

First, earlier views of the historical occasion will be discussed and criticized. They will be arranged by chronological order of imagined occasion. Finally, a new possibility will be defended. Ultimate certainty, however, is impossible.

W. H. D. Rouse (*Greek Votive Offerings*, p. 126) writes: "The oldest of many memorials of the great struggle between Carthaginian and Greek in Sicily, is an inscription of Selinus, which belongs to the middle of the sixth century." Such a date is untenable on epigraphical and archaeological grounds.

Wide approval has been accorded 454/3 B.C. (lately Santangelo-Railsback, p. 13). The text appealed to is D.S. 11.86.2, which in the edition of Vogel (Leipzig 1890) reads:

κατὰ δὲ τὴν Σικελίαν Ἐγεσταίοις καὶ Λιλυβαίταις ἐνέστη πόλεμος
περὶ χώρας τῆς πρὸς τῷ Μαζάρῳ ποταμῷ· γενομένης δὲ μάχης ἰσχυρᾶς
συνέβη πολλοὺς παρ' ἀμφοτέροις ἀναιρεθῆναι καὶ τῆς φιλοτιμίας μὴ
λῆξαι τὰς πόλεις.

¹⁷ I hesitate to press contrast with Ferri, p. 169 (figs. 1, 2) as a criterion for later dating of IG xiv 268. The *defixio* was written by a private person, not a skilled mason. Clearly it is less sophisticated. Letter forms are careless. Alpha may be barred, dotted, or bare; theta, barred or dotted. Letter shapes (especially gamma, nu, and sigma) are not consistent. There are omitted letters. Spacing and letter size show considerably more variation than IG xiv 268. See my edition and commentary in *Philologus*, forthcoming.

The only manuscript variants recorded by Vogel are minor orthographic ones. But clearly there is something amiss. Lilybaion, as Diodorus knows (22.10.4, cf. 13.54.4 and Dunbabin, *Western Greeks*, p. 328) was not founded until 397. Either there has been a scribal blunder, or Diodorus refers to Motya by its later name (e.g., Freeman, *HistSic* II, p. 551 after Wesseling and Benndorf, p. 28). The proved flaw has encouraged others to seek deeper corruption. The manuscripts omit Selinus. The deficiency has been variously remedied. There is a bibliography at Busolt, III.1, p. 521 n.2. Schubring, *NKGW* (1865) 424, changes Ἐγεσταίοις to Σελινουντίοις, and is approved by Holm. Benndorf (*Metopen*, p. 28) rather changes Λιλυβαίταις (Λιλυβαίοις) to Σελινουντίοις, a suggestion approved hesitantly by Farnell, *Hero Cults*, p. 147 with n. a. In fact, this emendation had already been implied by George Grote (*History of Greece* 5 [1888] 541 n.1, sc. Part II, chap. 57), who remarks in a footnote: "The war which he mentions as having taken place some years before between Egesta and Selinus." The critical apparatus of Vogel should be corrected accordingly. Unger (cited by Vogel *ad loc.*) and U. Köhler, *AM* 4 (1879) 30ff, change Λιλυβαίοις to Ἀλικυαίοις. Finally, Beloch, *Hermes* 28 (1893) 630ff, adds πρὸς Σελινουντίους after πόλεμος in the text of Unger-Köhler. This latter action is approved by Busolt, III.1, p. 521 n.2; Hackforth, *CAH* 5.159; Tod, I², p. 57; and Ziegler, 1271.57ff. *C'est magnifique mais ce n'est pas la philologie!*

Thus, to elaborate Freeman (*loc.cit.*), as far as Diodorus and his improvers go, we have to choose between a war between Segesta and Motya, a war between Selinus and Segesta, a war between Selinus and Motya, a war between Segesta and Halikyai, a war with Segesta and Motya against Selinus, or finally a war with Segesta and Halikyai against Selinus. The conflicting views before Beloch (who simply multiplies the confusion) are presented and wisely criticized by Freeman (*HistSic* II, pp. 549–57). No convincing solution is possible on the basis of Diodorus' text. The very variety of emendations offered imposes skepticism. Scholars (on inadequate grounds) have made the *a priori* assumption that the inscription is mid-fifth. They then have sought a mid-fifth battle in western Sicily. D.S. 11.86 was to hand and critics did not scruple to make it fit. An imagined battle with Selinus in 454/3 is a desperate remedy. A battle that netted Selinus sixty gold talents would surely have been specifically recorded by Diodorus.

IG Γ^2 19 (Tod Γ^2 31), the alliance of Athens and Segesta, certainly 454/3 B.C. (lately: Pritchett, *CP* 47 [1952] 263), is often connected with the struggle supposedly against Selinus (see Freeman, *HistSic* II, pp. 553–55; Tod Γ^2 , p. 57). If Köhler's *ἡαλι]κυαίοις* is right at IG Γ^2 20.6 (453/2?) and Unger-Köhler's tampering at D.S. 11.86.2, there were hostilities involving Segesta and Halikyai probably in 454/3, but against Selinus only with Beloch's dubious supplement to Diodorus. There are only the most tenuous grounds, therefore, to connect Selinus with a struggle against Segesta (or other states) in western Sicily ca 450. There are no grounds, apart from assertion or convenience, to connect IG xiv 268 with D.S. 11.86.2 and/or IG Γ^2 19 and 20. Indeed (aside from the absence of Selinus from the ancient sources) there are two reasons against any Selinuntine connection. Diodorus explicitly says (Oldfather's translation): "In a sharp battle which ensued both cities lost heavily but did not slacken their rivalry." He denies victory to either side. IG xiv 268, on the other hand, indubitably claims victory for Selinus and could not refer to Diodorus' indecisive engagement. The desperate assumption that Diodorus has omitted notice of a later Selinuntine victory is just that. Further, a border engagement with Segesta or Halikyai (or even Motya) would never have yielded sixty talents of gold. Halikyai was inconsequential. Segesta in 415 supplied only ninety talents (of silver?) to her Athenian allies (Th. 6.8.1; 62.4) and earlier had resorted to fraud (Th. 6.8.2; 46.3: for such frauds cf. Hdt. 3.123.2, Nepos 23.9).

Ugdulena (p. 203) on epigraphical grounds dated the inscription to the last half of the fifth century. "Per la nitidezza ed eleganza paleografica questa scritta appartiene senza dubbio al più bel tempo dell'epigrafia greca, cioè alla seconda metà del sec. V avanti l'era volgare." He connected (p. 206) the stone with D.S. 12.82.3–7 and Th. 6.6.2, the Selinuntine defeat of the Segestans in 416 B.C. (for details see Freeman, *HistSic* III, pp. 81–85). This was the defeat that caused Segesta, after vainly seeking alliances with Akragas, Syracuse (which in fact and reasonably aided Dorian Selinus), and Carthage, to turn to Athens "for some alliance overseas" (D.S. 12.82.7).

Ugdulena's procedure is sensible. Here Diodorus actually mentions a Selinuntine victory. C. H. Oldfather translates the relevant passage (12.82.3–6) as follows:

"About the same time [416 B.C.] in Sicily war broke out between the Egestaeans and the Selinuntians from a difference over territory,

where a river divided the lands of the quarrelling cities. The Selinuntians, crossing the stream, at first seized by force the land along the river, but later they cut off for their own a large piece of the adjoining territory, utterly disregarding the rights of the injured parties. The people of Egesta, aroused to anger, at first endeavoured to persuade them by verbal arguments not to trespass on the territory of another city; however, when no one paid any attention to them, they advanced with an army against those who held the territory, expelled them all from their fields, and themselves seized the land. Since the quarrel between the two cities had become serious, the two parties, having mustered soldiers, sought to bring about the decision by recourse to arms. Consequently, when both forces were drawn up in battle-order, a fierce battle took place in which the Selinuntians were the victors, having slain not a few Egestaeans."

Although 416 is late enough for Temple G to have been sufficiently completed to house an offering safely, there is still the difficulty of sixty talents of gold. Segesta was not sacked. There is no mention of plunder, captives, or ransoms. Selinus fought to secure land that lay in Segestan territory across the Mazaros. The land was the prize. There was apparently no intent to invest and plunder Segesta. Possibly some indemnity was exacted (none is mentioned). But the Elymite town could never have afforded sixty talents of gold. Ugdulena's suggestion, therefore, must be discarded.

One queries: What would have been possible sources for the sixty talents? Himera certainly. But Selinus was on the defeated side, although perhaps not willingly (see Freeman, *HistSic* II, p. 211). The only other possible source for so great a sum would be the defeat of Nicias and the Athenians in 413. This possibility must be seriously considered. Its relevance may be defended on several counts. Temple G would have been almost as complete as it was ever to be and would provide a safe repository for so rich an offering. The dedication of a gold shield would be especially appropriate in the case of an Athenian defeat; for it would parallel the gold Lacedaemonian shield at Olympia commemorating the Athenian defeat at Tanagra.

Sixty talents of gold imply extraordinary gratitude. It is a big offering in the biggest temple. There is nothing else like it in Selinus. It commemorates no border skirmish, but a life and death struggle. The city had barely escaped destruction or enslavement. Rather than

the normal tithe, all the booty (rounded off to the nearest talent) was dedicated: just so Gelon after Himera. Except for Hannibal in 409, the Athenian threat alone, after *ca* 460, provides adequate occasion for such peril.

Would the Athenian defeat have netted Selinus sixty talents of gold (*sc.* at the least 600 Attic silver talents)? One must demonstrate that the Selinuntine share in the victory was sufficient to merit such great bounty and further that the Athenian expedition was rich enough to yield such spoils. The sixty talents were only Selinus' share. Syracuse would have deserved more; and there were other Syracusan allies (Freeman, *HistSic* III, pp. 338–39).

The details of Selinus' activities have been collected elsewhere (*e.g.*, Ziegler, 1273.37ff) and require no repetition here. Nicias in his second speech to the Athenian *ekklēsia* specifies Selinus and Syracuse as the two powerful and rich Sicilian foes. They are the only two cities of his seven that he mentions by name, and he mentions Selinus first (Th. 6.20.3–4). Nicias later urged that his ships sail against Selinus (Th. 6.47) and indeed subsequently did sail toward the city, although there was no engagement (Th. 6.62.1). On their part the Selinuntines early came to the aid of Syracuse (Th. 6.65.1) and were in fact their chief source of reinforcement (Th. 6.67.2). They later contributed "some light-armed troops and horsemen" under Gylippus (Th. 7.1.5). In short, Selinus was second only to Syracuse in resisting the Athenians.

How much gold would the defeated Athenians have yielded? There are no precise figures. The cost of the Athenian Expedition, however, has been recently calculated by Meritt, Wade-Gery, and McGregor (*The Athenian Tribute Lists*, III [Princeton 1950] 356–57 with *nn.*). Three thousand talents were first voted in 416/5 (IG I² 99.28, *cf.* Th. 6.31.5). There was a loan of 300 talents in 415/4 (Th. 6.94.4) and of 120 talents in the winter of 414/3 (Th. 7.16.2). Finally, there was a last grant to Demosthenes in 413 (see *ATL*, III, p. 357 n.43). As well the Athenians collected what they could in Sicily. The contributions from Segesta have already been noted. The sale of the captives from Hykkara yielded 120 talents (Th. 6.62.4). There was other plundering. In short, this was the greatest single extraordinary financial venture of the Empire. Of the first sum, much would have been spent in Athens before departure of the expedition. The later sums were specifically sent to Sicily. One may recall too that in addition to state

funds Thucydides tells us (6.31.5) that privately many talents were taken from the city. He later gives us vivid descriptions of war prisoners filling their captors' shields with coins (7.82.3). A part of this (one can not be more precise) clearly fell into Selinuntine hands. Then too there were prisoners. Not all reached the quarries (for details see Freeman, *HistSic* III, pp. 716–19). Of those that did the allies were sold. But at Assinaros many fell into private hands. Sicily was full of those who were embezzled (Th. 7.85.3). Classen-Steup *ad loc.* (after Böhme) are more precise. One thousand prisoners were taken for the commonwealth. There would finally be 7000 in all at Syracuse. Eight days before Assinaros, there were 40,000 (Th. 7.75.5). While admitting many casualties, one may still safely assume that several thousands fell into private hands, not least Selinuntine hands. Such would have been carried off to Selinus and sold into slavery or—more remuneratively—ransomed. One cannot determine the rate of ransom. In 507, however, the Athenians freed their Boeotian and Chalcidian prisoners at two *mnai* apiece (Hdt. 5.77), that is, thirty men for a talent. With a tenth of the proceeds a bronze four-horse chariot was dedicated on the acropolis. Evidence for Sicilian practice is late. After the capture of Rhegium in 386, Dionysius I of Syracuse required the city to "pay him the expenses of the war and three *mnai* for each person besides" and then he would release them (Aristotle [?] *Oec.* II. 1349b18ff): see B. A. van Groningen, *Aristote: Le Second Livre de l'Économique* (Leiden 1933) 135–36. The Selinuntine rate may have been higher. Corinth released the 250 Corcyraeans taken at Epidamnus for 800 talents (*ca* 80 gold talents) apparently pledged by their *proxeni* (Th. 3.70.1, where Gomme well remarks: "Although this was only a story, it had to be a credible one, or it would serve no purpose"). In 413 Nicias suggested (Th. 7.83.2) on behalf of the Athenians to repay Syracuse the cost of the war, leaving Athenians as hostages at the rate of one man per talent. There were higher ransoms in the fourth century (see Busolt-Swoboda, 1261 n.8). In short, any Athenian prisoners at Selinus represented a sizable source of income. There is no evidence, however, for the specific figure.

We are not told the fate of booty taken by the commonwealth. After Himera Gelon divided his spoil among the allies (D.S. 11.25.1) "apportioning it in accordance with the number who had served with him" (Oldfather). It would seem reasonable that the later government would have done similarly. We know that with their share of

the booty, or a part of it, the Syracusans erected a treasury at Delphi (Paus. 10.11.5). If the present inscription dates to 413, such would be the sources of sixty talents of gold. The sum may still seem too large. However, there is no more reasonable source available.

In conclusion, at present there is not sufficient evidence to specify cogently the historical occasion of IG xiv 268. If "talent" in the inscription means *a talent's weight of gold*, Selinus' victory over Athens in 413 is the only known fifth century occasion that could have provided the city with so great a sum. If "talent" means *a monetary unit of ca 8.5 grams of gold or of 24 grams of gold*, the sum becomes inconsequential and the occasion may well have been insignificant and otherwise unrecorded. In this latter case, any date between ca 460 and 409 would be possible, with surely a preference for the later years.

Summary

THE DISCOVERY and physical description of the stone are first presented. All known editions and relevant bibliography are gathered. On the basis of a squeeze, photographs, and the drawing in the *editio princeps*, the preserved text is established and accompanied by a detailed epigraphical commentary. A text with maximal restorations is next established and the sources of all the restorations are indicated. Spatial considerations are shown to rule out certain of the commonly accepted restorations.

The first half of the inscription is shown certainly to be metrical. The metrical scheme is presented with supporting commentary. An exegetical commentary and translation are provided for the *Zeus-Song*. Next a commentary and translation seek to specify for the first time the exact meaning of the second half of the inscription, *the decree*. It is then demonstrated that the offering probably was in the form of a large gold shield. The shield was probably made from sixty talents' weight of gold, although this is not certain.

The dating of the stone on epigraphical and archaeological grounds can be no more specific than 460–409 B.C. If the sixty talents are in fact sixty talents' weight of gold, the historical occasion for the stone is the defeat of the Athenians under Nicias in 413. Otherwise the occasion cannot with the extant evidence be specified.

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