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Networks, Hegemony, and Multipolarity in the Hellenistic Cyclades

Tully, John Antony Neves Zuzarte

Princeton, NJ : Princeton University

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NETWORKS, HEGEMONY, AND MULTIPOLARITY IN THE HELLENISTIC CYCLADES

Volume 1

John Antony Neves Zuzarte Tully

A DISSERTATION

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OF PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

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ABSTRACT

The connected studies in this dissertation draw on insights from network theory and international relations theory to reframe our economic, social, and political narratives of the Cyclades in the Hellenistic period. First, it synthesises recent work on the Hellenistic coinages of the islands, including the first study of the coinage of Paros, to identify previously unrecognised sub-regional island numismatic networks. Second, study of the proxeny network in the Cyclades confirms the historical validity of the Cyclades as a unit at this time, and demonstrates the systemic centrality of Delos to communication both inside and across the Hellenistic Cyclades. Third, it reconceptualises the sanctuary of Delos as a locus of socially embedded competitive display, and argues that dedications were required for patrons to maintain their relevance, but rarely, if ever, could grant primacy. Finally, a reanalysis of Rhodian activity in the Hellenistic Cyclades presents Rhodes as one of several contemporaneously active competing powers, rather than one of a succession of uncontested hegemons. Each study individually allows more space for islander agency, regional complexity, and the diversity of the island experience than has previously been common. Cumulatively, the result is a richer pattern of narratives which are more consistent with our current understanding of the environmental constraints inherent in Cycladic life; which are embedded in the varying regional and sub-regional economic and social structures here identified; and which allow for more diverse diachronic engagement by a range of internal and external powers.

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Abbreviations and other conventions

All abbreviations used in the bibliography follow those recommended by the *American Journal of Archaeology* 104 (2000), and also available at time of writing at http://www.ajaonline.org/submissions/abbreviations. Epigraphic abbreviations used in the text follow the conventions established by the *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* (see *SEG* Index 36-45 [1986-1995] 677–688), with the sole exception that *ID*, not *IDélos*, refers to *Inscriptions de Délos*. A list of numismatic abbreviations used in the text and catalogue is printed at 665–673. All other works are cited by author-date and included in the bibliography. Commonly used abbreviations include:

BE	*Bulletin épigraphique*, included in the *Revue des études grecques*. Fourteen volumes collect the issues from 1938 to 2001.
Durrbach, *Choix*	Durrbach, F, *Choix d'inscriptions de Délos* (Paris, 1921–1923).
GD	Bruneau, P and Ducat, J, *Guide de Délos* (4th edn; Athens, 2005).
ID	*Inscriptions de Délos* (Paris, 1926–).
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae* (Berlin, 1873–).
IGCH	*An inventory of Greek coin hoards* (New York, 1973).
SEG	*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* (Amsterdam, 1923–)

For speed and ease of use, epigraphic and numismatic references commonly include both page and reference numbers, in that order, except for references to *CoinH*, *FDelphes, ICr, ID*, *IG*, *IGCH*, *IGSK*, *ILindos, IMagnesia, IOropos, OGIS, SDGI, SEG*, *SupplEpigrRh* I, *Syll*^{3}, and *Tit Cam*.

All dates are BC unless otherwise stated.

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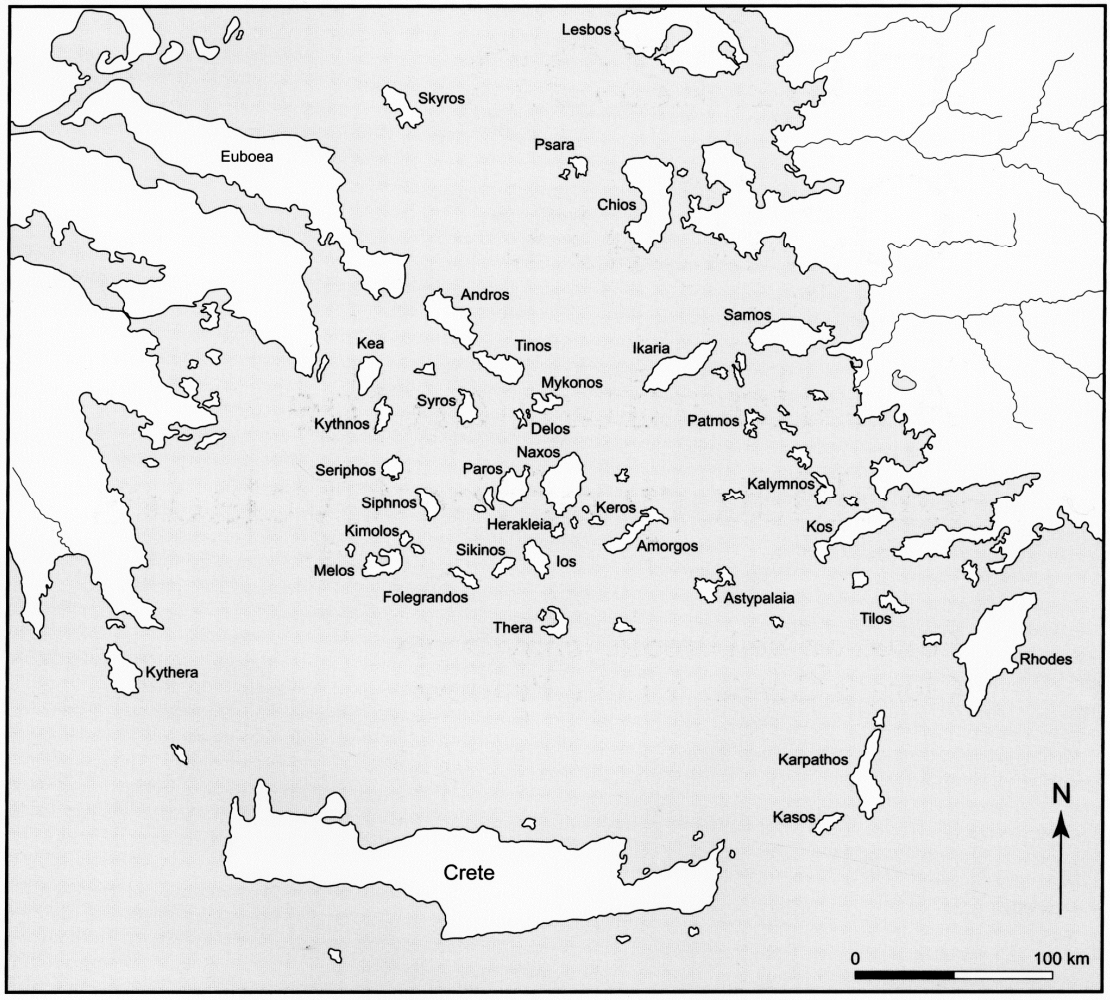

Map 1. The Cyclades and the Aegean[1]

[1] Map from Brodie, et al 2008, ii.

Introduction

This dissertation approaches the Cyclades as a region. It emphasises the importance of regional and sub-regional structures that have not previously been recognised, and so enables a broader reassessment of the varying relationships between the various Cycladic islands themselves, and between the islanders and the rest of the Greek world. The wider range of evidence adduced here suggests that the Cyclades formed a more diverse and internally resilient region in the Hellenistic period than the current emphasis on unified hegemonic structures and on external actors as prime movers allows.

The focus on the Hellenistic period is not a matter of principle: it instead arises from the questions that are being asked, and the availability of evidence. Where the available evidence extends beyond the Hellenistic period, the chronological range does expand as seems necessary properly to contextualise and to answer the questions posed. For example, the discussion of the politics of space on Delos in the Hellenistic period starts by establishing the relevance of those politics to the archaic and classical sanctuary. It thus demonstrates that the Hellenistic practice for which we have the most evidence and on which we concentrate was, at least in some respects, a continuation of a pre-existing norm.

Nevertheless, the core is Hellenistic because of the chronological and practical constraints on the range of evidence involved. The focus is largely epigraphic and numismatic, and the apogee of production for both inscriptions and coins in the

Cyclades was the Hellenistic period. By the imperial period, epigraphic activity had reduced; similarly, numismatic activity was limited in the imperial period to isolated issues, such as that by the Parians under Marcus Aurelius. In both areas, moreover, there is still a significant body of material that has not been fully evaluated. Conversely, literary evidence is always thin for this area, and, in keeping with its importance in our current historical narratives, it is, like those narratives, externally focussed. For different reasons, ceramic material also unfortunately plays a reduced role: local ceramics seem to be much less distinctive at this period than at other times, and the dearth of publications means that they are also generally not available for the sort of synthetic comparative analysis attempted here. This situation will hopefully change with continued study, but may well take some time: a recent dissertation which reviewed the material available in regional museums found it to be thin[2].

The ability to combine the complementary perspectives that these different sources offer is central to the reanalysis this project attempts. The point is not, however, to produce a history over the *longue durée*; to reassess the geographical constraints of the islands; or somehow to validate the experience of the islanders. Instead, it seeks to reframe the historical narrative of this area: to investigate how far an investigation that takes the Cycladic islands as its primary area of study, and that incorporates and analyses afresh the evidence from diverse and necessarily incomplete data sets, can illuminate the history of the region and the individual islands in new ways; can provide new explanations for the diverse development visible in the region; and can

[2] Raptopoulos 2010.

connect our divergent economic, social, and political narratives. In these respects, if in no other, this project differs markedly from previous studies.

In this introduction, we briefly situate our project. We first analyse ancient and modern approaches to the Cyclades as a region. We demonstrate how superficial consensus about the existence of the Cyclades masks important disagreement about the extent of the region, and we situate this tension both historically and geographically. We then outline a paradox in current scholarship: where islands and island regions, including the Cyclades, have traditionally been seen as 'insular', more recent approaches have emphasised their potential greater dynamism, and so have radically changed our understanding of the Aegean environment in antiquity, including of individual Cycladic islands. Nevertheless, this shift has yet to affect our historical perspective towards these same islands: we continue to structure our approach to Cycladic life around the rare episodes of external intervention which survive; and to insist on the ineluctable verticality of the semi-permanent unipolar hegemonic relationships in which we involve the Cycladic islanders on the basis of these sources. Finally, we outline how our study with its bi-partite structure enables us to reconcile the current tension between what might be termed our geological and historical perspectives through four successive and complementary regional case-studies.

The Cyclades as a region

'Cyclades' and 'Cycladic' here refer to the islands of the central Aegean stretching between Anaphe and Andros, between Melos and Amorgos. These islands are only some of the many islands scattered across the broader Aegean sea. Both geographically and historically, however, they have a certain unity.

The geographical affinity is clear: the islands form a cluster with, in relative terms, much wider distances separating the Cyclades from Crete to the south, from the Peloponnese to the west, and from other islands the other side of a broad channel to the north-west which runs from Tenos to Astypalaea. By contrast, the islands in the northern and in the eastern Aegean are both individually isolated from the central Aegean islands and from each other, being connected only in a sequence.

Map 2. The Cyclades

This measurement of distance is, of course, relative: Icaria to the east is much nearer Myconos than Melos is, and Ceos is much nearer Attica than it is almost any other Cycladic island. Nevertheless, there is a certain geographical logic to isolating

these islands as a cluster in the middle of the Aegean sea[3]. This geographical logic is, for example, reflected in the prehistoric archaeological record, where the Cycladic islands form a distinct unit of study: a range of indicators from the Grotta-Pelos and Keros-Syros cultures points to the unity and distinctiveness of the Cyclades within the broader region[4]. It is also implicit in the Athenian tribute lists, where Thasos was a member of the Thracian district; Samothrace formed part of the Hellespontine district; and Chios, Samos and other east Aegean islands formed part of the Carian district. There was an 'island group', but none of these other islands was part of it; the Cycladic members of the Athenian empire were[5].

This broad understanding of the Cyclades is preferred in prehistoric scholarship, in keeping with the discussion above. It is also common in modern diplomatic and casual parlance: these islands form the area that, until 2011, was covered by the νομός Κυκλάδων, one of the fifty-one regional administrative divisions of the modern Greek state; and travel brochures routinely refer to, for example, Santorini as one of the best known or most beautiful of the Cycladic islands. Finally, it also seems to underlie our fifth-century literary sources. Thucydides is here most explicit: he refers to the Cyclades broadly as the islands between Crete and the Peloponnese, and states that all of the Cyclades except Thera and Melos were numbered among Athens' allies at the

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3 See Broodbank 2000, 75 for a graphical representation with isobars illustrating the distance between different Cycladic islands. For discussion of the currents and winds of the Aegean in the modern era, see Heikell 1992, especially 23 for a chart of the prevailing anti-clockwise current in the Aegean, and 221–222 for discussion of the prevailing winds, including the *meltemi*, which blows from the north-east in the northern Cyclades, curving round to the north-west in the southern Cyclades.

4 Renfrew 1972, especially the maps on 165, 168, 182, and 192.

5 Meiggs 1972; Imbros and Lemnos also formed part of the island region, plausibly because of the presence of Athenian Cleruchies there.

start of the Peloponnesian war[6]. In keeping with this description, Herodotus states that none of the Cyclades was yet subject to the Persians in a context which implicitly contrasts the Cyclades with those islands nearer the coast of Asia Minor, such as Samos, which did in some form recognise Persian suzerainty; while Euripides treats the island cities of the Cyclades and the cities along the shore of Europe and Asia as mutually exclusive and exhaustive groups[7]. Herodotus and Euripides are strictly not inconsistent with a narrower vision of the Cyclades, but there would be no reason from our fifth-century evidence to argue for a different concept of the Cyclades than the one identified above. So self-evident is this perspective, moreover, that some modern studies of the Cyclades perhaps justifiably feel no need to define their frame of reference[8].

This apparent unanimity would be sufficient justification for the choice of the Cyclades as a focus of this study: it raises the question how far this unanimity is reflected in the evidence to be adduced here. The underlying complexity that even a brief closer analysis of the archaeological and literary evidence reveals, however, provides still more stimulus. Thus, the Grotta-Pelos and Keros-Syros cultures are not

---

6 Thucydides 2.9.4: νῆσοι ὅσαι ἐντὸς Πελοποννήσου καὶ Κρήτης πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα, πᾶσαι αἱ Κυκλάδες πλὴν Μήλου καὶ Θήρας.

7 Herodotus 5.30.6: τῶν γὰρ νήσων τουτέων τῶν Κυκλάδων οὐδεμία κω ἦν ὑπὸ Δαρείῳ.
Euripides *Ion* 1581–1587: οἱ τῶνδε δ' αὖ / παῖδες γενόμενοι σὺν χρόνῳ πεπρωμένῳ / Κυκλάδας ἐποικήσουσι νησαίας πόλεις / χέρσους τε παράλους, ὃ σθένος τὴμῇ χθονὶ / δίδωσιν: ἀντίπορθμα δ' ἠπείροιν δυοῖν / πεδία κατοικήσουσιν, Ἀσιάδος τε γῆς / Εὐρωπίας τε.

8 Including Renfrew 1972; Lanzillotta and Schilardi 1996; and Broodbank 2000, 68–70, which does briefly deconstruct the notion of the Cyclades, but considers the definition of the first millennium unproblematic. He sees Strabo as representing orthodoxy, even though he does recognise that Strabo's definition maps imperfectly with politico-ethnic divisions of the time. (Note that the map at 69 does not represent Strabo's Cyclades; it follows Strabo in excluding Gyaros, but disagrees with him in including Rhenaea; in keeping with the chronologically earlier focus of Broodbank's discussion, it also presents Paros, Prepesinthos/Despotiko and Oliaros/Antiparos as part of the single island of 'Greater Paros'. See further below 10)

unproblematic material unities. They are also not attested on all the Cycladic islands, but only on some, raising questions as to their distribution and development which scholarship of those earlier periods still seeks to answer[9].

As this brief example illustrates, we should not be constrained by visions of geographical inevitability. The islands may have clustered in the way outlined above, but they were not unreachable from the mainland in our period. The difference between the entirely insular Cycladic islands and the almost insular Attic peninsula is one of degree, rather than absolute; and, to the east, the islands of Kinaria, and Levitha form a second island bridge alongside Icaria to the Anatolian coast. It is true that earlier generations of prehistoric archaeologists were attracted to the Cyclades as a locus of study because they seemed to offer a different 'laboratory' environment than the islands of the Pacific ocean: as a reasonably dense cluster of islands enclosed effectively on all four sides by the Greek and Anatolian mainland and Crete. Now, however, the notion of islands as 'insular' laboratories that underlay such studies is widely questioned even for the study of island groups that are much less dense than the Cyclades, and for the study of periods where human mobility was far less than in the Hellenistic period[10].

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9 For one recent attempt to frame the development of the Cyclades at this earlier period: Broodbank 2000; and, more specifically on the Keros-Syros culture: Broodbank 1989. For a brief deconstruction of the Childean notion of archaeological culture which underlies such discussions and also much classical archaeology, see Cherry 1979, 32–37.

10 *Cf* the study of Maltese prehistory as a second mediterranean example of an island 'laboratory': Robb 2001; Malone and Stoddart 2004. For recent discussions arguing against the notion of islands as laboratories, as envisaged by Vayda and Rappaport 1963 and Evans 1973, but already inherent in Darwin's approach (on which, see Kuklick 1996), see Irwin 1992; Terrell, Hunt, and Gosden 1997.

For any period after the development of basic transport, islands and islanders, like specific areas of continents and their inhabitants, are insular not primarily because of geographical factors, but for political, social, and cultural reasons[11]. People create the size, shape and significance of the regions in which they live through their interactions with the human and natural landscapes around them, and each of those characteristics can change as our relationships with those human and natural landscapes change, whether because of human (political, social, cultural, religious, technological, and more), or natural (changes in the currents, winds, temperature, rainfall, food supply, and more) developments[12]. The very tenor of the debate over the shifting connectedness of different areas illustrates how neither the distinctiveness nor the unity of the Cyclades in their broadest sense or of any other area is a transhistorical necessity. A fresh approach to the Hellenistic Cyclades can offer new insight into the relevance of such notions of insularity, and into the unity of this island-group in this particular period[13].

This endeavour becomes all the more important when we consider our later literary sources from antiquity, and realise that these authors share a different vision of the

---

11 By extension, different types of insularity have been identified, both specifically for different island environments, such as by distinguishing between oceanic insularity and offshore insularity (Davis and Cherry 1979), and by extending the concept to cover land barriers also. For a recent brief survey of islands both natural and perceived: Broodbank 2000, 16–18, and, more generally, 6–27. For a cognitive approach, analysing the perception of insularity among the inhabitants of the 'dry island' of Ely: Barrowclough 2010.

12 For a recent overview of different approaches to the concept of the region which emphasises the relationship between human and natural factors, and the importance of scale, see now Agnew forthcoming, together with Amin 2004, and the twin articles Neumann 2009 and Neumann 2010; and Paasi 2002 and Paasi 2004.

13 For an revealing review of Cythera's changing diachronic prominence: Broodbank, Bennet, and Davis 2004.

Cyclades than the approach we identified in Herodotus, Thucydides, and Euripides[14]. Strabo, Pomponius Mela, Pliny, and Dionysius, son of Calliphon, all explicitly contrast the Cyclades which *encircle* Delos with the Sporades which are *scattered*, while Hyginus and Ptolemy do not explicitly mention the Sporades, but share the other authors' more restricted approach to the Cyclades[15]. Dyer long ago suggested that

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[14] For an alternative discussion of literary descriptions which largely complements the analysis here, and which also illustrates how the conceptual approaches of a range of authors differed, see Counillon 2001.

[15] *Cf* the many puns on the sea, gods and others circling round Delos in Callimachus' *Hymn to Delos.* For a brief discussion, see Talamo 1996.

Strabo 10.5.2–3 484–485C: ἐν δὲ τῷ Αἰγαίῳ μᾶλλον αὐτή τε ἡ Δῆλος καὶ αἱ περὶ αὐτὴν Κυκλάδες καὶ αἱ ταύταις προσκείμεναι Σποράδες, ὧν εἰσι καὶ αἱ λεχθεῖσαι περὶ τὴν Κρήτην … Κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν οὖν δώδεκα λέγονται• προσεγένοντο δὲ καὶ πλείους. Ἀρτεμίδωρος γοῦν [πεντεκαίδεκα] διαριθμεῖται, περὶ τῆς Ἑλένης εἰπὼν ὅτι ἀπὸ Θορίκου μέχρι Σουνίου παράκειται μακρὰ σταδίων ὅσον ἑξήκοντα τὸ μῆκος, ἀπὸ ταύτης γάρ, φησίν, αἱ καλούμεναι Κυκλάδες εἰσίν• ὀνομάζει δὲ Κέω τὴν ἐγγυτάτω τῇ Ἑλένῃ, καὶ μετὰ ταύτην Κύθνον καὶ Σέριφον καὶ Μῆλον καὶ Σίφνον καὶ Κίμωλον καὶ Πρεπέσινθον καὶ Ὠλίαρον, καὶ πρὸς ταύταις Πάρον Νάξον Σῦρον Μύκονον Τῆνον Ἄνδρον Γύαρον. τὰς μὲν οὖν ἄλλας τῶν δώδεκα νομίζω, τὴν δὲ Πρεπέσινθον καὶ Ὠλίαρον καὶ Γύαρον ἧττον•

On ἧττον meaning, literally, 'less', not 'not' or 'except', as commonly translated and as argued most recently by Radt 2002 *ad loc*, see below, 11n18.

Pomponius Mela 2.97.111: At interius Melos, Olearos, Aegilia, Cothon, Ius, Thia, Thera, Gyaros, Hippuris, Donysa, Cythnos, Chalcis, Icaria, Cinara, Nisyros, Lebinthos, Calymnia, Syme. Hae quia dispersae sunt Sporades, at Ceos, Sicinos, Siphnos, Seriphos, Rhenea, Paros, Myconos, Syros, Tenos, Naxos, Delos, Andros quia in orbem iacent Cyclades dictae.

Pliny *HN* 4.65–68: Extra eam in Myrtoo multae, sed maxime inlustres Glauconnesos et Aegilia et a promunturio Geraesto circa Delum in orbem sitae, unde et nomen traxere, Cyclades. prima earum Andrus cum oppido abest a Geraesto X, a Ceo XXXVIII ... Tenos ... Myconus ... Siphnus... Seriphus ... Prepesinthus, Cythnos ispaque longe clarissima et Cycladum media ac templo Apollinis et mercatu celebrata Delos, ... proxima ei Rhene ... Syros ... Olearos, Paros ... Naxus. Et hactenus quidem Cyclada servant, ceteras quae secuntur Sporadas. sunt autem Helene, Phacusa, Nicasia, Schinusa, Pholegandros ... Icaros.

Dionysius 130–147: Τὰς δὲ Κυκλάδας νήσους ὁρῶμεν κειμένας / ὑπὲρ Γεραιστοῦ, πρὸς δὲ τὴν μεσημβρίαν / οὔσας μὲν Εὐβοίᾳ, περιεχούσας δὲ / τό πέλαγος τὸ Μυρτῷον λεγόμενον, ἔτι δὲ καί / τῆς Ἀττικῆς χώρας μετεχούσας παντελῶς. / Ἐγγὺς Κέως πρώτη … / Κύθνος … / Σέριφος … / Σίφνος καὶ Κίμωλος … / / Δῆλος … / / Μύκονος· … Τῆνός … / Ἄνδρος … / Αὗται μέν εἰσι Κυκλάδες, ἕτεραι λεγόμεναι / Σποράδες, ἐν αἷσι Μῆλος, … / Θήρα … / Ἴος, εἶτα Νάξος·

Hyginus 276: Cyclades insulae sunt novem, id est Andros, Myconos, Delos, Tenos, Naxos, Seriphus, Gyarus, Paros, Rhene.

Ptolemy 3.14.24 Müller/3.15.26–31 Stückelberger/Graßhoff: Καὶ τῶν Κυκλάδων καλουμένων νήσων αἱ πόλεις Ἄνδρου... Τήνου ... Σύρου ... Νάξου ... Πάρου ... Σίφνου ... Σερίφου ... Φολεκάνδρου ... Σικίνου

Note that Stückelberger and Grasshoff 2006 is more conservative than Müller, who, following Wilberg, was more interventionist and rearranged the text to allow for a more canonical list of Cycladic islands. *Cf* his note *ad loc* that [after his transposition] 'Cyclades insulae quindecim in Ptolemaei tabula ita dispositae sunt ut circulo circumscribi possint'. His statement may be true after his transposition, but it is not clear that such an arrangement reflects Ptolemy's intent as he structured his text.

their approach reflected a later Roman organisation which sought to define more clearly the referent of Cyclades, and it is tempting to understand an attempt at scientific definition and precision: the clinical nature of a list lends itself to such an approach[16]. This interpretation does not take sufficient account, however, of the lack of consistency between the different authors' accounts: even among the four authors who do explicitly contrast Cycladic islands with Sporadic islands, the main unifier is their love of puns and play on words. There is agreement that the island around which the others dance is Delos, but precisely which islands count as Cycladic, and which as Sporadic, is much less clear.

Strabo's discussion, the longest, illustrates the constructedness of our literary descriptions particularly well. It thus provides strong support for our rejection of any attempt to use these literary descriptions as problematic reflexions of some underlying diachronic geographical and historical truth. First, there is, for Strabo, no notion that the number of Cyclades is fixed. Instead, the number can change: Strabo tells us that they numbered twelve originally, but more *prosegenonto*. He then cites a list of fifteen Cycladic states offered by Artemidorus, and suggests that all are Cycladic, but some less so than others. Strabo does not explain what he means by stating that more *prosegenonto* or that some are *hetton* than others, but the three examples he gives of states which he considers *hetton* Cycladic, *pace* Artemidorus, - Prepesinthos, Oliaros,

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Ptolemy 3.14.24 Müller: Καὶ τῶν Κυκλάδων καλουμένων νήσων αἱ πόλεις Ἄνδρου... Τήνου ... Σύρου ... Δήλου ... Ὠλίαρος ... Κύθνος ... Ῥήνη ... Μυκόνου ... Νάξου ... Πάρου ... Σίφνου ... Σερίφου ... Φολεκάνδρου ... Σικίνου]

For recent discussion of Ptolemy, see Tsiotras 2006, especially 37–43. On Dionysius, see Marcotte 1990, especially 17–40 and 186–197.

[16] Dyer 1891, 393.

Gyaros, - indicate that he is referring neither to a shift in geographical scope, nor to what he perceives as later growth of political units: Prepesinthos, Oliaros, Gyaros are unproblematically central in the Cycladic grouping; and there is no numismatic, epigraphic, or literary evidence pointing to the existence of an independent state on either Prepesinthos or Oliaros[17]. Instead, Strabo's distinction seems to revolve around fame and status: they are, for Strabo, too insignificant to count as Cycladic islands. Compare how Strabo does mention Rhenaea in his description of the region, but does not mention it in any of his lists as being Cycladic. These considerations explain how Prepesinthos, Oliaros and Gyaros can be, quite literally, *less* Cycladic for Strabo than the other islands, and confirm that his discussion should not even be understood as an attempt to list the political entities making up the Cycladic region. Instead, it was an imagined reconceptualisation of the region for his readers in terms they might more easily understand[18].

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[17] Prepesinthos, probably modern day Despotiko, and Oliaros, modern Antiparos, are two small islands to the south-west of Paros; Gyaros is approximately half-way between Cea and Tenos. See the map, xv, where all three islands are present but are unnamed.
Gyaroi are attested by only one inscription from Samos, *IG* XII.6 470, for which Hallof in *IG* tentatively suggests a date of the second century; for a bronze coin of the Gyaroi stylistically dating to imperial times but difficult to date more closely: BMC 13 100 1. In addition, Hiller von Gaertringen noted one dedicatory inscription in *IG*: *IG* XII.5 651. Nine inscriptions found on Oliaros were included in *IG*, *IG* XII.5 471–479, but none of these or any subsequently found inscription seems to have included the ethnic, while Hiller von Gaertringen thought that at least *IG* XII.5 471 might have been moved from Paros. No inscription seems yet unearthed on Prepesinthos.

[18] ἧττον is commonly understood as litotes for οὐ, as by Radt 2002 *ad loc*. Neither the sense of this section nor comparanda suggests this reading; *cf* Aristophanes *Pluto* 1118–1119: καὶ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων μοι θεῶν ἧττον μέλει, / ἐγὼ δ' ἀπόλωλα κἀπιτέτριμμαι. An alternative approach might point to the fact that Prepesinthos and Oliaros are particularly close to Paros and infer an unattested mythic narrative of their late separation from that island as underlying Strabo's *prosegenonto*: they were, quite literally, later additions. This reading would correspond to geological reality, but seems implausible given the compresence of Gyaros.
On Strabo's Geography, see now Radt 2002; more generally on the man and his works: Engels 1999; Dueck 2000; Dueck, Lindsay, and Pothecary 2005; for a rare comparative approach to Strabo, in this case setting him alongside Pausanias: Pretzler 2005.

In this context, Strabo's insistence on twelve as the original number of Cycladic states is itself noteworthy. To contrast Strabo's total with Broodbank's characterisation of a "roll-call of some thirty substantial islands and many more islets" is revealing, and not unfair: Broodbank's approach is explicitly geographical, concerned solely with the size of the islands, and their suitability for human development[19]. The contrast thus confirms that Strabo's approach is not based at least so directly on such criteria. Instead, Strabo's twelve islands may be compared to the twelve divisions of Peloponnesian Achaea and Anatolian Achaea, and the twelve islands of the Dodecanese[20]. Both the frequency of the number twelve across these strikingly different regions, and the lack of consensus in each case about which states constituted the original twelve again point to the fact that ancient literary descriptions of regions are descriptions, not unproblematic definitions. Beyond this point, moreover, they also suggest that each of the authors was well aware that he was engaging in a rhetorical descriptive exercise, and that he was deliberately choosing to describe the region according to mythic tropes in keeping with the requirements of the genre, and to aid his readership's vision.

To summarise our conclusions: Strabo confirms that to attempt a close historicised analysis of the variations in the descriptions of the Cyclades in our ancient authors would be unwise. They are not direct reflexions of either a historical or geographical

[19] Quotation: Broodbank 2000, 43.

[20] See Nielsen 1997, and the varying descriptions of Achaea given by Herodotus 1.145; Polybius 2.41.7–8, and Pausanias 7.6.1, wherein the reach of Achaea was ever expressed through a myth of twelve original divisions, but different divisions. *Cf* the twelve principal Olympian Greek divinities and the twelve labours of Heracles (in both bases with similar disagreements about which and who they were, but not over the number); the twelve tribes of Israel; the twelve imans; the twelve nidānas; and the twelve signs of the zodiac.

reality. Nevertheless, such descriptions are helpful, because they can reveal broad shifts in the geographical and political understanding of particular regions. The agreement over a division between the Cyclades and the Sporades in these later texts is thus noteworthy and deserves exploration.

Two complementary explanations seem justified. The first takes its cue from the unique description offered by Pseudo-Scylax, for whom there are two distinct groups of Cycladic islands: the first are the islands along the Lacedaemonian coast that are inhabited[21]; the second, the islands along Attica[22]. Here again, the geography involved is not purely cartographic: all the islands, even Melos, are nearer Attica than the Lacedaemonian coast both in absolute terms, and in terms of the width of any individual crossing[23]. Instead, this division is conceptual, and can be compared with

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21 On Pseudo-Scylax, see now the new text, translation, and commentary at Shipley 2011, especially 1–23. His text in our sections differs in only one respect from that of Müller, restoring Pholegandros instead of Oliaros (for the manuscript's "νω χίορος"), on which see 14n26. See further his commentary *ad loc* (128 and 132–134).

[Scylax] 48: ΚΥΚΛΑΔΕΣ ΝΗΣΟΙ. Κυκλάδες δὲ αἵδε εἰσὶ κατὰ τὴν Λακεδαιμονίαν χώραν οἰκούμεναι· Μῆλος καὶ λιμὴν, κατὰ δὲ ταύτην Κίμωλος, κατὰ δὲ ταύτην Ὠλίαρος, κατὰ δὲ ταύτην Σίκινος, αὕτη καὶ πόλις· κατὰ δὲ ταύτην Θήρα, κατὰ δὲ ταύτην Ἀνάφη, κατὰ δὲ ταύτην Ἀστυπάλαια. Ἐπάνειμι δὲ πάλιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἤπειρον, ὅθεν ἐξετραπόμην.

22 [Scylax] 58: ΝΗΣΟΙ ΚΥΚΛΑΔΕΣ. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀττικήν εἰσι νῆσοι αἱ Κυκλάδες καλούμεναι, καὶ πόλεις αἵδε ἐν ταῖς νήσοις• Κέως (αὕτη τετράπολις• [Ποιήεσσα πόλις] καὶ λιμὴν, Κορησσία, Ἰουλὶς, Καρθαία• Ἑλένη• Κύθνος νῆσος καὶ πόλις• Σέριφος νῆσος καὶ πόλις καὶ λιμήν• Σίφνος• Πάρος λιμένας ἔχουσα δύο, ὧν τὸν ἕνα κλειστόν• Νάξος• Δῆλος• Ῥήνη• Σῦρος• Μύκονος (αὕτη δίπολις)• Τῆνος καὶ λιμήν• Ἄνδρος καὶ λιμήν. Αὗται μὲν αἱ Κυκλάδες νῆσοι. Ὑπὸ δὲ ταύταις ἕτεραι νῆσοι αἵδε πρὸς νότον• Ἴος καὶ λιμήν (ἐν ταύτῃ Ὅμηρος τέθαπται)• Ἀμοργὸς, αὕτη τρίπολις καὶ λιμήν• Ἴκαρος, δίπολις.

23 *Cf* the recognition at Shipley 2011, 128 and 132 that the descriptions of the Cycladic groups are not "purely periplographic" (128 *ad* 48) or "a real route" (132 *ad* 58).

Compare Broodbank 2000, 107–143 for a spatial approach to the exploration and settlement of the Cycladic islands in the neolithic period, which points to the routes from Attica via Cea and from Anatolia via Icaria as the two most plausible avenues of 'colonisation'.

Approximate distances between individual islands and Monemvasia and Cape Sounium, respectively the geographically nearest points in Lacedaemon and Attica.

km	**Melos**	**Thera**	**Anaphe**	**Astypalaea**
Monemvasia	110	205	240	285
Cape Sounium	100	175	205	233

the mythical division between those islands settled by the Ionians against those settled by the Dorians[24]. Both divisions may reflect Athenian and Spartan political rhetoric dating at least from the fifth century which divided these islands by ethnicity with regard to their allegiance. This interpretation suggests itself because the more southerly islands do not appear in the Athenian Tribute Lists until the Peloponnesian War itself, after the regional divisions in the lists had been abolished: Thera is first present in 428, and Melos was only suppressed in 416, the context of Thucydides' Melian debate[25]. It is surely no coincidence that these same more southerly islands are also the islands which for Pseudo-Scylax are κατὰ τὴν Λακεδαιμονίαν χώραν οἰκούμεναι rather than κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀττικήν. Strabo, Ptolemy and the other later authors may thus reflect different iterations of the tension already present in Pseudo-Scylax[26]. We saw above that this approach was not that preferred by Thucydides, but the prominence of Athenian literature and Athens herself as nodes for Greek learning under the Roman empire might well have led to an ahistorical division of the islands in keeping with later perception of the islands' status at that earlier time.

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[24] *Cf* the scholia to Dionysius Periegetes 525, for whom these northern Cyclades were all settled by the Athenians: αὑτας τὰς Κυκλάδας ἐπῴκησαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ἡγήσαντο τῶν μὲν εἰς Κέων Θερσιδάμας, εἰς δὲ Σίφνον Ἀλκήνωρ, εἰς δὲ Ἀμοργὸν Νάξιον, εἰς δὲ Ἄνδρον Κύναιθος καὶ Εὐρύλοχος, εἰς δὲ Κύθνον Κέστωρ καὶ Κεφαλῆνος, εἰς δὲ Πάρον Κλύτιος καὶ Μέλας, εἰς δὲ Δῆλον Ἀντίοχος, εἰς δὲ Νάξον Ἀρχέτιμος καὶ Τεῦκλος, εἰς δὲ Ῥηναίαν Δήλων, εἰς δὲ Σύρον Ἱππομέδων, εἰς δὲ Μύκονον Ἱπποκλῆς. Ἄλλως. Τελέσας τὴν Εὐρώπην σὺν τῇ Λιβύῃ μεταβαίνει ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν, καὶ πρῶτον ἄρχεται ἐκ τῶν Κυκλάδων. Ἀμφὶς δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ περὶ αὐτὴν οὖσαι τὴν Δῆλον.

[25] Thera is also restorable in the list for 429: Meiggs 1972, 321; Melos: Thucydides 5 84–114.

[26] *Cf* here Shipley's justification of his restoration of Pholegandros instead of Oliaros in 48 (see 12n21) because the other islands in the list are Dorian. His suggestion is appealing, but the restoration is palaeographically difficult, and hence perhaps better tentatively rejected. The logic which makes it appealing is Atheno-centric, and we should hesitate before overriding palaeographic difficulty to emend away what is plausibly a rare alternative view on the putative one-time extent of Athenian and Sparta influence in this region as expressed through conceptual geography.

The second explanation draws on the notion of resilience which we introduce in our discussion of networks. To anticipate, resilience helps to explain how a network can survive even frequent attacks on unimportant nodes without its cohesion being noticeably affected, but can still swiftly degenerate if important nodes, termed hubs, are attacked, removed from the network, or lose the characteristics that underlie their status. These hubs not only facilitate contact between the islands, but also encourage increased contact between the islands as opposed to contact with areas outside the region. Any notion of the Cyclades as a unity, whether in a broad or narrow sense, is thus inextricably linked with the success (or otherwise) of the more prominent islands, the hubs. If they weakened, so too would the perception of the region which they centred, and both factors would plausibly affect islands further away from the hubs more than those nearer to it. We argue below that, as has long been recognised, Delos was the most important focus of Cycladic activity: when it declined in the late Hellenistic period, so too would the very notion of a Cycladic region contract, leading to an opposition between those islands that were still felt to be connected to Delos, and those which were not, but instead lay scattered across the Aegean. Hence also arose the name of those islands that were not considered Cycladic by these later authors: the Sporades, the scattered islands. The name is not independent of its pair, the Cyclades, but ostentatiously encodes the fact that the link between these names is but one of opposition: of order against disorder; of centralised unity against scattered disunity.

Both explanations have merit, by historicising these literary depictions, and illustrating their complexity. Rather than attempting to privilege one explanation, or

one specific understanding of the Cyclades, we may instead draw three more general conclusions. First, for all their difference in treatment, each author here discussed does encode the notion of a Cycladic regional grouping, and of the islands in the middle of the Aegean as distinct from those nearer the coast. Second, because of their difference in treatment, each author confirms the relevance of the theoretical considerations outlined above, which emphasise the importance of human relations in constructing regional geography. As the prehistoric archaeological evidence also suggests, they thus urge that the islands should not be treated as a monolithic self-evident unit. Instead, they were individually distinct, and individually and collectively part of changing regional groupings on different levels, which were the more dynamic for forming a sea continent, rather than a land continent.

Marine regions, islands, and perspectives on the sea

Regional analysis, notably of Boeotia, has always formed a part of historical analysis. It has been the focus of renewed interest in recent years, as scholars have looked beyond the *polis* itself to trace its place in broader political and geographical environments[27]. This scholarship has, however, concentrated on land regions, even though marine regions might well be thought a more appropriate venue for such study: because of the ease of transport between islands, marine regions have potentially lower internal barriers to communication at all times of the year. Although long-distance trade was seemingly restricted to the summer months, it is likely that

[27] A noteworthy example of this is the work of a range of scholars headed by Rizakis on Achaea, - see, *eg*, Rizakis 1995; Rizakis 1998; this analysis is possible on a variety of registers: Nielsen 1997; Nielsen and Roy 2000; Nielsen 2002; Funke and Luraghi 2009.

cabotage continued all year: just one day of reasonable weather was enough to risk the paradigmatic short distance from Herakleia and Schinoussa[28].

The contrast between ease of transport by sea and land may be further illustrated by the striking insistence of the Athenians recorded by [Aristotle] that two-thirds of grain brought to the Piraeus be taken to Athens[29]. A significant proportion of the grain had already travelled over a thousand kilometres from the rich Black Sea or Egyptian grain-fields, yet the Athenians felt that there was a need to insist that the grain be transported an extra ten kilometres from the Piraeus to Athens. Implicit in the law is the suggestion that these ten kilometres were somehow critical. One plausible explanation is that grain brought the extra ten kilometres to Athens itself was more likely to stay in Athens, because there were more buyers for the domestic market there, and, conversely, fewer buyers for the foreign market. The difference in the likelihood of re-exportation caused by those ten kilometres was perceived as sufficient to make it worth while the Athenians legislating: the Athenians could not be certain that enough traders would undertake the additional effort required in bringing grain to Athens unless they were forced so to do. Even after the efforts the traders had already undertaken to bring the grain to the Piraeus, and despite the size of the Athenian market so near to the Piraeus, the Athenians might yet go hungry.

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[28] Herakleia and Schinoussa: taken as paradigmatic in Malkin, Constantakopoulou, and Panagopoulou 2009b, 1. For a demonstration of this principle, albeit for prehistoric times, see Papageorgiou 2008, especially the map at 10.

[29] The Grain law: *Athenaion Politeia* 51.3; see, *eg*, the discussion in Oliver 2007, 22–30.

The radical disparity in the distances involved in this anecdote suggests that barriers to both inter-regional and intra-regional communication by sea were plausibly on average lower than for equivalent distances over land, a fact that makes marine regions more suitable, not less, for such regional analysis. In keeping with this approach, moreover, the view of marine areas as effectively 'sea continents', as dynamic means and areas of communication, is not new, but dates back at least to Braudel[30]. It has been slower to gain traction in scholarship focussing on classical antiquity, and only received a definitive exposition in anglophone scholarship with Horden and Purcell[31]. Nonetheless, there has been much productive work, as can be illustrated by reference to two works which are important in preparing the ground for this study: Constantakopoulou's analysis of island networks in the Aegean, and of images of insularity; and Brun's reassessment of the economic and geological basis of island states[32].

Constantakopoulou's wide-ranging discussion emphasises the importance of connectivity and exchange in our understanding of the Aegean, and illustrates these aspects with reference to examples from the entire Aegean, including religious groups focussed at Calauria and Delos in the archaic period; political connexions traceable between larger and smaller islands, including examples focussed round Chios, Samos,

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30 Braudel 1949, translated as Braudel 1972; for its application elsewhere, see, *eg*, Renfrew 1972; Kolodny 1974; Knapp 1990. More recent developments invoking network theory include Ruffini 2008; Malkin, Constantakopoulou, and Panagopoulou 2009a; Brughmans 2010, a partial summary of Brughmans 2009.

31 Horden and Purcell 2000, especially 123–172; Harris 2005. A shift not fully recognised in Lätsch 2005. For a comparative analysis of the notions of insularity in the ancient mediterranean world and in Polynesia, see Pérez 2005, and, more specifically on the religious, broadly understood, Pérez 1996.

32 Constantakopoulou 2007; Brun 1996a.

Cos, and Rhodes; and relationships between islands and their *peraea*. Cycladic material naturally plays a role in this, but Constantakopoulou does not attempt a systematic diachronic analysis, instead selecting cogent examples in support of her overall theme[33].

Brun's quite different analysis focusses on the environmental and economic underpinnings of the Aegean states. He does briefly discuss the importance of movement when considering an island's prosperity and resources. His primary concerns, however, are to embed the islands in their broader mountainous marine environment; to note the evidence for intense exploitation of resources by the residents through, *eg*, terracing; and to emphasise the natural wealth, both land and maritime, of the islands. Brun's vision is no utopia: conditions could be very hard on the islands, as they could be throughout antiquity. Nevertheless, they formed a populated world which could enjoy considerable prosperity[34].

These two works cumulatively create a vision of a dynamic island world, a world which is strikingly different from the widespread ancient literary perception of islands as insular, with the connotations that word possesses in modern use: being backward, isolated, and underdeveloped[35]. As Braudel also recognised and allowed, island

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[33] Constantakopoulou 2007: Calauria: 29–37; Delos: 38–58; Chios: 178–179; Samos: 180–184; Cos: 185–187; Rhodes: 187–195; *Peraeae*: 228–245.

[34] Brun 1996a: mobility of men and goods in the Aegean: 136–144, and 164–176; geographic embeddedness: 26–61; intensity of exploitation: 63–74; production, including grain, vineyards, orchards, and livestock: 74–106; marble: 121–127; metals: 128–131; fishing 131–136; population: 106–113; island prosperity: 153–162.

[35] Vilatte 1991 and Brun 1993a. See also Brun 1996a, 192–209; and Constantakopoulou's discussion of the role of insularity in Athenian political rhetoric at 61–136. The strength of this discourse is the more remarkable for the central position of the island in Greek visions of the world right from the beginning:

societies can be introspective and isolated, as can any society and place[36]. We cannot, however, approach the Cyclades in the Hellenistic period either on the presupposition that they were isolated, or that they were of little interest in their own right, but just stepping stones on the way to and from Greece[37]. Nevertheless, these revised geographic, economic and social parameters have yet to affect the narratives constructed for the islands and islanders construed as political units.

A variety of reasons can be cited for this, including the disjunction between the largely pan-Aegean focus of the above works, and the more segmented nature of our political histories of the region. A second important factor is the way in which modern scholarship has implicitly assumed the perspective of the ancient literary sources both with regard to the inherent dangers of sea travel, particularly piracy, and with regard to the importance of the islands to powers based and most often campaigning outside the region[38]. Perhaps as a result, no diachronic regional

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Dion 1977. As noted above, however, this approach has, paradoxically, perhaps been reinforced in recent scholarship on antiquity by the emphasis on islands as laboratories as in the classic article of Evans 1973, where "the fundamental limitation of island life is the restrictions it imposes, more or less, on intercourse with groups living elsewhere" (517), a statement maintained despite recognition of the sea's ability to be an effective means of communication.

36 Braudel 1972, 149–150 for introspection as one of many possible positions which are as much culturally as geographically determined; for a recent application: Barrowclough 2010. With Doumas 2004, however (216): "[c]learly, the terms insularity and isolation, in the sense of separation or solitariness, are not applicable to the island societies in the Aegean." This quotation refers to the prehistoric period, but is all the more valid later.

37 The Cyclades as 'stepping stones': Reger 1994b, 62n124 and, more extensively: Reger 1994c, 20–26. This approach does allow the Cyclades strategic importance, but only instrumentally; in short (20): "[f]or outsiders the real importance of the islands lay in their role as stations on routes elsewhere."

38 On the dangers of travel both in themselves, and as a *topos*, see recently the essays collected in Alvar Nuño 2011, especially . On travel in antiquity more generally, both on land and sea, see André and Baslez 1993, superseding Casson 1974. See also the essays collected in Camassa and Fasce 1991; Angeli Bertinelli and Donati 2005; Angeli Bertinelli and Donati 2006; these can be fruitfully compared with the discourse on travel in the mediaeval period as represented by Gensini 2000; Newman 2011.
Particularly important in the ancient Greek scholarly context are recent reappraisals of the notion of 'piracy'. This social phenomenon was universally antithetical to the authors or powers whose

historical survey of the Cyclades or of the Aegean in classical antiquity has ever been attempted. There have been some diachronic studies of individual islands: besides the prodigious publications arising from the French excavations on Delos[39], there have been recent publications dealing with Paros[40], Tenos[41], and Thera[42], and there are also older studies[43]. On a regional level, however, the islands have been most commonly analysed with reference to the particular external power being studied at the time, whether the Athenians[44], Antigonids[45], the Ptolemies[46], the Rhodians[47], or the Romans[48]. Even the rare work that does focus on the Cyclades as a region is either implicitly framed with reference to these external narratives, such as Reger's article focussing on the period demarcated by what he perceived as the end of Ptolemaic

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perspective is represented in our literary texts. It was not, however, destructive to trade or to the economic and social life of individual communities in the way in which it has previously been assumed to have been because of the normalisation of those imperial perspectives and approaches. See, for a variety of recent reappraisals, De Souza 1999; Scholten 2000; Gabrielsen 2001; and Álvarez-Ossorio Rivas 2008, developed and summarised at Álvarez-Ossorio Rivas 2011.

39 A recent summary of excavations is available in the most recent edition of the *Guide de Délos*: Bruneau and Ducat 2005; see also Laidlaw 1933; Reger 1994c; Bruneau and Moretti 2006.

40 Lanzillotta 1987; Berranger-Auserve 2000.

41 Étienne and Braun 1986; Étienne 1990.

42 Michlits 2008.

43 Here I am perhaps unfairly overlooking a significant body of scholarship of the turn of the twentieth century of two distinct strands. Hauttecoeur published articles on thirteen individual Aegean Islands in the Bulletin de la Societé Royale Belge de Géographie between 1895 and 1905; in addition, a number of Greek scholars did produce a range of now very rare books often covering the entirety of an island's history until the present day. Examples of this scholarship include several books by Antonios Miliarakis, who wrote several works on the Cyclades as part of a broader project that eventually included works also on the Ionian islands, the Argolid and Corinth, and the Despotate of Epirus; for a discussion of the role this scholarship played in modern Greek nation-building, see Peckham 2001, 76–88. The books by Miliarakis at least have been periodically republished, most recently in 1991: Miliarakis 1874 and Miliarakis 1991. For recent brief surveys of the Greek islands, including many of the Cyclades, see McGilchrist 2010.

44 Meiggs 1972; Constantakopoulou 2007.

45 Fellmann 1930; Buraselis 1982; Billows 1990.

46 Bagnall 1976; Huss 1976; Beyer-Rotthoff 1993.

47 Berthold 1984; Gabrielsen 1997; Wiemer 2002.

48 Gruen 1984; Eckstein 2006; Eckstein 2008.

hegemony and the rise of Rhodian control[49], or has consisted of semi-independent studies on individual islands, with little comparative discussion[50]. Just as the islands never formed the core of a classical or Hellenistic empire, and, at least partly as a result, are not the focus of our literary sources, so too have they never as a collective unit been the focus of modern work considering how and to how great an extent they interacted with each other, or with the outside world, - except in an imperial context[51]. With regard to individual works of scholarship, this frame has naturally resulted in a reduced consideration of any diachronic change in the region itself, and a lack of comparative analysis[52]; with regard to scholarship as a whole, it has perhaps rendered the reanalysis necessary in the light of the reassessment of island status difficult to achieve.

This reanalysis is one important task that this project seeks to achieve: to consider the history of the Cyclades from a diachronic regional perspective. It argues that the ineluctably unifying, hegemonic, and external perspective of previous scholarship needs to be set aside. In so doing, it does not reject the notion that the Cycladic islands did, on some level, form a region. It demonstrates that they formed more than a simple, unified region by identifying additional local networks that complement and thicken our understanding of Cycladic interaction. It does not deny that the

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49 Reger 1994b.

50 Nigdelis 1990; Lanzillotta and Schilardi 1996; Raptopoulos 2010.

51 See the references gathered at 21n43–22n49. For a brief illustration of how this default perception has influenced even scholarship of the archaic period, by encouraging recognition of a Naxian 'thalassocracy', see 323, especially 323n796; for argument that this hegemonical norm has also affected scholars' approach to Delos' status in the fourth century, and to the question of Delian 'independence', traditionally dated 315/314, see Appendix 6. Delian 'independence', 315/314, and *ID* 104-30, 450.

52 With the exception of Stavrianopoulou 2006 specifically on the position of women in the islands.

engagement of individual powers varied over time: that the 'heyday' of the Ptolemaic presence in the Cyclades was in the second quarter of the third century, about the same time as Ptolemy II was engaged in the Chremonidean War, is plausible, and a certain degree of Ptolemaic disengagement at least in the second half of that century (although not necessarily a permanent disengagement) is suggested by the decrease in Ptolemaic dedications on Delos. Instead, it argues that such engagement was rarely exclusive, but occurred in a competitive frame. Finally, it complements the external focus of earlier discussions by demonstrating the existence of underlying economic and social structures which endured, and which provide regional context for the military and political events on which so much ink has been spilled. Our recognition of these structures does not, of course, automatically affect the political and military narrative. It does, however, provide context, and, in so far as these consistent structures complement or replace external structures (as in the discussion of the use of Rhodian coinage, for example), it has wide-ranging implications.

Structure

Two complementary themes are central to our enquiry. On one level, the analysis falls broadly into two halves, each composed of two studies: the first pair analyses different networks, and the second explores their manifestation in multipolar dynamics. We introduce each pair with a brief theoretical discussion, outlining the perspective followed here in the context of previous approaches to networks and to international relations in the study of Greek antiquity. On a second level, the analysis builds from the economic to the social to the political. In each study, we identify

complexity in regional identification and structures, and emphasise the importance of local agency. Each analysis thus builds on the previous discussion. The synergies are mutually reinforcing, and argue against previous approaches which looked by default at each level for external stimulus.

The first study demonstrates the existence of local numismatic networks in the Hellenistic Cyclades. In so far as Hellenistic Cycladic iconography and standards have previously been studied, they have been consistently interpreted to demonstrate Rhodian economic (and, hence, political) influence in the region. Here, our analysis of the minting practice and weight standards of different islands argues for the existence of sub-regional numismatic networks, and consideration of the iconography emphasises the importance of local factors. We also argue against identifying a systemic role for Rhodian currency in the region and, hence, more generally, against notions of Rhodian 'monetary influence'. None of this argument implies that Rhodian coinage did not circulate at all in the Hellenistic Cyclades. It does, however, present a more nuanced picture of a diverse economic area, in which Rhodian economic influence is necessarily diminished by its juxtaposition with other locally rooted economic rhythms.

The second study considers the phenomenon of proxeny in the Hellenistic Cyclades, and approaches it as a proxy offering insight into communication across the Hellenistic Cyclades. Fresh collation and examination of the attested instances of proxeny in the light of network theory suggest that our evidence forms a cohesive and valid network, and allows us to set aside concerns about the necessarily incomplete

nature of the data set: it is representative. Hence, we can first identify clear differences between the internal and external Cycladic proxeny networks. These structural divergences confirm the validity of the Cyclades as a unit at this time. Second, we can demonstrate the centrality of Delos to communication both between Cycladic islands themselves, and between Cycladic islands and the outside world. Finally, we can provide new insight explaining the systemic crisis in the Cyclades in the late Hellenistic period suggested by our sources.

The third study continues the focus on Delos, but turns to connect these regional networks with the political sphere. As our first illustration of the essentially multipolar political dynamics of the Hellenistic Cyclades, we analyse the politics of space and dedication in the sanctuary of Apollo on Delos. We first undertake a brief survey of the development of the sanctuary in the archaic and classical periods, before considering in more detail the evidence for the endowment of festivals and the erection of monuments in the Hellenistic period. These acts have traditionally been understood as reflecting the hegemony of a succession of different powers. We emphasise the socially embedded nature of the display, and argue that the dynamic was rather one of competition between and ingroup differentiation by different powers. Finally, we demonstrate that these competitive dynamics continued into the late second century, and argue hence for a broader reappraisal of the position of the Romans in the region at this stage in their eastward expansion.

The fourth study builds on this reanalysis of the dynamics on Delos by considering the evidence for Rhodian activity and hegemony in the Cyclades. We first explore the

evidence for Rhodian engagement much earlier than allowed by previous hegemonic approaches, and argue against the systematic down- and narrow-dating of relevant evidence. We then demonstrate that the thin literary evidence underlying the common notion of a renewed Rhodian hegemony in the early second century Cyclades has been misunderstood. Finally, we systematically reanalyse and recontextualise the epigraphic evidence to support our revised chronology and context. Not only was Rhodian activity longer-lasting and more diverse than previously recognised, but it was never exclusive; instead, it has to be placed alongside equivalent activity by other internal and external powers. Rather than allowing space for just one fleet, and one hegemon, the Cyclades and the central Aegean more generally have to be understood as a multipolar space open to multiple fleets and powers negotiating their presence and status.

Finally, we review the conclusions from our studies, and look to synthesise. Each study individually revises our understanding of one aspect of Hellenistic Cycladic society and history. Collectively, they combine to insist on the importance of the agency of islanders, and of regional structures. We cannot always reconstruct individual interactions, or the situation on specific islands. We can, however, cumulatively posit a new norm which does not deny the possibility of domination and oppression, but which places more emphasis on contestation and mediation. In so doing, moreover, our regional lens enables us to develop a nuanced, global history of these islands which is both more compatible with the surviving evidence as a whole,

and more in keeping with the advances made elsewhere in our understanding of the Greek world in all its rich diversity.

NETWORKS IN THE HELLENISTIC CYCLADES

An Introduction to Network Theory

This section introduces recent developments in our understanding of networks, and then presents two case-studies that deepen our understanding of the Hellenistic Cyclades through analysis of two contemporary networks. In each case, the particular data set in question has not previously been analysed. Equivalent data sets, however, have been studied. Particularly for periods and areas for which written historical sources do not survive, analysis of, for example, what is commonly termed the *circulation* and *distribution* of ceramics and coins is critical. When combined with identified typological similarities and differences in imagery, shape, and other aspects, studies of the distribution of ceramics have been central to the construction of detailed narratives of contact, influence, and control. Our histories of Minoan, Mycenaean and Geometric Greece are all largely based on such work[53]. So too, scholars have long been aware, perhaps even too aware, of the importance of family relationships and friendships in analysing the politics of, for example, the late Roman Republic and classical Athens[54]. All of these data sets can be approached as networks.

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[53] As throughout, references are illustrative rather than exhaustive. For one example of the power of such work, and the extent of the hypotheses that can thence be derived in the absence of other evidence and without reference to network theory, see Coldstream's detailed analysis of geometric pottery in Coldstream 1968, the final synthesis at 332–390, and the development of this synthesis at Coldstream 1977; note the recent second editions as Coldstream 2008, especially the "Historical Conclusions" at 332–390, and Coldstream 2003 respectively. For a recent discussion of the output of an individual island framed in terms of distribution, rather than networks, in this case, Naxos, see Kourou 1984. For a reconsideration of ceramic distribution in the Roman east Mediterranean explicitly framed in terms of networks, see Brughmans 2009, summarised at Brughmans 2010.

[54] On the effect of family politics in the Roman Republic, see the classic work by Gelzer 1912, belatedly translated as Gelzer 1969; for its effects in English scholarship: Syme 1939. On Athens: Kirchner 1901; Davies 1971. For a brief similar insistence on the centrality of networks to all sociological work which explains the apparent innovation in the 1950s by reference to the academic context of the day, see Granovetter 1990.

These interpretations are, of course, always provisional. They are regularly revised on the basis of new data, such as the results of the excavations at the Toumba at Lefkandi; new scholarly techniques; and new theoretical approaches. Thus, scholars are now more hesitant over the identification of specific origins for clays and styles than used to be the case, and more willing to identify specimens as imitations, rather than necessary productions of the eponymous city with which a particular style is associated[55]: as has long been realised, not all Corinthian-style pottery need be from Corinth[56]. Nevertheless, the underlying goal remains the same, whether concerned with a ceramic shape, a monetary standard, or an architectural form: to understand the extent of historical phenomena, their development and chronology, and the human movements and processes underlying them.

Rather more recent is the recognition that these schemata of circulation and distribution form equivalent networks that can be compared. All of these data sets and questions can be approached through the vocabulary of networks, with reference to 'nodes', 'ties' and 'hubs', terms which we discuss in more detail below. This change of nomenclature does not in itself affect the networks that are being described. The terminology we use does, however, have ramifications on our scholarly perspective,

[55] For a wide-ranging discussion that attempts to take into account these recent developments, and argues against continued focus primarily on provenance and dating, see Morgan 1999, together with the other papers in Crielaard, Stissi, and Wijngaarden 1999. On scientific analysis as a buttress for identifications, see Jones 1993. Which processes underlie the trade or transfer of the ceramic from its presumed point of production to its point of discovery is a related issue; on this question, see briefly van der Leeuw 1984; at greater length on Roman pottery, Peña 2007; and the essays collected in Lawall and Lund 2011. The issue of the value of the ceramics studied, - whether these were a commodity, or high-value items in their own right, - is separate, but again has repercussions here: Gill and Vickers 1990; Gill 1991 with bibliography.

[56] On the difficulties involved in distinguishing Corinthian and Corfiot pottery, and early attempts to use scientific techniques to distinguish between them: Farnsworth 1970; Farnsworth, Perlman, and Asaro 1977.

and on the questions asked. Thus, we can casually speak of Pericles' network of friends, but the very concept of the network encourages us to think in terms of a system: a diagrammatic representation wherein Pericles does seem better connected to other prominent figures than they were to each other might provide support for Thucydides' insistence on Pericles' importance; the converse, wherein Pericles appeared to be but one among many equally well-connected figures, might support those scholars arguing against Thucydides' Periclean focus. Beyond this linguistic aspect, however, lie two further advantages: first, the emphasis on a single standard terminology irrespective of the material and data set being studied encourages comparison between those networks: if we are interested in data from coins, ceramic, and burial customs as proxies for human movement or contact, to possess a single terminology is clearly helpful. Second, the use of this standard terminology allows us to look beyond the incomplete nature of our evidence in classical studies, and draw insight from analogy with other networks with similar structures at other times. It is important in each case to remember that the network is socio-culturally embedded; and that the data we possess is incomplete. Nevertheless, as we shall see, there is significant evidence that networks with similar structures have similar dynamics irrespective of their specific physical and socio-cultural context.

The rise of networks

Networks have recently become fashionable in classical studies, with a series of studies reconceptualising aspects of the ancient world through this lens[57]. The rise of the internet, and widespread awareness of its effects on society, are perhaps the immediate catalyst for this turn in scholarship. Systematic analysis of networks has, however, been undertaken for much longer, at least since the early social network analysis undertaken by sociologists in the aftermath of the Second World War[58]. In addition, the internet itself is probably less important as a factor in historical network studies than the contemporary rapid increase in computing power. Computing power, not the internet, has enabled the development and successful completion of studies involving large data sets that previously were impossible, and so allowed the identification of broader rules of network activity[59].

The internet is a powerful image of a network in action. Beyond the most superficial level, however, it is not particularly helpful as an image when discussing historical and social networks, because of its apparent almost total lack of geographic, political, and social embeddedness: it seems to ignore natural boundaries such as mountains and oceans, and human boundaries such as state borders, as it connects

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57 Constantakopoulou 2007; Ruffini 2008; Malkin, Constantakopoulou, and Panagopoulou 2009a; Malkin 2011.

58 For a standard single-volume introduction to Social Network Analysis, see Wasserman and Faust 1994; for a brief overview of its development: Wasserman and Faust 1994, 10–17; for introductions aimed at students of antiquity longer than that offered here: Clark 1992; Hezser 1997; Ruffini 2008, 1–40, especially 28–40. For a brief survey of work in Classics and related fields, see below, noting that the first article there mentioned, by Alexander and Danowski, dates from 1990, long before the 'internet revolution'. It seems, however, long to have remained an *hapax*.

59 For introductions to this wide-ranging field, see Barabási 2002; Watts 2003 with literature cited there.

computers and people across the world[60]. Pre-digital networks, such as those discussed here, were geographically bounded: they were dependent on the physical circulation of people and goods. Different technologies could expand the horizons of a particular group, but not before air travel could they make a physical barrier like a mountain almost irrelevant[61]. We thus outline the basic vocabulary here not with reference to the internet, but to a friendship group. Nevertheless, the internet is one form of network, and our ability to use a common vocabulary to discuss the structure and functioning of different networks helps us to compare those networks, and to

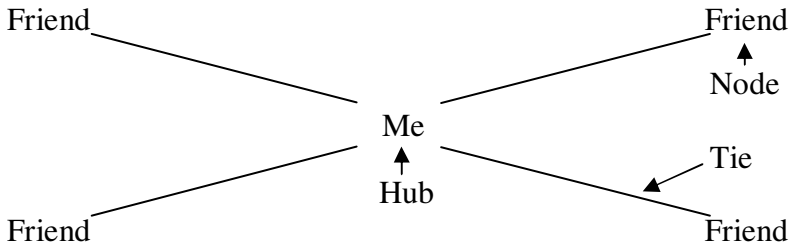
[60] Almost total lack of geographic embeddedness: it does actually make a difference to the speed of data transfer how far apart two computers are, but this difference arises much more often because of data congestion, and the comparatively lower quality of cable or wireless connexion (and hence speed) used for the 'last mile' from ISP to personal computer (or from domestic router to domestic hub), than to the actual distance between them. When the same quality of components is used for the last mile as for the centre, - as is increasingly becoming the case, as old copper cable is replaced by fibre-optic cable, - distance becomes much less important. Even here, however, geographic features such as oceans and mountains remain largely irrelevant.
Disregard of state boundaries: again, in reality, these shape the internet more than many casually think. Consider the ability of the Egyptian authorities to disconnect the majority of Egyptian users from the outside world for several days in early 2011, and the ongoing ability of the Chinese authorities to monitor and to restrict access to websites by users in China. The growth of long-distance wireless communication is now changing the paradigm once again, but, even there, someone or some few groups currently ultimately control the satellite or other receiver, and have to be willing to process and to direct information requests. They thus form new potential points of control and restriction.

[61] For this reason, the sociological scholarship dealing with the rise of what Castells terms the "Network Society" is less helpful than its title might superficially suggest, because of its presentist focus. On the "Network Society", see in particular, Castells 1996, reissued as Castells 2010; the important collections of essays Castells 2004c; Castells 2004b; Castells and Cardoso 2006; and, for a shorter overview, Barney 2004. Castells is consistent in emphasising that he is concerned with how social structures have been changed specifically by "networks operated by information and communication technologies based in microelectronics and digital computer networks" Castells 2006, 7; *cf* Castells 2004a, xvii; Castells 2004b, 3; Castells 2010, 500. The same criticism that Castells applies to attempts to label modern society the "information society" or the "knowledge society" (*eg*, at Castells 2004b, 6–7) thus applies to his own conceptualisation of modern society as the "Network Society", because it elides his insistence on the importance of network dynamics to earlier societies. What Castells and his collaborators are tracing is not the formation of networks, but an (admittedly, revolutionary) increase in the speed of communication and response across those networks, and resulting changes in their structure and size. 'The digital society' thus might perhaps be a better term for the phenomenon Castells is analysing.

identify which aspects are central to the differing characteristics displayed by various networks and the actors that constitute them.

This vocabulary at its simplest involves just two components: nodes and ties. Nodes are the individual actors or objects in the network. Ties, also called links or connexions, are the relationships between them. If I conceptualise my friendship group as a network, then I, and all my friends, are nodes in the network, and each of them is connected to me by a tie, indicating that I know each of them. Because the node that is me is connected to far more of the other nodes than is the norm, I can be considered a hub, a particularly well-connected node.

Figure 3. My friendship network



A network with a single central node forming the centre of all known pathways is called 'centralised'. The friendship network illustrated above forms one such network. Another example of such a network is a small business computer system where there is one server for all the different computers in the office. An example more relevant to

Classical Studies is the traditional picture of distribution of Corinthian pottery, where all the pottery was produced in Corinth and thence spread around the Mediterranean[62].

In each of these cases, there is only one hub in the network. We can, however, easily imagine networks where there is more than one hub, - because more than one person is central to a group of friends: such a network is termed 'decentralised'[63]. Where all the nodes have a similar number of ties, the network is 'distributed'. The classic example of a decentralised system is a legacy american airline network with its hub-and-spoke arrangement: to get from one small airport to another, it is almost certain that travellers have to fly through either one or two of the airline's hubs, depending on how far apart the two small airports are; the highway system of the United States is a good example of a distributed network: each city is connected by one (or occasionally two) highways to a few cities near it, but no city has many more ties to other cities than any other[64].

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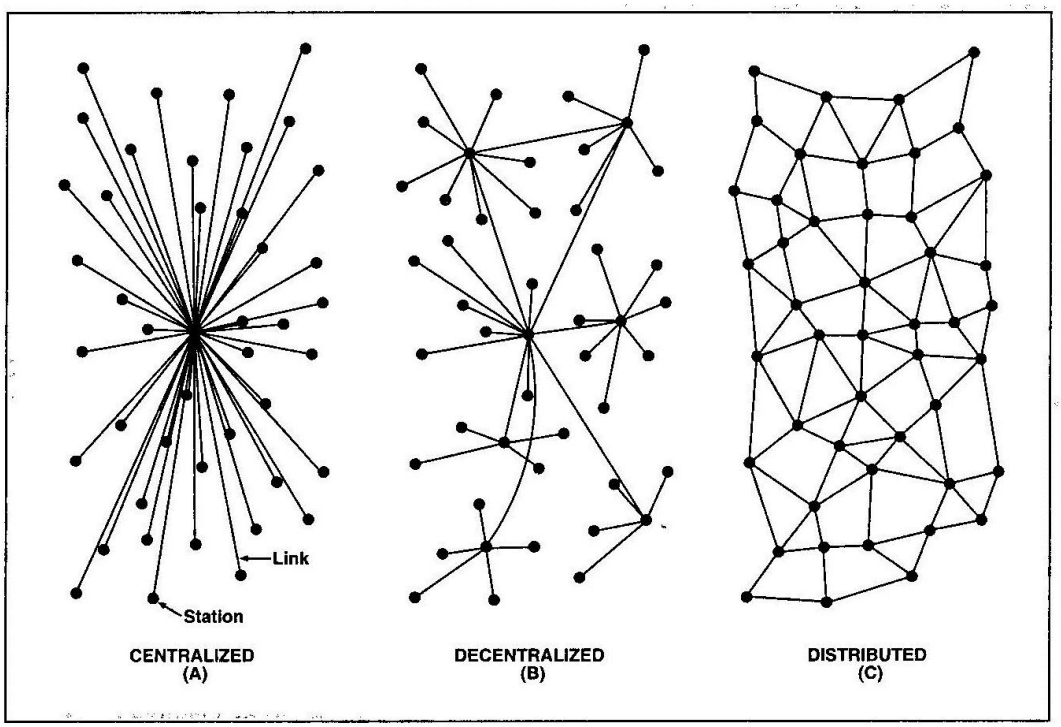
62 The Corinthian pottery network is also an example of a directed network, in that the pottery flowed from its point of production to its point of discovery. The links on web-pages also form such a network, in that they are uni-directional. This contrasts with a non-directed network where traffic flows in both directions. This distinction is, however, not relevant to our discussion here.

63 These ties may, of course, be of different strength or nature. Further refinements allow for this aspect but are not relevant to our discussion here.

64 Baran 1964. Note that the different structures of these networks form a good example of how the embedded nature of networks can express itself in different ways depending on the characteristics inherent to the networks themselves. The same population is connected by the american road and airline networks, but the networks look very different. Among the factors that explain this are the differing speed of aeroplanes and cars, which make the relative inconvenience caused by having to 'double-back' to go to a smaller city by aeroplane much less than it would be if the same detour were necessary in a car; and the increased cost involved in travelling by aeroplane, leading to it only being (currently) feasible as a mass-transit option when undertaken effectively in bulk form.

Figure 4. Centralised, decentralised and distributed networks[65]

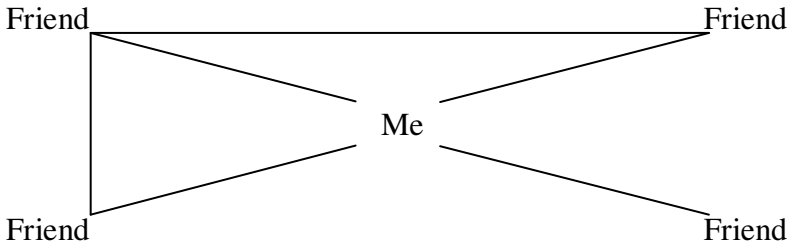


These are ideal descriptions: in reality no network exactly fits these criteria. In addition, networks may look very different depending on the perspective we assume. Thus, as a description of my friendship group from my personal perspective, the centralised network we outlined above may well be valid: I may be the central person in the group from that perspective, and the resulting tree-like structure may well reflect the dynamics as I see them. If we are attempting to understand the dynamics of the group as a whole, however, that description is probably inadequate: it is likely that several of my friends know each other. Even if they do not when they first come to know me, it is likely that some of them will come to know each other through me, and

[65] Figure from Barabási 2002, 145, after Baran 1964.

then strike up friendships. The structure of the network described above implies that all communication between my friends is routed through me. This is unlikely to be correct, or at least long to remain the case. Instead, a tie will develop between them independently of me.

Figure 5. My friendship network with ties between friends



The narrative outlined above illustrates how networks are commonly not static phenomena. A diagram represents the network in a specific configuration at a set chronological point, but it is likely soon to be out-of-date, as friends fall out of touch or meet through each other. Similarly, our image so far presents only a partial view of the network: my friends also know people whom I do not know, each of whom will know other people not known to other people in the network, as will all of those, until (probably) the entire population of the world is included. My friends will also know differing numbers of people, whose friendship groups will also overlap in differing ways on a variety of criteria. Nevertheless, the principle of the description holds true. The diagram was not inaccurate; it merely represented a particular area of the network that corresponded to the focus of our discussion at the time: my position in the network. The discussion thus here illustrates the possibility of different equally valid

frames: how a variety of levels of focus and description can complement each other to illuminate different aspects.

The power of networks

The principles that we have outlined here can be applied to a wide range of phenomena, from the electronic (the internet) to the social (friendship groups) to the biological (cell functioning). They allow the underlying structures visible in these very different contexts to be compared, and enable two connected realisations: the first is that networks with a similar structure behave similarly, irrespective of the media involved. Once we have identified the structure in question, our understanding of the functioning of networks, network theory, allows us to predict how a network with a specific structure will react in certain environments, and, where we have the power, to consider how we should modify that structure if we want to change that response. To return to our examples of a decentralised and distributed system: if a snow-storm hits New York, aeroplane traffic in New England will face greater problems than road traffic in New England. The fact that New York is (temporarily or permanently) not part of the network does not affect people driving from Portland, Maine, to Providence, Rhode Island; but it might affect those flying between the two, as there is at time of writing no direct flight between the two cities, and they would probably be scheduled to travel via one of the New York airports. When rephrased in terms of networks, with New York a hub for the decentralised airline network in a way that it is not in the distributed road map, we can see how our understanding of the

different responses of these decentralised and distributed networks might provide insight to other networks with similar underlying structures.

The second insight of comparative network analysis is that these structures are not equally likely to occur. Real networks, including social networks, are more commonly decentralised, not distributed or centralised. Hence, when plotted on a graph, the distribution of nodes against the number of ties possessed by each node approximates to a power law[66]. Comparative network analysis also offers an explanation for this phenomenon, through the process of preferential attachment between nodes. Preferential attachment is in part a function of the number of existing ties another node has. To return to our example of the friendship network above: this principle suggests that, all other things being equal, I am more likely to choose someone with lots of friends as my friend than someone with fewer friends, - perhaps because I think he is more likely to introduce me to more people, or because I think that the number of friends a person already has is a valuable metric of the pleasure I too would gain from that friendship[67].

Preferential attachment is not, however, just connected to the number of ties an existing node already has. Instead, it is also a product of what Barabási terms the

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[66] For a statistical illustration of this tendency, see briefly Watts 2003, 78–83, where it applies both to so-called 'small-world networks' and fragmented networks; at greater length Watts 1999. For demonstrations with reference to cells: Jeong, et al 2000; Jeong, et al 2001; to the Hollywood actor network: Barabási and Albert 1999, 510; Barabási, Albert, and Jeong 1999, 375–376; to internet router connectivity: Faloutsos, Faloutsos, and Faloutsos 1999; Govindan and Tangmunarunkit 2000; to online social networks: Mislove, et al 2007.

[67] Other reasons not compatible with this principle of preferential attachment might also apply. I might, for example, decide only to befriend people who have few friends, perhaps because I feel sorry for them, or because I feel they may have more time for me. Such aberrant behaviour does not affect the overall principle. It is a matter of preference, not inevitability.

fitness of the node. Through fitness, Barabási incorporates the competitive aspect involved in modern society:

> "Fitness is your ability to make friends relative to everybody else in your neighborhood; a company's competence in luring and keeping consumers compared to other companies; an actor's aptitude for being liked and remembered relative to other aspiring actors … It is a quantitative measure of a node's ability to stay in front of the competition[68]"

Two factors here bear emphasising which are directly relevant to the general applicability of network theory. First, it does not matter what the criterion for fitness is: it can be the position of a city near an important river-crossing; or it can be the cost of labour in a region. What matters is that there are some such criteria that render nodes in the network and joining the network more likely to be connected to a particular node than other nodes: that node then becomes and maintains its position as a 'hub'. Second, implicit in this discussion is that the principle of preferential attachment is embedded, and a matter, effectively, of competitive advantage. It can thus change if the competitive landscape changes either in its structure or composition: both improvements in bridge-building technology and the founding of a new city on a better site can render a previously important river-crossing redundant. In network terminology, if the criteria of preferential attachment change, or if a new node with a greater aptitude joins the network, then other nodes will be more likely to connect with that new node, rather than to renew and to maintain their ties with the existing most-

[68] Barabási 2002, 95.

connected node. Hence, Barabási is able to explain why it is not always the first-mover or the existing market-leader that wins: even though Google did not exist until 1998, it, not Altavista or Lycos, is currently the dominant search engine. Google's dominance is currently under threat, however, because of changes in the way in which people use the internet, and because of the rise of other portals that are currently adapting more successfully to those trends, not least Facebook.

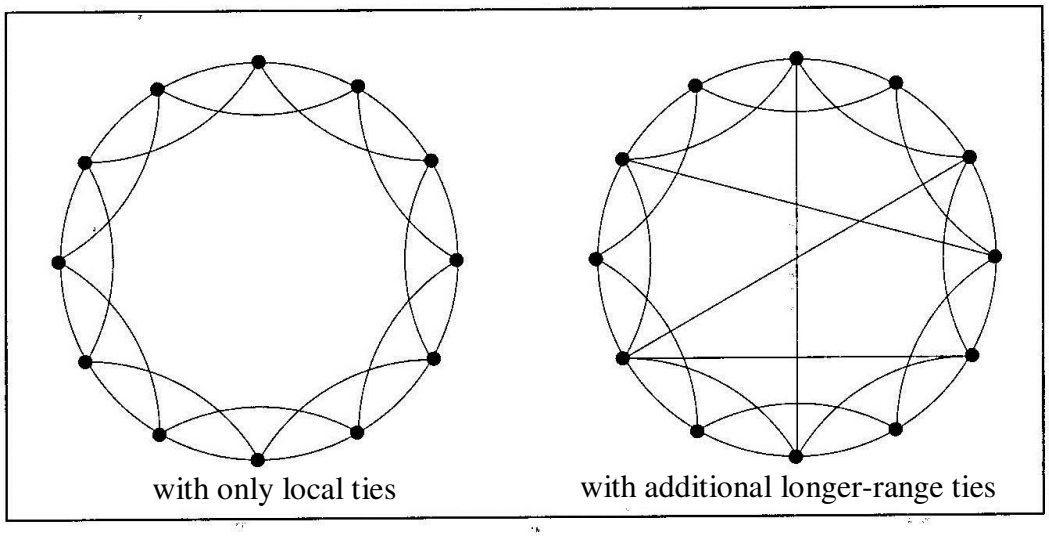
Both of these criteria are important in explaining historical change. Barabási is primarily concerned with growing networks, rather than static networks. In addition, perhaps because he is dealing with the relatively effort-free digital world of the internet and email-based friendships, he seems not to allow space for the effort involved in maintaining ties, where effort can involve time as well as resources. Nevertheless, we can extend his principle of preferred attachment to explain variations in historical and geographically embedded networks: if the attractiveness of a node changes, - because its port silts up, - or its systemic role changes, - because their increased range means aeroplanes no longer need to refuel in Gander when flying America and Europe, - or if a new more attractive alternative node appears, - Google, - the choices of new and existing nodes in making new ties, and maintaining existing ties will also change, leading to a reconfiguration of the network[69]. Hence can we understand how a position of pre-eminence, like that of Delos in the proxeny network, can have been lost in part through broader structural changes that affected the criteria

[69] On fitness, see, more generally, Barabási 2002, 93–107. This discussion here compresses several different stages in research. As noted in the text, it also emphasises the geographic embeddedness and so effort involved in maintaining real-world networks in a way that scholarship tends not to because of its focus on the internet and friendship groups in the digital age.

through which its competitive advantage was expressed, and so rendered the (re)construction of ties with Delos less attractive.

This principle of preferential attachment and the resulting decentralised structure of real networks has two further important consequences. First, they explain the common disjunction between our perception of our and others' connectedness and the reality. Social networks differ from technological or biological networks in that we are not concerned solely with the passage of data (whether that be information, disease, or something else) along the network, but also with the perception of the people involved in the network. Because groups of people tend to share many friends, they can believe that they subsist in an enclosed universe. However, as the figure below illustrates, it only takes one or two ties outside the immediate group for every member in that group to have a significantly shorter path to every other member of the network.

Figure 6. The effect on a network of a few longer-range ties[70]



The effect of these random ties is further magnified by the principle of preferential attachment in two ways. First, because this principle dictates that each of these additional links is more likely to be to an existing well-connected hub; second, because each person is unique, with slightly different dislikes and likes: thus, depending on context, each person may form part of five or six different overlapping networks, each based on a different common principle. The so-called law of 'six degrees of separation', whereby each person on the planet can in theory be connected to every other at only six degrees of separation, is an extrapolation of this phenomenon, and arises directly through the decentralised nature of the network[71].

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[70] From Barabási 2002, 47.

[71] "Six degrees of separation": this phrase, popularised by John Guare's 1990 play, points to the belief that the world is much smaller in terms of friendship connexions than we would think (have thought) plausible if we (had) thought in geographical terms (prior to the development of the internet): Guare 1992. A reanalysis of the data in Kleinfeld 2002 has recently called into question the validity of the classic illustration of this phenomenon in Milgram 1967; Travers and Milgram 1969, where the authors asked participants to send letters from Nebraska to Boston. Network theory, however, justifies the model; see Granovetter's theory of the 'strength of weak ties': Granovetter 1973; Granovetter 1983.

This principle is important in our context here, because the disjunction recognised here joins with the external and imperial focus of our literary sources for the ancient Cyclades. Cumulatively, they explain how we can validly set aside the insistence on island isolation and insularity we discussed in the introduction without needing to call into question the motives or worth of those sources: this difference is not a matter of truth and falsity, but instead one of differing perspectives.

The second consequence of this decentralised structure is the great resilience that many networks have. The notion of resilience describes how well a network adapts to the removal of any one of its nodes. Here, two connected results bear emphasis. First, the scale-free nature of a decentralised network means that it is more resilient to random attack than a distributed network: this is because, by the law of averages, a random attack is more likely to affect one of the less well connected nodes than a hub. Conversely, however, the more centralised a network is, the more vulnerable it is to an attack specifically directed against a hub, because that hub will form the only or shortest tie between more nodes. The effective removal of that hub can have widespread repercussions, effectively disconnecting some nodes from the network, or rendering communication more difficult and labour-intensive. These effects also increase with greater centralisation: a decentralised network, although more resilient overall, is more vulnerable to a targeted attack against a hub than a distributed network, a fact which encapsulates why the decentralised network that is the american airline network copes better with a snowstorm in most areas than the decentralised road network, except when the snowstorm affects one of the hubs, - for example, New

York. In a similar vein, it also helps explain how an attack on Delos, as a 'hub' of the Cycladic proxeny network, can have had broader systemic repercussions on that network without any need to posit that the attack on Delos was uniquely greater than other attacks which are periodically mentioned in our literary sources and archaeologically attested, or that that attack formed part of a more general campaign of otherwise unattested attacks against islands specifically at that time.

Networks in the Classics

As noted above, networks have, in a sense, always been central to the study of antiquity. The recent greater emphasis on their theoretical underpinning is part of a broader trend in academic studies towards terminological rigour, and is not always welcomed[72]. Nevertheless, there is now a respectable tradition of work involving network theory in the Classics and related disciplines.

The first study dealing with classical antiquity and explicitly drawing on Social Network Analysis seems to have been published by Alexander and Danowski in 1991 in the journal *Social Networks*[73]. They analysed Cicero's correspondence prior to

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[72] *Cf* the reaction of Sarris 2009, 1572, in reviewing Ruffini 2008: "[t]his conclusion is perfectly sensible, and parts of the book are genuinely interesting and useful … But do we really need social network theory to tell us that a city-based archive largely concerned with large estates will primarily reveal vertical ties of dependence, and a village-based archive will primarily reveal horizontal ones? Might an intelligent reader not have guessed as much? Or perhaps, like a modern Monsieur Jourdain, the reviewer has been thinking social network theory all his life without knowing it."

[73] Alexander and Danowski 1990, where earlier historical studies outside the Classics are also surveyed at 316–317. Note that the authors justify selecting only the earlier portion of the corpus from 68 to 50, and so only *c* a third of the surviving letters, because "this later period is one of almost continuous civil war [and] might reflect a different or changing social structure" (318). Their caution is laudatory, but Cicero's own position in the social structure was so "atypical" and social change so rapid even from 68 to 50, that it is unclear that the period 68 to 50 is any more unified than the later years of Cicero's life. Note that the social group identified again follows a power law: see figure 1 (333).

Caesar's crossing of the Rubicon in 49, in total two hundred and eighty preserved letters, with a view to understanding better the relationship between senators and 'knights' (equites), and, specifically, how far they formed distinct social classes. They identified 1914 relations involving 524 different people of different classes, and were able to demonstrate that, at least in Cicero's corpus, senators and equites had structurally equivalent contact patterns, and that these patterns remained visible whether or not Cicero's own relationships were included. This insight was not presented as offering a definitive answer to the long debate over the fraught issue of the relationship between senators and equites, and, indeed, cannot be: as the authors themselves note, Cicero's own position at Rome may have been "atypical", and his corpus need not accurately reflect all the nuances of Roman society[74]. Nevertheless, Cicero's letters form by far the largest corpus from this period, and the analysis is valuable in providing some support for the more flexible models of Roman elite society argued by Brunt against the more rigid model advanced by, for example, Gelzer[75].

Despite the potential of this approach and its ability to synthesise larger data sets, scholarship involving social network analysis developed slowly, particularly in the areas closer to the Classical literary canon. Significant early contributions involve a collection of essays on networks in early Christianity, notably including discussions of the networks surrounding the so-called 'Altar of Victory' debate in AD 382 by White,

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74 "[A]typical": Alexander and Danowski 1990, 318; for discussion of possible difficulties: 328–330.

75 See, for example, Brunt 1971 and the essays collected in Brunt 1988 against the approach advocated by Gelzer 1912, translated as Gelzer 1969.

and the contemporary Origenist controversy by Clark: even White, however, did not undertake statistical analysis, instead rather offering what might be considered a thick contextualised prosopographical study[76]. Other studies include Remus' discussion of the social network of Aelius Aristides as revealed by his *Sacred Tales*; Hezser's analysis of the structure of the Rabbinic movement; and Duling on the Jesus Movement as an ego-centred network[77].

Recent contributions have been more quantitative, and have drawn on a wider range of data sets. Graham analysed the socioeconomic structure of the brick-industry in imperial Italy. Hence, he demonstrated the importance of imperial women in its organisational structure, and could derive insight for our understanding of the relationship between Rome and Rome's hinterland, the Tiber valley[78]. Later, he also analysed the geographical structure of the Roman empire inherent in the descriptions in the Antonine Itineraries. Here, he argued that there was a far closer correlation between the material and cultural developments of an area and its position on the conceptual map revealed by these Itineraries than with its geographical position[79].

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[76] White 1991b; White 1991a, 4–16 on the 'Altar of Victory' debate, Clark 1991 on the Originist controversy. Clark's study does utilise the concept of density, and her broader study (published as Clark 1992) has been central to the recent shift in our understanding of the Origenist controversy. The field has continued to develop, as has our understanding of the role of Ambrose at court (on which: McLynn 1994), and the nature of the 'Altar of Victory' debate (on which, more recently: Cameron 2007). As a result, our understanding of the significance of these networks has also shifted. Their existence is, however, widely accepted as central to any scholarly understanding of the social dynamics of the time.

[77] Remus 1996; Hezser 1997; Duling 1999; Duling 2000.

[78] Graham 2006a, summarised in Graham 2005; Graham 2006c.

[79] Graham 2006b.

The work of Mueller represents a further development through her focus on places rather than on people or objects. In a series of studies analysing the nature of Ptolemaic settlement, she has drawn on a range of methods to elucidate the varying mechanisms by which and reasons for which settlements were established, and their spatial and administrative relationships to each other. Network theory and, more generally, the insistence on the importance of relationships between individual 'nodes' (here, settlements) have been central to her work, and our knowledge of Ptolemaic settlement patterns has vastly grown as a result[80].

In this theoretical context, Ruffini's analysis is particularly noteworthy because of the way in which he is able to reframe the existing debate about the structure of the society of sixth-century Byzantine Egypt. His first, geographically broader study, investigated the office-holders and families of the administrative nome of Oxyrhynchus, and followed how the influence and estates of one family grew inside a centralised aristocratic elite. The second study discussed just one village, Aphrodito, and measured the degree of interconnectivity between the different land-owners identified there, arguing that social standing was less important in this more decentralised unit. Hence he argued against insisting on a single universalising social structure for Byzantine Egypt; instead, he insisted on real difference between the social structure of Oxyrhynchus and Aphrodito, while allowing that they could represent different parts of a single larger, more complex model. Although he seems

[80] A synthesis of Mueller's work on settlement in Ptolemaic Egypt was published as Mueller 2006. On the uses of non-metric multidimensional scaling (MDS) to locate settlements, at least in relative space: Mueller 2004; on Monte-Carlo-Simulation to the same end: Mueller 2003. On the use of geographical information systems (GIS) in understanding trends in migration to Hellenistic Egypt: Mueller 2005.

never to use the term, Ruffini is effectively describing two different parts of a decentralised network, with Oxyrhynchus one of the larger 'hubs' that connects the various clusters represented by villages such as Aphrodito. His approach thus neatly illustrates how, as noted earlier, analysis of a larger network on a variety of levels can be illuminating[81].

There has been much less work specifically in the area of archaic to Hellenistic Greek history. This situation is, however, changing. The most recent and prominent development is perhaps the publication in 2011 of Malkin's reconceptualisation of the process of Greek colonisation and expansion in the archaic period. Having already published extensively on the processes and phenomena underlying our evidence for Greek religion, colonisation, and ethnicity, particularly in the archaic period, he revisited several of these questions with reference to network theory through several case studies: the development of Rhodian identity through colonisation; the development of Greek identity at Naucratis and on Sicily; the competitive and cooperative dynamics that underlay the complex multi-ethnic process that we normally still call Greek (and Phoenician) colonisation; and how those dynamics expressed themselves in the varying diffusion of Greek religious cult titles and practice[82].

A further important example consists of the papers that arose from a conference held in Crete which brought together literary and historical scholars who were looking

[81] Ruffini 2008. *Cf* the reaction of Sarris 2009: 45n72.

[82] Malkin 2011; see also Malkin, Constantakopoulou, and Panagopoulou 2009b; important earlier contributions include Malkin 1987; Malkin 1994; Malkin 1998.

to apply network-based approaches to their work. The variety of papers presented illustrates the general utility of the network approach to questions that have long been central to the scholarly discourse. Thus, it is a long time since simplistic dichotomies between 'Greek' and 'foreigner' were central to scholarship, but Vlassopoulos demonstrates how a network-based approach allows us to move beyond the formal notionally male- and Greek-dominated structures of the *polis* to seeing the Greek world rather as a world system. Similarly, Rutherford approaches the phenomenon of *theoria* as a network to illustrate how the Greek world was connected not just through its political structures, but also through non-hierarchical, non-centralised, multidirectional networks[83].

Most directly relevant to our discussions here, however, is Constantakopoulou's discussion of the Aegean in the archaic and classical periods, which we have already mentioned in the introduction. She demonstrates how central island interaction and networks are to the history of the Aegean in this period, as in so many others: any attempt to discuss just one island without reference to its peers necessarily falsifies. In part, the discussion here extends her discussion: it considers a different period, the Hellenistic period; it has a different evidentiary focus: numismatic and epigraphic sources; and it restricts discussion to the Cyclades. As is perhaps natural in analysis dealing heavily with the classical period and with Athens, however, there is a slight tendency in her discussions of islands, insularity, and even non-Athenian networks to

[83] Malkin, Constantakopoulou, and Panagopoulou 2009a; Vlassopoulos 2009, to which compare Vlassopoulos 2007a; Vlassopoulos 2007b; Rutherford 2009, to which compare his earlier discussion of *theoria* without reference to network theory: Rutherford 2004a.

normalise the external, imperial perspective central to her literary and Athenian epigraphic evidence, and so to approach networks primarily as structures central to imperial and political narratives. Network theory is certainly not incompatible with such perspectives. As noted above, however, it can also allow us to look beyond them, and to re-evaluate how far the differing scale of the networks identified, and the ongoing roles the networks allow for islander agency, and identity, may call into question our existing interpretations. Perhaps mainly because of our differing focus, the stance here is possibly more revisionist than that of Constantakopoulou, and Malkin[84].

Our approach here does follow Constantakopoulou, as also Malkin, and the other scholars mentioned here, in selecting case-studies as a basis for discussion. It additionally differs from them, however, in that it is quantitative, particularly in the discussion of the proxeny network. The work discussed above has demonstrated how the network perspective provides insight into questions which have long been debated, rather than just involving a theoretical repackaging of existing scholarly views. Here, we develop these perspectives with great benefit as we turn to consider how consideration of numismatic and proxeny networks enables us to recognise local coordination among islands, and forms of organisation that continued without reference to the Antigonids, the Lagids, and the Rhodians, each of whom has continually been implicated in our Cycladic narratives and networks as a quasi-'hub'.

[84] Constantakopoulou 2007. See also 19, and, more briefly, 323n796 *ad fin*. Other discussions include Constantakopoulou 2004; Constantakopoulou 2005.

First, a consideration of the divergent contemporary numismatic networks that existed in the late classical and Hellenistic Cyclades allows us to identify smaller sub-regions inside the Hellenistic Cyclades; and to dismiss earlier notions of widespread Rhodian 'monetary influence' in the Cyclades, whether referring to weight standard, iconography, or use. This dual conclusion complicates the external and unifying focus we derive from our literary sources which, as we noted above, treats the islands as a unit, or else as individual islands.

Second, analysis of the proxeny networks maintained by the Cycladic islanders suggests that the Cycladic islands formed a meaningful unit at this time. They were not 'cut-off' from the rest of the Aegean or Mediterranean in the Hellenistic period. Instead, Delos' systemic role in both internal and external Cycladic communication both enabled this connectedness during the Hellenistic period, and explains the apparent Cycladic decline in the last first century and under the Roman empire.

Cumulatively, these studies thicken our understanding of Cycladic life in the Hellenistic period by identifying structures that have not previously been noted. They demonstrate a degree of self-organisation among the islands which the externally focussed and hegemonically driven nature of past historical discussions has elided. Finally, they provide a new dynamic context from which to evaluate the Cyclades as a multipolar space.

Numismatic networks in the Hellenistic Cyclades

This study argues for the existence of multiple numismatic networks in the Hellenistic Cyclades. Previous scholars have analysed literary and epigraphic evidence to demonstrate the existence of multiple networks on a variety of levels, from 'mini island networks' involving control of uninhabited islands by a larger neighbour, to regional and even pan-Aegean groupings. This work has emphasised that these different layers are not mutually exclusive, and should be seen as complementary. Networks are geographically informed, but are no more geographically determined than they are automatically to be connected to the perceived contemporary hegemonic situation. Instead, they allow us to construct a richer account of life in, for example, the Classical Aegean than that available when we consider it through the lens of islands' presumed political relationships with, for example, Athens. We here extend this discussion by reference to numismatic evidence, which has not previously been discussed in this context. Through a consideration of minting standards and practice in the Hellenistic Cyclades, we argue for the existence of local numismatic networks consisting of just a few islands, and, more generally, demonstrate the importance of local factors in our approaches to Hellenistic Cycladic production, and the Hellenistic Cycladic economy[85].

[85] For a brief survey of weight standards at this time, see Mørkholm, Grierson, and Westermark 1991, 3–11; for the earlier development of standards, see Kraay 1976, 329–330; for a discussion of the meaning of these standards in the Hellenistic period: Picard 1999. For a very different approach which agrees in its emphasis on the importance of the local: Reger 1994c.

The quantity of coins that survives from cities and kingdoms throughout the Greek world after the start of production in the archaic period has long enabled scholars to reconstruct differing circulation zones and weight standards. These structures in turn have informed our economic, social, and political narratives, including our narratives for the Hellenistic Cyclades: Boeckh already identified the potential significance of the δραχμῶν τοῦ Ῥοδίου ἀργυρίου required by corn-merchants on second-century Delos, while Head suggested a connexion between the rose in the field of certain Tenian bronze issues and what he considered Rhodes' contemporary "predominant influence" in the Aegean[86].

Systematic analysis of Cycladic numismatic evidence has, however, rarely been attempted. There are good reasons for this lacuna. In part, the material is not available: there are very few hoards recorded for the Hellenistic Cyclades before the Third Macedonian War[87], and basic numismatic analysis of the various mints is still on-going[88]. Nevertheless, this lacuna continues to hinder and to mislead scholars in

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[86] *CIG* 2334 = *IG* XII.5 817; quotation: Head 1887, 421 (second edition: Head, et al 1911, 493); both already central to the analysis of König 1910, specifically 57 and 84; *cf* Fraser and Bean 1954, 170–171; Sippel 1966, 75–78. Artémis-Gyselen and Étienne label these types 205.II; 205.III; 205.V; 207.I; 207.IV in their study: Étienne 1990, 225–251. The 'Rhodian' rose of Cythnos is a more recent addition to discussion: Sippel 1966, 78–80; Robert 1977, 7–34; Sheedy and Papageorgiadou 1998. On *IG* XII.5 817, see 108–116, and Appendix 4. *IG* XII.5 817. Analysis and Quantification, 135; on Tenos, see 79–93, and especially 104–108; on Cythnos, see 100–103.

[87] *The Inventory of Greek Coin Hoards* (*IGCH*: Thompson, Mørkholm, and Kraay 1973) records but five small hoards: *IGCH* 91, Siphnos, 1930, 30 AR; *IGCH* 126, Delos, 1910, 29 AR + AE; *IGCH* 124, Philoti, Naxos, 1963, 2 AR, 3 AE; *IGCH* 204, Ios, 1936(?), of *c* 35 AR; and *IGCH* 198 "Cyclades?, 1880–1885", *c* 50 AR, whose findspot is "dubious". The regular reviews in the *Numismatic Chronicle* and *Coin Hoards* (*CoinH*) have not added to these hoards.

[88] For Hellenistic Tenian production and issues, see Étienne 1990 (incorporating work by Artémis-Gyselen on the coinage of Tenos); for Hellenistic Naxian production and issues: Nicolet-Pierre 1999; for Hellenistic Parian production and issues, see 604–719.
A broad picture has, of course, been available since long before the still standard handbooks of Head, et al 1911 and Babelon 1901. These are both now out-of-date, not least owing to subsequent discoveries, chronological shifts, and theoretical changes. A range of more recent works, including in the

their analysis both of the Cycladic mints themselves, and of broader scholarly controversies. Specifically regarding numismatic work, we may illustrate the difficulties with reference to Étienne and Artémis-Gyselen's recent study of the Hellenistic coinage of Tenos. The lacuna hinders their analysis because, as they note, they cannot properly contextualise their work in the absence of detailed work on the other coinages. It misleads them in that, without that work, they justifiably explain the standard they identify on Tenos with reference to the existing preliminary suggestion that a similar standard is found on other islands, specifying Andros, Naxos, and Paros, as well as Euboea. The analysis is well-meaning and in keeping with the existing scholarly consensus, but, as will be seen below, ultimately misleading[89]. Partly on account of subsequent work, such as the study of Parian Hellenistic silver and of local bronze coinages undertaken here, a fresh approach involving greater contextualisation, discrimination, and synthesis is now possible. This study attempts this analysis.

Turning to consider the broader scholarly context, this inability to contextualise has had equally significant effects here. It has elided the differences between islands, and has helped to maintain the impression of Cycladic unity and passivity under external influence in this area. Hence, by extension, the numismatic evidence has also seemed to support the case for Cycladic passivity and unity under external influence in other areas. In theory, such 'monetary influence' might be identified for any of the external

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anglophone scholarly world Kraay 1976 and Mørkholm, Grierson, and Westermark 1991, have partly replaced them. Where detailed analysis of mints had not been undertaken subsequent to Head and Babelon, however, as in the Cyclades, they are still reliant on the same numismatic analysis.

[89] Étienne 1990, 226, 237. *Cf* Giovannini 1978, 8, who equates the standards of Paros and Tenos, an understandable hypothesis which the analysis below shews to be incorrect; and Liampi 1998, 273, for a restatement of the common position that the 'Rhodian standard' was the norm in the Cyclades.

hegemonic powers adduced for the Cyclades, the Antigonids, Ptolemies, or Rhodians, especially as each used a different monetary standard. In fact, monetary influence has only consistently been adduced for the Rhodians: it has, however, been a matter of scholarly consensus[90].

The phrase "monetary influence" is not widespread in numismatic scholarship. Instead, scholars tend to refer specifically to the form of monetary influence visible in the coinage or inscription which they are studying. Even when it is adduced, monetary influence is rarely defined, but instead used more nebulously to refer to a perceived context in which a specific phenomenon is to be interpreted[91]. Nevertheless, it can be a useful concept in enabling us succinctly to refer to a range of phenomena which are occasionally thought to reflect the influence of one state on the coinage and economy of a second. Monetary influence is hence here defined as

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[90] For a synthesis of commonly held opinion on Cycladic minting situating it in its traditional Rhodian context, see Liampi 1998; the same picture underlies the scholarship mentioned at 54n86 and 54n88, and more generally. For a more recent attempt at reanalysis of the evidence across the Aegean as a whole, see Stephanaki 2010. She shares the external focus of earlier studies, but differs in arguing globally for the use of the reduced Attic standard in the Cyclades rather than the Rhodian. She does not, however, analyse the standards in detail, or note the evidence for consistency in production over time. Partly as a result, the frame in which Stephanaki places her discussion is strikingly different: it is ultimately much more 'Rhodes-centric', and more political. She envisages the spread of the 'Rhodian standard' even in the first half of the fourth century in Asia Minor as owing even then to the influence of Rhodes (414); similarly, the leading position of Rhodes in the Second League of the Islanders contributed to making light Rhodian drachms acceptable across the Second League of the Islanders, or perhaps its international currency (432, despite 440); she continues to see the envisage Rhodian influence in the early second century on Tenos (433), Cythnos (434), and Amorgos (434); and generalises from these individual cases to confirm the traditional picture of the war with Philip as an opportunity for the Rhodians to extend their influence across the Aegean (441). The final picture is thus markedly different from that presented here, and, for all her focus on the reduced Attic standard rather than the Rhodian, largely in keeping with the vision previously presented by earlier scholars.

[91] See, *eg*, Bresson 1996, 75: "[d]ans les Cyclades, l'influence monétaire de Rhodes se laisse bien discerner", with no definition, merely referring to Étienne 1990, 197–204 and 235–246, and offered in a context where he is otherwise arguing against other forms of monetary influence. For discussion specifically of the evidence Bresson adduces: 118–121; and, more generally on Rhodian monetary influence: 116–121.

involving the widespread circulation and use of, for example, Rhodian currency; the use of the 'Rhodian standard' on denominations analogous to those used at Rhodes; or the use of Rhodian iconography[92]. This is a deliberately strong, all-encompassing definition. It is not self-evident that the circulation or imitation of a particular state's currency in an area reflects the influence of that state there; or that the choice of a particular weight standard or numismatic style for production does imply a connexion with that state. There is some epigraphic evidence that the 'Rhodian standard' was so-called in antiquity, but that evidence may reflect no more than the prominence of Rhodes among states using that standard. It does not mean that the silver in question derived from Rhodes[93]. The use of the same denominations, standards, and style can also be matters of numismatic custom. Nevertheless, each of the aspects listed above has been considered a sign of Rhodian monetary and economic influence, and then in turn interpreted as evidence for Rhodian political influence.

In this study, successive analysis of the various aspects of Cycladic numismatic practice separately demonstrates that Rhodian monetary influence in the Cyclades in any guise mentioned above is invisible, with the sole possible temporary exception of Tenian iconographic practice. Because of the inter-connected nature of the above categories, and the arguments that have been built on them, however, it is useful to be

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92 By Rhodian iconography is meant the use of the rose, nymph Rhodos, or Helios, all of which appear on Rhodian coins. In fact, only the rose has ever been identified on Cycladic issues. For an overview of Rhodian production in the Hellenistic period: Ashton 2001.

93 On the difference between νόμισμα, identifying a specific currency, and ἀργυρίον, specifying a standard, see Giovannini 1978, 38–40. On imitation as a phenomenon in ancient numismatics and more generally in ancient commerce, see, recently, Lawall and van Alfen 2010; for a recent discussion of a particular instance, the Qatabanian and Sabaean 'Old Style' Athenian imitations produced in South Arabia from the fourth century, in its numismatic, economic, and historical contexts, see Huth and van Alfen 2010.

able briefly to refer to the entire agglomeration, such is rendered possible by this broad definition.

To this end, this study starts by considering the numismatic environment of the Cyclades. It argues for the importance of local factors in numismatic production: first, it offers a survey of the bronze coinages of the region, which are normally excluded from such discussions, and emphasises how they encode local identity and iconography. Second, it discusses the silver production of the islands, demonstrating the existence of two numismatic networks, consisting of Paros and Naxos, and Tenos and Andros, and illustrating how the evidence from Aegiale and Ceos points to two further quite separate rhythms of production. It is not always possible from the thin evidence to draw firm conclusions as to how exhaustive these local networks are; whether they incorporated other islands that did not mint silver; and what degree of political as well as economic coordination lay behind this phenomenon. Nevertheless, these differences point to the importance of sub-regional networks inside the Cyclades, and, not least through the very variety of their different trajectories, confirm the importance of the local in approaching Hellenistic Cycladic production. Where previous interpretations have effectively envisaged a single centralised Rhodian numismatic network, focussed round a single external hub, Rhodes, this section envisages multiple local networks, or, alternatively, an almost entirely distributed Cycladic network with hubs of only local importance.

In this revised, thicker context, we then consider the evidence that has been adduced for this Rhodian numismatic network in the Cyclades, and, specifically, the

recent reaffirmations of its existence. First, we consider iconographic arguments. We argue that the 'rose' on the coinage of Cythnos has been misidentified, and that the 'rose' that temporarily appears on the bronze coinage of Tenos cannot bear the weight placed on it. It is only a field-mark, and temporarily complements existing Tenian iconography. It does not replace it. Even if the rose does attest Rhodian influence in some form, - which we argue it more likely does not, - the lack of any numismatic parallel elsewhere in the Cyclades, even on the many bronze coinages, points to it encoding a connexion specifically between Tenos and Rhodes, not between the Cyclades as a whole and Rhodes. Where the evidence from Tenos has always guided our approach to the other islands, the reverse has to be the case, and Tenos considered an exception. Second, we turn to *IG* XII.5 817, and argue, against previous interpretations, that it does not posit a structural role for Rhodian silver for the League of the Islanders. Finally, we demonstrate that the reduced role for Rhodian coinage in the Hellenistic Cyclades argued here is more compatible with recent developments in scholarship on Rhodes and the Hellenistic economy than the previous orthodoxy, and, indeed, strengthens those arguments.

Cumulatively, the resulting picture from both sections is one of far greater numismatic diversity. Previous suggestions of Cycladic numismatic unity are replaced by multiple local island clusters with differing patterns of production, and Rhodian and other external monetary influence is necessarily diminished by its juxtaposition with and replacement by these locally rooted numismatic structures.

Local numismatic networks

Seven Cycladic island-states may have produced silver in the Hellenistic period: Andros, Delos, Naxos, Paros, Tenos, Aegiale on Amorgos, and possibly Iulis and Carthaea on Ceos[94]. Many more states produced bronze: at least twenty-one. The designs of the resulting issues are important in illustrating the universal concern to express sovereignty and individual identity. The coinage expressed its city of origin in two ways. An abbreviated legend named the city: AIΓI or AI for Aegiale, KAPΘAI or KAPΘA for Carthaea, MYKO for Myconos. Most states also had distinctive symbols, such as the eagle for Siphnos; importantly, even where we now identify the same divinity on the obverse, these are stylistically distinct, and so were plausibly

[94] For a more detailed recent survey of the numismatic production of the islands, see Liampi 1998; specifically on the archaic period: Sheedy 2006.
Possibly Iulis and Carthaea: these small issues are not attested in hoards but are dated in the third century by Sheedy. Hence they are discussed below, unlike the small issue from Ios, dated by Sheedy 2009 to the mid-fourth century, or those from Siphnos, where individual specimens of fifth-century Siphnian silver are occasionally dated in the early fourth century (*eg*, *SNG Copenhagen* 747).
The Hellenistic silver on the 'Attic standard' attributed to Syros and systematically presented by Nicolet-Pierre and Amandry 1992 is now more plausibly attributed to a mint in the Pergamene kingdom. See, *eg*, Meadows and Houghton 2010, 183. As Meadows there notes, the absence of this large coinage from the Gaziantep hoard suggests that it post-dates 143. Both in date and standard, it thus forms a different numismatic phenomenon from the high denomination silver coinages of Tenos, Andros, Naxos and Paros associated by their compresence in *IGCH* 210. If accepted as Cycladic, this Syrian silver would further support the argument for numismatic diversity, because it would be contemporaneous with the latest silver production of Naxos and Paros, which consisted only of drachms on their own standard. Given the strength of Meadow's arguments, however, this issue is omitted.
A full corpus of the coinage of Delos is still in preparation: Chankowski 2005, 153n2; conclusions can only be preliminary until it is completed, especially as it is possible that this will identify types not previously connected with Delos. So far, however, the two main series of Hellenistic Delian coins identified are a series *c* 1.4g with Apollo on the obverse, a lyre on the reverse (*eg* Hirsch XIII (15/05/1905) 3144), and a (later) series *c* 1.6g with Apollo on the obverse, a palm-tree on the reverse (*eg* Hirsch XIII (15/05/1905) 3148). This palm-tree (ὁ, ἡ φοῖνιξ) gave its name to the series. No large denomination silver has been identified. On the Delian currency as deliberately underweight for local circulation, Picard 1999, followed by Chankowski 2005, against previous analyses envisaging use of the 'Rhodian standard', as, *eg*, by Hackens 1983. Given the current work on the coinage of Delos, it has deliberately here not here been discussed in detail. For a suggestion that Delos formed part of the Paros and Naxos numismatic network traced here, however, and thus was central to the maintenance of that network, see Appendix 2. Naxos, Paros, Delos, and the Denarius, 129.

clear for their users[95]. Only two possible exceptions to this rule have been identified: the 'rose' on the coins of Tenos and Cythnos. As noted above, however, we later argue that the Cythnian 'rose' is no such thing, and that the 'rose' on the coinage of Tenos, if it is a rose, is unlikely to indicate any connexion with Rhodes.

These coinages often cannot be well-dated: they are rarely found in hoards, and the lack of stylistic development means that they are sometimes not even datable to a specific century. Nevertheless, the few studies of bronze coinages that have been completed emphasise the quantity of different issues produced, and the time they remained in circulation[96]. They thus suggest a monetised economy was the norm at this time even for small transactions, and indicate that the concern to encode local identity was ongoing and permanent in this period.

For larger transactions, the cities would have been able to take advantage of the international currencies that were used across state boundaries to facilitate trade and exchange: where Attic tetradrachms had previously been imitated, it was the types of Alexander which continued to be minted from the fourth century into the first century. So too the coinage of Rhodes was imitated in great quantities at least in the late third and second centuries on the Greek mainland, on Crete, and in Asia Minor, although, as

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95 Compare, *eg*, the images of "Dionysus" on Paros and Naxos bronze issues: Naxos: BMC 113 13, pl XXV 12; Paros: BMC 116 26, pl XXVI 15.

96 *Eg*, Nicolet-Pierre 2005, which identified over twenty different issues for the island of Naxos: seven with a cantharus motif, one with a crown, three with clusters of grapes, seven with kylix-style crater, and three with volute-style crater. *Cf* also Dreni 2010, which identified eighteen different issues for Andros between the fourth and the first centuries. She does not include a series which was later countermarked under Trajan, thus implicitly dating it to later than the first century. Paschalis had dated it to the first century: Paschalis 1898 56.

Bresson has recently emphasised, we should not understand Rhodian state intent behind this phenomenon[97].

In this context, it is perhaps initially striking that no pseudo-Rhodian coinage has yet been ascribed to any of the Cycladic islands; and that only one small issue of Alexanders from a Cycladic island (Tenos) has been identified. There was, however, no need for cities to mint such coinages themselves: in so far as necessary and as was also the norm for most cities elsewhere, cities would have been able to exchange currency through the processes illuminated for us by inscriptions such as *IG* XII.5 817, discussed below[98]. The relative infrequency of silver production in the Cyclades thus reminds us that we are here dealing with small economic units, for which it may not always have been economically viable or worth while to mint silver coinages themselves, especially if they lacked a supply of silver: it is no coincidence that it is the larger islands that minted silver[99]. The decision not to mint silver (or the inability to mint silver) does not imply that the islands were cut off from the outside world. It does, however, justify our contention here that the choice of similar parochial standards for production on different islands when they did mint silver is significant.

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97 Bresson 1996. The bibliography on both Alexanders and Rhodes is immense. For recent discussion of the ongoing role of Alexanders, see Meadows 2001; on the broad context for pseudo-Rhodian imitations, see Bresson 1996, with the discussion here at 116–121. For the production and dating of pseudo-Rhodian production across the Aegean, including central Greece, Euboea, Samothrace, Cos, Asia Minor, and Crete, see Ashton 1987b; Ashton 1988b; Ashton 1988a; Ashton 1989; Ashton 1992; Ashton 1995; Ashton 1997; Ashton 1998; Ashton 2000; Ashton 2002; Ashton and Meadows 2008, 116–117, 122–129.

98 See 108–115, and Appendix 4. *IG* XII.5 817. Analysis and Quantification, 135.

99 For a recent discussion of the mechanics of production: Flament 2010.

On this basis, we can now turn to discuss the evidence for consistency of standard and production between Paros and Naxos, and Tenos and Andros, which enables us to identify these islands as forming (parts of) different numismatic networks. We then more briefly survey the other more poorly attested Hellenistic silver issues, from Aegiale on Amorgos, and from Iulis and Carthaea on Ceos: here, we illustrated how the evidence here diverges from that for the two better attested networks, and hypothesise what alternative ties plausibly do underlie these issues. Our treatment of these currencies thus suggests a minimum of four discrete numismatic zones in the Cyclades, and so illustrates the diversity and lack of single external direction we identified as central in the introduction.

Paros and Naxos

Here, we present the evidence for the on-going use of the same numismatic standard and of similar denominations on Paros and Naxos from the late fifth or fourth century to the second century, and place it in a broader numismatic and political frame. This on-going affinity suggests an chronologically extended connexion between the two islands. This fact may seem unsurprising, given their geographical proximity as neighbours in the central Cycladic group. It has also long been known that Paros and Naxos both minted on the same Aeginetan standard in the archaic period[100]. At that time, however, the entire region minted on this standard, as did a leading regional trading power: Aegina. The situation is different for the period to be

[100] Already in the first edition of Head's *Historia Numorum* (Head 1887, 407) as well as the *British Museum Catalogue*: Wroth 1886, xlii–xliv; *cf* Head, et al 1911, 479–480; for a complete catalogue and recent analysis: Sheedy 2006.

traced here, where, as we shall see, they mint on a distinct standard which was different from that used elsewhere. This decision is thus significant in suggesting a stronger connexion specifically between these two islands, or, at most, the central Cyclades, rather than one which extended to encompass the Cycladic islands as a whole, or the Cyclades and a specific external power[101].

As the issues of the early second-century issues are the best attested, we discuss these issues first before moving to consider earlier issues. Despite the violation of chronological order, this approach seems justified as the evidence is here clearest. In particular, only for this period is there external proof that Paros and Naxos issues were minted at approximately the same time, because specimens from both groups were found together in three hoards. Where the individual specimens are known, moreover, we can see that both Paros and Naxos specimens are in the same excellent condition. This aspect suggests that they had both been in circulation for a similarly short time prior to deposition, and supports our suggestion that they are datable to approximately the same time[102].

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[101] This section builds on the work of Nicolet-Pierre on the coinage of Naxos, and the study of the Hellenistic coinage of Paros undertaken below at 604–719. There we present in greater detail the evidence summarised here for a standard of approximately *c* 15.6g for the tetradrachm as the basis of production from the recommencement of production in the late fifth century until the early second century. Nicolet-Pierre identifies this same standard as in use on Naxos in her study of the late Hellenistic coinage of that island (Nicolet-Pierre 1999, 116–118, repeated at Nicolet-Pierre 2010, 325), but not earlier; in the absence of an equivalent study of Parian coinage, she is understandably not able to undertake the further study attempted here. Nicolet-Pierre has unfortunately so far not published her promised synthetic overall study of the coinage of Naxos; she has, however, discussed each period independently in a series of articles, in addition to a brief synthesis in Nicolet-Pierre 2010, 325: Nicolet-Pierre 1988; Nicolet-Pierre 1997; Nicolet-Pierre 1999; Nicolet-Pierre 2005; Nicolet-Pierre 2009; Nicolet-Pierre 2010.

[102] Only the specimens from *IGCH* 210 can be identified but, as they form by far the largest group of attested Naxian didrachms, they should also be the didrachms in question in *IGCH* 226 and *CoinH* 8

Table 7. Hoard evidence for Paros and Naxos Hellenistic silver[103]

Hoard	Deposition	Naxian specimens	Parian specimens
IGCH 210	*c* 200–180	3 didrachms: Nicolet-Pierre 1999 (B) 14a; 17c; 18b and c	4 tetradrachms TII.A.1a; TII.B.3a; TII.B.5b; TII.B.5c; 2 didrachms: DiI.3c DiII.A.9c 2 drachms DII.2a; DII.2b
IGCH 226	*c* 200–180	3 didrachms: Nicolet-Pierre 1999 (B): specimens unknown	8 Parian didrachms/drachms: Specimen uncertain, but including: DiI DiII DII and/or DIII
CoinH 8 517	*c* 75	2 late didrachms: Nicolet-Pierre 1999 (B): specimens unknown	Paros: 3 late didrachms, 10+ late drachms; Specimens unknown, but including DIIII dissociated: hemidrachms

In itself, the fact that the coinages were produced at approximately the same time could merely point to similar internal or external factors that affected both of these

517. The only other issue of didrachms attributed to Naxos is attested by a single specimen in the Paris coin cabinet (FG 297). This has the same obverse, but a different reverse: a naked Zeus standing right holding a thunderbolt and eagle, with NAΞI and monogram to right, MHXAN to left. The obverse is stylistically very similar to the issues Nicolet-Pierre does analyse in detail, suggesting a similar date; the weight, 7.42g is compatible with the standard of the other surviving Naxian didrachms, and too high to be comparable either to the Rhodian standard (*c* 6.8g) or the Tenian didrachms discussed below (*c* 7.2g). Hoffmann (19/05/1890) 1397 [Photiades Pacha] is clearly the same specimen (as noted by Nicolet-Pierre 1999, 109n27), despite slight damage to the cast. The Hoffmann specimen was purchased by Babelon, and presumably thence directly entered the Paris collection. No other specimen was noted in the course of this study.

Comparable condition: coins from *IGCH* 210 appeared in Naville Ars Classica XVI with the following descriptions: two didrachms from Naxos (1309: "superbe"; 1310: "fleur de coin"); and three tetradrachms from Paros (1311 and 1313: "fleur de coin"; 1312: "superbe").

[103] *IGCH*: *The Inventory of Greek Coin Hoards* (Thompson, Mørkholm, and Kraay 1973). *CoinH*: *Coin Hoards*.

For a more detailed discussion of these hoards, their dating, and composition, see 613–634, and, for a brief summary, and an illustration of the difficulties which the misattribution of specimens has caused in the dating of these coinages, 81n136.

neighbouring islands. The fact that only these two islands in their immediate region minted might suggest that these factors were specifically local, rather than regional or interregional factors, but this argument is not powerful in itself: Paros and Naxos are also the largest two islands in the vicinity.

Confirmation that more is here involved comes in two ways from their choice of standard on which to mint. First, as noted above, analysis confirms that these coinages of Paros and Naxos were produced to the same weight standard, *c* 7.8g to the didrachm, *c* 15.6g to the tetradrachm. Second, this standard was not in use anywhere else in the Greek world at this time. The use of this standard thus cannot be considered an imposition from outside, or an attempt to confirm with some existing external practice. Instead, Paros and Naxos were deliberately minting on a discrete, unique standard.

Table 8. Denominations minted on Paros and Naxos[104]

Denomination	**Naxos**	**Paros**
Tetradrachm	-	15.6g
Didrachm	7.8g	7.8g
Drachm	3.9g	3.9g

We shall discuss at greater length in the conclusion how this choice of a unique standard in itself reiterates islander agency, as it points to an attempt to restrict circulation of their silver and to profit from their decision to produce[105]. More

[104] For frequency information for Paros and Naxos didrachms and drachms, see Appendix 5.1. Paros and Naxos late Hellenistic issues, 145; for detailed discussion of the Parian evidence, see 604–719, especially the Hellenistic period, 640–664; for the Naxian specimens: Nicolet-Pierre 1999.

[105] See the synthesis at 123–124, foreshadowed by 72 on Paros and Naxos, and 94 on Tenos and Andros.

important here is that, since we know that Paros and Naxos are geographically proximate, that these coinages were produced at about the same time, and that they both used the same unique standard, it is also highly unlikely that their decisions were independent. Exactly what the nature of the cooperation between the islands was remains unclear: there could have been an attempt to coordinate production involving explicit cooperation on a political level, or the connexion may have been merely economic and directional, with one island following the others' lead. We explore this question further below. For now, however, we can conceive of Paros and Naxos as two nodes connected by a tie in a numismatic network, a presentation which is particularly useful because it does not prejudge the question of agency, or how far the tie involved was implicit or explicit, political or economic.

This numismatic network was, moreover, no fleeting phenomenon. Analysis of the fourth-century issues of both islands confirms that there was also coordination at that period. The coordination is not immediately visible, because the scholars responsible for the issues involved have understood the issues in different metric terms. In truth, both interpretations have a certain validity: that of Nicolet-Pierre for the Naxos specimens looks back to the archaic period, when both Paros and Naxos minted on the Aeginetan standard, along with the entire Cycladic region; that preferred in our study of Paros coinage and here looks rather to the contemporary numismatic context, and has the advantage of involving an attested full weight issue, the drachm, rather than assuming that all issues are fractions of an otherwise unattested full-weight issue. Nevertheless, the difference in nominal weight standard involved is slight, and to

insist on a particular name for the standard is less important than the twin recognitions that both islands are minting on the same standard, and are minting on the same standard as the one they used later.

Table 9. Late Classical denominations of Paros and Naxos

Denomination Name[106]		Maximum attested weight[107]	
Naxos (Nicolet-Pierre)	**Paros (Tully)**	**Naxos**	**Paros**
"Obol"	"Trihemiobol"	1.07g[108]	0.95g
"Trihemiobol"	"Diobol"	1.27g	1.30g
"Diobol"	"Hemidrachm"	1.76g	1.9g
"Tetrobol"	"Drachm [DI]"	3.87g	3.83g

In the fourth century, the Paros and Naxos decision to mint on this standard may well be connected to the contemporary phenomenon of coinages on the 'Chian standard' in Asia Minor[109]. If so, however, this connexion at the numismatic level did not remain. After the fourth century, the Chian standard was no longer used in Asia Minor. Besides the minting of Alexanders and posthumous Alexanders on the 'Attic standard' of *c* 4.3g, Rhodes moved *c* 340 to a standard of *c* 3.4g to the drachm, *c* 6.8g to the didrachm; by the early third century, Samos was minting at *c* 4.5g and *c*

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[106] To aid comparison:

12.2g 'Aeginetan standard'		15.6g 'Island standard'	
Name	**Nominal Weight**	**Name**	**Nominal weight**
"Obol"	0.95g	"Trihemiobol"	0.975g
"Trihemiobol"	1.35g	"Diobol"	1.30g
"Diobol"	1.9g	"Hemidrachm"	1.95g
"Tetrobol"	3.8g	"Drachm"	3.9g

[107] These denominations are very poorly attested, particularly the Naxian specimens, and often very worn. Hence, maximum weight is used as the basis of comparison. For complete frequency information for these issues, see Appendix 5.2. Naxos early Hellenistic issues, 147.

[108] This single specimen is slightly overweight, unlike the other three surviving specimens.

[109] For an more extended discussion of the factors involved here, see Appendix 1. Paros and Naxos late classical silver, 126.

2.25g[110]. Paros and Naxos did not share in these developments. They did not mint Alexanders, or any other form of royal coinage. Instead, as we saw above, they also used the same higher standard of *c* 3.9g to the drachm in the early second centuries, as the Parians also did for the issues they minted in the third century[111].

It was, instead, only in the second half of the second century that either island moved off this standard: in-between, they operated on their own unique standard, despite developments elsewhere. At this point, both islands produced one final issue of drachms. Unlike earlier issues, these do seem to have produced to a different standard: the Parian issue points to a standard of *c* 3.4g (DIIII), the Naxian (Nicolet-Pierre [C]) to *c* 3.6g. Again, however, neither shift involves assimilation to neighbouring practice or standards[112]. Instead, this reduction in the standard on which Paros and Naxos minted may perhaps imply stress in their economies, perhaps associated with the changes in the Cyclades in the late second century which we also

[110] Rhodes: Ashton 2001. Samos: Barron 1966, 141–145, which interprets these Samian issues as Ptolemaic tetrobols and octobols. Mørkholm, Grierson, and Westermark 1991, 157, 159 suggests that they may also have been intended to be compatible with Rhodian production.

[111] For more detailed analysis of Parian production, including discussion of Parian third century production, see 604–719, especially the Hellenistic period, 640–664.

[112] The Rhodian standard of *c* 3.4g was by this point no longer in use: Rhodes herself had been producing *plinthophori* at *c* 3g from *c* 190 or *c* 195, and moved to a currency based on what seems to have been a reduced Attic weight drachm of *c* 4.1–4.2g in the early first century. For discussion of Rhodian pre-plinthophoric issues, see Ashton 2001; on plinthophoric issues, see Jenkins 1989, with Meadows 2009 for a slightly earlier date for the introduction of *plinthophori*, perhaps *c* 195. The Ptolemaic system did operate on a drachma of *c* 3.55g, but to connect Naxian production to this denomination seems implausible: the Ptolemaic system was a closed system, only operating in Egypt. In addition, although still periodically present in the Aegean, as their continuing dedications on Delos indicate, the Ptolemies were no longer here a significant force, having by now even abandoned their base at Thera.

trace in the next study on Delos. Whether so or not, silver production ceases after this point on both Paros and Naxos[113].

The difference between their standards implied might also suggest a weakening of the numismatic connexion between Paros and Naxos. Certainly, after 167/166 and the change in the status of Delos, we seem to see more Athenian silver circulating in the islands, as attested by the hoards found on Delos[114]. That more Athenian silver also circulated on Naxos may also be indicated by the other contents of the hoard, *IGCH* 255 from Naxos, in which the last Naxian issue (C) was almost exclusively found: it included thirty-one Athenian *stephanophori* and twenty-one Rhodian *plinthophori* in addition to the Naxian specimens[115].

Three factors, however, suggest that the numismatic network between Paros and Naxos remained, for all the changed external circumstances. First, we should note that the Attic weight-standard seems to have been the standard used in the Delian

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[113] For a frequency chart of these drachms, see Appendix 5.3. Paros and Naxos late second-century Drachms, 147; for a discussion of possible factors that may have helped the Naxians and Parians in their maintenance of this unique standard until the early second century, and may have changed about this time: Appendix 2. Naxos, Paros, Delos, and the Denarius, 129.

[114] 167/166: see 327n800. For consistency, the date 167/166 is used when referring, as here, specifically to Delos, and the change of status there subsequent to the Third Macedonian War. The date 168 is used in contexts where the primary reference is the end of the Third Macedonian War, or the end of the Antigonid Monarchy after Perseus' defeat at the battle of Pydna; and 167 is used when the primary context is Cycladic, and the perceived end of the Rhodian hegemony in the aftermath of the Third Macedonian War, except when engaging with scholarship which prefers another date. The date 315/314 is used, mainly in Appendix 6. Delian 'independence', 315/314, and *ID* 104-30, 450, as a convenient shorthand to refer to 315 or 314 as the two alternative dates for Delian independence which have been advanced on the basis of Homolle's argument. Earlier scholars preferred 315, but recent scholarship has settled on 314, in large part because of the argument of Tréheux 1949 specifically for September 314. See further 454n1044.

[115] One specimen from this series has also been recognised in Berlin: Nicolet-Pierre 1999, 102–103.

inventory lists throughout the Hellenistic period[116]; the Attic weight-standard was thus always part of the Paros and Naxos regional consciousness. Second, despite the presence of the Athenian and Rhodian silver in *IGCH* 255, the Naxian (and Parian) production was, as noted above, still on a different standard to both of them. Third, no Parian silver was found in *IGCH* 255.

This final factor in particular suggests that the difference in the weights of the Paros and Naxos specimens may reflect successive stages in an ongoing numismatic connexion. Two further considerations, moreover, support the suggestion that the Paros specimens were produced later: first, the Paros specimens look stylistically later than the Naxos specimens: the head on the obverse is barbarous in comparison to earlier production; second, the Paros specimens have varying die axes, whereas the Naxos specimens indicate a continuing concern for consistent die-axes at 12h, as had been the norm prior to this point on both Paros and Naxos. Since the Naxian hoard, from *c* 125, dates the ΑΡΙΣΤΕΑΣ drachms found there (issue [C]) to the third quarter of the second century, the Paros drachms might then be products of the end of the second century or the early first century[117].

However this last phase of numismatic production is analysed, the continuity of production at *c* 3.9g to the drachm from the fourth to the second century on Paros and

[116] Tréheux 1992a, formulated differently by Chankowski-Sablé 1997 and Picard 1999.
[117] For analysis of the die axes, see Appendix 5.4. Die axes of Paros and Naxos late Hellenistic issues, 147.

Naxos is remarkable[118]. It suggests ongoing prosperity and dynamism in the islands: rather than having to use external silver, they were able to produce their own, and with it, to maintain a unique inflated valuation for their own silver in the local region.

Contextualising this phenomenon is difficult, because our evidence often lacks a comparative focus. In addition, literary evidence is often rhetorical: to call Paros the most prosperous of the Cycladic islands at the time of the Persian wars, or for Herodotus to have Aristagoras describe the riches of Naxos to the Persians to encourage their support for his expedition tells us much about the abilities of our authors, but less about the islands themselves, or the position of Naxos or Paros in any more than the immediate Cycladic context[119]. Where rhetorical factors are less important, our evidence is often anecdotal. Thus, there are many surviving references to island produce and hence to possible sources of revenue which importantly argue against the necessary poverty of the islands. With the partial exception of their marble exports, however, where the surviving quarries demonstrate the intensity of extraction prior to the modern period, and inscriptions allow us to gauge the economic

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[118] For discussion of two further factors that may have helped Paros and Naxos in the maintenance of this unique standard until the early second century, a possible structural connexion with Delos and the affinity of their standard with that of the Roman denarius, see Appendix 2. Naxos, Paros, Delos, and the Denarius, 129.

[119] The most prosperous: Ephorus *FgrHist* 70 F 63, from Stephanus of Byzantium. *Cf* Cornelius Nepos *Miltiades* 7 on Paros as buoyed up by its wealth ("opibus elatam"). Aristagoras: Herodotus 5.31.1. The fact that Ephorus seems to describe Paros not only as the most prosperous but also as the largest island ("εὐδαιμονεστάτην καὶ μεγίστην οὖσαν τότε τῶν Κυκλάδων") merely confirms this disconnexion. (Jacoby excised καὶ μεγίστην, citing Nepos. There is no reason, however, why Ephorus could not have wished to convey Paros' importance by calling it the largest island, even if he did know it was strictly incorrect as a geographical description.)

significance of the activity, these sources do not specifically explain Naxian or Parian success[120].

Nevertheless, some evidence does offer comparative insight into the relative success of Naxos and Paros that goes beyond the natural prominence these islands are accorded as two of the larger Cycladic islands. Compare the large tribute demanded of the islands in the Athenian Tribute Lists in the fifth century: six talents and two-thirds for Naxos, possibly even after a reduction involved in the imposition of an Athenian cleruchy, and sixteen, then eighteen talents for Paros. Only Aegina and Thasos consistently paid more (30 talents), while even significant cities elsewhere in the Aegean paid less, such as Lampsacus (12 talents), Cyzicus (9 talents), and Ephesus (7.5 talents). This metric is, admittedly for an earlier period, and may depend as much

[120] On Paros and Naxos marble, and other island produce: Brun 1997. Brun 1996a gathers much of the varied evidence for natural resources on the islands, as well as for the diversity of activity known on the different islands. In so doing, however, he also confirms, as he acknowledges, how tentative many conclusions thence can be. Thus, Aristophanes' *Pax* 143 and the literary references to a Naxian thassalocracy may point to the importance of Naxian timber, but Aristophanes' point may be quite different (simply the fact that Naxos had had a significant fleet); while the use of wood for a state's own ships does not suggest a large economic base; similarly, Pliny *HN* 16.47.111 mentions a forest on Paros because it is barren, not for its productivity. To point to the fact that Naxos was still covered in forests in the nineteenth century again tells us little about the actual exploitation of those forests in antiquity Brun 1996a, 49; note that at 52, Brun suggests that the (poor) quality of the wood on Naxos and Paros may have encouraged importation from the north Aegean instead.
Similarly, Naxos' prominence in later literary sources as the home of Dionysus, of wine, and Bacchantes (Diodorus Siculus 5.5.2; Virgil, *Aeneid* 3.125; Hyginus 2.17.2 Ovid *Metamorphoses* 3.634–635, Pliny *HN* 4.67) tells us much about the strength of Naxos' iconographic and mythical connexion with Dionysus, which we see them here cultivating also in their coins; it tells us much less about the relative prominence or economic profile of Naxian wine relative to other states' production. *Cf* how the reference to Naxian wine often cited from Athenaeus (1.30f) occurs in the context of citations about other states' wines that are often no less complimentary; as does also the reference, eg, to Naxian almonds: Athenaeus 2.52c. So too, Columella's reference to wines from the Cycladic islands being imported to Italy (1.20) occurs in the context of a lament at the contemporary state of farming in Italy. The context does, however, suggest that the Cyclades were not just chosen for paradoxical effect at the insignificance of the areas from which the Romans derive their wine: the other two areas cited are Baetica and Gaul.

on Athenian power in that specific region as on the size of the states' economies, but it is still indicative[121].

Specifically for the fourth century, moreover, we can also compare the debts outstanding to the sanctuary at Delos. The annual interest owed by Paros, 28800 drachms, is almost three times larger than that of the next largest (Andros), and larger than that of other peer nations, such as Naxos (9600), and Tenos (8400). Rather than being a sign of economic weakness, these debts can reflect the willingness of the Delians to lend more to an island that remained more prosperous than its peers, just as the Athenian Tribute Lists would suggest it had been in the fifth century[122]. Both metrics thus provide some justification for the suggestion that Paros and Naxos' unique numismatic standard also reflects ongoing prosperity.

Finally, it remains to contextualise this ongoing numismatic network beyond the bare recognition that, given the chronological duration, the continuing connexion cannot have been unwitting. So far, the nature of the tie between the two states has deliberately not been characterised. There is also no need for the tie to have been the same throughout the many centuries we have surveyed. Nevertheless, there is some evidence that Paros and Naxos at least sometimes did actively cooperate in production and may even have operated a single currency zone.

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[121] See, most conveniently, Meiggs 1972. Paros is first attested in 449, Naxos in 447.

[122] See Migeotte 1984 141–158 45, especially I–VI (the relevant sections of *ID* 97 and 97 bis, 98, 100, 104-8, 104-9 104-28) and the tables at 152 and 154. For occasionally revised texts and dates, see Chankowski 2008. *Cf* in addition to the above comparanda, Andros: 450: 12 talents; 449–429: 6, 425: 15; Carystos: 450: 7.3000; 449: 5; 425: 5. I hope to develop this point in a subsequent study.

Evidence for such cooperation dates from two distinct chronological contexts. The first context is the third century, and consists of an oddity in the inventories of the sanctuary of Apollo on Delos. Among the references to palm-bearers ("φοινικοφόροι"), bull-bearers ("ταυροφόρα"), and grape-bunch-bearers ("βοτρυοφόροι") that Robert and others recognised as references to coins from Delos, Eretria, and Tenos respectively, are entries referring to two Naxian tetradrachms ("νάξια τέτραχμα δύο").[123]. Perhaps because the ethnic is clear, these issues have so far attracted less attention, but they are no less perplexing: as the silence here indicates, no issue of tetradrachm has ever been identified for the island of Naxos in the Cyclades[124]. We could perhaps argue that this reference is to issues from Sicilian Naxos, but this interpretation is implausible: dedications are known from outside the Aegean, but all the other coinages mentioned in these inventories are Aegean[125]. A compelling solution, given the numismatic network between Paros and Naxos we have been tracing, is to argue that Parian tetradrachms were being referred to as Naxian tetradrachms, because, on some level, they were also Naxian tetradrachms[126].

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123 The classic article is Robert 1951b, which builds on Robert 1951a, with Picard 1979, 201–202. νάξια τέτραχμα δύο: *IG* XI.2 199.B.44 (274); 203.B.71 (269); *ID* 298.A.152 (240; restored); νάξια τετράδραχμα δύο: *IG* XI.2 161.B.21 = Prêtre and Brunet 2002, 59–86 (279); 162.B.17 (278); 164.A.63 (276; restored); μαυσσώλεια τέτραχμα ΓΙΙΙΙ· νάξια · [II]: *IG* XI.2 223.B.29 (262).

124 *Pace* Picard 1999, 249. Note that the two specimens illustrated by Mørkholm, Grierson, and Westermark 1991, 157 pl 37.561–562 are both didrachms, not a tetradrachm and didrachm. This reference may point to earlier confusion, but no earlier reference to Naxian tetradrachm was noted in the course of this study, nor was any Naxian tetradrachm identified during the detailed study of auction catalogues, museums, and private collections undertaken for the study on Parian Hellenistic issues.

125 Roussel 1916a, 169 originally identified φοινικοφόροι as Phoenician, but Robert 1951b persuasively argued that such references are to the coinage of the Delians themselves. Otherwise, coins from the edges of the Aegean area are mentioned, - of Mausolus, the Ptolemies, Crete, Phocaea, and Cyzicus, - but not from further afield.

126 Alternatively, this reference could be to tetradrachms on the Naxian standard. The result is the same, as the only tetradrachms produced on the Naxian standard are those from Paros. This interpretation would

The second context dates from the early second century, and involves the plausible identity of a moneyer named on Paros and Naxos issues from this period. The abbreviations are different in length, but this fact is unproblematic: they also differ between contemporary Parian issues where it is almost certain that the moneyers attested as KTH on Parian drachms, and KTHΣ and KTHΣI on Parian didrachms are the same man[127]. He thus may also have been responsible for the Naxian didrachms with abbreviation KTHΣIΦ[128]. Names that could be abbreviated KTH are not

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also would provide a name for our 'island standard', in addition to the name offered by the problematic literary reference discussed at Appendix 3. The 'island standard', 133. This interpretation would involve a lower degree of cooperation, but may be rejected: the tetradrachms of Lysimachus and Prusias were produced on the Attic standard, such that references to a Lysimachean tetradrachm ("τέτραχμον λυσιμάχειον"; *eg*, *ID* 442.B.15, 17, 93, 203) or a Prusian tetradrachm ("προυσιακὸν τέτραχμον" *eg*, *ID* 1450.A.96, 111) cannot be distinguishing the specimen by its weight standard. τέτραχμον λυσιμάχειον: *eg*, *ID* 442.B.15, 17, 93, 203. προυσιακὸν τέτραχμον: *eg*, *ID* 1450.A.96, 111. Among the other equivalent references to tetradrachms (and other denominations), the references to a στεφανηφόρον τέτραχμον (following Robert 1951a) and κιστοφόρον τέτραχμον are also noteworthy in their explicit focus on the iconography: the concern here was not with recording that the donor was Athens or any specific city of the many that minted *cistophoroi* (if, indeed, they were the donors), but with identifying the specimen. For illustrations of this principle, see, in particular, 350n833 *ad fin*, discussing why the inventories refer to the *Soteria* and the *Pania* by the name of the gods honoured, not by the name of the dedicator, with further examples at 322n794.

The Parian tetradrachms here in question are not the more famous, larger group of Parian tetradrachms (TII), but the earlier series (TI). TII is chronologically too late to be mentioned in these inventories.

Note also the suggestion below that Delos may have formed part of the numismatic network between Paros and Naxos. See Appendix 2. Naxos, Paros, Delos, and the Denarius, 129.

[127] The moneyer's name was included on Parian coins at this time as an abbreviation on the reverse. See 659–662 for discussion of the numismatic evidence supporting the identity of the moneyer attested as KTH on the Parian drachms with the KTHΣ(I) didrachm moneyer: the (unusual) use of the same field-mark: E; and the fact that both drachm and didrachms were produced at the same time as specimens with a moneyer whose name is abbreviated as AKOY.

For the didrachms, we can trace the same obverse die (DiII.B.O8) being used to produce didrachms with the abbreviation KTHΣ and KTHΣI on the reverse, and further confirm that they are being used simultaneously because specimens with both abbreviations are attested with reasonably fresh and much more worn versions of the same obverse die. For an illustration of this principle, see the catalogue at 694–695, where each of these obverse/reverse die combinations, all of which involve the same obverse die, is ordered by perceived die wear on the freshest specimen. The order of moneyer abbreviations on groups DiII.B.18–DiII.B.23 is KTHΣ, KTHΣI, KTHΣ, KTHΣ, AKOY, KTHΣI.

The two abbreviations on the didrachms could strictly still refer to different moneyers active at the same time. The similarity of the drachm and didrachm production makes the identity there almost certain, however, and makes the hypothesis of one moneyer behind all four abbreviations highly plausible.

[128] KTHΣIΦ: Nicolet-Pierre B Monétaire 9; for details of surviving specimens, see Nicolet-Pierre 1999, 99–100. Note that the different position of the moneyer's name on the Naxian and Parian specimens

infrequent in the Cyclades: *LGPN* records several dozen in the course of antiquity. Nevertheless, the coincidence is striking, and suggests that a single magistrate may have been solely or jointly responsible for production both on Paros and Naxos either at the same time or in swift succession[129].

The two contexts here seem to take two quite different forms: in the first instance, a single shared currency is in question; in the second instance, two currencies produced by the same magistrate(s). We could perhaps reconcile this evidence by envisaging a situation where the cities alternated production, as Mytilene and Phocaea did in the fourth century[130]. To insist on this solution runs the risk, however, of again removing the islands from history, by denying the possibility of change. Instead, this solution should remain no more than a possibility, as part of the close, and changing relationship throughout this period which our numismatic evidence has enabled us to trace.

Finally, we should reiterate the importance of the chronological duration of this connexion. In itself, the bare fact of this connexion is perhaps not remarkable: beyond the bare geographical proximity of these two islands, support for deeper ties

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partly justifies the difference in abbreviation: on the Naxian specimens, it is vertical, on the Parian, horizontal and constrained by the goat's horns.

[129] For discussion of otherwise attested Parians who may lie behind the abbreviations ΑΝΑΞΙΚ and ΚΛΕΟ, see 642n1331.
Singly or jointly: the frequency of die-links between specimens with different moneyers' names (such as those illustrated in 76n127) suggests that a board of at least two persons was probably responsible for production on Paros. For an visual representation of these links, see the illustration, 654. The precise relationship between the name on the specimens and the means of production, however, is ultimately unclear.

[130] *IG* XII.2 1; revised text: Heisserer 1984; for further discussion, see Engelmann 1985, 165–170, rejected by Gauthier in *BE* 1987, 328–329 271, and Figueira 1998, 487–489. Colvin 2007 17 offers a recent translation.
For a recent discussion of different forms of cooperative coinages: Mackil and van Alfen 2006.

between the islands might previously have been adduced from the Eretrian arbitration between Paros and Naxos preserved as *IG* XII.5 128 and *IG* XI.4 1065[131]. It is dated by letter forms to the first half of the second century, and has traditionally been studied as a case of interstate arbitration. It is, however, a peculiarly wide-ranging form of arbitration: it does not resolve a specific dispute, such as a boundary dispute, but instead refers to a whole range of disputes on all levels: between individual citizens, between the individuals and cities, and between the two cities (6–8), and seems to dismiss them all as no longer having any validity. It thus perhaps attests some deeper connexion between the different states, perhaps some form of *sympoliteia*, or other cooperative agreement which was under strain at the time at which the appeal to the Eretrians was made.

This inscription is revealing, but is bound to a specific (if unknown) chronological context. It provides deep insight into that moment of Paros and Naxos relations. Analysis of the numismatic network, however, allows us to contextualise this inscription as part of a broader structural interpretation involving ongoing close but dynamic and varying relations from the archaic to the Hellenistic period. Scholars could previously have hypothesised such a narrative, but only now can we demonstrate its ongoing existence through consideration of what might well have been appropriately called an 'island standard', because of its duration, its prominence, and its specifically island context[132]. The numismatic and the epigraphic perspectives thus

[131] For an improved text: Wilhelm 1951, 44–46 12 (= Wilhelm 1974, 3:438–440 12); recent discussion with further bibliography: Ager 1996, 228–230 83.

[132] For possible literary evidence for this name, see Appendix 3. The 'island standard', 133.

complement each other, and offer further validation of the power and necessity of the study here undertaken.

Tenos and Andros

The structure of this section differs from that of our discussion of the coinages of Paros and Naxos. There, given the existence of recent scholarship on both coinages, the focus was on the chronological duration of the network we identified, and on how it may reflect a variety of different political and economic relationships between the two islands. Here, without such alternative insight into the political and economic relationships, we emphasise rather how the network we identify for Tenos and Andros changed in its extent and membership over time without breaching the tie between the two islands: in the fourth century, their standard points to a tie with Athens (but not Euboea), in the third century, of a tie with Euboea (but not Athens), while in the second century, they seem dissociated from both, perhaps for similar reasons to those identified for Paros and Naxos above. Whether so or not, the continuity of the tie between Tenos and Andros despite these shifts illustrates how deep-set their connexion was, and argues that our numismatic network does here reflect an underlying economic structure.

This different focus also reflects the different scholarship on the coinages of Tenos and Andros, which is in general older, more complex, and has also more consistently contextualised the coinages with reference to presumed outside political developments. This section necessarily addresses these interpretations. We argue that

the insight developed here provides a more plausible context for the numismatic issues and so necessarily calls into question the political narratives previously hypothesised on the basis of the numismatic phenomena.

For the study of Andrian coinage, the basic discussion is that of Paschalis, from the end of the nineteenth century. It is, however, important to note that his dates have been revised in the light of subsequent study and discoveries. In particular, didrachms that he dated on stylistic grounds in the late third century can now be dated from subsequent hoard evidence to the early second century[133]. Nevertheless, the basic picture of production has not changed, making his work a valid basis for discussion[134].

For the study of Tenian coinage, Étienne and Artémis-Gyselen provide a more recent systematic treatment. They divide their presentation into two parts based on a change in iconography, but the lack of chronological division between the parts means that they effectively identify on-going sporadic production. Thus, they date the tetradrachms in period I to the late fourth century, and date most drachms from period I later, to between 280 and 250, by analogy with used bronzes found in archaeological contexts from later in the century. The coinage of period II they date to the late third and early second century on the basis of the same hoard evidence as for the Paros and Naxos specimens discussed above, and from iconographic analogy with bronze specimens found in archaeological contexts on the island[135]. As with Andrian coinage

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133 See below, 89n154.

134 Paschalis 1898.

135 Period I: Étienne 1990, 226–235, especially 234 for chronology; period II: Étienne 1990, 235–245, especially 237–238 for chronology. Note that with the exception of drachm 103.1, the later drachms

from this period, however, these later dates should now be slightly lowered, on account of the reanalysis of hoards undertaken in our study of the Hellenistic coinage of Paros[136].

To turn first to the early evidence for this numismatic network: both Étienne and Artémis-Gyselen and Paschalis dated coinage on Tenos and Andros respectively in the late fourth century. At this time, both islands seem to have followed the same standard, the 'Attic standard'. In keeping with our survey above, the iconography is also local. To consider first the evidence for Andros, which is more exiguous: two small issues are attested by one specimen each at 8.93g and 1.37g. The specimen at 8.93g is most easily considered a slightly overweight Attic didrachm[137]; and that at 1.37g is too heavy to be a diobol on any standard lighter than the Attic[138]. The types

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(and other denominations) from period I were already produced on the lower standard seen in period II. The chronology for the tetradrachms of period II is not universally accepted, but is secure from the hoard evidence. *Cf* Tsangari 2007, 139 330–300; Tsangari 2009, 22 356–355 (additionally too early because of the clear derivation of the reverse from the coinage of Alexander, on which see further below); Tsangari 2011, 87 330–300. Like three of the five specimens of Paros and Naxos from *IGCH* 210 in the 1933 Naville Ars Classica Sale (1310, 1311, 1313), the Tenian tetradrachm was classified "FDC". (The other two [1309, 1312] were "Supérbe"). Recent grading has been slightly less generous, but still emphasises the freshness of this Tenian specimen: MMAG 76 (19/9/1991) 801 [Boutin]: "[s]upérbe"; MMAG 95 (4/10/2004) 41: "[e]xtremely fine"; Nomos 2 (18/5/2010) 105: "[e]xtremely fine". *Cf* the Andros specimen from the hoard, on which see especially 90n155.

136 The main factor is the reanalysis of *IGCH* 175, which had previously urged an earlier date of (commencement of) production than other evidence. For detailed discussion of hoard evidence, see 613–634. The confusion over the hoard evidence (particularly *IGCH* 175) is the basis for the continued practice of dating specimens from period II broadly to '3rd-2nd' as at GM 117 (14/10/2002) 246; or *c* 250, at CNG mail bid 67 (22/9/2004) 600, CNG Triton VIII (11/1/2005) 348, Peus 384 (2/11/2005) 236, NAC 29 (11/5/2005) 194, Peus 388 (1/11/2006) 142, NAC 51 (5/3/2009) 634. It presumably also underlies (though cannot strictly justify) the continued practice of dating them *c* 300, as Peus (4/11/2009) 141, and Peus 401 (3/11/2010) 350; 330–330, as Alpha Bank (2007) 139, and Alpha Bank (2011) 68; or 356–355, as Alpha Bank (2009) 22. (For collection, auction house and publication abbreviations, see the list, 666–674.)

137 Paschalis 1898 21, with a weight of 8.92g; last known to me as Hirsch XIII (15/51905) 3110 [Rhousopoulos].

138 Paris FG 30: 1.37g (*cf* Paschalis 1898: 1.35g). I thank Mme Duyrat at the Cabinet des Médailles at the Bibliothèque nationale de France for inspecting the specimen for me, which I had been unable to locate during my visit, and Noah Kaye for photography.

are also unproblematically local: the obverse of the didrachm and diobol shew the head of Dionysus on the obverse, as often on Cycladic coinages, the reverse of the didrachm has a large cat, standardly interpreted as a panther, the favoured mount of Dionysus; and the diobol has an amphora, like that on the archaic coinage most commonly attributed to Andros. There is no sign of any iconographic connexion either with the Macedonian garrison expelled in 308 by Ptolemy, or any subsequent Ptolemaic or other connexion[139].

The evidence for Tenos is more complex, because the types have been read as encoding the political situation of the island in the late fourth century. Here, two separate issues of tetradrachms need distinguishing: one has the types of an Alexander tetradrachm, but has legend T-H for Tenos instead of a reference to either Alexander or a successor. The second has the bearded head of Zeus Ammon facing right on the obverse, and, in place of the Zeus on the reverse, a Poseidon in a similar pose. In addition, a single specimen points to a drachm issue with a obverse similar to the second tetradrachm issue mentioned above, but a grape cluster on the reverse.

The metrology of all the issues is again, clearly, Attic. Each issue, even the 'international' Alexanders, is also at least in part local in design: the Alexander tetradrachm 101 has legend T-H in place of the common reference to a monarch; the Poseidon on the reverse of tetradrachm 102 points to the sanctuary of Poseidon and

[139] Ptolemy's expulsion of an (Antigonid?) garrison from Andros in 308: Diodorus 20.37. The immediate origin of Callias of Sphettos' troops in 287 was also Andros: *SEG* 28.60.18–20. Macedonian garrison on Andros in the 250s: Plutarch *Aratus* 12.2–3 as commonly amended; Reger 1992, 368 provides context for Demetrius' putative involvement in Tenos in 307 by suggesting that the Andrian government was manned by Ptolemaic supporters (presumably also with military support, *ie*, a garrison).

Amphitrite on Tenos, just as later Tenian issues also do; and the grape cluster on the reverse of the drachm 103.1 appears on the bronze coinage of Tenos throughout the Hellenistic period and also in the field of later silver issues[140].

Table 10. Tenos early Hellenistic issues

Étienne	Denomination	Weight	Obverse	Reverse
101	Tetradrachm	16.59g	Head Heracles with lion skin, facing right	Bearded head of Zeus, seated on throne facing left, holding an eagle, holding a sceptre in his left hand; T-H.
102[141]	Tetradrachm	17.03g, 16.79g, 16.64g, 16.43g	Bearded head Zeus Ammon, facing right	Bearded head of Poseidon, seated on throne facing left, dolphin in his right hand, holding a trident in his left hand; T-H.
103.1	Drachm	4.13g	Bearded head Zeus Ammon facing right	Grape cluster with leaves, T-H.

The presence of local iconography is consistent with the evidence from the survey noted above. It also suggests that the Attic standard should be understood as the local Tenian (and Andrian) standard at this time prior to the later change to the lower standard of *c* 3.6g which we identify below. This conclusion is important because it forms the basis of one of two arguments that argue against a numismatic connexion with Euboea at this time, unlike later.

[140] The archaic issues with grape cluster attributed to Tenos by Artémis-Gyselen 1977 and elsewhere have been reattributed to an unknown Thraco-Macedonian mint by Sheedy 2006, in part because their weight is not consistent with either the Attic or the Aeginetan standards. If reassociated with Tenos, they would confirm the grape as a local motif also before the Hellenistic period.

[141] *NB* the existence of Caprara forgeries of this issue: Kinns 1984 43. The similarity of iconography between the Poseidon and Zeus suggests that issue 102 (and with it 103) should post-date 101, as the design is inspired by the Alexander, but the relative chronology is not important for our discussion.

First, the Attic standard identified here contrasts with the practice in cities of Euboea in the late fourth century. Picard's comprehensive re-examination of Wallace's chronology involves the initial Euboean Leagues issues on the Aeginetan standard being produced while the Euboeans were in alliance with Thebes from 375 until 357, and the subsequent Attic weight issues being produced until 338. Already after Chaeronea, long before Alexander's reign, and so the earliest possible date for Tenian production of the Alexanders, however, both the League and Chalcis used a lower standard of *c* 3.7–3.75g to the drachm[142].

Second, there is a clear difference between the approach taken to the minting of 'Alexanders' on Tenos and Euboea. On Chalcis, as at Corinth, the influence of Demetrius Poliorcetes is visible in numismatic production: he minted tetradrachms with his own types, in addition to Alexanders with the standard legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ[143]. As noted above, this was not the case on Tenos, where any royal presence is effaced. Where Étienne and Artémis-Gyselen envisage the Tenian type as evidence for Macedonian hegemony in the island, the comparanda suggest a different interpretation: that Macedonian hegemony was being denied.

Two complementary interpretations are more plausible. Drawing on the Alexanders' status as an international trade currency, we can, first, argue that the Tenians found themselves in a position of needing to mint, recognised that Alexanders were widely accepted, but still chose symbolically to reject kingship on their

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142 Picard 1979 with Wallace 1956. Subsequent discussion of Eretrian chronology, as by Knoepfler 1984, especially 585 and 646–652, does not seem to have changed Picard's general picture.

143 Picard 1979 issues 23 and 24 (54–56); and 178–180.

productions through their excision of the legend. Given how unusual the replacement of the royal name is, the difference in numismatic practice here can validly point to a difference in political status and orientation.

Second, we can draw on the continued use of the Attic standard for subsequent issues, even after Athens' 'liberation' from Demetrius, to posit a connexion specifically with Athens at this time. Such a connexion is, moreover, supported by epigraphic evidence for close relations both in 307/6, when Tenians were granted access to Athenian courts, and in 281/0, when they sought confirmation of an earlier grant of *isoteleia*[144]. If we do follow Reger in envisaging Tenian involvement in the liberation of Athens in 307/6, therefore, we should see this as free participation, rather than the result of the influence by an unattested Antigonid garrison. This interpretation also makes the rewards the Athenians offered the Tenians more understandable than positing their involvement under duress[145].

Before moving to the later issues, we should briefly discuss the alternative approach to these earlier Tenian issues advocated by Étienne and Artémis-Gyselen. In keeping with their argument envisaging Macedonian hegemony as reflected in the Alexander iconography, Étienne and Artémis-Gyselen also see the types of Zeus Ammon as pointing to Ptolemaic hegemony, justly noting that the most famous altar of Zeus Ammon was in Ptolemaic Cyrene, and Zeus Ammon appears on Ptolemaic

144 *IG* II^2 466 and *IG* II^2 660; whether or not occasioned by the reincorporation of the Piraeus in 281 into the city as argued by Reger 1992, 368–381.

145 Reger 1992, 366–368. *Cf* Sheedy 2010, especially 335, arguing that the use of the Alexander type at this time was not connected with any particular diadoch, but that the use of the Alexander type is better understood as an attempt by the Tenians to advertise their growing status as an Aegean mercantile and religious centre after the move of the *polis* centre to the coast from inland.

bronzes[146]. This argument is unconvincing on a closer analysis, but is still worth considering, as the evidence they adduce rather illustrates the existence of further state-based ties; the importance of combining evidence from different categories to identify underlying structural connexions; and, looking forward to discussion in the second half of this dissertation, how evidence can be and has been instead pressed into a hegemonical frame.

The difficulty with the type of Zeus Ammon on the coinage of Tenos is that, as Étienne and Artémis-Gyselen note, there is no independent evidence for a cult of Zeus Ammon on Tenos which might have inspired the iconography. Rather than deriving from a connexion with the little-known cult at Aphytis in Macedonia, it is also, as they argue, most plausible that the iconography points to Cyrene, where the head of Zeus Ammon also appears on coinage. This type was, however, no longer in use in Cyrene by *c* 288, the earliest date at which renewed Ptolemaic hegemony over the Cyclades has been posited. Hence, to maintain the connexion specifically with the Ptolemies, Étienne and Artémis-Gyselen date the Tenian issues to the brief Ptolemaic incursion into the Cyclades in 308–307.

Unfortunately, however, this date is equally as problematic: by *c* 310, Ptolemaic coinage was distinguished not only by its weight but by its types. Ptolemy Soter's last satrapal issues, dating from *c* 310–305, have Alexander wearing the skin of an elephant, not of a lion; after 305, these issues were followed by coins with his own

[146] Étienne 1990, 227–229; the Macedonian hegemony he dates, as commonly since Buraselis 1982, as lasting with interruptions from 314 to 288.

portrait. Both were highly symbolic decisions. If the Tenians were minting under the influence of Ptolemy at this time, then we can validly expect that they should have minted in accordance with this decision, and reflected this ideological move. Instead, however, they chose a quite separate type: that of Zeus Ammon. Whether early or late, therefore, it is difficult to reconcile the Tenian move with Ptolemaic influence[147].

In looking to contextualise these issues, we should also recognise the evidence for an on-going connexion between the Tenians and the Cyrenians after the putative Ptolemaic domination in the Cyclades had ended, and possibly even beforehand. This connexion is visible, first, in the fact that the Tenians continued minting coins with this type of Zeus Ammon: series 212 is dated to the late second century by the presence of two specimens in archaeological layers dating to end of that century[148]; and, second, in *IG* XII.5 814, a decree from the early second century honouring Zeno, the Cyrenaean, which states that he, like other Cyrenaeans, already had citizenship at Tenos[149]. This relationship may, moreover, have predated the Ptolemies: Tenos has

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147 Note that this discussion is framed in the hegemonic and chronological terms familiar from scholarship to aid comparison. The arguments here advanced for dissociating the coinage from Ptolemaic influence are not, however, dependent on this frame, as they apply independently of the dating for Ptolemaic involvement advanced.
Étienne and Artémis-Gyselen also argue that the coinage should be early because the Ptolemies no longer used the Attic standard in the third century. This argument is less germane: first, since Ptolemy Soter did not mint on the Attic standard after 310, this argument is equally problematic for 308–307. Second, we might argue that the Attic standard was more acceptable than the Ptolemaic this far from the closed circulation zone that was Egypt.
Sheedy 2010 agrees in dissociating this issue from Ptolemaic influence. His argument relies, however, on dating the issues very early, *c* 320, and so is less compelling: he justifies this by reference to Mørkholm, Grierson, and Westermark 1991 (91), but Mørkholm's date is a *terminus post quem*, based on the generally accepted criterion of the position of Zeus' foot (back in posthumous Alexander coinages, not flat as in lifetime Alexander coinages), no more.

148 Étienne 212.6, and 212.12 with 244–245.

149 *IG* XII.5 814.4–6: [ὑπαρχούσ]ης [αὐτ]ῶι πολιτείας παρ' ἡμῖν [κα]/[θ]άπε[ρ κ]α[ὶ τοῖς ἄ]λ[λ]οις Κυρηναίοις διὰ [τὴν] / [οἰ]κειότητα τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν ταῖς πόλ[εσιν].

been reconstructed as one of the many Greek cities that benefitted from gifts of corn by the Cyrenaeans *c* 330[150]. Whether so or not, forty-one cities did receive corn on that occasion, including several Cycladic neighbours[151], and the Cyrenians' interest in the Cyclades in the fourth century is confirmed by their inscription (re)newing Theran citizenship[152].

There is thus no need to insist on a connexion between the Tenian late fourth century issues and Ptolemaic activity at that time. Our alternative explanation is more consistent with the development of Ptolemaic ideology in the late fourth century; with the structural chronology of relations between Tenos and Cyrene; and with the chronology of the numismatic iconography itself. The presence of Zeus Ammon on Tenian specimens is not a reflexion of a specific short-term geopolitical situation, but instead forms part of a broader relationship which we can reconstruct as having been of importance across an extended chronological period.

In this context, we can now look forward to the later issues of Tenos and Andros, where a different standard is visible: that of *c* 3.6g to the drachm. For Tenos, the

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150 *Rhodes/Osborne* 96 with commentary (= Tod 196). Τ[ηνέσ]σι: 15, as restored by Oliverio 1933. Tod and Brun 1993b doubt the reconstruction. Bresson 2011 does not discuss restorations. The inscription is ordered by size of gift, not geographically.

151 The Astypalaeans, Therans, Parians, Iulians, Carthaeans, and the Ceans. That the Ceans are listed separately from the Iulians and Carthaeans may support suggestions that this records gifts over more than one year, either side of a Cean *sympoliteia*.

152 *GHI* 5. On Cyrene and the Cyclades more generally, see Laronde 1996, especially the cryptic comments at 119.

drachms which Étienne dates to the middle of the third century, and the tetradrachms and didrachms from the early second century both point to this nominal weight[153].

For Andros, the evidence is more complex because specimens are, again, less well attested: Paschalis recorded seven Hellenistic drachms in his study, and only a few more have subsequently appeared. Nevertheless, the weight of these specimens points to the same standard as that on Tenos, *c* 3.6g. In addition, Paschalis recorded a tetradrachm and didrachm; these are sufficiently underweight that they could have been minted on the Rhodian standard; the evidence from the more numerous drachms, however, suggests that they should be understood as produced on the same standard as Tenos[154]. As for their date, the Andrian didrachms at least can be reasonably securely

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[153] For frequency tables, see Appendix 5.5. Tenos and Andros 3.6g standard issues, 147; for detailed discussion, see Étienne 1990, 226–245, especially 234 and 237–238 for chronology. Note that the drachms and what Étienne and Artémis-Gyselen consider two series of hemidrachms but are perhaps more plausibly a series of hemidrachms and of diobols form part of period I, the didrachms and the single drachm specimen 204.1 discussed further below part of period II.
As noted in the introduction, Étienne and Artémis-Gyselen identify the majority of the issues here as issued on the same standard as that of Paros and Naxos, but comparison of the frequency tables indicates that a lower standard was being maintained. For one drachm alone, 204.1, they suggest "influence rhodienne" (Étienne 1990, 237). At 2.28g, however, it is very underweight also for the Rhodian standard, a fact confirmed by Étienne's insistence on the good condition of the specimen: this weight is not the result of circulation wear. Rather than separating this single coin, it thus can be as easily be an very underweight specimen on the standard used for the tetradrachms and didrachms. For another similarly underweight specimen, compare Étienne 203.23, didrachm at 4.54g vs 204.1, the sole drachm, at 2.28g. See also below, 137n246.

[154] For frequency tables and information on drachms not identified by Paschalis, see Appendix 5.5. Tenos and Andros 3.6g standard issues, 147, with Paschalis 1898. The second didrachm is now in the Alpha Bank collection (#10421), having appeared in the 1933 Naville Ars Classica sale as lot 1305 along with the other specimens from *IGCH* 210, and subsequently also in the New York Sale XIV (12/1/2007) as lot 102.
The tetradrachm was originally published by Blanchet 1893, 451 1 and is currently in the Winterthur Cabinet: Bloesch 1964 326; Bloesch 1987 2298. There, Bloesch implies that two specimens are known, but he has misunderstood the references in Bernhart 1949. Babelon 1901, II 3 1291 is explicitly the specimen from the collection of Prince Pierre of Saxe-Cobourg initially published by Blanchet and included by Paschalis 1898 in his corpus as the sole example of type 20. Note that Blanchet, Paschalis and Babelon all state that the weight of this specimen was 14.08g; by the time it reached the Winterthur Cabinet, however, the weight had decreased to 13.19g. If not the result of a mistake in the initial weighing, the occasion was probably the recent cleaning mentioned by Svoronos 1908, 156 abb 109.

dated to the early second century, because the specimen not known to Paschalis derives from *IGCH* 210[155]. Conversely, the drachms and tetradrachm are not dated by this hoard, but stylistically date to the third century[156]. Although Tenos and Andros seem to have continued to mint different amounts, we can thus be confident that they minted on the same standard throughout this period, that they changed their standard at about the same time, and that these two aspects are no coincidence. Instead, they point to an ongoing numismatic tie which can be traced at least from the late fourth into the third and second centuries.

When we turn to embed this numismatic network in our broader historical narrative, the continuity between Tenos and Andros here identified is noteworthy in two distinct respects. First, it is interestingly at odds with the early second-century political situation commonly reconstructed for the two islands: in the second century, although Tenos is to have been the base of the Rhodian-led Second League of the Islanders, Andros is firmly excluded from discussions of Rhodian influence and possible membership of the League of the Islanders because it is believed to have been a Pergamene possession from the Roman gift of the island to Attalus I in 199 until the

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The true weight of this specimen perhaps lies somewhere between the two, but the extent of (possible over-)cleaning cannot be judged without autopsy, which has not been possible.

155 Unlike the other Cycladic issues identified from this hoard (*cf* 80n135), this specimen was graded in the initial Naville Ars Classica sale as "très beau"; *cf* the judgement of the New York Sale XIV (12/1/2007) 102: "[a]lmost very fine". This could normally be assumed to imply greater circulation and earlier production. Autopsy suggests that the specimen may be slightly more worn than the other specimens, but that the presence of metal flaws on the obverse and reverse is largely responsible for the grading. It can thus also be unproblematically dated to the early second century.

156 The tetradrachms and drachms were dated significantly earlier by Paschalis and Babelon, in the early fourth century: Paschalis: 393–363; Babelon: 378–363. Bloesch 1964, 50 argues strongly against this dating, insisting that they cannot be earlier than the early third century, while Svoronos considers it unproblematic to date the tetradrachm *c* 244.

formation of the province of Asia[157]. In the absence of alternative evidence for Andros' later fortunes, this conclusion is understandable, but hardly compelling. If it is still to be accepted, then the continuity of numismatic production on Andros even into the second century suggests that the Pergamene yoke was not heavy: the Andrians still maintained the right of production, and there was no disruption to the local numismatic network in favour of either an iconographic or metric connexion with Pergamum. More plausible, however, may be to consider the continuation of this local connexion with Tenos evidence that the Pergamene episode was brief, lasting perhaps no longer than the Second Macedonian War itself.

Second, this continuity allows us to chart a unique trajectory for Tenos and Andros, because their practice differs not only from that of Paros and Naxos, discussed above, but also of Attica and the Euboean cities. One appealing explanation for the shift to

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[157] 199: Livy 31.45. The evidence for the Second League of the Islanders is mostly indirect and derived by identification of evidence for Rhodian activity with evidence for the League; for a re-examination of the nature and chronology of our evidence for Rhodian activity in the Cyclades at this time, see 515–565; specifically on the Second League of the Islanders, see Appendix 1. The 'Second League of the Islanders', 569.
There does not seem to have been a monograph on Andros since Sauciuc 1914. On Andros under Pergamene control until the formation of the province of Asia, see Sauciuc 1914, 82–88, reiterated by Nigdelis 1990, 253; Tiverios 1996, 73. These scholars do not discuss possible membership of the Second League of the Islanders, but the inference is common. On Andros as Pergamene and hence not a member of the second League of the Islanders, see König 1910, 54 ("wohl"), repeated, amongst others, by Sippel 1966, 62 ("probably"), and, without qualification, by Étienne 1990, 113; Wiemer 2002, 273. Note that, although both Étienne and Wiemer cite Sauciuc 1914, 82–88 in support of their statements, he does not explicitly draw this conclusion.
Cf, for a similar distinction, Reger 1992, 381–382, who explains the existence of proxeny decrees for Andrians on Tenos (*IG* XII.5 825 and 826) unlike for other Cycladic islanders on account of Andros being "really 'foreign territory'" [quotation marks original] to the Tenians. Specifically on Reger's argument, the existence of proxeny decrees also for Iulians from Ceos, and Minoans from Amorgos suggests that Reger's distinction is unfounded; for an earlier discussion (not known to Reger) arguing against the notion that proxeny could not be granted citizens of other states of the same League, see Knoepfler 1984, 585, with discussion of previous scholarship at 720n367. The continued similarity of standard identified here does not need directly to inform our notions of the political status of the islands, but does suggest that, at least on this level, Andros was rather less 'foreign' than other Cycladic islands.

the 3.6g standard from the Attic standard is to point to the unusual issues at Athens associated with the Chremonidean War, when Athens seems to have issued 'pentobols' at a weight of *c* 3.55g. These issues have been understood as intended to provide an equivalent to the Ptolemaic drachm at *c* 3.55g, possibly to pay the Ptolemaic soldiers then garrisoned on Attic land[158]. The same interpretation might be adduced for Tenos and Andros.

These issues were, however, unique at Athens. After the war, Athens returned to minting full-weight drachms. Tenos and Andros did not, but continued to mint on this standard. In addition, the Athenian issues were unusual not just in their weight, but in their style and iconography: Kroll and Walker even suggest inspiration from Ptolemaic originals[159]. There is no such iconographic shift on the coinage of Andros or Tenos. In addition, Andros and Tenos continued to use the *c* 3.6g standard. We thus might rather connect these issues with contemporary developments on Euboea. Carystos, the nearest of the cities on Euboea, produced a succession of didrachms at a weight of *c* 7.2g from *c* 280 into the second half of the third century[160].

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158 Kroll and Nicolet-Pierre 1990, 30; Kroll and Walker 1993, 11–12.

159 Kroll and Walker suggest that the "three-quarters turn and lifted wings are borrowed from the eagles on Ptolemaic coinage" (12).

160 Robinson 1952, 15–21. Picard 1979, 177–178 dates these issues to after *c* 280. Wallace originally dated the Carystian didrachms he published to the late third century. In keeping with his updating of several other issues and hoards, Picard again suggested these should rather be dated *c* 250, and connected with Alexander, the son of Craterus, who revolted from Gonatas in the mid-century: Wallace 1968; Picard 1979, 150–151. Frequency table for the specimens published by Wallace: Appendix 5.6. Carystos 'Tyrant' didrachms, 149.
Cf also the issues of the Euboean league, dated by Picard to between 290 and 273, which were also produced at *c* 3.6g. These are Picard 1979: issues 25–30. Picard does not provide a frequency table for these issues. See instead Appendix 5.7. Chalcidian League drachms, 150. Only one small issue of drachms, issue 42, survives from the third group of Chalcidian League issues, which Picard dates to the

These explanations are not strictly incompatible: our issues from Andros, Tenos and Carystos at this time are chronologically insecure enough that we could envisage a shift of standard in all three states associated with the Chremonidean War, as in Athens. The effective creation of a circulation zone of currency on the *c* 3.6g standard could then be connected with Ptolemaic activity in the area: there was a Ptolemaic base on Ceos at Coressia, which was renamed Arsinoe, and others at Rhamnous and Koroni. Andros was also a base for Callias on his way to Athens in 287. The decision to maintain this standard, however, cannot be connected to that conflict, or to Ptolemaic activity. Instead, it points to the increased importance of a structural connexion between Tenos, Andros, and Carystos after that war, as opposed to one between Tenos, Andros and Athens.

By the start of the second century, however, the situation had changed once again: the *c* 3.6g standard was no longer in use on Euboea[161]. As we have seen, however, Tenos and Andros did continue to mint on this standard: the didrachms are securely datable from hoard evidence in the second century. This fact is significant in two ways. First, to reiterate, it confirms that there was no Rhodian influence on their production, at least as regards the lowering of the numismatic standard. Second, it allows us to exclude the possibility that their decision to mint on this standard was simply a passive reflexion of Euboean practice, any more than it had been just a

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middle of the second century; the three weights noted from the five specimens here are low at 3.26g, 3.2g, and 3.12g.

[161] Picard issues 57–65. The issues of the Euboean League at the end of the third century did not involve any silver, while he interprets the issues from the early second century as tetradrachms, octobols, and triobols on the Attic standard. These octobols and triobols could perhaps alternatively be understood as reduced didrachms and drachms, but the discrepancy with production on Tenos and Andros remains.

reflexion of Ptolemaic practice. Neither approach can explain the decision to keep using the *c* 3.6g standard. Instead, as on Paros and Naxos, we have to assume a conscious decision on the part of Tenos and Andros to maintain that standard, plausibly because they, like Paros and Naxos, at this time were sufficiently economically and politically confident to be able to maintain the overvaluation of their currencies irrespective of developments in neighbouring regions, including elsewhere in the Cyclades[162].

The above discussion has necessarily ranged widely in considering the varying contexts in which the numismatic tie between Tenos and Andros can be placed. We have, however, seen that their numismatic network is as enduring as that of Paros and Naxos, but diverges significantly in its direction, its standards, and in the chronological stages identifiable: in the fourth century, they seem to form part of a network with Athens, in the middle of the third century, of a network with Euboea, and in the second century, they seem dissociated from both, but still bound to each other. At each stage, however, their own standards are compatible, and suggest that a tie continued to connect these two islands, even as their relationship to other states changed.

Aegiale

The silver coinage of Aegiale is only attested by four specimens[163]. They are dated approximately to the early second century not by hoard evidence, but by iconographic

[162] On Paros and Naxos, see briefly 72; more generally, see the synthesis at 123–124.
[163] Liampi 2004, 96 2–3.

analogy with group II bronzes from Aegiale, which also have the same seated Pan figure with syrinx. Nevertheless, it reveals the existence of a different numismatic tie from that seen elsewhere in the Cyclades.

Liampi merely observes that these coins indicate the Rhodian weight standard. She suggests that this standard may perhaps support the date from iconographic analogy, and that it is consistent with the known connexions between Amorgos and Rhodes, including the discovery of Rhodian coins on the island[164].

That there should be connexions between Amorgos and Rhodes is unsurprising. A closer inspection, however, suggests that such a connexion is not inherent in the coins. As noted above, the iconography is local[165]. Closer analysis, moreover, indicates that the specimens may be compatible with the Rhodian weight standard, but they do not fit into Rhodes' metrological system. At a range from 2.04g to 2.39g, they are too low given their condition even to be considered drachms minted on the reduced Rhodian standard of *c* 2.8g that operated from *c* 220 to *c* 190[166], let alone the plinthophoric (*c* 3.0g) or full Rhodian (*c* 3.4g) standards. They could be understood as tetrobols on that standard, but Rhodes did not mint this denomination; the only fractions attested

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164 Liampi 2004, 82. In addition, the alphas of the ethnic clearly have a broken bar, pointing to a later date.

165 If the coinage used Rhodian types, Liampi's argument would be stronger, but Rhodian types would still not necessarily reflect a connexion with Rhodes. It might instead form part of the broader phenomenon of pseudo-Rhodian drachms, which were so popular on Crete at the beginning of the third century, and during the Third Macedonian War on the Greek mainland, and which Ashton and Bresson connect to their popularity among mercenaries. For brief further discussion and bibliography, see further 140, especially 140n251, and 118.

166 For a summary, see Ashton 2001, especially 88.

for Rhodes are hemidrachms and diobols, and these specimens are too heavy to be such fractions[167].

The most probable answer lies rather closer to Amorgos, directly east across the Aegean: Cos, or, rather, Cos and Calymnos, which were but one state at this time[168]. Kroll's frequency table in his analysis of what he considered tetrobols on the Rhodian standard illustrates the compatibility between the issues of Cos and Aegiale[169]. Whether tetrobols on the Rhodian standard or hemidrachms on the Attic standard, the same standard seems also implied in the issues of Myndos, which is immediately opposite Cos on the Anatolian mainland[170]. By contrast, none of the other neighbouring islands offers a parallel: Samos was minting silver at the start of the second century, but these were rated at *c* 2.9g, standardly understood as tetrobols on the Attic standard[171]; looking west, neither Naxos nor Paros produced any silver currency corresponding to these specimens.

That Aegiale should have formed a tie with Cos at this apparent time of expansion and prosperity is compelling. The parallel here identified with Cos, moreover,

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167 Pre-plinthophoric issues: Ashton 2001; plinthophoric issues: Jenkins 1989, with Meadows 2009 for a slightly earlier date for the introduction of *plinthophori*, perhaps *c* 195.

168 Sherwin-White 1978, 124–129 with references.

169 Kroll 1964, 82. Kroll originally offered a *terminus post quem* of 145, but subsequent revisions to the chronology of the Rhodian *plinthophori* make a date in the 170s more plausible: see Kroll 1964, 83–85; Ashton 1998, 226–227.

170 Kroll 1964 identified the implied standard as 2.05g, but this interpretation involves approximately 30% of the weighed specimens being overweight (64 of 194), some significantly. The "leading edge" of the frequency table points to *c* 2.25g, which would involve only 5% (10 of 194) specimens being overweight, and allows these issues, and plausibly also the issues from Aegiale, instead to be understood as hemi-drachms on the Attic standard. The issues of Myndos have yet systematically to be studied: see *BMC Myndus* 9–12; *SNG Copenhagen Myndus* 440–443. I thank Andy Meadows for his comments on this issue.

171 Barron 1966, 146–154 with table at 157.

complements the epigraphic and literary evidence for a connexion between Amorgos and Samos. The Suda records that Semonides of Amorgos founded all three cities when he was sent by the Samians, but our earlier inscriptional evidence is more specific, attesting Samians at Minoa on Amorgos[172]. We could here envisage neighbouring cities drawing on different external allies in their competition, or, alternatively, see the ties with Samos and Cos as successive. Either way, incorporating the numismatic evidence into the picture again adds complexity: where the modern geographical narrative looks to the west and insists on Amorgos as part of the Cyclades, and it is the political domination from the north by the Samians that survives in our scant mythical and epigraphic record, the numismatic evidence has drawn out a third complementary connexion, to the east, with Cos and the Anatolian mainland.

Ceos

Papageorgiadou-Banis identifies only two silver issues after the archaic period, one from Iulis, and one from Carthaea. She considers them contemporary because of stylistic similarity of the obverse dies, and dates them to the fourth century for reasons that are not explicitly stated[173]. Sheedy argues that they should instead be dated to the third or second century, by iconographic analogy with other series that Papageorgiadou-Banis dates then[174]. Whenever they were minted, it is noteworthy that the iconography is again local, through two myths connected with Aristaeus: the

[172] *FgrHist* 534 T1 a–b. For the Samians at Minoa, see Robert 1933 (= Robert 1969–1990, 1:549–568) and Rougemont 1983.
[173] Papageorgiadou-Banis 1997, 38, 45.
[174] Sheedy 1998, 156–157.

obverse of both issues has Zeus-Aristaeus, the reverse of the Cartheaen issue the dog-star Sirius; the reverse of the Iulis issue bees[175].

The few specimens that survive vary so much in weight that it is difficult to characterise them. It is, however, clear that they are not connected with the Rhodian standard. Sheedy's suggestion that they are similar in weight to the Tenian issues is, however, equally not tenable: all bar two of the coins are too heavy, making this suggestion implausible. Instead, they are probably didrachms on the full Attic standard. If dated in third or second century, they thus provide further evidence of the numismatic diversity of the Cyclades: unlike the other islands at this time, the cities of Ceos did not wish to mint on a reduced standard, plausibly because they had stronger ties with Athens than the other states. If dated in the fourth century with Papageorgiadou-Banis, an analogy can be drawn with the production of Tenos and Andros, which also produced on the Attic standard at this time. Either way, a discrepancy with Paros and Naxos remains[176].

A Cycladic Rhodian 'numismatic network'

The numismatic networks discussed so far have focussed on production. We have seen that the Cyclades did not form a unified region on this level. The picture is incomplete, but no aspect of it implies unity or a consistent external influence over production. Instead, we can identify different networks, two of which certainly lasted for several centuries, and none of which involves Rhodian monetary influence,

[175] Papageorgiadou-Banis 1997, 11–17 for the iconography. Sheedy 2010.
[176] Iulis IV (AR): Issue 1. 6.53g, 7.45g; issue 2. 8.35g, 7.85g; Karthaia III (AR): 6.62g, 7.64g, 8.10g.

together with a background environment involving ongoing production of bronze coinages that continually emphasised local identity and independence. This analysis thus complements the recent scholarship noted in the introduction in de-emphasising the structural role of Rhodian silver in the Cyclades prior to 166.

A different picture is still assumed in the interpretation of roses on the coins of Cythnos and Tenos: this envisages encoding relations with Rhodes to reflect "the reality of Rhodian influence and power in the Cyclades"[177] as well specific factors involved in the history of these two islands and their relations with Rhodes. Bresson has also recently argued for understanding Rhodian silver as legal tender for the League of the Islanders on the basis of *IG* XII.5 817. A close examination suggests that neither systemic interpretation is plausible, while a broader review of recent discussions of Rhodian silver and of Rhodian monetary practice at this time indicates that our conclusions here are not only more congruent with current approaches, but also, resolve various outstanding difficulties which previous interpretations of the Cycladic numismatic environment have created.

'Rhodian' 'roses'? An iconographic analysis

Of the twenty-one Cycladic islands that issued bronze or silver coins in the Hellenistic period, only two have ever been identified as having used 'roses' as a symbol: Cythnos and Tenos. Arguments connecting rose iconography with Rhodian

[177] Sheedy and Papageorgiadou 1998, 654. *Cf* Sippel 1966: 101n183.

influence in the entire region are thus self-defeating[178]. They also do not take into account the iconographic reality that roses appear on coins throughout the Greek world in contexts which cannot be understood as implying Rhodian influence: Price ascribes Alexanders with a rose field-mark to Sardis, Memphis, Babylon, Paphos, Cilicia, Miletus, and Macedonia, as well as to Rhodes[179]. Even attributing issues to Rhodes itself on the basis of a rose field-mark is hazardous: Ashton persuasively argues that some Lysimachi that had been attributed to Rhodes on these grounds were instead produced by Byzantium[180]. Instead, specific historical explanations relevant to the island involved are required. For both Cythnos and Tenos, such explanations have been persuasively advanced in the past, but new evidence for Cythnos renders them unconvincing. For Tenos, the case is less clear, but the balance suggests that Rhodian influence should probably be discounted.

Cythnos

The case for identifying Rhodian influence on Cythnian minting was first made by Sippel and Robert, and has recently been summarised by Sheedy and Papageorgiadou-

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[178] Strictly, roses have only so far been identified on issues of Cythnos and Tenos. Nevertheless, the reference works, catalogues, and collections consulted in the course of this study and the preceding die study of Paros confirm this picture: no 'rose' was visible on bronze of Andros, Naxos, Paros, or the other islands. New issues may come to light, but this is unlikely, in part for reasons discussed below regarding the more plausible identification of the Cythnian 'rose'. On the bronze coinage of Naxos, see also Nicolet-Pierre 2005; on that of Andros: Dreni 2010; star, corn ear, and grape field-marks were identified in the course of the study of Parian bronze, but no rose.

[179] Price 1991, 2:564. Rhodes seems only to have minted Alexanders in the late third century in two clusters: Kleiner 1971 with Ashton 1993, and, for revised dating: Ashton and Kinns 2004, 93–100, where the case against the attribution of early Alexander issues to Rhodes is convincingly restated against Apostolou 1998.

[180] Ashton 2001, 111–112.

Banis[181]. Cythnos was for a long time one of the few Cycladic islands for which no archaic production was posited, and, when Sippel and Robert wrote, it was thought that the Cythnians never produced their own silver. The Cythnians did, however, at least sporadically produce bronzes which can be dated on stylistic grounds from the middle Hellenistic period (third or second century) to the early imperial period. Among the stylistically Hellenistic are three with a flower on the reverse identified as a 'rose': one with a medium-sized module and the head of Apollo on the obverse; two with a small module and either the head of Artemis or a dog on the obverse[182]. In addition, Robert suggested that a Rhodian drachm with countermark KY and lyre might reflect the use of Rhodian silver on Cythnos.

Sippel believed that the Cythnian specimens reflected Rhodian political hegemony, but did not attempt to explain the phenomenon in a broader geographical or numismatic context[183]. Robert, however, took care to justify Rhodian interest in Cythnos: as the Macedonian garrison attested there in the war with Philip V perhaps indicates, Cythnos' location near the entrance to the Saronic Gulf might have made her a suitable spot for a Rhodian base[184]. Both also noted the existence of a decree of

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181 Sippel 1966, 78–80; Robert 1977, 7–34; Sheedy and Papageorgiadou 1998.

182 See Sheedy and Papageorgiadou 1998, 655 fig 2 and 3, and ANS 1944.100.27861.

183 Sippel 1966, 59 and 88, summarising that the coinages of both Cythnos and Tenos were "directly influenced by their Rhodian protector and overlord" (88).

184 Livy 31.15.8 for a Macedonian garrison which, unlike that on Andros, successfully held out against attack at 31.45.9. For discussion of the fortifications examined during survey on Cythnos from 1990 to 1995, see, for preliminary results, Mazarakis-Ainian 1993; Mazarakis Ainian 1996; for a summary in English, Mazarakis-Ainian 1998, especially 368–370; for plans and an attempt to embed these fortifications in a broader historical context, Mazarakis-Ainian and Louyot 2005. Full publication of the survey is still awaited.

the Cythnians for Hegesander the Rhodian as proving a connexion with Rhodes at some point in the Hellenistic period, although not necessarily in the second century[185].

As a geographically aware explanation of the historical context for available data, Robert's analysis is convincing. The numismatic context has, however, changed since he wrote. First, Troxell has persuasively reassigned the countermark on the Rhodian drachm to the city of Cyaneae in Lycia[186]. There is thus no evidence for the use or symbolic replacement of Rhodian coinage on Cythnos. Second, our understanding of Cythnian coinage and iconography has changed. In particular, the recent publication of the Artemis collection now in the Athens Numismatic Museum includes a new early classical series not known to Robert with a 'rose' on the reverse[187]. This specimen is certainly Cythnian, with a dog on the obverse, and the legend KYΘ on the reverse. It also has important ramifications.

First, together with other specimens recently attributed to Cythnos[188], it suggests that the Cythnians were not so hesitant about minting as had previously been thought: there is less need to posit an extraordinary outside spur to incite production. Second, it shews that, like the dog and the lyre, this 'rose' was already a part of Cythnian iconography before the Hellenistic period, and Rhodes' zenith. Third, it calls into question the very identification of the flower as a 'rose'. As Price's discussion of roses on Alexanders from a variety of mints indicates, it is tempting to refer to any

185 Hiller von Gaertringen 1898, 391.54. Text also at Sippel 1966, 59; Robert 1977, 28.
186 Troxell 1982, 27n64.
187 Touratsoglou and Tsourti 2010.69, illustrated. Sheedy 2006 does not know this specimen.
188 Sheedy 2006 does not attribute any archaic coinage to Cythnos. Touratsoglou and Tsourti 2010 revises Sheedy's attributions, identifying two further anepigraphic specimens as Cythnian. Dispute over their origin does not affect the attribution of this specimen.

trefoil flower on a coin as a 'rose', and to connect it with Rhodes, in the absence of any specific reason not so to do. This is understandable: the rose (τὸ ῥόδον) is a certain frequent punning symbol on the coins of Rhodes (ἡ Ῥόδος)[189]. There is, however, a specific reason for a different identification here: Cythnos was famous at least later in antiquity as the origin of *cytisus*, which, according to Pliny the elder, produces a larger amount and better quality of milk than any other fodder, and which was responsible for increased cheese production[190]. *Cytisus* has a trifoliate leaf[191], and the connexion with cheese production fits with the evidence for Cythnian cheese as an exportable product with which the island was identified already in the fifth century[192]. Pliny's reference suggests it continued to be the case. We can thus consider the *cytisus* on Cythnian as equivalent to the corn ear on that of Metapontum, and silphium on that of Cyrene: each is a reference to a source of wealth for the island.

It does remain a possibility that the Rhodians did have a garrison on Cythnos, and that coins may have been minted to acknowledge their presence or to pay them. Nevertheless, there is so far no archaeological evidence that there was such a Rhodian garrison[193]. The iconography can also be explained without such a hypothesis, and consistently with the use of iconography elsewhere in the Greek world. Thus,

189 On punning symbols, see, with further examples, Kraay 1976, 3–4.

190 Pliny 13.47, especially 130 and 134.

191 *Cytisus* seems likely to be *medicago arborea*, also known as medic trefoil, and lucerne. Alternatively, it could be a broom, possibly *cytisus scoparius*. These plants are very resistant to over-grazing by sheep and goats.

192 Alexis F 172 Kock = Athenaeus 12.516e. That Cythnian cheese seems to be for the second course may suggest that it was not the height of gastronomic fantasy, but it was still presumably well-known or wide-spread enough to be worth specifying. As the context is lacunose, and witty, however, this may already be too subtle an interpretation. For further discussion of island produce, see Brun 1997.

193 The publications mentioned in 101n184 are preliminary, but the silence over any evidence of Rhodian presence, whether numismatic, epigraphic or ceramic, beyond the ubiquitous Rhodian amphora stamps, is noteworthy.

disconnecting the flower from Rhodian activity, and identifying it not as a rose but as a *cytisus* leaf, seems for now more plausible.

Tenos

Unlike Cythnos, Tenos never used the rose as its main type on its coinage. Instead, the rose appeared as a field-mark, and only on Tenian bronze issues. It does not appear on Tenian silver. The restricted use of the rose on Tenian issues thus perhaps explains why the apparently parallel case of Cythnos was so welcomed by scholars looking to connect the Tenian 'rose' to Rhodes. It seemed to provide corroboration that the 'rose' might be a regional phenomenon, rather than one specifically to be associated with Tenos. Nevertheless, this conclusion cannot now be accepted. Our evidence from the other islands is such that any explanation has to appreciate that these 'roses' are a specifically Tenian phenomenon.

Though long recognised, the phenomenon was first systematically analysed by Étienne and Artémis-Gyselen. They identify rose field-marks on types belonging to two of the eight different bronze issues they attribute to the late Hellenistic period. In each case, moreover, only some of the types bear the rose: three types of the six sub-types identified for issue 205, and two of the five sub-types identified for issue 207[194].

Perhaps because of the generally poor preserved state of bronze issues, Étienne and Artémis-Gyselen did not undertake a full die study. Hence it is unclear what

[194] Étienne and Artémis-Gyselen types 205.II; 205.III; 205.V; 207.I; 207.IV. Already noted by Head 1887, 421; for further earlier references, see 54n86 above, and, for differing interpretations, the discussion below.

proportion of Tenian output at this period these two issues represent, let alone what proportion forms the relevant five sub-types of the eleven they identify for issues 205 and 207 alone. Nevertheless, two points need incorporation in any analysis: first, all the specimens of 205 identified with the 'rose' have a large module, and all those of 207 with the 'rose' have a small module. They are thus plausibly different denominations, and so could be complementary and contemporary rather than successive[195]. This aspect supports the natural inference from the presence of the 'rose' on only two of the eight bronze issues that the coinage with the 'rose' was a brief phenomenon. The 'rose' thus does not require a structural, chronologically extended explanation.

Second, the 'rose' is not unique as a field-mark on these issues. Étienne and Artémis-Gyselen do not identify any symbol except the 'rose', but a review of their plates and analysis of specimens identified in collections in the course of this study indicate that other symbols were used in the same way as the 'rose'. These include a cluster of grapes like that common on silver issues of this period, and what may be a T, a more stylised grape cluster, or a garlic plant[196]. This aspect urges us to look to

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195 *Pace* Fraser and Bean 1954, 171.

196 Tenos was apparently known for her garlic: Aristophanes *Plutus* 18.
Grape cluster: Étienne and Artémis-Gyselen 207.1 (= ANS 1944.100.27985); *cf* 207.79, 207.89, and for similar grape clusters on Tenian silver: 203.13 and 203.14. Stylised grape cluster, T or garlic plant: Étienne and Artémis-Gyselen: 207.64 (= ANS 1944.100.27987); *cf* 207.59, 207.60, 207.62; these are all specimens of 'type II', where this symbol is not recorded by Étienne and Artémis-Gyselen in their type description. A systematic reanalysis was not attempted: the small size of the symbol, the similarity of grape cluster and rose as a design, and the state of specimens mean that, in many cases, they cannot be differentiated. Of the one hundred and sixteen specimens of 207 noted by Étienne and Artémis-Gyselen, forty seven are included in their plates. Some field-marks do seem to be a rose; others are much less certain. Note that some issues also have no field-mark.

factors internal to the mint to explain the presence of the 'rose' and these other field-marks, rather than to a unique historical factor that only explains the 'rose'.

None of these considerations excludes entirely the possibility that the 'rose' does somehow encode a reference to Rhodes. If so, the alternation and similarity of issues implies that the Rhodian involvement was brief, as well as restricted to Tenos[197]. We might even incorporate the apparent lack of field-marks on Tenian coins prior to this period into our analysis by envisaging the use of the grape-cluster and garlic plant field-marks as spurred by a subsequent rejection of the Rhodian involvement encoded by the 'rose' on the bronze[198].

There is, however, little reason to insist on such a narrow interpretation of the 'rose'. It may not even be a 'rose': it could be *cytisus*, as on Cythnos. Even if it is a 'rose', it need not have any 'Rhodian' symbolism. It may not be entirely coincidental that the Tenians would decide to use a 'rose', if such it is, as a field-mark in the Hellenistic period: they no doubt travelled, knew of the prominence of Rhodes, not

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197 Sippel's argument that the use of a rose might be a recognition or announcement by the Tenians of their special position in the Second League of the Islanders when it was under Rhodian domination is unusual in recognising the specifically Tenian context. Nevertheless, his argument is unconvincing on two important grounds: it does not explain the restriction to bronze coinage alone, and it is incompatible with the restricted circulation which bronze generally has: Sippel 1986b, especially 45. Note that Sippel also advances the interpretation in the belief that Tenians did not mint silver at this time; the evidence from *IGCH* 210 suggests that, even if the Tenians were not minting at this precise moment, they did in this period; see the discussion of hoard evidence at 613–634, particularly 620–627. He also suggests that "local circulation" can be equated with circulation among the Cycladic islands; it seems to have been much more limited than that, with outside use accidental or casual. Compare the finds from excavation on Tenos, where very few bronzes are non-Tenian, and as many are non-Cycladic as are Cycladic; see the brief discussion at 119, especially 119n215.

198 This conjecture would also suggest that the Tenian silver issues of this period post-dated the 'rose' issue bronzes. At 515–565, we argue that extensive Rhodian military engagement in the Cyclades is not attested after the Second Macedonian War. If the 'rose' issue bronzes were to be connected to Rhodian activity, and so dated to the last decade of the third century or to the 190s, this combination would be further corroboration independent of our analysis of the hoard evidence at 613–634 for a lower date for the Tenian silver issues than has previously been argued.

least because of the dedications by Rhodians on Tenos, and had encountered Rhodian currency. Whether rose or *cytisus*, the use of the 'rose' in alternation with the grapes of Dionysus and 'garlic plant' may perhaps point to three separate issues, but, as on Cythnos, Metapontum, Cyrene, and elsewhere, these three symbols may have been chosen because of their importance as crops and sources of wealth[199]. No direct Rhodian influence need be posited to justify what may have been no more than a mint-mark[200].

In the circumstances, certainty is not possible. Even a full die-study of the relevant specimens of Tenian bronze might not be conclusive, as so many specimens are in a bad condition. Identifying the field-mark and establishing die wear on sufficient specimens to know whether the 'rose', 'grape-cluster' and 'garlic plant' field-marks were used successively or contemporaneously, is probably impossible. Nevertheless, the factors identified here, and the decision to keep minting on a parochial standard rather than to use Rhodian weight for the silver coinage together argue that a hegemonic interpretation of the 'rose' is implausible. Whether rose or *cytisus*, the

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[199] Athenaeus 2.43c refers to a Tenian spring with which wine does not mix; from this, Sippel 1986b, 43 suggests Tenos may have been known for her wine. It was occasionally noted for its wines by nineteenth century travellers. See, *eg*, Wines 1832, 2:239. No rose or flower crop seems ever to have been specifically associated with Tenos, but *cytisus* is widespread in the Cyclades.

[200] Mint-marks are a frequent feature of Hellenistic issues, but vary in function. Sometimes they seem to have identified the official in charge of the mint, sometimes the year of production. On symbols in general, see Kraay 1976, 5; *cf* the many different symbols identified on Rhodian issues by Ashton 2001, 99–111, and the explanation of different combinations of symbols on issues of Perseus offered at 132n237. The important point here is that they rarely (never?) seem to have an external iconographic function or symbolism equivalent to that of the main type. This is perhaps why Étienne and Artémis-Gyselen argue that the Tenian rose, despite its size and location beside the main type, cannot be a mint-mark: in keeping with earlier scholarship, they remain certain that the rose is a clear allusion to Rhodian hegemony (Étienne 1990, 246: "une allusion claire"; see 54n86 for earlier scholarship in this vein). They are perhaps aware that if it were described or understood as a mint-mark, its heuristic value as evidence for Rhodian influence would be called into question.

symbol was probably a mint-mark alongside other mint-marks, and is to be understood as part of the internal practice of the mint. If there is a connexion with Rhodes, it is indirect, arising from Rhodian prominence in general, not from direct Rhodian monetary influence.

Whichever approach is preferred, moreover, this review of the iconography of all the Cycladic islands, and specifically of Tenos and Cythnos, has argued that Tenos is exceptional in the Cyclades in its possible use of Rhodian iconography. Cythnos does not provide a parallel. Given the numismatic context, any support for a connexion between Tenos and Rhodes derived from this iconography should be understood as specifically Tenian, not Cycladic, and as momentary, not structural. More probably, however, Tenos is no exception.

IG XII.5 817. Rhodian coinage as legal tender

On account of its apparent unique reference to Rhodian silver, *IG* XII.5 817 has been as central to current interpretations of the Cycladic numismatic environment as the 'rose' on Tenian bronze. This early second-century inscription, found on Tenos in the sanctuary of Poseidon and Amphitrite, honours Timon, son of Nymphodorus, of Syracuse, for his goodwill towards τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Νησιωτῶν (hereafter, the League of the Islanders, or, simply, the League) and in particular for his assistance in accepting money without a surcharge ("ἀκολ]/[λ]ύβιστον"), at a time when, "on account of surcharges, those selling the corn were demanding not fewer than one hundred and five drachms for one hundred drachms of Rhodian silver". Because our understanding

of the numismatic context and our interpretation of the narrative context of the decree both markedly differ from previous analyses, we offer our new analysis here with only a summary of previous interpretations[201].

Scholars have disagreed over the precise transaction described by this decree, but there has been general agreement that it somehow presented Rhodian silver (understood, in more recent interpretations, to mean silver on the Rhodian standard) as central to the Cycladic economy. They have not argued this point from the bare fact that the corn-merchants themselves seem to require payment in Rhodian silver (however understood): it is generally recognised that that fact in itself is insufficient to demonstrate structural importance, as this preference could be personal, perhaps reflecting their origin, or their participation in the corn-trade. Instead, they have identified this structural importance either from a belief that the ambassadors themselves brought Rhodian silver issues as payment, or by reconstructing a clause giving Rhodian silver the status of legal tender[202].

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[201] *IG* XII.5 817.5–7: διὰ τοὺς κολ[λύ]βους, [τῶμ] πωλού[ντων τὸν σῖτον ἀντὶ ἑκα]/[τ]ὸν δραχμῶν τοῦ Ῥοδίου ἀργυρίου οὐκ [ἔλαττον ἀπαιτούντων]/ἑκατὸν καὶ πέντε δραχμῶν; 8–10: οὐκ ἐπράξατο [οὐδένα κόλλυ]/[βον] τῶι ἀργυρίωι τούτωι, ἀλλὰ προσεδέ[ξατο αὐτὸ ἀκολ]/[λ]ύβιστον.
For discussion of the important recent analysis by Bresson 2001, as well as other earlier discussions, see Appendix 4.1. Analysis, 135. For discussion of the date, which strictly could also fall in the late third century, see 224n595.

[202] Bresson 2001 seems to have offered the first interpretation which recognised that the reference to "ἑκα][τ]ὸν δραχμῶν τοῦ Ῥοδίου ἀργυρίου" was more probably a reference to "one hundred drachms of Rhodian silver" in the sense of "one hundred drachms metrologically compatible with Rhodian silver" or "one hundred drachms on the Rhodian standard", than more specifically one to "one hundred drachms of silver issued by the Rhodian state". On the difference between νόμισμα, identifying a specific currency, and ἀργυρίον, specifying a standard, see Giovannini 1978, 38–40, developed by Bresson 1993, 142–149; Picard 1999, especially 249–250. This revised interpretation is compelling. Partly because our interpretation does not envisage a specific legal status for 'Rhodian silver", however, it is compatible with either reading. Hence, we continue to use "Rhodian silver (however understood)" for brevity and simplicity, except where the distinction is particularly important.

The broad outlines of previous interpretations remain valid, but the numismatic context has changed. Whether or not they have envisaged Cycladic silver issues being involved in the transaction, scholars have previously offered their interpretations in the belief that at least some Cycladic silver issues did in some meaningful way reflect the Rhodian standard. They thus faced the paradox of a situation in which silver on the Rhodian standard seems not to have been accepted as equivalent precisely to Rhodian silver (however understood). This paradox no longer necessarily exists. Instead, we have here argued that no Cycladic silver issue was produced on the Rhodian standard[203].

Perhaps more importantly, however, the very negotiation over the surcharges and rate of conversion preclude that silver on the Rhodian standard (let alone Rhodian state silver issues themselves) had any legally sanctioned status, at least in the area in which the negotiation took place. The issue strictly does not arise in the surviving portion of the inscription, where the focus is rather on the difference between the cumulative rates of conversion offered by Timon and by the corn-merchants. The ambassadors were engaging in negotiations, and Timon offered a significantly better rate than the corn-merchants: just under five per cent better[204]. Nevertheless, these negotiations are premised on Rhodian silver (however understood) being but one of a range of options, without any special legal status: otherwise, the negotiations over the

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See Ziebarth 1929, 137n87 for his text reconstructing the first clause of the decree, which is still accepted, with modifications, by Bresson 2001, 133. See again for further discussion Appendix 4.1. Analysis, 135.

[203] See 60–98; for further discussion, see again Appendix 4.1. Analysis, 135.

[204] Just under five per cent: because Timon accepted a rate of one hundred drachms without what the inscription terms surcharges, rather than the corn-merchants' rate of one hundred and five drachms including surcharges. The base is thus 105, not 100, and the saving 4.8%.

relative value of the silver involved could not have arisen. Beyond the grammatical difficulties we identify in previous restorations that have created such a provision, we can thus justly reject them as inconsistent with the section of the decree that does survive[205].

Our analysis starts from the explicit statement regarding the denomination in question: drachms of Rhodian silver (strictly, silver on the Rhodian standard). It was disagreement over the value of the silver issues brought by the islanders relative to drachms on the Rhodian standard that led to the impasse in which Timon intervened to everyone's profit, except that of other bankers excluded from the exchange: the League and the corn-merchants by the agreement on a more favourable rate than the other party had been willing independently to accept; and Timon himself, because he ensured that he, not any other banker, received the (admittedly, reduced) profit available from facilitating the exchange, as well as the gratitude of both parties.

On this point, at least, the inscription is clear: the corn-merchants were specifically demanding one hundred and five drachms in payment as equivalent to one hundred

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[205] See further Appendix 4.1. Analysis, 135. Note that we frame the narrative as one involving negotiations rather than disputes; although a minor linguistic shift, it may perhaps better recognise the rhetoric involved in the surviving narrative, as well as suit the notion here that the parties were here effectively equal parties in a business transaction attempting to obtain the best possible result.
If we conceive that this decree took place outside the area in which the League had any remit (perhaps Delos, on a traditional interpretation, although for an argument that Delos is plausibly one of the only two known members of the Second League of the Islanders, see Appendix 2. Delos and the Second League of the Islanders, 577), we could perhaps still maintain that silver on the Rhodian standard did have a legally sanctioned status inside the League. This conjecture would thus be irrelevant to the negotiations, which are premised on that silver not having such a status (except in so far as it might unnecessarily motivate perceived 'surprise' on the part of the ambassadors). We strictly cannot deny this hypothesis, but we can argue that it reflects an earlier understanding of the Cycladic numismatic context: given our recognition here of multiple local silver and bronze issues that do not reflect Rhodian influence in any way, it is no longer plausible.

drachms of Rhodian silver (strictly, one hundred drachms on the Rhodian standard). Our recognition here that Cycladic silver issues were not produced on the Rhodian standard, but were metrologically different from Rhodian silver issues, immediately makes this formulation less paradoxical: we can envisage the ambassadors arriving and having to negotiate the rate of conversion to the Rhodian standard in which the corn-merchants were expressing their price. We strictly cannot insist that the ambassador brought local silver issues, perhaps Tenian[206]. That conjecture is most likely, particularly now that we have redated Cycladic silver issues into the early second century, but they could instead have brought Attic issues, or many other silver issues. We can, however, as noted above, reject any interpretation that insists that the League ambassadors must have brought Rhodian state silver issues, or any other issue on the Rhodian standard, and hence derives a structural role for Rhodian silver in the Cycladic economy, let alone a sanctioned status for the Rhodian standard: an occasional use of Rhodian silver (however understood) by the League, an occasional request for Rhodian silver by merchants, and even a regular non-legally sanctioned request for Rhodian silver by merchants are all compatible with the narrative of negotiations in our decree. A legally sanctioned position, however, insufficiently explains why there should have been negotiations over surcharges and the cumulative rate of exchange, not, for example, fines or legal penalties[207].

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[206] Perhaps Tenian because the inscription was found on Tenos, as also most evidence for the Second League of the Islanders, but not strictly necessary for the interpretation.

[207] It is never easy to read rhetoric, particularly lacunose rhetoric, but some slight support for this interpretation may perhaps be derived from the fact that there seems to be no emphasis in the surviving sections of the decree on the horror involved in the fact that the ambassadors had to negotiate a conversion rate (as any interpretation involving conversion from Rhodian standard to Rhodian standard

To turn to the situation envisaged: when the ambassadors arrived, they found that the corn dealers (expectedly or unexpectedly) gave a price in a currency on the Rhodian standard (most probably, Rhodian drachms), and that the best rate they would offer (perhaps after some negotiation) for the conversion was five per cent higher than the ambassadors' final offer, or, rather, than the rate Timon was willing to offer. The ambassadors understandably accepted Timon's offer, and, on their return, the League chose to thank Timon for his intervention because of the amount of money that had been saved[208].

The actual value of the different currencies involved is here irrelevant: it is the difference between Timon's offer and that of the corn-merchants that led to the honours being awarded to him[209]. We can, however, explain Timon's ability and willingness to offer a lower rate on at least two grounds. First, it seems that he was based in the Cyclades for some time; he plausibly thus recognised a future benefit

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or silver on the Rhodian standard as legal tender might expect); instead, the focus is on the (difference in the) rates. As the League is the author of this decree, we might expect emphasis on the iniquity of the corn-merchants actions, but that aspect is not emphasised. Alternatively, however, we might argue that the rhetorical focus of this decree is on Timon's goodwill, and the iniquity of the corn-merchants actions is secondary.

It does remain strictly possible that the ambassadors could have brought Rhodian silver (however understood), and the merchants might merely have been charging what might be termed handling-fees for processing it. We again cannot absolutely deny this hypothesis, which is similar to the situation envisaged by Ziebarth 1929, 87–88 (see 136, especially 136n245) but we can argue that it reflects an earlier understanding of the Cycladic numismatic context: given our recognition here of multiple local silver and bronze issues that do not reflect Rhodian influence in any way, it is no longer plausible. In addition, such handling-fees seem still incompatible with the notion of a legally sanctioned status.

208 For attempts at quantifying the rates of commission that may have been involved, see Appendix 4.2. Quantification, 144. Note that these calculations do not affect the percentage saving: 4.8% (or 5% if treating Timon's rate as the base).

209 A bad analogy: the League is stating that the corn-merchants were attempting to demand 105USD in payment, whereas Timon was prepared to accept 100USD. The actual rates could, by coincidence, have been 100USD=100EUR instead of 105USD=100EUR, but they could equally well have been 105USD=12.34EUR and 100USD=12.34EUR, or 105USD=1500EUR and 100=1500EUR. The actual rate demanded by the corn-merchants is not here being specified, merely the percentage difference between the rate they were offering and the rate which Timon offered.

from further business. Second, as a banker, he could take advantage of his fluency in different currencies, safe in the knowledge that he could engage in other transactions using the silver he received. The spread on this transaction may have been slightly less than for certain others, but we do not need to envisage him making an actual financial loss. Instead, Timon's situation is analogous to that which Chankowski and others have reconstructed for the sanctuary prior to 167/166[210].

Conversely, the corn-merchants may not have been based in the Cyclades, but instead itinerant. Perhaps as a result, they may have cared less about this particular transaction: there were many other possible customers. They may have been less flexible in their currency needs, perhaps because of a focus on a single trade. They may have preferred Rhodian silver (however understood) simply because they were Rhodian themselves. In our context, such arguments are, on one level, unnecessary, and attempt to address a non-existent problem: the corn-merchants may simply have preferred to insist on their margins, and to hold out for a higher profit. They were, moreover, successful in their decision: by Timon's intervention, their margin and profit were protected. Nevertheless, the range of possible explanations does illustrate how this inscription does not necessarily support notions of Rhodian silver as an international currency at this time, or of a dominant Rhodian involvement in the grain trade with Egypt, than it does the belief in an important role for Rhodian silver

[210] See, for example, Chankowski-Sablé 1997. Timon is also honoured by the Tenians in *IG* XII.5 816, by the Delians in *IG* XI.4 759, and both Timon and his son, Nymphodorus, are attested in the Delian inventory lists. The chronological connexion between the decrees is not strictly clear, but Bresson 2001, 137–141 persuasively dates *IG* XII.5 816 slightly later than *IG* XII.5 817 because Timon is still described there as a Syracusan, not as a Tenian, in accordance with the award of not only proxeny but also citizenship to Timon; in addition, the very award of citizenship suggests an ongoing presence.

(however understood) in the Cycladic economy. Our interpretation here thus complements recent attempts to reassess these concepts, which have been central to past scholarship[211].

There is thus no need to have recourse to Rhodian 'monetary influence' over the League of the Islanders or in the Cyclades to explain the transaction described in this inscription. Quite the reverse: first, the insistence on the need to convert silver to Rhodian silver (however understood) in the inscription implies that, whatever issues the ambassadors were bringing, they were not minted on the Rhodian standard, let alone Rhodian silver itself. Second, the ability and need to negotiate implies that Rhodian silver (however understood) did not have a legally sanctioned status. Both aspects thus corroborate the image derived from the local production networks discussed earlier, and make the inscription valuable in confirming that the production of their own silver on different, local standards did not result in disconnect from the

[211] For a recent reassessment of the role of Rhodian silver in international commerce at this time, see Bresson 1993, where the situation in the Cyclades is understood as an exception; for further discussion: 116–121. The perception of Rhodes as dominant in the grain trade is inseparable from the notion of Rhodes as a mercantile state, and the notion of Rhodes as a regular ally of Egypt, and all three are further informed by the unipolar hegemonic presuppositions of past scholarship, wherein Rhodes was difficult to incorporate as an independent political force. See further for brief discussion 509–510, on Rhodes as a mercantile state; especially 509n1107, on Rhodes as a neutral diplomat; and 510n1108, on the presupposition of good relations between the Rhodians and Ptolemies; and, more generally 498–588. *Cf* how Gauthier 1988 argues against the involvement of a Rhodian ambassador in the gift of Massinissa to the Delians in 180, one of the most frequently cited points for this view, along with *IG* XII.5 817, the inscription here in question. On Rhodes and the grain trade, see Will 1979–1982, 1:181–191; Gabrielsen 1997, 64–84, together with the earlier discussions at Durrbach 1921–1923, 64–67 50 (the Histiaean decree for Athenodorus of Rhodes: *IG* XI.4 1055) ; Rostovtzeff 1941, 1495n95; Bogaert 1968, 177–178: "il est probable que le numéraire rhodien a été l'instrument d'échange principal dans le commerce de blé à Délos, puisque ce commerce était dominé par les Rhodiens". Note that views on Delos' role in international trade do not affect the reconstruction here; the bare minimum that Delos was a place of some intraregional exchange, as established, for example, by the fact that the Histiaeans went to Delos for grain *c* 230–220 is sufficient: *IG* XI.4 1055.

broader trade routes, and in illustrating one mechanism by which the connexion was maintained.

Rhodian 'monetary influence' in the Hellenistic Cyclades

We have consistently seen in this study that the extent of Rhodian 'monetary influence' in various forms has been over-emphasised. Here, we first demonstrate how our new numismatic context strengthens two recent discussions: Bresson's reanalysis of the circulation of Rhodian silver prior to 166, and his later analysis of the role of imitation Rhodian drachms in the same period. In recognition of the importance that notions of Rhodian 'monetary influence' have had in previous scholarship, we then briefly reemphasise how weak the evidence on which such notions are based is, by reference to the most recent detailed analysis, that of Étienne and Artémis-Gyselen on Tenos, which is also the analysis on which Bresson based his discussions.

Bresson's work is exceptional in its incisive reframing of our understanding of the Hellenistic economy. Particularly important, both to the Cyclades and more generally, is his argument that the circulation of Rhodian silver is much more circumscribed prior to 166 than the previous scholarly consensus posited. This has implications for our understanding of the trajectory of Rhodian 'influence', both political and economic, which has traditionally been understood to have reached its peak in the

early second century, after Philip V's defeat at the hands of the Romans, and prior to Rhodes' own supposed humbling after Perseus' downfall[212].

Bresson's analysis systematically argues that Rhodes attempted to operate a closed numismatic zone, akin to the Ptolemaic zone in Egypt, and that Rhodian coinage was much less important in international commerce prior to 166 than had previously been assumed. Specifically for the Cyclades, he also is aware that, even after 166, coins of Rhodian weight form only a small proportion of the Delian inventories, and cogently argues that most of these were plausibly imitations deriving from Euboea and the Greek mainland. Nevertheless, in the absence of work on the Cycladic silver, he is unable to envisage a Cycladic economy operating prior to 166 without reference to Rhodian coinage, and continues to posit the existence of a trans-Aegean axis of monetary circulation from Rhodes to Euboea[213].

The reason for dwelling on his cogent analysis here is not to argue against it, but to indicate the effect this trans-Aegean axis has on his broader argument. Where previous scholars had seen Rhodian coinage as an 'international currency' at this period, Bresson is arguing against this interpretation, and suggesting Rhodian currency took on this role, if ever, only after 166. His inclusion of the Cyclades in the Rhodian circulation area, however, necessarily extends the circulation area Bresson seems to be envisaging across the Aegean; and so greatly weakens his argument: how can such a currency not be an 'international currency'?

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[212] See 498–588, especially 515–563. For a reassessment of the significance of 167 in Rhodian history, see Gabrielsen 1993; for a more traditional analysis of the effects on Rhodes, see Gruen 1984, 571–572.

[213] Bresson 1993, 151–152.

Our discussion here removes this difficulty. We have seen that the Cycladic islands could and did operate without reference to Rhodian silver: even in the context of *IG* XII.5 817, where we see Rhodian silver (however understood) being demanded by merchants, the difficulties over the exchange preclude that the Cycladic silver was itself on the Rhodian standard. In addition neither iconographic nor metric arguments support the suggestion that there was significant Rhodian influence over production. Both Bresson's interpretation of the motivations of the Rhodians in their minting practices, and our approach to the Cycladic economy are thus strengthened by their mutual compatibility.

Our argument here has a similar effect on Bresson's discussion of the role of imitation Rhodian drachms in the Hellenistic economy. Again, the rhetorical thrust is to reduce notions of Rhodian monetary influence in the broader Greek world: instead of envisaging Rhodian state intent behind the phenomenon of imitation Rhodian drachms, he points to the popularity of such coins with Cretan mercenaries, who were accustomed to such coins after years of service with Rhodes. Nevertheless, specifically regarding the Cyclades, he makes an exception: he considers that, while the monetary influence of Rhodes in the Cyclades should not be over-emphasised, it is still easy to detect[214].

[214] Bresson 1996, 75: "[d]ans les Cyclades, l'influence monétaire de Rhodes se laisse bien discerner"; reference to Étienne 1990, 197–204 and 235–246. *Cf* Bresson 2001, 149, where, in discussing the lacuna at the start of *IG* XII.5 817, it seems logical, - as indeed it is if the Cyclades are excluded from this reconsideration, - to think of a decision giving Rhodian coinage the status of legal tender.

Our discussion here suggests otherwise. There is no need for Bresson again to exclude the Cyclades from the general picture he is so cogently arguing. Instead, his dissociation dovetails with the de-emphasis here on Rhodian involvement in the Cyclades.

It is, however, finally worth considering the reasoning behind Bresson's exception, as a summary of how thin the evidence underlying it, and notions of Rhodian monetary influence in the Cyclades, has always been. He makes reference to the then recently published analysis of coin finds on Tenos by Étienne, and of the Tenos mint by Étienne and Artémis-Gyselen. The reference to coin finds, however, as Bresson had previously elsewhere noted, but illustrates the inconclusive nature of such evidence when considering 'monetary influence': of the one hundred Hellenistic coins found in the excavations on Tenos, including twenty nine foreign coins from across the Greek world, only two are Rhodian. They are silver, where the other foreign coins were all bronze, but so few coins can hardly be considered significant evidence of the role of Rhodes in the history of Tenos or in the entire Aegean in the second century, especially in a historical context where imitative coinage is in circulation[215].

[215] Étienne 1990, 198 for the two coins as evidence of Rhodes' role in Tenos and the Aegean. Étienne 1990, 203 for a table listing four bronzes from Andros, two from Ceos, two from Delos, one from Myconos(?), and, from further afield, two bronzes from Macedonia, two from Sicyon, one from Chios, one from Cnidus, one from Syria, and one from Egypt. The two Rhodian coins are *plinthophori*, but not otherwise described; the third 'Rhodian' coin is an imitation, and suggests all might instead be connected not with Rhodian influence on Tenos but with the phenomenon of Rhodian imitations which Bresson is discussing in this article and dissociating from Rhodes and from perceived Rhodian intent (Bresson 1996). See Bresson 1993, 160–161 for his earlier discussion, where Bresson follows Étienne's slightly ambiguous table and states that there was only one genuine Rhodian specimen, and two imitations, not Étienne's text, where the converse is stated. If Étienne's table is correct, not his text, the point here is further strengthened.

Similarly, two aspects of Étienne and Artémis-Gyselen's survey of Tenian coinage seem likely to have attracted Bresson's attention: their identification of a Rhodian standard in the one drachm identified, and their continued interpretation following Head, Robert and others of a rose field-mark on Tenian bronze as an allusion to Rhodian domination[216]. We argue above that the identification of the Rhodian standard in this one drachm is illusory[217]. Perhaps more importantly, however, as our discussion above confirms, the tetradrachms and didrachms are clearly not compatible with any of the standards on which Rhodes was minting at this time: the weight standard involved assumes a drachm of *c* 3.6g, compared to the Rhodian standard of *c* 3.35g. The Rhodians did also mint coins on the 'Attic standard' of *c* 4.32g, reduced weight drachms of *c* 2.9g from *c* 220 to *c* 190 and then differently styled *plinthophori* at *c* 3g from *c* 190 or *c* 195, but these complications merely confirm that this clearly attested Tenian standard cannot be considered the result of Rhodian 'monetary influence'[218]. Similarly, we argued above that the rose field-mark plausibly does not point to Rhodian involvement, and needs to be juxtaposed with the certain absence of roses from the coinages of the other Cycladic islands, who are also supposed to have felt this 'monetary influence'[219].

Thus, *pace* Étienne and Artémis-Gyselen, and Bresson in his reliance on them, the Tenian evidence as a whole cannot be said to support any claim for Rhodian

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[216] Étienne 1990, 237 for discussion of the standard; 246 for the identification of 'Rhodian' roses, following, among others, the scholars noted above, 54n86.

[217] See 89n153.

[218] For discussion of the Tenian standard, see 79–93. For discussion of Rhodian pre-plinthophoric issues, see Ashton 2001; on plinthophoric issues, see Jenkins 1989, with Meadows 2009 for a slightly earlier date for the introduction of *plinthophori*, perhaps *c* 195.

[219] See 99–108, especially 104–108.

'monetary influence' in the Cyclades. If the roses on Tenian bronzes are understood to encode a Rhodian presence on the island, or a relationship with Rhodes, - which we argued above they do not, - they also indicate its limitations. That influence or relationship does not extend as far as the iconography of Tenos silver coinage; it does not affect Tenos' weight standard; and it does not affect Tenos' neighbours. Instead, this review merely confirms that, here as elsewhere, Rhodes' role has been considerably over-estimated.

Conclusion

This study reassessed the evidence for Hellenistic Cycladic numismatic production and use. We first analysed numismatic production. We identified no fewer than twenty-one islands which minted bronze issues during this period which stylistically, iconographically, and epigraphically encoded their independence and their own identity, not their relationship with any external party, either hegemonic or non-hegemonic. In reviewing silver production, by contrast, we did identify cooperation, but it was sub-regional, through what we term separate numismatic networks involving Paros and Naxos; and Tenos and Andros, both of which lasted for at least a century, and involved, at least for a time, their own unique weight standard. The evidence for Aegiale and Ceos is thinner, but we argued that there is even there no basis for identifying Rhodian influence either in their iconography or the metrology of their production: instead the evidence points to connexions rather with, respectively, Cos and the Anatolian mainland, and with Athens. Cumulatively, therefore, this first section argued that local and sub-regional factors were central to Cycladic numismatic

production: rather than forming a single undifferentiated numismatic area iconographically and metrologically influenced by Rhodes, we can identify four distinct sub-regional rhythms, none of which are Rhodian, and at least two of which were specifically Cycladic.

In the second section, we turned to consider evidence previously adduced for Rhodian influence. We first suggested that both examples of Rhodian iconographic influence are misidentifications: the Cythnos 'rose' is a trefoil *cytisus*, a plant elsewhere associated with Cythnian prosperity and identity; while the Tenos 'rose', whether rose or not, has to be interpreted alongside other previously unrecognised field-marks. We hence argued that it is not 'Rhodian' in the sense either of indicating Rhodian influence over production, or of encoding a Rhodian presence on the island. Second, we reinterpreted the only evidence adduced for a structural role for Rhodian silver in the Cycladic economy, *IG* XII.5 817. We suggested that it rather precludes Rhodian silver having any structural role, but is still critical for its unique insight into how local networks could operate on a different standard from the international trade routes without isolation resulting. Finally, we illustrate how the conclusions drawn here emphasising the local and Cycladic autonomy in numismatic production are more compatible with recent trends in scholarship than the previous orthodoxy, because there is no longer any need to qualify and complicate those reassessments to allow for Rhodian state monetary influence in the Cyclades as a separate phenomenon.

None of the above discussion implies that any coinage here analysed was ever of international importance in the Hellenistic period. All the silver coinages analysed in

the course of this study are small, almost vanishingly so compared to the Attic and Alexandrian coinages produced in the Hellenistic period[220]. They were all probably local coinages that possessed an inflated value relative to their intrinsic (weight-derived) value only inside a restricted circulation area which was determined by respect for the laws and authority of the minting city. Nevertheless, the metrological consistency we here identify is important: it suggests that the islands we are here discussing did not arbitrarily choose the weight of production each time they minted. Instead, there was policy and continuity, here expressed through a desire to maintain the same numismatic standard over successive issues.

This conclusion has two further ramifications relevant to the freedom and agency of the islands when they minted: first, it suggests that we can speak of attempts on the part of the states involved to profit both through the very fact of the overvaluation itself, and possibly also by requiring the conversion of (some) other currencies, a policy long recognised for Ptolemaic production in Egypt, and argued by Bresson recently for Rhodes. Second, it suggests that when they minted, the Cycladic states did so with a view to discouraging the flight of silver from the city. Coinages minted on the Attic Alexander standard are frequently found in the east. This point stands, moreover, even though the coinages we are here discussing are small. They are, for example, comparable in size to the wreathed production of Lebedus, with eight obverse dies and fifty three specimens[221]. The coinage of that city on the Aegean

[220] No more than "monnayages d'appoint", as Picard delightfully puts it: Picard 1999, 249.

[221] To compare: the largest surviving Hellenistic Cycladic issue are the didrachms from Tenos with fifteen obverses (Étienne and Artémis-Gyselen 203 type II; n=25; o=15); followed by the didrachms (DiII)

coast of Asia Minor has, despite its size, been found in a hoard near Plovdiv in Bulgaria (ancient Philippopolis) (*IGCH* 1562), and two in the Levant, one near modern Kirikhan on the Turkish coast near Syria (*CoinH* 2 90), one inland near Alep (*IGCH* 1562). By contrast, the hoard evidence for Cycladic silver suggests it circulated only in the immediate environs of the Cyclades themselves: Euboea and southern Thessaly[222]. The ability to maintain such a system points to a certain dynamic political and economic health in the Cycladic islands at this time.

The consistency of weight visible in the coinages of different, neighbouring islands is equally important. It argues for coordination of production in numismatic networks, as we saw most clearly in the case of Paros and Naxos. These weights can therefore validly be used as an indication not only of the existence of local economic networks, but of their extent: it may, on one level, be obvious that a geographical region should maintain a similar standard, but, as we saw in the introduction, it is not necessarily so clear what a geographical region is, nor how large it should be: should we consider just one island a region? two neighbours, such as Tenos and Andros? the entire Cyclades? or even the entirety of Greece? The evidence here suggests that, at least in the Hellenistic Cyclades, clusters of only two islands formed regions on this numismatic level, suggesting, at the very least, that they maintained different and

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from Paros with ten obverses (n=66), and the didrachms from Naxos with eight obverses (Nicolet-Pierre B; n=26; not 27 *pace* Nicolet-Pierre: her 18b and 18c are the same specimen, which is also attested by a cast ascribing it to *IGCH* 210 at the ANS). The ratio of specimens to dies for Paros suggests that this may be a good reflection of the original number of obverses used, but there is much less certainty particularly for the Tenian issue.

[222] For detailed discussion and dating of the hoard evidence for Cycladic silver outside the Cyclades themselves, see 613–634. Additional hoard evidence from the Cyclades themselves is noted below: 54n87.

plausibly closer economic ties to each other than with other islands even elsewhere in the Cyclades. This observation provides an insight into the complexity of local relations in the Hellenistic period.

The existence of these local networks complicates previous concepts of a unified monetary area operating under Rhodian 'monetary influence' in the period. As networks can be complementary, however, these local networks do not of themselves argue against the existence of Rhodian 'monetary influence'. They merely deny its relevance as a factor over monetary production, and limit its possible extent to other areas. Nevertheless, when combined with the reanalysis of *IG* XII.5 817, and with Bresson's independent arguments, we can urge that this notion should be set aside.

In seeking to encapsulate the dynamics of the Cycladic space at this time, we can instead return to the iconography of the Cythnian silver. We saw how it has been universally recognised as a Rhodian 'rose' because of the focus on Rhodian domination, rather than as a Cythnian trefoil *cytisus*, the fodder central to the production of Cythnian cheese. It may not have been central to Cythnian prosperity, let alone to Cycladic or Greek prosperity but it certainly was central part of Cythnian identity. The size of the coin and of the plant itself may reflect the significance of the Cyclades on the Greek world stage, but the history of scholarship of these tiny items encodes that of the Cyclades and of too many Greek states in the past, while our ability to read local and regional significance into even such a rarely attested, tiny object encodes the methodological shift that we are here attempting to promote. Only with a greater openness to these local embedded factors can we ever hope to develop a

more sensitive, global history of Cythnos, the Cyclades, or, indeed, of the Greek world as a whole in all its diverse richness.

Overall, the picture derived from this study is very different from that which has been advanced before. Given the prominence which the evidence from Tenos and Cythnos and notions of Rhodian monetary influence have had in previous scholarship, it is worth re-emphasising: the numismatic evidence from the Cyclades as a whole does not support the traditional picture of a Cycladic numismatic environment dominated by Rhodian currency or the Rhodian standard, nor, in so far as numismatic evidence can be brought into that discussion, of a Cycladic political landscape dominated by Rhodes in the first third of the second century. More positively, however, we see the larger islands able to maintain the overvaluation of their own currencies, and cooperating with each other to this end; and even the smaller islands minting regularly in a way that emphasises their local identity. This picture is not incompatible with some form of outside military activity and presence in parts of the Cyclades, or even throughout at each and every point during this period. Nevertheless, it does provide a different structure in which to analyse that activity; reemphasise the ongoing life of the cities at this time; and provide new insight that deepens our understanding of regional structures at this time.

Appendix 1. Paros and Naxos late classical silver

There are at least three different ways of understanding the Paros and Naxos decision to resume production on a standard of *c* 3.9g in the fourth century. The first

is simply to explain this standard as a continuation of their previous Aeginetan standard, but modified to the fourth-century context wherein fractions of the drachms, rather than of the stater were the norm. A second explanation is to envisage that these specimens were intended as underweight specimens on the Attic standard. This approach would be in keeping with the evidence for on-going connexions with Athens in the early fourth century, such as the islands' membership of the Second Athenian Confederacy. A third approach is to connect the production on Paros and Naxos with the broader spread of coinages on a standard of *c* 15.6g in the fourth century. Having been the norm on archaic and classical Chios, it spread during the century across the cities of Asia Minor, including Ephesus, Samos, Cnidus, Rhodes and Cyzicus[223].

Meadows has recently connected the spread of this 'Chian standard' with the activities of Lysander in the aftermath of the Ionian War[224]: he suggests that the Chian standard was appropriate for Lysander's allied coinage because it was compatible both with the Aeginetan and Persian standards, and so enabled him to disperse the moneys being received from the Persians. Meadows' interpretation is persuasive, and compatible with the involvement of the Cyclades in this circulation area: not only did

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223 Summary at Kraay 1976, 242–243 with further references; the basic work on Chios was undertaken by Mavrogordato and Brett early in the twentieth century: see Brett 1914 and Mavrogordato's articles in the *Numismatic Circular* from 1915 to 1918. It is now being revisited by Hardwick, whose monograph is forthcoming. See, most recently, Hardwick 2010.
In an attempt to connect the second and third explanations, this broader phenomenon could itself be understood as a tendency to produce reduced coinages which were meant to be equivalent to the Attic standard. This is, however, less plausible in so far as all these coinages clearly were used outside their own city of origin, and there is little evidence for the use of the Attic standard in Asia Minor prior to the development of this 'Chian standard'.

224 Meadows 2011, 285–292. 'Chian standard': Earlier literature occasionally refers to this 'Chian standard' as the 'Rhodian standard' because of its clear connexion with the slightly lower standard (*c* 15.2 to the tetradrachm) used on Rhodes from 340; more recent literature reserves the term 'Rhodian' for the lower standard to avoid confusion: Kraay 1976, 247n1; Mørkholm, Grierson, and Westermark 1991, 9–10.

they lie on the route between Sparta and the north-east Aegean, where much of the fighting took place, including the decisive battles of Arginusae in 406 and Aegospotami in 405, but Plutarch tells us that Lysander was careful to take control of islands in 405 prior to Aegospotami; the early restoration of the exiled populations to Melos also illustrates the importance of control not just of the seaboard but of the Aegean itself to the Spartans[225]. Cycladic involvement might not previously have been recognised because the coinages are small, and (hence) not present in the hoards central to the discussion.

In addition, the chronology of the Parian issues in particular might allow us slightly to nuance Meadows' interpretation. The early Parian diobol (DiOI) is stylistically too early for the end of the fifth century. It must fall earlier in the century, before 425 at the latest. It thus cannot inform our understanding of the effectiveness of the Athenian Standards decree: there is still more than enough time when Paros seems not to have minted for that decree to have been in effect. Nevertheless, it might suggest that when the Parians minted in the late fifth century, they did not look for compatibility with the Athenian standard, but eastwards, to Chios. The hoard evidence in Asia Minor may not support notions of a single standard there in the fifth century, as Meadows argues; there may, however, have been such a standard developing in the Aegean.

[225] Melos: Xenophon *Hellenica* 2.2.9; Plutarch *Lysander* 14.2–3; seizure of islands: Plutarch *Lysander* 9; Diodorus 13.104.7; when sailing to relieve Mytilene in 427, Alcidas sailed through the Cyclades, via Delos and Myconos (Thucydides 3.29); so too, in 405, both of Lysander's routes, from the central Asia Minor coast, and returning to the Hellespont, took him through the Cyclades. On Lysander's objectives and strategy more generally, see Rahe 1977; Bommelaer 1981a.

Alternatively, this Parian issue could simply be understood as evidence of an underweight specimen on the Attic standard.

On balance, the second explanation, envisaging these specimens as underweight specimens on the Attic standard, can be rejected. This phenomenon seems plausibly later than these specimens: Eretria and the Euboean League, perhaps the best studied example of this phenomenon, only reduced their specimens in the late fourth century[226]. Similarly, as we see in the main text above, Tenos and Andros continued to mint on a full-weight Attic standard in the fourth century, and did so using local types. It is only in the third century, that they reduced their standard (to a different standard from the existing Paros and Naxos standard). Paros and Naxos could have been precocious in producing a reduced Attic weight coinage long before other islands, but this interpretation seems unlikely.

Choosing between the first and third explanations is more difficult. On balance, we should perhaps allow that their issues might possibly connected to the broader contemporary phenomenon in Asia Minor. If so, however, it is, first, all the more noteworthy that Paros and Naxos did join in this numismatic fashion, and that Tenos and Andros did not. Again, this illustrates how the Cycladic islands did not always function as a single numismatic and economic area. Second, this connexion with Asia Minor does not diminish the reality of the ongoing numismatic connexion between Paros and Naxos now as throughout antiquity.

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[226] Picard 1979. For further discussion, see above, 83.

Appendix 2. Naxos, Paros, Delos, and the Denarius

Two further factors deserve evaluation as possible explanations of the continued ability and desire of the Naxians and Parians to maintain their own discrete standard into the second century: a special role for this currency on Delos, such that it also formed part of their numismatic network; second, analogy with the denarius.

1. Delos

The importance of Naxian marble to archaic Delos is still visible in the Terrace of Lions, and the Naxian Sphinx. Whether or not this marble encodes a political connexion, the narratives about Lygdamis suggest Naxos was prosperous, at least in part as a result of the exploitation of Naxian marble for the sanctuary at Delos[227]. Similar advantages are also plausible for the Hellenistic period, but there is some evidence that the connexion may have moved beyond the purely casual. This evidence is the curious status of the Naxian κρατηροφόροι mentioned in the unchanging 'sacred deposit' attested in various inscriptions after the (re-)establishment of Athenian control over Delos[228]. This deposit of about eighty-five jars is now understood as a cumulative deposit from various sources including the sacred treasury and public treasury of coinages that were no longer legal tender on Delos, as the

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[227] Lygdamis and the Peisistratids: Herodotus 1.61 and 64; Naxos' prosperity: Herodotus 1.28. For brief discussion of the tendency in scholarship to see Naxian political action behind the use of Naxian marble, see 323n796.

[228] *ID* 1409.A.a.II.95–129 and B.b. I.1–6 (*c* 166); *ID* 1421.A.a.I.1–11 (156); *ID* 1429.B.II.33–52; *ID* 1432.B.b.I.1–62 and B.a.II.1–26 (153/2); *ID* 1443.B.I.5–40 (146/5); *ID* 1449.B.a.I.24–90 (post 166); with Roussel 1916a, 167–173, tables at 169–170. *Cf* Bogaert 1968, 167–169.

Athenians attempted to insist on use solely of Athenian coinage[229]. Most of the coinages here are converted "εἰς ἀττικοῦ λόγον", to their value on the Athenian standard, but there are three exceptions: the ταυροφόροι of Eretria, the φοινικοφόροι of Delos and the κρατηροφόροι of Naxos[230]. There was no need to convert the ταυροφόροι, as they were produced on the Attic standard, while the Delian φοινικοφόροι were no doubt valued as Attic-weight coins on Delos, where the Attic weight-standard was the standard used in inventories [231]. There is no such simple explanation available for the Naxian κρατηροφόροι. As we saw above, they were not Attic-weight coins. As Melville-Jones has noted, the lack of conversion thus suggests that Delos and Naxos formed part of the same numismatic "conventus": that there was mutual enforcement of the overvaluation of their coinages[232]; in short, that they formed part of the same numismatic network.

This hypothesis is appealing. As the Delians were not operating a closed currency system, merely one in which their local currency was overvalued, it is not surprising that little Naxian currency is mentioned[233]: it could only be used for local payments. This cooperation would, however, help explain why the Delians never sought to mint

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229 Combination of deposits, not just the public and sacred treasuries: Tréheux 1991; a closed monetary system post-166 is still accepted by Chankowski-Sablé and Feyel 1997 and Chankowski 2005, 156.

230 On the identifications, see generally Robert 1951b, arguing in particular that the φοινικοφόροι were Delian, not Phoenician, and, in addition, Jones 1971; Melville Jones 1974. Robert's identifications have been widely accepted except for his suggestion that the ταυροφόροι are Eretrian. This identification was disputed in favour of identifying them as the coins of Macedonia Prima by Boehringer 1972, 31–38; Melville Jones 1974, 61–63; Giovannini 1978, 31–38, who also suggests and rejects Thera as an alternative; Robert's hypothesis is the most convincing, and was reiterated by Robert 1977, 43–45; Picard 1979, 201–202; Tréheux 1991, 352. As both the issues of Macedonia Prima and Eretria were issued on the Attic standard, however, the identification does not affect the argument here.

231 Briefly: Tréheux 1992a; Picard 1999, 245–246.

232 Melville Jones 1974, 59–60.

233 While still benefitting from dealing in a variety of currencies where possible: Chankowski-Sablé and Feyel 1997.

large-denomination silver; why Paros and Naxos were able to maintain this unique standard for so long; and why they were not able so to do after 167/166: when Delos left their numismatic network, they lost the additional profit accrued through the use of their currency on Delos, and they may no longer have had the economic strength or desire to mint.

2. *The Denarius*

To connect the standard used on Paros and Naxos with that of the denarius is superficially appealing. As Crawford noted, the standard of the Roman denarius rapidly reduced after its introduction in *c* 214 from an early standard of *c* 4.3g to *c* 3.9g by *c* 190, with almost no variation seen from issue 197 (*c* 158)[234]. There is, moreover, some evidence for early Roman interest in the region through the kinship mentioned by the Delian envoys visiting Rome after the Second Macedonian War[235]; and evidence for Romans settling on Delos already in the early second century[236].

This date is early enough perhaps to explain continued use of this standard in the second century, although not to explain Paros' use of the standard in the third century. To make the connexion with the denarius, moreover, there is no need to assume that denarii were already circulating in the Aegean at this time; the Parians and Naxians

[234] Crawford 1974. The issues prior to 150 are collected at 131–253, with discussion of the weight standard at 590–593.
[235] See *IG* XI.4 756 with Erskine 1997.
[236] Baslez 1996.

can have been accommodating their coinage not to a predominant circulating denomination, but to a standard[237].

This connexion would partly also explain the increase in production on Paros between the first and second issues of didrachms, through increased demand. It is also not incompatible with the reduction in standard later in the second century: after the war with Perseus, the change of status of Delos, and the Achaean war, the niche Paros and Naxos were exploiting may no longer have existed. Nevertheless, this connexion does seem less plausible, given the low profile of the denarius in the east before the first century, and, in chronological terms alone, is the less significant.

Appendix 3. The 'island standard'

Just one possible faint literary reference to an island standard seems to have survived. The passage is worth quoting in full:

> Οὐ λανθάνει δέ με καὶ τῶν δραχμῶν εἶναι πλείους διαφοράς· τήν τε γὰρ Αἰγιναίαν καὶ τὴν Ῥοδίαν μνᾶν τῆς Πτολεμαικῆς εἶναι πενταπλάσιον, ἑξαπλασίαν δὲ τὴν νησιωτικὴν οὕτω προσαγορευομένην

[237] This phenomenon could thus be analogous to the late tetradrachms and didrachms of Perseus. Unlike prior and subsequent Macedonian coinage, these issues also were produced to a weight standard of *c* 3.9g for a period of only three years during the Third Macedonian War. They were also deliberately differentiated from earlier issues by different placement of the monogram. This differentiation has been interpreted as a means of enabling later recall (Mamroth 1928; Franke 1957; Boehringer 1972, 100–102). With the exception of the large Larissa hoard (*IGCH* 237), however, these lower-weight issues are mainly found to the west, which may suggest that this differentiation was also intended to aid in their distribution: the lower weight coinage was to be sent to Epirus, where the Roman denarius held sway and Perseus was unexpectedly engaging with the few allies he had retained in this area by this point; the full weight tetradrachms were to be sent to southern Greece, where Perseus had been expecting to fight.

> It does not escape me that there are many different kinds of drachma. The Aeginetan and the Rhodian [mina] are five times the Ptolemaic one, and the one called Nesiotic ('island') six times as great[238]

The passage, plausibly dating from late first or second-century AD Alexandria, is distinctly garbled[239]. It is unclear how any standard we know as having been used on Aegina or Rhodes or any other prominent island could be considered equivalent, let alone how either the Aeginetan or Rhodian standard was five times the Ptolemaic.

The surrounding text is no less so confused. Nevertheless, the reference to a *nesiotic mna* is remarkable. It has thus far defied interpretation. Melville-Jones hypothesised that it might perhaps refer to the currency of the League of the Islanders at some point, but could not identify any standard used by Aegean islands at this time that would support this suggestion[240]. The analysis above, however, provides just such an island coinage that may explain this statement: if the Rhodian standard of *c* 3.36g is accepted as base, then a nominal weight of *c* 4.03g would be suggested for the nesiotic or island standard here in question. This is very similar to the weight of *c* 3.9g posited above for Paros and Naxos throughout the Hellenistic period.

This conclusion is appealing. So far as we can tell from the number of dies attested, the Hellenistic coinages of Paros and Naxos are the largest and third largest

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238 *Anonymus Alexandrinus de talentis et denario* (Hultsch 1864, 1:300–302); translation: Melville Jones 1993 587.

239 Hultsch suggested that the author of this anonymous treatise was probably Egyptian because the Ptolemaic weight system forms the point of reference. Known changes in that system then led both Mommsen and him to date the treatise between the late first and end of the second century AD.

240 Melville Jones 1993 587 *ad loc*; Fraser and Bean 1954, 171 also note the passage without drawing conclusions.

of the island silver currencies. Given the long duration of the standard we have been tracing; the fact that it never extended to the mainland during the Hellenistic period; and its possible prominence as a local currency of importance on Delos, outsiders might well have referred to it as the 'island standard', even though the standard did not extend throughout all the Cyclades, let alone all the islands.

Appendix 4. IG *XII.5 817. Analysis and Quantification*

1. Analysis

The interpretation of *IG* XII.5 817 here presented builds on but is ultimately very different from the most recent interpretation, by Bresson. It builds on his incorporation of the more recent vein of scholarship which recognises that references to Rhodian (or other) silver ("ῥοδίον ἀργυρίον") do not specify the currency of Rhodes herself, but refer to silver on the Rhodian (or other) standard. It differs in that Bresson draws on the recent insistence that the Attic standard was the international standard of account in the Hellenistic period, and in particular that it was always the standard of account on Delos. This conclusion may well be correct, but, as we argue below, it is not relevant to this inscription, because the *hieropoioi* themselves were not party to the transaction. In addition, Bresson does understand Rhodian currency as legal tender in the League, and hence envisages dispute arising over the value of the Rhodian currency relative to Attic tetrobols: the League insisted that Rhodian drachms and Attic tetrobols were interconvertible at parity, but the corn-merchants

rejected this valuation, and would accept no fewer than one hundred and five Rhodian drachms as equivalent to one hundred Attic tetrobols[241].

Conversely, most accounts prior to Bresson had presupposed, as the interpretation here does in a sense, that the currency or standard in which payment was required or at least denominated was Rhodian. They did so, however, in a context of Cycladic silver minted on the Rhodian standard, of Rhodian hegemony in the islands at this time, and of Rhodian control of the grain trade. Just as the former two notions are challenged in this study, so too the notion of Rhodian control of the grain trade is in need of reassessment[242]. Nevertheless, despite the paradox, most accounts did envisage the negotiation happening over the equivalence of local and Rhodian silver: the ambassadors brought local silver, presumably Tenian, which most scholars thought was at least normally treated as equivalent in weight to Rhodian silver[243]. Despite this equivalence of weight, however, the bankers are to have decided that this silver was worth less than true Rhodian silver, perhaps simply because it was not Rhodian silver,

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241 Bresson 2001. On the difference between νόμισμα, identifying a specific currency, and ἀργυρίον, specifying a standard, see Giovannini 1978, 38–40, developed by Bresson 1993, 142–149; Picard 1999, especially 249–250.

242 In a sense, because the discussion here incorporates the recognition by Bresson 2001 that the reference to Rhodian silver is strictly just to the Rhodian standard. As noted at 109n202, however, the very flexibility our interpretation allows through its reduction of previous legalising aspects means that it is compatible with both approaches.

243 Presumed to be Tenian because the inscription was found on Tenos, as does most evidence for the Second League of the Islanders, but not strictly necessary for the interpretation. For an early awareness of the difficulty of reconciling Tenian silver to the Rhodian standard, note the cautionary words of Head already in 1911 (493): "it appears that the Tenian silver money did not usually exchange at par with the Rhodian, although it was struck on the same standard, the ordinary rate of exchange being 105 Tenian drachms against 100 Rhodian. This agio was due, it can hardly be doubted, to the prestige which attached to Rhodes as a great commercial state. In actual weight the Tenian drachms are fully equivalent, if not superior, to the contemporary Rhodian issues."

and so to have insisted on a five per cent surcharge[244]. As interpretations of the inscription in the light of the numismatic, historical, and economic context as then understood, they are cogent. Not least because of our reassessment of the metrology of Tenian and other Cycladic silver, however, they may now be set aside.

Ziebarth's approach was notably different. He imagined the ambassadors attempting to pay not with Tenian or other local silver, but with Rhodian currency, and still being charged a fee by the corn-merchants[245]. His interpretation thus better explained why the ambassadors, in his opinion, seemed not to have been expecting this fee. It was, however, less clear what reason they had to charge it. In addition, the narrative presented by *IG* XII.5 817 does not self-evidently suggest, at least in the surviving section, that the ambassadors were not expecting a fee, or were surprised at its size: the corn-merchants' rate is only mentioned circumstantially, with no emotion noted. The focus is instead on Timon's goodwill in offering a lower rate of conversion than the one offered by the corn-merchants. Ziebarth's hypothesis of 'surprise' thus depends strongly on his reconstructed first clause, granting Rhodian silver a legally sanctioned status, which we argue to be inconsistent with the narrative of negotiation, and, in addition, grammatically difficult. Despite the difficulty in motivating the corn-merchants' actions, however, Bogaert at least also preferred

[244] These interpretations include those of Homolle 1884b, 90; Head, et al 1911, 493; Reger 1994c, 122, and also Wiemer 2002, 276; see also the lists at Bogaert 1968, 177n423 and Bresson 2001, 132n5. On Étienne and Artémis-Gyselen, see 137n246.

[245] Ziebarth 1929, 87–88; the context of Ziebarth's discussion makes it clear that he does envisage the ambassadors having Rhodian currency with them, not just coins of good weight according to the Rhodian standard.

Ziebarth's approach, justifying his approach by arguing that merchants never hesitate to add fees where possible[246].

Bresson shares the above interpretations' understanding of the Cycladic numismatic context, but diverges in his approach to the transaction. He explains the difference of opinion through a slight discrepancy in the weight of the reduced-weight Rhodian drachms minted from *c* 220 to *c* 190 and Attic tetrobols, both of which nominally weighed approximately *c* 2.8g. Assuming a theoretical weight for the Attic drachm of *c* 4.32g, Rhodian light-weight drachms would have to weigh 2.88g to be equivalent to an Attic tetrobol, but both surviving specimens and an inscription from Miletus suggest that they weighed slightly less[247]. Bresson hence envisages a situation wherein the islanders would have insisted that their Rhodian drachms should be accepted as Attic tetrobols, but the corn-merchants would have been equally as

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[246] Bogaert 1968, 178. On the reconstructed first clause, see 140–142.
Étienne and Artémis-Gyselen have a much better opinion of bankers: aware, like Head (see 136n243), that the majority of the silver they study is too heavy to be assimilated to the Rhodian standard, Étienne and Artémis-Gyselen point to the single drachm (204.1: 2.28g) they identify as evidence for a second series produced at a lower weight for which a five per cent commission when exchanging them for Rhodian currency might be reasonable. The cumulative fifteen per cent or greater commission that would be payable if any of the other series had been used they consider "bien forte" (Étienne 1990, 238). Nevertheless, whether or not a fifteen per cent commission is considered excessive or not, to connect this single very underweight specimen to the Rhodian standard seems unwarranted in the context of the clear evidence for contemporaneous use of a heavier standard: see 89n153. For an attempt to calculate the range of possible commissions involved in the transaction as understood here, see Appendix 4.2. Quantification, 144.

[247] Ashton posits a theoretical weight for the light Rhodian drachm of *c* 2.8g (Ashton 2001, 88, 93); *Syll*^{3} 633 with Melville Jones 1979 implies a weight of *c* 2.67g to the Rhodian drachm, as the *phiale* weighs [100] Rhodian drachms, 62 Attic drachms. The restoration of the number of Rhodian drachms is reasonably unproblematic, as the *phialae* normally weigh one hundred drachms (though note that this entry is different in other respects, not least as the only entry mentioning an inscribed weight in addition to the actual weight). More problematic is that the inscription is not stating the equivalence of one hundred drachms to sixty-two Alexander-weight [= Attic-weight] drachms, but that the inscription states that it has a weight of one hundred Rhodian drachms, and that it weighs sixty-two Attic-weight drachms. The bowl could have weighed slightly less than its theoretical offered weight, so it would be unwise to place too much weight on the precise ratio. Bresson does not need to, although he does express his argument with reference to the inscription (McCabe, *Didyma* 66 = *IDidyma* 464.11–13).

adamant that they were not equivalent, and that the islanders should pay an extra 5% to make up the difference. Analogy with the inscription from Miletus suggests that a 5% surcharge may even have involved a slight concession on the part of the corn-merchants: if a Rhodian drachm was supposed to weigh *c* 2.67g, and an Attic tetrobol *c*.2.88g, then a 7.5% surcharge might be expected. Instead, the corn-merchants were willing to accept only 105 Rhodian drachms in payment for 100 Attic tetrobols. Nevertheless, whether a concession or not, their offer was insufficient in the eyes of the League ambassadors[248]. Hence the role of Timon. He accepted the League's Rhodian drachms, and issued the equivalent amount of Attic currency, effectively saving the League five per cent of the cost of the grain they wished to purchase. The corn-merchants received the price they wanted, the League spent the amount it felt it should, and Timon gained the gratitude and continuing custom of both parties.

The interpretation is brilliant, but also problematic. It is known that imitation Rhodian drachms did function as Attic tetrobols on the Greek mainland from the 170s, but this inscription has been universally dated significantly earlier than this, in the 190s, not least because of the chronology implied by other references to Timon[249]. It is possible that the assimilation had already begun, but Bresson himself has illustrated that it had not begun on Crete in the 190s: instead there was a continued awareness

[248] Though see 138n247. This point is unimportant to Bresson's argument.

[249] Hiller von Gaertringen dated *IG* XII.5 817 soon after 188 from his belief that that date represented the date at which the League of the Islanders was reborn under Rhodian leadership. This decree has more recently been understood as evidence for the League's activity prior to that date, as 192 seems to be the end of Timon's banking activity: Bogaert 1968, 177n241, followed by Reger 1994c, 122; Bresson 2001, 133–139. Ziebarth 1929, 87–88 suggests 188. All, however, including Étienne 1990, 112; Wiemer 2002, 271–272 agree on the approximate date.

that Rhodian drachms were not the same as Attic tetrobols[250]. With Ashton, he has also convincingly maintained against Apostolou that we should not see the possibilities of such an assimilation leading to a profit for the Rhodian mint as a factor in the introduction of this lighter coinage by the Rhodian authorities: by the time the confusion is attested on the Greek mainland in the context of the war between Rome and Perseus, Rhodes had long ceased producing reduced-weight drachms, and had moved to the *plinthophori*[251].

None of this contextual analysis makes the position Bresson envisages the League ambassadors holding impossible. It does, however, place great importance on Ziebarth's interpretation of the first section of the decree, which Bresson accepts: that someone (probably bankers) must accept it ("αὐτὸ") as legal tender, which both scholars understand as a reference to Rhodian silver[252]. Bresson is suitably hesitant in advancing this hypothesis, and is careful to discuss parallels for the phrasing

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250 Bresson 1996, 70, and 72–73 with *Staatsverträge* 551 and 552.

251 Bresson even argues that the Rhodians changed standard to the *plinthophori* to maintain the integrity of their closed currency system when the imitation of pseudo-Rhodians became too widespread a phenomenon: Bresson 1993, 165–166.
Bresson 1996 and Ashton and Kinns 2004, 97–98, against Apostolou 1995 and Apostolou 2002, especially 157–161. For Ashton the introduction of lighter drachms and hemidrachms (but not didrachms, which were still minted at *c* 6.8g), was an attempt to save silver in the aftermath of the earthquake that led to the reduced weight coinage; it was its popularity among Cretan mercenaries in the aftermath of the wars they fought for Rhodes at the end of the third century that led to the Cretan imitation pseudo-Rhodian coinages in the early second century. The imitations in the mainland are much later, in the 170s, but may also be connected with this, given that they were minted in the context of the third macedonian war.

252 *IG* XII.5 817.1–3 as printed by Bresson 2001, 133: ---/[-----]ου δια[----------ῶσ]-/[τ]ε δεῖν αὐτὸ δέξασθαι τοὺς ἐν ταῖς +[----------]/[δαπ]άνην? πολλὴν ἔσχον ἂν τοὺς σι[τώνας? ----------]. *Cf* Ziebarth 1929, 137n87 for his text and explanation: "αὐτὸ (d.h. ἀργύρ. Ῥοδίων)". Note, however, that Bresson does not accept Ziebarth's suggestion that the lacuna after δέχεσθαι may be filled ἐν ταῖς τ[ραπέζαις καθημένοις]. Bresson's translation: "il faut que l'acceptent comme ayant cours légal [sc. sans doute l'argent rhodien] ceux qui ... (lacune) ... auraient une dépense importante(?)".

involved[253]. Nevertheless, there remain two grave difficulties in the reconstruction. First, none of these parallels can establish the crucial point that the thing ("αὐτὸ") being made legal tender or given a specific value is Rhodian silver: the validity of that interpretation depends on our understanding of the economic situation at the time, and the later content of the document. Second, the parallels that Bresson cites for the clause making Rhodian silver (or any other currency) legal tender actually argue against his interpretation. These are parallels for the use of δέχεσθαι (and χρῆσθαι) in financial contexts where the requirement (not) to accept a currency effectively equates to it (not) being legal tender[254]. They are, however, all instances where δέχεσθαι (and χρῆσθαι) is used with the present infinitive, or other forms of primary sequence, as is perhaps to be expected: these are requirements that are permanently to be binding. Thus, in the Athenian law on silver coinage of 375/4, people are enjoined to accept Attic silver ("τὸ ἀργύριον δέχεσθαι τὸ Ἀττικὸν")[255]. At Gortyn in the third century, they are required not to accept bronze ("μὴ δέκετθαι τὸνς ἀργυρίος")[256]. Perhaps the best parallel comes from Aristophanes' *Ecclesiasuzae*, because the speaker is reporting what the herald said. The context is thus most analogous to that in the motivation clause of our decree. Nevertheless, the present infinitive is used: he

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253 Bresson 2001, 146–150, for parallels 147–148.

254 Note that Josephus *Ant* 3.8.2.194–195 (cited by Bresson 2001, 148 and Bogaert 1968, 50) is not a parallel use. δέχεσθαι there means 'is worth'.
τό τε πλῆθος ἀθροίσας πάλιν εἰσφορὰν αὐτῷ προσέταξεν εἰσφέρειν σίκλου τὸ ἥμισυ καθ' ἕκαστον, ὁ δὲ σίκλος νόμισμα Ἑβραίων ὢν Ἀττικὰς δέχεται δραχμὰς τέσσαρας.
After again gathering the people, he [Moses] ordered each person to pay a contribution of a half shekel. The shekel is a Hebrew coin which is worth four Attic drachms.
Bresson's translation agrees: "valant"; *cf* Whiston 1777: "is equal to"; Thackeray 1930 (Loeb) "equivalent to".

255 Stroud 1974(= *SEG* 26.74, *Rhodes/Osborne* 25).3; *cf* 16: ἐὰν δὲ τις μὴ δέχηται τὸ ἀ[ρ]γ[ύρ]ιον.

256 *ICr* IV 162(= *Syll*^{3} 525).5. *IG* I^3 1453(= *GHI* 45).

shouted out that no-one should accept silver in the future ("μὴ δέχεσθαι μηδένα χαλκοῦν τὸ λοιπόν")[257]. The aorist infinitive (or secondary sequence more generally) is only used in constructions when a specific action (or inaction) is envisaged. Otherwise, any clause involving an ongoing situation, such as a currency being accepted or used, - that is, having legal status, - involves a present infinitive[258]. Instead of a general requirement, a specific measure relevant to this particular decree should be here in question. Given the lacunose context, reconstructing the clause is probably a forlorn hope, but it cannot have involved granting Rhodian silver a specified value or status inside the League of the Islanders, or recognising that it already possessed that status. The transaction thus becomes not a matter of dispute, but of negotiation, and it becomes unclear why the islanders should have felt able to insist that their Rhodian drachms should be accepted as Attic tetrobols.

Re-examination of the numismatic context instead supports our alternative solution. The difficulty here arises in part because of Bresson's belief that the grain would have had to be denominated in Attic silver: the only place for Rhodian silver in the transaction was thus as the currency brought by the ambassadors. We may leave aside our argument here that no Cycladic silver was minted on the Rhodian standard: as noted above, we strictly cannot be certain that the ambassadors did bring local silver. Nevertheless, this insistence on Attic silver is in itself unconvincing, and unnecessary.

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257 Aristophanes *Ecclesiasuzae* 821–822.

258 The parallels cited by Picard 1980, 274 conform to this, as do the contracts from Amorgos cited by Bresson, and other inscriptional comparanda reviewed in the course of this study: *cf IG* II^2 1013.14–15: 1013 ὁ[μοίως δὲ]/[αὐ]τοὺ[ς ἐπα]νισοῦν [δ]εῖ[ν] καὶ ἐξετάζειν τὰ μέτρα καὶ τὰ σταθμὰ καὶ εἰς τὸν λοιπὸν χρό[νον]; *IG* XII.7 67B.53–55: ὅταν δὲ ἀποδιδῶσιν/[τ]ὸν τόκον ἢ τὸ ἀρχαῖον, ἀποδώσουσιν ἐν Νάξωι Πραξικλεῖ ἢ ὧι ἂγ [κ]ελεύ/[ηι] Πραξικλῆς Ἀττικὸν ἢ Ἀλεξάνδρειον νόμισμα ὧι [ἡ] πόλις χρῆται.

The sanctuary at Delos may have always used the Attic standard as its accounting mechanism, but that is strictly irrelevant to discussion here, as the temple officials were not a party to the transaction[259]. This is a transaction involving the League of the Islanders, bankers, and corn-merchants. We also know that it was possible to use different currencies on Delos at this time, unlike later. Current evidence suggests that Bresson is correct in indicating that Attic silver was the international standard of choice at this time, but we should equally recognise that this preference did not prevent the *hieropoioi* operating in a variety of different currencies and standards[260].

What matters here is not the currency which the sanctuary at Delos preferred, but the currency which the corn-merchants required or were willing to accept on this occasion. On this point, at least, the inscription is clear. It states that the corn-merchants were demanding one hundred and five drachms (of an unspecified standard) for one hundred drachms of Rhodian silver (strictly, one hundred drachms on the Rhodian standard). They were not demanding one hundred and five drachms of Rhodian silver (strictly, on the Rhodian standard) for one hundred drachms (of an unspecified standard), - for Bresson, the Attic. It is theoretically possible that both currencies involved were on the Rhodian standard, but the currency they required certainly was. This formulation makes no sense if the dispute concerned the

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[259] The only place in which the sanctuary is acknowledged is towards the end of the inscription, when it is stated that a copy of the decree should be erected on a stele in the sanctuary of Apollo there. As we seem to possess the other copy of the decree mentioned, that set up originally in the temple of Poseidon and Amphitrite on Tenos, we cannot be sure whether the Delians did grant permission for this to happen: *IG* XII.5 826.25–26, 28–29.

[260] Robert 1951a; Robert 1951b, Picard 1979, 201–202; Tréheux 1992a; Chankowski-Sablé 1997; Chankowski-Sablé and Feyel 1997; Picard 1999; Chankowski 2005, 156. See also our brief discussion at Appendix 2. Naxos, Paros, Delos, and the Denarius, 129.

equivalence of Rhodian (or other) drachms with Attic tetrobols, or if the corn-merchants wanted to be paid in Attic drachms. Bresson's specific interpretation may thus be rejected in favour of the consensus represented by Homolle, Head, and many others: that the inscription is concerned with the equivalence of the currency brought by the ambassadors, of unstated metrology, with the Rhodian standard demanded by the corn-merchants.

In the context of our analysis that Cycladic silver was produced on a different standard from the Rhodian standard, and so needed to be converted, this formulation makes perfect sense in a way that it has not before. We can, moreover, easily envisage a situation where the rates offered for the conversion by different agents might differ, provided, as we argue here, that there was no single established legal rate. The internal evidence of the inscription and the physical evidence of our surviving numismatic issues are thus sufficient to explain the transaction without any need for recourse to an external standard of account, or to a structural role for Rhodes or Rhodian currency in the Cycladic economy.

1. Quantification

The saving which Timon enabled is clear: 4.8% (or 5%, treating his offer as the base). From our analysis of the standards, we can calculate potential conversion rates involved if the local silver was treated as coin, and as bullion.

If we approach the issues as coin, and assume a nominal Tenian standard of *c* 3.6g, and a nominal Rhodian standard of *c* 3.35g, the commission demanded by the corn-

merchants in terms of the weight of silver involved was *c* 13%, and that accepted by Timon was *c* 7.5%. If, less plausibly, we hypothesise that Parian and Naxian issues were involved then, if we assume a nominal standard of *c* 3.9g, the commission demanded by the corn-merchants would have been *c* 22%, and that accepted by Timon *c* 16%[261].

In the absence of comparanda, it is unclear how unusual such commission was in relative terms. We should also recognise the possibility that the local silver issues were merely treated as bullion, and that the corn-merchants were only insisting on a weight equivalent to that of 105 drachms of Rhodian silver (however understood), whereas Timon was willing to accept a weight equivalent to 100 drachms of Rhodian silver (however understood). In this case, the perceived surcharge may well have still have been more than 5%, if not all the Tenian specimens weighed precisely *c* 3.6g, and so more silver had to be added than a strict arithmetical calculation would suggest. Timon's reduced profit is not an argument against this scenario, any more than the reduced commission envisaged for the corn-merchants is an argument in its favour.

Whichever approach we prefer, and however the 4.8% saving is formulated, the desire of the ambassadors to reduce expenditure is as understandable as the decision of

[261] *c* 3.6g Corn-merchants: (105 * 3.6) / (100 * 3.35) = 378 / 335 = 112.8%.
c 3.6g Timon: (100 * 3.6) / (100 * 3.35) = 360/335 = 107.4%
c 3.9g Corn-merchants: (105 * 3.9) / (100 * 3.35) = 409.5 / 335 = 122.2%.
c 3.9g Timon: (100 * 3.9) / (100 * 3.35) = 390 / 335 = 116.4%
We can, of course, also envisage a mixture of standards or currencies, although this interpretation seems less likely. The size and morality of any such commission is not an argument in favour of the use of Tenian silver, any more than it is an argument in favour of envisaging the local silver being treated as bullion rather than as coin. Two arguments that may have more weight are that we have no evidence that Paros was a member of the Second League of the Islanders, and this inscription, like the overwhelming majority of evidence for the Second League of the Islanders, was found on Tenos.

the League to honour Timon for his intervention: the saving involved on a large purchase of grain may well have been considerable.

Appendix 5. Charts and frequency information

1. Paros and Naxos late Hellenistic issues

Chart 11. Paros and Naxos Didrachms

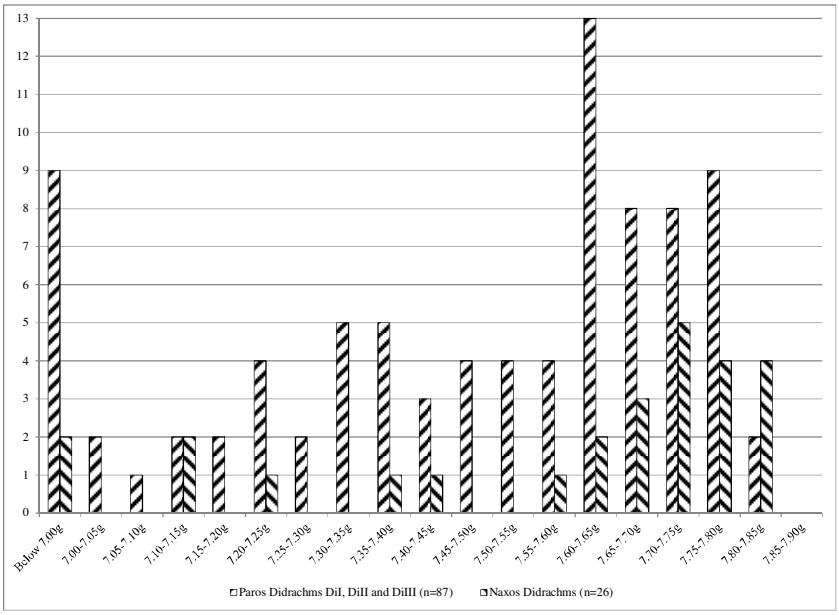

Table 12. Weight distribution of Paros and Naxos Didrachms

Series	Total weighed	Below 7.00g	7.00-7.05g	7.05-7.10g	7.10-7.15g	7.15-7.20g	7.20-7.25g	7.25-7.30g	7.30-7.35g	7.35-7.40g	7.40-7.45g	7.45-7.50g	7.50-7.55g	7.55-7.60g	7.60-7.65g	7.65-7.70g	7.70-7.75g	7.75-7.80g	7.80-7.85g	7.85-7.90g
Paros Didrachms	87	9	2	1	2	2	4	2	5	5	3	4	4	4	13	8	8	9	2	0
Naxos Didrachms	26	2	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	2	3	5	4	4	0

Table 13. Weight distribution of Paros and Naxos Drachms

Series	Total Weighed	Below 3.10g	3.10-3.15g	3.15-3.20g	3.20-3.25g	3.25-3.30g	3.30-3.35g	3.35-3.40g	3.40-3.45g	3.45-3.50g	3.50-3.55g	3.55-3.60g	3.60-3.65g	3.65-3.70g	3.70-3.75g	3.75-3.80g	3.80-3.85g	3.85-3.90g	3.90-3.95g	3.95-4.00g
Paros Drachms DIII	21	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	3	1	4	2	2	2	0
Naxos Drachms B	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	1	0	2	1	1	1	0

2. Naxos early Hellenistic issues

Table 14. Weights of Naxos early Hellenistic issues

Nicolet-Pierre	**Tully**	**Weight**
"Obol", 1st series	"Trihemiobol"	1.07g, 0.93g, 0.90g, 0.80g
"Obol", 2nd series	"Trihemiobol"	0.99g, 0.91g, 0.83g
"Obol", 3rd series	"Trihemiobol"	0.87g
"Trihemiobol"	"Diobol"	1.27g
"Diobol"	"Hemidrachm"	1.76g
"Tetrobol"	"Drachm [DI]"	3.87g, 3.72g, 3.67g

3. Paros and Naxos late second-century Drachms

Table 15. Weight distribution of Naxos late second-century Drachms

Series	Total Weighed	Below 3.10g	3.10-3.15g	3.15-3.20g	3.20-3.25g	3.25-3.30g	3.30-3.35g	3.35-3.40g	3.40-3.45g	3.45-3.50g	3.50-3.55g	3.55-3.60g	3.60-3.65g
Paros Drachms DIIII	8	1	0	0	0	2	2	3	0	0	0	0	0
Naxos Drachms C	15	0	1	1	2	0	6	1	1	0	2	0	1

4. Die axes of Paros and Naxos late Hellenistic issues

Table 16. Die axes of Paros and Naxos late Hellenistic issues

Series	Date	Total	12h	1h	1h30	6h	7h
Paros Didrachms DiII	early 2nd	35	24	6	1	4	0
Naxos Didrachms B	early 2nd	11	6	5	0	0	0
Paros Drachms DIII	early 2nd	10	6	3	0	1	0
Naxos Drachms B	early 2nd	4	4	0	0	0	0
Paros Drachms DIIII	c 130 BC	7	1	0	0	5	1
Naxos Drachms C	late 2nd	18	18	0	0	0	0

5. Tenos and Andros 3.6g standard issues

Table 17. Weight distribution of Tenos and Andros 3.6g standard Didrachms

Series	Total Weighed	below 6.25g	6.25-6.30g	6.30-6.35g	6.35-6.40g	6.40-6.45g	6.45-6.50g	6.50-6.55g	6.55-6.60g	6.60-6.65g	6.65-6.70g	6.70-6.75g	6.75-6.80g	6.80-6.85g	6.85-6.90g	6.90-6.95g	6.95-7.00g	7.00-7.05g	7.05-7.10g	7.10-7.15g	7.15-7.20g
Tenos Didrachms	24	4	1	0	2	1	2	0	3	0	0	1	1	1	3	1	0	2	1	0	1
Andros Didrachms	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table 18. Weight distribution of Tenos and Andros 3.6g standard Drachms

Series	Total Weighed	below 3.00g	3.00-3.05g	3.05-3.10g	3.10-3.15g	3.15-3.20g	3.20-3.25g	3.25-3.30g	3.30-3.35g	3.35-3.40g	3.40-3.45g	3.45-3.50g	3.50-3.55g
Tenos Drachms	7	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	2	1	0
Andros Drachms	13	0	0	1	0	1	3	1	3	3	0	0	0

Table 19. Weights of other Tenos and Andros 3.6g standard issues

Denomination	Island	Weight
Diobol	Tenos	1.22g
Hemidrachm	Tenos	1.90g, 1.67g
Tetradrachm	Tenos	14.2g; 13.97g; 13.16g; 13.09g; 13.09g[262]
Tetradrachm	Andros	13.19g

Note that Étienne and Artémis-Gyselen consider the diobol a second series of hemidrachms. This interpretation is also possible, but the low weight and the difference in iconography suggest that it is perhaps more plausibly a diobol. The drachms (except for 204.1), the hemidrachms, and diobol form part of their period I, the didrachms part of period II[263].

The weights of the Andrian drachms here given include the seven noted by Paschalis plus additional specimens whose weights and collection history suggest that they are different from those he included. Note that the weight of the Paris specimen he recorded is not 3.6g, but 3.56g. The additional specimens identified during the course of our study were the following:

3.36g Athens NM Artemis collection 264/2004

3.34g Athens NM Empedocles collection

3.25g ANS 1944.100.27803 = Naville Ars Classica XII (18/10/1926) 1679 = Hirsch 25 (29/11/1909) 1561

[262] Note that Étienne lists five specimens, and, in addition, the *IGCH* specimen: this is, however, 202.4. *CoinH* 8 517 contained an additional specimen; the plate confirms that it used the same dies as 202.4. the weight is, unfortunately, unknown.

[263] On Drachm 204.1, see 89n153.

3.21g Weber (1924) 4622 = Naville IV (17/6/1922) 644 (Grand-Duke Michailovitch and Evans)

3.19g Svoronos JIAN 14 (1912) 2271 (Mavrokordatou)

3.07g Pozzi (1979 [1921]) 4491 = Naville (14/3/1921) 2017 (Pozzi) = perhaps Hirsch 13 (15/5/1905) 1311 [Rhousopoulos] (no image)

6. *Carystos 'Tyrant' didrachms*

Table 20. Weight distribution of Carystos 'Tyrant' Didrachms

Series	below 6.75g	6.75-6.80g	6.80-6.85g	6.85-6.90g	6.90-6.95g	6.95-7.00g	7.00-7.05g	7.05-7.10g	7.10-7.15g	7.15-7.20g	7.20-7.25g	7.25-7.30g	7.30-7.35g
Carystos	1	1	0	3	3	4	12	7	10	2	1	0	1

7. Chalcidian League drachms

Table 21. Weight distribution of select Chalcidian League drachms

Issue	below 3.00g	3.00-3.05g	3.05-3.10g	3.10-3.15g	3.15-3.20g	3.20-3.25g	3.25-3.30g	3.30-3.35g	3.35-3.40g	3.40-3.45g	3.45-3.50g	3.50-3.55g	3.55-3.60g	3.60-3.65g	3.65-3.70g	3.70-3.75g	3.75-3.80g	3.80-3.85g	3.85-3.90g
Picard 25	3	0	1	1	2	5	8	10	9	11	9	17	11	11	16	4	3	0	0
Picard 27	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	2	3	2	1	0	0	3	0	1	0	0
Picard 28	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0
Picard 29	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	3	1	6	9	5	5	3	6	1	0	0	0
Picard 30	9	4	4	6	12	9	11	22	10	15	11	16	16	31	15	5	0	0	1

The Cycladic proxeny network

In the previous study, we argued that numismatic evidence allows us to identify distinct numismatic networks, and to understand these networks as proxies for economic sub-regions in the Cyclades. We also more generally emphasised the importance of local factors in production. This study develops this approach by investigating the attested cases of proxeny awarded by Cycladic islands. It considers them as a network, to understand the structure of communication paths in the Cyclades, between the Cycladic states themselves, and between Cycladic states and other states. Proxeny decrees do not directly attest a relation between two states; instead, they record the bestowal of the position of *proxenos*, often in association with other honours, on a citizen or group of citizens from another state. Nevertheless, as we demonstrate below, the specifically civic context in which proxeny relations operated justifies our use of proxeny relations as a metric for broader communication trends, and also justifies our restriction of analysis only to proxeny relations, even though this decision necessarily means that other honorific relationships where proxeny is not awarded have been omitted.

This proxeny network cannot inform us about the rhythms of daily life, such as day-to-day cabotage from island to island. It can, however, inform about more symbolically charged deliberate connexions constructed between the islands. The discussion here thus complements the previous study on numismatic networks: it is no insight to write that no political community could afford to honour every foreigner

who visited. Equally, however, no foreigner could (afford to) visit every island. Considering these choices on a regional context through the lens of social network theories provides a deeper structure through which to understand the choices made by these agents.

The insight gained from this approach is, moreover, particularly valuable because of the current paucity of alternative metrics from which to gauge such communication structures. For other eras and regions, typologies of ceramic shapes and styles allow movement and so a certain degree of contact to be traced between different areas. With some partial exceptions, however, the pottery of the Hellenistic Cyclades and the pottery assemblages found on the Hellenistic Cyclades, are not yet understood and published in sufficient detail to enable such regional comparison[264].

Conversely, a significant body of proxeny inscriptions is known and approximately dated. As a result, proxeny has long been studied in its broader honorific context, and as a proxy to understand the nature and extent of relations between different parts of the Greek world. In particular, interest has concentrated in three areas: the dynamics and factors involved in individual attested cases of proxeny; proxeny relations of individual cities, particularly Athens; and an analysis of the institution as a whole[265].

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[264] For a summary of the difficulties involved in identifying local ceramics: Villard 1992; and of identifying trade through ceramic production and distribution: van der Leeuw 1984; for a discussion considering the distribution of Roman table ware: Brughmans 2010; for a revealing analysis of fine ware found on Thasos and Delos: Elaigne 2007.

[265] Individual *proxenoi*: Wallace 1936; Walbank 1974; Individual cities: Walbank 1978; Veligianni-Terzi 1997; as an institution: Marek 1984; Gauthier 1985. See further 155n268. Among the rarer attempts to consider regional proxeny, see Fossey 1996, which does briefly and insightfully discuss the difficulties involved in identifying proxeny, but is rather a discussion of the single proxeny dossier of a regional entity, the Aetolian League, rather than of proxeny from across a region. See also, specifically on the Cyclades, Étienne and Dourlot 1996, where the analysis contrasts the proxeny records from different

This study seeks to extend this approach by considering the proxeny network as a regional phenomenon that can shed light on the issue of how states in a particular region communicated with each other, and with the outside world. The Cyclades form an ideal test case because, as we saw in the introduction, they were recognised as a region in antiquity and still are today, and significant numbers of proxeny decrees survive from a number of islands.

We first analyse the nature of proxeny. We situate it as one of a range of honours available to a city, and emphasise the unique aspects of proxeny which make it particularly suitable for our analysis here. We next discuss the evidentiary difficulties in identifying cases of proxeny. In accepting that they are valid and should be recognised, we argue that they do not invalidate the approach here. We then consider different approaches to counting the cases of proxeny identified, and argue for an approach based primarily on proxeny relations and proxeny state pairings, rather than on individual people, or specific occasions associated with proxeny. Only on this basis do we then present the evidence itself according to these criteria, together with select inscriptions which have previously been adduced as recording instances of Cycladic proxeny but have been here omitted.

We then turn to analyse the data set both synchronically and diachronically. We argue that both lenses confirm the same picture of the Cycladic network as a scale-

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states. The analysis is again illuminating, but, perhaps because of the brevity of the published record, it is difficult to compare the results of that study with the approach here. Because of the omission of Delos, the absence of any methodological discussion, and the different chronological and geographical divisions, it is also difficult to identify how and why the statistics and conclusions differ from those here, when they do.

free, decentralised network with a primary hub at Delos, and secondary hubs at Tenos, Carthaea, and Thera; that this systemic structure does recognise discrete characteristics associated with a specifically Cycladic area; and that this structure requires us to revise our approach to the issues of connectivity and isolation of these islands. Finally, we demonstrate how our awareness of Delos' central role may explain the systemic changes seen towards the end of the Hellenistic period not just on Delos, but across the Cyclades. Cumulatively, the network perspective allows us to envisage a region that was as a whole more open to a range of outside contact, and to understand the region as a discrete space with its own structure and internal logic.

Proxeny relations in context

Proxeny is primarily known from epigraphic sources. Debate about its apparent spread has thus been broadly connected to wider discussions about the changing epigraphic habits of the Greek states during antiquity[266]. Nevertheless, proxeny relations are first attested in the late seventh or early sixth century, and, if our literary evidence for the fifth century focussing on Athens is any guide, were already widespread by this period[267]. From the fourth century, our epigraphic evidence

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[266] On the epigraphic habit, see the classic article by MacMullen 1982. Some scholars have attempted to connect the epigraphic habit in Greece specifically to the phenomenon of democracy; for a review specifically in the Athenian context, see Hedrick Jr 1999 with bibliography there; on ancient literacy in general: Harris 1989 with Beard, et al 1991.
How far *proxenia* in state relations should be connected to *xenia* in personal relations is disputed: earlier scholarship posited this connexion which is also attested in the lexicographers but Marek 1984 and others argue that the lexical connexion misled the lexicographers into positing a more substantive connexion. See further 158, especially 158n273.

[267] *IG* IX I 867, dated by Jeffery and Johnston 1990, 234.9 *c* 625–600, from Corcyra, the grave-marker for Menecrates, a πρόξενϝος δάμου φίλος resident at Oeanthea in Ozolian Locris who had been killed or lost at sea; note how even this earliest attestation ties the notion of *proxenos* to a public context (*pace* Mataranga 1994); see also Baillard 1995. (I have not been able to consult the new edition in *IG* IX I^2

becomes more frequent, with many states erecting decrees that either record the bestowal of proxeny on favoured individuals, most often in combination with other honours, or mention proxeny as an honour held by an individual in the context of further actions or honours.

The most common honours not discussed here include the title of *euergetes*, - benefactor, - rights of *ateleia* (exclusion from taxation), *enktesis* (the right to own property) and *politeia* (citizenship). How far these honours were honorific rather than practical seems to have varied from case to case, and from city to city, but it is certain that proxeny formed but one of a broader range of honours available for the classical and Hellenistic *polis* in its diplomacy, some of which had greater practical advantages than others[268]. In a second stage of the study, it would no doubt be worth while to

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882.) The next earliest proxeny inscription is a dedication by Gorgus the Spartan, the *proxenos* of the Eleians on a marble seat found at Olympia and dated by Jeffery and Johnston 1990, 199.15 *c* 600–550. Note that neither inscription records the bestowal of proxeny. The latest recorded proxeny inscription dates from Delphi *c* 165 AD: *FDelphes* III 4.94; on the date, see, recently Puech 1998. For a wide-ranging account of the origins and function of proxeny as an institution, see Marek 1984, particularly 330–339, to be read with Marek 1985. There is still little consensus how far the apparent increase and decrease in the number of proxeny relations reflects changes in the nature and availability of our evidence, particularly the epigraphic habit, in addition to changes in society; as noted above, however, we can partly bracket this issue for the purposes of our study, particularly as our focus is, ultimately, the Hellenistic period, when this particular evidentiary question is least pressing.

[268] Recent central contributions are Gschnitzer 1973; Marek 1984; Gauthier 1985; and, more briefly, Domingo Gygax 2007, anticipating Domingo Gygax forthcoming; see also the important analysis of the self-presentation of the *proxenoi*: Wörrle 1995. For a brief reflexion on some of the ongoing philosophical differences: Gauthier 1975–1976; for a review of earlier scholarship: Marek 1984, 1–4. For an analysis of proxeny in its fifth-century Athenian context, see Walbank 1978, part of the introduction to which is reprinted as Walbank 2008. Walbank has yet to write the overarching review of proxeny promised in Walbank 1978. From another state: proxeny is only ever attested for foreigners. It is occasionally combined with citizenship, both concurrently and sequentially, which some earlier scholars (with the notable exclusion of Wilhelm) understood as part of a broader narrative of the decline of the Greek *polis* and its institutions in the Hellenistic period. As Gschnitzer, Marek and Gauthier all insist, this interpretation is unnecessary. In the Cyclades, concurrent cases include, from Andros, *IG* XII *Suppl* 248.D.33–37: ἀν[α]/[γράψαι δὲ (τὸν δεῖνα) καὶ πρ]όξενον / [καὶ εὐεργέτην Ἀνδρίων καὶ] αὐτὸν κ[αὶ] / [ἐκγόνους· δεδόσθαι δὲ αὐ]τοῖς πολι/[τείαν κατὰ τοὺς νόμους, and from Delos, *IG* XI.4 887: ὑπάρχειν δὲ καὶ αὐτ[ῶι] / καὶ ἐκγόνοις τὴν προξενίαν [ἥπε]/ρ [δέδοτ]αι τοῖς προγόνοις αὐτο[ῦ]· / [εἶ]ναι δ' αὐτοῖς ἀτέλειαν πάντω[ν]/[ἐν] Δήλωι καὶ προεδρίαν καὶ π[ο][λ]ιτείαν.

broaden the analysis to include these other honours. Three reasons, however, justify the restriction here to proxeny: proxeny is the best attested of the various honours; it involves an unusual emphasis on the continuity and longevity of the relationship being established; and it involves a transcivic context. It is thus uniquely suitable for analysis when considering structures and means of communication across the Cycladic space.

Because more awards of proxeny survive than of any other award, they form the largest data set available for analysis: 456 separate relations of proxeny with identifiable ethnic between 294 different state pairs from 344 separate inscriptions[269]. This abundance does not, of course, mean that proxeny was necessarily the most frequently awarded honour for foreigners. In fact, such a conclusion is inherently unlikely. Other awards may well have been more frequent, - for example, crowns. This conclusion is suggested by the plausibly reduced expenditure involved in the

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Note that Maiuri, *NS* 18.31 is a later summary, and so could reflect sequential gifts, rather than concurrent. *Cf* the honours recorded in *IG* XII.5 528, from Carthaea.

[269] State pair: where all citizens of a single state honoured in the same decree are counted as forming a single proxeny relation. For a discussion of different possible approaches to understanding and counting relations, see below, especially 176–181.
Inscription: counting as a single inscription all the text contained under a single corpus number unless explicitly separated by a subsection (*eg*, *IG* XII.7 221.a, 221b, 221c; *IG* XII.5 1072 I, 1072 II; *FDelphes* III 4.402 II, 4.402 IV, 4.402 402 V).
Marek 1984, 247 counted 500 proxeny decrees including more than 250 people and ninety six different ethnics from Delos alone; specifically from the time of Delian 'independence', Habicht 2002 counted 467 proxeny decrees, compared to seventeen bestowing proxeny and citizenship, and twenty four, crowns; Baslez 1982b counts 200 *proxenoi* in her prosopography of foreigners on Delos. These calculations include all proxeny decrees, not just those with ethnics. Habicht is not explicit as to the criteria he used or the inscriptions he included, but the analysis of inscriptions by Marek and Baslez occasionally differs from that here. In addition, they also do not compensate for relations, as we do here. Nevertheless, for comparison: the equivalent number of relations counted for Delos in this data set is 202 relations with identifiable ethnics from 201 inscriptions (as *ID* 88 preserves two separate relations), from 91 different state pairs. Note that these calculations differ from those in the analysis below in the main text as they only include proxeny bestowed by the Delians, not also proxeny received by Delians.

grant of a single ivy crown compared to the ongoing rights involved in proxeny; by the differing nature of the awards; and by the narrative implied in the single dossier describing the process of proxeny bestowal that survives: the Athenian grant of proxeny to Heraclides of Salamis. Here, the Athenians granted him a gold crown of (probably) 500 drachms after his first apparently voluntary gift of 300 medimnoi of grain, and only bestowed proxeny in 325/4 after at least one subsequent gift. Proxeny, unlike crowns, was only suitable in the context of an ongoing relationship[270].

On this analysis, fewer proxeny awards should have been awarded than crowns. More proxeny awards, however, are attested. This paradoxical situation does not reflect the relative frequency with which the different honours were bestowed, - as it may for awards of proxeny relative to citizenship[271], - nor just the probability that proxeny was a more significant award. It also informs us about the nature of the

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[270] Whether that context is real, proleptic, rhetorical, or imaginary is here irrelevant; see further 167–168, especially 168n294.
IG II^2 360 = *Rhodes/Osborne* 95 = Culasso Gastaldi 2004, 165–182 10. Probably 500 drachms: as the value of the crown is mentioned in Cephisodotus' proposal to the council (*Rhodes/Osborne* 95.iv/b.63), but not in Telemachus' decree passed by the assembly (*Rhodes/Osborne* 95.iv/b.34).
Other clusters of inscriptions which start with the bestowal of proxeny and narrate the later development of that single relation do survive, but they do not inform us of the nature of the relation, if any, before the bestowal of proxeny. *Cf* Habicht 2002, 15n13, who suggests from these alternative cases that the award of a crown formed a second stage, coming after the award of proxeny. This alternative approach does not affect the analysis below about the greater duration of proxeny and its transcivic context, or the argument that these aspects make a focus specifically on proxeny a more rigorous basis for analysis. Habicht's approach does, however, seem less compelling: it ignores the broader honorific context involving many foreigners who are recorded as receiving crowns who are not also recorded as *proxenoi*. Because crowns tended to recognise single laudable acts (see below), rather than ongoing relations, they could be awarded to people who had already been recognised as *proxenoi* in recognition of further benefactions; there was, however, quite possibly less need, because proxeny itself was an ongoing honorific status, and *proxenoi* also had often received ongoing benefits, such as *enktesis*, *ateleia*. Thus, the award of crowns to *proxenoi* would seem more likely to be an exception, rather than a rule. Habicht's analysis does not capture these two aspects.

[271] *Cf* the seventeen decrees awarding citizenship counted by Habicht, all in association with proxeny, contrasting with his figure of 467 awards of proxeny (*cf* the figures at 155n269). *Cf* Gauthier 2000 for a similar analysis of Delphic practice.

proxeny relation, and its implied duration. Where crowns might be awarded for a single act, proxeny implied long-term commitment, perhaps in the past, but most certainly for the future. This conclusion might be expected from the very etymology of proxeny: being connected with the notion of *xenia*, which involves an ongoing guest-friendship relation between two people always with the expectation of future reciprocation, rather than a single once-off exchange.

Etymology alone is perhaps weak proof. More powerful is the reflexion of this etymology in the inscribed record. Heraclides' decrees seemingly were only inscribed as a group after the award of proxeny, after he had proved his ongoing dedication to the community. So too, the *proxenos* Admetus, the Macedonian, was honoured even after his award of proxeny with further crowns and two statues by the Delians for his ongoing devotion to them[272]. Other relations may have been still-born, but the expectation manifest in the language of the decrees was clearly frequently fulfilled. Thus, the fact that proxeny inscriptions were seemingly more often inscribed than crowns is not only a part and reflection of the increased value of the award, but it also encodes the ongoing significance for the community in the longer term, which justified the creation of a permanent record inside the civic space of that community[273].

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[272] *IG* XI.4 664, *IG* XI.4 665.

[273] *Cf* the frequent references to previous good undertaken on behalf of the city by the honorand, or to an earlier relation being renewed and strengthened; at least in some cases, these references were plausibly 'rhetorical', - by which should be understood not falsity or deception, but instead a joint understanding on all sides to embed their nascent relation in a longer-term narrative. The frequency of such references over such an extended period indicates that this rhetorical aspect was central to the bestowal of such honours. See, on proleptic honours in general, Domingo Gygax 2009.

This argument has already illustrated how proxeny could often have a civic context. Closer analysis indicates that proxeny was essentially transcivic. By this is meant that both participants in the proxeny relation are framed in a civic context. The clearest illustration of this aspect is the clause in inscriptions referring to an intent on the part of the honouring city to send a copy of decree to the honorand's own city; again, this suggests that the honorand maintained a certain profile in that city[274].

Unlike previous scholars, Marek disputes the connexion between proxeny and *xenia* (see 387–389 for a summary), arguing that the lexical etymology is false and the lexicographers who support it were as far removed from the custom as modern scholars. The above arguments suggest that his doubt is misplaced. *Cf* also the frequent practice of including in decrees a resolve to invite ambassadors for *xenia* (καλέσαι δὲ ἐπὶ ξένια *vel sim*: *IG* II^2 6.16–17, *ID* 88.14; *cf IG* XI.4 511.10–11; *IG* XII.1 1033.19–20).

274 *Eg*, *IG* XII.5 823.35–39; note that the other decree for Apollonius which is completely preserved (*IG* XII.5 824.A) does not contain a similar clause. This suggests that we cannot rely on the presence or absence of this clause as a failsafe indication of continued connexion with the home city or its absence. We are fortunate in this particular case to know more about Apollonius of Miletus than is the norm for many of our honorands: he is known to have been *Stephanephoros* of Miletus *c* 203/2 (see Wörrle 1988). This fact suggests that the mission to Miletus was more than purely rhetorical; and illustrates how the sort of people who had sufficient profile to be honoured as traders or doctors might well be expected to have sufficient profile to be members of the ruling elite of their cities with ongoing connexions even in their physical absence. *Cf* also *IG* XII.7 231–38–44 where the Minoans respond to the deeds of another doctor, Ouliades, son of Oulias, also by sending their gratitude to his home state: Samos; and *IG* XI.4 1054 and 1024 (Theangela to Delos), where we do not possess the part of the Theangelan decree (*IG* XI.4 1054) wherein the decision to request erection of a stele at Delos was recorded, but we do, lower on the same stele, still have the decision of the Delians granting a location in response to that request (*IG* XI.4 1024). A similar exchange may well have been undertaken in Miletus and Samos on receipt of the Tenian or Minoan decrees. Further examples with less context include *SEG* 50.864.23–28, seemingly the copy erected on Cos in response to such a mission from an unknown city honouring Coan judges for their work; *IG* XI.4 1049 (an unknown city to Delos); *IG* XII.5 830.29–32, and *IG* XII.5 833.11–15 (both Tenos to Rhodes); *IG* XII.5 836.18–20, and *IG* XII.5 837.26–30 (both Tenos to Athens); *IG* XII.5 834.6–8, and *IG* XII.5 838.12 (both Tenos to unknown city); *IG* XII.5 840.12–16 (Tenos to Hierapytna); *IG* XII.7 231.38–44 (Amorgos to Samos). Note that this formula is different from the formula ordering erection of a decree so that everyone can know that the honouring body knows to honour its benefactors (as, *eg*, at *IG* XII.5 817.23–27). *Cf* the occasional practice of erecting a decree at a prominent third location, normally a sanctuary: *eg*, *SEG* 30.990 (erected [or at least found] on Delos, but honouring Athenians at a time when Delos was not under Athenian control; Robert 1948, Robert 1960b, and Stanton 1986 argue for Phleious; Seyfarth 1955 for Cos; and Jones 1980, restated at Jones 1998 and supported by Salmon 1984, 413–419, Hadjis 1997, among others, for Corinth; Antonetti 2006 for Corcyra; *IG* XI.4 1052, a decree of Syros honouring Eumedes of Clazomenae; and *IG* XI.4 1045 (League of the Islanders and member islands for Samothracians), erected on Delos by permission of the assembly, as described in *IG* XI.4 1023, preserved lower on the same stele.

The civic nature of the awarding body is self-evident for proxeny decrees. It is less so for the honorands: they might be traders, artists or others whose connexion with their homeland might seem to us weak or non-existent. The norm in proxeny decrees, however, was to include both the ethnic and the patronymic of the honorand in both the prescript and motion sections of the decree[275]. Many also include a reference to the honorand's good deeds towards those who had dealings with him[276]. Both aspects imply an ongoing identification through the city.

This focus does not overlook the evidence for award of proxeny by other groups, such as τὸ κοινὸν τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνιτῶν: on this evidence, see Gschnitzer 1973, 666–667; Marek 1984, 127–128; even here, however, the bestowal was by a collective entity standing as proxy for a civic group. The distinction between πρόξενοι and φιλοτεχνῖται observed in *OGIS* 51 may also point to an enduring sense of civic representation inherent in the notion of proxeny.

[275] Inscriptions where no ethnic is preserved are of necessity excluded from the data set here, because they thus cannot be attributed to a specific city. Particularly for islands such as Delos, however, where a significant number of inscriptions survive, their formulaic nature allows us to be reasonably certain that the ethnic was included in a lacuna. Thus, *eg*, *IG* XI.4 536, where the entire right half of the inscription has been lost: the formulaic nature of the inscription allows us to reconstruct an award of proxeny, but not the ethnic of Procleides, the son of Procles. Isolated inscriptions are, however, much more difficult to reconstruct: for example, Orlandos 1973.
The ethnic was normally included, but not always. Some inscriptions certainly did not include either ethnic or patronymic: *eg*, *IG* XI.4 613 (= Durrbach 1921–1923, 37 29); *IG* XII.5 1004; and *IG* XI.4 543 (= Durrbach 1921–1923, 35 27 = Migeotte 1984, 158–160 46), which is concerned with renewal, rather than bestowal. These inscriptions are, however, rare exceptions. Two important variants are represented by the Delian award of proxeny to Eucleies, the Tenian (*IG* XI.4 573), and to Dioscurides, the Lampsacenian (*IG* XI.4 571). Eucleies' decree does not mention his ethnic in either the prescript or the motive sections, but does state it at the start of the inscription. Dioscurides' decree, by contrast, refers in the prescript to Dioscurides only as the son of Cleomenes, and later to him only as the Lampsacenian. Hence, we cannot assume consistency between the two sections. Where inscriptions do not include the ethnic in one of the prescript or motion proper, we cannot be certain that the ethnic was not present in the other part. This observation is important here because of the fragmentary nature of several inscriptions which do not mention the ethnic in the surviving part of the inscription (*eg*, *IG* XI.4 568 and 569) or seem not to have space for both a patronymic and ethnic in the lacuna (*eg*, *IG* XI.4 576 and 604); *cf IG* XI.4 607, where the prescript just gives the name of the honorand, but the length of the lacuna in the motion proper suggests that both patronymic and ethnic were there contained.
For a judicious brief discussion of the phenomenon of *proxenoi* without ethnics, see Knoepfler 2001b, 279–281; his example of *IG* XII.9 221, where two long blanks await the insertion of Aristonus' ethnic after his name (2–3 and 7–8), further supports the notion that proxeny was a geographically bounded institution, even where the geography involved might be for the moment unclear. Knoepfler's statement that "il n'était plus indispensable de rester dans sa cité d'origine pour faire une brillante carrière" (281) is very valid, with the possible exception of the 'plus', but his inference hence regarding the diminished connexion between proxeny and states of origin is less convincing; see 161n278.

[276] τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν αὐτῶι: *IG* XI.4 517.6; *IG* XII.5 837.7–8; *IG* XII.7 388.12–13 et passim.

It is, moreover, not the case that every significant foreigner with whom states were dealing was awarded proxeny. Two groups of inscriptions suggest that states did perceive proxeny as only appropriate where the honorand maintained a high civic profile. The first is those inscriptions where a distinction is drawn between those honorands being awarded proxeny and being awarded other honours. Thus, *c* 100, when the Therans recorded their various benefactors, they distinguished clearly between those who they recognised only as εὐεργέται, and others who are both εὐεργέται and πρόξενοι. The four εὐεργέται were three Calabrians, and a Syracusan, but distance alone cannot explain the distinction: a Roman was recognised as *proxenos*. Instead, perhaps because they were traders so far from home, they may have been less prominent in their home civic context, making proxeny less appropriate[277].

A similar distinction is visible in the islanders' approach to honouring officials primarily known from their activity in courts or for kings: two Ptolemaic officials, Philocles, the King of Sidon, and Sosibius, were honoured by the Delians with a golden and laurel crown respectively, but were not offered proxeny; similarly, Demaratus, the official of Lysimachus, was offered many awards, but not proxeny;

[277] *IG* XII.3 *Suppl* 1300. Roman, although not necessarily from the city of Rome. The first name of the Roman is unfortunately lost (57), so we cannot be sure whether he was a Roman citizen by birth or by grant.

and Hieron, the Syracusan appointed as *epistates* by King Ptolemy at Arsinoe, Ceos, was not honoured with proxeny by the Carthaeans, but awarded citizenship[278].

Why were these officials not awarded proxeny? One explanation is offered by Marek in his discussion of Philocles: he was not awarded proxeny because of his high rank. This approach seems not to take sufficient account of the cases where other officials of high rank primarily known from their courtly context were awarded proxeny. Examples include Hermias, Apollodorus, Sostratus, and Nabis, king of

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[278] Philocles of Sidon: *IG* XI.4 559.17–21: the award of a gold crown. On *IG* XI.4 559 (also Durrbach 1921–1923, 26–28 18) and Philocles' career more generally: Seibert 1970; Hauben 1987; Hauben 2004.
Sosibius: *IG* XI.4 649.12–14: the award of a laurel crown. Only the second half of the decree survives, but the lack of proxeny is secure from the absence of any associated honour. *IG* XI.4 649 (also Durrbach 1921–1923, 53–54 44) is dated epigraphically to the middle of the third century: a date *c* 240–230 is suggested by a combination of Roussel's observation at Holleaux 1912, 373 that the absence of the name of the president of the assembly suggests a date prior to *c* 230, and the presence of what is considered at Vial 1984, 98 the later, post *c* 240, motion formula. Glotz 1916, 316–317n7 suggests exactly 246, an ingenious but perhaps implausible hypothesis; Baslez 1982b, 4:41 229, 248–236, Tréheux 1992b, 246–235, while Reger 1994b, 47 ultimately prefers the more cautious 250–230. The decree thus either falls early in the career of the later minister of Ptolemy IV or honours a homonymous grandfather also in the service of a king (Ptolemy): the former is the usual reconstruction. Knoepfler 2001b, 327 does not discuss this epigraphic crux in identifying the son of Dioscurides honoured in *IG* XII.9 238 (= Knoepfler 2001b, 323–327 19) as possibly the minister of Ptolemy IV Philopator.
Demaratus: *IG* XI.4 542.23–37. *IG* XI.4 542 (also Durrbach 1921–1923, 21–23 15) is partly lacunose, but has no space for any reference to proxeny in the motion proper. In particular, the lacuna after the award of οἰκίας ἔγκτησιν (32) is highly unlikely to have contained an award of proxeny; in other Delian inscriptions, a range of honours follow, most commonly πρόσοδον πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν and προεδρίαν, making it difficult to specify which was granted, but none of the 149 awards of οἰκίας ἔγκτησιν is followed by the award of proxeny. The end of the inscription is also plausibly incorrectly restored: none of the twenty four surviving Delian inscriptions with εἶναι δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐν Δήλωι or of the seventy four with its more frequent variant εἶναι αὐτοῖς ἐν Δήλωι continue with καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα παρὰ] Δηλί[ων δέδοται, or another such summary phrase such as usually refers to honours being granted as to other *proxenoi* (τοῖς ἄλλοις προξένοις); instead, further specific honours follow. (Indeed ὅσα παρὰ x δέδοται is entirely unparalleled.) Finally, where both the start and end of the motion section are preserved (ninety-four cases), the summary phrase referring to honours being granted as to other *proxenoi* is only included when there has been a previous reference to the honorand as *proxenos*. There is only one exception, the case of Eucleies already mentioned above (*IG* XI.4 573; forty-nine other inscriptions are too lacunose for comment). Cumulatively, this evidence all strongly suggests that Demaratus, like Philocles and Sosibius, was neither awarded proxeny nor already a *proxenos* in this decree.

Sparta[279]. An alternative approach would be to argue that they may not have performed sufficient good for the state involved to have considered them worthy of proxeny. Such reasoning, however, seems inadequate: the state here has decided that the officials are worthy of some honour. In this context, we might expect a state, once it had decided to honour the officials, to want to maximise the honours awarded, especially given the high rank of the officials involved. The greater the honour, the greater would be the impression of a deeper relation, involving more obligations, and opportunities for reciprocation[280].

An alternative approach, which draws on the distinction in the Theran inscription mentioned above, seems wiser: proxeny was not appropriate for Philocles, Sosibius, Demaratus, and Hieron[281], because, as in the case of the Calabrians and Syracusans honoured on Thera, these officials were not in a position to act as intermediary in civic exchanges. Unlike Hermias, Apollodorus, and Sostratus, they were only relevant for their position at court, not for their civic connexions, if they still maintained them. They were thus not eligible for proxeny, unlike Hermias, Apollodorus, and Sostratus,

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279 Marek 1984, 254; Hermias: *IG* XI.4 565; Sostratus: *IG* XI.4 563; Apollodorus: *IG* XI.4 562. In each case the identification is as ever not certain but plausible. Nabis: *IG* XI.4 716.

280 On these dynamics and proleptic honours, see 168 with 168n295.

281 As also not for other honorands with royal connexions who have not received the scholarly attention that Philocles, Bacchon, Apollodorus, et al have, and so who are easily overlooked in such discussions. Such honorands include Eumedes of Clazomenae, "ἀποσταλεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως" (*IG* XI.4 1052.24–25 = Durrbach 1921–1923, 54–56 45), dated most recently by Reger 1985, 169 and Reger 1994b, 53–54 with Roussel in *IG* and Durrbach 1921–1923 to the end of Antigonus Gonatas' reign, rather than to that of Doson; and Aglaus of Cos, now attested on no fewer than three Cycladic islands: Delos, Paros, and Naxos, and in no case awarded proxeny. On the various Aglai, including the possible identification of three (rather than just two), see 190n340.
By contrast, proxeny was appropriate for Nabis (*IG* XI.4 716), as the king of a small Hellenistic kingdom. This is revealing about his status relative to the broader elite of Sparta versus that of the other, longer established Hellenistic kings.

and unlike Callias, who we know did certainly possess a connexion with his hometown, Athens, and who, like these three, was awarded proxeny[282].

None of this implies that every proxeny decree had a directly political function, in the sense of attesting a relation between two governments. *Proxenoi* were honoured in capacities that are not overtly political, such as their ability as traders and for their skill as doctors[283]. Nevertheless, at least in the Cyclades, proxeny was seemingly awarded to those who were perceived to maintain a relation with their home country, and so were able to contribute to transcivic exchange. There were many other honours available which cities did not hesitate to use if this was not the case. Hence, the differentiation here identified enables the conclusion that the great majority of those named as *proxenoi*, whether honoured as doctors, artists, or traders, or for unspecified reasons, did maintain a connexion with their home state whose ethnic they bear, and

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[282] In keeping with this distinction, it is perhaps not insignificant in the inscriptions for Philocles, Sosibius, Demaratus, and Hieron, the royal they serve is mentioned; he is not in the inscriptions for Hermias, Apollodorus, and Sostratus.
Callias: *IG* XI.4 527. The distinction here drawn may be generalised: *IG* XI.4 680, for Autocles, the Chalcidean, who was a φίλος of Demetrius (II), and *proxenos* is no exception, as Chalcis was one of Demetrius' 'fetters', making a dual role very plausible for Autocles. Similar considerations apply for Aristoboulus, from Thessalonica (*IG* XI.4 666; Demetrius), Dicaeus of Cyrene (*IG* XI.4 631; Ptolemy), Demetrius of Pergamum (*IG* XI.4 765; presumably Attalus I or Eumenes II); and Perigenes of Alexandria (*IG* XII.5 481; Ptolemy). Robert 1937, 74–75n6 identifies the Aegae of which Theon is a citizen (*IG* XI.4 1042) as that in Aeolis, in which case he too need be no exception. Philocles, by contrast, was king of a Phoenician settlement, Sidon, not a Greek city-state, making proxeny unsuitable. Sosibius (*IG* XI.4 649, see 162n278), however, is perhaps the best example: despite being from Tarentum, he was here termed an Alexandrian, a shift which encodes his lack of connexion with his native town; simultaneously, however, he was not embedded enough in his new state, Alexandria, to make proxeny suitable in that context either. Hence, while it is true to say that proxeny was intended to create a connexion with a powerful man (as *eg*, at Marek 1984, 262), that description is not complete, because states had other ways to create that connexion: it was to create a connexion with a powerful man, and simultaneously with his state.

[283] Doctor: one noteworthy case is that of Apollonius of Miletus (*IG* XII.5 823 and *IG* XII.5 824); see 546–552, and Appendix 3. *IG* XII.5 824. Autopsy and analysis, 580. Trader: Heraclides of Salamis (*IG* II^2 360 = *Rhodes/Osborne* 95). For a discussion of the different categories of proxeny honoured: Marek 1984, 333–385.

so that the attested relation can be used as evidence for a connexion between those states. This conclusion is the more valid since we are not concerned purely with governmental to governmental flow, but instead with communication and the flow of information between the broader elites of the different cities.

The position of elites may perhaps have become more complex after Alexander, with the growth of the great Hellenistic courts[284]. Nevertheless, our examples have been directly drawn from this context, and have demonstrated a valid distinction between officials who did, and who did not maintain an ongoing connexion with the city of origin. This conclusion is, moreover, in keeping with the trend in recent scholarship that emphasises how these officials acted as intermediaries between their city and the court: they never lost their civic identity, and were powerful because they maintained their ability to operate in both circles[285]. Because of the royal and courtly focus of our evidence, that sphere is, naturally, the one in which we see them operating most often[286]. Nevertheless, on occasions, we do have hints of this other aspect of their activity. One famous example is that of Menippus. The majority of our

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[284] Perhaps: how far personal mobility did increase in the Hellenistic period is a fraught question. The lens of our literary sources changes to make us more aware of inter-*polis* movement, but this change is part of a broader shift in perspective that occasionally has been too quickly reified as reflecting genuine underlying historical changes beyond that shift of perspective: *cf* Knoepfler's 'plus': 159n275, and Paschidis below: 165n285). The status of metic and its equivalent encoded this already in the classical period. On the foreigner in Greek antiquity: Gauthier 1972; on mobility during peacetime: Migeotte 2004; on mobility in time of (Hellenistic) warfare: Chaniotis 2004.

[285] Generally on civic officials as intermediaries between cities and Kings in the early Hellenistic period, but geographically focussing on the Greek mainland and the Aegean: Paschidis 2008. Note, however, that his conclusion that the royal authorities' activities had a destabilising effect, and undermined the political culture of the *polis*, may be queried as involving an ahistorical idealised model of the classical *polis*.

[286] This focus is, of course, the converse of the *polis* focus of our classical evidence, and has been as often reified as reflecting a fundamental shift in the nature of political power and discourse. As often noted, for the majority of the Greek states, it mattered little whether they were nominally or in reality subordinate to a fellow *polis* (Athens or Sparta) or to a kingdom. Briefly on these questions: Strootman 2011, particularly 146.

evidence focusses on his role as envoy of Antiochus III[287]. When, however, the Teans wish to make a request of the Romans, he also acted as Tean representative[288]. Callias and the other officials awarded proxeny may all have been expected to behave similarly, and have been perceived as qualitatively different from those who were not given that honour. Cumulatively, therefore, we are justified in using proxeny relations and the ethnics recorded for individual *proxenoi* as evidence for the structure of communication paths across the region[289].

Identifying proxeny relations

Proxenoi are occasionally attested in our literary sources. One such example is Cimon, who Plutarch tells us was *proxenos* of this Spartans at Athens[290]. The evidence for proxeny relations involving the Cyclades at this period is, however, exclusively epigraphic. A few references suggest that proxeny inscriptions were also recorded on bronze, but it is the inscriptions on stones excavated and identified over the course of the past centuries that underlie the data set here[291].

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287 Livy 34.57; Diodorus 28.15; Appian *Syriaca* 6.

288 *Syll*^{3} 601 = *RDGE* 34 = Austin 1981 199 = Ma 1999 38.

289 For a different discussion, see Baslez 1982b, 91–93, where the notion of the civic is much narrower than that employed here; for our purposes, it does not matter that some *proxenoi* came from ethnic states, and some were Roman.

290 Plutarch *Cimon* 14.3.

291 Proxeny inscriptions on bronze: *IG* XI.2 199.B.87: στήλην χαλκῆν Νικοκρέοντος προξενίαν; and *ID* 1409.B.a.II.113–114: στηλύδριον χαλκοῦν]/ἔχον προξενίαν Πνυταγόραι βασιλεῖ Σα[λαμινίων. A Pnytagoras, king of Salamis, is dated by his involvement in Alexander's campaigns: he defected to Alexander after Issus and was present with ships at the siege of Tyre in 332 (Arrian 2.20, 2.22); a Nicocreon (Berve 1926, 279 568) was his son and successor (Berve 1926, 321 641; for a more recent review, see Heckel 2006) and was ruling by 331 in Salamis (Plutarch *Alexander* 29.3). This section of *IG* XI.2 199 dates from 274, and *ID* 1409 is an inventory of the Athenian administrators after the loss of Delian independence in 167/166, but Durrbach and Roussel nevertheless plausibly accept the identification in their respective commentaries in *IG* and *ID ad loc*. These inscriptions are thus also evidence of the ongoing significance of proxeny through the generations.

By the nature of this project, it was not possible to undertake autopsy on the inscriptions reviewed. Instead, the readings and date offered by the editor in *IG*/*ID*, and, where available, more recent republications, were evaluated[292]. Similarly, the standard attribution of *pierres errantes*, - such as *IG* XII.5 542, which was found not at Carthaea, but at Laurium, - has been accepted without further comment[293].

In addition, the issue of the duration of any individual proxeny relation has, of necessity, been overlooked. It is probable that some of the relations will have been still-born, but we cannot identify which they are, since the epigraphic sources here involved only offer a momentary snapshot (whether of the creation of a proxeny relation or its renewal). Nevertheless, both the tendency of our literary sources to present proxeny as an inheritable position, and the rhetoric of our inscriptions in

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[292] Earlier work central to this project includes Marek 1984, particularly the proxeny list assembled at 8–118; the analysis of foreigners on Delos in Baslez 1982b, particularly her prosopography in volume four; and the index of foreigners (excluding Romans and Athenians from the cleruchy) on Delos in Tréheux 1992b. Few other islands have attracted recent prosopographical work (exceptions: Siphnos, Brun 2005; Brun 2009; Paros: Berranger-Auserve 2000), or detailed archaeological study (an exception: Tenos, Étienne 1990), but these editions, where available, were critical in providing more recent perspectives. This dearth of more recent work is unfortunate because the texts published in *IG* were not always based on fresh autopsy by the editor (for *IG* XII, often Hiller von Gaertringen) or an associate. *Cf* Tréheux 1959, 1:4, which notes that the swift publication of the corpus of inscriptions unearthed at Delos (compared, *eg*, to inscriptions from Delphi), while laudable, means that the texts published were necessarily more provisional, with some texts effectively only first transcriptions. It is a sad irony that Tréheux 1959 (summarised at Duval 1960) with its multiple revisions to those texts has itself been so difficult to obtain that even works dealing solely with Delos, such as Reger 1994c have been unable to incorporate those revisions (explicit acknowledgement at 282n7), or to engage with the many arguments made there which Tréheux never elsewhere developed in print.

[293] Koehler's attribution of the stone to Carthaea has been universally accepted, but is not irrefutable. Koehler 1884, especially 271 on the Cean origin of the stone, and 272 on the supposition (though no more) that the stone came from the ruins of Carthaea, the city on the nearer coast.

emphasising both past and future benefits justify the conclusion that the connexions were intended to be ongoing, and that the majority were[294].

Finally, as noted previously, the rhetorical and narrative aspects of the decrees makes it difficult to judge except when specific acts are mentioned whether the proxeny award is genuinely building on a prior relation; is a reflexion of a single good deed just completed or promised; or is solely proleptic, looking forward in the hope of positive acts to come[295].

Beyond these structural issues, the data set faces the usual problems involved with epigraphic evidence concerning, first, the completeness of inscriptions and, second, their dating. First, most inscriptions are only partially preserved. In most cases, because of the formulaic nature of Greek epigraphy, small lacunae can be filled through identification of the correct formula: thus, even inscriptions that do not explicitly mention proxeny in the surviving sections can be securely included. This principle can even be extended across inscriptions. Inherently less formulaic, however, are the name, patronymic, and ethnic of the honorand. In several cases, we

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[294] See, particularly, Thucydides' analysis of Alcibiades motivations for supporting an alliance with Argos in 420 (5.43.2, repeated in Alcibiades' speech in Sparta at 6.89.2; see Gomme *ad loc*), which includes the suggestion that he was offended with the Spartans because they had not honoured the old relationship of proxeny which his grandfather had renounced but he had been trying to renew. *Cf* also Polydamus of Pharsalus' statement to the Spartans that he was their *proxenos* and *euergetes*, as all his ancestors of whom they had any knowledge had been (Xenophon *Hellenica* 6.1.4), and Callias the Athenian's speech to the Spartans in similar terms (Xenophon *Hellenica* 6.2.4). The epigraphic evidence in our dossier below offers similar instances, such as Autocles, son of Aenesidemus, of Chalcis, and his son, Autocles (*IG* XI.4 679–682), but the very rhetoric inherent in both our literary and our epigraphic narratives, as noted here and previously (see 158n273), makes characterisation difficult.

[295] On proleptic honours, see 158n273, and, especially, Domingo Gygax 2009. It is perhaps not incorrect to say that the current greater awareness of the partial (in both senses) nature of our epigraphic evidence has been largely driven by analysis of honorific decrees because of their self-evident presentation of a narrative. On the *demos* as narrator, see Luraghi 2010; on intentional history more generally, see the essays gathered at Foxhall, Gehrke, and Luraghi 2010.

possess only part of this information. Where the ethnic is clear, it is possible nevertheless to include the decree for the unnamed honorand in our data set. Where only the name is clear, connecting the honorand with a specific city is almost impossible without further identifying information[296].

Both principles can be illustrated with reference to *IG* XII.5 1073, from Carthaea. This inscription does not explicitly refer to the men mentioned in the inscription as *proxenoi*. Nevertheless, the supposition that they are *proxenoi* is justified. The decree is inscribed on the same stone as *IG* XII.5 1072, which preserves the remains of two decrees: one decree has been convincingly restored as granting proxeny to a Cyzicenian, and the other starts consistently with a grant of proxeny to a Cnidian. This stone thus plausibly deals with matters associated with proxeny. In addition, the fragmentary section of *IG* XII.5 1073 which survives only preserves the ethnics of the men honoured, but this section, together with our understanding of the epigraphic context, is sufficient to include the relations attested here in our data set[297].

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[296] *Eg*, *IG* XI.4 536: Προκλέου[ς — — — πρόξε]/[νον] καὶ εὐεργέ[την τῆς πόλεως]/[καὶ Δηλίων], where the reconstruction of [πρόξε]/[νον] is certain from the many parallels specifically from Delos and of similar date, including: *IG* XI.4 517: πρόξενον καὶ εὐεργέτην τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ Δηλίων. (τῆς πόλεως by analogy with *IG* XI.4 545: [τῆς πόλεως]/[τῆς Δηλίων]. Note, however, that τῆς πόλεως]/[καὶ Δηλίων combines the two formulae in a way that is not attested on Delos.) In the most extreme case, we may possess neither name(s) nor ethnic(s): *IG* IX.4 534. In such cases, the inscription is of necessity omitted. For changes in the reading and interpretation of inscriptions discussed in this study, see particularly 184n318; Table 22. Proxeny relations in the Cyclades, 184; and Table 23. Select excluded inscriptions, 237.

[297] Were this inscription not preserved on the same stone as *IG* XII.5 1072, we might instead posit that these were soldiers from a garrison. Without broader context, such as that provided for the lists of soldiers found at Chios by their location inside or on their way to the fort, distinguishing between these two types of inscriptions is difficult, but not impossible: see the selection in Zolotas 1908. Lists identified as those of soldiers often do not include city ethnics, and are not ordered geographically; see further Robert 1936a, 94–97 for a coherent discussion of the differences as he argues that the inscription then in question, Lebas-Waddington 3:599 (= Poljakov 1989, 47–49 33) preserves a list of soldiers, not of *proxenoi*.

Connected to the issues involved in identifying the men mentioned in inscriptions is the problem of homonymous cities[298]. Specifically in the case of Alexandria, the prominence of the Ptolemies and Egypt in the Aegean perhaps justifies assigning known proxenies to Alexandria in Egypt, even though they could theoretically be from Alexandria Troas, Alexandria ad Issum, or many others. Other cases are much less clear: is the Cyme mentioned in a particular inscription the city in Italy or in the East Aegean[299]? Similar issues potentially arise with the multiple Heracleas, as well as the many Antiocheas, and Alexandrias founded by Alexander and his successors. Only rarely is the specific city mentioned, as for Antiochea on the Cydnus, earlier and later known as Tarsus[300]. Geographical plausibility is here no solution: even for a small network, such as that of Poiessa in Ceos, a Heraclea mentioned could, on the grounds of geographical proximity, be Heraclea Trachinea, but it could also be Heraclea Sinutica in Macedonia. This alternative hypothesis would fit with the proxeny for the Macedonians also attested at Poiessa[301].

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298 And homonymous ethnics; occasionally citizens of cities with the same name have different ethnics, but this is not the rule; ethnics could also vary both diachronically and synchronically. For examples and discussion, see Robert 1973, 437–446, illustrating primarily with reference to the many Heracleas and Laodiceas.

299 *IG* XI.4 697.

300 *IG* XI.4 822: Ἀντιοχεῖα ἀπὸ Κύδνου is attested in several inscriptions from the third to the first centuries, including this inscription, *FDelphes* III 2.208 and 4.154, *IG* II^2 2316, and *IOropos* 521 and 527. Stephanus of Byzantium records in his *Ethnica* that Tarsus, which lies on the river Cydnus, was called Antiochea (s v Ταρσός). He considers Antiochus Epiphanes responsible; assuming this is Antiochus IV, the Antiochus usually given this eponym, this cannot be correct. Such renaming was a widespread phenomenon, particularly in the Hellenistic period: *cf* Methana/Arsinoe in the Argolid, Megalopolis/Antigoneia in Arcadia, and, in the Cyclades, Coresia/Arsinoe.

301 *IG* XII.5 542. Poiessa: http://g.co/maps/wt4ba; the proxeny for a Macedonian: *IG* XII.5 571.III; honours for a Heracliot, - perhaps from Macedonian Heraclea, given the tendency for people of similar geographical origins to be honoured on the same stone: *IG* XII.5 571 II. Note, however, that the honour mentioned is citizenship, not proxeny. *IG* XII.5 571 II is thus additionally not included in the dossier here (unlike in Marek) because, although it was sometimes the case that proxeny preceded citizenship, - as, for example, in *IG* XII.5 528, - it was not always so. There are multiple decrees on this

In such situations, the city has been of necessity excluded from the graphical representation of the map. Fortunately, this problem is smaller than it initially appears for two reasons. First, many such cities only appear once in the data set. The geographical uncertainty thus does complicate attempts to discuss the geographical distribution of cities connected with the Cyclades. They do not, however, affect the statistical work involved. Second, detailed prosopographical and historical work has enabled the identification of many of these cities. Robert has demonstrated that Artemidorus, son of Menyllus, of Antiochea, is the same man as Artemidorus, son of Menyllus, of Alabanda[302], such that the two Antiocheas in our data set can be positively identified as separate cities. Mnesiptolemus, the historiographer from Cyme, is probably from Aeolis, as he is recorded as having included anecdotes about the Seleucid king Antiochus[303]. Conversely, although Robert's analysis of Theon of Aegae is persuasive in arguing that Theon is from Aeolian Aegae, it remains unclear whether the Carthaean honorand from Aegae is from Aeolian or Macedonian Aegae[304]. Certainty is not always possible, but the number of cases involved is small enough not to affect the robustness of the data set[305].

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stone, but, just as II and III are certainly for different honorands, so too may I and II be. In addition, Hiller von Gaertringen in *IG* restores *IG* XII.5 542.33: Ἡρ]ακλείας τῆς [Τραχινίας], but this reconstruction is not certain. The only other equivalent epigraphic formulation Ἡρακλείας τῆς involves Heraclea Pontica: Ἡρακλεώτης Ἡρακλείας τῆς ἐν τῶι Πόντωι (*IIasos* 186.9).

302 Robert 1973, especially 458–460.

303 Athenaeus 10.432b.

304 *IG* XI.4 1042: Robert 1937, 74–75n6. *IG* XII.5 1073.18: the progression of *IG* XII.5 1073 is not self-evidently geographical; even if it were, the *proxenoi* either side of our Aegean came from Abydus and from Macedonia, so either the Aeolian or the Macedonian cities might be justifiable.

305 Aegae, Apollonia, Heraclea, Demetrias, Elaea, Larisa, Megara, Neapolis, Seleucia. For this reason, the maps presented later do not include certain particularly uncertain cases: *eg*, Heraclea, Seleucia. Others are included because it does seem more probable that the Cnidus mentioned should be the Anatolian

The second problem inherent in epigraphic evidence such as the data-set here is that most inscriptions are not closely datable. Even where an *archon*-date survives, we commonly do not know the precise calendar year to which that refers. For approximately five per cent, no editor has ventured even an approximate date. Most inscriptions, however, have been approximately dated, on the basis of letter forms, and, less commonly, on the basis of the protagonists mentioned[306].

Cnidus, than the Cretan, the Boeotian Megara rather than the Sicilian. Nevertheless, certainty is again impossible.

306 Of the dossier of 456 relations attested, twenty seven are not ascribed to a specific period. On the identification of relations in decrees, see below.

Any attempt to offer dates is difficult, and cases of misdated inscriptions are legion; for a recent discussion: Reger 1994b, 38–39. Most such cases, however, are not derived from mistaken epigraphic models, but from insistence on pre-existing historical models creating a virtuous, self-fulfilling cycle until evidence that is completely irreconcilable or another spur urges reconsideration. An example of the latter is the tendency to date all inscriptions involving Rhodian involvement in the Cyclades that are remotely datable to a late third or second century context into the first third of the second century, to fit what is in reality a very poorly attested model of Rhodian domination specifically at that time: see our discussion particularly at 534–558; an example of the former, the controversy over the three-bar sigma in Athenian fifth-century epigraphy. Even in these celebrated cases, however, chronologically large changes of date are rarely involved. In the context of the thick chronology of the fifth-century Athenian empire that scholars discuss, a shift of thirty years is significant; for broader diachronic, systemic discussion such as that here, however, it is of much less significance. From this broader perspective, Reger's examples rather prove the validity of epigraphic dates as indications, at least where we have significant corpora: Kent 1939 argued that Durrbach's historical date of 200 for *ID* 373 should be revised to 180 from a reanalysis of the content; the epigraphic argument remained the same, and 200 is ultimately not inaccurate as an approximation for an inscription now thought to date to 180. Similarly, to redate the monument celebrating Doson's victory at Sellasia from the end of the second century to soon after 221 may have important historical consequences, but does not involve rejection of evidence from an epigraphic date. All epigraphic dates necessarily are indicative, and dates here are offered in that spirit. Where more precise dates are here offered, this is because of a concern in the scholarship with a precise historical context, and a desire on my part not unwittingly to seem to be undermining any consensus that has developed; for the purposes of this study, the approximate date underlying the specific date is sufficient. Similarly, scholarship often assumes the central importance of 314 as the date of Delian 'independence', and attempts to place any earlier proxeny inscriptions either after 314 or during earlier brief periods when 'independence' is more plausible. For an alternative approach, see Appendix 6. Delian 'independence', 315/314, and *ID* 104-30, 450, especially 489 and 490n1076. Again, however, the implication of a fourth-century date is what matters here, not the historical frame in which it is expressed.

Consistency has been central. Thus, Roussel's statement that an inscription's letters are "medio tertio a Chr saeculo non recentiores" has been rendered as 300–250, but an inscription whose letters are "medio tertio a Chr saeculo paullo recentiores" as mid-3rd. This approach is perhaps slightly misleading, in that Roussel's description of letters as "medio tertio a Chr saeculo non recentiores" is in implicit contrast with letters datable "priori tertii a. Chr saeculi parti vindicandae" (*vel sim*), but such nuances seemed

To enable diachronic comparison, the attested cases of proxeny were grouped into four chronological units: cases dated to the fourth century, cases dated to the early and middle third century, cases dated to the late third century and early second century, and cases dated to the late second century and early first century. In numerical terms, these periods are approximately equivalent to 400–300; 300–220; 220–150; and 150–50. This approach was chosen because of the large number of inscriptions dated to approximately the end of the third century or the beginning of the second century. This custom made a separation circa 200 difficult to maintain. In addition, breaking the second and third periods at *c* 220 allowed inscriptions which are dated from mention of an Antigonus either to Gonatas or Doson to be categorised together.

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too complex to incorporate. This decision also means that apparent discrepancy between the dates offered by Roussel and by more recent editors may seem at times larger than is likely the case: thus, for *IG* XI.4 530, the date given is 300–250, which is the consistent representation of Roussel's "medio tertio a Chr saeculo non recentiores", whereas Baslez 1982b, 4:9 3 dates the inscription shortly after 250.

Specifically for Delos, Baslez and Tréheux occasionally revised the dates offered by Roussel in *IG* for inscriptions that seem otherwise not to have been restudied except by them. Where they agreed in changing the period, their date was usually adopted. Where one suggested a specific historical date, this date is normally noted. Baslez in particular seems more willing to tie decrees to known historical events than Roussel and Tréheux. For an example, see the discussion of her precise date of *IG* XI.4 778, 212n499. Similar considerations also apply to some of the dates offered in Vial and Baslez 1987: see, *eg*, their date for *IG* XI.4 765 with those offered by other scholars. Given the lacunose nature of our knowledge, and the potential length of the careers of individual statesmen (such as Telemnestus, see 214n518), such suggestions can mislead without strong corroboratory evidence. Including these alternative dates in the footnotes instead enables them to be evaluated against the date in the main text, and perhaps to guide interpretation, particularly where it is a broad epigraphic date from *IG* or *ID*.

Note also that the dates here offered derive from physical copies of editions cited, not from the version available at epigraphy.packhum.org. Dates there occasionally differ slightly from those offered in the corpus, even where no alternative edition or discussion seemed available to justify this. *Eg*, *IG* XI.4 832: end 3rd, where Roussel in *IG* states "initiis alterius a. Chr. saeclui tribuendae"; *IG* XI.4 666, 239–210, where Roussel in *IG*, Durrbach 1921–1923, 59–60 48, and other scholarship consulted (see 210n487 for a selection) all seemed consistently to date the inscription to the reign of Demetrius II (239–229). Conversely, *IG* XI.4 530 "med III a", in differing from Roussel in *IG*, may well reflect the discussion of Robert at Firatli and Robert 1964, 188–189, or Tréheux 1992b.

The uniformity in source of evidence (inscriptions) does, however, mask a great diversity between inscriptional type. Four main types are perhaps most helpfully identified. The first type consists of what might be termed the basic case: an honorific decree for a single person attesting the bestowal of proxeny on one person from a single city. The second type extends this case by honouring a few people from one city, or various people from different cities on a single occasion[307]. The third type mentions existing *proxenoi* or proxeny relations in the context of other decrees that may renew these relations, narrate further events in which the *proxenos* was involved, and for which he was now being again honoured, or which are quite separate from those honours[308].

The fourth group is the smallest, but perhaps the most complex and significant, as we see below. It records many different relations in a single decree, and can perhaps profitably be further sub-divided. One sub-division seems to have recorded proxeny relations of individual cities as they were created: two such examples come from Anaphe, where the editor notes a significant difference in letter forms, suggesting that the inscriptions was carved on successive occasions starting from the fourth century and the first part of the second century respectively[309]. The editor of the Anaphian

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307 *Eg*, *IG* XI.4 760, where the Delians made Erasidemus and Tharsagoras, the son of Polycles, the Siphnians *proxenoi*; *IG* XI.4 1040, Hypatodorus, the son of Miccus, and Caphisodorus, the son of Archias, the Thebans; *IG* XI.4 1046, multiple Halicarnassians, probably two, among whom Peleas.

308 Confirmation/renewal: *eg*, *IG* XI.4 543 (= Durrbach 1921–1923, 35 27 = Migeotte 1984, 158–160 46), mentioned above: 159n275; further honours: *eg*, *IG* XI.4 680, granting a crown of laurel to Autocles, son of Aenesidemus, of Chalcis; separate mention: *eg* Maiuri, *NS* 19–29 18, an honorific inscription for their grandfather, Polycles, erected by Sosus, Polycles, and Calliaristas, the sons of Sosus, and Polycles, son of Polycles, mentioning that he was awarded proxeny by the Astypalaeans.

309 *IG* XII.3 251 (= Michel 1900, 569 662) and 252. As with many of these inscriptions, neither stone seems ever to have been re-edited, or re-studied in sufficient detail to merit mention in *SEG*. *Cf* the additional quasi-archival examples published by Peek below.

inscriptions does not venture to specify how chronologically distinct he thought the varying times at which the lines were inscribed were, nor does he state how many different hands or scripts he identified. Nevertheless, there does seem to be some paragraphing at least in the second decree: several Rhodians, a Theran, and Antipater of an unknown state are all listed as *proxenoi* together under the same rubric, before a break, and then a following reference to the next *proxenos*, Aristophanes. This suggests that the two Rhodians, the Theran and Antipater, who all form a single 'paragraph', may all have been simultaneously appointed as *proxenoi*, rather than merely simultaneously recorded.

The second subdivision of the fourth group seems to record the mass bestowal of proxeny. One such example is formed by the dossier of inscriptions from Magnesia on the Maeander recording the responses of various states to the request for recognition of the city and territory of Magnesia as inviolable and sacred, and of the contest of Artemis Leucophryene as stephanitic. Seventeen states, all bar two Cycladic, are recorded as voting the same way as the Parians, and so plausibly as not only accepting the Magnesian request, but also making their *theoroi proxenoi*[310]. The more common model, however, involves that of *IG* XII.5 542 and *IG* XII.5 1073, both long inscriptions from Carthaea which honour a range of *proxenoi* from across the

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We have a parallel for such repeated inscription in the decree from Chios which orders the prytanies to inscribe the names of the new Andrian and Naxian *proxenoi* on τὴν στήλην τὴν/ προξ[ενικὴν]: *SEG* 12.390.28–31: ἐπιμεληθῆναι δ[ὲ / τοῦδε τοῦ κηρύγμα]ιτος Μεγαρέα τὸν ἀγωνοθ[έτην καὶ τοὺς] / πρυτάνεις τοὺς ἐνεστῶτας [καὶ γραψάν]ιτων εἰς τὴν στήλην τὴν / προξ[ενικὴν τήν] | τε πόλιν ἑκατέρων καὶ τὰ ὀνόμ[ατα πατρόἰθε]ν.

[310] Kern 1900, 39–41 50. Seventeen: Kern reads sixteen states, including six which he partly restores. He indicates but does not restore a seventeenth, and states that no further name seems lost after the last entry in each column (41). Voting the same way: [κατὰ τὰ] αὐτὰ δὲ ἐψηφίσαντο (76). See further on the cities involved: 185n319.

Greek world. *IG* XII.5 542, from the fourth century, is particularly noteworthy as being in general geographically ordered: the list starts with Euboea, and continues through the Peloponnese to central Greece, then Attica, the Cyclades themselves, and the cities of north-east Aegean. Whether the decree did grant the existing *proxenoi* additional rights or formed an archival or religious reinscription of a list of existing *proxenoi* is not entirely clear, but it does illustrate how extensive a proxeny network could be[311].

These two groups of quasi-archival inscriptions are significant in the context of the current study because they suggest that we are not being entirely anachronistic in imposing a network perspective on the diverse evidence for proxeny. Instead, we may even envisage a representative body of a *polis* or a member of its elite deciding that there was a specific 'gap' in their proxeny network and acting to fill it. Conversely, all the literary evidence and the overwhelming majority of the epigraphic evidence refers to a single *proxenos* or to small groups. These inscriptions thus allow us to argue that our atomised evidence for the network arises from the particular context of those literary and epigraphic references: that they narrate specific instances of the bestowal of proxeny or of action by a *proxenos*.

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311 This geographic ordering explains why, *pace* Marek, Γνάθιος in *IG* XII.5 542.7 is more likely to be the name of a *proxenos* of unknown origin than the ethnic of Gnathia in Apulia: *cf IG* II^2 16.6 and *IG* II^2 1699.7 for attestations of this name from Athens and Icaria. Koehler 1884, 273 did not explicitly comment on Γνάθιος, but he printed a comma in his text, suggesting he too understood it as a name; Hiller von Gaertringen did not, however, print a comma in *IG*, nor comment in his lemma. On similar geographical logic, the *proxenos* from Χαλκ[... is more likely to be from Chalcis (Χαλκ[ιδεύς) rather than from Chalcedum (Χαλκ[ηδόνιος). Again, Koehler 1884, 273 suggested this alternative reading, but Hiller von Gaertringen in *IG*, noting Koehler's reconstruction, preferred the alternative suggestion of Bruno Keil (nv). Note that Θ]ρασυέα (nominative: Θ]ρασυέας according to *LGPN* 5, or perhaps Θ]ρασυῆς) is a hapax, but is presumably a variant of Θράσυς which is geographically widespread (*cf* the rare variant, Θρασύας attested twice). The theta, although restored, is secure: all attested Greek names with the letter cluster ράσυ involve the root Θρασύ.

Nevertheless, these quasi-archival inscriptions also raise two connected methodological difficulties. Should we not assume that each city had a network like that recorded on *IG* XII.5 542 and *IG* XII.5 1073, and that either we have not (yet) found the stone recording the network or that the city chose not to inscribe it? Given the lacunose state of *IG* XII.5 542, we can only identify approximately half of the proxeny relations originally mentioned on the decree, which might suggest the network was still larger than the database here can acknowledge.

Both difficulties are significant, but can be addressed on two levels. The first engages with the very modelling premise that is here central. If the system is coherent in its form and structure, and consistent with analogies that we can draw from other areas, we can set aside these concerns: our knowledge of additional proxeny relations might change details, but it would not affect the overall structure of the network. This conclusion, moreover, leads to the second level, more directly addressing the specific queries raised above. First, close analysis suggests that the effect of these lacunae on the archival inscriptions should not be overestimated. We may illustrate from *IG* XII.5 542: the width of the stone is known, and so also the approximate length of the lacunae. As a result we are probably on each line only missing one person. The attested *proxenoi* are, moreover, not all from different states: in several cases, the surviving ethnic is in the plural, indicating more than one person from a particular city was being honoured (*eg*, 46: Σύριοι; 58: Κι[α]νοί); in other cases, the ethnic is repeated on successive lines, such that we can be confident that at least seven Athenians (36–40) and at least four Tenedians (50–52) were honoured. Since the

ethnic in these cases is in the singular, we cannot know how many other of the men honoured in the lacunae may be similar cases of multiple representation of a single city[312]. It is ultimately probable that some city pairs in this inscription are not known, as in other inscriptions also. Nevertheless, even from this most lacunose of inscriptions, we can derive more than the bare proportion of letters surviving might suggest.

Second, we should note the distribution of these 'archival' stones. Only very few of the cities that inscribed proxeny decrees possess such documents, - four: Tenos, Thera, Anaphe and Carthaea. In particular, the best attested and best excavated city, Delos, has not yielded any such document. We thus cannot assume that each city must have initially have possessed such a document. That each of them did is a possibility, but it is one that departs from the very question we are here investigating: if the system of proxeny identified here is coherent in its structure, then the two models can stand as alternative approaches that should be evaluated on their merits and their explanatory power. As has often been noted, moreover, the erection of honours was an important part of their functioning and recognition. How far the status of proxeny could be bestowed without the erection of a decree acknowledging it is unclear. Cumulatively, for all the difficulties mentioned here, we do seem justified in our use of attested proxeny relations as an indicator for broader patterns of communication in the Cyclades.

[312] Of the surviving ethnics, twenty-two are certainly singular, including the Athenian and Tenedian cases noted above, two certainly plural, and seven unclear.

Counting proxeny relations

To be able to analyse the extent and range of the proxeny network, we need to count the individual relations involved. At least four different approaches are possible, and are here listed in increasing order of proxeny relations that would result from this approach:

1 A state-based approach. Here, the number of proxeny relations between a pair of city states is ignored, and only the existence of a relationship noted. Thus, each and every award of proxeny by Delos to a Siphnian (in a particular period) cumulatively would count as one relation.

2 A relation-based approach. Here, the number of proxeny-granting occasions between a pair of city states is counted, and the number of *proxenoi* appointed on each occasion is ignored. Thus, Erasidemus and Tharsagoras, the sons of Polycles, from Siphnos, honoured by the Delians in *IG* XI.4 760 cumulatively form a single relation. Together with the Delian award of proxeny to two other Siphnians, Xenodamas, the son of Chairestratus (*IG* XI.4 587), and Clinodemus, the son of Lebotus (*IG* XI.4 840), a total of three relations between Delos and Siphnos results.

3 A person-based approach. Here, each and every *proxenos* is considered a separate relation between the two cities involved: thus, Erasidemus and Tharsagoras, the son of Polycles from *IG* XI.4 760 would count as two separate relations, making a total of four relations attested between Delos and Siphnos.

4 An occasion-based approach. Here, each and every action recorded of and honour bestowed on a particular *proxenos* would be recorded as a separate interaction. Thus, the two Delian decrees for Archinicus of Thera, one of which makes him *proxenos*, and one of which honours him when he already was *proxenos* would be counted as two separate interactions involving *proxenoi*[313].

The second, relation-based approach seems wisest in this case, because it allows for explicitly different occasions of honouring to be kept discrete, while minimising the risk of overvaluing a single occasion or relation. Because certain calculations are only possible using a network with only one connexion between different nodes, however, some calculations are also undertaken with the first state-based approach, counting state pairs alone. The similarity between the state-based and relation-based networks also thus acts as a built-in check for the validity of the results derived.

In an ordinary honorific decree wherein multiple people from a single state are honoured together, such as *IG* XI.4 760, their joint honouring plausibly reflects their joint involvement in a single exchange or activity. It may be that, for internal political reasons, the state wished to strengthen this particular relation by appointing two or more *proxenoi* at a single time: nevertheless, the occasion was single, and to count it multiple times as the third and fourth approaches would urge seems excessive.

[313] *IG* XI.4 709.9–11: εἶναι Ἀρχίνικον Γοργώπα Θηραῖον πρό/ξενον καὶ εὐεργέτην τοῦ τε ἱεροῦ/ καὶ Δηλίων καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐκ<γ>όνους
IG XI.4 710.2–4: Ἀρχίνικος / Γοργώπα Θηραῖος, πρόξενος ὢν καὶ εὐ/εργέτης τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ Δηλίων

The situation for the 'archival' inscriptions is slightly different: there it is less certain what clustering of honorands occurred, and, as noted above, how far the 'archive' may have represented separate grants of proxeny. Given the partial nature of the information, however, it seems wise to assume the same approach. The risk of distortion through over-counting is too great: for example, to count the fourteen Halicarnassians honoured by Astypalaea in *IG* XII.3 168 as attesting fourteen different relations would have doubled the number of relations attested for Astypalaea, and granted the Astypalaea-Halicarnassus axis an importance in the network which the lack of any other inscription attesting such a connexion seems to suggest is unwarranted. Similarly, the bestowal of proxeny by the (members of the) League of the Islanders on an individual is collectively counted as a single bestowal[314]. By contrast, where two separate occasions of bestowal of proxeny seem to be recorded and mentioned separately in what is now considered a single inscription in the corpus, these are better kept separate[315].

Similar logic explains why the fourth approach seems less valuable: it is true that some proxeny relations may have been stillborn, and that counting each epigraphic attestation would provide additional weight to those known to have resulted in multiple inscriptions. As the dossier of Admetus of Thessalonica indicates, however,

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[314] See, *eg*, *IG* XI.4 1042.17–20: εἶναι δὲ Θέω[να Φιλίσ]/[κ]ου Αἰγαεῖα πρόξενον κ[αὶ εὐεργέ]/[την] πάντων τῶν νη[σιωτῶν ὅσοι]/[μετέχ]ουσι τοῦ συν[εδρίου. This approach has the additional advantage of allowing the bracketing of the issues of precisely which islands were members of the League of the Islanders, and how far the League did have a corporate existence separate to that of its members, both of which have been fiercely debated topics.

[315] Examples of such inscriptions include *ID* 74, where an extra clause was clearly (later) added by another hand; *IG* XII.3 252, recording the bestowal of proxeny under several archons; and *IG* XII.3 *Suppl* 1300 and *IG* XII.5 542, both either recording the mass bestowal of proxeny, or re-inscribing existing proxeny relations.

multiple inscriptions do not necessarily equate to long(er) duration. The fact that a particular *proxenos* is likely to have been active over several years is, moreover, already inherent in the logic of our discussion. To count a *proxenos*' activity every time it is attested as a separate relation seems likely to distort the picture. This is particularly true given that our evidence for these interactions is, in many cases, not independently derived, because multiple decrees honouring a single individual were, as in the case of Admetus, often inscribed on the same stele. Thus, if we have found a fragment of one decree honouring a *proxenos*, we are more likely to find another fragment honouring the same *proxenos* for further actions[316].

The logic followed here regarding relations can also be extended to argue that different members of the same family, whether from different generations or the same generation, should always be treated as a single relation, irrespective of whether they are honoured on the same inscription or not. This seems less wise: even though rights of proxeny theoretically did remain active across generations, the decision to award proxeny rights to another member of the family on a separate occasion suggests an renewed attempt to solidify or to extend these bonds apart from the original effort. This distinction applies even when the inscriptions in question may have been chronologically quite proximate: the renewal of efforts is still significant because it points the importance of the connexion between those cities at that time. Thus, where father and son, or two brothers, are honoured together in a single inscription, they are

[316] Admetus of Thessalonica: *IG* XI.4 664, 665, 1053, 1076. Different people could also be honoured on the same stele, particularly where there was another structural connexion, such as a shared origin: *eg*, *IG* XII.5 830. *Cf* the dossier consisting of *IG* XI.4 1044, 1045, and 1023, where 1045 and 1023 certainly concern the same honorands, but 1044 may honour a different Samothracian.

treated as representing a single relation; where they are honoured in separate inscriptions, they are treated as representing separate relations[317].

The distinctions here are perhaps fine. A variety of different approaches was possible and would have been justifiable. Nevertheless, some attempt to define what was understood by a proxeny relation is required in order to enable the construction of the data set of proxeny relations here presented, and the analysis which we develop on that basis.

[317] Thus, the Delian award of proxeny to Autocles, son of Autocles, of Chalcis, in *IG* XI.4 681 (also attested in *IG* XI.4 682), is treated as separate from that for his father, Autocles, son of Aenesidemus, of Chalcis, honoured in *IG* XI.4 679 and 680, even though Roussel allows that they may be chronologically very close. By contrast, the Delian award of Philermus and his father Pythagoras is treated as one instance because awarded in the same clause of the same inscription (*IG* XI.4 652). Similarly, the Delian awards of proxeny to Moeragenes, son of Ammonius, of Seleucia (*IG* XI.4 772) and his brother Heracleitus (*IG* XI.4 773, also attested in *IG* XI.4 774) are treated separately, and so are the awards to Antiphon and Chaerites of Athens, in *ID* 74, because inscribed on separate occasions; that to Agasicles and Phocritus, sons of Leontiscus, of Byzantium, is treated as one instance because awarded in the same clause of the same inscription (*IG* XI.4 530).

Proxeny in the Cyclades

Below are listed the inscriptions that were used in this study. The edition given is, in most cases, the most recent critical edition, and is also the source of the date given, unless otherwise specified[318].

Table 22. Proxeny relations in the Cyclades

Donor Ethnic	***Recipient Ethnic***	***#***	***Date***	***Name***	***Father***	***Source***
Aegiale, Amorgos	Magnesia on the	3	208	?	?	*IMagnesia* 50.83[319]

[318] This list is, of course, provisional. New inscriptions are continually being unearthed, reported, and published, not least in the Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον and the Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς, and/or await publication, such as the honorary inscription mentioned at Dreliosi-Herakleidou 1999.
For a list of select inscriptions that have been excluded, see Table 23. Select excluded inscriptions, 237. In addition: *IG* XII.9 1245, 1247, 1248 are excluded as forgeries; *cf IG* XII.5 1[7–9], which have been included: 222n582. The few imperial inscriptions are also excluded: *FDelphes* III 3.298 from the Delians to M Aurelius Dionysianus, an Amorgian doctor, dates at the earliest from the end of the second century AD. *SEG* 31.743 from the Melians to Scribonia Philotera would have been excluded anyway, as lacking an ethnic. On *IG* XI.4 542 for Demaratus of Sparta, and *IG* XI.4 649 for Sosibius of Alexandria, both included by Marek, unlike *IG* XI.4 559 for Philocles of Sidon, see 161, and especially 162n278.
Most typographical slips in previous editions are silently updated or, where potentially more significant, mentioned in the footnotes. Because of the nature of Marek's list, which is offered without dates or comments, however, a few additional notes bear making here that cannot easily be incorporated in the database: under Anaphe, read, for Rhodes, *IG* XII.3 252, not *IG* XII.3 251; under Delos, read, for Cyzicus, [*IG* XI.4] 562, not [*IG* XI.4] 567; for Naxos, [*IG* XI.4] 832, not [*IG* XI.4] 823; for Salamis, [*IG* XI.4] 1049, not [*ID*] 1409; for Phocaea, [*IG* XI.4] 652, not [*IG* XI.4] 552; under Tenos, read, for Croton, *IG* XII.5 *Suppl* 313.6, not *IG* XII.5 *Suppl* 304.6. Marek's reference to several Italians in *IG* XII *Suppl* 313 has been excluded, as this description is not their ethnic, and sufficient weight is plausibly provided by the *proxenoi* from Magna Graecia whose ethnics are recorded; Marek did not include all the *ascripti* recorded in *IMagnesia* 50, nor Tenos among the cities mentioned in *IG* XII.3 *Suppl* 1300. As argued above, at 176, especially 176n311, Stratius in *IG* XII.5 542.b.3–7 is the name of an Andrian *proxenos*, not the ethnic of a man from Stratus; the son of Thrasueas in *IG* XII.5 542.10 is more plausibly from Chalcis, not Chalcedum; and Gnathius in *IG* XII.5 542.7 is unlikely to be the ethnic of a *proxenos* from Gnathia in Apulia, but instead probably the name of a *proxenos* of unknown origin.

Donor Ethnic	*Recipient Ethnic*	*#*	*Date*	*Name*	*Father*	*Source*
	Maeander					
Aetolians	Naxos	4	142/1	…poi	…(cr)ates	*IG* IX^{2} I I.35[320]
Anaphe	Aspendus	N	4th or 3rd	Coeranus	Thras(eas)	*IG* XII.3 250.15[321]
Anaphe	Chios	N	from 4th	..ou..on	Philostratu(s)	*IG* XII.3 251.19–21[322]
Anaphe	Cnidus	N	from 4th	Agroteles	(Apo)lloni(das)	*IG* XII.3 251.12–14[322]
Anaphe	Myconos	N	from 4th	Aristo(n)	…idotus	*IG* XII.3 251.9–11[322]
Anaphe	Olus, Crete	N	4th or 3rd	Aristomenes	Tychasius	*IG* XII.3 250.14[323]
Anaphe	Paros	N	from 4th	Callignotus	?	*IG* XII.3 251.15–17[322]
				Lysagoras	?	
Anaphe	Pharsalus	N	from 4th	Daochus	Sisyphus	*IG* XII.3 251.4–8[322]

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[319] Date from Rigsby 1996, 182 with text and brief commentary at 237–240 100; see 179–279 for presentation and extensive discussion of the entire dossier. On Arsinoe as Coresia, rather than Methana or any other possibility, see Robert 1960a. On the Samians at Minoa, see the bibliography at 225n598. Two groups are not included as non-Cycliadic: the Οἰν[αῖοι ἐξ Ἰκάρου], on whom, see Robert 1933, 425–429 (= Robert 1969–1990, 1:551–555), and the Ἀσκληπιεῖς, hesitantly identified at Robert 1933, 429–437 (= Robert 1969–1990, 1:555–563) with a second city on Icaria: Thermae. The conjecture is appealing, if not certain because the list is not, *pace* Robert, geographically ordered: the three cities of Amorgos appear in lines 78, 80, and 83. (Other inscriptions in the Magnesia dossier are also not geographically ordered; *cf* the list of Arcadian cities appended to the Megalopolitan decree: *IMagnesia* 38 = Rigsby 1996, 217–219 88.60–69; for an explanation, see 268.) Whether acceptable or not, in the absence of other conjectures identifying the Ἀσκληπιεῖς with the residents of any Cycladic state, this ethnic may be set aside. In addition, two ethnics are lost, but probably not more: Kern 1900, 41 states that no further name seems lost after the last entry in each column. Hiller von Gaertringen in *Syll*^{3} 586 restored the Melians ([Μήλιο]ι) for the first lacuna (84) as they were neighbours of the Cimolians, also inscribed in 84, but this restoration seems rather adventurous. As noted above, the list is not geographically ordered. In addition, Kern dotted the ι he read. Even if it is accepted (rather than being, *eg*, the base of a T), alternative ethnics that might fit the lacuna include the Ietans (Ἰῆται) and Siphnians (Σίφνιοι). The Delians (Δήλιοι) are less plausible, as a Delian response is preserved in *IMagnesia* 49 (= Rigsby 1996, 236–237 99), but are also possible.

[320] Recent discussion placing this inscription in the second half of the second century: Fossey 1996.

[321] Following Robert 1963, 384.

[322] Not in Marek; Hiller restored the inscription to read: [T]ελ[ε]μησ[σε]ὺς. For [T]ελ[ε]μησ[σε]ὺς as a variant of Τελεμησσεὺς see Kock *CA* 1.534–535 = Meineke *FCG* 2.2 1159 ΤΕΛΜΗΣΗΣ I–II = fr 548 (Henderson), from Stephanus of Byzantium *Ethnica* s v Τελμησσός.

[323] Following Robert 1963, 382 for Olus, not Olynthius, Hiller von Gaertringen's suggestion in *IG*, with Klaffenbach confirming the reading on a squeeze. Note that Tataki 1998, 130 Olynthos 14 still includes this honorand among her Olynthians, noting that the reading is uncertain, as had Gude 1933, 40n17. Both scholars also date the inscription *c* 300.

Donor Ethnic	*Recipient Ethnic*	*#*	*Date*	*Name*	*Father*	*Source*
Anaphe	Telmessus	N	from 4th	Apollonius	Damo(n)i(cus)	*IG* XII.3 251.22–25[322]
Anaphe	Cnidus	3	200–150	Aristophanes	(Era)tosthenes	*IG* XII.3 252.11–13[324]
Anaphe	Lyttus	3	200–150	?	Nicagoras	*IG* XII.3 254[325]
Anaphe	Pholegandros	3	200–150	(L)ysitel(e)s	Di(oph)o(n)	*IG* XII.3 252.16–17[324]
Anaphe	Rhodes	3	200–150	Rhodocles	?	*IG* XII.3 252.1–4[326]
				…eon	?, by adoption Onosicrates	
Anaphe	Thera	3	200–150	An(dra)go(ras)	(Hyper)eides	*IG* XII.3 252.5–6[324]
Anaphe	Thera	3	200–150	Sotion	Sotion	*IG* XII.3 252.21–23[324]
Andros	Carystos	3	Early 2nd	…sopis	Tan(talus)	*IG* XII Suppl 248.D[327]
				…on	Conon	
				?	(Art)em(i)dorus	
				De…	?	
				(T)imophanes	E…	
Andros	Malla	3	Early 2nd	?	?	*IG* XII Suppl 248.B[327]
Andros	Babylon	3	3rd	Dromon	Phanodemus	*IG* XII.5 715[328]

[324] Hiller von Gaertringen in *IG* identifies a variety of different hands in this inscription, pointing to different occasions of inscription. These two Theran bestowals thus seem best kept separate as representing two chronologically distinct occasions.

[325] Robert 1962, 13–17 (= Robert 1969–1990, 2:1040–1044) plausibly argues for reading a reference to Attic new style coinage in the proxeny decree (32–33), which would date the decree at the earliest to the second century. Ager 1994, 2n4 prefers just the second century. Guarducci at *ICr* IV 296–298 197 and Rigsby 1996, 358–361 175 date the first decree on this stele to the first half of the second century. By the time of Rigsby's autopsy, the lower part of the stone, including the proxeny decree, had been slivered off and was lost, but see Robert 1962, 17n2 (= Robert 1969–1990, 2:1044n2) and Legrand 1892, 145 for the difference in hands, and Robert 1962, 17n3 (= Robert 1969–1990, 2:1044n3) for an insistence that the second decree must either be contemporary with or, more probably, postdate the first.

[326] Marek states 251, not 252.

[327] Republished by Petrocheilos 2004, 504–511, noting that at least three hands seem to have worked on the four inscriptions preserved here, and so that they were plausibly passed and carved within a few years of each other, but not at the same time: he suggests the early second century on historical grounds. Reger 1994d, 93 100 (Timophanes) follows Hiller von Gaertringen's date in *IG* of the second century.

Donor Ethnic	*Recipient Ethnic*	*#*	*Date*	*Name*	*Father*	*Source*
Andros	Magnesia on the Maeander	3	208	?	?	*IMagnesia* 50.77[329]
Aptera	Paros	N	2nd	Polycles	Amphichares	*ICr* II iii 10.A[330]
Arcesine, Amorgos	Alexandria	N	2nd	Aresa(nder)	Amphidamas	*IG* XII.7 41
Arcesine, Amorgos	Syracuse	N	?	Sosicra(tes)	?	*IG* XII.7 43[331]
Arcesine, Amorgos	Athens	1	*c* 357/6	Androtion	Andron	*IG* XII.7 5[332]
Arcesine, Amorgos	Rhethymno	1	4th	A(g)etimus	Ie…	*IG* XII.7 7[333]
Arcesine, Amorgos	Rhodes	1	end 4th	Agathostratus	Elpinicus	*IG* XII.7 8[334]
				Philion	Elpinicus	
				Hegemon	Elpinicus	
Arcesine, Amorgos	Rhodes	1	end 4th	Agathocl(es)	(Hegemo)n	*IG* XII.7 9[334]
Arcesine, Amorgos	Thera	1	4th	Epictetus	Callignotus	*IG* XII.7 6[335]
Arcesine, Amorgos	Acanthus	2	300–220	Pediarchus	Ca…	*IG* XII.7 15[336]

[328] Followed by Canali De Rossi 2004, 63–64 99; Schuler 2005, 393n34; Migeotte 2007b, 92n48; Rhodes 2007, 357n44; Reger 1994a, 311n11 argues for the third quarter by analogy with *IG* XII.5 714; Sherwin-White 1982, 68 for the third century, "more probably the second half", by analogy with Coan *asylia* decrees starting in 242.

[329] See 185n319.

[330] Date: Berranger-Auserve 2000, 66 v Πολυκλῆς.

[331] Neither Delamarre in *IG*, nor Ross 1834–1845, 2:38 144 offers a date.

[332] For recent discussions: Migeotte 1984, 166–168 48; Bielman 1994, 7–11 2; *Rhodes/Osborne* 248–253 51; further brief discussions at Marankou 2002–2005, 2:171 and Chaniotis 1988, 329 E34, both accepting the date.

[333] Following Brun 1996a, 172. Delamarre in *IG* allowed the possibility that it might alternatively be from the very beginning of the third century.

[334] Delamarre in *IG* argues that *IG* XII.7 9 was inscribed later than *IG* XII.7 11, and that *IG* XII.7 8 and 9 were contemporaneous, because inscribed by the same hand and the erection of the stele was explicitly the responsibility of the same magistrate. Sheedy 1996, 429 and Gabrielsen 1997, 79 both offer *c* 300; Brun 1996a, 172 states that *IG* XII.7 8 is almost contemporaneous with *IG* XII.7 7. Delamarre allowed the possibility that it might alternatively be from the very beginning of the third century.

[335] Following Brun 1996a, 172, who specifies either the second half or the end of the fourth century. Delamarre in *IG* allowed the possibility that it might alternatively be from the very beginning of the third century.

[336] Delamarre in *IG* is ambivalent, believing that the letter forms were only with difficulty datable after the middle of the third century, but that the reign of Doson ultimately provided the most plausible context for these inscriptions. In this analysis, he summarised his earlier discussion at Delamarre 1902a,

Donor Ethnic	*Recipient Ethnic*	*#*	*Date*	*Name*	*Father*	*Source*
Arcesine, Amorgos	Hermione	2	300–220	Nicias	Philagrus	*IG* XII.7 16[336]
Arcesine, Amorgos	Naxos	2	3rd	Glaucon	Archicles	*IG* XII.7 19
Arcesine, Amorgos	Magnesia on the Maeander	3	208	?	?	*IMagnesia* 50.78[337]
Arcesine, Amorgos	Rhodes	3	2nd	Deinocles Agesianax	Ph(lippus) Telesicrates	*IG* XII.7 31
Arsinoe (Coresia), Ceos	Magnesia on the Maeander	3	208	?	?	*IMagnesia* 50.77[338]
Astypalaea	Aegiale	3	start 2nd	(Heg)esis …aecus (Ca)l(l)imedon	Hagias Mantias …	*IG* XII.3 168.35–38[339]
Astypalaea	Anaphe	3	start 2nd	Philogron Stasigenes	Epigonus Aristopamon	*IG* XII.3 168.25–27[339]
Astypalaea	Arcesine	3	start 2nd	(P)olites …no(s) …es …es	Timocrates Attalos Acmon (S)ichon	*IG* XII.3 168.15–19[339]

308n1, where he also illustrates some of the divergent opinions held by scholars who have attempted to date these inscriptions (317–318). More recent work has not resolved this controversy; in particular, Marankou 2002–2005 does not include these inscriptions among the inscriptions she briefly discusses. Most important in this context is that Delamarre, both at Delamarre 1902a, 308n1 and in *IG*, insists that *IG* XII.7 15 and 16 were inscribed at the same time: not only were they inscribed by the same hand, but they visually form but a single inscription, with no margin separating them.

Tataki 1998, 42 Akanthos 9 prefers "1st quarter of the 3rd century" without further discussion; this is incompatible, however, with her reference to his activity as ambassador of Antigonus Doson; read perhaps either "3rd quarter" or "Antigonus Gonatas". For a recent discussion, see Reger 1994b, 58, although note that Delamarre does not opt for Doson on the grounds of palaeography, but after setting it aside in favour of other criteria (319).

337 See 185n319.

338 See 185n319.

339 Note the improved text at Peek 1969, 34–36 82. He finds no trace to support Hiller von Gaertringen's suggested restoration at *IG* XII *Suppl* 278 of [Ἀλεξανδρεῖς] at 61, or ἐξ Ἀ[θηνῶν] at 77, which additionally would be unparalleled as an ethnic in a proxeny decree. With Marek, these ethnics are, therefore, omitted.

Donor Ethnic	*Recipient Ethnic*	*#*	*Date*	*Name*	*Father*	*Source*
Astypalaea	Aspendus	3	start 2nd	Aphrodisius	Eremnes	*IG* XII.3 168.21–23[339]
				Apollonius	Philiscus	
Astypalaea	Assos	3	start 2nd	Apia…	?	*IG* XII.3 168.83–84[339]
Astypalaea	Halicarnassus	3	start 2nd	Eupolemus	Antigonus	*IG* XII.3 168.43–60[339]
				Aristocles	Menoetas	
				Artemes	Dionysodorus	
				Pythion	Bolon	
				Bolon	Patrocles	
				Eupolis	Pollis	
				Moschion	Olynpichus	
				Po(ly)cleitus	Polycrates	
				Ba(si)l(e)i(d)es	Onasiphon	
				(N)icaeus	Menecrates	
				Zeno(cles)	Samiades	
				Herocles	Menecles	
				Amyntas	Amyntas	
				(P)ythio(n)	Poseidotus	
				(Athe)nip(pu)s	(Th)euporus	
				Theu(porus)	Athenippus	
				Di(oc)les	Antigenes	
Astypalaea	Cnidus	4	*c* 100	Aristocrates	Arstomedes	Peek 1969, 45–47 97 IV[340]
				Telesippus	Iasicles	
				Timaeus	Timaeus	
				Menecles	Callippus	
				Heraeon	Cleon	
				Sostratus	Sosisthenes	
				Theaedetus	Telesandridas	
				Epigonus	Antigonus	

Donor Ethnic	*Recipient Ethnic*	*#*	*Date*	*Name*	*Father*	*Source*
				Hiarocles	Hieron	
				Exacestus	Cleon	
				(Ph)ilon	Philon	
Astypalaea	Cos	4	*c* 100	A…enes	Dracon	Peek 1969, 45–47 97 III[340]
				O…	Philinus	
				P…s	Temenus	
				M…s	Dagetus	
				Aglaus	Theucles	
				Althaemenes	Herippidas	
				Aceratus	Philistus	
				Nebridas	Nicias	
				Philistus	Nicarchus	
				Praxilas	Menetidas	
				Cleinus	Aeschylus	
				Cleuchios	Cleisag(or)as	
				Mandrogenes	Ma(ndriu)s	
				Philiscus	Moschi...	
Astypalaea	Rhodes	4	before *c* 80	Polycles	?	Maiuri, *NS* 19–29 18[341]

[340] Not in Marek. Peek suggests that this inscription might be a continuation of *IG* XII.3 168, and indicates that the script at least in column III is more recent than the middle of the second century, the date which he believes a brief prosopographical analysis (presumably focussing on Aglaus, son of Theocles) would suggest. Both observations suggest that he thought that the inscription was compatible with a date around *c* 100. Peek's prosopographical discussion revolved round Aglaus, son of Theocles (III.6), who Peek identifies with the Aglaus, son of Theocles also honoured on Delos (*ID* 1517), as on Paros (Despinis 1965), and now also Naxos (Casa 2010), although perhaps not Lebena (Magnelli 1994, 47n70). Two Aglauses are now identified, not one: one honoured on Delos in the middle of the second century, and a homonymous grandfather active at the end of the third century. On the careers of the two Aglauses and their differentiation, see Despinis 1965, 125–131; Habicht 2000a, 295–298; Criscuolo 2001, 331–333; Casa 2010, 216–219, together with Criscuolo 2001, 331–333, identifying the grandson as possibly mentioned in Egypt in 147/146. Rather than following Peek, it is thus perhaps tentatively wiser to identify the Aglaus here as a fifth generation of the family, the grandson of the Aglaus honoured on Delos, Naxos, and Paros, and great-grandson of the earlier Aglaus. This conjecture might also explain why the Astypalaeans apparently did recognise this Aglaus as a *proxenos*, unlike Delos, Naxos, and Paros. Hallof 1997, 97n2 supports Peek's restoration of Cos as the ethnic in III.1. On Cos: 195n361.

Donor Ethnic	*Recipient Ethnic*	*#*	*Date*	*Name*	*Father*	*Source*
Astypalaea	Naxos	N	?	Eudamos	?	Peek 1969, 47 98.II.12–14[342]
Athens	Andros	1	338/7	Dracontides Hegesias	(A)mphoterus Stes(agor)as	*IG* II^2 238[343]
Athens	Andros	1	332/1	Anphis	Di…	*IG* II^2 347[344]
Athens	Delos	1	369/8	Pythodorus	Heraeppus	*ID* 88.1–27[345]
Athens	Delos	1	363/2	?	?	*ID* 88.28–37[345]
Athens	Iulis, Ceos	1	363/2	Aesion	?	*IG* II^2 111[346]
Athens	Tenos	1	307/6	Callistago(ras) Pant(aenus	(I)s(agor)as (S)phodrias	*IG* II^2 466[347]
Carthaea, Ceos	Aegina	1	4th	?	?	*IG* XII.5 542.24[348]
Carthaea, Ceos	Aenus	1	4th	(P)ython	Heracleideus	*IG* XII.5 542.23–24[348]
Carthaea, Ceos	Andros	1	4th	Stratius	Noumenius	*IG* XII.5 542.b.3–7[348]

[341] With corrections at Pugliese Carratelli 1939, 182n3. Date: because identified as an admiral in campaigns against Mithridates; followed by Hiller von Gaertringen 1926, 196–197, Gauthier 1975–1976, 341 and universally; how far the award of proxeny to the honorand preceded the erection of this decree by his grandchildren is unclear. For a discussion of the historical context: Ruscu 2000, 126–127.

[342] Not in Marek. Peek notes the similarity between this inscription and the lists inscribed in *IG* XII.3 168. Unlike for Peek 1969, 45–47 97, however, he does not suggest a chronological connexion. Over twenty names are preserved on this fragment but the only surviving ethnic is that of Naxos, on the antepenultimate line.

[343] Republished, and date restated by Schwenk 1985, 13–17 2.

[344] Republished by Schwenk 1985, 192–195 38; date restated and recent bibliography at Lambert 2006, 132; the results of autopsy at Lambert 2008, 64–68 2, building on his republication of fragment c at Lambert 2002, 117–118n5b.

[345] More extensive discussion at Durrbach 1921–1923, 10–12 10 and, more recently, Tuplin 2005, 54–55.

[346] Mendoni 2007, 538 4. Republished, and date restated: Dreher 1989, Guagliumi 2003, and Dössel 2003, 147–158; see also *Rhodes/Osborne* 196–203 39. For a recent detailed reconstruction of the circumstances surrounding this inscription, see Guagliumi 2005; for a discussion in English: *Rhodes/Osborne* 196–203 39.

[347] Étienne 1990, 176. Recent discussion: Reger 1992.

[348] Loukopoulou, et al 2005, 106 TE59 follows Hiller's epigraphic date of the fourth century. Brun 1989, 125 prefers the middle of the fourth century in keeping with the identifications especially of Athenians by Hiller von Gaertringen and others, as does Étienne 1990, 179. As argued above, 176n311, *pace* Marek, Stratius is the name of the Andrian *proxenos*, not the ethnic of a man from Stratus; and the geographical order of the inscription argues that the son of Thrasueas is from Chalcis, not Chalcedum, and Gnathius the name of a *proxenos* of unknown origin, not the ethnic of a *proxenos* from Gnathia in Apulia.

Donor Ethnic	*Recipient Ethnic*	*#*	*Date*	*Name*	*Father*	*Source*
Carthaea, Ceos	Athens	1	4th	(Theoz)otides	Nico(stratus)	*IG* XII.5 542.35–44[348]
				?	?	
				?	?	
				Hieronymus	?	
				?	?	
				Democrates	Menippus	
				?	?	
				Ch…	?	
				…(i)ppus	Hippo(c)rates	
				(Nicias)	Euctaeus	
				A(ph)a(r)eu(s)	Isocrates	
				Aristophon	Aristophanes	
Carthaea, Ceos	Chalcis	1	4th	?	(Th)rasueas	*IG* XII.5 542.10[348]
Carthaea, Ceos	Cius	1	4th	?	?	*IG* XII.5 542.58[348]
Carthaea, Ceos	Cnidus	1	4th	?	?	*IG* XII.5 542.26[348]
Carthaea, Ceos	Corinth	1	4th	?	?	*IG* XII.5 542.14[348]
Carthaea, Ceos	Cyphanta	1	4th	?	?	*IG* XII.5 542.21[348]
Carthaea, Ceos	Cyzicus	1	4th	?	Theomnestus	*IG* XII.5 542.54–55[348]
				?	?	
Carthaea, Ceos	Delos	1	4th	?	Phillis	*IG* XII.5 542.48[348]
Carthaea, Ceos	Epidaurus	1	4th	…ocus	Euarch(us)	*IG* XII.5 542.15–16[348]
				?	?	
Carthaea, Ceos	Epidaurus in Laconia	1	4th	?	?	*IG* XII.5 542.22[348]
Carthaea, Ceos	Eretria	1	4th	?	?	*IG* XII.5 542.8[348]
Carthaea, Ceos	Heracleia	1	4th	?	?	*IG* XII.5 542.33[348]
Carthaea, Ceos	Larisa in Phthiotia	1	4th	?	?	*IG* XII.5 542.32[348]
Carthaea, Ceos	Lebedea	1	4th	?	?	*IG* XII.5 542.25[348]

Donor Ethnic	*Recipient Ethnic*	*#*	*Date*	*Name*	*Father*	*Source*
Carthaea, Ceos	Maroneia	1	4th	?	?	*IG* XII.5 542.b.1–2[348]
Carthaea, Ceos	Melos	1	4th	?	Demetrius	*IG* XII.5 542.30[348]
Carthaea, Ceos	Pellana in Laconia	1	4th	?	?	*IG* XII.5 542.20–21[348]
Carthaea, Ceos	Proconnesus	1	4th	?	Andrippus	*IG* XII.5 542.57–58[348]
Carthaea, Ceos	Seriphos	1	4th	?	?	*IG* XII.5 542.47[348]
Carthaea, Ceos	Sparta	1	4th	?	?	*IG* XII.5 542.18[348]
Carthaea, Ceos	Syros	1	4th	?	?	*IG* XII.5 542.45[348]
				?	…ophon	
Carthaea, Ceos	Tenedus	1	4th	?	?	*IG* XII.5 542.49–52[348]
				Arizelus	Athen…	
				?	(S)camandrophilus	
				?	?	
Carthaea, Ceos	Tenos	1	4th	?	Timodicus	*IG* XII.5 542.44[348]
Carthaea, Ceos	Thebes	1	4th	?	?	*IG* XII.5 542.27[348]
Carthaea, Ceos	Abydus	2	3rd	?	?	*IG* XII.5 1073.17
Carthaea, Ceos	Aegae	2	3rd	?	-enes	*IG* XII.5 1073.18
Carthaea, Ceos	Argos Amphilochia	2	3rd	?	?	*IG* XII.5 1073.23
Carthaea, Ceos	Axus	2	3rd	?	?	*IG* XII.5 1073.15[349]
Carthaea, Ceos	Chalcis	2	3rd	?	?	*IG* XII.5 1073.24[350]
Carthaea, Ceos	Cnidus	2	3rd	?	?	*IG* XII.5 1072.II[352]
Carthaea, Ceos	Coresia, Ceos	2	300–250	Theophantides	(Pr)odicus	*IG* XII.5 1063[351]
Carthaea, Ceos	Cyzicus	2	3rd	?	?	*IG* XII.5 1072 I[352]

[349] The discussion at Mendoni 1990, 298–299 recognising another fragment of the stone bearing *IG* XII.5 1072 and *IG* XII.5 1073 in the fragment bearing *IG* II^2 2455 does not affect the date.

[350] Reger 1994d, 95 127, following Hiller von Gaertringen's date in *IG*.

[351] Date: not explicit in *IG*, but on the same anta as *IG* XII.5 1063, which dates to the first half of the third century.

Donor Ethnic	*Recipient Ethnic*	*#*	*Date*	*Name*	*Father*	*Source*
Carthaea, Ceos	Halicarnassus	2	3rd	?	?	*IG* XII.5 1073.25
Carthaea, Ceos	Lampsacus	2	3rd	?	?	*IG* XII.5 1073.20
Carthaea, Ceos	Macedonia	2	3rd	?	?	*IG* XII.5 1073.19
Carthaea, Ceos	Malis	2	300–250	Philotherus	Antiphanes	*IG* XII.5 1066[353]
Carthaea, Ceos	Syracuse	2	3rd	?	?	*IG* XII.5 1073.21
Carthaea, Ceos	Thessalians	2	3rd	?	?	*IG* XII.5 1073.26[354]
Carthaea, Ceos	Tricca	2	3rd	?	?	*IG* XII.5 1073.22
Carthaea, Ceos	Athens	3	300–250	Cleomelus	Cleoboulus	*IG* XII.5 528[355]
Carthaea, Ceos	Magnesia on the Maeander	3	208	?	?	*IMagnesia* 50.80[356]
Chios	Andros	1	end 4th	Pythodorus Myrtias Cleodorus	Pythippus Idnadus Cleunicus	Hunt 1940, 45–46[357]

[352] The discussion at Mendoni 1990, 298–299 recognising another fragment of the stone bearing *IG* XII.5 1072 and *IG* XII.5 1073 in the fragment bearing *IG* II^2 2455 does not affect the date. Marek does not include the Cnidian decree, recognised both by Hiller von Gaertringen in *IG* and by Graindor 1906b, 101–102 21.

[353] Date from Graindor 1907a, 98–103 2, where he published two additional fragments. In his earlier publication, *IG* XII.5 533, Hiller von Gaertringen had not specified beyond the third century.

[354] Hiller von Gaertringen in *IG* reconstructs space for a *polis* of origin, but only the ethnic survives.

[355] Hiller von Gaertringen in *IG* originally dated this inscription to the end of the third century in part because of the letter forms of another inscription that he believed referred to the same events (*IG* XII.5 538), but, after the publication of additional fragments by Graindor 1907a, 103 3, Hiller von Gaertringen revised his dating at *IG* XII.5 *Suppl* 319 528. The date at Guarducci 1935, 504–506 seems based on Hiller von Gaertringen's original date in *IG*. Brun 1989, 526 dates the decree to the middle of the fourth century, following an earlier date based on historical context offered by Wilamowitz, and justifies this date by pointing to Michel's acceptance of the date in Michel 1900, 307 403. Michel, however, pre-dates Hiller's edition in *IG*, does not justify his date, and, in the absence of autopsy, was probably merely following the then *communis opinio*.

[356] See 185n319.

[357] With the readings proposed by Dunst 1960, 38–39. Date: Hunt 1940, 45–46 argues for *c* 300, followed by Kontoleon 1949, Dunst 1960, 38–39, Hamon 1999, 190 and still by Errington 2006, 139, all preferring the end of the fourth century; Heisserer 1980, 111–117 argues for a slightly earlier date, *c* 315, in his analysis of Chiot letter forms at the end of the fourth century. On the difficulties involved in using letter forms to make these fine distinctions, see 172n306.

Donor Ethnic	*Recipient Ethnic*	*#*	*Date*	*Name*	*Father*	*Source*
				Theogenes	Archagoridus	
				Theotimus	Ricon	
Chios	Astypalaea	1	?4th	Dius	Heroxenus	Vanseveren 1937, 325–332
				(D)iogenes	Moiragenes	6A.14–16[358]
Chios	Naxos	1	end 4th	Epigenides	Hegesimachus	Hunt 1940, 45–46[357]
				Sosilos	Hippolytus	
				Xeno(ph)antus	(A)rcheleus	
				Eochares	Eostratus	
				Sopolis	Sosias	
Chios	Tenos	1	?4th	Hipponicus	Metrodorus	Vanseveren 1937, 325–332 6A.19–20[358]
Cimolos	Carystos	2	250–220	Charianthus	Aristagoras	Jacobsen and Smith 1968[359]
Cimolos	Magnesia on the Maeander	3	208	?	?	*IMagnesia* 50.84[360]
Cos	Naxos	2	*c* 280	Xanthippus	?	*OGIS* 43[361]
				(Cal)lippides	Phocion	
				Philistus	Aretapha(nes)	
				(Na)siotas	Nasiotas	

[358] Date from Vanseveren 1937; some indirect support for his date at Swinnen 1970, as also at Errington 2006, 139.

[359] Jacobsen and Smith 1968 here republishes *IG* XII.9 44 with a new fragment, and, preferring not to choose between the later years of Antigonus Gonatas' reign, and that of Antigonus Doson, dates the decree to a long third quarter of the third century. Kontoleon 1972, 5–9 argues for the immediate aftermath of Antigonus' Doson's reconstitution of the Hellenic League in 224.

[360] See 185n319.

[361] Date and new text including three fragments published for the first time at Crowther 1999, 257–266 2, with a summary of previous editions and discussions at 258; republished also as *IG* XII.4.1 135; previous important discussions include Holleaux 1938, 3:27–37 and Segre 1993, 90–91 ED 129, both offering approximately the same date. Coan epigraphy and history has recently undergone systematic reconsideration in the context of the project to publish a new edition of Coan inscriptions to replace the edition which Segre was prevented from completing; see, among the many articles published, mostly in *Chiron*: Habicht 2000a; Habicht 2000b; Habicht 2007.

Donor Ethnic	*Recipient Ethnic*	*#*	*Date*	*Name*	*Father*	*Source*
				Deinarchus	Timaethus	
Cythnos	Magnesia on the Maeander	3	208	?	?	*IMagnesia* 50.82[362]
Cythnos	Messene	3	start 2nd	Damophon	Philippus	Themelis 1998 100–120[363]
Delos	Alexandria	N	?	Ptolemaeus	?	*IG* XI.4 742[364]
Delos	Paros	N	2nd	Prosthenes	Praxicles	*IG* XI.4 841[365]
Delos	Athens	1	end 4th	Antiphon	Theodorus	*ID* 74.1–16[366]

[362] See 185n319.

[363] These decrees form part of a dossier of seven on two parts of an inscribed column excavated at Messene. Only the Cythnian decree (the fifth) and that from Lycosoura seem so far to have been published. Themelis does not directly date the inscription beyond referring to it as part of a second century monument. He does, however, envisage Damophon as active on Cythnos between 190 and 183/2, consider 190 a *terminus ante quem* for the decree from Lycosoura at Themelis 1993, 103 and Themelis 1996, 170, and envisage Damophon's *floruit* as between falling somewhere between 214 and 182 (Themelis 1996, 171), all of which allows the Melian decree also to be placed in the late third or early second century, unless this decree also involves his sons also (as Themelis 1988, 79 suggested some did), in which case a slightly later date is possible. *Cf* the slightly earlier date for Damophon, in the last quarter of the third century, maintained by Torelli 1998. For an overview of the broader evidence for Damophon: Themelis 1996, including discussion of the dossier at 168–169, and mention of the Cythnian decree at 176.

[364] Baslez 1982b, 4:28 162. Roussel in *IG* could not find the decree; Homolle 1878, 328–329 did not offer a date. Tréheux 1992b suggests the start of the second century with a question mark.

[365] Baslez 1982b, 4:28 161, specifying the first half of the second century. Date here from Roussel in *IG*, followed by Tréheux 1992b and Berranger-Auserve 2000, 67 v Προσθένης, who state the second century without further precision; Fougères 1889, 239 10 does not offer a date in his initial edition.

[366] Baslez 1982b, 4:11 21; where she considers the date of this decree unclear because of her rejection of Roussel's argument (at Holleaux 1907a, 345–349) from the presence of Chaerites' demotic that the decree is hence to be dated to the period of Athenian control. Nevertheless, Baslez is perhaps overcautious: we may not be able to decide whether the inscription dates before or after Delian 'independence', but Baslez does not call into question Roussel's firm judgement that the letters date earlier than 301 (349), and this judgement does allow an approximate chronological date for Charites' decree and so also for Antiphon's to stand. In addition, *ID* 74 only mentions the Delians in its motivation clause, as was the norm under the Delian amphictyony ("ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός ἐστιν περὶ Δηλίους" *vel sim*), but not the norm during 'independence', where both sanctuary and the Delians were usually mentioned ("ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός ἐστιν περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Δηλίων" *vel sim*): see Vial 1984, 92. Even allowing for Tréheux's justified recognition that Delian epigraphic habit evolved, rather than abruptly changing in 314 (Tréheux 1959, 1:15), this divergence also supports a date in the fourth century.
Note that the two honorands mentioned in *ID* 74 are here treated as separate because Antiphon is honoured in a separate clause at the end of the inscription, and Roussel is adamant that this additional clause honouring Antiphon is "manifestement une addition", with far larger letters that are more separated. Two separate occasions of inscription are thus involved, and, plausibly, two separate occasions of proxeny bestowal. Note that Antiphon is described as the

Donor Ethnic	*Recipient Ethnic*	*#*	*Date*	*Name*	*Father*	*Source*
Delos	Athens	1	end 4th	Chaerites	Polymedes	*ID* 74.16–21[367]
Delos	Athens	1	*c* 340	Callias	Callippus	*ID* 75[368]
Delos	Byzantium	1	end 4th	Adeimantus	?	*IG* XI.4 510[369]
Delos	Citium	1	end 4th	Heliodorus	…Cleides	*IG* XI.4 512[370]
Delos	Halicarnassus	1	end 4th	Phanostratus	Heracleides	*IG* XI.4 528[371]
Delos	Ios	1	*c* 340	Aretacles	Glyconidas	*ID* 76[372]
Delos	Melos	1	end 4th	Diodotus	Cleophorbus	*IG* XI.4 513[373]

ἀδελφόν of Chaerites, even though they have different patronymics. Roussel suggests that one has been adopted; alternatively, it could be being used in an extended sense for kinsman or a member of the same college.

367 Baslez 1982b, 4:11 46; for further discussion of the date and why Chaerites is treated separately from Antiphon, see 196n366.

368 Date from Durrbach 1921–1923, 12–14 11, offering the second half of the fourth century as a rough date, and specifying *c* 340 in his discussion; Roussel 1907, 347–349 5 similarly dated the inscription epigraphically in the early part of the second half of the fourth century. Plassart in *ID* preferred the end of the fourth century, but Tréheux 1992b and Baslez 1982b exclude Callias from their studies of foreigners on Delos during the years of 'independence', and so may implicitly support Durrbach and Roussel's earlier date. On the intricacies of Delian fourth century history, see 254n707; for an interpretation of the changing relationship between Delos and the sanctuary that does not depend on these intricacies, Appendix 6. Delian 'independence', 315/314, and *ID* 104-30, 450, especially 489, and, for the analogy with developments at Delphi and Olympia, 490n1076.

369 Baslez 1982b, 4:9 1, following Roussel in *IG*, as does Tréheux 1992b.

370 Baslez 1982b, 4:19 79, preferring not to specify beyond the fourth to third centuries. Date from Tréheux 1992b. Roussel in *IG* suggested the end of the fourth century or start of the third century. Reconsideration of text with same date as Roussel in *IG* at Yon 2004, 170.

371 Date from Baslez 1982b, 4:25 137, and Tréheux 1992b, both preferring the very end of the fourth century, Baslez by reference to Phanostratus' victory in Athens in 307/6. Roussel in *IG* had suggested the start of the third century.

372 Date from Durrbach 1921–1923, 14 12, followed by Tréheux 1992b, offering the second half of the fourth century as a rough date, and specifying that the inscription was epigraphically similar to *ID* 75 in his discussion. Noting that there was no space for this *archon* after 314, Durrbach suggested that the decree could easily date to a period of 'independence' *c* 340, perhaps in the context of the Delian appeal commonly dated to 345 (although see Engels 1993, 78–83 for a restatement of 343), or even in the immediate aftermath of Chaeronea. Plassart in *ID* preferred the end of the fourth century without resolving the difficulty with the *archon* list, but Tréheux 1992b explicitly returns to Durrbach's suggestion. Baslez 1982b may also implicitly support a date before Delian 'independence' in 314 by her exclusion of Aretacles from her prosopography, which deals solely with foreigners on Delos during the years of 'independence'. On the intricacies of Delian fourth century history, see 254n707; for an interpretation of the changing relationship between Delos and the sanctuary that does not depend on these intricacies, Appendix 6. Delian 'independence', 315/314, and *ID* 104-30, 450, especially 489, and, for the analogy with developments at Delphi and Olympia, 490n1076.

373 Baslez 1982b, 4:16 57, preferring the start of the third century; Tréheux 1992b follows Roussel in *IG*.

Donor Ethnic	*Recipient Ethnic*	*#*	*Date*	*Name*	*Father*	*Source*
Delos	Miletus	1	4th	Athenodorus	Theodorus	*ID* 78
Delos	Salamis	1	late 4th	Nicocreon	Pnytagoras?	*IG* XI.2 199.B.87[374]
Delos	Salamis	1	mid 4th	Pnytagoras		*ID* 1409.B.a.II.113–114[375]
Delos	Abydus	2	300–250	Hellanicus	Telauges	*IG* XI.4 517[376]
Delos	Acarnanians	2	start 3rd	Rachas	Antio…	*IG* XI.4 519[377]
Delos	Aetolian (Melitaea)	2	250–200	Gennadas	Lycon	*IG* XI.4 643[378]
Delos	Alexandria	2	mid 3rd	S…	?	*IG* XI.4 650[379]
Delos	Alexandria	2	mid 3rd	?	?	*IG* XI.4 670[380]

[374] This section of *IG* XI.2 199.B.87 contains the inventory for 274. Nicocreon was identified already by Durrbach with the late fourth century king of Salamis who reigned from either 333 or 332 for an unknown length rather than a possible unknown homonymous successor. Baslez 1982b, 4:24 129 offers 332 to 318 for Nicocreon's reign, but does not explicitly offer a date for the award; Marek 1984, 250–251 argues for before 314; Tréheux 1992b argues for before he ascended the throne in *c* 332/1 as he is not called βασιλεὺς, as was the norm in Delian epigraphy when referring to kings. As Pnytagoras is also not called king in *ID* 1409, however, this argument cannot be decisive. Nicocreon is often considered the successor and also son of Pnytagoras, the king of Salamis mentioned at *ID* 1409.B.a.II.113–114, although Pouilloux 1973, 400 is here more circumspect than many.

[375] *ID* 1409 contains accounts of the Athenian treasurers inventory soon after 167/166. Pnytagoras was identified with the late fourth century king of Salamis who reigned for an unknown length until either 333 or 332 rather than a possible unknown homonymous successor already by Roussel. Baslez 1982b, 4:27 153 offers 350/349 to 332 for Pnytagoras' reign, but does not offer an explicit date for the award; Tréheux 1992b argues for before he ascended the throne ("350/49") as he is not called βασιλεὺς, as was the norm in Delian epigraphy when referring to kings. As Nicocreon is also not called king in *IG* XI.2 199, however, this argument cannot be decisive. Often considered the predecessor and also father of Pnytagoras, the king of Salamis mentioned in *IG* XI.2 199 B 87, although Pouilloux 1973, 400 is here more circumspect than many.

[376] Baslez 1982b, 4:19 81, accepting Roussel's date in *IG*; Tréheux 1992b prefers the first third of the third century.

[377] Baslez 1982b, 4:64 345, following Roussel's date, as does Tréheux 1992b. Baslez does not include Rachas in her list of *proxenoi*, - although she does confidently reconstruct proxeny as among his honours, - but they are explicitly awarded on the stone (12).

[378] Baslez 1982b, 4:18 76, preferring before 239, ostensibly because of the identification of the honorand (already by Pomtow in *Syll*^{3} 444 [= *CID* IV, 173–174 59]) with the Gennadas mentioned as an Aetolian there and dated by Flacelière 1937, 470–471 58 to *c* 240–239. Given the apparent rarity of the name, Flacelière 1937, 199–200 may be justified in arguing that this decree (now dated by Lefèvre in *CID* IV, 24 to the 240s) indicates that the Aetolian League had expanded to Melitaea by the time that *CID* IV, 173–174 59 was inscribed, but it does not follow that *IG* XI.4 643 need be dated prior to *CID* IV, 173–174 59. Tréheux 1992b follows Roussel's date in *IG*.

[379] Baslez 1982b, 4:29 172, preferring a little after 250.

[380] Baslez 1982b, 4:31 184, following Roussel's date in *IG*.

Donor Ethnic	*Recipient Ethnic*	*#*	*Date*	*Name*	*Father*	*Source*
Delos	Amphipolis	2	start 3rd	Thersagoras	Athamas	*IG* XI.4 1349[381]
Delos	Andros	2	300–250	Demoteles	Aeschylus	*IG* XI.4 544[382]
Delos	Antiochea (Alabanda)	2	mid 3rd	Artemidorus	Menyllus	*IG* XI.4 600[383]
Delos	*Apollonia*	2	mid 3rd	?	?	*IG* XI.4 667[384]
Delos	Aradus	2	300–250	Platon	Zenon	*IG* XI.4 601[385]
Delos	Argos	2	300–250	Thrasymachus	?	*IG* XI.4 546[386]
Delos	Athens	2	start 3rd	Telesinus	?	*IG* XI.4 514[387]
Delos	Athens	2	start 3rd	Callias	Thymochares	*IG* XI.4 527[388]

[381] Baslez 1982b, 4:30 178, preferring the first half of the second century; Tréheux 1992b follows Roussel in *IG*. Roussel does not explicitly offer a date in *IG*, but the letter forms are compared to those of *IG* XI.4 527, which is dated to the start of the 3rd. As Baslez does not explain the change of date, it may perhaps be an editorial slip ("IIème" for "IIIème").

[382] Baslez 1982b, 4:61 316, preferring before 250, and, unlike Tréheux and Marek, not reconstructing proxeny among his honours. Tréheux 1992b prefers 290–280. Also Durrbach 1921–1923, 37–38 30; date followed by Chaniotis 1988, 334 E 53.

[383] Baslez 1982b, 4:13 34, preferring 260–250. Date from Robert 1973, 436, who connects the proposer of this decree, Menes, with the Menes mentioned in various inscriptions dated between 267 and 240 as renter of a house, as he had also been by Roussel in *IG*, although Roussel offered no explicit date; Tréheux 1992b follows Robert. For the identification of Antiochea: Robert 1973, especially 458–460.

[384] Baslez 1982b, 4:31 187, preferring after 250. Date followed by Cabanes 1995, 82–83 314.

[385] Baslez 1982b, 4:63 338, preferring the start of the third century, and, unlike Tréheux and Marek, not reconstructing proxeny among his honours. Tréheux 1992b prefers the middle of the third century.

[386] Baslez 1982b, 4:30 180, following Roussel's date in *IG*, as does Tréheux 1992b.

[387] Baslez 1982b, 4:29 173, preferring to date the inscription "IIIe siècle (avant 261?)". Tréheux 1992b follows Roussel in *IG*. Also Durrbach 1921–1923, 23–24 16; date followed by Kotsidu 2000, 197–198 123, where also a German translation, as also by Marcadé 1969, 62. The ethnic is not preserved, but Telesinus is here recorded as making statues and so was plausibly identified by Roussel (in Hatzfeld and Roussel 1910, 391 31) with the Telesinus of Athens whose signature survives on a base in the Agora of the Competeliasts, which Roussel there dates to the beginning of the third century, rather than, with Baslez, to the end.

[388] Baslez 1982b, 4:20 94, specifying between 287 and 270. Tréheux 1992b follows Roussel's date in *IG*. Baslez is not explicit whether she derives the *terminus post quem* from a belief that the decree must postdate his 'liberation' of Athens (most recently dated to 286, not 287), or that it must fall during the commonly reconstructed period of Ptolemaic hegemony in the Aegean starting approximately at that date. On the argument followed here that proxeny does

Donor Ethnic	*Recipient Ethnic*	*#*	*Date*	*Name*	*Father*	*Source*
Delos	Athens	2	start 3rd	Polycrates	Pythocritus	*IG* XI.4 540[389]
Delos	Athens	2	300–250	Theophilus	Demetrius	*IG* XI.4 558[390]
Delos	Athens	2	270–250	Menalces	(Speuso)n(?)	*IG* XI.4 575[391]
Delos	Athens	2	300–250	Diophanes	Calli…	*IG* XI.4 579[392]
Delos	Athens	2	mid 3rd	Nicomachus	Hierocles	*IG* XI.4 638[393]
Delos	Athens	2	250–200	?	?	*IG* XI.4 669[394]
Delos	Byzantium	2	mid 3rd	Agasicles	Leontiscus	*IG* XI.4 530[395]
				Phocritus	Leontiscus	
Delos	Byzantium	2	mid 3rd	Euactes	Teisander	*IG* XI.4 570[396]
Delos	Byzantium	2	300–250	Dionysius	(Hie)ronymus	*IG* XI.4 627[397]
Delos	Canusium	2	241–232	Bouzus	Orteiras	*IG* XI.4 642[398]

involve a specifically transcivic context, and we believe that service with Ptolemy would have disconnected him from Athens during the period of Demetrius Poliorcetes' supremacy there, the decree should date either post-286 or prior to his entry into Ptolemaic service. Vial 1984, 133 states 282.

389 Baslez 1982b, 4:27 155, preferring *c* 300. Tréheux 1992b follows Roussel's date in *IG*.

390 Baslez 1982b, 4:30 177, preferring *c* 280. Tréheux 1992b follows Roussel's date in *IG*.

391 Baslez 1982b, 4:23 113, following Roussel's date in *IG*, as does Tréheux 1992b. Patronymic restored by Roussel after the Menalces, son of Speuson, known at Delphi in *CID* IV, 157–158 48 (= Nachtergael 1977, 416–419 8 and *SGDI* 2564) and *CID* IV, 158–159 49 (= *FDelphes* III 4.361 and Nachtergael 1977, 432–433 19).

392 Baslez 1982b, 4:17 64, accepting Roussel's date in *IG*, as does Tréheux 1992b.

393 Baslez 1982b, 4:24 130, preferring *c* 260. Tréheux 1992b follows Roussel's date in *IG*.

394 Baslez 1982b, 4:31 186, preferring after 250. Tréheux 1992b follows Roussel's date in *IG*.

395 Baslez 1982b, 4:9 3 (Agasicles) and 4:27 150 (Phocritus); they are not explicitly named as brothers but share one patronymic. Date from Robert at Firatli and Robert 1964, 188–189 and Tréheux 1992b. Baslez dates Agasicles shortly after 250, Phocritus *c* 225, without explaining the difference. Roussel in *IG* had suggested the first half of the third century.

396 Baslez 1982b, 4:17 69, accepting Roussel's date in *IG*, as does Tréheux 1992b.

397 Baslez 1982b, 4:16 60, accepting Roussel's date in *IG*, as does Tréheux 1992b. Also Durrbach 1921–1923, 57–58 46. Casson 1954, 174 prefers "the early part of the 3rd century B.C.", but Fantasia 1989, 49 follows Roussel's date in *IG*. Roussel and Tréheux suggest [Ἰε]ρῳνύμου, Baslez, presumably not reading the P, [Κλε]ῳνύμου.

Donor Ethnic	*Recipient Ethnic*	*#*	*Date*	*Name*	*Father*	*Source*
Delos	Carthaea, Ceos	2	300–250	Phanagoras	Phaenippus	*IG* XI.4 592[399]
Delos	Carystos	2	start 3rd	Menestratus	Theopha(ntus)	*IG* XI.4 516[400]
Delos	Carystos	2	300–250	Asclepiodorus	Craton	*IG* XI.4 605[401]
Delos	Carystos	2	250–200	?	?	*IG* XI.4 673[402]
Delos	Cassandreia	2	mid 3rd	?	…asmus	*IG* XI.4 663[403]
Delos	Ceos	2	230–220	Archippus	Polychares	*IG* XI.4 693[404]
Delos	Chalcedum	2	300–250	Heracleitus	…rus	*IG* XI.4 618[405]
Delos	Chalcedum	2	240–230	Callon	Heracleides	*IG* XI.4 645[406]
Delos	Chalcis	2	300–250	Philocleides	Philocles	*IG* XI.4 567[407]
Delos	Chalcis	2	260–250	(Para)monos	Demetrius	*IG* XI.4 615[408]
Delos	Chalcis	2	mid 3rd	Aeschylus	?	*IG* XI.4 640[409]

[398] Baslez 1982b, 4:14 45, accepting Roussel's date in *IG*. Tréheux 1992b prefers 240 to 230. Also Chelotti, Grelle, and Pani 1990, 258–259 App I, 1, also accepting Roussel's date, and offering parallels for Bouzos and Orteiras as Messapian names; Marasco 1988, 139 prefers to date the inscription only to the second half of the third century.

[399] Baslez 1982b, 4:25 136, preferring *c* 250, and Mendoni 2007, 549 78, preferring not to specify beyond the third century. Tréheux 1992b follows Roussel's date in *IG*.

[400] Baslez 1982b, 4:23 115, and Reger 1994d, 91 68, both preferring *c* 280, as does Tréheux 1992b.

[401] Baslez 1982b, 4:13 37, and Reger 1994d, 87 23, both accepting Roussel's date in *IG*, as does Tréheux 1992b.

[402] Baslez 1982b, 4:31 188, preferring after 250, and Reger 1994d, 95 117, preferring the middle of the third century.

[403] Baslez 1982b, 4:31 189, preferring *c* 250. Tréheux 1992b follows Roussel's date in *IG*, as also Alexander 1970, 134n26 and Tataki 1998, 97 Cassandreia 99.

[404] Baslez 1982b, 4:12 26, and Mendoni 2007, 540 14, both accepting Roussel's date in *IG*, as does Tréheux 1992b. Date still accepted by Samama 2003, 204 107, where also a french translation. Roussel in *IG* maintained this date despite knowing that *IG* XII.5 820 preserved honours from the Tenians for a homonymous honorand and his brother, and was epigraphically dated to the early second century, and despite disliking Demoulin's suggestion that they were actually father and son. Reger 1992, 381–382 also accepts their identity.

[405] Baslez 1982b, 4:65 351, preferring before 250, and, unlike Tréheux and Marek, not reconstructing proxeny among his honours. Tréheux 1992b follows Roussel's date in *IG*.

[406] Baslez 1982b, 4:21 97, following Roussel's date in *IG*, as does Tréheux 1992b.

[407] Baslez 1982b, 4:26 148, preferring the middle of the third century, and Reger 1994d, 94 103, preferring 284. Tréheux 1992b follows Roussel's date in *IG*.

[408] Baslez 1982b, 4:24 134, preferring *c* 260, and Reger 1994d, 92 83, preferring exactly 259 from the honorand's presence in *IG* XI.2 115, dated by *archon* to that year. Tréheux 1992b follows Roussel's date in *IG*.

Donor Ethnic	*Recipient Ethnic*	*#*	*Date*	*Name*	*Father*	*Source*
Delos	Chalcis	2	mid 3rd	Sostratus	Philistides	*IG* XI.4 647[410]
Delos	Chalcis	2	250–200	Pyrraleus	?	*IG* XI.4 654[411]
Delos	Chalcis	2	239–229	Autocles	Aenesidemus	*IG* XI.4 679
						IG XI.4 680[412]
Delos	Chalcis	2	*c* 230	Autocles	Autocles	*IG* XI.4 681
						IG XI.4 682[413]
Delos	Chios	2	start 3rd	Herostratus	Theopropus	*IG* XI.4 541[414]
Delos	Chios	2	300–250	Philistus	Philiscus	*IG* XI.4 547[415]
Delos	Chios	2	*c* 260	Amphiclus	Callistratus	*IG* XI.4 572[416]

409 Baslez 1982b, 4:9 7, and Reger 1994d, 86 5, both following Roussel in *IG*, as does Tréheux 1992b.

410 Baslez 1982b, 4:29 168, preferring *c* 250, and Reger 1994d, 93 97, following Roussel's date in *IG*, as does Tréheux 1992b.

411 Baslez 1982b, 4:28 164, preferring a little after 250, and Reger 1994d, 93 91, following Roussel's date in *IG*. Tréheux 1992b prefers after 250.

412 Baslez 1982b, 4:14 40, and Reger 1994d, 88 24, both accepting Roussel's date in *IG*, as do Tréheux 1992b and Vial 1984, 134. Also Durrbach 1921–1923, 58–59 47; date also followed by Reger 1994b, 54. Father of Autocles, son of Autocles, of Chalcis in *IG* XI.4 681 and 682.

413 Baslez 1982b, 4:14 41 and Reger 1994d, 88 5, Reger following Roussel's date in *IG*. Vial 1984, 135 states 239–229. Baslez 1982b prefers the end of the third century or start of the second (*NB* IIe and Ier printed in error for IIIe and IIe) with reference to Roussel's discussion at Holleaux 1907a, 362–363, where he dates *IG* XI.4 682 *c* 200, and *IG* XI.4 681 several years before. This dating, however, formed part of a broader attempt to argue the existence of only one Telemnestus, son of Aristeides, and Roussel later reconsidered his position at Hatzfeld and Roussel 1910, 370–375, accepting the existence of homonymous grandfather and grandson; hence, at 373–375, he confidently argued for *c* 230 for the bestowal of proxeny in *IG* XI.4 681 and a slightly later date, but probably prior to 221, for *IG* XI.4 682. This discussion underlies Roussel's treatment in *IG*, and seems the more plausible. The activities of Telemnestus II are discussed by Vial and Baslez 1987, especially 300–301, and Étienne 1990, 107–110; see Vial 1984, 99 for a stemma of the entire family. The Autocles honoured here seems to be son of Autocles, son of Aenesidemus, of Chalcis honoured in *IG* XI.4 679 and 680. Roussel was aware that the date he proposed here involves only a brief interval, if any, between the activities of father and son, but correctly believed (374) this reconstruction to be unproblematic. Tréheux 1992b does not cite these inscriptions, but dates *IG* XI.4 1194, the inscription on a statue base Autocles erected in honour of his father, to the second half of the third century, not, with Roussel in *IG*, specifically to 239–229.

414 Baslez 1982b, 4:20 90, following Roussel's date in *IG*, as does Tréheux 1992b.

415 Baslez 1982b, 4:26 146, following Roussel's date in *IG*, as do Tréheux 1992b and Vial and Baslez 1987, 39. Also Durrbach 1921–1923, 36–37 28; date followed by Bresson 2005, 157; Seyfarth 1955, 31 specifies the beginning of the third century. Vial 1984, 133 states 286–281.

416 Baslez 1982b, 4:10 11, specifying *c* 260, as does Tréheux 1992b. Chaniotis 1988, 337 E 55 does not date this inscription, but dates the honorand, Amphiclus, to the middle of the 3rd century.

Donor Ethnic	*Recipient Ethnic*	*#*	*Date*	*Name*	*Father*	*Source*
Delos	Chios	2	start 3rd	Cleandrus	Themistius	*IG* XI.4 597[417]
Delos	Chios	2	300–250	Peisistratus	Argeius	*IG* XI.4 598[418]
Delos	Chios	2	300–250	Polianthus	Aristeus	*IG* XI.4 599[419]
Delos	Chios	2	300–250	Aristaeus	?	*IG* XI.4 628[420]
				Au…		
Delos	Cleitor	2	300–250	Hippolochus	Cleocrates	*IG* XI.4 532[421]
Delos	Cnidus	2	start 3rd	Sostratus	Dexiphanes	*IG* XI.4 563[422]
Delos	Cnidus	2	*c* 240	…nor	Heracleides	*IG* XI.4 644[423]
Delos	Cyrene	2	mid 3rd	Dicaeus	Diocles	*IG* XI.4 631[424]
Delos	Cyrene	2	mid 3rd	Iason	Theopropus	*IG* XI.4 657[425]
Delos	Cythera	2	mid 3rd	Aristagorus	Soteriscus	*IG* XI.4 636[426]

[417] Baslez 1982b, 4:21 100, preferring the turn of the fourth to the third centuries. Tréheux 1992b follows Roussel's date in *IG*.

[418] Baslez 1982b, 4:27 151, preferring *c* 225, by connecting this Peisistratus to the son of Argeius mentioned in Delphi in (now) *CID* IV, 222–223 94 (= *FDelphes* III 4.127 and Nachtergael 1977, 481–482 66), which was dated by Flacelière 1937, 406 37 *c* 225. Lefèvre at *CID* IV now dates *CID* IV, 222–223 94 between 209/8 and 205/4, depending on when the precise reconstruction followed (see table at 24), which is epigraphically too late for this document; if the connexion is to be maintained, the son of Argeius at Delphi could perhaps be the Delian honorand's grandson. Tréheux 1992b follows Roussel's date in *IG*.

[419] Baslez 1982b, 4:27 154, following Roussel's date in *IG*, as does Tréheux 1992b. Vial 1984, 134 states 270–245.

[420] Baslez 1982b, 4:12 28 (Aristaeus) and 4:14 42 (Au…), accepting Roussel's date in *IG*, as does Tréheux 1992b.

[421] Baslez 1982b, 4:20 92, following Roussel's date in *IG*. Tréheux 1992b prefers the middle of the third century.

[422] Baslez 1982b, 4:29 167, preferring "vers 280?" Tréheux 1992b follows Roussel's date in *IG*. Also Durrbach 1921–1923, 32–33 22. Vial 1984, 133 states 286–280.

[423] Baslez 1982b, 4:66 364, following Roussel's date in *IG*, as does Tréheux 1992b. and, unlike Tréheux and Marek, not reconstructing proxeny among his honours.

[424] Baslez 1982b, 4:16 54, preferring to specify 284 to 230. Date from Durrbach 1921–1923, 40–41 34, narrowing Roussel's suggestion of 306 to 230. Tréheux 1992b follows Durrbach.

[425] Baslez 1982b, 4:20 93, preferring shortly after 250, with Roussel in *IG*; Tréheux 1992b prefers shortly before 250. See Robert 1968, 208n69 (= Robert 1969–1990, 7:152n69) against earlier suggestions that this Iason might be related to the historiographer Iason of Cyrene. Baslez suggests instead a possible identification with the Iason of Cyrene who was an officer of Ptolemy II (PP VI 16268), but notes the frequency of the name. Tréheux does not follow her suggestion.

Donor Ethnic	*Recipient Ethnic*	*#*	*Date*	*Name*	*Father*	*Source*
Delos	Cyzicus	2	start 3rd	Apollodorus	Apollonius	*IG* XI.4 562[427]
Delos	Delphi	2	mid 3rd	Cleon	Aenesidemus	*IG* XI.4 626[428]
Delos	Elaea	2	mid 3rd	Archippus	Diotimus	*IG* XI.4 637[429]
Delos	Ephesus	2	mid 3rd	Aristonicus …chus	…achus …achus	*IG* XI.4 653[430]
Delos	Epirus	2	300–250	Deinon …machus	Philippus	*IG* XI.4 635[431]
Delos	Halicarnassus	2	*c* 260	Hermias	D…	*IG* XI.4 565[432]
Delos	Halicarnassus	2	270–250	Theodotus	?	*IG* XI.4 581[433]
Delos	Histiaea	2	300–250	Charmo…	?	*IG* XI.4 533[434]

426 Baslez 1982b, 4:12 27, accepting Roussel's date in *IG*. Tréheux 1992b prefers the first half of the third century.

427 Baslez 1982b, 4:12 23, preferring before 280, as does Tréheux 1992b. Date from Durrbach 1921–1923, 29–30 20; Reger 1991a argues for 307 or 306; Vial 1984, 133 states 287–286.

428 Baslez 1982b, 4:21 103, following Roussel's date in *IG*, as does Tréheux 1992b.

429 Baslez 1982b, 4:12 25, specifying shortly after 250. Tréheux 1992b follows Roussel's date in *IG*.

430 Baslez 1982b, 4:12 30 (Aristonicus) and 4:32 193 (…chus) prefers *c* 275 and *c* 276 (an editorial slip?) respectively, by identifying this Aristonicus with one who made a dedication to Aphrodite which she dates to 276/5 (*IG* XI.2 164.B.5; the entry is preceded by a lacuna, but Durrbach dates the previous *theoros* mentioned to 277, not 276/5); as they share a single patronymic, they are presumably brothers. Tréheux 1992b follows Roussel's date in *IG*.

431 Baslez 1982b, 4:61 316, preferring *c* 250, and, unlike Tréheux and Marek, not reconstructing proxeny among their honours; Tréheux 1992b follows Roussel's date in *IG*.

432 Baslez 1982b, 4:20 88, following Roussel's date in *IG*, as does Tréheux 1992b. Vial 1984, 134 states *c* 268.

433 Baslez 1982b, 4:65 351, following Roussel's date in *IG*, as does Tréheux 1992b, and, unlike Tréheux and Marek, not reconstructing proxeny among his honours.

434 Baslez 1982b, 4:15 48, preferring the start of the third century. Tréheux 1992b prefers the middle of the third century. Baslez 1982b hesitates over whether Histiaea here is the Attic deme, or the city in Acarnania (?Euboea): the approximate line lengths restored (between twenty and twenty five characters) allow equally well for name, patronymic and ethnic, as just for name and patronymic, so the argument at Knoepfler 2001a, 199–201 that the Attic demotics were only used outside Athens and Athenian territory in combination cannot be decisive. In addition, because so many decrees are fragmentary, it is not possible to say for certain that no honorific Delian decree honouring an Athenian used the demotic. Nevertheless, the least fragmentary (*IG* XI.4 648, 694, 745) certainly do not, and the Attic deme, if it existed, was so small (see Traill 1975, 39 and table II: one councillor rarely attested; Knoepfler argues for confusion with the Euboean Histiaea; see especially Knoepfler 1984, 616n350, and Knoepfler 2001b, 201–202, especially 202n636), that Histiaea on Euboea is far more

Donor Ethnic	*Recipient Ethnic*	*#*	*Date*	*Name*	*Father*	*Source*
Delos	Iasus	2	start 3rd	Diophantus	Dionysius	*IG* XI.4 529[435]
Delos	Lampsacus	2	start 3rd	Antiochus	Theo(dicus)	*IG* XI.4 518[436]
Delos	Lampsacus	2	300–250	Dioscourides	Cleomenes	*IG* XI.4 571[437]
Delos	Larisa	2	300–250	Antigenes Anticrates	Arg…	*IG* XI.4 584[438]
Delos	Macedonia (Thessalonica)	2	240–230	Admetus	Bocrus	*IG* XI.4 664 *IG* XI.4 665 *IG* XI.4 1053 *IG* XI.4 1076[439]
Delos	Macedonians	2	300–250	Thraseas	Balagrus	*IG* XI.4 585[440]

plausible. Ἑστιαία and Ἰστιαία are both attested for the Euboean settlement: Ἰστιαία (*IG* XII.5 594; *cf* Herodotus 8.66.1: Ἰστιαίη); Ἑστιαία (*ID* 1444.B.a.5; *cf* Thucydides 7.57.2: Ἑστιαίη).

435 Baslez 1982b, 4:17 65, accepting Roussel's date in *IG*. Tréheux 1992b prefers the first half of the third century.

436 Baslez 1982b, 4:59 302, preferring *c* 297, because of the involvement of Glaucus, known as *agoranomos* in 297, but not restoring proxeny among the honours. Tréheux 1992b follows Roussel in *IG*. Knoepfler 2001a, 165 allows also the very end of the fourth century.

437 Baslez 1982b, 4:17 66, accepting Roussel's date in *IG*, as does Tréheux 1992b.

438 Baslez 1982b, 4:11 16 (Antigenes) and 4:11 19 (Anticrates), specifying *c* 260; they are not explicitly named as brothers but share one patronymic. Tréheux 1992b follows Roussel's date in *IG*.

439 Baslez 1982b, 4:9 2, following Roussel's date in *IG*, as does Tréheux 1992b. Admetus is consistently identified as a Macedonian, but *IG* XI.4 665 orders a bronze statue to be sent to a temple in Thessalonica, and *IG* XI.4 1053 is a letter from the city of Thessalonica.
Also Durrbach 1921–1923, 60–64 49, accepting the same date, as also Reger 1994b, 54; Xydopoulos 1998, 152; Tataki 1998, 178 2; Habicht 2002, 17; and Xydopoulos 2006, 164; and, probably, Reger 1994c, 120, if 'son' is read for 'father'. Alternatively, replace 'Demetrius [II]' with 'Philip [V]', but this would be inconsistent with Reger 1994b, 54. Nigdelis 2006, 414–416 T 4 is ambivalent, however, preferring not to offer a date, on the possibility that this Admetus is the same man as the one executed by Philip V (Polybius 23.10.9–11, Livy *Periochae* 40.3.7). Beyond the confusion in Reger above, however, note that, *pace* Nigdelis, neither Lacroix 1932, 524 nor Walbank 1940, 244 positively argues for the later date, while Marek 1984, 256–257 argues against it; indeed, Lacroix's reference to the Philemon being the (possible) son of the Admetus in the inscription suggests he is following Roussel's date. Without autopsy, this alternative possibility cannot be positively excluded, but it seems significantly less plausible given the combined testimony of Durrbach and Roussel for the earlier date.

Donor Ethnic	*Recipient Ethnic*	*#*	*Date*	*Name*	*Father*	*Source*
Delos	Megara	2	300–250	Philinus	Philinus	*IG* XI.4 545[441]
Delos	Megara	2	start 3rd	Moschus	Menippus	*IG* XI.4 564[442]
Delos	Methymna	2	300–250	Mnason	Apollodorus	*IG* XI.4 590[443]
Delos	Methymna	2	300–250	Pleistonymus	?	*IG* XI.4 623[444]
Delos	Miletus	2	start 3rd	Arcesilas	Medon	*IG* XI.4 525[445]
Delos	Miletus	2	270–250	Metras	Diodorus	*IG* XI.4 617[446]
Delos	Miletus	2	mid 3rd	Aeschylinus	Theocrinus	*IG* XI.4 625[447]
Delos	Mytilene	2	300–250	?	Chares	*IG* XI.4 521[448]
Delos	Mytilene	2	start 3rd	Heraeus	Zoeus	*IG* XI.4 594[449]
Delos	Mytilene	2	270–260	Praxiphanes	Dionysiphanes	*IG* XI.4 613[450]
Delos	Naucratis	2	300–250	Dionysius	Potamon	*IG* XI.4 561[451]

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[440] Baslez 1982b, 4:30 179, preferring to specify *c* 260. Tréheux 1992b follows Roussel's date in *IG*. Reger 1991b, 151 notes (with Roussel in *IG*) that the proposer of the decree, Thasynon, was *archon* in 261 but prefers to push the inscription earlier if possible, a stance which Baslez 1997, 352n72 appreciates but feels unable to follow; Tataki 1998, 328 Θ 31 specifies exactly 261; without further justification, this hypothesis seems too confident.

[441] Baslez 1982b, 4:26 144, following Roussel's date in *IG*, as does Tréheux 1992b. Vial 1984, 133 states 286–281.

[442] Baslez 1982b, 4:23 124, following Roussel's date in *IG*, as does Tréheux 1992b. Vial 1984, 133 states 286–280.

[443] Baslez 1982b, 4:23 120, following Roussel's date in *IG*, as do Tréheux 1992b and Marcadé 1969, 328n4.

[444] Baslez 1982b, 4:27 152, preferring before 250. Tréheux 1992b follows Roussel's date in *IG*.

[445] Baslez 1982b, 4:13 33, following Roussel's date in *IG*, as does Tréheux 1992b.

[446] Baslez 1982b, 4:23 116, following Roussel's date in *IG*, as does Tréheux 1992b.

[447] Baslez 1982b, 4:9 6, accepting Roussel's date in *IG*, as does Tréheux 1992b.

[448] Baslez 1982b, 4:67 370, preferring the beginning of the third century, and, unlike Tréheux and Marek, not reconstructing proxeny among his honours. Tréheux 1992b follows Roussel's date in *IG*. City: following the suggested reconstruction by Reger 1997, 481–482n12. Baslez suggested either Mytilene or Mylasa; Tréheux Mytilene or Myconos.

[449] Baslez 1982b, 4:19 82, accepting Roussel's date in *IG*, as does Tréheux 1992b.

[450] Baslez 1982b, 4:28 159, following Roussel's date in *IG*, as does Tréheux 1992b. Also Durrbach 1921–1923, 37 29. Wilhelm 1905 (= Wilhelm 1984–2003, 1:219–223) had preferred *c* 250. Vial 1984, 134 states "270–260?" Bringmann 2002, 76n45 does not directly date this decree, but agrees in dating the activity of Praxiphanes, the honorand, on Rhodes to the first half of the third century. Mygind 1999, 263 32 does not explain her caution in dating Praxiphanes only to the 4th/3rd century.

[451] Baslez 1982b, 4:17 62, preferring "274–270?" Tréheux 1992b follows Roussel's date in *IG*. Vial 1984, 133 states 287–286.

Donor Ethnic	*Recipient Ethnic*	*#*	*Date*	*Name*	*Father*	*Source*
Delos	Naupactus	2	mid 3rd	Boucris	Daetas	*IG* XI.4 692[452]
Delos	Naxos	2	300–250	Philippus	Theopompus	*IG* XI.4 588[453]
Delos	Naxos	2	300–250	Theognotus	?	*IG* XI.4 611[454]
Delos	Naxos	2	mid 3rd	Euthy…	…cratides	*IG* XI.4 656[455]
Delos	Nisyros	2	300–250	Phaenis	Peisistratus	*IG* XI.4 595[456]
Delos	Nisyros	2	mid 3rd	Philarchus	Sosagoras	*IG* XI.4 622[457]
Delos	Oine	2	start 3rd or end 4th	Melanthius	Herodorus	*IG* XI.4 539[458]
Delos	Olynthus	2	300–250	Antidorus	Nicodemus	*IG* XI.4 531[459]
				Antigonus	Nicodemus	
				Onomacles	Nicodemus	
Delos	Panticapaeum	2	mid 3rd	Coeranus	…emis	*IG* XI.4 609[460]
Delos	Paros	2	mid 3rd	Philandrides	Echesthenes	*IG* XI.4 616[461]

[452] Baslez 1982b, 4:14 44, preferring between 250 and 220, but on grounds that allow a broader range. Date from Durrbach 1921–1923, 49–52 42, justifying a slightly earlier date for the inscription than Roussel in *IG* (230–220). Tréheux 1992b prefers 250 to 240.

[453] Baslez 1982b, 4:26 145, preferring before 240. Tréheux 1992b follows Roussel's date in *IG*.

[454] Baslez 1982b, 4:65 353, preferring the middle of the third century, and, unlike Tréheux and Marek, not reconstructing proxeny among his honours. Tréheux 1992b follows Roussel's date in *IG*.

[455] Baslez 1982b, 4:18 74, preferring shortly after 250; Tréheux 1992b prefers shortly before 250. Baslez, not followed by Tréheux, suggests Εὐθυ[καρτίδης] attested for a Naxian in an archaic Delian inscription (*ID* 1).

[456] Baslez 1982b, 4:21 135, following Roussel's date in *IG*, as does Tréheux 1992b.

[457] Baslez 1982b, 4:26 142, following Roussel's date in *IG*, as does Tréheux 1992b.

[458] Baslez 1982b, 4:22 112, following Roussel's date in *IG*. Tréheux 1992b prefers *c* 300.

[459] Baslez 1982b, 4:15 (Antidorus), 4:18 (Antigonus), 25.132 (Onomacles); they are not explicitly named as brothers but share one patronymic. Baslez does not offer an explicit date, but notes with Roussel in *IG*, that the proposer is known as *choregos* in 284 in *IG* XI.2 105. Gude 1933, 40 10 and Tataki 1998, 130 Olynthus 7 prefer to specify the first quarter of the third century without further justification, but presumably on the same basis. Tréheux 1992b prefers the middle of the third century.

[460] Baslez 1982b, 4:22 106, whence the date. Tréheux 1992b prefers the first half of the third century, Roussel in *IG* prefers the second half of the third century.

[461] Baslez 1982b, 4:26 141, following Roussel's date in *IG*, as does Tréheux 1992b.

Donor Ethnic	*Recipient Ethnic*	*#*	*Date*	*Name*	*Father*	*Source*
Delos	Pergamum	2	280–260	Hermagoras	Heracleides	*IG* XI.4 583[462]
Delos	Pergamum	2	270–250	Dionysius	Parmenites	*IG* XI.4 586[463]
Delos	Phocaea	2	240–230	Philermus	?	*IG* XI.4 652[464]
				Pythagoras	Philermus	
Delos	Pholegandros	2	300–250	Aglosthenes	Alosthenes	*IG* XI.4 612[465]
Delos	Polyrrhenia	2	300–250	?	?	*IG* XI.4 538[466]
Delos	Rhodes	2	mid 3rd	Hieronides	Pythodotus	*IG* XI.4 580[467]
Delos	Rhodes	2	300–250	Euphranor	Polycrates	*IG* XI.4 589[468]
Delos	Rhodes	2	300–250	Antigenes	Theopus	*IG* XI.4 596[469]
				Dionnus	Polydorus	
				Hegesander	Boulanax	
				Timophanes	Anaxipolis	
Delos	Rhodes	2	300–250	Philodamus	Thars…as	*IG* XI.4 614[470]

462 Baslez 1982b, 4:1 86, accepting Roussel's date in *IG*, as does Tréheux 1992b.

463 Baslez 1982b, 4:17 61, accepting Roussel's date in *IG*, as does Tréheux 1992b.

464 Baslez 1982b, 4:26 143 (Philermus), and 4:28 165 (Pythagoras), following Roussel's date in *IG*, as does Tréheux 1992b. Philermus is explicitly called Pythagoras' father (14).

465 Baslez 1982b, 4:65 351, preferring "avant 250?", and, unlike Tréheux and Marek, not reconstructing proxeny among his honours. Tréheux 1992b follows Roussel's date in *IG*. Brun 1996b, 299 merely specifies the third century.

466 Baslez 1982b, 4:32 197, preferring *c* 280. *IG* specifies *c* 274 by analogy with *IG* XI.2 199. Date here from Martínez Fernández 1999, 420.

467 Baslez 1982b, 4:20 91, following Roussel's date in *IG*, as does Tréheux 1992b.

468 Baslez 1982b, 4:18 72, preferring the start of the third century. Tréheux 1992b follows Roussel's date in *IG*.

469 Baslez 1982b, 4:11 17 (Antigenes), 4:16 58 (Dionnus), 4:18 78 (Hegesander), 4:31 182 (Timophanes), preferring the middle of the third century. Tréheux 1992b follows Roussel's date in *IG*. Vial 1984, 134 states *c* 250, and, at 98n16, 260–250. Also Durrbach 1921–1923, 45–46 39, where the middle of the third century is also preferred for a date, unlike Gabrielsen 2001, 230: "a year after 250". The many attempts to date this inscription more precisely to fit a narrative of Rhodian activity in the Cyclades are discussed at 504–514, especially 507n1101 for discussion of his title, and 512; these discussions include Fraser and Bean 1954, 158 250–220; Reger 1994b, 42 258–250; and Wiemer 2002, 135. Further support for a date approximately in this period is provided by the evidence adduced by Reger 1985, 163.

470 Baslez 1982b, 4:26 147, preferring *c* 280. Tréheux 1992b follows Roussel's date in *IG*.

Donor Ethnic	*Recipient Ethnic*	*#*	*Date*	*Name*	*Father*	*Source*
Delos	Rhodes	2	mid 3rd	Hermaedas	Praxidamus	*IG* XI.4 648[471]
Delos	Rhodes	2	mid 3rd	Alexicrates	Aglouchorus	*IG* XI.4 651[472]
Delos	Rhodes	2	*c* 230	Aristo…	Er(g)ophilus	*IG* XI.4 683[473]
Delos	Rhoetium	2	300–250	Moerias	Antiphanes	*IG* XI.4 582[474]
Delos	Samos	2	*c* 260	Antiphanes	Soterides	*IG* XI.4 577[475]
Delos	Seriphos	2	mid 3rd	Cercidas	Nicophantus	*IG* XI.4 639[476]
Delos	Sicyon	2	mid 3rd	Timocleidas	Theutimus	*IG* XI.4 704[477]

[471] Baslez 1982b, 4:19 87, accepting Roussel's date in *IG*, as does Tréheux 1992b.

[472] Baslez 1982b, 4:10 8, accepting the same date, and identifying this Alexicrates with the Alexicrates who died in 243 at Alexandria. Tréheux 1992b prefers *c* 250.

[473] Baslez 1982b, 4:13 32, preferring before 230, and, while acknowledging the frequency of the name, suggesting that this Aristo… might be the Rhodian navarch Aristoteles attested in *IG* XI.4 1133 as making a dedication to Asclepius. Baslez 1982b, 4:152 660 dates him before 230, Roussel in *IG* to the first half of the third century. Tréheux 1992b follows Roussel's date in *IG*, and is responsible for the patronymic; Roussel in *IG* and Baslez only read …philus.

[474] Baslez 1982b, 4:23 123, following Roussel's date in *IG*, as does Tréheux 1992b.

[475] Baslez 1982b, 4:11 20, specifying precisely 263, the year for which the accounts mention a *citharistes* Antiphanes (*IG* XI.2 113.23). Roussel in *IG* is more circumspect, and is followed by Tréheux 1992b.

[476] Baslez 1982b, 4:21 98, preferring soon after 230. Tréheux 1992b prefers the first half of the third century.

[477] Baslez 1982b, 4:42 231, hesitating between 274–265 or *c* 200. Durrbach and Holleaux 1904, 135–136 31 hypothesised that this Timocleidas might be the same as a Timocleidas mentioned in Plutarch *Aratus* 2 and Pausanias 2.8.2 as briefly ruler of Sicyon about the time of the Chremonidean War, and hence conjectured that the proposer of this decree, Aristeides, son of Telemnestus, was father of the earlier Telemnestus (I), known, for example, from *IG* XI.4 681, and great-grandfather of the later Telemnestus (II), known, for example, from *IG* XI.4 775: hence, Baslez's earlier date. Roussel at Roussel 1907, 368, however, insisted that the letter forms did not allow such an early date; instead, he grouped them with the first of four styles he distinguished in that article, for which the paradigm case was one of the Autocles' decrees (*IG* XI.4 679–682; it is unfortunately unclear which one, since they were unpublished at the time, and Homolle's announcement of the find at Homolle 1887b, 423 also does not specify, but all cluster *c* 230–220). Hence, Roussel both at Roussel 1907 and in *IG* allocated this decree to Aristeides (II), attested as proposer in *IG* XI.4 705–707 and elsewhere, who is the son of the earlier Telemnestus (I), and father of the later, Telemnestus (II), and dated the inscription to the end of the third century: hence Baslez's later date. Vial 1984, 97–98, arguing that the prescripts in *IG* XI.4 704 and 783 dated them before *c* 240, reattributed *IG* XI.4 704 to the earlier Aristeides (I), and to 274–264 (134)¸ as does Tréheux 1992b. Given the strength of both arguments, a compromise might be to envisage this decree as honouring a descendant of the ruler of Sicyon (his grandson?), who may perhaps be renewing a relation that went back to the time of the earlier Timocleidas. A date at the lower end of Vial's permitted range, *c* 240, would acknowledge the strength of Vial's argument from the prescript; Roussel's argument by analogy with the Autocles' decrees, which have not

Donor Ethnic	*Recipient Ethnic*	*#*	*Date*	*Name*	*Father*	*Source*
Delos	Siphnos	2	300–250	Xenodamas	Chaerestratus	*IG* XI.4 587[478]
Delos	Stratonicea	2	230–220	?	Aristoboulus	*IG* XI.4 703[479]
Delos	Syros	2	start 3rd	Theocritus	Theophilus	*IG* XI.4 591[480]
Delos	Syros	2	300–250	Xenodemus	Democles	*IG* XI.4 633[481]
Delos	Tanagra	2	mid 3rd	Orsimachus	Damon	*IG* XI.4 641[482]
Delos	Tenos	2	300–250	Eucles	Polygnotus	*IG* XI.4 573[483]
Delos	Tenos	2	mid 3rd	Naucleus	?	*IG* XI.4 655[484]
Delos	Teus	2	start 3rd	Cleophantus	(Cleo)mbr(otus)	*IG* XI.4 523[485]
Delos	Thessalian from Tricca	2	300–250	Diocles	…enon	*IG* XI.4 606[486]
Delos	Thessalonica	2	239–229	Aristoboulus	Athenaeus	*IG* XI.4 666[487]

since been redated; and be compatible with the stemma of Aristeides' family. In the circumstances, 'mid 3rd' represents a compromise. Marek questions whether the city involved is Sicyon, but Σικυώνιος is not presented as restored in the editions.

478 Baslez 1982b, 4:31 183, following Roussel's date in *IG*, and Brun 2009, 105, preferring the start of the third century. Tréheux 1992b prefers the middle of the third century.

479 Baslez 1982b, 4:32 198, following Roussel's date in *IG*, as does Tréheux 1992b.

480 Baslez 1982b, 4:30 175, following Roussel's date in *IG*, as does Tréheux 1992b.

481 Baslez 1982b, 4:61 312 (Deinon) and 4:66 368 (…machus), preferring *c* 250, and, unlike Tréheux and Marek, not reconstructing proxeny among his honours; Tréheux 1992b follows Roussel's date in *IG*. Sharing a single patronymic, they are presumably brothers.

482 Baslez 1982b, 4:25 133, preferring *c* 250, and Reger 1994d, 92 81, following Roussel in *IG*, as does Tréheux 1992b.

483 Baslez 1982b, 4:18 70, and Étienne 1990, 181, both accepting Roussel's date in *IG*, as does Tréheux 1992b.

484 Baslez 1982b, 4:24 126, and Étienne 1990, 181, both following Roussel's date in *IG*, as does Tréheux 1992b.

485 Baslez 1982b, 4:21 104, preferring before 250; Tréheux 1992b prefers the first half of the third century. Ethnic restored from *IG* XI.4 786, the decree for …tus, son of Cleophantus, the Tean, from the identity of name, in which case …tus (Cleophantus?) is plausibly the son (or other linear descendant) of our honorand here. Not in Marek.

486 Baslez 1982b, 4:16 55, accepting Roussel's date in *IG*, as does Tréheux 1992b.

487 Baslez 1982b, 4:34 208, following Roussel's date in *IG*, as do Tréheux 1992b; Vial 1984, 135; Casson 1954, 175; Marasco 1988, 144; Reger 1994b, 54; Tataki 1998, 179 Thessalonike 8; and Nigdelis 2006, 417–419 T 6, where a brief commentary and review of recent scholarship; and, implicitly, also Marek 1984, 271–272. Also Durrbach 1921–1923, 59–60 48. Baslez does not recognise proxeny among his honours, but they are certainly present in the safe reconstruction (4–5): [πρόξ]ενος ὢν καὶ εὐεργέ/[της].

Donor Ethnic	*Recipient Ethnic*	*#*	*Date*	*Name*	*Father*	*Source*
Delos	Aegiale	3	start 2nd	Alcimedon	Cri(tolaus)	*IG* XI.4 826[488]
Delos	Andros	3	start 2nd	Callistion	…?	*IG* XI.4 833[489]
Delos	Andros	3	start 2nd	Pausanias	?	*IG* XI.4 834[490]
Delos	Antiochea on the Cydnus (Tarsus)	3	start 2nd	?	Antiochus	*IG* XI.4 822[491]
Delos	Aradus	3	start 2nd	Iason	Theogeiton	*IG* XI.4 776[492]
Delos	Aradus	3	start 2nd	Rhodippus	Ammonius	*IG* XI.4 816[493]
Delos	Ascalum	3	start 2nd	Aphrodisius	Zenodorus	*IG* XI.4 817 *IG* XI.4 818[494]

[488] Baslez 1982b, 4:10 9, following Roussel's date in *IG*, as does Tréheux 1992b.

[489] Baslez 1982b, 4:21 96, following Roussel's date in *IG*, as does Tréheux 1992b.

[490] Baslez 1982b, 4:63 336, following Roussel's date in *IG*, as does Tréheux 1992b, and, unlike Tréheux and Marek, not reconstructing proxeny among his honours.

[491] Baslez 1982b, 4:31 185, preferring after 276/5, the date to which she ascribed *SGDI* 2734 = *FDelphes* III 4.154, the first attestation of Antiochea on the Cydnus, passed under the *archon* Aristion, dated then following Flacelière 1937, 436 22. He is now dated to the 260s; for detailed discussion see Lefèvre 1995, 180–184, suggesting 267/6 or 266/5 (185), as also Knoepfler 1995, 157, 266/5, and Lefèvre 1998b, 311, but since superseded: Lefèvre in *CID* IV, 27: 262/1 or 261/0; Lefèvre 1998a, 183: "fin des années 260"; Sánchez 2001 seems not to comment. Since the city name is still attested in the first century (*IOropos* 521 and 527), and Baslez does not argue against Roussel's judgement from letter forms, that narrower date seems to remain valid. Tréheux 1992b follows Roussel's date in *IG*.

[492] Baslez 1982b, 4:62 326, preferring the start of the third century. Tréheux 1992b follows Roussel's date in *IG*. Baslez 1987, 275 also prefers the beginning of the third century, as is also implied at 280, without further justification. The Telemnestus, son of Aristeides, mentioned would then be the great-great-grandfather of the more prolific Telemnestus of the early second century, and grandfather of the Telemnestus, son of Aristeides who proposed *IG* XI.4 683. Given the repetition, an editorial slip ("IIIème" for "IIème") is unlikely, but, given Roussel s analysis of the letter forms, followed by Tréheux, to connect Iason with his family's activity about the end of the third century in building an exedra (*IG* XI.4 1203) seems more plausible than making him a forebear. *Cf* *IG* XI.4 775, also mentioning a Telemnestus, and dated by Tréheux to the beginning of the third century, but by Baslez and Roussel in *IG* to the beginning of the second century: 214n518. On Telemnestus II and his family: 202n413; on the earlier controversy about how many Telemnestuses should be identified: 209n477.

[493] Baslez 1982b, 4:64 346, preferring *c* 180, and, unlike Tréheux and Marek, not reconstructing proxeny among his honours. Tréheux 1992b follows Roussel's date in *IG*.

[494] Baslez 1982b, 4:12 22, accepting Roussel's date in *IG*, as does Tréheux 1992b.

Donor Ethnic	*Recipient Ethnic*	*#*	*Date*	*Name*	*Father*	*Source*
Delos	Athens	3	220–210	Hagnothe(us)	…ocrates	*IG* XI.4 694[495]
Delos	Athens	3	start 2nd	Agias	Heraclides	*IG* XI.4 745[496]
Delos	Boeotians	3	end 3rd	(Da)mon	Diophantus	*IG* XI.4 823[497]
Delos	Boeotians	3	start 2nd	Polystratus	Dalion	*IG* XI.4 824[498]
Delos	Byzantium	3	end 3rd/ start 2nd	Heracleides	Xeinas	*IG* XI.4 778[499]
Delos	Byzantium	3	start 2nd	Theon	Meniscus	*IG* XI.4 779 *IG* XI.4 780[500]
Delos	Carpasia	3	start 2nd	Stesagoras	Timocrates	*IG* XI.4 807[501]
Delos	Carthaea, Ceos	3	180 or 176	Pherecleides	Philonicus	*IG* XI.4 769[502]
Delos	Chalcis	3	end 3rd	Herodorus	Euboea	*IG* XI.4 706[503]
Delos	Chios	3	end 3rd	Aristocrates Callidicus	Menestratus Damon	*IG* XI.4 715[504]

[495] Baslez 1982b, 4:18 77, accepting Roussel's date in *IG*, as does Tréheux 1992b. Not in Marek.

[496] Baslez 1982b, 4:9 5, accepting Roussel's date in *IG*, as does Tréheux 1992b.

[497] Baslez 1982b, 4:15 50, and Reger 1994d, 88 29, both following Roussel's date in *IG*, as does Tréheux 1992b. Samama 2003, 281–284 165, where also a french translation, prefers the second century without further comment.

[498] Baslez 1982b, 4:27 157, and Reger 1994d, 93 89, both following Roussel's date in *IG*, as does Tréheux 1992b.

[499] Baslez 1982b, 4:19 81, prefers to specify exactly 190, when Livy 37.34 tells us that Antiochus III sent Heracleides to the Scipiones, as does Vial 1984, 135. This conjecture is appealing, but both unnecessary, and historically unlikely: Livy records Antiochus as withdrawing to Sardis from Lysimachea (37.31), while the Scipiones were near the Hellespont when Heracleides joined them. It is unclear why a detour via Delos would have been required, or, if not, why the Delians should at this time have been moved to honour him. Robert in Firatli and Robert 1964, 163 follows Roussel in *IG*. Tréheux 1992b prefers *c* 200.

[500] Not in Marek. Baslez 1982b, 4:30 176, following Roussel's date in *IG*, as do Tréheux 1992b, and Robert in Firatli and Robert 1964, 173.

[501] Baslez 1982b, 4:29 170, following Roussel's date in *IG*, as does Tréheux 1992b.

[502] Baslez 1982b, 4:25 139, and Mendoni 2007, 549 82, both preferring 180 to 176, as does Tréheux 1992b, although Mendoni 2007, 532 only offers 180. Unusually for a Delian honorific decree, this decree was dated by *archon*, and thus can be more precisely dated than is the norm: the only other two surviving cases are *ID* 76 (Praxiteles), and *IG* XI.4 576, where the name is lost.

[503] Baslez 1982b, 4:20 89, and Reger 1994d, 89 45, both following Roussel's date in *IG*, as does Tréheux 1992b.

[504] Baslez 1982b, 4:60 307 (Aristocrates), 4:62 327 (Callidicus), and 4:63 332 (Nicagoras), following Roussel's date in *IG*, as does Tréheux 1992b, and, unlike Tréheux and Marek, not reconstructing proxeny among their honours.

Donor Ethnic	*Recipient Ethnic*	*#*	*Date*	*Name*	*Father*	*Source*
				Nicagoras	Thaliarchus	
Delos	Chios	3	start 2nd	Dexius	Phil(on)	*IG* XI.4 767[505]
Delos	Chios	3	start 2nd	?	…acon	*IG* XI.4 793[506]
Delos	Chios	3	start 2nd	Ctesippus	Ctesippus	*IG* XI.4 819
						IG XI.4 820[507]
Delos	Clazomenae	3	start 2nd	Dionysius	Simias	*IG* XI.4 783[508]
Delos	Cnidus	3	start 2nd	Aristion	Menophanes	*IG* XI.4 789[509]
Delos	Cnossus	3	start 2nd	Thearus	Sciphaeus	*IG* XI.4 719[510]
				?	Sciphaeus	
Delos	Cnossus	3	start 2nd	?	Teisilas	*IG* XI.4 720[511]
Delos	Cnossus	3	end 3rd	…us	?	*IG* XI.4 721[512]
Delos	Colophon	3	end 3rd	Aristoteles	Sodemus	*IG* XI.4 699[513]
Delos	Cyme	3	*c* 220	Mnesiptolemus	Calliarchus	*IG* XI.4 697[514]
Delos	Cyrene	3	start 2nd	…cles	Naucles	*IG* XI.4 801[515]

505 Baslez 1982b, 4:26 149, preferring *c* 190, and reading Dexius, son of Philon, for Philon, son of Dexius. Tréheux 1992b follows Roussel's date in *IG*.

506 Baslez 1982b, 4:66 363, following Roussel's date in *IG*, as does Tréheux 1992b, and, unlike Tréheux and Marek, not reconstructing proxeny among his honours.

507 Baslez 1982b, 4:22 107, following Roussel's date in *IG*, as does Tréheux 1992b.

508 Baslez 1982b, 4:17 63, accepting Roussel's date in *IG* of the start of the second century. Date here from Tréheux 1992b, who, following Vial 1984, 97–98, reascribes *IG* XI.4 704 and 783 to Telemnestus I from Telemnestus II to observe the change in formula *c* 240 from δεδόχθαι τῶι δήμωι το δεδόχθαι τεῖ βουλεῖ καὶ τῶι δήμωι or δεδόχθαι τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τῶι δήμωι elsewhere noted.

509 Baslez 1982b, 4:12 29, accepting Roussel's date in *IG*, as does Tréheux 1992b.

510 Baslez 1982b, 4:29 174, preferring 191. Tréheux 1992b follows Roussel's date in *IG*. The small size of the two lacunae suggests there was only one patronymic for both honorands, and that they were brothers.

511 Baslez 1982b, 4:32 192, preferring before 195. Tréheux 1992b follows Roussel's date in *IG*.

512 Baslez 1982b, 4:32 190, preferring *c* 195. Tréheux 1992b prefers *c* 200.

513 Baslez 1982b, 4:12 31, accepting Roussel's date in *IG*, as does Tréheux 1992b.

514 Date from Durrbach 1921–1923, 70–71 65, narrowing Roussel's date in *IG* of the end of the third century from the apparent death of the president of the assembly in this decree in 219; Chaniotis 1988, 303 E 10 prefers Roussel's date, as does Baslez 1982b, 4:23 121. Tréheux 1992b specifies before 219.

Donor Ethnic	*Recipient Ethnic*	*#*	*Date*	*Name*	*Father*	*Source*
Delos	Fregellae	3	start 2nd	Marcus Sestius	Marcus	*IG* XI.4 757[516]
Delos	Gortyn	3	start 2nd	…cion	Therson	*IG* XI.4 781[517]
Delos	Halicarnassus	3	start 2nd	Nicander	Parmeniscus	*IG* XI.4 775[518]
Delos	Heraclea	3	start 2nd	…chus	Dicaeus	*IG* XI.4 797[519]
Delos	Lampsacus	3	end 3rd	Metrodorus	Erxinus	*IG* XI.4 708[520]
Delos	Macedonians	3	start 2nd	Menestratus	Papylus	*IG* XI.4 785[521]
Delos	Massalia	3	end 3rd	Leon	Leon	*IG* XI.4 687[522]
Delos	Melos	3	start 2nd	Charmantiadas	Micalus	*IG* XI.4 749[523]

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[515] Baslez 1982b, 4:66 366, following Roussel's date in *IG*, as does Tréheux 1992b, and, unlike Tréheux and Marek, not reconstructing proxeny among his honours.

[516] Baslez 1982b, 4:22 110, specifying "190?" by suggesting a possible connexion with a troop of Fregellan cavalry mentioned as active in Asia in 190 by Livy 37.34.6. Ferrary, et al 2002, 215 Sestii 1 prefers not to specify beyond the first quarter of the second century, from the mention of Telemnestus II. On Telemnestus II and his family: 202n413; on the earlier controversy about how many Telemnestuses should be identified: 209n477.

[517] Baslez 1982b, 4:10 10, accepting the same date, as does Tréheux 1992b. Guarducci in *ICr* IV, 22 suggests ᾽Αλ]κίων, Baslez Μικίων, which is also attested at Gortyn. Tréheux does not offer a restoration.

[518] Baslez 1982b, 4:24 128, accepting Roussel's date in *IG*. Tréheux 1992b suggests the start of the third century; given the lack of justification, this suggestion seems plausibly a copy error (III[e] for II[e]). This decree is one of many moved by a Telemnestus, son of Aristeides, and no member of his family is standardly reconstructed for the beginning of the third century. *Cf IG* XI.4 776, dated by Baslez twice to the beginning of the third century, but by Tréheux and Roussel to the beginning of the second century: 211n492. On Telemnestus II and his family: 202n413; on the earlier controversy about how many Telemnestuses should be identified: 209n477. Samama 2003, 203–204 106, where also a french translation, prefers the third century without explanation.

[519] Baslez 1982b, 4:66 369, following Roussel's date in *IG*, as does Tréheux 1992b, and, unlike Tréheux and Marek, not reconstructing proxeny among his honours. Tréheux identifies the ethnic as Ἡρακλε[ώτης] rather than Ἡράκλε[ιος] because the inscription observes syllabic division, but this reconstruction unfortunately does not help identify the city involved: most Heracleas primarily used the ethnic Ἡρακλεώτης, not Ἡράκλειος. The most significant exception is Heraclea in Lucania, but even its citizens are known as Ἡρακλεῶται on occasion after the classical period. See, *eg*, Petsas 1963, 166 11: Ἀθηνόδωρος Λέοντος / Ἡρακλεώτης τῶν / ἐξ Ἰταλίας, so understood also by Robert at *BE* 1964, 185 247.

[520] Baslez 1982b, 4:23 117, preferring the start of the second century. Tréheux 1992b follows Roussel's date in *IG*, as does Williams 2004, 67.

[521] Baslez 1982b, 4:23 114, following Roussel's date in *IG*, as does Tréheux 1992b. Date still accepted by Tataki 1998, 369 M 53, who prefers the first quarter of the second century.

[522] Baslez 1982b, 4:22 108, following Roussel's date in *IG*, as do Tréheux 1992b and Manganaro 1992, 196.

[523] Baslez 1982b, 4:15 47, following Roussel's date in *IG*, as does Tréheux 1992b.

Donor Ethnic	*Recipient Ethnic*	*#*	*Date*	*Name*	*Father*	*Source*
Delos	Naupactus	3	start 2nd	?	…damus	*IG* XI.4 837[524]
Delos	Naxos	3	end 3rd	Polymnestus	Thibron	*IG* XI.4 701[525]
Delos	Naxos	3	start 2nd	Demeas	Dionysius	*IG* XI.4 832[526]
Delos	Oine	3	start 2nd	Epigonus	Metrophon	*IG* XI.4 811[527]
Delos	Oine	3	start 2nd	Metrophon	…	*IG* XI.4 812[528]
Delos	Olbia	3	start 2nd	Posideus	Dionysius	*IG* XI.4 813[529]
Delos	Olbia	3	start 2nd	Diodorus	Arotus	*IG* XI.4 814[530]
Delos	Pergamum	3	start 2nd	Demetrius	Apollonius	*IG* XI.4 765 *IG* XI.4 766[531]
Delos	Polyrrhenia	3	start 2nd	Androcles	Timomenes	*IG* XI.4 782[532]

[524] Baslez 1982b, 4:67 371, following Roussel's date in *IG*, as does Tréheux 1992b, and, unlike Tréheux and Marek, not reconstructing proxeny among his honours.

[525] Baslez 1982b, 4:27 156, following Roussel's date in *IG*, as does Tréheux 1992b.

[526] Baslez 1982b, 4:15 52, following Roussel's date in *IG*, as does Tréheux 1992b.

[527] Baslez 1982b, 4:17 67, specifying *c* 195–190. Tréheux 1992b follows Rousse's date in *IG*. Son or father of Metrophon, of Oine, honoured in *IG* XI.4 812.

[528] Baslez 1982b, 4:23 118, accepting Roussel's date in *IG*, as does Tréheux 1992b. Son or father of Epigonus, son of Metrophon, honoured in *IG* XI.4 811.

[529] Baslez 1982b, 4:28 158, following Roussel's date in *IG*, as does Tréheux 1992b. On Posideus: Ruscu 2006, 773, which, like Leipunskaja 1990, 119, accepts this date. This decree formed part of the same stele as *IG* XI.4 814, also reconstructed as awarded to a citizen of Olbia, plausibly Posideus' nephew. On the rationale behind understanding *IG* XI.4 814 as, on balance, plausibly attesting a separate relation to *IG* XI.4 813, see 215n530.

[530] Baslez 1982b, 4:16 56, preferring 180 to 170. The ethnic is not preserved, but the decree is inscribed on the same stele as *IG* XI.4 813, in honour of Posideus, from Olbia. Roussel suggests Ὀλβιοπολίτης with a question mark, as does Baslez. Tréheux 1992b suggests the start of the first century, but it is plausibly a slip, given his argument that the honorand, Diodorus, is nephew and grandson of the Posideus and Dionysius mentioned in *IG* XI.4 813 respectively, by analogy with *IOSPE* I^2 189, a dedication from the third century by Ἀγρότας καὶ Ποσίδεος οἱ ἀδελφοὶ / τὸμ πατέρα Διονύσιον Ἀ̣πόλλωνι / Δελφινίωι ἱερησάμενον. Roussel does not distinguish the letter forms, which suggests the two decrees may have been carved and so also awarded at the same time. Nevertheless, there are two separate decrees, not one decree honouring multiple people: the nephew could instead have been honoured later as a renewal of the prior relation, and the decree placed underneath his uncle's decree: Baslez's variation in date may suggest she did recognise a difference in script, and so occasion of inscription. Understanding these relations as separate thus seems wiser.

[531] Baslez 1982b, 4:16 53, preferring to specify only between 197 and 167. Vial 1984, 135 states 190. Tréheux 1992b dates *IG* XI.4 765 to the start of the second century, but does not specify for *IG* XI.4 766.

Donor Ethnic	*Recipient Ethnic*	*#*	*Date*	*Name*	*Father*	*Source*
Delos	Rhodes	3	end 3rd	Cleombrotus	Leonidas	*IG* XI.4 690[533]
Delos	Rhodes	3	end 3rd	Praxon	Aristonymus	*IG* XI.4 711[534]
Delos	Rhodes	3	end 3rd/ start 2nd	Damaratus	Astycreon	*IG* XI.4 714[535]
Delos	Rhodes	3	start 2nd	Anaxibius	Pheidianax	*IG* XI.4 752 *IG* XI.4 753[536]
Delos	Rhodes	3	start 2nd	Anaxidicus	Dionysius	*IG* XI.4 754 *IG* XI.4 755[537]
Delos	Rhodes	3	start 2nd	Cle…	(Ni)cagoras	*IG* XI.4 839[538]
Delos	Rhodes	3	start 2nd	Athanagoras	A(than)odorus	*IG* XI.4 842[539]

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[532] Baslez 1982b, 4:11 14, accepting Roussel's date in *IG*, which is not explicit, but indirectly indicated by analogy drawn with the letter forms of *ID* 442 (= Prêtre and Brunet 2002, 159–193 [179]); Tréheux 1992b specified *c* 180. Gondicas 1988, 2:16 31 and Martínez Fernández 1999, 420 prefer not to specify beyond the second century, but this caution seems unnecessary, given the presence of Telemnestus; see further 214n518.

[533] Baslez 1982b, 4:21 102, following Roussel's date in *IG*, as does Tréheux 1992b, 134. Vial 1984 states *c* 240.

[534] Baslez 1982b, 4:64 343, following Roussel's date in *IG*, as does Tréheux 1992b, and, unlike Tréheux and Marek, not reconstructing proxeny among his honours.

[535] Baslez 1982b, 4:15 49, preferring to specify the end of the third century. Tréheux 1992b prefers *c* 200.

[536] Baslez 1982b, 4:10 12, accepting Roussel's date in *IG*, as does Tréheux 1992b. Vial 1984, 135 states 190. Perhaps from the same family as the Pheidianax (Baslez 1982b, 4:209 1108) mentioned in *IG* XI.2 154.B.21 (reading Φε[ιδ]ιάνακτος also accepted by Tréheux in his re-edition: Tréheux 1959, 1:71–96), although if so, not his son, *pace* Baslez, as the inscriptions are chronologically too far apart. No ethnic or patronymic survives, but Pheidianax is not common outside Rhodes. Less likely to be father of a (Pheidia)nax restored by Baslez as honorand of *IG* XI.4 846: with no patronymic or ethnic, the -anax suffix is too common for plausibility. For a more extensive discussion, see Tréheux 1959, 1:80n2, who also ultimately prefers not to specify the relationships involved. Also Durrbach 1921–1923, 79–82 63; further discussions at Fraser and Bean 1954, especially 160 and 166–167, Étienne 1988; Étienne 1990, 107–110; Sheedy 1996; Gabrielsen 1997, 176n138; Wiemer 2002, 205, 273. With the exception of Gabrielsen 2001, 230n51, all date the inscription to the early second century. For discussion of these inscriptions and *IG* XI.4 751, see 552–558, particularly 553n1187 and 555n1192 on previous approaches.

[537] Baslez 1982b, 4:11 13, accepting Roussel's date in *IG*, as does Tréheux 1992b.

[538] Baslez 1982b, 4:21 105, accepting Roussel's date in *IG*, as does Tréheux 1992b. Roussel and Tréheux both suggest Νι]/καγόρας; Baslez prefers Κλε[ύχιος Δι]αγόρας by affinity with a funerary inscription for the same name from Rhodes from the second century (Maiuri, *NS* 514), but Δι]αγόρας is incompatible not only with the K printed in *IG* but with the sketch published by Homolle 1878, 330–331.

[539] Baslez 1982b, 4:13 38, preferring *c* 200. Tréheux 1992b follows Roussel's date in *IG*.

Donor Ethnic	*Recipient Ethnic*	*#*	*Date*	*Name*	*Father*	*Source*
Delos	Rome	3	193	Publius Cornelius Scipio	Cornelius	*IG* XI.4 712[540]
Delos	Rome	3	start 2nd	Sotion	Theodorus	*IG* XI.4 808[541]
Delos	Rome	3	start 2nd	Marcus	Publius	*IG* XI.4 809[542]
Delos	Samos	3	start 2nd	Sosis	Sosis	*IG* XI.4 787[543]
Delos	Seleucia	3	start 2nd	Moeragenes	Ammonius	*IG* XI.4 772[544]
Delos	Seleucia	3	start 2nd	Heracleitus	Ammonius	*IG* XI.4 773 *IG* XI.4 774[545]
Delos	Seleucia	3	start 2nd	Dionysius	Dionysius	*IG* XI.4 815[546]
Delos	Sicinos	3	end 3rd	Theophilus	Philoctenus	*IG* XI.4 688[547]
Delos	Sidon	3	start 2nd	Basilides	Ba(s)ili(des)	*IG* XI.4 746[548]
Delos	Siphnos	3	start 2nd	Erasidemus Theodorus	Polycles Polycles	*IG* XI.4 760[549]

[540] Baslez 1982b, 4:28 163, following Roussel's date in *IG*, as does Vial 1984, 135. Also Durrbach 1921–1923, 82–83 64 and Canali De Rossi 1997, 22–24 25b, both accepting Roussel's date in *IG*. The logic is not irrefutable. Canali De Rossi 2002, 64–66 156, with Italian translation, prefers 194.

[541] Baslez 1982b, 4:29 169, following Roussel's date in *IG*, as does Tréheux 1992b.

[542] Baslez 1982b, 4:22 111, specifies about 180. Ferrary, et al 2002, 230 Noms incomplets 158 follows Roussel's date in *IG*.

[543] Baslez 1982b, 4:28 166, following Roussel's date in *IG*, as does Tréheux 1992b.

[544] Baslez 1982b, 4:23 122, following Roussel's date in *IG*, as does Tréheux 1992b. Brother of Heracleitus, son of Ammonius, honoured in *IG* XI.4 773 and 774.

[545] Baslez 1982b, 4:19 85 (Heracleitus) and 4:22 122 (Moeragenes), accepting Roussel's date in *IG*, as does Tréheux 1992b. Brother of Moeragenes, son of Ammonius honoured in *IG* XI.4 772.

[546] Baslez 1982b, 4:16 59, accepting Roussel's date in *IG*, as does Tréheux 1992b.

[547] Baslez 1982b, 4:65 352, following Roussel's date in *IG*, as does Tréheux 1992b, and, unlike Tréheux and Marek, not reconstructing proxeny among his honours. Brun 1996b, 299 merely specifies the third century.

[548] Baslez 1982b, 4:14 43, following Roussel's date in *IG*, as does Tréheux 1992b. Roussel restored Basilides' father as Δ̣[ι]ογ[υ]/[σίου, but Tréheux identified Β̣α[σ]ιλεί/[δου when he reread the stone: Marcadé and Loewy 1953, 2:27n2 and Marcadé 1969, 65.

[549] Baslez 1982b, 4:61 321 (Erasidemus), and 4:65 350 (Theodorus), following Roussel's date in *IG*, as do Brun 2009, 760 (both Erasidemus and Theodorus) and Tréheux 1992b. Unlike Tréheux and Marek, Baslez does not reconstruct proxeny among their honours. Vial 1984, 135 states 190. Date also accepted by Brun 2005, 273. Sharing a single patronymic, they are presumably brothers.

Donor Ethnic	*Recipient Ethnic*	*#*	*Date*	*Name*	*Father*	*Source*
Delos	Siphnos	3	start 2nd	Cleinodemus	Lebotus	*IG* XI.4 840[550]
Delos	Sparta	3	end 3rd/ start 2nd	Nabis	Damaratus	*IG* XI.4 716[551]
Delos	Sparta	3	end 3rd	?	…chares	*IG* XI.4 717[552]
Delos	Sparta	3	start 2nd	Xenippus	(St)ra…	*IG* XI.4 718[553]
Delos	Syracuse	3	end 3rd	Heracleides	Eudemus	*IG* XI.4 723[554]
Delos	Syracuse	3	start 2nd	Philon	Hybrimus	*IG* XI.4 758[555]
Delos	Syracuse	3	start 2nd	Timon	Nymphodorus	*IG* XI.4 759[556]
Delos	Syracuse	3	start 2nd	(S)ost(r)atus	Mous(aeus)	Wilhelm 1915 20–21 1[557]
Delos	Tarentum	3	start 2nd	?	Dexi(cr)ates	*IG* XI.4 810[558]
Delos	Tenos	3	start 2nd	Mantineus	Satyrus	*IG* XI.4 763 *IG* XI.4 764[559]

[550] Baslez 1982b, 4:21 101, preferring 200 to 180. Brun 2009 prefers to specify only the second century, as does Tréheux 1992b. Roussel's date in *IG* is still accepted by Brun 2005, 273.

[551] Baslez 1982b, 4:24 125, preferring *c* 197. Also Durrbach 1921–1923, 74–75 58, following Roussel's date in *IG*, as does Marcadé 1969, 328; Tréheux 1992b and Vial 1984, 135 prefer *c* 200, Kotsidu 2000, 219–220 144 to specify 205–195. Strictly, Nabis is identified as a Lacedaemonian, not a Spartan. *IG* XII.5 542 at least does, however, distinguish between Lacedaemonians, and citizens of other towns in Laconia (a.17: Λακε]δαιμόνιο[ς vs a.22–23: Ἐπιδ]αύριος ἐκ τ[ῆ]ς Λακ[ωνι]/[κῆς).

[552] Baslez 1982b, 4:32 196, following Roussel's date in *IG*, as does Tréheux 1992b. Strictly, a Lacedaemonian, not a Spartan, but see 218n551.

[553] Baslez 1982b, 4:65 355, preferring the start of the third century, and, unlike Tréheux and Marek, not reconstructing proxeny among his honours. Tréheux 1992b follows Roussel's date in *IG*. Strictly, a Lacedaemonian, not a Spartan, but see 218n551. As Baslez does not explain the change of date, it may perhaps be an editorial slip ("IIIème" for "IIème").

[554] Baslez 1982b, 4:19 83, accepting Roussel's date in *IG*, as does Tréheux 1992b.

[555] Not in Baslez. Tréheux 1992b follows Roussel's date in *IG*.

[556] Baslez 1982b, 4:30 181, preferring to specify 192 to 188. Tréheux 1992b follows Roussel's date in *IG*. Bresson 2001, 136–137 specifies the second half of the 190s. On Timon, see also *IG* XII.5 816, 817, the discussion at 108–115, and Appendix 4. *IG* XII.5 817. Analysis and Quantification, 135.

[557] Wilhelm 1915, 20–21 1 (= Wilhelm 1974, 1:194–197 1), who dates the inscription from the presence of Telemnestus, the son of Aristeides, selecting the later Telemnestus from the letter forms. See Roussel in *BE* 1916, 449 on the omission from *IG*.

[558] Baslez 1982b, 4:67 377, following Roussel's date in *IG*, and, unlike Tréheux and Marek, not reconstructing proxeny among his honours. For Dexi(cr)ates, not Dexi(o)bates, see Tréheux 1992b, following Wilhelm 1921, 58 (= Wilhelm 1974, 1:349).

Donor Ethnic	*Recipient Ethnic*	*#*	*Date*	*Name*	*Father*	*Source*
Delos	Tenos	3	start 2nd	.?	…us	*IG* XI.4 828[560]
Delos	Teos	3	end 3rd/ start 2nd	Agatharchus	Leon	*IG* XI.4 698[561]
Delos	Teos	3	start 2nd	…tus	Cleophantus	*IG* XI.4 786[562]
Delos	Thera	3	end 3rd	Archinicus	Gorgopas	*IG* XI.4 709 *IG* XI.4 710[563]
Delos	Tyre	3	start 2nd	Eudemus	Philocles	*IG* XI.4 777[564]
Delphi	Ceos	1	end 4th	Elpicus	Elpicus	Empereur 1981, 420–421 3[565]
Delphi	Paros	1	end 4th	Neocreon	Agesarchus	*FDelphes* III 1.104[566]
Delphi	Carthaea, Ceos	2	300–250	Phanoteles	Phan(otel)es	*FDelphes* III 4.402 IV.1–9[567]

[559] Baslez 1982b, 4:22 109, preferring to specify between 192 and 174, and Étienne 1990, 181, following Roussel in *IG*, as does Tréheux 1992b.

[560] Baslez 1982b, 4:67 378, and Étienne 1990, 181, both following Roussel's date in *IG*. Baslez 1982b, unlike Étienne and Marek, does not reconstruct proxeny among his honours.

[561] Baslez 1982b, 4:9 4, accepting Roussel's date in *IG*. Tréheux 1992b prefers *c* 200.

[562] Baslez 1982b, 67 379, accepting Roussel's date in *IG*, as does Tréheux 1992b. Plausibly son (or other linear descendant) of the honorand of *IG* XI.4 523, Cleophantus of Cleombrotus, whose ethnic is restored from this decree. If so, the honorand in *IG* XI.4 786 could be Cleombrotus, son of Cleophantus ([Κλεομβρό]τος Κλεοφάντου), but the resulting line length is slightly long (forty-four against a maximum restored elsewhere of forty-one).

[563] Baslez 1982b, 4:12 24, preferring 200–195. Tréheux 1992b follows Roussel's date in *IG*.

[564] Baslez 1982b, 4:18 70, accepting Roussel's date in *IG*, as does Tréheux 1992b.

[565] Mendoni 2007, 542 25, accepting the same date. Daux 1943, 28–29 F 21 does not date the *archon* in this inscription, Heracleidas, beyond including him in his group of archons in office between *c* 315 and 280, and indicating his disagreement with the tentative suggestion at Flacelière 1937, 428 12 of "287–6?" Empereur dates this inscription towards the beginning of this period from letter forms. The fact that Heracleidas has seemingly not been involved in the controversy over the *archon* list after 280 perhaps offers some support for the continuing validity of this date.

[566] Date from Daux 1943, 28–29 F 21, who includes the *archon*, Heracleidas, in his group of archons in office between *c* 315 and 280, and further narrowed with reference to Empereur 1981, 420–421 3, where the letter forms date his inscription into the late fourth rather than the early third centuries. Bourguet in *FDelphes* had previously identified this *archon* with the later Heracleidas of 228; Flacelière 1937, 428 12 had suggested "287–6?", but Daux rejects that option. The fact that Heracleidas has seemingly not been involved in the controversy over the *archon* list after 280 perhaps offers some support for the continuing validity of this date.

[567] Mendoni 2007, 549 80 (Phanoteles), 542 31 (Euctemon), 543 38 (Callibius), 545 53 (Lysianias), and 551 92 (…ippus). Improved text at Bousquet 1977 V.21–30 (Carthaea), and VII.33–37 (Ceos). Pouilloux in *FDelphes* offered a second century date, but Bousquet redated the inscriptions to the third century

Donor Ethnic	*Recipient Ethnic*	*#*	*Date*	*Name*	*Father*	*Source*
				Euctemon	Epameinon	
				(Cal)libius	Theomnestus	
				Lysianias	(Lysi)stratus	
Delphi	Ceos	2	268/7	Callistratus	Callicrates	*FDelphes* III 1.124[568]
Delphi	Ceos	2	278/7	?	Diophanes	*FDelphes* III 4.10[569]
Delphi	Ceos	2	300–250	…ippus	Eschation	*FDelphes* III 4.402 V.1–5[567]
Delphi	Cythnos	2	260s	Glaucon	Simus	*FDelphes* III 3.207[570]
Delphi	Iulis, Ceos	2	277/6	Proteas	Callimedes	*FDelphes* III 2.188[571]

following Daux. No *archon*'s name survives for these two specific inscriptions, but Daux included all three readable archons Xenochares (25 F 6), Archidamus (30 F 25), and an unnamed *archon* (32 F 35) in his group F, from *c* 315 to *c* 280; this general date is still accepted by Mendoni 2007. As noted for *FDelphes* III 4.402 II, however, Brun dated Archidamas more closely to 290–280. Lefèvre at least also now dates Xenochares towards the end of group F, "à la frange du groupe G, c'est-à-dire peu avant 280" (Lefèvre 1995, 185n85 and Lefèvre 1998b, 311n10; *cf* Lefèvre 1998b, 44n172: "peu avant 280?"). Combined with the fact that Pouilloux did note a certain change in the letter forms over the course of the inscriptions he identified as forming *FDelphes* III 4.402, but did not consider it considerable, a date in the first half of the third century for the two inscriptions from this stone here in question seems secure.

[568] Mendoni 2007, 544 41, only dating to the second third of the third century. Bourguet in *FDelphes* offered divergent dates for the *archon*, Damaeus, from Pomtow (241) and Beloch (270–263), but discussion since then has focussed on the 260s: Lefèvre in *CID* IV, 26, and Lefèvre 1998a, 182 suggests 268/7, superseding the arguments at Lefèvre 1998b, 311, Knoepfler 1995, 157, and Lefèvre 1995, 177 in favour of 264/3, and followed by Perlman 2000, 168 in her discussion of *FDelphes* III 1.16, as also by Sánchez 2001, 324, 524. Daux 1943, 36 G 15 offered "265/4?"; Flacelière 1937, 446 31 offered 267–6; Bommelaer 1981b, 474–481 does not comment on this *archon* date in his re-attribution of this and other blocks to Niche B.

[569] Mendoni 2007, 550 89 (the son of Ameinocles), and 551 94 (the son of Diophanes). Date for the *archon*, Erasippus: Lefèvre in *CID* IV, 26 and Lefèvre 1998b, 311 offer 278/7 from Lefèvre 1998a, 182, where he argues against the alternative date of 271/0 he had allowed at Lefèvre 1995, 184–185 and which Knoepfler 1995, 157 supported. Daux 1943, 48 F 28 suggests between 290 and 280, Flacelière 1937, 445 II 29 "269–8?", and Colin in *FDelphes c* 279. Sánchez 2001, 524 does not include Erasippus in his table and dates Aristagoras 278/7, or 277/6 (524); he may thus follow Daux in dating Erasippus earlier. Mendoni 2007 does not explain her choice of 279.

[570] Date for the *archon*, Charixenus (II): Lefèvre in *CID* IV, 27 offers 268/7, 267/6, or 265/4, where he had earlier argued for either 265/4, or 261/0 (Lefèvre 1995, 181–182 and 184–185, as also maintained at Lefèvre 1998b, 311. Daux 1943, 48 F 32, had hesitated between before 279, or *c* 265–260. Daux in *FDelphes* suggested 252/1 or significantly earlier, Flacelière 1937, 459 67, 252–1, explicitly with great reservations. This date is still followed in recent scholarship: *eg*, Sayar 1998, 175 EZ12; Tataki 1994, 32 18; and Tataki 1998, 102 Edessa 2, 113 Ichnai 2, 161 Pella 90.

[571] Mendoni 2007, 547 63. Date for the *archon*, Aristagoras, from Lefèvre in *CID* IV, 91–93 14 (re-edition of *FDelphes* III 1.87, with the same *archon*), allowing also 276/5 as an option on different presuppositions (26–28); Knoepfler 1995, 157; Lefèvre 1995, 184; Lefèvre 1998b, 311; Lefèvre 1998a, 182

Donor Ethnic	*Recipient Ethnic*	*#*	*Date*	*Name*	*Father*	*Source*
Delphi	Iulis, Ceos	2	278/7	?	Amei(noc)les	*FDelphes* III 4.10[569]
Delphi	Iulis, Ceos	2	280s	Poliades	?	*FDelphes* III 4.402 II.1–8[572]
Delphi	Melos	2	mid 3rd	Theopompus	Euphorbus	*FDelphes* III 1.60[573]
Delphi	Seriphos	2	start 3rd	Philius	Moirocles	*FDelphes* III 1.119[574]
Delphi	Tenos	2	220s	Diaetus	Thestius	*FDelphes* III 4.225[575]
Delphi	Ceos	3	220–210	Aglaocritus	Aristias	*FDelphes* III 2.211[576]
				(S)osinicus	?	
				…tus	Xenost(ratus)	

agree. Daux 1943, 33 G 2 and Flacelière 1937, 434–435 20 had preferred 278/7, the date still accepted by Mendoni 2007; Colin in *FDelphes* had offered the divergent dates of "277/6 (or 262?)". Sánchez 2001, 292, and 524 still dates Aristagoras 278/7 or 277/6, but without explicit argument.

572 Mendoni 2007, 547 61. Improved text at Bousquet 1977 II.9–16. Pouilloux in *FDelphes* offered a second century date, but Bousquet followed Daux 1943, 30 F 25, who had already dated the *archon* mentioned, Archidamus to 290 to 280. The fact that Archidamas has seemingly not been involved in the controversy over the *archon* list after 280, and that the *archon* list for the middle of the century is almost complete provides some support for the continuing validity of this date and identification. Lefèvre 1998b, 36, 37 and 39 and Mendoni 2007 still accept Daux's date.

573 Date following Daux 1943, 41 H17, who dates the inscription to mid-century, among those that could date to the end of the preceding group (G: *c* 279/8–*c* 247), or to the start of the following group (K: *c* 247–*c* 199/8). Flacelière 1937, 496 102 hesitantly suggests Πεισιλας for the *archon*, and identifies him with an *archon* preserved in *FDelphes* III 1.40 which he dates, following Bourguet, *c* 221–0 (483–484 76). Daux 1943, 31 and 41, however, firmly dissociates the two: *FDelphes* III 1.40, and its *archon* (31 F 31), he dates among the group from 315–280, pointing out that other texts with comparable letter forms had also been redated earlier. Marcadé and Loewy 1953, 1:3 does not specify beyond the third century. Bourguet offered no date in *FDelphes*.

574 Daux 1943, 29 F 23 does not date the *archon* in this inscription, Diodorus, beyond including him in his group of archons in office between *c* 315 and 280, and Bousquet 1958, 85–87 is equally cautious. Daux 1938, 156 suggests, however, that the early third century is the more probable period within this frame. Bourguet in *FDelphes* had suggested *c* 240. The fact that Diodorus has seemingly not been involved in the controversy over the *archon* list after 280 perhaps offers some support for the continuing validity of this date.

575 Republished with additional fragment by Bousquet 1958 84–85. Date for the *archon*, Nicarchus, from Levfèvre in *CID* IV, 19, preferring 228/7 or 227/6 to 224/3 or 223/2, whereas he expressed no preference at Lefèvre 1995, 196; Lefèvre 1998a, 178; Lefèvre 1998b, 302, followed by Sánchez 2001, 345, 526; Daux 1943, 44 K 8 offered 228 to 215, followed by Nachtergael 1977, 452–453 32; Étienne 1990, 175; Perlman 1995, the bounds which remain valid, if the Athenian *archon* list changes: Lefèvre 1995, 162n7, 207; Flacelière 1937, 478 II 69 and Flacelière in *FDelphes* offer *c* 228–7.

576 Mendoni 2007, 538 2 (Aglaocritus), 548 71 (Sosinicus), and 551 95 (…tus). Date for the *archon*, Calleidas, from Lefèvre 1998b, 312 and Lefèvre 1995, 206; Daux 1943, 48 K 39 specifies the end of the century; Colin in *FDelphes* suggested slightly later, preferring *c* 207, the date followed by Mendoni 2007; *cf* Flacelière 1937, 498 88: "206–5?"

Donor Ethnic	*Recipient Ethnic*	*#*	*Date*	*Name*	*Father*	*Source*
Delphi	Tenos	3	end 3rd	Archelaus	Aristolochus	Bousquet 1960, 164–167[577]
Delphi	Thera	3	190/189	Demetrius	Mnaseas	*Syll*^{3} 585.78–79[578]
Elyrus	Paros	N	2nd	Neo..(ph)ron	Neocreon	*ICr* II xiii 1.B
Epidaurus	Astypalaea	1	350–275	…(te)les	Saocle(s)	*IG* IV^2 1 48[579]
Gortyn	Ceos	N	2nd half 3rd /start 2nd	Diodorus	Theocritus	*ICr* IV 206.H[580]
Gortyn	Cimolos	3	1st third 2nd	Zopyrus	Archon	*ICr* IV 209.B
Gyaros	Andros	4	150–100	Nicanor	(Nic)anor	Palaiokrassa-Kopitsa 2000[581]
				?	?	
				?	(Aga)thocles	
Ios	Cyrene	N	?	Ammonius	Battus	*IG* XII.5 1[7 582]
Ios	Naucratis	N	?	?	?	*IG* XII.5 1[9 582]
Ios	Thera	N	?	Theron	Pe(lopidas?)	*IG* XII.5 1[8 582]
Ios	Astypalaea	1	*c* 300	Cleombrotus	Pheretus	*IG* XII.5 1003[583]
Ios	Athens	1	4th	?	?	*IG* XII.5 1000[584]

577 A republication of Preuner 1920–1924, 284–285 16; date for the *archon*, Callierus, from Oulhen 1998, where a date after 220 is suggested in the context of Daux group K, dated by Daux from *c* 247–199. Daux 1943, 46 K 24 had considered the date very uncertain, and but noted previous scholars' dates in the 230s; Flacelière 1937, 471 59 suggested "239–8?"; Étienne 1990, 175 follows Daux.

578 Date: the order of Delphic archons during this period was originally deciphered by Mommsen 1866; followed by Daux 1943, 50 L 9 for Καλλικράτης; for more detailed discussion: Daux 1936, 18–46.

579 Republished with date by Perlman 2000, 196 E 7.

580 Mendoni 2007, 541 22, preferring 250–175.

581 City: following Walton 2006. Despite Walton's reattribution of the decree to Gyaros, the late second century date is supported by the presence of Nicanor, son of Nicanor, attested in *IG* XII.5 733.

582 These three inscriptions are included by Hiller von Gaertringen in his section of dubious and spurious inscriptions. In other cases, he explains why he believes that the inscriptions are spurious. For these three inscriptions, however, he offers no explanation. The source is different from the source for the other inscriptions that he does indicate are spurious: Lenormant 1867, 294–295. As by Marek, they are thus kept with reservations.

583 Brun 1996a, 169n25 prefers the second half of the fourth century.

584 Date still accepted by Brun 1996a, 164. Graindor 1904, 310–313 1 specified the second third of the fourth century.

Donor Ethnic	*Recipient Ethnic*	*#*	*Date*	*Name*	*Father*	*Source*
Ios	Carystos	1	4th	Aenesias	Epaenetus	*IG* XII.5 2.B[585]
Ios	Macedonia	1	end 4th	Ly(sip)pus	Alcim(a)chus	*IG* XII.5 1001.II[586]
Ios	Aspendus	2	250–200	…s	Coiranus	*IG* XII *Suppl* 171[587]
Ios	Cydonia	3	end 3rd	…dorus	Cleudicus	*IG* XII *Suppl* 170[588]
				?	Cl)eosthenes	
Ios	Rhodes	3	end 3rd	Agemachus	Sosipolis	*IG* XII *Suppl* 170[588]
				?	Hagesachus	
Iulis, Ceos	Sidon	2	3rd	Hephaestius	(Hera)cleides	*IG* XII.5 596.A[589]
Iulis, Ceos	Magnesia on the Maeander	3	208	?	?	*IMagnesia* 50.79[590]
Iulis, Ceos	Rhodes	3	Early 2nd	Charmippus	?	*IG* XII.5 599[591]
Lappa	Thera	N	2nd	?	?	*ICr* II xvi 5.B
League of the Islanders	Aegae	2	300–250	Theon	Philiscus	*IG* XI.4 1042[592]
League of the	Samothrace	2	300–250	?	?	*IG* XI.4 1044[593]

[585] Reger 1994d, 86 4. Hiller von Gaertringen in *IG* specifies that the two inscriptions on this stone were inscribed at different times, and dates both to the fourth century. Brun 1996a, 169n25 dates 2.B to the second half of the fourth century; Reger 1994d prefers the late fourth or the early third century. *IG* XII.5 2.A has been studied more than 2.B, and continues to be dated into the fourth century, as by Sokolowski 1969, 199–200 105, except for Chandezon 2003, 139–141 32, who prefers the third century without further discussion.

[586] Date still accepted by Brun 1996a, 164n3. Graindor 1904, 313–315 2 specified the last third of the fourth century, with both I and II, the two best preserved decrees forming this inscription, passed in the same year because the same officials (Archedamas and Posideus) are named.

[587] Brun 1996a, 164n3 reads Ptolemaic influence into this inscription, but does not further specify.

[588] Brun 1996a, 164n3 follows Hiller von Gaertringen's date in *IG*.

[589] Tracy 1990, 157–158 identifies the hand responsible for 596.B, and dates it *c* 150. *IG* XII.5 596.A, however, he states is 'inscribed by a very different hand'.

[590] See 185n319.

[591] Bresson 1998, 645, narrowing Hiller von Gaertringen's date in *IG* of the second century.

[592] Baslez 1982b, 4:77–78 407, preferring after 281/0. Tréheux 1992b prefers 275–260. Also Durrbach 1921–1923, 34–35 26; on the identification of the city, see the important discussion in Robert 1937, 74–75n6.

Donor Ethnic	*Recipient Ethnic*	*#*	*Date*	*Name*	*Father*	*Source*
Islanders						
League of the Islanders	Samothrace	2	300–250	Philoxenus Promenes	?	*IG* XI.4 1045[593]
League of the Islanders	Thebes	2	300–250	Hypatodorus Caphisodorus	Miccus Archias	*IG* XI.4 1040[594]
League of the Islanders	Syracuse	3	start 2nd	Timon	Nympodorus	*IG* XII.5 817[595]
Melos	Magnesia on the Maeander	3	208	?	?	*IMagnesia* 50.84[596]
Melos	Messene	3	late 3rd/	Damophon	Philippus	Themelis 1993, 100[597]

[593] Baslez 1982b, 4:99 483 (Philoxenus) and 484 (Promenes). Date from Roussel 1911b, where *IG* XI.4 1044 and *IG* XI.4 1045 form two of the texts under discussion and stated to predate 250 (443), and the proposer of *IG* XI.4 1023 (on the same stele and inscribed by the same cutter as *IG* XI.4 1045) is identified as also active in 269 and 260 (446). Baslez 1982b and Tréheux 1992b follow him. Note that fragments of *IG* XI.4 1044 and *IG* XI.4 1023 were originally published as from the same stele by Durrbach and Holleaux 1904, 113–115 6, but Graindor 1908, 7–9 dissociated them, and was followed in this dissociation by Roussel 1911b, 443–446 in his publication of the new fragment (our *IG* XI.4 1045) which he did associate with *IG* XI.4 1023, as also by Roussel in *IG*, and by Tréheux 1992b. Baslez 1982b, 4:99 483 (Philoxenus) and 484 (Promenes) still treats them as a single stele. Philoxenus is not named in *IG* XI.4 1045, but is named in *IG* XI.4 1023; they are, however, explicitly brothers (12).

[594] Baslez 1982b, 4:98 477 (Hypatodorus) and 4:98 479 (Caphisodorus), Reger 1994d, 94 101 (Hypatodorus) and 90 56 (Caphisodorus). Date from Baslez. Roussel in *IG* follows his argument at Roussel 1911b, 450n1 and 455 for 275–260, as does Tréheux 1992b; Reger 1994d, 71–75 argues that the decree should be dated before Thebes rejoined the Boeotian League in 287, - although his date for Hypatodorus, 275–260, following Roussel, is inconsistent with this suggestion. He further argues that the award might be dated specifically during Demetrius' final journey to Asia when he may have made an unattested stop in Delos and met the Thebans. Neither argument is convincing. On exceptions to any rule insisting that local ethnics were not used while there was a federal state in Boeotia, see briefly Knoepfler 2001a, 252–253, discussing Roesch 1982. For a similar discussion in the Cean context: Mendoni 2007.

[595] Hiller von Gaertringen dated *IG* XII.5 817 soon after 188 from his belief that that date represented the date at which the League of the Islanders was reborn under Rhodian leadership. This decree has more recently been understood as evidence for the League's activity prior to that date, as 192 seems to be the end of Timon's banking activity: Bogaert 1968, 177n241, followed by Reger 1994c, 122; Bresson 2001, 133–139. Ziebarth 1929, 87–88 suggests 188. All, however, including Étienne 1990, 112; Wiemer 2002, 271–272 agree on the approximate date. For more extensive discussion of these decrees, see 108–115, and Appendix 4. *IG* XII.5 817. Analysis and Quantification, 135; for the ramifications of our discussion on our approach to the 'Second League of the Islanders', see Appendix 1. The 'Second League of the Islanders', 569.

[596] See 185n319.

Donor Ethnic	*Recipient Ethnic*	*#*	*Date*	*Name*	*Father*	*Source*
Minoa, Amorgos	Rhodes	N	early 2nd 2nd	Nicolaus	Aristarchus	*IG* XII.7 228[598]
Minoa, Amorgos	Cnossus	2	Before 220	Ergoteles	Philocrates	*IG* XII.7 221.a[599]
Minoa, Amorgos	Demetrias	2	230–220	Cottas	…cles	*IG* XII.7 222[600]
Minoa, Amorgos	Megara	2	230–220	Diocleidas	Pyrrus	*IG* XII.7 221.b[599]
Minoa, Amorgos	Aegiale	3	200–150	Critolaus	Alcimedon	*IG* XII.7 388[601]
Minoa, Amorgos	Carpasia	3	end 3rd–2nd	Acestias	Noumenias	*IG* XII.7 227[602]
Minoa, Amorgos	Magnesia on the Maeander	3	208	?	?	*IMagnesia* 50.80[603]
Minoa, Amorgos	Rhodes	3	end 3rd–start 2nd	Hermocreon	Aristonymus	*IG* XII.7 221.c[599]
Myconos	Magnesia on the	3	208	?	?	*IMagnesia* 50.85[604]

[597] See 196n363.

[598] Robert 1933, 437–438n2 (= Robert 1969–1990, 1:437–438n2), followed by Rougemont 1983, 131, cogently argues that the formula ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀμουργίων τῶν κατοι/κούντων Μινώιαν (9–10) was formulated in the context of the Samian presence attested in the formula ὁ δῆμος ὁ Σαμίων ὁ κατοικῶν ἐν Μινώιαι (*IG* XII.7 237; *cf IG* XII.7 231 and 269, and Marankou 1999, 41 31, which mentions an apparently unpublished text that also refers to Samians living in Minoa, and dates it to the second century). Reger 1994b, 63–64 argues hence that *IG* XII.7 228 must be from the late second or first century, but this conclusion does not follow: the context could be contemporary, or *IG* XII.7 228 could date to a temporary cessation in the colony. Note, instead, the judgement of Delamarre in *IG*, Robert, and Rougemont that the decree epigraphically dates to some point in the second century.

[599] Delamarre in *IG* notes that the three inscriptions forming *IG* XII.7 221 were carved by different hands, and dates the second, 221.b, to the second half of the third century, the first and third, 221.a and 221.c, to the end of the third century or the beginning of the second. *IG* XII.7 221.b he dates to the time of Antigonus Doson, as does Migeotte 1984, 194–196 55. The higher inscription also should date to, or to before, his reign. This constraint does not, however, apply to 221.c, which was plausibly inscribed after 221.b. Reger 1985, 169 and Reger 1994b, 55–56 date the whole of *IG* XII.7 221 to the time of Doson without discussing the varying hands; Brun 1996a, 21n58 and Le Bohec 1993, 352–354 prefer to withhold judgement.

Delemarre's epigraphic date for (a) is still accepted by Samama 2003, 274–275 160, where also a french translation.

[600] Reger 1985, 169 and Reger 1994b, 55–56 follows Delamarre in still dating this inscription also to Doson's reign.

[601] Date followed by Migeotte 1984, 196–198 56.

[602] Vidman 1969, 93 145, accepting Delamarre's date in *IG*. Neither Robert 1929 (= Robert 1969–1990, 1:530–548) nor Marankou 1994 offers a date.

[603] See 185n319.

Donor Ethnic	*Recipient Ethnic*	*#*	*Date*	*Name*	*Father*	*Source*
	Maeander					
Naxos	Magnesia on the Maeander	3	208	?	?	*IMagnesia* 50.77[605]
Olus	Astypalaea	3	start 2nd	Damatrius	Damatrius	*ICr* I xxii 4.B.19–35[606]
Oropos	Delos	3	*c* 190	Choerylus	Choerylus	*IOropos* 201[607]
Oropos	Delos	3	200–150	Amphicles	Philoxenus	*IOropos* 211[608]
Oropos	Paros	3	*c* 200	Micion	Eubius	*IOropos* 109[609]
Oropos	Thera	3	*c* end 3rd	Hedylus	Eupolemus	*IOropos* 138[610]
Paros	Megara	N	end 4th/ start 3rd	Dionysius	Stilbon	Matthaiou 1983[611]
Paros	Athens	1	*c* 340	(Ce)phisophon	(C)eph(al)ion	*IG* XII.5 114[612]
Paros	Athens	1	mid 4th	Leodama(s)	(Phaea)cus	Matthaiou 1992–1998, 430–436 3.A.1–10[613]
Paros	Athens	1	mid 4th	Aristocrates	Chares	Matthaiou 1992–1998, 430–436 3.B.11–24[613]
Paros	Chios	1	mid 4th	Aretus	Ast(yn)omus	*IG* XII.5 110[614]

[604] See 185n319.
[605] See 185n319.
[606] Note that most of the extensive bibliography on *ICr* I xxii 4 specifically concerns *ICr* I xxii 4.A, which is dated significantly earlier than *ICr* I xxii 4.B.
[607] Earlier text: *IG* VII 291; date from Tréheux at Étienne and Knoepfler 1976, 315n190.
[608] Earlier text: *IG* VII 373; Petrakos 1968, 175–176 38 argues for pre-167, as does Chaniotis 1988, 349–350 E72.
[609] Earlier text: *IG* VII 341; date from Berranger-Auserve 2000, 59 v Μικίων.
[610] Earlier text: *IG* VII 262, with discussion of date.
[611] Originally dated by Lambrinoudakis 1980, 260–262 more generally to the early Hellenistic period.
[612] Hiller von Gaertringen merely specifies the fourth century. Graham 1964, 79n1, Graham 1992, 59 and Melfi 2002, 356 all follow Rubensohn 1902, 199 in connecting this inscription to Cephisophon's activities as general *c* 340, and offer variants based on that connexion.
[613] Matthaiou argues that the two inscriptions were not awarded and carved at the same time, in part because different officials are instructed to see to the inscription and the letter forms are slightly different. Nevertheless, 3.A is only slightly earlier; both seem similar to the lettering of *IG* XII.5 114, and more recent than *IG* XII.5 110 and 111.

Donor Ethnic	*Recipient Ethnic*	*#*	*Date*	*Name*	*Father*	*Source*
Paros	Chios	1	mid 4th	Amphilycus	Pedies	*IG* XII.5 111
				Apelles	Pedies	*IG* XII.5 112[614]
				Aristochus	Megalocles	
Paros	Magnesia on the Maeander	3	208	Molossus	Calliphon	*IMagnesia* 50.1–75[615]
				Demetrius	Amphistratus	
				Callicrates	Iphicra(t)es	
Poiessa, Ceos	Macedonia	3	late 3rd	Pausanias	Andronicus	*IG* XII.5 571.III[616]
Priene	Astypalaea	2	286/285	Nossus	Elpinicus	*IPriene* 8[617]
				Nicon	N…	
				?	Telesarchus	
Rhodes	Paros	4	end 2nd/ start 1st	Chares	?	*SupplEpigrRh* I 63.B.14[618]
Samothrace	Astypalaea	4	*c* 100	Polycle(s)	?	*IG* XII.8 168.5–8
				Ba(tt)alus	No…	

[614] Date: Lambrinoudakis and Wörrle 1983, 329, followed by Matthaiou 1992–1998, 435. Wilhelm 1939, 10 (= Wilhelm 1974, 3:22) preferred to date *IG* XII.5 110 and 111, both of which were inscribed on the same stele, to the first half of the fourth century. Hiller von Gaertringen does not offer a date in *IG*, but does agree with Wilhelm's statement that the hands are different. It is strictly not certain that *IG* XII.5 112, re-edited at Migeotte 1984, 213–215 61, honours the same people as *IG* XII.5 111: Hiller von Gaertringen suggested a connexion, and τοῖς Χίοις [προξέ]νοις (3) as the lenders involved in *IG* XII.5 112 to whom interest and interest upon interest would be paid. Hiller von Gaertringen's conjecture is appealing, but not secure enough to justify positing a separate relation. A recent attempt to place the inscriptions in a broader context (without specifying the date): Tuplin 2005, 51–53.

[615] See 185n319.

[616] Date following Reger 1994b, 52 and Reger 1998, 634; Hiller von Gaertringen in *IG* merely ascribes all three decrees on the stone to varying dates in the third century. Cherry and Davis 1991, 16 follows Hiller von Gaertringen.

[617] Date: Crowther 1996, where a new text is presented at 234–238, arguing against Hiller von Gaertringen's date of 328/7, and building on emendations and analysis particularly by Wilhelm 1907, 3 (= Wilhelm 1984–2003, 5:283); Robert 1926, 177 (= Robert 1969–1990, 1:232); Holleaux 1938, 1:303; Hamon 1999, 190 implicitly accepts Crowther's revised dating in his preference for the early third century rather than, with Hiller von Gaertringen, the late fourth century. Further minor modifications by Gauthier in *BE* 1997, 566–567 503.

[618] No date was offered by Pugliese Carratelli in *SupplEpigrRh* I; republished with date and commentary by Jones 1992; see also *BE* 1993, 497 381, and *BE* 1982, 216–219 399 for the Roberts' earlier suggestion of a similar date.

Donor Ethnic	*Recipient Ethnic*	*#*	*Date*	*Name*	*Father*	*Source*
				Agathocles	Ari…	
Samothrace	Naxos	4	after mid 2nd	Theocles	Nympo(d)or(us)	*IG* XII.8 170.35–36[619]
				Sosic…	?	
Seriphos	Magnesia on the Maeander	3	208	?	?	*IMagnesia* 50.81[620]
Sicinos	Athens	1	end 4th	?	?	*IG* XII *Suppl* 177[621]
Sicinos	Paros	1	4th	Aeschylus	Sosimachus	*IG* XII.5 24[622]
Siphnos	Alexandria	2	3rd	Perigenes	Leontiscus	*IG* XII.5 481[623]
Siphnos	Delos	2	3rd	?	Nicon	*IG* XII.5 482[624]
Syros	Siphnos	4	150–100	Onesander	Boulon	*IG* XII.5 653[625]

[619] Loukopoulou, et al 2005, 109 TE67 dates column *c* 150–125. Delamarre considered the letter forms of column b, where the Naxian *proxenoi* are listed older than those of column c.

[620] See 185n319.

[621] *BE* 1977, 377–378 343 follows Hiller von Gaertringen's date in *IG*. Brun 1996b, 299 merely specifies the fourth century; Brun 1996a, 168–169 prefers the second half of the fourth century.

[622] Date following Brun 1996b, 299, which specifies the fourth century. Hiller von Gaertringen in *IG* stated the third or the end of the fourth century. Brun 1996a, 169 is not explicit. *BE* 1977, 377–378 343 dates it to the 3rd or the end of the 4th.

[623] Hiller von Gaertringen in *IG* did not derive any date from letter forms, but thought the inscription might refer to a Ptolemaic admiral of the late third century. Holleaux 1905 rejected this date on historical grounds, including that Arsinoe III was not queen at the appropriate moment, and argued for Arsinoe II and 278–270, a date also accepted by Robert 1936b (= Robert 1969–1990, 1:195–200), who further developed Holleaux' restorations and confirmed them with Klaffenbach. Holleaux' historical objections, have, however, been partly superseded, as Arsinoe III is now attested as queen earlier than Holleaux thought, leaving both dates possible. Gorrini and Melfi 2005, 219 date the inscription to the third century. Brun 2005, 277 follows Holleaux in dating the inscription to the time of Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II, as does Papazarkadas 2009, 86–87, where a review of the controversy. For a complete text including the restorations of Holleaux and Robert, see *IG* XII *Suppl*, 111 481.

[624] Date from Papazarkadas 2009, 87, considering the inscription from about the same time as *IG* XII.5 481 or slightly later: hence, assuming the earlier date for *IG* XII.5 481, plausibly *c* the middle of the third century. Brun 2005, 273 considered the inscription "à peu près" the start of the second century, but Brun 2009, 103 is less specific: like Hiller von Gaertringen in *IG*, he does not specify beyond the third or second centuries.

[625] Hiller von Gaertringen in *IG* does not offer a date, quoting Boeckh on the perplexities of the decree and the likelihood that it is pre-Christian, but scholarly consensus already pointed to the second century: see Swoboda 1890, 78. Date here from Mendoni 2009, 116 from epigraphic criteria, although the Gymnasiarchical law from Beroia (Gauthier and Hatzopoulos 1993) is rather too geographically removed to be a plausible analogy; she hence hypothesises a

Donor Ethnic	*Recipient Ethnic*	*#*	*Date*	*Name*	*Father*	*Source*
Tenos	Andros	N	2nd	Dionysius	Orthon	*IG* XII.5 826[626]
Tenos	Cnidus	N	2nd	…(p)olis ?	Hippan(dridas …and(er)	*IG* XII.5 828[627]
Tenos	Achaea	2	mid 3rd	Philippus	Leo…	*IG* XII.5 *Suppl* 304.12–13[628]
Tenos	Athens	2	*c* 220	Charinus	(Ari)stodemus	*IG* XII.5 800[629]
Tenos	Byzantium	2	mid 3rd	Nymphaeus	(A)thenaion	*IG* XII.5 802[630]
Tenos	Cnossus	2	mid 3rd	Cydas	Hermarchus	*IG* XII.5 *Suppl* 304.3–4[628]
Tenos	Cos	2	mid 3rd	Sosigenes	Sosigenes	*IG* XII.5 *Suppl* 304.11[628]
Tenos	Croton	2	mid 3rd	?	?	*IG* XII.5 *Suppl* 313.6[631]

historical connexion with the mysterious second Cretan War. Bielman 1994, 184–189 with commentary and french translation argues for the first half of the first century, the date accepted also by Reger 1994c, 262. Nocita and Guizzi 2005, 281 urges caution in interpreting letter forms, but considers previous datings plausible, while De Souza 1999, 185 prefers between 40 and 30.

626 Date following Étienne 1990, 175, which does not specify beyond the second century, unlike for *IG* XII.5 825 (though he does on historical grounds at 182 hypothesise that both inscriptions might be from the first third of the century). Reger 1992, 381 dates this decree, like *IG* XII.5 825, into the first half of the second century. He does not, however, include it in his discussion of transitional letter forms at Reger 1994b, 36; a later date, even only the middle of the century, would be more compatible with the honorand's attestation at *IG* XII.5 718, which Hiller von Gaertringen is insistent in dating to the second half of the second century at the earliest. As for *IG* XII.5 825, Demoulin 1905, 83, referring to this inscription as *MB* 4 (= Demoulin 1904, 75–76 4) specified 150–100.

627 Date from Étienne 1990, 184, both from the letter forms and the formulae, also discussed at Étienne 1990, 118. Graindor 1907b, 12–13 28 notes the broken bar, but, like Hiller von Gaertringen in *IG*, does not explicitly comment on the date.

628 Date following Graindor 1910, 233–236 25, where Graindor interprets this inscription as a decree, rather than as a list of *proxenoi*; Étienne 1990, 184–185. On Cos: 195n361.

629 Date from Demoulin 1905, 83, who suggests *c* 220; Hiller von Gaertringen in *IG* and Étienne 1990, 177 merely argue for the third century.

630 Already considered the oldest decree of the series by Demoulin 1905, 80–81 and 83, dating to the middle of the third century, Hiller von Gaertringen supported this date by positing a connexion with a possible son, Phormion, known from *IG* VII 298 (now *IOropos* 175), from Oropos, and is followed in this hypothesis by Étienne 1990, 93 and 95–96, who also connects the inscription with *IG* IX.1 97 from Phocis to argue for earlier in this range. Rigsby 1996, 163 also connects *IG* XII.5 802 with *IG* IX.1 97 from Phocis, but merely suggests a date "well before the end of the third century". Parke and Wormell 1956, 2:140 considers the letters "of about 250 B.C.")

631 Date following Graindor 1910, 45–47 23, where the letter forms are thought to be from the third century, either the middle or slightly later. Also followed by Étienne 1990, 313.

Donor Ethnic	*Recipient Ethnic*	*#*	*Date*	*Name*	*Father*	*Source*
Tenos	Cydonia	2	mid 3rd	Timon	Timocr(a)tes	*IG* XII.5 *Suppl* 304.7[628]
Tenos	Delos	2	mid 3rd	(Mneseid)es	Phocaeus	*IG* XII.5 799[632]
Tenos	Eleutherna	2	mid 3rd	Pheid(o)n	Lysis	*IG* XII.5 *Suppl* 304.2–3[628]
Tenos	Gortyn	2	mid 3rd	Pos(ei)donius	Metrodorus	*IG* XII.5 *Suppl* 304.4–5[628]
Tenos	Halicarnassus	2	mid 3rd	…eius	Nicias	*IG* XII.5 *Suppl* 304.10[628]
Tenos	Hierapytna	2	mid 3rd	…eius	…ion	*IG* XII.5 *Suppl* 304.8[628]
Tenos	Istron	2	mid 3rd	Apol(lo)nius	Nicon	*IG* XII.5 *Suppl* 304.5–6[628]
Tenos	Lappa	2	mid 3rd	Apelles	Amphicles	*IG* XII.5 *Suppl* 304.5[628]
Tenos	Lyttus	2	mid 3rd	…aristus	Daetho.o...	*IG* XII.5 *Suppl* 304.2[628]
Tenos	Malla	2	mid 3rd	Pytheus	Athenico(n)	*IG* XII.5 *Suppl* 304.6–7[628]
Tenos	Mytilene	2	300–250	Melesias	Melesias	*IG* XII.5 798[633]
Tenos	Rhegium	2	mid 3rd	?	?	*IG* XII.5 *Suppl* 313.7[631]
Tenos	Syracuse	2	mid 3rd	?	?	*IG* XII.5 *Suppl* 313.11[631]
Tenos	Tarentum	2	mid 3rd	?	?	*IG* XII.5 *Suppl* 313.3[631]
Tenos	Alexandria	3	*c* 200	Basile(ides)	(Basil)eides	*IG* XII.5 *Suppl* 306[634]
Tenos	Andros	3	200–150	Aphobetus	Timocrates	*IG* XII.5 825[635]

[632] Date from Graindor 1907b, 7, which specifies no later than the second third of the third century; Hiller von Gaertringen in *IG* hesitantly suggests the second half. Étienne 1990, 182 suggests the third century and continues to posit a possible identification with the Mneseides mentioned in *ID* 399.A.119 (= Prêtre and Brunet 2002, 143–158) in 204 and restored by Vial and Baslez 1987, 298n102 as the ambassador to Tenos in *IG* XI.4 761. Alternatively, that Mneseides could be his son or grandson.

[633] Date from Graindor 1907b, 37–39 49, followed by Hiller von Gaertringen in *IG*, where this decree is considered third century, and older than that of Nymphaeus, dated by Demoulin 1905, 80–81 and 83. Étienne 1990, 185 suggests the first half of the third century, and, in keeping with this date, implies the third century in his discussion of Tenian formulae at 118.

[634] Date following Graindor 1910, 37–38 16 (=17), followed by Étienne 1990, 188; the decree has the earlier of the two precepts identified at Étienne 1990, 118, suggesting a date earlier in this range is more plausible.

[635] Date following Étienne 1990, 175, who ascribes the decree to the early second century; - in keeping with this date, this inscription has the later formula (Étienne 1990, 118); and following Reger 1992, 381 who also ascribes it to the first half of the second century; *cf* Reger 1994b, 36 on the transitional nature of the letter forms. Demoulin 1905, 83 had suggested 150–100, referring to this inscription as *MB* 5 (= Demoulin 1904, 77–78 5); unusually, Hiller von

Donor Ethnic	*Recipient Ethnic*	*#*	*Date*	*Name*	*Father*	*Source*
Tenos	Athens	3	200–150	Diodorus	?	*IG* XII.5 836[636]
Tenos	Delos	3	200–150	…des	Ctesonidas	*IG* XII.5 839[637]
Tenos	Gortyn	3	*c* 200	Acousilas	Sotadas	*IG* XII.5 819[638]
Tenos	Iulis, Ceos	3	*c* 200	Polychares Archippus	Polychares Polychares	*IG* XII.5 820[639]
Tenos	Magnesia on the Maeander	3	208	?	?	*IMagnesia* 50.78[640]
Tenos	Melos	3	*c* 200	?	?	*IG* XII.5 801[641]
Tenos	Miletus	3	*c* 200	Apollonius	Hierocles	*IG* XII.5 823 *IG* XII.5 824.A[642]

Gaertringen does not refer to Demoulin's discussion of the date, but only to Demoulin's 1904 edition. This silence may suggest disagreement; whether so or not, he contents himself with attributing the letters to the second century.

636 Date following Demoulin 1905, 83, where the decree is referred to as *BCH* 1902, 16 (= Demoulin 1902, 420–422 16), without the historical date of 189 to 167 based on a notion of a formal Rhodian hegemony in the Cyclades. Étienne 1990, 177 prefers the second century.

637 Date following Étienne 1990, 182 and Hiller von Gaertringen in *IG*, who date the inscription before 166 because of the ethnic.

638 Date from Demoulin 1905, 83; Hiller von Gaertringen in *IG* merely suggests the second century; Étienne 1990, 178 dates the inscription still in the third century; Reger 1994b, 38n17 epigraphically dates the inscription to between the 190s and 170s.

639 Mendoni 2007, 547 62 (Polychares), and 540 14 (Archippus). Date from Demoulin 1905, where this decree is referred to by its original publication: *BCH* 1902, 17 (= Demoulin 1902, 422–424 17); followed by Hiller von Gaertringen in *IG*, and still by Mendoni 2007; Étienne 1990, 170 does not offer a date. Demoulin and Hiller on Gaertringen in *IG* identified this Archippus with the Archippus, son of Polychares, from Ceos honoured by the Delians in *IG* XI.4 693. Roussel argued a date of *c* 230–220 for that decree, dismissing Demoulin and Hiller von Gaertringen's suggestion that the Polychares mentioned here could be Archippus' father. If they are the same person, as is plausible, the different epigraphic dates are not inconsistent; Polychares could still be Archippus' father, or his son, but is most plausibly his brother. Sons named after their fathers are not uncommon (*eg*, *IG* XII.5 821: Charinus, son of Charinus, of Minoa; *IG* XI.4 681 and 682: Autocles, son of Autocles, of Chalcis), but the normal interpretation of pairs or groups of names with but a single patronymic is for them to be brothers: *eg*, *IG* XI.4 530, 531, 584.

640 See 185n319.

641 Date from Demoulin 1905, 83, cited as "'Εφ ἀρχ 1858, 2642" from Pittakis' earlier publication; Hiller von Gaertringen does not offer a chronological date, but believes it to be among the older decrees in this series. Étienne 1990, 179 does not offer a date beyond noting Hiller von Gaertringen's statement.

642 Most scholarly discussion has focussed on *IG* XII.5 824 B, which preserves honours for Apollonius from the League of the Islanders. In so far as *IG* XII.5 824.A has been included in the discussion, it is comparative: to consider how the situation may or may not have evolved between the two decrees, and to

Donor Ethnic	*Recipient Ethnic*	*#*	*Date*	*Name*	*Father*	*Source*
Tenos	Minoa, Amorgos	3	*c* 200	Charinus	Charinus	*IG* XII.5 821[643]
Tenos	Rhodes	3	200–150	Idomeneus	Timacrates	*IG* XII.5 829[644]
Tenos	Rhodes	3	200–150	Philotimus	Te(lesi)cra(tes)	*IG* XII.5 830[645]
Tenos	Rhodes	3	200–150	Cosmius	Cosmius	*IG* XII.5 832[646]

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explain why the archons differ. *IG* XII.5 823, which is heavily restored, has been almost entirely ignored. Until the reanalysis of *IG* XII.5 824 by Étienne, scholars were content with a date for *IG* XII.5 824 during the supposed Rhodian hegemony in the Cyclades in the early second century; for analysis of this concept, see our discussion at 515–565. Specifically on attempts to date the inscription more closely since Étienne's reanalysis, including his argument for the Third Macedonian War at Étienne 1986 and Étienne 1990, and alternative arguments for the war with Antiochus (Habicht 1989, repeated at Habicht 2003, 558–559, 567, and followed by Samama 2003, 284–288 166, and Stimolo 2005, 43), see 546–552, and Appendix 3. *IG* XII.5 824. Autopsy and analysis, 580. Given the weakness of these arguments, no date more precise than *c* 200 (or, specifically, *c* 203/2, the revised date for Apollonius' stephanephorate at Miletus offered by Wörrle 1988) is justified; one only slightly before 200 or soon after is additionally probable owing to the apparent shift in formulae in Tenian inscriptions that was dated to about this time by Étienne 1990, 118.

Because of the focus specifically on *IG* XII.5 824, scholars rarely comment on the relationship between *IG* XII.5 823 and *IG* XII.5 824. Graindor 1906a, 61 and Stimolo 2005, 40 do, however, both suggest that *IG* XII.5 823 forms (part of) the honours mentioned as already awarded at *IG* XII.5 824.A.6 and 21–22, and this is also explicit in Samama, where *IG* XII.5 823 = Samama 2003, 281–284 165 ("Décret honorifique") and *IG* XII.5 824 = Samama 2003, 284–288 166 ("Second Décret honorifique"), - although Samama chooses explicitly to date *IG* XII.5 823 only to the second century, rather than prior to 190–189, the date she gives *IG* XII.5 824. This order is probable because the honours awarded Apollonius in *IG* XII.5 824.A are in themselves very small, - an olive crown; that they were inscribed suggests incremental confirmation of an existing important relation, as the relationship with Apollonius would already have been recorded as being important through the award of proxeny and more in *IG* XII.5 823.

643 Date from Demoulin 1905, 83, where this decree is mentioned as *CIG* 2330; Hiller von Gaertringen in *IG* merely suggests the second century, as does Étienne 1990, 179. Reger 1994b, 38n17 epigraphically dates the inscription to between the 190s and 170s. Reger's suggestion at Reger 1992, 381n89 that Charinus must have been an exile is unwarranted; there is no such indication, and many other explanations are plausible.

644 Date following Demoulin 1903, 247, rather than Demoulin 1905, 83, where the decree is referred to as *BCH* 1903, 4 (= Demoulin 1903, 243–244 4), and a historical date of 189 to 167 based on a notion of a formal Rhodian hegemony in the Cyclades has been adopted. Followed also by Étienne 1990, 115–116, in keeping with the formula, discussed at Étienne 1990, 118. Hiller von Gaertringen in *IG* hesitated over a possible date in the first century, but Étienne firmly rejects this possibility.

645 Date following Demoulin 1903, 247, rather than Demoulin 1905, 83, where the decree is referred to as *BCH* 1903, 3 (= Demoulin 1903, 241–243 3), and a historical date of 189 to 167 based on a notion of a formal Rhodian hegemony in the Cyclades is adopted. Almost universally dated into the first third of the second century because of and used as evidence for the Rhodian domination of the Cycladic League dated to that period; including, recently, by Étienne 1990, 104; Reger 1994b, 38n17; Sheedy 1996, 428; Wiemer 2002, 273–274; Gabrielsen 1997, 58 is more circumspect.

Donor Ethnic	*Recipient Ethnic*	*#*	*Date*	*Name*	*Father*	*Source*
Tenos	Rhodes	3	200–150	Argeius	?	*IG* XII.5 833[647]
Tenos	Rhodes	3	200–150	?	?	*IG* XII.5 835[648]
Tenos	Syracuse	3	end 3rd	Timon	Nymphodorus	*IG* XII.5 816[649]
Tenos	Thronium	3	end 3rd	Alcinoe	?	*IG* XII.5 812[650]
Tenos	Athens	4	150–100	?	?	*IG* XII.5 813[651]
Tenos	Athens	4	150–100	Ammonius	Ammonius	*IG* XII.5 837[652]
Tenos	Hierapytna	4	150–100	Ampheron	?	*IG* XII.5 840[653]

646 Date following Demoulin 1903, 247, rather than Demoulin 1905, 83, where the decree is referred to as *BCH* 1903, 6 (= Demoulin 1903, 245–247 6), and a historical date of 189 to 167 based on a notion of a formal Rhodian hegemony in the Cyclades is adopted. Étienne 1990, 116 does not explicitly offer a date

647 Date following Demoulin 1903, 247, rather than Demoulin 1905, 83, where the decree is referred to as *BCH* 1903, 5 (= Demoulin 1903, 244–245 5), and a historical date of 189 to 167 based on a notion of a formal Rhodian hegemony in the Cyclades is adopted. Étienne 1990, 116 does not explicitly offer a date, but this (unlike *IG* XII.5 832) is one of the inscriptions that he considers clearly from the beginning of the second century at 104n5.

648 Date following Demoulin 1905, 83, where the decree is referred to as *BCH* 1902, 22 (= Demoulin 1902, 428–429 22), without the historical date of 189 to 167 based on a notion of a formal Rhodian hegemony in the Cyclades. Étienne 1990, 116 does not include this decree in his list of Rhodians on Tenos, but the lacuna in 30 is short enough for the reconstruction ἀποστεῖ[λαι εἰς Ῥό]δον effectively to be certain.

649 Graindor 1907b, 8–11 26 and Hiller von Gaertringen in *IG* did not feel any need for a close chronological connexion between *IG* XII.5 816 and *IG* XII.5 817, for the same honorand. Étienne 1990, 112 similarly does not insist on a specific relation between the decrees, but Bresson 2001, 137–141 notes that Timon is still described as from Syracuse in *IG* XII.5 817, and so that that decree should predate *IG* XII.5 816, where he is awarded not only proxeny but also citizenship. For more extensive discussion of these decrees, see 108–115, and Appendix 4. *IG* XII.5 817. Analysis and Quantification, 135.

650 Date followed by Ferrandini Troisi 2000, 25–27 2.1; Bielman 2002, 219–221; Bielman Sánchez 2004, 206. Conservatively reedited by Bouvier 1980, who, like Loman 2004, does not offer a date. Étienne 1990, 175 does not offer a date, but implies the third century in his discussion of Tenian formulae at 118.

651 Date from Demoulin 1905, 83, where this decree is mentioned as *BCH* 1902, 25 (= Demoulin 1902, 431 25); Hiller von Gaertringen in *IG* merely offers the second century. Following Pomtow's suggestion at *RE* IV^2 2629 for the origin of the honorand; Étienne 1990, 177 hesitates to accept this reconstruction, and does not offer a date.

652 Date following Demoulin 1905, 83, where the decree is referred to as *CIG* 2329; Ammonius is mentioned as ἐπιμελητὴς (governor?) of Delos in 128/7 in several inscriptions (*ID* 2044, *ID* 2143, *ID* 2144). This decree, referring to his reception of the Tenian *theorodocia* on Delos, might also refer specifically to this period; alternatively, his family might have been based longer on Delos. Given that he thinks Ammonius is the same man as the governor, the dating of this inscription at Étienne 1990, 182 to the period of 'independence' seems a slip.

653 Date following Demoulin 1905, 83, where the decree is referred to as *CIG* 2332; Étienne 1990, 185 prefers only to specify the second century. For the honorand, see Guarducci 1939, 28–29, with Klaffenbach's support from a squeeze, and superseding Guarducci 1933, 324, followed by Étienne 1990, where he suggests (185) that this decree may form part of the same stele as *IG* XII *Suppl* 313. Note that for the Cretan *proxenoi*, Étienne 1990, 185–186 does not

Donor Ethnic	*Recipient Ethnic*	*#*	*Date*	*Name*	*Father*	*Source*
Tenos	Nabataeans	4	150–100	Salameines	Edemon	*IG* XII.5 *Suppl* 307[654]
Tenos	Neapolis	4	150–100	?	?	*IG* XII.5 843[655]
Tenos	Rome	4	100–50	Quintus Calpurnius	Quintus	*IG* XII.5 841[656]
Tenos	Rome	4	start 1st	Gaius Pandusinus	Gaius	*IG* XII.5 917.I[657]
Tenos	Rome	4	start 1st	?	Apollonius	*IG* XII.5 *Suppl* 308[658]

specify beyond the third century, but for the Achaean, Coan and Halicarnassian *proxenoi* (178, 186, and 186 respectively), he specifies the middle of the third century.

654 Date following Graindor 1910, 34–36 16, followed by Étienne 1990, 188, by Roche 1996, 85–86 13, where also an overview of the Nabataean presence in the Mediterranean, and by Hackl, Jenni, and Schneider 2003, 122–124, where this decree is stated to be the only known honorary decree for a Nabataean in the Greek world.

655 Date following Demoulin 1905, 83, where the decree is referred to as *MB* 10 (= Demoulin 1904, 85–86 10). Without even a name to guide, Demoulin does not attempt to specify which Neapolis might be the honorand's home. Tataki 1998, 127 Neapolis 22, specifying the third or second centuries, and Pilhofer 1995–2000, 2:819–820 754a, "Hellenistic", include this inscription perhaps to be exhaustive; they do not attempt to justify Macedonian Neapolis as the necessary homeland. Étienne 1990, 173 ascribes him to the Italian Neapolis.

656 Date following Étienne 1990, 257–258 9, where a historical date *c* 100 is suggested to fit the context of the *lex de provinciis praetoriis* (Hassall, Crawford, and Reynolds 1974; Ferrary 1977; Crawford 1996, 231–270 12, but the epigraphic date is stated more broadly as the first half of the first century. Demoulin 1905, 83, where the decree is referred to as *MB* 9 (= Demoulin 1904, 83–85 9), and Hiller von Gaertringen in *IG* suggested the second half of the second century; Demoulin 1904, 85 argued for the end of the second century or beginning of the first century.

657 Graindor 1906c, 339–344 7 and 8 suggested that Gaius Pandusinus may have been a freedman; this hypothesis is unlikely, as his homonymous grandfather is mentioned as having a previous commercial agreement with the Thisbaeans in the *SC de Thisbensibus* of 170 (Sherk and Viereck 1969, 26–31 2.54 = Austin 2006, 187–189 95.54): see Müller 2002, 91–92. Even if his grandfather was a freedman, his descendants, including our Gaius Pandusinus, would thus have been Roman citizens. Hiller von Gaertringen in *IG* followed Graindor in his date, as does Müller 2002, 91 and it has been universally accepted because of the sculptor named as responsible for the statues offered, Agasias: Marcadé and Loewy 1953, 2:9; Muller-Dufeu 2002, 864–865; and now Queyrel in Marcadé and Queyrel 2003, 91–97; specifically on his activity at Delos, notably in the Agora of the Italians: Picard 1910; Marcadé 1969, 371–373 2581. On the statues in their Tenian sanctuary context: Mavrojannis 1994, especially 294 and 322, and Étienne and Braun 1986, 1:117–125, especially 121 and 125, with a review of the inscriptions by Queyrel at 316–317. A P Servilius Isauricus is recorded is having restored [the statues] or [the sanctuary], and is usually identified as the *proconsul* of Asia in 46: see Robert and Robert 1948, 38–42 and Étienne 1990, 29. Hence, Étienne suggests he may also the magistrate involved in the episode he analyses at Étienne 1990, 143–145. See Müller 2002, 91n12 for a summary of the debate whether Pandosinus reflects a gentilician name, or an ethnic, perhaps that of Pandosia in Bruttium.

Donor Ethnic	*Recipient Ethnic*	*#*	*Date*	*Name*	*Father*	*Source*
Theangela	Delos	2	230–220	Semos	Cosmiades	*IG* XI.4 1054[659]
Thera	Astypalaea	N	?	Eumares	?	*IG* XII.3 497[660]
Thera	Macedonia	2	3rd	?	(D)ae(me)nes	*IG* XII.3 334.15
Thera	Miletus	2	3rd	?	?	*IG* XII.3 334.16
Thera	Samos	2	3rd	Baton	Egcaerius	*IG* XII.3 *Suppl* 1290
Thera	Magnesia on the Maeander	3	208	?	?	*IMagnesia* 50.79[661]
Thera	Aegiale	4	*c* 100	…on	?	*IG* XII.3 *Suppl* 1300.50[662]
Thera	Arcesine, Amorgos	4	*c* 100	…es	?	*IG* XII.3 *Suppl* 1300.45[662]
Thera	Arcesine, Amorgos	4	*c* 100	…es …(cr)ates …ni..	?	*IG* XII.3 *Suppl* 1300.47–49[662]
Thera	Athens	4	*c* 70	Apoll(o)ni(u)s	Ni(c)ander	*IG* XII.3 *Suppl* 1297 [663]

[658] Date following Graindor 1910, 41–43 19 and Hiller von Gaertringen in *IG*, followed by Étienne 1990, 174 and by Baslez 2002, 63. Although names survive, the line length is not known, so no name can securely be attributed to any specific city.

[659] Republished with translation and commentary by Bielman 1994, 125–128 32 with similar date: *c* 220; Gauthier 1990, 92 merely dates the inscription to the third century, Marasco 1988, 147 specifies the last third of the century.

[660] Hiller von Gaertringen does not offer a date; the broken-bar alphas suggest a date in the late Hellenistic period; the absence of prominent serifs allows us to exclude an imperial date; hence, this inscription seems validly included.

[661] See 185n319.

[662] Because of the distinction explicitly drawn at 20–24 between those named εὐεργέται, and those named εὐεργέται καὶ πρόξενοι, this list only includes those foreigners named under the two *proxenoi* rubrics; in addition, where Marek understands Μάλιος (51) as a reference to Malla, read Melos. Several cities appear in two or three locations among these *proxenoi* (Cnidus, Cos, Gortyn, Melos). The last two *proxenoi*, Iason of Cnidus and Aristocrates of Cos, are clearly a later addition, being formatted differently and including patronymics. It is less clear whether the other names are inscribed to a logic. There is no obvious change in letter form or height, at least so far as the photograph printed in *IG* allows judgement. Alphabetic order seems implausible: how probable is it that, from a list of twenty-two names, five men from Gortyn would cluster? Rather than being haphazard, they may well be chronological: this hypothesis would explain the repetition of names. On Cos: 195n361.

Donor Ethnic	*Recipient Ethnic*	*#*	*Date*	*Name*	*Father*	*Source*
				Pytharchus	Epi(g)en(e)s	
				Polycha(r)mus	T...et..	
				Nicagoras	Ni(can)der	
Thera	Athens	4	*c* 70	(A)pollonius	Nica(n)der	*IG* XII.3 *Suppl* 1298.11–12[664]
				Agias	Boulon	
Thera	Cnidus	4	*c* 100	…us	?	*IG* XII.3 *Suppl* 1300.44[662]
Thera	Cnidus	4	*c* 100	Iason	Stratocles	*IG* XII.3 *Suppl* 1300.64–66[662]
Thera	Cos	4	*c* 100	?	?	*IG* XII.3 *Suppl* 1300.42[662]
Thera	Cos	4	*c* 100	…ichus	?	*IG* XII.3 *Suppl* 1300.63[662]
Thera	Cos	4	*c* 100	Aristocrates	Macares	*IG* XII.3 *Suppl* 1300.67–69[662]
Thera	Cydonia	4	*c* 100	?	?	*IG* XII.3 *Suppl* 1300.56[662]
Thera	Cyzicus	4	*c* 100	…phon	?	*IG* XII.3 *Suppl* 1300.53[662]
Thera	Epidaurus	4	*c* 100	…nagoras	?	*IG* XII.3 *Suppl* 1300.43[662]
Thera	Gortyn	4	*c* 100	…(an)der	?	*IG* XII.3 *Suppl* 1300.54[662]
Thera	Gortyn	4	*c* 100	?	?	*IG* XII.3 *Suppl* 1300.57–61[662]
				…er	?	
				?	?	
				?	?	
				?	?	
Thera	Ios	4	*c* 100	?	?	*IG* XII.3 *Suppl* 1300.46[662]
Thera	Melos	4	*c* 100	…trius	?	*IG* XII.3 *Suppl* 1300.51[662]
Thera	Melos	4	*c* 100	…oras	?	*IG* XII.3 *Suppl* 1300.62[662]
Thera	Miletus	4	*c* 70	Boe(th)us	Lysimachus,	*IG* XII.3 *Suppl* 1298.3–5[664]

[663] Superseding Hiller von Gaertringen's earlier edition at *IG* XII.3 332. Note that Hiller von Gaertringen in *IG* does not offer a date; see also SGDI 2496, where this date is offered by analogy with *SGDI* 4697, where Apoll(o)ni(u)s is certainly an Athenian. The other honorands could be from another *polis* whose name began with A, but they were probably all Athenian.

[664] Superseding Hiller von Gaertringen's earlier edition at *IG* XII.3 333, where he considered the letter forms of the second century. For further discussion, also *SGDI* 4697.

Donor Ethnic	*Recipient Ethnic*	*#*	*Date*	*Name*	*Father*	*Source*
					adopted: Eumechanus	
				Prytanis	Sim…	
Thera	Naxos	4	*c* 100	?	?	*IG* XII.3 *Suppl* 1300.55[662]
Thera	Rome	4	*c* 100	…	Publius	*IG* XII.3 *Suppl* 1300.52[662]
Thera	Sparta	4	*c* 100	Anti(b)ius	Habrias	*IG* XII.3 *Suppl* 1299.25
Tralles	Tenos	4	end 2nd/ start 1st	Xenocrates Calliphon	Xenophantus Calliphon	*IG* XII.5 869[665]

Select excluded inscriptions

The inscriptions here listed have not been included because it is not clear that they attest a proxeny relation, or because the involvement of a Cycladic island is uncertain[666].

Table 23. Select excluded inscriptions

Donor Ethnic	*Recipient Ethnic*	*Date*	*Name*	*Father*	*Source*
Cnossus	Tarsus	end 2nd	Dioscurides	Dioscurides	*ID* 1512[667]

[665] Including the restorations suggested by Robert 1927, 109–112 (= Robert 1969–1990, 2:1064–1067) and Robert 1934b, 281–282 (= Robert 1969–1990, 2:1180–1181). Poljakov 1989, 33–36 re-edits the text; like Robert, Étienne 1990, 132, and Curty 1995, 210 85, he follows Hiller von Gaertringen's date in *IG*. Grandjean 1979, 406 prefers not to specify beyond the second half of the second century or the first half of the first century. Chaniotis 1988, 313–314 E22 prefers the end of the first century.

[666] This list is not intended to be exhaustive, but does include all inscriptions in Marek not included in the database, together with select other inscriptions. For further discussion of the database, see 184n318.

Donor Ethnic	*Recipient Ethnic*	*Date*	*Name*	*Father*	*Source*
Delos	?	4th	(Ceph)isodorus	D…	*ID* 79[668]
Delos	?	start 2nd	…anax	An…	*IG* XI.4 846[669]
Delos	?	start 2nd	Mic…	?	*IG* XI.4 790 *IG* XI.4 791[670]
Delos	?	end 3rd/ start 2nd	Nestus	Dionysius	*IG* XI.4 747[671]
Delos	?	start 2nd	Zopyrus	…in…	*IG* XI.4 788[672]
Delos	Alexandria	*c* 170	(Eir)enaeus	(Nicias)	Launey 1949, 578–580[673]
Delos	Alexandria	mid 3rd	…	…carus	*IG* XI.4 674[674]

667 Not in Baslez or Marek. Date accepted by Tréheux 1992b, as also by Chaniotis 1988, 341–342 E59. Tréheux 1992b is not explicit that Dioscurides is attested through an inscription of the Cnossians, and so may never have set foot on Delos, or had any dealings with the island. The inscription also records that another copy of the decree was to be sent to Delphi.

668 Marek suggests (with a question mark) that *ID* 79 may possibly honour an Athenian. The length of the lacuna and remains of the ethnic, γιον, are consistent with this, but many other restorations are possible, and no scholar seems to follow him.

669 Roussel in *IG* suggests (with a question mark) that the honorand here may be the son of Anaxibius, son of Pheidianax, the Rhodian, honoured in *IG* XI.4 752 and 753; Baslez 1982b, 4:25 138 accepts the restoration without hesitation; Tréheux 1992b follows Roussel in hesitating. The conjecture is appealing, but, with no patronymic, ethnic, or name on the stone, or guidance as to the length of the lacunae, the surviving -anax suffix is too common for this connexion to be plausible.

670 Baslez 1982b, 4:23 119 understands *IG* XI.4 790 and 791 as honouring a citizen of OIOS; this may perhaps be a rereading of the edition's ΣΙΟΝ (*IG* XI.4 790.11), regularised to the nominative, but is not presented as such; Marek did not include this inscription, and Tréheux 1992b does not follow her.

671 Tréheux 1992b prefers *c* 200 and hypothesises that the honorand, Nestus, son of Dionysius, may be a Macedonian, from the name of the river near Abdera (Robert 1974, 206 [= Robert 1969–1990, 5:293]); this conjecture is not self-evident, and, as Baslez 1982b, 4:24 127 notes, preferring 194–191, the name is attested across the Greek world, making any hypothesis as to Nestus' origin very insecure.

672 Baslez 1976, 4:65 350 follows Lacroix 1924, 409 in restoring Zopyrus as the son of Erxinus, and identifying him with the Lampsacenian of that name mentioned in *IG* XI.4 1216; Zopyrus is, however, a very common name (over 600 attestations in *LGPN*, spread evenly across the different volumes), and, in the absence of ethnic, the two surviving letters (IN) seem too little on which to base an identification (*cf* Tréheux 1992b "conjecture fragile"), especially since proxeny is not mentioned or clearly to be restored. Neither Baslez nor Marek, unlike Tréheux, restores proxeny among the honours involved.

673 Baslez 1982b, 4:35 211, following Launey's date, as does Tréheux 1992b. Neither Baslez nor Marek joins Tréheux in restoring proxeny among his honours.

674 Baslez 1982b, 4:66 359, following Roussel's date in *IG*. Tréheux 1992b prefers *c* 250, and restores proxeny in addition to a crown of laurels. Neither Marek nor Baslez joins him.

Donor Ethnic	*Recipient Ethnic*	*Date*	*Name*	*Father*	*Source*
Delos	Aspendus	*c* 230	(Ap)olloni(us)	Hymnus	*IG* XI.4 684[675]
Delos	Athens	start 2nd	?	…rus	*IG* XI.4 845[676]
Delos	Boeotians	300–250	?	?	*IG* XI.4 556[677]
Delos	Chersonnesus	end 4th–early 2nd	Apollonides	?	Farnoux 1991, 722[678]
Delos	Chios	mid 3rd	Eutychus	Philotas	*IG* XI.4 691[679]
Delos	Cnidus	start 2nd	Onomarchus	Apollonides	*IG* XI.4 744[680]
Delos	Cos	mid 3rd	?	…alus	*IG* XI.4 730[681]
Delos	Cos	*c* 195	Philippus	Philippus	*IG* XI.4 399.A.37–38 *IG* XI.4 1078[682]
Delos	Halicarnassus	300–250	Phanodemus	?	*IG* XI.4 610[683]

675 Baslez 1982b, 4:60 305. Tréheux 1992b prefers 230–220. Neither joins Marek in reconstructing proxeny among his honours.

676 Baslez 1982b, 4:66 366, following Roussel's date in *IG*, and, unlike Marek, not reconstructing proxeny among his honours. Tréheux 1992b does not discuss this inscription as the honorand is an Athenian.

677 Baslez 1982b, 4:61 316, preferring before 250, and Reger 1994d, 95 115, following Roussel's date in *IG*. Baslez 1982b, unlike Reger and Marek, does not reconstruct proxeny among his honours. Tréheux 1992b does not discuss this inscription as name is not preserved.

678 This decree, mentioned in passing by Farnoux 1991, 722, does not seem yet to have been fully published. Farnoux does not specify the honours granted, but dates the decree to the time of 'independence'; which Chersonnesus is involved is also not clear.

679 Baslez 1982b, 4:62 323, following Roussel's date in *IG* (*c* 230). Tréheux 1992b prefers 250 to 240. Neither joins Marek in reconstructing proxeny among his honours. Date from Durrbach 1921–1923, 52–53 43, on the same basis as Roussel's date in *IG*, which is also followed by Marasco 1988, 140–141: the first attestation of the *Eutycheia*, apparently founded by the honorand, is in the inventory for 230 (although the number of offerings requires foundation at least in 235). Bounegru 2004, 64 dates the inscription to 195 without further discussion or justification.

680 Baslez 1982b, 4:63 334, following Roussel's date in *IG*, as does Tréheux 1992b. Neither joins Marek in reconstructing proxeny among his honours.

681 Baslez 1982b, 4:66 365, following Roussel's date in *IG*. Tréheux 1992b prefers after 250. Neither joins Marek in reconstructing proxeny among his honours. On Cos: 195n361.

682 The record of a deposit of money for the erection of a statue in Philippus' honour, and the statue base itself both survive. Tréheux 1992b argues for proxeny as one of Philippus' honours. Neither Marek nor Baslez (at Baslez 1982b, 2:102) joins him, and it is unnecessary. The same record notes funds deposited for an erection of a statue for Attalus II. A descendant was able to act as guarantor for a loan in 157, suggesting that he or a descendant received *enktesis* at some point, but, *pace* Vial and Baslez 1987, 287n30, this hypothesis does not necessarily imply proxeny. On Cos: 195n361.

683 Baslez 1976, 4:63 338, preferring before 250. Tréheux 1992b follows Roussel's date in *IG*, and restores proxeny. Neither Marek nor Baslez joins him.

Donor Ethnic	*Recipient Ethnic*	*Date*	*Name*	*Father*	*Source*
Delos	Macedonians	start 2nd	Chaereas	Lysanius	*IG* XI.4 784[684]
Delos	Megalopolis	start 2nd	Alexander	Philippus	*IG* XI.4 750[685]
Delos	Naxos	300–250	?	…us	*IG* XI.4 552[686]
Delos	Naxos	start 2nd	?	?	*IG* XI.4 798[687]
Delos	Rhodes	start 2nd	Epicrates	Polystratus	*IG* XI.4 751[688]
Delos	Sic…	end 4th	C(lea)goras	Epinomus	*IG* XI.4 511[689]
Delos	Side	2nd?	?	?	*IG* XI.4 836[690]
Delos	Smyrna	start 2nd	?	?	*IG* XI.4 851[691]
League of the	Halicarnassus	300–250	Peleas	?	*IG* XI.4 1046[692]

[684] Baslez 1982b, 4:60 310, following Roussel's date in *IG*, as does Tréheux 1992b. Neither joins Marek in reconstructing proxeny among his honours. Date still accepted by Tataki 1998, 458 X 1. Gauthier 1996, 31–35's discussion of the honorand does not affect the date.

[685] Baslez 1982b, 4:33 203, preferring before 191/0. Tréheux 1992b prefers 200–190. Neither joins Marek in reconstructing proxeny among his honours. Vial 1984, 135 states before 197. Also Durrbach 1921–1923, 76–77 60.

[686] Baslez 1982b, 4:66 361, following Roussel's date in *IG*, and, unlike Marek, not reconstructing proxeny among his honours. Tréheux 1992b does not discuss this inscription as name is not preserved.

[687] Baslez 1982b, 4:67 373, following Roussel's date in *IG*, and, unlike Marek, not reconstructing proxeny among his honours. Tréheux 1992b does not discuss this inscription as name is not preserved.

[688] Baslez 1982b, 4:35 212, preferring 190, as does Vial 1984, 135. Tréheux 1992b follows Roussel's date in *IG*. None joins Marek in reconstructing proxeny among his honours. Also Durrbach 1921–1923, 89–91 67, where *c* 190 is preferred. For discussion of this inscription and *IG* XI.4 752 and 753, see 552–558, particularly 553n1187 and 555n1192 on previous approaches; further discussions at Fraser and Bean 1954, especially 160 and 167, Étienne 1988; Étienne 1990, 107–110; Sheedy 1996; Gabrielsen 1997, 176n137; Wiemer 2002, 136, 205, and 242.

[689] Baslez 1982b, 4:62 328, following Roussel's date in *IG*, as does Tréheux 1992b. Tréheux 1992b does restore proxeny, as also a possible ethnic: Σικ[υώνιος]. Baslez does not, while Marek may not include the decree, because he believes it does not reflect a proxeny relation, or because of the uncertainty over the ethnic: Sicinos is equally as possible as Sicyon. Skalet 1928 at least was not convinced that Cleagoras was clearly a Sicyonian.

[690] Baslez 1982b, 4:67 375, following Roussel's date in *IG*, and, unlike Marek, not reconstructing proxeny among his honours. Tréheux 1992b does not discuss this inscription as name is not preserved. Date still accepted by Nollé 1993, 228–229 TEp 27.

[691] Baslez 1982b, 4:67 376, following Roussel's date in *IG*, and, unlike Marek, not reconstructing proxeny among his honours. Tréheux 1992b does not discuss this inscription as name is not preserved.

[692] Baslez 1982b, 4:98 482 (Peleus) and 4:100 493 (his nameless brother), following Roussel's date in *IG*, as also Tréheux 1992b. Neither joins Marek in restoring proxeny.

Donor Ethnic	*Recipient Ethnic*	*Date*	*Name*	*Father*	*Source*
Islanders			?	?	
Tenos	?	start 2nd	?	…rus	*IG* XII.5 845[693]
Tenos	Andros	3rd–1st	?	?	*IG* XII.5 838[694]
Tralles	Thera	3rd	Artemidorus	Menippus	Robert, L 1936a, 94–97[695]

693 See Wilhelm 1937, 52 (= Wilhelm 1974, 2:595) for a better text. See Étienne 1990, 188 for recognition that, *pace* Marek, the context "συμμείξας / [τε ἐν …]ι κατὰ Φοινίκην" (5–6) does not imply that Phoenicia was the origin of the *proxenos*.

694 A lacuna and significant damage obscure the last section of the command to erect a stele in the temple of Poseidon and Amphitrite, but enough letters survive to be confident that the inscription did continue with the rubric always attested on Tenos with this precise wording of the stele erection formula: one ordering a copy sent to the honorand's town, as in *IG* XII.5 817, 823, 830, 833–837, 840: ἵνα δὲ καὶ x εἰδῶσιν τὰ ἐψηφισμένα. The last few letters of the *c* seven letter ethnic survive: P.OI or perhaps B.OI. Hiller von Gaertringen suggested Ἀνδ]ρ[ί]ῳι, which seems the necessary supplement. No date was given either by Graindor 1907b, 24 33 or Hiller von Gaertringen. Graindor does, however, note broken-bar alphas, serifs, and care in production which is consistent with the second century date that would be suggested by comparison with the other inscriptions with this formula (*cf* Hiller von Gaertringen's "bonae").

695 Robert here republishes LeBas-Waddington 3:599, cited by Marek as a list of *proxenoi* from Tralles, including one from Thera (4). Robert dates the inscription to the third century and argues persuasively that it represents a list of soldiers.

Synchronic analysis

A minimum of 158 different civic units engaged in the Cycladic proxeny network, forming 456 attested separate relations of proxeny in 294 distinct state pairs[696].

Table 24. Basic Network Data including Delos

	Network Including Delos		
	# states	**# connexions**	**# state pairs**
Overall	158	456	294
External	154	386	248
Internal	24	70	45

This number is, of course, only a small proportion of the 1035 poleis identified for the archaic and classical periods by Hansen and Nielsen, and that number probably

[696] Map: 273. An interactive KML file containing all the relations identifiable by city and period involved is available at bit.ly/jatullyKML, together with the KML code for the networks of each individual island, and a link to display that data (slightly degraded) in Google Maps. Note that the data set is too large to represent the entire network on Google Maps; and that, at time of writing, Yahoo Maps, and Mapquest seem not to offer (as easily) the functionality to display KML files as Google Maps, while Bing garbled the code. At least in theory, however, any KML reading software (such as Google Earth) should be capable of reading the files. The League of the Islanders has been given an arbitrary location in the sea in the middle of the Cyclades, between Delos, Naxos, and Paros.
Civic units: this infelicitous construction reflects the fact that some of the units attested as granting proxeny are not *poleis*, namely the Aetolians, and the League of the Islanders. Strictly, as noted above (181n314), the League inscriptions seems to grant proxeny in member states, but the Aetolians still remain problematic, as an *ethnos*, not a *polis*. The term 'civic unit' thus captures the civic focus argued above, while allowing the specific form of the unit to vary.
A minimum: on assumptions that minimise the numbers of states involved, such as by counting all the proxeny relations from Seleucia, Heraclea, and Larisa as from a single state, and all Alexandrian proxeny awards as from Alexandria in Egypt. The strictly unidentifiable cases of Demetrias, Apollonia, and Neapolis only form one relation each, so do not affect the number. Note that not all the states, either Cycladic, or non-Cycladic, existed for the entirety of the period: beyond the League of the Islanders, the Cean cities formed federation(s) in the classical and Hellenistic period whose chronology is not entirely clear: Reger and Risser 1991; Coresia and Poiessa disappeared at some point in the late Hellenistic period: Reger 1998; on the Naxian and Samian colonies or cleruchies(?) on Amorgos, see the bibliography at 225n598; two sources suggest (although no more) that Myconos may at some point have had two poleis: see Reger 1997 on this point and more generally. Other less well attested states include Gyaros, where this proxeny inscription (not found on Gyaros), seems still to be the only known use of the ethnic, and the state is primarily known from a small bronze coinage issued at some point in the Hellenistic period; and Pholegandros.

only increased in the Hellenistic period, with the spread of the *polis* model under the Hellenistic kings[697]. Nevertheless, it is a significant number, and it does not self-evidently suggest that the core region here in question, the Cyclades, was disconnected from the broader Greek world.

Analysis of the regions from which these connexions derived, moreover, indicates that every part of the Greek world is represented, from the Black Sea (Panticapaeaum and Olbia), to Magna Graecia (Syracuse and Tarentum), to Egypt (Alexandria and Naucratis), to further east (Tyre and Sidon). Regions nearer to the Cyclades are, of course, better represented: thus, the most significant regions in terms of ties are the East and North Aegean, Crete, and Central Greece. This conclusion is to be expected: cities might naturally have stronger ties with their immediate region, and additional investment would be involved in maintaining longer-distance connexions.

[697] Hansen and Nielsen 2004, 53–54. No equivalent calculation has yet been attempted for the Hellenistic and Roman periods. The number is indicative: Hansen does not suggest that all existed at the same time. Hansen and Nielsen 2004, 1298–1306 offers a list of *poleis* in the year 400, totalling 862 *poleis*. Of these 437 are explicitly attested as *poleis* in Classical sources, 221 probable *poleis* because attested performing several activities characteristic of a *poleis*, and 204 plausible cases.

Table 25. Proxeny relations by region[698]

	Network Including Delos		
	# states	**# connexions**	**# state pairs**
Total	158	456	294
Cyclades	28	70	45
Aegean (East)	26	127	71
Excluding Rhodes	25	98	62
Aegean (North)	17	27	24
Black Sea	2	3	2
Bosphorus/Hellespont	9	23	14
Crete	15	33	27
Egypt and Cyrene	3	12	8
Greece (Central)	12	82	39
Excluding Athens	11	48	29
Greece (Peloponnese)	14	21	19
Greece (West)	6	7	6
Levant	9	14	11

[698] Region: this division can only be impressionistic, but attempts to strike a balance.
Aegean (East) includes Rhodes, and the cities inland in Lycia and Caria, as well as the cities of the coast of Asia Minor, and islands as far north as and including Lesbos: Aegae, Chios, Clazomenae, Cnidus, Colophon, Cos, Cyme, Elaea, Ephesus, Halicarnassus, Iasus, Magnesia on the Maeander, Methymna, Miletus, Mytilene, Nisyros, Oine, Pergamum, Phocaea, Priene, Rhodes, Samos, Stratonicea, Teos, Theangela, Tralles.
Aegean (North) includes Macedonia and Thessaly as well as islands north of, but excluding, Lesbos: Acanthus, Aenus, Amphipolis, Assos, Cassandreia, Demetrias, Larisa in Phthiotia, Macedonia, Malis, Maroneia, Melitaea, Olynthus, Pharsalus, Samothrace, Thessalians, Thessalonica, Tricca
Black Sea: Olbia, Panticapaeum
Bosphorus/Hellespont: Abydus, Byzantium, Chalcedum, Cius, Cyzicus, Lampsacus, Proconnesus, Rhoetium, Tenedus
Crete: Aptera, Axus, Cnossus, Cydonia, Eleutherna, Elyrus, Gortyn, Hierapytna, Istron, Lappa, Lyttus, Malla, Olus, Polyrrhenia, Rhethymno
Egypt and Cyrene: Alexandria, Cyrene, Naucratis
Greece (Central) includes Athens, Boeotia, and Euboea: Athens, Boeotians, Carystos, Chalcis, Delphi, Eretria, Histiaea, Lebedea, Megara, Oropos, Tanagra, Thebes
Greece (Peloponnese): Achaea, Aegina, Argos, Cleitor, Corinth, Cyphanta, Cythera, Epidaurus, Epidaurus in Laconia, Hermione, Messene, Pellana, Sicyon, Sparta
Greece (West) includes the cities of Epirus and Aetolia, except for Melitaea, which is geographically in Thessaly, even though it is here attested while part of the Aetolian League during its furthest expanse: Acarnanians, Aetolians, Argos Amphilochia, Epirus, Naupactus, Thronium.
Levant: Aradus, Ascalum, Babylon, Carpasia, Citium, Nabataeans, Salamis, Sidon, Tyre
Magna Graecia here includes Massilia, and Rome: Canusium, Croton, Fregellae, Massalia, Rhegium, Rome, Syracuse, Tarentum
South Asia Minor: Antiochea (Alabanda), Antiochea on the Cydnus (Tarsus), Aspendus, Telmessus
Unclear: Apollonia, Heraclea, Larisa, Neapolis, Seleucia

Magna Graecia	8	23	15
South Asia Minor	4	6	6
Unclear	5	8	6

Within this immediate geographical frame, the prominence of the East Aegean is noteworthy. The number of cities there with which the Cycladic cities connected is the same as that combined for central and Peloponnesian Greece, but both the number of individual connexions, and the number of state pairs attested is significantly higher. Even when Rhodes is removed from consideration, the East Aegean remains by far the best connected area both in terms of individual relations, and the number of city pairs attested: with the exception of Athens, all the top five connected states are from the east Aegean.

Table 26. Proxeny relations by city

	Network Including Delos	
	# relation pairs	**# state pairs**
Athens	33	10
Rhodes	29	9
Chios	18	7
Magnesia on the Maeander	16	16
Cnidus	11	6

In characterising the relations of these different areas with the Cycladic islands, the existence of a 'hub' in the Cyclades is clear. It is not the case that ties are evenly distributed among the Cycladic cities, whether we conceive of them in terms of proxeny relation-pairs or state-pairs. Instead, the number of relation-pairs and state-

pairs varies from Delos with 211 and 93 respectively, to Gyaros and Poiessa, each with but one of both[699].

On closer inspection, it is clear that the network is scale-free: there is no 'standard' city with a certain number of relations that is most frequent, but instead the range varies. Instead, we can conceive of the Cycladic proxeny network as having a single central hub of great importance, Delos, and three secondary hubs, Tenos, Carthaea, and Thera: a decentralised network[700].

Table 27. Total proxeny relations by state (state-based and relation-based)

State	# relations (per relation)	# relations (per state)
Total	456	294
Delos	211	93
Tenos	57	37
Carthaea	47	41
Thera	35	24
Astypalaea	17	17
Paros	16	12
Arcesine	15	11
Anaphe	15	13
Andros	14	10
Naxos	13	9
Ios	12	11
Melos	9	7
Minoa	9	8
Iulis	8	6
Ceos	7	3
Siphnos	6	3
League of the	5	4

699 Note that the additional proxeny relationship for Poiessa identified by Marek actually records an award of citizenship. On this relationship, recorded at *IG* XII.5 542, see 170n301.

700 In keeping with this characterisation, the distribution of states against the number of ties possessed by each state approximates to a power law: see Appendix 1. Charts, 272.

Islanders		
Aegiale	5	5
Syros	4	3
Seriphos	4	4
Cimolos	3	3
Cythnos	3	3
Sicinos	3	3
Coresia	2	2
Myconos	2	2
Pholegandros	2	2
Gyaros	1	1
Poiessa	1	1

Delos' importance as the central hub for this network is confirmed when we remove Delos and the cities only tied to Delos from the network: both the number and frequency of connexions are markedly lower without Delos, resulting in a less dense, and less well-connected network. This significant difference remains whether we analyse the network as a whole; only the external network, that is, ties between states outside the Cyclades and those inside the Cyclades; or just the internal network, that is, the ties between different Cycladic states. This indicates that Delos' importance is not restricted to either internal or external communication, but applies in both spheres.

Table 28. Number of proxeny relations (relation-based)[701]

	Network Including Delos			**Network Excluding Delos**		
	n	#	Average links	n	#	Average links
Overall	158	456	2.89	110	245	2.23
External	155	386	2.49	107	209	1.95
Internal	24	70	2.92	22	36	1.64

[701] For a graphical representation of the two networks, see 273–274.

Separating out the internal and external networks is revealing in further respects. We see that the internal network is significantly denser than the external network when Delos is part of the network; that the repercussions of Delos' removal are greater for the internal network than for the external network; and that the cohesion of the internal network without Delos is far less than that of the external network without Delos. All three characteristics indicate, first, that the internal network, that is, the Cycladic network, has a discrete set of characteristics separate from those of the overall network. They thus argue that the geographical notion of the Cyclades is here valuable, and reflected in the network we are tracing. Second, they suggest that Delos was central to that cohesion: as a hub, it created and maintained a network around it. Whether consciously or not, the many literary references we cited in the introduction to the Cyclades *encircling* Delos were not only engaging in a literary pun but, on this level, were also reflecting a genuine aspect of Cycladic structure.

We can further demonstrate Delos' central position in both networks through two useful metrics. The first is the concept of betweenness centrality: this measures how often the shortest path between any two states ("vectors") goes through a particular state. It is perhaps unsurprising that, as the best connected of the states, Delos naturally has the highest betweenness centrality figure. By extension, however, we can consider the betweenness centralisation of the network as a whole: this is "the variation in the betweenness centrality of different vertices divided by the maximum variation in betweenness centrality scores possible in a network of the same size"[702].

[702] de Nooy, Mrvar, and Batagelj 2005, 131.

Thus, the higher the betweenness centralisation of a specific network, the more important the hubs in that network are.

Table 29. Betweenness centralisation (relation-based)

	Network Including Delos			Network Excluding Delos		
	n	#	Betweenness	n	#	Betweenness
Overall	158	456	0.69	110	245	0.44
External	155	386	0.67	107	209	0.42
Internal	24	70	0.62	22	36	0.47

The singular nature of Delos' position is further confirmed by comparing its own betweenness centrality with those of the other hubs both when Delos forms part of the network and when it does not. Without Delos and the states only connected through it, the second tier of hubs naturally becomes more important to the network as a whole, but no hub gains a role equivalent to that of Delos.

Table 30. Betweenness centrality (relation-based)

	Network Including Delos		Network Excluding Delos	
	Highest	Next	Highest	Next
Overall	0.70	0.25	0.45	0.37
External	0.68	0.25	0.44	0.38
Internal	0.65	0.14	0.56	0.44

A second metric that also measures the importance of the hubs is that of degree centralisation. Each state connects to a certain number of other states: this is its degree. As seen in the introduction, if physical and human limitations were not a factor, then the most efficient network for communication would be centralised, with

each state connecting to just one hub. This network would also involve maximal differentiation between the number of connexions of that single hub, and that of all the other points, which would all be peripheral. By contrast, a network consisting of a series of points on a line has very little differentiation: all the points connect to just two others, except for the end two points, which connect to only one. It is hence also not very centralised. Degree centralisation measures the variation in the degree of each node as a proxy to illustrate how important an inner core of one hub or more is to the network as a whole. Again, removing Delos does not only remove the cities with which it uniquely is connected, it also weakens the cohesion of the rest of the network.

Table 31. Degree centralisation (state-based)[703]

	Network Including Delos			**Network Excluding Delos**		
	n	#	Degree	n	#	Degree
Overall	158	294	0.58	110	201	0.34
External	155	249	0.49	107	171	0.30
Internal	24	45	0.53	22	30	0.22

Cumulatively, the structure of this network can therefore validly be compared to that of a decentralised network, with one central hub over which most 'traffic' flowed, Delos, three less important hubs, and then a variety of local hubs and nodes. Thera, Carthaea, and Tenos, but Delos most of all, were central to the network. This conclusion is in keeping with the principle of preferential attachment that applies in social networks. As noted earlier, it does not matter what the criterion for fitness is: new nodes joining a network are more likely to tie to a node which possesses a pre-

[703] Degree centralisation can only be calculated on a network without multiple equivalent lines, - *ie*, on a state-based network only representing state pairs, not individual relations.

existing competitive advantage, including possessing many pre-existing connexions, leading to a situation which is self-reinforcing.

These factors are clearly relevant to both actors in the proxeny relation. States were perpetually short on resources in antiquity, and proxeny potentially represented a significant investment of resources: the donor city was expected to a range of associated honours, including perpetual freedom from taxation and hospitality whenever the *proxenos* was present[704]. The *proxenos* was also expected to maintain his regard for the city for which he was *proxenos* by continuing benefactions. In addition, it seems that he was usually present when the award of proxeny was made[705].

For both parties in the exchange, if they were going to invest in a relation, it made sense to select those counterparts most likely to bring the greatest reward, by honouring a *proxenos* from a significant state that was itself well-connected, and by choosing to engage with a state with significant resources. Especially for longer-distance proxeny relations, there was a significant minimum investment involved in making the journey from home state to honouring state. The additional investment

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[704] By which is not necessarily meant that they were continuously impoverished, but that they were always seeking to use resources as efficiently as possible because of the multiple demands made on them. See the overview at Migeotte 2007a, translated into English as Migeotte 2009. The measures taken by cities to raise funds at times of need included additional taxes (in an Athenian context: Brun 1983), loans (Migeotte 1984), and public and private benefactions (Migeotte 1992).

[705] Gschnitzer 1973, 686; this conclusion is also implicit in the precise dates suggested by scholars, who tie awards of proxeny with known actions by the *proxenos*. See, *eg*, the discussion of *IG* XI.4 778 at 212n499. The rhetoric of the inscriptions also occasionally implies the presence of the *proxenos*, as in *IG* XI.4 666, where Aristoboulus παρ]επιδεδήμηκεν (7; perfect). Similarly, inscriptions refer to the need to display to all that the demos knows how to honour benefactors, and order the sending of a copy of the decree so that the honorand's own city knows that he has been honoured (examples at 159n274), but no inscription refers to the need to display to the benefactor the demos' ability, or orders the sending of a copy of the decree to the honorand. The social dynamics involved in proxeny performance are here analogous to those Wilson 2000, 136–143 identified for the Athenian *choregos*.

required for a Panticapaean in travelling that much further to Delos, rather than pausing at Andros or Myconos, or for a Syracusan, in travelling to Delos rather than pausing at Melos or Cimolos, was marginal in comparison to the effort already undertaken. The potential rewards were, however, that much greater, because other agents were simultaneously making the very same decisions.

Hence, we should not be surprised that the states included in our database tend to be more prominent states also in our literary narratives, and those which we understand as having been the most significant: these were the states with which it was more worth while creating such connexions. Again, moreover, this principle applies both inside the Cyclades, where it reflects the low profile of Gyaros and Poiessa even among their fellow Cycladic islanders, and externally: that 47 of the 93 state pairs involving Delos have no parallel involving any other Cycladic island is a rational conclusion of the principle of preferential attachment.

Diachronic analysis

When the proxeny network is considered as a whole, the central role Delos plays in the network is visible. The cohesion of the network is far greater when Delos is present than when it is absent. This aspect is still more apparent on a diachronic analysis.

Initial analysis suggests that the proxeny network as a whole was larger in the second and third periods, covering respectively *c* 300–220 and *c* 220–150, than it was in the first and fourth periods, covering *c* 375–300, and *c* 150–50. This increase is

visible whether we consider just the number of states involved in the network, the number of relations attested, or the number of state pairs attested.

Table 32. Network data per period[706]

		375–300	300–220	220–150	150–50
# states	**Inc Delos**	48	106	75	30
	Exc Delos	42	64	43	30
# connexions	**Inc Delos**	67	180	142	40
	Exc Delos	53	65	62	40
# state pairs	**Inc Delos**	57	125	104	30
	Exc Delos	48	60	57	30

A very different picture appears, however, when Delos is removed from the analysis. It is clear that Delos is responsible for almost all the increase in the size of the proxeny network in the second and third period. In addition, when Delos and its connexions are excluded, all three metrics, the number of cities, proxeny connexions, and state pairs involved in the proxeny network, remain reasonably stable across all four periods. This background stability is important in reminding us that Delos was at no point ever the sole point of contact between the Cyclades and the outside world, - but the network principles here do not attempt to make it so. The principle of preferred attachment is one of preference, not inevitability. What Delos did do by its existence as a hub was attract more connexions, and more from further afield, a point to which we return below.

The reason why Delos is a factor in the middle two periods when it is not in the outer two has to do with its political history. After 167/166, Delos was subject to

[706] For graphical representations of the two networks, see 275–278.

Athens, and so not able to grant proxeny. This fact explains its complete absence from the last period. Similarly, the sanctuary at Delos was under the control of an amphictyony for a large part of the fourth century. Towards the end of the fourth century, however, the relationship between the *polis* and sanctuary changed: the Delians seem to have started exercising more direct control over the sanctuary, and, plausibly as a result, seem also to have started granting proxeny far more often than previously[707].

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[707] For the traditional date of 314 as marking Delian 'independence', see briefly Vial 1984, 1–3, although the argument summarised there for September 314 from Tréheux 1949 had already been withdrawn by Tréheux 1959, 1:179–198; see 454n1044. For discussion of the evidence behind this traditional date and the notion of Delian 'independence', see Appendix 6. Delian 'independence', 315/314, and *ID* 104-30, 450. Our argument there against 314 and a clear notion of Delian 'independence', whether understood as liberation from Athenian dominance at that date or as involving replacement of the *amphictyones* with Delian *hieropoioi*, affects how we interpret the change in Delos' visibility in the proxeny network towards the end of the fourth century. As we argue at 489, and especially by analogy with developments at Delphi and Olympia at 489 and especially 490n1076, the *polis* of Delos was plausibly not as closely associated with the sanctuary in the fourth century as it would be in the third century. Hence, we should not expect to find so many proxeny decrees in the fourth century, because engagement with the hub that was the sanctuary did not inherently involve engagement with the *polis* in the way that it would later.

For a recent brief reconstruction of the varying status of Delos in the fourth century, see Tuplin 2005, 31–60: he reconstructs independence from 404 to 394 then again from 385 to 377, and some form of Athenian control for the rest of the fourth century. As Tuplin acknowledges, the detailed history of the period is unknown to us: see Tuplin 2005, 60 for hypothesised contexts that can have further disrupted Athenian dominance. The failed Delian petition to the Delphic amphictyony in the spring of 345 (or 343, following Engels 1993, 78–83) to have control of the temple restored to them, which is mentioned by Demosthenes 18.134, is a rare ray of light: Roux 1979a, 116–167; Lefèvre 1998b, 94–96; Sánchez 2001, 203–213.

For an account which prefers to emphasise continuity of Athenian control, see Chankowski 2008, especially 215–233, 379–385; for discussion, see 458n1047. Cargill 1981, 36 similarly treats Athenian possession of Delos as the norm in the fourth century, but, as noted at Appendix 6. Delian 'independence', 315/314, and *ID* 104-30, 450, it is hardly certain. Buckler 2003 and Accame 1941 seem not to consider this crux in their overviews of the fourth century Aegean, while Cargill 1995 also excludes Delos from discussion because the Athenians did not settle on Delos, but only administered it (167). *Cf* Rutherford 2004b, 82, which unusually states without expansion that Delos became independent in 336 and remained so until 166.

Delos' status is particularly unclear from 333/2 to 314 (or rather 312, see 450n1042), a period to which no administrative document is currently dated: the last dated amphictyonic document is *ID* 104-31 (= *IG* II^2 1653 = Chankowski 2008, 495–497 46 [333/2]). Continuity of amphictyonic control of the sanctuary before that date is most likely, irrespective of the vagaries of Athenian and other states' fortunes in the Aegean. Nevertheless, certainty is not possible: Tuplin 2005, 50 states that there was no

A change in Delian political status need not directly reflect or cause a change in the underlying structure of the network. It is only relevant if it pertains to Delos' preferential advantage in the network, and that seems not to be the case. Instead, Delos' importance as the symbolic centre of the Cyclades even before the Hellenistic period has long been apparent. The name given the early phase of what became the fifth-century Athenian Empire, the "Delian League", may be modern, but it reflects the importance of Delos as religious and symbolic centre of the alliance both in its early phase, when, according to Thucydides, Delos housed the allied treasury, and during the Archidamian War, when the Athenians ritually cleansed Delos in 426/425 and reinstituted the *Delia*[708].

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disruption to the amphictyony after Chaeronea, and Will 1983, 14 that the Athenian "Protektorat" over Delos after Chaeronea, but neither conclusion is strictly certain. The first penteteric Athenian golden crown after Chaeronea would only have been offered in 335/4, while *ID* 104-30 (= *IG* II^2 1652 = Chankowski 2008, 493–495 45), the first surviving inventory after Chaeronea, which is explicitly cited by Will 1983, 14, only dates to 334/3. As we are concerned here not with the governance of the sanctuary, but with explaining the apparent difference in the number of proxeny relations attested for the *polis* of Delos between the fourth and third centuries, the precise details do not affect our understanding. In so far as our approach here is not dependent on insisting on Delian subjugation throughout the fourth century, or on otherwise denying the *polis* of Delos the right to grant proxeny in the fourth century, however, but instead involves a change in the perceived relationship between *polis* and sanctuary occurring during the course of the late fourth century, it is more resilient than any interpretation dependent on reconstructing the details of their varying status at this time.

708 For more extensive discussion of Delos, emphasising its role as a locus of display and competition, see the next study. The summary here of Delos' role in the Cyclades has a different emphasis from the discussion there, but they are entirely compatible.
No ancient source refers to the Delian League by that name. Thucydides 1.96.1 merely refers to the Athenians taking over τὴν ἡγεμονίαν in the context of Pausanias' recall, and to its evolution into ἀρχὴ (1.97.2). Delos as the home of the treasury: Thucydides 1.96.2. It is usually assumed that the treasury was moved to Athens at some point, probably in or immediately prior to 454/453, the first year of the Athenian Tribute Lists. On Delos' purification, narrated by Thucydides at 3.104, see, with previous bibliography, Hornblower 1991, 1:517–531; Brock 1996. More generally on the symbolism of Delos, see briefly the comments at Hornblower 1992, especially 382 and 394–397, and, at greater length, Smarczyk 1990, 464–482; Lanzillotta 1996, and Constantakopoulou 2007, 66–75. On Athenian economic ties with Delos throughout the fifth and fourth centuries on the economic plane: Chankowski 2001a.

Delos' importance is visible still earlier: Herodotus records that Datis, the Persian general, did not attack Delos, but instead burned 300 talents of incense as an ostentatious demonstration of his piety[709]. Because so much of our literary evidence for earlier periods is affected by the lens of the Aegean experience in the fifth century, understanding the dynamics there is more difficult, but the Homeric Hymn to Apollo, and the stories of Peisistratus cleansing the island, and of Polycrates dedicating Rhenaea to Delos by connecting them with a chain, all suggest that Delos was already an important part of the symbolic universe at least in the late sixth century[710]. The archaeological evidence is also consistent with this conclusion: however the buildings and sculptures themselves are identified, the construction of monumental architecture on Delos already in the early seventh century and continuing sporadically throughout the archaic period seems certain[711]. All of this evidence suggests that it is implausible to see a significant change in Delos' prominence in the Cyclades associated with the change in the relationship between *polis* and sanctuary that occurred in the late fourth century.

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709 Herodotus 6.97.

710 Datis: Herodotus 6.97.2. Peisistratus: Herodotus 1.64.2, Thucydides 3.104.1–2; on Athenian interest in Delos in the archaic period, see recently Constantakopoulou 2007, 63–66; on Polycrates, Delos, and Rhenaea: Thucydides 1.13.6, and 3.104.2 with Parke 1946.

711 For an overview, see Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 53–56 with references, and Coldstream 1977, 213–216 and 330–331 (= Coldstream 2003, 213–216 and 330–331) on possible continuity of cult with the Mycenaean era. The standard reference on Delian monumental architecture remains Vallois 1944, but many of the dates have been superseded. For a recent synthesis and analysis of the architectural and other evidence, including the so-called "*Oikos* of the Naxians" and the Naxian lions, adduced to suggest Naxian influence on Delos in the early archaic period: Gruben 1997. For a discussion emphasising the politics of space and the dynamics of competition on archaic Delos, see briefly 330–337; for a wider-ranging and mostly compatible discussion of the early history of Delos, see Constantakopoulou 2007, 38–58 and 62–76.

A similar narrative is visible in Delos' archaeological record after the Delian loss of 'independence' in 167/166 in the aftermath of the war between the Romans and Perseus. Polybius narrates that the Athenians requested, and received Delos from the Romans. This act has traditionally been understood as an anti-Rhodian move by the Romans, although this interpretation is now occasionally questioned[712]. Whether so or not, it did not adversely affect the island. Instead, there seems to have been an increase of building activity. Many of the Delian houses that have been excavated are dated to this period, and over ninety per cent of the Delian epitaphs excavated date to the end of the second century or the beginning of the first century. Cumulatively, the picture is one of a great, if not entirely quantifiable, increase in population with the arrival of Athenian rule[713]. A central part of this shift, moreover, is the phenomenon of associations of foreign groups. Delos seems to have become more cosmopolitan, not less, with evidence for different non-Greek groups from across the Mediterranean,

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[712] Polybius 30.20 and 31 on the Rhodian Astymedes' complaints. For the Delian epigraphic evidence supporting the date: Vial 1984, 3. For a reconsideration, see Gabrielsen 1993. Roussel 1916a, reissued in updated form as Roussel 1987, remains the standard work on Delos after 167/166. On the date: 327n800. The status of Delos remains difficult: the Athenian cleruchy is not attested after *c* 145/4; Athenian control seems to have been reinstituted after Mithridates' sack along with Lemnos, Imbros and Scyros (though the evidence is not so clear as for those islands: Ferguson 1911, 454; Habicht 1997, 311–312); *ID* 1620, dating at the latest to 80, because it honours L Licinius Lucullus, may perhaps indicate that Athenian control had already then been recovered. Whether so or not, Roman taxes were (still?) in place to be cancelled by the *Lex Gabinia Calpurnia* of 58. Nicolet 1980, 99–100 understands these taxes as probably imposed by Sulla, not later, but they could also predate him.

[713] Delian epitaphs: Couilloud 1974, 305. Roussel 1931, 443 calculated the population of Delos at the end of the second century at perhaps *c* 20000 to 30000; accepting this figure, Couilloud 1974, 305 contrasts it with only several thousand during the period of independence. In his description of Delos, Strabo 10.4.5 also points to Corinth's elimination in 146 as a cause of increased prosperity for Delos.

including Egyptians, Syrians, Phoenicians, Jews and Samaritans. Some seem even to have had their own complex, such as the Poseidoniasts from Beirut[714].

The physical landscape of Delos thus continued to change after the loss of 'independence'. This development plausibly also had effects on Delos' symbolic importance: no longer was the island the home of a small population clustered round a sanctuary. We cannot, however, speak of a reduction in Delos' status. Instead, inscriptions and architecture both attest continued Delian involvement in the broader mediterranean world. This is not reflected in proxeny awards because Delos was not

[714] Scholars are much less confident now than in the past at equating the spread of religious beliefs associated with a particular area with spread of the people from that area; nevertheless, the evidence for the foundation or expansion of these cults after 167/166 suggests ongoing contact. For a recent, but at times problematic, overview of the different cults: Hudson McLean 1996; for the position of foreigners in general on Delos, see the wide-ranging survey in Baslez 1982b, and for an index of those identified: Tréheux 1992b. Egyptian cult: Roussel 1916b, and Vidman 1969, 62–87; for discussion of a specific instance, see, on the Melanophoroi, Baslez 1975. Syrians: the sanctuary of the Syrian God(s), specifically Atargatis and Hadad (Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 274–276 98); the earliest dated inscription is from 128/7, but an inscription published by Siebert may point to a foundation before 150: Siebert 1968; Bruneau 1970, 466–473; Will and Schmid 1985; *cf* the house of the trident (Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 301–303 118), whose Syrian symbolism has led to suggestions it was the home of a Syrian merchant: Chamonard 1924, 27–29 and 139–152, with Bruneau 1970, 473. Phoenicians: the Poseidoniasts of Beirut (Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 227–231 57): Picard 1920; Picard 1921; and Bruneau 1978, identifying Roma, Poseidon, and Astarte as the three gods worshipped in the three earlier rooms; together with Bruneau 1991, 379–386, which reasserts his sequencing and identifications against Meyer 1988. Either way, the initial phase of the complex is dated *c* 150. More generally on semitic names on Delos: Masson 1971. On the Italian colleges, see, *eg*, the Agora of the Hermiasts, also known as the Agora of the Competaliasts (Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 163–166 2): Bruneau 1970, 567–569; Mavrojannis 1995; Hasenohr 2000; Hasenohr 2001; Hasenohr 2002; on Italians on Delos, see Hatzfeld 1912; the articles collected by Müller and Hasenohr 2002, especially 11–77, and the index of Italians on Delos 181–239; and the work of Hasenohr. In addition, inscriptions record Heracleist merchants and ship-owners from Tyre (*ID* 1519: δεδόχθαι τῶι κοινῶι τῶν Τυρίων Ἡρακλειστῶν / ἐμπόρων καὶ ναυκλήρων (35–36) [153/152]), and an association of Alexandrian warehousemen (*ID* 1528–1529: ἡ σύνοδος τῶν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείαι πρεσβυτέρων ἐγδοχέων" [both dated to the second half of the second century]).

in a position to award proxeny; nevertheless, we have no reason to posit a parallel shift in Delos' position in the network[715].

We can, moreover, support the suggestion of continuity, when we consider the distribution of longer-distance proxeny relations in all four periods. Because of the even greater investment of resources involved in creating and maintaining relations of proxeny, these were necessarily less frequent than those from states nearer to the Cyclades, as we saw above. We might also expect that they were also more likely to be formed with the hubs, and specifically with Delos, than with other islands: the incremental effort involved in travelling to Delos or Thera, rather than to Melos was that much less in comparison to the overall effort involved, and was still repaid by additional benefits. This hypothesis is supported by the evidence, as comparison of the relations from Magna Graecia, the Black Sea, the Levant, and West Greece illustrate[716]. When Delos was active in the proxeny network, the majority of attested long-distance relations were with Delos. Without Delos, the number of attested relations dramatically decreases in the two central periods. In the last period, when Delos is effectively absent, it remains low, - with the partial exception of Magna Graecia, reflecting the increased Roman activity in the region.

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[715] For a wide-ranging discussion of the urban fabric of the city and its evolution from the time of independence, see Bruneau 1968, arguing that none of the 'Houses' dates earlier than the second century; specifically on the extent of the independent town: 634–637; on the difficulties of identifying its remains amidst the second century expansion: 637. His conclusions are largely followed by Trümper 1998, especially 126–137, who argues that some houses could possibly date to the third century, but that the overwhelming majority of houses analysed do date after 166.

[716] West Greece: conceptually, equivalent in distance to Magna Graecia, when account is taken of sea routes. Both lay the other side of Cape Malea or Corinth.

Table 33. Select external network data per period

		Including Delos / Excluding Delos			
		375–300	**300–220**	**220–150**	**150–50**
# states	**Bosphorus/H'pont**	5 / 4	6 / 4	2 / 0	1 / 1
	Egypt	0 / 0	3 / 1	2 / 1	0 / 0
	Levant	2 / 0	3 / 2	5 / 1	1 / 1
	Magna Graecia	0 / 0	5 / 4	5 / 1	1 / 1
# connexions	**Bosphorus/H'pont**	5 / 4	14 / 4	3 / 0	1 / 1
	Egypt	0 / 0	6 / 1	2 / 1	0 / 0
	Levant	3 / 0	3 / 2	7 / 1	1 / 1
	Magna Graecia	0 / 0	6 / 5	12 / 2	4 / 4
# state pairs	**Bosphorus/H'pont**	5 / 4	10 / 4	2 / 0	1 / 1
	Egypt	0 / 0	4 / 1	2 / 1	0 / 0
	Levant	2 / 0	3 / 2	6 / 1	1 / 1
	Magna Graecia	0 / 0	6 / 5	7 / 2	2 / 2

Combining these two insights suggests that directly to compare the number of proxeny relations at different times and hence to argue that the Cycladic islands were more isolated in the final period would be invalid. Instead, the structural role identified for Delos may have continued. Rather than the Cyclades becoming more isolated, the proxeny metric is less efficient at charting the connectivity because Delos' change in status renders the ties it provides invisible.

The end of the network

With very few exceptions, proxeny inscriptions are not attested after the early first century. In part, this shift can be ascribed to changes in the external political environment, not least the ineluctable rise of Rome, and of Roman influence in this region. This phenomenon may also be sufficient to explain the end of the bestowal of proxeny in the Cyclades. As we noted at the start of this discussion, it does not automatically follow that the structural dynamics that we traced here also cease,

because proxeny has been approached as a proxy for these. It does, however, seem plausible that the network did shift, because of contemporaneous changes in the status of Delos at this time, both symbolic and economic. Here we outline these changes, and discuss the effects on the structure of communication in the broader Cycladic region.

The shifting dynamics on Delos in the second century have already been mentioned. These changes form part of broader fluxes in the political and cultural history of the region: with the rise of Rome, there was less scope for other powers to compete for control of the Aegean in the way that they had in previous centuries. Over the longer-term, this change might have led to less interest in Delos, but, as we demonstrate in the next study, there is no reason to think this was the case in the late second century. Instead, there is evidence of continued dedications, together with Roman investment as they established their position relative to the kingdoms and cities of the Aegean region[717]. Later, Roman interest would move eastwards, and the cities not be in a position to resume their previous engagement. Just as a virtuous cycle can develop where existing investment encourages more interest, so the reverse also applies. There is strikingly little evidence for activity at the sanctuary in the first century and after. As often elsewhere, there is evidence for an attempted revival under

[717] For further discussion, see especially 379–389.

Hadrian with the sending of dodecads, sacrifices of twelve animals, but this brief insight but underscores the paucity of evidence elsewhere[718].

We could connect these two parts of the narrative as part of a long continuous decline. Instead, however, the evidence rather points to a systemic shock, where significant investment and dedicatory activity in the second century was followed by what, without great exaggeration, may be termed archaeological silence. Delos' economic decline from approximately the beginning of the first century is clear. It is traditionally connected to the sacks by Mithridates in 88, and, soon after, a sack by Athenodorus in 69 recorded in an excerpt of Phlegon of Tralles preserved by Photius[719]. Strabo wrote of systematic destruction, of the island being deserted when the Romans recovered it, and of Delos remaining in this wretched state until his own time[720].

These sources should not be taken entirely at face value, and the archaeological evidence for destruction that can be directly connected to either or both of these two events is also not significant[721]. The general picture is, however, secure: the building activity and inscriptional evidence for diversity is essentially confined to the late second century and early first century. Phlegon mentions a wall that Triarius built

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718 *ID* 2535–2547: dates from AD 112/3 to AD 124/5 are recorded in *ID* 2535 and 2536. For an overview of the dodecads, see Bruneau 1970, 139–142.

719 Phlegon of Tralles *FgrHist* 257 F 12.13 = Photius *Bibliotheca* 97.

720 Strabo 10.5.4: ἐπελθόντες δ' οἱ τοῦ Μιθριδάτου στρατηγοὶ καὶ ὁ ἀποστήσας τύραννος αὐτὴν διελυμήναντο πάντα, καὶ παρέλαβον ἐρήμην οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι πάλιν τὴν νῆσον, ἀναχωρήσαντος εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ διετέλεσε μέχρι νῦν ἐνδεῶς πράττουσα. *Cf* Appian *Mithridatica* 28; Pausanias 3.23.3–4.

721 For a summary: Bruneau 1968, 671–691, especially 673–683 on the perhaps excessive eagerness to connect data to these sacks; earlier discussion: Roussel 1916a, 317–335.

after the sack by Athenodorus. This wall has been identified in various parts. Its plan is significantly smaller than the earlier settlement, and it does reuse significant amounts of earlier sculpture and architecture, suggesting that certain buildings were no longer required. Even if they had been in use immediately prior to 67, and were torn down by Triarius' men, there is no evidence for rebuilding[722]. The physical damage wrought by the two sacks may have been less than has in the past been supposed, but the cumulative damage to Delos' economic situation is clear: it was not worth while for the merchants to return, and the decline was such that the Romans felt it no longer worth maintaining their revenues in 58[723]. So too, the theatre seems to have been abandoned after 69, if not already after 88[724].

To reconcile these parts of the narrative, we can again turn to our network perspective. In effect, Delos lost her preferential advantage at this time. Delos' position was dependent on the continual reaffirmation of the ties. For all the underlying political and social changes that we might identify for this time, the hub could be resilient because of the investment represented by the existing accumulation

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722 Four dedications by his sailors to Caius Valerius Triarius survive, one of which mentions a wall, another a tower (*ID* 1856 and 1857, with 1855 and 1858). More detailed discussion of the situation at this time: Bruneau 1968, 683–688 and Ferrary 1980. On the desolation of imperial Delos, Bruneau and Fraisse 1981, 531–533. Existing buildings continued to be used, but there was no restoration; see, *eg*, the use history of the synagogue, where ceramic evidence suggests use continued into the second century AD. Originally published by Plassart 1914, the identification has been disputed, but was defended by Bruneau 1968); for recent overviews arguing in favour and against the identification: Trümper 2004 and Matassa 2007.

723 Various factors have been adduced for this, including a shift in the Roman slave trade: as Romans subdued ever more provinces about the eastern Mediterranean, the market for slaves necessarily shifted further afield, making Delos ever less obvious as a market, even before Pompey's intervention in 67: Crawford 1977; and the growth of direct connexions between the east and Rome that bypassed Delos: Ferrary 1980, 35–36. 58: see 256n712.

724 The theatre (Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 296–298 114): see now Fraisse and Moretti 2007; earlier discussion at Reinach 1889; Chamonard 1896b; Chamonard 1896a; Béquignon and Replat 1927; Vallois 1944, 1:220–238.

of ties, until it was attacked. Once a significant number of those ties had been lost and had simultaneously to be rebuilt, however, the calculation was different. Delos' loss of status can have crystallised, except for those, like the emperor Hadrian, with great interest in historical symbolism.

Reframing the narrative in this way in these terms derived from network theory has three further advantages. First, it provides a metaphor to understand how the destruction (military and hence economic) wrought on Delos can have had systemic effects without needing to posit attacks on different islands. The same resilience which meant that the decentralised network could cope with attacks on other islands without difficulty meant that, when an important hub, - Delos, - came under pressure, there were important systemic effects on the network as a whole. The network necessarily fragmented, affecting communication between the other nodes, cutting some of them off from the network. Because Delos was so central to the network, an attack on Delos necessarily vicariously affected other islands, and they can have been affected without needing to posit equivalent action on them.

Second, it provides an explanation for regional isolation: Cycladic states would inevitably have reconstructed alternative regional connexions, effectively acting from necessity. For external nodes, however, the calculations were different: the connexion with Delos was one of far fewer long-distance connexions they maintained. Delos had not been competing against other Cycladic states for that tie, but against states across the Greek world. With no peer hub in the Cyclades with which a tie might have been created in lieu of Delos, those external cities thus may have turned

their attention elsewhere, resulting in regional disconnect. Not just Delos, but the entire region suffered.

Third, we saw above how the internal network had far greater cohesion when Delos was part of the network than when it was removed; that the literary references to islands dancing round Delos were here made manifest. With the hub removed from the picture, the region may well have been more fragmented, resulting in the uncertainty over the division between the *scattered* Sporades and *encircling* Cyclades, which we identified in the introduction.

Conclusion

This study analysed proxeny relations involving the Cycladic islands. It approached them primarily as a network that can inform us about the extent and nature of connexions both between the Cycladic islands themselves and between the islands and the broader Greek world. Having gathered the data set, both the synchronic and the diachronic analyses emphasised the importance of Delos to communication across the region, and analysis of the data set as a whole suggested that the proxeny network was analogous in form to a scale-free decentralised network involving hubs of differing importance across the network. Hence, it is not enough to consider in isolation the number of the direct connexions possessed by an island to other islands when evaluating how connected or isolated it may have been from the wider Greek world. Instead, we have to place it in the broader network, allowing for connexions through a few better connected islands which functioned as hubs, as is often the case

in social network analysis. Islands were thus plausibly much better connected with the outside world, if indirectly, than the scanty remains of proxeny relations and decrees would in themselves suggest.

This conclusion is important in at least two further ways: first, the theoretical framework underlying the analysis allows us to sidestep some of the evidentiary problems with which ancient historical work is inevitably faced: are there more decrees known from Delos simply because more work has been undertaken there? Or was Delos genuinely different from other states? If more excavation had been undertaken on, for example, Syros, would it look more like Delos? Or, if not like Delos, which is in some ways always an exception, then like Carthaea? It is quite plausible that, with more work, more decrees will become known, and perhaps even a few more state-centres: nevertheless, our conclusion here suggests that the underlying structure of the network would not change. The underlying lack of 'scale' (*ie*, typical node or civic unit) would remain the case, with the majority of islands having only a few connexions which tend to cluster towards the few 'hubs', and one or two far more connexions than any other. Second, this lack of 'scale' implies and provides an alternative lens complementing that provided by current theories of peer-polity interaction: that approach departs from the presupposition that, on some level, each of our states is equivalent, and that they saw each other as equivalent. This approach is rewarding, but our network analysis suggests that there was also a hierarchy of communication in a decentralised network; the success and difficulties of a single particularly important state in the network, such as Delos, could thus have systemic

repercussions far beyond those which are conceivable for a distributed network of states ever insisting on their own autarchy.

The nature of our evidence means that a fine-grained chronological narrative cannot directly be established based on changes in the proxeny network. It was not, however, the goal: instead, we sought to demonstrate how the proxeny network could act as proxy to understand more about the extent, nature, and structure of Cycladic communication, both internally and externally. Although our evidentiary focus is on the Hellenistic period, moreover, we argue that the structural insight here gained can validly be extended back earlier into the archaic and classical period, although probably not forward, for reasons we explain.

Nevertheless, the fact that most of the decrees in our data set have been approximately dated means that a coarse chronological division was possible. This division provided an internal validation for the data, and a measure of how far we were analysing an underlying structure, rather than the result of specific chronological developments in the connectivity or political situation in the region. Here, our analysis indicated that both the number of states connected through the proxeny network and the connectedness of those states was significantly lower when the *polis* of Delos was not so closely identified with the sanctuary, as was the case in the fourth century, or was not an independent state capable of active participation in the proxeny network, as was the case from the middle of the second century, when it was controlled by Athens. Nevertheless, Delos was physically available at both these periods, and possessed similar preferential advantages, - at all times, its symbolic

capital in standing by synecdoche for the whole Cyclades; later its additional economic success, - as it did while the *polis* was independent. Rather than the reduced visibility of connectivity pointing to structural change in the region, the structural deficiency of the network without Delos' visible involvement thus forms a further powerful argument for the existence of a decentralised network, for Delos' ongoing centrality to Cycladic communication throughout this period, and for a comparable degree of connectivity throughout the period.

To conceive of Delos as central to the Cyclades is not surprising: this status was clear to the literary authors in antiquity, as also to the many who dedicated there. What the network perspective has enabled, however, is a systemic approach that describes how that central position can have affected the other islands. These network dynamics affected them, however, both positively, in attracting additional ties and interest in the Cycladic region; and negatively, because it meant that, when Delos lost the preferential attraction that had enabled this interest, the other islands were not in a position to replace her, precisely because of their and the network's prior focus on Delos. Instead, they found themselves more isolated from each other, and more isolated from the rest of the Greek world.

Case study. Magnesia on the Maeander

An awareness of the structure of the proxeny network and underlying communication trends in the Cyclades as a whole suggests a different aspect to the request by Magnesia on the Maeander to recognise the festival of Artemis

Leucophryene and its request for *asylia*. As Rigsby notes, Delos seems to have sent a separate response from the other Cycladic cities, whose names are appended not below the response from Delos, but one from Paros. The same Magnesian envoys, however, are recorded in both decrees[725].

Rather than assuming these envoys did visit every state, we can hypothesise that they might have engaged with the other states precisely at Delos. As the hub of the Cycladic network, there was no need for the Magnesians to visit every island: instead, they could communicate their mission at Delos. This would also explain the slightly odd fact that the responses of the *ascripti*, the states whose names are appended below the text of the Parian decree, are not in geographical order: instead, the order of their names may correspond to the order in which the Magnesians received the response from the various islands that they contacted while they were at Delos. This same logic may also apply to other inscriptions where other cities' responses are appended. Rather than visiting all of the cities of Arcadia appended to the Megalopolitan decree, the Magnesians may merely have visited Megalopolis; rather than going to every Lesbian city, the Methymnians and Antissaeans may have remotely granted their assent while the envoys were at Mytilene[726]. Given the profile of both cities in our

[725] On the Magnesians' request and the resulting epigraphic dossier, see Rigsby 1996, 179–279, Slater and Summa 2006, and, particularly, Thonemann 2007, convincingly arguing against the previous *communis opinio* that the first mission in 221 was not a failure; on the Maeander valley, see now Thonemann 2011. Strictly, the names of only two of the envoys are recorded in the Delian decree, Demetrius, and Callicrates (*IMagnesia* 49 = Rigsby 1996, 236–237 99.3–4) . The third, Molossus, is restored from the Parian decree (*IMagnesia* 50 = Rigsby 1996, 237–239 100.11–12 and 55–57).

[726] The *ascripti* to the decree of Megalopolis: *IMagnesia* 38 = Rigsby 1996, 217–219 88.60–69; *eg*, 1.64–68: Heraea, Psophis, Thelp(h)ousa, Lous(i)oe. The name of the Lesbian city granting *IMagnesia* 52 = Rigsby 1996, 240–242 does not survive; it could be either Mytilene or Eresus. If there was a third city

sources for Arcadia and Lesbos, Megalopolis as the synoecised home of the Arcadian League, and Mytilene as the largest city on Lesbos, they would have made natural objectives for the envoys as they undertook their journey. Even this celebration of Greek civic life may thus reflect the network dynamics we have traced here.

The Delian response also differs in several respects from that of the other Cycladic islands. As has often been noted, Delos does not grant the Magnesian request for *asylia*. Rigsby understandably feels it implausible that the Delians had military aspirations in the Magnesia valley, and suggests that they may already have granted the request in 221[727]. Even if so, however, it remains unclear why the Delians did not grant proxeny.

Consideration of the proxeny network suggests a possible answer. By requesting proxeny from so many states, the Magnesians were creating a density of relations close to that of the Delians themselves. We may hypothesise that there was insufficient space for two such hubs to co-exist. The reality of both modern social networks and the structure of the proxeny network traced above suggests that there was only space for one central hub. The Magnesians were not attempting to complement Delos' position in the network, but instead were taking advantage of the contact that their religious mission enabled to replace Delos as a central hub of communication for the Cyclades, with the associated economic benefits which that would bring. On this reading, the separate recording of the responses of Delos and the

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alongside Methymna and Antissa where the stone has now been bevelled, the space available would only allow the Eresians, making Mytilene perhaps more plausible as the source of the decree.

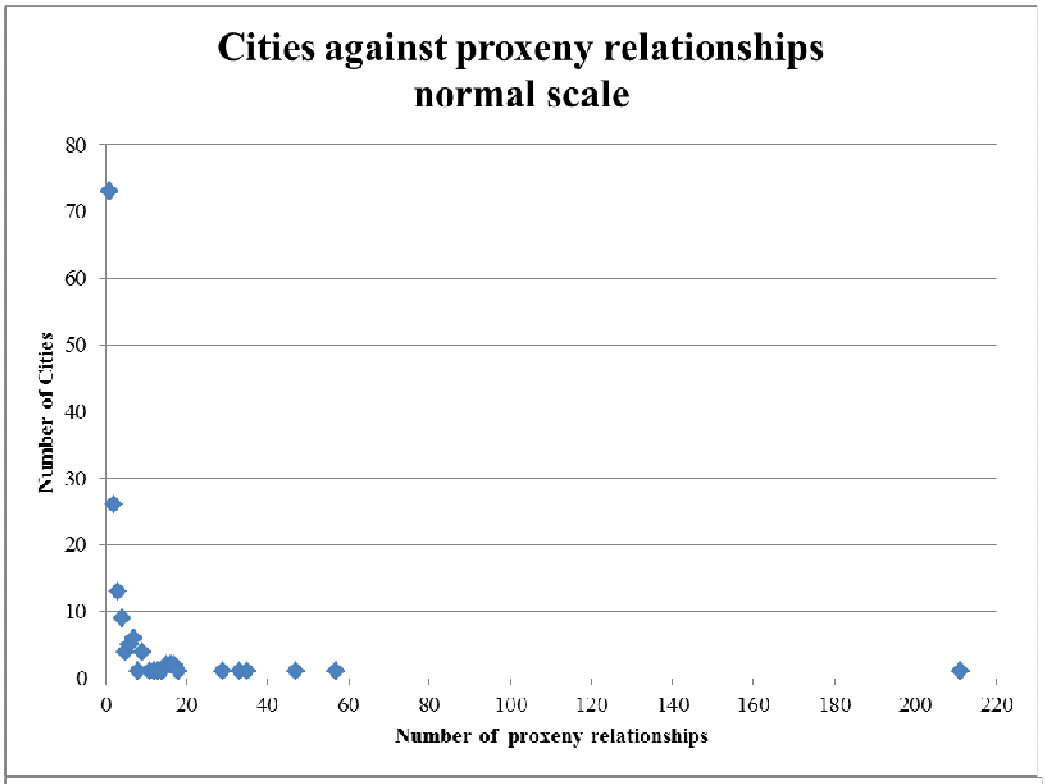
[727] Rigsby 1996, 182–183.

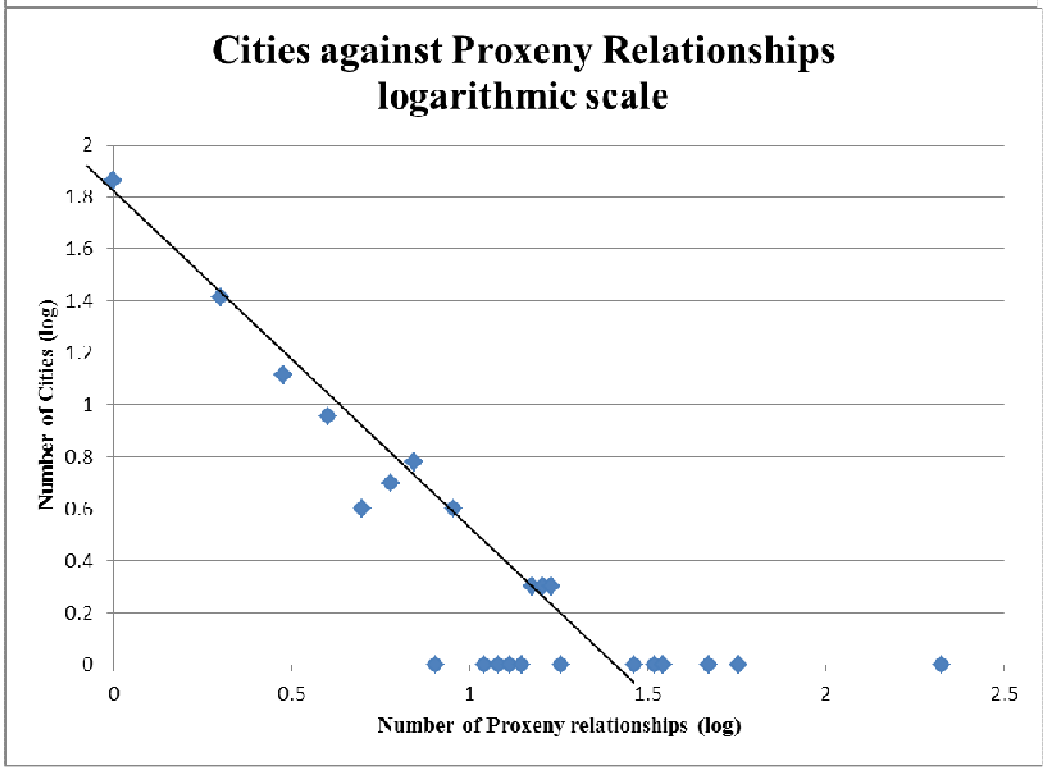
other Cycladic islands is symbolic. Rather than representing the Cycladic islands in the way that Megalopolis and Mytilene could the Arcadians and Lesbians, - areas for which Magnesia could not hope to perform a similar role, - Delos is physically separated from them.

The absence of any subsequent honorific inscription suggests that, although their religious mission was successful, the Magnesian attempt to remould Cycladic communication was not. Instead, Delos remained central to the communication network of the Cyclades throughout the third period. Why? A partial explanation may lie in the disruption of the wars of the turn of the century between Philip V and the Romans, and, particularly, the Romans and Antiochus III. Although the Cyclades themselves do not seem to have been badly affected by these wars, the coast of Asia Minor was central to the second phase of the Antiochean War after Antiochus' retreat from Greece after Thermopylae[728].

[728] See the brief discussion at 529–533 with further bibliography there mentioned.

Appendix 1. Charts





Appendix 2. Graphical representations of the network

Figure 36. The whole network, including Delos

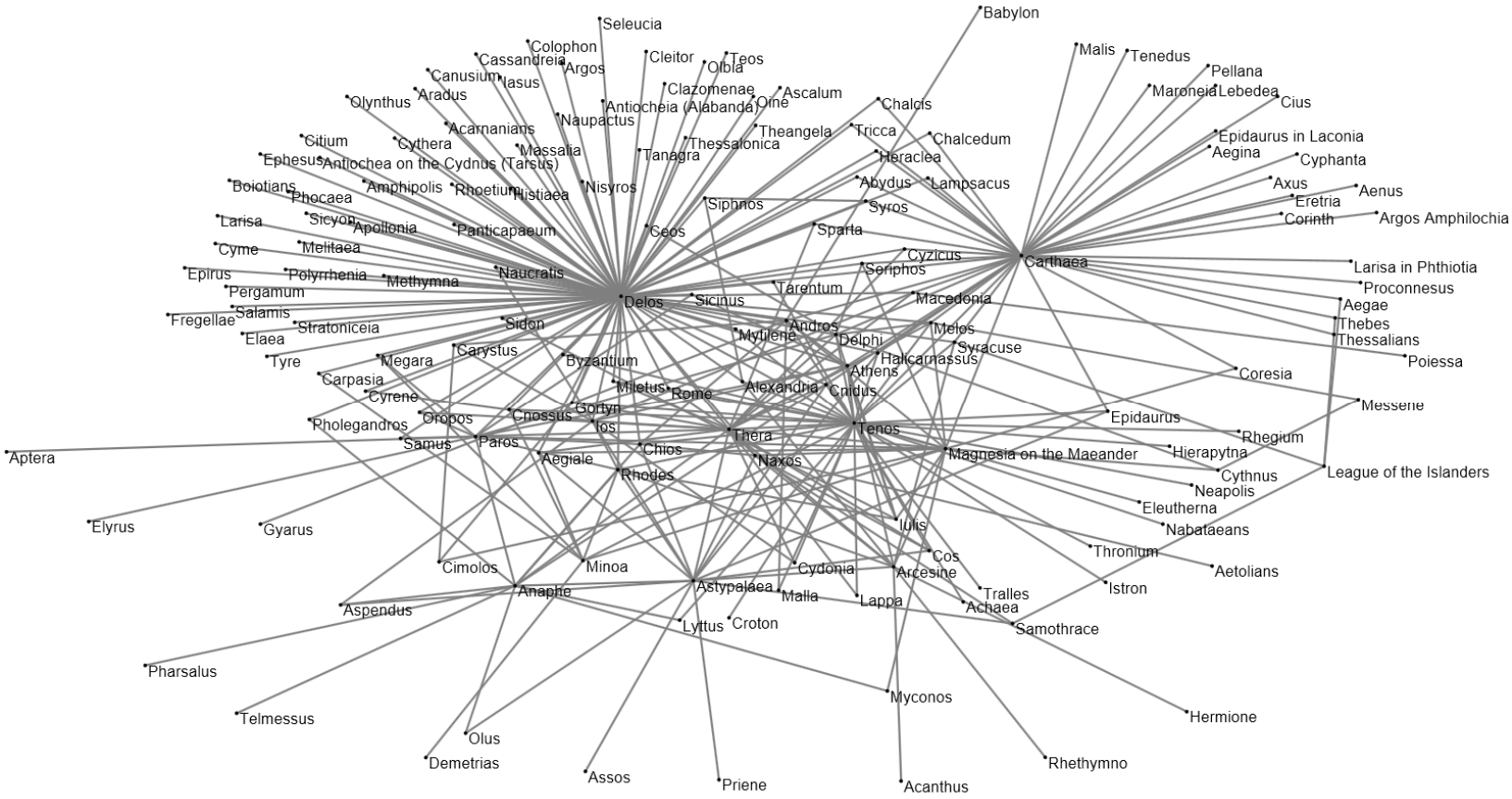


Figure 37. The whole network, excluding Delos

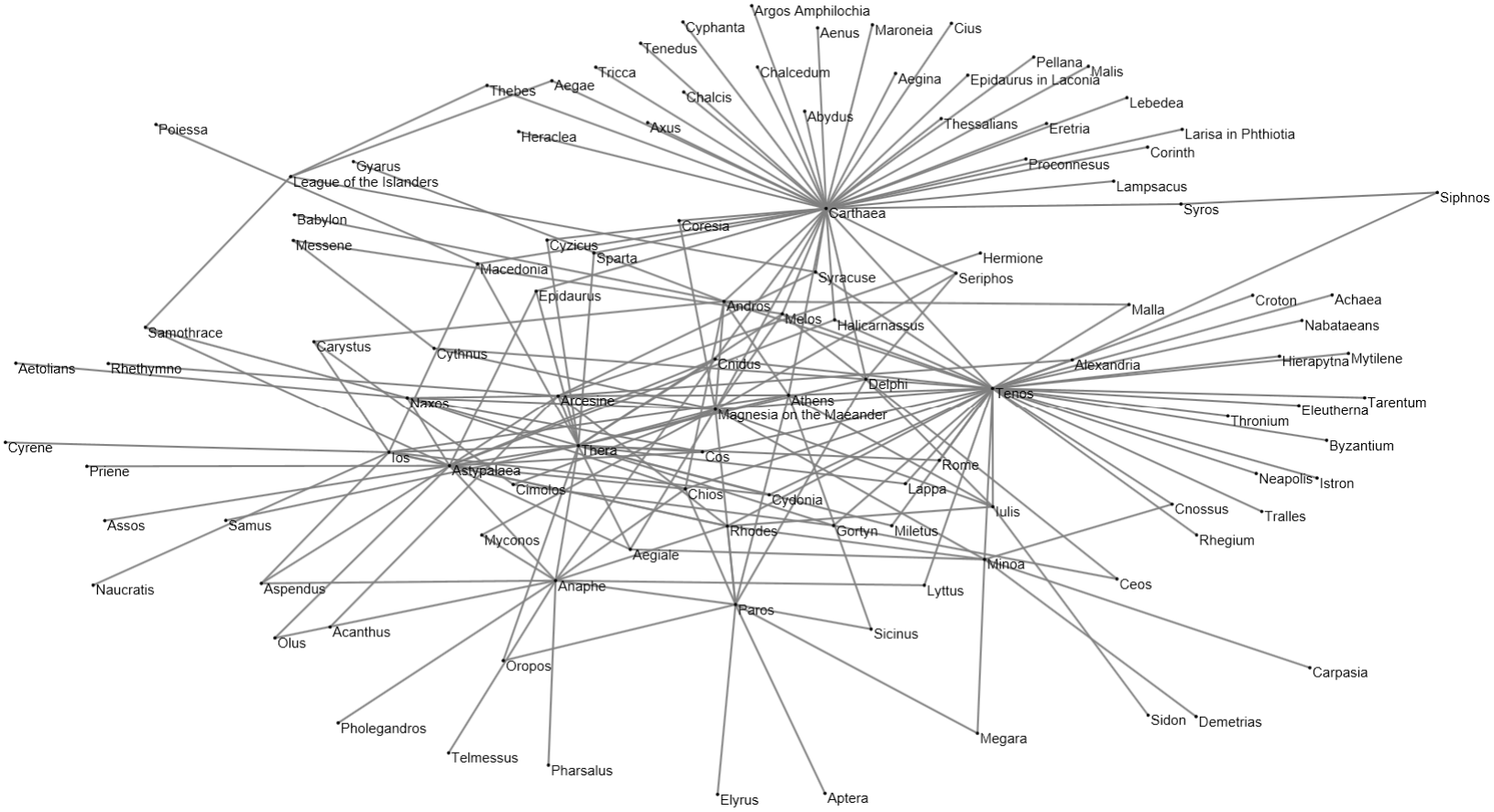


Figure 38. Period 1, c 375–300

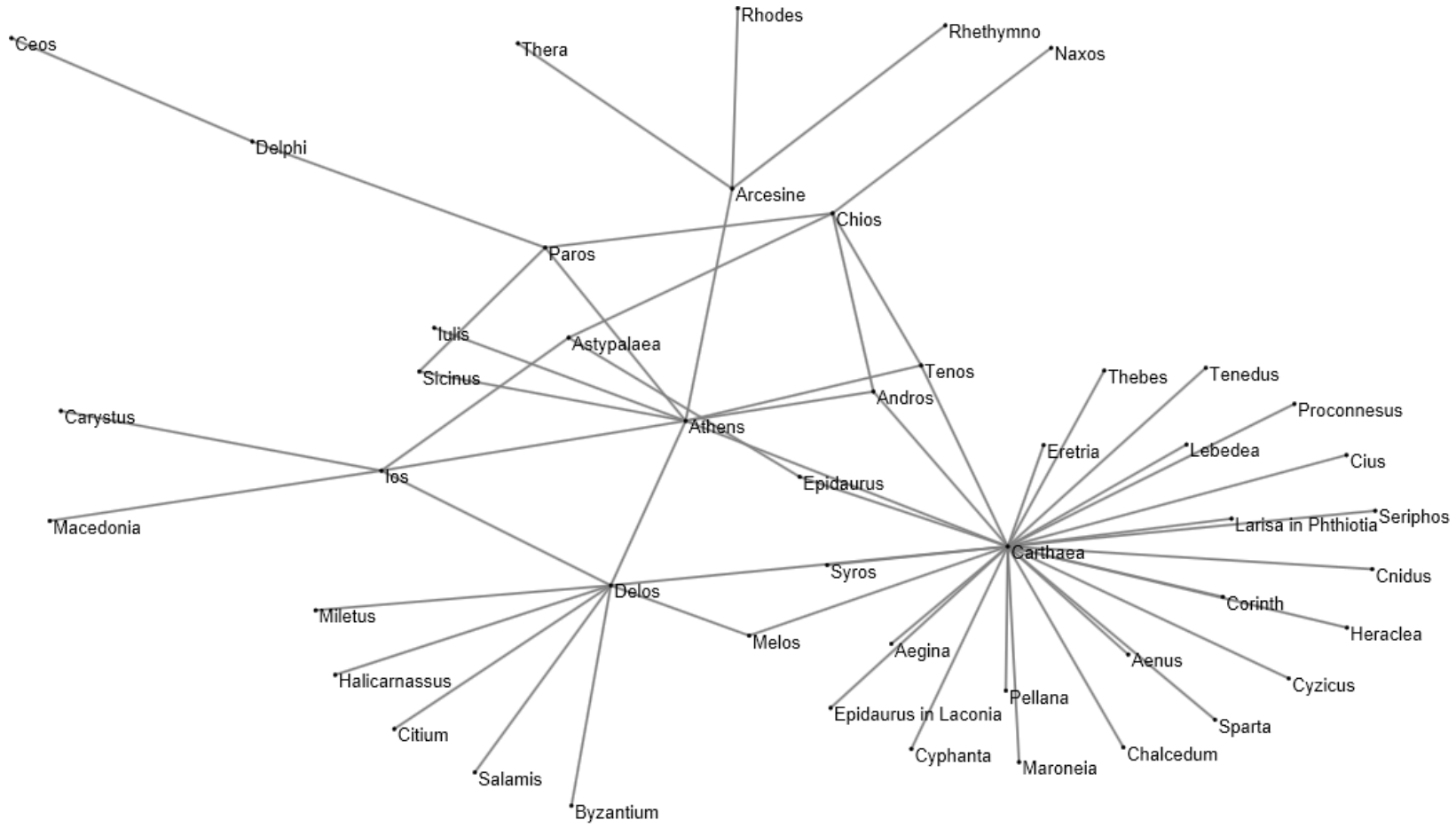


Figure 39. Period 2, c *300–220*

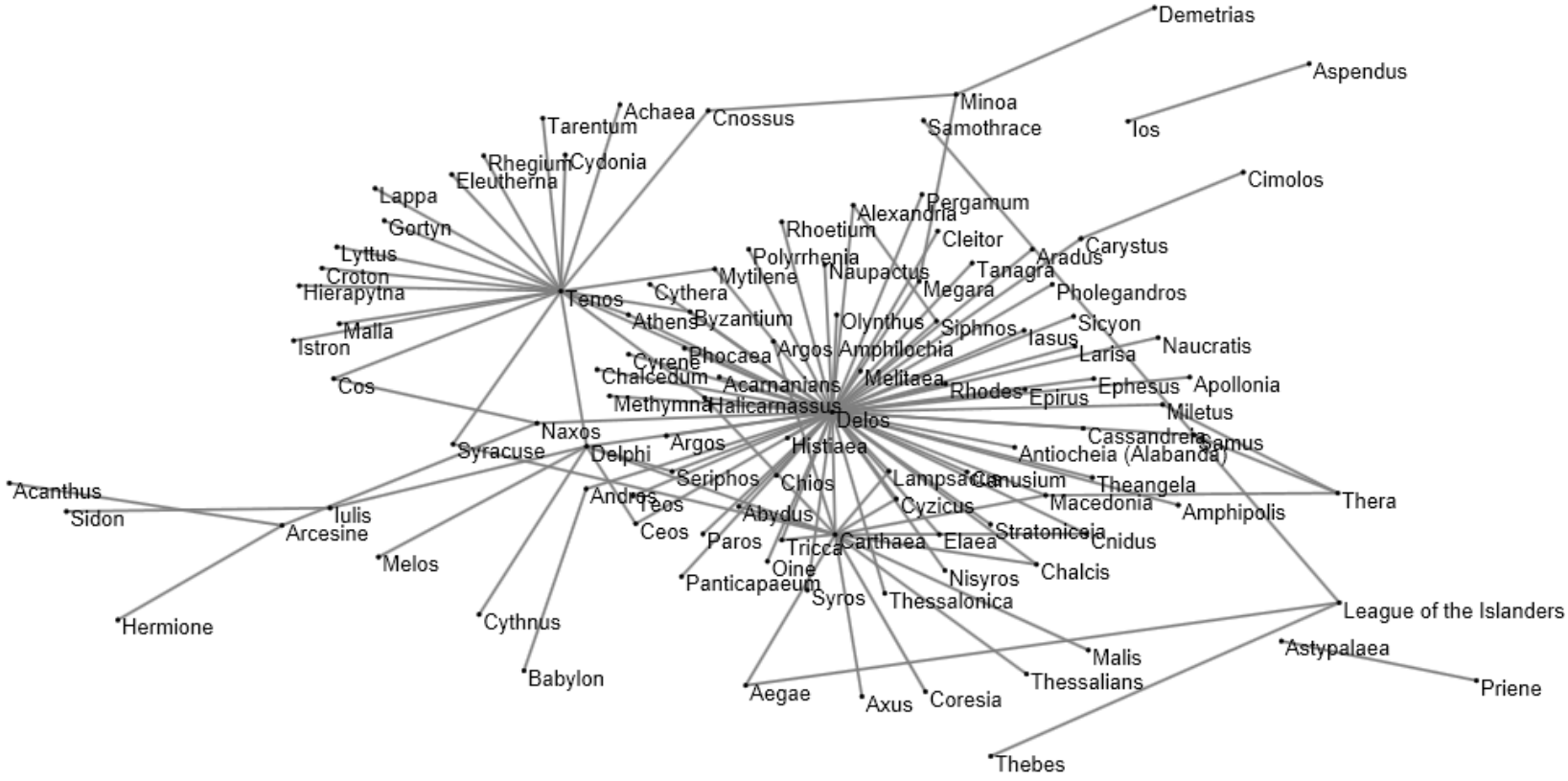


Figure 40. Period 3, c *220–150*

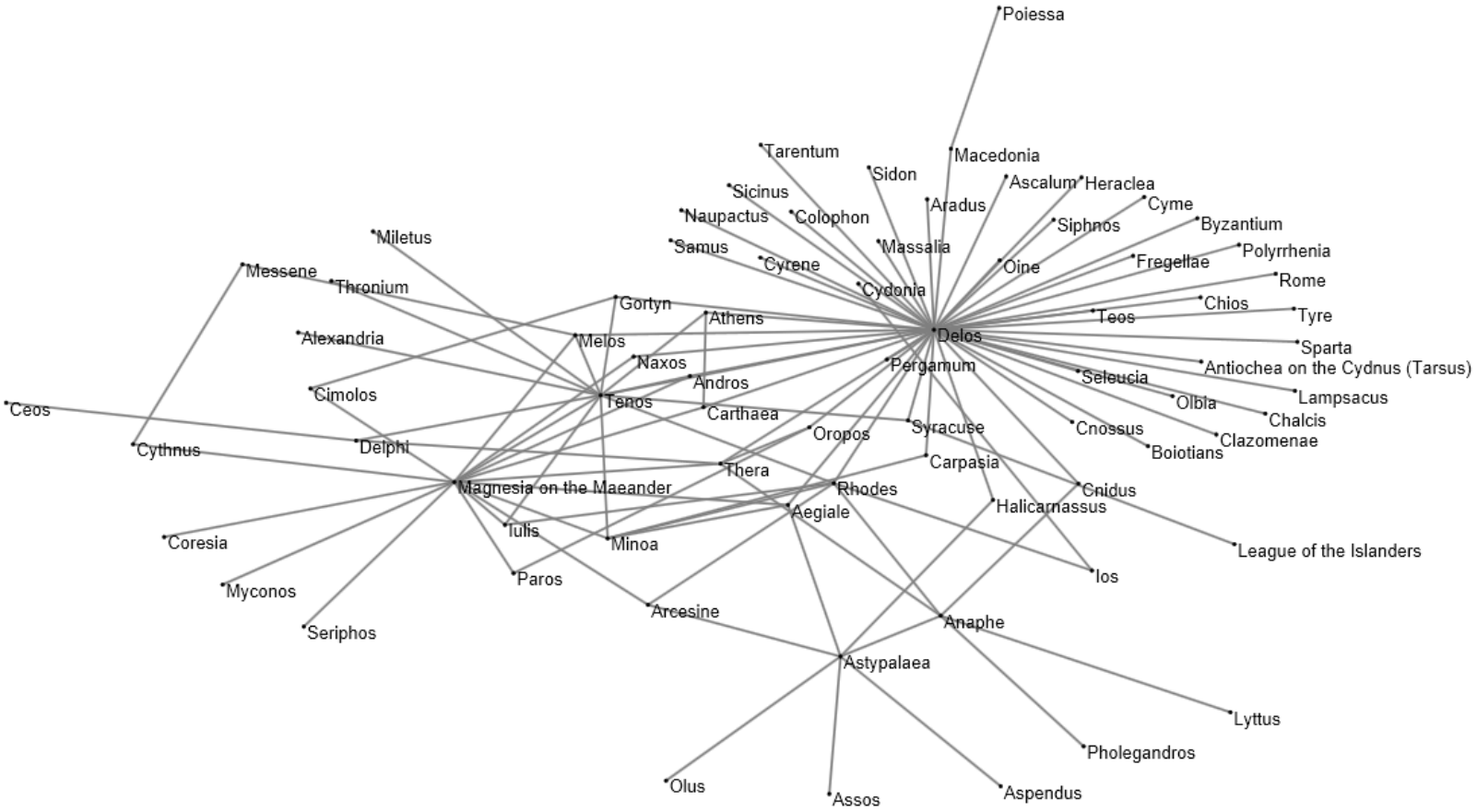


Figure 41. Period 4, c *150–50*

NETWORKS, HEGEMONY, AND MULTIPOLARITY

IN THE HELLENISTIC CYCLADES

Volume 2

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MULTIPOLARITY IN THE HELLENISTIC CYCLADES

The Hellenistic Cyclades as multipolar space

This section builds on our previous discussion to argue that the Hellenistic Cyclades should be understood as a multipolar space. In the introduction, we framed our analysis, drawing on the conceptual shift in our understanding of marine areas achieved by Braudel, Horden and Purcell, and others, and noting the effects this has recently had on our approach to the ecological and economic underpinnings of the Cyclades, not least through the work of Brun[729]. Hence, we see in the previous section how a network-based perspective allows us to identify underlying sub-regional and regional structures: first, the numismatic networks we identify point to the existence of local economic and other factors as driving production, and demonstrate that recourse to external monetary influence to understand various aspects of Cycladic numismatic and economic practice is both unnecessary and misleading. Then, our analysis of the proxeny network suggests the existence of a discrete Cycladic space with a decentralised structure which operated with reference to internal, not external hubs, and which was less isolated from the rest of the Greek world than has been envisaged in the past.

In this section we develop this perspective further, considering how it also affects our approach to the political history of our region. Across scholarship of antiquity, we are now more aware than earlier scholars of the importance of mediation, of rhetoric, and of ongoing competition between *poleis*, and between kings. When it comes to civic-royal interaction, however, and to concepts of empire, the default approach at

[729] Braudel 1949; Horden and Purcell 2000; Brun 1996a; see further 16–20.

least for our region remains unipolar, with a succession of external powers controlling the region. Here, we argue that the Hellenistic Cyclades are not best understood through this model. Previous scholars have contested the order and precise chronology, but not the underlying unipolar model. We argue that no power, either Hellenistic monarchy or *polis*, succeeded in maintaining a dominant hegemonical position to the exclusion of other powers. In fact, the evidence we possess suggests a different approach: that the Cyclades formed an open multipolar space where monarchs and states competed. Individual islands may well have been subject to each other and to external powers for even quite extended periods of time. There is, however, no justification for considering the region as a whole the domain of a particular hegemon at any time, let alone for assuming that that was the norm. This argument is not a necessary consequence of our earlier discussion of structural networks, but it does nicely dovetail with it, and it further demonstrates the power of the regional perspective pursued here.

In developing our argument, we do not attempt a fresh narrative, for reasons developed below: the amount of new evidence available is minimal, and the shift involved is as much one of perspective and model, as of reanalysis. Instead, the approach is tripartite, and involves case studies of important clusters of evidence. First, in this introduction, we consider alternative theoretical approaches to international relations; we explore the unipolar presuppositions of previous approaches to the Hellenistic Cyclades and the reasons behind their continued popularity; and we argue that their weaknesses justify a fundamental reappraisal that discards the

assumption of unipolarity. Then, we present two case studies which demonstrate the power of the multipolar approach preferred here, through a reconsideration of the evidence for Delos as a locus for the inscription not of unipolar hegemony, but of competition; and for Rhodes as a significant actor on the Cycladic stage throughout the Hellenistic period, not only in the absence of monarchical interest.

Before turning to these case studies, however, we here briefly introduce the notions of polarity and polarisation, and discuss some of the difficulties involved in applying modern international relations theory to the ancient world. Some of the discussion here may seem fine, but it is included to frame the subsequent discussion. It illustrates how the superficial diversity of previous approaches to the Hellenistic Cyclades masks underlying similarity. It provides a bridge between traditional approaches to the issues here in question, and the more theoretically informed approach preferred here. Perhaps most importantly, however, it illustrates the diversity of theoretical approaches to international relations, and summarises recent trends that emphasise the socially embedded nature of all international relations. In so doing, it critically justifies the strength of the criticisms which we level against recent approaches to antiquity that draw on international relations theory from a neorealist perspective.

We then explore this neorealist interpretation, and its insistence on the fundamentally anarchic nature of the ancient world. Our conclusions here are important because, if a neorealist approach is accepted, then our multipolar vision is impossible. No matter how much evidentiary and theoretical weakness we identify in previous approaches, their fundamentally unipolar presuppositions would be correct,

and their paradigm would have to be retained. In the light of our exploration of international relations theories, however, we are able to argue against this interpretation both from a theoretical and a historical perspective. It is not an inevitable conclusion of theoretical rigour, and our historical evidence denies it. The ancient world may well have been violent, and discrete diplomatic institutions non-existent, but our awareness of these aspects does not preclude positing extensive coexistence and cooperation between and even during episodes of conflict. Warfare is an extreme form of competition, not its default state. This neorealist perspective cannot capture the sophistication of Greek diplomatic discourse and reality. While the theoretical rigour involved in the approach is to be welcomed, a more nuanced application of international relations theory which recognises the contingent and socially constructed nature of all law and all institutions is required.

Having established that we do not need to impose a neorealist paradigm on our evidence, we then briefly review previous approaches to the history of the Cyclades in this period. We demonstrate that, for all their diversity in periodisation, they are fundamentally unipolar, and illustrate with reference to two brief examples how the need to construct a sequence of hegemons has encouraged scholars to continue to read evidence in ways which take insufficient account of the rhetorical, narrative aspect of our evidence. Finally, we explore six reasons which may partly explain the continued popularity of such approaches, and which simultaneously further justify a fresh perspective. Only then do we turn to demonstrate the greater compatibility and the

increased analytical power of the multipolar approach adopted here with reference to our Delian and Rhodian case studies.

Polarity, polarisation, and the -polarities

Polarity refers to the distribution of capabilities ('power') in an area: an area in which one entity possesses overwhelming cultural, economic, and/or military influence is considered 'unipolar'; an area in which two possess great influence is bipolar; and so on[730]. Polarity is distinct from polarisation, which refers to the organisation of these 'poles': a system with more than two poles can still be bipolarised if the different entities are organised into two overarching alliances, or even nonpolarised if the powers are not meaningfully competing with each other. An example of a bipolarised multipolar situation is the situation in 1914, where the various European 'poles' were joined in two units: the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente. We might similarly describe the situation in Greece in the run-up to the war between the Romans and Antiochus III as (briefly) bipolarised; given the continued power of Macedonia, and of the Aetolian and Achaean Leagues, however, we could not describe it as bipolar. More relevant here, however, is the contrast between polarised and nonpolarised systems, on account of the competition inherent in a polarised system. As we see below, this basic distinction is important in enabling us to acknowledge possible disputes about the precise numbers of poles, and still draw meaningful conclusions about the underlying dynamics of the system.

[730] The literature is endless; for a recent brief summary, see Buzan 2004, 31–45.

These disputes arise because of the nature of our evidence for antiquity, which is far less rich than for the more recent periods on which international relations discussions tend to concentrate. This presentist focus also enables definitions of polarity which can occasionally be problematic when applied to antiquity on at least three grounds. We discuss these difficulties and their solutions in turn.

First, polarity can be a strongly materialist notion, where the distribution of capabilities in a system directly determines the behaviour of actors in the system in question. This connexion is particularly important in analysing antiquity because of the paucity of direct evidence for the resources of ancient states and empires. Our evidence is mostly indirect, deriving precisely from narratives of success and failure on the battle-field as preserved by our literary sources, which have their own historiographical perspectives and narrative purposes. Without any complexity, it would be reductive and close to circular to use these narratives of military success as evidence from which to identify the material resources on which states depended for that success. More recent analyses are, however, more flexible: rather than solely looking to physical capability, they do recognise the role that identity, relationships, and internal and international social structure play in polarity. This flexibility allows us to argue that, although the discourse of international relations in antiquity may have differed from those identified for the modern era, they can still have possessed their own internal, rational logic[731].

[731] On the inherently social nature of international society, see Jackson 2000, especially 97–129, and Wendt 1999.

Second, polarity can involve a statist model, both because states control most of the military capability, and because they provide the framework for international institutions and international order. This notion of discrete entities is strikingly different from the standard vision at least of the Hellenistic period, where we are dealing with a system of *poleis*, leagues, and monarchies of vastly different capabilities and overlapping territory. Constructivists, however, recognise that multinational organisations such as the United Nations, and the European Union, have their own weight independent of the states which grant them their legitimacy. Irrespective of the nominal political or social status of a power, it qualifies for consideration if others recognise its validity, and does not, if others do not. Both because of the diversity of political units in antiquity, and because of the continuing disputes about the balance of power between them, the flexibility inherent in this layered approach is critical[732].

Finally, polarity can posit separate system dynamics depending on the number of 'poles' in a system: one, two, three, or more. In antiquity, we cannot always specify the precise number of 'poles', because of the indirect and incomplete nature of our evidence. A broader notion of multipolarity, however, offers a solution, at the cost of

[732] To anticipate, this consideration is important in evaluating the different profile of the Hellenistic Leagues; some, such as the Aetolian and Achaean Leagues were clearly considered important by their members and by outsiders. For others, such as the League(s) of the Islanders, the situation is much less clear. For further discussion, see Appendix 1. The 'Second League of the Islanders', 569, and 598–600. Here, again, analogy with modern institutions such as the European Union is valuable because it reminds us that, no matter how precise legal frameworks may be, perception remains central to the power of a force: thus, if observers and other parties feel that the European Union is speaking with a single voice, it can be an effective lobby. If they feel that there is division among the member counties, then its weight is greatly diminished, even though the European Commission and all member governments may still publically nominally be maintaining the same firm position. Such impressions can also be semi-irrational, taking some time to develop but taking longer to disappear.

some granularity. Here, we recognise that the most important polar variation is that between a unipolar system, which is effectively nonpolarised, and a system containing two or more poles, which can be polarised, and involve competition between the poles. Given the lacunose nature of our evidence, and the unipolar nature of previous discussions, to demonstrate dynamics that are more consistent with multipolarity can be sufficient, and indeed preferable, because it does not require us to insist on a specific number of poles in the absence of firm evidence. We see in our Delian case-study that there were at some times at least three powers competing: the Antigonids, Ptolemies, and the Aetolians. At other times, there may have been only two. We cannot always specify. Nevertheless, we can establish a new multipolar norm by demonstrating the fundamentally competitive nature of the Cycladic space.

Paradigms of interstate relations in the Greek world

Multipolarity, unipolarity, and hegemony are all potentially as compatible with an international anarchic situation ('rule of the strongest') as one in which international law seems to apply[733]. What matters is the broader international context in which the actors are embedded. Here, the contemporary focus of international relations theory is superficially unhelpful: the most common paradigm seems to trace development of the modern system of international law and of modern diplomatic practice to the 16th and 17th centuries, and specifically to the Peace of Westphalia of 1648, the first treaty explicitly to have formulated the notion that the sovereign was the final source of

[733] Clark 2011, especially against suggestions that hegemony is the denial of international society; Bull 1977.

authority in his region[734]. It does recognise that this formula, central to the modern international legal system, is based on earlier mediaeval practices and the Roman *ius gentium*[735]. Nevertheless, because of what we might consider its quasi-teleological focus examining the (development[s] of the) contemporary situation, there is a strong tendency to emphasise the potential increased instability of earlier systems where this formula did not apply, such as antiquity.

The analysis of antiquity is insightful, and may be complemented by considering further structural difficulties which applied, such as the reduced speed and frequency of communication. Recent scholars of antiquity have, however, developed this perspective to argue for a vision of antiquity in which there was a vicious cycle of tension and distrust that led to war being the default option for actors. Following a neorealist paradigm ultimately deriving from the work of Waltz, they argue that, in the absence of a system of international law such as that seen today, force became the inevitable solution. Each state had immediately to take the strongest possible measures to increase its own security, because they believed that any of their rivals might resort to force at any time; they lacked diplomatic channels or legal constraints to assuage these fears; and they knew that they could not rely on others to support them. As a result, "war is normal"[736].

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734 Mayall 2000, 11–16.

735 Jackson 2000, 10–25.

736 Eckstein 2006, especially 12–36, Eckstein 2008, especially 7–15; Fronda 2010, especially 16–20. On realism and neorealism, see briefly Waltz 1988 (quotation: 620), and, for more extended discussions, Waltz 1959; Waltz 1979.

This introduction is perhaps not the place for an extended rebuttal, but it is important to emphasise the inadequacy of this model when it comes to our understanding of Greek antiquity. In itself, the neorealist suggestion that states are motivated more by concern for their own security, rather than for power for its own sake, is illuminating. The idea that all international systems are fundamentally 'anarchic', with states competing in their pursuit of security, can also enlighten. Nevertheless, the contention that this anarchy automatically results in a self-help regime cannot be accepted[737]. A self-help regime could result, but that would be on account of the inherent structure of the system under study, not because of the absence of international law as now conceived. Instead, as constructivists recognise, the modern system of international law is just as constructed as any other, being dependent on social norms. Law is a peculiarly strong form of custom, and commonly supported by sanctions, but it is not absolute, as the Greeks knew full well: the lexical range of νόμος nicely illustrates this ambiguity[738]. The enforcement of law, now as then, both domestically and internationally, is ultimately dependent on the willingness of significant agents to support them: compare the widespread concern at the time of the creation of the International Criminal Court about its effectiveness without the support of the United States, or about how effective a carbon-tax system can be without citizen support, or without the support of the United States and China.

When so framed, our conclusions become dependent on the social norms we identify for the period in question, and the neorealist approach becomes untenable for

737 Wendt 1992.
738 Wendt 1995; at greater length: Wendt 1999.

ancient Greece. It is true that the diplomatic sphere was not formally separated in the way that some would claim it is today[739]. Instead, it was embedded in broader religious and commercial exchange. It does not, however, follow from that recognition that the diplomatic sphere, and with it, international society, did not exist. Instead, the different status and context of diplomatic activity reflects a broader difference in custom between our societies[740]. There clearly was a strong sense of international society and custom in the Hellenistic period. Panhellenic and regional festivals provided periodic occasions for such exchanges; *proxenoi* provided avenues of diplomatic contact; and heralds announced and negotiated wars. There were, of course, crises and conflicts, but our dossier of interstate arbitrations illustrates that war was not the automatic default recourse, and the number of Leagues attested particularly in the Hellenistic period similarly indicates that the option of banding together in mutual support was just as open to individual cities as fighting[741]. This option may well have been enabled by shared ethnic or regional identity, but this

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739 Some would claim: there is perhaps a tendency in scholarship to assume that past practices were embedded in social relations whereas modern practices are somehow not. Compare the parallel debate about embedded vs formal approaches to the ancient economy, which largely overlooks the way in which modern economic practice does not itself occur in a social vacuum, but is also embedded in modern social relations.

740 *Cf* Mitchell 1997, using models from social anthropology to argue that personal relationships did not, as often still argued, act against the interests of the *polis*, but instead formed an important part of political activity. On Greek diplomatic ideals as expressed primarily in literary sources, including Thucydides and Polybius, see Karavites 1982; for a more traditional narrative focussing on Greek diplomatic 'events', and analysing thence the aims and methods of Greek diplomacy: Adcock and Mosley 1975. More recent analyses reaching very different conclusions from Eckstein include Cresci, et al 2002; Piccirilli 2002; the essays gathered in Santi Amantini 2005; Low 2007; and, particularly, Bauslaugh 1991, with comparison of clauses from the Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907 with practice in antiquity at 246–247. I thank Erich Gruen for this last reference.

741 On interstate arbitrations, see Ager 1996; on federalism in the Greek World, see the classic works by Larsen: Larsen 1955; Larsen 1968. For a recent reconsideration of the role of the leagues in the classical and Hellenistic periods, see Mackil 2003. She does not discuss the League(s) of the Islanders, whose different profile may reflect the different geopolitical and geographical environment in which it/they operated; see further 598–600.

possibility merely reinforces the importance of recognising the socially embedded nature of international relations at all times: such identities are themselves multivalent, constructed, and another response to those very same complex political environments[742].

Any vision of international society in ancient Greece has to incorporate these elements as part of the context in which all states operated, including the most powerful. On occasion, individual actors may have been able to override these diplomatic niceties, but the number of surviving royal letters, royal involvement in arbitrations, royal involvement at games and sanctuaries, and wider euergetism confirms that this diplomatic sphere was not a discrete and separate sphere that the kings did or could dismiss as of no account[743]. We might instead argue that these actions did not affect the final calculations of realpolitik. Instead they formed but a social veneer. The sheer ubiquity and duration of these social norms, however, strongly argues against such a cynical approach, which ultimately becomes reductive: the symbolic capital involved in these decisions was real. The very fact that we are dealing not with an imperial model, but with a hegemonical model, where the norm was not to absorb the structures of the Greek *polis*, but to negotiate status within them, is telling. The ancient world may have been anarchic in the sense that there was no strong, single code of international law directly analogous to our own, but it was not

[742] For varying approaches to ethnicity and identity: Barth 1969; Patterson 1975; Smith 1987; and, for such awareness applied to antiquity: Nielsen and Roy 2000 on Arcadia; Luraghi 2008 on Messenia; and the essays gathered in Funke and Luraghi 2009.

[743] Royal letters: Welles 1934; royal involvement in arbitrations: Ager 1996; examples of royal euergetism: Domingo Gygax forthcoming.

anarchic in the broader sense of being lawless, with violent self-help the only and the universal recourse for agents[744].

This distinction is important because of its ramifications on the bounds of interpretation for our at times thin evidence. If the competing hegemons could only interact through violence, then relations between hegemon and their subordinates necessarily become unipolar, because the hegemon would not tolerate contact with any other competitor. Even as we look to increase our awareness of the rhetoric of our at times fragmentary evidence, and to explore new paradigms through our case studies, we would have no choice but to interpret the evidence from Delos as indicating sequential hegemony. Rhodian activity in the Cyclades would have to be constrained within chronological bounds, or else dismissed as somehow irrelevant. As it is, no such constraint is involved, and we can validly emphasise the multipolar reading of the evidence which seems here most plausible.

Unipolar hegemony as a paradigm in the Cyclades

Competition, especially in the form of warfare, is, of course, central to our understanding of Greek antiquity, and particularly to our historiographical sources. Polarised systems are thus commonly identified on the macro-political level, including the bipolar classical period presented by Thucydides as dominated by Athens and Sparta, and the tripolar early Hellenistic world until *c* 200 in which the Antigonids,

[744] It is noteworthy that, for all the theoretical frame, Eckstein's solution is ultimately very traditional, producing a narrative similar to that of Holleaux 1921.

Ptolemies, and Seleucids competed for dominance[745]. Nevertheless, in the light of Thucydides' prominence in modern discussions of international relations, it is worth immediately illustrating the complexity of his model, which is not reductive in its bipolar focus. Thucydides' historiographical purpose was to record the conflict between Athens and Sparta, and it is unsurprising that he concentrates discussion on that theme, emphasises the control that each state had over their respective allies, and tends to frame his discussions of regional, local, and intra-*polis* disputes with reference to them. Nevertheless, even in his programmatic discussions, he does acknowledge the role of local dynamics. He envisages states and factions within states not as direct reflexions of his bipolar model, but, as at Corcyra, as independent agents who had independent motivations, and took advantage of the bipolarised political sphere. He also allows occasional insight into alternative imperial structures, such as the Argive and Elean expansion recorded in book five. It is, finally, universally explicit in his history, as in the complementary epigraphic evidence we possess, that the authority of Athens and Sparta was not uncontested, and that states could and did attempt to pursue their own alternative strategies[746].

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745 Note the distinction common in francophone scholarship between the *haute époque hellénistique* and the *basse époque hellénistique* around 146. Although traditionally approached as reflecting what might be characterised as the final conclusive shift in polarity in the Greek world following the war between Rome and Achaea, and the destructions of Carthage and Corinth in 146, it is as much a historiographical shift, reflecting our loss of Polybius, and, in Rome itself, the start of our narrative of 'the fall of the Republic' with Tiberius Gracchus in 133.

746 Thucydides' purpose: 1.1.1; for brief recognition of the "self-promoting" nature of this statement, and of Thucydides' knowledge of the complexity of the broader situation, including the existence of neutral parties: Bauslaugh 1991, 109; for recent broader recognition of the rhetoric and composition inherent in historiography, see Marincola 1997; Kraus 1999; Pitcher 2009. Intra-*polis stasis*: most famously, Corcyra: Thucydides 3.70–81, and particularly his programmatic statement regarding internal factions trying to bring in the Athenians and Spartans on their side at 3.82.1 (*cf* 1.1.1), but also at Epidamnus, Plataea, and Athens itself, among many other instances. On intra-regional division, see especially

When we turn to the Hellenistic Cyclades, however, a very different picture is visible in scholarship. The details of the narrative have changed and thickened over the past one hundred years, but the underlying presuppositions have not. Thus, we might describe Reger's recent formulation as envisaging Antigonid control from 314 to 288, Ptolemaic control from 288 to 261, Rhodian control from 261 to 253, Ptolemaic control from 253 to 245, no outside control from 245 to 201, and Rhodian control from 200 at least until 167, whereas König's earlier analysis had suggested that Ptolemaic control probably extended from 288 to 200[747]. Given the evidence which frames Reger's narrative, however, it is perhaps more appropriate to analyse it as envisaging Antigonid control from the liberation of Delos from Athenian control by Antigonus, to the liberation of Athens by Callias of Sphettos with Ptolemaic support; next, Ptolemaic control until Ptolemaic defeat at the end of the Chremonidean War (and the battle of Cos); third, Rhodian control continuing until the end of the Second Syrian War; fourth, renewed Ptolemaic control until Ptolemaic defeat again at the battle of Andros; and finally Rhodian control from Rhodian military engagement in the Cyclades in the context of the Second Macedonian War at least until Rhodian discomfiture by Rome after the Third Macedonian War. Reger's periods of unipolar control are not only successive, but they are constructed from the few datable events of apparently geopolitical significance known from the period, on the presupposition that the norm was such unipolarity.

Thucydides 5 passim on Elean and Argive expansionism. For a programmatic narrative of dissent inside Athenian imperial space, see the Mytilene debate: 3.36–49; for references encoding dissent as part of the background texture, see 1.98.4 on Athens, and 1.40.5 on Sparta.

747 Reger 1994b, especially 32–35, 39; König 1910, especially 16, 19, 40, 46–48.

In this context, König's justification for extending Ptolemaic control until 201 is equally noteworthy: no previous episode is sufficiently serious to justify presupposing that Ptolemaic hegemony had ended. Only then, in the context of Philip's campaigns in the Cyclades narrated by Polybius and Livy does he see incontrovertible evidence for widespread activity by the Antigonids (Philip V) which required a response by the Ptolemies. Their failure to provide this response implies the end of their hegemony for König, but it does not cast doubt on its existence prior to that point, even though recorded Ptolemaic activity in the islands for the previous decades was in his time, and still remains, minimal[748]. In comparison, Reger's formulation may be considered more subtle: unlike König, he does allow and argue for a period of political independence in the late third century. Nevertheless, his argument still ultimately assumes the hermeneutic value of the same general model: he departs from the premise that the islanders lived under such a "suzerainty" for the remainder of the period, and approaches his period as an exception: there is so little evidence for outside activity specifically in his period, that it is implausible to assume hegemony, and the alternative, political independence, must be posited. There is no more

[748] Behind König's summary at 40, see 28–29, as well as the logic of his third chapter, titled "die angeblich makedonische Protektorat"; if the Macedonian protectorate was non-existent, the most plausible alternative candidate, the Ptolemaic, must have remained in place. Note that König's formulation differed slightly from those expressed more briefly by his *Doktorvater*, Niese, who saw Ptolemy IV handing over the Cyclades to the Rhodians in 220: Niese 1893–1903, 2:102–103, and 406, especially 406n4; it remains popular in german scholarship, underlying Huss 1976, 213–237, Beyer-Rotthoff 1993, 222–229, and Michlits 2008, 191–293. *Cf* for a more recent example of similar reasoning: Étienne 1990, 123, cited at 582n1243, where he argues that the evidence from the Third Macedonian War indicates that the Rhodians had no interest in hegemony in the Cyclades, but does not consider the ramifications of this argument for notions of Rhodian hegemony prior to that war.

recognition of the agency of the islanders, or of possible diversity in the region than in König's earlier discussion[749].

The positions involved in the analyses offered by König, Reger, and many others are more subtle than the above bald presentation suggests[750]. They do allow for activity by other powers, for differences in degree of political control by the relevant hegemon, and for different statuses for a few exceptional islands (notably Delos): thus, Reger does allow that the Ptolemaic presence from 253 to 245 was "neither as pervasive nor as committed" as earlier. Nevertheless, this presence is juxtaposed both textually and chronologically with the end of the preceding phase of Rhodian "predominance", and Reger later refers to the Ptolemaic "recovery" of the central Aegean in 253[751]. Similarly, whether or not we agree with König's argument that evidence for royal competition on Delos is irrelevant to the situation in the Cyclades as a whole because Delos was open to all as a κοινὸς τόπος, the implicit

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749 For a case study illustrating the strength of this unipolar presupposition and denial of even the possibility of subordinate agency, see Case study. Samos, Unipolarity, and the Nicuria decree, 313. So strong are they that scholarship has continued to privilege the notion of Lysimachean control of Samos in 282 in spite of the numerous difficulties that this insistence has caused for the interpretation of the Nicuria decree.
Reger 1994b, quotation: 32; *cf* Reger 1994c, 15–47, where the term "control" (15) is preferred in the equivalent formulation. Note that Reger's own argumentation might suggest a reconceptualisation is in order; see especially the concluding sentence to Reger 1994b: "Rhodos had no hegemonic ambitions: its citizens defined their interests in trade, and while they certainly did not ignore the Kyklades, nothing in the evidence suggests that they lavished any special attention on the islands either" (69). The associated note (69n151) seems to confirm that this statement is meant to be specifically applicable to the second half of the third century, but it invites this reader to ask why the Rhodian attitude should have been different at this time from the immediately prior and following periods, where Reger does envisage Rhodian hegemony.
Nevertheless, perhaps as a result of his deliberate constraining of his perspective, Reger's argument has been considered unproblematic for the broader approach, and his formulation has now been incorporated into the hegemonical cycle noted above; for a recent example, see Stephanaki 2010, 419.

750 Many others: see the representative bibliography cited at 299n754, 304n765, and 304n770.

751 Quotations: Reger 1994b, 34 and 43.

presupposition of a clear division separating the dynamics on this κοινὸς τόπος from the surrounding hegemonically defined and dominated area cannot convince[752].

Both scholars are struggling with a model that is much less sophisticated than their evidence and their narrative. Where their evidence and narrative involve multiple actors, their model is unipolar, with room for only two actors: the hegemon, and the subordinate islands as a whole. There is no space for competition, diversity, or polarisation. Where their evidence points to a variety of statuses, their model insists on unity. Exceptions are rare and owing to exceptional factors specific to that island[753]. Relations with one specific state ('the hegemon') at a particular time are privileged and decontextualised, rather than being situated in the broader context of relations at that time with other states, and with that state at other times. Crucially, moreover, this approach inevitably elides the agency of the subordinate islands. Without a choice, they must necessarily follow the commands of their hegemon.

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[752] König 1910, 22. On the notion of the κοινὸς τόπος, see Tarn 1924. Note, however, that its presuppositions and conclusions are both in need of revision in the light of more recent discussion. See briefly Appendix 2. Delos and the Second League of the Islanders, 577.

[753] Thus, despite the lack of evidence for most Cycladic islands being part of the League of the Islanders in the early second century, they have generally been assumed to have been members except in the specific case of Andros and Thera. Andros: because Andros has been considered certainly under Pergamene control at this time, excluding its membership. On this point, see 91, especially 91n157. Thera: because of the presence of the Ptolemaic garrison. For a recent summary of Theran history at this time, see Witschel 1997, 16–17, especially 17 for the early second century, not the third century as the epigraphic zenith of the Ptolemaic garrison on Thera, repeated by Michlits 2008, 195. The other prominent exception allowed is Delos, on which, see Appendix 2. Delos and the Second League of the Islanders, 577. For an illustration of this tendency, contrast the discussion between Étienne's review of the evidence for the membership of individual islands, where he acknowledges that for most islands, there is no evidence, and his conclusion that "Rhodes a bien fait entrer dans son alliance en 200 av. J.-C. la plupart des Cyclades": Étienne 1990, 112–117; quotation: 117. *Cf* the similar acknowledgement at Wiemer 2002, 272–273, which is again immediately followed by the statement that, again except for the three cases noted here, "doch spricht die geographische Nähe dieser Inseln zu den sicher oder wahrscheinlich dem Bund angehörenden dafür". It is perhaps ironic that, as noted at 91, especially 91n157, and 577, we rather have more reason to believe that Andros and Delos were members than most of the islands for which we have no evidence whatsoever.

Since the islands must be subordinate to a hegemon, the central issues for Reger and König above, as for other scholars, have been to identify the hegemon controlling the region at the time, and to date the shifts in hegemonical power, each of which is visible in the scant literary and material evidence surviving from the period[754]. The approach is thus rigid, positivistic, and narrow: rigid in the construction of relations involved between islands and hegemon, in the conception of a single hegemon dominating the area, and in the assumption that hegemony unproblematically switched between hegemons with their defeat or victory; positivistic in that it assumes that these changes derive from known events; narrow in that it involves granting high political significance to episodes, monuments, and phenomena that might more naturally be understood in more nuanced terms, and encourages implausible interpretation of our sources that ignore the rhetoric inherent in them. The details of the narrative have been challenged, revised and reinterpreted throughout the twentieth century, but the underlying model has not: hence why the period for which we seem to have most evidence, from *c* 261 to 245, is the one that has been most controversial.

To go through each of these aspects would be invidious. Nevertheless, we should support our claim that the unipolar scholarly model is inadequate, and has led to implausible interpretations of ancient evidence becoming accepted as part of the historical paradigm. We can briefly illustrate how the need to preserve evidence that

[754] Though details have been queried, the paradigm has not changed since Graindor 1908; König 1910; Roussel 1911b, and has been reiterated for the third century by Guggenmos 1929, Fellmann 1930; Buraselis 1982; and for the second century by Sippel 1966 (and subsequent articles, including Sippel 1985b; Sippel 1985a; Sippel 1985c; Sippel 1986a; Sippel 1986b); Étienne 1988; Étienne 1990, 101–124; Wiemer 2002, 271–276. Some recent scholarship has analysed the subject through the lens of particular hegemonical powers' policies, rather than geographically, but still incorporates the same paradigm. See, for example, the works listed in 304n765.

supports the unipolar model has affected discussion with reference to two important cruxes in Hellenistic Cycladic chronology not included in our later case studies: the Adulis inscription, and the Nicuria decree. In both cases, insufficient attention has been paid to the rhetorical aspects[755].

The Adulis inscription claims that Ptolemy III Euergetes inherited from his father kingship over a range of areas including the Cyclades[756]. This statement has been widely accepted even in recent scholarship as evidence that the Ptolemies had restored their position in the Cyclades by January 246, the date of Ptolemy III's accession: hence Reger accepts that his brief mid-third-century Rhodian hegemony must have ended by then[757].

We may leave aside the dubious history of this document, which is only known from the Christian Topography of the sixth century AD author, Cosmas Indicopleustes[758]. Even if the document is accepted as somehow reflecting a Hellenistic original, the claim to control of the Cyclades has to be understood in the context of the generally adulatory nature of the rhetoric, which also allowed a claim that Ptolemy himself had subdued not only Mesopotamia and Babylonia, but even

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755 We emphasise the importance and consequences of an awareness of non-hegemonical agency throughout this study. Nevertheless, for an discussion of the difficulties caused by insufficient attention to this aspect as illustrated by the frame of the ongoing debate over the Nicuria decree, see Case study. Samos, Unipolarity, and the Nicuria decree, 313.

756 Adulis inscription: *OGIS* 54.5–8 = Austin 2006.286: παραλαβὼν παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς / τὴν βασιλείαν Αἰγύπτου καὶ Λιβύης καὶ Συρίας / καὶ Φοινίκης καὶ Κύπρου καὶ Λυκίας καὶ Καρίας καὶ τῶν / Κυκλάδων νήσων.

757 Reger 1994b, 43; *cf* Huss 1976, 215–216, Walbank in Hammond, Griffith, and Walbank 1972–1988, 3:593n8, Beyer-Rotthoff 1993, 223, and generally at least since König 1910, 24. Bagnall 1976, 138n79 is more sceptical.

758 Cosmas Indicopleustes, *Topographia Christiana*, 2.58–59.

Bactria. We may also compare how even Appian only suggests that Ptolemy reached as far as Babylon[759]. We are here dealing at most with the world view and propaganda of a Hellenistic monarch, not with a neutral statement reflecting the realities of the situation in any of these regions. Without this statement, moreover, our evidence for Ptolemaic activity in the Cyclades is close to non-existent: just the vase festivals established by Ptolemy II Philadelphus and Ptolemy III Euergetes in 248 and 245 respectively, neither of which need require control of the region; and the ever-mysterious battle of Andros, often dated to 246 or 245 by connexion with the vase festivals established by Antigonus Gonatas in 244[760]. Nevertheless, despite our generally increased awareness of rhetoric in modern scholarship, our document here continues to be accepted as direct evidence not just for Ptolemaic interest in the Cyclades, but for Ptolemaic hegemony of the Cyclades at the accession of Ptolemy III, such is the predisposition of scholars to understand unipolar hegemony, and to preserve evidence that supports it[761].

The Nicuria decree recounts the events of a meeting on Samos, to which, so the decree explains, various cities had been urged by two Ptolemaic officials to send

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759 *OGIS* 54.17–20 = Austin 2006.286: διέβη τὸν Εὐφράτην / ποταμὸν καὶ τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν καὶ Βαβυλωνίαν καὶ Σουσι/ανὴν καὶ Περσίδα καὶ Μηδείαν καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν πᾶσαν ἕως / Βακτριανῆς ὑφ' ἑαυτῶι ποιησάμενος
Cf Appian *Syriaca* 65.

760 On 248, 245, and 244, not 249, 246 and 245 as the relevant dates for the *Second* and *Third Ptolemaea*, and for the *Soteria* and *Pania* (and hence also a *terminus ante quem* of 244, not 245 for the battle of Andros if the connexion with the Antigonid festivals is accepted), see Appendix 2. Principles behind dating Delian endowments, 396.

761 It is illuminating to compare the approach to the evidence of the Adulis inscription in Cycladic scholarship with the approach adopted elsewhere even for regions such as Bactria where our historical narrative is perhaps even barer than for the Cyclades. See, *eg*, the trenchant comments of Mairs 2007, 74–76 including her open admission that its authenticity is open to question, it misrepresents the historical circumstances on which it is based, and her insistence that the reference to Bactria as the limit of Ptolemy's power is not to be taken literally, but is a form of hyperbole to glorify the king (76).

councillors (συνέδροι): while there, the councillors of the islanders (νησιῶται) recognised the *Ptolemaea* in honour of Ptolemy I Soter as isolympic, and honoured him for his great deeds, including freeing the cities, restoring their ancestral laws (τὴμ πάτριομ πολιτείαμ), and relieving them of their tax burden. This is evidence of the Ptolemies' involvement in the islands, if not necessarily exclusive involvement. Much more has been understood, however, including the existence of an immediately prior Antigonid hegemony from which Ptolemy is to have liberated the islanders. Scholarship has long recognised that claims such as those made here are expressions and justifications of the legitimacy of the actors involved, and that they often do not refer to specific actions. Nevertheless, in this Cycladic context, these aspects have been overlooked in the concern to glean evidence for a swift succession of hegemonies[762].

We may validly contrast the unipolar model and its inadequacy as an approach to these two central documents, with the sophistication and awareness of subordinate agency and regional diversity which we noted above is inherent in Thucydides' polarised model. It may hence seem surprising that this vision, with its elision of

[762] See, recently, Buraselis 1982, 78, an approach the more noteworthy because of his argument that, prior to this point, the absence of evidence for Antigonid activity can suggest that the League whose existence he is here positing went through a "Schattenleben", but that the Antigonid hegemony nonetheless remained (86).
As so often, these notions have been explored more with reference to the classical period, but our epigraphic evidence indicates that, once established as part of Greek political discourse, they remained active concepts. On the *patrios politeia* in fourth- and fifth-century Athens respectively, see Cecchin 1969; Witte 1995. On the discourse of freedom: Raaflaub and Franciscono 2004; Liddel 2007, together with Dmitriev 2011. There has been less work on ἀφορολογησία, but *cf RC* 15, a letter from Antiochus II to Erythrae after 261, and *FDelphes* III 4.153, from Delphi *c* 246.
For a more extensive discussion of the Nicuria decree, which illustrates how the scholarly insistence on Lysimachean control of Samos in 282, and the denial of Samian agency even in the context of what that model would consider a transfer of hegemony, continue to cause difficulty, see Case study. Samos, Unipolarity, and the Nicuria decree, 313.

subordinate agency and regional diversity, has remained so dominant in scholarship for the Hellenistic Cyclades. Six connected structural reasons for this continued overarching consensus perhaps bear mentioning, three in summary, and three at greater length. First, the paucity and intractability of the evidence. There are very few literary narratives that involve the history of the Cyclades in the Hellenistic period, and all are externally focussed. Early scholars were necessarily dependent on these narratives to provide context for the epigraphic and lacunose texts that they were interpreting. Second, the paucity and silence of new evidence. There has been significant archaeological work in the Cyclades and Aegean in the course of the twentieth century, as well as great advances in the fields of papyrology and numismatics. Archaeology has, however, proceeded at a much slower pace and on a smaller scale[763], leading to incremental gains that lent themselves easily to incorporation into the pre-existing model[764]; while the evidence from other fields has often been negative, or else lent itself less to political than social or economic discussion. Third, partly because of the paucity of new evidence with which to reconsider the political history of the Cyclades, the questions which scholars have asked and the focusses of their discussions have understandably changed. Even when scholars have considered the political history of the region, they have often done so tangentially through considerations of alternative questions, such as the rhetoric of

[763] No longer are sixty inscriptions discovered in two seasons as on Delos in 1877 and 1878: Homolle 1879, 469.

[764] *Eg*, the way in which Étienne analyses the unusual formula for the addressee of the letter of the Epirotes (*SEG* 37.709) published at Étienne 1987; Étienne 1990, 102–106 suggests that the name in the lacuna was that Rhodian commander on Tenos at the time. No other aspect of the decree supports such an interpretation. See further 521n1125.

inter-state relations; or they have taken individual actors as their theme, and discussed those actors' relations with the Cyclades in that context[765]. Thus, even where their individual work has called into question the relevance of this model for "their" period or theme, their focus is elsewhere. The ramifications have remained unexplored, such that the model has survived[766].

The fourth, fifth, and sixth reasons require more extended discussion. The fourth is the condescension of posterity, both ancient and modern[767]. The approach we have been discussing here long predates the explicit formulation of centre and periphery models, but there is, as we have already previously noted, an assumption of economic and political weakness in modern historiographical approaches to the islands[768]. Just as they were peripheral to our ancient historiographical narratives, so too have they become peripheral for modern historical analyses which have adopted those ancient historiographical and literary perspectives. It is because of their lack of resources that the islands needed the protection of an outside power. The same logic lies behind statements that they were of little value in their own right, and that the islands had to

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765 Examples include discussions of *symbola* (Gauthier 1972), proxeny (Marek 1984), interstate arbitration (Ager 1996), and euergetism (Veyne 1976; Gauthier 1985; Domingo Gygax forthcoming). Discussions of the Cyclades as part of a study on empires and individual actors include those on the Antigonids: Buraselis 1982; Antigonus Monophthalmus: Billows 1990; Antigonus Gonatas: Fellmann 1930; the Ptolemies: Bagnall 1976; Ptolemy III: Beyer-Rotthoff 1993; Ptolemy IV: Huss 1976; the Rhodians: Berthold 1984; Gabrielsen 1997, 56–63; Wiemer 2002. Each considers the Leagues central to discussion of their actors' activity in the region.

766 See the discussion of Reger above, and Gabrielsen in 518n1120, particularly the circularity involved in his reference back to Reger 1994c for aspects which Reger considers best attested during the period being studied by Gabrielsen.

767 On the enormous condescension of posterity: Thompson 1963.

768 On Centre and Periphery models, see Rowlands, Larsen, and Kristiansen 1987, especially 1–21, and Rowlands, Larsen, and Kristiansen 1987.

unite to survive[769]. These latter three suggestions perhaps have more to do with the imperial context in which these modern historical approaches were first formulated, and with now rejected approaches to the decline of the *polis* in the Hellenistic period, than with any rigorous empirical review. Their survival perhaps has as much to do with the shift in the scholarly focus mentioned above as with committed belief. In so far as they are based on the assumption of few resources, and insular attitudes, moreover, we have already discussed them in greater detail in the introduction. Nevertheless, they deserve mention here as part of the underlying matrix.

The fifth reason is the ultimately amorphous nature of the model in question. It is rigid in conception and in its rhetoric, but much less so in application. There is a tendency in previous scholarship to refer to the relationship between hegemon and islands as "Protektorat", "protectorat", "die Hegemonie", "Hegemony", "Patronat", "suzerainty", "authority", "control", "der Kontrolle", "επικράτηση" without further definition, and at times as though these terms were equivalent[770]. Such phrases avoid

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769 Reger 1994b, *eg* at 68: "I would attribute the numerous *asylia* and *isopoliteia* decrees struck by the small island and littoral states after c. 250 especially 240 B.C. with Aetolia and the cities of Crete to the desire by these states to seek protection against piracy and illegal seizures that a hegemonic power would have normally provided ... In the meantime [*viz* between 250 and 200] the small states had to do what they could in the absence of "big power" [quotation marks original] protection ... [T]he Kyklades owed most of their importance to the larger world as caravanserais on the sea-lanes from Greece to Asia", formulations remarkably similar to those of, *eg* König 1910, 10–11: "[w]enn nun die Insulaner nicht gänzlich den Seeräubern preisgegeben sein wollten, lag es nahe, sich entweder aus eigener Initiative zu einem neuen Bunde zu vereinigen oder sich in den besonderen Schutz eines der mächtigen Diadochen zu begeben, der dann für seine Bundesgenossen zu sorgen hatte", and Sippel 1966, 29: "[b]y the end of the 4th century, it had become clear that no island-association of the Cyclades could exist save under the aegis of some protecting power."

770 Protektorat/protectorat: Graindor 1908, 10; König 1910, 31; Guggenmos 1929, 12; Fellmann 1930, 64; Huss 1976, 232; Wiemer 2002, 271; Hegemonie/hegemony: König 1910, 16; Bagnall 1976, 138; Reger 1994c, 16; Patronat: Buraselis 1982, 78; suzerainty: Berthold 1984, 142; suzereignty (sic): Reger 1994b, 33; control/Kontrolle: Bagnall 1976, 137; Beyer-Rotthoff 1993; Reger 1994b, 32, 34; Reger 1994c, 15, 17; Sheedy 1996, 423; authority: Reger 1994b, 69; Reger 1994c, 46; επικράτηση:

explicitly stating that the hegemons in question directly controlled all the Cycladic states: such a suggestion would be difficult to maintain on account of the lack of evidence for royal involvement on the islands as attested through royal letters, eras, or their inclusion in prescripts[771]. Scholars do not, however, clarify how they do envisage the relationship operating. Given the paucity of evidence, this approach is understandable. It does, however, make it very difficult for scholars to outline alternative approaches, and may even create the impression that the content of such phrases is self-evident, particularly when they are repeated so often[772].

The final reason is, however, perhaps the most important, because it further explains how the ambiguity noted here has caused so little concern. It is the close but ultimately inexact lexical overlap between the Greek and modern hegemonical models, or between Greek ἡγεμονία, and its modern descendants: hegemony, Hegemonie, and their equivalents. Both are, on one level, consistent with a rigorous theoretical definition of the hegemonical model which envisages a system wherein the leading power brings "such great pressures and inducements to bear that most other states lose some of their freedom of action *de facto*, though not *de iure*", becoming

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Stephanaki 2010, 419. On Gabrielsen's approach, which agrees in its detail, if not in its frame, see 518n1120.

771 Scholars are occasionally explicit about this distinction: König, for example, states that this "Protektorat" does not equate to "Herrschaft", a term which he uses almost exclusively with reference to specific islands and states, such as Delos during the period of Athenian control, and Andros and Macedonia under Demetrius: König 1910, 16 vs 18, 22 and 55. The exceptions mostly occur when he is denying its existence, such as in discussing the non-existence of Ptolemaic Herrschaft after 220 and Macedonian Herrschaft in the middle and end of the third century: 23, 32, 37, 39; an exception is 30, for the Ptolemies at the end of the third century. This difficulty possibly also explains the frequent recourse of scholars to quotation marks, perhaps implying that they do not necessarily accept all the implications of the term in use.

772 *Cf* Gabrielsen's discussion, which is unusual in its terminological rigour, but which is very similar to previous models in its conclusions because his grounds for denying hegemony effectively equate to his predecessors' grounds for granting it: 518n1120.

effectively subaltern[773]. As might be expected given its lexical origins in the layered political system of antiquity, the model does explicitly allow for the maintenance of at least the nominal form of the various Greek *poleis* even as they were subject to pressures from hegemons. It also conveniently seems to elide the contested issue of how far direct military and political intervention inside each state was undertaken by the hegemons[774]. The rhetorical importance of autonomy and freedom may be clear[775], but very few Greek states were ever in a position to claim unfettered independence, either in the classical or the Hellenistic periods. Instead, they had continually to negotiate their status relative to forces with far greater military power than their own. Hence how recent scholarship can emphasise the continued vitality of the *polis* in the Hellenistic period, while allowing a reduction in the relative power of specific larger *poleis*, such as Athens and Sparta. The hegemonical approach broadly

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[773] Quotation from Watson 2007, 80, italics original; connexion between hegemony and subalternity: Howson and Smith 2008. On Gramsci's use of the term subaltern, see Morton 2007, 95–123. Some recent discussions of hegemony deconstruct the notion of hegemony, adapting this classical definition specifically to apply to modern politics as perceived in that study (*eg*, Clark 2011); or do not explicitly define the notion, taking it as equivalent to pre-eminence or power (*eg*, Schake 2009). Note that Gramsci's discussion of specifically cultural hegemony is not relevant to discussion here.

[774] The nature of evidence often makes it difficult to argue which is applicable in a particular situation. Garrisons are occasionally attested, such as the Athenian garrison at Erythrae in the fifth century, whose commander is involved in setting up the council (*IG* I^3 14 = *GHI* 40), and the Macedonian garrison on Munichia in third century Athens. There is also evidence for the direct involvement of the hegemon in the internal politics of the subject city; *cf* again Erythrae, Antigonus Monophthalmus' posited role in arbitrating between Teos and Lebedus in case of future disagreement (*Syll*^{3} 34 = *RC* 3.49–52). On the whole, however, the cities seem to have maintained their institutions, and incorporated these external imperial forces as adjuncts, making the terminology of hegemony more appropriate than that of empire, if that is understood to involve direct rule. In specific cases, such as the late fifth century, scholarly consensus refers to the Athenian Empire, but here the point is often to heighten the contrast with the preceding supposedly more consensual Delian League, rather than to imply direct control by Athens.

[775] On the Greek slogan of freedom, see recently Dmitriev 2011.

recognises this continuity, and so provides insight into the complex, layered world that was ancient Greece[776].

The ability of the hegemonical approach to allow for ambiguity and continuity has been central to its success. The difficulty arises because ancient Greek use is much more constrained than the English theoretical approach. In Greek, only one person, people or part of the soul can be ἡγεμών: thus, the Ionians asked the Athenians, according to Thucydides, to become their ἡγεμόνες; Plutarch has the Athenians resentful that they had been deprived of ἡγεμονία; and Xenophon imagines the Thebans becoming ἡγεμόνες[777]. As soon as this control is meaningfully challenged, it is lost: there is no space for two ἡγεμόνες. 'Greek' ἡγεμονία is thus an exclusive notion, and an inherently unipolar model, involving a single focus for the relations of subordinate cities. There can be temporary conflict, but the norm is unipolarity. Except where there is clear evidence to the contrary, the world is considered a matrix of unipolar areas[778].

The modern hegemonical model is not so limited. It can be extended to allow multiple hegemons at any particular time. This approach is not, however, the way in

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[776] This lens of continuity has been particularly attractive in recent times, given earlier tendencies to envisage contrast, with the classical world one of the *polis*, and the Hellenistic period, one of empire. Even if Athens and Sparta's place in the international system did radically change between the classical and Hellenistic periods, it remains, as often noted, less clear how far this change affected the position of other *poleis* which could never have pretensions to hegemony. These states had had to negotiate their status relative to Athens, Sparta, Thebes and others (and each other) in the classical period, just as they had to relative to the Hellenistic kings. There were differing cultural and social ramifications, but in terms of the power relationship involved, there was potentially great continuity. At certain times these *poleis* possessed more independence, at others less, but the scale was similar.

[777] Thucydides 1.95.7; Plutarch *Alcibiades* 38.1; Xenophon *Hellenica* 6.5.39.

[778] Note that this approach is not just restricted to historiographical use, but applies more generally. *Cf* Herodotus 3.65.6: Cambyses urging the Persians not to allow ἡγεμονίη to return to the Medes; and Plato *Timaeus* 41c: the part called divine ἡγεμονοῦν in those who always follow justice.

which it has been applied in Greek history. The flexibility inherent in the hegemonical model has been lost in Greek lexical rigour: each area had a single leading state with states answerable only to that leading state. Where these regions met, there could be conflict; and, through wars, the authority in command of a particular region might change. Inside that region, however, the leading state was supreme. This model underlies the depiction of the Cyclades noted above.

There is, in part, good reason for this approach: it seemed justified by the historiographical references noted above. It was also possible to read Thucydides in this way. He may recognise conflict between powers, but he also presents the Aegean and Peloponnese in the fifth century as areas of mutually exclusive Athenian and Spartan control; the Athenians might raid the Peloponnese, but she did not maintain any bases there, with the temporary and to Thucydides remarkable exception of Sphacteria. Similarly, he presents the Spartans as effectively excluded from the Aegean as an Athenian lake: their one attempt prior to the Sicilian Disaster to enter the Aegean in support of Mytilene, during its revolt in 428, was unsuccessful.

There is perhaps a fundamental irony in the fact that all the historiographical uses adduced above for Greek ἡγεμονία are rhetorical or philosophical. They involve claims or pretensions to hegemony in its narrow unipolar sense, but never its reality. Similarly, the structural approach to Thucydides presented here is qualified by the complexity of his detailed narrative, which repeatedly provides plenty of evidence that the historical picture was more complex, not just in peripheral areas, but even in the Peloponnese and the Aegean. The imperialist mind-set of earlier generations and past

beliefs regarding smaller states' inability to look after themselves are thus perhaps more central to their reading of Thucydides and Greek ἡγεμονία than the texts themselves. Note, for example, that there is no suggestion in the ancient Greek texts that there has to be a hegemon, or even that hegemony should be the norm, yet that approach has been assumed for the Hellenistic Cyclades.

Nevertheless, the effect of this lexical overlap should not be underrated. Even as we have become more aware of the narrative aspect of historiography, the discussion of multipolar hegemony in international relations theory has justified the continued discussion of ancient Greek unipolar hegemony, even though the contents are quite different. In this specific area, increased theoretical awareness has not challenged a previous scholarly norm involving potentially ambiguous thinking. Instead, it has reinforced that norm, and allowed the primary question to continue to be to understand to which king or other outside power a *polis* and region was subject at any particular time. In considering the Greek world as a whole, polarisation has been allowed; inside particular regions, however, such as the Cyclades, a unipolar model has been followed, with all relations ineluctably vertical and one-sided. In the absence of clear literary evidence for historical clash, such as that provided by Thucydides, it remained possible to equate evidence for activity by a possible hegemon in a region with hegemony for that hegemon in that entire region, entirely ignoring the agency of any 'subordinate' *poleis* or the possibility of regional diversity, despite the emphasis in Thucydides himself and elsewhere precisely on that same agency and diversity.

The Cyclades through multipolar eyes

For all these reasons, a fundamental reconsideration is long overdue. The approaches here noted could perhaps be justified in past scholarship from the previous widespread belief that the islands were inherently weak and economically non-viable: they hence needed outside protectors to survive and to guide their action. This approach has, however, long been challenged, and we have here already developed new arguments against these presuppositions. Instead, the islands were capable of self-organisation, and self-motivation, and several of them were economically prosperous enough to maintain their own numismatic standard.

In this context, our brief discussion here of the inadequacy of current approach is but further confirmation of the need for a new paradigm, which systematically incorporates changes in our understanding of social, religious and political phenomena since the unipolar hegemonical model was formulated at the turn of the twentieth century in the context of the excavations on Delos, Tenos, Thera and elsewhere. Here, we undertake two important parts of this reappraisal, demonstrating how a multipolar approach is both more consistent with the surviving evidence, and leads to new insight, by analysis of two case studies where more detailed evidence is available than is the norm.

First, we consider the contested status of the Delian sanctuary: the idea that sanctuaries were focusses of interstate competition has long been established in scholarship. It has, however, not been applied to Delos, in large part because of the

dominance of the unipolar model for the Hellenistic Cyclades, which has constrained interpretation. We briefly survey the dynamics of the sanctuary in the archaic and classical periods, and argue that Delos was a locus of competitive display throughout the Hellenistic period. Both festivals and monumental dedications have been understood to inscribe the hegemony of successive powers. We argue that the evidence points to agents in direct competition with each other. Even if each individual monument is inspired by a recent victory or other historical event, they thus indicate dedicatees' involvement and pretensions in the Cycladic space as part of competitive interaction in our multipolar space; they do not imply an exclusive hegemonical position either in the sanctuary or in the Cyclades. We then illustrate the continuation of these competitive dynamics into the late second century, and argue that this requires a reconsideration of the Roman position in the region at this time.

Our second case study analyses the evidence for Rhodian activity in the Cyclades in the Hellenistic period. We select the Rhodians as our focus because the evidence for their engagement in the Cyclades is more extensive than for either of the other hegemons commonly identified, the Antigonids and the Ptolemies. We place renewed emphasis on evidence for Rhodian naval prowess and engagement already in the early Hellenistic period, and demonstrate that Rhodian activity cannot be constrained within its traditional chronological bounds around the activity of the other prospective hegemons as the unipolar model requires. In keeping with this approach, we then also demonstrate that the evidence for a second-century Rhodian domination between *c* 200 and 167 structured round a revived League of the Islanders has been

systematically over- and mis-interpreted, and has led to the evidence of the presence of other powers being ignored. Cumulatively, ongoing Rhodian activity throughout the Hellenistic period in competition and cooperation with a variety of powers in this multipolar region can and should be assumed, not a position of hegemony by default in the absence of more plausible royal or Roman alternatives. Both our Delian and our Rhodian case-studies thus strongly confirm the validity of our multipolar approach by their greater consistency with the surviving evidence, and the new insight they and it enable.

Case study. Samos, Unipolarity, and the Nicuria decree

It is now almost certain that the Nicuria decree dates from the middle of 282. It postdates the death of Ptolemy I early in that year, and predates the first *Ptolemaea* in his honour, which was also held in 282, just before the first *Panathenaea* held after Athens' revolt from Demetrius Poliorcetes in either 287 or, more plausibly, 286[779].

[779] Nicuria decree: *IG* XII.7 506. Ptolemy I Soter's death: between the start of Ptolemy II's second year of coregency on Dystros 26 (either early January 282 or early March 282) and the end of the Olympic year in the summer of 282. The basic argument presented by Samuel 1972, 28–30 is widely accepted. More recent attempts to narrow the span argue for the earlier end of this range: see, *eg*, Koenen and Maṯḥaf 1977; Hazzard 1987; Grzybek 1990. That a *Ptolemaea* was held precisely before the first *Panathenaea* after that revolt is confirmed by Shear's recent autopsy of the Callias decree (Shear 1978 = *SEG* 28.60), which confirms τότε πρ[ῶ]τ[ο]ν (Π, P, T all dotted; so not, *eg*, τρίτον) as the necessary reading: Shear 2010, where the case for 286 for the revolt is also convincingly restated against the scholarly consensus of 287 since Habicht 1979; Osborne 1979. Note that a Panathenaea is now attested for 282 by *IG* II^2 3079 independently of the debate over the date of the Athenian revolt from Demetrius Poliorcetes, and the reading of *SEG* 28.60.
Hazzard has recently argued that the Nicuria decree should be redated to 263 (Hazzard 2000, 47–59) partly on the basis of an analysis of the datable texts wherein Ptolemy I is referred to as Soter, partly to tie it into a broader propaganda effort he dates to that year. The suggestion is appealing, and, if accepted, does not affect the thrust of our discussion here. Nevertheless, this suggestion has been widely and on balance plausibly rejected, not least because both Philocles and Bacchon are well attested on Delos, but only before 276. Hazzard is also unaware of the redating of the *archon* Pleiston to 262/1 (universally accepted since Piérart and Étienne 1975, including by Daux over his own previous choice of 266/5); and of Nerwinski 1981, 6–19, which is often overlooked, but demonstrates that the length of

Scholarly consensus, however, has insisted that the decree must date from 281 at the earliest, because it is considered certain that the island of Samos was Lysimachean before the battle of Corupedium in January or February 281, when Lysimachus was killed. Hence, according to this view, the presence of a Ptolemaic fleet at Samos before that date is impossible[780]. Since this argument was first made by Delamarre in 1896, almost the only author to contravene this firm *terminus post quem* is Nerwinski, in his often overlooked unpublished dissertation[781]. Even Nerwinski, however, does not question the paradigm. He justifies his conclusion by arguing that Ptolemy and Lysimachus might well have been allied in 282 against Seleucus[782]. Hence, the Ptolemaic fleet might have been there with the permission of Lysimachus.

Nerwinski's insistence on 282 is noteworthy, but his solution to enable this date is insufficient. Not only is Lysimachus to have allowed the Ptolemaic fleet to dock at Samos, but he is also to have permitted the Ptolemaic officials to use Samos as a base for display of their own imperial might, - all this without calling into question Samos' allegiance to Lysimachus. It is unsurprising that subsequent scholars who cleave to

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the lacuna between the Amphictyonic prescript dated by the archonship of Pleiston, and the recognition of the *Ptolemaea* mentioned on a separate fragment of same stele is unknown; hence, the *Ptolemaea* fragment may be a restatement of previous measures. For earlier discussion of this decree: Fraser 1954; Bousquet 1958, 77–82; Fraser 1961. Note, however, that many of the other arguments adduced against his hypothesis, and summarised by, for example, Hauben 2004, 38–44, are not so conclusive, and reflect scholarly unwillingness to abandon cherished tenets rather than their inherent strength: compare Seibert 1970 for a more cautious approach to Philocles the Sidonian's career than that evident in Hauben 1987.

780 For a recent restatement, conveniently also summarising previous scholarship in his support: Hauben 2004, 39, especially 39n73. Note that Hauben further argues that Samos probably only became Ptolemaic after the death of Seleucus I in August/September 281 because of his belief in a secret agreement between Ptolemy II Philadelphus and Seleucus I.

781 Delamarre 1896, 106–107. Holleaux 1895, 32 had argued for 285 or 283; Dittenberger accepted 285 in the second edition of his *Sylloge*, printed in 1898, but followed Delamarre in the third edition.

782 Nerwinski 1981, 45–46.

the unipolar paradigm by which Samos must have been subject to someone have found this approach unconvincing. An alternative solution that still remains within the unipolar model would be to 'reassign' Samos from the Lysimachean sphere to the Ptolemaic sphere with the arrival of the Ptolemaic fleet. We know that Ptolemy established a base on Samos approximately at this time, so, within the constraints of our model the suggestion is justified and even plausible, if not one that has gained favour recently among scholars. A more thorough analysis is, however, justified, based on the recognition that the evidence for the existing Lysimachean hegemony is deeply problematic. The entire frame in which the debate has been approached needs to be reconsidered.

The universal assumption of Lysimachean hegemony effectively derives from an inscription found on Samos that records a letter sent by Lysimachus in 283/282 which states the results of his arbitration of a dispute between Priene and Samos, and apparently confirms the Samians' possession of an area on mainland opposite Samos, Batinetis[783]. The way in which Lysimachus' involvement is presented is noteworthy

[783] The actual decision is lost. The argument that the decision must have been at least (partly) favourable because the stele was found on Samos, and the Samians would not otherwise have erected the stele is perhaps not illuminating, but the first few lines do seem to imply a decision (partly) favourable to them. *RC* 7 = Ager 26 = Bagnall-Derow 12; *NB* the new text superseding these texts: *IG* XII.6 155.
On the history of Samos at this time, see Shipley 1987, 169–201, especially 181–184 on the Ptolemaic takeover, and 199–201 on the strategic importance of Samos. In keeping with this consensus, Shipley dates Ptolemaic control from 281 or 280, and points to our decree as the earliest evidence (182, where he dates it to late 280 following Fraser 1954; Fraser 1961). *Cf* Barron 1966, which also considers 281 the occasion of Samos' transfer from Lysimachus to Ptolemy II (144; through Lysimachus' widow, Arsinoe II, who subsequently married Ptolemy II). Neither adduces additional evidence for Lysimachean control in the 280s beyond our decree. Note, additionally, that Barron posits a gap in Samian numismatic production between *c* 300, and *c* 270, placing the earliest Samian issues on the Ptolemaic standard in the second quarter of the third century, not earlier (142–145). He does so on stylistic grounds, not from hoard evidence, and a re-examination may revise his chronology; for now, however, numismatic evidence also does not support the notion of hegemonic continuity.

in several respects[784]. First, he does not allocate royal land, but arbitrates ownership of land claimed by two cities. Not only does Lysimachus refer to the land as 'yours', but he apologises: had he realised that the land had been Samian for so long, he would never had undertaken to judge the case. Instead, on the basis of information supplied by the envoys from Priene, Lysimachus had supposed that the Samians had only recently invaded the land, a phrase which both by its apparent ignorance and by its assumed distance suggests that the Prieneans had presented the land as theirs, and Lysimachus had previously acknowledged their claim. Lysimachus is also presented as intervening on the request of the people of Priene, not as imposing himself in the decision.

We do not need to take the rhetoric at face value. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that the letter takes pains to acknowledge the agency, sovereignty and autonomy of the Samians. On the basis of this same letter, however, as interpreted through the unipolar lens, the Samians have been deprived of agency, Lysimachus granted control of Samos, and, all other actors excluded from this part of his imperial sphere until after his death at Corupedium. This approach cannot be justified. Arbitration was undertaken by a variety of state actors in the Greek world[785]. Of itself, it does not imply subjection to the arbitrating power. In the context of other evidence for hegemony, we can understand arbitration as a ritual undertaken by hegemon and

[784] Strictly, we cannot be certain that Lysimachus presents himself in this way; the Samians were presumably on some level responsible for the erection of the stele, and may be at least partly responsible for the narrative pose and tone. Given the emphasis on the agency of the islanders, this aspect is not irrelevant to our analysis, but it does not invalidate it. The suggestion that the Samians were able to present not just themselves but also Lysimachus in this way provides an alternative route to the same conclusion that Lysimachean hegemony is not a necessary inference from the evidence.

[785] For a recent synthesis of the evidence for Hellenistic arbitration: Ager 1996.

dominated states that does encode their relations; alternatively, it can be precisely an attempt by the putative hegemon arbitrating to gain some acknowledgement of their authority, or by the state(s) whose dispute is under consideration to gain leverage by involvement of another power on their side. A variety of other configurations can also be envisaged but, in order to determine which are more or less plausible, we need to embed the arbitration in its broader context. Here, this context is telling.

If we broaden our focus just slightly from Samos in 283/282, we note that we have evidence for activity not only by Lysimachus and Ptolemy, but also by Demetrius and Seleucus in the immediate vicinity of Samos in the previous five years[786]. To insist that the arbitration must encode Lysimachus' hegemony is thus implausible. Rather than subjection to Lysimachus, the Samians may well have been exploiting their maritime position to engage with a variety of different powers, and to procure as advantageous a position as possible. Rather than Lysimachus being the inevitable intermediary for the dispute with the Prieneans, he can have been so keen to intervene precisely in order to strengthen his position relative to the other diadochs in Samian internal discourse.

Certainty is, for the moment, impossible. More relevant to our concern here, however, whichever interpretation we prefer, is full recognition of the difficulties that the insistence on Lysimachean hegemony on Samos has caused for a range of questions, because of the way in which the dating of the Nicuria decree has itself been

[786] Demetrius' ill-fated expedition to Asia Minor aimed for Miletus, just five miles south of Samos on the coast.

bound up in other discussions, such as the date of Ptolemy I's death, the establishment and possible reform of the *Ptolemaea* in Alexandria, and the 'liberation' of Athens by Callias. It is a fine tribute to the power of the unipolar, hegemonical vision that, despite the rhetorical thrust of the letter, the complex contemporary political situation, and the numerous cruxes which would have been thus eased, scholars have continued to insist from this single inscription that Lysimachus must have had hegemony over Samos until Ptolemy's arrival, and so to deny even the possibility of dating the Nicuria decree in 282.

Delos as a locus of display and competition

As our first study exploring the Cyclades as a multipolar space, here we analyse the pre-eminent sanctuary in the region, Delos, and argue that we should conceptualise it as a locus of display and of competition in the Hellenistic period[787]. These notions are not new. Competition in particular has been central to our understanding of almost every aspect of ancient Greek society, cultural, social, and political[788], and has been especially powerful as a lens through which to understand the relations of both states and the Hellenistic kings[789].

The structural role of sanctuaries as venues for the expression and negotiation of these dynamics has also long been recognised, with modern approaches developing our understanding through an increased awareness of the politics of space and of peer-

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787 This study necessarily relies heavily on the work of the many *déliens* who have worked tirelessly at Delos over the centuries, particularly since the start of excavation in 1877. Initial publications and summaries of recent excavations tend to be published in the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* (as well as, early on, the *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*), and final publications form the *Exploration archéologique de Délos*. For a recent summary of the site, see the fourth edition of the *Guide de Délos* (Bruneau and Ducat 2005).

788 Recently, in each case with earlier bibliography, on competition generally in the ancient world, see the essays collected in Fisher and van Wees 2011, particularly van Wees 2011, with his emphasis on escalation, regulation, exclusion, and rejection, and the dynamics of rivalry, Christoff 2011 on modern approaches to Greek competition, Forsdyke 2011, for an overview of archaic competition, and specifically on cultural competition in ancient Sicyon, and Fisher 2011, on competition as a positive social force in post-Cleisthenic Athens; on the competitive performance of Greek poetry: Collins 2004; of early poetry: Griffith 1990; on competitive structures in Greek epic, historiography, and tragedy: Barker 2009; and in Athenian comedy: Biles 2011; in the construction of sanctuaries: Watson 2011; for a more structural approach to elite display and competition in the archaic and classical period: Duplouy 2006.

789 On the image of the Hellenistic king, see Smith 1988, particularly 46–53 on types and virtues; Stewart 1993 on the image of Alexander; and Brown 1995 for a survey making reference also to the numismatic evidence. Cities in the archaic period: Osborne 1996, 243–291 on the rise of the city and their competition, and, briefly: Morris 1991. On the place of myth and religion in the Greek state, see Nilsson 1951 and Zaidman and Schmitt Pantel 1992, and now Parker 2011; for detailed discussion of one *polis*, Athens: Parker 1996 and Parker 2005.

polity interaction[790]. Delos is, however, an exception. Delos generally has not been understood as a locus of competition except indirectly, by analogy with other Greek sanctuaries. The symbolic capital involved in making dedications on Delos has long been recognised, but they have not been contextualised with reference to the existing religious context and physical space of the sanctuary[791]. Olympia and Delphi have been interpreted as liminal sanctuaries whose lack of identification with individual powerful states enabled them to act as locuses of display and competition, and so to mediate between external powers, but Delos has often been understood as too closely

[790] Recently on the spatial politics of Delphi and Olympia in the archaic and classical periods: Scott 2010; on the role of sanctuaries, in particular Olympia and Delphi, in the rise of the Greek state and as locuses of interstate and interpersonal competition, see Morgan 1990 and the essays in Marinatos and Hägg 1993, especially Morgan 1993; on the role of sanctuaries in city formation: de Polignac 1984, translated as de Polignac 1995; for reaction to de Polignac: Alcock and Osborne 1994; for discussion through the lens of peer-polity interaction: Snodgrass 1986. More briefly, the treasuries at Delphi and Olympia were part of the discussion at Renfrew 1986, especially 10–17. Earlier discussions in English considering the spatial politics of individual monuments at Delphi include, on the Siphnian treasury: Neer 2001, with general discussion, and Scott 2007; and on the Athenian treasury: Neer 2004. More briefly on treasuries in sanctuaries as venues for civic display and competition, see Roux 1984b, and Renfrew 1986, especially 10–17. Approaches to rural and sacred landscapes have recently undergone a significant reappraisal, with an increased awareness of the politics inherent in their construction and transformation, as represented by the collections of essays in Bender 1993; Ashmore and Knapp 1999; Ucko and Layton 1999; Stewart and Strathern 2003; Christie 2004; Roca, Claval, and Agnew 2011, especially Scazzosi 2011.

[791] A partial exception has been the relationship between the South(-West) Portico and the Portico of Philip. They have been understood as together monumentalising the *dromos*: see already Vallois 1923, 162–163, and, more recently, Schalles 1985, 66–67 and Hintzen-Bohlen 1992, 145. Scholars have partly hence justified a royal donor behind the South(-West) Portico; see, on these Porticoes, 369–379, and, for a more nuanced understanding of the dynamics that does not insist on Attalid sponsorship: 373–374. The recognition of this dynamic here in the late third century has not, however, caused the dynamics identified for other periods to be questioned; *cf* how Hintzen-Bohlen otherwise considers a specific donor and building at a time, and their effect on a static sanctuary stripped of its rhythm of festivals, dedications and bases (*eg*, 89, 99). *Cf* also Schalles 1985, 127–135, drawing on the *progonoi* monument to justify his reconstruction of a similar family group dedicated probably by Attalus I, but limiting his discussion to how this affects our understanding of Attalid self-presentation, rather than the dynamics of the sanctuary in which multiple such family groups were present.

identified with a succession of hegemons for competitive display and dedication to occur[792].

In keeping with this analysis, the focus on Delos has been rather on display understood in narrowly hegemonic, and hence unidirectional, hierarchical, and exclusive, contexts: by and of a single hegemon to his subjects. This form of display is valid, but display can also be non-exclusive, and encode claim to relevance and status in a contested space involving several different competing forces. Display can be emulative, part of a competitive strategy to express one's membership of a particular group, and to be recognised as a member of that group. We argue that these latter forms of display are more relevant for our understanding of Delos in the Hellenistic period, yet have not been recognised.

Many factors lie behind this disjunction between approaches to Delos and the other panhellenic sanctuaries, not least that Pausanias did not visit Delos. His distance and perspective render him problematic as a source, and the identification of monuments

792 Roux 1984a. *Cf*, how Hintzen-Bohlen 1992, 115 understands the creation of the *Demetriaea* as a symbol of Demetrius' accession to the throne and, with it, his assumption of hegemony ("Vorherrschaft") over the islanders, even though she acknowledges that he then concentrated his political effects exclusively on the mainland, and later summarises that he could not effectively maintain ("wirkungsvoll behaupten") Macedonian supremacy in the region (133). The claim is easier to maintain because Demetrius' activity is being treated separately from that of other powers, and because of the elision (as frequent elsewhere) between festivals as symbols of accession and of assumption of a position, but the logic is still circular; the only evidence for Demetrian hegemony is the presupposition that vase-festivals must indicate its existence: see further 324, and especially 326n798. In so far as Vial and Baslez move beyond this model in their analysis of dedications of the early second century, it is to emphasise the agency and independence of the Delian state; the motivations of the donors and agents with whom they are interacting receive no analysis, and they do not consider how their analysis might affect our understanding of the dynamics on Delos at other times: Vial and Baslez 1987. Note that our reanalysis at 366n852 of the dating of the Portico of Antigonus might allow for Demetrius' involvement in that project, but should not, of course, be understood as an argument in support of Demetrius' hegemony. It does, however, further call into question the validity of the attempt at Reger 1994b to differentiate the dynamics of the Cyclades in the late third century from those at other times in the Hellenistic period.

he mentions with physical remains is not always clear. Nevertheless, his systematic descriptions of the mythological and physical fabrics of Olympia and Delphi have been central to modern analysis of those sanctuaries[793]. This resource is not available for Delos. Instead, we are dependent on individual references in authors, and on the few dedicatory inscriptions and references in other inscriptions to particular buildings that survive[794].

Two other factors are, however, critically important: the first is, perhaps paradoxically, Delos' relative prominence in our classical literary sources, on account of Delos' close identification therein with Athens as a tool of Athenian imperial strategy. Neither Delphi nor Olympia is connected to a single hegemonical power in this way. Partly justified by this, partly perhaps also by the scholarly predispositions of past ages, a similar narrative has been understood for the archaic period on Delos. Repeated methodological confusion has read Naxian political prosperity and dominance into the artistic pre-eminence suggested by the widespread use of Naxian

[793] On Pausanias and his approach to the past, see Hutton 2005 with the essays collected at Musti and Bingen 1996; Alcock, Cherry, and Elsner 2001, and, more briefly, Elsner 1992; Sidebottom 2002.

[794] Anecdotes: Nicias' palm: Plutarch *Nicias* 3.6; epigraphic evidence: the dedication of the Portico of Antigonus (Gonatas) (Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 195 29): *IG* XI.4 1095 (= Durrbach 1921–1923, 41–43 35); the dedication of the Portico of Philip (V) (Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 167 3): *IG* XI.4 1099 = Durrbach 1921–1923, 72–74 57; together with references in the various accounts to buildings such as the *oikos* of the Carystians: *IG* IX.2 287.A.78 (= Prêtre and Brunet 2002, 87–124); and the *porinos naos*: *IG* XI.2 165.9. Note that these references are often allusions, and not specific names, and that both names and their referents thus changed depending on the context in which they were used: characterising, and distinguishing, not naming, or describing, was central. For a brief illustration of this principle, see 350n833 *ad fin*, discussing why the inventories refer to the *Soteria* and the *Pania*. See also Tréheux 1959, 2:291–292 for recognition that this same principle can explain why some inventories do not mention where items listed are kept; and Tréheux 1959, 1:23–36, which convincingly argues that, at least while the Delians were completing the unfinished 'great temple' between *c* 314 and 279, they did refer to both the existing *porinos naos* and the 'great temple' as simply the temple of Apollo ("ὁ νεὼς τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος") because the context made confusion unlikely. References in the accounts to expenditure for construction naturally involved the 'great temple', which was then under construction; while references in the inventory lists to items in the temple of Apollo naturally involved the *porinos naos*, because there was as yet no inventory in the 'great temple'.

marble, and supported such narratives by reference to our scanty literary sources, - even though these sources are themselves derived at least in part from the same physical remains[795]. Hence, a Naxian thassalocracy in the Cyclades and Naxian dominance on Delos in the archaic period was and still is often identified[796], and such

[795] For a similar attempt to preserve a literary source even though it probably derives from not a misinterpretation but a reinterpretation and recodification of the very same architectural evidence which modern scholars are analysing (if in more complete form), *cf* the debate over the *Neorium.* The many attempts to preserve a phase connected with Antigonus Gonatas and the battle of Cos here contrast with the sculptural and epigraphic evidence that the building should date about half a century earlier, and was already in use long before the battle of Cos: 359n845. For a suggestion that such reinterpretation also underlies Hellenistic references to the Portico of the Naxians, see 334n811.

[796] As so often, the paradoxes underlying such discussions are wryly noted by Bruneau 1990, 585. For a brief survey of the use of marble identified as Naxian and Parian on Delos, and attributing "the significant presence of Naxian art" to the Naxian thalassocracy (149), see Kokkorou-Alevras 2000. For a brief narrative of Naxian archaic production as a whole, see Stewart 1990, 118–119, also in the context of the Naxians as "powerful in the Aegean" (118). *Cf* Richter and Richter 1970, 128 for the suggestion that a bronze statuette from Naxos must have been produced before the subjugation of Naxos, on the implicit presupposition that political subordination and artistic excellence are incompatible; and Consolo Langher 1996 for a broader survey including ceramic evidence that does not always escape this paradigm. For illustration of the continuing influence of such notions on the dating of monuments on Delos, see Hellmann and Fraisse 1979, 113, arguing that the Portico of the Naxians should not date to the late sixth century because "[u]ne telle hypothèse, faisant coïncider l'édification du Portique avec le déclin de l'emprise naxienne et l'arrivée de Pisistrate à Délos, manque toutefois de vraisemblance", and Courbin 1987, 76, summarising his discussion of the *oikos* of the Naxians: "[l]'histoire de l'édifice transpose d'une manière assez fidèle les vicissitudes de la prépondérance naxienne, son ascension, son apogée, puis son déclin". *Cf* how Courbin 1987, 245 treats the collective nature of the dedication of the Naxian *kouros* as self-evident; it is worth re-iterating that size alone is not sufficient justification, and that the surviving dedication (*ID* 49) is classical (Plassart in *ID* does not further specify; epigraphy.packhum.org suggests *c* 415 from scholarship which I have not been able to locate; Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 179 prefers the fourth century). Whether a reinscription or a fresh inscription, the content of the ethnic 'Naxian' was very different in the classical period from the middle of the archaic, and the inscription is perhaps better understood as a re-encoding of an earlier dedication within a civic context rather than as evidence for the original status of the statue (*cf* Ridgway 1993, 23, who is more hesitant here than Courbin or Stewart 1990, 118). The dynamics here thus would be similar to those identified for treasuries by Neer and others.
The approach of Constantakopoulou 2007, 45 is slightly different in arguing that there was no need for a dedication: Naxian culture was so dominant at this time on Delos, that the Naxians alone could have dedicated the *kouros*. This suggestion is appealing, and Constantakopoulou does insist that she does not mean to imply political domination or imperial control by this suggestion; instead, Delos can have been "a showroom for conspicuous exhibition of their artistic development and wealth" (46). Nevertheless, even though not framed in political terms, the implicit identification of Naxian (state or other) action in the use of Naxian marble is still deeply problematic, as is also her comparable suggestion (46) that Parian interest in Delos in the second half of the sixth century is visible in the five Parian *kouroi* and one *kore* possibly dated to that period. *Cf* Chankowski 2008, 10–11, where the suggestion that Lygdamis may have yielded Naxian preponderance over Delos to Peisistratus in exchange for his support in dominating Naxos illuminates the very different methodological and historical presuppositions behind our studies. For brief discussion, see 458n1047.

hegemonic presuppositions became the default and self-reinforcing mode of interpretation also for the primarily Hellenistic Delian archaeological evidence as it was excavated. Both the evidence and the external political narrative have been consistently interpreted to justify the extension of this presupposition into the Hellenistic period, with a succession of hegemonies for the Cyclades as a whole, and on Delos. The authorities of the sanctuary at Delos have not been understood as independent agents with whom the different states had to engage, and who might provide some context and control for the forms of competitive display. Instead, the hegemons are allowed free rein to inscribe their presence.

Without a complete reconsideration of the evidence, it is impossible to know how far the repercussions of this presupposition extend: it was central to the very earliest scholarship on Delos, including the initial decipherment of the *archon* list by Homolle[797]. Two instances that are discussed here, however, are the dynamics

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For a brief discussion of the many diverse factors that underlay choice of marble, see Tomlinson 2000; on recent attempts to establish scientific criteria from which to distinguish different marbles, see Roos, et al 1988 and the essays gathered at Schilardi, et al 2000, 569–617, especially Borschneck, Schvoerer, and Bechtel 2000; Maniatis and Polykreti 2000; Schmid, et al 2000.

797 Explicitly at Homolle 1887a, 57–58; *eg*, 57: "[l]'histoire prouve que Délos, toujours convoitée par les États maritimes de l'Orient, subit toujours la protection plus ou moins onéreuse de celui qui possédait l'hégémonie. Les inventaires doivent nous raconter les vicissitudes de ces patronages divers. En effet, dès qu'un protecteur, ou un maître, s'était installé dans l'île et emparé des Cyclades, il excluait ses rivaux." Homolle's list was produced during the course of significant excavation on Delos and so was heavily revised early in its history, most notably by Durrbach 1916. Such efforts focussed, however, on adjusting the fit between ancient *archon*-years and the modern calendar, on finding space for additional archons as they were unearthed, and on solving specific areas where Homolle and then Durrbach remained less certain: notably the last two decades of the third century (see briefly the table at 410 with 401n929), and the *archon*-list before 301 (see Tréheux 1959, 1:103–110, especially 108–109, and 1:198–2:205 for a detailed reanalysis, including 205n3 for revised dates for the inventory lists of this period; for a more accessible overview, see Vial 1984, 204–205). The principles and underlying order of the archons established by Homolle were not challenged by Durrbach, Kolbe, Schulhof, or any of the many other scholars who engaged in this debate then, and have yet fundamentally to be reassessed.
Central to these discussions were the lists of archons naming successive vases in the inventories. See Homolle 1887a, 52n8, developed by Durrbach 1916. 301, because that date is the latest possible date of

involved in the monumentalisation of the sanctuary, a topic that has been consistently overlooked, and those demonstrated by the 'vase festivals', the endowments founded by Ptolemies and Antigonids and, crucially, also by others which can be traced by the resulting *phialae* and other offerings that are attested in our Delian inventories.

There has been much more discussion of the endowment of vase festivals. The context is, however, revealing. Instead of being considered in the broader context of similar dedications even of other kings, or together with the monumental history of the sanctuary, these vase festivals have been repeatedly understood as an independent phenomenon, and unproblematically connected to external political narratives as evidence for their control of the sanctuary, and, with it, of the Cyclades and the Aegean. Despite the many caveats raised against such approaches, including by Roussel, Kolbe, Bickerman, and Will, *horror vacui* and the strength of the methodological frame in which the scholars were operating meant that the same argument, slightly rephrased, has reappeared. Even the detailed and systematic counterargument offered by Bruneau has been largely ignored. This failure to engage with Bruneau is, however, on balance perhaps unsurprising. Possibly because of the sheer volume of material in question, he focussed his discussion on what he termed the four great dynasties: the Ptolemies, Antigonids, Seleucids, and Attalids. In so doing, he may have enabled himself to speak directly to the existing historical debate, but he

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the earliest attested *archon* vase (for the *Stesilea*), and our brief discussions in the context of the *Philetaeria* and *Third Ptolemaea* at 404n912 and 446. Hence, the ramifications of our discussions extend potentially far beyond our focus here, although the structural nature of our analysis means that they should not change the vision of Delos as a locus of competitive rather than hegemonic display. See, in particular, Appendix 2. Principles behind dating Delian endowments, 396; and Appendix 3. Multiple and missing offerings and their import, 408.

also implicitly supported the validity of discussing those monarchs' activity semi-independently of the broader religious life of the sanctuary and island[798].

[798] Semi-independently: having embedded his discussion in the context of an entire monograph on *les cultes de Délos à l'époque hellénistique et à l'époque impériale* in their various forms (Bruneau 1970), Bruneau cannot strictly be said to have validated their independent discussion, but his focus solely on the royal cults in this section may well have had that effect.
Scholars arguing against connecting vase-festivals with a broader hegemonical narrative (though without the additional focus on the Delian context noted here) have occasionally been less guarded than is the norm in their discussion, perhaps not so much because of the repetitive nature of the debate as because of the importance of the methodological conclusions here drawn not just for questions of restricted Delian or Cycladic interest (such as who ruled Delos or the Cyclades at a particular time; whether Delos was a member of the League of the Islanders in either or both of the third and second centuries; whether the notion of the κοινὸς τόπος is valid, and, if so, whether Delos was one) but also for questions that have been thought to be fundamental to our broader narrative of third century Hellenistic history (when were the battles of Andros, Cos, and Ephesus, and who won them? and, most simply, who ruled the Aegean and the surrounding regions at any particular time?). Each of these questions is much more difficult to answer without recourse to the Delian material as interpreted in these hegemonical terms. Nevertheless, their candour has been to no avail: Kolbe 1916, 452–456, especially 455–456; Roussel 1924, 111–114, especially 111: "[o]n s'expose à une grave désillusion si l'on croit que l'histoire des Cyclades y est inscrite en même temps que l'histoire du sanctuaire délien"; Bikerman 1938, especially 374–376; Will 1979–1982, 1:231–233; Bruneau 1970, 515–583, especially 577–583, and 658–659, reiterated at Bruneau 1987, 327, which also refers more generally to the unhelpfulness of notions of rivalry between cults on Delos, and at Bruneau 1990, 585, and more generally 583–591; *cf* Bruneau 1979, 96–99, rejecting modern suggestions of impiety in the geographical changes identifiable under the Athenians; for a recent collection of the work of perhaps the most productive délien yet, updating these and other previous publications with references to later identifications: Bruneau and Moretti 2006.
The presuppositions which form the background to Bruneau's study were central to the earliest analyses of Delos; see, *eg*, Homolle 1887a, 57, cited at 324n797; *cf* Durrbach 1921–1923, preface to second fascicule: "l'île, indépendante à certaines époques, mais toujours soumise à des patronages plus ou moins respectueux, et finalement sujette d'Athènes." As noted above, Roussel's approach seems to have been different, at least by 1924; his views earlier may perhaps have been closer to those of Homolle and Durrbach. See Roussel 1916a, 6: "on admet volontiers que, pour les rois d'Égypte et de Macédoine, la possession de Délos était comme le signe de leur domination sur les Cyclades." (*Cf* Homolle 1887a, 34, quoted at 464n1052, on how Delos' symbolic value would have compelled Antigonus and Ptolemy to have stopped at nothing to conquer Delos.) Homolle, Roussel, and Durrbach (and Tarn, Ferguson, Pozzi, and other early scholars) were writing at a time before such statements were challenged for other sanctuaries. Nevertheless, it is that earlier approach that continues to underlie discussions of Cycladic hegemony and Delian control, not that of Bruneau. One important recent example which in many ways represents the current orthodoxy is Buraselis 1982, 119–151, which continues to rely on these festivals to resolve the vexed question of the dates of the battles of Cos and Andros, and, hence, to revalidate an elaborate sequence of datable changes of hegemony in the Cyclades in the middle of the third century. Buraselis is aware of Bruneau's argument, and claims that his analysis avoids *petitio principii*, and the circularity of previous arguments by, for example, dating the battle of Andros independently of the festivals analysed by Bruneau (142, 144). This is unclear. Note, for example, his statement that the date of the founding of the *First Ptolemaea* festival (280) can unproblematically be considered a time of Ptolemaic hegemony in the Aegean (144); and the suggestion that the battle of Andros should be dated to 246 or 245 because the festival of the *Soteria* (founded 245)

A second factor central to current approaches to Delos is the caesura in Hellenistic history and practice that has been perceived around the 'arrival' of Rome in the early second century. The recent scholarly concern with display and competition among the Hellenistic kings has focussed on the kings active prior to and contemporary with the earlier stages of Rome's 'arrival', in particular the early Seleucids up to Antiochus III, and the Antigonids[799]. With the partial exception of Mithridates VI Eupator, who is considered a rival of Rome, not of his fellow kings, the activities of the kings of Pontus, Pergamum, Cappadocia, and of the later Seleucids and Ptolemies tend not to be read through the early Hellenistic royal matrix of display and competition, but instead understood as those of vassals or client-kings of Rome.

Specifically on Delos, this caesura has contributed to a scholarly reification of the change of status of Delos in 167/166. On this date, as Polybius narrates and changes in epigraphic practice support, Delos lost its independence and became Athenian[800]. We do not here deny the importance of that date to many aspects of Delian history. The continuity of Athenian control on the island may remain unclear, as also the

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was a festival of thanksgiving (144–145). *Cf* Hintzen-Bohlen 1992, where each vase festival and construction by the Antigonids and Ptolemies is presented as a manifestation of the assumption or resumption of hegemony in the Aegean (75, 88–89, 96, 101, 115, etc); only through the repeated separate presentation and analysis of these narratives, and the methodological presupposition that there must be a close link between Delian activity and external events can the internal contradictions (*cf* 115 with 133, as noted at 320n792) be maintained. Similar difficulties underlie the more recent discussions at Reger 1985; Reger 1994b; most narratives in textbooks to the Hellenistic period (which tend to accept Delos-derived conclusions, even as they may caution against doing so with insufficient caution); and elsewhere: see, *eg*, the range of opinions collated at 403n910 on the date of the battle of Andros.

799 As noted at 294n745, this caesura is also reflected in the French historiographical distinction between the *haute* and *basse époque hellénistique*.

800 The date of the change is not precisely known, but was either late 167 or early 166: Vial 1984, 3–4. See Roussel 1916a, 1–7 against the notion of an Athenian protectorate before this date, perhaps dating from 196, an argument previously occasionally argued from Valerius Antias, as noted by Livy 33.30.

duration of the Delian expulsion from the island[801], but there is a clear change of status: no longer were Delian magistrates in charge of the temples, nor did the Delians issue decrees as an independent state after this date. Nevertheless, division about 167/166 has occluded continuity in Delos' status as a locus of display in the broader Aegean, and, indeed, in the dynamics of the Aegean itself[802].

Cumulatively, these and other factors have affected our understanding of Delos' role both in the early and the late Hellenistic period, particularly because the physical dynamics of the sanctuary, and the contemporaneity of the festivals and offerings discussed have been overlooked[803]. Here, we proceed sequentially, first establishing

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[801] The last document of the Athenian cleruchs dates from 146/5: *ID* 1505; whether Athens retained continuous control until and after the Mithridatic Wars is uncertain. On the complexities of the history of the island during this period, not all of which are happily resolved, see Roussel 1916a, 50–57 and 315–340 and, more briefly, Durrbach 1921–1923, 113–114.
The expulsion is mentioned retrospectively by Polybius 32.7 in the year 159/8. From a reference to the musician Amphicles as Rhenaean in *ID* 1497, dated 165/164, where the Oropians called him Delian (*IOropos* 211 = *IG* VII 373), Roussel 1916a, 16 hypothesised that the expulsion may have occurred before December 165, that it may not have been complete, and that Delians remaining may have been designated Rhenaeans. This argument is not overly plausible: the Oropians' use of the ethnic Delos could have been charged (as argued by Fougères 1889, 248–249); the distinction between Delian and Rhenaean may have been of little account to them; or he could always, from a Delian perspective, have been considered a Rhenaean. Some monuments erected by Delians after 167/166 were already known to Roussel; since then, more have been recognised: see Baslez 1982a, 61 with references. These monuments all post-date *c* 120, so it is possible that the Delians were allowed back on the island after the episodes of which Polybius wrote; alternatively, the Athenians may have been more discriminating than Polybius allowed. Irrespective of the merits of this example, however, for another plausible case of a prominent Delian, who, in being labelled as Syrian, illustrates this expulsion, see Appendix 1. Micythus and the Delians after 167/166, 393.

[802] Bruneau 1970 does discuss royal activity after 167/166, but in much less detail than the activity prior to that date (where there had been significantly more scholarly discussion to unravel). In addition, there is an implicit contrast between his chapter on royal activity and the following discussion of the cults of the Italian colony. His conclusions at 577–583 (before his discussion of the Italian colony) can validly be generalised, but the division, however inadvertently, suggests that the dynamics of royal dedication which Bruneau traces ended in 167/166. For a discussion arguing for the internationalisation of Delos in the late fourth century against an earlier regional focus as outlined by Courby in *ID* volume 2, - a narrative that the discussion above calls into question, - see Baslez 1997.

[803] The physical space: as noted above, a partial exception is Hintzen-Bohlen 1992, but this discussion is still generally framed in terms of individual monuments, rather than their interaction in the space of the sanctuary.

the idea of Delos as a contested space with reference to the archaic period, and contrasting this notion with a fifth century in which our literary sources insist that Athens was dominant on Delos, and the archaeological evidence does not demur. Then we illustrate how the dynamics of the Hellenistic period are closer to that of the archaic period than the archaic period by reference to two related phenomena: the establishment of endowed festivals on Delos, and the monumentalisation of the sanctuary. Where both phenomena have been previously understood as reflecting hegemonical control, we understand them as socially mediated forms of display, competition and patronage. Here again,

Finally, we illustrate how, for all the changes in the geopolitical situation and the profile of individual actors, the sanctuary and city continued to be a focus of display until the sack of Mithridates, a point of systemic crisis which had repercussions beyond the direct result of any physical destruction caused. Our interpretation of the

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Two further sad factors should perhaps briefly be noted: first, the scholarly controversies bound up with national misunderstandings of the early twentieth century that led the honorific inscriptions of non-independent Delos not only to be consigned to a separate fascicle, as originally intended, but to a separate series. On this aspect, see Durrbach's remarks in his preface to the second volume of *ID*.
Second, the occasional scholarly disdain for the late Hellenistic period even among scholars working on material from that period. Delos post-167/166 has not been ignored. It was the first period of Delian history to receive systematic scholarly treatment in a monograph: Roussel 1916a, reissued as Roussel 1987; and the work of Roussel, Durrbach and others means that the epigraphic evidence from the period has been systematically treated along with the evidence of earlier periods. Nevertheless, early Delian scholarship is no less subject than other scholarship of the period to such comments as that of Courby 1912, 92 precisely on the votives and exedrae in front of the Portico of Antigonus: "[p]ar leur exécution hâtive et bâclée, les monuments entassés au Sud du Portique d'Antigone ne faisaient grand honneur, il en faut convenir, ni aux constructeurs, ni aux donateurs; ils valaient tout justes ce que valent le plus grand nombre de ceux qu'a produits la seconde domination attique, et cela est peu dire. On se prend, en vérité, à regretter que les Athéniens et leurs amis aient encombré le sanctuaire délien de tant d'inutiles et mauvais ouvrages. Les malfaçons et les négligences y blessaient le regard à tout instant." *Cf* his comments at 57 on how the care taken over the construction of the *graphe* (on which, see 338n819) points to it belonging to the classical era of Greek architecture (*viz* the late fifth to early fourth century, as immediately prior explicitly stated).

dynamics of the sanctuary here thus both resonates with our earlier analysis of the proxeny network, and strongly supports the multipolar approach we advocate.

The early monumentalisation of the sanctuary at Delos

This section does not offer an overarching narrative of the development of the sanctuary at Delos. Instead, we briefly illustrate how dynamics of display and competition, and an overarching vision for the sanctuary were both central to the sanctuary at Delos even in its early phases, as we argue later they also were in the Hellenistic period[804]. Although this survey does venture beyond the usual chronological focus of the dissertation, it is thus important in illustrating how we can maintain that our interpretation of the dynamics in the Hellenistic period does not involve systemic rupture. Instead, our analysis of the Hellenistic period forms part of a broader reassessment of the sanctuary and its dynamics.

Unlike for the later period, we know almost nothing about the early religious calendar of Delos, and there is no archaeological evidence for an early architectural *peribolos* of the sanctuary of Apollo[805]. Nevertheless, the placement of buildings in

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[804] For a recent wider-ranging discussion of the early history of Delos, see now, Constantakopoulou 2007, 38–58, which is broadly in keeping with the conclusions drawn here (though see 323, especially 323n796 *ad fin* on her continued identification of Naxian state action in the use of Naxian marble); for an approach which is very different in its normalisation of external domination over Delos, particularly Athenian domination over the classical sanctuary, see Chankowski 2008, with brief discussion at 458n1047.

[805] Access may still have been controlled in other ways. In particular, the edge of the sacred *temenos* may well have been delimited by stelae, or other markers which are not archaeologically visible, to avoid issues with pollution.
Seems: the only area where a discrete *peribolos* wall separate from buildings is universally acknowledged is to the east of the temples. Here, Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 194 26 write of the *peribolos* wall as contemporary with the Portico of Antigonus (Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 195 29; third quarter of the third century: Courby 1912, 1–45), and of its predecessor as contemporary with the monument of the bulls/*Neorium* (Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 191–193 24), which he dates following

the late archaic period suggests an attempt architecturally to structure a sacred space, to guide how people interacted with it, and physically to register the involvement of different peoples in the sanctuary. We demonstrate these aspects with two examples: the clear combination of desires to display, and to delimit, which were involved in the placement of the Portico of the Naxians in the middle of the sixth century; and the socially embedded emulative competition underlying the erection of *oikoi* in the late sixth and early fifth centuries[806].

Tréheux 1986 and Marcadé 1951 to the end of the fourth century, while remaining open as to whether it might be a monument of Demetrius Poliorcetes (Tréheux 1987b), the Athenians (Coupry 1973), or another power. (*cf* Courby 1912, 54–56 for a compatible more extensive discussion) On the expansion of the sanctuary centred round the *Neorium*, see 359–364, and, for a more detailed map of this region of the sanctuary: Étienne 1989, 40. Bruneau and Ducat do not refer to any earlier phase of the *peribolos* in this area, nor do they discuss earlier phases of a *peribolos* elsewhere (*eg*, in the discussion of architectural style (67–69), the *peribolos* is only discussed in the context mentioned and dated above, to the east of the temple, in the Hellenistic period). This may suggest rejection of the earlier analysis by Vallois 1944, 1:27–29, which identified short sections of a sixth century wall between the *Artemisium* (Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 207–209 46) and the nearest *oikos* (Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 188 16; for Vallois, who numbers them in the reverse order, the fifth), a fifth-century wall between the second and third *oikoi* (Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 188 17 and 18, and other short sections. *Cf* Hellmann and Fraisse 1979, 71, stating that the archaic *peribolos* has yet to be identified, and reject the identification of two sections (K^1 and K^2) by Courby 1921, 324 and plates III and IV as part of that archaic *peribolos.*
Cf also Courby 1912, 60–61, who does unconvincingly identify a short continuation of this wall to the west (*ie*, the other side) of the Portico of Antigonus, and who, perhaps more importantly, is explicit that no trace of any older construction was found underneath the portico of Antigonus ("terrain vierge" [41]); Vallois 1923 similarly is silent about evidence for a *peribolos* in the study of the area of the Philip portico.
On *horoi*, see Fine 1951, especially 41–60, Ober 1995; for a recent discussion of the *horoi* from the Athenian Agora, Papadopoulos and Schilling 2003, 289–291, with illustrations at 290; for a recent discussion of horoi inscriptions in a sanctuary context, see Lalonde 2006, especially 8–11 for analysis of their possible functions. Such inscriptions have not been located on Delos, but may have existed.

806 By this dichotomy, I do not mean to suggest that display and competition are mutually exclusive concepts and that whoever dedicated the Portico of the Naxians were engaged in a fundamentally different activity; I emphasise different aspects for effect. For a compatible discussion of Athenian activity on Delos in the late archaic period which, despite the Athenian frame, acknowledges the contested nature of the sanctuary, and concludes that the activity of Peisistratus and the Athenians at Delos "is not evidence for hegemony over the Aegean or over the cult of Apollo Delios, but it can be seen as an expression of *potential* hegemony", see Constantakopoulou 2007, 62–66, quotation: 66 (italics original). Her suggestion, following previous scholars, that the use of Attic limestone for the final phase of the *porinos naos* may indicate the involvement of Peisistratus (or, perhaps better, the Athenians) as a symbolic manifestation of their presence in the sanctuary is appealing. It does not entirely escape the concerns raised about such arguments at 323n796, but is more plausible because of

Until the erection of the Portico of the Naxians (Plan 42 and 43: 36), access to the sanctuary seems to have been open from all directions, both from the sacred port immediately to the west of the sanctuary, and from other parts of the island[807]. The Portico changed this fact at least for visitors approaching from the sacred port. They could henceforth enter the sanctuary either by walking round to the north of the Portico of the Naxians, or by walking round to the south and then entering inland to its east through the propylon to its east which had which probably been built slightly earlier[808].

In contextualising the effect that the Portico of the Naxians had on sanctuary dynamics, we should recognise that current scholarly consensus now looks to the sacred port and the 'classical' southern entrance as the main port and entrance even in the early archaic period: we thus cannot argue that the construction of the Portico of the Naxians formed part of a general reorientation of the sanctuary from the north to

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the greater investment involved in transporting the stone the greater distance from Attica, and because this use is unusual, not the norm.
Cf our similar argument about the use of Pentelic marble on Delos in the classical period: 338n818.

807 Portico of the Naxians (Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 199–200 36); fully published by Hellmann and Fraisse 1979, 85–124 with previous bibliography at 94; a brief history of the excavations, in particular the fact that the Portico was not originally recognised and so was used as a dump for the excavation until the area was fully cleared in 1903 (91–92), and the inscriptional evidence behind the identification (92–93); on the identification, however, see below, 334n811. In part as a result, the remains are exiguous, and dating difficult. Bruneau and Ducat 2005 state that the only valid criterion they recognise is the style of the capitals, which leads them to date the building to the end of the sixth century, *pace* Hellmann and Fraisse 1979, 113, who argued for a date in the middle of the sixth century on hegemonic grounds: it was later than the *oikos* of the Naxians, but had to be earlier than the late sixth century for reasons summarised in the quotation at 323n796, where also discussion of the merits of this approach.

808 The dating of the monumental propylon between the Portico of the Naxians and the *Oikos* of the Naxians where the later Athenian *Propylaea* (Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 169 5) stood is slightly disputed both in its dating and number of phases. Gruben 1997, 350–372, with table at 308 and Courbin 1980 effectively agree, however, that the first phase is to be dated *c* 575; Vallois 1944, 1:238–242 had argued for *c* 550.

the west[809]. We can, however, envisage it as part of a broader monumentalisation programme also attested in the *Propylaea* between the Portico of the Naxians and the *oikos* of the Naxians. Even if the two monuments are not exactly contemporary, the Portico of the Naxians was clearly deliberately designed to demarcate the sanctuary. This conclusion is, moreover, confirmed by the shape of the Portico: it was L-shaped (or Γ-shaped), where all other Porticoes known prior to the fourth century are linear. We can, therefore, argue that the shape was not (perceived as) determined by an attempt to develop the architectural form, but instead derived from its position and function in demarcating the sanctuary and controlling the flow of pilgrims[810].

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[809] Papageorgiou-Venetas 1981, 42–51, with maps on 43 and 45, reconstructs a procession route in the archaic period from the bay at Scardhana to the north of the sanctuary. One of the attractions of this route is that it provides an obvious functional role for the terrace of the lions (Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 224–227 55, which the route passes: hence Gallet de Santerre 1958, 226, although he sees the sacred port as already the more important at this time also (220). This context is important to understand his comments here and at Gallet de Santerre 1959, 70, and is perhaps missed by Papageorgiou-Venetas' description, which suggests that the route from Scardhana remained the norm until the end of the archaic period, unlike Gallet de Santerre above. *Cf* also Courbin 1980, 40–41 and 135–136 and Gallet de Santerre 1984, 681–682, who allow that pilgrims may have arrived (presumably principally) from Scardhana until a reorientation at about the beginning of the sixth century associated with the construction of the Portico of the Naxians and the *Propylaea*. Bruneau 1987, 227–231 is, however, adamant that Scardhana was never the principal port, and that Papageorgiou-Venetas' route was never the norm, despite the terrace of lions. The reanalysis of the Delian ports at Duchêne and Fraisse 2001, particularly 53–54, and 119–122 on Scardhana, strongly supports Bruneau's view. Even if this alternative route were accepted for an early phase of the sanctuary, however, the clear monumentalisation at this time in this area also involving buildings considered slightly prior to the Portico of the Naxians justifies our analysis of the dynamics.
In addition, Hellmann and Fraisse 1979, 15–16 suggests that the gate leading towards the disembarkation point (τῆι πύληι τῆι πρὸς τὴν ἀπόβασιν) attested at *IG* XI.2 144.117–118 (shortly before 302; probably 304) may point to an archaeologically unknown western gate to the north of the Portico of the Naxians; it could, however, as easily be a reference to the propylon to the east of the Portico of the Naxians. For the date of *IG* XI.2 144, see Tréheux 1959, 2:211–229, and especially 2:205n3, restating Durrbach's opinion that *IG* XI.2 144 dated just before *IG* XI.2 145; combining it with his analysis of the *archon* list of this period; and, like Vallois 1944, 52n2, rejecting the architectural data adduced by Robert 1934a, 196n2; Robert 1935, and, at greater length, Robert 1952, 46–48. Note that *IG* XI.2 219.A.23, which Hellmann and Fraisse also adduce in this context, is also a hapax; [τ]ὰς θύρας ἐπισκευάσαντι τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὰς πρὸς τὴν [ἀπόβασιν]; Durrbach did not accept this supplement in *IG*.

[810] Coulton 1976, 31–32, followed by Hellmann and Fraisse 1979, 94. For a list of the porticoes at Delos: Coulton 1976, 230–234. Hellmann and Fraisse 1979, 89 and 122–124 justly reject any need for "subtiles justifications mathématiques" in understanding the shape of the Portico, and agree that the

The Portico thus provides an early analogy for the dynamics which we identify below in the monumental dedications of the Hellenistic period: just as we argue there, whoever funded and constructed this most monumental of the archaic constructions in the sanctuary, it is clearly the product of coordination and planning by the sanctuary administrators as part of a broader vision of the expansion of the sanctuary, as well as a reflexion of the donor's intent[811].

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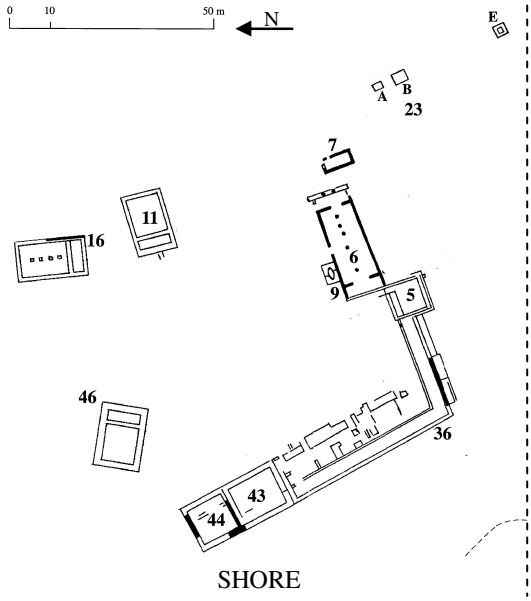
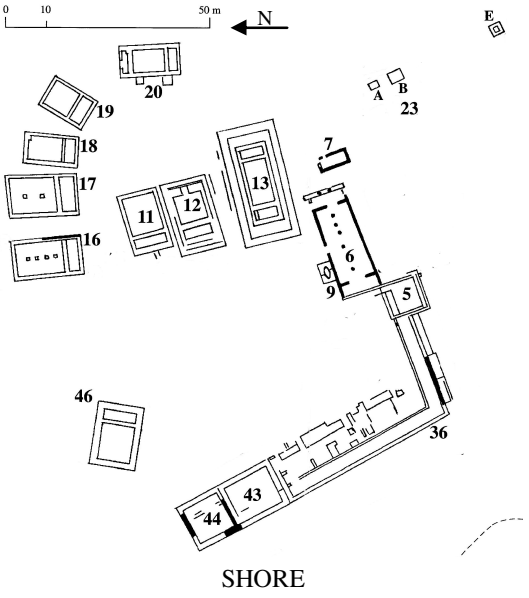
construction of the Portico of the Naxians involved the demarcation of the sanctuary, and the extension of the temenos to the west; see also Constantakopoulou 2007, 45, briefly noting that the stoa "defines the shape of the south-western corner of the sanctuary", but again without consideration of the spatial dynamics noted here.

811 This slightly cumbersome expression reflects hesitation over the Naxian origins of the Portico of the Naxians. We do not mean to call into question the identification of this building in the Hellenistic period. We recognise, however, that the epigraphic references (summarised at Hellmann and Fraisse 1979, 92–93) are Hellenistic, and so reflect a way to refer to the building that was meaningful at that time, rather than its original name, use, or context. It is thus very plausible that the very description in the inscriptions itself might well be the result of constructed memories resulting in conclusions similar to those summarised by Bruneau and Ducat in their insistence that we can be certain of the identification: namely, the presence of Naxian marble, and their identification of "Naxian technique", which seems to reflect its similarity with the technique used in the Naxian *oikos*, and may be no more than the result of their chronological proximity (Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 200). In general, Bruneau and Ducat's reference to the cultural and technical dynamism of the Naxians on Delos does not escape the concerns raised above (323, especially 323n796) about the excessive ease of elision between identification of Naxian marble and of Naxian political or other action. For further discussion of the Hellenistic epigraphic evidence, including the important rereading of *IG* XI.2 219.29 by Tréheux 1986, see 366n854.

Plan 42. Sanctuary c 500



Plan 43. Sanctuary c *450 with the Temple of the Athenians (*c *425)*[812]



5:	*Propylaea*	16–20:	Treasuries/*oikoi*
6:	*Oikos* of the Naxians	23A, B:	Anonymous archaic altars
7:	Temple Γ	23E:	Archaic altar of Zeus Polieus and Athena Polias
9:	The colossus of the Naxians	36:	Portico of the Naxians
11:	*Porinos naos*	43:	Unknown
12:	Temple of the Athenians	44:	The monument of the hexagons
13:	The Great Temple	46:	*Artemisium*

A different but complementary approach to space delimitation and display was involved in the construction in the north east of the *temenos*. Whether or not there was a physical wall connecting the five buildings constructed on a curving axis in this region (Plan 43: 16–20) between the late sixth century and the middle of the fifth

[812] Plans and numbers: after Bruneau and Ducat 2005. Note that the plan here represents the buildings in their developed form, and does not distinguish between archaic, classical, and Hellenistic remains. For alternative representations including visualisations of the geography of the island, of possible sight-lines in the sanctuary at different times, and of buildings coloured according to their earliest attestation, see Papageorgiou-Venetas 1981.

century is not clear: Vallois did recognise identify some remains, but more recent scholars are silent[813]. Nevertheless, even if there was no continuous wall, the five buildings formed a virtual barrier[814]. Without Pausanias and relevant epigraphic evidence, we are not able to name each building, but their similar plans, size, and orientation, all looking in towards the centre of the sanctuary, are analogous to the row of treasuries at Olympia or at the Samian Heraeum, and suggest that at least some of them might well be the *oikoi* known from inscriptions. Whether so or not, and whoever erected each one, a dynamic of competitive emulation clearly underlay their construction[815].

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[813] Vallois 1944, 1:26–29; see 330n805.

[814] Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 188–189 16–20. Vallois 1944, 1:24–25 suggests that Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 188–189 16 (="Trésor 5") is the *Oikos* of the Carystians, but admits that its location is ultimately unknown; see also Vallois 1944, 1:27 on the other four buildings. In general on Vallois' identifications, note the cautionary words of Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 23: "ni la chronologie, ni les identifications, ni les reconstitutions ne sont à recevoir sans examen".

[815] Five *oikoi* are epigraphically attested on Delos, belonging to the Andrians, Delians, Carystians, Ceans, and Naxians. Of these *oikoi*, only the *oikos* of the Naxians is securely identified to the south of the sanctuary: Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 171–176 6. The others could, but do not need to be among these buildings. The identification is very plausible, but the discussion here of the dynamics is ultimately independent of the equation. Earlier identification of the *oikos* of the Andrians with Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 205 43 by Vallois 1944, 1:23–24 was rejected by Hellmann and Fraisse 1979, as also by Tréheux 1987a and Bruneau and Ducat 2005. Tréheux 1987a, 386n48 also suggests that the Delian *oikos* is the *neokorion*, and attributes the view also to Vallois 1944, 1:26n2, where the two names seem offered as alternatives, not as an equation; this latter reading is also the approach of Bruneau 1970, 511 to Vallois' suggestion. This identification may be correct, but is not even noted by Bruneau and Ducat 2005. For a more extended discussion of the evidence for the *neokorion*, positing that it might also be one of the *chalkothekai* that are epigraphically mentioned, see Tréheux 1959, 2:260–265.
Additional *oikoi* have been suggested for Myconos and Paros. The case for Myconos seems the more plausible: Vallois 1944, 1:63; Bruneau 1970, 501 and Tréheux 1987a, 387 all agree in suggesting that the Myconian *neokoros* may well attest a Myconian *oikos*, partly by analogy with the *neokoros* of the Carystian *oikos* attested in 250 (*IG* XI.2 287.A.78 [= Prêtre and Brunet 2002, 87–124]); for discussion of the various *neokoroi* attested during 'independence': Tréheux 1959, 2:258–261. For Paros, the case is less strong: Tréheux argued in addition for a Parian *oikos*, but because of an imperialist reading of the evidence of Parian marble, like those narratives against which we argue in 323n796; it is not inherently unlikely, but these grounds are insufficient: Tréheux 1987a, 387–388.
Oikoi: Delian scholars generally refer to several small buildings with cella and pronaos architecturally attested on Delos as *oikoi*, following the language used by the Delian inscriptions. At Delphi and Olympia, buildings of similar plan are called treasuries, following the descriptions in Strabo and Pausanias of such buildings as θησαυροί (*eg*, the treasury of the Sicyonians: τὸν Σικυωνίων θησαυρόν

This competitive emulation was not, however, untrammelled. There is no suggestion that the later buildings in this cluster were intended to be larger than the earlier, or somehow were attempts to usurp their position by blocking their sight-lines. Instead, they respect each other's placement, and form a coherent unit. We thus see that there is a degree of coordination, plausibly to be ascribed to the sanctuary administrators, and can conclude from both examples that specifically coordinated display and competition were central to the archaic sanctuary, just as we will see they were for the Hellenistic sanctuary also.

Athenian hegemony(?) inscribed and denied

The importance of Delos as a sacred space for the Athenians in the fifth century has long been recognised[816]. Where the *oikoi* of the late archaic and classical period competed, the Athenians can be understood as having sought to inscribe Delos as a uniquely Athenian-dominated space through the erection of a new temple, the 'temple of the Athenians', which seems to have been constructed *c* 425: Bruneau and Ducat still follow Courby in suggesting it might have been inaugurated by Nicias in 417[817].

(10.11.2). Whether *oikoi* or *thesauroi*, their original function is not entirely clear, and it is still less clear that all the buildings traditionally identified as *thesauroi* or *oikoi* at each sanctuary had the same function. Note, in particular, that no *oikos* of the Delphians or the Eleans (or Olympians) is attested at Delphi or Olympus, unlike for the Delians at Delos (*IG* XI.2 144.A.39 and 40, 146.A.74–75, 158.A.86, and perhaps *ID* 338.A.ab.28) and that the sole securely identified *oikos*, that of the Naxians, has been argued to have been the original temple (notably by Courbin 1980, Courbin 1987, and seemingly accepted by Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 176, despite occasional demurrals, *eg*, by Gallet de Santerre 1984). On Delian *oikoi*, see briefly Tréheux 1987a; Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 171; on treasuries more generally: Neer 2001, 274–281 and Rups 1986.

816 For a recent overview of Athenian activity on Delos in the classical period, Constantakopoulou 2007, 66–75, where a contrast is also drawn with Athenian activity in the late archaic period. Earlier discussions include Laidlaw 1933, 57–75; Smarczyk 1990, 464–482 and 504–525; Hornblower 1992.

817 Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 184 and Courby 1931, 107–223; full publication: Courby 1931, 107–205; he suggests a *terminus post quem* of 435 (205), and dates the construction to the last third of the fifth century (218, 220).

Whether this appealing conjecture is accepted or not, Athenian involvement in the construction of this new temple between the two existing temples, in the centre of the sanctuary, would have been a proud statement of Athenian interest in the sanctuary; a visual demonstration of Athens' claim to be central to Aegean relations; and, like the Athenian reform of the *Delia* recorded by Thucydides, a powerful illustration of the continuing importance of Delos as a locus of display[818].

How far this Athenian interest in Delos affected the broader dynamics of the sanctuary at this time, and was accepted or contested by those worshipping at Delos, is another matter. The Atheno-centric nature of our sources makes it difficult to contextualise Athenian activity, and we lack the perspective which our greater knowledge of the later Delian religious calendar provides for the Hellenistic period, and which Pausanias provides for Delphi and Olympia. If we knew more about dedicatory practice and festivals at the sanctuary at this time, our vision might well be very different. Nevertheless, the paucity of other structures with phases currently archaeologically and stylistically dated to the late fifth century does suggest that, at

[818] The use of pentelic marble, - unusually for Delos, - may also have been semiotically loaded. Courby, and Bruneau and Ducat both identify strong affinities with Athenian temple design at this time, particularly the temple of Athena Nike, on which see still Shear 1963. In so far as these are specifically Athenian tendencies, rather than a type of the late fifth century, this may also have contributed to the symbolic power of the temple.
In a similar vein, the *porinos naos* (Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 182 11; full publication: Courby 1931, 207–215; recent discussion: Gruben 1997, 372–376) was understood by Courby as part of Peisistratus' cleansing of Delos: Courby 1931, 218. Bruneau is justly more flexible: Athenian influence as a possibility, but no more. From the use of clamps that appear in Attica *c* 525, Gruben 1997, 373 downdates the temple slightly to the time of the Peisistratids; but Bruneau allows more flexibility, perhaps because he is less confident about the Athenian connexion, and so Athens' necessary chronological primacy. See also the discussion of Constantakopoulou 2007, 62–66 at 331n806. On the 'restoration' of the *Delia* in 425: 344, especially 344n825; on the later history of the festival: 342n823.

least at this time, Delos may well have monumentally encoded the broader Athenian hegemony over the Aegean[819].

Nevertheless, however we contextualise this Athenian engagement, it does illustrate the continuing importance of Delos as a locus of display in the classical period. Rather than directly re-open this vexed question, therefore, we here want to emphasise a different aspect which reiterates the importance of central coordination in our analysis: the evidence for a later, consistent attempt to reduce the prominence of Athens in the sanctuary. Whether or not Athenian prominence had in fact been exclusive, there is clear evidence that the Delians later considered the vestiges of Athenian involvement problematic, and that they systematically attempted to de-emphasise and quite literally to de-centre the Athenian presence in several ways.

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[819] *Cf* the discussion below about the Hellenistic religious calendar of Delos: 343–358, and our comments about the relevance of our evidence for the monumentalisation of the sanctuary in the Hellenistic period: 358.
We should, moreover, recognise that the archaeological and stylistic dates offered for structures in the sanctuary are strictly not independent of the literary narrative. In addition, because of the literary and scholarly focus on Athens' activity in the Aegean, we know of no specific alternative actor to which to attribute the activity that is attested. Instead, it remains either implicitly attributed to Athens or ignored.
For activity dated about the middle of the fifth century, but which could be later, see the Peristyle court (Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 210–211 48). Although not fully published, Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 210 suggests a date in the second quarter or the middle of the fifth century from the proportions of the building and columns, but does note that the column seems very slender for that period. Note that comparison with Vallois 1929, 256–257 suggests this consideration might raise rather than lower the date (*cf* Roux 1973, 536: *c* 480–470). Against the identification of this building with the Thesmophorion, as suggested by Vallois 1929, 250–278, see Bruneau 1970, 278–279.
For activity chronologically after the late fifth century: the altar of Athena (Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 191 23C; date: end of fifth century, from Étienne and Fraisse 1988, 752), and the *graphe* (Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 199 35), which is also currently dated to the turn between the fifth and fourth centuries. Courby 1912, 56–60 ("Édifice Nord") considered it older than the middle of the fourth century largely from the double-T clamps, and thought a date in the second half of the fifth century possible (59). Vallois 1929, 302–311, especially 306, followed by Vallois 1944, 1:45–46 argues that the monument is slightly later than the Athenian temple, and suggests it was constructed during the years when Delos was free from Athenian control (for him, 402–394); both arguments may be valid, but neither requires the other. See also Llinas and Fraisse 1995, 297–319.

First, the way in which the late fifth-century temple is described in the sanctuary accounts changed in the late fourth century: the "temple of the Athenians" became the "temple where the seven [statues are]". This change is even more significant in that the accounts did use ethnic descriptors to refer to the *oikoi* of the Carystians and other peoples[820]. It was thus not in itself objectionable to the *hieropoioi* to acknowledge the involvement of foreign peoples, but it somehow was problematic in the context of Athenian involvement.

A second indication of this later reformulation of the sanctuary is the construction history of the temples. When the late fifth-century temple was started, another temple was already under construction to its south: the so-called "great temple". That temple

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[820] Strictly, we do not know that the Delians continued to use ethnic descriptors, because our epigraphic evidence for the names of the *oikoi* dates only from the Hellenistic period.
Late fourth century: 314 is traditionally considered the date of Delian 'independence'. See briefly Vial 1984, 1–3, although the argument summarised there for September 314 from Tréheux 1949 had already been withdrawn by Tréheux 1959, 1:179–198; see 454n1044. For discussion of the evidence behind this date and the very notion of Delian 'independence' at this time, see Appendix 6. Delian 'independence', 315/314, and *ID* 104-30, 450, which follows Tréheux in rejecting our only evidence for Athenian hegemonic activity in 315, and further argues for a separation of the questions of the trajectory of Athenian involvement on Delos, and of the date of the withdrawal of the *amphictyones* from the sanctuary. For a brief overview of approaches to Delos' status in the fourth century, see 254n707.
The identity of the Ἀθηναίων νεώς and the νεὼς οὗ τὰ ἑπτὰ was already recognised by Homolle 1891, 147, but the date of the change in name is unclear, as also whether there was any overlap in use. The Ἀθηναίων νεώς/νεώς ὃ Ἀθηναῖων was so called at least until *c* the end of the 330s (*ID* 104-27.B.6 [= Chankowski 2008, 483–486 42.B.6; 342/1]; *ID* 104-31.5 (= *IG* II^2 1653 = Chankowski 2008, 495–497 46 [333/2]), and the first secure references to the νεὼς οὗ τὰ ἑπτὰ appear only in *IG* XI.2 154.A.56 and 61 (296; see, for the results of fresh autopsy and discussion, Tréheux 1959, 2:255–265). An earlier reference restored by Durrbach in *IG* XI.2 145.61 (302) is denied by Tréheux in his reedition: Tréheux 1959, 1:55–71, especially 59 and 63. It follows that this section of the inscription need no longer be understood as an inventory from the temple where the seven [statues are]; instead, Tréheux suggests that the *Hieropoeum* is the probable source of the inventory: 63–68. He thus resolves a long-standing crux whereby the additions here do not appear in later inventories from that temple. Indeed, the want of almost any addition to the inventory in the temple where the seven [statues are] between 296 and 166 is striking in comparison to the increase in the other inventories, and suggests deliberate elision of the Athenian presence. See further 340n820 with Tréheux 1959, 1:63–65; more recent discussion of the inventory in this temple at Hamilton 2000, 34–41, which recognises the political significance of the change of name (36), but does not seem to note or interpret the significance of the dearth of additions to the inventory.

remained unfinished, however, and seems not to have been worked on until the late fourth century. Whether or not it was deliberately ignored in the early part of the fourth century is unclear: there were already two temples; why build a third[821]? Instead, the *Pythium* and *Prytaneum* formed the focus of building activity[822]. The decision to restart construction in the late fourth century can, however, be read as a clear symbolic move to re-centre the sanctuary around a new temple, and, with it, to de-emphasise the Athenian presence.

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821 "Great Temple": Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 185–187 13; full publication: Courby 1931, 1–106; recent discussion: Gruben 1997, 376–378. Courby 1931, 104 and Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 185 both date the first phase of construction up to and including the walls between 475 and 450 and its resumption to the last quarter of the fourth century; accounts tell us that the paving was installed in 297 and, while the temple was already in use in the 280s, - the *porinos naos* is first so called in the accounts for 282: *IG* XI.2 158.A.61, - work was still being undertaken in the 250s. In addition, Tréheux 1959, 2:306 argues from the fact that the *hieropoioi* placed offerings in the *Hieropoeum* in 313, that the Delians were already planning to build the temple, but this appealing conjecture is connected to his suggestion that the *Hieropoeum* was only ever intended as a temporary store of offerings. The length of the 'temporary' arrangement, however, makes this interpretation not entirely convincing.
Courby 1931, 218–220 and Vallois 1944, 1:26–27 already interpret the entire construction history of the Great Temple in high political terms, dating the start of construction to the aftermath of the Persian War, when the allies against Persia made Delos the base of the treasury (Thucydides 1.96, although the reference here to meeting in the temple should be to the *porinos naos*, as it suggests that the temple involved was already built), and its cessation to the transfer of the Treasury to Athens, standardly dated from the start of the Athenian Tribute Lists to *c* 455. The validity of the precise dates involved is less clear than the symbolism of the Athenian rupture with the earlier communal project. Similarly, in the light of their identification of the Κερατῶν with the apsidal monument, Bruneau and Fraisse 2002, 78–79 suggest that the central focus of the sanctuary may have been further to the west, on the altar they place in that building. Nevertheless, the completion of the 'great temple' would still have elided the presence of the Athenian temple.

822 The *Prytaneum* (Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 189–190 22) has not been fully published; see, most recently, Étienne 1997, hesitantly maintaining the traditional mid fourth century date of construction.
The *Pythium* (Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 203–205 42) has also not been fully published; discussion has revolved around its identification and possible connexion with the building activity mentioned in *ID* 104-4 (= Prêtre and Brunet 2002, 49–54 = Chankowski 2008, 499–507 49 [just before 360]) and *ID* 104-24 (= Prêtre and Brunet 2002, 55–57 = Chankowski 2008, 515–518 55, including new fragment published at Chankowski 2001b [344/5]). Important contributions include Vallois 1944, 1:40–43; Roux 1979b; Bruneau 1981, 79–106.
In addition, a poros foundation of the apsidal monument (Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 201–202 39; probably the Κερατῶν, as argued by Bruneau and Fraisse 2002, 59–79, which supersedes earlier discussion) is suggested there to date perhaps to the fourth century; Bruneau and Fraisse 2002, 49–57 had left the date open (between the constraints of the original construction in the first half of the fifth century or earlier, and the reconstruction of the façade in the first half of the third century).

We should recognise that the competitive practices of the various kings and other powers who sought to inscribe their presence in the sanctuary in the Hellenistic period would, of course, necessarily have involved some elision of the Athenian presence. Nevertheless, that this decentring was deliberate, ongoing, and centrally coordinated is supported by the continuing resolve not to add to the inventory housed in the (ex-)Athenian temple; and by the renaming or other elision of the *Delia*, which, through its reorganisation by the Athenians recorded by Thucydides, was plausibly associated particularly with Athens, and is not attested after the fourth century until after 167/166: both decisions are plausibly ascribable to the *hieropoioi*[823]. Again,

[823] Two further elisions can be understood in the end at approximately this time of the series of thirty silver *phialae* which Homolle plausibly suggested were offered by the Athenians (on which, see further 401n907); and the decision in the mid-third century to allow the construction of the Philetaerus base in front of the Athenian temple. This placement was not just a recognition of the status of Philetaerus, but, especially as it was placed at an angle to the façade, physically and symbolically further elided the place of the (ex-)Athenian temple.
On the inventory housed in the Athenian temple, Tréheux's rereading of *IG* XI.2 145 is central; see further 340n820. Regarding the *Delia*, various options are possible: it may simply be chance that the *Delia* is not mentioned between the late fourth century and 167/166, or it may have been renamed. Alternatively, the *Delia* could have been abolished, perhaps as too closely associated with Athens, but this last option, preferred by Chankowski 2008, 114–115, seems difficult because of the possible impiety involved. Conversely, her suggestion that the references to the *Apollonia* should not be expected in our fourth century evidence because the city of Delos was in charge of that ceremony and the *amphictyones* were in control of the sanctuary at that time seems difficult to square with its appearance later in our lists of sanctuary expenses: that the sanctuary administrative structure had changed is not relevant to the involvement of the sanctuary in the festival. A shift in responsibility does remain possible, but to posit that the *Delia* was renamed precisely to the *Apollonia* is appealing in its simplicity, and in explaining both epigraphic silences. Only one fragmentary reference has been restored to refer to the Apollonia before the late fourth century: *ID* 95.17 9 (= Chankowski 2008, 409–411 9 [398/7) [398]). The context is, however, very lacunose, and both Courby in *ID* and Chankowski question this restoration; in addition, Courby independently suggested that *ID* 95 dated from a time of independent or preponderant Delian influence in the sanctuary, in which case we might posit that this fragmentary reference points to a previous abortive renaming of the festival at a time when the imperial connotations of the name *Delia* may have been all the stronger.
However we understand the relationship between the earlier *Delia* and the *Apollonia*, it is now accepted that the *Delia* did coexist with the *Apollonia* after 167/166. On the *Apollonia*, see Bruneau 1970, 65–93, including, on its relationship with the later *Delia*, 85–86, where he coherently argues that the later *Delia* should be seen as additional to the *Apollonia*, not as a reconfiguration of it. He does not, however, comment on the relationship between the earlier *Delia* and the *Apollonia*. The earlier orthodoxy that the later *Delia* was but a renaming of the *Apollonia* seems first to have been developed by Roussel 1916a, 210–211. Whichever interpretation is preferred, as Chankowski 2008, 114–115 also

therefore, however we understand Athens' position in the sanctuary, the evidence even for this most paradigmatically hegemonic period in Delian history not only confirms the continuing importance of Delos as a locus of display at this time, but also the importance of central coordination in our analysis of the sanctuary.

Delos as a space for competition and display: festivals

Our review of archaic and classical Delos has established the importance of approaching Delos as a locus of coordinated display and competition. Even in the classical period, where our evidence comes closest to suggesting activity exclusively by a single power, it is not ultimately clear, to borrow Constantakopoulou's formulation for the late archaic period, how far it reflects hegemony over the sanctuary, rather than potential hegemony[824]. For the Hellenistic period, however, our evidence is much more detailed, and precludes identifying any such exclusivity or hegemonic role. Instead, the multiple actors visible and the way in which the various forms of display were centrally coordinated and socially embedded in broader Delian practice are far more compatible with Delos as part of a multipolar space. We first emphasise more the socially embedded and competitive nature of the display by analysis of the festival cycle, and then consider the central coordination inherent in our evidence for monumental construction at this period, before we demonstrate the continuation of these dynamics on Delos in the late Hellenistic period.

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argues, the Athenians might well have reinstituted a *Delia* (or, following Roussel, changed the name back to the *Delia*) after 167/166 precisely because of the memory of the fifth century *Delia* as preserved not least by Thucydides.

[824] *Pace* the approach implicitly adopted by much scholarship on Delos, and explicitly argued by Chankowski 2008, on which see 458n1047. Constantakopoulou's formulation: Constantakopoulou 2007, 66 with reference to Athenian activity in the late archaic period; quoted above: 331n806.

We are unfortunately not able to trace competitive dynamics in the festival cycle of archaic and classical Delos. Our knowledge of festivals at this time is essentially limited to Thucydides' brief history in the context of the Athenian 'restoration' of the *Delia* in 425, and the reference in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, which Thucydides also cites, to Ionians gathering on Delos. For Thucydides, the *Delia* had faded from its earlier glory to involve just dancing and sacrifice until the Athenians restored games and added a new competition: the horse race[825]. There is no mention of other contemporary festivals which would have provided opportunities for the community to gather under different auspices, and which may have been sponsored by other groups. They certainly did exist, but Thucydides is not interested in them, and the few epigraphic references which do survive offer little from which to contextualise his discussion of the *Delia*[826].

The period from the late fourth to the early second centuries is, however, another matter. The many inventory lists and accounts which survive from this period were painstakingly published by Durrbach, and have been meticulously revised by Tréheux[827]. They enable us to trace much of the religious calendar of the city and

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825 Thucydides 3.104 and *HApollo* 147–164; 147–150 is cited by Thucydides.

826 On festivals on Delos in the fifth and fourth centuries, see Chankowski 2008, 79–125, especially 79–85 for a collation of epigraphic testimonia. On the Atheno-centric perspective she adopts, see 458n1047.

827 *IG* XI.2 and *ID* 290–498 (fascicules one and two) for accounts and inventory lists from the period of Delian 'independence' (ie, 314–167/166). Tréheux 1959, 1:4 suggests that Durrbach paid more attention to the accounts than to the inventories, because of the accounts' greater value for the financial, religious, and architectural history of the sanctuary. Whether so or not, the multiple revisions and wide-ranging commentary which Tréheux 1959 offers render many of the texts offered by Durrbach essentially obsolete. It is deeply regrettable that Tréheux seems never to have completed his study; Hamilton 2000, 25n83 suggests that he was under pressure to finish what he had already written. Among the chapters which he foreshadows but never wrote was a study of the treasures of the *prodromos* of the Temple of Apollo (Tréheux 1959, 1:307). It is equally regrettable that what he did complete is not more widely available, leading scholars to refer to *IG* and *ID* of necessity; and that no

sanctuary, and to identify many of the offerings and festivals made in the course of those years, including the 'vase festivals' made by the royal dynasts which have been so critical to debate about the status of the Cyclades during this period. They also require that we not consider the sanctuary in isolation from the broader life of the Delians, but as just one particular focus of symbolic activity. Both Delian and foreign activity not only honoured Apollo, but encompassed a wider range of gods.

A critical first step in any analysis of the foundations of the Hellenistic period is to contextualise them in the broader yearly rhythm of the religious life of the sanctuary and island community. Here, some idea of the range and timing of established festivals can be constructed by identifying the festivals attested in the early inventory lists which are not there associated with historical figures. Merely including those which seem to have been annual, and to have included some communal element beyond a sacrifice, whether choruses, torch-race, or banquet, these festivals occur in seven of the twelve months of the Delian year, and include the *Apollonia*, *Dionysia*, *Artemisia*, *Britomartia*, *Aphroditia*, *Thesmophoria*, *Heraea*, *Nyctophylaea*, *Eilithyaea*, and *Poseidonia*[828]. Some of these festivals are much better attested than others, but

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equivalent systematic revision of the other inscriptions has yet been published. Bruneau 1970; Vial 1984 and, especially, Hamilton 2000 do, however, evaluate many of Tréheux's conclusions and revisions that are relevant to their own projects.

[828] Other cultic references not explicitly including choruses, banquets, or torch-races are omitted. For a summary including later festivals only attested after 167/166, see Bruneau 1970, 508–509. *Cf* for a comparable overview of Athenian festivals illustrating the diversity of gods there honoured: Parker 2005, 456–487, with table at 486–487.
Apollo (*Hieros*, month two): Bruneau 1970, 65–93.
Dionysus (*Galaxion*, month three): Bruneau 1970, 312–326.
Artemis (*Galaxion*, month three, and *Artemision*, month four): Bruneau 1970, 198–201; Bruneau associates the *Artemisia* and the *Britomartia*.
Aphrodite (*Hecatombaion*, month seven): Bruneau 1970, 341
The *Thesmophoria* (*Metageitnion*, month eight): Bruneau 1970, 285–290.

the very number illustrates the context in which the Hellenistic foundations occurred, and constrains interpretation of their symbolic effect. Even the earliest festivals founded in the Hellenistic period were not created in a vacuum, but instead found a place in this broader religious canvas. Just as one endowed festival did not replace another endowed festival, so too, they did not replace these pre-existing festivals. Instead, they co-existed as part of a broader rhythm of religious life not just in the sanctuary of Apollo on Delos, but of life on Delos as a whole[829].

Recognising this Delian context has at least five further repercussions: first, it indicates that the Delians seem not to have considered the royal and foreign festivals

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Hera (*Metageitnion*, month eight): Bruneau 1970, 285–290.
The *Nyctophylaea* (to Demeter and Core, *Aresion*, month eleven): Bruneau 1970, 290–293
Eilithyaea (*Posideion*, month twelve): Bruneau 1970, 215; *cf* Bruneau 1973, 121, noting that the banquet of the *Eilithyaea* took place in different places in 250 and 246, a salutary reminder against insisting on possibly ahistorical rigour and consistency.
Poseidon (*Posideion*, month twelve): Bruneau 1970, 260–264
In addition a festival to Hermes is known after 167/166, and dedications by torch-runners to Hermes suggest it may have existed earlier: Bruneau 1970, 352.
A festival to Leto (*Artemision*, month four) is only attested once, in 279: Bruneau 1970, 210–211.
An additional festival in honour of Apollo probably lies behind the references to the *Chersonesia* (*Lenaion*, month one). Although structured like the endowed festivals to be discussed below, this fund seems to be named after (and consist of the revenues from) not a personal endowment, but the lease of land on Myconos owned by the temple: *ID* 346.A.13 (*c* 225–210). This interpretation is preferred by Roussel 1916a, 174, by Durrbach in his commentary on *ID* 346.A.13, and, on balance, by Tréheux 1959, 176–177; for a recent summary firmly accepting this view: Vial 1984, 177. Schulhof 1908, and Ziebarth 1917, 430–431 prefer to identify this festival as founded by people from Chersonnesus, pointing to other evidence for connexions between the two cities (such as *IG* XI.2 199.B.91 [274], discussed by Tréheux 1959, 1:130n3). The festival is first securely attested in 221 (*ID* 353.B.44–45), but Vial 1984, 109n86 and 176–178 suggests that the fund may already have existed in 279.

829 As the primary religious sanctuary of Delos, which incorporated altars not just to Apollo, but also an *Artemisium* (Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 207–209 46), an altar to Athena (Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 191 23C), and no doubt many more divinities, it is plausible that many of the festivals here discussed will have involved the sanctuary of Apollo in some way. We do not, however, need to insist that all of them did: there is evidence for other religious sanctuaries even during independence, including an *Aphrodisium* and *Panium* (on both, see 389n890). The various worshipping and political communities would, however, no doubt have largely over-lapped. For a sense of the scale, *cf* Bruneau's estimate that the community involved in the *Posidia* banquet was but 1500 to 2000 people: Bruneau 1970, 263, calculating specifically 2080 and 1820 for *ID* 440 (early second century) and *ID* 445 (170). Duchêne and Fraisse 2001, 178 still follow Bruneau.

as distinct in essence or status (whether superior or inferior) to their own. Not only were the offerings treated in the same way in the inventories that have been crucial to establishing the chronology of the foundations, but, when offerings were moved from inventory to inventory, they were moved together, and where we have lists of expenditures, the festivals are again listed together[830]. Second, the lists of

[830] Various different recording procedures were followed at different times in the inventory lists. This fact, even beyond the different preservation state of the inventory lists themselves, explains why some festivals (those from the middle of the third century) can be more confidently and more closely dated than those from either earlier or later. For a recent summary of the changes over the centuries, not just during independence, see Hamilton 2000, 7–31; for discussion of the larger Delian inventories: Hamilton 2000, 33–76, including, specifically on the endowment offerings: 66–70. Known permutations include the earlier tendency to group together all the offerings from a specific offering occasion (*eg*, *Thyestadaea/Ocyneidaea*: *IG* XI.2 287.B.92–97 [= Prêtre and Brunet 2002, 125–141]; *Ptolemaea*: 98–112), and to group together all the offerings made in a particular year (*eg*, *ID* 366.A.75–76: in the year of Apollodorus I [216], *phialae* are listed from the *Donacia*, *Antigonia*, *Thyestadaea/Ocyneidaea*, *Ptolemaea*, and *Nicolaea* in this order). So too, both the offerings of the *Ocyneidaea/Thyestadaea* and those of the *First Ptolemaea* started in the *Hieropoeum*; in 271 or 270 moved to the *oikos* of the Andrians; in 250 were divided between the *oikos* of the Andrians and the temple of Apollo; and from 241 were all in the temple of Apollo; see, for references, Tréheux 1959, 1:171–172. The offerings were not always treated identically, but no permutation or action ever seems to involve an implicit clustering or recognition of the royal and foreign endowments against the Delian endowments; instead, as in the examples above, any (re)arrangement involves both royal and foreign, and Delian endowments.

The most complete list of expenditures is *ID* 366.A.131–134 (216); the two royal festivals mentioned in this list, the *Philadelphia* and the *Philetaeria*, with expenditure of 330 drachms and 400 drachms respectively, fall just below the middle of expenditure attested, which ranges from 150 drachms (the *Stesilea*), to the *Philonidia* (870 drachms): the mean is 442.3 drachms, the median 400 drachms. In the order in which they appear in the inscription, illustrating again how no distinction between royal and foreign-endowed, and Delian festivals is observable, the festivals mentioned are:

Philetaeria: 330 drachms	*Gorgieia*: 673 drachms	*Echenicia*: 300 drachms
Eutychia: 350 drachms	*Philoclia*: 600 drachms	*Philonidia*: 870 drachms
Philetaeria: 400 drachms	*Stesilea*: 150 drachms	*Nesiadia*: 350 drachms
Chersonesia: 400 drachms		

The amount spent on the *Gorgieia* is exactly ten per cent of the sum donated by Gorgias in 229: 6730; the amount spend on the *Echenicia* is also ten per cent of the amount which the *hieropoioi* lent to the city from the associated fund in 250: 3000. The low figure for the *Stesilea*, however, is insufficient to have paid for the two offerings made in 300, which weighed 23 drachms: *IG* XI.2.B.8–9. Various solutions are proposed by Ziebarth 1917, 432–442, and Tréheux 1959, 3:468–470 to explain the decrease, including an error in carving, and division or decrease in the endowment. Perhaps more plausible is to note that the amount recorded as loaned in 250 is not necessarily the whole endowment for the *Echenicia*; different endowments can thus have received different rates in this year depending on the situation when the loans were made. It naturally follows that rates may also have varied from year to year, not least depending on the state of the economy. This interpretation is more consistent with the evidence for fluctuation in the production of offerings, than the assumption of a constant unchanging rate. See further Appendix 3. Multiple and missing offerings and their import, 408.

expenditures and of the offerings suggest that the royal and foreign festivals were not noticeably larger or smaller in size than those of local donors: most of the festivals resulted in the dedication of a single *phiale* of a standard weight, one hundred drachms. As importantly, where we have evidence for expenditure on festivals, it suggests that expenditure on royal and foreign festivals was in similar to expenditure on the Delian-endowed festivals. Both aspects again point to the socially mediated nature of display and dedication on Delos: royal expenditure was not untrammelled. Whether explicitly, through the intervention of sanctuary officials, or implicitly, by common and mutual consent, the dynamic was one of display and competition within socially constrained bounds, even for the royal festivals, not one of excess and domination[831].

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[831] A single *phiale*: most of the foundations, including all the royal endowments, involved the production of a yearly *phiale*. Some, however, involved other items: for the Stesilia, both a σκάφιον στησίλειον (*eg*, *ID* 442.B.44, 47, 51, 64–66, 98–99, 111, 136, 141, 150, 160, 164) and a ποτήριον στησίλειον (*eg*, *ID* 442.B.126, 127, 130–131, 131, 152, 173–177) were offered.
The extreme case is that *Micythia*, where σκάφια μικύθεια (*eg*, *ID* 442.B.145, *ID* 443.B.b.69), an ἀργυρίδα μικύθειον (*eg*, *ID* 442.B.142; *ID* 443.B.b.66), and κύλικας μικυθείους (*eg*, *ID* 442.B.146, 172; *ID* 443.B.b.70, 97) are all attested, as well as a θυμιατήριον Μικύθου (*eg*, *IG* XI.2 124.24, and 122.21–22), and four θηρίκλειοι (*IG* XI.2 124.43–46). For discussion of the *phiale*, see Luschey 1939; for examples of *phialae* found during excavations on Delos, see Dugas 1928, 187 640–644 and Dugas 1935, 65 Vases Rhodo-Ionien 41; for discussion of other offerings attested on Delos, see Tréheux 1959, 2:322–3:424, including discussion of the θυμιατήριον: 3:374–4:418, and 4:420–424; and Tréheux 1959, 3:526–560 on the ῥοδιακὴ and ἡδυποτίδες.
Note that the phenomenon of multiple dedications in a single year has not been widely recognised and has potentially significant consequences: Appendix 2. Principles behind dating Delian endowments, 396, and Appendix 3. Multiple and missing offerings and their import, 408. Whether this evidence reflects multiple iterations of the festival in a single year, or multiple donations from a single iteration (perhaps arising because the endowment had had good financial returns that year) is not entirely clear, but the certain double attestation of the *Ptolemaea* (offering) in the same month in 224 (*ID* 338.A.a.23 and 24) perhaps points towards the latter. It might be argued that foreign-endowed festivals would be more likely to iterate, but the phenomenon of multiple attestations across different festivals in the same years attested in *ID* 366 suggests that systemic (and plausibly economic) reasons underlie this phenomenon, rather than political motivations that connect more specifically to one (or to one foreign group of) endowment: on this issue, see, especially, Appendix 3. Multiple and missing offerings and their import, 408. On the lack of logic and order in the inventories, see already Schulhof 1908, 101–102. For a discussion of the function of these accounts and inventories which attempts to allow for their

Third, this Delian context provides important parallels and justification for the royal festivals that did not simply honour Apollo, Artemis, and Leto, and result in offerings made by Delian maidens. As for the royal endowments, the honorand of many Delian endowments is unknown, but it is certain that a variety of gods were honoured: for example, the *Stesilea* and the *Echenicia* honoured Apollo and Aphrodite. The attested royal endowments in favour of other gods, such as the *theoi adelphoi*, the *theoi soteres*, or Pan, may have been unusual specifically with regard to the gods chosen, but the principle is unremarkable[832]. We are surely justified in

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incompleteness, and emphasises their symbolic value, see Tréheux 1959, 2:266–275, to be read with the argument at Hamilton 2000, 29–31 for "'inadvertent' incompleteness", rather than what he characterises as Tréheux' perception of "'deliberate' incompleteness" (31; quotation marks original). For a briefer discussion considering primarily why the Delians weighed their inventories, see Hamilton 2008. Whether inadvertent or deliberate, Tréheux's discussion seems, *pace* Hamilton 2000, 25, hardly an "attack" on the inventories' integrity, but seems rather concerned to emphasise that apparent incompleteness and other variations both in these early inventories and elsewhere can reflect genuine movement of objects and active choices by the *hieropoioi*, as well as oversight or omissions by the *hieropoioi* or the carver; *cf*, *eg*, Tréheux 1959, 1:82, 103, 143–145, especially 144n3, 173, and 290–292. Hamilton 2000 and Hamilton 2008 thus build on Tréheux 1959, for all the difference in emphasis.

832 In some cases, the honorands of the dedicatory offering produced for the festival are mentioned in an inventory list. Thus, the offerings indicate that the *Stesilea* and the *Echenicia* were created in honour of Apollo and Aphrodite: *Stesilea*: *eg*, *ID* 372.B.9, 12–13, 15–20 (200); *Echenicia*: *IG* XI.2 287.A.123 (= Prêtre and Brunet 2002, 125–141 [250]). The *Gorgieia*, however, honoured the trio of gods often thought canonical in the sanctuary at Delos, and which is also most commonly attested for the royal and foreign endowments: Apollo, Artemis, and Leto (*ID* 1432.A.b.90 [153/2]).
Cf for the *Second Ptolemaea*, the *Third Ptolemaea*, and the *Philetaeria*, *ID* 298.A.76, 78 (240), and *ID* 1432.B.a.I.2–3 (153/2) respectively state:
Δηλιάδες, χορεῖα Ἀ]πό[λλωνι Ἀ]ρτέμιδι Λητῶι ἐπιδόντος βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου;
Δηλιάδες, χορεῖα] Ἀπόλ[λωνι Ἀρτέμιδι Λητο]ῖ ἐπι[δόν]τος βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου; and
Δηλιά/[δ]ες, χορεῖα ἐπιδόντος Φιλεταίρου, Ἀπόλλωνι Ἀρτέμιδι Λητοῖ (*cf ID* 298.A.92–93: Δηλιάδες, χορεῖα Ἀπόλλωνι Ἀρτέμιδι Λη]τοῖ ἐπιδό[ν]/[τος Φιλεταίρ]ου).
The endowments named after Antigonus, Stratonice and Nicolaus the Aetolian follow the same pattern: *ID* 298.A.93, 88–89, and 90–91, respectively.
By contrast, *ID* 298.A.79–80 states that the *Philadelphia* offering had the following inscription:
[Δ]ηλιάδες, χορεῖα [ἐπιδ]όντος Ἑρμί/[ου τοῦ νησιάρχου Ἀρσινόηι Φιλαδέλ]φοι, Ἀπ[όλλωνι Ἀρτέμιδι Λητοῖ καὶ βασιλεῖ Πτο]λ[ε]μαίωι (later, king Ptolemy does not appear: *ID* 313.a.63–64 and *ID* 320.B.27–28).
Note that Antigonus' offerings for the *Soteria* and *Pania* do not involve Delian maidens, unlike Antigonus' offering to Apollo, and the offering of Stratonice.
ID 298.A.85: βασιλεὺς Ἀντίγονος βασιλέως Δημ[ητρίου Μακεδὼν θεοῖς σωτῆρσι
ID 298.A 98: βασι[λ]εὺς Ἀν[τί]/[γονος βασιλέ]ως Δημητρίου Μ[ακεδὼν Πανί

explaining the choice of god honoured in dynastic terms, but it does not follow that the endowment of a festival to gods other than Apollo, Artemis and Leto was an imposition in Delian sacral space and practice and that, hence, the Ptolemies and Antigonids must have possessed some predominant position in order to enforce such religious rupture[833].

The Delian context is here again helpful; there is insufficient evidence to be certain, but the programmatic way in which Δηλιάδες are mentioned in the Hymn to Apollo (157: κοῦραι Δηλιάδες, ἑκατηβελέταο θεράπναι) and the fact that, when deities are specified in the inventories for the offerings of Δηλιάδες, they are always to Apollo, Artemis, and Leto, allow the argument that this is a specific title associated with Apollonian ritual, rather than merely a reference to any (chorus of) Delian maidens (*cf* the *arcti*, *canephori* and other ritually specific titles known from Athenian ritual practice). The fact that Antigonus made the offerings to Pan and the *theoi soteres* in his own name thus is again not indicative of ritual imposition (why then would he not have done the same with his offerings to Apollo?), but connected to the different ritual context.

For the other festivals, no evidence as to their honorand seems to survive. It is probable that most honoured Apollo, Artemis, and Leto, but certainty is impossible.

833 For a different, more nuanced but still problematic approach, see, for example, Walbank's discussion at Hammond, Griffith, and Walbank 1972–1988, 592–593, where he is careful to acknowledge the debate over the political implications of endowments by the Ptolemies and Antigonids, and believes it "demonstrably not true" that only a power controlling Delos could establish an endowment (593), but still suggests that the *Pania* and *Soteria* are "unique within the group in being named after gods, and so in directing attention to them rather than to the founder." They are thus more likely than other festivals to be "celebrating events leading to a major political change in the Aegean" (599). This argument elides the fact that the *Pania* and *Soteria* are also referred to as *Antigonia*: see Bruneau 1970, 562–563 and 526, although note that he here simplifies somewhat, as discussed at 447n1040. More importantly, Walbank's argument does not take account of the Delian and human aspect of the inventories. It overlooks the Delian aspect in that Pan and the *theoi soteres* were not as prominent on Delos as the Apolline triad and these festivals plausibly formed the only endowments in their honour: on our scanty evidence for the worship of Pan, see 389n890 and 438n1008; the evidence for the *theoi soteres* is still more exiguous: see 438n1005. By contrast, the *Apollonia* was perhaps the most important festival in the Delian calendar at this time: Bruneau 1970, 65–93. It overlooks the human aspect of the inventory lists in that, as the alternation noted above indicates, the lists often do not offer unproblematic names for items or events, but instead offer references which were meaningful to those creating them. They characterise; they do not describe: see further 322n794. For the *Soteria* and the *Pania*, there was an implicit distinguishing contrast with the pre-existing *Antigonia*, where for the *Antigonia* itself, the contrast was with the other festivals to the Apolline triad, and through the bare fact that it was endowed by Antigonus. It was thus both possible and more plausible for the inventories to refer simply to the *Soteria* or the *Pania* as such in the inventories than any of the other festivals. As with the absence of any reference to the Delian maidens discussed in 348n832, this difference does not indicate that they were somehow symbolically different, but again points to the importance of embedding the festivals in their Delian context.

Cf Fellmann 1930, 82 for an earlier argument emphasising the unusual nature of the *Pania* and *Soteria*, there also framed in the context of normal Delian neutrality. For thorough discussion of this notion, with previous scholarship, see Tarn 1924. Tarn's general conclusions remain valid, although his

Fourth, close analysis of the endowments indicates that the kings who endowed festivals were engaging in a practice which is otherwise only attested for rich Delians, Delian trittyes, and Nicolaus, the Aetolian. Other donors of possibly 'intermediate' status have previously been identified, but reanalysis suggests that these identifications are implausible. In particular, on chronological grounds, Eutychus is more likely to have been a Delian, than a Chian, while the references to Micythus as a Syrian after 167/166 are to be understood as resulting from the expulsion of Delians, including his descendants, from the island, not as reflecting his original ethnicity[834].

We are, therefore, analysing a practice undertaken by diverse social groups, but groups that are diverse in a specific way that has not been recognised before. Rather than a wide range of benefactors being involved, there is a tighter dichotomy between kings (and, at least in the middle of the third century, the Aetolians), and Delians. The kings and Nicolaus were engaging in a specifically Delian practice. By such emulation, one which no other foreign actor successfully attempted, the kings and Nicolaus were laying claim to a special position in the sanctuary, by engaging in a specifically Delian practice; and were also engaging in a form of in-group activity,

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presuppositions (for example, regarding Delos' status in the Second League of the Islanders) and hence also his individual arguments are now occasionally in need of revision. See briefly Appendix 2. Delos and the Second League of the Islanders, 577.

834 On Micythus the "Syrian", see Appendix 1. Micythus and the Delians after 167/166, 393; on Eutyches as Delian, not from Chios, see Appendix 4. Delian endowment dates and people, 417. Even if these analyses are not accepted, we can still see the kings framing their involvement in the religious terms of ongoing religious practice on Delos, and so partly eliding their superior force; this is not, however, *pace* Hintzen-Bohlen 1992, 84, the same as imagining an inherent ambiguity in the status of the donors that thus made it appropriate for a dynast of ambivalent status, such as Philetaerus. Philetaerus (or Eumenes I) was rather maintaining his right to be considered as a dynast of higher status, equivalent to the Ptolemies and Antigonids.

differentiating themselves from other foreign donors on Delos who did not create such endowments[835].

In itself, this in-group activity suggests that politics of emulative competition, not hegemony, are central. When the activity is dated, however, this argument becomes still stronger, as we can recognise that both Delian and foreign activity clusters into specific narrow periods.

Table 44. Endowments on Delos[836]

Name	**First offering**	**Connexion**
Micythia	By 313	Micythus, Delian
Stesilea	301	Stesileus, Delian
Ocyneidaea/Thyestadaea	285	Ocyneidae, Thyestadae, Delian trittyes
First Ptolemaea	*c* 279	Ptolemy II Philopator
Philadelphia	267	Hermias, Arsinoe II
Philetaeria	262	Philetaerus
Antigonia	252	Antigonus Gonatas

[835] For a rare acknowledgement of the in-group effect as motivating the *Philetaeria*: Schalles 1985, 38–39, followed by Schwarzer 1999, 254. They do not, however, consider the Delian context.

[836] For a more detailed presentation of this table and the evidence behind the dates here offered, see Appendix 4. Delian endowment dates and people, 417. For discussion of important aspects of our evidence which have previously not been fully appreciated, and which have significant ramifications on reconstructing these dates, see, Appendix 2. Principles behind dating Delian endowments, 396; and Appendix 3. Multiple and missing offerings and their import, 408. For the possibility that the series of Athenian *phialae* attested in *ID* 104-30 and elsewhere might also attest an endowment, see 485n1072.
Two important exclusions from this list are the *Eudemia*, which is only attested once in 213: *ID* 371.B.51; and the *Chersonesia*. The *Chersonesia* is instead included under the list of Delian festivals, as it does not seem to record a donation of a specific group, but instead an administrative arrangement of Delian revenues; on this festival, see 344n828.
First offering: on the types of offering attested, see briefly 348n831.
Connexion: because the names used by the Delian inventories (and in modern scholarship) have differing relationships with the endowments they describe: *eg*, the *Nicolaea*, which almost certainly was endowed by Nicolaus, the Aetolian; the *Philadelphia*, which seems to have been created by the nesiarch, Hermias, and which did not only honour Ptolemy II Philopator and Arsinoe II, but also Apollo, Artemis, and Leto; and the *Stratonicia*, which was endowed in memory of Stratonice, but honoured Apollo, Artemis, and Leto. Some cases are unclear: the *Philetaeria* was probably founded by someone in honour of Philetaerus (plausibly, his successor, Eumenes I), but, if a year's delay between endowment and first production of a *phiale* is allowed, as commonly was the case prior to our discussion based initially on Homolle's analysis of precisely this crux, it could have been founded by Philetaerus himself: see Appendix 2. Principles behind dating Delian endowments, 396.

Name	**First offering**	**Connexion**
Stratonicia	252	Stratonice
Nicolaea	251	Nicolaus, Aetolian
Nesiadia	By 250	Nesiades, Delian
Xenocleidaea	By 250	Xenocleides, Delian
Philoclia	*c* 250	Philocles, Delian
Echenicia	*c* 250	Echenice, Delian
Second Ptolemaea	248	Ptolemy II Philopator
Third Ptolemaea	245	Ptolemy III Euergetes
Soteria/Antigonia	244	Antigonus Gonatas
Pania/Antigonia	244	Antigonus Gonatas
Mapsichidaea	240	Mapsichidae, Delian trittys
Demetriaea	237	Demetrius II
Philonidia	233	Philonis, Delian
Eutychia	*c* 230	Eutyches, Delian
Sopatria	*c* 230	Sopatrus, Delian
Gorgieia	229	Gorgias, Delian
Attalia	224–216	Attalus I
Donacia	224–216	Donax, Delian
Pataecia	224–216	Pataecus, Delian
Theuergesia	224–216	Ptolemy III Euergetes
Philippia	221–216	Philip V

Of the twenty-eight festivals here recorded, fourteen have a connexion with a Delian, six an Antigonid, five a Lagid, two an Attalid, and one an Aetolian. The inherent dynamics of in-group competition involved in the creation of such endowments are, moreover, visible even in the Delian endowments, and, in particular, the clustering of the creation four Delian endowments between 233 and 229. Each of the four dedicatees either was a prominent Delian in his own right or (for Philonis) can be connected to a known family. Not only did these families compete in establishing endowments, but they also are attested as performing choregic functions[837]. It is as though once one family established a festival, other leading families felt the urge to match them.

[837] For details: Appendix 4. Delian endowment dates and people, 417.

This Delian competitive activity provides an analogy that is directly relevant to the 'foreign' foundations. With the exception of the *First Ptolemaea*, to which we shall return below, these foundations cluster in a way that suggests interaction between the different dynasties: first, the death of Arsinoe seems to have prompted Hermias, in his role as nesiarch, to create an endowment in her honour in 267, which in turn prompted someone, probably Eumenes I, the successor of Philetaerus, to recognise the potential value of an endowment in Philetaerus' honour around 262[838].

Looking forward to the middle of the century, the number of parties involved broadens. The Antigonids, Ptolemies and Aetolians all certainly established festivals,

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838 "around": as noted at Appendix 4. Delian endowment dates and people, 417, Durrbach maintained the date for Elpines, the *archon* of the first offering attested for the *Philetaeria*, in 262 precisely to allow a direct link with the death of Philetaerus in 263. As the case of Hermias and the *Philadelphia* indicates, however, this date is unnecessary, unless Philetaerus is (needlessly) insisted on as the donor. Note additionally that this parallel with the foundation in honour of Arsinoe provides some strong additional support for our suggestion that the *Philetaeria* was founded not during the lifetime of Philetaerus but after his death. On this question, which was central to the establishment of the generalised principle that endowments were founded a year before they are first attested, see Appendix 2. Principles behind dating Delian endowments, 396.
Unlike Arsinoe, Philetaerus was not himself worshipped as part of the Delian endowment. This difference, however, does not reflect differences in the status of the dynasties on Delos, but difference in the dynasties' approach to ruler cult. Unlike in Egypt, there does not seem to have been an organised royal ruler-cult in third century Pergamum: Habicht argues that the cult for Philetaerus attested in Cyzicus plausibly went back to his life-time, but we cannot generalise from this hypothesis to a broader policy of encouraging it in all Attalid domains, let alone outside: Habicht 1970, 124, and 124–126 on other Attalid cult; *cf* 109–123 on the Ptolemies; for similar Attalid cult attested in Cyme, see now Manganaro 2000; and, more generally, on the difference between ruler-cult and deification, see Préaux 1978, 1:251–253, and, recently, Schwarzer 1999, 250–253. Philetaerus was honoured as the founder of the Attalid dynasty, but in different ways from the way in which the Ptolemies advanced their ruler cult: thus, where Ptolemaic coins bore the portraits of the current king, almost all Attalid coins (some of Eumenes II excepted) bear the portrait of Philetaerus. For paired articles which bring out some of the differences: Kosmetatou 2003; Thompson 2003; on Attalid cult, replacing the earlier discussion in Allen 1983, 145–158, but still agreeing that Attalus I was the first to receive ruler cult: Schwarzer 1999; on the cult of Arsinoe II: Minas 1998, and specifically on the *theoi soteres* in Egyptian papyri: Oates 1971; on Seleucid ruler cult, which again had a distinct form: Funck 1991; for a general overview: Préaux 1978, 1:238–271 and Shipley 2000, 153–191; for an older but more detailed analysis of the varied nature of the phenomenon, see Taeger 1957, 234–357.
Most studies on the status of Delos overlook Attalid activity, as they do later the Aetolian; Allen 1983 is unusual in noting the festival; although he recognises that it involved "claims to dynastic standing in the Greek world", he still opposes such claims with the reality of their (lower) status (146); instead, it was "doubtless carried through with Egypt's approval" (22n46).

each looking to emulate the precedent set by the *Ptolemaea* and to maintain their distinction[839]. The Seleucids were plausibly also involved: the festival established in honour of Stratonice is most commonly considered an 'Antigonid' dedication, but this argument proceeds from the twin presuppositions that the festivals imply exclusive hegemonic pretension, and that Seleucids had no presence or interest in the Aegean at this time. Ongoing dedications by the Seleucids on Delos have, however, long been known, and further confirmation that the Seleucids formed part of the Aegean mental universe at this time is now provided by the inscription from Carthaea dated by Knoepfler to the reign of Antiochus II. Whichever Stratonice is honoured by this endowment, both had connexions with both the Antigonid and Seleucid royal dynasties, and the principle of an endowment repeatedly displaying the unity of the dynasties at this most prominent place of Aegean display remains valid[840].

Finally, the donations of Attalus I and Philip V are both datable to the period around the time of the accession of Philip V. Since Attalus' reign dates to 241, his festival cannot be connected to his accession. It can, however, be understood as a

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[839] Aetolians: on Aetolian expansionism in the middle of the third century, see most recently Scholten 2000, 96–130, but note Scholten's continual emphasis on the Aetolians' idiosyncrasies which leads him to minimise strategic planning and vision behind their actions. He discusses the *Nicolaea* in a section on Aetolian expansion and conscious emulation of other powers, but terms it 'cheeky' (104). Specifically on the Aetolian presence in the Aegean: Scholten 2000, 105–116, over-emphasising the atomised and chaotic nature of Aetolian involvement. For a different account: Grainger 1999, 130–146.

[840] On Seleucid dedications on Delos: Bruneau 1970, 573–576; and, on the Carthaea inscription: Knoepfler 2005.
On the identification of Stratonice and other aspects of this festival, see Appendix 4. Delian endowment dates and people, 417. Whether this unity should be understood as directly political, reflecting an alliance at this time, or purely matrimonial; and whether it should be understood as reflecting the creation of such a political/matrimonial alliance or merely its existence is another matter. As argued generally here and previously by Bruneau, the recognition of possible (political/matrimonial/other) symbolism in a festival does not automatically imply that we can date a (political/matrimonial/other) event from it.

response to the growing power of Philip V, or to Philip's endowment of a festival as part of his attempt to raise his profile[841].

The exception in this stream of exchanges is the very first royal endowment, the *First Ptolemaea*, in approximately 279. The lack of 'competitive response', however, should not be attributed to the lack of alternative potential patrons interested in the sanctuary. Instead, it plausibly derives from the early date at which Ptolemy was acting. Here, we can draw a comparison with Ptolemy II's precocity in establishing the *Ptolemaea* in Alexandria in 282 as what seem to have been the first games to be characterised as isolympic and isopythian[842]. We know of no previous royal endowment equivalent to the *First Ptolemaea*. On Delos, the norm had been individual donations, as attested by the dedications both of Ptolemy I and Demetrius Poliorcetes[843]. It may thus have taken time for other monarchs to recognise the symbolic value of the endowment, and to decide to emulate it.

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841 On the early years of Philip V's reign, see Walbank in Hammond, Griffith, and Walbank 1972–1988, 3:367–399.

842 On the first *Ptolemaea* in Egypt, see the discussion at 313n779, and, more generally, Bousquet 1958, 77–82; Fraser 1961; Hazzard 2000, 47–58; Hauben 2004, 38–44; Shear 2010. On the phenomenon of panhellenic festivals in general, see Robert 1984, 35–45 (= Robert 1969–1990, 6:709–719), qualified by Parker 2004. On the evolution of terminology for games, see now Remijsen 2011.
Soon after, the Aetolian *Soteria* was reorganised into a penteteric festival; on this reorganisation, see Nachtergael 1977, especially 329–330, and Scholten 2000, 99–100; the date depends on that of the *archon* Polyeuctus at Athens, which is disputed: Nachtergael 1977 argued for 246/245 (233–241); for a recent summary: Lefèvre in *CID* IV, 15–21, favouring 250/249.
For a recent discussion of the distinctiveness of the epigraphic (and papyrological) evidence surviving from Egypt, but also of the Egyptian (Ptolemaic?) epigraphic habit, see Bingen 1989 (reprinted as Bingen 2007, 256–278); on the Ptolemaic instantiation of the quest for legitimacy general to the diadochs, see Bingen 1988 (reprinted as Bingen 2007, 15–30).

843 On the testimonia for the golden chalice, and perhaps three gold crowns offered by Ptolemy Soter first attested at *IG* XI.2 161.B.26–27, 51–52, 56, and 84 (= Prêtre and Brunet 2002, 59–86 [279]) respectively: Bruneau 1970, 516–518; for the two gold crowns offered by Demetrius Poliorcetes and first attested in *IG* XI.2 161.B.56–57 and 85: Bruneau 1970, 546.

Recognising this inherently competitive context thus necessarily complicates suggestions that these endowments could ever unproblematically have implied exclusive hegemony. These festivals continued throughout the third century. They did not cease when the festival of another dynasty or power was founded. Quite the reverse: they were rather founded in clusters. In addition, embedding the foreign endowments in the broader Delian practice both supports our identification of these competitive dynamics and further emphasises the importance of contextual constraints, whether implicit or explicit, in guiding even royal dedicatory practice. The monarchs did not attempt, or were not allowed, to differentiate themselves by their donations, either individually, or even as a group: instead, the royal foundations all resulted in *phialae*, which was also the most common, although not ubiquitous, donation for the non-royal foundations.

Rather than pointing to repeated periods of swift change of hegemony, our discussion here suggests that we should recognise fashions of competitive emulation among the dynasties at this period. These offerings may well have been self-interested, but they did not involve claims of hegemony, let alone its acceptance. At most, a status based claim was involved: that the benefactor was not an ordinary foreigner who might choose to display his merits on Delos, but a benevolent patron. These endowments may well also have been prompted by particular 'events' at some uncertain chronological remove. What we cannot do, however, is assume that we can identify these 'events' in our scanty surviving historical narrative, that these 'events' must chronologically have immediately preceded the foundation, or that these 'events'

must be directly connected with (a shift in) hegemonical relations in the Cyclades, rather than manifesting ongoing engagement. Finally, we cannot deduce that the fact of an endowment implies control either of Delos or of the sea at that time. Quite the reverse: if anything, the creation of an endowment suggests that the dynamics of competitive emulation and status creation were particularly active at that time, and so any attempt at claiming a unique status on Delos, in the Cyclades, and in the Aegean, would have been even more dubious and imperilled than was the norm.

Delos as a space for competition and display: monuments

The monumental history of the sanctuary on Delos in the Hellenistic period complements this analysis of festivals. There we read the festivals as attempts at competitive display and status establishment by pre-eminent external powers which attempted to make manifest their patronage of and status in the sanctuary within clear social constraints. Here, we emphasise how these social bounds and Delian mediation were central even to rather more monumental and on some level inherently individualised attempts at display, and illustrate this point with reference to four largest projects undertaken in this period: the *Neorium* and Portico of Antigonus, which respectively restructured the eastern and northern boundaries of the *temenos*; and the South(-West) Portico and the Portico of Philip, which monumentalised the *dromos* leading into the sanctuary, but did not form part of the sanctuary proper on construction and plausibly never did, instead remaining liminal in their status.

Each of these monuments has previously been approached as a gift of a single donor, with the primary question in two cases being precisely to identify which donor was involved. This aspect is important, and the effect of the dedicatory claim in the inscriptions on the Portico of Antigonus and the Portico of Philip should not be under-estimated: by their protective shadow, each did provide a physical metaphor for the status of patron which the kings were seeking to maintain, and a physical reminder of the supposed goodwill of the kings, and of the obligations which the kings no doubt maintained that they were owed. Nevertheless, this aspect has been over-emphasised, and has over-shadowed discussion of other important aspects. Each of these monuments also had an important structural role in the development of the sanctuary and city, and all bar one certainly had a complex construction history. The ramifications of these aspects have, however, been insufficiently recognised either because of concern to identify the donor of the complex, or because the donor was known: hence the building could be ascribed to him, and any chronological and topological complexity was irrelevant[844].

The below discussion thus seeks to rebalance our approach to these monuments, and, hence, also to dedicatory practice as a whole on Delos, by illustrating how even each of these four projects is more coherently understood through our lens of competitive and mediated display. In each case, we do still point to the politics of competition and display which are inherent in the monuments, and there is some

[844] It is perhaps no coincidence that scholars have been much happier to acknowledge chronological complexity in the *Neorium* and South(-West) Portico, the two monuments for which no explicit dedicatory inscription survives, than for the Portico of Antigonus and the Portico of Philip, for which they do.

necessary discussion of the date and of previous hegemonic interpretations, not least to draw out how these earlier analyses are affected by our argument. We do, however, deliberately here place more weight on the clear evidence for attempts to structure the sanctuary through these monuments, and systematically point to the evidence for complex construction histories. Hence we demonstrate how an awareness of these aspects enriches our understanding of these monuments; argues against traditional visions of these monuments as instantiations of hegemony; and embeds them in the inherently competitive context we here are exploring.

The Neorium

The dedicatee of the *Neorium* remains uncertain: early attempts to connect the monument with Antigonus Gonatas, who, - according to Athenaeus, or perhaps Moschion, dedicated his ship to Apollo after the battle of Cos, - are incompatible with the architectural dating of the remains to the late fourth and early third centuries. Even if a single donor were required, the amount of naval activity known in the Aegean in the late fourth century means that identification would be a forlorn hope. There would, moreover, be no need for an external donor to justify the symbolic imagery: it could also be a Delian monument. To build a new temple or, as they preferred, to finish the 'great temple' was to erect a rival to the two existing temples in the precinct. To build a *Neorium* was, however, to build a unique monument that

symbolically encoded Delos' connexion with the sea and asserted Delos' primacy as a central sanctuary for the marine Aegean in a way that another temple could not[845].

More important in our context are the known modifications in the design of the building as it was being constructed. These modifications and the presence of elements datable to the late fourth century and after 278 both point to a long construction history, and argue against insisting on a single external donor and motivation. They also firmly discount any suggestion that the *Neorium* can be connected with a dedication by Antigonus Gonatas after the battle of Cos. Instead, if the narrative preserved by Athenaeus does any basis in reality, we should understand it as a remythologisation of the ship's origins. As with the close connexion between

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[845] The *Neorium* (= Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 191–193 24), following Marcadé 1951 and Tréheux 1986; it was long called the bull monument; note Llinas and Fraisse 1995, 417–421 on the absence of a Lagid phase to the *Neorium*, *pace* Vallois 1944, 1:38–42, who also identified part of the building as a Pythion, which is no longer accepted. Étienne 1989, 39n2 refers to a forthcoming publication of the south-east corner of the sanctuary, including the *Neorium*. It seems still to be forthcoming.
On the sculpture dating to end of the fourth century: Marcadé 1951; on the frieze, with its probable Galatomachy, post-dating 278: Süssenbach 1971, 50–52. On the multiple stages of construction: Roux 1981, 61–71. For the argument that the *Neorium* was already in use in 272–271, because the woodwork [ὀροφὰς] was then being oiled: Tréheux 1986. Hence, the building could not have been built, or even refurbished by Gonatas after the battle of Leucolla/Cos, as was originally suggested by Vallois 1944, 1:42, was reiterated by Roux 1981, 61–71 because of the multiple stages he identified, and is still maintained by Hintzen-Bohlen 1992, 91, who found fresh justification in the analysis of the frieze by Süssenbach 1971, 50–52.
Couchoud and Svoronos 1921 first identified these remains as the home of Antigonus Gonatas' ship, which Tarn 1910, especially 215 suggested must have been dedicated to Apollo on Delos: Athenaeus 5.209e does not specify a location. Alternative suggestions identifying the *Neorium* as a monument of Demetrius Poliorcetes: Tréheux 1987b; as an Athenian monument: Coupry 1973; other scholars' views and suggestions are presented at Hintzen-Bohlen 1992, 92. On the orthodox view that the League of the Islanders dates back to the early fourth century, the construction of the *Neorium* could also be connected to that nebulous institution (without necessary reference to a hegemon); further support for this view might hence be derived from the fact that *IG* XI.4 1128, the League decree honouring Agathostratus, the Rhodian, was found *in situ* to the south of the *Neorium*: the situation would then be analogous to that envisaged by Courby and Bruneau for the 'great temple'. Although attractive, Bruneau 1970, 532 justly cautions against excessive inference from one inscription found *in situ*: the other League inscriptions were found all over the sanctuary. Meadows' convincing downdating of the evidence for the League does not make this connexion impossible, but does dissolve the single attestation of the League at this time: Meadows 2013.

Naxian marble and Naxian state action made in modern scholarship, moreover, this connexion plausibly also had an architectural basis: beyond the inscription on the Portico of Antigonus which would have kept his name prominent in the later history of the sanctuary, the very bulls' protomes which have led modern scholars to identify a connexion with those on the Portico of Antigonus and so with Antigonus himself may also have led their ancient predecessors to do the same, when they were in reality no more than a reflexion of architectural and imperial fashion of the time[846].

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[846] Architectural fashion: bull-protomes are also found on the Portico of Antigonus, and were also later emulated on the house of the trident on Delos. The parallel drawn by Hintzen-Bohlen 1992, 93 with the protomes of the building of Demetrius Poliorcetes from Salamis is unjustified: Roux 1980 mentions Demetrius Poliorcetes as the possible master of Delos when the *Neorium* was being built (264); he does not suggest any dynastic link between the Salaminian protome and the Antigonids, and instead rather indicates that, although he personally prefers a date in the first half of the third century, this date is very insecure (274); he also emphasises how different the Salaminian protome is from the Delian and other parallels (272).
Imperial fashion: Seleucus I Nicator and Demetrius Poliorcetes are both represented on coins with bull-horns. None of their successors seems, however, to have maintained this fashion except, much later, Eucratides I of Bactria on his issues and Antigonus Gonatas on the Portico here.
Tréheux's argument that the building was in use in 272–271 is not water-tight: strictly, only τὰς ὀροφὰς τῶν προπύλων (*IG* XI.2 219.A.42–43) were being oiled: ὀροφὰς does often mean a roof, by extension from the woodwork of a roof, but προπύλον here could here refer to the gates of the building; *cf* Herodotus 2.91: the gates of the temple are very large and made of stone ("τὰ δὲ πρόπυλα τοῦ ἱροῦ λίθινά ἐστι κάρτα μεγάλα"); Sophocles *Electra* 1374–1375: after worshipping the ancestral shrines of the gods, who inhabit these gates ("πατρῷα προσκύσανθ' ἕδη/θεῶν, ὅσοιπερ πρόπυλα ναίουσιν τάδε"); Euripides *Hercules Furens* 523 the hall and gates of my home ("μέλαθρον πρόπυλά θ' ἑστίας ἐμῆς"). The reference could thus be simply to the woodwork of the doors. Similarly, *ID* 1403.B.b.I.39 refers to the προδόμος, but the name need not be being used in a technical sense.
Nevertheless, Tréheux's readings at least confirm that the building was somehow under (re)construction in the late 270s, which is too early for any connexion with the battle of Leucolla/Cos. It is just theoretically possible that the doors could not yet have been attached to the *Neorium*, and so that the ship from Leucolla/Cos could have been inserted in the building perhaps ten years later, but such an approach seems highly fanciful and also misguided as an attempt to preserve a thin literary source which, as argued above, may well itself be derived from a misunderstanding of the history of the building. Tarn's analysis remains plausible as an interpretation of the text transmitted by Athenaeus, but the connexion between Athenaeus and any earlier historical event is another matter. (Note also that, although adjacent to an extensive précis from Moschion, who may perhaps have lived in the late third century [see *FgrHist* 575], Antigonus' ship is mentioned after the main citation, and so cannot be as confidently considered a text of the third century as that précis.)
For all the uncertainty about the *Neorium*, a further point of clarity is that there can have been one ship: once dedicated, the ship could not leave the sanctuary, yet only one *Neorium* is known. There are instances where small offerings were remade and combined, possibly in part to save space (see, *eg*,

It is not, however, necessary to identify a specific donor to recognise the importance of the *Neorium* as part of an expansion of the sanctuary at this time: altar 25, which Étienne identifies as the altar of the [kings] or [saviours] mentioned in *IG* XI.4 1036, dates to approximately the same time as the *Neorium*; the first architectural phase of the *peribolos* wall ran parallel to the *Neorium* on three sides; and the earliest inscriptions found in the fill in this area date from the early third century. We can thus envisage the *Neorium* as the central point of a broader expansion of the sanctuary as a unified space[847].

Because there seems to have been no architectural *peribolos* before the construction of the *temenos* built around the *Neorium*, certainty as to the extent of the expansion is impossible. Nevertheless, the way in which even the extended *peribolos* connected to the back of *oikos* 19 suggests that the previous (probably unmonumentalised) *temenos* boundary may well have run precisely behind the treasuries, and joined the back of building Δ and the *Prytaneum*: if so, the archaic votive column to Athena Polias

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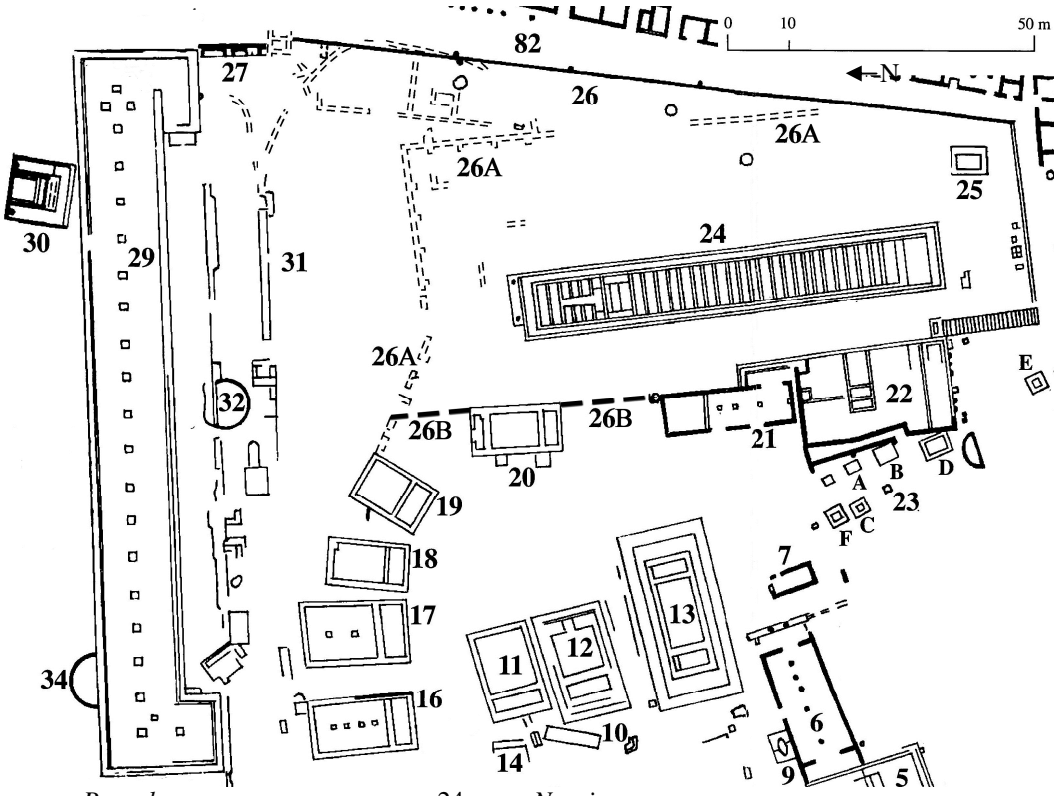
Tréheux 1944, 279–280: five *scaphia* transformed into two *phialae*; more generally on the practice underlying the inventories: Homolle 1882, 92–93), but to make a ship disappear is another matter.
Perhaps more important in our context here is that the date from Tréheux (and Süssenbach) is too early for any unproblematic claim of Antigonid hegemony, as it is sandwiched between the *First Ptolemaea* founded in 278, and the *Philadelphia* in 267. Again, therefore, the hegemonical model is found wanting; if the *Neorium* were to be insisted on as an Antigonid monument, then, at most competitive display would be the dynamic in question. As noted above, however, no support for its Antigonid nature should be derived from the presence of the bull protomes.

847 The date of altar 25: Étienne 1989, 46n16, summarising discussion from 41–44, especially 41. Étienne argues convincingly against Vallois' earlier suggestion that this altar might be dedicated to Zeus Polieus; his argument for the identification as the altar of the kings or saviours (47) is not affected by Meadows' downdating, but is not strong; note again Bruneau 1970, 531–532 on inferences from a single find-spot. Buraselis' reconsideration of the lacuna in *IG* XI.4 1036 confirms Will's judgement that both βω/[μὸν τῶν βασιλέω]ν, Durrbach's original suggestion, and βω/[μὸν τῶν Σωτήρω]ν, Will's alternative suggestion, first offered at Will 1955, 170–172, are possible restorations of *IG* XI.4 1036.45–46: Buraselis 1982, 67–69.
The earliest inscription found between the *Neorium* and the *peribolos* wall seems to be *IG* XI.4 518, for Antiochus, the son of Theodicus, from Lampsacus. Others include *IG* XI.4 575, *IG* XI.4 653, and *IG* XI.4 747.

found at the north-east corner of building Δ may well have acted as a *horos*[848], and the sanctuary will have increased in size by as much as fifty per cent as part of this expansion.

Plan 45. East part of sanctuary c 250 with varying eastern boundary



5:	*Propylaea*	24:	*Neorium*
6:	*Oikos* of the Naxians	25:	Hellenistic altar
7:	Temple Γ	26:	*Peribolos* associated with Portico of Antigonus
9:	The colossus of the Naxians	26A:	*Peribolos* associated with *Neorium*
10:	The Base of Philetaerus	26B:	Classical temenos(?) – not archaeologically attested
11:	*Porinos naos*	27:	North-Eastern Exedrae
12:	Temple of the Athenians	29:	Portico of Antigonus
13:	The Great Temple	30:	Minoe Fountain
14:	Base	31:	Monument of the Progonoi
16–20:	Treasuries/*oikoi*	32:	*Theke* of Opis and Arge
21:	Building Δ	34:	*Abaton*
22:	*Prytaneum*	82:	Eastern road
23:	Altars		

[848] Building Δ: Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 189 21; possibly the *Bouleuterium*, although other suggestions exist. See, for a summary, Vallois 1944, 1:25–26, especially 1:26n2, and 1:119–121.
The *Prytaneum*: Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 189–190 22; see Étienne 1997, with references. Votive column to Athena Polias: *ID* 15.

The North-East Portico ("the Portico of Antigonus")

Unlike for the *Neorium*, the dedicator of the Portico of Antigonus is known from the dedicatory inscription that survives in fragmentary state: Antigonus Gonatas. Like the *Neorium*, however, the effects of the expansion centred round the Portico of Antigonus on the configuration of the sanctuary were dramatic. The size of the sanctuary again increased by over fifty per cent: where the monumentalised *peribolos* on the north side of the *Neorium* had previously excluded the area behind the *oikoi*, this area was now included in the sanctuary. In addition, the eastern *temenos* wall originally ran slightly north, and parallel to the *Neorium*, but was now rotated in an easterly direction, enabling the portico and the *temenos* boundary it represented to be approximately ten metres longer[849]. A new east gate was also created beside the eastern end of the portico: henceforth, all entering the sanctuary from the north or east would have to pass either through or in front of the portico[850], and then alongside the monument to Antigonus' forefathers erected immediately in front of the opening to the

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[849] The Portico of Antigonus (Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 195 29), published: Courby 1912, 13–45; discussion: Vallois 1944, 1:162–164; Bruneau 1970, 553; Hintzen-Bohlen 1992, 87–90; inscription *IG* XI.4 1095 (= Durrbach 1921–1923, 41–43 35); first reported: Holleaux 1907b, 336–338. Noting that the portico was not plastered on the inside, Hintzen-Bohlen 1992, 88 hypothesises that it was a welcome space ("Wandelhalle") for pilgrims with benches along the walls. Perhaps. Alternatively, it may perhaps have been a covered banqueting space.
Why was the *peribolos* angled, rather than moved? The area beyond the *peribolos* wall may have already been occupied, but it is unclear: the houses there do not seem to be discussed by Trümper 1998 or so far to have been published elsewhere, and so cannot be securely dated. The orientation of the Portico is also unusual: it is not parallel or perpendicular to any pre-existing structure. It was, however, perhaps determined to maximise the space inside the sanctuary, while still respecting the positions of the pre-existing *Graphe* (Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 199 35, just off Plan 45 to the west; publication: Courby 1912, 56–60) and the Minoe fountain (Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 196 30; publication: Courby 1912, 103–119, and, for the identification of the ruins with the κρήνη Μινόη: 116). If so, the Portico was to continue the line of the *Graphe* while keeping the fountain-house outside the sanctuary.

[850] Through: Courby indicates that there was a small opening in the rear wall of the Portico of Antigonus just to the west of the Minoe Fountain, presumably to allow access to it. Far larger, however, was the opening to the east. This eastern opening seems to have remained until about the end of the second century, when it was narrowed by the construction of several exedrae and monumentalised: Courby 1912, 47–49 for the eastern gate, 50–54 for the exedrae (Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 194 27).

Minoe fountain[851]. Just as the Naxian portico had monumentalised the south-west corner of the *temenos*, so too, the Portico of Antigonus monumentalised the north-east corner of the *temenos*: the expenditure involved in its construction was not invested in a monument that merely made manifest the glory of the Antigonids, but in one that helped the Delians restructure the shape and configuration of the sanctuary.

Because of the scholarly consensus over the donor, much less attention has been paid to the construction history of the Portico. Courby summarised his initial publication by noting that the epigraphic connexion with Antigonus Gonatas should date the monument, *or at least its commencement*, to the period between the battle of Andros in 246 and his death in 239[852]. He later argued for a slightly earlier date on epigraphic grounds and, in keeping with the hegemonic terms in which he and most subsequent scholars have dated the building, selected the occasion of the first *Antigonia* as the appropriate occasion for the consecration of the building. Even there, however, he continued to insist that we should envisage an extended period of construction[853].

Courby's argument for an earlier date has been central to all subsequent dates offered for the Portico, but is unfortunately not valid both on internal grounds, and

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[851] Monument of the Antigonid *Progonoi* (Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 196 31): Courby 1912, 74–83; inscription: *IG* XI.4 1096 (= Durrbach 1921–1923, 43–44 36); first reported: Holleaux 1908, 165–170. Hintzen-Bohlen 1992, 98 suggests that the middle axis of the ship in the *Neorium* crossed the *Progonoi* monument at the first statue; if deliberate, this is not evidence that they form part of a single project.

[852] Courby 1912, 39: "c'est dans la période comprise entre les années 246 et 239 – date de la mort du roi – que le Portique aurait été construit ou, tout au moins, que la construction en aurait commencé."

[853] Courby 1914, discussing *IG* XI.2 219.A.29 (a few years before 260, now: 271 [see Tréheux 1959, 1:146, reaffirmed by Tréheux 1986, 301]) and *ID* 291.b.20 (soon after 248; now: one or several years after 248).

from later reanalysis of the inscriptions[854]. More important in our context, however, is to recognise that Courby's repeated insistence on a longer period of construction has been lost in the universal notion of a Portico appearing as a manifestation of Antigonus' triumph. Nevertheless, that qualification was justified. In his detailed publication, Courby discussed evidence for a change of plan during construction,

[854] Leaving aside the hegemonical frame, Courby's argument is unfortunately invalid on a variety of counts: first, it requires that we understand ἱερὸν in a restrictive sense, only applying to the sanctuary of Apollo proper; otherwise the multiple stoas being, for example, cleaned in *ID* 291.b.17–18 could be the Portico of the Naxians and the Portico in the *Artemisium* (Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 207–209 46), referred to in *IG* XI.2 159.A.44: ἐκ τῆς στοᾶς τῆς ἐν τῶι Ἀρτεμισίωι. This latter reading seems, however, by far the more plausible, especially given the emphasis of Bruneau, Tréheux and Hamilton on the human aspects of these inventories and accounts. Second, Courby's argument is undermined by a slippage from his recognition of a date soon after 248 ("peu après 248") for the inscription later published by Durrbach as *ID* 291 to a date of 248 for its completion (298); he provides partial justification by arguing that the cleaning of the porticoes mentioned in *ID* 291 implies that those porticoes must have been finished by then; even if accepted, this argument does not mean that this portico was completed by 248. In addition. *ID* 291 is a particularly problematic group of fragments clustered into thirteen groups, and Durrbach in *ID ad loc* does not even insist that they all derive from the same year: "une ou plusieurs années à 248, où Badros (d, l. 42) fut archonte". Hence the date *c* 248 should be considered particularly approximate.
We mention this additional difficulty not so much because it is important for Courby's argument that the Portico must date before 246, when he allows Antigonid hegemony to resume, - we noted above his insistence on the duration of construction, - as because of the later increased focus on this early date for the Portico: *cf* Vallois 1944, 1:37: between 253 and 250, before the *Second Ptolemaea* in 249; Hintzen-Bohlen 1992, 88, preferring to date the Portico to Antigonus' resumption of hegemony in 255 (dating the battle of Cos to that year); as ever, Bruneau 1970, 552–553 points out the difficulties with these hegemonically derived dates, and prefers to withhold judgement, beyond dating the monument in broad terms to Antigonus Gonatas.
Note also the important rereading by Tréheux 1986 of *IG* XI.2 219.A.29, as part of his recognition that *IG* XI.2 219, 220, 221 and 229 join: *SEG* 36.731. Where Durrbach, and Courby both read ἐκ τῆς στοᾶς τῆς ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι ἐξενέγκασι, he read ἐκ τῆς στοᾶς τῆς ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι ἐξενέγκαντι. The lacunose context means that the precise meaning cannot be clear but the rereading argues against emphasis on the stoa as being the only stoa in the sanctuary at that time as argued by Courby and implicit in the earlier translation "transport depuis le Portique du sanctuaire" (with Hellmann and Fraisse 1979, 92), in favour of it being the portico that leads out (of? or into?) the sanctuary, where we might perhaps assume that ἐξενέγκαντος has been attracted into the dative by the preceding ἱερῶι, or that there is perhaps a looser construction in use. This reference is unique. The resulting argument against Courby's *terminus post quem* of 260 for the existence of only one portico is perhaps less significant than the recognition that we have no evidence that the Delians ever did refer to any portico as *the* portico in the sanctuary, and, hence, no argument based on opposition between one and multiple stoas can be accepted. Courby's identification of τὴν στοὰν ἣν ἀνέθ<ε>σαν Νάξιοι (*IG* XI.2 287.A.89: 250 (= Prêtre and Brunet 2002, 87–124); *cf ID* 291.b.17–18 and *ID* 292.98) can thus perhaps point to an increased contemporary awareness of a need to differentiate porticoes, and so to the ongoing construction or recent completion of porticoes, but it does not mean that in 260 or at any recent point, the Delians had had but one. On the identification of the Portico of the Naxians: 334n811.

including redundant foundations, foundations demolished during construction, and three different intercolumnar distances in the same colonnade. This evidence all indicates ongoing changes during construction, and plausibly a longer period of construction[855].

Translating these changes into a specific necessary duration of construction is almost impossible. It is, however, unnecessary. It is enough to allow that they argue against understanding the Portico as a grand monument conceived and constructed as part of a single grant and impetus that occurred effectively independently of the dynamics of the sanctuary itself. Instead, the construction of the Portico formed part of an important restructuring of the sanctuary which the reorientation of the *temenos* wall indicates is inseparable from the Portico itself. We have no reason to deny that Antigonus Gonatas (and perhaps his successors) did primarily fund the Portico. Indeed, our argument here might allow us to reassess the role of Demetrius II in the sanctuary: rather than diminished interest, perhaps arising out of wars he had to fight elsewhere, his continued investment might have been clear precisely through continued progress on and completion of the Portico[856]. Whenever construction started or ended, however, and whichever Macedonian king was involved, the presence of the inscription and its claim of patronage over the land it surveyed should

[855] On the foundations: Courby 1912, 16–17, on the colonnade: Courby 1912, 17–19.

[856] On wars elsewhere as justifying Demetrius' lack of monumental activity, see, *eg*, Hintzen-Bohlen 1992, 155. Because of the focus following Courby 1914 on the period before 248 (and after 260), scholars such as those noted in 366n854 have not subsequently tended to explain their date for the Portico except in justifying the particular connexion to the hegemonical narrative they envisage. A reanalysis of the architectural remains in the light of our deepened knowledge of parallels and of the overall chronology of Greek archaeological practice might well provide insight.

not blind us to the equally central structural aspects of the Portico, through the expansion which it centred[857].

The south(-west) Portico and the Portico of Philip

With the expansion involved in the construction of the Portico of Antigonus, the sanctuary probably reached its physical limits: to the north was the sanctuary of Leto, where the Agora of the Italians would later be built, and to the south-east, the Agora of the Delians: although the surviving remains there date to the second century, earlier phases are recognised[858]. The area immediately to the south-west of the sanctuary does seems still to have been open, which may have been an acknowledgement of a processional *dromos* that passed through this region into the sanctuary. Perhaps more probable, however, is that it remained open was because of the low-lying position of the land, which had made this area previously unsuitable for construction.

Probably contemporaneously with the expansion centred round with the Portico of Antigonus, however, construction started in this area[859]. By the time the Delians lost

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857 *Cf* Coulton 1976, 56, stating that no portico excavated in Macedonia was similar in design to that of the Portico of Antigonus; the plan is similar to that of the Portico of Philip in Megalopolis, but Pausanias 8.30.6 specifically states that that portico was not built by him. On the financing of stoas and other public buildings, see Coulton 1976, 13–17.

858 The Agora of the Italians: Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 219–222 52; the surviving complex seems to have been started in the last third of the second century (Lapalus, et al 1939, 97: post 115), was never completed, and was abandoned about the middle of the first century; publication: Lapalus, et al 1939. On the temenos of Leto that seems to have stretched behind the Portico of Antigonus, see Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 222–223 and Vallois 1929, 208–209.
The Agora of the Delians: Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 258–259 84; earlier phases: Vallois 1944, 1:64–65 and 1:161; called the "Portique Tétragone" in the original publication: Durrbach 1902, especially 490–505 and 550–551.

859 Contemporary with: the South(-West) Portico was certainly in use by *c* 230 (see 370n860), but has not been fully published, making a closer dating so far not possible; the Portico of Antigonus was certainly constructed about this time, but, as argued at 366n854, we cannot, *pace* Courby 1914 and subsequent scholars, insist on a date before 248; instead, Demetrius II might have been involved, which would

their independence in 167/166, this area would look like a monumentalised *dromos* flanked by porticoes in which were displayed dedications and honorific monuments. First was built the South(-West) Portico, often associated with the Attalids[860]; later, facing it, was built the Portico of Philip, plausibly after additional expansion and the draining of this area through the works on the harbour attested for the late third century[861]; finally, a longer portico was built behind the Portico of Philip facing the

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explain his current apparent monumental silence. Whether so or not, given the length of time these monumental constructions would have taken, contemporaneity is plausible. The fact that Vallois 1923, 161, in identifying three phases of Delian architectural practice, placed both Porticoes in the same group, supports their rough contemporaneity, but cannot do more.

In addition, Vallois 1944, 1:66–67 suggests that the ἐπιμεληταὶ τῆς στοᾶς mentioned in 269 (*IG* XI.2 203.A.10–11) might have been working on the South(-West) Portico; if accepted, this suggestion would again support the contemporaneity of work, and provide a further indicator of how long these monumental constructions could take to build. They could, however, as easily have been working on the Tetragonal Stoa, for example, part of which at least dates to the early third century, or even early phases of the Portico of Antigonus, which Vallois seems not to consider as an alternative, perhaps because he dates the construction to 253–250. On the merits of this date, see 366n854.

860 The South(-West) Portico (Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 168 4) has never been fully published; discussion: Vallois 1944, 1:65–67; Bruneau 1970, 570; Hintzen-Bohlen 1992, 110–112. Vallois 1923, 3, in his publication of the Portico of Philip, writes of the suspension of work on the South(-West) Portico owing to the premature death of his collaborator, the Dane, Gerhard Poulsen (in 1918), and looks to the publication of the buildings to the east of the dromos (hence, including the South(-West) Portico) in a second volume. This volume has unfortunately never appeared. In its absence, the date of the South(-West) Portico is established by the *terminus ante quem* for the bases that demarcate it, on the plausible assumption that these were built around it, rather than the reverse: see further 373n865.

Note that there is no obvious reference to previous phases under either Hellenistic Portico, while Durrbach 1902 rather implies that the land to the west of the Agora of the Italians was open (see, *eg*, 550–551). Vallois 1923, 139 is explicit he recognised no earlier building under the Portico of Philip, but the absence of full publication for the South(-West) Portico makes certainty there impossible.

861 It is perhaps no coincidence that ἐπιμε]ληταὶ τοῦ χώματος are first attested in 217 (*ID* 355.12). On the development of the port, and the shore: Duchêne and Fraisse 2001, replacing the earlier analysis at Paris 1916; Bruneau 1981, 108–119; more briefly and specifically on the changes in sea-level: Duchêne 1993, 118–122; Duchêne, Dalongeville, and Bernier 1995; for the suggestion that the Portico of Philip was part of a programme reclaiming land from the sea: Duchêne 1993, 120.

The Portico of Philip (Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 167 3); publication: Vallois 1923; further brief discussion: Vallois 1944, 1:67–68; Bruneau 1970, 553; Hintzen-Bohlen 1992, 144. Dedication: *IG* XI.4 1099 (= Durrbach 1921–1923, 72–74 57); Homolle 1880a, 215–217 8. Homolle 1880a, 216–217 originally argued for 205 to 196 from his perception of a Macedonian hegemony in the Cyclades then, but the standard approach since Vallois 1923, 154–163 has been to connect the Portico with the commencement of Attalo-Antigonid hostility. Vallois argued for a date for the commencement of construction *c* 210, nominally by stylistic analogy with the Hypostyle Hall finished around that time as well as by connecting construction with the decision by Attalus to join the Aetolo-Roman alliance in 212. This date has become orthodox, but only the political connexion justifies such a close dating *c* 210, - on which, note also Vallois' emphasis on commencement alone ("le point de départ des travaux"

sea, and an additional room built to the north of the Portico of Philip so that the two porticoes remained overall the same length[862].

This complex is justifiably, although unusually for Delos, often approached as a unit: they will have formed an impressive entrance into the sanctuary. Where pilgrims might previously have left their boat, walked along the outside of the Portico of the Naxians and then turned into the sanctuary, they would now have had to walk between these two long porticoes. Considering the porticoes as a pair also illustrates how they well they function together. When taken in isolation, it might be argued that the Portico of Philip diminished the profile of the earlier Portico, by blocking the view

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[162]). Otherwise, the Portico of Philip could date even on Vallois' tripartite stylistic analysis as late as 180: Vallois 1923, 161. Note that, of the two buildings he identifies with his third style, the bent portico ("Portique coudé") is still dated by Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 258–259 84 to the first third of the second century, but the other, the last phase of the *Artemisium*, they now date to the second half of the second century (209). The letter forms of the inscription are also quite developed, with parallel hastas on the sigma, and broken-bar alpha, but these letter forms cannot be conclusive between a late third and second century date given the fluctuation seen at this time and the unusual monumental context. *Cf* on Vallois' *terminus post quem*, Schalles 1985, 67–68 for discussion of Attalo-Antigonid hostility prior to 212.

862 The extensions to the Portico of Philip: Vallois 1923, 77–110. Vallois is repeatedly insistent that the West Portico and the North Room formed part of a single project, with a single set of foundations visible to the north, where they conjoin, and that that later project was completely separate from the earlier Portico of Philip: see additionally 26, 163–164, with figures 22, 23, 28, 29 for photographs and plans illustrating how the foundations abut the Portico of Philip but are separate. This latter division remains valid even if the Portico of Philip is down-dated. The differences in the superstructure may suggest the West Portico and North Room may have been completed at different times or by different teams, but they were conceived together. Vallois 1923, 163–166, followed by Vallois 1944, 1:67–68, argues against Roussel 1916a, 294–297 that they should both be dated to *c* the 180s, not to after 167/166. Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 167 is ambivalent ("peut-être dès 180"). In the absence of votives erected in this area to act as *terminus ante quem*, certainty seems impossible.
There has never been any attempt to attribute a particular donor to these extensions; they could be a further Antigonid donation, by Philip or by Perseus, but there is no particular reason to think so. Many kings are attested as active on Delos in the early second century (see, *eg*, Vial and Baslez 1987), and, in the absence of a surviving dedicatory inscription, no votive has been identified for this region, let alone one that is particularly programmatic, such as the bases from which the Attalid connexion with the South(-West) Portico was posited. Indeed, the apparent paucity of votives in these spaces, noted at 376n866 (rather than along the façade of the north room, which formed part of the dromos), may suggest that these spaces maintained a primarily commercial use (although this does not preclude them being bestowed on the city by an unknown donor.)

from the sea. Even as it did so, however, its construction opposite the earlier Portico acknowledged its presence, and, as its mirror image, made it both functionally and symbolically still more impressive. If the earlier Portico is considered an Attalid monument, then, however fraught their external relations, the dynasties could rather be understood as distinguishing themselves from other donors by a form of in-group dedication, - although Philip, as the later donor, can still have been making manifest his ultimate superiority within this social frame by the greater splendour of his own marble-laden dedication[863].

This analysis is appealing. We should not, however, approach the decision to construct the South(-West) Portico in the light of this later context: when originally constructed, it lay more than twenty metres from the entrance to the sanctuary in an area not used for dedications. By the time the north room was added to the Portico of Philip, there were many dedications and inscriptions in this area, and we can be sure that a concept of a monumentalised *dromos* had developed. Fifty years earlier, however, the situation was very different.

Two further aspects suggest that a retrojection of this later context is invalid, and flattens a diachronic trend in the development of the sanctuary. The first aspect is the contrast between the design of the South(-West) Portico and that of the Portico of Antigonus and of the Portico of Philip. The South(-West) Portico was not just a

[863] *Cf* Hintzen-Bohlen 1992, 145, recognising the acknowledgement and enhancement, although not the in-group differentiation, whereas Schalles 1985, 67n423, although recognising the enhancement, considers it paradoxical, - which it only is on the presupposition of exclusivity discussed at the start of this study (see 319), - and Vallois 1923, 162–163 believes that the Portico of Philip would have reduced the status of the South(-West) Portico and would have been displeasing for the donor.

portico. Instead, it also had shops at the back. This design is not unparalleled for a portico, but it is different from the other two monumental porticoes[864]. This design suggests that at the time at which it was constructed, its intended function was different from that of the Portico of Antigonus, and, crucially, also different from that of the Portico of Philip: that is, that the general conception of the use and function of this area had changed between the design of the South(-West) Portico and that of the Portico of Philip. By the time the Portico of Philip was built, the area was understood to be connected with the sanctuary. It was not the case when the South(-West) Portico was built; instead, the South(-West) Portico was both geographically and functionally the fourth side of the existing Tetragonal Portico of the Agora of the Delians, which lay immediately to the east, shared a similar design, and was directly connected to the shops in the South(-West) Portico by a passageway through its middle.

The second aspect arguing against retrojection of the dynamics which we can identify in this area in the 180s is the dating of the very monuments central to the hypothesis that the Portico itself was Attalid: the bases in front of the north-western and south-western corners of the Portico. These commemorate, respectively, Attalus' victory over the Gauls in 228, and his general in that campaign, Epigenes. This argument was made early in the archaeological analysis of the Portico by Durrbach, who also adduced the monument to Epigenes as a *terminus ante quem* for the entire Portico. Subsequent analysis, however, including two inscriptions that date slightly earlier, suggests that there is a chronological gap between the completion of the

[864] On the function, shape and history of porticoes: Coulton 1976, 1–13.

portico and these monuments. This gap has two important consequences: first, it further calls into question the common ascription of the Portico to the Attalids. Second, it further suggests that the symbolic value of the South(-West) Portico developed over time: no monarch saw the need to lay claim to this space immediately upon its creation. It was only after the portico had been erected, and the value of the space was recognised by, for example, Autocles of Chalcis, when he honoured his father, neither of whom is known to have had any royal connexions, that the Attalids intervened[865].

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[865] Durrbach 1902, 546–550 for 228 to 225 as a *terminus ante quem* for the portico from a discussion of the date of the base of the equestrian statue of Epigenes, the general of Attalus II (*IG* XI.4 1109 [= Durrbach 1921–1923, 70 53]). (Against the theoretical possibility that the base was moved, he notes that all the dedications in the Portico of Philip seem to date to the end of the third century or later also.) Roussel 1916a, 245n3 further identified *IG* XI.4 1088, *IG* XI.4 1090, *IG* XI.4 1168, *IG* XI.4 1193, *IG* XI.4 1194, and *IG* XI.4 1203 as from the Portico, and supported Durrbach's *terminus ante quem* by reference to *IG* XI.4 1193 and *IG* XI.4 1194, both of which he considered datable before 230. Both, however, may suggest a slightly earlier date: *IG* XI.4 1193 (= Baslez 1982b, 4:82 422, 4:83 425, and 4:107 523 was erected by Eumedes, the son of Philodemus, of Clazomenae, who was honoured by the Syrians (*IG* XI.4 1052) as an envoy of king Antigonus, most commonly reconstructed as Antigonus Gonatas. *IG* XI.4 1194 honours the Autocles, son of Aenesidemus of Chalcis honoured in *IG* XI.4 679 and *IG* XI.4 680, and so dates approximately to 239 to 229. Perhaps in recognition of this date, Durrbach 1921–1923, 69 ascribed the Portico to the second quarter of the third century, although he then continued to attribute it to Attalus I (241–197). More recently, scholars tend to emphasise the role of Eumenes I as responsible for the South(-West) Portico: Schalles 1985, 64: "Stifter"; Hintzen-Bohlen 1992, 110–111: "[d]ie Vollendung" (111) and Schwarzer 1999, 255: "die Vollendung". As a reflection of a belief in an earlier construction, and part of a reassessment of Eumenes I's role against that of Attalus' I in the development of Pergamene ideology and status, this emphasis is perhaps helpful, but the chronology would not exclude Attalus I also having been involved in the later stages of construction.
As argued here, however, there is no need for either king to have been involved. The shift to Eumenes from Attalus attempts to maintain the Attalid connexion by changing king even as part of the justification of the Attalid connexion, *viz* the close dating of Attalid bases and the portico, reduces. The entire argument departs from the presupposition that a king must be responsible, not least because of the responsion inherent in the construction of the Portico of Philip. *Cf* the suggestion at Vallois 1944, 1:67, deriving from his belief that the South(-West) Portico might have been under construction in 269 (see 369n859) that the South(-West) Portico might have been a gift of Philadelphus completed by the Attalids after 246, - because, presumably, Philadelphus could not have been involved after his loss of hegemony, while the Attalids could not have been involved as early as 269; alternatively, he suggests an unfinished monument by Demetrius Poliorcetes taken over by the Attalids, which is still less plausible. These suggestions are, however, still valuable because they reflect an implicit recognition of an extended period of construction, even if framed in hegemonical terms.

Cumulatively, these considerations offer an alternative narrative to explain the progressive development of this area: first, dedicators of lesser status, who were not able to command such prestigious locations, began to erect inscriptions in and near the South(-West) Portico; second, Attalus I recognised the symbolic value of the portico reflected in this practice, and sought to establish his patronage over the area by erecting his own monuments there, rather than nearer the temple; his decision then further added to the prestige of the area, and, whether on the initiative of the Delians or of Philip himself, Philip sought to take advantage of the possibly newly available area to the west of the South(-West) Portico to inscribe his own involvement in the sanctuary and to contest the claim of the Attalids to patronage. By so doing, however, the dynamics of the area changed: pilgrims and processions either had to approach the sanctuary either right behind the Portico of the Naxians or on the side of the Portico of Philip furthest from the sanctuary through what effectively became a monumentalised *dromos*. Finally, perhaps because of the development of the town, perhaps because of the monumentalisation itself, the *dromos* became ever more used, allowing the gap between the *Propylaea* and the Portico of Philip to be blocked off with the north room which was later added to the Portico of Philip.

Although the porticoes flanked the processional route into the sanctuary, it seems that they were not conceived of as part of the sanctuary proper, either when the Portico of Philip was built, or even after the loss of independence. This conclusion is suggested by the reconstruction of the *Propylaea* soon afterwards, which indicates that

the boundary it represented remained important[866]. Instead, they formed an intermediate locus, and the area around the South(-West) Portico and the Portico of Philip came to possess a dual status: they were venues for display and associated with the sanctuary, but they were not part of the sanctuary proper. As we see below, this development is important in contextualising the broader context in which offerings were made after the loss of independence.

One final aspect that illustrates the difference between the South(-West) Portico and the Portico of Philip, and in the functional role of the Portico of Philip against the other three Porticoes, should be noted. Like the Portico of Antigonus and the *Neorium*, the design of the South(-West) Portico seems to have changed during

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[866] The *Propylaea* (Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 169 5); discussion: Vallois 1944, 1:238–242, still followed by Courbin 1980, 132; dedication: *ID* 1611. Papageorgiou-Venetas 1981, 33 envisages a further extension of the sanctuary to incorporate all of the area immediately to the south of the *Propylaea*, including the Tetragonal Stoa and the Western Portico, as well as the South(-West) Portico and the Portico of Philip. It seems unlikely that the Tetragonal Stoa and Western Portico formed part of the sanctuary; it is more plausible that the South(-West) Portico and the Portico of Philip may have done, but the reconstruction of the *Propylaea* seems on balance to suggest that they were still thought of as outside the sanctuary proper. *Cf* Courby 1914, insisting that there were only ever two porticoes in the sanctuary. (The uncertainty over the date of the North Room does not affect this argument as it was certainly built before the *Propylaea*: Vallois 1923, 164.)
Note, further, that, although the façade of the Northern Room that faced the monumentalised dromos became an important venue for display, the interior of the room, the interior of the western portico and even the exterior of the western portico seem not to have had this function: the remains of only six bases can be identified along the exterior of the western portico, even though that façade faced the sea, and only one of these bases does Vallois consider likely to date early in the period of Athenian control (Vallois 1923, 111: 103–108 on the plan). By contrast no fewer than thirty bases and exedrae can be identified on the east side of the Portico of Philip: Vallois 1923 61–90; a further ten can be identified along the southern end of the Portico of Philip and the Western Portico: 91–100.
Given how few inscriptions were found *in situ*, the way in which inscriptions can move quite far, and the less detailed recording techniques of the time, deductions from recorded find-spots can only be impressionistic; nevertheless, it is perhaps noteworthy how few inscriptions are recorded as having been found to the west of the Portico of Philip, as against the many found to its north, east, and south. Perhaps the most notable monument is the fragmentary exedra bearing an inscription honouring Laodice, the sister of king Pharnaces of Pontus, and so plausibly bearing a statue group of their family (*ID* 1555 and 1556). It is, however, telling that Vallois 1923, 136n3 notes that no suitable foundation in the area could be found for them. As he suggests, they may thus plausibly be an instance of such *pierres errantes* from another area of the sanctuary.

construction: Vallois notes changes in the material used for the antithema of the crepis, the material used under the thresholds, and in the style of fluting of the columns[867]. Importantly, these changes are datable to different points in the construction, suggesting that, like the previous two monuments discussed, the South(-West) Portico did have a long construction history. They may thus support the suggestion here that the South(-West) Portico should be understood in its initial construction as part of the development of the Tetragonal Portico, just as the *Neorium* and Portico of Antigonus were part of reconfigurations of the sanctuary. There is, however, no evidence of a change of plan during construction of the Portico of Philip. Instead, Vallois emphasises its unity of construction, and even suggests that it may have been produced by a foreign team because of the unique aspects of its construction history, although he does acknowledge some necessary local involvement, at least to procure local marble, and to explain what he considers mistakes in the implementation of the design[868].

Rather than requiring a foreign team of masons, however, we can attribute the uniqueness of the construction aspects precisely to the fact that, unlike the other three monuments here described, the Portico of Philip did not have broader ramifications on the configuration of the sanctuary: the *Neorium* had pivoted the expansion of the sanctuary to the south-east; the Portico of Antigonus had centred the expansion to the north-east; the South(-West) Portico formed part of the development involved in the

[867] Vallois 1944, 1:66n4; recognised also by Hintzen-Bohlen 1992, 111, who sees Pergamene influence in the facetted columns, but acknowledges that such a design is also found elsewhere. It may also be a sign of an architect who had worked at Pergamum rather than Pergamene royal involvement.

[868] Summary at Vallois 1923, 161–162.

Tetragonal Portico. The Portico of Philip was, however, uniquely, a discrete project. By running parallel to the South-West Portico, and almost exactly matching the length, it did add to the grandeur of the area, but it was not and could not be part of a broader reconfiguration. Like the *Neorium*, the Portico of Antigonus, and the festivals, however, it does plausibly represent the result of mediation between potential patrons and Delian officials: it not only forms in itself a further example of royal display in a structurally useful form, but it created further contexts for display.

Cumulatively, therefore, we see that the importance of the contextualised monuments to the sanctuary is, perhaps paradoxically, still greater than previous analyses focussing just on the monuments out of context have allowed. Crucially, however, they also urge that the role of the donors be reassessed: monuments elsewhere may have been built more quickly, but the monuments on Delos were not, so far as we can tell, acts of hegemonic will that arose in swift order in the aftermath of notable battles or victories. Instead, they were ongoing productions over several years, if not decades. The role that any single donor may have had in enabling construction necessarily thus has to be balanced against that of the structural effect each expansion had on the sanctuary as a whole as part of a conscious strategy to provide additional contexts for the display of votives, the gathering of pilgrims, and the other activities central to sanctuary life. The donors may well have 'bought into' these constructions as enabling their personal display, but, in so doing, they were also accepting a directed context for that display, just as was also the case with the vase festivals they endowed. We thus should envisage a more nuanced, balanced

relationship between donor and sanctuary and city than is often allowed, one in which the inherently competitive and mediated nature of the Delian space is fully recognised.

Delos in the late Hellenistic period

Both the analyses of festivals and monuments outlined above consider the dedications of select powerful states in the third-century Aegean: how they sought to differentiate themselves from other states and individuals who were also making use of the sanctuary through their endowment of festivals which were otherwise only endowed by Delians, and through sponsoring the erection of buildings central to the expansion of the sanctuary. Both narratives have also presupposed ongoing dedications of other forms by other states and individuals, as attested by the many other decrees, statues and other votives found or recorded in the sanctuary[869]. Here we demonstrate that, although the fashion of competitive endowment of festivals that we have been tracing above may have ended in the late third century[870], the underlying dynamics of display and competition remained central until the early first century.

For the early second century, the record provided by the inventories illustrates the ongoing nature of these dynamics in two ways. The first is the importance the Romans clearly placed on display in the sanctuary. All three consuls central to the Roman victories in the Second Macedonian War and the war with Antiochus are

[869] Honorific decrees, statues, and other monumental evidence epigraphically known from the time of Delian 'independence' (traditionally 314 to 167/166; on 314, see 254n707 and Appendix 6. Delian 'independence', 315/314, and *ID* 104-30, 450; on 167/166, see 327n800) are collected primarily in *IG* XI.4; individual votives attested in the inventories are presented in *IG* XI.2 and *ID* 290–509, many lacking dedicatee's names, let alone ethnics, and reviewed in Hamilton 2000, particularly the tables at 78–181 and 202–243; for a discussion of one aspect of foreign involvement in cult on Delos at this time: Bruneau 1970, 93–114.

[870] On possible reasons, see Appendix 7. Endowments and monuments after 200, 493.

recorded as making donations in the sanctuary: Titus Quinctius Flamininus, *consul* in 198, and victor of the battle of Cynoscephalae in 197 dedicated a gold crown; while Lucius Cornelius Scipio, *consul* and victor of the battle of Magnesia in 190, dedicated one gold crown, and sponsored an olive gold crown dedicated by the Delian maidens perhaps on his way out to Magnesia, and another gold oak crown plausibly on his return; and Cnaeus Manlius Vulso dedicated a further gold laurel crown. Their fleet commanders were just as assiduous, with Lucius Quinctius Flamininus, the *praetor* of 199 who captured Euboea for his brother, probably offering a golden pin; and gold laurel crowns being dedicated by Aulus Atilius Serranus, *praetor* of 192 and the commander of the Roman fleet during the war with Antiochus, who Livy notes intercepted and destroyed a convey of Antiochus' supply ships between Andros and Euboea; by Atilius' successor as commander of the fleet, Caius Livius Salinator, *praetor* in 191, who was detained at Delos and beat Polyxenidas at the battle of Corycus; and by Quintius Fabius Labeo, *praetor* in 189, who crushed fifty of Antiochus' ships off the coast of Patara and celebrated a naval triumph. A further crown was offered by L Aemilius Paullus, probably while a *decemvir* restructuring Asia, and other officials may also be visible[871]. In considering this evidence,

[871] For a recent broader review without extensive discussion of Delos of what he terms Roman cultural diplomacy at this time, see Bloy 2000.
The two most complete inventories by far are *ID* 439 and *ID* 442 dating from 181 and 179; our records for later periods are less complete, but a gold crown offered by Caius Octavius, who commanded the Roman fleet against Perseus, and a laurel crown offered by Q Marcius Philippus is also attested. References in brackets are to the appropriate reference in the extended table at Hamilton 2000, 78–181.
Γναίου Ὀκταίου ὑπάτου (D 160) = Cnaeus Octavius: *ID* 1429.A.12
ἀνάθημα Κοίντου τοῦ Μαρκίου ὑπάτου (D175) = Q Marcus Philippus: *ID* 1429.a.31–32; *ID* 1450.A.69
Λευκίου ἀνάθεμα Ῥωμαίου (C 209) = Lucius Quintus Flamininus: *ID* 439.a.77; *ID* 442.85
Τίτου ἀ[νά][θεμα Ῥωμαίου (C 210) = Titus Quintus Flamininus: *ID* 439.a.77–78; *ID* 442.85–86
Αὔλου ἀνάθεμα Ῥωμαίου (C 211) = Aulus Atilius Serranus: *ID* 439.a.78; *ID* 442.86

moreover, we should also recognise that these Roman officials were engaging in a practice which is recorded for many prior kings, and in which the Antigonids and Attalids were also engaging at the same time[872].

Γαίου Λειβίου Ῥωμαίου (C 212) = Gaius Livius Salinator: *ID* 439.a.78–79; *ID* 442.86
Λεύκιος Κορνήλιος Σκιπίων στρατηγὸς Ῥωμαίων = Lucius Cornelius Scipio (C 219, C 220): *ID* 439.a.81–82; *ID* 442.89–90
Γναίου Μαελλίου στρατηγοῦ Ῥωμαίων = Cnaeus Manlius Vulso (C 253): *ID* 439.a.90; *ID* 442.99–100
Λευκίου Κορνηλίου Σκιπίωνος στρατηγοῦ ὑπάτου Ῥωμαίων = Lucius Cornelius Scipio (C 254): *ID* 442.100–101
Πόπλιος Ποπλίου Κορνήλιος στρατηγὸς ὕπατος Ῥωμαίων = Publius Cornelius Scipio (C 256): *ID* 442.102
Κοίντος Φάβιος Κοίντου υἱὸς στρατηγὸς Ῥωμαίων = Quintus Fabius Labeo (C 257): *ID* 442.102–103
Λεύκιος Αἰμύλιος στρατηγὸς Ῥωμαίων = Lucius Aemilius Paullus (C 258): *ID* 442.103–104
Various chronological and other cruxes underlie this list, and are discussed by Durrbach in *ID*: rather than interpret the reference to Λεύκιος Κορνήλιος Σκιπίων as στρατηγὸς as a reference to his term as *praetor* in Sicily, Durrbach is surely right to allow the interpretation of *consul* here (as for Manlius Vulso later); in addition, the distinction between στρατηγὸς and στρατηγὸς ὕπατος may reflect Delian perception of Lucius' status on his way out to his victory at Magnesia and on his return, not any formal change in status: for further discussion, see Durrbach *ad loc*.
Lucius Aemilius Paullus is explicitly called στρατηγὸς Ῥωμαίων; during his first consulship, however, in 182, he was active in Liguria. This crown is thus perhaps better associated with his membership of the commission restructuring Asia minor in 189/188 (Livy 37.55): στρατηγὸς Ῥωμαίων (used often for *praetor*, as also for *consul*) is probably a loose interpretation of his position in 189/188, which may have seemed equivalent to a propraetorship.
The earliest attested Roman activity on Delos could be a problematic reference in *IG* XI.2 115.25 (259), on which see Durrbach in *IG ad loc*, but more plausibly is the dedication of an unknown Roman in *ID* 296.B.48 (C 244); note that Durrbach dated *ID* 296 soon after 244, but Tréheux 1959, 1:159–16, and 4:494 both firmly date *ID* 296 to 241 in anticipation of a later discussion, on the basis of a reanalysis of *ID* 295, 296, 297, 300, and 301, all of which formed part of the same stele.
Durrbach in *ID* is more hesitant than Homolle 1887a, 72 and Holleaux 1918, 153, preferring not to identify Lucius Quinctius Flamininus, where the clustering seems to support the suggestion that this is a valid identification, or Lucius Opimius (see below). Some gifts by Romans are (almost) certainly not connected with imperial activity: Μίνατος Μινάτου Τήιος Ῥωμαῖος ἐκ Κύμης (*ID* 442.147–148): the Staius family has no known senior figure at this time; the Τίτος Ῥωμαῖος mentioned in *ID* 439.a.81, *ID* 442.89 is specified as being Τίτος Μέντιος Ῥωμαῖος (*ID* 427.11). Other gifts are less clear, especially where but a praenomen survives: Λεύκιος Ὄππιος Ῥωμαῖος (*ID* 442.148–150 [*c* 329]) is probably Lucius Oppius Salinator (*pace* Durrbach); his connexion with campaigns in Greece is attested by his involvement in 197 as tribune of the plebs in Flamininus' extended command against Philip; his interest in the sea by his position on the Sicilian coast in 192, and as *praetor* on Sardinia in 191. His later career is unknown. Κοίντου Ῥωμα[ίο]υ (*ID* 439.32; *ID* 442.33–34) could be an Italian on Delos, as suggested by Durrbach; alternatively, he could be Q Catius, recorded by Livy as taking plunder in 205 from Hannibal to Delphi (Livy 28.45) who may perhaps have continued to Delos; or Quintus Antonius, who was sent to the Phocaeans in 190 by the Praetor Aemilius Regillus (Livy 37.32.8); but such identifications are not overly plausible.

[872] Eumenes II (C 252, 255, 260, 292): *ID* 442.B.99, *ID* 439.a.91 = *ID* 442.B.101, *ID* 442.B.105; *ID* 442.B.129–130.
Philetaerus, son of Attalus (and brother of Eumenes; D 126): *ID* 1421.B.cd.I.6–7.

Still further activity is recorded by another unique source only possessed for a few years in the early second century: the financial inscriptions which record loans made to enable expenditure by the Delian *polis* on statues and crowns for various monarchs, and, more rarely, other powers, including Rome[873]. Although fragmentary, moreover, these inscriptions occasionally allow crowns to be ascribed to a specific year, and so record Delian engagement with different powers in the same year: Philip V, Eumenes II, and the Rhodians were all awarded crowns in 181, as were Perseus, Prusias, and Eumenes II in 175. What the monarchs had done to deserve the award is not directly specified, but can occasionally be reconstructed: thus, Massinissa's crown, awarded in 180, seems to have formed part of a broader exchange, involving a gift of grain in the same year. Whether the crown was thanks, or proleptic encouragement for the significantly larger gift of grain, is unclear: as so often, the questions of priority and of agency cannot be answered with certainty. Nevertheless, in the competitive environment of Delos, we can set the crown awarded Massinissa alongside that awarded Philip in the same year, and those being awarded to other kings at this period, and so understand the exchange involved as a way for Massinissa to display his status as Hellenistic king, and so as equivalent to the other kings who had also received such crowns from the Delians[874].

Philip (D 204): *ID* 1450.A.77
Queen Stratonice [presumably the wife of Philip V from the position] (D 203): *ID* 1443.A.125–126 = *ID* 1450.A.77
Perseus, son of Philip (C 129): *ID* 442.B.56;
Demetrius, son of Philip (C 180): 442.B.76–77.

873 For a detailed discussion: Vial and Baslez 1987, 281–293, with table at 282.

874 Crowns for Philip V, Eumenes II, and the Rhodians in 181: *ID* 442.A.24–26 and 63–65 (= Prêtre and Brunet 2002 159–193).

For the period after 167/166, the many inscriptions surviving similarly confirm that Delos continued to be an important locus of display for Hellenistic kings and others even beyond the role it possessed as the base (and so perhaps natural location of erection of inscriptions) of the many traders who came to call it home through the rapid growth that seems to have happened in the second century[875]. The phenomenon of other cities occasionally recording decrees or honours there also continues[876]. Rather than either 200 or 167/166 marking a shift whereby the dynamics of display which we have been tracing shifted, the change seems to have been more gradual, with the most significant change occurring in 88: by this point, the structural changes that had been ongoing had undermined Delos' relevance to the point that when Delos was sacked by Mithridates, her systemic position could not be rebuilt.

The importance that the kings continued to place on Delos may be reflected in the evidence for continued competitive placement of bases. Because few bases were found *in situ*, such analyses are rarely possible, but some cases are indicative. For

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Crowns for Perseus, Prusias, and Eumenes II in 175: *ID* 449.A.11–23.
The phrasing of most references does not allow certainty as to whether the recipients were physically present, or the crown was sent to them, but the crown for the Rhodians in *ID* 442.A.25 and 65 is specifically τὸν εἰς Ῥόδον. Note that Prêtre and Brunet 2002 translate "envoyée à Rhodes", surely correctly, but the original is not so explicit.
On Massinissa's gift, see the discussion at Vial 1984, 138–139; Vial and Baslez 1987, 291; and, particularly, Gauthier 1988, convincingly arguing that no Rhodian ambassador was involved in this transaction, as previously believed. Proleptic encouragement: on proleptic honours, see Domingo Gygax 2009.

875 To focus on royal dedications, those dedications dating after 167/166 are collected in *ID*: *ID* 1525–1539 honour Ptolemies or their officials; *ID* 1540–1553 Seleucids or their officials; *ID* 1554 is an offering of Attalus II; *ID* 1555–1574 honour the kings of Pontus or their officials; *ID* 1575–1576, the kings and queens of Cappadocia, *ID* 1577, 1579, and 1580, the kings of Bithynia; and *ID* 1581 and 1582, the Arsacids. *ID* 1583–1585 cannot be connected with a specific king; and *ID* 1586 honours Herod the tetrarch. *Cf* a total of thirteen inscriptions honouring Roman emperors: *ID* 1587–1599.

876 This custom seems infrequent even before 167/166: only ten are known (*IG* XI.4 1049–1058); five are known after 167/166: *ID* 1551, and 1601–1604.

example, the base of Epigenes erected by Attalus I at the south-west corner of the South(-West) Portico has already been mentioned. Immediately to its north was erected soon after *c* 130–129 a monument to Antiochus IX Cyzicenus, the son of Antiochus VII Sidetes, and to his *tropheus* Craterus[877]. Perhaps because our evidence for the later Seleucids is less detailed than the earlier kings, and the individuals mentioned in the inscription are not otherwise well attested, this base cannot currently be closely dated or contextualised. In a general vein, however, it can be placed in the context of Antiochus IX's attempt to build up support either prior to his return to Syria in 114/113 to contest the kingship with his half-brother Antiochus VIII Grypus, or at any point during the following years before his death in 95[878]. The position of *tropheus* held by his fellow honorand Craterus is only otherwise attested for Diodorus, the *tropheus* of Demetrius I according to Polybius, but this parallel is telling: Diodorus was sent to Syria to prepare for Demetrius' arrival to claim the throne[879]. Both were clearly high functionaries, even if no more can be ascertained, and they may well have had a role analogous to Tryphon for Antiochus VI Dionysus prior to the latter's death in 142. Sosistratus, the son of Sosistratus, from Samos, who offered the base, also is noteworthy: he is not otherwise known, but proudly claimed that he

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877 Base to Antiochus VII: Vallois 1923 base 6, with inscriptions *ID* 1547 and *ID* 1548 (= Durrbach 1921–1923, 178–179 109 and 110); discussion: Vallois 1923, 147. Initial publication: Homolle 1880a, 217–219, connecting the inscription with Antiochus, first son of Antiochus the Great; the initial identification of Sidetes is due to Dittenberger 1903, 415–417 255–256, for prosopographical reasons; it is supported by Vallois 1923, additionally noting that base 6 overlies the foundation of base 7, and so must post-date it.

878 Or, indeed, prior to 114/113. Despite Antiochus IX's early successes, the war seems to have continued sporadically until Grypus was murdered in 96. Antiochus IX was then himself killed by Grypus' eldest son Seleucus VI in 95. For a recent reassessment of the history of the Seleucid era at this time: Ehling 2008, including, on the period of Antiochus IX's rule and the years either side: 200–246.

879 Polybius 31.12–13; his *tropheus*: 31.12.3.

was among Antiochus' leading friends. The base thus may not have been erected by the king himself, but it clearly has significant political import[880].

The placement of the base is also noteworthy. It is clearly deliberate, and central to the symbolism of the dedication: it is not just in a prominent position, where pilgrims approaching from the shore had to turn towards the sanctuary, but specifically alongside the base of Epigenes, victorious protector of the Greeks of Asia Minor against the Gauls. So too, Antiochus IX can have been claiming a role as protector of those self-same Greeks against a different alien enemy: the supporters of his own brother. Even though Antiochus IX may not have been directly responsible for this base, the rich symbolism involved in the dedication suggests that both he, his rivals, and his subjects all maintained an interest in the sanctuary, and that the sanctuary maintained a certain pre-eminence as a location for display.

This political reading becomes still more plausible when we situate this monument in the context of three monuments associated with his rival, Antiochus VIII. One of these was a statue erected to the south of the Portico of Antigonus by his kinsman and secretary, Bithys, son of Thraseas. Again, Bithys is unknown, but this statue has a pair in another erected to Antiochus VIII by the Laodicaeans. Confirmation, if it were needed, that Bithys and the Laodicaeans were not erecting statues in a place that

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[880] On all three: Grainger 1997, where no other activity for Sosistratus (Savalli-Lestrade 1998, 86 88) or Diodorus (Savalli-Lestrade 1998, 68 66) is known; Craterus (Savalli-Lestrade 1998, 83–84 84) is also known from a reference to Porphyrius of Tyre in Eusebius (*FgrHist* 260 F 32), where he is called a eunuch, but this description need not be historically accurate; it could instead represent an accretion of propaganda or later tradition because of his position. More generally on *philoi*, see Savalli-Lestrade 1998, 287–394, especially 374–384 on the Seleucids, and Ehling 2002, especially 51–52, and Capdetrey 2007, 287–289. For a recent discussion of Tryphon's activities and the years either side: Ehling 2008, 164–200. He unfortunately does not contextualise this inscription.

Antiochus VIII did not himself consider of relevance is provided by the statue that Antiochus VIII himself erected of Cnaeus Papirius Carbo[881].

A similar ongoing concern for Delos is visible for the Ptolemaic kings. Here the honours awarded the kings themselves by groups of merchants and others who may have been settled on the island are significant, but do not automatically confirm continued Ptolemaic royal interest in the sanctuary. In the context of statues erected by Ptolemy IX Soter II himself, and of honours granted Ptolemy IX by his own officials, however, they can validly be adduced[882]. The Ptolemies, like the Seleucids, thus seem to have continued to see Delos as an important venue for the erection of honours even in the late second century, in which they needed to maintain a presence.

If we only consider these dedications independently of Seleucid and Ptolemaic activity prior to 167/166, they can still validly be contextualised specifically around the activity of these named kings. When we connect them to Seleucid and Ptolemaic activity prior to 167/166, however, they become still more significant. They become late instances of an ongoing chain of involvement in the island, that, for the Seleucids,

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881 The statue of Antiochus erected by Bithys: *ID* 1549 (= Durrbach 1921–1923, 199–200 120); the statue of Cnaeus Papirius Carbo offered by Antiochus, from an unknown location: *ID* 1550 (= Durrbach 1921–1923, 200–201 121) and Courby 1912, 87; the statue of Antiochus erected by the Laodiceans in the agora of Theophrastus: *ID* 1551 (= Durrbach 1921–1923, 201 122). Carbo is reconstructed as governor of Asia on the basis of *ID* 1549, probably as *propraetor* prior to his consulship in 113, rather than afterwards.
Bithys is not otherwise known. Grainger 1997 suggests that he may have been part of an Aspendian family that also included Ptolemaeus, son of Thraseas, a governor of Palestine in the 190s. Savalli-Lestrade 1998, 87–88 90 seems more sceptical. The precise weight of Bithys' title is again probably less important than the implication of personal access to the king.

882 *ID* 1530: a Ptolemy (either Ptolemy Alexander or Ptolemy IX Soter II), honouring his mother.
ID 1531: Ptolemy IX Soter II.
ID 1532: Areius, an Alexandrian who claimed to be τῶν πρώτων φίλων, honouring Ptolemy IX Soter II.
ID 1535: another man claiming to be τῶν πρώτων φίλων, honouring Ptolemy IX Soter II.

can be traced regularly from the offering of *phialae* by Antiochus III and Seleucus IV, and the erection of a statue to Antiochus III by the Delians, through the erection of two statues of Antiochus IV, and the honouring of a Menochares, a *philos* of Demetrius I[883]. Similarly, for the Ptolemies, their presence is visible in the offering of a *phiale* by Ptolemy V in 179¸ and in the successive honouring of officials of Ptolemy VI and VIII prior to the activity of Ptolemy IX Soter II[884]. The frequency of contact by the Seleucids before and after 167/166 is perhaps about the same; that of the Ptolemies is less than in the third century, but both dynasties still clearly saw Delos as a space for expressing their dynastic profile.

This reading is further confirmed when our focus moves beyond these dynasties. We saw earlier how Prusias, Eumenes, and Massinissa were active on Delos in the early second century. So, too, in the middle of the century, two statues of Mithridates V of Pontus, who can never had had any claim on Delos, and one of a courtier, were erected[885]. Perhaps more remarkable, however, is the dedication of Nicomedes II for the king Massinissa. In itself, it had nothing to do with Delos, and neither king could ever be considered to have dynastic pretensions in this area. Nevertheless, Delos was a suitable place of the acknowledgement of their good relations, just as it was for the

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883 *Phialae*: of Antiochus, first attested at *ID* 396.B.49; of Seleucus IV, at *ID* 443.B.b.76. Statue of Antiochus III: *ID* 399.A.47–49 (= Prêtre and Brunet 2002, 143–158). Statues of Antiochus IV: *ID* 1540 (= Durrbach 1921–1923, 146–148 87 and *ID* 1541. Honours for Menochares: *ID* 1543 (= Durrbach 1921–1923, 148–149 88. For other evidence of earlier Seleucid royal involvement on Delos, only including cases where royals are directly involved: Bruneau 1970, 573–576.

884 *Phiale* of Ptolemy V: *ID* 442.B.139; Chrysermus, an official of Ptolemy VI: *ID* 1525; Lochus and Polemarchus, both called συγγενῆ of Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II.

885 Mithridates V: *ID* 1557 and *ID* 1558 (= Durrbach 1921–1923, 168–169 99); Dionysus, *philos* of Mithridates V: *ID* 1559 (= Durrbach 1921–1923, 170–171 100).

Pisidians to honour Marcus Antonius: it was still a significant place of international display[886].

This phenomenon is not unchanging: we can, for example, identify an ongoing shift in the locations of display, as an extension of our argument above about the blurring of the boundaries between sacred and secular space that was involved in the development of the area around the South(-West) Portico and the Portico of Philip. As argued above, this area seems not to have been understood as part of the sanctuary: long after they were built, the Athenians refurbished the old *Propylaea* between these porticoes and the sanctuary. They did not build a new monumental gateway outside them[887]. Nevertheless, dedications explicitly to Apollo which date both before and after the loss of independence are found in this area, including the programmatic base to Epigenes[888]. This distribution suggests that, even though the physical sanctuary remained limited, the virtual sanctuary had already extended beyond those physical bounds in the late third century. For dedications later to appear elsewhere in the city is but a further extension of this, as is indicated by the parallel statue bases of Antiochus

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886 Nicomedes II: *ID* 1566 (= Durrbach 1921–1923, 158–159 93); believing that the monument was erected while Massinissa was alive, Durrbach dated the dedication to 149/148. Roussel and Launey in *ID* consider it possible that he was dead, and so allow the dedication to float within the bounds of Nicomedes' reign: 149–128. Hatzfeld and Roussel 1909, 484–486 11 hypothesise that Massinissa may have helped Nicomedes in the seizure of his throne from his father. They are followed by Durrbach and by Roussel and Launey in *ID*, but there is no other evidence for such an interaction.

887 The decree of Prostaenna in Pisidia for Marcus Antonius: *ID* 1603 (= Durrbach 1921–1923, 202 123). See especially 372–377.

888 *IG* XI.4 1109 (= Durrbach 1921–1923, 70 53). Later monuments in the region include that of Lucius Babulius for Scipio Aemilianus (= Durrbach 1921–1923, 159–160 94) found in place before Portico of Philip, and the Delian decree for Marcus Antonius (*c* 97): *ID* 1700 (= Durrbach 1921–1923, 227–228 139).

IX found beside the base of Epigenes and inside the Agora of Theophrastus: both dedicate the statue to Apollo[889].

Nevertheless, it is important not to exaggerate this shift in the locations chosen for display. At least in the Hellenistic period, outside actors had long been involved in the broader life of the city: just as the Delian endowed festivals to Apollo and Aphrodite may well have involved cultic activity and procession to the *Aphrodisium*, so too the Antigonid festival to Pan may have involved activity at the *Panium* attested near the theatre[890]. The statue of Ptolemy IX Soter II dedicated to Zeus Cynthius and Athena Cynthia stands in this tradition[891]. Nevertheless, the breaching of the *temenos* walls represented by the practice of erecting inscriptions in the two porticoes outside the *Propylaea* can provide a conceptual link between the more restricted monumental practice of competitive dedication in the sanctuary of Apollo proper before this point, and the more diverse monumental practices after 167/166. We thus do not need to insist that inscriptions without find spots, or which were found near the stadium must have come from the sanctuary in order to understand them as illustrating the desire of the various dynasties to make manifest their presence on Delos. In the larger, and perhaps more diverse city of the second century, it can have been as appropriate to erect a statue in the vicinity of the stadium and dedicate it to Apollo, as Ptolemy IX Soter II did in 111/110, as so to do inside the sanctuary.

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889 *ID* 1549 and *ID* 1551.

890 The only cult sites known to Aphrodite and Pan are in the theatre district, not in the sanctuary of Apollo: the *Aphrodisium* (Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 261 88, on the map between 292 and 293), and *Panium* (Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 299 116c, also on the map between 292 and 293); see further on later evidence for Pan: 439n1008; Delian festivals to Aphrodite (in both cases, as well as to Apollo): the *Stesilea*, and *Echenicia*; for discussion: 348n832.

891 *ID* 1532.

Conclusion

This study first briefly establishes with reference to the archaic period the idea of Delos as a contested space in which different states sought to inscribe their presence by reference to the early development of the sanctuary. It then emphasises the underlying continuity in Delos' position as a locus of display even in the Classical period, where our sources emphasise almost exclusively Athenian activity; and then analyses the dynamics of the sanctuary and island in the Hellenistic period in detail by reference to two related phenomena: the establishment of vase festivals both by Delians and by external powers seeking to inscribe themselves on the sanctuary and the island; and the controlled monumentalisation of the sanctuary.

Where previous studies have identified a wide range of donors for these endowments, the reanalysis here suggests that they should be more narrowly categorised as either created by Delians, or by foreigners attempting to claim a role as patron on the sanctuary and the island. Hence, we can sharpen the symbolic power of such festivals, even as our recognition of their chronology and contemporaneity requires their power to be framed in terms of competition and manifestations of and demands for status, rather than as statements of hegemony. Rather than insisting on achronic, ahistorical competition, moreover, we are able to identify fashions of competition that seem to have operated at different times: the foundation of festivals by prominent external powers seems to have been a third-century phenomenon and the rise and decay of that phenomenon can be explained; understanding this chronology

also explains why the first Ptolemaic foundation was not 'challenged' without immediate recourse to hegemony.

We then turn to reassess the monumentalisation of the sanctuary in the Hellenistic period, analysing in turn the four most significant buildings from this time. We do not deny a role for individual donors in enabling their construction: on some level, the buildings were themselves objects of display, and individual buildings may have monumentalised their donors' claims to pre-eminence. Nevertheless, we point to the evidence for chronologically extended construction, and emphasise the effects of each building on the space and form of the sanctuary itself. We thus argue that they are not statements of hegemonic control. Their duration, form and placement instead point to the dedications as the result of socially embedded mediation between sanctuary officials and donors, as might be expected in a competitive environment in which multiple donors were active. The dynamics are thus analogous to those traced for the archaic period, where various cities seem to have sponsored similar buildings, and they also plausibly suggest we can validly read ongoing Delian mediation even in the classical period, where our literary evidence presents one city, Athens, as having dominated the landscape.

Finally, we turn to the evidence for dedications after 200. The evidence for dedications by Roman generals of a similar form to those offered by the Hellenistic kings at this time argues that the form of competition had changed, rather than the underlying dynamic. Instead, the dynamics of competition and display remained a prominent factor in the life of the sanctuary at least until the systemic crisis caused by

the Mithridatic sack. Although the placement of most surviving dedications is unknown, moreover, the few that have been found *in situ* around the Portico of Antigonus and the Portico of Philip suggest that dynamics of competitive placement and responsion remained relevant, while our recognition of the blurring of boundaries between the sacred and secular even in the third century allows us to understand even the statuary erected outside the sanctuary after 167/166 as an extension of previous practice. The sanctuary and city remained critical as a locus of display, and the identification between the two remained strong even as the city beyond the sanctuary developed in size. The donations of individual kingdoms may have diminished in number as they became weaker or their interest in the Aegean changed, but Delos remained an important locus of display until it was sacked by Mithridates: hence why he put so much effort into maintaining a presence there, and then took the effort to destroy Delos. The Romans were not alone in their ability to perform such symbolic gestures.

As a whole, this analysis thus argues for greater continuity across 200 and 167/166 than is often allowed. We can occasionally catch glimpses of Rome's growing influence in the Aegean, but there is no radical shift in 167/166, in 146, or at any other time in the second century. The continued existence of these dynamics thus perhaps provides a further metric against which to trace the development of Roman imperialism in the region. Where these eastern kings have commonly been understood from a Romano-centric position as 'client kings', the dynamics seen here again confirm that, at least in the late second and early first century, they did not see

themselves in those terms, but as independent monarchs interacting on the international stage. A cumulative benefit of this analysis is thus to rebalance our understanding of the chronology of Roman imperialism at least here in favour of the aftermath of the Mithridatic Wars and Pompey's campaigns.

More important in this specific context, however, is the recognition that Delos was never the domain of a single hegemon prior to 88, even Rome; instead, it was an open space where potential patrons could make manifest their presence and interest. The development of the sanctuary on Delos thus may and should be used as a valuable broad indicator of the presence and interest of different poles in the Hellenistic Aegean, as it is also of the broader changes in the political, social and economic environment that occurred as cities, leagues, and kings competed for patronage, status and position in the multipolar space that was the Aegean.

Appendix 1. Micythus and the Delians after 167/166

We argue that a clear division is visible between two classes of donors of endowments: those that are Delian, and those that wished to present themselves as performing euergetic patronage in the sanctuary, whether royal or Aetolian. The sole apparently insurmountable complication in this division is the attested ethnic of Micythus, the founder of the first of these festivals: after 167/166, certain references

attribute offerings to Micythus, the Syrian[892]. Rather than being problematic, however, this group offers us new insight into the fate of one Delian family.

In approaching this crux, we can be reasonably certain that Micythus was not considered Syrian (or otherwise foreign) prior to 167/166. First, we know that the Delian lists do sometimes differentiate by status, such as when metics acted as *choregoi*[893]. They do not always so do, but Micythus is mentioned several times, and never with an ethnic. Instead, his name is most often given alone; once, it is given with patronymic followed by a lacuna, where the ethnic could stand, but the context is very fragmentary: anything could follow, and the absence of ethnic elsewhere suggests that it is unlikely here[894].

Second, prosopographical analysis reveals later generations of prominent Delians who could be connected to this Micythus: for example, an Acridion, the son of Micythus, who was *choregos* for a tragedy in 255; a Micythus (his son?), who was *hieropoios* in 207; another Acridion, son of Micythus (his son?), who was *hieropoios* in 174; and, plausibly, a Micythus, a wood merchant active in 281 and 274[895]. It does still remain possible that Micythus may have been a metic, or only have become a

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892 Following Baslez 1982b, 4:190 934 and Tréheux 1992b, who justly connect the offerings of Micythus, the Syrian, mentioned in inventories after 167/166 (*eg*, *ID* 1409.A.a.I.91, 106; *ID* 1441.A.II.17, 30–31, *ID* 1450.A.142, 148) with the *Micythia*.

893 *Choregoi*: *eg*, *IG* XI.2 128.14–15, 15–16, 21–22.

894 Lacuna: *IG* XI.2 117.12.

895 Acridion, *choregos*: *IG* XI.2 116.11; Micythus, *hieropoios*: *ID* 365.15, 56; *ID* 368.4 et al; Acridion, *hieropoios*, *ID* 456.A.1, *ID* 458.36 et al; Micythus, renter: *ID* 320.B.93; Micythus, wood merchant: *IG* XI.2 159.A.19, and *IG* XI.2 199.A.33. Note that Tréheux 1992b identifies the wood merchant with the Micythus who founded the festival, despite his earlier argument at Tréheux 1959, 2:208 that the merchant could not be the same man because of the significant chronological gap, at least thirty-five years. Tréheux's earlier judgement seems wiser. If the wood merchant is connected with the family, he may be the son or grand-son of the Micythus who founded the festival, and so father of the Acridion who was *choregos* in 255.

citizen later in life, but these two related reasons provide strong justification for believing that Micythus was, in fact, a citizen[896].

The strength of this evidence, however, merely makes the apparent paradox involved in his description as a Syrian after 167/166 all the more pointed. To explain this apparent inconsistency, we can argue that the label of Syrian reflects the status and citizenship of the prominent family that constituted his descendants after their eviction from the island in 167/166. Long ago, Roussel argued from a disjunction between references to the musician Amphicles as Delian and as Rhenaean that the Delians who remained on Delos may have been called Rhenaeans[897]. We could here have a trace of a prominent family that decided not to stay on the island, but abandoned Delos for Syros. Their ancestral endowment remained, however, and perhaps pointedly so: both the Acridion attested for 174, and an unattested son, who may even have been homonymous with his great-great-great-great-grandfather, Micythus, can have been politically mature and active about the time of the Delian expulsion. In addition, whether or not we accept Tréheux's brilliant conjecture that the *Micythia* might precisely be dated to the year in which the Delians gained greater control of the sanctuary (*viz* Delian 'independence'), the *Micythia* may well have gained that symbolic connotation because it had been founded close to that time; it was the oldest surviving endowment; and because the family continued to be

[896] *Pace* Tréheux 1959, 2:208–210, despite his awareness of the frequency of the name on Delos (2:208n3, illustrating with reference to Micythus, the *hieropoios*; see further 394n895), and his suggestion of acute political significance behind this gift: see below. Tréheux justly notes that most cults in antiquity, including on Delos, seem to have been open to all, and also points to the parallel with Eutychus, who he believes to be the banker from Chios, not a Delian, as here. On this question, see Appendix 4. Delian endowment dates and people, 417, especially 440.

[897] For full discussion, see 328n801.

prominent. Hence, perhaps out of officiousness, perhaps as a conscious statement to deny the Delian heritage of the family, various administrators (though not all) decided explicitly to note that Micythus was Syrian, not Delian[898].

As the inscriptions that record Delian presence back on Delos all date after *c* 120, and the inventories which refer to Micythus seem to date between just after *c* 167/166 and *c* 140, we cannot thicken our chronology of the travails of the Delians from this suggestion[899]. Nevertheless, if we are correct to identify some political machinations behind the identification of Micythus as Syrian, we perhaps here see one response to the ongoing strife recorded in Polybius about the fate of the Delians after their expulsion.

Appendix 2. Principles behind dating Delian endowments

The date we offer in our discussions is the year in which the first *phiale* or other offering is attested or thought to have been given, according to the evidence summarised for each festival. Depending on the evidence, this year is sometimes reasonably certain, as, in general, for the festivals of the middle of the third century. In other cases, this year should be understood more as a *terminus ante quem*, as, in general, for the festivals towards either end of the third century, where we have

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[898] *ID* 1429, *ID* 1432, *ID* 1449 do not refer to Micythus as Syrian, nor do the scanty remains of *ID* 1403. *ID* 1441 is not consistent. There is no chronological logic to the clusters. On Tréheux's conjecture, see further Appendix 4. Delian endowment dates and people, 417, especially 419, and Tréheux 1959, 2:210–211. On the date and significance of Delian 'independence', see Appendix 6. Delian 'independence', 315/314, and *ID* 104-30, 450. Despite this conjecture, Tréheux continued to believe that Micythus was foreign. There is no necessary inconsistency, but his conjecture seems more logical if Micythus was Delian.

[899] 167/166: *ID* 1449; *c* 140: *ID* 1451; 140/139: *ID* 1450.

occasionally offered ranges instead. Even when our analysis is the same as the analysis of Bruneau and other scholars, however, the year we give is commonly a year later than the year most often quoted in previous scholarship.

Here we outline two revised principles that underlie the dates we offer. First, we demonstrate the existence of additional annual offerings which cannot simply represent delayed or missing offerings from earlier years: we thus cannot assume either a maximum or an average of one offering in a single year, when we calculate the date of first offering from our inventories. It is not clear whether these additional offerings always resulted from an additional celebration of the festival, or can have been the result of a particularly lavish celebration, but this detail does not affect our argument. Second, we explain the history of the principle whereby a year's delay is posited between the date of endowment, and the date of first offering. Such a delay may seem logical to modern scholars, but it has only ever been posited to explain the evidence for two endowments, the *Philetaeria* and the *Gorgieia*. Neither explanation has ever been indispensable, and the explanation for the *Gorgieia* is now invalid. Generalising the principle to apply to all endowments thus cannot now be justified, particularly in the light of the downward pressure on dates involved in the recognition of multiple annual donations.

1. The principle of multiple offerings in a single year

No scholar, including Tréheux himself, has yet incorporated into discussion the repercussions of Tréheux's reanalysis of the inventories of the *Prytaneum*, in

particular his brief discussion of the *Philonidia*. There, he observed a paradox wherein an inventory from 200 includes thirty-nine unnamed σκάφια φιλωνίδεια, pointing to 239 as the date of first offering, according to current interpretations, but an earlier inventory from 221, which lists offerings by name, only goes back as far as 233 (Anaxithemis II). Noting that our inventory from 221 included three years in which two offerings are recorded, - 233 (Anaxithemis II); 229 (Menethales), and 227 (Lycades), he suggested that we could reconcile the inventories by allowing for other years with multiple offerings: hence, we should accept 233 as the probable date for the first offering[900].

It is possible that Tréheux would have expanded on the implications of this paragraph in a more extended discussion, - perhaps in the second section of his thesis, which he never completed. As it is, however, whenever he did later consider other possibly similar situations, he seems always to have done so on the assumption that additional offerings represented delayed dedications, or somehow compensated for previous offerings that had not been made. This more restricted understanding of the meaning of multiple offerings also underlies Bruneau's approach, and is sufficient to explain many difficulties[901]. It is, however, inadequate for the *Philonidia,* because

[900] 200 (Sosistratus): *IG* XI.2 128.I.29–30, 36–38, 58; 221 (Aristoboulos): *IG* XI.2 124.63–72. *Philonidia*: Tréheux 1944, 275; with discussion of the text of *IG* XI.2 128 at 272–274.

[901] Tréheux 1959; in his analysis of the *Stesilea*, Tréheux does discuss why certain offerings seem to be additional or missing (2:475–480). The discussion of additional offerings emphasises how they make up for missing earlier offerings, however, and does not explore how to reconcile offerings that cannot be so easily explained. This principle is thus essentially a reformulation of the narrower principle outlined by Schulhof 1908, 116–118, rather than a recognition of the ramifications of his discussion at Tréheux 1944, 275. This narrower principle also underlies Bruneau's attempts to explain anomalies in the record; see, for example, his approach to the over-representation of Ptolemaic festivals, and the possible identity of the *Ptolemaea* and *Theuergesia;* see further Appendix 3. Multiple and missing

there is no unrepresented year to which to allocate the additional offerings. In fact, as Tréheux himself noted, each of twelve years between 221 and 233 is explicitly represented.

How are we to resolve this difficulty? The first double offering in 233 could perhaps be explained on the narrower principle, as the result of delayed dedication, or to make up for a missed year. With no missing year between 233 and 227, however, the extra offerings in 229 and 227 cannot be so easily justified: a delay of three years is attested, but to posit a delay of seven years between dedication and entry into the inventory seems implausible. Instead, they are more plausibly additional offerings in their own year, either arising because the festival was celebrated twice, or because the festival was celebrated particularly lavishly in that year[902].

There remains, however, the problem of the additional *scaphia* in the inventory from 200. If the *Philonidia* did only start in 233, then thirty-nine *scaphia* are still three too many even after we allow for the three double offerings in 233, 229, and 227. We could posit a higher endowment date for the *Philonidia*, but this solution requires us to explain why these earlier offerings were not visible in the 221 inventory, despite its detailed coverage of the years from 233 to 221. This option is possible, but it is

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offerings and their import, 408; Appendix 5. The *Third Ptolemaea* and the *Theuergesia*, 445; and Bruneau 1970, 525–528.

902 Three year delay: see 424n951, and Tréheux 1959, 1:133–134. We strictly cannot distinguish between repetition of a festival and its lavish celebration: both can in theory result in two offerings being recorded in the inventory. The possibility of double celebration entered scholarship because of the existence of two sets of expenditures on torches for the *Ptolemaea* festivals in *Hieros*, 224 (*ID* 338.A.a.23 and 24). It would be possible to explain this record in other ways (for suggestions, see 410n924), but our argument does not depend on denying the Delians the possibility of celebrating a festival twice, or of making two offerings from one celebration.

more plausible is that these additional *scaphia* had not yet been offered in 221. Instead, they represent a minimum of three further additional offerings made between 221 and 200[903]. It necessarily follows that, where we simply know the total number of offerings made, we cannot equate number of offerings and number of years, assuming either a maximum or an average of one offering per year. Instead, just as years may be missing, so they may be over-represented.

As we see below, this principle further supports the importance of taking the bare date of first offering attested or as reconstructed as the date central to further discussion, rather than adding an extra year's delay between endowment and first offering: some dates may need to be lowered, not raised. In addition, however, it has four important consequences which we explore elsewhere. First, although it does not affect those foundations from the middle of the third century for which the offerings are listed by named *archon*, and where the first *archon* named is consistently the same (*eg*, the *Second Ptolemaea* and *Third Ptolemaea*), it does affect the dating of those festivals where the date has been established from the total number of offerings attested prior to a certain date: one prominent case is the *First Ptolemaea*, where the first offering need no longer be dated precisely to 279, as almost ubiquitously since Tarn; instead, a lower date is perhaps more plausible[904]. Second, it calls into question

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[903] A minimum of three additional offerings: because some years may have been omitted between 221 and 200, allowing for additional offerings that both were and were not explicitly intended to make up for those omitted years. Except in the context of a reasonably complete inventory including *archon* names for specific offerings, such as we here possess for the *Philonidia*, it is impossible to specify precisely what offering history lies behind our inventories. We can, however, recognise the full range of options.

[904] Tarn 1913, 136n50; strictly, Tarn's approach differs from subsequent scholarship in that he wrote before the principle of a year's delay between endowment and first offering was established. In dating the first vase to 279, he left open the question of how far before 279 the endowment was made. See

Bruneau's strongest argument for the *Theuergesia* being a separate festival from the *Third Ptolemaea*: once we allow for multiple offerings per festival, there is no need to posit a fourth 'Ptolemaic' festival to explain the number of offerings attested[905]. Third, it resolves the apparent difficulty involved in a certain double attestation of the *Ptolemaea* in *Hieros* in 224: again, multiple offerings, or multiple iterations of the same festival, can have been involved, rather than different festivals[906].

Finally, it casts further doubt on the only evidence that provides a Delian *terminus post quem* of 315 for Delian 'independence': we can no longer assume that thirty *phialae* must have been offered over the course of thirty years. This series of silver *phialae* remains important both in being a plausible precursor for the Hellenistic endowments discussed at greater length in this chapter, and in further illustrating the Delian reaction against the Athenian presence on the island. It does not, however, inform us as to the date of the nebulous notion of Delian 'independence' in any of its possible guises: the end of Athenian dominance, the end of the amphictyonic presence in the sanctuary, or the start of the primacy of the *hieropoioi*[907]. Hence, as all four

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further Appendix 4. Delian endowment dates and people, 417, including, specifically on the *First Ptolemaea*, 425.

905 Bruneau 1970, 525–528; see further Appendix 5. The *Third Ptolemaea* and the *Theuergesia*, 445.

906 *ID* 338.A.a.23 and 24. The debate around *ID* 338.A.a.23 and 24 has been expressed in terms of repetition because of the unique nature of the record, involving two sets of expenditures. As noted at 399n902, however, the effect of a double celebration and a lavish celebration can have been the same: two offerings. Except in this specific case, we thus cannot distinguish between the repetition of a festival and its lavish celebration, but also do not need to for the purposes of our argument.
On this crux, and more generally, on the phenomenon of multiple donations from royal endowments, see Appendix 3. Multiple and missing offerings and their import, 408.

907 As implicitly already recognised by Chankowski 2008, 232–233, who dates the final *phiale* to 314/313 but still dates Delian 'independence' to 314; and, explicitly by Tréheux 1959, 1:189–198, who considers the final difficulty he recognises with the *phialae* "un signe inquiétant" (197–198), and, because of his reanalysis of this series, did not just retract his earlier argument for September 314, but

examples demonstrate, particularly the final discussion, an awareness of this principle has to be central to any reconstruction of the endowments, to Delian chronology, and to all arguments thence derived.

2. *The (in)validity of positing a delay between endowment and offering*

One significant discrepancy between the dates we offer and those in previous scholarship arises because these earlier dates derive from the general assumption that, because the offerings were paid for by the interest on the initial capital, a year had to pass before the first offering could be produced. This view is logical, if not incontrovertible: would the donor not perhaps have wanted his offering immediately to be acknowledged? The difference of a year may also be thought unimportant. For our purposes here, it perhaps is: as the principle is assumed to be universal, it does not affect the relative dating of the festivals. When analysing the intricate arguments that have been presented partly on the basis of the perceived secure dates of these festivals, however, a year can matter, both because these higher Delian dates particularly for the royal festivals as discussed by Bruneau have effectively become accepted in broader scholarship, and because Bruneau did not himself reopen this question, but instead indicated that he was following previous scholarship despite his doubts[908]. Even when

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also his belief in 315 as the *terminus post quem* for Delian 'independence'. See further Appendix 6. Delian 'independence', 315/314, and *ID* 104-30, 450.

908 Bruneau 1970, 522, in the context of discussion of the *First Ptolemaea*, where he indicates that, because the first offering dates from 279, the endowment should date probably ("vraisemblablement") to 280, because, on principle ("en principe"), the first offering should date a year after the establishment of the endowment. In his footnote, he notes that 280 is the date generally accepted ("généralement admise") with examples, and offers no further comment beyond noting Durrbach's suggestion that Ptolemy could have offered a sum for the first year to pay for the first offering: Vallois 1931, 302–303. He later tends to accept the higher dates without explicit comment. As, however, he is strongly arguing against the

authors explicitly recognise that argument is not water-tight, moreover, underlying flexibility can be lost or missed in the presentation of final conclusions.

For example, Buraselis' detailed and painstaking discussion concluding in favour of 246 or 245 for the battle of Andros arises from a connexion between that battle and the Antigonid festivals on Delos, but the earliest vase is actually attested for 244. Buraselis is very careful to emphasise his awareness of this fact, but because he considers the foundation of the festival a year beforehand most probable ("höchstwahrscheinlich"), understandably does not repeat this premise in concluding a date of 246 or 245 for the battle[909]. In so doing, however, he established a new orthodoxy established precisely around 245 or 246, not 244 to 246, with the higher Delian date accepted as a rigid *terminus ante quem*[910].

Such higher dates may be on broader historical grounds preferable. A closer analysis of the Delian evidence, however, indicates that they cannot be thence justified. As so often, moreover, a brief review of the historical origins of the

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close correlation between the foundations and the vicissitudes of political history, a general discrepancy of a year is, as here, less important to his argument: see in particular 579–581.

[909] Buraselis 1982, with frequent reference to Bruneau 1970, 515–583, including specifically to his brief discussion of the yearly discrepancy at 522, although note the discrepancy between Bruneau's "vraisemblement" (522) and Buraselis' "höchstwahrscheinlich" (243); see further below. General discussion of the battle of Andros without conclusion as to date, explicitly because this date is connected to the endowments on Delos: Buraselis 1982, 119–141; discussion specifically of the Delian foundation dates at 141–144, with quotation at 143; explicit deduction that the battle of Andros happened in 246 or 245: 144–145, repeated again in the historical reconstruction (170–176), which culminates in the statement that it occurred in "246 oder 245" (176); *cf* the references to the founding of the *Soteria* and the *Pania* in 245 at 144 and 174.

[910] Accepted, among others, by Heckel 1986, 461: "late 246, ... or perhaps in 245"; Walbank in Hammond, Griffith, and Walbank 1972–1988, 3:306–307, and 583–600, especially 593: "246 or (more probably) in 245", and his timeline at 622; Hammond 1989, 313: "245" Errington 1990, 248: "245" Reger 1985, 155: "late 246 or early 245"; Reger 1994b, 33: "246 or 245 B.C."; Reger 1994c, 19: "late 246 or early 245 B.C."; Shipley 2000, 127: "possibly c.246". Some scholars, such as Walbank in Hammond, Griffith, and Walbank 1972–1988, 3:593 do mention the fact that the first attested vase falls a year later, but most elide this aspect.

orthodoxy reveals a specific crux that motivated the suggestion. It seems to have been Homolle who first suggested a year's delay between endowment and first offering specifically to explain how the first *phiale* of the *Philetaeria* could date to 262, even though Philetaerus died in 263. Only later did Durrbach generalise the rule, by reference to a second example, that of the *Gorgieia*, where a short list of attested offerings in a later inventory only reached as far as the year after that in which a Gorgias was attested as making an offering which plausibly formed the resulting endowment[911].

In reality, neither difficulty requires this solution: as Homolle and Schulhof already realised, the *Philetaeria* could have been founded as part of Philetaerus' testament, or perhaps in Philetaerus' honour after his death, perhaps by his nephew, and successor, Eumenes I[912]. The analogy we draw above with the *Philadelphia*,

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911 Homolle 1887a, 61; Gorgias' offering: *ID* 320.B.79 (229); the later inventory: *IG* XI.2 124 (221). Durrbach 1916, 305, where note especially "toujours"; *cf* Durrbach's commentary in *ID* on *ID* 298 *ad* A.63–107, where he admits the same principle, but explicitly states that he is applying it by analogy to the royal dedications, for which he has no proof: "on ne saurait démontrer, mais on peut induire, par analogie, qu'il en était de même pour les fondations de fêtes royales". *Cf* Tréheux 1959, which does not systematically address this issue, but always prefers to allow for a year's delay. Like Homolle and Durrbach, however, he recognises the difficulty. See Tréheux 1959, 3:470–471, where, in discussing the *Stesilea*, he initially allows that, in theory, the endowment could date to 301, the date of the first attested offering, if that first offering was paid for separately, and so enabled the immediate first celebration of the festival. Pointing to the *Gorgieia* as evidence for Durrbach's general rule, however, he then rejects this possibility as not based on any evidence.

912 Suggestions respectively offered by Homolle 1887a, 61 and Schulhof 1908, 106. Homolle's suggestion perhaps takes more account of the inventory notice that the Delian maidens made the offering after Philetaerus had offered the endowment ("ἐπιδόντος Φιλεταίρου"), but this bare reference could be interpreted in different ways. For the complete reference, see 348n832. Note also Durrbach's explicit statement in his revision of the *archon* list (Durrbach 1916, 304–305) that, that were it not for the connexion with Philetaerus, he would prefer to lower the date of Elpines, the *archon* attesting the first offering of the *Philetaeria* still further. By a virtuous circle, this statement supports our argument, while our argument here raises the question whether lowering the date of Elpines might an option on a reconsideration of the *archon* list as a whole. On the importance of the endowment lists both for the relative and absolute chronology of the Delian archons, see 324n797.

founded immediately before the *Philetaeria*, and soon after the death of Arsinoe II, makes foundation by Eumenes I perhaps the most plausible interpretation[913]. In addition, after the work of Tréheux and Hamilton, we are also much more aware even than Homolle and Durrbach already were that lacunae could occur in the lists for a range of reasons, including because the festival may not have been held, or the offering not produced because of insufficient income from the endowment; because the list may have been miscopied; or even because of occasional variation in procedure[914].

Perhaps as a result of considerations like these, Durrbach was later more hesitant than he had been in his early discussion of the *Gorgieia*: even if the principle is valid for some festivals, it need not be for all. Similarly, as we noted above, Bruneau is also apathetic[915]. We can, however, now go further: our recognition of the variability of inventory practice offers an alternative solution to Durrbach's crux, which has seemingly so far not been recognised.

On this analogy, see 354n838. The inscription of the offerings for the *Philadelphia* and the *Philetaeria* is not exactly parallel: both are offered to Apollo, Artemis, and Leto, but those for the *Philadelphia* also associate Arsinoe Philadelphus (*ID* 298.A.79–80 vs *ID* 298.A.92–93). As argued in the main text, however, this difference is better ascribed to a difference in religious perspective on the part of the dynasties, however, rather than to a difference in the status of the dynasties on Delos. The cult of the *theoi adelphoi* is attested in Egypt as early as 272/271, whereas Attalid cult was much slower to develop; for further discussion: 354n838.

913 Indeed, both Durrbach's explicit statement in his commentary in *ID* on *ID* 298 *ad* A.63–107 (on which, see 404n911) and his attitude at Durrbach 1916, 304–305, especially 305n1, suggest that he saw no difficulty in the *Philetaeria*. Durrbach 1916, 305 may suggest that he (then) believed that the *Micythia*, *Stesilea*, and *Philonidia* also provide examples of foundations where the evidence requires a year's delay between foundation and first offering. If so, he seems never to have developed the argument, and, as Tréheux 1959, 3:371n3 agrees, the evidence seems reconcilable without it: the central case is the *Gorgieia*.

914 Beyond the references in 347n830 and 348n831 particularly to the work of Tréheux and Hamilton, see, on occasional variation in procedure, Vial 1984, 105n56 and 24. The possible impiety involved in not holding a festival perhaps make that option perhaps less plausible than the others.

915 Durrbach: as cited by Vallois 1931, 302–303; Bruneau: 396n908 and Bruneau 1970, 522.

The *Gorgieia* is unusual because we seem to have a record for the initial gift of 6730 drachms which formed the endowment. This gift is datable to 229, but, as Durrbach noted, the inventory for 221 contains offerings for the *Gorgieia* only until the year 228[916]. Durrbach could thus justly hypothesise a year's delay between endowment and first offering.

This inventory is, however, very confused, and lacunose. The entry for years 228 until 225 form one group, but other entries are intermingled with entries for the *Philonidia*, and *Micythia*, and are surrounded by lacunae which could well have mentioned further entries. In particular, there is an additional offering out of sequence dated to the *archon* of 226: Polybius. Entries for the years 226, 227, and 228 are, however, all attested[917]. Given how common delays in deposition are, this additional offering could plausibly be the offering from 229: a delay of three years is elsewhere attested. Alternatively, this offering could be an additional offering in the year 226, or, perhaps less plausibly, it could form the end of a chain of delayed deposition whereby the offering for 229 was only inscribed with the *archon*'s name for 228.

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916 229: *ID* 320.B.79.
221 (Aristoboulos): *IG* XI.2 124.68–70, 72–73, 75–77. Given the importance of the section, it is worth quoting in full: *IG* XI.2 124.68–77: φιάλην Γοργίου ἀνάθεμα ἐπ' Ἀμφ[ο]/[τ]ερῳῦ (228)· ἄλλη ἐπὶ Λυκάδ[ο]υ (227)· ἄλλη ἐπὶ Πολύβου (226)· ἄ[λ]/[λ]η ἐπ' Ἀνέκτου (225)· σκάφι[ο]ν Φιλωνίδος ἐπ' Ἀνέ/[κ]του (225) καὶ ἐπὶ Τιμοξένου (224)· σκάφιον Φιλωνίδος ἀνάθε[μ]α ἐπὶ Τιμοξένου (224)· φιάλη Γοργίου ἀνά/[θ]εμα ἐπ' ἄρχοντος Ξενομήδου (223)· [κάδ?]ον ἀνάθημα / [— —c.10— —]ΙΟΙ[. . . . .]ΛΙΙΛΟΙ Μικύθου ἀνάθεμα / [— — — ἐπὶ [. . . .]ου Γοργίου ἀνάθεμα ἐπὶ Ἰολ[ύ]/[β]ου? (226) [— — — — — — — — — — — —] φιάλη Γοργίου / [ἀνάθεμα ἐπὶ — — — —] vac. / vac.

917 *IG* XI.2 124.68–70; see 406n916. *IG* XI.2 124.75–76: Γοργίου ἀνάθεμα ἐπὶ Ἰολ[ύ]/[β]ου. The *archon* for 222, Πολύστρατος, is a tempting alternative, but is not consistent with Durrbach's reading; Tréheux did not question it in his discussion of the text in Tréheux 1944, or suggest any change in the completed sections of Tréheux 1959. The slight confusion in this area of the inventory list, wherein the entry for the *archon* for 225 is followed by offerings for the *Philonidia*, and further offerings for the *Gorgieia* are then interspersed with at least one for the *Micythia*, also allows the suggestion that the offering for 222 may simply have been omitted.

Such a situation might arise because the festival took place towards the end of the *archon* year[918].

The very variability in offering practice which we here identify means that Durrbach's solution of a year's delay between endowment and first offering cannot be excluded. Nevertheless, the confusion and lacunae in the inventory record from which this year's delay is posited means it is a less secure basis for analysis than that for the *Philonidia*, for example, and further argues against creating a principle based on this specific possible exception[919].

From all the above considerations, we can justly insist that no Delian evidence requires that a festival's foundation be placed a year before the first offering is attested. Nothing counts against the possibility. Our default position should,

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[918] Three year delay: see 424n951, and Tréheux 1959, 1:133–134.
See Appendix 3. Multiple and missing offerings and their import, 408, for a summary of this principle; for a brief illustration of its application, see Bruneau's discussion of the *Philetaeria* and *Attalia*: Bruneau 1970, 570–573. For a summary of the festival calendar, including references to two festivals, Eilithyaea and Posidia in month twelve, see 344n828.

[919] Note that Tréheux 1959, 3:470–471 seems to have developed Durrbach's argument, but in an invalid way which rather confirms the difficulty of establishing such rigid rules from our lacunose evidence. He does not cite *IG* XI.2.124, but instead analyses two later inventories, from 215 (*IG* XI.2 226.23; Tlesimenes) and 200 (*IG* XI.2 128.31–32 58–59; Sosistratus). He notes that twelve offerings (explicitly excluding 215 itself), and twenty-eight offerings (including one for 200) are attested respectively, before states that, from the principle of one offering per year, we can thus calculate the date of the first offering as 228.
Even though Tréheux explicitly noted that the twenty-eighth offering in 200 (*IG* XI.2 128.58–59) is from 200, he may perhaps have been misled into adding twenty eight to 200 to reach a date of foundation of 228. Alternatively, he may have been thinking of Durrbach's existing formulation from *IG* XI.2 124. Either way, the date that would be suggested by both inventories is 227, if we could maintain Tréheux's principle, - but we cannot, not least because of the additional entry for 226. The support offered by these inventories for 228 as the date of first offering for the *Gorgieia* is thus doubly illusory. Instead, they rather again illustrate that to insist on precisely one offering per year as a basis for reconstructing strong exact dates from our inventories is unwise.

however, be to date the festival to the time when the offering is first attested unless specific reasons, either internal or external, justify positing a delay[920].

Appendix 3. Multiple and missing offerings and their import

Scholars have long recognised the existence of multiple offerings from royal endowments in a single year, as well as years where no donation seems to have been made. Years without donations were easy to accept on the recognition that our inventories are incomplete, and also provided an explanation for apparent multiple donations which was seemingly first explicitly formulated by Schulhof: that the offerings bore the name of the *archon* in whose year the offering was recorded, not in which the festival took place. Where there seemed to be too many offerings in a particular year, it was thus possible to reassign the additional offerings to years which lacked them[921]. The number of cruxes this resolved, both for festivals where only one annual festival is normally recognised, such as the *Attalia* and *Philetaeria*, and even for those with multiple sequences, such as the *Ptolemaea* and *Antigonia*, meant that this principle has been universally accepted[922].

We do not here deny the validity of this principle, which has been very productive. Our examination of the *Philonidia* above, however, demonstrates that it is insufficient,

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[920] For a revised chronology for the endowments that incorporates this principle, and the earlier discussion, see Appendix 4. Delian endowment dates and people, 417.

[921] Schulhof 1908, 116–118, especially 116n4 for the crucial qualification regarding the name of the *archon*. As noted in 398n901, this approach also underlies Tréheux 1959, despite the ramifications of his earlier discussion at Tréheux 1944, 275; see more generally Appendix 2. Principles behind dating Delian endowments, 396. Note that there is epigraphic evidence for delay in receipt of offerings. For example, *IG* XI.2 164.B.2–3 (276), where the *hieropoioi* note that they received a *phiale* of the *Ocyneidaea/Thyestadaea* from Hypsocles, who was *archon* not in 277, but in 279.

[922] For a brief discussion of the principle, Bruneau 1970, 527; for an illustration, see his brief discussion of the *Philetaeria* and *Attalia*: Bruneau 1970, 570–573.

and that we have also to accept the existence of multiple offerings that do not compensate for earlier missed offerings. Here, we explore how this additional aspect resolves various difficulties, and offers new insight. First, we argue that the principle of additional offerings applied to foreign endowments as well as to Delian endowments, as our emphasis in the main text on their ultimate identity would imply. We establish this point by reference to an existing crux recognised by Bruneau: the difficulty caused by a certain double attestation of the *Ptolemaea* in *Hieros* in 224. Second, we argue that the ongoing creation of multiple offerings from royal festivals even in the late third century points to the ongoing recognition of the validity of the festivals established by the patrons. Third, we note that such multiple offerings seem to have been generated in the same years for several festivals. We hence argue that we should not look to explain this phenomenon to factors connected to the relationship of any particular power with Delos, whether hegemonic or not, but instead to systemic factors, including the possibility that the late third century, and specifically the 210s, were not a time of crisis on Delos, but of economic success. By extension, a similar less well-attested synchronic gap in attested dedications may then point to a period of economic difficulty in the late 270s.

1. The repetition of the Ptolemaea

In his discussion of the *Ptolemaea* festivals, Bruneau identified a crux which Schulhof's principle cannot help to resolve: on the synchronic assumption that festivals were always celebrated at the same time of the year, the certain double attestation of expenditures for the *Ptolemaea* in *Hieros* in 224 could result in four

celebrations of the *Ptolemaea* each year. Only three such festivals are, however, normally reconstructed: those referred to here as the *First*, *Second*, and *Third Ptolemaea*[923].

Bruneau offered two solutions: that one of the *Ptolemaea* festivals had moved between 246 and 224 (or 231), or that a fourth *Ptolemaea* existed in 224. He tended towards the latter explanation, particularly because he could connect this additional festival with the festival later attested as the *Theuergesia*. Another approach seems, however, preferable, in the light of Tréheux's discussion. Scholars might be tempted to dissociate the idiosyncrasies of the *Philonidia* discussed by Tréheux from the royal festivals in an attempt to preserve the broad unipolar narrative. Instead, however, the references here to multiple sets of expenditure for a *Ptolemaea* can be understood as epigraphic support for the notion that not only Delian festivals, but also the foreign festivals were occasionally repeated[924].

Whether such repetitions occurred for a specific religious reason, a specific political motivation (either motivated by the [descendants of] the donor, or by the Delians), or simply because sufficient interest had built up in the endowment to enable

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923 For evidence, and his discussion: Bruneau 1970, 523–525.
Double attestation of the *Ptolemaea* in *Hieros* in 224: *ID* 338.A.a.23 and 24.
Four celebrations of the *Ptolemaea* each year: once in *Metageitnion* (*ID* 290.91 [246]); once in *Artemision* (*ID* 316.89 [231]), and twice in *Hieros* (*ID* 338.A.a.23 and 24 [224]; and plausibly also to be restored in *ID* 316.77–78 and 80 [231]).

924 As noted above (399n902), our evidence elsewhere consists of multiple offerings, not of multiple expenses, and it is not certain that multiple celebrations of the festival lie behind the multiple offerings. It is, however, also strictly not certain here: the initial expenditure for torches for the *Ptolemaea* can have been found to be insufficient; or the *hieropoioi* can have belatedly decided to make this celebration of the *Ptolemaea* particularly lavish. To distinguish rigorously between these two phenomena would thus be unhelpful.

additional expenditure, we do not know. We also do not know which *Ptolemaea* was celebrated in *Hieros*, as the inscriptional evidence does not specify, and various permutations of the festival dates are possible. Nevertheless, whichever the festival involved, it is noteworthy that not only the festivals themselves, but also possible duplicate occurrences were being observed even late in the third century.

A scholar seeking to preserve a connexion between Delian festivals and the unipolar hegemonic narrative might perhaps argue that the reduplication of the *Ptolemaea* identified here supports the Huss' view of ongoing Ptolemaic dominance in the late third century, but we are wiser to join Huss himself in following Bruneau and dissociating Delos from such considerations. Three more plausible consequences do, however, follow: first, it can perhaps validly be used as evidence of an ongoing Ptolemaic presence and engagement to set alongside that for the Antigonids at this time. Second, it certainly does thicken the picture gained from Polybius, and it joins our redating of the numismatic evidence and discussion of the proxeny network in calling into question Reger's picture of the Cycladic islands as somehow more 'independent' from the outside world in the late third century. Finally, the systemic aspect of these reduplications, applying to both the *Philonidia* and the *Ptolemaea*, supports the emphasis here on the role of the Delians in the balance of agency between dedicator and sanctuary officials. This approach is further confirmed by the evidence for synchronic repetition and synchronic absence of multiple festivals[925].

[925] Huss 1976, especially 224n333, reaffirmed by Beyer-Rotthoff 1993, 222–229, especially 223n112, and Michlits 2008, 191–193. Reger 1994b. Michlits' discussion perhaps suggests that, although Reger's

2. *Synchronic repetition of multiple festivals*

A further clear instance of such reduplication, - seemingly not explored by Bruneau or elsewhere, - occurs in 209 (Anticrates), where two offerings are recorded for each of the *Antigonia*, *Soteria*, and *Pania*. Here, the second *Antigonia* offering could perhaps be explained as from the *Stratonicia*, but this logic cannot explain the two *Soteria* or *Pania* offerings[926]. Instead, it seems that all three festivals were repeated in this year. In this case, this phenomenon may be a sign of increased or high Antigonid presence, but we can be certain that it is not a sign of hegemony, as four offerings are also attested for the *Ptolemaea* in this year[927]. Indeed, comparison of the two monarchical festivals in this period shews a close alignment. With the partial exception of Epicydes (210), the absolute numbers of offerings donated and their fluctuation from year to year are similar: in years where many offerings were made from the Ptolemaic endowments attested at this time, so too were many from the Antigonid endowments. This similarity suggests that we should look to systemic reasons to explain the phenomenon, not to factors specific to a dynasty[928].

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approach is popular in anglophone scholarship, and, as noted as 297n749, has even been incorporated into the hegemonic cycle, it has had less influence in german scholarship.

926 Note that Bruneau did comment in his discussion of the phenomenon of apparently excessive numbers of *Ptolemaea* in *ID* 366.A.43–93 (Bruneau 1970, 525–528) that the same phenomenon of insufficient numbers of *phialae* for one year and increased *phialae* for others is also visible in the record for the *Antigonia* (527); and he did refer back to his discussion of the *Ptolemaea* when considering the same phenomenon for the *Antigonia* (562–563). He did not, however, include the *Soteria* or *Pania* in his discussion, or draw systemic conclusions.

927 *Antigonia*, *Soteria*, and *Pania*: *ID* 366.A.71, 72, 75, 82; *Ptolemaea*: *ID* 366.A.72, 73.

928 Up to four Ptolemaic endowments: *First Ptolemaea*, *Second Ptolemaea*, and *Third Ptolemaea*, and probably the *Theuergesia.*
Up to four Antigonid endowments: *Antigonia*, *Pania*, *Soteria*, and perhaps the *Stratonicia.*

Table 46. 'Ptolemaic' and 'Antigonid' endowment depositions by archon[929]

Archon	**Year**		**Festivals**	
Name	**Bruneau**	**Vial**	**Ptolemaic**	**Antigonid**
Soteles(?)	217	217–211	1	1
Apollodorus I	216	216	5	5
Tlesimenes	215	215	2	3
Pantaenus	214–211	214–210	5	4
Philon	214–211	217–211	3	4
Socleides	214–211	217–211	4	4
Harpalis	214–211	217–210	1	1
Epicydes	210	a little before 210	2	4
Anticrates(?)	209	probably 209	4	6
Sotion(?)	208	208	4	5
Stesileus II	207	207	5	4

It is possible that the sanctuary was undergoing systemic stress at this time, whether economic, political, or social, leading to less care being taken over the swift creation and deposition of the offerings. This account would fit notions of systemic stress, perhaps, following Reger, associated with the absence of any outside power shewing interest at this time[930], - or with military difficulties, such as the aftermath of the Social War or raids by pirates associated with Philip V or Crete. Such an explanation seems hard-pressed, however, to explain the repeated additional dedications: to explain five Antigonid offerings under Sotion, we would have to posit an offering being delayed for at least three years, on the assumption that Harpalis fell in 211; else, even longer.

[929] Note that, for ease of comparison, the archons are ordered following Bruneau 1970, whose date is the first given. No more recent detailed overview of the dates of this unclear part of the *archon* list be ascribed Delian archons is available, but the second column of dates are those given, without argument, under the appropriate *archon*, in Vial 2008.

[930] Reger 1994b, an account which this very table suggests is self-defeating.

More plausibly, the repeat dedications might point not to difficulties, but to economic success at this time: this approach would also explain why other non-royal festivals are also more clearly attested at this time, including those which seem likely to have been founded much earlier, such as the *Echenicia*. Alternatively, this phenomenon may be merely the result of happenstance of fate, whereby the particular custodians responsible for the inscription of *ID* 366 decided to record many more festivals much more assiduously than their predecessors or successors ever would.

3. Synchronic absence of multiple festivals

The notion that the vagaries of epigraphic practice explain some variations in the attestation of festivals in *ID* 366 and elsewhere is certainly correct. That it is a sufficient explanation is less plausible in that we can identify further possibly significant synchronisms which are repeated across multiple inventories. One such synchronism seems first to have been noticed by Hamilton in his recent study. He identified chronological breaks in our earliest evidence for dedications particularly in the 270s and 260s, some of which are later filled, but many of which are not. One such break occurs in the record for the *Ocyneidaea/Thyestadaea* and the *First Ptolemaea*, both of which have no offering for 273 or 272 recorded at any time, in any of the multiple inscriptions that contain dedications from this period in a variety of formats[931].

[931] Hamilton 2000, 68–69. Note that in his list on 68, the gap in the *First Ptolemaea* is stated as running from 275–272; this reflects the situation in *IG* XI.2 287. Entries for 275 and 274 are, however, attested in *IG* XI.2 199.B.68–69; Tréheux confirms the readings in *IG* in his re-edition: Tréheux 1959, 1:127–136, especially 127.

In the past, the gap in the *First Ptolemaea* could be partly filled by reference to additional offerings later attested and only dated by treasurer or *epistates*. This solution is still a possibility, but, as Durrbach recognised when originally proposing this solution, there are not enough additional offerings to fill all the gaps in the *First Ptolemaea* record: two years remain unfilled, even if each additional offering were to fall in a separate year, which as we saw above, is not necessarily the case[932].

By analogy with our discussion of the festivals at the end of the third century, we can look to offer an alternative systemic solution, which also allows for the probability that the longer established *Micythia* and *Stesilea* were affected in a different way[933].

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[932] Bruneau does offer a more complex solution that manages to fill all the gaps, but it is improbable for reasons discussed at greater length below: besides being dependent on there being only one festival per year, it also requires that the officials changed the name they used in referring to offerings, an otherwise unparalleled phenomenon. For detailed discussion of these issues, see below, 426; Durrbach in *IG* XI.2 298.B.98 *ad loc*; and Bruneau 1970, 520–523.
Note that excessive reliance on the principle of one festival per year perhaps also explains why Hamilton, despite recognising that there are more gaps in the *Ocyneidaea/Thyestadaea* and the *First Ptolemaea* lists than is the norm, believed that there was no pattern: Hamilton 2000, 69n195. *Cf* how at 68n193 Hamilton suggested that the seven years he identifies for the *First Ptolemaea* without an offering in *IG* XI.2 287 (275–271, 270, 266–265) might be filled by the seven offerings of *epistateis* and treasurers also mentioned in that inscription. Besides leaving the years before 276 unfilled, however, this solution is inadequate because, as we note below, four of these additional offerings by *epistateis* are already attested in 273: see 425, and, for references, 425n957.

[933] There is some evidence also for disturbance in the *Stesilea* and *Micythia* at this time. On the *Stesilea*, see Tréheux 1959, 4:425–525, especially 480–510, where he identifies two additional lists of offerings for the *Stesilea* in addition to re-editing the seven identified by Durrbach, and the table summarising the evidence at 512. There are offerings in 273 and 272, but no offering in 271 (Telemnestus I) in any of the five inscriptions recording *Stesilea* offerings from this decade, and there is no additional offering in the following years that might have been received late, or might have been intended to represent the offering of 271.
On the *Micythia*, see Tréheux's restoration of *IG* XI.2 118 (Tréheux 1944, 281–283), especially the list of offerings in line 4–5, which ends with the *archon* of 274, Antigonus I; and the list at 14–15. Here, the lacuna before the *archon* of 272, Cyrbelion (restored from a fragment) is not long enough to contain all the archons since the previously attested *archon*, Demeas II (277).
Tréheux argues that this fragment contains a list of offerings from the *Micythia.* The *Micythia* is a festival for which multiple synchronic offerings of different types are attested (see 348n831), so this interpretation is plausible: combining the evidence, we might then argue that one of the missing archons in 14–15 may be the *archon* for 273, Calodicus; even if not, he is plausibly omitted in 4–5. Even if Tréheux's specific reconstruction is rejected, however, the restorations again illustrate how

Economic difficulties are one attractive option: if there were some hiccough during this period, the previously established endowments might well have been wealthy enough, or have had a diverse enough range of loans to survive a few bad years better than the two newer endowments[934].

Whether this connexion with the Delian economic situation is accepted or not, our two earlier discussions here conclusively demonstrate that multiple dedications from the same endowment in the same year did occur, although they cannot clarify whether this happened because of multiple iterations of the same festival, or because possibly economic factors led to the creation of more than one offering per festival. Perhaps more importantly, moreover, each of the three contexts discussed here again illustrates

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detailed analysis of individual inventories argues against ahistorical insistence on one offering per year as a norm.

Note that Tréheux's later discussion of the *Micythia* does not review this evidence, but considers other questions, including Micythus' identity and the possible symbolism of the festival: Tréheux 1959, 2:206–211. *Cf* Hamilton 2000, 68, which does include the *Stesilea*, but does not discuss the *Micythia*.

[934] Hence, perhaps, why the *Stesilea* records no offering for 271, but not for 273 or 272: the *hieropoioi* thought that this endowment was healthy enough to continue to make significant donations, but it was belatedly affected, perhaps by an unexpected default, or by the greater than extended duration of the economic difficulties. Conversely, although some offerings were omitted from *Micythia* endowment in 273, the endowment was still strong enough to make some offerings in 272, unlike the *First Ptolemaea* and the *Ocyneidaea/Thyestadaea.* Note, finally, that the two *Stesilea phialae* recorded for 272 are specified in *IG* XI.2 226.B.19 as weighing only thirty-seven and thirty-eight drachmas each. They are hence not necessarily evidence of a particularly lavish celebration at a time when other endowments seem to have been under pressure.

This argument is not affected by our discussion of the possibly peculiar nature of the *Ocyneidaea/Thyestadaea*. See Appendix 4. Delian endowment dates and people, 417. It does, however, support our analysis of the relationship between the expenditures listed at *ID* 366.A.131–134 and the underlying endowments at 347n830 in two ways: first, both analyses envisage greater flexibility in economic and religious thinking than traditional models (although they do not mean entirely to replace more prosaic explanations, such as that a debtor can forget to pay in time: see, for such explanations, Tréheux 1959, 3:475–476). Second, diversity in the number of loans outstanding also allows for diversity in the time at which the loans were contracted, protecting older endowments from any difficulty the *hieropoioi* may have faced in placing the money at any particular time owing to short-term economic difficulties. This approach can hence also explain differences in interest rates obtained, and so both the situation in *ID* 366.A. 131–134, where the *Stesilea* had very low expenditure, and the situation here: older loans already contracted for the *Micythia* and *Stesilea* may also have involved a higher interest rate than that which the *hieropoioi* were able to obtain in the short-term for the newer endowments supporting the *Ocyneidaea/Thyestadaea* and the *First Ptolemaea.*

the importance of allowing space for Delian agency in our interpretations, and of considering the festivals in a broader perspective, rather than just individually; or by dynasty; or by separating out the royal festivals from the broader context of the Delian phenomenon.

Appendix 4. Delian endowment dates and people[935]

We here present a list of the endowed festivals on Delos which we have identified in the course of this study. This section is necessarily heavily dependent on the work of Schulhof, Bruneau, Tréheux and others, and is not based on fresh autopsy of the relevant inscriptions. Nevertheless, some attempt to synthesise the discussions here seemed important for a variety of reasons. First, the absence of any published presentation of the festivals as a group since those of Schulhof and, much more briefly, Ziebarth, is problematic[936]: although laudable, their analyses are understandably both incomplete and out-of-date, as they wrote about a century ago, and, in the case of Schulhof, before publication of any relevant fascicle of *ID* and *IG*. Second, leaving aside the revisions to dates and text subsequent to Homolle, Schulhof and Durrbach, their necessary references to accounts and inventories by *archon*'s

[935] Note that this appendix is deliberately placed after appendices 2 and 3, to which it makes frequent reference. Readers may prefer to read those appendices first to provide context for the discussion here.

[936] Schulhof 1908; for his lists of all the festivals then attested arranged both by *archon*-year and by festival: 102–104. In general, he remains critical for detailed discussion of many further cruces which have been elided in later presentations, including this one. Further important discussions include Ziebarth 1917, Durrbach's commentaries in *ID* and *IG*, Tréheux 1944, and Tréheux 1959. On the royal dedications: Bruneau 1970, 515–583; as noted in the text, he does not analyse the phenomenon of the other dedications, or attempt to embed the royal dedications inside that broader context, possibly because such discussions were expected to be included in the continuation of Tréheux 1959. Bruneau does, however, occasionally refer to their existence, as in his historical summary: 658; *cf* Vial 1984 for occasional discussion of specific festivals. For an alternative discussion focussing on the practicalities of inscriptional practice in the inventories: Hamilton 2000, 69–70, with his "general rule" that the inventories were about ninety per cent accurate (68).

name alone rather than by corpus number, although perhaps no less cryptic and forbidding to the uninitiated, are not now standard. Third, although their analyses are comprehensive and valuable, neither Tréheux nor Bruneau fully explored or incorporated into their discussions the ramifications of Tréheux's analysis of the phenomenon of multiple dedications in the way that we attempt to do. Fourth, it allows us to synthesise various themes and revised interpretations that have arisen in the course of our discussion. Finally, and perhaps most trivially, the presentation here of the festivals as a complete group powerfully embodies the different perspective we are here arguing, with royal festivals not considered in isolation, but embedded in their broader Delian context.

Table 47. Endowments on Delos

Name	**First offering**	**Connexion**[937]
Micythia	By 313	Micythus, Delian
Stesilea	301	Stesileus, Delian
Ocyneidaea/Thyestadaea	285	Ocyneidae, Thyestadae, Delian trittyes
First Ptolemaea	*c* 279	Ptolemy II Philopator
Philadelphia	267	Hermias, Arsinoe II
Philetaeria	262	Philetaerus
Antigonia	252	Antigonus Gonatas
Stratonicia	252	Stratonice
Nicolaea	251	Nicolaus, Aetolian
Nesiadia	By 250	Nesiades, Delian
Xenocleidaea	By 250	Xenocleides, Delian
Philoclia	*c* 250	Philocles, Delian
Echenicia	*c* 250	Echenice, Delian
Second Ptolemaea	248	Ptolemy II Philopator
Third Ptolemaea	245	Ptolemy III Euergetes
Soteria/Antigonia	244	Antigonus Gonatas
Pania/Antigonia	244	Antigonus Gonatas
Mapsichidaea	240	Mapsichidae, Delian trittys
Demetriaea	237	Demetrius II
Philonidia	233	Philonis, Delian
Eutychia	*c* 230	Eutyches, Delian

[937] These festivals were endowed in honour of a variety of divinities. On this point, see especially 348n832.

Two important exclusions from this list are the *Eudemia*, which is only attested once in 213: *ID* 371.B.51; and the *Chersonesia*. The *Chersonesia* is instead included under the list of Delian festivals, as it does not seem to record a donation of a specific group, but instead an administrative arrangement of Delian revenues; on this festival, see 344n828. For the possibility that the series of Athenian *phialae* attested in *ID* 104-30 and elsewhere might also attest an endowment, see 485n1072.

Justification for the date and identification for each endowment is offered below. These discussions are necessarily occasionally more technical for the non-royal endowments, where discussion has been more fragmentary. For the royal endowments, we often make reference in the interests of brevity to Bruneau 1970, 515–583 for uncontroversial details of identification, argument, and a summary of the relevant evidence, and for details of the endowments of the trittyes, to Vial 1984.

First offering: on the types of offering attested, see briefly 348n831.

Connexion: because the names used by the Delian inventories (and in modern scholarship) have differing relationships with the endowments they describe: *eg*, the *Nicolaea*, which almost certainly was endowed by Nicolaus, the Aetolian; the *Philadelphia*, which seems to have been created by the nesiarch, Hermias, and which did not only honour Ptolemy II Philopator and Arsinoe II, but also Apollo, Artemis, and Leto; and the *Stratonicia*, which was endowed in memory of Stratonice, but honoured Apollo, Artemis, and Leto. Some cases are unclear: the *Philetaeria* was probably founded by someone in honour of Philetaerus (plausibly, his successor, Eumenes I), but, if a year's delay between endowment and first production of a *phiale* is allowed, as commonly was the case prior to our discussion based initially on Homolle's analysis of precisely this crux, it could have been founded by Philetaerus himself: see Appendix 2. Principles behind dating Delian endowments, 396.

Name	First offering	Connexion[937]
Sopatria	*c* 230	Sopatrus, Delian
Gorgieia	228	Gorgias, Delian
Attalia	224–216	Attalus I
Donacia	224–216	Donax, Delian
Pataecia	224–216	Pataecus, Delian
Theuergesia	224–216	Ptolemy III Euergetes
Philippia	221–216	Philip V

Micythia

Schulhof originally suggested *c* 246 as the date of foundation for the *Micythia*, because there are forty-five μικύθεια σκάφια in an inventory list from 200 (Sosistratus). Tréheux, partly pre-empted by Ziebarth, then recognised further donations dating to the late fourth century. Because of the ongoing uncertainty over the *archon* list prior to 301, Tréheux was initially only able to argue for 308 at the latest, but his later revision of the list makes a *terminus ante quem* of 313 highly plausible: the only surviving options for 313 are Prostates and Archepolis, and both are recorded as receiving offerings[938]. Hence, he then hypothesises that the Micythia may have been founded precisely as a celebration of the renewed autonomy of the island[939].

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938 Schulhof 1908, 125–126; Ziebarth 1917, 427; Tréheux 1944, 281–283; Tréheux 1959, 2:206–211. For Tréheux's revision of the *archon* list of this period, see Tréheux 1959, 1:103–110; Tréheux did not present his work there as a definitive reconstruction because of his continuing doubt over the possibility of an earlier change of status on Delos. It is taken as definitive by Vial 1984, 204–205, but, as noted at 454n1044, Vial 1984 does not address Tréheux's ongoing concerns over the date of Delian 'independence'. Our argument at Appendix 6. Delian 'independence', 315/314, and *ID* 104-30, 450 against 314 as a *terminus post quem* for the amphictyonic withdrawal, and so also as a *terminus post quem* for inventories involving *hieropoioi* being in charge of the inventories does not directly affect Tréheux's reconstruction here: as noted at 476n1065, it is no longer the case that the only two options for Prostates and Archepolis are 313 and 311, but, as the newly available dates are higher, the *terminus ante quem* does, at least provisionally, remain. This *terminus ante quem* for the *Stesilea* thus seems as secure as the *archon* list itself.

939 Note that the ongoing uncertainty over the precise date of the change of status of Delos does not greatly affect this argument. Both dates float in this approximate period before their respective *termini ante*

This interpretation is appealing, and strictly does not require the two events to be contemporaneous. The later decision of the Athenians to brand Micythus a Syrian, not a Delian, may also suggest that some political message was understood in the endowment's continued existence: they could not cancel it, but they could onomastically denigrate it in the archives which they erected[940]. Nevertheless, the focus here on political motivation for the foundation is out of keeping with the clear later competitive dimension of these donations. Tréheux even suggests that later Delian donations, such as those of Gorgias and Philonis, may have been founded precisely to repeat Micythus' gesture, but the way in which those later foundations are closely chronologically tied points to Delian elite competition as at least an equally significant motivating force[941]. The *Micythia* may perhaps be an exception, but Tréheux's argument is perhaps too similar to the frequent attempts to read exclusivity and hegemony into the foreign endowments for comfort. Instead, the very fact that the *Micythia* was the earliest endowment, dating precisely from this period, may have led it later symbolically to be tied to the changes of the late fourth century.

No indication of which gods were honoured by the *Micythia* survives[942]. The identity of the donor has, however, caused significant debate, in part because of apparent tension between the existence of a prominent family using that name prior to 167/166, and the insistence in the inventory lists after 167/166 that Micythus was

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quos of 313 (from Prostates and Archepolis, above) and 314. See further Appendix 6. *Delian* 'independence', 315/314, and *ID* 104-30, 450.

940 See Appendix 1. Micythus and the Delians after 167/166, 393.

941 See briefly 352–356.

942 For discussion of the evidence for the other festivals, see 348n832.

Syrian. We argue that our evidence prior to 167/166 suggests he was not seen as foreign then, and that this recategorisation should instead be understood as a polemical gesture in the context of Delian politics after 167/166, when, unlike in 314, there was a clear change of status: the Delian *polis* ceased to exist[943].

Whether our recategorisation is accepted or not, this foundation is particularly important as evidence for the continued recognition of an endowment (if not necessarily additions to it) over one hundred and fifty years, and particularly, as evidence for continuity of practice across the divide in 167/166. Such continuity is elsewhere difficult to identify[944].

Stesilea

As noted above, the *Stesilea* was central to the initial decipherment of the *archon* list by Homolle, and remains so. The date of 301 (Lysixenus) as a *terminus ante quem* is thus as secure as the *archon* list itself. This offering is first attested in a surviving inventory almost fifty years later. It is then found or reconstructed in six other inventories. It therefore cannot be excluded that earlier offerings may have been lost over the years before our list from 257 was composed, or that earlier offerings were stored elsewhere[945].

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943 See further Appendix 1. Micythus and the Delians after 167/166, 393. Tréheux 1944, 278–279; Baslez 1982b, 4.426 (1425); Tréheux 1992b; Vial 2008.

944 *Cf* the Stesilia, last attested in 169 (*ID* 461.Ba.50, 51, 54, 57, 71, Bb.6 7), and so of almost equal duration (*c* 130 years), but still last identified prior to 167/166.

945 See 324n797. For 301, see already Schulhof 1908, 122, followed by Tréheux 1944 and Vial 2008; Bruneau 1970, 342–343 summarises the reanalysis confirming this date by Tréheux 1959, 425–525, but the analysis there ranges much more widely, and includes reconsideration of all the inventories attesting offerings for the *Stesilea*: *IG* XI.2 253 5–17 (258?); *IG* XI.2 226.B.8–29 (257); *IG* XI.2 287.B.129–144

Stesileus, son of Diodotus, was *archon* in 305 and was the father of the Echenice (II) who endowed the *Echenicia* probably in 250[946]. In total, at least five generations of this prominent family can be traced[947]. He also was responsible at least for the creation of a statue of Aphrodite that was in existence in 304, and probably also for the sanctuary in which it stood: in addition to one later reference to "the temple which Stesileus offered", there is no obvious sign of previous activity in the area[948]. Until

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(= Prêtre and Brunet 2002, 125–141 [250]); *ID* 296.B.1–6 (new line numbering; 241); *ID* 298.A.96–106 (240); *ID* 313.a.78–90 (235); *ID* 314.B.83–98 (233 or 232); *ID* 320.B.43–56, 65 (229); see, for a summary, his tables at 3:511–514. For the date of *ID* 296.B, see Tréheux 1959, 1:159–16, and 4:494, which both firmly date *ID* 296 to 241 in anticipation of a later discussion, on the basis of his reanalysis of *ID* 295, 296, 297, 300, and 301, all of which formed part of the same stele. For the date of *ID* 313, see Tréheux 1959, 3:502n2; Durrbach had suggested 235 or 234. For the date of *IG* XI.2 226 and *ID* 314, see Tréheux 1959, 3:484 and 3:502 respectively, where they are offered without argument. As Tréheux's only complete extended analysis of an endowment, this discussion is particularly valuable. Note that he refers to 302, not 301 as the date of endowment, in keeping with the principle whereby endowments were created a year before first deposition, on which see Appendix 2. Principles behind dating Delian endowments, 396. Perhaps because of the importance of the *Stesilea* in establishing the *archon* list, scholars have elsewhere tended rather to refer to the date of the first offering, not to the date of the endowment.

946 *Archon* in 305, following the date suggested by Tréheux 1959 1:103–110. For further references to his activity, see Tréheux 1959, 429–431, and, following Tréheux, Vial 2008, 75. Both identify this Stesileus as the man who honoured his father, Diodotus, and mother, Echenice, with statues immediately outside the door of the temple: *IG* XI.4 1166 and 1167. Both Durrbach in his commentary to *ID* 442.B.111 and Roussel in his commentary to *IG* XI.4 1166 and 1167 had denied the connexion, and so posited a slightly different family tree.

947 For further discussion of the family, Tréheux 1959, 429–431. For a stemma of the five generations of this family who are epigraphically attested which follows Tréheux's reconstruction: Vial 1984, 75. On the *Echenicia*, see Appendix 4. Delian endowment dates and people 435.

948 The (re)polishing of a statue of Aphrodite in probably 304 (or 303): *ID* 144.B.5 (for date, see 333n809 *ad fin*). For a thorough discussion supporting earlier conjectures that this statue is the statue of Stesileus' temple: Tréheux 1959, 436–444. To reconcile the dates, we could posit some lost early endowment offerings, but there is no need to insist on such a synchronism. The fact that we are dealing with a family's devotion, moreover, may perhaps argue against this suggestion. As with the similar option of combining the evidence for Echenice's worship into a single act *c* 250, it is appealing when the acts are considered as independent units, but less plausible when they are understood as part of a familial series. On the *Echenicia*, see Appendix 4. Delian endowment dates and people, 435.
Aphrodisium (Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 261 88); see, for preliminary discussion, Roussel 1916a, 240–242, and Bruneau 1970, 334–341, with Daux 1958, 821 for a summary of trial trenches dug in 1957 to explore earlier levels. The *Aphrodisium* is occasionally known in scholarship, but seemingly not in our epigraphic sources, as the *Stesileum*. The closest reference is *ID* 290.153 (246): τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἧς ἀνέθηκε Στησίλεως τὸν ναὸν. Both the prominence of Stesileus' initial gifts, including the cult statue and two family statues, and the continuing devotion of Stesileus' family to Aphrodite which Echenice's dedications and festival also indicate, however, could have lead the entire temple to be associated by 246 with Stesileus in a way that it had not originally been, just as opinions as to the dedicators of the

the area is fully published, however, this question must remain open. Nevertheless, Stesileus' piety towards Aphrodite is clear: beyond the building, and the statue inside it, the *Stesilea* also honoured Aphrodite, as well as Apollo[949].

Ocyneidaea/Thyestadaea

285 (Philius) is the *archon* year of the earliest attested offering, which is attested in the same inscription as the first offering for the *Stesilea*[950]. The factors involved in the date are thus very similar: it is possible, but perhaps not plausible, that earlier offerings may have been lost over the years before our list from 250 was composed, or that earlier offerings were stored elsewhere[951].

Ocyneidae and Thyestadae were trittyes from the same tribe and seem jointly to have endowed this festival. They may perhaps have joined together because, unlike Mapsichidae later, they were not rich enough to make an offering on their own, but any specific motivation beyond piety remains unidentified[952].

Portico of the Naxians (see 334n811), and of the *Neorium* (see 360–362), and also as to the significance of the *Micythia* (see 419–422) may well have changed over time.

949 For example: *ID* 372.B.9, 12–13, 15–20; for further discussion, see 348n832.

950 *IG* XI.2 287.B.92–94 (= Prêtre and Brunet 2002, 125–141 [250]). For further references, see briefly Vial 1984, 28n49. For more detailed discussion, see Tréheux 1959, 1:133–134. For a more detailed presentation of the evidence which also acts as an illustration of the varying attestation of offerings across different lists, and so as a caution against taking the evidence from one list as definitive, see Hamilton 2000, 419. On the possible significance of a synchronic gap in the offering record for this festival and for the *First Ptolemaea* in 273 and 272, see Appendix 3. Multiple and missing offerings and their import, 408.

951 An isolated offering is recorded by their *hieropoioi* under the *archon* Hypsocles (279) as already in the *Artemisium* inventory when they took over the inventory: *IG* XI.2 161.B.64 and *IG* XI.2 162.B.52. This offering may, however, not be associated with the endowment.

952 *ID* 442.B.127 is the crucial evidence. For discussion: Vial 1984, 31–32; more generally on the role of and evidence for trittyes on Delos, where the evidence from these dedications is central: Vial 1984, 21–37.

The structure here is slightly different from the other endowments: the money seems to have accrued from the sale of sacrifices made over the course of the year. Vial thus suggests that it strictly was not an endowed fund, as there was no capital behind the sacrifices[953]. Instead, the Ocyneidae and Thyestadae merely committed to divert revenues from their ongoing sacrifices each year. Vial may well be correct; even if so, the regularity involved justifies the inclusion of this arrangement[954].

First Ptolemaea

c 279: Bruneau discusses at length the evidence for 280, the date followed by most scholars since Tarn on logic which allows a year between endowment and first offering[955]. Bruneau does not, however, allow for possible multiple dedications in a single year[956]. This principle is important in dating the *First Ptolemaea* because the first inventory list mentioning offerings for this festival contains offerings for 275 and 274 have the appropriate *archon* names, but four other offerings are there listed without name[957]. The situation is thus analogous to that identified for the *Philonidia*

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953 Vial 1984, 28.

954 We should, moreover, recognise that we know little about precisely how the other endowments operated: one certain mechanism often mentioned in the accounts for raising money was to lend out the funds and to pay for the offerings by interest, and we assume that this mechanism was the norm, but this is not certain. This mechanism is, moreover, mentioned so often precisely because it was centrally administered and so involved the *hieropoioi*, whereas the ongoing sale of meat from sacrifice would have formed a smaller, more regular, ongoing source of revenue. Among alternative mechanisms, we know, for example, that the temple also had lands, and that revenue from these lands also funded festivals: see the discussion of the *Chersonesia* and the revenues from the land on Myconos at 344n828.

955 Bruneau 1970, 520–523; Tarn 1913, 136n50. Earlier suggestions had included Schulhof 1908, 106: 276, or, rather, 283, and Homolle 1887a, 59–60: 285 or 284. On this phenomenon, see Appendix 2. Principles behind dating Delian endowments, 396.

956 On this phenomenon, see Appendix 3. Multiple and missing offerings and their import, 408.

957 *IG* XI.2 199 [273]: 275 (Phillis) and 274 (Antigonus), as also at *IG* XI.2 199.B.68–69; four other offerings: *IG* XI.2 199.B.91–92. Perhaps because of the broader interest and controversy surrounding this festival, Tréheux is careful explicitly to confirm Durrbach's reading of four additional *phialae* for

by Tréheux: 279 cannot be insisted on as necessary *terminus ante quem* on the premise that the additional four offerings must be allocated to different years prior to 275. Beyond this general point, moreover, Bruneau's specific solution is also improbable in requiring that the officials stopped referring to three offerings by the names of their *archon*, Demeas, Phillis and Antigonus, and instead referred to them by the name of the *epistates* of that year. Not least because of the repetitious nature of the inventories, such a revision is, to my knowledge, unparalleled in the inventories, and must be considered highly unusual[958].

We should thus recognise that, at least with our current evidence, attempts to prove a date of 279 are likely to remain futile. Instead, the *First Ptolemaea* may in fact have been founded later, in 278, or perhaps 277, or, indeed, slightly earlier. In Delian terms, the difference matters little. In terms of the deductions hence drawn for broader Ptolemaic religious strategy, however, the additional flexibility in dating would allow the premises behind Tarn's analysis, followed among others by Buraselis, to be maintained even if, as has been recently restated, the first *Ptolemaea* in Alexandria does date to 282, not 278: Tarn, believing that there were too many offerings for the foundation of the *First Ptolemaea* in Delos to have been contemporary with that in Alexandria, which he dated to 278, argued instead that the foundation can have been contemporary with the Nicuria decree (*IG* VII.7 506), which recorded the islanders'

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the *First Ptolemaea* in his discussion of this section of *IG* XI.2 199: Tréheux 1959, 1:127–136, especially 1:127–128, and 134.

[958] For detailed discussion of these issues, including their solutions, see Durrbach in *IG* XI.2 298.B.98 *ad loc*, and Bruneau 1970, 520–523. On the possible significance of a synchronic gap in the offering record for this festival and for the *Ocyneidaea/Thyestadaea* in 273 and 272, see Appendix 3. Multiple and missing offerings and their import, 408.

invitation to attend. Now, however, we might argue for still greater symbolism by making the first *First Ptolemaea* on Delos contemporaneous with the second *Ptolemaea* in Alexandria, or even with the first, given that the Nicuria decree can now be dated in 282[959].

Whatever the precise date chosen, it seems most probable that this festival was founded by Ptolemy II. None of these endowed festivals is attested as solely honouring a king or mortal, so it is unlikely that the festival honoured Ptolemy I or Ptolemy II alone. As we do not possess any dedicatory inscription for this festival, however, we unfortunately cannot know whether it honoured his father or himself in addition to or instead of the Apolline triad or some other combination of Delian divinities. The *Second Ptolemaea* and the *Third Ptolemaea*, however, did only honour the Apolline triad, which may provide some thin argument against such notions[960].

Philadelphia

267 (Meilichides II) is the *archon* year of the offering which is consistently the earliest attested, and is thus here offered in preference to 268, the date offered by Bruneau and others in observance of the principle of a year's delay between foundation and first offering[961]. Unlike most of the festivals here mentioned, and specifically unlike the *Second* and *Third Ptolemaea*, this endowment did honour a

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959 Tarn 1913, 136n50; Buraselis 1982, 143; the first (Alexandrian) *Ptolemaea* in 282, not 278: restated by Shear 2010. For a related discussion that supports Shear's case and includes further bibliography, see Case study. Samos, Unipolarity, and the Nicuria decree, 313

960 For discussion, 348n832.

961 For evidence, see Bruneau 1970, 528–530. Homolle 1887a, 60n5 already posited that the *Philadelphia* and the festival founded by Hermias might be the same festival; subsequent discoveries confirmed his suggestion: Schulhof 1908, 113–114. On Arsinoe II, see *RE* Arsinoe 26, *DNP*/*BNP* Arsinoe II.3, and *OED* Arsinoe II.

mortal, Arsinoe, alongside Apollo, Artemis, and Leto. One of the three attestations, moreover, also includes King Ptolemy, presumably her husband, Ptolemy II Philadelphus[962]. The reference to the *theoi adelphoi* thus indicates that the Arsinoe here involved is Arsinoe II. She died at some point in the early 260s at a date long disputed, probably 268, and in which the Delian evidence is not central. We should, however, note that, in so far as the Delian evidence might enter this debate, then, on the common presupposition that cult to Arsinoe II was only established after her death, it argues for a *terminus ante quem* of 267, not 268, for her death, unless we posit lost early offerings[963].

Philetaeria

262 (Elpines) is the *archon* year of the offering which is consistently the earliest attested[964]. The vases were offered to Apollo, Artemis, and Leto[965].

The explicit statement in the offerings of the *Philetaeria* that the Delian maidens offered them after Philetaerus had created an endowment ("ἐπιδόντος Φιλεταίρου"),

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962 See *ID* 298.A.79–80 with *ID* 313.a.63–64 and *ID* 320.B.27–28, and, for discussion, 348n832.

963 The long standard date of *c* 9 July 270 was first established by Pfeiffer 1922; Grzybek 1990, 103–112 argued from new evidence instead for 1 or 2 July 268; see Hauben 1992, 160–162 for support and exploration of consequences; and Byrne 2006–2007, suggesting 269 instead from consideration of the Athenian calendar. The debate continues, not least because of controversy over the changes in Ptolemy II's regnal year and in the Egyptian calendar more widely, but an 'Arsinoe era' is no longer involved: Troxell 1983. Each date is equally compatible with the Delian evidence: there is no need for Hermias' dedication to have followed immediately on her death.

964 For evidence, see Bruneau 1970, 570–572, followed not least, by Schalles 1985, 38–39; Hintzen-Bohlen 1992, 84; Schwarzer 1999, 254; 262, or rather, 263, has been consistently recognised since at least Homolle 1887a, 61. Schwarzer and Schalles also unusually do both insist on the symbolism inherent in the endowment of a festival in imitation of the Ptolemies. Their concern is for this claim as an important stage in the development of Attalid ideology. It is not, however, incompatible with our discussion of the Delian context, particularly our focus on in-group dynamics, and the attempt by the kings and Aetolians to demonstrate patronage by differentiating themselves from ordinary donors; see 352, especially 352n835.

965 *ID* 1432.B.a.I.2–3; for discussion, see 348n832.

is, as noted above, the original basis of the principle for a delay between endowment and first offering, because of the explicit connexion with Philetaerus, who seems to have died at some point in 263. This approach is unwise. The analogy with the preceding *Philadelphia* founded after Arsinoe's death supports the suggestion that this endowment was founded after Philetaerus' death. To explain the phraseology in the inventory, we can point to Homolle's suggestion that the endowment was testamentary[966].

Antigonia

252 (Phanus) is the *archon* year of the offering which is consistently the earliest attested. Two other series of offerings for the *Antigonia*, both starting in 244 (Xenocrates), arise from the *Soteria* and *Pania*. Unlike those festivals, however, this *Antigonia* was offered to the Apolline triad, and resulted in offerings made by the Delian maidens, rather than directly by Antigonus himself[967].

Stratonicia

252 (Phanus) is the *archon* year of the offering which is consistently the earliest attested[968]. Two different Stratonices are possible: either 'Stratonice I', the daughter of Demetrius Poliorcetes, and sister of Antigonus Gonatas, who married Seleucus I

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966 Analogy with *Philadelphia*: 354n838. For further discussion, see Appendix 2. Principles behind dating Delian endowments, 396. Elpines has been dated to 262 since Homolle 1887a, 61, where also his testamentary suggestion, and was, on balance, supported by Durrbach 1916, 305–306.

967 For evidence, see briefly Bruneau 1970, 559–560. This date has been consistently recognised at least since Schulhof 1908, 106; for the dedicatory formula, *ID* 298.A.93; see further 348n832.

968 For evidence, see briefly, Bruneau 1970, 561–562.

and then Antiochus I, and was the mother of Antiochus II; or 'Stratonice II', the daughter of Antiochus I who married Demetrius II[969].

Scholars of Delos and the Aegean seem generally to have preferred 'Stratonice I', the daughter of Demetrius Poliorcetes: Schulhof assumed the endowment was a dedication by Antigonus Gonatas on behalf of his sister; Bikerman suggested it might rather have been offered by Antiochus II on behalf of his mother, situating the endowment as part of a policy of rapprochement with Ptolemy II Philopator at this time, while Bruneau, on balance considers Gonatas perhaps more plausible, but acknowledges the weakness of his argument, including analogy with the double Antigonid dedications of 244[970]. In so doing, these scholars all were accounting for the unusual epigraphic formula stating that the dedication happened on behalf of queen Stratonice ("ὑπὲρ βασιλίσσης Στρατονίκης"), and both later analyses combined this with Kugler's insight that Stratonice died in Seleucid Era 58 (254) to suggest it was a dedication in her honour after her death[971]. This approach is plausible, and compatible with the date.

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969 Note that unlike for the discussion of Arsinoe I and Arsinoe II above, 'Stratonice I' and 'Stratonice II" are labels adopted here to distinguish the two queens, as they lack commonly accepted differentiators. 'Stratonice I' = *RE* Stratonike 8 and *DNP*/*BNP* Stratonice 3; 'Stratonice II' = *RE* Stratonike 9, *DNP*/*BNJ* Stratonice 4; and *OED* 3 Stratonice.

970 Schulhof 1908, 106; Bikerman 1938, 375n6; Bruneau 1970, 561–562. Macurdy 1932, 82 also preferred 'Stratonice 1'.

971 Kugler 1922, 317–320, first noted by Beloch 1912–1927, 4.2:199–200. Before this recognition, scholars did occasionally suggest, despite the inscription, that the endowment was made by Stratonice herself. *Cf* König 1910, 59. König does not discuss the inscription in detail, so it is unclear whether he had a different explanation. Our Delian context here offers other endowments which are named after women (the *Philonidia* and *Echenicia*), and indicates that the women themselves were directly associated with the offerings, while Echenice is attested as making a donation of three thousand drachms that Schulhof plausibly suggested formed the underlying endowment. There is strictly no direct analogy to the offerings by the Delian Maidens in which the references to the maidens acting on

Less attention has been paid by Delian scholars to the second option, but Kolbe did early argue for 'Stratonice II'. He suggested opposition between the Queen Stratonice, daughter of Demetrius (*viz* 'Stratonice I') mentioned in one inscription as offering three gold crowns, and the Queen Stratonice mentioned later in the same inscription in the context of the endowment dedications with patronymic, who should thus be 'Stratonice II'[972]. Three reasons on a variety of levels have meant that this suggestion met with less success: first, to insist on such regularity of description in the Delian inscriptions is unwise[973]. Second, the date of the marriage between Demetrius and Stratonice is uncertain: Beloch first suggested the 250s, as a symbol of the friendship between the two dynasties at this time. This date is still accepted as the standard hypothesis, but not certain[974]. Third, even if the marriage were dated in the 250s, there was ongoing doubt about her husband Demetrius II's status then, and so whether 'Stratonice II' was, in fact, a queen at this time[975]. It is, however, now certain

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behalf of Queen Stratonice arise (see 348n832), but this additional indirect comparandum does perhaps support the contrast there drawn with the other offerings by the Delian Maidens to suggest that Stratonice was somehow more distantly involved.

[972] Kolbe 1916, 455–456, opposing the three references to βασίλισσα Στρατονίκη βασιλέως Δημητρίου θυγάτηρ (*ie*, 'Stratonice I'; *IG* XI.2 267.B.66–68) to the references to dedications ὑπὲρ βασιλίσσης Στρατονίκης (*ie*, 'Stratonice II'; *IG* XI.2 27.B.124–15).

[973] *Cf* the variation in the references to the *Pania* and *Soteria*: 348n832 and 447n1040; and also the variation in the offerings in *IG* XI.2 161 (279) of Philocles, where one has the royal title, and two do not, and so need not, strictly, be connected with the royal Philocles: 434n990.

[974] For a brief summary of the broader history of the Second Syrian War, Antigonid and Seleucid friendship, and other issues involved in this complex matrix: Will 1979–1982, 1:234–239, especially 238. Beloch 1912–1927, 4.1:594 sees the marriage as inaugurating the friendship. Errington 1990, 171 and 174 places the marriage alliance between Demetrius II and Antiochus II in the 250s and envisages Stratonice returning to her brother before 246 and Demetrius' relationship with Chryseis, and long before Demetrius II's second marriage to Phthia, daughter of Alexander of Epirus. Macurdy 1932 did not specify the date of marriage, but hypothesised at 71n181 that the negotiations with Nicaea to regain control of Corinth in 245 might have been a suitable occasion for her departure. Will 1979–1982, 1:299 suggests she may only have returned to Syria in 239.

[975] Explicitly, Bikerman 1938, 375n6, and Walbank at Hammond, Griffith, and Walbank 1972–1988, 3:598n6.

that Demetrius II was co-ruler with his father at least from 257/6[976]. We can thus imagine the endowment of this festival by or for 'Stratonice II' as a symbol of general Antigonid-Seleucid friendship, the fact of the marriage, the existence of the marriage, Stratonice's passage through the islands, or quite independent[977].

Both options seem valid. Unless we follow Fraser and Roberts in arguing that "ὑπὲρ βασιλίσσης Στρατονίκης" requires that Stratonice was still alive at time of dedication, certainty seems currently impossible[978]. More important in this context is, first, to point to the newer evidence for Seleucid involvement in the Aegean at this time: we are thus still less able to insist on a necessarily Antigonid context because of apparent Seleucid disinterest in the Aegean than before[979]; and, second, to emphasise the disjunction between Delos as an appropriate locus for display for a specific power, and as a hegemonically determined space in which only one power could dedicate.

Nicolaea

251 (Artysileus) is the *archon* year of the offering which is consistently the earliest attested[980].

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976 Andronikos 1950, accepted by Will 1979–1982, 1:344, among others, but rejected in favour of alternative interpretations by Errington 1977; Grzybek 1993. It is now confirmed by the additional readings at Hatzopoulos 1990.

977 Fraser and Roberts 1949, 292n4 do explicitly connect the endowment with the marriage. If so, again, they need not have happened in the same year.

978 Fraser and Roberts 1949, 292n4; their suggestion seems consistent with *LSJ* AII and the citations there, but a more exhaustive analysis may reveal exceptions.

979 See 355n840.

980 Briefly, Schulhof 1908, 107, followed by Durrbach in his commentary both on *IG* XI.2 278.B.126–128 and *ID* 298.B.92–95.

Nicolaus, son of Agias, of Proscheion, was also honoured by the Delians with a statue, and was Hieromnemon at Delphi in 262/61 and 240/239 or 239/238[981].

Nesiadia

By 250: the first reference to interest payable on the endowment certainly identified dates to this year, though, as for the *Echenicia*, the festival itself is only attested much later. How much earlier the endowment was created is unclear. Vial identifies an earlier reference in his index in an inscription from 257. The text as published by Durrbach does not support this interpretation, and I was unable to find any new text or development of this argument[982].

Nesiades is not a common name on Delos or elsewhere in the Greek world: indeed, it seems only to be attested on Delos, in references that are all potentially attributable to one man, whose heirs are mentioned in 257. If the foundation is also due to this man, as is perhaps plausible, this reference would date it an unknown number of years earlier, unless it was created by his heirs in his honour[983].

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[981] Nicolaus (Grainger 2000, 251 Nikolaos (1)); statue: *IG* XI.4 1075; Delphic evidence and dates from Lefèvre 1995, 179 40 and 194 63, where earlier dates are also evaluated.

[982] Interest: *IG* XI.2.A.193 (250 [Sosisthenes]); also restored in *IG* XI.2 288.6, and *IG* XI.2 291.c.29, datable to approximately the same time. Vial 2008 *ad loc* for the first payment of interest as present in *IG* XI.2 226.A.8 (257). Reference to the *Nesiadia*: *ID* 366.A.134 (216).

[983] Nesiades' heirs: *IG* XI.2 226.A.6 (257). That this reference falls in the same inscription as the reference to an earlier payment of interest identified by Vial may be more than a coincidence.
See Vial 2008 for the evidence for the four Nesiades she there identifies. *LGPN* identifies two Nesiades, apparently understanding the reference to a joint offering by Nesiades and Kineas in *ID* 320.B.73 (229) as later. This man could be unrelated, or the earlier Nesiades' grandson, but is quite possibly the same man: this list is an inventory of old offerings.

Xenocleidaea

c 250: the first reference to this endowment occurs in a very mutilated inscription which Durrbach dates soon after 250[984]. Several Delian Xenocleides are known who themselves or whose ancestors could be the source of the endowment, including one who owned a house in 250, and an *epimeletes* who organised the creation of Q Fabius Labeo's crown in 190: *ID* 442.B.103–104[985]. No foreign Xenocleides is recognised on Delos during the third century either by Tréheux or Baslez in their discussions[986].

Philoclia

c 250: unlike most other festivals mentioned here, no offering seems to have been produced for this festival; instead, we can only trace it by expenditure, which is first mentioned in the accounts for 250[987]. The festival has often been connected with Philocles, king of the Sidonians, on two grounds[988]. The first connected this festival with the *Soteria* mentioned in the decree honouring Philocles; as first noted by Schulhof, however, that festival is presented as a single event, not as an endowed series[989]. The second connected this festival with the offerings recorded in our

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984 *IG* XI.2 288; dated by Durrbach in *IG* as close to *IG* XI.2 287; he argues it must be later by recognising a reference to heirs of Elpines in 3, who is himself mentioned in *IG* XI.2 287.A.193 (= Prêtre and Brunet 2002, 87–124), but this reference is a partial restoration of a long lacuna and not overly convincing. Later references include *ID* 290.139; *ID* 320.B.78, 86, 90–91.

985 House-owner: *IG* XI.2 287.A.128 (= Prêtre and Brunet 2002, 87–124); Q Fabius Labeo's crown: *ID* 442.B.103–104.

986 Tréheux 1992b; Baslez 1982b.

987 *IG* XI.2 287.A.57 (= Prêtre and Brunet 2002, 87–124); later references include *ID* 316.88 (231), and *ID* 366.A.133 (207); the fund is mentioned in *ID* 399.A.124 (= Prêtre and Brunet 2002, 143–158).

988 The duration and nature of Philocles' career has been much disputed; see, for differing recent perspectives, Seibert 1970; Hauben 1987; Hauben 2004.

989 Decree honouring Philocles: *IG* XI.4 559; Schulhof 1908, 127, arguing against Homolle 1880b, 329–330; note that his specific reason for this conclusion is now invalid: he follows Homolle in reading Διὶ Σωτῆρι / ἐν Ἀθήναις (24–25), and argues that the Delians did not have the authority to arrange a perpetual festival in Athens; Roussel in *IG*, however, read an extra iota, and restored Διὶ Σωτῆρι / [κα]ὶ

inventory for 278[990]. Again, however this connexion is unlikely for a range of reasons: first, these offerings are presented among a wide range of isolated offerings; second, no later offering is attested, unlike the well-attested gifts from the *Micythia*, *First Ptolemaea* and other early endowments; third, these offerings are gold crowns. We emphasise above the variation in the offerings made, but recognise that the most valuable offering associated with the endowed festivals is a *phiale*, which is also, and perhaps as a result, the offering of choice of the royal benefactors. These more extravagant offerings are thus better detached from this context, and identified as isolated ostentatious gifts by Philocles[991].

The festival itself could still be associated with Philocles, and is by Bruneau; the absence of offerings, however, on balance suggests that it should be disconnected[992]. There are several prominent Delian families who offer more plausible candidates, including the father of Euphranor, son of Philocles, who was *epistates* of the

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Ἀθηνᾶι Σ[ω]τ̣ε̣ίρᾳ̣ι. Nevertheless, Schulhof's conclusion still stands: just as the crown was to be announced just once, so too the implication is that the games will be held but once.

990 *IG* XI.2 161.B.55–56 and 60 without royal title, 86 with royal title; only the last reference strictly need be to this Philocles, but all are possible. To insist on method behind the variation in reference would be unwise.

991 Note that *IG* XI.2.B.55–56 consists of not just a gold crown, but also the support of a chorus of Delian maidens; such isolated gifts are not uncommon, and do not automatically imply an endowment: see, *eg*, *ID* 298.A.117: by the Cnidians, and by Patroclus; and 119 by the Rhodians. As Schulhof 1908, 127–128 notes, the fact that these three offerings remain unchanging and without additions in successive inventories confirms that they should not be associated with an endowment.

992 Bruneau did not discuss the *Philoclia* in details, but briefly indicated his belief that it was founded by Philocles, and, following Schulhof's argument, separate from the *Soteria* mentioned in *IG* XI.4 599: Bruneau 1970, 234. Tréheux 1991, however, does not include any reference to any inscription mentioning the *Philoclia* in his entry under Philocles of Sidon, suggesting that he did not consider them connected to Philocles.

Demetriaea in 207; the son of Menecleides, son of Philocles, who was *hieropoios* in 299; or a grandfather of Philocles the treasurer of 218[993].

Echenicia

c 250 from Schulhof's plausible argument that the three thousand drachms mentioned in our inventory for 250 as donated by Echenice form the ἐχενικείον mentioned in later inscriptions[994]. The inscription strictly only records a loan to the city. The three thousand drachms need not be the entire sum, nor have been endowed that year. The approximate date is, secure, from Echenice's other activity at this time[995].

Echenice (II) was the daughter of Stesileus (I), who endowed the *Stesilea*[996]. Like the *Stesilea*, moreover, the *Echenicia* honoured Apollo and Aphrodite[997].

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[993] For references: Vial 2008, including ten different Delian Philocles, with seven different patronymics. She does not associate the *Philoclia* with any specific Philocles, so it is possible that, unlike Tréheux, she may have connected the *Philoclia* wih Philocles of Sidon.

[994] Schulhof 1908, 125–126; donation: *IG* XI.2 287.A.122–123 (= Prêtre and Brunet 2002, 87–124); later references to the ἐχενικεία include *ID* 366.A.133–134, to the ἐχενικείον, *ID* 366; ID 370.42, 43, 44; *ID* 372.A.132, 135. Schulhof is followed by Tréheux 1959; Bruneau 1970, 343, and by Vial 2008, where further references to her activity. Note that as the traditional date here was established from the existence of the fund, not by retrojecting the date of the creation of the fund a further year from the first attested offering, the date here offered does not differ in its nominal *terminus ante quem* from that in previous scholarship.

[995] Hence, perhaps, why Vial 1984, 74 also still prefers "250 ou un peu avant". Both Tréheux and Bruneau were more confident than Schulhof that the date was precisely 250 because of the coincidence that she also dedicates a *phiale* and a *kylix* in that year: *IG* XI.2 28.B.32 and 75. Her other offerings, such as the *exaleiptron* and small statue of Aphrodite (*eg*, *ID* 1412.a.29–30 and 32; *ID* 1417.A.II.4–5 and 12–13 [= Prêtre and Brunet 2002, 199–238]), are less precisely datable, and in theory could also be dated to this year. When considered in the context of ongoing family piety, however, this option becomes less plausible.

[996] For brief discussion of Echenice (II): Vial 1984, 74–76; for a stemma of the five generations of this family who are epigraphically attested: Vial 1984, 75.

[997] For example, *IG* XI.2 287.A.123 (= Prêtre and Brunet 2002, 87–124); for further discussion and references: 348n832.

Second Ptolemaea

248 (Badros) is the *archon* year of the offering which is consistently the earliest attested[998]. It was presumably founded by Ptolemy II Philadelphus, and, like the *Third Ptolemaea*, only honoured the Apolline triad[999].

Third Ptolemaea

245 (Mantitheus) is the *archon* year of the offering which is consistently the earliest attested[1000]. It was presumably founded by Ptolemy III Euergetes, and, like the *Second Ptolemaea*, only honoured the Apolline triad[1001]. On balance, this festival is plausibly not the same as the *Theuergesia*[1002].

Soteria/Antigonia

244 (Xenocrates) is the *archon* year of the offering which is consistently the earliest attested[1003]. The offerings for this festival, like for the *Pania*, are made by Antigonus Gonatas in his own name, and no role is granted the Delian maidens. Rather than ascribing these differences to the superior status of the founder, we should understand them as arising from the different religious context: the Delian maidens are only associated with festivals to Apollo. Similarly, the fact that this festival could

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998 For references, see briefly Bruneau 1970, 519–520 and 523. This date, or, rather, one a year earlier, has been consistently identified at least since Schulhof 1908, 106; more detail at Durrbach's commentary on *ID* 298.A.70–79.

999 For discussion, 348n832.

1000 For references, see briefly Bruneau 1970, 519–520 and 523. This date, or, rather, one a year earlier, has been consistently identified at least since Schulhof 1908, 106; more detail at Durrbach's commentary on *ID* 298.A.70–79.

1001 For discussion, 348n832.

1002 On the possible identity of the *Third Ptolemaea* and the *Theuergesia*, see Appendix 5. The *Third Ptolemaea* and the *Theuergesia*, 445.

1003 For references, see briefly Bruneau 1970, 560.

(at least on occasion) be referred to as the *Soteria* in the inventories is better connected to the likelihood that this was the only festival in honour of the *theoi soteres*, not an indication that this festival was somehow considered significantly different from those festivals referred to in the inventories by the name of their dedicant[1004].

A variety of *theoi soteres* is known from across the Greek world. On Delos, the only other known mention is of sacrifice to Zeus Soter and Athena Soteria in the inscription honouring Philocles, king of the Sidonians, and it is plausible that these were the gods also honoured here. They could, however, equally well be other gods more appropriate to the Macedonian benefactor[1005].

Pania/Antigonia

244 (Xenocrates) is the *archon* year of the offering which is consistently the earliest attested[1006]. The offerings for this festival, like for the *Soteria*, are made by Antigonus Gonatas in his own name, and no role is granted the Delian maidens. Rather than ascribing these differences to the superior status of the founder, we should understand them as arising from the different religious context: the Delian maidens are only associated with festivals to Apollo. Similarly, the fact that this festival could (at least on occasion) be referred to as the *Pania* in the inventories is better connected to the likelihood that this was the only festival in honour of Pan, not an indication that

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[1004] See, for references, and at greater length 348n832.

[1005] Zeus Soter and Athena Soteira: *IG* XI.4 559.23–24. Many different gods received this epithet, or were referred to collectively as *theoi soteres*. For a survey, see Höfer 1884–1937. In addition, the title was awarded the Hellenistic monarchs both in the singular, and the plural. On Ptolemy I Soter and his wife Berenice as the *theoi soteres* in Egypt: Oates 1971. As an epithet for Antigonus Monophthalmus and Demetrius Poliorcetes in Athens in 307: Habicht 1970, 44–48 with Diodorus 20.46.2, Plutarch *Demetrius* 9.1, 10.4, 13.2.

[1006] For references, see briefly Bruneau 1970, 561.

this festival was somehow considered significantly different from those festivals referred to in the inventories by the name of their dedicant[1007].

A sanctuary of Pan is not securely known on Delos in the third century; the *Pan*[*ium*] mentioned *c* 190 at *IG* XI.2 196 A.28 (*c* 190) may be connected with Antigonus' foundation, as suggested by Vallois, or independent, either pre- or post-dating this dedication. Bruneau additionally suggests that this *Panium* might be a small sanctuary excavated near the theatre. At least after 167/166, a priest of Dionysus, Hermes and Pan is attested, and Pan is also associated with the nymphs.[1008]

Mapsichidaea

240 (Acridion) is the *archon* year of the earliest attested offering. Mapsichidae, like Ocyneidae and Thyestadae, was a Delian trittyes. Unlike them, however, it endowed this offering on its own[1009].

Demetriaea

237 (Timagenes) as the first offering recorded dates from this year[1010]. Unlike for other festivals, this list is not repeated across several inventories, so it is more plausible that an earlier offering has been omitted. As Demetrius is now known to

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[1007] See for references and at greater length 348n832.

[1008] *Pan*[*ium*] *c* 190: *ID* 196.A.28; part of Antigonus' foundation: Vallois 1944, 1:106–107; discussion of the sanctuary near the theatre (Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 299 116c): Bruneau 1970, 437; priest of Dionysus, Hermes and Pan: Bruneau 1970, 324; Pan and the nymphs: Bruneau 1970, 436–437.

[1009] *ID* 298.A.40. See further Vial 1984, 28, especially 28n48 for references; and Hamilton 2000, 69. More generally on trittyes on Delos, see Vial 1984, 21–37.

[1010] 237: attested in *ID* 320.B.43. For further references and discussion: Bruneau 1970, 563–564.

have been king before 239, that year can no longer be considered a necessary *terminus post quem*[1011].

Philonidia

233 (Anaxithemis) as the first named offering dates from this year in a list from 221 which includes double offerings in 233, 229, and 227. A later list from 200 offers thirty-nine, but, as Tréheux argued, these do not suggest we should date the endowment earlier, but instead merely indicate further double offerings. Theoretically, an earlier date remains possible, but the number of offerings noted in later inventories does not require it[1012].

Philonis herself is only attested through this endowment and its products, but various prominent Hegesanders are known in the early third century who could be her father, including one who was father of Periander, a *choregos* in the *Dionysia* of 261 and 255, and who is probably the grandfather of the Periander active in the early second century. She can thus be connected to a prominent Delian family[1013].

Eutychia

230 (Scyllichus) as the first attested offering dates to this year[1014].

[1011] See for discussion 431, and for references 431n976.

[1012] 221: *IG* XI.2 124.63–72. 200: *IG* XI.2 128. See Tréheux 1944; for further development of this principle: Appendix 2. Principles behind dating Delian endowments, 396.

[1013] *IG* XI.2 114.13, *IG* XI.2 116.6. See further Vial 2008.

[1014] 230: *ID* 320.B.58. Note that this date seems accepted by all scholars except Tréheux 1992b, who suggests 235, plausibly because Durrbach in *ID* suggested that either the *Sopatria* or the *Eutychia* was to be identified as the festival to be restored for several offerings listed in *ID* 320.B.42 dating from 235 (Sosicus); Tréheux offers 235 for both festivals. In addition, the offerings for the *Eutychia* are listed together with those of the *Philadelphia* in some late inventories, which led some early scholars to

The *Eutychia* are most commonly connected with Eutychus of Chios, who has no known connexion to any dynasty and was honoured by the Delians in an inscription epigraphically dated to the middle of the third century, which mentions that he lived on Delos[1015]. This suggestion was initially made early in the excavations, when far fewer people were known, and is in keeping with the practice of connecting festivals with prominent officials, as for the *Philoclia* and the *Sopatria*. Given that the securely identifiable festivals are connected with prominent Delian trittyes, Delians or royalty, this festival is more plausibly to be connected to the prominent Delian family represented by the *choregos* of 224 whose father was Eutychus[1016].

Sopatria

230 (Scyllichus) is the year of the first attested offering[1017].

The most plausible candidate is the Sopatrus recorded as *choregos* in 215, who could well be the donor of this festival. Whether him, an ancestor, or quite separate, no foreign Sopatrus is known for the third century[1018].

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identify the two festivals. See Schulhof 1908, 115n2 and Bruneau 1970, 530n4 for brief arguments against this notion.

[1015] Eutychus of Chios (Baslez 1982b, 4:62 323); honoured by the Delians: *IG* XI.4 691 (= Durrbach 1921–1923, 52–53 43). The only other certain foreign Eutychus at this time is a debtor who died *c* 200, and is so probably too late: *ID* 383.3. This identification is accepted by Tréheux 1959, 2:209, where Eutychus is cited as a parallel for Micythus the Syrian. On this question, see Appendix 1. Micythus and the Delians after 167/166, 393.

[1016] *IG* XI.2 122.13. Note that Eutychus of Chios did offer a single *phiale* to Apollo which is recorded at *ID* 425.15 426.A.4 439.a.66, but this offering is recorded separately from the *phialae* from the endowment, and represents a single donation.

[1017] *ID* 320.B.58. Again, Tréheux 1992b suggests 235 for reasons discussed above: 440n1014.

[1018] *Choregos*: *IG* XI.2 126.6. Hence, Vial 1984, 381 seems over-cautious in reserving judgement on whether Sopatrus was Delian or not: Tréheux 1991 identifies two, one of whom is the donor of the *Sopatria*, the other a businessman mentioned in *IG* XI.2 287 and 294, but he does not justify his

Gorgieia

229 is the year in which Gorgias is recorded as making a gift of 6730 drachms which is plausibly the initial endowment of this festival; the first dated offering dates to 228. We argue above that an additional offering mentioned out of sequence in the inventory for 226 may point to delayed dedication of offerings across several years[1019]. The *Gorgieia* honoured Apollo, Artemis and Leto[1020].

Gorgias is identified as the son of Sosilus in an inventory from 153/2. He was thus a member of the prominent family which included Mnesalcus, *choregos* in 279 and 251, and which is traceable for over a century[1021].

Attalia

The earliest secure offering mentioned is that dated by *archon* Apollodorus I, who has been dated since Durrbach to 216[1022]. A strict *terminus post quem* of Attalus' accession in 241 applies. The failure to mention the *Attalia* in any of the many inventories known prior to 224 perhaps suggests that the endowment probably post-dates that year. This argument is not, however, particularly strong: we connect the

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decision, and both could be Delian. *Cf* Baslez 1982b, who does not include them in her discussion of foreigners on Delos.

[1019] 229: *ID* 320.B.79, 95. See further Appendix 2. Principles behind dating Delian endowments, 396.

[1020] *ID* 1432.A.b.90; for further discussion in context: 348n832.

[1021] 153/2: *ID* 1432.A.b.II.90; see further Vial 2008. Mnesalcus, the *choregos*: *IG* XI.2 108.14; *IG* XI.2 114.13. For a stemma, see Vial 1984, 136.

[1022] Apollodorus I: *ID* 366.A.63. For further references, see briefly Bruneau 1970, 564. 216: Durrbach 1916, 335. Schulhof 1908, 103 had suggested 217. Durrbach 1921–1923, 69 follows Schulhof rather than his own earlier reconstruction, but Bruneau 1970 (*eg*, 527, 529), Vial 1984 (*eg*, 261, 373) and Vial 2008 again prefer 216 without comment. Vial's reconstruction illustrated at 412 allows that Socleides might date to 217, which, beyond any offering that might be missing from the inventory, would provide a slightly earlier *terminus ante quem.* The reasoning behind the list, however, seems never to have been published.

Echenicia to an endowment *c* 250, and that festival is not mentioned before the same inscription which first attests the *Attalia*.

Donacia

The earliest secure offering mentioned is that dated by *archon* Apollodorus I, who has been dated since Durrbach to 216[1023]. Again, the failure to mention the *Donacia* in any of the many inventories known prior to 224 perhaps suggests that the endowment probably post-dates that year. If so, then this Donax might well be the grandson of the Donax who donated a golden object that appears in inventories from 269. The only other Donax known from the third century is the son of Apollonius named on a statue base found in the South(-West) Portico[1024]. Neither is certainly Delian, but by analogy with the *Echenicia*, *Gorgieia* and other festivals, the festival was probably endowed by a Delian.

Pataecia

The earliest secure offering mentioned is that dated by *archon* Apollodorus I, who has been dated since Durrbach to 216 [1025]. Again, the failure to mention the *Pataecia* in any of the many inventories known prior to 224 suggests that the endowment probably post-dates that year.

[1023] Apollodorus I: *ID* 366.A.75. The discussion regarding the date of Apollodorus I at 442n1022 is relevant here, as also the possibility allowed recently by Vial that Philon (not Socleides, as for the *Attalia*), might date to 217. See our illustration at 412.

[1024] Golden object: *IG* XI.2 203.B.83 and later references. Statue base: *IG* XI.4 1202. Roussel in *IG* suggested that he might be the same man as the donor of the golden object; Vial 2008 dates him (from a reappraisal of the letter forms?) to the second half of the third century, in which case he is more plausibly the 'grandson'.

[1025] Apollodorus I: *ID* 366.A.58. The discussion regarding the date of Apollodorus I at 442n1022 is relevant here, as also the possibility allowed recently by Vial that Socleides (not Philon, as for the *Donacia*), might date to 217: see our illustration at 412.

A Pataecus is mentioned as a donor of two *scaphia* in the inventory for 235, which reduce to one in later inventories. This offering could also be due to the same man. Tréheux suggests that he is a foreigner, but no ethnic is preserved, and Tréheux does not justify his reasoning. Beyond these references and those references associated with the festival, the name is not otherwise attested on Delos, but it is no more common elsewhere in the Greek world[1026].

Theuergesia

The earliest secure offering mentioned is that dated by *archon* Apollodorus I, who has been dated since Durrbach to 216[1027]. If the *Theuergesia* is a separate festival from the *Third Ptolemaea*, as seems on balance most plausible, the failure to mention the festival in any of the many inventories known prior to 224 suggests that the endowment probably post-dates that year. The festival could also post-date Ptolemy III Euergetes' death in 222, as the *Philadelphia* does, and the *Philetaeria* and *Stratonicia* may, but this hypothesis cannot be certain[1028].

[1026] *ID* 313.a.b.76. Tréheux 1991.

[1027] Apollodorus I: *ID* 366.A.65. For further references: Bruneau 1970, 525–528. The discussion regarding the date of Apollodorus I at 442n1022 is relevant here, as also the possibility allowed recently by Vial that Socleides (not Philon, as for the *Donacia*), might date to 217: see our illustration at 412. Note also that two offerings are attested for Socleides: *ID* 366.73, 76. On their possible significance, best considered alongside the other Ptolemaic festivals from this period, see Appendix 2. Principles behind dating Delian endowments, 396.

[1028] On the possible identity of the *Third Ptolemaea* and the *Theuergesia*, see Appendix 5. The *Third Ptolemaea* and the *Theuergesia*, 445.

Philippia

The earliest secure offering mentioned is that dated by *archon* Apollodorus I, who has been dated since Durrbach to 216[1029].

There is no evidence for a period of joint rule with his father Demetrius II, and it is perhaps unlikely as he was only nine years old when his father died. Antigonus Doson is said originally only to have ruled as regent, before he took the kingship in his own name, but there is no epigraphic or other evidence for Philip ever being acknowledged as king prior to Doson's death. Again, Philip's youth in 229, Doson's existing power-base as Philip grew, and Doson's early death when Philip was only seventeen may all mean that Philip's status never became an issue[1030]. A *terminus post quem* of 221 thus plausibly applies, but we cannot be certain.

Appendix 5. The Third Ptolemaea *and the* Theuergesia

The possible identity of the *Third Ptolemaea* and the *Theuergesia* has long been debated, partly on grounds that can no longer be considered valid. Certainty is still not possible, but it is important to trace the arguments adduced in the debate, to identify which remain valid, and which should be set aside.

[1029] Apollodorus I: *ID* 366.A.62. For further references: Bruneau 1970, 564. The discussion regarding the date of Apollodorus I at 442n1022 is relevant here, as also the possibility allowed recently by Vial that any of Philon, Socleides, and Harpalis might date to 217: see our illustration at 412.

[1030] Philip's age is established from Polybius' statements that he was seventeen in the autumn/winter of 221 and summer of 220: Polybius 4.5.3 and 4.24.1; see Walbank 1940, 295–296. He was thus nine when his father died. Livy 40.54.5 calls Doson his tutor; *cf* also the reference to Philip as heir to the kingdom in *IPriene* 37.137–138: τὸν γενόμενον διάδοχον τᾶς βασιλείας Φί[λιππον. For further references and brief discussion, see Walbank in Hammond, Griffith, and Walbank 1972–1988, 3:337–338 and 368–369.

Schulhof initially denied the identity of the *Third Ptolemaea* and the *Theuergesia* because in his publication of what is now *ID* 366 he identified five new Delian archons. He believed that these new archons required Homolle's *archon* list from 301 to 225 to be updated by at least three years. Hence, Mantitheus was, to Schulhof, *archon* in 248 or earlier, not 245, and the *Third Ptolemaea*, first attested under Mantitheus, could not honour Ptolemy III Euergetes, who came to the throne only in 246. By extension, the *Third Ptolemaea* also could not be the same festival as the *Theuergesia*, which Schulhof believed was probably not founded by Ptolemy III himself, but certainly honoured him[1031].

Schulhof later retracted his revision of the *archon* list, and, partly as a result, was happy to allow the identity of the *Third Ptolemaea* and the *Theuergesia*, although he did not consider it certain[1032]. Also influential in Schulhof's reanalysis, however, were Tarn's arguments, which were based precisely on connecting the festivals to specific historical events, and on a belief that they must have closely followed those events[1033]. As we have seen, neither belief is valid. Finally, the reason which for Schulhof was "décisive" (282n1) in his reanalysis was that to update the archons by three years would involve the *Demetriaea* being founded in 240, whereas Demetrius II only became king in 239. Again, however, the situation has changed, and rendered

[1031] Specifically on the *Theuergesia*: Schulhof 1908, 116. Schulhof seems not to have outlined his argument for his redating of the *archon* list either in this article or elsewhere. Indeed, as he indicated would be the case at the start of his discussion (19n2; *cf* 80n2), much of the article accepts Homolle's dating. One such case is the discussion of the *Third Ptolemaea*, where Schulhof dates Mantitheus' archonship and so the start of the offerings associated with the *Third Ptolemaea*, with Homolle to 245 (106), not to 248, as in his discussion of the *Theuergesia* (116).

[1032] Schulhof 1913.

[1033] Tarn 1909.

Schulhof's concern unnecessary: we now know that Demetrius was joint ruler before this date: 239 is perhaps more symbolic, but 240, or 241, or 242 is just as possible.

It is telling and concerning that, despite the arguments which Schulhof found so convincing, and which Durrbach himself had earlier adduced, Durrbach's final declaration in his discussion of the *archon* list as a whole is much simpler. He acknowledges that the main reason why Mantitheus cannot be dated higher than 245 is the identity between the *Third Ptolemaea* and the *Theuergesia* which he believes is "possible, … vraisemblable, mais … ne saurait être démontrée"[1034]. Subsequent scholarship, including, most recently, Vial in her index of Delians, has not revised this part of the *archon* list. The ascription of Mantitheus to 245 thus for now has to be accepted, but no argument from his date can be decisive. In addition, the argument outlined denying the need for a year's delay between endowment and first offering would also allow Mantitheus to move to 246 while still allowing the *Theuergesia* to be a reference to Ptolemy III Euergetes. This brief review of the early scholarship is thus significant because it again illustrates how central the endowments are to the Delian *archon* list as currently understood. It is relevant in this specific context because it suggests that any argument based on the intrinsic symbolism of a specific date can only, for the moment, be tentative[1035].

[1034] Durrbach 1911, 77–78, especially 78n1; Durrbach 1916, 307–308, quotation from 308.

[1035] Vial 2008; see Appendix 2. Principles behind dating Delian endowments, 396. The discussion here again illustrates how central the endowment inscriptions are to the Delian *archon* list in its current state; see further 324n797.

Bruneau later argued against the equation of the *Third Ptolemaea* and the *Theuergesia* for three quite different reasons[1036]. They are, however, unfortunately no more valid than those adduced by Schulhof. The most important is his third argument: that our record for the years 217 to 207 involves thirty-six offerings, whereas only thirty-three should be expected, three per year, if there were only three *Ptolemaea* festivals[1037]. Our recognition of the possibility of multiple festivals in a single year, and specifically our recognition that the phenomenon of multiple festivals in *ID* 366 is systemic and extends far beyond the *Ptolemaea* means that our thirty-six festivals do not require the creation of a fourth Ptolemaic festival, either directly, or by insistence that the *Theuergesia* must be separate from the previous festivals. Three additional festivals over the course of eleven years are far fewer than the additional festivals attested for the *Philonidia*. Given the parallel phenomenon of increased attestations of the Antigonid festivals at this time, we can instead attribute the increase to systemic factors, such as increased prosperity on Delos leading to more frequent creation of offerings[1038].

Bruneau's other two arguments focus on the difficulties caused by the name *Theuergesia*. They are thus less decisive, given that he does accept the derivation of *Theuergesia* from Euergetes. It is just possible that another euergete may have been

[1036] Bruneau 1970, 525–528.
[1037] *ID* 366.A.53–93.
[1038] See Appendix 2. Principles behind dating Delian endowments, 396, and Appendix 3. Multiple and missing offerings and their import, 408. As noted at 412n926, Bruneau was aware that increased numbers of dedications from Antigonid and Ptolemaic endowments were recorded for overlapping years in the same inscription (*ID* 366 [207]), but he did not draw systemic conclusions.

so honoured, but, given the ongoing identification by Ptolemy III as Euergetes from early in his reign[1039], Ptolemy III is by far most probable, as Bruneau accepts.

First, Bruneau is concerned that a festival to Ptolemy III should have been referred to using a divine epithet on Delos when the other festivals were but called the *Ptolemaea*, and his father and grandfather were not referred to by a divine epithet. We do not, however, need to insist that the name was used for the festival when it was first founded: since the name *Theuergesia* is only attested after 216, we can understand a change of name as a later development, perhaps subsequent to (and a consequence of?) the death of Euergetes in 222. Whether so or not, it is unclear how Bruneau's concern is relevant to the question of the equation of the two festivals.

Our suggestion of a later shift in description touches on Bruneau's second difficulty. Durrbach had justified the shift in name by an analogy with the multiple names attested for the *Soteria/Antigonia* and *Pania/Antigonia*, but Bruneau argues that this analogy is illusory as the development is the reverse: for the *Soteria* and *Pania*, the *hieropoioi* start by clearly distinguishing the festivals, and only later cause confusion by referring to them all as *Antigonia*, whereas Durrbach's approach to the *Theuergesia* would involve the priests starting by not distinguishing the festivals, and later moving to use a more specific term.

Bruneau's point about changing terminology is valid, but the shift is not a simple chronological one. The inventories continue to refer to the festivals under a variety of

[1039] Already noted by Tarn 1909, 276.

names, both as *Antigonia*, and as *Pania* or *Soteria*[1040], whereas the phenomenon of the *Theuergesia* is a strictly time-limited one, appearing in the inventories from 209 and 207 and then later only through the repeated reference to a *phiale* offered under Tlepolemus and Nicarchus. It is as though the name of Ptolemy III Euergetes as *Theos Euergetes* gained a specific prominence on Delos, and then lost it again.

None of the above arguments against the identity of the *Third Ptolemaea* and the *Theuergesia* are decisive. The difficulty of explaining the change of name so late in our inventories does, however, remain. Ultimately, therefore, it seems better provisionally to keep the two festivals as separate: even if the references to *Theuergesia* are but an indication of a reconfiguration of the festival, separating the two acknowledges whatever shift there was more than eliding this difference. It also acts as a reminder of the ongoing relevance of the Ptolemies in the Delian sphere at this time.

Appendix 6. Delian 'independence', 315/314, and ID *104-30*

315/314 was swiftly identified as a central date in Delian history by the excavators, and has become a fixture in scholarship, most recently under the specific guise of September 314, as first hypothesised by Tréheux in 1949[1041]. This appendix argues

[1040] The *Pania* is already referred to without specific reference to Antigonus in *ID* 312.6 (237–236?), *ID* 320.B.58 (229), and the *Soteria* similarly in *ID* 338.A.ab.41 (224); while, as Bruneau's table of twelve *archon* years from 221 to 207 as recorded in *ID* 366 illustrates, the *Soteria* was only indicated separately once in those years, but the *Pania* was recorded separately eight times. These synchronic variations point again to the fact that these are inventories created by humans as well as religious documents, and suggest that it is unwise to insist on too much consistency.

[1041] Note that I here use 315/314 as a convenient shorthand to refer to 315 or 314 as the two alternative dates for Delian independence which have been advanced on the basis of Homolle's argument. Earlier scholars preferred 315, but recent scholarship has settled on 314, in large part because of the argument

that this focus is misguided. A reanalysis of the evidence confirms and extends Tréheux's commonly overlooked later conclusion in 1959 that we have no reason to consider 315/314 even the most probable date of either of the two connected changes in the sanctuary which are commonly treated together under the term Delian 'independence': the end of what has been understood to have been Athenian hegemonic involvement in the sanctuary, and the date at which the *amphictyones* were replaced as primary administrators of the sanctuary by Delian *hieropoioi*. There is even less justification for selecting September 314 as the date of either or both of these changes. Where Tréheux's withdrawal of his argument for September 314 in 1959 derived from his doubts over the *terminus post quem* of the spring of 315 his argument required, and so could perhaps be overlooked by later scholars who did not share his concerns, we argue that his specific argument for September 314 is, perhaps unfortunately, independently invalid. Neither September 314, nor any variation on the formulation 315/314–167/166 thus currently has any place in our histories of either the sanctuary or the *polis* of Delos.

Perhaps more importantly, however, we also argue that the common identification and joint treatment of these two changes is deeply unhelpful, not least because it presupposes that Athens did maintain a hegemonic position on fourth century Delos.

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of Tréheux 1949 specifically for September 314 (even though, as noted below, he explicitly withdrew this argument at Tréheux 1959, 1:178–199). I use 315/4 to refer to the Athenian *archon* year, which ran from summer solstice to summer solstice, and 315 to refer to the calendar year, which was also the Delian *archon* year at least in the early third century. As offerings from the *Delia*, which happened in the Spring, are the usual context for references to Athenian *archon* year, the Athenian *archon* year of, *eg*, 316/5 usually equates to activity in early 315. Coupry argued in his commentary to *ID* 89 and *ID* 93 that the Delian *archon* year was synchronised with the Athenian year at least in the fifth century. There is no evidence for the late fourth century.

This conjecture has been made easier by the common implicit identification of the amphictyony as an expression of Athenian hegemonic will, but remains unjustified. Both hypotheses instead arise from similar hegemonic presuppositions to those we have been addressing elsewhere in this study: just as Naxos is to have been hegemon in the archaic period, Athens in the fifth century, and the Antigonids, then Ptolemies, and then Rhodians in the Hellenistic period, so Athens is identified as filling the fourth century gap in this narrative.

In reality, this model is no better attested for the fourth century than it is elsewhere. It is ultimately plausible that the replacement of the *amphictyones* by the *hieropoioi* as primary administrators of the inventories did involve some legislative moment or 'event'. Regarding Athenian involvement in the sanctuary at this time, however, the situation is quite different: there may possibly be a causal or chronological connexion between (continued) diminution of Athenian involvement in the sanctuary, and the replacement of the *amphictyones* as primary administrators with the *hieropoioi*, but it is actively misleading to look for a single date at which Athenian involvement 'ended'. It is more plausible that their position waxed and waned in varying stages, some larger than others, rather than that the Athenians were somehow meaningfully 'expelled'.

We here illustrate the process by which 315/314 was identified as the critical date; we demonstrate how central hegemonical presuppositions were and still remain to the argument; and we systematically argue that the evidence does not support the focus on 315/314, in particular because the only evidence that has been thought to provide an

unproblematic *terminus post quem* of 315 for the events here discussed, the *phialae* attested in *ID* 104-30 and elsewhere, does not. We argue that, if we are concerned with tracing the shift in primary authority in the sanctuary from the *amphictyones* to the *hieropoioi*, then current evidence does not allow us to narrow the specific date at which this shift occurred any closer than between the latest inventory mentioning the *amphictyones* (currently 332), and the earliest inscription implying the primacy of the *hieropoioi* (currently 312)[1042]. If we are interested in tracing the decline in Athenian influence in the sanctuary, then we should rather envisage a process that started at least in *c* 330, but which can also be meaningfully traced back to a zenith in the late fifth century.

However we wish to conceptualise the various relationships between Athens and the amphictyony, Delos and the amphictyony, and Athens and Delos, however, the crucial point remains that no Delian evidence, and, indeed, no Cycladic evidence, points to 315/314 as critical in the history of the sanctuary, of the *polis*, or of the region. However we choose to interpret our thin literary sources for conflict between Antigonus and Ptolemy in 315 and 314, - which, moreover, at no point mention the Cyclades, - the suggestion that their conflict resulted in wide-ranging changes in the governance of the sanctuary on Delos thus must remain no more than an unlikely

[1042] 332: the date currently ascribed the latest currently known document mentioning the *amphictyones*: *ID* 104-31 = *IG* II^2 1653 = Chankowski 2008, 495–497 46: [333/2].
312: from *IG* XI.2 135, the first inscription mentioning *hieropoioi* alone in a context where, earlier *amphictyones* might perhaps have been expected (although there is no direct parallel context, so the analogy is not certain). Durrbach and Tréheux both dated Diaetus, the *archon* in whose term of office they are mentioned, to 312; archons are mentioned earlier in the inscription but not in this context. As noted at 478n1067, however, Durrbach dated Diaetus to 312 because he believed independence specifically fell late in 314. Diaetus could thus easily be dated to 313. He may also move further in a broader reassessment, but probably only to a higher date.

conjecture, and it certainly cannot justify hypothesising Athenian hegemony on Delos until that date.

In this context, we should recognise that it is unnecessary to reiterate that Delos did not become 'independent' at about this time: the vocabulary of scholarship is perhaps unfortunate and may lead to confusion. Nevertheless, there is general awareness that, whatever events may underlie the various changes at about this time, including the apparent reform in the governance of the sanctuary and the apparent growth in the epigraphic habit, the liberation of either the *polis* or the sanctuary of Delos from subjection into a new state of untrammelled independence is not one of them[1043].

Instead, our concern here is specifically with the continued focus on 315/314. As the repeated unsatisfactory attempts to identify alternative close *termini post quos* perhaps indicate, current scholarship does acknowledge that the only evidence traditionally adduced as providing a *terminus post quem* of 315 for Delian 'independence', the *phialae* attested in *ID* 104-30 and elsewhere, is deeply

[1043] For the use of 'independence' to refer to the period between 315/314 and 167/166, see, for example, the titles of Tréheux 1959, Vial 1984, and Reger 1994c. *Cf* Vial 1984, 1, which acknowledges the existence and political autonomy of the *polis* of Delos both before and after 315/314, and contrasts a situation wherein the sanctuaries (plural) of the island were administered by a foreign city with one in which the *polis* of Delos managed them herself. Even Chankowski 2008 (on which, see 458n1047) does not call into question the 'independence' of the *polis* of Delos before 314 except in the late 420s, in the context of the purification of the island and expulsion of the Delians; see Chankowski 2008, 63–70, and, for a broader synthesis, 379–385. For reasons discussed further below, however, there is often an ambiguity even in scholars' programmatic statements, where references to "Delos", "the Delians" or to "the island" can be understood as applicable to either the sanctuary, the *polis* or to both. Thus, Vial 1984, 1, refers to the date of the liberation of the island ("l'île"). *Cf* Reger 1994c, 15, which successively states that in the fourth century "Delos itself was administered by an amphiktyonia run by Athens first alone and later with Andrian cooperation"; that later occurred "the return of Delos to Athenian control after 167"; while, from 314–167, "Delos was "'independent' in those years only in the sense that the Delian demos enjoyed full authority over its own sanctuary and that it acted like any other free and autonomous polis of the Hellenistic age" [quotation marks original]. The first "Delos" seems to refer to the sanctuary alone, but the second could refer to the *polis* alone or to both the sanctuary and the *polis*, while the third seems to refer to the *polis* alone.

problematic. It has not, however, recognised that the specific date of September 314 for Delian 'independence' established by Tréheux is also dependent on conclusions derived from *ID* 104-30. Tréheux himself was aware of this connexion: as we see below, Tréheux withdrew his argument for September 314 largely because of fresh doubts over *ID* 104-30. Since he seems subsequently to have avoided specifying the date and nature of Delian independence, moreover, it seems that he never resolved these doubts. Later scholars have, however, been less cautious. Hence both the general *terminus post quem* of 315/314 for Delian 'independence' and Tréheux's argument specifically for September 314 have continued to have traction in scholarship[1044].

[1044] *ID* 104-30 (= *IG* II^2 1652 = Chankowski 2008, 493–495 45 [334/3]). This *terminus post quem*, as we note here and demonstrate below, was central to Tréheux's belief that the anomaly he identified for September 314 reflected reorganisation involved in new-found 'independence'. For discussion of the additional difficulties specifically in Tréheux's reading of *IG* XI.2 138, from which he identified September 314 as an unusual month in Delian history (whether because it was the date of 'independence' or for any other reason), see 473, and especially 474n1064.
Overlooked: as noted in the text, Tréheux 1959, 1:178–199 withdrew his date of September 314, for which he had argued in Tréheux 1949. It is possible that Tréheux subsequently resolved these doubts, and that an oral expression of his views underlies the restatement of September 314 at Vial 1984, 2–3 and Chankowski 2008, 221. If so, Tréheux never published that solution. It seems, moreover, unlikely: Tréheux did continue to refer to "l'indépendance" and 'la période amphictyonique" in his later publications, but he seems to have avoided specifying the dates involved, with the notable exception of Tréheux 1992a, 21: "l'Indépendance (314–166 avant J.-C.)". Vial 1984, 2–3 is summarising. Nevertheless, her treatment is unhelpful in presenting Tréheux 1959, 1:178–199 as a discussion of the difficulties of Homolle's views, and then continuing to outline the argument of Tréheux 1949 as the basis for September 314, as though that argument were independent of Tréheux 1959, 1:178–199. Tréheux 1959, 1:178–199 had, however, explicitly withdrawn his argument for September 314.
Note that Chankowski 2008, 221 additionally cites Tréheux 1976, 88n20 in justifying the date of September 314 as the date of Delian 'independence'. Tréheux 1976, 88n20, however, specifically illustrates how Tréheux's interpretation of *IG* XI.2 138 could be compatible with Coupry's suggestion noted above that the Delian *archon* year was synchronised with the Athenian *archon* year at least at some points prior to 314. Tréheux 1976, 88n20 does not restate the case for September 314, while none of Tréheux 1976, 88n20, Vial 1984, 2–3, or Chankowski 2008, 220–221, 232–233 addresses the structural difficulties raised at Tréheux 1959, 1:178–199, or recognises the additional difficulties noted here at 473, especially 474n1064. Instead, both Vial 1984, 2–3 and Chankowski 2008, 220–221, 232–233 form more recent illustrations of the phenomenon we can identify already in the early twentieth century whereby 315/314 became a fixture in the Delian calendar independent of its evidentiary basis:

We here argue that Tréheux's doubts, while justified, do not go far enough. He and other scholars did not call into question the structures and symbolism behind the *phialae*: we draw on our revised understanding of the Hellenistic dedications to re-examine this question. In addition, Tréheux's surviving alternatives were complete *aporia* or a *terminus post quem* of 316/5 for Delian 'independence', probably equating to spring 315 in calendar terms. This hesitation was enough, in Tréheux's mind, to invalidate his argument for September 314, but it did not challenge the overall *terminus post quem* of 315/314 for those who did not share the *aporia* Tréheux ultimately preferred because of still further difficulties he identified. We draw on our new awareness of multiple annual offerings to argue that *aporia* is not the necessary result. Instead, the difficulties can be resolved, and suggest that the *terminus post quem* for the (non-hegemonic) Athenian activity represented by the *phialae* can be much higher.

These conclusions are important because they modify our chronology of Athenian engagement in the region. On a minimal level, the Delian evidence becomes more compatible with the evidence for Athenian naval weakness long before 314, not least the twin Athenian naval defeats at Abydos and Amorgos in 322. They also again call into question the hegemonic chain from Naxian to Athenian to Antigonid to Lagid to Rhodian which scholars have sought to maintain.

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see further 470, and 470n1059. Specifically on the more detailed analysis offered by Chankowski 2008 justifying 314, see 479n1068.

Their true weight can, however, only be appreciated as part of the new perspective adopted in this appendix. In addition to the more general contention of this dissertation that multipolar dynamics, not unipolar hegemonic dynamics should underlie our conception of the Cyclades, we here recognise that there is both plenty of evidence for changes in political, accounting, and epigraphic systems (as well as religious and social) at other points in the fourth and third centuries, and, perhaps more importantly, great evidence for continuity across 315/314. To conceive of a single 'event' to explain the various changes that occurred approximately at this time is thus misleading, even if we restrict our focus just to what might be termed the administrative areas of politics, accounting and epigraphy. 167/166 may perhaps have been a point of rupture on Delos, but there is no need to identify an earlier date as its pair[1045].

Because the latest evidence either for Athenian activity on Delos in the fourth century or for the *amphictyones* has been for Athenian activity, moreover, it is perhaps understandable that scholars have not independently discussed the question of the duration of the amphictyonic system. Instead, they have tended to assume that the amphictyonic system must have continued at least as long as Athenian activity, because it formed the frame of that Athenian activity, and hence have looked for a

[1045] To anticipate, see the summary of evidence for continuity across 315/314 at 487, with references at 487n1075. The ambiguity identified in 453n1043 is again problematic in this context in helping to construct 315/314 and 167/166 as dates of complementary significance.
167/166: the form used for consistency because the exact date of the events on Delos after the Third Macedonian War is unclear: see 327n800. *Cf* 315/314.

single event to explain both changes[1046]. Even if we were to assume that Athenian activity was hegemonic, however, the converse conclusion does not follow: that Athenian dominance must have lasted as long as the amphictyonic system, let alone that it was monolithic and integral to the amphictyonic system. In the light of our arguments here that the *phialae* do not attest hegemonic Athenian activity, and that they do not offer a *terminus post quem* of 315/314 for the end of Athenian activity, later than the latest activity for the *amphictyones*, it is still more important that the two questions are kept separate, rather than being equated through an implicit identification of the amphictyony as a structure of Athenian hegemony[1047].

[1046] For a rare *caveat*, see Tréheux 1959, 2:278, *cf* 2:279, which cautions against assuming from our thin evidence that the "collaboration" between the *hieropoioi* and the *amphictyones* lasted as long as the "protectorat d'Athènes". Tréheux did not explore this *caveat*, but, as we note below, Tréheux's open doubts about the validity of the evidence cited by Homolle for Athenian activity on Delos later than the 330s did lead him to leave the chronology of the first group of Delian archons open; see further 477, especially 478n1067. Whether a result of this argument or not, he seems subsequently to have avoided specifying the date of Delian 'independence', but later scholars have not been so cautious: see 454n1044.

[1047] Here, we should acknowledge Chankowski 2008, which unusually makes this implicit assumption an explicit argument, maintaining that the Delian sanctuary effectively formed part of the Athenian administrative and imperial sphere. For Chankowski, there was no archaic Delian amphictyony. Instead, the Athenians chose to call their magistrates on Delos *amphictyones* precisely in a nod to Delphi. Their attempt to obtain some ideological legitimacy does not, however, change the reality of Athenian control. In keeping with such an approach, she argues that the evidence for Delian opposition to Athenian involvement has been systematically over-interpreted, and that Athenian domination extended without interruption until 315/314, except possibly for 402–393.
Chankowski's study is rich, and its many detailed observations very important. Her approach is also welcome and compelling in explicitly arguing for what had been an implicit presupposition of most previous scholarship: that the (minimal) amphictyonic structures were simply an aspect and means of Athenian control. (For partial foreshadowing, see Vial 1984, 1, where she describes the sanctuaries [plural] as administered by an external power, Athens. As her own study considers Delos between 314 and 167, however, she does not expand on what precisely this statement entails; see also Homolle 1886, 468, cited at 461n1050.) Chankowski's (and their) approach, however, differs radically from that adopted here. She effectively departs from the external, imperial, and Atheno-centric perspective of previous scholarship. In addition, her vision of the Delian amphictyony as an imperial perversion normalises a specifically Delphic model of amphictyonic behaviour which her own discussion should encourage us to believe was not chronologically or logically prior: the Delphic amphictyony was no more a "véritable amphictionie" (7) than that of Delos, but was instead a reflection of the very different geopolitical circumstances of that sanctuary.

In reality, 314 may not have been important on Delos at all. September 314 almost certainly was not, and we argue that the date of amphictyonic change on Delos may well have occurred much earlier, at any date after 333/2, when the *amphictyones* are last attested. Even if new evidence does subsequently demonstrate the amphictyonic system in operation later in the fourth century, however, there will be no need

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Two brief connected examples may illustrate the difference of perspective. First, it is plausibly true that the evidence for interruptions in the amphictyony and friction between Athens and Delos has been over-interpreted in past scholarship (215–219); to posit fewer disruptions to the norm, and smoother relations between Athens and Delos does not, however, automatically require us to normalise Athenian control as part of that norm. It remains to characterise what that norm was.

Second, her suggestion that, given the absence of evidence for a functioning assembly of the amphictyony (or, indeed, for the word *ἀμφικτιονία or *ἀμφικτυονία anywhere on Delos), the classical *amphictyones* must have been agents of Athenian power, and so that the norm was Athenian domination, is deeply problematic. It ignores the agency of the Delians which the very collaboration between Athenian *amphictyones* and Delian *hieropoioi* inscribed on the inventories indicates was central to the functioning of the sanctuary. The Delian model was undoubtedly a different model of amphictyony to the Delphic one, but to understand it as an Athenian imperial model cannot convince: it remains unexplained why the Athenians should have engaged in such a superficially collaborative way, especially given Chankowski's belief in domination as the norm on Delos also in the archaic period (10–15).

Here, her argument that the Athenians were inspired by a Delphic model is critical in providing this justification. It is, however, unfortunately implausible on two levels: first, Chankowski's own convincing argument that there was no archaic Delian amphictyony (20–28) but illustrates the need for a similar re-evaluation of the archaic Delphic amphictyony: see, for a brief review of the evidence, but with over-conservative conclusions, Lefèvre 1998b, 13–16 and Sánchez 2001, 32–44. Second, even if we were to posit the existence of an archaic Delphic amphictyony, the crux of Chankowski's analogy with Delphi as a model is precisely the *amphictyones*, because, as Chankowski cogently notes, they are the only aspect of an 'amphictyonic' administrative structure which is attested at Delos. The equivalent officials at Delphi, however, were not called *amphictyones,* but *hieromnamones* ("ἱερομνάμονες"). It is unclear why the Athenians should have undermined the very façade of co-operative governance that they were attempting to erect through the analogy with Delphi by using a different name for the central officials. In addition, *pace* Chankowski 2008, 45–46, especially 45n68, the very regularity of the Delian epigraphic insistence on ἀμφικτύονες, where the earlier Delphic use seems to be ἀμφικτίονες may rather suggest independent origins and etymologies which were later confused. The choice of the spelling ἀμφικτύονες on Delos thus may well be significant, and have been "un choix conscient" (46), but it is not one that points to either Delphic or Athenian influence.

This brief review cannot do justice to the exhaustive study of the evidence and the many nuanced arguments which Chankowski presents in the course of her detailed study: see, in addition, for a briefer but often complementary discussion Chankowski 2001a; it does, however, perhaps illustrate why, independently of the arguments presented here, Chankowski's insistence on Athenian imperial domination as the norm for the entirety of the fifth and fourth centuries is no more convincing than the parallel arguments that have been adduced for external domination as the norm in the Hellenistic period. In the late fifth century, Athenian influence on Delos was no doubt great, and the organisation and operation of the sanctuary will presumably have reflected that influence. To insist on imperial domination as an inherent and permanent part of the sanctuary and its structures at this time is, however, another matter. Specifically on her discussion of 314, see 470n1059.

ahistorically to extend Athenian involvement until that date from an implicit assumption that, despite the evidence for Athenian weakness at this time, as witnessed by the defeats at Abydos and Amorgos, Athenian (hegemonic) involvement and the amphictyonic system must end at the same time, and simultaneously yield to control of the sanctuary by the *hieropoioi*. Not only does the *terminus post quem* of 315/314 previously established from *ID* 104-30 not apply for any of Delian 'independence', the end of Athenian hegemonic activity on Delos, and the end of the amphictyony, but no equivalent single date should be established in place of the current consensus of (September) 314.

Nevertheless, 315/314 and a notion of Athenian hegemony as the norm on Delos in the fourth century until that date have both been central to scholarship for over a century. Already in 1887, Homolle systematically argued from both literary and epigraphic sources that "the end of the Athenian regime" and "the political separation" of Delos and Athens should be placed in 315 or very soon afterwards[1048]. Ever since, scholars have advanced different arguments to support and further to specify this date, partly because of continuing doubt over the strength of the arguments previously advanced, partly because the wealth of fragmentary epigraphic evidence available offered a variety of approaches, and partly because of the importance of the Delian *archon* list in our broader Hellenistic chronology.

[1048] See Homolle 1887a, especially 26–46; quotations from 35 ("la fin du régime athénien") and 43 ("la séparation politique"), respectively.

Homolle's methodology and vocabulary in his discussions of the date of Delian 'independence' are noteworthy because of their resonances with the scholarly approaches to the Hellenistic Cyclades we discussed earlier[1049]. Homolle was insistent even in his initial discussion in 1887 that Athens did not control Delos before 315/314, but he did not think it inconsistent still to refer to "the end of the Athenian regime" and "the political separation" of Athens and Delos at this time. Even before the excavations on Delos had started, Delian archons from the fourth century had been known. In addition, Homolle had already published in 1886 an inventory found in 1880 and dated to 364 in which Delian *hieropoioi* were active alongside the *amphictyones*. Nevertheless, although Homolle was careful not to prejudge the nature of the period from 315 to 166 in the title of his 1887 discussion, he did repeatedly contrast the periods either side of 315 in the body of his text as periods of subjugation to Athens, and of independence. Similarly, in his discussion of the inventory of 364, he described the involvement of the *hieropoioi* as a "privilege" which was bestowed on the Delians. The hegemonic presuppositions are again clear: even as Homolle acknowledged the role of Delians in the sanctuary, he framed this engagement in terms of subordination not just to the amphictyony, but to the Athenians[1050].

[1049] See especially 293–311.

[1050] Quotation: Homolle 1886, 472 ("privilège").
For Homolle's insistence that the Athenians did not rule Delos, see Homolle 1887a, 27–28: "les Athéniens, en effet, administrent les temples sans posséder ni gouverner l'île; ils exercent un droit religieux fondé sur la tradition, consacré par le jugement du tribunal amphictyonique; ils ne détiennent aucune puissance politique; ils ne jouissent d'aucun avantage militaire, puisque les eaux de Délos sont neutralisées." Homolle's argument is here partly influenced by the suggestion in scholarship at this time that Delos might have been a κοινὸς τόπος, and so neutral; for thorough discussion of this notion, with previous scholarship, see Tarn 1924. Tarn's general conclusions remain valid, although his presuppositions (for example, regarding Delos' status in the Second League of the Islanders) and hence

Similar presuppositions underlay Homolle's approach to the relationship between the amphictyony and the Athenians' role on Delos, and to dating their respective ends. He was careful to distinguish between the evidence for the amphictyony and for Athenian activity on Delos: the last dated amphictyonic document then known to him was dated to 334/3, while he hypothesised Athenian activity until 330/29, by extending a series of penteteric Athens gold crowns to end with its final twenty-first

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also his individual arguments are now occasionally in need of revision. See briefly Appendix 2. Delos and the Second League of the Islanders, 577.

Delian archons known before the excavations on Delos started included:

Epigenes (377) from *ID* 98.A.4 (= *IG* II 814 = *IG* II^2 1635 = Prêtre and Brunet 2002, 29–37 = Chankowski 2008, 417–425 13): ἐν Δήλωι δὲ ἀπὸ Ἐπιγένος ἄρχοντος;

Galaeus (376) and Hippias (375): *ID* 98.A.27–28 (as above): ἐπὶ ἀρχόντων Ἀθήνησι Χαρισάνδρο, Ἱπποδάμαντος, ἐν Δήλωι δὲ Γαλαίο, Ἱπ[πί]ο.

364 inventory: Homolle 1886, now *ID* 104 (= Prêtre and Brunet 2002, 39–47 = Chankowski 2008, 435–441 19).

Note that Delian *hieropoioi* are also mentioned independently of the *amphictyones*, both in decrees (*eg*, *ID* 73 [400–375?]), and in inventories (eg, *ID* 104-26 bis.B.8 [= Chankowski 2008, 467–471 30; 352/1]).

The title of Homolle 1887a: "[l]es archives de l'intendance sacrée à Délos". Contrast between Athenian subjugation and 'independence': Homolle 1887a, 35, 44, 46, and especially 12: "[s]oumise à Athènes jusque vers 315, habitée par les Romains après 166, l'île participe un peu à l'éclat de ses maîtres ou de ses patrons; mais, dans l'intervalle, elle paie son indépendance par son obscurité"; 26: "si l'on connaît le terme de l'indépendance de Délos, on ignore en quelle année elle avait commencé"; and 54: "la période de l'indépendance délienne (315–166)".

Hegemonic presuppositions: *cf* Homolle 1886, 468, where Homolle notes that the inscription which is now *ID* 104 was dated by the *archon* at Athens and the *archon* at Delos and so conformed to the precedents of previously published inventories, which he describes as involving Delos being "autonome et maîtresse de son gouvernement intérieur, mais assistée ou plutôt remplacée dans l'administration de ses temples, devenus sanctuaires amphictyoniques, par les Athéniens, chefs et représentants de l'amphictyonie insulaire." These precedents included *ID* 98, mentioned above, and the inventory of 410: Homolle 1884a, 283–289 1 (now: *ID* 93 [= *IG* I^3 1460 = Chankowski 2008, 403–405 6]).

Cf also Homolle 1886, 472, quoted above, where he describes how the "privilège" bestowed on the Delians enabled the *hieropoioi* to cooperate ("coopèrent") with the *amphictyones*; it did not enable the *hieropoioi* and the *amphictyones* to cooperate with each other.

In such descriptions, Homolle's discussion approaches the position adopted by Chankowski 2008, on which see 458n1047.

Note that Coupry was entrusted with the publication of the inventories before 314 in 1935, already twenty years after Durrbach had suspended his work on the inscriptions in 1914, but was only able to publish his edition in 1972. As more inscriptions had been unearthed since the original numbering had envisaged, additional inventories are numbered *ID* 104-1 to *ID* 104-31 to maintain sequence with those published by Durrbach in 1912 in *IG* XI.2. He intended to publish an accompanying synthesis (see, for references, Tréheux 1976, 92; Vial 1984, 1; Chankowski 2008, 1, especially 1n2), but was unfortunately not able to complete this project. Chankowski 2008 offers such a synthesis, re-edits the inventories published by Coupry (*ID* 89 to *ID* 104-31), and publishes the few more recent discoveries which he was not able to include.

member in that year. Nevertheless, he ultimately identified only a single date at which both simultaneously gave way to control of the sanctuary by the *hieropoioi*, 'independence'. He also worked forward from 334/3 to the date he eventually selected, 315/314, essentially on the basis of historical plausibility, as informed by these same hegemonic presuppositions, and historical hindsight. Thus, there was, for Homolle, no clear reason why the Athenians should have been compelled to abandon Delos between 330/29 and 326/5. They may have suspended the *Delia* and their offerings in order to enable them to preserve their resources for a future conflict, but that same foresight forbade them from voluntarily leaving Delos. Despite the end of the end of the series of penteteric gold crowns in 330/29, Athenian control thus must have continued, and with it, implicitly but still inevitably, the amphictyony[1051].

[1051] Homolle 1887a, 29–30: "[o]n cherche vainement par quelle raison les Athéniens auraient été induits, par quelle force contraints à abandonner Délos entre l'année 330 et l'année 326/5. … les Athéniens auront renoncé à des offrandes coûteuses qu'aucun profit ne compensait plus; mais la prévoyance politique, l'orgueil seul, leur interdisait de quitter Délos, alors surtout que, préparant l'avenir, ils reconstituaient leurs finances et leurs forces maritimes." *Cf* König's justification for positing Ptolemaic control in the Cyclades until 201: only then is there evidence for activity which the Ptolemies should have opposed. As they did not, their control must have ended. Even though evidence for Ptolemaic activity in preceding decades was in his time, and remains, very thin, he did not hence reassess the reality of Ptolemaic power prior to that date; see 296, especially 296n748, and, more generally, our discussion at 293–311.
For a recent discussion of the gold crowns, see Chankowski 2008, 222–231, arguing that two additional crowns originally identified by Roussel 1924, 106 also formed part of this series, and so attest the *Delia* of 327/6 and 323/2. Most important here is the role of the *phialae* from *ID* 104-30 in her discussion: she does not directly address the difficulty caused by the absence of crowns for 319/8 and 315/4 in positing Athenian departure in 314, but suggests instead that there is no reason to think that the ritual had changed, given the continued presence of the Athenians on Delos (228: "[p]uisque les Athéniens semblent être toujours présents dans l'île à cette date"). There is no explicit reference, but the only such evidence arises from the *phialae*, which she discusses at 232–233. *Cf* Roussel 1924, 106, who had suggested that, if the crowns are relevant, they indicate that the Athenians were no longer in charge of Delos in 318/7.
IG XI.2 154.A.62–63 (296): στεφάνους χρυσοῦς ἠρτημένους πρὸς τῶι τοίχωι εἴκοσι ἕνα καὶ συντε/θλασμένους ἐγ κιβωτίωι δύο.
Chankowski's interpretation of the additional gold crowns cannot, however, convince, not least because she does not address the issues raised by Tréheux 1959, 1:186–189. Tréheux's argument that the crowns should probably be dissociated because they were later moved away from the series of twenty-

Given the hegemonic presuppositions that underlay Homolle's model, his approach is understandable. Nevertheless, as Homolle himself recognised, the evidence for a caesura specifically in Delian history in 315/314 has never been strong. He thus established his case in 1887 from the general historical context. Unlike 330/29–326/5, we do have evidence for other defections from Athens *c* 315, such as the defection of Lemnos. We also know that sizeable fleets were active in the Aegean at this time, during what Homolle termed the clash of Antigonus Monophthalmus and Ptolemy. He did argue that other evidence was compatible with 315/314, but he recognised no other evidence required that date. Instead, his selection of 315/314 as the date of the end of Athenian involvement on Delos (and with it, the amphictyony) arose specifically from his understanding of the historical situation, not least because, as he

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one (*IG* XI.2 287.B.77 (= Prêtre and Brunet 2002, 125–141 [250]) is plausible. *Cf* for discussion of later isolated offerings and festivals that are plausibly not connected with the endowments, Bruneau 1970, 516–518, 530–531 (Lagids); 545–552, 564 (Antigonids); 569–570, 573 (Attalids); 573–576 (Seleucids). More important is his discussion of the damaged state of the crowns ("συντε/θλασμένους"); they are thus highly unlikely to be the newest members of the series. Tréheux does not analyse the series in detail, but we may conjecture that they might represent *Delia* in years where Chankowski posits that no offering was made, as part of her argument that the date of the first crown should be 426/5 or 422/1. These years include 402/1, 398/7, 394/3, and possibly 422/1: see the table at 255–226, with discussion at 229–230. Since they were not on display, and were known to be damaged, it is plausible that they were not weighed; because they were not weighed, they would not have been included in the crowns listed in the inventories, nor need a space in the numbering sequence have been allowed for them.

If these crowns are to be connected with this series, there is perhaps a small argument in favour of identifying these crowns precisely with two of those from 402/1, 398/7, and 394/3: a *vacat* lasting over half a line in the text of the earliest inventory listing the series of crowns between the fifth (dated by Chankowski to 406/5), and the sixth, dated by Chankowski to 391/0): *ID* 101.35–36 (= Chankowski 2008 429–431 16 [369/8 or 367/6]). The text in all the subsequent inventories is continuous. Neither Coupry in his commentary to *ID* 101 or Chankowski seems to comment on this *vacat*. This *vacat* may reflect a break in the series, thus supporting Chankowski's suggestion that no crown was offered at these festivals, or may reflect uncertainty over whether to include these additional damaged crowns. These attributions are, however, highly speculative. It seems more plausible to argue that they are not connected with this series.

noted, the symbolic importance of Delos meant that Antigonus Monophthalmus and Ptolemy would have spared no effort to capture Delos[1052].

Homolle's recognition of Delos' symbolic importance is appealing, but his conclusion does not automatically follow, especially when we recognise that no other evidence then known pointed to any disruption on any Cycladic island in 315/314, let alone specifically on Delos. In addition, even if we accept the notion of an Antigonid (or Ptolemaic) invasion of Delos in 315/314, this historical context offers no more than a plausible *terminus ante quem* for the end of Athenian hegemonic involvement on Delos. It does not follow that the Athenian hegemony lasted until then, unless we presuppose that there has to have been a hegemon. Finally, it also remains unclear why such an invasion should necessarily imply that the amphictyony also lasted until 315/314, unless, of course, the amphictyony is implicitly being understood as a vehicle of Athenian hegemony.

Homolle returned to the issue in 1891, however, and then strengthened his argument by identifying a complementary *terminus post quem* for Athenian activity specifically on Delos. He connected a series of eleven *phialae* recorded in *ID* 104-30, dating to 334/3, with a series of thirty Athenian *phialae* mentioned in third century

[1052] Homolle 1887a, 34: "[c]'était une antique croyance qu'on ne pouvait légitimement commander aux îles qu'au nom d'Apollon Délien; il fallait donc obtenir la soumission ou l'amitié de l'île sainte. On peut croire que deux politiques avisés, comme Antigone et Ptolémée, ne négligèrent rien pour la gagner ou la conquérir." Homolle then continued to argue that this date was compatible with various other indicators, but that evidence does not support a specific historical date. The only reason to select 315/314 in Homolle's 1887 discussion was this external historical context. For a more extensive discussion of Homolle's argument and of historical context, also explicitly recognising that it offers no more than a *terminus ante quem*, see Tréheux 1959, 1:180–186.

inventories of the temple where the seven statues are[1053]. On the plausible assumption that the *phialae* were periodic (and public Athenian) offerings, their absence from the inventory of 354 suggested that the period in question must be annual. Hence, counting back from 334/3, the first offering might date to 344/3, and counting forward, the last offering would date to 315/4. Both dates were thus consistent with Homolle's hegemonic understanding of the historical context: the first offering from 344/3 could be connected to a reimposition or reaffirmation of Athenian rule after the Delian appeal of 345, and the last offering in 315/4 could have been immediately followed by an Antigonid or Ptolemaic invasion, as he had already hypothesised[1054].

Both historical context and Delian evidence thus seemed to point to *c* 315/314 as a plausible date for Delian 'independence' from Athens, and hence, by implication, also for the end of the amphictyony. Once established as a premise, moreover, it was

[1053] Eleven *phialae* from 334/3: *ID* 104-30.14–18. Thirty Athenian *phialae*: *eg*, *IG* XI.2 154.A.61 (296). See Homolle 1891, 149–155 for his initial discussion. See Tréheux 1959, 1:189–198, for subsequent scholarship, and for the currently definitive discussion of this question; for a more accessible summary, see Chankowski 2008, 232–233.

[1054] See, on 345 (or 343, following the alternative reconstruction recently restated by Engels 1993, 78–83), 254n707. The chronology and rationale behind these events are very unclear, with some scholars, such as Sánchez 2001, 203–213, denying that the Delphic amphictyony was involved. The rationale and wisdom of Engels and other approaches is not important here, except to note that their dates are not established principally by reference to *ID* 104-30 and the Athenian *phialae* here in question and that Engels' claim that "Der Streitfall ist wahrscheinlich auf Initiative der Delier ist aus inneren Gründen wahrscheinlich, weil nur sie ein Interesse an der Änderung des Status quo hatten" (78) may be in keeping with scholarly approaches to Delos' status at the time of writing, but is not self-evident.
Those scholars wishing (in my view, unnecessarily) to insist on Homolle's synchronism between the *phialae* and the Delian appeal, may derive one argument against 343 from the fact that, as Chankowski 2008 observes, the eleventh *phiale* is attested at least one year too early in *ID* 104-30 (334/3, not 333/2) to derive from a regular annual offering starting in 343. For her, it is doubly incompatible in that such a regular annual offering would only have ended in 314/3 (ie, Spring 313, assuming these *phialae* were offered at the *Delia*), not 315/4, as required to allow Athenian rule to end before 314, Delian 'independence', and, specifically, the activity of the *hieropoioi* attested in *IG* XI.2 138. As noted below at 478n1067, however, *IG* XI.2 138 does not self-evidently indicate the absence of the *amphictyones*, and the Delian *terminus ante quem* is thus only provided by *IG* XI.2 135, on current reconstructions to be dated to 313 or 312. Even without acknowledging the possibility of multiple offerings, this second incompatibility may thus be set aside. On the first incompatibility and generally on her discussion of 314, see 479n1068.

possible to identify contexts in which the fall of Delos might have happened: Niese suggested the immediate aftermath of the fall of Tyre in late 315, when Diodorus states that Antigonus ordered his nephew Dioscorides to win over islands that had not yet joined him; while Beloch suggested late 314, when Dioscorides could have freed Delos when he liberated Lemnos from an attempted Athenian recapture under Aristotle[1055].

Closer examination of the Delian evidence as it was unearthed also seemed to confirm the significance of 315/314. Perhaps the most important example here is the inscription in which the League of the Islanders established *Demetriaea* alongside pre-existing *Antigonia*. Having originally suggested Antigonus Gonatas and Demetrius II as the two monarchs involved, Durrbach later preferred Antigonus Monophthalmus and Demetrius Poliorcetes, and dated the original foundation of the *Antigonia* precisely to the liberation of Delos in 315/314. Rather than having to rely on historical circumstance for the *terminus ante quem*, we thus here seemed have a specifically Delian *terminus ante quem* for the end of Athenian influence (and, implicitly with it, the amphictyony) to place alongside the *terminus post quem* offered by the *phialae*[1056].

[1055] Niese 1893–1903, 1:284n3, relying especially on Diodorus 19.62.9; Beloch 1912–1927, 4.1:123n2, relying especially on Diordorus 19.68.4.

[1056] *IG* XI.4 1036; see Durrbach and Holleaux 1904, 93–108 1, with Durrbach's revised interpretation at Durrbach 1907, restated at Durrbach 1921–1923, 17–20 13; for a brief summary of some difficulties with this interpretation, see Roussel 1924, 107–110, including awareness of the fact (restated by Buraselis 1982, 80–81) that the other evidence for the League dates from the third century. The current orthodoxy and a thorough discussion of previous scholarship is offered by Buraselis 1982, 60–75; for a recent reinterpretation convincingly redating this inscription back into the middle of the third century, see Meadows 2013. For further discussion, see 598–600.

Both Durrbach's specific interpretation and the identification of the monarchs involved continue to be disputed. Two aspects are, however, particularly important in this context: first, Durrbach and subsequent scholars only posit 315/314 as appropriate for the founding of the *Antigonia* on the basis of the same historical evidence as that used to date Delian 'independence' to 315/314; and, second, that there was then, and there still remains, no other evidence for Antigonid or other activity anywhere in the Cyclades at this time. Their arguments are thus not independent corroboration of the validity of 315/314[1057]. In addition, this inscription records a decree of the League of the Islanders, not of the Delians. The honours offered (an) Antigonus and (a) Demetrius in this inscription may be thought incompatible with Athenian policy at the time of the inscription, and so with continuing Athenian influence on Delos, but the inscription nowhere offers evidence of the presence or absence of the *amphictyones* in the sanctuary at Delos. It is only from the twin presuppositions that the inscription dates to 315/314, and that Athenian influence and the amphictyonic system are necessarily coterminous, that this inscription can inform us as to the date of the change of regime in the sanctuary. Even on the strongest reading, however, the decree only provides a *terminus ante quem* for the end of Athenian influence, and the end of the amphictyonic system: the inscription does not date the formation of the League of the Islanders and, even if it did, the liberation of Delos could have predated that institution. The evidence of the *phialae* thus still remains central in providing a lone *terminus post quem* of 315/314 for the end of

[1057] For a particularly clear acknowledgement, see Will 1979–1982, 1:51, arguing that "[c]es circonstances et cette date (315–314) doivent être préférées à la date de 308 et au patronage lagide, qui ont parfois été retenus pour la fondation de cette Confédération."

Athenian influence (and, implicitly with it, the amphictyony) rather than any earlier date.

At this point, it is worth again re-emphasising that these external contexts are no more than plausible hypothetical contexts for the liberation of Delos, if there was such an event. No text explicitly mentions such an event, or the date, or any disruption anywhere in the Cyclades in 315/314. As noted above, it has also always been accepted that the *polis* of Delos was (at least formally) independent for (most of) the period prior to 315/314. The issues at stake are the duration of Athenian activity, and the date at which the *hieropoioi* replaced the *amphictyones* as primary administrators in the sanctuary. Nevertheless, both the notion of Delian 'independence' and the date of 315/314 have gained lives of their own. As noted above, Homolle himself did in his text occasionally refer to the situation on Delos from 315/314 to 167/166 as one of 'independence', without specifically specifying the sanctuary. This term has become the norm, with scholars now comfortable with using the term 'independence' as a brief way of referring to the period on Delos from 315/314 to 167/166; and using 'independent Delos' as a brief way of referring to the fact that the sanctuary inventories were produced by Delian *hieropoioi*, not *amphictyones*, and so that the sanctuary was more directly controlled by the city of Delos. Scholars whose primary concern is Delos do continue to qualify their statements by clarifying that they mean the departure of the *amphictyones* by 'independence', and by emphasising that Delos' status between 315/314 and 167/166 was only partly different from that before 315/314. Their rhetoric, however, implies a far greater dichotomy, and it is

unsurprising that other scholars do not observe such nuances. As a result, perhaps precisely because it has seemed to have both a beginning and an end, the notion and period of Delian 'independence' has paradoxically gained a concreteness in scholarship beyond that of the periods of Delian history either side, even as scholars' awareness of the complexity of the Delian epigraphic evidence has only increased[1058].

Similarly, 315/314 swiftly became a fixture in the Delian calendar. Because it has always been an accepted part of scholarship that there were (at least normally) Delian archons before 315/314, it is perhaps unsurprising that Roussel's 1911 publication of two new fragments unearthed in 1879 and 1906 which named twelve and six new Delian archons from the late fourth century either side of 315/314 did not concern him. It is, however, noteworthy that the fact that they were both from the same stele did not cause him to reassess the significance of the division in 315/314, or to modify the terminology he then used to refer to the two periods either side of that date. The fragment of six archons he could already date between 315/314 and 301 from consultation with Durrbach; there was, however, no space for the fragment with twelve archons during "the era of independence" (*viz* after 315/314), and so they had to fall late in "the amphictyonic period"[1059].

[1058] For independence to refer to the period between 315/314 and 167/166, see 453n1043. This rhetoric does even affect Delian scholarship: hence can Hamilton 2000, 1 write that "[t]he conventional treatment of the Delian inventories divides them into three phases by chronology–Amphicytonic (sic), Independence, and Athenian–of which only Independence has firm dates (314–166 BC)", but then immediately continue to note that this division "obscures a fundamental shift in the way inventories are constructed that occurs during the Independence period". He does note that "[t]here are good reasons for this division", but what they are remains unwritten.

[1059] Roussel 1911a, 431: "[a]ucun des personnages ici nommés n'est connu comme archonte. Et il n'y a point place pour eux à l'époque de l'indépendance. Mais nous savons qu'il existait des archontes dans

So strong, in fact, was the force of this division that, even when Tréheux argued that Roussel's earlier list of twelve archons dated precisely from 326 to 315, and so created what he then thought to be a continuous list of archons from 326 to 168, this recognition did not cause Tréheux to reconsider the weight of 315/314 in Delian history. In the same article, he made a special point of emphasising how thin the evidence for a caesura in 315/314 is. He noted that the last amphictyonic document dated to 332/1. He emphasised that the temple's lands were arranged from 359/8 in the accounts under the *amphictyones* in the same way as they also would be at the time of 'independence'. He noted that the variations in the rental prices known for four farms at this period suggested a continued gentle increase between 330 and 297, rather than any economic discontinuity between the last years of the amphictyonic period and the first twenty years of 'independence' (*ie*, between 330 and 315/314, and 315/314 and 297). Nonetheless, none of these valid observations based on diverse administrative and economic evidence encouraged him to question the significance of 315/314. Instead, he argued from the one disturbance he could identify, an apparently unnecessary confirmation of contracts three months before the end of an early

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la période amphictyonique. Je croirais volontiers que ceux-ci furent en charge à l'extrême fin de cette période."

Cf Roussel's commentary to *IG* XI.4 1067: "[a]rchontes qui in *a* [*viz* the earlier fragment] enumerantur ad amphictyonica tempora videntur omnes referendi."

For an unusual illustration of the strength of 314 as established from historical context and the *terminus post quem* of the *phialae* for Athenian influence on Delos, see Wehrli 1968, which insists on 314 as the date of the liberation from Athens and the foundation of the League of the Islanders (50), even as he argues that the foundation of the *Antigonia*, which, on an early dating of *IG* XI.4 1036, is the earliest known activity of the League of the Islanders and the only evidence for that institution in the fourth century, should be dated only to 307 (116–118).

For more recent illustrations of the insistence on a specific date even as doubts about the argumentation underlying it are explicitly acknowledged, see the discussion of the restatement of September 314 as the date of Delian 'independence' by Vial 1984, 2–3, or Chankowski 2008, 220–221 at 454n1044.

inscription of the *hieropoioi*, that 'independence' could be precisely dated to the time when that confirmation happened, which he calculated as September 314[1060].

In addition to the external *terminus ante quem* of historical context, several inventories and accounts created by *hieropoioi* had by now been identified which had to date earlier than the start of Homolle's continuous *archon* list in 301. On Tréheux's reconstruction, the earliest of these accounts dated to 314, and so could provide a new *terminus ante quem* for the end of the amphictyonic system alongside the argument from historical context. The only (apparent) evidence for the continuation of Athenian control on Delos until 315/314, however, continued to be provided by the *phialae* adduced by Homolle. Only they, by equation of Athenian activity and amphictyonic activity, provided a *terminus post quem* also for the withdrawal of the *amphictyones*, and a firm date of 314 for Delian 'independence' when combined with the evidence for *hieropoioi* acting alone from that year[1061].

[1060] Tréheux 1949. Last amphictyonic document: 1009; the last document is now dated 333/2: *ID* 104-31 = *IG* II^2 1653 = Chankowski 2008, 495–497 46; 359/8: 1015–1016; lack of economic rupture: 1018–1019, especially 1015n5; renewal of rents (*IG* XI.4 138) and analysis of *archon* list (*IG* XI.4 1067.a): 1022–1032.

[1061] 314: *IG* XI.2 138; Tréheux 1949, 1026–1031, reiterated at Tréheux 1959 1:109. Homolle 1887a, 43 and 79 had already recognised that, as there was no space for the Philon mentioned in this inscription (which he partly published at Homolle 1878, 343) in his continuous list from 301, he and the inscription had to pre-date it. Durrbach agreed in *IG*, dating it to "antiquissimis Deli liberae temporibus". *Cf IG* XI.2 135, which Durrbach 1916, 347, followed by Tréheux 1959 1:109, dated to 313 on the basis of their reconstruction of the *archon* list, and which Durrbach in *IG ad loc* considered to date between 314 and 302 and probably from the first or second year of independent Delos ("Deli liberae").
For a summary of the attempts to derive a second *terminus post quem* from the series of golden crowns offered by the Athenians at the *Delia*, see 463n1051. To reiterate, even if the two additional crowns identified by Roussel were, against our argument at 463n1051, to be added to the end of the series and so to continue it to 422/1, the apparent failure to offer a crown in 318/7 is still problematic for any insistence on 314.

The continued critical importance of the *phialae* we here identify both in justifying the focus on 315/314, and specifically in Tréheux's argument for September 314 is, moreover, clear when we analyse Tréheux's original argument for September 314 in 1949, and when we consider his later more detailed discussion of Delian chronology from 314 to 301 in 1959, where he retracted that suggestion. To turn first to his original argument, Tréheux explicitly offered his suggestion of September 314 as the date of 'independence' in the context of a pre-existing argument that 'independence' could be dated not just to 315/314, but specifically to the summer or autumn of 314. Tréheux never published this argument in detail. Nevertheless, it is clear that an argument dating the last Athenian *phiale* not just to 315/314, but specifically to the *Delia* of 314, and so to the spring of 314, was central[1062].

In the circumstances, Tréheux's logic is entirely understandable. In the context of what he thought was a pre-existing *terminus post quem* of spring of 314 for Athenian activity (*viz* a *phiale* from the *Delia* of 315/4), and an approximate *terminus ante quem*

[1062] Tréheux 1949, 1009n3: "[d]iverses objections ont éte présentées contre cette date traditionnelle. J'ai cru pouvoir la maintenir et la préciser dans une étude inédite sur la libération de Délos." Here, Tréheux refers to Mazon 1948, 289–290, where Mazon 1948, 289 describes Tréheux's study as an attempt to pin down "la *chronologie des documents et des archontes déliens pendant les premières années de l'Indépendance* (de 314 à 301 avant J.-C.)" [italics and parentheses original]; to 1029 (cited below), where he states that recent calculations placed 'independence' during the summer or autumn of 314; and to 1029n3, where he attributed these recent calculations to his own unpublished paper ("mémoire inédit"), presumably the same paper as the "étude" mentioned in 1009n3. With the *Delia* in the spring, and the inventories published at the end of the year, it is understandable that Tréheux would have referred to 'independence' as happening in the summer or autumn.
Tréheux 1949, 1029–1030: "[o]r, quel événement peut avoir contraint les hiéropes, dans les toutes premières années de l'Indépendance, à prendre ces mesures exceptionnelles? Un seul, à nos yeux: la libération même de l'ile sainte. Ce fait se place, d'après les calculs les plus récents, pendant l'été ou au début de l'automne 314. Il n'eut aucune conséquence grave pour les domaines, où il a suffi de confirmer ou de remplacer les tenanciers, parce que l'entrée en jouissance du locataire se plaçait en Bouphoniôn (septembre). Mais il restait, pour les τέλη, quelques mois à courir et les contrats conclus à la fin de 315 étaient rendus caducs. Les hiéropes durent donc en passer de nouveaux pour la portion d'année qui sépare la libération de l'année 313."

of 314 for the *hieropoioi* creating inventories and accounts, it was natural to infer that a hypothesised decision to do something for only three months, or even just an unusual expression in the inventories, may have been due to a change of regime in the sanctuary, 'independence'. Hence, the inventory containing the unusual activity, *IG* XI.2 138, could be dated precisely to the end of 314, and 'independence' itself could be dated three months before the end of the Delian year at the winter solstice, to September 314. Without the *phialae*, however, Tréheux's analysis of *IG* XI.2 138 is insufficient. His calculation of the month may be correct, but the year cannot be calculated, as the *phiale* from the spring of 314 provides the *terminus post quem*.

Before we turn to Tréheux's often overlooked retraction of this argument in 1959, and to how this retraction again confirms that the Athenian *phialae* were central to his argument for September 314, we should note that there are two further difficulties internal to this argument that seem previously not to have been recognised. First, the unique phrasing in the inscription on which Tréheux placed so much weight does not imply, as he argued, that tax contracts were (unusually) being leased for a shorter period than one year, but quite the reverse: that they were (unusually) being leased for longer than one year. Only if the contracts were being leased for longer than one year can we explain why the terminology used for other multi-year contracts, such as for leasing houses and estates became relevant in a way that it usually was not. Otherwise, Tréheux's own explanation for the regular omission of this phrase for other annual contracts would apply: that annual contracts had already ended by the time the

hieropoioi came to draw up their accounts, such that the *hieropoioi* only had to list the receipts[1063].

In this context, the later lacunose reference to 'three months', however it is understood, is irrelevant: it cannot specify the precise length of the contract involved. It could still be interpreted as implying a contract length of a year and three months, or two years and three months. A closer analysis of parallel passages in other inscriptions, however, suggests a more plausible alternative scenario for this reference to 'three months', and so a second difficulty for Tréheux's interpretation: it refers to an item that was intended for use during that quarter of the year. There thus is no reason to connect the reference to three months to the contracts mentioned earlier in the same inscription, and hence to posit that the leases of unusual length were let precisely three months (or one or more years and three months) prior to the end of the Delian year. Indeed, there is no reason to think that there was any unusual activity in this inscription. Tréheux's hypothesis hence that a September (whether in 314 or any other year) was a month of flux, whether because *hieropoioi* replaced the *amphictyones* as primary administrators, or because the Athenians were expelled, or

[1063] Unique phrasing: the crucial phrase in Tréheux's analysis τὰ τέλ]η ἀπεμισθ[ώ]σαμεν ("we farmed out the taxes"). As he notes, this phrase is unparalleled on Delos, where the taxes were farmed out for a year; instead it is only used for estates and houses, which were let for ten and five years respectively. For taxes, they only had to list the results. (In keeping with this conclusion, the only other use of μισθόω with τέλη is *ID* 316.63: παρὰ τῶν μεμισθωμένων τὰ τέλη, which parallels many similar uses with τεμενή; *eg*, *ID* 290.14: παρὰ τῶν μεμισθωμένων τὰ ἱερὰ τεμένη.) The argument that this phrase suggests that the rents were let out for an unusual period seems cogent; rather than pointing to a period of a period of less than a year, however, it surely points to a period of more than a year.

because there was an invasion, or any combination of these options, has, unfortunately, to be set aside[1064].

It is unclear whether or not Tréheux came to recognise the difficulties with his interpretation of *IG* XI.2 138 we identify above. It is, however, certain that Tréheux's retraction of the argument in 1959 was primarily motivated by renewed concern over the *phialae*, and the invalidity of the *terminus post quem* for Athenian activity (and, implicitly with it, for amphictyonic activity) in the spring of 314 they had provided him. Tréheux is, moreover, explicit that his treatment in 1959 supersedes his earlier work, including his 1949 discussion: from his work on the *archon* list from 314 to 312 and on the financial inscriptions from this period (ie, his 1949 discussion), he had thought he had established the sequence of archons also for the last fifteen years of the

[1064] Lacunose reference to 'three months': *IG* XI.2 138.B.16: εἰς τὴ[ν] τρίμηνο[ν], the crucial phrase, is surrounded by lacunae. There is no parallel for such a short contract period on Delos, but Tréheux's argument would not require one: the circumstances are to have been exceptional. For use of εἰς x as the duration of a contract, *cf IG* 287.A.142–143 (250): ἐμισθῶσαμεν δὲ καὶ τὰ τεμένη τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς ἔτη δέκα; *ID* 1417.B.II.87–88 (= Prêtre and Brunet 2002 199–238 [156/5]): ἐμισ]θώσατο εἰς ἔτη πέντε. Alternative scenario: *cf ID* 399.A.88–93 (= Prêtre and Brunet 2002 143–158), where the succession of items includes a list of income received from farming out taxes (88–91), including 88: "παρ' Ἀπολλοδώρου τοῦ . . . . . τῆς πορφύρας τῆς πρὸς τῆι Δήλωι καὶ Ῥηνείαι καὶ τῆι Ἰσθμῶι"; which is followed by assorted income (92–93), including 93: ἐκ φιάλ[η]ς [το] εἰς τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν, and 93: παρὰ ταμιῶν Θεσμοφορίων. Similarly, in *IG* XI.2 138, the inscription refers to income received from farming out taxes, including 13–14: τὴν πορ]/[φ]ύραν τ[ὴν] περὶ [τὴν ἱερὰν Ῥήνειαν, which Durrbach restored, and from which Tréheux 1949, 1028 restored many more references; and continues to refer to 16: εἰς τὴ[ν] τρίμηνο[ν]; 17: [π]αρὰ [Ξ]ενοχάριο[ς]; 18: [π]αρ' Εὐθύμο[υ]. The sequence is identical. Hence, rather than εἰς τὴ[ν] τρίμηνο[ν] referring to the length of a contract, it plausibly refers to an item of that three month period, for example: [ἐκ φιάλης το]/ εἰς τὴ[ν] τρίμηνο[ν] ("coming from the *phiale* for the three-month period") as part of a similar diverse collection of entries; *cf* the translation of *ID* 399.A.93 offered by Prêtre and Brunet 2002: "[v]enant de la *phiale* pour l'année". There is thus no reason to connect this three-month period with the contracts, or to suppose that it is any more significant for Delian political history than the four month pay given Menecles (*IG* XI.2 296.A.12 [296]: ὑπηρέτει [M]ενε[κλεῖ μη]νῶν τεττάρων μισθὸς), or the five and two month periods successively mentioned in relationship to a slave bought for the palaestra and Myro in a lacunose context (*ID* 1417.108–109 [246]). Beyond the structural arguments advanced above that argue it is not relevant to 'independence', September 314 can thus also be considered irrelevant for our history of contracts and other administrative procedures on Delos.

amphictyony, and he had even announced his intention of publishing his conclusions, before he had changed his mind: one of Homolle's many arguments for 314 had seemed irrefutable, but he was no longer convinced[1065]. This argument is precisely Homolle's discussion of the *phialae*. Tréheux now believed that the eleventh offering in *ID* 104-30 could as easily date to 335/4 as 334/3, in which case the *terminus post quem* from this series became 316/5, not 315/4, enough to negate the value of the silver *phialae* in narrowing down the date of Delian independence necessarily to September 314, rather than September 315[1066].

Indeed, Tréheux went further. We do not possess many inventories from this period, but we do possess one from 342/1. As Tréheux noted, however, there is no space in this inventory to restore the four or three (from 345/4–316/5 or 344/3–315/4)

[1065] Tréheux 1959, 1:178–199, especially 178–179 for his new doubts after publication of Tréheux 1944 and Tréheux 1949; 198–199 for conclusions. Note that Tréheux does here explicitly refer to 314, not to 315/314. This formulation may reflect Homolle's own later view, perhaps under the influence of Durrbach 1916, 346–352, or else may reflect Tréheux's own earlier belief that the argument concerning the *phialae*, which Homolle had first adduced, did specifically point to 314, to the *Delia* in the Spring.
As Tréheux's discussion is not widely available, it is worth citing 178–179 at length: "[e]n combinant ces données [the firm *archon* list for 314–302 established at 1:103–110] avec les indications fournies par les loyers des fermes sacrées et par la marche des travaux du sanctuaire, on serait arrivé à dater, absolument ou à un ou deux ans près, toutes les inscriptions financières appartenant à cette période et même a rétablir, avec une suffisante vraisemblance, la suite des onze derniers éponymes de l'Amphictyonie [reference to Tréheux 1949, 1022–1031]. A cette recherche, j'avais consacré, en 1947, un mémoire dont il a été question plus haut [reference to Mazon 1948, 289–290]. La publication en avait été envisagée [reference to Tréheux 1944, 279n2]. Tout bien pesé, elle est encore prématurée. Car il manque à cette construction, où le reste a paru cohérent au jugement expert de J Courby, la solidité d'une pièce essentielle. La date de la libération de Délos a été fixée par Homolle en 314 sur un faisceau d'arguments dont l'un a paru irréfutable. L'accord s'est fait sur elle, presque unanime [incomplete reference to Roussel, see below]. J'ai cru longtemps qu'il n'y avait pas lieu de la remettre en question. Aujourd'hui, cette date me paraît toujours possible et même probable. Mais les doutes qu'inspire la démonstration de Homolle sont trop sérieux pour qu'on se risque encore à bâtir sur elle un système chronologique."
Many of the internal references in Tréheux 1959 are incomplete, perhaps partly because he did not complete the second half of the project, and partly because it was a manuscript for publication. The reference to Roussel is plausibly to Roussel 1924, which he cites at 1:198, the end of this discussion, for the statement that 315 "ne peut être regardée comme une borne immuable" (Roussel 1924, 106, and, more generally, 106–111); see 478n1067 for the context of this quotation from Roussel.

[1066] Tréheux 1959, 1:195–196; *cf* the presuppositions of Tréheux 1949, as discussed at 473n1062.

phialae required if we are to posit regular annual offerings. In the absence of any formal objection to Homolle's system, Tréheux preferred to posit that this inventory could be incomplete. These *phialae* thus could still potentially arise from regular annual offerings, and Homolle's argument could still in theory stand. Nevertheless, Tréheux frankly admitted that this absence was problematic: it was "a disquieting sign". The reason is clear, particularly after Tréheux's detailed discussion of the other evidence commonly adduced in this context: in his view, there was no other Delian evidence providing a *terminus post quem* for Athenian activity (and, implicitly with it, the amphictyony) of 315/314. If the *phialae* could not provide such a *terminus post quem*, then the focus on 315/314 could not be justified. The result of Tréheux's deliberations is equally clear: where he had referred in his earlier studies to the date of 'independence' as 314, he concluded this discussion by dating Durrbach's first group of Delian archons after 'independence' "?–301", and later in his thesis he referred to the oldest inventories from 'independence' as dating from "314?–vers 280"[1067].

[1067] Tréheux 1959, 1:197–198; quotation: 1:197–198 ("un signe inquiétant"). 342/1: now *ID* 104-27.B.1–16 (= Chankowski 2008, 483–486 42). Tréheux 1959, 1:198: "[t]ant que le point de départ n'en sera pas mieux assuré, la chronologie des archontes déliens du groupe I (?–301) ne pourra pas être fixée". Tréheux 1959, 2:239: "[l]es plus anciens inventaires de l'indépendance (314?–vers 280)". *Cf* how Mazon 1948, 289 previously describes Tréheux's study as an attempt to pin down "la *chronologie des documents et des archontes déliens pendant les premières années de l'Indépendance* (de 314 à 301 avant J.-C.)" [italics and parentheses original]; Tréheux 1944, 279n2 states that the title of his study, to appear in the following year's *BCH*, was to be "La chronologie des archontes déliens de 314 à 301". By contrast, as we note at 454n1044, Tréheux seems subsequently to have avoided specifying the date of Delian 'independence', suggesting he never resolved this difficulty to his own satisfaction. Later scholars have, however, not been so cautious. For discussion of how, at least as published, the restatements of the date of September 314 by Vial 1984, 2–3 and Chankowski 2008, 221, fail to address the difficulties raised by Tréheux 1959, 1:178–199, see again 454n1044.
Tréheux does not explicitly state how he believes his revised interpretation affected his dating of the archons mentioned in *IG* XI.4 1067.a, the date of *IG* XI.2 138, or the details of his argument at Tréheux 1949, 1022–1031. He merely discounts the significance of his conclusions at Tréheux 1949 for the date of Delian 'independence'. We have already indicated that we believe Tréheux's analysis of *IG* XI.2 138 to be implausible on internal grounds, irrespective of any possible significance for Delian

Tréheux's concerns are valid. The rigour of his discussions and the recent review by Chankowski, moreover, both serve to confirm how central the *phialae* are to arguments for 315/314 as the date of Delian 'independence', and how there is no reason without them to posit a *terminus post quem* of 315/314[1068]. Nevertheless, in the

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'independence', the withdrawal of Athens or of amphictyonic control: see 473, especially 474n1064. In addition, however, we should reiterate that the *archon* of *IG* XI.4 138 does not survive. Closer analysis rather suggests that Tréheux dated *IG* XI.4 138 to 314 precisely because of the anomaly he identified with the contracts, which he identified as caused by 'independence'. Since 'independence' could independently be dated to the summer or autumn of 314 (from the *phialae*), the events of this inscription seemed associated with 'independence', and the tax contracts being revised here normally only lasted one year, Philon, the *archon* mentioned circumstantially in *IG* XI.2 138.3 in association with the tax contracts being revised, must be the last *archon* of the 'amphictyony', and so date to 315. By extension from Tréheux's treatment of the *archon* list of 314–302, –eres, the *archon* attested in *IG* XI.2 135 and dated to 314, must also be the *archon* of *IG* XI.2 138.

If, however, 'independence' is not dated specifically to 318, then three consequences follow: first, Philon can float higher, and with him the other archons in *IG* XI.4 1067.a. Second, the date of *IG* XI.2 138 can also float: the context of the oblique reference to Philon remains problematic, but it is most likely an unusual reiteration of the *archon* of the year; in which case, *IG* XI.2 138 could date to the same year as Philon (as Homolle originally thought, although because he did not read the first two lines: Homolle 1887a, 43), not to a subsequent year. Hence, *pace* Durrbach at Roussel 1911a, 331n2 and in IG *ad loc*, and Tréheux 1949, it must remain open whether *IG* XI.2 138 dates from before or after the replacement of the *amphictyones* with the *hieropoioi* as primary administrators in the sanctuary (*viz* from the amphictyonic period or 'independence'); and, similarly, *pace* Roussel 1911a, 331n2, Durrbach 1916, 351–352, and Tréheux 1949, it must remain unclear whether the *archon* Philon held office when there were still *amphictyones*, or afterwards. Note that the difficulties with Tréheux's interpretation noted at 474n1064 do not affect these conclusions. Third, most of Tréheux's restoration of the *archon* list from 314 to 302 at Tréheux 1959, 1:103–110, which is based on his reanalysis of the early inventories from the *Hieropoeum* at 1:39–102, seems to survive, with the sole exception of his placement of Prostates and Archepolis as alternatives for 311 and 313 because they are the only two surviving empty years in his list (explicitly at 1:108): they could both have held office in an earlier year. Inasmuch as his analysis is a development of Durrbach 1916, 346–352, however, it is subject to the same criticisms as that discussion; to select but two examples, the placement of –eres and the start of *IG* XI.2 135 in 314 is directly connected to Durrbach's belief that 'independence' occurred only in that year; his suggestion that Diaetus only held office in 312, not 314, is directly connected to his belief that 'independence' only occurred specifically late in 314, as it means that *IG* XI.2 135 falls more plausibly in 313 than 314: see, for both arguments, Durrbach 1916, 347. Diaetus and 312 thus remain for now the *archon* and date of the earliest inscription mentioning *hieropoioi* alone in a context where *amphictyones* might perhaps have been expected (although there is no direct parallel context, so the argument is not certain). Nevertheless, as noted at 324n797, a broader reassessment is necessary.

[1068] Chankowski's discussion confirms how important the *phialae* are to any insistance on 314 as a date. Her discussion of the gold crowns (discussed at 463n1051) but confirms that they do not require it, whatever their symbolism. Her suggestion that a dedication honouring Demetrius of Phalerum for a victory at the *Delia* among other successes attests either the *Delia* of 319/8 or 315/4 cannot be accepted. Even if it were a fourth-century inscription, and certainly the Delian *Delia*, the victory could easily be earlier: Demetrius of Phalerum is first attested as politically active in 324 in the context of Harpalus' flight to Athens; *cf* Thucydies presentation of Alcibiades' victories as a youth as a way of achieving prominence in Athens: Thucydides 6.16.2. In addition, as Chankowski 2008, 91 is aware, Tracy 1994

redated the inscription in the third century. She is perhaps too swift to dismiss his discussion, which is not only based on the identification of the hand (the "cutter of *IG* II^2 788"), but is also a deliberately programmatic discussion of the methodology behind his rich work, which has been central to recent advances in our understandings of Hellenistic Athens; see especially Tracy 1990; Tracy 1995; Tracy 2003; he again discussed the inscription at length at Tracy 1995, 171–174 and, for a more general audience, at Tracy 2000, 75–76. His identification is also accepted by Habicht 1995, 64 and 157–158 (= Habicht 1997, 54 and 154), Oetjen 2000 and Haake 2007, 73–74, and simplifies the career of the fourth-century Demetrius significantly, who was not otherwise known to have been militarily active. The third-century date is thus surely to be preferred, unless there are insurmountable obstacles. There are not. We could understand this inscription as rare evidence for the *Delia* in the third century. More plausibly, however, Dittenberger in his commentary to *Syll*^{3} 319 and Kirchner in his commentary to *IG* II^2 2971 both suggested that the *Delia*, like the *Hermaea*, another festival where Demetrius won a crown, could be Boeotian. Diodorus 12.70.5 also mentions a festival called the *Delia* inaugurated after the Boeotian victory over the Athenians in 424. This specific festival is possible: Demetrius' grandfather was in exile in Thebes, and the family connexion may have remained. Nevertheless, more important is the recognition that there was more than one *Delia* in the Greek world. The fact that the Delian *Delia* is not commonly thought active in the third century is thus not a strong argument in favour of a fourth-century date for *IG* II^2 2971.

The above overview illustrates how, despite the range of evidence Chankowski adduces, the only reason for Chankowski to insist on 314 as the necessary context for Delian independence, and to interpret the other evidence based on that fixed point, remains the *phialae*, through their central role in Tréheux's earlier argument for September 314. Her treatment of the *phialae* does, however, differ from Tréheux 1959 in several respects. The primary difficulty stated is still Tréheux's "signe inquiétant": the absence of a *phiale* from *ID* 104-27. In addition, however, she points out that, if the Delian appeal is dated to 343 with Engels 1993, 78–83, then the eleventh *phiale* is a year too early; if it had started from 343, presumably leaving aside the evidence of *ID* 104-30, then the thirtieth *phiale* would fall in 314/3, after Delian independence. Perhaps because Chankowski believes that the date of Delian independence in September 314 is independently secure, Chankowski does not attempt to explain this conundrum, instead merely noting that we hence see how "une interprétation qui cherche à lier de façon trop étroite les offrandes et l'histoire politique s'avère défaillante" (232). This principle is cogent, but not here helpful, not least because, as noted above, the date of September 314 established by Tréheux 1949 does involve interpreting the *phialae* in a very specific way: as an annual offering which started in 344/3 (whether from an endowment or simply a regular offering); which did have hegemonic significance; and which did end in 315/4 (at the *Delia* in Spring 314): see 473n1062. Irrespective of the difficulties involved in the argument at Tréheux 1949, the fact that Chankowski identifies an inconsistency when comparing the date derived from an argument starting the *phialae* in 344/3 with a date derived from an argument starting the same series of *phialae* after 343/2 is thus unremarkable.

Perhaps more important in this context is to recognise that, despite her principle noted above, Chankowski does not call into question the hegemonic symbolism inherent in the offering: this approach is implicit in her suggestion that they should have started after 343. She also does not question the presupposition that the *phialae* should form a regular annual offering (whether from an endowment or simply a regular offering), even though her wish both to preserve Engels' chronology and the evidence of *ID* 104-30 might naturally suggest this option. Either solution would have resolved the paradox she identifies. Her statement quoted above is, however, here important: in stating that an approximate connexion between symbolic offering and political history is still possible, it implies that one is possible in this context, for the *phialae*, then under discussion. The *phialae* only provide it, however, if the series is accepted as hegemonic in nature. Hence, even as she rejects the explicit evidence of the *phialae* for the date because of what she sees as the internal contradictions of the evidence, she seems to want to use them as evidence for Athenian dominance at approximately 314. Both for this reason, therefore, and because of the importance of the *phialae* to Tréheux 1949, which Chankowski explicitly follows (221), Chankowski's broader discussion paradoxically confirms the continued importance of the *phialae* to any insistance on 314 as a date.

light of our analyses here, we can see that his reanalysis does not go far enough. First, we consider the ramifications of our reanalysis of the Hellenistic dedicatory practices which have traditionally been interpreted in hegemonic terms, before we turn to explore the implications of Tréheux's own principle of multiple offerings.

To turn first to our reanalysis of the Hellenistic foreign *phialae*, we have seen that such *phialae* in the Hellenistic period do encode a claim and acknowledgement of patronage, and of a status superior to that of other foreigners on the island, just as the Athenians claimed and were granted a superior status by the inscription of the Athenian *archon* alongside the Delian *archon* on the inventory lists. They do not, however, reflect periods of control or protection of Delos: instead, their dates of foundation demonstrate that these claims were inherently competitive in nature.

We should immediately recognise that we do not have the same evidence for competition on Delos in the late fourth century as we do for the third century. Equally, however, we do not have the same evidence for Athenian hegemonic hegemony as we do for the fifth century: it has instead been read into the inscriptions, through the insistence on the *hieropoioi* as privileged to act as assistants to the *amphictyones*, and the suggestion that the events of 345 or 343 must have been initiated by the Delians because they would naturally have been the ones dissatisfied with what has been characterised as an Athenian-dominated *status quo*[1069].

[1069] Privilege and cooperation: Homolle 1886, 472, quoted at 461n1050.
The *status quo*: Engels 1993, 78, quoted at 466n1054.

This position is consistent, except perhaps in so far as it elides the evidence at least for Andrian involvement as *amphictyones*, but it is not inevitable. We have also seen elsewhere how scholarship has traditionally insisted on external structures of domination, rather than allowing space for organisation among the supposedly dominated. Athens may well have wished to maintain a similar position, and to maintain the rhetorical façade that it was the case as long as possible, but we have no reason to insist that they were successful, and hence automatically to read that success into the penteteric gift of the golden crown, let alone into the *phialae*. For those scholars who do wish to insist on such a claim, we can perhaps contrast the claim of dominance encoded by the golden crown with the lesser claim inherent in the series of *phialae*, where we possess the analogy with the Hellenistic endowments. Better, however, would be to understand both claims in more nuanced terms: rather than equating the gold crowns with Athenian influence equivalent to that reflected in their actions of the 420s, we should at most understand the connexion as occurring on the rhetorical, symbolic level. The series of gold crowns can have continued for as long as the Athenians wished, or were able, or were allowed, to make a connexion with the role they had possessed at that time. At some point, however, diminishing Athenian involvement in the Aegean, or reduced Athenian resources caused not least by their late fourth century difficulties, gradually lead to the suspension of the series of gold crowns, and, later still, even to the end even of the symbolic gesture of patronage and status, not of hegemony, encoded in the series of *phialae*.

This awareness of the rhetorical and mediated nature of the claims involved in these symbolic gestures again suggests that we should not attempt to level Athenian hegemony as a norm across the fourth century on Delos, and more than we should identify a single date at which Athenian influence on Delos ended, or at which the Athenians were expelled. This interpretation, moreover, stands whether or not the last *phiale* offering was made in 315, 316, or still earlier. In terms of religious practice, it does make a difference whether we conceive of the series as arising from an endowment that was actively cancelled or simply as forming a regular offering which could perhaps end with less impiety. For the purposes of our analysis here, however, the difference matters little: the series ended, and with it, the claim it encoded of Athenian patronage. Similarly, whether the Athenians decided to end the series of *phialae*, they were unable to continue it, or they were forbidden to continue it by the Delians or others, is strictly unclear. Nevertheless, we know that the Delian authorities were keen to decentre the Athenian presence in the sanctuary in the late fourth century: they renamed the temple of the Athenians; they replaced it; and they froze its inventory. It is thus plausible that they also were responsible, either directly or indirectly, for the end of the *phialae*, and even for the end of the gold crowns[1070].

The cessation of not just the *phialae* but also of the gold crowns can thus connect neatly to the other evidence for a strong Delian reaction to the Athenian presence on Delos at this time. The likelihood that they did somehow cancel the offering is, however, equally not evidence that the Athenian presence on Delos in the late fourth

[1070] On the elision of the Athenian involvement in the course of the late fourth and third centuries, see 340–342, especially 342n823.

century was somehow more extensive and dominant than that of the Hellenistic patrons: the very duration of the period over which the Delians took these actions, over half a century, renders this interpretation impossible. The Athenian presence may have been at an earlier time, such as in the late fifth century, but the cancellation is ultimately a reflexion on the Delian perception of the Athenian presence, not on its reality at the time when they took the actions. As Chankowski cogently notes, there is no necessary close connexion between such symbolic gestures and the details of political history. Nevertheless, with short-term variation, the overall trend into which both the end of the gold crown series and of the *phialae* series falls can be understood as one of Athenian decline not necessarily since the 420s, but at least since the end of the Second Athenian confederacy[1071].

Not only do the *phialae* not necessarily point to 315/314 as the *terminus post quem* for Athenian activity (and, implicitly with it, the amphictyony) on Delos, but this analysis of the *phialae* in their broader context further calls into question the very notion of an Athenian hegemonic presence on Delos as the norm in the fourth century. The gold crowns and *phialae* may well attest Athenian interest in various forms in Delos, and a desire to make their patronage and pre-eminence explicit, but that is not sufficient to establish the continuation of a central role for Athens in the amphictyony and on Delos until this point, particularly in the light of the evidence for Athenian difficulties in the late fourth century which Homolle and others have long recognised. Both the evidence from Delos itself, namely the contrast between the gold crowns and

[1071] Chankowski 2008, 232, quoted at 479n1068.

the *phialae*, and the general historical circumstantial evidence argue the reverse: that Athens was not able to maintain a dominant position in the late fourth century Aegean. Whatever may or may not have happened in the rest of the Greek world, or even the rest of the Aegean in 315 or 314, there is no reason to reify Athens' position on Delos as a constant prior to this point, let alone to envisage it ending specifically in this context.

Before further considering the implications of this first argument, however, we should develop the implications of Tréheux's own principle of multiple offerings, expanded above. That principle cannot confirm that these *phialae* did come from an endowment or from a regular offering. If they did not, then there is in any case no basis on which to extrapolate from the attestation of the eleventh offering in 342/1 to a specific date for the thirtieth offering, whether 316/5, 315/4, 314/3, or any other year. The principle of multiple offerings can, however, confirm that, even if they did form a regular offering or endowment, the date at which even the Athenian *phiale* offerings ceased to occur need not have been 316/5 or later. Delos thus may have been disturbed by the broader events in the Aegean in 315/314. The League of the Islanders may even have been founded then, although that conjecture is unlikely. Nevertheless, even for those scholars who do wish to insist on a hegemonic reading of the *phialae,* there is no reason to use them to posit a *terminus post quem* of 315/314 for the end of Athenian activity (and, implicitly with it, the amphictyony) on Delos[1072].

[1072] For the principle of multiple offerings, see Appendix 2. Principles behind dating Delian endowments, 396. Tréheux seems to have been the last to consider in detail the finer issues surrounding the origin of

This argument does not merely operate by analogy. We can plausibly see this principle in action precisely in our records for these Athenian *phialae*. We have already mentioned the apparent absence of these *phialae* from the inventory of 342/1, and the resulting difficulty Tréheux recognised. Although he was unconvinced by the

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these *phialae*: see Tréheux 1959 1:193–195. As noted at 479n1068, Chankowski 2008 seems to assume that the *phialae* should form a regular series, but does not explore the issues involved.

Tréheux is perhaps correct to point out that Homolle could have been clearer about whether he envisaged an endowment or a regular offering, but it is unclear that certainty is possible. Tréheux's specific concerns against the offerings forming either an endowment or a regular offering are also ultimately unwarranted. Tréheux's suggestion that the suspension of offering implies that there cannot have been an endowment because the Ptolemaic endowments did not end when the Ptolemies ceased protecting Delos ("cessent de protéger Délos" [193]) is untenable on two grounds: first, because of the hegemonic understanding of the value of the Ptolemaic endowments, where they are essentially competitive; and second, because the actual nature of the patronage is irrelevant; what matters is the Delian perception, and reaction. Hence the contrast between the continuation of the Hellenistic endowments and the end of the Athenian *phialae* is not problematic for our understanding of this series as an endowment, but rather again points to the importance the Delians placed on decentring the Athenian presence in the late fourth century.

Tréheux's second objection to the offerings as an endowment concerns the varying weight of the offerings, but is equally unnecessary: as noted above, it is true that all the external Hellenistic endowments did standardly offer a *phiale* worth one hundred drachms. Even in the later period, however, *phialae* were not the only offering made from endowments, and they were not always one hundred drachms in weight: for a review of the variety of offerings made, see 348n831; for variation in the weight of *phialae*, *cf* the two Stesilea *phialae* recorded for 272 as weighing only thirty-seven and thirty-eight drachmas each: *IG* XI.2 226.B.19. It is, moreover, not self-evidently true that the endowments always performed equally well. We argued above that we have evidence for systematic extreme performance which led to the creation of multiple offerings, and of none: see Appendix 3. Multiple and missing offerings and their import, 408. Standardisation on a particular weight, with any excess income perhaps being held over to a following year or spent on other aspects of the festival, may well be a later development, and represent a development in ritual practice.

Conversely, however, Tréheux's main objection to the *phialae* as a regular offering consists of the blurring of the division between the *phialae* and the gold crowns: it was unclear why, if both were regular offerings, the gold crowns would have ended earlier. We have, however, already argued that the different value of the offerings and the different symbolism they may have encoded are independently sufficient to explain this difference.

The distinction is fine, and perhaps ultimately insoluble: even for the Hellenistic endowments, a variety of structures may have underlain our evidence. *Cf* the unusual nature of the *Ocyneidaea*/*Thyestadaea*: see Appendix 4. Delian endowment dates and people, 417, especially 424; and the discussion of the *Chersonesia* and the revenues from the land on Myconos at 344n828. Any suspended endowment may also simply have been diverted. Nevertheless, because of the possible pollution involved in suspension of an endowment, it is probably better to assume a series of regular offerings. Whether so or not, and irrespective of how irregular the original offerings may have been, it is likely that the resulting series visible in the inventories and in the temples was understood as a unit. They thus formed a precursor to the Hellenistic series, and so may further inform our notion of ingroup differentiation. The choice of *phiale* by these monarchs may have been no accident, but instead deliberate, as an echo not just of contemporary Delian practice, but of a perceived Athenian precursor.

suggestion, Tréheux suggested that the inventory could be incomplete. Tréheux could have offered other possibilities to explain the absence of any reference to a *phiale*. There could, for example, have been a delay: offerings certainly did occasionally enter inventories only after a delay of even three years[1073]. That possibility does not, however, call into question the basic premise that, whether from a foundation or by regular offering, the offerings should have been made a maximum of every year. Our analysis here does. Just as fourteen *scaphia* from the *Philonidia* are attested for the twelve years from 233 to 221, including three double offerings, so too the eleven *phialae* recorded in 335/4 could have been offered over, for example, eight years without calling into question the underlying sense that it formed a regular offering[1074]. If so, only one offering would have been made by 342/1 at most. Taken in combination with the existence of multiple small lacunae in that inventory, the apparent absence of the *phiale* from the inventory of 342/1 becomes much more understandable. It may be in a lacuna, or it may not yet have entered the inventory. We can thus plausibly see the principle of multiple offerings in operation in this very series of *phialae*. The same principle, however, also applies going forward: the eighteen *phialae* attested after 335/4 may have been offered over the course of only fifteen years. Years may also have been missed, but the conclusion is clear: we cannot extrapolate a series lasting thirty years from the existence of thirty *phialae*, and

[1073] Incompleteness: see 348n831 *ad fin*, and Tréheux 1959, 1:144n3; delay: see 424n951, and Tréheux 1959, 1:133–134. Note that, unlike the principle of multiple offerings, neither explanation is helpful in dealing with the difficulty identified by Chankowski 2008, 232, for which there is a *phiale* too many in *ID* 104-30.

[1074] See Appendix 2. Principles behind dating Delian endowments, 396, especially 397 on the *Philonidia*.

we cannot use this series of *phialae* to posit a *terminus post quem* of 315/314 for the end of Athenian activity (and, implicitly with it, the amphictyony) on Delos.

We have, therefore, called into question the focus on 315/314 derived from the Athenian *phialae* on three separate levels: the Athenian *phialae* do not attest Athenian hegemony on Delos; they do not offer a *terminus post quem* of 315/314 for the end of Athenian activity (and, implicitly with it, the amphictyony); and, as Tréheux himself recognised, they are central to Tréheux's unfortunately independently invalid argument for September 314. As the *phialae* were unique in seeming to offer such a *terminus post quem*, it follows that there is no Delian reason to posit a significant change on Delos in 315/314. There has never been any evidence for amphictyonic activity on Delos at this time; instead it has only been extended from the 330s on the assumption that it is implied by Athenian activity: the latest document mentioning *amphictyones* is still only dated to 333/2. There has also never been any suggestion that other Delian evidence required a change of status specifically in 315/314. Quite the reverse: first, it has long been clear that there were Delian archons and *hieropoioi* even before 315/314. Second, the same fragmentary stele on which Roussel identified a list of eight archons extending the *archon* list early in 'independence' before Homolle's original start date of 301 also named twelve archons that pre-dated 315/314. It is thus clear that, either at the time or soon afterwards, the Delians rhetorically preferred to insist on continuity. Third, Tréheux pointed to continuity in the economic cycle of Delos across 314. Finally, both Treheux and Hamilton argue

that 314 is quite irrelevant in our understanding of the Delian inventory lists; if any single date is to be selected as central, it is 279[1075].

None of this evidence is necessarily relevant to the political status of Delos, or even the presence or absence of the *amphictyones* on Delos. It is also still strictly possible that the conflicts that we reconstruct for the Aegean in 315/314 did cause disturbances on Delos in 315/314, and even a change of political status or allegiance, - although we should recognise that our denial of Athenian hegemony on Delos prior to 315/314 also makes analogy with Lemnos, the one island where disturbances are attested, less cogent: Lemnos was not just any island, but an Athenian cleruchy. What this evidence for continuity on Delos does do, however, is reiterate that there is no Delian reason for positing any disruption or administrative or other change in 315/314.

If we do wish to construct a revised Delian chronology, then this evidence seems instead to point slightly earlier. None of this argument denies that the fourth century was meaningfully different in some ways to the third century, not least in the presence of *amphictyones*. Indeed, the dearth of Delian inscriptions datable to the fourth century in contrast to the third century, and, specifically, the paucity of proxeny inscriptions remains striking. Nevertheless, the evidence requires careful analysis: such a contrast does not necessarily imply a single 'event'. Instead, even prominent

[1075] 333/2: *ID* 104-31 (= *IG* II^2 1653 = Chankowski 2008, 495–497 46). Delian archons and *hieropoioi* before 315/314: 461n1050. Roussel's archons (*IG* XI.4 1067): 470n1059. Tréheux and economic continuity: 471n1060. Epigraphic practice: see, *eg*, Tréheux 1959, 1:15 for recognition that the Delian epigraphic practice does not entirely respect the division between 'amphictyonic' and 'independent' Delos, and 2:239 on the ongoing variation until practice settled in 279. Hamilton 2000, 15: *ID* 161 (278), 26–29. Note that both treat the period between 'independence' and 279 as somehow preparatory. Leaving aside the clear influence of the traditional dating system, the very diversity in epigraphic habit seen during this period suggests that there was no temporary or preparatory system.

systemic shifts can be the result of a variety of complementary factors. Here, moreover, the relentless focus on Athens' relationship with Delos, and the insistence on the amphictyony as a vehicle of Athenian hegemony has perhaps hindered analysis.

We offer one example: the contrast in epigraphic habits has traditionally been interpreted as suggesting that the Delians may only have been able to able to award honours at rare moments when the Athenian influence was less, such as *c* 345, or after Chaeronea. This interpretation is possible: it is strictly not incompatible with the clear recognition of the Delian archons and *hieropoioi* inside the amphictyonic structure on which we have here placed so much emphasis. Nevertheless, alternative factors should now also be given their due weight, such as the clear evidence for reformulation of the relationship between sanctuaries, their immediate surroundings, and the broader region elsewhere in the Greek world in the fourth century, not least at Olympia and Delphi. These parallels allow us to posit that Delian *polis* was not as closely identified with the sanctuary in the fourth century (or, indeed, earlier) as it would be in the third century[1076]. Hence, we should not expect to find so many

[1076] Olympia: *cf* the creation of a *polis* of Pisa near Olympia between 365 and 362: see Roy in Hansen and Nielsen 2004, 500–501 262; and Giangiulio 2009.
Delphi: *cf* the complicated collaborative and competitive relationship between the Delphic Amphictyony and the *polis* of Delphi regarding the sanctuary of Delos, see Lefèvre 1998b and Sánchez 2001 *passim*, with occasionally diverging conclusions; for an overview, including discussion of the complicated relationship between Cirrha and the sacred land of the sanctuary, see Ouhlen in Hansen and Nielsen 2004, 412–416 177, and 419–420 183, as well as more generally; for consideration primarily through the lens of their territorial overlap, see Rousset 2002, especially 117–291. The way in which the amphictyonic system seems to have remained central to the sanctuary at Delphi even as the political, social, and religious environment changed further urges that amphictyonies should not be understood as inherently hegemonic.

decrees of the *polis* at that time, because engagement with the sanctuary did not equate to engagement with the *polis* in the way that it would in the Hellenistic period[1077].

It would be possible, having set aside 315 and 314, to argue for the significance of *c* 330 as an alternative date for Delian 'independence', whether understood as the end of Athenian hegemonic involvement, or the date of transition from the *amphictyones* to the *hieropoioi* as primary administrators of the sanctuary. Rather than setting aside the significance of the penteteric Athenian gold crowns ending in 330/29, we have argued that they do, however indirectly, point to a reduction in the Athenian role. The amphictyonic evidence remains similarly compatible: as noted above, the last document is now dated 333/2[1078]. Tréheux' discussion on rental prices increasing steadily from 330 until 297 might also be included, as also Roussel's *archon* list, even though Tréheux's specific reconstruction of a continuous *archon* list from 326 to 168 has unfortunately had to be set aside as dependent on an unjustified reading of the *phialae* from *ID* 104-30.

To engage in such a reconstruction, however, would be to make the same mistake as earlier scholars. There are specific arguments against such connexions: first, to infer political change from economic change is methodologically dubious. Second, to equate amphictyonic control with specifically Athenian control despite the counter-

[1077] Two alternative explanations should perhaps be noted: first, the notion of widespread destruction of inscriptions in the context of hypothetical invasion or *stasis* at some point in the late fourth century (perhaps even 315 or 314) can be rejected: no Delian publication has ever identified any destruction layer from that period. Second, to explain the paucity of Delian inscriptions as arising because the Delians did not have (as great) access to the sanctuary to erect their decrees prior to the end of the amphictyonic system seems implausible as the excavations on Delos have been extensive, and no alternative cluster of earlier inscriptions has been identified.

[1078] *ID* 104-31 = *IG* II^2 1653 = Chankowski 2008, 495–497 46.

example of the dynamic Delphic context, where a variety of hegemonic and non-hegemonic arrangements expressed themselves through the amphictyony, is to maintain the Atheno-centric perspective of past scholarship.

Third, the connexion between the end of the gold crown series, and any meaningful reduction in an Athenian presence on Delos is very indirect. We have argued that the series of gold crowns do not imply Athenian hegemony, but instead involve a symbolic statement of patronage: Athenian involvement on Delos waxed and waned in the fourth century, as indeed it did throughout antiquity at least from the late sixth century until the second century AD, and to posit a single date for the end of that involvement is both misleading, and risks restoring a sense of reified Athenian hegemony by contrast with the period after that date, as though the peculiar historical contexts of the late fifth century and, possibly, the Second Athenian Confederacy, validly characterise the relationship between Athens and Delos throughout this period.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, the implication of Roussel's *archon* list is unclear: the Philon mentioned in his list may well be the same Philon mentioned in Tréheux's inventory, so dating these archons in the late fourth century, but there is no evidence that this fragment inaugurated or fell early in the list. We thus can validly infer a Delian wish to demonstrate rhetorical or actual continuity in administration

from the middle of the fourth century to the early second century from Roussel's *archon* list, but we cannot insist on preceding rupture[1079].

There is no doubt that the situation in the sanctuary of Delos did change in the late fourth century. It is much less clear that the changes in that period were more significant than the changes at any other point in the fourth or third century. Nevertheless, given the history of periodising Delian history around these changes, we should offer an alternative formulation. Given the nebulous, indirect, and fluctuating nature of any external involvement in the sanctuary, we would urge that this periodisation be framed in terms of the administrative changes from the *amphictyones* as primary sanctuary administrators, to the *hieropoioi*, to the Athenians after 167/166, not least because these two changes seem roughly parallel, and because the earlier change from *amphictyones* to *hieropoioi* also captures the reformulation we noted above in the relationship between sanctuary, local area, and region: our formulation would thus be *c* 335/310 for the date of the change from *amphictyones* to *hieropoioi* as primary administrators, and *c* 335/310–167/166, for the period of sole control by hieropoioi[1080]. For all the reasons noted above, granting a perceived reduction of Athenian involvement on Delos primary status equivalent of that of the expulsion of

[1079] Note that Roussel 1911a strictly did not justify his decision to place these archons at the end of the fourth century rather than earlier. In addition, there is no join between the different pieces; instead, Roussel relied on material indicators, the thickness and the nature of the marble, to connect them (431). Both the photographs he provides and his discussion elsewhere indicates that the different fragments have different letter styles: the names were thus certainly inscribed on different occasions. Whether they were inscribed annually, or at perhaps irregular intervals of several years is less clear. Both regarding the reconstruction of the *stele* (or *stelae*) and the letter forms, autopsy might prove insightful.

[1080] *c* 335/310: by extension from 332 and 312, which, as noted at 450n1042, are respectively the dates currently ascribed the latest currently known document mentioning the *amphictyones*, and the year of the earliest Delian *archon* in whose year *hieropoioi* seem to be mentioned in a context where we might expect *amphictyones*.

the Delians in 167/166 seems much less justified. If such a formulation is required, however, then, despite the many *caveats*, we may perhaps best select *c* 330–167/166 as the appropriate dates. Nevertheless, whether we prefer these formulations or others, the month September 314, the year 314, and the period 315/314–167/166, however expressed, currently have no place in our history of Delos, either sanctuary or *polis*.

Appendix 7. Endowments and monuments after 200

Why did fashions change? Both for the endowment of festivals and the sponsorship of monumental construction, it is tempting to connect the apparent shifts roughly around 200 with a change in attitudes to Delos, or in the status of the monarchies, which might then in turn be associated with the 'arrival' of Rome in the east and on Delos at about this time[1081]. The argument here for continuity in display and competition is not necessarily incompatible with such suggestions: history continued, and the growing profile of Rome did have significant ramifications over time. Nevertheless, a direct connexion is plausibly an over-simplification.

Regarding the cessation of new endowments: it is not clear that the pre-existing festivals immediately ceased. In addition, the gold crown dedicated by the Delian maidens on behalf of Lucius Cornelius Scipio suggests that he here paid for a chorus in a way analogous to that involved in the royal and Delian dedications of the third century. This Roman at least was not averse on principle to the Delian religious practice. It is also noteworthy that no new Delian endowment is attested after 216,

[1081] On Romans on Delos, see especially 380n871, and *IG* XI.4 756 (= Durrbach 1921–1923, 84–86 65), on which, see briefly Erskine 1997.

just as no new foreign endowment is. Rather than point to Rome as the spur of change, therefore, a more local context may be appropriate. It is perhaps dissatisfying to argue that the Delians found such practices too expensive with the expansion of the city, or decided that there were too many endowed festivals in the late third century. We do know, however, that religious practices and conventions were constantly changing in ways that we often cannot trace directly, but which, for example, are reflected in the shifts in methods of inscribing inventories, and the merging of individual inventories[1082]. We may well be dealing with one such change here. As noted in the main text, moreover, it is clear that we should not assume from the absence of new festivals that Delos ceased to be a locus of display and competition either for the surviving dynasties. Instead, the dynamics of display and competition changed form.

Regarding the royal sponsorship of monumental dedications, the connexion with Rome is more plausibly maintained in three ways. First, whether or not the South(-West) Portico was Attalid, we may argue that, with the arrival of Rome, the implicit statement of patronage involved in such monumental constructions became inappropriate, and hence they ceased. Second, partly as a result of Rome's arrival, the Seleucids and the Ptolemies were both much less engaged in the Aegean by the late second century than they had been. We have seen that this reduction in interest did not mean that they entirely disengaged from Delos, but it can have meant that they were content with lesser forms of display, rather than expending the significant sums

[1082] See briefly 347n830, and Hamilton 2000, 1–201, especially 23–25 for illustration of a shift in inventory practice and inventory location

required for such monumental construction. Third, Rome ended the Antigonid dynasty, which was the most prolific dynasty when it came to monumental construction. Indeed, if we accept, as argued above, that the South(-West) Portico was not Attalid, then the sponsorship of monumental structures on Delos by outside patrons can be understood as a specifically Antigonid activity[1083].

We should, however, recognise that monumental construction did not cease, and draw out three important qualifications hence regarding Rome's impact. First, in the absence of epigraphic evidence, it is possible that royal involvement may lie unrecognised in the various stoas and agoras built at this time: the cessation may only be apparent. Second, we argued above that neither the *Neorium*, and South(-West) Portico need have involved royal funding, as has been standardly assumed. The shift in the source of financial support for such constructions on Delos after the third century thus may well have been smaller than has previously been supposed[1084].

Finally, such epigraphic evidence as there is for the late sponsorship of monuments also supports our suggestion of a gradual evolution in sanctuary dynamics, rather than

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[1083] Note that Rome's hand can loom large whether the Portico of Philip is dated before the Second Macedonian War or afterwards: if beforehand, then we can additionally argue that Philip may have lacked the capital or status to make such ostentatious statements after Cynoscephalae; if afterwards, then the logic is simpler: there was no Antigonid monarchy after 168 to continue their engagement. The commencement of work on the last monumental royal dedication, that of Philip V, was dated by Vallois to the early part of his reign, *c* 210, but on hegemonical grounds that do not convince (370n861); a later date would but strengthen the case here for a continuation of the dynamics of display, as also would interpreting the North Room and Western Portico as further benefactions by unknown euergetes. Both suggestions are appealing, but neither is necessary for the argument, so they are not included in the text.

[1084] On the range of donors previously suggested for the *Neorium*, all on the presupposition that it encoded hegemony, together with an illustration of how the iconography could be interpreted in non-hegemonic terms, see 361n845. For argument from topographical and chronological considerations that the South(-West) Portico was not originally an Attalid structure, see 372–377.

a caesura. We argued above that the construction of the South(-West) Portico and the Portico of Philip, and the spread of honorific dedications and statuary across the city, both point to a blurring of the division between sanctuary and city in the late Hellenistic period; or, perhaps a better formulation, that both suggest that the identification between city and sanctuary remained even as the city grew and developed in commercial importance in the late third century and second century[1085]. This conclusion is confirmed as relevant specifically to the realm of monumental construction by the most spectacular of the later buildings, the doric north colonnade of the Agora of the Italians, which was donated by Philostratus of Ascalon. The surviving inscription dedicates it not only to commerce, the Italians, but also to religion, Apollo, and does so on behalf of himself and the city[1086]. Conversely, the Stoa of Attalus in the agora at Athens, however, seems to have been dedicated just to the Athenian people[1087]. The religious frame of the Delian dedicatory inscription, particularly when placed alongside the Athenian dedicatory inscription, thus illustrates the ongoing importance of the sanctuary in city life, and of a certain identification between the two, even on late second century Delos.

[1085] See especially 372–377 and 388–389.

[1086] Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 219–222 52; published by Lapalus, et al 1939. *ID* 1717: [Φι]λ[όστρατος Φιλ]οστράτου Ἀ[σκ]αλ[ω]ν[ίτης τραπε]ζιτε[ύων] ἐν [Δήλω]ι ὑπὲ[ρ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τ]ῆ[ς πόλεως Ἀπόλ]λων[ι καὶ Ἰτ]αλικο[ῖς].

[1087] *IG* II^2 3171; better text at Meritt, Lethen, and Stamires 1957, 83–88 31; Bringmann, et al 1995, 1:64–66 29.

Rhodes and the Unipolar Narrative

In this second case study, we turn to analyse the evidence behind the best attested of the unipolar hegemonies that has been identified for the Hellenistic Cyclades: that of Rhodes. Where Rhodian involvement has been dated narrowly *c* 250, and between the Second Macedonian War and Third Macedonian War, we systematically argue that these chronological limitations are unfounded: neither the datable epigraphic data, nor the literary evidence fits with this model. Instead, our evidence for Rhodes' varying involvement on a range of levels throughout the period encapsulates the dynamics of our multipolar space, as it involves ongoing activity which has to be set alongside that for the Antigonids and Ptolemies in the third century, and which did not preclude relations with other states in the early second century.

The reanalysis of the early second-century narrative is here perhaps the more significant because the hegemony attributed Rhodes has been considered the best attested of the various hegemonical periods proposed for the Cyclades. The Antigonid hegemony focusses on but two events: the initial context for the creation of the existing *Antigonia*, commonly now dated to 314, attested by the inscription creating the *Demetriaea*; and the creation of the *Demetriaea*, commonly dated to 307. A later Antigonid presence has had to be adduced by a literal understanding of the Nicuria decree through which Philocles, the king of Sidon, and Bacchon the nesiarch, were honoured for lowering taxation which was connected with Demetrius' abortive invasion of Asia in 287. The Ptolemaic phase similarly extends mostly to the

honouring of Ptolemaic officials on Delos and, exceptionally, on Samos; beyond this, Ptolemaic intervention in the islands extended to assisting Coan judges on Naxos and the recovery of runaway slaves on Ios[1088]. Hence, to argue that these scarce events, whenever they are dated, are as compatible with a multipolar space as a unipolar hegemonical space is relatively unproblematic: the difference here arises primarily from differing theoretical perspective. By contrast, the ability to identify hegemonic Rhodian involvement on various islands within a short chronological period in the early second century seems to offer a much thicker picture, which then justifies the unipolar model for the other hegemonies. Without that parallel, however, the case for insisting on Antigonid and Ptolemaic hegemony, and for engaging in the chronological and methodological finessing regarding earlier Rhodian activity which that requires, is severely weakened. Instead, the multipolar alternative we here espouse involving contemporary engagement by these and other powers becomes by far the more plausible option.

In our reconsideration, we preserve chronological order, and turn first to consider the evidence for Rhodian naval activity in the early Hellenistic period, and then for Rhodian engagement in the early third-century Cyclades. We then reassess the existing sequential model of hegemony in this period which we discussed earlier. We

[1088] The *Antigonia* and *Demetriaea*: *IG* XI.4 1036 = Durrbach 1921–1923, 17–20 13. For discussion of the Nicuria decree, see Case study. Samos, Unipolarity, and the Nicuria decree, 313. Coan judges on Naxos: *OGIS* 43 = now *IG* XII.4.1 135; runaway slaves on Ios: *IG* XII.5 1004. Summaries of early scholarship at König 1910, 11–18. For the current orthodoxy and a detailed defence of this higher chronology: Buraselis 1982, 60–106. For a recent summary: Reger 1994c, 15–26. For a recent reinterpretation convincingly redating *IG* XI.4 1036 into the middle of the third century, Durrbach's original context, see Meadows 2013. For a reassessment of the significance of the Leagues, see 598–600.

argue that the systematic down-dating and narrow-dating of epigraphic evidence involving Rhodian activity which attempts to preserve a unipolar narrative is both methodologically unsound, and less insightful than to accept that the evidence may not be precisely datable, but can indicate ongoing contact between islanders and a range of powers.

We then analyse the evidence for Rhodian engagement in the second century. We argue that the literary evidence adduced for a watershed in Rhodian relations in the Cyclades, and the creation of a Rhodian alliance at the start of the second century has been mis-interpreted, and that neither literary nor epigraphic evidence supports a picture of ongoing Rhodian domination between the Second and Third Macedonian Wars. Finally, we point to the evidence for ongoing interest by Rhodes even after the Third Macedonian War.

Cumulatively, our discussion elides the clear hegemonical bounds involved in previous surveys. Even as we recognise that the relative positions, interests, and strength of different powers naturally widely varied throughout the period, we thus confirm that an underlying approach which presumes multipolarity as a default position, with islanders and outsiders engaging with each other on a variety of levels, comes closer to capturing the political dynamics of the Hellenistic Cyclades than its unipolar, hegemonic alternative.

Rhodian naval activity in the early Hellenistic period

There has always been plenty of historiographical evidence for Rhodian prominence in the early Hellenistic period. When narrating the siege of Rhodes by Demetrius Poliorcetes in 305, Diodorus states that the Rhodians were already so prominent in the late fourth century that they had already at that point started to undertake missions against pirates on behalf of the Greeks. Polybius similarly notes when discussing the negotiations between Rhodes and the Romans in the aftermath of the Third Macedonian War that Rhodes had been engaged with Rome for one hundred and forty years without a treaty: so since approximately *c* 306[1089]. Diodorus' altruistic interpretation of Rhodian efforts has been influential, but does not need to be accepted: the Rhodians no doubt derived great wealth from their so-called anti-piratical campaigns, both directly, through booty, and indirectly, through resulting increase in trade[1090]. Nevertheless, these literary references, the way in which Antigonus and Demetrius seem to have taken so many pains over the siege, and the ultimate survival of Rhodes despite their efforts, all further suggest that the Rhodians were already well-defended, prominent, and in possession of a powerful navy.

[1089] Diodorus 20.81.3: ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον γὰρ προεληλύθει (*NB* pluperfect) δυνάμεως ὥσθ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἰδίᾳ τὸν πρὸς τοὺς πειρατὰς πόλεμον ἐπαναιρεῖσθαι καὶ καθαρὰν παρέχεσθαι τῶν κακούργων τὴν θάλατταν

Polybius 30.5.6: οὕτως γὰρ ἦν πραγματικὸν τὸ πολίτευμα τῶν Ῥοδίων ὡς σχεδὸν ἔτη τετταράκοντα πρὸς τοῖς ἑκατὸν κεκοινωνηκὼς ὁ δῆμος Ῥωμαίοις τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων καὶ καλλίστων ἔργων οὐκ ἐπεποίητο πρὸς αὐτοὺς συμμαχίαν.

[1090] See De Souza 1999; Horden and Purcell 2000; Scholten 2000; Gabrielsen 2001; Wiemer 2002. As Horden and Purcell 2000 pithily state (158): "[p]iracy is the continuation of cabotage by other means". On Diodorus' continued influence at least in programmatic statements which suggest 'noble' motives underlying Rhodian activity, even where subsequent detailed discussion does not, see further 509, especially 509n1107.

Nevertheless, this evidence has been widely dismissed as the result of too much reliance by Diodorus and Polybius on Rhodian sources, or, in the case of the passage from Polybius, as arising from textual corruption: instead, Rhodian contact with the Romans must date only from *c* 206[1091]. In keeping with this approach, inscriptions which seemed to attest to the activity of Rhodian fleets in the Cyclades before the middle of the third century were dated later, to a time when such activity seemed more plausible: after the Chremonidean War, when the Ptolemies were known to have suffered a set-back in their ambitions on the Greek mainland.

Bresson's recent reanalysis of contemporary epigraphic evidence, however, suggests that Diodorus and Polybius should be given more credit: already in the late fourth century, Rhodes was active against what are presented as pirates and Tyrrhenians. Particularly significant here are two inscriptions: the first honours various Rhodian officers and captains of mercenaries who had taken part in an expedition against Aegila (modern Anticythera) dated between 320–306; and the second honours three sons of Timocrates for their role in various raids against Tyrrhenians ("Τυρρανοὺς") and pirates ("λαϊστὰς") dated to *c* 310–*c* 281. Both inscriptions indicate that the Rhodians already possessed a significant navy and that

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[1091] Textual corruption: argued at length by Holleaux 1921, 38–44, followed, among others by Wiemer 2002, 51: "eine apologetische Übertreibung"; Gabrielsen 1997, 23–24 is more sceptical, but on principle, insisting that the emendation is unwarranted, rather than because of detailed argument.
Wiemer considers Polybius' text so similar to Diodorus' programmatic introduction to his narrative of Demetrius' siege that they might have the same predecessor (51). Quite possibly so. Our historiographical narratives are so inter-linked, however, that this hypothesis does not greatly affect the value of this tradition. We also do not need to assume particularly detailed contact with Rome amounting to an alliance; both states were, however, important centres of trade, and so may well have engaged. *Cf* the similar debate over the treaties between Rome and Carthage narrated by Polybius 3.22–27. Mommsen and many others have refused on principle to believe that Rome and Carthage can have agreed a treaty in the late sixth century.

they were already concerned and able to suppress activity they considered hostile to their interests.

More important in our context, however, is the geography implied by the inscriptions: first, we do not need to take the reference to Tyrrhenians as a narrow ethnic reference, but the sense of disruption arising from the west which the common Greek connexion between Tyrrhenian and pirate implies does also explain the Rhodian interest in Anticythera, the small island between Cythera and Crete that dominates the entrance to the Aegean from the south-west, just as Rhodes does the entrance to the Aegean from the south-east[1092]. Both inscriptions thus confirm that the Rhodians were active far outside their immediate hinterland, and also illustrate Rhodian concern to combat naval activity that they saw as hostile to their interests.

Second, although we do not know the origins of the mercenaries themselves ("ξένων τῶμ μισθοφ[ό]/ρων"), the nationalities of three of their captains ("λοχαγοὶ") do survive on the stone: Ceos, Carystos, and Calymnos. It is perhaps no coincidence that we have evidence of hostile Tyrrhenian activity also in the Cyclades at this time[1093]. It is also noteworthy that our sources emphasise the ethnic and collective basis of mercenary service, such that each of these men may have been responsible for

[1092] Tyrrhenians mentioned in a hostile context that plausibly involves the ethnic between used as an equivalent for 'pirate': *IG* II^2 1629.A.223 (325/4) ; *IG* XI.2 148.73 (297); *cf* the Tyrrhenian pirates who attacked Arion in *Homeric Hymn to Dionysus* 7.8–9, and the implication of Tyrrhenian barbarism at Thucydides 4.109.4. Thucydides' statement that Tyrrhenians on Lesbos were ancestors of Pelasgians in his time living on Akte suggests that his vision involved similar myths to those which Herodotus 6.136–140 tells about the Pelasgians of Lesbos.

[1093] *IG* XI.2 148.73–74 (297): a payment of five thousand drachms by the Delians for protection against Tyrrhenians. The recipient is unfortunately not specified.

collecting and leading men from their home state[1094]. Whether so or not, the presence of the Cean and Carystian in Rhodian service points to an awareness of Rhodian prominence and naval activity not just in the Dodecanese and on the trade route to Italy, but also specifically on Euboea and in the Cyclades[1095].

The Rhodian presence in the early third-century Cyclades

In this context, we may turn to the evidence specifically from the Cyclades for Rhodian activity there in the early third century. Here we first establish this frame, consider why it has not been fully incorporated into our narratives, and then argue that the methodological presuppositions that underlie current attempts to constrict the chronological range of the evidence are invalid.

Particularly important as evidence for Rhodian activity are the Delian inventory lists of the early third century. These inscriptions record a variety of offerings made by *theoroi* from nine different states, including Rhodes. They are significant because they confirm that Rhodes was a prominent actor in the Aegean at this time, and particularly because they are datable on internal grounds, rather than purely from letter

[1094] On the recruiting of mercenaries, the standard account, at least for the Hellenistic period, seems still to be Griffith 1935, 254–263; for a more recent survey which still emphasises this civic and collective context, if for the period before Alexander: Trundle 2004, 104–117, especially 113 on the importance of the *lochagos*. For an account of the recruitment of the mercenaries in Xenophon's Ten Thousand: Xenophon *Anabasis* 1.1.6–11, with, on the *lochagoi* in Xenophon's Ten Thousand: Nussbaum 1959, and, more recently, Lee 2007. For a short discussion of the importance of mercenaries at this time: Parke 1933, 206–226.

[1095] Bresson 2007; Anticythera inscription: 1 = Segre 1932, 452–457; Inscription in honour of three sons of Timocrates: 2 = Hiller von Gaertringen 1892 = *Syll*^{3} 1225 = Segre 1932, 457–461.

forms and prosopography, as is the case for the honorific inscriptions more traditionally discussed in this context[1096].

Analysis of the surviving *theoroi* records indicates that, at least on Delos, the custom of making physical offerings in association with missions can be characterised as specifically Aegean. There are only two partial exceptions: the Megalopolitans, who made but one offering, and the Alexandrians and "King Ptolemy", who seem to form a single unit as the terms are used both interchangeably and together in several inventory lists[1097]. Hence Rhodes' involvement, like that of the Alexandrians and "King Ptolemy", is in itself noteworthy as manifesting its interest in the Aegean.

These lists are particularly significant because the repetition of entries in different inventory lists suggests we can be reasonably sure that the known *theoroi* are an accurate reflection of the offerings that were made[1098]. The number of Rhodian missions attested is thus still more important in two regards: first, the inventories record more missions from Rhodes at this time than from any other state, with no fewer than eight missions listed in the first inventory list of 279; another four known from the lists of 276 and 274, and nineteen first attested before 250[1099]. Because the inventories do not date the individual offerings, but only list offerings that had previously been made, we cannot normally be sure in which precise year these missions happened, or when these missions started. Nevertheless, the cluster of new

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[1096] The material from these inscriptions is collated and analysed by Bruneau 1970, 93–114.

[1097] The mission of Philoctas, first attested in 257, is listed in *IG* XI.2 226.B.5–6: [φιάλη τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων]/[πόλε]ως: *IG* XI.2 287.B.84–85 (= Prêtre and Brunet 2002, 125–141 [250]): φιάλη παρὰ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου καὶ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων πόλεως; and *ID* 320.B.7 (229) as ἐξ Ἀλεξανδρείας.

[1098] Bruneau 1970, 109.

[1099] 279: *IG* XI.2 161; 276: *IG* XI.2 164; 274: *IG* XI.2 199; 257: *IG* XI.2 226; 250: *IG* XI.2 287.

dedications in the 270s and continuing until 250 indicates that this practice was active, and points to ongoing Rhodian interest.

Second, Rhodes' involvement is doubly geographically symbolic. The majority of states only offered a few *phialae*, but the identity of the next most active state is revealing: Cos, with four missions attested in 279, another two before 274, and sixteen in total before 250. Given their geographical proximity, this dual prominence cannot be coincidence: Rhodes and Cos seem to have chosen missions to Delos as a way to express their rivalry at this period. Rhodian interest was thus not casual, but involved Delos as a central place for expression of Rhodian identity and pretensions[1100].

As noted above, these inventory lists are unusual in that they are closely datable. The missions attested for the 270s cannot be dated later, after the end of the Chremonidean War, from a belief that they are incompatible with the political narrative of the time. The situation with the other inscriptions attesting Rhodian activity on Delos in the early third century is quite different: they do not have strong

[1100] Sherwin-White 1978, 299–300 suggests that Apollo Dalios was the most important cult on Cos, but primarily on the basis of these inscriptions. On both Cos and Rhodes, as other islands in the Dodecanese, the month Dalios is attested. For a recent discussion of the Delian cultic network in the fifth-century Aegean, see Kowalzig 2007, 56–128, which also summarises the evidence for its diffusion in the Dodecanese at 77–78. This evidence mostly dates from the Hellenistic period, and confirms the importance of Delos at this time, as do our discussion of the proxeny network and the sanctuary dynamics above.
We may perhaps ask why Rhodes and Cos did not attempt to endow a festival on Delos. To argue that they did not have the status required is probably correct, but not in the sense in which such a statement would normally be understood, *viz* that they were not powerful or rich enough to impose such festivals. Instead, our recognition of Delian involvement in those endowments should guide us: the Delians had to accept such endowments. Given the implications of patronage which the endowments expressed, it may well have been politically and symbolically less acceptable to accept such endowments from the representatives of fellow *poleis* than from the representatives of kings or leagues.

chronological markers. Three are undated Delian decrees honouring Rhodians: Hieronides, the son of Pythodotus; Philodamus, the son of Thars…; and Antigenes, son of Theorus, who was navarch of the Rhodians for the protection of the island(s) and for the safety of Greeks, and who was honoured with three trierarchs[1101]. In addition, four other navarchs are known from dedications: the longest and best-known inscription was erected by the League of the Islanders and honours Agathostratus, son of Polyaratus. This Agathostratus is commonly identified as the man who defeated a Ptolemaic fleet at the battle of Ephesus[1102]. The other three were erected to Asclepius by Rhodians under the navarch Aristoteles; to Apollo and Artemis by Rhodians whose navarch's name does not survive; and by the navarch Peisistratus, the son of Aristolochus, the Rhodian, and his men to Apollo[1103].

[1101] Hieronides, the son of Pythodotus: *IG* XI.4 580; Philodamus, the son of Thars…: *IG* XI.4 614; Antigenes, son of Theorus, honoured with Timaphanes, son of Anaxipolis, Dionnus, son of Polydorus, and Hegesander, son of Boulanax: *IG* XI.4 596.
Except where otherwise stated, prosopography unfortunately does not help closely date these men and so the inscriptions here discussed. Most of the names are common on Rhodes, and so identity cannot be assumed without a patronymic. As the parallels are also mostly epigraphic, the uncertainties of dating by letter form and the length of individual careers also impede precision.
IG XI.4 596.3–5: Antigenes' title is reconstructed as "[ναύ/α]ρχος ἐπὶ τῆς φυλακῆς τ[ῶν νήσων καὶ]/ἐπὶ σωτηρίαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων"; in outline, this reconstruction must be correct, but the rest of the decree has no regional focus. Instead, the two levels on which the Delians honour Antigenes and his trierarchs are their protection of the temple and city on Delos (*IG* XI.4 596.7–8: ἄν[δρ]ες ἀγαθοί εἰσι περὶ τ[ὸ]/ἱερὸν καὶ τὴν πόλιν τὴν Δηλίων), and their protection of the Greeks (*IG* XI.4 596.9: τὴν φυλακὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων). The reconstruction"[ναύ/α]ρχος ἐπὶ τῆς φυλακῆς τ[ῆς νήσου καὶ]/ἐπὶ σωτηρίαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων or, less plausibly, τ[οῦ ἱεροῦ] seems thus perhaps more probable. The rhetoric inherent in the description, however, means that τ[ῶν νήσων] cannot be excluded. The reconstruction does not affect our discussion.

[1102] *IG* XI.4 1128. Agathostratus at the battle of Ephesus: Polyaenus, *Strategemata* 5.18. Note that the identification is not always accepted: Will 1979–1982, 1:241.

[1103] Aristoteles: *IG* XI.4 1133; unknown navarch: *IG* XI.4 1134: Peisistratus, the son of Aristolochus: *IG* XI.4 1135.
Note that the differences in letter size and form suggest that these inscriptions were not the work of the same cutter, and so not from the same occasion, even if a precise date or order cannot be determined.

In the interests of greater rigour, we may leave aside for now the Rhodians whose role is not known, and the more junior officials. Five apparently senior Rhodian naval officials are still attested as active on Delos at this time. As many Rhodian navarchs are thus visible on Delos as nesiarchs, navarchs, and other Ptolemaic officers: Philocles of Sidon, Bacchon the Boeotian, Apollodorus of Cyzicus, Hermias of Halicarnassus, and Callicrates of Samos; and more than for the Antigonids, whose commanders never actively dedicate or are honoured on Delos[1104].

Nevertheless, when scholars turned to interpret the epigraphic evidence that was being unearthed on Delos and elsewhere in the decades around the start of the twentieth century, they did not look to the Rhodians, but to the Antigonids and then the Ptolemies, as hegemonical powers in this period. To explain this focus, two factors bear developing here beyond our earlier discussions.

First, in so far as our thin literary evidence does discuss the Aegean in this period, Antigonid and Ptolemaic fleets are central to their references, just as the kings themselves are to the broader accounts[1105]. Enough epigraphic evidence was

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[1104] Or, better, more, as the Rhodian inscriptions generally imply that the officers (or at least their troops) are present on the island, which is not the case with the Ptolemaic officers. The honours for Apollodorus indeed specifically exclude his presence on the island: *IG* XI.4 562. The one possible Rhodian exception is the inscription for Antigenes.
On the Ptolemaic officials: Merker 1970. The Delians honoured Philocles for helping arrange the repayment of debts: *IG* XI.4 559; and Apollodorus for deeds not specifically mentioned: *IG* XI.4 562; the islanders honoured Bacchon with two statues: *IG* XI.4 1125 and *IG* XI.4 1126; as the Delians probably did Hermias: *IG* XI.4 565 (the identification is occasionally disputed); all also made dedications attested in the inventory lists, as did Hermias, explicitly as nesiarch at *ID* 415.15. In addition, the islanders honoured Callicrates, the navarch: *IG* XI.4 1127.

[1105] For example, Ptolemy 'liberating' Andros and expelling the [macedonian] garrison: Diodorus 20.37.1. A Ptolemaic fleet in the Aegean in the context of Demetrius Poliorcetes' abortive expedition to Asia: Plutarch *Demetrius* 44.

unearthed, moreover, to suggest, given the methodological context, that those narratives might be justified: two examples include the so-called Nicuria decree referring to Ptolemy I liberating cities and lightening their taxation burden in similar rhetorical terms to that also seen in exchanges between king and *polis* on the mainland, and a decree found on Delos in 1902 referring to the founding of a festival in honour of (a) Demetrius in addition to a previously existing festival in honour of (an) Antigonus[1106].

Second, partly reflecting the Rhodians' low profile in this literary narrative, the Rhodians were not understood as a political power in their own right. Instead, they were approached as an essentially mercantilist state wherein Rhodian political interests were dictated by concern for commerce, and, to enable the continuation of trade, with the balance of power between different states. This policy should not be confused with disinterestedness: Rhodian self-interest was recognised, but through the lens of commercial relations[1107]. Nevertheless, this approach allowed evidence for

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After the end of the continuous narrative of Diodorus in 302, our knowledge depends largely on fragments of Diodorus, the lives of Plutarch dealing with this period (notably those of Demetrius, Pyrrhus, and Aratus, all of which deal only tangentially with the Aegean), and episodes mentioned by Polybius prior to the start of his detailed narrative in 220.

[1106] For monographs in this vein: König 1910; Guggenmos 1929.
The discovery of the Nicuria decree, now *IG* XII.7 506, was announced by Homolle 1893, 205–207; the discovery in 1902 of the decree founding the *Demetriaea*, now IG XI.4 1036, by Durrbach and Holleaux 1904, 93–108 1. For brief discussion of the Nicuria decree, see Case study. Samos, Unipolarity, and the Nicuria decree, 313. For brief discussion of *IG* XI.4 1036 in the context of a reassessment of the significance of 314 on Delos, see Appendix 6. Delian 'independence', 315/314, and *ID* 104-30, 450, especially 467–468. For a recent discussion convincingly dating *IG* XI.4 1036 in the third century, as originally suggested by Durrbach, see Meadows 2013.

[1107] A more 'noble' approach is occasionally explicit in individual programmatic statements: van Gelder 1900, 107: "die Wahrung ihrer Neutralität den Rhodiern über alles ging"; *cf* Schmitt 1957, 55: "Handelsvölker sind kriegerischen Umwälzungen Feind … ihre Politik scheint von einer tieferen Einsicht geleitet zu sein, von der Überzeugung, daß das Gleichgewicht der hellenistischen Mächte gewahrt bleiben müsse"; Klose 1972, 118–127; for example 119: "hat Rhodos für die Freiheit des Handels und für die internationale Sicherheit auch mit den Waffen gekämpft"; Brizzi 1990; in each

Rhodian military action to be elided as not relevant to the political narrative: the Rhodians were understood as acting as policemen, rather than as political agents in their own right.

Ultimately, however, the rejection of any hegemonic role and the development of this policing function for the Rhodians was ultimately bound up with the notion that only one power could have hegemony. For most of the early third century, that power must be the Ptolemies: given the evidence for their activity in mainland Greece and in Egypt at this time, notably with the Chremonidean War, they must also have exclusive control of the routes between these areas, including the Cyclades[1108].

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case, however, the detailed analysis suggests Rhodian self-interest underlay this. Berthold is here typical: see Berthold 1984, 12: "a course of studied neutrality, tempered by a constant concern for the preservation of a balance of power among the great monarchies" with 123: "[t]he maintenance of a balance of power was not an end in itself, but only the means to the island's ultimate goals: the protection and development of its commerce and its influence in foreign affairs".
An understanding on Rhodes as a *neutral* diplomat is more recent, and perhaps epitomised by Ager 1991. Even here, however, there is an awareness that Rhodes was acting in her own interest; see, *eg*, 11: "the primary motivation behind the foreign policy of Rhodes was the maintenance of independent neutrality *for herself* (my italics) and of a peaceful balance of power for the Hellenistic World generally", and 17: "general peace and balance of power to facilitate her own commercial interests".
More recent scholarship recognises that piracy, war, and trade are not antithetical, but are closely connected, forming part of a single continuum, that piracy is a social phenomenon that can bring great wealth, that warfare was central to Rhodian politics, and hence have revised their approach to Rhodian sea-power in that light. See, for a recent summary, Wiemer 2002, 13–36 with frequent references to previous scholarship, together with De Souza 1999; Horden and Purcell 2000; Scholten 2000; Gabrielsen 2001.

[1108] This elision was also facilitated by the presupposition of good relations between the Rhodians and Ptolemies. The direct evidence for this hypothesis is thin, and clear breaches are visible, such as with the battle of Ephesus, now commonly dated *c* 258, during the Second Syrian War. Nevertheless, these breaches tend to be treated as exceptions in a long third century of Rhodian and Egyptian agreement dating at least from the Siege of Rhodes by Demetrius to the Second Macedonian War. For a narrative that explains the battle of Ephesus in these terms, see Berthold 1984, 89–92; note what he terms the "surprising" fact that Rhodes was at war with Ptolemy II Philadelphus recorded in the Lindos Temple Chronicle (89), and the "long friendship" with Egypt (91) for which Berthold has given no evidence since the support of Ptolemy (and many others) in the context of the siege of Demetrius in 305, and after which the Rhodians established a cult of Ptolemy Soter (78); although plausibly not to Ptolemy as Soter: Hazzard 1992; *cf* also the "special relationship between Rhodes and Alexandria" (97). The rare individual episodes that are attested, however, such as Ptolemaic support for Rhodes during the siege of

Partly because the evidence for Rhodian activity has increased, and mercantilist explanations have lost favour, more recent scholarship does acknowledge the need to incorporate the Rhodian evidence. It has done so, however, by alternation of hegemony rather than querying the relevance of the model. In so doing, it therefore involves systematic overinterpretation of our chronologically loose evidence to allow the narrative to survive, to the point of becoming inconsistent with the evidence that cannot be re-dated in its support. One recent example which can illustrate this phenomenon is Reger's formulation: working from perceived consensus over the date of the battle of Ephesus in which the Ptolemaic fleet under Chremonides was defeated by Agathostratus, *c* 258, he envisages a replacement of Ptolemaic influence in the Cyclades with Rhodian influence, and thus dates all the explicitly military Rhodian activity into this period, between two periods of Ptolemaic activity bounded by the battle of Ephesus, and the re-establishment of Ptolemaic interest on Delos with the vase festival of 249[1109].

As a sequential narrative for the political history of the period, the analysis cannot strictly be rejected. As Reger notes, dating by letter forms is problematic, but it does allow great lee-way in dating, such that his organisation is possible. His dating of

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Demetrius, and after the earthquake of the early 220s, are always explainable in the specific political context of the time: Ptolemaic opposition to Antigonus Monophalmus, for example. No principled agreement should be derived from these episodes. *Cf* how approaches to Rhodes as neutral on principle similarly have difficulty with Rhodian belligerism, and have to explain each case as exceptional: *eg*, Ager 1991, 13 (war with Byzantium), 15 (Second Syrian war).

[1109] Reger 1994b.

Antigenes' inscription between *c* 258 and 250 rather than later also seems in keeping with Roussel's insistence that the inscription is to be dated before 250[1110].

Nevertheless, there is an ultimate contradiction between Reger's emphasis on the need for caution when dating inscriptions, and the way in which he then dates the inscriptions here in question to such a narrow chronological span, and so enables such swift shifts of hegemony. There is also a more specific methodological contradiction in his use of dates from letter forms. Overall, Reger's approach involves a very literal approach to Roussel's *terminus ante quem* of 250, even though Roussel states more often, both specifically with reference to the Antigenes' inscription, and more generally, that he understands the date of 250 as an approximate date[1111]. Where necessary, however, he overlooks Roussel's epigraphic analysis: for example, Roussel's relative dating of the letter forms of Aristoteles' inscription prior to Agathostratus' inscription also has to be overlooked because they have to be approximately contemporaneous[1112]. The evidence from letter forms thus is to be

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[1110] Reger 1994b, 42 citing Roussel's *IG* commentary for this inscription (*IG* XI.4 596) for his date, and hence rejecting Fraser and Bean's alternative suggestion that Antigenes' inscription might date from 250–220: Fraser and Bean 1954, 158. Roussel's more general formulation is stated at Roussel 1911b, 443.

[1111] *Cf* Roussel commentary on *IG* XI.4 596: "medio tertio a Chr. saeculo utique non recentiores"; at tabula III: "saec. III a. Chr. n. med."
Roussel does once explicitly state that all the Delian inscriptions should be dated before 250. Strictly, that formulation applies only to the League inscriptions. So, it includes the decree of Agathostratus (*IG* XI.4 1128), but not the decrees of the Delians honouring the Rhodians (*IG* XI.4 580, 596, 614; see 507n1101), or the decrees of the other Rhodian navarchs (*IG* XI.4 1133, 1134, 1135; see 507n1103): Roussel 1911b, 443. Nevertheless, it is still instructive to read even this passage in context, as he is even here more flexible in his discussion immediately prior to this statement, where he dates the letter forms of the Agathostratus decree "vers 250"; *cf* his commentary in *IG ad loc*: "medii fere tertii a. Chr. saeculi".

[1112] Roussel states that the letter forms of Aristoteles' inscription (*IG* XI.4 1133) are "medio tertio a Chr. saeculo antiquiores" (*IG ad loc*), whereas those of Agathostratus' inscription (*IG* XI.4 596) are "medio tertio a Chr. saeculo utique non recentiores" (*IG ad loc*).

taken as a rigid indication when it comes to arguing for a date before 250, but to be ignored when it comes to relative dating of inscriptions, and to dating any inscription involving Rhodian military activity prior to 260[1113]. Reger's unwillingness to date inscriptions after 250 is entirely understandable within his model: a later date would involve explicitly military Rhodian activity overlapping with what he understands as renewed Ptolemaic (and Antigonid) activity on Delos in the 240s. It would thus call into question the hegemonic alternation he requires. Nevertheless, this difficulty is not enough to justify the divergent approaches.

Ultimately, certainty is impossible, especially given that scholars are more hesitant now about dating from letter forms than used to be the case. Nevertheless, our discussion here is a good example of the poverty of a model hindering explanation. It is only precisely on the triple presupposition that the dedication of a navarch must involve military dominance by the fleet he represents; that the presence of fleet must hence dictate a systemic shift; and that systemic relations are to be understood in unipolar hegemonic terms, that Reger is forced into such a tight narrative.

Each of these three presuppositions is highly questionable. If we instead approach the evidence from a more open perspective, the implication of Rhodian activity in the

[1113] Note that this downdating of Rhodian activity does not only affect Rhodian military activity: Reger allows that Philodamus, son of Thars…, is the same as the Philodamus who led a Rhodian *theoria* dating to before 279, which is plausible, if not certain, but then suggests 270–260 for the inscription: Reger 1994b, 42n37. Careers could be long, but, even assuming the *theoria* dated as late as 280, a plausible range for Philodamus' honours might be 290–270, or even 290–260. Similarly, although the proposer of Hieronidas' decree, Phillis, is attested as *archon* for 275, Reger dates Hieronidas' inscription *c* 260: Reger 1994b, 42. No justification is offered for the late constraints, but they contribute to an overall perception of Rhodian activity much later than the *theoroi* inscriptions indicate was the case.

Cyclades, and, indeed, of the varied involvement of different states in the *theoria* lists, can be allowed its full weight. We can allow multiple fleets to operate in ways that were no doubt occasionally destructive as well as constructive, but which would not have excluded the influence of other powers in the long-term, not least because there were other fleets active that might arrive the following month or year. Just as the Rhodians succeeded in attracting a Carystian and Cean to serve in their fleet in the late fourth century, so too can the Rhodian fleet have visited those states to gather that support. Just as the Rhodians religiously honoured Apollo as part of their competitive interaction with Cos in the early third century, so too can they have simultaneously honoured their admirals in what was clearly an important locus of Rhodian display.

None of this action necessarily involves hegemony, but that is not the point: there is no need to point to a single power as predominant. It does instead allow for action by a range of different states engaging with each other in a variety of levels, as we have seen in previous studies was the case. We do not, and probably will never have, reason closely to date the inscriptions which we here discuss. Nevertheless, the broader dynamic we identify here should at least be accepted as a valid alternative as an interpretation of the evidence as it currently stands. Given that it has such synergies with our broader interpretation here, that it is methodologically more rigorous, and that it is more resilient to the discovery of further evidence, moreover, we should also consider it preferable.

The Rhodian 'hegemony' in the second-century Cyclades

When we turn to evidence for Rhodian activity after this period, we can see ongoing sporadic Rhodian activity in the late third century and second century such as might be expected from a significant naval power in the region. Leaving aside the possibility that Antigenes' activity is to be dated after 250, a proxeny decree for Hermocreon, son of Aristonymus, is certainly datable to the late third century by its letter forms and its inscription on a stone with a decree honouring an envoy of Antigonus (Doson)[1114]. Similarly, evidence for Rhodian activity in the second-century Cyclades includes the honours offered to two Rhodians by the city of Arcesine on Amorgos for their help in the context of a *psephisma* sent by the Rhodians[1115], and two dedications by Rhodian sailors in the Sanctuary of Poseidon and Amphitrite on

[1114] Antigenes: Fraser and Bean 1954, 158. Hermocreon, son of Aristonymus: *IG* XII.7 221.c, perhaps the same man as the man mentioned in *IG* XII.1 222a. He is there described as from Brycous, one of the cities of Carpathia which had by this point been incorporated into the Rhodian state. See Fraser and Bean 1954, 141–144, especially 144n1. Envoy of Antigonus Doson: *IG* XII.7 221.b; reaffirmed as Doson, not Gonatas by Reger 1994b, 55–56, but the "transitional" lettering of the inscriptions dates them into the later second century irrespective of which Antigonus is involved. Note that the very compresence illustrates the multipolar aspect here in question.
In general, less evidence is currently recognised for external activity in the second half of the third century, but, as we note below, this situation has arisen is at least in part because evidence that does not have to be earlier (as this inscription does because of the reference to Antigonus), has been dated out of this period: just as Reger insisted that Antigenes' inscription could not date from 250–220, so too inscriptions that might be dated nearer 200 and which indicate Rhodian presence have been dated after the Second Macedonian War. Our argument that this conflict did not form a caesura raises the possibility that some inscriptions should perhaps be dated prior to that conflict, and our detailed analysis of the early second century narrative further supports this suggestion; neither discussion, however, can require that a specific inscription be dated before 200.

[1115] Honours at Arcesine for Deinocrates, the son of Ph[ilip], and Hagesianax, the son of Telesicrates: *IG* XII.7 31. Dated by the presence of Hagesianax, the son of Telesicrates, also as part of a group offering made by Theon, son of Antioches, whose *floruit* is placed *c* 170–150 (*ILindos* 172); and as one of a group of *epistateis* who offered dedication in *ILindos* 190, dated *c* 170.

Tenos[1116]. These are datable to the first third of the second century, and suggest ongoing Rhodian involvement akin to that seen in the third century[1117].

[1116] *IG* XII.5 913, a dedication by sailors under the *archon* Agathagetus, son of Damonax. This Agathagetus is presumably the son or great-grandson of the Damonax, son of Agathagetus mentioned in Blinkenberg 1937, 17–23.105 (228) and has long been identified with the Agathagetus whom Polybius states was one of a group in 171 who placed all their hopes in Rome (Polybius 28.2.3: ἀπερειδόμενοι πάσας τὰς ἐλπίδας ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους; Hiller von Gaertringen in *IG*: "fautor Romanorum"); this attractive connexion cannot be certain without a patronymic, given the frequency of the name. Hagetor, son of Damostratus, one of the trierarchs, was *damiourgos* in Camiros *c* 183 (*Tit. Cam.* 50.1–2 from *c* 183). Together, these inscriptions justify dating this inscription to the first third of the second century, although letter forms alone would allow a date in the late third century (Graindor 1906c, 334).
IG XII.5 914, a dedication by sailors under the *archon* Deinocles. Note that [Ῥόδιοι] is restored. Deinocles is a rare name outside Rhodes, however, so the restoration seems justified. Graindor 1907a, 108 states that the same scribe carved both *IG* XII.5 913 and 914. The arrangement of the words is also identical. Together, these aspects suggest that the inscriptions were carved on the same occasion, and this connexion is the safest basis for dating this inscription in the first third of the second century. Prosopography is much less helpful: Deinocles' patronymic is lost on *IG* XII.5 914, but he is commonly associated with the Deinocles, son of Philip, honoured at Arcesine (*IG* XII.7 31.7c Δεινοκλῆν Φι[λίππου). Deinocles is a common name on Rhodes, so the connexion cannot be certain: *LGPN* identifies five other Deinocles, with three different patronymics between 233 and the middle of the second century. Similarly, the Deinocles in *IG* XII.5 914 and in *IG* XII.7 31 are both also traditionally connected with the athlete's statue base from Lindos for Deinocles, son of Philip: *IG* XII.1 842.1: [Δει]νοκλῆ Φιλίπ[που. This base is dated *c* 180, but this date is not independent, but instead derived from *IG* XII.5 914 by Blinkenberg once *IG* XII.5 914 was known. The archaeological context of *IG* XII.1 842.1 also does not help: Lippolis 1988–1989, 123–126 uses *IG* XII.5 914 as a *terminus ante quem* for the dating of the stoa in which *IG* XII.1 842.1 was found, but previous scholars dated the stoa much earlier: Dyggve in Blinkenberg, et al 1931, 3:247–253: "late third"; Blinkenberg 265–260; Shoe 1950, 352, 357: second half fourth century.
IG XII.5 913 has traditionally been dated to 180/79, by connexion with the Rhodian arbitration between Amphissa and Delphi (*FDelphes* III 3.383) on two grounds. See Ager 1996, 314–316 117 for a summary of the dispute, which Ager dates to 179. First, the sailors state that they made the offering in accordance with an oracle from Delphi (*IG* XII.5 913.14: κατὰ τὸν ἐκ Δελφῶν χρησμόν). Second, the nine Rhodian judges honoured by the Delphians for their work include Hagetor, the son of Damostratus (*FDelphes* III 3.383.23: Ἀγήτορα Δαμοσ[τράτου]), who has been posited as the brother of one of the trierarchs mentioned in the Tenian inscription, Hagemon, the son of Damostratus (*IG* XII.5 913.4: Ἀγήμονος τοῦ Δαμοστράτου). The suggestion that they are brothers is perhaps unlikely, unless the family moved in Rhodes: A Δημόστρατος Ἀγήμονος is attested in a list of priests from Lindos from 47 (*ILindos* 344.16), whereas Ἀγήτωρ Δαμοστράτου was δαμιουργὸς in Camiros (*Tit Cam* 50.1–2 from *c* 183, as above). Nevertheless, as Étienne notes (116), relations between Rhodes and Delphi are not often attested. *Cf*, however, the proxeny inscription from the early third century (*FDelphes* III 1.99: 273/2, *cf IG* XII *Suppl* 550, restored at Knoepfler 2001a [*SEG* 51.1103] to refer to the same man). For earlier Rhodian involvement at Delphi, including colonisation myths, see Fontenrose 1978, 275 Q22, 282 Q40, 361 L14. The sailors' offering is Parke and Wormell 1956, 173 426, Fontenrose 1978, 260 H50. In addition, Hiller von Gaertringen in *RE Suppl* 5:785, Hoepfner 2003, 100 and many other scholars refer to a Rhodian decision not to re-erect the Colossus because of a Delphic oracle. The source cited in *RE*, Strabo 14.2.5 652 does not specify Delphi (κατά τι λόγιον), but the inference is plausible. Note that both Parke and Fontenrose date the response to *c* 177, stating that they are

Scholars have, however, traditionally understood the Second Macedonian War as a watershed in the political scene in the Cyclades: Rhodian involvement in the Cyclades increased markedly, and soon resulted in the recreation or reinvigoration of the League of the Islanders under Rhodian leadership. This second League of the Islanders is unanimously seen as having lasted from *c* 200 until at least 167. There is more disagreement about whether the League and Rhodian leadership ceased then or not: the evident displeasure of the Romans with Rhodes after the Third Macedonian War has led some scholars to argue that the Rhodians must afterwards have been stripped of their control of the islanders by the Romans, just as they were of their control of Caria and other regions[1118]. Others have argued that Polybius' failure to include loss of the Cyclades among the complaints which he has the Rhodian envoy Astymedes list in his speech of 165/164 suggests (although no more) that Rhodian control in the Cyclades continued, and the League with it. On this scenario, Rhodes' position in the Cyclades will just have faded over the years as a result of Rhodes' more generally reduced status, and, with it, presumably also the League of the Islanders[1119]. Nevertheless, the early and lasting belief in a clear period of Rhodian dominance at the

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following Graindor 1906c, 332; he is not so specific, merely pointing to the connexion with the Delphic Oracle noted above. Given the frequency of contact, the connexion is attractive, but not certain.

[1117] Note that we are not here assuming that this involvement is necessarily political (in a narrow sense), but instead illustrating the similarity of the evidence involved.

[1118] Étienne 1990, 101–124, specifically on the end: 123–124; Wiemer 2002, 276: the islanders were no longer willing to put up with the expenses involved in maintaining the League fleet after Rhodes' failure to protect them during the war.

[1119] König 1910, 46–48; Fraser and Bean 1954, 170–171; Sippel 1966, 80–82. Schmitt 1957, 159 seems to assume the ongoing existence of the League. Fraser and Bean, and Sippel further suggest that Sulla's gift of islands to Rhodes in 83 (Cicero, *ad Quintum Fratrem* 1.1.33 = SB 1.1.33) can be taken as a fairly certain *terminus ante quem* for the League's end; this conclusion seems to involve a misinterpretation of this passage, on which see 564n1211. Fraser and Bean note that Rhodian involvement in the Cretan War in the 150s (153–151?) suggests that Rhodes maintained considerable influence in the islands. Gabrielsen 1997, 57 states that the date of the foundation of the League and its duration remain 'open questions', but 173n109 suggests that he envisages it as continuing after 167.

beginning of the second century was central to the dating of inscriptions by Demoulin, Durrbach, Hiller von Gaertringen, Graindor, and Roussel, among others, at the start of the twentieth century, and remains a part of the scholarly model[1120]. As a result, inscriptions whose letter forms might date them to the late third century or the early second century have been consistently dated into the early second century; those inscriptions that have looked second century have been dated into the first third of that century[1121]. It is no coincidence that the only inscription approximately datable

[1120] A noteworthy part exception is Gabrielsen 1997, 56–63, which reviews much of the evidence to be discussed in this chapter in the context of Rhodian hegemony with a critical eye, and similarly emphasises how much of the evidence used to support that predominance has parallels outside the first third of the second century. He does also argue against conceiving of "formal 'hegemony'" (61, quotation marks original). His conception of hegemony is, however, much narrower than elsewhere in the scholarship: he denies it because of the lack of evidence for "exaction of tribute or taxes, or compulsory conscription of manpower, or forcible installation of garrisons, or unwanted interference with constitutions, or any other sign of the formal 'hegemony' exercised by the Ptolemies or the Antigonids in the previous Island Leagues". While such terminological rigour is refreshing, Gabrielsen's connexion of Rhodian power with the League of the Islanders (57), his depiction of Delos as a Rhodian "protectorate" (61), and his reference to the "naked forces of power" wielded by Rhodes (61), effectively restore Rhodes to its traditional position in the Cyclades in the second century, and one equivalent to the less terminologically rigorous hegemony envisaged by Reger and other scholars for the other powers.
The emphasis Gabrielsen places on the difference in the evidence for the nature of the Rhodian commitment to the islands relative to other areas, notably Caria and Lycia, is apposite. The distinction he draws between the Rhodian phase and earlier phases is less persuasive. Gabrielsen is ultimately correct in the lack of evidence for the factors he identifies in our quotation above, but he is incorrect in suggesting that the evidence for their existence is weaker for the nominal period of Rhodian control than for the period of Antigonid or Ptolemaic domination. Instead, we here have evidence of circularity of reasoning in scholarship: Reger 1994c, cited by Gabrielsen in support of his statement, envisages only two garrisons as staying for longer than was needed for the immediate episode of fighting: the Ptolemaic garrison on Thera, and the supposed Rhodian garrison on Tenos in the second century (29); similarly, one of the differences most often noted between the earlier Island Leagues and the League under the Rhodians is precisely the suggestion that the islanders were expected to contribute ships in the later phase: König 1910, 74; Fraser and Bean 1954, 167; Reger 1994c, 37 all explicitly contrast this requirement with the situation under the Ptolemies; without the comparison: Sippel 1966, 70; Étienne 1990, 117. Gabrielsen's analysis thus should encourage reassessment of dynamics throughout the periods as attempted here. Gabrielsen's own analysis, however, instead effectively follows the traditional hegemonical picture (with its usual chronological bounds) in all but name.

[1121] *Cf* the testimonia gathered by Hiller von Gaertringen in his publication of the fascicules of *IG*, especially 1354 (188): "Nesiotarum κοινόν tunc instauratum esse videtur (si non anno 196), Rhodiis principatus concessus"; 1358 (166): "Rhodiorum principatus cessavit…. Eodem anno τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Νησιωτῶν dissolutum esse videtur"; and his detailed comments, *eg*, at *IG* XII.5 824: "decreti tempus

between *c* 225 and *c* 125 with a Rhodian context that has not been dated between 200 and 167 is precisely the inscription for Hermocreon, where the reference to Antigonus requires an earlier context[1122].

Here, we set aside for now the thin evidence for the League of the Islanders in this period, which is no better attested than its third-century equivalent: their very existence is valuable as an illustration of the ability and will of islanders to combine, but little more can for now be said[1123]. We reconsider instead the literary and epigraphic evidence behind this model of Rhodian hegemony. A close analysis of the literary evidence, the original basis for the common notion of Rhodian alliance at this time, suggests that it has been misinterpreted. In particular, Livy 31.15.8, the passage which scholars understand as pointing to the creation of a Rhodian alliance in the Cyclades in 200, refers instead to the alliance against Philip; while Polybius 16.26.10 rather suggests that the Rhodians did the converse: they attacked the islands, also as part of their campaign against Philip. We then demonstrate that there is also no literary evidence for Rhodian involvement in the Cyclades in the War with Antiochus and the Third Macedonian War, and analyse the significance and dating of the various epigraphic testimonia adduced in this context. We demonstrate that they also have been systematically misinterpreted and, in some cases, even plausibly misdated, because of misguided belief in this literary frame, and in the double caesura it offers.

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propter Rhodiorum principatum sacerdotis nomine indicatum inter Antiochi et Persei bella (189–167 a. Chr. N.) fuisse videtur."

[1122] See 515n1114.

[1123] For a brief discussion drawing on insight from this chapter and elsewhere, see Appendix 1. The 'Second League of the Islanders', 569, and 598–600. For a recent wider ranging reassessment of the role of leagues in the classical and Hellenistic periods, but without reference to the League(s) of the Islanders or the peculiarities of their marine context, see Mackil 2003.

None of the above discussion argues that the Rhodians did not form an important part of the Cycladic space at this time, or that they did not have hegemonic ambitions. It does, however, reject any suggestion that Rhodes at any point was uniquely dominant in the Cyclades, such that the Cyclades formed a unipolar space. Even in the first third of the second century, we can see islanders engaging with a variety of powers in the way in which they did with Rhodes at this time, and with Rhodes and others throughout the Hellenistic period; while we argue that the evidence for Rhodian hegemonic efforts at this time suggests that they were directed elsewhere: to Lycia and to Caria. Our evidence may thus occasionally be scarse, but both the evidence for parallel activity by other powers in the Cyclades at this time, and the available comparanda from areas where we do see the Rhodians taking a more active interest, argue that the Cyclades conversely did remain a multipolar space.

The Rhodian alliance of 200

We have already noted the difficulty in dating the end of Rhodian hegemony in the Cyclades. There has, however, been rough consensus about the date when it arose: in or soon after 200. This is derived from Livy's narrative of the events of the spring of that year: when the Rhodians left Athens after the Athenian declaration of war on Philip, they

"sailed to Ceos, and from there made their way to Rhodes through the Cyclades, receiving all the islands into (the) alliance with the exception of Andros, Paros and Cythnos which were held by Macedonian garrisons"[1124].

This passage has been universally understood to involve a Rhodian alliance[1125]. A closer analysis of this passage, however, suggests this is incorrect: Livy's narrative context precludes it, while a comparison with the parallel passage of Polybius suggests that he made no mention of such an alliance either[1126].

[1124] Livy 31.15.8: Rhodii Ceam ab Aegina, inde per insulas Rhodum nauigarunt omnibus praeter Andrum Parumque et Cythnum, quae praesidiis Macedonum tenebantur, in societatem acceptis.

[1125] Explicitly at, *eg*, König 1910, 53. Whether or not the League of the Islanders recommenced with this alliance has been considered less certain, but even those scholars placing the start of the Second League of the Islanders slightly later assume that the Rhodians at this time took control of these islands, or took them into alliance: *eg*, Sheedy 1996, 428. The League of the Islanders recommenced with this alliance: Sippel 1966, 57; Sippel 1986a, 36; shortly after the alliance: König 1910, 45; soon after this alliance, although unlikely as late as the peace of Apamaea: Fraser and Bean 1954, 160; after this alliance, probably after the end of the war in 197: Graindor 1908, 12–13; Berthold 1984, 142; after the end of the Second Macedonian War in 197: Sheedy 1996, 428; these actions were "the basis" of the renewal of the League, but the chronology is not specified: Reger 1994c, 20. Note that these formulations, particularly that of Fraser and Bean, are offered in the context of Hiller von Gaertringen's inherently ambiguous suggested date in *IG* XII XIX 1343 of 188: with the peace of Apamaea, if not in 196 (see 518n1121). Étienne 1987 and Étienne 1990, 102–106 offer a *terminus ante quem* of 192 from the publication of *SEG* 37.709, a letter and decree of the Epirote confederation found on Tenos, which Étienne dates to 192 because of the probable connexion with an embassy of the Epirotes to the Peloponnese and then Antiochus in Chalcis in that year (Livy 35.27.11, Polybius 20.3.1–7). The decree does not explicitly mention the League, nor Rhodians; instead, Étienne argues a Rhodian presence: the recipient is not fully visible, but enough traces survive to confirm that it was not the *demos* of Tenos. He suggests it was addressed to a Rhodian commandant; it could, however, equally well be the *theorodokos* of the Tenians or another religious official. There is no other reference implying a Rhodian involvement, and no other reason to bring this inscription into discussion except as further illustration of the diversity of Cycladic contact with the outside world even at this time. For a similar example of an inscription being perhaps over-hastily ascribed to the early second century on the basis of our existing historical narrative, see the discussion of *SEG* 48.1130 at 539–546.

[1126] It is tempting to understand Dicaearchus' pillaging of the Cyclades in 205, and Philip's activity in the Aegean and Caria in 201 associated with the battles of Lade and Chios, as factors encouraging scholars to point to 200 as a significant date, but such a reconstruction seems likely to be inaccurate. Even scholars that do deal with Dicaearchus' and Philip's movements in 201, or the general background pre-200, as part of a continuous narrative with the new Rhodian alliance seem to consider the alliance of 200 a "step-change": thus, Fraser and Bean 1954, 158–159: "steps to establish her position formally"; Sippel 1966, 27: "[i]t is now that Rhodes formally became the acknowledged protector of the Nesiotic League"; this thrust is shared by König 1910, 40, which does envisage ongoing Rhodian activity in the

Historiography is not, of course, a direct reflection of historical reality[1127]. It is still possible that the Rhodians did do more than Livy and Polybius allow: as we shall see, both narratives might be characterised as hostile to the Rhodians. Nevertheless, we are discussing these passages in a context in which scholars have pointed specifically to Livy 31.15.8 as clear evidence of a break in the Rhodian approach to the Cyclades, and have dated the surviving epigraphic evidence to support this case. Polybius 16.26.10 has never supported this interpretation: hence, perhaps, why Polybius' passage is universally overlooked in the scholarship. Given that Livy 31.15.8 does not either, there is no justification for dating all the epigraphic evidence on principle post-200.

Livy 31.15.8

In Livy 31.14–15, Livy pointedly contrasts the understated, practical behaviour of the Romans, with the foolish behaviour of the Athenians, and the rhetorically

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third century of an unspecified kind, but dismisses the relevance of this action because of a focus on formal hegemony, which he dates to 200; the influence of van Gelder 1900, 107 and Polybius' statement about Rhodian *prostasia* in the context of 220 perhaps here shews. In this regard, more recent formulations, such as Reger 1994b and Étienne 1990, 101, have been more rigid in the contrast drawn between the two periods than earlier treatments.

205: Philip sent Dicaearchus to pillage the Cyclades: Polybius 18.54.7; Diodorus 28.1; 201: Polybius 16.2–10. Whether the garrisons dated only from 201 or predated this activity is disputed and not resolvable in the absence of closely dated archaeological evidence, which so far has not been forthcoming. Note however that the tempting (but apparently previously not explicitly made) conjecture connecting the star that appears on late Parian bronzes with the Macedonian star, and hence derives evidence for an ongoing Macedonian influence on Paros akin to the Rhodian influence previously adduced on Tenos on the basis of the 'Rhodian' 'rose', is chronologically impossible; the specimens involved are stylistically far too late, with some of the later specimens plausibly dating into the first century. See further Tully forthcoming. The suggestion at Briscoe 1973 Livy 31.15.8 *ad loc* that there may have been more garrisons, and only these three islands resisted is possible, but perhaps unlikely, given the paucity of garrisons in general in the Cyclades. A geographical analysis also suggests that more garrisons may have been unnecessary: Andros, Paros and Cythnos could also have acted as fetters of the Cyclades, controlling entrance from the north, east and west, no less effectively than Demetrias, Chalcis and Corinth on the Greek mainland.

[1127] See, in this vein, the discussion and references at 294n746.

impressive, but indolent approach of Attalus and Rhodes at the time when the new Roman commander, Publius Sulpicius Galba, departed to the East. A brief summary of the relevant section makes this contrast clear[1128].

As soon as a dispute with creditors had been resolved by what Livy emphasises was a fair and practical solution ("aequum et utile"), Livy narrates that Sulpicius performed the required rites, left for Brundisium, gathered his army, set sail, arrived the next day in Greece, and immediately sent twenty ships and one thousand men to Athens to relieve the siege of which an Athenian embassy informed him on arrival. All this action may have taken some time in chronological terms, but Livy's narrative is concise, and emphasises the Romans' efficiency.

By contrast, Livy takes pains over the ridiculousness of the Athenians in causing this war. He explains that they put to death two Aetolians found in the temple at Eleusis, whereupon the Acarnanians asked Philip's help for retribution. For Livy, this war happened for a quite absurd reason ("haudquaquam digna causa"): the Aetolians had been young ("iuvenes"); they had entered with the rest of the crowd ("cum cetera turba") in ignorance of what they were doing ("imprudentes"; "per errorem"); and they were easily ("facile") found out by their ridiculous talk ("absurde"). Nevertheless, despite all these mitigating circumstances, they were killed in a terrible and hostile act ("tam foede atque hostiliter"), as though guilty of an unspeakable crime ("tamquam ob infandum scelus"). The Acarnanians' act may have been terrible in

[1128] Livy 31.14–15. *Cf* on the events here discussed, but without reference to the narrative context: Warrior 1996, 72–77.

Athenian eyes, but, whether or not Livy agreed, he does not present it as such[1129]. There may also have been other reasons for the war, but Livy chooses not to relate them. Unlike in Polybius, moreover, Livy's Athenians do not take the initiative and invite Attalus and the Rhodians to discuss the situation. Instead they flock out in what seems to be intended as a comic moment. Not only the citizens, but their wives and children, and the priests with their regalia came to meet Attalus. Even the gods were almost roused from their temples to welcome him.

Livy's description of the visit of Attalus and the Rhodians to Athens then follows, and is clearly intended as a set-piece to illustrate the uselessness of the Attalid and Rhodian involvement[1130]. They do not bring troops to support the Athenians. Instead, they bring words. Both Attalus and the Rhodians are presented as speaking fulsomely about the benefits they have previously bestowed on Athens, and as being magnificently rewarded for their labours: the Athenians unanimously passed the proposal for war; added an extra tribe, Attalis, in honour of Attalus; and awarded a gold crown and full citizenship to the Rhodians. In keeping with their failure to bring troops to Athens with them, however, Attalus and the Rhodians followed up on this conference with further inactivity: Attalus rejoined his fleet at Aegina, and the Rhodians sailed back home through the Cyclades. As if the thrust of the comparison between Sulpicius and the Romans' understated efficiency and Attalus and the

[1129] On Greek notions of pollution in general, see Parker 1983, especially 144–190 on sacrilege.

[1130] Note that Livy suppresses the presence of the Romans at this conference. This absence is plausibly intended further to heighten the contrast between the different actors, as well as arising for the broader narrative reasons discussed, for example, by Briscoe 1973, 39–42. Warrior 1996 notes the absence of the Romans, but does not analyse it.

Rhodians' rhetorical vacuity were not clear enough, Livy makes it explicit: had Attalus and the Rhodians attacked Philip ("institissent"), they, rather than the Romans, could have won the title of liberators of Greece. Instead, however, we are to assume that they did nothing, as Livy illustrates in his continuation: Attalus' return to Aegina, and the Rhodians' departure home.

In this Athenian passage, the alliance Livy is here discussing must be the alliance against Philip, an alliance which Livy's Greeks are spontaneously joining in spite of, rather than because of, Attalus and the Rhodians. Note how Livy's Attalus emphasises that not he, not the Rhodians, but the Romans ("dum se, dum Rhodios, tum quidem dum etiam Romanos") are central to the alliance. The same alliance against Philip should also be involved in the immediately subsequent context of the Rhodians' departure, because, as we have just seen, the narrative context is the same: Livy is claiming that the Rhodians did nothing. They just went home. Livy does not mean that the Rhodians received the islands "into alliance", but "into the alliance", that is, the alliance with Rome, and against Philip. This passage is thus not evidence for (Livy's belief in) an alliance between Rhodes and the Cyclades, but for (Livy's belief in) the expansion of the alliance against Philip at that time to include the Cycladic islands.

Polybius 16.26.10

Livy's text here closely follows that of Polybius, who was, as so often, an important source for Livy at this point of his narrative[1131]. Unlike Livy, however, Polybius makes no reference to islands joining any alliance; instead, close analysis suggests that he has Rhodes attack them.

Analysis of this passage is complicated in two respects. First, it forms the end of a section preserved in the *excerpta de legationibus* organised by Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus. It is thus possible that the excerptor abbreviated his citation. It is perhaps even plausible: such an abbreviation would explain why the surviving portion of Polybius does not mention the Macedonian garrisons[1132]. Second, Polybius is, like Livy, not impressed with the Rhodians' behaviour: he considers that they and Attalus are both guilty of indolence ("ὀλιγοπονία").

Nevertheless, the content of Polybius' discussion renders these considerations irrelevant, because, unlike Livy's Rhodians, Polybius' Rhodians are active: they set off for Ceos with the fleet *against* the islands. Numerous parallels make it clear that Polybius means that they set off to attack the islands: where Polybius refers to two targets of motion using the prepositions ἐπὶ and εἰς, the ἐπὶ phrase always implies hostile motion to attack, unless it specifies a sub-region of the εἰς phrase, which is not

[1131] Though not necessarily his only source, nor a source unthinkingly copied. *Cf* Briscoe 1973, 94 considering that "the basic source is Polybius, … it is a very perverted form of Polybius … It is L[ivy]'s own summary of the events, based on his reading of his sources, but in no way 'copied' from them", with further discussion *ad loc* and 39–42. On Livy's approach to his sources and his working methods, see Luce 1977, 139–229. For an analysis of the narrative unity of Livy 31: Warrior 1996.

[1132] See briefly Walbank 1956–1979, 2:1, 25 on the source tradition for Polybius books 6 to 18 and the specific source of this passage; and Moore 1965, 127–129 on the Constantine excerpts, and 137–139 on the *excerpta de legationibus.*

the case here: they set off for Ceos to attack the islands ("εἰς τὴν Κέων ἐπὶ τὰς νήσους")[1133].

This hostile action by Polybius' Rhodians matters for two reasons. First, it confirms that Livy's narrative is not just a translation of Polybius: he chose further to reduce Rhodian action beyond Polybius' analysis in keeping with his own narrative purpose[1134]. Second, it suggests that Livy misunderstood Polybius: when Polybius meant that the Rhodians attacked the islands, Livy thought that he simply meant that he went through the islands: "per insulas". In this interpretation, he is not alone:

[1133] Polybius 16.26.10: οἱ μὲν οὖν πρέσβεις οἱ παρὰ τῶν Ῥοδίων ταῦτα διαπράξαντες ἀνήχθησαν εἰς τὴν Κέων ἐπὶ τὰς νήσους μετὰ τοῦ στόλου. Briscoe *ad* Livy 31.15.8 suggests there may be contradiction with Livy's statement that the fleet stayed at Aegina, but this interpretation seems unnecessary. Livy is surely there referring specifically to the Attalid fleet, as distinct from the "Rhodii" who he has sail back to Rhodes "per insulas". No other scholar seems to have noted any contradiction here.
As multiple parallels in Polybius indicate, Polybius uses εἰς and ἐπὶ with the accusative together both in the general sense of 'motion towards' in two distinct ways. The rarer use involves ἐπὶ specifying the target of the motion more closely: 18.27.2: Philip moved to [the territory of the] Gonnoi ("εἰς Γόννους"), to the entrance of the vale of Tempe ("ἐπὶ τὴν εἰσβολὴν τῶν Τεμπῶν"); 27.16.2: Aulus Hostilius was going to Thessaly ("εἰς Θετταλίαν") to his camp ("ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον"). This use is clearly not relevant to our passage, where "ἐπὶ τὰς νήσους" is a broader object of motion than Ceos.
The more common use involves ἐπὶ being associated with the specific hostile target of the motion. In this case, εἰς may occasionally also indicate a more general hostile target, or may simply indicate the direction of movement (5.28.6), but ἐπὶ always does. Thus, in 31.9.1, King Antiochus IV Epiphanes went to Elymaïs ("εἰς τὴν Ἐλυμαΐδα") to attack the sanctuary of Artemis ("ἐπὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν"). He may also have attacked Elymaïs more generally, but it is his attack on the sanctuary which is the focus here: it was, according to some people, because of his outrages specifically in the sanctuary that he went mad and died at Tabae in Persia (31.9.4). This is the case irrespective of the order in which the two clauses come. *Cf* 4.6.8: the Aetolians crossed their men into the Peloponnese ("εἰς Πελοπόννησον") and began to march against Messenia ("ἐπὶ τὴν Μεσσηνίαν"); 4.37.4: the Romans sent Lucius Aemilius to Illyria ("εἰς τὴν Ἰλλυρίδα") against Demetrius of Pharos ("ἐπὶ Δημήτριον τὸν Φάριον"); 5.28.6: Philip sent Alexander to Thebes ("εἰς τὰς Θήβας") to arrest Megaleas ("ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν Μεγαλέαν"). *Cf* a slightly different use with similar presuppositions at 21.26.19: Damoteles, on learning that Marcus Fulvius was advancing against Ambracia ("ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀμβρακίαν"), abandoned his embassy, and returned to Aetolia ("εἰς τὴν Αἰτωλίαν").
Thus, Paton's translation in the Loeb: "to look after the islands" is incorrect (unless understood ironically), and illustrative of the hegemonical presuppositions involved in scholarship which this chapter addressees. Weil's "à destination des îles" in the Budé, and Shuckburgh's "to visit the islands" are preferable, but do not capture the flavour of Polybius' statement. Even Schweighäuser (unusually) mistranslates: "per relinquas insulas", a translation in which he is perhaps influenced by Livy.

[1134] See the works cited in 526n1131, and, for diverging interpretations of Livy's narrative purpose, and his approach to Roman imperialism, the references cited by Briscoe.

Schweighäuser understood Polybius in the same way[1135]. Nevertheless, as our most prominent ancient reader of Polybius, it is noteworthy that he did not understand any reference there to alliance. However slanted their individual historiographical motivations may have been, it is also clear that neither Polybius nor Livy contains any trace of an alliance between Rhodes and Cycladic islands at this time. Cumulatively, we can dismiss any historiographical foundation for such a notion.

Rhodian hegemony until 167: the literary evidence

We have established that neither Livy nor Polybius shew any sign of a Rhodian alliance in the Cyclades starting in 200, or, indeed, at any other time. Hence, we can now turn to consider the literary evidence for ongoing Rhodian engagement in the Cyclades in this period, such as might point to Rhodian hegemonic concern for their subjects which Livy and Polybius might deliberately or unwittingly have overlooked. It is, however, the absence of Rhodian military concern for the Cyclades and the Greek mainland (before and) after the Second Macedonian War that is most notable. We can thus more plausibly conceive of Rhodian involvement in the Second Macedonian War as an exception to their general policy, undertaken for specific geopolitical reasons: to ensure the continued involvement of the Romans against Macedonia[1136].

[1135] See 527n1133.

[1136] (Before and) after: the absence of Rhodian involvement in our narratives for military engagement in third century except for those battles fought on the east side of the Aegean (such as the problematic battle of Ephesus) is an unspoken given in discussions, and is perhaps unsurprising: most of these conflicts were land conflicts. Nevertheless, it is still worth reiterating. Beyond bare argument from silence, moreover, it is noteworthy that the Rhodians, unlike Attalus, and Prusias, are not mentioned as *adscripti* in Livy's discussion of the Peace of Phoenice of 205: Livy 29.12.14.

To turn first to the Second Macedonian war, Rhodian activity in the Cyclades is here well-attested. Livy presents the Rhodians as active during the war against Philip: in 199, twenty Rhodian ships under Agesimbrotus joined the Romans after their capture of Andros, and were subsequently stationed near Demetrias; in 198, they did the same, raiding Carystos and Eretria before Agesimbrotus took part in the conference at Nicaea[1137].

For later conflicts, however, there is silence. Thus, in the war with Antiochus, Antiochus is able to sail away through the Cyclades without any attempt by the Rhodians to prevent him so doing[1138]. This inactivity cannot, moreover, be ascribed to Rhodian indifference to the actions of Antiochus: the following year, when battle resumed, twenty-five Rhodian ships joined the Roman fleet[1139]. Rhodian strategic calculations may, of course, have changed. In case we are tempted to hold to such an interpretation, it is therefore worth considering the geography and chronology of Livy's narrative. He states that the Roman fleet sailed through the Cyclades to the East Aegean, and that the Romans were delayed at Delos for several days. Nevertheless, the Rhodians did not join the Roman fleet until it had already reached Cissus on the Anatolian coast. This narrative suggests that they did not arrive from a base in the Cyclades, but from somewhere in the East Aegean, probably Rhodes itself.

Moving forward to the war with Perseus, Rhodian activity is perhaps not to be expected: they did not commit troops until late in the war. Nevertheless, their

[1137] Livy 31.46; Livy 32.16, 32.
[1138] Livy 36.21.
[1139] Livy 36.45.

absence from the Cyclades is apparent. Livy narrates how Roman ships stopped at Delos and the crews mingled with those of forty Macedonian ships and five Attalid ships that they had found there[1140]. This passage has often been cited in the debate over the supposed neutrality of Delos, but the absence of the Rhodians has been less noted[1141]. In fact, no Rhodian involvement in the Cyclades during the Third Macedonian War is mentioned by Livy, Polybius, Plutarch, or any other source.

Arguments from silence are not normally very strong in antiquity. These episodes are, however, well-attested, and lavishly narrated by Livy, by Plutarch in his *Lives* and in assorted references elsewhere. The consistent absence of Rhodes from the narrative is thus noteworthy, and is, as we see below, also consistent with the epigraphic evidence. Cumulatively, Rhodian military engagement in the Cyclades in the Second Macedonian War is the exception, not Rhodian absence before the Second Macedonian War, in the War with Antiochus, and in the Third Macedonian War.

Scholars have, moreover, felt this difficulty, particularly for the War with Antiochus, and have sought to justify the silence: perhaps the Rhodian fleet was still too weak in 191, or the Rhodians did not want to overwhelm Antiochus[1142]. Neither explanation is plausible. The significant Rhodian involvement when the theatre of war did switch to Asia Minor argues against such interpretations.

[1140] Livy 44.29.

[1141] *Eg*, König 1910, 62–63; Tarn 1924; Étienne 1990, 106 and 123; the passage is not discussed by Fraser and Bean 1954, 164–165 or Sippel 1966, 65.

[1142] Étienne 1990, 119. *Cf* the alternative explanations of Rhodian non-involvement, all in keeping with the analysis here, at Rawlings III 1976; Gruen 1984, 2:545–546; Rice 1994, 369–416.

An alternative approach has been to connect the Rhodian 'delay' in engaging in the war with Antiochus to a change in strategic position. Initially, the Rhodians had not been opposed to Antiochus, and had had an understanding with him. It was only after the Roman fleet moved to Asia Minor and Antiochus was on the defensive that the Rhodians decided that it would be wise to join the Romans: had the Rhodians supported Rome against Antiochus prematurely, they might have found themselves left to face him on their own[1143].

Such arguments are appealing in that they take more account of the Rhodians' agency as an independent state with their own interests, rather than assuming that they should unthinkingly follow Rome. The natural inference, however, is not that the Rhodians were prepared to overlook Antiochus' infringement of their strategic interests until late 190, but instead that the Rhodians conceived of their strategic interests as concentrated on Rhodes and Asia Minor, and that they were not hegemonically involved in the Cyclades. It was only when he returned to Asia that they saw any need to engage, because only then were their strategic interests involved.

This interpretation is confirmed by their later behaviour on three occasions, and the Roman reaction on the first of these occasions, at least as presented by Livy: when Livius Aemilius Regillus suggested at Samos that the Roman fleet should aim for Ephesus, Epicrates, a Rhodian commander present, urged the Romans to send ships in addition to Patara in Lycia. Livy presents Epicrates as justifying this plan in terms of the benefits to the Roman war effort: with the area opposite their own island quelled,

[1143] Emphasised by Rawlings III 1976; Gruen 1984, 2:545–546.

the Rhodians would be able to devote all their forces to the war against Antiochus. Nevertheless, the Romans were, according to Livy, not convinced: they had a lot of sympathy with Epicrates, but decided that Regillus should go to Ephesus with the whole of his fleet. They plausibly believed that the Rhodians' interest in diverting Roman resources to Lycia had less to do with the overall war effort Rhodian self-interest[1144].

Nevertheless, the Romans did decide to send Caius Livius Salinator with a small fleet of two Roman quinqueremes, four Rhodian quadriremes and two undecked ships to Lycia, and to liaise with the Rhodians. Whether or not Livius' plans on arrival explicitly involved an attack on Patara cannot be clear, but Livy presents the Rhodians as universally approving of them ("approbantibus cunctis"), so much so that they gave him three more ships, and states that the immediate result was an (abortive) attack on Patara. Again, the Rhodians' primary concern was Lycia. By contrast, when the Romans later thought to attack Iasus in Caria, where the Livy presents the Rhodians as already having a history of involvement, such that Iasian exiles could portray the city

[1144] Livy 36.14–15. As presented by Livy: because, despite his statement that Regillus was to go to Ephesus "tota classe", he does then continue to state at 36.16.1 that Caius Livius was sent to Lycia. The connexion between the episodes is not strictly clear, but Epicrates' proposal may thus have met a more favourable reception than Livy seems superficially to allow; hence "tota classe" is here translated "the whole of his fleet" (*viz* Regillus' fleet) in a perhaps misguided attempt to maintain the internal consistency of Livy's narrative. Despite these difficulties, however, and even allowing that the Rhodians may have been under particular pressure during this period, it remains noteworthy that Epicrates was concerned for the preservation of Rhodian hegemonic interests in an area of the Anatolian mainland only sixty miles to the east of Rhodes, much nearer than any Cycladic island.

as related ("cognata") to Rhodes, the Rhodians are to have persuaded the Romans to desist[1145].

Our analysis here confirms that the Rhodians were concerned for their own interests, and did identify a particular area of territory as of greater concern for them. It was not, however, the Cyclades. Instead it was the Anatolian coast to their north and east. We hence have active reason to think that the Rhodians did not consider the Cyclades strategically important in the War with Antiochus, let alone the Third Macedonian War. In the Second Macedonian War, they had been prepared to engage on the east side of the Aegean, but in the War with Antiochus they were not. Instead, their interests had, if anything, retrenched.

This analysis is important because it differs markedly from the context assumed in the dating of inscriptions: one of far greater involvement by Rhodes in the Cyclades after the war with Antiochus than after the Second Macedonian War[1146]. It is because of focus on the two passages of Livy and Polybius concerning 200 that inscriptions indicating Rhodian presence with appropriate letter forms have been consistently dated into the early second century. If, however, as we argue here both from reconsideration of those two passages themselves, and from consideration of the later literary evidence, 200 is not a watershed, then this approach becomes untenable,

[1145] Livy 37.16–17. All three episodes here support our suggestion that Reger's argument that conflict on Tenos when Antiochus retreated might have spurred Rhodes' intervention in the summer of 191 once Antiochus had reached Ephesus is inacceptable: it relies on readings of *IG* XII.5 824 referring to a war which are implausible, and it begs the question. If Rhodians saw strategic interest in the Cyclades, for them to have waited until Antiochus reached Asia before responding is implausible: Reger 1992, 379–381. Instead, their later behaviour discussed here confirms that they did not. See further 583.

[1146] See 518n1121.

unless alternative evidence to support that caesura is available. We now turn to demonstrate that the epigraphic evidence also does not support such a picture.

Rhodian hegemony until 167: the epigraphic evidence

Epigraphic evidence has long enabled scholars to recognise sporadic Rhodian military activity in the Cyclades at least from the middle of the third century into the early first century[1147]. By its very nature, epigraphic evidence is less amenable than literary evidence to charting long-term narratives, except where we possess detailed documentation such as that available on Delos, or dossiers of analogous inscriptions such as those attesting proxeny relations[1148]. It can, however, provide periodic and occasionally deep insight that illuminates and confirms in a virtuous cycle.

Hence, we first briefly discuss the only epigraphic analysis based on a dossier of comparable documents that has argued for a privileged position for Rhodes in this period. Our reanalysis suggests that the Rhodian element is non-existent: the constant explanation for the Delian policy decisions visible is not desire to appease Rhodes or to follow Rhodian policy, but to engage productively with the many foreign powers which the dossier attests as active. The dossier thus strongly supports our multipolar approach: first, we see the citizens of a state, for all their possibly lesser resources,

[1147] *c* 250: *IG* XI.4 1135 = Durrbach 1921–1923, 46–47 40; 1st: *IG* XII *Suppl* 317. See also 521n1126 on how this was continuity was underplayed in early scholarship because of the focus on formal 'hegemony'.

[1148] Or where the decree itself provides such a narrative, although even there these narratives are always to be understood as representations, not direct reflexions of reality. For a rare illustration of the potentially problematic nature of the historical value of such an inscription, consider the debate over the 'Decree of Themistocles' and its alternative reading of the events leading up to Salamis: Jameson 1960; Lewis 1961; Chambers 1962; Hammond 1982; Robertson 1982; Johansson 2001; Johansson 2004.

acting as independent agents; and, second, we see them engaging simultaneously and in swift succession with a variety of different, competing forces.

Next, we turn to the episodic insights offered by our isolated inscriptions attesting Rhodian involvement, and demonstrate that they also do not support the traditional picture of a chronologically extended Rhodian dominance between the Second and Third Macedonian Wars. Where inscriptions have been argued to prove Rhodian hegemonic involvement in the Cyclades in the War with Antiochus and in the Third Macedonian War, we demonstrate that they do no such thing, and that, in addition, at least one inscription has been plausibly wrongly downdated not just by a few years but by several decades into this period precisely because of the presence of Rhodians. Finally, we point to other inscriptions that are dated in the early second century to demonstrate, how just as some states looked to Rhodes for help, so others looked elsewhere. We see again that Rhodes was but one of a range of poles at this time, not unique.

Rhodes and Delos 200–167?

In his recent analysis of Delian foreign policy, Étienne argued that Rhodian influence is visible in two connected aspects of the Delian documentation: the honours granted different kings and states between 195 and 192, and 181 and 170, the years for which the relevant inscriptions survive; and the policy of a single Delian,

Telemnestus, son of Aristides, who proposed forty-eight honorific decrees, more than a third of the total number which survives[1149].

Neither argument can be accepted. To turn first to the honours, Étienne's argument is essentially negative: that none of the recipients of honours is out of keeping with the policy which might be expected of Rhodes at a particular time. The argument thus is difficult to evaluate without caricaturing or dehistoricising Rhodes' perceived objectives: Rhodes was not anti-Seleucid, anti-Macedonian, and pro-Roman throughout this period, but maintained a nuanced policy, the details of which too often escape us[1150].

Nevertheless, there are specific crowns that are surprising in a Rhodian context. One such cluster is formed by the crowns periodically offered Eumenes in 181, between 178 and 171, and 175[1151]. For at least some time in this decade, relations between the Rhodians and Eumenes II were strained, such that Rhodian judges successfully urged the Achaeans to cancel all honours they had earlier awarded him[1152]. Étienne recognises the problem this cluster forms, but argues that they merely indicate that the Delians did not completely follow the letter of Rhodian orders. If they did not do so here, however, it remains unclear why we should ever read Rhodian influence when an alternative plausible explanation is available that can explain this and every other instance: one that involves the Delians acting as independents agent

[1149] Étienne 1990, 106–110.
[1150] On the complexities of relations and diplomacy at this time, see generally Gruen 1984, 2:529–568.
[1151] See, conveniently, the table at Vial and Baslez 1987, 285 with text and notes.
[1152] Polybius 27.18. Bastini 1987, 129, 144–145 suggests *c* 175 for the revocation. Note that relations were not always bad: *c* 181 the Rhodians successfully sought Eumenes' help in their wars against the Lycians: Polybius 24.14.13.

negotiating their position to their own advantage in a multipolar space. This approach can explain periodic honours for Eumenes without difficulty in a way that appeal to Rhodes cannot[1153].

The Rhodians also are at least occasionally superfluous as a motivating factor. The crown which the Delians awarded Massinissa in 180 does seem to have formed part of a more complex exchange by which Massinissa gave grain. Just as he received the crown from the Delians, however, so too Massinissa gave the grain to the Delians. The Rhodians have no necessary place in this exchange[1154].

This interpretation has, moreover, already been advanced, by Vial and Baslez, in their analysis of crowns as specifically Delian tools of international diplomacy at this time[1155]. Étienne's analysis cannot be absolutely excluded. Nevertheless, when such a direct explanation is available, to insist that such grants must somehow be compatible with nuances of a Rhodian foreign policy that is itself little understood is unnecessary and more than slightly circular.

[1153] Crowns for Philip V, Eumenes II, and the Rhodians in 181: *ID* 442.A.24–26 and 63–65 (= Prêtre and Brunet 2002 159–193).
Crown for Eumenes II between 178 and 171: *ID* 460.d[1].11.
Crowns for Perseus, Prusias, and Eumenes II in 175: *ID* 449.A.11–23.
Note also how the crowns for Eumenes in 181 and 175 are contemporary with crowns for other powers whose relationship with the Rhodians is also strictly unclear but also not necessarily known to have been positive at this time. For an analysis of these crowns in their Delian context, emphasising how they point to Delos as a locus of multipolar competitive display in which each of these powers wanted to be seen to be relevant, see 382.

[1154] *ID* 442.A.101. On Massinissa's gift, see the discussion at Vial 1984, 138–139; Vial and Baslez 1987, 291, and, particularly, Gauthier 1988, convincingly arguing that no Rhodian ambassador was involved in this transaction, as previously believed.

[1155] Vial and Baslez 1987.

Similar difficulties occur in Étienne's attempt to identify a Rhodian policy as underlying the attitude of Telemnestus, son of Aristeides. The proxeny decrees Telemnestus proposed do illustrate the international connexions of the island, but to suggest consistency with any specific policy is unhelpful when so many of the decrees are fragmentary and not closely dated. To justify understanding a Rhodian aspect to these decrees, we should be able to make more sense of the attested dossier when viewing it through a Rhodian lens than a purely Delian lens. This is impossible, partly because, as noted above, Rhodian policy at this period is itself so complex: all the large states were at some point during this period more and less friendly and hostile to Rhodes, including Rome, the Antigonids, the Seleucids, the Attalids, and the Ptolemies. Thus, the inclusion and exclusion of each state could equally well be justified.

The Rhodian lens is no more helpful when we turn to consider the smaller cities involved: for most of these cities, we have no direct evidence, and so can find explanations, but they are necessarily *ad hoc*, and become wanting when we attempt to apply them on a systematic level. Thus, we can perhaps posit that the Delians (or Rhodians) might well have wanted favourable relations with Tyre and Aradus because of their commercial interests, but it remains unclear why they should have chosen these two cities in particular, rather than any other: if Delian (or Rhodian) trading interests are to have been a factor, an Alexandrian should perhaps have been included. To posit an additional level of explanation, however, involving Rhodian interests in

addition to or in place of Delian interests, does not resolve this difficulty, and adds an additional level of complexity.

Instead, we do better to understand Telemestus, like his father, grandfather, and great-grandfather before him, as an example of a prominent citizen attempting to negotiate a policy for a small state in the Aegean, where political capital and figures were always at a premium[1156]. A Rhodian aspect is unhelpful, and could only be justified because of overwhelming evidence that demonstrated a prolonged dominant position, one that the very dossier here in question undermines. Instead, it encodes the very dynamism and diversity of the Cycladic space which we here argue, involving a multiplicity of actors engaging on a range of terms. There is no reason to impose an invisible hegemon structuring Delian relations and hence, by extension, the Cycladic space either here, or in the individual isolated epigraphic evidence to which we now turn[1157].

SEG 14.544 and 48.1130: Ceos, Rhodes, and Antiochus III

A particularly clear illustration of how scholarly insistence on Rhodian hegemony specifically in the early second century has resulted in problematic interpretations may be recognised in the history of approaches of two decrees from Carthaea on Ceos which were published far more recently than most inscriptions we here discuss: *SEG*

[1156] On the family of Telemnestus, see Vial 1984, 98–99, especially the stemma at 99, and our discussion at 202n413; on the prominence of this and other families in our evidence for the Delian magistracies: Vial 1984, 262–269.

[1157] *Cf* Étienne's similar attempt to identify a Rhodian constitution on Tenos, which cannot be accepted on similar grounds: Étienne 1990, 117–118. As Étienne himself acknowledges (118): "[s]ans doute faudrait-il connaître dans le détail le système institutionnel du IIIe siècle avant de pretendre qu'il fut réformé par Rhodes au IIe siècle".

14.544, first published in 1954, which honours Aristarchus, the son of Thero, the Mylantiad for some sort of help in the context of a visit from a delegation from Rhodians; and *SEG* 48.1130, first published in 1958, which honours three relatives for some service under a king Antiochus. We thus deliberately treat these two inscriptions first, for their programmatic significance. In addition, even though Knoepfler has now convincingly dated *SEG* 48.1130 in the middle of the third century, we still discuss it here, both because the interpretation of these two inscriptions was (briefly) so closely connected, and because it forms an important comparandum for our understanding of *SEG* 14.544, where our analysis suggests that a similar date is perhaps also not out of the question[1158].

The original editors of *SEG* 14.544 pointed to the mention of officers sent in charge of the Rhodian forces, and saw in them the leaders of the Rhodian mission of spring 200 as mentioned by Livy, a context in which Livy explicitly mentions Ceos. Alternatively, they hypothesised, the occasion might fall slightly later in the war against Philip, when the loyalty of the Carthaeans had been subsequently called into question. They were, however, certain that the inscription fell at approximately this time[1159].

[1158] *SEG* 14.544: Dunant and Thomopoulos 1954, 338–344 14, with improved text in *BE* 1955, 252–253 180. *SEG* 48.1130: Kalligas 1998. Corrections and comments by Matthaiou 1999 and Gauthier in *BE* 1999, 659–660 423, including Gauthier's universally accepted reattribution of the decree from Iulis to Carthaea, are all incorporated at *SEG* 48.1130; redated and comprehensively reanalysed by Knoepfler 2005.

[1159] Dunant and Thomopoulos 1954, 343–344; 9–10: εἰρηκότων καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τῶν δυνάμε/ων ἐξαποσταλέντων.

There is, strictly, no need to connect *SEG* 14.544 with the passage in Livy. Indeed, as we argue below, there are strong reasons against it. It is also not clear that we are dealing with matters of hegemony, rather than alliance. Nevertheless, in the absence of any alternative plausible suggestion, this interpretation was broadly accepted until the publication of *SEG* 48.1130, because the original editor identified the Antiochus mentioned in *SEG* 48.1130 as Antiochus III. He also connected the Menippus mentioned in the inscription with the envoy of Antiochus known from Livy and the letter of Marcus Valerius Messalla to the Teans[1160], and posited a period of Seleucid rule in the years before the war with Antiochus: these three relatives would then be the Seleucid governors of the island[1161]. Hence, Bresson was able cogently to argue that *SEG* 14.544 could also be reinterpreted in the light of *SEG* 48.1130: rather than being connected to the events described by Livy, it could narrate the aftermath of Antiochus' otherwise unattested presence on the island, as the Rhodians reimposed their imperial will[1162].

Unfortunately, however, Bresson's interpretation can no longer stand because of Knoepfler's comprehensive reanalysis of *SEG* 48.1130[1163]. First, he convincingly redates the inscription to the middle of the third century on prosopographical grounds,

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[1160] Menippus: Livy 32.57–59; 35.30–31, 50–51; 36.10–11; Appian *Syriaca* 6, 15; Teos: *Syll*^{3} 601 = *RDGE* 34.

[1161] Kalligas 1998, followed by Wiemer 2002, 244–245; Ma 2004, 234–235. Corrections and comments by Matthaiou 1999 and Gauthier in *BE* 1999, 659–660 423, including Gauthier's universally accepted reattribution of the decree from Iulis to Carthaea, are all incorporated at *SEG* 48.1130.

[1162] Bresson 1998, 645.

[1163] Knoepfler 2005. Gauthier had already pointed out that Kalligas' identification of this Menippus with the envoy of Antiochus III was impossible, as that Menippus was the son of Phanias (*IG* XI.4 1111.7 (Φᾳνίου,; despite the dotted letters, the remains are not compatible with Κρίτωνος), and a Macedonian (Livy 36.11.6).

and from letter forms. Second, he emphasises the improbability of envisaging the honorands as Seleucid governors, not least because the honours are too small, and because the phrasing suggests that the citizens were abroad, not resident. We thus lose any context involving Seleucid rule on Ceos at any time, let alone during the war with Antiochus.

Nevertheless, *SEG* 48.1130 remains valuable, partly because it illustrates the dangers of argument from historical reasoning: because the only Antiochus connected with the west Aegean in our literary sources is Antiochus III, there was no apparent need to undertake a prosopographical analysis, or to engage in the occasionally tentative art that is dating by letter forms before suggesting that context. More important in our discussion, however, is precisely the evidence which the decree offers for non-hegemonic relations between Carthaea and the Seleucids in the middle of the third century, because we here see the Carthaeans as a *polis* attempting to take advantage of the status of their fellow-citizens who were serving with the king. This episode demonstrates how not just the horizons of individual Carthaeans, but also of the *polis* community as a whole, extended far beyond the Aegean, to incorporate the Seleucids. The Seleucids are traditionally ignored in our narrative for the Cyclades, because they were certainly never the most powerful force in the Aegean, and so can never be accommodated as hegemons. This inscription, however, provides valuable evidence for their continuing relevance, an aspect which our multipolar approach can incorporate more easily than unipolar presuppositions.

Owing to Knoepfler's redating of *SEG* 48.1130, we also lose our context demonstrating Rhodian military engagement in Ceos and hence in the Cyclades in the War with Antiochus. In looking for a fresh context for *SEG* 14.544, therefore, we might be tempted to return to the passage with Livy, but, as we argued above, Livy there discusses the broader alliance with Rome against Macedonia, not the creation of a Rhodian alliance. We could perhaps posit instead an exchange involved in the return of the Rhodians to Asia after the campaigns of 199, with the interrogations occurring in 198[1164]. If we were bolder, we might also note that the original editors dated *SEG* 14.544 into the late third century or the early second century, and then specified the context of 200 from historical reasoning: the inscription could thus be earlier, perhaps in the context of the campaigns of Dicaearchus in 205 or of Philip in 201[1165].

Before any such fresh interpretation, however, we need to reconsider the basis of the date offered by the editors. They are explicit: they dated the inscription into the late third century or the early second century primarily from historical considerations, not from epigraphic considerations[1166]. They did, however, note possibly diagnostic letter forms, including straight-bar alphas. Modern scholars are justly much more hesitant about dating from letter forms than earlier scholars, and also emphasise how trends in different states do chronologically differ. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that Reger can trace the spread of the bowed-bar alpha across the Aegean region from *c*

[1164] Livy 31.47.
[1165] Sources at 521n1126.
[1166] Dunant and Thomopoulos 1954, 342: "[c]e décret date évidemment d'un temps où Carthaia comptait parmi les alliés de Rhodes: ceux-ci invitent les Carthaiens à conserver l'alliance avec leur peuple. On sait que c'est à la fin du III siècle et au début du ne siècle av. J.-C. que Rhodes étendit le plus loin sa zone d'influence et prit sous sa protection tout le bassin de la mer Égée."

250; and of the broken-bar alpha from *c* 225[1167]. An analysis of the photograph suggests, moreover, that some of the alphas may in fact have a bowed bar, not a straight bar; this conclusion would perhaps also be more in keeping with the evidence from other possibly diagnostic letters. None, however, seems to have a broken bar[1168].

We can accept that, given the literary frame in which Dunant and Thomopoulos were working, and the new epigraphic evidence which Bresson was contextualising, these scholars were plausibly justified in suggesting 200 and then the 190s as possible specific historical contexts within the date range they offered. Such dates should, however, be considered the very latest at which the inscription can fall; without these specific contexts, a date in the second half of the third century is more plausible[1169].

Certainty as to a specific context in which to date the decree is impossible, and, barring fresh prosopographical insight, is unlikely ever to be obtained. It is, however,

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[1167] Reger 1994b, 35–39.

[1168] Dunant and Thomopoulos 1954, 339: "alpha à barre droite". Note also that, although the editors do identify broken-bar alphas ("alpha à barre brisée") in other inscriptions (328–329 4, 335–336 12), they never identify bowed-bar alphas, which may suggest this distinction was not part of their vocabulary.
Autopsy is ultimately required to confirm that less visible letters conform to this pattern, but the published photograph seems consistent with the editors' statements. Pi seems generally to have a shorter second vertical, and a horizontal hasta that extends to both sides of the verticals; the verticals of the mu and horizontals of the sigma seem in general to be parallel, all of which possibly argue for a date later in the third century. *Cf* also Bresson's judgement below: 544n1169.

[1169] *Cf* Reger 1994b, 36: "the presence of only bowed alphas cannot be used to date a text more closely than 'second half of the third century,' since documents from those years can easily have only bowed alphas." This is a deliberately broad contextualisation, as his context, and specifically the next sentence indicates: "on the other hand, the presence of some broken-barred alphas precludes a date before about 225 B.C. at the outside, and probably indicates even a later dating."
Bresson's discussion is unfortunately unhelpful in not providing a new photograph or discussing the epigraphic basis for his date. Instead, he states that that the letter forms as suggested by the edition could cause us to think of a date in the third century, but that this should perhaps not exclude the beginning of the second century, before stating that in fact the letter forms and the historical content point to the start of the second century, the period of Rhodian domination.
Bresson 1998, 645: "[l]es indications de graphie des éditions peuvent laisser penser à une date au Ille s., mais le début du Iles, n'est peut-être pas à exclure. … L'écriture et le contenu du document recommandent une date au début du Iles., à l'époque de la domination rhodienne sur les Cyclades."

unnecessary for our purposes. We can accept that the decree points to the existence of alliance with Rhodes on Carthaea at some point in the second half of the third century. This conclusion in itself, together with the historiographical narrative we are here tracing, is enough again to call into question the validity of a caesura *c* 200.

Perhaps more important, and disappointing, is to recognise the difficulty involved in gauging the specific importance of this alliance, which arises for similar reasons to the difficulty in dating these inscriptions by letter forms: because we lack the Carthaean comparanda against which to assess this expression of Carthaean rhetoric, just as we lack a detailed enough understanding of the development of specifically Carthaean letter forms to be able closely to date the inscription. To insist on a tone of fear that points to the Rhodians as harsh masters, or to understand the calumnies mentioned as being levelled against the Carthaeans as rumours of pro-Macedonian feelings, is understandable in the context of interpretations embedding this document in the context of the Second Macedonian War, or the War with Antiochus[1170]. They cannot, however, be considered independent aspects of the decree: just as letter forms, magistracies, festivals, and the order and names of months all differ from island to island, so too do the content and phraseology of honorific and other decrees[1171].

[1170] Fear of harsh masters: Bresson 1998, 643; calumnies interpreted as allegations of pro-Macedonian attitudes: Dunant and Thomopoulos 1954, 344.

[1171] Among the (almost) unparalleled aspects of this decree are the use of the word slander ("διαβάλλουσιν"; *cf IG* XII.2 526.15, Lesbos: διεβάλλετο τοὶς πολίταις), and the emphasis on maintaining goodwill and friendship and alliance ("εὔνοιαν καὶ φιλίαν καὶ συμμαχίαν"; *cf IG* XII.5 1001.II.9–10, Ios: ε[ὔν]οια[ν κ]αὶ/[τὴ]ν φιλίαν, the reference to people in charge of forces ("τῶν ἐπὶ τῶν δυνάμεων" ; *cf ID* 1572.3–4: τεταγμένον δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν δυνάμεων). Each formula might well have been normal on Carthaea.
A further complicating factor is the partial (in both senses) nature of our epigraphic evidence; on intentional history, see now the essays gathered at Foxhall, Gehrke, and Luraghi 2010; and, specifically

Without those contexts, we are justified in understanding the distinctive aspects of this decree as offering an insight into specifically Carthaean political rhetoric as they sought, as Telemnestus did on Delos, and all states did when engaging in attempts to promote euergetic exchanges, to maximise the benefits thence deriving. There is, however, no call to recognise unipolarity, hegemony, fear or distress here.

IG XII.5 824. Healing in a sanctuary, or casualties in war?

A further example of the way in which a desire to identify ongoing Rhodian hegemonic involvement has dominated interpretation of epigraphic evidence is represented by *IG* XII.5 824, which preserves two inscriptions passed on separate occasions in honour of Apollonius, son of Hierocles, of Miletus. The higher inscription on the stone (A1–31) was passed by the Tenians, the lower (B32–47) by

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on its role in our epigraphic narratives, although emphasising the role of the *demos* as a whole, rather than the role of any particular faction, Luraghi 2010. Rather than pointing to external strife, the slanders could rather have arisen from internal *stasis*; whether so or not, this inscription represents, however problematically, the perspective of those (currently) forming or representing the *demos* of Carthaea, and thus suffers for lack of comparability in that context.

This rhetorical diversity is less easy to analyse than diversity in the evolution of letter forms, but *cf* the cautious conclusions of his survey of the change of letter forms in the Cyclades at Reger 1994b, 36, especially the quotation at 544n1169, and, in a different context, the more flexible approach to the dating of the three-bar sigma which is now normal. *Cf* also the importance of recognising the specific forms that formulae and epigraphic procedure took in specific states (see, *eg*, 162n278; 169n296; 415n932; 507n1101); and, particularly, of analysing their internal chronology. For discussions in an Athenian context, see Henry 1983; Henry 1996; in a Cycladic context, *cf* the importance in our approach to Delian inscriptions of the shift currently dated *c* 240 (see, *eg*, 162n278; 209n477; 212n498; 213n508; principle stated at Vial 1984, 98), not least because of the confirmation it provides for the existence of (at least) two Aristeides; and of the change in formulae about the end of the third century on Tenos which Étienne 1990, 118 observes, and which has been considered relevant not least in dating *IG* XII.5 824.A (see 624n228, 538–543, and Appendix 3. *IG* XII.5 824. Autopsy and analysis, 571). In each case, the shift may previously have been understood too strictly, as a division; insufficient allowance may have been allowed for epigraphic error; or the shift may have been misdated: the last option has plausibly been the case for the shift in Tenian formulae, as a result of the down-dating of inscriptions involving Rhodian agents on principle into the early second century: despite the current formulation of the principle, it thus cannot help determine between a date in the late third century and the early second century for the *IG* XII.5 824. Nevertheless, none of these complications negates the basic insistence on the local as central to our understanding of the Greek epigraphic habit.

the *synedrion* of the League of the Islanders. Because this second decree is one of only two surviving decrees of the League of the Islanders during its 'Rhodian' phase, *IG* XII.5 824 has thus been much discussed for the insight it offers into League's operations[1172]. Its precise date was less a matter of concern until Étienne's republication of the inscription in 1986 which argued for a specifically military context, and Habicht's subsequent study. With certainty impossible, a date in the first third of the second century was consistent both with the letter forms and with the minimum plausible dating of the Rhodian phase of the League of the Islanders that had been assumed in scholarship.

We can, however, now be almost sure from Habicht's prosopographical analysis that the inscription does date to the decades around 200: he connected the Ἀπολλώνιος Ἱεροκλέους Μιλήσιος honoured in these decrees with one mentioned in the long list of Milesian *stephanephoroi* traditionally dated 232/1–184/3 but redated by Wörrle *c* 238/7–190/89. This analysis would date Apollonius' year of office 203/2, and so his activity in the Cyclades perhaps to the decades either side of that year[1173].

Habicht presents the results of his analysis slightly differently for two reasons: first, his argument is offered in the context of what he terms the Rhodian "Protektorat". He thus dates Apollonius' honours at the earliest to the immediate aftermath of the Second Macedonian War. Second, he points to the recent rereading of a difficult section of *IG* XII.5 824 by Étienne to refer to a recent danger ("καινοῦ …

[1172] The other is *IG* XII.5 817, on which see 108–115, and Appendix 4. *IG* XII.5 817. Analysis and Quantification, 135. See further below, Appendix 1. The 'Second League of the Islanders', 569.
[1173] Wörrle 1988; Habicht 1989.

κινδύνου"); understands this reference to point to a recent war, the Second Macedonian War; and so dates the inscription to the War with Antiochus[1174].

Habicht's first *terminus post quem* is similar to that seen above for the analyses of Dunant and Thomopoulos, Bresson, and throughout our discussion. His second *terminus post quem* is the more interesting in suggesting the existence of the League of Islanders during the War with Antiochus, and with it Rhodian interest in the Cyclades at that time. Unfortunately, however, the crucial reading on which he relies is invalid: autopsy confirms that there is no recent danger ("…/καινοῦ περιεστηκότος νῦν κινδύνου"), but instead a recent dangerous [situation] ("…/καινοῦ περιεστηκότος ἐπικινδύνου"). Similarly, Étienne's reading of ΛΕΜΩΝ later in the inscription to provide an explicit reference to wars ("πο]/λεμῶν") is incompatible with the surviving letter traces[1175]. Étienne's readings thus cannot provide evidence for a military interpretation.

Instead, the context of the Tenian decree suggests that, whether or not their specific restoration of λοιμός is correct, previous editors were correct in understanding the recent dangerous [situation] mentioned there as a reference to disease: the decree of the Tenians starts by emphasising Apollonius' services to the sick, and continues in

[1174] Étienne may not have known of this reconstruction when he republished *IG* XII.5 824 as part of his larger publication of Tenos in Étienne 1990, 120–123, but Gauthier's review of Étienne's study in *BE* already supported Habicht's alternative chronology: *BE* 1991, 509–510 431.

[1175] For the results of autopsy on this inscription, see Appendix 3. *IG* XII.5 824. Autopsy and analysis, 580. Previous editors restored a reference to a dangerous [plague] ("λοιμοῦ]/καινοῦ περιεστηκότος ἐπικινδύνου"), but the [situation] could, in theory, be differently restored without affecting the argument here.

this vein: he had saved [many], and lightened many of their great illnesses. Nowhere do the Tenians explicitly mention war, casualties of war, or wounding.

The significance of this silence is, moreover, confirmed by the parallels Reger cites when positing alternative reconstructions for the League inscription that would support Étienne's case by making explicit reference to wounds. Those inscriptions from Samos and Cnossos do make explicitly mention warfare, whether sieges or battles, and refer to wounding in that context. The Tenian decree does not[1176]. Similarly, Reger could argue for a change of emphasis towards the end of the League inscription when such a change was made explicit by Étienne's identification there of an explicit reference to wars ("πο]/λεμῶν"). Without this explicit reference, which Reger's own parallels suggest is necessary, restorations of references to war are unjustified[1177]. Instead, the context of the inscription is clearly medical[1178].

[1176] There is theoretically space in the lacuna preceding καινοῦ περιεστηκότος ἐπικινδύνου to restore [πολεμοῦ]/καινοῦ περιεστηκότος ἐπικινδύνου instead of [λοιμοῦ]/καινοῦ περιεστηκότος ἐπικινδύνου. There is no parallel either for πόλεμος or λοιμός ἐπικίνδυνος, but some further justification for rejecting a specifically military restoration here comes from our recognition that ἐπικίνδυνος seems elsewhere used either to refer to dangerous weakness, or to dangerous situations (at times euphemistically). Even if a reference to warfare were to be restored here in the Tenian decree, moreover, no lacuna seems large enough to restore a reference to wounds.
IG XII.5 824.A.9–10: ἀρρώσ]/των is restored but supported by the repetition at *IG* XII.5 824.A.13–14.
Dangerous weakness: *IG* XII *Suppl* 692.5: εἰς ἀσθένειαν ἐπικίνδυνο[ν]; *IKyme* 13 IV.83–84: εἰς ἐπισφαλῆ καὶ ἐπικίνδυνον ἐνπεσούσης ἀσθένειαν; *IG* XII.1 1032.13–14: ἐν ἐπικινδύνο[ις] [δ]ιαθέσεσι; *IG* XII.6 12.14 εἰς ἐπικινδύνους /… δ]ιαθέσεις; Benedum 1977, 272–275 4 = *SEG* 27.515.3–4: ἐς ἀρωστίας ἐπικιν/[δύν]ους
Dangerous situation as euphemism for a dangerous political situation, specified as fear of the Thracians, but not necessarily involving war: *IKSestos* 1: [ἐ]ν ἐπικινδύνωι καιρῶι.

[1177] For the results of autopsy on this inscription, see Appendix 3. *IG* XII.5 824. Autopsy and analysis, 580.
The two inscriptions cited by Reger 1992, 381n87 are Pouilloux 1960, 64–67 14 and 68–70 16. Specific references to warfare and wounding in that context at 14.7–8 and 14.29–30, and 16.7–11 and 16.15–16. Note that ἀρρωστία can arise because of wounding (as 16.9 and 16.17), or otherwise (14.23–25); when because of wounding, the wounding is explicitly mentioned. Note that Pouilloux 1960, 67–68 15, not cited by Reger, mentions war, but not wounding.

The inscription could still be datable to the 190s; we have, however, no more reason to date it after 200 than we do before that date: either would be consistent with the evidence adduced by Habicht from Miletus, and consistent with the evidence from letter forms[1179]. There is also no need to understand a military context: the internal evidence of the inscription seems instead to point to disease[1180]. Wars can, of course, cause systemic stress, and so disease, but an alternative explanation is again available to explain the honouring of Apollonius here: the nature of the sanctuary at Tenos.

The erection of the League inscription at Tenos has always been unproblematically assumed to have been connected with Tenos' status as somehow the base of the League. The emphasis on healing here perhaps supports another (complementary) explanation: that Apollonius was honoured here because the sanctuary was dedicated to Poseidon specifically as Healer ("Ιατρός"). This testimony is only preserved by Clement of Alexandria, and is difficult to see reflected in the archaeological remains: Building B has been understood as a treatment centre, while the long stoa erected *c*

Without the explicit reference to πο]/λεμῶν, it is not clear that the inscription does continue to discuss Apollonius' activities during war at B.38–41. Instead the language and subject is equivalent to the earlier section: prevalent diseases (π[αθῶν <ἐν>]/δήμων, or, with Stimolo: ἐπι]/δήμων or ἐπι]/δημ<ι>ῶν) . Reger's alternative restoration of lines B.43–44 is πο[λλους τραυματίας (presumably, but not explicitly, completing the lacuna with *IG*: ἐν τεῖ χώραι τεῖ ἡμε]τέραι); his restoration of lines B.44–45 is περὶ πλέονος ποιούμενος τὴν [τῶν]/[τραυματιῶν σωτηριαν σωτηρίαν τοῦ ἰδίου συμφέροντο]ς. Both are epigraphically possible in their length, but implausible without the contextual reference to πο]/λεμῶν.

[1178] A further argument in favour of a medical interpretation can be derived from the internal chronology of the two decrees, which were most plausibly awarded thirteen months apart, even if they may have been inscribed together; see Appendix 4. The Start of the Tenian year, 585.
Note that the letters are slightly more cramped in the League decree, the second on the stone, but the line and letter height are the same for both inscriptions (*c* 0.8cm for T; *c* 11.2cm per ten lines), and the letter forms seem identical, such that the same epigraphic hand is plausibly involved.

[1179] Even if we accept the previous restoration of a reference to plague, this reconstruction is unhelpful in the absence of explicit references to plagues at this time.

[1180] *Cf* the parallels cited for use of ἐπικίνδυνος to refer to weaknesses at 549n1176.

100 might also have later served in this function[1181]. Nevertheless, in the absence of any doubt in the manuscript tradition or any obvious explanation for corruption to this epithet, Étienne's provisional acceptance seems justified[1182]. We may then consider these inscriptions contemporary epigraphic support for this status, and draw on parallels for the honouring of doctors at other medical sanctuaries, such as the Asclepium on Cos[1183]. In addition, we can place these two decrees in a sequence along with *IG* XII.5 823, which is much less well-preserved but also seems to honour Apollonius on a different occasion, and hence suggest that Apollonius may been a particularly prominent doctor serving the sanctuary over a longer period than has previously been recognised[1184].

Whether or not Apollonius' status as prominent doctor on Tenos is more understandable before or after his tenure as *stephanephoros* on Miletus is not immediately clear. What is reasonably certain, however, is that the narrow focus on contextualising the Rhodian presence in this inscription through military and hegemonic action has again resulted in over-prescriptive dating to contexts which are

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[1181] *Protrepticus* 2.30.3 = *FgrHist* 328 F 175: Φιλόχορος δὲ ἐν Τήνωι Ποσειδῶνά φησι τιμᾶσθαι Ἰατρόν, Κρόνωι δὲ ἐπικεῖσθαι Σικελίαν καὶ ἐνταῦθα αὐτὸν τεθάφθαι.

[1182] Étienne and Braun 1986, 1:179–186, 1:274, and 1:304.

[1183] Note that this interpretation also provides an alternative explanation for the presence of this League inscription here without positing that Tenos was somehow the base of the League of the Islanders, see Appendix 1. The 'Second League of the Islanders', 569.
Benedum 1977, 272–275 4 = *SEG* 27.515; *IG* XII.6 151 = Hallof 1997 = *SEG* 47.1280. More generally, Benedum 1977. See also, more generally, the inscriptions from Cos published in *IG* XII.4.1 for doctors, including 138, 139, 142, 146, 155, 158, 159, 161, 163, 164, 167, 171; see also Samama 2003.

[1184] Note that Apollonius' name is reconstructed in *IG* XII.5 823 from two fragmentary references at *IG* XII.5 823.2 and 16. Compared to *IG* XII.5 824, *IG* XII.5 823 has slightly larger lettering (*c* 1.0cm for T), and slightly different letter forms: the Σ has parallel or slightly upward hastae where those on *IG* XII.5 824 consistently splay slightly. This suggests that it was inscribed on a different occasion or by a different cutter from *IG* XII.5 824. *Cf* on the similarity of the letter forms in the two decrees in *IG* XII.5 824: 550n1088.

plausibly slightly and very much too low; and in implausible inferences as to the implied context. There is no reason to cite our decrees here in support of Rhodian military involvement in the Cyclades at any point in the Hellenistic period, let alone in the first third of the second century.

IG *XI.4 751,* IG *XI.4 752, and* IG *XI.4 753. Rhodian officials on Delos*

Finally, we may turn to the inscriptions which have perhaps been most central to the discussion for Rhodian military and hegemonic involvement in the Cyclades in the early second century: *IG* XI.4 751, for Epicrates, who had been sent by the Rhodian demos "in charge of decked ships [cataphracts] during the war with triremes of islanders and undecked ships of Athenians with him"[1185]; and *IG* XI.4 752 and *IG* XI.4 753, honorary inscriptions for Anaxibius, son of Pheidianax, a Rhodian, who had been sent by the Rhodian *demos* as "in charge of the islands and the ships of the islanders"[1186].

Here, the new frame that we have been establishing above, and recent greater awareness of the rhetorical and narrative aspects of the Greek epigraphic habit make much of the previous debate regarding these two officials irrelevant: this debate was comparative and positivist in nature, wherein the different relationships between

[1185] *IG* XI.4 751.5–8 = Durrbach 1921–1923 67: ἐπὶ καταφράκτων πλοίων κατὰ / πόλεμον, συστρατευομένων αὐ/[τ]ῶι τῶν τε νησιωτικῶν τριηρῶν / [κα]ὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀφράκτων

[1186] *IG* XI.4 752.4–5 = *Syll*^{3} 583 = Durrbach 1921–1923 63: ἄρχων ἐπί τε [τῶν νή]/σων καί τῶν πλοίων τῶν νησιωτικ[ῶν.
Gabrielsen 1997, 176n138 notes that Anaxibius' position as 'ἄρχων ἐπί τε [τῶν νή]/σων' depends on an unparalleled restoration. This statement is correct: Hiller von Gaertringen 1901 III restores the same text in an honorific decree for the same Anaxibius from Rhodes, but it must be considered illustrative: only ΕΠΙ Τ survives on the stone. Nevertheless, the lacuna in Anaxibius' decree is small; no alternative is self-evident or has been previously offered; and there are parallels for such positions at Rhodes. For these parallels, see 554n1190.

Rhodian commanders and islanders implicit in the varying titles could be directly projected onto a different political relationship between Rhodes and those islanders[1187]. The inscriptions thus must date from different wars; since Rhodian activity also had to post-date 200, activity as late as the War with Antiochus was

[1187] On the rhetorical and narrative aspects of the Greek epigraphic habit, see briefly 545n1171.
Comparative in nature: for example, Roussel perceived an opposition between the two titles. Epicrates just commanded a Rhodian fleet, with the islanders but allies, whereas Anaxibius directly commanded the islanders' ships; for Roussel, Anaxibius' position might not necessarily imply a protectorate, but Rhodes did seem here to have an official role as defenders of the islands: Roussel in Holleaux 1907a, 359, especially 359n4. This slight hesitation in qualifying the nature of the position is shared by Durrbach, who stated that he envisaged Anaxibius as a military commander, rather than as a governor: Durrbach 1921–1923, 81. The immediate context suggests that Durrbach was referring to (an equivalent of) the position of νησίαρχος by "governeur", but this equivalence is unimportant for his argument that direct control should not be assumed.
In general, Durrbach was more cautious than Roussel and denied that any difference in hegemonical relationship between Rhodes and the islands could be understood from the differing language: Durrbach 1921–1923, 90. This hesitation did not, however, encourage him to query the restriction of the dating of the inscriptions to 200, or to suggest that the inscriptions might be contemporaneous. Instead, Durrbach's scepticism in 1921 was probably due to the way he then dated the inscriptions. Following Roussel in *IG*, and explicitly modifying his previous view situating Epicrates' activity in the context of the war against Philip, Durrbach identified the Epicrates mentioned in the inscription as plausibly the same man as the Rhodian mentioned by Livy as sent by Caius Livius Salinator in charge with a small flotilla in 190 to the strait of Cephallania (Livy 37.13.11; 14.1–2; 15.6; Roussel in *IG* XI.4 751 *ad loc*. *NB* Étienne 1990, 102n3 ascribes this opinion to Roussel in Holleaux 1907a, 358–362, not in *IG*. Note also that this episode dates to 190, after the focus of the war has switched to Asia Minor. It is thus not inconsistent with the lack of Rhodian activity in the Cyclades in 191 noted above.) If the Epicrates inscription were dated to 190, and the Anaxibius inscription dated earlier, then the apparently lesser status that Epicrates has relative to the islanders compared to Anaxibius became problematic for both scholars. Both scholars envisaged growth of Rhodian prestige and involvement in the Cyclades between the Second Macedonian War and the war against Antiochus, and dating Epicrates after Anaxibius would suggest the reverse: hence, probably, Durrbach's hesitation about reading changes in hegemonical relationships from the difference in position. (Note, however, that Durrbach is less clear in 1921 about the relative dating of the two inscriptions than later scholars suggest. He is clear that Epicrates' honours fall *c* 190; that Anaxibius' inscription is earlier is not explicit, although it may be implicit in the ordering of the inscriptions (Anaxibius: 63; Epicrates: 67), or in Durrbach's statement that he previously dated Epicrates to the war against Philip, but had since changed his mind.)
Epicrates' apparent lesser status in only having islanders with him, not directly under his command, is perhaps also the reason why some later scholars have sought to reverse what they perceived to be Durrbach's relative dating. As Durrbach was well aware, Epicrates' status in this part of Livy's narrative is very different from that implied by *IG* XI.4 751: in Livy, he controlled a flotilla of but four ships. Durrbach was content to suggest different events in 190, but others have been less sanguine: Berthold 1984, 155n20 is ambiguous, referring to an 'earlier command' for Epicrates [than that mentioned in Livy], without specifying. See also 555n1192. Wiemer 2002, 136–137 insists on the war against Antiochus for Epicrates; the argument of De Souza 1999, 88, following Durrbach 1921–1923, 90, that the presence of Athenian ἄφρακτα among Epicrates' ships argues for 190 cannot be accepted; these ships were equally as active in the war against Philip. Compare Livy 31.22.8 for Athenian ἄφρακτα active in the war against Philip in conjunction with Rhodian ships.

certain. Indeed, given the lack of evidence for Rhodian engagement in the Third Macedonian War, scholars' attention necessarily turned to the Second Macedonian War and War with Antiochus as the two conflicts in question.

Little of this approach can now be accepted. There is no need for the activity to post-date 200, and so for the War with Antiochus to be the necessary context for at least one of the inscriptions from a belief that they cannot be contemporaneous. The Delians were also probably not have been using technical language when honouring Anaxibius and Epicrates. Compare how they described Antigenes earlier in the third century as "navarch for the defence of the islands and the safety of the Greeks" ("ναύ]/[α]ρχος ἐπὶ τῆς φυλακῆς τ[ῶν νήσων καὶ] ἐπὶ σωτηρίαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων")[1188]. Even if we were to consider this title an unproblematic reflexion of a grandiose gesture by Rhodians, demonstrating their zeal for their fellow-islanders and Greeks, rather than a Delian exaggeration in an attempt to flatter Antigenes or the Rhodians, the rhetoric implicit in the description remains. This aspect is equally present also in the later titles[1189].

To recognise this rhetorical aspect in this description is not sufficient, however: similar phrases of ἀγεμὼν ἐπὶ with the genitive of the place involved and ἄρχων with the genitive of the type of ships controlled are elsewhere attested for Rhodian

[1188] *IG* XI.4 596.3–5; see 507n1101 for a suggestion that this unparalleled title might instead be better reconstructed: τ[ῆς νήσου, which would still further increase the inherent rhetoric, but not affect the substance of our discussion.

[1189] For further discussion of the rhetorical and narrative aspects of our inscriptions in the context of *SEG* 14.544 from Carthaea, see 545n1171.

officials[1190]. We have to consider whether the presence of officials with such titles implies control, or leadership which we might validly equate with hegemony. Here, analogy with Rhodian terminology elsewhere suggests that this conclusion is invalid, and confirms the weakness of arguments depending on a strong reading of Anaxibius' position ἐπί τε [τῶν νή]/σων as involving control of the Cyclades, rather than either activity there, or control of islands nearer to Rhodes: the ἀγεμὼν ἐπὶ Λυκίας is attested before Rhodian control of the whole of Lycia from 188. His position thus has to be understood as referring to the region in which he was to be active, or, less plausibly, as a reference to the small area of Lycia around Daedala which the Rhodians may have controlled from *c* 197[1191].

Despite the profile such arguments have had in scholarship, we thus cannot insist on Rhodian hegemony in the islands as implicit in the description of Anaxibius as in charge of the islands and the ships of the islanders, nor can we draw conclusions about the relative status and dating of the two inscriptions from differences in terminology[1192]. What we can do is identify the existence of unified leadership in both

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[1190] *IG* XII.5 913.1–3: Ῥόδιοι / οἱ στρατευσάμενοι μετὰ / ἄρχοντος τῶν ἀφράκτων
IG XII.5 *Suppl* 317.1–2: Ῥοδίων οἱ στρατευσάμενοι / μετὰ ἄρχοντος τῶν ἀφράκτων
For other titles, see, *eg*, *IG* XII.1 49 (= *Syll*^{3} 619) from *c* 185, especially 15–28 for the στραταγοί and 59–64 for the ἀγεμὼν ἐπὶ Καύνου, Φιλιστίδας Ἀρχιπόλιος, ἀγεμὼν ἐπὶ Καρίας, Θευγένης Πιστοκράτε[υς], and ἀγεμὼν ἐπὶ Λυκίας, Διοκλῆς Θευπρόπου. *Cf BE* 1962, 203–204 298 = McCabe, *Rhodian Peraia* 97; Bresson 1991, 57 23.

[1191] Rhodian control of Daedala before 188: Bresson 1999, 109–110.
Analogy with the contemporary Roman understanding of *provinciae* as a geographical area where a magistrate was active, rather than as an unproblematic statement of control of that area is perhaps helpful. On the (slow) development of *provinciae* from areas of responsibility into what we would consider provinces, see now Richardson 2008, especially 1–62

[1192] Fraser and Bean suggest a date *c* 200 for Epicrates explicitly because of the difference in phraseology: "[t]he difference in phraseology between this inscription, where Epicrates commands only a Rhodian fleet with Nesiotic allies, and that in honour of Anaxibius …, who commands the Islanders in a Nesiotic flotilla, suggests that the league had not formally come into existence at the time of the decree in honour

inscriptions. Such unified leadership was, however, was a necessary part of successful marine warfare, and warfare in general in time of crisis.

Here, an analogy with the situation described by Herodotus for the Salamis campaign and later in the Persian Wars is perhaps helpful: for all the dispute about who should be leader of the ships, there is never any doubt that there should be one. Such unified leadership clearly did not preclude continued debate over strategy between the leaders of the individual contingents, nor did it involve any suggestion that any state lost any more than relative status in accepting the leadership of a general from another state[1193]. Over time, that situation might develop into one of hegemonic control, as both Herodotus and Thucydides allow, and is implicit in their narratives of the development of the Athenian empire. It is, however, not inherent in such a situation, and we cannot assume it here in the absence of evidence like that provided by Thucydides, the Athenian Tribute Lists, and the many other epigraphic sources that

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of Epicrates, and we therefore prefer to accept the earlier date" (160n1). (Note that the references in Fraser and Bean are reversed; as noted here, the scholars dating *IG* XI.4 751 to the Antiochic war are Roussel *ad IG* XI.4 751 and Durrbach 1921–1923, 90, the scholars dating it to the war against Philip are Durrbach 1886, 113–114 and *Syll*^{3} 582n3, not the reverse.)

A similar terminological and chronological disjunction is implicit in Sheedy 1996; in dating *IG* XI.4 751 (Epicrates) to 200, he unusually reads it as proving that the Rhodians did not need the existence of a league to call on island ships (432); by contrast, he sees *IG* XI.4 752 (Anaxibius) as proving that "the Nesiotic League was governed by an *archon*, a Rhodian official who combined the powers formerly divided between the navarch and the nesiarch in the First Nesiotic League" (442). Note that Sheedy's date for Anaxibius is not explicit, but must be later than Epicrates, as the League now exists. (Sheedy dates the formation of the League as perhaps by 196 [432].) In this hypothesis, Sheedy agrees with Étienne 1990, 102n3, who feels that Anaxibius' title does imply the existence of the League, and dates Epicrates' decree, which does not, to 200, despite stating that he agrees with Durrbach in not pressing the details of the titles.

[1193] Debate at Argos: Herodotus 7.148–149; Debate at Syracuse: Herodotus 7.157–162, especially the Athenian reply at Herodotus 7.161. Athenian leadership of the Greeks, usurping Sparta's position: Herodotus 8.3; Thucydides' discussion of how this developed into Athenian hegemony: Thucydides 1.95–97. Discussion among leaders over strategy: Thucydides 9.106. Similar considerations, of course, apply to land warfare as well, as illustrated by the collective leadership under single command visible among the Greeks at Marathon and Plataea: Herodotus 6.110, Herodotus 9.53.

have been analysed in this context. Instead, we plausibly have evidence for a situation very similar to that described by Herodotus: what may well have been a semi-formal arrangement whereby the Rhodian commander, because his fleet was the largest, assumed leadership of the fleet as a whole, and so enabled the greater success of the entire fleet at this moment of systemic crisis involving conflict not with Xerxes, but with Philip. Not only is a unipolar interpretation not suggested, it is precisely rendered unlikely by the situation of conflict involved in the inscriptions.

Similarly, to date these inscriptions is now more difficult than it perhaps was in the past. To insist on the primacy of the literary picture, and to date them both of necessity into the Second Macedonian War, on account of the silence of our literary evidence regarding military action in the Cyclades in the War with Antiochus is no more satisfying than past comparative readings which have denied this possibility. Nevertheless, we should recognise that there is no shortage of contexts in the Second Macedonian War, where fighting across several years is certain. It is thus plausible that a Rhodian commander might well stay there for an extended period of time, as Anaxibius is said in the decree to have done[1194]; and that another might simultaneously or subsequently help to organise attacks against enemy in the region, such as the Macedonian garrisons on Andros, Ceos, and Paros which are attested in the Cyclades in 200, and be thanked for ensuring that these attacks did not use Delos as a base[1195]. The inscriptions might alternatively also date or refer to activity prior to 200: this conjecture is perhaps less plausible for Epicrates, whose fleet did include Athenians,

[1194] *IG* XI.4 752.5–6
[1195] *IG* XI.4 751.12–14.

and who may well be also attested as active in the War with Antiochus, but we do not know enough about the intricacies of relations between Athens and Rhodes to exclude it[1196]. One or more of these inscriptions might well point to joint activity during the confusion caused by Dicaearchus' raids, a time when we know, unlike for the war with Antiochus and the Third Macedonian War, that the Rhodians were active. There is, however, no place here for a caesura *c* 200; for necessary Rhodian military engagement later in the second century; or, as Durrbach also long ago insisted, for elision or confusion between command of the islanders' ships and control of the islands themselves.

Reconfiguring Rhodian Cycladic activity in the second century

We have therefore seen that neither the literary evidence nor the epigraphic evidence justify distinguishing the period between 200 and 167 as discrete from the surrounding periods, or identifying division in the nature and extent of Rhodian activity around either 200 or 167. Any increased Rhodian activity which our literary evidence points to in the context of the Second Macedonian War contrasts with the silence for the war with Antiochus, and the Third Macedonian War.

On this basis, we can posit not just a different chronology, but also a different understanding for the extensive military involvement of the Rhodians in the Cyclades that is attested. To insist on the basis of literary silence and the possible earlier contexts for our inscriptions that the Rhodians cannot have been involved in the Cyclades in the War with Antiochus would be to repeat the mistakes of past

[1196] See 553n1187.

scholarship. What is more important here is the recognition that, whatever Rhodian military engagement there was, it does not need to have involved the assumption of a constitutionally sanctioned position whereby the islands also acknowledged Rhodian political pre-dominance. It also did not involve Rhodes being the only significant outside power in the Cyclades, or having a role distinct from that of other states. Instead, just as the Syrians honoured Ochidas the Rhodian for his help in resolving internal *stasis*, so too the Parians and Naxians looked to Eretria to resolve their dispute[1197]. Just as Philip V maintained garrisons on Andros, Paros, Cythnos in the context of the Second Macedonian War, so too may Rhodes have done on Tenos[1198]. Just as the dedication of Rhodian sailors on Tenos suggests that their fleet was active

[1197] Eretrian judges on Paros and Naxos: *IG* XII.5 128 and *IG* XI.4 1065, with an improved text at Wilhelm 1951, 44–46 12 (= Wilhelm 1974, 3:438–440 12); recent discussion with further bibliography: Ager 1996, 228–230 83.
Ochidas on Syros: *IG* XII.5 652; for further discussion, see Appendix 1. The 'Second League of the Islanders', 569. Rather than repeating points that have already been made at length with reference to other epigraphic evidence, we are in the fortunate position of being able to refer to the recent discussion by Gauthier 1996, and specifically to his statement at 41 that "L'épistate que ses ambassadeurs ont été demander à Rhodes n'est donc pas un «gouverneur», imposé par une cité dominante à une cité dépendante, mais plutôt une sorte d'administrateur temporaire, chargé de remettre de l'ordre dans la cité et disposant pour cela d'un mandat indéterminé".
Beyond his discussion, we would emphasise that the Syrians present themselves as having asked the Rhodians to intervene, and the general low profile of the League of the Islanders, if it is present at all. We develop these two points at Appendix 1. The 'Second League of the Islanders', 569. Gauthier unfortunately does not revisit the question of the date of the inscription (see 574n1222), which must hence remain open, but, whatever its date, Gauthier's vision of Ochidas as a temporary administrator pointing to Rhodian engagement in the region, but not to Rhodian domination of a subordinate, seems more valid than the heavy hand of Rhodes envisaged at Étienne 1990, 118.

[1198] Macedonian garrisons: Livy 31.15.8; see 521n1124.
Rhodian garrison on Tenos; despite the high profile this notion has had in scholarship, - *Cf* Robinson's suggestion (at Fraser and Bean 1954, 171n2) that the Tenos bronze 'rose' issues were struck using bullion provided by the Rhodians for the pay of their garrison, a situation which would be numismatically unparalleled, especially as soldiers are normally thought to have been paid in silver - the evidence is exiguous. *IG* XII.5 830, which honours Philotimus, who was sent "in charge of the soldiers and with care of the city", may refer to a garrison commander, or, as plausibly, to a commander of an expeditionary force. *IG* XII.5 830.12–13: ἐπί τε τῶν στρατιωτ[ῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς πό]λεως ἐπιμέλειαν. *Cf* now also *SEG* 37.709, interpreted unconvincingly by Étienne 1987 and Étienne 1990, 102–106 to refer to a Rhodian official with charge of Tenos; for discussion, see 521n1125.

in the region at this time, so too the Naxians formed an alliance with the Ptolemies at some point also in the early second century[1199].

Here, moreover, we can draw on our insight from our discussion of economic networks at the beginning of this study. In the past, this numismatic evidence has been adduced to demonstrate Rhodian political dominance. We demonstrated, however, that Rhodian currency did not have a privileged position in the Cyclades, as has previously been argued by discussion of *IG* XII.5 817. More importantly, however, we confirmed the ongoing iconographic and metric independence of the islands, by emphasising the lack of Rhodian influence over all the bronze coinages, and the continued use of other standards independent of the Rhodian by all the large Cycladic islands, Andros, Tenos, Naxos, and Paros, precisely in the early second century, when Rhodian influence is to have been at its highest[1200].

Instead of looking to embed Rhodian activity in unipolar hegemonical models, we should instead recognise that Rhodian increased activity is attested precisely at a time of increased activity also by other forces, such as Dicaearchus' raids in 205, and Philip V's activity in 201, as well as during the Second Macedonian War[1201]. This overlap is no coincidence. Out of their own self-interest, the Rhodians can have been prepared to invest more at these times than otherwise, just as we saw that the endowments attested on Delos also point to chronologically intense periods of competition.

[1199] Rhodian sailors on Tenos: 515n1117; Naxian alliance with the Ptolemies: Casa 2010.

[1200] See 53–126, in particular, our conclusions at 121–126, and the discussion of hoard evidence at 613–634; for a brief summary, and an illustration of the difficulties which the misattribution of specimens has caused in the dating of these coinages, see 81n136.

[1201] Sources at 521n1126.

After this point, however, Rhodian relations returned to the situation which is attested for the third century: one of involvement in varying degrees. Rhodian fleets and diplomats continued to be active in the Cyclades on occasion, but not in a context which implies hegemony or control over the islands. Not only is there no discontinuity with the third century, but there is instead great continuity, as we see ongoing multipolar engagement both in the military and in the diplomatic spheres, and we trace, through the prism of Rhodes' varying engagement, how dynamic and active the Cycladic space was.

Hence, moreover, we can argue a different explanation for the silence in 167. The standard picture has assumed that the war with Antiochus provided a boost to Rhodian ambitions in the Cyclades, as it did in Caria and Lycia[1202]. Instead, however, Antiochus' encroachment on Greece and his presence in Chalcis may have reminded the Rhodians how tenuous any attempt to impose lasting hegemony on the Cyclades would be. Unlike the Athenians after the war with Xerxes, their engagement may have encouraged them in their decision to concentrate their attempts on their *peraea* and in Lycia, rather than attempt to solidify a superior position in the Cyclades out of the temporary authority they had wielded over the fleets. Any remaining impulse would then have been extinguished by the slow progress of those campaigns: Lycia was not an easy conquest, with at least three wars attested between 188 and 167[1203].

[1202] Polybius 21.24, 45; Livy 37.56; 38.39; 45.22; Diodorus 29.11; Appian *Syriaca* 44.
[1203] See briefly Bresson 1999, 106–118, and, at greater length, Behrwald 2000, 89–115, both incorporating Zimmermann 1993 and Ashton 1987a.

Rhodian activity after 167

None of the above discussion denies that the Rhodians were a part of the diplomatic and military scene in the early second-century Cyclades. Quite the reverse: they continued to play an important role, but as one of a range of powers active in this multipolar space, not as unipolar hegemon, and this involvement should not be privileged or decontextualised.

Our conclusion here is valuable in reconciling our narrative of Rhodian involvement in the Cyclades with the broader narrative of Rhodian history. Scholars may, as noted above, have disputed the extent of Rhodian activity in the early third century, but all accept that Rhodians were a powerful naval force by the late third century, when Polybius relates in the context of the war between Rhodes and Byzantium that the Rhodians seemed to the traders who were complaining to them to be pre-eminent in naval matters[1204]. They have disagreed about how to understand the nature of this pre-eminence, but agree that it is in keeping with the Rhodian belligerence against Byzantium in 220, and their activity in the Cretan War from *c* 205 to 201[1205]. 200 may have formed a watershed in Roman involvement in the Aegean on previous interpretations, but it had no place in this broader Rhodian narrative.

Similarly, the importance of 167 in Rhodian history has now long been downplayed. The evidence from amphora stamps was never consistent with a collapse in Rhodian activity at that time. Finkielsztejn's redating of the amphora stamps, and

[1204] Polybius 4.47.1: διὰ τὸ δοκεῖν τούτους προεστάναι τῶν κατὰ θάλατταν.
[1205] On the First Cretan War, see Brulé 1978, 29–56 with Chaniotis 1996, 38–41

the accumulation of new data, both further confirm this discrepancy[1206]. Detailed analyses of the chronology of the Roman-Rhodian exchange after the Third Macedonian War also suggest that the Roman anger with Rhodes has been misinterpreted[1207]. Rhodian fine ceramic may not be frequent on Delos after 167, but it is ubiquitous on the Lycian, Phoenician and Egyptian coasts, suggesting that early evidence from Delos may have unduly influenced our picture, and that Rhodes continued to prosper[1208]. The argument here that Delos and the Cyclades had not been meaningfully subject to Rhodes prior to this point complements this narrative, in removing any suggestion that the Rhodians must have suffered a setback at least in the Cyclades.

After 167, our sources for Cycladic history become even more scarce. Nevertheless, a Rhodian presence continues sporadically to be visible in the Cyclades. The dedications of Rhodian sailors on Tenos from the first third of the second century are comparable to one datable with much less precision to the first century on Tenos[1209]. The city of Minoa included the priest of the nymph Rhodes in the prescripts to decrees passed in the first century. As the Rhodian eponym is the priest of Helios, not of Rhodos, the reference to the nymph Rhodes does not self-evidently point to a period of direct control by Rhodes: this cult is also found on Cos, which also never seems to have been incorporated into Rhodes, and also at Stratonicea,

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[1206] See recently Lund 2011. Whether or not the eponyms on Rhodian amphora stamps are the same as the Rhodian eponymous *archon* does not affect this conclusion, as the eponyms are stylistically dated and clustered.

[1207] Gabrielsen 1993; for a more traditional analysis of the effects on Rhodes, see Gruen 1984, 571–572.

[1208] See recently, Elaigne 2007, also emphasising the difference between Thasian and Delian assemblages.

[1209] *IG* XII *Suppl* 317.

where the priesthood is joint with that of Helios, and which seems not to have been Rhodian at least since the Third Macedonian War[1210].

We also see continued Rhodian prominence even in our evidence that points to the end of the multipolar space we have here been describing. We strictly do not know whether Sulla's allocation of islands to Rhodes for taxation purposes after the Mithridatic Wars included any Cycladic island, but his decision points to ongoing Rhodian prominence in general, as does the Rhodian ability to defeat Mithridates' fleet in 88 at Myndos[1211]. There is no such doubt about Mark Antony's allocation in 42, however, which did include at least some of the Cycladic islands: Andros, Tenos,

[1210] Examples include Vanseveren 1937, 314–315 1 (new fragment of *IG* XII.7 245 with improved text of the whole) and *IG* XII.5 38. For the reattribution of *IG* XII.5 38 to Amorgos, from Naxos: Robert 1929 (= Robert 1969–1990, 1:530–548). Robert 1929, 30–31 (= Robert 1969–1990, 1:540–541) dated these inscriptions to the second half of the first century on epigraphic grounds. With so few Minoan decrees known, we also cannot closely trace when the Minoans started dating their decrees both by the *damiurge* and by the priest of Rhodos, but *IG* XII.7 233, dated by its original editor to about the start of the second century, also dates by the *damiurge*.
Cult of Rhodos on Cos: *IG* XII.4.1 293.18, 20, 22, 24, 28, 30, 32 (= *Syll*^{3} 1000 = Sokolowski 1969, 292–295 168; date: late second century. See Crowther 2004, 29. On Coan history in the Hellenistic period: Sherwin-White 1978, 82–244, especially 118–121, 129, 131–132 on (generally friendly) interactions with Rhodes in the late Hellenistic period. Cult of Rhodos and *Hieros* in Stratonicea: *IStratonikeia* 504 = Foucart 1890, 365–366 4. Foucart dates the inscription to the aftermath of the War with Antiochus, but note that Foucart's date (repeated in *IStratonikeia*) in his brief publication seems based on the interpretation that this decree records the creation of the new priesthood when Stratonicea became Rhodian in the aftermath of the war with Antiochus. This interpretation is uncertain. The parallels from Cos and Amorgos might also argue for a later date. On the history of Stratronicea and Rhodes: Fraser and Bean 1954, 102–105. Wiemer 2002, 275 but states that the cult of Rhodos should be traced back to the point when Rhodes' star was at its highest.

[1211] Appian *Bella civilia* 4.9.71. Cicero's statement (*ad Quintum Fratrem* 1.1.33 = SB 1) that the Caunians and almost all the islanders who had been allocated to the Rhodians by Sulla fled to the senate and asked to pay taxes to the Romans rather than to the Rhodians does not specify which islands were involved. The reference to Caunos on the border of Caria and Lycia perhaps suggests that the Romans were focussing on the Rhodians' immediate possessions (perhaps including some of her *peraea*?) rather than extending it. On Caunos' history, including its purchase from Ptolemy III by the Rhodians and revolt in 167: Fraser and Bean 1954, 105–107. The context also suggests that the Rhodians may only have been given (or won) responsibility for collecting the taxes for these states, rather than control of them. For the probable context of Sulla's act: Brunt 1956.

and Naxos, along with Myndos in Caria[1212]. Not only does our Rhodian case-study here allow us to trace the ongoing diversity of our multipolar region, arguing against envisaging exclusive dominance by any one power at any time, but it also foretells its close, as the Romans imposed their will.

Conclusion

This study re-evaluated the evidence for what has been believed to be the best attested of the hegemonical powers in the Cyclades, and argued that evidence for Rhodian activity strongly supports our vision of the Cyclades as a multipolar space. Because scholars have tended to envisage Rhodian activity as significantly greater in the second century than in the third century and have focussed their attention there, the section dealing with the second century was necessarily longer than that for the third century. Nevertheless, we maintained chronological order.

First, we first briefly emphasised the evidence for Rhodian involvement in the Cyclades earlier than has frequently been posited. We discussed the evidence for Rhodian naval prowess already in the early third century, and demonstrated that the Rhodians also considered Delos an important location in which to display their prominence in a regional context at that time. As a result, the systematic down-dating of inscriptions involving Rhodian military activity in the Cyclades into the very middle of the third century, such as is required to maintain a strong model of Antigonid and Ptolemaic control, is no longer justified. Rather than maintaining our

[1212] Appian *Bella civilia* 5.1.7.

hegemonic presuppositions, and positing further undatable shifts in control of the region, we instead can recognise these inscriptions as firm evidence for at least two naval powers as periodically active in the Cyclades at this time: the Rhodians, and the Antigonids or the Ptolemies. As soon as we do so, however, the justification for insisting on extensive alternation between the Antigonids and Ptolemies is also lost: three powers, Rhodes, the Antigonids, and Ptolemies can have been active at various points in this period, later also being joined by the Attalids and the Aetolians, whose claims to patronage are made manifest by their dedications on Delos.

This narrative is not ahistorical or unchanging: the status of these and other powers will have varied both diachronically and synchronically. Attalid involvement and power no doubt grew through the course of the 260s and 250s; similarly, Aetolian interest plausibly diminished at least from the 230s, as the Aetolian League became involved in disputes with Macedonia, and then with the Achaean League. Individual battles no doubt also did result in realignments, and in more significant changes of status. Nevertheless, the idea that, over the medium- to long-term, the Cycladic islanders always had to engage with multiple states, which competed for relative relevance and status, rather than being able to maintain absolute hegemony, is both more in keeping with our Delian discussion, and with the evidence for recurring engagement by a variety of powers.

Second, we re-examined the evidence for a shift in the nature of Rhodian involvement in the Cyclades with the Second Macedonian War. We first argued that the literary evidence attesting the (re)creation of this Rhodian-led alliance in 200 has

been mis-interpreted, and noted the literary evidence for lack of Rhodian engagement in the Cyclades both in the context of the War with Antiochus and the Third Macedonian Wars. Second, we argued against Étienne's vision of Delian policy in this period as a reflexion of Rhodian interests: instead, Delos' policy at this period rather instantiates our vision of independent *poleis* negotiating as best they could their compromised position with a range of potentially more powerful interlocutors. Third, we analysed the epigraphic evidence that has been adduced to posit Rhodian hegemonical engagement in the second century in a range of narrower contexts: on Ceos, Tenos, and Delos, and argued that it has been systematically misinterpreted. Finally, we contextualised the evidence for Rhodian non-military engagement by pointing to equivalent evidence for the continued involvement of other powers.

We thus concluded that the attempt to identify Rhodian hegemonical influence was misguided, in part arising out of a desire to preserve the thin evidence provided by literary passages that had been misunderstood; in part developing through a virtuous cycle of scholarship whose existing methodological and chronological presuppositions created a self-reinforcing contrast between a late third century without Rhodian involvement and an early second century full of Rhodian activity. We do not deny that the Rhodians plausibly were particularly active in the Cyclades during the Second Macedonian War, and the years either side of it. Nevertheless, these years and this increased activity do not form an exception to our multipolar dynamics, but instead again demonstrate their validity: Rhodian increased activity occurs in conjunction with increased activity by Philip and other powers. In this context, the absence of any

reference to a diminution of the Rhodian position in the Cyclades in the context of the aftermath of the Third Macedonian War should not surprise: there was no position to lose.

Finally, we reconsidered the level and nature of Rhodian engagement throughout the Hellenistic period. Without the implicit contrast with a zenith of Rhodian hegemony in the early second century, the underlying continuity involved in a low level of sporadic, and competitive Rhodian activity throughout this period becomes clearer. The evidence does not allow a detailed picture to be drawn which might evaluate the effect of increasing Roman involvement in the Cyclades on these dynamics. Nevertheless, just as Rhodian presence in the Cyclades can still be traced in the aftermath of Cassius' defeat of the Rhodians in 42, so too can the rupture that Roman involvement represented be seen in the Roman ability to reassign tax revenues between states: the transition may have taken some time, but the Romans would eventually establish themselves as the single political pole of the Cycladic space, and, indeed, of the entire Mediterranean, in a way that no Hellenistic power ever achieved.

Overall, therefore, a more fluid presence not only for the Rhodians, but also for the Antigonids, Ptolemies, and other powers, should be envisaged as the norm across the period: there were periods of increased activity, as well as periods of reduced activity, and these rhythms no doubt depended both on structural factors and on factors specific to the history and circumstances of individual states. Nevertheless, as our analysis of Delos as a space for competition in the previous study also indicated, all had to engage to maintain their relevance, and in maintaining an active presence, to compete.

Rather than envisaging hegemony for a particular power, the evidence traced here is more compatible with a more dynamic model. The individual islands sustained connexions with different powers not on an *ad hoc* basis, - such a term denies the symbolic ritual inherent in Greek relations, - but with a flexible approach, always acting from an awareness of the variety of benefits to be gained from a range of different powers who were available as a source of succour and support. Depending on the chronologically varying interests of the islanders themselves, the Ptolemies, the Antigonids, the Rhodians, the Aetolians, the Cretans, the Athenians, and others, different connexions of a different nature were possible at different times, but the underlying system remained constant in its flexibility and dynamism, with power never secure, and Cycladic islanders always preserving independence of action, owing to the marine multipolar environment in which they and their peers operated.

Appendix 1. The 'Second League of the Islanders'

Without a necessary origin in 200, reinforcement of Rhodian involvement in the Cyclades after the War with Antiochus, and clear unity for the period between 200 and 167, the *Second* League of the Islanders (hereafter, the League) becomes even less well attested than it was before[1213].

[1213] For a more general reassessment of the significance of the Leagues, see 598–600.
Note that no evidence confirms that the *Second* League was or was not a different body from the *First* League, but the distinction in scholarship arose both because of the apparent gap between the earlier references to the League associating it with the Antigonids and Ptolemies, and the two later references to the League in a Rhodian context; and apparent differences between the two phases, such as the status of Delos, and possibly different taxation or ship-contribution requirements. If *IG* XI.4 1036 is understood to refer to Antigonus Gonatas and Demetrius II, as originally argued by Durrbach and Holleaux 1904, 93–108 1 and recently convincingly restated by Meadows 2013, however, then our argument at 108–116 that *IG* XII.5 824.B.32–33 can date as easily prior to 200 as after 200 makes this

The direct evidence for the League is vanishingly thin. The two datable pieces of evidence have already been discussed: *IG* XII.5 817, the honorary inscription for Timon, son of Nymphodorus, of Syracuse, for his assistance in not charging commission (κολ[λύ]βους) on purchases of corn; and *IG* XII.5 824.B, the League decree for the doctor Apollonius of Miletus[1214]. They are both also unproblematically datable to the late third or early second century. The priest of Helios mentioned in the prescript to *IG* XII.5 824 is dated to approximately the 190s by Habicht, but his *terminus post quem* of the creation of the Rhodian protectorate *c* 197 is to be overlooked. *IG* XII.5 817 similarly is datable by the references to Timon and his son Nymphodorus in the Delian inventory lists; Nymphodorus' first mention is in the list for 185, so that forms the absolute *terminus ante quem*, but Bogaert, Reger, and Bresson all consider 192 more plausible[1215].

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gap significantly smaller. In addition, any perceived difference between the phases can be explained precisely by the chronological difference, even before we turn to consider the nature of the evidence on which these distinctions have been based. Given that the evidence for the *First* (phase of the) League is no less problematic than the evidence for the *Second* (phase of the) League, however, the division in scholarship may be considered helpful in its basic recognition that the different (phases of the) League(s) plausibly did vary widely in their membership, extent, and importance over time, and that there is no necessary continuity: instead, these institutions may well have been ephemeral.
For a brief illustration of some of the difficulties in evidence, see the discussion at 518n1120 identifying tension in the reference at Gabrielsen 1997, 56–63 to Reger 1994c for aspects of the League which he considers less well attested in the Rhodian period he is studying, but which Reger considers best attested during that same period being studied by Gabrielsen. For another illustration, the difficulties felt over Delos' status in the various phases, on which see briefly Appendix 2. Delos and the Second League of the Islanders, 577.

[1214] *IG* XII.5 824.B.32–33 = *Syll*^{3} 620 = Samama 2003 166; see also Étienne 1986 and Reger 1992, 379–381 for revisions; now republished in Stimolo 2005 with full bibliography, Italian translation, but no new reading or restoration. For the result of fresh autopsy, see Appendix 3. *IG* XII.5 824. Autopsy and analysis, 580.
IG XII.5 817: see 108–116, and Appendix 4. *IG* XII.5 817. Analysis and Quantification, 135. For *SEG* 37.309, adduced by Étienne in this context, see 521n1125.

[1215] Bogaert 1968, 177n241 as 192 seems to be the end of Timon's banking activity; followed by Reger 1994c, 122; Bresson 2001, 133–139. Ziebarth 1929, 87–88 suggests 188. Again, the universal

The dating of these two inscriptions at about the start of the second century, whether before or after 200, would allow the League still to be envisaged as an avenue of Rhodian imperialism: its disappearance could then be connected to the lower profile the Rhodians chose to resume prior to, or, on this reading, perhaps because of the war with Antiochus.

This approach is implausible, even beyond the external considerations adduced in the main text. In so far as the rhetorical aspect inherent in inscriptions allows us to judge, the two inscriptions do not seem consistent with the League as a Rhodian hegemonic vehicle. Rhodians do not appear anywhere in *IG* XII.5 817, except indirectly, through a reference to the Rhodian weight standard, which, as we argued earlier, precludes a special sanctioned status for Rhodian silver: instead, it was the standard used by the dealers with whom the League ambassadors were negotiating. Similarly, in *IG* XII.5 824.B, the only acknowledgement of Rhodian presence made by the *synedroi* is the dual-dating of the inscription by the *archon* of Tenos, and the priest of Helios, the Rhodian eponym. The prescript for *IG* XII.5 817 does not survive, but we can compare the prescript of the League decree for Apollonius to that of the Tenian decree also honouring Apollonius, which makes no such acknowledgement. It is theoretically possible that the League came into existence between the passing of the two decrees, but it is more plausible that this disjunction illustrates how the acknowledgment of Rhodian compresence was restricted to the League level, and not part of the internal political or symbolic machinery of the Tenian state.

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terminus post quem of the apparent reconstitution of the Island League in 200 or later is to be overlooked.

We may instead return to our analogy with the Leagues discussed by Herodotus, and draw an analogy between the acknowledgement represented by the mention of the Rhodian eponym as well as the Tenian, and between the position of Rhodian general as first among equals in the fleet[1216]. Neither decree explicitly envisages a situation of war: Timon was a banker, Apollodorus a doctor. Both do, however, create an image of systemic stress: of difficulty caused by grain shortages, and by disease. Absent that turmoil, the need for the League may also have gone. Rather than envisaging the League of the Islanders, either in this phase or in its earlier phase, as a chronologically extended fixture of the Cycladic space, we should perhaps rather envisage it as a periodic, temporary recourse by various and potentially varying groups of islands, and of far lesser importance than its prominence in earlier scholarship would suggest.

This picture is confirmed by the evidence we have for engagement by islanders with each other and with other powers which does not make reference to the League. It is not the case that we have no evidence for engagement by Cycladic states with each other and other powers, but it is true that, when we do, it very rarely makes reference to the League. We noted above how the Parians and Naxians looked to Eretria to resolve their dispute. Perhaps more important here is that the Rhodian focus on the League has led to numerous attempts to increase the number of known members of the League by evaluating how far certain attested Rhodian relations with different islands do or do not imply membership. These arguments cannot convince, however, both because they both assume that the League was a tool of Rhodian

[1216] See 556–557.

hegemony, and because they presuppose that Rhodian relations necessarily involved the League, a fact that the very universal silence about the League in these inscriptions indicates is an unwise hypothesis[1217]. Instead, the failure explicitly to mention the League in so many inscriptions suggests that the League was much less important in the diplomatic universe of the islanders than the scholarly focus on it would allow.

We may illustrate this point by two examples where the League is certainly, and is possibly visible: first, we may return to the Tenian response to Apollonius of Miletus' actions. The Tenians saw fit to offer their own honours to Apollonius of Miletus at a time when they plausibly were members of the League. We argue below that the Tenians and League *synedrion* plausibly did not pass their respective decrees in successive months, but at least thirteen months apart[1218]. Thus, the developing situation may well have rendered a League response useful where a Tenian response had previously been sufficient: we cannot unproblematically read the existence of the two inscriptions as pointing in itself to internal competitive dynamics inside the League. Nevertheless, the text of the Tenian decree is still noteworthy: the Tenians passed their decree without any reference to the League, either political or symbolic.

[1217] Eretrian judges on Paros and Naxos: *IG* XII.5 128 and *IG* XI.4 1065, with an improved text at Wilhelm 1951, 44–46 12 (= Wilhelm 1974, 3:438–440 12); recent discussion with further bibliography: Ager 1996, 228–230 83.
We may illustrate through the debate over Cean membership. For Étienne 1990, 114–115, given the existence of Aristarchus' decree (*SEG* 14.544) it would be astounding if Ceos had not been a member (114–115). Writing apparently without knowledge of Aristarchus' decree, published in 1954, Sippel Sippel 1966, 58 pointed to Livy 31.15.8, where Ceos is the first stop for the Rhodian fleet, but considered this evidence inconclusive. König 1910, 41, writing before the discovery of Aristarchus' decree, considered Livy conclusive evidence for the involvement of all islands except Andros, Cythnos and Paros.
Cf the discussion of Syros' status prior to Gauthier's re-edition of *IG* XII.5 672: 574n1220.

[1218] See Appendix 4. The Start of the Tenian year, 585.

Second, we may consider the narrative pose of the Syrians in an inscription we have not previously considered in detail: the circumstances which led the Syrians to honour Ochidas the Rhodian for his intervention in internal *stasis*, unification of those who had been in disagreement, and rearrangement of the magistracies[1219]. Until Gauthier restudied this inscription, scholars disagreed over whether the extent of Ochidas' measures implied membership of the League or not[1220]. Overlooked was the fact that at least the account which the Syrians chose to present completely omitted the League from their interactions with the Rhodians: the Syrians themselves, not the League, voted to ask for help, and they voted to send ambassadors not to the League, but to Rhodes[1221]. Because our Syrian inscription is not dated, and Syrian letter form development is poorly understood, it cannot provide a further date to help chart the existence or non-existence of the League[1222]. It can, however, in this way again

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[1219] See briefly 559n1197.
IG XII.5 652.13–15: ὅπως διαλύσας πάν]τα καὶ συναγαγὼν / [πάντας τοὺς διαφερομένους τά] τε ἀρχεῖα κατασ-/[τησάμενος.

[1220] Gauthier 1996, 35–43; *IG* XII.5 672 suggesting that Syros was a member: Étienne 1990, 115, also implied by König 1910, 53; probably a member: Berthold 1984, 142; Gauthier 1996, 42; not relevant: Fraser and Bean 1954, 162; *cf* probably dating from the period when Rhodes controlled the League but not itself proving Syros' membership: Sippel 1966, 61. *Cf* the example of Cean membership, usually phrased in such collective terms, rather than with reference to the individual poleis: 572n1217.

[1221] *IG* XII.5 652.3–5: ἐπειδὴ ἐψηφίσατο ὁ δῆμος ἐν τῶι παρεληλυθότι/ἐνι[αυ]τῶι περὶ ἐπιστάτου καὶ εἵλετο πρεσβευτὰς / εἰς Ῥόδον τοὺς αἰτησομένους.

[1222] In republishing the inscription, Gauthier does not even discuss the date. In the absence of any more detailed criteria allowing fine-tuning, it is simply "premier tiers du II^{e} s. a.C.": Gauthier 1996, 35–43. The formulation "premier tiers" probably again reflects the standard chronology of Rhodian involvement in the Cyclades, perhaps supported by his suggestion that the "συνέδριον" mentioned in the inscription may well be the *synedrion* of the League. Given the paucity of Syrian decrees from this period known and our increased awareness of local variation in epigraphic style, more precision than 'Hellenistic' or 'late 3rd-2nd' seems excessive, unless we implausibly insist on a close chronological connexion to *IG* XII.5 817 and *IG* XII.5 824 because of the League reference. Note how Fraser and Bean 1954, 162 and *IG ad loc* both suggested anywhere in the second century.

confirm the unhelpfulness of the picture of the League as an agent of Rhodian action[1223].

Gauthier's reanalysis adds a further dimension: he suggests that the "συνέδριον" mentioned later in the inscription may well be the *synedrion* of the League. Why Ochidas would have had to go to it is unfortunately unclear, as the inscription is very fragmentary at this point, and has remained unrestored[1224]. The *synedrion* could as plausibly be a *synedrion* of the Syrians themselves: none is attested, but our knowledge of Syrian institutions is not sufficient to rule out such a body[1225]. If we accept Gauthier's analysis, however, then we have further evidence for the low profile of the League both in the Syrian mind-set and the Rhodian response: the Syrians present themselves as taking the initiative, and engaging with the Rhodians independently of the League. The League only became relevant late in the process, or perhaps was relevant to a separate initiative undertaken by Ochidas that could be characterised as saving the city.

In truth, the only island known with certainty to have been a member of the Second League is Tenos; in addition, Delos, rather than Siphnos, was probably a member, and

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[1223] Cf the honours offered Philotemus by the Tenians, who had been sent "ἐπί τε τῶν στρατιωτ[ῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς πό]λεως ἐπιμέλειαν", *IG* XII.5 830.12–13. Again, there is no mention of the League.

[1224] *IG* XII.5 652.24: ... κα]ὶ εἰς τὸ συνέδριον διὰ τοῦ / ... With the exception of 14–15 (κατασ/[τησάμενος) and 15–16 (κα[τ]α[σ]/[τάσει), the twenty well-preserved lines of this inscription observe word division across line breaks, so διὰ τοῦτο is not a probable restoration.
Perhaps the occasion was for the swearing of oaths of loyalty by the citizens to their restored constitution after the *stasis*.

[1225] *Cf* the "τὸ κοινὸν τῶν / νησιωτῶν ἅπαν" mentioned in *IG* XII.6 509. This institution was initially understood to be the League of the Islanders, but has been better interpreted since Roussel as a league of all the Heracliots: Roussel 1911b, 450–454. No other *synedrion* is attested in the Cyclades except the *synedrion* of the League of the Islanders; *cf* the *synedrion* of the Megarians attested at *IG* VII 20.20.

Syros may have been, if we accept the hypothesis about the *synedrion* discussed above, but the evidence even for these members is much more difficult[1226]. The only known trierarch is from Tenos, the only securely known League ambassador with an origin is also from Tenos, and the only two known League decrees were found there[1227]. As the source of nearly all our scarce evidence, it is unsurprising that it has been thought to be the meeting-place of the *synedrion*, and the naval-base of the League forces[1228]. Perhaps it was, and Tenos did have an important role in the history of the League. Even if so, it does not follow that the League had an important role even in the history of Tenos, let alone the history of the Cyclades at this time.

Previous approaches to the League have perhaps encountered difficulty from a belief that it has to be structurally central to our account of Cycladic history. By

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[1226] On the origin of Tharsagoras, the son of Polycles, commonly reconstructed as being from Siphnos, but more probably from Delos, who is mentioned in *IG* XII.5 817, see Appendix 2. Delos and the Second League of the Islanders, 577. On Syros, see below, 575–575.

[1227] Trierarch: *IG* XII.5 918, an inscription by parents for their son Chrysogonus, a Tenian who had been trierarch of the islanders. *IG* XII.5 918.4: τριηραρχήσαντα τῶν νησιωτῶν. Chrysogonus forms part of a larger family attested in several generations (Stemma at *IG* XII.5 921), but this has not yet assisted in narrowing his date. *IG* suggests *c* 178 for *IG* XII.5 918. Given that Hiller von Gaertringen dates the League in *IG* from 188 to 166 (see testimonia at 518n1121), this could merely be a dating to the middle of that period. Étienne 1990, 116 offers the start of the second century without further comment.
Ambassador: the son of Pyrrhax, mentioned in *IG* XII.5 817.31–32. On the origin of the second ambassador, see Appendix 2. Delos and the Second League of the Islanders, 577.
The two League decrees: *IG* XII.5 817 and *IG* XII.5 824.

[1228] Meeting-place of the *synedrion*: König 1910, 65; Fraser and Bean 1954, 166; Sippel 1966, 59; Wiemer 2002, 272, all because of the cluster of decrees at this sanctuary, and specifically from *IG* XII.5 824, the one surviving decree of the League *synedrion*, on which see 457–462, and Appendix 3. *IG* XII.5 824. Autopsy and analysis, 580. Tenos as naval-base: Fraser and Bean 1954, 167; Sippel 1966, 70, from the dedications of Rhodian sailors: *IG* XII.5 913 and 914 (note that 914 is restored after 913), on which see 515n1117. Note also that the League is not mentioned in these latter inscriptions.
For a more extended justification of the choice of Tenos, with particular reference to the prestige of the temple of Poseidon and Amphitrite, and Delos' unavailability, see Étienne 1990, 118–119. *Cf* Wiemer 2002, 272n9, who follows Sippel 1986a in emphasising the military aspect of the Second League in making Delos unsuitable as base. Neither account deals effectively with the objections to the notion of Delos as a *koinos topos* unavailable as a military base already raised by Tarn 1924; in addition, see Appendix 2. Delos and the Second League of the Islanders, 577 for argument that Delos is at least as likely as Siphnos to be the only known member of the Second League beyond Tenos itself.

contrast, the very paucity of evidence (in contrast to the quantity for, *eg*, the Achaean and Aetolian Leagues) argues that they were of far less importance than those Leagues were. Rather than lamenting the lack of evidence, therefore, we may place it in the broader context of wide-ranging, but plausibly also rapidly shifting economic, social, and political ties between the different islands which we have been tracing. Even where we do have evidence for Rhodian engagement, as on Syros, there is no need to involve the League, or to insist that this engagement was lasted any longer than the immediate crisis. To 'read' the League into each case of island interaction and to insist on its permanence is to dehistoricise the islands, and to overlook the inherent diversity[1229].

Appendix 2. Delos and the Second League of the Islanders

The status of Delos relative to the League(s) of the Islanders has been a fraught question. This debate was part of a broader discussion of the status of Greek sanctuaries, with earlier suggestions about their necessary 'neutrality' being convincingly dismissed by Tarn. Specifically regarding Delos' status in the League, however, debate revolved about whether the way in which the inscriptions of the League present the League's envoys asking the Delians for a place to erect a stele precluded Delos from being a member. Delamarre, Graindor and König were insistent that Delos was not a member. Roussel was more cautious, envisaging a special status for Delos whose precise nature could not be closely defined. Tarn's contribution, however, was decisive: he insisted that arguments that Delos could not on principle

[1229] See further 598–600.

have been a member of the League were misguided[1230]. Nevertheless, Tarn's reading of *IG* XII.5 817 led him to see Delos as not included in the second-century League. This position became the orthodoxy, particularly as it seemed to explain the shift of focus of the League of the Islanders from Delos to Tenos, and was compatible with the apparent close relations between Delos and Rome for the early second century[1231].

Although we disagree with Étienne's conclusions regarding the visibility of Rhodian influence in our dossier of inscriptions from Delos, he is wise to revisit this orthodoxy . Tarn justified considering Delos a non-member of the League because of the difference in treatment of the Tenians and Delians: the Delians were to be asked for a place for the stele, the Tenians were not. Their statuses must, therefore, be different. By Tarn's own argument, however, this conclusion is insufficient: he coherently argued that the request for a site should be envisaged as a standard part of procedure where cities were independent of each other, and could be assumed, even when not epigraphically attested. To assume that the status of Tenos and Delos must be different because they are treated differently in this one inscription is thus to beg the issue in question. The inclusion or exclusion of particular clauses cannot have any bearing on their relative status[1232].

[1230] Delamarre 1902b, 300n1; Graindor 1906b; Graindor 1908, 8–9; Roussel 1911b, 446–449; Tarn 1924, especially 147–157.

[1231] Tarn 1924, 152; Fraser and Bean 1954, 164, especially 164n6; Sippel 1966, 65; again, both Fraser and Bean, and Sippel ascribe this change to the close relations between Rome and Delos attested from the early second century. For an analysis of Delian diplomacy in this period on this basis: Vial and Baslez 1987. On the common distinction between the First and the Second League, see 569n1213.

[1232] Tarn 1924, 152.

Instead, some support for Delian membership of the 'Second League of the Islanders' might be adduced from *IG* XII.5 817. The two ambassadors sent to Delos as commonly now reconstructed were an unknown son of Pyrrax, the Tenian, and Tharsagoras, the son of Polycles, the Siphnian[1233]. In this text, *IG* follows Durrbach's restoration in his original publication, which drew on his knowledge of another inscription honouring Erasidemus and Tharsagoras, the sons of Polycles, the Siphnians[1234]. The stone of *IG* XII.5 817 is unfortunately long lost, but Boeckh's naïve copy from the notes made by Villisonus and Bekker is quite different: it transcribes ΣΕΝΟΣ. Boeckh reconstructed Τήνιος, but this conjecture has, understandably, subsequently been rejected: why not just state both were Τήνιοι (as is the case, *eg*, in *IG* XI.4 760 above). Durrbach's suggestion was Σίφνιος, but Graindor suggested Δήλιος: as he notes, there is widespread confusion of H and E in the inscription, including ΔΕΛΕΙ = ΔΗΛΩΙ, the base of a Δ might be misunderstood as a Σ, and the three strokes of a N are easily confused with ΛΙ[1235].

This suggestion was not noted by *IG*, and has been subsequently ignored. Nevertheless, it is both epigraphically and historically preferable. It is perhaps possible that ΙΦ in ΣΙΦΝΙΟΣ could be misread as the E in ΣΕΝΟΣ, but the presence of two verticals and a circle does not make it self-evident: an H, not an E, might perhaps be more plausible. By contrast, there are parallels in this inscription for confusion between H and E that explain ΣΕΝΟΣ for ΔΗΛΙΟΣ. Why, moreover, send a Siphnian

[1233] *IG* XII.5 817.31–32: …]/Πυρράκου Τήνιος, [Θ]αρσαγόρας Πολυκλέους [Σίφ]ν[ι]ος.
[1234] Durrbach and Holleaux 1904, 129. *IG* XI.4 760.3–5: Ἐρασίδη/μος καὶ Θαρσαγόρας Πολυκλ/είους Σίφνιοι.
[1235] Graindor 1907b, 10–11.

to Delos? Would it not make more sense to send a Delian to Delos? Tharsagoras is a common name on Delos attested six times about the turn of the second century. None has this patronymic, but three have none. Certainty is not possible, and the decision to send a Delian to Delos would not necessarily mean that Delos was a member of the League. Nevertheless, on balance, it does seem more plausible that Polycles was a Delian, not a Siphnian, and that Delos, not Siphnos, is the only state apart from Tenos that can be connected with any probability to the Second League of the Islanders.

Appendix 3. IG XII.5 824. Autopsy and analysis

In 1986, Étienne published the results of his autopsy of *IG* XII.5 824, including important new readings. Here we first briefly explain why Étienne's specific date and deductions are no longer acceptable, and then present the results of our autopsy[1236].

First, where Hiller von Gaertringen and previous editors had understood a recent dangerous [plague] ("λοιμοῦ]/καινοῦ περιεστηκότος ἐπικινδύνου"), Étienne read a reference to a recent war ("…]/καινοῦ περιεστηκότος νῦν κινδύνου")[1237]; second, he understood an explicit reference to war on the stone in the second inscription: where

[1236] *IG* XII.5 824 with Étienne 1986; Étienne 1990, 120–122. After an initial mention by Demoulin 1902, 420 12, the *editio princeps*, Demoulin 1903, 233–238 1, was further improved after study by Graindor 1906a, 62–65 2 and by Hiller von Gaertringen from a squeeze: all read ἐπικινδύνου.

[1237] *IG* XII.5 824.A.15–16 with Étienne 1986; Étienne 1990, 122n76. Λοιμός *vel sim* is not elsewhere preserved on the stone but was thought plausible owing to the references to many people being sick (9–10: ἀρρώσ]/των τε πλεόνων) and to his having saved people in great sickness (14: σώισαντος ἐγ μεγάλων ἀρρωστιῶν). See in addition, our discussion above of the epigraphic parallels for the use of ἐπικίνδυνος, which does seem most commonly to refer to dangerous weakness and illness, and less commonly to dangerous situations: see 549n1176.

previous editors had read ΔHMON ("δῆμον") at the start of line forty, Étienne read ΛEMΩN and posited the restoration "πο]/λεμῶν"[1238].

Étienne combined this insight with prosopographical analysis of the League decree, which was passed when Autocrates was priest in Rhodes ("ἐφ' ἱερέως ἐν Ῥόδωι Αὐτοκράτευς"), presumably priest of Helius, the eponymous priesthood of Rhodes[1239]. Étienne connected this Autocrates with the Autocrates known as eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps. Grace's analysis of these amphora stamps had placed this eponym in group IV, to be dated between 175 and 146. Both the Tenian and the League decrees preserved in *IG* XII.5 824 thus seemed to refer to war, and, given the date for Autocrates, Étienne posited the Third Macedonian War as the obvious candidate. The inscription could thus be dated *c* 167, and, consequently, it provided positive evidence for the continued existence of the League of Islanders at least until that time.

1. The Third Macedonian War

To turn first to Étienne's prosopographical analysis. We may leave aside the dispute over whether the amphora stamps do name the Rhodian eponym[1240]. Even if so, Finkielsztejn's recent reanalysis of the chronology of Rhodian amphora stamps,

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[1238] *IG* XII.5 824.B.40.

[1239] Already explicitly at van Gelder 1900, 267, 292 and 386 and confirmed by multiple inscriptions. Note that this is the only reference to Rhodes or to a Rhodian in either decree.

[1240] There is continued doubt about whether the eponym on Rhodian amphora stamps is the eponymous *archon* of the city. This had been a working assumption of Grace, but she became ever more hesitant, preferring in later years to refer to 'dating officials'. More recent scholars also share this caution. Compare Grace 1953, 120, with Grace 1985, especially 7, 9, and Finkielsztejn 2001, 42, 44. It is, moreover, certain that the dating official on Cnidian amphora stamps was not the eponym of Cnidus: Grakov 1929 noted at Grace 1985, 21. *Cf* Habicht 2003, 542–545 for an attempt to prove the identity. As our inscription here is datable in similarly approximate terms by Habicht's identification of Apollonius as the *stephanephoros*, and by letter forms, the validity of this equation is not here important.

which has been widely accepted, involves a date *c* 146 at the earliest for Autocrates' amphora stamps[1241]. The inscription and amphora stamps thus have to be disassociated. The Autocrates of *IG* XII.5 824 may perhaps be the grandfather of the Autocrates attested on the amphora stamps, but, whether so or not, the late context which Étienne argued proved the continued existence of the League of the Islanders at the time of the Third Macedonian War is lost[1242].

This conclusion is perhaps unsurprising: in keeping with our analysis above, Étienne himself comments how the narrative of the Third Macedonian War suggests that the Rhodians had no pretensions to hegemony over the Cyclades[1243]. Rhodian activity elsewhere at about this time, notably Lycia, demonstrates that this disinterest cannot be a matter of inability; instead, it must be one of absence of desire. Étienne sees no contradiction in the different parts of his analysis, but it seems unclear why the

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[1241] Finkielsztejn 2001, especially 173, and 193; the downdating is supported and its consequences explored by Lawall 2002. Further support for the low chronology at Lund 2002; Badoud 2005; Lund 2011. The "recent war" might strictly then perhaps be events associated with the Achaean War of 146, the war with Andriscus in Macedonia in 149–148, both of which would strictly also have been possible on Grace's chronology, or even the Aristonicus revolt in Pergamum after the death of Attalus III. The letter form, and the autopsy below, however, both preclude this interpretation.

[1242] *Cf* Habicht's later review of the evidence from inscriptions and amphora stamps, where he posits an Autocrates "the elder" as eponym of Rhodes *c* 190/189 in addition to two Autocrates attested by amphora stamps. Habicht 2003, 558–559, and 567.
We do not know either Autocrates' patronymic, so the association is neither necessary, nor perhaps plausible: *LGPN* records thirteen attestations in Rhodes alone, another nine from other islands.

[1243] Étienne 1990, 123, which is worth citing: "[c]ette politique d'abstention – quels qu'en soient les mobiles – était incompatible avec la prétention à une hégémonie sur les îles … Elle n'avait apparemment pas les moyens, ou la volonté, en 168 av. J.-C., d'imposer sa politique et de défendre les îles menacées dans leur ravitaillement par les Macédoniens: n'était-ce pas dès lors se retirer des Cyclades et abdiquer de fait tout rôle dans le Koinon?" *Cf* König's justification for positing Ptolemaic control in the Cyclades until 201: only then is there evidence for activity which the Ptolemies should have opposed. As they did not, their control must have ended. Even though evidence for Ptolemaic activity in preceding decades was in his time, and remains, very thin, he did not hence reassess the reality of Ptolemaic power prior to that date; see 296, especially 296n748, and, more generally, our discussion at 293–311. *Cf* for similar hegemonic presuppositions underlying our vision of Athens as hegemonic power on Delos until 315/314, Appendix 6. Delian 'independence', 315/314, and *ID* 104-30, 450, especially 460–465, and the quotation from Homolle 1887a, 29–30 at 463n1051.

League would have continued to date inscriptions by the Rhodian eponym after the Rhodians had demonstrated such disinterest.

2. *Autopsy*

Irrespective of the merits of Étienne's particular date, his rereadings are crucial. If the stone does explicitly refer to wars, then it provides evidence of potentially otherwise unattested conflict in the Cyclades, and justifies Habicht's suggestion that the recent war might be the war with Antiochus[1244]. With Reger, the conflict here attested might precisely explain the Rhodians' belated decision to enter the War with Antiochus only when Antiochus had already reached Ephesus in the summer of 191: where Antiochus' previous actions had been aimed rather against the Romans and the mainland Greeks, he now presented a direct threat to Rhodian interests in the Aegean[1245].

Autopsy suggests that some of Étienne's readings are to be preferred, but that his two crucial rephrasings are invalid[1246]. There is no explicit reference to wars in the League decree: ΠΟ]ΛΕΜΩΝ ("πο]/λεμῶν"). No horizontal hasta is visible to help decide between Λ or Δ for the first letter visible, but the second vertical stroke of the H is clearly visible on the stone and on photographs: ΔΗΜΩΝ seems plausible; ΠΟ]ΛΕΜΩΝ is impossible. There is also no fresh recent danger ("καινοῦ

[1244] Note that Habicht 2003, 558–559, like Habicht 1989, 276–277 specifically dates Autocrates to the aftermath of the war with Antiochus because of Étienne's readings.

[1245] Reger 1992, 379–381; on the merits of this specific explanation irrespective of Étienne's reconstructions, see 531n1144.

[1246] I am very grateful to Maria Marthari, her successor, Panagiotis Xatzidakis, and the ΚΑ' Εφορεία Προϊστορικών και Κλασικών Αρχαιοτήτων for permission to study *IG* XII.5 824 (Tenos museum inventory number 23) in August 2011, and Aikaterini Kavalioti and Giorgos Minardos for their hospitality and kindness during my work.

περιεστηκότος νῦν κινδύνου") in the Tenian decree, but instead a recent dangerous [situation] (καινοῦ περιεστηκότος ἐπικινδύνου): the top horizontal hasta of a Π or similar letter is clearly visible where Étienne read Υ[1247].

[1247] Stimolo 2005 agrees in rejecting Étienne's suggested readings; she also suggests ἐπιδήμων or ἐπιδημ<ι>ῶν instead of *IG*'s <ἐν>δήμων. Her own autopsy no doubt assisted in these judgements, but it is not explicit: instead, she explains her preference of ΕΠΙΚΙΝΔΥΝΟΥ on the grounds that no previous editor, from Demoulin to Hiller von Gaertringen, had previously seen fit to obelise the crucial letters ΕΠΙ. Autopsy thus seemed wise.
IG XII.5 824.A.16: καινοῦ περιεστηκότος ἐπικινδύνου (all previous editors) vs καινοῦ περιεστηκότος νῦν κινδύνου (Étienne): besides the clearly visible top horizontal hasta of a Π, I could also only identify four vertical strokes between Σ and K, not the five required for NYN: ΕΠΙ seems secure.
IG XII.5 824.B.40: ΔΗΜΩΝ (all previous editors) vs ΛΕΜΩΝ (Étienne): no horizontal hasta is visible in the first letter, so either Λ or Δ would be possible, but the second vertical stroke of the H is clearly visible on the stone and photographs, excluding Étienne's reconstruction. ΔΗΜΩΝ seems secure.
The stone is very worn, and has suffered damage since its first publication: several letters were no longer legible. For completeness, however, I include my own readings where these differ from *IG* or have been disputed:
IG XII.5 824.A.14: σώισαντος ἐγ μεγάλων ἀρρωστιῶν ἀπ[. . . . . .
σώισαντος ἐγ μεγάλων ἀρρωστιῶν K. . . O. . . I[. . ἐστεφανώθη] (Graindor 1906a, 65; *IG*; *Syll*[3] 620)
σώισαντος μεγάλων ἀρρωστιῶν ἀπεκούφ[ισε αὐτούς ?] (Étienne)
ΕΓΜΕΓΑΛΩΝ has been erased and reinscribed more compactly than the surrounding letters; hence perhaps why, when Étienne could not see ΕΓ on the stone, he also judged there was not enough space to restore it. Traces of all letters are, however, clearly visible on the stone. Initial ΑΠ consistent with Étienne's reading ἀπεκούφ[ισε αὐτούς is visible, but I could see no trace of any subsequent letter on this line.
IG XII.5 824.A.15: τὸ δημόσιον [ἔρ]γ[ο]ν [*c* 15] Γ [*c* 10?]
τὸ δημόσιον [ἔρ]γ[ο]ν [παρὰ τῆς πόλεως καὶ λοιμοῦ] (Graindor; *IG*; *Syll*[3] 620)
τὸ δημόσιον [ἔρ]γ[ο]ν [*c* 5] ἐλ̣ε̣ιτ̣ο̣ύ̣ρ̣γ[ησε *c* 7] [all dotted] (Étienne)
Both hastae of the Γ of Étienne's ἐλ̣ε̣ιτ̣ο̣ύ̣ρ̣γ[ησε] seemed visible, but no other letter could be identified. There is enough space on the stone for ἐλ̣ε̣ιτ̣ο̣ύ̣ρ̣γ[ησε and λοιμοῦ in the lacuna.
IG XII.5 824.A.16: ΔΕ[*c* 15 τὸν δῆ-]
ἅπ[αντας τοὺς] νησ[ιώτας, τὸν δῆ- (Graindor; *IG*; *Syll*[3] 620)
ΔΕ [*c* 5 τοὺς] ν̣ησ[ιώτας?, τὸν δῆ-] (Étienne)
No trace of ΝΗΣ was visible on the stone, but it may have previously been visible. The horizontal stroke on the Δ was too low to be a straight-bar A, and the vertical and bottom horizontal stroke of the E were both visible, excluding ΑΠ.
IG XII.5 824.B.42–43: παρ[έσχη]/[τα]ι, σ[πο]υ̣δῆς
παρ[έσχε]/[το, σ]π[ο]υ̣δῆς (Demoulin; *IG*)
παρ[έσχη]/[ται, σ]π[ο]υ̣δῆς (*Syll*[3] 620; Étienne).
A fresh break, perhaps since Étienne's autopsy, obscured the Π, but a vertical stroke pointing to an iota and excluding an omicron, and the top two hastae of the sigma are both clearly visible.
IG XII.5 824.B.43: τεθεράπευκε πο
τεθεράπευκε πο (Demoulin; *Syll*[3] 620; Étienne)
τεθεράπευται πο[λλοὺς] (*IG*).
The K is clearly visible.

Appendix 4. The Start of the Tenian year

As part of his discussion of *IG* XII.5 824, Étienne draws on Salviat's argument that *Apatourion* started the Thasian (and hence plausibly the Parian) year to suggest that *Apatourion* also opened the Tenian calendar[1248]. This reconstruction allows the two decrees to be almost contemporary, despite the different archons attested: the first decree was passed on the 15th of *Bouphonion*, when the *archon* was Agathio, the second, under Charippidus, on the 6th of *Apatourion*. *Apatourion* immediately follows *Bouphonion* in the one surviving record of sales which we have from Tenos (*IG* XII.5 872), and as it also does on Delos, where they are the ninth and tenth months of the year[1249]. Unless the *archon* year started between 15th *Bouphonion* and 6th *Apatourion*, therefore, a gap of at least thirteen months would have to be posited between the two inscriptions.

Étienne's interpretation is unconvincing; instead, re-analysis suggests that *Apatourion* was the last month of the Tenian year, as was also the case on second-century Paros, a far closer analogy than fourth-century Thasos. Three arguments support this suggestion. First, *Apatourion* is the last month in the sales register from Tenos we mentioned above: this document ends with a sale on 12th *Apatourion*, which might well have been the last sale of the year. Second, Wörrle has reconstructed the Parian calendar with *Apatourion* as the final month on the basis of a new inscription he published. In so doing, he also necessarily challenged Salviat's reconstruction of

[1248] Salviat 1958; Étienne 1990, 47–50. Note that Salviat is agnostic about whether his reconstruction for Thasos implies that Apatourio was also the start of the Parian year: 218.
[1249] Brief summaries at Samuel 1972, 99–101 and Reger 1994c, 13–14 and table 1.3.

the Thasian calendar, on which Étienne draws as an analogy for his Tenian discussion[1250].

This reconstruction of the Tenian calendar may also provide some thin support for our insistence on a non-military understanding of Apollodorus' actions in the recent dangerous situation, because it requires a gap of at least thirteen months would have to be posited between the two inscriptions, suggesting that any fighting lasted two seasons, if not longer.

There is, however, no space in the chronology of the war for such extended fighting in the Cyclades. The war in Greece lasted less than a single season: Antiochus arrived in Greece in October 192, and, within two months of his defeat at Thermopylae in the spring of 191, was already in Ephesus (or further inland) to receive the emissary the Aetolians sent him before the fall of Heraclea: it was from Ephesus that Nicander returned with Antiochus' response[1251]. There is no record of

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[1250] Lambrinoudakis and Wörrle 1983; Étienne 1990, 49n55. Étienne prefers to accept both reconstructions. This hypothesis is possible, since there is a considerable chronological and geographical disjunction between Wörrle's second-century Parian inscription, and Salviat's fourth-century Thasian inscription. Even so, however, Wörrle's inscription would seem both chronologically and geographically the closer parallel for Tenos, and more in keeping with the evidence from the Tenian sales decree. Given the paucity of information available, certainty is impossible, but there is no reason outside *IG* XII.5 824 to posit Apatourio as the first month of the year.

[1251] Briscoe 1981, 28. Note that Nicander took twelve days to sail from Antiochus in Ephesus to the Aetolians at Phalara on the Maliac Gulf (just south of Larisa): Livy 36.29. This relative dating is partly independent of the varying absolute dates offered for this summer's campaigning. For one close analysis of the campaign: Leuze 1923. The battle of Thermopylae is now commonly dated *c* 24th April 191 from the new moon mentioned at Plutarch *Cato Major* 13.1, but a later date cannot be excluded: see, *eg*, Walbank 1940, 329–331; Walbank 1956–1979, 3:732–723; Briscoe 1981, 28; earlier suggestions included 23rd May and 22nd June: Leuze 1923, 269–280. Gruen 1984, 2:637 offers "summer". Sources for the battle of Thermopylae include Livy 36.15–19, Diodorus Siculus 29.3, Plutarch *Cato Major* 13–14, Appian *Syriaca* 17–20; for the siege of Heraclea include Livy 36.22–24, and Appian *Syriaca* 21. For further references, see Briscoe *ad loc*. Note that Leuze assumes that Antiochus returned straight to Ephesus (almost) without pausing: he dates the battle of Thermopylae to 23rd May 191 (280), and Antiochus' return to Asia Minor to June 191 (268).

any fighting by troops which Antiochus might have left behind in the Greek mainland either in 191 or 190, and Nicander's mission requesting Antiochus send troops from Asia suggests there was none[1252]; the theatre of war seems to have been single, and to have switched decisively to the east Aegean with Antiochus' retreat.

This argument may partly explain why Étienne insists that our two decrees must be contemporaneous, and that the situations are exactly parallel[1253]. It is, however, worth noting that this parallel is not self-evident. In so far as the language of the two decrees is similar, that overlap may arise from their common nature as honorific inscriptions. In his republication, however, Étienne provided valuable evidence that they were not identical in motivation. Where previous editors reconstructed the dangerous situation described by the Tenians as affecting all the islanders (A16: ἅπ[αντας τοὺς] νησ[ιώτας), Étienne read ΔΕ in place of ΑΠ, and so removed this reference. Autopsy confirms his judgement: the horizontal stroke on the Δ is too low and distinct to be a straight-bar A, let alone the cross-bar A that would be expected, and the vertical and bottom horizontal stroke of the E are both visible. These readings exclude ΑΠ, and by extension, the reference to all the islanders[1254]. By contrast, the League decree does state in preserved text that, since the award of earlier decrees, the situation (whether disease or war) had come to affect the islanders generally (κατὰ κοινὸν): even then

[1252] Livy 36.26.

[1253] Étienne 1990, 48: "le médecin n'a certainement pas été honoré par le *koinon* un an après l'avoir été par les Téniotes – et exactement pour les mêmes raisons – il faut donc que le changement d'archonte ait eu lieu en Bouphoniôn ou en Apatouriôn".

[1254] *IG* XII.5 824.A.16. Étienne suggested ΔΕ [*c* 5 τοὺς] νησ[ιώτας?, τὸν δῆ-]. No trace of ΝΗΣ was visible to me on the stone, but it may have been effaced by subsequent damage. See further Appendix 3. IG XII.5 824. Autopsy and analysis, 580, especially 583–584, and 584n1247.

Apollonius still stayed in post and behaved honourably[1255]. This difference may be merely a matter of emphasis, or it may reflect the fact that the body granting the honours was different, but it cannot be excluded that the change in description reflects a development in the situation. It is perhaps best to reserve judgement, but we can at least conclude that there is no inherent logic in the decrees requiring that the two decrees be almost contemporaneous, or that *Apatourion* be the first month of the Tenian year, rather than the last.

[1255] 39–45: περιστάντων δ'ἐπι/δήμων κατὰ κοινὸν τοὺς Νησιώτας, παραμεμένηκεν ἐπὶ [τῶν]/τόπων, καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς προσδεηθεῖσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ κατὰ τὴν τ[έχνην]/καὶ κατὰ τὴν λοιπὴν εὔνοιαν ἀπροφάσιστον ἑαυτὸν παρ[έσχε]/[τα]ι, σ[πο]υδῆς καὶ φιλοτιμίας οὐδὲ[ν] ἐλλείπων, καὶ τεθεράπευκε πο[λλοὺς]/[ἀσθενοῦντας ἐν τεῖ χώραι τεῖ ἡμε]τέραι, περὶ πλέονος ποιούμενος τὴν [τῶν]/[νοσούντων σωτηρίαν τοῦ ἰδίου συμφέροντο]ς.

Conclusion

This dissertation has approached the Cyclades as a region. We have drawn on insight from network theory and international relations theory in (re)analysing a range of evidence. Some of this evidence has been previously almost unexamined; some has been so central to our understanding of Cycladic history that its interpretation has been almost unquestioned for over a century. Irrespective of the data set, however, and the precise question at issue, we have consistently argued that an awareness of regional dynamics, of the activity of neighbouring islands, and of the potential agency of each and every island has to be central to any analysis. To illustrate with but two examples: our understanding of the numismatic activity even of the better studied islands, Andros, Naxos, and Tenos, was importantly incomplete, because of the preoccupation with Rhodian influence on each island's issues, rather than on possible connexions between the islands. Similarly, the multipolar approach adopted here is better able to incorporate the clear evidence for competition and social constraints as central aspects of dedicatory practice on Delos than previous analyses, which conceptualised the relationship encoded in dedications as one involving unipolar hegemony. Both insight from network theory and our modern understanding of multipolar systems, and the surviving evidence from antiquity thus combine to urge that our accounts of Cycladic life allow more space for the islanders collectively and individually as independent actors on the stage of history, than has previously been the norm.

Recognising the complex and lacunose nature of the evidence, we presented our argument through two balanced pairs of case studies, including the two mentioned above. First we concentrated on demonstrating the relevance and power of a network perspective through an exploration of previously unrecognised numismatic and proxeny networks. We argued that these networks point to regional and sub-regional cohesion, and to a certain internal logic in the Cycladic economy and society that enabled them to operate without immediate and continuous reference to external states, while still remaining connected to the world at large. Second, we explored the ramifications of these newly recognised regional and sub-regional structures for our understanding of the political history of the region. Through a detailed analysis of the politics of space on Delos, and of our evidence for Rhodian activity in the Cyclades, we argued that a multipolar approach offers the best frame in which to understand our evidence for relations between the Cycladic islanders and other states.

We first analysed the copious numismatic productions of no fewer than twenty-one different islands in this period, and in particular, the silver coinages produced and in circulation in the Hellenistic Cyclades. Where earlier scholarship argued for the predominance of Rhodian coinage and, more generally, Rhodian monetary influence in various forms throughout the period, we emphasise the importance of local production and island-specific iconography. We cannot argue that Rhodian issues did not circulate at all, but we do argue that the evidence adduced to suggest that it had constitutionally sanctioned status does no such thing. In addition, we illustrate how, if we engage in internal comparison of Cycladic silver production, rather than looking to

'match' our Cycladic production to external standards, we can plausibly recognise at least four discrete sub-regions of divergent production: Tenos and Andros; Naxos and Paros (and perhaps Delos); Iulis and Carthaea on Ceos; and Aegiale. The first two instances, moreover, certainly involved coordination of production for over a century, which suggests that this cooperation reflects an underlying, ongoing structure, rather than some fleeting epiphenomenon. Our conclusion is perhaps unsurprising, given the physical proximity of the islands in each case. Nevertheless, it points to the possible existence of further micro-regions which have not previously been recognised. Similarly, the synergy we identified between Ceos and Athens, and Aegiale and Cos and the Anatolian mainland, again illustrates the complexity of the phenomenon, and of island regions more generally: the Cyclades were not some self-evident discrete, self-isolating and -isolated group. The picture is not complete, but each case urges that our presuppositions should change: rather than assuming homogeneity, and external coordination by default, internal divergence, agency, and structure should be allowed.

Our analysis of proxeny bestowal as a network further supported this reassessment. This data set cannot inform us about day to day trading relations, but, as we argued, it can help understand communication patterns both between Cycladic islands, and between the islands and external states. Here, we identified a single dominant hub, Delos, and a few secondary hubs, Tenos, Carthaea, Thera, and we demonstrated that the structure of the proxeny network is both rational, and consistent with what would be expected by analogy with social, biological, and physical networks elsewhere. This

underlying 'hub' and 'spoke' structure thus allows us to move beyond pure geographical determinism in explaining the phenomenon of regionality in the Cyclades: the 'hub' that was Delos itself enabled the continuing construction of the region to which it was central. It again argues for a new norm: where we lack evidence for interaction on any one island, we should not imagine that it was entirely isolated, but instead allow that it was still connected to the broader Cycladic region and beyond in ways that we cannot always trace. It suggests that, although the models of Peer-Polity Interaction and Proximal Point Analysis have been instructive, their focus on the ultimate comparability of *poleis* and on the importance of the geographical are also limitations: they do not recognise the power of the principle of preferential attachment in communication. Finally, although Delos' central position in communication in the Cyclades is itself not surprising, our ability to embed Delos in the broader Cycladic network provides new insight into why the sack of Delos should have had systemic repercussions across the entire Cyclades, without either needing to assume widespread destruction on a range of islands at that time, or to posit that the sack of Delos was somehow uniquely extensive beyond other attacks.

These first two studies thus both demonstrated the power of a network perspective, and illustrated how detailed analysis of significant economic and social phenomena that have not previously been addressed argues for greater awareness of internal island structures and island agency. They thus collectively formed the first part of our dissertation. This dissertation also sought, however, to explore how this awareness might be relevant for our understanding of the political history of the Cyclades, and

might support a multipolar approach. From this base, therefore, we moved in the second part to the political level, and outlined how previous scholarship had converged in its assumption of unipolar models, whereas a fresh examination might rather argue for the Cyclades as a multipolar space in the Hellenistic period.

Hence, we turned to reanalyse the most substantive analytical units underlying our unipolar political narrative. First, we argued that the politics of space and display encoded in votive and festival practice at Delos point to dynamics of competition being predominant: certain powers did look to differentiate themselves from less prestigious participants by engaging in forms of in-group activity, but they did so not in usurpation of the rights of other prominent powers, but in competition with them. This dynamic applied, moreover, with some variation from the archaic period through into the late Hellenistic period. Hence, we can see that the establishment of vase festivals by the Ptolemies and Antigonids, the central data point for our complex hegemonical narrative of the middle of the third century, cannot validly be understood as a symbol of uncontested hegemony; instead, they have to be placed alongside the contemporaneous dedications by the Attalids and Aetolians, as the products of periods of particularly intense competition and contestation for position in the sanctuary and in the region, as they engaged in what was otherwise a specifically Delian dedicatory practice. Similarly, the duration, form and placement of even the most monumental dedications made during this period suggest that they were not instantiations of hegemonic control, but instead the result of socially mediated dialogue between sanctuary officials and donors. Finally, even in the second century, when the Romans

became more prominent in the Aegean, both the Romans' own dedications, and the continuing evidence for dedications by others, suggest that multipolar competition, not unipolar hegemony, continued to be the driving dynamic on Delos. Our analysis thus urges that, at least in the Aegean, our chronology of Roman imperial expansion can profitably be rebalanced, with greater weight placed on the Mithridatic Wars and Pompey's campaigns, and less on the wars of the second century.

Second, we re-evaluated the evidence for what has traditionally been considered the best understood and attested of the hegemonical constructions adduced for this period: the Rhodian engagement which culminated in the supposed Rhodian hegemony in the Cyclades through the Second League of the Islanders in the first third of the second century. We saw that, because of unipolar presuppositions, Rhodian involvement has been underplayed in the third century, for which other more immediately plausible hegemons were available (*viz* the Ptolemies and Antigonids), but then exaggerated in the early second century, where they filled a gap prior to the perceived Roman dominance from the middle of the second century whose rise is so vividly if fragmentarily described by Polybius. We argue that Rhodian activity in the Cyclades did vary, but that we have no reason to believe that it was systematically greater in the early second century than either earlier or later, or that Rhodes ever formed the single hegemonic pole for the Cycladic region. Instead, in keeping with the sporadic evidence for Rhodian activity (as also for Ptolemaic, Antigonid and other activity) on a range of levels at all times in the Hellenistic period, our Rhodian narrative can be considered emblematic of the many ways in which powers sought to engage with each

other as their relative status waxed and waned in this dynamic multipolar space. On the political level, as on the economic and the social, therefore, rigorous analysis of the evidence argues for greater weight for diversity, contingency, island structures and islander agency.

Each of these studies could be developed further. For example, the work on silver coinages undertaken here could be complemented by a broader analysis of the bronze coinages of more Cycladic islands. Our understanding of the chronology, circulation, and function of bronze coinage is, unfortunately, far less than for silver coinages, while die studies are much more difficult to undertake given the generally poorer state of preservation of the specimens. Nevertheless, some rough quantification should be possible. Combined with iconographic analysis, it might provide further metrics and chronological data from which to deepen our understanding of the numismatic networks identified here. Similarly, the analysis of proxeny relations might naturally be compared with other well-attested networks, such as the proxeny network of Delphi; the discussion of Delian dedicatory practice extended by a review of the archaeological notebooks from the excavations in the hope of identifying further significant pairings; and the analysis of Rhodian activity in the Cyclades joined with similar re-analyses of the evidence for other putative hegemons' activities.

The fruits of these developments would vary: as mentioned in the introduction, part of the very reason for the continued resilience of the unipolar narrative on the political level in the Hellenistic Cyclades has been the lack of decisive new evidence from which to challenge it, together with the perceived intractability of the alternative

numismatic, epigraphic, and ceramic, - unfortunately overlooked here, - evidence which was available. Instead, what has been needed is a shift of perspective, and a recognition that, although the accumulation of evidence has been gradual, it can coherently be marshalled to offer a different model which can then be applied. Thus, the Rhodian hegemony was analysed here precisely because it is the best attested of the different hegemonies, and, with the Athenian hegemony of the late fifth century, has justified the continued imposition of a similar model onto our scantier evidence for Cycladic relations in the third century, as also in the fourth century, and the archaic period. A similar analysis of the Ptolemaic and Antigonid hegemonies would have involved great repetition, without significantly adding to the final conclusion.

Even without these developments, moreover, both the theoretical perspective and the detailed analysis here outlined justify broader reappraisals. It would be possible to treat each of these studies separately, and to argue that neither the diversity and independent impetus for economic activity seen in the numismatic networks, nor the internal cohesion seen in the proxeny network should affect our approach to the political structures of the region. Cumulatively, however, far stronger conclusions are justified. Each of the studies involved greater agency on the part of the islanders: we saw that the numismatic networks of Naxos and Paros, and Andros and Tenos were coordinated with each other, not with an external standard; similarly, the proxeny network had an internal focus on Delos, not an external focus round any particular hegemonical state. In considering the dynamics of the sanctuary of Delos, we understood the monumental dedications erected on Delos as centrepieces of a

controlled expansion of the sanctuary, and the endowments as manifestations of socially embedded competition. All three narratives, moreover, are chronologically extended, lasting at least from the fourth century into the second century, and, in all three cases, plausibly started much earlier.

We can, therefore, validly combine these insights with our analysis of Rhodian activity in the Cyclades, and argue that our late fourth-century and third-century political narrative has to be revised as radically as our narrative in the second century. Rather than a succession of exclusive hegemonies, we should envisage fluid and varying allegiances throughout this period. On this reading, the existence of Ptolemaic nesiarchs in the early third century whose purview seems to have focussed mainly on the Aegean can indicate the strength of Ptolemaic interest in the Aegean at this time, as can also the Ptolemaic dedications on Samothrace, the Ptolemaic involvement in the 'liberation' of Athens by Callias of Sphettos, and the Ptolemaic military activity in the Peloponnese. None of this evidence, however, suggests that they unproblematically controlled the sea for any extended period of time, or that the Cyclades, or the Aegean as a whole, should be understood as a 'Ptolemaic space'.

In a similar vein, it becomes still less meaningful to speak of a period of increased Cycladic independence towards the end of the third century, whether political, social, or economic, not because there is no suggestion that the islands' political, social, or economic independence was ever compromised, but because previous analyses arguing for this notion have been predicated on the primary importance of external hegemonic connexions. Our analyses here of the proxeny network and of the

dedications on Delos, however, illustrate that these social and political structures did continue at this time, even if we cannot trace them in action every year. Even leaving aside our reassessment of past approaches to epigraphic dating which may in part have contributed to the perception of a lack of evidence for external activity in the late third century, and our redating of the numismatic evidence that has been adduced in this context into the early second century, we see that what evidence there is for the late third century is in fact consistent with our norm at other times. The intense spurts of external activity that we see around 250, around 200, and perhaps even around 220, instead form the exception. Even they, however, are exceptions in terms of the intensity of competition attested, not its nature.

Similarly, this approach allows a fresh insight into the history of the League of the Islanders. So far, this dissertation has avoided discussion of this fraught institution at least in the third century, whose many chronological cruxes have been thoroughly discussed, most recently by Buraselis and Meadows[1256]. Whichever of their divergent approaches is followed, however, they share a perspective that envisages the League essentially as a tool of Ptolemaic and Antigonid hegemony, just as its equally ephemeral later form has been of Rhodian hegemony. Our argument here cannot resolve the chronological difficulties. It can, however, downplay the importance of

[1256] Buraselis 1982, especially 60–87, and, for a list of the relevant epigraphic and literary evidence, 180–187; see Meadows 2013 for a convincing argument that this inscription, and with it the only evidence for the League in the fourth century, should be dated back in the third century context originally identified by Durrbach and Holleaux 1904, 93–108 1. For brief discussion of *IG* XI.4 1036, the only inscription which has seemed to suggest a fourth-century phase to the League, in the context of a reassessment of the significance of 314 on Delos, see Appendix 6. Delian 'independence', 315/314, and *ID* 104-30, 450, especially 467–468. For a discussion specifically of the *Second* League of the Islanders which develops the perspective adopted here, see Appendix 1. The 'Second League of the Islanders', 569.

the League both as a tool of hegemony, and as a permanent part of the Cycladic political space. Instead, it can have been precisely a structure available to the islanders that formed and reformed as required not because of political weakness, but because of a very different systemic need: the necessarily hierarchical and structured nature of warfare, particularly at sea. That our earliest evidence for the League should come from Samos is hence no coincidence: as the Ptolemaic naval base in that region, it is precisely a context wherein we might expect the islanders to be formed in a League, in their naval capacity. So too, the evidence from Delos which consistently presents the League honouring a range of commanders does not point to the permanence of external control over the islands themselves, but to the permanence of this social and partly physical fact of island life, wherein no state was large enough to contribute a meaningful naval contingent on its own, but all were prepared to combine in a variety of different ways to enable the formation of an effective military contingent.

Analogy with the Aetolian and Achaean Leagues may still remain useful, but as a matter of contrast, rather than of similarity. For those leagues, we can identify structural cohesion, involving attempts at religious, economic and political solidarity through communal worship at Thermum and Aegium, through magistrates elected at periodic assemblies, and through iconographically and metrically similar numismatic issues. For the League of the Islanders, however, the converse situation applies: there is no evidence for specifically Cycladic worship at Delos, Tenos or elsewhere; no evidence for League magistrates; no suggestion that the assemblies regularly met;

while the numismatic evidence not only disclaims any iconographic similarity or common control-mark, but also does not even involve a shared weight standard for silver issues.

The Leagues do still remain an important part of our picture of Cycladic life in the Hellenistic period, not least because they form yet another example of the islanders working together, and so provide an ongoing rejoinder to suggestions that the default solution to systemic difficulty in antiquity was warfare. Rather than decrying the lack of evidence for the Leagues, however, we may accept it as illustrating a distinctive facet of the Cycladic milieu. It is a further reflexion of the fact that, perhaps precisely because of the maritime environment in which they were embedded, there was much less call for an ongoing regional political structure here than elsewhere in the Greek world.

None of this analysis, with its emphasis on competition, mediation, and island agency, should be understood as arguing that the islanders somehow inhabited some halcyon space. Life was hard, and the mediation and competition envisaged here were not always peaceful: this world was not one without violence, both symbolic and real, and individual negotiations could be one-sided. In addition, the recent scholarly reluctance to engage with the hegemonic paradigm in the apparent absence of new evidence is understandable: the League of the Islanders and other such primarily political concerns did perhaps over-dominate earlier scholarship. Nevertheless, we can do more. The solution to the evidentiary gaps we face is not to remove the Cycladic islands from the realm of history, to freeze them in a state of inactivity

between the interventions of outside forces, and in effect to reify that previous narrative by its passive repetition, however couched by caveats and introductory apologetics. Instead, the numismatic, epigraphic and literary evidence we have analysed has enabled us consistently to argue for the importance and explanatory power both of the agency of the Cycladic islanders, and of the various internally coherent Cycladic networks we have here identified. Second, it has necessarily reduced the importance of the external structures and the few possibly datable events which have previously been reconstructed, in favour of the internal factors on which we have here laid such weight. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, it has allowed us to identify new structural multipolar norms which have reconciled these superficially divergent approaches, such that the external interventions which are known have actually gained additional meaning as part of a new more nuanced and complete political, economic, and social narrative.

It is perhaps unfortunate that we cannot closely date the beginning of the dynamics we here trace. Some may be tempted to suggest that the dynamics in the classical period were fundamentally different. As we briefly modelled in the context of our discussion reassessing Delian 'independence', and the importance of 315/314, however, and in recognition of the Atheno-centric nature of our evidence from that period, it may perhaps be better to query how far even that period formed an exception, and to consider rather how long any exception that is recognised lasted. Certainly, our evidence for Delos in the archaic period points to dynamics similar to those we have identified in the Hellenistic period, while our evidence for earlier

periods is too thin for firm conclusions. Nevertheless, perhaps only before the development of long-distance naval technology, when the horizons of islanders and sailors were different, need they have been radically different.

The end of our investigation and era is, however, far clearer. We have successively seen how our silver issues, proxeny relations, and dedications on Delos all end or become less frequent towards the end of the second century and the beginning of the first century. The process was long, slow, and not necessarily linear, but we surely see here the effect of the rise of a new pole with greater power than any pole before it, not because she was inherently different from those poles, but because of technological advances over the course of the centuries. This tension over time affected the structures we have here been tracing, but, for as long as they persisted, they could also resist. Once, however, a systemic shock occurred, as had happened many times before over the course of the centuries, the islanders rebuilt according to new rules, which acknowledged the systemic primacy of Rome. For the Cyclades, at least, although perhaps not for mainland Greece, the crucial moment was not 200, or 167, or even 146. Instead, it was 88. Through the ravages not necessarily of physical destruction, or even systematic destruction, but of systemic destruction, the unipolar hegemonic space that was the Roman empire took perhaps its most important step in its expansion into the Cyclades, and into the Aegean.

NETWORKS, HEGEMONY, AND MULTIPOLARITY IN THE HELLENISTIC CYCLADES

Volume 3

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The Hellenistic silver coinage of Paros*

Introduction

This study analyses the silver coinage of the island of Paros in the Hellenistic period with a view to improving the chronology of the Hellenistic Cycladic issues, and to enabling comparative study situating the issues of Paros in their broader Cycladic context. It also complements Sheedy's recent study of the archaic issues, and the discussion of the Parian infrequent imperial issues primarily from the second century AD in *RPC*[1257]. The larger Parian denominations from the Hellenistic period have long been appreciated for their artistic qualities: the tetradrachms of group II.A in particular have attracted attention because of the suggestion that the figure on the reverse holding a lyre might represent Archilochus[1258]. The coinage has, however, never been systemically studied, perhaps in part because of a long-running

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* For a more detailed reassessment of the silver and bronze issues of Paros after the archaic period which also expands further on the historical context implied by these issues, see Tully forthcoming. I should like to reiterate my thanks to the many curators, colleagues, and friends who helped during the collection and analysis of the coins studied in this chapter, particularly Despoina Evgenidou and Panagiotis Tselekas at the Athens Numismatic Museum; Nikos Papadimitriou at the Goulandris Museum; Dimitra Tsangari at the Alpha Bank Collection, Athens; Amelia Dowler at the British Museum; Bernhard Weisser and Karsten Dahmen at the Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin; Michel Amandry and Frederique Duyrat at the Departement des Monnaies, Medailles et Antiques, Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris; Bernhard Woytek, Numismatische Kommission, Österreische Akademie der Wissenschaften; Klaus Vondrovec, Münzkabinett, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna; Henry Kim, Heberden Coin Room, Oxford; Adi Popescu, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Victor England, Classical Numismatic Group; Basil C. Demetriadi and Patricia Felch; and especially Andrew Meadows, Peter van Alfen, and Rick Witschonke, and the staff of the ANS for a congenial summer in New York. Any infelicity remaining is, naturally, mine alone.

Where possible, the comparanda offered have been chosen from specimens available for viewing with images on the American Numismatic Society and Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin websites. The appropriate URLs are:

ANS: www.numismatics.org/search/

SMK: http://www.smb.museum/ikmk/

[1257] Sheedy 1987, published as Sheedy 2006. For an (incomplete as of 2012) summary of the imperial issues, see *RPC* IV: http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/search/ident/?search&c_id=paro.

[1258] Löbbecke 1898, followed by Schefold 1943.

controversy over its origins. Only in the early twentieth century did any consensus develop that at least the better attested issues discussed here must have been minted by Paros, not Parium in Mysia. Hoard evidence was crucial to this shift[1259].

This silence is unfortunate. Although Paros is only the third largest of the Cyclades, it seems to have produced the largest coinage of the islands during this period. It is thus uniquely placed to offer insight into the numismatic profile of the region. This study complements recent work on the coinage of other Cycladic islands, by Nicolet-Pierre for Naxos, Étienne for Tenos, and Liampi for Amorgos, and allows more detailed conclusions to be drawn than might be the case from those coinages alone[1260].

The evidence gathered in this study suggests that there was consistently a demand for silver coinage on Paros. Although production may not have been continuous, stylistic and hoard evidence suggests it was regular. It is also clear that the Parians

[1259] de Nanteuil 1925 is a rare exception to this consensus, still attributing specimen DiI.2c to Parium. Argument from find-spots is not only a feature of recent scholarship: in 1845, Count von Prokesch-Osten ascribed a bronze in his collection with similar types to those specimens seen here (female head facing right on obverse, corn ear and ΠΑΡΙ on the reverse) to Paros not Parium because it was found in the Cyclades (von Prokesch-Osten 1845). Still earlier, in 1831, Sestini attributed two bronzes with female heads on the obverse, and goats on the reverse to Paros in his publication of the Chavdoir collection (Sestini 1831), justifying this conclusion because similar specimens had been found on the island. Perhaps for the same reason, he ascribed a similar bronze to Paros without comment in his earlier (1829) publication of the third part of the Fontana collection. He did not, however, feel the typological similarity sufficient to ascribe a group II.A didrachm in the same collection to Paros, instead selecting Parium. (Sestini 1822–1829, 3:40; no metrological information was given, so the specimen cannot be identified below; the moneyer's name ΠΡΑΞΟΣ connects it to groups DiII.A.7, 8, 10, and 12). The reverse, of course, also applied, with coins now attributed to Parium being ascribed to Paros, as in Pellerin 1763.

[1260] Amorgos: Liampi 2004; Naxos: Nicolet-Pierre 1999; Nicolet-Pierre 2005; Tenos: Étienne 1990, 225–251.

deliberately maintained a numismatic standard in the classical and Hellenistic periods which has parallels in the fourth century, but was unusual for that later period.

Our analysis of the individual issues suggests a change in production focus towards the end of the fourth century: in the classical period, from the middle or late fifth century until the late fourth century, Paros produced a succession of small coinages of varying designs which are most easily analysed as drachms, hemidrachms and diobols on a weight standard of *c* 15.6g for the tetradrachm. Their types may be summarised as follows:

- the drachms of group I (DI) have a female head with corn wreath facing left on the obverse, an ivy wreath with inscription ΠΑΡ on the reverse;
- the hemidrachms of group I (HI) shew a goat walking right on the obverse, a corn ear on the reverse;
- the hemidrachms of group II (HII) shew a goat walking right on the obverse, a corn wreath on the reverse;
- the diobol representing group I (DiOI) has a goat walking right on the obverse, a round incuse punch with thin cross on the reverse;
- the diobols in group II (DiOII) shew a goat lying left on baseline with head turned to right, and on the reverse, two goats' heads butting;
- the diobol representing group III (DiOIII) has the head of a female with corn wreath and necklace facing right on the obverse, a goat walking to the right on the reverse;

- the trihemiobol (THI) has the head of a female with taenia(?) facing left on the obverse, a corn ear on the reverse;
- the hemiobol (HO) seems to show a vase with single handle on the obverse, an ivy wreath with Π inside on the reverse.

At some point in the late fourth century, the production of fractional coinage ceased. It was presumably functionally replaced by the bronze issues which started being minted about this time and continued throughout the Hellenistic period. After this point, Paros started producing larger denomination coinages again on the same standard of *c* 15.6g, and continued sporadically so to do until the early second century. In total, two series of tetradrachms, three series of didrachms, and three series of drachms were minted in this second period. Their types may be summarised as follows:

- the tetradrachm in group I (TI) has a veiled female head facing right on the obverse, a goat facing right on the reverse;
- the tetradrachms of group II (TII) fall into two groups. Both shew a wreathed male head facing right on the obverse, but the earlier series (TII.A) pairs this with a reverse with a seated male facing right and holding a lyre, the later series pairs this obverse with a reverse of a female seated to left on a cista.
- The didrachms of group I (DiI) have a veiled female head facing right on the obverse, an ivy wreath on the reverse;
- The didrachms of group II (DiII) have a female head with taenia facing right on the obverse, a goat facing right on the reverse;

- The didrachms of group III (DiIII) have a veiled female head facing right on the obverse, a goat facing right on the reverse;
- The drachms of group II (DII) have a female head with corn wreath facing right on the obverse, an ivy wreath with inscription ΠAPI on the reverse;
- The drachms of group III (DIII) have a female head with corn wreath facing right on the obverse, an ivy wreath with inscription ΠAPI and occasional moneyers' names facing right on the reverse;
- The drachms of group IIII (DIIII) have a female head with corn wreath facing right on the obverse, an ivy wreath with inscription ΠAPI and mint-mark Θ either above or below on the reverse.

The structure of the mint in the classical period is not clear. In the Hellenistic period, however, die-links between specimens with different moneyers' names suggest that a board of at least two persons was responsible for production.

Iconography

The kneeling goat was the distinctive symbol of Parian coinage in the archaic period. As a source of wealth, several communities used the goat on their coinage, or even named themselves after the goat (Aegae, Aegiale), making attribution occasionally difficult. Nevertheless, the attribution of the larger coinages both in the archaic period and subsequently to Paros is secure because of hoard and find-spot evidence.

As seen above, the goat remained on Parian coinage throughout the Hellenistic period, but in a wider range of poses: in the classical period, the goat did not kneel, but stood on the diobols of group one (DiOI) and both groups of the hemidrachms (HI, HII), and lay down on later diobols (DiOII, DiOIII). In the Hellenistic period, the lying goat was no longer used; the kneeling goat returned, but only on Parian bronze; and the standing goat was transferred to the reverse, being paired with the name of the moneyer responsible for the production of the coinage.

At the same time, the obverse instead came to be used to depict the head of either a male or a female, usually facing right. The identification of these figures has been typically fraught. Traditional interpretations based on the perceived importance of particular gods and humans for specific communities, and on the existence of panhellenic iconographic traditions no longer command much confidence. Strong arguments for alternative identifications are, however, equally difficult to marshal because of our greater understanding of the diversity and local embeddedness of the Greek pantheon. Certainty is not possible, but the traditional identifications are plausible in the absence of alternatives.

The male head facing right on the obverse of the tetradrachms of group II (TII.A and TII.B) has traditionally been identified as Dionysus from his ivy wreath. He is the most plausible of the identifications: Dionysus has often been recognised on Cycladic coinage, also being identified from his ivy wreath as appearing on the obverse of Hellenistic didrachms, drachms, hemidrachms, and bronze from Naxos, and the obverse of silver and bronze issues from Andros; and bronze from Arcesine and

Minoa on Amorgos; Carthaea and Iulis on Ceos, and Myconos[1261]. This is consistent with the archaeological evidence, in that, as on many of the islands, a Dionysiac festival is attested on Paros[1262]. In terms of attested cult on Paros, the obvious alternative would be Apollo, who was honoured with two temples here. He is iconographically more difficult, however, as he more commonly is depicted with a laurel wreath, not an ivy one.

The male figure seated holding a lyre on the reverse of the tetradrachms of group II.A (TII.A) is often associated with Archilochus, after an initial conjecture by Löbbecke[1263]. He pointed to the full beard and the curved back as suggesting an elderly man, and so excluding Apollo; and then argued for Archilochus, over Euenos, as the Parian most plausibly represented: Archilochus was already known to have received cult on the island, and was so famous in antiquity that he was on occasion paired with Homer. Löbbecke's conjecture is appealing and possible. Although it is early for a representation of a private person on a coin, it is not unprecedented: a nearby parallel is the depiction and naming of Homer on the obverse on Ietan bronze minted from the second century[1264]. On balance, this conjecture can perhaps be

[1261] Naxos: Nicolet-Pierre 1999, IA, IB, IC, Nicolet-Pierre 2005; Andros: BMC Andros: 1–26; Carthaea: BMC Carthaea: 42–43; Iulis: BMC Iulis: 69–70; Arcesine: Liampi 2004, 104.37, 38, Minoa: Liampi 2004, 104.39–41; Myconos: BMC Myconos 1–4, 7–11.
[1262] *Eg*, in *IG* XII.5 129, a decree honouring Cillus, son of Demetrius, from the second century.
[1263] Löbbecke 1898, followed by Schefold 1943.
[1264] Homer: BMC Ios: 1–9. Aristaeus(?): BMC Ceos: 1–11.

accepted, and taken as further early evidence for Archilochus' prominence on Paros[1265].

The identification of the female figures appearing on Parian coins is no easier. For all the series where a corn wreath is visible on her head (tetradrachms of group I [TI], didrachms of group I and group II (DiI, DiII), all the drachms [DI, DII, DIII, DIIII]), Demeter is the common choice of modern cataloguers, sometimes specifically Demeter Thesmophorus. This is plausible iconographically, and also on the basis of surviving literary evidence: in the Homeric Hymn to Demeter, she is the queen who rules Eleusis, Paros and Antron; a scholiast to Aristophanes *Birds* states that Archilochus had composed a Hymn to Demeter; while in Herodotus' narrative, it is a temple specifically of Demeter Thesmophorus that Miltiades visits after Marathon in the course of his attack on Paros in 489, after Marathon. Here it is that he is wounded, before retreating, being put on trial in Athens, and dying[1266].

[1265] The first inscription in the Archilocheum is dated to the middle of the fourth-century: Kontoleon 1963; the first "biography", that of Mnesiepes (*SEG* 15.517) is dated to the 3rd century, and *IG* XII.5 445 (with Peek 1959), to the 1st century. To point to literary attestations of Archilochus' panhellenic cultural prominence in justifying a Parian decision to place Archilochus on their coins is common, but unhelpful, as that literary evidence is significantly later, being first century or imperial. Archilochus paired with Homer: Heracleitus *ap* Diogenes Laertius 9.2, Velleius Paterculus: 1.5, Dio Chrysostom 33.11–12; Greek Anthology 7.674; paired with Homer, Sophocles, and Pindar: Cicero Orator 1; Archilochus praised by Quintilian: Institutiones 10.1.59–60. The double-herm in the Vatican (Vatican, Galleria Geografica 2890) often cited as pairing Homer and Archilochus from its inscriptions is today thought to show Aeschylus instead: Davies 1991, 162n43.

[1266] Homeric Hymn to Demeter: 490–492:
ἀλλ᾽ ἄγ᾽ Ἐλευσῖνος θυοέσσης δῆμον ἔχουσα
καὶ Πάρον ἀμφιρύτην Ἀντρῶνά τε πετρήεντα,
πότνια, ἀγλαόδωρ᾽, ὡρηφόρε, Δηοῖ ἄνασσα,
αὐτὴ καὶ κούρη περικαλλὴς Περσεφόνεια:
Scholiast ap Aristophanes Birds 1764.
Herodotus 6.132–136.

Nevertheless, caution is advisable: other goddesses do wear corn wreaths, notably Core on Syracusan bronze issues of this time[1267]. It is understandable that earlier generations of scholars working almost from literary sources alone deduced from the anecdote in Herodotus that the worship of Demeter was second only to that of Apollo Delius on Paros, and so posited her as plausible[1268]. This conclusion is no longer valid, not least because no significant monumental sanctuary to Demeter equivalent to those of Apollo Delius, Apollo Pythius, and Asclepius has been found[1269]. There is evidence for the worship of Demeter in the Hellenistic era on Paros, but no more than for other goddesses, such as Artemis or Core[1270]. Demeter is also not included among the many gods honoured in the third-century poem found in what is now called the Archilocheum[1271], nor is her sanctuary mentioned in the reform law published by Lambrinoudakis and Wörrle[1272]. On balance, it is perhaps the most plausible identification, but it is not certain[1273]. Similarly, the only alternative to Demeter as the female figure seated on a cista on the reverse of the tetradrachms of group II.B (TII.B) who has been considered at length is Cleoboea, whom Pausanias names in a painting by Polygnotus in the Lesche at Delphi, and states to have been the first to take the

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1267 Syracuse: *eg*, *SNG Copenhagen* 752 and 870; Also on Lesbos: *SNG Copenhagen* 1314 and Bodenstedt 88.

1268 von Thiersch 1835, 592. The logic of this argument is, however, weakened rather by the same scholars' unwillingness to recognise Apollo on Parian coinage.

1269 A sanctuary to Demeter has been posited from the epigraphic evidence, but none identified. Consensus used to point to the southern side of Paroikia from the findspot of *IG* XII.5 226 and other inscriptions, but Vérilhac 1983 IV was found to the north.

1270 Demeter: *IG* XII.5, 227 (1st); Artemis: *IG* XII.5 211 (end 4th), *IG* XII.5 215; Core: *IG* XII.5 227 (1st).

1271 *SEG* 15.517.

1272 *SEG* 33.679 (= Lambrinoudakis and Wörrle 1983).

1273 Almost: BMC Paros (1866) 114:14 suggests Demeter or Core for the drachms.

Orgia of Demeter to Thasos from Paros[1274]. This specific possibility seems less plausible, as she has no prominence outside this text, but other conjectures are possible[1275].

There has been less agreement over the female figure wearing a taenia on the obverse of DiII; many choose not to specify, but the most popular suggestions are Artemis, Core, or a Nymph[1276]. Artemis or Core are again particularly consistent with the epigraphic evidence, and are plausible alternatives[1277]. Given the state of the evidence, however, insistence is unwise.

Chronology and hoard evidence

There is no hoard evidence for the coinages of the classical period. The basis of dating individual issues is hence stylistic, and suggests that these issues were sporadically produced from the late fifth century to the late fourth century. The existence of multiple issues of similar weight in particular suggests ongoing need for small denomination silver on the island[1278].

The evidence for the Hellenistic period is more diverse. An issue of tetradrachms (group I: TI) can be dated stylistically to the middle of the third century, and was probably soon followed by an issue of drachms (drachm group II: DII) and didrachms

[1274] Pausanias 10.28.3; von Thiersch 1835, 592–593.
[1275] The card associated with Berlin SMK C R Fox 1873 15.04g (here: TII.B.3b) suggests a "Bacchante".
[1276] Core: De Luynes 2378 (or Artemis); *SNG Copenhagen* 721–722 (or Artemis); Rauch 34 (1985) 128; Nymph: Pozzi 4574, Hess 254 (1983) 189; Artemis: BMC 17–19 (query); *SNG Copenhagen* 721–722 (or Core). Most auction catalogues describe the head simply as female, or select Artemis.
[1277] Note that Artemis and Leto are mentioned in *SEG* 33.679.
[1278] For a more detailed discussion, see below, 638.

(didrachm group I: DiI). The similarity of the reverse of these two issues makes it highly plausible that they were minted at the same time.

Table 48. Hoard evidence for Hellenistic Parian Coins[1279]

Hoard	Origin	Deposition	Cycladic contents	Catalogue #
IGCH 175[1280]	Eretria, 1937	*c* 235 (Wallace, Merker) *c* 245 (Picard)	572+ AR Dissociated: 1 Paros tetradrachm (ANAΞIK)[1280]	N/A[1280]
IGCH 210 (Noe 290)	Carystos (?), 1930	*c* 200 (Wallace, Thompson) *c* 200–180 (Nicolet-Pierre)	28+ AR, perhaps originally 90 Paros: 4 tetradrachms, 2 didrachms 4 drachms Andros: 1 didrachm Naxos: 3 didrachms Tenos: 1 tetradrachm, 1 didrachm	TII.A.1a TII.B.3a TII.B.5b TII.B.5c DiI.3c DiII.A.9c DII.2a DII.2b Christodoulos 2a (sic) Christodoulos 3a (sic)
IGCH 226	Koskina, 1923	*c* 200–180 (Varoucha-Christodoulo-poulou, Nicolet-Pierre)	*c* 130 AR Paros: 8 didrachms Naxos: 3 didrachms "The hoard is reported also to have contained drachms of Tenos"	Specimen uncertain: DiI DiII DII/DIII
CoinH 8 517	N of Larissa, 1985	*c* 75	1260+AR Paros: 3 late didrachms, 10+ late drachms Dissociated: hemidrachms Naxos: 2 late didrachms Syros: 1 late tetradrachm	Specimen DiI/DiII DII/DIII DIIII

[1279] All Cycladic coins noted in the hoards are recorded under "Cycladic contents", and described as included in the *Inventory of Greek Coin Hoards* (*IGCH*) and *Coin Hoards* 8 (*CoinH* 8) except for the Parian evidence, which is modified following the conclusions of the detailed discussion below. For complete information on these hoards, see *IGCH* (Thompson, Mørkholm, and Kraay 1973), with periodic updates in the Coin Hoards series, most recently Coin Hoards X (Hoover, Meadows, and Wartenberg 2010). The *IGCH* hoards are also now available at the following stable URLs:
IGCH 175: http://www.nomisma.org/id/igch0175;
IGCH 210: http://www.nomisma.org/id/igch0210;
IGCH 226: http://www.nomisma.org/id/igch0226.

[1280] Note that this hoard is included for completeness only; the Parian specimen is dissociated from *IGCH* 175 in the detailed discussion below.

			Tenos: 1 late tetradrachm	
Crédit Suisse 3 (1985) 221	Unknown origin, 1980s(?)	After 187	1 Paros didrachm "found in a hoard of Tetrobols of Amphipolis"	DiII.B.19a

For later issues, there is hoard evidence, which may be summarised as indicating that the tetradrachms of group II (TII.A and TII.B), the didrachms of groups I and II (DiI and DiII), and at least group two of the drachms (DII) were in circulation *c* 200–180. The specimens of TII.A, TII.B and DiII attributable to a hoard are all in excellent condition, suggesting that they were recent productions. This situation has caused controversy, as one tetradrachm from this series was attributed to *IGCH* 175, dated to the middle of the third century. A long period of production had to be assumed, which was difficult to reconcile with the paucity of moneyers' names recorded on the issues, or the later hoard evidence in some way discounted. The analysis below resolves this difficulty by dissociating the single tetradrachm from *IGCH* 175. It hence also allows all these associated issues to be dated much later than traditionally possible, in the early second century, and suggests that the phenomenon of increased silver production across the Cyclades in the middle of the third century in the Cyclades is a phantom.

Finally, the difference in style and weight standard observable between the earlier groups of drachms and drachm group IIII suggests that it was a later production. A *terminus ante quem* for production is provided by the hoard published in *Coin Hoards* VIII (*CoinH* 8 517). As no late Parian hemidrachm is attested, the references to Parian hemidrachms plausibly point to the presence of this series of smaller module, lower weight drachms.

The known hoards are few[1281]. It is, however, noteworthy, that the few hoards noted cluster in Euboea and southern Thessaly. There is no evidence that Parian silver was involved in the flight of silver to the east which resulted in even mainland Greek issues being attested in Syria. It is equally noteworthy that the hoards involving Cycladic silver are all dated to the early third century: several earlier hoards have been found on Euboea. Paros does seem to have minted more silver in the early second century; nevertheless, the absence of any Parian silver from all earlier hoards may cumulatively suggest a change in circulation at this time alongside this shift in minting practice.

IGCH 175 (Eretria, 1937)

The date of closure of this hoard has risen in more recent scholarship. Varoucha-Christodoulopoulou suggested *c* 220 primarily from an analysis of the Boeotian coins; Wallace preferred 235 from a re-examination particularly of the Eretrian coins. Merker subsequently supported his date from Wallace's analysis of the Ptolemaic coinage, and this was the date followed by *IGCH*. Picard has, however, subsequently argued for a still higher date, *c* 245, in his extensive discussion of the hoard, because of the exceptionally fine state of a tetradrachm of Ptolemy III to be dated then[1282].

[1281] So few that there is no hoard attested from the Cyclades with Parian silver.
Hoard *IGCH* 326 (http://www.nomisma.org/id/igch0326), consisting of 560+ Paros bronze, was unearthed in the 1930s, and is in the possession of the Athens Numismatic Museum. It is currently being studied by Panagiotis Tselekas, to whom I am grateful for allowing me to review the hoard. Because the hoard consists solely of Parian coins, it is unfortunately not closely datable.

[1282] Varoucha-Christodoulopoulou 1941, 670–672; Wallace 1956, 46–49; Merker 1960, 43–44; Picard 1979, 153–167. Wallace stated that Varoucha-Christodoulopoulou was intending a full publication; this publication unfortunately seems never to have been realised, but Picard's discussion partly compensates for this.

One Paros tetradrachm is attributed to this hoard in *IGCH*. It is unidentified, but is important: if correctly attributed, it would indicate a longer period of production for the tetradrachms of group II than might otherwise be adduced from *IGCH* 210 alone: production would have started *c* 250 and continued sporadically through the later third century. This hypothesis in turn might perhaps also tally nicely with Reger's suggestion that the period from *c* 240 to 200 represented a period of greater autonomy in the Cyclades[1283].

The presence of this tetradrachm in this hoard is, however, surprising: first, no other Cycladic coinage is represented in the hoard, unlike in *IGCH* 210, *IGCH* 226, and *CoinH* 8 517. Second, both tetradrachm issues with moneyer ANAΞIK are small, with only one reverse die known for each (TII.A.R2; TII.B.R3). We cannot be sure which issue is represented by this single specimen purportedly from *IGCH* 175. *IGCH* 210, however, contained TII.A.1a, produced with the same obverse die as TII.A.2a; and also TII.B.3a, a specimen with the only known ANAΞIK reverse in series TII.B, both in exceptional condition[1284]. *IGCH* 210, however, like *IGCH* 226, and the hoard described at Crédit Suisse 3 (1985) 221, has a date of deposition securely in the early second century, not in the middle of the third century, and would suggest a much later date of production for those specimens than *IGCH* 175 would allow.

[1283] Reger 1994b.

[1284] TII.A.1a was described as "[f]leur de Coin" in Naville XII (1333) 1313; TII.B.la has never appeared on the open market, but is at least exceptionally fine. See *IGCH* 210 below for further discussion.

It is possible that the dies here in question were used for an extended period, or that this specimen used quite separate unattested dies. Closer analysis, however, suggests that this single Parian coin listed in *IGCH* 175 has been misattributed. Unlike *IGCH*, Varoucha-Christodoulopoulou's detailed list from 1941 of no fewer than seventeen coin types does not include any specimen from Paros, nor is any mentioned by Wallace, Merker or Picard in their discussions[1285]. The first and seemingly only mention is in *IGCH*, where there is a reference to additional lots reported by W Schwabacher, one of which "includes the Paros tetradr. and several Seleucid pieces, one said to be Antiochus III but that is perhaps an error for Antiochus II". As Thompson notes in *IGCH*, since Antiochus III reigned from 222 to 187, no coin of his could come from a hoard dated to the middle of the third century.

Schwabacher's letter of March 25, 1938 remains in the ANS archive. He is explicit that the coins he lists all came from "the large Hellenistic Euboean hoard which had been found the previous spring", that is, *IGCH* 175, from 1937[1286]. He also seems cautious in his identifications: he does specify Antiochus III, but prefers not to indicate which Seleucus' coin he had seen. Thus, Thompson's solution seems unsatisfactory: when dealing with only one suspect coin, it was perhaps plausible to argue that Schwabacher was mistaken in identifying Antiochus III. Given the doubt

[1285] Picard's discussion focusses on the 476 coins he could identify from *IGCH* 175 in the Athens Numismatic Museum, hence perhaps explaining why he does not refer to the Parian specimen mentioned in *IGCH*. Picard does refer to the existence of other coins from the hoard not in the museum (161–162), but only mentions the disappearance for further specimens of types he has given in the catalogue. He does not mention the association of coins of Alexander or the Seleucids with this hoard, any more than he does the Parian specimen.

[1286] "Von dem grossen euböischen Fund hellenistischer Zeit, der im vorigen Frühjahr bei Eretria gemacht wurde"; Merker 1960, 43 states that coins from *IGCH* 175 appeared on the market in 1937.

over the Parian tetradrachm, it is more plausible that Schwabacher did here see a coin of Antiochus III. In turn, this suggests he was mistaken in believing that all the coins came from a single source. Instead, the lot had, at the very least, been contaminated[1287].

This tetradrachm could perhaps have come from *IGCH* 210 instead. As will be argued below, this tetradrachm is, in fact, plausibly the same specimen as the Parian tetradrachm on the market in 1939 currently in the ANS, and ascribed to *IGCH* 210 (1967.152.285; here: TII.B.4a). Whether so or not, the most important conclusion here is the dissociation of the Parian tetradrachm from *IGCH* 175, because, without it, our *terminus ante quem* for this series of Tetradrachms changes from the middle of the third century to the early second century, and we lose our only hoard evidence requiring production of any Cycladic large denomination silver at this time.

IGCH 210 (Carystos [?], 1930)[1288]

This hoard was swiftly identified by numismatists, with a handwritten note in the ANS archive citing a letter from Ravel of 27 December 1933 that "All the coins of the Cyclades that have been on the market since 1930 come from a find unearthed

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[1287] This letter is also clearly responsible for the association of the two Seleucid coins with *IGCH* 175. Picard's failure to mention the Seleucid coins in his discussion of this hoard (see 618n1285) is thus akin to his failure to mention the Parian specimen. It does not, however, explain his omission of the 24+ Alexanders mentioned in *IGCH* 175.

[1288] Wallace 1968, 205n1 suggests that *IGCH* 215 and *IGCH* 210 may form part of the same hoard; although still separate in *IGCH*; Picard 1979 is ambivalent, noting Wallace's hypothesis but listing the hoards separately in his catalogue of hoards (311: 17 and 18), and placing them as one in his index (357); Nicolet-Pierre 1999, 41n46 treats them together in her discussion of the hoard evidence. As *IGCH* 215 only contained five coins of types already attested in *IGCH* 210, two from the Euboean League and three from Carystos, this issue does not affect either the analysis here or that of Nicolet-Pierre. Carystos is the traditional find spot of the hoard, but is considered more dubious than, *eg*, that of *IGCH* 175 at Koskina.

somewhere in Euboea"[1289]. Dated to *c* 200 by Wallace and by Thompson in *IGCH*, Nicolet-Pierre coherently argued for a lower date in her recent reanalysis because Wallace's arguments against a date in the early second century from the absence of coins with the "large thin flan so characteristic of the early second century" were no longer valid.[1290]

The second group of didrachms [DiII] and both sub-series of the second group of tetradrachms [TII.A, TII.B] are both unproblematically associated with this hoard: DiII.A.9c was acquired by the MFA in Boston from D Kellad in 1931; and three of the four tetradrachms noted above (TII.A.1a; TII.B.5b; TII.B.5c) appeared in the Naville Ars Classica hoard of 3rd July, 1933. Their inclusion in this hoard indicates that they must have been produced prior to 200–180, although their good state suggests that they were not produced long before that date.

The identification of the 'Drachms' mentioned in *IGCH* is more problematic. These are specified as being "4dr. (as BMC 13[1]; 14–15[2]; same but with ΠAPI ΘOYPI in wreath [1])". First, BMC 13 is a didrachm, not a drachm (here: didrachm group I [DiI])[1291], and no Parian drachm series with a veiled female on the obverse has ever been identified. Second, "BMC 14–15" implies that the two specimens in the BMC catalogue are equivalent. The BMC Paros text might suggest so, as BMC 15

[1289] ANS archive.

[1290] Wallace 1968; Nicolet-Pierre 1999, 20–21. Nicolet-Pierre's redating of the hoard also calls Wallace's broader conclusions into question. Writing before Nicolet-Pierre's reanalysis of the hoard, Picard 1979, 311–313 and Étienne 1990, 239 did not directly discuss the date of deposition of *IGCH* 210 in their analysis of the coinage of Chalcis and Tenos respectively, but accepted Wallace's date of *c* 200 in their text.

[1291] BMC Paros (1866) 114:13 = BMC (1866) Paros XXVI:7; here: DiI.1b.

has an obverse with "similar head" and reverse with "similar" wreath to the preceding BMC 14, but the plates and metrological analyses make it clear that two distinct sub-series are involved: here drachm groups II and IIII [DII, DIIII][1292]. Third, no genuine specimen with moneyer ΘOYPI was noted in the course of this study, but four Christodoulos forgeries matching this description were. The reference to one drachm having "ΠAPI ΘOYPI in wreath" thus suggests that that the dispersal of this hoard was a very good opportunity to release forgeries onto the market. The lots of this hoard were salted with at least one forgery, and plausibly more: Christodoulos 3a does not match the above description of the four drachms, as it is marked by moneyer TEIΣH, but was also connected with *IGCH* 210 in the ANS card catalogue for reasons that are not entirely clear[1293].

The basis of this description is clearly the record mentioned in *IGCH* as at the ANS and as including casts of four Parian drachms. These casts comprise two groups[1294]: casts of six specimens sold at the Naville Ars Classica XVI auction in 1933, and a further group of five specimens from Ravel probably dating to the middle of the 1930s[1295]. The six Naville specimens consisted of three Parian tetradrachms (not four), one Naxian didrachm, together with the Andrian didrachm, and the Tenian tetradrachm associated with this hoard. They are also the basis of Noe's description of this hoard in the second edition of his *Bibliography of Greek Coin Hoards*, where

[1292] BMC 14 = BMC Paros (1866) 114:14 = BMC Paros XXVI:8; here: DII.1c.
BMC 15 = BMC Paros (1866) 114:15 = BMC Paros XXVI:9; here: DIIII.1a.

[1293] See Appendix 3. Modern Parian forgeries, 704 for further discussion.

[1294] I am very grateful to Andy Meadows for finding the *IGCH* 210 casts, which had been mislaid, and sending me photographs.

[1295] *IGCH* 210 only attributes the four Parian 'drachm' casts to Ravel. Even if the handwriting is not his, the Naxian specimen plausibly belongs with these. "middle of the 1930s": see 625n1303.

three Parian tetradrachms (not four), one Naxian didrachm, one Andrian drachm (sic), and one Tenian tetradrachm are attributed to the hoard[1296]. The five specimens, which are not explicitly associated with the hoard by Noe, consisted of a further Naxian didrachm, together with the four Parian 'Drachms'[1297].

Examination of the Parian drachm casts resolved the issues with the description of *IGCH* 210. First, the drachm with "ΠΑΡΙ ΘΟΥΡΙ in wreath" is a Christodoulos forgery: here Christodoulos 2a. It is also die-linked with Christodoulos 3a. This fact is perhaps unlikely in itself to explain the connexion of Christodoulos 3a with *IGCH* 210, but it does confirm the suggestion that someone associated with the Christodoulos forgeries took advantage of the hoard's appearance to release specimens onto the market. Second, the two specimens marked BMC 14–15 were drachms of group II [DII], not group IIII [DIIII]: here, DII.2a and DII.2b. DII.2a has subsequently appeared on the market, but DII.2b has not. On balance, they should perhaps be accepted, but the presence of other Christodoulos forgeries among the same group of ANS casts must introduce some doubt[1298]. Third, the specimen

[1296] Noe 1937 290. Noe's description: "Paros 3 + 1; Tenos 1 + 1; Naxos ½ st.; Andros ¼ st.; Boeotia 1; Eretria 1; Carystos 8. Another section of this (?) hoard contained 20 ± coins of Pharos, Tenos, Naxos. Disposition: Dispersed. Naville, XVI, 1305, 1309, 1311–13, 1315, 1310 (?) Information on file in Libr. Am. Num. Soc." 1310 is the specimen from Naville without a cast in the ANS collection, but is also attributed to the hoard (with a query) elsewhere in Noe's notes. The other coins mentioned in Noe's description, namely the '+ 1' from Paros and Tenos, 'Boeotia 1' and 'Eretria 1' were the coins seen by Noe or an informant 'in Mr Kellad's possession: Feb. 24th 1931' according to a note in the ANS archive. The Parian didrachm is specified as being "B. M. Cat. XXVI 6 ΑΝΑΞΙΚ" (BMC XXVI:6 = BMC Paros [1866] 114:11; here: DiII.A.2d) and is DiII.A.9c, which was acquired by the MFA from D Kellad in 1931.

[1297] These specimens may be among the "20 ± coins" mentioned by Noe (see 622n1296) , in which case Pharos might be a typographical error for Paros; alternatively, Noe may only have learned of the existence of these coins after the second edition of his bibliography went to press.

[1298] Same group: the casts are divided into two groups. Some are casts of coins later sold at auction. See Appendix 3. Modern Parian forgeries, 704 for further discussion.

compared to BMC 13 is indeed a didrachm not a drachm: here, DiI.3c, a specimen which seems not to have appeared on the market. The confusion is easy to understand: there is overlap in the flan size between the smallest didrachms and largest drachms, with the smallest group I didrachm [DiI] flans attested smaller than the largest drachm flans measured: DiI.6a: 20mm; DIII.16b: 20.9mm. The reverse is also stylistically very similar to that of group II drachms [DII], which, as noted below, were also among the casts seen.

It is thus clear that both sub-series of the second group of tetradrachms [TII.A, TII.B], both the first series and at least the first subseries of the second group of didrachms [DiI, DiII.A] and the second group of didrachms [DII] must have been produced prior to 200–180.

It but remains to explain the fourth tetradrachm ascribed to the hoard by *IGCH*, when only three tetradrachms were noted by Noe. The extra tetradrachm in *IGCH* is TII.B.4a, the tetradrachm at the ANS. This was acquired by the ANS in 1967 as part of the Adra Newell bequest of one thousand pieces that she kept from the collection of her husband Edward Newell, President of the ANS, by the terms of his will in 1941. The specimen has with it in the ANS box Newell's handwritten note "D Kellad 1939", probably indicating from whom and when Newell purchased the piece. This reference thus plausibly explains why Noe included only three Parian tetradrachms: he did not know of the existence of the fourth until after the second edition of his bibliography went to press in 1937.

This tetradrachm is quite possibly also the same tetradrachm as that erroneously ascribed to *IGCH* 175 on the basis of Schwabacher's letter of 1938: of the four ANAΞIK tetradrachms noted in the catalogue (TII.A.2a, TII.B.3a, TII.B.3b, TII.B.6a), two are already attested in the nineteenth century (TII.A.2a [1898]; TII.B.3b [1873]), and no reference is known to TII.B.6a prior to its appearance in the Empedocles Collection now at the Athens Numismatic Museum. Schwabacher's tetradrachm from his letter of 1938, and Newell's tetradrachm purchased in 1939 could be different specimens. Given the composite nature of the lot Schwabacher saw, it also cannot be entirely certain that his tetradrachm, if not the same as the *IGCH* specimen, should be associated with *IGCH* 175. Nevertheless, given the rarity of the issue, it is more plausible that they are one and the same, and from *IGCH*, leaving the hoard with a total of four Parian tetradrachms, as in *IGCH*.

Given the intricate nature of the above discussion and the recovery of the casts in the ANS collection, it is perhaps helpful to summarise the composition of this hoard as currently reconstructed. Table 49 thus includes the subsequent history of the specimens connected with the hoard, and catalogue numbers for Naxos, Paros, and Tenos.

Table 49. IGCH *210 (Carystos [?], 1930) contents*

"28+ AR, perhaps originally 90" – potentially also including *IGCH* 215.

Island	Denomination	Moneyer	Catalogue #	Attestations[1299]
Andros	Didrachm	-	*cf* Paschalis 1898 32	Alpha 10421. Naville XVI (3/7/1933) 1305; New York XIV (10/01/2007) 102.
Naxos	Didrachm	ΧΑΡΟ	Nicolet-Pierre 1999 14a	Naville XVI (3/7/1933) 1310; Hess/Leu 9 (2/4/1958) 193[1300]
Naxos	Didrachm	ΚΤΗΣΙ	Nicolet-Pierre 1999 17c	Harvard 1.1965.1956 Naville XVI 1309; Dewing (1985) 1966;
Naxos	Didrachm	ΚΡΗΘΕ	Nicolet-Pierre 1999 18b and c	Münzhandlung Basel 8 (22/3/1937) 327 (18b); Reynaud (1980) 519 (18c)[1301]
Paros	Tetradrachm	ΠΕΙΣΙΒ	TII.A.1a	Naville XVI (3/7/1933) 1313; Bildnisse (1943) 173:6 [Reverse only]; Leu/MMAG (28/5/1974) 242 (Kunstfreund); MMAG 76 (19/9/1991) 793 [Boutin]
Paros	Tetradrachm	ΑΝΑΞΙΚ	TII.B.3a	ANS 1967.152.285
Paros	Tetradrachm	ΣΙΛΗΝΟΣ	TII.B.5b	Naville XVI (3/7/1933) 1312; Naville XVII (3/10/1934) 515 (Burrage); MMAG 76 (19/9/1991) 792 [Boutin]
Paros	Tetradrachm	ΣΙΛΗΝΟΣ	TII.B.5c	Harvard 1.1965.1966 Naville XVI (3/7/1933) 1311; Fogg (1953) 345; Dewing (1985) 1966[1302]
Paros	Didrachm	-	DiI.3c	ANS cast, 1930–1937[1303]
Paros	Didrachm	ΑΝΑΞΙΚ	DiII.A.9c	MFA 31.189 MFA 1293
Paros	Drachm	-	DII.2a	MMAG 76 (19/9/1991) 786

[1299] This list makes no claim to be exhaustive for non-Parian specimens. For collection, auction house and publication abbreviations, see the list, 666–674.

[1300] Noe queried the attribution of this specimen to the hoard and did not include it in his enumeration of the hoard: hence just ½ stater, not 2 ½ stater.

[1301] Nicolet-Pierre 18b and 18c seem to be the same specimen, a fact obscured perhaps by slight distortion of the obverse of 18b on Nicolet-Pierre's plate, and by the quality of the plate in Cahn. Some small confirmation of this comes from the fact that both can be connected with Ravel, as can the cast in the ANS (see 621n1295): Nicolet-Pierre states that a cast of 18b in London is ascribed to Ravel, while Reynaud states that some of the pieces he publishes do come from Ravel (Reynaud, Picard, and Ranière de Fortanier 1982, 5).

[1302] Note that MFA 1950–1963 erroneously equates Dewing (1985) 1966 (TII.B.5a) and Weber (1924) 4698 (TII.B.5c). See 682.

[1303] 1930–1937 because Nicolet-Pierre 18b was sold in 1937, suggesting it left or had already left Ravel's possession by then, and so that the casts should predate at least 1937. It is just possible that Noe did not know about the existence of these extra five specimens until after the second edition of his bibliography had gone to press. The fact that he did not include them might indeed perhaps argue for their appearance in the middle of the 1930s.

				[Boutin]
Paros	Drachm	-	DII.2b	ANS cast, 1930–1937[1303]
Tenos	Tetradrachm	-	Étienne 1990 202.4	Naville XVI (3/7/1933) 1313; MMAG 76 (19/6/1991) 801 [Boutin]; MMAG 95 (4/10/2004) 41; Nomos 2 (18/5/2010) 105[1304]
Tenos	Didrachm		Étienne 1990 203.12(?)	D Kellad 24/2/1931; perhaps = Naville XVII (3/10/1934) 516 (Burrage)(?)[1305]
Boeotia	Drachm		*cf BMC Thebes* 78–80; *SNG Copenhagen Thebes* 490	?
	5 didrachms		Wallace 1 Ib(?)	Cahn 71 (14/10/1931) 331
			Wallace 1 Ic	ANS 1944.100.20280 Newell
			Wallace II 2a	ANS 1967.152.252
	6 didrachms		Wallace III 4a(?)	Athens NM(?)
			Wallace VII.10a	ANS 1967.152.259
			Wallace VI 6a	Naville XVI (3/7/1933) 1173 = ANS 1978.82.43
Euboean League	1 didrachm		*Cf* Babelon (1901) 2.2:170, pl. 197, 19	?

To summarise: the presence of both subseries of the second group of tetradrachms (TII.A, and TII.B), of didrachms groups I and II (DiI and DiII) and of group II of the drachms (DII), is assured, and, with it, a *terminus ante quem* of 200–180 for their production. The four tetradrachms and single didrachm of group II (DiII) from this hoard are, moreover, all in excellent condition, suggesting that they had been recently

[1304] Étienne 1990, 235 and 237 noted that a tetradrachm from Tenos had been ascribed to *IGCH* 210, but did not make the connexion with the specimen then in Boutin's collection, even though he knew it was the specimen that ultimately derived from Naville Ars Classica XVI, - and hence from *IGCH* 210. Instead, he stated that the specimen from *IGCH* 210 was published "sans spécification", and labelled 202.4 purely as "Coll. Boutin". Boutin's collection was dispersed in 1991, after the publication of Étienne's manuscript.

[1305] Naville XVII (3/10/1934) 516 is the only specimen noted by Étienne which has appeared on the market since the discovery of *IGCH* 210 and which matches Noe's description in his notes of the specimen from Tenos he saw in D Kellad's possession on 24th Feb 1931. Both D Kellad's specimen and that in Naville XVII are also very fine/très beau. Certainty is impossible, but the conjecture seems valid. Of the other two Cycladic coins in this sale, 514 (DiII.24b) has a previous history, but 515 (TII.B.5b) also derives from *IGCH* 210 via Naville XVI.

produced, and so that these issues do date to the turn of the century, not earlier[1306]. By contrast, the specimen of group two of the drachms not only known from a cast (DII.2a) is much more worn. This could merely be a matter of increased circulation owing to its smaller denomination, but it does suggest earlier production[1307]. As the group I didrachm specimen (DiI.3c) is known only from the cast, no evidence from circulation wear can be adduced to gauge how long before deposition these issues were minted. The stylistic similarity of the reverse, however, suggests that they were conceived of as complementary denominations, which makes a similar date of production in the middle of the third century very plausible.

IGCH 226 (Koskina, 1923)

Despite dating to 1923, this hoard was not recognised by Noe in 1937. Varoucha-Christodoulopoulou seems to have been the first to discuss the hoard in print in 1941, and ascribed the hoard a deposition date of 200–180, primarily because of the good state of preservation of 28 Rhodian didrachms she dated to the start of the second century. Because no specimen was photographed prior to dispersal in trade, it is difficult to evaluate this judgement. It has, however, been supported by Nicolet-Pierre as consistent with her discussion of the Naxian didrachms, and is consistent with the other evidence presented here.[1308]

[1306] Naville XVI (3/7/1933) described TII.A.1a, TII.B.5b, and TII.B.5c as "FDC", "[s]uperbe", and "FDC" respectively; MMAG 76 (1991) described TII.A.1a as "[s]uperbe", TII.B.5b as "[p]rèsque superbe". Wallace 1968, 205 states that the didrachms from Paros and Naxos in this hoard were "in brilliant condition, showing practically no wear", a judgement consistent with the state of DiII.A.9c.

[1307] MMAG 76 (1991) only described DII.2a as "très beau".

[1308] Varoucha-Christodoulopoulou 1941, 672–674; Nicolet-Pierre 1999, 114; Varoucha-Christodoulopoulou does not mention the drachms of Tenos mentioned in *IGCH*; Picard 1979, 311 follows Varoucha-

Varoucha-Christodoulopoulou specified that the eight Parian didrachms were of type "BMC Paros XXVI:6–8 and Collection Jameson 1307"[1309]. The references to BMC Paros XXVI:6 (here: group II of the drachms [DiII]), and BMC Paros XXVI:7 (here: didrachm group I [DiI]) support the evidence of *IGCH* 210 in suggesting the circulation of didrachm groups I and II (DiI and DiII) at the time of this hoard's deposition, *c* 200–180[1310]. The reference to BMC Paros XXVI:8 is more problematic, as BMC Paros XXVI:8 is a drachm, not a didrachm (here: DII.1c), and there is no equivalent known didrachm series: although the didrachms of group I (DiI) have an ivy wreath reverse similar to group two drachms (DII), no didrachm series has an similar obverse. It is possible that Varoucha-Christodoulopoulou saw an unattested didrachm series, rather as group III didrachms are only attested by a single specimen. More plausible, however, is that she was misled by the size of the flan: series DII has a large thin flan, with the largest attested size only slightly smaller than the stylistically very similar DiI (DII.1a: 18.8mm; DiI.6a: 20mm), which was also attested in this hoard (BMC Paros XXVI:7). When visually inspected alongside the other Parian didrachms in the hoard, it might not have been self-evident that a smaller denomination was here involved, especially if she only was shown casts or photographs. As with the similar case in *IGCH* 210, however, it is perhaps unwise to

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Christodoulopoulou's date of deposition, but further suggests the presence of an unknown number of Tenian didrachms also ("1+ drachmes et didrachmes") for reasons equally unclear. Picard 1999, 244 prefers a date of *c* 180 without discussion. This is equally as plausible.

[1309] BMC Paros XXVI:6 = BMC Paros [1866] 114:11; here: DiII.A.2d;
BMC Paros XXVI:7 = BMC Paros (1866) 114:13; here: DiI.1b;
BMC Paros XXVI:8 = BMC Paros (1866) 114:14; here: DII.1c;
Collection Jameson 1307; here: DiII.A.2c.
BMC Paros XXVI:6 and Collection Jameson 1307 thus not only attest the same moneyer, but come from the same pair of dies.

[1310] As the exact specimens are not known, evidence from circulation wear cannot be adduced.

assume this was a reference specifically to group II drachms (DII), rather than an attempt to indicate that some of the Parian coins had a female head facing right on the obverse who wore a corn wreath, not a taenia (as BMC XXVI:6), or a veil (as BMC XXVI:7). Any drachm group from DII, DIII, or DIIII would fit this criterion.

Unlike *IGCH* 210, *IGCH* 226 does not have Parian tetradrachms associated with it. The similarity of other contents, however, means that a similar date of deposition seems inevitable, confirming the production of DiI, DiII and at least DII, stylistically the earliest of DII, DIII, and DIIII, prior to 200–180.

CoinH 8 517 (N of Larissa, 1985)

The Larissa hoard is of interest because of its findspot, and in suggesting the ongoing circulation of Parian coins into the first century. Without any information as to which coins were found in the hoard or their condition, little more can be said, especially as no Parian coin was among the twenty-four photographed in *CoinH* 8. The reference to "late" didrachms and drachms merely specifies that the famous early Parian coinage with kneeling goat on the obverse, and quadratum incusum on the reverse is not meant. It cannot be assumed to distinguish between the various groups of didrachms discussed here.

So many didrachms, no fewer than thirty, have surfaced on the market for the first time since 1980, that identifying the three in this hoard is a forlorn hope[1311]. Similarly, although no fewer than ten drachms are stated as having been in this hoard,

[1311] It is, however, perhaps noteworthy that all nine didrachms that appeared on the market in the 1980s were from series DiII, with the reverse of a goat, not DiI, with an ivy wreath on the reverse.

twenty-three specimens, including three forgeries, cannot be traced back before 1980[1312], and it is plausible that several of the coins have yet to appear on the public market, given how recent the find is.

The reference to a single "hemidrachm" in this hoard would be illuminating, if there were any way of judging which series it represented. Given the presence of the tetradrachm of Philip II, and those of Demetrius Poliorcetes also in the hoard, this could be an earlier specimen that remained in circulation; more plausible, however, is that this is a drachm from group IIII (DIIII). As will be seen below, these were produced to a significantly lower weight standard than earlier drachms (*c* 3.4g vs *c* 3.9g). More important here is that the low weight issues in general much smaller than the issues which preceded them, varying in diameter from 15.9mm to 17mm rather than from 17mm to 20mm (DIII), and 17mm to 18.6mm (DII). They also look quite distinct: although the types are similar to previous issues, with a head of female with corn wreath (Demeter?) to right on the obverse, and on the reverse, an ivy wreath, with clusters of berries above and ΠAPI inside on the reverse, the head is smoothed, and ivy wreath simplified. If the hoard was only examined briefly or photographically, they may thus plausibly have been considered a smaller denomination. There is thus no need to posit a late and so far otherwise unattested issue of hemidrachms.

[1312] DI: 5; DII: 3; DIII: 11 (plus three forgeries); DIIII: 1.

Crédit Suisse 3 (1985) 221

The initial publication of this specimen (here: DiII.B.19a) is problematic, as the text and plate do not match: the text describes the moneyer as ΑΝΑΞΙΚ, the image is of a coin with moneyer ΚΤΗΣΙ. The specimen in the image then reappears in CNG Triton VI (2003) 289, and Berk 158 (2008) 137. Neither later auction offers any history, but both offer the same higher weight of 7.63g, where the Crédit Suisse text offered 7.53g. Both slips can perhaps be ascribed to cataloguing error, one typographical, the other arising because ΑΝΑΞΙΚ is by far the most frequently attested moneyer on this series, with twenty-nine of the sixty-seven specimens recorded in the catalogue.

This specimen is somewhat suspect: it is the only didrachm with this reverse, the only didrachm with an additional mint-mark (E), and one of only two didrachms with abbreviation ΚΤΗΣΙ instead of ΚΤΗΣ (drachm: ΚΤΗ), along with the specimen in Cambridge (here: DiI.B.23a). The obverse, however, is shared with a specimen published in the British Museum catalogue in 1866. Thus, this specimen could be the product of a modern obverse die created from an ancient piece, but there is no obvious model of the reverse, and it seems on balance best to accept the specimen as genuine, and the errors in the catalogue as unfortunate.

The hoard mentioned in the listing for this specimen has not been published, and, given the errors in the catalogue, it may perhaps be queried whether it ever existed. Again, however, the very lack of any prior known connexion between Parian didrachms and Amphipolitan tetrobols may argue in its favour. On the assumption

that it is genuine, it is tempting to identify this hoard with *CoinH* 8 517, whose discovery is dated to roughly the same period. This hypothesis is, however, ultimately implausible.

Table 50. Comparison of tetrobols of Sicyon, Histiaea, and Amphipolis

City	Sicyon
Source	New York Sale XX (2009) 170
Date	90–60
Obverse	Dove flying l.
Reverse	Large Σ, in field l., monogram, r. winged kerykeion.

City	Histiaea
Source	Freeman & Sear Maid Bid 15 (2008) 84
Date	197–146
Obverse	Head of maenad right, wreathed with grapes and vine leaves, wearing pendant earring
Reverse	ΙΣΤΙ—ΑΙΕΩΝ, nymph Histiaea seated right on stern of galley, holding stylis, wing on galley, trident head and ΔA below galley.

City	Amphipolis
Source	CNG Electronic 219 (2009) 234
Date	187–168
Obverse	Macedonian shield with club on boss
Reverse	Macedonian helmet left; two monograms to left, monogram and star to right

City	Amphipolis
Source	CNG Electronic 223 (2009) 80
Date	187–168
Obverse	Head of maenad right, wreathed with leaves, wearing pendant earring and necklace
Reverse	Prow of ship to right; M/AKE/ΔONΩN

The overwhelming proportion of *CoinH* 8 517 consisted of Histiaean tetrobols (500+) and Sicyonian triobols (270+). The coins of Sicyon are very distinctive: the dove is omnipresent, either, as above and generally in the first century, on the obverse, or, earlier, on the reverse. Histiaean tetrobols, however, usually have an obverse with Maenad, and a reverse with a nymph sitting on a prow. They are thus similar to one of the two series of Amphipolitan tetrobols that have been identified from the Hellenistic period: that with the head of a Maenad(?) on the obverse, and, on the reverse, a ship's prow[1313]. with MAKE/ΔΟΝΩΝ. Nevertheless, it is unlikely that they were confused: the tetrobols of Amphipolis produced in the Hellenistic period seem all to have borne a clear ethnic, and the plates of the Histiaean coins *CoinH* 8 suggest that the ethnic was legible at least on some of the Histiaean tetrobols found there. It is thus more plausible that two hoards are involved, but, whether so or not, there is a firm *terminus post quem* of 187 for the hoard from which this specimen came.

This conclusion is important because it provides the only direct approximate date of circulation for a specimen from group II.B of the didrachms (DiII.B). This date is not strictly directly comparable with *IGCH* 210 and *IGCH* 226: the only specimen firmly ascribed to *IGCH* 210 is from DiII.A, while no specific piece from *IGCH* 226 can be identified. Nonetheless, their consistency is reassuring.

[1313] The second Amphipolitan tetrobol series, with Macedonian shield on the obverse with MA/KE inscribed on the boss either side of a club, and Macedonian helmet on the reverse, could not be confused with Histiaean tetrobols.

Commentary on the classical period

Table 51. Summary of Parian issues from the classical period

Series	Date	Number specimens	Obv Dies	Rev Dies	Carter Obverse	Max Weight	Implied tetradrachm
Drachms							
DI	late 4th	8	1	2	1.04±0.15	3.83g	15.32g
Hemidrachms							
HI	4th	15	3	4	3.33±0.43	2.05g	16.40g[1314]
HII	4th	8	2	3	2.33±0.51	1.85g	14.80g
Diobols							
DiOI	mid 5th	1	1	1	-	1.21g	14.52g
DiOII	4th	7	4	4	7.55±3.46	1.30g	15.60g
DiOIII	late 4th	1	1	1	-	1.29g	15.48g
Trihemiobols							
THO	late 4th	1	1	1	-	0.93g	14.88g
Hemiobols							
HO	4th(?)	1	1	1	-	0.29g	13.92g

There is no hoard evidence by which to date the various fractions produced at this time relative to each other, nor is there any die-linking between the series which might indicate a relative order. Instead, stylistic criteria have to be used, and such criteria form the primary basis on which these issues are clustered into this period, prior to the introduction of the bronzes.

Because of the paucity of specimens, quantification by die-count is futile in most cases[1315]. Nevertheless, the number of separate issues identifiable and perhaps also

[1314] The tetradrachm weight noted here as implied by the heaviest specimen attested (2.05g) is higher than that suggested by the other issues. All other specimens are, however, consistent with a nominal hemidrachm weight of *c* 1.95–2g; rather than posit a change of standard, this specimen can perhaps be considered slightly overweight, and the implied tetradrachm weight reduced to *c* 16g.

[1315] The Carter method is used here as outlined at Carter 1983; calculating the number of specimens likely represented by each obverse die is a fraught task, with some claiming that variation between mint and between denomination was such as to make the attempt to find a range of production futile: see, in

the lack of any die link between the obverses of any individual series both suggest ongoing sporadic production throughout the century, and an ongoing need for small denomination coinage in at least two separate denominations which were deliberately distinguished from each other by their types[1316].

Except for the first diobol group (DiOI), each of these issues has some ethnic to indicate origin: in keeping with the rapid turnover of types, however, these vary in location and abbreviation, varying from Π on the reverse of the hemiobol (HO), - if Parian, - to ΠΑ on the obverse of group I of the hemidrachms (HI), and even within series: diobol group II clearly varies between ΠΑ and ΠΑΡ[1317]. Similar indications of flexibility in production technique include the varying die axes, and the occasional indication of moneyer names: most dies in this period do not have them, but one of the three obverse dies attested in hemidrachm group I (HI.R3 below) and one of the four reverse dies attested in Diobol group II (DiOII.R2 below) do, without being otherwise distinguishable from the other specimens. This lack of concern for such

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particular: Buttrey 1993; Buttrey 1994; Buttrey 1997; for justifications and calculations, see de Callataÿ 1997; de Callataÿ 2003.

For attempts to simulate production, see Sellwood 1963; Beer 1982. From his work, Sellwood suggested between 10000 to 16000 specimens as reasonable for an obverse die when hot-striking, 5000 and 8000 coins per obverse die when cold-striking. The focus of attempts to calculate from ancient records has been the amphictyonic coinage of Delphi, where scarce inscriptional evidence survives which may be connected to a specific coinage. Raven's initial calculations based on the amphictionic coinage of Delphi were superseded by those of Kinns, who calculated that each obverse die was responsible for between 23333 and 47250 specimens; Marchetti's reanalysis, however, suggested a figure of 14350 coins, similar to that of Raven 1950; Kinns 1983; Marchetti 1999. However valid Kinns' or Marchetti's calculations may be, Buttrey's qualms about extending such calculations do not seem yet fully to have been addressed.

[1316] The only die link among the fractional coinages is between HI.O1, HI.R1, and HI.R2.

[1317] DiOII.O1 and DiOII.O3 clearly have ΠΑΡ; DiOII.O2 has ΠΑ, but the P may be off the flan. DiOII.O4, however, clearly only has ΠΑ.

Traces on the single reverse attested in diobol group III are consistent with a Π on the reverse above the goat.

formal characteristics should not, however, be taken as a sign of carelessness in production: the interquartile ranges are noteworthy in suggesting a certain care to ensure consistency of a series in terms of its weight.[1318]

Table 52. Die axes of Parian issues from the classical period

Die Axis[1319]	n	12h	1h	2h	4h	6h	9h	10h	11h
DI	7	6	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
HI	12	5	2	3	0	0	1	0	1
HII	7	2	1	1	0	1	0	1	1
DiOII	6	3	2	0	1	0	0	0	0

Table 53. Weight of Parian issues from the classical period

Weight[1320]	n	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Median	IQ Range
DI	8	2.42g	3.83g	3.31g	3.52g	0.58g
HI	15	1.65g	2.05g	1.85g	1.85g	0.15g
HII	8	1.38g	1.85g	1.64g	1.67g	0.13g
DiOI	1	1.21g	1.21g	-	-	-
DiOII	7	1.13g	1.30g	1.22g	1.22g	0.07g
DiOIII	1	1.29g	1.29g	-	-	-
THO	1	0.93g	0.93g	-	-	-
HO	1	0.29g	0.29g	-	-	-

In the archaic period, Paros seems to have minted on the Aeginetan standard (*c* 6.1g), first issuing a few didrachms of *c* 12.2g from *c* 530–520/515, then drachms of *c* 6.1g from *c* 520–470, but no fractional coinage[1321]. A quite different structure is implied by the surviving coinage analysed here: the dominance of two coinages with a weight ratio of 2:3 naturally urges their interpretation as diobols and hemidrachms, a

[1318] Throughout this study, the inter-quartile range is used as a measure of data spread rather than standard deviation because the data profile does not approximate to a normal distribution.

[1319] Diobol group I has a quadratum incusum reverse. I do not have die axis information for the single specimens of DiOIII, THO, and HO.

[1320] Chart: 718–719.

[1321] Sheedy 2006, 200–226; Sheedy rejects the obols previously ascribed to Paros.

description supported by the presence of two butting goat heads on the reverse of DiOII[1322].

The standard implied by these issues is thus one of approximately *c* 15.6g for the tetradrachm. This standard is consistent with the evidence for the Hellenistic period, where a standard of *c* 15.6g to the tetradrachm, *c* 3.9g for the drachm is visible, and suggests that the same standard was in use as later in the Hellenistic period[1323].

Chronology of issues

The chronology of these issues cannot be closely analysed; cumulatively, however, the number of different issues suggests ongoing production of silver throughout the fourth century.

The earliest issue here is represented by a single specimen: DiOI.1a. Stylistically, it is perhaps to be dated to the mid-fifth century[1324]. Without an ethnic, its origin may be queried, just as Sheedy has cast doubt on several earlier drachms and obols which had previously been assigned to Paros: instead, he suggests that they might derive from Aenus in Macedonia or another city which used the goat on its coinage. This specimen differs, however, from those that Sheedy examined: rather than a diagonal

[1322] Compare the Athenian custom of issuing diobols with a two-bodied owl (*eg*, ANS 1955.54.206), and the custom at Corinth, where the Pegasus type was often subdivided so that Pegasus appeared on the stater and drachm (*eg*, ANS 1955.54.309); the forepart on the hemidrachm (*eg*, ANS 1957.172.1400); and the head and neck on diobols (*eg*, ANS 1957.172.1295). The two groups of hemidrachms (HI and HII) could perhaps be understood as diobols on the Aeginetan standard at a weight of *c* 2.03g. The Aeginetan standard cannot easily incorporate the diobols, however, which include what is clearly the earliest specimen in this period: DiOI. To posit the use of two standards in alternating or simultaneous use is needlessly complex.

[1323] For charts illustrating the distribution of specimens, see Appendix 4. Charts, 715.

[1324] I thank Peter van Alfen, Andrew Meadows and Richard Ashton for their opinions on this specimen.

incuse punch, this design is much closer to a type, with a round incuse divided into four by a thin raised cross.

Both the weight and the style of goat argue for this specimen to be Parian. The weight is consistent with the later specimens to be discussed here: at 1.21g, it is exactly equivalent to the diobols produced in the fourth century: arguments from a single specimen cannot be decisive, but this specimen may suggest that the standard that is traceable later in the Hellenistic period was already in use on Paros at this time. The goat is similar to those that appear on the later hemidrachms. The specimen should thus tentatively be accepted as genuine, and so as indicating otherwise unattested minting activity on Paros in the middle of the fifth century[1325].

Through the course of the fourth century, there seems to have been ongoing need for two different denominations, the hemidrachm, and the diobol. The hemidrachms continued the obverse type of the earlier diobol, pairing the goat walking right with a corn ear (HI), and later a corn wreath (HII); here, HI, the corn ear type, seems earlier because the flans are more irregular. Diobol group II (DiOII) may well have been produced at the same time as these issues, with deliberate differentiation of types to avoid confusion. Whether so or not, the last of the fractional coinages seem to be the sole coin here representing group III of the diobols (DiOIII), and the isolated specimen identified as a trihemiobol from its weight (THO), but which could also be an

[1325] As a single specimen of imprecise date, it would be unwise to infer too much from this single specimen; for cautious discussion, see Appendix 1. Paros and Naxos late classical silver, 126, and especially 128.

underweight diobol[1326]. Stylistically, these issues are equivalent to the drachms of group I, which, unlike any later denomination, also has a female head left.

In the absence of hoard evidence, the smoothness and composition of the face on the drachms of group I (DI) suggest that it was produced in the late fourth century. A good analogy is the head on the coins of the Delphic amphictyony from this period[1327]. The Π with shorter second hasta and straight-bar A also provide some support for an early date[1328].

The Hellenistic period

A change in production can be observed as occurring in the late fourth century. Diobol group III (DiOIII), the trihemiobol (THO), and drachm group I (DI) mark the transition, making this periodisation slightly artificial. Nevertheless, multiple changes in production can be observed at this point:

- Denominations: from fractional coinage to larger denominations;
- Types: appearance of a figure on the obverse, and transfer of the goat to the reverse;

[1326] On balance, this specimen can be accepted with reservations as Parian: the types are consistent; traces on the reverse are consistent with a Π on the reverse above the goat, and with a grape cluster, such as is also found on later bronze specimens. It could be an underweight diobol from a fourth series, but the narrow IQ Ranges suggest greater care over weight in general than that would imply. The combination of female head and corn ear types is also unique; rather than being a different diobol series, this would then be an indicator of deliberate differentiation from the drachms of group I (DI) and particularly from the diobols of group III (DiOIII) that are stylistically similar.
The hemiobol, by contrast, is much less secure: the vase with single handle could be a bacchic motif, but is not elsewhere attested.

[1327] *Eg*, Berlin SMK 18208219; Berlin SMK 18208220.

[1328] DI is the only drachm issue that has a dotted border at least on the obverse. This conclusion could perhaps suggest production at the same time as the second group of diobols (DiOII), which also has this border. The only other specimen with a dotted border, the didrachm of group III (DiIII), is clearly not chronologically connected with these issues.

- Consistency in series: there is in general more care over die axis, and flan size.

Table 54. Summary of Parian issues from the Hellenistic period

Series	Date	Number specimens	Obv Dies	Rev Dies	Carter Obverse	Max Weight	Implied tetradrachm
Tetradrachms							
TI	mid 3rd	1	1	1	-	14.92g	14.92g
TII.A	early 2nd	3	1	2	1.27±0.72	15.59g	15.59g
TII.B	early 2nd	15	2	6	2.09±0.22	15.74g	15.74g
Didrachms							
DiI	mid 3rd	18	2	4	2.05±0.17	7.83g	15.66g
DiII.A	early 2nd	56	7	11	7.26±0.36	7.82g	15.64g
DiII.B	early 2nd	10	1	7	1.02±0.11	7.71g	15.42g
DiII.C	early 2nd	1	1	1	-	6.99g	13.98g
DiII.D	early 2nd	1	1	1	-	7.20g	14.40g
DiIII	early 2nd	1	1	1	-	7.45g	15.30g
Drachms[1329]							
DI	late 4th	8	1	2	1.04±0.15	3.83g	15.32g
DII	mid 3rd	5	2	2	2.79±1.16	3.80g	15.20g
DIII.A	early 2nd	4	4	3	-	3.79g	15.16g
DIII.B	early 2nd	16	5	9	6.20±1.03	3.93g	15.72g
DIIII	mid 2nd	8	2	2	2.33±0.51	3.38g	13.52g

As in the classical period, a standard of approximately *c* 15.6g for the tetradrachm and a nominal weight of *c* 3.9g for the drachm is plausible for all the series here noted once allowance is made for the small size of the sets, and the well-recognised tendency for smaller denomination coinages to fall (well) below the ideal weight suggested by larger denominations. The one exception is group IIII of the drachms (DIIII), which implies a lower standard of *c* 3.4g[1330].

The above table illustrates the sporadic nature of production, primarily of drachms, and points to an apparent significant increase in minting activity that occurred in the

[1329] Group I Drachms from the classical period (DI) are included here for completeness, and for purposes of comparison.

[1330] For charts illustrating the distribution of specimens, see 718. For discussion of the implications of the continued use of this standard throughout this period, and comparison with practice elsewhere, see 63–79.

early 2nd century. It does, however, occlude a further shift during this period of minting activity, in which two distinct phases of output can be discerned. The earlier, coalescing round moneyer ΑΝΑΞΙΚ[1331], involves the didrachm being the primary denomination, and an accompanying smaller output of tetradrachms and drachms (TII.A, TII.B, DiII.A, DIII.A); the later, centring round moneyer ΚΤΗ(Σ)/(ΣΙ) did not involve tetradrachms, and involved a more balanced production of didrachms and drachms (DiII.B, DIII.B).

Table 55. Comparison of early and late didrachm production

Series	**Obverse dies**	**Drachm Equivalent**	**Series**	**Obverse dies**	**Drachm Equivalent**
TII.A	1	4			
TII.B	2	8			
DiI.A	7	14	DiI.B	1	2
DIII.A	4	4	DIII.B	5	5
Total		30	Total		7
ΑΝΑΞΙΚ group			ΚΤΗ(Σ)/(ΣΙ) group		

The dates offered above are consistent with previous analyses made without reference to the hoard evidence: most publications did not seek to specify more closely than the 3rd to the 1st centuries, or than 250–150. Where scholars have previously advocated a more precise higher date for didrachms of group II, it seems

[1331] For convenience, the moneyers are always presented as on the coins. The *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* suggests various expansions which are attested in the islands in the Hellenistic period, but does not do enable a connexion with any otherwise notable figure. ΑΝΑΞΙΚ is often understood as Ἀναξικλῆς, but could equally be Ἀναξίκλειτος or Ἀναξικλάτης. Some names are attested in Parian epigraphic texts from approximately the right period, but it would be unwise to assume identity. Even in a small island community like Paros with its exiguous documentation, more than one candidate is occasionally visible; as those texts are just as approximately dated, moreover, no chronological narrowing would result. Candidates include, for the didrachms of group II (DiII), moneyer ΠΡΑΞΙ: Πραξίας, the *neokoros* of the temple of Sarapis (*SEG* 33.681.4 – 1 half 2nd), or Πραξικλῆς I, one of the prominent family of Prosthenes (early 2nd; stemma: Gossage 1951, 219 as modified by Nigdelis 1989, 46); and Κλεοθάρσης Σιληνοῦ, mentioned as a representative of the demos in *SEG* 33.679.2, for both ΚΛΕΟ on drachms from group III (DIII) and ΣΙΛΗΝΟΣ on tetradrachms from group II (TII.B).

plausibly to have been because of the attribution to *IGCH* 175 of Parian silver[1332]. This Parian issue was disassociated from this hoard in the discussion of hoard evidence above. Lower dates that have been offered perhaps on stylistic grounds for the tetradrachms and drachms are equally no longer tenable[1333].

Commentary on individual issues

Tetradrachms[1334]

Three series of tetradrachms can be identified, two of which are connected by the shared iconography of the obverse, and by one moneyer attested in both: that the same moneyer is involved (if perhaps in successive terms) is suggested by the presence of specimens of both series in excellent condition in *IGCH* 210. These two connected series are thus combined as group II.A and B (TII.A and TII.B), and the specimens numbered sequentially, even though no overlap of die use between TII.A and TII.B was visible. Future specimens may yet shew this overlap, but there is some indication that they are chronologically sequential rather than contemporaneous.

[1332] DiI.A.1d, DiI.A.2f are dated *c* 250 by Hess 254 (1983) 189 and Hess 247 (1978) 149 respectively; DiII.B.18a and DiI.A.13b are dated to 250–230 by Aegean (1999) and Vinchon (2008) 49 respectively. Although no Parian didrachm has ever been attributed to this hoard, the existence of a common moneyer, ANAΞIK, and stylistic similarity may have encouraged this hypothesis.

[1333] Schefold dated TII.A.1a to 75, positing the existence of a statue dating to around 100 as its inspiration: Schefold 1943, 173. It is not entirely clear why he argued for so late a date; Löbbecke suggested the end of the third century in his discussion (Löbbecke 1898), and that was the date suggested for these specimens by the Naville XVI (3/7/1933) catalogue in which the *IGCH* 210 specimens (here: TII.A.1a; TII.B.5b; TII.B.5c) first appeared. TII.B.4a was still dated *c* 150 by the MFA web-site when this study was in progress in March 2011.
DIII.B12a was dated c 150 by MMAG 19 (1959) 45; DIII.B.8a was dated "mid-2nd - 1st centuries BC" by CNG Mail Bid 78 (2008) 748.

[1334] *Cf* the Christodoulos tetradrachm from dies 43A–B published by Moulakis. See Appendix 3. Modern Parian forgeries, 704.

First, die wear suggests that the single moneyer represented in TII.A and TII.B, ANAΞIK, minted towards the end of TII.A, and at the beginning of TII.B. In the case of TII.A, this evidence consists of increased die wear on O1 on TII.A.2a relative to TII.A.1a, especially a developing die break at the front of the fringe, and die wear above the ear[1335]; for TII.B, there seems to be increased wear on O2 from TII.B.3a [ANAΞIK], which is reasonably fresh, to TII.B.4b [APIΣTOΔHM], which is less fresh behind the ear, and to TII.B.5d [ΣIΛHNOΣ], which also has less detail in the hair.

Second, in addition to the change of reverse between TII.A and TII.B, the god's hair on the obverse is distinctly fuller on the single obverse in TII.A than on the three obverses represented in TII.B, and the trailing hair is differently rendered. This observation suggests two different engravers, or one engraver working on two occasions, although not necessarily a conscious effort on the part either of the issuer or of the engraver to distinguish the two issues.

Third, there is also perhaps more care over die orientation in TII.B than TII.A. All the specimens are approximately aligned, but all bar one of the eleven pieces in TII.B are aligned at 12h, whereas the three specimens of TII.A are aligned at 1h or 1h30[1336].

[1335] Because only one coin is involved, and it is difficult to distinguish the die wear and die break state on TII.A.1b (ΠEIΣIB) from those on TII.A.2a (ANAΞIK), it cannot be certain that ANAΞIK postdated ΠEIΣIB, rather than overlapping with ΠEIΣIB.

[1336] Die orientation is not, of course, an exact science: different scholars note different results depending on what precise alignment they take to be vertical, and according to the notation system they are using: the arrow-based system naturally divides into eight sub-divisions, the clock-based into twelve. Thus "1h" and "1h30" may on one level both imply the same situation: a rough attempt at alignment. Note, however, that the Christodoulos tetradrachm has an alignment of 6h, unlike any genuine specimen.

Two factors might argue against this order: first, that the two specimens of TII.A for which diameters are available are also among the largest of the series; implying a slightly broader, thinner flan; and that the weight of TII.A is slightly lower both as a group and in terms of the highest weight attested than TII.B. Both factors are, however, here marginal, given the small sample size of TII.A, and seem justifiably outweighed by the die analysis.

The order of moneyers implied by the wear on TII.O2 is confirmed by TII.O3: again, the specimens with APIΣTOΔHM, TII.B.R6, seem to have been produced last, because of loss of detail in the hair, and apparent recutting around the lips. Thus, unlike for the didrachms of group II [DiII], there is no clear evidence of simultaneous minting by multiple moneyers. All specimens, however, do seem reasonably fresh.

Tetradrachm group II is dated by the hoard evidence and the superb state of the coins found in them to the very late third century or early second century. There is no such evidence to date the single coin comprising tetradrachm group I (TI). Instead, the means have to be indirect. Here, the overlap of types with the didrachms is initially appealing: the veiled female head on the obverse is shared with DiI and DiIII, the goat on the reverse with both DiII and DiIII. Stylistically, however, the coin is unique: the veil and corn wreath are differently styled and more delicate than either DiI or DiIII, perhaps suggesting an earlier date; and the goat, particularly the v formed by the front legs, quite different from that on DiII and DiIII. There is also no sign of a dotted border as on DiIII. It is thus unlikely to be contemporaneous with any of these issues. A good stylistic parallel here may be the Ptolemaic specimens with an obverse

shewing Arsinoe II wearing a veil and stephane that were produced from the 270s to the 240s[1337]: the curve of the back of the veil, the fall of the veil over the eyes, and the shape of stephane and corn wreath are all similar. This does not imply Ptolemaic involvement in the minting of the specimen, but is purely a stylistic analogy to aid with chronology.

Moving beyond stylistic criteria, the weight standard and flan are not informative[1338], but the die axis, at 9h, is unusual given the care taken over die orientation elsewhere: all the other tetradrachms, didrachms, and drachms whose die orientation is known are at least approximately aligned, with the notable exception of the two ancient imitations noted, which are both aligned at 4h. This specimen could potentially be another ancient imitation, but its very uniqueness perhaps counts against this. From the stylistic analogy, the coin is perhaps best placed before the other tetradrachms, in the first half of the third century. Given this approximate stylistic date, it is thus tempting to identify the series this issue represents with the νάξια τέτραχμα referred to at *IG* XI.2 199.B.44 and elsewhere, and so to date the issue to the first quarter of that century[1339].

[1337] *Cf* Berlin SMK 18217867, 18200180, 18203063, *BMC Egypt* Arsinoe II 1–12, *SNG Copenhagen Egypt* 134–136, and, more generally, Svoronos 1904 408–519; for discussion of their date, see Troxell 1983, arguing against Svoronos' suggestion that the letter control-marks on certain obverses represented the year of an era.

[1338] At 14.92g, the weight of this specimen is low, but several specimens of TII.A and TII.B have lower weights, so this in itself is not enough to call the coin into question.

[1339] See 75–75 and 75n126, where it is argued that this issue could be the νάξια τέτραχμα referred to at *IG* XI.2 199.B.44 and elsewhere.

Table 56. Die axes of tetradrachm issues from the Hellenistic period

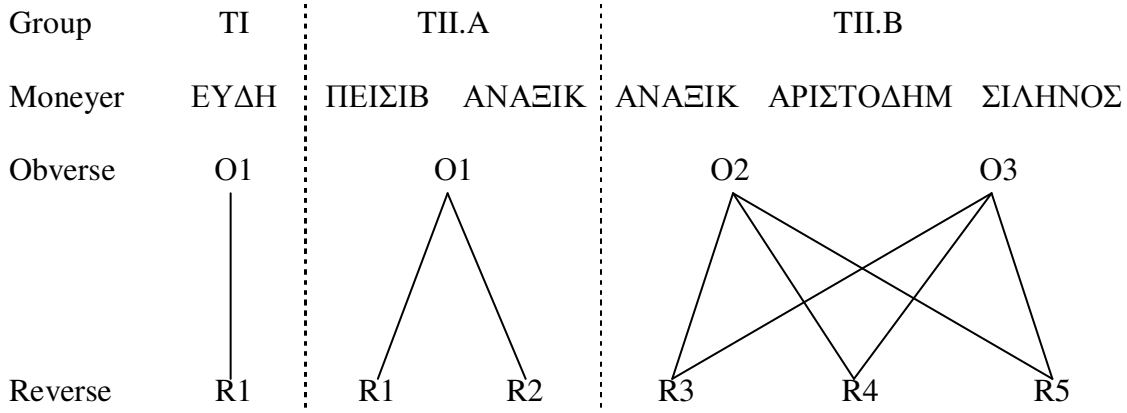
Die axis	n	12h	1h	1h30	6h	9h
TI	1	0	0	0	0	1
TII.A	3	0	2	1	0	0
TII.B[1340]	11	10	1	0	0	0
Christodoulos 5a[1341]	1	0	0	0	1	0

Table 57. Diameter of tetradrachm issues from the Hellenistic period

Diameter	n	Min	Max	Mean	Median	IQ Range
TI	1	28.0mm	28.0mm	-	-	-
TII.A	2	28.9mm	30.0mm	29.5mm	29.5mm	0.6mm
TII.B[1340]	12	25.0mm	29.6mm	27.8mm	28.0mm	1.7mm
Christodoulos 5a[1341]	1	26.0mm	26.0mm	-	-	-

Table 58. Weight of tetradrachm issues from the Hellenistic period

Weight[1342]	n	Min	Max	Mean	Median	IQ Range
TI	1	14.92g	14.92g	-	-	-
TII.A	3	14.43g	15.59g	15.13g	15.38g	0.58g
TII.B[1340]	14	14.68g	15.74g	15.38g	15.48g	0.51g
Christodoulos 5a[1341]	1	14.92g	14.92g	-	-	-



[1340] These calculations exclude TII.B.9, which is grossly underweight, but otherwise unexceptional, with a die axis of 12h, diameter of 27mm, but weight of 13.33g.

[1341] Christodoulos 5a is included for completeness; for details, see Appendix 3. Modern Parian forgeries, 704.

[1342] Chart: 715.

Didrachms

Two significant series of didrachms can be identified, one with a veiled female head on the obverse, and an ivy wreath on the reverse (group I [DiI]); the other with a female head with taenia on the obverse, and a goat standing right on the reverse (group I [DiII]). A single coin forms group III (DiIII), which pairs the veiled female head of DiI with the goat reverse of DiII using dies that are not otherwise attested.

Where the type of didrachm is specified in hoards (*IGCH* 210 and *IGCH* 226), both groups one and two are attested, such that hoard evidence cannot help order the issues. There is a marked difference in flan size, however, with group II (DiII) flans markedly larger, both on average, and in the largest and smallest recorded size. This observation suggests that group I (DiI) was produced earlier than group II (DiII), given the tendency for flans to become broader and flatter in this period. A date in the middle of the third century is perhaps suggested by connecting these veiled obverses with the broader phenomenon of veiled obverses at that time. The veil and corn wreath are, however, distinct from those of the group I tetradrachm, suggesting that the two issues are not directly contemporaneous: as the corn wreath here is more sparse and stylised, it is perhaps slightly later.

Without any hoard evidence, the sole specimen in group III (DiIII) is difficult to place. The style of the types is, moreover, markedly different from the equivalent obverse in DiI, and the reverse of DiII. Compared with the obverse of DiI, the veil is a different shape, the corn ear at the top of the wreath is more prominent, and there is much less hair in front of the veil between the ear and neck. The goat is much

shaggier than in any specimen of DiII (or that of TI). The flan also seems more irregular in shape than seems the case for the other Parian large denomination silver. This observation may point to it being an ancient imitation, perhaps even by the same hand as that which produced the reverse of the ancient imitations noted below: the shaggy nature of the goat is similar, and the two arms of the engraved Φ are similarly uneven[1343]. Given these oddities, the undiagnostic nature of the die axis, flan size, and weight, and the lack of any analogous development in the corn wreaths of the drachms, it seems unwise to pronounce strongly on this specimen. It is placed last because of its dubious authenticity, and the likelihood that, if it is genuine, it was produced later than the other two groups.[1344]

Table 59. Die axes of didrachm issues from the Hellenistic period

Die axis	**n**	**12h**	**1h**	**1h30**	**6h**
DiI	11	11	0	0	0
DiII	35	35	6	1	4
DiIII[1345]	1	1	0	0	0
Christodoulos 6a[1346]	0	-	-	-	-

[1343] Note, however, that the other ancient imitations have a much more regular flan shape than this specimen. Ancient imitations: for discussion of the various possible categories of official and unofficial production covered by this term, see van Alfen 2005. See Appendix 2. Ancient imitative coinage, 703 for details of ancient coinage imitative of the official coinage of Paros.

[1344] Judd 1966 describes a didrachm as "BMC 15 var." BMC 15 (here: DIIII.1a) is a drachm, not a didrachm. The *British Museum Catalogue* includes illustrated specimens of both didrachm group I and didrachm group II, so it is most plausible that this description is a slip (for BMC 11, 12, or 13, which are didrachms), but the possibility remains that he was deliberately indicating the existence of a different series with types more akin to BMC 15. Too many specimens are recorded with a weight similar to that recorded by Judd for his specimen (7.524g) for this weight alone to identify the specimen involved.

[1345] DiIII is included for completeness.

[1346] The Christodoulos specimen is included for completeness; for details, see Appendix 3. Modern Parian forgeries, 704.

Table 60. Diameter of didrachm issues from the Hellenistic period

Diameter	n	Min	Max	Mean	Median	IQ Range
DiI	16	20mm	22.8mm	21.4mm	21.3mm	0.85mm
DiII	50	21mm	25mm	22.9mm	23mm	1.30mm
DiIII[1345]	1	23.1mm	23.1mm	-	-	-
Christodoulos 6a[1346]	1	24mm	24mm	-	-	-

Table 61. Weight of didrachm issues from the Hellenistic period

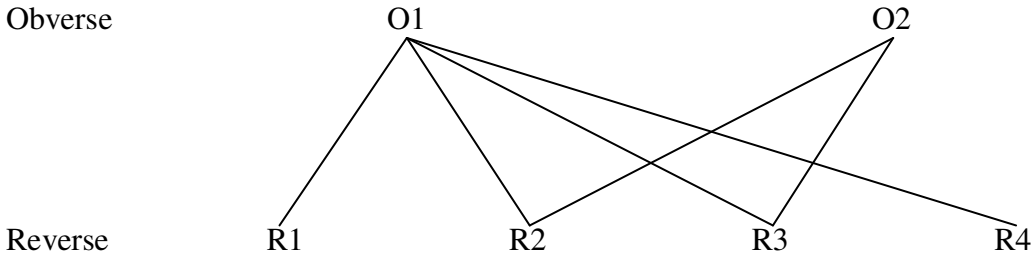
Weight[1347]	n	Min	Max	Mean	Median	IQ Range
DiI	17	6.24g	7.83g	7.36g	7.44g	0.40g
DiII	69	6.49g	7.82g	7.46g	7.60g	0.36g
DiIII[1345]	1	7.45g	7.45g	-	-	-
Christodoulos 6a[1346]	1	7.45g	7.45g	-	-	-

Group I (DiI)

DiI.R1 and DiI.R2 are very similar: the tip of the topmost leaf on the right is straight on DiI.R2, it curls down on DiI.R1, and several leaves, for example the second leaf from the top on the left, are markedly different shapes, but the central legend is identical. It is thus tempting to argue that R2 represents a later state of the die: there is a clear die break by A on both well-preserved specimens of this reverse. Die wear on the shared obverse of the well-preserved coins, however, argues against this, as the wear pattern seems to be: DiI.1a, DiI.2a, DiI.2b, DiI.1b. Thus, two dies produced by the same engraver were here simultaneously in use, not one.

DiI.R1–R3 all have eight leaves inside the wreath, four above the legend ΠAPI, four beneath. The last reverse in the die wear sequence, however, DiII.R4, has fewer leaves: four above the legend ΠAPI, two beneath. This observation is also the basis for the order of DII below where no such die link assists.

[1347] Chart: 715.



Group II (DiII)

The die analysis revealed two groups of moneyers with coins connected by die-links, one of four moneyers, and one of two moneyers, plus two moneyers represented by only a single specimen.

Though necessarily provisional, especially for the moneyers represented only by a single piece, this division seems in keeping with a meaningful stylistic division. Thus, the obverses of the larger cluster, DiII.A below, have the hair of the female bound by a single-banded taenia, and no trace of any necklace visible on the neck; by contrast, the hair on the smaller cluster obverses, DiII.B below, is bound by a double-banded taenia, and traces of a necklace are visible. It is not possible to be sure whether the single specimen representing DiII.C has a necklace or not, as the coin is too damaged. The hair, however, is similar to DiII.B, but the taenia different, with two strands in part, one in others. Finally, DiII.D has a single taenia but longer, thin, uniform flowing hair. Thus, the following analysis seems plausible.

Table 62. Stylistic change in didrachm issues from the Hellenistic period

Group	Obverse	Taenia	Necklace	Ear fringe	Ear shape	Moneyer
DiII.A	O1/O2	Single	No	Thick, Curling	Bow-shaped	ΤΕΙΣΗΝ ΑΝΑΞΙΚ
DiII.A	O3/O4/O5	Single	No	Medium, Sweeping	'v'-shaped	ΑΝΑΞΙΚ ΠΡΑΞΟΣ
DiII.A	O6/O7	Single, bowed	No	Medium, curving	lower half only visible	ΠΡΑΞΟΣ ΤΙΜΕΣΙΛ
DiII.B	O8	Double	Yes	Thin, straight	lower half only visible	ΚΤΗΣ(Ι) ΑΚΟΥ
DiII.C	O9	Mixed	?	Thin, straight	lower half only visible	ΤΙΝΑ
DiII.D	O10	Single	No	Thin, long uniform	Covered	ΑΡΙΣΤΙ[?][1348]

This division assumes that the obverses of Weber 4694 (DiII.A.8e) and Weber 4695 (DiII.B.21c) were reversed on the plates during publication; this is clear from the later history of these coins, and is important because Weber 4694 would otherwise provide the only die-link between DiII.A and DiII.B.

These two sub-series also clearly represent different minting events. First, the die axes for DiII.A all approximate to 12h, whereas those for DiII.B are evenly split between 12h and 6h. Second, there seems to be less care over die orientation in DiII.A, where the axis varies from 12h to 1h30, than in DiII.B, where the axis is either 12h or 6h[1349]. The slight decrease in mean and median weight between DiII.A and DiII.B, and the greater care over die axes observable in DiII.B may perhaps also suggest that, of these two groups, DiII.B was produced second.

[1348] There is a clear downstroke forming part of the sixth letter of moneyer's name, thus excluding ΑΡΙΣΤΟ (potentially short for ΑΡΙΣΤΟΔΗΜ).

[1349] This may be compared with the progression between TII.A and TII.B noted above, where greater care in die axis is seen in TII.B.

Table 63. Die axes of didrachm issues from the Hellenistic period

Die axis	n	12h	1h	1h30	6h
DiII.A	27	20	6	1	0
DiII.B	6	3	0	0	3
DiII.C[1350]	1	1	0	0	0
DiII.D[1350]	1	0	0	0	1

Table 64. Diameter of didrachm issues from the Hellenistic period

Diameter	n	Min	Max	Mean	Median	IQ Range
DiII.A	40	21mm	25mm	22.8mm	23mm	1.00mm
DiII.B	6	21mm	24mm	22.8mm	22.95mm	1.19mm
DiII.C[1350]	1	25mm	25mm	-	-	-
DiII.D[1350]	1	23.4mm	23.4mm	-	-	-

Table 65. Weight of didrachm issues from the Hellenistic period

Weight[1351]	n	Min	Max	Mean	Median	IQ Range
DiII.A	56	6.49g	7.82g	7.48g	7.62g	0.35g
DiII.B	11	7.03g	7.73g	7.45g	7.47g	0.33g
DiII.C[1350]	1	7.20g	7.20g	-	-	-
DiII.D[1350]	1	6.99	6.99g	-	-	-

Most important, however, are the change in inscriptional practice, and sharp contrast in die use visible between the two series: first, where DiII.A shews die linking between multiple obverses and multiple reverses, DiII.B is composed of but one obverse, which was used repeatedly with seven different reverses[1352]. Second, none of the fifty four specimens from seven obverses and eleven reverses that constitute DiII.A reveals great die wear; whereas the single obverse in DiII.B was used

[1350] DiII.C and DiII.D are included here for comparison. That the flan size of DiII.C is so large might perhaps argue for its placement prior to DiII.B if a significant trend in flan size were overall seen. As it is, however, the stylistic progression involved in the sequence DiII.B, DiII.C, DiII.D seems more coherent.

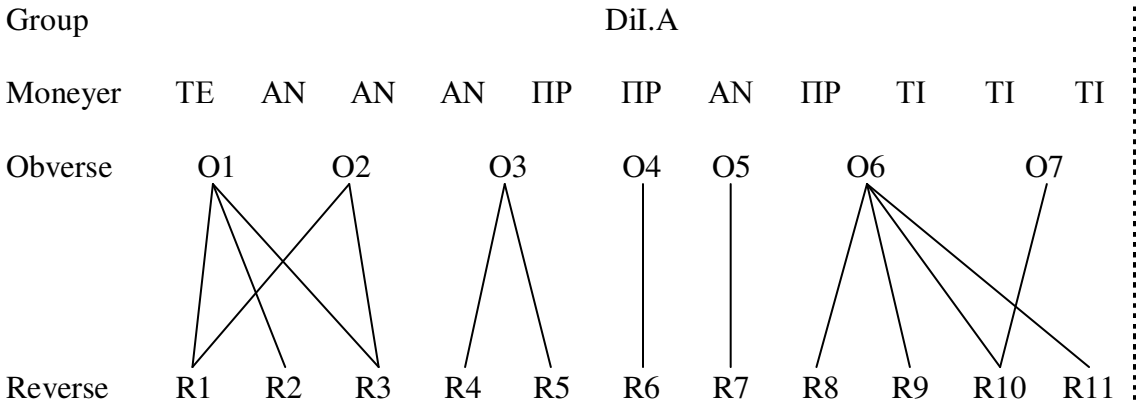
[1351] Charts: 715–716.

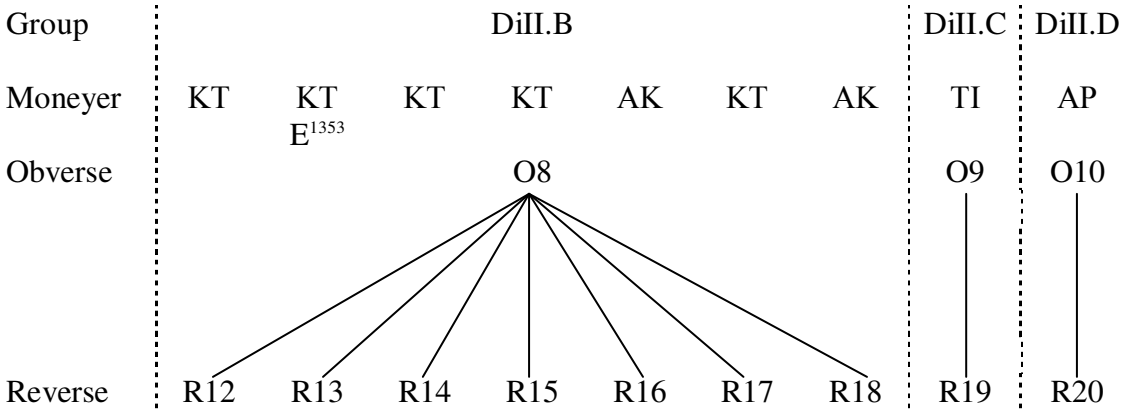
[1352] For an almost contemporary parallel from Termessus, see McIntyre 2006, especially his conclusion (30): "[t]he use of a single obverse die repeatedly re-cut and employed with a variety of reverse dies suggests a short-lived and perhaps hasty operation. Its purpose is unclear, but one might speculate that it was in response to a levy laid upon the cities of the area, including those in Pamphylia, to support the military campaigns of Antiochos III".

almost to exhaustion, with several events of recutting visible, particularly around the eye on the obverse.

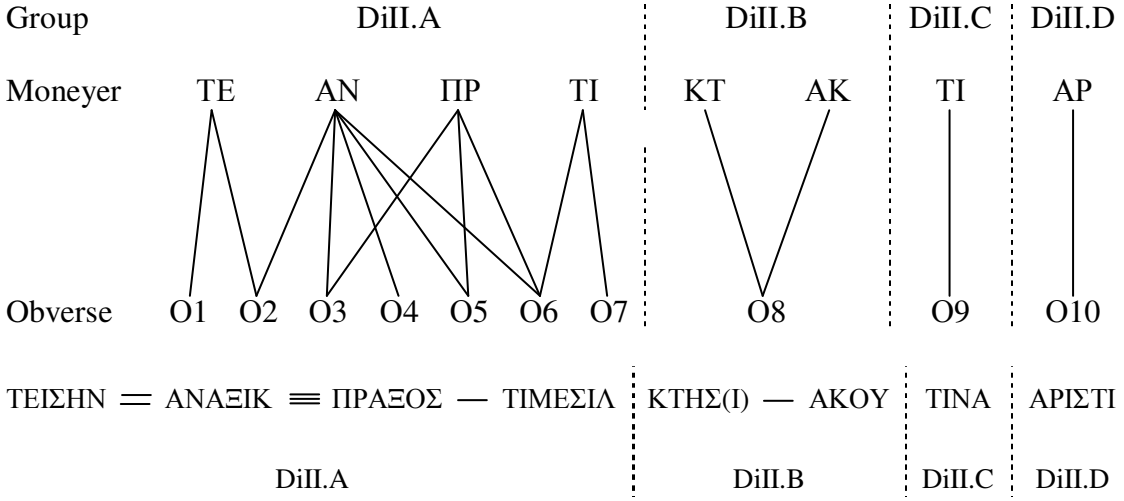
On its own, the exhaustion of the die used for DiII.B might suggest an 'emergency' issue, when there was an unexpected sudden need for funds, such as might be involved in a war or raid by pirates. The continued and even increased care taken over die orientation, however, argues against this conclusion.

The die links attested among the group II didrachms (DiII) can be represented as follows.





Key: TE: ΤΕΙΣΗΝ; AN: ΑΝΑΞΙΚ; ΠΡ: ΠΡΑΞΟΣ; TI: ΤΙΜΕΣΙΛ; KT: ΚΤΗΣ(Ι); AK: ΑΚΟΥ; TI: ΤΙΝΑ; AP: ΑΡΙΣΤΙ



That the above progression is the correct order, not the reverse, is suggested by the change in letter forms through the series: first, the drilling of hasta-ends becomes in general more prominent from DiII.A to DiII.B. Second, the arrangement of the Π changes: the horizontal hasta on the Π on the DiII.A reverses does not extend behind the first vertical and either does not extend beyond the second vertical, or only very slightly extends; on DiII.B, however, the extension is significant on both sides. Both

[1353] This reverse is the only specimen in this series with a mint-mark. It was perhaps carved erroneously by analogy with the contemporaneous group III drachms; those minted by KTH, presumably the same moneyer, have mint-mark EY (DIII.10, DIII.14); others have mint-mark E (DIII.8, DIII.12, DIII.13).

of these observations are known chronological markers, and point to DiII.B as the later group.

This analysis may also be developed: DiII.A.R1 to R3 (ΤΕΙΣΗΝ, ΑΝΑΞΙΚ, ΑΝΑΞΙΚ) at most hint at an extension of the vertical hasta beyond the second vertical, DiII.A.R4–R9 (ΑΝΑΞΙΚ, ΠΡΑΞΟΣ, ΤΙΜΕΣΙΛ) have a clear short horizontal extension beyond the second vertical; DiiII.A.R10–R11 (ΤΙΜΕΣΙΛ) an additional short extension behind the first vertical; and DiII.B.R12–17 (ΚΤΗΣ(Ι), ΑΚΟΥ) have significant extensions on both sides of the verticals. Such a fine analysis might occasionally not carry much weight because of possible distortions introduced by change of epigraphic hand; in this case, however, given the evidence from die-linking, it seems plausible to argue that this shift does here also reflect order of production.

The tightly die-linked nature of DiII.A, and the exhaustion of DiII.B are important in suggesting that DiII.C and DiII.D must represent at least one additional minting event. That this event was later is suggested by the serifs and the broken-bar alphas on the legend on the reverse: the serifs are perhaps still more developed than DiII.B, while the broken-bar alpha is only found on the reverse of DiII.B which was used last by die-wear[1354]. That DiII.C and DiII.D represent separate events is suggested by the striking difference in the style of the types: beyond the arrangement of the hair on the obverse, DiII.D has a dotted border, DiII.C none. As with TI and DiIII, it cannot be

[1354] Letter size is not diagnostic: the three dies of ΤΙΜΕΣΙΛ (R9, R10, R11) were all used with O6, but R10 and R11 (used on DiII.A.14, DiII.A.15, DiII.A.16) has large legend letters, R9 (used for DiI.A.13) much smaller letters.

certain that they are official products of the Paros mint. Either or both might also be a modern forgery: Christodoulos 6a attests to his interest in this series.

Given how few specimens there are of particular dies, evidence from die wear is necessarily provisional, and cannot, in most cases, confirm whether individual dies were used sequentially or at the same time. The existence of a die-box is, however, clear: the degeneration of the T and E of the moneyer's name on DiII.A4a indicates that it was produced after the freshest specimens using R1 (DiII.A1c, DiII.A1d), but before others (DiII.A1f). Equally, it is certain that multiple moneyers must have held office at the same time, or else successively in rotation: the obverse O3 below is clearly more worn on the single specimen representing DiII.A.7 (DiII.A.7a: ΠΡΑΞΟΣ) than on the two from DiII.A.6 (ΑΝΑΞΙΚ), but the converse applies for O4 and O5: for these dies, the freshest specimens are paired with reverses of moneyer ΠΡΑΞΟΣ (DiII.A8a and DiII.A10a respectively), not of ΑΝΑΞΙΚ (DiII.A9a and DiII.A11a).

DiII.A.12, DiII.A.13, DiII.A.15, and DiII.A.17 are arranged in order of increasing wear of the freshest specimen of their common obverse O8. The clarity of the curls behind the ear on the two specimens of TiI.A.12, with moneyer ΠΡΑΞΟΣ, suggests these specimens were minted first. The other groups are too small, and possess coins too worn for it to be clear whether they were minted sequentially, or dies were reused. TiI.A.14 is placed before TiI.A.15 because the die wear on reverse R10 indicates that the single specimen TiI.A.14a with O7 was minted at least before TiI.A.15b, where

the Π on the inscription reveals clear die degeneration. The difference in wear between TiI.A.15a and TiI.A.14a is difficult to discern.

The freshest specimen of O8 is DiII.B.17a with moneyer KTHΣI, not AKOY. O8 was slightly recut in the taenia between the minting of DiII.B.17 and subsequent groups; again around the ear before DiII.B.21; and round the eye before DiII.B.23. This sequence proves that moneyers KTHΣI and AKOY minted simultaneously, as both magistrates are attested as minting with the heavily recut version of O8 seen in DiII.B.23 and DiII.B.24 with R17 (KTHΣI) and R18 (AKOY). R16 and R18 are very similar, differing slightly in their inscription and the horns; R18 may thus represent a significantly recut later use of that R16; more probable is that the same die engraver carved both dies.

Drachms

Four distinct series of drachms can be identified from the differing style of the reverses. A combination of hoard evidence, stylistic analysis and letter forms suggests the order discussed below, with Group II dating perhaps to the mid or late third century, Group III to the early second century, and Group IIII perhaps to the middle or the end of the second century.[1355]

It is difficult to identify the rationale behind the mint-marks visible on some of the later group III drachms and the group IIII specimens: their use to identify individual dies is excluded by the use of Θ on both attested reverse dies of group IIII; mint-marks

[1355] As Group I dates to the fourth century, it was discussed above with the other issues from that period.

E and Θ could represent years of an era, but this conclusion cannot explain mark EY, which should be chronologically close to year E.

Table 66. Die axes of drachm issues from the Hellenistic period[1356]

Die axis	n	12h	1h	6h	7h	11h
DI	7	6	1	0	0	0
DII	3	2	0	0	0	1
DIII.A	2	0	2	0	0	0
DIII.B	8	6	1	1	0	0
DIIII	7	1	0	5	1	0

Table 67. Diameter of drachm issues from the Hellenistic period [1356]

Diameter	n	Min	Max	Mean	Median	IQ Range
DI	6	16mm	17.5mm	16.92mm	17.25mm	0.97mm
DII	3	17mm	18.8mm	17.9mm	18mm	0.89mm
DIII.A	4	17.9mm	20mm	18.6mm	18.2mm	1.33mm
DIII.B	10	17mm	20.9mm	19.2mm	19.1mm	1.17mm
DIIII	6	15.9mm	17mm	16.35mm	16.1mm	0.75mm

Table 68. Weight of drachm issues from the Hellenistic period [1356]

Weight	n	Min	Max	Mean	Median	IQ Range
DI	8	2.42g	3.83g	3.31g	3.52g	0.58g
DII	4	3.11g	3.80g	3.61g	3.77g	0.18g
DIII.A	4	3.20g	3.79g	3.53g	3.56g	0.46g
DIII.B	17	3.12g	3.93g	3.65g	3.75g	0.30g
DIIII	8	2.94g	3.38g	3.28g	3.33g	0.07g

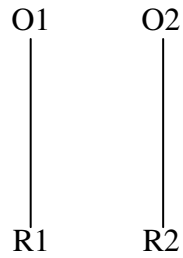
Group II (DII)

Both the inscription and ivy wreath on group II are stylistically very similar to those on group I of the didrachms, suggesting they are contemporaneous.

The ivy wreaths also share a characteristic shift of leaf arrangement: DiI.R1–R3 all have eight leaves inside the wreath, four above the legend ΠAPI, four beneath, but the last in the die sequence, DiI.R4, only has six leaves inside the wreath: four above the

[1356] Group I Drachms from the classical period (DI) are included here for completeness, and for purposes of comparison.

legend ΠAPI, two beneath. So too, DIII.R1 has eight leaves inside the ivy wreath, four above the legend ΠAPI, four below, but DIII.R2, has only six: four above, and two beneath ΠAPI.



Group III (DIII)

The letter forms on this issue are clearly later than the letter forms in drachm group I and drachm group II, with some drilling, broken-bar A, and extended hastae on the Π. The 'spread' nature of these flans suggests a comparison with the letter forms of Cos *c* 170, moreover, and suggests that DIII, and with it DiII, were produced in the early second century, not the late third century.

On the assumption that the abbreviations ΤΕΙΣΗ (DIII.A.R1), ΚΤΗ (DIII.B.R6, DIII.B.R9) and ΑΚΟΥ (DIII.B.R7) refer to the same moneyers as ΤΕΙΣΗΝ, ΚΤΗΣ(Ι) and ΑΚΟΥ on DiII, these two issues can be considered contemporaneous, with ΤΕΙΣΗ again falling earlier in the relative sequence than ΚΤΗ and ΑΚΟΥ. This observation is supported by the evidence from letter forms: the three reverses here categorised as DIII.A (DIII.A.R1–DIII.A.R3 [ΤΕΙΣΗ, ΑΝΤΙΛ]) have only small protrusions of the horizontal Π hasta beyond the second vertical, and minimal drilling of hasta-ends. Subsequent reverses here placed in DIII.B (DIII.B.R4–DIII.B.R12) all shew a Π with horizontal hasta extending beyond both vertical hastae, and significant drilling.

Stylistic considerations confirm this order, and suggest a more detailed order for die use. The primary stylistic criterion on the obverse is the varying curl of the corn wreath and hair: DIII.A.O1–O3 have a short rounding curl; DIII.B.O4–O7, just a

shallow inflection in the direction of the hair curl; but DIII.B.O8–O9, a boxier angled base to the hair. In each case, each cluster could reflect the work of a single engraver or die carving event.

The criteria on the reverse are three-fold: the drilling noted above, a change in inscriptional practice, and the shape and size of the leaves on the wreath[1357]. DIII.A.R1–R3 and DIII.B.R4–R6 only display ΠAPI and an abbreviated reference to the moneyer. By contrast, with the exception of DIII.R13, all the reverses associated with DIII.O9–O11 have an additional mintmark on the reverse: E, or EY. Again, the E here can be compared to the E mint-mark on DiII.19, where the moneyer is KTHΣI, supporting the identification of KTH and KTHΣI.

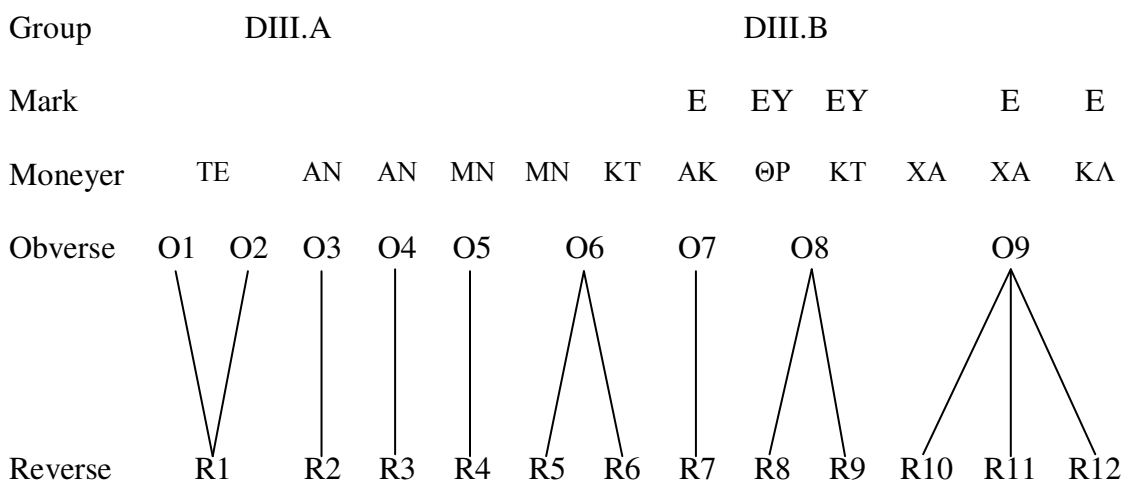
The leaves on the inside of the wreath on DIII.R1 have tips that are long and often curling, creating a heart-shape; those on the inside of DIII.R2–3 are similar, but slightly fatter in profile; those on the inside of DIII.R4–R6 are mostly more bulbous, with only small curled tips, resulting in a rounder leaf; and those on DIII.R7–R12 have shorter tips, resulting in a more triangular or arrow shape.

These observations may be illustrated as follows, where each cluster plausibly reflects the work of a single engraver or die carving event.

[1357] DIII.A.R1–R2 and DIII.B.R7 clearly have a straight-bar alpha, DIII.B.R8 and DIII.B.R13 a broken-bar alpha. The drilling or quality of plate makes identification difficult in other cases.

Table 69. Stylistic change in drachm issues from the Hellenistic period

Reverse	Drilling	Π shape	Leaf Tip	Leaf Shape	Mint-mark	Moneyer
R1/R2/ R3	yes	short hasta	Long, curling	Heart	None	ΤΕΙΣΗ ΑΝΤΙΛ
R4/R5/ R6	yes	short hasta	Short, curling	Round	None	ΜΝΑ ΚΤΗ
R7/R8/ R9/R10/R 11	yes	extended	Single, bowed	Arrow	E/EY [R10: none]	ΑΚΟΥ ΚΤΗ ΘΡΑ ΧΑΙΡΙ ΚΛΕΟ



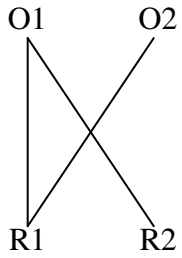
Key: TE: ΤΕΙΣΗ; AN: ΑΝΤΙΛ; MN: ΜΝΑ; KT: ΚΤΗ;
AK: ΑΚΟΥ; ΘP: ΘΡΑ; X: ΧΑΙΡΙ; ΚΛ: ΚΛΕΟ.

It is remarkable that DIII.8, the group with moneyer AKOY, seems stylistically to fall between DIII.B.7 and DIII.B.10, the two groups with KTH reverses, with the obverse die of DIII.8 (DIII.O7) stylistically closer to that of DIII.7 (DIII.O6), and its reverse stylistically closer to that of group DIII.10 (DIII.R9). This observation confirms the close relationship seen between these two moneyers in analysis of the didrachms, where they shared a single obverse die. It is also important because DIII.10 (moneyer: KTH) represents a secondary use of obverse DIII.O8, after DIII.9 (moneyer: ΘPA): despite the greater wear of specimen DIII.9a, there seems to be

extra detail surviving around the corn ear than on DIII.10a. One plausible explanation for this phenomenon is that three moneyers were simultaneously responsible for minting on Paros, at least at this time. Alternatively, this observation may represent successive episodes of minting by KTH.

Group IIII (DIIII)

Stylistically, these silver issues appear to be the latest. This judgement is supported by the weight standard they exhibit, which is different from those of the other issues, and by the far greater drilling on the legend.



The wear on the reverse of single specimen of DIIII.2 (R2) suggests that DIIII.O2 was used after DIIII.O1. Each pair of dies, R1 and R2, and O1 and O2, was, however, plausibly cut by the same engraver. Although O1 and O2 are stylistically very similar, the different position of the earring, and the placement of the nose relative to the chin and eye make it implausible that O2 is a recut version of O1.

Letter forms also suggest that at least the earliest issues of group III (DIII.A) should predate group IIII. Considerations from letter forms alone might allow that DIII.B and DIIII could overlap, and that two different weight standards could have been in use at the same time for different purposes: the situation on Rhodes at the turn of the third to second century, where Attic weight coinage, full Rhodian-weight didrachms, and reduced Rhodian-weight drachms were all produced seemingly simultaneously, is perhaps the clearest example of such activity. The formal identity of types between

DIII.B and DIIII, however, argue against this for Paros: it is unlikely that two series with identical types, - a female with corn wreath facing right on the obverse, an ivy wreath on the reverse, - should have been produced at the same time. Instead, the similarity of letter form may suggest proximity of date.

No comparandum for the weight standard envisaged in this issue is immediately available: at *c* 3.4g, they are too heavy to be considered drachms produced on the full Rhodian standard of 3.36g. This conclusion is also unlikely because Rhodes ceased producing drachms on this standard after *c* 220, instead minting at *c* 2.8g until the introduction of her plinthophoric coinage *c* 190[1358]. Instead, it is perhaps best envisaged as internal decay of the pre-existing weight standard at Paros. This small coinage is thus important in suggesting that we do not simply lose track of the economic situation on the island; instead, we see the closure of an era in the economic life of the island. The similarity of letter forms with group III may thus suggest that this closure occurred still in the second century. By analogy with the late drachms produced on Naxos, these may be dated to the end of the second century[1359].

[1358] Ashton 2001; a slightly earlier date for the introduction of *plinthophori*, perhaps *c* 195, is suggested by Meadows 2009.
[1359] See 69–71.

Appendix 1. Catalogue

The following catalogue lists the Hellenistic coins of Paros identified in the course of this study. Most archival work was undertaken in the summer of 2010 at the American Numismatic Society, and at the BCD library in Athens; subsequent publications are cited where known. In keeping with the broad chronological division suggested above, these specimens are divided into two chronological groups: the classical period issues, comprising the hemidrachms and diobols and the first issue of drachms (DI); and the Hellenistic period issues, comprising the larger denominations, except for the first issue of drachms (DI). Within these groups, the specimens are listed by denomination, and then in chronological order.

For each specimen, information about the physical state of the coin is given first, followed by its current inventory number, where this is known. Finally, the known provenance and publication history of the specimen is given in chronological order. Where publications and collection records include additional information about the prior or subsequent auction and collection history of a specimen that is not otherwise attested, this is included in the appropriate place in the chronological sequence (usually the start) in italics, and the source of the information given in round brackets.

The following format is used for auction catalogue entries: the number immediately after the name of the auction house is the number of the catalogue, where given; the date included is the first day of the auction in which the coin appeared, where known, not that of the sale itself; and the number after the date is the number of

the coin in the catalogue. After this is given any other distinguishing information, such as the fact that the coin was sold as part of a larger lot; that only the reverse was illustrated; or the immediate provenance of the coin. Where the immediate provenance of the coin is stated in the auction catalogue, this is included in round brackets after the coin number; where this is not stated but the provenance is known, this is included in square brackets after the coin number.

MMAG *76* (19/9/1991) *775* (lot) [Boutin]

Auction House name (abbreviated) *Auction number* Auction date *Coin number* other information [provenance not in catalogue]

Where a coin has been published on multiple occasions, the weight, diameter and die axis from the most recent publication are cited unless they could be personally verified. Die axes have been silently regularised, but the intended value of the author has been respected: thus 1h and 30° are both represented as 1h; 1h30, 45° and ↗ are all represented as 1h30. Where possible, diameters are given to one decimal place, weights to two decimal places; where there is less precision, this reduced precision reflects the information given in the catalogue.

The following abbreviations are used in this catalogue[1360].

Collections

Alpha Bank: Alpha Bank, Athens

ANS: American Numismatic Society

[1360] Not all collections and auction series reviewed are included, but only those with relevant specimens. A complete list is available from the author on request. Note in particular, however, that no silver specimen was identified in the collection at Vienna.

Athens: Numismatic Museum, Athens

Berlin: Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin - Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz

BM: British Museum, London

Cambridge: Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge, Cambridge

Goulandris: Nicholas P Goulandris Foundation Museum of Cycladic Art, Athens

Harvard: Harvard Art Museum, Arthur M. Sackler Museum

Manchester: The Manchester Museum, University of Manchester

MFA: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Oxford: Heberden Coin Room, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, Oxford

Paris: Cabinet des Médailles, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris

Auction Houses

AAG: Auctiones SA, Basel

Afinsa: Afinsa Auctions, Madrid

Apparuti: G Apparuti, Modena

Aufhäuser: Bankhaus H Aufhäuser, Munich

Berk: Harlan J Berk, Ltd, Chicago, IL

Bourgey: Bourgey Numismatique, Paris

Braunschweiger: Braunschweiger Münzverkehr, Hanover

Cahn: Adolph E Cahn, Frankfurt am Main

Cederlind: Tom Cederlind, Portland, OR

CNG: Classical Numismatic Group, Lancaster, PA

Crédit Suisse: Schweizerische Kreditanstalt/Crédit Suisse, Bern

Dorotheum: Dorotheum, Vienna

Egger: Brüder Egger, Vienna

Elsen: J Elsen, Brussels

Feuardent: Feuardent Frères, Paris

Glendining: Glendining & Co, London

GM: Giessener Münzhandlung; Gorny and Mosch, Giessener Münzhandlung

Hamburger: Leo Hamburger; Frankfurt am Main

Helbing: Otto Helbing Nachfolger, Munich

Hess: Adolph Hess AG, Luzern; Hess-Divo AG, Zurich

Hirsch: Jacob Hirsch, Munich; Gerhard Hirsch Nachfolger, Munich

Hoffmann: M H Hoffmann, Paris

Kricheldorf: H H Kricheldorf, Stuttgart

Künker: Fritz Rudolf Künker GmbH & Co KG, Osnabrück

Lanz: Lanz Numismatik, Munich

Leu: Bank Leu; Leu Numismatik AG; LHS Numismatik

Malter: Joel L Malter & Company, Inc, Los Angeles, CA

MMAG: Münzen und Medaillen AG, Basel

MMD: Münzen und Medaillen Deutschland, GmbH, Weil am Rhein

Myers: Robert J Myers, New York, NY

NAC: Numismatica Ars Classica, Zurich

Naville: Naville Ars Classica, Geneva

Platt: Clement Platt, Paris

Peus: Busso Peus Nachfolger, Frankfurt am Main

Ratto: Rudolfo Ratto, Lugano

Rauch: H D Rauch, GmbH, Vienna

Rollin: Rollin, Paris

Rosenberg: Sally Rosenberg, Frankfurt am Main

Schulman: J Schulman, Amsterdam

Spink: Spink, London

Sternberg: Frank Sternberg, Zurich

Sotheby: Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge, London; Sotheby's, London

SBV: Schweizerischer Bankverein, Zurich

Tkalec: Münzauktion Tkalec & Rauch, Vienna

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The classical period

Drachms

Group I (DI)

Obverse: Head of female with corn wreath (Demeter?) to left; dotted border.
Reverse: Ivy wreath, with clusters of berries above; inside ΠΑΡ.

1	O1/R1	ΠΑΡ		
a*	17.2mm	3.84g	12h	Athens NM Kindynis
b	17.4mm	3.64g	12h	Athens NM Empedocles
c	?	2.79g	12h	Maurokordatou (1912) 2304; *SNG VIII Blackburn* 940[1361]
d	16.1mm	2.42g	1h	Goulandris EA71 Oeconomidou (1999) 79[1362]

[1361] The weight of Maurokordatou (1912) 2304 is stated as 2.63g. Nevertheless, the damage to the reverse, particularly the notch to the flan at *c* 9h, seems to confirm that these are the same specimen.
[1362] The legend is noted as ΠΑΡΙ, but the plate confirms that the same coin is in question.

e	?	3.42g	?	Reynaud 520
2	O1/R2	ΠΑΡ		
a*	17.3mm	3.14g	12h	Athens NM Artemis 278/2004 Touratsoglou/Tsourti 122
b	17.5mm	3.64g	12h	Berlin SMK Kassel 1925 3.64g
c	16mm	3.62g	12h	Munich
3	O?/R?			
a	?	?	?	Vatican[1363]

Hemidrachms

Group I (HI)

Obverse: Goat walking right on baseline; O3: inscription on front foreleg.
Reverse: Corn ear, Π-A either side of ear.

1	O1/R1			
a*	15mm	1.65g	?	Ratto (8/2/1928) 537
2	O1/R2			
a	11mm	1.99g	12h	*Lambros 1898* (*SNG Copenhagen*); *SNG Copenhagen* 718
b	12mm	1.91g	?	Hirsch 25 (29/11/1909) 1590 (Philipsen)
c	13mm	1.89g	1h	Cambridge CM.MC.7275–R

[1363] The comparandum for this specimen is *SNG Copenhagen* 721 (DIII.2b), but with head facing left. As DI forms the only issue of drachms with a left-facing head, and the overall typology of DI and DIIII is very similar (head of goddess on obverse/ivy wreath on reverse), this specimen is plausibly DI.

				Hirsch 21 (16/11/1908) 2234 (Weber I); McClean (1926) 7275
d	12.2mm	1.85g	12h	BM 1851,0503.224 BMC Paros (1866) 113:4
e*	13.6mm	1.84g	11h	Berlin SMK 1902/569
f	13.3mm	1.84g	12h	BM 1949,0411.703 (Mavrogordato bequest) Maurokordatou (1912) 2305
g	11mm	1.76g	12h	*SNG Lockett* 2627; Glendining (27/5/1959) 2095 (lot) (Lockett); MMAG 76 (19/9/1991) 775 (lot) [Boutin]; MMD 9 (4/10/2001) 220; CNG Mail Bid 60 (22/5/2002) 608
h	12mm	1.68g	?	CNG Mail Bid 60 (22/5/2002) 609
i	11.2mm	1.66g	1h	Paris FG 332 Babelon (1901) 1335, pl XL:31
3	O2/R3			
a*	14.5mm	2.05g	12h	Paris FG 333 Babelon (1901) 1333, pl XL:29
b	14.0mm	1.96g	9h	obverse and reverse double-struck Athens NM Empedocles *Macridi Pacha 1897* (Weber); Weber (1924) 4693
c	12.5mm	1.95g	2h	BM BNK,G.381

Acquired by Bank of England pre-1865 (BM); *donation to British Museum 1877* (BM); BMC Paros (1866) 113:3, pl XXVI:2

4	O3/R4	MNH		
a*	12.1mm	1.85g	2h	Paris FG 334 Babelon (1901) 1334, pl XL:30
b	12.5mm	1.80g	2h	Berlin SMK Imhoof-Blumer 1900 1.80g
5	O?/R?			
b	?	?	?	Hoffmann (19/05/1890) 1402 (Photiades Pacha)

Group II (HII)

Obverse: Goat walking right on baseline; above, inscription
Reverse: Corn wreath of two corn-stalks with ears

1	O1/R1	ΠΑΡ		
a*	13mm	1.85g	11h	BM 1875,506.19 *Rev Greville John Chester* (BM); BMC Paros (1866) 113:5, pl XXVI:3; Babelon (1901) 1336, pl XL:32
b	13mm	1.50g	6h	Munich
2	O2/R2	ΠΑ		

a*	12.5mm	1.68g	1h	Berlin SMK Imhoof-Blumer 1900 1.68g
b	13.3mm	1.72g	12h	BM 1922,1020.165 (Weber)
				Gen Moore 1889 335 (Weber); Weber (1924) 4692
c	12.5mm	1.73g	2h	Berlin SMK 28850 1.73g
d	13mm	1.62g	?	Hirsch 25 (29/11/1909) 1591 (Philipsen); Lanz 151 (30/6/2011) 150 (Diez)
e	13mm	1.38g	6h	Munich

3 O2/R3 ΠA

a*	13.1mm	1.66g	10h	Berlin SMK Löbbecke 1906 1.66g

Diobols

Group I (DiOI)

Obverse: Goat walking right on baseline
Reverse: Round incuse divided into four by a thin raised cross
1 O1/R1

a*	13.6	1.21g	N/A	Paris FG 330

Group II (DiOII)

Obverse: Goat lying left on baseline, with head turned to right; underneath, ΠA or ΠAP; dotted border.
Reverse: Two goats' heads butting. Inscription underneath [R2].
1 O1/R1 ΠAP

a*	11.3	1.22g	1h	Berlin SMK 1902/570
b	10.9	1.22g	12h	Winterthur 2313

c	10.5	1.28g	?	MMAG 76 (19/9/1991) 776 [Boutin]
d	10.6	1.30g	12h	Athens NM 60/4792

2	O2/R2	ΠΑΡ[?] ΜΕ		
a*	10.4	1.16g	4h	BM 1898,0503.32 (Lambros)[1364]

3	O3/R3	ΠΑΡ		
a*	11	1.13g	12h	ANS 1944.100.27931

4	O4/R4	ΠΑ		
a*	11.2	1.21g	1h	Paris FG 331
				Babelon (1901) 1332, pl XL:28

Group III (DiOIII)

Obverse: Head of female with corn wreath and necklace (Demeter?) to right.
Reverse: Goat walking to right; unclear symbol before; above, unclear symbol (grape cluster?), Π(?)[1365].

1	O1/R1			
a*	11	1.29g	?	Harvard 1979.428.580

Trihemiobol (THO)

Obverse: Head of female with taenia(?) (Artemis/Demeter?) to left.

[1364] This may be the same specimen as that mentioned in the posthumous publication of the Allier de Hauteroche cabinet (Dumersan et al. 1829), where the inscription ΜΕ is explicitly noted., but the goat on the reverse is identified as a panther. No physical information is offered about the Allier de Hauteroche specimen beyond the description of types, so its separate inclusion is unilluminating.

[1365] Though not attested elsewhere on Parian Hellenistic Silver, grape clusters are visible on several Hellenistic Bronze specimens, including CNG Mail Bid 60 (2002) 611 and 618; MMD 21 (2007) 552; and several unpublished specimens in the Athens and Berlin museums.

Reverse: Corn ear, Π-A either side of ear.
1 O1/R1

a* 10 0.93g ? ANS 1944.100.27932

Hemiobol (HO) - dubious

Obverse: vase with single handle(?)
Reverse: Ivy wreath; inside Π(?)
1 O1/R1

a* ? 0.29g ? Naville (14/3/1921) 2085 (Pozzi); Pozzi (1979 [1921]) 4575

The Hellenistic period

Tetradrachms

Group I (TI)

Obverse: Veiled head of female with corn wreath (Demeter?) to right
Reverse: Goat standing right on baseline, Moneyer's name / ΠAPI above
1 O1/R1

a* 28mm 14.92g 12h ANS 1944.100.27937

Group II.A (TII.A)

Obverse: Wreathed head of male without beard (Dionysus?) to right, with ivy wreath
Reverse: Bearded male (Archilochus?) sitting to right with naked upper body; Papyrus roll or plectrum in right hand; lyre in left hand supported on left knee, moneyer's name vertically to l/ΠAPIΩN vertically to r
1 O1/R1 ΠEIΣIB

a* ? 15.59g 1h30 reverse slightly double-struck(?)

IGCH 210; Naville XVI (3/7/1933) 1313; Bildnisse (1943) 173:6 [Reverse only]; Leu/MMAG

(28/5/1974) 242 (Kunstfreund); MMAG 76 (19/9/1991) 793 [Boutin]

b 28.9mm 15.38g 1h obverse corroded; reverse slightly double-struck(?)
Berlin SMK Löbbecke 1906 15.38g
Löbbecke (1898) 1

2 O1/R2 ANAΞIK

a* 30mm 14.43g 1h obverse corroded
Berlin SMK 18207401, Imhoof-Blumer 1900 14.43g
Löbbecke (1898) 2

Group II.B (TII.B)[1366]

Obverse: Wreathed head of male without beard (Dionysus?) to right, with ivy wreath
Reverse: Female (Demeter?) seated to left, on cista mystica with hair wreathed in corn, two ears of corn in right hand, sceptre in left hand, wearing chiton or peplos; ΠΑΡΙΩΝ vertically to left, moneyer's name vertically to right

3 O2/R3 ANAΞIK

a* 29mm 15.63g 1h ANS 1967.152.285
IGCH 210; *D Kellad 1939* (ANS [box])

b 29.6mm 15.06g 12h heavily scratched; reverse double-struck
Berlin SMK C R Fox 1873 15.04g

4 O2/R4 APIΣTOΔHM

[1366] *Cf* the Christodoulos tetradrachm from dies 43A–B published by Moulakis. See Appendix 3. Modern Parian forgeries.

a	28.5mm	15.71g	12h	MFA 60.1295 *Acquired from Euripides Sepheriades 9 November 1960* (MFA); MFA 1950–1963 134[1367]
b*	27.1mm	15.56g	12h	BM BNK,G.1151 *Acquired by Bank of England pre-1865; donation to British Museum 1877* (BM); BMC Paros (1866) 114:16, pl XXVI:10; Head (1889) pl 56:35; Mørkholm 559.
c	?	15.74g	?	GM 42 (11/10/1988) 265; GM 50 (24/9/1990) 309
d	27.3mm	13.38g	12h	Cambridge CM.MC.7277–R McClean (1926) 7277

5	O2/R5	ΣΙΛΗΝΟΣ		
a*	25mm	14.91g	12h	Alpha Bank 3941 *Ready, WT 1891* (Weber); Weber (1924) 4698; Bement (1921) 230; Naville VII (23/6/1924) 1331 (Bement II); Spink 96 (31/3/1993) 87; Alpha Bank (2007) 141; Alpha Bank (2009) 19
b	27mm	15.57g	?	*IGCH* 210; Naville XVI (3/7/1933) 1312; Naville XVII (3/10/1934) 515 (Burrage); MMAG 76 (19/9/1991) 792 [Boutin]

[1367] MFA 1950–1963 erroneously equates Dewing (1985) 1966 (TII.B.5a) and Weber (1924) 4698 (TII.B.5c).

c	27mm	15.6g	12h	Harvard 1.1965.1966
				IGCH 210; Naville XVI (3/7/1933) 1311; Fogg (1953) 345; Dewing (1985) 1966[1368]
d	29mm	15.15g	12h	Hunter (1782) 1; Hunterian (1899) 2:209 1
6	O3/R6	ΑΝΑΞΙΚ		
a*	29mm	14.68g	12h	Athens NM Empedocles; Alpha Bank (2011) 87 [reverse only]
7	O3/R7	ΑΡΙΣΤΟΔΗΜ		
a*	28mm	15.23	12h	ANS 1972.184.2
				Hess/Leu 9 (2/4/1958) 194; *SNG Berry* (1985) 882
b	?	15.43g	?	GM 69 (18/11/1994) 258; GM 76 (22/4/1994) 152; Spink Numismatic Circular (2/1997) 18; CNG Mail Bid 60 (22/5/2002) 617
8	O3/R8	ΣΙΛΗΝΟΣ		
a*	28mm	15.53g	12h	Paris FG 335
				Hoffmann (19/5/1890) 1403 (Photiades Pacha); Paris Guide (1929) 935; Paris Catalogue (1977) C[1369]

[1368] See 682n1367.

[1369] Paris Guide (1921) 935 is not illustrated on the plates, but is almost certain to be the same coin as that now in the Paris cabinet.

b	27.6mm	14.79g	12h	Berlin SMK Löbbecke 1906 14.80g

Didrachms

Group I (DiI)

Obverse: Veiled head of female with corn wreath (Demeter?) to right
Reverse: ivy wreath with berries to top; ΠΑΡΙ inside

1 O1/R1

a*	21.3mm	7.57g	12h	Paris De Luynes 2379
				Dupré (Paris)
b	21.4mm	7.47g	12h	BM Graves
				BMC Paros (1866) 114:13, pl XXVI:7; Head (1889)
				pl 56 36
c	21.5mm	7.83g	12h	MFA 59.481
				SNG Lockett 2628; Glendining (27/5/1959) 2096
				(Lockett); *Baldwin* (MFA); MFA 1950–1963 133
d	21mm	7.24g	12h	ANS 1944.100.27938
e	21.3mm	7.44g	12h	Cambridge CM.MC.7278–R
				McClean (1926) 7278

2 O1/R2

a*	22.8mm	7.47g	12h	Berlin SMK C R Fox 1873 7.47g
b	21.2mm	7.07g	12h	Paris FG 894
c	22mm	7.12g	12h	Hoffmann (19/5/1890) 1404 (Photiades Pacha);

				Weber (1924) 4696; Naville IV (17/6/1922) 654 (Grand-Duke Michailovitch and Evans); de Nanteuil (1925) 998; Hess/Leu 36 (17/4/1968) 239; MMAG 52 (19/6/1975) 156; Apparuti/Sternberg XIX (18/11/1987) 177
d	21mm	6.24g	?	Cahn 68 (26/11/1930) 1408; Rarcoa (19/3/1982) 12; Heritage World 311 (11/1/2003) 14229; Heritage World 326 (30/5/2003) 10017; CNG electronic 133 (15/2/2006) 69
3	O1/R3			
a	21mm	7.21g	?	Kricheldorf (28/5/1956) 1058; Kärnten (1961) E 1058; Leu/MMAG (3/12/1965) 343 (Niggeler I); AAG 3 (4/12/1973) 164
b*	22.2mm	7.37g	12h	Athens NM Empedocles Sotheby (15/6/1896) 1253 (Bunbury I); Rollin (*Sotheby*); Hirsch 21 (16/11/1908) 2237 (Weber I); Hamburger 98 (3/4/1909) 808; Braunschweiger 2 (4–6/1928) 720
c	?	?	?	*IGCH* 210 [ANS Cast Ravel Hoard 1][1370]

[1370] Though only known from the cast, this specimen is clearly different from either of the other coins with this die combination.

4	O1/R4			
a*	22mm	7.63g	?	MMAG 76 (19/9/1991) 778 [Boutin]
b	21mm	7.68g	?	MMAG 76 (19/9/1991) 777 [Boutin]
5	O2/R2			
a*	21.8mm	7.70g	12h	Berlin SMK 1872/965
b	21.4mm	7.36g	12h	Paris FG 338
c	?	7.05g	?	AAG 11 (30/9/1980) 133
6	O2/R3			
a*	20mm	7.61	?	Hirsch 13 (15/5/1905) 3167 [Rhousopoulos]; MMAG 76 (19/9/1991) 779 [Boutin][1371]

Group II.A (DiII.A)

Obverse: Head of female with single taenia (Artemis/Demeter?) to right.
Reverse: Goat standing right on baseline, Moneyer's name / ΠΑΡΙ above

1	O1/R1	ΤΕΙΣΗΝ		
a	?	7.35g	1h	Heavily scratched Oxford Laud 1
b	?	7.52g	?	Berk 48 (22/4/1987) 116; Berk 165 (28/7/2009) 187; Künker 158 (28/9/2009) 238; Hess 317 (27/10/2010) 206

[1371] In addition, Sotheby (30/5/1904) 69 without weight, plate or other identifying criteria.

c	22mm	7.65g	?	MMAG 76 (19/9/1991) 790 [Boutin]; Vinchon (27/10/2000) 150; CNG Mail Bid 57 (4/4/2001) 361
d	?	7.66g	?	Hess 254 (25/10/1983) 189; MMAG 73 (17/10/1988) 165
e	?	7.73g	?	Hirsch 6 (17/11/1955) 546; Vinchon (26/4/1999) 176
f*	22mm	7.56g	12h	ANS 1972.184.1 *SNG Berry* (1961–1962) 881
g	23mm	7.38g	12h	Cambridge CM.LK.8975–R Leake (1859) 167:1; *SNG Fitzwilliam I* 4018
2	O1/R2	ANAΞIK		
a*	22.7mm	7.47g	12h	Paris FG 337 Paris Guide (1929) 934 [Reverse only]
b	?	7.58g	12h	Dorotheum (26/3/1957) 3914 (Apostolo Zeno III); Hess/Leu 45 (12/5/1970) 212; Atak (1980) 1415; Atak (1994) 1415; CNG Triton V (16/1/2001) 1387 (Robert Schonwalter); Peus 401 (3/11/2010) 349
c	23mm	7.62g	12h	Sotheby (15/6/1896) 465 (Montagu); *Ready* (Sales Prices 1 [1897]); Sotheby (3/2/1909) 629 (Benson); Jameson 1307; Vinchon (11/4/1988) 469; Leu 54 (28/4/1992) 108
d	22.3mm	7.62g	12h	BM 1841,0726.457

				Claude Scott Steuart Collection (BM); BMC Paros (1866) 114:11, pl XXVI:6; Gardner (1883) pl XII.32; Head (1889) pl 43 34; HN (1911) fig 260; Franke and Hirmer (1964) 163.536
e	22mm	7.64g	?	Spink 96 (31/3/1993) 86
f	24mm	7.67g	?	Hess 247 (29/6/1978) 149; SBV 6 (19/4/1980) 55
g	?	7.74g	?	Künker 83 (17/6/2003) 300
h	22mm	7.75g	?	Schulman (18/3/1963) 2210
i	?	7.78g	?	Hoffmann (16/1/1882) 1281 (Bompois); Rollin et Feuardent (26/5/1889) 73 [Duchastel]; Imhoof-Blumer (1889) pl III 10 [reverse only]; Imhoof-Blumer (1908) 295, pl VII 6 [obverse only]; de Foville, *RN* (1908), 393; Prosper-Valton (1912) 393[1372]
3	O1/R3	ANAΞIK		
a	23mm	7.34g	?	reverse double-struck Hirsch 25 (29/11/1909) 1592 (Philipsen)
b	?	7.37g	?	Rauch 34 (14/1/1985) 128

[1372] Hoffmann (1882) 1281 is clearly this specimen, despite the misplacement of the iota of ΠAPI on the included illustration and the lower weight stated (7.70g).

c	25mm	7.52g	?	Hirsch 13 (15/5/1905) 3166 [Rhousopoulos]; Hirsch 21 (16/11/1908) 2236 (Weber I); Hamburger 98 (3/4/1909) 809[1373]
d*	24mm	7.65g	?	Vinchon (11/4/1988) 470
e	23mm	7.77g	12h	Manchester SNG1144 Sotheby (23/5/1894) 15 (Carfrae); Sotheby (28/5/1900) 301 [Rothschild]; Sotheby (5/6/1905) 231 (Smith); Spink (*Smith*); Hirsch 20 (13/11/1907) 360 (Hoskier); Feuardent (17/12/1919) 295 (Collignon); Woodward (1928) 187; *Spink 1943* [*SNG VII Manchester*]; *SNG VII Manchester* (1986) 1144
f	22.5mm	7.78g	12h	MFA 68.546 *Purchased from Kyriakos Sepheriades 11 September, 1968* (MFA)
g	22mm	7.15g	12h	Munich
4	O2/R1	ΤΕΙΣΗΝ		
a*	21mm	7.76g	?	Glendining (19/3/1974) 10; Crédit Suisse 4

[1373] This specimen may be the same coin as Photiades Pacha, Hoffmann (1890) 1405. No physical information is offered about the Pacha specimen beyond the description of types, making its separate inclusion unilluminating. That it was not included on the plates, when two other Parian specimens, a tetradrachm and didrachm, were, suggests that it, like Weber 2236, was in poor condition. Since Weber came to own at least one other coin from the Pacha sale (DiI.2c), it is at least possible that these are the same specimen. (Weber 2236 is also unique among Weber's Parian coins in not offering a provenance.)

				(3/12/1985) 107; Leu 65 (21/5/1996) 181; CNG Mail Bid 60 (22/5/2002) 614
5	O2/R2	ΑΝΑΞΙΚ		
a*	21.9mm	7.54g	12h	Berlin SMK Löbbecke 1906 7.54g
b	21.9mm	7.28g	12h	Athens NM Empedocles
c	?	7.76g	12h	GM 121 (3/10/2003) 153; Lanz 125 (28/11/2005) 318; GM 180 (12/10/2009) 143; GM 189 (23/6/2010) 143
6	O3/R4	ΑΝΑΞΙΚ		
a*	23.3mm	7.784g	1h	Berlin SMK 28819 7.78g
b	22.4mm	7.61g	12h	obverse double-struck BM RPK,p26A.1.Par *Richard Payne Knight bequest 1824* (BM); Knight (1830) p26.A.1
c	?	7.7g	?	GM 117 (14/10/2002) 245; Cederlind 128 (1/7/2003) 56; Cederlind 131 (6/7/2004) 65; Cederlind 135 (14/7/2005) 55; GM 146 (6/3/2006) 210A; NAC 51 (5/3/2009) 633
7	O3/R5	ΠΡΑΞΟΣ		

a*	22mm	7.35g	?	*Morcom* (CNG); CNG electronic 173 (26/9/2007) 261
8	O4/R6	ΠΡΑΞΟΣ		
a*	?	7.67g	12h	*SNG Lockett* 2629; Glendining (27/5/1959) 2097 (Lockett); NAC 23 (19/3/2002) 1229; Weil (22/10/2004) 110; Leu 102 (29/4/2008) 248 (Star); Nomos 6 (8/5/2012) 82
b	23mm	7.68g	?	Bourgey (17/6/1959) 397
c	24mm	7.66g	?	Naville (14/3/1921) 2049 (Pozzi); Pozzi (1979 [1921]) 4574; Locker-Lampson 249; Naville XII (18/10/1926) 1682 (Bissen, Wertheim, Evans); Gulbenkian 929
d	22.6mm	6.83g	12h	Berlin SMK Imhoof-Blumer 1900 6.83g
e	22.3mm	6.76g	1h	*Macridi Pacha 1897* (Weber); Weber (1924) 4694; Naville IV (17/6/1922) 653 (Grand-Duke Michailovitch and Evans); Winterthur 2316
f	22mm	6.75g	?	Cahn 60 (2/7/1928) 689
9	O4/R7	ΑΝΑΞΙΚ		
a	?	7.6	?	MMAG 76 (19/9/1991) 788 [Boutin]; Elsen 28 (20/2/1993) 183; CNG Triton II (1/12/1998) 393;

				CNG Mail Bid 60 (22/5/2002) 613; Afinsa (3/4/2003) 13; Afinsa (27/5/2004) 13
b*	24mm	7.18	1h	ANS 1944.100.83620
c	24mm	7.62	?	MFA 31.189 *IGCH* 210; *Acquired from Daniel Kellad 2 April 1931* (MFA); MFA 1293
10	O5/R6	ΠΡΑΞΟΣ		
a*	23mm	7.58g	?	Tkalec (14/4/1986) 111; MMAG 76 (19/9/1991) 789 [Boutin]
11	O5/R7	ΑΝΑΞΙΚ		
a*	22.3mm	7.15g	1h	BM Graves BMC Paros (1866) 114:12
b	22.9mm	6.96g	1h	Paris De Luynes 2378 De Luynes 2378
c	24mm	7.7g	12h	Helbing 70 (9/12/1932) 652; Leu/MMAG (3/12/1965) 344 (Niggeler I); Davis (1967) 23; Davis (1969) 182
d	24.5mm	7.37g	12h	Berlin SMK C R Fox 1873 7.37g
e	?	6.49g	12h	*Rollin & Feuardent 1880* (*SNG Copenhagen*); *SNG Copenhagen* 722

12	O6/R8	ΠΡΑΞΟΣ		
a*	?	7.76g	?	GM 46 (30/10/1989) 191; GM 50 (24/9/1990) 308
b	23mm	7.77g	12h	Hess/Leu 31 (6/12/1966) 376; Schulman 248 (19/11/1968) 150; Atak (1980) 1413; Atak (1994) 1413
13	O6/R9	ΤΙΜΕΣΙΛ		
a*	23mm	7.61g	?	Künker 94 (27/9/2004) 935[1374]
b	23mm	7.7g	?	Vinchon (9/12/1983) 133; Vinchon (12/12/2008) 49
14	O7/R10	ΤΙΜΕΣΙΛ		
a*	23mm	7.62g	?	MMAG 76 (19/9/1991) 791 [Boutin]; Hess 283 (10/5/2000) 81
15	O6/R10	ΤΙΜΕΣΙΛ		
a*	23mm	7.71g	1h30	Hess/Leu 28 (5/5/1965) 212
b	23mm	7.31g	12h	ANS 1944.100.27940
16	O6/R11	ΤΙΜΕΣΙΛ		
a*	22mm	7.82	?	pierced

[1374] The provenance of this coin is incorrectly given as Hess/Leu 28 (1965) 212 (DiII.A15a).

Rosenberg 72 (11/7/1932) 514; Platt (3/4/1933) 142[1375]

17 O?/O? ΤΕΙΣΗΝ

a ? 6.87g ? *"somewhat rubbed, has been broken and subsequently joined"* (Sotheby)[1376]
Sotheby (15/6/1896) 1252 (Bunbury I); *Currie* (Sotheby)

Group II.B (DiII.B)

Obverse: Head of female with double taenia (Artemis/Demeter?) to right.
Reverse: Goat standing right on baseline, Moneyer's name / ΠΑΡΙ above; R13: E before goat

18 O8/R12 ΚΤΗΣ

a* 23.5mm 7.60g 6h Athens NM Empedocles
Aegean (1999)

19 O8/R13 ΚΤΗΣΙ

a* ? 7.63g ? "*a hoard of Tetrobols of Amphipolis*" (Crédit Suisse); Crédit Suisse 3 (19/4/1985) 221; CNG

[1375] The Rosenblatt plate shews no sign of piercing, nor is piercing mentioned in the text, so this specimen was probably pierced between the Rosenberg and Platt sales.

[1376] A judgement perhaps confirmed by the exclusion of this specimen from those included in Sales Prices 1 (1897), which states in its review of this sale that "[i]n consequence of the extraordinary and altogether unusual number of Greek coins which have been sold by auction this year, it has not been possible to give more than a selection from this extensive catalogue. All the coins mentioned below are very scarce, and all were in fine condition, unless the contrary is stated" (285).

				Triton VI (14/1/2003) 289; Berk 158 (26/3/2008) 137[1377]
20	O8/R14	ΚΤΗΣ		
a*	21.9mm	7.44g	6h	Paris FG 336
21	O8/R15	ΚΤΗΣ		
a*	23.8mm	7.03g	12h	BM HPB,p094.4 *Acquired 1832* (BM); BMC Paros (1866) 115:18
22	O8/R16	ΑΚΟΥ		
a	?	7.54g	?	Obverse double-struck Hirsch 224 (20/11/2002) 211; Hirsch 262–263 (22/9/2009) 2328; Künker 168 (12/3/2010) 7316
b*	23mm	7.47g	?	Kricheldorf (15/10/1955) 398; Leu 7 (9/5/1973) 190; MMAG 76 (19/9/1991) 787 [Boutin]
c	21mm	7.25g	?	*Dracopoulos 1891* (Weber); Weber (1924) 4695; Elsen 28 (20/2/1993) 184
23	O8/R17	ΚΤΗΣΙ		
a*	22.9mm	7.73g	12h	Cambridge CM.MC.7279–R

[1377] For discussion of this specimen and this hoard, see 631.

McClean (1926) 7279

24	O8/R18	AKOY		
a*	22.5mm	7.64g	12h	BM TC,p162.1.Par *Acquired pre-1814* (BM); BMC Paros (1866) 115:17, pl XXVI:11; Mørkholm 560.
b	24mm	7.26g	6h	obverse double-struck Harvard 1.1965.1965 Hirsch 25 (29/11/1909) 1594 (Philipsen); Hess (18/3/1918) 653; Naville XVII (3/10/1934) 514 (Burrage); Dewing (1985) 1965

25	O?/R?	AKOY		
a	?	7.32g	?	Spink Numismatic Circular (March 1894):12852[1378]

Group II.C (DiII.C)

Obverse: Head of female with double taenia (Artemis/Demeter?) to right.
Reverse: Goat standing right on baseline, Moneyer's name / ΠAPI above

26	O9/R19	TINA		
a*	25mm	6.99g	12h	Alpha Bank 2066 *ex-Andreopoulos* (Alpha)

Group II.D (DiII.D)

[1378] No plate was included with this sale, but the weight is different enough from the other coins to suggest a different specimen.

Obverse: Head of female with single taenia (Artemis/Demeter?) to right; dotted border.
Reverse: Goat standing right on baseline, Moneyer's name / ΠΑΡΙ above
27 O10/R20 ΑΡΙΣΤΙ

a* 23.4mm 7.20g 6h Berlin SMK 18207402

Whitt 1951 (Berlin)

Group III (DiIII)

Obverse: Veiled head of female with corn wreath (Demeter?) to right; dotted border
Reverse: Goat standing right on baseline, Moneyer's name / ΠΑΡΙ above
1 O1/R2 ΦΙΛΑΝ

a* 23.1mm 7.45g 12h Heavily scratched

Berlin SMK 18207403

Imhoof-Blumer 1900 7.44g

Drachms

Group II (DII)[1379]

Obverse: Head of female with corn wreath (Demeter?) to right
Reverse: Ivy wreath, with clusters of berries above; inside, ΠΑΡΙ.
1 O1/R1 ΠΑΡΙ

a* 18.8mm 3.77g 11h Athens NM Empedocles

b ? 3.8g 12h AAG 11 (30/9/1980) 134; *Obtained 4/1987 B Vigne Paris* (Hess-Divo); Hess-Divo 314 (4/5/2009) 1132

c 17.6mm 3.11g 12h BM BNK,G.382

Acquired by Bank of England pre-1865; *donation to*

[1379] Without any die link between the coins in this small series, they have been ordered by analogy with DiI.

British Museum 1877 (BM); BMC Paros (1866) 114:14, pl XXVI:8

2 O2/R2 ΠΑΡΙ

a* 17mm 3.78 ? *IGCH* 210 [ANS Cast Ravel Hoard 4]; MMAG 76 (19/9/1991) 786 [Boutin]

b ? ? ? *IGCH* 210 [ANS Cast Ravel Hoard 3]

Group III.A (DIII.A)[1380]

Obverse: Head of female with corn wreath (Demeter?) to right
Reverse: Ivy wreath, with clusters of berries above; inside, ΠΑΡΙ / Moneyer's name

1 O1/R1 ΠΑΡΙ / ΤΕΙΣΗ

a* 20 3.79g ? MMAG 76 (19/9/1991) 784 [Boutin]

2 O2/R1 ΠΑΡΙ / ΤΕΙΣΗ

a* 17.9 3.36g 1h Athens NM Artemis 279/2004 Touratsoglou/Tsourti 123

3 O3/R2 ΠΑΡΙ / ΑΝΤΙΛ

a* 18.4 3.76g 1h Berlin SMK 19207400, Löbbecke 1906 3.76g

4 O4/R3 ΠΑΡΙ / ΑΝΤΙΛ

[1380] *Cf* forgeries Christodoulos 1–4: 707–709.

a*	18	3.2g	?	Ratto (26/4/1909) 3288; Ratto (4/4/1927) 1648

Group III.B (DIII.B)

Obverse: Head of female with corn wreath (Demeter?) to right
Reverse: Ivy wreath, with clusters of berries above; inside, mint-mark (not R10)/ ΠΑΡΙ / Moneyer's name

5 O5/R4 ΠΑΡΙ / ΜΝΑ

a*	?	3.56g	?	MMAG 76 (19/9/1991) 783 [Boutin]; Hirsch 196 (24/9/1997) 268; CNG Mail Bid 60 (22/5/2002) 616

6 O6/R5 ΠΑΡΙ / ΜΝΑ

a*	?	3.87g	?	*E Seltman, private sale 1904* (Sotheby); Sotheby (9/6/1983) 84 (Brand III); MMAG 73 (17/10/1988) 166
b	?	3.93g	?	Aufhäuser 7 (1990) 99

7 O6/R6 ΠΑΡΙ / ΚΤΗ

a*	17	3.86g	?	Glendining (11/12/1974) 60; Spink 50 (6/3/1986) 50
b	17	3.12g	?	Malter 55 (7/11/1993) 188; CNG electronic 107 (2/2/2005) 48 (Garth R Drewry)

8 O7/R7 Ε / ΠΑΡΙ / ΑΚΟΥ

a*	?	3.69g	12h	CNG mail bid 78 (14/5/2008) 748
b	19.2	3.68g	12h	pierced

				Berlin SMK 18207399; Imhoof-Blumer 1900 3.68g Badische Sammlung (*Imhoof-Blumer*); Imhoof-Blumer (1880) 2[1381]
9	O8/R8	EY / ΠAPI / ΘPA		
a*	?	3.75g	?	GM 121 (3/10/2003) 154
10	O8/R9	EY / ΠAPI / KTH		
a*	20	3.77g	6h	ANS 1968.57.38
b	?	3.81g	?	MMAG 76 (19/9/1991) 780 [Boutin]; CNG Classical Numismatic Review 1992 XVII:3 88; CNG Mail Bid XXIV (9/12/1992) 260; CNG Mail Bid 60 (22/5/2002) 615
11	O9/R10	ΠAPI / XAIPI		
a*	20.1	3.91g	12h	Athens NM Empedocles
b	?	3.35g	12h	Oxford Laud
12	O9/R11	E / ΠAPI / XAIPI		
a*	19	3.84g	12h	ANS 1968.110.1

[1381] No photograph of Imhoof-Blumer (1880) 2 was published, but it was stated to be pierced ("durchlöchert"), as is Berlin SMK 18207399. The card associated with Berlin SMK 18207399 refers to Imhoof-Blumer (1880) 2, and lists the weight as 3.7g, the same weight as that published by Imhoof-Blumer.

				MMAG FPL 181 (7/1958) 7; MMAG 19 (5/6/1959) 459; MMAG FPL 269 (10/1966) 19
b	20.9	3.77g	12h	Berlin SMK von Prokesch-Osten 1875 3.765g

13 O9/R12 E / ΠΑΡΙ / ΚΛΕΟ

a*	19	3.68g	?	Hirsch 13 (15/5/1905) 3168 [Rhousopoulos]; Rollin et Feuardent (22/5/1908) 324
b	20.5	3.24g	1h	Goulandris EA72 Oeconomidou (1999) 80

14 O?/R? ΕΥ / ΠΑΡΙ / ΚΤΗ

a	19	3.3g	?	Badische Sammlung (*Imhoof-Blumer*); Imhoof-Blumer (1880) 1[1382]

Group IIII (DIIII)

Obverse: Head of female with corn wreath and necklace (Demeter?) to right
Reverse: Ivy wreath, with clusters of berries above; inside, inscription.

1 O1/R1 Θ / ΠΑΡΙ

a	16.1	3.36g	7h	BM G.2825 Pembroke (1746) part 2 pl 25; Pembroke (1848) 881;

[1382] The other Parian coin published by Imhoof-Blumer from the Badische Sammlung is currently in Berlin (here: DIII.8b). What happened to this specimen is, however, less clear: no Parian coin in Berlin matched the description, or was similar in weight and acquired after Imhoof-Blumer's publication. (The only specimens with similar weights, DIIII.1c [3.34g], and DIIII.3a [3.38g], came from C R Fox in 1873 and Graf von Prokesch-Osten in 1875 respectively.) This specimen weighed significantly less than the two specimens that do match the description, DIII.10a and DIII.10b, and was damaged ("beschädigt"), so cannot easily be connected with those pieces.

				BMC Paros (1866) 114:15, pl XXVI:9[1383]
b	16	3.27g	6h	Hunter (1782) 2; Hunterian (1899) 2:209 2
c*	15.9	3.34g	12h	Berlin SMK C R Fox 1873 3.335g
d	?	3.31g	?	GM 152 (9/10/2006) 1372
e	17	3.3g	6h	ANS 1944.100.27942 Egger (28/11/1904) 842 (Prowe); Hirsch 25 (29/11/1909) 1593 (Philipsen)
2	O1/R2	ΠΑΡΙ / Θ		
a*	17	3.37g	6h	Harvard 1.1965.1964 Hamburger 96 (25/10/1932) 124; Glendining (31/1/1951) 187 (Cunningham); Dewing (1985) 1964
b	?	2.94g	6h	*Hirsch 13 (15/5/1905) 3169 [Rhousopoulos]* (*SNG Copenhagen*); *SNG Copenhagen* 721[1384]
3	O2/R1	Θ / ΠΑΡΙ		
a*	16.1	3.38g	6h	Berlin SMK Graf Prokesch-Osten 1875 3.38g

[1383] The 1746 posthumous publication of Thomas Herbert, 8th Earl of Pembroke's collection includes an illustration of a specimen with this reverse (Θ above, not below ΠΑΡΙ), and with the correct weight 52gr (=3.369g); it is plausibly the piece now in the British Museum.

[1384] The Hirsch specimen is unillustrated, but of the same weight as the *SNG Copenhagen* specimen.

Appendix 2. Ancient imitative coinage

Two ancient imitations were noted during this study, both of which had previously been identified. The specimen in the ANS was cut in antiquity; the specimen in the British Museum had already been noted as plated. Die analysis revealed that the same pair of dies was used to mint them.

Obverse: Head of female with single taenia (Artemis/Demeter?) to right.
Reverse: Goat standing right on baseline, ΦΙΛΥ / ΠΑΡΙ above

1	O1/R1	ΦΙΛΥ / ΠΑΡΙ		
a*	22.1	5.58g	4h	Plated *Thomas Burgon Collection*; *Acquired 1841* (BM); BMC Paros (1866) 115:19
b*	22	3.72g	4h	Plated; cut in antiquity ANS 1944.100.27941

In addition, four other single specimen groups were noted as being particularly dubious: TI, DiII.C, DiII.D, and DiIII. These specimens are discussed in the appropriate sections above[1385].

[1385] TI: 645; DiII.C and DiII.D: 655; DiIII: 648. For discussion of the various circumstances of production and use covered by the terms 'ancient imitative coinage', and 'counterfeits', see van Alfen 2005.

Appendix 3. Modern Parian forgeries

Several new forgeries were identified in the course of this study, and are listed here together with previously identified specimens.

Becker

A comprehensive survey of forgeries produced by Carl Becker (c 1772–1830) was published by Hill, and included one Parian example: Becker 70[1386]. Three Becker 70s were encountered during this study and are listed below. In addition, a second pair of Becker dies was identified on a gold specimen in Paris: this pair had slightly longer corn ears on the corn wreath of the obverse; on the reverse, differently placed leaves, and inscription ΠΑΡ instead of ΠΑΡΙ. The dies are so similar that it seems that they have previously always been confused, with diverging references to ΠΑΡ and ΠΑΡΙ perhaps being thought to result from recutting of the same reverse die rather than from two different dies. Thus Steinbüchel published a gold specimen from Parium in Mysia in 1836 with reverse inscription ΠΑΡ, yet Pinder, who was clearly acquainted with Steinbüchel's publication, as he refers to it in his own 1843 discussion, only published one silver pair, with reverse inscription ΠΑΡΙ. There are, however, clearly two distinct obverses and reverses involved, and more may remain unidentified[1387].

[1386] Hill 1924; for a recent discussion, Sayles 2001, 37–39.

[1387] Steinbüchel 1836, 28; Pinder 1843, 93; Pinder refers to Mionnet Parium 375 (Mionnet 1807, 573), but it cannot be this specimen, as that was of silver, not of gold. (Mionnet Parium 375's provenance is given as Hunter). Steinbüchel's specimen could, however, be Becker 2a, the coin published as *SNG France V Mysia* 1354, which is also gold. Mionnet Parium 374 has the same description as 375 except for the inscription, and so could be a reference to Becker 70, or his inspiration. As Becker was born in 1772,

Obverse: Female head to right with corn wreath
Reverse: Ivy wreath, berries to left, inscription inside

1	O1/R1	ΠΑΡΙ "Becker 70"				
a*	12mm	1.36g	?	AR	*Spink 1899* (Weber); Weber (1924) 4697; Sotheby (1/2/1984) 166 (Brand V)
b	16.4mm	3.70g	9h	AR	Egger 40 (2/5/1912) 1216 (Prowe); Naville VII (23/6/1924) 1330 (Bement II); Athens NM Empedocles
c	13.2mm	2.41g	12h	AR	Paris Hoffmann Forgeries 79
2	O2/R2	ΠΑΡ			
a*	13mm	4.29g	3h	AU	*SNG France V Mysia* 1354

Caprara

The Caprara forgeries seem to have been produced in the 1820s, and were noted by Sestini in his discussion of Becker. The first systematic presentation, however, was by Kinns, who identified three obverse and three reverse Parian dies, and posited the existence of at least one further reverse die from Sestini's description of a reverse with inscription ΠΑΡΙ, where all the dies he encountered had inscription ΠΑ[1388]. Each set of dies is very similar, with the obverse dies differing in the precise placement of the locks of hair, and of the leaves of the wreath, and the reverse dies differing in the arrangement of the goat's horns and legs.

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either is possible: Arnold 1863, 251, and Sayles 2001, 39 prefer to consider Mionnet as the inspiration for Becker's activity.

[1388] Kinns 1984; for recent discussion: Sayles 2001, 40–41.

Caprara O1	39A*	Female head to right, veiled with corn wreath
Caprara R1	39B*	Goat kneeling right on baseline, ΠA above[1389]
Caprara O2	40A*	Female head to right, veiled with corn wreath, dotted rim
Caprara R2	40B*	Goat kneeling right on baseline, ΠA above, dotted rim
Caprara O3	41A*	Female head to right, veiled with corn wreath, dotted rim
Caprara R3	41B*	Goat kneeling right on baseline, ΠA above, dotted rim[1390]
Caprara O4	42A	Female head to right, veiled with corn wreath, perhaps dotted rim. Not seen by Kinns, and perhaps identical to one of O1–O3, or O5–O6.
Caprara R4	42B	Goat kneeling right on baseline, ΠAPI above, perhaps dotted rim Not seen by Kinns.
Caprara O5	-*	Female head to right, veiled with corn wreath, dotted rim
Caprara O6	-	Female head to right, veiled with corn wreath, dotted rim

The Hoffmann forgery cabinet in Paris contained a new obverse paired with the known Caprara R2 (40B) reverse. This might possibly be the work not of the Caprara

[1389] 39A and 39B are plausibly the dies used for the gold specimen illustrated in Gordon 1833, 5, but certainty is impossible.

[1390] Kinns reports that this guy was also combined by Caprara with an obverse die of Panticapaeum: Caprara 3A.
41A and 41B are plausibly the dies used for the silver specimen illustrated in von Prokesch-Osten 1859, 40, but certainty is impossible.

forger himself, but of Christodoulos, who reused and recarved some of his dies, but the quality of the work suggests that it is Caprara.

1 O5/R3 ΠΑΡ

a* 16.3mm 6.85g 12h AU Hoffmann Forgeries 78

A Rauch 1971 sale also contained a specimen with dies very similar to the above. The reverse is particularly close to 39B, except for the position of the inscription (ΠΑ), and for the existence of a dotted rim. This observation, the weight (6.5g), and the general style allow us to consider this another forgery from this cluster. Again, however, it cannot be certain that is the work of Caprara, rather than a follower.

2 O6/R4 ΠΑ

a ? 6.5g ? AU Rauch 8 (15/10/1971) 77

Christodoulos

Svoronos published an early collection of Constantinos Christodoulos' dies in 1920, and identified five Parian dies: three obverse dies, and two reverse dies, including an obverse and reverse which are reused and slightly reworked Caprara dies [O3/R3 = Svoronos Christodoulos 401A-B][1391]. These are all listed here for completeness.

[1391] Svoronos 1920, 399A–B, 400, 401A–B (Caprara), expanded and translated into English as Svoronos 1974.

Christodoulos O1	399A*	Female head facing right with corn wreath, necklace, single earring
Christodoulos R1	399B*	Ivy wreath, with clusters of berries above; inside ΠΑΡΙ
Christodoulos O2	400A*	Female head facing right with corn wreath, triple earring
Christodoulos O3	401A*	Female head facing right, veiled with corn wreath, dotted rim
Christodoulos R3	401B*	Goat kneeling right on baseline, ΠΑ above, dotted rim.

Of these dies, only one, R1, the non-Caprara reverse, was recognised slightly reworked among the specimens examined: the position of the leaves is exactly the same, but they vary slightly in profile, with the reworked reverse's leaves tending to be slightly thinner; the iota of ΠΑΡΙ on the specimen Svoronos identified was also lower on the die than the remaining letters, that on this version is at the same horizontal level. R1 was, however, paired with a different obverse from that identified by Svoronos, and die-links then led to the identification of an additional drachm obverse and reverse. These are noted below.

Moulakis subsequently identified many more Christodoulos dies and forgeries in a recent series of articles. Among these are three dies from Paros: one tetradrachm

obverse die, one tetradrachm reverse die, and one didrachm obverse die[1392]. One example of each denomination was identified, which thus also involved identification of a further didrachm reverse. Neither specimen was die-linked with any other coin.

Tetradrachm (cf TII.B)

Obverse: Wreathed Head of young Dionysus to right, ivy wreath
Reverse: Female (Demeter?) seated to left, on cista mystica with hair wreathed in corn, two ears of corn in right hand, sceptre in left hand, wearing chiton or peplos; ΠΑΡΙΩΝ vertically to left, moneyer's name vertically to right

5	O6/R6	ΣΙΛΗΝΟΣ		
a*	26mm	14.92g	6h	ANS 1958.146.1
				MMAG FPL 181 (7/1958) 28

The style of the obverse is not clearly distinguishable from the other obverses used in this series, and the diameter is good. The weight, although low, is not noteworthy in comparison with the other specimens. The misplacement of the moneyer's name and the quality of hatching on the cista in isolation could elsewhere be ascribed to use of a worn recut die, but here are perhaps cumulatively diagnostic. Most important, however, are the die axis, 6h, where eleven other specimens in this series had a die axis of 12h, one, TII.B.3a of 1h; and the styling of the hair of the female on the reverse: this is spiky, where other reverses' hair is smoother, or perhaps covered by a cap.

[1392] More recent publications of Christodoulos dies and forgeries: Moulakis 1994; Moulakis 1995; Moulakis 1996; Moulakis 2000, and Tzamales 1996; recent discussion: Sayles 2001, 50–52. The tetradrachm dies are illustrated at Sayles 2001, 50; both at Moulakis 1994, 54, Plate VI.43A–B, 44.

Didrachm (cf DiII.B)

Obverse: Head of Demeter to right with double taenia.
Reverse: Goat standing right on baseline, Moneyer's name / ΠΑΡΙ above

6	O7/R7	AKOY		
a*	24mm	7.45g	?	Hamburger 98 (3/4/1933) 802

Again, the weight and diameter of this didrachm are good. The most distinctive feature of the obverse is the unique bent taenia. The reverse is similar in particular to both other reverses with moneyer AKOY (DiII.B.R16, DiII.B.R17), but the authenticity of this group should be secure: the earliest specimens of this die-linked group, DiII.B.21a, and DiII.B.24a, have a provenance dating back to the early nineteenth century.

Drachm (cf Drachm group III.A [DIII.A])

Obverse: Head of Demeter facing right with corn wreath
Reverse: Ivy wreath, with clusters of berries above; inside inscription

1	O4/R4	ΠΑΡΙ / ΘΟΥΡΙ		
a*	17mm	3.8g	?	MMAG 76 (19/9/1991) 781 [Boutin]
2	O4/R5	ΠΑΡΙ / ΘΟΥΡΙ		
a*	17mm	3.82g	?	*IGCH 210* [ANS Cast Ravel Hoard 2]; MMAG 76 (19/9/1991) 782 [Boutin]; CNG Classical Numismatic Review XVII:1 (1992) 63; CNG 21 (26/6/1992) 73

b	17.1mm	3.36g	12h	Paris FG 339

3	O4/R1	ΠΑΡΙ / ΤΕΙΣΗ

a*	17mm	3.44g	?	*IGCH 210* [ANS card catalogue]; Myers FPL Greek and Roman Silver/Greek Electrum (nd) [1973] 61; MMAG 76 (19/9/1991) 785 [Boutin]

4	O5/R5	ΠΑΡΙ / ΘΟΥΡΙ

a*	18mm	3.42g	?	Kricheldorf 4 (7/10/1957) 260

Christodoulos' choice of moneyer ΤΕΙΣΗ for a forgery is perhaps unsurprising, given the existence of drachms with moneyer ΤΕΙΣΗ (DIII.R1), and didrachms with moneyer ΤΕΙΣΗΝ (DiI.R1). His choice of ΘΟΥΡΙ is, however, initially more surprising. No genuine specimen with this moneyer was identified. It is possible that there are unrecognised genuine specimens with moneyer ΘΟΥΡΙ to be found. Even if not, some justification for Christodoulos' choice may perhaps be found in *IG* XII.5 128 = *IG* XII.4 1065: this Eretrian arbitration between Paros and Naxos dating to the first half of the second century gives ΘΟΥ as the broken name of a Parian eponymous moneyer (l B.24).

Potentially more concerning, however, is that Imhoof-Blumer refers in passing in 1880 to Parian drachms with name ΘΟΥΡΙ[1393]. Pieces corresponding to all other types mentioned by Imhoof-Blumer are currently to be found in the Berlin Münzkabinett,

[1393] Imhoof-Blumer 1880, 18.

but not a piece connected with ΘOYPI. It is possible that Imhoof-Blumer had been misinformed. Alternatively, this reference may be our earliest evidence for Christodoulos, whose dates of activity remain unclear. It is certain that he was active from 1900, the date of Svoronos' first contact with Christodoulos, to 1914, when some of his dies were seized, and subsequently published by Svoronos[1394]. How far either side of these dates he operated is less clear: later work has subsequently been ascribed to him, but this may as easily be the work of Orphanides, Garyphallakis, or another forger who either trained with Christodoulos or has access to his dies. Alternatively, this specimen may be another case of Christodoulos reusing an earlier forger's die, just as he did dies of Caprara. Whatever the solution, this evidence suggests that it is unwise to think in purely biographical terms, but instead to envisage a workshop: even if Tazedakis is correct that Christodoulos lived until after World War II, this specimen can still provide our earliest evidence for activity associable with his workshop[1395].

This observation is important when considering other possible forgeries which might be ascribed to Christodoulos. In particular, beyond the specimens noted here, stylistic considerations may also cast doubt on DII.2 and DIII.A.1–4. No specimen among these issues is known prior to the early twentieth century, when Christodoulos may already have been active[1396]. The female on the obverse is stylistically very

[1394] Svoronos 1920, i = Svoronos 1974, i.
[1395] Tazedakis 1991, 99; for a recent discussion: Sayles 2001, 50–52; note especially the statement at 51 that Demetriadi believes some of the dies attributed by Moulakis to Christodoulou to be the work of Orphanides.
[1396] The earliest is DIII.A.4a, first attested in the Ratto sale of 1909.

similar to Christodoulos O4 and O5. Particularly suspect is DII.2: these two specimens are only attested in *IGCH* 210, a hoard which is known to have been salted with Christodoulos forgeries; the design of the corn wreath and of the earring is particularly close to the Christodoulos obverses; the design of the reverse is unique, with only two leaves beneath the legend, rather than four, in the reverse used for DII.1.

Certainly is impossible, but it seems unwise to condemn these specimens: the leaves of the reverses of all these specimens have a quite different profile from those of the Christodoulos reverses identified here. Specifically regarding DII.2, the changing number of leaves between DII.1 and DII.2 can be paralleled in the stylistically very similar didrachms of group I, where all four reverses have four leaves above the legend ΠAPI, but DiI.R1–R3 have four beneath, but DiI.R4, the last reverse in the die wear sequence, only two[1397]. This parallel may, of course, have formed the inspiration for Christodoulos' reworking.

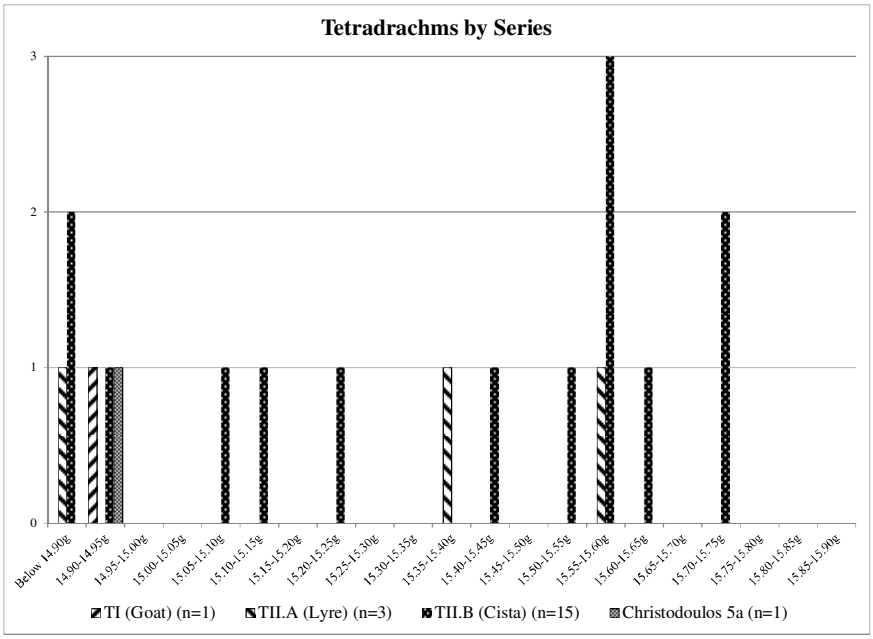
The argument would be easier if it could be certain that DII.1 was secure, as the obverse there shares this style of obverse. The first known specimen from these dies, DII.1c, was acquired by the Bank of England before 1865, a date too close to Imhoof-Blumer's 1880 reference for total comfort. The balance of probabilities makes it unlikely to be a Christodoulos specimen, however, and, in the absence of a die-link with a known forgery, it seems better not to condemn the other specimens discussed here.

[1397] For further discussion, see 650 and 659.

The ANS card catalogue states that Christodoulos 3a originated from *IGCH* 210. This deduction is not mentioned in the MMAG sale, nor is it explicit in *IGCH* itself[1398]. It is possible that Newell noticed the die link with Christodoulos 2a, which is one of the four Parian 'drachm' casts in the ANS record, and hypothesised a connexion, but this conclusion seems unlikely. It does, however, perhaps suggest that this specimen, like Christodoulos 2a, first appeared on the market at the same time as *IGCH* 210, in the 1930s, when Christodoulos' workshop (whether just Orphanides or also Christodoulos himself) was active. Whether by implication of the seller or on account of the attitude suggested by Ravel's sweeping statement that "[a]ll the coins of the Cyclades that have been on the market since 1930 come from a find unearthed somewhere in Euboea", it then came to be associated with the hoard, information which later came to the attention of a curator at the ANS.

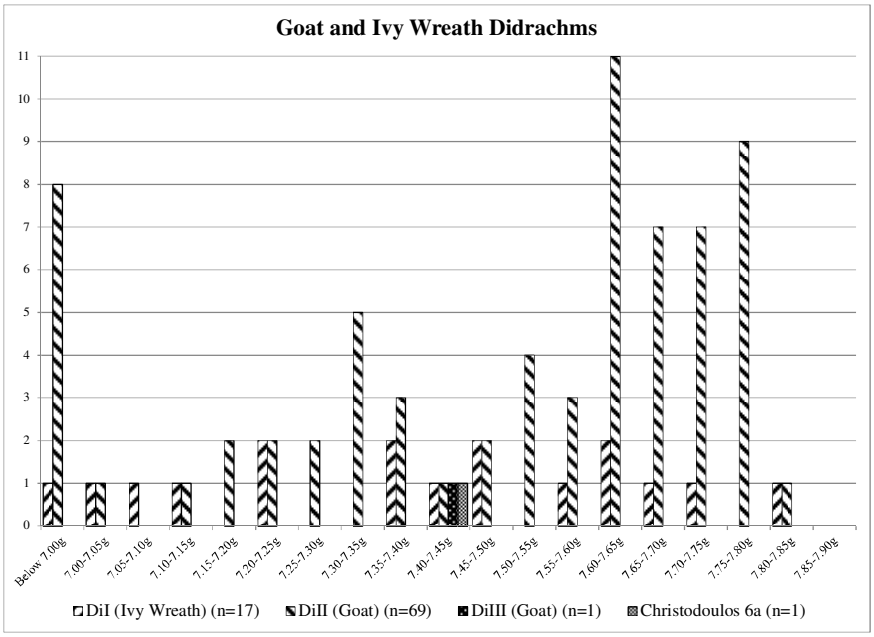
[1398] For discussion of *IGCH* 210, see 620–627.

Appendix 4. Charts



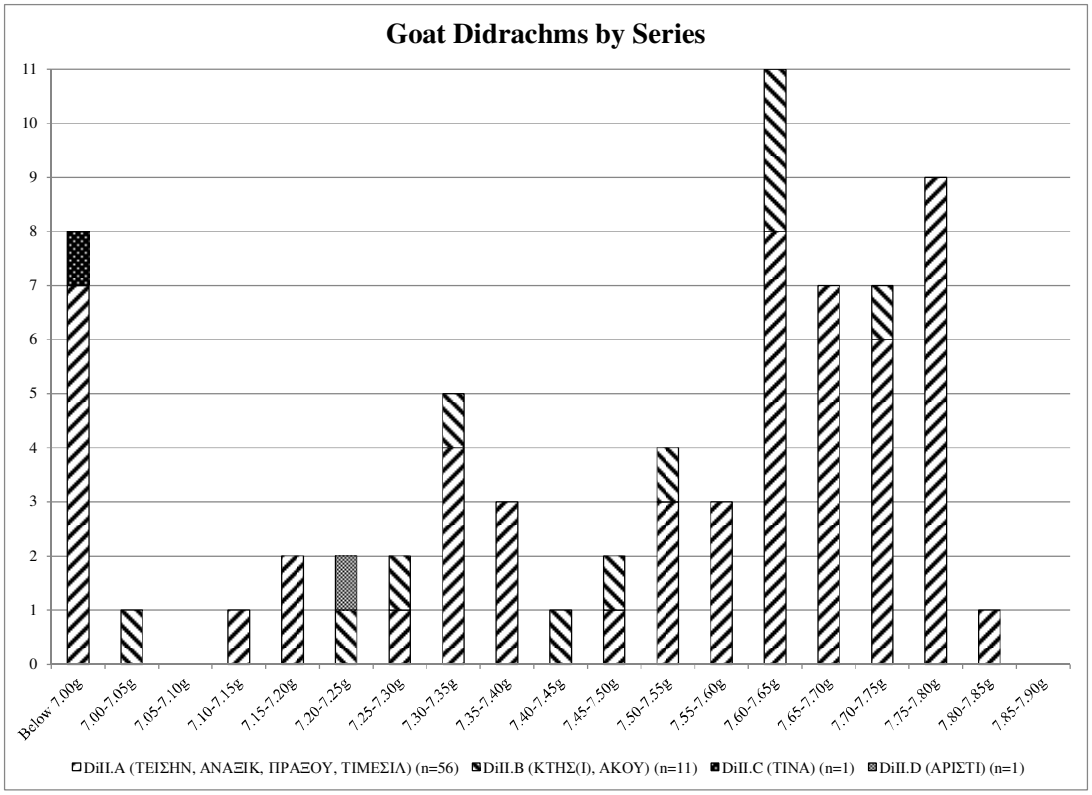
Series	Total	Die study specimens	Obverses	Reverses
TI	1	1	1	1
TII.A	3	3	1	3
TII.B	15	15	2	3
Christodoulos 5a	1	1	1	1

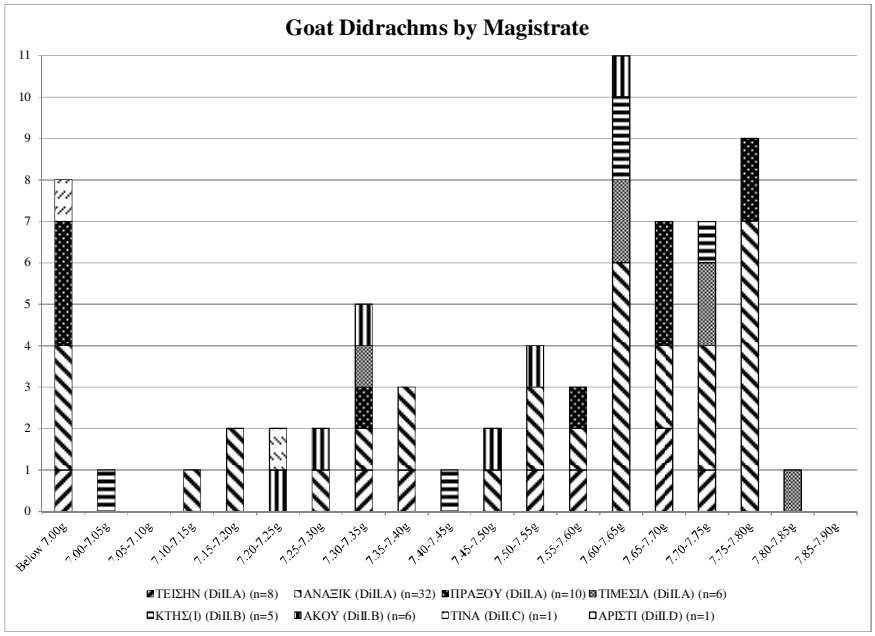
Series	Total weighed	Below 14.90g	14.90-14.95g	14.95-15.00g	15.00-15.05g	15.05-15.10g	15.10-15.15g	15.15-15.20g	15.20-15.25g	15.25-15.30g	15.30-15.35g	15.35-15.40g	15.40-15.45g	15.45-15.50g	15.50-15.55g	15.55-15.60g	15.60-15.65g	15.65-15.70g
TI (Goat)	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TII.A (Lyre)	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0
TII.B (Cista)	15	3	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	3	1	0
Christodoulos 5a	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

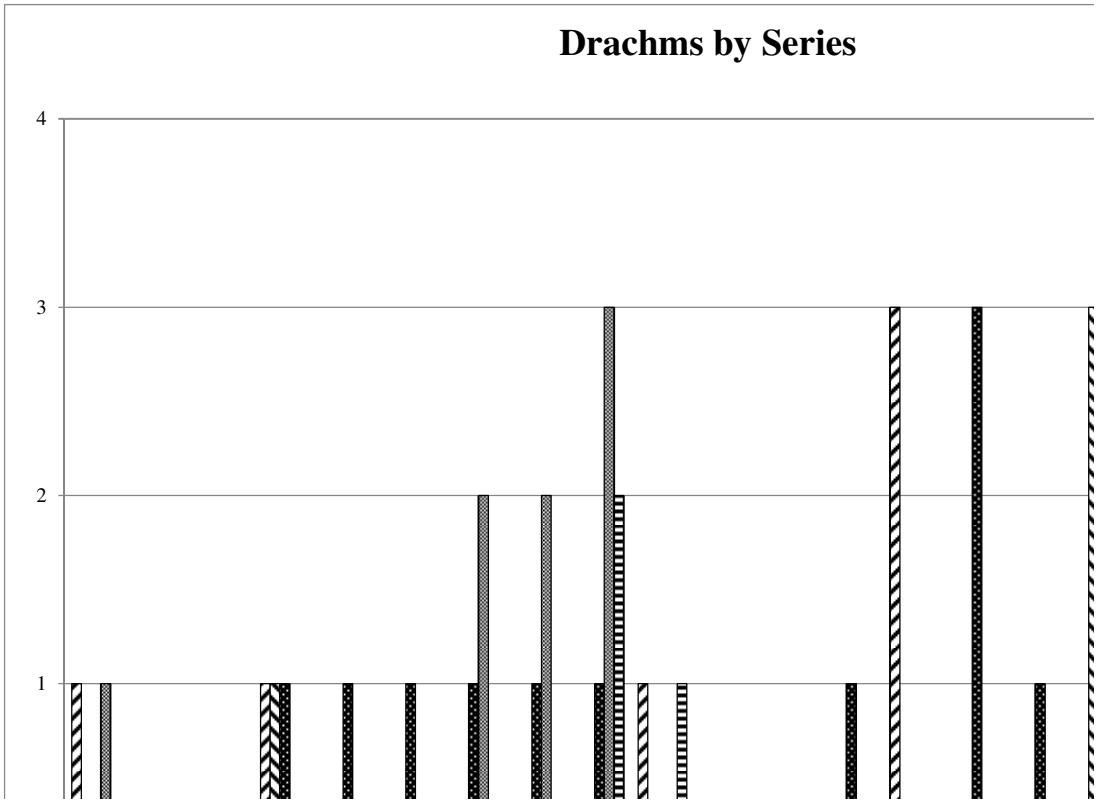


Series	Total	Die study specimens	Obverses	Reverses
DiI (Ivy Wreath)	17	17	2	4
DiII (Goat)	68	65	10	20
DiIII (Singleton)	1	1	1	1
Christodoulos 6a	1	1	1	1

Series	Total weighed	Below 7.00g	7.00-7.05g	7.05-7.10g	7.10-7.15g	7.15-7.20g	7.20-7.25g	7.25-7.30g	7.30-7.35g	7.35-7.40g	7.40-7.45g	7.45-7.50g	7.50-7.55g	7.55-7.60g	7.60-7.65g	7.65-7.70g	7.70-7.75g	7.75-7.80g	7.80-7.85g	7.85-7.90g
DiI (Ivy Wreath)	17	1	1	1	1	0	2	0	0	2	1	2	0	1	2	1	1	0	1	0
DiII (Goat)	69	8	1	0	1	2	2	2	5	3	1	2	4	3	11	7	7	9	1	0
DiIII (Goat)	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Christodoulos 6a	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

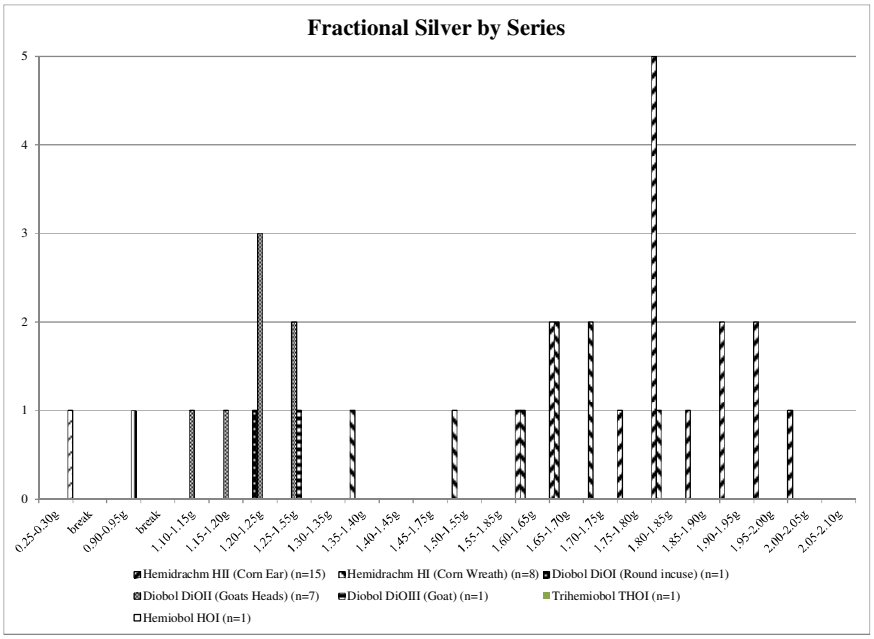

Goat Didrachms by Series
11
10
9
8
7
6
5
4
3
2
1
0
Below 7.00g
7.00-7.05g
7.05-7.10g
7.10-7.15g
7.15-7.20g
7.20-7.25g
7.25-7.30g
7.30-7.35g
7.35-7.40g
7.40-7.45g
7.45-7.50g
7.50-7.55g
7.55-7.60g
7.60-7.65g
7.65-7.70g
7.70-7.75g
7.75-7.80g
7.80-7.85g
7.85-7.90g
DiII.A (ΤΕΙΣΗΝ, ΑΝΑΞΙΚ, ΠΡΑΞΟΥ, ΤΙΜΕΣΙΑ) (n=56)
DiII.B (ΚΤΗΣ(Ι), ΑΚΟΥ) (n=11)
DiII.C (TINA) (n=1)
DiII.D (ΑΡΙΣΤΙ) (n=1)


Goat Didrachms by Magistrate
11
10
9
8
7
6
5
4
3
2
1
0
Below 7.00g
7.00-7.05g
7.05-7.10g
7.10-7.15g
7.15-7.20g
7.20-7.25g
7.25-7.30g
7.30-7.35g
7.35-7.40g
7.40-7.45g
7.45-7.50g
7.50-7.55g
7.55-7.60g
7.60-7.65g
7.65-7.70g
7.70-7.75g
7.75-7.80g
7.80-7.85g
7.85-7.90g
ΤΕΙΣΗΝ (DiILA) (n=8)
ΑΝΑΞΙΚ (DiILA) (n=32)
ΠΡΑΞΟΥ (DiILA) (n=10)
ΤΙΜΕΣΙΑ (DiILA) (n=6)
ΚΤΗΣ(Ι) (DiILB) (n=5)
ΑΚΟΥ (DiILB) (n=6)
TINA (DiILC) (n=1)
ΑΡΙΣΤΙ (DiILD) (n=1)



Series	Total	Die study specimens	Obverses	Reverses
DI	7	5	1	2
DII	4	4	2	2
DIII	21	20	9	12
DIIII	9	8	2	2
Christodoulos	5	5	2	3

Series	Total Weighed	Below 3.10g	3.10-3.15g	3.15-3.20g	3.20-3.25g	3.25-3.30g	3.30-3.35g	3.35-3.40g	3.40-3.45g	3.45-3.50g	3.50-3.55g	3.55-3.60g	3.60-3.65g	3.65-3.70g	3.70-3.75g	3.75-3.80g	3.80-3.85g	3.85-3.90g	3.90-3.95g	3.95-4.00g
DI (ΠΑΡ)	7	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
DII (Ivy wreath)	4	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0
DIII (Mint marks)	21	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	3	1	4	2	2	2	0
DIIII (ΠΑΡΙ Θ)	8	1	0	0	0	2	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Christodoulos	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0



Series	Total	Die study specimens	Obverses	Reverses
Hemiobol	1	1	1	1
Trihemiobol	1	1	1	1
Diobol I	1	1	1	1
Diobol II	7	7	4	4
Hemidrachm I	17	17	3	4
Hemidrachm II	6	6	2	3

Series	Total Weighed	0.25-0.30g	break	0.90-0.95g	break	1.10-1.15g	1.15-1.20g	1.20-1.25g	1.25-1.55g
HO	1	1		0		0	0	0	0
THO	1	0		1		0	0	0	0
DiOI	1	0		0		0	0	1	0
DiOII	7	0		0		1	1	3	2

Series	Total Weighed	1.60-1.65g	1.65-1.70g	1.70-1.75g	1.75-1.80g	1.80-1.85g	1.85-1.90g	1.90-1.95g	1.95-2.00g	2.00-2.05g	2.05-2.10g
HI	15	1	2	0	1	5	1	2	2	1	0
HII	6	1	2	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0

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