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ISOTELEIA AT ATHENS FOR PHANOSTRATOS AND ANOTHER MAN

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## ISOTELEIA AT ATHENS FOR PHANOSTRATOS AND ANOTHER MAN

In this article I bring together two, hitherto separated, fragments that, in my opinion, form parts of the same decree, thereby adding to what was previously known about each of them. I also offer evidence that settles the controversy that has existed so far regarding the date of one of them.

One of these fragments, IG ii<sup>2</sup>, 113 (EM 7321), was first published as IG ii, 279. Although the text of the decree is lost, except for part of the preamble, the 4-line heading, the first three lines of which were carved in larger letters within the tympanum of the pediment and the fourth in smaller, more closely spaced, letters on the horizontal fascia, indicates that two foreigners, one unknown, the other named Phanostatos, and their descendants, were granted Isoteleia (the right to pay taxes as if one were an Athenian) at Athens.<sup>1</sup> Two different restorations of this text have been put forward, and I print these side by side here:

	Kirchner (IG ii <sup>2</sup> , 113)	Wilhelm (1942, modified by Walbank)
362/1 B.C.	Θεοί Non-στοιχ.	327/6 B.C Θεοί Non.στοιχ.
	[Ἴς]οτέλεια	[Ἴς]οτέλεια
	-----ι καὶ Φανοστρά[τωι]	[---6--]ι καὶ Φανοστρά[τωι]
	-----ίος αὐτοῖς καὶ [ἐκγόνοις	[-----12--]ίοις αὐτοῖς καὶ [ἐκγονόις]
	στοιχ.19	στοιχ.20
5	[ἐπὶ Μόλων?]ος ἄρχ[οντος ἐ]-	[ἐπὶ Ἡγήμων]ος ἄρχ[οντος ὕ]
	[πὶ τῆς Πανδ]ιον[ίδος ἕκτ]-	[ἐπὶ τῆς Πανδ]ιον[ίδος...]-
	[ἡς πρυτανεί]α ...7....	[.ἡς πρυτανεί]α [...7....]

The text of the preamble was discussed by Wilhelm in 1889;<sup>2</sup> he first printed a restoration of lines 5-7 with a 19-letter line that had been suggested to him by Wilamowitz, involving the restoration of an archon-formula [ἐφ' Ἡγήμων]ος ἄρχ[οντος], followed by a prytany-formula [ἐπὶ τῆς Πανδ]ιον[ίδος ἕκτης πρυτανείας]. This gave a date in 327/6 B.C., but created a calendar-problem that was recognized first by Kirchner when he re-edited this document for IG ii<sup>2</sup>: the sixth prytany in 327/6 B.C. was already known (from IG ii<sup>2</sup>, 357) to have been held by Aiantis, so that restoration of Hegemon's name as that of the archon became impossible. From the period under consideration there were only two archon-names of the right length and with a genitive ending in -ος that could be restored here, Molon (326/1) and Hegemon (327/6), and Kirchner therefore moved the decree back to 362/1 B.C., despite the evidence of the letter-forms. Wilhelm returned to the problem in 1942,<sup>3</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> On Isoteleia and its attendant privileges, see A.S.Henry, *Honours and Privileges in Athenian Decrees* (Hildesheim 1983) 246-249.

<sup>2</sup> A.Wilhelm, *Hermes* 24 (1889) 142.

<sup>3</sup> A.Wilhelm, *Attische Urkunden* 5 (Wien 1942) 154-156.

pointed out that, since the invocation Θεοί in line 1 was centred on the stele, the text below it must likewise be centred; he was thus able to offer a restoration with a 20-letter line that avoided the calendar-crux by allowing six letter-spaces for the number of the prytany (thus, either the first or the third, since the ninth is known to have been Oineis), instead of the five restored by Kirchner, substituting for Wilamowitz' elided version of the archon-formula in line 5 the "normal" [ἐπὶ Ἡγήμων]οἰ ἄρχ[οντος] formula, with a vacat at the end of the line. Other editors, however, have tended to accept Kirchner's IG ii<sup>2</sup> text, rather than Wilhelm's 1942 text, with the exception of Schwenk.<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless, the 20-letter line suggested by Wilhelm seems to be preferable, in view of the way in which the text is carefully centered on the stele.

This decree has the same spacing and marble-type as Hesperia 7 (1938) 296-297, No.21 (EM 12918),<sup>5</sup> which was at first assumed by Schweigert to be yet another fragment of IG ii<sup>2</sup>, 414, four fragments that had been restored as parts of a single decree with a 21-letter line; he therefore restored the new fragment, too, with a 21-letter line, suggesting that the decree honoured certain Athenian officials. Subsequently, he changed his mind about IG ii<sup>2</sup>, 414, and assigned two of these fragments (along with other Agora fragments) to the stele of IG ii<sup>2</sup>, 369 (dated to 323/2 B.C.),<sup>6</sup> and the third to that of IG ii<sup>2</sup>, 285 (undated),<sup>7</sup> leaving the fourth (IG ii<sup>2</sup>, 414 a) on its own as a decree dated to 334/3 B.C. and moved by the statesman Lykourgos.<sup>8</sup> In all this re-arrangement EM 12918 seems to have been overlooked, and has attracted little or no interest since then. Schweigert's text of it is shown here:

ca. 330-320 B.C.	[...10.....]ι[.....10.....]	Cτοιχ.21
	[...10.....]ντ[...9.....]	
	[...9.....]απω[...9.....]	
	[...8.....]τοιϰ [δεδόχθαι τ]-	
5	[ὦι δήμωι] ὕ ἐπαι]νέσαι.4..]-	
	[...7 . . . ] οδήμο[ν...8..... ]-	
	[...6 . . ] στρατο[.....9.....]-	
	[...6 . . ]ον κ[α]ῖ ϰ[τεφανῶσαι]	
	[αὐτοῦς . .5 ...]τ[.....9.....]	
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Given the close physical similarity between EM 12918 and IG ii<sup>2</sup>, 113, however, it is worth seeing whether EM 12918 can be restored with a 20-letter line, as has been suggested for IG ii<sup>2</sup>, 113, and, if so, whether the two fragmentary names that Schweigert recognized

<sup>4</sup> C.J.Schwenk, *Athens in the Age of Alexander* (Chicago 1985) 298-300, No.60.

<sup>5</sup> First edited by E.Schweigert. For a photograph, see *Hesperia* 7 (1938) 296.

<sup>6</sup> E.Schweigert, *Hesperia* 8 (1939) 27-30, No.7 (photographs, 28), and 9 (1940) 335-343, No. 42 (photographs, 337); for the final version, see SEG XXI, 298 (= IG ii<sup>2</sup>, 369 + IG ii<sup>2</sup>, 414 bc + Agora I 2752 + 4935 a-f + 5496).

<sup>7</sup> Schweigert, *op.cit.*, 339; for the final version, see SEG XXI, 276 (= IG ii<sup>2</sup>, 285 + IG ii<sup>2</sup>, 414 d).

<sup>8</sup> Schweigert, *op.cit.*, 340-341 (photograph, 341).

in its lines 5 and 6 may be those of the two men honoured in IG ii<sup>2</sup>, 113: the space available for the first of these names in IG ii<sup>2</sup>, 113, line 2, is ca 7 letters (including the final letter of the dative, iota, which is preserved on the stone), and the second name is Phanostra[tos]. Waszynski, on the basis of the surviving letters -ιοιc at the beginning of line 3, which he restored as [δημοc]ίoc, suggested that these men were public slaves. Since there is space for about 12 letters before -ίoiс, it is much more likely that these letters are the end of an ethnic, perhaps preceded by a patronymic: the two honorands would thus be brothers.<sup>9</sup>

When we turn to EM 12918, the space available for the first name (lines 5-6) could, indeed, be 7 letters (if the patronymic were, for instance, [Κλε]οδήμου), and the second name (line 7) could well be [Φανό]cτρατο[v]. If I am correct in believing that line 3 of IG ii<sup>2</sup>, 113 contained a patronymic and an ethnic, one might restore the same ethnic, 6 letters in length, in lines 6 and 8 of EM 12918, leaving 9 letter-spaces for the same patronymic in lines 7-8. On this basis, I restore EM 12918 as follows, correcting and modifying Schweigert's text slightly.

	[...9.....]v[.....10.....]	Cτοιχ.20
	[...9.....]vτ[...9.....]	
	[...8.....]απω[...9.....]	
	[...7...]τοιc [δεδόχθαι τ]-	
5	[ῶι δήμωι] ἐπαι[νέcαι. .4..]-	
	[...6...]οδήμο[v ... ιον κα]-	
	[ἰ Φανό]cτρατο[v ... οδήμο]-	
	[v ... ι]ον καὶ c[τεφανῶcαι]	
	[ἐκάτε]ρ[ον αὐ]τ[ῶν χρύcωι (or θάλλου?) c]-	
	[τεφάνωι .....13.....]	

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In line 1 Schweigert printed an iota, but this is, in fact, the right vertical of a nu, the "shadow" of whose diagonal survives in the break. Lines 1-4 will have detailed the services performed by these men, in return for which they received the honours detailed here. In line 5 Schweigert printed a vacat before ἐπαι[νέcαι], but there is really no warranty for this, since the stone actually breaks away vertically at the precise centre of the stoichos, so that an iota is quite possible here, rather than a vacat. In line 9 part of the upper curve of the loop of rho is preserved at the left, below the nu of line 7.

Who were these men? If I am correct in thinking that the ethnic was the same in each case, an ethnic such as that of Tenos (Τήνιοc) would fit, but there are many other possibilities. Unfortunately, names compounded with -demos and -stratos are too common all over the Greek world to provide any indication as to who these men might have been. The only other foreigner named Phanostratos who is mentioned in Attic documents served as a mercenary in

<sup>9</sup> S.Waszynski, *Hermes* 34 (1899) 566.

Athenian service early in the 4th century B.C. His ethnic is abbreviated to two letters: KY, perhaps Κυθήριος, the ethnic of Kythera.<sup>10</sup> This would not fit the space that I believe to be available in IG ii<sup>2</sup>, 113 and EM 12918. Moreover, the activities of this mercenary probably belong in the 390s B.C., which is too far distant in time. The identity of these men therefore remains obscure, but I believe that the question of the date of this document can be resolved.

Since the difference between Kirchner's and Wilhelm's versions involves a space of 35 years, and since there is no other evidence upon which to base a decision, the letter-forms become a vital tool for resolving the problem of which version is correct.

A particular mark of this style is the way in which looped letters, such as beta, omicron, rho, phi and omega are made: in each case, the loop was apparently made with some sort of drill, which produced a rounded hump within the circumference of the loop, rather than a flat surface: on squeezes, these letters thus resemble small lunar craters. Of other letters distinctive to this style, epsilon has a short central horizontal; mu and sigma tend to be the same letter, turned on its side in the case of sigma, which also tends to be somewhat tall and irregularly-angled; phi has a well-shaped, but somewhat flattened loop. Straight strokes are often more deeply cut and splayed out at one end than at the other, so that they appear to be serified: this is particularly obvious in the case of epsilon, mu, sigma, upsilon and phi; the vertical of the latter is usually made with two such strokes, which may or may not meet within the loop. The diameters of omicron and theta vary within this group, perhaps as a result of changes over time.

In addition to Hesperia 7 (1938) 296-297, No. 21, I attribute to the mason who inscribed IG ii<sup>2</sup>, 113 several other documents: SEG XXI, 276 (= IG ii<sup>2</sup>, 285 +), SEG XXI, 298 (= IG ii<sup>2</sup>, 369 +), IG ii<sup>2</sup>, 302, IG ii<sup>2</sup>, 306, IG ii<sup>2</sup>, 371, IG ii<sup>2</sup>, 414 a (to which may belong IG ii<sup>2</sup>, 430), IG ii<sup>2</sup>, 427, and Hesperia 9 (1949) 333-335, Nos. 40 and 41:<sup>11</sup> all these are inscribed with letters of approximately the same height. Another group has rather smaller letters, but essentially the same letter-shapes: to this group belong IG ii<sup>2</sup>, 392 + 586,<sup>12</sup> IG ii<sup>2</sup>, 426, IG ii<sup>2</sup>, 429, IG ii<sup>2</sup>, 437 and IG ii<sup>2</sup>, 627 (to which may belong IG ii<sup>2</sup>, 759). A larger version of the same hand may be represented by IG ii<sup>2</sup>, 335 and 405.<sup>13</sup> All these documents are either securely dated or have been placed in the 330s or the 320s by their editors. No case can be made for dating any inscription by this hand in the 360s B.C.

If the evidence of the letter-forms is accepted and 327/6 B.C. is recognized as the real date of this decree, one can not only restore the name of Hegemon as archon in line 5, but, since the full name of the secretary is well-attested from other decrees of the year 327/6 B.C., one

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<sup>10</sup> IG ii<sup>2</sup>, 1951, line 246; in the next entry (line 247) we find [Ἐχ]έδημος Κυθ. The ethnic is probably the same as that of line 246, but the abbreviated form is longer because the name takes up less space.

<sup>11</sup> For photographs of both, see Hesperia 9 (1940) 334.

<sup>12</sup> Joined by CH. Karapa, Δελτίον 29 (1974) 159, No.1 (photograph, plate 89).

<sup>13</sup> For a photograph of IG ii<sup>2</sup>, 335, see E.Schweigert, Hesperia 9 (1949) 339.

can also restore lines 7ff. as follows: [·ηϙ πρυτανεί]αϙ [ῆι Αὐτοκλήϙ Αὐτίου Ἀχαρνεὺϙ ἐγγραμμάτευεν].

To sum up: The longer 20-letter line suggested by Wilhelm eliminates the calendar-problem that led to the rejection of 327/6 B.C. as the date of IG ii<sup>2</sup>, 113; the letter-forms, in any case, rule out a date as early as 362/1 B.C. EM 12918, too, should be restored with a 20-letter line, rather than with the 21-letter line suggested by Schweigert, and, when this is done, the names in lines 5-8 of EM 12918 may be reconciled with those appearing in lines 3-4 of IG ii<sup>2</sup>, 113. These two metics, who may well have been brothers, were not only awarded crowns, but also the valuable privilege of Isoteleia at Athens.

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