

#### Fourth-century and early Hellenistic reconciliation and amnesty: reception of Athens 403 and other inspirations

##### 1. Imperial Greek Athenocentrism: Plutarch *Praecepta Gerendae Rei Publicae* 814b:

πολλὰ γὰρ ἔστιν ἄλλα τῶν πρότερον Ἑλλήνων διεξιόντα τοῖς νῦν ἡθοποιεῖν καὶ σωφρονίζειν, ὡς Ἀθήνησιν ὑπομιμνήσκοντα μὴ τῶν πολεμικῶν, ἀλλ' οἷόν ἐστι **τὸ ψήφισμα τὸ τῆς ἀμνηστίας ἐπὶ τοῖς τριάκοντα**.

Indeed there are many acts of the Greeks of former times by recounting which the statesman can mould and correct the characters of our contemporaries, for example, at Athens by calling to mind, not deeds in war, but such things as the **decree of amnesty after the downfall of the Thirty Tyrants**....

##### 2. Xenophon on the Athenian reconciliation of 403 BC

###### a) Xenophon on the reconciliation (*Hellenica* 2.4.38):

ἀκούσαντες δὲ πάντων αὐτῶν οἱ ἔφοροι καὶ οἱ ἔκκλητοι, ἐξέπεμψαν πεντεκαίδεκα ἄνδρας εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ ἐπέταξαν σὺν Πausanίᾳ **διαλλάξαι ὅπῃ δύναιντο κάλλιστα. οἱ δὲ διήλλαξαν ἐφ' ᾧ τε εἰρήνην μὲν ἔχειν ὡς πρὸς ἀλλήλους**, ἀπιέναι δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστον πλὴν τῶν τριάκοντα καὶ τῶν ἑνδεκα καὶ τῶν ἐν Πειραιεὶ ἀρξάντων δέκα. εἰ δέ τινες φοβοῖντο τῶν ἐξ ἄστεως, ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς Ἐλευσίνα κατοικεῖν.

When the ephors and the members of the Lacedaemonian assembly had heard all the ambassadors, they dispatched **fifteen men** to Athens and commissioned them, in conjunction with Pausanias, **to effect a reconciliation in the best way they could. And they effected a reconciliation on these terms, that the two parties should be at peace with one another** and that every man should depart to his home except the members of the Thirty, and of the Eleven, and of the Ten who had ruled in Piraeus. They also decided that if any of the men in the city were afraid, they should settle at Eleusis.

###### b) Xenophon *Hellenica* 2.4.41 (continuing the narrative in a) after an assembly speech by Thrasyboulos):

ὑστέρῳ δὲ χρόνῳ ἀκούσαντες ξένους μισθοῦσθαι τοὺς Ἐλευσῖνι, στρατευσάμενοι πανδημεὶ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τοὺς μὲν στρατηγούς αὐτῶν εἰς λόγους ἐλθόντας ἀπέκτειναν, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις εἰσπέμψαντες τοὺς φίλους καὶ ἀναγκαίους ἔπεισαν συναλλαγῆναι. **καὶ ὁμόσαντες ὅρκους ἧ μὴν μὴ μνησικακήσειν, ἔτι καὶ νῦν ὁμοῦ τε πολιτεύονται καὶ τοῖς ὅρκοις ἐμμένει ὁ δῆμος**.

But at a later period, on learning that the men at Eleusis were hiring mercenary troops, they [the restored Athenians] took the field with their whole force against them, put to death their generals when they came for a conference, and then, by sending to the others their friends and kinsmen, persuaded them to become reconciled. **And, having pledged under oath that in very truth they would not remember past grievances, the two parties even to this day live together as fellow-citizens and the commons abide by their oaths.**

##### 3. The *Ath. Pol.* on the Athenian reconciliation

###### a) [Aristotle] *Ath. Pol.* 38.1, 3–4 (on the background to the reconciliation):

[1] μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καταλαβόντων τῶν ἀπὸ Φυλῆς τὴν Μουνιχίαν, καὶ νικησάντων μάχῃ τοὺς μετὰ τῶν τριάκοντα βοηθήσαντας, ἐπαναχωρήσαντες μετὰ τὸν κίνδυνον οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως, καὶ συναθροισθέντες εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ τοὺς μὲν τριάκοντα κατέλυσαν, αἰροῦνται δὲ δέκα τῶν πολιτῶν αὐτοκράτορας ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ πολέμου κατάλυσιν. οἱ δὲ παραλαβόντες τὴν ἀρχήν, ἐφ' οἷς μὲν ἡρέθησαν οὐκ ἔπραττον, ἔπεμπον δ' εἰς Λακεδαιμόνα βοήθειαν

μεταπεμπόμενοι καὶ χρήματα δανειζόμενοι.... [3] ὥς δ' οἱ τὸν Πειραιέα καὶ τὴν Μουνιχίαν ἔχοντες, ἀποστάντος ἅπαντος τοῦ δήμου πρὸς αὐτούς, ἐπεκράτουν τῷ πολέμῳ, τότε καταλύσαντες τοὺς δέκα τοὺς πρώτους αἰρεθέντας ἄλλους εἵλοντο δέκα τοὺς βελτίστους εἶναι δοκοῦντας, ἐφ' ὧν συνέβη καὶ τὰς διαλύσεις γενέσθαι καὶ κατελθεῖν τὸν δῆμον, συναγωνιζομένων καὶ προθυμουμένων τούτων.... [4] ἐπὶ πέρας γὰρ ἤγαγε τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ τὰς διαλύσεις Πausanίας ὁ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεύς, μετὰ τῶν δέκα διαλλακτῶν τῶν ὕστερον ἀφικομένων ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος, οὓς αὐτὸς ἐσπούδασεν ἐλθεῖν.

1. After this the refugees in Phyle took Munichia, and defeated in action the force that came with the Thirty to the defence; and the force from the city, on their return after this dangerous expedition, held a meeting in the market-place the day after, deposed the Thirty, and elected ten of the citizens as plenipotentiaries to bring the war to a conclusion. These, however, having obtained this office did not proceed to do the things for the purpose of which they had been elected, but sent to Sparta to procure help and to borrow funds.... [Followed by section 2 on the abuse of power by the Ten.] 3. But the party holding Peiraeus and Munichia, now that the whole of the people had come over to their side, began to get the upper hand in the war, and so finally they deposed the ten who had been elected first, and chose ten others whom they thought to be the best men, and while these were in power **there took place the reconciliation and the return of the people**, with the active and eager support of the ten.... [4] **For it was Pausanias the king of the Lacedaemonians who brought the peace and reconciliation to fulfillment, with the aid of the ten mediators who later arrived from Sparta**, and whose coming was due to the efforts of the king himself....

b) [Aristotle] *Ath. Pol.* 39 (the terms of the reconciliation itself):

ἐγένοντο δ' αἱ διαλύσεις ἐπ' Εὐκλείδου ἄρχοντος κατὰ τὰς συνθήκας τάσδε. τοὺς βουλομένους Ἀθηναίων τῶν ἐν ἄστει μεινάντων ἐξοικεῖν ἔχειν Ἐλευσίνα ἐπιτίμους ὄντας καὶ κυρίους καὶ αὐτοκράτορας ἑαυτῶν καὶ τὰ αὐτῶν καρπουμένους. [2] τὸ δ' ἱερὸν εἶναι κοινὸν ἀμφοτέρων, ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δὲ Κήρυκας καὶ Εὐμολπίδας κατὰ τὰ πάτρια. μὴ ἐξεῖναι δὲ μήτε τοῖς Ἐλευσινόθεν εἰς τὸ ἄστυ μήτε τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως Ἐλευσινάδε ἰέναι, πλὴν μυστηρίους ἑκατέρους. συντελεῖν δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν προσιόντων εἰς τὸ συμμαχικὸν καθάπερ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἀθηναίους. [3] ἐὰν δέ τινες τῶν ἀπιόντων οἰκίαν λαμβάνωσιν Ἐλευσίνι, συμπεῖθειν τὸν κεκτημένον. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ συμβαίνωσιν ἀλλήλοις, τιμητὰς ἐλέσθαι τρεῖς ἑκάτερον, καὶ ἦντιν' ἂν οὗτοι τάξωσιν τιμὴν λαμβάνειν. Ἐλευσινίων δὲ συνοικεῖν οὓς ἂν οὗτοι βούλωνται. [4] τὴν δ' ἀπογραφὴν εἶναι τοῖς βουλομένοις ἐξοικεῖν, τοῖς μὲν ἐπιδημοῦσιν ἀφ' ἧς ἂν ὁμόσωσιν τοὺς ὄρκους δέκα ἡμερῶν, τὴν δ' ἐξοίκησιν εἴκοσι, τοῖς δ' ἀποδημοῦσιν ἐπειδὰν ἐπιδημήσωσιν κατὰ ταυτά. [5] μὴ ἐξεῖναι δὲ ἄρχειν μηδεμίαν ἀρχὴν τῶν ἐν τῷ ἄστει τὸν Ἐλευσῖνι κατοικοῦντα, πρὶν ἂν ἀπογράφηται πάλιν ἐν τῷ ἄστει κατοικεῖν. **τὰς δὲ δίκας τοῦ φόνου εἶναι κατὰ τὰ πάτρια, εἴ τίς τινα ΑΥΤΟΧΕΙΡΑΕΚΤΕΙΣΗΕΡΩΣΑΣ.** [6] τῶν δὲ παρεληλυθότων μηδενὶ πρὸς μηδένα μνησικακεῖν ἐξεῖναι, πλὴν πρὸς τοὺς τριάκοντα καὶ τοὺς δέκα καὶ τοὺς ἑνδεκα καὶ τοὺς τοῦ Πειραιέως ἄρξαντας, μηδὲ πρὸς τοὺς, ἐὰν διδῶσιν εὐθύνας. εὐθύνας δὲ δοῦναι τοὺς μὲν ἐν Πειραιεῖ ἄρξαντας ἐν τοῖς ἐν Πειραιεῖ, τοὺς δ' ἐν τῷ ἄστει ἐν τοῖς τὰ τιμήματα παρεχομένοις. εἴθ' οὕτως ἐξοικεῖν τοὺς ἐθέλοντας. τὰ δὲ χρήματα ἃ ἐδανείσαντο εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἑκατέρους ἀποδοῦναι χωρίς.

[1] **The reconciliation** took place in the archonship of Eucleides on the following terms: 'That those of the Athenians who have remained in the city that desire to emigrate do have Eleusis, retaining their full rights, and having sovereignty and self-government, and enjoying their own revenues. [2] And that the temple be the common property of both sections, and be under the superintendence of the Heralds and the Eumolpidae according to the ancestral practice. But that it be not lawful for those at Eleusis to go into the city, nor for those in the city to go to Eleusis, except in either case at a celebration of the Mysteries. And that they contribute from their revenues like the other Athenians to the fund for the common defence.

[3] And that any of those who go away that take a house at Eleusis be helped to obtain the consent of the owner; and if they cannot come to terms with one another, each party to choose three valuers, and to accept whatever price these valuers assess. And that of the people of Eleusis those whom the settlers may be willing to allow do dwell in the place with them. [4] And that the registration of those that wish to migrate be, for those who are in the country, within ten days of the date of their swearing the oaths of peace, and their migration within twenty days, and for those abroad similarly from the date when they return. [5] And that it be not permitted for anyone residing at Eleusis to hold any of the offices in the city until he removes himself from the roll in order to reside again in the city. **And that trials for homicide be in accordance with the ancestral ordinances, if anyone .... ???? anyone else.** [6] **And that no one should bear grudges concerning past events, except against the Thirty, the Ten, the Eleven, and those that have been governors of Peiraeus, and not even against them if they render account.** And that those who had been governors in Peiraeus render account before the courts held in Peiraeus, but those in the city before a court of persons that can produce ratable property; or that those who will not render account on these terms do migrate. And that each party separately repay their loans contracted for the war.'

For the capital letters at the end of section 5, the papyrus has εἴ τίς τινα ΑΥΤΟΧΙΠΑΕΚΤΙΣΙΟΤΡΩΣΑΣ, with an epsilon added above the first iota, an epsilon inserted above the second iota and the στ crossed out with ιε inserted above. Kenyon's text, εἴ τίς τινα αὐτοχειρία ἔκτεινεν ἢ ἔτρωσεν, is widely printed, but does it fit the context or the surviving characters?

4. Extracts from the reconciliation of the Dikaiopolitans during the reign of Perdikkas of Macedon (365–359 BC) (*SEG 57.576*) – inspired by the Athenian example? But also local, Macedonian, Panhellenic influences?

a) The opening decree and the first substantive decree:

<p>[<i>vacat</i> Θεός? ] Τύχη Ἀ[γ]αθή. ἔδοξε τῇ ἐκκλησίῃ γνώμην [περ]ὶ τῶν συναλ[λα]γῶν παρήν[εγκε]ν? <b>Λύ[κιος καὶ οἱ συναλλακταί.</b> περὶ τ[ού]των πάντων ψηφί[ζ]ο[ν]τ[α] Λύκιον καὶ ἐπιτελέοντα ἐν [τ]ῇ ἐκκλησίῃ κύριον εἶ[ν]αι. ἔδοξε τῇ (l. 5) ἐκκλησίῃ τοὺς [π]ολίτας πάντας ὁμόσ[α]ι τὸν ὄρκον τὸ[ν] συγγεγραμμένο[ν] ἐν τρισὶν ἱεροῖς τοῖς [ἀ]γιωτάτοις καὶ ἐν ἀγορῇ, Δία, Γῆν, [Ἡ]λιομ, Ποσειδῶ, κάπρο[ν] ἱερεύσαντας. ὀρκωσάτω δὲ Λύκιος καὶ οἱ συναλλακταί. τὸν δὲ ὄρκον καὶ τὰ πιστώματα πάντα γράψαντας εἰς λίθον (l. 10) θεῖναι εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀθηναίης. [θε]ῖναι δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν τὸν ὄρκον τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ τὰ πιστώματα γράψαντας εἰς λίθον. ὁμόσαι δὲ πάντας ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις....</p> <p>[There follow regulations about the late swearing of those who are away or ill.]</p> <p>(l. 21) <b>μάρτυρα δ[έ] καὶ συνίστορ[α] τῶν ὀρκῶν καὶ τῶν πιστωμάτων π[ά]ντων</b></p>	<p>[<i>vacat</i> God (?)] Good Fortune. <u>Resolved by the assembly: Lykios and the conciliators</u> made the following proposal concerning the reconciliation. Concerning all relevant matters, Lykios should have authority for putting them to the vote and bringing them into force in the assembly. <u>Resolved by (l. 5) the assembly:</u> all the citizens should swear the oath which has been drawn up in the three most sacred sanctuaries and in the agora, by Zeus, Earth, Sun and Poseidon, having sacrificed a boar. Let Lykios and the conciliators administer the oath. Having written up the oath and all the pledges on stone, (10) they should place them in the sanctuary of Athene. They should also place in the agora the same oath and the pledges, having written them on stone. All should swear within three days. ....</p> <p>[There follow regulations about the later swearing of those who are away or ill.]</p>
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<p>Περδί[κ]καμ ποιήσασθαι, δεηθῆναι δὲ αὐ[το]ῦ, ἄν τινὲς ποτε τοὺς ὅρκους κ[αί] τὰ πιστώματα ἐ[γβ]άλλωσι, τούτους (l. 25) δυνατὸν [ἐ]όντα θανάτῳ ζ[ημι]ῶσαι· ἦν τε φύγωσι, ἀγωγίμους εἶν' αὐτοὺς Δι[και]οπολίταις ἐκ τῆς χώρας πάσης ἧς ἐπάρχει Π[ερ]δίκκας.</p>	<p>(l. 21) <b>Perdikkas should be made witness and guarantor of the oaths and all the pledges</b> and it should be requested of him that, if anyone overturns the oaths and the pledges, he should, (25) if he is able, put them to death, and that, <b>if they flee, the Dikaiopolitans should be allowed to arrest them anywhere in the territory of which Perdikkas is in control.</b></p>
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b) The second decree, regulating murder cases and other cases relating to the *stasis*:

<p>ἔδοξε τῇ ἐκκλησίῃ· δίκας ὅσαι φονικαὶ ἐσι πρὸ τ[ῆς] Γοργύθου ἀρχῆς, αὐτὰς ἐγδικάσασθαι πάσας ἐπὶ Γοργύθου[υ] ἄρχον[τος] μηνὸς Δαφνηφοριῶνος (l. 30) πέμπτη φθίνοντος· ὃς δ' ἂ[μ] μὴ ἐγδικάσῃται, [ἀ]πόκλετα αὐτῷ ἔστω. ἂμ δέ τις δῶι δίκημ φο[νι]κή&lt;v&gt; ἢ δικάζηται[ι] ὅσα ἀπόκλετα ἢ ἐκκλησί[η] ἐψηφίσατο, ὁ μὲν[ν] δ[ικ]α[ζ]όμενος φο[νι]γέτω τὴν γῆν τὴν Δικαιοπολιτῶν καὶ τὰ [χρ]ήματα αὐτοῦ ἔ[σ]τω δημόσια, ὁ δὲ διδο[ύ]ς τὴν δίκην ἄτιμο[ς] ἔ[σ]τω καὶ τὰ (l. 35) χρήματα [α]ὐτοῦ ἱερὰ καὶ δημόσια ἔστω τοῦ Ἀ[π]όλλωνος τ[ο]ῦ Δαφνηφόρου. εἰ δέ τι ἄλλο ἐγκαλοῦσι Δήμ[αρχο]ς ἢ οἱ μετὰ Δημάρχου φυγόντες τοῖς μετὰ Ξενοφῶν[τος] ἢ Ξενοφῶν ἢ οἱ μετὰ Ξενοφῶντος τούτοις ἐγκαλοῦ[σ]ι, ὅσα πρὸ τῆς Γοργύθου ἀρχῆς ἐγκλήματα ἐγένοντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους, τούτοις (l. 40) ἀπόκλετα εἶναι πάντα καὶ περὶ τ[ο]ύτων μήτε δικαζέσθω μηδεὶς μήτε ἄρχων δίκην διδῶν· ἂ[ν] δὲ δικάζεται ἢ διδῶν, ὁ μὲν δικαζόμενος ἄτιμος ἔ[σ]τω καὶ τὰ χρήματα αὐτοῦ δημόσια ἔστω, τοῦ δὲ διδο[ύ]ντος τὴν δίκην τὰ χρήματα ἱερὰ καὶ δημόσια ἔστω τ[ο]ῦ Ἀπόλλωνος (l. 45 τοῦ Δαφνηφόρου).</p>	<p><u>Resolved by the assembly: Proceedings concerning all the murder cases which arose before the magistracy of Gorgythos should be conducted during Gorgythos' magistracy on the fifth day from the end (30) of the month of Daphnephorion. If anyone does not conduct legal proceedings, let the charges be excluded for him.</u> If anyone admits a murder case or brings a suit which the assembly voted to exclude, the man who brings the suit should be exiled from the territory of the Dikaiopolitans and his property should be made public and the one who admits the case should lose his civic rights (35) and his property should be made public and sacred to Apollo Daphnephoros. If Demarchos or those who fled with Demarchos <b>make any other charges</b> against Xenophon's faction, or Xenophon or Xenophon's faction make charges against them, the charges which arose between them before Gorgythos' magistracy <b>should all be excluded</b> and no one (40) should bring a suit and no magistrate should admit a case about them. If anyone brings a suit or admits a case, the one who brings the suit should lose his civic rights and his property should be made public and the property of the one who admits the case should be made public and sacred to Apollo (45) Daphnephoros.</p>
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c) There follow two further decrees regulating the participation of certain named individuals in the different parts of the settlement (trials, oath, pledges) on a different timescale. This part concludes:

<p>(l. 61) οἱ δὲ ὅρκοι καὶ τὰ πιστώματα ἐγένον[το] καὶ τὰ ἀπόκλετα τοῖς ἄλλοις</p>	<p>(l. 61) The oaths and the pledges and the exclusions happened for all the other</p>
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πολίταις πᾶσι ἐκτὸς Δάφνωνος τοῦ Πολυζήλο καὶ Κηφισοδώρ[ο] τοῦ Ἀγαθοκλέος. τοῦτοις δέ, ἐπειδὴν τὰς δίκας δῶσ[ι] καὶ δέξονται κατὰ τὸν νόμον (l. 65), <b>ἂν ἀποφύγωσι, μετεῖνα&lt;ι&gt; τῶν ὅρκων κα[ὶ τῶ]μ πιστωμάτων</b> πάντων, ὥμπερ τοῖς ἄλλοις πολίταις.	citizens except for Daphnon, son of Polyzelos, and Kephisodoros, son of Agathokles. These men, whenever they bring and incur suits (65) according to the law, <b>if they are acquitted, should participate in all the oaths and the pledges</b> , the same as the other citizens.
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d) There follows the oath, which opens as follows:

(l. 67) <b>ὁρκος· πολιτεύσομαι ἐπίτασι δικαί&lt;ω&gt;ς καὶ δημοσίαι καὶ ἰδίαί</b> καὶ τῇ πολιτείαν οὐ μεταστήσω τῇ πατρίαν, οὐδὲ ξένους εἰσδέξομαι ἐπὶ βλάβῃ τοῦ κοινού (l. 70) τοῦ Δικαιοπολιτέων οὐτὲ ἰδιώτεω οὐδὲ ἐνός· <b>καὶ οὐ μνησικακήσω οὐδενὶ οὐτ[ε] λόγῳ οὔτε ἔργῳ</b> καὶ οὐ θανατώσω οὐδένα οὐδὲ φυγῇ ζημιώσω οὐδὲ χρήματα ἀφαιρήσομ[α]ι ἕνεκα τῶμ παρηκόντων· καὶ ἂν τις μνησικακῇ, οὐκ αὐ[τ]ῷ ἐπιτρέψω· καὶ ἀπὸ τῶμ βωμῶν καθελέω καὶ καθαιρεθ[ή]σομαι· (l. 75) <b>καὶ πίστιν δώσω καὶ δέξομαι τὴν αὐτήν</b> · καὶ ἀγνῶ καὶ ἀγνιούμαι καθότι ἂν τάξ[η] [τ]ὸ κοινόν· καὶ εἴ τινα ἐπίστωσα [ῆ] ἐπιστωσάμην, δώσω καὶ δ[έ]ξομαι καθάπερ ἐπίστωσα καὶ (l. 80) ἐπιστωσάμην· ἔν τε ταῖς δίκαις αἷς ἐδίκασεν ἢ πόλις ἐμμενέω· καὶ εἴ τινα ἄλλον ὅρκ[ον] ὥμοσα, λύω, τόνδε δὲ σπουδαιότατομ ποιήσομαι.	<b>Oath: I will be just in my behaviour as a citizen towards all in public and in private affairs.</b> I will not change the ancestral constitution, nor will I admit foreigners to the detriment of the commonwealth (70) of the Dikaioopolitans or of any individual. <b>I will not bear grudges towards anyone in word or deed.</b> I will not put anyone to death or punish anyone with exile or confiscate anyone's property for the sake of what is in the past. If anyone does bear a grudge, I will not allow him. I will take down (others) from the altars (75) and be taken down myself. <b>I will give and receive the same good faith.</b> I will give and receive purification as the commonwealth orders. If I bound anyone by a pledge or gave a pledge myself, I will give and receive as I exacted or gave (80) a pledge. I will remain faithful to the judgements which the polis made. If I swore some other oath, I revoke it, and I will make this one the most binding.
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## 5. Reconciliation of the Telians in the later fourth century BC by conciliators from Cos (IG XII 4 1 132) – further from the Athenian model?

a) The opening decree:

Face A, fr. a: [ἔδοξε τῷ δάμῳι, γνώ]μα πρυτανίων· ἐπειδὴ vac. [ὁ δᾶμος δηλόμενος δι]αλυθῆμεν ποτὶ τοὺς δια[φερομένους ἐ]ψαφίζ[α]το ἐπιτράψαι Κώιοις ὑπὲρ [ὧν διεφέροντο ποτ' ἄλλ]άλους πάντων, <b>ὅπως ὁμο[νοιῶντες ἐν δαμοκρα]τίαι πολιτεύωνται</b> , ὁ δὲ δᾶ[μος] (l. 5) ὁ Κώϊων μεμναμένο[ς] τᾶς εὐνοίας ἐψαφίζατο [ἐ]ξαποστεῖλαι <b>ποτὶ τὰς διαλύσεις</b> ἀνδρας κα[λοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς –3–4–]γόραν Μίκωνος, Ἀριστω[– – – – –c.15– – – – –], Χάρμιππον Χαρμύλου, [– – – – –c.20–	Resolved by the people, on the proposal of the <i>prytaneis</i> : since the people, <b>wishing to be reconciled with those in dispute</b> , voted to refer to the Coans all the matters about which they were in dispute with each other, <b>in order that (l. 5) they might consensually run their affairs under democracy</b> , and the people of the Coans mindful of the good-will between us voted to send out <b>to take charge of the reconciliation</b> virtuous and good men, Orthagoras son of Mikon, Ariston son of
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<p>— — — —]να Ξενοδίκου, τοὶ δὲ (l. 10) [ἐξἀπεσταλμένοι διαλλακτα]ὶ διέλυσαν καλῶς [καὶ δικαίως τὸν δᾶμον vacat ], δεδοχθαι τᾷ ἐκ[κλησίαι· ἐπαινέσαι μὲν τὸν δᾶμο]ν τὸν Κώϊων [καὶ στεφανῶσαι στεφάνῳ χρυσέῳ ἀπὸ] δραχμᾶ[ν] [χιλιᾶν, ἐπαινέσαι δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐπὶ] τῷ δ[ικαίως (l. 15) διαλῦσαι τὸν δᾶμον τὸν Τηλίων — — — —]</p>	<p>[.....], Charmippos son of Charmylos, (l. 10) [.....]n son of Xenodikos, and the conciliators who had been sent out reconciled virtuously and justly those in dispute, it was resolved by the assembly: to praise the people of the Coans and to crown them with a gold crown worth a thousand drachmas, and to praise the men for reconciling the people of the Telians justly....</p>
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b) Face A, fr. b contains a decree confirming the conciliators' decision, which seems to be reported in full in their own words on face B, fr. a. Those who had lost public and private cases and contested the fines imposed – which had apparently led to their exile and confiscation of their property – were to be assigned liturgies (a contribution to a hecatomb, repairs to an altar of Asklepios) equal to the value of their fines. This was to lead to their reintegration into the citizen-body and the restoration of their property, with the buyers compensated.

c) The oath to be sworn by all citizens:

<p>ὅπως δὲ Τήλιοι καὶ εἰς τὸν ἐπίλοι[π]ον (l. 125) χρόνον ὁμονοεῦντες διατελῶντι, ὁμοσάντω τοὶ γεγενημέ[ν]οι ἀπὸ τε ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἐτέων πάντες θεὸς τὸς ὀρκίος [κ]ατὰ ἱερῶν νε[οκ]αύτων τὸν ὄρκον τόνδε· »ἐμμένεω ἐν τῷ πολιτεύματι τῷ καθεστακῶτι καὶ διαφυλαξέω τὴν δαμοκρατίαν καὶ οὐ μνασικακησέω περὶ τῶν [ἐν ταῖ κ]ρίσ[ει] γενομένων οὐδὲ πραξέω παρὰ τὰν διάλυσιν τάνδε οὐδὲν (l. 130) [οὐδὲ] ὄπλα ἐναντία θησεῦμαι τῷ δάμῳ οὐδὲ τὰν ἄκραν καταλαμψεῦντι συμβουλευσέω οὐδὲ ἄλλῳ ἐπιβουλεύοντι οὐδὲ καταλύοντι τὸν δᾶμον εἰδὼς ἐπιτραπέω· αἱ δὲ κα αἰσθωμαί τινα νεωτερίζοντα ἢ συλλόγους συνάγοντα ἐπὶ καταλύσει τοῦ δάμου, δηλωσέω τοῖς ἄρχουσιν· εὐορκεῦντι μέμ μοι ἤμεν πολλὰ ἀγαθὰ, ἐφιορκεῦντι δὲ τὰ ἐναντία« (l. 135).</p>	<p>In order that the Telians should continue for the rest of time living in harmony, let all those over eighteen swear by the gods of oaths with freshly burnt sacrifices the following oath: <b>‘I will remain faithful to the established constitution and I will protect the democracy and I will not bear grudges (l. 130) about the things covered in the judgement (?), nor will I do anything contrary to this reconciliation,</b> nor will I bear arms against the people, nor will I conspire with anyone who has seized the acropolis, nor will I knowingly give permission to any other conspirator or to any man aiming to dissolve the democracy. If I perceive anyone making revolution or calling meetings aiming at the dissolution of the people I (l. 135) will report it to the magistrates. May many good things happen to me if I swear justly, and the opposite if I perjure myself.’</p>
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d) Kings are not prominent in the surviving text – but note the reference to ‘kings’ in l. 108 (τοὶ βασιλεῖς ὑπ[ὸ] μνα[μα]).

Other trends/examples of fourth-century/early Hellenistic reconciliation to compare: local specificity more striking than imitation of Athens?

6. Reconciliation after *stasis* through internal procedures

a) Rhodes-Osborne 85A (*SEG* 36.750) and 85B (*IG* XII 2 6): two reconciliation settlements after *stasis* at Mytilene, probably both from the 330s BC. 85B records complex procedures for re-establishing civic life, with proposals to be developed by a board of 20, with 10 representatives of ‘those who have returned’ and 10 representatives of ‘those who were previously in the city’ ([διαλλάκταις δ’ ἔλεσθ]αι τὸν δᾶμον ἄνδρας εἴκοσι, δέκα [μὲν ἐκ τῶν κατελθόντων, δέκα] αὖ ἐκ τῶν ἐν ταῖ πόλει πρόσθε ἐόντων, ll. 21–2); their remit was apparently mainly concerned with the interests of the two groups, especially questions of property rights; the settlement also makes reference to a decision of a king.

b) *IPArk* 24 – Alipheira, 273 BC? This settlement came after a military intervention by a certain Kleonymos (a Spartan allied with Pyrrhos against the Macedonians?), who expelled a garrison, but the reconciliation itself seems to have been an internal affair (no external conciliators are mentioned). Note ll. 4–8: **μηδένα μηδενὶ μνα[σ]ιχολῆσαι** τῶν πρότερον γεγο[νό]των ἀμφιλλόγων πρὸς ἀλλήλους, **μηδὲ δικάσασθαι μηδένα μηδὲν εἴ τι μῖασμα γέγονε** πρότερον ἢ Κλεώνυμος τὰν πρῶρὰν ἐξάγαγε τὰν Ἀριστολάῳ καὶ τοὺς πειρατὰς ἐξέβαλε (‘let no-one recall anger concerning their previous disputes with one another, and let no-one bring a suit if any crime/violence/murder (?) occurred before Kleonymos expelled the garrison of Aristolaos and drove out the pirates’), with Velliou (2020).

7. Reconciliation after *stasis* with the aid of external conciliators: *SEG* 30.1119, Nakone, fourth or third century BC. The city’s assembly and council endorse recommendations of envoys (πρέσβεις) from Segesta, including the ritual of ‘brother-making’ (*adelphothetia*), through which new ritual brotherhoods (for the cult of Homonoia) will be formed by lot (each containing one member each from the two *stasis* factions, plus three neutral citizens). The decision is made to promote future concord (συμφέρει δὲ καὶ ἐς τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον **ὁμον[ο]οῦντας πολιτεύεσθαι**, ll. 5–6).

8. Reintegration of exiles, apparently some after a long gap, through an internal civic decision, but again with the aid of impartial outsiders: Rhodes-Osborne 101 (*SIG*<sup>3</sup> 306), Tegea, c. 324 BC - detailed regulations for the reintegration of exiles, probably prompted by Alexander’s Exiles Decree (a king’s decision is mentioned); the focus is on questions of restoration of exiles’ property and compensation of the new owners.

Appeal to outsiders: a foreign court (τὸ δικαστήριον τὸ ξενικόν) is to give judgement in disputed cases for sixty days; for exiles who return later, Mantinea is to play this role.

Opening of the oath to be sworn by those in the city (ll. 57–62): ὁμνύω Δία Ἀθάναν Ἀπόλλωνα Ποσειδᾶνα, εὐνοήσω τοῖς κατηνθηκόσι τοῖς ἔδοξε ταῖ πόλι καλυδέχασθαι, **καὶ οὐ μνησικακήσω** τῶν οὐδεν[ι] τ[ᾶ]ν ἀν[τι]στάντων ἀπὸ τῆς ἀμέρας τῆς τὸν ὄρκον ὤμοσα, οὐδὲ διακωλύσω τὰν τῶν κατηνθηκότων σωτηρίαν, οὔτε ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν οὔτε ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς τῶν πόλεως ..... (‘I swear by Zeus, Athene, Apollo and Poseidon, I will bear good-will towards those who have returned, whom the polis resolved to welcome back, **and I will not bear grudges** against any of them for what he may have plotted (?) from the day when I swore the oath, nor will I disrupt the safety of those who have returned, neither in .... nor in the common areas (?) of the polis....’).

9. Kings or their officials organising civic reconciliation – usually of contractual disputes which had perhaps not yet reached the level of full *stasis* – through ‘impartial’ conciliators from another polis

For example:

a) *Iscr. di Cos* 129 (early third century BC): the nesiarch Bacchon, probably an appointee of Ptolemy, was involved in the recruitment of Coan conciliators to resolve contractual disputes on Naxos. Note fr. A, ll. 1–4: [— — — — βασι]λέως Πτολεμαίου καὶ Τῶ[.....c.13-15....] **ἡιτήσατο δικαστὰς καὶ διαλ[λακτὰς το]ύς διακρινούοντας περὶ τῶν ἀμφι[σβητουμέ]νων συμβολαίων** (‘of King Ptolemy and .... **he asked for judges and conciliators** to make judgements concerning the disputed **contracts**’). The Coans mediated in many cases and made judgements where necessary; Bacchon was involved in persuading them to stay on longer to finish the job, despite the weight of cases.

b) *IG XII 5* 1065 (early third century BC): the same Bacchon, and then another Ptolemaic official, Philokles of Sidon, arranged for external judges to be sent to Karthaia on Keos to resolve contractual disputes (which might already have led to unrest). Note ll. 2–5: Βάχχων δὲ [εὖνους ὦν τῇ πόλει ἡμῶν καὶ ποιῶν ὅτι] δύνατ[αι ἀγαθὸν διαγραφὴν ἡμῖν ἀπέστειλεν, **ὅ[π]ω[ς] διαλυσάμενοι τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους[ς] [οἰκῶμ]εν τὴν πόλιν ὁμονοοῦν[τες καὶ πρ]άττοντες τὰ [συμφέροντα τῷ βασιλεῖ Πτολεμαίῳ(?), καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐψη]φίσατο κυρίαν αὐτὴν [εἶναι]** (‘Bacchon, being favourable to our polis and doing whatever good he can, sent us an edict, **so that after resolving our internal disputes we might run the polis in concord** and in a way favourable to King Ptolemy (?), and the people voted that the edict should have force’); it was later Philokles who sent judges, who mediated where possible and gave judgement where necessary.

c) *IG XII 6* 1 195 (early third century BC): the same Philokles of Sidon, in Ptolemaic service, organised for judges to be sent from Miletus, Myndos and Halicarnassus, to resolve contractual disputes in Samos. For the motivation attributed to him, see ll. 5–7: ἐπειδὴ **διαφερομένων** τῶμ πολιτῶν τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὑπὲρ τῶν μετεώρων συμβολαίων **βουλόμενος ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ τὴν πόλιν εἶναι** Φιλοκλῆς, βασιλεὺς Σιδονίων.... (‘Since, with the citizens **in dispute** with one another concerning the pending contracts, Philokles, king of the Sidonians, **wishing that the polis should be in concord....**’).

d) *I.Iasos* 608 (*Syll*<sup>3</sup> 426): a lone judge sent from Teos to Bargylia on the instructions of Antiochus I (καθ’ ὅτι ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκέλε[υεν, ll. 3–4).

e) *IG XI 4* 1052 (mid-third century): a single conciliator from Klazomenai was sent by Antigonos Gonatas to resolve contractual disputes on Syros. Note the praise for the conciliator in ll. 22–32: sent by the king to resolve the contractual disputes (ἀποσταλεις ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπικριτῆς **τῶν συμβολαίων**), he carried out his duties in a fine way and in accordance with the *prohairesis* of King Antigonos, and restored the polis to *homonoia*, mediating in most cases and judging where necessary.

ll. 3 – 11 are more difficult to reconstruct and interpret: ἐφρόν[τισεν ἵνα οἱ τε δαψιλεῖς καὶ οἱ μὴ πολυωρο[ύμενοι ὁμοίως? τῶν πολι]τῶν ἐπιμελείας τυγ[χάνωσι καθότι ἦ]ν ὁσιόν τε καὶ δίκαιον καὶ [τὰς προσόδ]ους δὲ ἢ μὴ κομιζομένας [ἢ ὑστερούσ]ας ἵνα ἀπολάβωσι καθάπερ οἱ [νόμοι π]ροστάττουσι (on this restoration, ‘he took care that both the well-off and those receiving help among the citizens should receive like care, as was right and just, and that they should receive the revenues which had not been paid or were delayed, as the laws demand’).



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