

Royal Interactions with Athenian Institutions and Ideology, 338-229

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A) Philip and Alexander, 338-323

1. Dionysius I write to Athens, 369/8: *IG II² 103 = GHI 33*:

περὶ μὲν τῶν γρα[μ]μά[των ὧ]-
[ν ἔπε]νεν Διονύσιος [τῆς] ο[ικ]οδομ[ίας τ]-
[οῦ νε]ῶ καὶ τῆς εἰρή[ν]ης τὸς συ[μ]μά[χους δ]-
[όγμ]α ἐξενεκε[ῖν εἰς] τὸν δῆμον, [ὅτι ἂν α]-
[ὕτο]ις βουλευ[ο]μ[έ]νοι[ς] δοκ[ῇ] ἄρι[στον ε]-
[ῖνα]ι.

2. Philip writes to Athens: [Dem.] 12 = *FGrH* 72 F 41 §1: [Φιλίππου] Ἐπιστολῇ. Φίλιππος Ἀθηναίων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ χαίρειν; §2: πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ Νικίου τοῦ κήρυκος ἀρπασθέντος ἐκ τῆς χώρας τῆς ἐμῆς, οὐχ ὅτι τοῖς παρανομοῦσιν ἐπετιμήσατε τὴν δίκην, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀδικούμενον εἵρξατε δέκα μῆνας· ἃς δ' ἔφερε παρ' ἡμῶν ἐπιστολάς, ἀνέγνωτ' ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος; §22: πολλάκις γὰρ ἐμοῦ γράφοντος ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς.

§1: Letter of Philip. Philip to the council and assembly of the Athenians, greetings; §2 First, after Nikias the herald was snatched from my territory, you did not punish the culprits, but imprisoned the injured party for ten months; and you read my letters which he carried on the speaker's platform; §22: For I have frequently written you letters concerning it [Amphipolis].

Momigliano, A., "Due problemi storiografici. I. Anassimene e la lettera di Filippo. II. Per la caratteristica di Diillo", *RIL* 65 (1932), 569-78.

3. Alexander requests triremes: Plut. *Phoc.* 21.1: Γράψαντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου περὶ τριήρων ὅπως ἀποστείλωσιν αὐτῷ, καὶ τῶν ῥητόρων ἐνισταμένων, τῆς δὲ βουλῆς τὸν Φωκίωνα λέγειν κελευούσης, "λέγω τοῖνυν ὑμῖν" εἶπεν "ἢ τοῖς ὅπλοις κρατεῖν ἢ τοῖς κρατοῦσι φίλους εἶναι."

When Alexander wrote asking the Athenians to send him triremes, and the orators opposed the request, and the council bade Phocion speak upon the matter, "I tell you, then," he said, "either to be superior in arms or to be friends with those who are superior."

4. The Exiles Decree, 324: Diod. Sic. 18.8.4: τούτου δὲ ποιήσαντος τὸ προσταχθὲν λαβὼν ὁ κῆρυξ ἀνέγνω τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τήνδε. "Βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος τοῖς ἐκ τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων φυγάσι. τοῦ μὲν φεύγειν ὑμᾶς οὐχ ἡμεῖς αἴτιοι γεγόναμεν, τοῦ δὲ κατελθεῖν εἰς τὰς ἰδίας πατρίδας ἡμεῖς ἐσόμεθα πλὴν τῶν ἐναγῶν. γεγράφαμεν δὲ Ἀντιπάτρῳ περὶ τούτων, ὅπως τὰς μὴ βουλομένας τῶν πόλεων κατάγειν ἀναγκάσῃ."

Nicanor carried out his instructions, and the herald received and read the following message: "King Alexander to the exiles from the Greek cities. We have not been the cause of your exile, but, save for those of you who are under a curse, we shall be the cause of your return to your own native cities. We have written to Antipater about this to the end that if any cities are not willing to restore you, he may constrain them."

5. Alexander writes concerning Samos: Plut. *Alex.* 28.2: πλὴν περὶ Σάμου γράφων Ἀθηναίους "ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ ἂν" φησὶν "ὑμῖν ἐλευθέραν πόλιν ἔδωκα καὶ ἐνδοξον· ἔχετε δ' αὐτὴν λαβόντες παρὰ τοῦ τότε κυρίου καὶ πατρὸς ἐμοῦ προσαγορευομένου," λέγων τὸν Φίλιππον.

Monti, G., “Le Lettere di Alessandro: storia degli studi”, *Histos* 10 (2016), 17-33; Ibid, *Alexander the Great. Letters: A Selection* (Aris & Phillips, 2021).

6. Olympias, Philoxenus, and Antipater write to Athens, 324: Hyp. 1.8.10-24; 5.8 with Whitehead 2000: 387-9; D.S. 17.108.7; Plut. *Mor.* 531a; Paus. 2.33.4.

7. Olympias writes to Athens regarding dedications at Dodona: Hyp. 4.24-25.

B) Antipater, Demades, and Phocion, 322-319

8a. Peace of 322: Diod. Sic. 18.18.4-6: [4] ὁ δὲ φιланθρώπως αὐτοῖς προσενεχθεὶς συνεχώρησεν ἔχειν τὴν τε πόλιν καὶ τὰς κτήσεις καὶ τὰλλα πάντα· τὴν δὲ πολιτείαν μετέστησεν ἐκ τῆς δημοκρατίας καὶ προσέταξεν ἀπὸ τιμῆσεως εἶναι τὸ πολίτευμα καὶ τοὺς μὲν κεκτημένους πλείω δραχμῶν δισχιλίων κυρίους εἶναι τοῦ πολιτεύματος καὶ τῆς χειροτονίας, τοὺς δὲ κατωτέρω τῆς τιμῆσεως ἅπαντας ὡς ταραχώδεις ὄντας καὶ πολεμικοὺς ἀπήλασε τῆς πολιτείας καὶ τοῖς βουλομένοις χώραν ἔδωκεν εἰς κατοίκησιν ἐν τῇ Θράκῃ. [5] οὗτοι μὲν οὖν ὄντες πλείους τῶν [δισ]μυρίων καὶ δισχιλίων μετεστάθησαν ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος, οἱ δὲ τὴν ὀρισμένην τίμησιν ἔχοντες περὶ ἑννακισχιλίους ἀπεδείχθησαν κύριοι τῆς τε πόλεως καὶ χώρας καὶ κατὰ τοὺς Σόλωνος νόμους ἐπολιτεύοντο· πάντες δὲ τὰς οὐσίας εἰάθησαν ἔχειν ἀναφαιρέτους· φρουράρχον δὲ Μένυλλον καὶ φρουρὰν ἠναγκάσθησαν δεξασθαι τὴν οὐκ ἐπιτρέψουσιν οὐδενὶ νεωτερίζειν. [6] περὶ δὲ τῆς Σάμου τὴν ἀναφορὰν ἐπὶ τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἐποιήσαντο.

[4] He dealt humanely with them and permitted them to retain their city and their possessions and everything else; but he changed the government from a democracy, ordering that political power should depend on a census of wealth, and that those possessing more than two thousand drachmas should be in control of the government and of the elections. He removed from the body of citizens all who possessed less than this amount on the ground that they were disturbers of the peace and warmongers, offering to those who wished it a place for settlement in Thrace. [5] These men, more than twelve thousand in number, were removed from their fatherland; but those who possessed the stated rating, being about nine thousand, were designated as masters of both city and territory and conducted the government according to the constitution of Solon. All were permitted to keep their property uncurtailed. They were, however, forced to receive a garrison with Menyllus as its commander, its purpose being to prevent anyone from undertaking changes in the government. [6] The decision in regard to Samos was referred to the kings.

8b. Peace of 322: Plut. *Phoc.* 27.5: Τῶν δὲ περὶ τὸν Φωκίωνα διαλεχθέντων, ἀπεκρίνατο φιλίαν ἔσεσθαι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ συμμαχίαν, ἐκδοῦσι μὲν τοὺς περὶ Δημοσθένην καὶ Ὑπερείδην, πολιτευομένοις δὲ τὴν πάτριον ἀπὸ τιμήματος πολιτείαν δεξαμένοις δὲ φρουρὰν εἰς τὴν Μουνυχίαν, ἔτι δὲ χρήματα τοῦ πολέμου καὶ ζημίαν προσεκτείσασιν.

But when Phocion had made his plea, Antipater replied that the Athenians could be his friends and allies on condition that they delivered up Demosthenes and Hypereides, reverted to their earlier constitution with its basis of property qualification, received a garrison into Munychia, and, in addition, paid the costs of the war and a fine.

9. Demades and Phocion debate the new *politeia*, 322: Plut. *Phoc.* 20.6: εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ Δημάδου πρὸς αὐτόν· “τί οὐ πείθομεν ὃ Φωκίων Ἀθηναίους τὴν Λακωνικὴν προσδέξασθαι πολιτείαν; ἐὰν γὰρ σὺ κελεύῃς, ἐγὼ γράφειν καὶ λέγειν ἔτοιμός εἰμι.”

And once Demades said to him: “Phocion, why shouldn’t we try to persuade the Athenians to adopt the Spartan polity? For if thou sayest the word, I am ready to introduce and support the requisite law.”

10. Demades draws up the list of citizens in the new *politeuma*, 322: *Index Acad. Herc.* col. 8 ll.3-4: ὕστερόν τε Δημάδου αὐτόν (Ξενοκράτην), ὅτε τὸ πολίτευμα συνέστηκεν, Ἀθηναῖ[ον] εἶνα[ι] | γράψαντος.

11a. Macedonian support for Demades and Phocion, 322-319: *Plut. Phoc.* 1: Δημάδης ὁ ῥήτωρ, ἰσχύων μὲν ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις διὰ τὸ πρὸς χάριν πολιτεύεσθαι Μακεδόνων καὶ Ἀντιπάτρου, πολλὰ δὲ γράφειν καὶ λέγειν ἀναγκαζόμενος παρὰ τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὸ ἦθος, ἔλεγε συγγνώμης ἄξιος εἶναι, πολιτευόμενος τὰ ναυάγια τῆς πόλεως. τοῦτο δ' εἰ καὶ τῷ ῥήτορι θρασύτερον εἴρηται, δόξειεν ἂν ἀληθὲς εἶναι μετενεχθὲν ἐπὶ τὴν Φωκίωνος πολιτείαν.

Demades the orator, who was powerful at Athens because he conducted affairs so as to please Antipater and the Macedonians, and was forced to propose and favour many measures which were at variance with the dignity and character of the city, used to say that he was excusable because he was in command of a shipwrecked state. This may have been too hardy an utterance for the orator, but it would seem to be true when transferred to the administration of Phocion.

11b. Antipater's support for Phocion: *Diod. Sic.* 18.65.6: Φωκίων ὁ ἐπ' Ἀντιπάτρου τὴν τῶν ὅλων ἀρχὴν ἐσχικώς.

Phocion, who had held supreme authority under Antipater.

11c. Demades as Lord of Athens: *P.Berol.* 13045, F I, ll.14-15: τῆς Ἀθηναίων || πόλεως ἐγίνετο κύριος; *P.Berol.* 13045 F I, ll.27 – F II, l.1: <ῆ> κρίσις τοῖς τ[υ]ράννοισι.

Amendola, D., *The Demades Papyrus (P.Berol. inv. 13045): A New Edition with Commentary*, *Sozomena: Studies in the Recovery of Ancient Texts*, 17 (Berlin-Boston: De Gruyter, forthcoming 2022)

12. Antipater appoints Deinarchus ἐπιμελητὴς Πελοποννήσου, c.331 or 322: *Suda* Δ(είναρχος) 333: ἐτελεύτησε δὲ οὗτος ἐπιμελητὴς Πελοποννήσου καταστάς ὑπὸ Ἀντιπάτρου, μετὰ τὸ τελευτῆσαι Ἀντίπατρον, Πολυσπέρχοντος αὐτῷ ἐπιβουλεύσαντος.

This man died, having been appointed supervisor of the Peloponnese by Antipater, after Antipater's death; Polysperchon had plotted against him.

13. Influence on political appointments: *Plut. Phoc.* 29.5: ἐπιμελόμενος δὲ τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν πράως καὶ νομίμως, τοὺς μὲν ἀστείους καὶ χαρίεντας ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς αἰεὶ συνείχε, τοὺς δὲ πολυπράγμονας καὶ νεωτεριστάς, αὐτῷ τῷ μὴ ἄρχειν μηδὲ θορυβεῖν ἀπομαραινόμενους, ἐδίδασκε φιλοχωρεῖν καὶ ἀγαπᾶν γεωργοῦντας.

Furthermore, by managing the affairs of the city with mildness and according to the laws, he kept the men of education and culture always in office, while the busybodies and innovators, who withered into insignificance from the very fact that they held no office and raised no uproars, were taught by him to be fond of home and to delight in tilling the soil.

14. Demades influences the law courts?: *P.Berol.* 13045 C III, ll.3-5: ἐπὶ καταλύσει τῶν νόμων, ἐπὶ | καταστροφῇ τῶν δικαίων, ἐπὶ συγχύσει τοῦ || βίου παντός.

15. Imposition of the Anagrapheos: Thrasykles son of Nausikrates of Thria, 321/0 (*Agora* XVI 97; proposed *IG* II² 250 [314/3] in honour of Asandrus); **Archedikos of Lamprai, 320/19** (*Plb.* 12.13.3, 7-9; cf. Demochares *FGrH* 72 T2; Timaios *FGrH* 566 F35; *Suda* s.v. Ἀρχέδικος; Habicht 1993; proposed *IG* II³ 484 [322/1] in honour of Antipater's friends); **Eukadmos of Anakaia, 319/8** (*SEG* XXI 310; *IG* II² 386).

16. Demades transfers authority of the *astynomoi* to the *agoranomoi*, Boedromion 320/19: IG II² 380.

C) Polyperchon and Athens, 319/8-318/7

17. Polyperchon sends letters to Athens, autumn 319: Plut. *Phoc.* 32.1: (Πολυπέρχων) ἐπεμψεν ἐπιστολὴν τοῖς ἐν ἄστει γεγραμμένην, ὥς τοῦ βασιλέως ἀποδιδόντος αὐτοῖς τὴν δημοκρατίαν καὶ πολιτεύεσθαι κατὰ τὰ πάτρια πάντας Ἀθηναίους κελεύοντος.

(Polysperchon) sent a letter to the citizens of Athens, announcing that the king restored to them their democracy and ordered that all Athenians sacred take part in the administration of the city according to their earlier polity.

18. The Edict of Philip Arrhidaeus, late autumn 319: Diod. Sic. 18.56; E. Poddighe, “Propaganda Strategies and Political Documents. Philip III’s Diademma and the Greeks in 319 B.C.”, in V. Alonso Troncoso and E. Anson (eds.), *The Time of the Diadochi (323-281 B.C.)* (Oxford, 2013), 225-40.

19. Regime change, 319/8: Diod. Sic. 18.65.6: ὁ δὲ δῆμος εἰς ἐκκλησίαν συνελθὼν τὰς μὲν ὑπαρχούσας ἀρχὰς κατέλυσεν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν δημοτικωτάτων τὰ ἀρχεῖα καταστήσας τοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας γεγονότας ἄρχοντας κατεδίκασε τοὺς μὲν θανάτῳ, τοὺς δὲ φυγῇ καὶ δημεύσει τῆς οὐσίας· ἐν οἷς ἦν καὶ Φωκίων ὁ ἐπ’ Ἀντιπάτρου τὴν τῶν ὅλων ἀρχὴν ἐσχικώς.

The people, coming together in an assembly, removed from office the existing magistrates, filling the offices with men from the extreme democrats; and they condemned those who had held office under the oligarchy, decreeing the death penalty for some of them, exile and confiscation of property for others, among whom was Phocion, who had held supreme authority under Antipater.

20. Polyperchon requests honours for two associated, Prytany X, 319/8: IG II² 387:

[[ἐπὶ Ἀπολλοδώρου ἄρχοντο]]-
[[ς ἐπὶ τῆς δεκάτης πρυτανε]]-
[ίας γραμματεὺς Ἀφόβητο[ς Κο]-
[θωκίδης· ἀναγραφεὺς Εὐκα[δμ]-
5
[ος Ἀνακαίεος· Κτησίας Χιω[νί]-
[δου . . . 9 . . .]ος εἶπεν· ἀγα[θ]-
[ῇ τύχῃ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηνα-
[ίων· περὶ ὧν Πο]λυπέρχων ἐπέ[σ]-
[ταλκεν περὶ Σ]ωνίκου καὶ Εὐ[κ]-
10
[λέους, ὅπως ἂν] Ἀθηναῖοι γένων-
[ται καὶ ἀποφα]ίνει αὐτοὺς Πο-
[λυπέρχων περὶ] τὸν δῆμον τ[ὸ]ν
[Ἀθηναίων εὖνο]ντος ὄντας καὶ π-
[εποιηκότας ἀγα]θὸν ὅτι ἡδύνα-
15
[ντο . . . 8 . . .] καὶ Ἐρ[ά]σιππος
[. . . 12 . . .] καὶ Παν[τίω]ν? Λ

21. The trial of Phocion and letter of Philip Arrdaeus, Munychion 318: Plut. *Phoc.* 34.2-3: ἐκείνους δὲ Κλεῖτος εἰς Ἀθήνας ἀνήγε, λόγῳ μὲν κριθησομένων, ἔργῳ δ' ἀποθανεῖν κατακεκριμένους. καὶ προσῆν τὸ σχῆμα τῇ κομιδῇ λυπηρόν, ἐφ' ἀμάξαις κομιζομένων αὐτῶν διὰ τοῦ Κεραμεικοῦ πρὸς τὸ θέατρον· ἐκεῖ γὰρ αὐτοὺς προσαγαγὼν ὁ Κλεῖτος συνεῖχεν, ἄχρι οὗ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐπλήρωσαν οἱ ἄρχοντες, οὐ δοῦλον, οὐ ξένον, οὐκ ἄτιμον ἀποκρίναντες, ἀλλὰ πᾶσι καὶ πάσαις ἀναπεπταμένον τὸ βῆμα καὶ τὸ θέατρον παρασχόντες. ἐπεὶ δ' ἢ τ' ἐπιστολὴ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀνεγνώσθη, λέγοντος αὐτῷ μὲν ἐγνώσθαι προδότας γεγονέναι τοὺς ἄνδρας, ἐκείνοις δὲ διδόναι τὴν κρίσιν, ἐλευθέροις τε δὴ καὶ αὐτονόμοις οὔσι, καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ὁ Κλεῖτος εἰσήγαγεν.

Phocion and the rest were taken to Athens by Cleitus, ostensibly to stand trial, but in reality they had already been condemned to death. The manner of their conveyance made it even worse: they were carried on carts through the Cerameicus to the theatre, and when Cleitus had brought them there he kept them under guard until the archons had gathered enough people for an assembly. No one was excluded; even slaves, foreigners, and the disenfranchised were allowed in, and the speaker's platform and the theatre were made freely available to every man and woman. The king's letter to the Athenian people was read out, the gist of which was that he had no doubt of the men's treachery, but he left it up to them, as free and autonomous agents, to reach a verdict. Then Cleitus introduced the prisoners.

D) Cassander and Demetrius of Phalerum

22. Cassander selects Demetrius of Phalerum as ruler of Athens, spring 317: Diod. Sic. 18.74.3: γενομένων δὲ πλειόνων ἐντεύξεων συνέθεντο τὴν εἰρήνην ὥστε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἔχειν πόλιν τε καὶ χώραν καὶ προσόδους καὶ ναῦς καὶ ἄλλα πάντα φίλους ὄντας καὶ συμμάχους Κασάνδρου, τὴν δὲ Μουνυχίαν κατὰ τὸ παρὸν κρατεῖν Κάσανδρον, ἕως ἂν διαπολεμῆσι πρὸς τοὺς βασιλεῖς, καὶ τὸ πολίτευμα διοικεῖσθαι ἀπὸ τιμήσεων ἄχρι μνῶν δέκα, καταστήσαι δ' ἐπιμελητὴν τῆς πόλεως ἓνα ἄνδρα Ἀθηναῖον ὃν ἂν δόξῃ Κασάνδρῳ· καὶ ἤρεθθη Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεὺς. οὗτος δὲ παραλαβὼν τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τῆς πόλεως ἤρχεν εἰρηνικῶς καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας φιланθρωπῶς.

After several conferences peace was made on the following terms: the Athenians were to retain their city and territory, their revenues, their fleet, and everything else, and to be friends and allies of Cassander; Munychia was to remain temporarily under the control of Cassander until the war against the kings should be concluded; the government was to be in the hands of those possessing at least ten minae; and whatever single Athenian citizen Cassander should designate was to be overseer of the city. Demetrius of Phalerum was chosen, who, when he became overseer, ruled the city peacefully and with goodwill toward the citizens.

23. Deme of Aixone honours Demetrius of Phalerum, 318: *IG II² 1201:*

[θ]εοί.

[Ἀριστοκ]ράτης Ἀριστοφάνου εἶπεν· ἐπειδ

[τῇ Δημήτρ]ιος Φανοστράτου Φαληρεὺς ἀνὴρ

[ἔστιν ἀγ]αθὸς περὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναῖον

5

[ν καὶ τὸν δ]ῆμον τὸν Αἰξωνέων καὶ πολέμ[ου]

[γενομένο]ν ἐν τῇ χώρῃ καὶ χωρισθέντ[ων τ]-

[οῦ Πειραιῶς] καὶ τοῦ ἄστεως διὰ τὸν [πόλεμ]-

[ον πρεσβεύς]ας διέλυσε Ἀθηναίου[ς καὶ πά]-

[λιν ἐπανάγ]αγεν εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ εἰ[ρήνην κ]-

10

[ατηργάσατο Ἀ]θηναίους καὶ τεῖ χώ[ραι καὶ]

/νομοθετῆς αἰ]ρεθεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου/ τοῦ Αθ[ην]

[*ἡγαίων νόμους*] ἔθ[η]κεν καλ[οὺς καὶ συμφέρ]-
[οντας τεῖ πόλει]· ὕστερον [δέ? — — — — —]

O'Sullivan, L., *The Reign of Demetrius of Phalerum in Athens, 317-307 BC: A Philosopher in Politics* (Leiden, 2009), 96-8; Banfi, A., *Sovranità della legge. La legislazione di Demetrio del Falero ad Atene (317-307 a. C.)* (Milan, 2010), 57-67; Bayliss, A., *After Demosthenes: The Politics of Early Hellenistic Athens* (London, 2011), 77-80.

24. Cassander writes to Demetrius of Phalerum, 314: Diod. Sic. 19.68.3: ἔγραψε δὲ καὶ πρὸς Δημήτριον τὸν Φαληρέα καὶ Διονύσιον τὸν φρουροῦντα τὴν Μουνυχίαν, προστάτων εἴκοσι ναῦς εἰς Λῆμον ἐκπέμψαι.

He also wrote to Demetrius of Phalerum and to Dionysius, who commanded the garrison on Munychia, bidding them dispatch twenty ships to Lemnos.

25. Demetrius of Phalerum intercedes with the Council of the Areopagus: Diog. Laert. 2.101: καὶ μέντοι παρ' ὀλίγον ἐκινδύνευσεν εἰς Ἄρειον ἀχθῆναι πάγον, εἰ μὴ Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεὺς αὐτὸν ἐρρύσατο.

Yet he would hardly have escaped from being brought before the Areopagus if Demetrius of Phalerum had not rescued him.

26. Athens pressures Demetrius of Phalerum to negotiate with Polemaeus, 312/1: Diod. Sic. 19.78.3-4: [3] μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Ἐρετριεῖς καὶ Καρυστίους εἰς τὴν συμμαχίαν προσλαβόμενος ἐστράτευσεν εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, Δημητρίου τοῦ Φαληρέως ἐπιστατοῦντος τῆς πόλεως. [4] οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον λάθρα διεπέμποντο πρὸς Ἀντίγονον, ἀξιούντες ἐλευθερῶσαι τὴν πόλιν· τότε δὲ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου παραγεννηθέντος πλησίον τῆς πόλεως θαρρήσαντες ἠνάγκασαν τὸν Δημήτριον ἀνοχὰς ποιήσασθαι καὶ πρεσβείας ἀποστέλλειν πρὸς Ἀντίγονον περὶ συμμαχίας.

[3] Thereafter, having received the people of Eretria and Carystus into the alliance, he moved into Attica, where Demetrius of Phalerum was governing the city. [4] At first the Athenians kept sending secretly to Antigonos, begging him to free the city; but then, taking courage when Ptolemaeus drew near the city, they forced Demetrius to make a truce and to send envoys to Antigonos about an alliance.

27. Political reforms of Demetrius of Phalerum, 317-307: *gynaikonomoi, nomophylakes, funerary regulations*, etc.: O'Sullivan, L., *The Reign of Demetrius of Phalerum in Athens, 317-307 BC: A Philosopher in Politics* (Leiden, 2009), 45-103; Banfi, A., *Sovranità della legge. La legislazione di Demetrio del Falero ad Atene (317-307 a. C.)* (Milan, 2010), 111-64

E) Demetrius and Athens, 303

28. Athens' political reforms, 307: Plut. *Demetr.* 10 with Rose 2015: 162-6; Diod. Sic. 20.46.

29. Asandris tribe during sympoliteia of Herakleia under Latmos and Pidasa, 313/2: *SEG* XLVII 1563, ll.4-6:

[ὁ]μονοῖ· προσκατατάξαι δὲ καὶ φυλὴν μία[v]
5

[π]ρὸς ταῖς ὑπαρχούσαις καὶ ὀνομάζεσθαι αὐ-
[τ]ὴν Ἀσανδρίδα·

30. Political reforms at Aegae, 281: *SEG* LIX 1406, ll. 18-27:

ἄγ-
[εἰν δὲ] κα[ὶ] κα[τὰ] μῆνα γ' ἕκαστον δύο θυσία-

20

[ς] ἐν ἡμέραις ἐλεύθεροι ἐγενόμεθα· ΣΕ[.]
[-----]ΜΕΝΟΣ τῶν δυσοργησιῶν τῶν ΕΚ-
[-----]δια]νέμειν δὲ καὶ τὰς φυλάς ὅπ[η]-
[λίκαι εἰς] ἵ ὥστε ἕξ ὑπάρξαι ἀντὶ τῶν τεσσ[ά]-
[ρων· ὀνομάσαι δὲ φυλ]ᾶς δύο Σελευκίδα καὶ

25

[Α]ντιοχίδα - - -]ΑΙ καὶ αὐτὰς καὶ τὰς Α[.]
[-----] δὲ καὶ Ε[. . . .]
[-----] καὶ στήσαι ἐν τῷ πρυτανεῖῳ

and at any rate each month (offer) two sacrifices on the day we became free; ... acts of passionateness? ... moreover, [divide] the tribes, [however big or small they are], so that there are six instead of four; [name two tribes] Seleukis and Antiochis ... and they themselves and ... and ... and set up in the prytaneion

SEG LIX 1406, ll. 42-44:

καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις κατάρξετ-
[αι] ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τῶν σωτῆρων καθάπερ καὶ τοῖς ἄ-
[λλοις θεοῖς]

and at the assembly meetings he will begin the sacrificial ceremonies/sacrifice on the altar of the Saviours, in the same manner as (is done) to the other gods

SEG LIX 1406, ll. 51-54:

ἀνοικοδομῆσαι δὲ καὶ τὸ πρυτανεῖον
καὶ τὸ στρατήγιον καὶ καλεῖσθαι τὸ μὲν πρ(υ)τα-
γεῖον Σελεύκεον, τὸ δὲ στρατήγιον Ἀντιόχε-
ον·

also the town hall and the generals' office are to be rebuilt and the town hall named Seleukeon and the generals' office Antiocheon

31. Labraunda honours Olympichos, c.230-220: SEG LVIII 1220:

[.....c.9.....]ΕΙΝ[.....c.29.....]
[.....c.9.....] ἀπάσαι[ς.....c.29.....]
[ὑπάρχειν δὲ] τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐγγόνοις αὐτοῦ *στή/-*
σαι δὲ αὐτοῦ] καὶ εἰκόνα χαλκὴν ἐν τῇ] ἱερᾷ ?ἀγορᾷ?
5

ἐν τῷ ἐπιφανε]στάτῳ τόπῳ· στήσαι καὶ τοῦ Δήμ[ου]
εἰκόνα χαλκὴν πήχε]ων πέντε στεφανοῦσαν τὴν Ὀλυμ-
πίχου εἰκόνα· ἐπ]ιγράψαι ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος· ὁ δῆμος
[Ὀλύμπιχον Ὀλυ]μπίχου εὐεργέτην· ιδρύσασθαι δὲ
[καὶ αὐτῷ ἀπέναν]τι τῆς εἰκόνας βωμὸν λευκοῦ λίθου
10

[ὅμοιον τῷ τοῦ Μαι]σσωλλου τῷ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Δι-
[ὸς Λαβραῦνδου καὶ] *συντελεῖν αὐτῷ πομπὴν καὶ θυσί-*
αν ἀφ' ἐκάστου ἑ]τους τῇ τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτῃ τοῦ
Ἀπελλαίου? μην]ὸς ἐν ᾗ ἡμέραι ὁ δῆμος ἐκομίσατο τὴν
τε ἐλευθερίαν] καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν· θύειν δὲ αὐ- νν
15

[τῷ ταῦρο]ς δύο καὶ εὐωχεῖσθαι ἐν τῇ ἡμέρῃ
[ταύτῃ τοὺς τε ἱε]ρεῖς καὶ τοὺς νενικηκότας τοὺς
[στεφανίτας ἀγω]νας καὶ τὴν συναρχίαν· τοὺς δὲ

[ἱερεῖς ἐπιμελεῖσθαι] τῆς τε θυσίας καὶ τῆς θοίνης ·
 [δοῦναι δὲ τοὺς ταμίαις τὸ ἀν]άλωμα ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν προσό-
 20
 [δων · εἶναι δὲ ἐκεχει]ρίας πᾶσιν ἐφ' ἡμέρας τρεῖς · νν
 [τοὺς δὲ πολίτας καὶ] τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας συνεί-
 [ναι ἐστεφανωμένους ἐν τα]ῖς ἡμέραις ταύταις, ὑμνεῖσθαι
 [δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ πενταε]τηρίδι τοῖς Ταυρείοις κατὰ τὰ αὐ-
 [τὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς τῆς πόλεως κτ]ίσταις · τὴν δὲ ἀναγγελίαν ποι-
 25
 [ήσασθαι ἐν τῷ γυμν]ικῷ ἀγῶνι τῷ συντελουμέ-
 [νῳ Διὶ Ὅσογῳ, ὅτι στεφα]νοὶ ὁ δῆμος Ὀλύμπιχον Ὀλυμ-
 [πίχου εὐεργέτην τῆς π]όλεως χρυσῶι στεφάνῳ [καὶ]
 [εἰκόνι χαλκῇ ἀρετῆς ἐν]εκεν καὶ εὐεργεσίας τῆς [εἰς]
 [ἑαυτὸν · ὅπως δὲ πᾶσιν] φανερόν ἦι, διότι ὁ δῆμος [ὁ Μυ-]
 30
 [λασέων τιμᾷ τοὺς εὐερ]γετοῦντας αὐτὸν [καὶ ἵνα]
 [ὑπόμνημα ὑπάρχηι αὐτῷ ἀναγ]ράψαι τόδε τὸ ψήφισ[μα]
 [εἰς στήλας λιθίνας καὶ στήσ]αι αὐτὴν τῇ με[ν μίαν]
 [ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Διὸς ?Λαβραύνδου?] vacat

. with all . . . and let the same (honours) be valid for his descendents as well. *A bronze statue of him shall be set up in the sacred agora [5] in the most conspicuous place. Also, a five pecheis tall bronze statue of the People shall be set up, crowning the statue of Olympichos.* On the base shall be written: The People (crowns) Olympichos son of Olympichos as benefactor. And in front of the statue shall be founded an altar for him in white stone [10] similar to the one for Maussollos in the sanctuary of Zeus Labraundos. *In his honour a procession and an offering shall be arranged every year at the 14th of the month of Apellaios, the day on which the people regained its freedom and democracy.* The offering for him [15] shall consist of two bulls, and on this day participants in the feast will be the priests, the victors in the stephanic games, and all the magistrates. The priests shall take care of the offering and the banquet and the treasurers provide the expense from the common revenues. [20] A truce for all shall reign for three days. The citizens and all the others shall come together wearing crowns during these days. He shall also be praised in hymn during the quadrennial Taureia in the same way as for the city founders. It shall be proclaimed [25] at the gymnastic games for Zeus Osogo that the people crowns Olympichos son of Olympichos as a benefactor of the city with a gold crown and a statue in bronze for his virtue and his benefactions towards it. To ensure that it will be apparent to all how the people of [30] Mylasa honours its benefactors, and in order to commemorate him this decree shall be inscribed on *stelai* of stone and one of them placed in the sanctuary of Zeus Labraundos.

32. The Cleomedon affair, spring 303: Plut. *Demetr.* 24.6-12: οὐχ ὥς Κλεαίνετος ὁ Κλεομέδοντος, ὃς ὠφληκότι τῷ πατρὶ δίκην πενήκοντα ταλάντων ἀφεθῆναι διαπραξάμενος, *καὶ γράμματα παρὰ Δημητρίου κομίσας πρὸς τὸν δῆμον*, οὐ μόνον ἑαυτὸν κατήσχυεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν πόλιν συνετάραξε. τὸν μὲν γὰρ Κλεομέδοντα τῆς δίκης ἀφῆκαν, *ἐγράφη δὲ ψήφισμα μηδένα τῶν πολιτῶν ἐπιστολὴν παρὰ Δημητρίου κομίζειν*. ἐπεὶ δ' ἀκούσας ἐκεῖνος οὐκ ἤνεγκε μετρίως, ἀλλ' ἠγανάκτησε, *δείσαντες αὖθις οὐ μόνον τὸ ψήφισμα καθεῖλον*, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν εἰσηγησαμένων καὶ συνεπιπόντων τοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτειναν, τοὺς δ' ἐφυγάδευσαν· ἔτι δὲ *προσεψηφίσαντο, δεδόχθαι τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, πᾶν ὃ τι ἂν ὁ βασιλεὺς Δημήτριος κελεύσῃ, τοῦτο καὶ πρὸς θεοὺς ὅσιον καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους εἶναι δίκαιον*. εἰπόντος δὲ τινος τῶν καλῶν καγαθῶν *μαίνεσθαι τὸν Στρατοκλέα τοιαῦτα γράφοντα*, Δημοχάρης ὁ Λευκονοεὺς “μαίνοιτο μέντ' ἂν” εἶπεν “εἰ μὴ μαίνοιτο”. πολλὰ γὰρ ὁ Στρατοκλῆς ὠφελεῖτο διὰ τὴν κολακείαν. ὁ δὲ Δημοχάρης ἐπὶ τούτῳ

διαβληθεὶς ἐφυγαδεύθη. τοιαῦτα ἔπραττον Ἀθηναῖοι, φρουρᾶς ἀπηλλάχθαι καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἔχειν δοκοῦντες.

Not so Kleinetos the son of Kleomedon, who, *in order to obtain a letter from Demetrios to the people* and therewith to secure the remission of a fine of fifty talents which had been imposed upon his father, not only disgraced himself, but also got the city into trouble. [4] For the people released Kleomedon from his sentence, but *they debated a decree that none of the citizens should collect a letter from Demetrios*. However, when Demetrios heard of it and was beyond measure incensed thereat, they took fright again, and *not only rescinded the decree*, but actually put to death some of those who had introduced and spoken in favour of it, and drove others into exile; furthermore, *they voted besides that it was resolved by the demos of the Athenians that whatsoever King Demetrios should ordain in future, this should be held righteous towards the gods and just towards men*. [5] And when one of the better class of citizens declared that *Stratokles was mad to introduce such a motion*, Demochares of Leuconoë said: 'He would indeed be mad not to be mad.' For Stratokles reaped much advantage from his flatteries. Demochares, however, was brought under accusation for this and sent into exile. So fared it with the Athenians, who imagined that because they were rid of their garrison they therefore had their freedom.

33. Athenodorus asks Alexander to intercede, 324: Plut. *Alex.* 29.5: ἐπεὶ δ' Ἀθηνόδωρος ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ζημιωθείς, ὅτι πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν Διονυσίων οὐκ ἀπῆντησεν, ἡξίου γράψαι περὶ αὐτοῦ τὸν βασιλέα, τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἐποίησε, τὴν δὲ ζημίαν ἀπέστειλε παρ' ἑαυτοῦ.

34. Demetrius appoints Adeimantus strategos epi ten choran, 306/5-305/4: Petrakos 1993 [1994]: 7; 1999: 32-3 = Rhamnous Inv. no. 1235:

...[Ἀδ]ε[ι]μαντος [καταστ]αθεὶς στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τῇ[ν] χώραν ὑ]πὸ τοῦ βασιλέως Δημητρί[ου ἐπὶ δυ]ο ἔτη...

...πολέμου περικαταλ[αβόντος ἐπεμελή]θη τῆς συγκομι[δῆς τῶν καρπῶν]...

...Adeimantus appointed general for the countryside by King Demetrius for two years...

...with war pressing from all sides, looked after bringing in the harvests ...

35. Polycleitus of Athens and Heraclei[tos/des] of Erythrae, 306/5: *IG* II² 1492b, ll.97-107:

ἐπὶ Κοροΐβου ἄ[ρχοντ]ος ἐπὶ τῆς [Οἰ]-
[νεῖδο]ς δεκάτης πρυτανεία[ς ἐν]ᾶ[τ]ε[ι φ]θί[νον]τος [ταμί]-
[αις τῶν τῆς] θεοῦ χρήματα τάδε [π]αρέδ[ω]κεν [τ]ᾶ πα[ρ'] Ἀ[ντι]γ[όνου],
100

[ἂ ἐκό]μισεν Ξενοκλῆς [Σφ]ήττ[ιος], Κλεαίνετος [Κυδαθη]-
[νῆθ]ε[ν], Χιω[νί]δης Θρ[ιά]σ[ι]ος· [ἀργυ]ρίο[ν Ἀ]λεξ[ανδ]ρ[εῖο]ν
[δοκι]μαστὰ τάλ[α]ντα ϜΔ[ΔΔ καὶ χρ]υσ[ο]ῦς ΜϞXXX· σύ[μπαν]
[κεφά]λαιον τάλαντα ΗΔΔ[ΔΔ]· τ[οῦ]των δεδ[ώ]κ[α]σι [ταμί]αι
[τῶν τῆς] θεοῦ ἐπὶ Κοροΐβου ἄρ[χον]τος ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀκαμα[ν]τίδος [ἐν]-
105

[δεκάτη]ς πρυτανείας· ἐβδό[μει] φ[θί]ν[ο]ντος χρήματα ἐδ[όθη]
[Πολυ]κλείτωι [Ἀ]θηναίωι, [Ἡρα]κλ[ε]ί . . ι Ἐρυθ[ρ]αίωι [καὶ] τ[οῖς]
[στρα]τηγοῖς ἀργυρίου Ἀλ[εξ]ανδ[ρ]ε[ῖο]ν τάλαντα ΔΔΔΔ . .

36a. Lysimachus appoints Hippostratus strategos of the Ionian League (Smyrna), c.289/8: *IK.Smyrna* 557, ll.1-8:

ἔδοξεν Ἴωνων τῶι κοινῶι τῶν τρε[ισκαί]-

δεκα πόλεων· ἐπειδὴ Ἰππόστρατος Ἰππ[οδή]-
μου Μιλήσιος *φίλος ὢν τοῦ βασιλέως Λυσι-*
μάχου καὶ στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τῶν πόλεων]

5

τῶν Ἰάδων κατασταθεῖς, οἰκείως κ[αὶ φι]-
λανθρώπως καὶ ἰδία ἐκάστη τῶν π[όλεων]
καὶ κοινῇ Ἰωσι χρώμενος διατελεῖ, ἀγα[θῇ τύ]-
χη...

36b. Lysimachus appoints Hippostratus *strategos* of the Ionian League (Miletus), c.289/8:

*Syll.*³ 368, ll.1-6:

ἔδοξε Ἰώνων τῶι κοινῶι· ἐπειδὴ Ἰππόστρατος Ἰπο-
δήμου Μιλήσιος *φίλος ὢν τοῦ βασιλέως Λυσι-*
μάχου καὶ στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τῶν πόλεων τῶν Ἰώνων
κατασταθεῖς οἰκείως καὶ φιλανθρώπως καὶ ἰδία ἐ-
5

κάστη τῶν πόλεων καὶ κοινῇ Ἰωσι χρώμενος δια-
τελεῖ, ἀγαθῇ τύχη...

36c. Lysimachus appoints Hippostratus *strategos* of the Ionian League (Chios), c.289/8: *SEG* LVI 999, ll.1-8:

[ἔδοξε Ἰώνων τῶι κοινῶι]· ἐπειδ[ὴ]
[Ἰππόστρατος Ἰπποδ]άμου Μιλήσιος
[*φίλος ὢν τοῦ βασιλέως Λυσιμάχου]*
[*καὶ στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τῶν πόλεων τῶν*
5

[*Ἰώνων κατασταθεῖς*,] οἰκείως ὢν καὶ φιλ[αν]-
[θρώπως? καὶ ἰδία ἐκ]άστη τῶν πόλεω[ν]
[καὶ κοινῇ Ἰωσι] χρώμενος δι[α]τελε[ῖ, ἀγα]-
[θῇ τύχη]...

37. Antigonid gift of grain, timber, and Imbros in 307: Diod. Sic. 20.46.4; Plut. *Demetr.* 10.1.

38. Antigonid garrison at Euripus-by-Eretria, 306: *IG* II² 469.

39. Antigonid gift of money, timber, and Lemnos in 305: *IG* II² 1492b, ll.97-134 (Prytany I 305/4); *ISE* 8 (303/2).

40a. Athenian Decrees in Plutarch: Plut. *Demetr.* 34.6-7: [6] συνιδὼν δὲ Δρομοκλείδης ὁ ῥήτωρ ὑπὸ χαρᾶς τὸν δῆμον ἔν τε φωναῖς ὄντα παντοδαπαῖς καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος ἐπαίνους τῶν δημαγωγῶν ἀμιλλώμενον ὑπερβαλέσθαι, *γνώμην ἔγραψε Δημητρίῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ τὸν Πειραιᾶ παραδοθῆναι καὶ τὴν Μουνυχίαν*. [7] *ἐπιψηφισθέντων δὲ τούτων* ὁ Δημήτριος αὐτὸς ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ προσενέβαλε φρουρὰν εἰς τὸ Μουσεῖον, ὥς μὴ πάλιν ἀναχαιτίσαντα τὸν δῆμον ἀσχολίας αὐτῷ πραγμάτων ἐτέρων παρασχεῖν.

[4] So Dromokleides the orator, seeing that the people, in their joy, were shouting all sorts of proposals, and were eager to outdo the customary eulogies of the public speakers on the bema, *brought in a motion* that Piraeus and Munychia should be handed over to Demetrios the king. [5] *This was voted*, and Demetrios on his own account put a garrison into the Museum also, that the people might not again shake off the yoke and give him further trouble.

40b. Athenian decrees in Diodorus: Diod. Sic. 20.46.1-2: τούτων δὲ ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις κατενυχθέντων ὁ μὲν Δημήτριος κατασκάψας τὴν Μουνυχίαν ὁλόκληρον τῷ δήμῳ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀποκατέστησεν καὶ φιλίαν καὶ συμμαχίαν πρὸς αὐτοὺς συνέθετο, *οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι γράψαντος ψήφισμα Στρατοκλέους ἐψηφίσαντο* χρυσᾶς μὲν εἰκόνας ἐφ' ἄρματος στήσαι τοῦ τε Ἀντιγόνου καὶ Δημητρίου πλησίον Ἀρμοδίου καὶ Ἀριστογείτονος, στεφανῶσαι δὲ ἀμφοτέρους ἀπὸ ταλάντων διακοσίων καὶ βωμὸν ἰδρυσάμενους προσαγορεύσαι Σωτήρων, πρὸς δὲ τὰς δέκα φυλάς προσθεῖναι δύο, Δημητριάδα καὶ Ἀντιγονίδα, καὶ συντελεῖν αὐτοῖς κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἀγῶνας καὶ πομπὴν καὶ θυσίαν, ἐνυφαινόντων αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς πέπλον [κατ' ἐνιαυτόν].

[1] After gaining these successes in a few days and razing Munychia completely, Demetrius restored to the people their freedom and established friendship and an alliance with them. [2] *The Athenians, Stratokles writing the decree, voted* to set up golden statues of Antigonos and Demetrius in a chariot near the statues of Harmodios and Aristogeiton, to give them both honorary crowns at a cost of two hundred talents, to consecrate an altar to them and call it the altar of the Saviours, to add to the ten tribes two more, Demetrias and Antigonis, to hold annual games in their honour with a procession and a sacrifice, and to weave their portraits in the *peplos* of Athena.

41. Destroying a published stele: Tod 98, ll.11-14; *IG* II² 43, ll.31-5; D. 22.36-8 (*SV* 306); *GHI* 39, ll.30-1; 44, ll.39-40; Hyp. *Dion.* 2.8-9; Philochorus *FGrH* 328 F 55a; Arr. *An.* 2.1.4, 2.2; *IG* II² 448, ll.61-3; cf. *IK.Priene* 27, ll.7-13.

42. The Megarian decree in Thucydides: τὸ περὶ Μεγαρέων ψήφισμα καθελοῦσι (1.139.1); τὸ ψήφισμα καθήρουν (1.139.2); καὶ ὥς μὴ ἐμπόδιον εἶναι τὸ ψήφισμα εἰρήνης, ἀλλὰ καθελεῖν (1.139.4); τὸ Μεγαρέων ψήφισμα καθαιρεῖν (1.140.3); εἰ τὸ Μεγαρέων ψήφισμα μὴ καθέλοιμεν (1.140.4).

43a. Demetrius' initiation into the Eleusinian mysteries, Munychion 303: Plut. *Demetr.* 26.1-4: [1] Τότε δ' οὖν ἀναζεγγνύων εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἔγραψεν, ὅτι βούλεται παραγενόμενος εὐθὺς μνηθῆναι καὶ τὴν τελετὴν ἅπασαν ἀπὸ τῶν μικρῶν ἄχρι τῶν ἐποπτικῶν παραλαβεῖν. [2] τοῦτο δ' οὐ θεμιτὸν ἦν οὐδὲ γερονδὸς πρότερον, ἀλλὰ τὰ μικρὰ τοῦ Ἀνθεστηριῶνος ἐτελοῦντο, τὰ δὲ μεγάλα τοῦ Βοηδρομιῶνος· ἐπόπτεον δὲ τοῦλάχιστον ἀπὸ τῶν μεγάλων ἐνιαυτὸν διαλείποντες. [3] ἀναγνωσθέντων δὲ τῶν γραμμάτων, μόνος ἐτόλμησεν ἀντιπεῖν Πυθόδωρος ὁ δαδοῦχος, ἐπέρανε δ' οὐδέν· ἀλλὰ Στρατοκλέους γνώμην εἰπόντος, Ἀνθεστηριῶνα τὸν Μουνυχιῶνα ψηφισάμενους καλεῖν καὶ νομίζειν, ἐτέλουν τῷ Δημητρίῳ τὰ πρὸς Ἄγραν· [4] καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πάλιν ἐξ Ἀνθεστηριῶνος ὁ Μουνυχιῶν γενόμενος Βοηδρομιῶν ἐδέξατο τὴν λοιπὴν τελετὴν, ἅμα καὶ τὴν ἐποπτείαν τοῦ Δημητρίου προσεπιλαβόντος.

[1] But to resume the story, when Demetrius was getting ready to return to Athens, he wrote letters to the people saying that he wished to be initiated into the mysteries as soon as he arrived, and to pass through all the grades in the ceremony, from the lowest to the highest (*epoptica*). [2] Now, this was not lawful, and had not been done before, but the lesser rites were performed in the month Anthesterion, the great rites in Boëdromion; and the supreme rites (*epoptica*) were celebrated after an interval of at least a year from the great rites. [3] And yet when the letter of Demetrius was read, no one ventured to oppose the proposition except Pythodorus the Torch-bearer, and he accomplished nothing; instead, on motion of Stratocles, it was voted to call the current month, which was Munychion, Anthesterion, and so to regard it, and the lesser rites at Agra were performed for Demetrius; [4] afterwards Munychion was again changed and became Boëdromion instead of Anthesterion, Demetrius received the remaining rites of initiation, and at the same time was also admitted to the highest grade of *epoptos*.

43b. Demetrius' initiation into the Eleusinian mysteries, Munychion 303: Diod. Sic. 20.110.1: Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα Δημήτριος διατρίβων ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις ἔσπευδε μνηθῆναι καὶ καταλαβεῖν

τὴν ἐν Ἐλευσίνι τελετὴν. ἀπεχούσης δὲ χρόνον ἱκανὸν τῆς κατὰ νόμους ἡμέρας, καθ' ἣν εἰώθεισαν Ἀθηναῖοι συντελεῖν τὴν τελετὴν, ἔπεισε τὸν δῆμον διὰ τὰς εὐεργεσίας κινήσαι τὸ πάτριον ἔθος. παραδοὺς οὖν αὐτὸν ἄνοπλον τοῖς ἱερεῦσι καὶ πρὸ τῆς ὠρισμένης ἡμέρας μνηθεὶς ἀνέξευξεν ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηναίων.

In Greece Demetrius, who was tarrying in Athens, was eager to be initiated and to participate in the mysteries at Eleusis. Since it was a considerable time before the legally established day on which the Athenians were accustomed to celebrate the mysteries, he persuaded the people because of his benefactions to change the custom of their fathers. And so, giving himself over unarmed to the priests, he was initiated before the regular day and departed from Athens.

44. Athens honours Medon and his father, Prytany X 9, Anthesterion *Hysteros* 9, 304/3: SEG XXXVI 165:

[ἐπὶ Φερεκλέους ν ἄρχον]τος· ἐπὶ τῇ[ς Κε]-
[κροπίδος δεκάτης πρυ]τανείας, ἥ[ι] Ἐπι-
[χαρίνος Δημοχάρους] Γαργήτιος ἐγρ-
[αμμάτευεν Ἀνθεστηρ]ιῶνος ὑστέρον ἐ-
5
[νάτει ἰσταμένον ἐν]άτει τῆς πρυταν[ε]-
[ίας· ἐκκλησία κυρία· τῶ]ν προέδρων ἐπ[ε]-
[νήφιζεν 11]σάνδρου Φηγ[ού]-
[σιος καὶ συμπρόεδροι]· ἔδοξεν τῇ β[ου]-
[λή] καὶ τῷ δήμῳ· νν Κα]λαίδης Λυτ[ίδο]-
10
[υ Ξυπεταιῶν εἶπεν· ἐπ]ειδὴ ὁ τε πατ[ὴρ Μ]-
[έδωντος 9]ρας πρόξενος [ὦν κ]-
[αὶ εὐεργέτης τοῦ δή]μου τοῦ Ἀθηνα[ίων]
[διετέλεσεν πράττ]ων τὰ συμφέρον[τα τ]-
[ῶι δήμῳ, καὶ ὁ υἱὸς αὐ]τοῦ Μέδων στρ[ατη]-
15
[γῶν πρότερον τοῖς] βασιλεῦσιν δι[ετέ]-
[λεσεν συμπράττων] ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ δή[μου]
[σωτηρίας καὶ τῇ]ς τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων[ν ἐ]-
[λευθερίας, καὶ ν]δν ἀπέσταλκεν αὐτ[ὸν]
[ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπαγ]γελοῦντα τῷ δήμῳ[ι τ]-
20
[ὃ ἀρέσκοντα ἐαυ]τῷ ὑπὲρ τε τῶν χωρί[ω]-
[ν, ὃ κατέλαβεν Κάσσα]νδρος καὶ Πλείστ[ι]-
[αρχος 13]ΩΝΤΩΝΕΝΟΝ[. . .]
[. 21]ΔΙΤΩΝΑ[. . .]

45a. Demetrius and associates honoured for defending *eleutheria* and *demokratia*, 307-301: IG II² 509 (post-307/6); IG II² 569 (post-307); IG II² 561 = SEG XXXI 80 (c.307-301); IG XII 4.1, 129-30 (306-301); IG II² 469 (c.306/5); IG II² 558 (304/3); Agora XVI 114 (304/3); SEG XXXVI 164 (304/3), 165 (304/3); IG II² 485, 563, and 621 (304/3, see Schweigert 1937: 323-7 num.4), 486 (304/3), 498 (303/2), 559+568 (c.303/2); ISE 7 (303/2).

45b. Athenians and associates honoured for defending *eleutheria* and *demokratia*, 307-301: IG II² 457 = Plut. *Moralia* 851f-852e (307/6); IG II² 467 (306/5); *Hesperia* 5 (1936) 201-5 (305/4).

46. Athens Honours Sotimos, Prytany XII 29; Skiophorion 30, 304/3: SEG XXXVI 164
(same text in *IG* II² 486; see also *SEG* XVI 58 for Bianor; *IG* II² 597 + Add. p.662):

[ἐπὶ Φερεκλέους ἄρχοντος, ἐπὶ τῆς Αἰ]<α>-
[ντίδος δωδεκάτης πρυτανείας, ἥϊ Ἐπι-
[χαρίνος Δημοχάρου Γαρ]γήτιος ἐγρα-
[μμάτευεν· Σκιροφο]ρ[ι]ῶνος ἔνει καὶ νέ-
5
[αι προτέραι, ἐνά]τει καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῆς
[πρυτανείας· ἐκ]κλησία· τῶν προέδρων ἐ-
[πεψηφίζεν Εὐ]χθόνιος Ἐπιμηδείδου Κ-
[υδαθηναίου]ς καὶ συμπρόεδροι· ἔδοξ[ε-
[ν τῷ δήμῳ]· Στρατοκλῆς Εὐθυδήμου [Δι-
10
[ομεεὺς εἶ]πεν· *περὶ οὗ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπέ[σ-
[τειλεν] τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ, ἀποφ-
[αίνων φίλον εἰ<να>ι <α>ὐτῷ καὶ εὖνον ε-
[ῖς τὰ τῶν] βασιλέων πράγματα καὶ τὴν τ-
[οῦ δήμου] τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ἐλευθερίαν καὶ*
15
[συναγ]ωνιστὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς δημοκρατίας,
[καὶ ἡ β]ουλὴ προβεβούλευκε ὑπὲρ <α>ὐτ-
[οῦ εἰς] τὸν δῆμον· ἀγαθεῖ τύχει δεδόχθ-
[αι τῷ] δήμῳ· ἐπαινέσαι αὐτὸν ἀρετῆς
[ἐνεκα] καὶ εὐνοίας τῆς εἰς τοὺς βασιλ-
20
[έας καὶ] τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων καὶ στ-
[εφανῶσ]αι χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ κατὰ τὸν ν-
[όμον Σ]ώτιμον Δωσιθέου Κυρηναῖον κα-
[ὶ εἶνα]ι αὐτὸν Ἀθηναῖον καὶ ἐκγόνους
[αὐτοῦ]· [καὶ εἶναι αὐτὸν Ἀθηναῖον καὶ ἐ-
25
[κγόνου]ς αὐτοῦ}]] καὶ εἶναι αὐτῷ γράψα-
[σθαι φυ]λῆς καὶ δήμου καὶ φρατρίας ἧς
[ἂν βούλ]η[τ]αι· καὶ τοὺς πρυτάνεις δοῦν-
[αι περὶ αὐτ]οῦ τὴν ψ[ῆφον εἰς τὴν πρ]ώ[τη]-
[ν ἐκκλησίαν...]

In the Archonship of Pherekles, in the 12th prytany of Aiantis, in which Epicharinos son of Demochares Gargettios was secretary; Skiophorion 30; 29th of the prytany; *ekklesia*; of the *Proedroi* Euchthonios son of Epimedeides Kydathenaios and his fellow *Proedroi* voted; it seemed right to the *demos*; Stratokles son of Euthydemos of Diomeia proposed: In relation to what the king sent to the *boule* and the *demos*, declaring that he [Sotimos] is his friend, well-disposed to the kings' affairs and the *eleutheria* of the Athenian people and that he, too, is an ally in the fight for *demokratia*, and since the *boule* has deliberated in his favour and proposed to the assembly. With good fortune, be it resolved by the *demos* to praise him on for his virtue and goodwill towards the kings and the *demos* of the Athenians and to crown Sotimos son of Dositheos of Kyrene with a golden crown according to the law, and to make him and his descendents citizens. He is also to be enrolled in a *phyle* and *deme* and *phratry*, whichever he wishes. The *Prytaneis* are to pass-on the degree concerning him to the first *ekklesia*...

F) Demetrius and Athens, 295-287

47. Demetrius' political reforms, spring 295: Plut. *Demetr.* 34.4-7: [4] οὕτως οὖν τῆς πόλεως ἐχούσης, εἰσελθὼν ὁ Δημήτριος καὶ κελεύσας εἰς τὸ θέατρον ἀθροισθῆναι πάντας, ὅπλοις μὲν συνέφραξε τὴν σκηνὴν καὶ δορυφόροις τὸ λογεῖον περιέλαβεν, αὐτὸς δὲ καταβάς ὥσπερ οἱ τραγωδοὶ διὰ τῶν ἄνω παρόδων, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐκπεπληγμένων τῶν Ἀθηναίων, τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ λόγου πέρας ἐποιήσατο τοῦ δέους αὐτῶν. [5] καὶ γὰρ τόνου φωνῆς καὶ ῥημάτων πικρίας φεισάμενος, ἐλαφρῶς δὲ καὶ φιλικῶς μεμψάμενος αὐτοῖς διηλλάσσετο, καὶ δέκα μυριάδας σίτου μεδίμνων ἐπέδωκε, **καὶ κατέστησεν ἀρχὰς αἱ μάλιστα τῷ δήμῳ προσφιλεῖς ἦσαν.** [6] συνιδὼν δὲ Δρομοκλείδης ὁ ῥήτωρ ὑπὸ χαρᾶς τὸν δῆμον ἔν τε φωναῖς ὄντα παντοδαπαῖς καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος ἐπαίνους τῶν δημαγωγῶν ἀμιλλώμενον ὑπερβαλέσθαι, γνώμην ἔγραψε Δημητρίῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ τὸν Πειραιᾶ παραδοθῆναι καὶ τὴν Μουνυχίαν. [7] ἐπιψηφισθέντων δὲ τούτων ὁ Δημήτριος αὐτὸς ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ προσενέβαλε φρουρὰν εἰς τὸ Μουσεῖον, ὥς μὴ πάλιν ἀναχαιτίσαντα τὸν δῆμον ἀσχολίας αὐτῷ πραγμάτων ἐτέρων παρασχεῖν.

[4] Such, then, was the plight of the city when Demetrius made his entry and ordered all the people to assemble in the theatre. He fenced the stage-buildings round with armed men, and encompassed the stage itself with his body-guards, while he himself, like the tragic actors, came down into view through one of the upper side-entrances. The Athenians were more than ever frightened now; but with the first words that he uttered Demetrius put an end to their fears. [5] For avoiding all harshness of tone and bitterness of speech, he merely chided them lightly and in a friendly manner, and then declared himself reconciled, gave them besides a hundred thousand bushels of grain, **and established the magistrates who were most acceptable to the people.** [6] So Dromocleides the orator, seeing that the people, in their joy, were shouting all sorts of proposals, and were eager to outdo the customary eulogies of the public speakers on the bema, brought in a motion that Piraeus and Munychia should be handed over to Demetrius the king. [7] This was voted, and Demetrius on his own account put a garrison into the Museum also, that the people might not again shake off the yoke and give him further trouble.

48. Re-elections and miniature calendar year, 295: *IG* II³.1 985, 21-24 (259/8):

καὶ ἐπὶ Νικίου μὲν ἄρ-
χοντος (296/5) στρατηγὸς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου χειροτονηθεὶς ἐπὶ
τὴν παρασκευὴν δις πάντων ὧμ προσῆκεν ἐπεμελήθ-
η καλῶς καὶ φιλοτίμως...

Thonemann, P.J., "The tragic king: Demetrios Poliorketes and the city of Athens", in O. Hekster & R. Fowler (eds.), *Imaginary Kings: Royal Images in the Ancient Near East, Greece and Rome*, Oriens et Occidens 11 (Stuttgart 2005), 63-86.

49. Re-elections of 287/6: *IG* II³.1 985, 44-45 (259/8):

χειροτονηθεὶς ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα πρῶτος ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου
45
στρατηγὸς τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν τὸν ἐπὶ Ξενοφῶντος ἄρχοντος (287/6).

50. Remembering the restoration of 'democracy', spring 294: *IG* II³.1 853, ll.10-25 ():

10
.....ἐπειδὴ Ἡρόδωρ-
[ος πρότερόν τε] διατρίβων παρ' Ἀντιγό-
[νῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ] εὖνους ἦν τῷ δήμῳ τ-
[ῷ Ἀθηναίων κα]ῖ νῦν ἐμ πίστε<ι> ὦν τῷ βα-
[σιλεῖ Δημητρίῳ] ἀγαθὸν ὅτι δύναται

[πράττει κοινε]ῖ τε ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως κα-
[ῖ ἰδία ὑπὲρ ἐκ]άστου Ἀθηναίων ἀεὶ το-
[ν δεομένου, ἀπο]φαίνουσιν δ' αὐτὸν καὶ
[οἱ πρέσβεις οἱ] πεμφθέντες ὑπὲρ τῆς ε-
[ῖρήνης πρὸς τὸ]ν βασιλέα Δημήτριον σ-
20

**[υναγωνίσασθα]ι τῷ δήμῳ εἰς τὸ συντ-
[ελεσθῆναι τήν] τε φιλίαν τὴν πρὸς τὸν
[βασιλέα Δημήτρ]ιον καὶ ὅπως ἂν ὁ δῆμο-
[ς ἀπαλλαγεί]ς τοῦ πολέμου τὴν ταχίστ-
[ην καὶ κομισάμε]νος τὸ ἄστυ δημοκρατ-
25**

[ίαν διατελῆ]ι ἔχ[ων] ἀγαθεῖ τύχει...

51a. Double archonship of Olympiodorus and *anagrapheus*, 294/3-293/2: IG II³.1 858, II.1-3:

[ἐπὶ Ὀλυμπ]ιοδώρου ἄρχοντος δεῦτε[ρον ἐτ]-
[ος, ἀναγρα]φέως δὲ Ἐπικούρου τοῦ Ἐ[πιτέλο]-
[υς Ῥαμνου]σίου.

51b. Double archonship of Olympiodorus and *anagrapheus*, 294/3-293/2: IG II³.1 859, II.1-3:

[ἐπὶ] Ὀλυμπιοδ[ώρου] ἄρχοντος, ἀναγ[-
[ρα]φέως δὲ Ἐπ[ικούρου] τοῦ Ἐπιτέλο]-
[υς] Ῥαμνουσί[ου...]

52. Remembering Olympiodorus as *prostates*: Diog. Laert. 6.23: βακτηρία δ' ἐπεστηρίζετο ἀσθενήσας· ἔπειτα μέντοι καὶ διὰ παντὸς ἐφόρει, οὐ μὴν ἐν ἄστει, ἀλλὰ καθ' ὁδὸν αὐτῇ τε καὶ τῇ πύρῃ, καθὰ φησιν Ὀλυμπιόδωρος ὁ Ἀθηναίων προστατῆσας καὶ Πολύευκτος ὁ ῥήτωρ καὶ Λυσανίας ὁ Αἰσχρίωνος.

53. Appointment of Hieronymus as *epimeletes/harmost* of Thebes and Peisis as *polemarch* of Thespieae, 293/2: Plut. *Demetr.* 39.4-5: [4] ὁ δὲ ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐμβαλὼν φρουρὰν καὶ πραξάμενος πολλὰ χρήματα καὶ καταλιπὼν αὐτοῖς ἐπιμελητὴν καὶ ἄρμοσθην Ἱερώνυμον τὸν ἱστορικόν, ἔδοξεν ἡπίως κεκρῆσθαι, καὶ μάλιστα διὰ Πείσιν. [5] ἐλὼν γὰρ αὐτὸν οὐδὲν κακὸν ἐποίησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσαγορεύσας καὶ φιλοφρονηθεὶς πολέμαρχον ἐν Θεσπιαῖς ἀπέδειξεν.

Demetrius put garrisons in their cities, exacted large sums of money from them, and left as their overseer and governor Hieronymus the historian, thereby giving a reputation for clemency, and particularly by his treatment of Pisis. For after capturing him Demetrius did him no harm, but actually greeted him, showed him kindness, and appointed him polemarch in Thespieae.

Treves, P., "Jeronimo di Cardia e la politica di Demetrio Poliorcete", *Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica* 60 (1932), 194-206.

54. Return of the oligarchs, 292: Dion. Hal. *Dinarchus* 9 (= Philochorus *FGrH* 328 F 167): Ἀναξικράτης· ἐπὶ τούτου ἡ κατασταθεῖσα ὑπὸ Κασσάνδρου ὀλιγαρχία κατελύθη, καὶ οἱ εἰσαγγελθέντες ἔφυγον, ἐν οἷς καὶ Δεινάρχος ἦν... Φίλιππος· ἐπὶ τούτου κάθοδος ἐδόθη τοῖς τε ἄλλοις φυγάσι καὶ Δεινάρῳ ὑπὸ βασιλέως Δημητρίου..

Anaxicrates: the oligarchy established by Cassander was overthrown in the time of this man, and those who had been impeached went into exile, among them Dinarchus.... Philippus: King Demetrius [Poliorcetes] consented to the return of the exiles, including Dinarchus, in the time of this man.

G) Antigonos Gonatas

55. Athens under one man: Apollodoros of Athens *BNJ* 244 F 44: ταὶ Ἀπολλό[δω]ρος δὲ τὸ κα[ταδε]ῖδῃσθαι [τίθησι τ]ὴν πόλιν [ἐπ' Ἀν[τιπ]άτρου τ[οῦ] πρὸ Ἀρρενείδ[ου] | καὶ φρουρά[ν] εἰς] τὸ Μουσεῖον [τότ'] | εἰσῆχθ[αι ὑπ'] Ἀντιγόνου [καὶ τὰς] ἀρχὰς [ἀνιερῆσθ]αι ἑα[ρ] καὶ πᾶν ἐν[ὸς] | βου-

And Apollo[do]ros [placed] the subjugation of Athens in the archonship of Antipater (263/2) the one before Arrheneides (262/1), and he said that Antigonos brought a garrison into the Mouseion then, and that the archons were stopped and everything was accomplished by the decision of one man. Therefore, it is clear that...he called...but wishes...

56. Execution of Philochoros: Philochoros *BNJ* 328 T1 (Suda, φ 441, s.v. Φιλόχορος): Φιλόχορος· Κύκνου Ἀθηναῖος, μάντις καὶ ἱεροσκόπος. γυνὴ δὲ αὐτῷ ἦν Ἀρχεστράτη. κατὰ δὲ τοὺς χρόνους γέγονεν ὁ Φιλόχορος Ἐρατοσθένους, ὥς ἐπιβαλεῖν πρεσβύτη νέον ὄντα · ἐτελεύτησε δὲ ἐνεδρευθεὶς ὑπὸ Ἀντιγόνου, ὅτι διεβλήθη προσκεκλικέναι τῇ Πτολεμαίου βασιλείᾳ.

Philochoros: son of Kyknos, Athenian, prophet and diviner. His wife was Archestrata. Philochoros lived in the time of Eratosthenes, so that he (Eratosthenes), while he was young, overlapped with him (Philochoros) when he was old. He died after being ambushed by Antigonos on the charge of having inclined towards the kingdom of Ptolemy.

57. Demetrius II of Phalerum as *thesmothetes*: Ath. *Deip.* 4.64 [167e-f]: εἰς τοσοῦτον δ' ἀσωτίας ἐβλήθη καὶ Δημήτριος ὁ Δημητρίου τοῦ Φαληρέως ἀπόγονος, ὥς φησιν Ἡγήσανδρος, ὥστε Ἀρισταγόραν μὲν ἔχειν τὴν Κορινθίαν ἐρωμένην, ζῆν δὲ πολυτελῶς. ἀνακαλεσαμένων δ' αὐτὸν τῶν Ἀρεοπαγιτῶν καὶ κελευόντων βέλτιον ζῆν, “ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν,” εἶπεν, “ἐλευθερίως ζῶ. καὶ γὰρ ἐταίραν ἔχω τὴν καλλίστην καὶ ἀδικῶ οὐδένᾳ καὶ πίνω Χῖον οἶνον καὶ τᾶλλ' ἀρκούντως παρασκευάζομαι, τῶν ἰδίων μου προσόδων εἰς ταῦτα ἐκποιουσῶν, οὐ καθάπερ ὑμῶν ἐνιοὶ δεκαζόμενος φζῶ καὶ μοιχεύων.” καὶ τῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα πραττόντων καὶ ἐπ' ὀνόματός τινος κατέλεξε. *ταῦτα δ' ἀκούσας Ἀντίγονος ὁ βασιλεὺς θεσμοθέτην αὐτὸν κατέστησεν.* τοῖς δὲ Παναθηναίοις ἵππαρχος ὢν ἱκρίον ἔστησε πρὸς τοῖς Ἑρμαῖς Ἀρισταγόρα μετεωρότερον τῶν Ἑρμῶν, Ἐλευσίνι τε μυστηρίων ὄντων ἔθηκεν αὐτῇ θρόνον παρὰ τὸ ἀνάκτορον, οἰμώξεσθαι φήσας τοὺς κωλύοντας.

Demetrius the descendant of Demetrius of Phaleron sank so far into profligacy, according to Hegesander, that he took Aristagora of Corinth as his lover and lived extravagantly. When the Areopagites summoned him and told him to live a better life, he said: “But at the moment I’m living the life of a free man. I’ve got an extremely beautiful lover, I do no one any wrong, and I drink Chian wine and arrange everything else in the way that suits me; and my personal income makes this possible, and I don’t live on bribes and illicit sexual affairs, as some of you do.” And he listed some of those who behaved this way by name. *When King Antigonos heard this, he appointed him as a thesmothetēs.* When Demetrius was serving as a cavalry commander, he set up a spectator’s stand for Aristagora next to and higher than the Herms; and when the Mysteries were being celebrated in Eleusis, he put a chair next to the temple for her and told the people who wanted to keep him from doing this to go to hell.

Oetjen, R., “War Demetrios von Phaleron, der Jüngere, Kommissar des Königs Antigonos II. Gonatas in Athens?” *ZPE* 131 (2000) 111-17

58. Honours for Zeno of Citium: Diog. Laert. 7.15: ὅθεν καὶ διὰ Θράσωνος πρεσβευτοῦ παρὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἤτησεν αὐτῷ τὴν ἐν Κεραμεικῷ ταφὴν.

Hence too he [Antigonos] employed Thraso as his agent to request the Athenians to bury Zeno in the Ceramicus.

Haake, M., “Diogenes Laertius and an Athenian honorary decree for Zeno of Citium”, *CQ* 54 (2004), 470-83; for the decree proposed by Thraso in honour of Zeno, see Diog. Laert. 7.10-12

59. Halcyoneus’ birthday parties: Diog. Laert. 4.41: μάλιστα δὲ ἐπετίθεντο αὐτῷ οἱ περὶ Ἰερώνυμον τὸν Περιπατητικόν, ὁπότε συνάγοι τοὺς φίλους εἰς τὴν Ἀλκυονέως τοῦ Ἀντιγόνου υἱοῦ ἡμέραν, εἰς ἣν ἱκανὰ χρήματα ἀπέστελλεν Ἀντίγονος πρὸς ἀπόλαυσιν.

The most virulent attacks were made upon him in the circle of Hieronymus the Peripatetic, whenever he collected his friends to keep the birthday of Halcyoneus, son of Antigonos, an occasion for which Antigonos used to send large sums of money to be spent in merry-making.

60. Dedication of Heracleitus on behalf of Antigonos Gonatas to Athena Nike during the Panathenaea, c.254?: *IG* II³.1 1034

[— — — — —] τοῦ δήμ[ο]-

[υ τῇ]ν θυσίαν καὶ τ[ὰ ἀγωνίσματα τῶν Πα]ναθηναίων
ν τό τε στάδιον κατ[εσκεύασεν ἐπαξί]ως καὶ ἀνα-
ίθησιν τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ τῇ [Νίκη] στή[λ]ας ἐχούσας ὑπ-
5

ομνήματα τῶν [[τῷ βασιλεῖ]] πεπραγμένων πρὸς το-
ὺς βαρβάρους ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων σωτηρίας. νν
ὅπως ἂν οὖν ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος φαίνεται διαφυλ-
άττων [[τοῖς εὐεργέταις]] τὰς χάριτας, ν ἀγαθῇ τύ-
χῃ δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ, ν ἐπαινέσαι μὲν Ἡράκλ-
10

εῖτον Ἀσκληπιάδου Ἀθμονέα καὶ στεφανῶσαι χρ-
υσῷ στεφάνωι εὐσεβείας ἔνεκα τῆς πρὸς τοὺς θ-
εοὺς καὶ εὐνοίας καὶ φιλοτιμίας ἧς ἔχων διατε-
[λεῖ περ]ί τε [[τὸν βασιλέα Ἀντίγονον καὶ]] τῇμ βουλ-
[ῇν καὶ τὸν] δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων· ν καὶ ἀναγορεῦσα-
15

[ι τοῦτον τὸν στέ]φανον ἐν τῷ γυμνικῷ ἀγῶνι ΤΟ-
[— — 10 — — κατὰ τὸ]ν νόμον· ν ἐπιμεληθῆναι δὲ
[τῆς ποιήσεως τοῦ στεφάνου τὸν ἐπὶ] τῆς διοικήσε-
[ως· ὅπως ἂν οὖν αὐτῷ ὑπόμνημα ὑπάρ]χῃ τῆς φιλο-
[τιμίας, τὸν γραμματέα τὸν κατὰ πρυταν]εῖαν ἀνα-
20

[γράψαι τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα ἐν στήλῃ· ν εἰς δὲ τ]ὴν στ-
[ήλῃν μερίσαι τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει τὸ γενόμε]ν-
[ον ἀνάλωμα].

[— and] the People, [having revived the] sacrifice and [the contests of the Pa]nathenaia, he both arranged excellently the stadion race and dedicated to Athena [Nike] stelae containing memorials of the deeds done [by the king] against the barbarians for the salvation of the Greeks. In order, therefore, that the Boule and the People may appear to maintain gratitude [for their benefactors], with good fortune, it has been resolved by the Boule that they praise Herakleitos, son of Asklepiades, from Athmonea, and crown (him) with a gold wreath for his reverence toward the gods and the good will and zeal which he continues to have [for] both [King Antigonos and] the Boule [and the] Athenian people.

61. Appointment of Apollodoros as *strategos*, 256/5: *I.Rhamnous* 8, ll.6-9:

ἐπει-

[δὴ Ἀπολλόδορος κ]ατασταθεὶς στρατηγὸς ὑπὸ τε τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀντιγόνου καὶ
[ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου] χειροτονηθεὶς ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν τὴν παραλίαν τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν τὸν
[ἐπὶ . . 6 . . .]ο[υ] ἄρχοντος.

Since Apollodoros, both having been appointed *strategos* by King Antigonos and having been elected by the *demos* for the coastal district for the year in which Eubulus was archon.

62. Appointment of Heracleitus as *strategos*, 256/5 or 255/4?: *IG II²* 1225, ll.7-9:

καὶ νῦν καθεστηκὼς ὑπὸ τ-

[ο]ῦ βασιλέως στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τοῦ Πε<ι>ραιέως καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν
ταττομένων μετὰ τοῦ Πειραιέως...

Now that he has been appointed by the king as general of the Piraeus and of the others (fortifications?) in the Piraeus command.

63. Appointment of Dicaearchus, 235/4: *I.Rhamnous* 17, ll.5-6:

καὶ κατασταθεὶς μετὰ τοῦ πατρὸς Ἀπολλωνίου ὑπὸ το[ῦ]
[βα]σιλέ[ως Ἀν]τ[ιγ]όνου ἐπὶ τὴν φυλακὴν τοῦ φρουρίου.

See Paschidis 2008: 112-13, A36

64. Demetrius I or II appoints generals in Aegosthena, 280s or 220s: *I.Megara* VII 1, ll.5-7:

ἐπειδὴ τοὶ Αἰγοστενῖτα[ι] ἀνάγγελον Ζωΐλογ Κελαίνου Βοιώτιον,
τὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις τοῖς ἐν Αἰγοστένοις τεταγμένον ὑπὸ τοῦ
βασιλέως Δαματρίου...

65. Prayers for the royal family, 250/49: *IG II³.1* 1002, ll.19-25:

δοκεῖ τῇ βουλῇ ν τὰ μὲ-

20
ν ἀγαθὰ δέχεσθαι τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμο-
ν τὰ γεγονότα ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἐφ' ὑγίαιαι κ-
αὶ σωτηρίαι τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ
Ἀθηναίων καὶ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ ὑπ-
ὲρ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀντιγόνου καὶ Φίλας τῆς
25
βασιλίσσης καὶ τῶν ἐκγόνων αὐτῶν

It seems good to the Council that the Council and People receive the benefits that occurred in the sacrifices for the health and preservation of the Council and the Athenian People and children and women, and on behalf of king Antigonos and queen Phila and their descendants.

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