

***Psephophoria*, Honours and Naturalisation around the Aegean:**

A Case of Athenian Institutional Influence?

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1) *Psephophoria* and quorum in Athens

In Athens secret ballot was used in the fourth century BCE in two circumstances:

- to ratify, with a *quorum* of 6000, naturalisation decrees enacted by *cheirotomia* in the previous Assembly meeting (see Osborne 1981-3) – the standard formula is τοὺς δὲ πρυτάνεις δοῦναι περὶ αὐτοῦ τὴν ψήφον τῷ δήμῳ εἰς τὴν πρώτην ἐκκλησίαν (e.g. *IG II³ 1 452*, lines 24-25).

[Dem.] 59.89-90:

πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ νόμος ἐστὶ τῷ δήμῳ κείμενος μὴ ἐξεῖναι ποιήσασθαι Ἀθηναῖον, ὃν ἂν μὴ δι' ἀνδραγαθίαν εἰς τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων ἄξιον ᾗ γενέσθαι πολίτην. ἔπειτ' ἐπειδὴν πεισθῇ ὁ δῆμος καὶ δῶ τὴν δωρεάν, οὐκ ἐᾷ κυρίαν γενέσθαι τὴν ποίησιν, ἐὰν μὴ τῇ ψήφῳ εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἐκκλησίαν ὑπερεξακισχίλιοι Ἀθηναίων ψηφίσωνται κρύβδην ψηφιζόμενοι. τοὺς δὲ πρυτάνεις κελεύει τιθέναι τοὺς καδίσκους ὁ νόμος καὶ τὴν ψήφον διδόναι προσιόντι τῷ δήμῳ πρὶν τοὺς ξένους εἰσιέναι, καὶ τὰ γέρρα ἀναιρεῖν, ἵνα κύριος ὢν αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ ἕκαστος σκοπῇται πρὸς αὐτὸν ὄντινα μέλλει πολίτην ποιήσεσθαι, εἰ ἄξιός ἐστι τῆς δωρεᾶς ὁ μέλλων λήψεσθαι.

First, there is an established law that prohibits the Assembly (*demos*) from making anyone an Athenian citizen who is not worthy of it by virtue of his upright action on the city's behalf. Second, when the city is persuaded to give this gift, it does not make the decree valid until, at the next meeting of the Assembly, it is approved by a secret vote of more than six thousand citizens. The law requires the *Prytaneis* to place the ballot urns out for the Assembly before foreigners enter, and the barriers are lifted to make sure that each Assembly member think over entirely by himself whether the man up for citizenship is worthy to receive this gift.

- to grant *adeia* to discuss matters otherwise forbidden, e.g. to allow, again with a quorum of 6000, matters concerning *atimoi* and state-debtors to be discussed and decisions about them to be made in the Assembly (see Esu 2021).

Dem. 24.45 (reliable document, see Canevaro 2013: 127-32):

ΝΟΜΟΣ ... μηδὲ περὶ τῶν ἀτίμων, ὅπως χρή ἐπιτίμους αὐτοὺς εἶναι, μηδὲ περὶ τῶν ὀφειλόντων τοῖς θεοῖς ἢ τῷ δημοσίῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων περὶ ἀφέσεως τοῦ ὀφλήματος ἢ τάξεως, ἐὰν μὴ ψηφισαμένων Ἀθηναίων τὴν ἄδειαν πρῶτον μὴ ἔλαττον ἑξακισχιλίων, οἷς ἂν δόξη κρύβδην ψηφιζόμενοις. τότε δ' ἐξεῖναι χρηματίζειν καθ' ὃ τι ἂν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ δοκῇ.

LAW ... neither about disenfranchised citizens, that they need to be re-enfranchised, nor about debtors to the gods or to the public treasury of the Athenians, on the remission or composition of the debt, if permission is not granted by no less than 6,000 Athenians, who so resolve voting by secret ballot. Then it shall be permitted to deliberate according to what the Council and the Assembly have resolved.

(The documents inserted in Dem. 24.59 and Andoc. 1.87, prescribing a quorum and *psephophoria* in the case of *nomoi ep'andri*, are later forgeries and should not be considered reliable evidence for Athenian procedure, see Canevaro-Harris 2012: 117-119; Canevaro 2013: 145-50; Canevaro 2019.)

2) Naturalisation and *psephophoria* in Samos (*IG XII, 4 1 131*, lines 12-17)

For the date of this decree see Crowther 1999: 255-7; for the relevant procedure Gauthier 2001.

[εἶ]ναι δὲ α[ύ]-

τοὺς καὶ προξένους τῆς πόλεως, δεδ[ό]σθαι δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ πολιτεία[ν]

[έ]φ' ἴσῃ καὶ ὁμοίαι καὶ ἐπιψηφίσαι τὸν δῆμον ἐν ἀρχαιρεσίαις κα[τ]ὰ τὸν [νό]-

μον, τοὺς δὲ πρυτάνεις τοὺς πρυτανεύοντας τὸμ μῆνα τ[ὸν Ἀν]θεσ[τη]-

[ρι]ῶνα προαγαγεῖν ὑπὲρ τῆς πολιτείας καὶ τῆς προξενίας, ὅπως ὁ δῆμο[ς]

διαψηφίσῃ καθότι ἐν τῷ νόμῳ γέγραπται...

3) Naturalisation and *psephophoria* in Samothrace (*IG XII, 8 158* lines 3-13)

For the reconstruction of the procedure in this decree see Gauthier 2001: 215-216.

δεδόχθαι

τῷ δήμῳ τοὺς ἐπιστάτας ἐπε-
ρωτῆσαι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν κατὰ τὸν ν[ό]-
μον, εἰ δοκεῖ δοῦναι πολιτείαμ Πτολ[ε]-
μαίῳ Ἀμεινίου Γορτυνίῳ καὶ ἐκγό-
νοις καὶ ἐὰν δόξηι, συντελέσαι
καὶ τὴν ψηφοφορίαν ἐν τῇ καθηκού-
σῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ ἐὰν ἐπιψηφισθῇ, εἶ-
ναι αὐτοὺς πολίτας μετέχοντας
πάντων ὧν καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πολῖται
μετέχουσιν...

4) Naturalisation and *psephophoria* in Iasos

For the two categories of honorary decrees from third-century Iasos see Crowther 1995: 93-98. For naturalisation procedures in Iasos see in particular Fabiani 2014: 105-8 and 2015: 291-5.

I.Iasos 73, lines 27-29:

εἶναι δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ προξένους τῆς
πόλεως· περὶ πολιτείας δὲ αὐτοῖς τε καὶ τοῖς ἐκγόνοις αὐτῶν προγράψ[ασ]-
θαι τοὺς προστάτας ἐν τοῖς ἐννόμοις χρόνο<ι>ς...

I.Iasos 74, lines 26-27:

περὶ πολιτεία]ς δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐκγόνοις προγράψασθαι [τοὺς προστά]τας
[καὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς ἐν το]ῖς ἐννόμοις χρόνοις...

SEG 41.930 + SEG 41.931, lines 40-44, 51-57 (third decree):

εἶναι
[Ἀλέξανδ]ρον Φιλίσκου Τήιον πρόξενον καὶ
[εὐεργέτην τοῦ δή]μου, δεδοσθαι δὲ καὶ
[πολιτείαν αὐτῷ κ]αὶ ἐκγόνοις μετέχουσι
[πάντων ὧν καὶ οἱ ἄλλ]οι πολῖται μετέχουσι·
...
ἐδόθη ψήφῳι
[κρυφαίαι· ψῆφοι αἱ διδοῦσαι ἐν τ]ῇ βουλῇ
[number of votes, ψῆφ]οι αἱ διδοῦσαι
[ἐν τῷ δήμῳ - - - - -]ΔΕ
[- - - - -] ἵππου

5) Honorary decrees and *psephophoria* in Magnesia on the Meander (*I.Magnesia* 92b, lines 15-17)

For these texts see Gauthier 2011: 442-3.

τοὺς δὲ ἄρχοντας ποιῆσαι ψηφοφορίαν κατὰ τὸν νόμο[ν]
[κ]αὶ πάντων συντελεσθέντων ὧν ὁ νόμος ἀγορεύει οὕτω κύρια εἶνα[ι τὰ] ἐψηφισμέ-
να...

6) Honorary decrees and *psephophoria* in Colophon

For these texts see Gauthier 2003.

I.Priene 57, lines 20-21:

διεψηφίσθη ἐν τῷ δήμῳ κατὰ τὸν νόμον καὶ ἐδόθη ψηφί[σαμένων χιλίων] εἴκοσι τριῶν...

SEG 53.1297, lines 27-31:

διαψηφίσαι δὲ ταῦτα καθότι συνωμολόγηται ταῖς πόλεσιν· διεψηφίσθη ἐν Κολοφῶνι τῇ ἐπὶ θαλάσσει

Meritt, *AJPh* 56 (1935) 377-379 no. III, lines 33-5:

διαψηφίσαι δὲ ταῦτα κατὰ τὴν συνθήκην καὶ τὰ προεψηφισμένα· διεψηφίσθη ἐν Κολοφῶνι καὶ δέδοται

Macridy and Picard, BCH 39 (1915) 36/37, lines 21-2:

διαψηφίσαι[ι δὲ] ταῦτα ἐν ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς [πόλε]σιν· διεψηφίσθη ἐν Κολοφῶν[ι τῇ] ἐπὶ θαλάσσει καὶ δέδοτ[αι]

7) Honorary decrees and *psephophoria* in Cos

For the relevant formulas in Coan decrees see e.g. Bosnakis-Hallof 2003.

IG XII, 4 1 22, lines 4-8:

Διονύσιον ἐπαινέσ[αι]
εὐνοίας καὶ προθυμίας ἔνεκεν καὶ στ[εφα]-
νῶσαι χρυσῶι στεφάνωι ὅσσωι κύριός [ἐστίν]
[ὁ] δᾶμος χειροτονίαι μεγίσταν [δωρεάν]
[δ]ιδόμεν...

IG XII, 4 1 25, lines 14-16:

ὅτι ὁ δᾶμος στεφανοῖ Ξενότιμον Τιμοξέ-
νου ἀπὸ ἀργυρίου, οὗ ἐκ τῶν νόμων πλείστου
[κ]υρί[α] ἐστὶ ἡ ἐκκλησία χειροτονίαι μεγίσταν
[δ]ωρ[ε]άν δόμεν...

SEG 48.1112, lines 47-8:

ψᾶφοι στερεαὶ ἐπιτιδοῦσα[ι]
τὸν στέφανον ὡπε', vac. τετρυπαμένα[ι οὐδεμί]α.

IG XII, 4 1 56, lines 30-33:

ψᾶφος ἔχε[ιν] καὶ δόμεν τὰν δω-
[ρεά]ν στερεά· ψᾶφο[ι] στερεαί· vacat
[ἐν]αντία οὐδεμί]α. vac.

8) Some further examples of *psephophoria* with idiosyncratic features

SEG 60.1073, lines 49-51 (Alabanda):

[—] ἔδοξε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῶι δήμῳι ε[—]
[—]αν ἐψηφοφορήθη κατὰ [τὸν νόμον —]
[—]ΩΣ[—]

IG IX, 1 109, lines 10, 15-17 (Elateia in Phocis):

ἔδοξε τοῖς συνέδροις...

...

εἶκα καὶ ἐν τῷ
δάμῳ δόξη. ἔδοξε καὶ ἐν τῷ δάμῳι
γενομένας ψαφοφορίας κατὰ τὸν νόμον.

SEG 57.510, II lines 34-35 (Larisa; see Helly 2007 for this formula):

καὶ ὁμφερέμεν / ἐν ταῖς ψάφοις.

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