

THE PROXENY-LISTS OF KARTHAIA*

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Résumé. – Cet article offre une réédition de IG XII, 5, 542, le plus ancien catalogue encore disponible de *proxenoi*, et soutient la position selon laquelle elle fut produite par la ville de Karthaia, sur l'île de Kéos, très certainement à la suite de la révolte avortée de la population de Kéos immigrée à Athènes au milieu du 4^e siècle avant J.-C. Une étude plus ciblée de la structure interne du catalogue permet d'identifier la répartition régionales des *proxenoi*. Ceci donne lieu à un aperçu unique des possibilités de cette *polis* et des interactions avec d'autres *poleis* et régions, lesquelles peuvent être comparées avec l'information qu'offre une liste plus succincte provenant de la même ville durant la période hellénistique (IG XII, 5, 1073 + II², 2455).

Abstract. – This article re-edits IG XII, 5, 542, our earliest surviving catalogue of *proxenoi*, arguing that it was produced by Karthaia on Keos, probably in the aftermath of the unsuccessful Kean revolt from Athens in the middle of the fourth century BC. Concentrating on the internal structure of this catalogue, the regional sections into which *proxenoi* were divided are identified. These provide a unique view of the horizons of this *polis* and its interactions with other *poleis* and regions which can be compared with the information provided by a shorter list from same city in the Hellenistic period (IG XII, 5, 1073 + II², 2455).

Mots-clés. – Proxeny-lists, proxeny-networks, *proxenia*, Karthaia, Keos.

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Inscribed lists of *proxenoi*, despite being relatively neglected in modern scholarly treatments of *proxenia*, constitute our best source of information on the scale and scope of individual *poleis*' networks of *proxenoi*. Above all they give us much more substantial and representative sets of data for individual *poleis* at specific times than the individually inscribed proxeny decrees which constitute our most numerous surviving epigraphic attestations of this institution. Whereas it is often impossible to ascertain from individual decrees, if the ethnic of the *proxenos* was in any way significant for the contact between city and honorand which it reveals¹, these inscriptions, in revealing the existence for individual cities of multiple *proxenoi* from specific *poleis* or areas, allow us to confidently identify patterns of regional distribution and therefore interaction, providing us with a vision – self-consciously constructed by the *polis* in question – of its connections and horizons.

The lists of *proxenoi* from Karthaia are no exception. Two snapshots of the *proxenoi* of this small island *polis* survive (*IG* XII, 5, 542 and *IG* XII, 5, 1073 + *II*², 2455). The first reveals in striking detail the extent, distribution and scale of this *polis*' network of *proxenoi* in the mid-fourth century which, numbering more than 86 at the point of inscription, is by far the best attested for this period. As well as giving us a sense of the potential vitality of *proxenia* at this date, the regional organisation of this inscription offers a Karthaian perspective on its own regional position, viewed through its links to external communities. The second of these inscriptions, although it yields a much smaller sample of *proxenoi*, provides us with a useful comparison from the third century, allowing us to begin to see change and continuity in the *proxenos*-network of this community.

Both of these, however, present significant difficulties which need to be overcome before they can be usefully placed within the necessary broader interpretative framework of a comparison of the lists and networks of *proxenoi* from different *poleis*. This article is therefore concerned with dealing with these difficulties and establishing, on the basis of detailed re-examination of the available evidence, new reconstructions of these texts, concentrating in particular on their internal structuring. Historical questions are primarily considered where they bear on the reconstruction of these texts or their dating. An annotated catalogue presents the results of this study, supplemented in the case of *IG* XII, 5, 542, by a re-edition of the text. In an appendix I consider the related issue of the identity of two Athenians, one of them already a Karthaian *proxenos*, honoured by the city of Karthaia (*IG* XII, 5, 528 and 538).

1. L. ROBERT, *Noms indigènes dans l'Asie-Mineure gréco-romaine*, Paris 1963, p. 66 f.

IG XII, 5, 542 (FIG. 1-3)²

A stele of white marble, probably Kean, topped by a pediment, the stone as we now have it stands at 0.87 m in height (0.82 m from the bottom to the first inscribed line ; 0.075 m thick), and preserves the right side of the stele – slightly less than half the original width, judged on the basis of secure restorations of the heading and lines 4-5. Our fragment appears to have been sawn from the original and the shallow channel running down the centre of the left face is consistent with architectural re-use. The difference in width preserved at the top (0.175 m at 1.3) and bottom (0.192 m at 1.55) is due partly to the angle at which the stone was cut, partly to an original taper. The front and right face were smoothly finished ; the back, left rough-picked.

The stone itself is recorded, in the *editio princeps* by Ulrich Koehler (1884), as having been brought from Keos to Attica³. Nothing further is known of the find-spot and the attribution of this inscription to the *polis* of Karthaia, rather than to any one of the three other *poleis* situated on Keos, though generally accepted, is made on the basis of probability, given the *proxenoi* recorded. At the time of Koehler it was housed in the courtyard of the administrative buildings of the Greek mining company in Laurion. Hiller von Gaertringen, in *IG*, recorded its location as *in schola*, and from there it passed into the collection of the Marathon Museum before finding its way, in 1990, into the Epigraphical Museum (where it is now EM 13491)⁴.

Both the front of the stone and its right face were inscribed, though heavy erosion of the right hand side of the front face until the final third of the text and of the majority of right left face obliterate most of what was written in these places. The lettering is simple and unadorned and on the front face the word divider « : » is consistently used in the main list of *proxenoi* between different entries and different elements within them, but not in the prefatory decree or in the supplements on the left hand face.

TEXT

After the invocation θεοί, the heading πρόξενοι (both in larger, widely spaced lettering), the prescript of a decree and three lines setting down all of the privileges to be given to *proxenoi*, the text lists, continuously, the *proxenoi* of this community in the format name, patronymic and ethnic. With at least eighty-six inscribed on the front face alone this is, by a considerable margin, the largest number of *proxenoi* known in the Classical period for any single *polis* at a given moment. What is exceptional here, however, is not the size of this network for this period – others from more important *poleis* are likely to have been larger – but the survival of

2. Unless otherwise stated comments are on this version of the text, edited by F. Hiller von Gaertringen. Other editions : *ed. pr.* U. KOEHLER, « Proxenenliste von Keos », *AthMitt* 9, 1884, p. 271-278 ; L. MENDONI, « Proxénikos katalogos apo tin Karthaia » in M. LAGOGIANNI-GEORGAKARAKOU ed., *Politeuesthai tous Keious kata poleis : Katalogos 'Ekthesis 16 Iouliou – 30 Septembriou 2007*, Athens 2007, p. 44-45.

3. U. KOEHLER *op. cit.*, n. 2, p. 271.

4. L. MENDONI *op. cit.*, n. 2, p. 44, in her edition, which does not mention that of Koehler, has it moving from the school to the mining company.



Figure 1 : IG XII, 5, 542, face a
EM 13491. Photo : Epigraphical Museum.

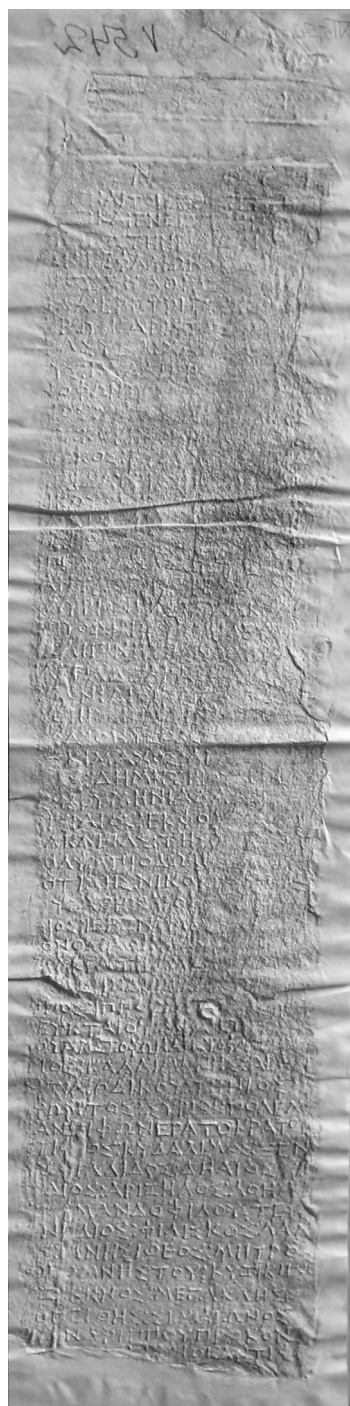


Figure 2 : IG XII, 5, 542, face a
Berlin Squeeze. Photo : W. Mack.

the type of text which reveals it. Our other evidence consists of scattered individual decrees and so this text potentially offers us the possibility of a corrective view, one example of the scale and distribution possible. In order to extract this information, however, given the fragmentary state of its preservation, it is vital to identify the organising principles underlying this inscription.

There are two principal possibilities exhibited by other lists of *proxenoi* : the catalogue, collecting all the *proxenoi* recognised by the *polis* at a particular time and ordered on the basis of ethnic, and the chronological list, in which individuals were inscribed as grants were made, often collectively after an interval of time. Both methods of organization have been invoked in the case of this inscription – the original editor, Koehler, and most recent, Mendoni, opting for the former ; Hiller von Gaertringen in his edition for *IG*, implicitly⁵, and Marek in the brief section on lists of *proxenoi* in his monograph, explicitly, preferring the latter⁶.

The fact that *proxenoi*, on the front face at least, are ordered by ethnic makes it clear that this must be considered a catalogue. *Proxenoi* from the same *polis* are grouped together, even where singular ethnics seem to imply that these grants were not made at the same time⁷. In addition, these *polis*-groups seem to have been ordered in relation to each other by location. *Poleis* in or closely connected to the Peloponnese occur together in lines 14-24 – a Corinthian, Epidaurians, a Spartan followed by citizens of Lakonian Pellana, Kyphanta, Epidauros Limne and finally Aigina. Similarly lines 45-49 are concerned with *proxenoi* from the Cycladic isles – Tenos, Syros, Seriphos and Delos are represented – followed in lines 50-58 by a Hellespontine/Propontic section (Tenedos, Kyzikos, Prokonnesos and Kios). This ordering, however, is better designated as « regional » than « geographic » because the factor determining the order in which these regions occur in the list, and even the order in which places occur within regions, is not simply proximity. The text as a whole moves from Euboea to the Peloponnese, back to Central Greece, then to Athens, the Cycladic Islands and directly to the Hellespontine district. These regions of organisation thus seem to be conceived of as distinct units by the collators of this text – a fact which poses interesting questions about the purposes for which it was composed, but which is also a significant aid in reconstructing the network of *proxenoi* and its regional distribution which underlies this text.

Although the case for considering *IG* XII, 5, 542 a catalogue appears overwhelming, it is worth briefly considering why both Hiller von Gaertringen and particularly Marek disagreed. In his explicit statement the latter was clearly influenced by implausible restorations, printed

5. Illustrated by restorations printed in the text, see below.

6. CHR. MAREK, *Die Proxenie*, Frankfurt am Main 1984, p. 135.

7. Grouped together are 2 Epidaurians (15-16), 3 Tenedians (l, 50-2), 2 Kyzikenos (l, 54-5) and 15 Athenians (l, 34-44). On the functional distinction between ethnics in the singular and plural, see below.

in the *IG* text – [Κηφισοφ]ῶν (?) Κεφαλίωνο[ς Ἀθηναῖος (?)] in l. 6, separated by some 30 lines from the Athenian group, and also by Χαλκ[ηδόνιος] in l. 10 where the Euboean context indicated by an Eretrian calls for Χαλκ[ιδεύς]⁸.

There are, however, exceptions to this ordering principle not due to false restoration. The first and easiest to explain are the ethnics which appear on the top of the right-hand face of the inscription – of Maroneia and Andros. These names, apparently out of place (the Andrian at least we would expect in the Cycladic section), and the fragments of others which occur below them, represent later supplements to keep this catalogue up to date as grants continued to be made, an interpretation supported by the different hands used and absence of « : » dividing words on this face. The second and only true exception to the regional principle of organisation which has been preserved is the presence of a Knidian in the section otherwise devoted to central Greece – the individual occurs between the *proxenoi* from Lebadeia and Thebes. Though this does not disprove regional organisation, which emerges clearly from the rest of the catalogue, it does force us to nuance our ideas about how these regions were conceived.

RECONSTRUCTION

In addition to checking and supplementing pre-existing readings of this inscription, one of the central concerns of this commentary is to accurately reconstruct the number of *proxenoi* which it would have originally contained, region by region. When this involves estimating, on the basis of the size of a lacuna, whether it is necessary to assume a missing *proxenos*, I have used a minimum average of seven letters per name-element (so twenty-one for the name-patronymic-ethnic formula). As a general methodological point I assume that all individuals listed belong to the current region until it seems probable, on the basis of ethnic or onomastic evidence, that a new region has begun. This is unlikely to distort the picture of distribution which results. The patterns which emerge are still clear, even allowing for a margin of error of one to two *proxenoi* in uncertain cases. In general my assumptions about the numbers of letters lost are based loosely on the restorations of the first lines – c.25-30 for the sawn-off left hand side and c.20 letters for the often heavily-abraded right⁹.

HEADINGS AND INITIAL DECREE (LL. 1. 1-5)

Traces of the « E » of the heading [ΠΙΡΟΞ]ΕΝΟΙ can be read. Where Mendoni prints εἶναι (l. 3), Koehler and Hiller von Gaertringen are correct to print ἔναι – there is no space for an iota between what must be read as « ε » and « ν ».

The currently prevailing restorations of lines 3-5 are problematic. There is a significant discrepancy between the number of letters restored with reasonable security in the initial lacuna of l. 3 with (24) and in the following lines (both 31), and the restorations in the latter lines

8. I note also that Γνάθιος (l.7) and Στράτιος (side b, l. 3) are read as ethnics in Marek's catalogue of *proxenoi*, CH. MAREK, *op. cit.*, n. 6 p. 81 – they are, instead, idionyms (each directly follows an ethnic).

9. These are based on restorations of lines 3-4, see below.

appear suspect. The first clause, l. 3-5, is restored as a grant of *atelia* – [ἀτέλειαν πάντων καὶ ἐσπλέοσι καὶ ἐκπλέο]σι καὶ ἐν εἰρ[ήν]ῃ καὶ ἐμὶ πολέμῳ – whereas it seems more likely that what is at issue here, given the « war and peace » phrase following, is a grant of personal inviolacy. A very common formulation, attested both at Karthaia and elsewhere as a standard *proxenos* privilege, fits this space (thus 28 letters), the sense, and the surviving letter traces, far better : [εἰσπλουν καὶ ἔκπλουν ἀσυλὴ καὶ ἀσπο]νδεῖ¹⁰. The restoration of [καὶ γῆς ἔγκτησιν], used to fill out l. 5, is also not very likely. It is probably too long, and it is rare to find grants of *ges enktesis*, the right to own land in the territory of the *polis*, which omit the further specification that this grant included the right to own a house there as well¹¹. In a later Karthaian inscription, we see the much more normal form of this grant – [γῆς... ἔγκτησι]ν καὶ οἴκου¹². The honorand in this later text, moreover, was already a *proxenos* – and it would be odd if he should be granted *enktesis* as an additional honour if it was already a standard *proxenos*-privilege at Karthaia. The gap left should probably be filled instead with a shorter honour in the accusative (e.g. καὶ ἀτέλειαν or καὶ προεδρίαν), bringing this line to 28-9 letters¹³.

These alterations still leave a difference of about 4 letters between the restored lengths of line 3 and lines 4-5. It is most likely that the restoration of line 3 is correct and that this discrepancy is actual, perhaps the result of a mistake or a more liberal use of space in the first part of the line (which is the first line in the text in this format). Less probable, but still possible, is that this inscription named the proposer of the decree but omitted the probouleutic formula (whether by accident or because it was a decree which was passed without probouleusis). So we would read : [*nomen* (c.11 letters) εἶπεν ἔδοξεν τῷ δήμῳ] (28 letters). There would be no other examples for such an omission from Keos but it is attested elsewhere and the inclusion of a reference to the proposer would be normal for Kean decrees (all the other 17 decrees from Karthaia which are sufficiently preserved include such a reference)¹⁴. Sutton's proposal, conversely, that we should insert « Κεῖων » into the restoration, and thus make this a catalogue of federal Keos, is highly unlikely, both on the basis of phraseology and because it cannot be reconciled with the presence in this list of Aristophon son of Aristophanes, the Athenian¹⁵.

10. « [καὶ] αὐτοῖς πάντα δ[εδόσθαι] ὅσα περ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλ[οις] [προξένοις, καὶ εἰσπλουν καὶ ἔκπλουν ἀσυλὴ καὶ ἀσπ]ονδεῖ καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ἐμὶ πολέμῳ », *IG XII*, 5, 536, l. 8-9.

11. *FD III*, 1, 424, *IG XII*, 9, 203 and *IPriene* 3 are the only certain instances of which I am aware.

12. *IG XII*, 5, 528 + add. p. 319 ; see appendix, below, on the date.

13. References to these privileges are rare at Karthaia, despite the survival of a number of honorific decrees (the only probable attestations of either are restorations in a fragmentary stone attributed to the first part of the fifth century, *IG XII*, 5, 1060). This might make sense if one of these privileges was generally conveyed as standard by the status of *proxenos*. A. R. D. Sutton's proposal (reported in *IG XII* suppl. p. 113) [ἀσυλὴ καὶ ἀσπονδὶ] is probably too long and this element fits better above.

14. P. J. RHODES with D. M. LEWIS, *The Decrees of the Greek States*, Oxford 1997, Index sv « Proposals commissioned by assembly » with p. 475-501 ; p. 223-224 collecting the decrees of Karthaia.

15. « [ἔδοξεν Κεῖων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ] » (reported in *IG XII* suppl. p. 113). The placement of an ethnic plural here (rather than after τῷ δήμῳ) would be unusual. On the context of the appointment of Aristophon son of Aristophanes (as general in the year after the Kean revolt was quashed), see below.

This decree, defining the privileges which *proxenoi* were to receive by virtue of this status, is probably equivalent to what was by some other *poleis* called the *proxenikos nomos*, or simply referenced as the relevant *nomos* in the context of the granting of honours, including inscription¹⁶.

REGION I : EUBOEIA (LL. 5-12 ; *PROXENOI* 1-10)

The occurrence of the ethnic Ἐρετριεύς (l.8) in this part of the text indicates that this section is concerned with listing *proxenoi* from Euboea – making the restoration Χαλκ[ιδεύς] in line 10 all but certain (it is possible that we also have [Χαλκιδε]ύς in the line following, but there are several other Euboean ethnics in –εύς: Διεύς, Ἐρετριεύς, Γρυνγχεύς, Ἰστιαιεύς, Ὀροβιεύς, Περραιεύς and Στυρεύς). It is hard to judge when this Euboean region concludes, though clearly it does before Κορίνθιος (l. 14). As there is no Euboean city ethnic in -σιος (l. 13) it seems like this belongs to the next region – the possible Peloponnesian candidates include Thelpousa in Arcadia, Leontion in Achaia and Phleious in the Argolid. Within this section, therefore, we have traces of the names of some ten *proxenoi*. There does not seem space for any entirely lost *proxenoi* in this section of the list.

Onomastic evidence reinforces the identification of this as a Euboean section – there seem to be no names which are unlikely to be Euboean. Although Κεφαλίων is best attested at Athens (seventeen of thirty-one times), and otherwise not at Euboea, Κεφαλλέων is attested once at Styra (*IG* XII, 9, 56 n. 169), and Κέφαλος, from which these are formed, is very well attested on Euboea (eleven times). The other names in this section, or likely restorations of them, are all well attested for Euboea. In line 9 faint traces of the letter preceding ρων can be read which seem compatible with « ε » (the top and bottom horizontals are visible) – the most likely possibility would be Ἰέρων, but Ἀντιφέρων, Εὐφέρων and Πτέρων are all also attested on Euboea.

REGION II : THE PELOPONNESE (LL. 13-24 ; *PROXENOI* 11-28)

Seven different surviving or securely restored ethnics define this region clearly – the eastern side of the Peloponnese. This section must conclude before the occurrence of Lebadeia on the list (l. 25), and, if the name in the previous line is [Φ]ύλαρχ[ος], since this is not otherwise attested in the Peloponnese but occurs in Boeotia, it may represent the starting point of the next section. Two *proxenoi*, whose naming formulae are entirely lost, must be assumed : one l. 18-19 (a lacuna of some 40-45 letters with, otherwise, only a single idionym to fill it) and one l. 23 (a lacuna of 21-25 letters, falling between the end of the naming formula of one *proxenos* and the start of the naming-formula of another – so otherwise unfilled). Eighteen *proxenoi* are therefore catalogued for this region.

16. E.g. *Illion* 53 ; cf. CHR. MAREK, *op. cit.*, p. 142-144. Other lists of *proxenoi* prefaced by similar decrees include *IG* XII, 3, 168 (Astypalaia), *IKalchedon* 4 and, I will argue in an article forthcoming in *ZPE*, probably also *IG* XII suppl. 127.

In general the names in this section as they stand in *IG* – if restored, usually the most likely restoration – are each attested for the Peloponnese at least once (Εὐάρχου ; [Ἐπ]ίκουρος ; Πρόφ[αντος]). In l. 15 instead of -οκος (*IG* and Mendoni) Koehler's original reading -οχος is better (the diagonals of the « χ » are still clear, despite the deep vertical scratch on the stone which has caused more recent editors to read « κ »). In l. 21 [X]ρέμω[ν] is usually restored, which is entirely possible – attested in the Peloponnese at both Argos and Tegea. Given, however, that this sub-section seems to deal with the Lakonike, [B]ρέμω[ν], attested for a Spartan (*SEG* XI, 413, 27), may seem slightly more likely. On the basis of the concatenation of the names Πύθων and Ἡρακλείδευ[ς] (« Π » here, despite the reticence of Hiller von Gaertringen, is clear) this individual has been associated with Python and Herakleides, two brothers from Ainos who slew the Thracian king Cotys and were honoured at Athens¹⁷ – either Python himself, or a relative. As a result the ethnic Αἴνιος is restored (both in *IG* and in Mendoni), clearly in violation of the ordering principles otherwise observed in this text. In fact this association is too optimistic. As neither of these names is at all unusual it is better to assume that this was an unrelated Python from the region covered by this section – perhaps, like the individual following, an Aiginetan (both of these names are attested at Aigina but are otherwise uncommon in the Peloponnese).

REGION III : BOEOTIA AND THE GULF OF MALIS (LL. 24-35 ; *PROXENOI* 29-45)

The fact that this region is divorced from the section on Euboea, with which it might seem naturally to go, is one of the most interesting dislocations in this catalogue. Since this region is well defined, for l. 30 Koehler's Μιλ[ήσιος] is an unlikely restoration. Instead what we presumably have here is Μ[η]λ[ιεύς], the ethnic used for an ethnos in the region of the Malian gulf¹⁸. This section is clearly completed before the occurrence of [Θεοζ]οτίδης : Νικο[στράτου], identified as an Athenian (even without this prosopographical link, this transition would be reasonably secure – the name Θεοζοτίδης is attested only for Athens ; the only other possibility Θεοτίδης, conversely, is only attested for Thrace). Three *proxenoi*, entirely lost, must be assumed in lines 37, 40 and 44 (in each case there is otherwise no other name – or only one name-element – to fill a c.30 letter lacuna). The total number of *proxenoi* in this section is thus seventeen.

In general the names or elements preserved here are attested in Boeotia and the Malis area ([Φ]ύλαρχ[ος], 3 attestations ; Οἶν[...], 28 ; Διονυσόδωρου, 35 ; Ἀγλαοφ[...], 2 ; Ὀλυμπιόδωρ[...], 13) – a fact supporting the reconstruction of this region but which, since these names are well attested elsewhere, does not contribute much by way of new information, particularly as the state of preservation is too incomplete for any of these individuals to be identified. One exception to this is Ἀριστεύ[ς] which, unlike the popular Ἀριστεάς, is not

17. Dem. XXIII, *In Aristocratem*, 119 ; Arist. *Pol.* 1311^b 22.

18. U. KOEHLER, *op. cit.*, n. 2, p. 274 ; So A. M. PRIDIK, *De Cei insulae rebus*, 1892, p. 77 with n. 1 (cf. Her. VII, 132,1 ; Thuc. III, 93, 1).

attested otherwise in this region at all. In Νουμηνιάδας, moreover, we have a unique name, found nowhere else (though Νουμηνίας is attested once at Athens). These isolated examples reveal the limits of this sort of analysis, based on very incomplete evidence and assuming consistency in naming patterns¹⁹ – but do not undermine the general picture which onomastic evidence gives. The name, l. 29, usually read [Ἀλ]κίμαχος is problematic for other reasons – though « κ » seems quite distinct on the squeeze, immediately preceding it is an unmistakable « ξ ». Perhaps what we have here is confusion (though no correction is apparent) between Ἀλκίμαχος and the equally popular Ἀλεξιμαχος.

The most interesting *proxenos* in this section is the Knidian (l. 26) who, according to the otherwise fairly strict regional organisation of this list, does not belong in it at all. One explanation is that this individual, though a Knidian in origin, was in fact resident in Boeotia²⁰. A more interesting possibility is that, in the absence of a regional context of interaction – and *proxenoi* – for this part of Asia Minor, this section of the catalogue, devoted to Boeotia, was thought appropriate as the *proxeny*-grant was made in a Boeotian context. We know that Keos revolted from the Athenian league at the time of the Persian-funded naval expedition of Epameinondas in 364, challenging Athenian dominance at sea²¹. That this expedition was welcomed at Knidos, or at least encouraged there, seems certain on the basis of a recently published Knidian *proxeny*-decree for Epameinondas²². It is in the context of these events that the treaty between Keos and Histiaia, another ally of the Thebans at this point, is usually placed and explained (*IG* XII, 5, 594)²³ – and a *proxeny* grant by Karthaia for a Knidian (perhaps at the same time as grants for Boeotians) might represent part of a similar effort made by those allied to Thebes to make and strengthen mutual ties with each other, vulnerable as Keos especially was to Athenian reprisals.

That this Boeotian context was thought of as appropriate, however, implies that there was no Asia Minor region of *proxenoi* on this list in which this individual could more appropriately be placed, drawing our attention to the fact that coverage was not complete, that this sort of link was only articulated by the Karthaia with individuals from particular *poleis* in certain regions. The text as we have it is likely to give us the majority of the regions this catalogue covered (even if we have lost some of the lower section of the stele, where the stone is broken,

19. It should be remembered that over half of the names in the first three volumes of the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* are hapaxes (E. MATTHEWS in E. MATTHEWS ed., *Old and new worlds in Greek onomastics*, Oxford 2007, p. 3).

20. So U. KOEHLER, *op. cit.*, n. 2, p. 276 ; Xenophon's situation – installed in Scillus as *proxenos* of the Spartans (Diog. Laert. 2, 51) – would have only superficial similarities.

21. For the history of Keos in the fourth century in general see P. BRUN, « L'île de Kéos et ses cités au IV^e siècle av J.C. », *ZPE* 76, 1989, p. 121-138 ; here esp. p. 134-136.

22. W. BLÜMEL « Two Inscriptions from the Knidian Peninsula », *EA* 23, 1994, p. 157-158 ; J. BUCKLER « Epameinondas and the New Inscription from Knidos », *Mnemosyne* 51, 1998, p. 192-204.

23. P. BRUN, *op. cit.* n. 21, p. 124-125.

the catalogue itself may not have continued – this space instead being taken up with later supplements, continuing on the left hand face). It is therefore possible to consider, tentatively, the gaps that appear in this network.

REGION IV : ATHENS (LL. 1. 35-44 ; *PROXENOI* 46-60)

In addition to the thirteen *proxenoi* of whom clear traces remain, two must be posited to account for lacunae in l. 38-9 and 41-2, bringing the total up to fifteen.

In this case the evidence allows us to engage in prosopographical as well as onomastic analysis, giving us insight into the sorts of person created *proxenos* by the Karthaiaans at Athens and, presumably, elsewhere, as well as possible contexts for such grants. Among those individuals whom we can confidently identify (all those for whom a sufficient part of the name is preserved to be distinctive) wealth and political prominence are the rule, personal or familial. [Θεοζ]οτίδης : Νικο[στράτου] had a politically active grandfather and served as a choregus sometime before 348²⁴. [Δη]μοκράτης : Μεν[ίππου], attested personally as a *prytanis* of the tribe Oineis in 360/59 (II² 1745, l. 54), was the father of a wealthy son who performed a liturgy around 330 (II² 417, l. 23). [Νικόδημος] : Εὐκταίου²⁵ and, if the restoration is correct (it is optimistic), Ἀ[φ]α[ρ]εὺς : Ἴσοκράτους], the son of the famous orator, were also both of the liturgical class.

The most prominent of those securely read on this stone, however, is Ἀριστοφῶν : Ἀριστοφάνου], the Athenian politician, according to his own boast the survivor of 75 attempted prosecutions by « γραφὴ παρανόμων », and in this case it seems probable that we can identify the occasion on which Aristophon probably received his grant of *proxenia*, his dispatch as general, then approximately 70 years of age, to Keos in 362/3 to deal with further disturbances arising at Ioulis in the aftermath of the foiled Kean attempt to secede from the league²⁶. We learn of this because, on his return, Aristophon only narrowly avoided conviction « for having inflicted many wrongs on the inhabitants because of his greed » (this grant perhaps implies that he did not mistreat *all* the inhabitants of Keos)²⁷. We do, however, possess a decree he proposed after his return, regulating Ioulis after the attempt to overturn the recent settlement of Chabrias – a decree which explicitly praises the Karthaiaans (RO 39, l. 54-5).

Though it is possible that Aristophon was selected to serve on this occasion because he was already a *proxenos* of Karthaia – i.e. as a local expert – other considerations make it more likely that he became so as a result of his actions there. In particular, Aristophon here is one of a group of up to six Athenians sharing a single ethnic in the plural (indicated by the fact that in l. 43 Aristophon directly follows a patronymic, leaving no space for a preceding ethnic). A few ethnics in the plural occur elsewhere (the Σύριοι, l. 46, or the Κι[α]νοί, l. 58), but the singular is usual for designating *proxenoi*, even multiple *proxenoi* from a single place, suggesting a

24. Dem. XXI, *In Midiam* 59 ; J. K. DAVIES, *Athenian Propertied Families*, Oxford 1971, n. 6915.

25. J. K. DAVIES, *op. cit.*, n. 24, n. 10814, in place of [Νικί[α]ς], who was an ephebe in 334/3.

26. Aristophon lived to almost one hundred, dying between 340/39 and 330, J. K. DAVIES, *op. cit.*, n. 24, n. 2108.

27. « διὰ φιλοχρηματίαν πολλὰ κακὰ ἐργασάμενος τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας », Hyp. IV, *P. Euxenippo*, 28.

functional opposition within the list between these two methods of designation, corresponding a distinction between grants made to individuals and to groups. This group of Athenians would represent the largest collective grant we can clearly see – and the most plausible explanation for such a mass grant would be the aftermath of the failed federal revolt when Karthaia sought to establish or cement friendly relations with a group of important Athenians, including at least one general, who came to settle affairs on the island²⁸.

This group with a date therefore of 363/2 would probably represent more recent Athenian recipients of *proxenia* (the script itself is ascribed to the mid-fourth century) raising the possibility that, in this catalogue, *proxenoi* at a given city were ordered chronologically in order of appointment. The placement of this group immediately after an Athenian *proxenos* beginning Χα[-] would make the usually tentative restoration of this individual as Χα[βρίας Κτησίππου] – the Athenian general who quelled Keos's revolt the previous year – highly probable. We would thus have something we might even call a policy – a repeated (and successful) attempt to forge links with the military commanders sent by Athens at this dangerous time for the *polis*.

REGION V : THE CYCLADES (LL. 44-9 ; *PROXENOI* 61-70)

Given the spacing, this region must begin with the *proxenos* possessing the ethnic [-]ῖος²⁹ and end with the *proxenos* from Delos after whom the list jumps sharply to Tenedos. We can therefore be confident that only ten *proxenoi* were contained in this section.

Onomastic evidence here does not add much. The closest parallel for the hapax Κυδάλιμος is Κυδάλης, also a hapax, attested at Eretria. In l. 47 the « τ » usually restored for Ἀντιφών is clearly visible as are unambiguous traces of the ε of [Σ]ερίφιος in l. 48. A curiosity in line 47 is the erasure over which the first five letters of [Ἐρατοκ]ράτου are written³⁰ – probably correcting an initial mis-inscription of the first part of this name (which may have been shorter than the correction – as the usual word-divider « : », presumably written in the original, has been omitted in the correction). At the start of l. 49 « ο » can be read (so [-]ῖος) as can, at the end of the line, the first two letters of the name of the next *proxenos* – « Α », visible but faint, and « Τ », much more clear.

REGION VI : THE HELLESPONT (LL. 50-60 ; *PROXENOI* 71-86)

This section, containing at least sixteen *proxenoi*, is one of the surprises of this inscription – we would have otherwise no reason to suppose established Karthaian links with this region. That these continued is clearly attested by three further Karthaian grants of *proxenia* made in the Hellenistic period.

28. Cf. P. BRUN, *op. cit.*, n. 21, p. 125

29. Paros and Syros are the most likely, but also possible are Imbros, Leros, Nisyros, Pholegandros, and Skyros.

30. Here I follow the convention proposed in H. KRUMMREY, S. PANCIERA, « Criteri di edizione e segni diacritici », *Tituli* 2, 1980, p. 205-215, for representing text inscribed over an erasure.

Onomastic analysis makes one substantive contribution to the reconstruction of the text in this section. The personal name Σιμαίων, used in the genitive in l. 56 is otherwise unattested. However Σιμαῖος, the name from which it has clearly been derived, is attested six times, all in the Chersonese, the probable origin therefore of this *proxenos*, and well within the bounds of this region. In l. 50 traces of the second « ε » of [Τεν]έδιος are visible on the squeeze.

FACE B (FIG. 3)

In my edition of this part of the text I have recorded only what I have been able to see on the Berlin squeeze (this face of the stone has deteriorated significantly since the squeeze was made).

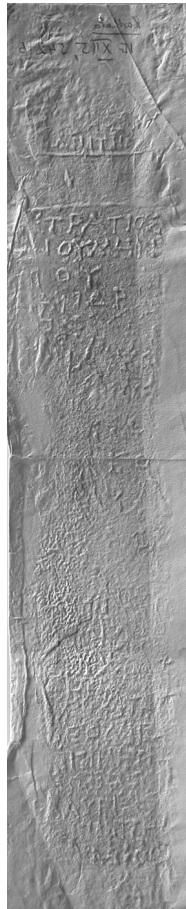


Figure 3 : IG XII, 5, 542, face b
Berlin Squeeze
Photo : Prof. K. Hallof.

In addition to the letter traces recorded noted by Koehler, many of which I have not been able to confirm, two further Aiginetan *proxenoi* can be read in the middle of this face. The patronym of the first of these, « .ΕΟΛ.ΓΟ. », is difficult to restore – the only name which is compatible with the « Γ », which seems clear, is Θεόλογος, a name otherwise unattested until the second century AD. If we can read « T » instead, then the very common name Θεόδοτος can perhaps be restored (Θεόλυτος, also common, and Νεολάϊτος, a hapax, could also be compatible with the letter traces). Πρῶτος is the most likely restoration for the name of the second proxenos (I read « [.].ωτος. ») but Βῶτος, Γνώτος, Δῶτος, Ζῶτος and Λῶτος are also possibilities ; for the patronym, for which I read « .ΑΥΡΙΑ. . », it is possible to restore Ταυρίδας (attested twice at Athens) or perhaps the otherwise unattested but well-formed Σαυρίδας.

Since these Aiginetans are juxtaposed, and seem to have been inscribed by the same hand, it seems probable that these grants were made on the same occasion and they are therefore likely to represent a group grant even though the honorands do not share a plural ethnic (it would not be particularly surprising if this convention in the catalogue were not regularly observed by subsequent supplements).

HISTORICAL CONTEXTS AND DATING

The date assigned to this inscription has usually been refined on the basis of the presence of two individuals as *proxenoi* within it – the Athenian, Aristophon son of Aristophanes (almost certainly a recipient in 363/2) and the Ainian, Python son of Herakleides (assumed to have become a recipient after the murder of King Cotys in 355). Since I have eliminated the latter, we are left with 363/2 as a *terminus post quem* and this text was probably produced not long after. If the individuals grouped with Aristophon are, as I have argued is probable, the most recent Athenian recipients as well as the last listed, the lack of later grants to Athenians suggests that not much time had passed before the catalogue was inscribed. Continuing interactions lead to further grants and the past strength and frequency of Athenian interactions indicated by this large group of mostly individual grants suggest that, before too long an interval, further Athenians are likely to have been appointed *proxenoi*. In any case the presence of Aristophon in this list provides us with a *terminus ante quem* of 330 for the inscription of this list, when both Aischines and Demosthenes refer to him as being dead³¹.

Since nothing in the text we have explicitly states that this list is Karthaian, and we do not know its precise find-spot, it is important to justify this attribution. Firstly, this catalogue cannot be federal – the presence of the Athenian general Aristophon, sent to Keos in the year 363/2 to deal with a renewed uprising at Ioulis the year after the revolt of the Kean federation was quashed by Chabrias, would be incompatible with this³². For similar reasons this list is very

31. Aesch. III, *In Ctesiphontem*, 139 ; Dem XVIII, *De Corona*, 162.

32. Even if a social war context does best fit *IG* II², 404 (so P. BRUN, « La datation de *IG* II², 404, décret athénien concernant les cités de Kéos », *ZPE* 147, 2004, p. 72-78), the Athenian anti-federal policy concerning Keos which it succinctly distils (πολιτεύεσθαι Κ[είου]ς κατὰ πόλεις, l. 13) is explicitly connected with earlier

unlikely to have originated at Ioulis – which was the centre of the federalized state (presumably those inhabitants Aristophon was accused of maltreating). The amicable relationship which the decree proposed by Aristophon, praising the *polis* of the Karthaiaians, suggests (both between Athens and Karthaia and Aristophon and Karthaia ; *RO* 39, l. 54), is strongly in favour of the identification of Karthaia as the producer of this text. It seems rather more likely than either of the alternatives – Koresia, at times subsumed into Ioulis, or Poiessa – especially in view of the fact that Karthaia is known to have produced at least one later list of *proxenoi*.

Although historians in general are perhaps too quick to associate isolated evidence in the pursuit of explanatory narrative, as a context for the production of this inscription, post-federal Karthaia is plausible. The functions performed by this text – standardizing the privileges received by *proxenoi* and publishing an authoritative list of them – might make sense as the expression of communal independence and importance (these are the people and places to which we are connected...) of citizens of a *polis* keen, after the failure of federalism, or rather its forceful overthrow, to stress their separate identity³³.

IG XII, 5, 1073 + II², 2455 (FIG. 4-5)

These two fragments of white marble, both preserving inscribed honorific decrees on the reverse, have only recently been associated. As the designation *IG* II², 2455 implies, the latter of these (EM 2851) found its way to Attica and was published as an Athenian inscription by Kirchner (who notes but does not transcribe the letters preserved on the reverse), whereas *IG* XII, 5, 1073 was always associated with Karthaia³⁴. The text preserved on the reverse of II², 2455 – a decree of the Karthaian demos³⁵ – clarifies its place of origin and the identical thicknesses (4 cm), similar letter styles and sizes, and the similarities between the types of text preserved on each side (part of a list of names with ethnics on one side of each fragment, part of one or more honorific decrees on the reverse) makes the identification proposed by Mendoni

enactments best placed in the context of the aftermath of the revolt. This approach is also echoed in the earlier oaths instituted by Chabrias (and re-inscribed with Aristophon's decree, *RO* 39, l. 57 f.) with one set to be sworn by the Athenians « πρὸς τὰς πόλεις τ[ὰ]ς ἐν Κέωι » (l. 56-7) and the other described as « [ὄρκαι καὶ συνθή]και τῶν πολέων τῶν ἐν Κέωι » (l. 69). Note also that the *poleis* of Ioulis and Karthaia are dealt separately with by Aristophon in his decree (recording a debt of the former, l. 6, cf. l. 42 ; praising the latter, l. 54).

33. It should be noted that participation in the federation did not preclude proxeny-granting and other *polis*-activities : cf. G. REGER, M. RISSER, « Coinage and Federation in Hellenistic Keos » in J. F. CHERRY, J. L. DAVIS, E. MANTZOURANI eds., *Landscape Archaeology as Long-Term History*, Los Angeles 1991, p. 305-317. On the institutions and history of the Kean federation see, in addition to P. BRUN, *op. cit.* n. 18, D. M. LEWIS « The Federal Constitution of Keos » *ABSA* 57, 1962, p. 1-4.

34. By some mischance, however, the *ed. pr.* of 1073, presumably prepared by Graindor and promised in his publication of 1072, never appeared, P. GRAINDOR « Fouilles de Karthaia (I) », *BCH* 30, 1906, p. 101-102, n. 21 – 1073 was to be n. 29.

35. M. MITSOS, [fn.26] in « Epigraphai ex Athenon », *AE* 1950-1, p. 45-46.

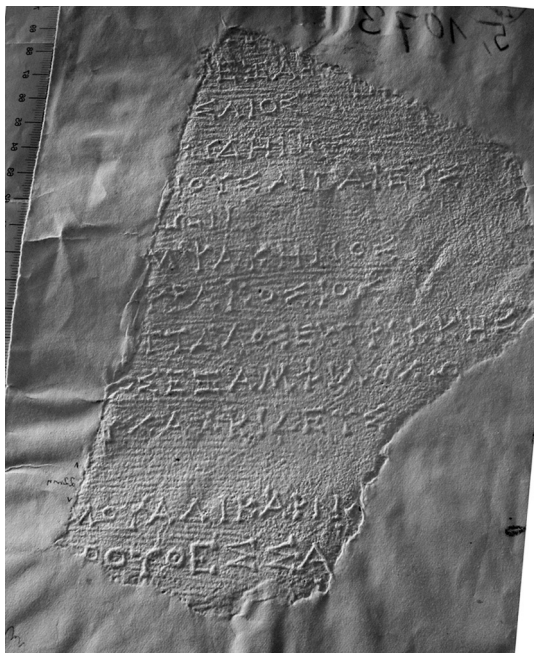


Figure 4 : *IG XII, 5, 1073*
 Berlin Squeeze
 Photo : W. Mack.

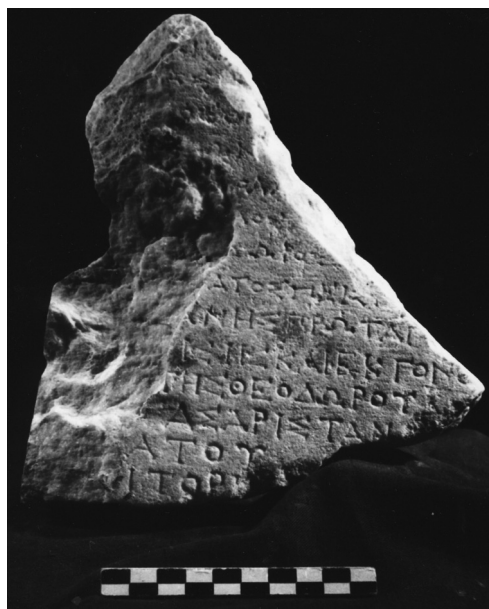


Figure 5 : *IG II², 2455*
 EM 2851
 Photo : Epigraphical Museum.

all but certain³⁶. Examination of squeezes of these texts side by side confirms the general similarity of script (see fig. 4-5 ; a direct comparison Mendoni was unable to make as the stone of 1072/3 has been lost).

These fragments both came from a single, slender opisthographic stele. Although there is no explicit indication that the individuals listed on this side are *proxenoi*, the juxtaposition of this list of non-citizens with the honorific decrees preserved on the reverse – as well as this community's prior history of inscribing and updating lists of *proxenoi* – strongly argues that this is a chronological list of those named *proxenoi*³⁷. Since no fragment preserves the top of this stone, and the differences in the lettering of texts on front and back are not sufficient for comparative dating, it is not immediately clear which text was inscribed first. It seems most likely, however, as both the front and back faces of this narrow stele were prepared for inscription, that it was initially erected for the purposes of receiving (perhaps continuing) a chronological list of proxeny-recipients. For such a list, space for future supplements would be essential (indeed, it would be the point of the list), whereas it would be unnecessary if the stele was originally intended to receive the inscription of a single proxeny decree. Such a stone, on which the names of *proxenoi* had been inscribed as they were appointed, might well then have seemed a suitable place for the inscribing of subsequent honorific decrees, especially if the continuous inscription of new *proxenoi* had for some reason ceased to be automatic³⁸. It is probably significant in this connection that the line and letter spacing of 1073, according to this interpretation the earlier text, is much more generous than is the case in the decrees inscribed on the reverse.

Likely restorations in l. 4-5 of 1072 give us some sense of the minimum original width of the stone. In l. 4 before the break, there would have been 10 cm and 14 letters (12 survive) with a projected 28 letters missing ; in l. 5, in c. 11 cm before the break there were 14 letters (12 surviving) with a further 30 projected missing. It seems unlikely, therefore, that the original width was much less than 25-30 cm.

Unfortunately, although this seems to be a chronological list of *proxenoi*, roughly reflecting the order in which *proxenoi* were nominated, no dating formulae are preserved which would suggest that *proxenoi* were inscribed at regular intervals or allow us to see how many grants were made in a particular year. Indeed no internal subdivisions at all can be confidently identified. In the case of 1073 it is possible that the *vacat* we see was intended to indicate the start of the inscription of a new section of *proxenoi*, perhaps after an interval of

36. L. MENDONI, « Addenda et Corrigenda ad Inscriptiones Ceae » in *POIKILA*, Athens 1990, p. 287-307 ; I note also A. MATTHAIU, « Duo epigramas tis Keas kai i epistimotiki deontologia », *Horos* 8-9, 1990-1991, p. 207-214.

37. None of the other possible explanations for such a list of foreigners seem nearly as plausible in this case (victor list, mercenary list, *theorodokoi* list – P. M. FRASER, *Greek Ethnic Terminology*, Oxford 2009, p. 88-101), especially in view of Karthaia's earlier history of such monuments.

38. Compare *IG* V, 2, 368, a list of *proxenoi* from Kleitor on which abbreviated proxeny-decrees are later inscribed (e.g. l. 162 ff.).

time (a year?) if these were grouped and annually inscribed (this would be used similarly to the *vacat* between the preserved decrees on the reverse of this inscription). However, given that more than twenty letters probably preceded the break, it is possible that a short naming formula filled the space before this *vacat* – a *vacat* of varying length is left after the conclusion of every other patronymic in this part of the list. Moreover a clear change of hands evident between the entries of 1.25 and 26, between which no *vacat* was left, strongly suggests that this is not a useful diagnostic criterion.

Since no internal subdivisions can be observed which might help us categorise these *proxenoi*, I have only incorporated in the catalogue those *proxenoi* whose ethnics are known or securely restored. In addition I have also incorporated the individuals of known ethnic honoured by decrees on the reverse of this stele as they are likely to have been inscribed not long after (or, if they do in fact predate it, before) the list and help to develop the comparison with the Classical picture of Karthaia's contacts presented by *IG* XII, 5, 542.

Although for *IG* II², 2455, l. 14 [Κλ]εῖτοιο. can probably be read, as it is unclear whether this serves the function of a patronym or an ethnic, and the former seems more likely (most of the other names in the part of the line-width preserved by this this fragment are patronyms), it is not included in the catalogue. In l. 13, a generous space left between the end of this element and the start of ethnic following, seems to have lead Kirchner to print simply *vacat* for the rest of this line, but the top of a vertical letter is just visible at the end of the line.

DATING AND CONTEXT

This text can only very loosely be dated on epigraphic grounds – « litterae elegantes III a. Chr. n. saeculi » was Hiller von Gaertringen's description in his publication of 1072/3, and it goes for II² 2455 and Mitsos (1950-1), p. 45-46, n. 26 as well. All these texts have serifs, despite the suggestion of the maiusculæ of 1073 (which, unlike that of 1072, lacks them). In the absence of names, prosopography is impossible. Historical criteria do not get us much closer, although the pattern of distribution here, in comparison with that evident on the Classical catalogue, does firmly suggest a Hellenistic context. The prominence of northern Greeks – Thessalians and Macedonians – in these lists, in stark contrast with their absence from the fourth century catalogue, seems to reflect the emergence of Macedon as a centre of political and economic gravity. Similarly grants made to individuals from Aigai (meeting place of the Achaean league), Amphilochian Argos and Syracuse, in contrast with the earlier network of *proxenoi* which neglected these areas, probably reflect their increased importance for Karthaia in the Hellenistic world. It is also possible that the occurrence of *proxenoi* at Knidus and Halikarnassos, and Axos, may reflect a renewed importance, for the Karthaians, of the east-west axis of the Mediterranean, into which they may perhaps have been drawn, in part, by the involvement of the Ptolemies in the Aegean (the port of Koressos was probably for some

time during this period renamed Arsinoe, reflecting Ptolemaic presence there)³⁹. Alternatively it may seem attractive to relate the occurrence of Axos to the treaties of sympolity which both Axos and Karthaia made with the Aitolians during the second century⁴⁰.

CONCLUSIONS

The fourth-century catalogue of *proxenoi*, IG XII, 5, 542, affords us an otherwise unparalleled view of the proxeny-network of a relatively small island *polis* in the Classical period. Once the regional organisation of this inscription has been noted, it gives us a near-complete picture of the relative distribution of *proxenoi* recognised by Karthaia. It invites us to compare the relative weight given to different regions, to note the orientation of Karthaia towards Athens (15 *proxenoi*) and the mainland (the Peloponnese, 18 ; Boeotia, 17) rather than the Cyclades (only 10), and the way in which the position of Karthaia relative to these regions is consequently constructed, as a cross-roads between them rather than as belonging within any one (two rough axes, meeting at Keos, are apparently defined by the ordering of regions in this inscription : first North-South (Euboea, the Peloponnese) and then West-East (Boeotia, Athens, the Cyclades, the Hellespont)). Since it is also probable that we are not missing many further regional groupings (if we are missing any at all), and we can therefore begin to talk about the gaps in this Classical network, comparisons can meaningfully be drawn with the much smaller sample of *proxenoi* preserved from the chronological list of the Hellenistic period, allowing us to see change and continuity in regional contacts – and, therefore, potentially, in the use to which this *polis* put *proxenia*.

These are topics which I will discuss in more detail elsewhere, placing this network in the context of our evidence for other networks of *proxenoi*⁴¹. As an example which illustrates the potential of these lists, however, I would like to call attention to the Hellespontine group of *proxenoi* with which IG XII, 5, 542 breaks off. The relative size and composition of this group – at least sixteen *proxenoi* from a number of different *poleis*, including at least four separate grants made to Tenedians – indicates a prolonged period of fairly intense contact. This group was also remarkably long-lived. Of the regional groups of *proxenoi* attested in IG XII, 5, 542 it is the only one to be well represented in Hellenistic grants of *proxenia*, with three more individuals from this region named. These are contacts which we would otherwise know nothing about. Usually we are not in a position to characterize the particular interactions

39. R. BAGNALL, *The Administration of the Ptolemaic Possessions outside Egypt*, Leiden 1976, p. 141-145 ; J. F. CHERRY, J. L. DAVIS, « The Ptolemaic Base at Koressos on Keos », *ABSA* 86, 1991, p. 9-28.

40. *StV* 508 and 585.

41. This emphasis on understanding and comparing individual cities' networks of *proxenoi* differs from the sort of analysis attempted by R. Étienne and E. Dourlot, which treats the *proxenoi* of the Cyclades collectively and is distorted by the extremely disparate data-sets for different cities in different periods (not least, for fourth century Karthaia) – R. ÉTIENNE and E. DURLLOT, « Les Cyclades » in E. LANZILLOTTA, D. SCHIARDI eds., *Le Cicladi ed il mondo egeo*, Rome 1996, p. 21-33.

which underlay different grants. In this particular case, however, in view of the isolation of this from the other groups, its strength and longevity, it seems likely that these connections reflect established patterns of long-distance trade.

This is just one particularly striking example of what this genre of inscription can tell us about the interactions of *poleis* and their citizens. Comparison of this with the patterns of distribution revealed by other networks of *proxenoi*, however, will illustrate not only the different ways in which *poleis* engaged with local and more distant communities and regions but also how, on these inscriptions, they chose to represent their engagement.

APPENDIX : KLEOMELOS SON OF KLEOBOULOS AND CHAIREAS SON OF CHAIRIPPOS

These two Athenians were honoured in Karthaian decrees for help which each gave to a panel of Karthaian *syndikoi* (Diondas, Kleonikos, Sositeles and Philonikos), sent by the *polis* of Karthaia to speak at the trial of their fellow citizens Zenis and Lysimachus at Athens (IG XII, 5, 528 and 538, both + *add.* p. 319 and 321). Kleomelos, described as already being *proxenos* of the Karthaians, is honoured with grants of citizenship and *enktesis*. Chaireas, who was not a *proxenos*, although his previous conduct and current services are described in nearly identical terms, is honoured, by contrast, with only a foliage crown (illustrating the fact that the possession of a large network of *proxenoi* did not necessary mean that a city granted *proxenia* indiscriminately to all, although the reasons why it was not granted in this case are unclear to us).

The dating of these inscriptions has long been disputed. Although the letter forms of both have been thought to fit best in the first half of the third century BC⁴², a number of scholars have preferred to locate them, and the trial which they attest, in the context of the second Athenian confederacy, that is before 338 BC⁴³. However, while it is clearly tempting to relate this trial to the legal stipulations set out in the famous decrees enforcing the exclusive export of *miltos* to Athens which the different cities of Keos were encouraged to enact (RO 40), a lower date should be preferred on the basis both of lettering and prosopographical connections with Ag. XVI, 62, a list of Athenian *bouleutai* firmly dated at the end of the century to 303/2 BC.

The identification of our Kleomelos son of Kleoboulos with Κλεόμηλος Κλεο[-] of the deme Aigilia (Ag. XVI, 62, l. 327) was first proposed by Chr. Habicht, but has received little attention since⁴⁴. It seems probable, however, that Chaireas son of Chairippos should also be

42. F. HILLER VON GAERTRINGEN, IG XII, 5 *add.* p. 321 (revising his earlier attribution to the latter part of the century).

43. First by Wilamowitz *ap.* E. SONNE, *De arbitris externis*, Göttingen 1888, p. 29 and, more recently, P. BRUN, *op. cit.* n. 21, p. 126.

44. CHR. HABICHT, *Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte Athens im 3. Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, Munich 1979, p. 150-151.

read, in l. 168, where the current text gives Χαῖρέας Χαῖρ[-]. In part this is because Χαῖρ- is lexically distinct from Χαῖρ- and what we would usually expect to have here is the regular incorporation of an element of the father's name in that of his son⁴⁵. Moreover, on the stone of this part of the list (fr. c, fig. 6), there is also a clear a vertical scratch placed midway between the alpha and the rho, which examination reveals to be deeper and longer than the other scratches on the surface of this stone and which thus looks like it was intended to correct this original misspelling. I would therefore propose Χαῖρέας Χαῖ'ρ[ίππου]. Given this coincidence of attestation, it is attractive to see the bouleutic service of Kleomelos and Chaireas in 303/2 as the context for the aid they gave the Karthaian panel of *syndikoi*, and this position would have made them well placed to provide such help⁴⁶.



Figure 6 : Ag. XVI, 62 fr. c,
Agora Museum inv. I 4720c
Photo : W. Mack.

45. There are some exceptions to this general rule (e.g. *IG* I³, 455 l. 20), a fact which I am very grateful to Professor Habicht for pointing out.

46. For a potential example of what such services could include see Dem. XIX, *De Falsa Legatione*, 235, Aesch. II, *De Falsa Legatione*, 110 f., and III, *In Ctesiphontem*, 76 on the hospitality which Demosthenes, as *bouleutes*, gave the ambassadors of Philip – providing a sumptuous feast, proposing a motion of *proedria*, hiring mules for them and accompanying them on their journey.

CATALOGUES

IG XII 5 542

	Face a Line no.	Ethnic	Name	Patronym
Euboea				
1	6		[-]ων	Κεφαλίωνος
2	7	[-]ιος		
3	7 – 8		Γνάθιος	
4	8	Ἐρετριεύς		[-]ίδα
5	8 – 9		Γο.γ.[-]	
6	9		[-]ρων	Ἀριστο[φ]ών[τος]
7	10 – 11	Χαλκιδ[εύς]	[Θ]ρασυέα	
8	11	[-ε]ύς		
9	11 – 12		Καλλικρατ[-]	
10	12			[Χε]νοφώντος
Peloponnese				
11	13	[-]σιος		
12	13 – 14		Σι[...]	[.]ν[.....]ος
13	14	Κορίνθιος		[-]ου
14	14 – 15		[....]οκ[-]	
15	15 – 16	[Ἴ]πιδα[ύριος]	[-]οχος	Εὐάρεχ[ου]
16	16	[Ἴ]πιδαύριος		
17	16 – 17		[.]ΙΑ[....]Υ[-]	
18	17			[Ἴ]πικούρου
19	18	[Λακε]δαιμόνιο[ς]		
[20]	18 – 19			
21	19			Προφ[άντου]
22	20 – 21	Πελλ[α]νεὺς ἐκ τῆς Λακωνικῆς]		
23	21	[Κυφα]ντασεύ[ς]		
24	21 – 22		[Β]ρέμω[ν]?	
25	22 – 23	[Ἴ]πιδαύριος ἐκ τ[ῆς] Λακ[ωνικῆς]		
[26]	23			
27	23 – 24		Πύθων	Ἡρακλείδευ[ς]
28	24	Αἰγινήτης		
Boeotia and Malian Gulf				
29	24 – 25		[Φ]ύλαρχος]	
30	25	Λεπαδεύ[ς]		
31	25 – 26		Ἀριστεύ[ς]	
32	26	Κνίδιος		[-ο]υ
33	26 – 27		[Ἀ]π[ολλ]ο[-]	
34	27	[Θ]ηβαῖος		
35	27 – 28		Οἶν[-]	
36	28 – 29		[-]ς	Διονυσόδωρου
[37]	29			
38	29 – 30		[Αλ]{ξ}κίμαχος	Ἀγλαοφ[α-]

39	30	Μηλ[ιεύς]	[-]ς	Δημητροῦ
[40]	31			
41	31 – 2		Νουμηνιάδας	
42	32	[Λα]ρισιαῖος ἐκ Φθι[ώτιδος]		
43	33	[ἐξ Ἡρ]ακλείας τῆς [Τραχινίας]		
[44]	34			
45	34 – 35		Ὀλυμπιόδωρ[ος]	
Athens				
46	35 – 36	[Ἀθηναῖος]	[Θεοξ]οτίδης	Νικο[στράτου]
47	36	Ἀθηναῖος		[-]ου
48	36 – 37	[Ἀθηναῖος]		
49	37 – 38	[Ἀθηναῖος]	Ἰερώνυμο[ς]	
50	38	Ἀθην[αῖος]		[-]ονος
[51]	38 – 39	[Ἀθηναῖος]		
52	39 – 40	[Ἀθηναῖος]	[Δη]μοκράτης	Μεν[ίππου]
53	40	Ἀθηναῖος		[-ο]υ
54	40 – 41	[Ἀθηναῖος]	Χ[αβρίας]?	[Κτησίππου]?
55	41	[Ἀθηναῖοι]	[-ι]ππος	Ἴππο[κ]ρά[τους]
[56]	41 – 42	“		
57	42	“	[Νικόδημος]	Εὐκταίου
58	42 – 43	“	Ἀ[φ]α[ρ]εὺ[ς]?	[Ἰσοκράτους]?
59	43	“		[-]ου
60	43 – 44	“	Ἀριστοφών	Ἀριστοφάνο[υς]
The Cyclades				
61	44	[-]ριος		
62	44 – 45		Καλλιμένης	Ἀρισ[τ-]
63	45	Τήνιος	[-]ς	Τιμοδίκου
64	46	Σύριοι		
65	46	“		[-]οφώντος
66	46 – 47		Πολεμ[-]	
67	47 – 48		Ἀντιφών	Ἐρατοκράτου[ς]
68	48	[Σ]ερίφιος		
69	48 – 49		Κυδάλιμος	Ξεν[-]
70	49	Δήλιος	[-]ος	Φίλλιδος
Hellespontine district				
71	50	[Τεν]έδιος		Ατ[-]
72	50 – 51	[Τενέδιος]	Ἀρίζηλος	Ἀθην[-]
73	51 – 52	Τεν[έδιος]		[Σ]καμανδ<ρ>οφίλου
74	52	[Τε]ν[έ]διος		
75	52 – 53		Φιλίσκος	Λα[-]
76	53	[-]ς		
77	53 – 54		Μνησίθεος	Μητρο[-]
78	54	Κυζικηνός		Θεομνήστου
79	55	[Κυ]ζικηνός		
80	55 – 56		Μεγακλῆς	
81	56 – 57		[-]οπείθης	Σιμαίωνος

82	57 – 58	Προγον[νήσιος]	[-]ν	Ἀνδρίππου
83	58	Κι[α]νοί		
84	58	“		
85	58 – 59		Ἀντίφι[λος]	
86	59 – 60			[-]νου
Face b				
87	1 – 2	[Μαρ]ωνίτης		[.....]δος
88	3 – 7	Ἄνδρι-ος	Στράτιος	Νουμην[ί]ου
89		Αἰγινήτης	[...]. .[.]	[.]ΕΟΛ.ΓΟ.
90		[Αἰ]γινήτη[ς]	[.]ωτος	.ΑΥΡΙΑ. .

IG XII 5 1073 (and 1072) with II² 2455

	Line no.	Ethnic	Name	Patronymic
IG XII 5 1073				
1	14	[Κρής] ἐξ Ἄξι[ν]		
2	15	[-]σαῖος		
3	16	[Α]βυδηνός		
4	17	Αἰγαιεύς		[-έ]γους
5	18	[Μακε]δών		
6	19	[Λα]μψακηνός		
7	20	[Σ]υρακόσιος		
8	21	[Θε]τταλός ἐκ Τρίκκης		
9	22	[Ἀργεῖ]ος ἐξ Ἀμφιλόχω[ν]		
10	23	Χαλκιδεύς		[-ο]ν
		Vacat?		
11	25	Ἀλικαρνα[σεύς]		[-]μου
12	26	Θεσσα[λός ἐκ ...]		[-]ρου
II² 2455				
13	10	[Θετταλός ἐκ Λα]ρίσης		
1072 (honorific decrees)				
14	1 – 2	Κυζικ[ηνός]		[-]ου
15	12 – 13	Κνίδ[ιος]		[-ο]υς

TEXT OF *IG* XII 5 542

Face a

	[Θ	E]	O	I.
	[Π	P	O	Ξ]E
				N	O
					I.

[ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ· ἔναι τοῖς προξένοις [εἴς]-
 [πλουν καὶ ἔκπλουν ἀσυλὴ καὶ ἀσπο]νδεὶ καὶ ἐν εἰρ[ήν]ῃ καὶ ἐμ]
 5 [πολέμῳ, καὶ . c.7-8 ., καὶ πρόσδο]ν πρὸς τὴν β[ουλῇ]ν [καὶ τὸν]
 [δῆμον πρώτοις μετὰ τὰ ἱερά.. c.5-7 .]ων : Κεφαλίωνο[ς]
 [. c.25-30]ιος : Γνάθιος [.]
 [. c.25-30]ίδα : Ἐρετριεύς : Γο.γ[. . .]
 [. c.25-30]ερων : Ἀριστο[φ]ών[τος]
 10 [. c.25-30 Θ]ῤασυέα : Χαλκ[ιδεύς. . . .]
 [. c.25-30 ε]ύς : Καλλικρατι[.]
 [. c.23-28 Ξε]νοφώντος [.]
 [. c.25-30]σιος : Σι[. . . .]ν[. . . .]ος
 [. c.25-30]ου : Κορίνθιος [. . . .]οκ[. . .]
 15 [. c.25-30]οχος : Εὐάρχ[ου : Ἐ]πιδα[ύ]-
 [ριος c.20-25 Ἐ]πιδαύριος : [.]ΙΛ[. . . .]Υ[. . .]
 [. c.23-28 Ἐπ]ικούρου : [.]
 [. c.21-26 Λακε]δαιμόνιο[ς]
 [. c.25-30] : Προφ[άντου]
 20 [. c.25-30] : Πελλ[α]νεὺς : ἐκ τῆς Λακω[-
 [νικῆς c.16-21 Κυφα]ντασεύ[ς : Β]ρέμω[ν]
 [. c.21-26 Ἐπιδ]αύριος : ἐκ τ[ῆ]ς Λακ[ωνι]-
 [κῆς c.22-27] Πύθων : Ἡρακλείδευ[ς . . .]
 [. c.25-30] : Αἰγινήτης : [Φ]ύλαρχ[ος]
 25 [. c.25-30] Λεπαδεύ[ς :] Ἀριστεύ[ς]
 [. c.25-30 ο]ν : Κνίδιος : [Ἀ]π[ολλ]ο[.]
 [. c.25-30 Θ]ηβαῖος : Οἶν[.]
 [. c.25-30]ς : Διονυσόδωρον [.]
 [. c.23-28 Αλ]{ξ}κίμαχος : Ἀγλαοφ[α]
 30 [. c.25-30]ς : Δημητρίου : Μ[η]λ[ιεύς . . .]
 [. c.25-30] : Νουμηνιάδας [.]
 [. c.23-28 Λα]ρισιαῖος : ἐκ Φθι[ώτιδος]
 [. c.21-26 ἐξ Ἡρ]ακλείας : τῆς [Τραχινίας]
 [. c.25-30] Ὀλυμπιόδωρ[ος]
 35 [. c.21-26 Θεοξ]οτίδης : Νικο[στράτου]
 [Ἀθηναῖος c.17-22]ου : Ἀθηναῖος [.]
 [. c.20-25 Ἀθηνα]ῖος : Ἰερόνυμο[ς]
 [. c.25-30]ονος : Ἀθην[αῖος]
 [. Ἀθηναῖος Δη]μοκράτης : Μεν[ίππου]
 40 [Ἀθηναῖος ο]ν : Ἀθηναῖος : Χ[αβρίας (?) : Κτησίπ]-
 [που(?) Ἀθηναῖος. ι]ππος : Ἴππο[κ]ρά[τους]

- [..... Νικίας] Εὐκταίου : Ἀ[φ]α[ρ]εὺ[ς] (?): Ἴσοκ]-
 [ράτους (?).]ου : Ἀριστοφών : Ἀριστοφάνο[υς]
 45 [Ἀθηναῖοι]ριος : Καλλιμένης : Ἀρισ[τ]-
 [..... c.25-30]ς : Τιμοδίκου : Τήνιος
 [..... c.25-30]οφώντος : Σύριοι : Πολεμ-
 [..... c.25-30]Ἀντιφών [Ἐρατοκ]κράτου-
 [ς c.22-27 Σ]ερίφιος : Κυδάλιμος : Ξεν-
 50 [..... c.25-30]ος : Φίλιδος : Δήλιος : Ατ-
 [..... c.21-26 Τεν]έδιος : Ἀρίζηλος : Ἀθην-
 [..... Τενέδιος Σ]καμανδ<ρ>οφίλου : Τεν-
 [έδιος c.18-23 Τε]ν[έ]διος : Φιλίσκος : Λα-
 [..... c.25-30]ς : Μνησίθεος : Μητρο[.....]
 [..... c.25-30] Θεομνήστου : Κυζικηνός
 55 [..... c.23-28 Κυ]ζικηνός : Μεγακλῆς
 [..... c.25-30]οπείθης : Σιμαίωνος
 [..... c.25-30]ν : Ἀνδρίππου : Προκον-
 [νήσιος c.27-32]Κι[α]νοί : Ἀντίφι-
 60 [λος. c. 37-42.]νου

Face b

- [.....]δος
 [Μαρ]ωνίτης·
 Στράτιος
 Νουμην-
 5 [ί]ου
 Ἄνδρι-
 ος·
 [.]ΙΛ.ΤΟ[.]
 [..]. Ο [.]
 10 [..]ΤΟ[.]
 [.] ΔΕΟ[.]
 [..] . [..]
 [.....]. Ν
 [..]. [.]
 15 [.....] ..
 [.]ΔΓΧΙ[.]
 [..]ΔΙ[.]
 [..]. [..]
 [..]. [.]
 20 [.]ΕΟΛ.ΓΟ.
 Αἰγινήτης
 [.]ωτος
 .ΑΥΡΙΛ. .
 [Αἰ]γινήτης[ς]
 25 .. ΑΙΟ.