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The Tyrants Dossier from Eresos

The so-called ‘Tyrants Dossier’ is a collection of Eresian decrees and royal letters which relate to a turbulent period in the history of Eresos.¹ We learn that the Eresians had been subject to a succession of tyrannies in the 330s: first that of Apollodoros and his brothers in the reign of Philip II, then, a few years later, that of Agonippos and Eurysilaos during the early years of Alexander the Great’s reign.² In 332 this second tyranny was deposed and the tyrants put on trial and executed soon after. The dossier then relates how the descendants of both tyrannies sought to return on at least three occasions (324, 319, c. 306–301) by appealing to a king (Alexander, Philip III, and

All dates are BC unless otherwise stated. Abbreviations: FORTENBAUGH = W. W. FORTENBAUGH et al. (eds.), *Theophrastus of Eresus: Sources for his Life, Writings, Thought and Influence*, 1992, vol. I. – RO = RHODES – OSBORNE (n. 2). – Συμπλ. = S. I. CHARITONIDIS, *Αἱ ἐπιγραφαὶ τῆς Λέσβου: Συμπλήρωμα*, 1968. I am grateful to OLGA FILANIOTOU of Κ’ Εφορεία Προϊστορικών και Κλασικών Αρχαιοτήτων for kindly permitting me to inspect IG XII (2) 526. Balliol College and the Classics Faculty of the University of Oxford generously funded my travel to Lesbos. Previous versions profited from the responses of audiences at Oxford’s Epigraphy Workshop and at the Classical Association conference in Durham. CHARLES CROWTHER, PETER THONEMANN, BEN GRAY, LYDIA MATTHEWS, and GUY WESTWOOD commented on and discussed several earlier drafts at various stages; the editors and referee for *Chiron* made many helpful suggestions.

¹ IG XII (2) 526. Two systems of labelling the sides of the inscription are currently in use, that of PATON (Aa, Bb, Ac, Ad) and that of HEISSERER (ya, βα, yb, γc). Since I argue below that both are inadequate, I have taken the opportunity of re-printing the text to rationalize how its sides are referenced and take into account the epigraphic arguments made below. As such, in this article I refer (respectively) to A3, B4, A4, A1 (see the Textual Appendix).

² The chronology of these tyrannies is contentious and of peripheral relevance to the main argument of this paper. The debate is summarized, and the position I have taken expounded, in A. J. HEISSERER, *Alexander the Great and the Greeks*, 1980, 58–78, G. LABARRE, *Les cités de Lesbos aux époques hellénistique et impériale*, 1996, 25–34 (esp. 30–4), and P. J. RHODES – R. OSBORNE (eds.), *Greek Historical Inscriptions, 404–323 BC*, 2003, 416–17, esp. 416 n. 1. In this view, the first set of tyrants (Apollodoros and his brothers) are expelled by Parmenion in 336, reinstated by the Persians in 335, and expelled again by Alexander in 334. The Persians install the second set (Eurysilaos and Agonippos) in 333, and these are overthrown by Hegelochos, brought before Alexander in Egypt, and then tried and executed back at Eresos in 332. For alternative views see the bibliography cited above, to which add S. DMITRIEV, *Alexander’s exiles decree*, *Klio* 86, 2004, 354–7, who has now suggested (unconvincingly in my view) that Eurysilaos and Agonippos ruled until 324.

Antigonos Monophthalmos respectively), but how each successive monarch deferred the final decision to the Eresian demos, which on each occasion refused.³ HEINRICH KIEPERT found one half of the inscription built into a well in the Eresian plain in 1841, while CHARLES NEWTON found the other in a chapel on the opposite side of the plain in 1852: the inscription's original archaeological context is therefore altogether lost.⁴ After PATON's *Inscriptiones Graecae* edition, these two halves were known as 'beta' and 'alpha' respectively.⁵ Alpha is broken at top and bottom, beta at bottom; beta has a moulding, therefore indicating that it is the top half. In 1863, HERMANN SAUPPE first proposed that beta belonged on top of alpha, creating a single monumental stele of at least 1.3 m in height.⁶ This remained the prevalent view for over a century until ANDREW HEISSERER argued that the stones were in fact two separate inscriptions, inscribed in stages over a period of thirty years, an argument which has subsequently gained general acceptance.⁷ These divergent interpretations of how alpha and beta relate to one another have consequences for what we make of the document as a whole, since how the dossier was created informs how we interpret it as a

³ The King Antigonos at A4.30 is certainly Monophthalmos, and not Gonatas (r. 276–239), as initially assumed by C. T. NEWTON, *Travels and Discoveries in the Levant*, 1865, vol. I, 96, but refuted by H. SAUPPE, *Commentatio duabus inscriptionibus Lesbiacis*, 1870, 22: «Uter vero Antigonos intelligendus sit, Unoculusne, qui a. 306–301 regnavit, an Gonatas, qui a. 278–239 rex fuit, dubitari potest, sed si Agonippum a. 332 Ereso pulsum mortuumque esse reputamus, de Antigono I Unoculo cogitandum esse multo verisimilius est.» That Agonippos' sons would be in their 60s is hardly decisive. However, in the 270s and 260s, if his descendants had wanted to approach a king able to exert influence over a Lesbian city, it would have been Antiochos I (following his victory at Corupedion in 281), or later the Ptolemies, not Gonatas, who kept out of Asian affairs after 276. This makes Monophthalmos' death at Ipsus (301) the terminus ante quem for his letter to Eresos (and not 302, as H. PISTORIUS, *Beiträge zur Geschichte von Lesbos im vierten Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, 1913, 87 n. 4 suggested, citing Diod. 20.107.2–5, but not Diod. 20.111.3 and Polyaeus 4.12.1, which refute his argument).

⁴ A reference to KIEPERT's text in CIG II shows that NEWTON knew of beta but did not realise the connection with alpha: NEWTON (n. 3) 96 n. 39.

⁵ I will be using PATON's 'beta' and 'alpha', rather than HEISSERER's now common 'beta' and 'gamma' (see n. 1). He based these new designations on internal references to a pre-existing anti-tyranny law (A1.32). He chose to term this lost inscription 'alpha', positing that the three texts stood together in a public space at Eresos: HEISSERER (n. 2) 32–3. I find HEISSERER's designations question begging regarding the original archaeological context of these inscriptions, and, in the light of my return to the original arrangement, unnecessary and potentially confusing.

⁶ H. SAUPPE, *Inscription von Eresos*, *Nachrichten von der G. A. Universität und der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen* 20, 1863, 359–64, at 362 (KAJA HARTER-UIBOPUU kindly located a copy of this publication for me). ALEXANDER CONZE visited in 1858 and was first to make a text of gamma, published in A. CONZE, *Reise auf der Insel Lesbos*, 1865, 29. HERMANN SAUPPE briefly announced his findings in SAUPPE (above), before publishing the text as SAUPPE (n. 3), a highly defective edition: see (e.g.) O. HOFFMANN, *Die griechischen Dialekte*, 1893, vol. II, 78–80. For further details, see the Textual Appendix.

⁷ HEISSERER (n. 2) 27–78.

product of Eresos at this period and, more generally, as a snapshot of a medium-sized polis coming to terms with the transition into the Hellenistic era.

One stone not two

HEISSERER argues that it is physically impossible for the upper block (beta) to fit above the lower block (alpha) and therefore that they were always separate stones, rather than originally joined and then later broken, as the old reconstruction would have it (Fig. 1). However, as their dimensions currently stand, the two blocks in fact fit together perfectly. HEISSERER therefore argues that beta has undergone a process of shaving which has taken 1–2 cm from its thickness, making the original thickness 23–24 cm rather than the present 22 cm.⁸ Concurrently, he draws attention to alpha's slight taper.⁹ HEISSERER interprets this taper to mean that, though the current thickness at top for alpha is 23 cm, originally it tapered to 22 cm. Beta must be on top in any reconstruction because it has a moulding, and if its bottom was originally 23–24 cm thick, and the top of alpha originally 22 cm thick, then beta cannot fit on top of alpha.

There are, however, several problems with this argument. Firstly, we need to reassess HEISSERER's claim that the surfaces of beta were shaved and, moreover, that 1–2 cm was lost in the process. His argument for beta having been shaved draws on an observation made by CHARLES NEWTON about the fate of many inscriptions from Eresos: «The monks of a neighbouring monastery had taken the inscriptions and ground their colours with the inscribed surface till there was nothing left. Imagine the pages of ancient history ground away to make colours wherewith to daub a wretched image of the Panagia!»¹⁰ However, the process NEWTON here describes is grinding colours, not shaving or redressing a stone, and its effect on a surface, through circular and to-and-fro motions, is to create concave indentations, not the smooth, flat surface that we find on the blank surfaces of beta.¹¹ This casts further doubt on the figure of 1–2 cm, which in any case is suspiciously high for a process of shaving or redressing. An example from Chios where the shaving is clearly visible has lost only 5 mm. Moreover, while the effect on the redressed face is extremely clear, that on the stele's thick-

⁸ HEISSERER (n. 2) 28–30. Not 1–2 mm (K. ROSEN, *Gnomon* 54, 1982, 357), nor 1–2 cm with regard to its width (P. M. FRASER, *CR* 32, 1982, 242).

⁹ HEISSERER (n. 2) 28–9. First noted by CONZE (n. 6) 34; cf. KIRCHHOFF, in: J. G. DROSEN, *Geschichte des Hellenismus*, 1878, vol. II, ii, 363.

¹⁰ NEWTON (n. 3) vol. I, 94–5, HEISSERER (n. 2) 29 n. 3. The monastery is probably either Moni Pithariou, east of mod. Eressos, or Moni Hypselou, on the road west of mod. Antissa. For these, see J. KODER, *Aigaion Pelagos (Die nördliche Ägaïs)*, 1998, 176–7. The rebuilding of Moni Hypselou in 1834 is a possible context: E. MALAMUT, *Les îles de l'empire byzantin: VIII^e–XII^e siècle*, 1988, vol. I, 236.

¹¹ I found an example of a stone which had undergone this process of grinding paints built into a wall made of re-used masonry behind the Byzantine basilica of Ag. Andreas, which is located at the foot of the ancient acropolis.

ness is far less so, suggesting that 5 mm shaved from a face does not translate directly to 5 mm lost in thickness.¹²

If the stone had been shaved, we would expect to see some marks made by the claw chisel used for this task, such as we do both on the example from Chios and on a recently published Koan text.¹³ In this latter case, the chisel marks are visible, and we can sometimes even see surviving letters.¹⁴ In contrast to these two clear examples of shaving, the surfaces of beta have a pock-marked but smooth appearance. This suggests that at some point they were polished. GEORGE FORREST once described the process: «I recall a stonemason at Emporio who advertised his skill (might we say ‘polish’?) by showing ancient blocks built into new houses in the village. ‘You would never know’, he said proudly, ‘that that marble once had ugly letters on it.’»¹⁵ For our inscription, either the surfaces on which text is irrecoverable were polished, or they were shaved and then polished. Neither process would have resulted in a loss of 1–2 cm of material. We may conclude, therefore, that beta retains its original dimensions.¹⁶

Inscriptions were redressed either to take a new text, as with the example from Kos, or for aesthetic reasons in preparation for re-use as masonry.¹⁷ That four of the eight sides of this inscription underwent this laborious process strongly suggests that there was something originally on those sides to remove in the first place.¹⁸ Several other considerations also point in this direction. Firstly, both sides of alpha which continue

¹² DGE 688 (fifth century). B. HAUSOULLIER, *Inscriptions de Chio*, BCH 3, 1879, 230–55. The effect on the stele’s thickness is apparent from the excellent photos in the CSAD archive which CHARLES CROWTHER kindly made available to me.

¹³ Kos: IG XII (4.1) 319 (c. 125–100), R. C. T. PARKER – D. OBBINK, *Aus der Arbeit der «Inscriptiones Graecae» VI. Sales of Priesthoods on Cos I*, Chiron 30, 2000, 415–16. Compare IG I³ 53 (Athens, 433/2), with R. MEIGGS – D. M. LEWIS, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century BC*, Rev. ed., 1988, 171. Shaving: B. H. McLEAN, *An Introduction to Greek Epigraphy of the Hellenistic and Roman Periods*, 2002, 7 nn. 15–18.

¹⁴ PARKER – OBBINK (n. 13) 449.

¹⁵ W. G. FORREST, *Epigraphy in Chios: Cyriac of Ancona to Stephanou*, in: J. BOARDMAN – C. E. VAPHOPOULOU-RICHARDSON (eds.), *Chios: A Conference at the Homereion in Chios*, 1986, 136–7.

¹⁶ HEISSERER (n. 2) 29 makes a further argument for beta being shaved which likewise suggests an imprecise notion of what this entails. He observes that, «I could make out faint tracings of occasional letters such as iota, omicron, sigma, and tau on the obverse of [beta], but not enough to produce a text», the implication being that this was what was left after the process of shaving. However, since the letter depth is c. 2 mm, it is impossible that any traces could have survived a process which removed 1–2 cm of material. For letters surviving a process of shaving, see the text from Kos discussed above (n. 13).

¹⁷ Beta was not reinscribed, and when KIEPERT found it in 1841 it was being used, along with IG XII (2) 529 (third century) and 562 (second/third century AD), as masonry in the well of a small chapel in the Eresian plain: CONZE (n. 6) 29: see below, n. 92.

¹⁸ Apparently the assumption of HOFFMANN (n. 6) 77: «die Inschrift der Breitseiten x und y scheint völlig geschwunden zu sein».

a redressed face of beta have text which begins in medias res. In one case (A1.1–3),¹⁹ the three lines we have appear to be a verbatim quotation of the end of a letter from Alexander which must have extended for several more lines above. In addition, it would be odd if the text on two sides of a monumental stele began only halfway down, whereas on one side the text began at the very top of the stele. Finally, we may make an educated guess as to what may have been on these lost sides: in the extant sections it is clear that the narratives of Agonippos and Eurysilaos' crimes (A3.1–15, B4.1–14), followed by accounts of their trial and the quoting of Alexander's διαγραφή legitimizing that process (A3.15–32, B4.15–A4.20), serve to justify the Eresian decision not to reconcile with the descendants of these tyrants. However, in the case of the first tyranny, that of Apollodoros and his brothers, we hear about the exiles being rebuffed (A3.33–41), but not the justification for this action (i.e. the tyrannical crimes originally committed). This may have been contained in the now lost sections of the text.

We may now turn to HEISSERER's argument regarding the dimensions of alpha. He imagines that alpha extended only a few cm beyond its broken edge in order to reach a thickness of 22 cm.²⁰ However, this seems rather doubtful. HEISSERER measured the thickness at bottom as 23.5 cm, at top as 23 cm.²¹ This creates a taper of 5 mm over a height of 65 cm. Thus, to reach HEISSERER's figure of 22 cm, we would in fact need a block three times the present height of alpha, and therefore standing at 1.95 m tall. This seems excessively large, and therefore a somewhat unlikely contingency. One must conclude that the figure of 22 cm is a guess contrived to support the argument that beta and alpha do not fit together. Certainly nothing about the blocks themselves leads us to such a figure. The taper of alpha can therefore not be used to suggest that its original dimensions were much different from what they are now.

We can therefore draw four conclusions: 1) broadly speaking, the original dimensions of beta and alpha persist; 2) beta and alpha were originally joined; 3) the stele had a combined height of more than 1.3 m;²² 4) whereas now only four of the eight sides are inscribed, it is probable that originally all would have had text on them.

¹⁹ For this system of referencing the text of IG XII (2) 526, see n. 1.

²⁰ HEISSERER (n. 2) 28–9.

²¹ His Fig. 4 retains CONZE's erroneous 24 cm. 23.5 cm roughly matches my own measurements. 24 cm can only be reached by measuring the thickness at bottom of A2, which bulges slightly. HEISSERER (n. 2) 28 suggests the discrepancy is due to weathering (i.e. between 1858 and 1974). This is unlikely given that alpha has been continuously indoors since at least 1854 (if not immediately after its discovery in 1852).

²² The exact height is unknowable because the bottom of beta and the top and bottom of gamma are missing and the archaeological context is irrecoverable. By PATON's measurements, the inscription is 54 + 65 = 119 cm, whereas my own are 61.4 + 63.6 = 125 cm. The final fully extant word of A3 is ἐπειδή, suggesting that the text continued on for some time beyond the break in the stone.

Inscribed together

HEISSERER argues that at least two (perhaps three) separate hands can be identified as having inscribed the two blocks. If true, this would indicate that the blocks were inscribed over time, rather than all at once. To judge this properly, one must examine the squeezes, since the grain of the grey trachyte marble and the poor lighting conditions in the old museum at Skala Eressou have made it very hard in the past to read fine detail on the stone which, by contrast, is substantially clearer on the squeezes.²³ In this respect, it is unfortunate that HEISSERER did not have access to the squeezes made by CHARLES NEWTON, WILLIAM PATON, and WERNER PEEK.²⁴

Of the various arguments HEISSERER adduces, the only one of real diagnostic value is the presence or absence of serifs, which he rightly identifies as «the critical index».²⁵ Of the «first» hand (B4 – A3.32) he identifies he says, «the letters lack serifs (or else they are very slight)».²⁶ For his «second» hand (A3.33ff. – A4 – A1.3) he observes «small but definite serifs at the free ends of most *hastae*». He sees them clearly on A2, and by A3 they have become «deep serifs».²⁷ However, serifs are clearly in evidence throughout NEWTON's squeezes of alpha and PATON's squeezes of alpha and beta (Fig. 2). Indeed, there is a certain circularity to HEISSERER's argument, whereby changes in hands line up with the chronological breaks where they are needed for HEISSERER's hypothesis of gradual inscription to work. Thus, HEISSERER identifies a clear shift before and after A3.33 (marking the beginning of his «second» hand).²⁸ But I could not discern any change on the squeezes or the stone, and so this appears to be a somewhat arbitrary division prompted by the beginning of Alexander's διαγραφή from 324 following the trial narrative of 332, rather than by palaeographic criteria. There are therefore no strong grounds for distinguishing separate stages of inscribing. One stonemason inscribed the document at a point following the latest dateable text in the dossier, the διαγραφή of King Antigonos Monophthalmos (c. 306–301), and it is a safe inference that the whole dossier was created in response to this diplomatic exchange.

This conclusion obviates HEISSERER's principal concern, the text's chronology. He highlights the problem (to his mind) that in the traditional one stele reconstruction A1 records the trial of Agonippos (332) and the attempt of the grandsons of Hermon and Hiraioi to return (324). The chronological sequence is then broken when the text

²³ DIMITRA STATHAKI informs me that, subsequent to my visit in July 2009, the antiquities of Eresos were moved to a new museum in Skala Eressou in September 2011.

²⁴ HEISSERER (n. 2) 35 n. 5 on FORREST's fruitless search for NEWTON's squeezes, and 48 n. 8 on similar troubles locating the IG squeezes in Berlin. I am grateful to CHARLES CROWTHER (CSAD) and KLAUS HALLOF (Inscriptiones Graecae) for allowing me to work on these squeezes.

²⁵ HEISSERER (n. 2) 48–9.

²⁶ HEISSERER (n. 2) 48.

²⁷ HEISSERER (n. 2) 49.

²⁸ HEISSERER (n. 2) 48–9.

continues on B2 by jumping back to the trial of Eurysilaos (332) and then continuing on A2 with the διαγραφαί of Philip III (319) and Antigonos (c. 306–301). If each section had been inscribed at the original time the document was received, as HEISSERER assumes, a sequence out of chronological order would be impossible. As he puts it, «If the physical dimensions are not proof enough, one has only to read the remarks of editors who have followed PATON's [one stele] scheme to see how confusing their commentary becomes.»²⁹ He avoids this by making alpha and beta separate inscriptions. However, if, as I have argued, the whole inscription was inscribed at once during Antigonos' reign, then his objection does not hold: whoever composed the text could order it as they wished. Moreover, with only half the original text surviving, and seeing as we are completely ignorant of its original archaeological context, we are in no position to speculate about the text's original internal structure, never mind where it began or ended.

Finally, this affords an opportunity to rationalize how we reference the sides of the inscription. Previous arrangements have begun with A3, since it is considered to be the earliest document in the dossier.³⁰ However, if the text was not inscribed in chronological order, this is an unnecessary assumption which should not be enshrined in how we reference the text of the inscription. I have instead begun the sequence with A1, the decree passed c. 306–301, which summarizes several of the διαγραφαί that appear in full elsewhere in the text. Secondly, the sides where text has been lost have not been included in previous referencing systems, even when the editors in question have considered them to have once been inscribed.³¹ Since these missing sections are a significant consideration for the structure of the text as a whole, I have incorporated them.

The Tyrants Dossier and Eresos

Studies of the Tyrants Dossier have typically treated the document as a conduit for information about the laws, institutions, and history of Eresos. Rather less attention has been given to the question of what it can tell us about the political culture of Eresos c. 332–301, or indeed about the broader changes which were occurring in this period. The foregoing epigraphic argument offers a way into these issues by establishing that the dossier was conceived as a whole and voted into existence by the demos c. 306–301. Through re-publication, the documents contained in the dossier will have taken on new and potentially quite different meanings, which would have been conditioned not by the original context in which they were produced, but rather by the context for which they were now being re-produced. By re-publishing these documents from the

²⁹ HEISSERER (n. 2) 31–2. Strictly speaking, the scheme is that of SAUPPE (n. 3).

³⁰ For previous arrangements, see n. 1 and the Textual Appendix.

³¹ E.g. HEISSERER (n. 2) 28, Fig. 2. In this respect, the presentation of the text in RO 83, where these sides are marked «text irrecoverable», is preferable.

city's archives, the demos was therefore choosing to monumentalize a particular interpretation of a formative and contentious period in its recent history.³² These matters of internal politics should not be divorced from the super-structure of royal power which constituted an inescapable frame of reference for the life of the polis in this period. In what follows, I would like to explore how the dossier reveals and is involved in the power relations which were at work on and within the society which created it.

For all cities within a Hellenistic kingdom, the king was the ultimate legal authority.³³ Theoretically, he could intervene in the internal affairs of a city however he liked. In practice, though he did not do so because, as with all empires in antiquity (and many since), he was constrained by the limits of the possible.³⁴ In practical terms, it was impossible to project royal power with equal effectiveness in all parts of the kingdom at all times: prioritization, negotiation, and accommodation were therefore necessary tactics in addition to violence and coercion.³⁵ JOHN MA has suggested that we might therefore imagine royal power to have been 'textured' – 'thick' in places where royal interests were at stake, 'thin' where they were not, or where resources were insufficient to make it otherwise.³⁶ The varied disposition of royal power had consequences for the degree of autonomy a city enjoyed, the way in which it interacted with the king, and ultimately the impact of royal power on a city's internal political life.

³² An indication of archival practice is the Lesbian dialect of the headings which preface the letters of Philip and Antigonos (A4.20: Φιλίππῳ; A4.29: πρότανις Μελίδωρος; see C. B. WELLES, *Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period: A Study in Greek Epigraphy*, 1934, 14). These letters are reproduced in the koine dialect in which they were originally composed. For archival practices in Greek cities, see ST. GEORGOUDI, *Manières d'archivage et archives de cités*, in: M. DETIENNE (ed.), *Les savoirs d'écriture. En Grèce ancienne*, 1988, 221–47; L. BOFFO, *Ancora una volta sugli «archivi» nel mondo greco: conservazione e «pubblicazione» epigrafica*, *Athenaeum* 83, 1995, 91–130; J. P. SICKINGER, *Public Records and Archives in Classical Athens*, 1999; P. J. RHODES, *Public Documents in the Greek States: Archives and Inscriptions*, 1, *G&R* 48, 2001, 33–44; J. P. SICKINGER, *The Laws of Athens: Publication, Preservation, Consultation*, in: E. M. HARRIS – L. RUBINSTEIN (eds.), *The Law and the Courts in Ancient Greece*, 2004, 93–109.

³³ J. L. O'NEIL, *Royal Authority and City Law under Alexander and his Hellenistic Successors*, *CQ* 50, 2000, 424–31; C. KOCH, *Prozesse gegen die Tyrannis: die Vorgänge in Eresos in der 2. Hälfte des 4. Jh. v. Chr.*, *Dike* 4, 2001, 193–5; A. CASSAYRE, *La justice dans les cités grecques: de la formation des royaumes hellénistiques au legs d'Attale*, 2010, 35–56.

³⁴ J. MA, *Kings*, in: A. ERSKINE (ed.), *A Companion to the Hellenistic World*, 2003, 177–95, at 182–3. The limits on a state's ability to intervene effectively at a local level are brilliantly analysed by J. C. SCOTT, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*, 1998, and id., *The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia*, 2009.

³⁵ MA (n. 34) 185–6; R. STROOTMAN, *Kings and Cities in the Hellenistic Age*, in: O. M. VAN NIJFF – R. ALSTON (eds.), *Political Culture in the Greek City after the Classical Age*, 2011, 141–53, at 144–5.

³⁶ J. MA, *Antiochos III and the Cities of Western Asia Minor*, Rev. ed., 2002, 177.

We can attempt to locate Eresos within this <textured> landscape of power by looking at the royal letters regarding the Eresian exiles in the Tyrants Dossier. Exile goes to the heart of polis autonomy: if a polis is a community of citizens, then authority over who to include or exclude from that community constitutes a basic measure of political independence.³⁷ On the basis of the Tyrants Dossier, we might judge Eresos to have retained its independence in this particular respect c. 332–301.³⁸ The Eresian demos made it clear that it did not want to reintegrate its exiles into its citizen body. We find this sentiment in the other epigraphic examples from this period, but the case of Eresos differs in that the kings acceded to this request.³⁹ In response to the petitions of the Eresian exiles, kings wrote to the Eresian demos about repatriating their exiles on three occasions (324, 319, c. 306–301), but on each occasion the Eresians were able to refuse. The kings therefore appear to have left unimpaired the authority of the Eresian demos to determine the membership of their community.

The apparent ability of Eresos to stand up to royal power and win might be interpreted in two very different ways. From one perspective, it could be taken as a measure of the city's importance. Given the asymmetrical nature of the power dynamic between polis and king, we might wish to explain the capacity of Eresos to negotiate on terms favourable to itself as reflecting a particular advantage it enjoyed in these diplomatic interactions, but what this might have been is not immediately clear. The Eresian χώρα was unexceptional in terms of its resources, and while the city had briefly enjoyed strategic significance in 333 as a convenient place for the Persian commander Memnon to harass Alexander's supply lines, this was short-lived.⁴⁰ Another possibility is that Ere-

³⁷ Arist. Pol. 1252a.

³⁸ Naturally, there are other measures. However, at Eresos in this period we do not have the evidence to talk about them. My comments on the political independence of Eresos are therefore strictly limited to the question of exiles.

³⁹ The ideal scenario from the polis' perspective is represented by the Eretrian tyranny law (SEG 51, 1105, c. 340), which, as D. KNOEPFLER, *Loi d'Érétrie contre la tyrannie et l'oligarchie*. 2, BCH 126, 2002, 149–204, at 190–1 notes, makes no provision for an amnesty for the anti-democratic faction, and only interests itself with how to reward supporters of the democracy. The other epigraphic examples from this period instead entail reintegration. Chios: RO 84A–B (334), SEG 51, 1075 (334 or after). Mytilene: RO 85B (332 or 324). Tegea: RO 101 (324 or 319); the latter date of 319, first suggested by HEISSERER (n. 2) 219–20, should not be dismissed lightly: FRASER (n. 8) 242–3. Diod. 18.8.6–7 (324) mentions two specific cases (Aitolia and Oinoanda, Athens and Samos) in which the city's wishes were ignored.

⁴⁰ Arr. Anab. 2.1.2: καὶ μέρος μὲν τι τῶν νεῶν τὸν λιμένα [τῶν Μιτυληναίων] ἐφύλασσε, τὰς δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἄκραν τῆς Λέσβου τὸ Σίγριον, ἵνα ἡ προσβολὴ μάλιστα ἔστι ταῖς ἀπὸ τε Χίου καὶ ἀπὸ Γεραιστοῦ καὶ Μαλέας ὀλκάσιν, ἀποστείλας τὸν παράπλουον ἐν φυλακῇ εἶχεν, ὥς μὴ τινα ὠφέλειαν κατὰ θάλασσαν γίγνεσθαι τοῖς Μιτυληναίοις. Arrian is misled as to this stratagem's purpose. G. CAWKWELL, A note on Ps. Demosthenes 17.20, *Phoenix* 15, 1961, 74–8 has shown that the complaint in [Dem.] 17.20 that Alexander <prevented> the grain ships from reaching Athens in autumn 333 in fact reveals that the Persians still held Sigrion, making it unsafe to venture past Tenedos unescorted. By controlling Sigrion, one could therefore choke the major supply route to Alexander's army, which at this time was in Cilicia. The distribution of fortifi-

esos was well connected at court.⁴¹ Around this time, Dionysios the tyrant of Herakleia Pontika had successfully managed to avoid exile by getting Alexander's sister Kleopatra to intercede on his behalf and convince Alexander to reverse a decision to reinstate the democratic faction.⁴² We are told that the Eresian Peripatetics Theophrastos and Phainias were involved in the overthrow of the Eresian tyrants, and the biographical tradition associates Theophrastos with Philip II, Cassander, and Antigonos and Demetrios.⁴³ We might therefore imagine these men (or men like them) exerting influence at various courts in order to advance the interests of Eresos, much as we see happening in the well-documented cases of Thersippos and of Gorgos and Minnion.⁴⁴

While these are all relevant considerations, we may wish to reassess the premise which lies behind this line of reasoning. This way of looking at the problem assumes that, *ceteris paribus*, a monarch will always want to intervene in the internal affairs of his dominions. It therefore treats non-intervention as the problem, and so seeks to explain what appears to be the anomalous behaviour of the king in terms of an anomalous characteristic of the city (e.g. its resources, its strategic value, its connections at court). However, as I have suggested above, it may be incorrect to posit a 'hyper-interventionist' model of Hellenistic kingship. Ultimately, such a notion is a reflex of the claims which royal ideology makes about royal power, and so should be treated with scepticism.⁴⁵ Crossing certain 'red lines' (refusing to pay tax, breaching the peace)

cations in SW Lesbos indicates that the two main avenues of approach to Sigirion by land were through the plains of Antissa and Eresos, hence the significance of these poleis at this juncture in the war: G. P. SCHAUS – N. SPENCER, Notes on the Topography of Eresos, *AJA* 98, 1994, 411–30, at 418–20 with Fig. 5.

⁴¹ R. LANE FOX, Theophrastus' «Characters» and the Historian, *PCPS* 42, 1995, 127–70, at 133–4 and 160–1 n. 62; A. BENCIVENNI, Progetti di riforme costituzionali nelle epigrafi greche dei secoli IV–II A.C., 2003, 64–5. HEISSERER (n. 2) 73–7 tries to reinterpret the text of Diog. Laert. 5.37 to provide a direct reference to an intervention by Theophrastos with Alexander in 324.

⁴² Memnon *FGrHist* 434 F 1 4.1: καὶ ἐξέπεσεν ἄν, εἰ μὴ συνέσει πολλῇ καὶ ἀγγινοῖα καὶ τῇ τῶν ὑπὸ κλέων εὐνοῖα καὶ θεραπείᾳ Κλεοπάτρας τοὺς ἀπειληθέντας αὐτῷ πολέμους διέφυγε. The date is uncertain, as Photius' summary of Memnon only indicates that the episode occurred after Granikos (May 334). Court connections were not always effective: Hekataios the tyrant of Cardia managed to survive Eumenes regularly denouncing him to Alexander (*Plut. Eum.* 3.4).

⁴³ Theophr. T 33A–B (overthrow of tyranny), T 28–31 FORTENBAUGH (links with kings). These latter indications in the biographical tradition need to be treated with some scepticism: Philodemos (Theophr. T 27 FORTENBAUGH) could equally claim that Theophrastos was incapable of writing about πολιτεία because he spent his whole life ἐν ιδιωτείᾳ καὶ [φιλοσοφ]ίᾳ καὶ βασι[λ]ικῶν ἀπειρ[ο]ν π[ρ]αγ[μ]άτ[ων].

⁴⁴ Hellenistic envoys from Eresos: P. PASCHIDIS, Between City and King: Prosopographical Studies on the Intermediaries between the Cities of the Greek Mainland and the Aegean and the Royal Courts in the Hellenistic Period, 322–190 BC, 2008, 403–8. Thersippos: I. Adramytteion 34, with PASCHIDIS (above) 408–13. Gorgos and Minnion: SEG 57, 1085 (= RO 90A), I. Iasos 27, T 51–52, IG XII (6) 17 (= RO 90B), Ehippos *FGrHist* 126 F 5.

⁴⁵ J. MA, Seleukids and Speech-acts: Performative Utterances, Legitimacy and Negotiation in the World of the Maccabees, *SCI* 19, 2000, 71–112; MA (n. 34).

provoked a vigorous response, but, generally speaking, kings interacted reactively with their dominions.⁴⁶ Indeed, rather than being the norm, intervention implies prioritization (and therefore significance) in the eyes of the empire.⁴⁷ Conversely, then, to leave a city to its own devices may be taken as a measure of its relative unimportance. Autonomy under these conditions therefore becomes the state to which relations with the king default, rather than a reflection of the relative power dynamic between city and king. In the case of Eresos, the desire of the Eresian exiles to return offered the kings a pretext to intervene in Eresian politics and renegotiate their relationship with the city to their own advantage, and yet not one of the kings decided to seize this opportunity. It therefore seems that, in this period, Eresos retained its autonomy by virtue of existing in the interstices of royal power – what we might perhaps term merciful unimportance.⁴⁸

We can problematize this rather schematic overview by examining the interactions between Eresos and the kings. In 332 Hegelochos delivered a clutch of Persian supported tyrants to Alexander in Egypt, among whom, we can be fairly certain, were Agonippos and Eurysilaos.⁴⁹ Arrian and Curtius say that he handed these tyrants back

⁴⁶ CASSAYRE (n. 33) 53.

⁴⁷ The epigraphic examples cited above (n. 39) in which a king forces a city's hand and intervenes in legislative and constitutional matters should therefore be treated as exceptional rather than normative. BENCIVENNI (n. 41) 15–103 presumes that the individual attention Chios received from Alexander was typical and so can also be posited for Mytilene and Eresos (see e.g. 47, 64), even though the documents do not attest this. However, as CASSAYRE (n. 33) 43 has recently emphasized, cases like Chios represent one extreme of a spectrum that ranged from the outright re-writing of laws to the symbolic act of 'restoring' a city's laws to it: we should therefore be wary of reconstructing royal «progetti» out of any and all references to νόμοι in our texts.

⁴⁸ Note the remarks of WELLES (n. 32) 14 on the letter of Antigonos: «The letter is well written but not rhetorical, an administrative note in which the customary courtesies of the chancery are reduced to a minimum. The names of the envoys are omitted, a neglect almost without parallel in royal correspondence.»

⁴⁹ I infer their presence from Arr. Anab. 3.2.6–7, where Hegelochos reports to Alexander that Μιτυλήνην δὲ Χάρητα ἔχοντα ὅτι ἀφείλετο καὶ τὰς ἄλλας τὰς ἐν Λέσβῳ πόλεις καὶ αὐτὰς ὁμολογίαι προσηγάγετο, after which Arrian adds, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ὅσοι αἰχμάλωτοι ἦγεν Ἡγέλοχος [i.e. πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον]. The implication is that, having captured all the Persian supported leaders on Lesbos (which must include Agonippos and Eurysilaos), he brought them to Alexander (see already ΣΑΥΡΡΕ [n. 6] 363). This illuminates A3.14–15: [Ἀγωνίπιπος] ἀφικόμενος πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον κατ[ε]ψεύδετο καὶ διεβάλλε τοῖς πολίταις. This must have occurred after Agonippos was deposed, but before he was executed. If he really was one of Hegelochos' αἰχμάλωτοι, this statement relates to when he was brought before Alexander to defend himself. Finally, a corrupt passage of Curtius (4. 8. 11) attests Eurysilaos' presence. C. M. LUCARINI's Teubner, 2009, prints: *tyrannos, inter quos Methymnaeorum Aristonicum et †Ersilaum†, popularibus suis tradidit; quos illi ob iniurias tortos necaverunt*. *Ἐρσίλαος is unattested and clearly a corruption of Εὐρσίλαος, found only at Hellenistic Eresos: IG XII (2) 526; IG XII Suppl. 121; Συμπλ. 122. Moreover, it is Aristonikos not Eurysilaos who was tyrant of Methymna. Either Curtius is in error (thus DMITRIEV [n. 2] 355 n. 45; W. HECKEL, *Who's Who in the Age of Alexander the Great: Prosopography of Alexander's Empire*, 2006, 123) or the MSS are corrupt. Personal names suffer par-

to the cities to do with as they wished.⁵⁰ The Tyrants Dossier, however, is more specific: Alexander sent a διαγραφὴ to the Eresians ordering them to punish the tyrants (A1.10–12: ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος διαγράφαν ἀποσ[τέ]λλαις π[ροσέτ]αξε [Ἐρ]εσί-οις κρῖναι ὑπέρ τ[ε] Ἀγ[ωνίπ]ω καὶ Εὐ[ρυσ]ιλᾶω, τί δεῖ πά[θ]ην αὐτοῖς). At one level, this is a straightforwardly effective speech act. Alexander makes a performative utterance («I order you to try the tyrants»), and, by virtue of being recognised as a legitimate source of such utterances, the Eresians act accordingly.⁵¹ Clearly, this action is an admission on the part of the Eresian demos that Alexander has the right to make such an utterance and so to intervene in their affairs.

However, we can complicate this picture. It is apparent from the final vote (876 to 7) and the narratives of the tyrants' crimes recorded on the stele that the verdict was a foregone conclusion and that the Eresians needed little encouragement to punish the tyrants.⁵² As TOD observed, «Clearly the δῆμος desired and expected – indeed, almost demanded – the condemnation of the ex-tyrant.»⁵³ Alexander was therefore ordering the Eresian demos to do what it had wanted to do in the first place. Indeed, had it not been for Hegelochos delivering the tyrants to Alexander in Egypt, the trial and execution might have already taken place. Alexander's performative utterance therefore in part succeeded because what he asked of Eresos dovetailed with local interests.⁵⁴ We can perhaps take this further. It is claimed in the Tyrants Dossier that Agonippos lied about and slandered the citizens before Alexander.⁵⁵ This must relate to how he defended himself before Alexander in Egypt, and obviously does not reflect how he him-

ticularly badly in Book 4 of Curtius: Idranes = Hydranes (4.5.13), Menon = Memnon (4.8.11), Satropates = Atropates (4.9.7, 25), Tyriotes = Teireos (4. 10.25), Phaligrus = Philippus (4. 13.28). HEDICKE's Teubner, 1908, offered *Stesilaum*: however, we find Στησίλεως or Στασίλα(ο)ς, but never the hybrid *Στησίλαος. In theory, it could arise through hypercorrection, since alongside Ἀγησίλαος we find the rare variant Ἀγασίλαος, which is not «correct» as the root is αγη – across all dialects. However, since, pace DMITRIEV (n. 2) 355 n. 45, *Stesilaum* is a supplement, not a MS variant, hypercorrection is an ultima ratio. SAUPPE (n. 3) 17–18 suggested *Εὐρύσιλαυμ*, i.e. *Εὐρύσιλαυμ*, as well as *Eresiorum Eury-silaum*. Both are possible given the state of the MSS, and J. E. ATKINSON, A Commentary on Q. Curtius Rufus' *Historiae Alexandri Magni* Books 3 and 4, 1980, 371 has argued plausibly for the latter, which would solve all problems.

⁵⁰ Curt. 4.8.11 (above, n. 49); Arr. Anab. 3.2.7: Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τοὺς τυράννους μὲν τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ἐς τὰς πόλεις πέμπει χρήσασθαι ὅπως ἐθέλοιεν.

⁵¹ J.-M. BERTRAND, *Formes de discours politiques: décrets des cités grecques et correspondance des rois hellénistique*, in: C. NICOLET (ed.), *Du pouvoir dans l'antiquité: mots et réalités*, 1990, 101–15; MA (n. 45) 71–85.

⁵² A3.30–2 (vote), A3.1–15, B4.1–14 (crimes).

⁵³ M. N. TOD, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions*, 1948, vol. II, 261.

⁵⁴ For this dynamic in speech acts, see MA (n. 45); MA (n. 34) 192; J. MA, *Paradigms and Paradoxes in the Hellenistic World*, in: B. VIAGGIO (ed.), *Studi ellenistici XX*, 2008, 371–85, at 374. Outside the context of speech act theory, this phenomenon had been observed by (e.g.) C. PRÉAUX, *Un problème de la politique des Lagides: la faiblesse des édits*, in: *Atti del IV Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia*, 1936, 183–93.

⁵⁵ A3.14–15.

self would have described his defence.⁵⁶ A possible explanation is that it is the account which Eresian envoys who were present at the hearing later gave of what had happened. Elsewhere in the dossier, Eresian envoys are very proactive.⁵⁷ As CASSAYRE observes, the hearing in Egypt was an opportunity for Alexander to pardon the tyrants.⁵⁸ Naturally, the Eresians would wish to avoid such an eventuality, and so we can imagine that the demos dispatched envoys to advocate on the city's behalf, in particular by reminding Alexander that Agonippos had, among other crimes, [τοῖς Ἑλλήνας ἐλαῖζετ[ο] καὶ τοῖς βώμοις ἀ[νέσ]καψε τῷ Δίῳ τῷ Φιλιππίῳ, καὶ πόλεμον ἐξε[νικ]άμενος πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τοῖς Ἑλλήνας («he plundered the Greeks, and he tore down the altars to Zeus Philippios, and waged war on Alexander and the Greeks»).59 It may therefore be that Alexander ordered the Eresians to do what they had in fact asked that they be ordered to do.⁶⁰

While Alexander's order may have been formulated in terms amenable to many Eresians in 332 – perhaps, indeed, even suggested by them – it nevertheless sat uneasily with an autonomous status for Eresian law. By not pardoning the tyrants, Alexander had indicated a preference, and even if public opinion at the time was overwhelmingly against the tyrants, Alexander had still closed off the possibility of a sentence other than guilty.⁶¹ This was not a problem in 332, but could become so at a later date if opinion became more divided, since Alexander's royal authority continued to endorse one now very contentious position over another. We may compare the fate of Phocion: in 318, Polyperchon sent him back to Athens to stand trial with a sealed letter which stated that, while it was his personal opinion that Phocion was a traitor, it was up to the Athenians, since they were free and autonomous men, to decide for themselves.⁶² At the time, public opinion at Athens was overwhelmingly against Pho-

⁵⁶ See n. 49.

⁵⁷ A3.33–5, A4.33–42. WELLES (n. 32) 14 observes that A1.1–3 also attests a successful embassy.

⁵⁸ CASSAYRE (n. 33) 485.

⁵⁹ A3.4–6. More generally, some of the crimes of which the tyrants are accused resemble those with which the Persians were stereotypically associated during the Persian Wars, such as the burning of a city together with its temples (Hdt. 6.9.3, 6.19.2–3, 6.25.2, 6.32, 6.96, 6.101.3, 8.33, 8.53–55, 8.109.3, 9.13.2, 9.65.2). If there is indeed an allusion here, this too would have been rhetorically appropriate given Alexander's widely publicized presentation of his actions as revenge for what had been done to Greece in 480/79.

⁶⁰ For the dynamic, see MA (n. 36) 373.

⁶¹ O'NEIL (n. 33) 426; CASSAYRE (n. 33) 485.

⁶² Plut. Phoc. 34; Diod. 18.66.3. Phocion's trial: H.-J. GEHRKE, *Phokion: Studien zur Erfassung seiner historischen Gestalt*, 1976, 108–20; C. BEARZOT, *Focione tra storia e trasfigurazione ideale*, 1985, 222–41; L. A. TRITTLE, *Phocion the Good*, 1988, 29–33; L.-L. O'SULLIVAN, *Athenian impiety trials in the late fourth century BC*, CQ 47, 1997, 136–52; C. MOSSÉ, *Le procès de Phocion*, Dike 1, 1998, 79–85; E. Poddighe, *Nel segno di Antipatro: l'eclissi della democrazia ateniese dal 323/2 al 319/8 a.C.*, 2002, 177–9; R. LAMBERTON, *Plutarch's Phocion: Melodrama of Mob and Elite in Occupied Athens*, in: O. PALAGIA – S. V. TRACY (eds.), *The Macedonians in Athens 322–229 BC*, 2003, 8–13.

cion, since he was guilty of betraying Athens to Polyperchon's forces.⁶³ At his trial, it was his enemies and exiles who predominated in the assembly, and when Phocion and his co-accused attempted to defend themselves, they were shouted down, and in the end they were condemned *πανδήμῳ φωνῇ* («by the voice of the whole demos»).⁶⁴ This must be comparable to the situation at Eresos in 332, where Agonippos and Eurysilaos were being tried by the very men they had recently exiled. While the detailed description of the judicial process in the dossier emphasizes the trial's legitimacy, the account of Phocion's trial, where judicial procedure was followed but the accused were prevented from effectively defending themselves, serves to remind us of how, in practice, the trial of Agonippos and Eurysilaos could have been a display of victor's justice.⁶⁵ The margin by which they were condemned to death (876–7) suggests a febrile, unforgiving atmosphere comparable to that of Phocion's trial.⁶⁶

While the actions of Alexander and Polyperchon were popular at the time, we should not presume that public opinion towards the sentenced remained the same. In this respect, it is important to remember which perspectives we are missing, and what they might have contributed had they survived. In the case of Phocion, a change of regime in 317 meant that he was subsequently honoured with a bronze statue and a public burial, and the hagiographic treatment of his death (and highly negative portrayal of the Athenian democrats at his trial) is also thought to have been fashioned in this period.⁶⁷ Part of this rehabilitation entailed exculpating Phocion from his crimes and portraying his trial as illegitimate, for example claiming that the assembly had been full of *ἄτιμοι*, slaves, and women.⁶⁸ There are good grounds for doubting these charges, and we would no doubt have a very different perspective on the trial if the original decree passed at that assembly had survived, but a perspective which (importantly) would be no less partisan in its portrayal of the events. At Eresos, we are in the position of having the equivalent of that «missing» decree, but little idea of how the exiles, and in particular the immediate family of Agonippos and Eurysilaos, chose to remember the trial. Returning to Phocion, following his death, his enemies passed a decree saying that he should be buried outside Attica and no Athenian should light a fire

⁶³ Diod. 18.64–65; Nep. Phoc. 2.5.

⁶⁴ Enemies and exiles: Diod. 18.66.4. Shouted down: Diod. 18.66.5–67.2; Nep. Phoc. 4.2; Plut. Phoc. 34.2–5. *πανδήμῳ φωνῇ*: Diod. 18.67.3.

⁶⁵ CASSAYRE (n. 33) 486–8 emphasizes the legitimizing function of detailing the judicial process in the Tyrants Dossier. MOSSÉ (n. 62) argues for Phocion's trial being held according to procedural norms.

⁶⁶ A3.30–2.

⁶⁷ Posthumous honours: Plut. Phoc. 38.1. The particularly positive account of Phocion's trial we find in Plutarch (but to a lesser extent also in Diodoros and Nepos) may derive from Demetrios of Phaleron: F. ROBERT, *La réhabilitation de Phocion et la méthode historique de Plutarque*, CRAI, 1945, 526–35; GEHRKE (n. 62) 108–20, 180–98, 232–6; BEARZOT (n. 62) 242–55; TRITLE (n. 62) 5–8, 29–33; O'SULLIVAN (n. 62); PODDIGHE (n. 62) 177; LAMBERTON (n. 62) 11–12.

⁶⁸ Plut. Phoc. 32–33 (exculpation), 34–35 (trial).

to mark his passing: we may safely infer that the motivating clause of this decree was highly vitriolic towards Phocion and his co-accused.⁶⁹ In the case of Agonippos and Eurysilaos, we are in the position of having vitriolic narratives of their crimes, likewise produced in the immediate aftermath of a one-sided trial, but, unlike in the case of Phocion, no way of judging the veracity of these charges, or determining how long this remained representative of Eresian public opinion.

In the case of the descendants of the first tyranny, who had ruled Eresos as recently as 334, it appears that attitudes did indeed change, since in 324 their descendants offered to stand trial at Eresos in an attempt to overturn the charges against them and effect their return.⁷⁰ Either this was an appalling miscalculation of Eresian public sentiment, or (more plausibly) they had good reason to believe that they would not meet with the kind of animosity which the Eresians had shown towards Agonippos and Eurysilaos in 332.⁷¹ Moreover, at the trial to decide whether the exiles could return, we are told that speeches were given on both sides.⁷² We might of course argue that this is simply an empty formula, reflecting nothing more than adherence to procedural norms: for example, this appears to have been the case at Phocion's trial, where technically both sides spoke, but in practice one side was shouted down.⁷³ However, given the willingness of the exiles to stand trial before the demos in the first place, it is quite plausible that the exiles did indeed have advocates for their cause within the city. In sum, it seems clear that Eresian attitudes towards the first tyranny diversified in the ten years from 334 to 324, producing a significant minority of the population who were willing to countenance reintegration. We may therefore imagine that, a fortiori, over the course of the three decades between 332 and c. 306–301, the same process occurred regarding the second tyranny. Even if this did not amount to a voting majority (as the very existence of the Tyrants Dossier clearly indicates), it would nevertheless have been a significant factor in Eresian politics. It should be remembered that even during the period of στάσις itself we should envision the members of the demos displaying a spectrum of attitudes, rather than neatly dividing into two polarized camps. It is notable, for example, that the Eretrian tyranny law particularly concerns itself

⁶⁹ Plut. Phoc. 37.2; Diod. 18.67.5–6. A garbled version of this appears in Nep. Phoc. 4.4. This is a well-attested punishment for sacrilege and treason at Athens and elsewhere, now also attested at Eretria: [καὶ ταφῆναι μὴ ἐ]ξέστω ἐν τῇ γῇ τῇ Ἐρετριάδι (SEG 51, 1105B.10) – see D. KNOEPFLER, *Loi d'Érétrie contre la tyrannie et l'oligarchie*. 1, BCH 125, 2001, 195–238, at 225–7. The existence of a similar provision at Eresos is perhaps implicit in A1.35–8: [αἱ δ]έ κέ τις (sc. of the exiles) παρὰ ταῦτα ἀλίσσεται ... ἐπιβαίνων ἐπὶ τὰν γῆν τὰν Ἐρεσίων κτλ. – if the exiles could not step foot in Eresian territory, they were presumably also barred from being buried there.

⁷⁰ A3.41–2. For the contentious chronology of the tyrannies, see n. 2.

⁷¹ B. GRAY, *Exile and the Political Cultures of the Greek Polis*, c. 404–146 BC, Diss. Oxford, 2011, 233.

⁷² A1.26: λό[γ]ων ῥηθέντων παρ' ἀμφοτέρων; cf. Lys. 6.35; Dem. 21.129; I.Knidos 221.72–5 (c. 300); Diod. 1.76.3; Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. 3.10.2.

⁷³ See above nn. 62, 65.

with punishing those who attempt to stay neutral or passively accept the new regime, and Aristotle identified this «silent majority» as bearing particular responsibility for maintaining tyrannical and oligarchic regimes.⁷⁴

The decision to re-publish these documents therefore needs to be understood as part of an on-going debate at Eresos about how to interpret the city's recent past. This was a debate with very real political consequences, since re-integrating exiles was a highly divisive process.⁷⁵ One particularly contentious subject was whether to institute an amnesty.⁷⁶ It is clear from the Tyrants Dossier that the exiles had been accused of heinous crimes, and whatever the reality of these charges, we know that στάσις was frequently a bloody affair, and can well imagine that there had been loss of life in 333/2 (and earlier) which was subsequently a source of resentment for the victims' relatives.⁷⁷ In addition to this, from the exiles' perspective, the original trial could itself be a cause for antipathy if they felt they had been dealt with unjustly, as we have already seen in how Phocion's trial was portrayed after 317. Property was a further issue which would have engendered social tensions in the event of reconciliation, since, following their expulsion, the property of the Eresian exiles had been put up for auction.⁷⁸ Members of the demos who had profited in this way would be particularly unwilling to see the exiles return, since they might be required to hand this property back, with repercussions for their social and political standing in the city.⁷⁹

There was therefore a great deal at stake in how the demos chose to interpret this period in their recent history, and this should inform what we make of the decision to

⁷⁴ SEG 51, 1105B.30–6, with the comments of KNOEPFLER (n. 39) 184–6, 188–9, and Arist. Pol. 1318b18.

⁷⁵ For general accounts of this topic, see H.-J. GEHRKE, *Stasis. Untersuchungen zu den inneren Kriegen in den griechischen Staaten des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*, 1985, 210–36, 261–6; N. LORAUX, *The Divided City: On Memory and Forgetting in Ancient Athens*, 2001, 145–69; A. DÖSSEL, *Die Beilegung innerstaatlicher Konflikte in den griechischen Poleis vom 5.–3. Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, 2003; GRAY (n. 71) 101–44. For Eresos specifically, KOCH (n. 33) 203–10.

⁷⁶ A. CHANIOTIS, *Normen stärker als Emotionen? Der kulturhistorische Kontext der griechischen Amnestie*, in: K. HARTE-UIBOPUU – F. MITTHOF (eds.), *Vergeben und Vergessen? Amnestie in der Antike*, forthcoming.

⁷⁷ See (e.g.) Arr. Anab. 1.17.10–12 (Ephesus, 334) for violent stasis and RO 85A.16–21 (Mytilene, 334) for an attempt to mitigate its effects when re-integrating exiles.

⁷⁸ A1.17–18: τὰ [δ]ὲ ὑπάρχον[τα] π[ε]πρασθαι αὐτῶν κατὰ [τ]ὸν νόμον. Compare SEG 51, 1105B.34–6, with the comments of KNOEPFLER (n. 39) 188–91. The references to Agonippos and Eurysilaos exacting 20,000 staters and then 2,300 or 3,200 staters from the citizens (A3.3, 10–11, B4.7–9) may likewise relate to such a process. For elsewhere on Lesbos, see Isoc. Ep. 7.8–9 (c. 345), 8.3 (c. 350); Arr. Anab. 2.1.4 (333); RO 85B (332 or 324). See further GEHRKE (n. 75) 23–4, 62–3, 112–13, 117–23.

⁷⁹ R. LONIS, *La réintégration des exilés politiques en Grèce: le problème des biens*, in: P. GOUKOWSKY – C. BRIKHE (eds.), *Hellènika symmikta: histoire, archéologie, épigraphie*, 1991, 91–109, and R. LONIS, *La condition des réfugiés politiques en Grèce: statut et privilèges*, in: M.-M. MACTOUX – E. GENY (eds.), *Mélanges Pierre Lévêque 1993*, vol. VII, 209–25.

re-publish these documents in a monumental form. Often, documents were re-published for purposes which were only tangentially related (if at all) to the original circumstances of their creation: the process of re-publication could therefore also be one of creative re-interpretation.⁸⁰ In the case of the Tyrants Dossier, most of what survives of the text relates to decrees passed in the immediate aftermath of the trial in 332. The tenor of these documents is, as we would expect, highly vitriolic and doctrinaire, and imposes a binary ethics of «with us or against us» on Eresian politics: there are citizens who do what is just and in the interests of the city, and then there are tyrants.⁸¹ I would therefore suggest that the effect of re-publishing such documents c. 306–301 was to polarize the debate by returning it to the terms on which it had been conducted in 332, when anger and outrage at the crimes of the tyrants made concessions to the exiles unthinkable.⁸² This had the consequence of branding as «tyrants» those citizens who happened to differ in their interpretation of what it would be just and in the best interests of the city to do.

In this connection, we may compare NINO LURAGHI's recent analysis of the so-called μέγισται τιμαὶ inscriptions from Athens which include detailed historical narratives, for example the posthumous decree for Demosthenes passed by his nephew Demochares in 280/79: «The description of Demosthenes exiled by the oligarchs because of his steadfast support of liberty and democracy, and finally hunted down in Kalaureia by Antipater's soldiers, was clearly meant as an approved version of a crucial page of the recent history of the demos of Athens.»⁸³ Passed at a time of great anti-Macedonian feeling, the decision to represent this episode in recent Athenian history in this particular way was clearly a politically charged statement. The Tyrants Dossier

⁸⁰ See recently (e.g.) R. FABIANI, Un decreto ateniese riproposto a Iasos: IG II² 3 e Iasos 3926, PP 56, 2001, 69–100, at 87–93, on SEG 51, 1506, and P. J. THONEMANN, Alexander, Priene and Naulochon, in: P. MARTZAVOU – N. PAPAZARKADAS (eds.), *Epigraphical Approaches to the Post-Classical Polis*, 2012, 23–36, at 25–9, on I.Priene 1. For the relationship between archival texts and inscribed texts, see A. WILHELM, *Beiträge zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde*, 1909, 229–99; G. KLAFFENBACH, *Bemerkungen zum griechischen Urkundenwesen*, 1960; P. J. RHODES, *Public Documents in the Greek States: Archives and Inscriptions*, 2, G&R 48, 2001, 136–53.

⁸¹ E.g. A3.26–9, A4.1–20. Compare the intolerance which the Eretrian tyranny law displays towards those who play a neutral or passive role during a period of tyranny: SEG 51, 1105B.34–6, with KNOEPFLER (n. 39) 184–6. For the portrayal of the exiled party as anti-citizen «Others» by a recently re-established demos, see LORAUX (n. 75) 152–3; J. OBER, *Tyrant Killing as Therapeutic «stasis»: a Political Debate in Images and Texts*, in: K. A. MORGAN (ed.), *Popular Tyranny: Sovereignty and its Discontents in Ancient Greece*, 2003, 215–50, at 225, 235, and GRAY (n. 71) 233.

⁸² CHANIOTIS (n. 76) has paralleled this passage with the speeches of Lysias regarding The Thirty, where the speaker will typically rake up unpleasant memories in an attempt to return the audience to the emotional state of 404/3 so that extending amnesty to the defendant will seem unthinkable.

⁸³ N. LURAGHI, *The Demos as Narrator: Public Honours and the Construction of Future and Past*, in: L. FOXHALL – H.-J. GEHRKE – N. LURAGHI (eds.), *Intentional History: Spinning Time in Ancient Greece*, 2010, 247–63, at 255.

from Eresos achieves the same effect through the republication of [π]ᾶντα [τὰ γράφοντα] κατὰ τῶν τυρ[άν]νων («everything [which has been written] against the tyrants»).⁸⁴ As LURAGHI has emphasized, these specific historical details did not need to be included, and in some cases, such as the decree for Kephisodoros, they were omitted altogether.⁸⁵ DENIS KNOEPFLER has similarly observed that the Eretrian tyranny law, although passed only a year after the overthrow of the tyranny, says nothing about the specific circumstances to which it was clearly a response.⁸⁶ The inclusion of historical specifics was therefore a conscious choice, made precisely because the interpretation of these events *was* contentious. In this way, the past was pressed into service in an attempt to stifle the views of the significant minority of Eresian citizens who did not adopt such a hard-line stance on the exiles. To this end, the dossier co-opted royal utterances into legitimating positions far removed from those for which they were originally intended, and presented the ensemble of documents in a monumental form which sought to impart permanency on the inscription's contents – this is memory-making as a discourse of power, coercive in its intent, and reflecting the vibrant and competitive political life of the early Hellenistic city.⁸⁷

Conclusions

The course of Eresian history c. 332–301 was to some extent determined by the non-intervention of the kings – unlike Chios, Mytilene, or Tegea (to name only those for which we have particularly rich epigraphic evidence), the Eresian demos was not compelled to take its exiles back, and so in this period never had to go through the painful process of reconciliation. The consequences of this were not limited to the balance of power in the Eresian assembly or the material wealth of Eresos' leading citizens, but extended to the formation of the city's identity through how it chose to remember its past, and so in turn (we may infer) to the kind of historiography it produced.⁸⁸ The

⁸⁴ A1.6–7.

⁸⁵ LURAGHI (n. 83) 253–4.

⁸⁶ KNOEPFLER (n. 39) 193. I.Ilion 25 (early third century) may likewise have been formulated in response to specific circumstances: DÖSSEL (n. 75) 197–221. However, the very lack of specificity has led others to consider it a preventative law: A. MAFFI, *De la loi de Solon à la loi d'Ilion ou comment défendre la démocratie*, in: J.-M. BERTRAND (ed.), *La violence dans les mondes grec et romain*, 2005, 137–61.

⁸⁷ Memory as power: H. I. FLOWER, *The Art of Forgetting. Disgrace and Oblivion in Roman Political Culture*, 2006, 26–31; J. MA, *The City as Memory*, in: G. BOYS-STONES – B. GRAZIOSI – P. VASUNIA (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Hellenic Studies*, 2009, 248–59, esp. 256 («Within cities, the construction of memory may have been the means or the prize in struggles or personal agendas ... «collective memory», like other products of the Greek city, may have to be read against the grain.»); LURAGHI (n. 83) 255–60.

⁸⁸ In this last respect, three works by Phainias of Eresos (FGrHist IV 1012 F 1–10) – his «Prytaneis of the Eresians», «Tyrants Killed in Revenge», and «Tyrants of Sicily» – would have made for intriguing reading had they survived. Suggestively, we know that «Tyrants Killed for Revenge»

arguments put forward in the first part of this paper suggest that the Tyrants Dossier was itself a product of these processes. By establishing that alpha and beta were originally a single stele, it becomes clear that, in its physical aspect, the Tyrants Dossier very much belonged to the genre of monumental anti-tyrant inscriptions which we find elsewhere in this period, for example the anti-tyranny laws of Athens, Eretria, and Ilion, or the statue of Philites the tyrant-slayer at Erythrai.⁸⁹ Likewise, by determining that the text was inscribed at a single point c. 306–301 rather than over the course of several decades, the decision to reproduce these documents in this form at this point in time becomes a choice about how to represent the recent Eresian past. The Tyrants Dossier therefore shows us both faces of «polis vitality» – it is an assertive civic gesture which celebrates the democratic values of Eresos, but it is also a tool of coercion and domination in the internal politics of Eresos, by which one faction within the city sought to redefine Eresian civic identity to its own advantage.

Even though Eresos was not subject to direct intervention regarding its exiles, it was still profoundly affected by the very existence of royal power in its world. In this respect, we might wish to modify CLAIRE PRÉAUX's felicitous phrase, «la faiblesse des edits», since an edict could, in fact, continue to radiate royal power long after the king who had created it had died and his kingdom ceased to exist.⁹⁰ Rather, what we may doubt is the king's ability to *control* such royal utterances once they had been uttered («la faiblesse des rois»?). As PRÉAUX saw, royal letters did not necessarily do what the kings who had produced them had intended them to do, and as I have attempted to show in the case of Eresos, Greek cities could subsequently use them to do a great many things which went well beyond the narrow remit of their initial conception. We therefore see cities stockpiling royal correspondence in their archives and deploying these letters decades or centuries later, where their capacity to influence kings or suppress internal debate can appear hardly diminished by the passage of time. Analysis of the relationship between city and king therefore does not end when the city receives its orders, but rather enters a new phase, one in which, we might even say, the city is king.

dealt with contemporary examples, e.g. F 6 on Chairon, a pro-Macedonian tyrant installed at Pellene c. 335–3 or (at the latest) 331: J. BOLLANSÉE, Philodemos on Chairon, Tyrant of Pellene (P.Herc. 1021, Col. 10, 40 – 12, 41), *Historia* 51, 2002, 32–48. See already KNOEPFLER (n. 39) 199–200.

⁸⁹ RO 79 (Athens, 337/6); SEG 51, 1105 (Eretria, c. 340); I.Ilion 25; I.Erythrai 503 (late fourth or early third century).

⁹⁰ «La faiblesse des edits»: PRÉAUX (n. 54). A particularly striking example of the enduring power of edicts is Magnesia-on-the-Maeander's decision in the second century AD either to fabricate (as argued by P. BRIANT, *Histoire et archéologie d'un texte. La «Lettre de Darius à Gatas» entre Perses, Grecs et Romains*, in: M. GIORGIERI – M. SALVINI – M.-C. TRÉMOUILLE – P. VANNICELLI (eds.), *Licia e Lidia prima dell'ellenizzazione*, 2003, 107–44) or reinscribe (so GAUTHIER, BE, 2004, no. 293 in response to BRIANT) a letter of Darius I from 494 (I.Estremo Oriente 233).

Textual Appendix

Description: Two blocks (A, B) of grey trachyte marble. B was above A in the original arrangement. **A:** Broken at top and bottom. **B:** Intact at top, broken at bottom.

Dimensions: Beta: H(eight) 61.4 cm, W(idth) (at top, at bottom) **B1:** 46.4, 46.6; **B2:** N/A; **B3:** 46.5, 46.9; **B4:** 21.2, 22.0. Gamma: H. 63.6, W. **A1:** 47.4, 46.0;⁹¹ **A2:** 22.9, 24.0; **A3:** 47.9, 48.1; **A4:** 22.5, 22.9. Margin of error: c. 0.5 cm.

Text: Stoichedon (grid lines visible). B: Inscribed on one lateral (**B4**), the other obscured from view (**B2**), nothing legible on both faces (**B1**, **B3**). A: One lateral (**A4**) and two faces (**A1**, **A3**) inscribed, nothing legible on the other lateral (**A2**).

Letters: H. c. 0.9–1.1 cm, D(epth) c. 0.2 cm.

Findspot: The whole inscription's original location is unknown (presumably a civic space in ancient Eresos). **B:** Found by H. KIEPERT in 1841 built into the well of the chapel στὸν Χριστόν, located along the Christos torrent in the Eresian plain north of Vigla hill (the ancient acropolis).⁹² **A:** Found by CH. NEWTON in 1852 in the ruined church of the Panagia στὰ Χλιαρά in the west of the Eresian plain.⁹³

Location: A (and I presume B) moved to Ag. Eirene (mod. Eressos, 4 km inland) in 1854–5 (if not already in 1852).⁹⁴ In the village school at Eresos by the 1890s.⁹⁵ Now in the Αρχαιολογική Συλλογή Ερεσού (ΣΕ), Inv. 107, 107^B (Nos. 69–70).⁹⁶

⁹¹ The width at bottom (46.0 cm) is unexpectedly smaller than the width at top due to the stone having been rounded off on its right-hand corner. However, measurements taken at intervals from top to bottom suggest a gradual taper: 47.6 (4 inches from top), 48.25 (halfway), 48.4 (4 inches from bottom).

⁹² Discovery: CONZE (n. 6) 28–9; SAUPPE (n. 3) 13. Location: R. KOLDEWEY, *Die antiken Baureste der Insel Lesbos*, 1890, Tafel 9.1 shows the Christos torrent (unlabelled) running into the sea past (A. Andreas). He marks two wells beside the torrent; the chapel belongs with one of these.

⁹³ Discovery: NEWTON (n. 3) vol. I, 93–99. Location: KOLDEWEY (n. 92) Tafel 9.1 marks it «Panajia Chliaris».

⁹⁴ By 1854–5, it was in Ag. Eirene: E. BOUTAN, *Rapport sur la topographie et l'histoire de l'île de Lesbos*, Archives des Missions Scientifiques et Littéraires 5, 1856, 321 (the earliest published reference; to my knowledge previously unrecognized). CONZE saw it there in 1858: CONZE (n. 6) 34–5; SAUPPE (n. 3) 13. NEWTON's attempt to remove A was foiled by local religious sensibilities, hence its relocation to Ag. Eirene: NEWTON (n. 3) vol. I, 96–8; cf. the hostility subsequently reported by BOUTAN (above) 321 and CONZE (n. 6) 34–5.

⁹⁵ W. R. PATON, IG XII (2), 1899, 111, «nunc in schola Graeca»; F. HILLER VON GAERTRINGEN, IG XII Suppl., 1939, 40, «plerosque Eresi titulos nunc in schola vici Ano-Eresos assertatos esse monet Peek».

⁹⁶ HEISSERER (n. 2) 33 states that B is Inv. 107^B, gamma 119, BENCIVENNI (n. 41) 55 that B is 107^B and A is 109. See correctly S. I. CHARITONIDIS, Αἱ ἐπιγραφαὶ τῆς Λέσβου: Συμπλήρωμα, 1968, 83. DIMITRA STATHAKI informs me that these inventory numbers will remain unaltered in her forthcoming catalogue of the inscriptions of Eresos.

Squeezes: A and B: W. PATON (1890s), W. PEEK (1930s; both at *Inscriptiones Graecae*, Berlin). **A:** CH. NEWTON (1852; at Centre for the Study of Ancient Documents, Oxford).⁹⁷

Photos: CHARITONIDIS (n. 96) πίναξ 35; HEISSERER (n. 2) Pl. 4–6; BENCIVENNI (n. 41) Tavv. V–VIII.

Dialect: Lesbian Aeolic. §§ 1, 7, 8 (letters of Alexander, Philip III, Antigonos) are in their original koine. Elsewhere, koine forms occasionally replace Lesbian Aeolic: πόλει for -ι (A1.7, A3.27, A4.3),⁹⁸ κρῖναι for κρίνναι (A1.11, A3.15), βουλεύσασθαι for βολλ- (A1.39),⁹⁹ οἴτινεs for ὅστις or, more ‘correctly’, ὅττις (B4.29),¹⁰⁰ γ[νῶ]ναι for *γνῶν (A3.21–2).¹⁰¹ We might expect δισ- and τρισχλίοις (B4.8, A3.10) to be -χελλ- on analogy with χέλληστυς (but the form is only attested at Methymna).¹⁰²

Editions: A. БОСКΗ, CIG II Add. 2166b, p. 1023 [KIEPERT]; A. CONZE, *Reise auf der Insel Lesbos*, 1865, 28–9 [CONZE]; H. SAUPPE, *Commentatio duabus inscriptionibus Lesbiacis*, 1870, 9–14 [SAUPPE]; J. G. DROYSEN, *Geschichte des Hellenismus*, 1878, II, ii, 363–73 [KIRCHHOFF]; E. L. HICKS, MGHI 125 [HICKS]; O. HOFFMANN, *Die griechischen Dialekte*, 1893, vol. II no. 119 [HOFFMANN]; R. DARESTE – B. HAUSSOULLIER – TH. REINACH, IJG I 27 [DARESTE – HAUSSOULLIER – REINACH]; W. R. PATON, IG XII (2) 526 [PATON]; C. MICHEL, *Recueil d’inscriptions grecques*, no. 358 [MICHEL]; E. L. HICKS – G. F. HILL, MGHI² 157 [HICKS – HILL]; W. DITTENBERGER, OGIS 8 [DITTENBERGER]; E. SCHWYZER, DGE 632 [SCHWYZER]; C. B. WELLES, RC 2 [WELLES]; F. HILLER VON GAERTRINGEN, IG XII Suppl., p. 33 [HILLER VON GAERTRINGEN]; M. N. TOD, GHI II 191 [TOD]; S. I. CHARITONIDIS, Συμπλήρωμα, 1968, 83 [CHARITONIDIS]; A. J. HEISSERER, *Alexander the Great and the Greeks*, 1980, 27–78 [HEISSERER]; G. LABARRE, *Les*

⁹⁷ NEWTON’s squeezes are referenced by side and inventory number, e.g. NEWTON 1–01. They consist of 113 separate squeezes, 97 of which I could identify. Of these, 22 are large squeezes, 75 small squeezes.

⁹⁸ W. BLÜMEL, *Die aiolischen Dialekte: Phonologie und Morphologie der inschriftlichen Texte aus generativer Sicht*, 1982, § 265; R. HODOT, *Le dialecte éolien d’Asie: la langue des inscriptions*, VII^e s. a. C.–IV^e s. p. C., 1990, 113.

⁹⁹ HODOT (n. 98) 67.

¹⁰⁰ In Aeolic the original article does not decline: we expect ὅστινες > ὅττινες (with assibilation), not οἴτινεs. For the paradigm, see BLÜMEL (n. 98) § 284.

¹⁰¹ HOFFMANN (n. 6) 84 instead suggested κ[ρι]ναι, but the reading is secure. BLÜMEL (n. 98) § 223 n. 262; HODOT (n. 98) 159 n. 10.

¹⁰² BLÜMEL (n. 98) § 115.2 n. 99, 123.1 with n. 105, 268; HODOT (n. 98) 119. HEISSERER (n. 2) 48 terms κα(τ) the Aeolic form, κατά the koine, but see correctly HODOT (n. 98) 144–5. βασίλεοs for βασίληοs (A1.25, B4.18) is probably the result of areal convergence with Ionic, since koine influence would lead to quantitative metathesis (-ηοs > -εωs) rather than vowel shortening (-εοs): HEISSERER (n. 2) 51; HODOT (n. 98) 115 n. 166; S. COLVIN, *A Historical Greek Reader: Mycenaean to the Koiné*, 2007, § 33. Assibilation of *ti* > *si* in ὀκτωκόσιοι at A3.30 (instead of PATON’s ὀκτακόσιοι) is typically ascribed to Ionic influence, e.g. BLÜMEL (n. 98) § 136–7, but see H. N. PARKER, *The Linguistic Case for the Aiolian Migration Reconsidered*, *Hesperia* 77, 2008, 443 n. 45.

cités de Lesbos, 1996, no. 66 [LABARRE]; P. J. RHODES – R. OSBORNE, RO 83 [RHODES – OSBORNE].

[Whatever text there may have been on B1 is irrecoverable.]

A1 (= HEISSERER γC; IG Ad)

- [- c. ? -]HMO[-]HKΛ[-] c. 11 -----]AΙ ἐπὶ τῇ[ι]
 OIE[- c. 7 -]NAI[-] c. 10 -----]N Ἀλεξάν[δρωι ἐν]-
 τυγ[χ]άν[ετε ----- c. 16 -----]· ἔρρωσ[θε]. *vacat*
 [ἔ]γν[ω δᾶμος· περὶ ὧν ἂ βό]λ[λα] προεβόλλευσ[ε, - c. 4 -]
 5 [-]EΗ[-]ETEA[-]I[- c. 6 - κ]α[ι οἱ] ἄνδ[ρ]ες οἱ χ[ειροτο]-
 [ν]ή[θεν]τε[ς π]άγ[τα [τὰ γράφεντα] κατὰ τῶν τυρ[άν]-
 νων [κα]ὶ τ[ῶν ἐ]μ πό[λει οἰκ]ηθέντων καὶ τῶν ἐκγ[ό]-
 [νων] [τῶν τούτων παρέχ]ονται καὶ ταῖς γράφαι[ς]
 [ε]ἰς[κομίζοισ]ι εἰς τὰν ἐκκλησίαν· ἐπειδὴ καὶ π[ρό]-
 10 [τε]ρον ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος διαγράφαν ἀποσ-
 [τέ]λλαις π[ροσέτ]αξε [Ἑρ]εσίοις κρῖναι ὑπὲρ τ[ε]
 [Ἀγ]ωνίππω καὶ Εὐ[ρυσ]ιλάω, τί δεῖ πά[θ]ην αὐτοῖς, [ὁ]
 [δὲ δᾶμος ἀκο]ύ[σ]αις τὰ[ν] διαγράφαν δικαστήριον
 [καθι](>[ς]σαις κα[τὰ] τοῖς νόμοις ὃ ἔκριν[ν]ε Ἀγώνι[π]-
 15 [π]ομ μὲν καὶ Εὐρυσίλ[αο]ν τε[θ]νάκην, τοῖς δὲ ἀπογ[ό]-
 [νοισ] αὐτῶν ἐνόχοις [ἔμμε]ναι τῷ νόμῳ τῷ ἐν τᾷ
 [στ]άλλα, τὰ [δὲ] ὑπάρχον[τα π]έπρασθαι αὐτῶν κατὰ
 [τ]ὸν νόμον· ἐπιστέλλ[αντος] δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρω καὶ ὑ-
 πὲρ τῶν Ἀπολλ[οδ]ωρε[ῖω]ν <[κ]αὶ τῶν κασιγνήτων [αὔ]-
 20 τω Ἑρμῶνος καὶ Ἰραίω τῶν πρότερον τυραννη-
 σάντων τὰς πόλις καὶ τῶν ἀπογόνων αὐτῶν γ[νῶ]-
 ναι τὸν δᾶμον πότερον [ν δόκ]ει καταπορεύεσθ[αι]
 αὐτοῖς ἢ μή, [ὁ] δὲ δᾶμος ἀκούσαις τὰς διαγράφα[ς]
 δικαστήριον τε αὐτοῖσι συνάγαγε κατὰ τὸν [νό]-
 25 [μο]ν καὶ τὰν διαγράφαν τῷ βασιλεὺς Ἀλεξάνδρ[ω],
 [ὁ ἔ]γνων λό[γ]ων ῥηθέντων παρ' ἀμφοτέρων τόν τε ν[ό]-
 [μο]ν τὸν κατὰ τῶν τυράννων κύριον ἔμμεναι κα[ὶ]
 [φ]εὺγην αὐτοῖς κατ[ὰ] μ[ὲ]ν π[όλιν]· δέδοχθαι τῷ δάμ[ω]
 [κ]ύριον μὲν ἔμμεναι κατὰ [τῶν] τυράννων καὶ τῷ[ν]
 30 [ἐ]μ πόλιν οἰκηθέντων καὶ τῶν ἀπογόνων τῶν το[ύ]-
 [τ]ων τόν τε νόμον τὸμ περὶ τῶν τυράννων γεγρά[μ]-
 [μ]ενον ἐν τᾷ στάλλα τᾷ ἄ[ρχαί]α καὶ ταῖς διαγρά-
 [φ]αις τῶν βασιλέων ταῖς κατὰ τούτων καὶ τὰ ψα-
 [φ]ίσματα τὰ πρότερον γράφεντα ὑπὸ τῶν προγό-
 35 [ν]ων καὶ ταῖς ψαφοφορίαις ταῖς κατὰ τῶν τυράννων· [αἰ]
 [δὲ] κέ τις παρὰ ταῦτα ἀλίσκηται τῶν τυράννων[ν ἢ]

τῶν ἐμ πόλι οἰκηθέντων ἢ τῶν ἀπογόνων τῶν [του]-
 των τις ἐπιβαίνων ἐπὶ τὰν γὰν τὰν Ἑρεσίων [- c. 2 -]
 [-]Ω τὸν δᾶ[μο]ν βουλευσασθαι καὶ ΠΕ[-- c. 9 --]
 40 [--]ΤΑΛΛ[- c. 4 -]ΥΤΑ[---- c. 24 ----]

3 [ἐν]τυ[χ]γάν[οντες] (DITTENBERGER, WELLES, TOD), [ἐν]τυ[χ]γάν[ετε] (PATON, HEISSERER). || 4–9 PATON provided an *exempli gratia* text for these lines, but stressed that the readings were extremely uncertain. The restoration of line 4 up to *προεβόλλεν[σε]* is well paralleled for Lesbos (P. J. RHODES, *Decrees of the Greek States*, 1997, 255–9, to which now add IG XII (6) 142.1), but what follows in 4–5, [ἡ ἔδοξ]ε ἢ [μ]ετέδ[οξε τὰ βόλλα], is very doubtful, notably PATON's [μ]ετέδ[οξε], a term which is epigraphically unattested and makes little sense here: RHODES – OSBORNE (n. 2) 417. Given PATON's disclaimer («litterae ita exesae sunt, ut difficillime legantur. Complures incertae sunt; nonnullae sine adiumento Conzeii apographi me quidem effugissent»), we might wish to ignore the reported traces altogether. || 14 καλέ[ς]σά[ι]ς (PATON), [καθί]ςσά[ι]ς (DITTENBERGER, HEISSERER). || 19 Ἀπολλ[οδ]ωρε[ίω]ν παί[δων] καὶ (PATON, HICKS – HILL, DITTENBERGER); παίδων seems redundant given κασιγνήτων. || 21–2 HOFFMANN (n. 6) 84 states: «Z. 21 am Ende ΤΩΝΚ Newton's Abkl.» and so prints κ[ρι]ναι. HODOT (n. 98) 159 n. 10 confirmed gamma from HEISSERER's photos, and a trace of the upper horizontal bar is visible on NEWTON 1–02. || 32 [π]α[λαί]α (TOD). TOD's dotted alpha derives from PATON's drawing, where he mistakenly drew a diagonal rising from left to right one stochos to the right of its true position (as confirmed by NEWTON 1–36): this rules out παλαία. ROSEN (n. 8) 357–8 proposed ἐν τὰ στάλλα τὰ [λιθί]α. ST. LAMBERT has instead suggested to me ἀ[ρχαί]α, already proposed by KNOEPFLER (n. 69) 206 n. 47, but rejected in favour of [λιθί]α. Word order suggests that ἀρχαία is the likely restoration, since the attributive position of the adjective following a noun preceded by an article indicates that the adjective's function will be to indicate a distinguishing feature of the noun (SMYTH, *Greek Grammar*, § 1158): this is more likely to be that the stele is old than that it is made of stone. || 40 perhaps σ[ταλλ]α.

§ 1 [---] to the [---] Alexander [---] meet with [---] farewell. § 2 The demos decided: concerning those matters about which the boule made a resolution [---] and the men who have been selected by a show of hands (5) will procure all that has been written against the tyrants, both those who have lived in the city and their descendants, and they will carry the documents into the assembly. And since (10) previously King Alexander, having sent a διαγραφή [transcript], commanded the Eresians to make a judgement regarding how Agonippos and Eurysilaos should be punished, the demos in obedience with the διαγραφή set up a court in accordance with the laws which judged that Agonippos and (15) Eurysilaos be put to death, and that their descendants be subject to the law on the stele, and that their property be sold in accordance with the law. And when, regarding Apollodoros and his brothers (20) Hermon and Hiraios (who previously had been tyrants of the city) as well as their descendants, Alexander sent a message that the demos were to decide whether or not it would be good for them to return, the demos in obedience with the διαγραφή convened a court for them in accordance with the law and the διαγραφή of King Alexander (25), which, once speeches had been given by both sides, decided that the law against the tyrants

was valid and that they were to be exiled from the city. The demos resolved: there shall be valid against the tyrants, both those who (30) lived in the city and their descendants, the law about the tyrants written on the old stele, and the διαγραφαι of the kings against them, and the decrees previously written by our ancestors, and the ballot votes against the tyrants. (35) But if contrary to these things any of the tyrants, either those who have lived in the city or their descendants, should be caught stepping foot on the territory of the Eresians, [---] the demos shall deliberate and [---] (40) ?stele [---]

[Whatever text there may have been on B2, A2, and B3 is irrecoverable.]

A3 (= HEISSERER γα; IG Aa)

- [----- c. 22 ----- πολ]ιορκήθεν[τας]
 [εἰς τὰν ἀ]κρόπολιν ἀνοιχοδόμησε καὶ τοῖς πο]-
 [λίταις] δισμυρίοις στάτης εἰσέπραξε [καὶ]
 [τοῖς] Ἑλλαναὺς ἐλαΐζετ[ο] καὶ τοῖς βώμοις ἀ[νέ]-
 5 [σ]καψε τῷ Δίῳ τῷ Φιλίππῳ, καὶ πόλεμον ἐξε[νι]-
 [κ]άμενος πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τοῖς Ἑλλαναὺς
 τοῖς μὲν πολίταις παρελόμενος τὰ ὄπλα ἐξε-
 κλαΐσε ἐκ τῆς πόλιν [πα]νδάμι, ταῖς δὲ γυναῖ[ι]-
 κας καὶ ταῖς θυγάτερας συλλάβων καὶ ἔρξα[ις]
 10 ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει τρισχιλίους καὶ διακοσίο[ις]
 στάτης εἰσέπραξε, τὰν δὲ πόλιν καὶ τὰ ἱρ[α]
 διάρπαξαις μετὰ τῶν λαΐσταν ἐνέπρησε κα[ὶ]
 συγκατέκαυσε σώματα τῶ[ν] πολίταν, καὶ τὸ τ[ε]-
 λεύταιον ἀφικόμενος πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον κατ[ε]-
 15 ψεύδετο καὶ διεβάλλε τοῖς πολίταις κ[ρί]να[ι]
 [μ]ὲν αὐτὸν κρύπται ψάφιγγι ὁμόσσαντας περ[ὶ]
 [θ]ανάτῳ· αἱ δὲ κε καταψαφίσθη θάνατος, ἀντιτ[ι]-
 μασαμ[έ]νω Ἀγωνίπῳ τὰν δευτέραν διαφόραν
 ποήσασθαι, τίνα τρό[πο]ν δεύει αὐτὸν ἀποθά-
 20 νην· αἱ δὲ κε καλλάφθε[ν]τος Ἀγωνίπῳ τὰ δίκαια
 κατάγει τίς τινα τῶν Ἀγωνίπῳ ἢ εἴπῃ ἢ πρόθῃ
 περὶ καθόδῳ ἢ τῶν κτημάτων ἀποδόσιος, κατά-
 ρατον ἔμμεναι καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ γένος τὸ κῆνω
 [κ]αὶ τᾶλλα ἔ[ν]οχος ἔστω τῷ νόμῳ ὥς τὰν στάλλαν
 25 ἀνέλοντα τὰν περὶ τῶν τυράννων καὶ τῶν ἐκγ[ό]-
 [ν]ων· ποήσασθαι δὲ καὶ ἐπάραν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ α[ῦ]-
 [τ]ικᾷ τῷ μὲν δικάζοντι καὶ βαθέοντι τὰ πόλει[ι]-
 καὶ τὰ δίκαια εὖ ἔμμεναι, τοῖς δὲ παρὰ τὸ δίκαι[ο]-
 [ν] τὰν ψάφον φερόντεσσι τὰ ἐναντία τούτων.
 30 ἐδικάσθη· ὀκτωκόσιοι ὀγδοήκοντα τρεῖς· ἀπ[ὸ]

- ταύταν ἀπέλυσαν ἑπτα, αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι κατεδίκασ-
σαν. *vacat*
[ἔ]γνω δᾶμ[ο]ς· περὶ ὧν οἱ πρέσβεις ἀπαγγέλλοισι[ι]
[ο]ἱ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ἀποστάλεντες καὶ Ἀλέ-
35 ξανδρος τὰν διαγράφαν ἀπέπεμψε, ἀφικομέ-
νων πρὸς αὐτον τῶν πρότερον τυράννων ἀπογ[ό]-
νων Ἰρωίδα τε τῷ Τερτικωνεῖω τῷ Ἰραεῖω καὶ Ἰ-
γησιμένεος τῷ Ἑρμησιδεῖω καὶ ἐπαγγελλα[μέ]-
[ν]ων πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ὅτι ἔτοιμοί ἐστι δίκ[αν]
40 [ὑ]ποσχέθην περὶ τῶν ἐγκαλημένων ἐν τῷ δά[μω].
[ἀγαθὰ τύχα δ]έ[δο]χθ[αι] τῷ δάμω· ἐπειδὴ Α[- 6-]
-

2 ἀνοικοδόμ[η]σε (TOD), [ἀ]νοικο[μ]ό[λη]σε (HEISSERER). NEWTON 3–85 confirms TOD's kappa. HEISSERER (n. 2) 53 concedes that his restoration gives «no ascertainable meaning». || 12 διάρπαξαις (CONZE). Misread as διάρπασαις: see B4.11. λαῖσταν (NEWTON 3–69). || 13 τῶ[ν] (NEWTON 3–68). || 18 The unusual meaning of διαφορά here is inferred from B4.23–5. || 22–3 κατάρατον: compare SEG 51, 1105B.13–14 (Eretria, c. 340), I.Adramytteion 34B.50–1 (Nesos, 317), I.Ilion 24.21–2 (c. 300), I.Délos 1520.61 (Delos, after 153/2). See further KNOEPFLER (n. 69) 229–30. || 24 ὥς (NEWTON 3–43, 56, 90). || 25 ἀνέλοντα (NEWTON 3–39). || 30 ὀκτωκόσιοι (NEWTON 3–53, 57). || 36 τῶν <τῶν> πρότερον (KIRCHHOFF ad loc. ***, HEISSERER). || 38 WILAMOWITZ in IG XII Suppl. p. 33 and R. HODOT, Notes critiques sur le corpus épigraphique de Lesbos, EAC 5, 1976, 17–81, at 46–7 suggested Ἑρμησιδεῖω, but the delta is certain (NEWTON 3–38, 39, 59). HEISSERER (n. 1) 54, noting this, gave *Ἑρμησίδας (so too LGPN I s.v.), but HODOT (n. 98) 21 n. 54 rightly objects that the gen. sg. of a patronymic adjective on an –a stem in Lesbian > –aw not –ειω. Therefore, we have Ἑρμησιδης, probably a mason's error under the influence of the termination of Τερτικωνεῖω in line 37 (thus also Ἰραεῖω here for, e.g. at A1.20, Ἰραιώ).

§ 3 [---] he walled up those besieged on the acropolis, and he exacted 20,000 staters from the citizens, and he plundered the Greeks, and he tore down (5) the altars to Zeus Philippios, and waged war on Alexander and the Greeks, and taking from the male citizens their weapons, he shut them all out of the city, while seizing their wives and their daughters and confining them to the acropolis, (10) he exacted 3,200 staters, and having plundered both the city and its temples with his pirates, he burnt them to the ground and incinerated the bodies of citizens along with them, and last of all, when he appeared before Alexander, he lied about (15) and slandered the citizens. A sworn jury by secret ballot will try him for the death penalty. And if he is condemned to death, once Agonippos has made his counter-assessment, a second vote is to be carried out as to the manner in which he should die. (20) And if, once Agonippos has been condemned in the trial, anyone should recall any of Agonippos' kin, or make a proposal about or bring forward for debate their return from exile or the restitution of their property, both he himself and that man's family are to be accursed, and in addition let him be subject to the law for (25) destroying the stele concerning the tyrants and their descendants. And a curse shall be made in the assembly at once that it may be well

with one who judges and supports the city by a just vote, but for one who casts his vote contrary to justice the opposite of these things. (30) It was judged. 883 [voters]. Of these, 7 acquitted, but the rest condemned. § 4 The demos decided, concerning those matters about which the envoys report, the ones who had gone to Alexander and Alexander had sent back a διαγραφή: (35) when the descendants of the previous tyrants, both Hiroidas the son of Tertikon the son of Hiraio and Agesimenes the son of Hermesides, had arrived before him and announced to Alexander that they were ready to undergo trial before the demos regarding what they had been accused of; (40) for good fortune the demos resolved: since [---]

B4 (= HEISSERER βa; IG Bb)

	[παρ]ήλετο τὰ ὅπλ[α καὶ]	[β]ασίλεος Ἀλεξάνδ[ρω]
	[ἐξ]εκλάϊσε ἐκ τᾶς [πό]–	[κ]αὶ τοῖς νόμοις· αἱ δέ
	[λι]ος πανδάμι, ται[ς]	20 [κ]ε καταψαφίσθη [κα]–
	[δ]ὲ γύναικας καὶ τ[αῖς]	[τ'] αὐτῷ θάνατος, ἀ[ντι]–
5	[θ]υγάτερας συλλάβ[ων]	[τι]μασμένῳ Εὐρύ[σι]–
	[ῆ]ρξε εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπ[ο]–	[λ]ᾶν τὴν δευτέραν [κρί]–
	[λ]ιν καὶ εἰσέπραξε	[σ]ιν ποιήσασθαι διὰ
	δισχιλίοις καὶ τρι[α]–	25 [χ]ειροτονίας, τίνα
	κοσίοις στάτηρα[ς], τὰ[ν]	[τ]ρόπον δεύει αὐτὸν [ἀ]–
10	δὲ πόλιν καὶ τὰ ἱρα [δι]–	[π]οθάνην· λάβεσθαι δ[ὲ]
	[ἀ]ρπαξαις μετὰ τῶν	[κ]αὶ συναγόροις τὰ[ν]
	[λ]αῖσταν ἐνέπρησ[ε]	πόλιν δέκα, οἵτινε[ς]
	[κ]αὶ συγκατέκαυσε	30 [ὁ]μόσαντες Ἀπόλ[λω]–
	σώματα τῶν πολί[τ]α[ν]·	γα Λύκειον ὁ[μ]α σ[υνα]–
15	[κ]ρίναι μὲν αὐτὸν	[γ]ορήσοισι [τὰ πόλι] ὅπ[ι]–
	[κ]ρύπται ψάφιγγι [κα]–	[πω]ς κε δύνα[ι]– c. 9 –
	[τ]ὰ τὴν διαγραφὰν τ[ῶ]	-----

11 [δι]α[ρ]πάξαις. KIEPERT and CONZE's transcripts have sigma, but PATON and PEEK's squeezes show xi: HEISSERER (n. 2) 50; HODOT (n. 98) 182 n. 166. || 18 βασιλέος. Early editors read an omega (a koine form), but PATON's squeeze confirms his omicron. || 31 ὁ[π]α (DITTENBERGER, TOD π), ὁ[μ]α (PATON, HEISSERER); perhaps an equivalent for ὕμα (e.g. IG XII (2) 29.6, 32.11): HEISSERER (n. 2) 51–2; HODOT (n. 98) 58 n. 32.

§ 5 He took away their weapons and he shut them all out of the city, and, having seized (5) their wives and their daughters, these he confined to the acropolis and exacted 2,300 staters, and having plundered both (10) the city and its temples with his pirates, he burnt them to the ground and he incinerated the bodies of citizens along with them. Try him (15) by secret ballot in accordance with the διαγραφή of King Alexander and the laws. And if he is condemned (20) to death, once Eurysilaos has made his counter-assessment, a second judgement is to be carried out by a show of hands

(25) as to the manner in which he should die. And the city will select 10 συνάγοροι [‘advocates’], who, having sworn an oath to Apollo Lykeios, shall together (30) speak on behalf of the city ?as best they can [---]

A4 (= HEISSERER γb; IG Ac)

-----		Φιλίππω.
	[-- c. 14 --ποή]–	αἱ μὲν κατὰ τῶν φυγά–
	[σασθαι δὲ καὶ ἐπάραν]	δων κρίσεις αἱ κριθε[ι]–
	[ἐν τᾷ ἐκκλησίᾳ αὐτῇ]–	σαι ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου
1	[κα τῷ μὲν δι]χαίω ὑπ–	25 κύριαι ἔστωσαν καὶ
	[ἀρχο]ντι καὶ βαθόεν–	[ῶ]ν κατέγνω φυγὴν φε[υ]–
	[τι τᾷ] πόλει καὶ τοῖς	[γ]έτωσάμ μὲν, ἀγώγιμο[ι]
	[νόμο]ισι τᾷ δικαίᾳ εὖ	δὲ μὴ ἔστωσαν.
5	[ἔμμε]ναι καὶ αὐτοῖσι	Πρότανις Μελίδωρος·
	[καὶ] ἐκγόνοισι, τῷ δὲ	30 βασιλεὺς Ἀντίγονος
	[πα]ρὰ τοῖς νόμοις κα[ι]	Ἑρεσίων τῇ βουλῇ
	τὰ δίκαια δικαζόν–	καὶ τῷ δήμῳ χαίρειν·
	τεσσι τὰ ἐνάντια· ὅ–	παρεγένοντο πρὸς ἡ–
10	μυν δὲ τοῖς πολίτ[αις]	μᾶς οἱ παρ’ ὑμῶν πρέ[σ]–
	τοῖς δικάζοντας·	βεις καὶ διελέγοντ[ο],
	[ν]αὶ δικάσσω τὰν [δίκαν]	φάμενοι τὸν δῆμον
	[ὅ]σσα μὲν ἐν τοῖς [νό]–	κομισάμενον τὴν παρ’ [ή]–
	[μ]οῖσι ἐνι κατ τοῖς νό–	μῶν ἐπιστολὴν ἣν ἐγγρά–
15	[μο]ις, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἐχ[φίλο]–	ψαμεν ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἀγωνί–
	[π]ονίας ὡς ἄριστα κ[αὶ]	40 πονυῶν ψήφισμά τε π[οι]–
	δικαίτατα, καὶ τιμά–	[ήσ]ασθαι ὁ ἀνέγνωσα[ν]
	[σ]ω, αἶ κε κατάγνω, ὀρθω[ς]	[ήμῃ]ν καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀπε–
	καὶ δι[καί]ως· οὕτω ποήσω	[– c. 11 –]ΛΣ[– c. 4 –]
20	ναὶ μὰ Δία καὶ Ἄλιον.	-----

KIRCHHOFF restored [ποήσασθαι κτλ.] from A3.26–28. || 17 HEISSERER (n. 2) 55 emends to δικαί(ό)τατα. HODOT (n. 64 dialecte) 127 notes that a formation on analogy with παλαίματος is possible in Aeolic, e.g. I.Adramytteion 34A.34–5 (Nesos, 317): τῶν ἐκγόνων αἱ τῷ γ[ε]ραιτάτω (secured by the stoichedon grid). || 15–16 ἐχ[φίλο]π[ονίας] (HICKS). PATON expressed doubts («supplementum ... dubium est»), but two Hellenistic decrees from an Aeolian city which may be Eresos (see REHM, Milet I 3 152A and ROBERT, OMS I 9) praise foreign judges for their φιλοπονία: IG XII Suppl. 140.1–2 (Miletus, after 150), 141.14–15 (Priene, early second century).

§ 6 [And a solemn prayer shall be made in the assembly at once that] it may be well with the one who is just and supports the city and the laws by a just vote (5) and with their descendants, but the opposite for one who judges contrary to the laws and what is just. (10) The citizens who are to judge are to swear: «I shall judge the case, so far as it lies within the laws, according to the laws, (15) and in other respects with great care

and as well and as justly as possible, and I shall sentence, if I condemn, rightly and justly. So I shall do, (20) by Zeus and Halios». § 7 From Philip. The judgements against the exiles judged by Alexander, (25) let them be valid, and of those who have been condemned to exile, let them remain exiled, but let them not be liable to seizure. § 8 Prytany of Melidoros. (30) King Antigonos to the boule and demos of the Eresians, greetings. Your envoys came to us and (35) presented your case, saying that the demos, having received the letter from us which we had written on behalf of the sons of Agonippos, (40) had passed a decree, which they [the envoys] read to us, and [---] them [---]

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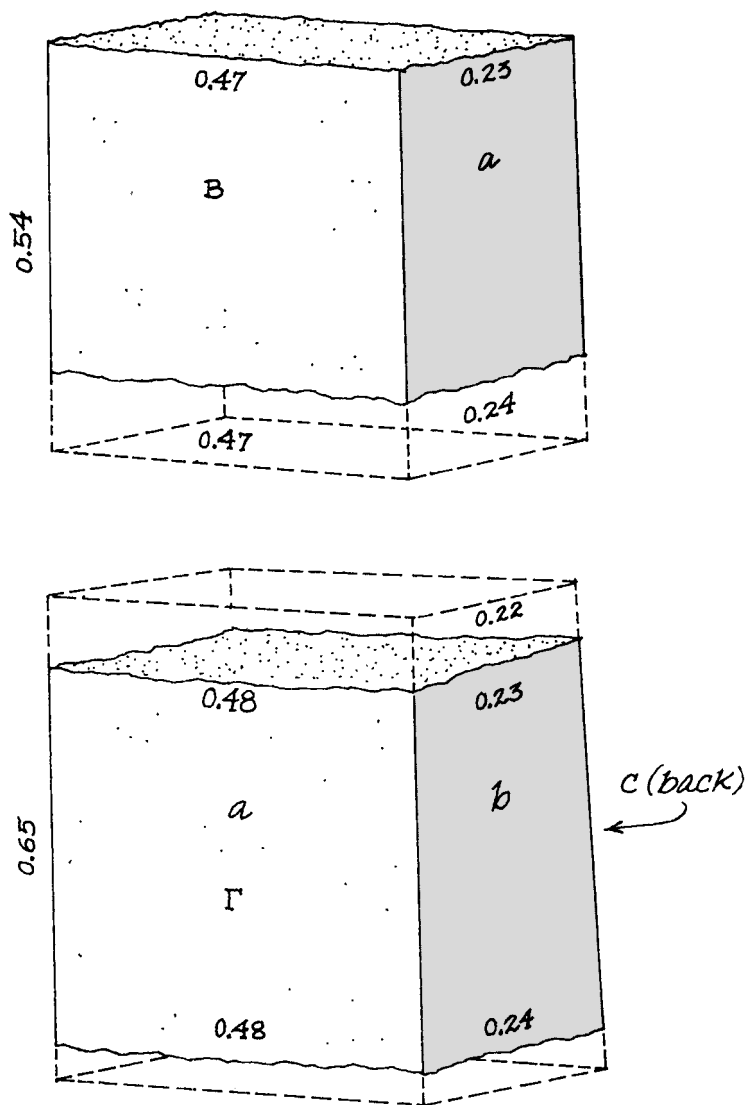


Fig. 1: A. J. Heisserer, *Alexander the Great and the Greeks: The Epigraphic Evidence*, 1980, 30, Fig. 3.

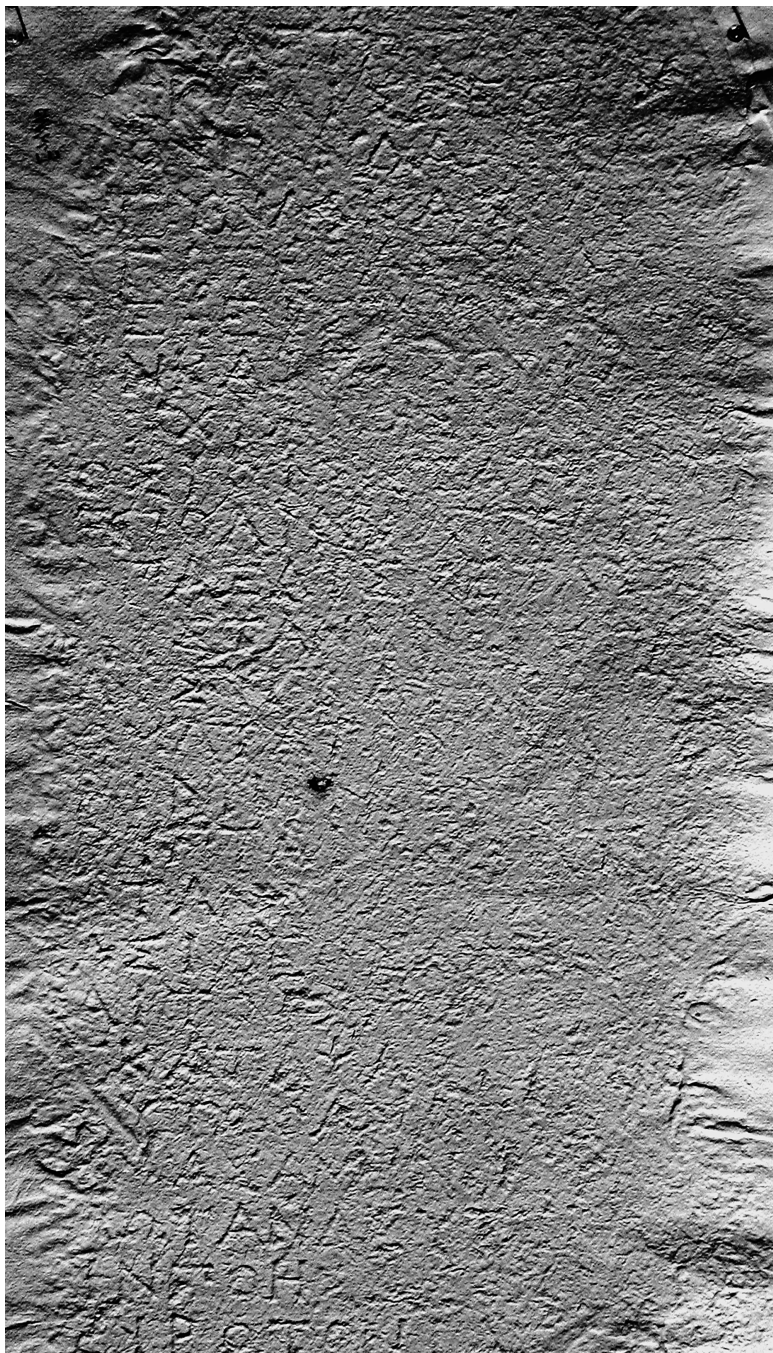


Fig. 2: Paton's squeeze of B4.1–25. Squeeze in the archive of Inscriptiones Graecae at the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences.