

AEGEAN INTERACTIONS

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Aegean Interactions

Delos and its Networks in the Third Century

CHRISTY CONSTANTAKOPOULOU

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To the Liddels: Πήτερ, Φάνης και Τζώνης

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Christy Constantakopoulou

October 2016

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- Blinkenberg C. Blinkenberg, *Lindos: Fouilles de l'acropole 1902–1914*, 2 vols, Berlin 1941.
- Bringmann and von Steuben K. Bringmann and H. von Steuben, eds. *Schenkungen hellenistischer Herrscher an griechische Städte und Heigtümer*, vol 1: *Zeugnisse und Kommentare*, Berlin 1995.
- Chaniotis A. Chaniotis, *Historie und Historiker in den griechischen Inschriften. Epigraphische Beiträge zur griechischen Historiographie*, Stuttgart 1988.
- Chankowski V. Chankowski, *Athènes et Délos à l'époque classique. Recherches sur l'administration du sanctuaire d'Apollon délien*, Athens 2008a.
- Choix F. Durrbach, *Choix d'inscriptions de Délos*, Paris, 1921.
- ED M. Segre, *Iscrizioni di Cos*, Rome: 'L'Erma' di Bretschneider, 1993.
- FGrH F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker*, Berlin and Leiden, 1923–.
- GD P. Bruneau and J. Ducat, *Guide de Délos*, 4th edn, Athens, 2005.
- ID *Inscriptions de Délos*, Paris, 1926–.
- IG *Inscriptiones Graecae*, Berlin, 1873–.
- IOrop V. Petrakos, *Oι επιγραφές του Ωρωπού*, Athens, 1997.
- IvO W. Dittenberger and K. Purgold, eds. *Inschriften von Olympia*, Berlin, 1896.
- IvP M. Fraenkel, *Die Inschriften von Pergamon*, Berlin 1890–.
- K-A R. Kassel and C. Austin, *Poetae Comic Graeci*, Berlin, 1983–2001.
- Kotsidu H. Kotsidu, *TIMH KAI ΔΟΞΑ: Ehrungen für hellenistische Herrscher im griechischen Mutterland und in Kleinasien unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der archäologischen Denkmäler*, Berlin 2000.
- LGPN *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, Oxford 1987–.

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List of Abbreviations

Migeotte

L. Migeotte, *L'emprunt public dans les cités grecques. Recueil des documents et analyse critique*, Quebec, 1984.

Nigdelis

P.M. Nigdelis, *Επιγραφικά Θεσσαλονίκεια. Συμβολή στην πολιτική και κοινωνική ιστορία της αρχαίας Θεσσαλονίκης*, Thessaloniki, 2006.*Nouveau Choix*Cl. Prêtre, ed. *Nouveau choix d'inscriptions de Délos. Lois, comptes et inventaires*, Athens, 2002.

OGIS

W. Dittenberger, *Orientalis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, Leipzig, 1903–1905.*Recueil*C. Michel, *Recueil d'inscriptions grecques*, Paris: Leroux, 1900–1927.

RO

P.J. Rhodes and R. Osborne, *Greek Historical Inscriptions, 404–323 BC*, Oxford 2003.

Samama

E. Samama, *Les médecins dans le monde grec. Sources épigraphiques sur la naissance d'un corps médical*, Geneva, 2003.

SEG

Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum, Amsterdam.*Syll.*³W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, 3rd ed. Lipsiae: apud S. Hirzelium, 1915–1923.

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Note to the Reader

I finished writing this book before the excellent database on proxeny decrees produced by Will Mack became active (<http://proxenies.csad.ox.ac.uk>, accessed 31.10.16). The database includes decrees where the word proxeny (and its products) is either securely attested or can be safely supplemented; in that sense, the corpus of evidence Mack's database is working with is more restrictive than what I used for my discussion in Chapter 4: see discussion in Chapter 4.1 and Appendix 1.

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1

Introduction

Delos, its Networks, Regionalism,
and the Aegean World

1.1. DELIANS, THE PARASITES OF THE GOD

Most modern visitors visit the island of Delos during the extremely hot and arid Aegean summer months. The normal way for accessing the island is by taking the little ferry from Myconos (or from the more distant Naxos), which arrives at the port of Delos, on the western side, in the calm sea strait (*porthmos*) between Delos and the neighbouring, also currently uninhabited, island of Rheneia. The first visual contact with Delos is, therefore, from the sea, at some distance; from the east if one chooses Myconos as the stepping stone, or the south-west, if one chooses Naxos. Looking at this dry piece of land, in the middle of the Cycladic islands (literally and metaphorically), it is difficult to imagine that in antiquity it supported a vibrant community, with a massive (for the size of the island, at least) population. Yet, it did.

Athenaeus' work *The Philosophers at Dinner* is a wonderful treasury of anecdotes and stories from the ancient world.¹ It contains the following story about the ancient Delians. In the midst of a larger discussion about food served at festivals, Athenaeus talks about how the Delians were also known in some sources as *Eleodytai*, literally 'table-divers' or 'table-dodgers', because so many of them were involved in the serving of food during festivals.² The image is a vivid one: the waiters move around carrying meat-trays (*eleoi*), and the Delians move between them dodging the meat-trays, or diving under the trays as they move in the chaotic crowd that their many large festivals required. The association between Delians and sacrificial food then produces

¹ Crito F3 ll.4–8 K-A in Ath. 4.173b-c.

² Ath. 4.173a-b: κοινή δὲ πάντες Ἐλεοδύται διὰ τὸ τοῖς Ἐλεοῖς ὑποδύεσθαι διακονοῦντες ἐν ταῖς θοίαις [...] ὅθεν καὶ Πολυκράτων ὁ Κρίθωνος Πηραιεὺς δίκην γραφόμενος οὐ Δηλίου αὐτοῦς ὀνομάζει, ἀλλὰ το κοινὸν τῶν Ἐλεοδυτῶν ἐπητιάσατο.

a further largely derogatory image for the islanders. Athenaeus proceeds to use a fragment of the second-century comic poet Crito's play, *The Busybody* (*Philopragmon*).³ The poet describes in the fragment how a 'busybody' made a Phoenician ship-owner change his voyage, and go to Delos instead:

because he had heard that that was the one place in all the world that had three blessings for a parasite: a market full of fine food (*euopson*), a population that was idle, and the Delians themselves, who are parasites of the god.⁴

There are many fascinating features about the image of the 'busybody' and the 'parasite'. The association with fish, and especially a market full of fish, if indeed the *euopson* in the fragment refers to fish specifically, as opposed to food delicacies more generally, is an obvious one.⁵ But it is the characterization of the Delians as parasites that I find particularly intriguing. Indeed, Delos itself is presented as a paradise for a parasite. Why is that so?

The association of the term 'parasite' with Delos was not Crito's own invention. Once more, it is Athenaeus who provides us with the reference to a body of Delians in Athens who were part of the Athenian *theoria* to Delos.⁶ These Delians would 'serve as parasites for a year in the Delion' (one possibly located at Athens, rather than Delos). Athenaeus' source here, Polemon, ascribes the law to Solonian *kyrbeis*; it is not certain, however, that the Delians' dining at the Delion can be linked with Solon's laws.⁷ And as Athenaeus says, the use of the term parasite in this context shows without doubt that the term was not always derogatory. So there was an older association between the rites at Delos and the concept of 'parasite', even if in the older stories the term implied dining at public maintenance, rather than 'parasitic' living.⁸ But this is not the only explanation for Crito's joke at the expense of the Delians.

The heart of the story, rather, has to do with the understanding that the Delians survive as parasites on the back of the many thousands of worshippers

³ F3 ll.4–8 K-A in Ath. 4.173b-c.

⁴ πάντων ἀκούων διότι παρασίτῳ τόπος οὗτος τρία μόνος ἀγαθὰ κεκτηῖσθαι δοκεῖ, εὖσιφον ἀγοράν, † παντοδαπαν οὐκουντ' ὄχλον, αὐτοὺς παρασίτους τοῦ θεοῦ τοὺς Δηλίους. Edition by K-A.

⁵ See discussion in Lytle 2012, and Marzano 2013, 19–20. Lytle 2013, followed by Bresson 2016, 185, argues for a relatively high consumption of fish and seafood on Delos during the third century. This seems to validate Crito's association between fish consumption, parasites, and Delos itself.

⁶ Ath. 6.234e-f = Solon F 88 Ruschenbusch: ἐν δὲ τοῖς κύρβεσι τοῖς περὶ τῶν Δηλιαστῶν οὕτως γέγραπται: καὶ τῷ κήρυκε ἐξ τοῦ γένους τῶν Κηρύκων τοῦ τῆς μυστηριώτιδος, τοὺτους παρασιτεῖν ἐν τῷ Δηλίῳ ἐνιαυτόν. For the role of the Delians see Parker 2005, 82. For a discussion of the passage in a context of Athenaeus' use of documents see Davies 2000.

⁷ See the convincing arguments by Chankowski 2008a, 95–6: it is uncertain whether we can ascribe this law to Solon, as the mention of *kyrbeis* in Polemon may simply imply that the law was written on the walls of Stoa Basileus after the reorganization of the sacred calendar in Athens in 399/8.

⁸ For the term and its use in Athenaeus, as well as its historical development, see now Bouysson 2013.

coming to their island. It is true that the island itself, without the presence of the sanctuary, could not support the population it bore. How large a population that was in the period of Independence, which is the period that concerns this book, is something that we shall discuss at a later point.⁹ The island is relatively bare, and extremely small in size, even for Greek standards, which, on the whole, associated insularity with small islands.¹⁰ The Greeks had an ideal of polis self-sufficiency; in other words, they expected the territory of their city to be able to feed its population. We know now that this was nothing more than an ideal; the reality of agricultural crop rotation, suitability of land for different products, commerce, population movement, and the presence of luxury goods, meant that few cities, if any, did not engage in the import of food from some other source. Recent work by the French School of Athens, which directed the Delian excavations since the 1870s, has highlighted the uses of the Delian landscape for agriculture and pasturage.¹¹ Yet, even with the careful construction of walled gardens and terraces, especially to the south of the island, the Delian landscape could support, by itself, perhaps only a handful of families of citizens.

The image of a barren Delos, unable to support its own population, is an old one. In one of the earliest references to the island in Greek literature, in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, Delos appears ‘barren’, or, literally, ‘without richness below the ground’.¹² This is where the pregnant Leto calls upon the island to allow her to bear her divine children, Apollo and Artemis, there. The goddess asks:

Delos, would you want to be the abode of my son, Phoibos Apollo, and to house him in a lavish temple? For it cannot escape you that no other will touch you since I think you shall never be rich in oxen or sheep and shall never produce vintage nor grow an abundance of plants. If you have a temple for Apollo who shoots from afar, then all men shall gather here and bring hecatombs, and the ineffably rich savor of burning fat shall always rise, and you shall feed your dwellers from the hands of strangers since your soil is barren.¹³

What is interesting, I think, is the narrative opted here to present the benefits of being the birthplace of the god. The poet could have easily chosen a different narrative, one that highlighted the actual transformation of an otherwise barren landscape to one of abundance of goods. This is not the case here: rather, what is emphasized is that the presence of the god Apollo

⁹ See Chapter 3.2. I work on the assumption that Delos had a total population of about 6,000 during the third century.

¹⁰ I have argued this in Constantakopoulou 2007, 12–15.

¹¹ Brunet 1990–1993, 1999, Leguilloux 2003.

¹² *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 60: ἐπεὶ οὐ τοι πῦρ ὑπ’οὔδας. See comments in Richardson 2010, 91. See also Miller 1986, 22–3.

¹³ *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 51–60. Translation by Athanassakis 2004, 15.

cannot transform the landscape of the island itself; what the god will do is to provide the means for the survival of the inhabitants. Delos cannot have plants, or animals for pasture; instead, it is the scent of hecatombic sacrifices that will feed the inhabitants.¹⁴ This poetic narrative is essentially another version of the ‘parasitic’ story we started with. The island itself cannot feed its population; rather, it is Delos’ place in the centre of the religious, cultic, and mythical networks of the southern Aegean that will provide the means for survival for its population. It is the pilgrims to the temple of Apollo that feed the inhabitants. That such a narrative about the island and its inhabitants can be found in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, which is one of the earliest mythical narratives associated with Delos, tells us something about the power of the image, and the antiquity of the association between the Delians and their reliance to outsiders for survival.

The *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* conveys a powerful poetic image. But can we quantify its central assumption, that is the relationship between the Delians and the outsiders, in any meaningful manner? This is one of the questions that this book will attempt to address.

1.2. DELOS, ITS HISTORY, AND HISTORIOGRAPHY

In myth, Delos was the birthplace of the twin gods, Apollo and Artemis. We have already looked at one aspect of the early narratives of the divine birth of Apollo and Artemis on Delos, the bareness of Delos. The *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* recounts the trials of the pregnant Leto, as she is chased by Hera’s wrath throughout the Greek world in order to find sanctuary and give birth. Delos is the place that accepts her, and therefore, Delos is destined to be one of the most sacred places of the Aegean.¹⁵ In other mythical narratives, Delos was a floating, wandering island, which became solid only when Leto stepped on it in order to give birth.¹⁶ The mythical importance of Delos in the narratives about Apollo and Artemis and their birth correlated with a notion of geographic centrality of Delos in the island landscape of the Aegean Sea. The

¹⁴ See now the excellent analysis by Hitch 2015. Similar is the presentation of Delphi at the end of the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, when the narrative moves to the Pythian part: when the Cretans ask Apollo (526–37) how are they to survive in a place such as Delphi which is not good for vines or pasture, the divine answer is that they will have sheep brought by the glorious tribes of men. Richardson 2010, 148–9, comments on how this exchange picks up the theme of abundance and provision by pilgrims that was introduced in the beginning of the hymn (the Delian section). I want to thank Esther Eidinow for bringing this to my attention.

¹⁵ *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 51–89.

¹⁶ Pindar *Paean* 7b, and Callimachus, *Hymn to Delos* 4.36–52. I have discussed Delos as a wandering island, and the importance of the image of floating, wandering islands, in Constantakopoulou 2007, 117–18.

Cyclades took their name because they ‘circled’ Delos,¹⁷ while for Callimachus, the islands ‘danced around Delos’.¹⁸ The mythical and geographic centrality of Delos resulted in the creation of a sanctuary with a wide appeal from an early age.¹⁹ The sanctuary dedicated to the Delian triad (Apollo, Artemis, and Leto) developed early; the monumentalization and history of investment by neighbouring communities showed an active network of participants, predominantly from the Aegean islands and Athens, willing to conspicuously manifest their piety in the eyes of the gods. Delos acquired political centrality too: when the Athenians took control of the Hellenic League to continue the war against Persia in the early 470s, Delos became the headquarters.²⁰ Accordingly, the League that emerged is called in modern scholarship the Delian League, and this was transformed over the course of the fifth century into the Athenian Empire.

Delos, then, occupied a central position in the Aegean, in terms of myth, religion, geography (and navigation patterns), and politics. This centrality and consequent importance for political, religious, and economic networks meant that control over Delos and its most important asset, the sanctuary, was constantly contested. It is not possible to explore fully this aspect of Delian history; rather, I would like to briefly outline some important events.²¹ In the classical period, Delos was under Athenian control; the main officials of the sanctuary were the *amphictiones*, who, contrary to what the name may imply, were Athenian officials. Despite Delian reactions to Athenian control, Athens sustained the management of the sanctuary until 314, when the Delians gained their independence. The period of Delian Independence lasted until 166, when the Athenians regained control of Delos, expelled the population, and installed Athenian cleruchs.

The period of Delian Independence saw a number of important developments taking place in the sanctuary and the city of Delos. The fact that the Delians now had control over their biggest asset, their sanctuary, as well as their independence from Athenian control, obviously transformed many areas of Delian political, economic, religious, administrative, and cultural life. Certainly, some changes were not instantly conspicuous nor could they be seen as a radical departure from previously established practices. Chankowski, whose work on the history of classical Delos and the Athenian administration of the sanctuary is, in my opinion, one of the best studies in ancient history of the twenty-first century, argued powerfully that religious administration, in

¹⁷ Strabo 10.5.1, Pliny *Natural History* 4.12.65, Dion. Perieg. 526.

¹⁸ Callimachus, *Hymn to Delos* 16–22.

¹⁹ Constantakopoulou 2007, 38–41 with earlier bibliography.

²⁰ Thuc. 1.96, Diod. 11.47.

²¹ These are explored more fully in Constantakopoulou 2016b. For a history of Delos see Laidlaw 1933, Chankowski 2008a for the classical period, Vial 1984 for the period of Independence and Roussel 1987 for the period of the Athenian cleruchy.

particular, should be seen as a conservative domain, where we can witness a strong degree of resistance to radical change.²² This may well be true. On the other hand, however, there was significant change, even on the level of the administration of the sanctuary. As we shall see in Chapter 5, the Delian administrators, called the *hieropoioi*, continued the practices of their Athenian predecessors, the *amphictiones*, by publishing annual documents on stone that recorded the financial dealings of the sanctuary, such as loans to communities and individuals, rents received by land tenants using Apollo's sacred land, and so on, as well as inventories of the gods' wealth stored in the sanctuary.²³ While the practice of publication remained largely unchanged, there were some changes in the format of the inventories.²⁴

The period of Independence (314–166), therefore, may be a fascinating period for an exploration of the transformations of Delos and its place in the dense network of interactions in the Aegean. At the same time, however, it is a very problematic period in one important respect. The third century, which is in many respects the heart of the period that interests me, is notoriously a complicated and difficult century. This is not simply because the Aegean world of the third century is, in some ways, fundamentally different from that of the century that preceded it. The third-century Aegean world may be viewed as a different world, not least because of the consequences of Alexander's campaigns. In addition to this, we are facing another important problem, one that has a considerable impact on the history of scholarship on the third century. And this, as is often the case with ancient Greek history, is a problem of sources.

The narratives we have about the history of events of the third century are extremely fragmented. We do have three historians that produce narratives for this period, namely Diodorus, Polybius, and Livy. Diodorus' books that deal with the history of the third century are mostly fragmentary (books 21 to 27). Similarly, Polybius' narrative really kicks off in the last quarter of the third century: the previous period is discussed in what are now the fragmentary later books. Livy's books that discuss the third century may not be fragmentary, but inevitably his interests are focused on a much larger canvas of events than those related to the shifting balances of power of the third-century Aegean. The result is that we lack a coherent narrative of events for the third century; our sources are fragmentary, or, rather, even more fragmentary than what is usual in ancient history. The lack of a secure narrative of events for most of the third century has important implications not just for the history of the third century, but also for the state of modern historiography on that period.

²² Chankowski 2008a. See my thoughts on the subject in Constantakopoulou 2016b.

²³ For the advantages of publishing documents in a sanctuary see Davies 2003, 337.

²⁴ See Chapter 5.2.

Tarn famously stated that he ‘make[s] no apology for returning to the matter [of dating], for one of the very few ways in which progress can be made with these difficult questions of third-century history is by trying to establish an accurate chronology wherever there is any chance of this being done’.²⁵ Tarn’s position reflects extremely well how the third century has been approached. I cannot deny that it is extremely difficult to write about the history of a period when its key events are rarely securely dated. Can we write about the social structures, the economic dynamics, the patterns of interaction (to name randomly three subjects that interest me personally) of a region when we do not know (and can never know for sure) when crucial wars and battles took place? To give an extreme example, using perhaps an inappropriate modern parallel, this is the equivalent of writing about the culture of modern Britain without knowing for certain in which decade of the twentieth century the Second World War ended. Or to put it differently: the third century is very much the history of a continuous struggle of power between the various Hellenistic kingdoms for supremacy over the Aegean. Within that context, we know that the battle of Cos had a massive impact on the question of authority over the region, with Antigonos beating Ptolemy and regaining some control over the contested space of the Aegean Sea and its islands. But when did the battle take place? We do not know, as we do not know the dates of a number of key events of that century which we know played a key role in the history of political control of the region. If you want an answer to these questions, this is not a book for you. I do not have anything to contribute to what is already an extremely detailed and complicated discussion in modern scholarship about the third-century narrative of events.²⁶ But this fundamental problem about the state of the sources and the consequent lack of certainty in relation to the narrative of events for the third century has had an important impact on modern scholarship. In other words, considerable work has been done on attempting to sort out the history of events, especially for the Aegean region, on the basis of extremely few, mostly fragmentary, sources.²⁷ This is certainly the case for the history of the Islanders’ League (or *koinon ton nesioton*), a relatively obscure federal organization based on Delos during most of the third century (before it was taken over by the Rhodians, who

²⁵ Tarn 1930, 446.

²⁶ For the battle of Cos and its date see Buraselis 1982, 119–51, suggesting the date 255/4, and Reger 1985, suggesting 261. The main piece of evidence is the dedication of a ship on Delos by Antigonos Gonatas for his victory in the battle of Cos, mentioned in Athenaeus 5.209e. The building which housed the ship of Gonatas can no longer be identified with the so-called Monument of the Bulls (*GD 24 Monument des taureaux*), on the basis of its date (provided by stylistic criteria and epigraphic attestations): see discussion in Chapter 3.5, with Chankowski 2008a, 263–73.

²⁷ Reger 1994b is exemplary in this respect. See also Buraselis’ extensive discussion in 1982 *passim*.

placed its headquarters on Tenos). The Islanders' League is the focus of my first case study: instead of discussing the issues of the specific date for the beginnings of the League, and the relationship between patronage and key events in the history of the period, as so much of the previous excellent scholarship has done, I wanted rather to move beyond this type of approach and explore different ways of making sense of the transforming landscape of the region in that period. Tarn's attempt 'to establish an accurate chronology wherever there is any chance of this being done', I thought, had reached its limits.

The problem of sources that I described above meant that, contrary to other periods where we did have a more secure chronology of the key events, modern historiography had not explored as much as it could a number of important aspects of third-century history. My primary interest has always been in the history of interaction and movement of peoples, goods, and ideas. Could we move beyond the problems associated with the narrative of events and explore the different types of interaction we may observe in the third-century Aegean?

I may have been interested in human interaction for some time, but in recent years this particular topic acquired a new level of significance and topicality. As I am writing this chapter, Europe is going through a period of history characterized by the biggest movement of population since the Second World War. I suspect that in a short period of time, this human wave of migration will surpass anything that humanity has experienced in recent times. This is even more significant for someone, like me, whose work is centered on the Aegean islands. Indeed, what is the main story about the Aegean islands today? It is the story of millions of humans, who try to leave behind a life of war, famine, destitution, prosecution, and despair; of humans who want not a better future, but the simple idea of *a* future. Lesbos, Cos, Leros, Agathonissi, Leipsoi are the islands at the forefront of this human movement. These are the islands where refugees from the east land by climbing onto dangerous dinghies and risking their lives in the often treacherous waters of the Aegean. The human cost of suffering is immeasurable; the considerable lack of empathy and provision of support by various agents at different levels, may that be individuals, governments, and the European Union itself, is despicable and shocking. We are living through times where we, the West, are involved in the abhorrent process of building stronger borders and fences, thereby, by implication, if not in actual practice, murdering tens of thousands who drown in the Mediterranean while attempting to cross into Europe. If the world has heard of the Aegean Sea today it is because of the journeys and stories of the millions of Syrians and other refugees from the east. What we see today is Europe using all means to stop this migration from happening, even though one of the causes of the fleeing of the refugees (and indeed perhaps the most important one) has been western intervention

over the last three decades into the affairs of the Middle East, for war, imperialism, and profit. Europe is building fences. If this is today's dominant context, and one that, unfortunately, I suspect, will remain the dominant context of narratives about the Aegean in the near future, then an exploration about human interaction in the Aegean in a different period of time acquires a poignancy that I could have never anticipated.

The story of interaction is at the heart of this book. Yet, how do we move beyond the problems posed by the fragmentary evidence that I discussed above? It is inscriptions that, as in so many cases in ancient Greek history, provide the key to the solution. The plethora of inscriptions from the island of Delos during the period of Independence had another, in some ways unanticipated for me at least, result: what started as a project about different types of networks of interaction in the southern Aegean in the Hellenistic period was inevitably transformed into a book about third-century Delos. Delos was not only, as we have seen, the central place in the mythical, conceptual, and religious networks of the Aegean. It was also a place that produced thousands of inscriptions. Inscriptions, of course, come with their own set of problems. One important aspect is, once again, fragmentation. These problems, along with the production, audience, purpose, and function of these documents are discussed in detail in Chapters 4 and 5. But what I would like to say here is that through a careful analysis of the existing epigraphic evidence mainly from Delos, but occasionally from elsewhere in the Aegean world, we can produce a relative elaborate discussion not only of the place of Delos in the extensive networks of interaction of the southern Aegean, but also of the form, development, and density of the southern Aegean networks more generally. This book is about the form, extent, and history of Delian interactions, as they evidenced in the extensive Delian epigraphy and the archaeological record of the island.

1.3. NETWORKS, REGIONALISM, AND THE ECONOMY

In recent years, the concept of network has been a particularly fruitful methodological tool with which to explore the ancient world in that it generated new debates. Works focusing on networks and interaction have proliferated, addressing a number of different topics. I do not wish to offer here a comprehensive discussion of recent works applying methodologically, with various degrees of engagement and success, some form of Social Network Analysis (SNA). Indeed, the range of approaches has been so wide in terms of methodology that we cannot speak of a coherent ancient history network approach. Some areas of ancient history, however, have been influenced by a

network approach substantially more than others. The ancient economy, for example, has been an area that has witnessed a certain renaissance in recent years after a certain period of stagnation when the so-called ‘primitivists’ dominated the field. The need to move beyond the debate between ‘primitivists’ and modernists has been one of the most constant claims in the field in the last two decades or so.²⁸ Indeed, a fresh look focusing on patterns of redistribution and consumption (including the consumption of luxury goods), and the importance of the market, through perhaps a networks lens, has enriched our understanding of the ancient world and has contributed to debates about the ancient economy.²⁹

Archaeologists have also developed a social network analysis approach in discussing material evidence. In fact, the impact of a networks approach has been more substantial in the field of archaeology than ancient history.³⁰ Archaeologists have used network theory to explore ideas about transfer of knowledge, distribution of artefacts, and human agency behind the spread of ideas, people, and objects. The impact of social networks as a methodological approach has not been equally impressive in the field of ancient history. As I will discuss in this section, I think this may be linked with the type (and quantities) of sources that ancient historians work with, as opposed to the data and material that archaeologists use. Ancient historians have employed network theory with varying degrees of methodological engagement.³¹ One obvious issue in the work of ancient historians employing a loosely defined network approach is that while ideas about interaction, cultural transfer, human agency,³² ‘small worlds’,³³ weak and strong ties within networks, and indeed the strength of weak ties,³⁴ to use one of the most popular (and fruitful) applications of network theory, are present in scholarship, such ideas and methodological enrichments take place without *necessarily* the application of a Social Network Analysis approach. This by itself is not necessarily a negative thing. Indeed, I would include myself in the category of people who discussed ideas about networks and interaction without necessarily engaging fully with a Social Network Analysis (SNA) approach.

²⁸ See for example Foxhall 2007, Morris, Saller, and Scheidel 2007, and recently Harris and Lewis 2016.

²⁹ Manning 2011, Archibald 2013, Reger 2013a, Harris, Lewis, and Woolmer 2016.

³⁰ The literature on this is truly massive. An indicative (I hope) list of SNA approaches in archaeology is Graham 2006, Knapp 2008, van Dommelen and Knapp 2010, Knappett 2011, 2014, Brughmans 2013, 2014, Larson 2013, Hochscheid 2015, and recently Brughmans, Collar, and Coward 2016, Brughmans and Poblome 2016, and Foxhall et al. 2016.

³¹ See for example Graham and Ruffini 2007, the articles in Malkin, Constantakopoulou and Panagopoulou, eds, 2009, the articles in Fenn and Römel-Strehl, eds, 2013, Harris Cline 2012, Collar 2013, and the critique in Vlassopoulos 2013, 12–15.

³² For agency and actor-network theory see Latour 2005.

³³ Watts 1999 and 2003 are the classic works here. See also Buchanan 2002.

³⁴ Granovetter 1973 and 1982 pioneered the concept of strength of weak ties.

One of the most influential books in ancient history employing a network theory approach, loosely defined, is Malkin's recent monograph.³⁵ Malkin uses fruitfully the concept of the network in order to explore Greek identity on a very large geographic scale: that of the entire Mediterranean. He argues powerfully that distance and geographic space were crucial factors in creating Greek identity. Indeed, the first sentence of the book summarizes this neatly: 'Greek civilisation came into being just when the Greeks were splitting apart.'³⁶ Malkin uses the concept of network to argue that what matters for the creation of identities is not geographical distance but distance between nodes of a network, whether these nodes are settlements, sanctuaries, or zones of contact. Malkin does not quantify his conclusions, mostly because such a quantification exercise in archaic Greek history is entirely impossible. His application of a network concept of distance contributes greatly to an enhanced understanding of the processes and consolidation of Greek identity in the Mediterranean during the archaic period. At the same time, however, some of the conclusions of the book do not necessarily need a network approach to hold up; this is especially true in the discussion of *nomima* as 'hard' facts, to be found in the early stages of foundation of settlements, rather than imaginary constructions associated with later periods.³⁷ Malkin's work shows that a network approach can open up new ways of thinking about 'old' subjects, such as the much debated process of Greek 'colonization'. But such works that are clearly influenced by network approaches are not necessarily works that a sociologist working with Social Network Analysis would recognize as products of an SNA approach.

When I started thinking about how and to what extent I could engage with network theory while focusing on the political, social, religious, and economic networks of the southern Aegean islands, I envisaged that I could potentially quantify the attested social, political, religious, and economic relations. I knew that the epigraphic material from Delos in the Hellenistic period was extremely rich and I was convinced that it could be tapped in order to generate the kind of network graphs, also called 'messy spaghetti monsters', that sociologists have been working on. Certainly, no one had used the Delian inscriptions in such a way before; indeed, as we shall see in Chapter 5, even well-known categories of inscriptions, such as the inventories, have not been used to their full potential for a reconstruction of the social dynamics of the visitors to the sanctuary in the period of Independence. The future, in other words, back in 2008, looked bright. In that context, I found Ruffini's work on the social networks of Byzantine Egypt particularly rewarding.³⁸ Ruffini focused

³⁵ Malkin 2011. ³⁶ Malkin 2011, 3.

³⁷ For a longer and more in depth engagement with Malkin's book see my review in Constantakopoulou 2011.

³⁸ Ruffini 2008.

on two sites in Byzantine Egypt, Oxyrhynchos and Aphrodito. Using prosopographical data, he was able to create network maps of the connections between individuals and places. The result was a fascinating picture of social networks that included not just the elite, with considerable differences in two of the sites examined. Ruffini used UCINET as the main computer programme to analyse the structures of its given networks.³⁹ The results he produced could not have been generated without the specific programme. UCINET is in many ways the standard programme used by social scientists for this kind of approach. For my purposes, however, it proved impractical.

In order for the programme to operate, it needs a set of data: this should be numerous enough for the result to be meaningful. And once again, I found that the single most important impediment in applying this kind of approach to an ancient history topic, such as mine, was the nature of my sources. I have already explained how scarce ancient literary sources are for Hellenistic Delos. The existence of a great number of inscriptions from the island, unfortunately, in this respect did not help matters. I was interested in reconstructing the social networks of Delos in relation to the world of the south Aegean islands. For UCINET to work, I needed datasets that had references to persons and places. For example, when Ruffini created his dataset, two individuals mentioned in the same document appeared as having a direct link. The kind of documents he worked on facilitated such an approach, as they were numerous and each document did not include normally more than a handful or so names. My dataset, however, was entirely different. We have no letters, no contracts between individuals, no wills from Delos (all the documents, in other words, normally found in papyri in Egypt). What we have is the monumental inscriptions that the Delian demos decided to set up in their sanctuary. The implications of the decision to set up the inscriptions, whether these are honorary decrees, accounts or inventories, are discussed more fully in Chapters 4 and 5. In short, the publication of these inscriptions have to do with the creation of an audience, which may have been understood as both divine and human, and the promotion of the fame of Delos as a regional sanctuary that attracted the attention of individuals, common and elite, from the entire Mediterranean world. In other words, the survival of my sources was not just accidental (not all inscriptions survive, after all), but also related to conscious decisions about publication, communal space, and accountability. More particularly, the most important dataset for my project, that is the inventories of the Delian treasures recording the names, ethnics, and dedications of numerous individuals and communities from the extended Greek world (and beyond) could not be used meaningfully in a programme such as

³⁹ Ruffini 2008, esp. 39–40.

UCINET. The nature of the Delian epigraphic sources, in other words, prohibited their manipulation by a network analysis software programme.

So what could I do? I could not engage with what a social scientist would understand as an SNA approach because my sources did not allow it.⁴⁰ But I could still try to reconstruct some of the networks of interaction that took place on Delos through the available evidence. A network approach could be implemented, albeit on a different scale and nature than what Ruffini or the archaeologists working with material evidence datasets have been used to. Indeed, in recent years, a historical examination of networks has produced some fascinating results, especially in terms of regional geographic networks.⁴¹ Indeed, the creation of a region should be understood as part of a process involving human networks and active associations between individuals. Human mobility and interaction, which includes the movement and exchange of goods and ideas, lie at the heart of what makes a geographic region. In that sense, a network approach which focuses on regional interaction may contribute to an enhancing of our understanding not only of the history of the particular region (be it the Black Sea, the northern Aegean, or the Aegean itself, to mention some areas that have attracted the attention of scholarship), but of what we now understand as a geographic region. In other words, a network approach would not only throw light on relatively neglected aspects of the history of the period, but could actively contribute to a better understanding of how a region was constructed. Landscape and geography do not exist outside human experience; rather human intervention constructs, mediates, and transforms the environment in which humans operate. Human interaction and networks affected and constructed the geographic region in which such interaction took place.

Regionalism and region, therefore, are important concepts for a research approach that focuses on networks and interaction. In ancient Greek history, research which focuses on regionalism may be seen as part of a larger debate that has taken place in the last decade or so as to how we understand Greek culture. Greek history and Greek culture is traditionally associated with the culture of the polis, the Greek city-state. This has been the dominant narrative for most of the twentieth century. Classical Greek history, in particular, has been mostly interpreted as the history of the most important poleis of the Greek world, with Athens occupying, because of the nature of our sources, the most prominent position. Such emphasis on the polis as the most important

⁴⁰ J. Davies' comment (2015, 241) that for scholars who wished to go beyond narrative, and beyond 'the simple description of constitutions and institutions, which offered no framework for systematic comparison [...] the quest has been frankly dispiriting: it is understandable that many have taken productive refuge in historiography and reception studies' describes painfully accurately the state of the field.

⁴¹ I would include here as highlights the works by Müller 2010, Dana 2011, Archibald 2013, and Collar 2013.

political formation in the Greek world is the underlying assumption of projects such as the Copenhagen Polis Centre that have produced the indispensable *Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis*.⁴² In recent years, however, scholars have increasingly criticized this focus, by putting emphasis on the importance of institutions, groups, and associations whose activities transcended, transformed, and reconstructed what we traditionally understand as the Greek polis.⁴³ Greek history should not be viewed exclusively through the prism of the polis. Indeed, as Vlassopoulos argued so convincingly,⁴⁴ Greek history and culture is a history without a single centre; rather than focusing on the Greek city-states as a way of providing a narrative for a culture without a single centre, we should enhance our approach with regional approaches, and narratives about groups which transcended the polis, whether these groups were below the level of the adult male citizen (slaves, women, foreigners) or those that existed outside the polis.

The polis model as the primary focus of Greek history has been recently substantially modified in works on Greek religion. The polis model in Greek religion was perhaps best articulated in Sourvinou-Inwood's famous statement that 'polis religion embraces, contains, and mediates all religious discourse', and that 'the Greek polis articulated religion and was itself articulated by it'.⁴⁵ This is not to say that recent approaches have rejected the usefulness of the polis model for our understanding of Greek religion and society; rather, emphasis on networks and religious experience beyond and below the polis have allowed alternative narratives to be put forward, which do not focus on the relationship between religion and the institutional framework of the polis. As a result, our understanding of Greek religion has been greatly enriched.⁴⁶

Within the context of the study of Greek religion, space and locality are particularly important parameters. Religious activity is an area where we can see the tension between the local and the panhellenic dimension (to pick the two main poles in the spectrum of geographic identification within Greek culture).⁴⁷ And as the polis religion model has been expanded and subjected to refinement, the identification of locality with the polis has been questioned. Greek religious activity was inherently linked with local activity (though not exclusively linked); but local activity did not necessarily mean activity within

⁴² Hansen and Nielsen 2004. See also my comments in Constantakopoulou 2015b, 213–15.

⁴³ See comments in J. Davies 2015. The important work on associations is part of this trend: see (indicatively) Rauh 1993, Kloppenborg and Wilson 1996, Gabrielsen 2001, Arnaoutoglou 2003, Fröhlich and Hamon 2013, Harland 2014, Steinhauer 2014, Gabrielsen and Thomsen 2015. See also now the essays in Taylor and Vlassopoulos 2015.

⁴⁴ Vlassopoulos 2007, 2013.

⁴⁵ Sourvinou-Inwood 1990, 302 and 304. See also Sourvinou-Inwood 2000.

⁴⁶ See particularly the work by Eidinow 2011 and 2015, Kindt 2012 and 2015, and the excellent and succinct presentation of new developments in Harrison 2015.

⁴⁷ I have explored this more fully in Constantakopoulou 2015a, discussing previous bibliography. See also Polinskaya 2006, 2010 and Kindt 2012, chapter 1.

the polis. How we understand locality, in other words, matters: this is true not just in the realm of Greek religion, but for all levels of human activity. As Müller argued, the primacy of the local for the ancient Greeks did not necessarily correspond to the notion of the Greek polis.⁴⁸ If we are to revisit our conceptual understanding of Greek history, and place that in a framework that is not exclusively about the Greek polis, then we need to consider the various geographic entities that construe human activity, from local, to regional, to ‘panhellenic’ (an extremely problematic term), to Mediterranean and beyond.

A focus on regionalism, therefore, enhances the debates about the shift of focus away from the traditional view of the primacy of the Greek polis for Greek history. The concept of region itself, however, as well as the associated term regionalism, are not unproblematic. The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines region as ‘an area having definable characteristics but not always fixed boundaries’.⁴⁹ This definition is clearly geared towards an understanding of modern regions in contrast to geographic entities, such as the modern nation state, which obviously have fixed and clearly defined boundaries. The lack of clearly defined boundaries is an important element of the term as it is used in debates about modern regions, but as the ancient Greek world did not necessarily have as clearly fixed boundaries as the modern world of the nation state, this differentiation between areas with clearly defined boundaries and areas without is not as a matter of course particularly helpful. However, the absence of clearly defined boundaries as a constituent element of the modern definition of a ‘region’ is a crucial aspect of the concept. In other words, a region is a constructed device, not an area defined by permanent geographical facts.⁵⁰ One could argue that all geographical features, be they mountains, islands, rivers, or deserts, are not pure ontological entities based on geographic reality, but rather constructed and mediated through human experience, ideology, and culture. For example, insularity for the classical Greeks, or, what is an island, is very much the product of specific cultural constructs generated by the existence of the Athenian Empire, which dominated the Aegean world for large parts of the fifth century, as my previous work has shown.⁵¹ The Athenian control of the Aegean created specific contexts in which insularity as a concept developed and appeared in our literary sources, such as Thucydides, comedy, and tragedy. It was not simply the geographic reality of small island insularity that characterizes the Aegean region; the context in which the terms island and insular developed over the course of the fifth century also played an important role in their historical development. The politics of Athenian imperialism and the necessity of control of islands for

⁴⁸ Müller 2016. ⁴⁹ *OED*, 3rd edn, 2005, s.v. ‘region’.

⁵⁰ See also Roy 2009, 822 on ‘world areas’.

⁵¹ Constantakopoulou 2007, esp. 10–19.

a sea power, such as fifth-century Athens, created some of the most important and long-living parameters that framed the concept of a Greek island: an island, therefore, was weak, small, and prone to subjugation. If something as (relatively) clearly defined as an island (which is, after all, a piece of land surrounded by water) can be subject to conceptual manipulation and transformation because of the cultural context of production of the relevant sources, then what can we do with a term, such as a region, which has little, if any, basis in geographic reality or permanent geographic features?

A region, then, is a heuristic device, which makes it a particularly useful but at the same time complicated concept to work with. In addition, regionalism as a methodological approach has similar but at the same time extremely important added complications.⁵² The term ‘regionalism’ has come under scrutiny in the fields of human geography because of its not so apparent (to an ancient historian, at least) associations with neo-liberal ideology and economic policies. This is linked with our previous observation that regions are culturally constructed, as they are on the whole not dependent on hard geographical facts. When human geographers study modern regions, they essentially study the result of global geographic and cultural processes; this has important ideological underpinnings that are perhaps not obvious at first sight. One important example here is the Middle East: its very name has embedded orientalist constructive elements.⁵³ Different models of regionalism, in particular, have developed as a reaction to globalization as a neo-liberal economic development model:⁵⁴ regionalism may be understood as a step towards globalization (through enhancement of local economies) or as a form of resistance to globalization (through preservation of some elements of national policy and economic development). In both cases, regionalism was seen as essentially linked with the modern capitalist nation state and the economy of a capitalist globalized market. Regionalism, therefore, was linked with debates about the nation state and its usefulness, as well as the politics, legal status and economic policies and behaviours of the nation state.⁵⁵ Often such regionalism as a methodological tool adopted an approach of an almost deterministic relationship between economic behaviour and geographical features. This type of deterministic relationship has given rise to the concept of ‘New Regionalism’ in the last couple of decades. New Regionalism attempted to dissociate the concept of a region from strict economic protectionist structures.⁵⁶ But even though New Regionalism provided a much needed critique of the underlying deterministic and neo-liberal economic

⁵² See Fawcett 2005 and 2012. See also the historiographical discussion of the development of the term and the discipline in Söderbaum 2016a and 2016b.

⁵³ Roy 2009, 823: ‘Middle of what and east of where?’

⁵⁴ Nesadurai 2002.

⁵⁵ See Cloke, Philo, and Sadler 1991, for an analysis of the history of geography as a discipline and its association with the concept of the ‘region’.

⁵⁶ Warleigh-Lack and Robinson 2011.

assumptions that old regional approaches have adopted, still its focus is very much linked with economic development within neo-liberal economic structures that surpass the level of the nation state, such as the European Union (at the time of writing a very contested idea),⁵⁷ or China and South America as rising economic powers.⁵⁸

Debates in regionalism and New Regionalism, therefore, are ultimately linked not only with the nation state but with neo-liberal economic practices, even when the emphasis is (in New Regionalism) on a critique of the deterministic relationship that has been adopted in relation to economic development. New Regionalism may stress the importance of movements of peoples, of non-hierarchical structures and identities, but ultimately such debates still take place within the context of the nation state and its capitalistic economy. If this is the dominant context within which regionalism (and the concept of a region) are discussed in the field of human geography, what are the implications for our field? In other words, is it possible to fruitfully engage with the concept of the 'region' and 'regionalism', without adopting the dominant underlying assumptions in the field of human geography about the primacy of the nation state and the 'desirable' outcome of capitalistic economic development?

These are very important questions, to which there is no immediate answer. As a modern Greek national, I find discussions about regional economic development of the south (of Europe) particularly loaded in terms of the economic exploitation of Greece and its (albeit modest) resources by the centralized—through the European Union and European central banks—economies of the north. As an ancient historian, I find the ideological implications of these debates restricting and occasionally irrelevant. While, therefore, it is a positive development that regionalism and region have become important concepts in the discipline of geography, one cannot adopt the methodology and definitions put forward by the social sciences lock, stock, and barrel. In this respect, the fact that regionalism in ancient history, as so many other subjects in our field, has largely remained outside this type of debate is perhaps a blessing. Indeed, over the course of the last decade or so, we have witnessed the beginnings of a new interest in regionalism and the concept of the region, pioneered by the excellent work by Reger and Vlassopoulos.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ Not least because of the electoral result—surprising to some—of the British population on 23 June 2016 to leave the European Union (Brexit), but also because of the despicable, in my opinion, stance that the European Union has held over the refugee crisis.

⁵⁸ See the essays in Fawcett and Hurrell 1995, in Warleigh-Lack, Robinson, and Rosamond 2011, and Baccini and Dür 2011. What is new in New Regionalism has also been subject to critique: see comments in Söderbaum 2016a, 4.

⁵⁹ Reger 2007, 2011, 2013b, 2013c, Elton and Reger 2007, Vlassopoulos 2007, 166–8, 2011. Feyel 2006, 341–68 also discusses the limits of regionalism as an approach, while Archibald 2013 has applied fruitfully the concept in her exploration of the economies of the northern Aegean. See also recently Purcell 2013b, 89–91, for a reflection on the critiques to regional approaches in ancient history.

As I have already mentioned, a focus on a region is important as it helps us overcome some of the limits that the polis model has imposed in the field of Greek history.⁶⁰ The definition of a region and its construction are important elements of a historical approach that puts emphasis on interaction. I would highlight two principal dimensions in the construction of a region: human intentionality and historical contingency.⁶¹ In other words, a region is not an independent geographic entity: rather it is constructed through human agency operating in a specific historical context.⁶² There is also another important additional layer: regions are also constructed by modern scholars asking specific questions. In other words, an ancient Greek awareness of a region is not necessarily a prerequisite for us viewing an area as a region and applying regionalism as a methodological tool to explore the dynamics, links, associations, and human actions that took place in that particular geographic area. Intentionality, therefore, is not a necessary feature of a region. We should also stress that, as with all hermeneutical categories used in Greek history, regions should not be perceived as static entities: rather, as they are the result of human agency, they are 'dynamic processes'.⁶³ A region can be defined by some degree of coherence in physical geography, political authority, identity or mentalité, and culture in terms of fashion.⁶⁴ I would also add the impact of war and military intervention (or other forms of violent aggression) as an important potential formative factor. Archibald has recently stressed how the Persian forces' demands for food, human resources, and so on during the Persian wars on the local populations of the northern Aegean created a regional response and could be seen as a defining factor for an emerging northern Aegean regional identity.⁶⁵ Yet, not all of these features have to co-exist at the same time: the question of identity, in particular, is a crucial one, and one that I shall discuss in 1.4 below.

The discussion of the usefulness of region and regionalism in ancient history has largely centered on debates about the ancient economy and the nature of economic exchange, including the much-debated topic of markets.⁶⁶ Indeed, many of the discussions about regionalism and the economy had as their starting point the truly excellent book by Gary Reger, *Regionalism and Change in the Economy of Independent Delos*.⁶⁷ Reger examined carefully the extremely detailed accounts that survive from the period of Independent Delos in order to argue that the Delian sanctuary was the centre of an economic region, which encompassed the islands of the southern Aegean (mostly the

⁶⁰ Opening comments in Vlassopoulos 2011. ⁶¹ Reger 2013c.

⁶² Reger 2013b, 125. ⁶³ Vlassopoulos 2011, 27.

⁶⁴ Definition taken from Reger 2013c; see also discussion in Reger 2011.

⁶⁵ Archibald 2013, 124.

⁶⁶ Reger 1994a, 2011, and 2013b, Davies 2001, Chankowski 2005 and 2011, Chandezon 2011, Migeotte 2013. On markets see now the essays in Harris, Lewis, and Woolmer 2016.

⁶⁷ Reger 1994a.

Cyclades). As we shall see in more detail in Chapter 5, when we will examine the Delian third-century inventories, the Delian *hieropoioi*, the administrators of the sanctuary in the period of Independence, published annually their inventories and accounts on big slabs of stone. The survival of this epigraphic material makes Delos one of the best places in the Hellenistic world to examine the workings of the economy in minute detail. The Delian accounts record prices, costs, wages, imports, and a plethora of other information, which prove invaluable for any ancient historian working in the field of economy. They also preserve for us information about the wealth of the sanctuary, both in money and land (farms and other tenancies). The Delian administrators used the sanctuary's wealth as a bank for the southern Aegean region; they would lend out amounts to both individuals and communities and then they would receive interest on the loan. As Chankowski brilliantly showed in her work on Delos in the classical period, when the island was under the control of Athens, the initial capital for the function of the sanctuary as a bank probably came from the original *aparche* of the allies in the Delian League; in other words, before the treasury moved to Athens in, most likely, 454, the 1/60th or equivalent of the tribute would be offered to Delian deities, as Delos was the treasury for the League.⁶⁸ This accumulation of quite a significant capital in the early fifth century allowed the sanctuary to be able not only to cover the costs for its expensive festivals and sacrifices, but also to essentially function as a lending bank. It was not unusual for sanctuaries to develop such banking activities.⁶⁹ What is exceptional for Delos is the detailed accounts that it produced in relation to this activity. The reasons for the annual publication of the accounts and the inventories is an extremely important topic, and one that we will discuss in detail in Chapter 5.⁷⁰ The accounts allow us to fully visualize in detail the workings of the sanctuary in relation to its island neighbours; the loans and payments to communities and individuals show the making of a regional economy in action. Reger's masterful analysis of the many, often fragmented and difficult to read, accounts showed without doubt that Delos played a central role in the economies of exchange in the region.⁷¹

Indeed, economic exchange and the presence of the markets is one of the crucial aspects of the modern approaches to regionalism, as we have seen. It is therefore extremely fortuitous that Delos produced evidence for the networks of not just religious interaction (such as *theoria*, pilgrimage to a sacred place, or the dedications recorded in the inventories from the sanctuary), but also political power and authority (through the investment in monumentalization by Hellenistic kings and queens), and economic exchange (the accounts). If we

⁶⁸ Chankowski 2008a.

⁶⁹ See Bogaert 1968, 281–8. See also Chankowski 2005 and 2011, 149–59.

⁷⁰ See especially Chapter 5.5. ⁷¹ Reger 1994a, followed largely by Migeotte 2013.

try to think outside our modern economic (and by that I mean primarily capitalist) mental constraints, which force us, on the whole, to prioritize profit and the pursuit for profit above all other economic (and often political, cultural, and ideological) considerations, then, as Davies argued, we can truly understand the importance of sanctuaries and their institutional centrality.⁷² Sanctuaries operating as banks and financial centres of regional exchange did not necessarily prioritize profit, but sought security, stability, and divine trust. In that sense, Delos in the Hellenistic period continued a much longer tradition, which placed sanctuaries at the heart of economic networks and exchange. Recent research has highlighted the links between the origin of festivals (especially agonistic festivals) and regional sanctuaries functioning as low-frequency long-range periodic markets.⁷³ If sanctuaries with a large catchment area, such as Delos, functioned as centres of a region for economic exchange already in the early archaic period, then Delos' role as a banking centre for the southern Aegean islands in the late classical and Hellenistic periods was the continuation of their role in creating and defining a region through economic transactions.

Reger stressed that explanations for ancient economic phenomena must be sought first in their local context.⁷⁴ In other words, the answer to the debates about primitivism or modernism in the ancient economy lies in the understanding of economic behaviour and the role of economic exchange in a local context. In the case of Delos, the local context was not the island itself. Delos was such a small island that the territory of the island alone, its territorial insularity in other words, could not sustain the population it had, as we have seen, nor allow it to acquire the significance it held in the networks of exchange in the ancient period. Rather, as I argue, it was its insularity in the sense of a node in maritime networks of exchange that allowed Delos to develop into the prominent sanctuary and political, economic, and cultural centre it became. Reger linked Delos' insularity with its economic development and role in the networks of the southern Aegean. Delos' economy, in other words, can be understood within its regional context: that of increased maritime and dense networks of exchange of goods, peoples, and ideas, and mobility between the islands of the Aegean. The simultaneous existence of maritime connectivity and geographic fragmentation is the dominant feature of this region.⁷⁵ Reger stressed the importance of locality as a response to attempts to explain the ancient economy as a result of a grand narrative that encompassed an analysis of pretty much the entire Mediterranean over a millennium of history, including both the Greek and the Roman past. In doing so, he revealed the complex workings of a regional economy that depended both on historical contingency and geographic context. The Delian

⁷² Davies 2011, 201.

⁷³ Davies, 2007, 63–5.

⁷⁴ Reger 1994a, 3.

⁷⁵ Horden and Purcell 2000.

networks of economic interaction were extremely dense, yet at the same time, relatively limited in reach. War, hegemonic struggles, the rise of piracy, and the various attempts to suppress it, all affected the Delian economy. At the same time, Delos' development can only be understood if its insularity and the consequent lack of any substantial agricultural territory are taken into account.

I find Reger's analysis of the Delian economy outstanding. His stress on the importance of regionalism and, by implication, geographic context, which in this case is primarily the Delian insularity, has been really influential on more recent works on the ancient economy. At the same time, other outstanding Delian scholars, such as Chankowski and Migeotte, worked on the economy of Delos in the classical and Hellenistic periods.⁷⁶ In that sense, I found that I really had very little to contribute to Reger's overall argument. If anything, I could perhaps provide some small nuanced contribution by spending considerable time looking at the epigraphic evidence of the accounts from the sanctuary. This is not to say that I do not find economic considerations important when examining the pattern of interactions in the southern Aegean during the third century, which is the main topic of this book. On the contrary, I believe that economic interactions are an indispensable part of the overall networks this book examines. Rather, I felt that my examination of the kind of evidence that is directly linked to economic exchange, such as the accounts recording prices, wages, loans, rents, and so on, would add very little to the overall picture masterfully reconstructed by scholars such as Reger, Chankowski, and Migeotte. Expediency, therefore, partly informed my decision not to discuss extensively the accounts;⁷⁷ this decision seemed rational to me, especially when I soon realized that there were aspects of the Delian evidence, such as the inventories, which were largely untapped as a source for the networks of interaction I wanted to examine. I therefore decided to leave economic interactions as these manifested in the accounts largely outside the focus of this book. I have accepted Reger's interpretation that the Delian accounts reflect the reality of a regional economy with dense networks between Delos and the neighbouring islands of the southern Aegean, but with limited reach beyond that region. As we shall see in this book, the networks of interaction in other aspects of Delian history, such as those revealed by the inventories and the honorific decrees, to mention two, do not have the same features as the economic networks discussed by Reger. Rather, we see both dense interaction in the main Delian region and, at the same time, an impressive reach in terms of geographic distance.

⁷⁶ Chankowski 2005, 2008a, 2008b, 2011, 2013a, 2013b, Migeotte 2008, 2013, 2014.

⁷⁷ Inevitably, there are references to the accounts throughout the book, as the information they provide is indispensable for my discussion of all the subjects focused in this project.

1.4. AEGEAN INTERACTIONS

What is the primary region of Delian interactions? This is an extremely important question and one that has significant repercussions about the type of networks we witness in the Delian evidence. The first aspect that needs to be stressed is that this is an insular maritime space. Indeed, a glimpse at any map of the Aegean shows immediately how it is a unique geographic environment shaped by the presence of hundreds of islands, creating a bridge between mainland Greece and the coast of Asia Minor.⁷⁸ The presence of so many islands, especially in the southern Aegean, was also the background for the poetic image of the dance of the islands, which became also the title of my first book.⁷⁹ The primary region, therefore, for Delos was the south Aegean islands, mainly the Cyclades, which, as we have already seen, took their name because they ‘circled’ Delos. This was a geographically fragmented region, facing similar ecological challenges and crises, but one with sustained increased maritime connectivity.⁸⁰ The practice of cabotage, in particular, allowed island connectivity almost throughout the year, and certainly well beyond the established sailing season between March and October.⁸¹ Insularity, fragmentation, and maritime connectivity are, therefore, the three crucial features of this particular region. This observation may sound like a truism, but it is the one indisputable aspect of any analysis of the region in historical and archaeological works, especially since the tremendous influence in the field that the publication of Horden and Purcell’s *The Corrupting Sea* in 2000 has achieved. It is when one attempts to discuss aspects of the region further that the problems pile up.

Since the southern Aegean region is such a fragmented space, or, rather, it is not a landscape, but an island-scape, then the problem of arbitrary divisions in the definition of a region becomes even more acute. In a space of insular groupings, what kind of grey zones can we allow? How arbitrary are our divisions? The physical discontinuities of the Mediterranean create what Purcell described as an ‘atmosphere of arbitrariness’.⁸² The sea as a defining feature of a region, in fact, may liberate us from an attempt to provide clear limits or boundaries, as the sea is particularly good at ‘eliding the boundaries

⁷⁸ See Constantakopoulou 2007, 1–28 for a fuller discussion and previous bibliography. Brun 1996 provides also an excellent summary of the key aspects of this discussion.

⁷⁹ Callimachus, *Hymn to Delos*, 16–22. See also Aelius Aristeides 44.12–13, for a prose hymn to the Aegean, using similar narrative techniques as Callimachus.

⁸⁰ Fragmented landscape yet one connected through maritime mobility: Horden and Purcell 2000, and Horden and Purcell 2005.

⁸¹ I have discussed elsewhere the role of small-scale connections through the practice of *porthmeutike* (ferrying): see Constantakopoulou 2007, esp. 222–5, following largely Kolodny’s observations of the importance of the presence of ‘scala’ in the modern island Aegean life in 1974, 99 and 120. See also Horden and Purcell 2000, 142, and Purcell 1993 on cabotage.

⁸² See comments in Purcell 2013a, esp. 274–6.

of space and time'.⁸³ Even the boundary between a single island and the sea is not as clear as one thinks at first glance: the Aegean may be a sea where tides do not play an important role, but even so, in the island states of classical antiquity, the limit of the island littoral was not always the boundary of the territory of an island state: fishing rights, including the fishing of sponges or the valuable murex,⁸⁴ extended the boundary of control of an island to the arbitrary grey zone of the sea. A well-known anecdote from Herodotus illustrates beautifully, I think, the human inability to provide clear boundaries in the sea, to control and measure the seascape. When Croesus, the king of Lydia, attempted to test the Greek oracles, proving in this way, that even though he was part of an extended network of cultural exchange between the Greeks and the Lydians, he still lacked the ability to fully comprehend the Greek cultural context of oracular knowledge and human–divine exchange within that context, Pythia provided this answer to the riddle asked by the Lydian King: 'I know the number of the grains of sand and the extent of the sea, and understand the mute and hear the voiceless.'⁸⁵ Pythia's answer shows clearly that the 'extent of the sea' (*metra thalasses*) could not be grasped by human consciousness; it did not belong to the sphere of human knowledge and comprehension, but rather to the divine.⁸⁶

The presence of the sea, therefore, creates inherent difficulties in attempting to clearly define boundaries in an island region. But even with these inherent difficulties, in addition to the methodological problems of regionalism discussed in the previous section, we can still identify some important features in the seascape of the Aegean sea, which may help us, in turn, delineate some broad, but not entirely arbitrary, regional zones. The Aegean Sea, I argue, can be viewed in a north–south axis: the southern Aegean is characterized by the presence of many islands, clustering between mainland Greece and the coast of Asia Minor. These island groupings are called the Cyclades and the Dodekanese, but membership in each of the groups was not always straightforward in antiquity.⁸⁷ Mutual visibility, which was at the heart of ancient

⁸³ Purcell 2013b, 85.

⁸⁴ Purple shell was harvested from the seas around Delos (particularly between Delos and Rheneia): see the Delian accounts in *IG II² 1636A 5*, with Bruneau 1985b, and Hansen 1987. Fishing was also an important activity for the Delians: the accounts record revenues generated either from leases of fishing rights in the 'lake' (the lagoon between Rheneia and Delos?) (as at *IG XI.2, 161A 36*) or from duty collected on the raw snails delivered to dye-works (see Lytle 2007). The 'Delian divers' (*Δήλιοι κολυμβηταί*) were proverbial in antiquity (much like the present day sponge-divers from Kalymnos) for the depths of their dives (Diog. Laert. 2.22 and 9.12) and may also have engaged in purple-diving (Bruneau 1969, 1979, 1985a, Brun 1996, 134, and Lytle 2007, 250 with n. 13).

⁸⁵ Hdt 1.47.3: *Οἶδα δ' ἐγὼ ψάμμου τ' ἄριθμὸν καὶ μέτρα θαλάσσης, καὶ κωφοῦ συνήμι, καὶ οὐ φωνεῖντος ἀκούω.*

⁸⁶ See Cole 2010.

⁸⁷ See Counillon 2001 and Doukellis 2001 for a discussion of literary representations of the Cyclades, Brun 1996, 15–17, Shipley 2011, 128 and 132, and recently Bonnin 2015, esp. 47–84 for

sailing, is an indispensable feature of the southern Aegean island-landscape.⁸⁸ This is certainly not the case in the north, where rather than clusters of many small islands, there are a few larger islands dominating the landscape. The absence of islands, and therefore suitable ports and resting places, contributed to the reputation of the northern Aegean as a more inhospitable sea than the south; this is exemplified by the description of the sea around Samothrace as ‘rough’.⁸⁹ Indeed, as I have argued elsewhere, the relative inaccessibility of Samothrace in the north, compared to the perceived centrality of Delos in the south may have contributed to the reputation of the Samothracian mysteries.⁹⁰ We are looking, therefore, at two regions within the Aegean with substantial geographic differences: the presence and absence of many islands. This geographic feature had important repercussions in the maritime accessibility of these seascapes, and consequently their representation in the sphere of myth, religion, and culture. So is the Aegean one or many seas? As Ceccarelli so powerfully argued, the name itself implies a conceptual unity; indeed, the history and etymology of the name in our ancient sources reveal fascinating attempts at appropriation.⁹¹ The unity of the Aegean, however, does not preclude the possibility that within that space there existed smaller regions, structured by the presence (and absence) of island groupings. The Aegean in other words is one sea, which encompasses smaller seas and regions.

This book is about Delos and its networks. In the case of Delos, it is the southern Aegean and its island groupings, the Cyclades and, perhaps to a lesser extent, the Dodekanese, that is the primary region for the Delian networks of interaction. In my previous work, I explored how the concept of the ‘islander’ was shaped in classical sources by the presence of the Athenian empire and its control over the Aegean islands.⁹² Within the Athenian imperial context of the fifth century, the words ‘island’ and ‘islander’ acquired connotations of weakness, danger, and contempt. The reality of the Athenian empire and its control over the islands contributed to a conceptual grouping of the islands, at least in the minds of the Athenians, where the word *nesiotes* (islander) became a synonym for the imperial subject.⁹³ Athenian imperial practice and ideology, therefore, treated the islands as a grouping and contributed to the creation of an externally imposed identity that turned a blind eye

a thorough discussion of which islands belong to the group according to different genres and historical contexts. Astypalaia, in particular, is a good example: geographically it is close to the eastern Cyclades, but occasionally it is clustered with the Dodekanese.

⁸⁸ Horden and Purcell 2000, 126. ⁸⁹ Dion. Hal. *Roman Antiquities*, 1.61.4.

⁹⁰ Constantakopoulou 2016a, esp. 68–70, discussing previous bibliography.

⁹¹ Ceccarelli 2012.

⁹² Constantakopoulou 2007, esp. 90–125. What follows is a summary of some of the conclusions of that work.

⁹³ See Constantakopoulou 2007, 76–84 for a discussion of Herodotus, Aristophanes, and Thucydides.

to the important differences between individual islands ('feeble' Seriphos, as opposed to wealthy, powerful Naxos, to give two extreme examples), but rather emphasized the homogeneous state of their fate: as islands, they had to be subjects to a thalassocratic power, such as fifth-century Athens. We lack the literary sources from the classical period that give us the islanders' own point of view. But what the Athenian imperial narratives do show is that the conceptual association between islands and weakness was an important feature of their collective identity from the Athenian point of view. Being an island, in other words, during the classical period also meant the adoption of a form of identity, with negative associations because of the imperial connotations of insularity.

Can we see, then, any form of collective identity in the region of the southern Aegean islands in our period? This is indeed one of the main questions that drove the research behind this book. While the Hellenistic period is not richer in terms of literary sources articulating the islanders' point of view than the fifth-century one, the existence of so many more inscriptions from Delos and the other south Aegean islands means that it is not impossible to provide an answer to the question of islander identity. I do not consider the presence of a coherent identity as a necessary feature for the existence of a region, especially when the region in question (the southern Aegean and its islands) is a landscape dominated by geographical fragmentation. What my examination of interaction and networks in the south Aegean reveals, I think, is that there was a certain degree of regional island identity, which in one particular case, came to be expressed by the presence of a federation, or *koinon*, of islands, called the Islanders' League.⁹⁴ Identity is a particularly elusive historical subject matter, as it is multifaceted, constantly negotiated, and adapted depending on context, and often contradictory. The kind of regional interaction that the evidence allows us to observe during the third century does result, I think, in the creation of a regional identity: this is the result of bottom-up interaction, which obviously affected the overall historical developments that took place in the contested space of the third-century Aegean.

Indeed, the last two decades or so have been a particularly fruitful period for the writing of the history of the Aegean. A number of scholars have written some excellent work on the history of the sea and its islands in the archaic, classical, Hellenistic, and Roman periods. The focus of these studies is often diverse: from the history of a single island and its relations to the wider island world, to an analysis of large sections of the Aegean, or specific island groupings.⁹⁵ Additionally, the history and archaeology of Delos continues to

⁹⁴ See Chapter 2.

⁹⁵ Rutishauser 2012 and Bonnin 2015 on the classical Cyclades and their relationship with Athens; Brun 1996 (a truly inspirational work), and more recently the essays in Bonnin and Le Quéré 2014 on the Aegean islands more generally; Archibald 2013 on the northern Aegean; Tully 2014 on the history of Paros; Le Quéré 2015 and Sweetman 2016 on the Roman Aegean; Deligiannakis 2016 on the late Antique eastern Aegean.

attract scholarly attention.⁹⁶ This book aims not only to contribute to scholarly discussions on the history of Delos, but also to enhance our understanding of the history of the southern Aegean, and the cultural, political, religious, and economic networks in that region.

Obviously, the topic of interactions in the southern Aegean islands, even during a relatively restricted time period, such as the third century, is a massive topic. Most (if not all) aspects of human life involve interactions of one type or another. In addition, the Aegean islands in the period in question experienced high degrees of maritime mobility. I certainly could not cover all aspects of interaction, as this is recorded in our ancient evidence. Rather, I decided to focus on four case studies for three reasons: first, the specific research areas exemplified different types of interaction, to the extent that we can differentiate between different areas, such as politics, the economy, culture, and religion; second, the four topics explored in this book could be researched, because of the ancient (mostly epigraphic) evidence that survived from the island of Delos; third, in some cases, such as the exploration of the social dynamics of dedication, the evidence has not been looked at by modern scholars for that particular purpose—in other words, I felt I had something important to contribute to scholarly discussion. This is not to say, therefore, that other aspects of interaction are not as important or that they are impossible to explore. I am certain that a careful analysis of coinage distribution would produce extremely fruitful results for the history of Aegean interactions. Similarly, amphora distribution could also potentially reveal patterns in economic interaction. This could be achieved through an examination of stamped amphora handles distribution in the Aegean,⁹⁷ while also keeping in mind that, as Lawall has argued so well, unstamped amphoras, which represent the bulk of the finds, have also an extremely important role to play in our reconstruction of traffic and movements of goods.⁹⁸ I have already explained why I decided not to address the issue of economic networks of interaction as these are represented in the Delian accounts.⁹⁹ The possibilities for further research on the subject of Aegean interactions are indeed numerous. I had to take a decision, however, to focus on those subjects that were feasible, interesting to me, and had the potential in highlighting different aspects of interaction.

The book, therefore, includes four case studies of interaction that, hopefully, complement each other. The first is the history of the Islanders' League, a

⁹⁶ In addition to the excellent work produced by the French School of Athens, see Tang 2005 on housing on Delos, Barrett 2011 on figurines, and Zarmakoupi 2013a, 2013b, and 2015 on recent archaeological discoveries and the inter-relationship between housing and economic activities.

⁹⁷ See now the excellent work by Panagou 2010, which provides the much needed comprehensive catalogue of all published amphora stamps distribution in the Greek world, and also her analysis in Panagou 2016.

⁹⁸ See Lawall 2005 and 2016.

⁹⁹ See previous section, 1.3.

federal organization of, mainly, the islands of the Cyclades.¹⁰⁰ The history of the League is relatively obscure, as there are no references to it in our literary sources. Epigraphic evidence, on the contrary, is relatively rich. The League produced decrees; through a careful analysis of a number of key inscriptions, we can reconstruct the history of the League, its membership, and what perhaps has attracted most scholarly attention, the complicated relationship between the League and its royal patrons, the Hellenistic Kings. My main argument is that the very existence of the League, and indeed the choice of its name ('Islanders', or *koinon ton nesioton*), reflects a strong sense of regional island identity. In other words, instead of scholarly narratives that explain the League in terms of a top-down intervention from the point of view of the Hellenistic kings, whether they are the Antigonids, who, in my understanding of the chronology, were the first patrons of the League, or the Ptolemies after them, I would like to emphasize the islanders' own agency in the negotiation of their position within the complex nexus of powers of the third-century Aegean. This is why, I suggest, the patronage of the League could change smoothly from one Hellenistic court to another (from the Antigonids to the Ptolemies, and later to the Rhodians) without considerable ruptures in the form of political interaction that the islands sustained during the early parts of the third century. The epigraphic evidence of the League reveals strong interaction between the island members in terms of political, cultural, and economic collaboration.

My second case study is anchored on the material culture of Delos, with particular emphasis on the processes of monumentalization of the sanctuary.¹⁰¹ The advent of Delian Independence, after the long period of Athenian control over the island and its sanctuary, had a critical impact in the use of public space. As Delos was an important regional sanctuary, with a significant island catchment area, investment in the sanctuary and its buildings was not the prerogative of the Delian community alone. Rather, already from an early period, outside communities and individuals invested in monumentalization in order to advertise to the Delian gods, the local community, and the expanding community of worshippers coming to the island, their piety, power, and wealth. My examination of the history of monumentalization of third-century Delos is structured around the question of funding: who funded the building of new constructions, or the repair and expansion of existing ones? In the case of Delos and its sanctuary, we can observe three main sources of funding: the public funding of the Delian community, the impressive royal investment, and, to a much lesser extent, as one would expect, the contributions of wealthy non-royal individuals. The history of monumentalization on Delos, therefore, reveals a different network of interaction between the island and the outside world;

¹⁰⁰ Chapter 2.¹⁰¹ Chapter 3.

indeed, a study of royal funding for monumentalization, in particular, exemplifies well, I think, the role of Delos in the constant construction and reconstruction of power networks between the Hellenistic royal houses and the Greek world.

The third case study looks into a different form of attestation of power relations in third-century Aegean.¹⁰² By examining the extensive Delian epigraphic record of honorary decrees and of other attestations of honours (such as entries in the accounts recording the cost for honours), I attempt to reconstruct the network of honoured individuals in the period of Independence. The vast majority of the evidence is proxeny decrees, that is, decrees honouring an individual from another community for his services to the community of the Delians, by making him proxenos, an honorary friend of the Delians. The Delian network of honours reveals different dynamics than the network of monumentalization or indeed the political network of the Islanders' League. The network of honours is geographically huge, and covers most of the Mediterranean littoral. The spread of the honours reveals the extent of the associations between prominent individuals and the Delian community: such associations, I argue, should not be viewed through the lens of a single interpretation, whether that is economic, diplomatic, or other. Rather, the geographic extent and the density of the Delian network of honours underlines the importance of Delos as a regional sanctuary with a considerable catchment area.

The importance of the sanctuary as a regional and inter-regional centre for communities and individuals to come and engage in a range of activities can be further illustrated by the final case study, which examines the social dynamics of dedication through a detailed analysis of the records preserved in the Delian inventories.¹⁰³ The inventories record the objects dedicated to the Delian deities (or rather the ones worthy of record, that is, mostly precious objects); often, they also record the name, patronymic, and ethnic of the dedicant, as well as the occasion for the dedication. The entries in the inventories are not straightforward, as there are duplications, omissions, and the ever-present problem of fragmentation. Yet, even in their fragmented state, the Delian inventories allow us to reconstruct who it was that came to Delos to dedicate objects to the gods. The inventories may not give us a comprehensive answer to the dynamics of pilgrimage, as many visitors did not necessarily dedicate objects, so that their name would not be recorded in the inventories. But the wealth of information they include in terms of ethnic origin, gender, and class dynamics, has been largely left untouched by modern scholars. The list of named dedicants can be found in Appendix 5. This forms the basis of my analysis. Some of my conclusions may seem unsurprising: that

¹⁰² Chapter 4.¹⁰³ Chapter 5.

is, that there are more male names than female ones, and that we see a clustering of dedicants originating from the southern Aegean islands, which is, after all, the main catchment area for the sanctuary of Delos. Unsurprising some of the conclusions may be, but this is the first time such an approach has been applied to the Delian inventories. The presence of women, in particular, is quite significant, compared to evidence from other sanctuaries, even though, as I argue, there is some conscious bias against the recording of female dedications (especially those by ‘common’ women, as opposed to royal individuals) from the point of view of the Delian administrators. The geographic spread in the inventories is immense, and shows how the Delians performed a remarkable achievement in enhancing the fame of their sanctuary.

The four case studies, therefore, hopefully complement each other in illustrating the extensive networks based on Delos during the third century. The Aegean interactions formed around Delos also appear in the literary evidence.¹⁰⁴ The main example comes from the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* (ll. 30–44). The list of places that Leto visited and was rejected from before she gave birth to the twin gods, Apollo and Artemis, may be interpreted as the poetic image of the links between Delos and the Aegean space in the archaic period. The poetic image of connections between different Aegean islands and spaces articulated in the *Homeric Hymn* may not necessarily represent actual connections but it does indicate the conceptual geographic groupings the poet and his audience understood Delos to belong to.¹⁰⁵ As McNerney argued, the hymn itself negotiates between local tensions and panhellenic identities, and becomes a way to build cross-regional networks.¹⁰⁶ I would alter very slightly the stress in the tensions between locality and panhellenism, and argue that rather the different identities expressed here are local (the Delian) and the largely regional Aegean one. The birth of Apollo on Delos is the focus of another great hymn: Callimachus’ *Hymn to Delos*. The historical context in this one is much more relevant to the project, as it is well-known that Callimachus expressed poetically the politics and ideology of the Ptolemaic court, to which he belonged. This is not to say that Callimachus was a simple mouthpiece of Ptolemaic propaganda: on the contrary, his nuanced and multilayered creations provided part-justification, part-critique of the changing geographic, political, economic, and cultural landscape of the third century.¹⁰⁷ Callimachus’ *Hymn to Delos* has a different list of places visited by Leto (ll. 41–50); its geographic context builds upon the *Homeric Hymn*, while also creating a poetic picture of a different world and the changed Delian

¹⁰⁴ See now the excellent analysis by Ceccarelli 2016.

¹⁰⁵ The bibliography on this aspect of the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* is quite vast: see Clay 2006, esp. 33–9 and Chappell 2011, and recently Hitch 2015, McNerney 2015, and Thomas 2016.

¹⁰⁶ McNerney 2015, 111.

¹⁰⁷ Stephens 2003 and 2015 are exemplary in this respect.

connections.¹⁰⁸ While the hymn may be reflecting an understanding of the Aegean from the point of view of the Ptolemaic royal circle, it does not directly help us to understand the Delian networks as the Delians themselves experienced them and reflected upon them. For that, the epigraphic record alone can provide an insight to the islanders' life and their view of the changing world around them.

¹⁰⁸ Bing 1988, 91–143, Bruneau 1990b, Asper 2011, Giuseppetti 2013, Stephens 2015, 157–62.

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2

The Politics of Connectivity

A History of the Islanders' League

2.1. INTRODUCTION

In the late fourth century, the southern Aegean islands formed a federal organization called the Islanders' League, or, Nesiotic League (*koinon ton nesioton*).¹ This is a fascinating political formation that only recently began to attract the attention that it deserves.² More particularly, in the past, the main focus of scholarship has centered on the discussion of date, membership, and patronage.³ Indeed, as we have seen in Chapter 1, such an approach characterizes many scholarly works on the third century BC. When we do lack the details of a main narrative framework, in terms of political history or history of events, it is very difficult to move beyond the gaps in our knowledge and talk about cultural constructions of identity, or indeed, the attestation of interactions, which is the main interest of this particular project. Therefore, when we are exploring the history of the Islanders' League, questions of membership, of its initial date of creation, and furthermore, the historic instances and contexts when specific influences by a royal court appears in our sources are certainly very important as they provide the fundamental background for any analysis of the League and its features. It is true that without sorting out when the League came to be and whether it was created under the influence of the Antigonids or the Ptolemies, or how many islands participated in this organization, we cannot proceed to any proper investigation of this federal organization, nor can we move to explore questions of

¹ This chapter is derived in part from Constantakopoulou 2012, an article published in *Mediterranean Historical Review* in 2012, available online: <http://www.tandfonline.com/>, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09518967.2012.669147>.

² See recently Buraselis 2012, 2013, and 2015, Rutishauser 2012, 207–9, and Meadows 2013.

³ See Bagnall 1976, Buraselis 1982, esp. 180–7 for a collection of all the epigraphic testimonia, Nigdelis 1990, 210–12. The decrees issued by the Islanders' League are collected in Rhodes with Lewis 1997, 297–8.

identity and patterns of interaction. Similarly, the lack of definite dates for a number of key events in the history of the southern Aegean during the third century poses significant problems. As I discussed in Chapter 1, I do not wish to enter the long and detailed debates about chronology of key events of the third century, and whether we can link the foundation, and subsequent transformation of the Islanders' League, with such events. From my point of view, the importance of this League lies in the very fact of its existence, and in its peculiar name, Islanders' League.

Rather than entering debates about third-century narrative history and history of events, my purpose here is slightly different. I am interested in attempting to overcome the limitations we have in terms of ancient sources and the lack of a continuous narrative of events in order to provide an analysis of the League which focuses on expressions of identity and patterns of interactions between the southern Aegean islands during the late fourth and third centuries BC. The Islanders' League, in particular, is a fascinating case study for an examination of the changing world of power and control in the Aegean. The League has been viewed traditionally, as we shall see in section 3 of this chapter, as a way through which the Hellenistic royal houses, especially the Ptolemies and Antigonids, constructed and maintained their control over this heavily contested geographic region. What I would like to argue is that such an approach takes away from the islanders themselves any degree of agency. Rather than viewing the League as essentially a royal Hellenistic protectorate, I believe that the League created a new form of political-religious organization, which succeeded in negotiating the islanders' identity in the changing landscapes of power of the eastern Mediterranean in the early Hellenistic period. I propose that the formation of the League and the choice of name can be interpreted as a positive act of affirmation of identity in the southern Aegean. I therefore suggest that the Islanders' League of the late fourth and third centuries can be interpreted as a reaction to external powers through the consolidation of local regional island identity. Identity appears thus as a dynamic process, constructed and transformed by the variable relationship between locality and the external influences in an area; the Islanders' League is, I believe, an exemplary instance of the creation of identity as resistance to and reaction to external powers within the interconnected space of the southern Aegean.

In viewing the League as an attestation of local regional identity, I wish to add to the discussions on the multilayered contexts in which identity should be viewed in the ancient world.⁴ Residents and citizens of islands (among other places) had many different ways of identifying themselves depending on context, surroundings, and activity. Primarily, in contexts outside their own

⁴ See recently the essays included in Taylor and Vlassopoulos 2015.

political community, their polis, citizens identified themselves using their polis ethnic. The polis ethnic provides the primary form of political identity in the ancient Greek world. In my previous work, I explored some of the ways that citizens of islands that had more than one polis, such as Ceos, Myconos, or Rhodes (for parts of its history), identified themselves using their island ethnic instead of their polis ethnic. Such a use of ethnic showed, I argued, another active layer of local identity: an insular instead of a (strict) political one.⁵ The complex issue of using an ethnic as an indicator of identity, or belonging, especially when attested in epigraphic documents, is further discussed in Chapter 5.⁶ The formation of the League in the late fourth century added an additional parameter in the possibilities of ethnic identification for the islanders of the southern Aegean. It is this aspect that specifically interests me: how the islanders created a new form of political-religious organization and negotiated their identity in the changing landscapes of power of the eastern Mediterranean in the early Hellenistic period. My primary chronological focus is the early stages of the Islanders' League, when the headquarters were based on Delos. The League reappeared in the second century, when it came under the protection of the Rhodians, who placed its headquarters on the island of Tenos.⁷ A discussion of the second-century League, however, would go beyond the chronological focus of this book.

2.2. EVIDENCE, DATES, STRUCTURE, MEMBERSHIP

One of the main issues with the history of the League is its complete absence from any ancient literary work. It is true that the narrative of events of the late fourth century and early third century is patchy, at best; still, it is fascinating that this federal organization, which produced honorific and other decrees, established festivals, and engaged in a number, as we shall see, of different activities, did not leave any trace in the literary record of the period. Rather, it is epigraphic evidence that once more provides us with the main evidence and allows us to glimpse at the multifaceted undertakings of this federal organization.

Our first piece of evidence is a decree issued by the League, which regulates the new festival in honour of Demetrios; this should be held, the decree informs us, in the same manner as the already established festival in honour of Antigonos.⁸ This implies that the new festival of Demetrieia post-dated the

⁵ Constantakopoulou 2005.

⁶ See Chapter 5.3.

⁷ For the Islanders' League under Rhodian patronage see Thompson 1971, Berthold 1984, 97–9 and 142–4, Sippel 1986, Etienne 1988, 1990, 106–24, Reger 1992, Sheedy 1996, Gabrielsen 1997, 56–63, Wiemer 2002, 271–6. Badoud 2014, Buraselis 2015, 363–5.

⁸ *IG* XI.4 1036 = *Choix* 13 = *Kotsidu* 120 E 1.

already established festival of the Antigoneia. The decree most probably passed in 307; this would rest on the festival of the Antigoneia being established in the period between 314 and 311.⁹ We should therefore identify the Antigonos and Demetrios mentioned in the decree with Antigonos Monophthalmos and Demetrios Poliorketes, as opposed to any other combination of Antigonoi and Demetrioι.

Recently, Meadows attempted to go against this generally accepted view, in order to suggest that the pair of kings mentioned in this decree are, in fact, Antigonos Gonatas and his son Demetrios.¹⁰ This would imply that the earliest reference to activities by the League were Ptolemaic (which we shall discuss below in this section); in other words, the League itself was instigated by the Ptolemies, and the Antigonids took over the overall patronage at a later date. A considerable section of his argument rests on the letter forms of the decree establishing the festival for Demetrios, following the format of the festival for Antigonos (*IG XI.4 1036*). I find arguments based on letter forms particularly problematic; if, indeed, the whole saga of the fifth-century three-barred sigma debate has taught us anything it is that historical context should always take precedence in the dating of difficult inscriptions; letter forms should be viewed as largely secondary.¹¹ Second, the suggestion that the dating of the establishment of the Demetrieia festival (and the Antigoneia festival, which pre-exist the decree itself) is in the middle of the third century goes against the solid epigraphic evidence we have from the Delian inventories lists and accounts, which clearly show that as early as 296, there was a celebration of an Antigoneia festival on the island.¹² It is true that the reference to the Antigoneia in the accounts of 296 does not prove that this was a festival celebrated by the League; it could be, in fact, a local Delian Antigoneia festival.¹³ Yet, evidence for a local Delian Antigoneia festival comes only later, with the dedication of *phialai* in the inventories that post-date the early third-century. The reference to an Antigoneia festival in the accounts

⁹ Date of 307 argued by Buraselis 1982, 67, and followed by Reger 1994a 31, Kotsidu in her commentary (120 E 1), and Hauben 2010, 108. An alternative date for the decree and the introduction of the festival of Demetrieia may be 306, after Demetrios' victory at Salamis. We have a reference to this festival of the Antigoneia in the inventory list of Delos of 296 (*IG XI.2 154A 42*); the reasonable assumption is that the festival must predate 296. We should also distinguish between the Antigoneia festival on Delos founded by the Islanders' League and that founded by Antigonos Gonatas: Gonatas founded four festivals, one of which was an Antigoneia, in 256. See Bruneau 1970, 564–8, and discussion in Chapters 3.5 and 5.6.

¹⁰ Meadows 2013.

¹¹ Three-barred sigma debate and the dating of the Athenian fifth-century decrees: see recently the re-evaluation by Rhodes 2008, Papazarkadas 2009, and Matthaïou 2010, following largely Mattingly's 1996 proposed datings.

¹² *IG XI.2 154A 42*, discussed by Meadows 2013, but disregarded. See also recently Buraselis 2013, 175 with n. 6 and especially 2015, 360–1, who does not believe that we can easily disregard the evidence pointing to the origins of the League in the period before Ptolemy.

¹³ See discussion in Chapter 5.6 about the festivals and their listing in the Delian inventories.

of 296, therefore, can only be a festival different than the one celebrated by the Delians. The only reasonable assumption, I believe, is that the Antigoneia festival in 296 was that celebrated by the Islanders' League.¹⁴ The implication of such a dating and identification for the festival of the Antigoneia is that the decree setting up the festival of Demetria, which should be celebrated like the Antigoneia, must pre-date 296. Indeed, I find that rather than performing argumentative gymnastics by disregarding the evidence pointing to an Antigoniid origin for the League in the late fourth century, and consequently moving the decree setting up the festival of the Demetria to the middle of the third century, as Meadows does, it is preferable to argue, with Buraselis, that the evidence for the first phase of the League is simply scant.¹⁵

Let us turn back our attention to the decree setting up the festival of the Demetria itself: the decree mentions 'delegates' (*synedroi*) of the *koinon* and a meeting (*synodos*).¹⁶ The League frankly admits that it does not know where the money for the next celebration is going to come from.¹⁷ The decree may date from 307, but it seems that the Islanders' League already existed by that date, since the festival of the Antigoneia, managed by the League, is already established. The decree allows us to assume that the Islanders' League was the body responsible for the festival in honour of Antigonos, as it is here presented as responsible for the festival for Demetrios.

If the Nesiotic League existed by the late 310s, when the festival in honour of Antigonos was probably established, when was it created? It is likely that an official inauguration of the League took place in 313: during that year Dioscourides, who was Antigonos' nephew and in command of a considerable naval force, sailed in the Cyclades in order to protect the islands and coastal cities from Ptolemy's fleet.¹⁸ Dioscourides' voyage through the islands must have played a considerable part in maintaining island loyalties for the Antigoniid side, against possible Ptolemaic influence. It is therefore probable that the festival of the Antigoneia was linked with this moment of 'liberation' of the southern Aegean islands.¹⁹

The fact that the Islanders' League was responsible for the festival of the Antigoneia does not mean that the celebration of the festival was the only factor behind its creation. We may lack the evidence for this first phase of the

¹⁴ Bruneau 1970, 564–8. ¹⁵ Buraselis 2015, esp. 361.

¹⁶ IG XI.4 1036 6 refers to a *σύνδοδος* and 7 refers to *συνέδρους*.

¹⁷ IG XI.4 1036 39–41: *καὶ σκέψασθαι ὅθεν ἔσται πα[ρέχουσαι τὸ] ἀργύριον ἀφ' οὗ τὰ Δημητρία ποιή[σουσι τὸν ἕσ]τερον χρόνον.*

¹⁸ Diod. 19.62.9: [Antigonos] *τῶν δ' ἄλλων ναυάρχων καταστήσας Διοσκουρίδην τὸν ἀδελφιδεὸν προσέταξε περιπλεῖν τοῖς τε συμμάχοις παρεχόμενον τὴν ἀσφάλειαν καὶ τῶν νήσων τὰς μὴ πῶ μετεχούσας τῆς συμμαχίας προσαγόμενον.* For the incident and a discussion of the date see Buraselis 1982, 41–2, Vial 1984, 1–3, and Billows 1990, 117–18 with n. 45.

¹⁹ For the concept of liberation and freedom (*ἐλευθερία*) as an appropriate vehicle of international affairs in the Hellenistic period see Gruen 1984, 134–43, and Carlsson 2010.

history of the League, but, as we shall see, honouring the king with a festival celebration was not necessarily an imposition from the top upon weak subjects. In other words, the creation of the League and the celebration of the festival in honour of Antigonos and later Demetrios may have been a genuine expression of gratitude by the Aegean islands, which formed the League as an appropriate vehicle for bestowing honours to the kings.²⁰ It is also unclear whether Antigonos or the islanders themselves were behind the initiative. Even if the balance of power rested with Antigonos in this particular period, we should not deny the islanders the ability to provide the initiative themselves.

With the exception of the decree regulating the running of the festival of the Demetria, which we discussed above, we have no other information as to how the League was structured. According to the decree, it seems that the council of the League was in a position to request financial contributions from the member states and impose penalties for non-compliance. This implied a certain degree of formalized structure and the presence of the necessary mechanisms for demanding that contributions were met in accordance to the agreements between the member states. The League had obviously religious responsibilities, such as that of organizing the two festivals, the Antigoneia and the Demetria; it probably had Delos as its headquarters, since the decree regulating the festivals was found there. But beyond these meagre details, we are left in the dark as to the nature of membership or indeed any obligations of the member states beyond the purely fiscal ones. An additional piece of evidence as to the obligations of the members of the League in the Antigonid period comes from an inscription from Nemea, in the Peloponnese.²¹ The document is a list of soldiers (*pezoi*), which includes soldiers from Ceos, Cythnos, and possibly, if the restoration is correct, Myconos. As the Ptolemies were hardly active in the Peloponnese in the first half of the third century, it is reasonable to agree with Geagan that this must refer to Antigonos and Demetrios and their activities in the Peloponnese, which included recruitment of soldiers.²² This is certainly not a straightforward piece of evidence in relation to military activity of the League. However, I do find Geagan's interpretation convincing.²³ It seems, then, that other than throwing festivals in

²⁰ We can witness similar expressions of gratitude in the bestowing of divine honours to Antigonos Monophthalmos and Demetrios Poliorketes in Athens: see Plut. *Dem.* 10 and Douris *FGH* 76 F 13 = Ath. 6.253d-f. See Habicht 1970 and Chaniotis 2003, for an interpretation of the practice of bestowing divine honours to Hellenistic rulers within the context of Hellenistic relations and traditions.

²¹ Geagan 1968, number 1.

²² Geagan 1968. For Antigonid activities in the Peloponnese see Diod. 19.74.1: Telesphoros' campaign to the Peloponnese; Diod. 19.60.1: Aristodemos sent to the Peloponnese; he recruited troops, while there.

²³ Buraselis 2015, 363, with n. 14, finds it a very problematic piece of evidence for military activities of the League, and suggests that the list from Nemea may in fact 'reflect the possibility

honour of the kings, some of the islands of the League, if not the League itself, were responsible for providing troops for the king's campaigns. The inscription itself does not mention the League,²⁴ but the listing of islanders may imply that this was lined with the League's activity. I would still, however, not see this as necessarily an expression of a 'hard top-down' approach²⁵ of harsh rule from the king to his 'subjects'. Participating in the army offered the islanders opportunities for regular payment, and was therefore not necessarily the result of harsh conscriptions strategies.

We are on better ground when we examine the Islanders' League during the period of Ptolemaic influence. We owe much of our knowledge to one of the most important inscriptions of the first half of the third century that concerns the Aegean islands. This is the famous Nicouria decree, named after the small islet Nicouria, off Amorgos, where it was discovered (*IG XII.7 506* = Kotsidu 131 [E 1]). This is a decree of the League replying to the earlier appeal by Ptolemy II that the League should send delegates to Samos to discuss the League's participation in games and sacrifices in honour of Ptolemy I with the king of the Sidonians Philocles and the Nesiarch Bacchon. The reason for the honours for Ptolemy I are given in the text of the decree: because Ptolemy I 'was the cause of so many good things for both the Islanders and the other Greeks, having freed the cities and returned their laws and re-established the ancestral constitution for all and relieved (l. 16 *kouphisas*) them from taxes'.²⁶ In response to Ptolemy's I benefaction, and also to the continuing benefaction of Ptolemy II, the islanders agree to send sacred *theoroi* to the rites in Alexandria and to regard the competitions as equal in rank to the Olympic games (l. 39 *isolympion*). The Islanders further decree to award Ptolemy II a golden crown and to proclaim their edict in all the members of the League. Finally, after agreeing on how to share the costs of this undertaking, the Islanders choose three representatives: Glaukon from Cythnos, Kleokritos from Andros, and [Kalli]as from Naxos.²⁷

that the Aegean islands entered the Hellenic League of the Antigonids in 302 BC'. I do agree that this possibility should also be taken into account.

²⁴ Argument put forward by Meadows 2013, 24–5, in order to disregard this piece of evidence, in order to argue for a foundation date of the League under the Ptolemies; see however, the discussion above, in this section.

²⁵ I have adopted Davies' 2002 terminology of different approaches to Hellenistic kingship rule.

²⁶ *IG XII.7 506* 11–16: ἐπειδὴ ὁ [β]ασιλεὺς καὶ σωτὴρ Πτολεμαῖος πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν αἴτιος ἐγένετο τοῖς [τ]ε νησιώταις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἕλλησιν, τὰς τε π[ό]λεις ἐλευθερώσας καὶ τοὺς νόμους ἀποδοὺς [κ]αὶ τῆμ πατρίωμ πολιτείαμ πᾶσιν καταστήσα[ς] καὶ τῶν εἰσφορῶν κουφίσας. I understand *κουφίσας* as 'remitting' taxes, rather than making taxes lighter for the members of the League.

²⁷ *IG XII.7 506* 61–2. I accept Paschidis' 2008, 419 suggestion that the *theoros* from Naxos must be Kallias, attested in another inscription as a *theoros* to Alexandria in roughly the same period: see *IG XI.4 1037*.

This is an extremely important inscription for a number of reasons. Primarily, the reason for its notoriety is that it includes one of the most detailed descriptions of a cult given to a Hellenistic king, and one of the earliest pieces of information for honours offered to Ptolemy as equal to those of a god (l. 28).²⁸ I shall discuss the problems with the date below. But for the time being, we should note some striking features of this decree.

First, one of the key reasons for the honours voted by the League of the Islanders for Ptolemy I is his liberation of the poleis.²⁹ Discourses of liberation were a prominent part of Antigonos and Demetrios' policies in the Greek world. The adoption, therefore, of the same vocabulary for Ptolemy's 'benefaction' onto the Aegean world implies that the League of the Islanders recognized Ptolemy, in the place of the Antigonids, as the principal Hellenistic king, with whom relationships needed to be regulated on a mutually accepted basis. Additionally, if we are right in interpreting the festival in honour of Antigonos (and later Demetrios) discussed above, as an expression of gratitude for the 'liberation' of the islands in 313 or later, then we would expect a new festival in honour of the Ptolemies to be introduced on Delos, which would replace the Antigoneia and Demetriaia.³⁰ The decree itself implies that the Islanders already offer Ptolemy I Soter honours equal to those of a god (*isotheois timais*),³¹ while the decree is to be published on Delos 'next to the altar of Ptolemy [I] Soter'.³² As we shall see below in this section, the League of the Islanders was indeed responsible for the organization of a festival of Ptolemaieia on Delos.³³

Second, the decree reveals a strong reciprocal relationship of awards and honours between the Islanders and Ptolemy II. The decree itself is a response

²⁸ The bibliography on Ptolemy's festival and cult is enormous; I will therefore restrict myself to a handful of references, mostly recent ones: Walbank 1996 stressed that the festival and great procession of the Ptolemaieia acted as a celebration of Macedonian heritage, while also incorporating native elements into the festivities; Hazzard 2000 proposed a new date for the Ptolemaieia festival and the date of the procession (but see criticism in Chaniotis 2007a); Thompson 2000 emphasized the Mediterranean aspect of the festival of the Ptolemaieia; Wikander 2005, includes an analysis of the inscription within the context of ruler cult; Hauben 2010 stressed the local initiative for the cult of Ptolemy I.

²⁹ See IG XII.7 506 14: τὰς τε π[όλ]εις ἐλευθέρωσας.

³⁰ That the new festival of the Ptolemaieia on Delos replaced the previous Antigoneia and Demetriaia festivals is argued by Bruneau 1970, 532–3, and 565–6, followed by Hauben 2010, 111.

³¹ IG XII.7 506 27–9: προ[σῆκ]ει πᾶσι τοῖς νησιώταις τετιμηκόσμι πρότερον τ]ὸν σωτήρα Πτολεμαίων ἰσοθέοις τιμαῖ[s]. I have accepted here the generally agreed restoration of πρότερον for the honours awarded to Ptolemy. For a discussion of whether we should accept πρώτοις instead see Hauben 2010. The difference between the two readings is substantial. As Hauben 2010, 114, argued, the difference between an omicron in πρότερον and an omega in πρώτοις would mean that either 'the Islanders [were] the "first" to worship Ptolemy as Soter' (πρώτοις) or that their local cult only 'preceded' the imperial one organized in Alexandria (πρότερον).

³² IG XII.7 506 48–9: καὶ [στήσαι ἐν] Δήλωι παρὰ τὸν βωμὸν τοῦ σωτήρος [Πτ]ολε[μαίου]. This altar has not been identified.

³³ See below n. 71.

to the appeal made by Ptolemy to the League; what we see, then, is a process in which the king appeals to the League, which then responds (obviously and emphatically) in a positive manner, by participating in the festival in honour of Ptolemy I in Alexandria,³⁴ and by bestowing honours for Ptolemy II. The decree is therefore the result of a dialogue between the king and the League. The balance of power may rest with the Hellenistic king, but this is not to say that the Islanders have no input in the matter. On the contrary, we can reconstruct the initial appeal of Ptolemy II to the League as one genuinely concerned with gaining the acceptance of the League (and of the Greek poleis) for the recognition of the new festival in honour of his father, Ptolemy I, as equivalent to the Olympic games (l. 21 *isolympion*). Such a recognition of the competition would not only attach great status and prestige to the newly founded festival, but would also solve an important practical problem. As Slater recently argued,³⁵ the acceptance by participating competitors that a competition was *isolympion* or *isopythion* meant that the rules of the various events in the competition would be the same as the well-known rules of the 'big' panhellenic games. The success of the competitions in a newly established festival depended on the participation of famous athletes or musicians.³⁶ By recognizing the festival as *isolympion*, the Islanders provided the necessary framework in which the festival and competitions could take place. Indeed, the element of reciprocity between host and invitee, as Thompson argued, was an essential part of such occasions.³⁷ The reciprocal relationship between the king and the Greek poleis has been the focus of much new research on Hellenistic kingship, particularly in the area of the poleis of western Asia Minor, where the types of evidence that survive encourage such a reading.³⁸ What we lack is a similar analysis for the relationship between the Ptolemies and the world of the Aegean: modern scholarship until recently interpreted the Islanders' League as simply a tool for better control of the area by the Antigonids and later the Ptolemies.³⁹ I suggest that we should look at the honours offered to Ptolemy I and II by the League not as evidence of the ways through which the

³⁴ The Ptolemaieia referred to in the decree, which took place in Alexandria, needs to be distinguished from the other three Ptolemaieia festivals known during the third century in Delos. These are established by Ptolemy II and III in 286, 249, and 246: see Bruneau 1970, 519–25. To these three Ptolemaieia festivals, we should also add another Ptolemaieia festival, regulated by the League of the Islanders, for which see *IG XI.4 1038* = Kotsidu 131 [E 2]. For the consequences of a possible confusion between the various references to Ptolemaieia festivals see Criscuolo 2003, 320–1. See also the discussion in Chapters 3.5 and 5.6.

³⁵ Slater 2007, 27.

³⁶ The Ptolemaieia festival in Alexandria included musical and athletic competitions: see ll. 21–2 of the decree.

³⁷ Thompson 2000, 369.

³⁸ See for example, Ma 2000. See Davies 2002, 1–2, for the observation that the nature of evidence from the cities of western Asia Minor encourages modern interpretations of reciprocity.

³⁹ See for example comments in Berthold 1984, 97, n. 47, where the League is presented as a 'convenient mechanism of control' for the Hellenistic kings.

king exercised control over the area of the Aegean, but rather as attesting a dialectic relationship of power, and as the result of negotiation of power from the point of view of the Islanders.

The date of the decree is inextricably linked with the date of the establishment of the first Ptolemaieia festival in Alexandria, as well as with the question of the deification of Ptolemy I Soter. The dates of the decree, the festival, and the deification of Ptolemy I, however, are debated. It is beyond the scope of this work to enter the debate in detail and discuss the notorious problems of Ptolemaic chronology; I would rather stay out of such discussions altogether. What I would like to say is that I follow the generally accepted date of 280/79 for the decree,⁴⁰ with the festival taking place in the following year, in the winter of 279/8.⁴¹

As the Nicouria decree is the first evidence we have for the League of the Islanders after the Antigonid period of influence, we must place the transition of the League's affiliation from the Antigonids to the Ptolemies before 280. It is extremely difficult, however, to define at which exact point in time this transition took place. The earliest evidence we have for a Ptolemaic official active in the Aegean is the appearance of Zenon in two decrees. The first instance is an Athenian honorary decree, dated to 286/5, that honours Zenon for supplying grain to Athens (*IG II² 650 = Syll.³ 367*).⁴² The second decree places Zenon at the heart of Ptolemaic operations in the Aegean and may be used as an indication for the beginnings of Ptolemaic interference in the Aegean. This decree, issued by the island of Ios, honours Zenon for his efforts in recapturing some slaves that escaped from the island on board some 'undecked' ships (*IG XII.5 1004 = OGIS 773*).⁴³ Zenon appears in the

⁴⁰ For a date in 280 see Fraser 1972, I 231, Will 1966, I 202, Buraselis 1982, 180, Kotsidu 131 [E 1], p. 206, Thompson 2000, Hauben 2004, Paschidis 2008, 393 with n. 1, Meadows 2013, 28. The argument is that the proclamation of the festival must come after 281 and the battle of Couropedion, which placed Samos, which is the location for the gathering of the *synedroi* in the decree, under Ptolemaic influence: see Hauben 2004, 39–40 with n. 73. Hazzard 2000 suggested 263 for the decree (with 262 for the celebration of the festival), but his argument is not convincing. In other words, I accept that the decree presupposes that Ptolemy II had recently assumed power (283) and this is really about the establishment of the festival in order to honour his dead father, not a reform of an already existing festival (this latter is argued by Hazzard). Recently, Tully 2013 suggested that the decree should be dated to 282; he argues that we should not assume that the decree must come after the battle of Couropedion, which placed Samos within the Ptolemaic sphere of influence. While I applaud his understanding of the Aegean as a multipolar space, it does not really affect my overall argument whether the decree is dated to 282 or (the traditionally accepted date) 280.

⁴¹ See Thompson 2000 summarizing the evidence. There is the additional problem of attaching the description of the festival's procession, by Callixeinos of Rhodes (*FGrH 627 F2*), preserved in Athenaeus 5.197c–203b, to a specific celebration of the Ptolemaieia. I accept Walbank 1996, and Thompson's 2000 convincing arguments that Athenaeus' passage can only make sense as a description of the original Ptolemaieia, against Foertmeyer 1988.

⁴² Discussed in Shear 1978, 20–1, Merker 1970, 150, and Buraselis 1982, 185.

⁴³ *IG XII.5 1004 = OGIS 773 l. 5: περι τῶν ἀνδραπόδων τῶν ἀποδράντων ἐξ Ἰου ἐπὶ τῶν πλοίων τῶν ἀφράκτων.*

inscription as in charge of ships, with trierarchs under his command, while Bacchon, the Nesiarch, who as we shall see was one of the main officials of the League of the Islanders, appears to have 'left' Zenon behind.⁴⁴ The decree from Ios, therefore, shows that a Ptolemaic fleet was sailing in the Aegean, stopping at Ios and providing the island with valuable help in time of an emergency. It is reasonable to assume that the decree shows that Ios was a member of the Islanders' League,⁴⁵ and as Zenon is also honoured in 286/5 in Athens for similar acts of support, it is reasonable, I believe, to argue that the Islanders' League, under Ptolemaic patronage, was up and running in 286/5,⁴⁶ although this date, as Meadows argued, can only be used as a 'very rough approximation'.⁴⁷

The Nicouria decree is the most detailed piece of evidence we have for the structure of the Islanders' League in this period. Using the decree, as well as additional epigraphic documents, we can produce a relatively elaborate account of the way the League operated.

The Islanders' League had officers, called, appropriately, Nesiarchs. The Nicouria decree refers to Bacchon as a Nesiarch (*IG XII.7 506 2–3*). Bacchon appears a number of times in the Delian accounts and inventories, and is also honoured with two statues by the League.⁴⁸ The two honorific inscriptions on

⁴⁴ 'Left behind' is the translation for *καταληφθείς* in l. 2: *ἐπειδὴ Ζήνων ὁ καταλειφθείς ὑπὸ Βάκχωνος τοῦ νησίαρχ[ου]*. See Merker 1970, 150.

⁴⁵ See Bagnall 1976, 146–8.

⁴⁶ We get a tantalizing glimpse of an even earlier date for the transition to Ptolemaic patronage for the League in the references to Apollodoros, son of Apollonios, of Cyzikos, a Nesiarch. In the Delian accounts, Apollodoros appears as a debtor of the temple, paying 10 drachmas interest a year on a loan, beginning at the end of the fourth century, at about 308–306 (*IG XI.2 142, 14*), until 274. After that, he is carried as an unpaying debtor. He is also a donor to the temple, and voted proxenos by the demos of the Delians in *IG XI.4 562 = Choix 20* (see Chapter 4.3 with n. 154). For a full list of references of Apollodoros on Delos see Tréheux 1992, 27, s.v. *Ἀπολλόδορος Ἀπολλωνίου Κυζικηνός*, and Paschidis 2008, 532–4. Apollodoros is called a Nesiarch in an inscription from Cyzikos which refers to a statue that the Parians set up for him, which, however, cannot be dated with any certainty: Michel, *Recueil* 534. Merker 1970, 152–3, followed by Bagnall 1976, 137–8, argued that he could not have been an active Ptolemaic official in the region and cease his payments to the Delian temple, while remaining in his position. And as we can be certain that Bacchon was Nesiarch in the period between 286 and 280, for which see below, in this section and nn. 48, 19, and 50 the implication is that Apollodoros was Nesiarch before 286. The date of transition, therefore, must be before 286. Recently, however, Paschidis 2008, 423–4 and 532–4 argued that Apollodoros served as a Nesiarch after Bacchon; in fact, Apollodoros the Nesiarch, honoured by Paros (Michel, *Recueil* 534) should not necessarily be identified with the Apollodoros in the Delian accounts. Paschidis' argument is very persuasive, but does not change the fact that even if Apollodoros is placed chronologically after Bacchon, the date of transition in the early 280s, or more precisely 288, remains unchanged. Reger 1994a, 32 argued that Apollodoros was the first Nesiarch of the League, and that he was appointed by the Antigonids, but this depends on a dating of his honorary inscription in the fourth century. For a date of transition in 288: see Billows 1990, 221, Reger 1994b, 32 and 34, Paschidis 2008, 419 with n. 4, Hauben 2010, 109.

⁴⁷ Meadows 2013, 27.

⁴⁸ Honorific inscriptions on the statues of Bacchon on Delos: *IG XI.4 1125* and *1126*. Full list of references in Tréheux 1992, 33, s.v. *Βάκχων Νικήτου Βοιώτιος*. For the dedications of Bacchon

the statues reveal that Bacchon was from Boiotia, and therefore not an ‘islander’ himself. It therefore makes sense to understand the Nesiarch as essentially a Ptolemaic official; indeed, none of three Nesiarchs of whom we know are from the Aegean islands.⁴⁹ In order to deduce anything about the role of the Nesiarch from the extremely fragmentary evidence we have, we need to focus on Bacchon, as he is the one about whom we are best informed.⁵⁰ In the Nicouria decree, Bacchon acts with Philocles, king of the Sidonians, as the intermediary between the king and the Greek cities.⁵¹ He is superior in command to other officers, such as Zenon, who, as we have seen, was in charge of some ‘undecked’ ships, which stopped at Ios and helped the community recover its escaped slaves.⁵² Bacchon is also mentioned in an honorary decree for Philocles, king of the Sidonians, issued by the demos of the Delians for his role in recovering money that the Islanders owed to the sanctuary.⁵³ The inscription is very fragmentary at the point of reference to Bacchon,⁵⁴ but it is clear that he played an important role in recovering the money, either by sailing with a fleet to the islands in debt, or perhaps, as Migeotte argued,⁵⁵ using the powerful language of persuasion in local assemblies (which would be, no doubt, enhanced by the presence of a fleet). Another decree, this time from Carthaia, a polis on the island of Ceos, highlights some of Bacchon’s activities.⁵⁶ The Carthaians seem to have faced some sort of internal strife, so they approached Bacchon to provide them with a resolution (*oikonomia*). Bacchon’s *oikonomiai* did not resolve the crisis, so the Carthaians approached Philocles, king of the Sidonians and he responded by sending foreign judges.

on Delos see Rigsby 1980. For the significance of the Boiotian origin of Bacchon see recently Lagos 2009, esp. 85–9.

⁴⁹ Argument stressed in Buraselis 1982, 81–3, 2013, 175, and 2015, 362. For Apollodoros, son of Apollonios, of Cyzikos see n. 46 above. We also know of a third Nesiarch, Hermias, possibly from Halicarnassos: see honorary decree by the demos of the Delians for Hermias from Halicarnassos in *IG* XI.4 565. This must be the same Hermias as Hermias the Nesiarch: there is a reference to Hermias the Nesiarch in the accounts of 179: *ID* 442 B71. He first appears in 268, setting up the festival of Philadelpheia in honour of Arsinoe Philadelphos: see *IG* XI.2 287B 112–19. For a list of references to Hermias see Tréheux 1992, 44, s.v. *Ἑρμίας ὁ νησιάρχος, Ἀλικαρνασσεύς*. For the festival of Philadelpheia founded by Hermias see Bruneau 1970, 529–30, and the discussion in Chapter 5.5. For the identification of the Nesiarch Hermias with the Hermias from Halicarnassos see Buraselis 1982, 182. See also Chapter 5, n. 49.

⁵⁰ For Bacchon and his career see Merker 1970, Bagnall 1976, 153, Hauben 2004, 41–3.

⁵¹ *IG* XII.6 5–6 = Kotsidu 131 [E 1] ll. 2–4.

⁵² *IG* XII.5 1004 = *OGIS* 773.

⁵³ *IG* XI.4 559 = *Choix* 18 = Migeotte 47. Migeotte rightly highlights the ambiguity of the term ‘Delians’ in line 6 of this inscription: *περὶ τῶν χρημάτων ἔν [ᾧ]φει]λον οἱ νησιῶται Δηλίους*: it must mean the sanctuary and its administration, rather than the demos. See also the discussion on the reasoning behind honours in Chapter 4.3.

⁵⁴ Unfortunately, similar is the reference to Bacchon in an honorary inscription of the Islanders’ League to Sostratos, son of Dexiphanes, from Cnidos: see *IG* XI.4 1038 = Kotsidu 131 [E 2].

⁵⁵ Migeotte 1984, 163.

⁵⁶ *IG* XII.5 1065. For a reconstruction of the historical context for this decree see Bagnall 1976, 144.

In this case, it seems that the Nesiarch was the first point of contact for local dispute resolution, which could then be taken all the way to the higher Ptolemaic official, Philocles.⁵⁷ Similar is the context of the reference to Bacchon in a Naxian decree for his role in sending Coan judges to resolve a dispute in Naxos.⁵⁸ The Nesiarch, therefore, may have been a Ptolemaic official, but as the name reveals, he acted within the League in a wide range of responsibilities: from recovering money for the sanctuary of Delos, to resolving civic disputes, to offering protection through the presence of a fleet. The honours bestowed upon the three Nesiarchs that we know of in the third century, Bacchon, Hermias, and Apollodoros, reveal that there existed an elaborate system of benefaction and reciprocal giving of services between the Nesiarch and the islands of the Aegean.

In addition to the Nesiarch, there also seems to have existed an *oikonomos* of the islands. Such an official is mentioned once in a mutilated decree from the island of Ios, honouring a certain Thrasycles.⁵⁹ This *oikonomos* seems to be another official appointed by king Ptolemy, in charge of, possibly as the name indicates, the financial affairs of the islands.⁶⁰ This Thrasycles must be the same as the Thrasycles honoured by the Islanders' League, who set up an honorary decree on Delos, but unfortunately this decree does not throw any light as to what exactly the reason for the honours was.⁶¹

The Nesiarch and the *oikonomos* were most likely Ptolemaic appointed officials, with the Nesiarch acting as the highest officer in the League. Further down the scale of hierarchy, the League elected representatives, the *synedroi* (delegates) that we encountered in the Nicouria decree.⁶² These delegates were elected from each member state and participated in the conference (*syne-drion*), the decision-making body of the League.⁶³ Meetings of the conference with the delegates of the member states must have been regular. In this respect,

⁵⁷ The relationship between Philocles and Bacchon or indeed the position of Philocles, king of the Sidonians, within the Ptolemaic hierarchy of officials are clearly problematic issues, but beyond the scope of this project, as it does not appear anywhere that Philocles was an official of the League of the Islanders (contrary to the position of the Nesiarch, indicated by the use of nomenclature). For a discussion on Philocles and his role as a Ptolemaic official see Merker 1970, Reger 1994a, 32–3, and Hauben 1987 and 2004.

⁵⁸ *ED* 129 = *IG* XII.4 135 = *SEG* 49.1106. See Crowther 1999, 257–66.

⁵⁹ *IG* XII Suppl. 169 4: ἀποσυνιστάς οἰκονόμον τῶν νήσων Θρασυκλήν Ἰππα[-.

⁶⁰ See Bagnall 1976, 146–7, basing his argument on the evidence of the Iean decree, which includes as part of the title the clause 'by king Ptolemy': *IG* XII Suppl. 169 2–3: ἐπειδὴ Θρασυ[----- ὁ τεταγμένος ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλ]έως Πτολεμαίου. Bagnall's interpretation is followed by Buraselis 1982, 186–7, and Paschidis 2008, 420–1, n. 8.

⁶¹ *IG* XI.4 1043 = Kotsidu 131 [E 3]. The language used is quite generic. For the generic language used in honorific decrees, see discussion in Chapter 4.2.

⁶² *IG* XII.7 506 = Kotsidu 131 [E 1], l. 4–6: ὅπως ἂν ἀπο[στ]ε[ίλ]ωσιν συνέδρους εἰς Σάμον, οἵτινες [χρημ]ατιούσων ὑπὲρ τῆς θυσίας καὶ τῶν θεω[ρῶ]ν καὶ τοῦ ἀγῶνος.

⁶³ The decrees issued by the League reveal the mechanism of decision-making: for a collection of the evidence and a short commentary see Buraselis 1982, 180–3, and Rhodes with Lewis 1997, 297–8.

therefore, the Islanders' League functioned like any other federal state, which had abandoned some of the member states' legislative powers to the common assembly of representatives.⁶⁴ The League also elected *theoroi* to participate in the games in honour of Ptolemy I in Alexandria.⁶⁵ Indeed, the sending of *theoroi* to Alexandria seems to have been a very important task, as it involved elaborate expenses, including the giving of crowns to king Ptolemy. The presence of the *theoroi* in the festival was a valued opportunity to meet in person with the King, and create personal links with the Ptolemaic administration. It comes as no surprise, therefore, that the Islanders' League honoured those who facilitated the representatives' sojourn in Alexandria. An honorary decree issued by the League praises Sostratos, son of Dexiphanes from Cnidos, for his role in helping out those who have arrived in order to meet Ptolemy.⁶⁶ This Sostratos was likely the architect or donor of the Pharos of Alexandria.⁶⁷ Sostratos' honorary decree reveals how the members of the League took great care in carefully cultivating relations with and access to important people in the Ptolemaic court.⁶⁸ Indeed, the language of the proxeny decree for Sostratos highlights his role in providing assistance to the Islanders in their sojourn in Alexandria, and while accessing the Ptolemaic court.⁶⁹ In this, the League followed similar patterns to other Greek states of the third century for honouring important individuals; the language used in the motivation clause of the proxeny decree (which outlines the reasoning of the honours) resembles closely other Delian third-century decrees. Access to power, especially in relation to the royal circles of the Hellenistic kings, were highly valued by the Hellenistic Greek cities, as we shall see in our discussion of proxeny decrees.⁷⁰

Certainly, the evidence seems to indicate that religious participation and responsibilities were among the highest priorities of the League in its Ptolemaic phase, as indeed it was during its Antigonid phase; this would include the sending of *theoroi* to Alexandria, and the celebration of the various local festivals set up in honour of the King, such as the Ptolemaieia, and the Antigoneia and Demetrieia before them, on Delos.⁷¹

⁶⁴ Carlsson 2010, 106–7. ⁶⁵ IG XII.7 506 5–6 and 53–62, and IG XI.4 1037.

⁶⁶ IG XI.4 1038 = Kotsidu 131 [E 2].

⁶⁷ Fraser 1972, I 18–20, followed by Bagnall 1976, 139 with n. 80. See also Marquaille 2008, 60–1 with n. 94, and the recent discussion by Meeus 2015.

⁶⁸ Marquaille 2008, rightly stresses the importance of the creation of a 'human network' for the success of Philadelphus' rule.

⁶⁹ IG XI.4 1038 7–10: καὶ ὅτι χρείας παρέχεται τοῖς ἀφικνουμένοις [π]ρὸς τὸν βασιλέα μετὰ πάσης προθυμίας καὶ [λέγων] καὶ πράσσων ὅ τι ἂν δύνηται ἀγαθὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν [νησιω]τῶν.

⁷⁰ See Chapter 4.

⁷¹ For the local festival of Ptolemaieia, established by the League, see Bruneau 1970, 531–3 and above n. 34. The honorary decree for Sostratos mentions that the honours and the crowning will be announced during the first Ptolemaieia festival on Delos: IG XI.4 1038 = Kotsidu 131 [E 2], ll. 14–16: καὶ σ[τεφαν]ῶσαι αὐτὸν χρυσῶι στεφάνωι ἀπὸ δραχμ[ῶν ἀλ]εξανδρείων τρισχιλίων καὶ ἀνακηρύξαι τὸν [σ]τέφανον [τοῖς] πρώτοις Πτολεμαίειοις ἐν Δήλωι. Similar are the provisions for the announcement of the honours for Thrasycles, who may have been the *oikonomos* of the islands,

The headquarters of the League was Delos; this was the place of publication for the decrees of the League. The question, however, of whether Delos was a member of the Islanders' League does not have a straightforward answer.⁷² I find it difficult to believe that such a League, with its obvious 'island' character, would not have included Delos as one of its members.⁷³ Delos was the religious centre of the southern Aegean world, and as such it functioned as a hub for activities that were not exclusively religious. Indeed, as I shall explain in section 2.3, the Islanders' League makes sense only if placed against the background of religious, economic, political, and cultural interactions of the Aegean islands in the archaic and classical periods.

In addition to the League's religious responsibilities, member states were also expected to provide military contributions. We have already discussed how the Antigonids may have used the League as a vehicle for recruiting soldiers from the islands;⁷⁴ it is very reasonable to assume that this was also the case for the Ptolemies.⁷⁵ Although we do not have any reference to soldiers from the islands comparable to the inscription from Nemea mentioning *pezoi* from Ceos, Cythnos, and Myconos, surely the forces under the command of the Nesiarchs must have included substantial numbers of islanders.⁷⁶

The League also had the authority of extracting contributions from the member cities. This was true for the Antigonid as well as the Ptolemaic period.⁷⁷ Money was needed to pay for the honours that the League awarded

as we saw above n. 59 and 60: see *IG XI.4 1043* = *Kotsidu 131* [E 3] ll. 13–16: ἀνακηρύξει δὲ τὸν στέφανον Πτολεμαίων τῷ ἀγῶνι τῷ πρώτῳ, ὅταν οἱ τραγωιδὸι ἀγωνίζονται.

⁷² Bagnall 1976, 151–6 (quote from 154) argues that Delos was not part of the League, but rather the 'banker and recordkeeper' for the League. Laidlaw 1933, 279–84, provides a summary of the previous scholarship without taking a position. On the other side of the spectrum, Merker 1970, 158–9, argued that Delos was a member of the League. In this, he builds upon the argument offered by Tarn 1924. Merker is followed by Nigdelis 1990, 313, and Paschidis 2008, 439 with n. 4.

⁷³ The main objection to accepting Delos as a member is the fact that although Delos acts as the repository for the League's decrees and documents, there are separate references to Delos and the League: more particularly, the honorific decree for Philocles, king of the Sidonians, discussed briefly above, mentions the recovery of money that the League owed Delos: see *IG XI.4 559* = *Choix 18* = *Migeotte 47* and n. 53 above. The key phrase is in l.6: *περὶ τῶν χρημάτων ὧν [ᾠφει]λον οἱ νησιῶται Δηλίους*. The reference to the League owing money to the 'Delians', however, does not necessarily imply that the Delians were not part of the League. In fact, the situation that led to the honouring of Philocles makes more sense if by 'Delians' here we understand the Delian sanctuary, which, as we know, was the place where money was deposited and lent out at an interest.

⁷⁴ See above n. 21 and 22, based on the reference to 'soldiers' in a decree from Nemea.

⁷⁵ See Billows 1990, 222 with n. 93.

⁷⁶ *IG XII.5 1004* = *OGIS 773*, the honorary decree for Zenon from the island of Ios, mentions 'undecked ships' under the control of the Nesiarch. See above n. 43.

⁷⁷ *IG XI.4 1036* = *Kotsidu 120* [E 1], ll. 12–16 and 38–41, for the Antigonid period. *IG XII.7 506* = *Kotsidu 131* [E 1] ll. 57–61 for contributions for the Ptolemaic festival in Alexandria: τὸ δὲ εἰς [τ]ὸν στέφανον ἀργύριον καὶ εἰς ἐφόδιον καὶ πορε[ία]ς τοῖς θεωροῖς εἰσενεγκεῖν τὰς πόλεις, ἐκάσ[την] κατὰ τὸ ἐπιβάλλον αὐτῇ, καὶ δοῦναι ὧν ἂμ Βάκ[χων] ἀποδείξει[.]

to benefactors, but also for the sending of delegates to the festival of Ptolemaieia in Alexandria and the smooth running of the local festival of Ptolemaieia on Delos. Extraction of money from the member states was not always an easy task. In the decree in honour of Philocles, the king of the Sidonians, issued by the demos of the Delians, the difficulty of receiving money owed to the sanctuary of Delos by the islanders is revealed clearly.⁷⁸ The sanctuary's banking system obviously depended on the smooth recovery of the interest paid by the loan takers, so it was extremely important that such money was paid promptly and in full. It has been suggested that the money owed by the Islanders and alluded to in the honorary decree for Philocles was the result of Demetrios Poliorketes' financial demands on the area.⁷⁹ Whatever the reason, the decree reveals that recovery of money was not always a straightforward operation. Indeed, the wording of the decree establishing the festival in honour of Demetrios Poliorketes shows that the League depended on wishful thinking for the funding of the festival in future times.⁸⁰

Perhaps one of the more fascinating aspects of the Islanders' League was the fact that when it awarded proxeny and other honours, the honorand would receive citizenship and honours in all the cities of the League.⁸¹ This is certainly the case with Sostratos, son of Dexiphanes from Cnidos, who, as we saw, helped the League's representatives during their sojourn in Alexandria.⁸² In that sense, the League functioned as an individual polis might in carrying interstate relations.⁸³ In addition to the general honours of proxeny (and occasionally crown, such as in the case of Sostratos), the League offered citizenship (*politeia*), tax exemption (*ateleia*), prominent seating at festivals (*proedria*), and privileged access to the Council or the Assembly (*prosodos*).⁸⁴ The conference (*synedrion*) of the League may have been granting the honours, but some of the honours, such as the privileged access to the Boule and the Assembly (*prosodos*), applied to the political decision-making bodies of the individual member states.

⁷⁸ IG XI.4 559 = Choix 18 = Migeotte 47.

⁷⁹ See comments in Migeotte 47, followed by Paschidis 2008, 439–40. But see now Chankowski 2008a, 328–9 for a more nuanced analysis: the loans may have included money borrowed in a time before Poliorketes, including the period of Athenian domination.

⁸⁰ IG XI.4 1036 = Kotsidu 120 [E 1], 39–41; see above n. 17.

⁸¹ Rhodes with Lewis 1997, 298, Buraselis 2015, 365. Billows 1990, 222 with n. 92, believes that this was also true for the Antigonid period; there is no evidence, however, to substantiate this claim.

⁸² IG XI.4 1038 = Kotsidu 131 [E 2], 17–19: δ[εδό]σθα[ι δέ] αὐτῶι πολιτείαν ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ν[ήσοις ὄσαι] μετέχουσιν τοῦ συνεδρίου αὐτῶι [καὶ ἐκγόνους]. Similar language in IG XI.4 1039 b3–6 and IG XI.4 1040 11–13.

⁸³ See the discussion in Chapter 4.2. Sostratos, son of Dexiphanes, from Cnidos (IG XI.4 1038) receives a golden crown and all the associated honours. The listing of honours is not as complete for some of the other honorands: Hypatodoros, son of Mikkos, and Kaphisodoros, son of Archias, both from Thebes (IG XI.4 1040) receive proxeny, *proedria*, and *prosodos*, but not *ateleia* and *politeia*.

⁸⁴ For a discussion of the honours associated with proxeny see Chapter 4.2.

Finally, the League could step in and help with conflict resolution within its member states. We have already mentioned the honorary decree mentioning Bacchon, the Nesiarch, and Philocles, king of the Sidonians, issued by Carthaia on the island of Ceos for their role in providing the community with some resolution.⁸⁵ Similarly, the Naxian decree in honour of Coan judges for their role in resolving the dispute within Naxos mentions Bacchon, the Nesiarch.⁸⁶ These decrees may not mention *specifically* the Islanders' League as a body responsible for the resolution of local conflict; the references, however, to the Nesiarch in both the decrees implies that the League could offer the necessary framework for the provision of help. It has been argued that these decrees need to be understood within the wider context of Ptolemaic assistance to the resolution of disputes.⁸⁷ While it is important to acknowledge that the Carthian and Naxian decree can and should be linked to similar dispute resolutions on Samos, Chios, or Thera,⁸⁸ the involvement of the League's official in the process reveals that this was something that concerned the League, and was perhaps even addressed in the League's conference.

We should turn now to a discussion of membership (Figure 2.1).⁸⁹ Membership was restricted to the Aegean islands, with an emphasis on the islands of the southern Aegean. Epigraphic references imply that Cythnos, Naxos, Amorgos, Myconos, Andros, Ceos, Ios, and Thera were almost certainly members.⁹⁰ It is possible that Samos, Paros, and Astypalaia too were included

⁸⁵ IG XII.5 1065. ⁸⁶ ED 129 = IG XII.4 135 = SEG 49.1106, A 15.

⁸⁷ See comments in Crowther 1999, 266 with n. 34.

⁸⁸ SEG 1.363 = IG XII.6 95 refers to judges from Miletos, Myndos, and Halicarnassos sent to Samos on the instructions of Philocles; SEG 19.569 refers to Apollonphanes sent to Chios by Ptolemy; IG XII.3 320 = OGIS 44 refers to judges from Ioulis sent to Thera by the Ptolemaic admiral Patroklos.

⁸⁹ For full references see Bagnall 1976, 141–56, and Nigdelis 1990, 210–12.

⁹⁰ Cythnos: one of the elected *theoroi* in the Nicouria decree is from Cythnos: IG XII.7 506 = Kotsidu 131 [E 1], l. 61. Naxos: one of the elected *theoroi* in the Nicouria decree is from Naxos: see above n. 27 for the suggestion that this is Kallias; see also ED 129 = IG XII.4 135 = SEG 49.1106 for the honorary decree for Coan judges, mentioning Bacchon. Myconos supplies an *epimeletes* for the *Koinon*: IG XI.4 1040 and 1041. Amorgos' membership is implied by the fact that the Nicouria decree is inscribed on the back of a decree of Amorgos (IG XII.6 506 b), and by the place of discovery of the decree itself, the islet of Nicouria, next to Amorgos—the assumption is that the decree was published somewhere on Amorgos and came to Nicouria at a later stage, possibly as ballast. It is possible that IG XII.7 13, an extremely fragmentary decree from Arcesine, one of the three poleis on the island of Amorgos, is in fact a decree of the League, but such an interpretation depends heavily on Delamarre's restorations. As with Naxos, and Cythnos, Andros is the place of origin for the third *theoros* elected by the League in the Nicouria decree. We also know of a Ptolemaic garrison on Andros already in 286: see IG II² 650 = Syll.³ 367, ll. 18–23, with Shear 1978, 17–19. Carthaia on Ceos appeals to Bacchon and Philocles for dispute settlement: see IG XII.5 1065. The 'nesiotes' are also mentioned in another, very fragmentary, decree from Carthaia: see IG XII.5 1069. Ceos, together with Thera, was a major Ptolemaic naval base in the Aegean. In fact, the city of Coressos, one of the four Ceian poleis, was renamed Arsinoe, possibly by Patroklos during the Chremonidean War: see the ingenious restoration of the extremely problematic evidence in Robert 1960, 146–60 (2. Arsinoè de Kéos), Cohen 1995, 137–9, and recently Hauben 2013, 57. For a discussion of links between Delos and Arsinoe, see

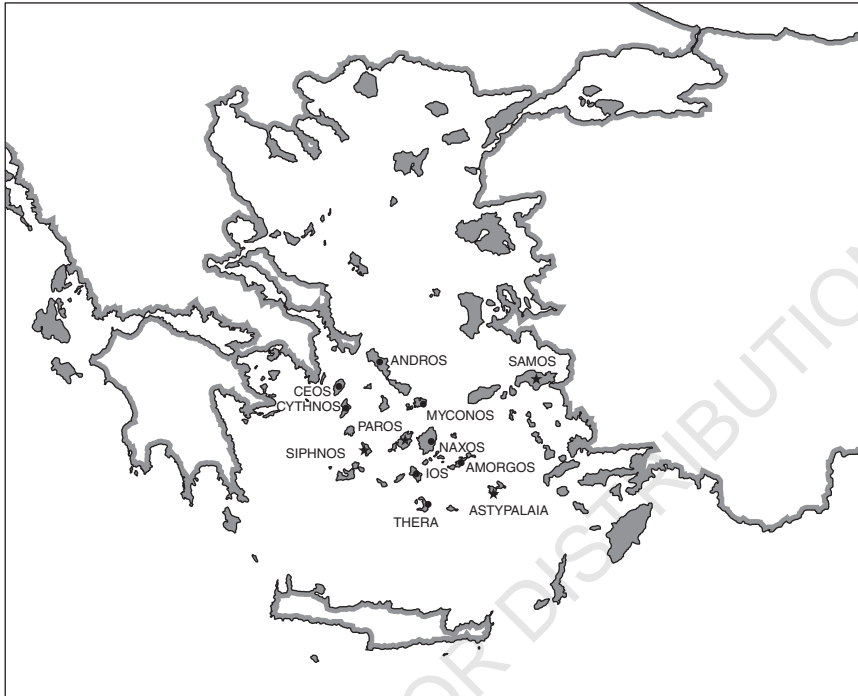


Figure 2.1. The Islanders' League (©Varvara Konstantakopoulou). * indicates probable membership

in the Islanders' League.⁹¹ In this context, Siphnos probably deserves a slightly longer discussion. Until recently, the evidence of membership of Siphnos to the Islanders' League was tangential. We had one honorary decree from the island, which honoured a musician for providing entertainment to the

Chapter 3.4. Ios honours Zenon, who was Bacchon's subordinate, for his role in recovering some slaves in *IG XII.5 1004 = OGIS 773*. Ios also honours a certain Thrasykles (?) in *IG XII Suppl. 169*, who appears to be a Ptolemaic officer and the superior of another Thrasykles, who in *IG XI.4 1043* is an *oikonomos* of the islands: see above n. 59 and 60. Finally, Thera was a Ptolemaic garrison and the headquarters of the Ptolemaic Aegean fleet: see for example *IG XII.3 320 = OGIS 44*, mentioning the Ptolemaic garrison commander arriving at Thera with five *dikastai* from Ceos; for the establishment of the Ptolemaic garrison and the duration of control of Thera see Shear 1978, 17 with n. 30, Bagnall 1976, 121–35 and Nigdelis 1990, 74–5, with nn. 8 and 9.

⁹¹ Samos' inclusion in the League is suggested by the island being the place for the meeting of the League's delegates in the Nicouria decree: see *IG XII.7 506 = Kotsidu 131 [E 1]*, l.4. See also Bagnall 1976, 80–8; Shipley 1987, 298–301 is sceptical. The Parians set up a statue in honour of Apollodoros, son of Apollonios, the Nesiarch, in his home town of Cyzikos: see Michel, *Recueil* 534 and above n. 46. Paschidis 2008, 423 points out that no strong evidence links the island to the Ptolemies, but as Bagnall 1976, 150, argued there is evidence for the cult of Arsinoe Philadelphos on the island: see *IG XII.5 264–6*, followed by Lanzillotta 1987, 152. Finally, Astypalaia: see statue base for Ptolemy Evergetes: *IG XI.3 204*.

Siphnians, who were celebrating the good fortune of King Ptolemy and Queen Arsinoe (*IG XII.5 481 = OGIS 730*).⁹² The decree implied that the Siphnians were celebrating festivals in honour of the Ptolemies. Recently, Papazarkadas published a small fragment of a Siphnian decree; he dated the inscription to the first half of the third century, and he convincingly argued that it is a decree honouring the local *strategoï* for some extraordinary achievement.⁹³ The interesting feature, for our purposes, in this heavily mutilated inscription is the possible reference to a Ptolemaieia festival.⁹⁴ If we accept Papazarkadas' reconstruction, then this decree would offer proof that the links between the Ptolemies and Siphnos were deeply rooted and, consequently, Siphnos was most probably a member of the Islanders' League.

Finally, I have already discussed the possibility that Delos was not simply the central meeting place for the League but an actual member as well.⁹⁵ We do not have any information regarding the other islands of the southern Aegean, such as Tenos, Melos, Cimolos, Sikinos, Seriphos, Syros, and Pholegandros, but considering the participation of their larger neighbours, it is very unlikely that they were not part of this League. This is especially true for Tenos, which had some links with the Ptolemies and was later the centre for the Rhodian Islanders' League.⁹⁶ Certainly, the extension of the Ptolemaic zone of influence in the Aegean reached beyond the southern Aegean islands, and the issue of membership in the League.⁹⁷ The Ptolemies were not alone in cultivating a reciprocal relationship of honours, and consequently an active context of influence, with the Greek cities on the Aegean. Besides, reciprocal relations were at the heart of intercity relations, even when the balance of power rested heavily with one of the participants.⁹⁸

If we can place the beginning of the Ptolemaic League of the Islanders in the early 280s with some certainty, the end of the Ptolemaic period of influence is linked to the elusive battles of Cos and Andros,⁹⁹ when the Ptolemies essentially had their sphere of influence drastically reduced. Whatever the dates of the battles are, the League was still active in the epigraphic domain until the late 260s, or slightly later. One of the last preserved acts of the League seems to be the dedication of a statue for Agathostratos, son of Polyaratos, from

⁹² See Bagnall 1976, 146 for a discussion of the date.

⁹³ Papazarkadas 2013, esp. 185–7.

⁹⁴ Papazarkadas 2013, 186 suggests that the proclamation of honours will take place at the Ptolemaia festival, citing *IG XI.4 1038 16–17*, as a parallel.

⁹⁵ See above n. 72 and 73.

⁹⁶ See Etienne 1990, 90–3, and Nigdelis 1990, 155–6, for a discussion of the Tenian evidence.

⁹⁷ Ptolemaic sphere of influence and reciprocal honorific relations: Methymna on the island of Lesbos: Labarre 1996, 55 argued that there were strong links between Methymna and the Ptolemies, evidenced in the honorific decree of Methymna in honour of a priest of Ptolemy IV at the end of the third century (*IG XII Suppl. 115*). See also Brun 1991, who argued that contrary to Methymna and Eresos, Mytilene was hostile to the Ptolemies.

⁹⁸ Low 2007, and discussion in Chapter 4.3. ⁹⁹ See above n. 9.

Rhodes.¹⁰⁰ If the date of 258 proposed for the statue is correct, this makes it one of the last known acts of the Islanders' League, and one that shows the turning of the League's orientation from the Ptolemies to the Rhodians.¹⁰¹

2.3. AGENCY, NEGOTIATION OF POWER, AND EXPRESSION OF IDENTITY

What was, then, the impact of the League upon the lives of the people living in the islands of the southern Aegean in the late fourth and early third centuries? As far as our evidence allows us to see, the League provided an institutional framework for the creation of links between the islands and the Hellenistic king. Foremost in such a framework were the religious activities instigated and organized by the League: the League not only provided the framework for participation in 'central' religious festivals such as the Ptolemaieia in Alexandria, as we have seen in the Nicouria decree, but was also the administrative body for the celebration of local festivals in honour of the Hellenistic rulers, which took place in the centre of the League, Delos. Festivals and cult were the means by which local communities, through the medium of the League, negotiated their position within the complex networks of power of the Hellenistic kings. Such festivals not only 'integrated ruler cult into existing religion and civic ceremony', as Ma noted,¹⁰² but also offered the proper context through which local powers, both poleis and the League, were able to create a language of reciprocal relations with which they could articulate their place in the world. The inscriptions that we have examined show that cult was a way for the League to express what Chaniotis defined as 'both gratitude for the past and expectation of future benefactions'.¹⁰³ The reciprocal relation and expectation of benefaction lies at the heart of such interstate relations. Furthermore, the wording of the Nicouria decree implies that the imperial centre adopted in its celebrations in honour of Ptolemy I Soter previously established cultic celebrations in the islands:¹⁰⁴ in other words,

¹⁰⁰ *IG XI.4 1128 = Choix 38*. Polyainos 5.18 mentions that a Rhodian admiral, Agathostratos, beat a Ptolemaic fleet in a battle near Ephesos. This, as Reger 1994b, 41, argued should be placed in the second Syrian War, at about 258. See now Badoud 2014, 116, and Badoud and Herbin 2014.

¹⁰¹ See Merker 1970, 159–60, Bagnall 1976, 138–9, Berthold 1984, 97 with n. 47, Reger 1994b, 39–42, Marquaille 2008, 48–9 and 63, Badoud and Herbin 2014, 188.

¹⁰² Ma 2000, 219–26, at 224.

¹⁰³ Chaniotis 2003, 440. Indeed the inscription from Xanthos (*SEG 36.1218*) shows how representatives from Xanthos to the Alexandrian Ptolemaieia, after the customary dedication of crowns and participation in the festival met the king, handed down petitions, and went away with promises of assistance: see Buraselis 1993, 255.

¹⁰⁴ *IG XII.7 506 27–9*. See discussion in n. 31 above.

the celebrations in Alexandria were based on the previously established festival in honour of the Ptolemies, which was organized by the League and celebrated on Delos.

It is of course impossible to determine how voluntary such celebrations in honour of the Hellenistic kings (and queens) were; but what the evidence implies is that Alexandria, the imperial centre, was affected by developments in its sphere of influence.¹⁰⁵ In other words, rather than an imposition of cult and practices from the top onto the subjects, we see here a delicate process of borrowing and reciprocal benefaction. Indeed, as Thompson noted, the element of reciprocity between host and invitee in the Ptolemaieia festival which was celebrated in Alexandria was an essential part of such occasions.¹⁰⁶

The League also functioned as a facilitator in the complex financial demands that the kings imposed on the islands. The intricate regional system of economic transactions that existed in the southern Aegean, which had as its financial and banking centre the sanctuary of Apollo on Delos, is well documented for both the classical period,¹⁰⁷ and the third and second centuries.¹⁰⁸ The League provided the necessary mechanisms for a relatively smooth movement of money and funds from the islands to the courts of the Hellenistic kings. Bacchon's intervention in recovering money owed by the islands to the sanctuary of Delos, and the consequent honouring of his superior, Philocles, king of the Sidonians, shows the integral role of the League's officials in making sure that Delos had adequate funds for financing operations.¹⁰⁹ This facilitatory role may have been beneficial to the Hellenistic kings, who, as it has been argued, had now a unified body with which to deal.¹¹⁰ But at the same time, it was also beneficial to the islands, which could negotiate their position in the Ptolemaic hierarchy of power on better terms and with greater success.

It is in the same dual manner of reciprocal benefaction that we should see the issue of military contributions, both in army (the soldiers in the list from Nemea) and in naval forces.¹¹¹ The constantly changing dynamics of power of the Hellenistic kings meant that frequent war was inevitable. Rather than viewing such contributions of human resources as an imposition of harsh rule onto unwilling subjects, we should think of them in terms of an inevitable reality of power, which resulted in creating relations with the Hellenistic ruler, who could then intervene in order to help the cities when in need.¹¹² It is obvious that the League was integral to both the Antigonids and the Ptolemies in terms of military and strategic considerations. This is manifested by the establishment of Ptolemaic garrisons in the Aegean islands, reflected

¹⁰⁵ See comments in Hauben 2010.

¹⁰⁶ Thompson 2000, 369.

¹⁰⁷ See Chankowski 2008a.

¹⁰⁸ See Reger 1994a. For regionalism and the economy see also discussion in Chapter 1.3.

¹⁰⁹ *IG XI.4 559 = Choix 18 = Migeotte 47.*

¹¹⁰ Bagnall 1976, 156.

¹¹¹ See above n. 21 and 22.

¹¹² See comments in Chaniotis 2005, 68–71 and 137–40.

occasionally in the renaming of communities.¹¹³ We could even see the existence of the Islanders' League as one of the factors that helped proliferate processes of fortifications in the islands: for example, Cythnos was fortified at some point at the end of the fourth century,¹¹⁴ while Tenos and Amorgos underwent expansions in their fortification systems in the second half of the fourth century, which may be linked with the beginnings of the Islanders' League.¹¹⁵ Investment in fortifications, as well as other military expenditures, were not, as Davies argued, necessarily 'predatory and destructive'.¹¹⁶ Such constructions may have acted as protection against piracy and other forms of aggression. Participation in the League, even if viewed as a harsh obligation imposed by the imperial centres onto unwilling subjects, did provide a certain degree of security against outside powers. I would like to stress here that I do not wish to see the history of the League through rose-tinted glasses where all aspects of intervention and conscription are viewed exclusively through a positive prism. The history of imperialism, in various degrees and formats, is never a positive experience for the lives of the people living in the area where the centre of power (in this case, the Hellenistic kingdoms) exercise some degree of control. Rather, I wanted to stress that in viewing the history of military, in this particular instance, intervention essentially as a history of conscription and imposition of power onto unwilling subjects, we take away from those 'subjects' a certain level of agency that they should be allowed to retain. Indeed, agency can be viewed in both 'active' and 'passive' forms.¹¹⁷

More importantly, however, the League was an expression of, and contributor to, a strong regional island identity. The islands of the southern Aegean may have experienced increased levels of interaction manifested in economic activity, such as the practice of cabotage, religious networks, such as the one centred on Delos in the archaic and classical periods, but also, as we shall see in a following chapter, during the Hellenistic period,¹¹⁸ and even, to a certain extent, political unification, when they were under the rule of the Athenian empire. But it is with the Islanders' League at the end of the fourth century and the beginning of the third, that the islands behaved like one polity, as in, for example, the bestowing of proxeny honours. Reger argued that the kings did not wish to integrate the Aegean islands tightly into their kingdoms, which

¹¹³ On Ptolemaic garrisons see Shear 1978, 17–18 with n. 30, Bagnall 1976, *passim*, Buraselis 1993, 253–4, and Chaniotis 2005, 88–93. On practices of renaming see Robert 1960, and Cohen 1995.

¹¹⁴ Louyot and Mazarakis-Ainian 2005.

¹¹⁵ A precise dating for fortifications is a notorious problem. For Tenos see Étienne 1990, 16–18 and 31–4. For Amorgos see Maragkou 2005.

¹¹⁶ Davies 2001, 37.

¹¹⁷ Buraselis 2015, 366, argues that 'participation in the confederacy offered, potentially, a sense of both passive and active political unity'. See also Rutishauser 2012, 71–9, discussing 'active' and 'passive' insularity.

¹¹⁸ See Chapter 5.

resulted, therefore, in the League functioning as a system that contributed to the political isolation of the islands.¹¹⁹ The exact position of the League within the complicated hierarchy of the Ptolemaic kingship is extremely difficult to establish.¹²⁰ Different models have been put forward to explain and describe this position, models which include the notion of centre and periphery,¹²¹ straightforward protectorate,¹²² or area of control.¹²³ I have largely used the term 'sphere of influence' to denote the relationship between the League and the Ptolemaic (or the less well attested Antigonid) centre of power. The League, therefore, undoubtedly belonged to the Ptolemaic sphere of influence, even when some of its members, such as Thera or Ceos, with their Ptolemaic garrisons, were very much an indispensable part of the Ptolemaic state. Indeed, the whole notion of centre and periphery, or protectorate, does not express the mutually dependent process of reciprocal benefaction that I have tried to outline here. Power may have been in the hands of the king, but this did not stop the island communities from claiming some authority over their region through their managing of affairs in the form of a League. In this sense, I cannot see the islands as essentially a politically isolated world, to the extent that, as far as we can document from the scant epigraphic sources, they participated politically, religiously, and economically in the changing manifestations of power of the eastern Mediterranean.

Island regional identity, therefore, manifested itself in action through participation in festivals, both local on Delos and abroad in Alexandria, economic transactions that were centred in the sanctuary of Apollo on Delos, military contributions, and political activities that brought the islands together, such as the participation in the League's conference through the sending of delegates. Recently Knapp argued that 'because islands embrace not only the physical but social landscapes, insularity itself can function as a form of social identity, a cultural strategy that islanders might enjoy in the face of external interference or domination as a resistant identity'.¹²⁴ Knapp's understanding of island identity as resistance to external power is fascinating. Indeed, I would go as far as to argue that rather than seeing the islands in a subordinate role, constantly reliant on the king's power for survival, we should perhaps see the Islanders' League as a manifestation of island identity as resistance to outside pressures. The League may have formed in the late fourth century, as we have seen, through external agency: that of the Antigonid kings. Certainly, the kind of political unity that the islands experienced in the years of the League's activity was the result of external agency. But at the same time, this kind of

¹¹⁹ Reger 1994a, 33.

¹²⁰ I do not wish to enter the debate as to what extent Ptolemaic rule can be denoted as an 'empire'. Term 'empire' accepted by Hölbl 2001, but see criticisms in Marquaille, 2008.

¹²¹ See for example, Buraselis 1993. See also Isaac 2011 for a discussion of the concepts of core and periphery.

¹²² Fraser 2009, 130, n. 31.

¹²³ Paschidis 2008, 420–1.

¹²⁴ Knapp 2008, 30.

unity depended on the solid background of interaction these islands had experienced for centuries before the Hellenistic kings and their games for world domination came to the fore. The impetus for the League may have been the king's policies, but the very existence and survival of the League was the result of an active regional identity.

I have argued extensively elsewhere how the Delian League, with its obvious island character, can be properly understood only if placed against the solid background of connectivity and interaction of the Aegean islands through religious participation to the festivals at Delos.¹²⁵ In the fifth century, with Athens' attempted forceful unification of the Aegean, political unification followed the underlying reality of maritime interaction, also manifested through religious activity. We see similar processes in the early Hellenistic Islanders' League. Political unification (even as the result of external agency) followed the underlying reality of religious and geographic interaction. By forming a League, the islands of the southern Aegean were able to negotiate their position in the fight for supremacy over the Aegean in the complex world of rising powers in the early Hellenistic period. They built upon their existing links of cooperation and competition to create a regional identity. The Islanders' League may have been 'convenient' for the Ptolemies, and the Antigonids before them, as a sphere of influence in their ongoing struggle for control of the Aegean and its sea routes. But at the same time, the League expressed in terms of identity a sense of island unity: this is what the name Nesiotic implies.

It has been noted that the Hellenistic world should be viewed more consistently through a bottom-up approach, rather than the 'normative' (in academia) manner of top down.¹²⁶ Within such a context, the Islanders' League, despite the problems with the sources and the absence of a consistent narrative, provides us with a glimpse of the networking of small poleis attesting their identity and negotiating their position within the framework of changing powers in the eastern Mediterranean. I believe that a multifocal examination of the evidence, from the imperial 'centre' to the outside sphere of influence reveals the complexity of Hellenistic rule and the integration of locally established practices in order to justify such a rule. The League may have been a convenient unit for the kings to 'codify and formalise their power relationships with particular regions',¹²⁷ but at the same time it was a powerful claim of independent existence. This is why, although the 'patronage' of the League changed over time, from the Antigonids to the Ptolemies and then to the Rhodians, the League itself showed no problem in changing allegiances within a matter of years, if not months. It was not, therefore, the specific patronage that mattered, but rather the complex negotiation of power relations and identity in the region.

¹²⁵ Constantakopoulou 2007.

¹²⁶ See comments in Davies 2002.

¹²⁷ Davies 2002, 10–11.

2.4. CONCLUSIONS

I would therefore offer the following three conclusions. First, the Islanders' League makes sense only if set against the background of political, economic, and religious interaction that the islands of the southern Aegean experienced prior to the end of the fourth century. Such an interaction was sometimes centred on the island of Delos because of its important position in the cultic and religious networks of the Greek world; indeed, Delos was also the centre for many of the activities of the League. Second, we should not see the League as a harsh imposition of obligations by the Hellenistic king, but rather as a result, to a certain degree, of a bottom-up negotiation of power. The geographic fragmentation of the Aegean Sea with its many islands meant that political unification did not come easily for the islanders; indeed, as Buraselis argued, 'the rules of the sea significantly conditioned federalism in the Aegean'.¹²⁸ Rather, political unification, or attempts at political unification, was usually the result of external (to the islands) agency, whether that was Athens in the fifth century, the Roman Empire, or indeed the modern Greek state. But even if the impetus came from outside the Aegean world, and this is something we will never be able to document in relation to the Islanders' League, this does not mean that the islanders had no say in the matter. Finally, and within this context, I would like to see the League as an expression of a strong regional island identity, which can be interpreted as resistance to power. The Aegean world in the early Hellenistic period was a world where power relations were extremely volatile. The League through its mere existence and through its various activities provided a suitable venue for the Aegean islanders to negotiate their position within the changing world of power of the Hellenistic kings.

The nomenclature of the League manifested in an obvious manner the underlying reality of island interaction. Membership, as we saw, was restricted to the southern Aegean islands, with the islands of the Cyclades being the primary participants. Once the League was established, its very presence required regular, to a certain degree, meetings between delegates for their conference, which would take place on Delos. That, in turn, further consolidated the interaction between the member islands, and strengthened what I have described as regional island identity. The League, therefore, was an expression primarily of a political network; yet, once again, it is important to note that politics did not exist in a vacuum, nor should it be viewed as isolated from other activities. Religious activity was among the primary interests of the League, especially in the League's role in the processes of celebration of festivals in honour of the Hellenistic kings and queens, on Delos and elsewhere. Financial and military matters too, as we have seen, played an

¹²⁸ Buraselis 2015, 359.

important role in the League's activities. It is not easy, due to our fragmentary epigraphic evidence, to document the full extent of this interplay between politics, religion, and economy in the activities of the League. Indeed, my starting point has been how this fascinating political structure, which resembled that of a federal state, has been so elusive in ancient sources, and by implication modern accounts. But there is one place where we can examine with greater detail and nuance similar dynamics and interactions on multiple overlapping spheres, including the efforts by the Hellenistic royal houses to play a role, or even have the dominant part, in the competitive arena of piety and power of the southern Aegean world: this is the sanctuary of Delos, and the story that it tells us about regional interaction and dynastic interference. It is to the history of third-century Delos, through an examination of the monumental activity on the island, that we now turn.

NOT FOR RETAIL OR DISTRIBUTION

3

Building, Investing, and Displaying on Delos

A History of Third- and Second-Century Monumentalization

3.1. INTRODUCTION

What was the impact of the advent of Independence and of the changing political landscape of the Aegean powers onto the Delian monumental landscape? The period of the Delian Independence (314–166) was a period of monumental activity that resulted in the transformation of the Delian landscape, not only in the area of the sanctuary, but also beyond. Indeed, monumental activity is one of the most visible areas where we can examine the impact of Independence; as we have already commented, the history of Delos in the third and early second centuries can be reconstructed mostly from archaeological evidence and epigraphic sources. References in literary sources, especially historiographical narratives, are few and largely fragmentary. It is to the archaeological evidence, therefore, that we must turn in order to examine the role of Delos and its sanctuary in the political, cultural, religious, and economic landscape of the southern Aegean.

The history of independent Delos in general, and the history of the changing monumental landscape of Delos in the period of Independence in particular, are subjects that have received significant attention throughout the last decades. Vial's masterful analysis of the social fabric of Independent Delos is an excellent reconstruction of the social, economic, political, and familial relations between the Delians, both prominent and not.¹ The basis of Vial's study is her superb mastery over the complex epigraphic material of the island and her often ingenious reconstruction of familial stemmata based on the Delian prosopography. The complex history of the extensive spread of

¹ Vial 1984.

cults on the island during the Hellenistic period is the focus of Bruneau's monumental work.² His magisterial account of religious activity on Delos remains unsurpassed. Yet, his work cannot be read as an account of monumental activity on Delos, as it is organized according to the deities that received cult. The work of the French archaeological school, which is in charge of the excavations on Delos, is central to any research related to the history, archaeology, and religious activity of the island. The results of the Delian excavations are published in the series *Exploration Archéologique de Délos*; these remain the basis upon which any new research is conducted. Recently, we have witnessed a surge in scholarly interest in the processes of monumentalization on Delos and the changing monumental landscape of the island during the period of Independence.³ A number of works have utilized exciting new approaches to the question of housing on Delos,⁴ while the archaeology of Delian associations has also received considerable attention.⁵ The use of public space, and by implication the evidence for the considerable contest associated to control of this public space, is another exciting new development in relation to the monumental landscape of Delos.⁶ This chapter builds upon these recent developments in scholarship in order to explore the ways through which various groups of people as well as individuals, prominent and less so, invested in monumentalization on Delos.

Certainly, investment in monumentalization in Independent Delos was no new development. Delos was an important regional sanctuary in the southern Aegean from a very early period in time. In the archaic period, the processes of monumentalization in the Delian sanctuary were very much defined by island investment, with many of the key buildings of the sanctuary being associated with neighbouring islands, especially Naxos (the Naxian *oikos*, the stoa of the Naxians, and so on).⁷ The Delians too took advantage of the massive increase in fame of their sanctuary over the course of the archaic period, and proceeded in transforming their sanctuary through a building programme that made Delos stand out in the Aegean world. The classical period, however, brought massive changes. Delos was now the headquarters of the successor of the Hellenic League, which fought against the Persians in the early fifth century; this League, the so-called Delian League, was quickly transformed into what Anglophone scholarship calls the Athenian Empire. This transformation of the League to empire had a massive impact on the history of Delos and its sanctuary.⁸ The Athenians were essentially in control of Delos and managed the sanctuary—arguably, Delos' biggest asset—through a board of Athenian

² Bruneau 1970. ³ Papageorgiou-Venetas 1981, Scott 2013a.

⁴ Tang 2005, Zarmakoupi 2013a, 2013b.

⁵ Trümper 2006, 2011, Westgate 2013. Rauh 1993 is still the classic work on the subject.

⁶ Dickenson 2013, Dillon and Palmer Baltes 2013, Ma 2013.

⁷ I have presented this argument more fully in Constantakopoulou 2007, 38–58.

⁸ Constantakopoulou 2007, 66–75, Chankowski 2008a.

officials, called *amphictiones*. Monumentalization in this period, and the changing use of space, was inevitably shaped by the reality of Athenian control.

The Athenians may have been in control of the sanctuary, its festivals, and its general income, but at the same time, the Delians existed as an independent polis, with their own political functions. We may not have for Delos the wealth of literary documents that we have for Athens, but what we do have allows us to get glimpses of active discontent and Delian reactions against Athenian control, such as the beatings of the Athenian *amphictiones* by some Delians in the 370s (*ID* 98b 24–30 = *RO* 28 = Chankowski 28), the Athenian honours given to the Delian Peisithides, presumably for his pro-Athenian stance in the 340s or 330s (*IG* II² 222), and perhaps more importantly the Delian appeal, possibly to Delphi, for regaining the control over the administration of their sanctuary in the 340s.⁹

The advent of Delian Independence in 314, however, changed dramatically the history of Delos: the Delians were now in charge of their island and sanctuary and proceeded in reshaping the Delian landscape through a series of buildings, improvements, and investment. The Delian reclaim of the administration of their sanctuary, however, was not the only major change that affected the religious and political landscape of Delos. The Delian period of Independence, that is, the period covering the late fourth century, third century, and early second centuries, was a period shaped by the active engagement of a new phenomenon of political control in the (now massively expanded) Greek world: the figure of the Hellenistic monarch, their royal circles, and their agendas. Regional sanctuaries, such as that of Delos, were always used as arenas for the competitive display of piety and power by powerful individuals and communities.¹⁰ More specifically, the third-century Aegean became one of the centre stages for the struggle for power between the Antigonids, based largely in Macedonia, and the Ptolemies in Egypt. The Hellenistic monarchs, the Ptolemies and the Antigonids primarily, but also the Attalids, did not invest only on Delos—Samothrace too, another island sanctuary, saw a massive increase in royal investment.¹¹ In other words, in this respect, the developments witnessed on Delos were in no way unique. But what is interesting is the impact such royal investment had on the configuration of Delian monumental landscape. The third parameter in the reshaping of the Delian landscape was the impact of private (non-monarchic) investment. While, arguably, such a funding source was the least visible in the sanctuary and the polis, compared to Delian public

⁹ I have explored this elsewhere in Constantakopoulou 2016b. See also Osborne 1974, Tuplin 2005, and Chankowski 2008a, 249–61.

¹⁰ Constantakopoulou 2016a.

¹¹ Constantakopoulou 2016a, discussing previous scholarship.

investment or the spectacular monuments funded in order to celebrate the various Hellenistic kings, it still left its traces, especially in the buildings linked with a relatively new social phenomenon: that is the associations of individuals, often professionals, and their political, economic, and cultic needs.

The following sections will explore the changing monumental landscape of Delos, roughly organized according to the groups or individuals largely responsible for their funding: first, the city of the Delians erecting both civic and religious monuments, second, Delian and non-Delian individuals engaged in the erection of public (that is, not private) monuments and buildings, and third, the Hellenistic monarchs and members of their royal circles.

3.2. DELIAN CIVIC BUILDING ACTIVITY

One of the most prominent sources of funding for monumentalization in independent Delos was the demos of the Delians, that is, the political body in charge of the island and its sanctuary. The Delians as a political group (as opposed to individual Delians investing in monuments, which shall be discussed in section 3.4 below) invested massively in the building of new and the improvement, expansion, and development of old structures. I have divided the discussion of the Delian investment into two sections: the first one discusses the civic building activity, while the second one discusses the erection of religious monuments. I should emphasize that such a clear distinction between these two spheres is to a certain degree arbitrary, as religious activity took place in ‘civic’ public buildings, while religious buildings may have also served a ‘civic’ role. An absolute demarcation of function along ‘civic’ and ‘religious’ roles may be impossible, but still, there is a certain difference between buildings such as the Ecclesiasterion, which housed the Delian Assembly, and the so-called Temple of the Delians, which was completed during the period of Independence.

The main political body of Delos was the Ecclesia, the Assembly.¹² The Delians had a building called an Ecclesiasterion, which appears for the first time in the accounts of 231 (*ID* 316 101). There is no reference to this building in any of the epigraphic evidence from the period of Athenian control that predated the period of Independence. It is reasonable to assume, therefore, that the Delians built this building only after they gained their

¹² Vial 1984, 129–46.

Independence. Vallois identified the Ecclesiasterion with building *GD 47* (Figure 3.1).¹³ The identification was accepted with some reservations by Bruneau and Ducat,¹⁴ but as Vial argued, the building is not large enough to function as an assembly place, since it could hold a maximum of 450 people in the early third century and 550 in the subsequent period.¹⁵ With the male citizen population of Delos estimated at 1,200 for the late period of Independence,¹⁶ it is obvious that this building would be inadequate. However, it is possible, as Vial herself admitted, that some meetings were held in open space, or indeed elsewhere. The presence of a number of *cleroteria* in the north-east corner of the Artemision, next to which the building *GD 47* stands, seems to strengthen the identification of the building with some sort of voting processes;¹⁷ at the same time, some meetings of the Assembly could have taken place in the theatre. Whatever the case is, we can note two interesting features: the first is that the Delians invest in a substantial building which they expand considerably over the third century (*GD 47*); second, whatever the identification of the Ecclesiasterion is, there is no doubt that the Delians constructed a new building or enlarged an existing one early on in the period of their Independence for the purposes of their assembly meetings.

If the building identified as the Ecclesiasterion can be seen in some ways as the monumental equivalent of the Delian demos, the Prytaneion had an equal, if not more important, symbolic significance. The Prytaneion (*GD 22*) housed the cult of Hestia Prytaneia, which included dedications to Hestia by the Delian archons, normally *phialai*.¹⁸ Hestia was the patron deity of the Delian *prytanes*, and as such she was housed in the most important civic building of Delos; in other words, she was effectively a ‘symbol of the city’ itself.¹⁹ The history of construction and repair of the Prytaneion as a building follows closely, as one would expect, the history of the Delian polis. The first phase of the building can be placed in the classical period, in the third quarter of the

¹³ Vallois 1929, 278–302 and 1944, 171–2. On the identification of the Ecclesiasterion with *GD 47* see also Hellmann 1992, 122–3.

¹⁴ Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 210: the building has an early fifth-century phase, but the existing building is tenuously dated to the end of the fourth/early third century, with some additions in the third quarter of the third century. For the second phase of the building see Moretti and Fraisse 2000, 523.

¹⁵ Vial 1984, 130.

¹⁶ Vial 1984, 17–20, 1997, 2014b, adapting Bruneau’s 1970, 262–3, figures. This would give us a total population of 5,000 to 6,500. Reger 1994a, 83–5, calculates a lower population of about 2,600–3,900. Recently, Lytle 2013, 301–2, sees a population of about 6,000 for the middle of the third century. Delos is an excellent example of an island sustaining a large population because of its position in maritime networks (and later on in relation to slave trade because of the combination of centrality and insularity): see comments in Horden and Purcell 2000, 391.

¹⁷ Moretti 2001a.

¹⁸ Bruneau 1970, 441–3, Vial 1984, 203, Hamilton 2000, 194–6.

¹⁹ Bruneau 1970, 443.

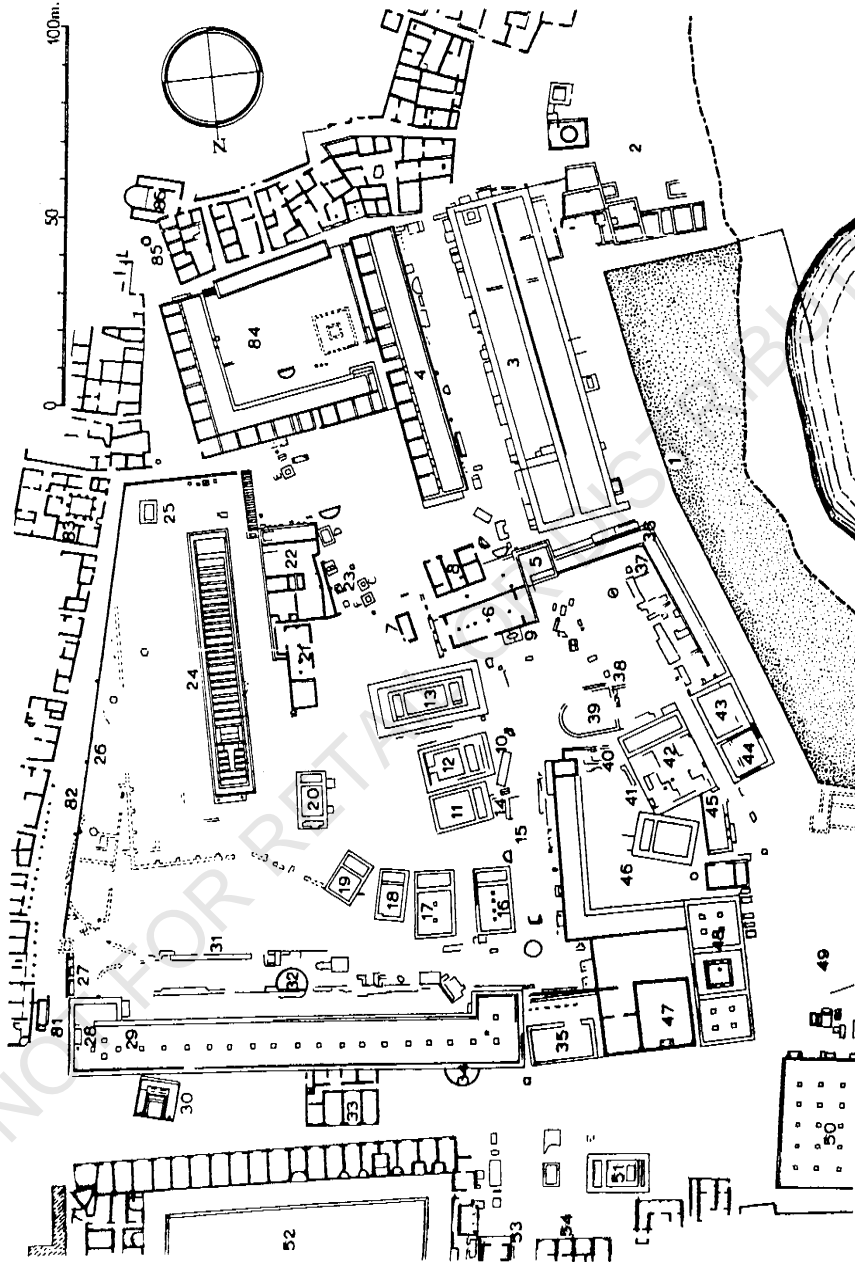


Figure 3.1. Plan of the sanctuary of Delos (GD Plan 1) (©Υπουργείο Πολιτισμού και Αθλητισμού/ΚΑ' Εφορεία Προϊστορικών-Κλασικών Αρχαιοτήτων, École Française d'Athènes / B. Sagnier)

Register:

GD 2 Agora of the Competaliasts or Agora of the Hermaists	GD 29 Antigonus' stoa
GD 3 Philip's stoa	GD 30 Minoan Spring
GD 4 South Stoa	GD 31 Monument of the <i>pragonoi</i>
GD 5 Propylon	GD 36 Stoa of the Naxians
GD 6 Oikos of the Naxians	GD 46 Building Ac / Artemision
GD 11 Porinos Naos	GD 47 Ecclesiastion (?)
GD 12 Temple of the Athenians or Temple of the Seven Statues	GD 49 Agora of Theophrastos
GD 13 Temple of the Delians or Grand Temple	GD 50 Hypostyle Hall
GD 21 Bouleuterion (?)	GD 51 Dodekatheon
GD 22 Prytaneion	GD 52 Agora of the Italians
GD 23 Altars	GD 81 Karystios monument
GD 24 Monument with the Bulls / Neorion	GD 84 Agora of the Delians or Agora Tetragnos

fifth century.²⁰ The location of the building is quite significant. As we shall see with the Bouleuterion (which is most likely the building *GD* 21), immediately to the north of the Prytaneion, and the archaic column dedicated to Athena Polias (*ID* 15), at the corner of the Bouleuterion,²¹ this area of the sanctuary was preserved for civic buildings from an early stage, during the (perhaps the late) sixth century.²² Although there was an earlier building phase in the fifth century, the Prytaneion, as we know it, was essentially built in the later fourth century, with a secure *terminus ante quem* provided by the dedication to Hestia made by archon Nikodromos, son of Philon in 326 (*ID* 39). Etienne suggested the middle of the fourth century as a likely date, as the building itself was old enough to require repairs in 301 (*IG* XI.2 144A 101).²³ This is interesting in itself: the date of the building is in the period of Athenian control of Delos, in a period, therefore, when Delian officials, such as the *prytaneis*, were essentially subservient to the Athenians. Etienne refuses to enter the debate of whether the building was ‘Athenian’ or ‘Delian’. Its architectural style, which, along with the Samothrakeion (*GD* 93), Vallois classified as ‘insular’,²⁴ seems to make a statement, at least partially, of an island identity. Even though the building belonged to the period of Athenian control, it was a symbol of the Delian political authorities. Besides, as we have already briefly mentioned, the 340s and their aftermath marked a period of conscious reaction to Athenian control, since this was the period when the Delians appealed against the Athenians over the ownership of the administration of their sanctuary.²⁵ The building of the Prytaneion shows similar concerns in relation to the emergence of a distinct Delian identity that we can reconstruct from the fragments of local Delian historiography,²⁶ and from the cult of the Delian hero par excellence, Anios.²⁷

Even though the building was constructed at the end of the period of Athenian control, it became the most important centre for Delian civic authorities in

²⁰ Recent excavations in the area presented by Etienne 2007 indicate a date in the third quarter of the fifth century. This late date is in contrast to previous estimates. Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 189–90 suggest an early fifth-century date. Miller 1978, 73–4, dates the Prytaneion to c.500, but he did not have access to Etienne’s later excavation reports. Etienne’s 1997 synthesis stresses that the lack of a clear stratigraphy does not allow us to be certain of the date of construction (320–1).

²¹ Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 189.

²² Etienne 1997, 321, Etienne 2007, 333, sees an Athenian influence in the dedication of the column of Athena Polias, but I think he overestimates the degree of influence Athens may have had on Delos during the sixth century.

²³ Etienne 1997.

²⁴ Vallois 1966a, 99–103, followed largely by Etienne 2007, 333.

²⁵ Constantakopoulou 2016b, discussing Hyperides’ speech in defence of the Athenian control over Delos (*FGrH* 401b). See also my commentary on *FGrH* 401b in Constantakopoulou 2010.

²⁶ On Delian historiography: Lanzillotta 1996. Fragments of Delian historiography: Phano-demos (*FGrH* 325 F1), Demades of Athens (*FGrH* 227 T1), Philochorus (*FGrH* 328 T1), Anticles of Athens (*FGrH* 140 F2), Nicochares (*FGrH* 398), Semos of Delos (*FGrH* 396).

²⁷ The Archegeion and the cult of Anios will be discussed in Chapter 3.3. On Anios see Prost 1997 and 2001, 110–11. All testimonia on Anios are collected in Bruneau 1970, 413–30.

the period of Delian Independence. An inventory from the period of the Athenian cleruchy (157/6) provides a very detailed description of the holdings in the Prytaneion (and was instrumental in the identification of the building in the first place, by Roussel).²⁸ The inventory mentions the following rooms that form the Prytaneion: the *prytaneion*, the *prodomos*, the *aule* (courtyard), and the *archeion* (archive room, identified with room E).²⁹ In the inventories of the period of Independence, the *archeion* appears as a *hestiatorion*; yet, the term *hestiatorion* as a room of the building disappears once the Athenian cleruchs settle on the island. Common dining, therefore, implied by the existence of a *hestiatorion* as part of the Prytaneion, was an important element of the role of the Prytaneion in the period of Independence. Such a function was abolished in the period of the Athenian cleruchy, with the Athenians replacing the room (and perhaps even custom) of dining with an archive. Vial is perhaps right in urging us not to stress change in the role and function of the Prytaneion between the period of Independence and that of the Athenian cleruchy,³⁰ but still, such a change in nomenclature must imply a substantial change in function, if not a symbolic statement about the role of the archons of the island in the new period of Athenian control. Whether Athenian or Delian, the Prytaneion was placed in the oldest civic space of the sanctuary, and played the role of the symbolic seat and hearth (through Hestia)³¹ of the inhabitants of the island.

Right next to the Prytaneion was the Bouleuterion, the Council Room (*GD 21*).³² As with the Ecclesiasterion, the identification of the building *GD 21* with the Bouleuterion is not secure, but remains quite strong. The Delians certainly had a Boule, whose activity can be studied through the numerous inscriptions, particularly from the period of Independence.³³ Next to building *GD 21* are a number of altars (*GD 23*), one of which is a fifth-century altar to Athena and Apollo Paion (*GD 23C*).³⁴ Athena Polias appears already from the early sixth century through a dedication on an early sixth-century column erected to the north-east corner of *GD 21* (*ID 15*);³⁵ it is therefore likely that the altar to Athena next to a cluster of civic buildings is an altar to Athena in her capacity as Polias. The existence of the column with the dedication to Athena Polias next to the building strongly implies that the building had a civic function.³⁶ Furthermore, the division of the building in two rooms seems to reflect the

²⁸ Inventory *ID 1416A I 83–95*. Identification by Roussel 1911, 432, and 1916, 47, n. 6, 221–2.

²⁹ Description and reconstruction of the building in Etienne 1997. See also Miller 1978, with a slightly different reconstruction, and Hellmann 1992, 358.

³⁰ Vial 1984, 204. ³¹ Bruneau 1985b, 554.

³² MacDonald 1943, 182–4, Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 189. Identified by Vallois 1944, 25–6 and 119–21.

³³ Vial 1984, 95–127, provides us with a detailed and admirable exploration of the function of the Boule within the Delian political system.

³⁴ Vallois 1944, 25, Bruneau 1970, 248.

³⁵ Bruneau 1970, 233–4.

³⁶ Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 189 with n. 45.

double function of the Bouleuterion, as it is reconstructed from the epigraphic evidence: that of a meeting space for the Delian Boule, and that of an archive of civic documents.³⁷ Even if we accept that the building *GD* 21 cannot be securely identified with the Bouleuterion of the Delians, there is no doubt that we are looking at an early (late sixth-century)³⁸ communal civic investment in terms of monumentalization.

In the Hellenistic period, Delos boasted not one but four agoras:³⁹ the Agora Tetragnonos (rectangular) or Agora of the Delians (*GD* 84), the Agora of the Italians (*GD* 52), the Agora of the Hermaists or the Competaliasts (*GD* 2), and the Agora of Theophrastos (*GD* 49). As the name indicates, the Agora that most resembled a typical Greek Agora in terms of function was the Agora of the Delians, also called Agora Tetragnonos.⁴⁰ This was the oldest agora of Delos, with the other three really taking off after the end of the third century.⁴¹ Of the four, this Agora was located in a central space in relation to the sanctuary. It was enclosed on the north and east side by an L-shaped stoa,⁴² on the west by the back wall of the so-called South Stoa (*GD* 4), and on the south side by the Oblique Stoa.⁴³ The Oblique Stoa was constructed in the third century, at the same time as a building under the later constructed L-shaped stoa.⁴⁴ It is likely that this agora was established in the third century, to replace the earlier agora (probably located in the sanctuary, between the Prytaneion, *GD* 22 and the stoa of the Naxians, *GD* 36), as that area was slowly becoming overbuilt.⁴⁵ An exedra in the middle of the north side of the Agora was dedicated by the Demos of the Delians which conspicuously stated the public role and ownership of the space by the Delians.⁴⁶ This Agora may not have had a primary economic function, such as the later Agora of Theophrastos,⁴⁷ but with its primary location next to the key political buildings of the Prytaneion and the Bouleuterion, it created a central space for the movement

³⁷ Hellmann 1992, 69–70, following MacDonald 1943, 157 and 182–4.

³⁸ See recent redating to the late sixth century (as opposed to the first half of the sixth, proposed by Vallois 1944, 109) by Etienne 2007, 323–6.

³⁹ Fraisse 1983. ⁴⁰ Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 258–9.

⁴¹ The Agora of the Italians: second century BC: Rauh 1993, 81–92, Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 219–22. On the debate of its role in the slave market see recently Trümper 2008, and 2009, 34–49, but see also Roth 2010 for criticisms. See also Bruneau 1995 = Moretti ed. 2006, 925–34. The Agora of the Competaliasts or Hermaists: Rauh 1993, 92–116, Hasenohr 2002, Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 163–6: early phase in late third or early second century, but later completion. The Agora of Theophrastos: established in 126/5 according to *ID* 1645: see Rauh 1993, 23–6, 76–8 Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 213, Mercuri 2008. See also recently the excellent summary by Zarmakoupi 2015, 117–19 on the Agora of the Competaliasts, and 123–4 on the Agora of Theophrastos.

⁴² Coulton 1976, 230–1: date of construction 187–73.

⁴³ Vallois 1944, 65, followed largely by Coulton 1976, 231: third century BC and Fraisse 1983, 303: between 250 and 230.

⁴⁴ Vallois 1966b. ⁴⁵ Hellmann 2010, 276.

⁴⁶ Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 258. ⁴⁷ Moretti, Fincker, and Chankowski 2012.

and socialization of the Delian citizens and residents: besides, such socialization need not have a single primary character.

One of the most impressive Delian public buildings erected in the period of Independence is the building now called Hypostyle Hall (*GD 50*), at the north-western corner of the sanctuary, by the port. This building was among the first to be fully published by the French.⁴⁸ Its large rectangular form and the presence of a great number of columns indicates that this was an important building, whose function is not entirely clear. One of the functions of the building may have been the housing of the guests celebrating the Posideia festival;⁴⁹ the building is most probably what appears in the Delian accounts as the ‘stoa next to the Posideion’ (*ID 365*, 23–44). In addition, the form of the building, as well as its designation as ‘stoa’ indicates that it may have had multiple functions: its position by the port of Delos and next to the area where, in the following century, the Agora of Theophrastos was going to be constructed (*GD 49*), indicates that it may have had a significant commercial function as well. The building was constructed, relatively quickly,⁵⁰ in the last decade of the third century,⁵¹ and above the southern side proudly bore the dedication of the Delians (*IG XI.4 1071*: ‘The Delians constructed’).⁵² This conspicuous statement of funding and ownership was erased when the Athenians arrived as settlers on the island in the period of the Athenian cleruchy; it was then replaced by the more appropriate inscription for the new political context, ‘The Athenians constructed’.⁵³

Delian public investment is also apparent in the area of the port, through the construction of the *choma*. The *choma*, and the officials in charge of it (*epimeletai tou chomatos*) appear in a number of inscriptions in the period of Independence.⁵⁴ What exactly the *choma* is has been a subject of a debate. Interpretations that have been put forward include ‘terrace’,⁵⁵ ‘landfill’,⁵⁶ ‘breakwater’⁵⁷ or ‘jetty’.⁵⁸ Whatever the *choma* was, it is clear that it was related to an improvement in the port facilities of Delos and that it involved substantial investment and considerable administrative work and monitoring.⁵⁹ Vial linked it, in particular, with a marked increase in commercial traffic to and

⁴⁸ Leroux 1909, Vallois and Poulsen 1914.

⁴⁹ Bruneau 1970, 259–60, 263–4, followed by Coulton 1976, 233, and Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 214.

⁵⁰ Vial 2014b, 257.

⁵¹ Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 214–16, based on the building accounts of 208.

⁵² *IG XI.4 1071*: [Δ]ήλιοι[ι — — — 21 — — —] κατ[εσ]κε[ύασαν].

⁵³ *IG XI.4 1071*: Ἀθηναῖοι[ι — — — 21 — — —] κατ[εσ]κε[ύασαν]. See Roussel 1987, 298.

⁵⁴ First reference in 281: *IG XI.2 159A 28*: ἀπὸ τοῦ χώματος τοὺς λίθους προσκόμισαν. Reference to the *epimeletai* in 217: *ID 355 12*: τοῖς ἐπιμελεταῖς τοῦ χώματος. Full list of references with discussion in Duchêne and Fraisse 2001, 147–51.

⁵⁵ Hellmann 1992, 437–9.

⁵⁶ Bruneau 1981, 110–11 = Moretti ed. 2006, 558–9, followed by Vial 1984, 340–1.

⁵⁷ Reger 1988. ⁵⁸ Duchêne and Fraisse 2001, 151–3. ⁵⁹ Vial 1984, 340–4.

from the port of Delos in the later half of the third century.⁶⁰ Through the construction of the *choma* and other port building activities, the Delians showed their commitment in enhancing the existing infrastructure for port trade, which was such an indispensable aspect of their economic (but not just economic) existence. Traffic on Delos was certainly not only commercial. Investment in the port guaranteed that the biggest asset of Delos, its sanctuary and the consequent wealth that visitors to the sanctuary brought onto the island, could sustain and increase its massive appeal within the network of worshippers of the southern Aegean.

The last two buildings we shall examine in this section are perhaps the most impressive examples of public Delian investment. The splendid Delian theatre (GD 114), built to the south of the area of the sanctuary making good use of the natural slope of Mt Kynthos, was constructed between the end of the fourth century and the third quarter of the third.⁶¹ This was an impressive monumental structure, and one that could accommodate up to 6,500 spectators.⁶² While even before the construction of the theatre the Delian sanctuary housed musical and other performances as part of the festivals organized in honour of the Delian deities, the new theatre provided a better monumental context for the celebration of the festivals, alongside a celebration of Delian identity. The theatre may have also functioned as a meeting place for the Delian Assembly, as the building identified as the Ecclesiasterion, as we have seen, was not large enough to accommodate the totality of the Delian citizen population. In addition, activities in the theatre, as we shall see in a following chapter,⁶³ were central to the Delian award of honours: such an award was *proedria* (prominent seating in the theatre during the festivals), which was a typical honour associated with proxeny. It cannot be a coincidence that the beginning of the construction of the theatre coincided with the advent of Delian Independence. The prominent dedicatory inscription also publicly proclaimed the Delian ownership of this monumental structure (IG XI.4 1070).⁶⁴

While we cannot be certain at which point the Delian *stadion* (GD 77) was constructed, epigraphic evidence seems to indicate that it was standing in the early third century.⁶⁵ The *stadion* was associated with another building, called the *xyston*, which may be identified with GD 76.⁶⁶ This building complex was another example of the Delians' investment in impressive public monuments,

⁶⁰ Vial 2014b, 260.

⁶¹ Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 296–8, Fraisse and Moretti 2007, Moretti 2014.

⁶² Fraisse and Moretti 2007, 216. ⁶³ See Chapter 4.

⁶⁴ IG XI.4 1070: [Δ]ήλιοι τὸ θε[ατρον καὶ — — — —]ν κατεσκεύ[ασαν — —].

⁶⁵ Vallois 1944, 176–8, with reference to the (very fragmentary) accounts of IG XI.2 182, 5, dated to the first quarter of the third century which mention [τ]οῦ γ[υμνα]σίου καλαμί[δας]; see also Moretti 2001b, Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 251.

⁶⁶ Moretti 2001b.

which would considerably facilitate the various athletic activities associated with the Delian festivals.

The Delians during the period of Independence, therefore, invested considerably in public monuments. Such an impressive expansion in building activity on Delos may be linked perhaps with an expansion in population;⁶⁷ such an interpretation, however, cannot alone explain the developments we witness in the changing monumental landscape of Delos. The commercial importance of Delos was increased by the erection of new buildings and the creation of public spaces, such as the Delian Agora.⁶⁸ Furthermore, Zarmakoupi has recently brilliantly shown the importance of domestic activities in the development of the Delian economy (with emphasis in the Roman period).⁶⁹ It is true that the peak of the role of Delos as one of the most important hubs for commerce in the eastern Mediterranean would come later, under the period of Athenian cleruchy, when the Romans declared that Delos should be a free port.⁷⁰ Yet, it was the central geographic position of Delos within the island network of the southern Aegean and the substantial infrastructure that the Delians constructed that allowed Delos to eventually become known as the place where everything is sold, as the proverb recounted by Strabo attests (14.5.2: ‘Merchant, sail in, unload your ship, everything has been sold’).⁷¹ Delian public building activity created the context for further increase of the fame of Delos as a commercial port and as a regional sanctuary (with the construction of buildings that could be associated with religious activities, such as the theatre and the *stadion*). At the same time, this building programme celebrated Delian identity and independence. These developments are also visible in the Delian religious building activity, to which we shall now turn.

3.3. DELIAN RELIGIOUS BUILDING ACTIVITY

Alongside civic building activity, the Delians proceeded to expand, renovate, and fund a considerable number of existing and new religious buildings. Perhaps the most important statement about the Delians’ regaining control

⁶⁷ Vial 2014b.

⁶⁸ See Karvonis 2008, for an excellent discussion of buildings with a commercial function in the Hellenistic period. See also Zarmakoupi 2015.

⁶⁹ Zarmakoupi 2013b, 2015.

⁷⁰ Pol. 30.20–21, 32.17; Strabo 10.5.4 c.486. Roussell 1987, Rauh 1993.

⁷¹ Strabo 14.5.2: the proverb is here associated with the famous statement that 10,000 slaves were sold on Delos on a day: ‘ἡ Δήλος, δυναμένη μυριάδας ἀνδραπόδων αὐθημερόν καὶ δέξασθαι καὶ ἀποπέμψαι, ὥστε καὶ παροιμίαν γενέσθαι διὰ τοῦτο ἔμπορε, κατάπλευσον, ἐξελού, πάντα πέπραται.’

of the sanctuary and its resources was the completion of the Temple of the Delians (*GD 13*). Indeed, the history of this building's foundation and completion perhaps exemplifies best the complex relationship between Athens and Delos in the classical period, and celebrates unequivocally the Delian Independence. The temple was founded in the 470s or some time later; its foundation showed that Delos was viewed as the permanent religious centre of the newly-founded Delian League, after the end of the Persian wars.⁷² The construction of the temple, however, was interrupted, possibly in 454,⁷³ when the League's treasury moved from Delos to Athens, transforming in this way, the network of allies forming the Delian League into the Athenian Empire.⁷⁴ Instead of this temple, the main temple in the period of Athenian control was the so-called Temple of the Athenians or Temple of the Seven Statues (*GD 12*), which was completed in the late 420s or early 410s.⁷⁵ The Delian Independence, however, allowed the Delians to complete the previously abandoned temple. It is likely that work on the building started soon after the beginning of the Independence; certainly by 280, the Delian inventories record a list of precious offerings kept in the *prodomos* of the building, which should by this stage be complete, or secure enough to guarantee the safe-keeping of the treasures.⁷⁶ The completed temple, known as the Temple of the Delians or Grand Temple, which was much larger than the previous two temples of Apollo on Delos,⁷⁷ created a new landmark in this central space of the sanctuary, and contributed considerably to the reconfiguration of the monumental space in the heart of the sacred area of the sanctuary.⁷⁸ It was a Delian statement of Independence, power, and control over their sanctuary: after almost two centuries of foreign control and interference in the affairs of the administration of their own sanctuary, the Delians finally had their own temple, a manifestation of the Delians honouring the gods on their own island.

The completion in the period of Independence of the Temple of the Delians was perhaps the grandest statement of Delian public investment in

⁷² Courby 1931, 97–104, Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 185–7. ⁷³ Boersma 1970, 170.

⁷⁴ I have argued this more fully in Constantakopoulou 2007, 66–75.

⁷⁵ Courby 1931, 107–205, Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 183–4. The temple is called Temple of the Athenians (*ἐν τῷ νεῷ τῷ Ἀθηναίων*) in the inventories of the period of Athenian control, as in *ID 104 107*, dated to 364/3 and Temple of the Seven Statues (*ἐν τῷ νεῷ οὗ τὰ ἑπτὰ ἀγάλματα*) in the period of Delian Independence, as in *IG XI.2 154A 61*, dated to 296: the memory of Athenian administration is therefore effaced.

⁷⁶ Hamilton 2000, 60–70 for the inventories of objects kept in the Temple of the Delians in the early period of Independence. Earliest mention of the Temple of the Delians (called Temple of Apollo) is in 279: *IG XI.2 161B 66*: *ἐν τῷ προδόμῳ τοῦ νεῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος*. This reference to a 'temple of Apollo' should not be confused with the entry 'Temple of the Delians' recorded in the early inventory of 363 (*ID 104 119*: *ἐν τῷ Δηλίων νεῷ*): this is an alternative name to the Porinos Naos (*GD 11*) in the period of Athenian control, not to the so-called Temple of the Delians or Grand Temple (*GD 13*).

⁷⁷ The so-called Porinos Naos *GD 11*, and the Temple of the Athenians *GD 12*.

⁷⁸ Scott 2013a, 58–9.

the monumentalization of the sanctuary. But this was not the only radical new change in the monumental landscape of the sanctuary of Independent Delos. The Delians proceeded in founding new and renovating a number of old religious buildings over the course of the third century.⁷⁹ It is likely that it was the third century when considerable building activity took place in the Archegesion (GD 74), the sanctuary of the Delian hero *archegetes*, Anios.⁸⁰ The sanctuary was probably founded in the first half of the sixth century, with the later addition of *oikoi* during the fifth century.⁸¹ Anios, and the Archegesion, had a pivotal role for Delian local identity.⁸² In local history and myth, Anios was the king of Delos, and was considered the ‘founder’, *archegetes* of the island.⁸³ There is no need to elaborate here on the importance that such ‘founder’ heroes had for local identity and constructions of local history. Anios, as *archegetes*, can be seen as the personification of the Delian communal identity. The format of the sanctuary, which was surrounded by a high wall, highlighted the exclusivity of the cult offered to the hero *archegetes* of the Delians.⁸⁴ Within such a context, the inscription set up on the lintel of the east gate to the Archegesion, and dated to the end of the fifth century or early fourth, is particularly indicative: the inscription prohibits *xenoi* from entering the Archegesion (ID 68): ξένωι οὐχ ὀσίη ἐσι[έραι].⁸⁵ This is one of the very few instances where *xenoi* were excluded from participation in cult, and one of only three inscriptions from the classical Greek world which attest to such an exclusion.⁸⁶ The target of the prohibition is important too. It is likely that *xenos* implied external citizenship.⁸⁷ Butz argued that it was targeting particularly Athenian ‘foreigners’.⁸⁸ Indeed, the wording of the inscription seems to imply that an Athenian audience was targeted, at least partly.⁸⁹ The inscription presents us with a combination of Ionian and Attic dialect: hence we have the Attic ξένωι (as opposed to the Ionian ξείνωι), but the Ionian ὀσίη

⁷⁹ Vial 2014b, 257.

⁸⁰ Preliminary report of the final publication in Prost 1997. See also Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 247–8.

⁸¹ Antonaccio 1995, 218–20, Prost 2001, 109–10.

⁸² I have argued this elsewhere in Constantakopoulou 2016b. I would like to thank Francis Prost for sharing his thoughts on the archaic and classical phases of the Archegesion with me.

⁸³ Bruneau 1970, 413–30.

⁸⁴ See Ekroth 2012, 113, highlighting this aspect, especially in comparison to the Pelopeion in Olympia.

⁸⁵ Butz 1994. A date at the end of the fifth or early fourth centuries is also argued by Chankowski 2008a, 272, n. 161.

⁸⁶ For exclusion of *xenoi* see Funke 2006. Exclusion in literary sources: Cleomenes on the Acropolis: Herodotus 5.72, for which see Parker 1998. Cleomenes attempting to sacrifice to the Argive Heraion: Hdt. 6.81. Epigraphic attestations of exclusion: Paros IG XII.5 225 [1]: ξε(ι)νωι Δωριῆι οὐ θέμι[ς οὐίτ]ε δ[ο(ύ)λλ]ωι ἀκο(ύ)ρηι ἀστῶι εἶ[σται]. [2]: χσένωι Δωριῆι οὐ θέμι[ς ἐσορᾶν] ... οὐτε δ[όλλ]ωι, ἀ Κόρηι Ἀστῶι εἶ[ρδετα].

⁸⁷ Fraser 2009, 76.

⁸⁸ Butz 1994.

⁸⁹ I would like to thank David Langslow for this observation.

(as opposed to the Attic *δῶρα*). The *xenoi* here, then, seem to be primarily the Athenian *xenoi*. The prohibition of *xenoi* highlighted the aspect of the cult of Anios which was associated with local Delian identity. It is therefore not surprising that the Archegeion was expanded in the Hellenistic period, once the Delians finally gained their Independence.

Extensive rebuilding took place in another key location in the Delian sanctuary: the Artemision. The archaic Artemision, built on Mycenaean remains (GD 46, Building Ac), was one of the earliest buildings on Delos, and indeed one of the earliest monumental temples in the Aegean Greek world (GD 46, Artemision E).⁹⁰ The antiquity of both the Mycenaean predecessor of the Artemision and the archaic Artemision itself made this a particularly venerated location within the religious landscape of the sanctuary. The Artemision also housed important treasures, and formed one of the major treasure buildings recorded in the inventories.⁹¹ The building itself underwent a complete restructuring in the Hellenistic period, but it is extremely difficult to pinpoint the exact time of reconstruction (Artemision D);⁹² it is likely, however, that the initiative was taken during the period of Independence.

Another building was constructed in the Hellenistic period on archaic foundations: this is GD 123 on the western coast, to the north of the Asclepieion, possibly identified with the Dioscourion (Figure 3.2).⁹³ The archaic elements of the building include an altar, which shows some continuation in cult practices. What is less certain is which deity was honoured in the archaic building, or indeed in the Hellenistic one. An inscription on a lintel found in the building attests to the priest of the Dioscouroi, Athenobios,⁹⁴ having given two *xoana* to the gods: the discovery of the lintel with the inscription indicates, I think, that the building was most probably a sanctuary of the Dioscouroi, though arguably there are some problems with the identification.⁹⁵ Whatever the identification of the building GD 123 (an alternative interpretation sees it

⁹⁰ Vallois 1944, 48, followed by most scholars, dated it to c.700, but see now Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 209: a lower date, perhaps later in the seventh century, is suggested. The archaic altar in front of the Artemision is now dated to the end of the sixth century: Etienne and Fraisse 1989. I have discussed the significance of this early monumentalization on Delos in Constantakopoulou 2007, 40–1.

⁹¹ Hamilton 2000, 43–58.

⁹² Bruneau 1970, 173–4, Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 209. Vallois 1944, 48–9, dates the construction of the Hellenistic Artemision to the early second century.

⁹³ Publication and early identification in Robert 1952, 5–50. Identification of the Discourion with GD 123 and discussion of the evidence of the cult of the Dioscouroi in Bruneau 1970, 379–94. See also Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 310–13.

⁹⁴ Unfortunately, this Athenobios does not appear in the Index of Tréheux 1992, or Vial 2008, nor in the *LGN* vol. 1, 1987.

⁹⁵ See Bruneau 1970, 383–6 for a number of objections to the identification. Roux 1981 replied to the objections, but see Bruneau 1987, for a reply to Roux's arguments. Summary of the debate in Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 312–13.

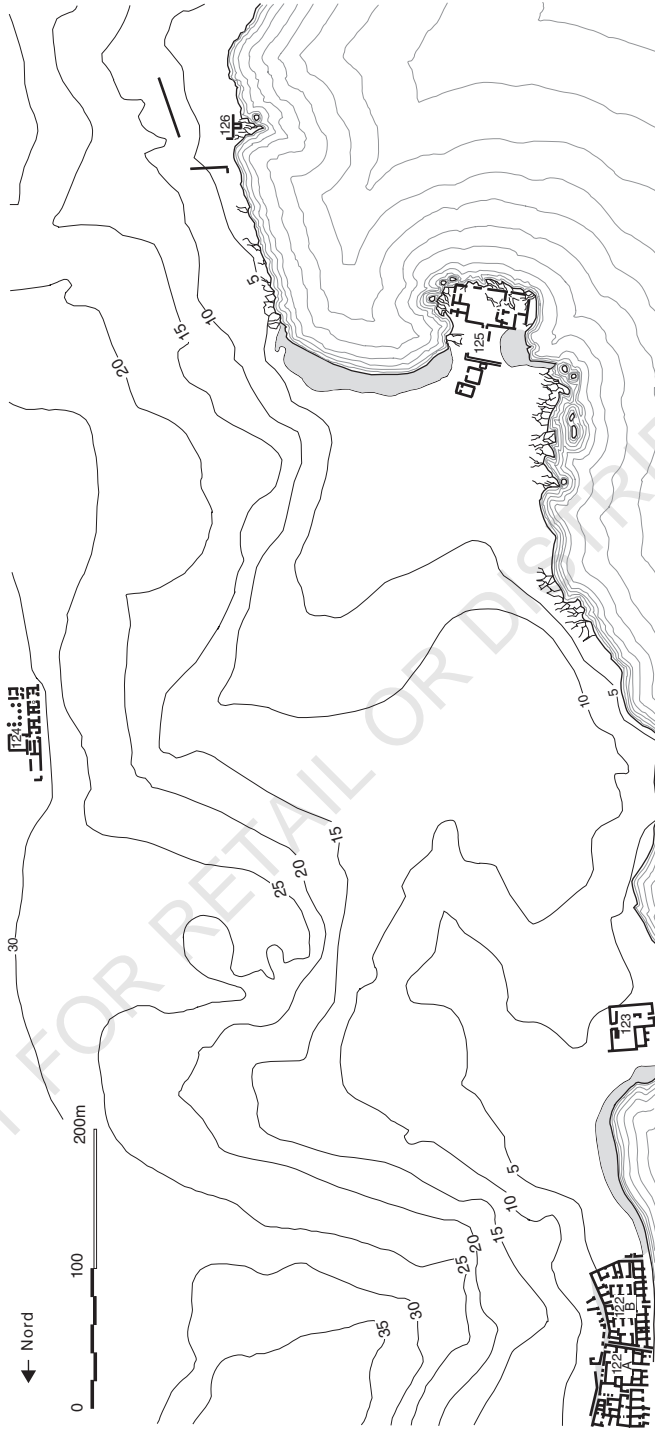


Figure 3.2. Plan of the west coast of Delos (GD Plan 8) (© Υπουργείο Πολιτισμού/ΚΑ' Εφορεία. Προϊστορικών-Κλασσικών Αρχαιοτήτων, École Française d'Athènes / B. Sagnier)

Register:

GD 123 Dioscourion (?), GD 125 Asclepieion

as the Thesmophorion, attested in inscriptions),⁹⁶ there is no doubt that the cult of the Dioscourai was part of the religious landscape of Independent Delos.⁹⁷ It is not surprising to find a cult dedicated to the Dioscourai on the island. The Twin Gods were protectors of sailors,⁹⁸ and their presence should be expected on an island that functioned as a central hub for maritime travel throughout its history. Nor do we need to associate the cult of the Dioscourai with specific political events in the history of Delos.⁹⁹ Indeed, the cult of the Dioscourai was part of an extensive network of deities found on Delos, who, among other things, offered protection and salvation at sea: the Great Gods of Samothrace (also known as the Samothracian gods) were linked in myth and cult with the Dioscourai; in their Delian presence we shall now turn.

The Delian epigraphic evidence records both a Samothrakeion and a sanctuary of the Great Gods.¹⁰⁰ It is almost certain that they both refer to the same building.¹⁰¹ It is also very likely, as Bruneau convincingly argued, that a single late fourth-century attestation of a Kabeirion on Delos in our epigraphic sources also referred to this building (which later assumed the name of Samothrakeion, or Sanctuary of the Great Gods); Delos was one of the few places in the Greek world where the Dioscourai, the Great Gods of Samothrace, and the Kabeiroi were assimilated.¹⁰² In any case, in myth and cult, the Great Gods of Samothrace were ultimately linked with the Kabeiroi. In fact, part of the appeal of the cult of the Great Gods, and their mysteries, was the confusion surrounding the traditions about their identity.¹⁰³ While in epigraphic evidence, the gods appear always as the ‘Great Gods’ or the ‘Samothracian gods’,¹⁰⁴ when found outside Samothrace itself,¹⁰⁵ literary

⁹⁶ The Thesmophorion had not yet been discovered: We know from the accounts that its roof was repaired at the end of the fourth century: *IG XI.2 144A 76*. See discussion in Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 211.

⁹⁷ The Dioscourion is mentioned in inscriptions already from the end of the fourth century: *IG XI.2 144A 57–63*.

⁹⁸ Burkert 1985, 212–13.

⁹⁹ Robert 1952, 44 linked the supposed abandonment of the cult of the Dioscourai in the period of Athenian cleruchy with an Athenian hostility towards what he identified as essentially an ‘insular’ cult. But see Bruneau 1970, 393–4, followed by Cole 1984, 78–9, for a powerful refutation of this argument.

¹⁰⁰ References to a Samothrakeion date only from the period of the Athenian cleruchy: for example, *ID 1417A I 155–67*. The sanctuary of the Great Gods is attested only once: *ID 1400 40*.

¹⁰¹ Bruneau 1970, 387.

¹⁰² Reference to a Kabeireion on Mt Kynthos: *IG XI.2 144A 90*: τὸ Καβεῖρ[ε]ῖον τὸ ἐ[ἰ]ς Κύνθον. Discussion in Bruneau 1970, 387–90, followed by Cole 1984, 77.

¹⁰³ I have explored this elsewhere, in Constantakopoulou 2016a, largely following in this respect Bowden 2010, 49–67.

¹⁰⁴ Dedication to the Samothracian gods in Delian inscriptions in *ID 2441*: θεοῖς Σαμοθράξι, and the Great Gods of Samothrace, the Kabeiroi in *ID 2481*: Θεῶν Μεγάλων Σαμοθ[ρ]άκων Καβε[ε]ῖρων.

¹⁰⁵ The Great Gods as the Kabeiroi: Hdt. 2.51, Stesimbrotus of Thasos *FGrH 107 F 20*. Diodorus 5.49.3–4 calls them the Korybantēs, while Mnaseas, quoted in the Scholia to Apoll. Rh. 1.917 = *FGrH 548 F1*, lists Axieros, Axiokersa, Axiokersos, and Kasmilos (sometimes

evidence provides a different range of identifications, including the Kabeiroi. Participation in the cult of the Great Gods and initiation in the mysteries in Samothrace offered protection from dangers faced at sea;¹⁰⁶ the special relationship between Samothrace and the sea is also exemplified in the large presence of fish hooks found in the sanctuary of Samothrace.¹⁰⁷ The appeal of the Great Gods of Samothrace extended throughout the Greek world:¹⁰⁸ initiates and *theoroi* came to be initiated or visit the sanctuary of Samothrace,¹⁰⁹ and at the same time, sanctuaries for the Great Gods were established in a number of places, including Delos. The Samothrakeion (or Kabeirion) on Delos has been identified with *GD* 93, a building on the slope of Mt Kynthos.¹¹⁰ The building probably functioned as a sanctuary:¹¹¹ it had an early phase, dated to the fourth century, while it was enlarged during the second century. The maritime aspect of the cult, most probably linked here on Delos as elsewhere with salvation at sea, is exemplified by the offerings, which included, according to the inventories, naval and maritime implements, such as a trident, and wooden and metal anchors.¹¹²

The large-scale rebuilding and restructuring of the monumental landscape of Independent Delos included also the building of new structures. In the early third century, possibly around 290, a new temple was constructed in the north-west area of the sanctuary, by the Hypostyle Hall, dedicated to the Twelve Gods (Dodekathion, *GD* 51). While the cult of the Twelve Gods on Delos certainly predated the third century and the building of the temple (as is shown by the presence of a number of altars), it was only with the advent of Independence that a building was constructed to house this cult.¹¹³ The account of 282 lists the temple as the '[building] where the statues of the twelve [gods are found]'.¹¹⁴ The head of one of the statues was found among the ruins of the temple, and it resembled 'the idealized portrait of a Hellenistic

identified with Demeter, Persephone, Hades, and Hermes respectively). On the various identifications of the gods see Cole 1984, esp. 1–4, Burkert 1993, 186–7, Clinton 2003, 68–9.

¹⁰⁶ This is one of the key aspects of the cult as revealed in our sources: *Ar. Peace*, 277–8 with scholia, *Ap. Rhod. Arg.* 1.915–18 with scholia, *Diod.* 4.43.1–2, 4.48.5–7, 5.49.5–6.

¹⁰⁷ Lehmann 1998, 36–7. ¹⁰⁸ Cole 1984 for an exemplary analysis.

¹⁰⁹ See the recent study of Dimitrova 2008, and Linde 2013.

¹¹⁰ Publication in Chapouthier 1935. Identification of the building discussed in Bruneau 1970, 387–90, and Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 270–1.

¹¹¹ Chapouthier 1935, followed by Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 270, contra Roux 1973, 551–2 who argued it was a *hestiatorion*. I do not see why one function *necessarily* excludes the other one.

¹¹² *ID* 1417A 164–7. Maritime aspect of cult discussed in Bruneau 1970, 396. For the inventories of the Samothrakeion see Hamilton 2000, 196.

¹¹³ Publication of the Dodekathion in Will 1955. Discussion of the date in Will 1976. Bruneau 1970, 438–41 for the cult of the Twelve Gods. See also Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 216–17.

¹¹⁴ *IG* XI.2 158A 65: οὗ τὰ δώδεκα ἀγάλματ[α].

sovereign'.¹¹⁵ As a consequence, Hellenistic royal initiative (more particularly, the Antigonids—either Demetrios Poliorketes or his father, Antigonos Monophthalmos) was associated with the building of the temple, perhaps in the form of funding.¹¹⁶ We do not, however, have necessarily to link the presence of the head of the statue with royal initiative.¹¹⁷ While royal investment on Delos took many different forms, not every single building activity has to be associated with Hellenistic politics and royal undertakings. As we shall see, the influx of royal money certainly benefitted Delos and its inhabitants, especially in terms of assistance in the costly enterprises of monumentalization. But to search for royal initiatives in every single building activity deprives the Delians of their agency. In other words, royal connections should be promoted only where they can be firmly established.

Further down south on the western coast of Delos, the Asclepieion (GD 125) occupied a small promontory.¹¹⁸ Like the Dodekatheon, it is likely that the cult of Asclepius existed on Delos before the building of a sanctuary dedicated to his cult, as the cult of Asclepius was rapidly expanding in the Greek world throughout the fourth century. The late fourth/early third century saw the construction of a temple in a location suitable for the speedy transfer of the very sick to the opposite island of Rheneia, as it was prohibited to die or give birth on Delos.¹¹⁹ And similarly to the Dodekatheon, we do not have to link the initiative behind the construction of an Asclepieion with a specific royal agenda. Certainly, it may be tempting to associate the Delian construction of an Asclepieion with Ptolemaic policies in the Aegean and Delos, through Ptolemy I Soter's sojourn on Cos in 309 (Diod. 20.27.2–3) and the conspicuous connections between the Ptolemies, Cos (and especially the birth of Ptolemy II Philadelphos on the island),¹²⁰ and the famous Asclepieion on Cos.¹²¹ But on the other hand, we hardly need the links between Delos, Cos,¹²² and Ptolemy to explain the presence of a sanctuary dedicated to Asclepius

¹¹⁵ Bruneau 1970, 439; photo in Plate 14.1.

¹¹⁶ Bruneau 1970, 439–40 and 567–8 for the Antigonid connection, Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 216: 'peut-être sur l'initiative d'un souverain'.

¹¹⁷ See the persuasive arguments of Will 1976, against the Antigonid connection, especially in relation to the dating of the monument.

¹¹⁸ Publication Robert 1952, 51–108. Dating of the phases of the Asclepieion in Vallois 1944, 98–9. Cult of Asclepius on Delos: Bruneau 1970, 355–77. Function of building rooms of the Asclepieion and the nature of the cult: Roux 1981, 55–61. See also Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 316–17.

¹¹⁹ Bruneau 1970, 372–3, followed by Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 61.

¹²⁰ Celebration of the birth of Ptolemy II Philadelphos on Cos: Callimachus, *Hymn to Delos*, 160–70 and Theocritus, *Idyll 17*: see Sherwin-White 1978, 83–4, Bing 1988, 91–143, Hunter 2003, Stephens 2003, 114–21, and 2005, 234–5, and Barbantani 2011, 193–5. The importance of birth stories for the Ptolemaic dynasty is elegantly explored in Ogden 2013.

¹²¹ As argued by Robert 1952, 98. But see Bruneau 1970, 375–7 for a gentle deconstruction of Robert's argument.

¹²² Cos and Delos had strong ritual links, as explored in Chapters 5.8 and 5.9 on the social dynamics of dedication. See also recently the discussion in Rutherford 2013, 231–6.

and the practice of healing. Instead, we should see the Asclepieion as another example of the growing popularity of Asclepios' cult, and the willingness of the Delians to monumentally expand their sanctuary through the inclusion of new cults.

The construction of the theatre created a new hub of cults on the slopes of Mt Kynthos. Three small sanctuaries were located to the south-west of the theatre complex (*GD* 116).¹²³ The identification of these sanctuaries and altars is not unproblematic, but it seems likely that one of them (*GD* 116c) was constructed in the period of Independence,¹²⁴ and dedicated, possibly in a later period, to Dionysos, Hermes, and Pan, according to two inscriptions found on site (*ID* 1907 and 2400). Of the three gods honoured in this sanctuary, it is likely that Dionysos was the intended deity from the start: this is suggested by the orientation of the sanctuary towards the centre of the theatre's orchestra.¹²⁵ The theatre area is not an unexpected place for a cult of Dionysos. The presence of this god, however, was not restricted to the area of the theatre.¹²⁶ On the eastern side of the sanctuary of Apollo, the choregic monument of the Delian Karystios (*GD* 81) had prominent Dionysiac symbols: a cock, whose head was substituted by a phallus, was carved in the centre of the façade of this monument, while on the sides, there were reliefs depicting Dionysos with a Maenad with Silenus on one side, and with Pan on the other.¹²⁷ From a sacred law, we know of a Dionysion on Delos,¹²⁸ as well as an altar of Dionysus,¹²⁹ but the Dionysion has not been securely identified. Recently, Moretti and Fincker proposed the identification of the choregic monument of Karystios as the altar of Dionysus;¹³⁰ indeed, their interpretation of the monument and the references to the altar is persuasive. Their suggested construction date to the early period of Independence fits well with our impression of the introduction and proliferation of cults of

¹²³ Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 299.

¹²⁴ Vallois 1944, 102–7, followed by Bruneau 1970, 309–10. Bruneau suggests that the combination cult for Dionysos, Hermes, and Pan was an Athenian invention, and therefore introduced after 166; the earlier date for the sanctuary suggests that it was dedicated to one of the three gods.

¹²⁵ Argued by Moretti and Fincker 2008, 146, following Fraisse and Moretti 2007, 222 and 241.

¹²⁶ Moretti and Fincker 2008, 147–9.

¹²⁷ Dedication in *IG* XI.4 1148, dated to the end of the fourth/early third century: *πάσι χορηγίας και νικήσας, Διονύσῳ εὐξάμενός με ἀνέθηκε Καρύστιος Ἀσβήλου παῖς*. Description of the monument in Bruneau 1970, 296–304; Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 257.

¹²⁸ Sacred law prohibiting the throwing of rubbish in the Letoon and the area around the Dionysion, dated to 202: *LSCG* 53; the text of the inscription is fully quoted in Bruneau 1970, 305. For such prohibitions see recently Lupu 2009, 28–9.

¹²⁹ References to an altar: *IG* XI.2 159A 44: *ἐπὶ τῶμ βωμῶν τοῦ Διονύσου*, dated to 281.

¹³⁰ Moretti and Fincker 2008.

Dionysos in Delos in the period of Independence,¹³¹ as no references to any cult to Dionysus predate the early Hellenistic period.¹³²

We have explored how the period of Independence saw substantial investment from the part of the Delian community in structures inside and outside the space of the sanctuary. The Delians constructed new buildings, and repaired and expanded old ones. These buildings had diverse functions, and served to facilitate the multifaceted activities that took place on Delos: commercial, religious, cultic, and political. Through this impressive building programme, that included buildings on a truly impressive scale, such as the theatre and the *stadion*, the Delians asserted their identity and celebrated their independence, while also providing the necessary infrastructure for the enhancement of the fame of their island and sanctuary. The Delian demos, however, was not the only source of funding of impressive monuments in the third and early second centuries. It is to another group behind building initiatives that we shall now turn.

3.4. PRIVATE INITIATIVE

We have already touched upon the thorny issue of funding. While it is obvious that Delos during the period of Independence experienced a considerable building programme, it less clear who directly paid for the substantial number of buildings erected or renovated during the late fourth and third centuries. I shall discuss the cases where direct royal funding can be associated with specific buildings in the next section of this chapter. What I would like to discuss now are the cases of two buildings and cults on Delos directly linked with private initiatives, which existed alongside the substantial public Delian funding enterprises and the Hellenistic royal initiatives.

Firstly, the Aphrodision. Aphrodite received cult in two locations on Delos: in the Aphrodision ‘in the sanctuary’, as the accounts list it,¹³³ and in the Aphrodision of Stesileos. The Aphrodision ‘in the sanctuary’ seems to have been the official sanctuary of Aphrodite and the one housing the ancient *xoanon* of the goddess, carried to Delos from Crete by Theseus according to our ancient sources (Callimachus, *Hymn to Delos*, 307–9, Plutarch, *Life of Theseus* 21, Pausanias 9.40.3–4).¹³⁴ This official cult of Aphrodite, with its ancient mythical origins, was not considered adequate for a prominent Delian,

¹³¹ Fraisse and Moretti 2007, 241–2.

¹³² Moretti and Fincker 2008, 145.

¹³³ *ID* 290 84, dated to 246: τὴν θύραν τοῦ Ἀφροδισίου τοῦ ἐν ἱερ[ῶ]. This Aphrodision has not been identified.

¹³⁴ Bruneau 1970, 333–4, Durvy 2006, 84–7. For the *xoanon* and the stories associated with it see Breitenberger 2007, 61.

Stesileos, who funded a new sanctuary to honour the goddess, located on the slope of Mt Kynthos.¹³⁵ Stesileos, son of Diodotos, as we shall see in the two following chapters, was a Delian archon in 305,¹³⁶ a *choregos* for the Apollonia festival and *choregos* of tragedies in 280.¹³⁷ In the Aphrodision, he dedicated a statue of Aphrodite,¹³⁸ and he honoured his mother Echenike and his father Diodotos with a statue for each.¹³⁹ We will examine his and his daughter's, Echenike, prolific dedications as they appear in the inventories of the third century in more detail in Chapter 5.¹⁴⁰ The accounts list the Aphrodision as the 'temple dedicated by Stesileos';¹⁴¹ this clearly implies that Stesileos funded the temple and also initiated its construction and cult.¹⁴² The date of the foundation of the temple can be linked with the date of the dedication of the statue of Aphrodite, which already existed in 304.¹⁴³ Contrary to the practices of the Delian community, which, on the whole, was inclined to renovate existing buildings or build new buildings on locations where cult was already taking place, Stesileos built an entirely new building, on a location with no previous signs of occupation. The temple, identified with *GD* 88,¹⁴⁴ was dominated by dedications of Stesileos' family, and it provided a focus for the celebration of both the festival of the Stesileia (for Stesileos) and that of the Echenikeia, which was founded by, and in honour of, Echenike, Stesileos' daughter.¹⁴⁵ This was clearly a cult with strong familial overtones. We do not know in which capacity Aphrodite received cult in this Aphrodision. Aphrodite, like many Greek gods, was a deity with multiple features: as a patron deity of love, she would not be out of place in a commercial and maritime centre, such as Delos.¹⁴⁶ In her special role as Euploia, she was seen as providing fair sailing and safe destination to sailors,¹⁴⁷ a role that she shared with the Dioscourai, also honoured on the island, as we have seen above. But perhaps more significantly, Aphrodite, and especially Aphrodite Euploia, the

¹³⁵ For the importance of the location of the Aphrodision of Stesileos see Scott 2013a, 60.

¹³⁶ Archon in 305: *IG* XI.4 1067b 5, *IG* XI.2 117 10, 124 33.

¹³⁷ *Choregos* of the Apollonia in 284: *IG* XI.2 105 5, *choregos* of tragedies in 280: *IG* XI.2 107 13.

¹³⁸ Dedication of a statue of Aphrodite in marble: *ID* 290 151 and 153.

¹³⁹ Statues of his parents, Diodotos and Echenike, in the Aphrodision: *IG* XI.4 1166 and 1167.

¹⁴⁰ See Chapters 5.6 and 5.7.

¹⁴¹ *ID* 290 153: τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἣς ἀνέθηκε Στησίλειος τὸν ναὸν. Contra Sosin 2014a, 152–3, who argues that Stesileos did not dedicate the temple. I am unconvinced by his arguments.

¹⁴² Durvy 2006, 2009.

¹⁴³ Argument put forward by Bruneau 1970, 336–7.

¹⁴⁴ Bruneau 1970, 335–41, Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 261, Durvy 2006, 94–7.

¹⁴⁵ Bruneau 1970, 342–3. The importance of these festivals is also discussed in Chapter 3. For the inventory of dedications in the Aphrodision see Hamilton 2000, 187–9.

¹⁴⁶ See Rauh, Dillon, and McClain 2008, discussing the presence of a maritime underclass on Delos (and elsewhere) in the Roman period. See also Reger's excellent analysis of the links between prostitution and port life in Reger 2016.

¹⁴⁷ Demetriou 2010.

goddess of fair sailing, was especially associated with the Ptolemies, and more particularly Arsinoe, sister and wife of Ptolemy II Philadelphos.¹⁴⁸ We know that Arsinoe was assimilated to Aphrodite and received cult as Arsinoe Euploia-Zephyritis, through the brilliant reconstruction offered by Robert of a papyrus attesting to altars made of sand for Arsinoe.¹⁴⁹ The cult of Arsinoe, at least in Alexandria, was linked with salvation at sea, as Callimachus' epigram of a dedication by Selenaiia to Arsinoe on a shell in her temple at cape Zephyrion, shows (Call. *Epigram* 15 Pfeiffer = 14 Gow-Page).¹⁵⁰ The cult of Arsinoe at cape Zephyrion was founded by a Ptolemaic official, Callicrates of Samos, the Ptolemaic admiral.¹⁵¹ The links therefore between Aphrodite in her capacity as Euploia, the cult offered to Arsinoe, and the Ptolemaic court were strong and multifaceted; Hellenistic authors of different genres alluded to them, making such literary references to those links conspicuous in our sources.¹⁵²

Can we link, therefore, Stesileos' initiative with the open Ptolemaic interest in the cult of Aphrodite Euploia, through the association between the goddess and the Ptolemaic queen Arsinoe? The answer can only be a decisive no, as Stesileos' foundation predates any evidence of Ptolemaic interest (which, in any case, is dated to the reign of Ptolemy II Philadelphos). While the initiative, therefore, cannot be linked with Ptolemaic interests, it is not unlikely that the success and continuation of the cult may have been in part related to such Ptolemaic initiatives. That is not to say that behind every religious attestation of cult, we need to look for a royal initiative or indeed that we should understand local cult as an expression of royal propaganda (whether Ptolemaic or Antigonid, or whatever). Far from it; in fact, I would stress that we need to stop trying to explain the attestations of local and regional religious networks, whether expressed in cult, monumentalization, dedications, or whatever, in terms of royal propaganda or initiative. Indeed, such a top-down approach, which has been dominant in historical analyses and narratives of third-century history, deprives local societies of any sense of agency or initiative.¹⁵³ Furthermore, such interpretations emphasize the domination of Hellenistic royal houses over every aspect of religious, political, or economic

¹⁴⁸ Arsinoe was not the only queen linked with Aphrodite: Berenice too appears to have had some associations: see Chaniotis 2003, and Hunter 1996, 131–5, in relation to Theocritus, *Idyll* 15, and the associations between Berenice and Aphrodite. See also recently Caneva 2014a, 34–6, and 2014b.

¹⁴⁹ Robert 1966, 192–208, on *P. Ox.* 2465. See also Caneva 2014b, 94–5.

¹⁵⁰ Robert 1966, 193–9. See also Gutzwiller 1992, and Cameron 1995, 258–9.

¹⁵¹ Hauben 1970, 42–6, 2013. Links between Callicrates and Poseidippus are explored in Bing 2003.

¹⁵² See Barbantani 2005, Stephens 2005, Prioux 2011, discussing especially the links between Arsinoe, Aphrodite, and the Dioscourai in relation to Callimachus' work *The Apotheosis of Arsinoe* (F 228 Pfeiffer). Caneva 2014a, 36–42, offers a comprehensive discussion.

¹⁵³ See discussion in Chapter 2.3.

activities of the Delians and the islanders, more generally, to a much higher degree than our evidence allows us to acknowledge. We cannot ever know what lay behind Stesileos' initiative to found a cult for Aphrodite in the new sanctuary, funded by him. While we can point towards his obvious piety, and his strong financial position in order to do this, any other motives can only be conjectures. What we can say, however, is that the success of this cult may have been partly linked to the increasing appeal of Aphrodite Euploia, not just as a maritime deity offering protection at sea, but also through the associations between Aphrodite Euploia and Arsinoe, generated, and exported in the Greek world through the active initiatives of the Ptolemaic court and its officials. Whatever the Ptolemaic connections between a cult of Aphrodite in general and the specific cult of Aphrodite in Stesileos' sanctuary were, the presence of a cult for Aphrodite on Delos must be seen as natural in a place with strong maritime connections and civic identity.¹⁵⁴

Close to the Aphrodision of Stesileos on the slopes of Mt Kynthos, there was another sanctuary funded by private initiative, the Sarapieion A (*GD* 91) (Figure 3.3).¹⁵⁵ Indeed, its location close to the Aphrodision of Stesileos, to the south-east of the main Delian sanctuary, indicated that this too was a sanctuary for a deity outside the traditional Delian pantheon.¹⁵⁶ The architectural form of the sanctuary reflected to a certain degree the fluidity between a private sanctuary and a house for a religious association.¹⁵⁷ The Delian Sarapieion is fascinating particularly because the story of its foundation is recounted in magnificent detail in an inscription on a column,¹⁵⁸ dated to the end of the third century (*IG* XI.4 1299 = Austin 131).¹⁵⁹ The inscription, and

¹⁵⁴ See Bruneau 1970, 344–5, on dedications to Aphrodite by the Delian public officials called the *agoranomoi* and the *astynomoi*.

¹⁵⁵ This is to distinguish it from the two other Sarapieia on the island: Sarapieion B (*GD* 96), another private foundation, for which little is known (Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 272 and Bruneau 1970, 461), and Sarapieion C, the 'official' Sarapieion (*GD* 100), for which see Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 277–9, and Bruneau 1970, 462–3.

¹⁵⁶ Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 60–1, followed largely by Scott 2013a, 63. On Sarapis and the relationship between the deity and the Ptolemies see now Fassa 2013 and 2015.

¹⁵⁷ Trümper 2006.

¹⁵⁸ For an explanation for the choice of a column for the engraving of this inscription see Moyer 2011, 175: a column is not the most convenient shape for engraving a long hymn. The choice therefore must be 'understood as an appeal to the Egyptian symbolism of the Djed-pillar'.

¹⁵⁹ See Bruneau 1970, 459–61, and 1975, 280–3, Engelmann 1975, Chaniotis 1988, 222–3, McLean 1996, 205–11, Siard 1998, Moyer 2008, Furley 2012, Martzavou 2014, 181–4, and Baslez 2014, discussing in particular the role of the *therapeutes* (mentioned repeatedly in the inscription) in relation to the establishment of a new cult; recently the exemplary analysis of Moyer 2011, 142–207, rightly problematizes the notion of syncretism in relation to the cult of Sarapis: rather, both the cult (and the narrative about the introduction of the cult) and the sanctuaries of Sarapis on Delos need to be understood in their local Delian context. The inscription is traditionally dated to the end of the third century, but see now Moyer 2011, 157 with n. 43, for a dating to the period between 220 and 180.

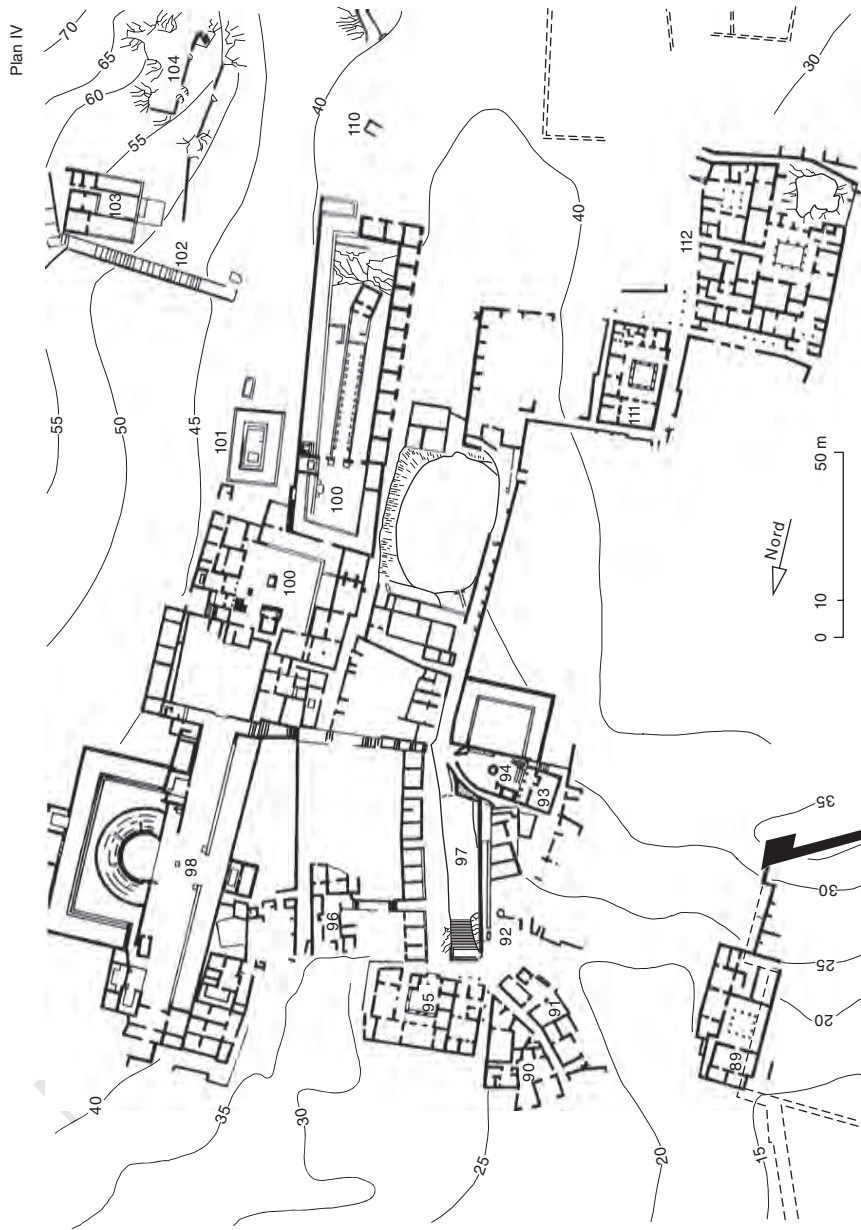


Figure 3.3. Plan of the area of Inopros (GD Plan 5) (©Υπουργείο Πολιτισμού και Αθλητισμού/ΚΑ΄ Εφορεία Προϊστορικών-Κλασικών Αρχαιοτήτων, École Française d’Athènes / B. Sagnier)

Register:

GD 91 Sarapieion A, GD 93 Samothrakeion, GD 103 Sanctuary of Agathe Tyche, GD 104 Andron of Mt Kynthos

the story of the foundation of Sarapis' cult on Delos, is quite unique, and it therefore deserves to be discussed in some detail.¹⁶⁰

The story is relayed first in prose, and is then followed by a hymn to Sarapis, composed by the poet Maiistas. Apollonios, the priest to the god, is narrating the story of the introduction of the cult to Delos and the construction of the Sarapieion. He starts with the story of his grandfather—who, following the Greek tradition, is also named Apollonios—a priest from Memphis in Egypt,¹⁶¹ who came to Delos, carrying Sarapis (that is a statue of the god) in his luggage,¹⁶² and placed him in a rented room. When Apollonios (the elder) died at the age of ninety-seven, his son Demetrios took over; with his death at sixty-one, his son, Apollonios became the chief priest. When this Apollonios took over, the god appeared in his dream to tell him that his cult could no longer take place in rented rooms, and that he should find an appropriate place for the erection of a sanctuary. Sarapis' visitation to Apollonios in a dream is not unusual for this god. In fact, such nocturnal visitation was Sarapis' 'regular means of communication'.¹⁶³ According to the story, Apollonios followed the command of the god and found a plot of land advertised for sale on a poster on the passage on the way to the Agora.¹⁶⁴ This plot of land that Apollonios purchased in order to build the new sanctuary of Sarapis was full of *kopros*, literally dung (l. 19).¹⁶⁵ According to the narrative provided by the inscription, such an inglorious space is transformed by the grace of the god, who will bring respectability and fame.¹⁶⁶ The

¹⁶⁰ This inscription is also known as the Delian aretology of Sarapis. For the concept of aretology and specifically the links between Egyptian influences and Greek narratives, see recently Jördens 2013, who, unfortunately for our purposes, does not discuss this case.

¹⁶¹ The Egyptian genealogy of Apollonios is an important part of the narrative, which shows that the current priest, the grandson of Apollonios, also named Apollonios, has the appropriate genealogical priestly status along traditional Egyptian lines: Moyer 2011, 162–3.

¹⁶² IG XI.4 1299 3–4: Ἀπολλώνιος, ὦν Αἰγύπτιος ἐκ τῶν ἱερέων, τὸν θεὸν ἔχων παρεγένετο ἐξ Αἰγύπτου.

¹⁶³ Alvar 2008, 334. For dreams and Sarapis see also Moyer 2011, 165.

¹⁶⁴ IG XI.4 1299 19–21: δὲ προεγγραπτο πωλούμενος ἐν βιβλιδίῳ ἐν τεῖ διόδοι τῆς ἀγορᾶς, and 56–9: βαῖνε δὲ μέσσα πασταδος ἀμφὶ θύρεθρα καὶ εἶσιδε γράμμα τυπωθὲν τυτθῆς ἐκ βύβλοιο τό σε φρονέοντα διδάξει ὅππῃ μοι τέμενος τεύχῃς καὶ ἐπικλέα νειόν.

¹⁶⁵ IG XI.4 1299 19: ὁ γὰρ τόπος οὗτος ἦν κόπρου μεστός. The word means excrement, or dung. Certainly, there was not much available space for the building of new sanctuaries in a central location in third-century Delos. A private initiative, such as that of Apollonios, may have taken him to spaces not necessarily considered appropriate for building activity by the Delian authorities. I therefore understand the reference to *kopros* as a literal reference: the place was full of dung (and probably smelled). Engelmann, 1975, 19–21, understands it as 'rubbish tip'. Austin 131, in his commentary on p. 227 understands the reference as a 'conventional theme, to contrast with the greatness of the god'. Similarly, Scott 2013a, 64 understands the expression in a metaphorical sense, as 'bustling', but perhaps this kind of metaphorical interpretation is to a certain degree unnecessary. Some times 'full of shit' (κόπρου μεστός) literally means 'full of shit'.

¹⁶⁶ IG XI.4 1299 53–4: σὺ δ' ἔφρασας ἀκλέα χῶρον ὄντα πάρος καὶ ἄσημον. Bruneau 1973, 135, thought that such a description was poetic exaggeration, on the part of Maiistas, as the Cartier of Inopos was a fully urbanized area at the time. See, however Engelmann's objections (1975, 38):

grace of the god also allowed the sanctuary to be constructed within six months only.¹⁶⁷ But then trouble started: some men, who remain unnamed in the account,¹⁶⁸ brought prosecution against Apollonios personally and the sanctuary. The god appeared in a second dream to Apollonios, telling him that they will defeat the prosecution; indeed that was the result of the prosecution.¹⁶⁹ Sarapis' victory over Apollonios' adversaries is manifested by the paralysis of Apollonios' accusers during the trial (the tying of their tongue); Sarapis' miraculous intervention resulted in the prosecutors becoming speechless and therefore unable to complete the proceedings.¹⁷⁰ Consequently, the people of Delos, when witnessing the miraculous act, marvelled at the power of the god.¹⁷¹

It is not entirely clear why some Delians brought the prosecution against Apollonios personally and the cult more generally.¹⁷² In fact, the narrative offered in the inscription is particularly vague about this point, which may point to a narrative choice from the point of view of Apollonios and Maiistas. The narrative, in other words, is not presented in terms of the victory over a legal decision,¹⁷³ but rather as the result of the grace of the god. The language used in the inscription describing the proceedings against Apollonios is a precise legal language:¹⁷⁴ in that sense, it must reflect the nature of the action against Apollonios and the building of the sanctuary, though perhaps not against the introduction of the cult itself, as this has existed on Delos for some decades before the legal action, as the inscription itself informs us. If the prosecution was indeed associated with the introduction of the cult of Sarapis, then this must have been on the basis of specific elements of the procedure for

even a fully urbanized and respectable area can include a plot that is discreditable and functions as a rubbish tip.

¹⁶⁷ IG XI.4 1299 21–3: τοῦ δὲ θεοῦ βουλομένου συνετελέσθη ἡ ὠνὴ κατεσκευάσθη τε τὸ ἱρὸν συντόμως ἐν μηνσὶν ἕξ.

¹⁶⁸ IG XI.4 1299 23–5: ἀνθρώπων δὲ τινῶν ἐπισυνστάντων ἡμῖν τε καὶ τῶι θεῶι καὶ ἐπενεγκάντων κρίσιν κατὰ τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ ἐμοῦ δημοσίαν, τί χρὴ παθεῖν ἢ ἀποτεῖσαι. Further down, in the hymn of Maiistas, these men appear possessed by envy, l. 66–7: καὶ τότε δὴ ῥα κακοῖσι κακὸς φθόνος ἐνβαλε λύσσαν ἀνδράσιν.

¹⁶⁹ IG XI.4 1299 25–8: ἐπηγγεῖλατο δ' ἐμοὶ ὁ θεὸς κατὰ τὸν ὕπνον ὅτι νικήσομεν. τοῦ δ' ἀγῶνος συνετελεσθέντος καὶ νικησάντων ἡμῶν ἀξίως τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐπαινοῦμεν τοὺς θεοὺς ἀξίαν χάριν ἀποδιδόντες.

¹⁷⁰ IG XI.4 1299 85–7: φῶτας γὰρ ἀλιτρο<νό>ους ἐπέδησας οἱ ῥα δίκην πόρσνον, ἐνὶ γναθμοῖς ὑπανάσσας γλώσσαν ἀναύδητον τῆς οὐτ' ὅπιν ἐκλεεν οὐθεὶς οὔτε γ<ρ>άμμα δίκης ἐπιτάρροθον.

¹⁷¹ IG XI.4 1299 90–2: ἅσας δ' ἄρα λαὸς ἐκείνω σὴν ἀρετὴν θάμβησεν ἐν ἡματι κα<ι> μέγα κῶδος σῶι τεύξας θεράποντι θεόδμητον κατὰ Δῆλον.

¹⁷² Moyer 2011, 159–60 with n. 51 provides an excellent summary of the state of current debates.

¹⁷³ See Moyer 2011, 160–1.

¹⁷⁴ Engelman 1975, 23. Baslez 1996 rightly argues that the prosecution brought against Apollonios and the Sarapieion on Delos should not be linked with any general prosecution against foreigners or oriental cults.

establishing a new sanctuary, such as that of a permit or tax,¹⁷⁵ rather than with the introduction of a new cult more generally. Recently, Siard proposed an ingenious interpretation for the reasons behind the prosecution against Apollonios: this was related to the water supply of the Sarapieion.¹⁷⁶ Indeed, Sarapieion A included an underwater reservoir. Such an architectural element was also found in Sarapieion B: the existence of such an underwater crypt was not an untypical element of Egyptian sanctuaries in the Greek world. The prosecution, therefore, against Apollonios may have been linked with the re-routing of some of the water of the Delian river Inopos towards the feeding of the Sarapieion reservoir. It was the building of the sanctuary in that location, and, we assume, the consequences of this action, that brought this public¹⁷⁷ prosecution against Apollonios and the cult of Sarapis. As Moyer noted, the description of the action as ‘public’, ‘must have alleged some harm to the broader community’, even if it did include an individual grievance.¹⁷⁸ Another intriguing interpretation is that the prosecution was brought by competing Sarapis’ cults, or groups involved in the cult of other Egyptian gods.¹⁷⁹ Such an interpretation, though probable, is based on the assumption that Sarapieion A was not necessarily the first Sarapieion on the island. While Moyer is right to highlight the narrative aspect of the inscription that stresses Apollonios’ legitimacy as the priest of Sarapis on Delos, I am less convinced that the chronology of monuments presented in his argument stands. But we should also emphasize that absolute certainty in relation to the chronology of inscriptions and monuments on Delos cannot be sustained. Perhaps it is unlikely that the prosecution was due to a ‘conservative’ element in Delian authorities, but rather because a competing Egyptian cult attempted to control the more successful Sarapis’ cult, introduced by Apollonios.

The introduction of the cult of Sarapis to Delos through the initiative of Apollonios, his son, Demetrios, and finally his grandson, Apollonios is a story of success against obstacles, perseverance, and above all, it is a story of praise for the power of the god. The introduction of the cult of Sarapis on Delos, as outlined in the narrative, both prose and poetic, follows similar patterns to the introduction of cult of other new gods in various Greek communities: the initial rejection or obstacles placed by a community or specific members of a community (here, Apollonios’ unnamed adversaries) against the new deity is unsuccessful. The deity then manifests their power by reprisals against the

¹⁷⁵ Baslez 1996, 47–8, following largely Vial, 1984, 155–6.

¹⁷⁶ Siard 1998, building largely on the observations about water management in the area provided by Bruneau 1973 and 1990a, 562.

¹⁷⁷ IG XI.4 1299, 24–5: *κρίσιν κατὰ τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ ἐμοῦ δημοσίαν*. Later in the inscription, it is implied that the hearing took place on the plot of the sanctuary: 81–3: *ἔγγρετο ναοῖς πᾶσα πόλις καὶ πάντα πολυμυγέων* <ν> ἅμα φῦλα ξείνων ὄφρα δίκης θεομήτιδος εἰσαΐοιεν.

¹⁷⁸ Moyer 2011, 159.

¹⁷⁹ Moyer 2011, 195–205.

prosecutors (or in other cases, against the entire community), while the community accepts the power of the god.

The Aphrodision of Stesileos and the Sarapieion, founded by Apollonios, show the importance of private initiative, both Delian (Stesileos) and non-Delian (Apollonios) for the introduction of new cults. Certainly, the erection of two buildings cannot compare in scale with the building programme initiated by the Delian community or indeed the monumentalization funded or promoted by royal initiative. But, nonetheless, it shows that in the crowded topography of the sanctuary of Delos, there was space for private initiative, even when (in the case of the Sarapieion) this resulted in active contestation and brought prosecution and trial before the final successful implementation.

3.5. ROYAL INVESTMENT

We have examined so far public Delian investment in monumentalization, both secular and religious, and private investment. The third source of investment for the constructions of buildings and monuments is associated with the royal circles of the Hellenistic kings and queens.

Royal investment was perhaps the most conspicuous form of monumental development in the sanctuary of Delos during the third century. As I have already mentioned, such royal investment in the building development of a large regional sanctuary was certainly not confined on Delos. Another island regional sanctuary, the sanctuary of the Great Gods on Samothrace, also witnessed considerable investment by royal circles during the third century, which marked the first period of considerable monumentalization in the history of the sanctuary. On Samothrace, as on Delos, a number of buildings were constructed with direct links to the Macedonians and the Ptolemies.¹⁸⁰ For example, it has been suggested that on Samothrace, the Hall of Choral Dancers, also known as the Temenos, was funded by Philip II;¹⁸¹ Philip III Arrhidaios (Alexander the Great's half brother) dedicated a prostyle structure by the Theatral area, at the entrance of the sanctuary, on behalf of himself and Alexander IV (Alexander's infant child);¹⁸² Ptolemy II built an impressive propylon which reconfigured the entrance to the sanctuary a few decades later;¹⁸³ one of the most spectacular monuments in the area of the sanctuary was the so-called Rotunda of Arsinoe, built in the early third century; this was the largest closed round building known in the Greek world at the time.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸⁰ Cole 1984, 17–20, Mari 2002, 198–202. ¹⁸¹ Lehmann 1998, 70–2.

¹⁸² Lehmann 1998, 98–9. ¹⁸³ Lehmann 1998, 94–6.

¹⁸⁴ Lehmann 1998, 62–70, McCredie et al. eds. 1992, esp. 231–9 on the inscription of the dedication.

In other words, during the late fourth and third centuries, royal Hellenistic investment was one of the most significant factors that shaped the monumental architecture and topography of the Samothracian sanctuary.

Another fascinating similarity between Delos and Samothrace is the existence in both locations of buildings constructed specifically to house the dedication of whole ships.¹⁸⁵ In Samothrace, such a building was the Neorion.¹⁸⁶ The identity of the ship it housed, and the possible royal contexts for the dedication of the ship, have been the subject of a long-standing debate. The size of the building does not allow the dedication of a warship. Recently, Wescoat put forward this insightful suggestion: the building housed the escape ship that Arsinoe used to flee Ephesos following the battle at Kouropedion in 281.¹⁸⁷ I find her suggestion very convincing, considering the links between Samothrace and the Ptolemaic court. Such an identification is strengthened by the firm associations between queen Arsinoe and Aphrodite Euploia,¹⁸⁸ promoted actively by the Ptolemies in the third century, that we have already discussed. Arsinoe as Aphrodite Euploia offered protection in sea voyages. In this, Arsinoe/Aphrodite Euploia shared the role with the elusive Samothracian deities, who also famously offered protection at sea. Indeed, protection at sea was one of the main rationales for participating in the Samothracian mysteries. The presence of a building housing the ship linked with a voyage to safety by Arsinoe, also later identified with Aphrodite Euploia, makes perfect sense in a sanctuary that had strong maritime overtones, was linked with ideas of safety at sea, and had a special relationship with the Ptolemies through the construction of buildings.

Delos too had a building to house the dedication of a whole ship (*GD* 24).¹⁸⁹ This is known as the Monument with the Bulls (Monument des Taureux) because of its sculptural decorations; this was one of the most impressive buildings in the sanctuary in the late fourth and early third century,¹⁹⁰ a true ‘marvel’.¹⁹¹ The shape of the building and its architecture almost certainly show that it was constructed to house a whole ship; indeed, this building was most likely the one called Neorion in the Delian inventories.¹⁹² Pausanias famously mentioned a ship with nine rows of oars on display on Delos (1.29.1); as a result many interpretations about the identification of the ship

¹⁸⁵ Discussion of buildings that house boats in Hellmann 2006, 237–8. Another ship dedication may be located in the Heraion at Samos: Kyrieleis 1981, 88–90, Blackman 2001, Wescoat 2005.

¹⁸⁶ Lehmann 1998, 111. ¹⁸⁷ Wescoat 2005.

¹⁸⁸ See recently Meadows 2013, 29–30, for a discussion of the links between the Ptolemies, Samothrace, and Aphrodite Euploia.

¹⁸⁹ Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 191–3. ¹⁹⁰ Roux 1981, 61–71.

¹⁹¹ Vallois 1944, 409: ‘cette edifice est la merveille de l’Indépendance’.

¹⁹² Identification suggested already in 1921 by Svoronos and Couchoud. Reference in the inventories in *ID* 1403Bb I 39, and elsewhere. See also Fraisse and Llinas 1995, 417–21.

housed in the Neorion or Monument with the Bulls assumed that it was some kind of warship.¹⁹³ Recent work, however, has showed that the dimensions of the building could not accommodate a warship, such as a trireme.¹⁹⁴ In fact, Chankowski has put forward an insightful interpretation. The Neorion did not house a royal flagship, but rather Theseus' boat, a modest triacontore, which played such an important part in Delian and Athenian mythology.¹⁹⁵ An analysis of the sculptural decorations of the Neorion seems to support her hypothesis; the dating of the monument is now pushed back from the third century to the last quarter of the fourth;¹⁹⁶ any associations, therefore, between the monument, its ship and the many battles of the third century between the Antigonids and the Ptolemies cannot be sustained.¹⁹⁷ The construction of this impressive building did create a powerful and immediate predecessor to the later erection of royal monuments in the competing space of the Delian sanctuary.

As on Samothrace, therefore, so on Delos we see similar developments during the third century in terms of royal investment and monumentalization. We should, however, also highlight an important difference. On Delos, the processes of investment in building activity in the sanctuary from outside (outside Delos, that is) individuals and communities have had a longer history than Samothrace. Already in the archaic period, Naxos and Athens displayed their power and piety through the erection of buildings, such as the Oikos of the Naxians (*GD* 6), and the Porinos Naos (*GD* 11) respectively.¹⁹⁸ While such building activity should in no way be understood as evidence for political control over the sanctuary during the archaic period, it does exemplify a certain element of conspicuous display from the point of view of the communities, or individuals (such as the tyrant Polycrates of Samos) involved in the act of investment in monumentalization. The classical period and the absolute control that Athens had over the affairs of the sanctuary brought in a different level of outside involvement. In that sense, the classical period was in some

¹⁹³ Tarn 1910, suggested it was the flagship of Antigonos Gonatas, dedicated on Delos after the battle of Cos, but see discussion in Buraselis 1982, 148–9. Svoronos and Chouchoud 1921, suggested that it was a Ptolemaic ship. Tréheux 1986 and 1987, and Roux 1981, 61–71, following largely in this respect Vallois 1944, 408–9, linked the monument with a dedication by Demetrios Poliorketes. Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 193, also think that Demetrios Poliorketes is the most likely candidate.

¹⁹⁴ Basch 1995.

¹⁹⁵ Chankowski 2008a, 263–73 for the identification of the boat housed in the Delian Neorion, and 86–90 on Theseus' boat and its religious significance.

¹⁹⁶ Marcadé 1951, esp. 87–9 on the sculptural decorations, followed by Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 192. Chankowski 2008a, 273, dates the monument soon after 322, and links it with an Athenian initiative.

¹⁹⁷ Recently Herbin 2014, 165, refuted Chankowski's hypothesis and linked the monument once again with a royal dedication rather than an Athenian initiative. He does admit, however, that the monument cannot be linked with a third-century event.

¹⁹⁸ I have discussed this more extensively in Constantakopoulou 2007, 38–58.

ways unique, in that Athens treated Delos and its sanctuary as essentially an extension of Athenian territory. The Athenian religious administration of Delos during the fifth and fourth centuries (more specifically until the Delian Independence of 314) was essentially absolutely similar to the administration of Athenian sanctuaries, located on Athenian soil, as Chankowski so powerfully showed.¹⁹⁹ In other words, the developments in the third century in terms of royal funding and investment in monumentalization in some ways continued what was already an existing practice for the Delian sanctuary since the archaic period; what does change in the third century is the degree of investment and the crowding of monuments in the limited space of the sanctuary. Regional sanctuaries always acted as arenas for conspicuous display of piety and power for communities and individuals. The difference in the Hellenistic period is that a great number of great powers competed for the attention of the network of participants to the cult of the Delian deities, and these Hellenistic powers had unprecedented, for Greek standards, access to wealth available for monumentalization. But it is not just kings and queens who build and dedicate; a number of monuments, as we shall see, are linked to individuals with important positions within the Hellenistic courts, or with private initiatives that blur the line between royal and private investment.

I should note here that royal interest in Delos and its cult is not manifested only in the level of monumentalization. Monuments were just one aspect of a complex nexus of engagement with the Delian cult from the point of view of the Hellenistic monarchies. In Chapter 5, we shall explore the issue of dedications, as they appear in the third-century inventories of the Delian administrators.²⁰⁰ We shall observe that a significant section of the named dedications came from either Hellenistic royalty or individuals closely associated with royal courts, whether Ptolemaic, Antigonid, or other. Indeed, monumentalization went hand in hand with dedications, the sending of official embassies for participation in the festivals (*theoriai*), and also with another aspect of Delian cult activity, the establishment of festivals in honour of Hellenistic royalty. Deshours' recent work has shown particularly well how the establishment of festivals in honour of monarchs or other important individuals and the linked aspect of investment in monuments was not restricted to Delos, but rather it should be understood as a phenomenon that permeated Greek culture during the third century.²⁰¹ Festivals in honour of Hellenistic monarchs, often in combination with more established (that is, older) deities, was a dynamic way through which Hellenistic royal cult was allotted a recognized space in the existing ritual context of the Greek world.²⁰²

Delos, therefore, was not unique in cultivating a close relationship with Hellenistic monarchies through the establishment of festivals in their honour

¹⁹⁹ Chankowski 2008a.

²⁰¹ Deshours 2011.

²⁰⁰ Chapter 5.

²⁰² See recently Buraselis 2012.

or through the erection of buildings and other monuments funded by members of the Hellenistic royal circles. Indeed, the foundation of festivals has been one of the main areas that has attracted considerable attention in modern scholarship. Bruneau's monumental work on the cults of Hellenistic Delos can perhaps be considered as the pinnacle of such an approach.²⁰³ Through an exhaustive study of all literary, epigraphic, and archaeological evidence, Bruneau has presented us with a unimpeachable reconstruction of the complex relationship between Hellenistic monarchs and Delian cult, expressed in, among other things, the establishment of festivals (both by Hellenistic monarchs and their circles, and by the Delians or the League of the Islanders), the erection of monuments and the dedications, normally linked with specific festivals. A significant portion of modern scholarship, following Bruneau's monumental work, is dedicated to establishing the specific year in which festivals (and monuments) were established; these, in turn, were used to date some key undated events in third-century history.²⁰⁴ Certainly, as I have discussed in Chapter 1, the third century is in many ways a difficult period for the ancient historian. We lack a full narrative of the events, and as a result, many key events, events that we know changed the course of third-century history, remain undated.²⁰⁵ It is therefore essential that we attempt to date these events; and the dedication of monuments on Delos, as well as the inventory entries that show the establishment of a festival on Delos, remains some of our best evidence for the dating of such events.

As an example, I shall discuss briefly the debate about the establishment of the Antigonid festival of the Soteria and Paneia on Delos. Already in 1913, Tarn linked the foundation of these festivals with Antigonos Gonatas' decisive victories over the Ptolemaic fleet at Andros in 246 and Cos, possibly in 245.²⁰⁶ Certainly, the dates of the festivals seem to be relatively secure, as they are linked with the attestations of *phialai* in the Delian inventories.²⁰⁷ What is less certain is whether the foundation of these festivals can necessarily be linked with specific naval victories, that is Andros and Cos, which, accordingly, become securely dated because of the references in the inventories.²⁰⁸ More recently, Champion revived Will's suggestion²⁰⁹ that the Soteria and Paneia were in fact celebrations of the Antigonid victories over the Galatians at Lysimacheia in late 278 or early 277.²¹⁰ While Champion is right to stress that the arguments in

²⁰³ Bruneau 1970, esp. 515–83.

²⁰⁴ See for example Reger 1985, and his indispensable reconstruction of events in 1994b. See also Buraselis 1982.

²⁰⁵ See Chapter 1.2.

²⁰⁶ Tarn 1913, 378–81 for the festivals and their links with the Antigonid victories in the sea battles, and 461–6 for the dates of the battles.

²⁰⁷ Bruneau 1970, 560–1 with references.

²⁰⁸ Buraselis 1982, 144–5. ²⁰⁹ Will 1966, 291.

²¹⁰ Champion 2004–5. See also recent discussion in Sosin 2014a, 148–9.

favour of placing the battle of Andros in 246 or 245 on the basis of the foundation of the festivals, and then interpret the festival on the basis of the victory of the Antigonids in a sea battle have a certain degree of circularity, I am not convinced that a date in the 270s is more persuasive.²¹¹ In fact, I would argue that such approaches in relation to the foundations of the festivals have reached the limit of their usefulness. In other words, do we *have* to link specific festivals and monuments with specific (undated and severely disputed) events in order to understand their significance? Whatever specific victory the Soteria and Paneia festivals honoured (whether the victory over the Ptolemies in the battles of Andros/Cos or the Lysimacheia victory in the 270s), the monuments and festivals of Gonatas, or those by any of the Ptolemies, played an important part in projecting a specific image of grandeur, significance, piety, and power in the competitive arena of the Aegean interstate sanctuary par excellence, Delos.²¹²

With these thoughts in mind, let us turn our attention to those third-century monuments in the sanctuary of Delos which were directly linked with royal initiative. One of the first things we should note is that these royal monuments were among the most impressive monuments in the sanctuary, in terms of size, decoration, and overall position within the Delian topography of the sanctuary. Two of the monuments that we shall discuss were stoas, which, more than any other monument, contributed to a reconfiguration of the space of the sanctuary. It is perhaps not necessary to discuss here the arguments about the importance of stoas in the creation of sacred space. The recent work of Mylonopoulos has shown splendidly how stoas played an important role in reconfiguring the performative aspects of cult, with worshippers congregating in the space of stoas in order to observe the performance of a sacrifice or a procession.²¹³ The erection of stoas also created new visual lines in the sanctuary, by shaping the existing open space in new reconfigurations.²¹⁴ Indeed, the erection of stoas in order to demarcate public space was one of the most prominent developments of Hellenistic public architecture and topography.²¹⁵ Within this context, it is interesting to note that Delos was one of the few sanctuaries with a wide regional appeal that contained such a large number of stoas.²¹⁶ Three of these stoas were constructed in the course of the third century, under royal patronage, as we shall see now.

²¹¹ In this I follow Buraselis 1982, Reger 1994b, and Kralli 2003, 66.

²¹² Sosin 2014a suggests that the foundations of the Paneia and Soteria festivals by Antigonos were not 'established with an eye to international prestige' (p. 151), but were rather 'small and parochial'. I do not see how one necessarily excludes the other: even small events may have grander ambitions; involvement in monumentalization and ritual on Delos does not have to operate on a single register.

²¹³ Mylonopoulos 2008.

²¹⁴ Hellmann 2010, 267.

²¹⁵ Dickenson 2013, 56–7.

²¹⁶ Coulton 1976, 230–4, lists thirteen stoas, though some of them did not have the 'typical' shape of a stoa (such as Hypostyle Hall, *GD* 50, which we have already discussed). In comparison, Coulton lists four stoas for Delphi (234–6), and eight stoas for Olympia (266–8).

The most monumental royal stoa in Delos was one that framed the north side of the sanctuary (*GD 29*);²¹⁷ the dedicatory inscription (to a large degree restored) linked this monument with Antigonos Gonatas (*IG XI.4 1095 = Choix 35*).²¹⁸ The stoa was 120m long, with projecting wings and elaborate sculptural decorations.²¹⁹ Its date of construction is not secure. There is some agreement that it dates from the third quarter of the third century,²²⁰ with some scholars proposing the specific dates of the period between 246 and 239,²²¹ and others the dates between 253 and 248.²²² The stoa has been interpreted as a victory monument after the successful outcomes for Antigonos of the battles of Cos or Andros. But, as with the foundation of festivals, we do not need a specific war context to explain this ‘competitive’ stoa dedication on Delos by Hellenistic kings.²²³ Antigonos’ stoa was part of an elaborate programme of dedications by this king. Antigonos Gonatas founded festivals, dedicated objects, and set up a number of monuments on Delos for a number of often overlapping reasons, which we shall explore later on. The building of this grand stoa was simply one aspect of his overall interaction with the Delian sanctuary, the gods, the Delians themselves, and certainly the extensive network of participants in the cult of the Delian deities, all of whom would witness Antigonos’ position, power, and piety through his dedications and other activities. We could, if pushed, use the term ‘propaganda’ for such activity; but this loaded term should be used with caution. Public display of piety and power in the popular space of a regional sanctuary with a large catchment area and considerable appeal, such as Delos, does not necessarily equate with conscious manipulation of the act of dedication to promote a particular political position.²²⁴ As Herbin noted recently, ‘propaganda’ does not need to be exclusively inspired by political interests.²²⁵ And political interests need not be understood as associated with specific military events; the victory at Andros or Cos, for example, did not change the fact that if Antigonos wanted to present himself in a specific light in front of an

²¹⁷ Publication by Courby 1912. Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 195–6.

²¹⁸ *IG XI.4 1095*: [βασιλεὺς Ἀντίγονος βασιλέως Δη]μητρίου Μακε[δόν] Ἀπόλλωνι. Bruneau 1970, 553 for the arguments in favour of the identification with Antigonos Gonatas, as opposed to Doso or Philip V (who were also sons of a king Demetrios).

²¹⁹ Vallois 1944, 162–4, Hellmann 2006, 215.

²²⁰ Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 195, followed by Hellmann 2006, 215.

²²¹ Tarn 1909, 284–5, followed by Coulton 1976, 231 and Bringmann and von Steuben 1995, 190–1.

²²² Vallois 1944, 110. Dillon and Palmer Baltes 2013, 227 suggest the period between 260 and 248.

²²³ As Errington 1974, 29, rightly observed, ‘competitive stoa-building does not in itself require a war situation to explain it.’

²²⁴ I am paraphrasing here *Oxford English Dictionary*’s definition of propaganda as ‘derogatory information, especially of a biased or misleading nature, used to promote or publicize a particular political cause or point of view’.

²²⁵ Herbin 2014, 161.

audience of Greeks and other Hellenistic kings, Delos was one of the most appropriate locations to do so. No military victory, or indeed defeat, changed that fact. Bruneau has summarized brilliantly the objections to a strict political or military understanding of the role of royal dedications and foundation of festivals, so there is no need to repeat his arguments here.²²⁶ The complex nexus of politics, religion, dedication, power, and piety should not be untangled in favour of a single interpretation. What Antigonos produced through his dedication of the stoa in that area of the sanctuary was a monumental statement, which shaped the existing space and provided the locus for future dedications, one of which, the so-called monument of the *progonoi*, should be viewed as part of the same statement.

Antigonos' monument of the *progonoi* (ancestors) was set up immediately in front of his stoa, to the south (GD 31).²²⁷ It was a long base (21m) of blue marble, upon which twenty or twenty-one bronze statues of his ancestors were placed.²²⁸ Unfortunately, although we do have part of the dedicatory inscription (IG XI.4 1096 = *Choix* 36),²²⁹ only scraps of three names survive. The number of statues indicates that Antigonos may have reached to the mythical era with statues of heroic figures as the first ancestors of his line.²³⁰ An obvious element here is the importance of continuity within the Antigonid royal line;²³¹ the large number of statues indicates that Antigonos was not interested only in promoting his recent ancestors, Demetrios Poliorketes and Antigonos Montopthalmos, but in manifesting the overall pedigree that his line possessed. This was not simply a statement of power and supremacy in the Aegean as a result of the recent struggles against the Ptolemies, but a declaration of royal continuity from the past to the future. In addition, the monument itself was presented as an offering to Apollo, through the dedicatory inscription. The large number of the ancestors created a powerful narrative of continuity of power and prestige for the audience of Delos, but equally significant (or perhaps even more) is that this was a religious dedication to the primary god of the sanctuary, Apollo. As Krumeich commented, 'the *progonoi* of Antigonos illustrates to what extent these dynasties felt the need to secure the goodwill of the gods and to make divine protection a subject of the votive offering'.²³² Once again, religious piety and political power were intimately entangled in the meaning and symbolic statement of this monument. The monument of the *progonoi* complemented Antigonos' stoa and

²²⁶ Bruneau 1970, 579–83.

²²⁷ Courby 1912, 74–83, Smith 1988, 24–5, Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 196.

²²⁸ Courby 1912, 78 calculates twenty-one statues.

²²⁹ IG XI.4 1096: βασιλεὺς Ἀντίγονοῦ βασιλέως Δημητρίου Μα[κεδῶν][τοῦ εἰ]αυτοῦ προγόνου Ἀπόλλωνι. See Bringmann and von Steuben 1995, 191–2.

²³⁰ For a speculation of which ancestors' statues the monuments may have included see Edson 1934, 218–19 and Smith 1988, 24–5.

²³¹ Ma 2013, 226. ²³² Krumeich 2007, 171.

created an ensemble in terms of monumental Antigonid presence in that part of the sanctuary.²³³ This reconfiguration of space created a new locus for the setting up of inscriptions and statue bases on Delos; in other words, Antigonos opened up the space for future individuals, royal and others, to make declarations of power and piety, though none of them succeeded in matching Antigonos' scale of presence.

Perhaps the most innovative Antigonid dedication is one that archaeologically cannot be identified. We know from Athenaeus that Antigonos dedicated his 'sacred trireme' to Apollo (5.209e).²³⁴ Already in 1910, Tarn convincingly argued that the dedication of the ship to Apollo could only take place on Delos: the alternative suggestion of a dedication on Cos (resulting from Meineke's emendation of the text) does not make sense in relation to a dedication to Apollo.²³⁵ Tarn believed that the building housing Antigonos' dedication was the Neorion, identified with the so-called Monument with the Bulls, which we have already discussed, but it is now accepted that a middle third-century date for the building is unsustainable. Despite the fact that the Neorion did not house Antigonos' dedicated ship, the reference to a dedication to Apollo does seem to indicate a Delian dedication. Antigonos' monumental presence on the island was spectacular. If Antigonos did indeed dedicate his trireme to Apollo, Delos would be the place to do it. The symbolism of a dedication of a whole ship to the god is also particularly noteworthy. As Tarn noted, such a dedication was not common in Greek practices:²³⁶ the Greeks would normally dedicate parts of a ship, such as the prows or parts of the captured vessels. They would very rarely dedicate a whole ship, let alone a ship that was not captured in battle. The dedication of Antigonos' own flagship is extremely exceptional, especially since we cannot reconstruct with certainty the identity of the ships included in the buildings erected to house the dedication of ships on Samothrace and Delos. Once again, Antigonos' piety and statement of power become intricately linked.

Gonatas was not the only Antigonid to build a stoa on Delos. Philip V was responsible for the erection of another stoa, this one shaping the entrance to the sanctuary, and eventually creating the Delian *dromos*, the most conspicuous space for honorific statues and other monuments on Hellenistic Delos.²³⁷ Philip's stoa (*GD* 3) was located to the south of the sanctuary and to the east of the Agora of Hermaists or Competalists (*GD* 2).²³⁸ The dedicatory

²³³ Herbin 2014, 178 stresses, rightly, that we cannot dissociate the stoa from the monument of the *progonoi*.

²³⁴ Athen. 5.209e: *παρέλιπον δ'έκων ἐγὼ τὴν Ἀντιγόνου ἱεράν τριήρη, ἣ ἐνίκησε τοὺς Πτολεμαίου στρατηγούς περὶ Λευκόλλαν τῆς Κώας, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι αὐτὴν ἀνέθηκεν*. Meineke changed the *ἐπειδὴ* of the text with *ὅπου δὴ*, and this has been followed by most editors of the text. See Burselis 1982, 148–9, for a close examination of the passage and its implications.

²³⁵ Tarn 1910.

²³⁶ Tarn 1913, 388–9.

²³⁷ Dillon and Palmer Baltes 2013.

²³⁸ Publication by Vallois 1923, Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 167.

inscription bore the name of the king and declared it a dedication to Apollo (IG XI.4 1099 = *Choix* 57).²³⁹ Like so many Delian monuments, the date of construction is not certain. Vallois suggested the years around 210, and this has been followed by most scholars.²⁴⁰ The stoa doubled in size in about 180, when two further constructions enhanced the existing monument: another stoa, the so-called western stoa, was added to the west side of Philip's monument, facing the port, and a room was added to the north side of Philip's stoa, to make it even with the newly built western extension. Philip's dedicatory inscription, as well as the choice of location for the construction of his stoa, closely emulated Gonatas' choices. The location, just outside the sanctuary's propylon (*GD* 5), made the stoa one of the first buildings to be seen when arriving on the island. The stoa shaped the processional route to the sanctuary too, and like Antigonos' stoa, later became the location for the erection of statues and exedrae, both on the east and west side of it.

Philip V may have emulated his grandfather's choices, but the erection of a stoa in that location can also be seen as a reaction to yet another building. To the east side of Philip's stoa, on the other side of the Delian *dromos*, stood the so-called South Stoa (*GD* 4).²⁴¹ This stoa was constructed in the middle of the third century;²⁴² it may, therefore, have predated Antigonos' stoa or it may have postdated it—unfortunately, we shall never know for sure. At its northern end, stood a statue dedicated by King Attalos I for his general Epigenes (IG XI.4 1109 = *Choix* 53).²⁴³ At its southern end, there was another Attalid dedication: a monument commemorating the victories of Attalos I over the Gauls (IG XI.4 1110).²⁴⁴ The dedication by Attalos of a statue of his general was part of a relatively established practice, especially in regional sanctuaries, as Ma has shown.²⁴⁵ The statue was part of an elaborate visual policy of displaying loyalty for and power of the Hellenistic kings. The statue of the defeated Gauls played a similar role in establishing the appropriate Attalid presence in front of the audience of Delos, both local and regional. As these monuments were among the most conspicuous on the eastern side of the

²³⁹ IG XI.4 1099: βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος βασιλέως Δημητρίου Ἀπόλλωνι [ἀνέθηκεν]. See Bringmann and von Steuben 1995, 198–9. Butz 2009, 34–5 is an excellent discussion of the function of the stoa façade as an appropriate frame for the dedicatory inscription.

²⁴⁰ Vallois 1923, 154–63, 1944, 110, Bruneau 1970, 553. Bringmann and von Steuben 1995, 198–9 date the inscription (and therefore the monument) to 221–201. Coulton 1976, 234, suggests 216–200.

²⁴¹ Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 168. Bringmann and von Steuben 1995, 477–8.

²⁴² Coulton 1976, 234; Dillon and Palmer Baltes 2013, 211.

²⁴³ IG XI.4 1109 = *Choix* 53: [β]ασιλεὺς Ἀτταλος Ἐπιγένην Ἄνδρωνος Τήιον Ἀπόλλωνι. See Bringmann and von Steuben 1995, 221, who date the inscription to 228.

²⁴⁴ IG XI.4 1110: Βασιλεὺς Ἀτταλοῦ τοῦ[ς] Γαλά[τας] [νικήσας ἄπαν]τας Ἀπόλλωνι. [---] ἐπόει. See Bringmann and von Steuben 1995, 222–3. Attalos I is the most likely emendation here: See Bruneau 1970, 570, Errington 1974, 29–30, Jacquemin 1985, 578. Herbin 2014, 179 remains sceptical.

²⁴⁵ Ma 2013, 183–4.

dromos, and they framed consciously the space taken by the South Stoa, it is reasonable to suggest that that monument too had strong Attalid connections, and that it likely was a dedication of Attalos I.²⁴⁶ The date, around the middle of the third century, seems to accommodate easily such an identification. Unfortunately, we do not have a dedicatory inscription associated with the monument. Its construction, however, especially compared to the stoas of Antigonos and Philip, seems to imply a royal dedication. The Attalid monuments framing the two ends of the stoa imply that this too was an Attalid dedication, as it is likely that Attalos would have set the two statues in a space that would have strong associations with his own projected image.²⁴⁷

If the South Stoa is indeed an Attalid monument, then Philip's stoa can be viewed clearly as a reaction against this Attalid statement of piety and power only a few decades later. Philip's stoa was constructed entirely parallel to the South Stoa and initially, before its expansion in the 180s, was exactly the same length. Philip's stoa may have been the same length and in parallel position to the South Stoa, but it was a much grander monument. Indeed, the height of Philip's stoa must have 'dwarfed' the other monument, and its construction blocked the sight lines of the visitor arriving to Delos.²⁴⁸ Such a choice of location and design can only be understood as a reaction to a competitive royal statement, or as a statement of clear rivalry by Philip against the Attalids, whether Attalos I or someone else.²⁴⁹ Together these two stoas framed the entrance to the sanctuary and monumentalized the space for processions and access to the sacred heart of Delos. By creating the Delian *dromos*, the *epiphanestatos topos* (most conspicuous location) for the display of honours,²⁵⁰ they established the space for conspicuous exhibition of honorific and religious dedications. No visitor to Delos would fail to appreciate the monumental, ideological, and symbolic presence of the royal houses in the competitive arena of the sanctuary.

The competitive building and display of the Antigonids and the Attalids²⁵¹ was also reflected on another monument, whose location, unfortunately, is unknown. We know from epigraphic evidence that the Attalids, like Antigonos

²⁴⁶ Durrbach in *Choix* p. 69–70 and 278–9.

²⁴⁷ Vallois 1923, 166, followed cautiously by Bruneau 1970, 570, and even more cautiously by Marszal 2000, 205, and Dillon and Palmer Baltes 2013, 211. Vallois later changed his mind and argued for an earlier association of the stoa with either Philetairos or Eumenes I: 1944, 66–7. Herbin 2014, 179–80 remains unconvinced that there is an Attalid connection.

²⁴⁸ Dillon and Palmer Baltes 2013, 211–12. ²⁴⁹ Schalles 1985, 64–8.

²⁵⁰ Dillon and Palmer Baltes 2013.

²⁵¹ The Ptolemies were less prolific than the other two royal dynasties in Delian monumentalization. Yet, their presence is conspicuous in the dedications and foundation of festivals: Bruneau 1970, 516–33. Indeed, as Bagnall 1976, 154 with n. 139, noted, the most conspicuous benefactors of Delos in the early third century are the Ptolemies; the epigraphic evidence from the period between 285–260 shows that the Delians seldom confer honours on non-Ptolemaic kings or officials.

Gonatas before them, erected a set of statues of their ancestors, their *progonoï*.²⁵² The four surviving inscriptions were found in different locations on Delos, so the precise setting of the statue complex is a subject of speculation. If the South Stoa was indeed an Attalid monument, it made sense for the monument to be set there, or close to it.²⁵³ The date of the monument is also unknown, although a date in the last decades of the third century seems most likely.²⁵⁴ The monument, as far as we can judge, highlighted the links with Mysian's ancient Teuthranian dynasty,²⁵⁵ and provided a connection with the ancient (local)²⁵⁶ past and powerful present (and therefore future) to the wide audience of Delos, which consisted of Greeks and other pilgrims.

Like the Antigonids, the erection of monuments by the Attalids was simply one aspect of a complex relationship with Delos and the wide regional audience that the sanctuary had. The Attalids, like all Hellenistic royal dynasties, also dedicated precious objects and founded a number of festivals.²⁵⁷ Part of their projected image was that of victory over the Gauls, which, we can assume, played a very important role in their royal representation.²⁵⁸ Through monumentalization, the Attalids, like the Antigonids and the Ptolemies, created powerful narratives about their own self-presentation. These narratives were presented through the appropriate media, whether statues, exedrae, or entire monuments, to the audience of Delos and its considerable regional network. Religious piety and ideological presentation of foundation myths, power, and victory over adversaries (including barbarians, such as the Gauls) were not exclusive; rather, they created a powerful nexus of images and reasons for this substantial investment in Delos.

So far, we have examined monuments that we can safely associate with the Hellenistic royal dynasties (such as Antigonos' or Philip's V stoas) or that we can reasonably argue for a royal link (such as the so-called South Stoa, which may be associated with the Attalids, possibly Attalos I). But there are a number of further monuments on third-century Delos that can be associated with royal initiatives and funding, even though the evidence is far less solid. To these, we shall now turn.

We have already discussed the Dodekatheon (GD 51), and its potential links to an Antigonid source of funding (on the basis of the sculptural style of one of

²⁵² The inscriptions are IG XI.4 1107, 1108 (= *Choix* 52), 1206, 1207, 1208 = Bringmann and von Steuben 1995, 220–1, cat. no. 172 [A]. On the monument, with a discussion of the identity of the ancestors see Robert 1973, 478–85, and Schalles 1985, 127–35.

²⁵³ Dillon and Palmer Baltes 2013, 212 with n. 20 speculate that 'it may have stood near or even on the *dromos*, although the reserved foundations along the street seem a bit short to accommodate it'.

²⁵⁴ Schalles 1985, 135. ²⁵⁵ Kuttner 2005, 144–5.

²⁵⁶ Robert 1973, 485 stresses the importance of locality in the choice of ancestors.

²⁵⁷ Bruneau 1970, 568–73 for a comprehensive representation. ²⁵⁸ Gruen 2000.

the heads of the statues of the twelve gods).²⁵⁹ As I have already argued, the evidence for an association between a royal initiative and the building of the Dodektheon (and indeed the cult of the twelve gods on Delos) is particularly thin on the ground and should be abandoned on the basis of the existing evidence. In fact, we should stress that the line between public Delian funding and a royal initiative is a very thin one. When we find a dedicatory inscription with the name of the king, followed by his declaration of dedication to Apollo, such as the one we find on Antigonos' stoa (IG XI.4 1095) or Philip's stoa (IG XI.4 1099), the implication is clear: Antigonos Gonatas erected this monument, and quite possibly had some input in choosing the location, even though ultimately it was the polis of the Delians that controlled the sacred space of the sanctuary, as we shall discuss shortly below. The funding, therefore, for the construction of the monument was Antigonos' own; the dedication of the stoa to Apollo exemplified the king's piety to the god and should be seen in the same context as the dedication of precious objects or indeed the foundation of royal festivals. But not every source of funding for monuments on Delos was royal. The Delians too had their own considerable sources of income through the activities of the sanctuary and the overall economic activity of their island, which was such an important commercial and transport nexus for the maritime networks of the southern Aegean. Indeed, we should not necessarily look for royal initiative and funding for all third-century monuments on Delos. As we have seen, a considerable part of the monumental activity on third-century Delos was public (that is, Delian) and in some cases linked with an individual's initiative, such as the Sarapieion or Stesileos' Aphrodision, discussed above. But there are a couple of monuments where a differentiation between royal and Delian funding and initiative cannot be established. While there is no direct evidence to link these monuments with a royal initiative, there are strong indications that show some sort of special relationship between the monuments and the Hellenistic royal dynasties.

The accounts of the period of Independence record a Philadelpheion, that is a sanctuary for the cult of Arsinoe Philadelphos, sister and wife of Ptolemy II, while there was also an altar dedicated to her.²⁶⁰ The accounts also mention an *oikos* where there is a *graphe* of Arsinoe.²⁶¹ Plassart first identified the *oikos* with the *graphe* of Arsinoe with the Philadelpheion.²⁶² In the period of the Athenian cleruchy (that is, after 166), the Athenian inventories record entries for a Temple of Agathe Tyche (Good Fortune), which include some

²⁵⁹ See Chapter 3.3.

²⁶⁰ Philadelpheion in ID 400 38: ἐπὶ τὸ Φιλαδέλφειον; 440A 91: ἐπὶ τὸ Φιλαδέλφειον. Altar in IG XI.4 1303: Ἀρσινόης Φιλαδέλφου.

²⁶¹ ID 372A 164 and 403 26: ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ οὗ ἡ γραφή ἢ Ἀρσινόης. ID 403 8 also mentions τὸ παραπέτασμα τῷ πίνακι οὗ ἡ γραφή ἢ Ἀρ[σινόης].

²⁶² Plassart 1928, 227, followed by Bruneau 1970, 533–4.

idiosyncratic dedications, such as seashells and oysters.²⁶³ The sanctuary of Agathe Tyche was located on the slopes of Mt Kynthos (GD 103).²⁶⁴ The most economic explanation for the lack of any reference to a Philadelphieion after the end of Independence, and to a temple of Agathe Tyche before 166 is that the temple of Agathe Tyche was in fact the Philadelphieion.²⁶⁵ The Delians did celebrate a festival for Arsinoe Philadelphos, called the Philadelphieia, which was established by Hermias, the Nesiarch of the Islanders' League, and a Ptolemaic official.²⁶⁶ As Bruneau noted, since the Delians accepted the foundation of Hermias for the festival of Philadelphieia, they did accept Arsinoe's cult.²⁶⁷ We have already discussed the identification of Arsinoe Philadelphos with Aphrodite Euploia as protector of ships and her cult at Cape Zephyrion, founded by another naval official of the Ptolemaic court, the navarch Callicrates.²⁶⁸ The inventory entries for the dedications in the sanctuary of Agathe Tyche, with their strong maritime character, seem to support an identification of the temple with the Philadelphieion, in honour of Arsinoe, perhaps in her capacity as protector of the sea. Hermias, a Ptolemaic official, established a festival through the dedication of an initial sum of money that would generate the expenses for the festival and the annual dedication of a *phiale*.²⁶⁹ There is, however, no indication that he provided the funding or the initiative for the Philadelphieion. But if the sanctuary, which was later renamed as the sanctuary of Good Fortune, Agathe Tyche, was established in order to honour a new goddess of the Delian pantheon, who used to be a Ptolemaic queen, it is obvious that the links with the Ptolemaic royal circles in relation to this particular monument were distinctly strong. I do not believe that the founding of the sanctuary was *necessarily* a Ptolemaic initiative. It could perfectly be the result of a local Delian initiative, perhaps in combination with the support of the Islanders' League, who actively participated in the cults linked with the Ptolemaic court in the early third century, as we have already discussed.²⁷⁰ Therefore, although the Philadelphieion was by definition a statement of the strength of the Ptolemaic influence on the island and its cult, it should not be understood as a Ptolemaic foundation, nor as an example of the Ptolemies exercising absolute control over Delos and its religious

²⁶³ Bruneau 1970, 534–5 on the inventory entries. See also Hamilton 2000, 192–3. An example of an inventory entry for the dedications in the Temple of Agathe Tyche is ID 1426B II 27–61, mentioning among others sea shells, and a 'true' horn (34–5): *κόγχους δύο θαλαττίους ἐν θήκαις τὰ ἄκρα ἔχοντας ξύλινα περικεχυρωμένα: κέρασ ἀληθινὸν πρόσθετον ἔχον τὸ κάτω μέρος ξύλινον ἐπίχρυσον καὶ χεῖλος ἀργυροῦν πρόσθετον ὡς δακτύλων τριῶν τὸ πλάτος.*

²⁶⁴ Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 283. Publication and discussion in Plassart 1928, 222–8.

²⁶⁵ Suggested by Plassart 1928, 226–8, and followed by Bruneau 1970, 535–43.

²⁶⁶ Hermias setting up the festival of Philadelphieia: IG XI.2 287B 112–19. For a list of references to Hermias see Tréheux, 1992, s.v. *Ἑρμίας ὁ νησιάρχος, Ἀλικαρνασσεύς*.

²⁶⁷ Bruneau 1970, 543–4. ²⁶⁸ Robert 1966, 192–208.

²⁶⁹ See Chapter 5 for a discussion of the mechanics of festival foundation.

²⁷⁰ See Chapter 2.

network, as it has sometimes been claimed. In other words, not all buildings are royal buildings, nor do all cults act as attestations of political power of a royal member. We should aim to restore as much agency to the Delians and to the islanders as we can.

Even more questionable are the links between a royal dynasty and the Andron of Mt Kynthos (*GD* 104).²⁷¹ The path to the top of Mt Kynthos leads to a terrace in front of a cave, which has an orthostate of granite blocks. The terrace includes a central table for offerings, as well as two further tables along the walls. Plassart first identified it as a sanctuary of Heracles.²⁷² The identification of this structure with the Heracleion, as well as its position in proximity to the Philadelphieion, made Plassart link the Andron with a Ptolemaic royal initiative.²⁷³ The third-century date attributed to the monument consolidated such an identification.²⁷⁴ I do not think, however, that either the third-century date attributed to the Andron, nor its identification with the Heracleion, which I do not contest, should make us seek a royal initiative or patronage, even though Heracles' imagery was appropriated by the Ptolemies.²⁷⁵ Heracles had an established presence on Delos, especially in relation to the gymnasium.²⁷⁶ It is not necessary to conjure royal associations for every single monument on Delos, unless there is good reason to do so. And in the case of the Andron, the existing evidence does not allow us to make such an association.

3.6. CONCLUSIONS: MONUMENTALIZATION, FUNDING, AND CONTROL OF SPACE

We have examined so far the construction of new buildings and the expansion and renovation of old ones, both civic and religious, on Delos in the course of the late fourth and third centuries. I have divided the discussion of the

²⁷¹ Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 283–5. Publication and discussion in Plassart 1928, 228–55.

²⁷² Plassart 1928, 228–55, followed by Vallois 1931, 281–5.

²⁷³ Plassart 1928, 228–55, followed in this respect by Vallois 1931, 282–3, Bruneau 1970, 410–13 (with some reservations), and Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 285.

²⁷⁴ Plassart 1928 suggested Ptolemy II, whereas Vallois 1931, 282–3 suggested either Ptolemy III or Ptolemy I. Bruneau 1970, 410–13 accepted the link with the Ptolemies but was more reluctant to opt for a specific king. Bruneau also rejected the association, put forward by Vallois 1931, that the Andron was associated with the custom of *nyktophylaxia*, known from inscriptions. Rather, *nyktophylaxia* for Bruneau was associated with the Thesmophorion, for which see Bruneau 1970, 292–3. For *nyktophylaxia* on Delos see Schachter 1999, who associates it with a ritual for the dead.

²⁷⁵ Heracles and the Ptolemies: see Hölbl 2001, 96, with Theocritus *Idyll* 17.20–27 and Hunter 2003, 116–24.

²⁷⁶ Bruneau 1970, 403.

building activity into three main sections: public (or communal) Delian activity, individual initiative, and finally royal investment. I would like to stress once again that while there are three relatively separate clusters of funding involved in the monumentalization of Delos, that is public, individual, and royal, the lines separating the three clusters are not always clear. I could have also grouped the discussion on two levels: that of communal (that is, Delian) investment, and that of individual investment, but such a division would cluster together quite separate activities, such as that of the Delian Stesileos with Antigonos' or Philip's massive royal investments.

Different sources for funding and erecting buildings have a long presence in the history of regional sanctuaries, such as Delos. As we have already seen, and I have discussed elsewhere,²⁷⁷ the history of the archaic and classical Delian sanctuary reveals similar tensions between the Delians investing in the monumentalization of their sanctuary, and outside agents, sometimes individuals or communities, also using the competing spatial arena of a regional sanctuary in order to project their identity towards the network of participants and to honour the gods. In that sense, the third century is relatively similar to previous centuries for Delos. But at the same time, there are some striking differences. First of all, the advent of Delian Independence of 314, after more than a century and a half of direct Athenian rule over the sanctuary, meant that the Delians were more active in shaping the monumental space of their sanctuary and of their public space, in order to accommodate the new activities of the Delian administration, and to monumentalize their independence in running their political affairs. They built, as we have seen, an Ecclesiasterion, and they proceeded to massively renovate and restructure other important civic buildings, such as the Prytaneion. They also restructured their public space by the construction of agoras, and auxiliary buildings for commercial or other activities, such as the Hypostyle Hall. On a cult level, the renovation and expansion of the Archegesion, which housed the cult of the founder hero *archegetes* of the Delians, Anios, similarly made a statement of Delian identity and independence. The new identity of the independent Delians, in other words, was highly visible through the monumentalization of their city, port, and sanctuary. The second important difference was the sheer scale of building activity. Certainly, third-century Delos was not what Strabo described for a later period as one of the biggest trading ports of the ancient world, capable of dealing with the sale of up to 10,000 slaves every day.²⁷⁸ Independent Delos, however, was a much more impressive sanctuary and commercial port than its archaic or classical predecessor, at least in terms of monumentalization. The sanctuary and the city expanded, and with it, as far

²⁷⁷ Constantakopoulou 2007, 38–58 for the archaic period.

²⁷⁸ Strabo 14.5.2 for the slave market. See also 10.5.4 for the overall appeal of Delos as a sanctuary, a port, and a market, under the Athenian cleruchy.

as we can judge, the network of participants in the cult of the Delian deities expanded too. The advent of the Hellenistic period certainly increased the catchment area of the Delian cult and its regional network. The third difference was one I have already discussed in some detail. This was the considerable investment by the Hellenistic royal circles in the building activity of the sanctuary. This, as I have already argued, was not entirely a new development: if we are thinking here of individuals in positions of power (rather than communities), then Peisistratus of Athens and Polycrates of Samos in the late sixth century showed interest in the cult of the Delian deities and proceeded in some form of actual investment (such as the building of the archaic Porinos Naos, which had Attic limestone as foundations) or symbolic statement (such as the chaining of Rheneia to Delos, by Polycrates).²⁷⁹ Delos, a regional sanctuary with a considerable appeal already from the archaic period, would always attract symbolic attestations of power, piety, and ideological self-determination. What changed in the third century is once more the scale of such investment. What we see on third-century Delos is a considerable influx of royal funding for the erection of buildings, particularly stoas. Again, such developments are not unique for Delos. I have briefly discussed the case of Samothrace, as another island regional sanctuary in the Aegean, which went through similar processes of impressive monumentalization in the course of the third century that occasionally can be linked directly with Hellenistic royal funding. Delos was not the only sanctuary where the royal houses of the Antigonids, Ptolemies, and Attalids competed for a display of power and piety. But the influx of such royal funding did have a massive impact in the spatial organization of the sanctuary. The construction of the two stoas (Philip's V stoa and the South Stoa) framing the entrance to the sanctuary, the Hellenistic *dromos*, as we have seen, erected through the agency of competing royal courts, is an exemplary statement of such a development. The Hellenistic kings and their funding may have changed the face of Delos, but they were not the only agents behind the changing landscape of religious (and civic) monumentalization. Rather than attempting to link monuments with one or other Hellenistic royal house, as we have seen in the case of the Andron at Kythnos or the Dodekatheon, we should allow the Delians themselves some agency in the decision-taking and the introduction of new cults. In other words, Hellenistic royal investment was certainly an extremely important factor in the erection of new buildings, but not all buildings have to be linked with a royal initiative.

I would therefore offer the following interpretations for the development of monumental space we witness in the course of the third century, which should be seen as complementary to each other. I suggest that, primarily, investment in monumentalization is one of the most natural developments that can take

²⁷⁹ See Constantakopoulou 2007, 47–9 and 63–6 with references.

place in a sanctuary with a wide regional appeal. By the third century, the Delian sanctuary was a space that had been venerated for centuries. As a result, old buildings needed repairs, or considerable rebuilding and expansion; in fact, repairs, and the cost of repairs, are one of the foremost preoccupations evident in the Delian accounts of the period of Independence. At the same time, the introduction of new cults, which is another constant in the history of Greek religion, demanded new buildings to accommodate them. We have discussed the sanctuary of Aphrodite by Stesileos; Stesileos may have been displaying his piety, but at the same time, his new sanctuary must have reflected a rise in Aphrodite's appeal on Delos. A similar argument can be made for the sanctuary of the Great Gods of Samothrace. Greek sanctuaries should not be understood as static places where cult continued to exist in an unaltered form since the earliest times; rather, sanctuaries constantly reshaped their monumental space in order to reflect the ongoing reformations of cult activity taking place within their boundaries. In addition, the Hellenistic period brought the veneration of new deities and the celebration of new festivals: those of the Hellenistic kings and queens. These cults, too, had an impact on the monumental space of Delos with the construction of new sanctuaries, such as the Philadelphion, and the reconfiguration of existing spaces.

Insularity too played an important part in the processes of monumentalization. Delos was a small island, with relatively limited space upon which to accommodate an important sanctuary and the expanding in size city of Delos, with its vibrant port and overall economic activities. As a result, the space for competitive monumentalization, such as the one we witness by the Hellenistic kings, was limited and closely regulated. Here too, Delos is perhaps not an untypical sanctuary, as it fiercely sought to control its sacred and civic space. But the limited insular space for such diverse activities placed a further burden on the Delian authorities and made competitive royal investment look even more crowded; Delos' insular location may be the reason why royal houses primarily chose to build stoas rather than any other type of monument, as stoas produced a grand statement using limited space; but the issue of choice of buildings is a thorny one that we will discuss shortly below.

Delos' considerable regional appeal is another aspect that needs highlighting. I would argue that this aspect of the Delian cult was perhaps the most important in shaping the history of the sanctuary and its monumentalization, not only during the third century (which is the main period that interests me here) but throughout antiquity. From an early age, Delos functioned as the centre of a cult whose participants came from the wide region of the southern Aegean. I have argued elsewhere that in the archaic and classical periods, this network was primarily an insular one.²⁸⁰ I believe that the regional religious

²⁸⁰ Constantakopoulou 2007.

network of Delos continued to be primarily insular during the third century too. This is something we shall examine in greater detail when discussing the network of participants in the cult, as they appear in the third-century Delian inventories of precious dedications. But whatever the primary character of the regional network of Delian cult was, the very fact that Delos was a regional sanctuary meant that monumentalization on Delos, and investment in monumentalization, immediately acquired a wide audience. Again, in this Delos is not unique—similar developments can be seen in all sanctuaries with a wide regional appeal (I hesitate to use the word panhellenic, as no sanctuary was truly panhellenic for the duration of its existence). Such sanctuaries became the arena for the competitive display of power, piety, and self-representation for many individuals on many levels. Hellenistic kings and queens, of course, used sanctuaries to produce statements about their ideology and position within the complex nexus of power that was the third-century Aegean. But individuals too, like Stesileos, or Apollonios, the grandson of the man who brought the cult of Sarapis to the island, according to his own story, left their mark in the changing landscape of Delian cult. A regional sanctuary guaranteed that whatever message an individual wanted to convey, whether a king/queen or not, would achieve the best display and advertisement towards the network of participants in the cult.

In that sense, Delos was following similar trends in monumentalization to the other 'big' regional sanctuaries of Greece, Olympia, Delphi, Samothrace, and so on. What makes Delos a particularly fruitful case for analysis, however, is that Delos preserved excellent records of the financial accounts of the administration of the sanctuary. The accounts of the Delian officials in the period of the Independence, the *hieropoioi*, were published annually on stone, and thankfully for the ancient historian, they survive in good numbers in the third century. I do not need to go into any detail in relation to the financial management of the Delian sanctuary because Chankowski, in her monumental monograph and in a series of articles, has produced an outstanding analysis of how exactly the Delian sanctuary managed its wealth.²⁸¹ It is possible, therefore, to reconstruct some of the ways through which the Delian *hieropoioi* invested part of the wealth of the sanctuary in repairing existing monuments, but also building new ones. Chankowski has particularly highlighted one of the differences in managing the Delian wealth in the period of Independence, as opposed to the period of the Athenian control during the fifth and fourth centuries.²⁸² While in the classical period a considerable amount of the Delian capital was re-invested through the form of loans to individuals, Delians and outsiders, and communities (mostly those of the neighbouring islands of the Aegean), in the period of Independence, the capital offered for

²⁸¹ Chankowski 2005, 2008a, 2008b, 2011. See also discussion in Chapter 1.3.

²⁸² Chankowski 2011.

loans to outside individuals and communities was much more limited.²⁸³ Instead, some of the capital generated went to processes of monumentalization—this may, in fact, explain why in the period of Independence we see such a surge in building activity by the Delians of both civic and religious monuments.

The influx of capital to Delos also explains the investment in a number of civic, and particularly commercial, buildings. The expansion of port facilities, such as the *choma*, responded to an increase in traffic, and, in turn, resulted in a further increase in the volume of trade that went through Delos. The everyday needs of the Delian sanctuary and the inhabitants of the island required a massive amount of imports, as the island itself was not capable of producing the resources needed, especially grain, wood, and oil. Vial highlighted this apparent imbalance in the economy of Delos.²⁸⁴ The appeal of the sanctuary created the need for consumption of products, through the increase in the population of the Delian inhabitants, but also in visitors to the sanctuary. Products were on the whole imported to the island and paid for by the wealth generated by the sanctuary itself. This wealth was not just the accumulation of capital through endowments, dedications, and careful management of the sanctuary's assets (through loans, lending of land owned by Apollo, and so on); it was also the product of the wealth carried in by the numerous visitors to the sanctuary, who would have to pay for their stay, their food, and so on. In other words, the appeal of the sanctuary generated the wealth needed for the inhabitants, and also increased the traffic of the island; and the more the island increased its traffic and its reputation as an excellent node in the dense maritime networks of the eastern Mediterranean, the more wealth accumulated on its shores. The story of the monumentalization of Delos is another aspect of this successful management of the assets of the sanctuary, which included its geographic position as a central node in the maritime networks.

Recently, Purcell talked about 'thresholds' as a helpful hermeneutical category with which to discuss regionalism.²⁸⁵ While Purcell applied the notion of a 'threshold of a distinctive kind' to the central Mediterranean (particularly in relation to Sicily as a great conflict zone between Carthage and Rome),²⁸⁶ it might be useful to think of Delos as a similar threshold zone in the central Aegean. In the third century, Delos, as a location, mediated between the north and the south Aegean, and as such it became one of the primary spaces for competition between the Hellenistic powers that were largely controlling the north and the south Aegean respectively, and therefore struggling for control of the entire maritime region of the Aegean: that is the Antigonids and the Ptolemies.²⁸⁷ The choice of Delos for the competitive display of the power and

²⁸³ See also the overall analysis by Reger 1994a.

²⁸⁴ Vial 2014b.

²⁸⁵ Purcell 2013a. See also discussion in Chapter 1.3.

²⁸⁶ Purcell 2013a, 376.

²⁸⁷ Buraselis 1982 is still the classic work on the subject.

piety of the Hellenistic royal dynasties can be predominantly explained through the existence of its interstate sanctuary and the impressive network of participants in the cult, as I have already argued. At the same time, Delos' location at the heart of the Aegean, to the north of the cluster of islands called, tellingly, the Cyclades because they circled Delos, enhanced its position as a key threshold area, in Purcell's sense, and as a zone of contestation.

The story of Delian monumentalization and its funding, public, individual, and royal, is only one side of the story of the interaction between Delos, its people, and the many outside players in this complex nexus of power relationships. Royal families invested in monuments, in the foundation of festivals, in dedications to the gods. Indeed, I have already stressed that the funding of monuments is only one aspect of a multifaceted relationship between Hellenistic royal circles and the deities of Delos. The impact of such investment, I hope to have shown, was markedly visible in the changing topography of the sanctuary. At the same time, our analysis of inventory dedications also shows that a considerable portion of dedications of sacred objects, as these were recorded on the Delian inventories, were royal dedications, or made by individuals linked with royal courts. The other side of this relationship was the honouring of kings and queens by the city of the Delians, and of members of the Hellenistic courts.²⁸⁸ Vial and Baslez have highlighted how the Delians used a wide range of honorific measures, such as decrees, statues, and crowns, as a means for achieving diplomatic relations with the main Hellenistic kingdoms.²⁸⁹ Recently, Ma has discussed extensively the case of Delos as a location where the placement of honorific statues consolidated relationships with kings, among others, by embedding them into a civic structure of established relations.²⁹⁰ The honorific habit of statues (and to a lesser degree *exedras*) has also been fully discussed by Dillon and Palmer Baltes.²⁹¹ Because such excellent work has been done in this area, I feel that there is no need for me to discuss this other side of the complex relationship between Delos and the rest of the world.

I do have three final remarks I would like to make. The first is to stress, once again, that in many ways Delos is not unique.²⁹² The wide range of choices available to outsiders as to how to project their chosen image and to honour their gods that we see on Delos can be seen in other sanctuaries too. Individuals had a range of choices, such as funding a monument, establishing a festival, making a dedication, and so on. The competitive erection of buildings is again not a uniquely Delian feature. The use of internal funding, generated by successful management of the resources of the sanctuary, is also a feature encountered in other Greek locations (albeit without the wealth of

²⁸⁸ Paschidis 2008 has produced an exemplary directory of honorands.

²⁸⁹ Vial and Baslez 1987. ²⁹⁰ Ma 2013.

²⁹¹ Dillon and Palmer Baltes 2013. ²⁹² Deshours 2011, esp. 82–3.

information that the Delian accounts offer us for the third century). What is unique is the specific dynamics that Delos had as a ‘threshold’ and a regional sanctuary with a strong maritime character, and how this affected the processes of monumentalization, through, for example, the building of a monument to house a whole ship.

The second remark is related to the demarcation of function. On the whole, I have discussed buildings as having a civic or religious function, especially in the discussion of monumentalization through the agency of the community of the Delians. While in some cases, such a demarcation of function is straightforward (the sanctuary of Anios is a sanctuary, after all), in many cases such a differentiation is neither achievable nor helpful.²⁹³ This is certainly true for the most impressive monuments founded by Hellenistic royals, the stoas. It is beyond the scope of this analysis to go into a discussion about the function of a stoa; indeed, the stoa is an excellent case study for the complex interface between commercial, civic, and to a certain degree religious (through, for example, the reconfiguration of the Delian *dromos*, which also acted as the space for religious processions). When discussing the structures along the Delian littoral, to the south of the port, Duchêne and Fraisse argued that a clear demarcation of function, in this transitional space between land and sea, is impossible to achieve: the domestic is next to the commercial, the sacred next to the profane.²⁹⁴ This observation can be applied to the entire space of the island: indeed, the cult offered to deities by private associations sat exactly at the interface between private and public, commercial and sacred, and this was reflected in the architecture of the buildings housing such cults.²⁹⁵

My final remark has to do with the choices offered to those who (wished to) fund monuments and the control of space within the sanctuary. The issue is straightforward when we are looking at Delian civic and religious investment in buildings. The Delians had no problem in using the money generated by their sacred treasury for this purpose.²⁹⁶ In the period of Independence, the Delian demos was the ultimate authority over all affairs of the island and the sanctuary.²⁹⁷ The decision, therefore, for the erection of new buildings must have lain with the democratic authorities of the polis of the Delians, that is the Assembly and the Council. The Delian authorities were also constantly vigilant about appropriate use of the sacred space; a sacred prohibition from the classical period regulated the use of the Minoan spring (*GD 30*) on Delos (*ID 69 = LSS 50*): no washing, swimming, or throwing of dung in the spring was allowed.²⁹⁸ Beyond the regulation of such everyday activities, there was

²⁹³ See also comments in Horster 2010. ²⁹⁴ Duchêne and Fraisse 2001, 178.

²⁹⁵ Trümper 2006 and 2011. ²⁹⁶ Vial 1984, esp. 380–1, and 385–6.

²⁹⁷ Vial 1984, esp. 92–3.

²⁹⁸ *ID 69 = LSS 50*: μή πλύνειν ἐπὶ τῷ κρή[ν]ει, μηδὲν μηδὲ κολυμ[β]ᾶν ἐν τ]εῖ κρήνῃ, μηδὲ [. . .]λ[. . .] κ[α]τὰ τὴν κρήν[ειν]. See Horster 2004, 108. A newly discovered inscription, dated to the end of the fourth century or the early third, regulates the use of the water of the Delian river

also what Brulé highlighted as the Greeks' concern with maintaining the integrity of the sacred landscape.²⁹⁹ The community's exercise of control over the sacred space is also reflected in the judicial conflict about the construction of Sarapieion A, as we have already seen. This is a particularly important point when discussing the building of monuments funded by Hellenistic kings. In other words, there is a crucial question as to who decided where monuments would be placed? And who actually chose the particular format of a monument (such as a stoa)? These are not questions that have an easy answer.

When a Hellenistic king funded a monument on Delos, such as Antigonos' stoa, it is not entirely clear which form of funding such a gesture would take. One easy solution would be to provide the moneyed funds for the expenses of the building activity to the community of Delos, who would then use the funds to cover all building expenses. In that sense, the building of a monument would resemble the format of the foundation of a festival under royal patronage: in that occasion, the king or queen would provide an initial sum, which would generate the necessary yearly income for the costs of the festival. The building of a monument, however, was a much more costly affair than the establishment of a festival through the donation of a sum used for the foundation. The solution of a moneyed donation which would cover the entire cost of building the monument does not seem to fit our understanding of how royal benefaction within the constraints of the economy actually worked. Bringmann's work has highlighted the fact that Hellenistic kings would often make their donations in kind rather than coin.³⁰⁰ The funding of a monument, therefore, could take the form of providing (some) material in kind, perhaps some of the labour, in addition to coin that would be used by the community for that purpose.

Would that mean, then, that the king did not have a say in what form his donation/monument would take? In other words, who chose the format of the monument? When we are looking at specific monuments, such as the monument of the *progonoi*, it is clear that the precise format, style, choice of subject, and so on, was made by the Hellenistic royal circles: the whole point of the exercise was to project a specific ideological identity in the competing space of the Greek sanctuary. But what about the (many) stoas? Was that a specific royal choice or was it the result of the Delians' specific needs for the topography of their sanctuary? To construct a hypothetical scenario, did Gonatas

Inopos: no washing, no throwing of stones, and a penalty of five drachmas to Apollo: see Siard 2006 for a publication of the text. For concerns about the cleanliness of space see also the Delian decree proposed by the prolific Telemnestos, son of Aristeides *SEG* 23.498: l. 3–9: ὅπως εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν διαμέ[ν]ε[ι] ὁ τόπος καθαρὸς ὡν ὁ π[ρὸ]ς τῷ [Διο]γύσωι καὶ μηθεὶς ἐμ[β]άλλει εἰς τὸν [ἀ]ρακαθαρθέντα τόπον μηδ' εἰς τὸ [τ]έμενος τὸ τῆς Ἀθητοῦς [μῆ]τ[ε] κά[π]ρο[ν] μῆτε σποδὸν μῆτε [ἄ]λλο μῆθε[ν].

²⁹⁹ Brulé 2012.

³⁰⁰ Bringmann 1993, 2001.

approach the Delians telling them that he would like to make a dedication to Apollo, and ask then what would the Delians prefer, a temple or a stoa, or did Antigonos ask for permission to erect specifically a stoa? We will never know whose initiative it was—whether it was the Delians who asked for a stoa as a response to Antigonos' donation or Antigonos choosing the format of the stoa as an appropriate means to celebrate his position, piety, and power. But I think we can move a bit further than that. I have already mentioned that Hellenistic Delos has more stoas than any other large regional sanctuary in the Greek world. Once Antigonos Gonatas (or perhaps the person who built the so-called South Stoa) built a stoa in the sanctuary, the stoa as an architectural form became the prominent format for Hellenistic kings to show their piety and benefaction. Certainly, the high visibility of the stoa as an architectural building guaranteed that this specific type of royal benefaction would be visible from almost every location in the sanctuary.³⁰¹ We are therefore looking at the processes of active competitive stoa building in the sanctuary. Antigonos' stoa framed the north-east corner of the sanctuary, while Philip's V stoa and the South Stoa framed the south-west corner, by monumentalizing the entrance to the sacred space. Indeed, as we have seen, Philip's stoa was built as a specific reaction to the South Stoa, as it was equal to it in length, exactly parallel in position, but much grander in height and therefore overall presence. Stoas, in other words, became the monument par excellence for Hellenistic royalty on Delos, the building equivalent of the foundation of a royal festival. Certainly, statues and honorific monuments played a role in conveying royal ideology, but nothing was grander than these spectacular buildings in terms of monumentalization. I therefore believe that after the first stoa (whether that was Antigonos' or the so-called South Stoa, we will never know), Hellenistic kings actively chose the stoa as an appropriate monument for the sanctuary of Delos, and chose to fund specifically that architectural form. The first stoa may have been a choice of the Delians as a reaction to the needs of their sanctuary (though I am less convinced that this was the case), but certainly, the other stoas, as an architectural form, can no longer be seen as solely the result of a Delian choice. Indeed, as Dickenson noted in relation to stoas in agoras, 'stoas were popular benefactions because they satisfied a convergence of interests on the part of the kings and the people'.³⁰²

Construction of monuments, therefore, and particularly stoas,³⁰³ became one of the ways through which Hellenistic kings expressed their goodwill and benefaction to communities. I believe that the choice to build stoas was a conscious choice by the royal courts. But this is not to deny the Delians any agency in the topographic and monumental choices of their sanctuary. The

³⁰¹ Dickenson 2013, 60.

³⁰² Dickenson 2013, 63.

³⁰³ See comments in Coulton 1976, 59.

shaping of public space in the Hellenistic cities and communal space in regional sanctuaries was constantly the result of negotiation and contestation between political powers, whether these were the local Hellenistic poleis, or the Hellenistic kings.³⁰⁴ The question of control of space has been raised in relation to the choice of erection of honorific statues.³⁰⁵ I believe that the specific clustering that we see in the use of space for such monuments indicates a certain degree of control exercised by the Delians as to which monuments could be erected in which location. In the discussion of the overall strategies used for choosing (and demanding) the ‘best place’ (*epiphanestatos topos*) for the erection of a monument, we should not refrain from emphasizing the agency of the Delians, who, in the period of Independence, were the absolute authority for the administration of their sanctuary.

³⁰⁴ See the excellent recent work by Dickenson 2013 on agoras.

³⁰⁵ Griesbach 2010, Dillon and Palmer Baltus 2013, Herbin 2014.

4

Proxeny, Statues, Crowns

The Delian Network of Honours

4.1. INTRODUCTION: HONOURS, PUBLICATION,
AND AUDIENCE

An examination of the building activity and monuments, as we have seen in the previous chapter, allows us to reconstruct some of the political, religious, and communal landscape of Independent Delos. But as with so many aspects of Greek Hellenistic history beyond the big urban and royal centres of power, it is inscriptions that tell us the history of this small Aegean island during the third and early second centuries. Through inscriptions, we can reconstruct the extensive network of honours that Delos engaged in and constructed during the period of her Independence. Epigraphic evidence of this type, that is mostly honorific decrees issued by the demos and the Boule of the Delians, is extremely formulaic, as we shall see. But despite this formulaic character, honorific decrees and other epigraphic evidence reflect an extremely active honorific habit. Through the proxeny decrees (decrees awarding the status of a proxenos, that is an 'official friend' of a polis), among others, we get glimpses of the diversity of social, political, and economic life on Delos; meanwhile, the survival of a number of the honorands' names and ethnics allows us to create a map of the geographic spread of honours for Delos. In other words, the survival of the epigraphic attestation of honorific practices of the Delian community can provide us with the means to visualize the extensive network of honours for this Aegean island during the Hellenistic period.

The focus of this chapter, therefore, is the honorific practices of the Delian community, as they are attested in the epigraphic evidence. The bulk of the evidence is decrees of the Delian demos and Boule granting proxeny and other related honours. These inscriptions are listed in Appendix 1. But while proxeny decrees and other honorific decrees (such as those awarding crowns, normally, as we shall see, as a second step after the award of proxeny) constitute the vast majority of Delian decrees, there are two other groups of

inscriptions that document honours offered by the Delian community: the first group includes the honours given to individuals by the Delian demos as evidenced through the dedicatory inscriptions found on statues and exedras erected by the Delians (Appendix 2). The second group is honours (normally crowns, statues, and the elusive references to *dorea* = donation, gift?) attested in the accounts that the Delian *hieropoioi* produced annually in order to publicly display the financial activities of the sanctuary.¹ These honours are normally included in the accounts because the city of the Delians was borrowing money from the sacred treasury in order to perform this type of honours. A few of the statues included in this category are also included in the previous group, that is, the dedicatory inscriptions on statues, but on the whole the overlap is not significant.² I have included this type of honours in Appendix 3, mostly basing my results on Baslez and Vial's excellent work (with some adaptations).³ These three sets of documents, that is, honorific decrees, dedicatory inscriptions on statues and exedras erected by the Delian community, and references to honours included in the Delian accounts, allow us to approach the Delian network of honours in a holistic manner. They represent, as we shall see, slightly different preoccupations, but taken together they do reflect the diverse contexts of honouring and the extensive network of honours awarded by the Delian community.

The epigraphic evidence of honouring practices, particularly proxeny decrees, has attracted considerable attention in scholarship.⁴ Due to the nature of the evidence, Athenian honorific practices have been at the centre of debates on the form of honours, the reasons behind honours, and the significance of such practices for the society, the economy, and politics of the honouring polis.⁵ This is understandable: Athens not only produced epigraphically the most decrees known from the ancient world, but Athens is the only city whose history, culture, politics, economy, and constitution we know quite

¹ I discuss more extensively the practice of annual publication of accounts and inventories in Chapter 5.2.

² See notes in Appendix 3.

³ Baslez and Vial 1987.

⁴ Marek 1984 is still an indispensable study on the subject. Gauthier 1985, esp. 131–49, discussed proxenia as a form of euergetism of the Greek polis, and focused his study on questions of 'utility' versus symbolic function of the proxenoi for the honouring cities. Herman 1987, esp. 130–42, placed the practice of proxenia award within the context of personal relations (and in this way, he understood proxenia as essentially continuing established xenia relations). Mitchell 1997, esp. 28–37, discusses mostly the classical period. Recently, Mack 2015 provided an excellent synthesis of the existing evidence of the practice of proxenia over the entire Greek world, focusing on proxenia as essentially a mechanism for establishing inter-polis relations, which created new—and mediated existing—networks of relations between Greek states.

⁵ On Athenian proxenies: Walbank 1978, Henry 1983, Culasso Gastaldi 2004 and 2005, Lambert 2012, Deene 2013, Woolmer 2016, who places the award of proxeny and associated honours within a model of a development of a conscious trade policy by the Athenian state. Herman 1987, 130–42 discusses mostly Athenian examples. Engen 2010 discusses proxeny decrees within a context of honours related to economic activities.

well. But while it was the Athenian evidence that has shaped our understanding of proxenia, a number of regional studies have highlighted the great degree of diversity between different communities awarding proxenia, in terms of language used, associated awards, epigraphic habit of publication, and so on. Recent work on Aitolia,⁶ Western Greece,⁷ Megara,⁸ Chaironeia,⁹ Eretria,¹⁰ Eresos,¹¹ Ceos,¹² Cos,¹³ Crete,¹⁴ the Cyclades,¹⁵ Tenos,¹⁶ Oropos,¹⁷ Delphi, and Delos¹⁸ has enriched our understanding of how proxeny worked, the mechanisms of award, the geographic spread of recipients, and the significance of honours. In fact, Delos is one of the best case studies for the practice of honouring individuals through proxenies. As such, Delos' proxeny habit has received adequate scholarly attention, in Marek's classic monograph,¹⁹ Habicht's article on the additional awards associated with proxeny,²⁰ Reger's work on the political history of the Cyclades and his excellent monograph on the economy of independent Delos,²¹ Baslez and Vial's work on the diplomacy of Independent Delos,²² and of course, in Vial's outstanding work on Delian politics and society during the period of Independence.²³ Mack's recent monograph also extensively discusses the Delian examples.²⁴ However, with the exception of Durrbach's listing of ethnics in the corpus of Delian inscriptions, which are considerably skewed towards proxeny decrees,²⁵ and Marek's relatively brief discussion (as well as his map),²⁶ no work has systematically approached the geographic extent of the Delian practice of proxeny awards.²⁷ Yet, proxenies are simply one aspect of the honorific practices of the Delians. They may be the most prominent aspect, as we shall see, but a discussion of proxeny decrees and the Delian practice of their publication cannot provide us with a comprehensive image of the overall honorific traditions of the island during the period of Independence.

In this chapter, therefore, I shall discuss the three types of honorific awards of the Delian demos, as they are recorded in the epigraphic evidence. The biggest category is proxeny decrees, with other honorific decrees being the minority of the corpus of Delian decrees. In addition to decrees issued by the Delian demos and the Boule, we shall pay attention to honours awarded by the Delian polis, which are manifested in the existence of dedicatory

⁶ Fossey 1996, 2014. ⁷ Zelnick-Abramovitz 2004. ⁸ Liddel 2009.

⁹ Kalliontzis 2007. ¹⁰ Knoepfler 2001. ¹¹ Mack 2012.

¹² Mack 2011 on the proxeny lists from Carthaia on the island of Ceos.

¹³ Höghammar 2016. ¹⁴ Tzifopoulos 2010. ¹⁵ Etienne and Dourlot 1996.

¹⁶ Etienne 1990. ¹⁷ Wilding 2015.

¹⁸ The last three cities have been the focus of Habicht's 2002 article.

¹⁹ Marek 1984, esp. 247–80. ²⁰ Habicht 2002. ²¹ Reger 1994a and 1994b.

²² Baslez and Vial 1987. ²³ Vial 1984. ²⁴ Mack 2015.

²⁵ Choix p. 273–6. ²⁶ Marek 1984 with a list in 71–3, and map in 72.

²⁷ Etienne and Dourlot 1996, provide a succinct summary of the geographic spread of Cycladic honours in general, but they do not discuss Delos. Mack 2015 is also concerned with the geographic spread of honours, but does not discuss the case of Delos in this respect.

inscriptions on statues and exedras. I should immediately highlight here that the setting of statues and exedras for prominent individuals who were considered benefactors for the community of the Delians was not the prerogative of the Delian demos alone. Rather, the erection of statues could also be the initiative of private or royal individuals and groups of people.²⁸ While such cases are undoubtedly important for a discussion of the role of the statue (and the exedra) within the context of Hellenistic honorific practices, and the use of space for the display of power relations (especially when dealing with statues of Hellenistic kings and queens or prominent members of the Hellenistic courts), I have excluded them from my discussion as they cannot serve as evidence for the Delian network of honours, awarded by the Delian community as a whole. My main interest lies in cataloguing the geographic spread of honours, which is revealed mostly through the existence of ethnics for the various honorands of the Delian community. The network of honours, as this is documented through the existing epigraphic evidence, can then provide an additional aspect to our overall reconstruction of the network of relations between Delos and the Delians and the rest of the Aegean world around them.

In order to reconstruct the Delian network of honours, however, we must first address some of the key issues related to this type of evidence: namely, the question of the survival of the inscribed honours, or in other words, the honorific epigraphic habit of the Delians. First of all, some numbers. Marek stated that there were over 500 proxeny decrees from Delos, in the period of Independence.²⁹ Indeed, the relevant volume of the *IG* that includes the Delian decrees of the period of Independence (*IG* XI.4) has 511 entries.³⁰ Not all of the decrees in this section, however, are proxeny, nor are they

²⁸ Erection of statues as a result of private (or royal) initiative: see for example *IG* XI.4 1096 = *Choix* 36 for the *progonoi* monument erected by Antigonos Gonatas, discussed in Chapter 3.5; 1098 for a statue of Queen Phila, daughter of king Seleukos, and wife of Antigonos, erected by Iphanes, son of Dem[ophilos?], from Tenedos; 1109 = *Choix* 57 for the statue erected by Attalos I for his general Epigenes, 1110 = *Choix* 56 for the victory statue of Attalos I over the Gauls, both discussed in Chapter 3.5; 1114 = *Choix* 72 for a statue of Heliodoros, son of Aischylos, from Antioch, the friend (*σύντροφος*) of king Seleucos Philopator erected by the *ἐκδοχεῖς* and *ναύκληροί* of Laodikeia in Phoenicia; 1115 for a statue of King Masannasa of Nubia, erected by the Delian Hermon, son of Solon. While the erection of this last statue may be linked to gratitude for the king's gift of grain to the Delians in 181, and referred to in *ID* 442A 101, it is not a public Delian initiative that resulted to the erection of the statue, according to the inscription, but a private one (*contra* Tréheux 1992, 13, s.v. *Μασαννάσας βασιλεύς*). A Rhodian, Charmylos, son of Nikarchos, also erected a statue of Masannasa on Delos (1116). See Oliver 2007b for a discussion of the role of the award of statues in decrees, particularly Athens; Griesbach 2010 for a discussion of the self-representation (especially of Hellenistic rulers) through the medium of statues in Hellenistic Delos; Ma 2013 for a recent discussion of the role of the honorific statue in the political, religious, and honorific landscape of the Hellenistic city. Dillon and Palmer Baltes 2013 provide an excellent discussion on the use of space in the *dromos* of Hellenistic Delos; Herbin 2014 also presents us with a comprehensive discussion of the erection of monuments and politics of space on Delos.

²⁹ Marek 1984, 247.

³⁰ *IG* XI.4 510–1021.

relevant to this project. Some decrees are not honorary (but deal with other issues, such as ambassadors),³¹ while others are not to be dated in the period of Independence (they belong to the period of Athenian cleruchy instead).³² In Appendix 1, I have catalogued all the honorific decrees from Delos in the period of Independence; my total number is 507 decrees, that we can, with some certainty, as I discuss below, assume that they were honorific. In reaching this number, I have included all honorific decrees (so not just proxeny decrees);³³ in addition, I have included in my calculations decrees where the surviving section of the inscription does not necessarily refer to honours and/or does not include any typical honorific language. For example, in Appendix 1, I have included decrees where the word ‘proxenos’ does not survive on stone, and also those where none of the other associated honours are present. This is not an uncommon phenomenon: in many of the surviving decrees, we have either just the opening section with the enactment clause, which on Delos is normally ‘it was resolved by the Boule and the demos’,³⁴ and possibly the name and patronymic of the proposer,³⁵ or the supplementary material at the end of the decree, which may include the name of the president of the Assembly, or the publication clause of the decree (normally, ‘the Boule shall publish this decree in the Bouleuterion, and the *hieropoioi* [shall publish this decree] in the sanctuary’).³⁶ If this is the case and the text of the inscription is so mutilated, then we cannot be absolutely certain that the decree in question is indeed an honorific decree; yet, statistics, in this particular case, give us a helping hand. Of the 508 decrees included in the relevant section of the

³¹ These are *IG* XI.4 700, 756, 761, 762, 768. Habicht 2002, 15 with n. 11 includes decree 700 in his discussion, and lists two further decrees that are not honorary (and therefore not taken into account in his discussion of the proxeny decrees of Delos): these are 543 and 566. Both, however, are clearly honorific decrees. 543 is a decree awarding additional honours to Hegestratos, who is already proxenos on Delos, for which see Migeotte 46. 566 is an honorific decree for Demetrios Poliorketes, for which see Kotsidu 122.

³² The decrees dated to the period of the Athenian cleruchy are 524 and 713. See also Habicht 2002, 14.

³³ In this I differ from Habicht 2002, 15 who counts 467 proxeny decrees from the period of Independence, and Mack 2015, 235 with n. 4, who accepts only 239 decrees as proxeny (the ones in which the words ‘proxeny’ or ‘proxenos’ survive either wholly or partially).

³⁴ Rhodes with Lewis 1997, 242.

³⁵ See for example *IG* XI.4 678, where we have enactment clauses and the name of the proposer, preserved partially: *θε[οί]. ἔδοξεν τῆι βουλῆι κ[αὶ τῶι δήμῳ. — —] Ἀμφιθάλους εἶπεν· ἐ[πειδὴ — —]*. Equally, if not more, problematic are, for example, 970, 985, 987, 988, 995, 996, 999, 1002, 1006, 1015, 1017, and the even more laconic 1020 and 1021, where only the heading *theoi* survives.

³⁶ The normal publication clause with the name of the president of the assembly is *ἀναγράψαι δὲ τὸδε τὸ ψήφισμα τὴν μὲν βουλὴν εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον, τοὺς δὲ ἱεροποιοὺς εἰς τὸ ἱερόν. Κυνητιάδης Τελέσωνος ἐπεψήφισεν*, as in *IG* XI.4 664, 16–19. For fragmentary decrees, where only the publication clauses survives, see for example *IG* XI.4 848: [— — — — — τὴν μὲν βου]λὴν εἰς τὸ βο[ουλευτήριον, τοὺς δὲ] ἱεροποιοὺς εἰς [τὸ ἱερόν· — —]. . . . Δημητρίου ἐπεψ[ήφισεν]., or indeed the even more fragmentary 853: — — — — — Διογέ[νους ἐπεψήφισεν]. Similarly, 1013, 1014, and 1018 preserve partially the publication clause.

IG publication that are dated to the period of Independence,³⁷ only six are certainly *not* honorific decrees (1.2 per cent). In addition, the vast majority of these are most certainly honorific decrees: according to my calculations, only for eighty-one decrees out of a total of 508 included in the *IG* section, we cannot be to a certain degree certain that they were honorific.³⁸ This leaves a total of 427 decrees (or an impressive 84 per cent), which are honorific. It is therefore extremely likely that when we are faced with a fragmentary decree, whose content entirely eludes us, then it was most likely that this was an honorific decree, and indeed, very likely a proxeny one. For whatever reasons, the Delians in the period of Independence were very reluctant to epigraphically publish decrees that were not honorary. Or to put it another way, in addition to their prolific publication practices of the accounts of the Delian sanctuary and the inventories of the treasures of the gods, the Delians tend to publish honorific decrees, but not other collective decisions of their polis. For this reason, I make the reasonable assumption that the eighty-one fragmentary decrees that we have, for which an honorific content has not survived, are most likely honorific decrees. Of the 427 decrees, whose honorific nature we can reconstruct with a certain degree of certainty, 64.6 per cent are proxeny decrees (with associated honours), 23 per cent are most likely proxeny decrees, 8.4 per cent are awards of crowns, 2.4 per cent are combined awards of crown and proxeny, while 1.6 per cent are the rest of the awards combined (for statue and crown, possibly crown, statue, and possibly statue).³⁹

We can therefore observe two things: honorific decrees represent the overwhelming majority of decrees published by the Boule and the demos, during the period of Independence, that is, 84 per cent of the decrees published are certainly honorific, while 98.8 per cent are most likely honorific. The second observation has to do with the type of award of honours: the great majority of honours, as these are preserved in decrees whose honorific context we can reconstruct, are proxeny decrees with 87.4 per cent being proxeny or most likely proxeny decrees. The other honours awarded are a smaller

³⁷ See note 30 above.

³⁸ These are indicated in Appendix 1, with a '?' under honours: 520, 522, 620, 668, 677, 678, 685, 686, 695, 696, 727, 738, 740, 799, 803, 806, 848, 849, 853, 859, 864, 867, 868, 872, 880, 881, 882, 888, 891, 892, 899, 902, 906, 913, 916, 919, 922, 924, 925, 929, 930, 931, 932, 941, 943, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 951, 954, 955, 959, 961, 962, 965, 966, 968, 970, 971, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 990, 995, 996, 997, 999, 1002, 1003, 1006, 1013, 1014, 1015, 1017, 1018, 1020, 1021.

³⁹ See Appendix 1 for a breakdown of the honours: 276 are proxeny decrees (often with associated honours), ninety-eight are most likely proxeny decrees (indicated with a '?' in Appendix 1), thirty-six are awards of crowns, three are possibly awards of crowns (indicated with a 'c?' in Appendix 1; these are 791, 963, and 1001—see notes in the relevant decrees for this assumption), ten are combined awards of proxeny and crown (these are 514, 542, 565, 572, 690, 694, 697, 716, 809 and 944), two are combined awards of a statue and a crown (566 and 664), one (665) is an award of a statue, and one is possibly the award of a statue (911, indicated by 's?' in Appendix 1—see note in the relevant decree in the Appendix).

minority, with the biggest category being crowns. These types of percentages require some explanation, which has to be associated with the publication practices of the Delian demos.

An important question, therefore, is why did the Delian demos take the decision to inscribe so many proxeny decrees on stone and display them in the sanctuary? Certainly, the inscription and public display of the decree was not an automatic step, but rather, it should be considered as an additional element, perhaps even desirable from the honorand's point of view,⁴⁰ of the honorific process in general.⁴¹ In other words, not all decrees were published on stone; in fact, not all decrees were published in any form (such as temporary records).⁴² We are looking here, therefore, at a specific Delian habit of publication, which requires explanation. The 500 or so honorific decrees from Independent Delos (427 of which I have classified as proxeny) make Delos one of the most prominent locations for the publication of proxeny decrees, along with third-century Delphi, third-century Oropos, and fourth-century Athens.⁴³ Indeed, Mack calculated that the survival rate for proxeny decrees is 0.2 per cent:⁴⁴ applying this kind of calculation on Delos, we would end up with the incredible number of 250,000 proxeny decrees for the 150 years of Independence, or, 1,600 decrees issued per year. Clearly, this type of calculation cannot be applied to Delos, because the numbers involved are way beyond this community's capacity for establishing relations with prominent individuals. Rather, what we are witnessing on Delos is a greater tendency to epigraphically inscribe proxeny decrees on stone. Indeed, the period of Independence, which is the focus of this study, conveniently overlaps with what Mack has shown was the peak period for the production of proxeny decrees in the Greek world, that is the second half of the third century, with a steady decline in the first half of the second century and a collapse in the second half.⁴⁵ In other words, the Delian production of proxeny decrees follows largely the patterns known for production of decrees from the rest of the Greek world; at the same time, the production of the Delian decrees is closely linked with the specific history of the island, and its independence from the Athenians.

So how do we account for this Delian tendency to epigraphically inscribe honorific decrees on stone and publicly display them? One explanation is surely the fact that independent Delos was not simply an autonomous polis, in charge of her own affairs (compared to the period of Athenian control), but also an island with one of the great regional sanctuaries of the Greek world. Two aspects, therefore, require our attention: first, insularity, and second, the presence of a regional sanctuary with an impressive network of participants in

⁴⁰ Lambert 2012, 45. ⁴¹ Rhodes with Lewis 1997, 3–4.

⁴² Rhodes with Lewis 1997, 525–6. ⁴³ Mack 2015, 13–14.

⁴⁴ Mack 2015, 14–15. ⁴⁵ Mack 2015, 236 with fig. 5.1.

the cult of the Delian deities, and therefore, by implication, a considerable regional audience for the publication of such decrees. The question of audience, in fact, is a crucial issue for our understanding of the epigraphic habit of the Delians in general, which shall be discussed further in the following chapter on the Delian inventories and the network of appeal of the Delian cult. The publication of honours, including proxeny, targeted multiple audiences. On one level, this was related to the workings of politics on the local, that is, Delian, level: honorary decrees featured the name of the proposer for the honours, who was a Delian citizen. As we shall in the following section, some proposers were more prolific than others; the publication of the decrees, therefore, facilitated the advertisement of personal relations between those proposers and the honorands, while they also conveyed a certain degree of prestige for the proposers. But perhaps this local audience alone cannot explain the vast numbers of honorary decrees from Hellenistic Delos, in the sense that such local relations and political entanglements were a common feature for politics all over the Greek world. Rather, what distinguished Delos from the other Hellenistic poleis and federations producing proxeny decrees was the considerable non-Delian audience for such honours. The Delian sanctuary attracted a large network of participants in the cult; these visitors would visit the sanctuary, dedicate objects, participate in the cult and attend religious festivals (with associated performances in the theatre, where we find that proclamations of some of the Delian honours took place).⁴⁶ Not many Hellenistic poleis could claim to have such a large regional audience for their publication of their decrees—indeed, if one of the reasons for the award of honours was to establish and advertise links between individuals and their respective communities, as we shall see, then the advertisement of these relations to a large regional audience through the medium of publication was an important element of the honour itself. As Lambert has argued, the publication of honours in the area of the sanctuary also targeted the divine audience, who, it could be argued, endorsed via the publication in the sacred space the honours themselves.⁴⁷ The presence of the sanctuary, therefore, provides a partial explanation for the publication habit of the Delians.⁴⁸ It is no coincidence that Delphi too was similarly prolific in its publication of proxeny decrees. Beyond the presence of the sanctuary, Delos was also an

⁴⁶ See for example *IG XI.4* 764, 2–8, a honorary decree for Mantineas, son of Satyros from Tenos, a proxenos, who is honoured with a laurel crown and a public announcement by the *hierokeryx* in the theatre during the festival of the Apollonia, during the competition of the youth's choruses: στεφανῶσαι Μαντινέα Σατύρου Τήμιον τὸν πρόξενον δάφνης στεφάνωι τῶι ἱερωῖ καὶ ἀναγορεῦσαι τὸν ἱεροκήρυκα ἐν τῶι θεάτρῳ τοῖς Ἀπολλωνίοις, ὅτα[ν] οἱ χοροὶ τῶν παίδων ἀγωνίζωνται, τότε τὸ κήρυγμα. Similar clauses for proclamation in 559, 565, 664, 666, 674, 682, 687, 705, 710, 744, 753, 755, 774, 782, 818, 836, 843.

⁴⁷ Lambert 2011, esp. 201–2.

⁴⁸ Archibald 2001, 262.

important regional centre for commerce and economic transactions.⁴⁹ It is perhaps methodologically unsound to separate these two categories, in the sense that religious activity encouraged economic transactions and vice versa, as Rauh has so brilliantly shown in his examination of the operation of societies in Delos under the Athenian cleruchy.⁵⁰ Delos as a sanctuary and as a large port attracted visitors from the extended Greek world and beyond; the publications of honours targeted this large, diverse audience.⁵¹

Insularity, too, I believe, played an important role in the framing of the epigraphic publication of honours. Delos was not just a large regional sanctuary and an important commercial and navigational centre: it was an island. We get a glimpse of the impact of insularity in the award of one of the additional honours associated with proxeny: that of *asylia*, immunity from the right of reprisal.⁵² *Asylia* in such an honorary context is understood as ‘grant of protection to individuals from the seizure of their property by citizens and residents of the *asylia* granting state’.⁵³ In other words, the honorand would be able to sail to and from Delos without fear of seizure.⁵⁴ This was important in case there was a war between the honouring state and the state of origin of the honorand: the award of *asylia* protected the honoured proxenos from reprisals in the case of war. The award of *asylia* is only attested once in the proxeny decrees of Independent Delos: it is part of the package of honours offered to Philistos, son of Philistos, from Chios (IG XI.4 547 = *Choix* 28). This decree is in many ways unique:⁵⁵ not only is it the only proxeny decree which grants *asylia* to the honorand, but it is also the only decree which allows the honorand to enroll to whichever *phratry* he wishes, through the grant of *politeia* (citizenship).⁵⁶ This decree is also one of a handful of Delian decrees that awards all additional honours: Philistos gets proxeny, *ateleia*, *entesis*, *politeia*, *prodikia*, *asylia*, *ephodos*, and *proedria*. We shall discuss further below the significance and rationale for these additional honours, but for the time being, it is *asylia* that is crucial to my interpretation. As Baslez and Vial noted, contrary to other sanctuaries, where *asylia* concerned the territory of the sanctuary,⁵⁷ on Delos this state of inviolability extended to the whole island, due to the small size of the Delian territory.⁵⁸ In fact, if we understand *asylia* as protection against reprisals in the case of war, such a case could hardly be

⁴⁹ Reger 1994a. ⁵⁰ Rauh 1993.

⁵¹ Marek 1984, 263. Delos as an important place for publication is also discussed in Buraselis 2012.

⁵² On *asylia* as an award associated with proxeny see Rigsby 1996, 19. See also recently Woolmer 2016, 76–9.

⁵³ Definition taken from Scott 2013b. ⁵⁴ Mack 2015, 128.

⁵⁵ See comments in Habicht 2002.

⁵⁶ IG XI.4 547 11–13: πολιτείαν καὶ πρὸς φράτραν ἢν ἂν βούλωνται προσγράψασθαι.

⁵⁷ For a discussion of *asylia* see Chaniotis 1996, Rigsby 1996, Lintott 2004.

⁵⁸ Baslez and Vial 1987.

applied on Delos, which, on the whole, did not engage in military activities due to its small size and general protection offered by the sanctuary. In this particular case of award of *asylia*, therefore, the fact that Delos was an island affected the way that honours were understood. I would argue that we can associate this single reference to *asylia* as an additional to proxeny honour with the general state of inviolability of Delos as a sacred island: since the state of inviolability extended to the entire island, including the port, then there was no need for an additional reference to *asylia* for the honoured proxenoi, as they would enjoy such a status quo anyway. In other words, insularity, which in Greece was understood as essentially the space of small islands,⁵⁹ affected partially the context in which honours were perceived and communicated.

The presence of the Delian sanctuary with its considerable regional network, and the traffic generated by the Delian port, created the context for a large, local and regional, human and divine, audience for the epigraphic publication of the Delian honours. Insularity too played a part in the award of associated honours, as I have argued in the case of *asylia*. It was not only the Delians, however, who recognized the advantages of publishing on Delos in terms of reach to a large audience; other states too used Delos for the publication of their decrees and honours. Indeed, one category of Delian decrees published in the sanctuary were decrees where the Delians accepted the request of other communities for permission of publication of their proxeny and other honorific decrees.⁶⁰ In some cases, the decrees set up on Delos inscribe honours awarded to a Delian citizen; in this case, the publication at the city of origin of the honorand is a typical element of the procedure for the advertisement of honours. Such is the case for the proxeny decree for the Delian Mnesalkos, son of Telesarchides, honoured by an unknown city,⁶¹ the honours awarded to the Delian Boulon, son of Tynnon, by the demos of Thessalonike, who was sent as an ambassador to Thessalonike,⁶² or the honours awarded by Theangela to the Delian Semos, son of Kosmiades.⁶³ What is perhaps more interesting is the case where we have publications of honours awarded to a non-Delian by a community outside Delos. In this case, the publication of the decree on Delos served mainly the purpose of advertising the honours awarded to the audience of the large network of the island: such is the case for the honours awarded by the demos of Hestiaia to Athenodoros, son of Peisagoras, from Rhodes.⁶⁴

⁵⁹ Constantakopoulou 2007, 13–16.

⁶⁰ See for example *IG XI.4 1022*, where the Delians accept the request of the Chians for setting up a stele with the honours awarded to Teleson, son of Autocles from Delos; *1023*, where the Delians accept the request of Philoxenos, from Samothrace requesting permission for the setting up of a stele with the honours offered to him and his brother by the Islanders' League; *1024*, where the Delians accept the request of Theangela for setting up a stele with the honours awarded by Theangela to Semos, son of Kosmiades.

⁶¹ *IG XI.4 1049*.

⁶² *IG XI.4 1053 = Choix 49*.

⁶³ *IG XI.4 1054*.

⁶⁴ *IG XI.4 1055*, on which see Sheedy 1996.

Similarly, the demos of the Syrians published a decree honouring Eumedes, son of Philodemos from Clazomenai, with a golden crown, mostly for this service to the island of Syros as an *epikrites* (arbiter) on behalf of king Antigonos Gonatas.⁶⁵ The royal connection here is crucial for our understanding of the awards of honours and their publication on Delos: the Syrians were not just displaying the award of honours, but their gratitude and connection with the Antigonid court. In these last two cases, the relationship between either the honouring city or the honorand with Delos is tangential; neither the honorand or the honouring city had any direct relationship with Delos. Publication on Delos was also linked to the extensive activities of the Islanders' League, whose headquarters were set on Delos, as we have seen.⁶⁶ The League regularly published their decrees on Delos, appropriating, in this manner, the extensive audience of the visitors of the island for the purpose of communicating their honorific and political activities.⁶⁷

4.2. PROXENY DECREES: FORMAT, LANGUAGE, FAMILIAL RELATIONS, ASSOCIATED HONOURS, AND PROPOSERS

Since such a significant proportion of the epigraphically attested honours awarded by the Delians are proxeny decrees (almost 65 per cent), it is worth discussing proxeny in some detail; we shall examine the format and the language of the decree itself, the associated honours that are awarded with proxeny, and the question of the proposers of the decrees.

One of the most striking features of proxeny decrees is their strict formulaic language and structure.⁶⁸ A Delian proxeny decree followed largely the format of a Greek decree, with an invocation ('Gods'), a heading (normally the name and patronymic of the honorand), an enactment formula ('it was decided by the Boule and the demos'), a motivation clause (occasionally with a hortatory clause⁶⁹), a motion formula ('it was decided that'), the substance section

⁶⁵ IG XI.4 1052. ⁶⁶ See Chapter 2.2.

⁶⁷ The decrees of the Islanders' League set up on Delos are included in IG XI.4 1036–48.

⁶⁸ Mack 2015, 27–9.

⁶⁹ On hortatory clauses as constructing the future see Luraghi 2010, discussing Athenian examples. See also Lambert 2011. Lambert 2012, 96 stresses that hortatory clauses intend to influence future behaviour, and in that respect, honorific decrees were monumentalized diplomacy. Hortatory clauses are largely absent on Delos, with a few exceptions: IG XI.4 559, 11–14: ἵν' οὖν [εἰ]δῶσιν [π]άντ[ες] οἱ ἀφικνούμε[νοι εἰς Δῆλον] ὅτι ἐπίσταται ὁ δῆμος ὁ Δηλίων χάρι[τας ἀποδιδόναι] τοῖς εὐεργετοῦσι τό τε ἱερὸν καὶ Δηλίους; 649, 5–9: καὶ ἵνα πάντες εἰδῶσιν ὅτι παρέχεται τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Δηλίων τὰς χ[ρείας τὰς μεγίστας κ]αὶ ὅτι ἐπίσταται ὁ δῆμος [ἡμῶν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ] εὐεργέταις ἀξίας χάρι[τας ἀποδιδόναι]; and 666, 16–17: ἵνα εἰδῶσιν πάντες ὅτι ἐπίσταται [τιμ]ᾶν ὁ δῆμος τοὺς [ἀγαθοῦ]ς.

(the award of honours), and finally any supplementary material at the end (such as the publication clause).⁷⁰ It might be worth quoting here in full what might be considered a typical case of a Delian proxy decree, followed by a decree awarding a crown, as a useful example. The two decrees honour Autocles, son of Autocles, from Chalkis, and were passed around 230 (IG XI.4 681 and 682).

IG XI.4 681:

θεοί.

ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ· Πραξιμέν[ης]
 Καλλιδίκου εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ Αὐτοκλῆς ἀνὴρ ἀγα-
 θὸς ὢν διατελεῖ περὶ τε τὸ ἱερόν καὶ τὸν δή-
 μον τὸν Δηλίων καὶ χρεῖας παρέχεται καὶ κοι-
 νῇ τῇ πόλει καὶ ἰδίαι τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν
 αὐτῷ τῶν πολιτῶν εἰς ἃ ἂν τις αὐτὸν πα-
 ρακαλῆι· δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δή-
 μῳ· εἶναι Αὐτοκλῆν Αὐτοκλέους Χαλκιδέα
 πρόξενον καὶ εὐεργέτην τοῦ τε ἱεροῦ καὶ Δη-
 λίων καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐγγόνους καὶ εἶναι αὐτοῖς
 [ἐ]ν Δήλῳ γῆς καὶ οἰκίας ἐνκτησιν καὶ πρόσσο-
 [δ]ον πρὸς τὴν βουλήν καὶ τὸν δήμον πρῶτοις
 [με]τὰ τὰ ἱερά, ὑπάρχειν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ ἄλ-
 [λ]α πάντα ὅσα δέδοται καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις προ-
 ξένους καὶ εὐεργέταις τοῦ τε ἱεροῦ καὶ Δηλί-
 [ω]ν· ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα τῆμ μὲν
 [βο]υλήν εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον, τοὺς δὲ ἱεροποι-
 [οῦ]ς εἰς τὸ ἱερόν. Παρμενίων Πολυβούλου ἐπε-
 ψήφισεν.

5

10

15

20

682:

ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ· Τηλέ-
 μνηστος Ἀριστείδου εἶπεν· ἐπειδ[ὴ]
 Αὐτοκλῆς Αὐτοκλέους Χαλκιδεὺς π[ρό]-
 ξενος ὢν καὶ εὐεργέτης τοῦ τε ἱεροῦ
 καὶ Δηλίων τὴν πᾶσαν σπουδὴν ποιεῖ-
 ται ἔμ παντὶ καιρῷ περὶ τῶν συμφερόν-
 των τῷ τε ἱερώ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ καὶ χρεῖας
 παρέχεται καὶ κοινῇ τῇ πόλει καὶ ἰδίαι εἰς
 [ἃ] ἂν τις αὐτὸν παρακαλῆι τῶν πολιτῶν· δε-
 δόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ· στεφανώ-
 σαι αὐτὸν δάφνης στεφάνῳ καὶ ἀναγο-
 ρεῦσαι τὸν ἱεροκήρυκα ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ τοῖς
 Ἀπολλωνίοις, ὅταν οἱ τῶν παίδων χοροὶ ἀ-
 γωνίζωνται, ὅτι στεφανοῖ ὁ δήμος ὁ Δηλί-

5

10

⁷⁰ Format of decrees in Rhodes with Lewis 1997, 4–5.

The Delian Network of Honours

123

ων Ἀὐτοκλῆν Ἀὐτοκλέους Χαλκιδέα δά- 15
 φνης στεφάνωι ἀρετῆς ἔνεκεν καὶ εὐ-
 σεβείας τῆς περὶ τὸ ἱερόν καὶ εὐνοίας τῆς
 εἰς τὸν δῆμον τὸν Δηλίων· ἀναγράφαι δὲ [τό]-
 δε τὸ ψήφισμα εἰς τὴν στήλην οὐ καὶ ἡ [προ]-
 ξενία αὐτοῦ γέγραπται· Ἰσόδικος 20
 Κα(λ)λιφάνου ἐπειψήφισεν.

681:

Gods.

It was decided by the Boule and the demos. Praximenes,
 son of Kallidikos, proposed. Because Autocles is a good man
 with regard to the sanctuary and the demos
 of the Delians, and provided services both to the 5
 city as a whole and individually to those of the citizens who appealed
 to him for those [things] that someone may have appealed to him;
 It was decided by the Boule and the demos that
 Autocles, son of Autocles, from Chalkis
 is proxenos and benefactor (*euergetes*) of the sanctuary 10
 and the Delians, himself and his descendants, and to have
enctesis on Delos of land and house, and *prosodos*
 to the Boule and the demos first
 after the sacred matters, and to have everything
 else that is given to the other proxenoi 15
 and benefactors of the sanctuary of the Delians.
 And [it was decided that] the Boule is to inscribe this decree
 in the Bouleuterion, and the *hieropoioi*
 in the sanctuary. Parmenion, son of Polyboulos
 put to the vote. 20

682:

It was decided by the Boule and the demos.
 Telemnestos, son of Aristeides proposed. Because
 Autocles, son of Autocles, from Chalkis, is proxenos
 and benefactor of the sanctuary
 and of the Delians and took great care 5
 in all occasions of the interests (*sympheronta*)
 of the sanctuary and the demos and provided services
 both to the city as a whole and individually for those [things]
 that someone of the citizens may have appealed to him;
 It was decided by the Boule and the demos: to crown 10
 him with a laurel crown and
 the *hierokeryx* to announce in the theatre during
 the festival of the Apollonia, when the choruses of the boys
 are competing, that the demos of the Delians crowns
 Autocles, son of Autocles, from Chalkis 15
 with a laurel crown because of his virtue and

piety towards the sanctuary and goodwill (*eunoia*)
towards the demos of the Delians. And to inscribe
this decree on the *stele*, where his proxeny
(decree) is written. Isodikos,
son of Kalliphanes, put to the vote.

20

In the first decree, we have the invocation ('Gods'), followed by the name of the proposer and the motivation clause, which is typically formulaic. Indeed, on Delos it is very rare that we get to see the particular context that made the awards to a specific individual desirable for the city of the Delians. In this decree, in addition to the standard expressions that the honorand was 'good' (*ἀγαθός*) to the sanctuary and the city of the Delians (which always appear as two different entities in the honorific decrees), we may see some of the services that the honorand offered to the Delians; this is the relatively peculiar expression in l. 6–7 to repeated, it seems, appeals by some Delians, possibly for affairs in Chalkis. This relatively generic reasoning for the honours (motivation clause) is followed by the motion formula, and the substance of the decree, which lists the award of honours. Autocles is pronounced proxenos and *euergetes* (benefactor) of the sanctuary and the Delians, both himself and all his descendants; he is further awarded *enctesis*, the right to own land on Delos, *prosodos*, privileged access to the Boule and the Assembly, and all the other awards, which in this case are not listed (but see below for a discussion). The decree ends with the typical double publication clause for Delos (both in the Bouleuterion and in the sanctuary), and the name of the president of the Assembly.

The second decree passed at a later time, as it is evident from the publication clause, which stipulates that this decree shall be inscribed on the *stele* which had the proxeny decree; this assumes that the proxeny decree was already set up in the sanctuary before the assembly that passed the second decree took place. This second decree starts with the enactment clause ('it was decided by the Boule and the demos') and the name of the proposer, the prolific, as we shall see, Telemnestos, son of Aristeides. The motivation clause includes a reference to Autocles being a proxenos, and in fact repeats verbatim some of the clauses included in the first decree. The honour awarded here is the offering of a laurel crown and the proclamation of the honours in the festival of the Apollonia.⁷¹ The award of a crown, therefore, represented an additional step in the award of honours for benefactors, which was often offered to individuals who already had proxeny. In fact, many of our references to crowns in decrees which are not substantially fragmentary (and

⁷¹ The Apollonia in the period of Independence was possibly the biggest Delian festival. Proclamations for honours, as far as we can judge from the honours clause of the honorific inscriptions, took place on the occasion of the boys' choruses. For a discussion and list of references see Bruneau 1970, 65–75, esp. 70–2 for the proclamation of honours.

whose context we can therefore reconstruct) are such consecutive awards to individuals who already have proxeny.⁷² When the Delians do offer crowns to individuals who are not, as far as we can see, already proxenoi, then these individuals are Hellenistic royals, or individuals closely associated with the royal courts.⁷³

One of the most striking features of this decree, and what makes it typical of a Delian honorific decree, is its highly formulaic language. This is true not just in the listing of honours, which on the whole were similar (with little variation) for most Delian proxenoi, but perhaps more frustratingly for us, as modern historians, in the motivation clause for the honours.⁷⁴ I shall discuss in the following section the various services rendered that the Delians thought worthy of a proxeny honour, but for the moment, I would like to stress that this type of formulaic description of the reasons as to why the Delians honoured this specific individual make these decrees a very coherent group (and therefore extremely easy to work with, when one supplements the fragmentary text that survives on stone), but also a very elusive group of evidence. The decrees provide only very generic information in relation to why the individual honorand deserved to be honoured. We normally get simply a clause that the man was ‘good to the sanctuary and the demos of the Delians’. Yet, as Mack convincingly argued, perhaps the highly formulaic and generic language of the proxeny decrees was related to the ‘logic of appropriateness’, in relation to the social expectations underwritten in the role of the proxenoi and the polis.⁷⁵ If, as Mack suggested, there was a clearly defined set of assumptions for the role of both the honouring polis and the honorand, decrees did

⁷² This can be done in two different ways: in most cases, the Delians offer proxeny and then at a later time a crown. We therefore have decrees which offer crowns to individuals who are already proxenoi and are referred to as such in the text of the inscription (but we do not have their proxeny decree): *IG XI.4* 600, 664, 666, 687, 706, 712, 749, and 782. Alternatively, we have two sets of decrees, often inscribed on the same stone: the earlier decree awards proxeny while the later awards a crown: 679 + 680, 681 + 682, 708 a + b, 709 + 710, 716 a + b, 743 + 744, 752 + 753, 763 + 764, 765 + 766, 770 + 771, 773 + 774, 779 + 780, 790 + 791 (but this is speculation, as only the first two lines survive from 791—see relevant note in Appendix 1), 819 + 820, 843 a + b (very fragmentary). In fewer cases, the Delians seem to offer proxeny and a crown at the same time (and we assume perhaps at the same sitting of the assembly): 514 (but it is unclear whether this is the same sitting of the Assembly or an earlier decree), 542, 565, 572, 690, 694, 697, 809, and 944. For the award of crowns after the award of proxeny for ‘important persons’, see Baslez and Vial 1987, 299 with n. 108, who do not, however, discuss all the examples cited here.

⁷³ The Delians offer crowns to Philocles, king of the Sidonians, and a Ptolemaic naval official in *IG XI.4* 559, and Demetrios Poliorketes, 566. There are a number of decrees where we see references to crowns to individuals who are not proxenoi, but they are normally too fragmentary to be able to reconstruct a meaningful context: this is the case for 674, 676, 684, 724, 836, 844, 960, 963, and 1001. Finally, there are a small number of decrees that offer awards of crowns with no reference to proxeny: 544, 553, 646, 649, 705, 784, and 818. Habicht 2002, 15 with n. 13 believes that the award of crowns is always linked with a previous proxeny, but clearly this is not the case here.

⁷⁴ Reger 1994a, 63–4.

⁷⁵ Mack 2015, 24.

not need to provide more than a formulaic description. Furthermore, this generic formulaic description of the honorand played an additional role in that it converted what may have originally been a private relationship (between the honorand and specific members of the honouring community, including, in many cases the proposer of the decree himself) into a public one, by ‘suppressing specific details of interactions with individuals except as citizens and emphasizing, as the basis of the relationship, the affection of the honorand for the honouring polis as a whole’.⁷⁶ In other words, the generic formulaic language of the decrees was not simply the result of the indifference of the honouring polis towards the specific rationale for the honours awarded, but a conscious choice in order to subvert what may have been a private relationship (and therefore considered inappropriate in the context of honours) into a communal one.

The obvious familial relations revealed by this proxeny decree is another striking feature of the Delian honorific habit. The honorand Autocles, son of Autocles, from Chalkis, is probably the same Autocles who erected a statue on Delos for his father, Autocles, son of Ainesidemos, from Chalkis.⁷⁷ Indeed, this father, Autocles, son of Ainesidemos, was himself the recipient of a proxeny decree and a crown.⁷⁸ In the motivation clause of the decree awarding a crown to his father, we get another glimpse of the important power relations that constructed the background of the honours: in *IG XI.4 680*, the second decree which awarded a crown, we read that Autocles, son of Ainesidemos, from Chalkis is ‘friend of King Demetrios (II) and proxenos and *euergetes* of the sanctuary and the Delians’.⁷⁹ This Autocles must have been a very prominent individual in Chalkis, as he was also honoured at Oropos.⁸⁰ The links with Demetrios II are not mentioned in the Oropian proxeny decree,⁸¹ nor in the first decree awarded to him on Delos. If the connection with the royal court was something that occurred between the award of proxeny and the award of the crown to Autocles, son of Ainesidemos, then, as Paschidis argued, we see the growing social mobility of the Hellenistic period in action.⁸² In other words, this Autocles may have achieved recognition in the court of Demetrios as a result of the recognition of his esteemed position within the panhellenic network of proxenoi; unfortunately, attractive though this suggestion is, it will be

⁷⁶ Mack 2015, 103. ⁷⁷ *IG XI.4 1194*.

⁷⁸ *IG XI.4 679 = Choix 47* for the proxeny decree: this decree is quite fragmentary and breaks off just after the motion formula is introduced. ‘Proxeny’, therefore, is supplemented in the text. Yet, the opening of the decree is typical of a proxeny, and the fact that this decree is followed by another one, 680, that refers to the honorand as a ‘proxenos and *euergetes*’, and awards him a crown, make it certain that the 679 is indeed a proxeny decree.

⁷⁹ *IG XI.4 680*, 2–5: ἐπε[ι]δὴ Α[ὐ]τοκλῆς Αἰνησιδήμου Χαλκιδεὺς φίλος ὦν τοῦ βασιλέως Δημητρίου καὶ πρόξενος καὶ εὐεργέτης τοῦ τε ἱεροῦ καὶ Δηλίων.

⁸⁰ *IOrop. 57*.

⁸¹ See analysis in Etienne and Knoepfler 1976, 298–9.

⁸² Paschidis 2008, 442.

impossible to ever know. It is equally likely, as Paschidis showed, that the lack of reference to his association to king Demetrios in the first decree was the result of bureaucratic brevity. We should not read in the award of this decree a political situation where Delos was a Macedonian protectorate.⁸³ As we have seen in our analysis of monumentalization and royal funding, Delos could perfectly function as an arena for display and investment of different royal courts in the same period. The same can be said with the award of proxenies. While we can see some general tendencies for specific associations aimed by the Delians in terms of power politics (Rhodes in the later period of Independence being an indicative example, as we shall see), no single royal court or state exercised over Delos the kind of power envisaged by Durrbach. Rather, honorific decrees expressed in terms of honorific associations the extended and multifaceted network of power, prestige, and influence that Delos created for itself. The ‘friendship’ of king Demetrios II, therefore, was undoubtedly an important element in the award of honours to Autocles the father. Yet, such a reference is absent from the honours awarded to his son. It is obvious that the royal connection with the Macedonians was not the only thing that mattered in the honouring of this particular family of Chalkidians.

Such an award of proxy to father and later his son is not an isolated example. Indeed, traditionally proxy was considered hereditary;⁸⁴ proxy decrees typically refer to the award of honours to the recipient and his descendants (*καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐκγόνους*). But while proxy was considered hereditary, the publication of proxy to descendants, as we saw in the case of the Chalkidian family of Autocles, could further publicize the established links between the honouring city and the honorands. Furthermore, we have five cases where members of the same family were honoured with proxy at the same time: three cases where sets of brothers received honours, and two cases where a father was awarded proxy (or had his award renewed) at the same time as his son.⁸⁵ In establishing, and maintaining, links of proxenia, therefore, familial relations were very important. Certainly, whether the descendants of a proxenos really did make use of the associated honours their ancestor received in the honouring polis (such as *enctesis*, *ateleia*, and so on) is not an issue that can be easily resolved. This is particularly crucial for the award of *ateleia*, as this potentially had real economic consequences in the collection of tax in the port

⁸³ The idea of a Macedonian protectorate is argued by Durrbach in the commentary of *Choix* 47.

⁸⁴ Mack 2015, 30–2, 164.

⁸⁵ Sets of brothers in *IG* XI.4 530, 531, and 760; father and son in 593 and 652. 593 is in fact one of the rare cases of ‘renewal’ of a proxy award: 3–8: ἀνανεώσα[σ]θαι τὴν προξενίαν τὴν Ἀρθμιάδου καὶ Ἀρήσου τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ εἶναι αὐτοὺς προξένους καὶ εὐεργέτας τοῦ τε ἱεροῦ καὶ Δηλίων καὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκγόνους. It is likely that 887 is also a renewal of an existing proxy awarded to an ancestor, ll. 2–3: ὑπάρχειν δὲ καὶ αὐτ[ῶν] καὶ ἐκγόνους τὴν προξενίαν [ἤπε]ρ [δέδοτ]αι τοῖς προγόνους αὐτο[ῦ].

of Delos.⁸⁶ However, the existing state of evidence and the publication practices of honouring decrees on Delos (and elsewhere) cannot allow us to answer this question in a definitive manner. While it is possible that a proxenos' descendants would make use of the benefits that their ancestor's position would allow them, there is no direct evidence that this was the case. Indeed, the inscription of honours for the son of a proxenos (Autocles, son of Autocles, as we have seen, in *IG XI.4 681*), and the renewal of an existing proxeny in another decree (*IG XI.4 593*) seem to imply that such reminders were deemed necessary for the awards to be fully visible in the honouring community.

Proxeny decrees, in fact, almost never awarded proxeny by itself. Rather the title proxenos and benefactor (*euergetes*) was given to honoured individuals alongside a number of other associated honours.⁸⁷ These were: *asylia* (immunity from the right of reprisal),⁸⁸ *ateleia* (tax exemption) or, rarely, *isoteleia* (equality of taxation with Delians),⁸⁹ *enctesis* (right to own land on Delos),⁹⁰ *politeia* (citizenship), *prodikia* (priority of trial), *proedria* (prominent seating at festivals),⁹¹ and *prosodos* (privileged access to the Council and the Assembly)⁹² or *ephodos*,⁹³ while in one early decree we have the rare occurrence of an invitation to dine.⁹⁴ All of the above honours appear in Delian proxeny decrees of the period of Independence, but there was considerable deviation in the frequency that these honours were awarded to proxenoi. By far the most common award was that of *prosodos*, with 174 recorded (or reasonably supplemented) attestations. The second most often cited award was that of *enctesis* with 168 attestations. *Proedria* is

⁸⁶ How *ateleia* was confronted on the ground in relation to tax collecting is thoroughly discussed by Rubinstein 2009, especially in relation to awards to descendants of proxenoi: she argues, rightly I think, that such awards should not be considered as having solely a symbolic value.

⁸⁷ Habicht 2002 is a comprehensive discussion of the honours of proxenoi on Delos, Oropos, Delphi, and Ephesos. I occasionally differ in my calculations of decrees that include specific honours—see shortly below for a discussion. For associated honours see also Marek 1984, 248–9, and Mack 2015, 122–30. For a full list of all associated honours see Appendix 1.

⁸⁸ Rigsby 1996, 19.

⁸⁹ *Isoteleia* instead of *ateleia* appears once, as far as we can see, in the honorific decrees of Independent Delos: this is *IG XI.4 627*: see Marek 1984, 248.

⁹⁰ For *enctesis* in Athenian decrees see Pecirka 1966.

⁹¹ For *proedria* in festivals see Chaniotis 2007b, esp. 61–2.

⁹² For *prosodos* see Rhodes with Lewis 1997, 29 and 495–6.

⁹³ See Vial 1984, 101, n. 31. The term *ephodos* appears in two decrees only: *IG XI.4 547 15*, and 697 13. In most cases, access is to both the Council and the Assembly, with the exception of 539, 634, and 769, where *prosodos* is given to the Council only.

⁹⁴ *IG XI.4 511*, dated to the end of the fourth century (early period of Independence) 10–12: [καλέσαι] δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ ξένια ἕως ἂν ἐπιδημῆι. An invitation to dine appears more often in decrees of Delos dealing with ambassadors and *theoroi*, where the Delians after dealing with the request by another polis (normally the setting up of a decree in the sanctuary), normally invite the ambassadors and *theoroi* to dine in the prytaneion: see *IG XI.4 1022*, 14–15, decree allowing the Chians to set up an honorary stele in the sanctuary, and 1027, decree allowing the Cyzikeans to set up a decree.

attested in 111 decrees, and *ateleia* in ninety-seven decrees. Finally, *politeia* is only attested securely fifteen times, to which we can add three supplementations,⁹⁵ *prodikia* is only attested twice,⁹⁶ and *asylia* once, in a highly unusual decree.⁹⁷ We could discuss the number of attestations of these awards as representative of the actual awards that proxenoi received; such an approach, however, would be misleading. Proxeny decrees invariably included a clause which stated that the proxenoi shall ‘have everything else that are given to the other proxenoi and benefactors of the sanctuary of the Delians’.⁹⁸ Such a clause is part of the standardization of the form of proxeny decrees and their overall formulaic character, which we discussed above. In other words, it seemed to the Delians that it was not necessary to include all honours on all the inscribed decrees for their proxenoi; the award of the proxeny by itself had some standard additional rewards that came with it, and these rewards were known both to the Delians and the proxenos himself.⁹⁹ Such an approach to the language of proxeny decrees may explain one of the erasures on the stone that we encounter on Delos. In the decree for Eudemos, son of Philocles, from Tyros (*IG XI.4 777*), both the name of the proposer, Telemnestos, son of Aristeides, and the two occurrences of the name of the honorand (in the motivation clause, ll. 3–4, and the motion clause, l. 10) were erased. The erasure, as Mack argued, made it easier for the stone to be re-used for the award of proxeny to a new honorand.¹⁰⁰ This decree offered the three most common awards in addition to proxeny (*enctesis*, *prosodos*, and *proedria*); the erasure highlighted the interchangeability of honours and high degree of formalization of language of the proxeny decrees of the Delians.

Modern discussions on proxeny have focused on the award of specific honours, particularly *enctesis* and *politeia*, and their significance. Citizenship was not awarded often on Delos:¹⁰¹ we have fifteen, or perhaps eighteen, attestations of the award of *politeia*,¹⁰² which is a tiny number compared to awards of *enctesis*, *proedria*, or *prosodos*. Indeed, the relative infrequency of the award of citizenship to honorands of Delos has been compared to similar

⁹⁵ *Politeia* is attested in *IG XI.4 510*, [525], [527?] 545, 547, 562, 563, 564, 599, 605, 613, 631, 653, 655, 866, 887, [938?], 969. The supplementation in 938 is the least secure. The reference to *politeia* in 631 is partially supplemented: but as *asylia* is so rarely attested on Delos (only once, see discussion above in section 5.1 with n. 55), it is far more likely that this is a reference to *politeia*. Similarly, the reference to *p[oliteia]* in 527 could be in fact a reference to *p[rosodos]*.

⁹⁶ *Prodikia* appears only in *IG XI.4 547* = *Choix 28* and 599. See Habicht 2002, 19.

⁹⁷ *IG XI.4 547* = *Choix 28*. See discussion in section 5.1 with n. 55.

⁹⁸ ὑπάρχειν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα ὅσα δέδοται καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις προξένους καὶ εὐεργέταις τοῦ τε ἱεροῦ καὶ Δηλίων.

⁹⁹ Habicht 2002, 15. ¹⁰⁰ Mack 2015, 12, with n. 29 and 98, with n. 31.

¹⁰¹ Vial 1984, 101, with n. 29; Habicht 2002, 16.

¹⁰² See note 95 above.

practices in Delphi.¹⁰³ Habicht was able to detect a chronological development in the Delian practices of award of *politeia*: after 230 or so, no grant of citizenship is recorded.¹⁰⁴ Once we even hear of the Delians offering the honorand the choice of choosing which phratry he would like to enrol in (IG XI.4 547, 11–13),¹⁰⁵ but such an experiment was not to be repeated.¹⁰⁶ Citizenship did not mean that the honorand received any additional economic benefits other than the ones already included in the honours that he would receive anyway: in other words, *ateleia* already allowed him to pay no additional taxes, and *enctesis* would allow him to own land and houses on Delos. What *politeia* did allow was full participation in the affairs of the polis, including the Boule and the Assembly; *proxeny* gave the honorand privileged access to these political institutions (through the additional award of *prosodos*, which was, as we have seen, the most common associated honour included in the Delian proxeny decrees), but such access to the political proceedings did not imply participation in the vote. *Politeia*, therefore, should certainly be considered as a high honour, but it included very considerable tangible consequences too. Of all the awards, it was probably *enctesis* and *ateleia* (or more rarely for Delos, *isoteleia*) that had the biggest financial benefits. For permanent residents of Delos, *enctesis* would be a real benefit; at the same time, we should not, on the whole, assume that the award of *enctesis* implied that all or most proxenoi intended to reside on Delos.¹⁰⁷ It is, in fact, extremely difficult to know whether the proxenoi honoured by Delos were permanent or semi-permanent residents, or people who have never visited the island, as very few of our decrees are explicit about this type of detail.¹⁰⁸ Very few decrees state explicitly that the honorand ‘resided’ on Delos.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰³ Gauthier 2000, esp. 116–17. Similar attention to the historical development of the award of specific honours (from the early to the late Independence period) in Reger 1994a, 73–4.

¹⁰⁴ Habicht 2002, 116–17 with n. 24. ¹⁰⁵ See note 56 above.

¹⁰⁶ I cannot agree with Habicht’s suggestion in 2002, 17 that it was the unwillingness of the honorands to enroll to the Delians’ citizens’ lists (or indeed to a phratry) that made the Delians stop awarding the grant of *politeia*.

¹⁰⁷ Baslez 1989, 120–2, discussing Athenian examples of *enctesis* associated with proxeny assumes that the award of *enctesis* was awarded in order to allow the honoured proxenoi to live in Athens.

¹⁰⁸ See comments in Reger 1994a, 65–75.

¹⁰⁹ One decree uses the word ‘residing’ (οἰκῶν) as part of the motivation clause for the honours: IG XI.4 691 = *Choix* 43, 4–6: ἐπειδὴ Εὐτυχὸς Φιλώτου Χίτος, οἰκῶν ἐν [Δή]λλωι καὶ συνεργαζόμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ δικαίου [τοῖς τὴν θά]λατταν πλέουσιν. Four (possibly?) further decrees use the word ‘reside as a foreigner’ (παρεπιδημῶν, παρεπιδημηκεν, and ἐπιδημῶν): IG XI.4 666 = *Choix* 48 = Nigdelis T6, 7–8: ἀποστα[λείς ὑπὸ τοῦ β]ασιλέως Δημητρίου σιτώ[νης παρ]επιδημηκεν πλείω χρό[νον ἐμπρεπ]ῶς καὶ ἀξίως τοῦ τε ἱεροῦ [καὶ τοῦ βασιλ]έως καὶ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Δη[λίων], for which see also n. 147 below; 789, 6–12: καὶ παρεπιδημῶν ἐν τεῖ πόλει πλείω χρόνον τὴν τε ἀναστροφὴν εὐγνωμόως πεποιήται καὶ ἀξίαν τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ χρείας παρέχεται καὶ κοινῆ τῆι πόλει καὶ ἰδία τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν αὐτῶι τῶν πολιτῶν εἰς ἃ ἂν τις αὐτὸν παρακαλεῖ; 790, 4–8, where the word παρεπιδημῶν is a supplement: π]ερὶ πλείστ[ου ποεῖται τὸ εὐεργετεῖν] τὸν δήμον κα[ὶ παρεπιδημῶν ἐν τεῖ πόλει π]λείω χρόνον [τὴν τε ἀναστροφὴν εὐγνω]μόνα πεπο[ίηται καὶ ἀξίαν τοῦ ἱεροῦ κ]αὶ χρείας παρ[έχεται καὶ κοινῆ τεῖ πόλει] καὶ ἰδία τοῖς ἐ[ντυγχάνουσιν αὐτῶι τῶν] πολιτῶν εἰς ἃ ἄ[ν τις αὐτὸν παρακαλεῖ];

Certainly, for honorands such as Eutychos, the son of Philotas, from Chios, who was honoured most probably with proxeny in the middle of the third century, and was resident on the island, an additional award of *enctesis* would have a huge impact on his affairs.¹¹⁰ But it is beyond the existing state of evidence to argue that the award of *enctesis* targeted residents on Delos, or indeed honorands who aimed at residing on Delos.¹¹¹ Indeed, many decrees imply that the honorand was a resident abroad, and it was his activity in that city (benefitting Delians abroad) that made him suitable for the award in the first place. Residency abroad is occasionally stated explicitly in the motivation clauses of the proxeny decrees, or alluded to indirectly in the description of the services that the honorand provided to the Delians.¹¹²

Ateleia too could have real financial consequences,¹¹³ especially for those residing on Delos. At the same time, however, for those honorands who did not travel to Delos or had any commercial interests on the island, the award of *ateleia*, or indeed *enctesis* had no value other than a honorific one.

In fact, the debate between the functional and honorific aspect of the proxeny awards has been central to modern discussions of proxeny.¹¹⁴

759 = *Choix* 66, 6–8: *καὶ δι' ἐ[τῶν ἐπι[δημῶν] ἐν Δήλωι [χρ]είας παρέχ[ετ]αι κ[αὶ κοί]νῃ τῇ πό[λει κα]ὶ ἰδίαι τοῖ[s ἐντυγχ]άνουσιν [αὐτῶι τῶν πολιτῶν.]* This last decree is for a banker, Timon of Syracuse, who was also honoured on Tenos (*IG XII.5* 816): see Bresson 2001. It is very difficult to know whether Timon permanently resided on Delos or on Tenos. It is likely that he moved between these two (neighbouring) islands, as Etienne 2011 suggested. In all the cases where the word 'resided' occurs (*παρεπιδημῶν*), we always get the qualification 'for a long time' added to the participle (*πλείω χρόνον*), while the participle *ἐπιδημῶν* is further qualified with the phrase 'for many years' (*δι' ἐτῶν*). For a discussion of proxenoi who were resident on Delos see Baslez 1976, 350–3.

¹¹⁰ Eutychos, son of Philotas, from Chios is honoured in *IG XI.4* 691 = *Choix* 43 (see also previous note). The decree breaks up during the motivation clause; it therefore does not explicitly state that this is a proxeny decree, but the overall structure and language of the decree implies that this was the case. This Eutychos is possibly the same Eutychos who established the festival Eutycheia, for which see Bruneau 1970, 658 and my discussion in Chapter 5, note 118. For Eutychos see Marek 1984, 272 and Reger 1994a, 71 and 74: Eutychos' honours may be well linked with his establishment of the festival (and therefore his generous donation).

¹¹¹ Argued rightly by Reger 1994a, 75.

¹¹² That an honorand is resident abroad is specifically stated in the proxeny decree for Philippos, son of Theopompos, a Naxian 'residing in Alexandria': *IG XI.4* 588, 2–4: *ἐπειδὴ Φίλιππος Θεοπόμπου Νάξιος κατοικῶ[ν] ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείαι τῆς Αἰγύπτου.* The honours for Aischylos also imply that he was resident in Chalkis (and therefore most likely a Chalkidian himself: see note 111 in Appendix 4), where he received some Delians (*τοῖς ἀφικν[οιμ]ε[ν]οῖς Δηλί[ων]*) and presumably played an important role in helping out with their problems: 640, 4–9: *ἐπειδὴ Αἰσχύλος ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ὦν διατελεῖ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ Δηλίου[s] [κ]αὶ τοῖς ἀφικν[οιμ]ε[ν]οῖς Δηλί[ων] [εἰ]ς Χαλκίδα φιλότιμο[s] [ᾧ]ν [κα]ὶ πολλή[ν] σπουδὴν ἀει παρέχ[ε]ται δεομένοις.* The context for the honours of the Siphnian brothers Erasidemos and Tharsagoras, sons of Polycrates (760) and of Demetrios, son of Apollonios from Pergamon (765), appears to be similar.

¹¹³ Oliver 2007a 30–7, Rubinstein 2009.

¹¹⁴ Gauthier 1985 stresses the functional aspect of proxeny; Marek 1984, esp. 142–6, emphasizes the honorific aspect and downplays any particular functions of the proxeny. See summary of the current state of scholarship in Mack 2015, esp. 23–7.

While one cannot deny the honorific aspect of awards (it is why we classify proxeny decrees among honorific decrees, to begin with), the actual functional aspect of the honours was also important. Recently, Mack has moved the discussion forward by stressing both aspects of the award of honours, and by putting emphasis on the expectations of behaviour from the point of view of the honorand and real consequences of honours in terms of real benefits given from the point of view of the honouring city.¹¹⁵ As my focus has less to do with the consequences of awarding specific types of honours to honorands, and more to do with the extensive network of honours of Delos, I shall not fully discuss this aspect of the debate. I do believe, however, that Mack is absolutely right in stressing the multifaceted social context of expectations and benefits through which proxeny should be viewed. Functional does not exclude honorific and vice versa.

Finally, one last aspect of proxeny decrees that deserves a brief discussion is the subject matter of the decrees' proposers. The format of honorific decrees itself, with the prominent inclusion at the beginning of the name of the proposer, served potentially as a display of the power of proposers to the local and non-local audience of the decree.¹¹⁶ By examining some of the proposers of the Delian proxeny decrees and their associations, it is possible to throw some light on the personal networks of honorands, as well as the power relations that specific pairings of proposers and honorands implied.

By far the most prolific proposer of Delian decrees was Telemnestos, son of Aristeides.¹¹⁷ He was a member of a powerful Delian family, which was involved in Delian politics for four generations: the great-grandfather, Aristeides, son of Telemnestos (1) was a proposer of a proxeny decree in the 270s (*IG XI.4 704*); his son, the grandfather of our Telemnestos, also called Telemnestos, son of Aristeides (1), proposed four decrees in the 250s and 240s,¹¹⁸ while his son, the father of our Telemnestos, called Aristeides, son of Telemnestos (2) was also engaged in the honorific process.¹¹⁹ This Aristeides had three sons, Telemnestos (2) (our prolific proposer), Aristeides (3), and Protomachos. Out of the three brothers, it was only Telemnestos (we assume the oldest son, as he received the name of his grandfather in the typical Greek fashion), who appears to be involved in proposing proxeny decrees for

¹¹⁵ Mack 2015. ¹¹⁶ Lambert 2011, 204.

¹¹⁷ There are, in fact, two Delian proposers with this name. There is Telemnestos, son of Aristeides, proposer of decrees *IG XI.4 682, 683, 783, and 1024*, and his grandson, bearing the same name: it is the grandson that interests me here. See Vial 2008, 132, s.v. *Τηλέμνηστος Ἀριστείδου* (2).

¹¹⁸ *IG XI.4 682, 683, 783, and 1024*.

¹¹⁹ He proposed at least three (and possibly four) decrees: *IG XI.4 705, 706, 707* (?) and 1031.

honorands.¹²⁰ This Telemnestos proposed a total of (at least) thirty-nine decrees.¹²¹ Because he was such a prolific proposer, we are able to put together his overall political profile, at least as far as honorands were concerned.¹²² Rhodes was the top promoted association with three honorands, two of whom received the ultimate honour of proxeny and a crown.¹²³ The geographic spread of the honorands he proposed was extremely wide: from Syracuse and Rome in the west, to Byzantium in the north, Pergamon, Seleucia, Arados, and Tyros in Phoenicia in the east.¹²⁴ He proposed honours for Macedonians, Chians, Cretans, a Teian, a Samian, a Siphnian, a Tenian, a Cnidian, a Halicarnassian, and a Carthian.¹²⁵ This geographic spread of Telemnestos' honorands is indicative, as we shall see, of the geographic network of honours of Delos more generally. Most of his honorands are now entirely unknown from other sources, and the overall formulaic language of the decrees does not help us in reconstructing the background of the associations that these decrees represent. But with Telemnestos, there is enough information surviving to be able to detect quite a strong political agenda in his proposals. The decrees he proposed for two of the Rhodians, Epikrates, son of Polystratos, and Anaxibios, son of Pheidianax, explicitly stated that the honours were related to their activities as commanders of the Rhodian fleet (and therefore also of the Islanders' League contributing ships) against piracy.¹²⁶ The connections with the Islanders'

¹²⁰ For the excellent reconstruction of the stemma of this important family through the epigraphic attestations in the decrees and accounts (where most of the members of this family appear as paying rent or as guarantors for loans) see Vial 1984, 99.

¹²¹ IG XI.4 751–760, 764–769, 771–772, 774–778, 780–782, 784–789, 790–796, and 1032. The name is partially restored for some of them. It is likely that 763, 770, 773, 779, and 790 were also proposed by this Telemnestos, but we lack the opening clause of the decrees to be certain. These decrees are the first of a set of two (with the first one awarding proxeny and the second one a crown); as the second decree is proposed by Telemnestos, it is likely that the first one too was by the same proposer (and that is why they are included in Vial's counting of Telemnestos' decrees in Vial 1984, 99 and 2008, 132).

¹²² For a discussion of Telemnestos' activities see Vial 1984, 137; Baslez and Vial 1987, 300–1; Etienne 1990, 107–10; Reger 1994a, 66; Gabrielsen 1997, 62.

¹²³ Telemnestos' Rhodians: Proxeny decree for Epikrates, son of Polystratos in IG XI.4 751; proxeny and crown for Anaxibios, son of Pheidianax in 752 and 753, and for Anaxidikos, son of Dionysios in 753 and 754.

¹²⁴ Telemnestos' proxenoi: a Roman in IG XI.4 757, and two Suracusans 758 (?)—see note in the relevant entry in Appendix 1, and 759; Byzantium in 778 (this honorand receives a crown in 779, but the name of the proposer does not survive) and 780; Pergamon in 765 and 766 (proxeny and crown); Seleucia in 772 and 774; Arados in 776; Tyros in 777.

¹²⁵ Telemnestos' proxenoi (continued): Macedonians in IG XI.4 784 and 785; Chians in 767 and 793; Cretans in 781 (Gortyn) and 782 (Polyrrheneia); a Teian in 786; a Samian in 787; a Siphnian in 760; a Tenian in 764; a Cnidian in 789; a Halicarnassian in 775; a Carthian in 769. A list of Telemnestos' honorands is also presented in Etienne 1990, 108–9.

¹²⁶ See Gabrielsen 1997, 60–2. The decree for Epikrates, son of Polystratos (IG XI.4 751, 4–17 = *Choix* 67) provides one of the most detailed descriptions of the activities of the Rhodians and Islanders' fleet in the Cyclades; one of the main concerns of Epikrates was the safety and security of the islands: ἐφροντισεν τῆς τε τῶν πλεόντων ἀσφαλείας καὶ τῆς τῶν νήσων φυλακῆς. This Epikrates was active during the war against Antiochos III, according to Livy (37.13.11–15.6): see

League are further illustrated by two decrees:¹²⁷ the first one is the decree for Timon, son of Nymphodoros, a banker from Syracuse, who, we know from a decree of the Islanders' League set up on Tenos, produced funds for the purchase of grain and was therefore honoured by the League.¹²⁸ In addition, Aristides proposed the honours for another Siphnian, Tharsagoras, son of Polykles, who in one of the League's decrees appears as an elected representative.¹²⁹ Telemnestos' proposed decree for Heracleides, son of Xeinius, from Byzantium, showed yet another politically powerful connection: Heracleides, we know from Polybius, was king Antiochos' III representative.¹³⁰ He also proposed two decrees for Demetrios, son of Apollonios, from Pergamon, mostly for his role as a mediator in the Attalid court.¹³¹

While undoubtedly the establishment and nourishment of this kind of power relations between the honorands and Rhodes, the Islanders' League, and the various royal courts played an important role in the award of honours, and therefore in Telemnestos' proposing them, the award of honours should not be viewed exclusively within such a context.¹³² We can reconstruct a possible 'political' motive for a handful of decrees that Telemnestos proposed—these are the ones discussed above.¹³³ For the vast majority of decrees, as we shall discuss in the following section, we lack any such context. The spectacular number of decrees proposed by Telemnestos makes him a prominent politician for late Independent Delos; indeed, the second most prolific proposer proposed ten decrees (compared to Telemnestos' perhaps more than forty decrees). It is therefore inevitable that some of the decrees he proposed would touch upon crucial issues such as the presence of the Rhodian navy in the Cyclades (the decrees for the Rhodians Epikrates, son of Polystratos, and Anaxibios, son of

Gabrielsen 1997, 60. The two decrees for Anaxibios, son of Pheidianax (752 and 753 = *Choix* 63) include the sojourn of this naval officer on Delos as ἄρχων ἐπὶ τῶν νήσων, that is, an officer in charge of the Islanders' League under the control of Rhodes in the second century.

¹²⁷ See Reger 1994a, 66, and Gabrielsen 1997, 62–3.

¹²⁸ On Timon, son of Nymphodoros, from Syracuse see *IG* XI.4 759 = *Choix* 66. The Islanders' League honours him in *IG* XII.5 616. See Bresson 2001 for his banking activities and the links with the Islanders' League. See also above note 109.

¹²⁹ Honorific decree for Tharsagoras, son of Polykles, from Siphnos, who is honoured with his brother Erasidemos: *IG* XI.4 760. Tharsagoras is elected *presbeutes* of the Islanders' League in *IG* XII.5 817 32.

¹³⁰ Decree for Heracleides, son of Xeinius, from Byzantium: *IG* XI.4 778, Heracleides, acting for king Antiochos III in Pol. 21.13.3, 14, and 15.12.

¹³¹ *IG* XI.4 765 (proxeny) and 766 (crown): see especially the motivation clause in 765, 10–15: καὶ τοῖς ἀφικ[ρο]νοῦσι τῶν πολιτῶν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα συνεργεῖ μετὰ πάσης προ[ο]θυμίας ἐν <ο>ἰς ἂν χρ<εῖ>αν ἔχοντες τυγχάνωσιν καὶ πράτ<τ>ει διὰ παντὸς παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ τὰ συ[μ]φέροντα περὶ τε τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Δηλίων.

¹³² Contra Baslez and Vial 1987, who use the decrees in order to reconstruct Delos' diplomatic horizons. Massar 2005, 128–9 and 161, also sees some honorific practices as related to diplomatic reasons.

¹³³ This is admitted by Etienne 1990, 110: 'il serait bien sûr excessif d'interpréter toutes les proxénies en termes politiques'.

Pheidianax), or the help that Delians received in the various royal courts (decree for Demetrios, son of Apollonios, from Pergamon). Indeed, I would argue that the geographic horizons of Telemnestos' honorands are perfectly in tune with Delos' network of honours overall. Vial's interpretation, therefore, that Telemnestos' decrees seem to have favoured Rhodes, Rome, and the Attalids, seems to me a slightly over-generalizing statement.¹³⁴ As Rhodes rose to a prominent position in the complicated nexus of power in the southern Aegean in the late third and early second centuries, it was only to be expected that Delos' honorific habit would reflect this type of power relations; this is not the same as proposing that Delos was governed by a pro-Rhodian party at that period.¹³⁵

Telemnestos, son of Aristeides, was a prolific proposer, whose proposed decrees made him stand out in Delian politics. The second most prolific proposer was Aristolochos, son of Nikodromos, with ten decrees.¹³⁶ The geographic network of his honorands was similarly diverse: where we have the ethnic surviving, we see a Lacedaimonian (who, however, is honoured for his links with king Lysimachos), an Andrian poet, a Chian, a Megarian, and an Argive.¹³⁷ Because of the profile of the honorands that Aristolochos put forward, it was argued that he was a member of the Ptolemaic party,¹³⁸ or that he was favourably inclined towards Lysimachos and Egypt.¹³⁹ The basis for such interpretations is simply the quite detailed motivation clause provided for one of the honorands, the Lacedaimonian Demaratos, son of Gorgion (*IG XI.4 542 = Choix 12*), who is honoured specifically for promoting the Delians' goodwill to king Lysimachos (and Queen Arsinoe?) and mediating in the court of the king.¹⁴⁰ The elaborate justification of the honours and the repeated mention to *eunoia* (goodwill) in the decree make it clear that this political context of negotiation of power between the Delians and the court of the king was extremely important. Whether, however, this decree and the

¹³⁴ Vial 1984, 137.

¹³⁵ As Etienne 1990, 107 suggests; but see 110, where his original position is somewhat watered down.

¹³⁶ Vial 1984, 137, and 261–2. See now the excellent analysis of Paschidis 2008, 434–8.

¹³⁷ *IG XI.4 542 = Choix 15* for the Lacedaimonian Demaratos, son of Gorgion, who is honoured because he promoted Delian interests in the court of king Lysimachos; 544 = *Choix 30 = Chaniotis E53* for the Andrian poet Demoteles, son of Aischylos; 545 for the Megarian Philinos, son of Philinos; 546 for the Argive Thrasymachos; 547 = *Choix 28* for the Chian Philistos, son of Philiskos. The following decrees do not include an ethnic: 543 = *Choix 27 = Migeotte 46, 548, 549, 550, 551, 613.*

¹³⁸ Argued by Bagnall 1976, 153.

¹³⁹ Vial 1984, 137.

¹⁴⁰ *IG XI.4 542 = Choix 15*, ll. 6–23: διατρίβων παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ Λυσιμάχῳ χρεῖας παρέχεται Δηλίων τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν ἑαυτῷ καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τιμᾷ διαφ[υ]λάττων τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ Δηλίων εὐνοίαν, ἐμφανίζε[ι] δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς παραγενόμενος ὅτι καὶ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ αὐτῷ προσήκει τιμᾶν τὸ ἱερὸν καθάπε[ρ] καὶ οἱ πρόγονοι αὐτῶν Λακεδαιμόνιοι πλείστον λόγον ἐποίησαντο τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ Δηλίων ὅπως σιζόμε[νον] ἔχουσι τὸ ἱερὸν, ἀναγγέλλει δὲ καὶ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως Λυσιμάχου εὐνοίαν [ἧ]ν ἔχει περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπαγγέλλεται δηλώσειν τῷ βασιλεῖ Λυσιμάχῳ καὶ Ἀρ[σι]νό[η]ι τῇ βασιλίσσῃ τὴν τοῦ δή[μου το]ῦ Δηλί[ων] εὐνοίαν π[ᾶσαν] τύχη[ι] ἀγαθῇ· [δεδόχθ]αι τῇ βουλή[ι] καὶ τῷ δήμῳ.

power relations it assumes made the proposer Aristolochos a member of a 'Ptolemaic party', is far less certain.¹⁴¹

No other Delian proposer matched Telemnestos' or Aristolochos' prolific proposing of decrees. Indeed, if we take out Telemnestos' own ancestors, who proposed a total of eight decrees,¹⁴² there are only a handful of other proposers of decrees who proposed more than two decrees.¹⁴³ This suggests that on Delos political involvement was widespread, with most proposers appearing once in the surviving evidence.¹⁴⁴ This also implies that, with the exception perhaps of Telemnestos and Aristolochos, the honorific habit of the Delians and the geographic network of their honours was not the result of the political agendas and inclinations of specific individuals.

4.3. THE REASONING FOR HONOURS AND THE ACTIVITIES OF HONORANDS

Our discussion about the possible political motivations of the two most prolific proposers of Delian decrees has touched upon one of the central issues in the debates about the role of proxeny and honours in modern scholarship: that of the overall context or reasoning for the honours themselves. The formulaic language of the decrees, as we have seen, does not allow us on the whole to know the specific services for which the honorands were honoured. Occasionally, there is enough information in the decree itself to highlight a specific aspect of the honorand's role in providing benefaction to the demos of the Delians, as the Delians themselves put it. On other occasions, as we shall see, we know from other sources the position of the honorand either as a member of a royal court or as a king or queen; this is mostly the case with honorific statues presented by the community of the Delians, where the epigraphic dedication is far more laconic and lacks any explanation as to the motivation for the honours. It is through such information, that is either through the name of the honorand himself or in fewer cases (and for statues only) herself, and through the motivation clauses of honorific decrees, that scholars have attempted to reconstruct what they understand as the primary context for honours. Marek, for example, provided a comprehensive presentation of different 'functions' of proxenoi; these he divided in three general categories largely defined as

¹⁴¹ See Paschidis 2008, 434–8, for a gentle and persuasive deconstruction of such readings.

¹⁴² See notes 117, 118, and 119 above.

¹⁴³ Vial 1984, 133–6, and Rhodes with Lewis 1997, 242: there are 123 Delian proposers whose names survive, one hundred are found once, fifteen twice, and eight more than twice (including Telemnestus, his father, and his grandfather).

¹⁴⁴ Rhodes with Lewis 1997, 242.

related to politics, economy, and culture and religion.¹⁴⁵ Such a relatively strict classification, however, can be potentially deceptive, as Mack argued so well.¹⁴⁶ First of all, when we do have a specific context highlighted in the language of the decrees for the award of honours, this is highly atypical. Second, a classification of honours according to specific types of behaviour ('economic', 'political', 'cultural', and so on) assumes that the motivation for the honours which was described in the decrees (or in some cases the assumed motivation provided by external to the decree information) was the primary context for the award of the honours. In other words, was a doctor honoured for the services he provided in the medical sphere, or a poet for the work he wrote, or was this simply one aspect of more complex relations between the honorand and the city of the Delians? As Mack observed, the grant of proxenia was often made at the point of the honorand's departure, and it marked the end of the particular act for which they were being honoured.¹⁴⁷ In other words, the honours created a relationship and a tie between the Delians and the honorand, which went beyond the primary context of the award (if there was such a thing as a single primary context). I would, therefore, offer this as a summary of my approach to the contexts of the Delians' motivation for honours: first, it is problematic to assume that there was such a thing as a single motivation for the award of honours. Second, the classifications that modern scholars, such as Marek, provide assume distinct categories of behaviour that were mutually exclusive: that is, a doctor honoured had no commercial interests, or a poet had no influence in the political sphere of his community of origin. Such mutually exclusive categories of behaviour cannot, and should not, be assumed for the ancient world (or indeed for any period).

As the motivation for honours was generally described in an entirely generic and formulaic language, the few decrees that we have that provided more explicit information have attracted considerable scholarly attention, with occasionally diverse interpretations attached to them. Keeping in mind that strict classifications of honours according to types of service are not necessarily helpful in our understanding of the contexts of honours, it might be worth discussing briefly the different types of activities that the Delian decrees highlighted as worthy of honour.

One honorand is presented as a philosopher in the motivation clause of the honorific decree, which is most likely a proxeny (*IG XI.4 624*): this is the otherwise unknown Anaxippos.¹⁴⁸ The decree is very fragmentary, with the

¹⁴⁵ Marek 1984, 335–85.

¹⁴⁶ Mack 2015, esp. 59–65.

¹⁴⁷ Mack 2015, 63, with n. 134 discussing specifically *IG XI.4 666* = *Choix* 48 = Nigdelis T6, a decree awarding a crown to the proxenos Aristoboulos, son of Athenaios, from Thessalonike: the use of the past tense throughout the decree implies that the period of residence of Aristoboulos has expired.

¹⁴⁸ *IG XI.4 624*. The decree is very fragmentary, but in line 3, we can clearly read φιλοσοφῶ[ν]. See Haake 2006, esp. 529–30, and 2007, 251–4.

honours clauses mostly absent from the existing section. A more complete decree is the proxeny decree for Praxiphanes, son of Dionysiphanes, which passed between 270 and 260 (*IG XI.4 613 = Choix 29*).¹⁴⁹ The decree does not record Praxiphanes' ethnic, which is a very rare occurrence indeed, as generally proxeny decrees always record the name, patronymic, and ethnic of the honorand.¹⁵⁰ We know that Praxiphanes was a well-known Peripatetic philosopher from Mytilene (and that is why we are able to provide the ethnic).¹⁵¹ Nothing, however, in the decree itself indicates that Praxiphanes is honoured for his philosophic activities. The motivation clause is typically formulaic,¹⁵² while the honours awarded are similarly ordinary and include *ateleia*, *enctesis*, *proedria*, and the more rarely awarded honour of *politeia*. The lack of any reference to a philosophical activity in the decree should warn us against attempting to classify honours according to specific activities. While it is likely that Praxiphanes' honours were, to a certain degree at least, linked to his fame as a philosopher, he may have been honoured because he visited Delos as a *theoros* or because he promoted Delian interests in some other capacity. Praxiphanes' decree contains another interesting element: Praxiphanes is honoured because 'he did whatever good thing he could for the Delians in speech and in deed' (*καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ*). The Delians do not often use these double datives, 'in speech and in deed', in the motivation clauses of their decrees; in fact, I counted four occurrences in the entire honorific corpus, one of which is very fragmentary and the specific phrase is entirely supplemented.¹⁵³ The three decrees where this phrase exists are all for relatively famous individuals: the philosopher Praxiphanes, discussed here, Apollodoros, son of Apollonios, from Cyzikos, who was most likely a Ptolemaic Nesiarch,¹⁵⁴ and Sostratos, son of Dexiphanes, from Cnidos, another famous Ptolemaic officer.¹⁵⁵ The clause,

¹⁴⁹ See Haake 2007, 247–51.

¹⁵⁰ See Mack 2015, 53–6, esp. 53 with n. 104, discussing the rare occasions where the ethnic was not recorded: it is when the honorands were well known in their own right.

¹⁵¹ See Durrbach's comments in *Choix 29*, and Haake 2007, 248–9.

¹⁵² *IG XI.4 613 = Choix 29*, l. 5–9: *χρήσιμος ὃν διατελεῖ τῆι πόλει τῆι Δηλίων καὶ ποεῖ ὅ τι δύναται ἀγαθὸν Δηλίου καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ*.

¹⁵³ *IG XI.4 562, 563, 613, and [893]*.

¹⁵⁴ *IG XI.4 562 = Choix 20*, l. 3–8 *ἐπ[ε]ιδὴ Ἀπολλόδωρ[ος ἀνὴρ ἀγα]θ[ὸ]ς ὃν διατελεῖ περὶ τὰ ἱερὸν[κ]αὶ τὴν πόλιν τὴν Δηλίων καὶ ποιεῖ ἀγαθὸν ὅ τι δύναται καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας ἑαυτῶι Δηλίων*. The last clause implies that he was not located on Delos, but accepted petitions of Delians elsewhere. For the identification of the honorand Apollodoros with the Nesiarch Apollodoros, known from other sources see Bagnall 1976, 137–8, Reger 1991, Mack 2015, 62–3; but see recently Paschidis 2008, 532–4, expressing some doubts. See discussion in Chapter 2.2.

¹⁵⁵ *IG XI.4 563 = Choix 22*, l. 2–7: *ἐπειδὴ Σώστρατος Δεξιφάνους Κνίδιος ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ὃν διατελεῖ περὶ τὰ ἱερὸν καὶ τὴν πόλιν τὴν Δηλίων καὶ ποεῖ ἀγαθὸν ὅ τι δύναται καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας ἑαυτῶι Δηλίων*. Sostratos is honoured with a golden crown, *enctesis* and *politeia* to all the participating states by the Islanders' League for his services as intermediary to Ptolemy: *IG XI.4 1038 = Choix 21*. Sostratos appears as a 'friend of the kings' in Strabo 17.1.6. He was the architect (or perhaps sponsored) the famous Pharos of Alexandria: see Shear 1978,

therefore, that the honorand performed benefaction for the Delians ‘in speech and in deed’ was reserved for individuals whose fame was considerable and well established beyond a strict local context. While for the last two individuals this was certainly the case, as they were closely associated with the Ptolemaic court, the interesting observation here is, I think, that the same kind of expression was used for Praxiphanes, whom we have identified as the Peripatetic philosopher. I would tentatively argue that Praxiphanes’ honours belonged to the same scale of appreciation as those of Apollodoros, the Nesiarch, and Sostratos, the Ptolemaic courtier. Praxiphanes’ primary source of fame may have been his contribution to philosophy, but I see the Delian honours as going beyond the sphere of such academic excellence.

In the case of doctors, the situation is perhaps slightly more straightforward, as their service in the field of medicine is more explicitly stated in Delian epigraphic record. Three Delian decrees honour doctors for their services, while two further doctors are honoured with a statue, dedicated by the demos of the Delians. Archippos, son of Polychares, from Ceos, is honoured with proxeny, *enctesis*, *proedria*, and *prosodos*, because he ‘helped many with his medicinal skill’ (τὴν τέχνην τὴν ἰατρικὴν).¹⁵⁶ Similar language is used in the honours for Nikandros, son of Parmeniskos, from Halicarnassos, who is honoured with proxeny, *enctesis*, *proedria*, and *prosodos*.¹⁵⁷ The third decree is more elusive: it is an honorary decree for Xenodemos, son of Democles, from Syros, for his services. Unfortunately, however, the crucial clause that includes a reference to medicinal services is heavily supplemented, while the inscription breaks off before the specific honours are inscribed.¹⁵⁸ In addition, the Delians honoured two Coans for their services, it seems, to medicine. The Delians erected a statue of Philippos, son of Philippos, from Cos (predictably), a doctor, with a dedicatory inscription.¹⁵⁹ The Delians also, most likely,

22–5, and discussion in Chapter 2.2. See also recently Meeus 2015, who discusses the epigraphic attestations of honours for Sostratos (on Delos and beyond).

¹⁵⁶ IG XI.4 693 = Samama 107, dated to 230–20. This Archippos, son of Polychares, is also honoured, along with his brother Polychares, with a proxeny and a crown in an inscription from Tenos: IG XII.5 820: see Etienne 1990, 179, and Reger 1992, 381–2. The Tenian decree makes no reference to the brothers’ profession. For the presence of Ceians, including this Archippos, in the epigraphic record of Delos see Mendoni, 2007, esp. 535–6 and 547.

¹⁵⁷ IG XI.4 775 = Samama 106, l. 10–13: κατὰ τὴν ἰατρικὴν τέχ[νη]ν φιλότιμον αὐτὸν παρέχε[ται] τοῖς χρεῖαν ἔχουσιν αὐτοῦ.

¹⁵⁸ IG XI.4 633 = Samama 104, l. 4–9: ἀγαθός ἐστι [π]ερί τε τὸ ἱερόν καὶ τὸν δῆμον [τὸν Δ]ηλίων καὶ πολλοῖς τῶν πολ[ιτῶν βεβο]ήθηκεν κατὰ τὴν τέ[χνην τὴν ἰατρικὴν, τῆ]μ πάσαν [σπουδῆν — — ποιούμενος — —].

¹⁵⁹ IG XI.4 1078 = *Choix* 61 = Samama 108. The cost for the statue appears in the Delian accounts of the year 195, ID 399 A 37–8, for which see the relevant entry in Appendix 2 and 3. For this Philippos see Massar 2005, 28–9 and 161, who sees the honours as an expression of a diplomatic relationship, following largely Baslez and Vial 1987, Massar 2006, and Bosnakis 2014, 70. We also have the Coans’ response to the Delian request to set up a copy of the honouring decree in the Coan Asclepieion: see IG XII.4.1 164 with Laurenzi, 1941, 37–9.

honoured with a statue Xenophon, son of Pythonax, also most probably from Cos, for his services.¹⁶⁰

Baslez and Vial argued that the Delians in the second century did not honour individuals with a statue, unless they were members of the royal courts or Roman officials;¹⁶¹ the one exception to this rule was, it seems, the erection of statues for doctors, such as Philip, son of Philip, from Cos. Such an argument helped the identification of Xenophon, son of Pythonax, as a doctor—if he received a statue, and he was not a royal, he must have been a doctor. However, Baslez and Vial's assumption about the status of individuals honoured with a statue cannot be fully substantiated by the existing evidence. While I do agree that Xenophon was indeed a doctor, I cannot agree with the argument that the Delians did not honour other individuals with a statue, unless they were members of a royal court or Roman officials. In Appendix 2, I have listed the honours offered to individuals, according to inscriptions set up on statue bases and exedras. In this list, we can see that a number of individuals, who were not members of royal families, were honoured with a statue: two of them were the doctors discussed above, but there are also four other individuals honoured. The statues for two of them, the unknown son of Akousilas, from Oaxos in Crete (*IG XI.4 1077*), and Satyros, son of Eumenes, from Samos (*IG XI.4 1079*), can be dated to the end of the third or early second century. In addition, there are two prominent Delians honoured with a statue: Kallidikos, son of Diodotos (*IG XI.4 1084*), and Sosilos, son of Dorieus (*IG XI.4 1087*).¹⁶² Rather than reserving this honour for kings and queens, the Delians seem to have used honorific statues for a wide range of honorands, both Delians and outsiders.

In addition to doctors and philosophers, the Delians honour poets, historiographers, musicians, and other artists.¹⁶³ Apollodoros, a *kitharodos* (cithara player/singer), is honoured with a crown in the middle of the third century (*IG XI.4 646*),¹⁶⁴ while Onomarchos, son of Apollonides, from Cnidos was

¹⁶⁰ *IG XI.4 1200* = Samama 105. The dedicatory inscription on the statue is heavily supplemented; it includes, however the word *ἐθεράπευσεν*, which strongly implies that the honorand was a doctor; the term *θεραπεύω* does have other meanings, such as paying service (to the gods), but it is unlikely that such a meaning would be used in a statue base. Massar 2005, 143–4, also sees him as a doctor; she has some reservations, however, as to whether the honours are indeed the product of the demos of the Delians, as the inscription is heavily restored.

¹⁶¹ Baslez and Vial 1987, 285 with n. 14.

¹⁶² There are also five statue bases that do not preserve the name of the honorand: *IG XI.4 1088*, 1089, 1092, 1093, and 1094. It is not possible to know whom these statues honoured, royals or not, Delians or outsiders. Dillon and Palmer Baltes 2013, 234 with n. 117 believe that 1088 is a statue base for a Hellenistic king, but beyond this hypothesis, there is not much to go on.

¹⁶³ Tréheux 1992, 29, s.v. [Ἀπ]ολλώνι[ος] Ἰγμῶν Ἀσπ[έν]διος, classifies this honorand, who receives a crown (*IG XI.4 684*), as an artist. I was unable to find on what basis such an identification was proposed.

¹⁶⁴ *IG XI.4 646B* offers a crown to Apollodoros, *κιθαρῳιδός*. On the same stele there is also the very last line of a previous decree (A): it is likely that the first decree offered proxeny (and

honoured with a crown (and possibly a proxeny) because of his artistic competitive performances (IG XI.4 744).¹⁶⁵ Pantakratides, son of Kallipos, is honoured with a crown (IG XI.4 705);¹⁶⁶ his identification with a *kitharodos* is promoted by the relief of a *kithara* above the inscribed text on the Delian decree.¹⁶⁷

The Delians honoured with a crown the historiographer Mnesiptolemos, son of Calliarchos, from Cyne (IG XI.4 697), who was also known for his association with the court of Antiochos III.¹⁶⁸ Another group of writers honoured by the Delians were poets of various sorts: Demoteles, son of Aischylos, from Andros, received a crown for his version of the Delian local history (IG XI.4 544 = *Choix* 30 = Chaniotis E53);¹⁶⁹ Amphiclos, son of Kallistratos, from Chios, received a crown and proxeny (and associated honours) for his poetry, ‘in which he adorned beautifully and with distinction the sanctuary and the Delians’ (IG XI.4 572 = Chaniotis E55).¹⁷⁰ Three further honorands seem to have been authors: Eukles, son of Polygnotos, from Tenos, received proxeny because he ‘praised the sanctuary wherever he went’ (IG XI.4 573);¹⁷¹ Heracleitos from Chalcedon,¹⁷² received honours (possibly proxeny); in addition to the standard formulaic clauses in the motivation section of the decree, we read that ‘he performed readings for the god’ (IG XI.4 618).¹⁷³ This seems to imply public performances, perhaps of epic poetry, as Roussel suggested in his publication

associated honours), while at a later stage, the Delians offered Apollodoros a crown and inscribed the second decree on the stele of the first one.

¹⁶⁵ IG XI.4 744 awards him a crown. The motivation clause implies multiple artistic performances in a competitive context (ll. 5–9): *παραγερόμενος εἰς [τὴν νῆσον, ἀγ]ῶ[ν]ας πλείους [ἡ]γόνισται [τῶι θε]ῶι φιλοτιμῶς καὶ ἀξίως τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐ[ν] πᾶσι κ]αιροῖς χρεῖας παρέχεται καὶ κοινεῖ τῇ π[ό]λει καὶ ἰδία εἰς [ἄ] ἄν τις αὐτὸν παρακαλῆι τῶν πολι[τῶν].* It is likely that Onomarchos received proxeny too as 744 is inscribed on the same stone as 743, of which only the end survives. See relevant note in Appendix 1.

¹⁶⁶ For the new reading of the name, and the links with Teian inscriptions mentioning his son, Kallipos, son of Pantakratides, see now Ma 2007b, 238–40.

¹⁶⁷ See discussion in Ma 2007b, 239–41.

¹⁶⁸ IG XI.4 697 = *Choix* 54 = Chaniotis E10. Associations with the court of Antiochos III in Athenaeus 15.697d; see also Marek 1984, 266–7, and commentary in Chaniotis 1988, 303–4. He was ridiculed by the comic poet Epinicos (K-A F 1 = FGrH 164 T2 = Ath. 10.432b).

¹⁶⁹ IG XI.4 544 = *Choix* 30 = Chaniotis E53, ll. 4–8: *ἐπειδὴ Δημοστέλης Αἰσχύ[λου] Ἄνδριος ποιητῆς ὦν πεπραγ[μ]άτευται περὶ τε τὸ ἱερόν καὶ τ[ῆν] [π]όλιν τὴν Δηλίων καὶ τοὺς μύθου[ς] τοὺς ἐ[π]ιχωρίους γέγραφεν.* I have discussed the honours for Demoteles and his version of ‘local’ history in poetry in Constantakopoulou 2016b.

¹⁷⁰ IG XI.4 572 = Chaniotis E55, 1–4: *κα[λῶς κ]αὶ ἐπιφανῶς ἐν τῇ[ι] ποιήσει κεκόσμηκεν καὶ τὸ ἱερόν καὶ Δηλίους.*

¹⁷¹ IG XI.4 573, ll. 10–11: *τὸ ἱερόν ἐγκωμιάζει οὐδ’ ἂν ἀφίκεται.* Etienne 1990, 181 and 183, and Tréheux 1992, 46, s.v. *Εὐκλῆς Πολυγνώτου Τήμιος*, followed by Reger 1994a, 73, believe that he may have been a poet.

¹⁷² See Appendix 1 and 4 for the relevant note on the writing of the ethnic.

¹⁷³ IG XI.4 618, ll. 5–11: *ἐπε[ιδὴ] Ἡράκλει[τος] ἀγα[θὸς] [ὦν] ἀνήρ διατελεῖ περὶ τὸ ἱερόν καὶ τὴν πόλιν τὴν Δηλ[ί]ων, ἀναγνώσεις τε τῶι θε[ῶι] ποιούμενος καὶ ἰδία τοῖς [ἐν]τυγχάνουσι τῶν πολιτῶ[ν] χρεῖας παρεχόμενος.*

of this decree.¹⁷⁴ Finally, Nicomachos, son of Hierocles, from Athens, who appears elsewhere in Delian inscriptions as a comic poet and actor, was honoured with a proxeny decree (*IG XI.4 638*).¹⁷⁵

It is also possible that the Delians honoured mercenaries for their services. The evidence here is much more elusive. At the end of the third century, the Delians set up a statue to the south of the Monument of the Bulls (*GD 24*) for an unnamed Cretan from Oaxos, the son of Akousilas (*IG XI.4 1077*). The statue base is broken and part of the dedicatory inscription lost, but what we have indicates that it used standard language of honours.¹⁷⁶ Why was this Cretan honoured? While statue bases for foreigners who were not members of a royal court are not unknown in Delos, as we have seen, their numbers are much fewer than proxeny decrees, while the honour of erecting a statue was a much more costly affair. The services rendered, therefore, must have been significant, for this honorand to receive a statue. Herbin recently suggested that the honours awarded to this Cretan may have been linked to mercenary services.¹⁷⁷ I find the suggestion intriguing. In such cases, where the name of the honorand is completely unknown, it is impossible to be certain about the context of honours; it is not unlikely, however, that mercenary services may have been behind this specific decision to award a statue.

Theoroi, official religious delegates to the sanctuary, were also honoured.¹⁷⁸ The practice of honouring *theoroi* was quite widespread in the Greek world, as Rutherford has recently shown so well.¹⁷⁹ Yet, as we have seen in the honours for artists, the Delians do not indicate that the honorands, receiving proxeny or a statue, had been *theoroi* in the sanctuary—it is through other evidence that we know that was the case. There are a number of honorands who, we know from other sources, may have been *theoroi* in the sanctuary. Philodamos, from Rhodes, was honoured with proxeny in the first half of the third century (*IG XI.4 614*); this is probably the same Philodamos from Rhodes, who, as an *architheoros*, dedicated a *phiale* to Apollo before 279.¹⁸⁰ Similarly, Ctesippos, son of Ctesippos, from Chios, was honoured with proxeny and a crown in two decrees (*IG XI.4 819* and *820*); he was probably the same Ctesippos as the one who made dedications to Sarapis in the

¹⁷⁴ Roussel 1907, 351–2.

¹⁷⁵ Nicomachos appears as a comic poet (*κωμωιδοποιός*) in *IG XI.2 113 26*. He was probably a comic actor too, as Roussel's readings of *IG XI.2 115 19* suggest (Roussel 1907, 349–51), followed by Tréheux 1992, 66, s.v. *Νικόμαχος Τεροκλέους Ἀθηναῖος*. He was also honoured on Samos: *IG XII.6.1 122*. For Nicomachos see also Marek 1984, 265, with n. 329. For his work, including a catalogue of testimonia see Nicomachus *PGC Kassel-Austin 7*, 56–61.

¹⁷⁶ *IG XI.4 1077*: [Δήλιος? — — — Ἀ]κουσίλα Ὀάξιον ἀρετῆς ἔνεκεν καὶ εὐσεβείας τῆς περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ εὐνοίας τῆς εἰς αὐτοὺς Ἀπόλλωνι. Ἀγνίπατρος Ἀντιπάτ[ρ]ου ἐπόησεν.

¹⁷⁷ Herbin 2014, 171–2.

¹⁷⁸ Reger 1994a, 66–7.

¹⁷⁹ Rutherford 2013 *passim*, esp. 194–5.

¹⁸⁰ *Phiale* in *IG XI.2 162B 13* and elsewhere. See Tréheux 1992, 84, s.v. *Φιλόδαμος Θαρσ...α Πόδιος*, and Bruneau 1970, 105.

Sarapieion.¹⁸¹ Religious performance was probably linked to the honours for Eutychos, son of Philotas, from Chios, who resided on Delos and was honoured with a proxeny (*IG XI.4 691 = Choix 43*); this was probably the same Eutychos who founded the Eutycheia festival.¹⁸² The Delians also honoured Nikolaos, son of Agios, from Aitolia, with a statue (*IG XI.4 1075*); this is probably the same Nikolaos who founded the Nikolaia festival.¹⁸³

In fact, this cluster of honours for honorands who may have been *theoroi* probably represents the tip of the iceberg, as Delos had thousands of visitors on a yearly basis for what we may largely define as religious purposes. Once again, it is not only difficult but also methodologically unsound to attempt to distinguish between different spheres of activity, labelling them as ‘religious’, ‘political’, ‘economic’, ‘commercial’, and so on. Indeed, the case of the honours for Eutychos beautifully exemplifies this: Eutychos was involved in banking (so we could cluster him under ‘economic’ activity), but also founded a festival through the donation of a sum of money which would generate a *phiale* on a yearly basis (this would bring him under the category ‘religious’).¹⁸⁴ He was also a permanent resident of Delos.¹⁸⁵ It is likely, therefore, that the Delians came to know some of these individuals through their act of *theoria*; once the visit to the sanctuary was over, the links between the city and these individuals were established, and perhaps even carefully cultivated. *Theoria* therefore does not provide the explanation for the honours, but may be seen instead as an indication of the context of the initial contact.

Similar silence as to the context of the honours is obvious in the honours for Philandrides, son of Echesthenes, from Paros (*IG XI.4 616*). Philandrides was a contractor for the sanctuary, providing marble for the construction of the theatre, and also donating *ēros* (a kind of earth?) to the sanctuary in the same year.¹⁸⁶ His building activity (and perhaps related benefaction for the sanctuary and the city of the Delians) may have been the primary context of the honours, but the Delians refused to acknowledge this in their use of language in the decree. We also have an honorary decree for a statue maker, which, contrary to the usual generic language of honours that we encounter in other Delian decrees, provides us with a full account as to why the honours were offered. The decree honours with proxeny and a crown Telesinos from Athens because he constructed for free two statues for the Delians: a bronze statue of

¹⁸¹ Dedications in the Sarapieion: *ID 1416A.I 18, 25*, and elsewhere, where he appears as *melanephoros*. For the significance of this term in relation to Sarapis’ ritual see Bruneau 1970, 465.

¹⁸² See above in this chapter note 110. For the foundation of the festival and Eutychos’ dedications see also Chapter 5 with note 118.

¹⁸³ See relevant note in Appendix 2, and Chapter 5 with note 117.

¹⁸⁴ See Bruneau 1970, 658. ¹⁸⁵ See above note 109.

¹⁸⁶ Provision of marble at the theatre: *IG XI.2 203A 95–6*; donation of *ῆρος* in *IG XI.2 203A 39–40*; see Reger 1994a, 59, with n. 35.

Asclepios and a marble statue of queen Stratonike;¹⁸⁷ he also repaired for free other statues that needed repair in the sanctuary (*IG XI.4 514 = Choix 16 = Kotsidu 123*).¹⁸⁸ The motivation clause in this decree is unusually detailed and specific; a reason for this may be its early date (late fourth/early third century) and the unusual (and extremely expensive) services that Telesinos provided for free.

I would stress once again that we cannot assume, on the basis of our evidence, that poetry, historiography, philosophy, medicine, or theatre activities were the only or even the primary reason that these honorands received their honours. Rather, these are occasional identifications provided in the language of honours that survived: in most cases, as we have already seen, the specific services that the honorands provided to the city of Delos remain unidentified in the decrees. Instead, the Delians used a highly formulaic language. Indeed, in some cases, such as the proxeny decree for the philosopher Praxiphanes (*IG XI.4 613 = Choix 29*), nothing in the decree itself even identifies him as a philosopher. Similarly, nothing in the language of honours for the Athenian Nicomachos, son of Hierocles, identifies him as a comic poet (*IG XI.4 638*), nor is there any indication in the proxeny decree for Philocleides, son of Philocles, from Chalkis, that he was a tragic actor (*IG XI.4 567*).¹⁸⁹ The same is true for another actor, Paramonos, son of Demetrios, from Chalkis, who receives proxeny in the middle of the third century (*IG XI.4 615*).¹⁹⁰ It seems likely, therefore, that the Delians were especially reluctant in identifying actors as such in their proxeny decrees. Furthermore, the context for the honours of Mnesiptolemos, son of Calliarchos, from Cyme seems to imply multiple levels and functions: Mnesiptolemos is honoured as a historiographer, but he was also known for his links with Antiochos' court (*IG XI.4 697 = Choix 54 = Chaniotis E10*).¹⁹¹ The context for the honours, therefore, should be seen as a multilayered one, involving, as Mack showed, a certain degree of reciprocity of benefaction from the point of view of the honorand and the honouring city.¹⁹² While it is tempting to attempt to classify all honours according to the honorands' 'professional', so to speak, performances,

¹⁸⁷ This queen Stratonike, as Paschidis 2008, 368 with n. 1, notes could be the mother of Poliorketes and not his daughter.

¹⁸⁸ *IG XI.4 514 = Choix 16 = Kotsidu 123*, ll. 4–17, with *IG XII Suppl. 311*: Τελε[σ]ίνοσ ἐγλαβὼν παρὰ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Δηλίων ἀγάλματα ποιῆσαι τοῦ τε Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ τῆσ βασιλίσσησ Στρατονίκησ ἐπέδωκε τῶι δ[ή]μωι [κ]α[ί] ἐπόησεν τὰ ἀγάλματα ταῦτα τὸ μὲν τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ χα[λκοῦν], τὸ δὲ τῆσ βα[σι]λίσσησ λιθίνον?, ἠργάσ[α]το? δὲ τὰ [ἀγάλ]ματ[α] καλῶσ καὶ ἐσπούδασεν κα[ί] το ε αν καὶ ἐπόησεν Ε ΙΟ— — c.14— — καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι ὅσα ἦ[ν] ἐπισκευῆσ δεόμεν[α] κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ τέχνην ἔσω[σ]ε καὶ ἐπ[έ]σκεύασεν δωρεὰν προαι[ροῦ]μενοσ κα[ί] [τ]ὸ ἱερὸν καὶ Δηλίουσ εὐεργετεῖν.

¹⁸⁹ Philocleides appears as a tragic actor in *IG XI.2 105a 18*.

¹⁹⁰ Paramonos appears as a tragic actor in *IG XI.2 115 21*.

¹⁹¹ See note 168 above. ¹⁹² Mack 2015.

such classifications are in fact misleading as they restrict the overall context of benefaction into simple, even mutually exclusive, categories.

The largest category of honours that provide some insight in the motivation clauses about why the honours were awarded is undoubtedly honours to individuals because of their political position and benefaction towards the city of the Delians and the sanctuary. In fact, a major concern for the award of honours in general, as has been brilliantly argued by Low,¹⁹³ was the creation of reciprocal relations between the city and the honorand and his circle. Such reciprocal relations should be considered as the foundation of interstate relations; honorific practices were one part of the establishment and maintenance of such relations. It is not surprising, then, that within the constant struggle for power that characterized the Aegean during the third century, the Delians were actively involved in honouring prominent individuals with key positions in terms of political power. A main concern seems to have been, as Mack has shown,¹⁹⁴ access to the institutions and networks of the honorand's primary political location, whether that was a polis or a royal court. Indeed, access to power and the creation of links with other powers, from small, to medium, and to extremely powerful, such as the Hellenistic kings, is one of the rationales provided in the motivation clauses of our decrees that stands out. I should clarify here that I do not necessarily see the honorific practices of Delos as expressions of 'diplomatic' relations, in the sense of exchange of ambassadors, as Baslez and Vial have interpreted this material.¹⁹⁵ Neither do I think that it is particularly fruitful to attempt to link specific honours awarded with specific political events during the third and early second centuries. One of the main issues with the history of the Aegean world in this period, as I have discussed previously,¹⁹⁶ is the relative lack of any certainty in relation to the dating of key political and military events. The result is that historians have used this type of evidence (alongside the evidence of dedications, especially royal dedications, on Delos, as we shall see in the following chapter) in order to reconstruct the outline of events for the third century. While such efforts are to a certain degree necessary for the writing of a history focused on a narrative of events, I do not think that attempting to reach absolute precision for the dating of specific events and diplomatic contacts is really that important for a project that focuses on larger patterns of interconnections in the world of the Aegean islands and littoral. An additional factor is that even if we could date with certainty (and in most cases, we cannot) the passing of the decrees for the award of honours, such a date can only be used as a general pointer about the date of contact between the Delians and the honorand. In other words, we cannot know at which point

¹⁹³ Low 2007.

¹⁹⁴ Mack 2015, 50, who, however, puts emphasis on the honorand's polis.

¹⁹⁵ Baslez and Vial 1987, esp. 284. ¹⁹⁶ See Chapter 1.2.

in time the Delians decided to pass a decree for the honours: it could be soon after a specific event where the honorand performed benefaction, or it could be at the end of a long period of interaction between the Delians and the honorand. It could even be in advance of substantial contact, in anticipation of future services.¹⁹⁷

One thing is certain: despite the highly formulaic language of honours, the Delians do allow glimpses of their real concern about access to centres of power and their respective networks. Indeed, when the Delians decide to provide explicit details about the reasoning behind the award of honours, ‘political’ concerns about access to power and political benefaction received provide the most numerous examples. It might be, therefore, useful to look at some examples where a political context for the award of honours is apparent in the language of the honours, in some detail.

One of the earliest decrees that indicate that an honorand had an advantageous position within the context of a Hellenistic court is the decree that awards proxeny and a crown to Demaratos, son of Gorgion, the Lacedaimonian, which we have already discussed (*IG XI.4 542 = Choix 15*).¹⁹⁸ The decree stresses that Demaratos was continuing the tradition of his family and his father, in particular, in showing goodwill towards the Delians, but includes the tell-tale clauses that he ‘spent time (*διατριβῶν*) by King Lysimachos’ and that he conveyed the goodwill of the king and Queen Arsinoe to the Delians. Not much evidence of Lysimachos’ goodwill survives from Delos—perhaps, as Paschidis commented, this first contact between the Delians and the Lysimachian court came to nothing.¹⁹⁹ But what the decree does indicate, is that the Delians were explicit about rewarding access to the court of Lysimachos, and that they framed the award of the honours within a context of continuation of mutual benefaction they expected from the descendants of their proxenoi.

The motivation clauses of a number of decrees highlight the direct links that the honorand(s) had (or provided on behalf of the grateful Delians) with the various royal courts. The proxeny decree for Dikaïos, son of Diocleus, from Cyrene, describes the honorand as ‘appointed by king Ptolemy’ (*IG XI.4 631 = Choix 34*),²⁰⁰ while the very fragmentary text of the decree honouring Andronikos, describes him as companion/attendant (*παραγερόμενος*) of queen Berenice and King Ptolemy (*IG XI.4 677*). An even more explicit attestation of the Delian concern about access to power is perhaps provided by the two decrees in honour of Autocles, son of Ainesidemus, from Chalkis, which we

¹⁹⁷ This is the main reason why I find Baslez and Vial’s chronological calculations in 1987, 285, about the award of honours quite problematic.

¹⁹⁸ See above notes 137 and 140. ¹⁹⁹ Paschidis 2008, 434–8.

²⁰⁰ *IG XI.4 631 4–10*: Δί[κ]αιος τεταγμένο[ς ὑπὸ τὸν] βασιλέα Πτολεμαῖον [ἀνὴρ ἀ]γαθός ἐστι περὶ τε τὸ ἱερόν κ[αὶ] τῆμ πόλιν τὴν Δηλίων καὶ χρ[ε]ί[ας] διατελεῖ παρεχόμενος Δηλίων τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν [αὐτῶ] καὶ κοινῆ καὶ ἰδία.

have already discussed.²⁰¹ In the second decree, Autocles appears as ‘friend of King Demetrios (II)’ (IG XI.4 680 = *Choix* 47).²⁰²

A rare example of a Delian decree with an extremely detailed motivation clause is the case of the honours for Philocles, king of the Sidonians (IG XI.4 559 = *Choix* 18 = Migeotte 47 = Kotsidu 148). We have already discussed this decree as evidence of the role of Ptolemaic officials in relation to the Islanders’ League.²⁰³ Indeed, this decree is fascinating in that it allows us to see how Ptolemaic patronage operated in action. The Delians here honour Philocles, who was also an admiral of the Ptolemies,²⁰⁴ for his role in recovering the money owed to the sanctuary by the Islanders’ League. The background to the honours is presented in exquisite detail: beyond the typical clauses that Philocles showed every goodwill (εὐνοια) and love of honour (φιλοτιμία) towards the sanctuary and the (city of the) Delians, the decree recounts how the Delians sent embassies in order to petition his help in recovering the money owed to the sanctuary by the Islanders. Philocles, then, took great care so that the Delians recover the loans without delay. That Philocles is acting on behalf of king Ptolemy is explicitly stated.²⁰⁵ As a result of his benefaction, Philocles is honoured with a crown. The decree stresses the long history of benefaction, and assumes that such relations will continue in the future: it is one of the rare cases where an hortatory clause is included.²⁰⁶ The Delians here highlighted a specific episode in the long history of benefaction that they have received from Philocles, that of the recovery of the money; but the overall reasoning and the award of honours is framed by a narrative of past, and expectation of future benefactions. Philocles’ role in the recovery of the money is indeed important, but so is his overall position as an important military official within the Ptolemaic state, and his close proximity to King Ptolemy himself. Once again, access to power is highly regarded.

In addition, the Delians seem to be interested in creating and maintaining links with individuals who may in the future have potential access to power, even if they do not have such a position in the present. This must be the primary context for the honours awarded to Alexander, son of Philip, who is described as ‘descendant of king Alexander’ (ἀπόγονος ὡν βασιλέως Ἀλεξάνδρου) (IG XI. 4 750 = *Choix* 60). This Alexander, we know, had dynastic ambitions for the

²⁰¹ See above, notes 78 and 79.

²⁰² IG XI.4 680 3: ἐπε[ι]δὴ Α[ὐ]τοκλῆς Αἰνησιδήμου Χαλκιδεὺς φίλος ὦν τοῦ βασιλέως Δημητρίου.

²⁰³ See Chapter 2.2. ²⁰⁴ Merker 1970, Hauben 1987, 2004.

²⁰⁵ IG XI.4 559 2–9: ἐπειδὴ βασιλεὺς Σιδωνίων Φιλοκλῆς ἔν τε τοῖς [ἐ]μ[προσ]θεν χρόνοις πᾶσαν εὐνοίαν καὶ φιλοτιμίαν ἐνδεδε[ι]γ[μ]έ[ν]ος διετέλει περὶ τὸ ἱερόν καὶ Δηλίους, καὶ νῦν πρεσβείας ἀποσταλείσης πρὸς αὐτὸν περὶ τῶν χρημάτων ὧν [ῶ]φειλον οἱ νησιῶται Δηλῖοι πᾶσαν ἐπιμέλειαν ἐπόησατο ὅπως Δῆλιοι κομίσωνται τὰ δάνεια [καθάπερ ὁ βασιλεὺς Π]τολεμαῖος συνέταξεν, καὶ μὴ γ[έ]νωνται [α]ι διατριβαὶ κ[αὶ] [μ]ελλήσεις τῆς ἀποδόσεως Δηλίων.

²⁰⁶ See above note 69.

Macedonian throne;²⁰⁷ I should stress however, that potential claim to power should not be viewed as the only reason for the honours. The decree itself mentions that he spent considerable time on Delos, and while there, benefitted the Delians;²⁰⁸ in other words, in addition to his royal claims, he also performed some unspecified types of benefaction for the Delians.

The decrees discussed so far provide explicit details (in varying degrees) in their motivation clauses about the reasons for the award of honours, beyond the use of typical honorific language that characterizes most of the Delian inscriptions. A discussion, however, of contexts for the honours that can broadly be defined as ‘political’ should also include those cases where a political context for the award of honours should be expected (because of the known position of the honorand in circles of power) but is, nonetheless, absent from the text of the honours as we have them. Four cases, which I shall discuss briefly below, belong to such a category.

In the early third century, the Delians honour with proxeny Kallias, son of Thymochares from Athens (*IG XI.4 627*). This Kallias is most likely²⁰⁹ the better known Kallias of Sphettos, a Ptolemaic officer, who was honoured in Athens for his role during the Chremonidean war (*IG II³ 1 911 = SEG 28.60 = Bringmann and von Steuben 16*).²¹⁰ Nothing in the Delian decree implies that Kallias had an important position in the Ptolemaic court. The language for the honours included here is entirely generic.²¹¹ This may be the result of the date in which the Delian decree passed, which may have been early in the career of Kallias, when his ties with the Ptolemaic court had not yet materialized.²¹² Kallias visited Delos as he appears to have dedicated a cup in the Delian inventories.²¹³ Indeed, in the more extensive decree in his honour, passed by Athens, part of the motivation clause of the honours is a reference to his gift of fifty talents of silver and twenty thousand medimnoi of wheat, which were measured out on Delos (*IG II³ 1 911, 52–5*). The language of the decree is quite elusive at this point, but it strongly implies that it was Delos where Kallias met the Athenians in order to give them the gift of silver and grain. His visit to Delos, therefore, could be seen as the context of the initial contact between

²⁰⁷ Baslez and Vial 1987, 296, with Livy 35.47.5–6.

²⁰⁸ *IG XI.4 750 5–12: παραγεγόμενος εἰς Δῆλον καὶ ἐνδημήσας πλείω χρόνον εὐτάκτως καὶ ὡς προσήκον αὐτῷ τὴν ἐνδημίαν ἐποιήσατο καὶ κοινεῖ καὶ ἰδία Δηλίων τῷ ἐντυγχάνοντι χρείας παρεχόμενος [δ]ιατελεῖ εἰς ὃ ἂν αὐτόν τις παρα[καλεῖ].*

²⁰⁹ For a discussion of the identification of the Kallias in the Delian proxeny decree with Kallias of Sphettos see Paschidis 2008, 145, n. 1.

²¹⁰ Publication and discussion in Shear 1978. See also Paschidis 2008, 145–50. A translation is now available in Attic Inscriptions Online (www.atticinscriptions.com/inscription/IGII31/911, accessed 28.6.16).

²¹¹ *IG XI.4 627 2–4: ἐπειδὴ Καλλίας Θυμοχάρους Ἀθηναῖος ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός ἐστιν περὶ τε τὸ ἱερόν καὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Δηλίων.*

²¹² One of the possibilities suggested by Paschidis 2008, 439.

²¹³ *IG XI.2 199B 92*, dated to 273; see also Appendix 5.

him and the Delians; the formulaic language of the decree does not allow us to be certain as to whether his position of power played a role in the award of honours. Yet, even if we date the Delian proxeny decree before Kallias' rise to power, he must have had important links with the Ptolemaic circles. Access to power, therefore, may have been an important element for the Delian decision.

Similarly elusive as to the reasoning behind the honours awarded is the decree for Hermias from Halicarnassos, who was most likely the Ptolemaic Nesiarch (*IG XI.4 565*).²¹⁴ The decree in honour of two Siphnian brothers, Erasidemus and Tharsagoras, sons of Polycles, has a slightly more expanded motivation clause, but still only provides us with a generic context for the honours awarded, which most likely included proxeny (*IG XI.4 670*).²¹⁵ One of the brothers, Tharsagoras, appears as an ambassador for the Islanders' League in a proxeny decree of the League (*IG XII.5 817 32*). It is likely that his position as an official of the League may be part of the context of services (past or future) for which he was honoured in Delos;²¹⁶ yet, as with the previous two decrees, the Delians decide not to allude to such an official position.

A hidden political agenda may be the background to the honours for Heracleides, son of Xeinius, from Byzantium (*IG XI.4 778*). Here too, the language in the motivation clause is entirely formulaic and does not reveal for what services Heracleides was honoured. Yet, we know from Polybius that he was an ambassador of Antiochos III (21.13.3, 14, 15.12).²¹⁷ Finally, absent are any references to his precise political role in the honorary decree awarding a crown to the already Delian proxenos, Poplios Cornelios Scipion, also known as Scipio Africanus (*IG XI.4 712 = Choix 64*). The Delian inventories record a dedication of a golden crown by Scipio as *strategos hypatos Rhomaion* (*ID 442B 102*). Scipio's visit to the island may have provided the opportunity for the initial contact between the Roman general and the Delians, and may have

²¹⁴ See discussion in Chapter 2.2, and Chapter 5, note 49. Reger 1994a, 73 discusses the case of Hermagoras, son of Heracleides, from Pergamon, who is honoured with proxeny and associated honours in *IG XI.4 583*. He identifies Hermagoras with a prytanes of Eumenes II, mentioned in *IVP 157A1 1*: ἐπὶ πρυτανίῳ Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ Ἑρμαγόρου, dated to 197–159. The Pergamene official, however, is not the same as the honorand of the Delian decree, as he is Heracleides, son of Hermagoras. The combination of the names, Hermagoras and Heracleides, may imply that the Delian proxenos is an ancestor of the Pergamene prytanes. The dating of the two inscriptions also shows that they are two different individuals: the Delian decree is dated to c.280–260, while the Pergamene inscription is considerably later (197–159).

²¹⁵ The decree breaks off at the beginning of the substance section, which lists the awards of honours. *IG XI.4 670 4–16*: ἐπειδὴ Ἐρασίδημος καὶ Θαρσαγόρας Πολυκλείους Σίφνιοι ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί [ἰ] [δ]ντες διατελοῦσιν περὶ τε τὸ ἱερόν καὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Δηλίων καὶ χρείας παρέχονται καὶ κοινῆ τεὶ πόλει καὶ ἰδ[ί]αι τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν αὐτοῖς τῶν πολιτῶν οὐδ' ἂν τις αὐτοὺς παρακαλεῖ ἀπροφασίστως τῆμ πᾶσαν [σ]πουδῆν καὶ ἐπιμέλειαν πο[ι]οῦμενοι.

²¹⁶ Baslez and Vial 1987, 297.

²¹⁷ Identification suggested by Durrbach in *Choix* p. 76, and followed by Etienne 1990, 109, and Reger 1994a 66, with n. 67.

resulted in the Delians awarding him proxeny, in a decree that is now lost, but can be assumed by the decree honouring him with a crown, and referring to him as proxenos.²¹⁸ Indeed, Butz has emphasized the uniqueness of the decree of proxeny for Scipio in terms of format: the decree included the relief of a wreath on the top, which made the stone ‘unique and custom-made’.²¹⁹ The background to the decree awarding a crown to Scipio (as well as to the now lost previous decree awarding proxeny to the same individual) is perhaps the same as the background to another decree proposed by the prolific Telemnestos, son of Aristides, whose main body of text is entirely lost (*IG XI.4 756 = Choix 65*). The motivation clause refers to ambassadors sent to Rome to ‘renew their familiarity (*οἰκίωτητα*) and friendship (*φιλία*)’, and openly reflects the Delians’ wish to cultivate relations with Rome.²²⁰ The reference to ‘familiarity’ and ‘friendship’ alludes perhaps to established kinship relations, which the Delians attempted to promote.²²¹ The Delians were certainly not alone in using kinship language in their articulations of relations with outside powers.²²² We may lack the specific context for this decree, which is one of the few non-honorific decrees in the Delian corpus, as indeed we lack the context for the award of honours for most of our honorific decrees. What we can emphasize is the Delian concern with establishing relations between communities and individuals, and the practice of using many diverse contexts and narratives, including mythical or kinship narratives, in order to do so.

The difficulty in attributing specific labels on types of benefaction performed (or expected to be performed), which resulted in Delian award of honours is further highlighted in the following cases. These decrees have, in fact, been amongst the most discussed epigraphic Delian texts in modern scholarship, as they relate information about trade and the role of the Rhodian navy in ‘protecting’ trade routes. The first decree honours with proxeny and associated honours the Rhodian navarch in charge of the ‘protection (*φυλακήν*) of the islands and the safety (*σωτηρίαν*) of the Greeks’, Antigenes, son of Theoros, alongside his three trierarchs, Timaphanes, Dionnos, and Hegesandros (*IG XI.4 596 = Choix 39*).²²³ The decree emphasizes the role of

²¹⁸ See discussion above in note 72. ²¹⁹ Butz 2009, esp. 214.

²²⁰ Baslez and Vial 1987, 297–9. Baslez and Vial 1987, 298, include in their discussion of decrees reflecting political relations with Rome the honorific decree awarding proxeny to Maarkos Sestios, son of Maarkos, from Fregella (*IG XI.4 757*). Baslez and Vial identify this Maarkos with a member of the group of Fregellans sent by the Romans as ambassadors to the court of Antiochos III in Livy 37.34.4–6. I find such an interpretation quite unsubstantiated.

²²¹ See Erskine 1997. For the concept of ‘friendship’ in the relations between Greek cities and kings see now the excellent analysis in Paschidis 2013.

²²² See recently the excellent work by Fragoulaki 2013. See also the ‘classic’ works by Curty 1995 and Jones 1999.

²²³ *IG XI.4 596*: [ἐπειδὴ Ἀντιγένης] [αἰρεθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ῥοδίων ναύαρχος ἐπὶ τῆς φυλακῆς τῶν νήσων καὶ] ἐπὶ σωτηρίαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ [τριήρ]αρχοι Τιμαφά[ν]ης καὶ Δίωνος

the navarch in securing the protection of the Greeks; this must have included naval activity against piratical raids, which may be behind the dedication to Apollo by another Rhodian navarch, Peisistratos, son of Aristolochos, of a section of his booty (*IG XI.4 1135 = Choix 40*).²²⁴ Further information about the role of the Rhodian navy in the region is provided by the (proxeny?) decree in honour of the Rhodian Epikrates, son of Polystratos (*IG XI.4 751 = Choix 67*), which we have already discussed in relation to the proposer's (Telemnestos, son of Aristeidēs) links with Rhodes.²²⁵ The naval operation that Epikrates was in charge of included Rhodian *cataphract* ships, as well as islander triremes and Athenian *aphract* ships.²²⁶ The navarch not only acted for the 'protection' (*φυλακὴν*) of the islands, but also guaranteed the *eusebeia* towards the sanctuary and issued a regulation (*διάγραμμα*) that no one should use Delos as a naval base (*δρμητήριον*) in their piratical acts against the enemy.²²⁷ The Rhodian navarch Epikrates must have spent considerable time on the island; the same is true for another Rhodian, Anaxibios, son of Pheidianax, who was honoured with proxeny and a crown in two decrees (*IG XI.4 752 + 753 = Choix 63*). Anaxibios, as we have already seen, was sent by the Rhodians as *archon* of the islands (*ἄρχων ἐπὶ τῶν νήσων*) and spent considerable time on Delos.²²⁸

But how are we to classify the context of these Rhodians' benefaction? As these honorands were Rhodian officials sent to Delos in a political/military capacity, as navarchs for the 'protection of the islands', or as *archons* of the islands, we could see the Delian honours as expressing a political concern of cultivating relations with prominent Rhodian officers. The detailed display of the Delian reasons for the honouring in the three decrees discussed above, however, reveals concerns about the position of Delos in the overall maritime networks of the region, and especially of the fragility of the status of the inviolability of the island in relation to piratical activities (particularly in the case of honours for Epikrates, son of Polystratos). Such piratical activities had a real economic impact on the island, and damaged Delos' reputation as an important port in the southern Aegean. The reasoning for the honours,

καὶ Ἡ[γής]ανδρος Ῥόδιοι ἄν[δρ]ες ἀγαθοὶ εἰσι περὶ τ[ὸ] ἱερὸν καὶ τὴν πόλιν τὴν Δηλίων κα[ὶ] τὴν φυλακὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων.

²²⁴ *IG XI.4 1135: Πεισίστρατος Ἀριστολόχου Ῥόδιος ναυαρχήσας καὶ τοὶ συστρατευσάμενοι [ἀπ]ὸ τῶν λαφύρων Ἀπόλλωνι.* See Gabrielsen 1997, 60 and 176, nn. 132 and 134.

²²⁵ See above note 126.

²²⁶ *IG XI.4 751 4–18: ἀποσταλεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμο[υ] ἐπὶ καταφράκτων πλοίων κατὰ πόλεμον, συστρατευομένων αὐ[τ]ῶν τῶν τε νησιωτικῶν τριηρῶν [κα]ὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀφράκτων ἐφρ[όντισ]εν τῆς τε τῶν πλεόντων ἀσ[φαλ]είας καὶ τῆς τῶν νήσων φυλα[κῆς κ]αὶ τῆς περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν εὐσεβεί[ας, διά]γραμμα ἐχθεὶς ὅπως οἱ πει[ρατεῦ]οντες τοὺς πολεμίους ὀρ[μηθῶσιν] ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων λιμένων, τῶ[ι δὲ ἐν Δήλῳ μ]ηθεὶς δρμητηρίῳ χρη[σ]ηται, συμπρ[άσσω]ν τῆ τε τοῦ δήμου φανερ[α]ὶ αἰρέσει καὶ τῆ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν εὐσεβεί[αι], δι' οὗ συνέβη.*

²²⁷ See the excellent discussion in Gabrielsen 1997, 60–1.

²²⁸ See above note 126.

therefore, can also largely be classified as economic, alongside their political and military aspect. This is not to say that concerns about the economy in general, and trade routes in particular, provide the only context through which the Delian honorific habit should be viewed.²²⁹ Rather, we should be looking at a wide range of concerns which may be mapped as overlapping categories. What the Delians honour is past benefaction, or the expectation of future benefaction, once the relationship of honour was established between Delos and the honorand (and by implication his primary community, whether that of residence or affiliation). Benefaction can take many forms, some of which may be clearly economic. And it is to these cases where economic benefaction is clearly articulated in the motivation clauses of our decrees that we shall now turn.

Dionysios, son of Hieronymos, from Byzantium, received proxeny and associated honours for selling grain to the Delians at a price that the demos asked (*IG* XI.4 627 = *Choix* 46).²³⁰ It is not often that we see such specific justification for the award of honours, and we have no explanation as to why the Delians chose to refer to the selling of grain in such detail other than to say that it was obviously considered a great act of benefaction. The only other reference to grain activity that we have in the corpus of the Delian honorific decrees is the characterization of the Delian proxenos Aristoboulos, son of Athenaios, from Thessalonike, as *sitones* (public buyer of corn), who is honoured with a crown (*IG* XI.4 666 = *Choix* 48 = Nigdelis T6).²³¹ Such sparing details cannot allow us to confirm (nor deny) the importance of importing grain in Delos; certainly, a small island such as Delos, with a large population in the third century, demanded to a certain degree a consistent import of food and fuel (among other things), in order to sustain its population and overall economic activity.²³² Yet, compared to other categories of benefaction, about which the Delians are more articulate and explicit in a greater number of decrees, grain import, specifically, and economic benefaction, more generally, are largely absent as reasons for honours.

Indeed, with the exception of the decree in honour of Dionysios from Byzantium, and the honours for Philocles, the King of the Sidonians for his role in the recovery of the money owed by the Islanders' to the sanctuary of Delos, which we have already discussed, the Delians are explicit in their mention of an economic reasoning in their award of honours only in one more occasion:²³³ that is the decree honouring Eutychos son of Philotas, from

²²⁹ Reger 1994a, esp. 64.

²³⁰ *IG* XI.4 627 4–11: ἐπειδὴ Διονύσιος χρείας παρεχόμενος διατελεῖ τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν αὐτῶι Δηλίων καὶ σῆτον ἀπέδοτο τῆ[ι] πόλει πυρῶν μεδίμνους πεντακοσίους τιμῆς ἧς ὁ δῆμος αὐτὸν ἡξίωσεν. See Shear 1978, 30–1, and Reger 1994a, 123.

²³¹ Reger 1993; Bresson 2001.

²³² See discussion in Chapters 1.1 and 3.6.

²³³ Reger 1994a 64 with n. 60 cites three decrees where an economic reason is included in the motivation clause: *IG* XI.4 627, 691 (discussed here) and 840. I cannot see how 840 is relevant here.

Chios (*IG XI.4 691 = Choix 43*).²³⁴ The motivation clause mentions that Eutychos was a resident of Delos, and that he was involved in financing for shipping.²³⁵ Certainly, bankers were very active on Delos, as we shall see in just a moment; yet, even when they are honoured by the Delians, their banking activity is not included in the reasoning for the honours—it is through other testimonia (normally their presence in the accounts of the sanctuary) that we can reconstruct their banking background. Once again we must stress the highly formulaic language used in the decrees. But since the Delians do opt to include more information that relates to activities that we can broadly understand as economic in the two decrees discussed here, it is striking that they choose not to discuss the economic benefaction they do receive from individuals that we know had an important financial or economic position on Delos.

We can identify two further individuals in our honorific corpus as generally involved in banking activities. The first one is Timon, son of Nymphodoros, from Syracuse, who is honoured with proxeny, *enctesis*, and *prosodos* (*IG XI.4 759 = Choix 66*).²³⁶ The motivation clause in the Delian decree is detailed, but formulaic, in that it does not offer a specific context for the benefactions that Timon offered to the Delians, other than to say that he resided for many years on Delos²³⁷ and that he took great care in providing support for the Delian citizens that approached him.²³⁸ Timon was also honoured by the Tenians with proxeny (*IG XII.5 816*). Yet, it is another honorific decree that offers us the most detailed account of Timon's activities; this is an early second-century honorific decree of the Islanders' League, also from Tenos, which honours Timon with a golden crown and pronounced him proxenos and benefactor (*εὐεργέτης*), for all, we assume, the participating islands in the League (*IG XII.5 817*).²³⁹ The Islanders' decree provides detailed information about Timon's financial activities in relation to the purchase of grain. We know of Timon from his dedication of a golden crown in the Delian inventories,²⁴⁰ and from his banking activities, attested on Delos between 194 and 192.²⁴¹ It is reasonable to assume that at least part of the context for which Timon was

²³⁴ See also note 110 above.

²³⁵ *IG XI.4 691 4–6: ἐπειδὴ Εὐτυχὸς Φιλώτου Χίος, οἰκῶν ἐν [Δή]λῳ καὶ συνεργαζόμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ δικαίου [τοῖς τὴν θά]λατταν πλέουσιν.*

²³⁶ See Bogaert 1968, 176–8 with n. 241, Bresson 2001, and Etienne 1990, 112, and 2011.

²³⁷ See discussion in note 109 above.

²³⁸ *IG XI.4 759 2–12: ἐπειδὴ Τίμων Νυμφοδώρου Συρακό[σ]ιος ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ὢν διατελεῖ περὶ [τ]ε τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Δηλί[ων καὶ δι' ἐ]τῶν ἐπι[δημῶν] ἐν Δήλῳ [χρ]είας παρέχ[ετ]αι κ[αὶ] κοι[ν]ῆι τῆι πό[λει κα]ὶ ἰδίαι τοῖ[s ἐντυχ]άνουσιν [αὐτῶι τῶν πολιτῶν εἰς] ὃ ἂν τις αὐ[τὸν παρ]α[κ]αλῆ[ι, ἀπροφα]σίσις τῆ[ν] [πᾶσαν σπουδῆν καὶ ἐπιμέ]λειαν [ποιού]μενος.*

²³⁹ See now Bresson 2001 for a new edition.

²⁴⁰ *ID 425 17, 1429A1 13.*

²⁴¹ See Tréheux 1992, 82 s.v. *Τίμων Νυμφοδώρου Συρακόσιος*. Banking activity on Delos: *ID 399A 10, 17, 18, 25, 27, 28, 32, 48, 63, 64; 405 17; 408 17*. On Timon's banking activities on Delos see Bogaert 1968, 178–9.

honoured by the Delians was indeed his banking activity. The good rate in coin exchange that he provided to the Islanders' League, and for which he was honoured by them in their decree, may be one such instance of benefaction, which would be appreciated by the Delians. They chose, however, not to mention this.

The last example is the double decree for Theon, son of Meniskos, from Byzantium, honoured with proxeny (initially) and then a golden crown for his services (*IG XI.4 779* and *780*). As in the decree for Timon, the reasoning for the double honours here is formulaic. Theon, the proxenos, may be the same as Theon the banker,²⁴² whom we know from the Delian accounts.²⁴³ We therefore have three decrees which specifically discuss economic benefaction as part of the reasoning for the honours (*IG XI.4 559 = Choix 18 = Kotsidu 148*, *IG XI.4 627 = Choix 46*, and *IG XI.4 691 = Choix 43*), one decree that casually mentions that the honorand was a *sitones* (*IG XI.4 666 = Choix 48 = Nigdelis T6*), and two decrees that honour individuals who, we know from other sources, acted as bankers on the island. These six inscriptions are the entire corpus of evidence that directly or indirectly link the Delian honouring habit with economic benefaction. Yet, despite this obviously meagre state of evidence, economy in general, and trade routes in particular, are among the most cited contexts in modern scholarship for understanding the award of proxeny.²⁴⁴ As Reger argued so powerfully, however, even if we take into account the highly formulaic language and structure of the Delian proxeny decrees, the existing evidence seems to indicate that the award of honours was not on the whole the result of trade relations.²⁴⁵ Honorific decrees, it is true, commemorate relations established between the city awarding honours and the individual honorand. When we see the extensive geographic network of honours that Delos created in the period of Independence (which we shall examine in the following section), it is very tempting to explain the links between Delos and, say, Arados through trade routes.²⁴⁶ But trade is only one aspect of multifaceted economic activities. Rather than focusing on trade and trade routes as a sensible explanation for the award of honours, we should emphasize the diversity of economic activities, which may or may have not included trade; piracy and protection from piracy contributed to the overall

²⁴² First identified by Lacroix 1932, 517, and followed by Bogaert 1968, 176, Etienne 1990, 109, and Tréheux 1992, 53, s.v. *Θέων Μενίσκου Βυζάντιος* (with reservations).

²⁴³ *ID 399A 38*.

²⁴⁴ See for example, Durrbach's commentary on *Choix 46*, p. 57–8, followed largely by Vial 1984, 341, and Nigdelis 1990, 314.

²⁴⁵ Reger 1994a, 63–7.

²⁴⁶ Explanation provided in Baslez 1987 for the honorific decree for Iason, son of Theogeiton, from Arados (*IG XI.4 776*). Mack 2015 too, although he is very careful not to equate economic activities with trade (as in 63), he does use trade as a reasonable explanation for the award of proxeny, even when the evidence itself does not explicitly indicate such a link: 161–3 (for Histiaia), 177, 185–6 (for Carthaia).

networks of exchange (especially in the exchange of human capital, that is, slavery²⁴⁷), and banking was an important activity on Delos. Similarly, pilgrimage or *theoria* to the sanctuary, which may have been, as we saw, the setting for the initial contact between the Delians and the future proxenos, also had important economic aspects, while the movement of artists, doctors, or military contingents (the *systrateuomenoi* in the decree for the Rhodian commander Epikrates)²⁴⁸ should be viewed as having economic implications. Our understanding of economy as a reasonable background to the award of honours should be understood in the widest possible manner, and certainly not restricted to trade and trade routes alone.²⁴⁹

The award of honours, therefore, was associated with the creation of links between the city of Delos and the honorand. Indeed, these links expressed associations that had both a communal and an individual/private character, as Mack argued.²⁵⁰ We cannot (and will not) know at which point in time in the ongoing relationship between the Delians and the honorand the award of honours took place: certainly, it must have taken place after the initial point of contact, and possibly, as we have seen, at the point of departure of the honorand. But honours both rewarded past, and expected future, benefaction. It is therefore not useful to attempt to distinguish between different types of behaviour that was rewarded with honours, and to compartmentalize our already fragmentary existing evidence according to types, whether 'political', 'economic', and so on. A past 'economic' act of benefaction could be translated to a future 'political' act of benefaction, through, for example, the act of granting access to centres of power. The one context that our evidence seems to highlight over all the others is that of access to power: when the Delians do move beyond a formulaic description of the reasoning for the honours, the most attested cases are those where the honorand had an important position in a (royal) centre of power, and facilitated the Delian access to persons of authority. This, however, should not make us interpret the Delian honorific habit through a relatively narrow lense of political and diplomatic relations nor make us view the Delian decrees as essentially an expression of diplomatic power relations.²⁵¹ My comments on our need to understand the 'economy' in the broadest possible manner also apply to our understanding of 'politics', or power relations. In the Delian epigraphic evidence, we have the rare opportunity to observe in great detail (compared to the rest of the Greek world in the third and early second centuries BC) the establishment of relationships, both public and private, on many levels. Such

²⁴⁷ Horden and Purcell 2000, 388–91. See also 156–9 for piracy as an alternative form of exchange.

²⁴⁸ *IG* XI.4 751: see above note 226.

²⁴⁹ Similar line of argument in Marek 1984, 359.

²⁵⁰ Mack 2015, 48–51. ²⁵¹ As Baslez and Vial 1987 seem to have done.

public and private relations cannot be explained through a single context. Occasionally (or indeed rarely), the Delians choose to highlight one aspect of the relationship in their use of honorific language. But such explanations provided in our texts should not make us exclude a whole range of possibilities for the initial contact, the past benefaction, and the expected future benefaction that our evidence seems to imply.

4.4. THE DELIAN NETWORK OF HONOURS

We have spent some time examining the questions of publication, audience, language, purpose, and reasoning for the honours that we see epigraphically attested on Delos during the period of Independence. Such questions have been at the centre of scholarly interest in relation to the award of honours (especially proxeny decrees). They have also been one of the main sources through which modern scholars have attempted to reconstruct the history of Delos, and the social, economic, and religious life of the island.²⁵² My main interest, however, is what these sources tell us about the Delian network of honours. In other words, can we use this type of epigraphic evidence to reconstruct the network of associations between the demos of the Delians and outside individuals? Unfortunately for us, and contrary to other places from Hellenistic Greece, we lack a catalogue of all Delian proxenoi in a particular period. Such catalogues have been the basis for Mack's successful reconstruction of the proxeny networks for a number of Aegean cities, as these catalogues give us a relatively accurate picture of all the attested relations between one city and its honoured individuals at a given point in time.²⁵³ Yet, despite the absence of a catalogue of proxenoi, it is possible to reconstruct the Delian network of honours for the third and early second centuries, using the existing evidence.

The main starting point for the creation of a map of the Delian network of honours is the presence of the ethnic of the honorand in the epigraphic evidence. In the case of the proxeny decrees, which are our main source, this is relatively straightforward: the ethnic name is normally an indispensable part of the honours awarded, and as such it is almost always included, with only two exceptions of omission from the entire Delian corpus.²⁵⁴ We can therefore

²⁵² Bruneau 1970, Vial 1984, Reger 1994a. ²⁵³ Mack 2015, esp. 148–9.

²⁵⁴ Herman 1987, 130 with n. 45, argued that the ethnic of the recipients of proxeny awards is never omitted from the decrees; but as Mack 2015, 53 with n. 104, argued this is not always the case. Mack notes the omission of the ethnic for individuals who were well known in their own right, and cites as an example for Delos *IG XI.4 613*. We can add *IG XI.4 750*, the decree for Alexandros, son of Philip, with n. 43 in Appendix 1.

use the attested ethnics in our honorific decrees,²⁵⁵ as well as the known ethnics for Hellenistic rulers and other prominent individuals honoured with statues and crowns,²⁵⁶ in order to visualize the Delian network of honours. But, as is normally the case with the use of ethnics in epigraphic evidence,²⁵⁷ this is not a straightforward process, as there are a considerable number of problems.²⁵⁸

The main issue is, once again, that of context.²⁵⁹ The ethnic designates the polis (normally) of origin of the honorand. But was the polis of origin the primary context in which the Delians established a relationship with the honorand, which resulted in the award of honours? In many instances, this was definitely the case; but we have firm evidence that this was not so in a number of occasions. We have explored how the Delians were particularly concerned about access to power, and as a result honoured influential individuals, especially in the court of the Hellenistic kings, who facilitated the Delians' dealing with such royal authority. In these cases, the primary context of initial contact and for creating a relationship for the present and the future with the honorand was that of the Hellenistic court. In other words, the ethnic of the honorand in these cases did not matter, or rather, did not seem to carry the same weight. This was the case for the honouring of Philocles, king of the Sidonians, who was a Ptolemaic admiral,²⁶⁰ and of Apollodoros, son of Apollonios, from Cyzikos, who was most likely another Ptolemaic official.²⁶¹ In the honouring of these two individuals the place of origin designated by the ethnic seems to have been secondary in importance to their position in the Ptolemaic court. Can we be equally dismissive about the importance of the ethnic in the case of king Demaratos of Sparta, who is honoured with a crown (and other honours associated with proxeny) because, the decree tells us, he spent time (*διατριβῶν*) in the court of King Lysimachos and he conveyed the goodwill of the king to the Delians?²⁶² In this particular case, it seems that even though the Delians highlight Demaratos' position of authority in the court of king Lysimachos, his position in Sparta was also considered important (he was a king, after all). The motivation clause of the decree emphasizes that Demaratos continued the goodwill towards the sanctuary that his father held; the Delian association with Sparta, therefore, which pre-existed the passing of the decree for Demaratos, was an important context for the award of honours.

²⁵⁵ This was done by Marek 1984, 71–3, who, however, does not take into account honours beyond proxeny.

²⁵⁶ See Appendices 2 and 3.

²⁵⁷ See also discussion in Chapter 5.3, in relation to using the ethnics recorded in the Delian inventories.

²⁵⁸ See Fraser 2009, 89–91 for the ethnics of proxenoi.

²⁵⁹ See now the excellent work by Mack 2015, esp. 51–5, which discusses previous scholarship.

²⁶⁰ *IG XI.4 559 = Choix 18 = Kotsidu 148.*

²⁶¹ *IG XI.4 562 = Choix 20.* For the identification with the Nesiarch Apollodoros see discussion above in note 154.

²⁶² *IG XI.4 542 = Choix 15,* with notes 137 and 140 above.

The ethnic, in other words, in this particular case did convey an association between the honouring city and the community of origin of the honorand.

The question of the ethnic of resident honorands also complicates matters. Aristion, son of Menophanes, from Cnidos is honoured for the services he provided to the Delians while he was resident on the island for a long time.²⁶³ The primary context for the establishment of a relationship through the award of honours was the activities of Aristion on Delos itself. I do not think, however that we can detach entirely from the relationship established between the Delians and Aristion the importance of his community of origin. Honours, as we have seen, targeted the future with the maintaining of the established relations through acts of renewal and the continuation of the existing associations through familial links. Once the honoured resident left Delos and (very probably) returned to his primary community (that designated by the ethnic), the association between the honorand and Delos moved geographically too. In other words, the geographical link of the expectation of obligations implied in honorific decrees moved. In one exceptional case, the Delians are explicit about the ethnic not designating the primary context in which the benefaction took place: this is the decree honouring Philippos, son of Theopompos, from Naxos (*IG XI.4 588*). The motivation clause is entirely formulaic, but the Delians have added a revealing clause: Philippos from Naxos, ‘residing in Alexandria of Egypt’.²⁶⁴ It is clear that in this case, the ethnic indicated simply the identity of the honorand and was largely irrelevant to the award of honours; what did matter was the position that Philippos had in Alexandria.

It is clear, therefore, that we should not assume that ethnic names necessarily designated the context in which relationships resulting in honours took place.²⁶⁵ Indeed, Robert stressed that the ethnic in proxeny decrees does not indicate primary location.²⁶⁶ Yet, despite the (arguably few) cases where the ethnic seems to be largely irrelevant to the honours awarded, in most cases we can assume that the community of origin played some role in the award of honours. Mack argued powerfully that the institution of proxenia was primarily an inter-polis institution, that is one that created relationships between individuals and communities (on the level of both recipient and award community).²⁶⁷ I would like to stress again the future temporal dimension of honours: the award of honours created expectations of benefaction, and assumed a lasting relationship between the honouring city and the honorand. Even if the honorand was honoured because he performed a benefaction that was largely outside the context of his community of origin (and this can be established in a handful of cases discussed above), the award of honours itself created an association between the city and the honorand, and by implication his community of

²⁶³ *IG XI.4 789*, for which see note 190 above.

²⁶⁴ *IG XI.4 588 3–4*: Φίλιππος Θεοπόμπου Νάξιος κατοικῶ[ν] ἐν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῆς Αἰγύπτου.

²⁶⁵ Mack 2015, 52. ²⁶⁶ Robert 1963, 416. ²⁶⁷ Mack 2015.

origin. The presence of the ethnics in the Delian epigraphic sources indicates a relationship between Delos and the community of the honorand; this may have had varying strengths, but it should not be dismissed altogether.

The problem of using honorific decrees in order to establish the network of honours has been, in fact, highlighted in some modern works. Archibald argued that honorific inscriptions ‘can only be used in a rather indirect way to explore social networks’, mostly because of the rather exceptional character of honorific inscriptions.²⁶⁸ Similarly, Reger provided us with a careful analysis in relation to the use of proxeny decrees for a reconstruction of a network of honours.²⁶⁹ Both scholars, however, are focusing on the use of honorific decrees in the reconstruction of economic networks. I have already argued that we cannot interpret the award of honours through a strict prism of economic relations, unless such economic relations and benefactions are explicitly stated in the justification of the award itself. Certainly, one cannot, and should not, use Marek’s list of the Delian geographic spread of honours in order to identify areas of economic interest for the Delians. What honorific decrees show is the existence of relations and the consequent expectation of obligation; these, I have argued, had a temporal dimension that linked the present with the past (honours for past benefaction), and future (expectation of the continuation of the benefaction). The geographic spread of Delian honours, therefore, allows us to see the associations that the Delians chose to highlight through their award of honours between their city and the place of origin and/or residence of the honorands.

Taking all this into account, what was the geographic spread of the Delian network of honours that we can reconstruct mostly through the presence of the ethnic name of the honorand in the epigraphic evidence? The first observation that we can make is that the geographic range is indeed ‘enormous’.²⁷⁰ The Delians honour individuals from all over the Mediterranean: from the west (for example, Massalia, Fregella, and Syracuse) to the east (Tyros, Askalon, Antioch, and Seleucia), and from the north (northern shore of the Black sea), to the south (Alexandria, and northern shore of Africa) (Figure 4.1).²⁷¹ The second observation we can make is that the vast majority of the honours come from the Aegean region, that is the cities in mainland Greece, the Asia Minor coast and the Aegean islands (Figure 4.2). Indeed, we can break this even further down. Mack has recently introduced the term ‘local region of primary interaction’²⁷² to indicate the region where a city targeted most of its proxeny awards. Can we identify such a region of primary interaction for Delos? Certainly, when modern scholarship has discussed the geographic spread of the Delian honours,

²⁶⁸ Archibald 2001, 261.

²⁶⁹ Reger 1994a, esp. 63–8.

²⁷⁰ Bagnall 1976, 152.

²⁷¹ See Appendix 4 for a list of the geographic spread of honours.

²⁷² Mack 2015, 151: ‘I define this as the region in which either the majority or the largest minority of the *proxenoi* of a *polis* were located, that is, the region with which a city is presented as being most densely interconnected by its network of *proxenoi*.’

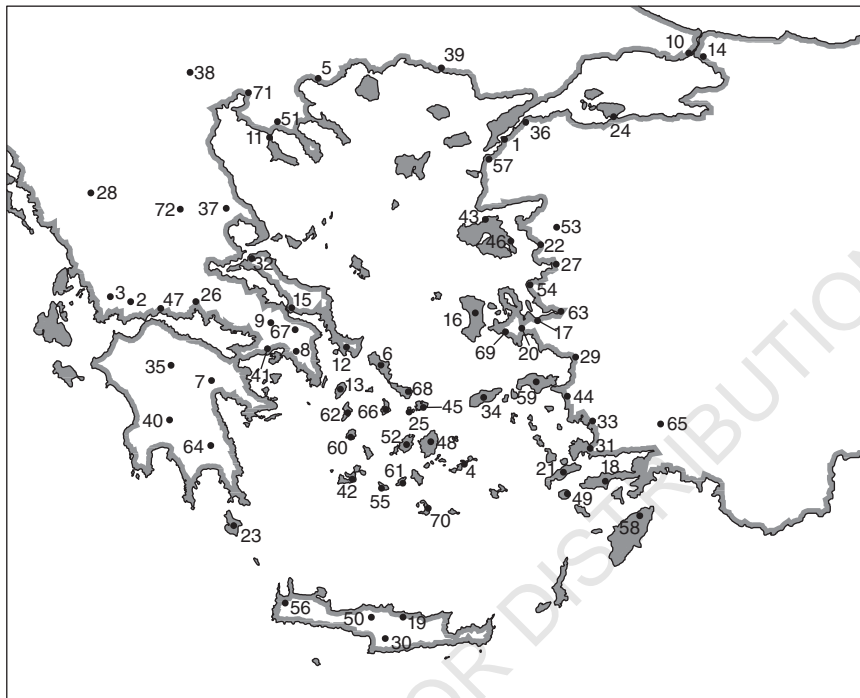


Figure 4.1. Map of the Delian honours in the Aegean (© Varvara Konstantakopoulou)

Register:

1. Abydos	16. Chios	31. Halicarnassos	46. Mytilene	61. Sikinos
2. Aitolia	17. Clazomenai	32. Histiaia	47. Naupaktos	62. Siphnos
3. Akarnania	18. Cnidos	33. Iasos	48. Naxos	63. Smyrna
4. Amorgos	19. Cnossos	34. Icaria	49. Nisyros	64. Sparta
5. Amphipolis	20. Colophon	35. Kleitoria	50. Oaxos	65. Stratonikeia
6. Andros	21. Cos	36. Lampsakos	51. Olynthos	66. Syros
7. Argos	22. Cyme	37. Larisa	52. Paros	67. Tanagra
8. Athens	23. Cythera	38. Macedonia	53. Pergamon	68. Tenos
9. Boiotia	24. Cyzikos	39. Maroneia	54. Phocaea	69. Teos
10. Byzantium	25. Delos	40. Megalopolis	55. Pholegandros	70. Thera
11. Cassandreia	26. Delphi	41. Megara	56. Polyrheneia	71. Thessalonike
12. Carystos	27. Elaia	42. Melos	57. Rhoition	72. Trikka
13. Ceos	28. Epeiros	43. Methymna	58. Rhodes	
14. Chalcedon	29. Ephesos	44. Miletos	59. Samos	
15. Chalkis	30. Gortyn	45. Myconos	60. Seriphos	

particularly the Delian proxeny decrees, emphasis has been put on the Aegean islands, which would constitute the local region for Delos.²⁷³ But we should also

²⁷³ Reger 1994a, 62 with n. 53. Durrbach in *Choix* p. 82, n. 1 provides an incomplete list of poleis and states whose citizens received Delian proxeny: he lists some islands, cities in Crete, eastern cities, Syria and Phoenicia, and northern Greece (Macedonia and Byzantium). Rostovtzeff 1941, 1372, n. 59 lists the honours bestowed on Macedonians.

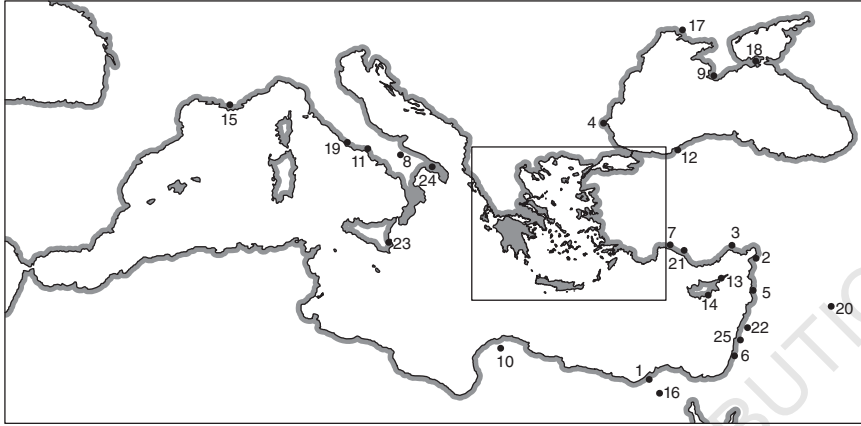


Figure 4.2. Map of the Delian honours in the Mediterranean (© Varvara Konstantakopoulou)

Register:

1. Alexandria	6. Askalon	12. Heracleia	18. Pantikapaion	24. Taras
2. Antioch	7. Aspendos	13. Karpaseia	19. Rome	25. Tyros
3. Antioch at Kydnos	8. Canusium	14. Kition	20. Seleucia	
4. Apollonia	9. Chersonesos	15. Massalia	21. Side	
5. Arados	10. Cyrene	16. Naucratis	22. Sidon	
	11. Fregella	17. Olbiopolis	23. Syracuse	

make clear that the region of primary interaction in terms of honorific relations is not *necessarily* the same as the local region, where geographically a city, in this case Delos, was located. It would be interesting, therefore, to examine whether the region of primary interaction for Delos is indeed what geographically can be perceived as the local Delian region.²⁷⁴

I have divided the geographic spread of the Delian honours in the following clusters (Table 4.1).²⁷⁵ The first one is the neighbouring geographic region to Delos, that is honours addressed to Delians (these are few, as obviously no proxeny honours could be offered to Delian citizens) and to citizens of neighbouring islands. The second cluster is the northern Aegean region, including the Hellespont (such as Abydos and Lampsakos). The third cluster is the southern Aegean region, with the exception of the neighbouring islands of Delos: here I have included the Ionian and Carian cities of the coast, islands such as Rhodes and Crete. The fourth cluster is southern mainland Greece, that is Athens, the Peloponnese, Boiotia, and western mainland Greece. The fifth cluster is the Black Sea. The sixth cluster is the cities of the east, including the Syro-Palestinian coast

²⁷⁴ See discussion in Chapter 1.3 for a problematization of the concept of the 'region'.

²⁷⁵ Appendix 4 is the geographic register of all ethnics recorded (or reasonably assumed) in the Delian honours.

Table 4.1. Geographic clustering of recipients of Delian honours

Cluster 1	Cluster 2	Cluster 3	Cluster 4	Cluster 5	Cluster 6	Cluster 7	Cluster 8
Delos and neighbouring islands	northern Aegean	southern Aegean	mainland Greece	Black Sea	East	Alexandria and northern Africa	West
Amorgos 1	Abydos 1	Chios 15	Aitolia 3	Apollonia ^(a) 1	Antioch 1	Alexandria 8	Canusium 1
Andros 3	Amphipolis 1	Clazomenai 1	Akarnania 1	Byzantium 7	Antioch at Kydnos 1	Cyrene 3	Epeiros 2
Ceos 3	Cassandra 1	Cnidos 4	Argos 1	Chalcedon 2	Arados 3	Naucratis 1	Fregella 1
Cos 3	Cyme 1	Colophon 1	Athens 11	Chersonesos ^(b) 2	Askalon 1		Massalia 1
Delos 8	Lampsakos 3	Crete 8	Biotia 3	Heracleia 1	Aspendos 1		Rome 7
Ikaria 3	Larisa ^(c) 2	Cythera 1	Delphi 1	Cyzikos 1	Cyprus 2		Syracuse 3
Melos 2	Lesbos 5	Ephesos 2	Elaia 1	Olbiopolis 2	Seleucia 3		Taras 1
Myconos? 1	Macedonia 4	Euboea 12	Kleitoria 1	Pantikapaion 1	Side 1		
Naxos 7	Maroneia 1	Halicarnassos 5	Megalopolis 1		Sidon 2		
Nisyros 2	Olynthos 3	Iasos 1	Megara 3		Tyros 1		
Paros 2	Pergamon 3	Miletos 3	Naupaktos 2				
Pholegandros 1	Rhoitton 1	Phocaea 2	Sikyon 2				
Samos 3	Thessalia 1	Rhodes 21	Sparta 4				
Seriphos 1	Thessalonike 1	Smyrna 1	Tanagra 1				
Sikinos 2		Stratonikeia 1					
Siphnos 4		Teos 2					
Syros 2							
Tenos 4							
Thera 1							
Total: 53	Total: 28	Total: 79	Total: 36	Total: 17	Total: 16	Total: 12	Total: 16

^(a) Most likely this is the Apollonia in the Black Sea: see footnote in Appendix 1, under honours (IG XI.4 667).

^(b) This is Chersonesos in the Black Sea: see comments in Appendix 4.

^(c) I have decided to identify Larisa as the Thessalian Larisa: for the problems see note on Larisa in Appendix 4.

and Cyprus. The seventh cluster is Alexandria, Cyrene, and Naucratis. The eighth and final cluster is the distant western world, from Syracuse to Massalia.

This type of geographic division shows that the majority of the recipients of honours originated either in the immediate geographic region of the neighbouring islands to Delos (a total of fifty-three recipients), or to the more expanded geographic region of the southern Aegean (seventy-nine recipients). Mainland Greece and the northern Aegean region follow with thirty-six and twenty-eight recipients respectively. The Delians also pay attention to the Black Sea, the east (with the Syro-Palestinian coast in small but not insignificant numbers), Alexandria and northern Africa, and the west. While the numbers from these areas are smaller, they are not entirely negligible. Bagnall's observation that the geographic range of the Delian honours is 'enormous' is entirely justified by the existing evidence.²⁷⁶

I would classify as the region of primary interaction for the Delian honours the region of the neighbouring islands to Delos; indeed if we add to this cluster the islands included in the southern Aegean region (such as Chios with fifteen recipients of honours, Rhodes with twenty-one, and the cities of Euboia with twelve, which were located further away than the Cyclades), we can see a very strong island presence.²⁷⁷ It is perhaps not surprising that the neighbouring islands to Delos as well as the islands of the southern Aegean (Chios and Samos) would provide the region with most recipients of Delian honours. To Mack's question of whether geography influences the primary regional network of proxenies,²⁷⁸ we can provide a resounding 'yes' for an answer. Defining the concept of the 'region' may be a problematic exercise, as we have seen in Chapter 1, but in this case, the geographic area of the islands of the southern Aegean seems to be the region where we witness most of the interactions resulting in the passing of Delian honours taking place. I should stress, however, that the horizons of the Delians in relation to the award of honours are not limited: it is an expansive horizon, with a massive geographic spread. Second, we should note that the presence of specific clusters in the primary region, which is the southern Aegean, is relatively limited. The spread of honours in the Aegean region covers most of the geographic region; that said, there is some form of clustering beyond the southern Aegean. Such a cluster is the Hellespont and the Black Sea; another cluster is the cities in the Syro-Palestinian coast (Arados, Askalon, Antioch, Side, Tyros). The combination of widespread distribution of honours, and the presence of some clustering beyond the primary region allows the Delian example to fit into Mack's third type of categorization of proxeny distribution networks: this is the type where beyond the local region of primary interaction, we witness a wide geographic range of poleis.²⁷⁹ Mack includes in this category the proxeny network of Delphi, evidenced through the

²⁷⁶ See note 270 above.

²⁷⁷ Reger 1994a 62, with n. 53.

²⁷⁸ Mack 2015, 174.

²⁷⁹ Mack 2015, 178–9.

chronological lists that Delphi produced, and Histiaia, through the proxeny catalogue from that city. Indeed, I would argue that Delos surpasses even Delphi in the wide distribution of honours, as its geographic reach is more extensive, especially in the north and the east.

How do we explain the particular features of the Delian distribution of honours? I have already mentioned the great geographic spread, and the presence of particular clusters beyond the local primary geographic region. Certainly, there is no single answer to this question; I have spent considerable time in this chapter presenting the problems with the evidence, and with the reading of the evidence, and problematizing single-approach solutions related to the reasoning for honours and the (presumed) activities of the honorands.²⁸⁰ Taking this level of complexity into account, I would argue that we can underline one important feature that may provide at least a partial explanation for the particular honorific profile of Delos. This is that Delos was a small island that housed one of the biggest regional sanctuaries in the Aegean. The presence of the sanctuary situated in a small insular space considerably influenced the historical trajectory that the island experienced in general, and the type of connections that Delos had with the rest of the world, in particular. The sanctuary attracted a huge number of visitors; religious acts of piety, festival participation, and so on, were some of the main reasons for the visitors to the island. But this created a context which would generate even higher degrees of human mobility, both temporary and long-lasting. Visitors to the sanctuary and/or participants to festivals needed to be housed, fed, and entertained. In turn, this generated work for the Delians but also for the foreign residents on Delos. In fact, the presence of foreigners on Delos is one of the most well-known aspects of Delian history, and one that has attracted considerable attention. Indeed, I have already discussed the possible impact of the growth of the Delian population during the period of Independence, as well as the influx of foreign residents, to the processes of monumentalization during the third century.²⁸¹

Insularity, too, played a role. Delos is a very small island, even by Greek standards, where islands on the whole tend to be small.²⁸² This means that we cannot dissociate the history of the island from the history of its sanctuary. Delos' history was the history of the sanctuary; inevitably, Delos' foreign relations were shaped by the sanctuary. In other words, there was not enough of Delos, in terms of insular geographic space, to have an independent presence in the Aegean networks of interaction, beyond that shaped by the sanctuary. I have argued that the Delian honours reflected to a great degree the interrelations established between the island and the outside world. Such interrelations, or links, cannot be explained through a single context: rather,

²⁸⁰ See discussion in section 4.3 of this chapter.

²⁸¹ See Chapter 3 above. For the population of Delos see Vial 2014b.

²⁸² I have discussed this in Constantakopoulou 2007, 13–14.

even if we accept that the main reasoning behind the honours was the context of initial contact between the city and the honorand (and such an assumption, as I have argued above, is extremely problematic), the honours themselves had a strong future temporal dimension. The honours articulated a relationship, which was expected to continue past the moment of the award (and the subsequent setting up of the stele or statue recording the award). Honours as articulations of the relationship between Delos and the rest of the world were therefore shaped by the importance of the sanctuary, even when they were not themselves as such the *direct* consequence of the presence of the sanctuary. In other words, the appeal of the sanctuary of the Delian deities brought fame and visitors to Delos; this, in turn, created the context for the creation of relationships between the Delians and the rest of the world.

I would argue, therefore, that it was this particular combination of insularity and the presence of a regional sanctuary that created the context within which the Delian honorific habit was articulated. Trade, and trade routes, which have played an important role in modern scholarship in the explanation of proxeny decrees, especially in the distant geographic clusters of the Black Sea and the Syro-Palestinian coast, should be viewed as a subordinate context. The presence of the sanctuary was an important factor in the expansion of trading activities that took place on Delos; in fact, we have examined in the previous chapter the Delian investment in civic buildings that could be associated with commercial activities.²⁸³ The significant presence of economic activities, an element of which was trade, on Delos can be viewed as a partial explanation for the initial context of contact which would result to the award of honours; but this is as far as I would go. Economy in general, and trade in particular, cannot provide the explanation for the award of honours, nor the geographic spread of honours. We cannot, and will never, know whether the Delians awarded honours to individuals from Askalon, or Byzantium (to use two examples), because of the position that Askalon or Byzantium occupied in the trade routes. But what we can say is that the massive appeal of the sanctuary of Delos in the Hellenistic period, and the consequences that this had for the history of the island (including the impact on the economic activities of its islanders within and outside Delos), created the context for this incredible spread in honours.

Indeed, the presence of the sanctuary can also provide a complementary explanation for at least some of the honours that we can document: those targeting the Hellenistic kings and queens. We have already discussed how access to power, especially facilitating access to the courts of the Hellenistic royal houses, was considered important by the Delians and was rewarded by honours; indeed, access to power is one of the few areas which can be

²⁸³ See above Chapter 3.2.

documented in the reasoning provided by the otherwise very formulaic language of the proxeny decrees. Certainly, access to power was not something that concerned the Delians alone; this was one of the main areas of interest for most Hellenistic cities. What is different for Delos is, once again, the presence of the sanctuary. In the previous chapter we discussed how Delos functioned as an arena for the competitive display of piety and power for the Hellenistic kings and queens. Hellenistic royal houses invested heavily in impressive monuments. Such investment had an impact in the relationship created between the Delians and the members of royal circles, and therefore shaped also the context within which honours were awarded. Hellenistic royals certainly did not receive proxeny.²⁸⁴ They were honoured, however, by crowns and statues; the evidence comes from honorific decrees, but more often from the inscriptions on the statues themselves,²⁸⁵ or from references in the Delian accounts to the cost for the erection of a statue or for the crown.²⁸⁶ The presence of Hellenistic royalty on Delos was multifaceted: in the previous chapter, we examined their role in funding the Delian monumental programme, and we will examine their presence in the dedications to the Delian deities, as these appear in the Delian inventories of the third century in the following chapter. Indeed, these two aspects of royal presence, that is monumentalization and dedications, form only one part of the impressive royal presence on the island. Bruneau's monumental work is exemplary in its exploration of the founding of festivals and the initiation of new cults on Delos that were linked with Hellenistic royalty.²⁸⁷ In terms of numbers, the honours (statues and crowns) awarded to the kings and queens are relatively few compared to the massive number of other honours targeting individuals with no connections, as far as we can tell, to royalty. Additionally, the statues and crowns offered to the Hellenistic kings have been the focus of considerable attention.²⁸⁸ I feel therefore that I do not need to elaborate on this aspect of honours here. But I would like to stress that while the award of honours to royalty cannot be equated to the award of honours to non-royal individuals, as the context of power heavily affected the pursued relationship between Delos and the honorand, still, this relationship was shaped at least to an extent by the royals' investment in the sanctuary (be that monumentalization, dedications, or foundations of festivals) and the role that the sanctuary played as a forum for the display of piety and power to the rest of the Greek world.

The profile of the Delian spread of honours, therefore, was shaped by Delos' insularity on one hand, and the presence of one of the great regional

²⁸⁴ The one exception may be King Nabis of Sparta, who received proxeny and possibly a crown in *IG XI.4 716 = Choix 58 = Kotsidu 144*, but he is not a 'typical' Hellenistic royal: see comments in Baslez and Vial 1987, 296.

²⁸⁵ See Appendix 2. ²⁸⁶ See Appendix 3. ²⁸⁷ Bruneau 1970.

²⁸⁸ Not just by Bruneau 1970, but also by Bringmann and von Steuben 1995, Bringmann 2000, Kotsidu 2000, to name a few.

sanctuaries of the Aegean Sea, on the other. The sanctuary brought visitors and residents to the island; as a result, Delos became a central node in the networks of exchange and movement in the Aegean Sea, and the eastern Mediterranean more generally. And honours, as I have argued, expressed the construction and continuation of links between Delos, both in terms of the community and of individual actors from the point of view of the Delians, and the honoured individuals and their communities.

4.5. CONCLUSION

The advent of the Delian Independence made the Delians a particularly active *demos* in awarding honours. We have examined the practice of awarding honours, which included the award of proxeny (and associated honours, such as *enctesis*, *prosodos*, *ateleia*, and so on), the award of crowns (often, but not exclusively, given as a second step after proxeny), and statues to prominent individuals mostly outside the island. The number of honorific decrees from Delos, especially proxeny decrees, is particularly high, as we have seen. I suggested that the high number of epigraphically attested honours that survive from the island is not simply the result of good excavation records. Rather, we are looking at a *demos* that not only proceeded to honour a great number of individuals, but also one that chose to monumentally display the honours through the practice of inscribing them on stelae. A small number of honours, as we have seen, is known to us through the relevant entry in the Delian accounts, related to the cost of the honours (normally a crown, or a statue), but the great majority of attestation of honours that survive from the island are, in fact, the free-standing proxeny *stelai*.

How do we explain this prominent epigraphic habit? I suggested that the answer must lie in the peculiarity of Delos and the Delian landscape. Delos, I argued, was not just the location of one of the great regional sanctuaries in the Aegean during the third and early second centuries. It was also a small island. The Delian sanctuary functioned as an ideal location for the publication of honours addressed to a large regional audience. The sheer traffic that the sanctuary demanded for its existence (and its associated activities, such as commerce, which, as I have argued, were linked to the activities of the sanctuary) made Delos a densely visited place. The publicly displayed Delian honours could potentially reach the large regional audience that frequented Delos in order to participate in the cult of the Delian gods. The publication of honours advertised the connections between the Delians and prominent individuals across the Mediterranean. This, as we have seen, operated on multiple levels. On one level, the award of honours revealed personal connections between individuals (such as, for example, the proposers of the decrees themselves and the honorands); on

another level, however, the associations that the Delian honours captured were not exclusively between individuals. They were also associations between the community of the Delians (which was, after all, the ultimate authority in charge of the passing of the honours) and the community of origin of the honoured individual. The honours, therefore, expressed individual and communal connections. As Delos was an island with heavy traffic, these connections were advertised to the entire regional audience. Insularity, too, played a role, as I have argued. Delos was a small island; its biggest asset, indeed, we may argue its *only* asset, was the sanctuary. The Delian demos did not operate outside the context that the presence of the sanctuary created for this island. There is no history of Delos independent of the history of the sanctuary. The history of Delos, as I have argued in Chapter 1, can be viewed as a long history of struggle over who controlled the sanctuary—or to put it differently, who had privileged access to the large regional audience that the presence of the sanctuary guaranteed.

The impressive geographic spread of the recipient of the Delian honours can also be viewed within this context. Certainly, as I hope to have shown in my discussion of the political (and other) preoccupations of the few prominent Delian proposers of decrees,²⁸⁹ such a geographic spread cannot be linked with individual agendas. The spread of honours must be linked to the appeal of the sanctuary, and the constructed associations between the community of the Delians and outsiders, who may have frequented the sanctuary and performed acts of benefaction, which merited the award of honours, or who may have facilitated Delians beyond the shores of the island itself. The Delian honorific habit had a huge geographic spread because Delos had an impressive network of associations. We cannot link the spread of honours, or indeed the presence of specific geographic clusters of honours (the Black Sea, the Syro-Palestinian coast, and so on) with economic interests in general, and trade routes in particular. The formulaic language of decrees does not allow us to interpret the evidence in such a strict manner. Rather, we should be looking at multifaceted associations, which included what can broadly be defined as ‘economic’. Certainly, one aspect that does come across plainly in the evidence itself is the Delians’ preoccupation with access to power. The Delians, as we have seen, honour individuals for facilitating access to power; in this, they are not alone. But what does differ in the case of Delos, is not only the great number of honours that survives from the island during the period of Independence, but also the great geographic spread of honours, which surpassed in terms of range even that of Delphi.

The Delian honours, therefore, help us document the interactions between Delos and the rest of the Aegean and Mediterranean world. This is a dense network of associations. The Delian honours, and particularly the proxeny decrees, allow us to contextualize these associations in space and (to a

²⁸⁹ See section 4.2 of this chapter.

certain degree, when chronology allows it) in time. We shall now turn our attention to the associations revealed by another body of epigraphically attested evidence. It is the dedications from individuals and communities, men and women, prominent and not, as they are recorded on the annual inventories produced by the Delian religious officials, the *hieropoioi*, that is the focus of the next chapter.

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5

The Social Dynamics of Dedication

The Delian Inventories of the Third Century BC

5.1. INTRODUCTION

A notorious problem for ancient historians is the lack of quantitative data for many aspects of social history. This is especially true for the Greek historian of the classical or early Hellenistic period. The nature of our literary and epigraphic sources and the state of archaeological remains is such that normally we cannot answer meaningfully a number of questions; and if, in the case of ancient Athens, scholars are in a position to argue persuasively some estimates (for example, how many Athenian citizens were there in the 430s?),¹ the same is not true for the rest of the Greek world. This lack of 'hard' data understandably limits the range of questions we can ask and answer. At the same time, however, occasionally we do not make adequate use of data provided from a range of sources. As I shall attempt to show here, a conspicuous example is the inscriptions recording the temple inventories of Delos in the period of Independence (314–166 BC). These inscriptions record an impressive number of names, objects of dedication, and, often, place of origin (ethnic) of the dedicant. Using these inscriptions, I examine the network of dedicants to the Delian deities, discussing gender, status, and place of origin. I argue that the inscribed inventories of objects dedicated to the deities of Delos offer us a unique (for the third century, at least) glimpse of the religious appeal of Delos within the complex networks of the eastern Mediterranean world, and of the social dynamics of pilgrimage and dedication.

My focus is the period of Delian Independence. During the period of Delian Independence, the main administrators of the sanctuary were the Delian *hieropoioi*. The Delian *hieropoioi*, like their Athenian predecessors during the period of Athenian control, called *amphictiones*, were in charge of the management of the sanctuary; both sets of officials produced documents

¹ See works by Hansen, esp. 1985, 2006a and 2006b; see recently Akrigg 2011.

that recorded the financial dealings of the sanctuary, such as loans to communities and individuals, rents received by land tenants using Apollo's sacred land, and so on, as well as inventories of the gods' wealth stored in the sanctuary.² It is the latter set of documents, the inventories, that interests me here as they can be a powerful source for the local and regional appeal of the Delian sanctuary.

5.2. THE DELIAN INVENTORIES

The Delian inventories were recorded on stone on large *stelai*. We have inventories for a period of about 300 years, from about 370, that is under the period of Athenian control, until about 130, during the period of the Athenian cleruchy.³ This practice of publication of accounts and inventories is almost unique for Greek sanctuaries, which were, on the whole, quite reluctant to produce epigraphically such documents. A likely explanation for this reluctance is the very high cost of the process of inscribing inventories (as well as other documents) on stone.⁴ Delos provides the best information for the cost of such inscriptions: in the accounts of the year 279 (*IG XI.2 161A 118–19*), we read that the stone cost 25 dr, the transport of the stone 1 dr. 3 obols, the engraving (at the rate of 1 dr. per 300 letters) cost 100 dr, the lead 5 dr., the wood 1 dr., and the erection of the *stèle* 2 dr 3 obols.⁵ The overall sum is 135dr, which is a considerable amount, or one translated to payment of at least sixty-seven days of work for a craftsman.⁶ Assuming that the carver would be paid at the same rate as the skilled craftsman setting up the scaffold for a fallen column in the sanctuary, the cost for the carving (100 dr) translates to fifty days of work; indeed, it is reasonable to assume that the carving of such long inscriptions would take a few months.⁷

Nonetheless, the high cost did not prevent a number of sanctuaries from producing their own monumental inventories. The regular publication of inventories, however, (as opposed to an occasional publication of temple

² For the advantages of publishing documents in a sanctuary see Davies 2003, 337.

³ Linders 1992a. ⁴ Linders 1992a, 36 with n. 28.

⁵ *IG XI.2 161A 118–19*: στήλη παρὰ Φιλωνίδου ·ΔΔΠ· παραγαγοῦσι τὴν στήλην ἐκ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιείου καὶ εἰς τὸ ἱερόν ἀνακομίσασι ·† III· γράψαντι τὴν στήλην Δεινομέν<ει> τῆς δραχμῆς γράμματα τριακόσια, τὰ πάντα γράμματα τρισμύρια, μισθὸς δραχμαὶ ·Η· μόλυβδος ·Π· ξύλα ·†· τοῖς στήσασι τὴν στήλην ·††III· The total length is estimated at 30,000 letters, which fits with the length of the account and inventory of *IG XI.2 161A* and B.

⁶ *IG XI.2 161A 69* indicates that a skilled craftsman, setting up a scaffold to repair a fallen column, was paid 2 drachmas a day.

⁷ Hamilton 2000, 2.

inventories⁸) is restricted to Athens,⁹ Delos,¹⁰ Didyma,¹¹ and to a lesser degree Boiotia (Oropos in the period of Boiotian control and Thespias).¹² Indeed, it is likely that the Delian inventories, which appear for the first time when the Athenian *amphictiones* manage the affairs of the sanctuary, were directly the result of Athenian influences and practices. In fact, as Chankowski persuasively argued,¹³ the Athenians treated the Delian sanctuary as one of the Attic sanctuaries; Delos, in other words, was the ‘natural’ extension of the religious landscape of Attica; indeed, Delos in the period of Athenian control in the fifth and fourth centuries, can be seen as an ‘Athenian’ sanctuary. The Delian inventories may have begun under an Athenian initiative during the period of Athenian control; but we should not consider *all* Delian inventories as a direct consequence of Athenian influence.¹⁴ The process of inscribing inventories on stone continues in the period of Delian Independence, when the Delian officials, the *hieropoioi*, make a number of changes in the form of the inventories, such as including much more detail for the objects dedicated to the Delian deities. The change in the format of inventories may be linked not only with a possible change in administrative procedures (which, frankly, is almost impossible to document), but also with a marked attempt to break with the traditions of the past, and therefore the traditions of Athenian control. As Prêtre argued, the change of format is a declaration of independence and a declaration of the pride of the *hieropoioi* for the management of the sanctuary.¹⁵

Even though we have inventories produced by the *amphictiones*, the best preserved inventories are those produced by the *hieropoioi*. In the period of

⁸ A notable example of a kind of inventory is the Lindian *anagraphe* (Blinkenberg, *Lindos 2 = FGrH 53*), which includes the gifts given to Athana Lindia in its long history—many of them mythical. The format of the inscription of the Lindian *anagraphe* is not that of a typical inventory, as the objects are arranged in a way as to provide a chronicle of Lindian history and highlight the prestige of the sanctuary and its deity. It would be therefore a mistake to believe that the *anagraphe* is an inventory, although it does have some similar functions as that of an inventory. Higbie 2003 is the most comprehensive discussion; see also recently Osborne 2011, 112–18.

⁹ For the Athenian inventories of the Asclepieion see Aleshire 1989; for the Parthenon and Erechtheion inventories see Harris 1994 and 1995; for the Brauron inventories see Linders 1972, Cleland 2005, and Brons 2015, 45–8, focusing particularly on textiles.

¹⁰ The Delian inventories are discussed in Linders 1988 and 1992a, Tréheux 1988, and Hamilton 2000. I was not able to consult Tréheux’s unpublished 1959 thesis, but see the summary of his results in Vial 1984, 217 ff.

¹¹ Dignas 2002.

¹² Fröhlich 2011.

¹³ Chankowski 2008a.

¹⁴ In this I disagree with Brons’ recent claim (2015, 44) that ‘in setting up inventory lists, the sanctuaries were making a statement about their close relationship with Athens and its political and religious system’; such an overgeneralization does not do credit to the different forms, contexts, and chronological settings that resulted in the production of inventories in a number of Greek sanctuaries across the Greek world.

¹⁵ Prêtre in *Nouveau Choix*, 246–7. For the differences in format see also Hamilton 2000, 1–5, Migeotte 2008 and 2014, 588–9.

Independence, we have inventories of objects located mainly in the three temples of Apollo (indicated in the inventories as the *porinos naos*, the Temple of the Seven Statues, and the Temple of Apollo), the Artemision, the Aphrodision,¹⁶ the Eileithyion, and the Andrian *oikos*,¹⁷ but also in many other minor buildings, such as the Asclepieion, the Artemision on the Island, the Prytaneion (the objects in these latter buildings, however, are recorded in different inventories)¹⁸ and so on.¹⁹ The first inventory that we have for the period of Independence is IG XI.2 137 and is dated at some time in the period between 314 and 303. The inventories become more precisely dated in the third century; in addition, we have four complete inventories dated to the third century.²⁰ And while a considerable number of inventories survives only as a text a couple of lines long and are therefore not useful for the purposes of fishing out names and objects of dedication, a substantial number of third-century inventories are long enough to be useful.²¹ For the purposes of this study, I have used the inventories from the period of the early Independence (that is, the inventories dated to the period 314 to 303) until 200.²²

The Independence inventories provide us with a great amount of information about the objects dedicated to the Delian deities: we get the name of the object, and in some cases we get additional information, such as the name of the dedicant, the patronymic, the ethnic, a description of the object (with a great variety),²³ the material of the object (gold, silver, ivory, and so on), the weight,²⁴ the state of preservation (for example, broken, partially incomplete),²⁵ any inscriptions on the object itself, its location within the relevant treasury/temple,²⁶ the deity to whom it was dedicated, and the purpose of its dedication.

¹⁶ Durvyé 2009, 166–7 for a list of dedications in the inventories of the Aphrodision.

¹⁷ Hamilton 2000, Prêtre in *Nouveau Choix*, 243.

¹⁸ For the Prytaneion treasuries see Hamilton 2000, 194–6, and Hamilton 2003.

¹⁹ Full analysis in Hamilton 2000, 183–201. See also recently Andrianou 2009, esp. 139–49.

²⁰ These are IG XI.2 161B dated to 279, IG XI.2 199B dated to 274, IG XI.2 203B dated to 269, IG XI.2 287B dated to 250.

²¹ See section 5.3 for a full discussion of the surviving inventories and their length.

²² First inventory examined is IG XI.2 137, while the last one is ID 372, dated to 200.

²³ An excellent summary of possible recordings of objects (esp. jewellery) is provided in Prêtre 2012, 20–1. Prêtre 2014a, 552 remarks that there are at least thirty-three different types of *phialai* recorded in the inventories. As Homolle 1882, 111 argued, we never find any references to bronze *phialai* in the inventories; it is therefore reasonable to assume that all *phialai* recorded are in fact silver *phialai*. Furthermore, Prêtre 1999 suggests that the primary purpose of the added information for the objects listed in the inventories is to distinguish them among other similar objects and identify them as specific objects dedicated; on a second level, it is to protect them against attrition of time and to differentiate them in the annual listings of the inventories.

²⁴ See discussion in Bresson 2000, 228–30.

²⁵ Prêtre 2004, 86, with n. 6, where she notes that there are fifteen different ways that the inventories record a description of the damage which an object has sustained. See also Prêtre 2014b for an excellent analysis of the fate of objects after their dedication.

²⁶ See Kosmetatou 2013 for a discussion of the similarities between the language of inventories and that used by Herodotus in his description of Delphi: her emphasis is mostly on the overlap in the expressions used in both Herodotus and the inventories in order to indicate the

Very few objects have all such details recorded, and when we do get additional pieces of information recorded, in most cases we get only one or two such pieces of information attached to the name of the object. Indeed, the combinations of the pieces of information related to the object are almost infinite; this results in an immense lexical variety of the inventory format. In addition, the inventories tend to record normally precious objects. The inventories of the period of Independence are interested in recording additional details, especially for precious objects, such as jewellery; in fact, the inclusion of such descriptive information of objects in the inventories places the Delian practice apart from similar inventories in Attica and elsewhere.²⁷ Everyday objects, which undoubtedly formed a considerable part of the dedications to the Delian deities,²⁸ were not normally included in the inventories, although there are some exceptions.²⁹

I shall explain in a following section the exact process by which I created the initial database of objects dedicated which we can safely attach to names recorded in the inventories (as opposed to a list of objects without any additional information), but first, I would like to highlight some of the problems of attempting to draw conclusions about the social practices of dedication from such a body of texts. I shall discuss first the more generic problems of attempting to produce a data analysis from ancient texts (in this case, epigraphic texts), before looking at the specific problems of using third-century Delian inventories.

5.3. SOME PROBLEMS

The first problem is that scholars in the humanities are working with what analysts would call ‘messy’ data. The ancient world lacks the wealth of ‘hard’ statistics that we can use in other periods of history. My data is essentially the list of objects and names of dedicants preserved in the Delian inventories of the third century. These are often incomplete, uncertain, supplemented, repeated with mistakes and/or alterations, as I shall discuss below. In many cases, the place of origin of the dedicant is not preserved on the stone, but assumed with various degrees of plausibility. Such a database is a far cry from

position of an object within a building, such as ‘on entering, on the right/left’ (δεξιᾶς/ἀριστερᾶς εἰσιόντι) and other similar expressions.

²⁷ Prêtre 2012, 18–19.

²⁸ Types of votives dedicated to sanctuaries: see comments in Mylonopoulos 2006, 84–92. See also the discussion below, in 5.10.

²⁹ Andrianou 2006 and 2009 includes a very useful discussion on furnishing listed in the Delian inventories, with particular attention to the various vocabulary for containers (2009, 110–13).

specific statistics generated by, say, modern census records. Yet, that is what we have. And unless we ask our sources the questions, we shall never get any answers.

Second, how does one transform what is essentially a narrative into a set of data? The Delian inventories may not have the narrative power of a text, such as, say, Herodotus,³⁰ but they, too, are a narrative. The narrative may be boring, but it is a narrative nonetheless. To give an example, I translate here what may be considered an interesting section of one of the complete inventories that we have, that of the year 250 (*IG XI.2 287B 64–72*). The passage starts with a total of the crowns stored in the temple of Apollo, and continues with the crowns on the wall. Then, the inventory lists the objects dedicated by queen Stratonike which belonged to her father Demetrios (the so-called *Poliorketes*).³¹ The section reads:

οἱ πάντες στέφανοι ἐν τ[ῶ]ι ναῶι τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ΔΔΠ χωρὶς τῶν πρὸς τῶι τοίχῳ. στέφανος χρυσοῦς πρὸς τῶι τοίχῳ, ὀγκὴ ΔΗ· ἄλλος στέφανος χρυσοῦς ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ τοίχου, ὀγκὴ ΔΔΔΠΗ· στρεπτὸν χρυσοῦν· στέφανος ὡς τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐστεφάνωται, ὀγκὴ σὺν τῶι λίνῳ ΗΔΔΔΗΗΗ· ἄλλος στέφανος χρυσοῦς ὡς τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐστεφάνωται, ὃν ἀνέθηκεν βασίλισσα Στρατονίκη βασιλέως Δημητρίου θυγάτηρ, χρυσοῖ ὀγκὴ ΗΠΗΗΗ· ἄλλοι στέφανοι χρυσοῖ τρεῖς οἷς αἱ Χάριτες ἐστεφάνωται, οὓς ἀνέθηκε βασίλισσα Στρατονίκη βασιλέως Δημητρίου θυγάτηρ, ὀγκὴ χρυσοῖ ΔΔΔΗ· καθετήρ χρυσοῦς ὃν ἀνέθηκε βασίλισσα Στρατονίκη βασιλέως Δημητρίου θυγάτηρ τῇ Λητοῖ ἔχ θυρεῶν ΔΔΔΔΠΠΠ, ὀγκὴ ΗΠΗΗΗΠΠΠ· καὶ δακτύλιος χρυσοῦς, ὃν ἀνέθηκε τῇ Λητοῖ, ἔχων σάρδιον ἐφ' οὗ Ἀπόλλων ἐπίσημον, ὀγκὴ ΔΠ· καὶ φιάλας χρυσᾶς δύο διαλίθους, ὀγκὴ ΔΔΔΠΗ· καὶ δακτύλιος χρυσοῦν ἔχοντα σάρδιον ἐφ' οἷ ἐπίσημον Νίκη, ὃν ἔχει ὁ θεός, σὺν τῶι κίρκῳ ΔΔΔΗΗ· καὶ ἀσπίδισκας ὄνυχινας ΔΔ, πρὸς αἷς ἀλύ[σι]ον χρυσοῦν, σὺν κίρκῳ ΗΗΗΗΔΔΔΠ· καὶ φαρέτρα ἡρακλεωτικὴ χρυσοποικίλτος τόξον ἔχουσα καὶ ταινίδιον χρυσοῦν, ἐφ' οἷς ἐπιγραφὴ· καὶ μυιοσόβαι τρεῖς[ς] λαβὰς ἔχουσαι, μίαν μὲν ἐλεφαντίνην, ἄλλη χρυσοποικίλτος, ἄλλη ὄνυχα· καὶ ῥιπίδα τετράγωνον λαβὴν ἔχουσαν ἐλεφαντίνην.³²

all the crowns in the temple of Apollo [are] 22, without [counting] those on the wall. Golden crown on the wall, weight 13 dr; another golden crown [detached] from the wall, weight 47 dr; golden necklace; crown with which the statue is crowned, weight with the linen cloth 144 dr; another golden crown with which the statue is crowned, which queen Stratonike, daughter of king Demetrios, dedicated, weight 109 dr; another three golden crowns, which crown the [statues]

³⁰ I am using Herodotus as an example, because of the excellent and innovative work that has been done on Herodotus' narrative in order to produce a digital geospatial analysis: see <http://hestia.open.ac.uk/> (accessed 26.8.13). See also Bouzarovski and Barker 2016, and Barker, Isaksen, and Ogdén 2016.

³¹ The dedications of queen Stratonike are among the most conspicuous and expensive in the history of Delian inventories. I shall discuss the implications of these dedications in terms of gender and status below. For this dedication, especially the jewellery belonging to king Demetrios by his daughter see Bruneau 1970, 546–50, and Kosmetatou 2010.

³² *IG XI.2 287B 64–72*.

of the Charites, which queen Stratonike, daughter of king Demetrios, dedicated, weight 31 dr; golden necklace, which queen Stratonike, daughter of king Demetrios dedicated to Leto with 48 disks, weight 109 dr 4 obols; and a golden ring, which [she] dedicated to Leto, which has a stone with an engraved Apollo, weight 12 dr; and two golden *phialai* with precious stones, weight 37 dr; and a golden ring which has a stone on which Nike is engraved, which the god possesses, 33 dr; and 20 small shields made out of onyx, [attached] on which there are golden chains, 432 dr; and a Heraclean quiver with golden decorations, which has a bow and a golden band, on which there is an inscription; and three fly swats, which have three handles, one from ivory, the other with gold decorations, and the other from onyx; and a square fan which has an ivory handle.

The passage is full of detail about the individual offerings made by queen Stratonike. We hear not only of the dedication of the necklace, but how many decorative disks (*thyreoi*) the necklace had (forty-eight is the answer). And we also have the repetition of ‘queen Stratonike, daughter of king Demetrios’: the attributes here not only declare status, but indicate the precise point in time that the dedication took place.³³ I also find the dedication of the fly swats (*myiosovai*) particularly fascinating: the precious material here make this a particularly appropriate dedication—these are not *any* fly swats, but precious pieces manifesting conspicuously luxury and wealth.³⁴ The inclusion of different levels of description, the repetition of the full title of the dedicant, and the sheer volume of dedications are all extremely interesting elements of the inventory list, which allow multiple methodological approaches, which we shall briefly discuss in a moment. But in terms of using this narrative in order to create a database of individual and collective named dedication of objects, this wealth of information is not without problems. When we, as historians, extract from a narrative such as this simply the names of individuals or communities involved in the act of dedication and the object of dedication (and possibly the number of objects), are we violating the narrative format of the source? If we wish to use the inventories in order to create some statistics reflecting the geographic, gender, and status community of pilgrims, then inevitably we end up formalizing more complicated narratives and disregarding a range of information provided in the inventories. Additionally, the format of the inventories is not fixed but goes through periods of marked changes, as we have already observed in relation to the period of Delian Independence, as opposed to the period of Athenian control.³⁵ This is not only the case when we have massive upheavals in the administration of the sanctuary, such as the move from the period of Athenian control to the period

³³ See Kosmetatou 2010, discussing previous scholarship on the subject.

³⁴ This brings to mind Zeus Apomyios, that is, Zeus the averter of flies, honoured in Elis according to Paus. 5.14.1, for whom see Farnell 1896, i. 45, and Parker 2003, 175.

³⁵ See also the inventories during the period of Athenian cleruchy, which are much more detailed in relation to the description of the objects: see Prêtre 2012, 16–17.

of Delian Independence; the format of the inventories changes as a result of internal administrative progression. Yet the database cannot, should not, reflect this.

The third problem is fragmentation. I have already mentioned that we only have four inventories dated to the third century that are complete.³⁶ Three of these are dated within the same decade (279, 274, and 269), and the fourth one dates two decades later (250). So we have a very good snapshot of a period of about thirty years, and a much worse overview for the rest of the century. This is the first level of the problem of incomplete evidence. The second level is that even with the complete inventories, the state of preservation of the *stelai* is not always perfect. Words are missing, lines are fragmented, supplementations are provided. Certainly, the scholarship behind the publication of the inventories is superb,³⁷ from the first publications in the volumes of *BCH*,³⁸ to the latest edition of a selection of Delian inscriptions.³⁹ Supplements, when provided, are entirely reasonable and fully substantiated by supplementary documents. But this does not take away the fact that, even in the best cases, we are looking at fragmentary texts. The third level of incompleteness is related to what is actually recorded on the stone. In order to produce a social history of dedication, I need objects attached to named individuals or communities—unattributed dedications (that is, simply references of the objects included in the Delian treasuries) are not useful for my purposes. Yet, perhaps only half to a third of objects listed in the inventories are accompanied by a name of a dedicant or a community.⁴⁰ So we may have the objects, but if we cannot associate them with an individual or community, we cannot proceed to see the networks of pilgrimage, gender dynamics, and so on. Closely linked with this, is the selective nature of the very process of creating the written version of the inventories that we see on the stone: this is the fourth and final level of fragmentation and incompleteness that affects our main source. Perhaps the most important aspect that we need to make clear is that the epigraphic inventories are only a part of the full inventory of the objects in the Delian temples and treasuries. In other words, even when we have complete inventories, they list only a partial number of the total objects kept in the

³⁶ See n. 20 above.

³⁷ The main publications of the Delian inventories are volumes *IG XI.2*, published by F. Durrbach, Berlin 1912, *ID Comptes des Hiéropes* (nos. 290–371), Paris 1926, and *ID Comptes des Hiéropes* (nos. 372–498), Paris 1929, both published by F. Durrbach.

³⁸ See for example Homolle 1882, 1890, and 1891.

³⁹ *Nouveau Choix*, supplementing, but not replacing, Durrbach's *Choix*.

⁴⁰ Prêtre 2012, 14. My own calculations of *IG XI.2* 287B (the complete inventory of the year 250) shows that out of 473 precious objects listed, 337 (71 per cent) are attributed to a named individual or community, while 136 (29 per cent) are unattributed; but 287 is an exceptionally detailed inventory.

sanctuary.⁴¹ Indeed, the epigraphic inventories reflect only a section of the verbal process of inventorying performed by the *hieropoioi*: they are, in other words, extracts of a catalogue that we no longer have.

So, to sum up the issue of fragmentation: we do not have all the inventories from all the years of the third century, and of those we do have, only four survive complete. The inventories that we do have, have substantial gaps because of the state of preservation of the *stelai*. When we can read them, not all objects are attributed to named individuals or communities; and even the objects that are attributed reflect only a part, perhaps a small part, of the actual wealth of objects kept in the sanctuaries. In other words, we do not get snapshots, but fragmented snapshots of the snapshots.⁴²

Our fourth problem is the language and vocabulary used in the inventories. Despite the state of fragmentation discussed above, we occasionally do get detailed information about individuals (such as queen Stratonike, daughter of king Demetrios) or objects (such as the golden necklace with its forty-eight decorative disks, dedicated by Stratonike to Leto). But here we come across a different problem: we have a considerable number of words recorded that are hapax; their meaning, therefore, is not entirely clear.⁴³ We have dozens of names that we translate as ‘type of cup’,⁴⁴ but obviously these were different types of cups that were easily identified by those who generated the inventory. This incredible lexical variety is interesting by itself; but when one needs to quantify offerings, the lexical variety becomes a hindrance. What we could say, however, is that this incredible lexical variety may have in fact reflected to some degree the cosmopolitan character of Delos.⁴⁵

The fifth and final problem is particularly linked to any attempt to quantify meaningfully different groups of the dedicants/pilgrims to the sanctuary, according to their place of origin. First, how do we establish a place of origin for a named individual on the inventories? The best-case scenario is that the individual is given an ethnic, such as Myconian, Rhodian, Pholegandrian, and so on. This is the most straightforward case, as the ethnic that appears on the inventory must have been generated by the ethnic recorded in the act of the initial dedication—in other words, it reflects the choice of the dedicant himself or herself. But such identification is the exception rather than the norm. The

⁴¹ Linders 1988, 1992a, Hamilton 2003, Prêtre 2012, 13. See also the recent discussion in Taylor 2015 in relation to the Athenian inventories in the Acropolis and Brauron.

⁴² Depauw 2013, 264 compares the historian working with archival inscriptions to a ‘detective walking around on a battlefield where the bodies have long disappeared and the only clue to the murder is a commemorative inscription at the entrance’.

⁴³ Prêtre 2004 on hapax words in the inventories and 2012 on words designating jewellery.

⁴⁴ For example, *καρυωτή*, *πισγίς*, *χελιδόνιος*, *κύμβιον*, *κυλίχνιον*, *ἀργυρίς*, *καβάσα*, *μάνης*, *καπηλική*, *καρχήσιον*, *βατιάκη*, *βατιάκιον*, *κόνδης*, *κωνωνεία*, *μλησιουργής*, *κύβρη*, *κεραμύλλιον*. It is unlikely that all of them were ‘cups’; they were probably vessels of some type of other. *Kavasa* is a particular problem for which see the glossary in *Nouveau Choix*, 273, and Prêtre 2004, 91–4.

⁴⁵ Argued convincingly by Prêtre 2012, 14.

second stage, therefore, is to make reasonable assumptions: for example, if a dedicant's name is abundantly found on Delos, even if the dedicant himself or herself is not identified as a Delian in the inventory, it is reasonable to assume that the specific individual is a Delian.⁴⁶ In Appendix 5, I have listed all the named dedications of individuals and communities. In the database, I have generally followed Tréheux and Vial's identifications of individuals;⁴⁷ in addition, I have treated uncertain origins as certain for the purposes of the database. In the cases of individuals that we know outside the inventories, it is possible to attach with some certainty an ethnic origin, even if such an origin is not present on the stone itself. King Demetrios or king Antigonos, we know, are Macedonians, even though they do not necessarily appear as Macedonians on the inscriptions. But in the cases of attributing such 'known' ethnic origins to individuals, that are absent from the stone, there is a danger of compartmentalizing people. Which ethnic identity, out of a few, do you pick for an individual? Let us look at a relatively famous case, that of the Ptolemaic Nesiarch Hermias. Hermias founded a festival in honour of queen Arsinoe Philadelphos (wife and sister of Ptolemy II Philadelphos); the act of foundation of the festival involved the dedication of a sum of money that would generate a *phiale* every year.⁴⁸ Hermias was (most likely) from Halicarnassos, but did he dedicate the *phialai* as a Halicarnassian or as the Ptolemaic official in charge of the islands (Nesiarch)?⁴⁹ In other words, which ethnic identity do we choose to associate with Hermias, as he does not identify himself in the inventories? For the purposes of this study, I have placed Hermias under the ethnic group 'Alexandrians', as I think it is reasonable to say that his identity as Nesiarch of the Ptolemaic administration was more important when he founded a festival to honour his queen than his original ethnic

⁴⁶ See for example the dedication of a *phiale* by Anticrates, before 301: *IG XI.2* 137 11, 147 50, 154B 30. Anticrates is a known name in the Aegean with forty-one attestations according to *LGPN*. In Vial's index of Delian names (2008, 26) twenty different persons called Anticrates are attested, including a *hieropoios* in 244 (*ID* 290 140), a Delian archon, probably in 209 (*ID* 361 12 and elsewhere), a choregos for comedies in 279 (Anticrates, son of Timesidemus, for whom see Vial 1984, stemma XX in 218–19), a president of the assembly in the late third century (*IG XI.4* 732) and so on. It is reasonable to assume, with Vial in 2008, 26 s.v. Anticrates, donateur de l'offrande 16, that the Anticrates in the inventories is indeed a Delian (Vial has him as 'certinement Délien').

⁴⁷ Tréheux 1992 and Vial 2008.

⁴⁸ There are five *phialai* in *IG XI.2* 224B 10, 11, 15, 22, 24; eighteen *phialai* in *IG XI.2* 287B 112–19 and 128; twenty-six *phialai* in *ID* 298A 79–83; thirty-three *phialai* in *ID* 313A 64–66; thirty-seven *phialai* in *ID* 320B 28–30; and forty-three *phialai* in *ID* 338B 35–9. For Hermias' festival for Arsinoe see Bruneau 1970, 529–30, and recently Caneva 2012, and 2014b, stressing the degree of individual initiative in setting up festivals for rulers.

⁴⁹ Hermias from Halicarnassus: honorary decree from the demos of the Delians for Hermias from Halicarnassus (so most likely the Nesiarch Hermias) in *IG XI.4* 565. Paschidis 2008, 534 with n.1 expresses doubts as to whether we can safely assume that Hermias the Halicarnassian is the same as Hermias the Nesiarch. For Hermias and his career as Nesiarch see Buraselis 1982, 182, and discussion in Chapter 2, n. 49.

identity (Halicarnassian). But this hides a real danger of compartmentalization and simplification of complex processes and dynamic relations that result in the creation of ethnic identities. I do not have a solution to this, but I wanted to flag it up as a potential problem from the start.

A linked problem with attaching (uncertain?) ethnic identities to individuals in the inventories is the geographic parameter of such an act. One of the aspects of the wealth of information preserved in the inventories that interests me, and was also the original impetus behind this project, was the geographic spread of the dedicants/pilgrims to the Delian sanctuary. Using the preserved ethnics on the stone and the reasonable assumptions in terms of ethnic affiliations, I wanted to create a map of dedicants: this would be primarily a map of the Aegean, but with large clusters, as we shall see, in even more distant areas, such as the West, Cyprus, and, of course, Alexandria. But our conceptualization of space is mostly dependent on a Cartesian understanding of a two-dimensional space: that of a map. Such an understanding of space has embedded discourses of power that are historically alien to the world that we study. The Greeks, in other words, had no such understanding of space or of maps.⁵⁰ Placing the ethnic origins of the dedicants on a Cartesian map creates illusions of access and distance that bear little relation to the actual access and distance that these people experienced when going (and by that I mean predominantly sailing) to Delos to worship the gods.

5.4. INVENTORIES AND ANCIENT HISTORY

I have spent some time outlining the methodological problems as they have an important impact in a project such as this, which attempts to meaningfully quantify the dedications to the Delian sanctuaries, as represented in the inventories that survive from the island, and use the results in order to look at the different social, ethnic, and gender groups engaged in the act of pilgrimage and dedication. Indeed, the methodological difficulties with using the inventories are so great that one of the foremost scholars today working on the Delian inventories, Clarisse Prêtre, warned us against undertaking the task of writing social history from this type of source.⁵¹ But I feel that we can ignore the incredible wealth of information preserved in the inventories at our peril. As I have already mentioned, the annual publication of inventories of dedications

⁵⁰ I cannot discuss this in any detail here. See recently Prontera 2011, Dueck 2012, and the excellent discussion in Barker, Bouzarovski, Pelling, and Isaksen 2016.

⁵¹ Prêtre in *Nouveau Choix* 245: 'Il est vain de vouloir dresser une typologie des donateurs qui ne serait possible qu'à l'issue d'une étude globale du matériel votif contenue dans les inventaires déliens. Elle serait en outre faussée par l'absence d'exhaustivité dans la mention de leurs noms et ethniques'. Similar comments in Prêtre 2012, 14.

in sanctuaries is not a widespread practice in the Greek world. The incredible detail preserved in the third-century Delian inventories, therefore, offers us a unique opportunity to reconstruct the social dynamics of dedication. If we refuse to use this evidence because of the problems related to the nature of the source, then we will not be able to reconstruct the ethnic, social, and gender networks of participants in the cult from any other source.

Indeed, there is a wide range of historical approaches that one can use with texts such as these. For example, the inventories can be used as a source for a history of objects. The materiality of objects (in this case, dedications in sanctuaries) is a field of archaeological theory that has attracted considerable attention over the last decades or so.⁵² One could even see the inventories as evidence of the function of the Greek temple as a ‘museum’,⁵³ but as these objects were not openly displayed, such an approach is not really fruitful. The incredible lexical variety for the description of objects in the inventories can be used in a very straightforward manner of identifying pottery shapes; but as I have already mentioned, this variety is also one of the problems associated with this particular source. One could also use the inventories to write a narrative history of events.⁵⁴ This kind of approach may appear ‘old-fashioned’, but it is particularly important for third-century Hellenistic history: this is a period, as we saw in Chapter 1, when we lack chronological and other certainties even for the most momentous historical events, such as battles which changed the course of control of the Aegean, succession of rulers, and so on. The absence of certainty and chronological accuracy for third-century history is a great hindrance. In this respect the inventories are incredibly informative, as they allow us, through their sequence, to establish with some certainty the date for the foundation of festivals in honour of a number of Hellenistic monarchs and their wives. The appearance of a sequence of *phialai* in the inventories indicates the foundation of such a festival and therefore allows us in some cases to pin down chronologically the date for the beginning of honours.⁵⁵ The beginning of honours, in turn, as well as the specific nomenclature used in the dedications, can be used in order to link an event to a specific year (indicated through the presence of the Delian archon’s name).

All these are valuable and fascinating uses of the inventories for the writing of different types of history and archaeology. But what has attracted most attention in recent scholarship is the very purpose of such texts, often in relation to questions about literacy in ancient Greek society. In other words,

⁵² Appadurai 1986, Gosden and Marshall 1999, Hurcombe 2007, Ingold 2007.

⁵³ Shaya 2005, on the Lindian *anagraphē*.

⁵⁴ See for example Baslez 1997, who uses the inventories of the period between 314 and 296 to establish the role of Delos in the military and political events of the period.

⁵⁵ The monumental work of Bruneau 1970 is unparalleled in this respect.

why produce epigraphically such texts, especially considering the immense cost involved?⁵⁶ Why have inventories in the first place? And what do these texts reflect? Are they a testament of the bureaucracy of the sanctuary, are they themselves an offering to the gods,⁵⁷ are they functional, or are they symbolic? In addition, what is the significance of setting up such monumentally large stone *stelai* in a prominent part of the sanctuary?⁵⁸ It is perhaps worthwhile to address such questions briefly before turning back to our main question about the social dynamics of dedication.⁵⁹

The Delian inventory lists, as we have seen, were inscribed on quite large slabs of stone, and their very format, as well as their very small letters, made them entirely unsuitable for checking the content of the treasuries. This was powerfully argued by Linders, who argued that the format of the inventories must suit their purpose, which must have been considerably different from what we would expect modern-day inventories to do.⁶⁰ In the debate between ‘practical’ and ‘symbolic’, the very format seems to indicate that the ‘practical’ aspect of the lists, in the sense that of checking against actual acquisitions of the sanctuary, was largely secondary. This would seem to imply that their purpose was ‘symbolic’: symbolic of the power and wealth of the sanctuary, symbolic of the Independence of the Delians, in the period when the *hieropoioi* were in charge, and so on. But ‘symbolic’, as Aleshire pointed out, is not a useful analytical term either.⁶¹ Indeed, what is ‘symbolic’ in this context? Or to rephrase the question, what is *not* ‘symbolic’? If ‘symbolic’ alone cannot explain why the Delians were among the few communities in the ancient world that produced regular (annual) inventories of such presence and cost, then the answer of the inventories’ purpose must lie in their format. Indeed, the checking against the actual acquisitions of the sanctuary is not the only ‘practical’ use that we can envisage for the Delian inventories.

The Delian inventories reflect the handing over from one board of administrators to the next;⁶² this procedure, in Athenian inventories, is called the

⁵⁶ See discussion above with notes 5 and 6.

⁵⁷ Religious importance of the act of giving underlined in Burkert 1987.

⁵⁸ This is discussed superbly by Chankowski 2013a.

⁵⁹ A recent summary of the debates on the purpose of the inventories is provided by Scott 2011. See also Vial 1984, 216–23 (summarizing the arguments put forward in Tréheux 1959), Lewis 1986, Linders 1988 and 1992a, Aleshire 1989, 105–8, Hamilton 2000, 1–2, Davies 2003, 329, Prêtre 2012, 13–14.

⁶⁰ Linders 1992a, 31. The interplay between the format and purpose of an inscription is argued by Epstein 2013 in relation to the Attic building accounts.

⁶¹ Aleshire, 1989, 107 with n. 3.

⁶² Argued by Linders 1988, 1992a, and 1992b. See also Chankowski 2013a, 919. An example is IG XI.2 161B 1 (dated to 287): ἄρχοντας Ὑψοκλέους μηνὸς Γαλαξιῶνος τάδε παρελάβομεν παρὰ ἱεροποιῶν τῶν ἱεροποιησάντων ἐπ’ ἀρχontos Χάρμου, Ἀνασχέτου Θεοξένου, Ἥγία τοῦ Φωκαίως, παρόντων βουλευτῶν καὶ γραμματέων, τοῦ τῆς πόλεως Τιμησιδήμου τοῦ Ἀντικράτους καὶ τοῦ τῶν ἱεροποιῶν Λυσισαχίδου τοῦ Λύσου; and 287B 1 (dated to 250): τάδε παρελάβομεν παρ’ ἱεροποιῶν Τηλεμνήστου τοῦ Φίλιου καὶ παρέδομεν ἱεροποιοῖς τοῖς μεθ’ ἡμᾶς Κριτοβούλου καὶ Μενύλλου μηνὸς

paradosis, and it is to be differentiated from other procedures, also recorded in Athenian inventories, such as the *exetasmós* and the *kathairesis*.⁶³ What we should immediately underline is that the inscriptions on stone reflect only one part of the verbal process of inventorying which was taking place in the sanctuary:⁶⁴ in other words, not all the items stored in the sanctuary were written down, but rather the written inventories recorded only a section of the overall procedure, or indeed a part of the total number of objects held in the sanctuary. We have some evidence of a periodical publication of the *hieropoioi*'s accounts on a monthly basis and the display of the accounts in the Delian Agora, most likely for reasons of dissemination and accountability.⁶⁵ The accounts for year 278 refer to 'a white wooden board [consisting of] the monthly accounts, displayed in the agora' (*IG XI.2 161A 89*).⁶⁶ We may reasonably assume, I believe, that similar temporary records, perhaps even displays, existed for the inventory aspect of the *hieropoioi*'s administrative acts. Such temporary records on whitened wooden boards (*leukomata*) may, or may not, have included a fuller account of the inventories of the treasures of the Delian gods.

One of the main concerns behind the inscription of the inventories was to publicize the transfer of responsibility for the dedications kept in the sanctuary from one board of *hieropoioi* to the next. This was also a major legal issue, as Chankowski has argued,⁶⁷ as it absolved the administrators from the responsibility of the treasure that was in their control.⁶⁸ The display of the inventory lists, with its clear introductory *paradosis* clauses,⁶⁹ also manifested the integrity of the *hieropoioi*⁷⁰ in the eyes of both the gods, and the city of the Delians, which in the third century was the civic authority in charge of the sanctuary.⁷¹ We even have examples of a board of *hieropoioi* highlighting the mistakes of their predecessors: in the year 207, the board of *hieropoioi* stated that they did not receive the tiles, cups, bowls, and ladles that their predecessors had

Γαλαξιῶνος. Linders 1972, 70 with n. 19 notes that the Delian inventories of the period of Athenian cleruchy also have *προσπαριδιόναι* clauses.

⁶³ Aleshire 1989, 106. Aleshire defines *kathairesis* as the procedure listing the items removed from the treasury (normally for melting and recasting); *exetasmós* is the procedure listing all items in a location, without concern as to which point in time they came to be presented in that building. Linders 1972, 70 discusses the possible chronological introduction of the *paradosis* in relation to its first appearances in the Athenian inventories. See also Fröhlich 2011 for a discussion of *paradosis* clauses in Boiotian inscriptions.

⁶⁴ Vial 1984, 217–23, following Tréheux 1959. Prêtre 2012, 13.

⁶⁵ Migeotte 2008.

⁶⁶ *IG XI.2 161A 89*: τοῖς κατὰ μῆνα λόγοις ἐκτιθεμένοις εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν λεύκωμα. See Vial 1984, 102, Fröhlich 2004, 270–1, and Chankowski 2013a, 927–8.

⁶⁷ Chankowski in *Nouveau Choix* 242, and 2013a.

⁶⁸ The publication of the accounts of the sanctuary is the result of similar concerns.

⁶⁹ For examples, see above note 62.

⁷⁰ Chankowski in *Nouveau Choix* 242.

⁷¹ On the processes of control of the sanctuary's administrators by the Delian political authority and the implications of such control over the publication of the inventory and the accounts see Feyel 2014, following largely Vial 1984.

claimed to have given them.⁷² The clause with its incredible detail and list of names acts as a guarantee that the current board is not to be held responsible for any loss or theft of objects that belonged to the gods.

But it would be simplistic to believe that the complex and costly process of inventory production and subsequent epigraphic recording reflected a single concern. Rather, we should be looking at multiple purposes and meanings: practical *and* symbolic, religious in the sense of demonstrating the piety of the administrators (the *hieropoioi*) and the city of the Delians,⁷³ bureaucratic, legal, and even linked with specific political systems: indeed, it is generally believed that the publication of inventories on stone is closely linked to concerns about accountability, which were linked to Athenian democratic procedures.⁷⁴ Furthermore, the fact that the most complete and regular inventories come from Attica and Delos (itself a form of Athenian protectorate on the level of the administration of sacred property in the classical period, as Chankowski powerfully demonstrated),⁷⁵ seems to indicate that the regular publication of inventories was ultimately linked with Athenian political procedures, which in this period means the repercussions of radical democracy. Once the practice of publishing inventories on stone was established, in Athens and on Delos, the political context could change, but the practice was there to stay. In the case of Delos, the 314 takeover of the administration of the sanctuary from the Athenian board of officials to the Delian *hieropoioi* (which also marked the start of the period of Delian Independence) did not put a stop to the practice of publishing inventories. Rather, as we have seen, the format of the inventories changed, but the practice remained. So even if we accept the view that the publication of the inventories was linked originally with concerns about accountability, transparency, and control of officials, which were important concerns for a radical democratic constitution, the continuation of their publication in the third century on Delos had to do more with established practices and a certain degree of conservatism evident in sacred administration.

It might be more fruitful, in fact, to move beyond the current debates about the purpose of inventories and see them as constructive elements in the creation of a community of worship,⁷⁶ through the act of communicating

⁷² ID 366A 108–10: τὰς δὲ κεραμίδας ἃς γράφουσι ἡμῖν παραδεδωκότες Ἑλλήνης καὶ Λύσανδρος καὶ τοὺς σωλήνας οὐ παρελήφαμεν. οὐδὲ τῶν ποτηρίων ὧν γράφουσι ἡμῖν παραδεδωκότες Ἑλλήνης καὶ Λύσανδρος οὐ παρελήφαμεν ἀρυσᾶς δύο, σκάφια πέντε, ἄλλα τῶν στησιλείων ἐπ' ἀρχόντων Ἀριστοβούλου, Μελιχίδου, Μαντιθέου, Σωκλείδου, Ἀγαθάρχου.

⁷³ Vial 1984, 222. The religious dimension of inscribing on stone is stressed in Faraguna 2013, esp. 166–7, in relation to the Athenian building accounts.

⁷⁴ Cleland 2005, 8. Davies 1994 discusses accountability in relation to the publication of accounts.

⁷⁵ Chankowski 2008a.

⁷⁶ Main argument in Scott 2011, following largely Osborne 2011, 103.

with the gods via the medium of dedication.⁷⁷ The prominent setting of display for the inventories in the main space of the sanctuary, as elegantly argued by Chankowski, created an additional parameter of their function and purpose.⁷⁸ The list of names dedicating objects to the Delian deities, recorded on the inventories with varied additional information, reflected the community of worshippers coming to Delos to pay their respects to the gods. At the same time, the inventories told a story about the history, prestige, and wealth of the Delian sanctuary. The story that the Delian inventories tell us may not be as explicit in its concerns about narrating the history of the distant and more recent past—and the glory—of the sanctuary, as the one we see, say, in the Lindian *anagraphē*.⁷⁹ But it was a story nonetheless. It was the story of the community of worshippers engaging in the act of dedication. It was the story that the Delians chose to present publicly and in full display of the ritual that these dedications enacted, and the attempted communication with the gods.⁸⁰ It was a story with multiple audiences: the primary audience was the Delian gods, but these objects represented the ritual communication between individuals and their communities (in the case, for example, of dedication of *phialai* by *architheoroi* as representatives of their entire communities), and between the various individual participants in the ritual. We have to envisage multiple audiences that were not mutually exclusive. In other words, the entry in the inventory was a representation of the actual dedication by an individual or a community; as such, the dedication reflected the self-image of the dedicant⁸¹ and especially, the self-image that the dedicant wanted to project to the community of worship of the Delian deities. The dedication, and by implication its listing in the inventory, targeted the divine audience, the audience of the community of origin of the dedicant, and the audience of the other dedicants in the sanctuary. Dedications and inventories, therefore, created a multiple-layered context of self-representation and competition with other dedications and dedicants. We have already discussed how a regional sanctuary such as Delos functioned as an arena for conspicuous display of piety and power for powerful (and not so powerful) individuals and communities, who invested in monumentalization and the erection of honorific statues and other monuments.⁸² We can deduce similar elements of competition in the dedication of objects, particularly precious objects (which were in fact the objects listed in the inventories). Conspicuous display of piety, wealth, power, and social position was not only the prerogative of the elite circles of the Hellenistic royal powers; it was an underlining element of all dedications.

⁷⁷ For votive objects as elements of communication between humans and deities see Mylonopoulos 2006.

⁷⁸ Chankowski 2013a. ⁷⁹ Osborne 2011, 112–18.

⁸⁰ Similar argument in Cole 2004, 320 for the inventories in Brauron.

⁸¹ Kyrieleis 1988, 216. ⁸² See discussion in Chapter 3.

The temporal dimension of the dedications in the inventories should similarly be viewed on multiple levels.⁸³ Primarily, one could read the narrative of the inventories as essentially the story of past actions;⁸⁴ indeed, the inventories recorded objects dedicated at some point in the past and kept within the Delian buildings. The format of the inventories facilitated such a reading: the structure of the narrative of the inventories of the period of the *hieropoioi* initially listed objects according to their location, dealing with one building at a time; later, however, the inventories listed objects in chronological order, that is objects held previously and then objects received during the office of the current board of the *hieropoioi*. But the inventories allowed a present and future dimension to co-exist: the inventories were not simply records of past actions, but a testament to the present state of the treasure of the gods. It recorded the here and the now: by reading the inscription on stone, or by simply looking at the impressive listing of objects without actually reading the details, a viewer got a sense of the treasure that the sanctuary held at the present; therefore, the viewer appreciated the wealth and glory of the Delian sanctuary and its deities at that particular point in time. The listing of the objects was also related to the future: the ritual enacted in the act of dedication could be repeated daily for as long as the sanctuary housed the Delian treasures. The listing of *phialai*, in particular, some of which were annual dedications of established named festivals, as we shall see, created an uninterrupted line of communication with the gods and the community of worshippers, that could be extended indefinitely in the future. Indeed, the presence of the dedications constituted the permanent, and therefore future, record of the act of communication with the gods, as opposed to the more ‘ephemeral’ act of sacrifice.⁸⁵ The inventories, therefore, related to the past, present, and future of the ritual and cult of the Delian sanctuary; they assumed human and divine multiple audiences, and they created, mediated, and represented an active community of worship.

The inventories may not list all the names of individuals and communities that dedicated objects. Indeed, even those who did dedicate objects that appear in the inventories were perhaps only a small section of the larger community of worshippers that came to the sanctuary to honour the gods and participate in the Delian cult and ritual. Nonetheless, the inventories do preserve epigraphically the names of those who by their very act of pilgrimage and dedication participated in an active community of worship.

⁸³ Taylor 2015, esp. 100, stresses the importance of examining the materiality of dedicatory inscriptions, as this allows us to locate the religious experience within its temporal and social networks.

⁸⁴ The importance of the past is stressed in Higbie 2003, esp. 258–88.

⁸⁵ Bodel 2009, 19.

5.5. COMMUNITIES OF WORSHIP

How were these communities of worship constructed? Delos as a cult centre with a wide regional appeal functioned as a space where religious activity brought worshippers together from an area beyond that of the immediate geographic surroundings of the island. Access to Delos required a journey, which, depending on the distance, could take hours, days, or weeks. Participation to such cult, or pilgrimage (in Greek *theoria*), therefore, required considerable effort, time, and investment from the point of view of the participant.⁸⁶ And while the sanctity of the pilgrim was generally protected, the very act of pilgrimage was not without its dangers, as the murder of some rich Aeolian pilgrims while on pilgrimage to Delos reveals (Hyperides F70 Jensen = *FGrH* 401b F5a).⁸⁷ That the act of pilgrimage can be seen as ‘a feature of happy normality’ is implied by the personification of *Theoria*, who is handed over to the Boule as a blessing of peace (Aristophanes, *Peace*, 713–15).⁸⁸

Pilgrimage to a place of cult could take place for many purposes:⁸⁹ foremost amongst these, pilgrims aimed to attend a festival, which could be accompanied by an athletic or other competition. Worshippers could arrive at a location for specific events, such as a festival or a competition, but also at other times of the year in order to perform the act of dedication, either individually, or as delegates of their community. Initiation at mysteries, such as those of Eleusis or Samothrace, could also act as great attraction for individual pilgrims. Oracles were also an extremely important part of the appeal of the respective sanctuaries: the primary example here is Delphi, but Delos too, according to some sources, may have had an oracle.⁹⁰ Pilgrims, therefore, arrived at places of cult for many reasons, which may have overlapped. The act of coming to a place for worship, healing, dedication, initiation, competition, divination, or a combination of the above, created a religious community of participation for at least the period of attendance at the cult centre. What each worshipper took from this experience, it is very difficult to know. But what we can say is that pilgrimage and participation in the cult of regional sanctuaries, such as Delos, created communities of worshippers that transcended the boundaries of the political communities or the narrow geographical region of belonging of the individual worshipper. These communities of worship did not exist in a single space at a single point of time. Rather, they were the summation of

⁸⁶ For pilgrimage see Dillon 1997, the essays in Elsner and Rutherford eds. 2005, and recently Rutherford 2013.

⁸⁷ Rutherford 1995. See also my commentary on *BNJ* 401b F 70 in Constantakopoulou 2010.

⁸⁸ Parker 2005, 79. ⁸⁹ Elsner and Rutherford 2005, 9–24. See also recently Jim 2014a.

⁹⁰ The *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 79–82 and 131 mentions an oracle on Delos. Semos of Delos (*FGrH* 396 F12) also refers to an oracle given to the Athenians by Delian *manteis*. *IG* XI.2 165 44 attests to the existence of an oracle (*manteion*) on Delos. Bruneau 1970, 142–61, is sceptical of the existence of an official oracle on Delos.

many occasions of pilgrimage over a period of time. As communities that transcended time and space, their presence is very difficult to document. The listing of objects related to the act of dedication to the Delian deities offers us a snapshot of the dedicants of the gods. These dedicants, from the point of view of the Delian administrators who produced epigraphically the inventories, formed a community of worship which represented the vast appeal of the Delian sanctuary and the Delian deities.

The inventory lists, therefore, partly represented the community of worship of individuals and communities that came to Delos, dedicated objects to the gods through ritual act, while also (perhaps) participated in festivals, attended competitions, and even, as we shall see in the case of elite dedications, initiated festivals to honour themselves or important royal individuals. The objects listed in the inventories should not be understood as ‘ritual’ objects, as Prêtre convincingly argued,⁹¹ yet, their listing reflected and became a representation, to a certain degree, of some of the ritual act that may have taken place before the act of dedication. The objects may not be ‘ritual’ as such, but they were understood as exemplifications of the act of dedication, which involved ritual participation. Indeed, as Bodel convincingly argued, the offering of objects should be seen as part of a continuum rather than an isolated act.⁹² If we understand the objects listed as items evoking the process of dedication, then we should see the lists as texts revealing associations between individuals and communities engaged in the cult of the Delian deities. But these were not the only associations communicated in the inventories. As Scott argued, the very format of the inventories placed the objects dedicated into a framework of associations: those between individuals, their polis, and the sanctuary, but also those between the individuals, the poleis, and the gods.⁹³ We are looking, therefore, at multiple associations at many levels: between individuals, communities, the Delian sanctuary, its administration, and ultimately the gods. The objects listed in the inventories represent only one aspect of the entire process of pilgrimage and participation in the cult network of the Delian deities. But it is the one aspect that survives in exquisite (for the ancient world) detail. It may be difficult, as Prêtre argued, to interpret the inventories in the light of the social dynamics of the individuals and groups that invested in the act of dedication.⁹⁴ Indeed, I have spent considerable time outlining exactly which methodological and more specific problems the inventories pose

⁹¹ Prêtre, 2014a, posing, rightly, the question of whether we can make a distinction between a ritual object and an offering. For my purposes, this distinction is not relevant. See also Patera 2012.

⁹² Bodel 2009, 18.

⁹³ Scott 2011, 241, following largely the argument put forward by de Polignac 2009, about the triangular relationship between the donor (either individual or collective), the deity, and the cultural community within which the donor acts.

⁹⁴ See above note 51.

as a source. But I strongly believe that as ancient historians, working with limited data for the large ancient world beyond Athens, we do not have the luxury to ignore the wealth of information that the inventories provide for the community of worship in the cult of the Delian deities during the third century. I shall therefore attempt to look at the inventories in order to examine the different dynamics between the different social, ethnic, and gender groups included in the lists. Before we can do that, however, I need to outline my methodology.

5.6. METHODOLOGY

I have looked at the surviving inventories dating to the period 314 to 200 BC,⁹⁵ that is from the beginning of the Delian Independence until the end of the third century.⁹⁶ In this period there are fifty-one inventories that survive in a state that is more than a few fragmented words.⁹⁷ Of these surviving inscriptions, the length of the inventory section varies considerably: twenty-five inventories are ten or fewer lines long;⁹⁸ eleven are between eleven and fifty lines long;⁹⁹ eight are between fifty-one and one hundred lines long;¹⁰⁰ finally, seven are more than one hundred lines long.¹⁰¹ As I have already mentioned, only four inventories survive complete.¹⁰² I have read the inventories and catalogued all named dedications. I have left outside my database dedications that are unnamed. All named dedications appear in Appendix 5, which includes references to some of the more problematic cases.

I should make here some further clarifications. First, although I have counted all dedications that appear in the third-century inventories, not all dedications were in fact made in the third century; indeed, some of them were earlier dedications, whose record is repeated in the later inventories. One obvious example of this is the section on ‘ancient *phialai*’, that appears for

⁹⁵ Chankowski 2008a, 344–9 has a short analysis of the dedicants and their ethnic origin, as they appear in the inventories of the period of Athenian control (that is, up to 314).

⁹⁶ The first inventory, *IG XI.2 137*, is dated to the period 314–303, while the last is *ID 372*, dated to 200. For a list of the inventories from the period of Independence see Hamilton 2000, 9.

⁹⁷ These are *IG XI.2 137, 145, 154, 155, 161, 162, 164, 184, 185, 186, 188, 189, 190, 192, 194, 199, 202, 203, 205, 208, 219, 223, 224, 226, 226bis, 227, 229, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 280a, 280b, 287, ID 295, 296, 297, 298, 299bis, 300, 310, 313, 314, 315, 320, 338, 346, 358, 366, 372*.

⁹⁸ I calculate what is readable in terms of lines. Some of these inscriptions are indeed longer, but extremely fragmentary. *IG XI.2 137, 155, 185, 186, 188, 189, 190, 192, 194, 202, 226bis, 227, 229, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 280A, 280B, ID 229bis, 310, 315, 346, 358*.

⁹⁹ *IG XI.2 137, 145, 164, 205, 208, 223, 224, 226, ID 295, 300, 367*.

¹⁰⁰ *IG XI.2 154, 162, 203, 219, ID 296, 297, 320, 372*.

¹⁰¹ *IG XI.2 161 (130 lines), 199 (102 lines), 287 (155 lines), ID 298 (180 lines), 313 (110 lines), 314 (130 lines), 338 (105 lines)*.

¹⁰² See above note 20.

the first time in the inventory list of 240.¹⁰³ Second, it is difficult to be certain about the ethnicity/origin of the dedicants, unless the inventory themselves identify the dedicants with an ethnic. On the whole, I have followed the ethnic identifications suggested by the two indices of Delian inscriptions.¹⁰⁴ Third, I have counted as a single dedication every object dedicated and attached to a name of an individual or a community. However, there is one notable exception to this rule and has to do with festival *phialai*. As this is an important matter, I believe it is worth looking at this particular occasion of dedication more closely.

Alongside the festivals for the various Delian deities, the sanctuary also celebrated a number of other festivals, which were in honour of individuals, normally persons of royal status.¹⁰⁵ Festivals in honour of Hellenistic queens or kings were established when an individual left a capital to the sanctuary for the celebration of his or her chosen festival: this could be a festival to honour himself or herself alongside the Delian deities, such as the various Ptolemaieia or Antigoneia festivals, or to honour another individual. In the latter category, most exemplary is perhaps the case of Hermias, which we have already discussed; Hermias founded the Philadelphieia in honour of queen Arsinoe Philadelphos, the wife and sister of Ptolemy II. The capital given by an individual generated income for an annual sacrifice and the dedication of a *phiale*, occasionally inscribed with the inscription *choreia Deliadon*, to one of the treasuries of the sanctuary. In the inventories, such *phialai* are listed either chronologically (according to the Delian archon's name),¹⁰⁶ or according to the festival in which they were dedicated.¹⁰⁷ In the period that interests us, we have a number of festivals in honour of Hellenistic queens and kings: we have three Ptolemaieia festivals (to be distinguished from the festival Ptolemaieia that was celebrated by the Islanders' League),¹⁰⁸ the Antigoneia, Soteria, Paneia and (possibly) Stratonikeia (by Antigonos Gonatas),¹⁰⁹ the Demetrieia

¹⁰³ ID 298A [56], where the clause *καὶ αἶδε τῶν ἀρχαίων φιαλῶν* is supplemented to the text. The inventory of the previous year (most probably), ID 297B 30 seems to have included a list of 'ancient *phialai*', but the text is far more fragmentary. The reference to 'ancient *phialai*' is secure in ID 315, 10 (uncertain dating), and is supplemented in ID 314B 46 (dated to shortly after 235–234), and 320B1 8 (dated to 229). For the ancient *phialai* see Vial 1984, 300 with n. 51, Rutherford 1998, and Baslez 2005, 38–9.

¹⁰⁴ Tréheux 1992, and Vial 2008. I occasionally depart from their identifications. See also discussion in 5.3 above.

¹⁰⁵ For these 'named' Delian festivals see Bruneau 1970, 514 ff. See also recently Sosin 2014a.

¹⁰⁶ This is the case in ID 366 A 63–86 (dated to 207) where we see a chronological listing of *phialai* for different festivals.

¹⁰⁷ This is the case in ID 314 and 320.

¹⁰⁸ Bruneau 1970, 518–25 discusses the three Ptolemaieia festivals. See also discussion in Chapter 2.2.

¹⁰⁹ Bruneau 1970, 558–63. For the significance of the Antigonid Soteria and Paneia festivals see Champion 2004–5.

(by Demetrios II),¹¹⁰ the Philetairaia (by either Philetairos or Eumenes I), the Attaleia (by Attalos I),¹¹¹ the Philippeia (by Philip V),¹¹² the Philadelpheia (by Hermias for Arsinoe Philadelphos),¹¹³ and the Theuergesia (by the Ptolemies).¹¹⁴ The inventory of the year 207, in particular, lists the festivals with a total of *phialai* in each case: the inclusion of such detail is invaluable for an attempt to establish when the festival was first founded.¹¹⁵ But alongside these festivals, with names that have obvious royal connotations, there are a number of other ‘named’ festivals, founded, as far as we can judge, by individuals without any obvious royal connections.¹¹⁶ The inventories record *phialai* on a yearly basis for the Nikolaia festival, founded by a certain Nikolaos from Aitolia,¹¹⁷ the Eutycheia festival, founded by Eutychos from Chios,¹¹⁸ the Donakeia festival, founded by a certain Donax, who may be Delian or not,¹¹⁹ the Sopatreia festival, founded by Sopatros, son of Eutychos,¹²⁰ and the

¹¹⁰ Bruneau 1970, 563–4.

¹¹¹ Bruneau 1970, 570–3.

¹¹² Bruneau 1970, 564.

¹¹³ Bruneau 1970, 528–30.

¹¹⁴ See Bruneau 1970, 525–8, arguing convincingly that the Theuergesia are not the same as the Ptolemaieia II, but a festival instigated by Ptolemy IV for his father or by another Ptolemaic official in honour of Ptolemy III.

¹¹⁵ *ID* 366A 53 ff. This gives a total of 126 *phialai* for all festivals.

¹¹⁶ See recently Sosin 2014a, esp. 128: Delos provides us with ‘the highest known concentration of both endowments and eponymous festivals from any single Hellenistic city’. Sosin argues that, in fact, the evidence of *phialai* recorded in the inventories, or the references to endowments of money, as they are recorded in the accounts, for the purposes of celebration of the ‘Eutycheia’, ‘Stesileia’ and so on, do not constitute evidence for the celebration of festivals. Rather, he argues, what we see is evidence for ‘recurring ritual’ in the honouring of the named individual. While I think Sosin is right to draw a distinction between the evidence related to ‘festivals’ honouring individuals, and established festivals honouring Delian deities, such as the prominent Apollonia, I do not think that naming such events ‘festivals’ is in fact wrong. We are looking at different registers of offering cult; I understand the occasion of ‘festivals’ as much more inclusive in its register than Sosin.

¹¹⁷ The Delians dedicate a statue for Nikolaos (*IG* XI.4 1075) in the middle of the third century. The Nikolaia festival is celebrated between 251 (reference in *IG* XI.2 287B 126) and 207 (*ID* 366A 54). See Bruneau 1970, 658, and Sosin 2014a, 130–1, with n. 22 for the festival and Tréheux 1992, 65 s.v. *Νικόλαος Ἀγία Αἰτωλὸς ἐκ Προσχείου* for the individual.

¹¹⁸ Eutychos was a Delian resident: the Delians honour him with proxyeny (*c.*250–240) for the services he provided in maritime credit (*IG* XI.4 691: *οἰκῶν ἐν [Δή]λῳ καὶ συνεργαζόμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ δικαίου [τοῦ] [τὴν θά]λατταν πλέουσιν*), for which see Chapter 4.3. See Bruneau 1970, 658, Tréheux 1992, 47, s.v. *Εὐτύχος Φιλώτου Χίος*, and Sosin 2014a, 131 with n. 22. See also discussion in Chapter 4.2, with n. 110.

¹¹⁹ A certain Donax, son of Apollonios, had his name inscribed in the base of a statue, in the second half of the third century (*IG* XI.4 1202); this Donax could be Delian or a foreigner. See Tréheux 1992, 42, s.v. *Δόναξ Ἀπολλωνίου*. The statue base is discussed in Dillon and Palmer Baltes 2013, 213–14, stressing the use of nominative case for the inscription on the base, which indicates someone, who was very well known, ‘perhaps a victorious athlete’, following in this Ma 2007a, 207–8. The use of the nominative case also discussed in Ma 2013, 21–4.

¹²⁰ We do not know whether Sopatros was Delian or not: see Durrbach’s commentary on *ID* 320 B[42] in p. 93. The first *phiale* for the Sopatreia festival is dedicated in 235, which implies that the capital for the *phiale* must have been deposited in 236. This Sopatros may be the same as the one mentioned in *IG* XI.2 287A 77, 90, 92, as an entrepreneur: see Tréheux 1992, 78, s.v. *Σώπατρος*.

Pataikeia festival, founded by a certain Pataikos, son of Lepton.¹²¹ To these dedications, we may also add the remarkable single dedication in 228 by Gorgias, son of Sosilos, from Delos, of the sum of 6730 dr, most probably for the celebration of a festival with annual dedications.¹²² These must have been prominent individuals, if we can judge from the honours bestowed on two of them by the Delians (Eutychos and Nikolaos) and the statue erected for Donax, possibly by himself.¹²³ Yet, the most conspicuous case for an individual with no royal connections, as far as we know, who establishes a festival for himself and is, as we shall see, the most prominent non-royal donor in the Delian sanctuary, is the Delian Stesileos, son of Diodotos.¹²⁴ The Stesileos of our inventories is, most certainly, the Delian archon in 305.¹²⁵ He was *choregos* of the Apollonia and *choregos* of tragedies in 280, dedicated a house, and founded an Aphrodision in which he dedicated a statue of Aphrodite.¹²⁶ He honoured his mother Echenike and his father Diodotos with a statue for each in the Aphrodision, a temple that he probably funded himself.¹²⁷ But mostly, for our purposes, he was a prolific dedicator: he dedicated a votive wooden *pinax*, three *phialai* in the temple of Apollo, a tripod, as well as a large number of bowls, cups, vases, and so on.¹²⁸ He also founded the festival Stesileia, which was commemorated annually.¹²⁹ His daughter Echenike was similarly a prolific dedicator.¹³⁰ She donated a golden *kylix* and a *phiale* in 250, a marble statue of Aphrodite in the Aphrodision of her father, and a drinking bowl (*hedypotis*).¹³¹ In 250, she donated 3000 dr, a very considerable

¹²¹ Pataikos dedicates three bowls (*skaphia*) (ID 372Ba 14, 17, 19). The founding of the Pataikeia festival must have taken place before 235: see Tréheux 1992, 70, s.v. Πάταικος Λέπτωνος.

¹²² Dedication in ID 320B 79. See Tréheux 1944, 276, and Vial 1984, 136–7.

¹²³ See notes 117, 118, and 119 above.

¹²⁴ See Bruneau 1970, 337, Vial 1984, 75 and 2008, 123, s.v. Στησίλειος Διοδότου. On the foundation of festivals by (prominent) Delians see Vial 1984, 380–2, with references.

¹²⁵ Archon in 305: IG XI.4 1067 b 5, IG XI.2 117 10, 124 33. See also Durrbach, table of Delian archons in ID p. 328, Hamilton 2000, 187, and Sosin 2014a, 131–2.

¹²⁶ *Choregos* of the Apollonia in 284: IG XI.2 105 5, *choregos* of tragedies in 280: IG XI.2 107 13; dedication of a house: IG XI.2 162A 42; founder of an Aphrodision in which he dedicated a statue of Aphrodite in marble: ID 290 151 and 153. For the Aphrodision of Stesileos see GD 88, p. 213–14, Durvy 2006 and 2009, Hellmann 2006, 102, stressing the archaic character of the building. See also the discussion in Chapter 3.4.

¹²⁷ Statues of Diodotos and Echenike in the Aphrodision: IG XI.4 1166 and 1167. See Ma 2013, 229–30 stressing that the erection of such familial statues aimed at a visibility of wealth and the ‘familial colonization of public space’, and 233–4, discussing the elitist connotations of this dedication.

¹²⁸ Votive wooden *pinax* in ID 1412 A 33; three *phialai* in the temple of Apollo in 297: IG XI.2 199B 6; tripod, which was later in the temple of Apollo: ID 1432Ab II 10–11. See Durvy 2009.

¹²⁹ Bruneau 1970, 342–3, Durvy 2006, 2009.

¹³⁰ See Vial 1984, 74–5 and 2008, 70, s.v. Ἐχενίκη Στησίλειω.

¹³¹ Golden *kylix* in IG XI.2 287B 75 and *phiale* in 32; marble statue of Aphrodite ID 1277 and 1412A 29–30; *hedypotis* in ID 439 a 6–7. See Bruneau 1970, 335. The dedication by Echenike of the *hedypotis* is also discussed by the fragmentary historian Semos of Delos (FGH 396 F9 = Ath. 11.37 469c), for which see Bertelli 2010.

amount, for the foundation of the festival Echenikeia, which included an annual sacrifice to Apollo and Artemis.¹³² We are obviously looking at a family with considerable wealth at their disposal, an important political standing in the community and also one who wished to appear conspicuous in their piety to the Delian gods.¹³³ But how are we to quantify their dedications?

As the festivals founded by royalty and prominent or wealthy individuals included the deposit of a capital, which, consequently, generated a dedication to the Delian deities on an annual basis (normally silver *phialai* listed either chronologically or according to festival),¹³⁴ I decided to count the total of these dedications as a single dedication—that is the initial deposit of the sum of money (capital) required to generate the annual expense in order for the festival to be celebrated on an annual basis. This, I believe, is an essential adjustment to what otherwise would be extremely problematic results. To take what is perhaps the most conspicuous example, in the inventory list of the year 224, seventy-one *phialai* appear as a dedication of king Ptolemy II (the so-called Philadelphos): more particularly, the total of seventy-one *phialai* is the result of the dedication of forty-seven annual *phialai* for the festival Ptolemaieia I and twenty-four for Ptolemaieia II.¹³⁵ Previous inventory lists have fewer *phialai* (as they are earlier). Such a large number of *phialai*, if counted as individual dedications, would substantially skew the results of individual dedications. I have therefore counted Ptolemy II's dedications as two: that is the deposit of the initial capital for two festivals, Ptolemaieia I and Ptolemaieia II. In other words, I consider as a single act of dedication the inauguration of the festival (through the deposit of the money to the sanctuary) and not the production of the annual silver *phialai* that would take place every year after the initial dedication. I have applied the same principle to all foundations of festivals generating annual *phialai*, whether these festivals were founded by royalty or by less conspicuous individuals (such as the wealthy Stesileos and his daughter Echenike). So for example, Stesileos, son of Diodotos, is linked with no less than ninety-nine objects in the inventories of the third century. However, as most of these objects are the annual dedications as part of the festival Stesilea, I have counted only fourteen dedications for Stesileos: that is the initial deposit of the capital for the festival, as well as other dedications, not linked with the festival (such as the statue of Aphrodite, the wooden *pinax*, and so on). The one exception to the rule of counting as a single dedication the annual dedication

¹³² Foundation of the festival Echenikeia in IG XI.2 287A 123: δραχμὰς XXX ἄς ἀνέθηκεν Ἐχενίκη Στησίλειω εἰς θυσίαν τῶι τε Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ. The reference in this inventory indicates a date before 250, but see Bruneau 1970, 343, for the argument that the deposit of 3000 dr took place in the same year.

¹³³ Durvy 2009, esp. 160, stresses the wealth and political connections of Stesileos and his family.

¹³⁴ See note 106 above.

¹³⁵ ID 338Bc 26–33. Bruneau 1970, 518–25 discusses the evidence for the three different Ptolemaieia festivals.

of objects is the annual dedication of a silver *phiale* by the Delian *trittyes* Thyestades and Okyneides.¹³⁶ These two *trittyes*, as Vial has shown, are subdivisions of the same Delian tribe.¹³⁷ The dedications of these *phialai* do not seem to be the result of the deposit of an initial capital to the sanctuary (as is the case with the festivals discussed above), but rather it is the result of a decision to collectively dedicate on an annual basis a *phiale* to the Delian deities.¹³⁸ The dedications begin in 285 and take place, as far as we can judge, every year throughout the rest of the third century. I have therefore counted all the *phialai* of these two Delian *trittyes* as separate dedications.

Taking into account, therefore, the fact that I have counted as a single dedication those objects (normally silver *phialai*) originating from an annual celebration of a named festival, these are the total numbers that I have reached for the inventories of the period 314–200:

- The total number of dedicated objects by named individuals and communities are 581. This figure excludes the large number of objects listed in the inventories that are not attributed to a named dedicant, whether an individual or a community.
- The total number of named individuals dedicating objects are 277. These include twenty-three combined dedications of two individuals or three individuals where they jointly dedicate an object,¹³⁹ and the six attestations of sons (unnamed) and one case of daughters dedicating objects in the name of their fathers (normally).¹⁴⁰ Although it is unclear in the inventories how many sons/daughters are involved in the act of dedication, I have counted these as two individuals involved (though they may be more). To this number, we should add the names of forty-two *architheoroi*, who dedicate objects (normally *phialai*) as part of collective dedications of their communities. Although the dedications are essentially collective, the presence of the names of forty-two individual *architheoroi* means that the number of named individuals that appear in the inventories is 319.
- The total number of individual dedications (that is not collective/community) is 419, while collective dedications (by communities, or groups of

¹³⁶ The highest number of *phialai* dedicated by the Delian *trittyes* recorded in an inventory is 56: *ID* 338B 18–25, but there is a gap in the middle of the listing.

¹³⁷ Vial 1984, 31.

¹³⁸ I follow here Vial's reconstruction of events, 1984, 28–32, esp. 28.

¹³⁹ Entries of dedications by three individuals: that of Demetrios, Heracleitos, and Aischrion dedicating a *phiale* (*IG* XI.2 287B 41), and Sosis, Praxidemos, and Sokles dedicating a *phiale* (*IG* XI.2 203B 93).

¹⁴⁰ Sons: Kaphon's sons, a *phiale*, in *ID* 298 A 59; Kyllias' sons, from Cyrene, a *phiale*, in *ID* 298 A 59; Leocharides with his sons (so these count as three individuals involved in the act of dedication), a *phiale*, in *ID* 298 A 56–7; Mandronikos' sons, a *phiale*, in *ID* 298 A 62; Polyarchos' sons, from Samos, a cup, in *IG* XI.2 145 47; Theomeles' sons, a *phiale*, in *ID* 298 A 62. Daughters: Charmides' daughters, from Macedonia, two *phialai*, in *IG* XI.2 161 B 73; these two *phialai* are listed under Charmides' name later on in the inventories. See discussion under relevant entries in Appendix 5.

people, such as the Thyestades and Okyneides, or another group of Delians, the Mapsichides)¹⁴¹ are 162.

All references are included in Appendix 5, which is organized according to region and then alphabetically according to name of dedicant(s). Working, therefore, with the above totals, I will attempt to address the following questions:

1. What are the gender dynamics of the dedications on Delos? In other words, how many of the individuals listed are men as opposed to women, and how many of the overall dedications are offered by men as opposed to women?
2. How many of the overall dedications listed in the inventories are collective as opposed to individual dedications? In other words, how many of the participants to the cult network of Delos, as this is represented in the inventories, are representatives of communities as opposed to individuals?
3. Where do these people come from? In other words, what is the geographic catchment area of the Delian cult, as reflected in the inventories? How many of them are local Delian, and how many of them come from elsewhere? On a second level, can we distinguish between a region of limited geographic appeal (say, Delos and the neighbouring islands), as opposed to a more distant appeal (say Alexandria, or Macedonia)?
4. Finally, can we deconstruct the class/status dynamics of the dedicants? How many of the named individuals recorded on the inventories belong to royal circles or were closely associated with royalty, as opposed to virtually unknown dedicants? What percentage of the dedications are done by such 'elite' individuals?

5.7. GENDER DYNAMICS

Of the 277 individuals dedicating objects to the Delian gods, forty-seven are certainly female,¹⁴² while it is not possible to establish the gender of two names

¹⁴¹ The Mapsichides are a Delian *trittys* in IG XI.2 199 3. As a group they dedicate *phialai* to Apollo on a yearly basis, with the earliest recorded in 240 (ID 298 A 70). In 229, the total of *phialai* recorded in the inventory is eleven (ID 320 B 42, 57, 60), while the maximum number of *phialai* on the lists is sixteen for the year 224 (ID 338 Bc 48–50, but many of the *phialai* in this text are supplemented). In 221, we see that they have also dedicated two bowls (*skaphia*) (IG XI.2 124, 60). I have calculated, therefore, the total number of dedications of this Delian *trittys* as eighteen (sixteen *phialai* and two *skaphia*). The Mapsichides pay interest to the temple in IG XI.2 204 86 (this is the earliest reference, in 268). Homolle 1882, 145 argued that the Mapsichides was a group that owned land and dedicated as *aparche* a *phiale* to Apollo on a yearly basis. For the dedication of this Delian *trittys* see also Sosin 2014a, 138.

¹⁴² For a discussion of the motivations behind female dedications, see Prêtre 2009. See also Stavrianopoulou 2006, 228–31.

(Aeschylis and Stilpyris),¹⁴³ who may also be female. Therefore, out of 275 names, where we can firmly establish the gender, forty-seven are female. However, one of the female names, Eriphyle, most likely represents a mythical person, and not an actual female engaged in the act of dedication.¹⁴⁴ In fact, it was not unusual for Greek sanctuaries to claim to hold mythical objects.¹⁴⁵ If, therefore, we take Eriphyle's necklace out of our calculations, this leaves us with 229 individual male dedicants, as opposed to forty-six individual female dedicants: this means that 17 per cent of the named individuals whose gender we can establish in the inventories are female, while 83 per cent are male.

If we calculate, however, the percentage of dedications by individual women as opposed to individual men, then the overall image is slightly different. Out of a total of 419 dedications by individuals (that is dedications not by communities or groups of people), female dedications are 110, male dedications are 305, two dedications are made jointly by men and women,¹⁴⁶ and two dedications are by individuals of unknown gender (Figure 5.1).¹⁴⁷

¹⁴³ Aischylis, the son or daughter of Timosthenes, dedicated a small shield to Apollo: earliest reference in *IG XI.2 161B 25*, dated to 278. Vial 2008, 15, s.v. *Αἰσχυλῖς Τιμοσθένους*, believes that this is more likely a male name. Stilpyris dedicated an incense burner (*thymiaterion*) in *IG XI.2 161B 79*. Tréheux 1992, 77 believes that the male gender for Stilpyris is more likely than the female one.

¹⁴⁴ The inventories record a necklace (*hormos*), dedicated by Eriphyle (*IG XI.2 161B 42* and elsewhere: see Prêtre 2012, 175–6). We know of the legendary necklace of Eriphyle from Apollod. 3.4.2, who recounts the story of Cadmus giving his wife Harmonia a necklace. Pausanias 9.41.2, mentions a necklace dedicated to Adonis and Aphrodite in Amathous, Cyprus: this was called the necklace of Eriphyle, because it was the bribe she took to betray her husband, Amphiarus, given to her by Polynices: for Eriphyle's story see M. Davies 2015, 123–31; for Pausanias' reference to Eriphyle's necklace and his use of Homer for the identification of the necklace in Amathous see recently Duffy 2013. Prêtre in *Nouveau Choix* 246 and 272, rightly identifies Eriphyle's necklace in the inventories with the mythical necklace of Eriphyle. We could assume that Eriphyle was an actual person; indeed, in the Aegean there are two women called Eriphyle/Erephyle in the imperial period, both from Arcesine in Amorgos (*IG XII.7 203* and 54). However, as the dedication is a necklace, it is more reasonable to assume that this entry in the inventories indeed referred to Eriphyle's mythical necklace. We do not know how the Delians came to claim that this object, known by Pausanias to be kept in Cyprus, was in fact stored in their sanctuary.

¹⁴⁵ A notable case of such holdings are the objects that the priests of Athana at Lindos claimed that their sanctuary held from mythical times in the Lindian *anagraphe*: see Higbie 2003 and references in note 8.

¹⁴⁶ These are: the dedication of a *phiale* by Eukles and Timesarete, possibly from Delos, in *ID 298A* [62–3], and *ID 313A 52*, and the dedication of another *phiale* by Onesandros and his wife Nikoboule, in *IG XI.2 223B 34–5*: *Ὀνήσανδρος καὶ ἡ γυνὴ Νικοβούλη*. It is likely that Eukles and Timesarete were also husband and wife: see Vial 1984, 289, for a list of seven joint dedications of a man and a woman, interpreted as husband and wife. Vial takes into account the two joint dedications discussed here, as well as five more joint dedications, dated to the second century. The link between familial joint dedications and dedications to (both) Artemis and Apollo is highlighted by Wallensten 2011, who examines surviving dedicatory inscriptions from Delos and elsewhere; unfortunately, for this project, she does not take into account dedications recorded in inventories.

¹⁴⁷ Aischylis and Stilpyris, discussed above in note 143.

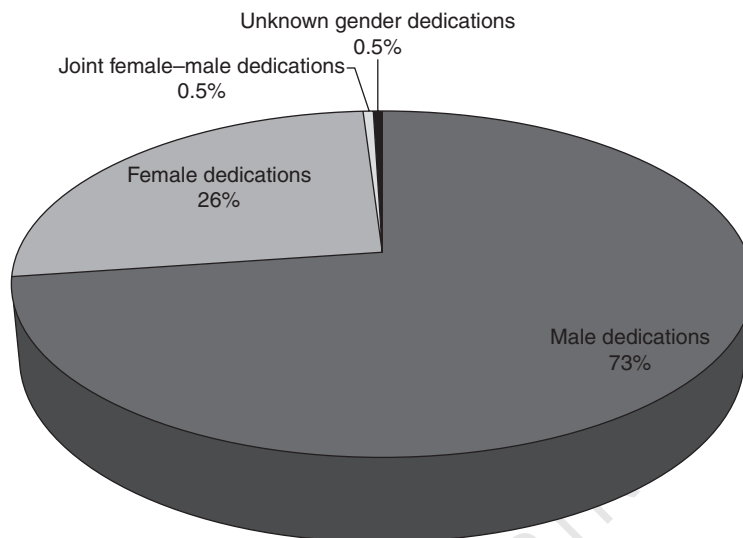
Aegean Interactions

Figure 5.1. Dedications of individuals according to gender

What we see here, therefore, is that although the percentage of women in terms of individual dedicants in the sanctuary is 17 per cent, the percentage of objects dedicated to the sanctuary by women is substantially larger, 26 per cent. An immediate explanation for this is the impressive number of dedications by queen Stratonike, daughter of Demetrios Poliorketes, who is one of the most prominent dedicants of the sanctuary.¹⁴⁸ Stratonike dedicates fifty objects to the sanctuary (Table 5.1). If we take out the fifty dedications of Stratonike from the total of female dedications, we end up with 17 per cent for individual female dedications to 83 per cent for individual male dedications, which is similar to the percentages we had for names appearing on the inventories. But even without counting Stratonike's dedications, the image that emerges about female dedications is still significant; in other words, there may be fewer women on the lists, but they dedicated at least as many objects as the men.¹⁴⁹

I shall discuss later the additional parameters of class/status and distance of ethnic origin to Delos for female dedications, but for the moment I would like to highlight the following observations. Firstly, although women dedicate objects that are listed as kept in the 'big' treasuries, such as the Temple of Apollo, the Porinos Naos, or the Temple of the Seven Statues, the inventories of the Eileithyon and the Artemision have more female than

¹⁴⁸ See note 31 above, and Appendix 5, under Stratonike in the non-Aegean region, for a breakdown of the dedications.

¹⁴⁹ Similar comments in Goff 2004, 43. Cole 2004, 100, on the other hand, emphasizes the modesty of female dedications at Delos and elsewhere.

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Table 5.1. Female dedicants in the inventories. Full references can be found in Appendix 5. Key: A: Aegean region; D: Delos; NA: non-Aegean region; NI: neighbouring islands

Name	Ethnic	Region	Elite (* signifies elite)	Number of dedications
Archippe	Myconos	NI		2
Aristole	Myconos	NI		1
Aristokleia	Delos?	D		1
Arsinoe II	Alexandria	NA	*	1
Berenice	Alexandria	NA	*	1
Boulomaga	Macedonia?	A		2
Choroithis				1
Demetria	Myconos	NI		1
Demostrate				1
Echenike	Delos	D		5
Eriphyle				1
Hado Maketia	Macedonia?	A		3
Hierocleia	Delos	D		1
Kallikrateia and Kallo				1
Kallikrite				1
Kalliphante	Delos	D		1
Kerkis	Delos?	D		1
Klearchis	Delos?	D		1
Kleino				2
Kritole	Delos	D		1
Ktesylis	Delos	D		1
Lamidion	Delos?	D		4
Leodike	Naxos	NI		1
Melito				1
Menylla and Boulomaga				1
[Myr]tal[e]				1
Nikoboule (with husband				1
Onesandros)				
Pamphile				1
Phila	A thamanes	NA	*	5
Philotis				1
Phokais	Delos	D		1
Phryno				1
Polemis	Delos	D		2
Rhanis				1
Sappho				1
Simiche	Myconos	NI		1
Stratonike	Seleucia	NA	*	50
Themisto	Delos	D		2
Theotime	Salamis	NA		1
Thessalia	Delos?	D		1
Timesarete (with husband Eukles)	Delos?	D		1
Timomacha				1
Unnamed daughters of Charmides	Macedonia	A		2
Unnamed daughter of Teisidikos	Myconos	NI		1

male dedications.¹⁵⁰ Such female preference for Artemis and Eileithyia can be explained by the association between these two deities and childbirth, which attracted, by default, more female dedications.¹⁵¹ The percentage of female dedication on Delos, presented here, shows that Delos attracted more female dedications than the Athenian Acropolis,¹⁵² but fewer than the dedications in the various sanctuaries of Asclepius, where female dedications outnumber male ones.¹⁵³ Jacquemin calculated that on the whole, in sanctuaries we get ten male dedicants for every female one;¹⁵⁴ the evidence of the Delian inventories seems to show that Delos attracted a larger proportion of female dedicants than other sanctuaries, albeit still on a small scale.

Secondly, as we have already seen, the dedications listed in the inventories are mostly those that are precious objects. Consequently, the listing of female dedications shows, without doubt, that women had access to such items, which they could then dispose of if they wished, as dedications to the gods. The dedication of expensive silver *phialai*, such as the one dedicated by Echenike in the year before 250, which weighed 120 dr (an impressive amount),¹⁵⁵ or indeed the foundation of festivals through the deposit of an initial capital (again Echenike and the Echenikeia), show that women had access to impressive wealth. It is likely that the foundation of festivals by women, such as Echenike, who were not members of royal families, were linked to money given to them as part of a dowry, or as inheritance.¹⁵⁶ The considerable number and expense of female dedications that we witness on Delos prove that, at least in the ritual sphere, women had some control over their finances and were able to dispose significant sections of their wealth towards acts of piety and communication with the gods.¹⁵⁷ We should certainly not assume that dedications that appear on the inventories under female names involved necessarily women travelling to Delos to perform the ritual act of dedication. It is likely that men performed the act on behalf of their female relatives, wives, mothers, sisters, or daughters. Still, the very act of dedication,

¹⁵⁰ Prêtre in *Nouveau Choix* 246, following Bruneau 1970, 345; Homolle 1891, 158 believed that only women dedicated objects to Artemis and Eileithyia, but this is not in fact accurate.

¹⁵¹ Bruneau 1970, 214–15, Vial 1984, 381 with n. 43, Le Dinahet-Couilloud 1996, 388. The same can be observed in the inventories of Artemis Brauronia, a deity with strong childbirth associations: see Linders 1972, 69, Calame 2002, Cole 2004, 209–13, Cleland 2005, 6, Brons 2015, 48.

¹⁵² Lazzarini 1976, 169 and Goff 2004, 44, not discussing Delos. Fewer than twenty out of more than 400 dedications on the Athenian Acropolis are certainly female.

¹⁵³ Aleshire 1989, 43, 45–6 on the proportion of female to male dedicants in the inventories of the Asclepieion in Athens.

¹⁵⁴ Jacquemin 2009.

¹⁵⁵ Echenike's *phiale* in *IG XI.2 287B 32*: *καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀρχῆς, φιάλη ἔκτυπος ἀργυρᾶ, Ἐχενίκης ἀνάθημα, ὀλκῆ ΗΔΔ.*

¹⁵⁶ Vial 1984, 74–5. See also van Bremen 1996, 252–4, who uses the Delian evidence (mostly the accounts) to argue that women on Delos could in some cases inherit.

¹⁵⁷ Goff 2004, 69–76.

as Goff observed, revealed a certain degree of agency from the point of view of the women.¹⁵⁸ Obviously, class and status were particularly important in this respect, as wealthier/elite women could more easily travel greater distances than those who were not elite. This parameter of distance is, in fact, a crucial factor in female dedications, as we shall see below in section 9.

Thirdly, women dedicate a wide variety of objects: *phialai* (which in many ways is the quintessential dedication to the Delian deities), but also crowns, jewellery, and what Prêtre described as ‘everyday objects’, such as bowls, cups, jars, and so on.¹⁵⁹ The choice of object for dedication primarily highlights the special relationship between the dedicant and the deity.¹⁶⁰ What we can observe is that the female dedications recorded in the Delian inventories do not reveal any specific preferences of female dedicants for the choice of objects; in other words, we cannot observe that the objects of female dedications were ‘closely bound with their daily lives and their domestic routine’, as has been argued for Brauron.¹⁶¹ In the period of Athenian cleruchy, some objects may be considered as more ‘feminine’ among the dedications (such as clothes),¹⁶² but in the period of Independence, women on the whole do not show different preferences than men in their choice of object for their dedication.¹⁶³ In other words, we do not observe in any way the existence of ‘gendered’ items in the list of dedications from the third-century inventories. In terms of dedications, therefore, the Delian sanctuary seems to attract different types of practices of dedications than what we would understand as typically ‘female’ ones.

5.8. INDIVIDUAL DEDICATIONS VERSUS COMMUNITY/COLLECTIVE DEDICATIONS

Out of a total of 581 named dedications in the inventories, 162, or 28 per cent, are by communities or groups of people. I have classified as collective the dedications by the Delian *trittyes* (Mopsichides and Thyestades and Okyneides),

¹⁵⁸ Goff 2004, 45–6.

¹⁵⁹ Prêtre 2009, 11. Prêtre rightly urges caution when attempting to differentiate types of dedications as essentially feminine.

¹⁶⁰ Prêtre 2009, 13.

¹⁶¹ Goff 2004, 70 on female dedications in general, but mostly discussing the evidence from the Athenian Acropolis and Brauron. Aleshire, 1989 46, argues for gendered dedications in the evidence from the Athenian Asclepieion. Similarly, Harris 1995, 236–7, also sees some objects being associated with gender in the inventories of the Athenian Acropolis.

¹⁶² Le Dinahet-Couilloud 1996, 391.

¹⁶³ There are some slight variations here: women dedicate more jewellery, while men dedicate more *periskelides*, but the variations are not significant enough to make us classify objects as typically female or male dedications. See Prêtre 2009, 12–13. On female preferences for specific objects as suitable for dedications see also Jacquemin 2009, 71.

and the dedications by communities that dedicate objects using their collective name (that is, Alexandrians, Coans, Tauromenitans and so on) (Figure 5.2). This essentially means that the majority of dedications as they are recorded in the inventories are the result of individual acts of worship rather than communal acts. Many community dedications appear as the official dedication of a *theoria* delegation, often recording the name of the *architheoros* in charge.¹⁶⁴ The object of dedication for such official community dedications is normally a silver *phiale*, normally listed as *phiale Deliadon*.

The 162 dedications of communities/groups of people represent eighteen communities: Delos,¹⁶⁵ Rhodes, Cos, Alexandria, Calymnos, Byblos, Chersonesos on the Pontus, Tauromenion, Naxos, Arcesine (on the island of Amorgos), Casos, Cnidos, Eresos (on the island of Lesbos), Ios, Leontinoi, Megalopolis, Myconos, and Sicilian Naxos.¹⁶⁶ What is immediately apparent is that the Delians are by far the biggest collective dedicants to the sanctuary (Table 5.2). Similarly, the impressive number of Alexandrian delegations can be explained through the links between Alexandria, the Ptolemies, and the Islanders' League of the first half of the third century.¹⁶⁷ Rhodes and Cos develop traditions of *architheoria* to Delos and this is reflected in the dedications of the inventories.¹⁶⁸ This is mostly linked with the important positions these two islands held within the Ptolemaic sphere of influence: indeed, Cos was the birthplace of Ptolemy Philadelphos,¹⁶⁹ and as such it occupied an important position in Ptolemaic royal ideology and foreign politics.¹⁷⁰ The cult of Apollo Dalios is attested on Cos; in addition, the singing of choruses of Deliades was an important element of Coan cult on Cos, but also in the sending of *theoria* to Delos.¹⁷¹ Both Rhodes and Cos had a month Dalios in their calendar.¹⁷² Both islands feature prominently in both collective and individual dedications as the place of origin of dedicants.¹⁷³

¹⁶⁴ This is mostly the case with delegations from Cos and Rhodes.

¹⁶⁵ Under Delos, I have counted the dedications by the polis or the demos of the Delians, such as the laurel crown, weighing 96 dr 3 obols, in IG XI.2 203B 53, (στέφανος ὃν ἀνέθηκεν ὁ δῆμος ὁ Δηλίων δάφνης, σὺν τῷ λίνῳ ὀλκῆ Ἰ ΔΔΔΔΠΙ-ΙΙΙ), or the crown dedicated by the demos of the Delians, after the demos was crowned by the demos of the Naxians, weighing 96 dr, in IG XI.2 199B 23 (ὃν ὁ δῆμος ὁ Δηλίων ἀνέθηκε στεφανωθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ναξίων, ὀλκῆν Ἰ ΔΔΔΔΠΙ), and the dedications of the Delian *trittyes*, Mapsichides, and Thyestades and Okyneides.

¹⁶⁶ For a discussion of the *theoriai* of these communities see Bruneau 1970, 93–114.

¹⁶⁷ See Chapter 2 of this book.

¹⁶⁸ Bruneau 1970, 110–11. Rutherford 2013, 231–6 discusses the *architheoriai* of Cos, and 286–8 the sending of Hellenistic *theoriai* to Delos more generally.

¹⁶⁹ Celebrated famously in Callimachus' *Hymn to Delos*, 160–70, and in Theocritus, *Idyll* 17.

¹⁷⁰ Sherwin-White 1978, 90–131. ¹⁷¹ Rutherford 2009, Paul 2013, 63–7.

¹⁷² Sarkady 1985, 14–15.

¹⁷³ Early discussion in Homolle 1891, 121–6. Sherwin-White 1978, 91 with n. 50 has a list of all the Coan *theoriai* to Delos. Jim 2014b, 239–40, discusses the different types of Coan dedications: the Coan *phialai* are sometimes referred to as *aparche* to Apollo, while others as *anathema*.

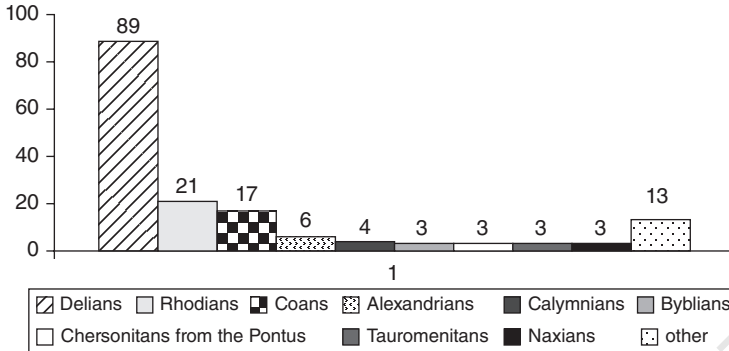


Figure 5.2. Community dedications represented in the inventories and number of dedications*

* Under 'other' I have included the following dedications: two dedications from Arcesine (on the island of Amorgos), two from Casos, one from Cnidos, one from Eresos (on the island of Lesbos), two from Ios, one from Leontinoi, two from Megalopolis, one from Myconos, and one from Sicilian Naxos. My calculations of the total number of *phialai* offered by communities differ occasionally from Bruneau's calculations.

Table 5.2. Collective dedications in the inventories. Full references can be found in Appendix 5. Key: A: Aegean region; D: Delos; NA: non-Aegean region; NI: neighbouring islands

Community	Region	Number of dedications
Alexandrians	NA	6
Arcesineans (Amorgos)	NI	2
Byblians	NA	3
Calymnians	NI	4
Casians	A	2
Chersonetans in Pontus	NA	3
Cnidians	A	1
Coans	NI	16
Delians	D	89
Eresians (Lesbos)	A	1
Ians	NI	2
Leontineans	NA	1
Megalopolitans	NA	2
Myconians	NI	1
Naxians	NI	4
Naxians of Sicily	NA	1
Rhodians	A	21
Tauromenitans	NA	3

I shall discuss further below the implications that this presentation of collective dedications has on the discussion of the catchment area of the Delian religious network. But for the time being, I would like to argue that the predominance of individual dedications as opposed to collective dedications, as these are reflected in the inventories, reveals that the wealth of the

sanctuary was primarily built by individual acts of dedication and piety. Community involvement in the sanctuary may have been extremely significant, as early processes of monumentalization in the sanctuary reveal (through the construction of *oikoi* of island communities).¹⁷⁴ Similarly, perhaps the most prestigious events in the Delian festivals were the competition of choruses from communities in the Aegean.¹⁷⁵ Community participation in the cult of the Delian deities, then, was very important and has been recognized as such by modern scholarship, especially in the field of studies of choral competition and ritual participation.¹⁷⁶ The inventories, however, seem to paint a different picture: one where individual involvement, through the act of pilgrimage and dedication, trumped considerably collective participation.

5.9. DELIANS AND NON-DELIANS: THE GEOGRAPHY OF DISTANCE FOR THE DELIAN NETWORK OF DEDICANTS

Can we map the extent of the appeal of the Delian cult through the inventories? Certainly, the individual and collective dedications that appear in the inventories cannot possibly tell the whole picture of the appeal of the Delian deities in the Aegean; for example, the spread of the cult of Apollo Delios and Artemis Delia in the Aegean islands (and beyond) is another way through which the appeal of the Delian deities in the Aegean region can be documented and mapped.¹⁷⁷ But what the inventories do reveal vividly is the extent in which individuals and communities came to the island to engage in the act of dedication, which was an essential (but not the only) element of cult participation. In fact, we should not believe that the regional appeal of Delos can (or indeed should) be mapped in a single-dimensional way. The network of the cult participants could be considerably different if we looked at early investment in monumentalization, participation in festivals (through *theoria* or competitive singing), or private pilgrimage and dedication. The inventories, however, do allow us to map both communal participation through the dedication of (normally) *phialai* by communities, usually through an *architheoros* acting as a representative of a community, and individual participation. The regional extent of both these networks shall be examined side by side. The inventories, therefore, reveal one aspect of the regional appeal of Delian cult; but this aspect of communal and individual dedication is not only

¹⁷⁴ Constantakopoulou 2007, 43–58. ¹⁷⁵ Kowalzig 2007, 56–192.

¹⁷⁶ See for example Fearn 2007, 242–56 and 2013, Kowalzig 2007.

¹⁷⁷ See Grandjean and Salviat 2006.

a significant one, it is one we can map with some accuracy. In other words, the act of dedication was a very important element of the overall process of offering cult to the gods; the inventories, therefore record a paramount element of the cult's catchment area. In addition, the catchment area of dedication can be reconstructed through the surviving evidence of the inventories, whereas the geographic spread of the network of, say, festival participation and/or participation in competitions cannot be equally reconstructed because of the limitations of the existing evidence and the survival rate of fragments of choral poetry. In fact, this regional appeal is one of the few areas where the inventories have been used by modern scholarship in order to discuss the degrees of appeal of the Delian cult:¹⁷⁸ from strictly local (Delos), to regional (south Aegean islands) and beyond. Baslez has addressed the issue of the different registers of appeal, in terms of local, regional, and beyond, but she does not present us with a quantitative approach, and indeed, this geographic element of the appeal of the Delian deities forms only a part of her overall argument.¹⁷⁹

I have approached my data using three different levels of analysis. First, I explore the ratio between dedications by Delian individuals and communities as opposed to non-Delians. Second, I consider the extent of the appeal of the Delian cult, as this is reflected in the dedications, in the region of the Aegean. In other words, what percentage of the dedications comes from the region immediately neighbouring to Delos (the south Aegean islands) and what from beyond (say, Alexandria)? Can we map the network of dedicants to the Delian sanctuaries? Is the Delian sanctuary a regional south Aegean cult centre or does its appeal extend considerably beyond the southern Aegean, in a way that this is reflected markedly in the percentages of dedications? Third, what is the regional appeal for communities as opposed to individual dedicants? Can we see different regional networks for individuals as opposed to community dedications, and for male as opposed to female dedicants?

Of the 581 named dedications (individual and collective) recorded in the inventories, we can read or reasonably assume the place of origin of the dedicant (whether an individual or a community) for 489. In other words, 84 per cent of the total dedications can be relatively safely attributed to a place of origin. If we look at named individuals, we know the place of origin for 184 individual dedicants (out of a total of 277 named dedicants) plus the name of origin of the forty-two *architheoroi*, who represent their respective community. Therefore out of a total of 319 named individuals in the inventories, we know the place of origin for 226. This represents 71 per cent of the names recorded. This is extremely good news, as it means that we have enough data

¹⁷⁸ Bruneau 1970.

¹⁷⁹ Baslez 2005.

to be able to map the catchment area of the appeal of Delian cult on the basis of the inventory evidence.

Let us now proceed to the first level of analysis: how many dedications are Delian as opposed to non-Delian. Out of 489 total dedications whose origin we know or can assume, 193 are Delian dedications. This represents 40 per cent of the total dedications. Similarly, out of a total of 226 named individuals whose place of origin can be reconstructed, 70 are Delian; this represents 31 per cent of the total. If we look at individual dedications alone, then we get the following picture: out of 327 individual dedications, whose place of origin survives, dedications by Delian individuals are 104. This represents almost a third (32 per cent) of the total of individual dedications.

We can immediately notice something interesting: whereas in terms of individual dedications, Delian dedications form a third of the overall total individual dedications whose origin we know or can establish (32 per cent), when we look at the overall total of dedications (individual and communal), Delian dedications are considerably higher (40 per cent). This difference can be explained by the high number of collective Delian dedications, which are the biggest group of the collective dedications. The Delian community, therefore, is very active in dedicating and that increases the overall percentages of Delian dedications, compared to dedications from outside Delos. The second significant observation is that the Delians seem to dedicate more objects than the non-Delians: where as in terms of individual dedications, Delian names represent the 31 per cent of the overall names, these Delian individuals dedicate 32 per cent of the overall dedications. The gap between the two figures, 31 per cent and 32 per cent may be considered insignificant, but it is enough to be visible on our statistics. Such a result is, in some ways, not entirely unexpected. As the Delians did not have to travel far to dedicate their objects, we would expect them to be more active in dedicating objects to the sanctuary than the non-Delians who would have to travel short or considerably long distances in order to participate in the cult.

Finally, and perhaps more significantly, we can observe that the appeal of the Delian deities is certainly one that extends the insular boundaries of the island. This is by no means surprising. We know that Delos was not a local sanctuary, but one with a strong regional, if not panhellenic, appeal; indeed we have examined the appeal of Delos in the Aegean world in terms of investment in monumentalization and the extent of Delian honours in previous chapters. The ethnic profile of the dedications in the inventories, however, allow us for the first time to quantify the extensive appeal of the Delian cult beyond Delos, with the vast majority of both dedications and individuals coming from outside the island.

We can further explore the geographic appeal of the cult as this is reflected through the dedications. I have divided the non-Delian dedications into three regions: the first is the region which can be considered as neighbouring to Delos:

this includes the south Aegean islands, the inhabitants of which can reach Delos by one or two days sailing (weather permitting). Therefore, this region includes Arcesine (on Amorgos), Amorgos, Calymnos, Ceos, Chios, Cos, Ios, Myconos, Naxos, Paros, Pholegandros, Samos, and Tenos. The second region is that beyond the immediate neighbouring islands of Delos, but still within the Aegean basin, or within easy access to the Aegean. This region therefore includes: Athens, Casos, Chalkis, Cnidos, Colophon, Crete, Cyme, Elais (in Aeolia), Eresos (on Lesbos), Lacedaemon, Macedonia,¹⁸⁰ Miletos, Megara, Mytilene (on Lesbos), Pergamon, Rhodes, Rithymnon (on Crete), and Thebes. Finally, the third region is that beyond the Aegean basin, and one that demanded considerable investment for participants in the cult to complete their pilgrimage in order to perform their dedication. I have included here locations from the west (Sicily and Southern Italy), western Greece, north Africa (Alexandria, Barke), the North (Bosporus), and the east (Arados, Byblos, Seleucia). The full list of locations for this region is as follows: Aitolia, Alexandria, Arados, Barke, Bosporus, Byblos, Carthage,¹⁸¹ Chersonesos, Cyprus, Cyrene, Epeiros (the Athamanes), Leontinoi, Leucas, Megalopolis, Metapontum, Persia, Seleucia, Sicily, Sicyon, and Tauromenion (Figures 5.4 and 5.5).¹⁸²

The total of dedications of individual and communities whose ethnic can be established, with the exception of Delos, is 296. Of these, dedications from the immediately neighbouring region (the south Aegean islands) is sixty-eight; the Aegean region provides ninety dedications, while the region beyond the Aegean provides 138. This spread of the dedications among the three zones, the neighbouring to Delos region, the Aegean region, and that beyond the Aegean is revealing in terms of the appeal of the Delian cult. The biggest contributor in dedications is the region beyond the Aegean, but this, in fact, does not imply more worshippers arriving to Delos from that region, but rather the conspicuous display of piety performed by elite individuals in that region. In other words, the results are skewed because of the participation of Ptolemaic kings and queens and their officials, and the massive number of dedications of queen Stratonike (with her fifty dedications).

If we look at the geographic spread of individuals (as opposed to dedications), then we see the following distribution: out of 156 recorded names whose origin we can establish who are not Delians, forty-seven originate from the southern Aegean islands (neighbouring region), representing 28 per cent, sixty-six originate from the Aegean region (representing 42 per cent), and

¹⁸⁰ For Macedonian dedications in the late fourth and early third century see Baslez 1997.

¹⁸¹ There is a confusion in the Delian writing of ethnics between those of Carthage and those of Chalcedon, as both appear as *Καρχηδόνοι*: see Bruneau 1970, 646–67 with n. 7, with particular reference to the dedication of Iomilkos in *IG XI.2 161B 55* and 91 (and elsewhere) of two crowns. For the ethnics of Carthage and Chalcedon see also Couilloud 1974, 193 with no 420.

¹⁸² For the entry Tauromenitans in the Delian inventories see Arena 2008, 98–9 with n. 4, Fraser 2009, 121, and Prag 2013, 46–7 with n. 45.

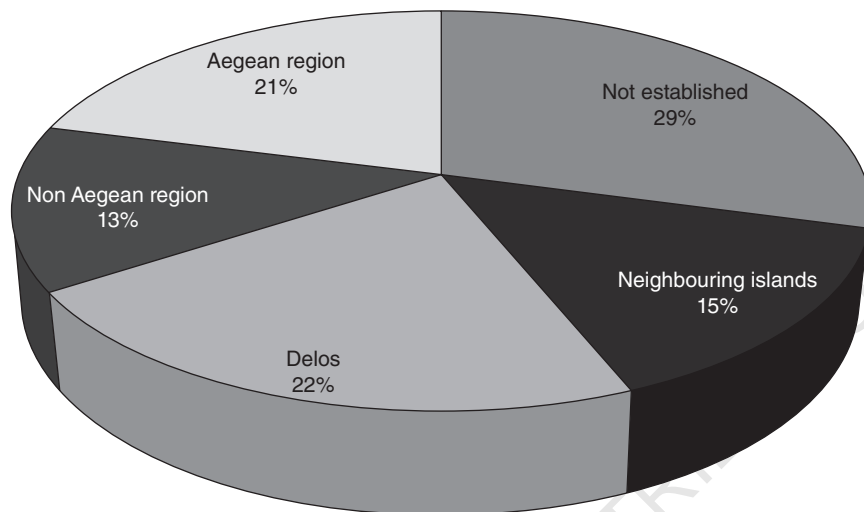
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Figure 5.3. Named individuals according to region

forty-three originate from the region beyond the Aegean (representing 28 per cent). It is clear that the vast majority of non-Delian pilgrims whose dedication of objects is recorded on the inventories come from the Aegean region.

I include here also the overall breakdown of individual names recorded on the inventories, according to region, including Delian names, and names whose place of origin cannot be established (which are ninety-three). The results are as follows (Figure 5.3). It is clear that in terms of individual persons dedicating objects in the sanctuary, the dominant region is that of Delos and its surrounding area, with a total of 37 per cent. The individuals whose ethnic is unknown make up for 29 per cent, and the region beyond the south Aegean, both Aegean and non-Aegean, makes up for 34 per cent.

An analysis of the overall distribution of dedications reveals similar results (Figure 5.6). Most dedications come from Delos and the southern Aegean islands (45 per cent), while the Aegean region and that beyond provide 39 per cent of the dedications. This is higher than the 34 per cent of names from the Aegean and beyond the Aegean regions, but, as I have already mentioned, this includes the high number of dedications by royalty in Alexandria and beyond, including the massive number of dedications from queen Stratonike. What we see again is that the catchment area of the Delian cult, as this is reflected in the inventories, is predominantly one of Delos and its surrounding region.

We can further analyse the data by looking at the distribution of male as opposed to female dedications according to place of origin. When we examine

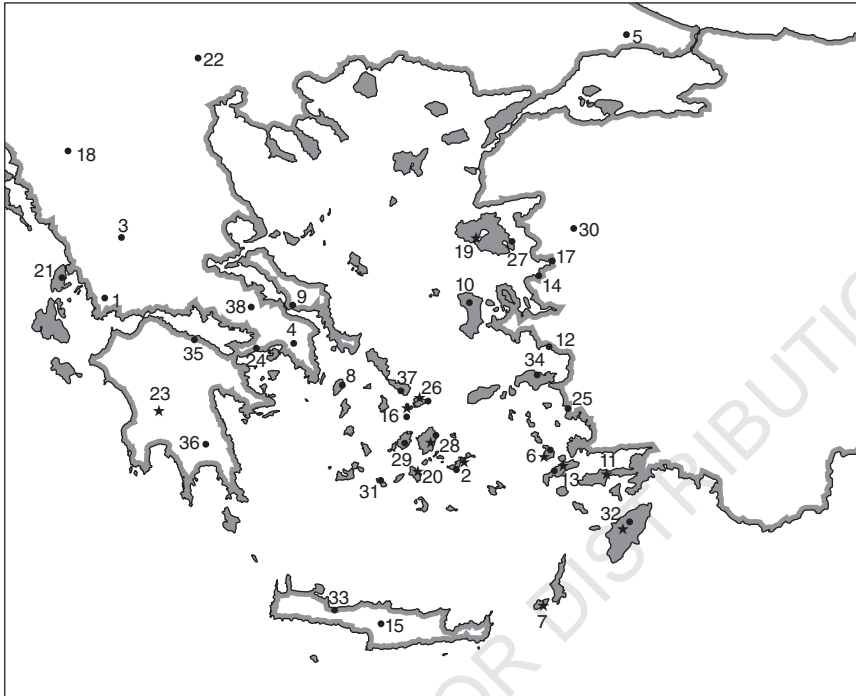


Figure 5.4. Individual and collective dedications in the Aegean (© Varvara Konstantakopoulou). * indicates collective dedication

Register:

1. Aitolia	9. Chalkis	17. Elaia	25. Miletos	33. Rithymnon
2. Amorgos	10. Chios	18. Epeiros	26. Myconos	34. Samos
3. Athamanes	11. Cnidos	19. Eresos	27. Mytilene	35. Sikyon
4. Athens	12. Colophon	20. Ios	28. Naxos	36. Sparta
5. Bosphorus	13. Cos	21. Leucas	29. Paros	37. Tenos
6. Calymnos	14. Crete	22. Macedonia	30. Pergamon	38. Thebes
7. Casos	15. Cyme	23. Megalopolis	31. Pholegandros	
8. Ceos	16. Delos	24. Megara	32. Rhodes	

the number of dedications made by women according to region, then the results are as follows: fifty-eight dedications are made by women from the non-Aegean region, twenty-three dedications by Delian women, seven dedications from the Aegean region, and seven dedications from the neighbouring islands, while fifteen dedications are made by women whose ethnicity we cannot establish (Figure 5.7). The great preponderance of dedications from the non-Aegean region (53 per cent) is explained by the fifty dedications of queen Stratonike.

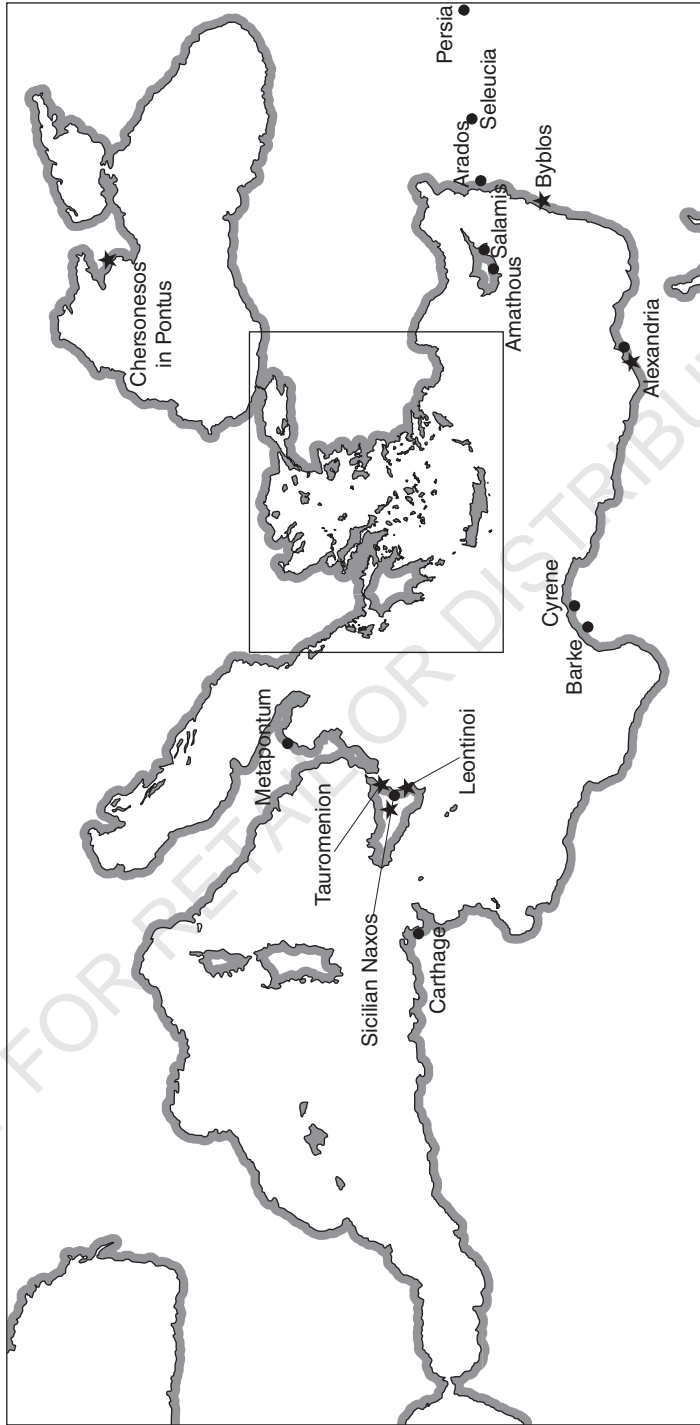


Figure 5.5. Individual and collective dedications in the Mediterranean (© Varvara Konstantakopoulou). * indicates collective dedication

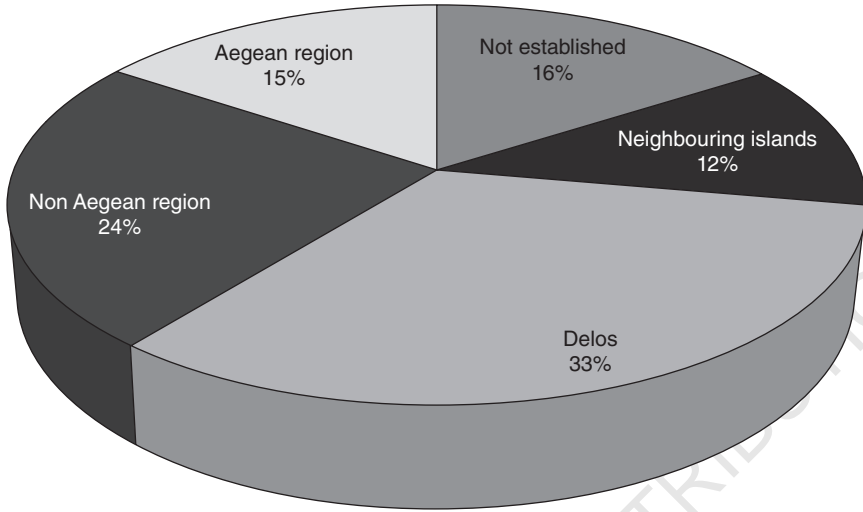


Figure 5.6. Dedications according to region

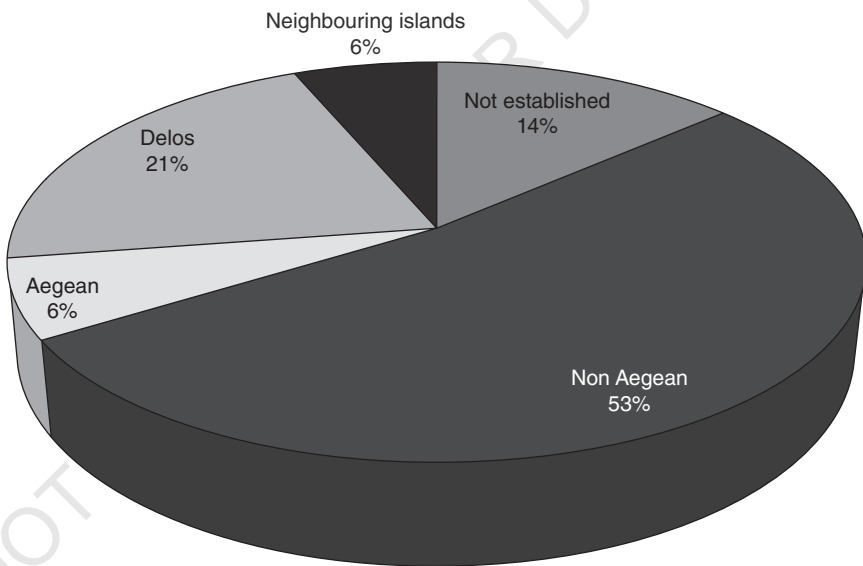


Figure 5.7. Female dedications according to region

Because, however, the dedications of queen Stratonike skew the results, it is perhaps more helpful in this case to examine the number of female dedicants in relation to region, rather than the number of their dedications (Figure 5.8 and Figure 5.9). When we look at the distribution of names, the picture of the female catchment area of Delos is entirely different. The first observation is

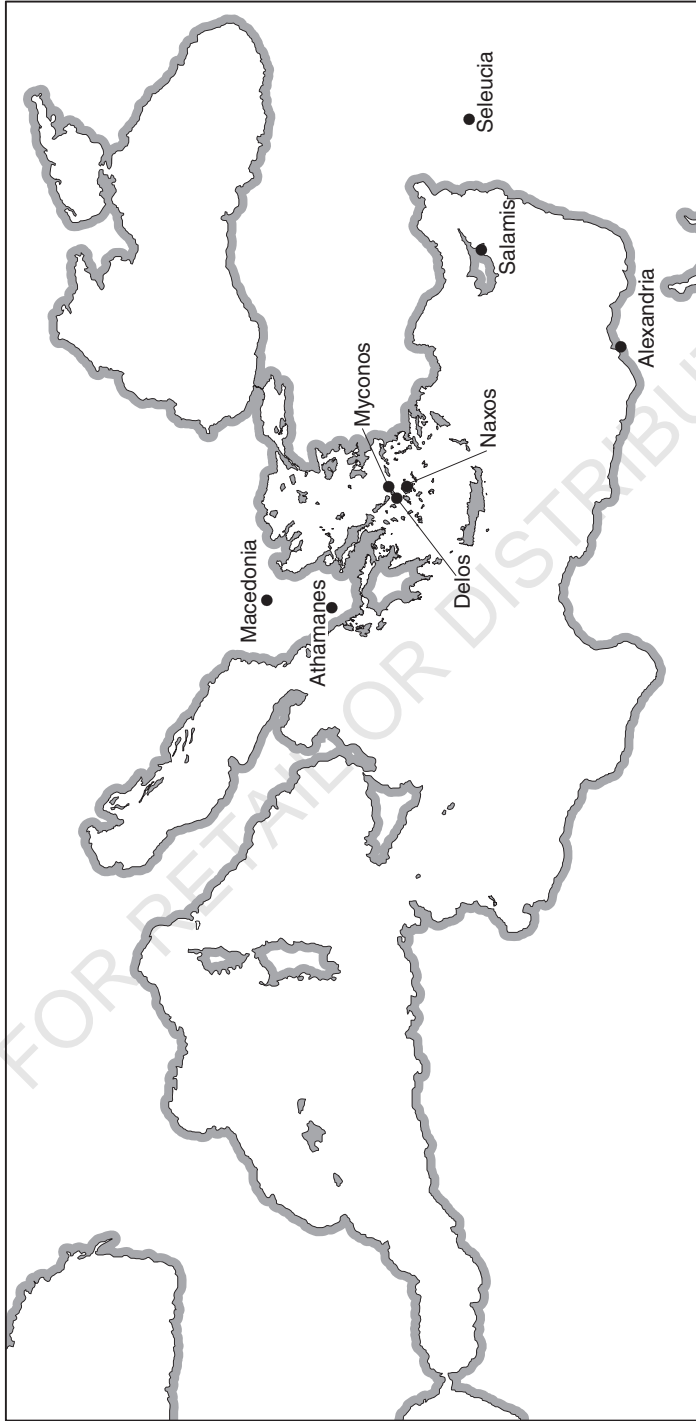


Figure 5.8. Female dedications (© Varvara Konstantakopoulou)

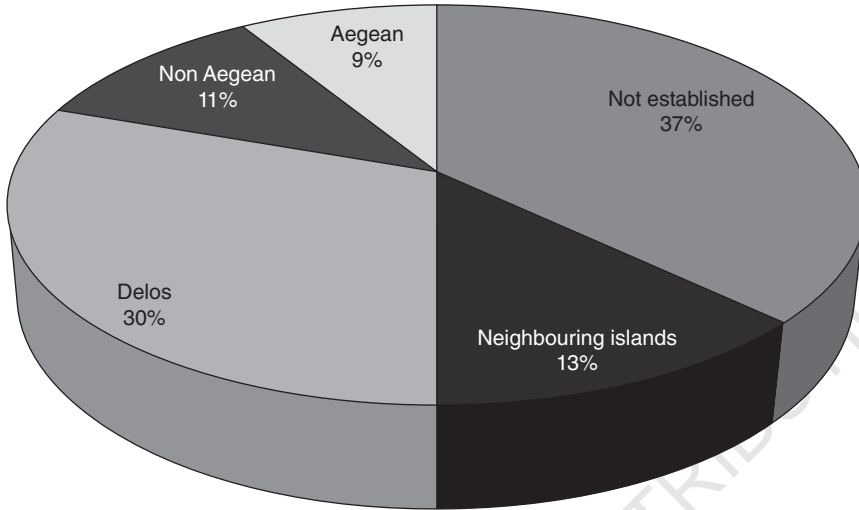


Figure 5.9. Female dedicants according to region

that the percentage of unknown ethnic origin for female dedicants (37 per cent) is considerably bigger than the percentage of unknown ethnic origin for the overall individuals who dedicate objects to the Delian deities, discussed earlier, which is 29 per cent. In other words, the inventories are much less likely to record the ethnic origin of a woman than that of a man. This can be explained in two ways: it may reflect the dedicatory inscription that went with the original dedication, which implies that women were less likely to include their ethnic in their dedication, or it may reveal a certain bias from the point of view of the *hieropoioi* in recording the ethnic information for female dedicants. Unfortunately, it is impossible to tell which of the two interpretations explains better this discrepancy; in fact, it may have been both. Considering, however, the tendency of the *hieropoioi* to record names and objects that enhanced the prestige of the sanctuary,¹⁸³ through the fame and/or antiquity of the dedicant, it is likely that the lack of information about the ethnic origin of the objects dedicated by women in the inventories was the result of the editing process of the *hieropoioi*. In other words, since women on the whole were less likely to be famous than men, their appearance in the inventories tended to be less frequent than that of men, as they could not contribute in the same way towards the prestige of the Delian sanctuary.

The second observation is that once we take out the unknown female names (37 per cent), female dedicants are predominantly Delian (30 per cent). The factor of distance, therefore, is an essential one. If we break down further the

¹⁸³ Prêtre 2012, 14.

regional dedications, we see that the importance of distance becomes even more pronounced. Of the six female names that are from the neighbouring region, five are from Myconos and one from Naxos.¹⁸⁴ In other words, women appear to travel smaller distances than the men: when they do come to the sanctuary, they come from the closest geographical islands to Delos, that is Myconos and Naxos. This may not be surprising considering the travel restrictions women faced. Indeed, the inventories seem to confirm our idea about female participation in ritual activities far from home: such activities were not widespread and were on the whole confined to elite women. While we do not, and cannot, know the exact social position of the Delian women or the women who came from the neighbouring region, the implication of elite status for women from the non-Aegean region is unmistakable. Of the five names recorded for female dedicants from the region beyond the Aegean, four are members of a royal family, while only one is unknown.¹⁸⁵ I shall discuss further on the implications of elite dedications and dedicants, but for the time being it is perhaps important to note that most female dedicants that do not belong in royal circles are either from Delos or travel very short distances to reach the sanctuary.

This impression becomes even more pronounced if one looks at the male dedications and dedicants. When we look at the distribution of male dedications according to region, the following image emerges (Figure 5.10).¹⁸⁶ We see here a relatively equal distribution of dedications from Delians, from the Aegean region, and those of an unknown ethnic origin (with 23 per cent, 22 per cent, and 22 per cent respectively), while non-Aegean male dedications follow with 19 per cent and neighbouring dedications are 14 per cent.

Furthermore, if we look at the statistics of male names according to region (including the names of *architheoroi*), then the following image emerges (Figure 5.11).

It is perhaps best to compare the number of names rather than that of dedications, as a large number of dedications from few individuals, such as those of queen Stratonike as we have seen, may considerably skew the results. If we look at names, then, here too the majority of dedicants come from Delos and the neighbouring region, but with 22 per cent male Delian dedicants compared to 30 per cent female Delian dedicants, and 15 per cent male dedicants from the neighbouring region, as opposed to 13 per cent of female dedicants from the same region, it is clear that the male dedicants on the whole travel greater distances than their female counterparts. This becomes even clearer if one

¹⁸⁴ Female Myconians: Archippe, Aristole, Demetria, Simiche, and the unnamed daughter of Teisidikos from Myconos; female Naxian: Leodike.

¹⁸⁵ Non-Aegean female dedicants: Arsinoe II and Berenice I (Ptolemaic queens), Stratonike (daughter of Demetrios Poliorketes and wife of Seleucos I), Phila (daughter of Theodoros, king of the Athamanes) and Theotime (an unknown female from Salamis in Cyprus).

¹⁸⁶ This includes male dedications according to region, including the *architheoroi* (but not the collective dedications).

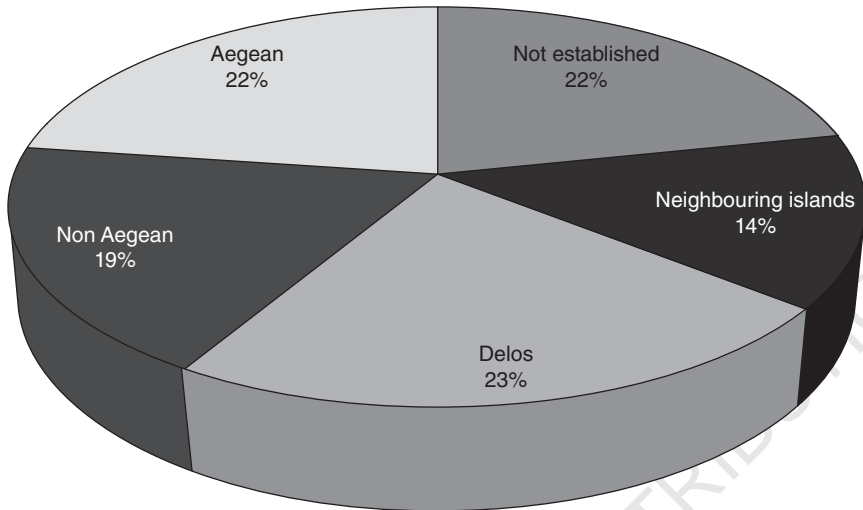


Figure 5.10. Male dedications according to region

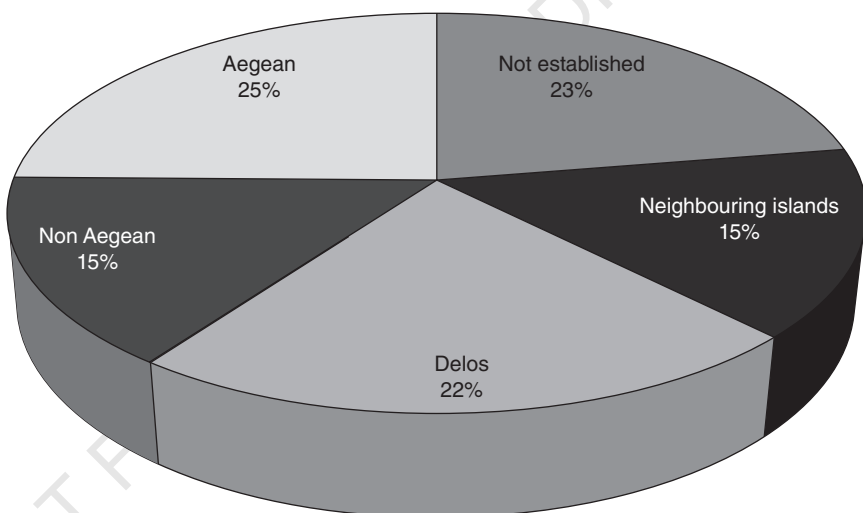


Figure 5.11. Male dedicants according to region

examines the precise place of origin for the thirty-eight male dedicants who come from the neighbouring region. Whereas with the female dedicants, we observed that they came from the two islands closest to Delos (Myconos and Naxos), the male dedicants come from much further away. As in this category I have included the names of *architheoroi*, the island with the biggest collective dedications through an *architheoros* is the most prominent in this category: Cos (Figure 5.12).

Aegean Interactions

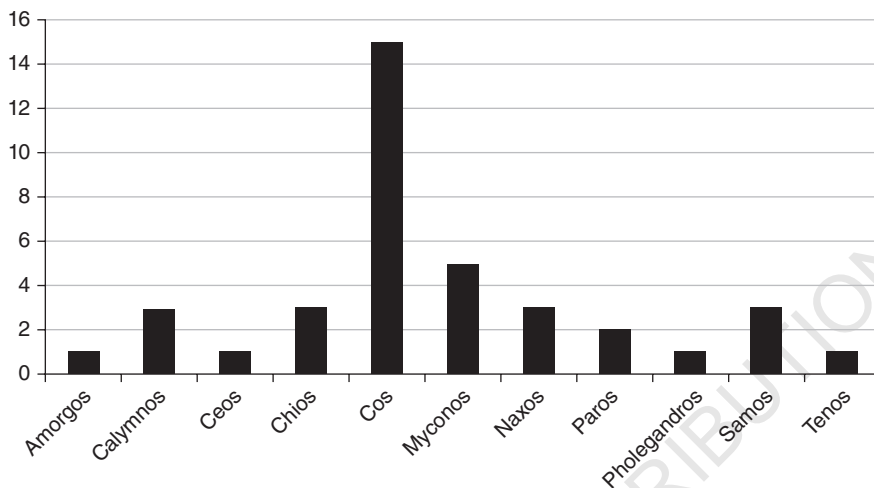


Figure 5.12. Male dedicants according to island of origin in the neighbouring region

This picture of preponderance of Delians and dedicants from the neighbouring region of Delos that we saw above is also reflected in the collective dedications that we examined above (Figure 5.2). The vast majority of collective dedications are Delians, while next come the Rhodians, Coans, and Calymnians. The only group that is beyond the Aegean and has a substantial representation is that of the Alexandrians and their *architheoroi*. The presence of the Alexandrians is to be expected considering the Ptolemaic influence in the early third century on the Islanders' League, whose headquarters were based on Delos. But the *phialai* dedicated by the Alexandrians cannot alter substantially the result: Delos in terms of individual and collective dedications is predominantly a local/regional sanctuary. This conclusion seems at odds with Vial's reconstruction of the regional appeal of Delos in the period of Independence.¹⁸⁷ Vial argued that by the middle of the third century, the Delian sanctuary was transformed from one with a predominantly local appeal to one where foreign dedicants were the most prominent investors. She argued that there was no single offering by a Delian after 290; yet the lists themselves seem to disprove her case. Baslez refuted Vial's argument by providing some examples of Delian dedications.¹⁸⁸ Indeed, Prêtre in her recent study underlined the importance of Delian dedications in the period of Independence.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁷ Vial 1984, 308–12 with n. 46.

¹⁸⁸ Baslez 2005, 37, where she cites Kratinos' dedication in *ID* 1409Ba II 23, [made in 160], Nikeratos, son of Polybos, *ID* 421 68, in 190, Timokrates in *ID* 442B 28.

¹⁸⁹ Prêtre 2012, 14.

There is no question that the Delians continued to dedicate objects to the Delian gods throughout the third century. That does not mean that the Delians did not take advantage of the massive wealth of the sanctuary that originated from foreign dedications, buildings, and festival foundations. As we have seen in Chapter 1, when the comic poet Crito calls the Delians ‘parasites of the god’, the implication is that the Delians survive from the wealth of the sanctuary; the poet implies that Delos had considerable foreign investment and wealth (F 3 ll.4–8 K-A).¹⁹⁰ Indeed, as we have seen in Chapter 3, a considerable source for investment in monumentalization of the sanctuary during the third century came from foreign royal investment. But as I have argued, to isolate this aspect of investment is perhaps wrong: royal investment in the sanctuary should be seen as complementing local communal Delian investment, as well as private initiative from Delians and non-Delians without royal connections.¹⁹¹

The sanctuary of the Delian deities, then, had a considerable catchment area, with dedications both male and female, individual and collective, coming from all over the Aegean and beyond. While no single group can claim the absolute majority of dedications (with the exception of female individual dedications, where the impressive number of dedications by queen Stratonike skews our results in favour of the non-Aegean region), I believe that it is not unreasonable to say that most dedications and dedicants originated from Delos and the island’s neighbouring region. Delos, then, appears to be a sanctuary with a strong regional focus; its main catchment area was the south Aegean islands, which were traditionally considered the heart of this cult network. The extent of the appeal of the Delian deities, however, beyond this regional core, was considerable. The geographic extent of the network of dedicants, when their ethnic is recorded, stretches throughout the eastern Mediterranean and beyond, from Alexandria in the south to the Black Sea in the north, and from Byblos in the east to Sicily and southern Italy in the west. And while we can argue that distance plays an important factor in accessing the sanctuary (and therefore dedicating an object to the gods), with the neighbouring islanders having a considerable presence in the lists (especially when we look at female dedicants), we cannot offer a single explanation for the geographic spread of the dedicants, as they appear on the inventory lists. The only thing we can argue is that the impressive geographic spread of the dedicants reflects the immense popularity of the Delian deities. Indeed, as we have seen in our discussion of the geographic spread of honours, the geographic spread of the community of origin of the dedicants in the sanctuary is another indication of the appeal of the sanctuary.

¹⁹⁰ *αὐτοῦς παρασίτους τοῦ θεοῦ Δηλίου*. See discussion in Chapter 1.1.

¹⁹¹ See Chapter 3.5.

5.10. STATUS DYNAMICS: ELITE AND NON-ELITE DEDICANTS IN THE INVENTORIES

There is a final social category that the inventories allow us to explore: that of status. A small number of names appear to have made substantial dedications, and particularly dedications which were linked with the foundation of festivals (that is, festivals that become visible in our inventories through the record of the dedication of an annual *phiale*). The initial capital for the foundation of the festival must have been considerable as it needed to generate income for the dedication of a silver *phiale* every year;¹⁹² such a deposit of cash greatly facilitated the cash flow of the sanctuary.¹⁹³ The deposit of the income for the foundation of a festival, in turn, implied that these individuals had access to substantial sums of cash. As we have already seen, some of the individuals who founded festivals are entirely unknown to us: they do not appear in any other source beyond the epigraphic documents from Delos. Despite their ability to produce substantial capital for their dedications and foundation of festivals, I have decided not to include these individuals in my classification of elite status. Rather, I use the term elite status here in a very specific/restrictive sense: I define as elite those individuals who had a royal position in one of the Hellenistic monarchies (kings and queens of the Ptolemies, Antigonids, Seleucids, and so on), or were closely affiliated to royalty and/or belonged to a Hellenistic court. This may appear as a restrictive category of analysis. I would like to stress once again the level of uncertainty in relation to individuals and events of the third century. While it is true that individuals who could deposit 3000 dr. for the foundation of a festival (such as Echenike) could be considered elite within their own communities, their status is entirely unknown because of the nature of our sources. My understanding of ‘elite’, therefore, is defined through associations with royal circles.

A useful example in this second category is Philocles. Philocles appears in the epigraphic evidence as king of the Sidonians; yet, he was also the Ptolemaic navarch, and acted with Bacchon, the Nesiarch of the Islanders’ League, on a number of occasions.¹⁹⁴ As a Ptolemaic official of high rank, he was close to the Ptolemaic court. He made three crown dedications.¹⁹⁵ Similarly, another

¹⁹² For the mechanisms through which the foundation of festivals existed through the dedication of an initial endowment, which would generate a sum every year see Vial 1984, 213–14, Chankowski 2011, 147–8, Migeotte 2014, 629–31, and Sosin 2014b.

¹⁹³ Migeotte 2014, 629–31.

¹⁹⁴ Bacchon the Nesiarch, acting with Philocles, king of the Sidonians in the Nicouria decree *IG XII.7* 506; the Delians honour Philocles, king of the Sidonians in *IG XI.4* 599 = Durrbach *Choix* 18 = Migeotte 47; the Carthaians on Ceos honour Philocles who responded to their appeal by sending foreign judges in *IG XII.5* 1065. For Philocles see Merker 1970, Reger 1994a, 32–3, Hauben 1987, 2004 and 2013.

¹⁹⁵ A laurel crown in the Artemision (first appearance in *IG XI.2* 161B 56), a laurel crown in the temple of Apollo (first appearance in *IG XI.2* 161B 86), and a myrtle crown in the Artemision (first appearance in *IG XI.2* 161B 60): see Tréheux 1992, 18–19, sv. *Φιλοκλήης, βασιλεὺς Σιδωνίων*.

Ptolemaic navarch, Patroklos, dedicated a *phiale*.¹⁹⁶ In fact, a considerable number of elite dedicants were associated with the Ptolemies (rather than any other royal family of the third century). I should add here the dedications by Hermias, the Nesiarch (and therefore a Ptolemaic official associated with the Islanders' League under the period of Ptolemaic control): as we have seen, Hermias founded the festival of Philadelphieia in honour of Arsinoe Philadelphos.¹⁹⁷ In fact, as Baslez commented, in such cases it is very difficult to distinguish between dedications done as an individual act or as a performance of an official duty of a Ptolemaic, say, official such as Hermias or Patroklos.¹⁹⁸ As with the considerable presence in the inventories of *architheoroi* and their dedications from Alexandria, similarly the presence of Ptolemaic officials in the inventories is linked with the Ptolemaic interest in the Aegean Sea in the course of the third century, an attestation of which was the assumption of patronage of the established Islanders' League by the Ptolemaic kings.¹⁹⁹

Therefore, my understanding of the term elite does not necessarily include persons with positions of prestige within the local community of Delos and the neighbouring region, though undoubtedly, some of the dedicants were such persons. Such individuals may have enjoyed considerable wealth and an esteemed social position within their communities: in other words, they could be described as belonging to the 'elite'. A primary example for this category is Stesileos from Delos, whom we have already discussed. He may have been a local archon at Delos and was incredibly wealthy²⁰⁰ (judging from his dedications and those of his family), but he is not someone we know of outside the epigraphy of Delos. Such individuals are completely unknown to us outside the evidence of Delian epigraphy and nomenclature—I have decided therefore to exclude them from my limited definition of elite dedicants in relation to their appearance in the inventories.

I should also perhaps repeat here the point made earlier about the potential bias of the inventories towards social groups that could afford precious dedications. As the inventories mostly record objects made out of precious materials (gold, silver, ivory, and so on), the implication is that the individuals behind these dedications had access to considerable wealth and resources in order to make these dedications. In other words, the inventories themselves are already skewed towards the upper social levels of pilgrims coming to the

¹⁹⁶ First appearance in *IG XI.2 226B 4*: Tréheux 1992, 70, sv. *Πάτροκλος Πάτρωνος, Μακεδών*. For the career of Patroklos and his relationship with the Ptolemaic court see recently Hauben 2013. The career of Patroklos and his role in the Chremonidean war is explored in Robert 1960.

¹⁹⁷ See above notes 48 and 49. See Bruneau 190, 529–30, and recently Caneva 2012.

¹⁹⁸ Baslez 2005, 36. Schörner 2013 discusses officials' dedications during the Roman period; unfortunately, he does not focus on the evidence provided by the inventories.

¹⁹⁹ See discussion in Chapter 2.2.

²⁰⁰ We do not know how Stesileos and his family acquired its wealth: see Vial 1984, 74, and Baslez 2005, 36–7. See also n. 126 above, and discussion in Chapter 3.4.

sanctuary, as they tend to ignore objects not made out of precious materials, which, additionally, would not need to have been kept within the treasuries/ temples for safeguarding. Indeed, dedicants of such precious objects could be described in social terms as largely belonging to the ‘elite’, because of their access to such considerable resources. However, we should not assume that everyone who dedicated a silver object was necessarily a wealthy individual. Without doubt, even poor dedicants could proceed to make a prestigious dedication in terms of a silver object to the gods, if they believed that this was the appropriate thing to do. In other words, wealthy dedications do not necessarily imply wealthy dedicants, but they do tend to indicate access to considerable resources. Secondly, as we have already seen, the inventories do not always record the names of dedicants in relation to a dedicated object. In fact, according to some calculations, as many as two-thirds of the objects listed in the inventories are not attributed to any named individual or community.²⁰¹ According to Prêtre, the explanation behind this discrepancy between listing objects but not listing names is related to the interests of the *hieropoioi*: they are mostly interested in recording the objects, as these belong to the gods, and less interested in recording the name of the dedicant.²⁰² Consequently, the names of the individual dedicants is of secondary importance, as they do not enhance the prestige of the sanctuary—enhancing the prestige of the sanctuary, as I have already argued, is one of the primary purposes of the inventory lists. If we accept this line of reasoning, as I think we should, the very purpose of the inventories had an impact on what was recorded on stone. This, in turn, further contributes to the potential elite bias of the inventories. In other words, prestigious or famous dedicants, such as Stratonike, the Ptolemies, the Antigons, and so on, contributed to the prestige and fame of the sanctuary much more than the many unknown local dedicants; therefore, such ‘elite’ dedicants were much more likely to be recorded in the inventories. On the other hand, it is also likely that the vast majority of the unnamed dedications belonged to non-elite individuals, the names of whom the *hieropoioi* had no interest in recording. This is quite significant: it implies that the vast majority of dedications (the unnamed ones) were in fact made by non-elite, ordinary individuals who in this way participated in the cult of the gods.

Let us look at the information provided by the inventories of the third century more closely. I have divided the data into elite and non-elite; in my definition, elites are those of royal status or officials in royal circles. According to this distinction the image that emerges is the following: in terms of numbers of dedications by individuals, elite individuals represent 31 per cent with 129 dedications as opposed to 69 per cent or 290 non-elite individual dedications.

²⁰¹ See above note 40.

²⁰² Prêtre 2012, 14: ‘aux yeux des administrateurs sacrés, les donateurs n’importaient pas dans le processus votif s’ils ne pouvaient contribuer au prestige du sanctuaire par leur condition ou par le caractère d’exception du don’.

If, however, we look at the distribution of elite versus non-elite individual names recorded, then the following image emerges: out of 277 named individuals recorded on the inventories, only thirty-four (or 12.4 per cent) can be associated with an elite status (Table 5.3 and Figure 5.13).

The vast majority of names, therefore, appearing on the inventories are those of men and women whose position and personal history are entirely omitted from the historical narratives of the period. These individuals are unknown. In most cases, the only attestation of these individuals in the ancient records are the dedications they offered to the Delian deities. Considering the potential elite bias in the very process of creating the inventory, discussed here, the fact that the majority of recorded names are of unknown individuals becomes even more significant. This highlights even further, in my opinion, the fact that the inventories mostly reflect a cult network of unknown men and women. Another observation that is to be expected is the considerable discrepancy between the 12.4 per cent of elite individuals recorded on the inventories and the 31 per cent of the individual dedications. Such a discrepancy is not surprising: we would expect that Hellenistic royalty and their officials would be more active in dedicating objects and instigating festivals. After all, they were the ones who had the necessary access to resources for the object of the dedication and the cost of travelling; they were also the ones who were predominantly interested in promoting their position within the cult network of participants in Delos.

From a very early age, elites displayed their power and consolidated their position within their communities in sanctuaries. During the troubled third century, regional sanctuaries with a wide appeal, such as Delos, became one of the primary arenas for the display of piety and power of the Hellenistic kings and queens. Hellenistic royalty invested in processes of monumentalization of the sanctuary; conspicuous buildings created landmarks of influence of various royal circles. We have explored in Chapter 3 how Antigonos Gonatas funded the construction of the Stoa of Antigonos, while Philip V was behind the construction of the Stoa of Philip and its dedicatory inscription (*IG XI.4 1099 = Choix 57*). The investment in monumentalization by Hellenistic royalty on Delos is not unique: we can witness similar developments in another regional sanctuary located on an island, Samothrace, where the Ptolemies and Antigonids competed for conspicuous display of their power through their funding of an extensive building programme.²⁰³ The building of monuments was perhaps a more visible aspect of royal presence and investment in Delos; additionally, the erection of honorific statues for members of the royal circles played a significant role in promoting the Hellenistic royalty within the context of the regional network of the Delian sanctuary.²⁰⁴ Yet, the

²⁰³ Mari 2002, 198–202. I discuss this more extensively in Constantakopoulou 2016a. See also Chapter 3.

²⁰⁴ See recently Ma 2013.

Table 5.3. Elite dedicants. Full references can be found in Appendix 5. Key: A: Aegean region; D: Delos; NA: non-Aegean region; NI: neighbouring islands

Name	Ethnic	Region	Gender	Number of dedications
Androcles	Amathous, Cyprus	NA	m	3
Antigonos Gonatas	Macedonia	A	m	8
Apollodoros	Cyzikos/Alexandria	NA	m	3
Arsinoe II	Alexandria	NA	f	1
Attalos I Soter	Pergamon	A	m	2
Bacchon	Boiotia/Alexandria	NA	m	7
Berenice	Alexandria	NA	f	1
Callikrates	Samos/Alexandria	NA	m	2
Datis	Persia	NA	m	1
Demetrios	Macedonia	A	m	3
Poliorketes				
Hermias	Halicarnassos/ Alexandria	NA	m	1
Iomilkos	Carthage	NA	m	2
Kleitos	Macedonia	A	m	1
Krateros	Macedonia	A	m	2
Leonidas	Macedonia	A	m	1
Lysander	Sparta	A	m	3
Nikanor	Macedonia	A	m	1
Nikokreon	Salamis, Cyprus	NA	m	3
Pairisades	Bosporus	NA	m	1
Patroklos	Macedonia/ Alexandria	NA	m	1
Peukestas	Macedonia	A	m	2
Pharax	Sparta	A	m	1
Phila	Athamanes	NA	f	5
Philetairos	Pergamon	A	m	1
Philip V	Macedonia	A	m	1
Philocles	Sidon/Alexandria	NA	m	3
Pnytagoras	Salamis, Cyprus	NA	m	1
Polykleitos	Macedonia	A	m	1
Ptolemy I Soter	Alexandria	NA	m	4
Ptolemy II	Alexandria	NA	m	2
Philadelphos				
Ptolemy III	Alexandria	NA	m	1
Euergetes				
Ptolemy IV	Alexandria	NA	m	1
Philopator				
Seleucos I Nicanor	Seleucia	NA	m	7
Stratonike	Seleucia	NA	f	50

listing of dedications in the inventories as well as the numerous foundations of festivals for honouring and commemorating members of the royal families, as we have already seen, was another indication of the active interest of these royal circles in the cult of the Delian deities and the network of participants in the cult. Indeed, of the thirty-four elite names in the inventories of the third

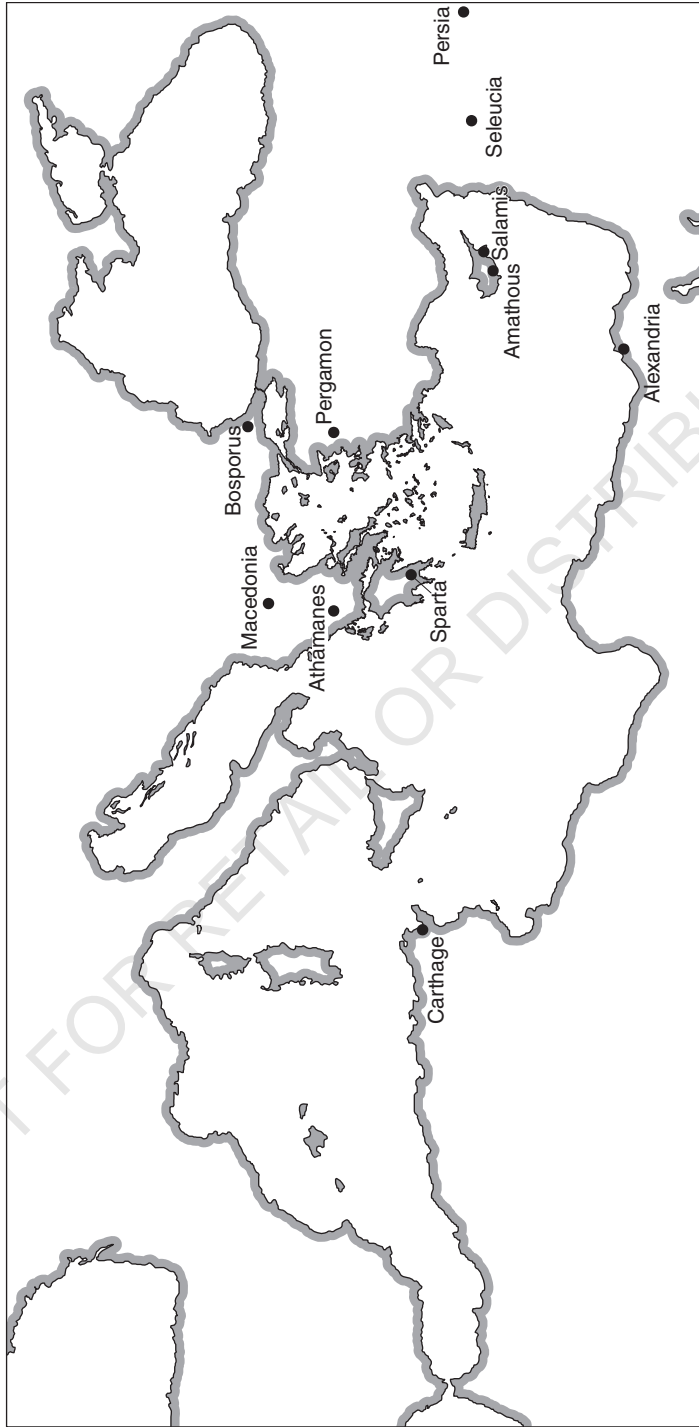


Figure 5.13. Elite dedications in the Mediterranean (© Varvara Konstantakopoulou)

century, thirteen are associated with the Ptolemies and five with the Antigonids: this means that more than half of all elite individual names came from two royal houses.²⁰⁵ In terms of individual elite dedications, the percentage of the dedications from the Antigonids and the Ptolemies is even more impressive: out of 129 individual elite dedications, ninety-one are related to the Antigonids or the Ptolemies, which represents 71 per cent.²⁰⁶

If we look at the gender dynamics in elite dedications, the factor of distance, which we have already discussed, becomes even more pronounced. As we have already seen, out of forty-six female dedicants whose place of origin we can establish, only five, or 11 per cent come from the non-Aegean region (Figure 5.7). But of these five, four are either queens or daughters of kings: Arsinoe II, Berenice, Phila (the daughter of King Theodoros of the Athamanes), and Stratonike. The only female dedicant who comes from the region beyond the Aegean and, as far as we know, was not elite is a certain Theotime, from Salamis of Cyprus who dedicated a silver *phiale*.²⁰⁷ In other words, on the whole, the women who could afford to invest the time and money to dedicate an offering to the sanctuary of Delos and came from a considerable distance belonged to the highest layers of power and wealth in Hellenistic society.

5.11. CONCLUSIONS

The Delian inventories of the *hieropoioi* in the period of Independence are a unique source for mapping the appeal of the Delian sanctuary in the Aegean world and beyond. I have focused my analysis on the third century BC, and the inventories produced during that period. I have discussed extensively the problems we face when dealing with such a source: their fragmentation as well as their format does not give us a full picture of everyone who came to the Delian sanctuary in order to dedicate an object to the Delian deities. Rather, the very format of the inventories privileged selectivity and omission. The

²⁰⁵ The Ptolemies and their circle: Apollodoros, son of Apollonios, Nesiarch; queen Arsinoe II; Bacchon, son of Niketas, Nesiarch; queen Berenice; Hermias, Nesiarch; Callicrates, navarch of Ptolemy II; Leonidas, general of Ptolemy I; Patroklos, son of Patron, navarch of Ptolemy II; Philocles, king of the Sidonians and navarch of Ptolemy II; king Ptolemy I; king Ptolemy II; king Ptolemy III; and King Ptolemy IV.

The Antigonids and their circle: Antigonos Gonatas, Demetrios Poliorketes, Philip V, and Polykleitos, navarch of Antigonos. To this four, we should add queen Stratonike, who was queen of Seleucia, but was also daughter of Demetrios Poliorketes and therefore closely associated to the Antigonid royal house.

²⁰⁶ Sixty-three dedications by elite individuals associated with the Antigonids, and twenty-eight by those associated with the Ptolemies. This impressive total is the result of the conspicuous presence of queen Stratonike with fifty dedications.

²⁰⁷ First attestation in *IG XI.2 161B 16*. See entry in Appendix 5.

inventories were not, and did not intend to be, a complete list of objects dedicated to the deities. Rather, the texts we have are the records on stone of the process of inventorying that the annual board of the *hieropoioi* had to undergo on a yearly basis before passing on the responsibility for the keeping of the objects to their successors. The records on stone, that is the *stelai* that we have today, were not a full copy of this inventorying process: rather they included a selection of the objects kept in the Delian temples and treasuries. What the inscriptions recorded was directly related to the purpose of the inventories, and such purpose was complex and multifaceted, practical, and symbolic. Primarily, the entries in the inventories and their monumental display on stone in the sanctuary itself advertised the fame, wealth, and prestige of the sanctuary and its gods. That is why the *hieropoioi* favoured famous objects or objects dedicated by powerful individuals, such as the Hellenistic monarchs. The mythical necklace of Eriphyle is a powerful example of this category;²⁰⁸ how this mythical object came to be kept in the treasuries on Delos is unknown. Its inclusion in the inventories, however, meant that the *hieropoioi* and their audience believed that this was indeed the famous necklace that Cadmus gave his wife Harmonia. That the necklace was kept in Delos enhanced the fame of the sanctuary;²⁰⁹ at the same time, however, its inclusion in the inventories created a mythical past for the sanctuary, which linked it to the famous heroic households of the mythical age. Eriphyle's necklace epitomizes the past and future temporal dimensions of the Delian inventories: its presence on Delos created a link to the heroic past, but also increased the fame of the sanctuary for the future.

On the practical side, the monumental annual publishing of inventories, a practice which, as we have seen, was not widespread in the Greek world, followed largely the democratic principles of accountability, publication, and control of officials within the context of the governing polis (in this case, independent Delos). The publication of the inventories made sure that the officials in charge of the objects took good care of them. This was not simply a political affair in terms of accountability and control of the officials for the community of the Delians, who were in charge of the sanctuary during the third century. It was a religious affair too, as these objects belonged to the gods, and any mismanagement may incur the wrath of the gods, with all its possible disastrous consequences for the community. Indeed, Apollo was not just an Olympian god, he was the god of plague and disease. But while the inventories undoubtedly had multiple such symbolic and practical functions (to the extent that we can distinguish between the two), they also served as a testament and at the same time created an active community of worship. The list of objects and names, publicly displayed in the sanctuary, was a vivid manifestation of

²⁰⁸ See above note 144.

²⁰⁹ Higbie 2003, 262.

the network of participants in the cult. We should add here the element of competitive communication.²¹⁰ The public display of offerings, mostly of offerings of high value, could be seen as contributing to a context of competition between communities and individuals engaged in the act of dedication. As the dedications were primarily the result of an individual or communal act of piety towards the gods, the more precious the dedication, the more visible the act.

I have argued that through the record of the names of the individuals and communities offering objects to the Delian deities, we can document the extent of the appeal of the sanctuary. Despite the difficulties due to the fragmentation and selectivity of the inventories, I believe that this last function of these fascinating texts is particularly important. I have analysed the data according to gender, community vs individual, elite status, and distance parameters. While the results of my research are not always surprising, this is the first time that the extent of the geographic network of appeal of the Delian cult has been quantified, albeit through the slightly distorted lens of inventory entries. What we see is a sanctuary where most dedications come from individual acts of piety; most dedicants are male, and most dedicants come either from Delos or the neighbouring region of the southern Aegean islands. Yet, the appeal of Delos reached beyond this region, with dedications by individuals and communities originating from beyond the Aegean Sea. Distance, however, was a considerable factor, especially for female dedicants: with the exception of royal women, most dedicants come from Delos or the closest neighbouring islands. Occasionally, we can explain the geographic distribution of named dedications whose place of origin can be established with some certainty. The considerable presence of communal dedications (through an *architheoros*) of Rhodes and Cos can be explained through the importance that these two islands had in the Ptolemaic sphere of influence at the time when the Ptolemies were in control of the southern Aegean. In other words, the geography and politics of the Ptolemies' relation and patronage with the Islanders' League and the continuous struggle between the Antigonids and the Ptolemies for control over the Aegean Sea in the course of the third century is reflected in the inventories. But such a political explanation does not give us the whole picture—the inventories reflect a much more complex world of religious activity that cannot be explained through a narrative focusing on the history of political control over the contested space of the Aegean.

Finally, while elite, and particularly royal, dedications form not an insignificant part of the whole, most dedications were made by individuals who are unknown outside the nomenclature of Delos. In other words, the inventories permit us to glimpse the world of individual piety of men and women in the

²¹⁰ The aspect of competitive communication as an important feature for dedications is put forward by Mylonopoulos 2006.

south Aegean and beyond, who wished to honour their gods. They are a remarkable source of information for social history, as they reveal the practices of men and women beyond the famous (normally royal) individuals who dominate our literary sources. Literary sources, such as historiography and poetry, allow us to view the world of the third century from the point of view of the royal centre of power (one thinks of the literary production of third-century Alexandria). The inventories, on the other hand, allow us to see the world from the point of view of the Delians and the many individual visitors and worshippers to the island.

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Conclusions

I started this book with Athenaeus' anecdote about the Delian parasites.¹ Delos, according to this source, was an ideal place for parasites. The idea of the Delians as parasites is also a theme that we can pick up in one of the earliest narratives about the island and its main myth, the birth of Apollo and Artemis. The *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* has Leto promise the wandering island that by accepting her and becoming the birthplace of the twin gods, the god (Apollo) will provide the means for the survival of the inhabitants through the hecatombic sacrifices of the many pilgrims.² The island itself is barren—it is the pilgrims who will feed the Delian population. The *Hymn* does not use the term parasite, as Athenaeus does. We do encounter, however, in both texts similar conceptualizations of the insular space of Delos: it is a barren place, an insignificant place, which is transformed to a wealthy island and an important node in the network of traffic of the Aegean Sea. Similar is the background to another story by Athenaeus: the many pilgrims arriving at Delos for the festivals were also responsible for the Delians acquiring the nickname 'table-dodgers' (*eleodytai*).³ We can imagine the perceived image responsible for this particular name: the Delians working at the festivals, or perhaps feasting at the festivals, would be forced to avoid the trays of food that would circulate constantly, or they would move (graciously, one can argue) among the tables with the participants to the feast. This image, depending on your point of view, was either one of successful management of a high-degree religious traffic, or one of parasitism. While the source behind Athenaeus interpreted this in a negative manner (parasitism), it is very likely that for other groups of people, the same image of the Delians moving around the tables in the feast, or surviving because of the grace of the god (which is one of the underlying themes in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*) was an indication of success. Whatever the point of view (negative in Athenaeus or positive in the *Homeric Hymn*), the same questions arise: who were the people that came to Delos? What were the main reasons for visiting the island and the sanctuary? Where

¹ Crito F3 ll.4–8 K-A in Ath. 4.173b-c. See Chapter 1.1.

² *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 51–60. ³ Ath. 4.173a-b.

did they come from? And what does that tell us about interactions in the southern Aegean during the course of the third century?

I have chosen the third century as the main focus for this project for two reasons. The first reason was that the Delians gained their Independence in 314, and over the course of the third century, proceeded to manage the affairs of the sanctuary without interference from the Athenians, who previously controlled the island and the sanctuary. In terms of administration, the Delians, in many ways, continued the practices that the Athenian *amphictiones* performed before them. They continued to publish epigraphically on an annual basis their inventory lists and accounts of the sanctuary. They continued to invest in monumentalization. Indeed, religious administration in the Greek world can be largely viewed as a conservative sphere, where we do not witness abrupt changes, and even political restructures (such as the advent of Independence) did not necessarily leave an immediate impact on our records. In other words, some parts of the administration and management of the sanctuary during the period of Delian Independence continued practices established during the previous period of Athenian control. What did change was the volume of evidence we have for the third century as opposed to the fourth. Which brings me to the second reason why I chose the third century as the focus for this study, and that is the nature of our evidence.

One of my main interests is the history beyond the well-known political centres of the Greek world.⁴ Greek literary evidence is rich for classical Athens, and relatively good for a handful of other poleis. For some poleis in the Greek world, we hardly have any literary sources. For any attempt to reconstruct the history of the extended Greek world beyond Athens, we rely on inscriptions. The proliferation of the Greek epigraphic habit from the fourth century onwards means that we have evidence for poleis and other political entities (such as *koina*) that are almost entirely absent from the literary record. In this respect, Delos is indeed an exemplary case. The Delians produced epigraphically thousands of inscriptions. They annually published the accounts of the sanctuary, which also functioned as a regional bank for individuals and communities. The accounts record in extraordinary detail the prices of goods and services (such as repairs, workmanship, and so on), the rents of sacred estates belonging to the gods, and the loans (and associated interest rates) that the sanctuary gave to individuals and communities in the region. Similarly, the inventories record the wealth of goods dedicated to the gods and stored within the many treasuries in the sanctuary. We also have honorific decrees (mostly proxeny decrees), epitaphs from Rheneia, individual dedicatory inscriptions, lists, and so on. The wealth of Delian epigraphic evidence means that as ancient historians, we are in a good position to be able to reconstruct the

⁴ See comments in Constantakopoulou 2005, 2012, 2015b, 2016b.

local history, economy, religious administration, and social relations of the Delian society.⁵ Inscriptions, as we saw, come with their own methodological problems in terms of context of publication, audience, purpose, and function. Yet, the volume of Delian inscriptions from the Hellenistic period means that we are in a position to attempt to answer a number of historical questions about the island and its history. This is all the more important, as the third century is a historical period whose continuous narrative of events we lack. We are not in a position to settle the question of chronology for a number of key events that took place during the third century, and this is not unproblematic. But at the same time, we are in a unique position to be able to reconstruct in quite exquisite (for the ancient world at least) detail how this small island managed its affairs and sustained relationships with the rest of the Aegean world. The wealth of inscriptions from Delos on one hand, and the importance of the advent of the Delian Independence, on the other, makes the third century a fascinating period to study networks and interactions.

How can we write the history of networks? The Aegean Sea and its islands is a region characterized by geographic fragmentation, but also one that experienced increased maritime connectivity. Practices of cabotage and small-scale ferrying (*porthmeutike*) played a vital role in maintaining almost year-round connectivity, contrary to practices associated with longer journeys, which by necessity followed seasonal fluctuations. Delos was located at the heart of navigation routes that crossed the Aegean. Delos' centrality was also reflected in the stories about the Cyclades, which famously 'circled' Delos.⁶ Delos was the conceptual and mythical heart of the southern Aegean in terms of geographic understanding of space (the circle, or the dance of the islands) and of mythical narratives as the birthplace for Apollo and Artemis. Our literary sources articulate well the Delian centrality. What is far more elusive to reconstruct is how Delos acted as an important node in the cultural, political, economic, and religious networks of the Aegean.

Ancient networks are notoriously difficult to document. Even in a region, such as the Aegean, that we know experienced high volumes of maritime traffic, the evidence for the creation, development, and transformation of networks is elusive at best. Methodologically too, a network approach in ancient history comes with its own set of problems, which I have tried to outline in Chapter 1. Similarly, the very concept of the 'region' is one that developed in modern scholarship within the context of the modern state, and this by itself means that 'region' as a term, and regionalism as a methodological approach, became associated with the modern nation state and the neo-liberal economics of a capitalist globalized market. But while it is important

⁵ Very selectively on these subjects: Vial 1984 on social relations, Reger 1994a on the economy, Chankowski 2008a on religious administration.

⁶ Strabo 10.5.1, Pliny *Natural History* 4.12.65, Dion. Perieg. 526. See Chapter 1.2 and 1.4.

to acknowledge the methodological implications in our use of terminology, we should not abandon heuristic devices of analysis because of the inherent problems attached to their use. Using the concept of a region as a focus of study in ancient history allows us to overcome some of the limitations of an approach that is centered on the Greek polis as the main unit of analysis. In other words, I believe that we understand better the history of the Greek world and the interaction between individuals and communities, especially during the Hellenistic period, if we no longer exclusively look at the city-state as the main unit of analysis.

I have explored how Delos interacted with the rest of the Greek world through a series of case studies, each focusing on a different set of sources. One of the main conclusions of my examination of the different types of networks in which Delos participated (that we can reconstruct through our evidence) was that the Delian networks of interaction contributed to the creation of a region of the islands of the southern Aegean, which in turn contributed to the creation and development of a strong regional identity. A region, in this sense, is understood as a dynamic process, constructed through human agency, and depended on human intentionality and historical contingency. The southern Aegean islands may have been geographically fragmented entities, but the reality of maritime mobility created opportunities for interaction and for the construction of different networks. As I have mentioned, networks are a particularly elusive category, and one that is difficult to document. Networks, however, do leave traces in our sources, and therefore a history of networks can be written for the ancient Greek world, even when, as in the case of the Hellenistic Aegean, literary sources are not particularly helpful. What is methodologically unsound, however, is any attempt to define the networks that we see emerging in our evidence as essentially linked with a single category of human activity; in other words, one of the main arguments of this book is that we cannot meaningfully separate between religious, political, economic, or cultural interaction. While I have discussed networks as related to 'religious', 'economic', or 'political/diplomatic' activities, I would like to stress that these are not mutually exclusive categories. In other words, human activity does not always fit into single neat conceptual categories. Hermias from Halicarnassos, the Ptolemaic Nesiarch of the first half of the third century, is a brilliant example for this point. Hermias is mentioned in all the case studies in this book: as a Ptolemaic official whose sphere of activity was linked with the Islanders' League, he is part of the network of political collaboration between the southern Aegean islands of the third century.⁷ He is also linked with processes of monumentalization that take place on Delos during the third century. He founded a festival for Arsinoe Philadelphos; the

⁷ See discussion in Chapter 2.2, with n. 49.

festival for this Ptolemaic queen is closely linked with the cult offered to Arsinoe in her capacity as protector of sea travel (and therefore closely identified with Aphrodite Euploia).⁸ It is reasonable to argue that the temple of Agathe Tyche is the same as the sanctuary for Arsinoe Philadelphos, the Philadelphieion. Even though we cannot argue that the funding behind the construction of the temple was in any way associated with Hermias, his founding of the festival for Arsinoe was the first step for the incorporation of this deity in the Delian pantheon. Hermias also received a crown, proxeny, and associated honours by the demos of the Delians.⁹ As a recipient of honours, he became part of the larger honorific network of the Delian polis. Finally, his dedication of an initial sum of money for the establishment of the festival for Arsinoe Philadelphos, which would then generate a *phiale* every year recorded in the Delian inventories, places Hermias into the Delian network of dedicants.¹⁰ Hermias' actions are political, economic, religious, diplomatic, and linked to discourses of power and imperialism. Hermias therefore can be viewed as an active participant in the networks related to economic activity (the deposit of money to the Delian sanctuary, which also functioned as a bank), religious dedication (the founding of the festival of Philadelphieia), political intervention (as a Ptolemaic official active in the Islanders' League), and finally, diplomatic exchange (as a recipient of the Delian proxeny honours), even though this last category can never be completely dissociated from the discourses of power and imperialism, which were inherent in Hermias' position as a Ptolemaic official of the Islanders' League. I may have discussed the different networks associated with the Delian evidence in different chapters in this book, but the activity of individuals, such as Hermias, make it clear that while it is useful to present clusters of evidence as separate case studies in order to have a mechanism for structuring the discussion, the case studies of the Delian networks of interaction are inherently linked with each other; the different networks discussed in this book provide a multifaceted and overlapping picture of the complex reality of interaction in the southern Aegean over the course of the third century.

My first case study was the relatively obscure Islanders' League, or, *Koinon ton Nesioton*. This was a federal organization (*koinon*) that is known through epigraphic evidence alone. I have argued that the League was formally institutionalized at the end of the fourth century, under Antigonid protection. The League soon changed its royal affiliation, and became associated with the Ptolemies in the early third until the middle of that century. The League provided an institutional framework for island interaction. The members of

⁸ Temple of Agathe Tyche (*GD* 103): see Figure 3.3. See discussion in Chapter 3.5 with n. 266.

⁹ *IG* XI.4 565: see discussion in Chapter 4.3 with n. 214.

¹⁰ See Chapter 5.3 with n. 49, and relevant entry in Appendix 5.

the League were the island states of the southern Aegean: Amorgos, Andros, Ceos, Cythnos, Ios, Myconos, Naxos, and Thera, and possibly, Astypalaia, Delos, Paros, Samos, and Siphnos.¹¹ The League had officers, the Nesiarchs (such as Hermias discussed above), and the *oikonomoi*, and it elected representatives to the League's Conference (*synedrion*). The League organized festivals in honour of the Hellenistic kings in the appropriate royal court depending on the period (the Antigonids, or later the Ptolemies), sent delegates (*theoroi*) to other religious activities, extracted monetary contributions from the member states, was involved in conflict resolution between the member states, and generally functioned as a single state in terms of carrying interstate relations (as in the case of offering honours such as proxeny or citizenship). As an institutional framework for island interaction, the League facilitated and strengthened the existing networks of interactions that operated in the southern Aegean. The smooth running of the League, with its festivals, political activities, and conference of members, required a substantial level of interaction between the member states. It offered a context through which local states were able to create a language of reciprocal relations with outside powers, most notably the Hellenistic kings, with which they could articulate their place in the world. I have argued that the very existence of the League in fact reflected, and contributed to, a regional identity. The League may have been a convenient unit for the Hellenistic kings to deal with, but at the same time it was a statement of independent existence. That is why, I argued, the patronage of the League changed over time, without the change having any substantial impact on the existence and structures of the League. It was not, therefore, the specific patronage that mattered but rather the complex negotiation of power relations and identity in the region. I understand the League as the political expression of existing networks of interaction in the region. Rather than viewing the League as simply a convenient tool in the eyes of the Hellenistic kings, I stress the importance of agency of the island members. This would mean that we address the history of the Aegean through a bottom-up approach. Negotiation of power and identity was at the heart of the regional interaction that contributed to the construction of the League.

The Islanders' League can be viewed as a network of islands with strong links between member states and additional links to the Hellenistic royal courts and other states beyond the region of primary interaction. Associations between the southern Aegean and the world beyond, namely the Hellenistic royal houses, is also one of the main aspects revealed through our second case study, the history of monumentalization of the Delian landscape during the period of Independence. The history of monumentalization shows how interested the Delians were in developing their infrastructure. Investment in

¹¹ See discussion in Chapter 2.2, and Figure 2.1.

monuments, whether these were religious or civic in primary function, would contribute to an expansion of Delos' appeal as an important regional centre.¹² I examined the history of monumentalization through the lens of who invested in this process. The biggest contributor to the changing monumental landscape of the island was obviously the community of the Delians themselves. The Delians invested in a number of new buildings, religious and civic, in addition to improving, expanding, and renovating existing structures. Such investment from the point of view of the Delian community was not entirely new; what did change with the advent of the Delian Independence was the scale of investment, compared to the previous centuries. Independent Delos was a much more impressive place in terms of monumentalization, compared to the archaic or classical period. The other difference was the impact that Hellenistic royal investment had on the monumental landscape of the island. Certainly, Delos was not the only regional sanctuary where we witness royal investment. What did make Delos different, to a degree, I argue, was its insularity. Royal investment on Delos seems to have been linked with the construction of stoas; indeed, Delos had a much larger number of stoas than any other regional sanctuary.¹³ When it came to royal investment, it is very difficult to know who chose what building should be built. Did the Delians have any say in the kind of competitive stoa building that we witness by the different Hellenistic royal houses? I believe that control of space within the sanctuary was firmly in the hands of the Delians during the period of Independence. The Hellenistic kings may have had the power, prestige, and wealth, but in the final analysis, their offerings were, among other things, a gesture of piety in the eyes of the gods. We will never know whether Antigonos chose to build a stoa or whether the Delians asked him to build a stoa as an appropriate structure that suited the needs of the sanctuary. I personally think that the latter option is more likely. Like the archaic tyrants Polycrates and Peisistratus, who also used Delos as an arena for conspicuous display of piety and power, the Hellenistic kings expressed their goodwill towards the gods, the Delians, and the networks of participants in the cult of the Delian deities through the construction of monuments. The history of monumentalization, therefore, allows us an opportunity to examine the ways that the Delians, the Hellenistic kings, as well as other wealthy individuals who also invested in building activity, responded to the needs generated by the fact that Delos was an important regional sanctuary with an expanding catchment area, located on a small island.

In addition, I argued that the concept of 'threshold' may also be a useful tool with which to explain the processes of monumentalization on Delos. Delos was the heart of the network of the southern Aegean islands, but it was also

¹² On investment in infrastructure and regional appeal see Harris and Lewis 2016, 29.

¹³ See discussion in Chapter 3.5.

located at a liminal space between the southern Aegean, with its many islands, connections, and interactions, and the northern Aegean, which did not experience the same degree of maritime connectivity. Over the course of the third century, the southern and northern Aegean may also be viewed as two largely distinct regions in terms of Hellenistic royal spheres of influence. Sure, regional sanctuaries were convenient spaces for conspicuous investment by the Hellenistic kings. At the same time, however, Delos marked the boundary between zones of influence and contestation. Liminality and insularity, therefore, were important factors in shaping the history of Delian monumentalization.

The third case study examined the Delian network of honours. Delos produced epigraphically many hundreds of honorific decrees, which were mostly proxeny. The number of honorific decrees from Delos implies that Delos was not only prolific in awarding proxeny and associated honours (such as *enctesis*, *ateleia*, *asylia*, *proedria*, *prodikia*, and so on),¹⁴ but that it also took the additional step in inscribing the honours on stone. This epigraphic habit, I argue, was intimately linked with the function of Delos as an important node in the networks of interaction of the Aegean during the Hellenistic period. Through the publication of their decrees, the Delians actively chose to advertise the connections that these honours represented to the other members of their network. One of my main arguments is that we cannot argue for single contexts for the award of honours. What the honours represent is a consolidation through the honorific habit of a relationship between the demos of the Delians and the recipient of the honours. We should not, therefore, attempt to associate the award of honours with specific categories, such as economic benefaction, diplomatic relations, or whatever. Indeed, the generic language used in the decrees is a clear indication that the Delians (like the other Greek communities in the period who used the same generic honorific language) did not distinguish between different categories of benefaction. What the Delians do seem to be preoccupied with is access to power; in that, they are not alone in the Greek world. Through the publication of their honours, the Delians seem to have been willing to advertise to their network how they would reward access to power, which included beneficial access to the royal courts. In this case study, the honorific decrees awarding proxeny and crowns formed the bulk of my evidence. As I was not interested in examining the custom of proxenia alone,¹⁵ I included in my study references to statues and crowns awarded by the demos of the Delians which were included in the Delian accounts, as well as other evidence related to honorific activity. This allowed me to appraise the honorific habit of the Delians in a comprehensive manner. In order to reconstruct the Delian network of honours, I had to focus on the

¹⁴ See discussion in Chapter 4.2.

¹⁵ Not interested because there is now the excellent study by Mack 2015.

ethnic name of the honorands. This is not unproblematic. While the proxeny decrees, contrary to the inventories, record the ethnic name of the honorand systematically,¹⁶ it is not clear how important the community of origin of the honorand, designated by the ethnic, was in the act that generated the award of honours. Nonetheless, it is clear that while we cannot be certain as to what was the context in which the benefaction took place, the community of origin of the honorand did play a role. The Delians were interested not just in honouring individuals but also in forging relations between their community and the community of origin of the honorand. The number of decrees and other evidence preserving the ethnic of the honorand allowed me to reconstruct the Delian network of honours. This was geographically immense, reaching from the Black Sea to the northern coast of Africa, and from the west (Massalia) to the east (Tyros, Sidon, and so on).¹⁷ The majority of honours came from the Aegean region, with the southern Aegean functioning as the local region of primary interaction. Beyond this local region of the southern Aegean and its islands, we do see some clustering, especially in the north and the east. I have explained the specific character of the Delian network of honours (that is, one with an enormous geographic spread, a well-defined local region of primary interaction, and with additional clusters) as the result of Delos' insularity, on one hand, and of the presence of a large regional sanctuary, on the other. The sanctuary attracted visitors from all over the extended Greek world (and occasionally beyond); Delos' insularity, at the same time, meant that the community had few other resources to use. In other words, as Delos was such a small island, there was not enough of Delos outside the sanctuary. The presence of the sanctuary shaped Delos' relationships with the outside world, a part of which were the relations reflected in the honorific habit.

My final case study looked at the evidence from the sanctuary itself. I attempted to reconstruct the social dynamics of dedication as these were reflected in the Delian inventories. The inventories were the annual publication of the treasures which were held in the Delian sanctuary. They provide us with an extremely detailed account of the pilgrims who came to Delos and dedicated objects to the Delian deities. The inventories record normally precious objects. They are selective; they often record the object without listing the name of the dedicant. For my purposes, which were to study the social dynamics of dedication in terms of gender, ethnic origin, and class, unattributed objects were not useful. I therefore concentrated on the objects listed in the inventories which were attached to named individuals or communities.¹⁸ The annual listing of the inventories reflects, I argue, a Delian construction of

¹⁶ There are only two exceptions to this in the Delian corpus, for which see Chapter 4.4, with n. 254.

¹⁷ See Figures 4.1 and 4.2. For a geographic listing of honours see also Appendix 4.

¹⁸ See Appendix 5.

a community of worship. This community did not exist in a single time and space; rather it was the construction of the Delian administrators (*hieropoioi*), who produced the inventories, and of the Delian demos, who was the political authority behind the publication of the inventories and the accounts. The purpose of this exercise, I think, was beyond bureaucratic concerns of accountability and transparency, even though such considerations were important. Rather, the publication of the inventories targeted the divine and human audience and projected to this audience the prestige of the sanctuary through the multitude of names and objects. The inventories targeted the past, present, and future; they created and mediated a community of worship that transcended space and time.

My analysis of the named dedications of the Delian inventories showed that the participants in the cult, as this was reflected in the act of dedication which resulted to an entry in the inventory, were mostly individuals (72 per cent), as opposed to communities through the dedicatory act of *theoroi*, mostly male (83 per cent), and mostly non-elite (87.6 per cent non-elite individuals dedicating 69 per cent of the dedications). An analysis of the number of dedications, however, as opposed to the number of individuals recorded reveals that women dedicated more objects (with 73 per cent of the dedications by named individuals linked to male names). The inventories, therefore, tell us a story of female agency. The network of participants in the cult is as geographically enormous, very much like the honorific network of the Delians.¹⁹ It is clear that the appeal of the sanctuary covered almost the entire Mediterranean and attracted pilgrims from great distances. But as with the honorific network and the federal network of islands forming the Islanders' League, the inventories also paint a picture where the southern Aegean and its islands form the most important region for the dedicants. The inventories, therefore, are a fantastic source for writing the social history of the network of appeal of the Delian sanctuary.

When it comes to the elusiveness of ancient networks, therefore, epigraphy can come to our rescue. The island of Delos with its epigraphic habit allows us to visualize the active networks of interaction that took place on and around the island during the third century. Inscriptions allow us to write a history beyond political narrative; the methodology of networks and regionalism allowed me to mine well-known and well-studied sources, such as the honorific decrees, inventories, and monuments of Delos, in order to develop an approach that highlighted interactions, connections, and networks.

The networks I examined in this book provide an explanation for the characterization of the Delians as parasites, with which I started. Delos and the Delian sanctuary attracted visitors, who came for a number of often

¹⁹ See Figures 5.1 and 5.2.

overlapping reasons. The Delian epigraphic habit gives us the opportunity to reconstruct the networks of interactions that the island experienced. At the heart of this story was the story of the countless individuals and communities that crossed the—often—treacherous Aegean waters and reached Delos. They generated the wealth of the island; they enhanced the fame of the sanctuary; and they were the primary agents of Aegean interactions.

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Appendices

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APPENDIX 1

Honours Given to Individuals in Decrees of the
Delian Demos and Boule

Inscr. ¹	Proposer	Honorand	Patronymic	Ethnic	Honours ²
IG XI. 4 510	Di[	Adeimantos		Byzantium	p. pol. a. proe. en. pros.
511		Cleagoras	Epinomos	Sik[yon? Sik [inos? ³	p.? a.
512		Heliodoros	]kleidos	Kition	p.
513	Amphias, son of Choirylos	Diodotos	Cleophorbos	Melos	p. a. proe. en. pros.
514 ⁴	Timonax, son of Diodotos	Telesinos		[Athens] ⁵	c. p. [pros.]
515					p. a. proe. en. pros.
516	Nikon, son of Demonous	Menestratos	Theophan[	Carystos	p. a. en. [proe.] pros.
517	Nikon, son of Demonous	Hellanikos	Telaugos	Abydos	p. a. pror. en. pros.
518	Glaukos, son of Skylax	Antiochos	Theodikos	Lampsakos	p?

¹ I have excluded the following inscriptions from the section of IG XI.4 dealing with decrees of the period of Independence: 524 (dated to the period of Athenian cleruchy, for which see Habicht 2002, 14), 700 (not an honorary decree), 713 (dated to the period of cleruchy, for which see Habicht 2002, 14), 756 (not an honorary decree), 761 (not an honorary decree), 762 (not an honorary decree), 768 (not an honorary decree). 861 does not exist.

² Key to honours: a. = *ateleia* (tax exemption), as. = *asylia* (immunity from the right of reprisal), c. = crown, en. = *enctesis* (right to own land on Delos), eph. = *ephodos* (privileged access to the Council or the Assembly), is. = *isoteleia* (equality of taxation with the Delians), p. = proxeny, prod. = *prodikia* (priority of trial), proe. = *proedria* (prominent seating at festivals), pol. = *politeia* (citizenship), pros. = *prosodos* (privileged access to the Council or the Assembly), s. = statue. See discussion in Chapter 4.2. A single question mark in the box of honours indicates that there is not enough left of the decree to determine whether this is an honorary decree. However, as the vast majority of decrees of Independent Delos, whose context we can reconstruct, are honorary (and specifically proxeny decrees), I have decided to include such fragmentary decrees in the catalogue, as they are most likely honorary decrees too. See discussion in Chapter 4.1. The entry 'p.?' indicates that while the word proxeny is not found in the existing decree, there is enough of a context to allow us to speculate that this is most likely a proxeny decree.

³ Sik[yon] suggested by Tréheux 1992, 56. Sik[inos] suggested by Reger 1994a 73, n. 42.

⁴ *Choix* 16 = Kotsidu 123.

⁵ The ethnic is supplemented in the decree because it appears in the sculptor's signature in a statue base: IG XI.4 1201. For Telesinos see Marcadé 1969, 62.

(continued)

Inscr.	Proposer	Honorand	Patronymic	Ethnic	Honours
519	Glaukos, son of Skylax	Rachas	Anti[ochos?]	Akarn]ania?	p.
520	Arke[on?]				?
521			Chares	My[conos? My[tilene? ⁶	p.?
522	Elpines				?
523		Kleophantos	Kleobrotos		p. proe. en.
525	Andromenes, son of Geryllos	Arkesilas	Medon	Miletos	p. a. [pol.], proe. en. pros.
526		Pythago[ras?]			p.?
527	Achaios, son of Phanodikos	Kallias	Thymochares	Athens	p. a. proe. p[ol.? or p[ros.?
528	Achaios, son of Phanodikos	Phanostratos	Heracleides	Halicarnassos	p. a. en. proe. pros.
529	Theodotos, son of Aichmokritos	Diophantos	Dionysios	Iasos	p. a. proe. en.
530	Stesis[tratos]?	Phokritos, Agasicles	Leontiskos	Byzantium	p. a. proe. en. pros.
531	Charicleides, son of Agatharchos	Antidoros, Onomacles, Antigonos	Nikodemos	Olynthos	p.
532		Hippo[l]o[ch] os?	Cleokrates	Kleitorea	p. a. proe. en.
533		[Ch]armo[		Histiaia	p.
534					p. a.
535	Procle[s?]	Sel[eukos?]			p.?
536	Anaxithemis, son of Paches	Procleides	Procles		p.
537	[An]dromenes	Euryan[ax]			p. a. proe. en. pros.
538	[Timesid]emos, son of Antikrates			Polyrrhenia	p. en. proe. pros.
539		Melanthios	Herodoros	Oine, Icaria	p. a. proe. pros. en.
540	Pherekleides, son of Eukleides	Polycrates	Pythocritos	Athens	p. a. proe. en.
541	Hermodotos, son of Aristetas	Herostratos	Theopropros	Chios	p. a. proe. en. pros.
542 ⁷	[Aristo]lochos, son of Nikodromos	Demaratos	Gorgion	Sparta	c. [en.], proe. pros. p.?
543 ⁸	Aristolochos, son of Nikodromos	Hegestratos			p. ⁹ en.

⁶ Marek 1984, 72 prefers Mytilene.⁷ *Choix* 15.⁸ *Choix* 27.⁹ This is not a proxeny decree as such, but awards additional privileges to Hegestratos, who is already proxenos and has *enctesis*. See Migeotte 46.

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544 ¹⁰	Aristolochos, son of Nikodromos	Demoteles	Aischylos	Andros	c.
545	Aristolochos, son of Nikodromos	Philinos	Philinos	Megara	p. a. proe. pol. en. pros.
546	Aristolochos, son of Nikodromos	Thrasymachos		Argos	p.?
547 ¹¹	Aristolochos, son of Nikodromos	Philistos	Philiskos	Chios	p. a. en. pol. prod. as. eph. proe.
548	Aristolochos, son of Nikodromos				p.?
549	[Aristolochos?], son of Nikodromos	Jokles, Pytheas			p.?
550	[Aristolochos?, son of Nikodromos]	Unknown and Miltiades			p.?
551	Aristolochos	Demetrios			p.?
552				Naxos	p.?
553			Charopos		c.
554					p.
555	[Tha]rsy[non?]				p.
556				Boiotia	
557	]los	Philoxen[os?] or Philoxen[ides?]			p.
558	Mnesalkos, son of Telesarchides	Theophilos	Demetrios	Athens	p. a. en. proe. pros.
559 ¹²	Mnesalkos, son of Telesarchides	King Philocles		Sidon	c.
560	Mne[salkos, son of Telesarchides?]				p.?
561	Hierarchos, son of Procles	Dionysios	Potaman	Naucratis	p. a. en. pros.
562 ¹³	Hierarchos, son of Procles	Apollodoros	Apollonios	Cyzikos	p. pol. a. proe. en. pros.
563 ¹⁴	Amnos, son of Dexicrates	Sostratos	Dexiphanes	Cnidos	p. pol. a. proe. en. pros.
564	Amnos, son of Dexicrates	Moschos	Menippos	Megara	p. a. pol. en.
565	Sosidemos, son of Antigonos	Hermias		Halicarnassos	c. p. a. [en.]
566 ¹⁵		Demetrios Poliorketes		Macedonia	s. c.
567		Philocleides	Philocles	Chalkis	p. a. proe. en. pros.

¹⁰ *Choix* 30.¹¹ *Choix* 28.¹² *Choix* 18 = Kotsidu 148.¹³ *Choix* 20.¹⁴ *Choix* 22.¹⁵ Kotsidu 122.

(continued)

Inscr.	Proposer	Honorand	Patronymic	Ethnic	Honours
568	Hegesagoras, son of Anaximenes	Ctesippus, Ctesinos			p.?
569	Demeas, son of Autocles	Demostratos			p.?
570	Leophon, son of Apemantos	Euakes	Teisandros	Byzantium	p. a. proe. en. pros.
571	Polyxenos, son of Parmenion	Dioskourides	Cleomenes	Lampsakos	p. a. proe. pros.
572		Amphiclos	Kallistratos	Chios	c. p. proe. pros. en.
573	Telemnestos, son of Charilas	Euclēs	Polygnotos	Tenos	a. p.
574	Sosipolis, son of Cha[	Alcamenes			p.?
575		Menalkes	[Speuso]n?	Athens	p.
576		Diagoras			p.?
577	Hierombrotos, son of Eudemos	Antiphanes	Soterides	Samos	p.
578	Hierombrotos, son of [Eudemos?]	Nikeratos	Deinocles		p.?
579	Lysistratos	Diophanes	Kalli[	Atens	p. a. en. pros.
580	Phillis, son of Diatos	Hieronides	Pythodoros	Rhodes	p. a. proe. pros.
581	Sosilos, son of Mnesalkos	Theodotos		Halicarnassos	p.?
582	Gnosidikos	Moirias	Antiphanes	Rhoition	p.
583	Straton	Hermagoras	Heracleides	Pergamon	p. a. proe. en. pros.
584	Tharsynon	Antigenes, Anticrates	Arg[	Larisa	p. a. proe.
585	Tharsynon, son of Choirylos	Thraseas	Balagros	Macedonia	p.?
586	Xenocleides, son of Aristoboulos	Dionysios	Parmenites	Pergamon	p. a. en. proe. pros.
587	Protomachos	Xenodamas	Chairestratos	Siphnos	p. pol? a.
588	Antigonos, son of Charilas	Philippos	Theopompos	Naxos, resident of Alexandria	p. a. en. proe. pros.
589	Antigonos, son of Charilias	Euphranor	Polycrates	Rhodes	p. en. proe. pros.
590	Agatharchos, son of Apatourios	Mnason	Apollodoros	Methymna	p.?
591	Agatharchos, son of Apatourios	Theokritos	Theophilos	Syros	p. a. en. pros.
592	Chairesileos, son of Hippokritos	Phanagoras	Phainippos	Carthaia	p. a. proe. en. pros.
593		Arthmiades, his son Aresos			p. a. proe.
594		Heraios	Zoios	Mytilene	p. a. proe. en. pros.
595	Eumedes	Phainis	Peisistratos	Nisyros	p. a. en. proe. pros.

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596 ¹⁶	unknown, son of Hierombrotos	Antigenes, Timaphanes, Dionnos, Hegesandros		Rhodes	p. a. proe. pros.
597		Kleandros	Themistios	Chios	p. a. proe. pros.
598	Xenocrates, son of Hierombrotos	Peisistratos	Argeios, son of Peisistratos	Chios	p. a. proe. en. pros.
599	Menes, son of Euelthon	Polianthos	Aristeus	Chios	p. a. proe. pol. en. prod.
600	Menes, son of Euelthon	Artemidoros	Menyllos	Antioch	c.
601	Menes, son of Euelthon	Platon	Zenon	Arados	p.?
602	Menes, son of Euelthon	]eidas			p.?
603	[Menes], son of Euelthon	]sigenes	Zenon	Ky[	p.?
604	Menes, [son of Euelthon]	Polycrates			p.
605		Asclepiodoros	Kraton	Carystos	p. a. proe. pol. pros.
606	Deinion, son of Arkileos	Diocles	]enon	Trikke, Thessalia	p.?
607	Agatharchos, son of Euelthon	Onasigenes			p. en. pros.
608	Eudikos, son of Pantagoras	Kallipos	Prodi[		p.?
609	Lysixenos, son of Archepolis	Koiranos	]emis	Pantikapaion	p. a. en. proe. pros.
610	Timoxenos, son of Apollodoros	Phanodemos		Halicarnassos	p.?
611		Theognotos		Naxos	p.?
612	Pherecleides, son of Philocha[res]	Aglosthenes	Aglosthenes	Pholegandros	p.?
613 ¹⁷	Choirylos, son of Tharsynous	Praxiphanes	Dionysiphanes	[Mytilene] ¹⁸	p. a. en. pol. proe.
614	Choirylos, son of Tharsynous	Philodamos	Thars[	Rhodes	p. a.
615		Paramonos	Demetrios	Chalkis	p. a. en. pros.
616	Sosilos, son of Nesiotes	Philandrides	Echesthenes	Paros	p. a. en.
617	Hegeas, son of Aphthonetos	Metras	Diodorus	Miletos	p. a. proe. en. pros.
618	Anaximenes, son of Hegeasgoras	Heracleitos		Chalcedon ¹⁹	p.?

¹⁶ *Choix* 39.¹⁷ *Choix* 29.¹⁸ Haake 2007, 247–51. The ethnic is not recorded on the stone: this is one of the few occasions where the ethnic is omitted from a proxeny decree: see discussion in Appendix 4, under Mytilene.¹⁹ The ethnic recorded on stone is *Καλχηδόσιος*. There is a confusion between *Καρχηδόσιος* and *Καλχηδόσιος* in Delian inscriptions: see Bruneau, 1970, 646 and Couilloud 1974, 193 with no. 420. It is more likely that Anaximenes here, as well as Kallon in 645, are from Chalcedon rather than Carthage: see Bruneau 1970, 646, n.7, and Tréheux 1992, 101. Marek 1984, 72 also opts for Chalcedon.

(continued)

Inscr.	Proposer	Honorand	Patronymic	Ethnic	Honours
619	Philonymos, son of Amphithales	Ariston			p.?
620	Philonymos, son of Amphithales				?
621					p. a. en. proe. pros.
622	Thucydides, son of Protagoras	Philarchos	Sosagoras	Nisyros	p. a. en. pro. pros.
623		Pleistonymos		Methymna	p. pros.
624	Orthocles	Anaxippos			p.?
625	Konon, son of Phocaeus	Aischylinos	Theokrinios	Miletos	p. a. proe. en. pros.
626		Kle[on?]	Ainesidamos	Delphi	p. a. proe. en. pros.
627 ²⁰	Pyrrides, son of Melikos	Dionysios	Hieronimos	Byzantium	p. is. en. pros.
628	Pyrrides, son of Melikos	Aristeus, Au[		Chios	p.?
629			Apollonios		p.
630		]alkes			p.
631		Dikaios	Diocleus	Cyrene	p. a. pol. en. pros. proe.
632		Telesiades			p. a. en. proe. pros.
633	Akridion, son of Elpines	Xenodelos	Democles	Syros	p.?
634		Oionon			p. a. en. proe. pros.
635		Deinon and] machos	Philippos (for] machos)	Epeiros	p.?
636	Praxicles, son of Mnesicles	Aristagoros	Soteriskos	Cythera	p. pros.
637	Antichares, son of Ctesicles	Archippos	Diotimos	Elaia	p.
638	A[ntichares?], son of Ctesicles	Nicomachos	Hierocles	Athens	p. en. proe. pros.
639	Tellis, son of Aristopappos	Kerkidas	Nikophantes	Seriphos	p. proe. en.
640	Telesarchides, son of]lados	Aischylos		[Chalkis]	p.?
641	Tl[], son of Parmenion	Orsimachos	Damon	Tanagra	p. a. proe. pros.
642		Bouzos	Orteiras	Canusium	p. en. proe. pros.
643	Mennios	Gen[	Lykon	Aitolia	p.
644	]s, son of Theorylos	De[-]nor	Heracleides	Cnidos	p.?
645	Archepolis, son of Lysixenos	Kallon	Heracleides	Chalcedon ²¹	p.?

²⁰ *Choix* 46.²¹ On the ethnic see comments for Heracleitos in 618.

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646]des, son of Antigonos	Apollodoros			c.
647		Sostratos	Philistides	Chalkis	p.
648	Alexebios, son of Timon	Hermaidas	Praxidamos	Rhodes	p. a. en. proe. pros
649 ²²		Sosibios	Dioscorides	Alexandria	c.
650		S[		Alexandria	p. en. a. proe. [pros.]
651	Elpines, son of Telesarchides	Alexicrates	Aglouchoros	Rhodes	p. a. proe. en. pros.
652		Pytharatos, and his father Philermos		Phocaea	p. a. proe. en. pros.
653		]chos and Aristonikos		Ephesos	p. a. proe. pol. en. pros.
654	Demeas, son of Katon	Pyrraleus		Chalkis	p.
655		Naucleas		Tenos	p. pol. a. en. proe. pros.
656	Anaxithemis, son of Paches	Euthy[	]ritides	Naxos	p. a. [en.]
657		Iason	Theopropos	Cyrene	p. a. proe. en. pros.
658	Aresimbrotos, son of Ni[	Hegemon			p.?
659	Aresimbrotos				p.?
660	Son of]tocles	Dionysios	Euthynomos		p. a.
661	Aristoboulos, son of Xenocleides	Athenis			p.?
662		Eteonikos	Etecoles		p. en.
663			]asmos	Cassandreia	p.
664 ²³	Boulon, son of Tynnnon	Admetos	Bokros	Macedonia	c. s.
665 ²⁴	Boulon, son of Tynnnon	Admetos	Bokros	Macedonia	s.
666 ²⁵	Unknown, son of Teleson	Aristoboulos	Athenaios	Thessalonike	c.
667				Apollonia ²⁶	p. en. proe. pros.
668	Antigonos, son of]phantas				?

²² Choix 44.²³ Choix 49.²⁴ Choix 49.²⁵ Choix 48.

²⁶ It is extremely difficult to locate which Apollonia this unknown recipient of Delian honours is coming from. Steph. Byz. s.v. Apollonia (Meineke 106) lists twenty-five toponyms bearing the name Apollonia. The Barrington Atlas has seventeen attestations of the toponym Apollonia. In her list of persons with the ethnic Apolloniates, Couilloud 1974, 327, highlighted the following toponyms as likely for the ethnic of origins of persons found on Delos: Apollonia to the east of Pergamon, Apollonia of Pisidia, Apollonia in the Black Sea, Apollonia in Syria (next to Apameia), and Apollonia of Palestine. Marek 1984, 72 identifies Apollonia as the one on the Black Sea. Similarly Avram 2013, 43 no. 433, lists this honorand among the citizens of Apollonia on the Black Sea. Considering the geographic spread of honours by the Delians, it is equally likely that the Apollonia here is the one in the Black Sea, Syria, Palestine, or Illyria. Avram's and Marek's suggestion is as good as any.

(continued)

Inscr.	Proposer	Honorand	Patronymic	Ethnic	Honours
669				Athens	p.
670				Alexandria	p.
671		Pytha[			p.
672		Dexippos			p.?
673				Carystos	p.
674			]ykaros	Alexandria	c.
675	Antigonos	]krates	Arist[		p.?
676		Theod[			c.
677		Andronikos			?
678	Unknown, son of				?
	Amphithales				
679 ²⁷	Amphithe[mis?], son of	Autocles	Ainesidemos	Chalkis	p.
	Archandros				
680 ²⁸	Synonymos, son of Theaios	Autocles	Ainesidemos	Chalkis	c.
681	Praximenes, son of Kallidikos	Autocles	Autocles	Chalkis	p. en. pros.
682	Telemnestos, son of Aristeides ²⁹	Autocles	Autocles	Chalkis	c.
683	[Telemn]estos, son of Arist[eides]	Aristo[	]philos	Rhodes	p. en. a. proe. pros.
684		Apollonios	Hymnos	Aspendos	c.
685					?
686					?
687		Leon	Leon	Massalia	c.
688	Sotion, son of Demochares	Theophilos	Philoctenes	Sikinos	p.?
689					p. a. en. proe. pros.
690		Cleombrotos	Leonidas	Rhodes	p. pros. c.
691 ³⁰	Amnos, son of Tlesimenos	Eutychos	Philotas	Chios	p.?
692 ³¹	Philos, son of Charilas	Boukris	Diaitas	Naupaktos	p. a. proe. pros.
693		Archippos	Polychares	Ceos	p. en. proe. pros.
694		Hagnotheos	]okrates	Athens	p. c.
695					?
696					?
697 ³²		Mnesiptolemos	Kalliarchos	Cyme	p. c. eph.

²⁷ *Choix* 47.²⁸ *Choix* 47.²⁹ This is the grandfather of the more prolific decree proposer, also named Telemnestos, son of Aristeides, for whom see Vial 2008, 33, and Chapter 4, with n. 117.³⁰ *Choix* 43.³¹ *Choix* 42.³² *Choix* 54.

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698	Telemnestos, son of Epicharmos	Agatharchos	Leon	Teos	p.
699		Aristoteles	Sodemos	Colophon	p. en. pros.
701	Theoteles, son of Phokaeus	Polymnestos	Thibron	Naxos	p. en. proe. pros.
702		]nes	Amnon		p. en. pros.
703			Aristoboulos	Stratonikeia	p. en. pros.
704	Aristeides, son of Telemnestos ³³	Timocleidas	Theotimos	Sikyon	p.?
705	Aristeides, son of Telemnestos	Pantokratides	Kallipos	Ma[roneia] ³⁴	c.
706	Aristeides, son of Telemnestos	Herodoros	Diodoros	Chalkis	c.
707	Aristeides, [son of Telemnestos]	Stra[	[Polemo]crates		p. en. pros.
708	Leukinos, son of Phokaieus	Metrodoros	Erkinos	Lampsakos	p.? c.
709	Antilakos, son of Simides	Archinikos	Gorgopas	Thera	p. en. pros.
710	Charias, son of Charistios	Archinikos	Gorgopas	Thera	c.
711	Antilakos, son of Simides	Praxon	Aristonymos	Rhodes	p.?
712 ³⁵	Antilakos, son of Simides	Poplios Cornelios Poplios ³⁶	Skipio	Rome	c.
714	Xenocrates, son of Antigonos	Demaratos	Astykron	Rhodes	p. en. pros.
715	Leontiades, son of Tlesimenos	Aristocrates, Kallidikos, Nikagoras	Menestratos, Damon, Thaliarchos (respectively)	[Chios?] ³⁷	p.?
716 ³⁸	Charilas, son of Aristothalos	King Nabis	Damaratos	Sparta	p. en. pros. c. ³⁹
717	]tos, son of Polykritos		Charos	Sparta	p. en. proe. [pros.]
718	]doros, son of Tlepolemos	Xenippos	Stra[	Sparta	p.?

³³ This is the father of the most prolific Delian proposer, Telemnestos, son of Aristeides: see discussion in Chapter 4 with n. 119.

³⁴ The name of the honorand is corrected to [Pant]okratides (as opposed to *IG*'s [Pant]akratides) in Ma 2007b, 238–40 (summary in *SEG* 57.752).

³⁵ *Choix* 64.

³⁶ This is in fact Scipio Africanus, and the decree's date is possibly 193; see *Choix* 64. Scipio, as *strategos hypatos Rhomaion* dedicated a golden crown to the Delian gods, as is recorded in the inventories: *ID* 442B 102.

³⁷ Suggested as a supplement by Roussel in the *IG* commentary, and followed by Tréheux 1992, 30 and 112.

³⁸ *Choix* 58 = Kotsidu 144.

³⁹ The surviving decree 716a, is a proxy decree with associated honours. There is a second decree, however, of which only the heading survives (716b: *ὁ δῆμος ὁ Δηλίων*). It is likely, therefore, that this second decree was awarding a crown.

(continued)

Inscr.	Proposer	Honorand	Patronymic	Ethnic	Honours
719		Unknown and Thearos	Skiphos	Cnossos	p. en. pros.
720			Teisilas	Cnossos	p.?
721			Anaxandros	Cnossos	p.
722	]ocles, son of Hypsocles				p.?
723		Heracleides	Eudemos	Syracuse	p. en. pros.
724		]krates	Thessal[os?		c.
725					p. en. pros.
726	Boulecrates	Theo[			p.?
727					?
728					p.?
729			Kl[eot?]		p.?
730			]alos	Cos	p.?
731		Aropylos? ⁴⁰			p.?
732					p.
733	Unknown, son of Agatharchos				p.?
734	Tel[emnestos?]	Philo[			p.
735	]polemos	Demetrios			p.?
736			Aristocles		p.
737		Philaithos			p.
738	Teles]archides				?
739	Unknown, son of Pytheios				p. en. pros.
740	[Apollodo]ros, son of Am[nos?]				?
741	[Thar]synon, son of Choi[rylos]				p.?
742		Ptolemy ⁴¹		Alexandria	p. en. pros.
743		[Onomarchos]	[Apollonides]	[Cnidos] ⁴²	p.?
744		Onomarchos	Apollonides	Cnidos	c.

⁴⁰ Tréheux 1992, 30 s.v. *Ἀρόπυλος*: the name is 'peu possible'.

⁴¹ This Ptolemy is most likely not one of the Alexandrian kings, but an ordinary Alexandrian, contra Homolle 1878, 328, who believed that this is a reference to a Ptolemaic king (but thinks it is futile to attempt to identify which one). If the recipient of honours in this decree were a king, we would expect a reference to his royal status; in addition, the Delian decrees never honour such members of royal circles with proxeny. The honours suitable for the Hellenistic kings through decrees are normally statues. We do have individuals designated as 'kings' who receive proxeny honours, but such individuals do not belong to the 'great' royal houses: see for example 559 for Philocles, king of the Sidonians (but also a Ptolemaic officer), and 716 for King Nabis of Sparta. Bagnall 1976, 152 n. 127, believes that this is an ordinary Alexandrian.

⁴² The decree 743 is on the same stone as 744, which honours Onomarchos, son of Apollonides, from Cnidos, an artist, with a laurel crown. Such joint publication of decrees is normally done when it is the same person honoured in both: in the earlier decree, normally with a proxeny, and in the later decree with additional honours, normally a crown and a proclamation of the honours at the theatre during the festival Apollonia. It is likely, therefore, that this decree here, which is fragmentary and preserves only the publication clause honours the same person as 744.

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745	Aischron, son of Kalodikos	Agias	Heracleides	Athens	p. en. pros.
746		Basileides	D[i]on[ysios?]	Sidon	p. en. pros.
747	Xenon, son of Diogenes	Nestos	Dionysios		p.?
748	Sosilos, son of Dorieus	Aresanthos	Amphidamas		p.?
749	Proxenos, son of Rhadios	Charmantidas	Mikalos	Melos	c.
750 ⁴³	Kallias, son of Antipatros	Alexandros	Philip	[Megalopolis] ⁴⁴	p.?
751 ⁴⁵	Telemnestos, son of Aristeides	Epikrates	Polystratos	Rhodes	p.?
752 ⁴⁶	Telemnestos, son of Aristeides	Anaxibios	Pheidianax	Rhodes	p.
753 ⁴⁷	Telemnestos, son of Aristeides	Anaxibios	Pheidianax	Rhodes	c.
754	Telemnestos, son of Aristeides	Anaxidikos	Dionysios	Rhodes	p.
755	Telemnestos, son of Aristeides	Anaxidikos	Dionysios	Rhodes	c.
757	Telemnestos, son of Aristeides	Maarkos Sestios	Maarkos	Fregella	p. en. pros.
758	Telemnestos, son of Aristeides	Philon	Hybrimos	S[yracuse?] ⁴⁸	p.?
759 ⁴⁹	Telemnestos, son of Aristeides	Timon	Nymphodoros	Syracuse	p. en. pros.
760	Telemnestos, son of Aristeides	Erasidemos and Tharsagoras	Polycles	Siphnos	p.?
763		Mantineas	Satyros	Tenos	p. en. pros.
764	Telemnestos, son of Aristeides	Mantineas	Satyros	Tenos	c.
765	Telemnestos, son of Aristeides	Demetrios	Apollonios	Pergamon	p. en. proe. pros.
766	Telemnestos, son of Aristeides	Demetrios	Apollonios	Pergamon	c.
767	Telemnestos, son of Aristeides	Dexios	Philon	Chios	p.?
769	Telemnestos, son of Aristeides	Pherecleides	Philonikos	Carthaia	p. en. proe. pros.
770		]des, Cimon, Euthycrates	Alypantos, unknown, Eucrates (respectively)		p. en. pros.

⁴³ *Choix* 60.⁴⁴ The ethnic Megalopolitan is not included on the stone. This Alexander, son of Philip, honoured here has a quite peculiar designation. He appears as ἀπόγονος ὠν βασιλέως Ἀλεξάνδρου in ll. 3–4. We know from Livy 35.47.5–6 that he claimed descent from Alexander the Great. See *Choix* 60 and Baslez and Vial 1987, 296.⁴⁵ *Choix* 67.⁴⁶ *Choix* 63.⁴⁷ *Choix* 63.⁴⁸ Suggested by Roussel in the *IG* commentary, and followed by Tréheux 1992, 86, s.v. Φίλων Ὑβρίμου.⁴⁹ *Choix* 66.

(continued)

Inscr.	Proposer	Honorand	Patronymic	Ethnic	Honours
771	[Telemnestos?], son of Aristeides	]des, Cimon, Euthykrates	Alypantos, unknown, Euclates (respectively)		c.
772	Telemnestos, son of Aristeides	Moiragenes	Ammonios	Seleucia	p. en. pros.
773		Heracleitos	Ammonios	Seleucia	p. en. pros.
774	[Telemnesto]s, son of Aristeides	Heracleitos	Ammonios	Seleucia	c.
775	Telemnestos, son of Aristeides	Nikandros	Parmeniskos	Halicarnassos	p. en. proe. pros.
776	Telemnestos, son of Aristeides	Iason	Theogeiton	Arados	p.?
777	Telemnestos, son of Aristeides	Eudemos	Philocles	Tyros	p. en. proe. pros.
778	Telemnestos, son of Aristeides	Heracleides	Xeinias	Byzantium	p.
779		Theon	Meniskos	Byzantium	p. en. proe. [pros.]
780	[Telemn]stos, son of Aristeides	Theon	Meniskos	Byzantium	c.
781	Telemnestos, son of Aristeides	]kion	Therson	Gortyn	p.
782	Telemnestos, son of Aristeides	Androcles	Timomenos	Polyrrheneia	c.
783	Telemnestos, son of Aristeides	Dionysios	Simios	Clazomenai	p. [en.]
784	Telemnestos, son of Aristeides	Chaireas	Lysanios	Macedonia	c.
785	Telemnestos, son of Aristeides	Menestratos	Papylos	Macedonia	p. en. pros.
786	Telemnestos, son of Aristeides	]tes	Cleophantes	Teos	p.?
787	Telemnestos, son of Aristeides	Sosis	Sosis	Samos	p.
788	Telemnestos, son of Aristeides	Zopyros			p.?
789	Telemnestos, son of Aristeides	Aristion	Menophanes	Cnidos	p. en. pros.
790		Mik[			p. en. [pros.]
791	Telemnestos, son of [Aristeides?]	Mik[? ⁵⁰			c. ⁵¹
792	Telemnestos, [son of Aristeides?]	Heracleides			p. [en. pros.]

⁵⁰ 791 is a decree on the same stone as 790. The normal practice is to inscribe two decrees on the same stone when they honour the same person; normally the first decree gives proxeny (and other associated) honours, while the second honours with a crown and a public proclamation in the festival of the Apollonia (see above comments on 743 and 744). I assume, therefore that 791 also honours Mik[, and as it is the second decree, the honour awarded is a laurel crown.

⁵¹ See previous footnote for the honour.

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793	Telemnestos, [son of Aristeides?]		jakon	Chios	p.?
794	[Telemnest]os?, son of Aristeides				p.?
795	[Telem]nestos, [son of Aristeides]				?
796	Tele[mnestos, son Diogenes of Aristeides]				p.?
797	[Telemnestos?], [son of [A]risteides]		Dikaios	Heracle[	p.?
798	[Telemnestos?], son of Aristei[des]			Naxos	p.?
799					?
800					p. en.
801	Tlepole]mos?, son of Amnos		Naucles	Cyrene	p.?
802					p. [pros.]
803					?
804					p.
805					p.
806					?
807	Theodoros, son of Sosibios	Stesagoras	Timocrates	Karpaseia	p.
808	Tlep[olemos?]	Sotion	Theodoros	Rome	p.
809		Maarkos	Poplios	Rome	p. c.
810	]los, son of Polybos		Dexicrates	Taras	p.?
811	Sokritos, son of Democrates	Epigonos	Metrophon	Oine, Icaria	p.
812		Metrophon		Oine, Icaria	p.
813	Antigonos, son of Charistios	Posideos	Dionysios	Olbiopolis	p. en. pros.
814 ⁵²	Timesiergos, son of Androthalos	Diodoros	Agrotas	Olbiopolis	p. en. pros.
815	Antigonos, son of Charistios	Dionysios	Dionysios	Seleucia	p. [en.]
816	Euboulos, son of Peisicrates	Rhodippos	Ammonios	Arados	p.?
817		Aphrodisios	Zenodoros	Askalon	p. en. proe. pros.
818	]os, son of Xenon	Aphrodisios	Zenodoros	Askalon	c.
819	Apollodoros, son of Amphicles	Ctesippos	Ctesippos	Chios	p. en. pros.
820	Pantainos, son of Pantainos	Ctesippos	Ctesippos	Chios	c.

⁵² 814 is on the same stone as 813, but contrary to decrees 743–744 and 790–791 discussed above (as well as the double decrees 664–665, 679–680, 681–682, 709–710, 752–753, 754–755, 763–764, 770–771, 773–774, 819–820) which honour the same individual or group of individuals, 813 honours a different individual than 814. The explanation as to why they were published on the same stone is provided by the name of the president of the assembly for both decrees, Nikanor, son of Nikanor, which implies that both decrees passed in the same assembly meeting. In addition they both honour citizens of Olbiopolis.

(continued)

Inscr.	Proposer	Honorand	Patronymic	Ethnic	Honours
821					p. en. pros.
822		]ios	Antiochos	Antioch ad Kydnos	p. en. pros.
823	Demares, son of Thymios	Damon	Diophantes	Boiotia	p. en. [pros.]
824		Polystratos	Dalion	Boiotia	p.
825		Damon	Zeno[		p. en. [proe.] pros.
826		Alkimedon	Kritolaos	Aegiale, Amorgos	p. en. proe. pros.
827					p. en. pros.
828	Tele[son?], son of [Arist]eides			Tenos	p.?
829	Euelthon, son of [Tele]simenes	]enes	Antichares		p.?
830					p.
831					p.
832	]es, son of Leontiades	Demeas	Dionysios	Naxos	p. en. pros.
833		Kallistion	]eus	Andros	p. pros.
834	Athenis, son of Athenis	Pausanias		Andros	p.?
835	Unknown, son of]okleides	Pak[-]os	Aristo[		p.?
836				Side	c.
837	Unknown, son of Heracleitos		]damos	Naupaktos	p.?
838					p. [en.] a. [pros.]
839	[Euel]thon?, son of Nikios	Kle[	Nikagoras	Rhodes	p.
840	Timocleides, son of Telesippos	Cleinodemos	Lebotos	Siphnos	p. en. pros.
841	Antigonos, son of Xenomeides	Prosthenes	Praxicles	Paros	p. en. pros.
842	Antigonos, son of Teleson	Athanagoras	Athanodoros	Rhodes	p. en. proe. pros.
843		Ariston			c.
844			Apollonios	Chersonesos	c.
845			]ros	Athens	p.?
846		[Pheidi-] anax? ⁵³	An[axibios?] ⁵⁴	[Rhodes?]	p. [en.] pros.
847	Unknown, son of Nouma[kos]	Dionysodoros			p.

⁵³ Roussel in the commentary of this decree suggests [Pheidi]anax, son of An[axibios], from Rhodes, whose father, Anaxibios, son of Pheidianax was honoured in 752 and 753. This is followed by Tréheux 1992, 83, s.v. [Φειδιά]ναξ Ἀν[αξιβίου Ρόδιος]?

⁵⁴ See previous note.

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848			?
849	Unknown, son of Leukippos		?
850		Demet[rios?]	p. en. [pros.]
851			p.?
852		Smyrna	p.?
853			?
854		[Ascle]piades?	p. [en.]
855			p.?
856	E[ra]sidikos?, son of Pri[x]imeides	Pausanias, unknown	p.?
857	]os, son of]dos	]mophanes ⁵⁵	p.?
858			[proe.?] pros. p.?
859			?
860			p. [a. en.] proe. pros.
862			p.
863			p. en. pros.
864			?
865			p. a. proe. en. pros.
866		Are[	p. pol. proe. en. pros.
867			?
868			?
869			p. a. [proe.] en. pros.
870			p.
871			p. a. proe.
872			?
873			p.
874			p.
875			p. en. pros.
876			p. en. pros.
877			p.
878			p.
879			p.
880			?
881			?
882			?
883			p. [proe.] pros.
884			p. en. [pros.]

⁵⁵ Roussel in the *JG* commentary suggests [Ti]mophanes or [De]mophanes. Tréheux 1992, 92 adds [Her]mophanes to the list of possibilities.

(continued)

Inscr.	Proposer	Honorand	Patronymic	Ethnic	Honours
885					[a. en. pros.] p.?
886			]sios		p.?
887					p. a. proe. pol. en. pros.
888					?
889					p.
890					p. a. proe. en.
891					?
892					?
893					p.?
894					p.?
895					p. [en.] pros.
896					p. [pros.]
897					p. [a. proe. en.] pros.
898					p. a. [pros.]
899					?
900					p. [en.] pros.
901					p.
902					?
903					p. [pros.]
904					p. en. proe. pros.
905					p.
906					?
907					p. a. pros.
908					p. a. en. proe. [pros.]
909					p. proe. pros.
910					p. a. en. proe.
911					s. ⁵⁶
912					p. a.?
913					?
914					p. a. proe. en. pros.
915					p.
916					?
917					p. [pros.]
918					p.?
919					?
920					p. a. [en]

⁵⁶ There are at least two honorands here; there is a reference to *agalma[ta]* (statues) in l. 12, but the decree itself is too fragmentary to be able to have any certainty as to its context.

Appendix 1

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921	p. en. pros.
922	?
923	p.
924	?
925	?
926	p. [pros.] en.
927	p.
928	p.
929	?
930	?
931	?
932	?
933	p.
934	p. en. proe. pros.
935	p. a. proe. en.
936	p. [pros.]
937	p. [proe.] pros.
938	[pol.?], a. [en.] p.?
939	p. en. [proe.]
940	p. pros. proe.
941	?
942	p. a. en. proe. [pros.]
943	?
944	c. p. a. proe. en. [pros.]
945	?
946	?
947	?
948	?
949	?
950	p. a. [en.] proe. [pros.]
951	?
952	p. en. [proe.] [pros.]
953	p. en. proe. pros.
954	?
955	?
956	p. proe. en. pros.
957	p. a. pros.
958	p. [en.] proe. pros.
959	?
960	c. ⁵⁷

⁵⁷ This is a very fragmentary decree. In ll. 5–6 we read δά[φρη]ς] στεφάν[ωι].

(continued)

Inscr.	Proposer	Honorand	Patronymic	Ethnic	Honours
961					?
962					?
963		Peri- a[ndros?] ⁵⁸			c. ⁵⁹
964					p. [pros.]
965					?
966					?
967					p. [pros.]
968					?
969					p. pol. proe. en. pros.
970					?
971					?
972		Ph[			p.
973					p. pros.
974					p. a. [en.] proe. pros.
975					p. en. proe. pros.
976					p. en. pros.
977					p.
978					p. [en.] pros.
979					p. a. [proe.?] [en. pros.]
980					p.
981					p.
982					p. [en. pros.]
983					p. [en.] pros.
984					?
985					?
986					?
987					?
988					?
989					p. a. proe. en.
990					?
991					p.?
992					p.?
993					p. [pros.]
994					p. [en.] pros.
995					?
996					?
997					?

⁵⁸ Suggested by Roussel in the *IG* commentary.

⁵⁹ The word *στεφανοί* is supplemented, but is a reasonable suggestion: [τοῖς Ἄ]πολλων[ίοις ἐν τῶι θεάτρῳ ὅτι στεφανοί] ὁ δῆμος [ὁ Δ]ηλίων.

Appendix 1

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998					p. en. [pros.]
999					?
1000					p.
1001					c.? ⁶⁰
1002					?
1003					?
1004					p.
1005					p. en. [pros.]
1006					?
1007					p.
1008					p. en. [pros.]
1009					p.
1010					p. [en.] pros.
1011					p. [pros.]
1012					p.
1013					?
1014					?
1015					?
1016					p. en. pros.
1017					?
1018					?
1019					p.?
1020					?
1021					?
1349	Skymnos, son of Phanodikos	Thersagoras	Athamas	Amphipolis	p. a. proe.
Launey 578–80 ⁶¹	Alexikos, son of Antigonos	[Eir]enaios ⁶²	Nikias	Alexandria	p.?
BCH 1991, 722 ⁶³		Apollonides	Apollonios	Chersonesos	p. proe. pros. ⁶⁴

⁶⁰ There is a very fragmentary reference to a crown in l. 6.

⁶¹ Publication of decree in Launey 1949, 578–80.

⁶² Launey 1949 suggested the reading [Eir]enaios, on the basis of another inscription honouring a certain Eirenaios, a Ptolemaic official from Alexandria (*SEG* 11.391a), also known from an inscription from Thera acting as a *grammateus* (*IG* XII.3 466 with XII suppl. 1390). See also Bagnall 1976, 124–5 with n. 31, and Baslez and Vial 1987, 297.

⁶³ The decree is unpublished. Farnoux 1991, 722 includes this information on the decree: ‘[l’inscription] s’agit de la partie supérieure d’un décret honorifique de l’époque de l’Indépendance, en l’honneur d’*Ἀπολλωνίδης* de Chersonnèse’. Figure 4 on p. 723 is a relatively good photo of the decree, where I was able to read on l. 13 *πρόξενον καὶ εὐεργέτην*. The rest of the language of the decree is typical of a proxyeny decree, but unfortunately, it breaks just as the additional honours are listed. The patronymic of Apollonides is provided in Tréheux 1992, 28, s.v. *Ἀπολλωνίδης Ἀπολλωνίου Χερσονήτης*, inédit, inv. A 106 (IIe s.).

⁶⁴ With the help of Madalina Dana, I was able to read *proedria* in l. 14 and *prosodos* in l. 16 (see previous note).

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APPENDIX 2

Honours Given by the Delians to Individuals,
Evidenced Through the Inscriptions of
Dedications of Statues and Exedras

Inscr.	Honorand	Patronymic	Ethnic	Honours
<i>IG</i> XI.4				
1072 ¹	Alexander	Philip		statue
1073 ²	King Ptolemy	King Ptolemy and queen [---]		statue
1074 ³	Queen Laodike, wife of king Perseus	King Seleukos (IV)		statue
1075	Nikolaos ⁴	Agias	Aitolia, from Proscheion	statue
1076 ⁵	Admetos	Bokros	Macedonia	statue ⁶
1077	Unknown	Akousilas	Oaxos	statue
1078 ⁷	Philippos	Philippos	Cos	statue
1079	Satyros ⁸	Eumenes	Samos	statue

¹ Kotsidu 326 = *Choix* 14. The third-century style of letters argues against an identification with Alexander the Great. At the same time, this cannot be Alexander, son of Philip (from Megalopolis) honoured by the Delians in *IG* XI.4 750, as this would be too late for this statue base.

² Kotsidu 136 [E] 2. This could be the statue (*ἀνδριάνς*) mentioned in the accounts of 245/244 in *ID* 290, 129–31: see comments by Durrbach, *ID*, p. 15. It is therefore likely that the statue is of Ptolemy III Euergetes: Bruneau 1970, 581.

³ *Choix* 70.

⁴ This is possibly the same Nikolaos who founded the festival Nikolaia, in 251: first dedication is in *IG* XI.2 287B 126. See Bruneau 1970, 658.

⁵ Nigdelis 2006, 416–17, T5.

⁶ This is the statue referred to in the Delian decrees *IG* XI.4 664 and 665, which regulate the setting of two statues for the proxenos Admetos, one in the sanctuary at Delos and the other in his home town Thessalonike. See also *IG* XI.4 1053 for the decree of the demos of Thessalonike, in response to the decrees carried by the Delian ambassadors (in 664 and 665). See Paschidis 2008, 441–2, with n. 8.

⁷ Philip, the son of Philip from Cos is honoured as a doctor (*ἰατρὸν* in l. 2). *Choix* 61 = Samama 108. The accounts of the year 195 record the cost for the erection of a statue for Philip, the doctor: *ID* 399A 37–8. The Delian accounts from the period of the Athenian cleruchy (in 156/5: *ID* 1417B II 163) show that a Philip, son of Philip, from Cos acted as a guarantor. As Baslez and Vial 1987, 287 with n. 23 argued, this shows that the honours awarded to Philip, the medic from Cos, must have included *enctesis* for himself and his descendants.

⁸ Satyros was probably a flute player. He dedicated an *aulos*: *ID* 442B 62. His statue was set up in the theatre.

(continued)

Inscr.	Honorand	Patronymic	Ethnic	Honours
1080 ⁹	Phanos ¹⁰	Diodotos	Delos	exedra
1081	Diodotos	Phanos	Delos	exedra ¹¹
1082	Menyllos	Diodotos	Delos	exedra ¹²
1083	Bion	Phanos	Delos	exedra ¹³
1084	Kallidikos ¹⁴	Diodotos	Delos	statue
1085	[Gorgias] ¹⁵	Sosilos	Delos	exedra
1086	Soteles	Telemnestos	Delos	exedra ¹⁶
1087	Sosilos ¹⁷	Dorieus	Delos	statue
1088	Unknown			statue ¹⁸
1089	Unknown			statue
1090	Unknown			exedra
1091	Unknown			exedra
1092	Unknown			statue
1093	Unknown			statue
1094	Unknown			statue
1200	Xenophon	Pythonax	[Cos] ¹⁹	statue

⁹ 1080 is part of a group of inscriptions with 1081, 1082, and 1083, inscribed on an exedra set up in the Agora tetragonos of the Delians (*GD* 84).

¹⁰ It is very difficult to know which Phanos, son of Diodotos, this honour is addressed to: see Vial 1984, 83, with Stemma XII. What is certain is that the exedra honoured members of the same family, but it is very difficult to reconstruct the relationships between the individuals honoured here. See Vial 1984, 82–3 for a full analysis of the prosopographical information.

¹¹ 1081 is inscribed on the same exedra as 1080, 1082, and 1083. See note on 1080.

¹² 1082 is inscribed on the same exedra as 1080, 1081, and 1083. See note on 1080.

¹³ 1083 is inscribed on the same exedra as 1080, 1081, and 1082. See note on 1080.

¹⁴ Possibly a member of the family honoured with an exedra in 1080, 1081, 1082, and 1083: Vial 1984, 82.

¹⁵ On the inscription on the exedra, the patronymic alone survives. However, we know of a Gorgias, son of Sosilos from other dedications and accounts. On the same exedra, there is also a dedication by Gorgias for his mother Pytho (*IG* XI.4 1170: *Γοργίας τῆμ μητέρα Πυθῶ τοῖς θεοῖς*). It is therefore extremely likely that the Delian dedication here for the son of Sosilos is for Gorgias: See Vial 1984, 136–7, and 2008, 47 s.v. *Γοργίας Σωσίλου*.

¹⁶ On the same exedra that we see this Delian dedication in honour of Soteles, son of Telemnestos, we also find Soteles' own dedications for his son Telemnestos and his wife Xenaino (*IG* XI.4 1173 and 1174). For Soteles' family see Vial 1984, 84.

¹⁷ This Sosilos, son of Dorieus, is also the proposer of decree *IG* XI.4 748. For the statue of Sosilos, identified by Knoepfler 1973 with the *andrias* mentioned in the inventory of 156/5 (*ID* 1417AI 133–4: *ἀνδριάντα τέλειον γυμνὸν ἐν τῷ ἐξεδρῶνι ἔχοντα ῥαβδόν, ἀνάθημα Δηλίων*), see now Skaltsa 2008.

¹⁸ The dedicatory inscription of this base for a statue is extremely fragmentary. Dillon and Palmer Baltes 2013, 234 with n. 117 believe that this is a statue of a Hellenistic king.

¹⁹ The ethnic 'Coan' does not appear on the stone: but this statue is very likely for a doctor from Cos: see the *IG* commentary, with Samama 2003, 105, and discussion in Chapter 4, n. 160.

APPENDIX 3

Honours to Individuals Awarded by the Delians
Mentioned in the Delian Accounts
(largely based on Baslez and Vial 1987, esp. 282)
and Elsewhere

Inscription	Honorand	Ethnic	Honours
<i>IG XI.4 514 6–7</i>	Stratonike		statue ¹
<i>ID 290 129–31</i>	Ptolemy		statue ²
399A 20–3	Unknown (king?)		crown ³
399A 20–3	Eumenes (II)		crown ⁴
399A 20–3	Unknown		crown ⁵
399A 36–8, 47–9	King Attalos (I)		statue ⁶
399A 47–9	King Antiochos (III)		statue ⁷
399A 47–9	Queen Laodice, wife of Antiochos (III)		statue ⁸
399A 36	Philip	[Cos]	statue ⁹
406B 61	Community	Jenaion, or Jifnaion	unknown ¹⁰
406B 64	Community	Rhodes	unknown ¹¹
442A 10–12	Unknown (more than one)		crowns ¹²

¹ The reference to a statue for queen Stratonike is found in the honorary decree for Telesinos of Athens (*IG XI.4 514*). The motivation clause is his making for the demos of the Delians of two statues, one of Asclepios, and the other for Queen Stratonike.

² Reference to the waxing (*κήρωσις*) of a statue of Ptolemy in the accounts of 246. The statue, therefore, must be to a statue of one of the first three Ptolemies: Bruneau 1970, 581, argues that this is Ptolemy III; the base of this statue may be *IG XI.4 1073* (see note in Appendix 2).

³ Baslez and Vial 1987, 282 no. 1. The reference in the accounts is to money borrowed from the sacred treasury for honours to an (unnamed) king.

⁴ Baslez and Vial 1987, 282 no. 2. ⁵ Baslez and Vial 1987, 282 no. 3.

⁶ Baslez and Vial 1987, 282 no. 4. See also Bruneau 1970, 582.

⁷ Baslez and Vial 1987, 282 no. 5. ⁸ Baslez and Vial 1987, 282 no. 6.

⁹ This Philip appears as a doctor (*ιατρός*) in the accounts (*ID 399A 37–8*). The statue referred to here is probably *IG XI.4 1078*: this is the dedication of the demos of the Delians for Philip, son of Philip, from Cos, the doctor. See notes in Appendix 2 under 1078.

¹⁰ The accounts mention some kind of honour given to a group of people, whose ethnic (in the genitive plural) ends with either *-ηναίων* or *-ιφναίων*. See Baslez and Vial 1987, 282 no. 7.

¹¹ Baslez and Vial 1987, 282 no. 8.

¹² Baslez and Vial 1987, 282 no. 9. The reference is to crowns (in the plural).

(continued)

Inscription	Honorand	Ethnic	Honours
442A 24–6, 63–5	King Philip (V)		crown ¹³
442A 24–6, 63–5	Eumenes (II)		crown ¹⁴
442A 24–6, 63–5	Community	Rhodes	crown ¹⁵
442A 42–4, 65–7	King Philip (V)		crown ¹⁶
442A 42–4, 65–7	King Masannasa	[Numidia]	crown ¹⁷
442A 88–90	Community	Aitolia	dorea ¹⁸
442A 59–61, 209–13	King Philip (V)		crown ¹⁹
442A 113–14	Unknown (more than one)		statues ²⁰
443Ab 29	Queen Laodice		crown ²¹
443Ab 44	Queen Laodice		statue ²²
460a ¹ 2, e 12	King Perseus		unknown ²³
455 Ab 9	Community	Unknown	dorea ²⁴
460 d ¹ 11	King Eumenes (II)		unknown ²⁵
449A 11–15	King Perseus		crown ²⁶
449A 15–19	King Eumenes (II)		crown ²⁷
449A 19–23	King Prusias		crown ²⁸
449A 23–6	Community	Megara	dorea ²⁹
455Ab 42, 460d 15	Antiochos (IV)		crown ³⁰
461Aa 21	Unknown (more than one)		crowns ³¹
465c 20	Roman People	Rome	crown ³²

¹³ Baslez and Vial 1987, 282 no. 10. ¹⁴ Baslez and Vial 1987, 282 no. 11.

¹⁵ The crown is awarded to Rhodes (*εἰς Ῥόδον*). Baslez and Vial 1987, 282 no. 12.

¹⁶ Baslez and Vial 1987, 282 no. 13.

¹⁷ Baslez and Vial 1987, 282 no. 14. King Masannasa of Numidia gave the Delians a gift of grain in 182: see *ID* 442A 101, 104, 106 (a. 179). The city reciprocated the favour with a crown, evidenced in the accounts. The Nubian king also had his statue erected in the sanctuary, through the dedication of the Delian Hermon, son of Solon: *IG* XI.4 1115 = *Choix* 68. A second statue of Masannasa was erected on Delos, this time a dedication of Charmylos, son of Nikarchos, from Rhodes: *IG* XI.4 1116 = *Choix* 69. See Gauthier 1988, 69. Vial 1984, 138–9, argued convincingly that Rhodes acted as an intermediary between the Numidian king and Delos.

¹⁸ Baslez and Vial 1987, 282 no. 15. The term *dorea* is epigraphically quite rare for Delos. It always refers to a donation to a community (not an individual): this must have been a donation of precious metal or some other commodity: see Baslez and Vial 1987, 286 for an analysis.

¹⁹ Baslez and Vial 1987, 282 no. 16.

²⁰ Baslez and Vial 1987, 282 no. 17. The reference is to ‘statues’ in the plural (*εἰκόνας*).

²¹ Baslez and Vial 1987, 282 no. 18.

²² Baslez and Vial 1987, 282 no. 18bis. This is possibly the statue whose dedicatory inscription is *IG* XI.4 1074. See Bruneau 1970, 582.

²³ Baslez and Vial 1987, 282 no. 19.

²⁴ Baslez and Vial 1987, 282 no. 20.

²⁵ Baslez and Vial 1987, 282 no. 21.

²⁶ Baslez and Vial 1987, 282 no. 22. Other references to this crown in 460b 49, d¹ 14, e 12; 465a 30, and 446A 7. See Bruneau 1970, 582.

²⁷ Baslez and Vial 1987, 282 no. 23. Other references to this crown in 460b 49, d¹ 14, 465a 30.

²⁸ Baslez and Vial 1987, 282 no. 24. Other references to this crown in 455Ab 42, 460d 16.

²⁹ Baslez and Vial 1987, 282 no. 25. ³⁰ Baslez and Vial 1987, 282 no. 26.

³¹ Baslez and Vial 1987, 282 no. 27. The reference here is to crowns (plural).

³² Baslez and Vial 1987, 282 no. 28. The crown here is given to the *demoi* of the Romans, along with the next entry, which is to the Roman Senate: [*εἰς τοὺς στεφανῶνας*] *[δημ]ω τῷ* [*Ρωμαίων* και *τεῖ συγκλη[τήρ]*].

Appendix 3

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465c 20	Roman Senate	Rome	crown ³³
460e 19	C. Lucretius Gallus	Rome	unknown ³⁴
461Aa 83	L. Hortensius	Rome	unknown ³⁵
460i 26	Unknown (more than one)		statues ³⁶

³³ Baslez and Vial 1987, 282 no. 29. See entry above.

³⁴ Baslez and Vial 1987, 282 no. 30.

³⁵ Baslez and Vial 1987, 282 no. 31.

³⁶ Baslez and Vial 1987, 282 no. 32. The reference here is to statues (plural).

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APPENDIX 4

The Geographic Spread of Delian Honours:
A List of Toponyms Associated with the
Ethnic Names of Honorands

Abydos: proxeny 517¹
 Aitolia: proxeny 643, statue 1075, community *dorea* 442A 88–90
 Akarnania?:² proxeny 519
 Alexandria: proxeny 588,³ 650, 670, 742, Launey 1949, 578–80, crown 649, 674,
 statue 290 129–31
 Amorgos, Aegiale: proxeny 826
 Amphipolis: proxeny 1349⁴
 Andros: proxeny, 833, 834, crown 544
 Antioch: crown 600
 Antioch ad Kydnos: proxeny 822
 Apollonia:⁵ proxeny 667
 Arados:⁶ proxeny 601, 776, 816
 Argos: proxeny 546
 Askalon:⁷ proxeny 817 + 818 (crown)
 Aspendos: crown 684
 Athens: proxeny 514 (and crown), 527, 540, 558, 575, 579, 638, 669, 694 (and
 crown), 745, 845
 Boiotia: proxeny 556, 823, 824
 Byzantium: proxeny 510, 530x2, 570, 627, 778, 779 + 780 (crown)
 Canusium: proxeny 642

¹ References 290 to 465 are to *ID*, 510 to 1349 are to *IG* XI.4.

² The ethnic ‘Akarnan’ was suggested by Roussel in the *IG* XI.4 519 commentary, and followed by Tréheux 1992, 75, s.v. *Ῥαχᾶς Ἀντιόχου? Ἀκαρνάν*, and the *LGNP* IIIA, 384, s.v. *Ῥάχας* [*sic*], where he listed as an Akarnanian. As far as I can see, the Delian proxenos Rachas is the only attestation of this name in the Greek world.

³ This proxenos is a Naxian, but he is resident in Alexandria: ll. 3–4: *Φίλιππος Θεοπόμπου Νάξιος κατοικῶ[ν] ἐν Ἀλεξάνδρῃαι τῆς Αἰγύπτου*.

⁴ Couilloud 1974, 318 for Amphipolitans on Delos.

⁵ It is very difficult to know which Apollonia is designated in this decree: see Couilloud 1974, 327 for a discussion of the difficulty of identifying the ethnic Apolloniaties in Delian inscriptions. See note on proxeny decree 667 in Appendix 1 for a possible identification.

⁶ The ethnic Aradios used in these proxeny decrees most likely designates those coming from the island Arados off the coast of Phoenicia. See Couilloud 1974, 325 for a list of Aradioi on Delos in the period of the Athenian cleruchy, and Masson 1969, 682 n. 4.

⁷ This is one of the earliest attestations of an Askalonite in Delian inscriptions. For Askalonites, who become more prominent in the period of the Athenian cleruchy, see Couilloud 1974, 68 with no. 21. On the Askalon proxenos of the early second century, honoured in these two inscriptions, see Roussel 1987, 12, n. 3.

Cassandreia: proxeny 663
 Ceos: proxeny 693
 Carthia: proxeny 592, 769
 Chalcedon:⁸ proxeny 618, 645
 Chersonesos:⁹ proxeny, *BCH* 1991, 722, crown 844
 Chios: proxeny 541, 547, 572 (and crown), 597, 598, 599, 628 × 2, 691, 715? × 3, 767, 793, 819 + 820 (crown)
 Clazomenai: proxeny 783
 Cnidos: proxeny 563, 644, 789, crown 744
 Colophon: proxeny 699
 Cos: proxeny 730, statue 1078, 1200
 Crete
 Cnossos: proxeny 719 × 2, 720, 721
 Gortyn: proxeny 781
 Oaxos: statue 1077
 Polyrrheneia: proxeny 538, crown 782
 Cyme:¹⁰ proxeny and crown 697
 Cyprus
 Karpaseia: proxeny 807
 Kition: proxeny 512
 Cyrene: proxeny 631, 657, 801
 Cythera: proxeny 636
 Cyzikos: proxeny 562
 Delos: exedrae 1080, 1081, 1082, 1083, 1085, 1086, statues 1084, 1087
 Delphi: proxeny 626
 Elaia: proxeny 637
 Epeiros: proxeny 635 × 2
 Euboa
 Carystos: proxeny 516, 605, 673
 Chalkis: proxeny 567, 615, 640,¹¹ 647, 654, 679 + 680 (crown), 681 + 682 (crown), crown 706
 Histiaia: proxeny 533

⁸ There is a confusion in Delian inscriptions between *Καλχηδόνιοι* and *Καρχηδόνιοι*. *Καλχηδόνιοι*, the ethnic used in these proxeny decrees, most likely refers to Chalkedon: see Bruneau 1970, 646, and Couilloud 1974, 193 with no. 420, and the note on decree 618 in Appendix 1.

⁹ This is Chersonesos in the Black Sea: see Dana 2011, 89 with nn. 20 and 21 in 425–6. I would like to thank Madalina Dana for discussing this with me.

¹⁰ Like with many ethnics recorded in the Delian inscriptions, the identification of Cyme here is not absolutely certain. Marek 1984, 73 locates it in the Aiolian coast. Tréheux 1992, 103 also identifies it as Cyme of Aiolia.

¹¹ This decree is incomplete, and breaks off during the motivation clause. But the language of the decree strongly implies that this was a typical proxeny decree (even though the word ‘proxenos’ does not survive in the surviving section). The context of the motivation clause also implies that this was an award to a citizen of Chalkis, as the honours are given on the basis of the honorand’s (Aischylos) treatment in Chalkis of the Delians who arrived there: ll. 3–9: *ἐπειδὴ Αἰσχύλος ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ὦν διατελεῖ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ Δηλίους [καὶ τοῖς ἀφικν[ο]υμέ]νοισ Δηλί[ων] [εἰ]ς Χαλκί[δα φιλότιμο]ς [ᾧ]ν [καὶ] πολλή[ν σπουδὴν ἀεὶ παρέ]χ[ε]ται δε[ο]μένους[.]*

Ephesos: proxeny 653 × 2
 Fregella: proxeny 757
 Halicarnassos: proxeny 528, 565, 581, 610, 775
 Heracle[ia] (of Bithynia?):¹² 797
 Iasos: proxeny 529
 Ikaria, Oine: proxeny 539, 811, 812
 Kleitoria: proxeny 532
 Ky[?]: proxeny 603
 Lampsakos: proxeny 518, 571, 708 (and crown)
 Larisa:¹³ proxeny 584 × 2
 Lesbos
 Methymmna: proxeny 590, 623
 My[tilene?]: proxeny 521?,¹⁴ 594, 613¹⁵
 Ma[roneia]: crown 705
 Macedonia: proxeny 585, 784, 785, crown and statue 664 + 665 + 1076
 Massalia: crown 687
 Megalopolis: proxeny 750
 Megara: proxeny 545, 564, community *dorea* 449A 23–6
 Melos: proxeny 513, crown 749
 Miletos: proxeny 525, 617, 625
 My[conos?]: proxeny 521?¹⁶
 Naucratis: proxeny 561
 Naupaktos: proxeny 692, 837
 Naxos: proxeny 552, 588,¹⁷ 611, 656, 701, 798, 832
 Nisyros: proxeny 595, 622
 Olbiopolis: proxeny 813, 814
 Olynthos: proxeny 531 × 3
 Pantikapaion: proxeny 609
 Paros: proxeny 616, 841
 Pergamon: proxeny 583, 586, 765 + 766 (crown)

¹² Another difficult ethnic to locate. Tréheux 1992, 100, lists this proxenos under the Heracleians of Bithynia. Same identification in Marek 1984, 72.

¹³ Another toponym with many possible identifications (Stephanus Byzantius lists ten toponyms). Couilloud 1974, 327, suggests two alternatives: the Thessalian Larisa or the Syrian Larisa. Marek 1984, 73 locates Larisa in Thessaly, while Tréheux 1992, 104 suggests Larisa of Thessaly or Larisa of the Troad.

¹⁴ The stone preserves only the first two letters My- of the ethnic. There are two possibilities: Mytilene and Mykonos. Marek 1984, 72 prefers Mytilene.

¹⁵ The ethnic is not included in the decree. Indeed, as Mack noted (2015, 55 n. 95), this is one of the rare occasions where the ethnic is not recorded in the honours; perhaps this was related to the fact that the recipient was well known in his own right. For Praxiphanes, son of Dionysiphanes see Haake 2007, 247–51.

¹⁶ While there are a number of Myconians on Delos, for which see Couilloud 1974, 78 no. 45, and Tréheux 1992, 105–6, there is no clear evidence for a Delian proxenos on Mykonos. The decree here only preserves the first two letters of the ethnic, and most scholars accept the supplement My[tilene]. See above under Lesbos, Mytilene. For the island identification ‘Myconian’, see Reger 2001 and Constantakopoulou 2005.

¹⁷ But this is a ‘resident in Alexandria’: see above, under Alexandria.

Phocaea: proxeny 652 × 2
 Pholegandros: proxeny 612
 Rhodes: proxeny 580, 589, 596 × 4, 614, 648, 651, 683, 690 (and crown), 711, 714, 751, 752 + 753 (crown), 754 + 755 (crown), 839, 842, 846?,¹⁸ community honours (either a crown or a *dorea*?) 406B 64, community crown 442A 24–6, 65–7
 Rhoition: proxeny 582
 Rome: proxeny, 808, 809 (and crown), crown 712, community crowns × 2 465c 20,¹⁹ unknown honours for two individuals 460e 19, 461Aa 83
 Samos: proxeny 577, 787, statue 1079
 Seleucia: proxeny 772, 773 + 774 (crown), 815
 Seriphos: proxeny 639
 Side:²⁰ crown 839
 Sidon: proxeny 746, crown 559
 Sikyon: proxeny 511?,²¹ 704
 Sikinos: proxeny 511?,²² 688
 Siphnos:²³ proxeny 587, 760 × 2, 840
 Smyrna: proxeny 851²⁴
 Sparta: proxeny 542 (and crown), 716, 717, 718
 Stratonikeia: proxeny 703
 Syracuse:²⁵ proxeny 723, 758?, 759
 Syros: proxeny 591, 633
 Tanagra: proxeny 641
 Taras: proxeny 810
 Tenos:²⁶ proxeny 573, 655, 763 + 764 (crown), 828
 Teos: proxeny 698, 786
 Thera: proxeny 709 + 710 (crown)
 Thessalia, Triikka: proxeny 606
 Thessalonike: crown 666
 Tyros: proxeny 777

¹⁸ The ethnic 'Rhodios' does not survive in this decree, but see note on 846 in Appendix 1 as to why this is preferred.

¹⁹ These are crowns awarded to the Roman Senate and the Roman demos: see notes in 465c 20 in Appendix 3.

²⁰ This is Side in Pamphylia, for which see Couilloud 1974, 163, n. 319.

²¹ The ethnic in 511 is restored as Sik[yon] by Tréheux 1992, 56, s.v. *Κ[λεαγό]ρας Ἐπιπόμου Σικ[υώνιος]*?, but Sik[inos] by Reger 1994a 73, n. 42. Marek 1984, 73, does not include 511 in either Sikinos nor Sikyon.

²² See note above, discussion under Sikyon.

²³ See discussion in Brun 2005, and 2009 (on Siphnian names).

²⁴ The ethnic here is Smyrnaios. See Couilloud 1974, 122 no. 155 for the attestation of Zmyrnaios as an ethnic of Smyrna in the inscriptions of Delos.

²⁵ See Couilloud 1974, 198 no. 445 for a list of Syracusans in the early second century. On Syracusans (and Sicilians) on Delos see also Etienne 2011, 20 with n. 39.

²⁶ For honours of Tenians see also Etienne 1990, 180–2.

APPENDIX 5
Dedicants Recorded in the Delian Inventories in the
Period 314–200 BC (IG XI.2 137 to ID 372)

Region ¹	Community of Origin	Collective/ Individual ²	Name	Patronymic	Gender ³	Status ⁴	Number of dedications	Reference ⁵
Aegean	Athens		Kallias ⁶	Thymochares	m		1	199B 92
Aegean	Athens		Thymochares ⁷	Kallias	m		1	164B 2; 203B 39; 205Aa 3
Aegean	Casos	c	Casians				1	203B 38; 205Aa 20; 219B 26
Aegean	Casos	c	<i>architheoros</i> Alexis				1	199B 14; 205Aa 19; 244 9

¹ For the differentiation into regions, see discussion in Chapter 5.9. The listing in this appendix follows a geographic ordering according to region (that is: Aegean, Delos, Neighbouring Islands, Non-Aegean, and No ethnic known), then alphabetically according to the attested community (Athens, Casos, and so on), and then finally by the name of the dedicant.

² Collective dedications are indicated by a 'c' in the box. An empty box indicates that this is an individual dedication. Collective dedications by communities are normally designated by the name of the *architheoros*. When no *architheoros* is included in the name of the dedication, then this means that this collective dedication is listed under the ethnic name of the community, as in 'Naxians', 'Tauromenitans', and so on.

³ Gender is indicated by 'f' for female, 'm' for male, and 'u' for the two cases where it is impossible to establish the gender: these are Aeschylis (under Delos?) and Stilpyris (no ethnic recorded). See discussion in Chapter 5.7 with n. 143.

⁴ Elite status is indicated with an asterisk (*); where the box is blank, this indicates that as far as we know the dedicant is not an elite person. For my definition of 'elite', see discussion in Chapter 5.10.

⁵ References to the inscriptions are as follows: IG XI.2 includes the inventories and accounts numbered 105–289, while ID includes numbers 290 onwards. I generally include only the first three attestations of the dedication. For a full list of attestations, see the relevant entries in Tréheux 1992, and Vial 2008.

⁶ This is most likely the famous Kallias of Sphettos, who also receives proxeny from the Delians in IG XI.4 527, for which see Chapter 4.3.

⁷ This is probably the son of Kallias, son of Thymochares, otherwise known as Kallias of Sphettos: see Paschidis 2008, 145, n.1. This Kallias also dedicates an object to the Delian deities (see note above).

(continued)

Region	Community of Origin	Collective/ Individual	Name	Patronymic	Gender	Status	Number of dedications	Reference
Aegean	Chalkis		Philocleides ⁸	Philodes	m		1	203B 35; 205Aa 13; 224B 35
Aegean	Cnidos	c	Cnidians				1	226B 4; 287B 83; 298A 117
Aegean	Colophon		Bacchios		m		1	224B 5; 245A 9; 298A 96
Aegean	Crete		Akestimos		m		1	287B 126; 298A 96; 313A 75
Aegean	Crete/Rithymnon		Nikandros		m		1	313C 10; 399B 34; 439A 27
Aegean	Cyme		Apolodoros		m		1	203B 93; 287B 73; 298A 31
Aegean	Elaiia		Phylakos		m		1	161B 14; 162B 11; 190 4
Aegean	Eresos	c	Eresians				1	137 11; 155A 12
Aegean	Macedonia		Amyntas		m		2	135 37; 145 47; 154B24, 35
Aegean	Macedonia		Antigonos Gonatas		m	*	8 ⁹	287B 125, 126, 129
Aegean	Macedonia		Antipater ¹⁰	Balagros	m		1	161B 85; 175Bd 4; 199B 20
Aegean	Macedonia? ¹¹		Boulomaga		f		2	161B 102; 186 5; 194 4
Aegean	Macedonia? ¹²		Dadamas		m		1	145 51; 154B 34; 155A 13
Aegean	Macedonia		Demetrios Poliorketes	Antigonos	m	*	3 ¹³	161B 57, 85; 162B 45; 164A 28, 94
Aegean	Macedonia? ¹⁴		Hado Macetia		f		3	137 13, 15; 145, 51, 52; 154B 7, 35, 36
Aegean	Macedonia ¹⁵		Kebalimos		m		1	137 12; 145 51; 154B 33
Aegean	Macedonia		Kleitios ¹⁶		m	*	1	161B 58; 162B 46; 199B 61

⁸ This may be the same Philocleides who receives proxeny in *IG XL 4 567*.

⁹ The number of dedications here is the result of the following calculations: Antigonos dedicated three crowns, and he established five festivals (through the act of donating a sum of money to generate a *phiale* every year): for the reasoning behind these calculations see Chapter 5. For Antigonos' festivals see Bruneau 1970, 558–9.

¹⁰ This is not the king: see Heckel 1987.

¹¹ Possibly a Macedonian: see Masson 1984.

¹² Dadamas never appears as Macedonian in the inventories: but see Baslez 1997, 347; it is a Macedonian name.

¹³ There are three dedications: two crowns and another dedication of a 'ram', which was then replaced by a cup in 287B 90. For Demetrios' dedications see Bruneau 1970, 546 ff. More dedications are linked with Demetrios: his daughter dedicated his jewellery—see under Stratoniike in the non-Aegean region.

¹⁴ Baslez 1997, 347 considers her a Macedonian. The name is rare: see Masson 1984, 133 with n. 5.

¹⁵ On the Macedonian ethnicity of Kebalimos see Baslez 1997, 347 with n. 18.

¹⁶ This is the admiral of Antipater: see Tréheux 1992, 57, s.v. *Κλειτρος Μακεδων*, following Homolle 1891, 138.

Aegean	Macedonia	Krateros ¹⁷	m	*	2	137 16; 145 53; 154B 37
Aegean	Macedonia	Leonidas ¹⁸	m	*	1	161B 77; 199B 11; 203B 45
Aegean	Macedonia	Metron	m	*	1	161B 58; 164A 92; 199B 62
Aegean	Macedonia	Nikanor ¹⁹	m	*	1	137 15; 154B 36; 380 71
Aegean	Macedonia	Peukestas ²⁰	m	*	2	161B 53, 83; 162B 42; 164A 91
Aegean	Macedonia	Philip V ²¹	m	*	1	366A 53–84
Aegean	Macedonia	Polykleitos ²²	m	*	1	161B 87; 164A 29; 199B 21
Aegean	Macedonia	Simias/Simmas	m		1	203B 39; 205Aa 22; 244 9
Aegean	Macedonia	Unnamed daughters	f × 2		2	161B 73; 164A 9; 199B 7
Aegean	Megara	Xeniades	m		1	298A 59; 313A 49; 314B 49
Aegean	Miletos	Simos	m		1	137 18; 145 54; 154B 40
Aegean	Mytilene	Heraclitos	m		1	203B 38; 287B 39; 298A 11
Aegean	Pergamon	Attalos I Soter, King	m	*	2 ²³	366A 53–86; 380 101; 425 4
Aegean	Pergamon	Philetairos ²⁴	m	*	1	224B 20, 21; 287B 119–23; 298A 93, 95
Aegean	Rhodes	<i>architheoros</i>	c		1	161B 16; 162B 12; 164A 57
Aegean	Rhodes	Agasandros	c		1	161B 73; 164A 9; 185B 3
Aegean	Rhodes	<i>architheoros</i>	c		1	161B 70; 164A 7; 199B 4
Aegean	Rhodes	Agasidamos	c		1	
Aegean	Rhodes	<i>architheoros</i> Akestias	c		1	

¹⁷ This is the general of Alexander, dedicating a *phiale* and a crown: see Tréheux 1992, 57, s.v. *Κρατερός Μακεδόν.*

¹⁸ This is most probably the general of Ptolemy I Soter, dedicating a helmet (*περικεφαλαία σιδηρά, περιτηγγυρωμένη*), for whom see Hauben 2004, 42 with n. 91.

¹⁹ This is an official of Macedonia, most probably: see discussion in Baslez 1997, 348.

²⁰ This is most likely the famous bodyguard of Alexander the Great and later satrap: see Diodorus 17.99.4 and Berve 1938. For the identification of the Peukestas in the inventories with the famous Peukestas see Masson 1979, 53 with n. 3, and Tréheux 1992, 71, s.v. *Πευκέστρας, Μακεδόν.*

²¹ The single dedication here is the foundation of the festival of the Philippéia, for which see Bruneau 1970, 564.

²² Polykleitos is a navarch of Antigonos Monophthalmos: Diod. 19.62.2–4, for whom see Baslez 1997, 349.

²³ The total of two dedications for Attalos I is calculated in this way: one is the dedication of a crown in the temple of Apollo (before 193) in 380 101, and the other is the foundation of the festival Attaleia, before 209. The deposit of a sum of money for the festival generated a *phiale* each year, which was then stored in the Artemision: see Tréheux 1992, 11, s.v. *Ἐπταβλος Σιωτήρ βασιλεύς*. For the foundation of the festival see Bruneau 1970, 572–3.

²⁴ This is the founder of the dynasty of Pergamon. The single dedication is the establishment of a festival for himself, called the Philetairieis; there is also the possibility that the festival was established by his son Eumenes I. See Bruneau 1970, 570–2, and Tréheux, 1992, 18, s.v. *Φιλεταίρος*.

(continued)

Region	Community of Origin	Collective/ Individual	Name	Patronymic	Gender	Status	Number of dedications	Reference
Aegean	Rhodes	c	<i>architheoros</i>				1	298A 19
Aegean	Rhodes	c	Anaxagoras <i>architheoros</i>				1	199B 71; 219B 62; 223B 5
Aegean	Rhodes	c	Damonikos <i>architheoros</i> Diocleidas				1	224B 34; 287B 39; 298A 9
Aegean	Rhodes	c	<i>architheoros</i> Eukles				1	226B 6; 226 bis 17; 287B 85
Aegean	Rhodes	c	<i>architheoros</i>				1	161B 70; 164A 6; 185B 5
Aegean	Rhodes	c	Hippagoras <i>architheoros</i> Krantor				1	287B 38; 298A 10; 313A 7
Aegean	Rhodes	c	<i>architheoros</i> Lysistratos				1	287B 39; 298 A 11; 313A 7
Aegean	Rhodes	c	<i>architheoros</i> Menon				1	199B 5; 203B 33; 219B 34
Aegean	Rhodes	c	<i>architheoros</i>				1	226B 5; 226 bis 14; 287B 84–5
Aegean	Rhodes	c	Peisistratos <i>architheoros</i>				1	162B 13; ²⁵ 164A 57; 188 5
Aegean	Rhodes	c	Philodamos <i>architheoros</i> Philon ²⁶				1	161B 74; 164A 10; 287B 44
Aegean	Rhodes	c	<i>architheoros</i> Phrasilas				1	161B 69; 164A 5; 199B 3
Aegean	Rhodes	c	<i>architheoros</i> Polyaratos				2 ²⁷	161B 68; 164A 4; 56; 199B 3, 39
Aegean	Rhodes	c	<i>architheoros</i> Simion				1	164B 4; 199B 28; 298A 116
Aegean	Rhodes	c	<i>architheoros</i>				1	161B 13; 162B 10; 164A 56
Aegean	Rhodes	c	Thrasymachos <i>architheoros</i>					287B 37; 298A 9; 313A 6
Aegean	Rhodes		Timostratos		m		1	161B 75; 164A 11; 185B 2
Aegean	Rhodes		Aristophilos	Polycharmos	m		1	287B 36; 298A 8; 1441AI 23
Aegean	Rhodes		Charmylos		m		1	161B 83; 198B 18; 203B 40
Aegean	Rhodes		Nikolaos		m			

²⁵ The name here was initially Philodamos, but was corrected to Polycharmos: see Bruneau 1970, 103, and comments in IG XI.2 162B 13, p. 59.

²⁶ Bruneau 1970, 98 raised the possibility that this Philon may be the same as the Coan *architheoros* Philon, for whom see below under Coans (in the region neighbouring islands). As they are both referred to in 287B (39 and 44), I find this suggestion unlikely.

²⁷ As *architheoros*, Polyaratos dedicates two *phialai*, one to Apollo and one to Artemis. He also dedicates a ring as an individual dedicator: see under Polyaratos.

Aegean	Rhodes	Pagkrates	m	1	219B 63
Aegean	Rhodes	Pasikrates	m	1	199B 72; 223B 6; 226B 6
Aegean	Rhodes	Pheidanax	m	1	154B 21
Aegean	Rhodes	Polyaratos ²⁹	m	1	161B 63; 162B 49
Aegean	Rhodes	Thymoidas ²⁹	m	1	161B 99; 192 8; 203B 39
Aegean	Rhodes	Timanthes	m	1	161B 68; 162B 54; 164A 4
Aegean	Rhodes?	Timasipolis	m	1	161B 94; 164A 18; 199B 11
Aegean	Rhodes?	Timeas	m	1	161B 99; 164A 18; 199B 11
Aegean	Sparta	Lysander	m	*	161B 59; 92; 164A 32, 94; 199B 22, 63
Aegean	Sparta	Pharax	m	* ³⁰	161B 87; 199B 21; 203B 50
Aegean	Thebes	Ameinondas ³¹	m	1	161B 46; 162B 36
Aegean	Thebes	Xenophanes	m	2	161B 89; 154B 57; 161B 89
Delos	Delos	Delians	c	7 ³²	162B 22
Delos	Delos	Delians	c	1 ³³	199B 23
Delos	Delos	Delians	c	1 ³⁴	203B 53
Delos	Delos	Delians	c	1 ³⁵	287B 62
Delos	Delos	Delians	c	1 ³⁶	161B 88; 193 4; 205Bc 11

²⁸ Polyaratos is also an *architheoros* with a Rhodian delegation; as *architheoros* he dedicates two *phiaiai* (see under Rhodians). This is his own personal dedication of a ring. See the note above.
²⁹ See Baslez 1997, 349.

³⁰ Spartan general who dedicated a crown perhaps as early as 397; see 104–27B 20.

³¹ This is a problematic entry: see Tréheux 1985, 23–5 and 27. Ameinondas appears to have dedicated a crown in the Artemision. The *hieropoioi* later record the name crown under Epameinondas, in 164A 95; 189 4; 199B 64. Tréheux 1985, and 1992, 25, s.v. *Ἀμεινώδης ἑργάτης*?, and Vial 1984, 220 with n. 115, followed by Prêtre 2004, 91–100 believe that the *hieropoioi* substituted a dedication made by the famous Theban general Epameinondas for the entirely unknown Ameinondas; the mistake was then corrected in the inventory of 276 (164A 95). This is clearly a very possible scenario; but I do wonder if in fact the opposite took place: that is the original dedication of someone entirely unknown, called Ameinondas, which took place in the fourth century, as it appears unnamed in previous inventories, was in fact re-allocated to the famous general in order to enhance the glory of the sanctuary.

³² In the accounts of the year 278 (162B 22), there is a listing of seven *phiaiai* dedicated by the Delians.

³³ This is a golden crown, dedicated by the demos of the Delians, after being crowned by the demos of the Naxians.

³⁴ This is a different crown to the one above, as it has a different weight; it is a laurel crown.

³⁵ This is yet another crown, with a different weight.

³⁶ This is yet another crown, an ivy one.

(continued)

Region	Community of Origin	Collective/ Individual Name	Patronymic	Gender	Status	Number of dedications	Reference
Delos	Delos	c	Mapsichides ³⁷			18	298A 70
Delos	Delos	c	Thyestades and Okyneides ³⁸			60	161B 64; 162B 51; 164B 2
Delos	Delos		Aeschylis	u ³⁹		1	161B 25; 162B 20; 164A 84
Delos	Delos		Althaimenes	m		1	338Bb 9
Delos	Delos		Amnos	m		1	298A 112
Delos	Delos		Andromenes	m		1	145 56; 154B 42-3
Delos	Delos		Antikrates	m		1	137 11; 147 50; 154B 30
Delos	Delos		Archandros and Polydoros	m × 2		2	297B 30; 313A 48; 314B 46, 48
Delos?	Delos?		Archestratos	m		1	161B 76
Delos?	Delos?		Archestratos	m		1	203B 39; 310 10; 313I 17
Delos?	Delos?		Aristokleia	f		1	297A 63; 313A 52; 314B 53
Delos?	Delos?		Aristomachos	m	Emmenides	3 ⁴⁰	296B 10; 320B 70-1
Delos	Delos		Autocles	m		1	161B 104; 164A 38; 199B 27
Delos?	Delos?		Donax ⁴¹	m		1	203B 82-3; 223B 16; 287B 14
Delos	Delos		Echecrates	m		1	298A 56; 313A 47; 314B 46
Delos	Delos		Echenike	f	Stesileos	5 ⁴²	287B 32, 75; 313A 34; 1444Aa 7

³⁷ This is a Delian *tritrys*, which dedicates *phialai* on a regular basis. The total of eighteen dedications comes from the sixteen *phialai* recorded in 338^{BC} 48-50, and of two *skaphtia* recorded in 124 60; see Chapter 5.6, n. 136.

³⁸ Thyestades and Okyneides are two Delian *tritryes* that dedicate annual *phialai*; see also note above for the Mapsichides. The total number is an estimate for the end of the third century, on the basis of 338 B 18-25, which lists fifty-six *phialai*, but includes a gap in the middle.

³⁹ Vial 2008, 15, s.v. *Αιζυχολίς Τυσοθέωνος*, believes that it is more likely a male name.

⁴⁰ There are at least three dedications by Aristomachos implied in 320 70-1: an item is listed that replaced the 'goat' (*aigra*) that Aristomachos dedicated, and in the next line, there is another item that replaced the *aigiskoi* (little goats, in plural, so at least two) that Aristomachos dedicated.

⁴¹ There is another Donax recorded in the inventories: see Donax under 'no ethnic known', with discussion in note 94.

⁴² The five dedications are calculated in this way: there are three objects dedicated under Echenike in the inventories: a golden *kylix* in 287B 75, a *phiale* in 287B 32, and a golden cup (*ἰδωροπίστis*) in 439A 6-7, also mentioned by the local historian Semos of Delos (*FGH* 396 F9 = Ath. 11.37 469c, for which see Davies 2000, 206). Echenike also dedicated a marble statue of Aphrodite in the Aphrodision of Stesileos, her father, in *IG* XI.4 1277, which is discussed in Chapter 3.4. The fifth dedication is the donation of 3000 dr for the celebration of the Echenikeia, an annual festival in her honour, which included sacrifices to Apollo and Aphrodite: see 287A 123, 288 9, 290 45. For Echenike's family see Vial 1984, 75 with St. XI. For the festival Echenikeia see Bruneau 1970, 342-4, and Chapter 5.

Delos	Elpines	Andrias	m	1	145 56; 154B 15
Delos	Empedok		m	2	137 6; 145 48; 154B 8–9
Delos	Epinoidas		m	1	145 49–50; 154B 18; 203B 30
Delos	Erxenor	Glaukos	m	1	298A 62; 313A 51
Delos	Eukleides	Neokoros	m	1	298A 60; 313A 50; 314B 50
Delos	Eukles and Timesarete		m + f	1	313A 52; 314B 52
Delos	Eumedes		m	1	154B 27; 155A 10
Delos?	Glaukos		m	2	161B 98; 219B 51; 227B 3
Delos	Gorgias	Sosilos	m	1 ⁴³	320B 79
Delos	Hegemon		m	1	287B 91
Delos	Helcandros		m	2	298A 57, 60; 313A 48, 49–50; 314A 47–8
Delos	Hierocleia		f	1	199B 70; 144Aa 8; 1449Bc 8
Delos?	Hierodes		m	1	203B 35; 229B 6; 262 4
Delos?	Hippodamas		m	3 ⁴⁴	226B 24; 298B 106; 313Ab 84
Delos	Hippotades		m	1	298A 62; 313A 51; 314B 13
Delos	Kalliphante		f	1	164A 100; 199B 67; 203B 91
Delos	Kallisthenes		m	1	298A 58; 313A 48
Delos?	Kerkis		f	1	161B 119–20; 164A 100; 199B 67
Delos	Kineas and Nesiades		m × 2	1	320B 73
Delos?	Klearchis		f	1	161B 115; 164A 96; 199B 64
Delos	Kritole		f	1	154B 12
Delos	Kteson		m	2	161B 79–80; 164A 22; 186 11–2
Delos	Ktesylis	Aristolochos	f	1	161B 115; 189 5; 199B 65
Delos?	Lamidion		f	4	219B 23
Delos	Menyillos		m	3	137 7–8; 145 48; 154B 27, 28–9
Delos	Nikis		m	2	137 10–1; 145 50; 154B 17–8, 30–1
Delos	Nikodromos		m	1	314B 142
Delos	Panteles		m	1	298A 60; 313A 50; 314B 12

⁴³ This is a single dedication of 6730 dr, a massive amount, which would then generate a *phiale* a year; for Gorgias see Vial 1984, 136–7, St. 16. On Gorgias' dedication see Tréheux 1944, 275–6.

⁴⁴ There are two *kymbia* listed in 298B 106, and a *kondys* listed in 226B 24; I therefore calculated a total of three dedications.

(continued)

Region	Community of Origin	Collective/ Individual	Name	Patronymic	Gender	Status	Number of dedications	Reference
Delos	Delos		Peitharchos		m		1	155A 2
Delos	Delos		Philagros		m		1	137 13; 145 52; 154B 35
Delos?	Delos?		Philon		m		2	203B 25
Delos	Delos?		Philoxenos ⁴⁵		m		1	287B 34
Delos	Delos		Phokais		f		1	161B 101; 164A 15; 199B 12
Delos	Delos		Polemis		f		2	137 7; 145 48; 154B 9–10
Delos	Delos		Proximenēs		m		1	298A 60; 313A 50; 338Bc 13
Delos	Delos		Proxenos		m		1 ⁴⁶	298B 111
Delos	Delos?		Pyrrhias		m		1	161B 69; 164A 6; 199B 6
Delos	Delos?		Pyrrhos		m		1	155A 6
Delos	Delos		Pytheos	Theodorides	m		6	154B 49; 155A 7–8; 161B 64
Delos	Delos		Stesileos ⁴⁷		m		14 ⁴⁸	161B 71; 287B 129–31. See also note 48.
Delos	Delos		Teisias	Teisarchos	m		1	298A 57; 315 11; 320B 9
Delos	Delos		Themisto		f		2	298A 176; 203B 29–30; 298A 176
Delos	Delos?		Thessalia		f		1	161B 118
Delos	Delos?		Timocrates		m		1	154A 54; 161B 95; 164A 36
Delos	Delos		Timophanes		m		1	298A 62; 315 15
Delos	Delos		Tynnion and Menephrion		m × 2		2	298A 57; 313A 47, 52; 314B 53
Delos	Delos		Xenocrates and Cleon		m × 2		1	137 8; 145 48–9; 154B 10–1

⁴⁵ 287B 34 is the only reference to a dedication by Philoxenos of a *skapthion*: *Φιλοξένου σκαπίων*. In following years, this becomes a dedication in the year of the archon Philoxenos (*ἐπι Φιλοξένου* or *ἐπι ἀρχόντος Φιλοξένου*). I make the tentative suggestion here that the dedication was indeed by Philoxenos, and recorded correctly in the first instance; in later years, the *hieropoioi* changed the record to a *skapthion* in the year of the archon Philoxenos (rather by Philoxenos). I assume that this Philoxenos who made the dedication was the same as the archon, and therefore a Delian.

⁴⁶ The dedication here is a *kanasa*, a word only found in the Delian inventories: see Chapter 5.3, n. 44.

⁴⁷ For Stesileos, see Chapter 5.6, with notes 124–7.

⁴⁸ The total number of dedications is calculated as following: one dedication is the festival of Stesileia in 302, for which see Bruneau 1970, 342–3, Durvyre 2006, 2009. The Stesileia festival generates a number of cups as dedications. In addition to the foundation of the festival, Stesileos seems to have dedicated the following objects: six *phialai*, one house (162A 42: *τῆς οἰκίας ἧς ἀπέθηκε Στῆσιλέως πατρύσης*), one temple of Aphrodite, the so-called Aphroditē, for which see Chapter 3.4, one statue of Aphroditē (in the Aphroditidion of Stesileos: 290 151, 153), two statues (for his parents) in the Aphroditidion, one wooden *pinax* (1412A 33), and one tripod (1432Ab II 10–11): a total, therefore, of fourteen. For a list of references of the vases dedicated as a result of the foundation of the festival of the Stesileia, see Vial 2008, 123, s.v. *Στῆσιλέως Διοδώρου*.

Delos	Delos?	Xenon and Geryllos				1	137 19
Delos	Delos	Unnamed sons				1	297B 36; 298A 62; 313A 52
Neighbouring islands	Amorgos/ Arcesine	Arcesineans	c			2	313A 76
Neighbouring islands	Amorgos	Eukrates		m		1	313A 76; 314B 152; 320B 72
Neighbouring islands	Calymnos	Calymnians	c			2	199B 6–7; 203B 33, 35; 219B 33
Neighbouring islands	Calymnos	<i>architheoros</i> Diophanes	c			1	287B 41; 203B 37; 298A 14
Neighbouring islands	Calymnos	<i>architheoros</i> Polymedes	c			1	161B 71; 164A 7; 192 4
Neighbouring islands	Calymnos	Archias		m		1	161B 71; 203B 33; 219B 35
Neighbouring islands	Ceos	Kleinias		m		1	298A 59; 313A 49; 314B 50
Neighbouring islands	Chios	Athenes		m		1	298A 18; 310 7
Neighbouring islands	Chios	Eutychos ⁴⁹		m	Philotas	1	366A 53–86; 425 15; 426 4
Neighbouring islands	Chios?	Noumenios		m		3 ⁵⁰	313A 96; 345 B 5,6
Neighbouring islands	Cos	Coans	c			1 ⁵¹	161B 74–5; 164A 10; 219B 36
Neighbouring islands	Cos	<i>architheoros</i> Aertas	c			1	287B 42; 298A 15; 310 4

⁴⁹ Eutychos also receives a proxeny decree from the Delians in *JG* XI.4 691 = *Choix* 43. Eutychos founded a festival in his honour, the Eutycheia, in 236, with the dedication of the first *phiale* in 235; see also Bruneau 1970, 658, and Chapter 5.6, n. 118.

⁵⁰ There is a cup (*keramylion*) listed in 313A 96, and two *phialai* in 345B 5 and 6.

⁵¹ It is likely that this *phiale* is also the one appearing in 287B 42 and 298A 14, with the inscription *Ἀπόλλωνι ἀπαρχάν*.

(continued)

Region	Community of Origin	Collective/ Individual	Name	Patronymic	Gender	Status	Number of dedications	Reference
Neighbouring islands	Cos	c	<i>architheoros</i> Anaxibios				1	199B 7–8; ⁵² 203 B 34, 287B 41
Neighbouring islands	Cos	c	<i>architheoros</i> Aratos				1	161B 66; 162B 53; 164A 3
Neighbouring islands	Cos	c	<i>architheoros</i> Arche-				1	298A 18
Neighbouring islands	Cos	c	<i>architheoros</i> Didymarchos				1	287B 43; 298A 15; 313A 12
Neighbouring islands	Cos	c	<i>architheoros</i> Eukleidas				1	205Aa 21; 287B 44–5; 298A 17
Neighbouring islands	Cos	c	<i>architheoros</i> Hipparchos				1	287B 45; 298A 17; 313A 14
Neighbouring islands	Cos	c	<i>architheoros</i> Philon ⁵³				1	287B 39; 298A 11
Neighbouring islands	Cos	c	<i>architheoros</i> Polycleitos				2	161B15; 162B 12; 164A 58
Neighbouring islands	Cos	c	<i>architheoros</i> Pompios				1	372B 22; 379 12
Neighbouring islands	Cos	c	<i>architheoros</i> Simos				1	161B 14; 162B 11; 164A 58
Neighbouring islands	Cos	c	<i>architheoros</i> Teisias				1	199B 70; 287B 36; 198A 7
Neighbouring Islands	Cos	c	<i>architheoros</i> Teleutias				1	287B 45; 298A 17; 313A 14
Neighbouring islands	Cos	c	<i>architheoros</i> Zopyrion				1	203B 39; 287B 43
Neighbouring islands	Cos		Diocles	Philinos			1	161B 69; 164A 5; 203B 34

⁵² The IG publication of this has Alexibios, and Bruneau 1970, 100 suspected Alexibios was an erroneous listing of Anaxibios. See Tréheux 1992, 24, s.v. *Ἀλεξιβίος* *Kῶσος*: the stone actually records Anaxibios.

⁵³ See above note 26.

Neighbouring islands	Ios	c	Ians		2	298A 58, 62; 313Ab 48; 314B 48
Neighbouring islands	Myconos	c	Myconians		1	298A 61; 315 14
Neighbouring islands	Myconos		Archippe	Sostratos	2	203B 76; 247 12; 280AB 10
Neighbouring Islands	Myconos		Aristole	f	1	145 57; 154B 44
Neighbouring Islands	Myconos		Demetria	f	1	137 9; 145 49; 154B 30
Neighbouring Islands	Myconos		Demoson	m	1 ⁵⁴	145 57; 154B 16; 155A 2
Neighbouring Islands	Myconos		Demoson	m	2 ⁵⁵	154B 20; 155A 2; 203B 28
Neighbouring Islands	Myconos		Demoson	m	1 ⁵⁶	161B 27; 162B 22; 164A 89
Neighbouring Islands	Myconos		Eparchides ⁵⁷	m	2	137 18; 154B 40; 154B 14
Neighbouring Islands	Myconos		Ikarios	m	6	161B 12; 162B 9; 164A 55
Neighbouring Islands	Myconos		Simiche	f	1	161B 23; 162B 18; 164A 83

⁵⁴ This is a dedication of an object for/on behalf of (*hyper*) Eparchides. The earliest reference is before 302 (145 57); Eparchides is probably Demoson's son (so the father Demoson makes a dedication for his son Eparchides).

⁵⁵ These are dedications for/on behalf of (*hyper*) Demeas: in 298B 110, there are two *kylikes*. The first reference is before 296 (154B 20). The dedication for/on behalf of Demeas makes this Demoson a different individual than the previous one.

⁵⁶ This is a dedication of a *phialion*. This is a different Demoson than the one dedicating for/on behalf of Eparchides, listed above. The first dedication is before 279 (161B 27), which places this Demoson a generation later than the earlier Demoson: see Tréheux 1992, 38, s.v. *Δημοσίων* *Ἐπαρχίδου Μυκόνου*.

⁵⁷ Eparchides appears as Eparchos in the first inventory 137 18; the listings are then corrected to Eparchides in later inventories: see Tréheux 1992, 43, s.v. *Ἐπαρχίδης Μυκόνου*. He is probably the son of Demoson, listed above, who makes a dedication for/on behalf of Eparchides in 145 57 (before 302). He is also probably the father of Demoson who dedicates an object in 161B 27.

(continued)

Region	Community of Origin	Collective/ Individual Name	Patronymic	Gender	Status	Number of dedications	Reference
Neighbouring Islands	Myconos	Unnamed daughter ⁵⁸	Teisidikos	f		1	137 I 7; 145 54; 154B 19
Neighbouring Islands	Naxos	c Naxians				4 ⁵⁹	161B 31; 162B 23; 164A 80
Neighbouring Islands	Naxos	Leodike		f		1	137 I 6; 145 53; 154B 38
Neighbouring Islands	Naxos	Lykinos		m		1	298A 56; 313A 46; 314B 46
Neighbouring Islands	Naxos	Petraios		m		1	298A 58; 313A 48; 314B 48
Neighbouring Islands	Naxos ⁶⁰	Polymnestos		m		1	298A 12; 319A 9
Neighbouring Islands	Paros	Damasias	Kypragoras	m		1	199B 8; 205A 8; 219B 34
Neighbouring Islands	Paros	Hegesileos		m		1	298A 58; 314B 48
Neighbouring Islands	Pholegandros	Perillos		m		1	298A 57; 313A 47; 314B 47
Neighbouring Islands	Samos	Anaxidamas	Krines	m		1	297A 57; 313A 49; 314B 49
Neighbouring Islands	Samos	Polyarchos	Thesandros	m		1	298A 56; 313A 46; 314B 46

⁵⁸ The entry reads *Τεσιδικου θυγατρὸς Μυκονιάς*.

⁵⁹ There are four *phialai* attributed to a collective dedication of the Naxians: one is a golden *phiale karyote* (adorned with a nut-shaped boss?), weighing 201 dr in 161B 31; another weighs 196 dr 3 obols in 162B 23 and 164A 80; two further *phialai* are listed among the 'ancient *phialai*' in 298A 59–60 and 61; this last one is listed as dedicated *τῶν ἀλλοτρῶν τῶν ἐν Δήλῳ*. The *phiale karyote* dedicated by the Naxians is also mentioned by Semos of Delos (FGh 396 F18 = Ath. 11.105).

⁶⁰ The ethnic Naxios is not recorded in the inventories. It is reasonable, however, to assume that this Polymnestos is the same Polymnestos, son of Thibron, from Naxos, who receives proxeny in IG XI.4 701; see commentary by Durrbach in ID 298A 12, p. 49.

Neighbouring Islands	Samos	Unnamed sons ⁶¹	Polyarchos	m × 2	1	145 47; 154B 23 ⁶²
Neighbouring Islands	Tenos	Harpalis and Pathon		m × 2	1	298A 58; 313A 48; 314B 48
Non-Aegean	Aitolia	Nikolaos ⁶³	Agias	m	1	287B 127–8; 366A 54
Non-Aegean	Aitolia	Straton		m	1	161B 25; 162B 19; 164A 73
Non-Aegean	Amathous, Cyprus	Androcles ⁶⁴		m	3	135 39; 161B 93; 199B 22
Non-Aegean	Alexandria	Alexandrians		m	1	203B 42
Non-Aegean	Alexandria	<i>architheoros</i> Nysios ⁶⁵		m	1	199B 41; 300B 27, 31; 1143B I 123
Non-Aegean	Alexandria	<i>architheoros</i> Philoctas		m	1	226B 5; 226bis 13; 250 12
Non-Aegean	Alexandria	<i>architheoros</i>		m	1	226B 5; 226bis 15; 287B 85
Non-Aegean	Alexandria	Poseidippos ⁶⁶		m	1	226B 6; 226bis 19; 287B 87
Non-Aegean	Alexandria	<i>architheoros</i> Straton	Alexion ⁶⁷	m	1	199B 31; 219B 63; 226B 6
Non-Aegean	Alexandria/ Cyzikos	Apollodoros ⁶⁸	Apollonios	m	3	161B 15, 45; 162B 12; 188 3
Non-Aegean	Alexandria	Arsinoe II, queen	Niketias	f	1	199B 70; 203B 41; 244 14
Non-Aegean	Alexandria/ Boiotia	Bacchon		m	7	161B 12; 162B 10; 199B 38

⁶¹ The plural reference to 'sons' (*ἀνάθημα τῶν Πολυάρχων παίδων*) implies at least two individual dedicants, although there is a possibility that there are three or more. I have calculated this entry as two dedicants.

⁶² Tréheux 1992, 72, s.v. Πολυάρχως Σάμιος, père de donateurs, adds another reference: 137 5 (a. 303), which is a new reading by Tréheux.

⁶³ The Delians dedicate a statue for him in IG XI.4 1075. He was the founder of the festival Nikolaia, for which see Chapter 5.6, n. 117.

⁶⁴ King of Cyprus: see Hellmann and Hermay 1980, 263. See also the recent excellent discussion in Hornblower 2015, 220–1.

⁶⁵ The Alexandrian *architheoros* Nysios appears as Lysios in 199B 41; but see Bruneau 1970, 106: 'Lysios' must be a mistake.

⁶⁶ There is a possibility that this Alexandrian *architheoros* is the same as the known poet Poseidippos; this is raised as a possibility by Durrbach in his commentary in IG XI.2 226B 5, Addenda, and followed by Tréheux 1992, 73, s.v. Ποσειδῖππος Ἀλεξανδρείης.

⁶⁷ The dedication of the *phiale* of this *architheoros* is listed under the name of his father in 223B 6.

⁶⁸ This is the same Apollodoros, a Nesiarch of the Ptolemies, who received proxy in IG XI.4 562 = *Chaix* 20, for whom see Chapter 4.3, n. 154.

⁶⁹ Wife of Ptolemy II, Arsinoe Philadelphos: see Tréheux 1992, 11, s.v. Ἀρσινόη βασιλίσσα, Arsinoe II.

⁷⁰ Bacchon is a Nesiarch of the Ptolemies. He is honoured with a statue by the Islanders' League (IG XI.4 1125, 1126); see discussion in Chapter 2.2. A total of seven *phiaiai* appears in 298A 170–1.

(continued)

Region	Community of Origin	Collective/ Individual Name	Patronymic	Gender	Status	Number of dedications	Reference
Non-Aegean	Alexandria	Berenice		f	* ⁷¹	1	161B52; 162B 42; 164A 20
Non-Aegean	Alexandria	Callikrates ⁷²	Boiskos	m	*	2	161B 54, 90; 162B 43; 199B 62
Non-Aegean	Alexandria	Heracleides	Heracleides	m		2 ⁷³	161B 67; 164A 3; 199B 2
Non-Aegean	Alexandria/ Halicarnassos	Hermias		m	* ⁷⁴	1	224B 10, 11, 15, 22, 24; 245C 6; 248 16
Non-Aegean	Alexandria/ Macedonia	Patroklos ⁷⁵	Patron	m	*	1	226B 4; 226 bis 11; 287B 83
Non-Aegean	Alexandria/ Sidon	Philocles ⁷⁶		m	*	3	161B 56, 60, 86; 162B 44, 48; 164A 93
Non-Aegean	Alexandria	Ptolemy I Soter ⁷⁷	Ptolemy I Soter ⁷⁷	m	*	4	161B 27, 52, 56, 84; 162B 21, 41, 45; 164A 26, 80, 90, 94
Non-Aegean	Alexandria	Ptolemy II Philadelphos	Ptolemy II Philadelphos	m	*	2 ⁷⁸	See Bruneau, 1970, 519–20.
Non-Aegean	Alexandria	Ptolemy III Euergetes	Ptolemy III Euergetes	m	*	1 ⁷⁹	See Bruneau 1970, 523.
Non-Aegean	Alexandria	Ptolemy IV Philopator	Ptolemy IV Philopator	m	*	1 ⁸⁰	See Bruneau 1970, 528.

⁷¹ This is Berenice I, sister and second wife of Ptolemy I: she dedicated a *phiale* *hyper Ptolemaïou*.

⁷² Callikrates dedicates two crowns, one in the temple of Apollo, and another in the Artemision. In 296B 27, he appears as Callikrates, son of Boiskos, from Samos. This is the same Callikrates, as was argued by Tréheux 1992, 55, s.v. *Καλλικράτης Μακεδών*, as the navarch of Ptolemy I Soter, for whom the Islanders dedicated a statue: *IG XI.4 1127 = Choix 34* (Durrbach in his commentary remains sceptical on the identification). For Callikrates, the Ptolemaic navarch see now Hauben 2013.

⁷³ There are two dedications by Heracleides: a *phiale* at the temple of Apollo, and another unknown dedication in the prytaneion for which see 117 17, 122 58, and 124 61. Hermias was a Nesiarach and a Ptolemaic official in Alexandria. The single dedication attested here is his foundation of the festival of Philadelphieia in honour of Arsinoe Philadelphos. For Hermias see Chapter 2.2. and Chapter 5.3, n. 48 and 49.

⁷⁴ This is the Ptolemaic navarch, active in the Chremonidean war, for whom see Chapter 2.

⁷⁵ This is Philocles, the king of the Sidonians and a Ptolemaic navarch, who dedicates three crowns: see Chapter 2.2.

⁷⁶ There are two listings for Ptolemy I: he appears as Ptolemy, son of Lagos, Macedonian (we assume before he becomes king of Egypt), and also as Ptolemy King Soter (I). I have included in one category both sets of dedications. As Ptolemy, son of Lagos, he dedicates a *theriokleios kylix* and an ivy crown. As Ptolemy King Soter, he dedicates two crowns. A further crown is dedicated for him (*hyper Ptolemaïou*) by queen Berenice: this is calculated as a dedication by Berenice. For Ptolemy's dedications see Tréheux 1992, 14–15, s.v. *Πτολεμαῖος Λαγών Μακεδών*, and *Πτολεμαῖος βασιλεὺς Σαοῦρα*.

⁷⁷ I have calculated two dedications thus: one is the foundation of the festival Ptolemaieia I, and the other is the foundation of Ptolemaieia II: see Bruneau 1970, 519–25 for the foundations of the festivals with references to the *phiaiai* generated each year and recorded in the inventories.

⁷⁸ This dedication is the foundation of the festival Ptolemaieia III, which generates a *phiale* each year: see Bruneau 1970, 523.

⁷⁹ This dedication is the foundation of the festival of Theuergesia in honour of his father, Ptolemy III; the festival results in the dedication of a *phiale* every year, which is then listed in the inventories.

	Athamanes	Philai ⁸¹	Theodoros	f	*	5	338Bb 29; 396A 6 313A 9; 1423Ab II 2 298A 61; 313A 51; 314B 51
Non-Aegean	Arados	Stratton		m		1	
Non-Aegean	Barke	Esthloikos and Onasitimos		m × 2		1	
Non-Aegean	Bosporus	Pairisades ⁸²		m	*	1	287B 126; 298A 95; 313A 74
Non-Aegean	Byblos	Byblians		c		3	164B 4; 199B25; 203B 48
Non-Aegean	Carthage	Iomilkos ⁸³		m	*	2	161B 55; 91; 162B 43; 199B 22, 62
Non-Aegean	Chersonesos in Pontus	Chersonetans		c		3	164B 6; 199B 91; 203B 26
Non-Aegean	Cyrene	Dexicrates		m		1	154A 53; 161B 77; 185B 4
Non-Aegean	Cyrene	Eiearcho ⁸⁴	Damylos	m		2	161B 75; 184 7; 287B 34
Non-Aegean	Cyrene	Unnamed sons	Kyllias	m × 2		1	298A 59; 313A 49; 314B 49
Non-Aegean	Epeiros	Antipater		m		2	169B 33; 199B 15; 203B 32
Non-Aegean	Leontinoi	Leontineans		c		1	161B 14; 162B 11; 164A 59
Non-Aegean	Leontinoi	Leontineans		c		1	161B 14; 162B 11; 164A 59
Non-Aegean	Leucas	Leonteus		m		1	298A 116; 1409Ba 62; 1410B 7
Non-Aegean	Megalopolis	Megalopolitans		c		1	203B 38; 219B 26
Non-Aegean	Megalopolis	<i>architheoros</i>		c		1	199B 14; 224B 36; 287B 44
Non-Aegean	Metapontum	Aphthonetos		m		1	161B 17; 162B 13; 164A 60
Non-Aegean	Naxos, Sicily	Parmeniskos/ Parmiskos ⁸⁵		c		1	245B 3
Non-Aegean	Naxos, Sicily	Naxians of Sicily		c		1	

⁸¹ Phila was the daughter of king Theodoros, king of the Athamans (in Eurytania, southern Epirus: see Oberhummer 1896, 1928–29). There are a total of five dedications listed: a cup with stones, a *phiale* and a cup in the Artemision, a golden ball, a *kallias* of ivory and a golden piece of jewellery in the temple of Apollo.

⁸² This is King Pairisades II of Cimmerian Bosphorus: Tréheux, 1992, 14, s.v. *Παιρισάδης βουβαλός*.

⁸³ Iomilkos also appears as Eimilkos and Eimilkos. He was the king of Carthage: he appears as king in 223B 11: *στέρωνος Ιομύλκου βασιλέως ἀνάθημα*. See Masson 1979.

⁸⁴ Eiearcho also dedicated a statue for Sostratos of Cnidos in IG XI.4 1190.

⁸⁵ The name is written as Parmeniskos and Parmiskos: Baslez 1997, 346 links this dedication with the stories about Pythagoras' visit to Delos, for which see Bruneau 1970, 49 and 455 with the literary testimonia. Semos of Delos too included the story of Parmeniskos' visit to the island and his eventual cure from the disease that did not allow him to laugh (FG7H 396 F 10 = Ath. 14.2 614b). Contrary to other surviving fragments of Semos where specific reference to dedications is made (such as the dedication by the Delian Echemike in F9, and the dedication of the Naxians in F18), no reference in Athenaeus' passage is made to the dedication by Parmeniskos/Parmiskos of a crater, included in the inventories.

(continued)

Region	Community of Origin	Collective/ Individual Name	Patronymic	Gender	Status	Number of dedications	Reference
Non-Aegean	Naxos, Sicily ⁸⁶	Amphicleides		m		1	298A 61; 313Ab 51; 314B 51
Non-Aegean	Persia?	Datis? ⁸⁷		m	*	1	154A 51–2; 161B 96; 164A 35
Non-Aegean	Salamis, Cyprus	Nikokreon ⁸⁸		m	*	3	161B 54, 90; 162B 43; 164A 91, 31
Non-Aegean	Salamis, Cyprus	Pnytagoras ⁸⁹		m	*	1	161B 88–9; 164A 31; 203B 53
Non-Aegean	Salamis, Cyprus	Theotime		f		1	161B 16; 164A 59; 199B 41
Non-Aegean	Seleucia	Seleucos I Nicanor		m	*	7 ⁹⁰	See note 90.
Non-Aegean	Seleucia	Stratonike, queen		f	*	50 ⁹¹	See note 91.
Non-Aegean	Sikyon	Philotas		m		1	161B 13–4; 162B 11; 199B 41

⁸⁶ While the ethnic is 'Naxios', Rutherford 1998 has argued convincingly that this refers to Sicilian Naxos.

⁸⁷ It is not certain that this dedication is indeed by the Persian general Datis. A similar dedication of a necklace (*στρπερτὸν χρυσόσθον*) appears in earlier inventories as a dedication of the female Pateis, daughter of Babis (103 66), who also appears as Batesis (104–11 B 17). Masson 1986 suggested that the entry of a dedication of Datis in the Independence inventories is produced by the *heteropoiōi* as a substitution of the earlier dedication of the unknown Pateis/Batesis; in this he is followed by Tréheux 1992, 36, s.v. *Δάρης*; and 70, s.v. *Πάρ[η]οῖς Βάβιδος*].

⁸⁸ This Nikokreon is the king of the Salaminians in Cyprus: see Tréheux 1992, 14, s.v. *Νικκορέων*, future *βασιλεὺς Σαλαμινίων*. There are three crowns attributed to Nikokreon in 287B: one in l. 9, and two further crowns in 59–60: a total of three crowns.

⁸⁹ King of the Salaminians in Cyprus: see Baslez 1997, 348.

⁹⁰ Seleucos I Nicator dedicates three *phialai* to the temple of Apollo (1441A 26), one small *phiale* in the temple of Apollo (205Aa 10, 229B 9), one silver trirreme in the temple of Apollo (161B 78, 164A 21)—this may be in fact the same as the *tetrere* mentioned in the inventories of the period of Athenian cleruchy (1430d 20, 1432 Ab II 56, contra Tréheux 1992, 16, s.v. *Σέλευκος βασιλεὺς*), one *phiale* in the temple of the Seven statues, and one non-identified offering (1473 10): the total number of dedications is seven.

⁹¹ Stratonike is the daughter of Demetrios Poliorketes, and sister of Antigonos Gonatas. She married initially Seleucos I Nicanor, and then she was wife of Antiochos I Soter. She is the most prolific dedicant in the sanctuary. I have calculated fifty dedications. In this total, I have excluded the foundation of the Stratonikeia festival, in her honour, which was founded by Antigonos Gonatas, and resulted in the annual dedication of objects kept in the Delian treasuries. The calculation of a total of dedications is not straightforward; for references see Tréheux 1992, 17, s.v. *Στρατονική βασιλευσα*. The fifty dedications by Stratonike are as follows: three *phialai* in the Porinos naos (these are dedicated as Stratonike Maketa, that is, before she became queen, 199B 71); five (at least) pieces of jewellery belonging to her father Demetrios (necklaces, *psillon*—armlet?, *periskelides* in 287B 21); two *phialai* in the Artemision (161B 15); two *phialai* in the temple of Apollo (385A 58); two silver craters (161B 78); one crown on the statue of Apollo (287B 67); three crowns on the statues of the three Charites (287B 67); one basket in the temple of Apollo (1429A II 14); one necklace in the Artemision (ID 298A 145); one necklace in the temple of Apollo (287B 68); twenty small shields (*aspidiskai onychinai*) in the temple of Apollo (385A 61); one necklace in the Artemision (399B 136); one ring in the temple of Apollo (287B 69); one ring in the Artemision (314B 122); one ring in the temple of Apollo (421 23); one Heracleian quiver (287B 71); one band in the temple of Apollo (421 61); two boxes in the Artemision (296B 37); one statue in the *oikos* of *Στρατονική* (161A 91). The differentiation between similar dedications, such as necklaces or rings is done on the basis of the additional information and descriptions offered in the inventories themselves.

Region	Community of Origin	Collective/ Individual	Name	Patronymic	Gender	Status	Number of dedications	Reference
No ethnic known			Eriphyle ⁹⁵		f		1	103 31, 104 89; 161B 42
No ethnic known			Eubaton		m		1	320B 64; 1417B I 161
No ethnic known			Eumaridas		m		1	366A 50; 359B 7; 442B 155
No ethnic known			Euthydikos		m		1	154A 64; 161B 104; 164A 38
No ethnic known			Hagnotheos ⁹⁶		m		1	313A 77
No ethnic known			Hippocles		m		1	137 17; 145 54; 154B 47
No ethnic known			Hippocrates		m		1	145 58; 154B 45
No ethnic known			Kallicles	Apollonios?	m		4	154A 63; 161B 103; 164 37
No ethnic known			Kallikrateia and Kallo		f × 2		1	313A 77; 320 B 72
No ethnic known			Kallikrite		f		1	161B 51; 162B 40; 164 73
No ethnic known			Karpos and Adrastos		m × 2		1	161B 93; 199B 24
No ethnic known			Kleino ⁹⁷	Admetos	f		2	161B 11; 162B 9; 199B 42
No ethnic known			Kleon and Semagoras		m × 2		1	298A 60; 313A 50; 314B 50
No ethnic known			Komion		m		1	313A 49; 314B 49
No ethnic known			Koryton		m		1	320B 73; 326B 6
No ethnic known			Koskalos		m		1	161B 76; 199B 10; 287B 36
No ethnic known			Ktesicles	Kleandros	m		1	199B 21; 203B 51; 205Ab 11
No ethnic known			Leocharides with unnamed sons		m × 3		1	298A 56–7; 313A 47; 314B 47
No ethnic known			Leomythos		m		1	298A 62; 313A 51; 314B 52
No ethnic known			Lysicrates		m		1	223B 34; 298A 176; 338Bb 26
No ethnic known			Mandros and Phoenix		m × 2		1	164B 34; 196 8; 199B 88
No ethnic known			Melito		f		1	287B 142; 298A 106; 313A 89
No ethnic known			Menes		m		2	320B 75
No ethnic known			Menylla and Boulomaga		f × 2		1	298A 10

⁹⁵ This is the mythical Eriphyle, whose necklace (*ὄφραλος*) is listed amongst the treasures in the Delian inventories. See Chapter 5.7, n. 144.

⁹⁶ This is a doubtful reading of the name preserved in the inventory of the year 235/4 (most probably). An Athenian Hagnotheos receives proxeny a couple of decades later (*IG* XI.4 694, in 220/210)—could it be that this is the same Hagnotheos? It is impossible to be certain.

⁹⁷ For this female dedicant see Tréheux 1957.

No ethnic known	Midas	1	145 56; 154B 43
No ethnic known	Mnasikrates	1	164A 23; 194 6; 199B 17
No ethnic known	[Myr]tal[e]	1	154B 51
No ethnic known	Nikias	1	161B 105, 164A 39; 199B 27
No ethnic known	Nikippos	1	161B 72, 219B 28; 287B 40
No ethnic known	Nikokles	1	287B 76; 1443B II 43
No ethnic known	Onesandros and Nikoboule	1	223B 34; 298A 177
No ethnic known	Onesikrates ⁹⁹	1	161B 81
No ethnic known	Onetorides	1	161B 77; 184 11
No ethnic known	Pamphile	1	205Aa 25; 280B 8; 287B 47
No ethnic known	Pataikos	4 ¹⁰⁰	313A 76; 320B 72; 359B 8
No ethnic known	Patron	1	366A 81; 1421Acid II 16; 1432Bb II 36
No ethnic known	Pausanias	1	298A 58; 313A 48; 314B 48
No ethnic known	Philip Mammarios ¹⁰¹	2	155A 8
No ethnic known	Philiskos	2	137 9; 145 50; 154B 29
No ethnic known	Philotis	1	164A 60; 199B 42
No ethnic known	Phryno	1	164A 100; 199B 67; 219B 20
No ethnic known	Rhanis	1	366A 51; 371B 6; 372Bc 23
No ethnic known	Sappho	1	161B 82; 186 14; 199B 18
No ethnic known	Simos	2 ¹⁰²	296B 44; 320 B 73
No ethnic known	Socrates	1	320 B 74
No ethnic known	Sopatros	1 ¹⁰³	320B 44–5
	Eutychos		

⁹⁸ They are husband and wife: *Ὁνήσανδρος* καὶ ἡ γυναῖκίς *Νικόβουλη*.

⁹⁹ Tréheux 1992, 68, s.v. *Ὀμμάκροτος*; notes that this entry may be a mistake for Mnasikrates, for whom see above in the section 'no ethnic known'.

¹⁰⁰ The total of four dedications is calculated in this way: there are dedications of three bowls, and the establishment of the festival of Pataikeia.

¹⁰¹ For this bizarre name see Robert, 1964, 170.

¹⁰² There are two separate dedications recorded: one is a shield in 296B 44, and the other is a *skaphion* (bowl) in 320B 73. I assume that both dedications attributed to Simos are by the same person, but it is equally likely that they are not.

¹⁰³ This single dedication is the foundation of the festival Sopatreia, which results in a dedication of an annual *phiale*.

(continued)

Region	Community of Origin	Collective/ Individual	Name	Patronymic	Gender	Status	Number of dedications	Reference
No ethnic known			Sosis, Praxidemos and Sokles		m × 3		1	203B 93; 224 14; 287B 40
No ethnic known			Sothales		m		1	199B 9; 202 13; 219B 35
No ethnic known			Stephanos		m		1	226B 7
No ethnic known			Stilpyris		u ¹⁰⁴		1	161B 79; 199B 17; 219B 37
No ethnic known			Tereus		m		1	145 56; 154B 14
No ethnic known			Thallos	Theombrotos	m		1	296B 31; 298A 58; 314B 48
No ethnic known			Thrasyleon		m		1	199B 87
No ethnic known			Timomacha		f		1	320B 13
No ethnic known			Unnamed sons	Kaphon	m × 2		1	298A 59; 313A 49; 314B 49
No ethnic known			Unnamed sons	Theomeles	m × 2		1	298A 62; 313A 51; 324B 52

¹⁰⁴ Tréheux 1992, 77, s.v. Στράπυρις, thinks this name is more likely a male one.

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