

CHAPTER VIII:

THE ERETRIAN DEMOCRACY, c.509 - 490.

In the midst of this inter-*polis* turmoil and intrigue and after some thirty years in power,¹ Diagoras fell, and he left Eretria, for although by this time he must have been quite an old man, his exit was not by reason of his death. It is interesting that the end of his political career, c.509 B.C., is so close to that of his enemy Hippias at Athenai. So we must ask why it occurred at this particular time: the two events are probably related. At this distance of time and as a result of the paucity of our sources, his exit *appears* sudden, but this is unlikely. In fact there had been both internal and external pressures building against him for some years. But it was ultimately, I believe, his involvement with Kleomenes which brought him down, though at the time that he became an agent of Kleomenes' intrigues in central Greece, and in the Attike in particular, it must have seemed the politically correct course of action to follow.

During Diagoras' rule, the entrepreneurial and *thetic* classes continued to grow in political significance, and this was the result of his own policies of fostering Eretria as a commercial artisan state with a navy which had certainly become very important in the last decades of the sixth century. This development of "industry" and trade provided some chance of employing the rural dispossessed in the workshops and in shipping. Burn was right to note in his analysis of Eretria's part in the Ionian struggle that "Eretria did not rise to this prominence suddenly from nothing."² But it was only a matter of time before the men who manned the ships would begin to demand some say over matters of war and peace, and by extension, over foreign policy generally. Diagoras' association with Kleomenes, whose policy almost invariably involved placing narrowly-based oligarchies in power in states with which Sparta was allied, would not have appealed to the leaders of the emerging "thetic" group within Eretria, who were now being called upon to help implement some of them, such as with the intervention against Lygdamis. That this class had become important during the last years of Diagoras' tyranny is implied by the fact that his régime was followed immediately by a democracy of the "Athenian", "Kleisthenic" type.

Epigraphical evidence for democracy in the last decade of the sixth century exists, in the form of a proxeny decree first published and edited by Peek, revised and supplemented (and dated to the early-fifth century), by Wallace.³ However an earlier date is preferable;⁴ Wallace believed that rhotacism did not occur at Eretria before the

¹ c.538 - c.509.

² Burn 1962/84 (VI/2) 190; 199ff.

³ IG XII Suppl., 549; ed. pr.: W Peek, 'Griechische Inschriften (Euboia)', *Ath. Mitt.* 59, 1934, 73ff. revised by Wallace 1936B (II/211) 275ff.

⁴ Jeffery 1961/90 (II/211) 86: the closed *heta* may be abnormal as late as the early-fifth century.

fifth century⁵ and this belief undoubtedly influenced his dating of the text. This is not correct, as a more recently discovered sixth century dedicatory epigram for an athlete clearly demonstrates.⁶ Wallace, despite his dating, thinks that this decree may be "the earliest proxeny decree to have survived to us on stone by about a quarter of a century", and during discussions in 1989, Professor M. Osborne⁷ confirmed to me that to his knowledge, no earlier examples had then been discovered.⁸ The only possible period of the fifth century to which the decree could be assigned is its first decade: Eretria was destroyed by the Persians in 491/0 and its surviving population deported.⁹ Thus it is unlikely that the decree belongs to the 480's, while the 470's or later may definitely be ruled out on stylistic grounds. Green/Sinclair¹⁰ show that although Eretria did not disappear altogether as a state after 490 (witness the Eretrian ships at Salamis), "significant numbers" of Athenaiοι migrated to Eretria; rhotacism is less likely if Attic-speakers were dominant in the city as is likely early in the fifth century. Thus not only epigraphically but also historically and politically as we shall see shortly, the decree is better placed in a late-sixth century context.

The introductory formulae, although incomplete, are characteristic of decrees of a fully democratic state:¹¹

"It seemed good to the Boule and the Demos (etc.)."

I shall return to the constitutional implications but the text contains interesting details which bear upon events following the fall of Diagoras. The *proxenia* recipient has a most interesting name in the light of Diagoras' involvement with the Spartan king and Herakleides Lembos' implication that when he fell, Diagoras set out **for Sparta**:

"Diagoras having died at Korinthos while travelling to Sparta,
the Eretrians erected a statue to him."¹²

⁵ 1936A (Intro./1) Note (his Appendix) 1; 1936B (II/211) 279; 1947 (I/53) 144, n. 90: "rhotacism is now known not to have occurred earlier than the fifth century".

⁶ Dated c. 550 - 530 by Altherr-Charon/Laserre 1981 (II/11) 25ff. (no. 2 with photos); repr. *S.E.G.* 31, 1981, item 806; with additional notes and commentary in *R.E.G.*, 95, 1982, (Bull. épigr.), item 271; also Luppe 1982 (II/11) 72: an alternative reading:

Τιμοκράτης ἀνέθηκε Διὸς κατ' ἀγῶνα πάλασσια

ἀνδρῶ(ν) νικέρας τὰ χάριν ἀντιπιδούς; he particularly notes the rhotacism in l. 2; the restoration of the word is not in question. For rhotacism: II 51ff.

⁷ Who supervised my work at the University of Melbourne towards a M.A Prelim. dissertation.

⁸ M. B. Walbank, *Athenian Proxeny of the Fifth Century B.C.*, Toronto, 1978, who lists no earlier examples. It is sometimes suggested that inscr. no. 4 (Kerkyra): Meiggs/Lewis 1989 (IV/317) 4 - 5 is earlier (late-7th century) but it does not award proxenia; it is the grave-marker of a proxenos but it shows the institution of proxenia was very early.

⁹ Platon's two epitaphs for the exiled Eretrians: Edmonds 1979 (VI/4) 6ff., nos. 9; 13 (it is quoted in translation on the final page of this thesis. R. J. Penella, 'Scopelianus and the Eretrians in Cissia', *Athenaeum* 52, 1975, 295ff.

¹⁰ J. R. Green/R. K. Sinclair, 'Athenians in Eretria', *Historia* 19, 1970, 516; 524.

¹¹ *Infra*.

The name of the *proxenos* was Aristoteles **Kheiloniou**, and so again we come back to Kheilon, the eponymous ephor of Sparta in 556. Who was "Kheilonios" whose son was honoured in a decree of newly democratic Eretria? Kheilon is not a common name in the prosopography of ancient Greece,¹³ but Kheilonios is even rarer, a *hapax* in fact.¹⁴ The recent involvement of Kleomenes I, himself a relative of the famous anti-tyrant ephor,¹⁵ in the affairs of Eretria, and of Diagoras in particular, makes the dedication to Aristoteles "Kheiloniou" unlikely to be fortuitous, especially bearing in mind Diagoras' intended flight to Sparta. But why would a decree, whose nature implies that the Eretrian **democracy** which awarded it considered the recipient a benefactor who had been looking after the interests of the city and its (democratic) government, have been enacted on behalf of someone related to the exiled **Diagoras'** ally Kleomenes? Proxeny decrees were formal political expressions of gratitude to individuals from governments in power in Greek *poleis*. Thus a descendant, familial (it is just possible that he was the son; perhaps a grandson¹⁶ but more likely related less directly) or political, of Kheilon himself has been singled out for special public recognition by the new régime in Eretria, in a decree which is a very early example of its type, belonging to a period when such honours had not yet become purely routine.¹⁷

Is the decree related to Diagoras' attempted flight? And why did Diagoras try to go to Sparta? Pure co-incidence to me seems quite out of the question. He must surely

¹² Dilts 1971 (IV/250) no. 40: (quoted VII, n. 33). Also Suidas s.v. Διαγόρας, 1271/1273 where several Diagorases are confused, but one is said to have died at Korinthos.

¹³ Kheilon is a Spartan name; Aristoteles is common in Eubolia (the philosopher had Eubolian antecedents!), specifically Eretria: P. M. Fraser/E. Matthews, *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* (vol. I: The Aegean Islands, Cyprus, Cyrenaica), Oxford, 1987, s.v. Ἀριστοτέλης. Leekly/Efstratiou 1980 (II/2) 60 for 'Aristoteles'; it is also found at Sparta. The conjunction of names suggests a family at Sparta with links to both the ephor and Eubolia; a member of such a family would be a natural recipient of proxeny honours. Poralla 1985 (VI/2) s.v. Χίλων; Ἀριστοτέλης.

¹⁴ W. Pape/G. B. Benseler, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen* II, Graz, 1959, 1683/1684 list Χιλόνειος, -ον as an adjective ("Chilonisch", i.e. "like a Khilon", "belonging to Khilon" etc). It is perhaps a personal name, but it could also be applied adjectivally to a group or family, e.g. Χαλιωνίου μέγους: L.S.J. s.v. μέρος: 1105, "class or party", Thouk. 2, 37; Dem. 18, 292: Χαλιωνίου γένους (Sparta had *gene*). If it is a personal name, it is likely to belong to someone related to or claiming political descent from the ephor. Aristoteles does not appear in either Bechtel 1964 (VII/73) s.v. Χίλων or A. S. Bradford, *A Prosopography of the Lacedaemonians from the Death of Alexander the Great, 323 B.C. to the Sack of Sparta by Alaric, A.D. 396*, München, 1977, 452f. though he has Χιλονίς. For a select bibliography for Kheilon: VI n. 2. It is just possible that Kheilonios is the same as Kh(e)ilon son of Demarmenos, whose daughter was the subject of dispute between the kings, Leotykidas and Demaratos (Hdt. 6, 65).

¹⁵ Kheilon's niece was Kleomenes' wife: Fitzhardinge 1985 (VI/2) 142, Forrest 1971 (VI/2) 86.

¹⁶ Diog. Laert. 1, 72 says that Kheilon was an old man in the 52nd Olympiad (572 - 569), and died after congratulating his son on an Olympic victory in boxing. If the event were in that year, and the son in the category of adult men (over 18), he must have been at least 83 in 509. But it is not impossible that the event belonged to the boys class (12 to 18 years). K. Palaeologos, 'Rules of the Competition', N. Yalouris (ed.) *The Olympic Games in Ancient Greece. Ancient Olympia and the Olympic Games*, Athenai, 1982. Diogenes doesn't say in which Olympiad the son achieved success, but: Kheilon was Ephor at Sparta in the 55th (or 56th) Olympiad, i.e. c.556: Diog. Laert 1, 68. Clearly both dates in Diogenes can't be right; if the chronology to which I adhere is roughly correct, then the first date needs amending. G. Stanton, in a note to me, raises the intriguing possibility he might have been a son of Kleomenes; if so he opposed his father's policies.

¹⁷ Supra nn. 6; 8.

have gone to ask Kleomenes to re-instate him in power in Eretria (as Hippias went to Darius). After all, if he had been a major instrument in the implementation of Kleomenes' policies in central Greece, he might reasonably have expected a return favour from the Spartan king. If *Realpolitik* required, Sparta would support a tyrant. After the events of 506, the Spartans realized they had made a mistake in acting against Hippias; they could then speak without embarrassment of "our good friend Hippias."¹⁸ Diagoras moreover, unlike Hippias, had never been an enemy, so he need not have gone south without good hopes. He will have intended to ask for a Peloponnesian army to restore him. Khalkis was now a Spartan ally, so passage of the Euripos should have posed no great problem.

But Kleomenes was not without enemies at home, and he was not the only powerful figure in Sparta claiming descent from the great ephor: Demaratos, his royal colleague and enemy was also a relation.¹⁹ Each king may be thought of as representing, within the current state of Spartan foreign policy-making, one of two sides of Kheilon's activities. Kleomenes the interventionist represented that part of Kheilon's policy which said go forth, put down tyrants and establish friendly, and above all dependent, oligarchies in their stead. Demaratos seems to have stood for the policy that once the foreign scene was ordered to Sparta's liking, then let sleeping dogs lie. Both kings enjoyed fluctuating support within the *gerousia* where policy was in practice determined, and this instability within the ranks of the Spartan *gerontes* is usually described by modern historians in terms of a struggle for ascendancy between the "peace" and the "war" parties. Thus Kleomenes may be regarded as leader of the "war" and Demaratos of the "peace" factions, although these terms are not satisfactory, and oversimplify the political situation. Probably both sides would have claimed to be the true political heirs of Kheilon. Thus Diagoras, had he made it to Sparta, would have had to deal with a Spartan government by no means united as to how to deal with the political situation in central Greece. No doubt, as a former ally and friend of Kleomenes, he would have been aware of these cross currents within the *gerousia*.²⁰

The new government at Eretria would have been obliged to send a delegation to Sparta to try to forestall Diagoras, and counter any arguments for intervention that would be put forward for him by his supporters in the *gerousia* and the *ekklesia*. Such counter-delegations were standard enough moves in Greek diplomatic practice: Thukydides narrates several such debates at Sparta itself. This delegation would naturally choose a member of the anti-Kleomenid faction to argue its case before the *gerontes*. This man was, I suggest, Aristoteles Kheiloniou, a member of the *gerousia*

¹⁸ Hdt 5, 91, 2f.

¹⁹ Demaratos was related to Kheilon: Fitzhardinge 1985 (VI/2) 143: "he married the betrothed of his cousin Leotykhidas, also of Kheilon's family." Supra n. 15.

²⁰ Hdt 5, 75f.; 6, 51; 61; 65f. On factions at Sparta during the reign of Kleomenes I: Walker 1962 (VII/104) Hooker 1980 (VI/2) 155; Dickins 1912 (VII/101) 28.

allied to the Eurypontid king²¹ and a supporter of the "peace" party. Since Diagoras had fallen as a result of a democratic revolution, made possible by the political triumph of the "*thetes*",²² a group probably thoroughly alarmed by the activities of Kleomenes in the region, not least by the sea-borne interventions in which the Eretrian fleet, with its "democratic" sympathies, had been forced by Diagoras to participate, the new democracy would hardly have made its case through a political ally of Kleomenes, friend of their late tyrant, who was the architect of these activities. That the Demaratids were in the ascendancy in 509/8 when Diagoras set out seems certain, because in the following year (508/7), they were able to thwart Kleomenes' attempts to restore Isagoras at Athenai. But although the Eretrian government envoys probably arrived at Sparta to put their case, Diagoras did not. He reached Korinthos, where he died shortly(?) after, perhaps c.507.²³ Whether his death was from natural causes, suicide, or murder we do not know.²⁴ Probably the latter, although in 509 he would have been old. There were certainly people both at Eretria and at Sparta who would have wanted the matter resolved definitively. He may have been killed to ensure that Kleomenes would never use him, as he later used Hippias at Athenai, as an excuse to intervene in Eretrian affairs. The Eretrian delegation returned home and proposed the decree honouring Aristoteles for his important support (and services, if the Eretrieis had had to put a case to the *gerousia*).

There remains a problem arising from the passage from Herakleides. He says that after Diagoras' death in Korinthos, the Eretrieis erected a statue to him. If my reconstruction of events is correct, this action is hard to understand. I cannot offer much by way of explanation other than if the remark has any truth, it may be that the statue was set up some time later.²⁵ Herakleides lived c.170. He, or his source (most likely Aristoteles' *Eretrieon politeia*), may have seen such a statue. But it could have been set up by any one of the many later non-democratic régimes (which include tyrannies) at Eretria: the city was subject to frequent changes of government²⁶ from the fourth century onward, and few were democracies. Later Eretrieis (or at least some of their rulers) may have looked back on his rule as a golden age of Eretrian achievement (as did later Athenaiotai to that of Peisistratos). If such is the case, then they were probably not far wrong, particularly with respect to the period before he had allowed himself to become enmeshed in the schemes of Kleomenes I.

In 507 Kleisthenes Megakleous the Alkmaionid began the reform of the Athenian geo-political system upon which, ultimately, the democracy was based. I believe that his work follows, not only chronologically but substantively as well, the

²¹ Eurypontid kings were **reputed** to be more "pro-democratic" than their Agiad colleagues. Demaratos' name may symbolize that tradition; it means "prayed-for by the people", *L.S.J.* s.v., 385.

²² VII 194f.

²³ IG XII 9 Test./Not. 147, 117ff. suggests 501; however, no evidence is offered.

²⁴ Supra n. 12.

²⁵ Honorific statues in 4th (and later) century decrees at Eretria: cf. IG XII 9, 196; 198; 236; 237.

²⁶ Surviving inscriptions, mainly from the fourth and later centuries, betray this.

political changes at Eretria which occurred immediately after the fall of Diagoras, and if this proves to be the case, it would certainly upset the generally held view that democracy was pioneered at Athenai, and that she influenced, and indeed promoted, constitutional change at Eretria and elsewhere.

Like the post-Kleisthenic Attike, the Eretriás was divided for political purposes into "districts" and *demes* (but not, apparently, *trittyes*). In 1947 Wallace published his seminal paper, 'The Demes of Eretria',²⁷ upon which all subsequent discussion of Eretrian geo-political arrangements is based. More recently, Gehrke has modified Wallace in light of later work on the Eretrian territorial divisions, especially that by Knoepfler,²⁸ and Cairns discusses the political divisions of the Eretriás in two papers.²⁹ In the earlier, he has a section devoted to the terminology,³⁰ arguing against the views of Lewis³¹ who maintains that "*demos*" was not used at all at Eretria and thus the Eretrian system of territorial division is in fact **opposed** to the Kleisthenic which if true would make their inter-relation very unlikely.

Only **one** name for territorial divisions is known from Eretria. Lewis applies this term, *khôros*, to the smallest units, the "*demes*" (rather than to those that Wallace called "districts") using a Keian inscription as evidence;³² in l. 3, the sense certainly seems to require "δῆμος" as Cairns argues³³ and it could be so restored, on the analogy of a similar inscription involving Histiaia and Keos.³⁴ Presumably Lewis assumes χῶρος from its occurrence at l. 8 but: (a) it here refers to a **Keian** division (cf. the Histiaian example); (b) the Keian system has the additional division, the *trittys*, absent

²⁷ 1947 (I/53) 115ff.

²⁸ 1988 (II/2) 15ff. Most of Knoepfler's work on the demes and districts is scattered in footnotes in periodical articles; Gehrke lists these. Knoepfler however does not always agree with Gehrke's changes (and vice versa). Both are severely critical of Cairns' work: Knoepfler 1985A (II/200) 257 n. 57. J./L. Robert 1984 (VI/73) 321 (comment quoted in Appendix 10) accuse him of plagiarism.

²⁹ 1984(A) (VI/73) 156ff.; 1986 (IV/318) 149ff. In the first, note scattered references to the topic in the works of Knoepfler, as well as the long-promised but as yet unmaterialized work on the demes and districts of the Eretriás, and Knoepfler's repeatedly stated intention to publish material which, he says in a letter (dated 16 June, 1989) to me, is of importance to any new study of the topic.

³⁰ 1984(A) (VI/73): Section 4.

³¹ 1962 (IV/265) 3.

³² Text from Lewis: *ibid.*, 1:

[...] εἰν δὲ ὁ Κεῖος βόληται πολιτεύεσθαι -
[ι ἐν Ἐρετρύῃ, ἀπογραφάσθω τὸ ὄνομα τὸ αἶψ] -
[οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ ἐκλήναι καὶ χῶρον δόντων α] -
[ἵπται ἐν ᾧ αἱ μέλλει πολιτεύεσθαι· εἰν δὲ ὁ]
[Ἐρετριεὺς βόληται ἐν Κέῳ πολιτεύεσθαι]
[ἀπογραφάσθω πρὸς τὸς θεσιμονάχας τὸ αἶψ] -
[τὸ ὄνομα, οἱ δὲ θεσιμονάχες δόντων αἵπται]
[ἐκλήναι καὶ τριττὴν καὶ χῶρον ...] [vacat ?]
etc.

vide *infra* 232; for a translation; also *supra* IV 119f.

³³ 1984A (VI/73) 163f. Gehrke 1988 (II/17) tends to agree: 22, n. 34: he allows that Lewis is possibly right: *ibid.* 23, n. 40 and argues against identifying the *khôroi* as districts. H. Bengtson discusses the treaty in *Die Staatsverträge des Altertums*, (Bd. 2: Die Verträge der griechisch-römischen Welt von 700 bis 338 v. Ch.), München, 1975, 181 and equates *khôros* with *demos*: "und Choros (= Demos) in Eretria."

³⁴ IG XII 5, 594; (= Tod 1968 [IV/264] 141, 123ff.).

from both the Eretrian and Histiaian schemes. Even if *khôros* = *deme* at Keos, it does not follow that it did so at Eretria. Perhaps Keos had no *demes*, but rather a scheme consisting of *phylai* (tribes) → *trittyes* → *khôroi* (regional districts) as the inscriptions suggest; Keos, by the time of this inscription, was made up of four original *poleis*. Thus the term '*khôros*' might refer to the territory of the component city-states that made up the Federation. (c) The attested Eretrian '*district*' name Μεσοχώρον³⁵ seems to me to indicate that the *khôroi* were indeed the larger territorial divisions. Lewis does not mention this name nor (d) the existence of the title *demarkhos* in inscriptions both from Eretria itself, and from Tamynai.³⁶ The *demarkhoi* in the inscription from Eretria are responsible for the organization of the most important religious festival for all Eretrians, the Artemiria.³⁷ Cairns notes that here is described "what must have been an administrative feature of this [mid-fourth century KW] democratic period at Eretria, religious events organized jointly by two of the Districts and involving the Demes."³⁸ This theory however depends upon identifying the certain district name Mesokhoron with 'Metaxú', and this remains conjectural. At Tamynai, *demarkhoi* seem to be quasi-secular officials, levying fines on those who violate agreements concerning the leasing of temple lands. Tamynai was certainly later an Eretrian *deme*.³⁹

Cairns argues, convincingly I believe, that "*demos*" was applied to the smallest geo-political division (as at Athenai), the *demes*; these were organized into larger units, implied in IG XII 9, 241, called *khôroi*. Wallace simply called these 'districts' and he identified five. He gives the only certain name, Mesokhorion, to his number III. but there is a fragmentary second name read by Ziebarth⁴⁰ I. 107: [.]λ[.]αα[. . .] _ _ _ and tentatively restored as "Larasiou" (which Wallace⁴¹ tolerates); Wallace does not again refer to it; neither does he (nor Cairns) assign it to one of his five districts. But from the names of the demesmen listed under this rubric, it must correspond to Wallace's district V.⁴² In May 1997 I was able to go to Eretria with the specific objective of examining this section of the stone. The results from this autopsy are disappointing. One must, I suspect, assume considerable deterioration (damage?) of the surface since Wallace examined the inscription before 1947. On the next two pages will be found photographs (figs 67 - 70) of the stone and details of the lines referring to both Mesokhoros (-on) and Larasios (-on) which I restore as Paralios:

³⁵ IG XII 9, 241₃₇.

³⁶ Eretria: IG XII 9, 189_{23, 34}; Tamynai: IG XII 9, 90₂.

³⁷ One of the perquisites of office was that they kept skins of sacrificial victims. For a parallel for the practice in the deme Skambonidai in the Attike: IG I³, 244, c.460: B. F. Cook, *Greek Inscriptions*, London, 1987, 38, fig. 31.

³⁸ 1984A (VI/73) 162 (Section 5: Two District Religious Festivals at Eretria). Gehrke 1988 (II/17) 21 argues against the two-district theory. He regards Μεταξύ and Φυλάζει in IG XII 9, 189 as temporal datives. cf. Ziebarth in IG XII 9, Test./Not., 163, ll. 130ff.

³⁹ Wallace 1947 (I/53) 142f.; map, fig. 1. It is located in Wallace's district IV.

⁴⁰ IG XII 9, 241.

⁴¹ 1947 (I/53) 121; 124. It is possible that, amongst inscriptions held by Knoepfler, there may be another name. We shall have, perforce, to await publication.

⁴² Map, 1947 (I/53) 131.

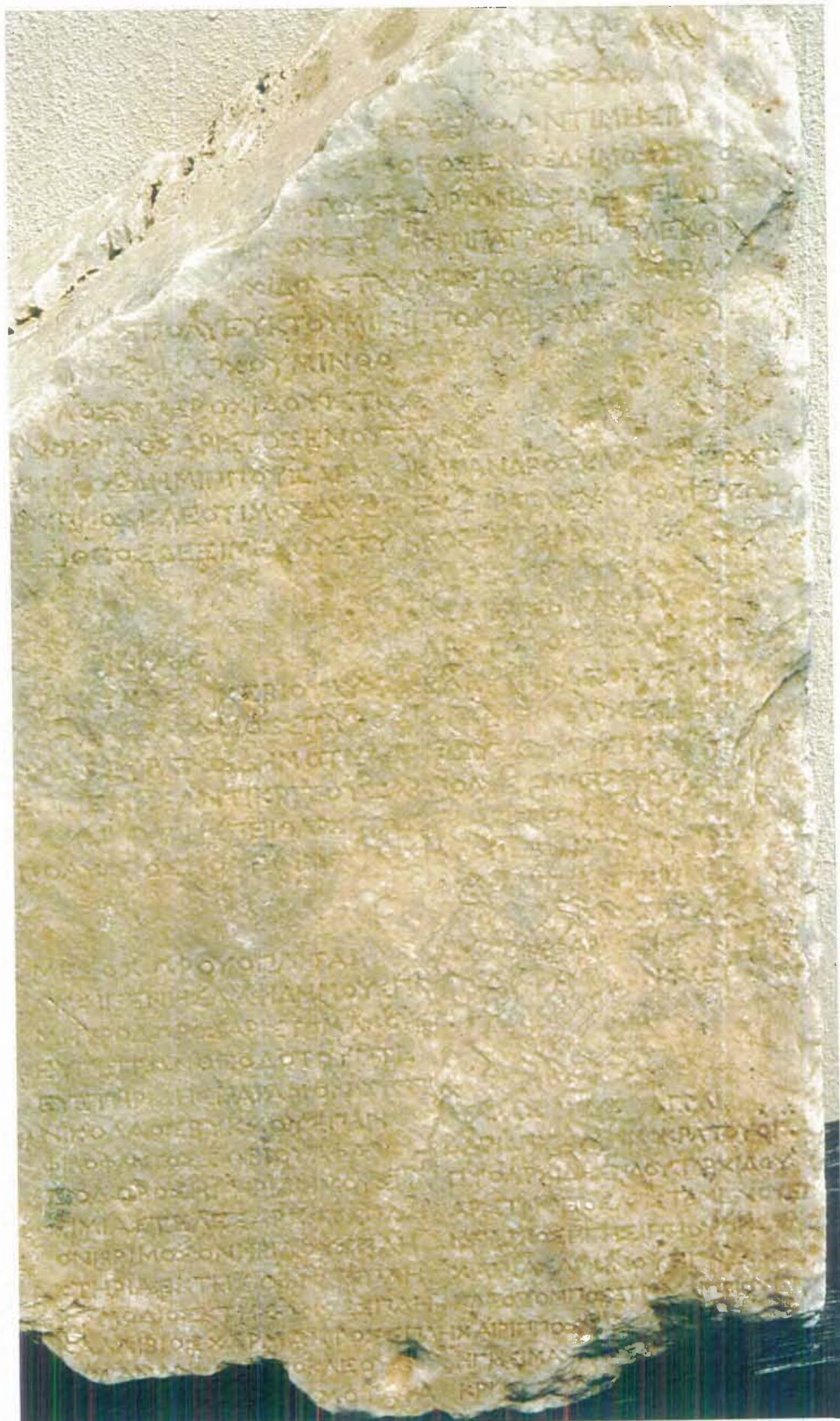


Fig. 71: The columns of IG XII 9, 241 with the "District" rubrics Mesokhoron and Larasion.

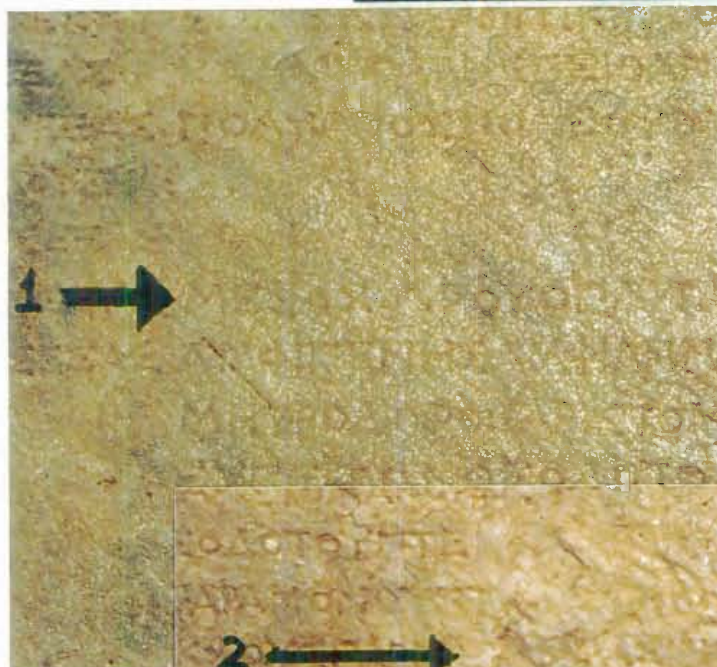


Fig. 72: The whole surface area of IG XII 9, 241.

Fig. 73: The rubric ΜΕΣΟΧΩΡΟΥ ΟΠΑΙΤΑΙ (IG XII 9, 241₃₇).

Fig. 74: The line (IG XII 9, 241₇₇) as it presently appears on the stone, where the second district name (Larasiou / Paraliou) occurs.

Based on my own observations, and on what I can see in my photographs (and a on comparison of both Ziebarth's and Wallace's restorations), I offer the following comparative table of IG XII 9, 241, ll. 77 - 79 (Ziebarth) / 107 - 109 (Wallace) and my own (Walker) suggestions:⁴³

<u>Ziebarth IG XII 9, 241:</u>	
l. 77 (107):	ΛΑΡΑΣΙ[ΟΥ] ΟΠΑΙΤΑΙ
l. 78 (108):	[X]ΑΡΙΔΗΜΟΣ ΜΗΝΟΚΡΑΤΟΥ ΟΙΧΑ.
l. 79 (109):	ΠΥΘΑΡΧΙΔΗΣ ΠΛΟΥΤΑΡΧΙΔΟΥ . . .
<u>Wallace 1947 (I/53) 121:</u>	
l. 107 (77):	[.]Α[.]ασι[2/3 letters] ὀπλῖται
l. 108 (78):	[. .]πιμ[+/- 7]νοκράτου Οἶχα.
l. 109 (79):	Πυθαρχίδες Πλουταρχίδου vac.
<u>Walker 1995 & 1997:</u>	
What I actually see (blue) is:	
l. 77 (107):	Α \ Α \ ΛΙΤΑΙ
Which I would restore as (green):	
	[Π]ΑΡΑΛΙΟΥΟΠΑΙΤΑΙ
l. 78 (108):	. ΑΡΙΔΗΜ ΟΚΡΑΤΟΥΟΙΧΑ.
	[X]ΑΡΙΔΗΜ[ΟΣ]ΟΚΡΑΤΟΥΟΙΧΑ.
l. 79 (109):	ΠΥΘΑΡΧΙΔΗΣ ΠΛΟΥΤΑΡΧΙΔΟΥ . . . etc.

Since "Paraliou" in fact fits just as well, I would thus argue for it in preference to Larasiou⁴⁴ as the name of District V. But if Metaxú is Mesokhoron, then Phylaké must be a district name and belong to IV.⁴⁵ As I have noted earlier,⁴⁶ the name Phylaké is appropriate for this most south-easterly of the original three *khôroi*.⁴⁷

In his second paper, Cairns notes that while the *demes* grouped into *khôroi* do not overlap, he advances evidence that the *phylai* - of which we now know the names of two⁴⁸ - are, like their Attic counterparts, "artificial entities made up of *demes* of all five

⁴³ Letters in red differ from my restorations below. In these (and within the limitations of my computer font), the letters are placed in relation to each other vertically as they appear in my photographs. For Ziebarth and Wallace, I employ their publication styles. Knoepfler's suggestion (Fraser/Matthews 1987 (VIII/13) s.v. of Χαυρίδημος as the personal name in l. 78 (108) fails because there is no question of a final sigma for the genitive before ΟΙΧΑ. on the stone.

⁴⁴ If Larasion is to be considered, we may note that Λάρισα may have originally (Pelagic/Dryopian? KW) meant "citadel" (L.S.J. q.v.). Λαράσιος was an epithet of Zeus: of the citadel/height ("Υψιστος? KW) cf. IG XII 9, 58; 59 [Styra].

⁴⁵ Ziebarth also thought so: IG XII 9 (p.) 103: "in regione Φυλακῇ prope portum Aliverii . . ."

⁴⁶ II 24, n. 17.

⁴⁷ *Infra* 237.

⁴⁸ IG XII Suppl., 549: Μεκισστ[ίδ]ος φυλες (Mekisstos). Unpublished inscriptions referred to *supra* give the second name, Narkittis, plausibly derived by Knoepfler from Narkissos; 1985B (II/200) 50ff. For "Narkissos the Eretrian": Strabon 9, 2, 10 C404. *Infra* nn. 61; 62.

khôroi of the Ἐρετριάκη and so **analogous to the Kleisthenic tribes of Athens**.⁴⁹ (My emphasis). He also points out that the artificial names, made up as at Athenai from names of local heroes, are quite unlike those of the traditional Ionian tribes, which I think indicates (prior) tribal reform of a "Kleisthenic" type. Wallace scarcely comments on a possible relationship between the Eretrian and Attic *deme*-systems; he remarks only that "membership in a *deme* may have been at Eretria, as at Athens, hereditary rather than dependent on where one lived" and "[Eretria] is, on a smaller scale, in this as in other ways, so similar to Athens."⁵⁰ He is talking about territorial states rather than specific political structures, but the comment may indicate something of his attitude. However, one fact to which neither Wallace nor Cairns refer, is the absence of any mention in the corpus of Eretrian inscriptions to *trittyes* (or to some equivalent) at Eretria. This constitutes a significant difference between the two systems and I am surprised by its general omission from discussion. Their absence may be due to the accidents of survival in the epigraphic record, but I don't think so, for there is evidence weighing positively against their existence at Eretria in the decree from Keos,⁵¹ The relevant section (ll. 1 - 8) is as follows:

If a Keios wishes to participate as a citizen **in Eretria**, let him register his name and let the generals give to him a **tribe** [*phyle*] and a *deme* [*demos*]⁵² in which he may be enrolled; and if an Eretrieus wishes to participate as a citizen **of Keos** let him register his name with the *thesmophylakes* and let the *thesmophylakes* give him a **tribe, trittys** and **district**.

Thus, while a citizen of Eretria entering into Keian citizenship required membership of a *trittys* as well as of a tribe and district, there is no indication that *trittys* membership was required, or even possible, at Eretria, and if it were we should expect to hear of it here since one would think that the legal procedures would need to be precisely set out, (though it must be admitted there is no mention of units called *khôroi* at Keos in the similar treaty with Histiaia).⁵³ For Eretria however, the lack of any reference to *trittyes* in this text is reinforced by a total absence of the term throughout the whole corpus of Eretrian inscriptions⁵⁴ so I think we can reasonably assert that there were indeed no *trittyes* at Eretria. If Bradeen⁵⁵ is correct, then the smaller Eretrian probouleutic group would render the *trittyes* superfluous since there was (probably)

⁴⁹ 1986 (IV/318) 159.

⁵⁰ Wallace 1947 (I/53) 136, n. 56; 146.

⁵¹ Greek text, *supra* n. 32.

⁵² As Cairns restores it.

⁵³ Which shows variety or carelessness. For Athenian decrees Walbank 1978 (VIII/8); M. J. Osborne, *Naturalization in Athens*, Bruxelles, 1981-1983, nr. 98; 101; 109. Tod 1968 (IV/264) 123 - 125 (141).

⁵⁴ An argument *ex silentio* it is true, but there is a considerable corpus of inscriptions from Eretria.

⁵⁵ 'The Trittyses in Cleisthenes' Reforms', *T.A.P.A.* 86, 1955, 22 - 30.

only one *proboulos* per tribe. There is also no mention of *trittyes* at Histiaia in its treaty with Keos. Whereas *trittyes* were already part of the pre-Kleisthenic civic organization of the Attike⁵⁶ they almost certainly were not part of the earlier Eretrian system. This would explain why the two later democratic constitutions differed in this respect; Kleisthenes simply employed a pre-existing group and term in his new arrangement of the citizen body.

There is however inscriptional evidence of *phratriai* at Eretria.⁵⁷ The text is enigmatic and a satisfactory interpretation is unlikely; it does however make it clear



Fig. 75: The "Horos Phratrikos". Eretria Museum.

that the institution existed in the early-fifth century. It is likely that *phratriai* existed earlier and that originally the membership of a phratry, as at Athenai, was a prerequisite for citizenship, but that later, *deme*-membership replaced this requirement. The frequent use of demotics in later citizen-lists, and for proposers of motions, etc. seems to imply this.

Knoepfler, in a brief note, proposes the number of the Eretrian tribes as "sans doute" six in his detailed discussion of the number and composition of the *boule* in the early-fourth century,⁵⁸ based on a reading of the treaty between Athenai and Eretria of 394/3,⁵⁹ though elsewhere, he allows that there may have been as many as ten.⁶⁰ He uses as yet unpublished (to my knowledge)

⁵⁶ Hignett 1952 (IV/251) 47; 48; 71f. et passim.

⁵⁷ G. Daux, "Note sur l' "horos phratrikos" d'Érétrie", *B.C.H.* 74, 1954, 282 - 284.

⁵⁸ Knoepfler, 1985A (II/200) 246, n. 12. The number of tribes: II 46. For Kondoleon's alternative, but superseded, interpretation: IV, 126 and n. 318

⁵⁹ IG II², 16. For the date and duration of alliance: D. Knoepfler, 'Sur une clause du traité de 394 av. Chr. entre Athènes et Érétrie', *A.J.P.* 101, 1980B, 462ff.; 'Bulletin épigraphique', *R.E.G.* 94, 1981, 221; *S.E.G.* XXX, 55. He signalled this information, in 1976, in epigraphical reports: Schefold/Knoepfler 1976 (II/112) 57; idem, 'Eretria, 1974', *A.D.* 30, 1975 [1983] 169. In the first, he declares that Kondoleon is wrong in supposing only 3 tribes; and that his argument: "n'était d'ailleurs pas sans faiblesses."

⁶⁰ Schefold/Knoepfler 1976 (II/112), though in 1975/1983 (VIII/59) he says six.

inscriptions,⁶¹ which also establish the name of a second Eretrian tribe, Narkittís,⁶² and concludes that tribes were associated in twos for the choral contests at a local festival similar to the Thargelia at Athenai. Thus there can hardly be fewer than four. However we are again dealing here with late material. There is no reason to suppose that before the 530's there were other than the traditional four Ionic tribes at Eretria, or that the number of the *probouloi* would not have been a multiple of that number. Despite Kondoleon's arguments for three and Knoepfler's for six (or ten?) "reformed" tribes, we can better accommodate the inscriptionally attested eight *epimenieuontes* of the later texts that both scholars use, within a framework of four (Ionic) or eight ("reformed") tribes.⁶³

It may be argued that the general similarities between the Eretrian and Athenian systems are to be explained in terms of parallel evolutionary patterns of political development from the ninth to the sixth century. But Morris⁶⁴ has shown that this did not in general occur. This explanation might apply to (for example) the evolution of probouleutic magistracies - *probouloi* (*epimenieuontes*) at Eretria, and Korinthos, *prytaneis* at Athenai or *amnemones* at Knidos⁶⁵ etc. - since these would be required by most Greek states. But it is precisely the **artificial** aspect of the separation of *demes* into larger geographical units, with new and specially created tribes, that makes the territorial divisions of Eretria and Athenai different and leads one to wonder whether there may have been a model that served for both. For though not identical, the similarities are sufficient to propose that they were neither the product of a common natural evolutionary process nor entirely independent creations.

Since Eretria adopted its democratic system earlier than Athenai, and because there had been Athenian political exiles in Eretria for at least ten years before 507 when Kleisthenes carried out his *deme* reforms (and it is interesting to reflect that practically the only thing later generations of Athenaiotai remembered as the special contribution of Kleisthenes to their democratic system was his geo-political reorganization), the priority of Eretria is probable. But in fact this artificial territorial/social rearrangement was not quite unique to Eretria and Athenai. Korinthos, which had close and friendly relations with both for many decades, also had a system of *deme*→(*trittys*)→district organization with similarities in naming and number to those of Athenai and, despite Wallace, Eretria also. Korinthos also appears to have had artificially created tribes, quite distinct from the ancient Dorian tribes common to its neighbours. Its socio-political and territorial divisions have been the subject of a number of articles in recent years

⁶¹ In a letter to me from Professor Knoepfler (dated 23 August, 1992). One was discovered in 1973 by C. Dunant, the other by himself on the acropolis (part of choregic monument); they are reported in the articles cited *supra* nn. 58ff.

⁶² The other is Mekistis/Makistis: IG XII Suppl., 549 (spelt with double sigma Μηκιστίδι [μηγός]).

⁶³ IV 126, n. 318; 319.

⁶⁴ 1987 (III/60). Walker 1996 (III/72).

⁶⁵ Plout. *Ait. hell.*, 4.

following publication by Meritt in 1931⁶⁶ of an inscription from the city listing names under abbreviated rubrics. Wallace⁶⁷ refers to this "much closer parallel" to the key Eretrian inscription (IG XII 9, 241) rather than to Athenai. Since the original publication of the Korinthian inscription, several more have been discovered displaying the same abbreviations for what now seem to be geo- or socio-political divisions.

Most commentators argue that the abbreviations are the names of Korinthian tribes, together with a third letter, restricted to one of three recurrent letters: E, F (*digamma*) and Π. In some of the later inscriptions, this letter is separated from the first two. For some scholars the third letter represents territorial divisions,⁶⁸ for others military groupings.⁶⁹ (Dow alone regards them as an integral part of the tribal designation;⁷⁰ Stroud thinks that they indicate categories of *trittyes*.) Without becoming too involved in controversy concerning the Korinthian material, it seems to me that the arguments favour the 'territorians' rather than the 'militarists', but Salmon's assertion⁷¹ that Thoukydides informs us⁷² that the Korinthians had no cavalry is dubious evidence that military categories are not involved, because Thoukydides says no such thing.⁷³ The Eretrian evidence doesn't contradict either major interpretation of the Korinthian inscriptions; IG XII 9, 241 not only lists men with demotics under districts, but also under military categories, specifically *hoplites* and *psiloi* (light-armed troops).⁷⁴ Wallace was in fact first to postulate that the third letter of the Korinthian rubric referred to military groups, no doubt suggested to him by the Eretrian example; scholars who have recently discussed the Korinthian material refer to Wallace but do not cite evidence provided by IG XII 9, 241.⁷⁵

The political organization of Korinthos shows similarities with both Eretria and Athenai. Firstly, Eretria shared with Korinthos a system based on eight tribes⁷⁶; for Korinthos, the eight-fold arrangement is attested in the literary record. Indeed it was

⁶⁶ In *Corinth: Results of Excavations VIII*, Cambridge Mass., 1931. Pt. 1: The Greek Inscriptions, no. 11. For a bibliography of the Korinthian inscriptions: Appendix 2.

⁶⁷ 1947 (I/53) 119, n. 14.

⁶⁸ Stanton: E = ἔνδοθεν; F = φασιζοί; Π = πάραλοι. Salmon: E = ἐντὸς τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ; F = φάστιν; = Π = πέραν τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ.

⁶⁹ Wallace: E = ἐπίλεστοι; F = ?; Π = πελτασταί; Jones: E and Π, ditto; F = φίλαι

⁷⁰ 1942 (VIII/66) 97.

⁷¹ 1986 (IV/86) 418.

⁷² Thouk. 2, 9, 3 (Beginning of Peloponnesian War) and 4, 44, 1 (Battle of Solygeia, near the Korinthia itself, 425).

⁷³ I am not persuaded that the absence of cavalry at Solygeia is certain evidence that Korinthos had no cavalry. Thoukydides is referring to the **principal** contribution made by each state; thus Korinthos ναυτικὸν παρείχετο (provided ships), while other states provided infantry, cavalry etc. That no mention is made of Korinthian πεζόν (infantry), although it is for other states, cannot mean Korinthos therefore had no infantry, which would be clearly absurd; 4, 44, 1 indeed shows that she certainly did have an infantry force. Thus the omission of mention of cavalry may simply suggest the city did not have a particularly noteworthy cavalry arm.

⁷⁴ ὀπλίται and ψιλοί. Thus, e.g. l. 37 (Wallace 1947 (I/53) 120, l. 63): Μεσοχώρου (district name = Wallace's district III) ὀπλίται (the hoplite contingent of the district).

⁷⁵ Salmon 1986 (IV/86) 418, n. 21; Stanton 1986 (VIII/66) 143, n. 24.

⁷⁶ Cf. Knoepfler 1985A (II/200) 246, n. 12; supra nn. 58; 59. There is no discussion whether these are "new" or, if so, when the tribal reform took place.

proverbial: Πάντα ὀκτώ at Korinthos.⁷⁷ Both had eight *probouloi*. Though we only have the names of two of the Eretrian tribes,⁷⁸ we know Eretria later had groups of eight probouleutic magistrates, eight *epimenieuontes* who formed a probouleutic committee (possibly akin to the ten *epistates* of the *prytaneis* at Athenai presided over each of the ten groups of 50 *prytaneis* of the ten new tribes) and which were, as at Korinthos, based on eight new tribes.⁷⁹ The late-fourth century Eretrian committee of *epimenieuontes* was presided over by the *arkhon* and had a *grammateus*.⁸⁰ The late-6th century proxeny decree IG XII Suppl. 549 mentions an *epimenieuoures* (genitive) *phyle*, thus we should see a connection between the later eight *epimenieuontes probouloi* and the tribe(s). The epithet implies that *probouloi* and tribes had some sort of monthly period of authority. The equivalent Attic term would be *πρυτανειούσης* (prytanizing).⁸¹ The date assigned to this decree mentioning the "prytanising" tribe is further evidence that the Eretrian democracy had begun early to evolve systems of administration later found at Athenai.

The three⁸² territorial regions of the Korinthia represented by the letters E, F and Π roughly parallel the three-fold division of the Attike into 'urban', 'coastal' and 'inland' regions⁸³ and they have their equivalents in the Eretriás. However every scholar who has subsequently dealt with the *demes* and districts of Eretria follows Wallace's division of its territory into **five** districts (*khôroi*).⁸⁴ I shall now argue that this was not true of the period **before the end of the fifth century at the earliest**. Wallace's work was done on the basis of citizen lists of the fourth and third centuries and, for the districts in particular, upon IG XII 9, 241.⁸⁵ Now we should note that Wallace's districts

⁷⁷ Suidas s.v. πάντα ὀκτώ. Nik. Damask. (= *F.Gr.H.* 90 F 60.2/*F.G.H.* III, 60): records 8 probouloi: αὐτὸς δὲ (sc. ὁ δῆμος) παρὰ τοῦ λαοῦ πολιτείαν κατεστήσατο τοιάνδε μίαν μὲν ὀκτάδα προβούλων ἐποίησεν ἐκ δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν βουλὴν κατέλεξεν ἀνδρῶν θ'. (It [i.e. the People] straightaway set up a constitution in the following manner: it created a Proboulia of eight, and from the remainder they chose a Boule of nine [0] men). Scholars universally experience difficulty with this passage. It only concerns me because it seems to presume an eight-part system **already** existed within the Korinthian boule at the end of the tyranny. H. Lutz, 'The Corinthian Constitution after the Fall of the Cypselides' (sic.) *C.R.* 10, 1896, 418 - 419; Roebuck 1972 (IV/86) 114: it is unlikely that the eight-fold tribal system was introduced after the tyranny. N. F. Jones, *Public Organization in Ancient Greece: A Documentary Study*, Philadelphia, 1987, 168 concurs.

⁷⁸ Supra n. 48.

⁷⁹ Jones (VIII/66) 1980, 170: "To my knowledge, only one other (i.e. than Korinthos KW) state of the Greek period, Elis, is recorded as having had a civic organization of eight principal divisions." is thus incorrect. For Elis: Paus. 5, 9, 6. It is interesting that it is Elis, as we have seen supra in I, had very ancient links with Eretria, and it seems to have provided or shared the name of one of its tribes, Mekisstis: Steph. Byz. s.v. Μήκιστον πόλις... ἔστι καὶ ἄλλη τῆς Ἠλίδος. Cf. also G. Papandreou 1924/1990 (II/195) 56ff.

⁸⁰ IG XII Suppl. 555, 54 - 56 [c.304 - 300 - Wallace].

⁸¹ Π[ανδιό] | νόμος ἐκ τῆς πρυτανειούσης (sic): IG II² 18 (Tod 1968 [IV/264] 108). Cf. infra 242 (table, line 2b) for the parallels. A. S. Henry, *Honours and Privileges in Athenian Decrees: the Principal Formulae of Athenian Honorary Decrees*, Hildesheim, 1983, 24ff.

⁸² Jones 1980 (VIII/66) 181 leaves open the possibility that there were four divisions, but he is alone in allowing this.

⁸³ Forrest 1966 (VI/27) 194ff., map, 192.

⁸⁴ However Ziebarth thought there were four: cf. Wallace 1947 (I/53) n. 16.

⁸⁵ These decrees are: IG XII 9, 191 (c.330 - 310); 241 (320 - 308); Suppl. 555 (304 - 300); 245 (c.300); 244 (c.280); 246 (280 - 275) and 249 (280 - 275); The dates are Wallace's; Cairns and

I and II in the south-east include the important *demes* of Dystos, Zarex and Styra, all relatively important places whose locations are not in dispute. Knoepfler has shown that Styra (in the extreme S.E.) was not incorporated into the Eretriás until the last decade of the fifth century, and this is an **earlier** date than has been generally accepted up to now.⁸⁶ Knoepfler naturally, and I think correctly, concludes that the territory and towns/*demes* between Dystos and Styra were annexed at about the same time.⁸⁷ This is important, for it follows, although Knoepfler does not specifically mention it, that Wallace's districts I and II were not incorporated into the Eretriás until the last decade of the fifth century; moreover Athenai, which controlled the whole island for much of the century would not have permitted Eretrian imperialism on such a scale.⁸⁸ Thus for the late-sixth century we are left with the (still extensive) area of Wallace's districts III, IV and V, i.e. **an original three-fold arrangement** of which we possess the name of Wallace's district III: Mesokhōron (or, perhaps, Mesokhōros), together with the fragmentary name of V: Paralios (or Larasion), bringing the Eretriás into line with the Korinthia and the Attike.⁸⁹ So we now have for each *polis* a tripartite greater regional division as follows:

KORINTHOS	ERETRIA	ATHENAI
Παράλιος (?) Παραλία (?) Πέραν τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ (?) Περαία (Steph Byz. s.v.)	Λαράσιον (?) Λαράσιος (?) Παράλιος -α (?K.W.) (V)	Παραλία
Ἐσωθεν (?) Ἐντὸς τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ (?) ⁹⁰	Μεσοχώρον Μεσοχώρος (?) Μεταξύ (?) (III)	Μεσόγειος
Φάστν (?)	Φυλακή (?) (IV)	Ἄστυ

Knoepfler agree that these need some revision, but this a matter of 'fine tuning' and will not affect my argument.

⁸⁶ Knoepfler 1971 (I/55) 242ff.; 223 n. 4: bibliography. His arguments are accepted and expanded by M. Moggi, *I sinecismi interstatali greci* (I: Dalle origine al 338 a. C.) Pisa, 1976, 227 - 236 who argues for a date between 411 and 405. Most scholars put the annexation at the time of the Lamian War, 323 - 322. It is possible that these "new" districts comprised the *περιοικίς* mentioned by Theopompos (*F.Gr.H.* 115 F 149): Gehrke 1988 (II/17) 38ff.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 243f.

⁸⁸ Styra is listed separately from Eretria in the *A.T.L.*

⁸⁹ IG XII 9, 267 (3rd century; from the city area) is a dedication to Apollon Τριμοριδίου, who has been compared with Artemis Triklaria at Patrai (Paus. 7, 19, 22), whose temple was common to three cities; does it hark back to the original threefold division of the Eretriás?

⁹⁰ For discussion: Stanton 1986 (VIII/66) 143ff. However, no scholar considering possible meanings for the abbreviations cites Steph. Byz. s.v. Περαία: ἔστι καὶ χώρα Κορίνθου Περαία λεγόμενη.

Since in Wallace's arrangement, the urban area, the *asty*, is within the third district, it seems that if his district boundaries reflect conditions in the late-sixth/early-fifth centuries - and they may very well **not** do so - then there is unlikely to be a district with the name "asty" as at Athenai and Korinthos.⁹¹ However we have no precise knowledge as to how the territory was divided up into its probable tripartite scheme prior to the acquisition of districts I and II. Mesokhōron may actually have been the name of one of the original three *khōroi* and have been retained because it did indeed reflect the position of the third district, based as it is around the city itself. Thus the city in relation to its overall territory, even without districts I and II is, as Knoepfler observed, severely 'off-centre'.

Jones believes the eight-fold tribal division, along with the magistracy of the eight *probouloi*, was probably in existence at Korinthos **before** the establishment of the post-Kypselid oligarchy,⁹² making the tyranny the most likely period for these changes.⁹³ "Both the Corinthian and Kerkyraian reformed tribal organizations [. . .] were created under the Kypselid tyranny, that is, no earlier than c.658 B.C."⁹⁴ Salmon also remarks that: "'Probouloi' [. . .] belong to a more complicated age."⁹⁵ Thus Korinthos probably underwent a comprehensive civic reorganization under Periandros, for he is said to have tried to keep the population in its home territories - making a reform by him of the territorial divisions of the Korinthia, with population registration and control his primary object, very likely.

Periandros was probably Diagoras' first political friend abroad, their alliance manifested in their close co-operation against Khalkis. It is not impossible that Diagoras had been in Korinthos before his accession, and Periandros was not averse to giving his friends political advice; one remembers that given to Thrasyboulos of Miletos concerning 'tall poppies', still proverbial. Who better as a model in matters of political control than the experienced tyrant of Korinthos? If Diagoras wished to reorganize the civic structure of the state for whatever purposes, the Korinthian model was already at hand, and he may well have had similar objectives to those attributed to Periandros. Speaking of Korinthos, but his observation is applicable generally, Roebuck says:

⁹¹ Gehrke 1988 (II/17) has the demes of Wallace's "district I" in the immediate surrounds of the city. Such a district, if it reflected reality, might have been the "Asty", but presently I can see no good reason for overturning Wallace's arrangement. On the contrary, when one looks at the names of the demes in Wallace's districts I and II, one notices a difference in the **kind** of names they bear: whereas the demes of III, IV and V almost always derive their name from eponymous heroes/gods, those of I and II have 'practical' names based on that of the 'synoikized' town or indicating location e.g. Sturóthen (Styra) or ex Eskh[atiā], i.e. from the Marches (with the Karystia). These names perhaps suggest a more 'rationalising' attitude, another argument for their late incorporation into the Eretrian state; supra n. 62 and my supplementary paper on deme names in the Eretrās. On the interpretation of ἐσχάτις: D. M. Lewis, 'The Athenian Rationes Centesimarum', M. I. Finley (ed.) *Problèmes de la terre en Grèce ancienne: recueil de travaux*, Centre de recherches comparées sur les sociétés anciennes, Paris 1973, appendix C, 210ff.

⁹² Cf. supra n. 77.

⁹³ 1980 (VIII/66) 168.

⁹⁴ He uses the 'high' chronology; *ibid.*, 168, n. 6.

⁹⁵ 1986 (IV/86) 205, n. 79.

"under the tyranny, particularly at its inception, or in the reign of Periander, there would have been killings, confiscations and presumably redistribution of land . . . As in other Greek states, a reorganization of the citizen body might well have accompanied such political turmoil."⁹⁶ Thus if Diagoras had already carried out the basic organizational reforms, the new democracy that followed his fall - like the Korinthian oligarchy that succeeded the Kypselid tyranny - inherited a convenient, depersonalized and geographically random civic structure based on eight new artificial tribes, in which old loyalties had less scope for influence. It was a system that could easily be incorporated into a new democratic constitution. Stanton⁹⁷ has already speculated that "possibly indeed the idea for the Athenian *city, coastal* and *inland* regions was borrowed by Kleisthenes from Korinth, for the regions do not fit the territory of Attike particularly well." Nor at Eretria! But it was the idea that was important, and while the evidence seems to favour Korinthos as the source of the **original concept** for all three related systems, the Kleisthenic tribal and geopolitical divisions thus also have some similarity to those at Eretria. I therefore don't think that Kleisthenes got his **immediate** inspiration directly from Korinthos, but rather from Eretria. What connection, we may ask, did the Athenian reformer have with the former city? Our sources never speak of Korinthos as a place to which the political opposition, to either the Peisistratidai or to the later régime headed by Isagoras, went in search of asylum. But we know Eretria had been a place of refuge for anti-tyrant Athenaioi since 556; after the fall of Diagoras, anti-oligarchic refugees too would be welcome in Eretria, and thus it would have been able to act as a conduit through which a new system of civic organization might come to the Attike. Just how this occurred I shall explain shortly, but first, I wish to indicate other similarities between the practice of the Eretrian democracy and that which was introduced by Kleisthenes to Attike and which may have come along with the tribal/territorial reforms.

The preamble of the proxeny decree for Aristoteles Kheiloniou (IG XII Suppl. 549) (photo and diagram infra 240 - 241) throws some light on the workings of the early Eretrian democracy. In this discussion, I use the text of Wallace **but modify the restoration of Peek for the rasura ll. 8 - 10**. Wallace ascribes this to an error of the mason; no doubt these did occur, but such an extensive error over three lines on such an early decree is unlikely; later Eretrian decrees indicate that **high-ranking** magistrates were specifically assigned to supervise the inscription of decrees (IG XII 9, 225, ll. 4 - 8: ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸν ἐπιστατήν | τῶν προβούλων, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἂν αἰεὶ δέηται | ἀναγκάσει δὲ τὸδε τὸ ψήφισμα εἰς στήλην λιθίνην | καὶ στήσαι ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ | Δαφνηφόρου). The restoration of Peek fits, and is consistent with formulae of later decrees used over a long period however for reasons of letter-spacing (cf. the drawing) I would modify Peek by supplementing AYTON in place of his "na" | [me" (assuming a

⁹⁶ 1972 (IV/86) 114f. Cf. also tribal name "reform" at Sikyon (Hdt. 5, 68) by the tyrant Kleisthenes.

⁹⁷ 1986 (VIII/66) 145.

reference back by the pronoun to "Aristoteles" in a lost preamble preceding ἐδόξεν e.g.: ἐπειδὴ Ἀριστοτέλης ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἐστὶν ἐδόξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ etc.), such as occurs for example in the later (fourth/third century) Eretrian proxeny decree for Glaukippos and his brothers (in which also the names are repeated in the accusative) or TE | ΜΠΟΛΙΝΤΟΝ (τῇ πόλιν) or even TO | ΥΠΕΡΕΤΡΙΕΣ (τοὺς Ἑρετριεῖς) where Peek supplies "na" | [me] KAIENAI (last three letters dotted) in ll.8 - 9; in any case,

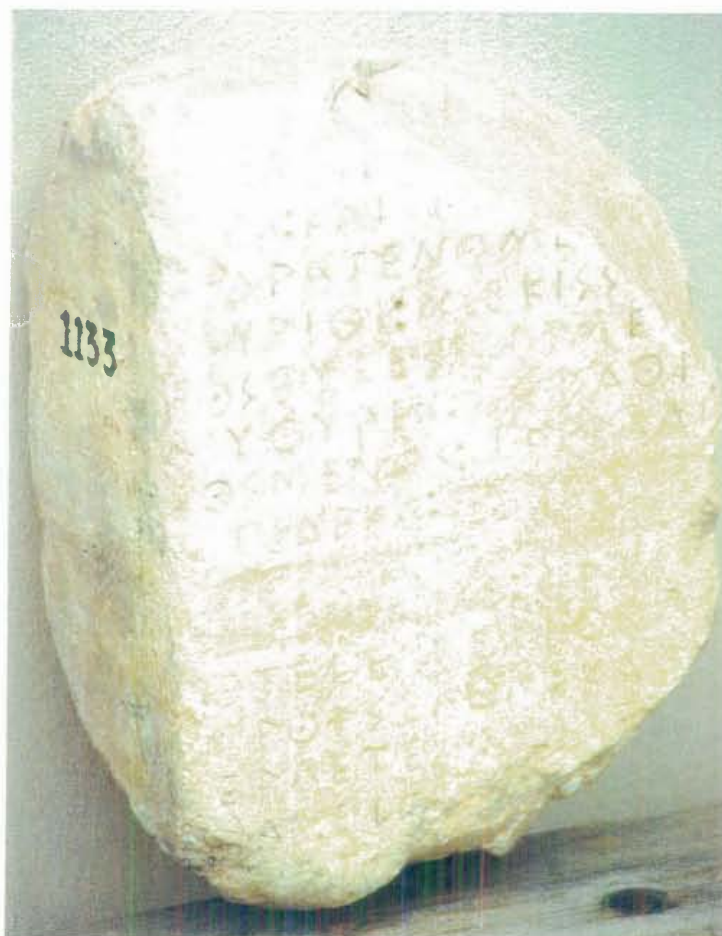


Fig. 76: The proxeny decree for Aristoteles Kheiloneiou (IG XII 9, Suppl. 549). Eretria Museum. Note the angle of the top edge of the stone which is not evident in Wallace's drawing (infra fig. 78, p. 225).

there is little evidence left on the stone so any restoration is entirely speculative.⁹⁸ The erasure of the speaker's name may perhaps be ascribed to subsequent political eclipse; perhaps he was an Eretrian Kleisthenes! This decree is of particular interest because it is one of the very earliest examples of democratic legislation, of any kind or provenance, that have been preserved, yet despite its early date, it displays several features of the decrees of a fully developed democracy of the later, "Athenian", kind.⁹⁹ To illustrate these strong similarities, I have tabulated (infra 242) the formulae of this decree, beside those of a "hypothetical" Attic type.

There was, probably, behind these parallels, a legislative process that must also have been reasonably similar: probouleutic committee→*boule*→*ekklesia*. The Eretrian probouleutic committee c.300 as we have seen, was made up of eight *epimenieuontes*, demesmen probably all from

⁹⁸ 1934 (VIII/3) 75. For AYTON: cf. (e.g.) the Eretrian decree for Glaukippos and his brothers: IG XII 9, 210₁₁₋₁₆ (dated c.302 - 285) has ἐδόξεν τῷ δήμῳ εἶναι παλαιτοὺς προξένους καὶ εὐεργέτας τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἑρετριέων Γλαύκιππον καὶ Ἱπποδάμαντα καὶ Ἀπολλώνιον Διονυσίου Ἀντιγονεῖς καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐγγόνους etc. referring back to Γλαύκιππος καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ in an ἐπειδὴ clause (ll. 2 - 4). Greg Stanton has also pointed out to me (for Athenai): Walbank 1978 (VIII/8) 205ff. (no. 56₂₋₄: καὶ ἐν[αι] πρόχῳ || [ενον καὶ εὐεργέ]τεν Ἀθηναί || [ον αὐτὸν· etc.). The pronoun is repeated again in l. 9.

⁹⁹ Wallace 1936B (II/211); Peek 1934 (VIII/3) 73 - 77. The two versions are given for comparison: (go to 242).

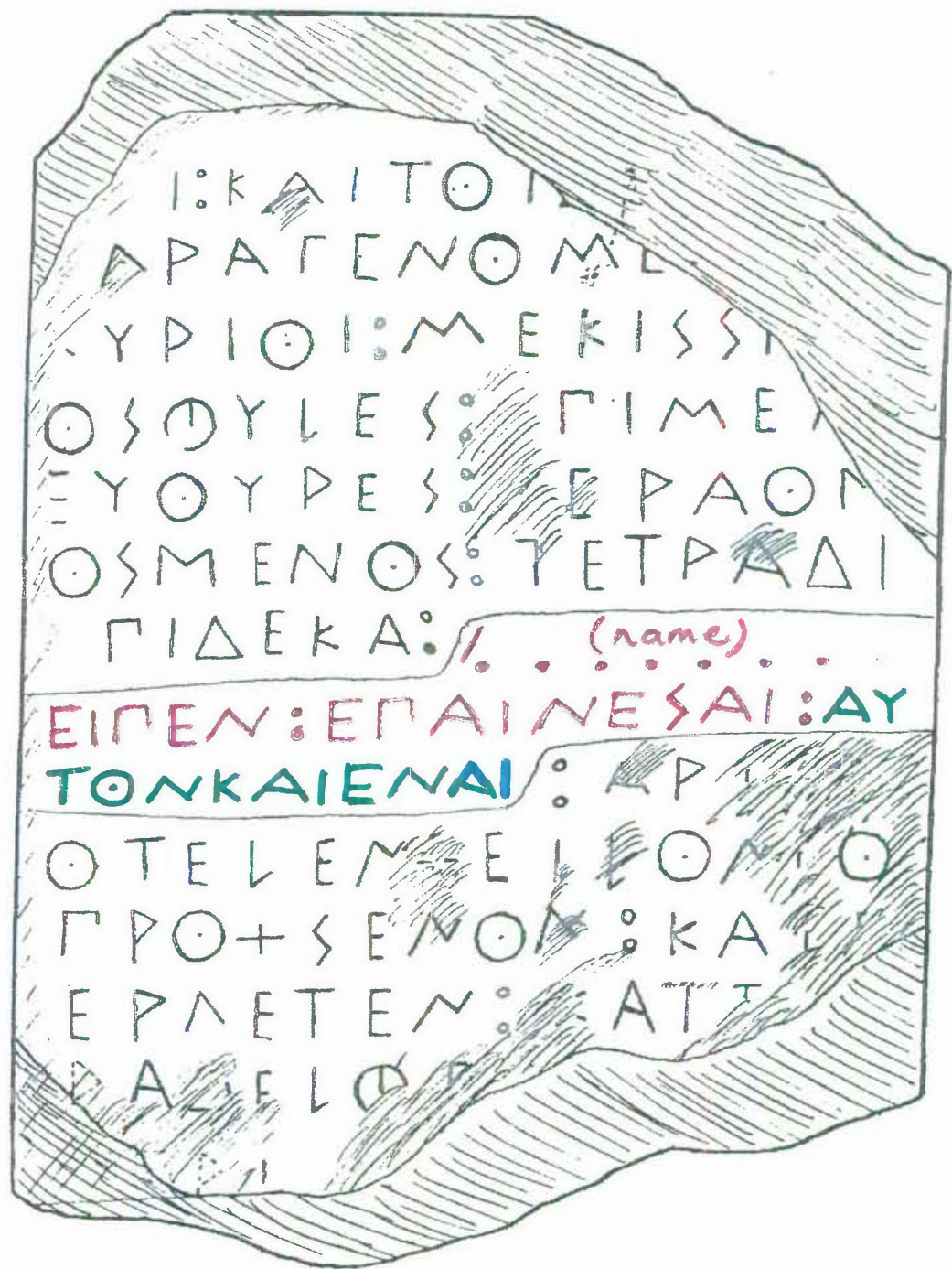


Fig. 77: The Eretrian proxy decree.

IG XII 9, 549 as restored and drawn by W. Wallace 1936B (II/211), with restoration of the *rasura* by W. Peek 1934 (VIII/3) 75 in RED and my preferred suggestion: AYTON in GREEN. The arrangement of the letters in the *rasura* is also mine. The marks ^ / in BLUE were apparently visible to Peek; however cf. the photo Fig. 73; no marks were apparent to me. Note the angle of the upper front face of the stone in the photograph, something that is not apparent in Wallace's restoration. This needs to be taken into account in considering any restoration of the beginning of the decree.

Proxeny Decree (IG XII Suppl. 549) from Eretria	Athenian Decrees
1. <u>Formula of Enactment</u> : ἔδοχεν τει βολαι καὶ τοι δέμοι	1. <u>Formula of Enactment</u> : ἔδοχεν τει βολαι καὶ τοι δέμοι
2 ^a <u>Type of Assembly</u> : παράγενομένοι κυριοί	
2 ^b " <u>Epimenieuousa</u> " Phyle: Μεζίσσιδος φυλῆς ἐπιμενιεύουσας	2. " <u>Prytaneuousa</u> " Phyle ἡ δεῖνα ἐπριτανεῖα
3. <u>Calendar Date</u> : Περαιόνοσ μηνός τετράδι ἐπὶ δέκα	3 ^a <u>Name of Secretary</u> : ὁ δεῖνα ἐγραμμάτειε
3 ^b <u>Name of Chairman</u> : (Not found in decrees before the IV century)	3 ^b <u>Name of Chairman</u> : ὁ δεῖνα ἐπέστατε
4. <u>Name of Proposer</u> : ὁ δεινός τιτι (Peek)	4. <u>Name of Proposer</u> : ὁ δεῖνα εἶπε

different tribes,¹⁰⁰ though we cannot be certain of this, and including a presiding officer¹⁰¹ and secretary making it smaller than the later Attic *prytaneia* (this should not surprise us in view of the smaller population of late-sixth century Eretria¹⁰²) though its intention and practice would have been similar. At Eretria, we already find an *epimenieuousa phyle*. The "monthly" tribal presidency was probably notional since there were probably only eight (or six) Eretrian *phylai*; was there a conciliar calendar at Eretria as at Athenai?¹⁰³ Other features are similar: council, assembly, the latter with

99 (cont.)

PEEK	WALLACE / IG SUPPL.
[NAME] ΤΙΤΙΝΙ-]	[ΕΔΟΧΣΕΝ : ΤΕΙ ΒΟ-]
[ΚΟΝ]Ι : ΚΑΙ ΤΟΙ [ΧΣΥΜ-]	ΛΕ]Ι : ΚΑΙ ΤΟΙ [ΔΕΜΟΙ]
[Π]ΑΡΑΓΕΝΟΜΕ[Ν]ΟΙ	[Π]ΑΡΑΓΕΝΟΜΕ[Ν]ΟΙ
ΚΥΡΙΟΙ : ΜΕΚΙΣΣΤ[ΙΔ-]	ΚΥΡΙΟΙ : ΜΕΚΙΣΣΤ[ΙΔ-]
ΟΣ ΦΥΛΕΣ : ΕΠΙΜΕΝ[Ι-]	ΟΣ ΦΥΛΕΣ : [Ε]ΠΙΜΕΝ[Ι-]
ΕΥΟΥΡΕΣ : ΗΕΡΑΟΝ-	ΕΥΟΥΡΕΣ : [Η]ΕΡΑΟΝ-
ΟΣ ΜΕΝΟΣ : ΤΕΤΡΑΔΙ	ΟΣ ΜΕΝΟΣ : ΤΕΤΡΑΔΙ
[Ε]ΠΙ ΔΕΚΑ : [NAME]	[Ε]ΠΙ ΔΕΚΑ : [[Α]ΡΙΣΤΟΤ-]
[Ε]ΠΕΝ ΕΠΑΙΝΕΣΑΙ ΝΑ-	[ΕΛΕΝ ΧΕΛΑΟΝΙΟ] : [Π]
[ΜΕ ΚΑΙ ΕΝΑΙ] : ΑΡΙΣΤ[Ι-]	[ΡΟΧΣΕΝΟΝ]] : ΑΡΙΣΤ[Ι-]
ΟΤΕΛΕΝ [Τ]ΕΛΑΟΝ[Ι]Ο	ΟΤΕΛΕΝ ΧΕΛΑΟΝ[Ι]Ο
ΠΡΟΧΣΕΝΟΝ : ΚΑΙ [ΕΥ-]	ΠΡΟΧΣΕΝΟΝ : ΚΑΙ <ΕΥ->
ΕΡΙΤΕΤΕΝ : [Κ]ΑΤΤ[ΑΠΕ-]	ΕΡΙΤΕΤΕΝ : ΚΑΙ Τ[ΟΥ?]
ΡΑΔΕΛΑΦΕ Α[Ι]Τ[ΕΙΤΑΙ]	ΡΑΔΕΛΑΦΕ[ΟΣ ΑΥΤΟ]
-----	vacat or ΕΠΙ?

On stone-cutting errors: M. Osborne, 'Athenian Stone-cutters at Work', *Z.P.E.* 19, 1975, 159 - 177. For the "Athenian type": A. S. Henry, *The Prescripts of Athenian Decrees*, Leiden, 1977, chs 1, 4, 27; shows development of a more explicit calendar dating procedure (cf. the Eretrian decree); 37f. (later examples); *ibid.* 1983 (VIII/77) ch. 4 (Proxenia, Euergesia): gives "early" (mid-5th cent.) examples.

¹⁰⁰ The eight *epimenieuouses probouloi*, the *arkhon* and *grammateus* of IG XII 9, 555 have no demotics: 1 per tribe (8 KW; 10 Knoepfler?).

¹⁰¹ IG XII Suppl. 555: he seems to have been called *arkhon*, though the presence of this term in the text does not certainly confirm him as a president of the *epimenieuouses*.

¹⁰² Knoepfler 1985A (II/200) 246 n. 11. H. Hansen, *Demography and Democracy*, Copenhagen, 1985, 65ff. ('Conclusions') suggests a figure c.30.000 for Athenai; should that for Eretria be increased by a third too? Cf. IV 120, n. 284.

¹⁰³ On the later Euboian conciliar year: D. Knoepfler, 'Le calendrier des Chalkidiens de Thrace: essai de mise au point sur le liste et l'ordre des mois eubeens', *Journal des Savants* 1989, 23 - 59; *idem*, 'The Calendar of Olynthus and the Origins of the Chalcidians in Thrace', in J.-P. Descœudres (ed.), *Greek Colonists and Native Populations. Proceedings of the First Australian Congress of Classical Archaeology, held in honour of Prof. A. D. Trendall, Sydney, 9 - 14 July, 1985*, Humanities Research Centre, Canberra, Oxford, 1990, 95 - 115.

both special and regular (*kyria*) sessions, and (later) a *grammateus*. The method of dating is much more specific than in Attic decrees, or even later Eretrian examples where a more cumbersome system of expressing dates is used, no doubt under Athenian influence.

But if, as I believe, the Athenaioi got ideas for their new constitution via Eretria, how were they actually transmitted to the Attike? There had been Athenaioi exiled at Eretria for many years before the fall of the Peisistratid tyranny or that of Diagoras. If the basic territorial and tribal reforms there were carried out under Diagoras, and the establishment of democratic structures before 507, the full Eretrian reorganization could have been observed and remembered by one of them until Kleisthenes sought to implement his changes. Such a one might have been a later political ally and discussed the Eretrian/Korinthian model with him. But there is a more intriguing possibility. Would it be too daring to suggest that the political exile who resided for a time in Eretria, and observed the functioning of the new democracy there and then later brought the model to Athenai, was Kleisthenes himself? I believe that a case can be made, based on epigraphic and literary evidence of Alkmaionid connections to the Euboian city, that some of his relatives (perhaps Kleisthenes too) had been political exiles there before 507.

Kleisthenes in fact had mythological as well as immediate family connections with the aristocracy at Eretria, the former through the eponymous ancestor of the family, Alkmaion, the latter through a marriage of his grandfather, another Alkmaion. Let us first consider the mythological link. Very ancient connections were not unimportant, nor were they forgotten, as the already noted example of the fourth century politician, Aristogeiton Kydimakhos, indicates.¹⁰⁴

The Alkmaionid mythological past is of interest here because it reveals interesting connections of the family with both Eretria and Oropos via Argos.¹⁰⁵ The Argive/pre-Dorian hero Adrastos¹⁰⁶ had a cult-place in the *agora* at Sikyon. Kleisthenes' anti-Argive grandfather, the tyrant of Sikyon, forcibly supplanted his cult with that of Melanippos, son of Astakos, Adrastos' bitterest enemy, for Melanippos had slain his brother, **Mekisteus**, the eponymous hero of one of the new Eretrian tribes, Mekkistis. Melanippos also wounded Adrastos' brother-in-law Tydeus at the siege of Thebai by the "Seven", a wound from which he subsequently died, but not before he had eaten the brains from the severed head of Melanippos, killed in turn by his brother-in-law Amphiaraios who was later worshipped as a healing hero at Oropos which, with its neighbouring territories in the north-east Attike and south-eastern Boiotia, was not only once Eretrian, but was also the heartland of the conspirators against Hippias and Hipparkhos, the Gephyraioi, also formerly of Eretria. The son of Amphiaraios, hero of

¹⁰⁴ Sealey 1960B (VII/119)) 38; Hdt 5, 57, 1.

¹⁰⁵ For prehistoric Argive/Euboian links: II 30, nn. 55 - 60; 32, n. 74f.

¹⁰⁶ Hdt. 5, 67.

Oropos, the former 'colony' of Eretria, and brother-in-law of Mekisteus, eponym of the Eretrian tribe, was Alkmaion, eponym of the family. Moreover, **Amphiaraos himself is sometimes identified with Amarynthos**,¹⁰⁷ eponymous hero of the Eretrian *deme* Amarynthos and consort of Artemis Amarysia. Thus the Alkmaionidai might trace their ancestry back to Eretria via precisely the same geographical route as did the Gephyraioi, the most visible of the anti-Peistratid conspirators, so we may well ask to what extent they too may have been involved in the original plot. It also provides a plausible explanation why the romantic story involving Harmodios and Aristogeiton became the popular 'founding myth' of the Athenian democracy, despite their impeccably non-democratic credentials: it gains some point if both the Alkmaionidai and Gephyraioi were political (and familial?) allies, for then **Kleisthenes** may have promoted the myth. Before he was worsted in the intra-aristocratic political struggle by Isagoras, there is no evidence of democratic tendencies on the part of Kleisthenes or his family.¹⁰⁸ Only then did the existing Eretrian model become relevant to his ambitions.

Can mythological links be reinforced by more recent connections? Shear's¹⁰⁹ paper connects Peisistratos and the Alkmaionidai through the Eretrian family of the ladies Koisyra.¹¹⁰ If he is correct,¹¹¹ Kleisthenes' grandmother and her family were Eretrian, and residence in her home town during his exile is not only likely but probable, at a time moreover, when Eretria had been, and was still, providing a base for exiled Athenian *Eupatridai* and was actively involved in the intrigues that brought down the tyranny at Athenai and in the period of instability that followed.¹¹² This argument is considerably strengthened by the recent publication of two *ostraka* linking Megakles Hippokratous (infra stemma: Megakles III), Kleisthenes' nephew (or, perhaps, his son) with Eretria, and with Koisyra.¹¹³ Whatever interpretation one may place upon the first fragment, and its meaning is by

¹⁰⁷ R. Graves, *Greek Myths*³, London, 1961, 287f. (Section 85 [Narcissus] b, n. i). Alkmaion 384f.: Stemma IV (and note). "Adrastos", "Alkmaion" and "Amphiaraos" are all closely involved (and confused) in the stories of Herodotos (1, 41 - 43; 1, 52; 6, 125) concerning Kroisos.

¹⁰⁸ It has been put to me (by Greg Stanton) that such a promotion would have been at the expense of Alkmaionid claims to have been most anti-tyrant of families. But no Alkmaionid was killed trying to remove the Peistratids; indeed Kleisthenes must have collaborated for a time since, though in exile in 512, he had been arkhon in 527. It may be, too, that there was an Eretrian family link with the Gephyraioi. Hignett 1952 (IV/251) 125 citing the skolion (*Ath. pol.* 19, 3) links it with Kleisthenes and avers that his and his fellow-conspirators intentions were initially wholly aristocratic.

¹⁰⁹ 1963 (VI/56) 99 - 112. I have added 'Eretrius' to the stemma.

¹¹⁰ Davies 1971 (V/282) 372; 380f.; table 1. C. L. Tisdell, *The Political Attitudes of the Alkmeonidai in the VI Century B.C.*, Unpub. thesis, U.N.E. 1989, 16: a **daughter of Megakles**, married to Peisistratos, citing Hdt 1, 61, 1; she however does not mention Koisyra or say that this was the daughter of Megakles. If Herodotos is here implying that Koisyra was daughter of Megakles, it would be further evidence of his suppression of Euboian affairs. F. Willemsen, 'Ostraka einer Meisterschale', *M.D.A.I. (A)* 106, 1991, 144f. and pl. 26 agrees with Shear making Koisyra (he sees only one Koisyra) the mother of Megakles (II in Shear's stemma); cf. Davies.

¹¹¹ Supra. n. 109.

¹¹² VII 209f. and nn. 91ff.

¹¹³ Willemsen 1991 (VIII/110) 144f. (and pl. 24): Ostrakon: μεγας | | . . . | οκρatos | | . . . | λι εχο | εισελθεις: ΜΕΡΕΤΡ<ι>αζε which may be restored as follows: Μέγας | (Η)ΠΠΟΖΟΡΑΤΟΥ | ΠΑΛΙ ΕΞΩ | ι' Ερετρίαζε εισέλθεις:

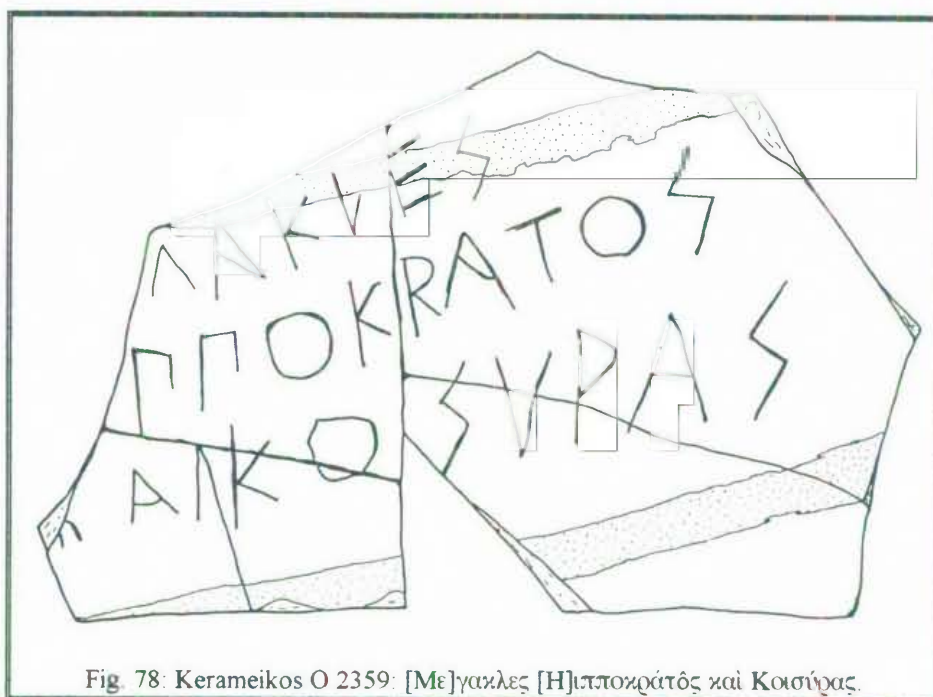


Fig. 78: Kerameikos O 2359: [Με]γαλές [Η]ιποκράτος καὶ Κοισύρας.



Fig. 79: [Μεγ]αλές [Ηιπ]οκράτος [πάλ]ι ἔχσο
εἰσέλθεις :μερετρίαζε. (O 3469)

KERAMEIKOS OSTRAKA
AGAINST MEGAKLES AND
KOISYRA

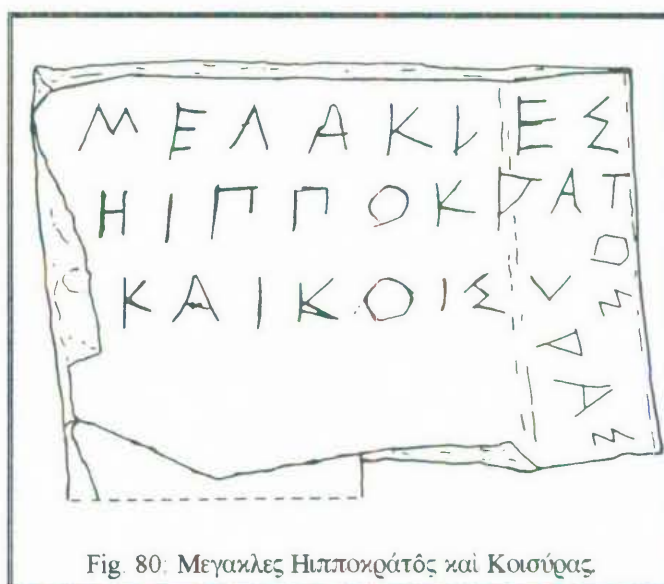
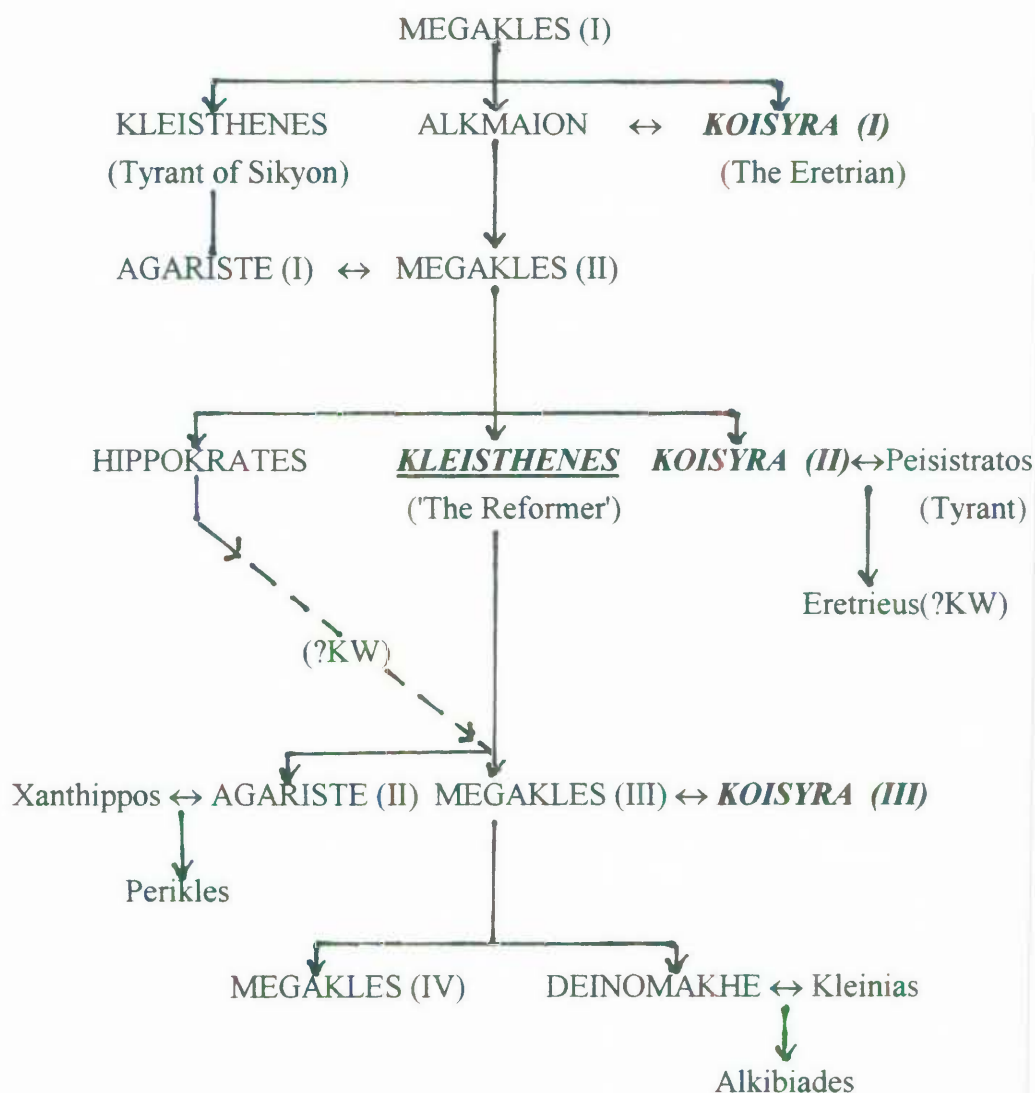


Fig. 80: Μεγαλές Ηιποκράτος καὶ Κοισύρας.

no means entirely clear,¹¹⁴ what can't be doubted is that the ostrakon provides quite conclusive ancient contemporary testimony linking the Alkmaionidai to Eretria. Shear has constructed the following stemma (which I have modified):



¹¹⁴ E.g., is MEPETP<I>AZE a verb or a noun form? I take it as a 'place to' form in -ζε(-δε); and the μ as μη elided ("don't" go to Eretria). If the residential restrictions on ostracised persons described in *Ath. pol.* 22, 7 were designed to prevent them from going to Eretria (inter alia) then the phrase MEPETP<I>AZE of the ostrakon was probably a **warning of this prohibition** by the writer of the ostrakon to one known to have strong Eretrian connections. Thus, for Megakles to go to Eretria, would be to leave himself open to a charge of *atimia* (cf. T. J. Figueira, 'Residential Restrictions on the Athenian Ostracized' in *Excursions in Epichoric History. Aiginetan Essays*, Lanham (Md.), 1993, 182. It has been suggested however that the ἐρετρίαζε could be an imperative form of ἐρετρίαζεν (cf. χαλκιδίζεν!) with pejorative implications: Hesychios s.v. ἐρετρίαζει: σκώπτει, παίζει. If it is a verb, then the choice must still link Megakles with Eretria since it is certainly not the usual word used for "mock" or "ridicule"; is it an allusion to his dialect? To his grandmother or wife? A pun would doubtless be intended based on a perception of Megakles' behaviour. More difficult then would be the 'M' before EPETP<I>AZE; an elided pronoun form (μοι)?

Kleisthenes' Eretrian connections, together with a period of exile there, would provide an obvious explanation how the Korinthian model for the tribal and territorial changes reached the Attike. It is not surprising that democracy should have come to Eretria at this time, nor that it should have preceded its establishment at Athenai. In the last three decades of the sixth century, Eretria had had a powerful and expanding navy, while Athenai did not. This may explain why democracy had to be conferred there from above, rather than to have emerged as the result of spontaneous demands from the people itself. It was in fact **the decision of Kleisthenes the Alkmaionid** to bring into his party the *Demos*, that led to its establishment.¹¹⁵ But once transplanted, the Eretrian plant flourished in the Attike.

The two new democracies were not left in peace to develop their new political systems. In the next year, Kleomenes was back in central Greece. He had not at all been reconciled to the failure of his 510 settlement of affairs at Athenai; in 507 he had already tried, unsuccessfully, to intervene and re-establish his nominee Isagoras, using a small force of Spartan troops, and had merely succeeded in transforming a squabble between aristocratic clans into the new and threatening democratic political experiment. By 506, the political pendulum had swung back in favour of interventionism at Sparta, and he was able to organize a large-scale campaign involving the Peloponnesian League, including Korinthos, together with the Thebaioi, Khalkideis and Aigineis, all (with one notable exception) enemies of both Eretria and Athenai. If the failed attempt of 507 had not been warning enough to both cities, the sight of a large Peloponnesian army on the march north of the isthmus surely would have. Eretria might expect trouble from Kleomenes; his friend Diagoras was probably dead by this time; if he were, there would be plenty of other potential puppets to set up in power in Eretria. And Eretria in any case had to be punished not only for Diagoras' sake, but for good political reasons. Kleomenes probably viewed it as the model and inspiration of the new ideological threat to his order in central Greece and even beyond, for the new Alkmaionid /democratic leadership at Athenai had sought alliance with Persia to meet his threat, but "broke off negotiations when the Persians named as their price the restoration of the old tyrant Hippias."¹¹⁶ The climate was thus propitious for rapprochement between the two former allies of the 530's. They now had politically compatible régimes, as well as common enemies, and this was reinforced by the looming threat to the very existence of their political independence. One may well imagine how democratic Eretria would fare as a result of defeat by a coalition led by Kleomenes, and of which Khalkis was a member! Athenai faced the coalition on land, Eretria at sea. Her role was to check Khalkis, Aigina and Megara, who either had a fleet, or were subject to control by sea-power. For of the only naval powers in the Spartan coalition, Korinthos, Megara and

¹¹⁵ Cf. Ober 1989 (VII/15) 66ff. But did Kleisthenes harbour thoughts of tyranny?: Hignett 1952 (IV/251) 125 links Kleisthenes with the skolion in *Ath. pol.* 19, 3 and notes that the intentions then were wholly aristocratic. As with democracy, the model for tyranny also existed at Eretria.

¹¹⁶ F. Adcock/J. Mosley, *Diplomacy in Ancient Greece*, London, 1975, 23.

Aigina, two were irreconcilable enemies of both Eretria and Athenai. But why would Korinthos at this time have desired victory for her two oldest enemies, Megara and Aigina or, for that matter, for her northern 'neighbour' across the Gulf of Korinthos, Boiotian Thebai, with whom relations had so recently been strained as a result of the failure of Korinthian mediation in the dispute between Athenai and Thebai?¹¹⁷ Such a victory would be at the expense of old friends, for both Athenai and Eretria had continued to maintain good relations with the isthmus city. Korinthos wavered within the ranks of the coalition. When Kleomenes' army arrived on the borders of the Attike, threatening the overthrow of the new régime in Athenai, the single most powerful component of that army with the exception of Sparta herself was already opposed to the objectives of the expedition, and Korinthos found powerful support within the Spartan leadership itself, amongst the faction led by King Demaratos, who was also with the expedition. This was the group which had *de facto* approved the overthrow of Diagoras. Dissension erupted in the army when the Korinthioi, no doubt with the connivance of Demaratos and his supporters, removed their forces from the coalition. Kleomenes, faced with the disintegration of his army, and the hostility of his Spartan enemies, was obliged to return home. Thus, with the tacit support of the Korinthioi, Eretria and Athenai were left to face the now isolated Khalkideis and Thebaioi.

The latter were already moving south to rendezvous with the main expedition coming up from the Peloponnesos. Herodotos says that Athenai defeated **both** Thebai and Khalkis **on the same day on both sides of the Euripos** in the so-called 'Double Battle' (506). General modern opinion (adopting his narrative) concerning this duo of victorious engagements is as follows: the Thebaioi advanced "to the Euripos"¹¹⁸ to aid the Khalkideis, threatened by a force from Athenai; the Athenaiοι, meeting them as they came, decided to attack them at once, and following the battle, took away some 700 prisoners in fetters. Then, "on the same day, they crossed into Euboia, engaged the Khalkideis, defeating them also."¹¹⁹ We have inscriptions from two separate monuments¹²⁰ from Athenai, and a sepulchral epigram attributed to Simonides,¹²¹ celebrating this victory. He refers to soldiers who died "in a cleft of [mount] Dirphys."

¹¹⁷ Appendix 12 for Korinthian political activities in Central Greece before 506.

¹¹⁸ Hdt 5, 77, 1

¹¹⁹ Hdt 5, 77, 2.

¹²⁰ Meiggs/Lewis 1989 (IV/317) 28 - 29 (no. 15); trans.: C. W. Fornara (ed./tr.), *Translated Documents of Greece and Rome, I: Archaic Times to the End of the Peloponnesian War*, Cambridge, 1983, 44f.; M. Tod, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions I: To The End of the Fifth Century B.C.*, Oxford, 1951, 21ff., (no. 15); Raubitschek 1949 (VII/91) 168ff.

¹²¹ *Lyra Graeca II* (VI/4) 350f. (no. 116) Simonides(?):

Δίρφυος ἐδημήθημεν ὑπὸ πτυχί, σῆμα δ' ἐφ' ἡμῖν
ἐγγήθεν Εὐρίπου δημοσίαι ζέχυνται
οὔτε ἀδίκως ἐράτην γὰρ ἀπολέσαμεν νεότητα
τρυχεῖαν πολέμοι δεξάμενοι νεφέλην.

(We were slain **in a cleft of Dirphys**, and the mound | of our grave is made beside Euripos at our country's cost. | And rightly so, for by abiding the onset of the cruel cloud of war, | we lost our lovely time of youth.). Also: Harpokr. s.v. Ταμίνα; IG XII 9, Test./Notae, 163 s.v. Λυσιμαχος; closely connected with Eretria: Knoepfler 1969 (II/76) 4 and n. 27.

Ure/Burrows¹²² believe this need only mean the battle was fought in the shadows of Mt Dirphys, and not far inland, for the mountain, "when viewed from the mainland, seems to rise up just behind the Euboean coast", and the second line of the poem says only that the grave was near the coast. **But there is nothing that makes this imperatively an epitaph to Athenaioi. This is assumed by modern historians.** It is recorded without scholia,¹²³ and Simonides, as Wilamowitz¹²⁴ has shown, is known to have written sepulchral epigrams for Eretrieis both before he went to Athenai, and again after he left there, as Herodotos himself notes.¹²⁵

But, is it realistic to believe that the Athenaioi **alone** were able to conduct two major engagements, on the same day, in different locations separated by the Euripos, as Herodotos claims? Three questions arise concerning this account: (a) Why did the Khalkideis not go to the aid of their Theban allies? Indeed, why hadn't they already set out also to join the expedition of Kleomenes? (b) How could the Athenaioi get an army fresh from a major battle with the Thebaioi from one side of the Euripos to the other in **less than a single day** (much of the day having been lost, taken up with the first battle and the taking and securing of prisoners). The logistical problems posed here for a **sixth century polis**-army are enormous and novel (whoever could organize such an operation in these circumstances would deserve gold crowns for his organizational skills) and in the face of the untouched but, apparently, paralysed Khalkidian land army waiting to defend its city? The Euripos may be narrow, but it is swift, and notoriously treacherous. (c) How is it that both Thebaioi and Athenaioi were in eastern Boiotia heading towards Euboia and not towards Athenai (or alternatively, towards Thebai)?

These feats had to be achieved, apparently, without naval support since Athenai herself had no navy capable of both transporting a whole army across the straits and **simultaneously** providing protection against attack, not only from any weak Khalkidian navy, but also from the far more dangerous Aigina, enemy of Athenai, Korinthos and Eretria. It is, moreover, unlikely that Athenai had the manpower to be able to mount operations, more or less simultaneously, against a major land power, Thebai, take and hold 700 prisoners, man transports and a support fleet (even if she had one), and provide against a rear guard attack from Boiotian forces. If Athenai had the numbers, Thebai had more, so danger from that quarter could not be ignored despite the victory. Similarly the troops to be ferried across the Euripos would have to be sufficiently numerous to have a realistic chance of successfully engaging the whole Khalkidian army defending its own *polis*, fighting for its very existence. How was all this possible for a state that had not up to this time shown much military promise, and which was seldom ever able to trust its land forces against any reasonably competent military rival?

¹²² 1907/8 (V/261) 237.

¹²³ Planudian Anthology.

¹²⁴ *Aristoteles und Athen* (2 vols) Berlin, 1893, 80.

¹²⁵ Hdt 5, 102, 3.

The answer to the first two questions is that Athenai must have had help, and who better, in the political and geographical circumstances, than Eretria, fired by generations of hostility towards Khalkis? Indeed who else could have, except Korinthos who, for all her sympathy, was still a member of the Spartan alliance? Also (again excepting Korinthos) Eretria had the only navy which could match that of Aigina; she was indeed the diadoch thalassocrat of the very next year according to the *Thalassocracy List*. Again, if in respect of an invasion of Khalkis we ask "*cui bono?*", the answer must be, "Eretria".¹²⁶ In fact the result of the action was that Khalkis was "paralysed for a generation"¹²⁷ or more after 506. The fall of Khalkis benefited Eretria, just as the defeat of Thebai did Athenai. If Oropos was in Theban hands in 507, Eretria might now hope to recover her ancient mainland territory, and perhaps the attack on Tanagra described by Pausanias¹²⁸ and alluded to by the poetess Korinna of Tanagra,¹²⁹ took place at this time. As to the third question, the answer must be that Eretria was, if not actually setting the agenda herself, certainly having a major input, and driving the other players to concentrate on Khalkis; it would already have been under threat from the Eretrian navy as well as from her land army, which, as is indicated by the stele,¹³⁰ was not inconsiderable in the sixth century; her leading role in Asia Minor during the Ionian Revolt, together with Platon's observation,¹³¹ confirms Eretria as a major military power at this time. Thus any Athenian troops disembarking on Euboia were not threatened severely by either the Aigineteis at sea or the Khalkideis on land, and they were, moreover, not fighting alone. "What Herodotus relates is surely the Athenian 'task' in a larger battle between Chalcis and Eretria in which Eretria held the strait for her mainland ally."¹³² (My emphasis). The Eretrian threat to Khalkis explains both its paralysis now and earlier when the Peloponnesians were marching on the Attike, and the haste of both Thebai and Athenai to reach the Euripos rather than each other's city. The soldiers who died in the vale of Dirphys were as likely Eretrieis as Athenai.

¹²⁶ It has been suggested that Athenai sought revenge because Khalkis took part in the concerted attack on Athenai but there is no evidence that Khalkis had managed to play any active role in these events. Her army remained on the Euboian side of the Euripos.

¹²⁷ Myres 1906 (IV/277) 97.

¹²⁸ Paus. 9, 22, 2: τὸν δ' Ἑρμῆν λέγονσι τὸν Πρόμαχον Ἑρετριέων ναυσὶν ἐξ Εἰβοίας ἐς τὴν Ταναγραίαν σχόντων τοῖς τε ἔφηβοις ἐξαγαγεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην καὶ αὐτὸν ἄτε ἔφηβον σπλεγγίδι (sic Loeb ed.; σπλεγγίδι?) ἀμυνόμενον μάλιστα ἐργάσασθαι τῶν Εἰβοέων τροπὴν. (Hermes Promakhos is said, on an occasion when an Eretrian fleet put into the harbour of Tanagra from Euboia, to have led the youths to battle; he himself, armed with a scraper like a youth, was chiefly responsible for the rout of the Euboians).

¹²⁹ Korinna: *Lyra Graeca* (Loeb III) 1980 (IV/4) 12f., (no. 2):

περὶ τεοῦς Ἑρμῆς ποτ' Ἄρεα
ποιεῖται

(For your sake, Hermes fights Ares | with his fists).

¹³⁰ Strabon 10, 1, 10 C448.

¹³¹ Platon, *Menex.* 10, 240 a - b: ὁ δὲ πλεῖστας εἰς Ἑρέτριαν ἐπ' ἄνδρας οἱ τῶν τότε Ἑλλήνων τοῖς εἰδοξαμιώτατοις ἦσαν τὰ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, καὶ οὐκ ὀλίγοι. (And he [Datis, the Persian commander] sailed to Eretria, against men who were amongst the most renowned of the Greeks of that time in war, and who were not few in number).

¹³² Myres 1953 (II/221) 183

The inscriptions (and the epigram?) commemorate a great victory, and the Athenaioi were proud of it; so we can scarcely blame them for not later diluting the praise by reference to the role of others. But had we the lost *History of Eretria* of Lysanias of Mallos,¹³³ we might before now have viewed the events of 506 in a very different light, as a victory won, partly at the very least, thanks to the role of the Eretrieis by land and, more importantly, by sea, and whose result was Eretrian naval hegemony from 505 to 490.¹³⁴ Platon (an Athenaios) lets us glimpse how the Eretrieis were perceived in these her glory years:¹³⁵ a city whose power was respected, and whose aid was sought by 'kinsmen' in Asia Minor five years later.¹³⁶ Burrow/Ure¹³⁷ observe that "the omission of Eretria in the Athenian account of the battle would be due to the deportation of its inhabitants in 490 and the inability of the remnant to impress themselves on history." Perhaps, but the fact is that we have only Athenian sources for these events and Athenian bias and deliberate disinformation, to use a modern term, has been an issue ever since Ploutarkhos wrote his corrective to Herodotos' *kakoethia*.¹³⁸

They¹³⁹ ask a question which illustrates one of the contradictions created by the traditional view of the nature of the Eretrian constitution at the end of the sixth century: "Can we be sure that its (Eretria's) citizens would give active help to the party (the Alkmaionidai/democrats) that had expelled Hippias when that expulsion was fresh in their minds?" They believe that if Kleomenes had come north to restore Hippias rather than Isagoras, "Eretria might have been tempted actually to support Sparta in spite of the irritating fact of finding itself on the side of Chalcis." This view stems from the widely held opinion that the government in power in Eretria in 510 - 506 was still the old 'Government of the Hippeis', unchanged since 556, when it nailed its colours to the mast of Peisistratos. But in 506 Eretria was a democracy, so there were no political reasons why Eretria would not have joined Athenai; there were never any reasons at all

¹³³ Lysanias of Mallos wrote a history of Eretria, Περὶ Ἐρετρίας (*F.Gr.H.* 426 F 1 = *F.G.H.* IV, 441 - 442), cited by Ploutarkhos as an authority in his περὶ Ἡροδότου ἁζονθίας for an important Eretrian naval victory, which Herodotos ignores: IX 260ff. (esp. 262ff.).

¹³⁴ Myres 1906 (IV/277) 88, 96f.; Miller 1975 (VII/108) part 1, 5ff. The variations between these scholars are slight: 508/505 and 490/485.

¹³⁵ Platon, *Menex.* X, (240 a - c): quoted supra n. 131.

¹³⁶ The Eretrieis are mentioned in two decrees, (IG XII 9, Test./Not., 162f.) from Magnesia-on-the-Maiandros as "οἰζειοὶ ὑπάρχοντες ἐκ προγόνων τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἐρετριέων (both dated c.206). The feeling of kinship and gratitude for Eretria's sacrifices in Asia Minor may have lasted long there. The Eretrieis and Milesioi had a long history of friendship prior to the 6th century; nor should we overlook Euboian colonization at Khios and elsewhere in prehistoric times. Likewise, we need not doubt the Eretrieis' own reason for going to the aid of their Ionian kinsmen: gratitude for past help (from Miletos).

¹³⁷ 1909 (V/261) 237.

¹³⁸ Goodwin 1885 (VII/190) 18; Myres 1906 (IV/277) 96, n. 23. I do not regard the work as a purely rhetorical exercise. Ploutarkhos cites his alternative sources, and they could have been checked in his day. He clearly felt that Herodotos had deliberately suppressed material that might have been detrimental to the image of Athenai. For discussion of this issue, II n. 221, where I cite other scholars (Myres/M. B. Wallace) who share my views of Herodotos' unsatisfactory treatment of Euboian affairs, and IX 260ff.

¹³⁹ 1909 (V/261) 238.

why she would have allied herself to Khalkis and, in view of Kleomenes' relationship with the fallen tyrant Diagoras, newly democratic Eretria had nothing to gain by neutrality towards him, particularly since he was now allied to Eretria's enemies, ancient (Khalkis) and recent (Thebai).

The result of the "Double Battle" was the removal of the danger of Spartan or Theban intervention in the affairs of both Eretria and Athenai, and it ensured that the political reforms that had begun would continue without external interference. In Euboia, it marks the definitive end of Khalkis as a significant power, although she had already for a long time been in reality a broken reed. Even in the fifth century, after its rival had been destroyed by the Persians, Khalkis generally appears weaker than Eretria, as is revealed by its often lower assessments for contributions to the Athenian League.¹⁴⁰ Before leaving the events of 506 we may note one last - and lasting - result of the "Double Battle". After the victory, the Athenaioi settled *kleroukhoi* on the "lands of the Hippobotai"¹⁴¹ probably in the area between Khalkis and the River Lelas, long since the boundary between the two hostile *poleis*.¹⁴² This may seem to indicate Athenian dominance over the ordering of affairs in Euboia, and indeed it is usually thus interpreted. But it need not be so. The Athenaioi could have sent the settlers onto Khalkidian lands with full Eretrian approval. They may well have seen the Athenian settlers as a barrier to further Khalkidian aggression, and as hostages to Athenian support. If so, the events of 490 show that it was a misplaced hope. But in 506 Eretria had no need to be unduly apprehensive concerning Athenai or Persia. We may see in the "Double Battle" a final irony, for it is *de facto* **the last battle in the centuries-old Lelantine War** which now closes with victory for Eretria and the loss of a large part of the plain by Khalkis. It is indeed a paradox, that a war that raged for countless generations from prehistoric times mainly on land for the control of the horse-rearing plain, should now be decided at sea by the navy of Eretria, and with the thalassocracy of the 'Rowing City' as its final result.¹⁴³ Myres and Miller,¹⁴⁴ in their studies of the *Thalassocracy List*, agree in placing Eretria's dominance at sea immediately after the defeat of Thebai and Khalkis, and the demonstration of Aigina's impotence to influence

¹⁴⁰ Khalkis could not supply her own ships at Artemision: Hdt 8, 1, 2. On the commemorative Serpent Column, Eretria precedes Khalkis. Meritt (*A.T.L.* III) 1950 257: "The following in our judgement may still have been furnishing ships [to the Delian League] in 454: Andros, **Chalkis**, Eretria, Hestiaia, Keos, [. . .]" (my emphasis). He argues (294) that change to monetary contributions occurred 450. In 448/7: "both names [Khalkis and Eretria] appear in List 7, the former [K.] with a tribute of 5 talents, the latter [E.] with a tribute which we believe should be restored to 6 talents." In n. 96: "This is slightly higher than the (5 talents) of Chalkis, **but presumably Eretria was a wealthier state.**" (my emphasis) The assessments of Eretria and Khalkis in List A were 15 and 10 talents respectively. *A.T.L.* III, 197: Eretria as a ship contributor to the Delian League before c.450.

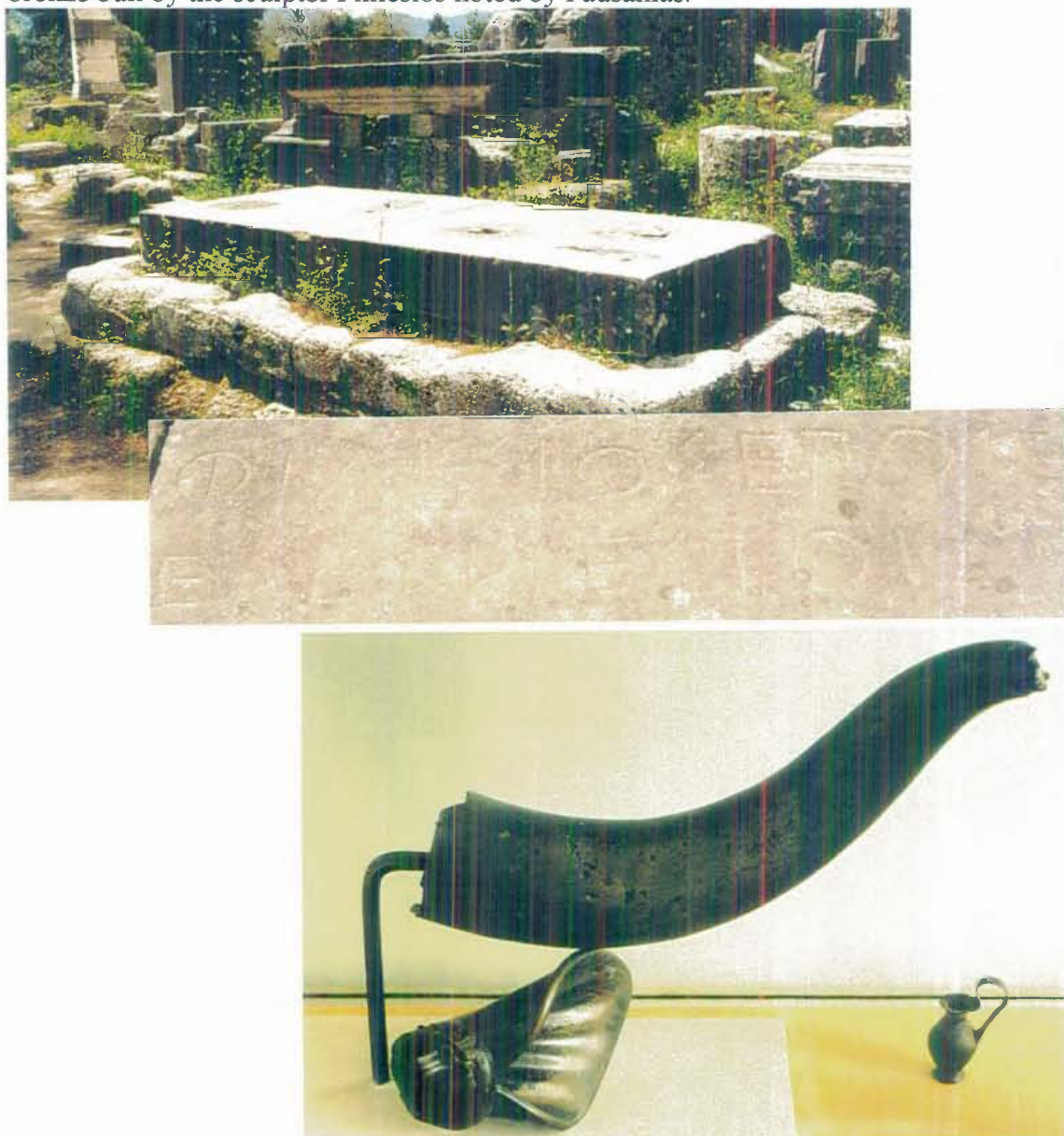
¹⁴¹ Hdt. 5, 77, 2; Ail. *Hist poik.* 6, 1.

¹⁴² Supra IV 80. Popham et al. 1980 (Intro./4) Appendix B: 'The Ancient Name of Lefkandi', 425. Attic inscription mentioning 'Lelanton' in context of sale of property belonging to Hermokopidai: W. K. Prichett, 'Attic Stelai, Part I', *Hesperia* 22, 1953, 240ff., with *S.E.G.*, 13, 1956, 13.

¹⁴³ Although there are hints of naval engagements in the past, e.g. the episode of Amphidamas, 'king' of Khalkis, who died during one: V 163ff.

¹⁴⁴ Opera citata.

the outcome. Miller specifically credits it to the removal of the rivalry of Khalkis, but Khalkis had never been (at least since the era of colonization in the eighth century) a great naval power. At the end of the sixth century, she was even weaker than usual. Rather should we see as a contributing factor, the removal of Aigina as a threat following a campaign against it by Eretria's ally, Athenai, helped and subsidised by Korinthos.¹⁴⁵ With Athenai doing this work in the Saronic Gulf, Korinthos and Eretria were free to pursue their own aims; in the case of Korinthos, these took her towards the west; Eretria had loftier aims in the east. And with its navy, what other power would challenge it in the Aegean? The physical monument to Eretrian triumphs at this time may be the early-fifth century dedication at Olympia, "by the Eretrieis to Zeus", of a bronze bull by the sculptor Philesios noted by Pausanias.¹⁴⁶



The Eretrian monument at Olympia: Fig. 81: the base with dedication; 82: the inscription: "Philesios created it; the Eretrieis (dedicated it) to Zeus"; 83: the surviving horn and ear of the bronze bull.

¹⁴⁵ Thouk. 1, 41, 1; Hdt. 6, 87ff. For documentation: VI n. 30.

¹⁴⁶ 5, 27, 8. Dittenberger/Purgold 1896 (II/211) n. 248: Φιλέσιος ἐποίηε || Ἐρετριῶν τῷ Δί. Interestingly, in view of the relationship suggested in V, the Eretrian bull pairs one from Kerkyra (V 143 and n. 82).