

THE 'FRIENDS' OF THE EARLY HELLENISTIC RULERS: SERVANTS OR OFFICIALS? '

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Few writers have failed to notice that the presentation of the early Hellenistic rulers' followers varies with the type of surviving documentation. If a crude typology were to be made, it would appear that in the writings of historians they are generally described as incumbents of various 'official' positions in the rulers' service. In decrees of cities that hail them as benefactors they are sometimes designated as royal officials, but are mostly styled in vague terms as informal guests or friends of the rulers. In still another type of document — the Hellenistic anecdote — they are ridiculed as lowly flatterers, parasites, and occasionally as slaves. The question as to who they really were is important, and several scholars commenting on isolated documents seem to have given the right answer: neither informal friends, nor lowly flatterers, but people engaged formally in the ruler's service.¹ However, the discrepancy between the different types of evidence has remained unresolved, and its evidential potential has not been exploited — in spite of the fact that it has an interesting story to tell.

It is argued in this paper that the epigraphic ambiguity regarding these officials is a reflection of the ambiguous position that they occupied in society. As judged by the standards of Greek civic pride, serving a ruler was perceived to be demeaning and contemptible, and the rulers' followers were stereotypically stigmatized as lowly servants. Civic decrees honouring these people are for this reason at pains to eschew associating them with the unpleasant image. In the course of the third century the role of royal official underwent a process of legitimation and was gradually disconnected from the

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1. See below, n. 6.

servant stereotype. This perceptual shift is also manifest in the epigraphic documentation.

The epigraphic evidence examined in this study conveys thus a subjective picture of ancient reality; it does not tell us how the relations between the rulers and their followers were structured in actuality, but how it was thought appropriate to present these relations to the public of the Greek cities. It is the marked difference between the attributes ascribed to these followers in actuality and in honorary inscriptions that allows us to gain insight into the way in which the rulers of the Hellenistic Age appeared to their Greek subjects.

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Let us first examine the terminology employed in the honorary decrees to describe the relationship between these honorands and the rulers. This terminology is an extremely valuable piece of evidence, for it provides the link between three hierarchically graded entities – the cities, the members of the rulers' entourage, and the rulers themselves – as perceived in the cities at different points in time. All decrees implying that the benefactions were carried out by virtue of the benefactors' connections with the rulers will therefore be treated as belonging to one analytical group. Some 57 inscriptions meeting this definition can be identified in Athens, Samos, Delos and Ephesus over the period 330-200 B.C. (See Table 1 at pp. 129-47 and Table 2 at pp. 148-9, with explanations to follow; the decrees are cited according to the capital letters and numbers assigned to them in the Tables).

As is well-known, these decrees present a striking similarity in terminology and grammatical structure. Variations of dialect are, for our purpose, negligible. Three parts can be identified in most of the inscriptions: a prescript, an *epeide* and a *dedochthai* clause. The prescripts are relevant to our subject only insofar as they can provide clues for the dating of the documents.² The *epeide* and the *dedochthai* clauses contain all or some of the following data:

- epeide*: (1) name, patronymic and *ethnikon* of the honorand,
 (2) description of his relationship with the ruler,
 (3) description of his benefaction;
dedochthai: (1) enumeration of honours voted to the honorand,

2. To avoid circular argumentation, I have generally accepted the dates assigned to the inscriptions in the works listed in Table 1, column II.

- (2) instructions to the magistrate(s) in charge to inscribe the decision on stone and set it up in a public place.

A good example of a typical decree would be this perfectly preserved inscription from Samos (B3), datable within the period 322-306 B.C.:

To Theotimides, son of Theophilos, Macedonian. Resolution of the *demos*. Naniskos, son of Epigenes, made the motion: Whereas (*epeide*) (1) Theotimides, son of Theophilos, Macedonian, (2) while spending his time (*diatribon para*) with Antigonos, (3) had made himself useful to the *demos* during the exile and whereas he now continues to be useful with regard to those of the citizens who entreat him individually and with regard to the city collectively, be it resolved (*dedochthai*) by the *demos*: (1) to praise Theotimides on account of the goodwill and zeal that he entertains towards the Samian *demos* and to register him as *proxenos* and *euergetes* of the *demos* ... (a series of further honours follows); and (that he shall have) access to the council and the assembly immediately after religious and royal matters, if he needs anything; the *stratego*i and the *prytaneis* in office at the time shall have to deal with whatever Theotimides announces; (2) to engrave this resolution on a stone stele and set it up in the sanctuary of Hera; the treasurer is to provide for the expense.

It is precisely the rigid framework including these data that renders possible a valid comparison of the inscriptions. In Table 1 the three groups of data contained in the *epeide* clauses are listed chronologically and city by city. There are 27 inscriptions from Attika (A), 15 from Samos (B), 5 from Delos (C), and 10 from Ephesus (D). Part E of the Table contains a selection from the decrees of other cities that have produced only a few inscriptions of this type. The latter is an unrepresentative sample that is presented here, as it will become clear, for the sake of contrast.³

Two types of formula can be distinguished describing the honorands' relationships with the Hellenistic rulers. There are formulae that do not give a clear idea of the honorands' position at a royal court (type I), and there are formulae that state their position in the technical terminology of court and administration, such as is

3. Part E of the Tables contains (1) decrees from the years 330-280 B.C. that further on will be classified as type II inscriptions, and (2) decrees from the whole period 330-200 B.C. that for various reasons are relevant to the argument.

best known from the royal letters and the papyri (type II).⁴ The most frequent of type I formulae is *diatribon para toi basilei*. This expression might appear in different combinations: singular, plural, reversed order, with both the dative and accusative following *para*, etc. It occurs nine times in inscriptions from Athens, eleven times from Samos, once from Delos, and three times from Ephesus.⁵ Some scholars presume the expression to mean "engaged in the service of the king",⁶ but this, however correct factually, is an interpretation deduced from the content of the inscription and not a translation. The literal meaning of *diatribon para tini* is "spending" or "passing one's time with somebody". Unless the term is further qualified (e.g., by expressions such as *τωὰς ἡμέρας*, *ἐξ ἔτη*, etc.), an ellipsis denoting time of unspecified duration is implied in *diatribon*.⁷ In fourth century literature, the term is commonly used to describe the sojourn of a person in his host's house but never, to my knowledge, for expressing the idea of paid service.⁸ The idea of 'engagement in service' is also lacking in the four cases in which Polybius uses the term.⁹ It can therefore be argued that the predominant meaning of *diatribon para* is of an informal visit; it does not carry the notion of formal, institutionalized engagement or service of specified duration.

Other type I formulae are phrases such as (literally translated): "being with" (A1), "having gone abroad with ... to" (A2, cf. A20), "fighting together with" (A9, B6), "being trusted by" or "being in friendship with" (A18, A21), and "having talked with" (E1, cf. A20).

4. This classification is indicated in Table 1, column VI.

5. Athens: A4, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 15, 16, 18; Samos: B1-11; Delos: C1; Ephesus: D2, 3, 10.

6. For example, P. Frisch translates the expression as "der im Dienste des Königs steht" (*Die Inschriften von Ilion*, Bonn 1973, p. 111). But cf. F. Durrbach's "vivant auprès du Roi" (*Choix d'inscriptions de Délos*, Paris 1921-22, p. 22), and L. Moretti's "trattenendosi presso il re" (*ISE I*, p. 11). G. Petzl and H.W. Pleket translate the term as "der sich am Hof bei König Attalos aufhält", and interpret it, correctly in my view, as "Epigonos stand im Dienst des Königs" (*Chiron* 9, 1979, p. 76). C. Habicht also maintains that people characterized by such expressions were in fact royal functionaries (*Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte Athens im 3. Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, München 1979, esp. p. 5 with n. 22; *AJAH* 2, 1977, pp. 37-39; *Chiron* 2, 1972, p. 108).

7. Cf. Lidell-Scott-Jones, *Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford 1940⁹), s.v. *διατρίβω*.

8. In the whole of fourth century literature, examined through the customary indexes, I have been unable to find an instance in which *diatribon para tini* is used in the sense of "engagement in service", let alone of court title.

9. Polyb. 2.58.4; 3.11.1; 3.19.8; 4.57.3.

In 5 cases the phrases describing the honorands' relationship with a ruler are omitted.¹⁰ For reasons that will soon be apparent, these cases are also classified as type I inscriptions.

There are 12 inscriptions that do imply that the honorands were assigned by the rulers to certain tasks.¹¹ But the honorands' spheres of activity are not designated by the technical names that will be encountered in type II formulae.

To conclude, the honorands' formal status at court cannot be inferred from any of the 44 inscriptions included in this category. On the contrary, the impression conveyed is that the ties between the honorands and the rulers were informal, casual, and uninstitutionalized.

E4 can be taken as the best representative of type II formulae. Hippostratos of Miletus was honoured by the *koinon* of the Ionian cities for having treated them in a friendly and benevolent way. Hippostratos is designated as *philos* of King Lysimachus and *strategos* of the Ionian cities. Hippostratos' status is thus clearly defined with respect to the king, the other members of the king's entourage, and his own administrative function. Type II formulae exemplified by E4 make an honorand's status at court explicit by naming his technical titles and offices.

Let us now consider the chronological distribution of the two types of inscription (see Table 2). Two crucial points stand out. Firstly, type I formulae precede those of type II. However, the transition from type I to type II takes place in different periods of time in each city. In Samos and Athens the first type II formulae appear as late as 270-260 and 260-250 B.C., respectively. However, in Termessos there is one type II formula recorded in the year 281 B.C. (E6), in Limyra there is one in the year 288 B.C. (E5), in Miletus one in 289 B.C. (E4), and in Ephesus one can be seen as early as 302 B.C. (D7). In contrast, in Athens and Samos there are no formulae of the second type between the years 330-280 B.C., although throughout this period the documentation in the two cities is relatively good and evenly distributed.

Secondly, after the first appearance of a type II formula in a city, a type I formula does not usually recur,¹² and roughly from 280 B.C. onwards type II formulae are predominant.¹³

10. A3, A17, C2, D1, D6.

11. A6, A14, A19, A21, A22, A26, B8, B11, B12, C3, D4, D9.

12. See nn. 13 and 22 below for exceptions, and n. 65 for the presentation of royal officials in second century inscriptions.

13. Decrees from cities not included in the Tables conform generally to this

How should this phenomenon be interpreted? What can account for the relative absence of court titles in the first five decades of the Hellenistic Age, and what for their abundance in the subsequent period?

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We shall argue that the only possible explanation lies in the pejorative connotations associated with court titles in the Greek cities. The explanation is psychological. However, to validate this claim, we have to rule out three alternative interpretations. It might be argued that court titles do not appear in the period 330-280 B.C., because:

- (1) the honorands designated by type I formulae did not hold court titles,
- (2) there were no court titles available during the late fourth and early third centuries,
- (3) the cities were not informed of the honorands' court titles.

Let us consider these possibilities one by one.

(1) One explanation could be that the individuals described by type I formulae did not in fact possess any court titles: they were merely guest-friends of the rulers. There are, however, two considerations that make this suggestion extremely unlikely.

Firstly, there is a disparity between their characterization by type I formulae and the activities attributed to them in the description of their benefactions (*see Table 1, columns V and VII relative to type I inscriptions*). If they were merely ephemeral guests, how could they act as hosts of citizens arriving at court? How could the rulers send them on military and diplomatic missions? If, on the other hand, they could have been activated so as to perform such services, why were they described as guests?¹⁴

It has to be admitted that the performance of such services is not totally inconsistent with the ethos of mutual aid that prevailed among the Greek upper classes. But the honorands are clearly presented as acting under the orders of the rulers. This presupposes bonds of subordination reinforcing by rewards and sanctions, and pattern: type I inscriptions are most prolific in the late fourth and early third centuries, type II inscriptions in the late third. For example, IG VII.5 and 6 (307/6 B.C.), Syll.³ 348 (302 B.C.), OGIS 773 (293-282 B.C.), SEG 26.1027 (288-223 B.C.), are type I; OGIS 45 (c. 265 B.C.), SEG 18.325 (246-180 B.C.), OGIS 81 (221-205 B.C.), are type II. Type I inscriptions in the late third century are extremely rare: OGIS 55 (247-221 B.C.), G. Petzl - H.W. Pleket, *Chiron* 9 (1979), pp. 73-81; for the explanation of their occurrence in this period, see n. 38 below.

14. Table 1, column VIIIa indicates the cases in which this disparity is most evident.

not the mere return of favours, as the chief motivation for their actions. Should we, for these reasons, think of them more in terms of subordinates than as guests?

Secondly, if individuals described by type I formulae appear also in sources other than honorary decrees, they are very frequently referred to by court titles such as can be found in type II inscriptions. It also appears that the more hostile such a source is towards the individual described, the more likely it is to contain his court titles. The following examples illustrate this point.

The honours voted to Gorgos and Minnion of Iasos in return for the benefactions effected for their own city and the city of Samos are recorded in two inscriptions. Regarding Iasos, they managed to restore a valuable fishing ground that had been confiscated by Alexander; regarding Samos, they successfully interceded with the king for the Samian exiles, who were seeking repatriation. Gorgos' relationship with the king is described as "having talked with King Alexander" (E1), and "Gorgos, spending his time with Alexander" (B1). However, the contemporary historian Ephippus relates a malicious anecdote according to which Gorgos, a *hoplophylax* and a great flatterer of Alexander, had tried to induce the king to make war on Athens.¹⁵

Medeios of Larissa appears in several literary sources as a powerful political personality. Plutarch calls him *philos* of Antigonos. Diodorus repeatedly refers to him as *nauarchos* and *philos* of Antigonos.¹⁶ Yet in A12 Medeios is styled merely as "spending his time with King Antigonos", and as "being sent together with Demetrius ... to liberate the city (i.e., Athens) and the other Greeks". Are we to assume that on these occasions Medeios ceased being *nauarchos* and acted merely as an informal friend?

A third example emerges from the comparison of an Athenian decree (A3) with two inscriptions from Caria.¹⁷ In the former, Asandros, son of Agathon, a Macedonian, was honoured among others, for "being a good man with regard to the Athenians coming in his territory in private". Although this makes it obvious that Asandros

15. Athen. 12.538B, cf. Tod, GHI vol. II, p. 253. In the anecdote cited at p. 120 (with n. 53) court titles are also used contemptuously.

16. Plut. *Demetr.* 19.1; Diod. 19.69.3; 19.75.3-4; 19.77.2; 20.50.3. In Plut. *Mor.* 65.C-D, Medeios is branded as flatterer. For further prosopographical data about Medeios and generally about individuals included in Table 1, see the works listed in column IX.

17. Syll.³ 311 and SEG 26.1228.

held some sort of territorial authority, the decree does not credit him with any titles or offices. The Carian inscriptions, in contrast, referring unmistakably to the same man, are dated by the years in which Asandros served as satrap. It should be further noted that A3 was set up in Asandros' honour; in the Carian inscriptions Asandros is not the honorand.

It is therefore evident that at least some of the honorands designated by type I formulae did in fact hold court titles.¹⁸

(2) The second explanation for the differences between the two types of formula could be the one prevalent in modern research. It is assumed that there is a correspondence between the appearance or non-appearance of court titles in honorary decrees and their being or not being used in the rulers' courts. At first, there was no technical terminology applied to the rulers' followers since there were no administrative functions or honorary statuses. The process of organization and differentiation that took place is thought to be reflected by the adoption and gradual evolution of a technical court terminology: "The *οἱ παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος*, 'so and so's men', of the early third century were replaced by the clearly defined officials with whom the papyri have made us familiar ..."¹⁹

Although it is evident that both court functions and statuses and court titulature did undergo a process of differentiation,²⁰ no modern writer doubts that at least the titles *strategos*, *nauarchos*, *somatophylax*, *phourarchos* and *satrapes* were in use already in the court of Alexander. They are amply attested in both primary sources stemming from the four decades following his death and in secondary sources pertinent to this period.²¹ Yet, of about 50 benefactors appearing in the decrees from the period 330-280 B.C., only 5 are

18. See Table 1, column VIIIb, for further references where individuals characterized by type I formulae are designated by court titles in sources other than honorary decrees.

19. C.B. Welles, *Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period* (New Haven 1934), p. XXXVII.

20. By the beginning of the second century B.C. court titles in Egypt, for example, had become formalized and rigidly stratified; see the literature cited in n. 42 below.

21. All the modern literature on the subject (see esp the works listed at p. 129) rests on the assumption that such titles were indeed current in the court of Alexander and the Diadochs and that the derivative authors (Arrian, Curtius, Diodorus and Plutarch) were not anachronistic but represented faithfully the court terminology of the early Hellenistic Age. Nevertheless, I indicate some of the primary sources where this terminology appears. In the inscription on the

designated by court titles (*strategos* in D7 and E4, *Pamphyli[arches]* in E6, and *oikonomoi tes choras* in E5; see Table 2). All the rest are described by type I formulae.²² In contrast, as many as 45 royal *strategoi* have been identified by H. Bengtson in the literary sources pertinent to the years 330-280 B.C.²³

Regarding the relational title *philos*, no such certainty is possible, mainly due to the ambiguity of the term: *philos* as "friend" implies informality, symmetry and equality between the partners involved in the relationship — even if that is not the case in actuality; *philos* as a rank or title implies formal, institutionalized, asymmetrical (i.e., not friend $\rightleftharpoons$ friend but Friend $\rightleftharpoons$ King), and therefore a hierarchical relationship between the parties. The problem is that whenever the term appears without any further qualification — as it usually does — it is impossible to tell which sense is meant.²⁴ But it seems to me

reorganization of the Corinthian League in 302 B.C. (SEG 1.75), *strategoi* appointed by the kings and possessing de-facto vice-regal powers are mentioned; in E2 (dated to c. 318 B.C.), the honorand is described as the friend of the kings, the *strategoi*, and the other Macedonians; in Welles, *Royal Correspondence*, no. 6 (285 B.C.), King Lysimachus orders Priene to obey his *strategos*; the honorand in A1 (c. 320 B.C.) is described as "being with the *satrapes* nominated by the kings", and the honorand in E2 as having interceded with the *satrapes* for the importation of grain; the Greek marriage contract from Egypt (*P. Eleph.* I) is dated by the expression $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\iota\ \epsilon\beta\delta\omicron\mu\omega\iota\ \Pi\tau\omicron\lambda\epsilon\mu\alpha\iota\omicron\upsilon\ \sigma\alpha\tau\rho\alpha\pi\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$ (= 311 B.C.), and in an inscription from Labraunda, dated to the early third century, we can read $\Pi\epsilon\omega\delta\alpha\rho\omicron[\upsilon]\ \xi\alpha\tau\rho\alpha\pi\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$ (J. Crampa, Labraunda III:2. *The Greek Inscriptions*, Stockholm 1972, Part II, no. 42); cf also *Syll.*³ 302.

22. Provided the restoration is correct, the extremely fragmentary A5, describing the honorands as $[\gamma\epsilon\nu\omicron\mu\epsilon\iota\nu\omicron\iota]\ \sigma\omega\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\phi\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\alpha\kappa\epsilon\varsigma\ \text{'}\text{Α}\lambda\epsilon\chi\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\omicron\upsilon\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\acute{\epsilon}[\omega\varsigma]$, might be the exception that proves the rule; see *Bull. Epigr.* 1978, 145 and SEG 26.86 for the literature on this inscription.

23. H. Bengtson, *Die Strategie in der hellenistischen Zeit*, vol. III (Münchener Beiträge 36, 1967²), the tables on pp. 403-421 relative to the years 330-280 B.C.

24. With regard to *philos*, the prevailing modern view is that it had also existed as a title under Alexander and the Diadochs, exactly as it appears in Arrian, Diodorus and Plutarch. L. Robert, for example, dates a royal letter containing the *philos* title to the end of the fourth century, in spite of the fact that it is written in second century characters (*Hellenica* II, 1946, pp. 15-33, but see the objections of G. Daux in *Eph. Arch.* 1953-54, pp. 245-54). However, there are some scholars holding that *philos* in the technical sense was introduced into the courts only as late as the date of their appearance in the honorary decrees — i.e., the eighties of the third century — and that consequently the derivative authors, when writing about the fourth century, were retrojecting a later terminology: H. Kortenbeutel, *RE* XX 96, s.v. *Philos*, and more hesitatingly G. Corradi, *Studi ellenistici* (Torino 1929), pp. 322-4. But even if we accept

that some primary sources presuppose the existence of *philos* in the technical sense already in the courts of Alexander and the Diadochs. The honorand of E4 (dated to 289 B.C.) is first designated as *philos* in our inscriptions. It seems likely that the term is used here in the technical sense. In a contemporary inscription, King Lysimachus thanks Priene in a public letter for having congratulated him, his *philo*i and his army.²⁵ In the ithyphallic paean that was sung by the Athenians in honour of King Demetrius in the year 291 B.C., the king is compared to the sun, and the *philo*i around him, to the stars.²⁶ It seems that there was nothing novel about this at the beginning of the third century. Chares, one of Alexander's 'lost historians', describes the marriage celebration of the king and that of the *philo*i. Here, the *philo*i are distinguished from the personal and informal friends of the king, the *idioxenoi*, who did not marry on this occasion and who had to be invited by the king in order to attend the celebration.²⁷ It must be further noted that the technical usage of the term antedated Alexander. Xenophon, for example, called the high officials and advisers of Cyrus *philo*i, and Aristotle designated the active supporters of the Athenian tyrants by this name.²⁸ The private tie of friendship had in these cases acquired an institutional significance in the public realm.

In all these passages the *philo*i are viewed as a well-differentiated class of men holding high and privileged positions next to the kings. There could have been no doubt, either subjectively or objectively, as to who a *philos* was. The *hetairoi* of the Macedonian kings were distinguishable by their special attire. Although there is only vague evidence of this, it is permissible to conclude that the custom was

this explanation with regard to the *philos* title, it clearly does not hold true regarding the functional titles *strategos*, *satrapes* etc. (above, n. 21): is it possible that the secondary sources were anachronistic with regard to the former, but faithfully reflected actual conditions regarding the latter?

25. Welles, *Royal Correspondence*, no. 6.

26. Athen. 6.253 D-F.

27. Athen. 12.538 C-D. On the *idioxenoi*, cf. Welles, *Royal Correspondence*, p. 339: "... a personal friend of the king not in the royal service, a citizen of a Greek city, for example".

28. Xenoph. *Cyrop.* V.5.44; VII.3.1; VII.5.1; Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 22.4. For further examples of *philos* in this sense in pre-Hellenistic times, see Corradi, *Studi*, pp. 318-324.

not discontinued with regard to the Hellenistic *philoí*.²⁹ Moreover, there must be a kernel of truth in the apophthegm ascribed to Alexander, according to which "he could not regard those who wanted nothing of him as his *philoí*".³⁰ In a public letter sent by King Antiochus I to his governor, Meleager, the king explains to the latter why he is presenting one Aristodicides with a huge amount of land, thus: "because he (i.e., Aristodicides) as our *philos* has furnished us his services with all good will and enthusiasm".³¹ Receiving gifts from a ruler was thus a further conspicuous mark of being a *philos*.

To conclude, the titles *strategos*, *satrapes*, *oikonomos* were certainly, and the titles *philos* and *somatophylax* presumably, in use in the courts of the rulers as early as the late fourth and early third centuries.

(3) The third and last possible explanation for the differences between the two types of formula could seem the most obvious: the city elites who formulated the decrees were during the first decades of the Hellenistic Age ignorant of, or uninterested in, the court titulature which had indeed existed. This seems to me to be inconceivable: court titles do appear during this period in civic inscriptions other than honorary decrees,³² and even in honorary decrees where the court titles mentioned do not belong to the honorands.³³ Are we to assume that the city elites were aware of such titles only in contexts other than of benefactors attached to the rulers? Furthermore, as pointed out by C. Habicht,³⁴ a very high percentage of the new 'ruling class' consisted of Greeks originating from the subject cities. These Greeks were able to keep a firm foot in both cities and courts and were located at the most crucial point of contact between city and monarchy. In their capacity as servants of rulers and benefactors of cities, they could dispense goods and services vital for the existence of the states: grain, money, diplomatic assistance, and generally, 'good terms' with the rulers. (See in Table 1, column VII, the short paraphrases of the benefactions carried out by benefactors

29. See Welles, *Royal Correspondence*, p. 375, s.v. *Χλαμύς*, and the joke about Gryllion quoted below, p. 120; for other status symbols, see J.-D. Gauger in *Bonner Festgabe Johannes Straub*, hg. v. A. Lippold u. N. Himmelmann (Beihfte d. Bonner Jahrbücher, 39) Bonn, 1977, pp. 137-58.

30. Plut. *Phoc.* 18.4.

31. Welles, *Royal Correspondence*, No. 11.

32. See n. 21 above.

33. That is the case in A1, E2, and Crampa, *Labraunda*, No. 42.

34. "Die herrschende Gesellschaft in den hellenistischen Monarchien", *Vierteljahrsschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 45 (1958), pp. 1-16.

described by type I formulae). However, unlike the 'traditional' city benefactors, they did not directly control the resources they dispensed: even the large landed domains given to them by the rulers were as a rule in their possession, but not ownership, and could be revoked at the rulers' pleasure.³⁵ As stated explicitly in the inscriptions, their *euergetiai* consisted precisely of interceding with the rulers – who did have the direct control over the resources – in order that the rulers provide the goods so much needed in the cities.³⁶

For these reasons it must have been both imperative and possible for the city elites formulating the decrees to have a clear idea of the position of a benefactor at the rulers' court. Indeed, some of the decrees betray an intimate acquaintance with the structure and power relations of the courts,³⁷ and the second-hand literary sources – especially Plutarch's *Phocion* and *Demetrius* – convey the same impression. Yet in the early decrees the benefactors' court titles are for some reason absent.

To sum up, we have examined three potential explanations for the distribution in space and time of the two types of formula. There has been no difficulty in showing how insufficiently these attempted explanations cover the details of our evidence. For it is evident that in the late fourth and early third centuries court titles were available, that most of the honorands held court titles, and that the city elites were aware of this. The absence of court titles in most of the decrees of this period cannot therefore be justified by these arguments. The real explanation for this phenomenon must be sought for elsewhere.

If court titles were available, and if some³⁸ of the honorands held court titles, and if the city elites were informed of this, it is an inescapable conclusion that type I inscriptions had systematically

35. Cf. M. Rostovtzeff, *A Large Estate in Egypt in the Third Century B.C.* (Madison 1922), p. 48 ff.; H. Kreissig in *Eirene* XV (1977), pp. 5-26, and *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft im Seleukidenreich* (Berlin 1978).

36. For the analytical distinction between patrons and brokers and first and second order resources, respectively, see J. Boissevain, *Friends of Friends* (Oxford 1974), ch. 6.

37. E2 is the clearest instance, but see also the inscriptions mentioned in n. 21 above.

38. My guess is that most of them did in fact hold court titles, and that only a small minority of the persons designated by type I formulae were informal friends, guests, *idioxenoi* – as the inscriptions would have it. See Table 1, column VIII a-b.

understated the honoured persons' position in the courts.³⁹ It seems to me that this can only be explained by the difference in the standards of moral evaluation to which these people were subjected in two different settings – the Greek cities and the societies centred around the rulers. Therefore, I will outline briefly their position with respect to these settings.

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The new ruling class differed in one important respect both from its predecessors in the Macedonian and Persian empires and from the governing elites of the Greek cities. In the latter political systems the elites were mainly recruited from ascriptive groups – the hereditary nobility in Macedonia and Persia and the citizens defined by birth in the city states. The *philoi* of the early monarchies were, on the contrary, coopted by the rulers on criteria of achievement, skill and loyalty. Ascriptive attributes do not seem to have played any role in their selection. We thus encounter a strange mixture of people with various social, economic and ethnic backgrounds: Macedonians and Greeks along with Persians and people from the fringes of the Greek World; Greek citizens and Macedonian noblemen along with political exiles and other *déracinés*; landowners, traders, *condottieri* and men of letters along with propertyless nonentities. Quantitatively, however, the majority of the *philoi* were Greeks.⁴⁰

What held these heterogeneous coalitions together was not some explicit contract or institutional framework, but the sharing of the benefits of conquest. This accounts for the precarious status of the *philoi* with regard to the rulers. The Macedonian and Persian nobility could employ their hereditary possessions, inborn rights, family ties and clientelae to counterbalance their dependence on the rulers. Greek city magistrates had their rights and duties defined by law and their civic status protected by the constitution. The *philoi*, on the other hand, held their wealth and status almost entirely at the rulers' discretion; for the Greek *déracinés* in particular, it was a matter of life and death to maintain a ruler's favour.

39. This has sometimes been observed with regard to individual inscriptions. T.L. Shear, for example, remarks with regard to Kallias (A22): "But there is no way of determining at what time and for what reason he rejoined Ptolemy's mercenary forces. On these points our text is silent" (*Kallias of Sphettos and the Revolt of Athens in 286 B.C.*, Hesperia: Supplement XVII, 1978, p. 44).

40. See C. Habicht, "Herrschende Gesellschaft", a work to which I am much indebted for this and for what follows immediately.

The rulers could provide the *philoï* with wealth, power and enhanced status. In return, the *philoï* were expected to help the rulers implement their goals: to subdue their rivals and to exploit and extend the territories they conquered. The more important benefits — landed estates and assignments — were considered as gifts or prizes given not as a *quid pro quo* for specific services, but in a generalized fashion, in return for long-term performance and loyalty. The beneficiaries were to finance their public activities from the incomes derived therefrom. However, these benefits could have been equally withdrawn at the rulers' pleasure.⁴¹

In these circumstances we should not expect to find — at least in the early empires — any degree of administrative differentiation or specialization: in our sources the same individual can appear on different occasions as an army leader, a foreign ambassador, or a court adviser. The assignments were dependent not so much on fitness to a specific task as on the general, long-term utility of a man for the ruler's purposes. That is not to say, however, that no gradations existed: the Hellenistic ruler was not *primus inter pares*. The main hierarchic criterion was the intimacy that each person was able to maintain with a ruler. In the Macedonian and Persian empires (and later, under the Roman emperors as well) a similar criterion had also existed. But it was undermined by the ability of followers to draw upon power derived from their social equals and inferiors. The Hellenistic ruler, in particular with regard to the Greek *philoï*, was not inhibited by these restrictions.

Thus, a man's standing and honour at court was determined mainly by the ruler's will. The ruler's favour could manifest itself by bestowing titles. As often happens in emerging empires, the titles were borrowed from pre-existing political systems.⁴² The generic verb for their bestowal was "to honour" (*timein*), and the noun "honour" (*time*) designated posts in the rulers' service — just as it designated public office in the Greek cities. Administrative titles have always a dual aspect, at once describing the function that their holders are expected to carry out and expressing the importance generally attributed to the function. The second aspect also evaluates the incumbent's place in society with respect to honour. In our case,

41. See above, n. 35.

42. Cf. S.N. Eisenstadt, *The Political Systems of Empires* (N.Y. 1963), esp. p. 15. For later developments of the court titulature, see L. Mooren, *The Aulic Titulature in Ptolemaic Egypt* (Brussels 1975), p. 20 ff., and *La hiérarchie de cour ptolémaïque* (Louvain 1977).

as we have seen, the titles could not have been adopted to circumscribe functions: there was no institutional framework available for this. Nor were they intended to signify institutional subordination: in the correspondence between officials and rulers, the former are addressed not by their administrative titles, but in terms of intimacy derived from the domain of kinship. The sole function of the early titulature was to associate a person's honour in society at large with the degree of his attachment to a ruler. To be a *strategos*, for example, meant nothing more than being marked off from the *philoi* on the criterion of proximity to the king.

We can now see that court titles in general and titles borrowed from the official terminology of the Greek city state (*strategos* and all those ending in *-archos*, *-arches*, and *-nomos*) in particular, carried a totally different range of connotations in the two contexts. Magistrates of Greek cities were elected by their equals and not selected by their superiors; their property rights did not depend on anybody's goodwill but were guaranteed by the constitution; their official duties were, in principle at least, clearly defined, and their honour was tested in performance and evaluated not by a social superior but by the whole of his fellow citizens.

We have now to see how the Greeks perceived these differences subjectively. From the point of view of the Greek cities, the friends were the most visible evidence of monarchical rule. While the rulers were waging war in the remote corners of their empires, their friends were ever present in the cities or in nearby areas, commanding garrisons, supervising civic activities and informing their overlords of every move that might threaten their interests. However, they could equally make representations to the rulers on the cities' behalf: their epigraphically documented benefactions consist of availing themselves of their intimacy with a ruler to solve the grievances of cities or to obtain benefits for them.

Greek attitudes towards these individuals are revealed in a miscellaneous collection of contemporary fragments of various literary genres — comedy, history, philosophy, etc. — most of which are quoted or paraphrased by two Greek writers of the Roman period, Athenaeus and Plutarch. Through the analysis of these fragments we can gain insight into the Greek perception of this social type: how they categorized it, and by what moral standards they judged it.

Most of these fragments reveal a hostile attitude towards the friends and present them in an unpleasant light. At first sight, there is nothing strange about this: powerful people are bound to attract

hostility and jealousy, and some of their oppressive activities – such as collecting taxes or commanding garrisons – evidently were not conducive to increasing their popularity. What seems significant, however, is the uniformity: whenever an attempt was made at denigrating the *philoï*, they were consistently referred to as “flatterers”, “parasites”, and occasionally as slaves.

It may be appropriate to ask what exactly was understood by these derogatory designations and to what kind of people they were normally applied. We may conveniently start with a definition by Theophrastus: “Flattery might be understood to be a sort of converse that is dishonorable (*αἰσχρόν*), but at the same time profitable (*συμπερὸν*) to him that flatters”.⁴³ That is, one who makes himself agreeable or useful to another man not out of goodwill but to serve his own interest, brings upon himself disgrace, owing to which he comes to be called “flatterer” (*kolax*). A *parasitos* was a sub-species of the *kolax*, i.e., a *kolax* whose reward was to be fed at his patron’s table. The term originally denoted a temple acolyte who received free food and meals in return for services. It was probably first used in this new sense by the comic poet Alexis.⁴⁴ As stock characters of fourth-century comedy, parasites and flatterers “are found undertaking actions that would be beneath their patron’s dignity, or that involve deceit”.⁴⁵ The following anecdote, preserved in a fragment by Theophrastus, may complete the picture:

Myrtis of Argos, when Cleonymus the dancer and also parasite persisted often in seating himself beside Myrtis and his fellow judges, being desirous of being seen in company with the distinguished men of the city, caught him by the ear, and as he dragged him out of the judgement-hall in full sight of the crowd, said: “You shall not dance here, and you shall not hear our deliberations either”.⁴⁶

According to Aristotle, flattery is incompatible with the virtues of the *megalopsychos*; it is a faculty reserved exclusively for the *thetikoi* and the *tapeinoi*, the meanest of all free men who are obliged to perform work appropriate only to slaves.⁴⁷ High social standing and

43. Thphr. *Char.* 2.1., cf. Arist. *E.N.* 1108a25 and 1127a9.

44. See W.G. Arnott in *GRBS* 9 (1968), pp. 161-168.

45. A.W. Gomme and F.H. Sandbach, *Menander, A Commentary* (Oxford 1973), p. 422.

46. Thphr., ed. Wimmer (Leipzig 1854-62), Frag. 83 = Athen. 6254 D-E, trans. C.B. Gulick.

47. *E.N.* 1125a1.

flattery were mutually exclusive. That was implied by Apollodorus when he called Stephanus "a flatterer of those in prosperity, and who betrays the same men when they fall in adversity".⁴⁸

We can now identify the distinctive traits that made up the 'flatterer' image: poverty, low social standing, lack of self-respect, and a conspicuously self-interested alliance with a social superior.

Without this background it is virtually impossible to comprehend the significance that the Greeks attached to these designations, when applied to the friends. The point is that in striking contrast to the common flatterers, the friends were among the richest and most powerful men of the Hellenistic World. The comic effect is achieved by the unexpected and surprising realization that these distinct social types, perceived normally to belong to remote and incompatible worlds or departments, have nevertheless something in common. A fragment from the *Kybernetes* of the comic poet Alexis may allow insight into the chain of thought leading to the discovery of this common pattern. A parasite, conversing with his master, distinguishes between two species of parasites: the common one, like himself, who is ridiculed on the stage, and the class of august parasites, i.e., parasite satraps and generals (*strategoî*) of renown, worth thousands of talents and squandering estates (*ousiai*) right and left. Qualitatively, he goes on to say, there is no difference whatsoever between the two: the mode of operation of both consists of a contest of flattery. The only difference is quantitative: some are assigned by fate (*tyche*) to bigger patrons, others to smaller patrons. Upon asking his master whether he agrees with him, the latter replies:

"You hit the nail on the head. However, if I give you any more praise, you'll be asking me for something (*aiteseis me ti*)."⁴⁹

The fragment cannot be dated with certainty — the time limits of Alexis are 360-275 B.C. — but several motifs appearing in it together — rich satraps, *strategoî* squandering *ousiai*, *tyche*, *aiteisis* — strongly suggest a Hellenistic context.⁵⁰ The friends of kings seem to have been the real-life counterparts of the comical "august parasites".

48. Dem. 45.65.

49. Athen. 6.237 B-D = CAF II.338, trans. C.B. Gulick.

50. Traditionally, the fragment has been assigned to the Middle Comedy (e.g., L. Ziehen in RE XVIII⁴ s.v. Παράσιτοι, col. 1389, and T.B.L. Webster in C.Q. n.s. 2, 1952, p. 18). However, even an earlier dating would not invalidate my argument about the perceptual identification. For the flatterer type in pre-Hellenistic times, see Ziehen, *ibid.*, cols. 1377-91.

The common feature of almost all the jokes is that the friends are first called by these derogatory designations and then an incident is related showing that they indeed deserve the designations. The incidents tend to bring out two motifs: their excessive submission to their master's whims and the material compensation that they might receive for this, and their arrogant display of wealth and power before other people. Thus, the following anecdote is related about Bithys, the 'parasite' of King Lysimachus:

When Lysimachus thrust a wooden scorpion into his cloak, (Bithys) jumped up in utter fright, and then, realizing what the thing was, he said: "I will now give you a shock, your majesty. Give me a talent!"⁵¹

Another anecdote is recorded by Lyncaeus of Samos:

Gryllion, the parasite of Menander the Satrap, used to go about in a coat with purple border and attended by a large retinue; and the Athenian Silanus, when asked who that was, replied: "The Honourable Jaw of Menander".⁵²

Court titles were one of the distinctive marks of this manner of subordination. This is clearly shown by the abusive manner in which they could be employed. After Antigonos and his son, Demetrius, had assumed the royal title and the other Diadochs followed their example, Demetrius, enraged at this,

used to allow his flatterers at drinking-bouts even to drink to him as sole king, whereas to Ptolemy they drank as *nauarchos*, to Lysimachus as *gazophylax*, and to Seleucus as *elephantarchos*.⁵³

51. Athen. 6.246E (Aristodemus) = FHG III.310, trans. C.B. Gulick. See n. 53 for the use of an (apparently) late Hellenistic writer as evidence for the period of the Diadochs and compare this joke with FGrH 81 (Phylarchus) F12, which plays also on the slavishness of these powerful men.

52. Athen. 6.245A, trans. C.B. Gulick.

53. Athen. 6.261B = FGrH 81 (Phylarchus) F31, trans. C.B. Gulick. The comparison of the Phylarchus fragment with two later versions of the same jest (Plut. *Demetr.* 25.3-5 and *Moralia* 823 C-D) should inspire some confidence that the further bulk of anecdotes preserved in later writings (esp. Plut. *Moralia* 172A ff.), did not undergo substantial transformation through the process of transmission. Although the sources are here usually unnamed, the central characters and the pointed conclusion of the jokes are essentially the same as of those traceable back to early Hellenistic writers (cf. n. 55 below). In a recent study of the generation and transmission of anecdotes from the Principate, R. Saller concluded that the pointed conclusion or apophthegm was the most stable element in

In an anecdote cited previously, an influential friend of Alexander was called "flatterer and *hoplophylax*":⁵⁴ the idea of social inferiority and dependence was contemptuously expressed by court titles.

The relative frequency of this associative pattern in some 17 anecdotes⁵⁵ of the early Hellenistic Age, suggests that this image of royal functionaries was stereotypical: a person performing services for a ruler and receiving benefits in return was *ipso facto* thought to demean himself and was at once branded "flatterer". An anecdote recorded both by Theopompus and Duris equates serving a king with flattery and looks upon its avoidance as enhancing one's good reputation in the Greek world.⁵⁶ Several passages in Plutarch's *Phocion* give the same impression. For example, Alexander is said to have sent Phocion a gift of a hundred talents. Phocion asked the bearers why, when there were so many Athenians, Alexander offered such a sum to him alone. They replied: "because Alexander judges that you alone are a man of honour and worth". "In that case", said Phocion, "let him suffer me to be and be thought such always", and rejected the gift.⁵⁷ In the same vein, Theophrastus' boastful man pretended that he had rejected Antipater's offer of duty free

the anecdote. The main characters, as contrasted with minor details and characters, are also relatively stable, though not completely immune to alterations (*G & R*, 2nd Series, XXVII, 1, 1980, pp. 69-83). In the light of this I have to disagree with H. Hauben (in *Anc. Soc.* 5, 1974, pp. 105-117) over the possibility of dating an anecdote accurately and using it evidence for the "Antigonid concept of kingship".

54. Above, p. 109.

55. The following sample is restricted to anecdotes ascribed by Athenaeus to late fourth and early third century writers or that go back, according to Jacoby, to such writers: FGrH 75 (Demochares) FI=Athen. 6.252F-253B; FGrH 125 (Chares) FI=Athen. 4.171BC; FGrH 74 (Euphantus) FI=Athen. 6.251D; FGrH 126 (Ephippus) F5=Athen. 12.537E-538B; FGrH 115 (Theopompus) F18=Athen. 6.252F, F81=Athen. 6.259F-260A, F124=Athen. 6.252A-C, F143=Athen. 10.436BC, F185=Athen. 10.435F-436A, F209, 280=Athen. 6.249C, F224=Athen. 6.166F-167C; FGrH 76 (Duris) F3=Athen. 6.249CD; FGrH 81 (Phylarchus) F6=Athen. 10.438 CD, F11=Athen. 6.251C, F12=Athen. 14.614E-615A, F31=Athen. 6.261B; Athen. 6.245A (Lynceus of Samos); Athen. 6.244F, 246E (Aristodemus); Athen. 6.255C (Dionysios?). For the evidential value of anecdotes not ascribed explicitly to early Hellenistic writers but referring to personalities from this period, see n. 53.

56. Athen. 6.249C-D.

57. Plut. *Phoc.* 18 and *Moralia* 188C9; cf. also *Phoc.* 30 and *Moralia* 142B and 188F. It is interesting to note that the gifts were rejected since they were thought to humiliate the recipients and not for fear that they might be considered 'bribes'.

export of timber – so as not to lay himself open to calumny.⁵⁸

The whole range of royal servants was indiscriminately assigned to the flatterer type. No distinction was drawn between generals, diplomats, bodyguards, jesters, philosophers, Greeks or Macedonians. Scholars writing prosopographical studies on one friend or another have been surprised, time and again, to find out that many of the individuals presented in the anecdotes as mean and despised courtiers and jesters were in fact important generals and administrators. The usual solution has been to dismiss the anecdotes as biased falsehoods and to reassert the picture emerging from careful prosopographical research.⁵⁹ This apparent contradiction shows, however, that to have a high rank in a king's court meant to be rated low in Greek public opinion. The anecdotes are not falsehoods; they should be rather considered as value judgements evaluating the friends' place in society by the standards of Greek civic pride, according to which it was objectionable to be another man's servant, no matter how high the price. For it was the material aspect of the relationship that seemed to be most disgraceful. This aspect is most frequently played upon in the jokes, and in an isolated fragment of Epicurus it is represented as incompatible with individual freedom:

Free life does not tolerate the accumulation of wealth in large quantities, since this is difficult without servility (*aneu theteias*) to mobs and rulers.⁶⁰

Though hard to prove, it seems that this image was not confined to the leisure class who produced our evidence, but was shared by the lower levels of society. Plays such as Alexis' *Kybernetes* could strike a responsive chord since in spite of the objective differences between common flatterers and royal officials, the audience could see some truth in their comic identification.⁶¹ Two Athenian inscriptions also betray that there was some difficulty in applying the stock formulae

58. Thphr. *Char.* 23.4.

59. For example, L. Robert on Adeimantos (A14 and E3) in *Hellenica* II (1946), p. 29, and C. Habicht on three of Demetrius' associates, in *Gottmenschen und griechische Städte* (München 1956), p. 57. See also the proposal of L. Moretti to reconcile this disparity (*ISE* I, pp. 11-12).

60. *Epicurus*, ed. C. Bailey (1926), Frag. A.67.

61. Other plays on the subject were also produced: CAF II.547 (Diphilus), and CAF II.178 (=Athen. 10.421D) of Alexis, which also brings out the 'yes-man' quality of the parasite. According to Aeschines, Demosthenes was hissed at in the theatre for the excessively submissive attitude that he displayed towards the ambassadors (III.76 ff.).

used for honouring common benefactors to persons acting at once as city benefactors and servants to rulers. The inscriptions end up in the *caveat*: "Be allowed to him (i.e., the honorand) to have set up a bronze statue on horseback wherever he likes on the Agora, except beside (the statues of) Harmodius and Aristogeiton".⁶²

Once again, we should consider whether or not this attitude of the Greek public towards the friends was reflected in their epigraphic characterization. The difference between the average formula of the first type — "spending his time with King X" or "being assigned by King X to" — and the average formula of the second type — "being *philos/strategos* of King X" — might admittedly seem slight and insignificant. But — and this is the crux of the matter — if a royal official was not commemorated by his court titles in a document that was intended to honour him, then this implies that in the Greek cities court titles were deemed dishonourable. The societies centred around the kings and the Greek cities held different notions of honour and employed different criteria for evaluating the reputation of the friends; what seemed highly respectable in one setting, appeared disreputable and demeaning in another. Therefore, type I formulae respectfully suppress the court titles of the honorands. Instead of characterizing them as underlings performing services due to dependence and inferior status, they present the appearance of friendship ties, equality and services rendered voluntarily.⁶³ One cannot, while being honoured, be described by expressions carrying pejorative connotations; that would bring shame, and not honour.

Type I decrees reflect the ambivalent disposition of the Greek citizens toward people fulfilling this dual role of benefactor and royal official. Had they reflected the actual evolution of court titulature — as traditionally assumed in modern literature — they would not have been replaced by type II formulae at different times

62. A3 and A18; this restriction does not seem to appear in inscriptions honouring other sorts of benefactors (cf. H.A. Thompson and R.E. Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora*, vol. XIV: *The Agora of Athens*, New Jersey 1972, p. 159 and L. Robert, *Hellenica* III, p. 29, n. 1). The Demochares fragment in Athen. 6.253 A-B, in which the Athenian *demos* is mocked for its flattery of Demetrius' associates, also illustrates the ambivalent sentiments raised by the friends' contradictory role of omnipotent benefactors and lowly flatterers.

63. The fact that in some of the later decrees terms of egalitarian friendship occur along with court titles (e.g., D7 and some of those cited in n. 65 below) does not run contrary to this argument: in the early period court titles implied subjection, egalitarian friendship did not; later on neither of them implied subjection.

in each city (see Table 2). To explain this phenomenon we have to assume that the mentalities had changed at different rates in the cities.⁶⁴ For the appearance of court titles signifies a transformation in the mentalities that brought about their omission from the earlier inscriptions. The Greek subjects had in this respect gradually reconciled themselves to the value system of the courts; serving a king came to be considered as respectable employment rather than demeaning flattery, enhancing one's reputation rather than detracting from it, and the officials of rulers came to be regarded as legitimate state functionaries and patrons of cities, rather than 'yes-men' lacking in esteem. By consequence, court titles had gradually lost their pejorative connotations: court terminology is now faithfully reflected in epigraphic usage. In second century inscriptions, even such 'demeaning' titles as chamberlain, pedagogue, and court doctor, are frequently appended to the names of honorands.⁶⁵

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It is difficult to trace this perceptual shift in literary sources: evidence that could testify to a more favourable evaluation of the friends is ambiguous. It can be argued, for example, that Polybius' defence of the friends of Philip II against the invective of the latter's contemporary, Theopompus, is explained by Polybius' general

64. It might not be a matter of coincidence that in the decrees of two cities especially renowned for their staunch democratic traditions, Athens and Samos, type II formulae are the latest to appear.

65. In second century decrees, there is a further stylistic evolution (already discernible in some of the late third century inscriptions): instead of understating, these decrees can be said to 'overstate' the honorands' position at court. E.g., SEG 21.452: [τιμώμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀντιόχου, ἐν τε | ταῖς στρατείαις τὴν μεγίστην ἔχων τῶν | πίστεων, τεταγμένος ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ ἐν ταῖς, καὶ ἐν τῶν λοιπῶν χρόνῳ περὶ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ βασιλέως ἀναστρέφόμενος]; OGIS 323: [ὁ σύντροφος τοῦ βασιλέως — — — παρὰ δὲ τῶν βασιλέων προεδρίας καὶ τιμῆς τῆς πρώτης μετεῖχεν; OGIS 735: τῶν περὶ αὐτὴν διαδόχων, ὁ τεταγμένος ὑπὸ τῶν βασιλέων [ἐπὶ Θήρας]; IG II² 945: φ[ίλος] | ὑπάρχων τῶν βασιλέων Εὐμένει καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ [ἐν τοῖς] | μάλιστα τιμώμενος ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ προαγόμενος; IG II² 891: [τιμώμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου καὶ ὡν ἐν | [προαγωγῇ μεγάλῃ]; SEG 26.1238: [τὸν γενόμενον ἐπὶ τῆς | [σφραγίδος τοῦ βασιλέως Θεοῦ | [Εὐμένει] Σωτήρος καὶ στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ τε Ἐφέσου καὶ τῶν κατ' Ἐφέσῳ τόπων. For further examples, see L. Robert, *Hellenica* XI-XII (1960), pp. 92-115. In contrast with our type I formulae, the *timai* (trust, offices, intimacy) radiated by the kings upon their servants are described with great verbosity, even if this is irrelevant to the benefactions for which the honours were bestowed.

sympathy towards the pro-Peloponnesian monarch.⁶⁶ But it can also be argued that Polybius and Theopompus had judged the friends by different moral standards; Polybius could not understand why in Theopompus' eyes all people engaged in Philip's service *ipso facto* turned into bad, lowly and servile underlings. In favour of the latter view it can also be said that in the history of Polybius people of the sort of Molon and Hermeias are generally disliked, but not despised. They were disliked, I would suggest, since they did not cease performing their oppressive activities; they were not despised, as their status in Greek eyes had acquired a certain measure of legitimacy.⁶⁷

In some of the later anecdotes, obtaining material benefits from a king is regarded with admiration and envy. For example, the historian Demetrius of Scepsis relates that another historian, Hegesianax, had so delighted King Antiochus the Great by reciting from his own works, that he was given a pension and became one of his *philoi*.⁶⁸ It may be argued that the anecdote reflects court ideology and cannot therefore be adduced as evidence for civic mentalities. It should be noted, nevertheless, that its pointed conclusion – that a man's fate might be reversed through a lucky encounter with a ruler – presupposes a public that considered this practice to be at least acceptable.

We are perhaps on firmer ground with a passage from Teles. Writing in the end of the third century B.C., the popular Cynic philosopher could make the following argument in favour of going into exile:

Some people say they (i.e., exiles) do not rule (*oukarchousi*), are not entrusted with anything (*ou pisteuontai*), have no freedom of speech (*ou parrhesian echousi*). But in fact, some of them rule cities on behalf of kings, are entrusted with nations, and receive large gifts and contributions (*doreas megalas kai syntaxeis lambanousi*). Wasn't that Lycinus, an exile from Italy, garrison commander in our city, being entrusted (with the duty) by Antigonus, while we obeyed the orders of Lycinus, even while staying in our city? And are not Hippomedon the Spartan, appointed now by Ptolemy over Thrace, and Chremonides and Glaucon the Athenians, advisers and councillors – to talk not of old but of contemporary matters? And was not the latter appointed over a large army,

66. Polyb. 8.11.5-13 = FGrH 115 F225.

67. For Molon and Hermeias, see F.W. Walbank, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius*, vol. I (Oxford 1957), p. 571 ff.

68. Athen. 4.155B.

entrusted with much money, and didn't it lie in his power to do whatever he liked?⁶⁹

Teles had intended to validate his paradoxical claim that going into exile might prove to be as good as staying at home. He did not mean to persuade his public that serving a king was intrinsically 'good'; the panegyric of royal service fulfills only a subordinate role in his argument. Furthermore, we can identify Hippomedon who commanded the garrison in Teles' city: in a contemporary decree from Samothrace (E7), Hippomedon is described as "appointed *strategos* by King Ptolemy over the Hellespont and the Thracian territories".

More evidence to the same effect might be cited, but it would be bedevilled by the ambiguity pointed out above: the favourable attitudes towards royal service could be attributed both to new mentalities and to some distorting factors that we are unable to control. Therefore, we turn to the examination of the problem from a different point of view: how is the presentation of benefactors in honorary decrees generally related to the prestige of the group to which they belong? In this regard, the case of metic benefactors might furnish an instructive parallel. None of the thirteen Athenian decrees that honour metics designates the honorand as *metoikos*, in spite of the fact that their *ethnika* and the description of their benefactions clearly betray their legal status. D. Whitehead explains this as follows: "Since these are by definition honorific decrees it is an inescapable conclusion that for metic honorands it was an (incidental) honour not to be called *metoikos*...".⁷⁰ It was demeaning to be called *metoikos* in Athens, and a person who was to receive honours could not be characterized by demeaning appellations. Greek honorary decrees, like modern obituaries, tend to omit, suppress or gloss over unpleasant details about the honorands. Conversely, they assert and stress those data that according to the community's code of honour might enhance their good reputation. It needs no illustration, that decrees honouring citizen benefactors meticulously register the public offices they held, even if these bear

69. Teles, ed. O. Hense (Tübingen 1909²), p. 23, my translation.

70. D. Whitehead, *The Ideology of the Athenian Metic* (Cambridge 1977), p. 30. The tendency to gloss over the reality has sometimes been attacked by the Attic Orators. It is of particular interest to quote in this context Demosthenes, accusing the notables of other cities of *αἰθαίρετον αὐτοῖς ἐπάγονται δουλείαν, Φιλίππῳ ξενίαν καὶ ἑταιρίαν [καὶ φιλίαν] καὶ τοιαῦθ' ὑποκοριζόμενοι* (19.259); cf. also Dem. 8.25, where payments extracted from Greek cities by Athenian generals are said to be glossed over as *eunoiai*.

no strict relevance to the specific act of benefaction for which the honours were bestowed. The lesson to be drawn is, therefore, that it is very misleading to take honorary decrees at face value and utilize them as if they reflected an 'objective' reality.

To conclude, we have tried to trace how the new rulers of the Hellenistic Age were perceived by their Greek subjects. In the eyes of the Greeks the image of the lowly servant was gradually replaced by the image of the legitimate state official, and this perceptual shift is reflected in the honorary decrees. More research will be needed to explain the reasons for this change. But it seems to me that alternative interpretations of our data will have to account for the absence of court titles in the decrees of the early Hellenistic Age.

TABLE 1

Classification of the Data Included in the *Epeide* Clauses of the
Honorary Decrees from the Years 330-200 B.C.

ABBREVIATIONS

Bagnall	Roger S. Bagnall, <i>The Administration of the Ptolemaic Possessions outside Egypt</i> , Leiden, 1976.
Bengtson (1964a, 1964b, 1967)	H. Bengtson, <i>Die Strategie in der hellenistischen Zeit</i> , 3 vols. (Münchener Beiträge 26 ² , 32 ² , 36 ²).
Berve	H. Berve, <i>Das Alexanderreich auf prosopographischer Grundlage</i> , 2 vols., Munich, 1926.
Buschor	"Eine samische Ehrenurkunde", <i>Miscellanea Academica Berolinensia</i> II/2, Berlin, 1950, pp. 25-30.
Davies	J.K. Davies, <i>Athenian Propertied Families 600-300 B.C.</i> , Oxford, 1971.
Durrbach	F. Durrbach, <i>Choix d'inscriptions de Délos</i> , Paris, 1921-22.
Ephesos	<i>Die Inschriften von Ephesos</i> , hrsg. von H. Wankel, R. Merkelbach et al., vol. I-VII, Bonn 1979-1981.
Habicht (1957)	C. Habicht, "Samische Volksbeschlüsse der hellenistischen Zeit", <i>A.M.</i> 72, pp. 152-274.
Habicht (1972)	C. Habicht, "Beiträge zur Prosopographie der altgriechischen Welt", <i>Chiron</i> 2, pp. 107-109.
Habicht (1979)	C. Habicht, <i>Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte Athens im 3. Jahrhundert v.Chr.</i> , München, 1979.
Keil	J. Keil, "Ephesische Bürgerrechts- und Proxenieedikrete aus dem vierten und dritten Jahrhundert v.Chr.", <i>Jahresh.</i> 16, 1913, pp. 231-244.
Moretti	L. Moretti, <i>Iscrizioni storiche ellenistiche</i> , Firenze, vol. I (1967), vol. II (1975).
Olshausen	L. Olshausen, <i>Prosopographie der hellenistischen Königs-gesandten</i> , Louvain, 1974.
Pros. Ptol.	W. Peremans, E. Van't Dack et al., <i>Prosopographia Ptolemaica</i> , 6 vols., Louvain 1950-1968.
Robert (1946)	L. Robert, "Adeimantos et la ligue de Corinthe. Sur une inscription de Delphes", <i>Hellenica</i> II, pp. 15-33.
Robert (1966)	L. Robert, <i>Documents de l'Asie Mineure Méridionale</i> (Genève-Paris).
Robert (1967)	L. Robert, "Sur des inscriptions d'Ephèse", <i>Rev. Phil.</i> XLI, pp. 7-84.
Shear	T. Leslie Shear, Jr., <i>Kallias of Sphettos and the Revolt of Athens in 286 B.C.</i> , Suppl. XVII, Hesperia, 1978.

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I	II	III	IV	V	VI
Doc. No.	Publication	Date	Identification of Honorand	Relationship with the Ruler	Type
1	IG II ² 401	321-319	[. Μητ]ροδῶρου Κυ[ξικηνός?]]	[μ]ετ' ['Αρριδαί?]ου ὦν τοῦ καθ[εσ]τῶτο[ς] σατρά[ρ]ου ὑπὸ βασιλ[έω]ς καὶ ['Αντιπ]άτρου καὶ τῶ[ν] ἄλλων Μ[ακεδόν]ων	I
2	SEG 21. 310	319/8	Αἰνῆτος [Δαήμο]νος Ῥόδιος	[ἀ]ποδημήσας τε μετ' Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν διεπολέμῃσε τὸν πόλεμον καλῶς καὶ ἐνδό[ξως]	I
3	Syll. ³ 320	314/3	Ἀσανδρος Ἀγάθωνος Μακεδῶν	omitted	I
4	IG II ² 560	307-300	Διονύσι[ο]ς καὶ	διατρί[β]οντες παρὰ τοῖς βασιλεῦσι	I
5	IG II ² 561	307-300	Φίλιππος καὶ Ἰόλαος κ[αὶ]	[γενόμε]νοι σωματοφύλακες Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ βασιλέ[ως]; στρ[ατευόμενοι μετ'] Ἀν[τι]γόνου καὶ Δημητρίου?	II (?)
6	Syll. ³ 328	306/5	. . . ἴτμος	κατασταθεῖς ἐπὶ τὴν τ[ο]ῦ Εὐρίπου φυλακὴν ὑπὸ Πτολεμα[ίου]	I
7	SEG 16.60	306/5	Λ[υκ]ί[σ]κος	[διατρίβω]ν παρὰ τοῖς βασιλεῦσι	I
8	IG II ² 471	306/5	[ο]ἱ οἰκεῖοι οἱ Λυκίσκου	[διατρίβ]οντες παρὰ τοῖς βασιλεῦσι Ἀντιγόνω καὶ Δημητρίω	I
9	IG II ² 559	303/2	 Μακεδῶν ἐξ Ἀμφιπόλεως?	[συνστ]ρατευόμενος Ἀν[τι]γόνω καὶ Δημητρίω τοῖς βασιλεῦσι	I
10	IG II ² 492	303/2	Ἀπολλωνίδης Χάροπος Π[ε]ρί[ο]δος	παρὰ τοῖς βασιλεῦσι διατρίβω[ν]	I

VII	VIII		IX
Benefaction	Status at court according to		Remarks
	a. Decree	b. Other sources	
is useful with regard to the shipment of grain from Asia.	x		see n. 21.
lines missing		Polyaen. V. 19	Bengtson (1964), p. 194ff.; Moretti, no. 3; cf. also D8.
is a good man with regard to the Athenians arriving in his territory and with regard to the <i>demos</i> ; provides ships and soldiers for the use of Athens; lines missing.	x	see p. 109 with n. 17.	see p. 123 with n. 62; Berve, no. 164.
banal formula.			
banal formula; lines missing.			see n. 22.
restored the Euripus to the people of Chalcis; was instrumental in the liberation of their city in accordance with the policy of Kings Antigonos and Demetrius; provided military assistance (?) against Cassander who came to enslave the city.	x		for Polemaios, see Berve, no. 643.
banal formula; sent back to Athens at his own expense many of the captivated as a result of the sea fight; being with the kings, is useful with regard to the Athenians entreating him.			cf. A8.
lines missing.			cf. A7.
banal formula; being dispatched to Greece with Demetrius, participated in the struggle for freedom and democracy.	x		
banal formula; being dispatched by the kings to the cities of Greece, is active for the benefit of the kings, the Athenian <i>demos</i> and the other Greeks.	x		honoured also in D5; Olshausen, nos. 65 and 74.

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I	II	III	IV	V	VI
Doc. No.	Publication	Date	Identification of Honorand	Relationship with the Ruler	Type
11	IG II ² 495	303/2	Ἀλκαῖος Ἡραΐ[ο]υ Αἰνῖος	διατρίβων παρὰ τῷ βασιλ[ε]ῖ Δημητρίῳ	I
12	IG II ² 498	303/2	Μήδεως	παρὰ τῷ βασιλ[ε]ῖ Ἀντιγόνῳ διατρίβων; συναποσταλεῖς ὅτε ὁ βασιλ[ε]ὺς Ἀντίγονος ἀπέστειλεν τὸν δὸν αὐτοῦ Δημήτριον	I
13	Syll. ³ 343	303/2	Ὁξύθεμις Ἰπ[πο]στράτου Λαρισαῖος	lines missing	?
14	SEG 14.58	303/2	Ἰ' Αδείμ[αντος] Ἀνδροσθέν[ους] Λαμψακηνός	[κατασταθεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως Δημητρίου πρόεδρος ἐν τῷ κοινῷ συνεδρίῳ]	I
15	Syll. ³ 347	303/2	Σόλων Στράτωνος Βαργυλιήτης	[δ[ιατρίβω]ν παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ Δημητρ[ί]ῳ]	I
16	IG II ² 562	301/0		[διατρίβων παρὰ τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν Ἀντιγόνῳ καὶ Δημητρ[ί]ῳ]	I
17	IG II ² 641	299/8	Ποσειδίππος Βακχίου Κοθωκίδης	omitted	I
18	IG II ² 646	295/4	Ἡρόδωρος Φ κηνός	διατρίβων παρ' Ἀντιγόνῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ; ἐμπίστε(ι) ὦν τῷ βασιλεῖ Δημητρ[ί]ῳ	I
19	Syll. ³ 367	290/89	Ζήνων	[καθεστῆκ] ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως Πτολ[ε]μαίου ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγοράκτων	I
20	Syll. ³ 374	287/6	Φιλιππίδης Φιλοκλέους Κεφαλ[ῆ]θεν	ἀποδημήσας πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Λυσίμαχον πρότερόν τε διαλεχθεὶς τῷ βασιλεῖ	I

VII	VIII		IX
Benefaction	Status at court according to		Remarks
	a. Decree	b. Other sources	
is useful with regard to the Athenians who come before the king individually and with regard to the Athenian <i>demos</i> collectively.	x		Moretti, no. 6.
is active for the benefit of the kings and Athens; being sent with Demetrius to liberate Athens and the Greeks, he proved useful for the deliverance of the <i>demos</i> ; banal formula; lines missing.	x	see p. 109 with n. 16.	Berve, no. 521.
lines missing, but it can be inferred from ll. 11-14 that he was credited with participation in the struggle for freedom, in accordance with the kings' policy.	x	Diod. 21.15.	subject to malicious jokes in Athen. 6. 252F-253B and 14. 614E-615A; cf. Robert (1964) and Olshausen, no. 77.
is active for the benefit of the kings, the Athenian <i>demos</i> , and the allies; in the meeting of the council on the Isthmus he made proposals that were accepted by the allies.		SEG I.75.	honoured also in E3; see n. 59; Moretti, no. 9.
is active for the benefit of the individual Athenians coming before the king and of the Athenian <i>demos</i> collectively.	x		cf. <i>Hesperia</i> 49 (1980), p. 256.
banal formula; lines missing.			
banal formula.			
banal formula; was instrumental in bringing about the alliance with King Demetrius so that the <i>demos</i> be relieved of the war and have the town restored and continue to live under democracy.	x	cf. Habicht (1979), p. 5, n. 22.	see p. 123 with n. 62.
banal formula; takes care of the import of grain for the benefit of the <i>demos</i> and participates in the struggle for deliverance.	x		honoured also in OGIS 773.
obtained, through his intervention with King Lysimachus, a gift of wheat amounting to 10.000 attic <i>medimnoi</i> ; secured the recovery of religious objects needed for the Panathenaia; benefitted in various ways with	x	Plut. <i>Demetr.</i> 12.4-5.	Davies, p. 541.

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I	II	III	IV	V	VI
Doc. No.	Publication	Date	Identification of Honorand	Relationship with the Ruler	Type
21	<i>IG II²</i> 662, <i>SEG</i> 16.62, Habicht (1972)	286/5		[ἐμ πίστ]ει καὶ φιλαίαι ὦν τ[οῦ βασιλέως Λυσυμάχου καὶ ἀποστελλόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ β[ασιλέως]	I
22	Shear	270/69	Καλλίας Θυμοχάρου Σφήττιος	ἐν Ἀλικαρνασσῶι καθηστηκώς ὑ[πὸ] τ[οῦ] βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου (lines 71-2)	I
23*	<i>SEG</i> 3.122	262- 255	Ἀπολλόδωρος Ἀπολλοδώρου Ὀτρυνεύς	[κ]ατασταθεὶς στρατηγὸς ὑπὸ τε τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀντιγόνου	II
24	<i>IG II²</i> 1285, <i>SEG</i> 3.123	257/6	[Δη]μήτριος	[στρατηγὸς δὲ ἐπ'] Ἀντιμάχου ἀ[ρχοντος] κατασταθεὶς ὑπὸ Ἀντιγόνου]	II
25*	<i>Syll.</i> ³ 454	c. 252	Ἡράκλειτος Ἀσκληπιάδου Ἀθμονεύς	καθεστηκώς ὑπὸ τ[οῦ] βασιλέως στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τοῦ Πε(ι)ραϊέως	II
26*	<i>SEG</i> 25.155	236/5	Δικαίαρχος [Ἀπο]λλωνίου Θριάσιος	κατασταθεὶς μετὰ τοῦ πατρὸς Ἀπολλωνίου ὑπὸ τοῦ [Ἰ] [βασιλέ[ω]ς Ἀντιγόνου] ἐπὶ τὴν φυλακὴν τοῦ φρουρίου; τεταγμένος ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως Δημητρίου ἐν τεῖ ἄκραι τεῖ Ἐρετριέων	I

VII	VIII		IX
Benefaction	Status at court according to		Remarks
	a. Decree	b. Other sources	
the citizens who fought in the battle of Ipsus (had buried the casualties at his own expense, had the prisoners released, etc.); entreated the king for the release of the Athenians detained in Asia by Demetrius and Antigonus; is useful with regard to the Athenians who happen to be about; after the <i>demos</i> had recovered its freedom, he entreats the king for provisions of money and corn in order that the <i>demos</i> continue to be free and retrieve the Piraeus and the fortresses; being elected <i>agonothetes</i> , contributed large sums of private money for various civic activities.			
provides assistance to the ambassadors dispatched to the king.	x	cf. Olshausen, no. 5.	cf. D10.
provides assistance to Athenian embassies and theories dispatched to King Ptolemy; privately he devotes attention to citizens who come to him; takes care of the soldiers stationed with him (lines 72-75).	x		Habicht (1979), p. 45ff.
			cf. Syll. ³ 401.

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I	II	III	IV	V	VI
Doc. No.	Publication	Date	Identification of Honorand	Relationship with the Ruler	Type
27	IG II ² 838	226/5	Κάστωρ	φίλος ὧν καὶ οἰκέως τοῦ βασιλέως] Πτολεμαίου	II

*A23 and A26 were voted by the *isoteleis* stationed in Rhamnous, A25 by the cleruchs in Salamis – and not by the whole citizen body.

VII	VIII		IX
Benefaction	Status at court according to		Remarks
	a. Decree	b. Other sources	
			<i>Pros. Ptol. 14608.</i>

I	II	III	IV	V	VI
Doc. No.	Publication	Date	Identification of Honorand	Relationship with the Ruler	Type
1	<i>Syll.</i> ³ 312	c. 321	Γόργος καὶ Μιωνέων Θεοδότου Ἰασεῖς	διατρίβων Γόργος παρὰ 'Αλεξάνδρῳ	I
2	Habicht (1957), no. 3	321- 306	Νικομήδης 'Αρισ[τάνδρου Κῶιος]	[διατρίβων παρ' 'Αντιγόνῳ]	I
3	<i>SEG</i> 1.351	322- 306	Θεοσμίδης Θεοφίλου Μακεδῶν	διατρίβων παρ' 'Αντιγόνῳ	I
4	Habicht (1957), no. 13	314- 306	lines missing	[διατρίβοντες παρὰ Δ[ημητρίῳ]	I
5	Buschor	310- 306	[... ...]ς Καρδιανός	[παρ 'Αντιγόνῳ καὶ Δημητρίῳ δι[ατρίβων]	I
6	<i>SEG</i> 1.357	306- 301	lines missing	[στ]ρατευνόμενος [μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως 'Αλε]ξάνδρου; [διατρίβων παρὰ] τοῖς βασιλεύσω 'Α[ντιγόνῳ καὶ Δημητρίῳ]	I
7	<i>SEG</i> 1.354	306- 301	[Δ]ράκων Στράτωνος Κῶιος	δ[ιατρίβων παρὰ τῷ β]ασιλεῖ 'Αντιγόνῳ]	I
8	Habicht (1957), no. 22	306- 301	Ἰππαρχος Ἡνιόχου [Κυ]ρηναῖος	διατρίβων παρὰ [τῷ] βασιλεῖ 'Αντιγόνῳ]; νῦν [τε τεταγμέν]ος ἐγ Καρίαί	I
9	<i>SEG</i> 1.360	321- 283	ος Καλλέου 'Αρκάς	[δια]τρίβων παρὰ — — —	I
10	<i>SEG</i> 1.356	306- 283	Ὀρισμός Δαμασιστράτου 'Ελαίτης	διατρίβων παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ Δημητρίῳ	I
11	<i>Syll.</i> ³ 333	306- 283	Δήμαρχος Τάρωνος Λύκιος	διατρίβων παρὰ τῇ βασιλίσ[σ]ῃ Φίλαι καὶ τεταγμένος ἐπὶ τῆς φυλακῆς	I
12	<i>OGIS</i> 41	280- 197	Στράτων Στράτωνος	ἀποστ[αλε]ῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου ἐπὶ (τὸ) τὰς παραβολὰς τῶν [δικ]ῶν λαμβάνειν	I
13	<i>SEG</i> 1.364	270- 260	Πέλοψ 'Αλεξάνδ[ρ]ου Μακεδῶν	φίλος ὢν τοῦ βασιλέως Πτολ[εμ]αίου τεταγμένος ἐπὶ δυνάμει[ς]	II

VII	VIII		IX
Benefaction	Status at court according to		Remarks
	a. Decree	b. Other sources	
were good to the exiled Samians; interceded with Alexander for their repatriation; ensured that the archons of Iasos render assistance to the Samian exiles seeking to return.	x	Athen. 12. 538B	see p. 109 with n. 15; the brothers are also honoured in E1; Berve, nos. 236 and 531.
is useful with regard to the embassies coming to Antigonos.	x		
made himself useful to the <i>demos</i> during the exile; now he is useful with regard to the citizens entreating him individually and the city collectively.			see p. 105 for translation.
lines missing.			
banal formula.			
exerted himself for the Samians both during and after the exile; lines missing.			
exerted himself for the Samians while in exile; after the repatriation he took care of the city embassies.	x		
banal formula; provides for the needs of the citizens fighting under him.	x		see the comment on line 5 in <i>SEG</i> 1, p. 90.
took care of the citizens both during (and after?) the exile; lines missing.			
was well-disposed and useful with regard to the citizens both in the exile and after the repatriation.	x		
during the exile was well-disposed towards the <i>demos</i> and the citizens entreating him; banal formula.	x		
accomplished his mission in a just manner.	x	P.Cairo Zen. 59036	Bagnall, p. 85 ff.
			<i>Pros. Ptol.</i> 14618; see Bagnall, p. 84 ff. for the date.

B. SAMOS

I	II	III	IV	V	VI
Doc. No.	Publication	Date	Identification of Honorand	Relationship with the Ruler	Type
14	SEG 1.365	270-260	Διονύσιος 'Απολλοδώρου καὶ 'Απολλόδωρος Διονυσίου Λαμψακηνοί	[φίλ οι] ὄντες τοῦ βασιλέως Πτολε[μαίου]	II
15	Habicht (1957), no. 57	270-259	'Αριστόλαος 'Αμενίου Μακεδών	[.] στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ Καρίας κατέστη	II

VII	VIII		IX
Benefaction	Status at court according to		Remarks
	a. Decree	b. Other sources	
			<i>Pros. Ptol.</i> 14585 and 14599; see Habicht (1957) p. 205, n. 53 for the names
			<i>Pros. Ptol.</i> 15036; Bagnall, p. 84.

I	II	III	IV	V	VI
Doc. No.	Publication	Date	Identification of Honorand	Relationship with the Ruler	Type
1	Durrbach no. 15	300-281	Δημόρατος Γοργίωνος Λακεδαιμόνιος	διατρίβων παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ Λυσιμάχῳ	I
2	Durrbach, no. 18	c. 280	Φιλοκλῆς, βασιλεὺς Σιδωνίων	omitted	I
3	Durrbach, no. 26	285-246	Θέων Φιλίσκου Αἰγαεὺς	τεταγμέ[[νο]ς ὑπὸ τὸν βασιλέα Πταλε[[μα]ζον ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ	I
4	Durrbach, no. 47	239-229	Αὐτοκλῆς Αἰνησιδήμου Χαλκιδεὺς	φίλος ὢν τοῦ βασιλέως Δημητρίου	II
5	Durrbach, no. 48	239-229	[Ἄρ]ιστόβουλος Ἀθηναίου Θεσσαλονικε[ύς]	ἀποστα[[λεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως Δημητρίου σιτῶ[[νης]	II

VII	VIII		IX
Benefaction	Status at court according to		Remarks
	a. Decree	b. Other sources	
renders services to the Delians entreating him; honours the temple as his father and ancestors did; proclaims the goodwill of the king towards the temple and publicly announces that he will reveal the goodwill of the <i>demos</i> towards the king and queen.	x		Olshausen, no. 6.
banal formula; exerted himself in order that the <i>Nesiotai</i> repay the loans to the Delians, as ordered by King Ptolemy.	x		<i>Pros. Ptol.</i> 15085; cf. J. Seibert, <i>Historia</i> 19, 1970, pp. 337-351.
banal formula	x		

I	II	III	IV	V	VI
Doc. No.	Publication	Date	Identification of Honorand	Relationship with the Ruler	Type
1	Keil, p. 233 (<i>Ephesos</i> IV,1422)	306-294	Καλλικράτης	omitted	I
2	Keil, p. 236 (<i>Ephesos</i> IV,1440)	306-287	[Σ]ώστρατος Στε[φάνου?]]	[διατρίβων παρὰ βασι]λεῖ Δημητρίῳ καὶ καταλελεμμένος ἐν Σάμῳ	I
3	<i>Ephesos</i> VI, 2003	306-283	Μελήσιππος Βακχίου Βοιώτιος ἐκ Πλαταιέων	διατρίβωμ παρὰ τῇ βασιλείσσει Φίλαι	I
4	OGIS 10 (<i>Ephesos</i> V,1453)	302-299	Νικαγόρας Ἀριστάρχου Ῥόδιος	ἀποσταλεῖς παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων Δημητρίου καὶ Σελεύκου πρὸς τε τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἑφεσίων καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἑλλήνας	I
5	Syll. ³ 352 (<i>Ephesos</i> V,1448)	c. 302/1	Ἀπολλων[ίδης]	[τὸν παρὰ] τ[οῦ] βασιλέως	I
6	Syll. ³ 353 (<i>Ephesos</i> V,1449)	302/1	Εὐφρόνιος Ἡγήμονος Ἀκαρνάς	omitted	I
7	OGIS 9 (<i>Ephesos</i> V,1452)	302/1	Ἀρχέστρατος Νίκωνος Μακεδών	οἰκεῖος ὢν τοῦ βασιλέως Δημητρίου ... καὶ γενόμενος ἐγ Κλαζομεναῖς στρατηγός	II
8	Syll. ³ 363	c.297	Αἰντος	lines missing	?
9	Robert (1967) (<i>Ephesos</i> IV,1458)	c. 299	Μελάνθιος Ἑρμίου Θεαγγελεύς	ὕπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως κατασταθεῖς ἐπὶ τῆς φυλακῆς τῆς ἐμ Φυγέλους	I
10	<i>Ephesos</i> IV,1464	294-281	Ἀρτεμίδωρος ... καὶ] Ἀπολλοδώρου Περώνιδι	[παρὰ τῶν βασιλεῖ Λυσμάχῳ διατρί]βοντες	I

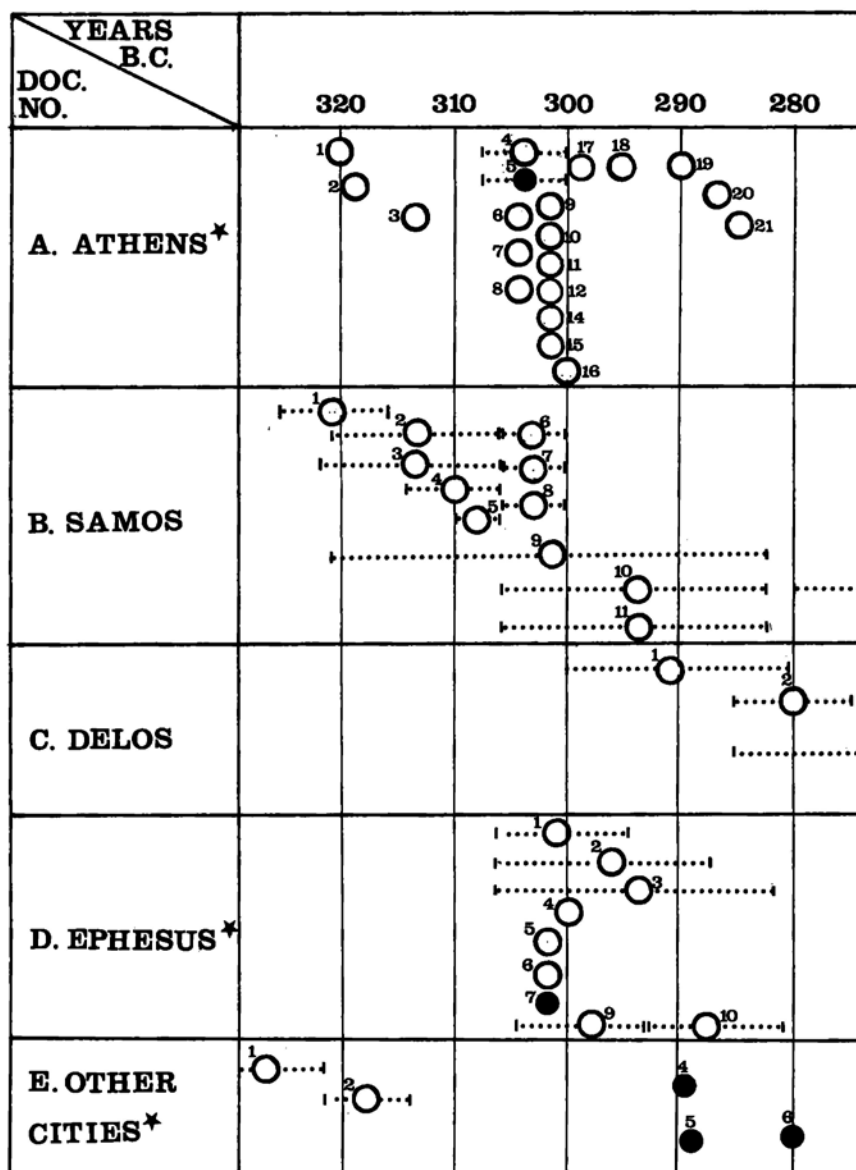
VII	VIII		IX
Benefaction	Status at court according to		Remarks
	a. Decree	b. Other sources	
exerts himself on behalf of the <i>demos</i> and the embassies sent to the king.	x		on the problems of his identity, see H. Hauben, <i>Callicrates of Samos</i> (Louvain, 1970).
being left in Samos, displays goodwill towards the city and the citizens who entreat him.	x		cf. H. Hauben, <i>Anc. Soc.</i> 8 (1977), p. 87.
banal formula.			
spoke to the <i>demos</i> about the friendship forged between Demetrius and Seleucus and about the goodwill they entertain towards the Greeks and renewed his friendship with the city.	x		Olshausen, no. 76
proclaims the goodwill of the king with respect to the <i>demos</i> and the goodwill he himself entertains towards the king and the Ephesian <i>demos</i> .	x		restored in <i>Ephesos</i> v. 1448 as [τὸν φίλον] τ[οῦ] βασιλέως, on grounds of Plut. <i>Demetr.</i> 50.
banal formula; when an embassy was sent by the city-authorities to Prepelaos regarding the billeting (of soldiers) in the sanctuary and the exemption of the goddess from duty, he helped the embassy obtain the exemption; banal formula.	x		for this interpretation of the benefaction, see <i>Hellenica</i> 3, 79-85.
			Bengtson (1964a), p. 191 ff.
took care of the Prienean citizens in the fortified camp and did not allow the fortress to be taken.	x	Polyaen.5.19	cf. A2.
takes care of the defence of the country and of the citizens dwelling in Pygela: is serviceable to the Ephesian <i>neopoi</i> concerning the sacrifices in Pygela.	x		
banal formula.			cf. A21.

E. OTHER CITIES

I	II	III	IV	V	VI
Doc. No.	Publication	Date	Identification of Honorand	Relationship with the Ruler	Type
1	<i>Syll.</i> ³ 307 (Iasos)	333-323	Γόργος και Μυνίων Θεοδότου	διελεχθέντες Ἀλεξάνδρῳ βασιλεῖ	I
2	<i>OGIS</i> 4 (Nesos)	c. 318	Θέρσιππος	ἔων [τοῖς βασ]ιλέσσι φίλος καὶ τοῖς στρατ[ά]γοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Μακεδόнесσι	I
3	<i>IG</i> 12. 9.198 (Eretria)	306-285	Ἀδείμαντος [Ἀ]νδροσθένους Λαμψακην[ός]	lines missing	?
4	<i>Syll.</i> ³ 368 (Miletus, Smyrna)	289/8	Ἰππόστρατος Ἰπποδήμου Μιλήσιος	φίλος ὢν τοῦ βασιλέως Λυσι[μά]χου καὶ στρατηγός ἐπὶ τῶν πόλεων τῶν Ἰώνων κατασταθεὶς	I
5	<i>SEG</i> 27. 929 (Limyra)	288/7	Ἀμόντας Εὐθωνος καὶ Σωσιγέ[νης] Ζ[ω]πύρου Κάβριοι	κατασταθέντες ὑπὸ βασιλ[έως] Π[το]λεμαίου οἰκονόμοι τῆς χώρας	II
6	Robert (1966), p. 53 (Termessos)	281/0	Φίλιππος Ἀλεξ[άνδ]ρου Μανεδών	ὑπὸ βασιλέως Πτολεμ[αί]ου κατασταθεὶς παμφυλ[ι]άρχης	II
7	<i>Syll.</i> ³ 502 (Samo-thrace)	228-225	Ἰππομέδων Ἀγησιλάου Λακεδαιμόνιος	[ὁ ταχ]θεὶς ὑπὸ τ[οῦ] βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου στρατ[η]γός ἐφ' Ἑλ[λη]σπόντου καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ Θράκης τόπων	II

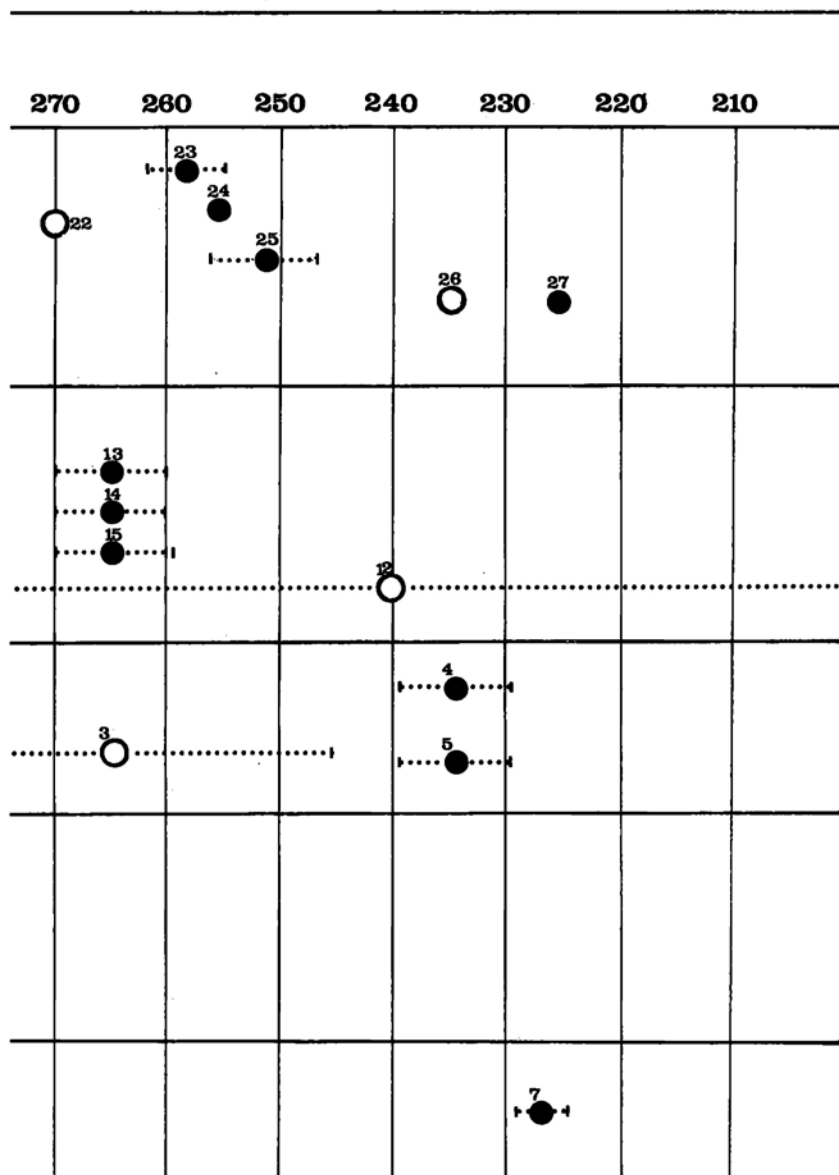
VII	VIII		IX
Benefaction	Status at court according to		Remarks
	a. Decree	b. Other sources	
restored a fishing ground to the <i>demos</i> .	x	Athen. 12. 538 B	see p. 109 with n. 15; the brothers are also honoured in B1.
relieved the city from the fiscal burdens imposed by Antipater and Cleitus; inter- ceded with the satraps for the importation of grain.	x		see n. 21 and pp. 113 and 114 with nn. 33 and 37; Bengtson (1964a), p. 24; Berve, no. 368.
			honoured also in A14; cf. Robert (1946).
			see p. 107; Bengtson (1964a), p. 215ff.
			see p. 107.
			see p. 107.
			see p. 126.

TABLE 2 Chronological Distribution of the Two
from the Years



* A13, D8 and E3 cannot be classified.

Types of Formula in the Honorary Decrees 330-200 B.C.



- type I formula
 ● type II formula
 inscription dated within these time-limits;
 approximate dates are assigned ± 5 years.