

An Endowed Peace

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In 1938 E. Schweigert published a fragmentary fourth-century Athenian inscription concerning a public festival on the occasion of a peace (EM 12896). Observing palaeographic similarities with IG II² 333 and 334, Schweigert dated the stone to the Lycourgan period. He assumed that the festival was the Greater *Panathenaia* and the reason for celebration the peace with Philip of Macedon.¹ Roussel objected that peace with Philip was no cause for jubilation and that the occasion must have been the peace concluded between Athens and Sparta in 374.² The earlier date has emotional appeal. Peace at the cost of freedom seems unworthy of fanfare and expense. But thanks to the efforts of Stephen Tracy we know that EM 12896 was cut in the Lycourgan period.³ Roussel's suggestion cannot stand, but if the gesture seems politically odd, it can in fact be shown to be consistent with Lycourgan economic and religious behavior.

EM 12896, E. Schweigert, "Inscriptions from the North Slope of the Acropolis", *Hesperia* 7 (1938) 264-310, at 294-296 no. 20 (photograph at fig. 22) [SEG XVI 55; L. Robert, "Une fête de la paix à Athènes au IV^e siècle", *ArchEph* (1977) 211-216 (lines 3-13) = *OMS* VII 781-788], Date: 345-320, S. V. Tracy, *Athenian Democracy in Transition: Attic Letter-Cutters of 340 to 290 B.C.* (Berkeley 1995) 67-81, at 77f. Stoichedon.

Cf. P. Roussel, "Sur quelques inscriptions Attiques", *RevArch* (1941) 209-232, at 215f.; A. G. Woodward, "Notes on Some Attic Decrees", *ABSA* 51 (1956) 1-8, at 3-5; J. and L. Robert, *Bull. épigr.* (1959) 130; R. Parker, *Athenian Religion: A History* (Oxford 1996) 230 n. 46, 246 n. 100; M. Faraguna, *Atene nell'età di Alessandro: Problemi politici, economici, finanziari* [MemLinc ser. 9/2] (Rome 1992) 359f.

[θe]o[ι], (in corona)
[-----]ς (?) ἐγχαμάρευν.

vacat

[-----] ὁ δέτινα εἶδεν -- πρῶσαναργάφαι εἰς τῆν στῆλην τὴν περὶ τῆς εἰς-
[ἦν]ης ----- τέθλοιατα, ποεῖν δὲ καὶ ἄγωνά
[γυμναζόν] ----- ἀπὸ τοῦ] τῆρου ἔτους μουσικόν π-
[-----]ν ἀπὸ πέντε ταδάντων τι<θ>-
[ένοι] -----] ἐν τοῖ ἐνωατοῖ ἐν ὧ ἀν τὰ
8 [Παν<α>θηναία τὰ μεγ<α>λά ἄγωνον(?) -----]α δὲ τὴν πανηγούον προ-
[-----] πινάας, ἐξεργεῖαν δ

1 Schweigert, *Hesperia* 7 (1938) 296; cf. IG II² 326 and [Dem.] 17.10.

2 Roussel, *RevArch* (1941) 215f.

3 Give or take a few years: Tracy, *Athenian Democracy in Transition* 67-81, at 77f., dates EM 12896 to 345-320; IG II² 333 and 334 = Cutler of II² 334; Tracy, 82-95.

[ἐργαγεία]α (?) ----- ἀσράε]αν τοῖς ἀγωνομένο]ο-
[ς -----] τὴν πανηγούον ὃ [....]
12 [-----] ἡμεροῖ]ν δέκα μὲν κοῦ]σαν . . .]
[-----] ἰόν τ]ι[α]γά] τ]αῦ]τ[α] (?)]

2 [Ἀντιόχος Πλευρω]ς Woodward. 3. Robert p. 213. Τάδε πρῶσαναργάφαι Robert p. 216 n. 4; [θεδοχ]θαι τὰ δημοκ. ἀνργαγείαθαι παρὰ τὴν Woodward. 4. θείατα ἐπιτοδοποιαν ἰστέθ ἀγατα τέθλοιατα Woodward. 5. [γυμναζόν] ----- ἀπὸ τοῦ] Robert p. 213, 214; γυμναζόν καὶ ἄγων ἀπὸ τοῦ] Robert p. 216 n. 4. 6. T I O stone. 7. ἐν τὰ Woodward : Avra-Schweigert. 8. or Ελευσινια τὰ πρῶσαναργαζο(δ?) Woodward. 8-9. περὶ τὰς πόας τὰς Κερραικού] πινάας Robert p. 216 : περὶ ἑκασον τὴν Ἐλαδαία Woodward. 9-10. ἐξεργεῖαν δὲ [ένοι] (ou un verbe plus long?) καὶ ἀσράε]αν καὶ ἀσά]λιαν Robert p. 216 n. 4. 10-11: ἀγωνομένο]ι]ο]ι]σ ἀγων εἰς τοῖς ἄγωνος κα] τὴν πανηγούον Robert p. 216 n. 4 : ἀγωνομένο]ι]ο]ι]σ Ἀθηναῖς Woodward. 12: ἡμεροῖ]ν Robert p. 215;]-ΔΕΚΑΜΕΝΟ]Υ] Schweigert : κα]νο]σο]α δὲ δάδο]ι]σ ἐξκο]ν] Woodward; ΜΕΝΟ]Υ] stone : μὲν <τ>ο] Woodward. 12-13. τ]ε]τ]η]η]ο]κοῦ] (?) δέκα δὲ τοῦ πρῶσαναργαζο(δ?) ἄγωνος -] Woodward.

As Robert showed, we are dealing here with the creation of a new festival for Peace, not an enhancement⁴. In the Lycourgan period at Athens, 338-324 B.C.⁵, tremendous resources were devoted to the creation of new festivals and the expansion of old. The *Hephaistia*, purported to have been added to the roster of penteteric festivals under Lycourgos, may be a ghost, as may the *agon* of Poseidon that Lycourgos is said to have founded at Piraeus.⁶ But a horse-race was apparently added to the *Eleusinia* in 329/8 and it has been suggested that the *Nemestia* at Rhamnous, first attested in 333/2, were also a creation of the period.⁷ A large but very badly damaged inscription attests the enhancement of an unnamed festival and is certainly Lycourgan,⁸ and Lycourgos is said to have helped revive an abandoned comic competition ([Plut.] *X Oraz.* 841F). The

4 J. and L. Robert, *Bull. épigr.* (1959) 130; L. Robert, *ArchEph* (1977) 214.

5 The dates are conventional; Faraguna, *Atene nell'età di Alessandro* 199-207.

6 *Hephaistia*: *Ath. Pol.* 54.7; Parker, *Athenian Religion* 149 n. 109; Faraguna, *Atene nell'età di Alessandro* 366 n. 48; D. Knoepfler, "Adolf Wilhelm et la penteteris des Amphiarctés Réexamens de A.P. LIV 7 à la lumière du catalogue IG VII 414 + SEG I 126", in: M. Pierart (ed.), *Aristote et Athènes* (Paris 1993) 279-302, at 301; Piraeus: [Plut.] *X Oraz.* 842A; Parker, *Athenian Religion* 246 n. 100 (ghost), but cf. J. D. Mikalson, *Religion in Hellenistic Athens* (Berkeley 1998) 23, 30.

7 *Eleusinia*: IG II² 1672.261; *Nemestia*: Parker, *Athenian Religion* 246; 254; IG II² 3105 + SEG XXXI 162; *Praktika* 1989 [1992] 31 no. 159.

8 M. B. Walbank, "Regulations for an Athenian Festival", in: *Studies in Attic Epigraphy, History, and Topography Presented to Eugene Vanderpool* [= *Hesperia* suppl. 19] (Princeton 1982) 173-182 [SEG XXXII 86]; Walbank thought the festival was the *Amphiarctia*, S. Humphreys, "Lycourgos of Buraeae: An Athenian Aristocrat", in: J. W. Eadie (ed.), *The Craft of the Ancient Historian: Essays in Honor of Chester G. Starr* (Lanham 1985) 199-252, at 227 n. 33, prefers the *Epitaphia*, followed by Parker, *Athenian Religion* 246 n. 100. Stroud's proposal, [τ]η]ν Νέων], at line 34 (cf. *Agora* XVI 75) would be attractive but is unwarranted; date: Tracy, *Athenian Democracy in Transition* 96-103, at 101, attributes the inscription to cutter of IG II² 244 (340/39-ca. 320).

There is reason to think that the festival for Peace belonged to this trend. It has escaped scholarly comment that this festival was funded at the considerable level of five talents (ἀπό πέντε τολάντων τ<φ>|λέντα, 6–7). The phrase is formulaic: *IG XII.5 647*:20–21 (Corcia, early III B.C.): τὰ βέντα δὲ καὶ ἄνωγα τῆ ἐσομένη τοῖς πρεσβυτάτοις ἀπ[ὸ] | δόξαζών F ΔΓ'; *IG XII.9 189*:4–6 (Eretria, after 340 B.C.): ἐδοξέν τετ βουβέτ καὶ τοὶ θήλυοι | | | τρεῖν τῆ πῶν ἄνωγα μουσιῶν ἀπό γάλων | δόξαζών. The numbers here are telling. The festivals from Ceos and Euboea were not funded on the same order of magnitude as the festival for Peace. The agonothete for the penteteric *Sarapieia* at Tanagra enjoyed an operating budget of 3000 drachmas, but this festival was endowed, capitalized at around one and two-thirds talents¹⁹. The endowed Lesser *Panathenaia* enjoyed capital of at least two talents²⁰. Numbers alone, then, suggest that Peace's festival, like the *Panathenaia*, *Herkleia*, and *Amphiarvaia*, was endowed. Context concurs. It would run contrary to what we know about Athens' approach to sacred finance under Lycurgus if the state sanctioned the creation and funding of a new festival, at more than twice the level of the Lesser *Panathenaia*, with no provision for the money but that it be spent down until it was gone. This would have been no way to honor the goddess and no way to handle so much money. Known Lycurgan policy²¹ and the huge sum of money at Peace's disposal thus suggest that the new festival was endowed and that the five talents did not represent the outlay of a given year, but the principal from which running expenses were to be generated.

Another aspect of the festival for Peace seems to be consistent with at least two of the other endowed festivals. The schedule of the Lesser *Panathenaia* was dependent on that of the Greater, a fact which may have helped to determine the financial mechanics of its endowment²². The newly established *Amphiarvaia* also found a model in the Greater *Panathenaia*: the order in which events were held and victors recorded in the new festival followed that of the Greater *Panathenaia*²³. The festival for Peace was intended from its creation to be cali-

- 19 Budget: M. Calveit/P. Roesch, "Les Sarapieia de Tanagra", *RA* (1966) 297–332, at 298–300 lines 19–21: ἀποκόλυθα ἄνωγοθέντο τῶν Ζαγοραίων Ταχίωτο τοῦ Βλων[ι]ατο[ς] | ἔκδορον παρά τῆς δόξης Καγορίου τοῦ Βουναρέου ἀπὸ τῶν κ[ε]ρατάων | F' [δόξαζόν] ἀπ[ὸ] τ[ῶ]ν; endowed: lines 57–58: [ἀξ]ῆς τῆς καταστάσεως ἐπὶ τὸν ἐπικρατοῦν τῶν νόθ[ων] Χαροκόλου ἀνδρεῖος | τῶν Καγορίου τοῦ Βουναρέου ἀποκόλυθα: capital: lines 57–73; the inscription is dated ca. 90 B.C.; A. G. Gossage, "The Comparative Chronology of Inscriptions relating to the Boiotian Festivals in the First Half of the First Century B.C.", *ABSA* (1975) 115–134.
- 20 Woodhead, *Agora XV* 175:16–18: [ἐ]ταυ δὲ ἡ ἀποδοδος ἔπειτα δοῦνι τετάσσ[ω]ν ἀπό τῆς | μισθοῦς τῶν κρηναίων τῶν ἐν τῆ Νεάτῃ κ[α]ὶ τῆς κρηνησοῦρας, ἀνάξωεν τῆ. Ἀθηνά τοῖτο [τὸ] δόξαζών, with Sosin, *ZPE* 138 (2002) 123–125.
- 21 Parker, *Athenian Religion* 242: "In the case of Lycurgus, as of almost no other Athenian politician, one can speak of a religious policy."
- 22 Sosin, *ZPE* 138 (2003) 125.
- 23 *I Oropos* 298:15–19 (*IG VII 4254*): *I Oropos* 320 (*IG VII 414 + SEG 1126*): Tracy, *Athenian Democracy in Transition* 92:n. 22; S. V. Tracy/C. Habicht, "New and Old Panathenaic Victor Lists",

prated chronologically with the Greater *Panathenaia* or another major Attic festival (7–8): ἐν τοῖς ἐμαρτοῖς ἐν ᾧ ἀντ[ὶ] | | Πανθεήνια τὰ μετέωρα ἄνωγων(?). These look like three iterations of the same religious sentiment: the Greater *Panathenaia* were the festival clock by which others were to be set.

Two decades before the creation of these endowments Xenophon had argued (*Poroi* 5.1–13) that economic development was driven by peace not war, that only under conditions of peace would Athens be able to realize maximal revenue-potential²⁴. Few Athenians in the 330s could contend that Athens had suffered economically from the terms of Philip's peace. Under Lycurgus annual revenues apparently soared to 1200 talents, construction projects thrived, and general economic conditions were robust²⁵. Xenophon was right, and if political realities after Chaeronea led Roussel to conclude that Athenians had no cause for joy, economic conditions proved otherwise. One might venture that in such an environment of relative peace and extraordinary prosperity Athenians needed no special moment to prompt the endowment of Peace with her own festival.

But if 338/7 might have been an awkward year for celebrating peace, 335/4 was a different matter. In the immediate aftermath of the sack of Thebes tensions at Athens ran high. Little was certain, least of all whether war would rain down from the north. Alexander knew that Athens had offered quiet support to Thebes in rebellion and he requested that Athens hand over eight of its most prominent leaders²⁶. An initial attempt to mollify Alexander failed, but then Athens sent Phocion and Demades, who convinced the king to relent. Plutarch reports that Alexander "not only admitted his (Phocion's) petition and request,

- Hesperia* 60 (1991) 187–236, at 196–202; E. Preuner, "Amphiarata und Panathenaia", *Hermes* 57 (1922) 80–106.
- 24 Date of the *Poroi*: P. Gauthier, *Un commentaire historique des Poroi de Xénophon* (Paris 1976) 4–6; Xen. *Poroi* 5.1.1, asked, Εἰ δὲ σπαγὲς δοκεῖ εἶναι ὅς, εἰ μὲλλοντα μάταια αἰ ἡγοοῦσθαι ἐκταλεῖο πρῶτοναι, ἔτι εἰρήνην δέει ἐτάξωεν, ἀγ' οὐκ εἰδόντες καὶ εἰρηνοφιῶντας καθορταῖναι, peace as a pre-condition for economic growth: Thuc. 1.12, profits and costs of war in antiquity; P. Bruin R. Dorsat, "Le profit de la guerre dans la Grèce des cités", in: J. Andreu et al. (eds), *Economie antique: la guerre dans les économies antiques* (Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges 2000) 211–230.
- 25 Revenues: Plut. *X Oroi*, 842F; cf. 841B with E. M. Burke, "Young Finance", *GRBS* 26 (1985) 251–264, at 251–252 n. 5; Habicht, *Athens from Alexander to Antony* 23: "[T]he figure [1200 talents] is clearly documented and trustworthy"; construction: B. Hintzen-Bollin, *Die Kulturpolitik des Euboulos und des Lykurg: die Denkmäler- und Bauprogramme in Athen zwischen 335 und 322 v. Chr.* (Berlin 1997); J. Engels, "Zur Stellung Lykurgs und zur Aussagekraft seines Militär- und Bauprogramms für die Demokratie vor 322 v. Chr.", *AntStOz* 23 (1992) 5–29; W. Will, *Athen und Alexander: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Stadt von 338 bis 322 v. Chr.* (= MünchBeitr 77) (Münch 1983) 77–93; general conditions: Faraguna, *Athene nell'età di Alessandro*.
- 26 Antiquity knew competing traditions for the number and identities of the men demanded by Alexander: Art. 110.4, Plut. *Dem.* 23.4; Plut. *Phoc.* 17.2; Stahs s.v. Ἀντιπατρος. The list at Dem. 23.4 seems to be authoritative, as was recognized more than a century ago; Bosworth, *A Historical Commentary* 93–95, at 95; for the lists see also Jacoby ad Douris, *FGHist* 76 F 39.

but even listened to him as he counseled. Phocion counseled that if he (Alexander) aimed at calm he should put aside war (*θέσθαί τὸν πόλεμον*), but if at reputation then he should transfer war, directing it against the barbarians and away from the Greeks.²⁷ The lives of Demosthenes, Lycinurgus, and Polyuctus of Sphettus, to name just three, had been on the line. Failure might have been disastrous. But in the wake of success we see celebration. All of the major Lycurgan festival initiatives mentioned above were enacted after the détente with Alexander, after Thebes' destruction in 335. War was averted and peace restored.²⁸ Whether we feel that the Athenians ought to have celebrated after peace was concluded with Alexander, they did!

If Rousset's date was wrong, his instinct was right. The moment to celebrate was not immediately after Chaeronea (338/7), but three years later, after Thebes (335/4). Athens' most important statesmen were rescued from the brink. Alexander agreed to turn war elsewhere. Athens received the rich territory of Oropus. The Lesser *Panathenaia*, Eleusian *Herakleia*, and probably the *Amphiarada* were richly endowed. New festivals were created and old ones enhanced. The new *dermatikon* and other innovations in sacred finance made piety profitable as never before. This was the hour in which the benefits of Peace shone brightly on the Athenians. This, I suggest, is when Athens created and endowed the new festival for Peace.

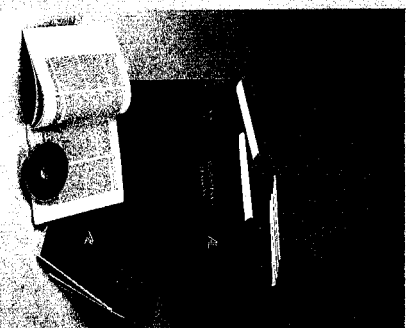
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27 Plut. *Phoc.* 17.6–7: τὸ μὲν οὖν ἠρώτων ψηφισια λέγεται <τὸν> Ἀλέξανδρον ὡς ἐλαβε θήνα, καὶ πρῶτον ἀποστραφέντα τοὺς ἡγεῖστας· τὸ δὲ δεύτερον ἐδέξαστο κολληθῆν ὑπὸ Φωκίωνος, τὸν πρῶτον εὐσεβῶς ἀκούων ὅτι καὶ Φωκίωντος ἐπαύματι τὸν ἀπόλεμον, καὶ οὐ μόνον τῆν ἑταίρειαν ὑπέσχετο αὐτοῖσι καὶ τῆν δέσπον, ἀλλὰ καὶ συμπροσάδοτος ἦκουσε. [17.7] ἐνεβούλευε δ' ὁ Φωκίων· εἰ μὲν ἡσυχίας ὀφείσεται, θέσθαί τὸν πόλεμον· εἰ δὲ δόξης μετασθέντα, πρὸς τοὺς βασιβούλους αὐτοὺς ἐδύλητον ἔσται τερματίζεσθαι. cf. Plut. *Dem.* 23.6; Diod. XVII 153–5.

28 Perhaps even officially renewed. According to one argument Alexander renewed not only the alliance that Philip arranged between Macedonia and the Greek states but also the common peace that members of the League of Corinth were obliged to swear. A. J. Heisserer, *Alexander the Great and the Greeks: The Epigraphic Evidence* (Norman 1980) 3–26, esp. 19; Just. IX 5.4 (*synmachia*); *IG II² 329* (renewal); *IG II² 236* (common peace); [Dem.] 17 (terms of renewal). It is tempting to speculate that “the stèle concerning the peace” (τῆν στήλην τῆν περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης), to which the newly proposed festival was attached, was Alexander’s renewal itself. Cf. A. Tronson, “The Relevance of *IG II² 329* to the Hellenic League of Alexander the Great”, *AncW* 12 (1985) 15–19, who dates *IG II² 329* to the early 360s, associating it with a putative treaty between Alexander II of Macedon and Athens.

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