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The Reunion of the Athenian Asty with the Piraeus, 280-279 B.C.

In the course of editing, with N. Dimitrova, the Athenian military decrees for inclusion in fascicle 8 of the third edition of *Inscriptiones Graecae* II/III, I recently began to review the military decrees published in 2020 by V. Ch. Petrakos.¹ One of them, no. 404 (hereafter *I.Rhamnous* 404), is especially important: it presents, in a damaged section, critical information about a military action in Athens during the year 280/79, with implications concerning the preceding years. The decree was issued by the Athenian soldiers stationed at Rhamnous in honor of Aristides son of Mnesitheos of Lamptrai, the general in command of the coastal district of Attica in 267/6.² The new information provides further evidence for the date of the reunification of the Asty with the Piraeus, a question that, as H. Heinen noted, is "für das Verständnis der Geschichte Athens im 3. Jh. fundamental."³

Ed. V. Ch. Petrakos, *Ὁ δῆμος τοῦ Ραμνοῦντος* VI (2020) 404; cf. idem, *Ergon* 2003, 15-16 (*SEG* LII 124, LVI 228); Habicht 2006, 443-444 n. 68, 445 n. 78; Clinton, *I.Eleusis* II 180. Non vidimus.⁴

a. 267/6

non-stoich.

θ [ε] ο ι
Φανόστρατος Ἀναξικράτου Φηγούσιος ε[ι]π[ε]ν· ἐπειδὴ Ἀριστείδης ἐν
τε τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις οἰκείαν παρεί[ληφώς παρ]ὰ τῶν προ[γόνων]
τὴν πρὸς τὸν δῆμον εὖνοϊαν, διετέλει χρήσιμον ἑαυτὸν παρασκευ-
5 ἄζων καὶ φρουρουμένης [ἔτι] τῆς πόλεως μ[ετ]᾽(ἀ) τοῦ ἀ(δ)ελφοῦ Μνη-
σιδήμου καὶ τῶν μετασχόντων τῆς πράξεως [ἐπί? - -c. 8- -]
[.].ΟΤ.[....]Τ.Τ.....ΤΙ.[...]Ο..Ν../.Υ. καὶ κομίσασθα[ι] [τὸ]
φρούριον [τῶι δήμωι] καὶ συνελθόντος τοῦ δήμου εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησί-

1. V. Ch. Petrakos, *Ὁ δῆμος τοῦ Ραμνοῦντος*, vol. VI, (BAE 327), Athens 2020.

2. In the fall of 2005 Mr. Petrakos kindly sent me his text of the decree; I briefly discussed it with Christian Habicht; and I included a comment on the section about Eleusis (lines 12-14) at *I. Eleusis* II 180. I then set aside the decree for further study at some later point. As it happened, that later came when *I. Rhamnous* VI became available to us in August 2021. It is not my intention here to provide a full-scale discussion of the long scholarly debate about the reunion of the Asty with the Piraeus in the first half of the third century, but simply to report my analysis of the facts contained in *I. Rhamnous* 404 concerning the reunion of the Asty and Piraeus, and what seems to be the clear conclusion that can be drawn from them, with reference to the more recent studies of the question. The honorand's later contributions to Athens are treated in an appendix. I am grateful to A. P. Matthaïou for discussions that have stimulated significant improvement of this article.

3. Heinen 1981, 196.

4. Its surface is quite corroded. In September 2021 Mr. Petrakos kindly sent me a digital version of the photograph he published in *Rhamnous* VI; my readings have been made from the digital file. I have recorded in the apparatus Petrakos' reading of most of line 7, very few of whose letters I could confirm on the photograph, though some of them may well be correct; his use of uppercase letters indicates he was well aware of the uncertain nature of at least several of them.

αν χειροτονηθείς ἐπὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν Ι [-c.3-4-] CI ἔπαρεσκεύασεν καὶ
 10 [- -c.7- -]ΡΟΣ τὴν [πολι]ορκίαν τοῦ Μουρξίου ἀ[νθ'] ὧν αὐτοὺς ὁ δῆμος
 [χρυσοῖς στεφάνοι]ς ἐτ[ίμ]ησεν [κ]αὶ σιτήσῃ ἐν πρυτανείῳ· κα[ί]
 χειροτονηθείς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου πρεσβευτῆς εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν πρὸς
 Ἀντίγονον καὶ διαλεχθείς μετὰ τῶν συμπρεσβευτῶν ἐκομίσαστο
 τὴν Ἐλευσίνα καὶ ΠΗ[Π]ΔΙ τάλαντα ἀργυρίου· καὶ πάλιν χειροτονη-
 15 σαντος αὐτὸν τοῦ δήμου στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ Ἐλευσίνας ἐμβ(α)λόντος Ἀντι-
 γόνου εἰς τὴν Μεγαρικὴν καὶ καιρῶν δυσκόλων ἐπιγενομένων διετήρη-
 σεν ἀσφαλῶς τὸ φρούριον τῷ δήμῳ καὶ παρέδωκεν τῷ μεθ' ἑαυτὸν στρα-
 τηγῶι σῶιον καὶ δημοκρατούμενον· καὶ σύνοδρον χειροτονήσαντος αὐτὸν
 τοῦ δήμου ἐπὶ τὴν βοήθειαν τὴν Ἀρέως καὶ τῶν συμμάχων, ἐμβεβλ[ηκό]τος ἤ-
 20 δη Ἀντιγόνου εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἀπῆρην, οὐθέννα πρό[ν]ον οὐδὲ κίνδυνον ὑποστει-
 λόμενος εἰς τὸ πρᾶξι τι τῶν τῆι πόλει συμφερόντων καὶ παρεγένε[το] Λ.Λ
 τα συντελέσαι τὰ συμφέροντα τῷ δήμῳ· καὶ νῦν χειροτονήσαντος αὐτὸν τοῦ
 δήμου στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν τὴν παραλίαν τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν τὸν ἐπὶ Μενεκλέ- a.267/6
 οὺς ἄρχοντος πολέμου ὄντος, διατετήρηκεν τὸ φρούριον ἀσφαλῶ[ς] τῷ δήμῳ
 25 ἐπιμελόμενος [τ]ῶν [εταγμένων τῶ]ν πολιτῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν τῆι φυλακῆι καθεστηκότων
 ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου, ἀποδεικνύμενος τὴν εὐνοίαν ἣν ἔχων διατελεῖ
 κοινῆ καὶ ἰδίαι πρὸς ἕκαστον τῶν πολιτῶν, τὰ τε ὁψώνια <δ>ι(δ)οῦ[ς] εὐτάκτως κατὰ μῆ-
 να τὸν σῆτον μετρήσας ὄλου τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἴν' εὐσχημονοῦντες διαφυλάττω[σι]
 [τὴν εὐνοίαν?] τῷ δήμῳ· ἐπεμελήθη δὲ καὶ [- -c.5- -]ΟΙΙ τῶν πολιτῶν ὅπως ἂν [.]Υ[.4..]
 30 [- - - - -c.38- - - - - τῆς] τοῦ φρουρίου οἰκοδομῆς
 - - - - -
 [- - - - - εἰ]ς τὸ φρούριον Λ[- - c.6 - -]Λ[- -c.6- - -]
 [- - - - - τῶν πολιτῶ]ν τῶν καθεστηκότων ὑπὸ τῆς β[ου]-
 [λῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου ἐν τῆι φυλακῆι, ἀγαθῆι] τύχηι· δεδόχθαι τοῖς στρατεο-
 35 [μένοις τῶν πολιτῶν ἐν Ἰραμοῦντι ἐπαινεῖσαι Ἀριστ]είδην Μνησιθέου Λαμπτρέ[α]
 [ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ εὐνοίας ἣν ἔχων διατελεῖ πρὸς τὸ]ν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων Ι [.]
 [- - - - - καὶ στεφανῶσαι χρυσ]ῶι στεφάνῳ κατὰ τὸ[ν]
 [νόμον· ἀναγράψαι δὲ τότε τὸ ψήφισμα ἐν στήλῃ καὶ στήσαι ἐ]ν τῷ τεμένει τοῦ
 [Διονύσου· λογισάσθωσαν δὲ οἱ αἰρεθέντες τοῖς στρατιώταις ὅ τι ἀ]νάλωμα γένη-
 40 [ται· οἶδε ἡρέθησαν - - - - -] *vacat*

Suppl. Petrakos; 3 med. παρει[ληφώς], 5 med. [ἔτι], μ[ετ]ά, 6 fin. πρά[ξεως] coll. *Syll.*³ 167.40, 32 in. 34-35,
 38 Habicht apud Petr.; 28-29 in. Clint. || 6 fin. πράξεως [ἐπὶ?] Clint. || 7 legit Clint.,
 [..]ΤΟΤΟΥ[...]**ΑΠ**[...]**ΤΑΣΠΟΛΙΝΕΓΚΛΑ**[...] καὶ κομίσας Petr. || 10 in. [π?]ρὸς τὴν Clint., [- c. 18-
 πολι]ορκίαν Petr. || 5 **ΛΤΟΥΑΛΕΛΦΟΥ** Iap. || 19 in. legit Clint., [ἐπὶ τὴν] Hab. || 20 med.-21 in. legit Clint.,
 [φ]όβ[ον οὐτ]ε κίνδυν[ον ὑποστειλ]όμενος εἰ[ς ἃ ἔ]πραξαν Hab. coll. *IG* II² 1304.8-9: οὐτε
 κακοπαθίαν οὐτε κί[ν]δυνον ὑποστειλλόμενος *Syll.*³ 442.9-10 [οὐδένα οὐ]τε φόβον οὐτε κίνδυνον
 ὑποστειλλόμενοι || 27 **ΛΙΛΟΥ** Iap. || 28-29 διαφυλάττω[σι | τὸ φρούριον] Petr.

Aristeides son of Mnesitheos of Lamprai was elected to his first generalship in 280/79 (the archonship of Telokles); his name and title were inscribed by the Boule of this year in *IG II³ 4, 7* (= *IG II² 2797*), perhaps as an honorific addition to the original inscription.⁵ He was honored with an award of proxenia by Oropos (*I. Oropos* 26) and, shortly before the Chremonidean War, by Arcadian Orchomenos (Moretti, *ISE* 53), in the company of Kallippos son of Moirokles of Eleusis and Glaukon son of Eteokles of Aithalidai (notorious enemies of Macedonia), probably in connection with a mission to solidify the support of Orchomenos for the coming conflict.⁶

LI. 5-11: This action (πραξις) was likely a military operation,⁷ already begun before his first election to general (lines 8-9), which he carried out with his brother Mnesidemus and the other leading participants (τῶν μετασχόντων τῆς πράξεως). The lacuna and damaged text should contain a brief description of its nature, whose aim now was evidently to "recover the fort for the Demos" (κομίσασθαι [τὸ] φρούριον [τῶι δήμωι]). Subsequently the Demos met in the ekklesia (συνελθόντος τοῦ δήμου εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν),⁸ and he was elected to his first generalship, στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν, and in this role provided [equipment, e.g. ὄπλα καὶ βέλη]⁹ for the siege of the Mouseion. In return (ἀνθ' ὧν) the Demos honored "them", i.e. Aristeides, his brother, and their accomplices (the leaders of the πραξις) with many high honors ([χρυσοῖς στεφάνοι]ς ἐτίμησεν [καὶ] σιτήσει ἐν πρυτανείῳ)—confirmation that the entire operation culminating in the siege of the fort on the Mouseion was successful.

Next (**II. 12-14**) is described his participation in a successful embassy to Antigonos, which resulted in the recovery of Eleusis and the king's donation of 661 talents to Athens.¹⁰

LI. 14-16: Election to his second generalship (καὶ πάλιν) in command of the Eleusis district and his accomplishments (in 268/7).

LI. 16-34: Election to his most recent generalship (καὶ νῦν) in the year of Menekles (267/6) in command of the coastal district and description of his meritorious service.

⁵ The addition was made after the original inscription had filled the entire face A of the block, in the only remaining space at its bottom edge, by breaking it up into segments and inserting them next to and between the crowns (*IG II³ 4, 4*, tab. II): ΣΤΡΑΤΗ corona ΓΟΥΝΤΟΣ corona [ΑΡΙΣΤ]ΤΕΙΔΟΥ corona ΛΑΜΠΤ corona ΡΕΥΣ. This was not done for chronological necessity (the archon's name is given above for that purpose; on the year see Osborne 2009, 87; idem, 2012, 152). It is hard to imagine a reason for this extraordinary addition, other than that it may well have been a special recognition of his service in this year. Likewise Theoboulos son of Theophanes of Piraeus, general ἐπὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν, is added in a regular way to the Boule's dedication of the altar of Aphrodite Hegemone (*IG II³ 4, 8.4*), not as eponymous (like the archon and the priest, Mikion son of Eurykleides of Kephissia), but quite possibly for administrative service in connection with the dedication; cf. Ferguson (1909, 319-320) on the involvement of the general ἐπὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν with sanctuaries. Both cases resemble the appearance of the hoplite general on many dedications of the Julio-Claudian period, not as eponymous but as involved civic official; cf. Geagan 1967, 24-28.

6. Habicht 1976.

7. A frequent meaning of πραξις in Polybius; cf. 2.9.2-3 (πράξεως ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν), 9.25.6 (οὐδέποτε μετεσχηκέναι τῆς αὐτῆς πράξεως), 4.25.4 (πραξίν ἐπὶ Θύριον νυκτός), 4.57.2 (πραξίν κατὰ τῆς τῶν Αἰγυρατῶν πόλεως).

8. This expression for a meeting of the Demos first appears here in Athenian inscriptions, as Angelos Matthaiou noted. Plutarch uses τοῦ δήμου συνελθόντος εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν at Alc. 33.2, for the assembly's meeting welcoming Alcibiades on his return in 407, and τοῦ δήμου συνελθόντος at Nic. 10.6.

9. Cf. [Plut.] X orat. 852C. Matthaiou (per litt.), hesitantly because of the lack of sufficient space, suggested the logical restoration τ[ὴν ἐν ᾧστ]ει (on the στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν τὴν ἐν ᾧστει, Ferguson 1909, 319-320; Tracy 1982, 111, 123-124).

10. See discussion below in the appendix.

The order throughout is chronological, a frequent arrangement in military decrees honoring generals: the occasion of awarding a golden crown for the honorand's recent service serves to recount his past military and political services (starting sometimes with lower military offices, as a sort of *cursus honorum*). In this part of the narrative, on the honorand's more distant history, separate events/sentences are simply joined by the conjunction *καί*.

His first generalship, *στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν* (line 9), occurred in 280/79,¹¹ awarded just after participation in the planning and perhaps the initial stage of a military action (*πρόξις*, in 281/0) "to recover the fort," an operation which continued in the following year (280/79), when as general he provided equipment for the siege of the Mouseion. Therefore the previously mentioned "fort" (lines 7-8) should be the one on the Mouseion (its location presumably given in line 6, e.g. [*ἐπὶ τὸ Μουσεῖον*], or in line 7).

At the outset of this section (line 5) the context is given: *φρουρουμένης [ἔτι] τῆς πόλεως* ("as the polis was still being garrisoned");¹² The Macedonian garrisons at the Mouseion, Piraeus, and Munychia had been handicapping the polis since 295, when they were installed by King Demetrius,¹³ and continued to do so in the years after the revolt of 287 (which expelled the Macedonians from the Asty) and subsequent agreement with the king,¹⁴ by severing the Asty from Piraeus. Fairly soon after 287 efforts were made to make the polis whole again. In 286/5 apparently, an abortive attempt to retake the port through treachery resulted in the massacre of the Athenian assailants.¹⁵ Despite this setback, restoration of the Piraeus remained a high priority, while the chances of accomplishing it by force must have seemed remote. In the summer of 284, King Audoleon was offering to provide services *εἰς τε τὴν τοῦ Πειραιέως κομιδ[ή]ν καὶ τὴν τῆς πόλεως ἐλευθερί[α]ν* (*IG II³ 1, 871.32-35 [= II² 654*]). In Boedromion of 283 a decree honored the poet Philippides for having requested of Lysimachus, shortly before 284/3, money and grain *ὅπως ἂν διαμένει ὁ δῆμος ἐλεύθερος ὦν καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ κομισῆται καὶ τὰ φρούρια τὴν ταχίστην* (*IG II³ 1, 877.33-36 [= II² 657*]). In Gamelion of 281 a decree honoring Euthios, the archon of the preceding year, awarded him a golden crown and mentioned that he was eligible to receive a further benefit from the Demos *ὅταν ὁ Πειραιεύς καὶ τὸ ἄστυ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ γένηται* (*IG II³ 1, 881.28-31*). Ph. Gauthier carefully explained that the latter clause should indicate an event that was imminent or already underway, for an offer of a benefit that was based merely on an idle hope would be insulting to the distinguished honorand;¹⁶ in this decree the confidence that the reunion of Asty and Piraeus will happen is aptly expressed by the subjunctive. Thus the attempt

11. If it were his second, we should expect *καὶ πάλιν* here vel sim. (as in line 14); each of his subsequent generalships is designated with an indication of its sequence. It is highly unlikely that it is an unattested generalship held before 280/79, for that would mean that his attested service in 280/79 was omitted—an omission that would have constituted a grave insult to a distinguished soldier and citizen, who was also honored by the Boule, which included his tenure as general in this year as a belated addition to a monument that honored the Boule and three of its members for *ἄριστα βεβουλευκένα* (above, n. 4).

12. On this technical sense of *φρουρεῖσθαι* cf. Polyb. 18.45.3, 18.45.10.

13. Plut. *Demetr.* 34.1-7; cf. Habicht 2006, 103-104.

14. On the year 287 see Habicht 1979, 45-67.

15. Polyaeus *Strat.* 5.17.1; cf. Paus. 1.29.10; Habicht 1979, 98.

16. Gauthier 1979, 349-351, 357-358, 363-368, suggesting that the recovery was taking place through negotiation; Shear (1978, 28-29) understood the passage in a similar way: it sounded as if there were "anticipation of an imminent attack for which plans were being made and supplies collected." Habicht (2006, 438 n. 3), on the other hand, maintained that the provision was nothing more than a hope. J. and L. Robert, *BE* 1981 239 agreed with Gauthier that negotiations were underway, but were persuaded by Habicht's impressive array of evidence that Piraeus was not free of Macedonian control until at least 280 and possibly some years later, and therefore assumed that the negotiations failed or, if successful, were only of short duration.

to recover the Piraeus must have been about to happen or already was happening in Gamelion of 282/1 and was accomplished by July of that year or perhaps as late as early in 281/0,¹⁷ before the start of the assault on the fort on Mouseion Hill and its siege, which was taking place in 280/79 according to *I. Rhamnous* 404.

It is often assumed that the recovery of the Mouseion by Athens, described by Pausanias (1.26.1-3), took place during the revolt of 287, which was mentioned in the decree honoring Kallias of Sphettos (*IG* II³ 1, 911.13-15): γενομένης τῆς ἐπαναστάσεως ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ἐπὶ τοὺς κατέχοντας τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως στρατιώτας ἐγβαλόντος, τοῦ δὲ φρουρίου τοῦ ἐν τῷ Μουσείῳ ἔτι κατεχομένου.¹⁸ The language of the decree here distinguishes the Asty from the Mouseion Hill with its fort—the Demos (μὲν) expelled (aorist participle) the (Macedonian) soldiers from the Asty, but (δέ) the fort on the Mouseion was still (ἔτι) being occupied (present participle)—and at no later point does the decree state that the fort was recovered;¹⁹ the only recovered part of the city was the Asty (τὸ ἄστυ ἐκεκόμιστο, lines 65-66).²⁰ Scholars have closely associated this revolt in 287 with Pausanias' account (1.26.1-3) of the general Olympiodoros storming and taking the Mouseion (including the participation of Strombichos [*IG* II³ 1, 918-919 (= *IG* II² 666-667)]); this is an assumption, based on no specific evidence: neither Pausanias nor the decree for Strombichos dates the attack. Since there is no dated evidence for the capture of the Mouseion by Athens between 287 (or earlier) and the year of Aristeides' generalship (280/79),²¹ the year in which a siege of the Mouseion was taking place according to *I. Rhamnous* 404, it seems justified to conclude that the Mouseion remained in Macedonian control until then, and the operation involving Olympiodoros and Strombichos in capturing it took place at this time (the decree for Strombichos *IG* II³ 1, 918.14-15 refers to a siege of the Mouseion).²² As a result, Pausanias adds, Athens was liberated from the Macedonians (Ἀθηναίῳ μὲν οὕτως ἀπὸ Μακεδόνων ἠλευθερώθησαν), a conclusion that cannot apply to the situation in 287 when the Macedonians still occupied the Piraeus and Munychia and, according to the decree for Kallias,

17. Shear (1978, 28-29), from a variety of considerations, puts the date for the recovery of the fort on Munychia Hill and liberation of Piraeus in 281/0. Dreyer (1999, 266-267) puts it in 281-279. On the disputed chronology of the imprisonment in Piraeus of Mithres, the former administrator for King Lycurgus, who is mentioned in a letter of Epicurus (text quoted by Dreyer [1999, 266]) cf. Habicht (1979, 99), Shear (1978, 29-30 n. 62), Gauthier (1979, 374-378), Reger (1992, 373-379), Dreyer (1999, 266-267).

18. On the date of the revolt, 287, see Habicht 1979, 48-62; cf. Heinen 1981, 189-193; Osborne 1979; J. and L. Robert, *BÉ* 1981 233.

19. So recognized by Gabbert 1997, 18. She dates the recapture of the Mouseion by Olympiodoros in late 283 or early 282 (*ibid.*, 23). Habicht (2006, 112) assigns the recapture of the fort to 287, Shear to 286 (1978, 15-16) in accord with their determinations of the year of the revolt.

20. Confusion may have been caused in the minds of modern readers by the fact that technically the Mouseion was within the circuit wall of the city, therefore in the Asty. However, the clause in the genitive absolute with μὲν ... δέ made clear that the Asty was cleared of Macedonian soldiers *except for* the Mouseion. The later clause τὸ ἄστυ ἐκεκόμιστο repeats τὸ ἄστυ in the sense which was meant by the earlier one.

21. Testimonia concerning Piraeus and the φρουρία during this period allow for the possible inference that the capture of Mouseion Hill had not happened. *IG* II³ 1, 871.32-34 (= II² 654) of 285/4 notes King Audoleon's promise to contribute εἰς τε τὴν τοῦ Πειραιέως κομιδὴν καὶ τὴν τῆς πόλεως ἐλευθερίαν, i.e. the freedom of the city will be accomplished subsequent to the recovery of Piraeus. *IG* II³ 1, 877 (= II² 657), honoring the poet Philippides in 283/2, refers to the agreement of 287 as κομισσαμένου τοῦ δήμου τὴν ἐλευθερίαν (line 31), indicating the political independence of the Demos, not the Polis (cf. *IG* II² 1, 985.38-39 [= II² 682]), and notes the poet's requests to the king for help in the form of money and grain ὅπως ἂν διαμένει ὁ δῆμος ἐλεύθερος ὦν καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ κομισῆται καὶ τὰ φρούρια τὴν ταχίστην (lines 34-36), which allows for the possibility that not a single fort controlled by Demetrius had been recovered.

22. Pausanias mentions that Olympiodoros was elected general; if this is correct, he may have been a hoplite general or was elected for a special command for the recovery of Piraeus, Munychia, and Mouseion.

the Mouseion as well. Pausanias further characterizes the capture of the Mouseion as Olympiodoros' greatest achievement: Ὀλυμπιοδώρω δὲ τόδε μὲν ἔστιν ἔργον μέγιστον χωρὶς τούτων ὧν ἔπραξεν Πειραιᾶ καὶ Μουνυχίαν ἀνασωσάμενος.²³ As G. De Sanctis correctly noted,²⁴ the structure of the sentence implies that Pausanias understood the recovery of Piraeus and Munychia to have happened *before* the capture of the Mouseion, which is consistent with his conclusion that with the capture of the Mouseion the Macedonians were expelled from Athens. Thus the decree honoring Strombichos could proclaim that his effort in the capture of the Mouseion contributed to bringing about the σωτηρία of Athens (*IG II³ 1, 918.13-14, συναίτιος γενέσ[θ]αι τεῖ σωτηρία*), a claim that would ring hollow if the Macedonians still had control over Piraeus and Munychia.

At the end of the siege of the Mouseion, those who organized it and led it from the year it began (lines 5-8, before the generalship of Aristides in 270/69) received golden crowns and sitesis in the Prytaneion, a fitting response to an operation that culminated in the expulsion of the entire Macedonian force from the polis.²⁵ Olympiodoros must have been one of the participants (those μετασχόντων τῆς πράξεως) in the recovery of the Mouseion, who were not mentioned by name since the decree concerns only Aristides (and, in this context, his brother). The sequence in Pausanias of the recovery of Piraeus, Munychia, and Mouseion is thus consistent with *I. Rhamnous* 404.5-10: the siege of the Mouseion took place *in* 280/79, completing the liberation of Athens from the Macedonians.

In late summer or early fall of 279 Athens sent a contingent of 1,000 footsoldiers and 500 cavalrymen under Kallipolis son of Moirokles of Eleusis to face the Celts at Thermopylae,²⁶ which suggests that the military operations to recover Piraeus, Munychia, and the Mouseion were finished, as their successful completion would have been a much higher priority for Athens than to send 1,500 men to Thermopylae.²⁷ Now, the Athenians could once again take a prideful place at the head of a force to save Hellas from a barbarian enemy, having just expelled the Macedonians from their own city.

Appendix

Aristides son of Mnesitheos of Lamprai, c. a. 279-267/6

Ll. 12-14: Aristides son Mnesitheos of Lamprai, in the company of 'fellow ambassadors', recovered Eleusis and a sum of money on an embassy to Antigonos while the king was 'in Asia'. An expedition to Asia against Antiochus by the king is known for 279/8,²⁸ and this appears to be a not unreasonable date

23. Habicht (1979, 104-105) argued that the sense of ἀνασωσάμενος here must be "etwas das nicht verloren ist, aber verlorenzugehen droht, heil bewahren, vor dem Lust retten," as in the expression ἀνασώζεσθαί τινα φόβου. However, Bultrighini (1984, 55-57, cited by Reger [1992, 372]) pointed out that Pausanias does not use ἀνασώζω as "preserve" but always as "recover." In the context of a comparison of the accomplishment of the assault on the Mouseion to what Olympiodoros "accomplished (ἔπραξε)" at "Piraeus and Munychia", it seems most natural to read the latter as military operations, like the former.

24. De Sanctis 1936, 144-147.

25. And Aristides was memorialized on a dedication honoring the Boule and three of its members for ἄριστα βεβουλευκέναι (see above, n. 4).

26. Nachtergaele 1977, 175; Habicht 1979, 87-94; idem 2006, 149-152.

27. The fact that 1,000 soldiers were available to send to Thermopylae implies that at least this number was available earlier in the year for the assault on the Mouseion, and therefore that Pausanias' source was embellishing the narrative in claiming that it was *largely* the enthusiasm of the populace (young and old men participating) that brought about the capture of the fort.

28. Cf. Tarn 1913, 161-163; Buraselis 1982, 110-115, 153.

for Aristeides' embassy, the 'fellow ambassadors' presumably including Demochares, who died before 271/0. Thus, but for the slip about 'Antipatros,' the account in [Plut.] *Mor.* 851D-F is not inconsistent with the data in the new decree. However, as Ch. Habicht has pointed out (per litt.), an unattested later expedition to Asia cannot be ruled out" (*I.Eleusis* II 180). According to Pseudo-Plutarch, the sum of money that Antigonos gave Demochares was "εἴκοσι τάλαντα," which could be better understood as a mistake if the sum as recorded here was ΠΗ[Δ]ΔΙ. The episode raises the question, what would have motivated such apparent generosity on the part of Antigonos to make these twin gifts to Athens, the return of Eleusis and a grand sum of money, after suffering the loss of all his garrisons in the central polis. Did the negotiations by the Athenian ambassadors include the issue of Athens' treatment of Macedonian soldiers captured in the retaking of the forts, with a promise of kind treatment and release in return for financial assistance? If so, these negotiations should have taken place soon after the successful siege of the Mouseion.

Ll. 14-18: Aristeides' generalship of the Eleusis district will have occurred not long before his appointment as general of the coastal district in 267/6 (lines 22-24). In between his year at Eleusis and the one at Rhamnous he was chosen by the Demos (lines 18-19) to be a synedros ἐπὶ τὴν βοήθειαν τὴν Ἀρέως καὶ τῶν συμμάχων, with a task more precisely described in line 21, "to negotiate any of the interests of the polis". Thus he must have been one of the two synedroi authorized by the decree of Chremonides of a. 269/8 (*JG* II³ 1, 912.48-52) to deliberate with King Areus and the synedroi of the allies about their common interests: [χειροτο]νῆσαι δὲ καὶ συνέδρους [δύο τὸν δῆμον αὐτίκα μάλα ἐξ Ἀθηναίων]ν ἀπάντων, οἵτινες μετὰ τε Ἀρέως [καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων ἄ]πποστελλομένων συνέδρων βουλευσόντ[αι περὶ τῶν κοινῆι συ]μφερόντων. According to the decree the Demos chose Kallippos of Eleusis and another whose name is not preserved, but which can now be restored as Ἀριστείδης Λαμπτρεύς^{vvvvvvvv} (line 69). Thus his service as general at Eleusis should have occurred in the preceding year, 270/69. In this year, then, Antigonos invaded the Megarid (*I. Rhamnous* 404, lines 15-16), before the formal alliance of Athens with Areus and his allies, decreed by the Athenian Demos in Metageitnion 269 (and concluded with the necessary oaths shortly thereafter). To Antigonos no doubt it had already been abundantly clear, especially in the light of the preceding separate alliances between Ptolemy and Athens (line 19) and Ptolemy and Sparta (lines 21-22), that this alliance was about to happen.²⁹ This early invasion of the Megarid was a key move by Antigonos; it served to block the forces of Areus and his allies at the Isthmus, preventing them from entering Attica to support the Athenians. (He may also at this time have put down a revolt by Celtic mercenaries; cf. Heinen 1972, 170-172). During his command at Eleusis Aristeides was able to keep the Eleusinian fort secure and pass it on to his successor safe and sound and still under the control of the Demos, even though Antigonos' forces caused much trouble for the Athenian garrison (line 16). Thus when serving as synedros in the following year, in the fall of 269, after Antigonos had invaded Attica, he traveled in the midst of great danger (lines 19-21).

In 267/6 the decree of the Athenian soldiers at Eleusis in honor of Dion presents no indication that hostilities were taking place (*I.Eleusis* 182). Antigonos' forces may have simply bypassed the fort. In this year Aristeides was general for the paralia, a year of service that according to the preserved text (lines 24-30) seems to have been a fairly normal one, despite the ongoing war (line 24). The fort was in

29. Cf. Heinen 1972,101.

Athenian hands at the beginning of the war (269/8, *I. Rhamnous* II 3) and may have still been in Athenian hands near the end of the war (263/2, *I. Rhamnous* II 6; cf. Heinen 1972, 155-156).

Abstract

I. Rhamnous 404 provides new information about military actions related to the recovery of Piraeus and the forts on the Mouseion and Munychia hills from the Macedonian garrisons. Aristeides son of Mnesitheos of Lamptraï was στρατηγός ἐπὶ τῆν παρασκευήν in 280/79 (archonship of Telokles) when he provided (equipment) for the siege of the Mouseion. In the preceding year he, his brother, and others participated in a πράξις, a military operation the aim of which was to recover a φρούριον, which according to lines 9-11 was the one on Mouseion Hill. The recovery of the fort on Mouseion Hill in 280/79 was most likely the final event of the sequence—recovery of Munychia, Piraeus, Mouseion—consistent not only with the testimony of Pausanias (1.26.3), reporting these successful operations by the general Olympiodoros, but also with a clause in *IG* II³ 1, 881.28-31 of 282/1, which suggests that operations to bring about the union of the Asty and Piraeus were already underway in Gamelion of 281. The Mouseion, under siege in 280/79, was most likely recaptured by summer 279 when Athens sent a military contingent to Thermopylae to join the defense against the invasion of the Celts.

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