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## The Restoration of Athenian Democracy in 403 BC: New Epigraphic Evidence

The stone that has prompted me to reexamine the inscribed monument presented below is not a new discovery. It was found a long time ago but remained unnoticed for more than a century. A copy of the inscription on that stone has been preserved among the papers of the 19th century archaeologist Panayiotis Eustratiadis (1815-1888). Eustratiadis was the General Ephor of Antiquities between 1864 and 1884. He was also a competent epigraphist and a member of the Archaeological Society at Athens. His extensive personal archive, which consists of documents and files related primarily to his work in the Ephorate, is part of the official archive of the Archaeological Society. It is an invaluable source for the study of Attic epigraphy and the topography of ancient Athens.

Among his papers one finds detailed catalogues of inscriptions kept at that time in the public Collections of Antiquities of Athens. The richest of these catalogues is the catalogue of the Acropolis inscriptions.

As part of my work for the Archaeological Society's project *Archive of the Monuments of Athens and Attica (ARMA)*, I often make use of Eustratiadis' papers. In 2002, while studying some of his facsimiles of inscriptions, I came across a noteworthy drawing (fig. 1).

According to Eustratiadis' own notes, he had discovered the stone on the Acropolis in 1867. He copied the text a few years later, in April 1873, while he was compiling a Catalogue of the Acropolis Inscriptions.

What drew my attention was that below the epigram, a decree has been inscribed, as clearly indicated by the verb ἐπεστάτε. The few preserved words of the epigram directed me to the well-known inscription for the Heroes of Phyle, that is, for Thrasyboulos and his companions who captured Phyle and restored the Athenian democracy in 403. It was surprising to find that the fragment contained this famous inscription and, what's more, that it preserved part of Archinos' decree connected to the same events.

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The present paper is an abridged version of the paper that I presented in the Berkeley Epigraphy Workshop on April 10, 2014. For the invitation to address the Workshop, I am grateful to the S. B. Aleshire Center for the Study of Greek Epigraphy, and in particular to Ron Stroud and Nikolaos Papazarkadas. The English text was improved by Nikolaos Papazarkadas and diligently edited by Derin MacLeod, to whom both I am grateful. This paper should be read in conjunction with my article Τὸ ἐνεπίγραφο βᾶθρο τῶν ἀπὸ Φυλῆς τὸν δῆμον καταγαγόντων, *HOPOS* 22-25 (2010-2013) [2014] 115-144. The abridged version presented here aims in aiding english-speaking readers to a better understanding of the extended modern greek edition of the inscription in *HOPOS*.

After the defeat of Athens at Aegospotamoi in 405, the Τριάκοντα, appointed in Athens by the Spartan admiral Lysander unleashed a reign of terror. They requested a Spartan garrison and drew up a list of three thousand men who were to retain some limited civic rights. Those not included in the list were soon expelled from the city, and many went into exile in Megara, Argos or Thebes.

Democratic resistance began in the winter of 404/403. The main source is Xenophon, whose writings show first-hand knowledge (*Hell.* 2,4.2-3): Ἐκ δὲ τούτου Θρασύβουλος ὀρμηθεὶς ἐκ Θηβῶν ὡς σὺν ἑβδομήκοντα Φυλὴν χωρίον καταλαμβάνει ἰσχυρόν. οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα ἐβοήθουν ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως σὺν τε τοῖς τρισχιλίοις καὶ σὺν τοῖς ἵππεῦσι καὶ μάλ' εὐημερίας οὔσης. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο, εὐθύς μὲν θρασυνόμενοί τινες τῶν νέων προσέβαλλον πρὸς τὸ χωρίον, καὶ ἐποίησαν μὲν οὐδέν, τραύματα δὲ λαβόντες ἀπῆλθον. βουλομένων δὲ τῶν τριάκοντα ἀποτειχίζεῖν, ὅπως ἐκπολιορκήσειαν αὐτοὺς ἀποκλείσαντες τὰς ἐφόδους τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, ἐπιγίγνεται τῆς νυκτὸς χιῶν παμπλήθης καὶ τῆ ὑστεραία. οἱ δὲ νιφόμενοι ἀπῆλθον εἰς τὸ ἄστυ, μάλα συχνούς τῶν σκευοφόρων ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκ Φυλῆς ἀποβαλόντες.

The fortress of Phyle on the slopes of Mount Parnes was important for the Athenian defences because garrisons stationed there had control of the road from Athens to Thebes.

After the departure of the oligarchs from Phyle, the number of the democrats gradually rose to some 700 men. The oligarchs, who set up camp in Acharnae, near Phyle, were attacked and defeated by the men at Phyle. Soon afterwards, Thrasybulos, with his supporters, who now numbered a thousand men, marched to Piraeus and occupied the hill of Munichia. The Thirty attacked them there but were defeated again. Subsequently the Thirty were deposed, replaced by the so-called Ten, and most of them retired to Eleusis. After Sparta's interference, a reconciliation was arranged, and democracy was restored.

After the restoration, the Athenian people granted modest honors to Thrasybulos and his loyal men who had withstood the original siege of Phyle. The main source for these honors is Aeschines, whose father Atrometos helped bring back the *dēmos* (*On the false embassy* (II) 147-78: συγκατάγειν τὸν δῆμον). Thus, Aeschines knew the story first hand (*Against Ctesiphon* (III) 187): Ἐν τοίνυν τῷ Μητρώῳ παρὰ τὸ βουλευτήριον ἦν ἔδοτε δωρεάν τοῖς ἀπὸ Φυλῆς φεύγοντα τὸν δῆμον καταγαγοῦσιν, ἔστιν ἰδεῖν. Ἦν μὲν γὰρ ὁ τὸ ψήφισμα γράψας καὶ νικήσας Ἀρχῖνος ὁ ἐκ Κοίλης, εἰς τῶν καταγαγόντων τὸν δῆμον, ἔγραψε δὲ πρῶτον μὲν αὐτοῖς εἰς θυσίαν καὶ ἀναθήματα δοῦναι χιλίας δραχμάς, καὶ τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἔλαττον ἢ δέκα δραχμαὶ κατ' ἄνδρα, ἔπειτα κελεύει στεφανῶσαι θαλλοῦ στεφάνῳ αὐτῶν ἕκαστον... καὶ οὐδὲ τοῦτο εἰκῆ πρᾶξαι κελεύει ἀλλ' ἀκριβῶς τὴν βουλὴν σκεψαμένην ὅσοι ἐπὶ Φυλῆ ἐπολιορκήθησαν, ὅτε Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ τριάκοντα προσέβαλλον τοῖς καταλαβοῦσι Φυλὴν... ὅτι δ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, ἀναγνώσεται ὑμῖν τὸ ψήφισμα. Ψήφισμα περὶ δωρεᾶς τοῖς ἀπὸ Φυλῆς.

Aeschines stresses the modesty of public honors granted to illustrious Athenians in the past, providing several examples. It is in this context that he refers to the monument set up in the Metroon in the Agora, for the men from Phyle: τοῖς ἀπὸ Φυλῆς φεύγοντα τὸν δῆμον καταγαγοῦσιν.

Aeschines goes on to mention a decree on the honours that the Athenian *dēmos* bestowed on these men. The decree, according to the orator, was proposed by Archinos of the deme of Koile. Archinos was one of the principal heroes of Phyle and a moderate politician after the restoration of democracy; he was also the man who introduced the decree for the adoption of the Ionic alphabet by the Athenians.

Aeschines gives a detailed account of Archinos's proposal to praise the heroes of Phyle, but makes no reference to its exact date: ἔγραψε δὲ πρῶτον μὲν αὐτοῖς εἰς θυσίαν καὶ ἀναθήματα δοῦναι χιλίας δραχμάς, καὶ τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἔλαττον ἢ δέκα δραχμαὶ κατ' ἄνδρα, ἔπειτα κελεύει στεφανῶσαι θαλλοῦ στεφάνῳ αὐτῶν ἕκαστον... καὶ οὐδὲ τοῦτο εἰκῆ πρᾶξαι κελεύει, ἀλλ' ἀκριβῶς τὴν βουλὴν σκεψαμένην ὅσοι ἐπὶ Φυλῆ ἐπολιορκήθησαν, ὅτε Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ τριάκοντα προσέβαλλον τοῖς καταλαβοῦσι Φυλὴν.

Then the orator pauses and orders an official, probably the secretary of the people, to read Archinos' decree: “Ὅτι δ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, ἀναγνώσεται ὑμῖν τὸ ψήφισμα.” The manuscripts simply read: Ψήφισμα περὶ δωρεᾶς τοῖς ἀπὸ Φυλῆς. Unfortunately, the decree itself has not been transmitted to us in the corpus of Aeschines' speeches.

In section 190 of the speech the text of the epigram that had been inscribed on the monument is given.

Ἐπίγραμμα

Τούσδ' ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα στεφάνοις ἐγέραιρε παλαίχθων  
δῆμος Ἀθηναίων, οἳ ποτε τοὺς ἀδίκους  
θεσμοῖς ἄρξαντας πόλεως πρῶτοι καταπαύειν  
ἤρξαν, κίνδυνον σώμασιν ἀράμενοι.

From Aeschines' account it can be inferred that: i) The monument was erected following a decree proposed by Archinos. ii) There were likely more than a hundred honorands. iii) They were honored both collectively (with the grant of a thousand drachmas to the group) and individually (with an olive crown for each).

Until 1941, the only piece of epigraphic evidence was the fragmentary decree *IG II<sup>2</sup> 10*. From the preserved text it is evident that the decree granted privileges to **non-Athenians** who had assisted Thrasybulos in the restoration of democracy. The names of the honorands are listed under tribal headings in columns beneath the text of the decree and on the reverse of the stele. Three additional fragments of this list were identified in 1952.<sup>1</sup>

Some scholars had proposed the identification of this decree with that known from Aeschines. But in 1941 there was a breakthrough, when A. E. Raubitschek published his article on the original monument for the Heroes of Phyle.<sup>2</sup>

Here I would like to give a brief history of the fragments of this monument. In 1933 B. D. Meritt published three inscribed fragments which he thought belonged to a casualty-list in *Hesperia*.<sup>3</sup>

1. See now Rhodes-Osborne, *GHI* no. 4.

2. A. E. Raubitschek, The Heroes of Phyle, *Hesperia* 10 (1941) 284-295.

3. B. D. Meritt, The Inscriptions, *Hesperia* 2 (1933) 151-155, no. 3.

Raubitschek added two more fragments to Meritt's original three. His main contribution was to identify part of the epigram cited by Aeschines on Meritt's fragment *a*. On this basis, he assigned all of the fragments to the monument erected in honor of Thrasyboulos and his companions. In this way, the monument described by Aeschines became epigraphically visible for the first time.

Now, as concerns their findspots, all the fragments were found in the Agora excavations near the building identified by L. T. Shear as the Metroon. This was not surprising given that according to Aeschines, the monument for Thrasyboulos and his companions had been set up in the Metroon.

The original width of the monument cannot be determined with precision. Raubitschek estimated the width on the assumption that the inscription was arranged symmetrically according to a vertical axis passing through the left edge of the second column of the list of names. The position of the two small fragments is very uncertain.

The preserved fragments contain a small part of the heading, parts of the list of names of the Athenians inscribed in tribal order in two columns. Below the list there are a few letters from the epigram and from the decree of Archinos. Despite its preserved thickness, Raubitschek considered the monument to be a stele and restored the heading as follows:

[οἶδε καταλαμβάντες Φυλ]ήν  
[τὸν δῆμον κατήγαγον].<sup>4</sup>

Both the expressions κατέλαβον Φυλήν and κατήγαγον τὸν δῆμον are frequently attested in ancient sources and seem to have been formulaic.<sup>5</sup>

From Raubitschek's restorations one may assume that he understood the document to be an honorific decree with a list of names of the honorands under tribal headings. However, in decrees giving privileges to or bestowing honours on groups of Athenians or foreigners (for example, democratic exiles), the legal text of the decree precedes and the list of the names follows, cf. *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 10, mentioned above, and the Theozotides decree, i.e. the decree for the orphans of the Athenian democrats who had been murdered by the oligarchs.<sup>6</sup> Given this evidence, one wonders why in the case of the inscription for the Heroes of Phyle the list of names precedes the decree.

Though the exact number of names inscribed is uncertain, since the preserved fragments do not join each other, Raubitschek estimated approximately 58 or slightly more names but definitely fewer than the more than one hundred men implied by Aeschines. Raubitschek then assumed that there might have been a second list with the rest of the names inscribed below the decree. From the restored names he concluded that the first 58 men were Thrasyboulos and

4. The following occupied Phyle and restored the democracy (translation by P. Harding, *From the End of the Peloponnesian War to the Battle of Ipsus*, Cambridge 1985, no. 7).

5. Xen. *Hell.* 2,4.2: ἐκ δὲ τούτου Θρασύβουλος ὀρμηθεὶς ἐκ Θεβῶν ὡς σὺν ἑβδομήκοντα Φυλὴν χωρίον καταλαμβάνει ἰσχυρόν; Arist. *Plut.* 1146: μὴ μνησικακῆσης, εἰ σὺ Φυλὴν κατέλαβες; Diod. Sic. 14,32: κατελάβετο τῆς Ἀττικῆς χωρίον ὀνομαζόμενον Φυλὴν. For the restoration [τὸν δῆμον κατήγαγον], cf. below Aesch. *Against Ctesiphon* (III) 187, 190.

6. R. S. Stroud, *Hesperia* 40 (1971) 280-301 (*SEG* 28, 46); A. P. Matthaiou, *Tὰ ἐν τῇ στήλῃ γεγραμμένα. Six Greek Historical Inscriptions of the Fifth Century B.C.*, Athens 2012, 71-81.

his companions, who according to Pausanias were 60 in number, although Xenophon's number is about 70.

Raubitschek very cleverly restored the name of Thrasyboulos, son of Lykos of the deme Steiria, in the left column under the tribe Pandionis ([Θρασύβολος Λύκο Στειρ]ιεύς). Similarly, he restored the name of Archinos in the second column under his tribe Hippothontis: Ἀρχίν[ος Μυρωνίδο ἐκ Κοίλης]. He further noted that it was probably no coincidence that both names were listed first under their tribal headings.

At the end of the list, under a separate heading, a few further names are recorded. According to Raubitschek's restorations Ἐ[λευθερᾶθεν] or Ἐ[λευθερεῖς], these men came from the small town of Eleutherai, which was not an Attic deme but which was under Athenian control.

The epigram was of course restored by Raubitschek on the basis of the text of Aeschines. As for the decree, from the letters preserved in the second line, ΚΗ, and the trace of a Φ, Raubitschek restored the name Kephisophon of the deme of Paiania, as the chairman (ἐπεστώτε). Kephisophon would have held that post only when his tribe Pandionis was in prytany, and so Raubitschek restored [Πανδιονίς ἐπρυτάνευε].

Kephisophon of Paiania was a member of the Council of the 500 in the year of the archonship of Eucleides, 403/402 B.C., see *IG II<sup>2</sup> 1*, the decrees in honor of the loyal Samians, where Kephisophon appears both as proposer of a decree and as secretary of the Council. Accordingly, the prescript of the decree of Archinos was restored by Raubitschek on the basis of the prescript of the decree in honor of the Samians; on the basis of this restoration, the decree of Archinos was attributed to the archontic year 403/2 B.C.

A comparison of the text of the decree as restored by Raubitschek with the text in Eustratiadis' copy shows that some of Raubitschek's restorations had to be abandoned. It thus became crucial to locate the actual stone depicted in Eustratiadis' drawing.

According to Eustratiadis's note, in 1873 the inscription was deposited in the epigraphical collection of the Acropolis. Most of the Acropolis inscriptions were transferred by Eustratiadis and St. Ath. Koumanoudis to the epigraphical collection of the Central Museum, which is now housed in the Epigraphical Museum. I located the fragment in the old handwritten catalogue of the Acropolis inscriptions, which is nowadays kept in the Epigraphical Museum. The fragment was indeed kept in the Epigraphical Museum with the inventory number 2756 (fig. 2).

Autopsy of the stone was slightly disappointing. The inscribed surface is badly worn; part of the epigram and the largest part of the decree are so illegible that it would have been almost impossible to identify the text without the help of Eustratiadis' copy.

The fragment is broken on all sides. It can be precisely placed, on the basis of the preserved letters of the epigram, between Agora fragments *a* and *b*. This observation made it highly possible that the new fragment might have a physical join with fragment *b*. The two fragments were placed side by side in June 2006 in the Epigraphical Museum, where the Agora fragments *a* and *b* were transferred for this purpose.

Raubitschek had assumed that Agora fragments *a* and *b* joined each other, but this had not been verified. Matthaiou had come to the same conclusion. In the process of examining the

fragments, the architect Prof. Manolis Korres sensed that the new fragment could be joined to fragment *b*: indeed, despite the fact that all the surfaces of the new fragment are almost entirely worn, Korres managed to join the two fragments (fig. 3).

The re-discovery of the new fragment, autopsy of all the extant fragments, and analysis of the entire monument led to considerable changes to the text of the inscription and its interpretation. I will mention the most important new data, but I would like to state in advance that the preserved epigraphical text confirms the accuracy of Aeschines' transmission of the epigram.

Just like the epigram, the decree is inscribed stoichedon. Unfortunately, we cannot estimate the exact line-length, since no line can be fully restored.

In line one, the surviving letters of the prescript in the new fragment yield the following text: [Ἔδοξ]εν τ[ῶι δήμῳι] (resolved by the demos), which is more probable restoration than [Ἔδοξ]εν τ[ῆι βουλῆι] (resolved by the boule).

From the archon's name only the ending is preserved: [---]ος ἦρχεν. The name of the archon of the year 401/0 perfectly fits the gap. [Ξεναινετ]ος ἦρχεν. It now becomes clear that the decree was not passed in the archonship of Eucleides (403/2), as was previously thought. It should be noted that the placement of the decree in the year of Xenainetos had already been considered by some scholars, but was later abandoned.

The decree *IG II<sup>2</sup> 10* in honor of non-Athenians who assisted in restoring the democracy is almost certainly dated to the same archonship. I think it is more plausible to assume that Archinos' decree in honor of the Athenian heroes of Phyle was passed before the rewards for the non-Athenian men who had fought for democracy. In any case, both decrees belong to the same year, that is, the year of Xenainetos, when the reconciliation agreement was finalized. Aristotle in *Ath. Pol.* 40.4 leaves no doubts: διελύθησαν δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Ἐλευσίνι [κατο]ικήσαντας, ἔπει τρίτῳ μετὰ τὴν ἐξοίκησιν, ἐπὶ Ξεναινέτου ἄρχοντος.

The tribe in prytany is certainly Pandionis, but the name of the secretary is unknown. As already mentioned, of the name of the chairman only the letters ΚΗΦ are preserved. The restoration *Kephisophon Paianieus* suggested by Raubitschek is still attractive despite the chronological re-arrangement of the text. It is possible that this active citizen served in the council in two non-consecutive years, 403/2 and 401/0. However, we cannot dismiss the possibility that another Athenian of another deme was chairman.

After the verb ἐπεστάτε one can discern the two initial letters -ΑΡ- of the name of the proposer. The new fragment confirms Aeschines' testimony that the proposer of the decree was Archinos.

After that line the text becomes illegible. In the attempt to reconstruct at least some words of the original decree, the only safe guide could be the text of Aeschines who provides a paraphrase of Archinos' decree (see p. 90 above).

The accusative τοὺς τῶν on the third line of the decree suggests that the people mentioned here are the object of an infinitive: I think ἐπαινεῖσαι (to praise) is a very likely restoration, and I have placed it in the apparatus criticus: [ἐπαινεῖσαι με]ν τοὺς τῶν... (to praise these men of those...). The use of the construction τοὺς τῶν, the latter word probably the remnant of a

partitive genitive, implies that the honorands were part of a larger group (I suggested e.g. [ἐπαϊνέσαι μὲ]ν τοὺς τῶν [ἀπὸ Φυλῆς (φεύγοντα) τὸν δῆμον καταγαγόντας]).

At this stage, I can only put forward the hypothesis that this larger group was the Athenians who were called “οἱ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς”. Foreigners do not have a place in the text, because foreign democrats who also fought at Phyle were honored in the decree *IG II<sup>2</sup> 10*. Now, Xenophon gives the total number of the men who marched from Phyle (οἱ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς) to Piraeus as around 1000. Excluding the foreigners, it is clear that a lot of Athenians had joined Thrasyboulos and his original companions-in-arms at Phyle.

I believe that the men honored in Archinos’ decree were only a select group of those ἀπὸ Φυλῆς who eventually returned to Piraeus. Archinos set a strict criterion for inclusion in this select group of honorands: they had to be among those who were besieged at Phyle by the Spartans and the Thirty in the winter of 404/3. According to Aeschines, these men were just over one hundred in number. It is likely that after the restoration of democracy, many more people started claiming that they had been part of the original group of besieged democrats. Such absurd claims prompted Archinos to instruct the Council to establish the exact identity of those originally besieged at Phyle.

In line 4, the sequence of letters -ΣΙΑ- could belong to the part of the decree that mentioned the grant of a thousand drachmas for sacrifice and dedicatory offerings. On the basis of Aeschines’ wording, πρῶτον μὲν αὐτοῖς εἰς θυσίαν καὶ ἀναθήματα δοῦναι χιλίας δραχμάς, we could attribute the preserved letters ΣΙΑ to the word θυσίαν, and restore [δῶναι δὲ αὐτοῖς (δωρεάν) τὸν δῆμον [χιλίας δραχμάς ἐς θυ]σίαν [καὶ ἀναθήματα] (and let the people give them a grant of a thousand drachmas for a sacrifice and for offerings). Once more, all these supplements should be relegated to the *apparatus criticus*.

Reexamination of the Agora fragments has also allowed me to offer a different interpretation of the type of the monument and of the nature of the inscription. The original thickness of the monument is not preserved but the extant thickness of fragment *a*, which is 0,305 m. thick, makes it clear that the monument was a large base rather than a stele.<sup>7</sup>

Korres estimated that the base was approximately one and a half meters high and suggested that it supported an offering, presumably a statue. As a working hypothesis, Matthaiou tentatively suggested to me that this was a statue of Democracy or of the Athenian Demos. It should be noted that in the sanctuary of Herakles at Thebes Thrasyboulos and his companions who set out from Thebes and captured Phyle had dedicated two colossal marble reliefs of Athena and Heracles, carved by Alcamenes (Paus. 9,11.6).

The heading of the inscription should be restored in accordance with formulas of similar dedicatory inscriptions: we could restore, for example, [οἱδ’ ἀνέθεσαν καταλαβόντες Φυλ]ῆν | [καὶ τὸν δῆμον καταγαγόντες].<sup>8</sup> Then follows the list of the dedicators, the honorific epigram, and the honorific decree.

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7. The same observation has also been made independently by Julia Shear in her 2011 monograph *Polis and Revolution. Responding to Oligarchy in Classical Athens*. Cambridge 2011, 274-275.

8. The following men who captured Phyle and brought the people back from exile made the dedication.

Honorary decrees inscribed on bases bearing dedications are not rare. Our monument would be morphologically similar to other monuments erected on the Acropolis or in the Agora by various officials, e.g. *prytaneis*, after they were honored by the people and the Boule for the performance of their tasks; cf. *Agora XV* 1, the dedication of the prytaneis of Erechtheis of 408/7 B.C. The inscribed base supported a dedication to Athena, probably a statue; the dedication on the base mentioned the official status of the dedicators: [τῆι Ἀθηνᾶ]ἱαὶ ἀνέθεσαν πρυτάνες Ἐρεχθίδος | νικ[ήσαν]τες ἐπ' Εὐκτήμονος ἄρχοντος.

Returning to the monument for the Heroes of Phyle, the exact number of the men recorded depends on the position of fragment *c*, which is still uncertain. As Korres has pointed out, after a technical examination of the stone, fragment *c* could be placed higher but only towards the right. This would lead to an increased estimated width, and by implication to an increased estimate of the number of the recorded men. In other words, the number of the names inscribed on the stone could be increased to 68 or 70 names, which would agree with the number given by Xenophon of the men who captured Phyle.

However, the number of circa 70 Athenians listed in the catalogue would still be incompatible with the more than one hundred men implied by Aeschines. The orator, commenting on Archinos' motion to grant a thousand drachmas to the men from Phyle for sacrifices and offerings, claimed that the amount corresponded to less than ten drachmas per man. At any rate, the monument of the Heroes of Phyle cannot have been dedicated by all those who were besieged at Phyle and honored by Archinos' decree (who were more than one hundred), but only by the Athenians who occupied Phyle and restored democracy. These are exactly the men who are referred in the epigram as the first to oppose the tyrants (οἱ πρῶτοι καταπαύειν ἤρξαν). And these men must be Thrasyboulos and his approximately 70 companions, as has already been argued by other scholars.

Unfortunately few names of the honored democrats survive.<sup>9</sup> Raubitschek already identified Thrasyboulos and Archinos, and he even suggested, on grounds of historical plausibility, that Kephisophon of Paiania might also have been included. Further, he tentatively included under the tribe Aigeis Thrasyboulos, son of Thrason, of the deme Kolyttos, who was known for his deep enmity towards Alcibiades. This second Thrasyboulos is also attested to have been one of the Athenians who was at Phyle and Piraeus.

To sum up, the new fragment of the monument for the Heroes of Phyle has contributed significantly to the exact dating of the decree of Archinos mentioned by Aeschines. It has improved the reading of the preserved text on the stone and has also improved our understanding and interpretation of the monument as a whole. My study, in which I was considerably helped by Manolis Korres and Angelos Matthaiou, has shown that this is a dedicatory base and not a stele recording a decree. The dedicatory monument refers not to all the Athenians ἀπὸ Φυλῆς honored by Archinos' decree but only to the 70 Athenians who first captured Phyle. These are referred in the epigram as the first to try to put down the Thirty (οἱ πρῶτοι καταπαύειν ἤρξαν).

9. After autopsy of the fragments I have been able to read two new names, in. ll. 25 and 26 respectively, see *HOPOS* 22-25 (2010-2013) [2014] 129.

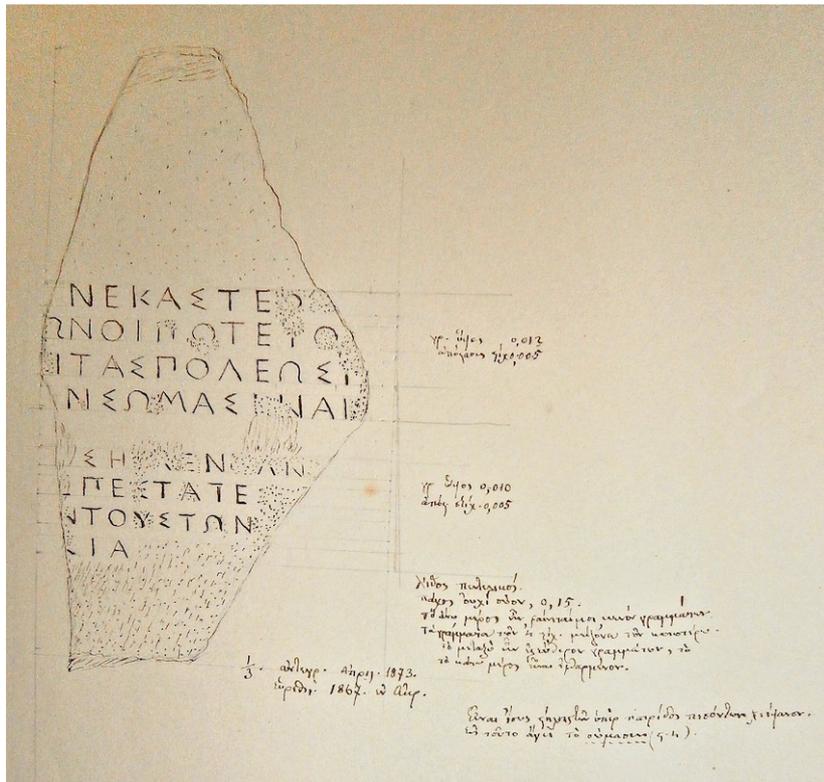


Fig. 1. Copy by P. Eustratiadis  
(Archive of the Archaeological Society at Athens: Archive of P. Eustratiadis).



Fig. 2. EM 2756 (phot. Epigraphical Museum).



Fig. 3. M. Korres showing the adjoining fragments.