

AEGINA AND MEGARA (IG IV.2² 750) 

A decree found on Aegina in the eighteenth century honors a citizen, Diodorus, for his services as *agoranomos*;¹ the date is “year 64” of the province, the 80s B.C.E. The grain-purchase fund was exhausted by war requisitions, pirates had entered and overrun the territory, there was famine, but he saw to it that grain was sufficient:

ἀπὸ συνόδρων καὶ τοῦ δάμου· ἐ[πει ὑπὸ]	
τῶν πολιτῶν Διόδωρος Ἡρακλ[εῖδα]	
κατασταθεὶς ἀγορανόμος [τὸ τέ]-	4
ταρτον [καὶ] ἐξηκοστὸν ἔτος τὰ[ν ἐπι]-	
μέλειαν [πε]ποίηται τᾶς ἀρχᾶς ἀ[ξίως τᾶς]	
ἐγγειρισ[θείσα]ς αὐτῶι ὑπὸ τοῦ [δάμου]	
πίστιος, [τοῦ μὲν] σιτωνικοῦ κατ[αναλισκο]-	8
μένου εἰς [στρατι]ωτικὰς οἰκονομ[ίας περὶ]	
[π]όλεμον, ἔτ[ι δὲ τῶ]ν πειρατῶν ἐπερ[χομένων]	
κα[ὶ κ]ατατρεχ[όντων] τὰν χώραν, ἅμ[α καὶ ἐν]-	
δείας οὔσας δ[ιὰ τὸ π]λειστοπολ[- - - - -]	12
[π]αρέχων ἱκανὸν σ[ῆτο]ν (κτλ.)	

1. First copied by Fourmont; now, with improved readings and restorations, K. Hallof, *IG IV.2² 750* and pl. 15.

From the *synedroi* and the people: inasmuch as Diodorus son of Hercleidas, appointed *agoranomos* for year 64, has overseen the office in a manner worthy of the trust of the people that elected him: with the grain fund being consumed in the generals' expenditures in war, and again pirates entering and overrunning the territory, and famine . . . , supplying sufficient grain (etc.)

Diodorus is awarded a crown, to be proclaimed at the city's festivals:

ἀγακαρ[ύσσεσθαι δὲ]
[τὸν] στέφανον ἔν τ[ε] τοῖς Διο[νυσίοις καὶ]
[Ἴ]ηρακ[λειοῖς καὶ [Ῥ]ωμαί[οις] οἷς ᾄν [ἅ πόλις] 32
[τῶι τ]ε Ἀπόλλωνι [καὶ] τῶι Ῥώμα[ι] τιθῆι· τοῦς]
[δ' ἐπι]μελητὰς στάλαν λιθίν[αν ἐγ]δοῦναι (κτλ.)

and to proclaim the crown at the Dionysia and Heracleia and Rhomaia that the city holds for Apollo and Rome; the overseers are to contract for a marble stele (etc.)

Two aspects of this decree cause concern: place and date.

PLACE

The dialect gives the first warning. In 210 B.C.E. the Aeginetans were sold into slavery by Rome (τῶν τάλαιπύρων Αἰγινητῶν, Polyb. 11.5.8); the island itself was given to the Aetolians, who sold it to Attalus I of Pergamum. The polis attested on Aegina in the second century B.C.E. and later must have been a creation of the Attalid monarchy. Why should that new community have spoken Doric?

In fact, Koine is what is largely in evidence. Thus five other decrees (*IG* 747 ff.) are in Koine. So, too, the magistrate lists of the second and first centuries B.C.E. (805 ff.); and two honorific texts come from the δῆμος.² There is an occasional Doric name among the magistrates (Eudamos 813, Mnasitimos 814). But it is not surprising that some Dorian families were on the island; more names, where a distinction can be made, are Koine. The exception in official usage, apart from ours, is a sliver that Fraenkel restored as a decree in Doric (753.7 τὸ]ν [δ]ᾰμον). These two are isolated among the several dozen public acts in Koine, and this raises the possibility that both are *pierres errantes*.

Second, the magistrates invoked in the decree: its *agoranomos* and *tamias*, and *epimeletai* to see to the inscribing, might be found anywhere. But the city is governed by the *synedroi* and the *damos*: thus line 2, and lines 24–25 (δε]δόχθαι [τοῖς συνέδροις καὶ τῶι δά[μωι]). Aegina's other decrees show *boule* and *demos*, *strategoι*, and once (749.45) a "scribe of the people" to do the inscribing: there is little overlap.

Third, cults: our city gave first honor to Apollo. It made proclamations at the Dionysia (the common practice everywhere) and λείοις καὶ [Ῥ]ωμαί[οις]; Attalid Aegina used the Attaleia-Eumeneia-Nikephoria and the Dionysia (749.30). Nothing suggests that the patron of old Aegina was Apollo. It was probably Zeus Hellanios, whose temple in the south of the island was built by his son Aeacus. For Pindar, Aegina was the "shining star of Zeus Hellanios" ([δ] Διὸς Ἑλλανίου φαεννὸν ἄστρον, *Pae.* 6.125, frag. 52f S.-M.); at Naucratis the Aeginetans established their own τέμενος

2. *IG* 771 already in the third century B.C.E. (recall that 210 B.C.E. was not the first expulsion of the Aeginetans); 773 of the first century B.C.E.

Διός (Hdt. 2.178.3). That polity, the descendants of Aeacus, was gone, but at least some of their traditions remained under the Attalids: a decree of the Attalid city cites [τὴν Ἡρακ]λέους πρὸς Αἰακὸν συγγένειαν (*IG* 747.17). Why should the Attalid city have changed the patron god to Apollo?

All of this suggests that this stone has come to Aegina from one of the mainland cities that ring the island. There, Doric continued in use into Imperial times. As to magistrates, the government of late Hellenistic Megara was οἱ σύνεδροι καὶ ὁ δᾶμος;³ of Epidaurus, ἔδοξε τοῖς συνέδροις καὶ τῷ δάμῳ (*IG* IV.1² 63.9, late second century B.C.E.); and of Argos, ἔδοξε τῷ δάμῳ καὶ τοῖς συνέδροις (*SEG* XXII 266, c. 100 B.C.E.).

Pythian Apollo was honored throughout the region,⁴ including on Aegina (schol. Pind. *Nem.* 3.122a), and the temple of Apollo Pythaeus on the site of old Asine has been seen as the center of a religious amphictyony.⁵ But for most cities, he was not the chief god. Thus Troizen gave first honor to Poseidon (Plut. *Thest.* 6.1; Strabo 8.6.14), Hermione to Demeter Chthonia, Calauria to Poseidon (Ephorus *FGrH* 70 f 150). At Epidaurus, Apollo Maleatas and Asclepius shared the chief temple, with public proclamations at the Apollonia-Asklapieia (*IG* IV.1² 65–66). At Argos, the chief god was Apollo Lykeios, but perhaps joined by Hera.⁶ But Apollo as sole patron is certain only at Megara—Apollo Pythaeus. His chief temple was in the countryside,⁷ a lesser one in the city on the western acropolis (Paus. 1.42.5); the great national festival, the Πυθᾶεια, was distinct from the Πυθᾶεια [τὰ ἐν ἄ]στε[ι] (*IG* VII 48; cf. Philostr. *VS* 1.24.5: τὰ Πύθια τὰ μικρά).

The proclamation for Diodorus (lines 31–33) might look to be stipulated for three occasions. But Rhomaia were usually an appendage to the existing chief festival. We should understand two festivals, the Dionysia (widely used for proclamations) and the chief festival (now compounded with the cult of Dea Roma). Apollo (line 33) ought not to be the honorand of [Ἡρακ]λείοις, or of Fraenkel's (otherwise unknown) [Αἰα]κείοις. Megara is one of the cities that is known to have added the cult of Roma to its national festival: a victory list of the second or first century B.C.E. includes Πυθᾶεια καὶ Ῥώμια τὰ ἐμ Μεγάροις ἵππιον καὶ ὀπλίταν (*IG* IV.1² 629). In the decree for Diodorus, restore:

ἐν τ[ε] τοῖς Διο[νυσίοις καὶ]
 [Πυθ]αείοις καὶ [Ῥ]ωμαί[οι]ς οἷς ἄγ[ει] ἅ πόλις]⁸ 32
 [τῷ τ]ε Ἀπόλλωνι [καὶ] τῷ Ῥώμα[ι] τὸς δὲ]
 [ἐπι]μελητὰς (κτλ.)

In sum, the diagnostic features of this decree do not point to the usages of Aegina; taken together, they point only to Megara. More than 150 inscriptions have come to

3. *IG* VII 18.5 [Canali di Rossi 1997, no. 215], first century B.C.E.; cf. 20.19, a letter from Tanagra to τὸ συνέδριον καὶ τὸν [δῆμ]ον of Megara.

4. Cf. Vollgraff 1956, 29–31; Kowalzig 2007, 145–48.

5. E.g., Farnell 1907, 215 n. b; recently Kowalzig 2007, 129–80 (highly speculative: “all the communities of the eastern Argolid” [p. 160] goes far beyond the evidence). Vollgraff (1956, 32–33) thinks rather of historical filiation of those cities where Apollo Pythaeus is found.

6. Paus. 2.19.3; *IG* IV 559; Moretti 1967, no. 42 (stele in the temple of Apollo, proclamation at the Heraia and Nemea, c. 170 B.C.E.), no. 40 (steles at Apollo and Hera, proclamations at the Hekatombaia and the Nemea, c. 300 B.C.E.).

7. At Tripodiscus, in my view: Rigsby 1987.

8. For this phrase compare ἐν τ[ο]ῖς ἀγ[ῶσιν οἷς] ἄγει ἅ πόλις at Epidaurus, *IG* IV.1² 63.17. The subjunctive (τῷ τῆι in 33) would be out of place when festivals are specified—normally it characterizes πᾶσι τοῖς ἀγῶσιν.

in late summer.¹⁷ Antonius is likely to have intervened in Epidaurus before then: hence “year 74” = 74/73, and year 1 = 147/46.

If this is so, then there is no firm basis for holding that the era attested in the south was different from that in the north. That is to say, there was no era of Achaëa (that distinct province lay far in the future),¹⁸ but only the era of the one province, Macedonia, from 147/46. Others have already urged that there was only one era.¹⁹ We can imagine the potential confusion of distinct eras, separated by only a year or two, coexisting in the province. And *cui bono*? Why would the southern cities choose to commemorate their addition to the province, or the sack of Corinth, rather than simply use the existing era? If Antonius was at Epidaurus in the first half of 73 B.C.E., then there is no need to postulate a distinct era in the south, and all the era dates on record may be assumed to descend from 147/46. At Megalopolis, we have a text already of “year 2,” so 146/45 (*IG* V.2 439); of particular interest is the treaty between Rome and Epidaurus in “year 34,” 114/13 (*IG* IV.1² 63); the Andania foundation, “year 55,” is 93/92 (*IG* V.1 1390).

Diodorus’ office at Megara was therefore in 84/83,²⁰ when he found devastation caused by war requisitions and pirates. This date moves him closer to events that seem relevant.

As to pirates, the troubles of the 80s are well known. Plutarch says that 400 cities and many temples were taken by them during the Mithridatic wars; his examples include some places in the Argolid.²¹ We can hardly doubt that Megara (and also Aegina) suffered. Sulpicius Rufus, sailing from Aegina to Megara thirty years later, lamented the ruination of both, and of Peiraeus and Corinth—though he states no occasions of the damage.²²

As to war, in 87 B.C.E. part of Sulla’s army of five legions bivouacked at Megara during the siege of Athens (App. *Mith.* 30). Athens fell on 1 March 86, Peiraeus soon after (Plut. *Sull.* 14.6–7). Sulla then moved his army to Boeotia, where the foraging was better (15.2), and in several battles defeated the forces of Mithridates (late 86). After some actions further north, he took four cohorts to Asia to confront Mithridates in person, in the fourth year after the Vespers (85: Plut. *Sull.* 24.4). Returning to Greece, he spent some time at leisure and administration. In the course of 84/83 the Roman army, some 40,000 (App. *BCiv.* 1.79), returned to Italy, laden with plunder (Paus. 2.21.6); they took ship at Patrae.²³ To reach there they had to pass through the Megarid; they will have lived off the land, as they surely had done during the

17. Trümper 1997, 140–42.

18. “This Achaean business,” Cicero called it in 46 (*hoc Achaicum negotium*, *Fam.* 4.4.2).

19. These include Holleaux, Wilhelm (sometimes), Klaffenbach, and others; see Tod 1918/19, 206–17, for citations; cf. Reinach 1904, 12; Wilhelm 1907, 20–22 (disputing Foucart). On the Aegina inscription, Wilhelm followed Fraenkel in assigning the year to what was then thought to be a Pergamene era of 134/33; cf. Rigsby 1979.

20. At what season the Megarian year changed is unknown; possibly in late autumn, see Trümper 1997, 147–55.

21. *Pomp.* 24. Several inscriptions recording trouble and famine have been assigned to these years but cannot be more narrowly dated: e.g., *FD* III.4 55 (Delphi), 69 (Daulis).

22. Cic. *Fam.* 4.5.4 (45 B.C.E.): *post me erat Aegina, ante me Megara, dextra Piraeus, sinistra Corinthus, quae oppida quodam tempore florentissima fuerunt, nunc prostrata et diruta ante oculos iacent . . . tot oppidum cadavera.*

23. So Appian (Peiraeus to Patrae to Brundisium). Plutarch (*Sull.* 27.1) says northern Greece to the sea to Dyrrachium to Brundisium; as this information is incidental to his account of the capture of a satyr, we should probably prefer Appian.

operations against Athens in 86. The soil of Megara was already poor by nature (Strabo 9.1.8). Whether or not the Romans had evacuated before the August grain harvest, we can suspect that the crop of 84 was destroyed or consumed. So we can see why, when Diodorus took up his duties as *agoranomos* in 84, he found the granaries of the Megarid empty.

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