

HESPERIA: SUPPLEMENT XII

# THE ATHENIAN CONSTITUTION AFTER SULLA



BY  
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TO MY  
MOTHER



## PREFACE

To write a detailed description of the Athenian Constitution is hardly a novel idea; the earliest preserved attempt occurred in the fourth century before Christ. Such a project is significantly more complicated today because of reliance on documents whose survival is largely a matter of chance. In recent years the number of preserved documents has greatly increased as a result both of archeological excavation and of chance finds. This material has been carefully organized in the second edition of the *Inscriptiones Graecae* (1913-1940) and in the publications of the results of the excavations by the American School of Classical Studies in the Athenian Agora (continuing since 1933). Yet no comprehensive survey of the evidence for the Athenian Constitution under the Roman Empire has been undertaken in this century.

In this study the attempt has been made to examine the text of every known Athenian inscription which can be dated to the period after the new constitution of Sulla, and from these to collect the references to the civic offices and institutions. In most instances all of these references are cited in one way or another, but occasionally the numbers of inscriptions have made this impractical (e.g., the prytany lists). Without the work of previous scholars this study would hardly have been possible, and many of their findings have been incorporated, notably of W. S. Ferguson and Paul Graindor, Bruno Keil and Josef Delz, and those whose work has been based upon the material from the Athenian Agora, S. Dow, B. D. Meritt, J. Notopoulos, J. H. Oliver, A. E. Raubitschek, and many others. Five appendices have been added presenting evidence for many of the conclusions: the first re-grouping the known dedications by the civic corporations of Roman Athens, the second re-interpreting material already published, and the last three presenting hitherto unpublished material.

A systematic investigation of the evidence for alterations and development in the Athenian Constitution has been excluded from the scope of this purely descriptive study. Yet the very gathering and arranging of the evidence has pointed out much not yet noticed, e.g. the first appendix revealed unexpected patterns among the honorary decrees. The following items in the history of the constitution might be pointed out. The appropriateness of using the capture of Athens by Sulla as a point of division is confirmed by the evidence from alterations in the nature of institutions and documentation.<sup>1</sup> The first century before Christ is noteworthy for a degree of fluctuation. Outside of the oil law and the reorganization of the *boule* there is little evidence of the Hadrianic reforms, but there is evidence of attempts to revive liturgical institu-

<sup>1</sup> Professor B. D. Meritt has called my attention to the numismatic evidence for change in the first century B.C., dated to Sulla's sack by Margaret Thompson, *Num. Chron.*, II, 1962, pp. 275-300, but to a later date by D. M. Lewis, *ibid.*, pp. 301-333.

tions.<sup>2</sup> Lively activity took place in the second half of the second century after Christ, coinciding with recovery from a severe and prolonged depression. Numerous changes in terminology reflect an attempt to bring the institutions of government into harmony with changing demands. Simultaneously with the lively activity the symptoms of the coming financial crisis developing throughout the Roman Empire appear. At Athens indications of the continued constriction of the financial base of the civic institutions become clear, and the hypothesis is advanced that certain alternations in the organization and membership of the *boule* are related to the confiscations of the civic endowments by Maximinus Thrax.

This investigation was first suggested by Professor James H. Oliver, and the author is deeply indebted for his guidance and suggestions. The work was facilitated by fellowships granted by the Johns Hopkins University and the American School of Classical Studies. Special gratitude is due to Mr. Frederick C. Crawford and the trustees of the American School of Classical Studies whose personal generosity has provided the means for this publication. Professor Benjamin D. Meritt has been most generous in permitting the inclusion of unpublished material from the Athenian Agora and making valuable suggestions. The staff of the Agora Excavations and Dr. Markellos Mitsos, director of the Epigraphical Museum in Athens, together with his staff have been of inestimable assistance in facilitating access to the documents in their collections. Professors Eugene Vanderpool and Henry T. Rowell have assisted by their readings and suggestions, while the painstaking and patient editorial assistance of Mrs. Lucy Shoe Meritt graces every page. Access to their collections and bibliographical assistance have been generously provided by the Milton Eisenhower Library of the Johns Hopkins University, the Library of the American School of Classical Studies in Athens, and the Widener Library of Harvard University.

DANIEL J. GEAGAN

SEPTEMBER, 1965

<sup>2</sup> The most recent discussion of the Hadrianic reforms is to be found in Oliver, "Athens of Hadrian."

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B. D. Meritt has called to the author's attention the recent conclusions of O. W. Reinmuth, *B.C.H.*, XC, 1966, pp. 93-100, that the archon Apolexis of *Hesperia*, XXXIV, 1965, pp. 255-262, and S. Dow, *Prytaneis*, no. 113, pp. 182-183, is to be dated to 46/5 B.C. Reinmuth's article appeared too late to be used in this book, but it ought not to cause any difficulties with the conclusions.

<u>IG II<sup>2</sup> 1714</u> a. 88/7 a.	none	Βασιλεύς	πολέμαρχος	Θεσμοθέτας	
<u>IG II<sup>2</sup> 1715</u> a. 85/4 a.	ἄρχων	Βασιλεύς	πολέμαρχος	Θεσμοθέτας	
<u>IG II<sup>2</sup> 1727</u> a.a. 63/2 a.	ἄρχων	Βασιλεύς	πολέμαρχος	Θεσμοθέτας	
<u>IG II<sup>2</sup> 1717</u> a. 56/5 a.	ἄρχων	Βασιλεύς	πολέμαρχος	Θεσμοθέτας	
<u>IG II<sup>2</sup> 1720</u> c. a. 56/5?	[-----]	[-----]	[-----]	Θ[εσμοθέτας]	
<u>IG II<sup>2</sup> 1719</u> a. 46/5 a.	ἄρχων	Βασιλεύς	πολέμαρχος	Θεσμοθέτας	
<u>IG II<sup>2</sup> 1718</u> a. 36/5-18/7	ἄρχων [v]	Βασιλ[εύς]	πολέμαρχος	Θεσμοθ[έτας]	
<u>IG II<sup>2</sup> 1721</u> a. 14/3 a.	ἄρχων	Βασιλεύς	πολέμαρχος	Θεσμοθέτας	
<u>IG II<sup>2</sup> 1722</u> p. a. 9/8 a.	ἄρχων καὶ ἱερεὺς Δρ.	Βασιλεύς	πολέμαρχος	Θεσμοθέτας	
<u>IG II<sup>2</sup> 1724</u> p. a. 9/8 a.	ἄρχων [κ]αὶ ἱερεὺς Δρ.	Β[ασιλεύς]	[-----]	[-----]	
<u>IG II<sup>2</sup> 1725</u> p. a. 9/8 a.	ἄρχων καὶ ἱερεὺς Δρ.	The space remaining here is insufficient	[-----]	[-----]	
<u>IG II<sup>2</sup> 1726</u> p. a. 9/8 a.	ἄρχων καὶ ἱερεὺς Δρ.	[-----]	[-----]	[-----]	
<u>IG II<sup>2</sup> 1728</u> init. s. I p.	[-----]	[-----]	[-----]	[Θεσμοθέτας]	
<u>IG II<sup>2</sup> 1731</u> init. s. I p.	[-----]	[-----]	[-----]	[-----]	
<u>IG II<sup>2</sup> 1734</u> init. s. I p.	none	[Βασιλεύς]	[πολέμαρχος]	[Θεσμοθέτας]	
<u>IG II<sup>2</sup> 1729</u> init. s. I p.	[-----]	[-----]	[-----]	Θεσμοθέτας	
<u>IG II<sup>2</sup> 1723</u> a.a. 13/4 p.	ἐπ' ἄρχοντος καὶ ἱερεὺς Δρ.]	none	none	none	
<u>IG II<sup>2</sup> 1730</u> a.a. 22/3 p.	ἄρχων καὶ ἱερεὺς Δρ.	[Βασιλ]εύς	πολέμαρχος	Θεσμοθέτας	
<u>IG II<sup>2</sup> 1735</u> a. 50/1-52/3 p.	ἄρχων καὶ ἱερεὺς Δρ.]	[Βασιλεύς]	πολέμαρχος	Θεσμοθέτας	
<u>IG II<sup>2</sup> 1736</u> med. s. I p.	[-----]	[Βασιλεύς]	πολέμαρχος	Θεσμοθέτας	
<u>Hesp. III, p. 173</u> fin. s. I p.	[-----]	[-----]	[-----]	[-----]	
<u>IG II<sup>2</sup> 1736 a.</u> med. s. I p.	[-----]	[Β]ασιλ[εύς]	[π]ολέμαρχος	[χ]ρηματεύς	[Θεσμοθέτας]

Fig. 1

κῆρυξ Βουλᾶς ἐξ Ἄρειου πάγου	left blank	left blank	left blank	
[-----]	[-----]	[-----]	[-----]	
[-----]	[-----]	[-----]	[-----]	
κῆρυξ τῆς ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου Βουλᾶς	αὐλητής	κῆρυξ ἀρχοντος	δημόσιος	
κῆρυξ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου Βουλᾶς	αὐλητής	κῆρυξ [ἀρχοντος]	δημόσιος	
[-----]	[-----]	[-----]	[-----]	
κῆρυξ τῆς ἐξ Ἀρέου [πάγου Βουλᾶς]	κῆρυξ ἀρχοντος	[-----]	[-----]	
κῆρυξ τῆς ἐξ Ἀρέου πάγου Βουλᾶς	κῆρυξ ἀρχοντος	αὐλητής	λεστουργάς	
κῆρυξ τῆς ἐξ Ἀρεοπάγου Βουλᾶς	κῆρυξ ἀρχοντος	αὐλητής	λεστουργός	
[-----]	[-----]	[-----]	[-----]	
for the full complement of names, s. Dow, p. 60.	[-----]	[-----]	[-----]	
[-----]	[-----]	[-----]	[-----]	
[-----]	[-----]	[-----]	[-----]	
[κ]ῆρυξ τῆς ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου Βουλᾶς	κῆρυξ [ἀρχοντος]	αὐλητής	λεστουργάς	
[-----]	[κῆρυξ ἀρχοντος]	αὐλητής	λεστούργος	
[-----]	[-----]	[-----]	[-----]	
left blank	κῆρυξ ἀρχοντος	αὐλητής	λεστουργός	
στρατηγός [ἐπὶ τ. ὄπλ.]	κῆρυξ τῆς ἐξ [Α. π. β.]	κηρυκίσκος	αὐλητής	λεστουργός
[-----]	[-----]	[-----]	[-----]	[-----]
[-----]	[-----]	[-----]	[-----]	[-----]
[κῆρυξ τῆς ἐξ Α. [π. β.]	στρατηγός ἐπὶ τ. ὄπλ.]	[-----]	[-----]	[-----]
[-----]	[στρατηγός] ἐπὶ [τ. ὄπλ.]	κηρυκίσκος	λεστῶν	ἱεραύλης
nothing	κηρυκίσκος	ἱεραύλης	[-----]	

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### INDEX III. NAME AND SUBJECT INDEX

This index contains proper nouns and important words. Greek names are entered only under the name, i.e. patronymics are not listed separately. Roman names are entered under the *nomen* except for the names of Roman emperors, where the most commonly used name in English is the basis for entry (e.g. Augustus, Tiberius, Commodus, etc.). Names given in the epigraphical index are not included unless they appear in the text outside of the Appendix in which the inscription is published. Nouns designating a given office (e.g. *agonothesia*) are entered under the title of the holder of that office (*agonothetes*). The designations for Greek and Roman offices are entered usually in Greek or Latin, whichever was native to the land of origin of the term. Latin names are given with Latin spellings in italics generally, and most Greek names are given in italics, transliterated from the Greek, regardless of whether the form in the text is in Greek, in italic transliterated Greek, or in English translation.

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