INSCRIBING COMMON KNOWLEDGE

Creating an Imagined Greek Community through the Medium of Inscriptions

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Cover illustration: manipulated photograph of the theatre of Aphrodisias, Caria (ca. 300 BCE).
Picture taken by Sjoukje Kamphorst, 2010.
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Foreword

Thankfully, writing an MA-thesis is never a completely solitary effort. I would like to express my thanks to prof. Charles C. Crowther of Queen’s College, Oxford University for allowing me to consult part of his ongoing research into foreign judges; to my fellow students Hiske, Nadine and Floor, for quite a few productive study-sessions in the library; to my sister Simke for reading my entire draft version and correcting my English; and especially to Sander for his endless patience and support during stressful weeks, as well as for many meals cooked while I was working late. But above all, I am indebted to my supervisor prof. dr. Onno M. van Nijf for converting my reluctant attitude towards epigraphy into a lively interest in and even love of the field, for inspiring and encouraging me during many an hour of discussion in his office, and for never ceasing to see room for improvement. Of course, for all the suggestions and corrections that others have provided, any mistakes or oversights still contained in this thesis remain my own.
Abbreviations


BCH  *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique.*


IG  1890. *Inscriptiones Graecae.* Berlin.


SEG  1923--. *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum.* Leiden and Amsterdam.


ZPE  *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik.*
Introduction

The excavations of Greek cities of the Hellenistic period have provided us with so much inscribed (or: epigraphic) material, that it seems the civic environment of that period must have been absolutely teeming with inscriptions, most of them displayed in public and conspicuous places. They could range from short graffito’s and for instance epitaphs of just a name, put up by the people themselves, to grand catalogues of dedicatory gifts brought to a sanctuary, texts of hundreds of lines long and ordered by the city Council; from short honorific texts on statues to entire minutes of Council and Assembly meetings at which a law had been proposed and ratified. Despite the multitude of epigraphic evidence, of which the longer official texts were often inscribed on large flat stone slabs or stelai, it is for most texts unsure whether they were actually meant to be read. Apart from considerations of literacy and the properties of particular inscriptions which have made scholars doubt this, many of the longer official texts are so dry, formulaic and detailed that a comparison with modern-day legislative language is easily made. Now just as modern citizens without special inclination are unlikely to read lawbooks, especially while going about their business in the city, it seems unlikely that such texts enjoyed a large active readership in the Greek world. Why was it then so popular among the Greeks to inscribe the texts that were important to them, and why was there an enormous surge in this practice in the Hellenistic period, especially in the third and second centuries BCE?

In these first two centuries of the Hellenistic period, contact between the cities of the Greek world, which by this time surrounded the entire Mediterranean and extended into the East as far as modern Afghanistan, greatly intensified. Archaeological finds and literary evidence point to an increase in trade networks, a broadening worldview and a general globalization of the known world.1 These developments are not so surprising, especially in the light of their successive incorporation in larger-scale empires – first of Alexander the Great, then of his successors – and their accompanying world politics. What is however remarkable, is the cultural uniformity that was present in this world with all its interactions between different cities and people of varying cultural origins. Despite the often scattered character of settlements and the huge size of the area, Greek cultural identity became prominent throughout almost the entire territory of Alexander’s conquests. The increased interconnectivity of Greek cities can be seen as one of the primary conditions which enabled this process.

Now many of the inscriptions which are such a prominent characteristic of Hellenistic culture are in fact related to the connections between cities. In a sense, recording treaties, exchanges of ambassadors, grants of citizenship and various other diplomatic arrangements, together they form an intricate map of the interconnected Greek world. Moreover, the appearance of inscribed

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1 See for instance Williamson and Van Nijf (forthcoming); Stavrianopoulou (2013).
material throughout this world, relatively uniform in its Greek language, style and content, is obviously connected to the prominence of Greek culture in this area. Combining these two insights, I will argue that inscriptions were not only a manifestation of the cultural uniformity in this era, but a medium through which it could develop to a relatively large degree.

Of course, both the inscriptions connected to inter-city interactions and these interactions themselves have been the subject of scholarly studies before. Inscriptions have however in the past predominantly been valued as sources of information, providing us with essential data about Hellenistic institutions. Up until now, only few scholars have paid attention to their function as functional objects per se. Works like those of John Ma, Mary Beard, Guy Rogers and Onno van Nijf, who treat inscriptions as means of communication, taking into account their physical and symbolic context, have been innovative in helping us understand the political culture of the Greek city in the Hellenistic and Roman periods.\(^2\) I wish to extend their remarks to the inscriptions related to three diplomatic institutions: interstate arbitration, foreign judges and theōria. These three institutions, while differing in aim, function and scope, have one thing in common: all of them produced inscriptions which were to be published not only in the city that had issued them, but in one or more other cities as well. Ma, who first applied the term 'travelling decree' to this type of inscriptions, has already noted that the function of such inscriptions as a medium of inter-city interactions has been largely neglected.\(^3\) The three institutions, furthermore, belong mainly to the interactions between cities and only in a lesser degree to the dealings of kings and empires. Under the influence of the dominant Realist strand of the field of International Relations, such civic institutions of foreign relations have often been seen as weak and insignificant to historical development on a broader scale. In the past two decades, scholarship on the Hellenistic era is however clearly moving its focus to the sphere of the city and is acknowledging the importance of civic life and civic interactions for our understanding of the Hellenistic world. In this context, I propose to study the function of inscriptions pertaining to inter-city interactions as media per se, in order to find out how they contributed to shaping these connections and the cultural ties between the widely dispersed cities of the Hellenistic world.

To come to a systematic treatment of this issue, the first chapter will give a historical overview of the Hellenistic period, focusing on the third and second centuries BCE. Here, I will discuss the different strands of scholarship dominating the study of the period, roughly since the late nineteenth century onwards. Treating these developments topically rather than strictly

\(^2\) Beard (1985); Rogers (1991); Ma (2003); (2013), which unfortunately came out too late for me to properly include its conclusions in my research; Van Nijf (2011).

\(^3\) Ma (2003), 19-20.
chronologically, this chapter aims to clarify the relevance of my research as well as my own position in the current scholarship on the Hellenistic period.

The second chapter will propose a theoretical framework for the study of the interconnected Greek world and the role of inscriptions therein. The notions of *globalization*, *imagined community* and *mediatization* will help understand how connections between far-flung places can lead to cultural uniformization, and the role of media in such processes. Subsequently, I will show the concept of *common knowledge* as conceived by game theorist and political scientist Michael Chwe, combined with the concept of *symbolic writing* can help us understand how inscriptions helped to coordinate the interaction between cities.4

Chapters three through five are devoted to my three case studies of institutions of inter-city interactions that produced travelling inscriptions, respectively interstate arbitration, foreign judges and *theologia*. Each chapter in turn will begin with a general discussion of the institution and its function in the Greek world, before proceeding with the treatment of the inscriptions connected to it. Focusing on the publication circumstances of the inscriptions and using the theoretical framework put forward in chapter two, I will attempt to gain an understanding of their function as media. In doing this, I will treat inscriptions which were only published in their city of origin as well as travelling inscriptions. Each of these chapters, in accordance to the differences between these institutions and the inscriptions pertaining to them, will emphasize a different aspect of their publication circumstances and of the way they functioned in the interactions between cities.

In this way I hope to conclude that inscriptions, as a prominent element of the Greek city environment, played an essential role in mediating the communications between cities, allowing for cultural continuity in the tumultuous territorial struggles of the early Hellenistic period.

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4 Chwe (2001). Christina Williamson and Onno van Nijf were the first to propose Chwe’s theory as relevant to understanding the coordination of action within the Hellenistic city and the ritual and political developments it went through. See for instance Williamson (2013a); (2013b); Van Nijf (2013), Williamson and Van Nijf (forthcoming).
Chapter 1. The Hellenistic Period in Perspective

In his classic 1833 *Geschichte Alexanders des Grossen*, Johann Gustav Droysen coined the term *Hellenismus*, which together with its English adjectival cognate ‘hellenistic’ has come to refer to a loosely defined period. Its starting point is usually placed around the reign of Alexander the Great (333-323 BCE), the Macedonian king who in short ten years conquered most of modern Greece, Syria, Egypt, Turkey, and a vast territory further into the east up to modern Afghanistan. After his death in Babylon in 323 BCE, Alexander’s great empire was left with no successor but his brother, who was deemed mentally unfit to rule, and his unborn baby Alexander IV. This unfortunate dynastic situation led to fifty years of rivalry between Alexander’s commanders for dominion over the vast territory, known as the war of the Diadochoi, or Successors. By 276, the three dynasties of the Successor Kingdoms were firmly established: the Ptolemies in Egypt, the Seleukids in Asia, and the Antigonids in Greece and Macedon. This state of affairs remained relatively stable for a while, although territorial conflicts always remained. In western Asia Minor, the Attalids of Pergamon slowly rose to power and began to gnaw away at Seleukid control over the coastal cities, becoming a force to be reckoned with by the 240s.

Meanwhile, the Roman empire had begun to expand into the Italian peninsula and now turned its eye overseas, persuading Hellenistic kings and cities to assist in its wars against Carthage. When at the end of the third century Carthage was finally defeated, the Romans soon irreversibly advanced their control into the Greek east. Macedon and Greece eventually became Roman provinces in 146, marking the end of the early Hellenistic period and the beginning of Roman supremacy over the Aegean. After Attalid Pergamon fell to Rome in 129 BCE, what remained of the Seleukid kingdom slowly fell into disarray through dynastic struggles, the revolt of the Maccabees and continued interference by Rome, until the Seleukid dynasty was finally subdued by Pompey in 69 BCE. The Ptolemies, entrenched in the highly defensible Egypt, held out, despite Rome’s increasing envy of Egypt’s tempting wealth, until the famous battle of Actium in 31 BCE. Cleopatra’s defeat by Octavian, soon to be the emperor Augustus, marks for most the definitive end of the Hellenistic period.

This is a short sketch of the history of the Hellenistic period as it has often been represented in scholarship. I think, however, that to understand the way in which the world functioned in this long and very eventful period, requires more than following the narrative of the conquests

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5 Droysen (1998 [1833-1843]). In the next ten years, he followed up this work with two volumes on Alexander’s successors, together forming his *Geschichte des Hellenismus*. I have consulted an edition from 1998, with an introduction by Hans-Joachim Gehrke.


of the successor kings and Rome. In order to frame my research within the long-standing historical debate, it is important to gain some insight in the lines of research that have been followed on the Hellenistic period in the past century or so. In this chapter, I will therefore treat three of the issues that have occupied this scholarship: the homogeneity or diversity of Hellenistic culture; the dwindling or continuing importance of Greek cities; and the interpretation of interstate relations in the Hellenistic world. In this way, I aim to create a broader framework to which the issues dealt with in this thesis can be related.

**Homogeneity and Diversity**

The Hellenistic period has, in line with Droysen’s views, long been treated as a more or less culturally uniform and static unity, ruled by a superior Greek culture. There is undeniable evidence that the colonizing activities of Alexander and his successors did to some extent result in the spread of hellenization over the entire area of their conquests (see the map in Appendix I). For one, newly founded cities were planned along a design invented by the 5th century Greek Hippodamos, that is, a rectangular grid of streets centring on public spaces; in those public spaces, the eminently Greek structures of the gymnasium, the theatre and the agora were most prominent.\(^{10}\) The language of public institutions and therefore of the inscriptions brought down to us is the standardized type of Greek now dubbed *koinē*, based on classical Attic but in a slightly simplified form.\(^{11}\) Likewise, the Greek pantheon found its way into the cities, resulting in the recovery of remains of Greek temples as far east as Aï Khanoum in North-East Afghanistan.\(^{12}\)

In modern scholarship however, as Graham Shipley has noted,

> [f]ew, if any, scholars now suppose that the peoples of the Near East universally adopted Greek language and customs; there is no evidence that this happened. They prefer to paint a variegated picture of co-existence, interaction, and sometimes confrontation between newly settled Greeks and indigenous populations (some of whom had themselves migrated from elsewhere), and in a dynamic rather than static social context.\(^{13}\)

This transformation of the general approach to the nature of the Hellenistic world mainly has to do with a changing perception of Alexander’s conquests. Alexander’s policy of founding cities wherever he went, on a constitution closely resembling the classical Athenian model, was by Droyssen explained as driven by a wish to bring the civilization of Greek culture to the barbaric peoples of Persia, Africa and the Near East, with the ultimate goal to forge these two cultures

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into one great ruling race. This way of thinking, highly influenced by the contemporary colonial state of mind and a passage in Plutarch on Alexander's supposed 'civilizing mission', was still most apparent in scholarship predating the end of the Second World War, like William Tarn's *Hellenistic Civilization* (1930) and especially his *Alexander the Great and the Unity of Mankind* (1933); M. Cary's *History of the Greek World* 323-146 (1932); and A.H.M. Jones' *The Greek City from Alexander to Justinian* (1940).

The 1960s and 70s presented a turnaround in the lookout on the cultural fabric of the Hellenistic era. A.H.M. Jones in his article *The Hellenistic Age* (1964) stated that, '[t]he Greek civilization of these Hellenized Orientals was (...) singularly pure and but little contaminated by oriental survivals' (my emphasis). Although the ideas of cultural supremacy he expresses seem somewhat outdated for that time, this quote still shows that his perception of the Hellenistic culture as a fusion of Greek and Oriental influences was on the way down. Chester G. Starr, briefly treating our period in his *A History of the Ancient World* (first published 1965), still described the Hellenistic world as 'a social, economic, and cultural unit', but the idea of the fusion of cultures was already disappearing from his work. Ten years later, Claire Préaux saw it as the prime goal of her two-part *Le Monde Hellénistique* (1978) to debunk the idea of the uniformity of Hellenistic culture and the effectiveness of 'la fusion de l'hellénisme et des civilisations de l'Orient' as a model of interpretation.

Alexander's habit of founding new cities, which was taken over by his successors – notably by Seleukos I – is still seen as characteristic of the early Hellenistic period and as the driving force of the spread of Greek culture. Over the 1980s however, the scholarly view of these colonizing activities gradually lost its ideological edge, as is exemplified by Walbank's *The Hellenistic World* (1981). Scholars like Walbank recognized that the city foundations of Alexander and his successors were of a military character, devised to maintain control over an ever-expanding empire, and were keen to emphasize that the diffusion of Greek culture remained limited to the upper classes in urban environments. While Alexander had kept locals in powerful positions next to Greeks, his successors were soon to remove almost all locals from office. Thus, they hoped to keep the spoils of war in Macedonian-Greek hands and, presumably, to tighten their grip over regions where locals far outnumbered the Greek settlers.

Evidently, Hellenistic culture did not permeate all of the territory conquered by Alexander as profoundly as was believed at some time. The innovation of 1970s and 1980s scholarship was to...
recognize that the Greek cultural traits we now find in our evidence were often imposed from above, rather than the result of a profound and natural diffusion of the superior Greek-Macedonian culture. Additionally, authors like Walbank and John K. Davies started to put more emphasis on the interconnectedness of the Hellenistic world, which allowed the far-flung settlements to interact with each other on economic, cultural and political levels and which was instrumental in making the world of the Successors culturally similar on many levels. Both Walbank and Davies mark the old and new cities around the Mediterranean, especially Athens, Alexandria and Pergamon, as catalysts of interaction; interactions which became more interesting in this period due to the greater reach of the cities’ hinterlands, new opportunities for trade and travel and a generally broadening worldview.\textsuperscript{21}

While it can by no means be maintained that there was a profound and static cultural uniformity throughout the Hellenistic world, to my mind it is exactly this civic interconnectedness which allowed for cultural commonalities to continue to exist and evolve, which can be collected under the terms ‘greekness’ or ‘hellenism’. The following two sections will treat the modern scholarship on the Greek city and on interstate interactions in the Hellenistic period.

\textit{The Comeback of the Hellenistic City}

Despite the early date of Droysen’s revolutionary work, it took until the beginning of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century for the Hellenistic era to receive scholarly acknowledgement as an interesting period to study in its own right. The main reason for this was the preoccupation of many scholars with the Classical period, already in the ancient world perceived as the high point of Greek civilization. Indeed, the ancient Hellenistic scholars themselves seem to have promoted this perspective, copying and summarizing predominantly those works of the great classical authors. Thus, the arts and literature of the Hellenistic period have long been seen as in a state of decline after Athens, the cultural centre of the Greek world \textit{par excellence}, lost its freedom to the Macedonian oppressor. It is the date usually found to mark that point – the battle of Chaironeia in 338 BCE – which equally signalled to many the end of the city-state as it was known in the Classical period: the end of democracy, civic life and Greek autonomy.

It was not until the 1930s that some advocates of the Hellenistic city cautiously began to raise their voices, represented for instance by Arnold Wycombe Gomme, who in his 1937 article \textit{The End of the City State} argued for the appreciation of fourth- and third-century art, while

\textsuperscript{21} Walbank (1981), 67; Davies (1984), 284.
postponing the end of the city-state to the middle of the third century BCE. In the early 30s however, the works of Tarn and Cary already contained quite informative chapters on the cities of the Hellenistic world, in which comparisons with the Classical age are hardly present. While Tarn still dwelled on the rise of individualism and universalism through which the city as a particular entity had 'broken down', Cary even presented a fairly nuanced view of the various degrees of self-administration that cities enjoyed under Alexander and his Successors, and included a section on inter-city relations. At the end of this decade, the publication of A.H.M. Jones' monograph which allowed the Greek city to survive as far as the reign of Justinian (c.482-565 CE), clearly marked the revival of the study of the Greek city as a valid approach to the Hellenistic period.

This realization developed in the next few decades. In French scholarship, Paul Veyne with his book Le pain et le cirque: sociologie religieuse d'un pluralisme politique (1976) propagated the phenomenon of benefaction, évergétisme, as an important concept to understand the Roman world, but which had its origin in the Hellenistic era. The lavish benefactions that the Greek and Roman well-to-do bestowed on cities had often been seen as evidence that the independence of these cities was waning. Veyne's innovation was that he treated euergetism as a distinct feature of active civic politics. He saw the honorific inscriptions and crowns these benefactors received as an expression of the increasing supremacy of the elite, rather than of the decline of civic autonomy. In their important review of his work, Jean Andreau, Pauline Schmitt-Pantel and Alain Schnapp aptly pointed out Veyne's neglect of the symbolic value of honour as a counter-gift on behalf of the city. All of this greatly contributed towards the renewed appreciation of the role of civic politics in the post-classical world. In the 1980s and '90s furthermore, the works of Louis Robert and Philippe Gauthier became increasingly influential. They argued that while many things changed for the Greek city after Alexander's conquests, this did not mean that it fell into decline. In their works, they plead for the importance of research into the abundant epigraphic evidence of the Hellenistic era, and stress that this evidence pre-eminently draws attention to political life of the city and its institutions. Thus, the Greek city of the Hellenistic and Roman periods was slowly redeemed as an object of study.

On the other hand, G.E.M. de Ste. Croix' chapter 'The Destruction of Greek democracy' in his 1981 The Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World, long remained influential. Strongly

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22 Gomme (1937); Bugh (2007), 1-3; Shipley and Hansen (2007), 52-54; Billows (2003), 196-197.
23 Tarn (1930), 73-116; Cary (1932), 268-286.
24 Tarn (1930), 2-3, 73-75; Cary (1932), 278-282.
25 A.H.M. Jones (1940).
26 Veyne (1976), I have consulted the abridged and translated edition of 1990.
influenced by his Marxist views, he advocated the decline of the Greek city after Chaironeia and ascribed its eventual fall to the territorial politics of Rome. Notable authors still influenced by this view are for instance Peter Green and R. Malcolm Errington. Green, author of the grand monograph *Alexander to Actium: the Hellenistic Age* (1990) and the – in comparison – short booklet *The Hellenistic Age: A Short History* (2007) still insists on observing a decline in artistic skills after the Classical Age, emphasizing the diminishing freedom of the Greek city. Errington, although his contribution to the *Blackwell History of the Ancient World* contains a section on euergetism, claims to have set as his main subject ‘the overarching governmental structures created by the monarchies’ and thus similarly represents a Realist point of view in which the dealings of kings and their wars eclipse the narrative of cities and their continued activities.

Yet, by the early 2000s, a full-fledged *apologia* of the Hellenistic city seems to have been accomplished; almost every handbook and monograph published on the Hellenistic world in this century includes a chapter on the Hellenistic city. The past five years have seen a new surge in publications which zoom in even further on the Hellenistic city and the agency of their citizens. Scholars like Onno M. van Nijf, Richard Alston, Christina G. Williamson and Arjan Zuiderhoek focus on the development of political and ritual culture in the post-classical Greek city. They are concerned with the way Greek cities negotiated their identities and their broader influence on the world through means unrestricted by ‘overarching governmental structures’, by looking at civic institutions like the gymnasium, the theatre and festival culture. In this way, they show how cities and the people within them were able to function autonomously in various respects, rather than being always subdued by larger entities and oligarchic elites.

While the Hellenistic kings and their imperialistic ventures of course had an impact on the way cities could shape their politics, I believe studying the Hellenistic world from the perspective of the city is fundamentally our way into gaining a better understanding of this world in general. The city was pre-eminently the place where Greeks and locals continued to live their lives, probably without daily paying heed to the politics of kings and empires. In a world that was simultaneously culturally similar and locally diverse, the nature of interactions between cities could perhaps shed some light on the way local politics was defining for the city’s place in the world.

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31 Green (1990), xx-xxi; (2007), xv-xxxii, 45-63.
32 Errington (2008), 1-9, section on euergetism: 139-142. On Realism, see pages 14-15 below.
34 Zuiderhoek (2009); Van Nijf and Alston (2011); Dickenson and Van Nijf (2013); Van Nijf (2013); Williamson (2013b); Alston, Van Nijf and Williamson (2013).
International Relations and the Hellenistic World

There is a challenge connected to the consideration of the relations between cities in the Hellenistic world, and it is called the discipline of International Relations. The problem is two-fold. First, scholars of International Relations have often named none other than Thucydides, with his exhaustive accounts of the wars between the city states of the Classical period, as their discipline’s founder. Yet they themselves usually do not venture further into history than the year 1648, when a new political order of sovereign states was for the first time formulated in the Peace of Westphalia. Barry Buzan and Richard Little have in their book *International Systems in World History* (2000) posited that exactly this Westphalia-based theory is ‘incapable of understanding premodern international systems’. The Hellenistic world of cities could serve as a prime example of this statement; while the concept of the sovereign state does not fit the Greek city at all, they can still be seen as internationally oriented and highly interconnected entities. Buzan and Little state as their prime purpose to find a new way of describing and analysing the emergence and evolution of international systems throughout world history, without taking the existence of sovereign states as a precondition. Strikingly however, the ancient Greek world is only briefly treated in their work, and the connections between Hellenistic cities do not feature at all.

In my own view, a second problem is that the study of International Relations has long been dominated by a Realist point of view. This approach holds that the most important elements within the study of interstate relations are state security, the balance of power and the acquisition of materials. Realists believe that when there is no overarching authority or structure to which states must comply, they coexist in a state of anarchy and competition, always resulting in violence or the threat of violence. In this outlook, the existence of war is in essence inevitable, always based on the self-interest of states rather than on ideologies, and it is primarily the instrument with which states interact.

Some influence of this way of thinking on the study of the Hellenistic period can be found in works like those by Michael Rostovtzeff and Green, in the sense that they focus on the balance of power between kingdoms, the acquisition of armies and materials, and the resulting wars. One of the great explicit advocates of Realism as a point of departure for the study of the ancient world is however Arthur M. Eckstein. With his book *Mediterranean Anarchy, Interstate War and the Rise of Rome* (2006) and further publications, Eckstein is now still one of the few to explicitly

38 Rostovtzeff (1941); Green (1990), esp. 155-170; (2007), esp. 43-64.
apply ideas from the field of International Relations to the Ancient World, and to my knowledge the only one working on the Hellenistic period.\footnote{Eckstein (2006); see also Low (2007) on the Classical period.}

While this can be an enlightening way to look at the emergence of the Successor kingdoms and their subsequent take-over by Rome, it seems to me that it is not so useful an approach to interpret the relations between cities. It is exactly these interactions, connecting cities from all over the area of Alexander’s conquests, that are so characteristic of the Hellenistic period. Eckstein however dismisses the ideas of Droysen, Veyne and others who saw the Hellenistic world as a relatively stable equilibrium between the successor states, and rather ascribes to the monarchs an almost ideological adherence to militarism and a constant quest for territorial expansion. Interestingly, Eckstein here quotes the political scientist and professor of International Relations, Hedley Bull, on the concept of ‘international society’:\footnote{Eckstein (2006), 80-94.}

\begin{quote}
A society of states (or international society) exists when a group of states, conscious of certain common interests and common values, form a society in the sense that they conceive themselves to be bound by a common set of rules in their relations with one another, and share in the working of common institutions.\footnote{Bull (2002 [1977]), 13; slightly different quote from an earlier edition in Eckstein (2006), 82.}
\end{quote}

Eckstein argues strongly against ‘such a benign depiction of the Hellenistic state-system’; a point which is quite valid for the relations between the Hellenistic monarchs, who were always preying on each other’s territories. However, Eckstein’s Realist approach leaves only little room for the kind of relations that cities endeavoured to maintain with each other in the Hellenistic World – relations which, I think, are indeed very well described by Bull’s quote above.

As John Ma observed in 2003, looking at the relations between cities in this way makes them central to the functioning of the entire Hellenistic world. He proposed the model of ‘peer polity interaction’ to facilitate our interpretation of these relations.\footnote{Ma (2003), esp. 9-15. Cf. also Stavrianopoulou (2013), a volume which is concerned with understanding the ‘intercultural entanglements’ that we call ‘Hellenism’ (p.3 of this work).} The ‘common institutions’ of these Greek ‘peer polities’ had already come to the fore in scholarship earlier, with the publication of several collections of inscriptions pertaining to these civic institutions, like Christian Marek’s \textit{Die Proxenie} (1984), Sheila Ager’s \textit{Interstate Arbitrations in the Greek World: 337-90 B.C.} (1996), Kent J. Rigsby’s \textit{Asylia: Territorial Inviolability in the Hellenistic World} (1996) and Paula Perlman’s \textit{City and Sanctuary in Ancient Greece: the “theorodokia” in the Peloponnese} (2000).\footnote{Marek (1984); Ager (1996); Rigsby (1996); Perlman (2000).} All the institutions treated in these works were related to the interactions between cities. Proxenia was an honorific title awarded to citizens of other towns, who would henceforth act as ambassadors of the honouring city. Interstate arbitration was a means to solve conflicts
between cities in a peaceful rather than a military manner, by asking a third party to mediate. *Asylia* had to do with the inviolability of sanctuaries and the cities where they were located, *theōrodokia* was an institution which took care of the reception and entertainment of the *theōroi* who came to announce festivals. An institution for which a corpus of inscriptions has not yet been published is that of foreign judges, in which judges were invited from other cities to deal with local trials.

While these institutions deal with single cities interacting with each other, cities also had the possibility to unite in federal leagues or *koina*, coordinating institutions which probably evolved from ancient tribal states founded on ethnic ties. Several degrees of *sympoliteia*, the incorporation of (citizens of) one city into another, existed within these federal states. While a federal league had a central government, in which voting probably took place per city, its member cities could exercise control over their own foreign affairs, as is for instance attested by interstate arbitration decrees which do not mention any involvement of the league.\(^{44}\) Remaining to a great extent autonomous entities, cities thus found a way to unite and allow smaller cities to have a voice in the larger world.\(^{45}\)

Eckstein is quick to dismiss these institutions as ‘weak’, by which he means that they were in most instances unable to prevent war.\(^{46}\) To my mind, these institutions should however not be understood as a way to prevent wars or to otherwise radically impact the balance of power between kingdoms. Although cities still had their quarrels, as is obviously testified by the institution of interstate arbitration, full-scale war was the business of monarchs. While monarchs do play a role in some of the institutions of inter-city relations, they never do so more than indirectly. If a king was asked to grant *asylia*, a number of cities was usually also approached; if a king was asked to arbitrate in a dispute, the task was often delegated to a city. These were institutions which helped to lay out the common rules along which city-states were expected to interact with each other. Their use was allowed and encouraged by the monarchs, as long as they themselves were consulted from time to time, because these institutions kept order and gave the cities a sense of autonomy but did not heavily impact the world at large.\(^{47}\) Yet for the city-states themselves, their importance remained – and perhaps even increased, judging by the growth in the amount of epigraphic evidence for them. Defined by these various institutions which facilitated reciprocal interactions between them, we can perhaps see the cities of the Hellenistic world as an ‘international society’ as formulated by Bull, operating within a broader

\(^{44}\) More on this in chapter 3.

\(^{45}\) Larsen (1968), xi-xvii, 3-11; Walbank (1976); Shipley and Hansen (2007).

\(^{46}\) Eckstein (2006, 80).

\(^{47}\) For this interpretation of the institution of *asylia*: Rigsby (1996), 14-16; Buraselis (2003), 159-160. Foreign judges: Robert (1973), 313.
system of states (the monarchies). This is the reason why institutions of inter-city interaction form the focus of my current investigation.

In most modern treatments of the Hellenistic city, at least some room is reserved for the treatment of the various institutions of inter-city diplomacy. Yet a theoretical framework for the analysis of these phenomena often seems to be lacking. Even as recent an overview on Hellenistic international relations as that of Richard Billows in the *Cambridge History of Greek and Roman Warfare* (2007) does not entirely succeed in a systematic treatment of the subject. Billows starts off clearly by dividing the Hellenistic institutions of interstate interactions into categories of ‘sacred’, ‘secular’, ‘formal’ and ‘informal’. However, while he can in this division easily categorize the institution of *theòria* as ‘sacred and formal’, that of foreign judges already comes to belong to an undefined miscellaneous of ‘informal arrangements and policies of various sorts’. I would argue that such categorizations are unnecessary, and question whether *theòroi* requesting territorial inviolability can be considered more ‘formal’ than foreign judges who were invited to settle private disputes within the city – indeed a very widespread practice which occurs in roughly the same form throughout the Hellenistic world. Such categorizations do not seem to clarify the more important question of the broader function and effect of these institutions and the inscriptions pertaining to them.

One popular strand of scholarship is now investigating the merits of network theory. In his 2003 article and his subsequent book, published in 2011, Irad Malkin was one of the first to apply the principles of this theoretical tool to the ancient world. Focusing on the widespread Greek colonization activities of the Archaic period, Malkin uses network theory to explain how contacts between the relocated Greeks made sure that they developed closer cultural ties than they would have if they had remained in close proximity to each other. Ma’s model of peer polity interaction can be connected to these developments, Ian Rutherford has recently applied this principle to the institution of *theòria* in the Hellenistic era, and Williamson and Van Nijf are working on its applications in the study of festival culture. Yet network theory, while it is suitable to clarify the lines along which cultural influence spread and can to an extent explain its diffusion, is not directly concerned with the instruments and manner of this diffusion. I will therefore look to other tools to account for the role of inscriptions in this process, which will be elaborated in the following chapter.

49 Malkin (2003); (2011), 5, 8-9, 16-19, 45-48, 50-54.
50 Ma (2003); Rutherford (esp. 2007); Williamson and Van Nijf (forthcoming)
Chapter 2. Theoretical Framework

Now that we have a general understanding of the world of the Hellenistic Greeks, it is time to look at the role that inscriptions played in this highly interconnected world. As was already briefly touched upon, the Hellenistic period knew a great surge in epigraphic material, especially in those inscriptions that have to do with the relations between cities. The aim here is not so much to study the contents and purposes of individual inscriptions, but rather to understand these inscribed stones as a medium per se. In order to give this effort some theoretical footing, I will in this chapter put forward a set of definitions and theories which will help understand inscriptions as a medium of interstate interactions. The first section discusses the concepts of ‘globalization’, ‘imagined communities’ and ‘mediatization’, which will help us define the role of media in a cultural homogenizing and interconnected world. In the second section I will analyse the function of inscribed text in the everyday life of the Greek city, with the use of the concepts of ‘symbolic writing’ and ‘common knowledge’. Finally, I will connect these concepts to the specific category of ‘travelling decrees’, inscriptions which physically travelled between cities.

Globalization, Imagined Communities and Mediatization

As an alternative to applying a Realist interpretation to the increasing connectivity between the various parts of the Hellenistic world, I will here propose to use the model of ‘globalization’. In the first place, I choose this model because it emphasizes the connections between societies needed for cultural homogenization. Secondly, it will prove to fit in well with the concept of the ‘imagined community’, which will allow us to understand how the Greeks related to each other. Finally, it can easily be connected to the concept of ‘mediatization’, which will emphasize the role of inscriptions in this process.51

By the process of globalization, interchanges of all kinds between different localities effectuate an intermingling of cultures, presumably resulting in cultural similarities arising all over the world.52 In our current society, it is obvious that people all over the world are accustomed to eating similar foods, wearing similar clothes and even speaking the same languages. This process is not always consciously experienced, and it does not mean that cultural traits of one society become completely integrated into other societies which adopt them. It simply means that we are to an extent adopting traits of other cultures, because they are convenient, because they help us relate to those cultures, or simply because they please us. While the concept of globalization has been current for a while in discussions of our

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51 Globalization: see Bentley (2006); imagined community: Anderson (1993); Mediatization: see Lundby (2009).
52 Bentley (2006).
contemporary society, politics and economy, it has only recently become increasingly common to see globalization as something which has been happening since the beginning of human civilization.53

Looking at the Hellenistic world, the conquests of Alexander had taken care of a full-speed globalization process imposed from above. The similar constitutions of cities that were conquered or founded by Alexander and his successors, and the presence of gymnasia and theatres in practically every single one of them, are examples of this globalization process.54 As we have seen, calling this phenomenon ‘hellenization’ or ‘globalization’ does not mean that we should suppose these cultural traits suffused all of society in a large area and over all social strata in a uniform way. Yet the fact that these cities were not only initially founded with a democratic constitution and a gymnasium but also continued to express themselves in a culturally Greek way, speaks for the reality of Greek cultural homogenization. The presence of inscriptions, many with similar structures and adhering to similar institutions, all produced in similar strands of koinē Greek, is perhaps our best material example of this. The koinē (‘common’) dialect itself was a variation on Attic Greek with Ionian influences, adopted by the Macedonian elite and, importantly, by the army. Thus, it was spread over the entire area of Alexander’s conquest and – while local languages did not cease to exist entirely – became widely used, in literary texts and administration as well as on the streets. Needless to say, this uniformization of language was one of the prime catalysts for Hellenistic globalization, allowing the Greek cities to communicate with each other so intensively.55 The concept of globalization thus explained seems simple enough. Yet, the realization that globalization is something of every era of history was revolutionary in facilitating the consideration of historical periods without clinging to the existence of ‘discrete, unconnected communities’, and with the realization that ‘cross-cultural interactions and exchanges have taken place since the earliest days of human existence on planet earth’, as Jerry H. Bentley has aptly put it.56 This relatively recent idea is now sparking a new strand of research into ancient modes of globalization.57

Bentley’s mention of ‘communities’ furthermore hints at a concept which could help us understand what happened in the Hellenistic world even better; that of ‘imagined communities’, as introduced by Benedict Anderson in the 80s of the previous century.58 If globalization is the process by which Greek culture spread and took root over the coasts of the Mediterranean and beyond into the east, an imagined community is what developed when the dispersed cities of

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57 For instance Stavrianopoulos (2013), Williamson and Van Nijf (forthcoming). See also Jennings (2011), a recent attempt at comparing globalization in several ancient civilizations to that in our own society.
58 Anderson (1993 [1983]).
this world realized that they belonged to a similar cultural domain and, through interaction with each other, formed a larger community.

This requires some explanation, which shall be provided by testing the Hellenistic world against Anderson’s definition of the imagined community. A community is ‘imagined’ if most of its members never have face-to-face contact with most of their fellow-members, but they still have a sense of community. The community should also be imagined as having certain limits, and as possessing sovereignty.59 The first two criteria obviously apply to the Hellenistic world of cities. Most of the people living in cities never had contact with most of their fellow-Greeks, and neither did all cities have contact with every other Greek city. Yet a sense of community was present, as is apparent from the articulation of relationships between cities in terms of kinship ties, friendship and horizontality. Anderson’s further criterion, that such a community should be imagined as limited, also applies: those cities that were apparently not culturally Greek or not culturally Greek enough, clearly missed the boat and could not take part in community activities such as Panhellenic games. Only the final criterion, that of sovereignty, requires some redefinition. Anderson has a background in the field of International Relations which, as we have seen, predominantly deals with post-Enlightenment sovereign states of the type which originated in the Peace of Westphalia. The idea of free and autonomous states cannot be entirely imposed on the Hellenistic world of city-states, which were jostled between the reigns of world-powers as they rose and fell. A discourse of autonomy and freedom for the Greeks was however very much alive, attested by the active role such terms played in the propaganda of Hellenistic monarchs – as they continued to do when the Romans entered the Greek realm.60 The ambition to be autonomous and free was clearly current in the Greek world as it is in modern nations.

Greek diplomatic ties of kinship, already briefly mentioned above, are a good example of the way in which the limits of such a community become fluid when cultural globalization comes into play. Kinship connections were formulated – ‘imagined’ – in the language of family, using words like sungeneia, ‘relative’, suggesting the existence of a horizontal and exclusive relationship. While this type of discourse emphasizes the limits of the community, it was indeed possible for cities who lacked ethnic Greek origins to enter into this sungeneia discourse. The term sungeneia could, in the context of inter-city relations, refer to a historical relationship of for instance a founding city and a colony, but it was primarily used to signify a connection by related mythical forefathers.61 These connections were, as is all myth, highly susceptible to changing interpretations and convenient fabrication (imagination). The ethnic connections between those

59 See Anderson (1993), 5-7.
61 Curty (1995), xi-xvi, 242-258. Curty lists all 133 inscriptions in which the word συγγένεια is attested. On kinship diplomacy in the Greek world, see furthermore C.P. Jones (1999), who provides a more general overview; Lücke (2000), who updates Curty’s list and has some critical remarks on his book; and Patterson (2010), who focuses on the mechanics of kinship myth.
considered as ‘Greeks’ seem therefore not to have been as important as their ability to relate to each other on a cultural level. Cities which were especially successful in adopting Hellenistic culture often eventually found their way into sungeneia diplomacy – as well as into the participation in common Greek festivals.\textsuperscript{62} The theories of imagined communities and globalization are in this way useful for our particular area of study, in that they allows us to connect the degree of cultural uniformity in the Hellenistic period to the degree of interconnectivity of the world. It will be clear that this way of looking at history has greatly influenced scholars like Shipley, Malkin, Ma and Rutherford, who are keen to investigate the Hellenistic world through studying the interactions between the dispersed cities of the Greek world.\textsuperscript{63}

We often see that a wave of globalization coincides with the development of new media, a process which is called ‘mediatization’.\textsuperscript{64} This term is used for the modern process by which more and more areas of life are permeated by the presence of mass-mediated communication, as a complement to interpersonal communication.\textsuperscript{65} It can be applied to any historical period, culture and society in which communication is to some extent mediated, that is, modified by media such as signs and symbols (writing, images, etc.). In this way, mediatization is a concept similar to globalization, in that it can be used as a tool to categorize and understand changes in society in the broadest sense. It can also be directly linked to globalization, as media are to an extent necessary to effectuate globalization, and globalization generally makes people use more media.\textsuperscript{66} However, the function of (mass) media within the interconnectivity of Greek cities has not yet received that much attention in modern scholarship. I wish to connect the globalization we have observed in the Hellenistic period to the concept of mediatization, as it will appear to be quite suitable to analyse the surge of epigraphic evidence that this period presents us with.

A comparison of our modern era of technology and mass media communication with the Hellenistic world is necessarily heavily skewed. Friedrich Krotz however has shown how the idea of mediatization can be taken to a higher level, by eliminating the often implied connection with technological innovation. In this way, the increasing popularity of the medium of inscriptions in the Hellenistic era fits the concept. According to Krotz, mediatization is an important tool with which to understand social and cultural reality because,

\textsuperscript{62} Rutherford (2013), 273-277 lists a few examples of non-Greek cities who went through such a process.
\textsuperscript{63} Shipley (2000); Malkin (2003); (2011); Ma (2003); Rutherford (2007).
\textsuperscript{64} For an introduction on the theme of mediatization in the modern world as well as the use of the term as an interpretational tool, see Lundby (2009), esp. Ch. 1 by F. Krotz; and Hepp (2012).
\textsuperscript{65} Lundby (2009), 1.
\textsuperscript{66} Krotz (2009), 22-25, 27.
Chapter 2. Theoretical Framework

Throughout the history of humankind, media have become increasingly relevant for the social construction of reality as people in their communicative actions refer more and more to the media and use them.⁶⁷

To better understand the way in which people perceived reality in the Hellenistic world – in other words, their cultural outlook – we require a more thorough understanding of one of its cities’ prime media of communication, inscriptions.

For our current purpose, mediatization as a concept helps to emphasize the importance of inscriptions as mass media with globalizing tendencies, namely their similarities in language, style and structure. Furthermore, it stresses that these media functioned as a bridge between cities, which allowed the shaping of imagined communities, helping the globalization of the Hellenistic world continue and evolve. All of the three concepts discussed in this section thus help to draw attention to inscribed decrees as a medium of interstate relations in the Hellenistic era, rather than focusing on the inscriptions’ contents. Through the medium of inscriptions, messages could easily be communicated on a mass level rather than an interpersonal one, and in several ways at the same time; by the use of imagery and text, as well as the ritual context in which they were presented and the space in which they were put up afterwards – as will be explained below.

Symbolic Writing and Common Knowledge

In the study of mediatization processes, it has been recognized that messages can be more easily stored and transported via media, which thus support communication and help to solve coordination problems.⁶⁸ To explain how inscriptions helped to coordinate action in the Greek city, I will first introduce the concept of ‘common knowledge’ as proposed by the political scientist and game theorist Michael Chwe.⁶⁹ An important problem which we must tackle to understand how inscriptions helped to create this common knowledge, is the uncertainty of whether inscriptions were actively read, especially the longer decree texts. I will therefore discuss some developments in scholarship since the mid-1980s, which show a clear move away from considering inscriptions as utilitarian texts which were regularly read and consulted, towards treating them as ‘symbolic writing’.⁷⁰ Even though most of the literature on symbolic writing in the ancient world does not focus on the Hellenistic period or on inscriptions related to inter-city

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⁶⁷ Krotz (2009), 24.
⁷⁰ Beard (1985), esp. 140-141; Thomas (1989); (1992); (1995); Rhodes (2001a); (2001b).
interactions, the concept of can certainly help us understand how inscribed text functioned within and, importantly, between the societies that employed it.

In his 2001 book *Rational Ritual: Culture, Coordination, and Common Knowledge*, Michael Chwe is concerned with understanding how people communicate to coordinate their actions, especially in large groups. He argues that for the coordination of any social action, all participants need to have common knowledge of the information required to perform this action. Rather than simply having ‘shared’ knowledge, in which all participants know the same thing, ‘common’ knowledge implies that all participants also know of each other that they have the same knowledge.\(^ {71}\) A simple example is that of the options most e-mail clients provide when sending messages to groups of people instead of just one recipient. If one chooses to enter all recipients in the ‘bcc:’ (‘blind carbon copy’) field, they will only see from which e-mail address the message was sent, and that it was sent to a number of undisclosed recipients. If one however uses the ‘cc:’ (‘carbon copy’) field, this allows all recipients to see who else received the message. If the e-mail contains for instance an address change, the only thing that matters is that the message comes across to each recipient. However, if you want to invite a number of people to a social gathering, disclosing the other recipients can increase the party's allure, as all recipients will know that others are also aware of the event, and that they are likely to participate. The simple knowledge of other people's knowledge stimulates them to take part.\(^ {72}\) A message presented in an environment where all recipients are present is even more effective. Chwe argues, in line with other theories on the communicative function of rituals, that a ritual or ceremonial setting is a strong force in the creation of common knowledge.\(^ {73}\) He especially stresses the effect of ceremonial gatherings taking place in inward-facing circles, where everyone is explicitly confronted with everyone else's presence, in an environment which stimulates eye-contact. The repetitive aspect of the information presented in many rituals adds to the experience that everyone has received and understood the message.\(^ {74}\)

How, then, did inscriptions contribute to the creation of common knowledge in the Greek world? As was mentioned before, it is uncertain how many people were able to actually read the messages they contained. Overall literacy was probably rather poor and many of the texts were inscribed high up on walls and in small lettering, which suggests that their readability was not a prime concern.\(^ {75}\) Yet the texts were explicitly displayed in public areas, and were often part of conspicuous and expensive monuments; they must have had a purpose beyond conveying their literal text. Rosalind Thomas, who has focused on the dynamics between oral and written

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\(^ {72}\) Chwe (2001), 14.

\(^ {73}\) Chwe (2001), 3. See also Stavrianopoulou (2006), esp. the introduction and the chapter by Chaniotis about the emotional impact of these gatherings.

\(^ {74}\) Chwe (2001), 19-33.

\(^ {75}\) Rhodes (2001b), 139-140.
tradition in Athens, has rightly stressed that transmission of the information contained in the longer inscriptions, for instance decree texts, may have happened mainly orally. Many decrees were formulated and repeatedly discussed in the inward-facing circle of the Assembly meeting. Some decrees, especially those recording public honours, even explicitly provided for the repetitive public declamation of their contents in the theatre, during festivals. These festivals and Assembly meetings are prime examples of rituals, which took place in the inward-facing circle of the theatre and which were accompanied by sacrifice and witnessed by the gods. Those who had not attended these events could hear about the decisions in discussions on the agora, in the gymnasion and so on. Even the preliminary publication of the text on paper in the agora, as happened in Athens, has an oral aspect; people studying it may have read it out loud, as was usually preferred, and others who could not read could gather round and listen. It was furthermore not unusual for the Athenian orators to have inscribed decrees read out as part of their speeches, if a particular law was relevant to their current case.

Obviously, common knowledge of public decisions was created in the ritual setting of the theatre and in other social environments rather than by the inscribed texts. These gatherings were therefore much more important than the inscriptions themselves for the coordination of a city’s behaviour. Yet, the strong material presence of inscribed decrees in the city suggests that they also played a part in this coordination. The prominence and monumentality of the medium in which these texts were published, often even adorned with reliefs and pediments, added to the effectiveness of the common knowledge created in the theatre. Literate or not, people knew the texts so prominently present in their city. They probably even linked particular decrees to specific monuments, as again our Athenian orators would sometimes name only the location of a stēlē and take knowledge of its contents for granted. What is more, the stēlai to an extent were the honour, the law or the treaty they described. If a decree was deliberately destroyed, so was that which it stood for. In this way, the inscriptions can be considered ‘symbolic writing’, in that they symbolized events as well as literally recording them.

The importance of the physical presence of these decrees and their location in the city, then, should not be underestimated. It has often been found peculiar that in Athens, most inscribed decrees were located on the Akropolis – hardly a place that was visited by large numbers of people every day, like the agora. In other places, too, many decrees stood in the vicinity of sanctuaries. At first glance, the prominent presence of these texts in a sacred place added to the monumental character of the stēlai and perhaps even provided their contents with a kind of

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76 Thomas (1989), 61-68; Demosthenes 20.93-94
78 Klaffenbach (1960), 34-36.
80 Beard (1985), 139-141; Thomas (1989), 51; Rhodes (2001b), 140-141.
sacred validation. Considering this more profoundly, inscriptions could even become part of the rituals performed in this sacred context, whether implicitly or explicitly. As Guy Rogers has suggested in his exhaustive interpretation of the Roman-era Salutaris foundation decree of Ephesos, monumental inscriptions were not placed in the city randomly, but were topographically matched to their context. Especially if a text was placed in a sacred context, rituals would often take place in its presence all year round, which could re-qualify the monument as well as the ritual.\textsuperscript{81} As in the case of the Salutaris foundation decree, processions or other rituals could even have specific inscriptions as their focus; some texts were in fact read out by the entire community at a specific occasion.\textsuperscript{82} Inscriptions were symbolic texts, openly displayed in a sacred environment not only before the eyes of the people but also before the eyes of the gods.\textsuperscript{83} The material form of the inscription furthermore added to the perpetual nature of the text’s validity, stressed when a decree explicitly named itself a hypomnēma, a memorial or reminder:

\begin{verbatim}
Ionic δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐπιγινομένω[ε]νοις [δ]ί[α] -
[μένη ύπ]όνυμια τής τε τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀρετῆς καὶ τῆς του ἡμετέρου [δήμου] εὐχαριστίας ἁναγράψαι τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα εἰς στήλην [λευκοῦ] λίθου καὶ στήσαι ἐν τῶι τοῦ Διὸς ἱερῶι [κτλ.]
\end{verbatim}

In order that there shall be for our descendants a reminder of the virtue of this man and of the thankfulness of our city, [it has been decided] that this decree must be inscribed on a stēlē of white stone and that it must stand in the sanctuary of Zeus [etc.]\textsuperscript{84}

In this way, the inscribed texts served not only as constant and inescapable proof of the permanence and sanctity of the decree’s contents. One might even consider them as ritual performances in themselves, a continuing reminder of the ritual setting in which they had been formulated and the common knowledge that had been generated then.\textsuperscript{85}

Honorific decrees remain one of the most important and intriguing categories of inscriptions. Following the argument presented above, they were instrumental in reminding the people of the honour issued to a particular individual – an especially important function, as the effect of honour by definition depends on its publicity.\textsuperscript{86} This function of the decrees becomes explicit from the fourth century BCE onwards, when the so-called ‘disclosure clause’ starts to pop up in

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item\textsuperscript{81} Cf. Williamson and Van Nijf (forthcoming), 5-6.
\item\textsuperscript{83} Beard (1985), 140-141; Thomas (1995), 72-74; Osborne (1999), 346-347; Lambert (2011), 200-201. See Williamson (2013b) for (extra-urban) sanctuaries as important public spaces.
\item\textsuperscript{84} \textit{LMagM} 101.49-52: Magnesia, Larbenoi honours judges sent by Magnesia, second half of second century BCE.
\item\textsuperscript{86} Lambert (2011), 200.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
honorific decrees increasingly often. It points at a desire to create something we may describe as common knowledge:

1 ἵνα δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες εἰδῶσιν ὅτι τούτος εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἄνδρας ἀγαθούς γινομένους]
   ὁ δήμος ὁ Βαργυλι[ητῶν τιμᾶί καταξίως [κτλ.]

[it is decided that the decree must be inscribed] in order that all others will see that the polis of the Bargylians honours in a worthy fashion those men who are good towards the polis [etc.] 87

Charles Hedrick presented these clauses as expressing a democratic intent of creating public knowledge of state decisions. 88 However, more elaborately formulated versions of these clauses give a different impression:

5 ὅπως ἄν οὖν]
   ἐφάμαλλον εἰ πά[σιν φιλοτιμίσθαι]
   εἰς τὸν δήμον εἴδοσιν ὅτι χάριτας ἄξιας]
   κομιοῦνται τῶν [ἐφέργεσιών'[κτλ.]

[it is decided that the decree must be inscribed] in order that it may thus be a matter of emulation for everyone to strive for honour for the démos, in the knowledge that they will be adorned with worthy honour for their good deeds. [etc.] 89

These special disclosure clauses point to a distinct hortatory function of inscribed decrees, badges of honour which would encourage others to emulate those that were thus honoured. It is now believed that the simpler disclosure clauses which do not explicitly mention encouraging others to virtue and honour, nonetheless refer to this hortatory function of the decree. 90 Present in many honorific decrees of various sorts, these clauses can be seen as a direct attempt at coordinating action beneficial to the city, strengthened by the different ways in which common knowledge of these decrees was created – in the theatre, in the streets, and by its inscription.

But what exactly happened if these official texts were also published in another town? How did they help in the creation of common knowledge? Inscriptions that were published in other cities were usually decrees connected to a diplomatic activity of some sort. John Ma in his 2003 article Peer Polity Interaction introduced the fitting term ‘travelling decree’ for this type of inscriptions. 91 As he rightly states, the decree texts themselves are not the only thing we should take into account as a medium of these interactions. The arrival of the embassies who brought the decrees with them must have been important events which stood out from the daily routine.

87 I.Kyme 2.1-2: Kyme, Bargylia honours a judge sent by Kyme, third or second century BCE.
88 Hedrick (1999), notably 408-430.
89 IG II² 984, 5-8: Athens, Athens honours an unknown Pergamene, middle of second century BCE.
90 Luraghi (2010), 248-252; see also Henry (1996).
91 Ma (2003), 19-20.
Embassies were often received in an Assembly meeting to give a speech, which gave rise to a festive reception. Perhaps there was even the opportunity for recital of song, poetry and common (hi)stories, sometimes elaborating on the perceived kinship between the two states, or otherwise meant to create a narrative of common interests and reciprocal ties. Clearly these events created a sense of common experience between the city which had sent the decree, and the receiving town. At the same time, the ritual setting of these events created common knowledge of the decree's contents in the town that received it.

While the inscriptions recording the travelling decrees may never have had as great an impact as the Assembly meetings at which they were presented, they still must have projected a reflection of the events they recorded in the people's minds, as was the case with locally issued texts. In the town receiving a travelling decree, too, it was often published in a sacred precinct, the stone itself in many cases recording its twofold publication circumstances. Referring to its own simultaneous existence in both towns, the inscribed stone functioned as a tangible link between its two localities, ratified and made significant by its presence in the sanctuary. This added not only to a mutual feeling of connectedness, but also to the existence of common knowledge: 'we know that you know and that we are both aware, as these monumental stones are constantly reminding us'.

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Chapter 3. Interstate Arbitration

We now have an idea of how the connections between cities tied the Greek world together, and the kind of impact that inscriptions could have within these cities. To connect these two ideas, I will now look at some Greek institutions which coordinated inter-city interactions and which produced inscriptions.

The first institution I will treat is that of interstate arbitration. This was an institution that helped Greek cities solve conflicts that might develop between them, the most common of which were border disputes. If two Greek cities had such a conflict, they had the possibility of calling upon a third party to arbitrate. While we know that arbitration was used to settle international conflicts at least since the archaic period, most inscriptions recording these procedures come from the Hellenistic period. This suggests that either the institution became more widely used, or that it became more necessary to record the transactions in a permanent medium – or, probably, a combination of these two factors. Even though this is an interesting issue, most of the literature on Greek interstate arbitration has focused on its procedural workings and its function as a political instrument.

This ancient diplomatic instrument is superficially similar to the kind of diplomatic solutions that we still find useful, such as those offered by the International Court in The Hague.93 This has probably contributed to the fact that its institutional aspects seem to be modern historians’ favourite entry point into the discussion of Greek diplomacy and interstate relations. Furthermore, it is closely connected to issues like the balance of power between states, the security of their borders and the acquisition of territory and material goods. It can be considered one of the few ancient diplomatic instruments which had a direct and historically apparent impact on the world. International arbitration is therefore easily considered from the Realist point of view which, as we have seen, has up until now often been employed in the consideration of international relations in the Hellenistic era as in other historical periods. While these aspects are of course important for our understanding of the institution itself, the aim here is to shed more light on its role in tying together the Greek world. In this chapter, I will show how the practice of arbitration and, specifically, the publication of inscriptions connected to it, helped to establish the imagined community of the globalized Greek world.

For a long time, the most important monographs on the subject of interstate arbitration were those by Anton Raeder and Marcus Niebuhr Tod.94 While these treatises provide a detailed and diachronic overview of the institution, they are by now more than a hundred years old and therefore conceptually and factually outdated, not least because of the discovery of new

93 Upon the installation of the International Court of the Hague, the Greek institution of interstate arbitration was in fact offered as an effective historical precedent. See Ager (1993), 3-5.
94 Raeder (1912); Tod (1913).
epigraphic evidence since then. The more recent work by Luigi Piccirilli only treated the classical era. In 1996 however, Sheila Ager published a corpus of literary and epigraphic texts related to cases of interstate arbitration, ranging from 337 to 90 BCE. Ager is currently the most important authority on interstate arbitration in the Hellenistic world. Covering most of the Hellenistic period, she collected all available evidence and provided a general introduction on the phenomenon of ancient arbitration, as well as a commentary per case. Besides giving a good overview of the workings of this institution, her book gives a weighed assessment of its efficacy and function in the Hellenistic world. Estimating a fifty percent success rate of interstate arbitrations, she refrains from emphasizing, in Realist fashion, that the institution was only occasionally able to prevent war. Instead, she considers Greek arbitration a quasi-legal process which, although based on concepts of law, was rather controlled by abstract notions such as equity and justice, the outcome always determined by the worldview of the arbitrating party. However, she mostly neglects the broader role of interstate arbitration as a means of tying Greek cities together culturally, as well as the publication circumstances of the inscriptions resulting from the process. Yet many of the inscriptions published by those taking part in arbitration processes contain elaborate publication clauses, often ordaining the publication of the text in multiple cities, which draw our attention to the importance of their public and medial nature. Especially in the light of what we have considered in the previous chapters, it seems that the publication of these texts must have had a reason other than recording them for posterity.

I would like to show how the inscriptions related to the institution of interstate arbitration contributed to the globalization of the Hellenistic world, through the creation and strengthening of common knowledge between cities. To understand what information these inscriptions contained and why they were published in the first place, I will first give an overview of how the institution worked. The second section of this chapter will examine the inscriptions themselves, focusing on the circumstances of their publication and the way in which they helped to create common knowledge.

The Institution: Politics and Procedures

Inscriptions related to the institution of Interstate Arbitration from before the Hellenistic period are rare. Yet, literary evidence suggests that interstate arbitration could date as far back as the Archaic period. Plutarch mentions a case which could be identified as an early example of it,

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95 Piccirilli (1973).
96 Ager (1996). She has furthermore published several articles on the subject of interstate arbitration, among others Ager (1993); Ager (2009).
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which – if indeed historical – would date to around 650 BCE.\textsuperscript{98} It concerns a dispute between Chalkis and Andros, who had both put a claim to the abandoned city of Akanthos in Thrace:

\[
\text{ἐκ τούτου διαφοράς γενομένης, άνευ πολέμου συνέβησαν Ἐρυθραίοις καὶ Σαμίοις καὶ Παρίοις χρήσασθαι περὶ πάντων δικασταῖς.}
\]

As a dispute arose from this they agreed, without going to war, to use the Erythraians and the Samians and the Parians as arbitrators on the whole matter.\textsuperscript{99}

Strabo and Pausanias furthermore let arbitration make several appearances in their stories of mythical times, which is often taken as a clue that the institution was not only in use but also well-established before the Classical period, the time at which these myths would have been constructed.\textsuperscript{100} But the first secure evidence for the existence of the institution is found in inscriptions from the fifth century BCE; by then, arbitration had become so customary that inscribed treaties between Greek cities started to include provisions for the arbitration of future conflicts, when they might arise. The results of arbitrations, pre-stipulated or not, also began to be recorded in inscriptions during this era.\textsuperscript{101} But the testimonies for interstate arbitration, mostly epigraphic, reach an all-time high for the first two centuries of the Hellenistic period. Still, even after this, inscriptions related to the institution continue to be found until well into the Roman period. So what was interstate arbitration all about? Greek cities would often quarrel about territorial issues, as in the example of Andros and Chalkis above, but the types of disputes concerned were more diverse. They could involve for instance monetary debt, injury to national pride, the jurisdiction over a sanctuary, or the conclusion of a treaty.\textsuperscript{102} If two cities had such an issue which they could not resolve peacefully between them, but for which a military solution was also undesirable, they could resort to arbitration by a neutral third party.

Cities were not the only type of arbitrator that could be chosen; the most important quality of an arbitrating party was its power and prestige. Unsurprisingly, Hellenistic kings were often found to meet these criteria and asked to fulfil the role of arbitrator.\textsuperscript{103} The kings, probably recognizing the political benefits that performing such a task could bring, were often willing to carry out the judgment. First of all, acting as arbitrator between two subject cities could confirm and strengthen a king’s grip on regional politics. If however the conflicting parties were

\textsuperscript{98} See Raeder (1912), 144-145; and Tod (1913), 174-175 for an interpretation.

\textsuperscript{99} Plutarch, \textit{Quaestiones Graecae} 30.

\textsuperscript{100} For instance Strabo IX 3.7; Pausanias II 1.6; 15.5; 30.6; VII 1.2. Raeder (1912), 143-144 lists a few additional sources. See also Ager (1993), 5; (1996), xiii-xiv.

\textsuperscript{101} Tod (1913),175-178. Here also several examples. See Ager (1996), 7-8 for the continuation of this practice in the Hellenistic period.

\textsuperscript{102} Ager (1996), 4.

\textsuperscript{103} The examples are numerous. See for instance \textit{IG} IX.2.1.3.706 (= Ager no. 11): Antigonos I adjudicates the issue of the Lokrian maiden tribute, c. 305 BCE; \textit{I.Creticae} 181-182 (= Ager no. 128): A Ptolemy arbitrates between Gortyn and Knossos, 167 BCE.
themselves powerful and autonomous entities, their prestige could again positively reflect on the arbitrator. Arbitration could be employed to manipulate the grander politics of the Greek world in various ways. When for instance Carthage asked Ptolemy II for a large loan during the first Punic War, he refused, in spite of his good relations with them, as he did not want to help them build their army against his Roman friends. Instead, he offered to arbitrate between his two warring allies. This was the ultimate proof of his neutrality in the conflict. If the warring nations had accepted this offer, this would have greatly benefited Ptolemy’s own prestige. Unfortunately for him, both parties refused the offer and chose rather to battle out their struggle for dominance – probably because they would not tolerate a third party to exert such power over them. But even in smaller-scale conflicts, when they were not obviously driven by political motives, Hellenistic kings are known to have devoted significant amounts of their time – or, in any case, that of their staff – to settle disputes in a sincere and unbiased fashion. They wrote elaborate letters which treat the conflicts and the conclusions they had reached with great detail, and thus they showed their interest in the problems and their orderly resolution.

Later on, as Roman influence over the Greek world continued to grow, the Roman Senate often became involved in settling disputes. But unlike the Hellenistic rulers, who had an interest in showing their willingness to participate in the larger Greek world, Rome seems to have wanted little to do with internal Greek conflicts. Ager aptly describes the Senate as having taken ‘a rather minimalist approach’ to Greek arbitration. Upon being asked to arbitrate, the Senate would often delegate the task to its current legates in the area, or to another Greek city, perhaps because of its own unfamiliarity with the finer rules and procedures of the Greek institution. Even when the Senate did become involved, it often judged cases quickly, with the benefit of Rome in mind rather than a just settlement and the interests of the conflicting cities.

But our main priority lies, of course, with the conflicts between Greek cities that were arbitrated by Greek cities. Cities that were chosen to arbitrate also had to meet the criteria of

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105 Tod (1913), 179-180; Ager (1996), 20-22. See for instance I.Priene T500 (= Ager no. 26): Samos, Lysimachos’ letter of arbitration between Priene and Samos, 283/2 BCE; or E. Kirsten & I. Opelt, ZPE 77 (1989), 55-66 (= Ager no. 42): Arsinoe, elaborate arbitration decree including a letter from Thraseas, an official of Ptolemy II, who arbitrated between Arsinoe in Cilicia and Nagidos, 238-221 BCE. Ager rightly states that Tod’s rather favourable image of the arbitrating kings should be adjusted to include their own territorial concerns.
106 E.g. I.Mylasa 134 (= Ager no. 101): Rome settles a boundary dispute between Mylasa and Stratonikeia, after 188 BCE; IG IX.2.89 (= Ager no. 156): Rome arbitrates between Melitaia and Narthakion, ca. 140 BCE; SIG2 303 (= Ager no. 169): The senate arbitrates a land dispute between Abdera and Kotys of Thrace, late second/early first century BCE.
108 Delegates: e.g. Polybios 21.24.4-6, 46.1; Livy 38.39.5-7 (= Ager no. 98): Polybios and Livy on the settlement of Asia after the Antiochene War, 188 BCE. Greek city asked by Rome: e.g. Tacitus Annales 4.43; LOlympia 52 (= Ager no. 159): Olympia, Rome’s request for Miletos to arbitrate the incessant dispute between Messene and Sparta, ca. 138 BCE.
109 See for instance I.Priene 40, 41 and 42 (= Ager no. 160): Priene, two senatus consults and a record of a boundary commission (from Mylasa?), c. 135 BCE. This conflict was earlier arbitrated by Rhodes, and the Senate chose simply to uphold this judgement. Unwilling to spend much time and effort on the case, Rome even delegated the demarcation of the concerned territory with new boundary stones to an external party.
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having power and prestige in the larger Greek world. For this reason, we often see great and prominent cities like Rhodos function as arbitrator.\textsuperscript{110} In some cases, an arbitrating city would step forward voluntarily. When the quarrelling cities were members of a federal league, the arbitration could be performed by the presiding council, the synedrion of this league – or, in a mechanism we have seen before, the synedrion could delegate judgement to one or more of the other member states.\textsuperscript{111} Some leagues perhaps even laid out guidelines in their constitution for the arbitration of conflicts within the alliance; this seems to have been the case in Philip the II’s Corinthian League, founded in 337 BCE.\textsuperscript{112} Yet, the governing body of any given league was not always involved in the reconciliation of the disputes between its members. When for instance around 200 BCE a border conflict had arisen between Hermione and Epidauros, both members of the Achaian League, the two cities jointly decided to ask Rhodos and Miletos, both non-members, to arbitrate.\textsuperscript{113} Other kinds of treaties between cities, like synoikia or sympoliteia agreements, could also specify how arguments, should they arise, had to be arbitrated. These agreements are found in several degrees of detail: some were only loosely defined, stating only that conflicts should be arbitrated, others specified what types of conflicts should be thus resolved and by which city or what type of city.\textsuperscript{114}

Whichever of these constructions were in place, when a city had been appointed as arbitrator of a dispute it would elect a tribunal of judges that could consist of anywhere from one, three or five to up to several hundred of its citizens, or even the entire Assembly. The following passage comes from the decree issued after the arbitration of the abovementioned dispute between Hermione and Epidauros. The decision of the Milesian judges, quoted below, gives an excellent reflection of the judicial procedure that subsequently took place:

\begin{verbatim}
[Ka]tά τάδε ἐπέκριναν καὶ συνέλυσαν οἱ Μιλήσιοι δικα-
[σ]ταὶ λαβόντες παρ’ ἡκτιλόντος τήν ἐπιτροπήν,
Ζήνιππος ναὸς Γονύγδου, ναὸς Φαινοκλῆς ναὸς Πολυστίκη[α],
Δημήτριος ναὸς Μειανδρίου, ναὸς Δημήτριος ναὸς Ισταίου.
\end{verbatim}

\textsuperscript{110} Rhodos seems to be the most frequent example: see note 109 above and notes 115 and 117 below as well as Milet L3, 148 (= Ager no. 109), 180s BCE; F.Delphes III.3.383 and 2.89 (= Ager no. 117), 179 BCE; SEG 33-861 (= Ager no. 124), 167 BCE; IGI 11135 and SEG 33-638 (= Ager no. 165), 111/0 BCE; and other cases mentioned in various literary sources, listed at e.g. Ager nos. 94, 119, 122.

\textsuperscript{111} Ager (1996), 22-26. A league synedrion arbitrating a dispute: IG VII.2792 (= Ager no. 17): Boiotia, Boiotian League settles the borders of Akraiphia and Kopai, third century BCE; IG IX.2.89, ll.48-65 (= Ager no. 79): Narthakion, Thessalian League settles a boundary dispute between Melitaia and Narthakion, after 196 BCE. A league delegating arbitration to another member states: IG IV.1.70 and 71 (= Ager no. 38): Epidauros, Achaian League requests Megara to arbitrate between Corinth and Epidauros, 242/1 to 238/7 BCE.

\textsuperscript{112} The evidence is found in Polybios 9.33.11-12 and IG II.2.236 (= Ager no. 2): Athens, the constitution of the League of Corinth, 337 BCE. For the interpretation of its function as arbitrating body, see Ager (1996), 23, 40-43.

\textsuperscript{113} See quote below and n.98.

\textsuperscript{114} Arbitration of all future disputes by any city, but according to strict regulations: SEG 29-1130 bis, side B (= Ager no. 71): Klazomenai, treaty between Temnos and Klazomenai providing for arbitration, first half of second century BCE. Arbitrator must be a democratic city: Milet L3, 150 (= Ager no. 108): Miletos, treaty between Heraklea and Miletos providing for arbitration, 185/4 BCE. Arbitrating state defined by name: SIG 3.44 (= Ager no. 13): Teos, Antigonos I synoikises Lebedos and Teos with provisions for arbitration, ca. 303 BCE.
5 Ἡγέλαχος ναυ. Θεμιστοκλέος ναυ. Ανθίαδης ναυ. Σίμων
παραληφθέντες ἐκ Κλείτωρος ὑπὸ τῶν ἐξαποσταλ[έν].
tῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἔγ μὲν Ἑρμιύνος ναυ. [Φ]λώνος ναυ. τοῦ
Καλλιστράτου, ναυ. Μενεκράτους ναυ. τοῦ Μενεκράτους, ναυ. ἕ γ 
Ἑπιδαύρου ναυ. Δαμ[ο]χέλες ναυ. τοῦ Καλλιμένου ναυ. [Τ]μιαντέου
10 τοῦ Καλλίκωντος ναυ. καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦς διαμφιστημουμένους τό-
pους ἐπελθόντες, κατὰ τὴν γνωμηνὴν περιήγησιν ὑφ’ ἐ-
kατέρχον ἐπεκρίναμεν ἐπὶ συνάλυσι περὶ δὲ προεκβάλοντος[σ]
tο χώρας ἢ πάλιν τῶν Ἑρμιύνων τὴν πάλιν τῶν Ἑπιδαύρων[ν]
ων τῆς τε κατὰ Σελλάντα καὶ Ἀγρίους Λιμένας ἄχρα τοῦ
15 Στροβοθύντος· εἶναι ταύτην κρινὴν Ἑρμιύνων καὶ Ἑπιδαύρων,
οὕς ἐπὶ τῆς Διδύμας κατὰ τοὺς θέσας, οἱ εἰσὶν βολεοὶ λίθαι κείμε-
νοι ἀπὸ τῆς καλουμένης Φιλανορείας καὶ κατ’ άκρας τὰς Κολού-
ρας ἑώς τοῦ Στροβοθύντος κατ’ εὐθυροίαν ἑώς εἰς θάλασσαν,
tά τρός νότων ὡς ὀδώρα καταρεῖ. Εἰ δὲ τινὰ ἐπίτιμα ἐξ[π]ακο[λού]-
10 θεί ταῖς πόλεσίν ἦρθαι ταῦτα. — Περὶ δὲ τῶν καρπείων καὶ τῶν
ἐπινομῶν τῶν πρὸ τῆς κρίσεως μὴ εἶναι μηδὲτέρους ἐγκλη-
μας μηθέν. — Τὸ δὲ γεγονός πρότερον κρίμα περὶ τῶν αἰγῶν πρό-
ς τοὺς τελώνας κύριον ἔστω. [κτλ.]

About these things, the Milesian judges decided and settled as follows, by request of both parties; [the judges being] Zenippos son of Gongylos, Phainokles son of Polystides, Demetrios son of Maiandrios, Demetrios son of Histsiaios, Hegelochos son of Themistokles, Anthiades son of Simos: after we had been led from Kleitor by the dispatched men – from Hermione Philo son of Kallistratos, Menekrates son of Menekrates; from Epidaurus Damokes son of Kallimenes, Timainetos son of Kalikon – and after we had gone to the disputed places, we decided, on the basis of the guided tour that was organized by both, as concerns the settlement about the land for which the city of Hermione had challenged the city of Epidaurus, [the territory] in the area of the Sellas and the Hagrioi Limenes up until the Strouthous cape: that it should be common territory to Hermione and Epidaurus, being in the Didymia according to the boundary stones, which are the stone cairns that lie from that which is called the Philanorea, and along the Koloura (‘truncated’) hilltops until the Strouthous and straight down to the sea, as the water flows down towards the south. And if some fine is held against the cities, it is to be cancelled. – And about the profits and the pasturage of before this decision, there cannot ever be a claim from either of the two. –

The decision passed earlier about the goats for the tax-collector is to remain in force.

[here follows the decision of the Rhodian judges][115]

In this case, Hermione and Epidaurus had decided together on asking both Miletos and Rhodos to arbitrate the dispute. After inviting them to do so, they had selected the neutral city of Kleitor

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[115 SEG 11-337 (= Ager no. 63): Hermione, judges from Miletos and Rhodos arbitrate between Hermione and Epidaurus, c. 200 BCE. Copies of this decree were found in Hermione and in Epidaurus. Most of the text quoted above is based on the Hermione inscription, which is more complete. The underlined sections are also preserved in the Epidaurian copy. The text continues with the judgment of the Rhodian judges, which precisely echoes that of the Milesians. For the geographical details of the area concerned, see Jameson et al. (1994), 596-605.
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as the seat of the tribunal, which is the place where the judges met with the Hermionean and Epidaurian advocates. The advocates, upon their arrival at the tribunal’s seat, would usually present evidence. As the current case was a border dispute, this involved a conducted tour through the territory concerned. Eventually, a verdict was reached.\textsuperscript{116} In the case of Hermione and Epidauros, the judges decided that they should share the land, but other cases were arbitrated distinctly in favour of one of the two parties. In either case, the decision was often set down in an inscription.

The following section will treat these inscriptions, especially the circumstances of their publication. Using the theories put forth in the previous chapter, I will argue that they worked towards the creation of common knowledge and contributed to the creation of an imagined Greek community.

\textit{The Inscriptions: Sacred Validation and Common Knowledge}

As we have seen, the epigraphic testimonies related to the institution of interstate arbitration are of various sorts. There are the decisions of cities to submit a dispute to arbitration; the decrees in which they ask other cities to act as arbitrator; the replies of the arbitrating party to this request, often including the election of judges; and eventually the decrees recording the judgements of arbitrating commissions. Other types of inscriptions in which evidence of interstate arbitrations is found, include for instance honorific decrees for the arbitrating party, letters from arbitrating kings or their officials, or treaties in which provisions for future arbitrations were given. This section will only deal with the first types of inscriptions, recording the actual process of arbitration, as the other types of texts are merely indirectly related to the institution as such. I will furthermore focus on arbitrations performed by cities, solving conflicts between cities; these cases will best serve to show how inscriptions contributed to the creation of a Greek community with cities as its prime constituents.

We have already seen an example of an arbitration decree above, in which the borders of the disputed territory between Hermione and Epidauros were minutely recorded. In other types of judgements, too, the details concerning the legal rights that had been challenged were often laid out in detail. As above, the verdict often contained provisions to prevent a new conflict rising up about the same issue. The epigraphic documentation of an arbitration could furthermore include the decree in which it was initially decided to submit a conflict to arbitration, the decree in which the chosen city or league was asked to arbitrate, as well as the reply of that city or the decision of the league in which the judges were appointed. These thorough descriptions of the

\textsuperscript{116} Ager (1996), 10-19 on the exact procedures involved in the arbitral process.
dispute and the process of its resolution provided at times for immense and highly detailed inscriptions, of which the text from Epidauros quoted above is only a very modest example.\footnote{See for instance \textit{I.Priene} 37 (\textit{Ager} no. 74): Priene, Rhodes arbitrates a territorial dispute between Priene and Samos, ca. 197-190 BCE. This huge text continues for no less than 170 lines. Equally impressive with 155 lines is \textit{I.Pergamon} 245 (\textit{Ager} no. 146): Pergamon, Pergamene judges arbitrate between Mytilene and Pitane, between ca. 150 and 133 BCE.}

Yet, as all these stipulations were probably also archived elsewhere, the stones cannot have had a singularly archival function.\footnote{Klaffenbach (1960), 98; Davies (1984), 259-260; Rhodes (2001a), esp. 33-35; see also p. 63 below for an inscription mentioning a public archive.} Neither could they be read by everyone – and, after all, why would the public be interested in going through lengthy accounts of judicial details? I wish to argue that the impressive stones or walls which bore the inscriptions primarily had a monumental and symbolic function. As with most inscribed decrees, the outcomes of interstate arbitrations are most often found in sanctuaries. This place of publication could be predetermined in the decrees themselves, such as in this example where the city or island of Karpathos (possibly) arbitrated between two other unknown cities:

\begin{verbatim}
[σ]ῷλλως ἀδὲ ἀναγρα[φ]ή[σ] 
[Π]ᾶσαδῆνος τοῦ Πορθμίου [--- --- --- --- ---]
[κτλ.]
\end{verbatim}

And [it has been decided that] this settlement must be inscribed in the sanctuary of Poseidon of Porthmios [etc.].\footnote{IG XII.1.103 (\textit{Ager} no. 64): Karpathos(?) mediates between two unknown states, third or second century BCE. The role of Karpathos (arbiter or party in the dispute) is uncertain; it is even unknown whether only the city by that name or the entire island was concerned.}

This decree was found on the island of Karpathos, in the area where the sanctuary of Poseidon Porthmios was indeed located. Although there is only a limited number of arbitration decrees containing a preserved publication clause which explicitly states a sanctuary as place of publication, many arbitration records were found in a sacred environment. The decisions to submit a dispute to arbitration or to send representatives to the trial were, of course, made by the Council and the Assembly.\footnote{An example of the latter is quoted below.} It can be assumed that common knowledge of the arbitration and its outcome was created at the meetings in which the dispute was discussed. As we have seen in the previous chapter, the subsequent publication of the arbitration’s records in a sanctuary could lend them a special ratification, provided by their presence in the vicinity of the gods, as well as by their public and monumental nature.

As the Karpathian decree breaks off after the mention of the sanctuary of Poseidon, it is not certain whether it explicitly stated that it was to be published in the other cities involved in the
dispute. But numerous other examples show, simply by their presence in a certain place, that decrees connected to an arbitration were often inscribed in the cities that were party to the conflict as well as in the arbitrating city. Some also explicitly state this intention in a publication clause:

6 ἔδοξε τοῖς συνέδροις
πορεύεσθαι εἰς Πάτρας ἐπὶ τὰς κρίσεις, ἂν ἐπιδέξονται οἱ Πατρεῖς
tὸ κρίμα, τοὺς τε συνδικοὺς καὶ τοὺς συνέδρους πάντας πλάν τῶν
tῆς Ὀσπιαίας καὶ τῶν ἐπικριθέντων ναοῖς πορευέστωσαν δὲ καὶ τῶν
10 ἄλλων οἱ θέλοντες ναοῖς τοὺς δὲ ἐλθόντας ἀναγραφάσθων ὂ γραμμα-
tεύς τῶν συνέδρων ἔμι Πάτρας, καὶ ἂν νικά ναοῖς σωμεῖς, ἀναγραφάτω
ev τῷ ιερῷ τὰς Συρίας εἰς στάλαν λιθίνα ναοῖς τοὺς τε συνδικοὺς
πάντας πατριστὶ ναοῖς, ὁμογενῶς δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐλθόντας ὑπογράφας τὸν ιερὴ
tὰς Ἀθάνας καὶ τὸ ψάφισμα.
[kτλ.]

The council members have decided to go to Patrai for the decision, when the Patraians make the judgement: all representatives as well as all council members, except for those of the Oupisia tribe and except for those who stand trial; and of all others, those who want to must go; and [the names of] those who went there, the grammateus of the Council must inscribe in Patrai, and if we shall win, he must inscribe in the sanctuary of the Syrian goddess on a stone stèle all the representatives with their father’s name, adding equally the priestess of Athena as well as the decree.

[a list of 104 names follows]121

This passage of a decree appended with a long list of names shows provisions for its publication in the arbitrating town of Patrai as well as in Thouria, one of the quarrelling cities and the place where it was found. By publishing these names, probably in conjunction with an inscription recording the judgement itself, everyone could see who had witnessed the judgement. The act of witnessing the judgement was in this way in a sense extended to the entire community, who saw the text when they visited the sanctuary of the Syrian goddess. By inscribing it in this sanctuary, the text became part of a ritual environment and a gathering place for the people, which again strengthened the common knowledge held of the arbitration’s outcome. An important detail is that the text will only be published in Thouria if they win the argument. Unsurprisingly, cities appear to have been generally disinclined to inscribe arbitrations which did not favour them.122 So even if a publication clause states that both cities should set up a decree, this by no means always happened. A good example of this is the long-running territorial dispute between Priene and Samos; the temple of Athena Polias in Priene boasts several arbitration texts pertaining to

121 SEG 11-972 (= Ager no. 145); Thouria, Patrai arbitrates disputes between Megalopolis and Thouria, ca. 150 BCE.
this conflict, in all of which Priene was favoured by different arbitrators. Evidence from Samos, however, suggests that Priene did not always come out on top. The absence of this evidence in Priene shows that it was only deemed necessary to publish those decrees which reflected favourably on the city. In this way, a city was able to shape the way in which common knowledge of a dispute was retained – or suppressed – in its own community.

But what about the knowledge that was held about the judgement in the other communities that were involved? Numerous arbitration decrees were found in the cities that had arbitrated in a conflict, perhaps ensuring that the truth about the matter was recorded at a neutral site as well. Here, too, matters of favourable city propaganda naturally played a role – as we have seen, arbitrating a dispute was a prestigious affair. But we must note that in the decrees issued by arbitrating cities, if they included a publication clause and if this clause was preserved, they usually provide for publication in the quarrelling cities as well. This can hardly have been singularly meant to increase the prestige of the arbitrating city. If we impose the ideas presented in the previous chapter on this practice, it seems that the presence of the decree in multiple towns would have intensified the common knowledge shared between cities of the inscription’s contents. Being constantly reminded that the people in another city also knew of the decision must have reinforced its validity as well as making it harder to transgress the newly established rules, bringing us back to Chwe’s coordination of action. I would furthermore argue that such inscriptions also strengthened common knowledge of the relationship existing between cities, tying them closer together through their symbolic function as permanent monuments as well as through their ritual character.

There were, however, still other publication options. A few decrees show that a good place for the publication of arbitration records could be a sanctuary to which the cities involved in the arbitration shared a connection. In the 230s BCE for instance, two members of the Aitolian League, Matropolis and Oiniadai, had a conflict; Thyrrheion, a third member, was approached as arbitrator. Both quarrelling cities were eventually made responsible for the publication of the arbitration decree in the sanctuary of Apollo at Thermon, which was a meeting place of the members of the Aitolian League. The fact that this sanctuary connected the three cities was used to tie them closer to the judgement as well. Simultaneously, the decree would ensure the

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123 See notes 105, 109 and 117 above for the Prienian inscriptions recording the conflict with Samos. Another arbitration which ended well for Priene is recorded in I.Priene 27 (= Ager no. 101): Priene, Smyrna arbitrates between Miletos and Priene, perhaps at the request of Rome, after 188 BCE.

124 I.Priene T500 (= Ager no. 26): Samos, Lysimachos’ letter of arbitration between Priene and Samos, 283/2 BCE. This decision favoured Samos.

125 For instance I.MagM 65a, 65b, 75, 76 (= Ager no. 127): Magnesia, Magnesia offers to arbitrate between Gortyn and Knossos, before 167 BCE(?); IG I 2.1951 (= Ager no. 132): Athens, Athens arbitrates between Akarnania and Ambrakia(?), 166 BCE. See also IG IX.1.689 (= Ager no. 118) where multiple states arbitrated and SEG 3-451 and IG IX.1.690 (= Ager no. 131) in which Rome was involved.


127 IG IX.1.3B (= Ager no. 41): Aitolia, temple of Apollo at Thermon, Thyrrheion arbitrates a boundary dispute between Matropolis and Oiniadai, 239-231 BCE. See Ager’s discussion for the details concerning the conflict.
Chapter 3. Interstate Arbitration

continued existence of this judgement with all members of the Aitolian League. As the common knowledge of the outcome had doubtlessly been created in a meeting of the League members, the resulting decree would remind them at the attendance of future meetings of the decisions that had been made. The decision was reinforced by extending the common knowledge existing of it into a larger space as well as a longer time.

This same mechanism also appears in an even larger scale, well-illustrated by the following:

45  τὸ δὲ κρῆμα τὸ ὑπὲρ τῆς[...

And the decision about the land must be inscribed on four stone pillars and one must be put up in Delphi, and one in Larisa in the sanctuary of Apollo Kerdoios, and one in Thebes in the sanctuary of Athena Polias, and one in Halos in the sanctuary of Artemis Panachaia, [etc.]128

Although no other copies of this decree – if they existed – have been preserved, the Larisan arbiter clearly found it important to have it published in several places. Both quarrelling cities (Halos and Thessalian Thebes) received a copy of the decree, as did Larisa. Strikingly however, the first city mentioned to receive a decree – and the place where the decree was in fact recovered – is Delphi, even though this city had no direct interest in the case. The Larisan decree is no exception in this. Of the 112 epigraphically attested arbitrations collected by Ager, at least eleven arbitration records were recovered at the important panhellenic sanctuaries of Delphi and Olympia. Still more were placed in various other sanctuaries whose prominence exceeded the regional sphere.129 Considering these figures, it has to be kept in mind that many of Ager’s inscriptions are not arbitration records as such, but also include texts which only indirectly refer to arbitrations which had taken place or would in the future. The inscriptions found in Delphi and Olympia are however all texts recording the process or the result of arbitration.

These sanctuaries were important panhellenic shrines, neutral ground for the Greeks and international gathering places. One can imagine that, if erecting an inscription at a local sanctuary gave its message sacred validity within one city, certainly the presence of an

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129 Ager (1996), 18–19. Examples are IG IX.2.1.188 and IG IX.2 add. no. 205 IIIB (= Ager no. 56); Melitaia and Delphi, Aitolian League appoints arbitrators to mediate between Melitaia and Pereia, 213/2 BCE; I.Olympia 47 (= Ager no. 137): Olympia, Arbitration between the Achaian League and Sparta, after 163 BCE. Some other examples do involve the sanctuary to some extent, as they are for instance about the Amphictyonic vote: F.Delphes III.4, 1.38, ll. 7–22 (= Ager no. 133); and Daux, Delphes, p.679 (= Ager no. 139). Other important sanctuaries at which inscriptions of international importance were published include the Asklepieion at Epidaurus, for instance IG IV.2.176 (= Ager no. 138); and the temple of Apollo at Delos, for instance IG XL.1.65 A and B (= Ager no. 83).
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arbitration decree in a grand sanctuary such as Delphi would have lent it an even greater sanctity and a more general validity. Furthermore, copies of the decree in the quarrelling and arbitrating cities, each of which recorded its presence in Delphi, would lend to the cities concerned a common frame of reference and a common sense of the decree’s importance. Even if the decree was not inscribed in the city losing the dispute, the arbitrating city could take care of its inscription at a neutral and important spot such as Delphi – where all other cities could see it when they visited for the oracle or the quadrennial Pythian games. This guaranteed the decree’s validity and, to an extent, its common acknowledgement throughout the Greek world. While certainly not everyone who visited the sanctuary would take the opportunity to read the texts exhibited there, Plutarch provides us with some (late) evidence that the contents of decrees were discussed by guides who led foreigners through the sanctuary:

ἐπέραινον οἱ περιηγηταὶ τὰ συντεταγμένα, μηδὲν ἡμῶν φροντίσαντες δεηθέντων ἐπιτεμεῖν τὰς ῥήσεις καὶ τὰ πολλὰ τῶν ἐπιγραμμάτων.

The guides recited their programme from beginning to end, paying no mind to us, who wanted to cut short their flood of words and [their treatment of] the abundance of inscriptions.130

At Olympia too, periēgētai or guides are attested in lists of temple officials from the 30s of the first century BCE onwards, although they are more often called exēgētai, ‘interpreters’ or ‘expounders’.131 Such people regularly seem to have acted as informants to historians such as Plutarch and Pausanias.132 While the – possibly antiquary – interests of these particular guides of the Roman period provide no guarantee for the existence of this same practice in the early Hellenistic period, it is possible that similar guides were in place in that time already. It is in any case conceivable that visitors of the sanctuary would take the chance to gather news about the events in the rest of the world, for which the newly erected decrees in the sanctuary could serve as a marquee. The descriptions of the periēgētai suggest that they would guide foreigners through the sanctuary, informing them of the decisions which were immortalized in the monumental texts, telling stories of widespread communities adhering to similar values and customs. They thus created common knowledge of the interactions between cities and the nature of their relationships. The continued existence of these guides furthermore shows that inscriptions did, in a way, serve as repositories of knowledge for times to come.

The examples included in this chapter have shown how this specific type of inscribed decrees could do more than recorded decisions. By their publication in more cities at once, often in

130 Plutarch De Pythiae Oraculis 2.1.
131 All verbal translations come from LSJ. The inscriptions in which these periēgētai or exēgētai are mentioned, are I.Olympia 59-141. Those referring to periēgētai are 77 (l.9), 83 (l 2), 11 (l.17), 120 (l.10). See C.P. Jones (2001), 37 n.24.
important local sanctuaries or even in sanctuaries shared by more cities, inscribed records of interstate arbitrations created common knowledge of the judgements made in arbitration trials over a larger area. In this way, inscriptions made sure the involved cities and their inhabitants kept to the agreements that had been made. Simultaneously, they provided local environments with conspicuous testimonies of the larger Greek community that these cities belonged to; a world with rules they should abide by, but also a world in which mutual agreements could ensure at least some sense of security. When displayed in a sanctuary of panhellenic importance, such inscriptions broadcast the knowledge of these connections to the entire Greek world. In these various ways, they helped to create the idea of a globalized Greek community.
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Another institution of inter-city interaction which produced many inscribed decree is that of foreign judges. There has at times been some confusion between the institutions of interstate arbitration and that of foreign judges, until the great epigrapher Louis Robert made an effort to resolve this confusion in several of his articles on honorific decrees issued to foreign judges.\textsuperscript{133} The most important difference between consulting another city for interstate arbitration and inviting them to send ‘foreign judges’, is that the first practice was used to solve conflicts between states, and the latter to solve conflicts between private individuals, usually residents of the same city. Only since Robert’s initial work on foreign judges have they become recognized as worthy of separate study. His promised monograph on the subject was however never published. Since the start of the 90s of the previous century, Charles Crowther has been working on a corpus of the epigraphic evidence attesting to these judges, but its publication is still awaited.\textsuperscript{134} Most evidence we have for the employment of foreign judges is in fact epigraphic, presented by inscribed decrees recording honours issued to the judges by the states that had invited them. As almost all of these inscriptions (which number up to a total of around 275) are dated to the third and especially the second century BCE, here too the surge in media suggests that either the institution knew an all-time high, or that the media connected to it were of increased importance in this period.

Instead of public disputes, these travelling judges dealt predominantly with private conflicts, which could either be contractual disputes (\textit{symbola}), like unfulfilled private debts or broken trade contracts, or private legal disputes, in which citizens charged one another with legal transgressions like theft of cattle or other crimes. In some cases, it seems that public cases (in which the city charged a citizen with a crime) could be heard as well.\textsuperscript{135} As these were usually not the most significant cases, nor trials of international import, some would say that the institution of foreign judges had less impact on the larger world than for instance the institution of interstate arbitration.\textsuperscript{136} Indeed, the consequences of a particular visit of foreign judges were less far-reaching than the occurrence of an interstate arbitration, as their judgements influenced only individuals who had been charged or who had themselves charged another. The inscriptions connected to the visits of foreign judges do not record laws to which entire cities

\textsuperscript{133} Robert (1925a), 721-735; 1973. See on foreign judges also Robert (1924); (1925b); (1926); (1927); (1928).
\textsuperscript{134} Crowther (1990); (1992); (1993); (1994); (1995). Unfortunately, I have not been able to retrieve dr. Crowther’s unpublished dissertation of 1990, in which he provided a catalogue of the known inscriptions pertaining to foreign judges. I am however very grateful to him for sending me an updated list of these inscriptions, which forms the basis for the planned corpus. Personal communication with dr. Charles Crowther (April 2014).
\textsuperscript{135} Crowther (1992), 18, 31-37.
\textsuperscript{136} Even though they do not literally say so, Billows and Eckstein seem to acknowledge interstate arbitration as a formal instrument of inter-city interaction, while the exchange of foreign judges belongs, according to Billows, to the ‘informal arrangements and policies of various sorts’ (see page 17 above). Eckstein does not mention foreign judges at all in his discussion of the relations between cities. Billows (2007), 307; Eckstein (2006), 79-80.
should conform. The institution on the whole however, as we shall see, did in fact have an influence on the Greek world of the Hellenistic period, and the inscriptions connected to the institution had a part to play in this as well.

Now how did the publication of such decrees contribute to establishing widespread connections between cities? This chapter will first explore what the institution of foreign judges entailed, how it functioned and why it was important for the interactions between cities. Then, I will investigate the decrees themselves in order to explain how they were instrumental in maintaining interactions between cities, and how they contributed to the creation of an imagined Hellenistic community.

*The Institution: Social Crisis, Homonoia and Friendly Connections*

As we have seen, most evidence for the institution of foreign judges comes from honorific decrees. Mentions of foreign judges in literary sources are few and far between and in some cases only recognizable as such through the evidence that we have from inscriptions. Although this means that we often do not have a profound understanding of the types of cases that were tried and the exact procedure that these judges went through, there are quite some details about the institution that we can glean from the combined sources.

Why exactly did it become important in the Hellenistic period to invite judges from other cities to settle private disputes? In the Classical period, periodically elected juries of a town’s own citizens were usually considered suitable enough to deal with the cases that came up in the city. In fact, the employment of foreign judges for this purpose was probably entirely new in the Hellenistic period, the first known case being dated by Crowther to 324/3 BCE. That this practice evolved into custom over the next two centuries has been ascribed to the supposed decline of the democratic institutions of the city-state. Indeed, at first sight a popular court elected by lot fits better into the democratic constitution, modelled upon that of Classical Athens, that many Hellenistic cities were built on. In contrast, inviting eminent judges from other cities inclines more towards an elitist, oligarchic justice system. The sudden need for foreign judges to settle local cases seems largely due to the situation of *stasis* or civic unrest that many Greek cities found themselves in at the turn of the third century. Plutarch, one of the few ancient authors who makes mention of the institution of foreign judges in his work, bluntly expresses the problem a system of foreign judges would solve:

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138 Crowther (1992), 22-23.
140 Crowther (1992), 14, 25.
The trial of cases subject to appeal and the bringing of them before foreign courts was first conceived by the Greeks on account of their distrust of each other, needing the justice of strangers just like other necessities that are not of indigenous origin. 142

Clearly, cities needed their peer polities to provide judges because they could no longer trust their own citizens to pass equal justice. In line with Plutarch’s remark, Tarn supposed that the system of popular jurisdiction must have been nearly untenable in the relatively small civic communities of the Hellenistic world, where many were involved with each other in some emotional or official way, where most were active in politics and where all, naturally, dealt in gossip. 143 While this statement is perhaps too general, the Greek cities of the late fourth and third centuries certainly had trouble preserving the civic concord needed for popular justice to succeed, a situation of which Polybios renders an evocative account:

But the koinon of the Boiotians had come to such a bad state that justice had not been settled with them for almost twenty-five years, not in private contracts nor in public lawsuits; for the archons, because they were either issuing orders to the border-garrisons, or commanding expeditions of the koinon, always postponed jurisdiction. And some of the strategoi even made payments from the public funds to the poor people. From this, the commoners learned to turn towards those and to procure offices for those through whom they would not have to suffer penalties for their crimes and their debts, and they would always receive in addition something from the public coffers by favour of the office-holders. 144

From this passage, the corruption of local judicial systems and the increasing influence of oligarchic tendencies in Boiotia becomes sufficiently clear. It can be connected to a handful of inscriptions for judges from other regions which give the suspension of local justice as a reason for inviting foreign judges, like the following case from Eresos on Lesbos:

142 Plutarch De Amore Prolis 1.1.
143 Tarn (1930), 81-82.
144 Polybios 20.6.
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As public and private cases had long gone without justice, the démos, making haste that they be decided in the most just fashion, [wrote to Eresos to ask for judges, etc.].

Resorting to the solution of foreign judges thus seems to point towards a perceived need for the preservation of equal justice, rather than to an attitude of resignation to encroaching oligarchy. However, it has been noted that a certain group of decrees concerning foreign judges mentions the interference of kings in the inviting of foreign judges. How does this reflect on the independence of the Greek city-states who invited judges from abroad?

The kings we encounter in our inscriptions often seem to have encouraged cities to seek foreign aid in the management of their legal business, for instance after they had themselves been asked to serve as judge. In other cases, they actively served as mediators in commanding a specific city to fulfil the need for suitable judges. This royal interference could certainly be interpreted as a loss of independence for the cities, but it should be stressed that their role in this institution remains rather passive. Their meddling seems then mostly to have been aimed at preserving concord or homonoia and preventing social strife, even while allowing the cities to deal with their internal problems by themselves. Moreover, it is important to note Crowther’s observation that, of the thirteen inscriptions which explicitly mention the interference of kings in the invitation of foreign judges, twelve can be dated to before the last quarter of the third century BCE. They do represent half of the inscriptions of this period; it seems that the Hellenistic rulers played rather a large role in the early promotion of this new judicial institution. The lack of proof for the influence of kings on this practice after the 220s however suggests that the exchange of foreign judges later became, as Crowther dubs it, ‘a matter simply between the cities themselves’.

With or without involvement of a king, it is not always clear why a specific city was chosen to provide judges. Sometimes it was simply a neighbouring city that was asked. But the inviting and sending cities are by no means always particularly close, and the distance between them does not seem to have been a decisive factor. In contrast to the procedure followed in interstate

145 IG XII.2, 530 II. 1-3: Eresos, unidentified city thanks Eresos for sending judges, third century BCE. See also for example IG VII.4130: Akraiaphia thanks Larisa for sending judges, late second century BCE; and I.Creticae I xix,3: Knossos, Malla thanks Knossos and Lyttos for sending judges, late second century BCE. The last text offers a quite dramatic description of the situation of deterioration.
146 Crowther (1992), 26-27.
149 Robert (1973), 780-781.
150 Crowther (1992), 23; (1993), 63.
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...towards us, with a gold... for the provenance of the judges can be distilled from the honorific decrees we have left. The following passage from a decree of an unknown Aiolian city honouring a judge from Lampsakos provides an excellent example:

6 ἐπειδὴ τῷ [δάμῳ ψαφισσαμένῳ-

...dikastan metapēmiasethai [ἐγὼ Λαμψάκῳ].

...éontes ἀμμὶ συγγένεσις καὶ εὐθυνή].

...άνδρα κάλου κάγαθον [Δα]-

...κρέοντα Ζήνωνος, ὡς καὶ παραγενόμενον [ος ταῖς]

...ποστάμφης οὐ καὶ τὸν [ἐπιδι]-

...ίαγα καὶ καθ᾽ ὡς καὶ ποιήσανσιν ἐκοινωνίας [ὡς καὶ]

...κατὰ τός ἐκβάτους, ἐποιήσας τῇ καὶ τόν [ἐπιδί]-

...μήναται ἄνωτῷ κάλου κάγαθον [ἐκβάτους] ἐν ὕπνῳ καὶ καθ᾿ ὡς καὶ ἐκβάτους ἐκοινωνίας [ὡς καὶ]

...κατά τός ἐκβάτους, ἐποιήσας τῇ καὶ τόν [ἐπιδί]-

...ποιήσας τῇ καὶ τόν [ἐπιδί]-

As the city had decided to send for a judge from Lampsakos, and seen as that the Lampsakenes, being kinsmen of ours and goodwilling, have taken every care and zeal in sending a good and well-off man, Damokreon son of Zenon, who, when he had come to us, judged the cases, and has reconciled them impartially and justly and according to the laws, has completed his stay and judged along good measures and has carried himself orderly and worthy of both cities, [the city has decided] in conclusion to praise the démos of the Lampsakenes and to crown it at the games of Heracles, while the herald proclaims that the démos crowns the démos of the Lampsakenes because they sent a good and honourable judge, on account of their virtue and goodwill towards us, with a gold crown, as is the custom; and also to praise the judge and to crown him at the games of the Herakleiā [etc.].

It seems here that existing ties were a good motive for choosing Lampsakos, as the city is praised for its goodwill (eunoia) and reminded of the ties of kinship (sungeneia) that connected both cities. At other times, the existing friendship or philia between the cities is alluded to. The decree, and many others like it, suggests that judges had to be good and well-off men (καλὸς καὶ ἐγγοθός), expected to behave in a fashion worthy of both their hometown and their host city.

151 Robert (1973), 771-772. Robert also notes that in the cases where only one judge is honoured it is probable that there were others from other towns who had received separate decrees, as it seems unlikely that one judge was considered sufficient to reach a balanced verdict.

152 I. Lampsakos 34, ll. 6-22: Lampsakos, an unknown Aiolian city honours judges from Lampsakos, end of third century BCE.
(ἀξίως ἀμφοτέρων τῶν πόλεων). They should be able to impartially and justly (ἴσως καὶ δικαίως) settle the cases, according to the laws (κατὰ τοῖς νόμοις) of the city they were invited to.

From the number of decrees featuring these expressions, it seems likely that the cities chosen to provide judges were selected on their supposed ability to provide men who would be an asset to inter-city relations. If there was also a perceived kinship bond or another friendly connection, this perhaps added to the idea that the judges would be able to employ the more specific local laws in the right fashion. Their ability to judge and conduct themselves well was important, as foreign judges would often be invited to settle a large number of cases during their visit – as much as 250 or even 350 are attested in a decree issued by Kalymna! – and would be seated in the inviting town for as long as it took them to deal with these.\(^\text{153}\) The number of judges required for the panel was in most cases limited to three or five, in some cases even one or two. They were usually accompanied by a secretary, the grammateus, who would receive honours along with the judges. Interestingly, panels of foreign judges could even consist of individuals from different cities, who would often receive separate decrees.

As the gradual aristocratization of the Hellenistic cities sparked a need for impartial justice, judges from peer cities became important agents of inter-city connections. Existing relations needed to be strengthened in order for the institution to succeed, and in other cases new reciprocal ties were entered into or simply invented, as could happen with the highly adaptable kinship ties.\(^\text{154}\) In this way, foreign judges became catalysts of the Hellenistic globalization process. At the same time, the institution amplified the cities’ sense of autonomy under the rule of the new monarchs. This mechanism seems to have continued not only under the Hellenistic kings but even under Roman rule, as is attested by a source as late as Cicero:

> Graeci vero exsultant quod peregrinis iudicibus utuntur. “nugatoribus quidem” inquies. quid refert? tamen se αὐτονομίαν adeptos putant.

> The Greeks truly rejoice because they use foreign judges. “What dabblers [those judges],” you may say. What of it? Still they feel they have won autonomy.\(^\text{155}\)

And indeed the use of foreign judges appears to have remained commonplace even after the conquests of Rome, and even after our evidence in decrees runs out, which is around the end of the first century BCE. Rather than signalling the end of the institution, this lack of evidence is in line with a general decline in the trend of inscribing official decrees. Other epigraphic evidence, though scarce, nevertheless suggests that the practice continued until as late as the second

\(^{153}\) Robert (1973), 773; the decree is I.\textit{Iasos 82}: Iasos, Kalymna honours judges from Iasos, 270/260 BCE.

\(^{154}\) See page 20-21 above.

\(^{155}\) Cicero, \textit{Ad Atticum} VI.1.15.
century CE, providing testimonies of the visits of foreign judges to Greek towns in dedications and career inscriptions.\textsuperscript{156}

\textit{The Inscriptions: Honour as a Universal Medium}

In the previous chapter, we have seen that processes of interstate arbitration could be recorded in a wide range of inscriptions. Strikingly, the texts pertaining to the institution of foreign judges are almost exclusively limited to honorific decrees issued to the judges themselves; in contrast, the arbitrators in inter-city conflicts almost never received public honours.\textsuperscript{157} The inscriptions issued to foreign judges are arguably less historically informative than the arbitration texts, as they barely give any information on the types of cases that were tried and the way in which the judges proceeded. However, they do more often and more elaborately state how and where the decrees should be published, and thus they give us much more guidance in trying to learn something about their purpose as a medium and the way they functioned in the interactions between cities. In my opinion, there are two aspects to the honorific decrees issued to foreign judges which are important to this question. The first is the fact that honour already functioned as a universal medium in the Hellenistic world. The second aspect is presented by the elaborate publication clauses that many of these inscriptions boasted, often providing for the publication of the honours in the honorand’s home town as well as in the city where they had come to judge.

As we have seen, public honour became a kind of universal symbolic currency in the Hellenistic world, in parallel with the growing importance of the aristocracy and civic benefactors.\textsuperscript{158} In almost every city which published inscribed decrees, we also find inscribed honours. As the first two centuries of the Hellenistic period drew on, these decrees became an essential and universal instrument of reciprocal relations.\textsuperscript{159} Besides serving as repayment for benefactors, state-issued honours could also serve as universal currency between cities. While honorific decrees were regularly issued from one city to another for various reasons, such as providing aid in ties of famine, war or financial crisis, the only institution in which cities would structurally and regularly receive honours was the institution of foreign judges.

In fact, Crowther has noted that of all of the honorific decrees for foreign judges that we have left, only a handful record crowns only issued to the judges themselves. The great majority of the

\textsuperscript{156} Crowther 1992, 28-29. The sources are TAM II 420, 508, 583, 915b: Lycian koinon, career inscriptions, first century BCE-second century CE; I.Mylasa 361-367: Mylasa, dedications made by foreign judges, first century CE; I.Stratonikeia 229 a, b: Stratonikeia, career inscription, second century CE; IG V.1.819, 869 and SEG 11-491, 493, 496: Sparta, career inscriptions, second century CE.

\textsuperscript{157} Honorific decrees for judges of an interstate arbitration: SEG 24-1024 (= Ager no. 66), SEG 26-392 (= Ager no. 87) and F.Delphes III.3.383 (= Ager no. 117). Ager’s corpus furthermore contains ten honorific decrees for those who acted as a city’s advocate in an interstate arbitration.

\textsuperscript{158} Page 12 above.

\textsuperscript{159} See Lendon (1997) for the role of honour as social currency in the Roman Empire.
texts additionally issues crowns and praise to the city or – more accurately – the dēmos that had sent them. Crowther furthermore observed that a great deal of these latter texts (naturally counting only those decrees for which such a statement can sensibly be made on account of their relative completeness) the dēmos even receives precedence over the individual judges and their grammateus. The Aiolian decree cited above, for instance, shows that the judge is explicitly and consistently named last. In some cases this means that the dēmos received a more expensive crown, but in most cases it was simply named first – as in the decree cited at the beginning of this chapter. In his 1993 article on foreign judges in Seleucid cities, Crowther has listed a number of 73 decrees in which this is the case. From my own assessment of the decrees provided in Crowther’s more recent list of inscriptions mentioning foreign judges, it appears that this number can be increased even further. Seen in this light, it seems to me that the decrees were not just devised to thank the judges for their good service, but served also as repayment for the city’s willingness to help. Without the city, the entire exchange would not have been possible – except, of course, when a king had ordered the city to provide the judges. It is exactly these cases, Crowther pleads, which often lack honours for the city. The providing city had, in these cases, only complied to a royal request and may therefore not have been considered worthy of special praise or honour.

The second aspect, the way in which these texts were published, greatly added to the strength of the relations that were thus formed. From our corpus of preserved decrees for foreign judges, it seems that it was customary to make sure that these honorific decrees had at least some form of publicity in both towns. In most cases, decrees that record the procedure for its publication first explicitly provide for the announcement of the crowns in the theatre of the issuing town. This is usually followed by the decision that the decree must be inscribed and publicly displayed; often at an important sanctuary, in some cases in the agora; only rarely does the location remain undefined. Often the decree then goes on to state that an ambassador must bring the decree to the hometown of the judges, and take care of its publication there:

[ἐνά δέ καὶ ἐγε κνίδωι ὑπάρχῃ ὑπάμηνα τῆς τοὺ προγε-
γραμμένον ἀνδρῶν ἀρετῆς καὶ φιλαγθίας [κ]αὶ τῆς τοῦ δή-
μου προὶς τῶν ἀξίους εὐχαριστίας, τῶν ἀποδειγμέ-
νους εἰς] Κνίδιον πρέσβεις κατὰ τὸ προκεκυρωμένον ὑπὲρ τῆς

15 [τοῦ] δῆμου τῶν Κνιδῶν ψήφισμα ἀνενεγκεῖτε εἰς Κνίδον
[καὶ τό] δῆμος τὸ ψήφισμα καὶ ἀναδιόντας αὐτῷ τοῖς ἀρχουσιν καὶ

[ἐπε]θύμος ἐπί τοῦ δήμου ἀξιόσιοι καὶ παρακαλεῖν Κνιδίοις
[καὶ ἐν]ὺς ὑπάρχοντας καὶ φίλους τοῦ δήμου ἐπιμέλειαι πο[ι]-

160 Crowther (1993), 70–74. Although the article is predominantly concerned with Seleucid cities, Crowther does appear to have included decrees from non-Seleucid cities in this list.

161 Crowther (1993), 63–69.
[ησ]ασθας, ὅπως Ξενοκρίτος καὶ Ἀγησικράτης στεφανωθῶσαν[ιν]


25 ὄντας δὲ καὶ καθ’ ἐξ[α]στ[ο]ν ἔτος αἰ τίμαι Διονυσίων τῶν ἁ-

[κτλ.]

And [it has been decided] in order that there be a memorial of the virtue and love of goodness of the above-mentioned men and of the gratitude of the city towards those worthy of it, that the ambassadors that have been appointed to Knidos by the previously ratified decree about the honours for the city of the Knidians, must also take this decree with them to Knidos; and, after they have given this decree to the archons and have gone before the assembly, they must encourage the Knidians, goodwilling as they have been and friends to our démos, to make sure that Xenokritos and Anesikrates are crowned by them in the theatre at the Dionysian games, with the crowns that the démos has decided on; and that, after they have been crowned, it will be publicly proclaimed that the people of Smyrna have crowned both of them with gold crowns because of their virtue and their righteousness, and that also the other honours that the démos has decided on must be proclaimed; and that the honours be proclaimed at the Dionysian games every year; and they must also take care that this decree is inscribed on a stone stèle and put up in the place that they themselves may decide on. [etc.]162

This passage comes from an honorific decree which was issued by Smyrna, situated about 200 kilometres up the shore of Turkey to the north of Knidos, where it was found. Smyrna had asked Knidos to send judges to take care of some private legal disputes in the city, which could not be dealt with by local judges. As the judges had performed well, they received honours. While the people of Smyrna probably decided to inscribe and proclaim the decree in their own town (that part of the text is mostly missing), detailed provisions are also given for electing an embassy and sending the text back to Knidos, and that city was asked to take care of its local publication. Not only is the message of the decree to be proclaimed during the yearly festival of Dionysos, it is also to be publicly inscribed by the Knidians – and thus it survives into our time. The same procedure is found in many decrees honouring foreign judges.163

The concept of common knowledge can help us understand why this publication took place as it did. Upon the arrival of the embassy from Smyrna, who were received in an Assembly meeting, common knowledge of the honours issued by Smyrna and of the good relation that the cities had

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162 1Knidos 231 ll. 11-27: Knidos, Smyrna honours judges sent by Knidos, third or second century BCE.
163 See for instance I.Lasos 607 (= I.Priene 47): Bargylia honours judges sent by Priene, ca. 200 BCE; I.Laodikeia 5: Laodikeia at the Lykos honours judges sent by Priene, 200-289 BCE. In this case, king Zeuxis was first asked for assistance, who then wrote to Priene. Strikingly, in the order of the honorands, the city of Priene is mentioned after Zeuxis – but before the judges.
with each other was created in Knidos. The Knidians would be reminded of this every year at the Dionysia, in the inward-facing circle of the theatre, when the honours were proclaimed again; the repetitive performance of this ritual strengthened its impact on the people. At the same time, the same rituals probably took place in Smyrna. The realization that similar meetings took place in the town that had issued the decree, would additionally stress that there existed a common knowledge between the cities – even though gathering the citizens of both towns in one Assembly meeting was of course never possible. The inscription, which also had a place in both towns, provided a monument not only to the honour of the judges and to the yearly proclamations, but also to the common knowledge that had been created. The simultaneous presence in both cities again strengthened this common awareness. Furthermore, the decree monumentalized the reciprocity of the relationship: one city providing judges, and the other giving honour in return.

The degree to which the decrees themselves provided for their own publication varies somewhat. It seems that it was usual to elect an embassy to go before the Council or Assembly of the city where the judges had come from to pass on the message, as is also shown by a further passage of the Aiolian decree sent to Lampsakos quoted earlier:

And [it is decided] to send an embassy in the Assembly, which when it has come to the Lampsakenes, will give them the decree and will make sure that an announcement is made of the crowns also with them at the Dionysia, and will make sure that this decree is inscribed on a stēlē of white stone and that it is put up in the most conspicuous place.164

As we can see here, the ambassadors make sure that the honours are announced at the Dionysia ‘also with them’, suggesting a similar publication procedure in the issuing town. The minimum of publication in the receiving city for which a decree honouring judges usually provides, is such an announcement of the crowns at an important festival. If inscription is also required, it usually gives some indication as to the place where it should stand. Interestingly, this decision is often left to the town that received the honours, but most often with the qualification that it should be the most notable place, as is shown above. Sometimes, a specific spot was determined, perhaps

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164 L.Lampsakos 34, ll. 32-38: Lampsakos, an unknown Aiolian city honours judges from Lampsakos, end of third century BCE.
suggesting that the ties between two cities had developed to such a degree that some information was available on the layout and important structures of the town. If this is the case, the indicated spot is usually a sanctuary. Putting the text in a sacred place could, as we have seen in the previous chapters, enhance the importance and validity that was granted to the text. If indeed the text simultaneously symbolized the relationship between cities, as proposed above, this would also have increased the importance and validity of this relationship.

Were these publication instructions always carried out? As we have seen in the case of interstate arbitration, it is not always certain whether the guidelines for publication that decrees themselves laid out were followed in every city where they were sent. In the case of foreign judges decrees too, only very rarely are both copies that should have been erected preserved into our time. Judging from the ‘answering decrees’ sometimes found in appendix to the honorific decrees, the exact publication circumstances of the decree would be ultimately decided at the meeting at which the decree was presented. While instructions of the issuing town were usually taken into account, this does not mean that the decree would not be published if, as was sometimes the case, none such instructions were present. This happened for instance in the case of some Iasian judges who were honoured by decree of Kalymna. I quote the publication clause of the Iasian reply:

ŏ̂pws δὲ
[kai̱ t]hō̂ ψήφωσμα τοῦ̂το καὶ̱ τὸ̂ παρὰ Καλυμνίων ἀναγραφῆ

25  [ε]ν τῷ̂ ἐπιφανεστάτωι τό̂πῳ καθὰ̱ καὶ̱ Καλύμνιοι ἀξιόσυν[α]
[ο]ὶ̱ νεωποιαὶ̱ ἐπημέλεια̱ παισά̱θουσαν ἵνα ἀναγραφῆ[ι]̱ ἀμφό̱[τε]-
[ChildIndex]̱ τὰ̱ ψηφίσματα ἐν το̱ι̱ ἱερῶι̱ τοβ̱ Διὸς ὡ̱ τῆς̱ Ἀρτέμιδος.

In order that this decree as well as the one from the Kalymnians are inscribed in the most conspicuous place, just as the Kalymnian temple-officials have deemed it right, care must be taken to inscribe both decrees in the sanctuary of Zeus or of Artemis.\footnote{165}{I. Iasos 82, ll. 23-27: Iasos, Kalymnian decree honouring Iasian judges and Iasian answering decree, late second century BCE.}

Apparently, the Kalymnians had sent temple-officials to make sure the decree was published, but their own honorific decree does not record this procedure, nor whether the decree should also stand in Kalymna. The publication provisions that decrees themselves make therefore do not always guarantee this was how the decree was published.

In any case, the single copies of known decrees for foreign judges from the third and second centuries BCE were found in cities that issued them as well as in those that received them, and only slightly more often in the cities that received them (106 versus 122 decrees).\footnote{166}{Concluded from data provided by dr. Charles Crowther in his updated list of foreign judges decrees.} This
suggests that it may have been slightly more important for cities receiving honours to have them displayed (or perhaps they kept them on display for a longer time), than it was for cities issuing honour. However, the number of issuing towns from which decrees for judges were recovered is not insignificant, and suggests that there too, it was important to display the transaction that had taken place. To my opinion, the best way to explain this is by the desire to keep the relation that had been created or strengthened by the transaction in place, perpetuated by the decrees that were metonymic not only for their honours, but for the entire exchange and the resulting diplomatic ties.

The way in which these messages were made public clearly mattered a great deal, and the arrangements made particularly seem to emphasize the distribution of knowledge about the honours in both towns, in a way that would constantly remind their inhabitants of the mutually beneficial exchange that had taken place. Remarkably, of all honorific decrees, the decrees for foreign judges seem to singularly carry the most elaborate and most consistent publication clauses. Their essential role as media is therefore not to be underestimated, and is probably connected to the important role that foreign judges themselves played in the creation and maintenance of ties between cities. I believe that the inscribed stēlai recording their honours, publishing the activities of judges and the beneficial ties they maintained, contributed a great deal to the strength of inter-city relations. Furthermore, making the institution visible at home as well as abroad, in the universal language of the koinē Greek, in a universal vocabulary of honour and, finally, on the universal medium of inscriptions, helped to spread the institution of foreign judges over the entire Hellenistic world. As such, these inscriptions played an important part in the developing interconnectedness of the cities in this world.
Chapter 5. Theōria

The final institution I will discuss has everything to do with festivals and sanctuaries, two phenomena which played an important role in connecting the cities of the Greek world.167 Specifically, we are interested in theōroi, ambassadors who travelled to announce and visit festivals and sanctuaries, and of course in the inscriptions that were put up for and by them. The origins of the words theōros (‘ambassador in a religious function’) and theōria (‘embassy with a religious function’ or ‘the performance of an embassy with a religious function’) probably lie in the verb theaomai which can mean ‘to gaze at, to behold’ or ‘to be a spectator’. It could also, however, be a compound of theos, ‘god’, and a form of ‘horaō’, ‘to watch’.168 In any case, the ambassadors were clearly meant to watch and observe certain events or objects at their place of destination. What led to the association with the word theos, is that all theōroi had a religious function, with two important distinctions – although their tasks could overlap. The first function theōroi had was that they were sent by a sanctuary in their hometown to other cities in order to announce a festival; a second task they could be appointed to was to visit sanctuaries in other cities to represent their hometown at festivals or for various other purposes.169 This range of duties, always accompanied by the attendance of and participation in rituals, is already closely tied to the creation of common knowledge. More specifically, travelling theōroi to an extent served as common-knowledge-proxies, creating common knowledge of their own festivals in other cities, and common knowledge in their own community of other cities’ festivals. But we are, of course, primarily interested in the inscriptions this institution left behind. Now theōroi did not often receive such elaborate honorific decrees as foreign judges, but the Hellenistic period did witness a great increase in other kinds of inscriptions connected to theoric travel, especially that of the first type.

Since Paul Boesch published his dissertation on the subject in 1908, epigraphists like Philippe Bruneau, Paula Perlman and Nora Dimitrova have done essential but often locally focused work on inscriptions concerning theōroi and theōrodokoi (these are the hosts officially appointed to theōroi).170 However, no comprehensive survey on the subject was published after the book by Boesch for almost 90 years. This lacuna has recently been filled by scholars like Matthew Dillon, Jaś Elsner and Ian Rutherford. Surprisingly, they have all attempted to approach the subject from a framework of ‘ancient Greek pilgrimage’.171 Quick to acknowledge that using a term so deeply

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167 Palmer (2004); Williamson (2013b); Williamson and Van Nijf (forthcoming).
168 The words have various dialectal variations, for instance those beginning in theā- or thiā-, which possibly feature more often in inscriptions than the Ionic and Attic theōros and theōria. These different manifestations of the word have also led to the etymological debate. See Rutherford (2013: 5 and n.11, n.12) for more dialectal variations and the details of the etymological debate.
169 Rigsby (1996) lists all inscriptions related to recognition of asylia of sanctuaries, including those where a festival was involved.
170 Boesch (1908); for instance Bruneau (1970), 93-114; Perlman (2000); Dimitrova (2008).
171 Dillon (1997); Elsner and Rutherford (2005); Rutherford (2013).
rooted in Christian beliefs involves risks, they make sure to take ‘pilgrimage’ in a very broad sense. They include the travels of theōroi visiting a sanctuary on behalf of their state as well as individuals seeking healing or a different kind of religious comfort, and recognize that some theōria i also had political and diplomatic purposes. It seems to me however that while there are certainly phenomena in the Greek world that can successfully be framed by the term ‘pilgrimage’, theōria exemplifies exactly the type of religious travel that is farthest removed from it. Theōria i were always performed by order of the state and while their religious role was clearly important, their political significance as state officials must not be underestimated. In order to discern its role in the larger Greek world, the theōria should be considered in its own right; the Greek term does, after all, distinguish them from other types of religious travellers. The political aspects of the institution must therefore play an even larger part than Rutherford has accorded them.

In this chapter, I hope to make clear what exactly the (political) role of theōroi was and how the inscriptions related to them contributed to the communication between cities and the creation of a Greek imagined community. In order to do this, I will first further discuss the two types of theoric travel, the theōroi’s function and what they did during their travels. Then, I will focus on the inscriptions related to them and the way in which these helped to create common knowledge between cities, thus coordinating their interactions.

The Institution: Announcers, Hosts and Representatives
I will first discuss the periodic travels of theōroi around the Greek world, which they made in order to announce festivals to their peer cities and invite them to these events, an undertaking known as the epangelia. This is the earliest attested form of theōria, and it is plausible that the practice even played a role in establishing the panhellenic character of early festivals such as the Olympics. The practice seems however to have gained in importance enormously in the Hellenistic era, judging by the amount of inscriptions recording these theōroi’s efforts. The epigraphic material attests a great surge in the establishment of new festivals which started out small but aspired to greatness and panhellenic importance, and which intended to use theoric announcers as an instrument to achieve this. A request for the status of asylia (‘territorial

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172 Dillon (1997), xv-xix; Elsner and Rutherford (2005), 1-9; Rutherford (2013), 12-14. Scullion (2005), 111-130 makes a good case against the use of pilgrimage terminology in application to the Greek world, but in my opinion observes too rigorous a divide between the realms of the sacred and the secular in Greek polis society. Elsner and Rutherford respond to his view on pages 33 and 34 of the same work.


175 Robert (1984); Parker (2004), 11.
inviolability) of the sanctuary can often be connected to such efforts. Similarly, theōroi could ask for recognition of the ‘crown’ status of an already existing but not so prestigious festival and simultaneously invite those who complied with the request. At some occasions, theōroi would in their travels combine the announcement of the festival of their own city and the attendance of festivals held by their host cities.

One of the most important aspects of this institution was its promotion of reciprocal relations. This is seen in the exchange of ambassadors – if a city had sent announcing theōroi, it was customary to send representing theōroi back – but also in the appointment of special hosts to them, called theōrodokoi. The theōroi would receive a warm welcome, as is shown by a part of the Messenian decree accepting the request for asylia of the Asklepieion in Kos:

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Chapter 5. Theōria

176 ‘Crown’ status meant that there were no monetary prizes awarded for the winning of contests, only crowns, signalling the prestige of the festival: winning a crown in one of the panhellenic festivals, for instance, was prestigious enough of itself. See Dillon (1997), 114-122.
177 Rutherford (2013), 81-82.
178 Here, too, there are dialectal variations, for instance the Boiotian theōrodokoi.
179 SEG 12-371.6-19 (= Rigsby no.15): Kos, Messene acknowledges the asylia of the Koan sanctuary of Asklepios, ca. 242 BCE.
Messene and Kos obviously had an existing relationship, expressed in terms of friendship (῾ὀιλοῖ’, l.2), kinship (῾συγγενεῖς’, l.2) and goodwill (῾εὔνοια’, l.10) While it is not entirely clear when and where theōroi would make the actual announcement of their festival, it would generally have involved speeches and possibly song or poetry, elaborating on such existing relations.\(^{180}\) They are to perform a sacrifice, like most theōroi, for which the sheep is even provided. The formulaic nature of the text suggests that these procedures took place in the same way at every visit, along carefully laid-out rules – all aspects which promoted common understanding and common knowledge.

The Koan theōroi not only received a sheep for sacrifice, but also allowances for their stay and for the expenses of their further travels; the appointment of theōrodokoi, who would host and entertain them during their stay, is also taken care of. Most of the theōrodokoi in our evidence seem, like the Messenians Mantikrates and the son of Philokles, to have had the task of receiving theōroi in the function of festival announcers; remarkably, there is only little evidence for theōrodokoi receiving those who came to visit a festival.\(^{181}\) In one city there could be quite a few individuals with the position of theōrodokos, each usually catering to the announcers with a specific provenance. Some cities could however have more theōrodokoi to take care of their theōroi in one town, such as Kos, to which city two theōrodokoi were appointed in the example above; likewise some theōrodokoi could be appointed to the theōroi of multiple festivals.\(^{182}\) The office thus provides an interesting supplement to the much older office of proxenia, which is attested at least since the mid-fifth century – while the first theōrodokoi are not found until the mid-fourth century.\(^{183}\) Proxenos was a title which one city could bestow upon citizens of another city, so they could function as representatives to the appointing city in their hometown. Apart from this, they would also serve as a host to visitors from the city that had appointed them.\(^{184}\) Interestingly, while a proxenos could by definition only be appointed by the state for which he served as a representative and not by his home-town, theōrodokoi could be appointed either by their home city or by the city or sanctuary whose theōroi they would serve.

There was in the course of the late Classical and the Hellenistic period apparently a need for specific officials to receive religious envoys of other cities, apart from other official visitors. Still, the institutions of proxenia and theōrodokia, depending on the towns that bestowed the titles,

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\(^{180}\) Chaniotis (1988) on envoys performing song, dance and poetry; Rutherford (2013), 72-73, 271.

\(^{181}\) There are only seven cases, recorded for instance in IG IV.679: Hermione, Asine sends a theōria to participate in the Chthonia, late third to second century BCE; IG XIL.2.837: Tenos, Ammonios son of Ammonios of Athens is appointed theōrodokos in Delos for the theōroi sent to the Delia by Tenos, second century BCE. Perlman (2000), 17-18 lists five more cases.

\(^{182}\) Perlman (2000), 14-17; Rutherford (2013), 82-85. See especially Rutherford’s Table 5 on his page 85, recording theōrodokoi who were appointed to the theōroi of multiple festivals.

\(^{183}\) Perlman (2000), 20-21.

are not always easily distinguishable and the titles were often even bestowed simultaneously and in a very similar fashion – as in the example from Epidauros above. We may even surmise that *theōroi* who came to visit sanctuaries as representatives were received by *proxenoi*, given the lack of evidence for *theōrodokoi* fulfilling this function.\(^{185}\) Possibly, *theōroi* announcing a festival were seen as direct representatives of their sanctuary’s god and had to be granted a special host, while *theōroi* visiting a sanctuary were simply seen as city representatives and therefore allocated to the public sphere of the *proxenos*.

There were quite a few reasons besides announcing festivals for which cities would send theoric representatives to another sanctuary. The most obvious example is the attendance of the panhellenic games: the Olympic games organized by Elis, the Isthmian games at Corinth, the Pythian games at Delphi and the Nemean games of the north-eastern Peloponnese. At least one of these great events was held each given year, and they were the ultimate occasion for cities from all over the Greek world to periodically interact with each other. *Theōroi* were sent to these festivals to make an official attendance, usually in a group of at least two or three, the leader of which was called the *archetheōros* or *architheōros*. They were often accompanied by the athletes whose participation was sponsored by their city, and by more informal visitors who wanted to enjoy the spectacle.\(^{186}\) Thus there was at the festivals ample opportunity for numbers of visitors of official and less official capacity from different areas to converse with each other and to ‘liaise’.

The great spectacles and prestige of the panhellenic games were sure to attract many visitors. But *theōroi*, who came not only to watch the spectacles but also to observe at the ceremonies and to participate in ritual gatherings, were also sent to various other festivals – great and small, including less prestigious and more regionally oriented festivals. Whether organized by a federal league or by an individual city, regional festivals had a smaller scope and usually attracted visitors only from the surrounding region (which could, however, still be as large as the entire Peloponnese or the Ionian coast) or, additionally, from specifically targeted areas, such as a colony’s mother city or vice versa.\(^{187}\) Because so many cities visited them, Panhellenic sanctuaries formed great interregional hubs and were to an extent the prime movers of the interconnectivity of the ancient Mediterranean. But local festivals, often organized by the most important city in a region, fulfilled a similar function on a smaller scale, tying the cities of one region closer together. If the time came to visit the panhellenic games, the largest of these local communities would often send a representative from them all. At all these festivals, contests or

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\(^{186}\) Elsner & Rutherford (2005), 13; Rutherford (2013), 40, 54-56.

\(^{187}\) A regional festival was for instance the Panonia, participation in which was limited to the members of the Ionian League. But there were many local festivals which simply did not attract visitors from a wide catchment area. See Rutherford (2013), 40, 56-64.
other performances were not the only thing that occupied the visiting theōroi. When not literally observing spectacles, theōroi are known to have participated in other rituals and sacrifices, or to have organized a sacrifice themselves, on behalf of their own city. It seems likely that the later Roman term often used for this type of theōroi, sunthutai (‘fellow-sacrificers’), originated in this practice. The ritual environment of these activities, at which all representatives were gathered, strengthened the mutual ties of the attending cities, a process in which the creation of common knowledge is prominently present. Coordinating the interaction between cities, such events surely had a political flavour.

But festivals were not the only occasion for representative theōroi to visit other cities. One of the most important missions they could be sent on was the consultation of an oracle; often the Pythia in Delphi, but in the Hellenistic period the oracles at for instance Dodona, Didyma and Lebadeia enjoyed a growing clientele. Although there are only few inscriptions in which the envoys sent to an oracle are explicitly called theōroi, the literary evidence suggests that this was the correct term for someone who consulted the oracle on behalf of his city. Proceeding with this consultation often required a number of rituals, usually including a sacrifice to the god. To show how this type of visit could become politically charged, it appears that in Delphi at least the order in which cities would be able to consult the oracle could be manipulated. This is suggested by a number of grants of promanteia, ‘the right to consult the oracle first’ – an important privilege from a popular oracle such as that of Delphi, especially when the consultation concerned matters of state. Messene, for example, acquired this right:

Épeidh Μεσσανίωι

strepitw tác aptepseilän]
[ dó]ste συνδιαφυλαξαί τὸ [ τε ιερόν καὶ τάμ πάλιν, καὶ ἔπι τοίτων Μνασάγαρον Μαντικράτεος, Δαιμοκράτη Δαιμόνδρου, τοὺς βοι-]
θεύσαντας τῷ τε ιερῷ καὶ ταῖ πάλι, καὶ τούτωι συνδιαφυλαξαίν τὸ τε ιερόν καὶ τάμ πάλιν καλὸς καὶ ἄσφαλος, καὶ ἔνεδάμενην]
eὐτάκτως διδόχθαι τῇ πώλει ἑπανέσαι τὰ πάλιν τῶν Μεσσανίων εὐσεβείας ἔνεκεν τὰς ποτὶ τὸν θεόν καὶ εὐνοιας τᾶς]
5 ποτὶ τάμ πάλιν, καὶ εἴμεν Μ[σανίους εὐεργέτας τοῦ ιεροῦ καὶ τάς πάλιος καὶ διδόσθαι αὐτῶς προμαντέιαν, προξενίαν,]
[προδικίαν, [κτλ.]

as the Messenians have sent soldiers to assist in preserving the sanctuary and the city, and with them
Mnasagoros son of Mantikrates, Damokrates son of Damandros, who will help the sanctuary and the

188 Elsner and Rutherford (2005), 13; Rutherford (2013), 201-206.
189 C.P. Jones (1998); Rutherford (2013), 68-69;
189 For instance, Sophokles Oedipus Coloneus 414; Thucydides 5.15; Pausanias IV 9.3; Diodorus Siculus 8.21. See Rutherford (2013), 97-98.
city; and as these have assisted in keeping the sanctuary and the city sound and safe, and as they have performed their stay orderly; the city has decided to honour the city of the Messenians on account of their piety and also their goodwill towards the sanctuary and the polis, and that the Messenians must be benefactors of the sanctuary and of the polis, and to grant them the right to consult the oracle first (promanteia), proxeny, priority of trial, [etc.].

It seems that these grants were offered to those states who had performed Delphi a special service, or those who were deemed to be of greatest influence. There are however indications that even the sacrifice offered before the oracle consultation, or the tax that was required to be paid beforehand, could have an influence.

Another task theōroi could have outside of a festival context was the conveyance of dedications or offerings for various other reasons. A delegation could be sent carrying gold crowns, ceremonial dishes or for instance a silver cup - either when a city had been so instructed by an oracle, when it wanted to show its wealth at an important sanctuary, or when it simply wanted to keep the gods at its side. Conversely, theōroi could be sent to fetch things, usually ceremonial items or even people that were needed for a particular ritual, or for founding a new cult in the home city. Finally, a new function of theōroi in the Hellenistic period came into being as the Hellenistic monarchs were increasingly revered as gods, after which sending an envoy to such a god-king was often considered to be religiously charged. Ambassadors who were to plead with or convey messages to kings could hence be referred to as theōroi, as was decided in Athens in the late fourth century BCE:

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allowed Greek cities as well as cities aspiring to Greekness to find their way in the increasingly globalizing world. Within this system, it was recognized that a festive and ceremonious welcome contributed to both cities' recognition and valuation of the existing ties. The different types of theōria and the connected institutions thus helped to construct reciprocal ties, in which theōroi were often sent back and forth. If theōriai were sent to announce a festival, the sanctuary would expect theōriai visiting its festival in return. Conversely, if a city decided to install a new festival, it could without hesitation invite those cities whose festivals its own theōroi had always attended. We will now see how the inscriptions related to these institutions helped to create and maintain these reciprocal ties, and ultimately reinforced the imagined community of the Greek world.

The Inscriptions: Media and Ritual Context

We have seen that the visits of theōriai were festive occasions with strong religious and political components, often revolving around sacrifices and ritual. These were excellent occasions for the creation of common knowledge between a mass of city representatives attending a festival, or between a single city's theōros bringing a dedication and the city who managed the sanctuary and therefore received his gift. In a globalizing world, where many worshiped similar gods with similar rituals and otherwise had similar customs, these gatherings tied the people together and showed them that, indeed, these similarities existed, creating common knowledge. Thus, the exchange of theōroi greatly contributed to the creation of the imagined community of the Greek world. Here, by showing a few examples of the inscriptions related to the visits of theōroi, I will argue that inscriptions played a role in adding to the strength this process of common knowledge creation, in which viewing and ritual had an important part.

The earliest and possibly most informative evidence for the process of festival announcement are lists of the theōrodokoi. The eight lists of this kind that we have, all record the theōrodokoi appointed to receive the announcers of well-established festivals which were announced regularly. They were inscribed on ornamental stēlai, and often arranged in columns. The following late fourth-century example comes from Nemea and records the theōrodokoi for the announcers of the Nemean games and the Heraia festival:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COLUMN A</th>
<th>COLUMN B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[-]</td>
<td>[...]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ἐγ Κύπρωι (ἐν Σαλαμίνι)</td>
<td>[...]Ἰ[. . . . .]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ὅισοφρέων Πινταγάρα</td>
<td>Ἀγίας Κλέ[. . . .]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Τεύκριος Ακεστοκρέαντος</td>
<td>vacat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ἐγ Κούριῳ</td>
<td>Ἐγ Κορκύραι</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The list goes on for another forty-five lines, grouping the hosts per region and city. The *theōrodokoi* are arranged geographically, and together they seem to trace the route on which the *epangelia* of the festival would take place. However, some irregularities in this system suggest that they were probably not used by the *theōroi* themselves to plan their trip. If the *theōroi* upon their travels noticed that a new *theōrodokos* had been appointed, he or she would simply be added to the bottom of the list as an addendum, further disturbing the geographic order. The inscription therefore probably had a more monumental function, honouring the cities that the *theōroi* would visit and the people that would receive them. Found in the temple of Zeus, the focal point of the Nemean games, it could presumably be seen by those who visited the most important rituals performed during the festival. The stone showed the *theōroi* that had come to visit, that the efforts of their town were appreciated, strengthening the reciprocal bond between the two cities. At the same time, the collection of cities and names represented on one stone reinforced the sense of community between the visiting states, amplified by the fact that they were all witnessing the same ritual together, creating common knowledge between them. Even if the stone was observed outside of a ritual context, it would recall the gathering of all the cities it recorded as it had taken place during the games, a monument to the ritual of togetherness.

Later on in the Hellenistic period, we find less of these lists and more records of the appointment of new *theōrodokoi*. Some of these records are directly appended to decrees answering the invitation to a festival or the request for its recognition, as the Messenian decree in answer to Kos quoted earlier. For a part, they can therefore be directly connected to the surge of new festivals that this era knew and the necessity cities felt to appoint new hosts for all the announcers from different places. But from the third century BCE onwards, we also find a

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197 SEG 36-331: Nemea, list of *theōrodokoi* for the Nemean Games and the Heraia festival, ca. 315-313 BCE. (= Perlman N.1).
199 See page 55 above.
great increase in separate decrees appointing new theōrodokoi. At Epidauros, a city that already had a long tradition of promoting its own established Asklepieion and its festival, it became custom to inscribe long lists of short decrees recording the honouring of individuals with the office of theōrodokos. Apparently, the appointment of specific individuals became more important, as it was increasingly performed by the announcing city instead of by those receiving the announcers, and more text is devoted to their appointment rather than simply recording their names:


In the month Apellaios, on the fourth day, at the last meeting of the year, during the office of Selegeïs, Andromeneus, and Lakrios as committee of the boule, the Council and the people of Epidauros have decided: that Hagesippos son of Erasippos from Aigai and Alkimachos son of Alkimachos of Aigai must be proxenoi and benefactors of the city of Epidauros, and theōrodokoi of Apollo and Asklepios.200

By publishing long lists of these texts, the institutional aspects of the theōria and theōrodokia were emphasized, as well as the idea that the office of theōrodokos was an official honour, especially when it is granted by the city whose envoys the theōrodokos was to receive. Like the list of names, it was probably present in the sanctuary, here the Epidaurian Asklepieion, witnessing the gatherings of foreigners during the festival. It thus had a similar function – strengthening the reciprocal ties between Epidauros and the visiting cities and reinforcing the sense of community such a gathering created – but with a slightly different connotation. Publishing a decree instead of a name emphasized the institutional aspects of the theōrodokia, and in this case, Epidauros' own role in the appointment of those who were allowed to receive the Asklepieion's officials. As we have seen earlier, it became at this time important for Greek cities to present their prestige and influence on the rest of the world, and one of the best instruments was showing off one's network of connections.

One of the best examples of this mechanism is the practice of inscribing cities' positive answers to a request for asylia or the recognition of a new festival. The most well-known of these endeavours, especially through the large number of inscriptions related to it, is that of Magnesia on the Meander for its sanctuary of Artemis Leukophryena. Around 208 BCE, Magnesia sent out a large number of theōriai to procure asylia for the sanctuary, accompanied by a request for recognition of the crown status of Artemis' festival.201 Many of the responses sent by the cities that they had appealed to, have been preserved due to the Magnesians' efforts to inscribe

200 IG VI.1. 96 ll. 15-18 (= Perlman E.3): Epidauros, list of proxeny and theōrodokia decrees, ca. 260-240 BCE.
201 Rigsby (1996), 179-185.
the results of this venture all around the agora. Although the texts vary in length and detail, most preserved replies acknowledge the asylia of the sanctuary, issue honours to the Magnesian theōroi and also agree to send their own theōroi to the festival. In many cases, the replies provide for their inscription in the issuing town. Sometimes, cities also explicitly stated that their reply should be publicly erected in the receiving city:

[φυλάς]α̃ν δὲ καὶ τὸ ψηφισμά τὸ ἐγ Μαγ[ςίας]
70 ἐν τῷ δῆμοιῳ <τοῦ> ἀρχιτονας με[τ]ὰ τοῦ
[γρ]αμμέως, τὸν [δὲ α]μεθέντα το[ῦ] θεωρῶν
ἀξίων Μ[ᾶ]γνητας ἀγαθαρά[ψαι] τὸ δ[ὲ τὸ ψῆ]-
φισμα καὶ[θ]έναι εἰς τὸ τὸ[πίν] τῆς Αρ[τέμι]-

[the boule and démos of Paros have decided] that the archons and the secretary must guard the decree from Magnesia in the public archive, and that the chosen theōros, who is worthy of the Magnesians, must inscribe this decree and set it up in the sanctuary of Artemis Leukophryena [in Magnesia].

It is clear that the Parians were most intent on having their inscription published in the Magnesian sanctuary. In Paros, the Magnesian decree would only be kept (probably on wood or paper) in the archive; no provisions are made for the local inscription of the request or the response. While Paros was one of the few cities to explicitly request the installation of an inscription at the sanctuary of Artemis Leukophryena, Magnesia appears to have proceeded with the inscription of all positive answers it received, resulting in a great collection of inscriptions on the wall surrounding the agora, where the temple stood.

Clearly, all of this was meant as a grand display of the international importance of the city and its temple – and as we have briefly seen in the first chapter, this was probably the main goal of a request for asylia, rather than actually procuring safety from plundering attacks. But the inscriptions played another important role. Those who came to visit the sanctuary, for the festival or on another occasion, were always confronted with the inscriptions at their arrival. But except for broadcasting the greatness of the Magnesian sanctuary, the monumental wall would have another function. During festivals, it would become a component of the performed rituals themselves, conveying to the visiting masses the common awareness that the decision to grant asylia and crown status had been made by their home cities – even by the entire Greek world –

\[202 I.\text{MagM} 50.69-74 (= \text{Rigsby} no. 100): \text{Paros replies to Magnesian asylia-appeal for the temple of Artemis Leukophryena, around 208 BCE.}
\]
\[203 \text{Rigsby (1996) has collected all 66 preserved inscriptions, recording the full text and providing commentary. For the location of the temple, see \text{Rigsby} (1996), 180. Other replies explicitly asking for publication in Magnesia include: } I.\text{MagM} 26 (= \text{Rigsby no. 75}); I.\text{MagM} 28 (= \text{Rigsby no. 77}); I.\text{MagM} 59 (= \text{Rigsby no.109}).
\]
\[204 \text{See page 16 above. \text{Rigsby} (1996), 14-16; Buraselis (2003), 159-160.}\]
in unison (even though this was probably never entirely true).\textsuperscript{205} When observed by those visiting the sanctuary on other occasions, it would recall this feeling of interconnectedness that had been created at those gatherings. I moreover imagine that occasional visitors from the cities that had sent replies would be drawn to the monumental wall to seek out the inscription their hometown had sent. They would also remember the festive arrival of the Magnesian theōroi and the bond that had then been formed or strengthened, highlighting the city’s particular role in the larger world. Its public commemoration provided a confirmation of this bond’s existence and promoted the fact that others from other places would also take note of this city’s role in the world. All of this would be amplified by the ritual context of the location and the moment of visiting the shrine.

There are furthermore varied records of the theōroi with a representative function rather than an announcing one. For one, sanctuaries often recorded what sacrifices or dedications had been made by the delegates from other cities, in long lists of offerings or in inventories of the goods held at the shrine. An important example is provided by the temple inventories of Delos, texts of impressive length that show the provenance of the theōroi who frequented the shrines there, and the gifts that they brought. At the same time, they showed new visitors how prestigious the sanctuary was in attracting visitors and offerings from its larger surroundings, impressing the viewer with the sheer size of the stones and the number of offerings listed.\textsuperscript{206} Situated within the sanctuary, they formed a part of the ritual environment that theōroi experienced, and again contributed to the sense that the sanctuary and the visitors were part of a large and interconnected Greek world.

Some cities inscribed separate lists with the names of theōroi, keeping track of who had come from where during a specific festival. This is especially attested at Samothrace, where the Mysteries of the Great Gods are shown to have drawn many theōrai from all around the Aegean, and even from as far as southern Italy, the Black Sea, Alexandria and the southern coast of modern Turkey.\textsuperscript{207} Just like the lists of theōrodokoi from Nemea and Epidauros, they mapped the international importance of the sanctuary by recording the far-flung places from which theōroi were attracted. The Samothracean lists furthermore record the grant of proxenia which many theōroi who came there received. Notably, many of the earlier lists, most of which are dated to the second century BCE, were probably inscribed on a single building.\textsuperscript{208} Although it stands to

\textsuperscript{205} See also Williamson and Van Nijf (forthcoming), on this mechanism in Magnesia as well as n Stratonikeia in the Roman period.

\textsuperscript{206} Delos attracted theōroi mainly from other islands in the Aegean, as well as Megalopolis and Karystos on the Greek mainland and Alexandria at Egypt. Although Athenian theōroi frequented the island in the Classical period, this ceased after Delos won independence in 314 BCE. Some examples of these lists, dated from the mid-third to the mid-second century BCE, are: IG XI.2.161, 199, 287; I.Délos 291, 298, 313, 1421, 1425, 1430, 1432, 1441, 1450. See Bruneau (1970), 93-114; Dimitrova (2008), 14-15; Rutherford (2013), 111-112, 286-288.

\textsuperscript{207} See the maps in Dimitrova (2008), 2-3.

\textsuperscript{208} For instance IGIX.8.161-164, 169, 170, 177.
reason that this building would have been connected to the sanctuary, no definite conclusion has been reached about its specific character and location. Other Samothracean inscriptions found on wall blocks, for instance a set of slightly more elaborate honorific decrees for specific individuals, belong to a different building. One of these decrees ordains its inscription to stand ‘ὡς ἐπιφανέστατο’, ‘as eye-catching as possible’. Publishing it on a building was then not an improvised solution; perhaps the building was even especially designed to carry the important decrees. This specific building may have been located in the sanctuary of Athena, as another one of the decrees prescribes it to be inscribed there (‘Ἀναθέτειναι εἰ[ς] | [τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς’), which again shows that publishing such texts in a sacred environment was in Samothrace, too, not uncommon.

Although our theōroi lists do not contain such publication clauses, the high concentration of this type of inscriptions published on the face of one particular building suggests similar publication circumstances and hints that the public visibility of the texts was important to their function. Furthermore, it is suggested that the building played a role during the visits of the theōroi themselves. In fact, the function of the building which supported these inscriptions seems to have remained intact long after the practice of honouring theōroi as proxenoi disappeared. The Samothracean corpus contains a significant amount of later and more informal theōroi-lists belonging to the first century BCE and the first century CE, in which the theōroi are referred to as ‘μύσται εὐσεβεῖς’, ‘devoted initiates’ of the Samothracean Mysteries. An interesting aspect of these inscriptions has been highlighted by Susan Cole, who argues that, in contrast to the proxenoi-lists, these mystai-lists were set up by the theōroi themselves. The continued use of the monument points to the importance of this inscribed wall for the ‘international experience’ of visiting the shrine at Samothrace. It is clear that it was a place where theōroi would come during their stay, and where they would desire to see themselves placed within a long tradition of other theōroi who had visited the shrine. Even if they visited the inscriptions alone, their observation of the names privately inscribed by other theōroi is reminiscent of the eye-contact that is so important for the creation of common knowledge. They would realize that many from other parts of the world had already visited the shrine, and that others still would do the same, and would then also gaze upon their own names. This awareness, common between all visiting theōroi, by proxy strengthened their cities’ sense of belonging to a community of Greeks.

With the examples given in this chapter I hope to have shown that the inscriptions connected to different kinds of theōroi may well have played a part in the visits of the theōroi themselves,

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210 They are IG XII.8.151-155. See Dimitrova (2008: 16-17).
211 Respectively IG XII.8.151, l.1; IG XII.8.153, ll.10-11.
especially when they were placed in the sanctuary that was the object of the visit. As conspicuous monuments situated in eye-catching places in a sacred environment, they would have attracted the attention of those who visited. More importantly, they were situated in the same environment where the rituals took place that the theōroi visited. These rituals made sure that many theōroi from different cities were present at once, all viewing the same spectacle and listening to the same words, creating common knowledge and strengthening group cohesion. The inscribed texts framed by these rituals added to this, conveying common knowledge of the decisions recorded in them. The number of cities physically and epigraphically present, all having complied with a request or approved of a decision, validated the entire undertaking; as well as conveying the sense that the gathering was the result of a successfully executed common project. The represented cities, gathered by proxy around the ritual and the inscriptions and thus presented with the customs and institutions that they all shared, would certainly feel part of a larger Greek community.

213 Compare also the conclusions drawn by Williamson and Van Nijf (forthcoming), who interpret the Hellenistic practice of visiting and announcing festivals from a network theory perspective.
Conclusion

By considering inscriptions as a medium of communication, we have now gained a better understanding of how the cities conquered and founded by Alexander and his successors were connected to each other, thus realizing the cultural symbiosis that Droysen called *Hellenismus*. To identify the phenomenon I set out to explain, I have first looked for theories current in scholarship which would fit the cultural experience of the Hellenistic world, to serve as heuristic tools. The term ‘globalization’ turned out to be useful for taking the connectivity between cities as an entry point into understanding their cultural similarity. Seeing this connected world as an ‘imagined community’ furthermore gave insight into how Greek cities dispersed over such a large area could nevertheless feel part of a cultural community, even without the existence of a central Greek government to cling to. The concept of ‘mediatization’, then, has drawn attention to inscriptions as a medium of their connectivity. Furthermore, it has become clear that mechanics of common knowledge creation and the consideration of writing as symbolic for ritual action are extremely useful in helping us understand how inscriptions functioned in their civic environment. By reminding people of the decisions made in a ritual context and especially of everyone’s awareness of these decisions, inscriptions helped to coordinate action within the city.

The three case studies of interstate arbitration, foreign judges and *theōria* have shown how this worked in a larger context, when inscriptions not only concerned the issuing city itself but also other cities, especially when a copy of an inscription was even present in another city. In the case of interstate arbitration, we have seen that the publication of an official decree in a sanctuary could provide it with a special ratification. Furthermore, panhellenic sanctuaries proved not only to have served as universal meeting-points of the Hellenistic world, but also as an excellent environment for providing inscriptions with extra cachet. Of great importance here is of course the international publicity such a spot provided for the inscription. Inscribed in a place frequented by so many visitors, a decree was sure to receive the attention of people from around the Greek world – especially if they were specifically pointed out by the local guides. This publication process provided potential common knowledge of the outcome of an interstate arbitration around the Hellenistic world, and certainly greatly enhanced the impact it had on the cities that were bound by it.

For the honorific decrees that were issued to judges and the cities that sent them to help another city out, the creation of common knowledge was paramount. Serving as a repayment in kind of a granted favour, honour was worthless when it was not universally recognized. While these decrees often also found a place in sanctuaries, the focal point of their publication was often the theatre, where honorific crowns were in many cities announced not just once, but
annually at the most important games. Such announcements, repeatedly performed in an inward-facing circle at ritual gatherings, were sure to create common awareness of the awarded honours in the city where they took place. Performed in a similar fashion in both the issuing and the receiving cities, these rituals could create a common awareness shared between the two cities – even while most of their citizens had never met. To provide them with a constant reminder of these events, the honours were furthermore inscribed, often in a sanctuary in both towns. In this way, cities used inscriptions to support their reciprocal ties to other cities; they symbolized not only the honours they recorded, but also a mutually experienced relationship.

In the institution of theôria, the exchange of special envoys announcing and visiting festivals equally provided for the creation and maintenance of reciprocal ties. Especially in the Hellenistic period, when many festivals were newly founded and actively announced in large areas, it became an important tool for the promotion of cities and their sanctuaries. The inscriptions recording these efforts and the replies that other cities had sent, were ostentatiously displayed within the promoted temple’s precinct. Thus, they provided for an impressive testimony of such a sanctuary’s international prestige, showing off the role of the city and its temple within the larger world. Even more important is the impact they must have had at the actual festival at which rituals would take place in the face of these texts. In this ritual environment the inscriptions granted the visitors, often theôroi from widespread cities, a common awareness of the decision that all of their cities had made, to acknowledge the festival and to send envoys to sacrifice there. In this way they were reminded of the ties that connected them to each other, of the similarity of their religious and cultural engagement and of their belonging within the imagined community of the Greeks.

The publication of inscriptions pertaining to inter-city relationships had three general results: first, they bore permanent witness to cities’ shared efforts to co-exist peacefully; second, they emphasized the reciprocal nature of inter-city ties; third, they visualized every city’s membership of a greater community of culturally similar cities. The inscriptions pertaining to these three institutions, I argue, were therefore essential to the creation and maintenance of Hellenistic inter-city connections, by strengthening the common knowledge held between cities of these aspects of their relationships. In the course of five chapters we have seen a great deal of inscriptions from a variety of contexts, in a diversity of shapes, of which the specific purpose was each time explained in a slightly different way. What all these inscriptions seem to have in common, however, is that they functioned not just as monuments but as media, and that they contributed to the integration of the dispersed cities of the Hellenistic world into one globalized imagined community.

I hope furthermore to have shown how approaching the Hellenistic world from the viewpoint of cities and their relationships opens up opportunities for our interpretation of it. Studying life
in the city brings us closer to the experience of individuals who lived in this world, rather than focusing on the grand narratives of kings, wars and the interchanges of territory and resources. While war remained ubiquitous in the Hellenistic period, even in the sphere of civic politics, it is important to realize that cities had equally important and powerful institutions for interaction with each other which did not involve violence, but which provided for long-lasting and productive inter-city relations.

To learn more about this interconnected world of cities and the role of inscriptions in it, I suggest as an opportunity for future research a more thorough study of inscriptions pertaining to the ties that connected them. Ideally, such an effort would include a systematic evaluation of the publication clauses featured by these inscriptions, and of the location where they actually stood, if this can be reasonably deduced from their finding place. This would greatly improve our understanding of the landscape of the Greek world of cities, and the conclusions that can be drawn about the socio-political function of inscriptions in it. Including an even broader range of inscriptions, for instance those recording treaties, *symbola* (agreements for regulating the rights of foreigners residing in the city) and honorific decrees for foreigners other than judges, could give a better understanding of the different spheres of relations between cities.
Appendix I: Hellenistic City Foundations in Asia

From Michael Grant's *The Routledge Atlas of Classical History*, p.40
Appendix II: Proposal for Further Research

Description of the Project

Aim. How is globalization experienced at the level of the city? This is an issue very much alive in our modern world, in which the decisions made by supranational unions and intergovernmental organizations like the European Union, NATO and the United Nations are encroaching upon our daily lives. It was however already of importance in the Greek world of the third and second centuries BCE, in what we call the early Hellenistic era. After Alexander the Great had conquered the greater part of the known world, he died before being able to secure a fitting successor. His vast territory, dotted with conquered cities, new city foundations and existing cities that he had re-founded, was eventually divided over his warring generals, the Diadochoi. The Greek *polis*, which had in the Classical period been defined by its operation as a largely independent governmental unit, thus became increasingly subordinate to the political whims of kings, empires and territorial struggles. At the same time however, cities seem to have retained some extent of autonomy, especially in establishing peaceful interactions with other Greek cities – new and old – and in the way they presented themselves to the rest of the world. This phenomenon provides the central question of this study; how did Hellenistic cities strive to find their place in a globalizing world, in which overarching power structures became increasingly influential? Answering this question will allow us to better understand how Hellenistic cities coped with the reality of globalization and the gradual loss of their independence.

Approach. As the growing importance of media or the process of ‘mediatization’ is now interpreted as a catalyst of globalization, I propose to approach this question through a study of media.¹ In a remarkable contrast to previous periods, inscriptions in the Greek language are abundantly present in almost every city of the Hellenistic world, a trend which we may describe as mediatization. Often recording decisions made in the Council and Assembly and related to various other civic institutions, these inscribed texts have until now provided us with a wealth of information on the political culture of the Greek city in this period. An abundance of inscriptions dealing with the interactions between Greek cities has furthermore drawn attention to the liveliness of their relationships and the efforts that were made to maintain them. Instead of treating inscriptions as purely textual sources however, I will approach them with a focus on their function as media. In order to provide for a systematic analysis, I will create a database of inscriptions related to inter-city interactions. Focusing on the publication circumstances and the physical appearance of these texts, I hope to be able to shed new light on various aspects of their function as a medium: the purpose with which these texts were published, the textual or symbolic message they conveyed to the people who saw them, and the way that the public

¹ Lundby (2009).
display of these texts reflected on the cities involved in the interaction – within the city as well as towards the outside world. Such an analysis will allow for a better understanding of how cities, new and old, at this point aimed to redefine their place in the expanding Greek world.

**Existing theory.** This type of research fits in with a very recent strand of publications by for instance John Ma, Onno M. van Nijf, Richard Alston, Chris Dickenson and Christina G. Williamson. Their interest in the post-classical city is inspired by a long-developing trend in scholarship on the Hellenistic world, represented by scholars such as Louis Robert and Philippe Gauthier, who emphasized the continuing relevance of the city as a political unit. John Ma in an important article of 2003 introduced the model of ‘peer polity interaction’ and was thus one of the first scholars to explicitly draw attention to the interactions between cities as an important aspect of the Hellenistic era.² Onno van Nijf and Christina Williamson have furthermore stressed the importance of recognizing the globalization process present in this period.³ All of them are working on creating a better understanding of the way in which the public space of the city was employed to create cohesion, coordinate action and convey a certain message about the community’s place in the world.⁴

**Contribution.** By adding a systematic analysis of the function of inscriptions related to inter-city interactions to their research, I hope to provide new insights on two aspects of the history of the Hellenistic era. In the first place, considering inscriptions as media instead of as purely textual sources will broaden our understanding of the function of public space in the negotiation of civic politics, and will thus provide new insights into the physical landscape of the Hellenistic city, as well as into developments in its political culture. On the other hand, focusing on the institutions of inter-city interaction will shed new light on an aspect of Greek history which has up until now been undervalued by the fields of history and international relations. Especially scholars from the latter discipline have long exclusively focused on the effects of the wars of kings and empires, much more than on interactions on the level of the city, eclipsing much of the intraregional interactions which arguably had a much larger impact on Greek daily life.⁵

**Data.** The corpus I intend to compose will consist of texts related to several institutions of inter-city interactions: interstate arbitration, which allowed quarrelling cities to appoint another city as arbitrator in the dispute; foreign judges, in which cities invited judges from other towns to deal with internal legal matters; *symbola*, agreements which regulated the legal rights of foreigners residing in the city; *proxenia*, the appointment of locals as ambassadors for a foreign city; and *theòria*, the practice of announcing and visiting festivals all over the Greek world.

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² Ma (2003). Others, who have employed network theory as a method of interpreting these interactions, are for instance Malkin (2003); (2011) and Rutherford (2007); (2013).
³ Williamson (2013b); Williamson and Van Nijf (forthcoming).
Although kings necessarily had some influence on the developments these institutions went through in the Hellenistic period, most of them existed long before the rise of Alexander and the Diadochoi, and were thus primarily designed on interaction between autonomous cities. Furthermore, most of them are unrelated to matters of territorial expansion and war, which have usually been stressed as the most important aspects of international relations – even for the study of times before the existence of the sovereign nation-state. It is thus exactly these institutions which will provide new insight in the interconnectivity of cities that is so characteristic of early Hellenistic history, and in the way cities shaped their place in this globalizing world.

**Method and concepts.** To interpret the data collected in this database, I will make use of a concept of common knowledge formulated by the political scientist and game theorist Michael Chwe, which was introduced by Williamson as a useful tool to interpret the coordination of action in the Greek city.\(^6\) Furthermore, I will employ the ideas of Mary Beard, Guy Rogers and Rosalind Thomas about the interpretation of inscriptions as symbolic writing rather than utilitarian text.\(^7\) Emphasizing the importance of the symbolic and physical contexts in which knowledge is presented to a large public, these notions are pre-eminent in gaining a better understanding of the function of inscriptions as media. I propose to connect these ideas to the concepts of mediatization and globalization, in order to shed light on the way in which cities articulated their perceived place in the world through this medium.

**Relevance.** All of this should be recognized as relevant to current international politics, where critical questions are being posed about the merits of more overarching international legislation and about the difficulties of retaining local identity in an increasingly globalizing world. While the issues of the Hellenistic era may never be compared straightforwardly with our contemporary problems, studying the way in which Hellenistic cities redefined their place in a rapidly expanding world can give us new insights into the effects of globalization on local communities. The data collected will ideally be published digitally, thus making it available for analysis by others who are interested in various aspects of (the publication) of these inscriptions.

**Supervision**

I would suggest that the epigraphic analysis of the project should be supervised by Prof. dr. Onno M. van Nijf (Ancient History) and that the supervision would be expanded by another expert, either from the field of ancient history or from the field of International Relations.

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\(^6\) Chwe (2001); for instance Williamson (2013a); (2013b).

\(^7\) Beard (1985); Thomas (1989); Rogers (1991).
**Proposed Timetable**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Reading and data collection</th>
<th>Writing</th>
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| 1    | **Reading:** historical study of Hellenistic period; general reading on international relations; globalization; mediatization; iconography; public space; identity theory; common knowledge and coordination of group action.  
**Data:** setting up database, making a start on each of the institutions to ensure uniformity of data collected. | 1. Historical framework, introduction on international relations and historiographical overview (10 pages)  
2. Considering inscriptions as media (10 pages)  
3. Group identity, group cohesion and coordinating action (10 pages) |
| 2    | **Reading:** General reading on Greek civic institutions and on Greek international law; specific study on interstate arbitration and *symbola*.  
**Data:** interstate arbitration and *symbola* inscriptions. Analysis of data. | 4. Interstate Arbitration (25 pages)  
5. *Symbola* (25 pages) |
| 3    | **Reading:** General reading on honorific inscriptions and euergetism; specific study on foreign judges and *proxenia*.  
**Data:** foreign judges and *proxenia* inscriptions | 6. Foreign Judges (25 pages)  
7. *Proxenia* (25 pages) |
| 4    | **Reading:** General reading on (religious) travel in the ancient world and its significance; specific study on *theòria*.  
**Data:** *theòria* inscriptions; looking into digital publication of database. | 8. *Theòria* (25 pages)  
9. Conclusion (10 pages)  
0. Introduction (5 pages)  
General editing |

**Estimated Expenses**

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Expense Description</th>
<th>Amount (€)</th>
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<tr>
<td>Travel and study in Greece/Turkey</td>
<td>2200.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>Conference visits</td>
<td>1000.00</td>
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<td>Electronic equipment (laptop, software)</td>
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<td>Unforeseen</td>
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<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>5000.00</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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_Bibliography_

**Secondary Literature**


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