

# HYPERBOREUS

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STUDIA CLASSICA

ναυσὶ δ' οὔτε πεζὸς ἰὼν κεν εὐροίς  
ἔς Ὑπερβορέων ἀγῶνα θαυμαστὰν ὁδὸν

(Pind. *Pyth.* 10. 29–30)

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## SOPHILOS, SON OF ARISTOTLE, OF PHYLE

We do not have a great deal of evidence for this Sophilos' activities; indeed, there are just a handful of places where his name is preserved or can be restored with some certainty.<sup>1</sup> However, what we do have allows us to know that he was very active soon after the disastrous military defeat the Athenians suffered at the hands of Philip of Macedon at Chaironeia in the summer of 338. In fact, he was one of those courageous individuals who in the aftermath of defeat joined with Lykourgos and other leaders in rebuilding Athenian institutions and prestige. Lykourgos, in addition to taking charge of Athenian finances, took a particular interest in religious matters and in revitalizing the military training of young Athenians.<sup>2</sup> A group of ten or eleven ephebic inscriptions of the years 334/3 and 333/2 reveal that the main effort to accomplish this latter goal came very soon after the Athenians in late summer / early autumn of 335 had reached a rapprochement with Alexander and accepted, or at least acquiesced in, Macedonian hegemony.<sup>3</sup>

We can infer that Sophilos played a leading role at this time from *IG II<sup>3</sup> 355*, a completely preserved inscription of the archonship of Kephisophon (329/8) found at the oracle of Amphiaraos near Oropos; it

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<sup>1</sup> It is a great pleasure to contribute to this number of *Hyperboreus* in honor of my longtime friend and colleague Professor Christian Habicht. In fact, 55 years ago he published the *editio princeps* of a very fragmentary ephebic inscription from the Kerameikos (*Ath. Mitt.* 76 [1961] 147 no. 3) and saw that the subject of this study was to be restored in the sixth line.

<sup>2</sup> On Lykourgos and his times, Faraguna 1992; Engels 1992.

<sup>3</sup> On these matters with references to the ancient sources, Tracy 1995, 9–10. The ephebic inscriptions, some of which are discussed briefly below, are nos. 1 to 9 in Reinmuth 1971; he dated no. 1 to 361/0, but F. W. Mitchel (1975, 233–243) has argued that the second decree in lines 13–25, the ephebic decree, dates to 334/3. But see now Chankowski 2014, esp. 54–55, who argues for a date for this second decree prior to 335/4. The other two ephebic texts are Petrakos 1999 [B. X. Πετράκος, *Ὁ δῆμος τοῦ Ῥαμνοῦντος II: Οἱ ἐπιγραφές*] no. 98 and *IEleus.* no. 86, both of which date to the year 333/2.

praises and crowns the board of ten epimeletes who supervised in splendid fashion the first quadrennial festival in honor of Amphiaros.<sup>4</sup> The tribal affiliation of its members, indicated by superscript Roman numerals, reveals that this board was not chosen by lot, but was most probably an elected blue-ribbon committee of a special sort. The first four board members named are: Φανόδημος Διύλλου Θυμαιτάδης<sup>VIII</sup>, Λυκούργος Λυκόφρονος Βουτάδης<sup>VI</sup>, Δημάδης Δημέου Παιανιεύς<sup>III</sup>, and, the subject of the present essay, Σώφιλος Ἀριστοτέλους Φυλάσιος<sup>VI</sup>. The head of the group, Phanodemos, son of Diyllos, had proposed in 331 an extraordinary decree crowning Amphiaros<sup>5</sup> and was honored at the same meeting with a crown for legislating guidelines for the inaugural festival and for supervising improvements to the sanctuary.<sup>6</sup> The next two members listed are the very prominent political leaders Lykourgos and Demades. Clearly, then, the men at the head of this list have precedence because of their importance to the sanctuary and to the city.<sup>7</sup> Sophilos, the fourth in this listing, also surely had significant stature in the community. What actions brought him this prominence we may well ask.<sup>8</sup>

The other places where his name occurs provide a clear answer. They come in ephebic inscriptions from which we learn that he served as General over the Countryside for the years 334/3 and 333/2.<sup>9</sup> As such he

<sup>4</sup> Previous editions are: *IOrop.* 298; Schwenk 1985, no. 50; *IG VII* 4254.

<sup>5</sup> *IG II<sup>3</sup>* 349 (*IOrop.* 296, Schwenk 1985, no. 40, *IG VII* 4252). On this unique decree and its wording, Scafuro 2009.

<sup>6</sup> *IG II<sup>3</sup>* 348 (*IOrop.* 297, Schwenk 1985, no. 41, *IG VII* 4253). For a newly published, very fragmentary tribal decree on a statue base in Phanodemos' honor, see Bardani – Matthaiou [B. N. Μπαρδάνη, Ἰ. Α. Π. Ματθαίου, "Τιμαὶ Φανοδήμου Διύλλου Θυμαιτάδου", *HOPOS*] 2010–2013.

<sup>7</sup> Lambert in his commentary on lines 21–31 in the *apparatus criticus* of the new *IG* observes that they seem to be listed according to age. This seems to be true of the first three but it is hard to establish the ages of the others and, in any case, seniority may well go hand-in-hand with political power and prominence.

<sup>8</sup> For the other members of this board, see the commentary on lines 25–31 in *IG II<sup>3</sup>*. Two, Thrasyleon of Acharnai and Epichares of Paiania, are known only from this inscription. Epiteles of Pergase and Kephisophon of Cholargos were clearly becoming active in the assembly, since they are known respectively to have proposed *IG II<sup>3</sup>* 375 in the year 323 and *II<sup>3</sup>* 370 in 325/4. Nikeratos of Kydantidai appears to have been quite senior, for he was paymaster of the stratiotic fund already in 345/4 or 344/3 (*IG II<sup>2</sup>* 1443<sub>13</sub>; see on him Davies 1971, 406–407). By contrast Thymocharēs of Sphetos was a relatively young man in 329/8; he later served as general three times, once about the year 320 and then in the years 315/4 and 313/2 (*IG II<sup>3</sup>* 985<sub>4–18</sub> with commentary).

<sup>9</sup> Reinmuth (1971, 14) also identified with him the Sophi[los] mentioned in line 156 of *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 1496. The date is correct but the fragmentary nature of the text and

supervised the ephebic corps in their second year of training at the border forts in the countryside of Attica.<sup>10</sup> The *Ath. Pol.* 42. 3–4, which is a nearly contemporary account, describes the two-year regimen of the ephebes in this way:

συλλαβόντες δ' οὔτοι (sc. οἱ σωφρονισταὶ καὶ ὁ κοσμητής) τοὺς ἐφήβους, πρῶτον μὲν τὰ ἱερὰ περιήλθον, εἴτ' εἰς Πειραιέα πορεύονται καὶ φρουροῦσιν οἱ μὲν τὴν Μουνιχίαν, οἱ δὲ τὴν Ἀκτὴν. χειροτονεῖ δὲ καὶ παιδοτρίβας αὐτοῖς δύο καὶ διδασκάλους, οἵτινες ὄπλομαχεῖν καὶ τοξεύειν καὶ ἀκοντίζειν καὶ καταπάλτην ἀφιέναι διδάσκουσιν. ... καὶ τὸν μὲν πρῶτον ἐνιαυτὸν οὕτως διάγουσι· τὸν δ' ὕστερον ἐκκλησίας ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ γενομένης ἀποδειξάμενοι τῷ δήμῳ τὰ περὶ τὰς τάξεις καὶ λαβόντες ἀσπίδα καὶ δόρυ παρὰ τῆς πόλεως περιπολοῦσι τὴν χώραν καὶ διατρίβουσιν ἐν τοῖς φυλακτηρίοις.

These men (the *sophronistai* and the *kosmetes*) having taken charge of the ephebes, they (the ephebes and their supervisors) first made the rounds of the holy sanctuaries, then they proceed to Piraeus and do guard duty, some at Mounichia and some at Akte. (The people) also elect two trainers for them and teachers who can teach them to fight in armor and to use the bow, the war javelin and the catapult. ... They spend their first year in this manner. The second year, once they have displayed to the people at a meeting in the theater their skill at maneuvers and have received a shield and spear from the city, they patrol the countryside and spend time on garrison duty in the border forts. (Author's translation.)

The revitalizing of the *ephebeia* and thus strengthening the military training of Athenian youths was clearly a matter of fundamental importance. Sophilos as General over the Countryside must have played a key role

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the comparative frequency of the name make it unlikely. (I note that there are more than 40 individuals of this name recorded in Osborne–Byrne 1994; the present Sophilos is no. 31.) The son of Ζώφιλος Φιλά(στος) listed in a catalog of dedications of silver phialai of about the year 330 (*IG II<sup>2</sup> 1554*<sup>72</sup>; re-edited by Lewis 1959, 226<sup>347</sup> and now by Meyer 2010, 101<sup>347</sup>) is probably a relative.

<sup>10</sup> Under the entry for Sophilos Phylasios J. S. Traill (2007, 227) records an unpublished inscription from Panakton dated wrongly to the year 333/2 in which this Sophilos has been provisionally restored as general. There are only a few letters preserved and none that make the restoration probable. Moreover, the identity of the *kosmetes* of the ephebes in this text reveals that this inscription cannot be dated to 334/3 or 333/2, that is, to either of the years in which Sophilos is known to have served as general. So, while we may be certain that Sophilos during his two years as General over the Countryside spent significant time at the fort at Panakton, we have as yet no epigraphical or other tangible evidence to prove it. I am grateful to Mark Munn, the excavator, for sharing with me a photograph and his preliminary text of this interesting inscription prior to publication.

in this effort. His prominence mainly stemmed then, as the following references reveal, from his activities as general.

He was praised in *IEleus*. 86, a dedication by the ephebes of Kekropis of the year 333/2, and listed in line 5 as τὸν (στρατηγὸν) ἐπὶ τῆι χώρῃ Σώφιλον Ἀριστοτέλους Φυλάσιον. Similarly he is among the dedicators listed in Agora I 3608, a dedication of the ephebes of Leontis of the same year to their tribal hero Leos.<sup>11</sup> He appears in lines 10–12 of column II as [στρατηγ]ῶς ἐπὶ τῆι χώρῃ Σώφιλ[ος] Ἀριστο[τέλος] Φυλάσιος. In these two cases his name is coupled with, indeed preceded by, the name of the General over the Piraeus, Konon, son of Timotheos, of Anaphlystos, with whom he must have cooperated closely in the training of the ephebes.

This pairing enables his certain restoration in three other texts of these years. Konon and Sophilos appear together in a small fragment of a dedication found in the Kerameikos and published by Christian Habicht (*Ath. Mitt.* 76 [1961] 147 no. 3) where they are praised for their service to the ephebes. The relevant part of the text is [στρα]τηγὸν ἐπὶ τῶι Πειραιῖ|εἰ Κόνωνα Τιμοθέου| Ἀναφλύστιον, στρ[α]τηγὸν ἐπὶ τῆι χώρῃ | [Σώφιλον Ἀριστοτέλ]ους Φυλάσιον.<sup>12</sup>

B. D. Meritt (*AJP* 66 [1945] 234–239) astutely recognized them in lines 8–9 of *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2976, which he re-edited as a dedication of the ephebes of Pandionis of 333/2. He read and restored the lines as [στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ τῆι χώρῃ Σώφιλον Ἀριστοτέλους [Φυλάσ]ιον *vac.* | [στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ τῶι Πειραιεῖ Κόνωνα] Τιμοθέου [Ἀναφλύ]στιον *vac.*<sup>13</sup>

Lastly, F. W. Mitchel (*Hesperia* 33 [1964] 349–350) showed that *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2970 should be dated to the year of Ktesikles (334/3) and that lines 4–6 also listed the Generals Konon and Sophilos. He restored these lines as [στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τῶι Πειραιῖ]|εἰ Κόνων Τιμοθέ[ο]υ [Ἀναφλύστιος, στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τῆι χώρῃ] | [Σώφιλ]ος Ἀριστο[τέλος] Φυλάσιος.<sup>14</sup>

The phrases in these ephebic inscriptions designating these two men as generals are couched, quite consistently, using the preposition ἐπὶ with the dative case.<sup>15</sup> Apart from these inscriptions, generals in charge of the Piraeus are attested in the epigraphical evidence just four times – thrice

<sup>11</sup> First published by B. D. Meritt (1940, 59–66) no. 8 and re-edited by Reinmuth 1971. See now Alipheri [Σ. Αλιφέρη, “Ἀνάθημα ἐφήβων στὸν ἥρωα Λεῷ”] 2015, 425–440.

<sup>12</sup> This text is Reinmuth 1971, no. 7. Habicht dated it based on *Agora* I, 3608, the only text then known, to the year 333/2. We now know that it could also date to 334/3.

<sup>13</sup> Reinmuth 1971, no. 8.

<sup>14</sup> Reinmuth 1971, no. 4.

<sup>15</sup> Only in line 4 of *IEleus*. no. 86 is Konon described as στρατηγὸς τοῦ Πειραιῶς rather than στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τῶι Πειραιεῖ.



as ἐπὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ (*IG II<sup>3</sup> 4,1 276<sub>10</sub>*; *Hesperia* 36 [1967] 88–91, no. 19<sub>38</sub>; *IG II<sup>2</sup> 2873*) and once as ἐπὶ τοῦ Πειραιέως (*IG II<sup>2</sup> 1225<sub>8</sub>*). By contrast, occurrences of the General over the Chora are quite frequent; the usage is always ἐπί plus the accusative case, i.e. στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν.<sup>16</sup> Not one of the above editors remarked on this, but it surely is notable. It appears indeed to be the rather idiosyncratic choice of the persons who had responsibility for having these ephebic texts inscribed.<sup>17</sup>

And, based on this observation, we are now able to add another text to this dossier. Recently D. J. Geagan<sup>18</sup> published the *editio princeps* of Agora I 921. It is a fragment of white marble with the original flat top, which preserves the top right part of a simple incised leafed crown. There are parts of four lines of inscribed text preserved in the crown. Geagan's text follows:

[ - - - - ]ηγον  
 [ - - - - ]ωραι  
 [ - - - - ]ν  
 [ - - - - ο]υς  
 [ - - - - ]

He comments: “Inscribed crown around the title (lines 1–2), name (line 3), patronymic (line 4), and demotic (line 5) of an official. The title for the Athenian general for the χώρα does not normally use the dative (line 2).” Geagan's instinct to see a reference here to the General for the Countryside was right. Here, it is now virtually certain, we have the remains of a crown honoring Sophilos as General over the Countryside; the date is 334/3 or 333/2 and the text is:

in corona  
 [τὸν στρατ]ηγὸν  
 [τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ χ]ώραι  
 [Σώφιλο]ν  
 [Ἀριστοτέλο]υς  
 [Φυλάσιον]

<sup>16</sup> Outside of inscriptions, a search of the *TLG* database reveals that these titles, General over the Countryside, General over Piraeus, occur only in chapter 61. 1 of the *Ath. Pol.*, where they are also expressed with ἐπί plus the accusative.

<sup>17</sup> In addition to these texts of the years 334/3 and 333/2, the locutions general ἐπὶ τεῖ χώραι and ἐπὶ τῶι Πειραιεῖ also appear in Reinmuth 1971, no. 15, an ephebic text of the year 324/3.

<sup>18</sup> Geagan 2011, 134 no. 226 and pl. 21.

This piece of white marble with its incised crown from the top of a stele cannot be certainly associated with any of the other inscriptions of the years 334/3 and 333/2; it appears to be part of yet another monument that honored Sophilos as General over the Countryside.

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### Abbreviations

*IEleus.* = K. M. Clinton, *Eleusis. The Inscriptions on Stone* I, II (Athens 2005, 2008).

*IOrop.* = B. Ch. Petrakos, *Oi éπιγραφές του Ίρωποῦ* (Athens 1997).

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Soon after the disastrous defeat of the Athenian army at Chaironeia in 338 BC Sophilos, son of Aristotle, from Phyle emerged as a prominent leader in Athens. He cooperated with Lykourgos and others in rebuilding Athenian power and prestige. In particular, he served as General over the Countryside for the years 334/3 and 333/2. In that position he played an important role in guiding the military training of the ephebes. The renewal of the ephebic corps constituted one of the key elements in Lykourgos’ program. The present article discusses all of the evidence for Sophilos’ activities and adds a new piece.

Софил, сын Аристотеля, из Филы выдвинулся как значительный афинский политический деятель вскоре после трагического поражения афинской армии при Херонее в 338 г. Вместе с Ликургом и другими он участвовал в восстановлении могущества и престижа города в последующие годы. В частности, он был “стратегом хоры” в 334/3 и 333/2 г. В этой должности он сыграл важную роль, руководя военной подготовкой эфебов. Реформирование эфебии составляло один из ключевых элементов политики Ликурга. В статье обсуждаются все сведения о деятельности Софила и добавляется новое свидетельство.