THE SANCTUARY AT EPIDAUROS AND CULT-BASED NETWORKING
IN THE GREEK WORLD OF THE FOURTH CENTURY B.C.

A Thesis

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by

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Any evidence of linkage in the ancient world is valuable because it clarifies the relationships between the various peoples of antiquity and the dealings they had with one another. Such linkages may be economic, political, social, religious, or cultural, and probably any type of linking will have elements of several, or perhaps all, of these.

This study considers a specific type of linkage or communication existing between the Asklepian Sanctuary at Epidauros and certain Greek city states or poleis during the third and fourth centuries B.C. It deals with citizens (as well as resident aliens in some cases) in Greek-speaking poleis, appointed sometimes by the home polis but most often by Epidauros to act as hosts (thearodokoi) for ambassadors (theoroi) sent from Epidauros to such poleis to announce the festivals and games to be held at the Sanctuary of Asklepios near Epidauros and to represent Epidauros officially at these poleis' religious festivals.

Several Epidaurian inscriptions will be analyzed and their contents used to comment upon the status and duties of the thearodokoi. References to two "grandes listes de Thearodokoi," one from Delphi (found, in parts, late in the last century) and one from Argos (discovered in 1953) and a study of the accompanying commentaries are used to amplify the Epidaurian inscriptions and to present a more
inclusive picture of the "messenger and host" system used by Epidauros and other Greek religious sanctuaries to advertise cultic activities throughout ancient Greece. Finally, a discussion of the importance of such information illuminates one of the unifying elements in the ancient Greek world and closes up some of the gaps in our historical knowledge of that world.
CHAPTER II

ANCIENT EPIDAUROS AND THE CULT OF ASKLEPIOS

Ancient Epidauros, a Doric settlement situated in the northeast Peloponnese, does not appear to have been one of the major Greek poleis. It lay between mountains to the west and the Saronic Gulf to the east, on a relatively small area of land that probably could not have supported a large population. The polis was unquestionably overshadowed by Athens, 50 kilometers to the northeast; Aegina to the east; Corinth, 30 kilometers to the northwest; Argos to the west; and powerful Sparta to the southwest. Epidauros kept its political balance by means of alliances with more influential neighbors such as Sparta and Corinth. The strength of these alliances protected the polis from nearby Argos (at least until 338 B.C. and the beginning of Sparta's struggle against Philip of Macedon).

Epidauros seems to have been an oligarchic state, somewhat similar to Sparta, where two Basileis and a council (Gerousia) ruled the citizens who were represented by elected magistrates (Ephors). There would have been two basic levels to Epidaurian society: landowners and peasants. Plutarch speaks of the Epidaurian χονίποδες, or dusty footed, who must have been workers on the land ("... they were known by their dirty feet when they came into the city"). One hundred landowners directed the state. Out of this group were chosen special magistrates...
called "artynoi" to represent the landowners in state affairs. Fishing would have been a source of livelihood and there was probably some trading along the coast. Building accounts from the fourth century show that "Aiginetan was the currency most commonly used, Corinthian and Athenian less frequently."

Ancient Epidauros was closely linked with the renowned Sanctuary of Asklepios about 9 kilometers southwest of the polis. This Sanctuary had been originally, during the late Bronze Age, the site of an inland settlement (inhabited at the same time as a settlement on the coast), where a hero cult developed that was based upon a hunting deity called Maleatas. Eventually, Apollo, the Greek god of music, prophecy, and medicine, was brought (perhaps by Doric newcomers) to the same sacred area. Maleatas was incorporated into the Apollo cult and the god was worshipped as Apollo Maleatas. The early Sanctuary appears to have been simply a sacred area on a hill with an altar for sacrifice. Later it was moved to the foot of the hill, but still the site was limited to an altar that the earliest archaeological evidence places in the latter part of the sixth century B.C. By the early fifth century the cult of Asklepios (son of Apollo) had been firmly established at Epidauros. About 430 B.C. the Sanctuary dedicated to Apollo Maleatas and Asklepios, by then a healing god in his own right, was "modestly laid out and then recast on a much grander scale."

According to Burford's study of Sanctuary building accounts, Epidauros took upon itself the guardianship of the Sanctuary and directed affairs of a general nature, as well as the huge building program that it had instituted. Burford compares this control to that
of state officials at Delphi, Delos, Corinth, and Athens, where the Council and Assembly made all major decisions, financial and otherwise, which affected the Sanctuaries. Certainly the thearodokoi and theoroi, to be discussed later, were appointed by the Boule of Epidauros as is evidenced by the phrase, "Εδοξε βουλαί that invariably begins each Epidaurian inscription referring to these positions.

This state control of Asklepios' Sanctuary continued as the cult of Asklepios developed into an internationally important religious force and as enlargement of the Sanctuary became necessary. Burford points out that the steadily increasing interest in the Asklepius cult was not affected by, nor did it have any bearing upon, Epidaurian foreign policy, or foreign states' political attitudes toward Epidauros. Athens was one of the first great poleis to accept Asklepios (420 B.C.), even though it was most often an enemy of Epidauros, especially during the Peloponnesian War. Asklepios does not seem to have been a political god. As will be discussed later, Asklepios' interest was focused upon the individual and the family, and any "Asklepius" activities of a potentially political nature such as offering sanctuary to refugees of foreign states, or freeing slaves, would be based upon that interest. Therefore, though the devotion to Asklepios became part of a state cult supervised and maintained by Epidauros, the polis seems to have made its alliances, and entered upon financial dealings with other poleis independent of the steadily spreading aura of Asklepios.

Asklepios was one of many Greek gods. A mortal king in the Iliad and a Thracian folk hero of physicians during the sixth century B.C., Asklepios became a Panhellenic healing god at Epidauros at the
beginning of the fifth century. Two events further advanced the acceptance of Asklepios and of Epidauros as a major cult site for the god. In 420 B.C., Asklepios was introduced into Athens by a certain Telemachos, an Athenian advocate of Asklepios.15 (Some scholars link the acceptance of Asklepios by Athenians at this time to the suffering Athens had undergone during the terrible Plague of 430 B.C. and its interest in a new healing power.16) Also, during the fifth century B.C., the Delphic oracle, the most universally respected of Greek oracles, confirmed Epidauros as the birthplace of the god Asklepios.

Ω μέγα χάρμα βροτώς βλαστῶν Ἀσκληπιε πάσιν, δὲν Φλεγμής ἔτικτον ἐμοί φιλότητι μυγέσα ἰμερόεσσα Κορώνις ἐνι κράνατ Ἐπιδαύρῳ.

and a sacred precinct was set aside at Delphi for Asklepios, who was to be honored there as the "physician god" and son of Apollo.

Asklepian public rites at Epidauros and elsewhere were basically the same as those of other Greek cults. Celebrants walked in procession to the Sanctuary of Asklepios singing hymns of praise (paeans). Purification by means of ritual bathing prepared the worshippers for sacrificial ceremonies. Banquets were set up for visitors. And, as a major part of the festivities, both athletic and artistic contests took place and prizes were awarded to the victors.18

The private aspect of Asklepinean worship, however, demanded a set ritual that had to be followed to obtain a cure for individual ailments of various kinds, both physical and mental. First a sacrifice was made. Then purification was obtained by bathing in clear spring water. In some cases this seems to have been enough to elicit aid from Asklepios.
Most often, however, the sacrifice and purification were a prelude to a ritual known as incubation. During incubation the worthy suppliant entered a small cubicle in a special building within the Sanctuary, called the Abaton, for a night's rest. While asleep the individual received instructions by means of a vision as to what needed to be done to achieve a cure. Sometimes the vision would involve a dog or a snake as a representation of Asklepios.\(^\text{19}\) When one visits abaton cubicles such as those that have been excavated at Pergamum's Asklepieion, one can see holes in the ceilings through which (it is conjectured) temple doctor-priests may have whispered words of encouragement and advice to the suppliant below. Many testimonies have been found in the Sanctuary at Epidauros that witness the amazing cures achieved in the name of Asklepios.\(^\text{20}\)

Some of the less miraculous cures at the various Asklepieia appear to have been based upon auto-suggestion. Often treatments involved sound practical measures such as exercise programs and various intellectual activities that are used today in healing minds and bodies. Walton calls Asklepiian sanctuaries health resorts.\(^\text{21}\) The benefits of Asklepios' healing seem to have been available to men, women, and children and to the poor as well as the rich. Asklepios was not a god of luxury. Small gifts were encouraged. A cock was the most common offering, but laurel, oak leaves, money, or almost anything was accepted.\(^\text{22}\)

Inscriptions found at the site testify that suppliants came to Epidauros from all over Greece. Asklepios' great power and the major attribute that separated him from other gods lay in his perceived
concern for the individual. He had become a "personal" god, an appealing deity when compared with the gods of formal state religions (although he, too, was eventually given state recognition in cities such as Athens [420 B.C.] and Rome [293–291 B.C.]). He was seen as standing apart from the gods of Olympos and the gods of the dead and he was "present among men." His strength was to be based upon devotees who had received help and wished to witness that fact in testimonies contained in inscriptions found in Epidauros and other famous sanctuaries, such as those at Cos and Pergamum. Grateful suppliants also encouraged and helped to support the building of new sanctuaries in their home poleis. These sanctuaries would be set up and temples built in Greece, Italy, Spain, Africa, Asia Minor, and on islands in the Aegean and Mediterranean Seas.
When, from 1881-1887, Panagiotis Cavvadias excavated the Sanctuary of Asklepios at Epidauros, he found many inscriptions relating to the large-scale building program that had been carried on there in the fourth and third centuries B.C. and also inscriptions having to do with temple affairs and official appointments. Some of this epigraphical material referred to a system of connections or links set up between Epidauros, as guardian of an Asklepian Sanctuary, and other Greek poleis. Four such inscriptions had to do with thearodokoi and give us insights into this office. Three of these (273, 274, 275) include the duties and status of these appointees and the fourth (243) presents one of the itineraries followed by Epidaurian theoroi, which includes the names of the various poleis and thearodokoi visited.

The three short inscriptions will be considered first. These all follow the stoichedon style of writing and can most probably be dated to the fourth or early third century B.C. They all begin with the set form 'Εδοξε βουλαί χαί δάμωι used in formal decrees during this period. The three inscriptions are reproduced and translated here.
273. Stèle ornée d’un fronton. H. 0", 70. L. 0", 35;

Lettres: A E Ν Ε Π Σ Ω

‘Η γείσιστράτου.

’Εδοξε βουλαί και δάμωι
tων Ἐπιδαυρίων Ἡγισί-
straron Ἐκαταίου Καρδι-
anon πρόξενον εἶμεν τὰ[ς]
pόλιος τὰς Ἐπιδαυρίων
και θεαροδόχων τοῦ Ἀσ-
χλαπίου και αὐτῶν και
ἐγχόνους και εἶμεν αὐ-
τοῖς ατέλειαν και ἁσυ-
λίαν και ἐμ' πολέμωι και
ἐν εἰράναι και κατὰ
γὰν καὶ κατὰ Θάλασσαν.
Κατάλογος βουλάτις Ἀρι-
στίων Ἐριλαίς.

Hegistatos

The Council and demos of Epidauros decree Hegistatos of Kardia, son of Hekataios, to be a proxenos of the polis of Epidauros and a thearodokos of Asklepios, both he and his offspring, and he is moreover exempted from taxes and is granted immunity in war and in peace, both on land and on the sea. Aristion Erilais is clerk of the Boule.
274. Stèle ornée d'un fronton.
H. 1 m, 03; L. 0 m, 36; Ép. 0 m, 09.

Lettres semblables à celles du n° 273.

[Θεοφαντος Λαμψαχν]ός.
'Εδοξε βουλαί και ἄμως
'Επιδαυρίων Θεοφαντον
'Αλμηροῦ Λαμψαχνηνόν πρό-
ξενον εἶμεν καὶ εὐεργέ-
'Ασχλαπιοῦ καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ
[ἔξ]γόνους καὶ εἶμεν αὐτο-
ῖς ἀτέλειαν καὶ ἁμύλιαν
[σι]μῶν καὶ ἐν εἰρά-
ναι καὶ κατὰ γὰρ καὶ κατὰ
θάλασσαν καὶ προεδρίαν
ἐν τοῖς ἀγὼσι τοῖς ἱμμο-
σίοις. Κατάλογος βουλαῖς
... Ε...

Theophantos of Lampsakos

The Council and demos of Epidauros decree Theophantos of
Lampsakos, son of Almeros, to be a proxenos and euergetes of the polis
of Epidauros and a thearodokos of Asklepios, both he and his offspring,
and he is, moreover, exempted from taxes and is granted immunity in war
and in peace, both on land and on the sea and he has privilege of the
places of honor belonging to the people.

... is clerk of the Boule.
275. Fragment de stèle brisé en haut et à gauche.

[Συνάξα ον θεον ταυτων της θεάρωδος οικουμένων Σιμεν-]
[δέμων Συνάξα ον μεν έργαζόμενα κατά θάλασσαν]
[κατάλογος θουλας]
[ό δείκη Μελησίδων.

The Council and demos of Epidaurus decree to be a proxenos and euergetes of the polis of Epidaurus and a thearodokos of Asklepios Phaon Simen (--- son of Philokypros, he and his offspring and he is moreover exempted from taxes and granted immunity in war and in peace, both on land and on the sea. Melchidon is clerk of the Boule.

As can be seen, all three decrees begin by naming the Boule (the governing council) and the people of Epidaurus (the Assembly) as granting this particular honor. The name of the recipient follows in 273 and 274, but comes after the title of πρόξενος and εὐεργέτης in 273. Both titles of πρόξενος and εὐεργέτης are included in 274 and 275, but πρόξενος is used alone in 273.
Liddell and Scott give the meaning of πρόξενος as a "public guest or friend, made so by an act of the State, such as was the King of Macedon to the Athenians; the word expressed the same relation between a State and individual of another State, that ξένος expressed between individuals of different States. The πρόξενος enjoyed his privileges on the condition of entertaining and assisting the ambas-
sadors and citizens of the State that he represented, so that the πρόξενοι answered to our Consuls, Agents, Residents, though the πρόξενος was always a member of a foreign State." 29 (Liddell and Scott give a second closely related meaning: "patron, protector.")

The proxenos played a very specific and complex role in ancient Greece. The institution of proxenia had been, since the beginning of the fifth century and still was in the fourth century, the "only point of contact between individuals of one state and the law of another." 30 The proxenos might lodge nationals of the state that officially recognized him, but he was also responsible for introducing them, if necessary, to magistrates of his country. In addition, he had to serve as their patron before his courts. 31 Thus he needed to be a citizen of the polis in which he lived, if he were to effectively act as proxenos for citizens of another state. A polis would be foolish indeed to entrust its envoys to an individual with no official standing in the polis to be visited. A proxenos might hold his bond with a foreign state as inviolable even outside his own state and in times of peril. Charneaux mentions as an example of this the case of Thucydides of Pharsala, an Athenian proxenos, who sacrificed himself for a group of
Athenians during a riot in Athens in 411 B.C., at the time of the rule of the "Four Hundred."  

Proxenoi were appointed by the foreign government in the case of Athens and most other Greek poleis, or by the Basileis or people of the state that was to receive the foreign visitors, as in Sparta. The awarding of proxenia brought much honor to the recipient and was avidly sought after, even though it usually entailed financial burdens of some sort. It was the custom in ancient Greece for states to honor service to the state even though sometimes that service was demanded, as in Athens where wealthy men were appointed to expensive public offices and could get out of such positions only by challenging others as better able to afford the honors. Sometimes proxenia was granted to a thearodokos as a form of appreciation for services rendered as a host for religious envoys, as happened in the case of Kleolas, a Delphic thearodokos of Stymphale in northern Arcadia. Often proxenia took on the privilege of honorary citizenship and usually such a position was hereditary. The institution of proxenia and its accompanying duties and honors varied from polis to polis because the character of the poleis themselves varied. Some Greek city states were chiefly commercial centers, others were politically aggressive, and still others were great cult centers. Epidauros would have needed to establish in friendly poleis thearodokoi/proxenoi who could entertain and protect its religious envoys, support Sanctuary development, and work for Epidaurian interests and would have chosen individuals appropriate for this task. Because of the unique position of a proxenos with regard to the foreign state he represented, he was in a good position to work for
that state's interests, both economic and political, within his own state, if he wished to do so. Burford, in her discussion of the extensive fourth century building program in the Sanctuary of Asklepios at Epidauros, suggests that when the project was begun in 370 B.C., Epidaurians most probably looked first at contacts set up with proxenoi and thearodokoi in other poleis to find the materials and workmen that Epidauros needed. These influential men must have helped with the great project from the very beginning (Burford states that building accounts make it clear that at every stage much of the material and skilled labor came from outside Epidauros). Burford also points out that proxenoi were often accorded the right of import (εἴσαγωγεία) and export (ἐξαγωγεία) and tax exemption (ἀπελεια), so might have been able to guarantee duty-free export or import of goods to and from Epidauros.35

Politically, because of their unique status with regard to foreign states, proxenoi were most valuable to states involved in conflicts of any kind and were often a part of some of the strategies used to solve such conflicts. When truces were renewed or peace was desired, overtures were usually made by the proxenoi of the states involved. During the Peloponnesian War Lichas, Argive proxenos at Sparta, served as negotiator for the two poleis.36 Occasionally the proxenos initiated the conclusion of treaties.37

The term "proxenos" is sometimes included in thearodokia decrees.38 It is not known how many thearodokoi were also proxenoi. Thearodokoi itinerary inscriptions contain the names of many individuals, but relatively few of these can be definitely linked with proxenia. It is only in thearodokoi/proxenoi honorary inscriptions such
as those being discussed here (Cavvadias 273, 274, and 275) and in proxenoi decrees, which name individuals already known to be thearodokoi, that we can find evidence of individuals serving in both capacities. Most probably the two positions were often held by the same individual. This would have been especially true in the case of some of the smaller, more obscure poleis named in itinerary inscriptions.

A thearodokos had no function other than to assure shelter and means of transport to religious ambassadors or theoroi. Thearodokoi did not necessarily need to be citizens of the states being visited. A resident alien might just as easily provide a place to stay, food, and transportation to ambassadors reporting on cultic affairs. (Several Delphic thearodokoi are known to have been foreigners. 39) Some thearodokoi were probably asked by their home cities to assume the responsibility for religious ambassadors in the absence of any Sanctuary appointees, or in cases where death or some other misadventure had caused an immediate need for a new thearodokos. At important religious centers, such as Athens and Delphi, where sometimes, especially during festivals, there might be whole delegations of theoroi to care for and where diplomatic relationships were of the utmost importance, prominent and wealthy citizens who were perhaps already proxenoi would be chosen by the foreign state to act as thearodokoi. Although women might serve as thearodokoi, they were probably the exception to the rule. As regards the thearodokoi inscriptions discussed below, there are no women named in the Epidaurian lists, only one in the Argive itinerary list, and four in the long Delphic list. Such women may have been chosen as thearodokoi because of their wealth or their rank in society.
Kleopatra, queen of Epirus in 330 B.C., acted as thearodokos for her state. It is not known whether or not a thearodokos was paid or even whether he received any of the special honors accorded to the thearodokos who was also a proxenos.

A thearodokos, then, would be totally responsible for the well-being of any Epidaurian theoroi who might visit his state. Men of great influence became thearodokoi for Epidauros, for example Dion, tyrant of Syracuse; Heketas, tyrant of Leontini; Tharyps, presumably a member of the Molossian royal family; and Perdikkas of Macedonia. These names will appear in the Epidaurian thearodokoi itinerary lists to be discussed below.

In inscriptions 274 and 275, the title, ἐὔεργήτης, is also conferred upon the individual honored. Liddell and Scott give for this word the meaning "a well doer, benefactor" and a second, closely allied meaning, "a title of honor of such persons as had done the state some service." This word seems to reinforce the term proxenos and probably means that the person had given Epidauros (in this case) money or gifts of some kind, perhaps donations of materials for the building of the Sanctuary. Such a person would be honored for services rendered in the hope that such services might continue.

All three inscriptions include the words αὐτὸν χαὶ ἔχγονους to show that these honors stretch beyond the individual himself to his offspring or progeny. This bears out the comment above concerning the often hereditary nature of such positions. Burford discusses a possible tie between a certain Athenian, Lamachos, involved in payments for Pentelic marble received from Epidauros, who might have been an
Epidaurian proxenos in Athens sometime after 430 B.C., and a later third-century Lamachos of Athens who was a witness of fines at Epidauros, but who is not specifically described as a proxenos. Charneaux refers more convincingly to Periandros of the Argive list of thearodokoi as being the son of Aristion, who is mentioned in one of the Epidaurian thearodokoi lists (IG IV² 1,95), both men having been from the area of Anactorion.

Both δτήλεια and ἀσυλία, in times of war and peace and by land and on the sea (another part of the set form), are conferred upon these thearodokoi/proxenoi. The word δτήλεια means exemption from taxes granted to those who deserved well of the state. Decrees from the fifth to second centuries show that proxenoi were often given tax exemption status. The word ἀσυλία means inviolability of suppliants. Ἄσυλία must have provided security of persons and belongings under Epidaurian law, in case of lawsuits and in times of conflict between Epidauros and the proxenos' home city.

In inscription 274, προεδρίαν ἐν το[ῖς] ἀγῶσι τοῖς ἀρμοσίοις (the privilege of [using] places of honor [in the theater or at the games]) is a further distinction conferred upon this particular thearodokos. Front seats were always set aside for ambassadors and other esteemed guests attending Sanctuary games and plays. Not only were these the best seats for viewing and hearing what went on, but they were sometimes the most comfortable, as they were often built up to resemble chairs. These places were traditionally reserved for the highest officials of the state and there would have been great honor received by any individual granted the privilege of joining them.
All these thearodokoi/proxenoi decrees end with the words κατάλογος Βουλᾶς, clerk of the Boule, and two of them name this secretary (273 and 275). Cavvadias states that the κατάλογος, chosen monthly by the Boule out of Boule members, had the responsibility of acting as a sort of registrar. Overseeing the inscribing of these decrees would be a part of his job, which would probably also include attention to financial matters and other Sanctuary affairs.

Similar inscriptions have been found since the earlier texts were published and studied a hundred years ago. The following inscription (dated to the fourth/third century B.C.) published by W. Peek in 1972 illustrates this.
The Council and demos of Epidauros decree... machos Phili[pp]o [...] to be a proxenos and euergetes of the city of Epidauros and a thearodokos of Apollo he and his offspring, and he is moreover exempted from taxes and is granted immunity in war and in peace, both on land and on the sea. ... is clerk of the Boule.

This particular inscription honors an Epidaurian thearodoxos/proxenos of Apollo (as mentioned earlier, Apollo, the father of Asklepios, was also worshipped at Epidauros), but the form is basically the same as that of the Asklepian thearodokoi/proxenoi decrees discussed above. An individual is named a proxenos and thearodokos by the Epidaurian Boule or Council and the privileges accompanying the titles are listed. These Epidaurian stelae were set out in the Sanctuary to honor individuals for their support of Epidaurian Sanctuary affairs.
CHAPTER IV

EPIDAURIAN THEOROI

The institution of thearodokoi was based upon the use by Greek cult centers such as Epidauros and Delphi of cultic messengers or theoroi who were chosen by their poleis or elected, as at Thasos (where theoroi were magistrates), to represent them officially in religious matters. Women as well as men might be chosen to act as theoroi. Not only would these individuals attend religious festivals held by other sanctuaries and offer sacrifices in the names of their poleis, they also traveled to other friendly Greek poleis to garner support for their own sanctuaries and to announce upcoming religious festivals. Thus a theoros worked for his cult as a type of religious promoter.

As for the use of theoroi by Epidauros, Burford makes the point that the Epidaurian festival in honor of Apollo had been patronized by outsiders as early as the late sixth century, so that it might be inferred that Epidaurian theoroi were needed to advertise religious celebrations from that time on. We learn from a scholion on Pindar that contests inaugurated by the Epidaurian Asklepiadai (secular physicians) were continued by Epidauros at five-year intervals. They were held in the grove of Asklepios and were performed "nine days after the festival of Poseidon at the Isthmus of Corinth, which was probably
held toward the end of April. The Epidaurian contests included boxing and the pancratium plus rhapsodies. Probably foot races were also held. Money was given to the victors.

Epidaurian theoroi would have been sent out to Greek cities to advertise the upcoming festival very early in the spring, or perhaps during the fall of the preceding year, as most travel was suspended during the winter months when adverse weather conditions made getting about difficult. During the fourth century these religious ambassadors would very likely have reported on the new Sanctuary building program and have encouraged interest in it. Although Epidauros appointed special commissioners to collect money and arrange for the procurement of building materials, theoroi would have been in a good position to make the first approaches to wealthy individuals on the Sanctuary's behalf. Religious links already established between Epidauros and other cities might be used to create relationships of a financial nature. Delphi used its theoroi in this way, as did other religious centers.

When theoroi represented Epidauros at the religious celebrations of other poleis, they often attended in delegations. Important cult centers would have had great numbers of official visitors who would expect to be housed, fed, and cared for. Inscriptions attest to special buildings having been put up for festival receptions (ἔστιατρία). It is reasonable to assume that with so many people in attendance at these festivals, Epidaurian theoroi, although present to solemnly offer necessary homage to another polis' god, might take advantage of the crowds and quietly fit in some eulogizing of their own god, Asklepios, and the Sanctuary at Epidauros.
CHAPTER V

EPIDAURIAN THEARODOKOI ITINERARY INSCRIPTIONS

One of the best ways to determine the extent of Epidauros' ties with other poleis is to examine itineraries listing the names of poleis and thearodokoi to which Epidaurian theoroi might present themselves as they traveled throughout the Greek world.

Itinerary inscriptions may be handled chronologically or geographically. A geographical approach to information of this nature seems to be best, since it is often difficult to pinpoint time periods accurately. Also, geographical material can give a map-like orientation that may serve to clarify the total picture for a reader.

Although at first glance such lists may seem useful simply as itinerary schedules for traveling theoroi, they can be valuable also as evidence of communication patterns existing between a Sanctuary and other Greek poleis. In addition, where place names are joined to names of well-known thearodokoi, the itineraries can suggest information about other unknown thearodokoi listed in the same place, although a careful study of erasures and additions to the inscription must be made when using it in this way. Where place names are not included to "confirm" a thearodokos, and if patronymics are not used, very little can be known about the individual.
Often itinerary lists are arranged by areas, so that they present poleis' names in units which are sometimes labeled, thus suggesting an idea of the political situations existing during the time of the specific inscription. This information can be checked against other evidence, such as other inscriptions or literary testimonies. Itinerary lists had the practical value of announcing officially the poleis and persons to be visited by traveling theoroi. But they also confirmed the Sanctuaries' ties with other Greek poleis and honored the thearodokoi of these poleis by publicizing their names. The great amount of epigraphical material devoted to the recognition of specific individuals throughout ancient Greek history clearly points out the importance of prestige and honor in the Greek ethic. Thearodokoi not receiving the benefits accorded to thearodokoi/proxenoi might still be honored by Epidauros with the listing of their names on stelae for all to see.

IG IV^2 1,94 and 95 are two geographical listings of Epidaurian thearodokoi. The first deals with thearodokoi in Megara, Thebes (and other Boiotian cities), plus Thessaly, Macedon, and Thrace (including Thasos). IG IV^2 1,95 is a listing of Epidaurian thearodokoi in northwestern Greece and in Sicily and Italy. So far no itinerary lists have been found that record Epidaurian thearodokoi in the Peloponnese or on the Aegean Islands (except for Thasos), or in Ionia. It is known from thearodokoi and proxenoi decrees in IG IV^2 1,96 that the Asklepiion cult had become important in these areas by the fourth century B.C., so perhaps stelae that recorded thearodokoi from such places have been lost and may yet be recovered.
The editors of IG IV² 1,94 and 95 place the original material on the two stelae within the period of time between c. 390 B.C. and 367 B.C. This is possible because of the inclusion in the original portion of Stela II (IG IV² 1,95) of the name of Dion, the son of Hipparinos and an historical personage, as thearodokos for Syracuse. Dion was influential in the court of Dionysius I during the period after 390 B.C., when Syracuse's difficulties with Carthage were settled for a time and Sicily was divided into Carthaginian and Syracusan regions. In 366 B.C., shortly after the death of Dionysius I, Dion was exiled by Dionysius II and did not return to Syracuse until 357 B.C., when he "liberated" the city. Although he remained in power (with some difficulty) until his death in 354 B.C., the three-year period of his "reign" was neither stable enough nor long enough to make it likely that his name would have been placed on an Epidaurian thearodokoi list at that time. An additional point: Dion's lieutenant, Herakleides, is also included in the inscription as a thearodokos for Syracuse. His name appears just below that of Dion. Since Dion and Herakleides became adversaries soon after Dion's return to Syracuse in 357 B.C. (Herakleides was eventually assassinated by Dion), it is most doubtful that their names would have been placed together on any such list between 357 B.C. and 354 B.C., the year of Dion's death. Thus the dates of 390 B.C. and 367 B.C. seem firm, based as they are upon the known history of the city of Syracuse.

As regards changes to the lists: the additions of the thearodokoi Aristomachos and Klearchos of Syracuse were obviously made after 354 B.C. to provide replacements for Dion and Herakleides.
These additions must have been inscribed before the year 339 B.C., when Hiketas of Leontini died, as his name follows theirs.

The addition of the name of a thearodokos from Kassandreia (former site of Potidaia) on Stela I (IG IV² 1,95) brings the terminus date of the inscriptions down to 316 B.C. and probably later. Kassandreia was founded by Kassander, son of Macedonia's governor, Antipater (397-319 B.C.), after he took control of Macedonia in 316 B.C.

Thus we have for these thearodokoi inscriptions a time period from around 390 B.C. to 316 B.C. or later, right down into Hellenistic times—almost the span of a century. The Epidaurian theoroi/thearodokoi, messenger/host system was certainly in operation during most of the fourth century B.C.

IG IV² 1,95 (Stela II) was found and published first and will be discussed first. The names of the areas and poleis visited by Epidaurian theoroi together with the thearodokoi appointed to receive them are placed on the stone in two columns that overlap in some places. Several erasures and some additions to the stone are evident. When Epidaurian thearodokoi died or for some other reason could not fulfill their duties, changes to the stone would have been necessary. Also, when Epidauros established relationships with new Greek poleis, their names and the names of their religious envoys would need to be added.

The original material on the inscription begins with the words "Thearódókoi ἐπ Ἀκαρνανίαν"; Thearodokoi to Akarnania. This seems to indicate the outermost limits of the theoroi's route, but in fact does not, as from line 23 on, many poleis to the north of Akarnania are listed, and the Italian and Sicilian poleis in the itinerary were even
further away from Epidauros. The first poleis listed are those to be visited on the way to Akarnania: Corinth (the only Peloponnesian polis on the route and perhaps a convenient stopping place), Delphi, Amphissa, Oiantheia, Naupaktos, and Kaludon.

Corinth and Delphi were both important cult centers and sites of Panhellenic games. Their appearance on this first list clearly indicates the close relationship Epidauros had with at least two other religious centers. In all probability, as Epidaurian theoroi were welcomed at Corinth by Lukomedes and at Delphi by Damosthenes, so too would the Corinthian and Delphic theoroi announcing their celebrations in honor of Poseidon and Apollo be taken care of at Epidauros by specific thearodokoi.

From Delphi the route turns northwest to Amphissa, then southwest to Oiantheia near the coast, across to Naupaktos and Kaludon and thus into Akarnania.

Oiniadae, near the mouth of the Archelaus River, and Stratos, along the middle reaches of the Archelaus (ll. 9–10), begin the list of Akarnanian cities. Perhaps theoroi traveled in pairs, each taking a specific route during parts of the journey so as to cover territory more efficiently. One theoros might have gone north to Delphi and Amphissa and then across to Stratos, while the other visited the coastal cities of Oiantheia, Naupaktos, and Oiniadae. They may have divided up the other Akarnanian cities (ll. 11–22) between them. 68

Epirus (ll. 23) lay directly north of Akarnania, as did Kassope, Pandosia on the Archeron River, Thesprotia, the island Corcyra, and Chaonia across from Corcyra. Unless the names are geographically out
of order, after the listing of Molossia, the route looped south toward Ambrakia and Argos Amphilochia (ll. 32-33). The cities in lines 34-38 are all difficult to identify, unless Therminea (ll. 36) may have been ancient Thermon.

Lines 39-45 list Syracuse on the island of Sicily and the southern Italian cities of Locri, Kroton, Thurii, and Laurentum (along the Ionian coast) and Terina (on the Tuscany coast).

Of the forty-four place names to be found in the original inscription, several were areas of peoples rather than single poleis, namely Akarnania, Ambrakia, Thesprotia, Epiros, and Molossia. Charneaux makes the point that these were not unified countries at this time (390-367 B.C.) but loosely joined confederations. In the case of a kingdom, theoroi might need only to know the monarch, as the king would stand for the state. When this inscription was written, however, theoroi would visit different poleis listed beneath specific headings such as Akarnania and Epirus and the thearodokoi for each place would need to be known.

Several of the thearodokoi named in the original inscription are historical figures and they were all men of substance and power. Tharyps (ll. 31), the thearodokos for Molossia, may have been a descendant of King Tharyps of the fifth century (430-390 B.C.), perhaps a member of the royal family. Dion (Sicilian tyrant) and his lieutenant, Herakleides (ll. 39-40), have been discussed above. The money and material goods available to these individuals would have been important to Epidauros, especially at this time when the Asklepeian sanctuary was being enlarged. None of the three is named proxenos in
the inscription. To only one thearodokos is that title given: Antandros (I. 18), thearodokos for Torubeia in Akarnania. As discussed earlier, proxenia was often awarded to persons who had done a state some special service. In this case Antandros of Torubeia may have been singled out from the other thearodokoi as proxenos because of his particular generosity to the sanctuary at Epidauros.

Changes to the inscription were made in a second column, beginning with the naming of additional thearodokoi for Italy. Rhegion and Metapontum (II. 47-50) are listed for the first time. Thuri i in line 52 appeared also in the original portion of the inscription in line 43. Several names of thearodokoi were filled in where there had been none before (II. 55, 63, 70, 76, 77, 81, 82, and 93). One new polis, Limnaia, was added to the Akarnanian section of the itinerary in lines 56 and 57. After the headings "in Sicily" and "Syracuse" are listed the names of the substitutes for Dion and Herakleides, Aristomachos and Klearchos (II. 64-65), the city Leontini (dominated by Syracuse) with its thearodokoi, Hiketas and Nikanoros (II. 66-68), and Katana (also part of the Syracusan Empire) and its thearodokos Alkipos, son of Markos (II. 71-72).

Except for a second listing of Epiros and the addition of Zmarathos (an unknown Epirot polis) along with their thearodokoi, the rest of the entries (II. 78-86 and 90-92) are the names of the Sicilian poleis Messana, Gela, and Akragas and their thearodokoi. (Lines 87-89 are incomplete.) It is quite obvious how carefully Epidauros took note of Sicilian affairs. By the early fourth century Syracuse had become, through the efforts of the tyrant, Dionysius I (430-367 B.C.), a great
military and commercial power. The wealth of Syracuse was legendary. The polis and the areas under its control (eastern Sicily, settlements on both shores of the Adriatic, and the western coast of Italy) would have been an important source of support for the sanctuary at Epidauros. There are twenty-one lines (and two erasures) included in the Sicilian/Syracusan material and, in the additions alone, about half of the entries have to do with Sicilian poleis and thearodokoi. Many changes took place in Syracuse after the death of Dionysius I. Petty tyrants such as Dion tried unsuccessfully to assume total control and thus opened the door to Carthage's aggression. Not until Timoleon's successful efforts toward peace with Carthage and the elimination of Sicily's tyrants was the political situation in Sicily stabilized. (Timoleon died c. 334 B.C.)

It would have been difficult but necessary to find out just where to send news of Sanctuary affairs during this unsettled period. Epidauros had to know which poleis would be able to welcome its theoroi and which individuals could best take care of them. As mentioned above, the Sanctuary must have benefited greatly from its contact with the wealth of Syracuse and other Sicilian and Italian poleis.

With regard to the thearodokoi listed in the additions, Aristomachos and Klearchos have been discussed above, as has Hiketas. The thearodokos from Katana, Alkipos, son of Markos, may have been the son of a tyrant of Katana. As is true in the original portion of the inscription, most of the thearodokoi in the additions are unknown.

It is interesting to note that patronymics, which often accompanied names in official documents, were not used in the original
inscription, except in the case of the Syracusan thearodokoi, Dion and Herakleides, and the thearodokoi for the southern Italian cities of Thurii and Terina. They appear more often in additions to the inscription. The patronymic may have been used as a way of showing respect for important individuals, as in the case of Dion, Herakleides, and Alkipos of Katana. However, other personages such as Aristomachos, Klearchos, and Hiketas were not treated in this way. Certainly it sometimes helps with the identification of specific names such as "Dion." When we see "Hipparinou" (son of Hipparinos) following the name, we are able to identify the person.

The poleis listed in IG IV² 1,95 must have been responsive to the Asklepiion cult and interested in receiving and hearing from Epidaurian religious ambassadors or theoroi. In each of the cities there was at least one thearodokos willing to act as host for the theoroi. Several of the hosts were wealthy and influential men. The area represented by these thearodokoi took in a large part of Greece and Greater Greece—to the northwest as far as Chaonia and the Aous River and directly west as far as Italy and Sicily.

For Epidaurian connections with northern Greece one must look at IG IV² 1,94 (Stela I). The first nine lines (Ia) route Epidaurian theoroi to Megara and Athens, then on north to Thebes and Thespiae. The editors have filled in Koroneia and Orchomenos and the missing letters for Lebadeia that follow. All of these poleis are worthy of mention. Megara was a land passage between the Peloponnese and central Greece. By the time this inscription was prepared, it had recovered from the Peloponnesian War (431-404 B.C.) and was prosperous once more—an
important city on the itinerary. Athens had had its own Asklepeian shrine since 420 B.C. A major cult site and the host for the great Panathenaeic celebrations, it must have been one of the most important poleis on the Epidaurian theoroi's route north. During the 360s B.C., Thebes' Epaminondas was the chief power in Greece because of his defeat of the Spartan army in 371 B.C. Thebes and the other Boiotian cities on the list—Thespiae, Koroneia, Orchomenos, and Lebadeia—were cities with which Epidauros would want to establish friendly relationships. Lebadeia was the site of a shrine dedicated to Trophonius, an oracular god of Boiotia. This is another example of cult centers maintaining steady contact through the offices of theoroi and thearodokoi. With the exception of Charik[les], thearodokos for Thebes, the names of thearodokoi in Ia are incomplete or missing.

Most of Ia is devoted to cities under Macedonian control. It begins, however, with poleis in Thessaly and Magnesia (II. 1-6). Pydna and Methone (II. 7-8), both Athenian poleis, were captured by Philip II of Macedon (king from 359-336 B.C.) in 356 B.C. and 354 B.C. respectively. Potidaia, at the head of the Pallene peninsula, was destroyed by Philip II in 356 B.C. This gives us another date to use in assigning a time period to the inscription. There would have been no reference made to Potidaia in an Epidaurian thearodokoi inscription after its destruction. In the absence of any attempts to erase the name, it must be assumed that this part of the inscription belonged to the period before 356 B.C.

Dikaia (I. 11) was located on the north Aegean coast. This polis seems completely out of place in the itinerary unless here, too,
there may have been a sharing of poleis visited, as in IG IV² 1,95—one theoros going to the farthest areas east and the other working his way around the Chalcidice.

Kalindoia (I. 13) and Olynthos (I. 14) (destroyed by Philip in 348 B.C.) were near the Toronaic Gulf. The Apollonia listed next may have been situated in the northern Chalcidice. In lines 16-26 appear many poleis that were part of the Chalcidice or east of it: Arethusa, Arkilas (in Thrace near the Strymon River), Amphipolis, then Stagiros, Akanthos, Stolos, Aphutis, Skione, and Mende. Berga (I. 19) and Tragila (I. 20) appear to have been part of Thrace. Neapolis across from Thasos, Abdera, Maroneia, and Ainos (II. 27-30) follow in geographical order. The original part of the inscription ends with Thasos (I. 31) and Datos (I. 32), which was possibly a colony founded by Philip in 356 B.C.

Lines 35-55 in the second column are additions to the inscription. Petalia (I. 35) may have been a Boitian polis or perhaps a small island near Euboea. Euordaias (I. 38) could have been the Macedonian polis Ordaia. Kassandreia (I. 41) has been discussed already as a polis founded by Kassander sometime after 316 B.C. and before his death in 297 B.C. It lay at the head of the Pallene peninsula. Ormenion (I. 44) may have been a polis near the Pagasaetian Gulf. New thearodokoi are listed for Ainos in lines 46-50. The additions end with the listings of Zeneas (I. 51) as a substitute for the Abderite thearodokos named in line 28 of the original; Pythogonos (I. 52), the substitute for Anapsuxis in line 29; and the city Dorkalion, which is unknown, in line 54.
There are no thearodokoi designated as proxenoi in this inscription and only four are accompanied by patronymics. These appear exclusively in additions to the original material (ll. 36, 47, 49, and 55).

Perdikkas, thearodokos for Macedonia (l. 9), is one of the most interesting names in the inscription. If this Perdikkas is indeed the son of Amyntas III and the individual who ruled Macedonia alone from 368 to 359 B.C., we have more information to consider when placing the first part of this particular Epidaurian inscription within a time frame. (The name Perdikkas appears in line 9.) It is unlikely that Perdikkas would have been listed as thearodokos for Macedonia before 368 B.C., as his elder brother, Alexander, ruled before him upon the death of their father, Amyntas III, in 370 B.C. In naming royalty as thearodokoi, Epidauros would surely have selected the supreme heads of state whenever possible. However, Perdikkas could have been designated the Macedonian thearodokos anytime after 368 B.C. until his death in 359 B.C. Thus, this part of the inscription could have been formulated after 368 B.C., but before 356 B.C. and the destruction of Potidaia (listed on line 12), which has already been mentioned. (As noted earlier, the reference to Kassandreia in line 41 indicates that additions to this stele were still being made in the latter part of the fourth century.)

IV 2 1,94 shows clearly the Epidaurian concern at this time with Macedonian affairs. Macedon under Philip II was extending its boundaries to the south and to the north. Athenian poleis were captured, alliances were made with the Chalcidian League and Thrace,
and eventually the Chalcidice and Thessaly were united under the Macedonian royal mint. Epidauros would have wanted to establish contact with the new Macedonian power centers and Macedonian wealth.

Both IG IV² 1,94 and 95 give direct evidence for a network linking the Sanctuary at Epidauros to many Greek poleis. IG IV² 1,94 lists forty-three poleis to be visited and IG IV² 1,95 lists fifty. Ninety-three official contacts are provided for by the inscriptions on these two stelae.

By land and by sea (as would have been necessary for visits to southern Italy and Sicily and certainly easiest when traveling from Corinth to Delphi (IG IV² 1,95), Epidaurian theoroi set out to remind ninety-three Greek poleis of the Festival to be held for the Panhellenic god of healing, Asklepios, and most likely, at this time, to gather support for Sanctuary developments. Theoroi were well taken care of and were sometimes placed under the protection of very powerful thearodokoi, such as Perdikkas of Macedon (IG IV² 1,94) and Dion of Syracuse (IG IV² 1,95).

Theoroi would not have limited themselves strictly to Epidaurian sanctuary affairs in their conversations with people of other city states. They would have carried with them from one area to another news and messages from places visited. Certainly, as has been already discussed, communication between theoroi and thearodokoi might cover political, social, and economic issues, as well as cultic business.

Thus was formed a formidable network, carrying various types of information and running from Epidauros to poleis in mainland Greece and "Greater Greece" and from polis to polis and from poleis back to
Epidauros. The linkage between peoples that such a system might bring about is impressive, but it is even more so when one realizes that other Greek sanctuaries had the same type of messenger/host system in operation during this period and that their networks overlapped the Epidaurian network in many places. A brief look at two such sanctuary networks involving Argos and Delphi will illustrate this.
CHAPTER VI

AN ARGIVE THEORODOKOI Inscription

In 1953, a partial list of Argive thearodokoi was found in Argos and reported in "la Chronique des fouilles." There was great interest in the inscription because of its probable connection with the Pannellenic Nemean Games and also because it could be compared with other such lists. In 1961, a further inspection of the stela itself was done by Pierre Charneaux in Argos. He reported his findings in the article "Liste Argienne de Thearodoque" (1966), fully discussing earlier studies of the inscription and adding his own commentary. This article is of great help in any use of the Argive material.

The inscription is a list of thearodokoi similar to those of the Epidaurian inscriptions IG IV² 1,94 and 95. The stone is damaged and letters have been filled in by various editors (Charneaux’s article is in part a discussion of these restorations). The list dates from c. 330 B.C. (this is based upon the appearance in the list of the name "Kleopatra"—to be discussed below) and is one of a series of lists of citizens and thearodokoi placed in the agora of Argos, in the sanctuary of Apollo Lykias. (For information concerning an important Argive thearodokoi list from 323 B.C., see S. Miller, "The Thearodokoi of the Nemean Games," 80...
The goddess Hera (worshipped at the Heraeum six miles north of Argos) and her consort Zeus, to which the sanctuary of Nemean Zeus in the northern Argolid (area of Kleonai) was dedicated, had been worshipped in the Argolid since early times. In 573 B.C., the Nemean Games in honor of Zeus became a Panhellenic festival. Celebrations took place every second and fourth year of each Olympiad. Since the Argive festivals dedicated to Zeus and Hera took place between the middle of June and the last days of July, theoroi would have been sent out in the spring of the same year or the autumn of the preceding year (to avoid winter weather) to carry their festival invitations to other Greek poleis. These theoroi would have been officially welcomed by the thearodokoi listed in the inscription.

Charneaux connects the material in this inscription to thearodokoi lists from Epidauros and Delphi (the Delphic lists will be discussed below), noting the similar constructions of the names—first the nominative, or "en" plus the dative, of the name of a country or city (the dative alone was used for many names in IG IV² 1,95 from line 33 on) and then the names of one or more individuals. Charneaux points out that this type of reading is never met in the many lists of proxenoi and naturalized citizens that we have and so this must be a list of thearodokoi. Since there have been few Argive honorary thearodokoi decrees discovered that belonged to this period, it is difficult to positively identify most of the thearodokoi listed, or to connect them with particular honors such as proxenia. However, there are several names that can be identified or connected to thearodokoi linked with other sanctuaries and these will be discussed below.
The inscription is divided into two columns. The second column lists thearodokoi in Asia Minor. One of these lines names the island of Thasos (l. 20), which also appears in the Epidaurian IG IV² 1,94 (l. 31). The first column contains nine place names also to be seen in IG IV² 1,95: Anaktorion, Palairos (unknown), Alyzia, Leukas, Argos (Amphilochia), Ambrakia, Epiros, Corcyra, and Turbeion. This is part of an Akarnanian–Epirot itinerary similar to that listed in IG IV² 1,95. Argive theoroi traveled north to announce to certain poleis the approaching Nemean Games. Epidaurian theoroi represented the Asklepieion Sanctuary in exactly the same poleis.

Column one also lists poleis from the Peloponnese and the island Cephallenia, but these lines (21–55) are damaged and only parts of the names of the thearodokoi can be seen. (As mentioned earlier, the Epidaurian itineraries make no reference to Peloponnesian thearodokoi.)

Column two is interesting because it lists poleis in Asia Minor (for which there are no Epidaurian thearodokoi references) and so provides definite evidence for the existence of a Greek messenger/host system operating in poleis along the coast of Asia Minor. Argive theoroi traveled from Klazomenai and Erythrai in Ionia south to Chios, Miletos, and Iasos, visiting other poleis along the way. The islands Tenedos and Thasos in the north Aegean were also a part of this itinerary.

It is important to take note of several of the thearodokoi listed in the inscription. In this itinerary the thearodokos named to receive the theoroi of Hera and Nemea at Anaktorian is Periandros. The Epidaurian thearodokos for Anaktorian in IG IV² 1,95 is Aristion, son
of Periandros. The dates of the two inscriptions (c. 360 for the Epidaurian list and c. 330 for the Argive itinerary) make possible the fact that the Argive Periandros was the son of the Epidaurian Aristion (son of Periandros), the grandson having received, as was often the case in ancient Greece, the name of his grandfather. Thus, theoroi from Argos and Epidauros, each summoning delegates to his own Sanctuary's festivities, may have been welcomed by a family that was part of a thearodokoi tradition passed from father to son (αδιτὸν χαὶ ἐκγόνους). There would have been great honor gained in being financially able to serve more than one sanctuary and in being linked with several religious cults.

In line 10 of the Argive inscription the listing for Ambrakia carries the name [Ph]orbadas as thearodokos, the Phi being supplied by the editor. The Epidaurian IG IV² 1,95 lists Korradas as thearodokos for Ambrakia (l. 81). It's possible that the Phi of the Argive inscription should be a K and the Beta a Rho. Perhaps here again we see the hereditary nature of thearodokia in operation and have further evidence of certain thearodokoi families acting as hosts for theoroi from different Greek sanctuaries.

The name Kleopatra, thearodokos for Epiros (l. 11), was mentioned earlier in connection with a date for the inscription. Historically we know of a queen Kleopatra, daughter of Philip II of Macedon (king from 359-336 B.C.). Married to Alexander I, king of Molossia, in 336 B.C., she took over the area at his death in 330 B.C. Epiros was under the control of the Molossians at this time, so it too would have been part of her kingdom. Olympias of Epiros, Kleopatra's
mother and the sister of Alexander of Molossia, was perhaps the real power in these areas after her brother's death, but Kleopatra would have been queen and Argive theoroi would have reported to her the Heraia and Nemea of 329 B.C. 83
CHAPTER VII

A DELPHIC THEARODOKOI INSCRIPTION

A long Delphic thearodokoi inscription provides further evidence for the impressive breadth and complexity of the theoroi/thearodokoi network operating in Greece, not only in the fourth and third centuries, but on into the second century B.C. as well.\textsuperscript{84}

In 1880, three fragments of a stele containing lists of ancient Greek poleis were found near the Athenian portico at Delphi. Each polis name was followed by the name of one or more individuals. As eight other pieces of the original stone were discovered and joined together, there appeared a great stele of Delphic thearodokoi, an itinerary for Delphic theoroi, damaged, but perfectly legible in many places.\textsuperscript{85}

Parts of this itinerary differ in writing style. When additions to the inscription became necessary, various artisans used empty spaces for listing the names of the poleis and thearodokoi which would keep the itinerary current.\textsuperscript{86} (This sometimes affected the geographic order within the inscription.) However, several features of the list serve to unify the various sections. First, the orientation is geographic throughout (except for the additions) and cities are listed under definite headings such as "Boiotia" and "Peloponnesos." In addition, "en" is used with the dative for all city entries. As mentioned earlier, the use of the dative plus "en" also appears in parts of the
Argive and Epidaurian IG IV² 1,94 inscriptions. The dative alone is used for certain cities in IG IV² 1,95.

Plassart places this Delphic inscription in the first quarter of the second century B.C. and supports his dating by referring to specific decrees. He lists thearodokoi from the itinerary who also appear in Delphic proxenoí decrees that can be placed within a definite time period. For example, Xenon Xenonos, at Kassandreia (III 77), was proxenos in 186 B.C., and Dionysios Legetos, at Elea (IV 68), was proxenos in 179. He also lists three decrees that help to give a "terminus post quem" for parts of the long itinerary. One example of this is a decree for Telesias d'Oisyme from 205/4 B.C. Plassart points out that Telesias must have been dead when the Macedonian portion of this Delphic inscription was written. His son Epigethes ("Telesiou") is named as thearodokos for Oisyme (III 81). The list is from a later period than either the Epidaurian or Argive itineraries, but it is very much like them in form and content. Thus it supports many of the points made earlier concerning the institution of thearodokia.

There are relatively few thearodokoi in this long itinerary who can be positively identified through the proxenoí decrees and lists that we have from the same period. Plassart discusses eight or nine of these names. This isn't very many for such a long list.

Not only do Delphic proxenoí decrees help with the dating of the inscription and the identification of a few of the thearodokoi recorded in it, but they also make clear that at Delphi, as at Epidauros, the two titles of thearodokos and proxenos were sometimes enjoyed concurrently.
by persons deserving special honors because of their services to the Sanctuary.

Four women are listed in the itinerary as thearodokoi for Kos, Kynaitha, Kleonai, and Opous. One king can be identified: Theodoros of Athamanes (ill 34). In only four or five cases can evidence be found that the formula "to him and his descendants" (which appears in thearodokoi/proxenoi decrees) was followed literally. In some cases thearodokia was carried out in two different cities by members of the same family; for example, the two sons of Krinias, Androsthenidas at Tolphon and Aristomachos at Oiantheia; also the sons of Xenon, Herakleon at Antigoneia and Xenon at Kassandreia; and, finally, sons of Epikrates, [___]timos at Amphipolis and Antinikides at Philippi. Here we see evidence of possible links formed between poleis through family ties: brothers serving as thearodokoi and upholding the family tradition and honor in different localities.

As for the number of Delphic thearodokoi placed in each city, there are about ninety-five examples of cities having two or more thearodokoi and twice as many where thearodokoi acted alone. There are only a few examples of more than one thearodokos having been appointed for a polis in the Epidaurian and Argive inscriptions. Certainly there may have been reasons for listing two or more hosts for particular poleis on occasion—a need for particular services or a wish to honor additional persons for financial support, or perhaps a desire to reinforce ties with a particular state. Delphi's status as the Sanctuary for the Pythia of Apollo, the most respected oracle in ancient Greece, may have made necessary more elaborate arrangements for its
theoroi. Delphi's involvement with political prophecies, as well as religious and moral questions, meant it held great power in its relationships with other states. The Pythia might, by its pronouncements, affect states' dealings with one another. An example of this is its support of Sparta during the Peloponnesian War. In addition to its status with regard to the Pythia, Delphi was the site of the Panhellenic Pythian games. Theoroi would have been sent out to Greek poleis everywhere to announce the games and to reaffirm ties (probably financial as well as religious) between these poleis and the Sanctuary. There would have been great honor involved in caring for these messengers from Delphi and great expense as well, if the receptions were to be impressive enough. Several individuals might more easily assume such a burden. Which of the thearodokoi were engaged by Delphi or which were simply appointed by their home poleis is not known.

Many of the poleis mentioned in the Delphic inscription are paralleled in the Epidaurian and Argive itineraries. Four of the first nine lines in the Epidaurian IG IV² 1,94 (1a) contain polis names also appearing in the Delphic inscription: Koroneia, Orchomenos, Thespeia, and Megara. These same two inscriptions also have nine identical poleis listed for Macedon and Thrace: Homolion, Pydna, Bragila, Kassandreia, Amphipolis, Neapolis, Akanthus, Thasos, and Maroneia.

The Epidaurian IG IV² 1,95, in its listings for Akarnania and Epiros, contains eleven polis names also found in the Delphic Akarnanian/Epirote itinerary: Naupaktos, Kaludon, Stratos, Argos (Amphilochia), Ambrakia, Kassope, Oiniadae, Photias, Oiantheia, Amphissa, and Corcyra. The Argive inscription matches these in four
places (in the entries for Argos, Ambrakia, Kassope, and Corcyra) and lists Apollonia and Phoinika, as does the Delphic inscription.

Some of the Ionian cities in the Delphic list are also found in the Argive inscription: Andros, Iasos, Kumai, Erythrai, Klazomenai, and the island Kephalenia.91

References to the Italian and Sicilian cities of Tarentum, Lokri, Rhegion, Thurii, Katane, and Syracuse are found in both the Delphic inscription and the Epidaurian IG IV2 1,95.

A search for thearodokoi names in the Delphic inscription that appear in any of the other three inscriptions discussed produces just one. This might be expected since over a century separates the Delphic inscription from the others. Both IG IV2 1,95 and the Delphic itinerary list a certain "Leonteus" as thearodokos for Argos Amphilochia. Perhaps "Leonteus" was a common name in Argos or just possibly this is one more example of the office of thearodokos passing from one generation to another in the same family.

Of the four itineraries discussed in this thesis, because of its length, the Delphic inscription provides the best picture of the multitude of large and small governmental units that might be linked with a Greek sanctuary and with each other through their common interest in and support of that sanctuary. It also shows clearly that the institution of thearodokia was still flourishing (at least at Delphi) well into the second century B.C.
There were many changes taking place in the ancient Greek world of the fourth century B.C. which would alter that world forever. Macedon, Alexander the Great, and the gradual dispersion of Greek culture into non-Greek areas would neutralize the international power of mainland Greece and its colonies. However, religious ties within ancient Greece would remain strong and relatively unchanged for several centuries, as is evidenced by cultic decrees and itineraries that date from the fourth century on into the second century B.C. This inscriptive material shows the network of communication that existed between Greek sanctuaries, such as those at Epidauros, Argos, and Delphi, and city states throughout Greece by means of the offices of heralds of the great cult festivals and their hosts, the ancient theoroi and thearodokoi.

Greek religious festivals were important meeting places. Messengers carrying news of cult activities served as links between sanctuaries and large and small poleis. They were respected all over ancient Greece and it was considered an honor to welcome and entertain them. Communication patterns set up by traveling theoroi provided a kind of base upon which other relationships, economic and political as well as social and cultural, might be continually formed and developed.
Considering the number of sanctuaries involved in the theoroi/thearodokoi institution, the resulting network of communication must have been intricate indeed and massive in scope.

Such a network, steadily serving as a sort of infrastructure for all that went on during the fourth century B.C., must be taken into account in any study of the Greek world of this period.
1 Panayotis Cavvadias, Fouilles d'Epidaure (Athens: S. S. Vlastos, 1891). 273, 274, 275, and 243, which is also published as IG IV² 1504 and IG IV² 1,95. The IG IV² 1,95 edition will be used, along with a second important Epidaurian thearodokoi inscription, IG IV² 1,94.


6 Plutarch, Moralia II, 291d (Greek Questions I).


8 Ibid., p. 16, n. 5.


10 Ibid., p. 23.

11 Burford, p. 15.


14 Edelstein and Edelstein.

15 Inscriptiones Graecae II², no. 4960a.

16 Burford, p. 20, n. 7.
Sacred snakes in particular appear to have been used as substitutes for the god, even outside Epidauros. When, in 420 B.C., Athens first accepted an Epidaurian snake from the Sanctuary, it was welcoming Asklepios himself into the city.

See IG IV² 1,121-22 (second half of the fourth century B.C.) for examples of these cures.


Edelstein and Edelstein, II:190.


The word "thearodokos" is not listed in Liddell and Scott's Greek-English Lexicon (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), but one meaning of θεωρός is "an ambassador sent to consult an oracle or to present an offering" and δοχός can mean "receiver" (Liddell and Scott). θεωρός is the Doric form for θεωρός.

Cavvadias.

There are no archaic letters used, so the stelae must have been inscribed after 480 B.C. R. P. Austin, in The Stoichedon Style in Greek Inscriptions (London: Oxford University Press, 1938), p. 66, states that most stoichedon inscriptions from the Argolid come from the shrine of Asklepios at Epidauros: "... the vogue of the style seems to have been greatest in the 4th century." He identifies "a series of decrees conferring the title of proxenos and thearodokos on various individuals" as early third century material (pp. 67-68).

Liddell and Scott.


Ibid., p. 162.

Ibid., p. 162, n. 2.


Burford, p. 37.


Charneaux, p. 161, "so often there was a special decree which conferred the two titles at the same time upon the same person." See *IG IV²* 1,96 for examples of Epidaurian proxenoi/thearodokoi decrees.


Charneaux, p. 157, l. 11.


Charneaux, p. 172.

Cavvadias, p. 102.


Originally the word theoroi meant merely spectator. Thus, theoroi were probably first spectators at special celebrations, which in ancient Greece were usually of a religious nature.


Burford, pp. 21-22.


Tomlinson, p. 16.


Plato, *Ion*, 530A.

Ibid.
54 Tomlinson, p. 25.
55 Ibid.
56 P. Cabanes, "Epire," REG 82 (1969):116-20, 144-45 uses IG IV² 1,94 and 95 to show the development of ethnic communities in Epirus.
57 Some of the names on Epidaurian theorodokoi lists can be paired up with honorary theorodokoi decrees, such as those discussed above.
58 Inscriptions Epidauri (1929). See Appendix A.
59 Cos, in the Aegean Sea, and Pergamum, on the coast of Asia Minor, would become the sites of the most important Asklepieia of Hellenistic times.
60 IG IV² 1,95, l. 40.
61 Cambridge Ancient History (Cambridge, 1927-1930), vol. VI, chaps. V, X.
62 IG IV² 1,95, l. 64.
63 Ibid., l. 65.
64 Ibid., ll. 66-67.
65 IG IV² 1,94, ll. 41-43.
66 Twelve lines follow the Cassandreia entry. They were not necessarily inscribed at the same time.
68 The division of the route in Akarnania by Epidaurian theoroi was first suggested by B. Haussoullier in "Torubeia ou Turbeion: Ville d'Acarnanie," Rev. Phil. 18 (1894):155. L. Robert ("Villes de Carie et d'Ionie dans la liste des theorodoques de Delphes," BCH 70 [1946]: 507-8) makes the point that itineraries, especially maritime trips, probably varied according to circumstances of the moment, so that the exact placement of a city on such a list may not have corresponded with the actual order followed.
69 Charneaux, p. 181, n. 3.
70 Ibid., p. 182.
71 Ibid., p. 178.
72 Ibid.


75 There were no doubt many more cities linked to Epidauros in this way. The Peloponnesse and the rest of "Greater Greece" (the Aegean islands and coastal Asia Minor) would have been part of this religious messenger/host institution. The IG IV² 1,96 inscriptions provide evidence of many such links.

76 This is not stated in the inscriptions, but as has been discussed above, much of the material used for the Sanctuary building program came from outside Epidauros and it's reasonable to assume that solicitations were often made by traveling theoroi.

77 Charneaux, pp. 156-239. See Appendix B.

78 For two of the first lists of Argive thearodokoi discovered, see "Inscriptions d'Argolide," BCH (1889):194-95.

79 Charneaux, p. 159.

80 Stephen G. Miller, "The Thearodokoi of the Nemean Games," Hesperia 57 (1988):147-63. In addition to discussing several parallels to the Argive inscription of 330 B.C., Miller presents an interesting commentary on the relative dating of the two inscriptions.


82 Charneaux, p. 160.

83 See Cabanes, pp. 316-18, for a discussion of the changes which took place in Epirus between 360 B.C. (Epidaurian IG IV² 1,95) and 330 B.C. (Argive Inscription).

84 Plassart, pp. 1-85. See Appendix C.


86 Plassart, pp. 39-40.

87 Ibid., pp. 38-39. See also Charneaux, pp. 163-64 for a discussion of Delphic thearodokoi and proxenoi lists.

88 Ibid., p. 41.
See Appendix D for Inscription parallels.

For a discussion of the Ionic cities listed in this Delphic inscription, see Robert, "Villes de Carie . . .", pp. 506-523.
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Plutarch. Moralia II, 291d (Greek Questions I).


APPENDIX A

EPIDAURIAN THEARODOKOI INSCRIPTIONS AND TRANSLATIONS IG IV² 1,94 AND 1,95

94

I a ΘΕΑΡΩΔΩ(ΚΟΙ)Σ
ΜΕΘΑΡΑ  -  -
'ΑΘΗΝΑΙ: ΔΙΟΙ  -  -
ΘΕΒΑΙ: ΧΑΡΣ[ΛΑΣ]

8 ΘΕΣΠΙΑ: ΔΑ  -  -
[KΟΡ]ΘΕΙΑ: ΠΤΥΦ  -  -
[KΟΡ]ΘΕΙΑ: ΕΥΘΕΙΑ[ΘΗΣ]
[ΛΕΒΑΔ]Ι[Α]:  -  -
[ὅπως τοιαύτην τούτον τούς θεοὺς θείας διήλθην Θεσπίων.

16 ΟΣΙΝΙΟΣ[Ν]  -  -
ΦΑΡΚΑΔ[ΟΝ]  -  -
'ΑΔΡΑΚΑΣ: ΕΥΚΡΑ[ΘΗΣ]
ΓΕΡΤΩΝ: ΑΡΚΕΙΑ[ΑΣ]

8 ΛΑΡΣΑ: ΑΡΧΙΩΝ
ΘΩΝ  33
'ΟΜΟΛΟΝ: ΔΩΡΙΩΣ  ΚΛΕΩ  84
ΜΕΘΩΝΙΑ: ΠΟΛΥΦΑΝΤΟΣ  ΡΟΥ  36
ΜΑκεδονία: ΠΕΡΙΔΙΚΑΣ  ΜΕΝΕΛΑΟΣ ΝΙΚΗΠΟΡΟΣ  37
- ες ΕΥΤΟΔΑΣ  ΕΣ ΕΥΤΟΔΑΣ  38
10 ΑΙΝΕΙΑ: ΕΥΒΟΥΛΟΣ  ΠΥΘΩΝΙΟΙ: ΒΟΣΠΟΡΑΣ  ΕΥΦΑΝΤΟΣ  39
ΔΙΚΑΙΑ: ΝΥΜΦΟΔΩΡΟΣ  -  -  40
ΠΟΤΕΙΔΑΙΑ: ΚΑΛΛΙΚΡΑΣ  ΚΑΛΑΝΘΟΙ: ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ
'ΟΛΥΜΠΟΣ: ΑΡΧΙΩΝ  έν ΚΑΣΣΑΝΔΡΕΙΑΙ:  41
- ΤΙΜΟΣΒΕΝΗΣ ΚΡΙΣ  ΝΟΣ  42
16 ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΑ: ΕΠΙΚΕΝΩΣ  ΑΡΕΘΟΥΣΑ: ΒΟΛΩΝ  έν ΒΟΜΕΝΗΣ: ΦΥΜΗΣ-
ΑΡΧΙΛΟΣ: ΌΜΟΣΑΝΔΡΟΣ  ΝΟΣ: ΠΕΡΑΣ:  43
ΑΛΕΓΙΟΝΑ: ΧΑΡΑΣ
ΒΕΡΓΑ: ΑΝΤΙΦΑΝΗΣ
20 ΤΡΑΓΙΛΛ: ΠΕΙΣΙΝΗΣ
    ΣΤΑΙΓΙΚΑ: πως
        ουμεν;
   'ΑΚΑΜΠΑΣ: 'ΕΠΙΚΡΑΤΗΣ
    ΣΤΑΙΓΗΔΟΣ: ΛΕΥΚΗΝ
   'ΑΦΥΤΙΚ: ΔΙΩΓΝΗΣΤΟΣ
26 ΣΚΙΩΝΑ: ΚΟΠΟΛΑΣ
   ΜΕΝΩΝ: ΚΝΩΤΙΩΝ
   ΝΕΛΟΝ: ΠΥΘΩΜΟΣ
   'ΑΘΗΝΗΑ: ΕΡΥΤΑΟΧΟΣ
   ΜΑΡΥΝΙΑ: ΑΝΑΤΥΕΙΣ
30 ΑΙΝΟΣ: ΘΕΝΙΣΤΑΓΩΡΑΣ
    ΘΑΚΟΣ: ΆΡΤΥΣΙΛΑΣ
   ΔΑΙΣ: ΤΙΜΑΝΔΡΟΣ

ΑΙΝΟΣ: ΔΕΙΝΟΚΑΡΣ
    ΦΙΛΟΒΕΝΟΥ
   ΔΑΛΣΚΡΙΤΟΣ
    ΠΕΙΣΙΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ
   'ΕΠΙΘΕΡΣΗΣ: ΑΛΚΙΝΑΕΥΣ
   ΖΝΗΕΛΕ ΠΥΘΙΟΣ
   ΠΥΘΩΝΟΣ: ΠΑΝΤΑ[Χ]-
   ΔΟΡΚΑΙΛΗΣ: ΠΥΘΙΟΝ
   ΣΚΥΝΟΥ
IG IV² 1,94

Original Inscription—Translation
Lines 1-9; 1-29

IG IV² 1,94

1 la
Thearodo[koi]:
Megara:
Athens: Dío i
Thebes: Charik[Tes]
Thebes: Charik[Tes]
[Thespeia: Da]
[Koroneia: Pyth_ _]
[Orchomenos: _ _]
[Lebad]ei[a: __]

1 lb
Oxynio[n: __]
Pharkad[on: __]
Adrakas: Eukra[tes]
Gyrton: Arkesii[as]
Larissa: Aristion
Homolion: Dorieus
Pydna: Damatrios
Methone: Polyphantos
Macedonia: Perdikkas
Aeneia: Euboulos
Dikaia: Nynphodoros
Potidaia: Kallikrates
Kalindolia: Pausanias
Olynthos: Arkon

Apollonia: Epixenos
Arethusa: Bolon
Arki[los (Argi[los): Onesandros
Amphipolis: Hiärx
Berga: Antiphanes
Tragila: Peisies
Stagiros: (vacant, perhaps erasure)

Akanthos: Epikrates
Stolos: Leukon
Aphytis: Diognetos
Skione: Sopolis
Mende: Knopon
Neapolis: Pythodoros
Abdera: Eurulochos
Maroneia: Anapsuxis
Changes and Additions to the Inscription

Lines 30-55

IG IV² 1,94

30  Ainos: Themistagoras
31  Thasos: Artusilas
32  Datos: Timandros
34  Kleo
35  Petalia: Si[monides?] son of Kles[a]rchos
36  Menelaos Nikanoros
38  from Euordaias
39  Pythoion: Bouplagos
40  Ekphantos

41  in Kassandreia: __
42  Timosthenes Kritos __
43  nos
44  in Ormenion: Phrynis __
45  kos Persa

46  Ainos: Deinolkes, son of
47  Philoxenos

48  Damokritos, son of
49  Peisistratos

50  Epitherses Alkimeneus

51  Zeneas Pythios
52  Pythogonos Panta[k]
53  [l]eus
54  Dorkalion Python, son of
55  Skymno
II

ΙΤΑΛΙΑ

ΘΕΑΡΩΔΟΚΟΙ ἐπὶ 'ΑΚΑΡΝΑΝΙΑΝ
ΚΟΡΙΝΘΟΣ: ΛΥΚΩΜΙΑΔΗΣ
ΔΕΛΦΙΟΤΙΟΣ: ΔΑΜΟΣΕΒΕΗΝΣ
'ΑΜΙΚΣΑΙ: ΞΕΝΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ
ΟΙΛΙΩΝΑΙ: ΘΕΑΡΠΙΝΟΣ
ΝΑΥΤΙΚΤΟΣ: ΝΕΩΝ
ΚΑΛΥΔΩΝ: ΘΕΩΝ ΠΟΛΕΩΡΑΚΟΥ
ΑΚΑΡΝΑΝΙΑ: ἐν ΛΙΜΝΑΙΑΙ: ΘΥΗΝΗΣ ΑΝΤΟΥΣ
ΟΙΝΙΑΛΔΑΙ: ΛΕΥΠΠΟΣ.
ΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ: ΘΕΟΥΤΡΙΑΔΑΣ.
ΦΟΙΤΙΑΙ: ΣΙΤΥΡΙΝΟΣ.
ΚΟΡΩΝΤΑΙ: ΑΣΙΟΧΟΣ, ΠΙΝΟΣ.
ΜΕΔΙΟΣ: ΑΡΙΣΤΙΩΝ.
ΑΣΤΑΚΟΙ: ΚΑΛΛΙΑΣ [Ν]ΙΚΟΝΟΣ
ΕΡΙΝΙΟΣ: ΚΟΡΩΝΑΙΟΧΟΣ
ΘΥΡΡΕΙΟΝ: ΤΑΥΡΙΚΟΣ.
'ΕΧΙΝΕΙΟΣ: ΚΟΚΕΩΝ.
ΤΟΡΥΒΕΙΑ: 'ΑΝΤΑΝΑΡΔΟΣ ΠΡΟΣΕΝΩΣ.
ΑΛΥΖΕΑ: ΑΡΓΕΙΟΣ ΓΟΡΓΟΥ.
ΛΕΥΚΑΣ: ΤΙΜΟΦΡΑΗΣ.
ΠΑΙΛΑΡΟΣ: ΛΕΟΝΤΙΟΣ.
ΑΝΑΚΤΟΡΟΣ: ΑΡΙΣΤΙΩΝ ΠΕΡΙΝΑΡΔΟΥ.
ΑΠΕΙΡΟΣ: ΜΗΝΑΙΑΣ ΠΑΝΑΙΤΩΤΟΥ.
ΚΑΣΣΩΤΑ: ΣΚΕΠΑΣ, ΑΡΙΣΤΟΔΑΜΟΣ.
ΘΕΣΣΥΡΩΤΟΙ: ΠΕΤΟΛΑΣ, ΣΙΜΑΚΟΣ.
ΠΟΙΝΟΣ: ΑΔΑΜΑΣ.
ΚΟΡΥΝΤΑ: ΜΗΝΑΛΑΚΙΔΑΣ, ΑΝΤΙΡΗΙΔΑΣ.
ΧΑΛΩΝ: ΔΟΡΟΞΟΤΟΣ.
ΑΡΤΙΧΙΑ: ΣΧΙΔΑΣ.
ΜΟΛΩΝΟΣ: ΘΑΡΥ.
ΑΜΦΡΑΙΑ: ΚΟΡΡΑΔΑΣ.
'ΑΡΓΕΙ: ΛΕΟΝΤΕΥΣ.
'ΑΚΡΙΠΟΙ: ΜΥΣΤΡΩΝ.
'ΥΠΗΡΕΙΑΙΟΣ: ΤΙΒΑΝΑΡΔΟΣ.
ΘΕΡΜΕΝΑΙ: 'ΕΞΕΜΗΝΑΣ.
ΦΥΛΑΙΑΙ: ΦΙΑΘΙΟΣ.
ΠΡΟΣΚΕΛΟΣ: ΑΝΔΡΥΣ.
ΣΥΡΑΚΟΥΣΑΙ ΣΙΩΝ ΚΑΠΙΡΙΝΟΥ.
40 Ἡρακλείδας Λυσιάκου
Ἰταλίας. Λοκρός. Βύτιος
Κρότωνι. Σύνικος. Πεύγος
Θυρίος. Φραίδας. Φαύλου
Τάραντος. Ἰππομ. Δαναένος
45 Τέρινα. Μέγών. Αρχιδάμου.

verse
Original Inscription—Translation
Lines 1–31

IG IV² 1,95

1 Thearokokoi as far as Akarnania
2 Corinth: Lukomedes
3 Delphi:
4 Amphissa: Xenokrates
5 Oeantheia: Thearinos
6 Naupaktos: Neon
7 Kaludon: (thearodokos added later)
8 Akarnania: (thearodokos added later)
9 Oiniadai: Laippos
10 Stratos: Theopropidas
11 Photiai: Sisurnos
12 Korontai: Axiochos, Pimphis
13 Medeon: Aristion
14 Astakos: (thearodokos added later)
15 Euripos: Koiromachos
16 Thurreion: Tauriskos
17 Echineos: Koson
18 Torubeia: Antandros proxenos
19 Alyzia: (thearodokos added later)
20 Leukas: Timophrades
21 Palairos: Leontios
22 Anaktorion: (thearodokos added later)
23 Epiros: (thearodokos added later)
24 Pandosia: Dioszotos
25 Kassope: Skepas, Aristodamos
26 Thesprotia: Petoas, Simakos
27 Poionos: Admatos
28 Corcyra: Mnasalkidas, Antiredas
29 Chaonia: Doropsos
30 Artichia: Schidas
31 Molossia: Tharyps
         Korradas
Original Inscription--Translation

Lines 32-45

IG IV² 1,95

32  Ambrakia: Timogenes
33  Argos: Leonteus
34  Akripoi: Mustron
35  Uporeia: Teisandros
36  Therminea: Echemenes
37  Phuleia: Philoittios
38  Proscheos: Andros
39  Syracuse: Dion son of Hipparinos
40  Herakleridas son of Lysimachos
41  Italy: Lokri Butios
42  Kroton: Sonikos Peithuos
43  Thurii: Phrasidas son of Phaullos
44  Tarentum: (thearodokos added later)
45  Terina: Megon son of Agesidamos
Changes and Additions to the Inscription

Lines 46-89

IG IV² 1,95

46 Italy
47 Rhegion: Alkedamos
48 Hippionos
49 Metapontum:
50 Philemenos
51 (erasure)
52 Thurii:
53 Damon
54 (added to Naupactos) Agemos Lusonos
55 (added to Kaludon) Theon, son of Polemarchos
56 (added to Akarnania) in Limnaia: Thopinas,
57 son of Tolaos
58
59 Lukophron
60 Phillos
61
62 In Sicily:
63 Syracuse:
64 (added to Astakos) Kallias [N]ikonos
65 (erasure)
66 Aristomachos
67 Klearchos
68 Leontini:
69 Hiketas
70 Nikanoros
71 (erasure)
72 (added to Alyzia) Argeios, son of Gorgos
73 (added to Anactorion) Epiros Kasopas
74 Aristion, son of Periandros 76
75 ZMarathai: Epin[i]kos,
76 son of Nikandros
77 (added to Epiros) Geron, son of Aristodamos
78 Sicily: Messana:
79 Onasimos, son of Olympiodoros
80
81 from Gela:
82 Herakleidas
83 son of Glaukos, Apol
84 Ion[i]os, Lukon
85 ...
86 eoa
87 s Sillax
Changes and Additions to the Inscription
lines 90-93

IG IV² 1,95

90 Sicily: in Akra -
91 kle[us]
92 gant: Thestias Pil [ ] -
93 (added to Tarentum) Hippon, Damoxenos
APPENDIX B
ARGIVE THEARODOKOI INSCRIPTION

I
1 [.. ca. 8..] 1 [ca. 3] ΕΩΝ
2 [Μεδί]ων · Άρης[τ]ίων
3 [Αναχτόριον · Περίανδρος
4 [Θύρειον]γ · Φύσκος
5 [Πάλαιρ]ος · Διοκλής
6 [Αλυξέ]ξ · Ιπποκράτης
7 [Τύρ]δειον · Αριστώνυμος
8 [Λευ]ίκας · Δαμένης, Πειθάς Πειθωνίδα
9 [Άργος] · Λάδικος
10 [Άμφρακ]ία · [Φ]ιρόδάκας
11 [Άπειρ]ος · Κλεοπάτρα
12 [Φοίν]ικα · Σατυρίνος, Πυλάδας Τάρταρος
13 [Κασσώπ]α (? · [.. ca. 6..]ΔΑΣ, Αισχρίων Τεύθραντος
14 [Απο]λ[λ]ωνία · Δω[?1]θεός
15 [.. ca. 2..] N [ca. 2] ΝΟΣ
16 [Κόρ]ιουρα · ΝΑΙ [-----]
17 [.. ca. 10..] ΕΟΘΕ [ca. 2] ΕΑΣ
18 [.. ca. 9..] ΥΩ [-------------------] Αναχανδρία
19 [.. ca. 7..] Πολύβουλ[λ]ος
20 [Εν Πελοπό]να[ς]ω και Κεφαλανίαι
21 une ligne illisible
22 [.. ca. 10..] ήων Εύτελεος
23 [.. ca. 8..] ΑΣΛΥΑ, ΕΙΟ[--]
24 [.. ca. 7..] ος Προλόχου
25 [.. ca. 5..] Ι. ΠΑΤΡΑ Κυψελίδα

II
1 [Εν Κλαζ]ρ[μ]εναίς · --------
2 'Ανφιμέθον·
3 'Εν 'Ερυθραίς · Θ[-----]
4 'Εν Χίων · 'Ισχάμ[αχος·-----]
5 'Εν Τέωι · 'Εύκλη[-----]
6 'Εν Λευέδωι · 'Επικ[------]
7 'Εν Νοτίωι · 'Επικρα[-----]
8 'Εν 'Εφέσωι · 'Ηρακ[-----]
9 'Εν Πυγέλοις · 'Αναξ[-----]
10 'Εν Ναυλόχωι · Πρύταγ[ις·-----]
11 'Εν Μαγνησίαι · Στρατ[-----]
12 'Εν Μιλάτωι · 'Αντιπατ[-----]
13 'Εν 'Ανδρωι · 'Ιά(ν)άδης Φιλ[-----]
14 'Εν Κίωι · 'Αρχέδαμος uscis
15 'Εν Βρυλέωι · Τυδεώς Νικο[-----]
16 'Εν Μιλητουκτέιχει · Δαμ[-----]
17 'Εν 'Ιάσωι · Πολέμαρχος[ς·-----]
18 'Εν Κύμαι · 'Αριστόκριτως[ς·-----]
19 'Εν Τενέδωι · Πυθάκες [-----]
20 'Εν Θάσωι · 'Προμένεος[·-----]
21 'Αρχετίως Προμένεος[·-----]
22 Κλήτωρ · ΒΑΘΕΑΤ [-----]
23 Φενέως · Τελε[-----]
24 Στύμφαλος [·-----]
25 'Αλέα · Λαμ[-----]
APPENDIX C

DELPHIC THEARODOKOI INSCRIPTION

Colonne I.

ἐν Σαλαμίνι Διόδημος οἰς
ἐν Καρπασ(αί) 'Αριστόστρατος ημοῦ ίος
ἐν Χύτροις οἰς
ἐν Κερυν(είς) τύνιος

5 ἐν Δαπήθεως 'Αριστοκλῆς Πολύνθθου Γορ-
ἐν Σόλαος ίος
ἐν Θαμασίως Θρασίας Θαγ(ο)ικά 'Αστέμι-
ἐν [Θρό]νοις ίος?
ἐν ['Αρτ]σ(ν)ικά 'Αρίσταγόρας 'Αρίσταγόρα

10

ΤΡΙΑΜ
ἐν Στράτος Θεο(στρ)άτου
ἐν ΕΛΑΚΕΙΤΩ ΕΠΙ ΚΛ. ΝΟΥ Νυχια[ς]

1 45

ἐν 'Αράδων Ἰππ.πος 'Ἀγήνορος ίος?
[ἐν] οἰς Στασιανάς Στασιάνακτος
[ἐν] Λ' οἰς Νεοπτόλεμος ίος
[ἐν] Π[Τ]ΙΙ οἰς Ἀρτεμίδος ορος ΝΟΥ ίος?

20

ΩΝ ΑΛΙΠΙ

ὁς Φοινίκις οἶς
[ἐν] ΟΣΑΡΟΑ οἰς
[ἐν] εἰλισίων Εὐδούλος ίος οἰς

[Πυ]θαγόραξ

25 ΠΟΣ ΟΥ ΝΙΟΣ

ΡΕΙΤ

Ταξ ἐπ' ['Ι]ωνίαν
ἐν Χαλκιδίῳ οὐστρα[τος] οἰς
Κα[λλικρά]τεος

69
30 εν 'Ερετ[ρίας] Ε[ῦ]κλείδ[ῆς]--- εν 'Αδηναίς [Β? Δ?]ιων Κλεο---
εν Καρύστωι Ε[ῦ]ξεν--- εν 'Ανδρ[ω]ν Ο--- Γ---

35 [ἐ]ν Τ· Ο. . . . . . . . . λιππι----
. . . . . . ΜΟΣ. . . . . . . . . . .
. . . . . . Λ· . . . Ο. . . . . . . .
[ἐν] Κορη[σία]---
[ἐν] Ἰουλίδι Αργος---

I 40 [ἐν] Κώι Νικομ---
ω Νικομηθε[ους?]---
[ἐν] Ἄλα ωι Βο---

I C (α) 1 . . . . τιμο---
[ἐν] Ἀλικ[αρ]νασ[ώι]---
[ἐ]μ Βαργολίδις Ε---
[ἐν] Ισσωί Μορ. ---

5 εν Κυδων Τιμοσ---
Θευγνήτη[μ?]--- εν Καύνωι Αθήν---
εν Καλύνδωι Αθ---
εν Καλπάλι Μηνο---

20 εν Θεανέλους Παν--- εν Μυλάσσως Πολιτ---
εν Στρατονικώς Πα--- εν Άντ[ουχε]ατι---

................................................................. α
................................................................. θεος
................................................................. σ
................................................................. [μέγας]
................................................................. [μέγας]
................................................................. τοινος
................................................................. ύγου
................................................................. του

I 55 ................................................................. [μένεις]
................................................................. πρώτ[ου]
................................................................. ιωτας
................................................................. του
65 ἐν τῷ Ἱεροπλῆθείῳ

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177 ἐν τῷ Ἱεροπλῆθείῳ

178 ἐν τῷ Ἱεροπλῆθείῳ

179 ἐν τῷ Ἱεροπλῆθείῳ

180 ἐν τῷ Ἱεροπλῆθείῳ

181 ἐν τῷ Ἱεροπλῆθείῳ
I 100 ........................... μένοις
 ......................... Καλλιφάνους
 ......................... 
 ......................... Σ-ΛΟΩΑ "Ερμαρχος
 ......................... ἄδας Εὐαγόρα
 ......................... ς Ἁργελάου

I 105 ........................... υρίων Παρνάσσιος
 ......................... ἀπειδῆς
 ......................... 
 ......................... ναρίδης Τηλε[μ]άχου
 ......................... μνῖου
 ......................... τος Ἐὐπόλεμος
 ......................... 
 ......................... [μ]αχος "Ερμιππος
 ......................... ὡς Θρασυκλέους

I 110 ........................... ["]πευκτος
 ......................... Ζωίλου
 ......................... ὡς Ἡρόδος[ου]
 - - (148 à 123 ont disparu dans la cassure) - -
 ........................... ης Λεύκιπ-

I 115 ........................... ["]πο.
 ......................... έους Λεύκιππος
 ......................... 
 ......................... ["]Ἀπο[λιωνίδης Ἀς-
 ......................... 
 ......................... ωνος και Ἀνυτος

I 120 ........................... ος

Colonne II.

? -- ΟΕ -- Ο -- Ο --?
? -- ΑΡ -- ΟΥΙΛΙΕΙΡΟΙΑΣΛ --?
? -- Υ -- Σ --?
? -- ΝΤΟΝΟ --?

Ι 5 ........................... εν Λ
 ......................... εν ΟΙ
 ......................... εν
 ......................... εν
 ......................... εν

II 10 ...........................
Τὰς ἐπὶ Βοιωτίαν καὶ Πελοποννᾶσσον
ἐν Χαλεύτω 'Αθήνας
Κασσίας Στρ. .. Τίτος
ἐν Ὀρχομενώι
ἐν Ἀλλάρτωι
ἐν Ἀθαλεύτω 
ἐν Θεσπιάς Καλλίας Εὐξιφάντου
ἐν Αἰγοσθένειας Ἡρακλείδας 
ἐν Παγχίς Πάτρων Δαμ[ο]γένες
'Ἡράκλειτος Διογ[έ]ς, ... , , ,
ἐν [Μεγάνδρου] Ἡρόδωρος Δ[ιονυ]ςόδωρος

II 31 bis Χαρίλ[ά]ου Τιμι. Λ. ......... ωνος
ἐν ΚΑΛΟ... Νικόμαχος ... ραίου
Ἀπόλλοδωρος ....... ὑν[ο] 
ἐν Εὐμ[υον] Ἀράτ[ος] Ἀράτ[ου?] ... κέας Δαμό-
흘ος ......... μάνυρος
..... ....... ἀς Οἰωνίδα
............. ΑΙΙΣ 'Αριστομάχου
............. μαχος Νικομάχου
............. ος 'Ασκίλη[πα]ς 
40 : 'Αγασιδά[μα]ς 
............. ος 'Αριστοδήμου
............. [Θ? Ν?] εὐκλεός
............. Θευκύδης
............. ['Αγ]ησανόριδα
45 ......... εος
................. ης
........ (47 και 54 έλικαν την κώλικα) --
55 ............... [Θευ]προπία
ἐν
ἐν Αἰγίω: Ἀρίστανόρος Ἀρχομένος
Ἅριστομάχος Ἀρχύλλου
Ἀγιαλεύς Κριστοβούλου Εὐμυράν
II 60 Ἀριστανδρὸς Θεωροπόρις Ἐυρίων ἐν Καλλίσταις Δράκων Λεπτίνας
Νίκων Εὐθυδάμου, Ἀγησίλαος Νεοχράτες ἐν Ἀσχείω, Ἀγίας Εὐόχως Εὐανδρὸς ἐσσος Ἀπολλωνία

65 ἐν Κυκλάδαι Ἀριστομέδα Δαμαγίδας
Εὐάστας Ἐίτουρος Πελοπίδα
Σάτυρος Θευξένου
ἐν Δουαῖς Ἀλκαὶς Ἀγίωνος. Πεισίας
ἐν Κλείτορι Ἀγίας Ἀνάξιτος. Νικᾶ

70 Δαμίου Ἀγίας Ἀλείου
Δεύναρχος Δεξιόλγου
ἐν Παῖοις Ἀριστόδουλος
ἐν Θεορούσατος Φίλων Μουσίας
Θεσσαλόνος Λαττύπου

75 Τιμογένης Λάμπου
ἐν Ἡραίας Ἐιρεοκλῆς Διογένεος Νικόμαχος
ἐν Ὑπάκαι Πολίαρχος Φαινά
ἐν Τυπανείας Τιμόλαος Σακῦλλου
Καλλιστάτος Καθιέρα

80 ἐν Ἀλιμείραι Ἐυθύδαμος Ξενοχράτες
ἐν Δεπτείων Διμαντίος Ἀνδρία
ἐν Φιαλείας Κλείζενος Κλεινομάχου
Δευνόδος Πολυαίνου
ἐν Δουρέωι Ἀριστανδρὸς Μέγιλλος. Ἀργίας

85 ἐν Πλαταξίος Ἰππων Ἀγάθωνος
ἐν Φρίξατ Πύρρυχος Ξενόδοχος
Μορφίων Ἀγίλλου
ἐν Σαμικώι. Ἀλκ Ἄριστοδα[μο.] Ἀργίας

II 90 ἐν Κυπαρισσίῳ Ἰαῖοι
------------------ Χ
------------------
------------------ απος
------------------ ἀτος
------------------ (95 à 101 ont disparu dans la cassure)
------------------ κράτες
------------------
------------------
------------------ ωνος
------------------ [ἐ] Θι [Φ] ὦν Σωτίμου
------------------ ἀς. Μοιύα
κατά Αγασίλαχον Αμφιδάμου //

110

< Antarax, γεγονός> Της επικράτης Εγχίππου

115

Θεασμύδης Πανανορίου

120

ἐν Φιλίκος Πλευτήρου

125

ἐν Καρυάνια Κάλλιστος Πάτρων

 dhe

130

[Σ]θενολάου

135

[ἐν Καρυάλ]άναι ἐν Κρανίοις . . . . . .

140

θέωνος

145

ἐν Αλτ Τηρεύς Θρασύκος

150

ἐν Κορωνεία[ν] Μνάσων Ἀθάνωνος
Colonne III.

év ... .........

... ΛΩ .........

... ΤΟΥ .........

év Π[αρ]ωρ[ια] .........

5 év Θεοδάτ ΔΗ .........

άρχου Κλησ .........

é ν Πα][λαντε]ιοι .........

ξενος 'Επηρ[ατο .........

év 'Αστέωι Δαμοτέλης Δα .........

10 Τάς ἑπί Θεσσαλίας καὶ [Μ]αχ[εδονίαν]

év Λ ... [Σ]θενέλα[ος] Λ ... ΝΑ .........

... ΑΥΑ ... 'Αριστοφαί ......... ? -- Κ

... ΒΑ ......... ΜΕΝΑ ......... ? -- Ε-

... ......... οὐγ-

15 'Αριστοτέλας ....... σ[αγ]όρου γέλους

Πρώτα .... εννίμου 'Αμει-

ίμ Φερ[αίς] 'Ελυκίας Διονυσίου νία

év Τ .... Δαμωνίδας

év ΑΓ ....... 'Ασσακαπάδας Θεσσάμου


év Φασάλωι Εὐρύπτυλος 'Αρχιππίδου

év Σκοτούσσαι Θηρόμαχος Λέντος:

Λύκος Διόπου Σιμίας 'Αριστομάχου

év Κρασουν[ι]ς Φαλανάδα

25 év Φακίωτι 'Αφαρεύς Μεγαλοκλέος

év Κερίωι Κενέας Κρατεέα

év 'Ορθαί Κλεοπτάλεμοι Οισιλόκου

év Κελαθαί 'Επίγονος 'Επεινέτου Νικο

év Μεθυλώι Κλείππος 'Αγαθοκλέος

30 év Ματροπάλι Στράτιππος Κράτιππος

'Αρχικέπου, év 'Οπούντι 'Αντανάρος 'Αγήμονις Κλεττώ

év Γόμφοις Θεόδωρος Πετραίου Πετραίος

'Αντίγονος 'Αντιόχου

év 'Αθαμανίας Θεόδωρος 'Αμύνανόρος

35 év Φαλωρία 'Ασκληπιάδης 'Αμφίλοχου

Λεοντόμενης, év 'Ελετίας 'Επικρατίδας Πατροκλεός[ν]

év Τευχαί Εὐρυδάμας Κρίνωνός, év Τιθόρρας Θεωνάγης 'Ομαρίδ[α]

é ν .... ai 'Αλεύας 'Επικλείδου

Τ[ρ]μάρετος 'Ηγεσίου Φιλόλαος

40 év ΑΝ ....... 'Αλέξανδ[ρος] 'Αγια?]βόχου

[év] ......... ωι 'Ηρ .........
III 45
[ἐν Φαλάνναι] ... ['Απολλόδωρος 'Ασκληπιος]

III 50
[Ἀγαθόδου τοῦ Εὐριμέδου]

III 55
[ἡ Σωκράτεις 'Αντιδόρος]

III 60
[Μένονδρος 'Απελλάς Φιλώτα]

III 65
[Μακεδονία Νικόπολις Νικόπολις]

III 70
[Ἀγαθόδου 'Αργεῖος Μελανθίου]

75
[Ἀγαθόδου τοῦ Εὐριμέδου]

100
[Ἀγαθόδου τοῦ Εὐριμέδου]

105
[Ἀγαθόδου τοῦ Εὐριμέδου]

110
[Ἀγαθόδου τοῦ Εὐριμέδου]
80 ἐν Φιλί[ππ]οις Ἀντινοίδης Ἐπικράτους
[ἐν Ο]ισύμα τὶ Ἐπιγήθες Τελεσίου
ἐν Νέα Πόλι Φίλτων Ἀπολλωνίδης Φίλτωνος
ἐν [Σ]άπατις Ἀντιφάνης Ἀντιφάνης [Κ]λεόνος
ἐμι Μερύλλω τὶ Ἀθύμος Σέλευκος Λ. παίου
ἐν Κλίτακι Φανέας Σύλωνος
ἐν 'Α[κ]ένθω 'Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀλεξάνδρου
ἐν Θάσω Α[ρ]ματοφάνης Α[ρ]ματοφάνης
ἐν 'Α[ρ]μ[α]τοφάνης Δούνωσας Δούνωσας Ἰουσαδώρου
Δούνωσας Ἰουσαδώρου Νικομοδόρου

90 Ἐφραίμος Διονυσά
[ἐπ] Μαρων[υ]εῖ Ἀκεστός[α] Καλλικρατίδης
['Ε]πίγονος Διονυσά
[kαι Στρατιππος Καλλιππος]
[ἐν] Σκα[π][α]ζι ['Υλαί] ΛΟ .. Σ

III 95 ἐν Λυσιμάχειά εις .................. τοφάνους
ἐν Βισάνθι: 'Εσχατίος .............
ἐν Περίνθῳ Ἀντιφάνης Δορ — —
ἐν Βισαντίω Σαμάτριος Φιλωνος
Σκύμνος Ἀπολλωνίδα

100 Τῶν ἐπὶ Κρήτας
ἐν Κυθήρους Ἀρμόδιος Εὔπυρχημος
ἐν Φαλασάρναι Πολύκινος Γερασίου
ἐν Πολύρητας Πασίνους Τιμομένης Ἀνδρώτου
ἐμι Πελακί: Ἀργαμένης Χαρινίκου

105 ἐν Λισιάν Εὐσυρίτας Εὐβάλεος
ἐν Ἰλώραι Κόσμαλος Παρασίδα
ἐν Τέρραι Σώσος Τ[ιημο]μένος
ἐν 'Βραδηνί Λ. ΚΟΙ 1 Ο — —
ἐν Ἄνωπόλι Θαρσύτα[ς]

110 Στηνᾶς
ἐν ὑπὸ ὦς Ορ[υ]ας Ριανοῦ Δέωκος
ἐν Κυθωνίας Ὀ[ρ][υ]ας Στασιμέ[ν]ος
ἐν Ἀπερρατινοῦ Φάρος Χαντιμού
Σώτος Παθενίδα

115 ἐν Δάκται Ἀρχων Ἐχαρίδα
ἐν Ριθύμναι: Ἐπιθετος Ἀκουσ[ι]δύο
ἐν Φαλέναις Λύλος
ἐν Σιδερίων Εὐρύλαος — — — — — — — — — — —
III 120 ἐν Ὄδηγο[ι] - - - - - -
- - (121 et 122 ont disparu dans la cassure) - -
................................. αὐ
............................. Ο·ΩΟ...

125 [ἐν Δημητρ]ιάδι Ἀριστοκράτης Ἀριστάρχου
[ἐν Δαῖπτεθείων Διων Τιμίων]ς
[ἐν Ἡπ]άται εὐρύμαχος Ἀρίστωνος
[ἐν Σ]ωθενίδῃ Νικάς Φανέα
ἐν Σπερχείας Μένων Σενάρχου

130 ἐν Ἀπεταὶ Ἐπικράτης Νικάνορος
ἐν Ἐγινεώι Φιλίνος Μεινάρκατος
ἐν Ἀργεθίας Νεοπόλεμος
ἐν Ἐλετίσαις Στρατηγῆς Ἀσανδροῦ
ἐμ Μυλαῖς Πτολεμαίος Εὐφρονίου

135 ἐν Ἀμιάὶ Πολύξενος Φίλωνος
ἐν Σχαρφαῖα Ἀριστοδούλος Πυρρία
ἐν Σωθενίδῃ Φίδιας Ἀγρόλαμος
ἐν Κυφαίραι ἀ πόλις
ἐν Ἡρακλῆς Τιμόθεος Εὐφράνορος
Colonne IV.

ἐν Σ... ΝΟΑΡΑ ............

ἐν Ἰεραπύτναι Εὐρύβατος
ἐν Ὀλέρωι Εὐμένης Ποίμ.
ἐν Ἀρχάδωι Μαλλαῖος Ἀπο...

Θεσσαλονίκη
ἐν Πριάμῳ 'Ἑραστύπολε[μος]
ἐν Γόρτυνι 'Ἀρχέμαχος Ἐ.
ἐν Δεδήνι 'Ἰππαῦθος Καρ.
ἐν Λασσοίαν Κύλλων Ναυ.

ἐν Φασσώι Μέσχος Ἐορ —
Μοισέας Φιλοστρ[άτου?]
ἐν Ψυχείῳ Κρῖσα 'Ἀριστ —
ἐν Βιώνωι Θεούτιμος Θε —
ἐμ Ματάλος 'Ἡδόνος Μῆλ —

ἐν Κυράναι Τιμάνθοδος 'Ἀριστ —
Μνάσερχος Κρατισθέν[ους]
ἐν Πτολεμαίδι 'Ἀρίσταρχος[σ] —
ἐν 'Ἀριστάνθρα 'Ἐπίκουρος Θε/ —
ἐμ Βερενίκα Παρνάσιος

ἐν Κυράναι Καλλίμαχος
Πολύμναστος Πόρτιδ[ος]
ἐν Πτολεμαίδι Πόρτις Δ —
Κάρνις Νικώνος

IV 25 ἐν Ὄρθοις Σίδων;
Cf. III, 36.
Cf. III, 37.
ἐν Ναρθακίω 'Ἀπολλ[ωνίδα]ς
ἐν Ἀλων Ἰσιδώρος Διονυσί[ου]

30 ἐν Οἰκουλείοις Ἰκάδας Ζω[λού]
ἐν Δωδώναι Παντάλεω[ν]
ἐν Δαυλίᾳ Κλαύθουλος Νικοστ[ράτου]
Δολόπων ἐν Φιλάινα ναί.
Πολυκλέας Γοργία

35 ἐν Ὁπολλονίαι Λαμίσκος
Ἀριστίππου
ἐν Βύλλιδι Νικοσθένης Κ... ω[νος]
ἐν Ἀπομπω 'Ἀγαθοκλῆς Δυ —
ἐν Πεύματι Σάμους Φιλονίκο[ν?]
40 Κούτας Σάμων Δανύμης
ἐν Δικαίω δι' Αριστοκράτης [Πολ.-]
μηδὲν καὶ Πεπὶ —
ἐν Ὀμίλῳ Μένων Μεν —
ἐν Ναυπάκτων Κλεα —
45 ἐν Καλυδώνι πας
ἐν Φυταίω Νίκων Σ —
ἐν Τρικονίωι Εὔμνασ[τος]
ἐν Στράτωι Αριστορ —
ἐν Ἀργείς Λεωντεύς;
IV 50 ἐν 'Αμφρακτι Ἀγαθο —
ἐν Κασσώπαι Δεινα —
του πας.
ἐμ Φοινίκας Ἀδμα[τος]
ἐν Κεράραι Θυραξ
55 Θρασύμαχος Κ —
ἐν Ἀθαντία Θεᾶς
ἐν Δυρραχίων Σα —
ἐν Ποτειδανία Λα —
ἐν Αμφρα Εὔνικο[ς]
60 ἐν Καλλιπόλι Ι —
Λυκίδα πας.
ἐν Οἰνωάδας Εὐσα[μος]
ἐν Φοιτίας Σώνος
ἐν Μασσαλία Κρινὰς Πυθία]
IV 55 ἦς Ἀθανάτια Θεᾶς
[Θεόδωρος Ἡρών[ατος]
Κλεόδηµος Κάικου
Πυθίας Κρινὰ
ἐν Ἐλείς διονύσιος [Αγγέλου]
ἐγ Χαλείων Χαὶ[ρέ]λαο[ς]
65 ἐν Τολρώνι Ἀνδροσθ[ενίδας Κρινὰ]
Ἀρχιδάµος Ἀνδροσθ[ενίδα]
ἐν Οἰανθέα Αριστόμαχος Κρινὰ]
Κρινὰς Ἀριστομάχου[γου]
ἐν Λυσσαιεία Αρισ —
IV 75 ἐν Θεσσαλίας Ἀυν —
νος ἐν Ἀμφάσιο Ἐ —
τενίδα
ἐν Λαοδικείαι ταῖ πο[τὲς θαλάσσας Φιλωνὶ —]
ὅς Φιλωνίδα καὶ ὁ ἄιστελφος αὐτοῦ]
80 Δικαιάρχος Φιλωνιάδα
έν Κορκύρα Μνασόλ[ας]
Αξοδέκτας Λεω —
έν Τάραντι Νεό —
έν 'Ηρακλεία: 'Ηρα 1 —
85 τος Ουταλής
έμ Πετελία: 'Οφάλ[λος]
έν Δοκροίς Φίλω —
έν Τασιάς Κομπ —
έν 'Ρηγίω Μυλάκας
90 εμ Μεσσάναι Λαρών[ιος]
νας Λευκών Λαρ[ωνίου ?]
[έν 'Αθη[ναι]ίμως 'Αρ —
έν Τ[υνδούρο]δι Χ —
έν Ταυρο[μενίων] — —
IV 95 δώσει Αι —
έν Λίτναι Νυμφώδ[wρος]
έν Κεντορρίτος[τος]
έν Κατάναι Λεπτίν[ας]
έν Συρακούσα: Σω —
100 έν 'Ελώρω Φιλόδαμμ[ος]
έν Τυρακίων 'Ηράκλε[τρος ?]
Κοιντεχνυς
έν Καμαρίνα Θεύ —
Ε ος Πασίω[νος]
105 έν 'Γεμβαρτ Παλικίων
έν 'Εργετίων Πυθ —
'Αρχέδαμος
έν Νόας: Σωσίστατ[ρατος] —
ος Μενεκρ[ατ —
110 έν 'Α[γαθό]γοψ[ως]
έμ Μ
έγ Κ
— —
— —
115 έν 'Αλαίσα Δίο —
έν Θέρμος Ν —
έν Λυσάρα Αι —
Cf. III, 125.
120 ἐν Ἀλπαί Λύσων
ἐν Κυνιάδας —
ἐν Λαρρωί Τιμ —
ἐν Απομφωι
ἐν Καλλιπάλ

IV 425 <ἐν Θαρε> Νικο
ἐν Θαρείδας
ἐγ Κύρα
ἐν Ποτ[είδαια]
ἐγ Καρ

130 ἐμ Πα
ἐμ Με
Cf. III, 137.
ἐμ Φοιτάκιας
ἐν Δάμ[ων]

135 <ἐν Ἡθάκ>
ἐν Ἡθάκαι
ἐν Δειξ[έδει]
ἐν Θυρ[πέωι]
ἐμ Μ.Α

140 ἐγ Γ
ἐν
ἐν
ἐν
?

Colonne V.

............... Νικά
............... ΕΙΑ ΒΟ.Λ
............... Τ...
[ἐν Κυναῖς] Ἁριστο[μέδις]

5 [ἐν Πλαταιαῖς Ἰππων Ἀγάθωνος]
[ἐν Ἡθα] Ἐυρύμπαχος Ἁρίστωνος
[ἐν Κορωνοίς] Μνάσων Ἀθάνωνος
[ἐν] ... εἰς Ἀρχιππος οἰς.
[ἐν] ... ἀντὶ Τιμόθενος Γενν[παύ]

10 [ἐν Γόννοις] Παρμενίων Φιλάτω
[Ἀριστο... ?]
[ἐν] .......... ωί Ἀλέξανδρος Δατο — — — —?

........ Λεο[ύκ]ιος Ὀκτάιος οἰς.
15... τρων Μνασίππου
[ἐν] ... αις Φερένικος
[ἐν] ... εταταις Αἰτωλός
[ἐν] ... ενναιω Γενναίος Ἰπποκράτης
[ὁς; Ἀρ; ἄ]χιας Χαιρωνίδου
20[ἐν] ... λαίος Εὐδόκος Ἀλεξά
[ἐμ] Μυλλίς] Πτολεμαῖος
[Ἐφρ]μνίου
[ἐν]. Λ. ... χθεις Ἐξ[ἐς]μός Φιλοδάμῳ[ν]
V 25[ἐν] Πεο[υ]υμετί Πυρρίας Προπελάου
[ἐν] ... ὑνω ... Ἀγαράτης
[ἐν] Κυρο[παί]παι ώς πόλεις
[ὁς ... Ἀντυφάνης Φιλ...]
30[ἐμ] μ[ι]νής Κ...
[ἐν] ... ὁ, οἰς Ἀσκ[λπιάδης]
[ἐν] ... Κ...
[ἐν] ΓΑΛΓΕ...ος
[ἐν]. ... του
[ἐν] ... ω ... Ἀργάλεος Μυνν[ων]
[ἐν] Γόγνος Παρμενίων Ἀριστο...
40[ἐν] Ομ[ι]λίων Δέκιμος Θεοδότου
[ἐν] Φα[λάνας Ἀπολλόδωρος Ἀσ...
[ἐλ]ηπιάδου
45[ἐν] Γυροτόν Ὀρθόλας Ἀλκιάος
[Ἀριστογένες Ελλανίων Ὀρθ[ό]λα]
[ἐν] ... ὑπει Λέων Ἀρ...
V C (b). 4 [ἐν Δημητριάδι Ἁρ.]στοκράτ[ης]
[Ἁρ.]στάρχου Ἁρίσταστα[ρχος]
ἐν 'Αντ[ρ]ῶν Μυρτίλου Στ.......[Πτο -]
[λ]ή[μ]αίου
5 [ἐν Α]ρίστατι Φιλοκράτης Γ —
ἐμ. Μονάδα Περιόδικας
ἐμ. Φαλερία Ιππεί[ας]
ἐμ. Ματριπόλει Κύδας Εὐθυθίων[ι]
ἐν 'Ορθοις Σίδων
10 ἐν Ναρθ[α]κίων Ἀλκάδιας Ἀπολλω-
[νίδα]
[ἐν Ἁρ.]στ[ρ]ῶν Σωσάνδρος
[ἐν] τίς Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀργυρόδαμ[ου]
[ἐν Κρ.]στ[ρ]ῶν [Ἀ]ρκατ[ού]
[vά]δα
15 [ἐν] ....... ι. ρ .......

V D (b). 4 ............. Κ[ρ.]στ[ι]νά Κλεοσθένη[ι]
........ Σ.Α. ........
[ἐν Ἡρακλείας Τιμόθεος:
[ἐν] ΟΟΡ. ω1 Εὐρύσκου Ξενοφώντος
5 ἐν Ἀργυρίας Τιμόρριτος
ἐν Ἡσυχῶν Θέρσων Γοργείλ[ου]
[ἐν Λαμίας] Πολύζευνος Φιλομ[ος]
[Σ]ωσί[γ]ής Δίκαιος Εὐνόστη[ου]
ἐν Ἡράκλει: Πολίτας Πύρρου
10 ............... ε Ἀντίνικος Ἀρρα —
ἐμ. Πρ[ω]γ[η]ς Σάμων Πευκίου
[ἐμ. Π]ω[ι]ς Ἀγάσανδρος Φιλισπου
[ἐν]. ζΑ. αι Δη.μήτερος Φιλίσπου
......... Ν. ......... Α. Τ. δας Πυρρίου
15 ............. εια Μενέστρατος

[ἐν] ......... Α. ....... τιος Νεοπτολέμου
......... Πύθων Πέλεος
......... Θεσφίλος Θεσφίλου
V D 20 [ἐν] ......... αι Γοργίας
............... ΑΙΟΙΑ
ἐν Απ - - - - - -
## APPENDIX D

### TABLE 1

**THEARODOKOI INSCRIPTIONS PARALLELS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Epidauros, c. 360-355 B.C.</th>
<th>Argos, c. 330 B.C.</th>
<th>Delphi, c. 175-200 B.C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IG IV² 1,94</td>
<td>IG IV² 1,95</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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**Names of Cities**

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>boiotia</th>
<th>Aegean Islands</th>
<th>Ionia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>'Oρχομενός</td>
<td>'ΑΘΗΝΑ[ν]</td>
<td>ΚΥΜΑ[ι]</td>
</tr>
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<td>Θεσπιαΐ</td>
<td>'Ανδρω[ι]</td>
<td>ΕΡΥΘΡΑ[ις]</td>
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<td>'ΙΑΣΩ[ι]</td>
<td>[ΚΛ]ΑΞΟΜ[ΕΝΑΙ]</td>
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<td>'Αθαναί</td>
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<td>1.1</td>
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<td><strong>Macedon and Thrace</strong></td>
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Names of Thearodokoi

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Ἀργεί-Δευτεύς Col. IV 1.49
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**Possible Connections**

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| Κορμάδας             | Φορβάδας               | 1.81       |
| Τιμογένης            |                       | 1.82       |