**ROMAN NARRATIVES:**

**Remarks on the narrative(s) of the Greek polis in the Roman Period.**

Nikos Giannakopoulos (giannakn@arch.uoa.gr)

**A SELECTIVE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE**

The prevailing view on the ritual and passive role of the citizen-assembly:

A. H. M. Jones, *The Greek City from Alexander to Justinian*, Oxford 1040

D. Magie, *Roman Rule on Asia Minor*, Princeton 1950

Destruction of Democracy:

G. E.M. de Ste Croix, *The Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World*, London 1981

The turn to the study of euergetism:

P. Veyne, *Le pain et le cirque*, Paris 1976.

Ph. Gauthier, *Les cités grecques et leurs bienfaiteurs*, Paris 1985.

Oligarchization:

F. Quass, *Die Honoratiorenschicht in den städten des griechischen Ostens,* Stuttgart 1993.

H. W. Pleket, “Political Culture and Political Practice in the Cities of Asia Minor in the Roman Empire” in W. Schuller (ed.), *Politische Theorie und Praxis im Altertum.* Darmstadt 1998, 204-216.

The impact of Roman rule:

A. Heller, ‘Les institutions civicques grecques sous l’Empire: Romanisation ou aristocratisation?’ in P. Schubert (ed.), *Les Grecs héritiers de Romains*, Genève 2012, 207-247 (with further bibliography).

Re-evaluation of the position held by the civic institutions which conferred honours:

A. Heller-O. Van Nijf, ‘Introduction’ in A. Heller-O. Van Nijf (eds.), *The Politics of Honour in the Greek Cities of the Roman Empire*, Leyden 2017, 1-27 (with further bibliography).

Euergetism as a reaffirmation of entitlements inherent in the citizen-status:

A. Zuiderhoec, *The Politics of Munificence in the Roman Empire. Citizens, Elites and Benefactors in Asia Minor*, Cambridge 2009.

Decrees initiated by the citizen-assembly:

A. La Rocca, ‘Diritto di iniziativa e potere popolare nelle assemble cittadine greche’, in Fr. Amarelli (ed), *Politica e partecipazione nelle città dell’ impero romano*, Roma 2005, 93–118.

H. Fernoux, *Le Demos et la Cité. Communautés et assemblées populaires en Asie Mineure à l’époque impériale*, Rennes 2011.

Recent studies on the significance of the citizen-assembly based on literary sources:

J. Ma, ‘Public Speech and Community in the Euboicus’ in S. Swain (ed.), *Dio Chrysostom. Politics, Letters and Philosophy*, Oxford 2000, 108-124.

G. Salmeri, ‘Dio, Rome and the Civic Life of Asia Minor’ in S. Swain (ed.), *Dio Chrysostom. Politics, Letters and Philosophy*, Oxford 2000, 93-107.

N. Vujčić, ‘Greek Popular Assemblies in the Imperial Period and the Discourses of Dio of Prusa’, *EpigrAnat* 42 (2009), 157-169.

Th. Oppeneer, ‘Assembly Politics and the Rhetoric of Honour in Chariton, Dio of Prusa and John Chrysostom’, *Historia* 67 (2018), 223-243.

**1. DIO CRHYSOSTOM’S SECOND TARSIAN ORATION**

**1a. Dio Chr. 34.16**: νὴ Δία ἀλλά γε τὰ τῆς πόλεως αὐτῆς καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὑμῖν ὡς δεῖ πρόεισιν. οὐ χθὲς καὶ πρῴην χωρὶς ἦν ὁ δῆμος καὶ χωρὶς ἡ βουλὴ καὶ νῦν ἔτι καθ᾽ αὑτοὺς οἱ γέροντες, ἰδίᾳ τὸ συμφέρον ἕκαστοι δῆλον ὅτι σκοποῦντες.

**1b. Dio Chr. 34.20**: ἐπεί τοι μηδὲ τὴν βουλὴν αὐτὴν ἡγεῖσθ᾽ ὁμονοεῖν μηδ᾽ ὑμᾶς τὸν δῆμον. εἰ γοῦν τις ἐπεξίοι πάντας, δοκεῖ μοι μηδ᾽ ἂν δύο ἄνδρας εὑρεῖν ἐν τῇ πόλει τὸ αὐτὸ φρονοῦντας,…

**1c. Dio Chr. 34. 29**. οἱ μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν δυνάμενοι τῶν δεόντων ἰδεῖν οὐδ᾽ ἐπιμεληθέντες αὑτῶν πρότερον, μηδὲ κώμην ὄντες ἱκανοὶ διοικῆσαι κατὰ τρόπον, ἄλλως δὲ ὑπὸ χρημάτων ἢ γένους συνιστάμενοι προσέρχονται τῷ πολιτεύεσθαι∙ τινὲς δὲ ταύτην ἐπιμέλειαν εἶναι νομίζοντες, ἂν ῥήματα συμφορῶσι καὶ ταῦτα τῶν πολλῶν ὁπωσδὴ θᾶττον συνείρωσι, μηδενὸς τἄλλα ἀμείνους ὄντες. τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, διὰ μὲν τὸ βέλτιστον καὶ τῆς πατρίδος αὐτῆς ἕνεκεν οὔ, λοιπὸν δὲ διὰ δόξας καὶ τιμὰς καὶ τὸ δύνασθαι πλέον ἑτέρου καὶ στεφάνους καὶ προεδρίας καὶ πορφύρας διώκοντες, πρὸς ταῦτα ἀποβλέποντες καὶ τούτων ἐξηρτημένοι τοιαῦτα πράττουσι καὶ λέγουσιν, ἐξ ὧν αὐτοί τινες εἶναι δόξουσιν.

**1d. Dio Chr. 34.31**. ὅταν γὰρ οἴωνται τοὺς λελειτουργηκότας ἢ τοὺς μέλλοντας ἑαυτοῖς δεῖν συμβουλεύειν, κἂν ᾖ τις γυμνασίαρχος ἢ δημιουργός τις, καὶ τῷ τοιούτῳ μόνῳ λέγειν ἐπιτρέπωσιν ἢ νὴ Δία τοῖς καλουμένοις ῥήτορσιν, ὅμοιόν ἐστιν ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ τοὺς κήρυκας ἐκάλουν μόνους ἢ τοὺς κιθαρῳδοὺς ἢ τοὺς τραπεζίτας. τοιγαροῦν ἄνθρωποι παρίασι καὶ ἀνόητοι καὶ δοξοκόποι καὶ **πρὸς τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ πλήθους θόρυβον κεχηνότες,** οὐδὲν ἀπὸ γνώμης ἀσφαλοῦς οὐδὲ συνέντες λέγουσιν, ἀλλ᾽ ὥσπερ ἐν σκότει βαδίζοντες κατὰ τὸν κρότον ἀεὶ καὶ τὴν βοὴν φέρονται.

**1e. Dio Chr. 34.26**: καὶ μηδείς με νομίσῃ ταῦτα λέγειν ἁπλῶς ἁπάντων ἀνέχεσθαι παραινοῦντα ὑμῖν καὶ πάντα πάσχειν, ἀλλ᾽ ὅπως ἔμπειροι τῶν καθ᾽ αὑτοὺς ὄντες καὶ νῦν **ἄμεινον βουλεύησθε** καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν οὕτως ἀπαιτῆτε τὸν παριόντα μὴ ῥᾳδίως ὑμῖν μηδ᾽ ὡς ἂν ἐπέλθῃ **μηδὲν εἰσηγεῖσθαι**, πάντα δὲ εἰδότα καὶ περὶ πάντων ἐσκεμμένον.

**2. PLUTARCH’S POLITICAL PRAECEPTS.**

**2a. 802 D (5):** δῆμον δὲ καὶ πόλιν ἐκ τῶν ὤτων ἄγειν δεῖ μάλιστα, μή, καθάπερ ἔνιοι τῶν ἀγυμνάστων περὶ λόγον λαβὰς ἀμούσους καὶ ἀτέχνους ζητοῦντες ἐν τοῖς πολλοῖς τῆς γαστρὸς ἕλκουσιν εὐωχοῦντες ἢ τοῦ βαλλαντίου διδόντες, ἢ πυρρίχας τινὰς ἢ μονομάχων θεάματα παρασκευάζοντες ἀεὶ δημαγωγοῦσι, μᾶλλον δὲ δημοκοποῦσι. δημαγωγία γὰρ ἡ διὰ λόγου πειθομένων ἐστίν, αἱ δὲ τοιαῦται τιθασεύσεις τῶν ὄχλων οὐδὲν ἀλόγων ζῴων ἄγρας καὶ βουκολήσεως διαφέρουσιν.

**2b. 813 A (16):** ἐπεὶ δὲ παντὶ δήμῳ τὸ κακόηθες καὶ φιλαίτιον ἔνεστι πρὸς τοὺς πολιτευομένους καὶ πολλὰ τῶν χρησίμων, ἂν μὴ στάσιν ἔχῃ μηδ᾽ ἀντιλογίαν, ὑπονοοῦσι πράττεσθαι συνωμοτικῶς,… ὅταν ὑπόπτως ἔχωσιν οἱ πολλοὶ πρός τι πρᾶγμα καὶ μέγα καὶ σωτήριον, οὐ δεῖ πάντας ὥσπερ ἀπὸ συντάξεως ἥκοντας τὴν αὐτὴν λέγειν γνώμην, ἀλλὰ καὶ δύο καὶ τρεῖς διαστάντας ἀντιλέγειν ἠρέμα τῶν φίλων, εἶθ᾽ ὥσπερ ἐξελεγχομένους μετατίθεσθαι συνεφέλκονται γὰρ οὕτω τὸν δῆμον, ὑπὸ τοῦ συμφέροντος ἄγεσθαι δόξαντες ἐν μέντοι τοῖς ἐλάττοσι

**2c. 817D-F (23):** σπουδῇ μέντοι καὶ προνοίᾳ περὶ τὰ κοινὰ καὶ φροντίδι πρὸς ἅπασαν ἀρχὴν ἀεὶ διαμιλλητέον, ἂν μὲν ὦσι χαρίεντες, αὐτὸν ὑφηγούμενον ἃ δεῖ καὶ φράζοντα καὶ διδόντα χρῆσθαι τοῖς βεβουλευμένοις ὀρθῶς καὶ τὸ κοινὸν εὐδοκιμεῖν ὠφελοῦντα, ἐὰν δ᾽ ἐνῇ τις ἐκείνοις ὄκνος ἢ μέλλησις ἢ κακοήθεια πρὸς τὴν πρᾶξιν, οὕτω χρὴ παρεῖναι καὶ λέγειν αὐτὸν εἰς τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ μὴ παραμελεῖν μηδ᾽ ὑφίεσθαι τῶν κοινῶν, ὡς, οὐ προσῆκον, ἄρχοντος ἑτέρου, πολυπραγμονεῖν καὶ παραδιοικεῖν. ὁ γὰρ νόμος ἀεὶ τῷ τὰ δίκαια πράσσοντι καὶ γιγνώσκοντι τὰ συμφέροντα τὴν πρώτην τάξιν ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ δίδωσιν. ‘ἦν δέ τις’ φησὶν ‘ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι Ξενοφῶν, οὔτε στρατηγὸς οὔτε λοχαγός’ ἀλλὰ τῷ φρονεῖν τὰ δέοντα καὶ τολμᾶν αὑτὸν εἰς τὸ ἄρχειν καταστήσας διέσῳσε τοὺς Ἕλληνας. καὶ τῶν Φιλοποίμενος ἔργων ἐπιφανέστατόν ἐστι τό, τοῦ Νάβιδος Μεσσήνην καταλαβόντος οὐκ ἐθέλοντος δὲ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν βοηθεῖν ἀλλ᾽ ἀποδειλιῶντος, αὐτὸν ὁρμήσαντα μετὰ τῶν προθυμοτάτων ἄνευ δόγματος ἐξελέσθαι τὴν πόλιν. οὐ μὴν διὰ μικρὰ δεῖ καὶ τὰ τυχόντα καινοτομεῖν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις ὡς ὁ Φιλοποίμην, ἢ τοῖς καλοῖς ὡς Ἐπαμεινώνδας, ἐπιβαλὼν τέτταρας μῆνας τῇ βοιωταρχίᾳ παρὰ τὸν νόμον, ἐν οἷς εἰς τὴν Λακωνικὴν ἐνέβαλε καὶ τὰ περὶ Μεσσήνην ἔπραξεν∙ ὅπως, κἂν ἀπαντᾷ τις ἐπὶ τούτῳ κατηγορία καὶ μέμψις, ἀπολογίαν τῆς αἰτίας τὴν ἀνάγκην ἔχωμεν ἢ παραμυθίαν τοῦ κινδύνου τὸ μέγεθος τῆς πράξεως καὶ τὸ κάλλος.

**3. ASSOCIATIONS AND LOCAL NOTABLES**

**3a. I.Kibyra 34:** κατὰ τὰ δόξαντα τῇ βουλῇ|καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῆς λαμπρο|τάτης Καισαρέων Κιβυρα|τῶν πόλεως ἡ σεμνοτάτη|συνεργασία τῶν σκυτοβυρσέ|ων Τιβέριον Κλαύδιον|Πολέμωνα, ἀσιάρχην, ἱπ-|πικόν Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου|Ἱέρωνος, ἀσιάρχου δὶς καὶ ἀρ|ιερέως δὶς ὑόν, Τιβερίου|Κλαυδίου Δηιοτηριανοῦ|ἀσιάρχου ἀδελφόν, Μαρκί|ου Δηιοτηριανοῦ λυκιάρ|χου καὶ Φλαβίου Κρατέρου|ἀσιάρχου δὶς καὶ ἀρχιερέ|ως ἔκγονον, ἀνθ’ ὧν|τῶν δημοσίων ἔργων|μετὰ ἐπιμελείας|προενοήσατο.

**3b. TAM V,3 1491, Philadelphia:** ἀγαθῆι τύχηι̣·|Φλ(άουιον) Αὐρ(ήλιον) Ἡφαιστί|ωνα δὶς Παιτια|νόν, τὸν ἀξιο|λογώτατον|ἄνδρα ἐκ προ|γόνων ἐπὶ ἤθει|καὶ ἀξι̣ώματι ἐπαι|νούμενον, ἄρξαν|[τα μ]ε̣τὰ πάσας|[ἀρχὰς] κ̣αὶ λειτουρ|γ[ίας καὶ] τὴν πρώ|τη̣[ν] σ̣τρατηγίαν|ὑγιῶς καὶ ἐπιφα|νῶς, υἱὸν Φλ(αουίου) Αὐρ(ηλίου)|Ἡφαιστίωνος Παι|τιανοῦ, ἄρξαντος|καὶ αὐτοῦ μετὰ πά|σας ἀρχὰς καὶ λει|τουργίας καὶ τὴν|πρώτην στρατηγί|αν, ἡ ἱερὰ φυλὴ τῶν|σκυτέων κατὰ τὰ|ὑπὸ τῆς κρατίστης|βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ λαμ|προτάτου δήμου|ψηφισθέντα.

**3c. IG X,2 1 192, Thessalonike**: ἀγαθῆ∙ι∙ v τύχη∙ι̣∙.|δόγματι τῆς κρατίστης|βουλῆς κα̣ὶ̣ χ̣ε̣ι|ροτονίᾳ τοῦ ἱε̣ρω̣|τά̣του δήμου Π̣ό̣πλιον|Αἴλιον Νεικάνορα|τὸν ἀξιολογώτατον|μακεδονιάρχη̣ν̣|οἱ συνθρησκευτα̣ὶ̣| κλείνης̣ θ̣εοῦ μ̣ε|γάλου Σαράπιδος|τὸν προστάτην.|εὐτυχεῖτε.

**3d. Trajan’s attitude towards associations (Pliny.Ep. 10.34):** Tibi quidem secundum exempla complurium in mentem venit posse collegium fabrorum apud Nicomedenses constitui. Sed meminerimus provinciam istam et praecipue eas civitates eius modi factionibus esse vexatas. Quodcumque nomen ex quacumque causa dederimus iis, qui in idem contracti fuerint, hetaeriae eaeque brevi fient.

**4. LOCAL NOTABLES AS CREDITORS**

**4a. Dio Chr. 46.5:** ἡμῖν γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ οὐσίαν κατέλιπε τῇ μὲν δόξῃ μεγάλην, δυνάμει δὲ μικρὰν καὶ πολλῷ ἐλάττω ἑτέρων. οὐ μεῖον γὰρ ἤ τετταράκοντα μυριάδες ἦσαν χρεῶν καὶ πράγματα τοιαῦτα ἔξωθεν, ὥστε πολὺ τῶν χρεῶν εἶναι ταῦτα χαλεπώτερα. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀσφάλεια, ὡς εἰπεῖν, οὐδενὸς ἡμῖν τῶν ὄντων ὑπῆρχεν, ἀλλὰ τῇ αὑτοῦ δυνάμει πιστεύων ἐκεῖνος ἅπαντα ἐκέκτητο..

**4b. Plutarch, An seni respublica gerenda sit (Moralia) 795 F:** ἐπεὶ πρὸς τί βλέψας ὁ Λύσανδρος εἶπεν, ὡς ἐν Λακεδαίμονι κάλλιστα γηρῶσιν; ἆρ᾽ ὅτι γ᾽ ἀργεῖν ἔξεστι μάλιστα τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις ἐκεῖ καὶ δανείζειν ἢ κυβεύειν συγκαθεζομένους ἢ πίνειν ἐν ὥρᾳ συνάγοντας; οὐκ ἂν εἴποις. ἀλλ᾽ ὅτι τρόπον τινὰ πάντες οἱ τηλικοῦτοι τάξιν ἀρχόντων ἤ τινων πατρονόμων ἢ παιδαγωγῶν ἔχοντες οὐ τὰ κοινὰ μόνον ἐπισκοποῦσιν…

**4c. SEG 15, 330 ll. 56-58 (Akraiphia): honorific decree for three benefactors**

καπήλοις τε καὶ μαγείροις καὶ ἀρτοκό|ποις ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἐπήρκεσαν δόντες τοῖς|μὲν ἀρτοκόποις σῖτον, τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς ἀργύ|ριον εἰς τὴν ἐνιαύσιον χρῆσιν ἄτοκον

**5. DECISION-MAKING BODIES IN THE CITIES OF ROMAN GREECE: A PROVISIONAL LIST**

**KLEONAI**

the boule and the demos in accordance with a decree by the boule: IG IV 490 (Imp. Period).

**PHLIUS**

the boule: IG IV 442 (Imp. Period).

**NAUPLIA**

the boule: IG IV 672 (2nd- 3rd cent. AD)

**ARGOS**

the demos (4 cases): SEG 30, 365; SEG 17, 168; SEG 53, 298bis; SEG 13, 1956, 244 (2nd cent. BC-1st cent. AD)

the boule and the demos (3 cases): SEG XXII 266; SEG 16, 1959, 258; IG IV 595, (1st cent. BC-3rd cent. AD)

the boule (5 cases): IG IV 588, 593, 594, 609, 610 (2nd -3rd cent. AD)

The polis in accordance with a decree by the boule: IG IV 588 (AD 172-180)

the archontes and the synedroi: Syll.³ 735

the polis (3 cases): IG IV 589, 590, 592 (Imp. Period).

**HERMIONE**

the demos in accordance with a decree of the boule: IG IV 713 (Late 2nd cent-3rd cent.AD).

the boule (11 cases): SEG 11, 384-385; IG IV 714-715, 717-720, 723-725 (2nd-3rd cent. AD).

the polis (9 cases): IG IV 701-709 (2nd-3rd cent. AD).

**TROEZEN**

The polis in accordance with a decree by the boule and the demos: IG IV 796 (2nd/3rd cent. AD)

the boule (2 cases): IG IV 782, 795 (2nd cent. AD)

The polis in accordance with a decree by the boule: IG IV 798 (Roman Period)

the archontes and the synedreiai: IG IV 758 (AD 117-138).

the polis (5 cases): IG IV 793, 794, 797, 799, 1571 (2nd-3rd cent. AD).

**EPIDAURUS**

the boule and the demos: IG IV²,1 686 (late 2nd cent. AD)

the boule and the demos in accordance with a decree by the boule: IG IV²,1 692 (3rd cent. AD).

The polis in accordance with a decree by the boule: IG IV²,1 682 (2nd cent. AD).

the archontes and the synedroi: IG IV²,1 66 (74 BC).

the polis (33 cases): Peek, Neue Inschriften 87 with SEG 1985, 307; Peek, Neue Inschriften 83; Peek 1972, 43 no. 78.; SEG 31 (1981), 329; IG IV²,1, 590, 592, 646-653, 659, 660, 662, 663, 666, 668, 670-675, 677, 678, 680, 684, 687, 688, 691; (1st cent. BC-3rd cent. AD).

**METHANA**

the boule and the demos: IG IV 853 (AD 2).

the polis: IG IV 857 (AD 160- AD 180)

**TEGEA**

the boule and the demos: IG V,2 152; (3rd cent. AD)

The polis in accordance with a decree by the boule and the demos: SEG 41, 384 (3rd cent. AD)

the boule: IG V,2 151 (AD116/117)

The polis in accordance with a decree by the boule ( 2 cases): IG IV 2, 155-156 (2nd-3rd cent. AD)

the polis (7 cases): IG V 2, 130, 132-135, 146-147 (1st-3rd cent. AD).

**MANTINEIA**

the boule (2 cases): IG V 2, 310, 313 (2nd cent. AD)

the polis (3 cases): IG V 2 268\*, 303, 312 (10 BC-2nd cent. AD)

**MEGALOPOLIS**

the boule and the demos (2 cases): IG V 2, 435, 515B (1st cent. AD)

The boule: IG V 2, 456 (under Augustus)

The polis in accordance with a decree by the boule (2 cases): IG V 2, 463, 465 (1st-2nd cent. AD)

the polis (6 cases): SEG 14, 374; IG V 2, 464, 533, 541, 542, 544 (1st - 3rd cent.AD)

**KYPARISSIA**

the boule and the demos: IvO 441 (Late 1st-early 2nd cent. AD).

**KALAMAI**

the synarchiai and the gerontes: IG V. 1 1370 (2nd half of the 1st cent. BC)

**THURIA**

the archontes and the demos: SEG XI, 974 (1st cent. BC)

the polis (2 cases): SEG 38, 341; IG V 1, 1381 (1st cent AD-2nd cent. AD).

But see also IG V 1, 1379 (synedroi) (2nd/1st cent. BC)

**KARDAMYLE**

the demos, the polis and the ephors: IG V.1 1331+SEG XI, 948 (1st cent. AD)

**KOTYRTA**

the demos (3 cases): IG V 1, 961\*, 963\*, 965\* (2nd cent. BC)

the polis (2 cases): IG V 1, 962\*, 965\* (Undated)

**GERONTHRAI**

the demos: IG V 1, 1114\* (1st cent. BC).

the polis (2 cases): IG V 1, 1112\*, 1113\* (Late 2nd cent. BC-1st cent. BC)

**GYTHEION**

the damos (4 cases): IG V 1, 1144\*, 1145\*, 1146\*, 1523\* (1st cent. BC)

the boule (synedroi) and the damos: IG V 1, 1208 (Imp. Period).

The polis in accordance with a decree by the boule (2 cases): IG V 1, 1168, 1177 (Imp. Period)

the polis (14 cases): IG V 1, 1160, 1162, 1163, 1164, 1166, 1167, 1169, 1170, 1171, 1173, 1174, 1176, 1178, 1179 (Imp. Period)

**MESSENE**

the boule (synedrion) and the demos (2 cases): IG V 1, 1432, 1456 (1st cent. BC-3rd cent. AD)

the boule (2 cases): SEG 23, 206; SEG 23, 205 and 207 + SEG 35, 343 (under Augustus).

the polis (4 cases): IG V 1, 1452, 1454, 1457, 1458 (1st cent. BC-3rd cent. AD).

**ELIS**

The archontes and the demos: IvO 54 (under Trajan or Hadrian)

The olympike boule and the demos (4 cases): IvO 356, 463, 466, 470 (2nd-3rd cent. AD)

the boule (3 cases): IvO 453, 473/474, 477 (AD 50- 3rd cent. AD)

the polis in accordance with a decree by the boule: IvO 480 (3rd cent. AD)

the polis and the olympike boule in accordance with a decree by the boule: IvO 478 (3rd cent. BC)

the olympike boule, the boule (synedroi) and the demos: IvO 439 (2nd cent. AD)

the polis (16 cases): IvO 242, 331, 334, 335, 424, 435, 484, 619, 620, 621, 623, 624, 625, 626; NIvO 59; NIvO 63 (Late 1st cent. BC-3rd cent. AD):

the polis and the olympike boule (16 cases): IvO 351, 357, 429, 432, 433, 434, 437, 438, 440, 456, 467, 471, 940; NIvO 62; SEG 17, 200; SEG 22, 329 (1st-3rd cent. AD)

**MEGARA**

the boule and the demos (20 cases): IG VII 18, 20, 64, 75, 86, 88, 90, 92, 98, 98, 99, 100, 104, 105, 106 (with SEG 13, 289), 109, 112, 3475, 3491; SEG 13, 291 (2nd cent. BC-3rd cent. AD)

the boule (5 cases): SEG 1, 98; IG VII 102, 107, 111, 3476 (5 cases)

**PAGAI**

the demos (2 cases): IG VII 193-194 (Roman Period)

the archontes, the synedroi and the demos: IG VII 190 (1st cent. BC)

**AIGOSTHENA**

the boule and the demos: SEG 49, 500 (around 100 BC)

the polis (2 cases): IG VII 226-227 (late 2nd-3rd cent. AD)

**CHAIRONEIA**

The boule and the demos (6 cases): IG VII 3420, 3425, 3426, 3429, 3430; SEG 36, 415 (1st-3rd cent. AD).

**HYETTOS**

the boule and the demos: IG VII 2836 (after mid-1st cent. AD)

**KORONEIA**

the boule and the demos (4 cases): IG VII 2879-2881; SEG 36, 425 (2nd cent. AD)

**PLATEAI**

the boule and the demos: IG VII 1678 (after mid-1st cent. AD)

**TANAGRA**

the boule and the demos (3 cases): IG VII 567, 570, 571 (Late 1st cent. BC-1st cent. AD)

1 decision taken by the boule: RPh 13 (1939) 122, II. (3rd cent. AD):

**THEBES**

the boule and the demos (5 cases): IG VII 2501, 2513, 2539; SEG 22, 413; SEG 22, 415 (1st cent. AD-3rd cent. AD)

the archontes, the boule and the demos: IG VII 2711 viii (AD 37).

**THISBE**

the boule and the demos (6 cases): IG VII 2226/2227 A l. 6, 2238, 2239, 2241, 2242, 2243 (1st cent. AD-3rd cent. AD)

**THESPIES**

The demos (21 cases): I. Thesp. 355, 358, 368, 370, 376, 390, 395, 397, 399, 400, 401, 403, 404, 405, 406, 409, 410, 411, 413, 415, 416, (2nd cent. BC-3rd cent. AD, but only 390 dated after the 1st cent. AD)

the boule and the demos (16 cases): I. Thesp. 28, 35, 37, 356, 357, 361, 374, 378, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 387, 393, 417 (2nd cent. BC-3rd cent. AD).

The patris in accordance with a decree by the boule and the demos: I. Thesp. 385 (Late 2nd cent. AD).

The boule: I. Thesp. 319 (1st-2nd cent. AD)

The polis/patris (4 cases): I. Thesp. 360, 364, 377, 386

**AKRAIPHIA**

the boule and the demos (5 cases): IG VII 2710, 4130, 4131, 4132; SEG 23, 285 (146 BC- AD 67)

the archontes, the boule and the demos (3 cases): IG VII 2712, 2713; SEG 15, 330 (mid-1st cent. AD)

the polis (3 cases): IG VII 2737, 4161; AD 23 A (1968), 293-294

**AMBRYSSOS**

The demos (the polis in an eknomos ekklesia): SEG 3, 408 (2nd cent. BC)

the boule and the demos: IG IX 1, 17 (AD 98-117)

the polis in accordance with a decree by the boule: IG IX 1, 18 (AD 180-192)

**ANTIKYRA**

The demos (the polis in an eknomos ekklesia) (3 cases): IG IX 1, 1-3 (2nd cent. BC)

The boule and the demos: IG IX 1, 5 (1st century AD).

The boule and the demos in accordance with a decree by the boule: Eirene 49 (2013), 54-74 (3rd cent AD)

The polis in accordance with a decree by the boule: IG X 1, 7 (Late 2nd-early 3rd cent. AD)

the polis after a vote: IG IX 1, 6 (AD 180-192)

**ELATEIA**

the demos (2 cases): IG IX 1, 103\*, 143 (150 BC-48 BC)

ennomos ekklesia (2 cases): IG IX 1, 122 and 124 (2nd cent. BC)

the boule and the demos (4 cases): SEG 3, 416; IG IX 1, 109, 144, 145 (2nd cent. BC-3rd cent. AD)

ennomos ekklesia ton synedron (4 cases): IG IX 1, 120, 125-127

**AMPHISSA**

the boule (2 cases): IG IX,1² 3, 758 and 760 (Imp. Per.)

**AMPHIKLEIA**

the boule and the demos: IG IX,1 218, (193-217 AD)

**KARYSTOS**

The demos (2 cases): Hesperia 1972, 128-140; IG XII Suppl. p. 201 nr. 3 (Mid-1st cent. BC)

The boule and the demos (4 cases): IG XII 9, 17, 18, 24; Keller 1985, 222 (Imp. Period)

The boule: IG XII Suppl. 527 (AD 117-138)

**HISTIAIA**

The boule and the demos (4 cases): IG XII 9, 1234A, 1237; Gregory GRBS (20) 1979, nr. 1 and nr. 9.

The polis (4 cases): IG XII 9, 1234B, 1235, 1235 B; SEG 29, 802.

**CHALKIS**

The demos (2 cases): IG XII 9, 900 A b\*, 911 (2nd cent. BC-1st cent. BC)

The boule and the demos (5 cases): IG XII 9, 899, 906, 946, 947, 950 (Late 2nd cent. BC-3rd cent. AD)

**THESSALONIKE**

The boule and the demos (26 cases): IG X 2 1, 137, 146, 149, 150, 177, 186-200, 227, 229, 231, 232, \*233, \*235 (2nd-3rd cent. AD)

The archontes, the boule and the demos (2 cases): IG X 2 1, 5; IG X 2 1, 7 (1st. cent. BC)

The polis in accordance with a decree by the boule and the demos (6 cases): IG X 2 1, 175, 176, 179, 180, 182; IG X 2 1 Suppl. \*1069 (3rd cent. AD)

The boule (7 cases): IG X 2 1, 201-207 (3rd cent. AD).

The polis (33 cases): IG X 2 1, 134-135, 151, 153-169, 171-174, 178, 181, 183-185, 223-225; IG X 2 1 Suppl. 1060

**KALINDOIA**

The boule and the demos (2 cases): Meletemata 11 K1-K2 (Late 2nd c. BC – AD 1)

**BEROIA**

The boule and the demos (6 cases): EKM I 2, 104, 106, 110, 108, 111 (late 2nd c. BC-3rd c. AD.)

The boule (2 cases): EKM I 113-114 (2nd-3rd cent. AD)

The boule and the neoi (2 cases): EKM I 113-114 (2nd-3rd cent. AD)

the polis (8 cases): EKM I 60, 63, 66, 70, 103, 105, 107, 109 (1st-3rd c. AD.)

**6. DECREES FROM ROMAN GREECE**

**6a. SEG 24, 614. Decree from Gazorus for the distribution of public land, AD 159**

 ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ.| παρὰ Σύρου τοῦ Εὐάλκου, Κοζειμασου [τοῦ]|Πολυχάρμου, Δουλεους τοῦ Βειθυος, τῶ[ν]|κληρωθέντων προέδρων τῇ ιʹ τοῦ Ἀρ-|[τ]εμεισίου μηνός, τοῦ ϙρʹ σεβαστοῦ|τοῦ καὶ ∙ ϛ∙τʹ ∙ ἔτους, Α∙ι∙ουλᾳ Ἥρουνος|τῷ ἐν Γαζώρῳ μνήμονι. δόγμα τὸ κυρωθὲν ὑ|πό τε τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου ἀπεστάλκαμεν|πρὸς σὲ καθάπερ ὁ νόμος συντάσσει. εἰσηγη|σαμένου Ἀλκίμου τοῦ Ταραλα καὶ εἰπόντος δεῖ|σθαι τοὺς δημοσίους τόπους ἐνφυτεύσεως|ἀμπέλων τε καὶ δενδρέων καρποφόρων καὶ ὀ|πωρῶν, εἶναί τε τοὺς βουλομένους θέλειν ἐ[πι]|μελεῖσθαι καὶ ἐπικαρπίαν τινὰ λαμβάνειν ἐ|ξ αὐτῶν, τοῖς βουλευταῖς βουλευσαμένοις ἔ|δοξεν εὔλογος εἶναι ἡ εἰσήγησις αὐτοῦ [καὶ]|ἐδοκίμασαν τοὺς ἐνφυτεύσαντας κα[ὶ τοὺς]|[βουλομ]ένους ἔχειν ἐπικαρπίαν ἀ[μπέλων]|[μὲν ἐξ] ἡμισείας, χωροῦντος το[ῦ ἡμι]|σέου μέρους εἰς τὸ δημόσιον, τῆς δ’ ἐ[λαί]|ας τὰ δύω μέρη, [σ]υκέ[ων δ]ὲ [κ]αὶ τῶν λο[ι]|πῶν ὀπωρῶν καὶ στεμφύλων ἔ[χειν τὴν]|ἐπικαρπίαν τὸν ἐπιμελούμενον, μη|δενὸς ἐξ αὐτῶν χωροῦντος εἰς τὸ δημό|σιον· καὶ περὶ τούτου ψήφου διενεχθεί|σης ἐγένοντο πᾶσαι λευκαί· ἐπεχειροτό|νησεν ὁ δῆμος.

**6b. SEG 35.744 Kalindoia, AD 1. Honorific decree for Apollonios**

ἔτους ∙ ηʹ καὶ μʹ ∙ καὶ ∙ ρʹ·|οἱ πολιτάρχαι προβουλευσα̣|μένων τῶν βουλευτῶν| καὶ γενομένης ἐκκλησίας εἶ|παν ἐν τῶι δήμωι· ἐπεὶ Ἀ|πολλώνιος Ἀπολλωνίου|τοῦ Κερτίμμου … δι’ ἃ δεδό|χθαι τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τῶι δήμωιἐπαινέσαι τε αὐ|τὸν …

**6c. IG XII,9 906. Inscription from Chalkis with minutes of the Council’s and the Assembly’s meetings. After AD 212.**

ἀγαθῆι τύχηι·|(I) ἐπὶ ἡγεμόνος Κλ(αυδίου) Ἀμιάντου, ἀμφιπολεύοντος Λαμύρου|τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ νεωκόρου, ὁ διὰ βίου νεωκόρος τῆς ἀρχηγέτι|δος Χαλκίδος Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ἑρμόδωρος κατὰ τὰ γενόμενα ψηφί|σματα ἐν τοῖς συνεδρίοις εἰσηγησαμένων τοῦ δεκαπρώτου|Κλ(αυδίου) Ἀμύντου καὶ Οὐλπίου Παμφίλου διά τε τὰ τειχοδομή|ματα ἃ ἐποίησεν περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τὸν περίβολον ὃν πε|ριέθηκε τῷ τεμένει καὶ στοάν, ἣν μὲν ἐκ καινῆς κατεσκεύ|ασεν, ἣν δὲ ἐπεσκεύασεν συντετρειμμένην, καὶ τρίκλει|νον δειπνιστήριον ποιήσας καὶ θυρώσας εἰς κό-|σμον τὸν πρέποντα τῇ θεῷ μετὰ φυτῶν καὶ ἄλσους|ἀνέθηκεν ἐπὶ τῷ ἀΐδιον ἔχειν αὐτόν τε καὶ τὰ τέκνα|αὐτοῦ τὴν νεωκορείαν v (II) τὰ ψηφίσματα ἐγένον|το γραμματεύοντος Ἰουλίου Μαμερτείνου, στρα|τηγοῦντος τοῦ δεκαπρώτου Λ(ευκίου) Νοουίου Λυσανίου|ἐβ(όησαν) οἱ σύνεδροι. "Παμφίλῳ καλὴ ἡ ἰσή<γη>σις οὕτω γεινέσθω"|ἐπηρώτησεν ὁ γραμματεὺς Μαμερτεῖνος "ὅτῳ δο-|κεῖ κατὰ τὴν πάντων ὑμῶν βούλησιν καὶ τὴν εἰσήγη|σιν τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Παμφίλου καὶ εἰς τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ|ταύτην τὴν τειμὴν μετελθεῖν, ἀράτω τὴν χεῖρα"·|ἐβ(όησαν) οἱ σύνεδροι "δοκεῖ"· ἔδοξεν ❦ δήμου· (III) ὁ στρατη|γὸς τὸ βʹ Νοούιος Λυσανίας εἶπεν "καλῶς ποιεῖ|τε ἀμειβόμενοι τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ μὴ εἰς| αὐτοὺς μόνους τὰς τειμὰς ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τοὺς παῖ|δας μετατιθέντες· μόνως γὰρ οὕτως καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους|ἐπὶ πολλοῖς προτρέψομεν· ἔφθακεν οὖν ταὐτὰ ἐψη|φίσθαι καὶ <τ>ῇ βουλῇ· εἰ καὶ ὑμεῖν δοκεῖ, ἀράτω τὴν χεῖ|ρα"· ἐβ(όησε) ὁ δ(ῆμος) "δοκεῖ"· ἔδοξεν· ἐβ(όησε) ὁ δ(ῆμος) "πολλοῖς ἔτεσι| ❦ τοὺς νεωκόρους". ❦

**6d. EKM I, 2 ll. 33-41. Beroia. Honorific decree for Harpalos.**

… ἐπεὶ οὖν ἐν τῶι τῶν ἀρχαιρε|σιῶν και[ρ]ῶ̣ι προβουλευσαμένων τῶν|βουλευτῶν̣ ὅ̣πως ὁ Ἅρπαλος ἀξίως τι|μηθῆι τῶν γεγενημένωνὑπ’ αὐτοῦ εἰς|τὴν πατρίδα, ὁ δῆμοςἐπελθὼν ἐπὶ τὸ βου|λευτήρ̣ι̣ον τὴν πλείστην πρόνοιαν ἐ|ποιήσατο περὶ τῆς τιμῆς αὐτοῦ**,** ἔδο|ξεν ἐπαινέσαι τε τὸν Ἅρπαλον ἐπὶ|τούτοις …

**6e. SEG XXII 266. Argos circa 100 BC. Honorific decree.**

Οἱ ἄρχοντες καὶ οἱ σύνεδροι οἱ ἐπὶ Ἀρχεδ[ά]|μου ὡς διαλέγωντι τῶι δάμωι περὶ τιμᾶν Αὔγι [Ἀ ]|ριστομήδεος Ἀργείωι, ὡς δέ κα δόξηι οὕτω τελλήτα[ι]|ποτήνεγκαν αὐτοί.

**6f. Delphian decree for the distribution of public land, 2nd century AD.**

ἔδοξεν τῇ πόλει πολλάκις [β]ουλευσαμένῃ κατὰ τάδε [ν]εί|μ[ασ]θαι τὴν χώραν∙ τοὺς πολείτα[ς λαβεῖν δαμιουργόν]|τε καὶ βο]υλε[υτ]ὴν μοῖραν μίαν ἥμισυ, δημότην μοῖρα[ν μίαν]∙ τὴν μοῖραν πλέθρων μ∙ … [ὅσοι δ’ἄν μὴ ἔχον]|τες βούλωνται λαβεῖν ἀπογραφέσθωσα[ν] πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας ὅτι μὴ ἔχουσιν καὶ γεινέσθω δο[κι]μασία τ[ῶν] λαμβανόντων ἐν βουλῇ…μὴ ἐξ[έστω δ]ὲ μήτε ἄ[ρχουσιν? μήτε βουλῇ] μήτε συνεδρίῳ δα[μιουργῶν μήτ]ε δήμῳ ἄκυρ[ον? ποιεῖν…

**7. DIO CHRYSOSTOM AND PLUTARCH ON EUERGETISM**

**7a.** **Plut. 818C (24**): δήμῳ δ᾽ ὕβριν μὲν οὐδεμίαν εἰς πολίτας οὐδὲ δήμευσιν ἀλλοτρίων οὐδὲ κοινῶν διανέμησιν ὁ πολιτικὸς ἐφήσει κατὰ δύναμιν, ἀλλὰ πείθων καὶ διδάσκων καὶ δεδιττόμενος διαμαχεῖται ταῖς τοιαύταις ἐπιθυμίαις.

**7b. Dio Chr. 34. 1**: οὐκ ἀγνοῶ μέν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ταρσεῖς, ὅτι νομίζεται καὶ παρ᾽ ὑμῖν καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοὺς πολίτας παριέναι καὶ συμβουλεύειν, οὐ τοὺς τυχόντας, ἀλλὰ τοὺς γνωρίμους καὶ τοὺς πλουσίους, ἔτι δὲ τοὺς καλῶς λελειτουργηκότας. οὐ γὰρ εὔλογον ἴσως τῆς μὲν οὐσίας τῆς τῶν πλουσίων μετέχειν ὑμᾶς τὸ μέρος, τῆς δὲ διανοίας μὴ ἀπολαύειν, ὁποία ποτ᾽ ἂν ᾖ.

**7 c. Plut. 821F-822A (29)**: εὖ μὲν οὖν ὁ πρῶτος εἰπὼν καταλυθῆναι δῆμον ὑπὸ τοῦ πρώτου δεκάσαντος συνεῖδεν, ὅτι τὴν ἰσχὺν ἀποβάλλουσιν οἱ πολλοὶ τοῦ λαμβάνειν ἣττονες γενόμενοι∙ δεῖ δὲ καὶ τοὺς δεκάζοντας οἴεσθαι καταλύειν ἑαυτούς, ὅταν ἀναλωμάτων μεγάλων ὠνούμενοι τὴν δόξαν ἰσχυροὺς ποιῶσι καὶ θρασεῖς τοὺς πολλούς, ὡς μέγα τι καὶ δοῦναι καὶ ἀφελέσθαι κυρίους ὄντας.