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12 [ἐπαγγεῖλαι (?) – – – – – ἀσφάλειαν τοῖς ἀφικνουμέν[ο]-
 [ις – – – – –] τὴν πανήγυριν ὕ [. . .]
 [– – – – – ἡμερῶ]ν δέκα μὲν ἰοῦ[σιν . .]
 [– – – – –]σιν π[αρά] τᾶϛ[τα(?)]

2: [Ἀντίδωρος Παιανιεὺς] Woodward. 3: Robert p. 213: Τάδε προσαναγράψαι Robert p. 216 n. 4: [δεδοχθαι τῶι δήμῳ, ἀναγράψασθαι παρὰ τὴν Woodward. 4: θεῖναι ἵπποδρομίαν ὑπὲρ ἄρματα τέθριππα Woodward. 5: [γυμνικὸν – – – ἀπὸ τοῦ] Robert p. 213, 214: γυμνικὸν καὶ ἀγῶνα ἀπὸ τοῦ] Robert p. 216 n. 4. 6: T I O stone. 7: ἀν τὰ Woodward: Ἄντα-Schweigert. 8: οἱ Ἐλευσίνια τὰ πενταετηρικά(?) Woodward. 8–9: περὶ τὰς πρὸς τῶι Κερ-αμεικῶι πύλας Robert p. 216: περὶ ἅπασαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα Woodward. 9–10: ἐκεχειρίαν δὲ | [εἶναι (ou un verbe plus long?) καὶ ἀσφάλειαν καὶ ἀσυλ]ίαν Robert p. 216 n. 4. 10–11: ἀφικνουμέν[ο]ις πᾶσιν εἰς τοὺς ἀγῶνας καὶ τὴν πανήγυριν Robert p. 216 n. 4: ἀφικνουμέν[ο]ις Ἀθήναζε Woodward. 12: ἡμερῶ]ν Robert p. 215:]ι ΔΕΚΑΜΕΝΙΟΥ[Schweigert: κληρῶσαι δὲ ἀθλοθέτας εἰκοσ]ι Woodward; ΜΕΝΙΟΥ stone: μὲν <τ>οῦ Woodward. 12–13: τριετηρι-κοῦ (?) δέκα δὲ τοῦ πεντετηρικοῦ(?) ἀγῶνος –] Woodward.

As Robert showed, we are dealing here with the creation of a new festival for Peace, not an enhancement⁴. In the Lycurgan period at Athens, 338–324 B.C.⁵, tremendous resources were devoted to the creation of new festivals and the expansion of old. The *Hephaistia*, purported to have been added to the roster of penteteric festivals under Lycurgus, may be a ghost, as may the *agon* of Poseidon that Lycurgus is said to have founded at Piraeus⁶. But a horse-race was apparently added to the *Eleusinia* in 329/8 and it has been suggested that the *Nemeseia* at Rhamnous, first attested in 333/2, were also a creation of the period⁷. A large but very badly damaged inscription attests the enhancement of an unnamed festival and is certainly Lycurgan⁸, and Lycurgus is said to have helped revive an abandoned comic competition ([Plut.] *X Orat.* 841F). The

4 J. and L. Robert, *Bull. épigr.* (1959) 130; L. Robert, *ArchEph* (1977) 214.

5 The dates are conventional: Faraguna, *Atene nell'età di Alessandro* 199–207.

6 *Hephaistia*: *Ath. Pol.* 54.7; Parker, *Athenian Religion* 149 n. 109; Faraguna, *Atene nell'età di Alessandro* 366 n. 48; D. Knoepfler, “Adolf Wilhelm et la pentétèris des Amphiaraiia d’Oropos: Réexamen de *A.P.* LIV 7 à la lumière du catalogue *IG VII* 414 + *SEG I* 126”, in: M. Piérart (ed.), *Aristote et Athènes* (Paris 1993) 279–302, at 301; Piraeus: [Plut.] *X Orat.* 842A; Parker, *Athenian Religion* 246 n. 100 (ghost), but cf. J. D. Mikalson, *Religion in Hellenistic Athens* (Berkeley 1998) 23, 30.

7 *Eleusinia*: *IG II*² 1672.261; *Nemeseia*: Parker, *Athenian Religion* 246, 254; *IG II*² 3105 + *SEG XXXI* 162; *Praktika* 1989 [1992] 31 no. 15.9.

8 M. B. Walbank, “Regulations for an Athenian Festival”, in: *Studies in Attic Epigraphy, History, and Topography Presented to Eugene Vanderpool* [= *Hesperia* suppl. 19] (Princeton 1982) 173–182 [*SEG XXXII* 86]. Walbank thought the festival was the *Amphiaraiia*. S. Humphreys, “Lycurgus of Butadae: An Athenian Aristocrat”, in: J. W. Eadie/J. Ober (eds), *The Craft of the Ancient Historian: Essays in Honor of Chester G. Starr* (Lanham 1985) 199–252, at 227 n. 33, prefers the *Epitaphia*; followed by Parker, *Athenian Religion* 246 n. 100. Stroud’s proposal, [τῆ]ν Νέγων?, at line 34 (cf. *Agora XVI* 75) would be attractive but is unwarranted; date: Tracy, *Athenian Democracy in Transition* 96–103, at 101, attributes the inscription to cutter of *IG II*² 244 (340/39–ca. 320).

akleia with revenues from the god's quarry¹⁴. The first quarry-contractor was Moerocles, another peer of Lycurgus. Moerocles had been one of the Athenians, including Lycurgus, whose surrender Alexander demanded after the destruction of Thebes in 335, and he would later propose honors for Lycurgus' friend and proxy, Xenocles of Sphettus¹⁵. Also in 332/1 Phanodemus, the Attidographer (*FGrHist* 325) and close associate of Lycurgus, proposed to crown Amphiaraus and to establish the penteteric *Amphiaraia*¹⁶. Like Aristonicus and Philocomus, Phanodemus proposed both cult and funding (*I.Oropos* 298.15–16): πόρους πε|πόριζεν. The phrase is striking but does not tell us how the festival was funded. Around 330 B.C., however, two pairs of Attic tribes were involved in disputes concerning land, which they contended belonged to them, not to Amphiaraus¹⁷. Perhaps Phanodemus proposed to endow the *Amphiaraia* with Oropian land, the partitioning of which led to one or both of the disputes¹⁸. The creation of three endowed festivals in four years looks like a trend.

- 14 S. Coumanoudis/D. Gofas, "Deux Décrets d'Éleusis", *REG* 91 (1978) 289–306 [*SEG* XXVIII 103; Schwenk, *Athens in the Age of Alexander*, above n. 9, no. 43].
- 15 Moerocles: S. B. Aleshire, *Asklepios at Athens* (Amsterdam 1991) 244–246; Faraguna, *Atene nell'età di Alessandro* 233–234; S. N. Koumanoudês/A. P. Matthaiou, "Κατάλογος Ἀθηναίων διατητηῶν", *Horos* 5 (1987) 15–23; C. Ampolo, "Tra finanza e politica: Carriera e affari del signor Moirokles", *RivFil* 109 (1981) 187–204; perhaps the same Moerocles of Arist. *Rh.* 1411a.16–18; surrender: A. B. Bosworth, *A Historical Commentary on Arrian's History of Alexander* (Oxford 1980) 93–95, at 94; Jacoby ad Douris, *FGrHist* 76 F 39; Arr. I 10.4; Dem. 23.3; Xenocles: *IG* II² 1191 (330/29); [Plut.] *X Orat.* 841C; *SEG* XIX 119.7–9 with Faraguna, *Atene nell'età di Alessandro* 204–209, 228–229.
- 16 Associate: *I.Oropos* 298.22–24; *Syll.*³ 296; Jacoby ad *FGrHist* 325 p. 172; S. Humphreys, "Lycurgus of Butadae: An Athenian Aristocrat" (above n. 8) at 214–216; crown: *I.Oropos* 296.9–17 (*IG* VII 4252); *Amphiaraia*: *I.Oropos* 298 (*IG* VII 4254); inaugurated in 330/29: *I.Oropos* 520 (*IG* VII 414 + *SEG* I 126), with Knoepfler, "Adolf Wilhelm et la pentétèris des Amphiaraia d'Oropos" (above n. 6) 279–302.
- 17 Dispute 1: Hyp. *Eux.* 14–17, dated to 330–324; Lycurgus (d. 324), was *synegoros* for the prosecution (Hyp. *Eux.* 12); the speech mentions letters in which Olympias claimed Molossian Dodona as hers (Hyp. *Eux.* 25), which implies a date after the death of its client-king Alexander (331/0). For literature on the date see D. Whitehead (ed.), *Hypereides: The Forensic Speeches* (Oxford 2000) 155–157. Dispute 2: Langdon, *Hesperia* 56 (1987) 47–58 (photographs pls 9, 10) [*SEG* XXXVII 100]; M. B. Walbank, "The Property of Aiantis and Aigieis", *ZPE* 84 (1990) 95–99 (ll. 2–16) [*SEG* XL 125]; Langdon, *Agora* XIX L8; Woodhead, *Agora* XVI 84; dated 330 B.C. on letter forms and similarity of circumstances to those of Hyp. *Eux.*: Langdon and Woodhead; Ameling, *ZPE* 77 (1989) 95–96, proposes 294/3 or 293/2, against which see Walbank, *ZPE* 84 (1990) 96; Gauthier, *Bull. épigr.* (1990) 221; Petrakos, *I.Oropos* p. 498.
- 18 The phrase πόρους πορίζειν occurs elsewhere only at Hyp. *Eux.* 37, where the defense attacks those who would strip resources from the people while claiming to furnish them (ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐργαζομένων ἀφαιρούμενοι πόρους φασὶ τούτους πορίζειν, ἀπορίαν ἐν τῇ πόλει παρασκευάζοντες); note the triple repetition and the brilliant auditory if not syntactic collocation, πορίζειν ἀπορίαν. Lycurgus spoke on the prosecution's behalf, against Hypereides (Hyp. *Eux.* 12). Perhaps Hypereides was leveling a subtle attack on Phanodemus, and by extension Lycurgus, for claiming to furnish *poros* for the *Amphiaraia*, while stripping land from landowners.

There is reason to think that the festival for Peace belonged to this trend. It has escaped scholarly comment that this festival was funded at the considerable level of five talents (ἀπὸ πέντε ταλάντων τι<θ>[[έναι, 6–7). The phrase is formulaic: *IG XII.5* 647.20–21 (Coresia, early III B.C.): τιθέναι δὲ καὶ ἀγῶνα τῆι ἑορτῆι τοὺς προβούλους ἀπ[ὸ] | δραχμῶν $\text{F}^{\text{A}} \Delta \Gamma$; *IG XII.9* 189.4–6 (Eretria, after 340 B.C.): ἔδοξεν τεῖ βουλευὶ καὶ τοῖ δήμοι | [..] τιθεῖν τῆμ πόλιν ἀγῶνα μουσικῆς ἀπὸ χιλίων | δραχμῶν. The numbers here are telling. The festivals from Ceos and Euboea were not funded on the same order of magnitude as the festival for Peace. The agonotheite for the penteteric *Sarapieia* at Tanagra enjoyed an operating budget of 3000 drachmas, but this festival was endowed, capitalized at around one and two-thirds talents¹⁹. The endowed Lesser *Panathenaia* enjoyed capital of at least two talents²⁰. Numbers alone, then, suggest that Peace’s festival, like the *Panathenaia*, *Herakleia*, and *Amphiaraia*, was endowed. Context concurs. It would run contrary to what we know about Athens’ approach to sacred finance under Lycurgus if the state sanctioned the creation and funding of a new festival, at more than twice the level of the Lesser *Panathenaia*, with no provision for the money but that it be spent down until it was gone. This would have been no way to honor the goddess and no way to handle so much money. Known Lycurgan policy²¹ and the huge sum of money at Peace’s disposal thus suggest that the new festival was endowed and that the five talents did not represent the outlay of a given year, but the principal from which running expenses were to be generated.

Another aspect of the festival for Peace seems to be consistent with at least two of the other endowed festivals. The schedule of the Lesser *Panathenaia* was dependent on that of the Greater, a fact which may have helped to determine the financial mechanics of its endowment²². The newly established *Amphiaraia* also found a model in the Greater *Panathenaia*: the order in which events were held and victors recorded in the new festival followed that of the Greater *Panathenaia*²³. The festival for Peace was intended from its creation to be cali-

19 Budget: M. Calvet/P. Roesch, “Les Sarapieia de Tanagra”, *RA* (1966) 297–332, at 298–300 lines 19–21: ἀπολογία ἀγωνοθέτου τῶν Σαραπειῶν Γλαύκου τοῦ Β[ουκ]άττο[υς]. | ἔλαβον παρὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς Καφισίου τοῦ Βουκάττους ἀπικτοῦ κ(εφαλῆν) Γ' [δραχμὰ]ς ἀ[ρ]γυ]ρίου; endowed: lines 57–58: [ἀρχ]ῆς τῆς κατασταθείσης ἐπὶ τὸν ἐγδανεισμὸν τῶν ὑπὸ Χαριλάου ἀνα[τεθ]έντων Καφισίου τοῦ Βουκάττους ἀπολογία; capital: lines 57–73; the inscription is dated ca. 90 B.C.: A. G. Gossage, “The Comparative Chronology of Inscriptions relating to the Boiotian Festivals in the First Half of the First Century B.C.”, *ABSA* (1975) 115–134.

20 Woodhead, *Agora XVI* 75.16–18: [ὅταν δὲ ἡ πρό]σοδος γένηται δυοῖν ταλάντο[ιν ἀπὸ τῆς | μισθώσεως τ]ῶν κτημάτων τῶν ἐν τῆι Νέα[ι] κ[αὶ τῆς πεντηκοστῆς, ὑπά]ρχειν τῆι Ἀθηναίι τοῦτο [τὸ ἀρχαῖον, with Sosin, *ZPE* 138 (2002) 123–125.

21 Parker, *Athenian Religion* 242: “In the case of Lycurgus, as of almost no other Athenian politician, one can speak of a religious policy.”

22 Sosin, *ZPE* 138 (2003) 125.

23 *I.Oropos* 298.15–19 (*IG VII* 4254); *I.Oropos* 520 (*IG VII* 414 + *SEG I* 126); Tracy, *Athenian Democracy in Transition* 92 n. 22; S. V. Tracy/C. Habicht, “New and Old Panathenaic Victor Lists”,

brated chronologically with the Greater *Panathenaia* or another major Attic festival (7–8): ἐν τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ ἐν ᾧ ἂν τὰ | [Παναθηναῖα τὰ μεγάλα ἄγωσιν(?). These look like three iterations of the same religious sentiment: the Greater *Panathenaia* were the festival clock by which others were to be set.

Two decades before the creation of these endowments Xenophon had argued (*Poroi* 5.1–13) that economic development was driven by peace not war, that only under conditions of peace would Athens be able to realize maximal revenue-potential²⁴. Few Athenians in the 330s could contend that Athens had suffered economically from the terms of Philip’s peace. Under Lycurgus annual revenues apparently soared to 1200 talents, construction projects thrived, and general economic conditions were robust²⁵. Xenophon was right, and if political realities after Chaeronea led Roussel to conclude that Athenians had no cause for joy, economic conditions proved otherwise. One might venture that in such an environment of relative peace and extraordinary prosperity Athenians needed no special moment to prompt the endowment of Peace with her own festival.

But if 338/7 might have been an awkward year for celebrating peace, 335/4 was a different matter. In the immediate aftermath of the sack of Thebes tensions at Athens ran high. Little was certain, least of all whether war would rain down from the north. Alexander knew that Athens had offered quiet support to Thebes in rebellion and he requested that Athens hand over eight of its most prominent leaders²⁶. An initial attempt to mollify Alexander failed, but then Athens sent Phocion and Demades, who convinced the king to relent. Plutarch reports that Alexander “not only admitted his (Phocion’s) petition and request,

Hesperia 60 (1991) 187–236, at 196–202; E. Preuner, “Amphiaraiia und Panathenaia”, *Hermes* 57 (1922) 80–106.

- 24 Date of the *Poroi*: P. Gauthier, *Un commentaire historique des Poroi de Xénophon* (Paris 1976) 4–6; Xen., *Poroi* 5.1.1, asked, Εἰ δὲ σαφὲς δοκεῖ εἶναι ὥς, εἰ μέλλουσι πᾶσαι αἱ πρόσοδοι ἔκπλεω προσιέναι, ὅτι εἰρήνην δεῖ ὑπάρχειν, ἄρ’ οὐκ ἄξιον καὶ εἰρηνοφύλακας καθιστάναι; peace as a pre-condition for economic growth: Thuc. I 12; profits and costs of war in antiquity: P. Brun/R. Descat, “Le profit de la guerre dans la Grèce des cités”, in: J. Andreau et al. (eds), *Economie antique: la guerre dans les économies antiques* (Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges 2000) 211–230.
- 25 Revenues: [Plut.] *X Orat.* 842F; cf. 841B with E. M. Burke, “Lycurgan Finances”, *GRBS* 26 (1985) 251–264, at 251–252 n. 5; Habicht, *Athens from Alexander to Antony* 23: “[T]he figure [1200 talents] is clearly documented and trustworthy”; construction: B. Hintzen-Bollen, *Die Kulturpolitik des Euboulos und des Lykurg: die Denkmäler- und Bauprojekte in Athen zwischen 355 und 322 v. Chr.* (Berlin 1997); J. Engels, “Zur Stellung Lykurgs und zur Aussagekraft seines Militär- und Bauprogramms für die Demokratie vor 322 v. Chr.”, *AncSoc* 23 (1992) 5–29; W. Will, *Athen und Alexander: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Stadt von 338 bis 322 v. Chr.* [= MünchBeitr 77] (Munich 1983) 77–93; general conditions: Faraguna, *Atene nell’età di Alessandro*.
- 26 Antiquity knew competing traditions for the number and identities of the men demanded by Alexander: Arr. I 10.4; Plut. *Dem.* 23.4; Plut. *Phoc.* 17.2; Suda s.v. Ἀντίπατρος. The list at Dem. 23.4 seems to be authoritative, as was recognized more than a century ago: Bosworth, *A Historical Commentary* 93–95, at 95; for the lists see also Jacoby ad Douris, *FGrHist* 76 F 39.

but even listened to him as he counseled. Phocion counseled that if he (Alexander) aimed at calm he should put aside war (θέσθαι τὸν πόλεμον), but if at reputation then he should transfer war, directing it against the barbarians and away from the Greeks.²⁷ The lives of Demosthenes, Lycinus, and Polyeuctus of Sphettus, to name just three, had been on the line. Failure might have been disastrous. But in the wake of success we see celebration. All of the major Lycinus festival initiatives mentioned above were enacted after the détente with Alexander, after Thebes' destruction in 335. War was averted and peace restored²⁸. Whether we feel that the Athenians ought to have celebrated after peace was concluded with Alexander, they did.

If Roussel's date was wrong, his instinct was right. The moment to celebrate was not immediately after Chaeronea (338/7), but three years later, after Thebes (335/4). Athens' most important statesmen were rescued from the brink. Alexander agreed to turn war elsewhere. Athens received the rich territory of Oropus. The Lesser *Panathenaia*, Eleusinian *Herakleia*, and probably the *Amphiaraiia* were richly endowed. New festivals were created and old ones enhanced. The new *dermatikon* and other innovations in sacred finance made piety profitable as never before. This was the hour in which the benefits of Peace shone brightly on the Athenians. This, I suggest, is when Athens created and endowed the new festival for Peace.

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27 Plut. *Phoc.* 17.6–7: τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον ψήφισμα λέγεται <τὸν> Ἀλέξανδρον ὡς ἔλαβε ῥῆσαι, καὶ φυγεῖν ἀποστραφέντα τοὺς πρέσβεις· τὸ δὲ δεύτερον ἐδέξατο κομισθὲν ὑπὸ Φωκίωνος, τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἀκούων ὅτι καὶ Φίλιππος ἐθαύμαζε τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον, καὶ οὐ μόνον τὴν ἔντευξιν ὑπέμεινε αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν δέησιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ συμβουλευόντος ἤκουσε. [17.7] συνεβούλευε δ' ὁ Φωκίων, εἰ μὲν ἡσυχίας ὀρέγεται, θέσθαι τὸν πόλεμον· εἰ δὲ δόξης, μεταθέσθαι, πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τραπόμενον; cf. Plut. *Dem.* 23.6; Diod. XVII 15.3–5.

28 Perhaps even officially renewed. According to one argument Alexander renewed not only the alliance that Philip arranged between Macedonia and the Greek states but also the common peace that members of the League of Corinth were obliged to swear: A. J. Heisserer, *Alexander the Great and the Greeks: The Epigraphic Evidence* (Norman 1980) 3–26, esp. 19; Just. IX 5.4 (*symmachia*); *IG II² 329* (renewal); *IG II² 236* (common peace); [Dem.] 17 (terms of renewal). It is tempting to speculate that “the stele concerning the peace” (τὴν στήλην τὴν περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης), to which the newly proposed festival was attached, was Alexander's renewal itself. Cf. A. Tronson, “The Relevance of *IG II² 329* to the Hellenic League of Alexander the Great”, *AncW* 12 (1985) 15–19, who dates *IG II² 329* to the early 360s, associating it with a putative treaty between Alexander II of Macedon and Athens.