



TYCHÉ

Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte Papyrologie und Epigraphik

Herausgegeben von

Gerhard Dobesch, Hermann Härrauer
Peter Siewert und Ekkehard Weber

Band 7, 1992





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Tafel 1–24

VICTOR PARKER

The Dates of the Orthagorids of Sicyon

Orthagoras accomplished a rather remarkable feat in ancient Greece: he established a tyranny that endured long after his death. It gained, in fact, a reputation as the “hundred years’ tyranny”¹, as it were. A number of tyrants from Orthagoras’ family seem to have ruled in Sicyon, whereas most tyrannies were incapable of securing a stable succession to the next generation. This paper will briefly review the genealogy of this house and will attempt to resolve the vexed question of its chronology. In the main two solutions have been advanced: the dynasty lasted from roughly 655 to 555 or from roughly 610 to 510. We shall test the arguments for both of these solutions.

First, however, let us review the house’s genealogy, since genealogical evidence, as so often in early Greek history, proves indispensable to any discussion of chronology. The dynasty’s founder was almost certainly Orthagoras². Aristotle explicitly states that it was he who established the tyranny at Sicyon³. Plutarch confirms the tradition⁴, while POxy 1365 = FGrHist 105 fr. 2 obviously repeats the same information. The richest and best-attested tyrant was, however, Cleisthenes, namesake and maternal grandfather of the Athenian political reformer. For this tyrant we have a reasonably good genealogy by way of Herodotus VI 126, 1: Cleisthenes, son of Aristonymus, son of Myron, son of Andreas. Pausanias II 8, 1 gives the genealogy from Cleisthenes to Myron. Herodotus does not tell us, if all of the named ascendants of Cleisthenes were tyrants. He almost certainly implies⁵ that Cleisthenes was not the first tyrant of the house, though he unfortunately does not say whether or not Aristonymus and Myron preceded Cleisthenes directly.

Andreas was, of course, the name of Orthagoras’ father, as FGrHist 105 fr. 2 makes perfectly clear. If both the father of Orthagoras and the father of Myron bore the moniker

¹ Aristotle, *Politica* 1315b; Diodorus VIII 24.

² V. Costanzi, *La tirannide degli Ortogoridi alla luce di un nuovo documento*, RivFil 44 (1916) 370, followed by A. Momigliano, *La genealogia degli Ortogoridi*, in: *Quinto Contributo I*, Roma 1975, 437, has challenged this. Costanzi argues for a back-formation from the generic name “Orthagorids”, which provided the albeit false name of the dynasty’s founder. As an analogy Costanzi 378 refers to the Bacchiads of Corinth with a quasi-mythical Bacchus as the family’s progenitor. The Cypselids of Corinth, named after the founder of the dynasty, Cypselus, are perhaps the better analogy. Peisistratus’ descendants likewise bore the appellation “Peisistratids”. In consequence Costanzi’s theory seems most improbable.

G. Busolt, *Griechische Geschichte* I, Gotha 1893, 661 with Nn. 3 and 4, following M. Duncker, *Geschichte des Altertums* VI, Leipzig 1882, 77–78, erroneously held Andreas (Orthagoras’ father — see below) and Orthagoras to be one and the same person.

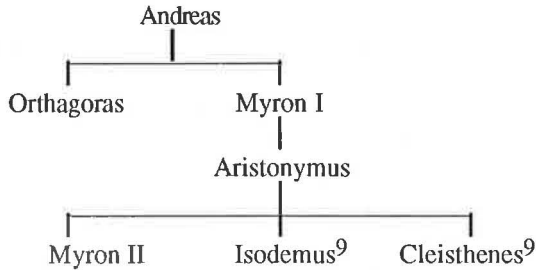
³ Aristotle, *Politica* 1315b.

⁴ Plutarch, *De sera numinis vindicta* VII 553.

⁵ Herodotus normally can provide such an impressively full genealogy only in the case of ruling houses: e. g. the Spartan king lists.

Andreas, then Orthagoras and Myron were brothers⁶. M. Denicolai first proposed this obvious solution, adopted, of course, by H. T. Wade-Gery in the first edition of the *Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. III 570; it is now denied by no one though sometimes ignored⁷.

Nicolaus of Damascus tells us of two other Orthagorids: Myron and Isodemus, who did rule, for seven years and one year respectively⁸. The two are brothers to Cleisthenes, the length of whose reign Nicolaus pegs at thirty-one years. If we postulate that Nicolaus' Myron and Herodotus' Myron are one and the same, we attain a nonsensical family tree, for then Cleisthenes is endowed with two fathers, Aristonymus and Andreas. If we believe Nicolaus, we may sketch the following provisional family tree:



⁶ So M. Denicolai, *La genealogia dei tiranni di Sicione secondo un nuovo frammento storico*, Atti della Reale Accademia delle Scienze di Torino 51 (1916) 1225.

We have no reason to assume that later tradition replaced Myron with Orthagoras (so Momigliano [see above n. 2] 438). Herodotus VI 126, 1 obviously gives only the relevant genealogy — he demonstrates how Cleisthenes fits into the Orthagorid family tree. He, therefore, traces Cleisthenes' ancestry back to the ascendant from whom all the "Orthagorids" were descended, i. e. to the father of Orthagoras.

M. Lenchantin de Gubernatis, *Il nuovo storico di Sicione e la dinastia degli Ortogoridi*, Atti della Reale Accademia delle Scienze di Torino 51 (1916) 300, has advanced another solution, revived by A. Gitti, *Clistene di Sicione e le sue leggi*, Memorie della Reale Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei II ser. 6 (1926) 589–590. They add a second Andreas as the son of Orthagoras. It is this Andreas who begets Myron. Denicolai 1223 decisively disproved this theory (Gitti has nothing cogent to bring against her arguments). It is inconceivable that Herodotus would neglect to trace the dynasty back to its "Ahnherr".

⁷ E. g. by H. Rudolf, *Die ältere Tyrannis in Sikyon*, Chiron 1 (1971) 75–83 (basing himself only on H. Berve's handbook on Greek tyrants).

⁸ Nicolaus of Damascus, FGrHist 90 fr. 61. The name Isodemus has naturally seemed suspicious to some, e. g. Momigliano (see above n. 2) 442–443, or V. Ehrenberg, RE 1117 s. v. Myron (2). The brevity of his reign indicates that he lacked importance; suspicions raised by his name are therefore probably irrelevant. Gitti (see above n. 6) 590 inclined to regard Isodemus as co-regent of Cleisthenes and to count his one year as part of Cleisthenes' 31. There seems to be no reason for this.

⁹ Aristotle, *Politica* 1315b certainly implies that Orthagoras had sons or at least descendants who ruled. He says παῖδες, which must necessarily mean ἔγγονοι, as it would seem that grandsons would need be required for a house that ruled for a century. If actual sons are intended, it is difficult to see who these were. N. G. L. Hammond, *The Family of Orthagoras*, CQ 49 (1956) 51–52; J. Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte* I 2², 285; G. Lippold, RE 2536 s. v. Sikyon; F. Schachermeyr, RE 1431–1432 s. v. Orthagoriden; U. Kahrstedt, RE 619 s. v. Kleisthenes (1), have all made Myron II and Isodemus these sons, ignoring Nicolaus' explicit statement that they were brothers of Cleisthenes. H. T. Wade-Gery, CAH III, 1929, 570, has suggested that Orthagoras had a daughter who married Aristonymus. It is, however, perfectly possible, that Aristotle meant "descendants" in a very loose sense, or that Orthagoras resorted to the adoption of his nephew or great-nephew, as Denicolai (see above n. 6) 1225 points out. The nephew (Aristonymus? Myron II?) would then technically have been a παῖς of Orthagoras.

Of Cleisthenes I we know that he participated in the First Sacred War¹⁰ (traditionally ca. 590) and that he won the four-horse chariot race at the Pythian games in 582/81¹¹. Cleisthenes I's daughter, Agariste, married the Alcmeonid, Megacles I of Athens. Possibly as many as five children of Megacles I are known to us: Aristonymus II, Megacles II, Hippocrates, Cleisthenes II, and an anonymous daughter¹². The first three cannot be dated in any satisfactory way; in the case of the second we cannot even say with confidence that he was indeed a son of Megacles I. His nameless daughter, however, married Peisistratus at the beginning of that despot's second tyranny (ca. 560?)¹³. Moreover, the Athenian lawgiver, Cleisthenes II, is known to have been archon in 525/24¹⁴. He carried out his famous political reforms in the last decade of the sixth century after the expulsion of Hippias in 511/10. A date for the marriage of Agariste around 575 would therefore seem to be indicated¹⁵. These figures, plus or minus, reconcile themselves easily with Nicolaus' report of a 31 year reign and — despite Ehrenberg's scepticism¹⁶ — make the acceptance of the other parts of Nicolaus' account palatable¹⁷. We can therefore advance approximate dates for Cleisthenes I: ca. 600 — ca. 569 (using a round number for the upper figure)¹⁸. This gives the soundest base from which to work outward. Isodemus would rule in

¹⁰ Pausanias II 9, 6; X 37, 6; Scholiast to Pindar, *Nemean* IX (to the dedication). The extreme scepticism of N. Robertson, *The Myth of the First Sacred War*, CQ 72 (1978) 38–73, seems to me unjustified; limitations of space, however, preclude a response. Note, though, the comments of K. Brodersen, *Zur Datierung der ersten Pythien*, ZPE 82 (1990) 26 n. 3 and 31 n. 24. For the date of the war see W. G. Forrest, *The First Sacred War*, BCH 80 (1956) 33–34; T. J. Cadoux, *The Athenian Archons from Kreon to Hypsichides*, JHS 68 (1948) 99–101; Beloch I 1², 338 n. 1. That the war occurred early in Cleisthenes' reign (i. e. some years before the marriage of Agariste) seems certain, as the relations between Cleisthenes and Delphi later in his reign were rather hostile — cf. Hdt. V 67, 1–2.

¹¹ Pausanias X 7, 6. For our purposes it is of little importance whether this victory occurred in 586/85 — so S. G. Robinson, *The Date of the First Pythiad*, CSCA 11 (1978) 127–158 — or, more probably, in 582/81 — so Brodersen (see above n. 10) 25–31.

¹² For the evidence see J. K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families*, Oxford 1971, n. 9688.

¹³ Hdt. I 61, 1 (see also n. 34).

¹⁴ Cadoux (see above n. 10) 109–110.

¹⁵ Hdt. VI 126 states, that the marriage took place a year after Cleisthenes' I victory in the chariot race at Olympia. Of the three possible dates, 579, 575, and 571, 575 is the most probable. Nevertheless, the details of Herodotus' story of Cleisthenes' I proclamation, that all those who wished to woo his daughter come to Sicyon within 60 days, and that the marriage would take place in the year following the sixtieth day, may be suspect. It therefore seems preferable to give the date of the marriage as "ca. 575".

¹⁶ Ehrenberg (see above n. 8) 1117–1118.

¹⁷ If we are to accept Herodotus' genealogy for Cleisthenes, then the name of Myron for the eldest brother of Cleisthenes may possibly be confirmed, for a son was routinely named after his paternal grandfather.

¹⁸ On the chronology of Cleisthenes of Sicyon see generally M. F. McGregor, *Cleisthenes of Sicyon and the Panhellenic Festivals*, TAPA 72 (1941) 266–287. The only objector to such dates seems to be F. Mitchel, *Megacles*, TAPA 88 (1957) 127–130. He thinks that the Megacles of Hdt. VI 127–130 (suitor of Agariste) is a different Megacles from the one of Hdt. I 61 (father-in-law of Peisistratus). He is misled by an Herodotean mistake: Herodotus (VI 125) slips when he dates Alcmeon (Megacles' father) to the reign of Croesus (traditionally 561–547). Mitchel proceeds to date Alcmeon's son (the suitor of Agariste) to the generation after Croesus, whereas the father-in-law of Peisistratus had a marriageable daughter in ca. 560. Mitchel unfortunately never really tries to date the marriage of Agariste, which must have taken place before 555 due to the archonship of the Athenian Cleisthenes (525/24). But since the marriage took place in the generation after Alcmeon (who probably was not an old man when he visited Croesus) a date of ca. 525 would seem to be

the year ca. 601/600, while his elder brother would rule from ca. 608 to ca. 601 — assuming that Nicolaus' figures are accurate to the year, which need hardly be the case¹⁹.

Pausanias²⁰ states that a Sicyonian tyrant named Myron won the four-horse chariot race at Olympia in 648 in the 33rd Olympic Games²¹. If the date should be correct, then Myron I would be meant, as no one can have imagined Myron II being tyrant in 648. Unfortunately, we can put no trust in the exact date given by Pausanias, as only the eponymous victor in the footrace can have provided a secure date. Pausanias calls the Myron in question "tyrant", so Myron I may have succeeded Orthagoras, if Myron I should indeed be meant. On the other hand, we do know for a fact that Myron II was tyrant; considering the dubious authority of numerals in Pausanias' text it would probably be better not to attach any particular weight to Pausanias' statement that a Myron was tyrant in 648²². At this point we may as well admit that we have no real evidence that any tyrants other than Orthagoras ruled before Myron II. Aristonymus or some other Orthagorid may have ruled between these two tyrants; we simply do not know.

We must discuss one final tyrant of Sicyon: Aeschines, whom the Spartans deposed. We must determine whether or not he was an Orthagorid and, if so, when his deposition took place. PRyl I 18 = FGrHist 105 fr. 1, and Plutarch²³ attest a Sicyonian tyrant named Aeschines deposed by the Spartans. Despite earlier belief²⁴ that Agariste was Cleisthenes' only child, it seems relatively certain that Cleisthenes had heirs, since the Spartans are said to have deposed οἱ ἀπὸ Κλεισθέωνος ("those descended from Cleisthenes") by the scholiast to Aeschines II 77²⁵. The deposition of the descendants of Cleisthenes and that of Aeschines self-evidently refer to the same historical event: Aeschines was an Orthagorid.

indicated on the basis of Mitchel's theory, which, as is transparent, thereby falls to the ground. The two Megacles' are one and the same; Alcmeon and Croesus were not contemporaries.

¹⁹ See below, n. 48.

²⁰ Pausanias VI 19, 1–2.

²¹ We have no cause to adjust this olympiad date on the grounds that the Olympics were at the start an annual instead of a quadrennial festival, as E. Cavaignac, *À propos d'un document nouveau sur les Orthagorides*, REG 32 (1919) 65, proposes. This theory, built up on totally insufficient evidence by T. Lenschau, *Forschungen zur griechischen Geschichte im VII. und VI. Jahrhundert*, Philologus 91 (1936) 396–410, is usually rejected and rightly so.

²² Pausanias' testimony ultimately rests solely on the transmission of the numeral "33" — and we all know how notoriously corrupt the numerals in Pausanias' text are — cf. e. g. IV 24, 5 or II 24, 7. For farther arguments against the general trustworthiness of Pausanias' account of Myron, see M. White, *The Dates of the Orthagorids*, Phoenix 12 (1958) 10.

One might hold that the genealogical evidence confirms a date of 648: Orthagoras is two generations above Myron II (ca. 608–01). Orthagoras could therefore be held to have reigned about the middle of the seventh century. Nevertheless, we simply do not know exactly when Orthagoras was born or how old he was when he became tyrant. See below, n. 52.

²³ Plutarch, *De Herodoti malignitate* XXI 859.

²⁴ In addition to Gitti (see above n. 6) and Denicolai (see above n. 6), discussed in the next note: Schachermeyr (see above n. 9) 1432; Beloch, I 2², 285; Lippold (see above n. 9) 2537; Kahrstedt (see above n. 9) 620; Lenchantin de Gubernatis (see above n. 6) 303.

²⁵ This key piece of evidence was first brought to the fore by Hammond (see above n. 9) 46. Gitti (see above n. 6) 591 is unaware of this and lets the tyranny end with Cleisthenes. He understands Aristotle, *Politica* 1316a and Plutarch, *De sera numinis vindicta* VII 553, to imply that the tyranny ended with Cleisthenes. This interpretation is hardly necessary. Aristotle (ἀλλὰ μεταβάλλει καὶ εἰς τυραννίδα τυραννίς, ὥσπερ ἡ Σικυῶνος ἐκ τῆς Μύρωνος εἰς τὴν Κλεισθέωνος) certainly does not mean that Cleisthenes was the last tyrant, just as he does not mean that Myron was the first. Myron is simply cited as a tyrant who was succeeded by another tyrant. Nor does Plutarch (ἀλλὰ Σικυωνίους μὲν Ὀρθαγόρας γενόμενος τύραννος καὶ μετ' ἐκείνων οἱ περὶ

We must now investigate PRyl I 18 (henceforth FGrHist 105 fr. 1) more closely, by far the most cryptic part of the evidence. It is also the only evidence which they who date the fall of the tyranny to 556 are able to adduce. The papyrus appears to make short excerpts from (a) longer work(s). The relevant text is printed below:

| | |
|----|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 15 | [. .] . . ταπ . ι . . τα δια [βας εις την ηπειρον [[πο]λλην της παραλι [ας υ]πωρειας εκτισ[εν Χιλων δε ο Λακων |
| 20 | εφορευσας και στ ^ρ :ατ[ηγη σας Αναξανδριδη[ς τε τας εν τοις Ελλ[ησι]ν τ[υρα]ννιδας κατελυ σα[ν] . . . εν Σικυων[ι] μεν Α[ι]σχι[ν]ην Ιππιαν δε [Αθηνησι?] Πεισιστ[ρα [τ |

The aorist participle ἐφορεύσας is generally considered to be ingressive, “having become ephor”, “being ephor” rather than “having been ephor”²⁶. One could read for the second and third line, καὶ στρατ[εύ]σας Ἀναξανδρίδη[ς] τὰς κτλ. in order to safeguard correct Spartan procedure: ephors did not command armies when kings were in the field. However M. White²⁷ seems perfectly justified in noting that, given the crowding of the letters in the name Anaxandridas, the scribe was trying to fit in extra letters. Therefore the restoration τε after Ἀναξανδρίδης seems warranted, even if it lessens slightly the historical trustworthiness of the papyrus. The ultimate source of this part of the papyrus probably intended to glorify one of the seven sages.

We must now attempt to explain what FGrHist 105 fr. 1 means. The writer left several spaces between the words κατέλυσαν and ἐν Σικυῶνι and set a paragraphus below -σα[ν]. This is the standard method of demarcating the end of a section and the beginning of a new one; F. Bilabel interpreted the text accordingly²⁸. That the scribe of this particular papyrus did in fact punctuate according to standard procedure is shown by the paragraphus

Μύρωνα καὶ Κλεισθένη τὴν ἀκολασίαν ἔπαυσαν) say that Cleisthenes was the last tyrant. Cleisthenes is simply mentioned as another who put a stop to Sicyonian wantonness.

Denicolai (see above n. 6) 1224–1225 (cf. Beloch 287) equally unaware of the Scholiast to Aeschines, proposes that Isodemus’ son succeeded Cleisthenes. Nevertheless, Nicolaus seems to mean that Isodemus’ sons were excluded from the succession due to the contagion of the fratricide (Isodemus is said to have killed Myron II). Therefore Denicolai’s proposal should yield against the evidence offered by the Scholiast, that Cleisthenes had descendants who succeeded him.

²⁶ The point is convincingly argued by D. M. Leahy, *Chilon and Aeschines: A Further Consideration of Rylands Greek Papyrus fr. 18*, *Bulletin of the John Ryland Library* 38 (1956) 419–423.

²⁷ White (see above n. 22) 4.

²⁸ F. Bilabel, *Die kleineren Historikerfragmente auf Papyrus*, Bonn 1922, 3: „Die Sätze sind durch Paragraphi getrennt.“

above Χίλων whose actions are thereby separated from those who “crossed over to the ‘continent’ and colonized the seacoast.” It will not do to argue against assuming standard usage of punctuation along the lines which D. M. Leahy chooses: “absolute consistency is not to be looked for in the punctuation of writings of this kind²⁹.” Does this not in fact concede the issue at hand? That standard punctuation on the part of the scribe would in fact militate against his theory? In the absence of strong evidence to the contrary it is *petitio principii* to assume non-standard procedure instead of standard.

This said, we may turn to Leahy’s pretence at argument against normal punctuation on the part of the scribe. He argues that the absence of a connective particle after ἐν Σικυῶνι shows that the sentence beginning with Χίλων continues³⁰. Asyndeton is held to be impossible — as well it would, if this were continuous narration. Yet the punctuation shows that this may well not be continuous narration! The scribe excerpted from (an)other work(s). He copied something about the colonizing of the seacoast of the “continent”. Then he copied a notice on Chilon — which begins with a connective particle despite the absence of a connection to the sentence preceding. Then he copied a notice on Aeschines and Hippias, which had originally stood at we cannot divine what position in a sentence, paragraph, or book. One can advance a half-dozen explanations of why the notice which the scribe jotted down out of some longer work did not include a connective particle. The fact of the matter is, a chronicle-like stringing together of excerpts simply does not avail itself of continuous narration and naturally eschews the components thereof.

In the same way that Ambrose Bierce’s unfortunate logician operates with the unproved — indeed false — assumption that all types of work can be done by any number of men no matter how many and in any amount of time no matter how brief³¹, Leahy proceeds from the equally unproved assumption that the narration of the papyrus is continuous — a very insecure assumption to make about a work which can be shown to consist of excerpts ripped out of their original contexts in other works. *A priori*, however, we simply do not know whether or not the narration is consecutive. The correct syllogism is as follows: “The punctuation would under normal circumstances show that a new section begins with ἐν Σικυῶνι. Consecutive narration requires a connective particle when new sentences begin. As there is no connective particle, there cannot be consecutive narration, always assuming, of course, normal circumstances.” As we have no reason to assume abnormal we are far more likely to go right if we assume normal. This being so, we may pause here to consider the strained attempts at explaining the papyrus which they who insist on assuming abnormal circumstances have been compelled to make.

Hammond and Leahy prefer to interpret the paragraphus and spaces after κατέλυσαν as a colon, so that what follows appears to be a list of tyrants whom Chilon and Anaxandridas did put down in the year of Chilon’s ephorate, 556/55³²:

²⁹ Leahy, *Chilon and Aeschines again*, Phoenix (1959) 34.

³⁰ Leahy, (see above n. 29) 4.

³¹ From *The Devil’s Dictionary*, s. v. logic: “*Major premise*: Sixty men can do a piece of work sixty times as quickly as one man. *Minor premise*: One man can dig a post hole in sixty seconds, therefore — *Conclusion*: Sixty men can dig a post hole in one second.” Leahy seems to say: “The narration of the papyrus is consecutive. Consecutive narration requires a connecting particle when new sentences begin. The absence of a connecting particle therefore shows that the sentence begun with Χίλων continues with ἐν Σικυῶνι.” The reasoning is perfect, the first premise misleading.

³² According to Diogenes Laertius I 68 = Sosicrates fr. 12, FHG IV 502, Chilon became ephor during the archonship of Euthydemus. According to the *Marmor Parium*, Epoch A 41, Euthydemus was archon 292 years before the base date from which the Parian reckons. Now, the Parian can be shown to be reckoning from the base year 263/62 in Epochs A 44–A 66. Otherwise he reckons from

“Chilon of Sparta, having become ephor and general, along with [King] Anaxandridas, put down the tyrannies among the Greeks: in Sicyon Aeschines, Hippias [in Athens, the son of] Peisistratus...”

Now, Hippias was deposed in the first half of the Athenian archon year 511/10. How Chilon managed to depose him in 556/55 is, frankly, inexplicable.

Hammond has proposed that the Hippias mentioned by the papyrus was not the famous tyrant of Athens but some unknown tyrant of the same name³³. Furthermore, Hammond maintains that the papyrus also dates the second expulsion of Peisistratus to Chilon's ephorate³⁴. This tour de force is unacceptable³⁵: 1) The chiasitic μὲν ... δέ construction ἐν Σικυῶν[ι] μὲν Αἰ[σχ]ίνην Ἰππίαν δὲ [sc. Ἀθήνησιν vel. sim.] couples tightly the two named tyrants and renders impossible the mention of a third. 2) The conjuring up of unknown tyrants is highly questionable procedure. 3) The most natural interpretation of the name of Hippias next to that of Peisistratus will be, that the well-known Hippias, son of Peisistratus, is meant.

Leahy, on the other hand, opines that while the papyrus certainly does appear to date Hippias' expulsion to 556/55, the lost part of the text (or the part which was left out by the excerptor) would surely have explained that Chilon did in fact expel Aeschines in 556, but that Hippias was expelled much later and not by Chilon³⁶. That which we do not see, therefore, is Leahy's proof. Such an argument, which reinterprets the preserved part of a text on the basis of a guess at the import of the lost, must needs be rejected³⁷. Moreover, the tight chiasitic linkage of Aeschines and Hippias shows clearly the original author's intention of grammatically and syntactically coupling the two tyrants to one another as objects of a single verb.

We shall now turn to interpreting the text as it stands:

“Chilon the Spartan, having become ephor and being general, together with [King] Anaxandridas, put down the tyrannies in

264/63. (For discussion see Cadoux [see above n. 10] 83–86). As Euthydemus is mentioned in Epoch A 41, it is *a priori* more likely that we should reckon from the base year 264/63. $264/63 + 292 = 556/55$. Chilon therefore became ephor in 556/55. Unlike Cadoux 108–109, I have declined to entwine this discussion with the chronology of the Peisistratids (see n. 34).

³³ Hammond (see above n. 9) 50.

³⁴ In fact, the *second* exile probably began in 557. Hdt. V 65, 3 says that Hippias left Athens after he and his father had reigned for 36 years. Herodotus obviously means the third continuous tyranny — as is nowadays generally accepted. As Hippias was toppled in 511/10, Peisistratus seized power for the 3rd time 36 years earlier in 547 (the 36 years — as a cardinal number is involved — ought *a priori* to be taken exclusively). As the second exile lasted for 10 years (Hdt. I 62, 1), it began in 557. See now P. J. Rhodes, *Peisistratid Chronology Again*, Phoenix 30 (1976) 219–233, with whom I am in agreement excepting the fact that he seems to prefer counting the 36 years inclusively. The figures of the *Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία* are, as F. Heidbüchel, *Die Chronologie der Peisistratiden in der Attis*, Philologus 101 (1957) 70–89, has demonstrated, useless for establishing Peisistratid chronology. Nevertheless, the Archons mentioned by the *Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία* as having been in office on the occasions when Peisistratus seized power or was expelled may very well be correctly named. If this be so, then Hegesias was Archon when Peisistratus was expelled for the second time: in 557/56. This date does not conflict with the date of the archonship of Euthydemus (556/55) — see n. 32. Both dates have been arrived at independently and — in each case — on the basis of the inherently more probable of two assumptions.

³⁵ It is rejected with little ado by White (s. above n. 22) 7–8, and Leahy, (s. above n. 29) 33.

³⁶ D. M. Leahy, *The Dating of the Orthagorid Dynasty*, Historia 17 (1968) 6–7.

³⁷ Hammond (see above n. 9) 50 has put the matter squarely: “It is a false principle to argue from the missing part of a text against the text itself.”

Greece.”

“In Sicyon Aeschines, Hippias in Athens, Peisistratus’ son
[sc. did the Spartans depose vel sim.]”

What we have in the second paragraph — which must be disassociated from the first³⁸ — are the names of two deposed tyrants, the first of whom the Spartans deposed at a, for now, unknown date and the second of whom King Cleomenes of Sparta deposed in 511/10. It is sound method to judge an obscure and fragmentary passage in the light of texts of similar content and import. We do, in fact, know of several other listings of tyrants allegedly deposed by Spartans. The Scholiast to Aeschines, to whom we have already had cause to refer, offers a truncated list: Lygdamis of Naxos, the sons of Peisistratus, and those descended from Cleisthenes. These three entries correspond to three sequential entries in a fuller list recorded by Plutarch: Lygdamis of Naxos, the Peisistratids, and Aeschines in Sicyon. Before Lygdamis Plutarch mentions the Cypselids of Corinth and those of Ambracia; after Aeschines Plutarch mentions Aules of Phocis, Symmachus of Thasos, Aristogenes of Miletus, and Aristomedes and Angelus of Thessaly³⁹. In the light of this evidence it becomes rather difficult to resist the conclusion that the papyrus’ two entries “in Sicyon Aeschines, Hippias in Athens” ultimately derive from a similar list of tyrants whom the Spartans supposedly toppled.

The order of the deposed tyrants in the list shall concern us now. The Cypselids fell from power most probably in the early years of the 550’s; the less probable date of their deposition is 585. The true date, however, is for our purposes irrelevant. Scholars have usually connected the deposition of Lygdamis with the Spartan expedition to Samos against Polycrates in ca. 524⁴⁰. Hippias lost power in 511. To guess at the dates of the other depositions is difficult; we must content ourselves with the statement that the list of depositions does seem to present a chronological arrangement⁴¹. We must also note that the position of that tyrant, who most interests us, varies slightly: Plutarch and the Aeschines scholium mention him immediately after Hippias, whereas FGrHist 105 fr. 1 places him before Hippias. The papyrus antedates both Plutarch and the Scholiast by several centuries, so this discrepancy need not be treated as an error on the part of the papyrus, but may be held to be a significant variation⁴². If the papyrus’ order is to take precedence over the two later lists, then Aeschines’ deposition could have occurred shortly before that of Hippias’ in 511.

Two additional pieces of evidence confirm that this is the general time: 1) Herodotus states that Cleisthenes imposed new tribal names (Ἰάται, Ὀνεᾶται, Χοιρεᾶται) on the Dorian tribes of Sicyon and that these names remained in use for sixty years after his death⁴³. This

³⁸ We may as well note, that the counterarguments for an association are not compelling: 1) that the writer must have explained his vague statement of Chilon’s suppression of the tyrannies in Greece; and 2) that the names in the second sentence seem to correspond to the syntax of the first. The scribe’s source may well have elaborated on the tyrannies put down by Chilon; our scribe hardly need have felt compelled to jot down that as well. Finally, the entries of Aeschines and Hippias would correspond more neatly to the first sentence, if τυράννουσ instead of τυραννίδας had been the object of κατέλυσαν.

³⁹ Plutarch, *De Herodoti malignitate* XXI 859.

⁴⁰ Thus U. Kahrstedt, RE 2217 s. v. Lygdamis (2).

⁴¹ As capably argued by Lenschau (see above n. 21) 283–284; even Leahy, *Historia* 1968 (see above n. 36) 7–8 is compelled to admit this appearance.

⁴² See below for farther discussion of these lists.

⁴³ Hdt. V 68: τούτοις τοῖσι οὐνόμασι τῶν φυλέων ἐχρέωντο οἱ Σικυώνιοι καὶ ἐπὶ Κλεισθένης ἄρχοντος καὶ ἐκείνου τεθνεώτος ἔτι ἐπ’ ἕτεα ἐξήκοντα. Cavaignac (see above n. 21) 63 suggests that the latter part of Cleisthenes’ reign is to be counted in the sixty years. Such a reading is grammatically impossible due to the ἔτι before the phrase ἐπ’ ἕτεα ἐξήκοντα: “and after

certainly seems to indicate that the Orthagorids retained control of Sicyon for sixty years or so after the death of Cleisthenes⁴⁴. One may compare, for example, the renaming of cities and towns in the countries of eastern Europe, for example, Leningrad and Karl-Marx-Stadt. Directly upon the fall of the government which had altered the original names the former toponyms (St. Petersburg and Chemnitz) have resurfaced. 2) One may reasonably infer from the phrase οἱ ἀπὸ Κλεισθέωνος in the Aeschines scholium that more than one generation is involved. The phrase means "the male descendants of Cleisthenes" and is almost certainly not restricted to Cleisthenes' sons. M. White has pointed out that the phrase contrasts with οἱ Πεισιστρατίδαι (limited to Peisistratus' sons), whose deposition by the Spartans the scholiast has just mentioned. If the scholiast merely meant the sons of Cleisthenes, why this more elaborate circumlocution? "Those descended from Cleisthenes" therefore almost seems of necessity to imply descendants later than sons, i. e., grandsons⁴⁵. Two ruling generations after ca. 569 should date the end of the dynasty to the last quarter of the sixth century. All three pieces of evidence in fact point toward a date near to the end of the sixth century. It is this convergence of all the evidence to which Leahy fails to do justice⁴⁶ and which conclusively proves the low chronology of the Orthagorid tyranny.

his death for sixty years still." I. e.: "The Sicyonians continued to use these tribal names both while Cleisthenes was reigning and for another sixty years after he had died." N. b. that in practical terms this could be 55–65 years; for my part I am fairly certain that an expression such as "for about two generations" ultimately lies behind the figure of sixty years.

⁴⁴ H. Berve, *Die Tyrannis* II, München 1967, 535 states, "diese Bemerkung [concerning the duration of the Cleisthenic names of the phyles] hat jedoch nur rechten Sinn, wenn die Tyrannis nicht so lange [as the new names of the phyles] bestand." This is not apparent to me; Herodotus merely notes, that the new names were in use for sixty years after the death of him who had invented them. As such, it obviously has "rechten Sinn". It is we who connect this remark with the duration of the Orthagorid tyranny — quite possibly without any intention on the part of Herodotus that this connection be made.

⁴⁵ White (see above n. 22) 10–11.

⁴⁶ Instead he weaves a web of hypotheses to demonstrate that the Orthagorids were deposed by 550, because Sicyon was a member of the Peloponnesian League at this time, as evidenced by the entrance into the league of the town of Helice in Achaea, as evidenced by the alleged translation of the bones of Tisamenus from Helice to Sparta (alleged by Leahy to have occurred ca. 550). This entire reconstruction rests, therefore, solely on the shaky foundation of Pausanias' account of the translation of the bones of Tisamenus (Pausanias VII 1, 7–8). See D. M. Leahy, *The Bones of Tisamenus*, *Historia* 4 (1955) 26–38; *Historia* 1968 (see above n. 36) 14–21. Never mind that the story (recounted only by Pausanias) bears a more than suspicious resemblance to the translation of the bones of Orestes and that the tomb of Tisamenus in Sparta (alleged by Pausanias to be that of the Helicean) may well have belonged to the famed Elean seer (Hdt. IX 33–35) of the same name. Never mind that there is no reason whatsoever to date the affair (if true) to 550. Leahy claims that only the original statesman who concocted the translation of Orestes could have concocted the Tisamenus affair. It is never made quite clear why a less original statesman could not have plagiarized the idea decades later. Never mind that Helicean membership in the Peloponnesian League hardly presupposes Sicyonian membership — after the Tegeate Wars Spartan influence could have reached Achaea via Arcadia. Never mind that Sicyonian membership in the league hardly means that the Orthagorid tyranny had been deposed. The Orthagorids were virulently anti-Argive (Hdt. V 67–68) and so was Sparta. Why should the Spartans not have allowed the Orthagorids to bring Sicyon into the Peloponnesian League? The Spartans — pious mythography about deposing tyrants notwithstanding — were in Leahy's own words "pragmatic" and quite capable of a foreign policy "that suited their own interest". Orthagorid anti-Dorianism may have rankled Spartan sensibilities, but I suspect that enmity to Argos may have been more important. Leahy's rickety construct of hypotheses comes apart at every joint and angle.

We must face one final problem, before attempting to assign precise dates to the tyranny. As we saw, the later lists of deposed tyrants place the deposition of Hippias after that of Aeschines. If one is to prefer the FGrHist 105 fr. 1 to the two later sources, then one should have to adduce a reason why later chronology redated Aeschines' deposition so that it followed Hippias'. Such a reason is not difficult to discover. Cleisthenes should have died ca. 569 — the deduction is not fraught with difficulty. One could easily put the date a few years later. The years 596–65 would cover Cleisthenes' reign as easily as our hypothetical 600–569. With the sixty years from Herodotus taken into consideration (which seems to be the case with Nicolaus' source⁴⁷) the date of the fall of the dynasty, if one takes Herodotus' figure exactly, must be put around 509 or even as late as 505, i. e. after Hippias' deposition in 511. The source of FGrHist 105 fr. 1 need not necessarily have taken Herodotus into account, hence the discrepancy. Plutarch or his chronographic source (as well as Nicolaus') may have been utilizing Herodotus' sixty years. We may adduce an additional argument. The improbably long forty-year generation had come into vogue due to the researches of Eratosthenes and Apollodorus. If one assumes a generation between Cleisthenes and Aeschines (not a bad assumption, as it is highly improbable that Aeschines ruled for sixty years), then forty years would have been allotted this hypothetical successor of Cleisthenes. Ancient scholarship may even have known his name. It is quite likely, however, that it also allotted Aeschines a halved generation of twenty years and so confirmed Herodotus' sixty⁴⁸. Therefore a date after 511 was preferred for Aeschines' deposition. FGrHist 105 fr. 1 may be blissfully unaware of such scholarly reconstructions and may simply give an independent, pristine source.

On the strength of this list, therefore, there is a strong possibility that the deposition of Aeschines occurred before that of Hippias instead of after it. At any rate we may draw the plausible inference that the two events did not occur at a far remove from one another⁴⁹. A difference of a few years (mandated by the exact means of reckoning used) could have sufficed to alter the order in the various lists. Exactly when Aeschines was deposed is impossible to say, but ca. 520–10 looks very attractive. The tyranny would then begin in ca. 620–10. The difficulty with this date is simple: there hardly seems room for the tyranny of Orthagoras and his immediate successors, for the reign of Myron II must begin ca. 608⁵⁰.

⁴⁷ See below, n. 50.

⁴⁸ Such a line of reasoning is suggested by the fact that Myron II, Isodemus, and Cleisthenes were allotted 39 years (i. e. Cleisthenes died in the 40th year after Myron II's accession). The generation of the three brothers may therefore have been pegged at 40 years. I imagine that it was known, that Cleisthenes had a rather long reign, Myron II a brief one, and Isodemus a very brief one. The figure for the length of Cleisthenes' reign is, as we have seen, inherently probable and inspires confidence in the chronographer responsible. Although he may have fit the dates to a chronographic construct, his guesswork — due to the very good guess in the case of Cleisthenes — does deserve to be taken seriously if not literally. See also below, n. 50.

⁴⁹ As Lenschau (see above n. 21) 284 suggests.

⁵⁰ So Leahy, *Historia* 1968 (see above n. 36) 10. Ancient scholars seem to have grappled with this problem as well. Momigliano (see above n. 2) 440 has pointed out, that Nicolaus' source seems to have taken the sixty years of Herodotus into account. $60 + 31 + 1 + 7 = 99$. Thus the tyranny would have fallen in the one hundredth year. This suggestion is enticing and would mean that Nicolaus' source attempted to keep the canonical figure of are hundred years by lopping of the predecessor(s) of Myron II. Nicolaus' source made two mistakes: 1) Herodotus' sixty years need not be exact: 55 could be construed. 2) The Hundred Years' Tyranny need not have lasted one hundred years exactly; our own Hundred Years' War lasted 115 years. The figure of one hundred years cannot, after all, be anything other than approximate. Moreover, I do not think that it is itself based on any genealogical calculation, as Gitti (see above n. 6) 591 suggests. (His suggestion requires that only three generations of tyrants rule; this is simply incorrect, as two generations seem to have ruled after Cleisthenes and one probably ruled before him).

I do not think this problem insurmountable. As stated above, we do not know for a fact that Aristonymus or any other Orthagorid for that matter reigned between Orthagoras and Myron II. As far as we know, Orthagoras was succeeded directly by his great-nephew. In the above discussion of the genealogy of the Orthagorid house, I (like almost everyone else) tacitly assumed, that Orthagoras was Myron I's elder brother. This assumption, I need hardly add, is totally gratuitous. Nothing eliminates the possibility that Myron I was Orthagoras' elder brother, as Orthagoras certainly did not become tyrant according to the rules of primogeniture. Orthagoras may have been much closer to the generation of Aristonymus than to that of Myron I. Finally, we do not know how old Orthagoras was when he became tyrant. A man who aspired to become tyrant had to build up his power slowly⁵¹; he could be of very mature years by the time he actually became the master of his polis. I do not see what excludes the possibility of Orthagoras having reigned from ca. 620 to ca. 608⁵². We are nowhere told that his reign was long; we are nowhere told that he was young when he became tyrant. In sum, I cannot see any objection whatsoever to dating the Orthagorid tyranny to the years ca. 620/10 to ca. 520/10⁵³.

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⁵¹ Cf. in this regard POxy 1365 = FGrHist 105 fr. 2, which details the steps of Orthagoras' rise to power through the military.

⁵² Assuming that Cleisthenes was 30 or so when he became tyrant in ca. 600, that he was five years younger than Myron II, and that Aristonymus sired Myron II at the age of 33, then Aristonymus would have been born ca. 668. Myron I would have been born ca. 701 if he had been 33 at the birth of Aristonymus. Assuming that Orthagoras himself was fifteen years younger than his brother (for all we know, half-brother), he could have become tyrant in his mid-sixties in ca. 620. His reign need hardly have lasted more than a decade.

⁵³ The anonymous reviewer of GRBS has pointed out to me that a possible objection to dating the fall of the tyranny toward the end of the sixth century would be the apparent synchronism with the fall of the tyranny at Athens — and should we not expect Herodotus to expound upon this synchronism? Of course, the synchronism may be more apparent than real; after all, Aeschines may have been deposed several years before Hippias. Finally, Herodotus informs us of synchronisms only when he is aware of them and when he considers them important. I consider it well-nigh impossible to gauge what importance Herodotus attached to things he omitted to mention. Consequently, I fail to perceive the trenchancy of this objection.