HONOURS AND PRIVILEGES IN DELPHIC ABBREVIATED DECREES

Dominika Grzesik, MA, PhD student
University of Liverpool/University of Wrocław

Abstract:
The article is devoted to honours and privileges in Delphic abbreviated decrees. The aim of this article is to analyse the honours and privileges that were granted in Delphic abbreviated decrees during the Hellenistic and Roman periods. The main purpose and intention toward which the efforts were directed was to analyze the meaning of the individual honours and privileges, as well as to present the status and origin of the honoured persons.

Key Words: Delphi, Delphic polis, honours and privileges, abbreviated decrees

The Delphic polis was relatively small Greek city-state and had low number of citizens, however its fame equaled that of Athens, Sparta or Thebes. The fame of Delphi is primarily attributed to the Oracle of Apollo, the polis’ patron. The Sanctuary of Apollo was one of the most important sacred site in the Greek world. Many scholars have already written about the Oracle and the Sanctuary – e.g. E. Bourguet, T. Dempsey, M. Delcourt, H. W. Parke and D. E. W. Wormell. However, not much attention had been paid to the city-state. Information regarding the organization, political events and system of polis, as well as the economic and administrative basis of Delphic society can be obtained through the examination of the decrees issued by the polis. Delphic decrees can be divided into two main categories: full and abbreviated decrees. Abbreviated decrees are a local phenomenon in certain areas of Central and Northern Greece, the Islands, parts of Asia Minor and Pontic colonies. The phenomenon of Delphic decrees dating from the Hellenistic period up to the end of the 2nd century AD lies in the number of decrees which do not have a full set of formulae: these decrees number 834 in total. The total number of preserved abbreviated decrees is nearly three times the number of preserved full decrees; over 70% of all decrees at Delphi are abbreviated. This proportion is unusual and examples from other Greek poleis, where abbreviated decrees are attested, emphasize the uniqueness of Delphi. For instance, in Olbia, where 100 decrees were preserved, the vast majority (83%) are full decrees. At Gonnii, in Thessaly, 60% of all preserved decrees are full decrees and 40% abbreviated. Only in Miletus, where 60% (109) of all preserved decrees are abbreviated, do we find a balance similar to what we have seen at Delphi.

Such a vast amount of material provides an abundance of important information about the Delphic polis during the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

Delphic abbreviated decrees prove that in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, Delphi was an independent political entity. The existence of polis is expressed by the phrases: αὐτὸς ὁ πολέμος Δελφῶν ἔδωκε (polis of the Delphians has granted) and Δελφοὶ ἔδωκαν (Delphians have granted). Delphi governed its own laws, this is attested by the sentence κατὰ τὸν νόμον (according to law). The

317 Bourguet 1905.
318 Dempsey 1918.
319 Delcourt 1955.
320 Parke, Wormell 1956.
321 Larfeld 1914, 329-33; Nawotka 1999, 69.
322 Nawotka 1999, 74-79; 211.
323 Gonnii II; Rhodes 1997, 169-170.
325 E.g. FdD 4.411 II; SGDI 2606, 2607.
326 E.g. FdD 2.75, 3.92, 4.34; SGDI 2673.
327 E.g. FdD 1.37.
The legislative infrastructure of Delphi consisted of a βουλή (council) which included its own magistrates – βουλευταί (councillors)328 and γραμματεύς (secretary)329. Also, the existence of έκκλησία (assembly) is expressed by phrases: ἀ πόλις τῶν Δέλφων (polis of the Delphians) and οἱ Δέλφοι (Delphians)330. However, there is no information about the activity or responsibilities of the council and assembly in abbreviated decrees.

The majority of the abbreviated decrees at Delphi award foreigners with honours and privileges. The aim of this article is to analyze the honours and privileges that were granted in Delphic abbreviated decrees during the Hellenistic and Roman periods. The main purpose and intention toward which the efforts were directed was to analyze the meaning of the individual honours and privileges, as well as to present the status and origin of the honoured persons.

Honours and Privileges

The list of honours and privileges usually begin with proxenia (προξενία)331, this is mentioned in 55% of the abbreviated records332. M. B. Wallace loosely define a proxenos (person honoured with proxenia) as “one city’s official friend in another city”.333 It is hard to find modern equivalent having similar or identical meaning to the ancient proxenos, this is due to the fact that there was no corresponding parallel in ancient Greek city-states as a Foreign Office. To initiate diplomatic contact with other city-states, poleis usually sent citizens who were granted with proxenia by the polis to which the embassy was sent.334 Proxenoi can be therefore compared with modern ambassadors, these people were always prominent citizens in their native city. Granting someone with proxenia was an official confirmation of friendly relations between the honoured person and awarding polis. Proxenia also gave honorands the protection and support of the state.335

Proxenia is usually accompanied by promanteia (προμαντεία) – which appears in 53,5% of Delphic abbreviate decrees. Promanteia is a right of consulting an oracle and a privilege of priority in the ceremonies.336 This was desirable to many and was a valued privilege bestowed by Delphians to individuals337 or to the whole citizens of particular poleis. There are 6 known examples of poleis338 which were granted with promanteia during the Hellenistic period – Siphnos339, Chios340, Smyrna341, Korinthos342, Alexandria343 and Naxos344. Poleis or individuals granted with promanteia had a right to consult an oracle before any other city-states or person, and immediately after Delphians.345

The privilege of the front seats at public games – proedria (προεδρία) – was bestowed as an honour on distinguished foreigners. The phrase προεδρίαν ἐν πάσι τοῖς ἄγιονοις οἷς ἀ πόλις τίθητι (proedria in all festivals which are organized by polis)346 indicate, that in Delphi proedria concerns only games which were organized by polis. It is known that the Delphic polis organized festivals called Theoxenia, Charilla, Septerion and Herois. Pythian games, which were also celebrated at Delphi in honour of Pythian Apollo, were excluded from this list on account of the fact that they were

328 Rhodes 1997, 135.
329 Daux 1936, 428.
330 E.g. FdD 1.391.
331 E.g. FdD 1.113, 1.355, 3.94, 4.141; SGDI 2593, 2608.
332 In fully preserved, reconstructed and fragmentary abbreviated decrees.
334 Perlman 1958, 187; Walbank 1978, 2.
335 Perlman 1958, 186; 190.
337 E.g. FdD 1.193, 2.82; 3.93, 3.104, 4.154; SGDI 2649.
338 Names of poleis are followed by: Hansen, Nielesen 2004.
339 FdD 1.197.
340 FdD 3.213.
341 FdD 4.155.
342 FdD 4.389.
343 SGDI 2592.
344 SGDI 2617.
345 Sokolowski 1954, 170.
346 E.g. FdD 4.170, 4.446.
organized not by the polis, but by the Amphictyonic League. Proedria appears in 45% of Delphic abbreviated decrees.

Prodikia (προδικία) (which is usually expressed in the form προδικίαν ποτὶ Διὸς θεοῦ – prodikia before Delphians348) is almost as common in Delphic abbreviated decrees, as proedria. Prodikia was a priority of trial, an established right to precedence in Delphic courts.349

Asylia (ἄσυλία) which was another privilege bestowed by the polis, has a different meaning than asylia-immunity350 granted by a sanctuary or other sacred place. Asylia has nothing to do with religion, cult or with security from reprisal.351 Asylia attested in Delphic abbreviated decrees, guaranteed the honorand not only safety and security in times of war and peace (ἄσυλίαν καὶ πολέμου καὶ εἰρήνην)352, but also had a purely juridical consequence: access to the court and the right to seek redress in the grantor’s courts353.

A similar privilege to asylia – asphaleia (ἀσφαλεία) (assurance from danger, personal safety) is mentioned in only 1 fully preserved354 and in 4 reconstructed355 abbreviated decrees.

Together with asylia, Delphi often granted atelia (ἄτελεία) – privilege guaranteeing exemption from public burdens. Although atelia appears in almost 49% of Delphic abbreviated decrees, it is impossible to determine which particular kind of tax-exemption is being granted, which is a result of lack of context.

The list of the most often granted honours in Delphic abbreviated decrees also includes euergesia (εὐεργεσία), an award of receiving a title of the benefactor of the Delphic polis356.

Abbreviated decrees of Delphi much less frequently certify the awarding of foreigners with thearodokia (θεαροδοκία) (only 7%) – thearodokia made its recipient a thearodokos - a functionary of a Sanctuary. This privilege indicate, that Delphic polis had an impact on the election of the functionaries of the Sanctuary. The rarity in granting thearodokia is a consequence of the uniqueness of this office – Sanctuary could not have to much thearodokoi.

Enktesis (ἐνκτησία) appears in 30 Delphic abbreviated decrees (this is sometimes referred to as empassis), enktesis was the right of tenure of land in a country or district by a person not belonging to it. Enktesis may give the legal right to the recipient to acquire either a land alone (γῆς ἐνκτησίαν)357, or a land and a house (γῆς καὶ οἰκίας ἐνκτησίαν)358.

Only one Delphic abbreviated record359 certifies the granting of pronomia (προνομία), the right to pasturage. The list of honours and privileges complements epitimia (ἐπιτιμία), an enjoyment of all civil rights and privileges.

The granting of politeia (πολιτεία - citizenship) was a unique privilege amongst Delphic grants of honours and privileges. Naturalization was the most valued privilege360, and that is way there are only 107 abbreviated decrees that attest the granting of citizenship to an individual (or individuals). A number of these decrees provide the reasons for the grants: διὰ τε καλοκαραθήναν καὶ ἢν ἔχον περί τούς θεοὺς εὐσεβείς (for nobleness and for reverence towards the gods)361, διὰ τὴν εὐσωτήνα τοῦ ἔργου καὶ σεμνότητα τοῦ τρόπου (for commitment to work and solemnity of

347 Musielak 1989, 70.
348 E.g. FdD 4.419; SEG 1.199, 31.534.
349 Musielak 1989, 72.
350 Glauser 1977, 82-94.
352 E.g. FdD 4.377, 4.382.
353 Riggsby 1996, 32.
354 SGDI 2691.
355 FdD 1.396, 2.71; SEG 14.400, 39.467[9].
357 FdD 1.424.
359 FdD 4.84.
361 FdD 1.215.
manner)\textsuperscript{362}, ἐπιθή καλῶς καὶ εὐσεβῶς πρὸς τὸν θεὸν καὶ ἡμᾶς ἀνέστραπται παρ’ ὁλον τὸν βίον (for goodness and piety towards the gods and us for all his life)\textsuperscript{363}.

Bouleuteia (βουλευτεία) appears in only 39 abbreviated decrees, all of which date from the Roman period. Some scholars believe that in the time of Roman principate a title of bouleutes (councilor) became an honour and was awarded with politeia to foreigners\textsuperscript{364}; this explains why bouleuteia is not attested in decrees before the Roman period.

A separate type of honour was the awarding of statue(s), which were reserved for the most distinguished foreigners. A citizen of Tarsus has been granted with politeia and honoured with statue\textsuperscript{365}. A bronze statue was also awarded to Athenian bouleutes\textsuperscript{366}, and to a sophist whose origin is not known\textsuperscript{367}.

To sum up, in Delphic abbreviated decrees, there are 15 attested honours and privileges. The most common are proxenia, promanteia, proedria, prodikia ateleia and asylia, mentioned in almost 50% of all abbreviated records. The most valuable were politeia and proxenia, and the most rewarding were statues. All honours and privileges were granted to honorand(s) and to his descendants or relatives. Surprisingly, all of the honorands are male, no female was granted in Delphic abbreviated decrees\textsuperscript{368}.

Origin of the honorands

Two factors allow for a thorough examination of the origin of honorands that were granted honours at Delphi, these being the vast numbers and the relatively good condition of the preserved abbreviated decrees. Citizens from all around the ancient world appear in the 834 abbreviated decrees from Delphi, which demonstrates and proves how well known and how meaningful the Delphic polis was. Honours and privileges granted by Delphians were esteemed and valuable, for this reason they were desired by many.

In Delphic abbreviated decrees, citizens are attested from both large and well-known cities as well as from smaller, less significant poleis, for example:

Northern Greece: Thrace\textsuperscript{369}, Chalkidike (Olynthos)\textsuperscript{370}, Makedonia (Aigeia, Pella)\textsuperscript{371}. Central Greece: Boiotia (Thespiai, Cheroneia)\textsuperscript{372}, Lokris\textsuperscript{373}, Aitolia\textsuperscript{374}, Thessalia (Larisa)\textsuperscript{375}, Phokis (Charadra)\textsuperscript{376}, Akarnania\textsuperscript{377}, Epirus (Nikopolis)\textsuperscript{378}. Attika (Athanaia)\textsuperscript{379}, Euboia\textsuperscript{380}, Megaris (Korinthos, Megara)\textsuperscript{381}. Peloponnes: Arkadia (Megalopolis, Symphalos, Mantinea)\textsuperscript{382}, Lakedaimon (Sparta)\textsuperscript{383}, Achaia\textsuperscript{384}, Messenia\textsuperscript{385}, Argolis (Epidauros)\textsuperscript{386}, Propontic Thrace (Byzantion)\textsuperscript{387}, Ionia ( Ephesos, 386)}
Smyrna 388, Karia (Mylasa) 389, Phrygia 390, Pergamon 391. Islands: Rhodes 392, Kos 393, Siphnos 394, Crete 395, Samos 396, Lesbos 397, Cyprus 398. Egypt (Naukratis) 399, Libya (Ptolemais, Kyrene) 400, Sykellia (Gela, Syrakuse) 401, Rome 402.

Status of honorands

In 44 Delphic abbreviated decrees, 35 names/titles of professions or functions of the honorands appear. Most of these decrees (33) date from the Roman period, only 5 come from Hellenistic times, and 6 cannot be dated. The following representatives of social groups can be identified according to the following criteria: professional, intellectual, and temporal.

The most represented group includes artists of various kinds:
- zoographos (ζωγράφος) – painter who paints from life or from nature 403
- plastes (πλάστης) – sculptor, moulder, modeller 404
- hypokrites (ὑποκρίτης) - actor 405
- poietes (ποιητής) – composer, author of a poem 406
  poietes epon (ποιητής ἐπών) - composer of an epic poetry 407
- choraules (χοραύλης) - one who accompanies a chorus on the flute 408
- tragodos (τραγοδός) - member of the tragic chorus or performer (actor and singer) of tragedy, or tragic poet 409
- kitharodos (κιθαρωδός) - one who plays and sings to the cithara 410
- orchestes and thaumatopoios (ὁρχηστής and θαυματοποιός) - dancer and acrobat or juggler 411
- paradoxos (παράδοχος) – a distinguished musicians or athletes 412.

Magistrates and functionaries are represented by:
- grammaticos (γραμματικός) - teacher of the rudiments; one who occupies himself with literary texts, grammarian, critic 413
- archigrammateus χιαστου (ἄρχιγραμματεύς χιαστοῦ) - chief clerk of a gymnasium at Elis 414
- neaniskarches (νεανισκάρχης) - official in charge of ἐφηβοί (young boys) 415

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388 FdD 1.54, 1.220.
389 FdD 1.120.
390 SGDII 2598.
391 FdD 1.231.
392 FdD 1.98, 1.99.
393 FdD 1.127.
394 FdD 1.197.
395 FdD 1.412.
396 FdD 4.139.
397 FdD 4.395.
398 FdD 4.396.
399 FdD 1.114.
400 FdD 2.111, 3.163.
401 FdD 1.125, 4.401.
402 FdD 1.231.
403 FdD 1.224; LSJ s.v. ζωγράφος.
404 FdD 2.118; LSJ s.v. πλάστης.
405 FdD 2.105, 4.177, 4.86; LSJ s.v. υποκρίτης.
406 FdD 4.111; LSJ s.v. poietēs.
407 FdD 2.158, 4.116.
408 FdD 2.250; LSJ s.v. χοραύλης.
409 FdD 2.101; LSJ s.v. τραγοδός – this word has 3 meanings, it is impossible to determine which one is correct in this case because of lack of context.
410 FdD 4.34, 4.113; LSJ s.v. κιθαρωδός.
411 FdD 1.469; LSJ s.v. ὁρχηστής and θαυματοποιός.
412 FdD 1.214; LSJ s.v. παράδοξος.
413 FdD 2.115; LSJ s.v. γραμματικός – on the assumption, that the teacher is an official.
414 FdD 1.209; LSJ s.v. ξυστός.
415 FdD 1.238; LSJ s.v. νεανισκάρχης.
- epimeletes of the Amphictiony (ἐπιμελητής) - curator 416
- epitropos (ἐπίτροπος) - governor 417; of Boiotia 418 and Achaia 419
- Asiares (Ἀσιάρχης) - an Asiarch, priest of the Imperial cult in the province of Asia 420. Very important function; an asiarch was a high priest appointed for a term of one year, his function was political – he was a president of the provincial assembly 421.

King:
- basileus (βασιλεύς) - king 422. Very unique example – in 255/4 BC Delphians honoured Areus the king (II king of Sparta), son of the king Acrotatus (II) and queen Chilonis.

Delphic abbreviated decrees also mention 5 religious officials or officials having some association with religion or cult:
- hieromnaton (ἱερομνάμον) - magistrate who had charge of temples or religious matters 423
- hierokeryx (ἱεροκήρυξ) - herald or attendant at a sacrifice 424
- theopropos (θεοπρός) - public messenger sent to inquire of an oracle 425
- exgetes Pythochrestos (ἐξηγητής Πυθόχρηστος) - expounder, interpreter especially of oracles, dreams, or omens 426
- daduchos (δαδοῦχος) - the holder of a hereditary office at the mysteries of the Eleusinian 427.

Names of professions:
- hiatros (ἱάτρος) – doctor, one who heals 428
- oinopoios (οίνοποιος) – wine maker 429
- physikos episteme (φυσικός ἐπιστήμης) – professional physician 430
- architektos (ἄρχιτέκτων) – architect 431

In 1 abbreviated decrees appear also a trainer of professional athletes – gymnastes (γυμναστής) 432. There is a very interesting decree dated from the beginning of the 2nd century AD. Regrettably, this inscription is poorly preserved and some important parts are damaged. We can only assume its content based on a reconstruction of the text. Inscription honours Asinos Rhouphos – Roman [?] strategos, who’s military carrier was mentioned in a decree. Presumably he was also an epitropos of Achaia – governor of Achaia, chiliiarchos speires – a tribune of the cohort, eparchos [?] praitorion – prefect of the praetorians, and eparchos speires – prefect of the cohort.

Other abbreviated decrees from the Roman period mention 9 people, who can be classified as intellectuals:
- philosofos (φιλόσοφος) - philosopher 433
- sophistes (σοφιστής) – sophist 434
- rhetor (ῥήτωρ) - rhetor 435.

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416 FdD 4.62; LSJ s.v. ἐπιμελητής.
417 LSJ s.v. ἐπίτροπος.
418 FdD 4.445.
419 FdD 4.48.
420 FdD 1.213; LSJ s.v. Ἀσιάρχης.
421 McLean 2002, 337.
422 FdD 4.418.
423 FdD 1.195; LSJ s.v. ἱερομνάμον.
424 FdD 1.212, SGDI 2596; LSJ s.v. ἱεροκήρυξ.
425 FdD 1.215; LSJ s.v. θεοπρός.
426 FdD 2.114; LSJ s.v. ἐξηγητής Πυθόχρηστος.
427 FdD 4.96; LSJ s.v. δοδοῦχος.
428 FdD 2.117, 3.298, 4.25, 4.87; LSJ s.v. ἱατρός.
429 FdD 2.210; LSJ s.v. οίνοποιος.
430 FdD 4.83; LSJ s.v. ἐπιστήμη.
431 FdD 4.96, LSJ s.v. ἄρχιτέκτων.
432 FdD 1.220; LSJ s.v. γυμναστής.
433 FdD 1.199, 2.116, 4.91, 4.94, 4.103, 4.107, 4.113.
434 FdD 3.244.
All mentioned honorands belong to broadly understood elites of the ancient world. The most prominent of the recipients of Delphic honours and privileges were the king Areus II, who was honoured with *proconnexion, promantetia, proedria, prodikia, asylia and euergesia*, the Asiarch granted with citizenship, and Asinios Rhouphos – Roman [*?] *strategos*, awarded with *poleiteia, promantetia, proedria, prodikia and enktesis*. The most valuable honours (statues) were received by M(arcos) A(urelios) Tarsos *neaniskarches*, Athenian *bouleutes* and actor, and Aurelius Phil[...] Byblios, sophist.

Most of the Delphic abbreviated decrees were inscribed on buildings, not on free-standing stelae; either on the bases of the monuments (e.g. the base of the Monument of the Arcadians436) or on the monuments themselves (e.g. the Monuments of the Messenians437) or alternatively on the walls of the treasuries (e.g. The Siphnian Treasury438, The Athenians Treasury439). The largest number of honorands come from poleis which founded monument, treasury or statue in Delphi – citizens of these poleis are mentioned in abbreviated decrees carved on the buildings.

Delphic abbreviated decrees provide a great deal of information about the Delphic polis, its magistrates, government, and the practice of granting honours and privileges. Despite of the lack of broader context regarding the procedure of awarding honours and privileges and the meaning of particular honours (e.g. *ateletia*), based on abbreviated decrees it is possible to state how relevant Delphic polis was in Hellenistic and Roman periods. Delphians honoured citizens from around almost all the ancient world. Honours and privileges granted by Delphic polis were desirable and valuable – especially *proconnexion* and *promantetia*. The small number of grants of citizenship in itself proves the perceived importance of the honour and the polis.

Further investigation into both full and abbreviated decrees beyond Delphi is needed. Full decrees will give the answer to the questions, which abbreviated decrees do not. However, abbreviated decrees should not be treated as a second-rate category of Greek decrees because they are not of the highest quality; they are more than merely abbreviated form of full decrees. Abbreviated decrees at Delphi provide essential information and deserve the attention of scholars.

References:

435 *FdD* 2.98.
436 35 Abbreviated decree inscribed.
437 24 Abbreviated decree inscribed.
438 44 Abbreviated decree inscribed.
439 124 Abbreviated decree inscribed.
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