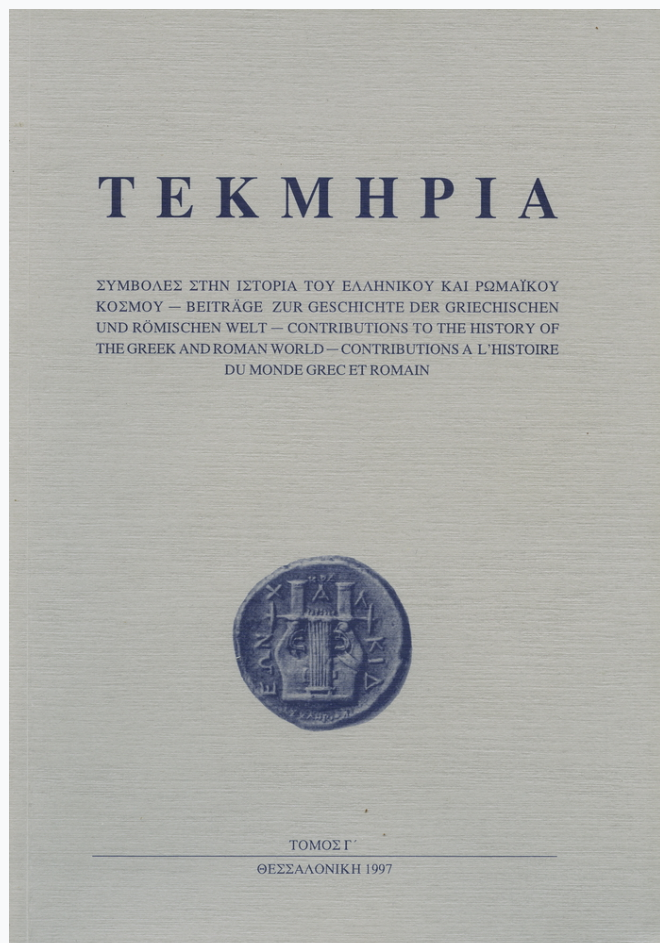


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The Harpalos Degree at Beroia

D. A. HARDY, I. TOURATSOGLU

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THE HARPALOS DECREE AT BEROIA*

Stele of white marble, discovered in 1970 in Kato Prasinos Kipos, Beroia, on the eastern slopes of the plateau on which the city is built, and removed to Beroia Museum (inv. no. 492). It had been used as the threshold of the house of Antonios Lychnas for several years, which accounts for the damaged condition of the top of the stele, the worn area in the middle, and the socket in the bottom right corner; the stele probably originally had a crowning member. Height: 1.20 m. Width: 44.7 cms. (at line 4); 47.3 cms. (at line 47). Thickness: minimum ca. 8.0 cms. (at line 4), maximum ca. 12.5 cms (at bottom: the measurements are of the dressed sides). Letter height: ranges from 1.0 cm. (omicron of ἐκεῖνοι in line 14) to 2.0 cms. (tau of the definite article in line 38). Interline: ca 0.5 cms. See photograph, plates 1, 2a-f.

Ἔτους [. καὶ . Βεροιαίων οἱ] ΠΟ [λιτάρχαι]
[προβουλευσαμένων τῶν βουλευτῶν]
[εἶπαν, ἐπειδὴ Ἀρπαλος...] ΟΥ vac ? vac
4 ὁ ἱερεὺς τῶν [θ]εῶν ca 3 ΤΩ[v vac]
ἀνανεωσάμενος τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν
προγόνων δόξαν εἰ καὶ ἡ τύχη διὰ τ[ο]ῦς
καιροὺς αὐτῶν ἦτιων ἦν ἐσπούδα- vac vac
8 σεν μὴ λει[φθ]ῆναι ἀρετῇ ἄρτι τε τῆς vac
πολιτείας ἀπτόμενος οὔτε ἐν τῶ

* We wish to dedicate this article to the memory of our old friend Cressida Ridley. It was in the convivial atmosphere of her excavation at Servia in Macedonia that our own friendship was conceived and the seeds of the present publication were sown.

- αἰτεῖν ἢ πρεσβεύειν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος
 ἀπολέ<λ>ει(πται) π[ο]λιτῶν πρεσβ[υ]τέρων
 12 ἐννοηθεῖς δὲ τὰς τῶν πάππων vac vac vac vac
 στρατηγίας καὶ δαπ[ά]νας ὅσα τε τῆς πόλεως
 ἐκείνοι καὶ πρὸς κόσμον καὶ πρὸς φυλακὴν
 ἀνέστησαν τὴν μεγίστην καὶ πλείστων vac
 16 δεομένην δαπανημάτων ἱερωσύν[η]ν vac vac
 εὐθαρσ[ῶ]ς ἀπεδέξατ[ο] ὅπως [πρέπ]ον ἦν
 ἀνδρὶ καλῷ καὶ ἀγαθῷ τῇ[ν] τε περὶ τῶν
 θεῶ[ν] ca 3-4 IA..ΛΚΑΙ ca 11-12 ΛΠ.Σ
 TIA ca 5 ΣΑΣΑΜ ca 10 ΝΤΩΣ
 ET vac ?
 ΤΟΥΣ ca 6 ΕΤΙΑΚΑ ca 10-11 ΕΝΩΝ
 ΚΑΝ ca 20 ΕΠΙΤΩΝ
 ΟΣ ca 5-6 ΗΤ ca 10 ΑΤΟΝΑΡΟΚΑ.
 ΡΙΑΣ ca 10-11 ΗΣ ca 3-4 ΛΙΣΗΜΩΝ vac ?
 .ΞΟ ca 14-15 τοὺς παρεληλυθό-
 28 τας πολέμους καταλελιμένων ἐφι-
 λοτειμήθη πάντα πρὸς τὸν ἀρχαίων κόσ-
 μον ἀγαγεῖν ἐν τε τοῖς λοιποῖς ἀτόν vac
 ἄξιον καὶ τῶν θεῶν καὶ τῆς πατρίδος
 παρίσχηται διὰ πολλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς παροῦ-
 32 σιν ὧν τειμῆς ἄξιος καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐλπι-
 ζομένοις· ἐπεὶ οὖν ἐν τῷ τῶν ἀρχαιρε-
 σιῶν καὶ [ρ]ῶι προβουλευσαμένων τῶν
 βουλευτῶν [ὅ]πως ὁ Ἄρπαλος ὀξίως τι-
 36 μηθῇ τῶν γεγενημένων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ εἰς
 τὴν πα[τρί]δα ὁ δῆμος ἐπελθὼν ἐπὶ τὸ βου-
 λευτῇ[ρι]ον τὴν πλείστην πρόνοιαν ἐ-
 ποιήσ[ατ]ο περὶ τῆς τιμῆς αὐτοῦ vac ἔδο-
 40 ξεν ἐπαινέσαι τε τὸν Ἄρπαλον ἐπὶ

44 τούτοις καὶ στεφανῶσαι αὐτὸν θαλ-
 λοῦ σ[τ]εφάνῳ ἀνατεθῆναι τε αὐτοῦ καὶ
 ἀνδριάντα χαλκοῦν ἐν τῷ ἐπιφανεσ-
 τάτῳ τόπῳ τῆς πόλεως ἀναγινώσ-
 κεσθαι δὲ καὶ τὸ ψήφισμα καθ' ἔτος ἐν ταῖς ἁρ-
 χαίρεσιν ἀναγραφῆναι δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ εἰς στή-
 λην λιθίνην καὶ τεθῆναι παρὰ τὸν ἀνδριάντα.

Epigraphic commentary

Lines 1ff. The beginning of the inscription is particularly badly damaged where the crowning member was removed to accommodate the stone to its new use as a threshold. The first three lines will have contained, in addition to the date, some form of ratification formula and the commencement of the 'motivation clause', the continuation of which occupies ll.4-33 of the inscription.

In the absence of any comparative material from Beroia, we cannot say what the precise form of the formula will have been. The restoration offered, purely *exempli causa*, follows to some extent the prescript of the decree of Kalindoia (M. B. Hatzopoulos and L. Loukoupoulou, *Recherches sur les marches orientales des Téménides, Meletemata* 11, 1992, pp. 77-80, K3), and is based on what is known in general terms of the constitutional arrangements of other Macedonian cities in the period of Roman rule, to which the present inscription probably dates (see M.B. Hatzopoulos, *Macedonian Institutions under the Kings, Meletemata* 22, 1996, p. 151f.; for the probable date of the inscription, see below).

Line 4 The available space is perhaps best suited to the restoration of the expression τῶν θεῶν πάντων. This would be the first occurrence of the formulation at Beroia, though it is common elsewhere.

Lines 5-6 On the various uses of ἀνανεωσάμενος, cf. L.Robert, *Hellenica* I, p.96. (cf. *IGxii.9.4.6, IvP17.38*).

Line 7 On the use of καίροι to mean 'bad times', cf. L.Robert, *Hellenica* I, p.7.

Lines 8-9 For ἄπτομαι τῆς πολιτείας in the sense of reach the age of citizenship, cf. e.g., *IOSPE*² I 42,13: ἀνδρωθεὶς δὲ ἤψατο τῆς πολιτείας.

Line 11 The first eight letters are perfectly clear: ΑΠΟΛΕΑΕΙ. The restoration offered assumes two lapicidal errors: (i) that the second Α was carved in error for Λ, and (ii) that the lapicide's eye was misled by the recurring combination of ΠΠ in the complete version ΑΠΟΛΕΛΕΙΠΤΑΙΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ, causing him to omit the letters ΠΤΑΙ of the verb. For ἀπολείπομαι in this sense cf. *Syll*³ 1102,9.

Line 14 For φυλακή cf. Robert, *Hellenica* XI-XII, p. 528.

Line 17 Cf. *IG* ix.2 1108,17: ὥς πρέπον ἀνδρῶσι καλοῖς καὶ ἀγαθοῖς; for similar expressions cf. *IG* ix.2 66 and 219 (ἐπιβάλλον), *IG* v.2 367 (καθηκον).

Lines 19-26 The surface of this part of the stone is almost completely worn away by feet walking across it. The few traces that can be deciphered do not readily suggest a restoration. They have been included in the text above as capital letters, and a drawing of the area is published as plate 3.

Line 29 For the contraction of ἑαυτὸν to ἄτόν, cf. *IG* xii.5, 860 ll. 27, 54; and G. Mihailov, *La langue des inscriptions grecques en Bulgarie* 1943, p. 42.

Lines 34ff. For probouleusis in Macedonian cities, see M.B. Hatzopoulos - L. Loukopoulou, Morrylos, Cité de la Crestonie, *Meletemata* 7, 1989, 31 n. 1; and *idem*, *Meletemata* 11, 1992, pp. 77-81.

Line 40 For the use of the article with a name, see e.g. *IG* ix.1² 1, 92c3, *IG* iv² 123,7, *IG* xii.5, 722, 15, *IG* xii.7 53, 10 and 38.

Chronology

The words and letters are generally speaking spread to a much greater extent in the first part of the inscription than they are after the damaged area, where, by contrast, they are often squashed together (cf. esp. line 28 and the last few lines). Syllabic division of words at the ends of lines is nonetheless observed throughout. To achieve this, the lapicide has left considerable space at the ends of some lines in the early part of the inscription (cf. ll. 7, 8, 9, 11, 14, 15), which accounts to some extent for the need to cramp the text towards the end.

The letter forms suggest a date in the late second or the first centuries B.C.: of the dated Macedonian inscriptions, the closest parallels are those of the decree of Lete, *Syll*³ 700 (119/8 B.C.), and the inscription from Europos honouring Marcus Minucius Rufus, *Ἑλληνικά* 5 (1932) pp. 5-16 (post 106 B.C.). A date in the late Hellenistic period is also supported by phonological phenomena: ει for ι and η for ει in πολειτήας (l.9); ει for ι in ἐφιλοτειμήθη (l. 27-28) and in τειμηῆς (l.32) (in contrast with τιμηῆς (l.39) and τιμηθῆ (l.35-36) and ι for ει in καταλελμμένων (l.27); and by the inconsistency in the treatment of the iota adscript, which is present in τῶι... καιρῶι (l.33-34) and τῶι (l.43), but omitted in ἀρετῇ (l.8), [τῶ] (l.9), καλῶ καὶ ἀγαθῶ (l.18), στεφάνῳ (l.42) and ἐπιφρανεστάτῳ τόπῳ (l.43-44).

Commentary

The inscription is a decree honouring a certain Harpalos, passed by the native city of the honorand (cf. the references in ll. 30, 37). The ancient city of Beroia lies beneath the modern town, and since there is no compelling reason to suspect that the stone has been transported any great distance, the probability is that it is a decree passed by Beroia itself. If so, it is the first decree known from this city (though it is not impossible that the badly damaged inscription published in *Arch. Delt.* 24, 1969, Chron. p. 326, no. 12, plate 336 b, is part of a decree). Very few decrees passed by the Macedonian cities have survived, and it is therefore doubly disappointing that the early part of the inscription is lost, and with it the prescript, which could have furnished valuable information about the organisation of this Macedonian city in the late Hellenistic period.

The Harpalos honoured was a scion of a distinguished family of Beroia (ll. 4-5), whose fortunes were in decline (ll 6-7). He had striven to prove himself equal to the achievements of his ancestors (ll.7-8) and as soon as he had reached his majority (ll. 8-9) had embarked upon a career of public service rivalling that of men older than himself; he had made *démarches* and acted as ambassador on behalf of the city (l. 10), and, after making specific reference to the services rendered to Beroia by his forefathers, apparently in the sphere of public buildings and defence works (ll.12-15), had held the priesthood, which is specifically stated to have involved very great expense (ll.15-17).

At this point the gap in the worn central area of the stone intervenes. In it reference seems to have been made to specific actions on the part of Harpalos during the course of recent wars, mentioned in ll. 26-28. Harpalos appears to have given aid during the wars, and to have restored the city after their cessation (ll. 28-29). For all these past services, and in the hope of further services to come in the future (ll. 29-33), Harpalos is honoured, after a demonstration of public support (ll. 38-39), with an olive crown, the erection of a bronze statue in the most prominent part of the city, the reading of this decree each year at election time, and the inscribing of it on the stone stele that has survived, which is to be placed next to the statue (ll. 40-47).

Harpalos will undoubtedly have been a notable member of a distinguished Beroian family of this name, whose activities go back to the regal period and form the background for the mention in the present inscription of the public services performed by the ancestors of the honorand. Πρεσβεύειν, for example, probably conceals a reference to Harpalos Polemaiou, the ambassador sent to Rome by Perseus (see below).

Several members of this family are attested over the centuries, ranging from the time of the monarchy to Roman imperial times. The Harpaloi from Beroia previously known are (1) Harpalos the epistates of Demetrios: *B.S.A.* 18, 1911-12, p. 134ff; cf. *B.S.A.* 40, 1939-40, pp. 14-16; *Syll*³ 459 (248-7 B.C.); *SEG* XII, 1955, 311 (249/8 B.C.); cf. Russu, *Onom.* Harpalos 3; *RE* Suppl. IV col. 711 no. 3a; (2) Harpalos Polemaiou: *Syll*³ 636; *B.C.H.* 7, 1883, pp. 427ff. no. VI (178-7 B.C.); possibly to be identified with the representative sent to Rome by Perseus (Livy XLII, 14, 3; Diod. XXIX, 33, 2; Appian, *Maked.* 11, 3; cf. Russu, *Onom.* Harpalos 4; *RE* Suppl. IV col. 711 no. 3); his father is possibly Polemaios Harpalou mentioned in a recently published royal letter found in Beroia and attributed to Antigonos Doson (Allamani-Souri - Voutiras, *New Documents from the Sanctuary of Herakles Kynagidas at Beroia*, *Επιγραφές της Μακεδονίας, Γ' Διεθνές Συμπόσιο για την Αρχαία Μακεδονία, 8-12 Δεκεμβρίου 1993*, Thessaloniki 1996, pp. 14-39, cf. H. Ph. Gauthier-M.B. Hatzopoulos, *La Loi gymnasiarchique de Beroia*, *Meletemata* 16, 1993, pp. 40-41); (3) Harpalos Harpalou, one of the epimeletai responsible for the setting up of a statue of the emperor Claudius: cf. I. Touratsoglou, *Ἀπὸ τὴν πολιτεία καὶ τὴν κοινωνία τῆς ἀρχαίας Βέροιας. Ἐπιγραφικὲς σημειώσεις*,

Ancient Macedonia II, 1977, pp. 486-493. For these, see most recently, A.B. Tatakis, *Ancient Beroia. Prosopography and Society*, Athens 1988, p. 116f.

A certain Limnaios Harpalou, recipient of a tract of land from Lysimachos (285/84 BC) (cf. M. B. Hatzopoulos, Une donation du roi Lysimaque, *Meletemata* 5, 1988, pp. 17-54 = *SEG* 1988, 619) has been associated with this family (cf. M. B. Hatzopoulos, Macedonian Institutions under the Kings, *Meletemata* 22, 1996, p. 417 and Epigraphic App. no. 22).

Harpalos seems to have been a major benefactor of Beroia, a conclusion suggested by the honours accorded him and the wording of the decree, particularly the reference to the glory and public service of his ancestors. Gauthier has shown (Les cités grecques et leurs bienfaiteurs (IV^e-I^{er} siècle avant J.-C.), *BCH Suppl.* XII, 1985, pp. 57-58) that in the Late Hellenistic period, the 'grands evergètes' performed a role in the life of the Greek cities that had previously been filled by the Hellenistic kings. Their services to the state presupposed considerable wealth (note the specific statement in the present decree of the great expense involved in holding the priesthood) and indicate that these men could only have come from the ranks of the aristocracy. The frequency of references to ancestral virtue and public service also makes it clear that *euergesia* tended to be almost hereditary, and the men honoured are often accredited, as Harpalos, with having shown zeal to continue the family tradition as soon as they reached the age of citizenship.

There are also examples of the name Harpalos from other cities in Macedonia, including: Harpalos Machata, from Elimeia who was the treasurer (ἐπὶ τῶν χρημάτων) of Alexander the Great (Berve, *Alex.* II no. 143); Harpalos, garrison commander of Amphipolis during the reign of Philip II (cf. A. Tatakis, Macedonians abroad, *Meletemata* 26, 1998, p. 194; the father of Hermoitas, politarch of Amphipolis in the last years of the Roman Republic (*BCH* 18, 1894, pp. 419-20 no. 2 = Dimitis 886); Harpalos Dionysogonou and Zopyros Harpalou named on a funerary inscription from Pella, dating from the second century B.C. (*Arch. Delt.* 29, 1973-74, p. 713); Harpalos Peukolaïou and Harpalos KYTAS from Vergina/Aegae (cf. Chr. Saatsoglou-Paliadeli, *Τὰ ἐπιτάφια μνημεῖα ἀπὸ τῆς Μεγάλῃς Τούμπα τῆς Βεργίνας*, Thessaloniki 1984, pp. 131-134 no. 14 (beginning of the second half of the fourth century B.C.) and pp. 192-194 no. 26 (third quarter of the fourth

century B.C.): cf. also p. 271); and Harpalos Pha..., priest of Asklepios, from Kalindoia (cf. I. Vokotopoulou, *Ancient Macedonia* IV (1986), pp. 93. 39, 113; M.B. Hatzopoulos - L.D. Loukopoulou, *Recherches sur les marches orientales des Téménides*, *Meletemata* 11, 1992, pp. 110-117).

For occurrences of the name Harpalos outside Macedonia see A. Tataki, *Macedonians abroad*, *Meletemata* 26, 1998, *passim*.

The date of the decree, which was probably inscribed in the damaged area at the top of the stele, is now lost. As we have seen however, the letter forms and phonological phenomena point to the late second or first century BC, and this would certainly be consistent with the reference to recently past wars in ll.23-24. Even after the establishment of Roman control in 148 B.C., wars with Thracian tribes were almost endemic to the province, and in the first century it was invaded by Mithridates VI general (and son) Ariarathes and converted into a satrapy (cf. Th. Ch. Sarikakis, *Ρωμαῖοι Ἀρχόντες τῆς Ἐπαρχίας Μακεδονίας*, I, 1971, p. 71f. F. Papazoglou, "Quelques aspects de l'histoire de la province de Macedoine", *ANRWII* 7.1 (1979) p. 302 f., esp. 317f., for a critical review of recent research into the political situation in Macedonia after 148 B.C.).

The apparent reference in ll. 26-27 to material damage suffered during the war is perhaps best accounted for by the invasion of Mithridates' army, which was resisted by the Romans with local support, but resulted in the fall of all the Macedonian cities except Amphipolis. Pella was comprehensively destroyed. These hostilities are reflected in a considerable number of coin hoards concealed at this time (cf I. Touratsoglou, The Adam Zagliveriou/1983 hoard in the Museum of Thessaloniki, *Nomkhron* 8, 1989, pp. 7-20). The province was converted briefly into a satrapy and the wives and children of the leading citizens were carried off to Asia as hostages. (cf. for the period F. de Callataÿ, *L'histoire des guerres mithridatiques vue par les monnaies*, Louvain-La Neuve 1997, p. 298 f., p. 315 f.) It is an attractive hypothesis that these events supplied the context for Harpalos's restoration of the city to its earlier grandeur.

ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΗ

Τὸ ψηφίσμα τοῦ Ἀρπάλου στὴ Βέροια

Στὸ ἄρθρο δημοσιεύεται τὸ κείμενο ἑνὸς τιμητικοῦ ψηφίσματος γιὰ κάποιον Ἀρπαλο. Κατὰ πᾶσα πιθανότητα ἡ πόλη, ἡ ὁποία προέβη στὴν ἀπόφαση αὐτή, ὑπῆρξε ἡ Βέροια τῆς Βοττιαίας, ἀφοῦ ἡ σχετικὴ στήλη ἐντοπίστηκε ἀποκεκρουμένη κατὰ τὴν ἐπίσκεψη καὶ ταλαιπωρημένη στὸ μέσον τῆς κυρίας ὄψης μὲ τὴν ἐπιγραφὴ ὡς κατώφλι σὲ οἰκία τῶν παρυφῶν της. Γιὰ τοὺς ἴδιους λόγους πιστεύεται ὅτι καὶ ὁ τιμώμενος ἦταν κάτοικος τῆς μακεδονικῆς αὐτῆς πόλης καὶ μάλιστα γόνος μιᾶς ἀπὸ τὶς πλέον διακεκριμένες οἰκογένειές της μὲ παράδοση αἰώνων σὲ ἔργα καὶ πράξεις χορηγιῶν. Παρὰ τὴν οἰκονομικὴ δυσπραγία ποὺ διερχόταν τὸ γένος τῶν Ἀρπάλων στὴν ἐποχὴ τῆς ἴδρυσης τῆς στήλης, ὁ Ἀρπαλος τοῦ ψηφίσματος στάθηκε στὸ ὕψος τῶν περιστάσεων καὶ τῆς φήμης τῆς γενιᾶς του καὶ συνεισέφερε στὴν ἀνόρθωση τῆς γενέτειράς του ὕστερα ἀπὸ μιὰ περιόδο καταστρεπτικῶν πολέμων.

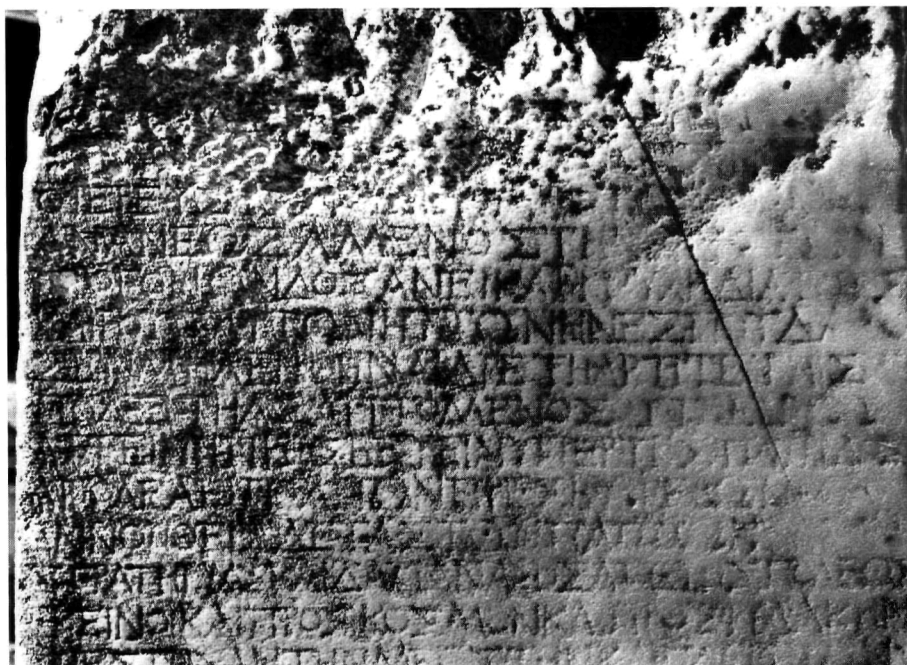
Ἐλλεῖπει ἄλλων δηλωτικῶν στοιχείων, μὲ τὴ βοήθεια ὀρισμένων φωνολογικῶν παρατηρήσεων καὶ τὴ μελέτη τῆς ἐξέλιξης τῆς γραφῆς, κυρίως ὅπως μὲ ὅσα ἀφήνονται νὰ ἐννοηθοῦν ἀπὸ τὸ ἴδιο τὸ κείμενο, προτείνεται ὡς χρόνος ἀναγραφῆς τοῦ ψηφίσματος τὸ διάστημα ποὺ ἀκολούθησε τὴν εἰσβολὴ τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ Μιθριδάτη ΣΤ΄ τοῦ Πόντου στὴ Μακεδονία.



D.A. Hardy - I. Touratsoglou plate 1

ΘΕΣ	Τ	ΙΑ	ΚΑΙ	ΑΠΟΣ
ΤΙΑ		ΣΙΣΛΛ		ΝΤΩΣ
ΕΤ		ΡΟΑ	Α	Ε ΠΙ
ΤΟΥ		ΕΤΙ	ΑΚΑ	ΕΝΣ
ΚΑΙ				ΕΠΙΤΙΣ
ΟΣ		ΟΥΤ	Υ	ΑΤΟΝΑΡΟΚΑ
ΡΙΑ			ΗΣ	ΛΙΣΗΜΩΝ
Ε		ΕΠΙ	Σ	ΤΟΥ Σ ΠΑΡΕΛΗΛΥΘ

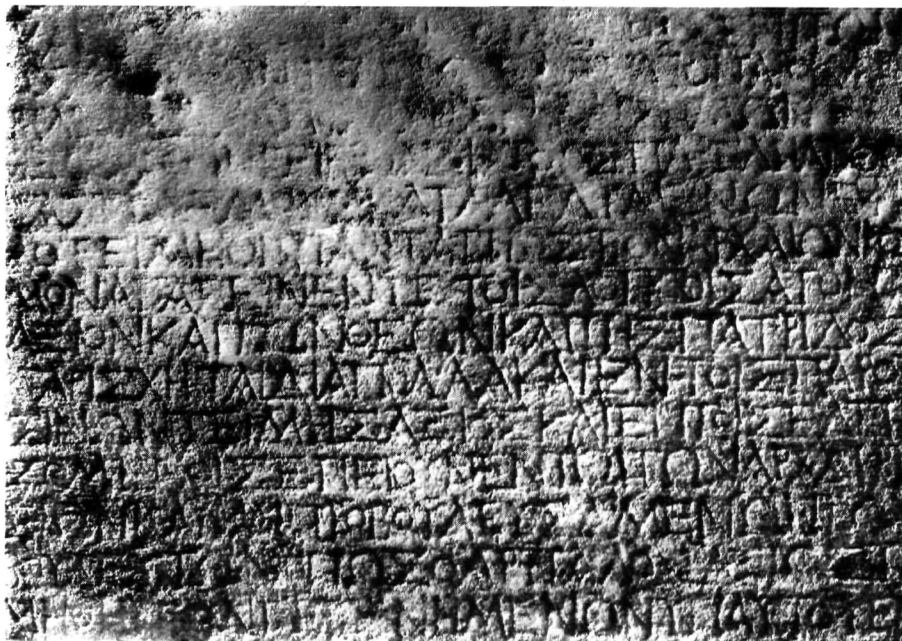
D.A. Hardy - I. Touratsoglou plate 3



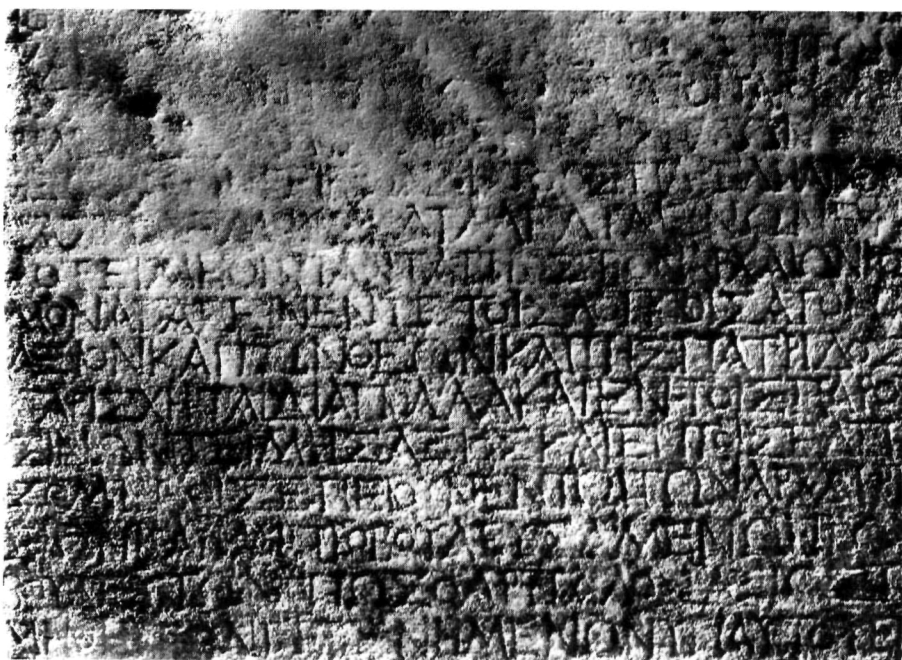
D.A. Hardy - I. Touratsoglou plate 2a



D.A. Hardy - I. Touratsoglou plate 2b



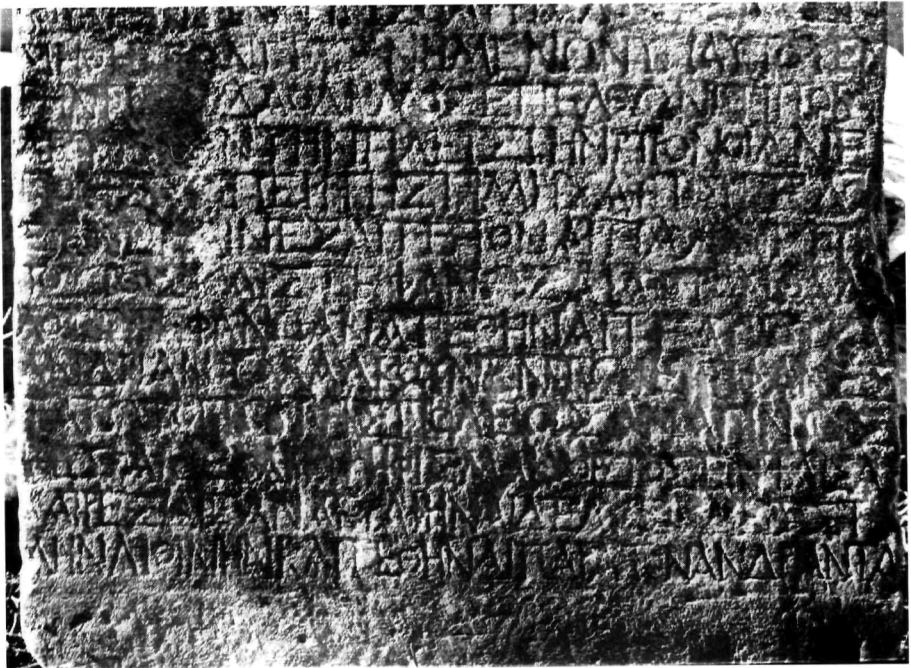
D.A. Hardy - I. Touratsoglou plate 2c



D.A. Hardy - I. Touratsoglou plate 2d



D.A. Hardy - I. Touratsoglou plate 2e



D.A. Hardy - I. Touratsoglou plate 2f